THE PALMYRENE PROSOPOGRAPHY

by

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CONTAINS PULLOUTS

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[1]. 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*[2], for which the Greek corresponding word is $\phi u \lambda \eta$ in the bilingual texts. The most common Palmyrene formula is: *dy mn phd bny 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'[3], 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.[4] Only the tribes

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[1] See M.J. Rostovtzeff, "Une nouvelle inscription caravanière de Palmyre", *Berytus* 2 (1935) 143-145; D. Schlumberger, "Les quatre tribus de Palmyre", *Syria* 48 (1971) 121 133; G. Garbini, "Divinità, confraternite, tribù a Palmira", *AION* 18 (1968 , 74-78; J. Teixidor, "Cultes tribaux et religion civique à Palmyre", *RHR* 197 (1980), 277-287. J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et les thiases sémitiques à l'époque romaine*, was the first to approach the Palmyrene material in a more comprehensive way laying the bases for a prosopographical study and M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 26-41 who made an attentive distinction between 'real' and 'false' tribes.

[2] The term is of Arabic origin *fahd*, see Cantineau, *Grammaire*, p. 101 and 150 and *DNWSI* 905-906.

[3] We find a similar example in the sacerdotal tribe of Levi, where the term *lêwî* came to signify 'priest' (lit. 'the one who is allowed into the sacred precinct'), see R. de Vaux, "Lévites minéns 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.* I 10, 11) that attributes an ancestor to the fishermen and the hunters (Halieus and Agreus). For the phoenico-punic world see, M. Sznycer, "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 *φυλή* should safely be considered as such; they are now counted to the number of fourteen[5].

The whole group of Palmyrene tribes constituted 'the Assembly of the whole Palmyrenes', the base of the political organisation in the 1st c. AD[6]. The executive officials of the municipality, the *'rkwn '* - *ἄρχων* were chosen amongst the aristocratic members of the tribes[7]. 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 Baalshamîn dated as early as 132 AD speaks of four sanctuaries[8], 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[9]. 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 Soados[10]. 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[11]. 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 Komarê tribe attested in 182 and 198 AD, the Zabdibôl 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.

[6] *Inv IX*, 12 (25 AD): *gbl tdmry ' klhn* - Παλμυρηνων ὁ δημος, mentioned with the 'treasurers' *'nwš* *'nwš'*- οἱ ἀργυροτομίαι and *Inv IX*, 8 (51 AD). Cf. also Févrrier, *Histoire*, p.12.

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

[8] C. Dunant, *MH* 13 (1956) 216=*BS* 45. Four statues are erected to honour the well-known chief of caravans Sofadû in the temple of Zeus (Baalshamîn), the Holy Garden ('Aglibôl and Malakbel), the temple of Ares (Arsû) and the temple of Atargatis. For the identification of the four temples, see D. Schlumberger, *Syria* 48 (1971) 127-128, M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 48-52 and M. Gawlikowski, *ANRW*, 18.4, 1990, p. 2647-2650.

[9] *Tadmorea II*, 20: *'rb ' phdy'*- αἱ τέσσαρες φυλαί. Regarding the names of the tribes we know from the inscriptions that the Benê Ma'aziyân had under their care the temple of Baalshamîn, the Benê Komarê had the temple of 'Aglibôl and Malakbel whilst the Benê Mattabôl were attached to the cult of Arsû.

[10] Mouterde-Poidebard, *Syria* 12 (1931) 107.

[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 istitution in the Palmyrene life that could not be artificially created.

in 179 AD and the Mattabôl tribe in 159 AD. The Ḥaṭrai tribe is last mentioned in 128 AD and the ʿAttar tribe in 179 AD.

THE PALMYRENE TRIBES

THE GADDIBÔL TRIBE, bny gdbwl - οἱ Γαδδειβώλιοι

This tribe must be an autochthonous one, since the theophorous element is represented by the local deity Bôl[12]. A certain Zabdibôl son of Baʿaiḥ û built the temple of Bel and Yarḥ ibôl in the year 32 BC, at Dura-Europos. Another offered an altar to Elqoneraʿ - Poseidon in 39 AD. A woman, Baʿaltagâ daughter of Belsûrî married to Bonnê, a member of the Šaʿat family of the Benê Mîtâ (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 Gaddibôl erected a statue in 108 AD to a certain Aqqaih who contributed to the erection of cultual buildings at Palmyra and Vologaesias.

- 32 BC, *ID*, 1: dy mn bny gdybwl.
- 39 AD, *Tadmorea III*, 31: dy mn phd bny [gd]ybwl.
- 52 AD, Rodinson, *Syria* 27 (1950) 137-138: dy mn phd bny gdybwl.
- 108 AD, *CIS* 3917=*Inv IX*, 15: bny gdybwl - οἱ Γαδδειβώλιοι.

THE ZABÛD TRIBE, bny zbwd

The name of the tribe is an anthroponym of Aramaic origin with the meaning of 'bestowed'[13]. The tribe is only attested once with certainty. The family ʿAtehzâ 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 ZIMRÂ TRIBE, bny zmr ꜣ [14]

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[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 Yedîʿbel.

[13] Cf. *WSB* 128 and *PIAP* 111.

[14] M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 35 derives the name from the root *dmr* 'to guard' whilst Milik, p. 55 proposes *zammârê* 'cantors and musicians'.

This is another tribe that takes its name after a profession. Two members of this tribe made an offering of a *ḥammanâ*[15] to Šadrafâ and Duʿanat. The family of these two generous people is known as Abbanît, attested as early as 100 BC. In fact here the gentilic 'Palmyrene' is attested twice, a fact that comfirms 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.

- 30/31 AD, *Inv X*, 145=Starcky, *Syria* 26 (1949) 43-53: mn pḥd bny zmr ʾ.

THE ḤAṬRAI TRIBE, bny ḥtry

The name Ḥaṭrai 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'.

- 128 AD, *CIS* 4164=*Inv IV*, 19: dy mn bny ḥtry.

THE KOHENNABÛ TRIBE, bny khnbw

According to its etymology the Benê Kohennabû do not represent a personal name but the name of a sacerdotal office 'the tribe of the priest of Nabû'[16]. The cult of ʿAglibôl and Malakbel is under their care as the inscriptions show it. The priests of Bel erected a statue to Garîmai son of Nabûzabad, member of this tribe.

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

THE KOMARÊ TRIBE, bny kmrʾ - φυλῆς Χομαρηνων or φυλης Χωνειτων

The Benê Komarê 'the tribe of priests' has two transcriptions in Greek. One is the correspondant Χομαρηνων from *kmr* and the other is Χωνειτων that has the same

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[15] It is normally translated as 'sanctuary', but its meaning is 'place of cult', see Milik, p. 306-307; V. Fritz, *BN* 15 (1981) 9-20 and H.J.W. Drijvers, *JSS* 33 (1988) 165-180.

[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 Kônei(tôn), for which see the next entry. Milik, p. 31 and 41 prefers to explain it as 'priests of Bôl', with an apheresis of the last consonant. Cf. M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 36; Eodem, *Syria* 51 (1974) 94 and E. Lipir ski, *FO* 24 (1987) 139. J. Starcky in *Studi Levi Della Vida*, 1956, p. 515 explains the presence of KHNBW 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 Hertâ and other deities and another offered a temple to Bel and Yarh ibôl at Dura Europos. Futhermore, in a number of inscriptions the Benê Komarê made offerings together with 'Aglibôl and Malakbel and must have been a sort of administrators of the sanctuary of the two gods. Four important families belong to the Benê Komarê: Sakaibel (mid-1st c. BC to mid-2nd c. AD), Hašaš (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, Yarh ibôl and 'Aglibôl and its sanctuaries in 32 AD. Malkû of the Hašaš 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 Hašaš was honoured for settling peace between the Benê Komarê and the Benê Mattabôl. The Hašaš family must have been an important group as they erected two statues, in the sanctuary of Bel, to Habbâ son of Bagešû and to his son Bagesû (*Inv IX*, 33-34) and they are mentioned in two tesserae (*RTP* 93, 457). The Firmôn family, of the *phylê Chôneitai* identified with the Benê Komarê, 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 kmrʾ.
- 6 BC, *Tadmorea II*, 17: dy mn bny kmrʾ.
- 17 BC, *CIS* 3969=*Inv XI*, 84: bny kmrʾ.
- 32 BC, *ID*, 1: dy mn bny kmrʾ.
- Beginning 1st c. AD, *Inv XI*, 85: bny kmrʾ.
- Beginning 1st c. AD, *Inv XI*, 86: [dy] mn bny kmrʾ.
- 21 AD, *Inv IX*, 13: bny kmrʾ.
- 24 AD, *Inv IX*, 11: dy mn bny kmrʾ - φυλης Χομαρηνων.
- 25 AD, *Inv IX*, 12: dy mn bny kmrʾ - φυλῆς Χομαρηνων.
- 28/29 AD, *Inv IX*, 9=*CIS* 3922: dy m[n] bny kmrʾ.
- 45 AD, *Inv IX*, 1=*Tadmorea I*, 1: dy mn bny kmrʾ.
- 67 AD, *Inv IV*, 7 a: dy mn phz bny kmrʾ - φυλης Χομαρηνων.
- 122/123 AD, *RSP* 160: bny km[r]ʾ - [Χ]ομαρηνοι.
- 182 AD, Ingholt, *Berytus* 3 (1936) 109: φυλης Χωνειτων.
- 198 AD, Ingholt, *Syria* 13 (1932) 278-289 (Greek)+Milik, p. 37 (Palm.): bny kmrʾ - Χωνειτων φυλή.

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[17] Milik, p. 55 identifies the *bny khnbw* with the *bny kmr* ʾ since both of them have the same meaning of 'sons of the priests' and represent a 'professional' tribe.

- 89 AD or 188 AD, *RSP* 162=Gawlikowski, *Syria* 47 (1970) 319-325 no.5: [bny] kmrᵓ.
- *Inv XI*, 90: bny kmrᵓ.

THE KNBT TRIBE, bny knbt[18]

The name is of unknown origin. The founder of the tower no. 67 of Hairan, of the Baʿâ

family, belonged to this tribe. The family Baʿâ 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.

- 33 AD, *CIS* 4114=*Inv IV*, 4 a: mn phd bny knbt.

THE MGRT-(MAGERENÔN) TRIBE, bny mgrt - φυλης Μαγερηνῶν[19]

Two people from the MGRT tribe, offered a *hammanâ* and an altar to Samaš. The

tessera is for a banquet in honour of Bel.

- 59 AD, *CIS* 4120: φυλης Μαγερηνῶν.
- 85 AD, *CIS* 3978: dy mn phd bny mgrt.
- *RTP* 105: bny mgrt.

THE MÎTÂ TRIBE, bny mytᵓ - φυλῆς Μιθηνῶν[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

Aušai and the Saʿat families. To the Aušai, still attested as late as 250 AD, are attributed

the building of two tombs (9 BC) and the offering of a portico to Bôlʿastor. The second

family, the Saʿat, 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 Laqîšû family received honours from the Senate in 84 AD, which

represents the latest mention of the Benê Mîtâ. A woman of the ʿAtenatan family,

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[18] A. Alt, "Zwischen Heliopolis und Palmyra" in *Festschrift O. Eissfeldt*, 1947, p. 7-12 discussed the ethnic τῶν Χενναβα [...], found in two inscriptions from Nazalâ, modern Qaryatein. Milik, p. 88 considers the bny knbt and οἱ Χενναβα [θηνοί] the same tribe. The two inscriptions from Nazalâ are, *IGLS* 2698-2699.
[19] Milik, p. 305-306 identifies the bny mgrt with the φυλης Μαγερηνων of *CIS* 4120.
[20] See *RTP*, p. 174 and *PNPI* 94 on the etymology of the name Mîtâ from the Arabic *mayyt* 'tender'.

married to a man of the Benê Maʿziyân, 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 Yarḥibôl of the Spring at Dura-Europos.

- 9 BC, *Inv IV*, 28: dy mn bny myt².
- 10/11 AD, Asʿad Gawlikowski, *Semitica* 41-42 (1991-92) 163-172: dy mn bny myt².
- 48/49 AD, Cantineau, *Syria* 12 (1931) 130-132 no.11: [dy mn phd] bny myt².
- 52 AD, *BS*, 11: dy mn bnt myt².
- 52 AD, Rodinson, *Syria* 27 (1950) 137-138: dy mn phd bny myt² - φυλης
      Μειθηνῶν - phyles Mithenon.
- 56 AD, *CIS* 4116: dy mn phd bny myt².
- 56 AD, *Inv IX*, 20: dy mn bny myt² - φυλης Μιθηνων.
- 57 AD, *CIS* 4119: dy mn phd bny myt².
- 84 AD, *Tadmorea III*, 29: dy mn bny myt².
- *Tadmorea I*, 9: dy mn p[ḥd] bny myt².
- *ID*, 33: bny myt².

THE MAʿZIYÂN TRIBE, bny mʿzyn[21]

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 Maʿziyân 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 Maʿziyân 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 costructions 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 Yedîʿbel (see below no.21), it goes

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[21] D. Schlumberger, *Syria* 48 (1971) 132 proposes to see in the Benê Maʿziyân the φυλης Μαγερηνων of *CIS* 4120; cf. above note 16. The name MʿZYN is attested only once as anthroponym, J. Teixidor, *Sumer* 18 (1962) 63, otherwise introduced by *phd bny mʿ 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 Μ⟨ [ ]α[υ]ηνων], which it is rejected by M. Gawlikowski, *RSP* 156. Anyhow in favour of it there is one inscription from the Ḥauran, R. Savignac, *RB* 14 (1905) 96, where a Μαζια[νου] is attested and Lidzbarski, *ESE*, II, p. 334 E, identifies it with the Palmyrene *m ʿzyn*. Furthermore, at Dura, a soldier bears the name Mezianus; see *Dura, Final Report V*, pap. 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 Maʿziyân is made in the inscriptions concerning the Yedîʿbel family (below no.21); however the Fortune of Yedîʿbel received offerings (together with Baalshamîm, Durahlôn and Rahim) from a member of the Benê Maʿziyân. 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 Raʿai 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 Bel hazî/Bôlhazî 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 Aʿakai 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 Qahazan 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, Durahlôn, Rahim and the Gad of Yedîʿbel; 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 Maʿziyân in 61 AD and 32 AD. A person of a homonym Yedîʿbel 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 Nûrbel in 62 AD. A certain Moqîmû Maʿziyân 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 bny* etc.).

As we can see the Benê Maʿziyân 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 pḥd bny m'zyn.

- 50 AD ca., *Tadmorea II*, 24: dy mn bny m'zyn.

- 52 AD, *BS* 11: dy mn pḥd bny m'zyn.

- 61 AD, *BS* 39: dy mn bny m'zyn.

- 62 AD, *RSP* 159: dy m[n] [bn]y 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: [b]ny m'zyn.

- *BS* 11: [dy] mn bn[y] 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 - φυλης Μανθαβωλ(ε)ίων, 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 Arṣû[22], built on the borders of the Palmyrene oasis[23], 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 Arṣû 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 Arṣû, see *CIS* 3975; As'ad-Teixidor, *CRAI*, 1985, p. 286-293 and As'ad-Gawlikowski, *AAAS* 36 (1986) 164-171.

[23] The first mention of the sanctuary of Arṣû is in *BS* 45 and as regards its location that corresponded to the Hellenistic Palmyra see, D. Van Berchem, *PBP*, p. 165-173 and E. Will, *Syria* 60 (1983) 69-81.

(Al-Lât, Al-ʿUzzâ and Manât[24]); it must have changed its name at the moment it became sedentary and came into contact with other Semitic people[25]. It is possible to ascribe eight family groups to this tribe. The largest are the Šokayyî, the Barîkai, the Barʿâ, the ʿOšailat and the Elahšâ 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 Kîtôt). 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 Arṣû. Only one tomb foundation is recorded. The Barʿâ is probably the largest and best attested family of the Mattabôl tribe. Only one inscription referring to an offering to the god Arṣû preserves the name of the tribe[26], while all the others are funerary texts. The Barʿâ group also goes back to the 1st c. BC (40 BC ca.). The ʿOšailat 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 Elahšâ 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, *CIS* 4113=*Inv VIII*, 56: dy mn pḥd bny mtbwl.
- 17 AD, *CIS* 3925=*Inv IX*, 6 b: dy m[n pḥd b]ny mtbwl - φυλης Μανθβωλειω[ν].
- 19 AD, *CIS* 3924=*Inv IX*, 6 a: [dy mn] bny mtbw[l] - φ[υλης Μανθαβω]λειων.
- 21 AD, *Inv IX*, 13: bny mtb[wl].
- 50 AD ca., *CIS* 3975: dy mn bny mtbwl.
- 63 AD, Asʿad-Teixidor, *CRAI*, 1985, p. 287: dy mn bny mtbwl.
- 89 AD, *Inv VII*, 3=*MFP* 189-190 no.20: φ[υ]λης Μανθββωλειων.
- 101 AD, Cantineau, *RB* 39 (1930) 545-547 no.13: dy mn bny mtbwl.
- 159 AD, *Inv VII*, 5 A=Cantineau, *RB* 39 (1930) 523-525 no.1 A: dy mn pḥwz bny mtbwl.
- 166 AD, *CIS* 4187=*Inv IV*, 2: pḥ[d bn]y m[tbwl].
- 197 AD, Asʿad-Gawlikowski, *AAAS* 36 (1986) 165 no.5: [bny mtb]wl.
- 201 AD, Asʿad-Gawlikowski, *AAAS* 36 (1986) 165 no.3: phzh dy mtbwl - Μαθθαββωλιων φυλη.

[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.
[25] Cf. Asʿad-Teixidor, *CRAI*, 1985, p. 287, 289 and J. Teixidor, *SUSR*, p 53-55 where the sedentarisation of this tribe, the trade with Seleucia on the Tigris and the deities worshipped are all discussed.
[26] Asʿad-Teixidor, *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: φυλὴ Μα[θθαββωλίων]
- 208 AD, As'ad-Gawlikowski, *AAAS* 36 (1986) 165 no.2· Μαθθαββωλίων φυλή.
- 247 AD, As'ad-Gawlikowski, *AAAS* 36 (1986) 166-167 no.6: Μαθθαββωλίων φυλή.
- 279/280 AD, As'ad-Gawlikowski, *AAAS* 36 (1986) 167 nos.7 8: Μαθθαββωλίων φυλή.
- As'ad-Teixidor, *Syria* 62 (1985) 274 no.3=*AAS* 32 (1982) 91 no.3: bny mtbwl.
- *Inv III*, 24: Μαθθαβωλίων φυλή.

THE 'AGRÛD TRIBE, bny 'grwd - Αγρουδήνοι

The name is of unknown origin. The tribe seems to be in relation to the cult of Belhamôn[27] as the tesserae also show it. In fact, Moqîmû and Yarhibôlâ, members of the two family groups attested in the tribe, built a temple to Belh amôn and Manawat in the year 89 AD on the Jebel Muntar. The family 'Arîmâ goes back to the beginning of the 1st c. 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 messanger 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 - Αγρουδήνοι.
- *Tadmorea I*, 12 B=*Inv VIII*, 71: dy [mn] phd b[ny] 'grwd.
- *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[28]. This tribe is attested only from the foundation text of a hypogeum.

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

[28] In *PNPI* 108, we find 'tršwry

The name, according to Milik, represents the first element of the divine name ʿtr ʿth, Atargatis[29]. Note that in the onomastics of this family the name of the deity ʿAteh seems to be quite popular.

-179 AD, *Inv IV*, 14: [dy] mn pḥd bny ʿtr.

THE ŠMʿR[ʾ/Y?] TRIBE, bny šmʿr[ʾ/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 ŠMʿRʾ [30] and ŠMʿ[R]Y[31]. A certain Taimaʿamad 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 pḥd bny šmʿr.

THE ROMAN TRIBES

THE CLAUDIA TRIBE, kldyʾ / ʾkldy - φυλῆς Κλαυδιάδος

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 φυλῆς Κλαυδιάδος. Milik's hypothesis is to view the tribe Claudia as a foreign social group[32]. 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[33] or as resulting from the administrative reform introduced by Nero or probably Claudius[34]. 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 Palestine.
[33] Cf. M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 40 and D. Schlumberger, *Syria* 48 (1971) 123.
[34] See M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre VI*, p. 45 and 47.

after the first surname[35] and where the term φυλή 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 *phd* 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 φυλή 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, KLDY' / 'KLDY, is also found in five further inscriptions (see below): KLDY' is treated like other Roman tribes as the SRGY' (Sergia); while 'KLDY is a nisbe with a prosthetic *'aleph*. It is not surprising to find different transcriptions for a name that was not local. H. Ingholt[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).

- 79/80 AD, *Inv VII*, 6: φυλης Κλαυδιάδος.
- Ingholt, *Berytus* 1 (1934) 38-40 no.4: kldy'.
- Sabeh, *AAS* 3 (1953) 24-26 no.4: 'kldy.
- *CIS* 4357: kldy'.
- *CIS* 4358: 'kldy.
- *CIS* 4359: 'kldy.

THE FABIA TRIBE, Φαβία[37]

[35] See R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, Paris 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, *Epigrafia romana*, p. 105 and J.E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy*, p. 217-218.

[36] H. Ingholt, *Berytus* 1 (1934) 38-40.

[37] This must be the tribe of Augustus or Caligula (Caius Julius Caesar Germanicus). This represents the oldest Roman citizenship, see D. Schlumberger, *BÉO* 9 (1943) 53, 66.

Gaius Julius Ḥairan son of Elahbel, of the Elahbel family belongs to this tribe (see below no.63).

- 108 AD, *Inv X*, 129: φαβία.

THE SERGIA TRIBE, srgy' - Σεργία[38]

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 Malkû and Acilius Moqîmû families (see below nos.63, 129, 568 and 570). M. Ulpius Malkû 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 iscription is lost and only his patronimic is left, [Ποπ]λίου Αἰλίου.

INTERMEDIATE SOCIAL GROUPINGS

We have seen how the Greek is consistent in transcribing the Palmyrene *pḥd* with the word φυλή. Only once we find γένος, which in fact does not translate *pḥd* but the Palmyrene correspondant *bny*. 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

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[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 *phd* 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 Mîtâ belong a certain 'ʿAtenatan called Bar Saʿat', this appellation represents the ancestor from which the whole family derives its name. The father of this ʿAtenatan 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 Bônnê and the Benê Rabbel which are attested in the family as descendants of Taimai. These Benê, most likely, represent fractions of the Saʿat 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 AʿALÎ - bny ʾ ʿly

They are associated with Bel since the tesserae read "banquet of Bel and the Benê Aʿalî"
or "bless Bel the Benê Aʿalî".
- *RTP* 98, 109 and 503: bny ʾ ʿly.

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 BWDLʾ - bny bwdlʾ
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 92: bny bwdlʾ.

BENÊ BÔLḤÂ - bny bwlḥ'

Associated with Bel.

- *RTP* 82 and 718: bny bwlḥ'.

BENÊ BÔLʿÂ bny bwlʿ'

Associated with Bel.

- *RTP* 83, 107: bny bwlʿ'.

- *APML* 97 no.39: bny bwlʿ'.

- *APML* 98 no.42: bny bwlʿ'.

- *APML* 130 no.135: bny bwlʿ'.

BENÊ BÔNNÊ - bny bwn'

Associated with Bel, Malakbel and Gad Taimai. They must be part of the Saʿat family member of the Mîtâ tribe (see below no.17).

-*RTP* 135 and 993: bny bwn'.

BENÊ BÔRRÂ - bny bwr'

Associated with Bel.

- *RTP* 62 and 64: bny bwr'.

BENÊ GÛGÂ - bny gwg'

Associated with Bel.

- *RTP* 80 and 100: bny gwg'.

BENÊ GÛGÛ - bny gwgw

Associated with Bel.

- *RTP* 81: bny gwgw.

BENÊ ZABDIBÔL - bny zbdbwl - οἱ ἐγ 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 ʿAlainê who had offered an object to the

god Šamaš 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 zbdb[wl] - οἱ ἐγγένους Ζαβδιβωλείων.

- 179 AD, *CIS* 3951=*Inv* V, 2: bny [z]bdbwl.

- 179 AD, *CIS* 3953=*Inv* V, 4: bny [z]bdbwl - οἱ ἐγγένους Ζαβδιβωλείων.

- *RTP* 138 and 141: 'gn dy bl (w)smš (w)bny zbdbwl.

BENÊ ZAGÛG - bny zgwg

BENÊ ḤAKÎM - bny ḥkym
- *RTP* 364: bny ḥkym.

BENÊ ḤALÂ - bny ḥlʾ
Associated with Bel, Ḥerta, Nanai and Arṣû.
- *RTP* 102, 134 and 195: bny ḥlʾ.

BENÊ ḤANNÛR - bny ḥnwr
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 97: bny ḥnwr.

BENÊ ḤAŠAŠ - bny ḥsš
The Ḥašaš family belongs to the Komarê tribe (see below no.6).

- 128 AD, *Inv IX*, 33: bny ḥsš.
- 128 AD ca., *Inv IX*, 34: bny ḥšš.
- *RTP* 93: bny ḥšš.
- *RTP* 457: bny ḥšš.
- *APML* 97 no.40: bny ḥšš.

BENÊ YEDÎ‘BEL - bny ydy‘bl

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 Yedî‘bel are attested together with the Benê Ma‘ziyân in the temple of Baalshamîn and they are probably a subgroup within the above mentioned tribe. According to C. Dunant, *BS* 23, the Benê Yedî‘bel belong to the Benê Ma‘ziyân. In the tomb found in the very place of the temple of Baalshamîn, the ancestor of a family there buried is a certain Yedî‘bel Rabbâ and he must have lived around the 2nd c. BC. It has been supposed that this branch of the Benê Ma‘ziyân took its origin from him. The Benê Yedî‘bel attested in the tesserae may represent a different group as they are related to the cult of Bel and Astarte.

- 130/131 AD, *CIS* 3959=*Inv I*, 2=*BS* 44 B: mn bny ydy‘bl.
- *BS* 34: dy bny ydy‘bl klhn.
- *RTP* 85, 95, 124, 586: bny ydy‘bl.
- *APML* 100 no.45: bny ydy‘bl.

BENÊ YARḤAI - bny yrḥy
- *PNO* 58: bny yrḥy.

BENÊ YASÛ'ALÂ - bny yšw'lʾ
- *RTP* 985: bny yšw'lʾ.

BENÊ MAKANÂ - bny mknʾ
Associated with Bel and Baalshamîn.
- *RTP* 96: bny mknʾ.
- Teixidor, *MUSJ* 42 (1966) 178 no.4 a b: bny mknʾ.

BENÊ MASKANÂ - bny mšknʾ
The inscription tells us they are *dy tymʾ* 'from Teima' in Northern Arabia. The anthroponym MŠKN is attested in Safaitic (see *ICPANI* 548).
- Safar, *Sumer* 20 (1964) 16 no.5: bny mšknʾ.

BENÊ NÛRBEL - bny nwrbl
Associated with Bel and Allat.
- 62 AD, *RSP* 159: bny [n]wrbl.
- *RTP* 123 and 165: bny nwrbl

BENÊ 'ALIYYÎ - bny 'lyy
Associated with Bel and Nabû.
- *RTP* 137 and 295: bny 'lyy.
- Dunant, *Syria* 36 (1959) 107 no.25: bny 'lyy.

BENÊ 'AṢAR - bny 'ṣr
Associated with Samaš.
- *RTP* 339: bny 'ṣr.

BENÊ PAṬARTÂ - bny pṭrtʾ [39]
- *RSP* 154: bny pṭrtʾ.
- *Tadmorea II*, 22: bny pṭrtʾ.

BENÊ QAṢMÎT - bny qṣmyt
Associated with Bel.
- *RTP* 106: bny qṣmyt.

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[39] See Milik, p. 61-62.

BENÊ RABBEL - bny rbᵓl

They must be part of the Saʿat family member of the Mîtâ tribe (see below no.17).
Associated with Malakbel and Gad Taimai.

- *RTP* 276: bny rbᵓl.

BENÊ SAZÂ - bny šzᵓ

- *RTP* 977: bny šzᵓ.

BENÊ SALMÊ RABBÂ - bny šlmᵓ rbᵓ

Associated with Arṣû.

- *RTP* 184: bny šlmᵓ rbᵓ.

BENÊ SIMʿÔN - bny šmʿwn

Associated with Bel, Beltî and Maʿanû.

- *RTP* 79, 128 and 252: bny šmʿwn.
- *APML* 116 no.95: bny šmʿwn.

BENÊ SOʿADÛ - bny šʿdw

Associated with Samaš.

- *RTP* 341: bny šʿdw.

BENÊ SAʿADÎ - bny šʿdy

Associated with Samaš.

- *RTP* 334: bny šʿdy.

BENÊ SAʿARÊ - bny šʿrᵓ [40]

- 115 AD, *BS* 25=*Tadmorea II*, 21: bny šʿrᵓ.

BENÊ SAQMAT - bny šqmt

Associated with Ašeram and Saʿad.

- *ID* 20: bny šqmt.

BENÊ TAIMAI alias HOKAISÛ - bny tymy alias ḥkyšw

The Hokaišû family is attested under the Zabûd tribe (see below no.3).

- 51 AD, *Inv XII*, 35: bny tymy alias ḥkysw.

BENÊ TAIMAI

Associated with Bel and Malakbel.

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[40] Milik, p. 60-61 says that the Benê Saʿarê were the organizers of the religious panegyries 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.

- *APML* 96 no.38: bny tymy
- *RTP* 108 and 262: bny tymy.

BENÊ TAIMARṢÛ - bny tymrṣw

Associated with Bel and Baaltak.

- *RTP* 66 and 67: bny tymrṣw.
- Cantineau, *Syria* 12 (1931) 132-133 no.12: bny tymrṣw.

CLANS AND FAMILIES

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[41]. 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. Gawlikowski, *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 necropolis 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, mentiones a certain Hairan 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. Agnppa, J.A. ʿOgeilû and Nahaštab 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 ᵓlh* that is translated in Greek with τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου or more simply τοῦ καί 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 matronimy 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

[42] We only find two examples, see *CIS* 4357, ᵓWṬKᵓ dy BWLḤᵓ and *CIS* 4565, ŠLMN dy MRQLᵓ (cf. *CIS* 4566 where the last two names are attested without the particle *dy*). In the Abbanīt family (see below no.4) we have istances of family names not being introduced by any specifc formula: MLKW ᵓBNYT and MQYMW ᵓQLYŠ.

[43] For this contracted form, see *CIS* 3991; H. Ingholt, *Berytus* 2 (1935) 98 and As'ad-Gawlikowski, *AAAS* 36 (1986) 169-170 no.10=M. Gawlikowski, *Syria* 62 (1985) 257 no.13.

[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 Γαδδαρσου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Βαα corresponds *gdr ᵓw dy mtqrn bny b* 'that are called the Benê Ba'â'. 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 Gaddarsû.

[45] Cf. the Hokaišû family (see below no.3), the Abbanīt family (no.4), the Ḥašaš family (no.6), the Ba'â family (no.13), the Sa'at family (no.17), the Laqîšû 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. Matronimy is also frequent among Jews, especially in the families of priests and rabbis, cf. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 7 (1957) 243 and note 53.

origin[47]. 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[48]. 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 *tdmry* ◡ 'Palmyrene'[49]. 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'[50]. Shall we understand that for religious offices only Palmyrenes were in the position of being appointed? This should not be excluded but the appellative *tdmry* ◡ 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[51]. The Greek Amathâ, the Egyptian Šegel and the Nabataean ʿObaidû are further attestations of gentilics[52]. In the onomastics of the Ḥalaftâ family[53], the name Ḥaṭrai recurs twice and it suggests a foreign origin as also does the tribe Ḥaṭrai. A group of a clear Arabic origin is represented by the ʿArabî family[54]. 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 BTMTRY and BPYLYD (H. Ingholt, *Studies C.G. Miles*, 1974, p. 38); J A BTRPBWL and J A. BPTQB (H. Ingholt *Studies C.G. Miles*, 1974, p. 50, where RPBWL is also the name of the grandfather); BTWHBY (*CIS* 4380 ; BTZBYDꞌ (*CIS* 4027); BTHYRN (*CIS* 4568); BTMLꞌ (*RSP* 191), etc.

[48] ʿTNTN called BRŠT (*Inv IX*, 20); ZBDBL called BRZBYDY (*Tadmorea III*, 31); MQYMW called BRZWLT (F. Safar, *Sumer* 20 (1964) 19 no.10); NWRTH called BRMQY (Asʿad-Teixidor, *Syria* 62 (1985) 271 no.1); NŠꞌ called BRʿBDL (*CIS* 3978); ʿGYLW called BRꞌ 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] Belʿaqab and Mattâ of the Zimrâ tribe (see below no.4) Kahîlû and Taimai of the Mîtâ tribe (see below nos.16 and 17); Yedîʿbel of the Maʿziyân tribe (see below no 25); ʿAzîzû and Yedîʿbel of the Mattabôl tribe (see below no.34), etc.

[52] *CIS* 4546: *ywnyt*,*CIS* 4547: *msryt*and *CIS* 3973: *nbtyꞌ*

[53] See below no.109.

[54] See below no.295.

represented in the oasis by the Abramâ and the two Samûel families[55]. The name of the Asorai family possibly meaning 'the man of Assur' reveals an Eastern origin[56]. It was from the Palmyrene emporiums in the East that many of the freedmen came: the frequency of the names ʿAbnergal, Hermes, Narqaios amongst them is striking[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[58], a priestly family, was the wife of Malkû Rabbâ, a member of the ʿAnanû family[59]; the Mîtâ tribe is bound by marriages to the Gaddibôl tribe and the Maʿziyân tribe[60]. Furthermore, in one instance we find a marriage within the same tribe, the Mattabôl[61]. Malkû of the Aʿabî family, that belongs to the ʿAgrûd tribe, is the husband of ʿAttai of the ʿArgan family, very likely of Arabic origin[62]. A well-attested custom is marriages among close relatives, especially among cousins[63], uncles and nieces[64] and aunts and nephews[65] and it is a widespread custom among sacerdotal families[66]. The Palmyrene family seems to be of monogamic type although plurimarriages are also found: one case is represented by Maišâ, a woman, who was married twice and the other by Bôlbarak and his great-grandfather ʿOgeilû who

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[55] See below no.89, 217 and 479.

[56] See below no.93.

[57] See below no.587-589, 592-595 and 600-601.

[58] See below no.10.

[59] See below no.39.

[60] Baʿaltagâ of the Gaddibôl tribe was the wife of Bônnê of the Saʿat family (see below no.17) and Taimâ of the Zabdibel family (see below no.29) was the husband of Amatallat of the Mîtâ tribe.

[61] Bettî of the ʿAnanû family (see below no.39) is the wife of Soʿadû of the Bartê family (see below no.42).

[62] See below nos. 44 and 48.

[63] The Elahbel family (see below no.63) provides numerous examples of married cousins, see also the Firmôn family (see below no.11) of the Komarê tribe.

[64] Sokayyî of the Elahbel family (see below no.63) was married to Amatê, his brother's daughter and Hannâ of the Sakaibel family of the Komarê tribe (see below no.10) was married to Lišamš, her father's brother.

[65] Maišâ of the Aggodom family (see below no.7) was married to the nephew of her first husband and Baʿadiyâ of the Hašaš family of the Komarê tribe (see below no.6) was married to Bôlhâ of the Nabûšûrî Rabbâ family (see below no.68).

[66] Lišamš[4] of the Sakaibel family (no.10) is the builder in 32 AD of the temples of Bel, Yarhibôl and ʿAglibôl and Sokayyî[26] of the Elahbel family (no.63) is a symposiarch. 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[67]. Haggat, of the Ahitûr family, was married to Dionysios from whom she had a daughter and later to Saddai from whom she had a son[68]. 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. Maisâ 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[69]. At Palmyra, texts are very laconic about this subject; in two cases we know the date of birth and death of a person[70], 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[71].

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 Zimrâ tribe[72], two in the Komarê tribe[73], one in the Mîtâ tribe[74], one in the Mattabôl

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[67] See the Aggodom family (below no.7) and the Haumal family (below no.49).

[68] See below no.90.

[69] *CIJ*, I, 45 and 105; see also E. Lipifski., "Mariage, divorce et lévirat à l'époque du premier et du second temple", *Cours de l'Institut Universitaire d'Études du Judaisme*, Bruxelles 1988, p. 5.

[70] Taimarṣû Rabbâ lived 76 years, he was born in 86 AD and died in 162 AD: *CIS* 4562; ʿAteʿaqab lived 56 years, he was born in 101 AD and died in 157 AD: *CIS* 4616.

[71] We realize that the choise of twenty as the years between two generations may incur critics since generally they are regarded as to be around thirty. If the age giving right of marriage was low it is quite natural that this would affect the duration of a generation and it is hard to believe that we would find the same age patterns in the ancient Near East as well as in the Roman empire (W. Suder, *DM* 2 (1985) 292-293 states that in the Roman and Greek periods the duration of a feminine generation was between 26 and 32 years and considering that for the Greek and Roman authors thirty were the years separating two generations, he applies the same critiria for the Roman Palmyra). Unfortunately, at Palmyra, we cannot base ourselves upon precise data as the inscriptions very rarely reveal the age of death. If we look at the funerary sculpture, although stereotipical, it would suggest that the duration of life was not very long.

[72] Malkû Abbanit and his grandson Yamlikû of the Abbanît family (see below no.4).

[73] Lišamš[4] and his nephew Abulaʿalî of the Sakaibel family see below no.10) and at least three members of the Bagešû family are attested or portrayed like priests: Bagešû[12], Rabbel[13] and Malê[7] (see below no.12).

[74] Hairan[9], Bônnê and Ahpalî of the Saʿat family (see below no.17).

tribe[75] and one in the ʿAgrûd tribe[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 Haddûdan who paid the expenses for his nephew to become priest[77].

[75] Zebîdâ[6] and his nephew Elahšâ[10] of the Elahšâ family (see below no.40)

[76] Yarhibôlâ[12], his son Salman and Mezzabbanâ of the Aʿabî family (see below no.44).

[77] See the Azarzirat family (see below no. 76).

GENEALOGICAL TREES

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 more 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 criterium of classification for all the families represented by the genealogical trees, we have preferred to list them in the Latin alphabetical order. The letter *ʿayin* is after the *ʾaleph*, the *he* and *ḥet* are together as well as *samekh*, *sin* and *šin*.

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 GADDÎBÔL TRIBE

1. The Zebîdai family

ZBDBL alias BRZBYDY [1]   40 BC

|

KHYLW [2]   20 BC

|

MQYMW [3]   39 AD   0
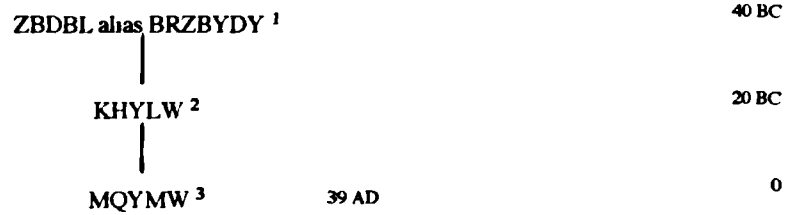
Moqîmû offered two altars to the god Elqonera⁶ - Poseidon. According to a recurring formula the name BR ZBYDY indicates that the ancestor of the family is a certain Zebîdai. The family is not attested elsewhere.

THE ZABÛD TRIBE

2. The ⁶Atehzâ family

⁶TƷ [1]   116 BC

|

⁶BDᵞSTWR [2]   96 BC

|

⁶GYLW [3]   76 BC

|

MLKW [4]   56 BC

|

[YD]Y [5]   36 BC

⁶GYLW [6]   YDY [7]   24 AD   16 BC
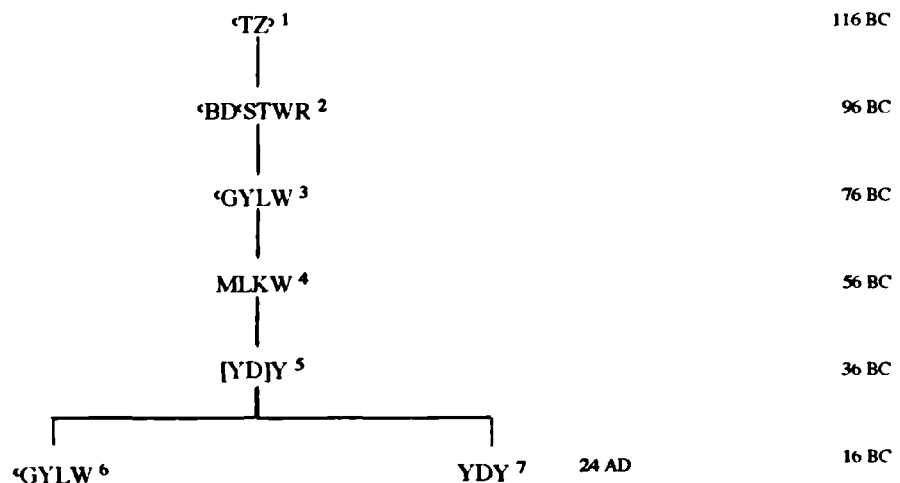
In 24 AD, ⁶Ogeilû [6] and Yaddai[7] erected a statue in honour of their father [Yadd]ai. The restitution of [Yadd]ai is the most probable, given the fact that his son bears the same name. Nonetheless, other possibilities cannot be excluded, such as [MQ]Y or [RM]Y which are also very frequent. This family 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 ZABÛD TRIBE

3. The Ḥokaišû family

TYMY alias ḤKYSW [1]   49 BC

PṢY'L [2]   29 BC

ʿGYLW [3]   9 BC

MQYMW [4]   51 AD   11 AD
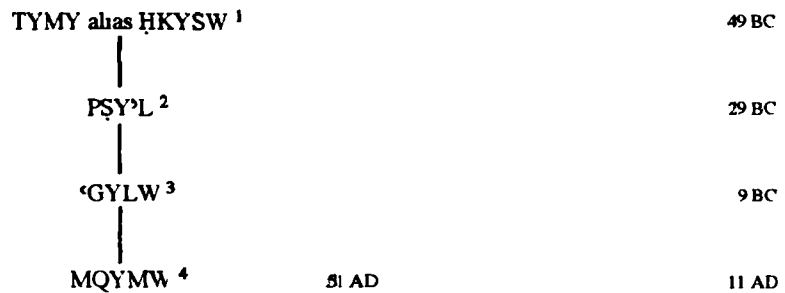
In 51 AD, Moqîmû is honoured by the whole Palmyrene community because he offered many precious objects to the sanctuary of Bel. The tribe he belongs to could be either the Benê Zab[dibôl] or the Benê Zab[ûd], as the inscription is mutilated. The Zabûd tribe has been preferred here as another inscription 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, Moqîmû receives honours from the Benê Taimai called Ḥokaišû in the same y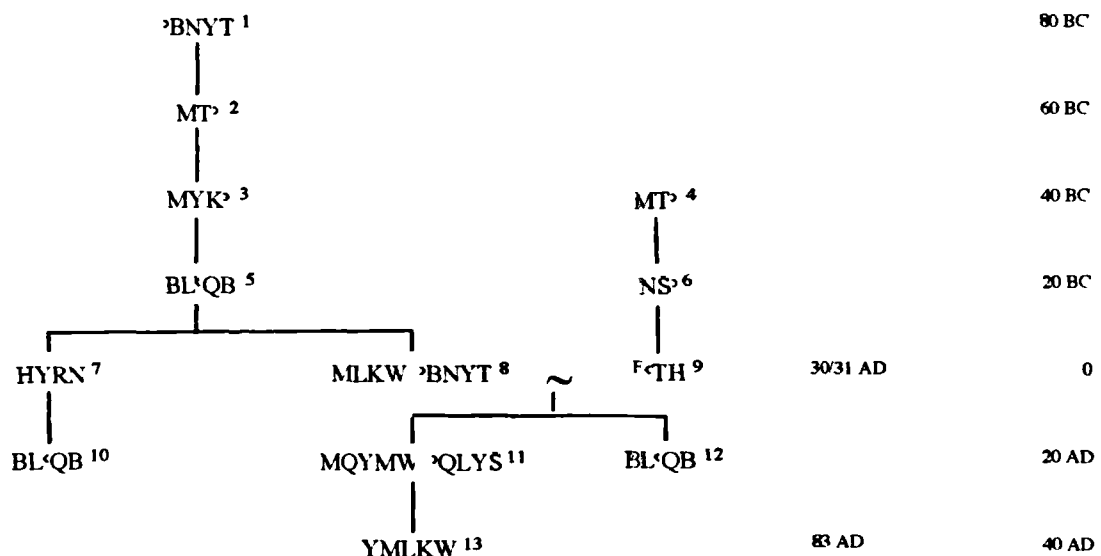ear. The tessera *RTP* 378, may refer to the same person: MQYMW ʿGY[LW]. So far, we have seen the Benê Yedîʿbel, the Benê Taimai and here the Benê Taimai called Ḥokaišû to act as representative of the whole family. They are not to be considered as tribes. The Ḥokaišû family goes back to the half of the 1st c. BC.

THE ZIMRÂ TRIBE

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

'BNYT [1]   80 BC

MT' [2]   60 BC

MYK' [3]   MT' [4]   40 BC

BL'QB [5]   NS' [6]   20 BC

HYRN [7]   MLKW 'BNYT [8] ～ FʿTH [9]   30/31 AD   0

BL'QB [10] MQYMW 'QLYS [11]   BL'QB [12]   20 AD

YMLKW [13]   83 AD   40 AD

The gentilic *tdmry* '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 Duʿanat 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 *RTP*761. M lik, p. 222 suggests us Mattâ[4] the same person as Mattâ[2], surmising that Malkû Abbanît had married his paternal aunt. In Bôlhâ'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.

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THE ḤAṬRAI TRIBE

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

YRḤY [1]

|

ZBYD' [2]

|

MQYMW [3]   128 AD
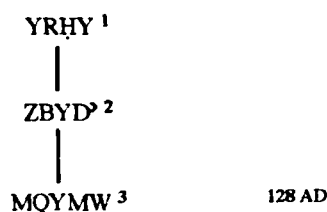
In 128 AD, Moqîmû builds a tomb for himself and his descendants in the Valley of Tombs.

THE KOMARÊ TRIBE

6. The Ḥašaš family

		ḤSS [1]			75 BC
		BWLḤ' *alias* ḤŠŠ [2]			55 BC
		NS' [3]			35 BC
&1 &b	ḤSS [4]	BLḤ' [5]	MLKW [6]		15 BC
		NS' [7]			5 AD
					25 AD
				HYRN [8]	45 AD
				ʳB'DY' [9]	65 AD
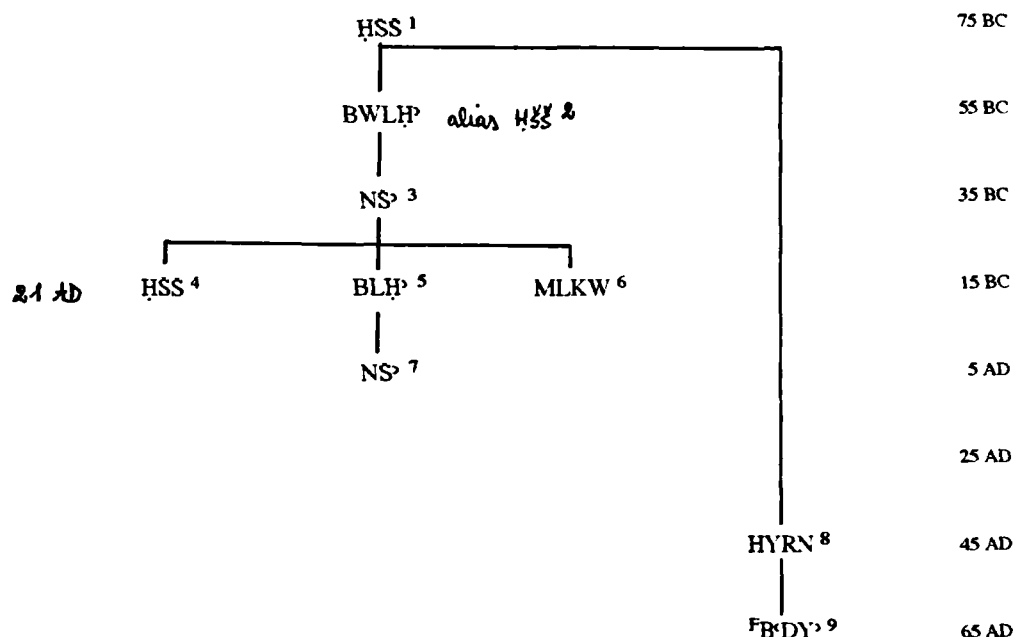
Ḥašaš[4] was honoured by the Benê Komarê and the Benê Mattabôl because he reconciled them and helped them. His brother, Malkû, was honoured with two statues erected in the years 24 and 25 AD. The first was erected by the tradesmen of Babylon because he had been helpful and contributed financially to 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 Ba'adiyâ daughter of Hairan Ḥašaš. 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 Bôlḥâ, who founded an hypogeum in the SE necropolis in the year 89 AD (see *RSP* 75). The Benê Ḥašaš are also mentioned in *Inv IX*, 33-34 and in *RTP* 93, 457.

7. The Aggodom family

```
                         TYMWN 1                                    73-63 BC

              >GDM 2     YDY'BL 3                                   53-43 BC

              'BD'TH 4   TYMS> 5                                    33 23 BC

    YDY'BL 6           F MYS> 7        ~      HYRN 8                13 3 BC

    TYMH> 9  ~           ___                'GYLW 10   TYMH> 11  'TY 12   7 17 AD

         YDY'BL 13   67 AD                                          27-37 AD

                                                                   47-57 AD

                                                                   67-77 AD

    TYM<> 14                                                       87-97 AD

    >PLNYS NBWZBD 15                                               107-117 AD

    >LKDRYS 16                                                     127 137 AD

    >LKDRYS 17      191 AD                                         147 157 AD
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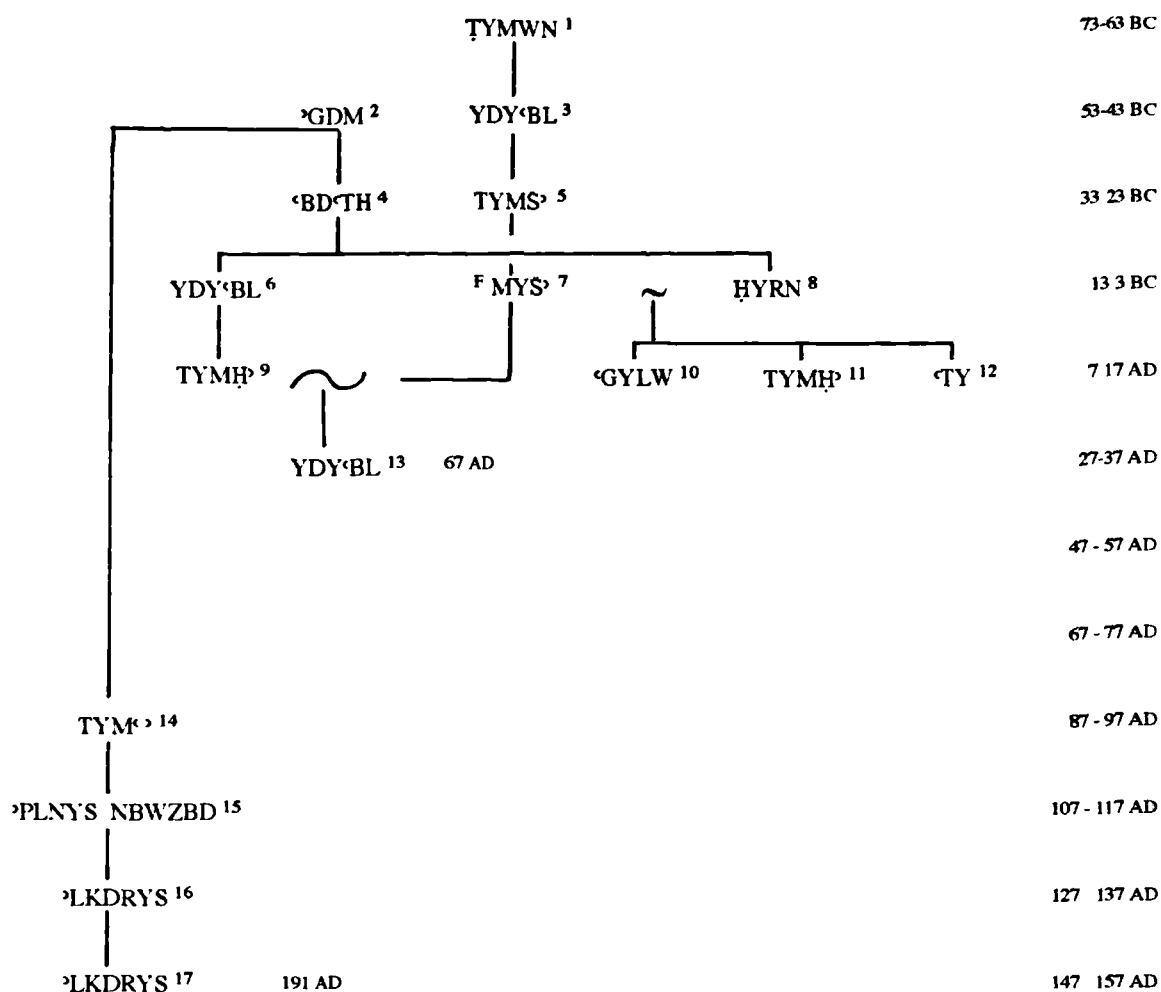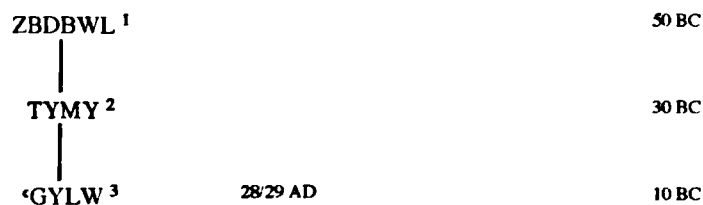
The inscription attesting the Aggodom family consists essentially of a foundation and a cession text. It was engraved in a lintel reused for a second hypogeum, so that we do not know the exact location of the original tomb. The text is one of the most complex and interesting. The founder of the tomb is a certain Yedï'bel[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 Hairan son of 'Abd'ateh Aggodom. If the text is correctly interpreted, Maiâ was married twice. Her first marriage was to Hairan, 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 Bôlhâ's family). This comfirms 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, >LKSNDRWS and >LKSNDRS, see PNPI 5). A photo of the original was not available to the author. The name Aggodom presents some difficulties in that the first consant is doubled as in the case of Aqqališ and Aqqamal. It was proposed to considered them as formed with the prefix >an- (see, Cantineau, RB 39 (1930) 535 and PNPI 64) but neither in Aramaic nor in Arabic is such a form attested (see, 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.

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8. The Aydaᶜan family

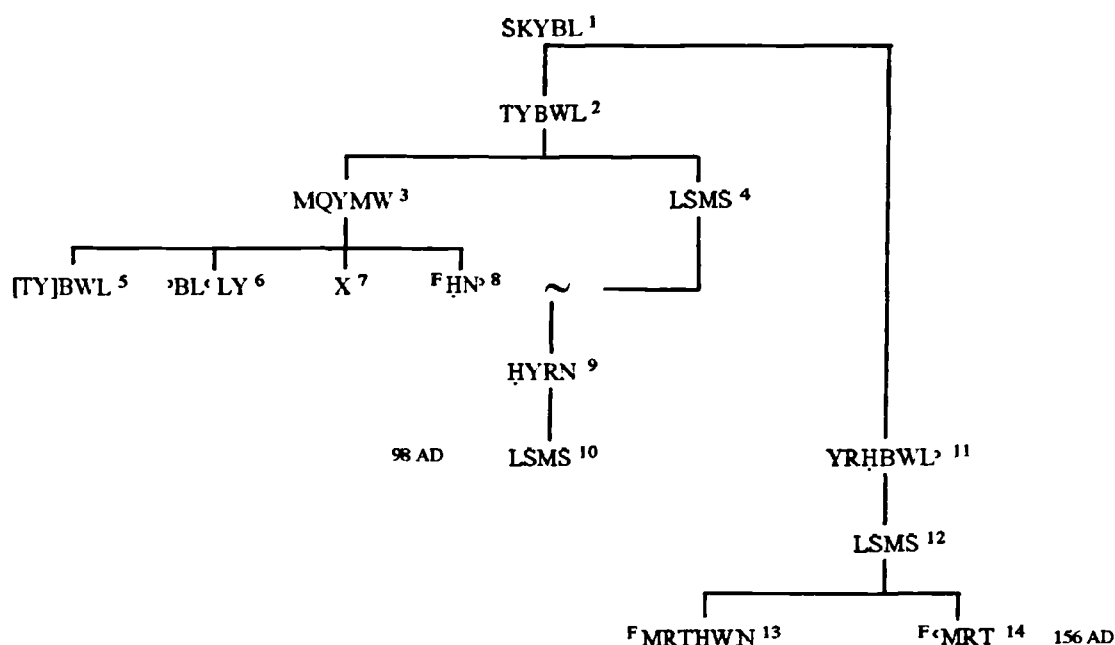|			
ᵓYDᶜN [1]			53 BC
ᶜGYLW [2]	6 BC		38 BC
			13 BC
			7 AD
ZBDBWL [3]			27 AD
ᵓYDᶜN ᵓSRY [4]			47 AD
TYMHᵓ [5]			67 AD
ᶜGYLW [6]			87 AD
YRḤY [7]	147 AD		107 AD
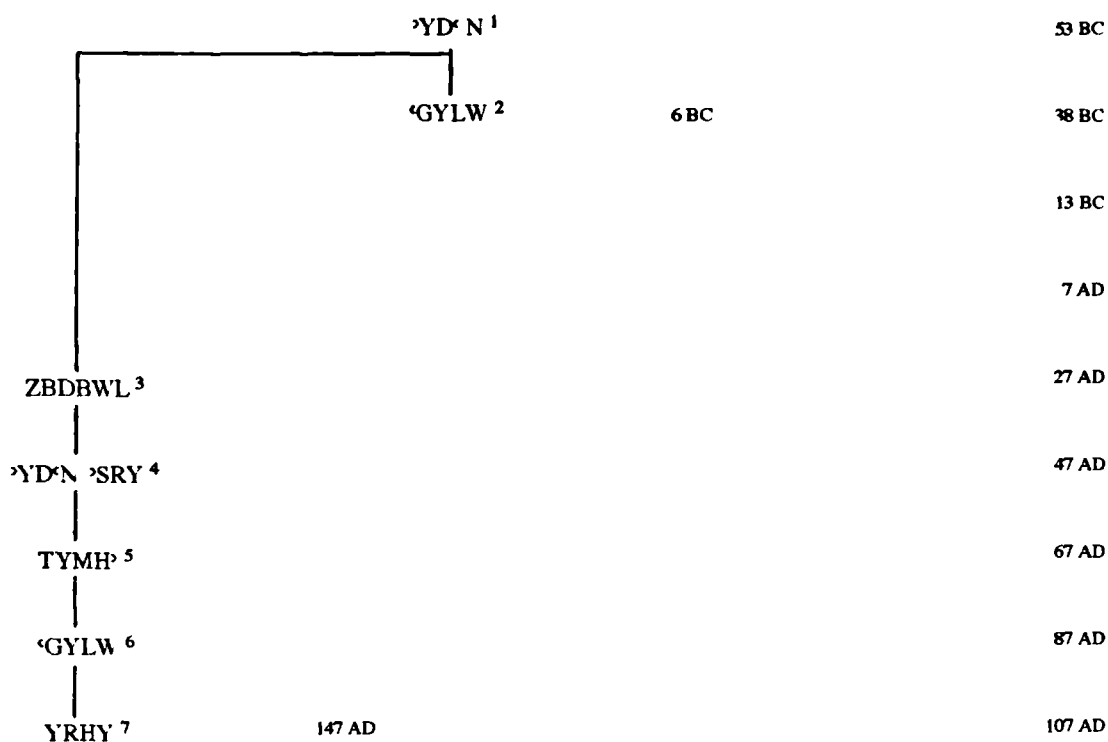
The name Aydᶜan is generally derived from the Arabic *ᵓaidd* 'saffron', see *PNP* 67, *CIS* 4581 and Milik, p. 39. The same name is attested once in South Arabian as a family group or a clan of Dawᵓat, cf. *ICPAN* 88. As already suggested by M. Gawlikowski (*Berytus* 19 (1970) 66) the name could also be derived from the well-attested root *yd* ᶜ 'to know'. ᶜOgeilû² son of Aydᶜan was honoured by the priests of Ḥertâ with a statue because of his generosity and contribution to the construction of buildings for the gods Ḥertâ, Nanai and Rešef. The date is as early as the year 6 BC. He is said to be of the Benê Komarê. Another portion of the same family, according to the onomastics, is attested much later, when in 141 AD, a certain Yarḥai erects a statue to his friend and colleague Soᶜadû the aknowledged chief of the fundûq of the Palmyrene tradesmen in Vologesias. We have identified the father of ᶜOgeilû ² and the ancestor of Yarḥai as the same person but unfortunately the lack of epigraphical material attesting to this family does not allow for a complete reconstruction. The name ᵓSRY is transcribed into Greek, Asoraios, and is to be considered here a surname indicating the remote ancestor of the family (for its meaning see the Asorai family, *no.* 93).

9. The Zabdibôl family

```
ZBDBWL ¹                              50 BC
   |
TYMY ²                               30 BC
   |
ʿGYLW ³        28/29 AD               10 BC
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A statue was erectedby ʿOgeilû's sons in his honour. Their names are not attested but the word *bnwhy* (plur.), tells us they are more than one. It is possible that at the moment of the dedication, ʿOgeilû 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 *RTP* 229 mentions a ZBDBWL [ʿGY]LW but we do not know if they can be identified with our family because the names Zabdibôl and ʿOgeilû are frequently attested. The Zabdibôl family goes back to the half of the 1st c. BC.

10. The Sakaibel family

SKYBL [1]

TYBWL [2]

MQYMW [3]   LSMS [4]

[TY]BWL [5]   >BL‘LY [6]   X [7]   F HN> [8]   ~

HYRN [9]

98 AD   LSMS [10]   YRHBWL> [11]

LSMS [12]

F MRTHWN [13]   F‘MRT [14]   156 AD

Lišamš[4] is the builder in 32 AD of the temples of Bel, Yarhibôl and ‘Aglibôl 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 Lišamš, that is Hairan[9]. If the reconstruction of the inscription CIS4493 proposed by Milik, p. 112 and adopted here is correct, Hannâ, the wife of Lišamš[4] is also his niece, daughter of his brother, following a custom elsewhere attested at Palmyra (see below no.63, the Elahbel family). The grandchild of Lišamš[4], also named Lišamš[4ᵒ]is mentioned in an iscription from Wadi Hauran found together with ten more inscriptions dated to 98 AD. Lišamš[4] must have been a great pnest of the temple of Bel and his nephew, Abula‘ali, also belonged to the Palmyrene pnesthood 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 Rabbâ of the ‘Ananû family (see below under the Mattabôl tribe, no.39).

11. The Firmôn family

PRMWN [1]   20 AD

HDW [DN] [2]   40 AD

ZBDBWL [3]   ʿMT [4]   60 AD

HDWDN [5]   SLMN [6]   [MʿNY] [7]   80 AD

HDWDN [8]   YRHBWLʾ [9]   ᶠHGY [10]   ~ ZBDBWL [11]   HDWDN [12]   ʾBGR [13]   159-160 AD   100 AD

HDWDN [14]   ʿGʾ [15]   MLKW [16]   120 AD

ʿWYDʾ [17]   ᶠ[TMLK] [18]   YRHBWLʾ [19]   172 AD - 182 AD   140 AD

HDWDN [20]   160 AD
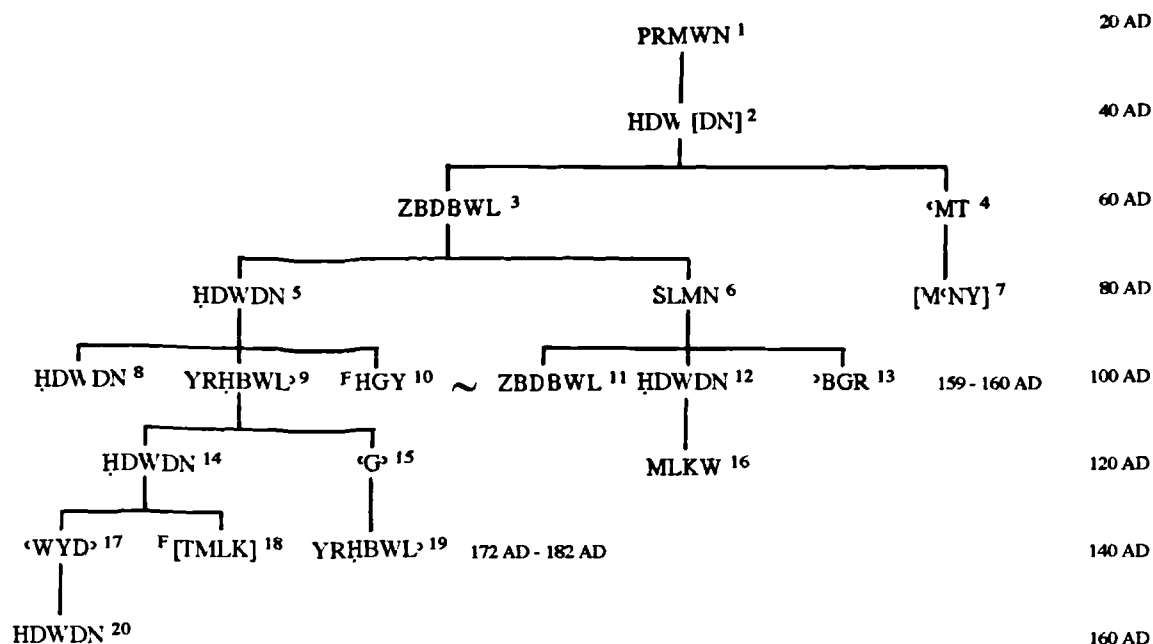
In the year 175 AD, ʿAwîdâ and Yarhibôlâ[19] were honoured by the Senate and the People because they had offered six panels in bronze for the temple of Bel. In 59 AD, Haddûdan[8] erected a statue in honour of Marcus Ulpius Yarhai, Palmyra's acknowledged leader of the caravan trade, because he helped 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 ʿAglibôl 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, *Berytus* 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 Haddûdan son of DKTʾ of the inner chamber, freedman of Bat-Firmôn". If we accept the interpretation of H. Ingholt (in *Studies in Honor of G.C. Miles*, Beirut 1974, pp. 46-47) who sees in *dkt* ʾ an Iranian loan-word with the meaning of 'lady', then Haddûdan would refer to the *hieros gamos*, the sacred marriage already attested at Palmyra, according to Gawlikowski (*Syria* 48 (1971) 408-409). In 160 AD, Haddûdan[12] bought from the tomb of the Three Brothers eight niches for himself and his family. The Malkû attested in the same tomb is without doubt his son. A double bust now at the Louvre Museum, represents a couple, Haggai daughter of Haddûdan, identified here with Haddûdan[5] and Zabdibôl 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 Maʿnai surely refers to this same family, as Haddûdan 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*, YRHB WL PRMN RB MRZH[ʾ], instead of YRHBWLʾ LRMN, identifying this symposiarch with our Yarhibôlâ[9]. The reproduction of the tessera on pl. III is not sufficiently clear to judge.
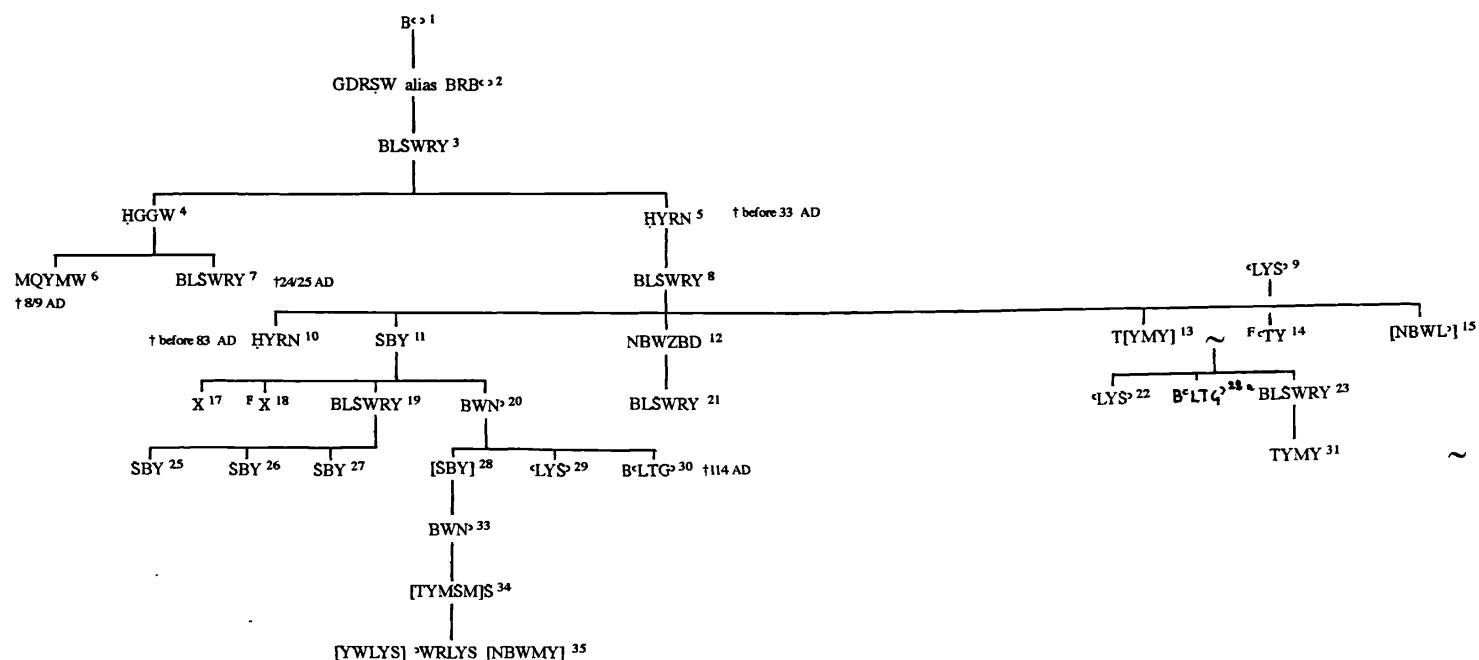
12. The Bageŝû family
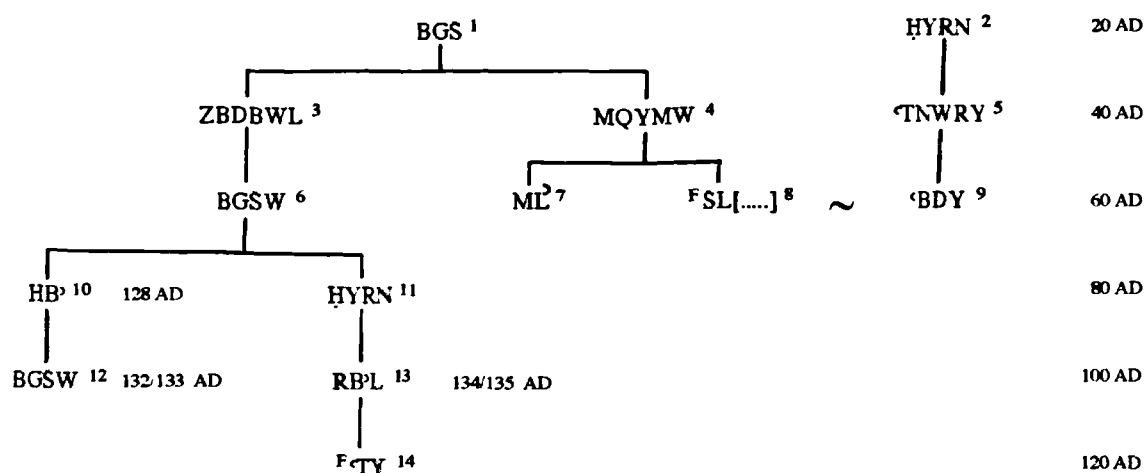
In 128 AD, Bageŝû[6] and Ḥabbâ were honoured by the Benê Ḥašaš, a family of the Benê Komarê, with two statues in the temple of Bel. It is for this reason that Milik, p. 239 surmises that the Bageŝû family belongs to the group of the Benê Ḥašaš. From an onomastic point of view no connections may be seen between the two. Certainly, the Bageŝû family belongs to the Palmyrene priesthood as at least three of its members are attested or portrayed as priests. The name of Bageŝû[12] 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. Malê 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 Bageŝû 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 Bageŝû 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 Bageŝû is of uncertain derivation (see PNPI 74 . We propose a Persian origin for it as at Persepolis and Susa we find the name Ba ḫ iš 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-Irans, Innsbruck 1971, p. 15) and Ba ge-e-šu attested in Achaemenian Nippur (see R. Zadok, The Jews in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods, Jerusalem 1979, p. 65).

13. The Baʿâ family

B‹ › 1

GDRṢW alias BRB‹›2

BLSWRY 3

ḤGGW 4

ḤYRN 5   † before 33 AD

MQYMW 6
†8/9 AD

BLSWRY 7   †24/25 AD

BLSWRY 8

‹LYS› 9

† before 83 AD   ḤYRN 10   SBY 11

NBWZBD 12

T[YMY] 13 ～ F‹TY 14   [NBWL›] 15

ML› 16

X 17   F X 18   BLSWRY 19   BWN› 20

BLSWRY 21

‹LYS› 22 B‹LTʿ›‹‹ ‹ BLSWRY 23

ZBYD› 24

SBY 25   SBY 26   SBY 27   [SBY] 28   ‹LYS› 29   B‹LTG› 30   †114 AD

TYMY 31   ～   F HGR 32

BWN› 33

[TYMSM]S 34

[YWLYS] ›WRLYS [NBWMY] 35

97 BC

77 BC
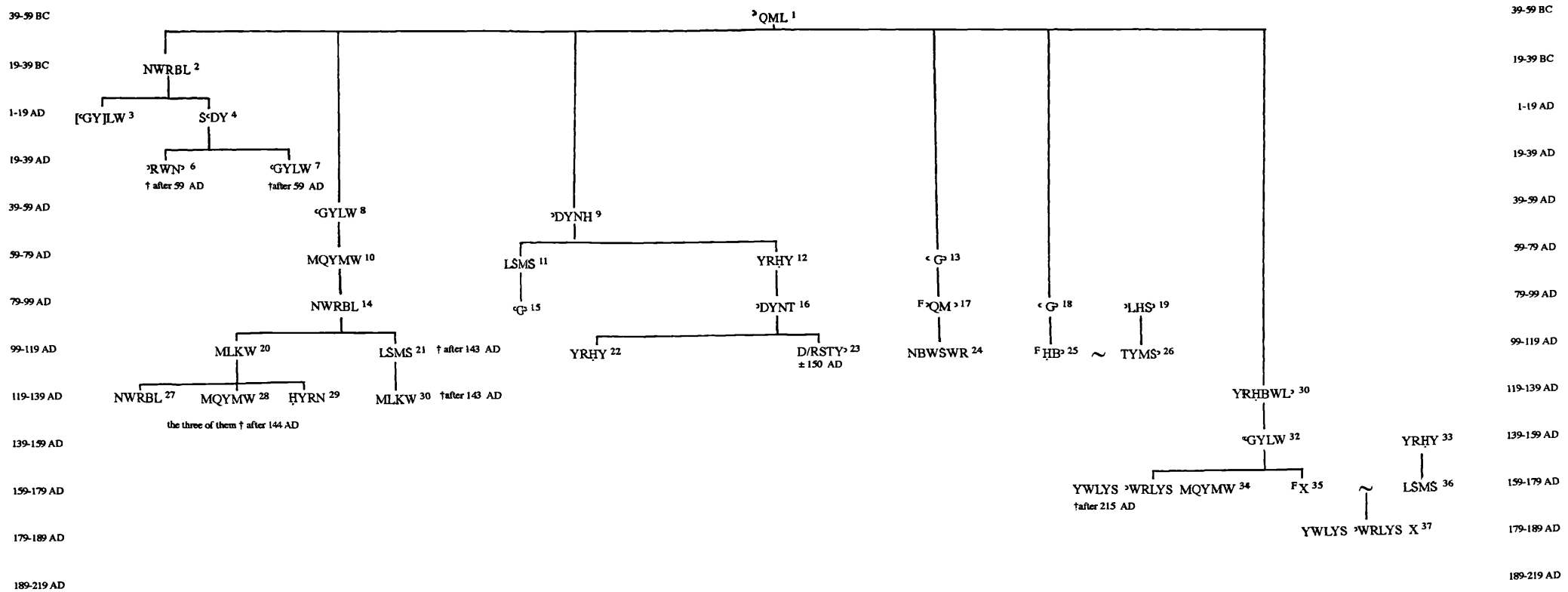
57 BC

37 BC

17 BC

3 AD

23 AD

43 AD

The Baʿâ family had three tombs in its possession. The tomb no.21 built before 8 AD is where Moqîmû[6] and Belŝûrî[7] were buried. The tomb no.67, belonging to Ḥairan, was built in the year 33 AD by Belŝûrî[8] and the tomb no.68 built by four brothers, Sabî, Nabûzabad, Taimai and Nabûlâ. Their brother Ḥairan[10], that is not mentioned in the foundation text must have died earlier than 83 AD. In an undated inscription Belŝûrî[7] is honoured by the god Sadrafa and the priests with a statue because he pleased them. Three of the four brothers who founded the tomb no.68, Sabî, Nabûzabad and Nabûlâ, 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 Belŝûrî[19] 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 Nabûŝûrî Rabbâ family). It is interesting to note that the first born of Taimai[14] 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 mtqr› '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.
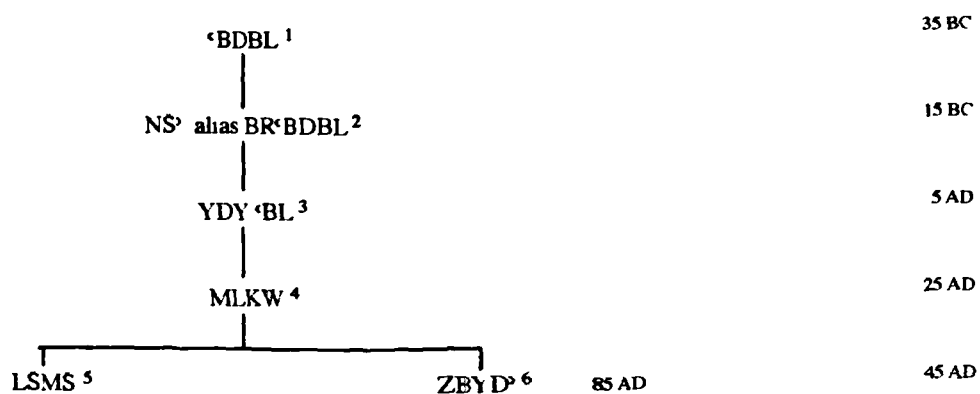
14. The Aqqamal family: tombs of Arônâ; no. 188, SE; no.83, VT; no.15, VT

39-59 BC	ᵓQML [1]	39-59 BC
19-39 BC	NWRBL [2]	19-39 BC
1-19 AD	[ᶜGY]LW [3] SᶜDY [4]	1-19 AD
19-39 AD	ᵓRWNᵓ [6] †after 59 AD ᶜGYLW [7] †after 59 AD	19-39 AD
39-59 AD	ᶜGYLW [8] ᵓDYNH [9]	39-59 AD
59-79 AD	MQYMW [10] LSMS [11] YRHY [12] ᶜGᵓ [13]	59-79 AD
79-99 AD	NWRBL [14] ᶜGᵓ [15] ᵓDYNT [16] FᵓQMᵓ [17] ᶜGᵓ [18] ᵓLHSᵓ [19]	79-99 AD
99-119 AD	MLKW [20] LSMS [21] †after 143 AD YRHY [22] D/RSTYᵓ [23] ±150 AD NBWSWR [24] FHBᵓ [25] ~ TYMSᵓ [26]	99-119 AD
119-139 AD	NWRBL [27] MQYMW [28] HYRN [29] MLKW [30] †after 143 AD YRHBWLᵓ [30]	119-139 AD
139-159 AD	the three of them † after 144 AD ᶜGYLW [32] YRHY [33]	139-159 AD
159-179 AD	YWLYS ᵓWRLYS MQYMW [34] FX [35] ~ LSMS [36] †after 215 AD	159-179 AD
179-189 AD	YWLYS ᵓWRLYS X [37]	179-189 AD
189-219 AD		189-219 AD

We know the vocalisation of ᵓQML from the bilingual texts (*CIS* 4167; Gawlikowski, *Berytus* 19 (1970) 71): Aqqimal/Aqqamal. 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 ᶜOgeilû. 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 (*Tadmorea III*, 38). Almost a century later Lišamš son of Nûrbel built tomb no.188 in the year 143 AD for himself and his son Malkû (*CIS* 4167). Lišamš's nephews, Nûrbel, Moqîmû and Hairan, one year later, in 144 AD, dug a tomb in the Valley of Tombs (*Inv 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, *SP* 8 (1985) 76 note 29) and half of the 2nd c. AD according to Michalowski, *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.

Moqîmû member of this same clan, sells part of the tomb no.83 in VT which is said to be contemporary to the tomb of Kitôt (40 AD). ᶜOgeilû[2] is one of the members of the thiasos (θίασος, group of people associated in the worship of a particular deity or deities) of the temple. All these people have a common ancestor, Aqqamal, a name seldom used outside the clan. ᶜOgeilû [2] is one of the members of the thiasos of the temple of Bel (probably of the first temple of Bel).
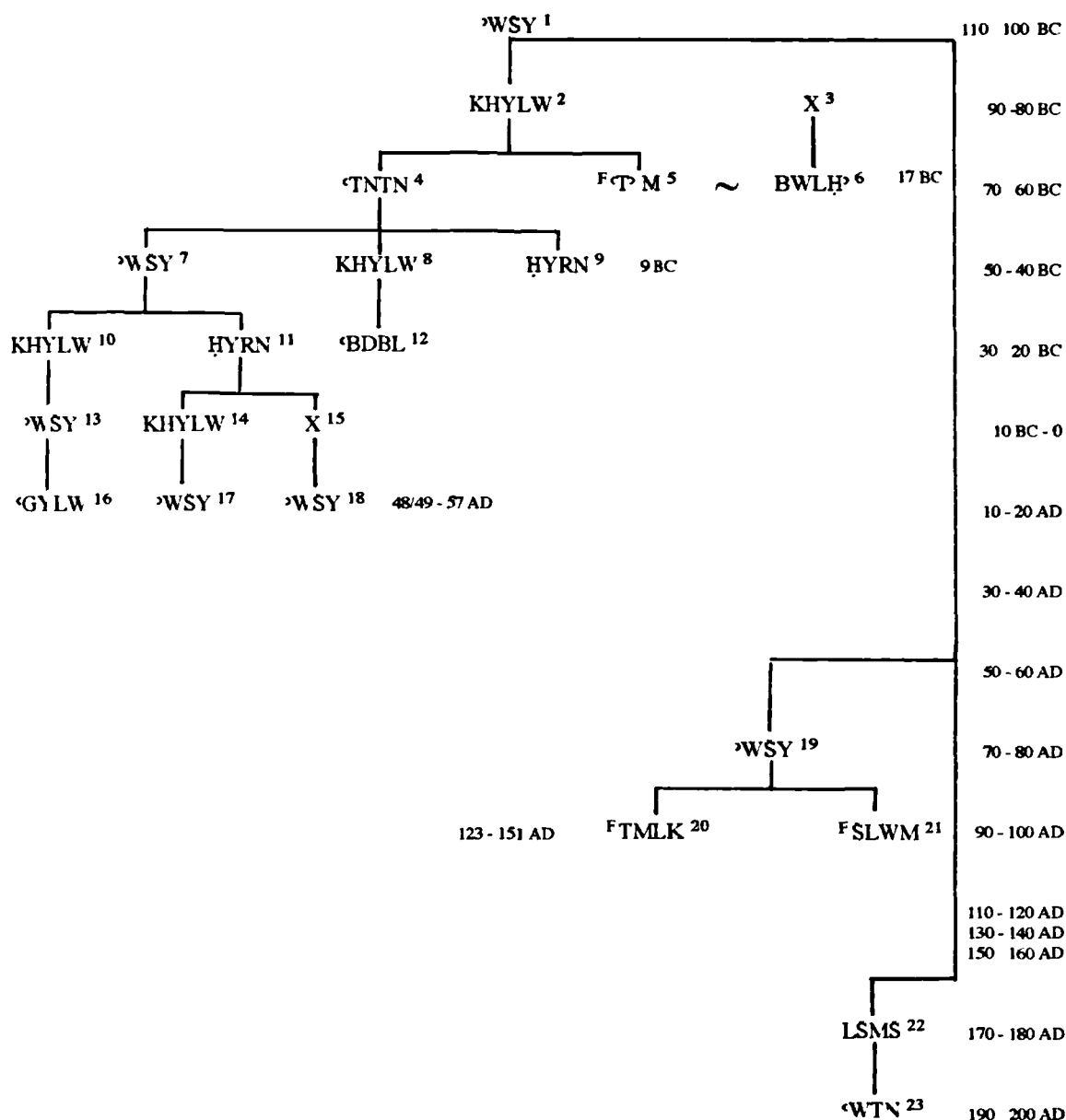
15. The ʿAbdibel family

```
                      ʿBDBL ¹                                    35 BC

                        |

       NŠʾ alias BRʿBDBL ²                                      15 BC

                        |

               YDYʿBL ³                                          5 AD

                        |

               MLKW ⁴                                           25 AD
       ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
    LSMS ⁵                          ZBYDʾ ⁶    85 AD            45 AD
```

Nŝā is called BR ʿBDBL thus showing that ʿAbdibel is the ancestor of the family. The two brothers Lišamš and Zebîdâ offer a *ḥammanâ* and an altar to Samaš who is called 'the god of the house of their father'.
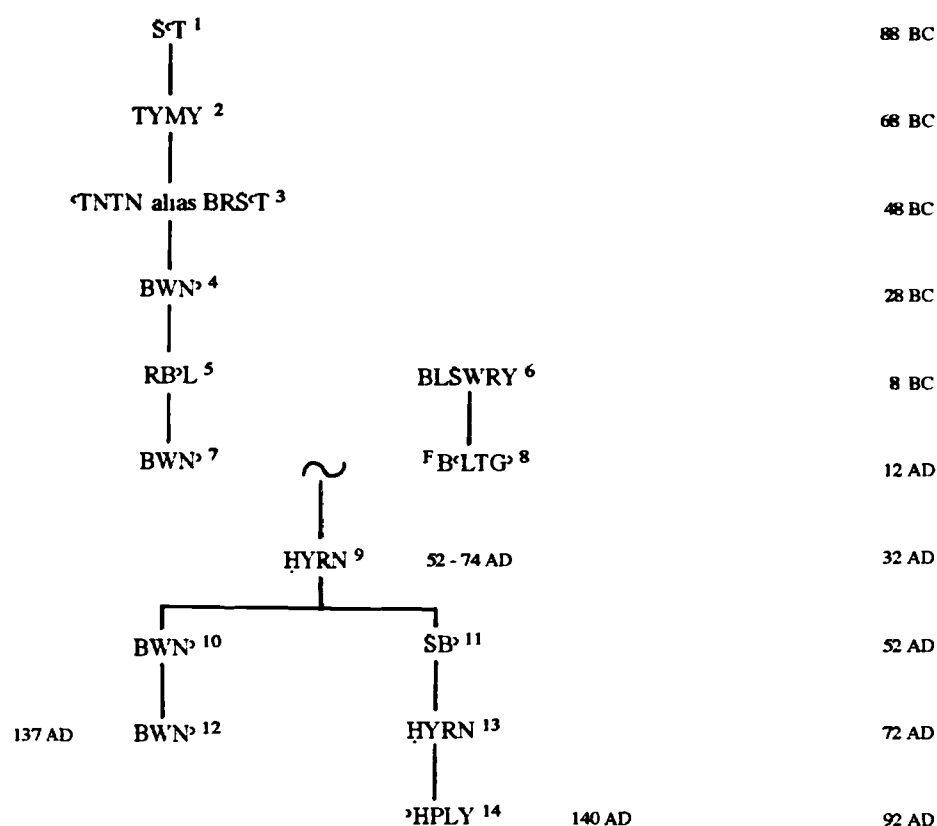
THE MÎTÂ TRIBE

16. The Auśai family: tomb no.7 of ʿAtenatan,VT and tomb of ʿOgeilû son of Auśai son of Kahilû

ᵓWSY [1]   110 100 BC

KHYLW [2]   X [3]   90-80 BC

ᶜTNTN [4]   FᵀPᵓ M [5]   ~   BWLHᵓ [6]   17 BC   70 60 BC

ᵓWSY [7]   KHYLW [8]   HYRN [9]   9 BC   50-40 BC

KHYLW [10]   HYRN [11]   ʿBDBL [12]   30 20 BC

ᵓWSY [13]   KHYLW [14]   X [15]   10 BC - 0

ʿGYLW [16]   ᵓWSY [17]   ᵓWSY [18]   48/49 - 57 AD   10 - 20 AD

                                                                 30 - 40 AD

                                                                 50 - 60 AD

ᵓWSY [19]   70 - 80 AD

123 - 151 AD   FTMLK [20]   FSLWM [21]   90 - 100 AD

                                                                 110 - 120 AD
                                                                 130 - 140 AD
                                                                 150 160 AD

LSMS [22]   170 - 180 AD

ʿWTN [23]   190 200 AD

The Auśai family is one of the oldest families at Palmyra as it goes back to the end of the 2nd c. BC. The ancestor Auśai must have been of Arabic origin. We have two early dates in the family, one being 17 BC when ʿAtchamm was honoured with a statue by ʿAghibôl, Malakbel and the Benê Komarê. The other is 9 BC, when Kahîlû and Hairan built a tomb for their father ʿAtenatan 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 ʿAbdibel, very likely a son to Kahîlû, is attested. A second tomb foundation took place in 57 AD and the construction was made by ʿOgeilû son of Auśai son of Kahîlû, the Palmyrene. Milik, p. 63, in his genealogical tree identifies this Kahîlû with the Kahîlû founder of the other tomb. For chronological reasons we prefer to see in him the son of Auśaiˣ and not of ʿAtenatan. Furthermore we consider the two Auśai (13-18), who erected a portico to Bôlʿastor, two cousins, the grandson of Hairan son of Auśai 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 Šai[1] the father of these two women, the brother of Lišamš, father of ʿAutan, son of Aušai of *CIS*4361. 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 *CIS*4361 belongs to this family. The vocalisation of the name KHYLW as Kohailû, a *qutail* form, should be definitely dismissed since a bilingual text (*Inv X*, 54) gives the Greek transcription Χειλου. 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 (DNWSI 489-490; *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 (*PNNR* 35 no.551), would favour the second view. The Greek transcription Χαηλ and Χαελ would refer to the name KHL (*ICPANI* 506), while Χεειλος (*Wuthnow*, 146) would transcribe the same name as Χειλου, with a diphtong ay>ey or a long vowel î. Therefore we propose to vocalize KHYLW, Kahîlû or Kahailû, the second less probable as the form *qatailu* does not seem to be attested.
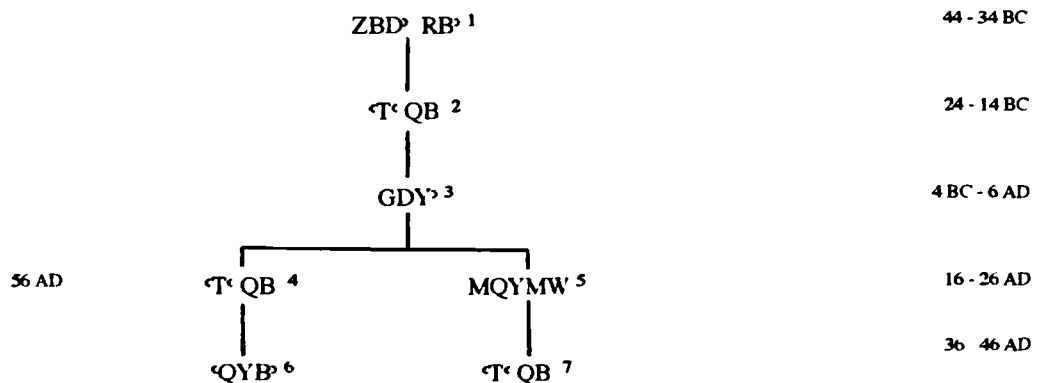
17. The Saʿat famil: tomb of Ḥairan son of Bônnê

SʿT [1]		88 BC
TYMY [2]		68 BC
ʿTNTN alias BRSʿT [3]		48 BC
BWNᵓ [4]		28 BC
RBᵓL [5]	BLSWRY [6]	8 BC
BWNᵓ [7]	ᶠBʿLTGᵓ [8]	12 AD
ḤYRN [9] 52-74 AD		32 AD
BWNᵓ [10]	SBᵓ [11]	52 AD
137 AD BWNᵓ [12]	ḤYRN [13]	72 AD
	ᵓḤPLY [14] 140 AD	92 AD

In inscription *CIS* 3927 we find the name BWNᵓ SʿT. 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 BRSʿT, thus comfirming our assumption of a Saʿat as ancestor. This family belongs to the tribe of Benê Mitâ and must have been an autochtonous family as members point out that they are 'Palmyrenes', andthe family is already known in the 1st c. BC. The best attested individual is Ḥairan[9], 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, Bônnê, 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 Aḥpah, whose ancestor is Taimai, helped to build foundations for Malakbel Gad Taimai and ʿAttarʿateh, ancestral gods. Like in the old family of Yediʿbel (see below no.21), we find here the Gad Yediʿbel the 'Fortune' of their ancestor, and Aḥpali also builtfoundations for Malakbel Gad Taimai and ʿAttarateh. The Gad Taimai is associated with Malakbel and with the Bene Bônnê 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 ʿAtenatan Kaftût family

```
                    BRꞋꞋ 1                                    60   50 BC

                      |

            ꞋTNTN KPTWT 2          10/11 AD               40   30 BC

                      |

                  YMLKW 3                                  20   10 BC
```

ʿAtenatan 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 ʿAtenatan is not known otherwise. The name of his father, Barʿâ, is widespread, a Barʿâ family appears in the Mattabôl tribe. A far ancestor of this family may have been someone called Kaftût, as the second name of ʿAtenatan suggests.

19. The Zabdâ Rabbâ family: tomb of ʿAteʿaqab

```
                          ZBDꞋ RBꞋ 1                        44 - 34 BC

                              |

                          ꞋTꞋ QB 2                          24 - 14 BC

                              |

                          GDYꞋ 3                            4 BC - 6 AD

                     ┌────────┴────────┐
     56 AD         ꞋTꞋ QB 4        MQYMWꞋ 5                 16 - 26 AD

                    |                 |                     36   46 AD

                ꞋQYBꞋ 6            ꞋTꞋ QB 7
```

ʿAteʿaqab 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 Laqîšû family

LQYSW [1]

PTRQLS alias 'STWRG' [2]

'BGR [3]   84 AD

Abgar was honoured by the Senate because he had been an 'excellent citizen'. The name Laqîšû or Laqaišû is only attested once. One Greek name, Patroklos, stands out in a probably Arabic family.
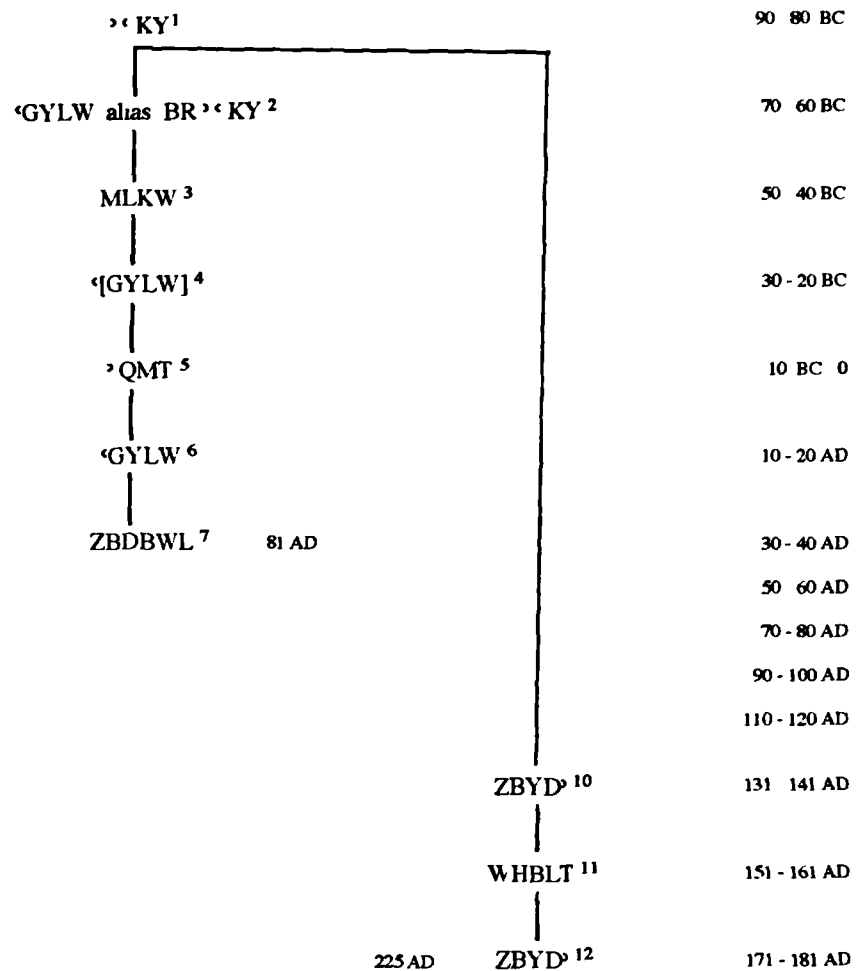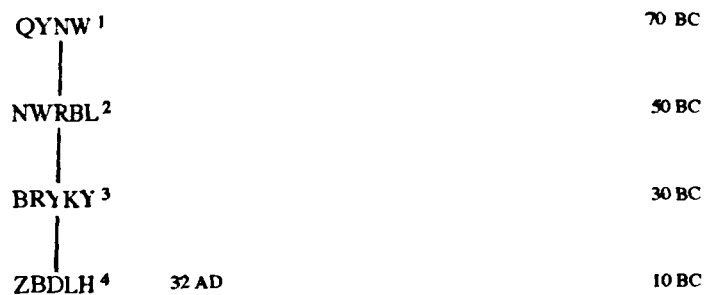
THE MA'ZIYÂN TRIBE

21. The Yedî'bel family

YDY'BL RB' [1]		150 BC
BR'<D/R>TY [2]		130 BC
QYNW [3]		110 BC
MTNY [4]		90 BC
GDRSW [5]		70 BC
MTNY [6]		50 BC
WHBLT [7]	11 AD	30 BC
X		10 BC
BR'TY RB' [8]		10 AD
QYNW [9]	GDRSW [10]	30 AD
MTNY [11]	YRHY [12]	50 AD
	GDRSW [13] 115 AD	70 AD
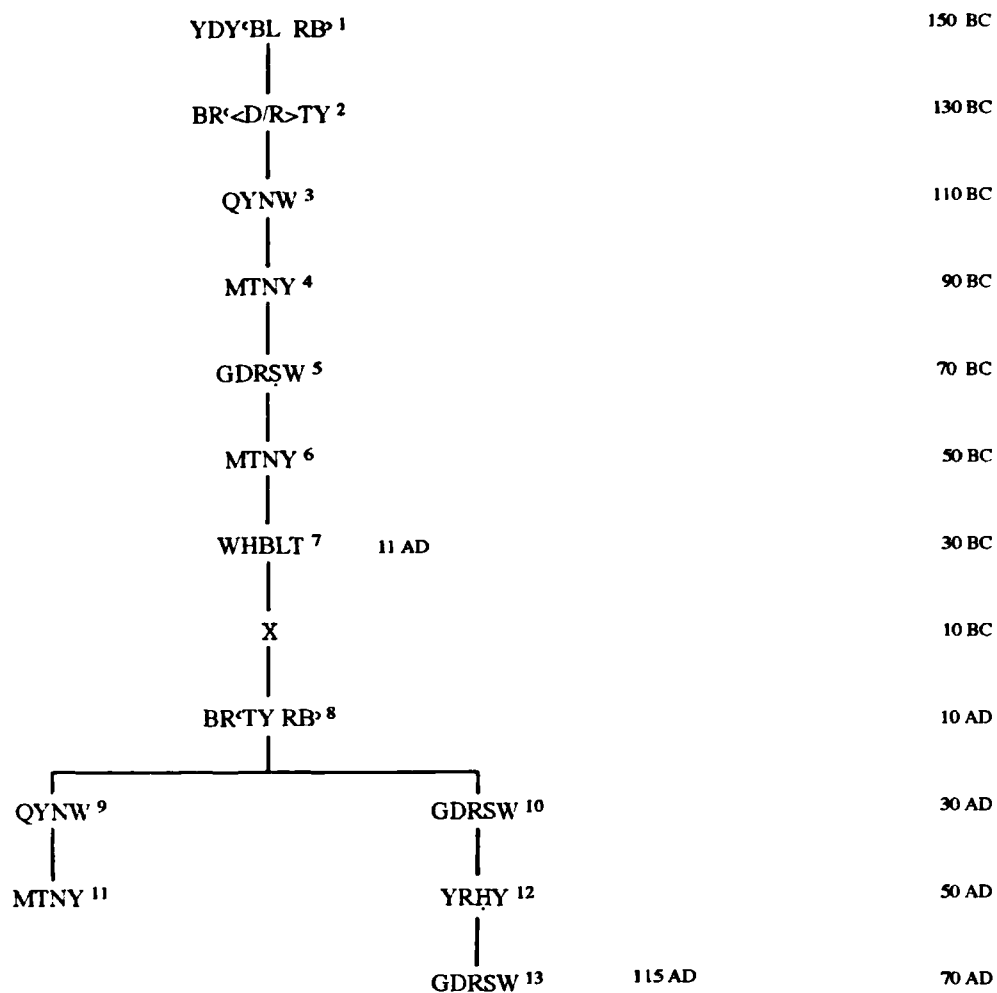
The Yedî'bel family is, so far, the oldest family attested at Palmyra. In fact, it goes back to the 2nd c. BC and was very likely of Arabic origin. A ritual of purification was carried out by Wahballat, in his family tomb, in 11 AD to modify the sacredness of the place, before the construction of the temple of Baalshamîn started. Mattanai[11] had erected a stele to the 'Lady of the temple' sometimes before or possibly at the same time Gaddarsû[13] consecrated an altar to the goddess. It is worth noting that the names Gaddarsû and Qainû are good Arabic names. Bar'atai Rabbâ[8] could be identified with Bar'atai[2] but in the inscription (*RSP* 143) he is said to be the great-grandfather of Gaddarsû[3].

22. The Aʿakai family

<table>
<tr><td>ʾʿKY¹</td><td></td><td>90 80 BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>ʿGYLW alias BRʾʿKY²</td><td></td><td>70 60 BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>MLKW³</td><td></td><td>50 40 BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>ʿ[GYLW]⁴</td><td></td><td>30-20 BC</td></tr>
<tr><td>ʾQMṬ⁵</td><td></td><td>10 BC 0</td></tr>
<tr><td>ʿGYLW⁶</td><td></td><td>10-20 AD</td></tr>
<tr><td>ZBDBWL⁷</td><td>81 AD</td><td>30-40 AD</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>50 60 AD</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>70-80 AD</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>90-100 AD</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>110-120 AD</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>ZBYDʾ¹⁰</td><td>131 141 AD</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>WHBLT¹¹</td><td>151-161 AD</td></tr>
<tr><td>225 AD</td><td>ZBYDʾ¹²</td><td>171-181 AD</td></tr>
</table>

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 Maʿziyân. They are well attested in inscriptions coming from the temple of Baalshamîn. Zabdibôl 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 synodiarchs of Palmyra, M.U. Yarḥai and Soʿadû). In *Inv XI*, 88 we find a certain ʿOgeilû called BRʾ ʿKY in parallel with *Inv IX*, 20 where we find ʿAtenatan BRSʿT, 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 Maʿziyân and that the inscriptions have been found in the wall T is not sufficiently convincing.

23. The Qainû family

```
QYNW 1                                          70 BC
   |
   |
NWRBL 2                                         50 BC
   |
   |
BRYKY 3                                         30 BC
   |
   |
ZBDLH 4        32 AD                            10 BC
```

Zabdilah was honoured by the Benê Ma'ziyân with a statue in the temple of Baalshamîn. 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.

24. The Aytîbel family

```
                    ꜣYTYBL[1]                                              48  38 BC

                    ʿGYLW[2]                                               28  18 BC

         ꜣYTYBL[3]              ḤYRN[4]                                    8 BC - 2 AD

         TYMꜣ[5]               MLKW[6]        62/63 AD                     12 - 22 AD
                                 ?
         ꜣYTYBL[7]              ḤYRN[8]                                    32  42 AD

                                 X[9]                                      52 - 62 AD

                                                                          72 - 82 AD

                          ʿGYLW[10]                                       92 - 102 AD

            BR[SM]S ʿGꜣ[11]              MLꜣ[12]                           112 - 122 AD

        SLMꜣ ŠMŠGRM[13]                   ʿGꜣ[14]                          132  142 AD

             ʿGꜣ[15]                      MLꜣ[16]                          152 - 162 AD
```
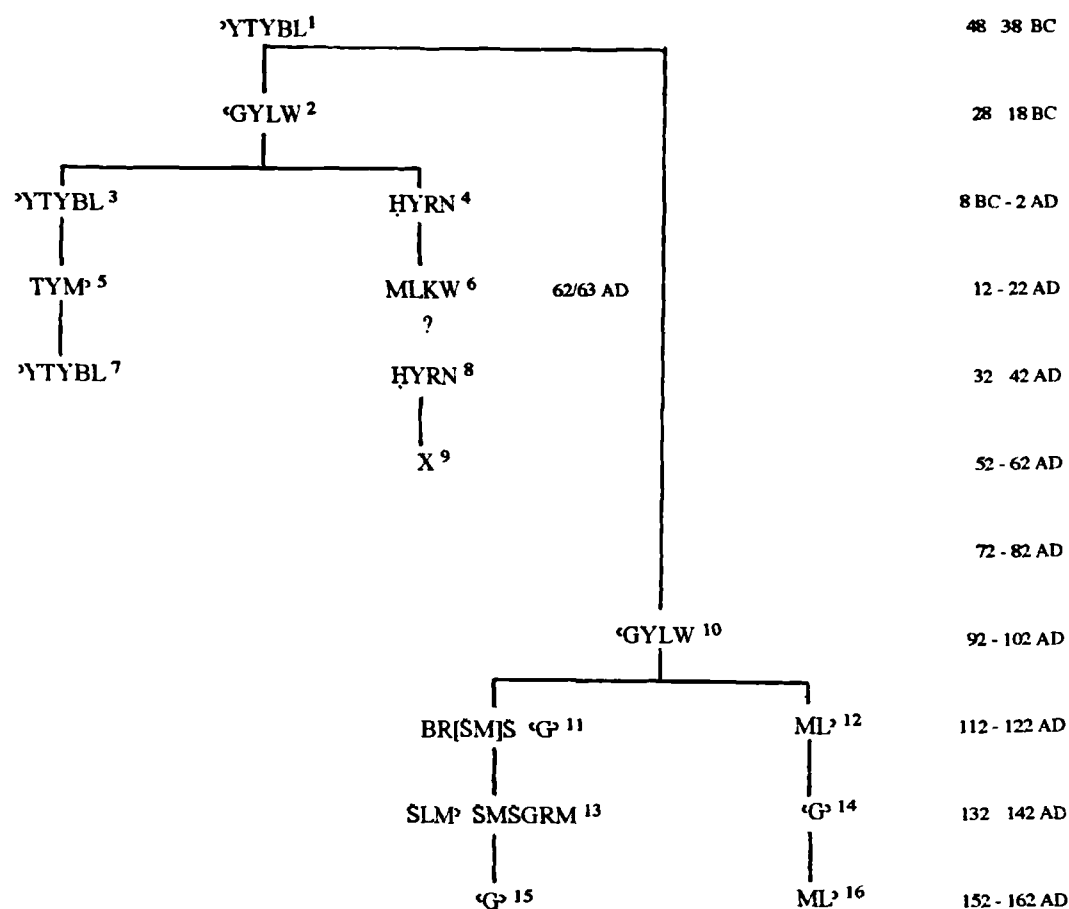
The Aytîbel family belongs to the tribe of Benê Maʿziyân and was active in the temple of Baalshamîn. In *RSP* 161(dateless) Malkû was honoured with a statue erected in the temple by a certain ʿOgeilû son of Moqîmû son of ʿOgeilû and Malkû is said to be his master. We propose to see in *BS* 23 and 34 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 Baalshamîn, Dûrahlôn, Raḥim and the Fortune of Yedîʿbel 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[16] and ʿOggâ[15] descendants of Aytîbel, sometimes after 188 A D. The father and grandfather of ʿOggâ 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 ʿGꜣ br SLMꜣ, ŠMŠGRM br BR[SM]S and ʿGꜣ br ꜣYTYBL, 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 ḤYRN ʿGYLꜣ (*RTP* 666) and ḤY(RN) ʿGY(LW) (*RTP* 799), probably to be identified with the father of Malkû.

25. The Yedîbel family

```
YDY‘ BL ¹                                          44 BC
     |
NWRBL alias ’ [.. ]²                              24 BC
     |
[YRHBW]L’ ³                                         4 BC
     |
SLMLT ⁴        64 AD                              24 AD
```

In 64 AD, Allat and the Benê Ma‘ziyân 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 Ra‘ai family

```
R‘Y ¹                                            23 - 13 BC
     |
LSMS ²                                           3 BC - 7 AD
     |
YRHY ³        67 AD                               17  27 AD
     |
ML’ ’GRP’ ⁴    130/131 AD                         37 - 67 AD
```

In 67 AD, Yarhai offered a whole portico to Baalshamîn and no less than five columns in the temple commemorated him. In 130 131 AD, Yarhai's son Malê Agrippa built, at his own expenses, the temple of Baalshamîn, Dûrahlôn 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 troups with oil and took care of the camp. The Ra‘ai family goes back to the 1st c. BC.

27. The Belhazî/Bôlhazî family

BLHZY /BWLHZY [1]
|
WHBY [2]
|
┌─────────────────┴─────────────────┐
ʿG› [3]   TYMN› [4]
| |
┌───────┴───────┐   ZB› [8]   49-90 AD
WHBY [5] MLKW [6] BLHZY [7] |
                                    TYMN› [9]
                                        |
                                    RMY [10]
                                        |
                                    FʿGB› [11]
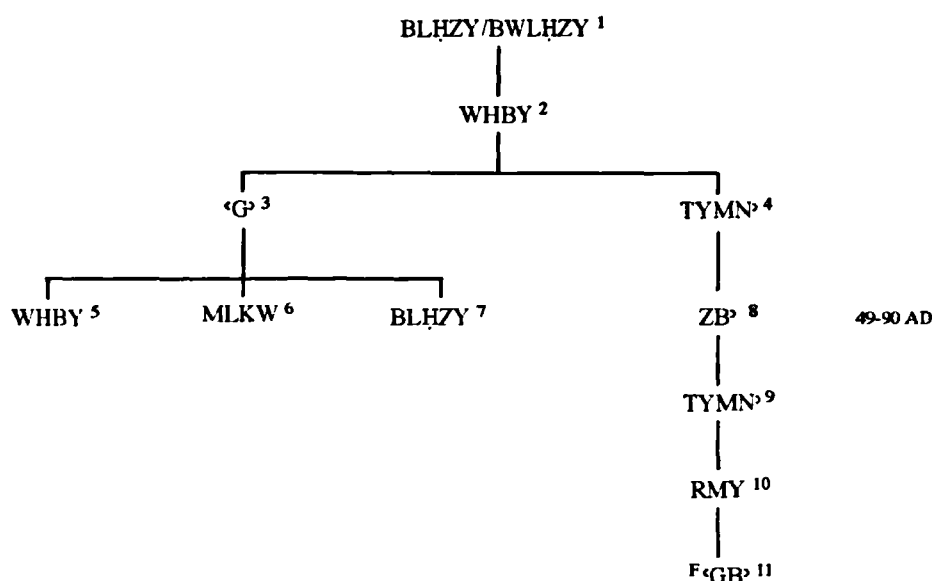
Three brothers, Wahbai, Malkû and Belhazî had built each person a portico in the temple of Baalshamîn. The first two in the year 90 AD, the other in the year 103/104 AD. Malkû and Belhazî were honoured with a statue by the priests of Baalshamîn and the Benê Maʿziyân for their generosity. In 49 AD, Zabbâ, 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 ʿGB›.

28. The Aqmat family

›QMT [1]
|
NWRBL [2]
|
┌─────────────────┴─────────────────┐
S›YL› [3]   WHBY [4]
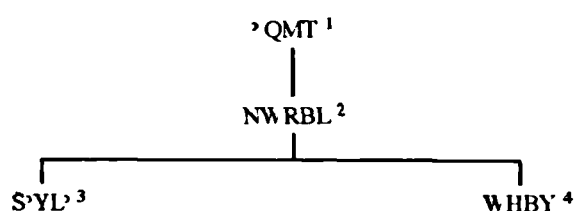
The two inscriptions attesting this family come from the foundation wall T, in the temple of Bel. They were reused there and their dating must go back at least to the 1st c. BC, as the wall T is older than the cella of Bel built in 32 AD. The oldest text from the foundation T is dated to 44 BC. The two brothers, Saîlâ and Wahbai, were honoured with a statue and both are said to belong to the Maʿziyân tribe.

29. The Zabdibel family

```
ZBDBL ¹          'TNTN ²
  |                |
BLHZY ³          BR'' ⁴
  |                |
TYM' ⁵    ~    F'MTLT ⁶        52 AD
```
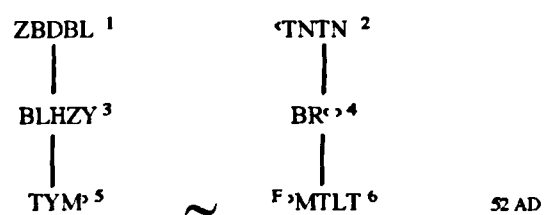
Amatallal, of the Mîlâ tribe, who offered a column to Baalshamîn, was married to Taimâ of the Ma'ziyân tribe.

30. The Gabbâ family

```
GB' ¹
  |
MQYMW ²
  |
YDY ³
  |
ZBYD' ⁴        61 AD
```
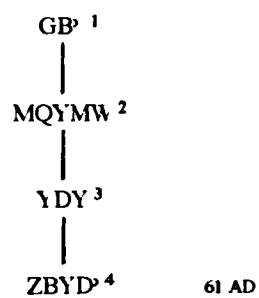
Zebîdâ was honoured by his tribe, the Benê Ma'ziyân, because he pleased them and their gods.

31. The Qaḥazan family

```
                QḤZN ¹
                  |
              ZBDNBW ²
                  |
               ZBDY ³              67 AD
```
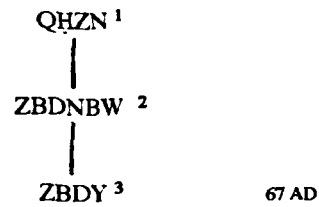
In 67 AD, Zabdai offered five columns to Baalshamîn.

32. The Taimai family

```
                TYMY ¹
                  |
                 GD² ²
          ┌───────┴───────┐
      MLKW ³            R'Y'L ⁴
```
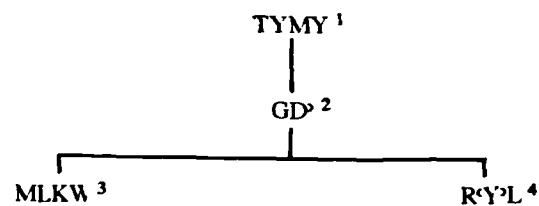
In 73 AD, the two brothers Malkû and Ra'aîel, offered altars to Baalshamîn which are said to be for the great door yet to be built. We propose to identify Gaddâ son of Taimai of *Inv VIII*, 35 with our Gaddâ; the two names could possibly be simple homonyms.

33. The Iyyašâ family


```
                              ʾYSʾ ¹
         ┌──────────────────────┴──────────────────────┐
      SMʿWN ²                                      SMŠGRM ³
         │                                              │
61 62 AD   ZBDLH alias SHPLH⁴              ZB[D]LH ⁵        75/76 AD
```
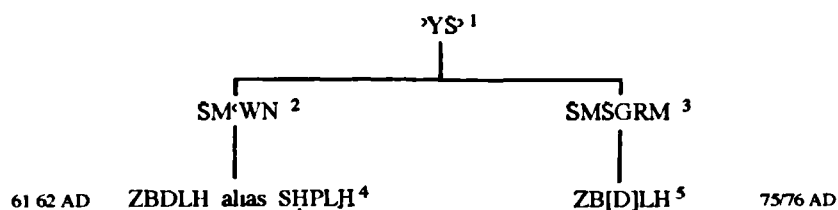
In 61 62 AD, Zabdilah called SHPLH was honoured by Allat and the Benê Nûrbel. The name SHPLH was read by Milik, p. 79, MHPLH, compared by him with MPL of *CIS*4160 that he also corrects to MHPLH or MHPLY, the Greek transcription of whose names is Μοφλεου. Unfortunately, the plate in Milik, pl. V 2 is too effaced to favour any interpretation. The name ʾYSʾ is widely attested in Nabataean under the form ʾYSW. The name is Arabic, cf. ʾY Sⁱ, Iyâs, *ICPAN*I88 and *IFSC* 556. The Greek transcription is Ιασου, see Lidzbarski, *ESE II*, 332. Zabdilah⁵ was honoured by the Senate because he had carried out his charge of scribe with merit.

THE MATTABÔL TRIBE

34. The Barakai family


```
                              BRKY ¹
                                |
                            YDY‘BL ²
                                |
                            ‘ZYZW ³
                                |
                            YDY‘BL ⁴    17  19 AD
                                |
                            ’MRS’ ⁵
                   _____|_____
                  |                           |
              YDY‘BL ⁶                     RB’L ⁷
          _____|_____
         |                 |
     WHBLT ⁸           ‘WYDLT ⁹
         |                 |
     YDY‘BL ¹⁰         WHBLT ¹¹   101 AD
         |                 |
  HLYDRWS [LS]MS ¹²    ‘WYDLT ¹³
         |          _____|_____
     YDY‘BL ¹⁴     |         |        |
              [M]ZBN’ ¹⁵  YRHY ¹⁶  ZBD‘T’ ¹⁷   192/193 AD
```
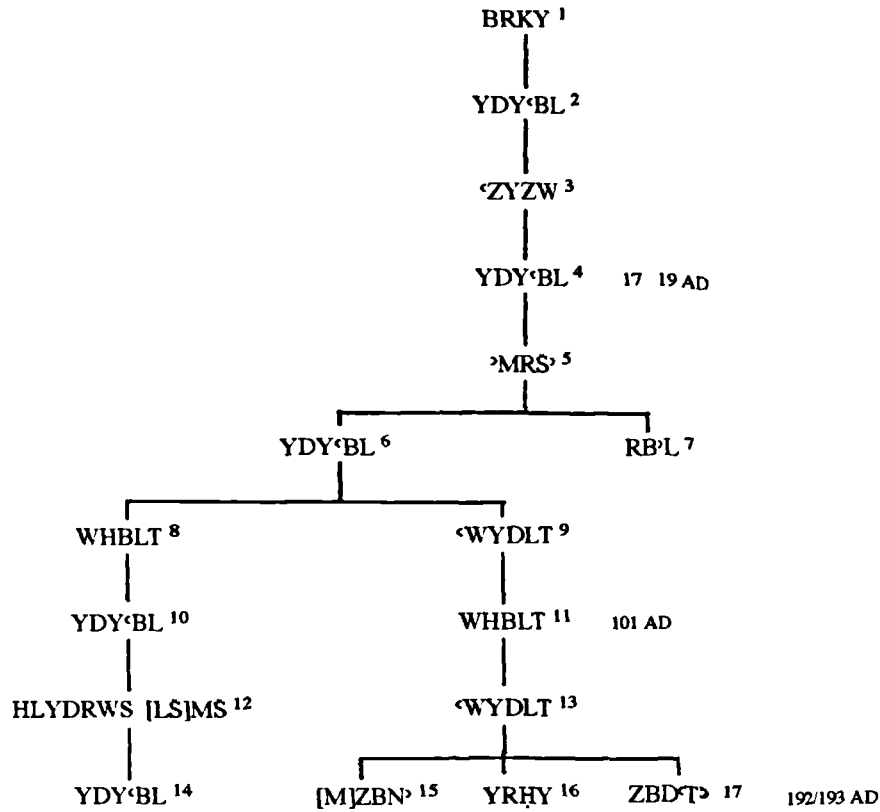
Yedî‘bel⁴ offered a statue in honour of his father who was very likely already dead at that time. ‘Azîzû, Yedî‘bel's father, in the Greek version is called 'Palmyrene'. Yedî‘bel also is called 'Palmyrene' in the Greek version of the text where is recorded that he was honoured by the Palmyrene and Greek tradesmen of Seleucia because he had generously contributed to the construction of the temple of Bel. The regular papponimy of the name Yedî‘bel and its recurrence in every other generation is noteworthy. For this reason we thought of the builders of a hypogeum in Jebel ‘Antar, Yedî‘bel 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.

35. The Bar'â family

40 BC				BR'' [1]			40 BC
20 BC	TSBB [2]			TWRY [3]			20 BC
0	ZBD'TH [4]			MQYMW [5]			0
20 AD	'TNTN [6] 55 AD		63 AD	BR'' [7]			20 AD
40 AD				ZBD'TH [8]	ZBDL' [9]		40 AD
60 AD	TSBB [10]			ZBD'TH [11]	BWLH' [12]		60 AD
80 AD	ZBD'TH [13]	NBWZ' [14]	†133/134 AD	BR'' [15] ~	F HD' [16] †125/126 AD	ZBYD' [17]	80 AD
100 AD	BR'' [18]	NBWL' [19] ~ F SLMT [20] †145 AD	F'MBY [21] †134/135 AD	ZBDLH [22]	HLPT' [23]	BWLH' [24]	BNWR [25] †155 AD	~ F TDMR [26]	100 AD
120 AD	†27 jan 160 AD ZBD'TH [27]	M'N [28]	BNWR [29] MLKW [30]	F'H' [31] †148 AD	F'H' [32] †150 AD	F HDYRT 'H' [33] †169 AD	ZBYD' [34]	ZBD'TH [35]	120 AD
140 AD	186 AD BR'' [36]	F SLMT [37] †181	NBWL' [38] †181					140 AD

In 63 AD Bar'â[7] of the Benê Mattabôl, offered an altar to Arṣû, Qismayâ and 'the daughters of the god'. This is the oldest mention of the name Bar'â, and in spite of being a very common name we believe it to be part of a larger group. Bar'â[36] was the founder of a tomb in the SW necropolis of Palmyra in the year 186 AD. The sculptures *CIS*4246-4257 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 Sadrafa, 'Atenatan[6] very likely belonged to this same group. His grandfather is a certain Tošabeb [2] but it is impossible to identify him with the other Tošabeb[10] 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 Zabda'ateh [27] 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 Sokayyî family: tomb of Kîtôt no.44

SKYY [1]		80 - 70 BC
TYMRSW/TYMS> RB> [2]		60 50 BC
SLMN [3] KYTWT [4] 9 AD		40 - 30 BC
M'NY [5] SKYY [6] TYMRSW [7] [MLK]W [8]		20 10 BC
WHBLT [9] ~ F SGL [10] 40 AD KYTWT [11] ~ F MYS> [12]		10 AD 0
LSMS [13] SLMN [14]		30 - 20 AD
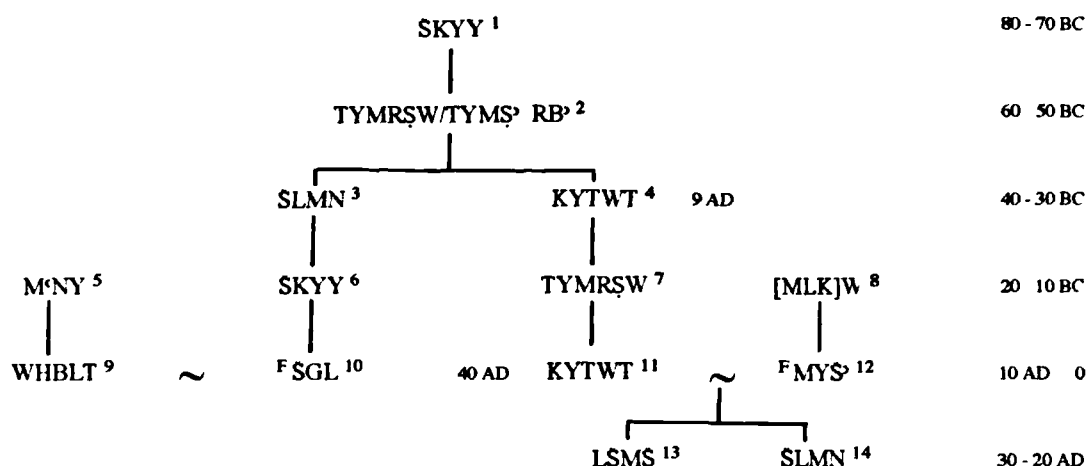
Salman[3] was the founder of a tomb whose location is unknown. The date, 9 AD, is one of the earliest at Palmyra. There is a second foundation in this family by Kîtôt[11], in the year 40 AD (the date has been correctly read 351, Seleucid era, by E. Will, *Syria* 28 (1951) 70, pl. VII 2). They all belong to the Mattabôl tribe.

37. The Makanâ Rabbâ family

MKN> RB> [1]		50 - 40 BC
LSMS [2]		30 - 20 BC
ZBDBWL [3]		10 BC - 0 AD
>BYHN [4]		10 20 AD
ZBDBWL [5] 50/51 or 70/71 AD		30 - 40 AD

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 Arsû dated to 157 AD previously read by Starcky in *Mélanges A. Robert*, Paris 1957, p. 370-380 as MK' >. 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

```
          [RB'L] 1                          10 BC  10AD

             |

        [ZBDBWL] 2                          10  20 AD

             |

         [TYMS'] 3                          30  40 AD

             |

         [TYMS'] 4       89 AD              50  60 AD
```

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.

39. The ʿAnanū family

ʿNNW [1]   24 34 AD

MLKW [2]   SKYBL [3]   44 54 AD

ʿNNW [4]   MQYMW [5]   YRHBWLʾ [6]   114 AD   64 74 AD

BWLMʾ [7]   MLKW [8]   [ʿN]NW [9]   LSMS [10]   84 - 94 AD

F ʾQMʾ [11] ~ MLKW [12]   ML[K]W RBʾ [13] ~ ͨMRTHWN [14]   [BRTʾ] [15]   104 - 114 AD
                                                      156 AD

                                    [MQYMW] [16]   [ʾLHBL] [17]   124 - 134 AD

                            208 AD F [BTY] [18]   ~   [SʿDW] [19]   144 - 154 AD

                                                                                   164 - 174 AD

                        YRHY [20]   184 - 194 AD

                228 AD MLKW [21]   ʿNNW [22]

MQYMW [23]   204 - 214 AD

MLKW [24]   279/280 AD   224 - 234 AD

MQYMW [25] 279/280 AD   244 - 254 AD
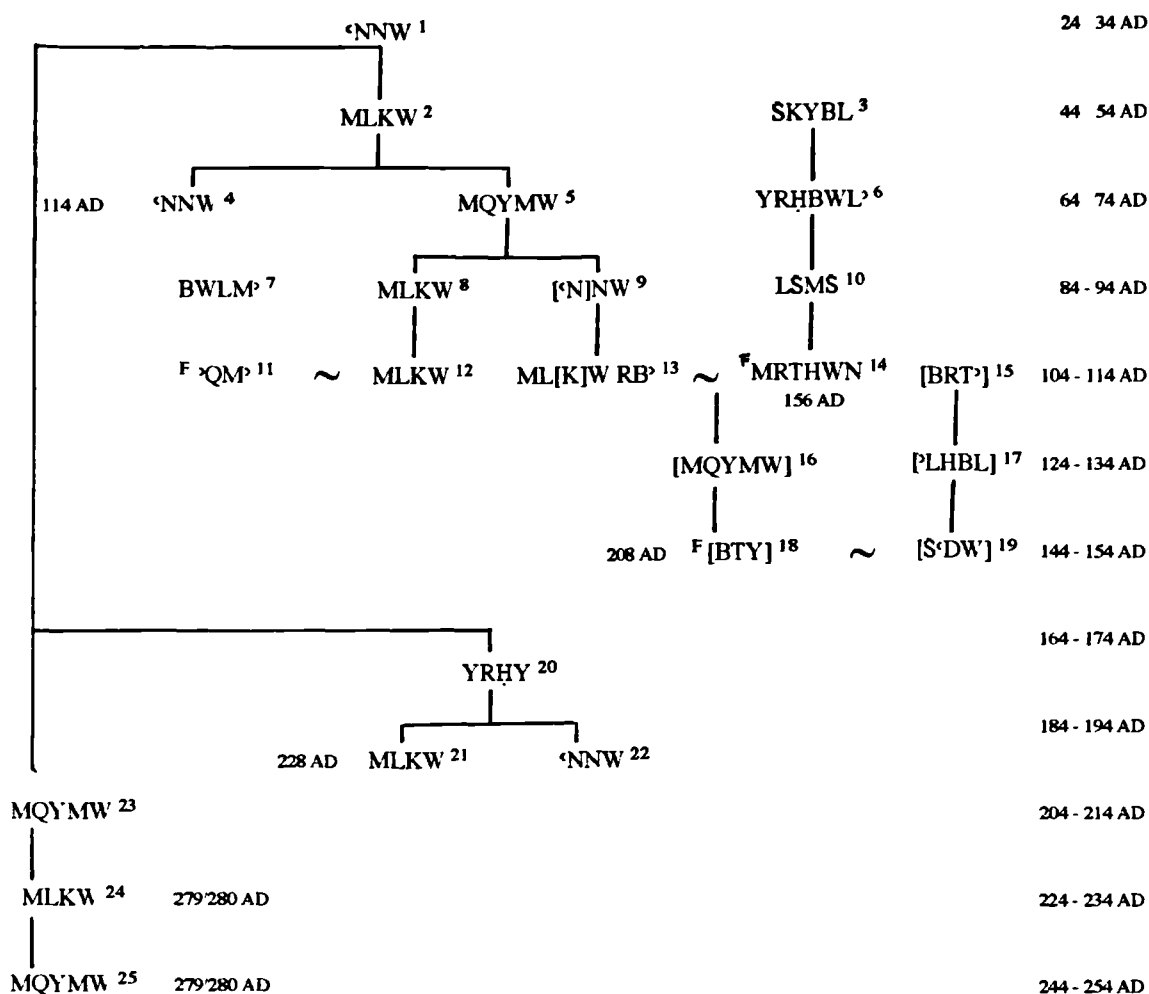
We believe that the ʿAnanū family belongs to the Mattabôl tribe, since two of its members received great honours from the tribe itself because they paid for the roofing of the basilica dedicated to Ares-Arṣū. Under the quaestorship of ʿAnanū[4], in 114 AD, the City erected an altar to the Anonymous God. Chabot, CIS 3994, publishes three inscriptions (A-C) which have the same content. The name ʿNNW is spelt ʿNNY in CIS 3994 B and their Greek transcription is respectively Ananou and Ananidos. We have chosen the spelling with final waw, being more frequent (CIS 3994 A, C). The name ʿNNY is amply attested at Elephantine (see, TADAE, 2, p. h and TADAE, 3, p. lxiii). The people attested in CIS 4237-4238 come from the same tomb, that it is why they are part of this family and the reconstruction it has been done on onomastic bases. Martahôn, wife of Malkū Rabbâ, belongs to the Sakaibel family of the Benê Komarê (see above no.10). The date, 156 AD, has been adopted from CIS 4241 where a sister of Martahôn is mentioned Bettî, 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 Malkū Rabbâ's granddaughter but chronologically the relation is very suitable. Malkū[24] and Moqîmū[25], father and son, who paid for the roofing of the temple of Arṣū, cannot be attached to the rest of the group since they are attested too late. We believe that Malkū[21] and ʿAnanū[22] belong to this family as the names are so frequent here. They are devoted to Baalshamîn to whom they made a dedication in 228 AD.

40. The Elahšâ family

ʾLHSʾ [1]   46 AD

ṢʿDY [2]   66 AD

ʾLHSʾ [3]   86 AD

MQYMW [4]   TYMSʾ [5]   ZBYDʾ [6]   106 AD

ʾLHSʾ [7]   ʿGYLW [8]   ṢʿDY [9]   ʾLHSʾ [10]   MQYMW [11]   126 AD
                                                      166 (or 136) AD

ʾLHSʾ [12]   MQYMW [13]   ʾLHSʾ RBʾ [14]   146 AD

TYMSʾ [15]   ʾLHSʾ [16]   F [H]Dʾ [17]   166 AD

F X [18]   ∿   MQYMW [19]   F ʾQMT [20]   186 AD
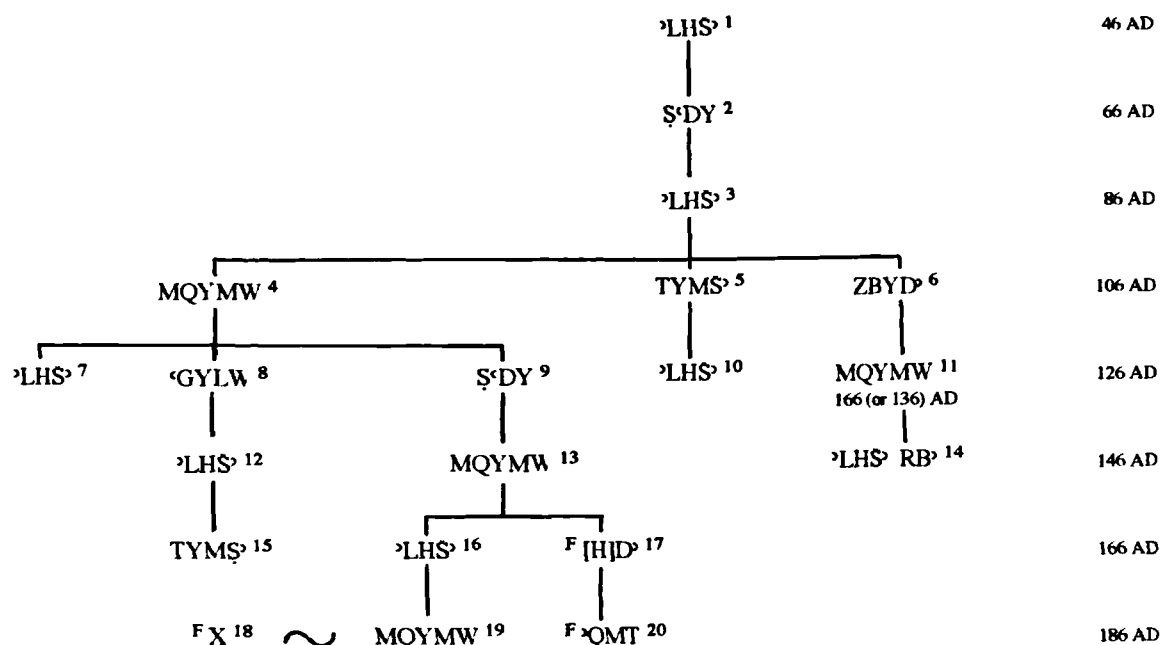
The Elahšâ family belongs to the Mattabôl tribe. The inscription, CIS 4187, attesting it is partially erased and only the Greek text preserved a part of the name In fact, the name of the tribe may also be interpreted as Zabdibôl but the frequency of some names in the Mattabôl group favours this interpretation. In the year 166 AD (or 136, see Milik, p. 27), three brothers, Moqîmû[4], Taimišâ[5] and Zebîdâ together with their sons were honoured with statues but we do not know who offered them. Zebîdâ appears in tessera RTP 775 and he was probably in charge as symposiarch around the same time he received the statue. His nephew Elahšâ [10] 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 Elahšâ, son of Taimišâ, son of Samšigeram, son of Habazai, probably a distant relative or a member of another branch of the Benê Mattabôl (see below no. 43).

41. The ʿOšailat family: tower tomb no. 149 of Taimarṣû, NW

ʿSYLT [1]	59-69 AD
TYMP [2] MLKW [3]	79-89 AD
MLKW [4] BWRP> [5]	99-109 AD
159 AD   TYMRṢW [6]   YRḤBWL> [7]   119-129 AD
172 AD   KURIOS [8]   ML[KW] [9]   139-149 AD
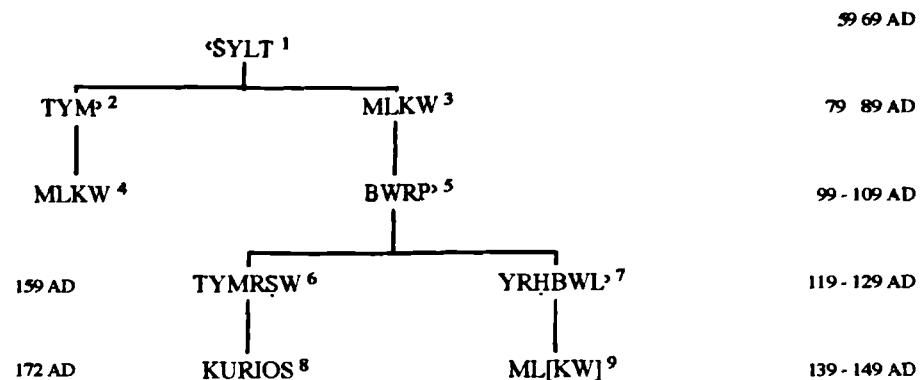
The Greek transcription of the name ʿSYLT is given in two bilingual texts (*CIS* 4618 and *Inv VII*, 5 A). K.J. Stark, *PNPI* 107, explains it as an Arabic name derived from *ʿasal* 'honey' in the *quṭail* form, but it would be difficult then to explain the final *taw*. Malkû[4] is portrayed in a tessera 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: Taimarṣû 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 Taimarṣû and his father Bôrefâ, but Taimarṣû's son's name is read Κουριος which is somewhat uncertain according to Cantineau. Milik, p. 238 proposes to read it Βουρρος - Βύρρος that elsewhere corresponds to Bôrefâ (see, *Inv X*, 130) in line with the grandfather's name.

42. The Barté family: tomb of Elahbel, VT

```
                              BRT'¹                              64 AD

        'NNW²                 ZBDBWL³                            84 AD

        MLKW⁴                 MLKW⁵                             104 AD

        MQYMW⁶                'LHBL⁷    164 AD                  124 AD

208 AD   ᶠBTY⁸      ~   S'DW⁹  201 AD      ʸRHBWL'¹⁰  197 AD   144 AD

                MLKW¹¹   203 AD                               164 AD
```
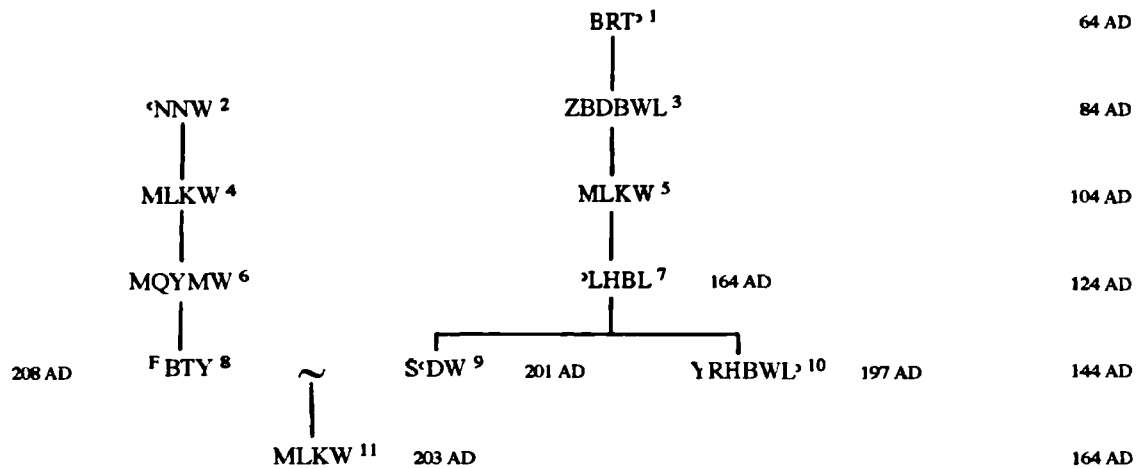
Elahbel built a tomb in the Valley of Tombs in 164 AD but its exact location is unknown as the lintel was reused in the Great Colonnade. His descendants are honoured with five columns set up in the so-called Islamic sûq to the West of the Tetrapylon and later reused in the building of Islamic shops. Malkû¹¹ 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 So'adû, was also honoured by the Mattabôl tribe. The two brothers, So'adû and Yarhibôlâ were honored in 201 and 197 respectively. For Bettî's family see the 'Ananû family (above no.39).

43. The Ḥabazai family

```
        [Ḥ]BZY¹

        SMSGRM²

        TYMS'³

        'LHS'⁴
```
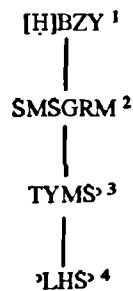
Elahšâ made a funerary relief for Elahšâ, son of Taimišâ probably a distant relative or member of another branch of the Elahšâ family. A certain Ḥabazai is attested in *Inv VIII*, 58 but it is improbable we have to do with the same person in spite of the rarity of this name. This family must also belong to the Benê Mattabôl.

THE ʿAGRÛD TRIBE

44. The Aʿabî family

ᵓʿBY [1]	40 BC
BRʿTH [2]	20 BC
ḤNBL [3]	0
BRʿTH [4] LSMS [5] PRDSY [6]	20 AD
MLKW [7] ḤYRN [8]	40 AD
ʿGᵓ [9] LSMS [10] TYMRSW [11] 89 AD YRHBWLᵓ [12] SMʿWN [13]	60 AD
MLKW [14] TYMRSW [15] YRHBWLᵓ [16] X [17] MLKW [18] SLMN [19] ~ FX [20]	80 AD
138 AD	
TYMRSW [21] MZBNᵓ [22]	100 AD
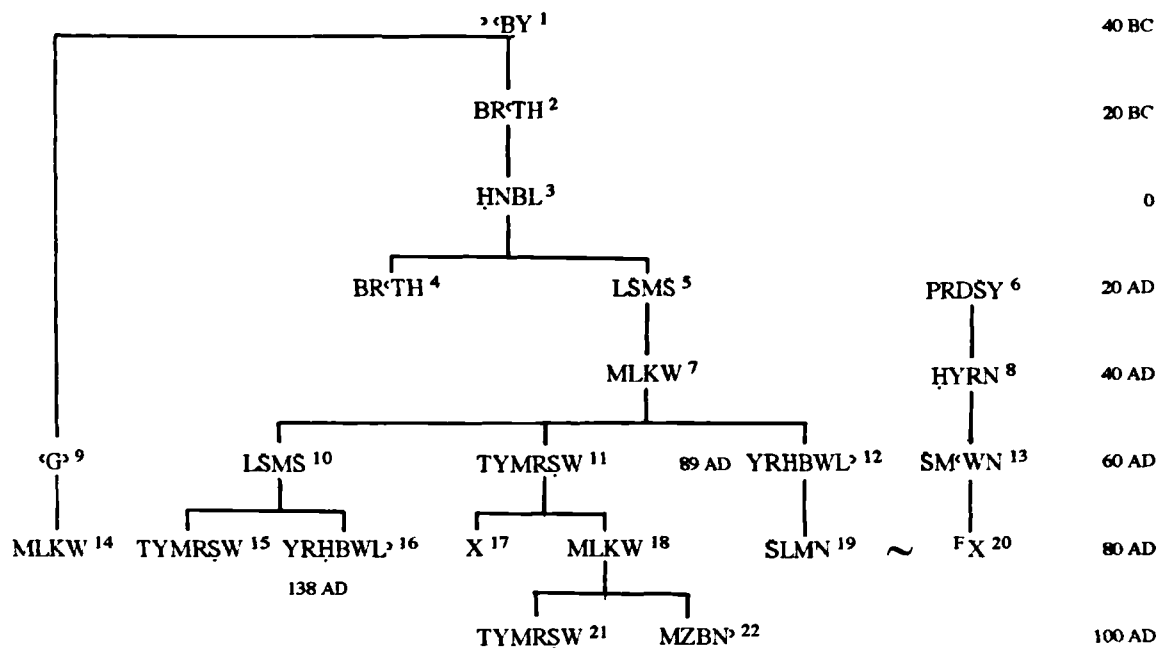
The symposiarch Yarḥibôlâ[12] built in 89 AD, together with Moqîmû son of Moqîmû, son of Zabdibôl ʿArîmâ, a temple dedicated to Belḥamôn and Manawat on the Jebel Munṭar. He was also synedros or president of the Senate. In this family are recorded at least two more priests, one is Salman and the other 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. Yarḥibôlâ [16] had been honoured by the Senate and People of Palmyra because he helped the tradesmen and took messages to Susa in Elymajs. Malkû[7] was honoured by the ʿAgrûd tribe in 81 AD. Barʿateh[2] who is said to belong to the Benê ʿAgrûd made offers to Malakbel and ʿAglibôl. Tessera RTP 770 reads: [M]LKW ḤYRN ᵓ ʿB[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 ʿArîmâ family: tomb of Moqîmû, unknown location

```
                      ʿRYMʾ ¹                                    I BC-9 AD

                        │

                      ZBDBWL ²                                  19-29 AD

                        │

              MQYMW  RBʾ ³     79 AD                            39-49 AD
         ┌──────────────┴────────────┐
    Z[BDBWL] ⁴    MQYMW ⁵    MLKW ⁶      BWRPʾ ⁷   89 AD        59-69 AD
```
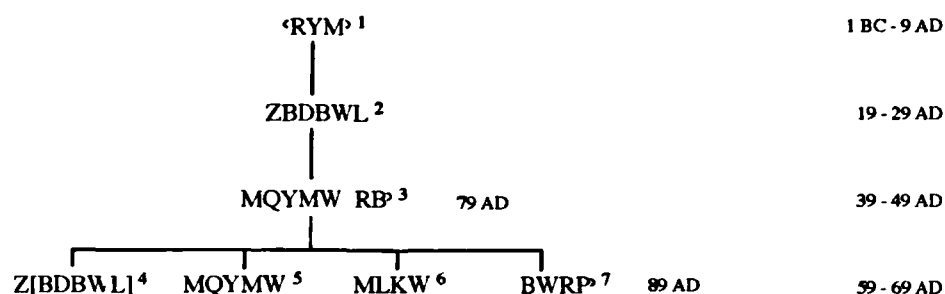
Moqîmû Rabbâ built a tomb in the year 79 AD. The location of the tomb is unknown as the foundation text was found in the temple of Bel. Ten years later the construction, in 89 AD, his son Moqîmû together with Yarḥibôlâ son of Malkû of the Aʿabî family (same tribe, see no.44) built the temple dedicated to Belḥamôn and Manawat on the Jebel Munṭar.

THE ʿATTAR TRIBE

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

```
                      BRʿ[TH] ¹

                        │

                      [ṢʿDW] ²

                        │

                      [BRʿTH] ³

                        │

                      [ṢʿDW] ⁴      179 AD
```
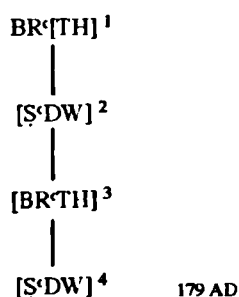
The inscription is bilingual and can be restored through the Greek version. Ṣaʿadû⁴ built an hypogeum for himself and his descendants. The Greek transcription of this name is Saedos and Cantineau, *Inv IV*, 14 reads it [ṢʿDW]. This name is only attested under the variant ṢʿDY. One is tempted to see in it the name ṢʿDW amply attested at Palmyra, but for this name the Greek transcription is always Soados. This is the only epigraphical evidence where the Benê ʿAttar are mentioned. The name of the ancestor is of a good Aramaic type including the divine name ʿAteh, very popular in Palmyrene onomastics.

47. The Arâš family: tomb of Zabda'ateh and Moqîmû, SW

ʾRʾS [1]	36 - 26 BC
MLKW alias ʾRʾS [2]	16 - 6 BC
ZBD'TH [3] MQYMW [4]	4 - 14 AD
'T'QB [5] SRY [6] 'T'QB [7]	24 - 34 AD
RPBWL [8] BR'TH [9] [ZBD]'TH [10] ZBD'TH [11] MQYMW [12]	44 - 54 AD
SRY [13] 'T'QB [14] RPBWL [15] SRY [16] 'T'QB [17] 'T'QB [18] ZBD' [19]	64 - 74 AD
RSTQ' [20] ʾQM[L] [21] PSYʾL [22] FX [23] ʾQM' [24] ZBD'TH [25] MQYMW [26]	84 94 AD
RPBWL [27] ʾSLM' [28] SLMY [29]	114 AD
'T'QB [30]	104 - 114 AD
ZBD'TH [31] MZBN [32]	124 - 134 AD
SRY [33] KYTWT [34]	144 154 AD
	181 AD
BRʿʾ [35]	164 - 174 AD
TYMNʾ [36] SRY [37]	184 - 194 AD

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 CIS4159 dated 114 AD, is a foundation text of the tomb of Zabda'ateh [25] and Moqîmû[26] where their affiliation goes back of seven generations. In the year 181 AD, a descendant of Zabda'ateh, Sirai[33] bought from the tomb of Lišamš son of Lišamš, 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 Kîtôt (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). CIS 4159 gives the spelling SRY with pointed reš whilst in inscriptions coming from the same tomb we find SDY (CIS 4219, 4220). Names and words in these inscriptions have pointed reš with the exception of the name SDY. CIS 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. Lidzbarski, 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[4].

48. The ᶜArgan family

ᶜRGN/ᶜRGᵓ [1]

WHBLT [2]   ᵓᶜ[BY] [3]   22 AD

[M]LKW [4]   ᶜGᵓ [5]   42 AD

                                                                62 AD

Fᶜ[Y][6] ~ MLKW [7]   82 AD

                                                                102 AD

                                                                122 AD

                                                                142 AD

                                          SMᶜWN [8]   162 AD

                                          Y(D)YᶜBL [9]   182 AD

            | 210-230 AD   YRḤBWLᵓ/YRḤY [10]   202 AD

            263 AD   YRḤBWLᵓ [11]   222 AD

The ᶜArgan 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 *ICPANI* 415. ᶜAttai was married to a man of the Aᶜabᐠ family and in a date between 89 and 188 AD, she offered an altar to Baalshamîn. We have provisionally chosen a date halfway between the two, placing ᶜAttai's birth around 82 AD, although it might well be much earlier. Furthermore we have identified the symposiarch Yarḥai of *CIS* 3964 with Yarḥibôlâ[10] of *Inv XI*, 20 as they have the same ancestor ᶜArgan (ᶜArgâ is a variant of ᶜArgan) and the name Yarḥai is not other than an abbreviated form of Yarḥibôlâ. In 263 AD, his son offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

imal family of the Claudia tribe: tower tomb no.155, N and hypogeum of Bôlbarak, VT

ḤWML [1]

BWLBRK [2]

MQYMW [3]

MLKW [4]

ZBYD' [5]

MQYMW [6]

ZBYD' THEODÒROS [7]

MLKW [8]   MQYMW MUKIANOS [9]   YRḤY HÉLIODÒROS [10]   'T'QB [15]

MLKW [11]   BWLBRK [12]   LJŠMŠ [13]   MLKW [14]   HYRN [20]   'Ḥ' [21]

'ŠL' [16]   ~   MQYMW [17]   ~   'TWY [18]   YRḤY [19]   BWLḤ' [26]

'ŠTT [22]   BWLBRK [23]   'QMT [24]   GB' [25]

MQYMW [27]   ~   'TP [28]   BWRP' [29]

'ŠTDTH [30]   —   ~   —   BWLBRK [31]   ~   'ŠLMT [32]

MQYMW [33]   WHBLT [34]   'TP [35]   BWLBRK [36]   'ŠTNNY [37]   'ŠLMT [38]
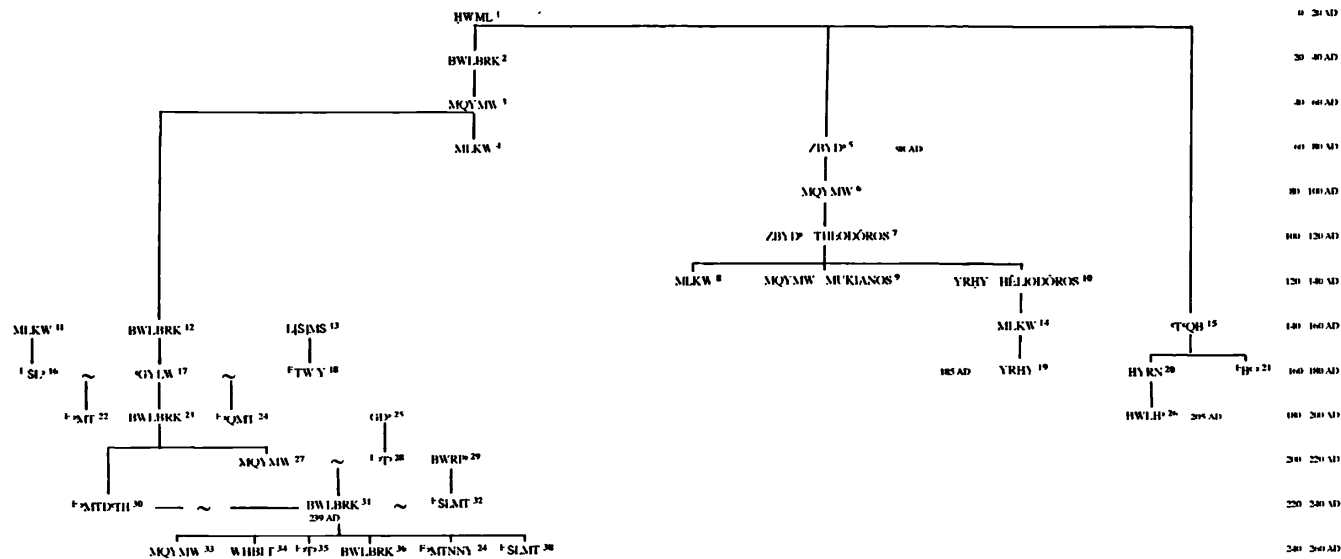
nily is widely attested and the restricted recurring of the ancestor's name, Haumal, made us ognize a single family for all the people mentioned in the inscriptions. A safe reconstruction p cannot always be given, but on the base of onomastics and available datings it may be calistic representation of the history of the family. The most ancient date available is 79/80 alkû[4] built the tower tomb no.155. He is said to belong to the Claudia tribe. Another tomb recorded in the family in 239 AD Bôlbarak[31] son of Moqimô[27] son of Bôlbarak[23] built the of an hypogeum in the Valley of Tombs. All the inscriptions regarding Bôlbarak's[31] family sarcophagus found in the tomb. It represents Bôlbarak, his two wives and their six children.) AD is considered by W. Suder (DM 2 (1985) 291 and 294) the date of death of Bôlbarak. dation text is introduced by the word slm 'statue' which is normally used for people still

alive opposed to bit 'alas' for people who are dead. If we surmise that Bôlbarak had built the tomb being in an age between 20 and 40 years old, then he must have been born around 200-220 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 220-240 AD. Keeping the same pattern for the rest of the family we are allowed to go back to 120-140 AD. On the genealogical tree proposed by W. Suder, art. cit., 291 Malkû[4] and Bôlbarak[12] are seen both as sons of Moqimô[3]. As we have seen, Bôlbarak's[12] birth should be placed around 120-140 AD and Malkû's[4] birth around 40-60 AD as he built a tomb in 79/80 AD when he must have been at least 20 years old. If we consider the duration of a generation the lapse of time including the years from the birth date of the parents and the one of their children, then the chronology in Suder for Malkû[4] cannot be either 100-130 (Sadurska) or 80-100 (Suder) as Malkû[4] was not yet born at that time.

It is to be noted in Bôlbarak's[31] family a custom in plurimarriages as he had two wives, Amaidutch and Salamallat and his great grandfather 'Ogeilû also was married twice. The frequency of names and the common ancestor Haumal have favoured the belonging of Zebidâ[5] and his family as part of the Haumal family. The date 98 AD for Zebidâ[5] comes from an inscription found in Wadi Hauran where the strategos Zebidâ son of Haumal is attested. Haumal is again attested as the ancestor of Bôlhâ[26], the administrator of the Spring Efca and he was also symposiarch. Bôlhâ had also built a building, the pool and the external wall of the Spring Efca and at the same time he had offered an altar. Ba'â is called BTHWML to underline that she was a member of the Haumal family. She must have been married to someone who had property in the tomb of Salamallat as the inscription attesting her comes from this tomb. In June 128 AD, an altar was offered to the Anonymous God by Belhamôn and Manawat at the expenses of a certain 'Ate'aqab son of Hairan. The altar was found not far from the Spring Efca. There might be a relation between the administrator's family and the one of 'Ate'aqab.

50. The Qasmâ family: from the hypogeum of Ṭaʿai, SE

QSMᵓ [1]
|
BWRᵖᵓ [2]
|
ᶜGYLW [3]
|
┌──────────────┼──────────────┐
BWRᵖᵓ [4]   Fᵖ...PM [5]   ᶜGYLW [6]

?

ṬY [7]
|
ᶜGᵓ [8]
|
BWRᵖᵓ [9]
|
ᶜGᵓ [10]
|
┌──────────────┼──────────────┐
MLᵓ [11]   F BWLYᵓ [12]
|
F ᵓMBY [13]
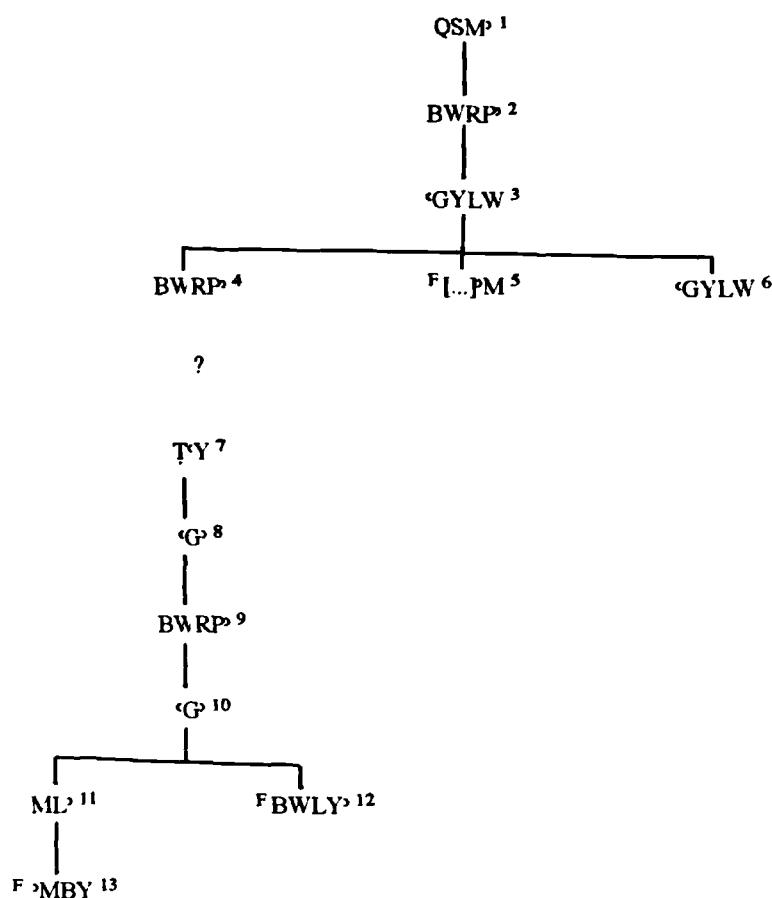
The only available date from the hypogeum of Ṭaʿai is the foundation date which is between 88 and 188 AD as the inscription is damaged. The tomb according to the style of the sculptures had been built at the beginning of the 2nd c. AD. The above genealogical tree has been reconstructed taking into account the onomastic patterns, and the patronymy and the sculpture categories. The bust of Bôrrefâ[9], ʿOggâ[10] and Bôlayâ all belong to the second group of Palmyrene sculpture, that is 150-200 AD. The one of Ommabî, 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 *ICPANI* 482.

51. The Samšigeram family

SMŠGRM [1]	19 29 AD
NŠWM [2]	39 - 49 AD
MLKW [3]	59 69 AD
SMŠGRM [4] NŠWM [5] X [6] 119 AD	79 -89 AD
FTM [7] BWRP› [8] MLKW [9]	99 - 109 AD
ZBD› [10]	119 - 129 AD
NŠWM [11]	139 - 149 AD
MLKW [12] NŠWM [13]	159 - 169 AD
MLKW [14] MLWK› [15]	179 - 189 AD
YWLYS ›WRLYS ZBDLH [16] [YWLYS ›WRLYS SPTMYJWS MLK[W] [17]	199 - 209 AD
242/243 AD	
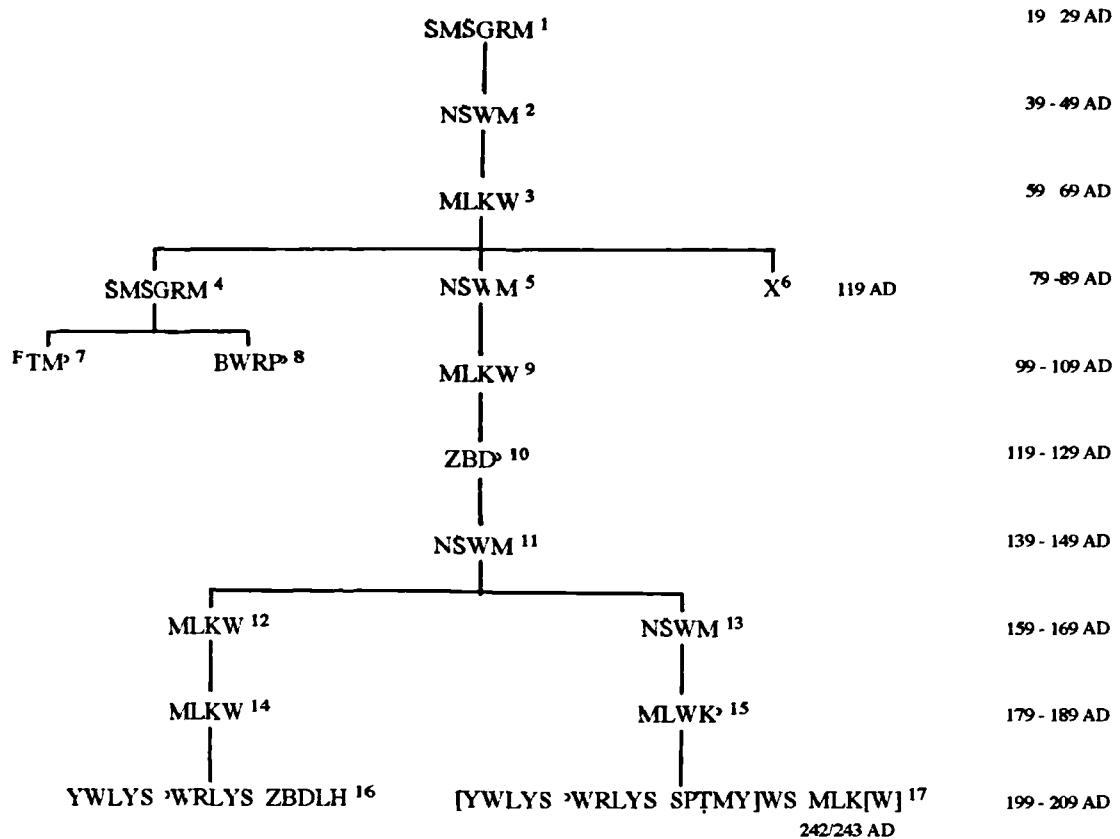
Inscription *Inv X*, 106 dated to 119 AD, has been the starting point for the recostrucuon of this family. This is the earliest date at our disposal. The name of the synedros is unfortunately lost, but we presume that to hold such a high posiuon the person must have been in his thirties, so that his birth would take place around 90 AD. Is he to be identified to Naššûm[5] that appears in *RTP* 773 as symposiarch? Another point is that Naššûm son of Zabdâ is called Julius Bassus on the tessera *RTP* 778. Julii Bassi 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 Zabdilah was strategos in 229 when Severus Alexandros visited Palmyra and agoranomus before 242/243 AD. Julius Aurelius Septimius Malkû had the title of *kratistos* 'eminent' and he is said to be client of Worôd in 265 AD. Some members belonged to the Palmyrene pnesthood as few tesserae attest. Naššûm[5] was honoured by Allat and other deiues as we found in a dedication of which only the Greek version is preserved. He must be the Naššûm of *RTP* 773 and 774. Bôrrefâ son of Samšigeram built a tomb for his family. The location is unknown and the date is 158 AD.

52. The ʿAbissai family

ʿBSY [1]		20 AD
RPᵓL [2]		30 AD
NSᵓ [3]	ḤLᵓ [4]	50 AD
NSᵓ [5]	NSᵓ/ᴺSᵓ [6]	70 AD
	ḤLᵓ [7]	90 AD
145 - 150 AD NSᵓ/NSᵓ [8]	ᵓḤMR [9]	110 AD
	NSᵓ [10]	130 AD
	ḤLᵓ [11] NBWZBD [12]	150 AD
	NSᵓ [13] NSᵓ [14]	170 AD
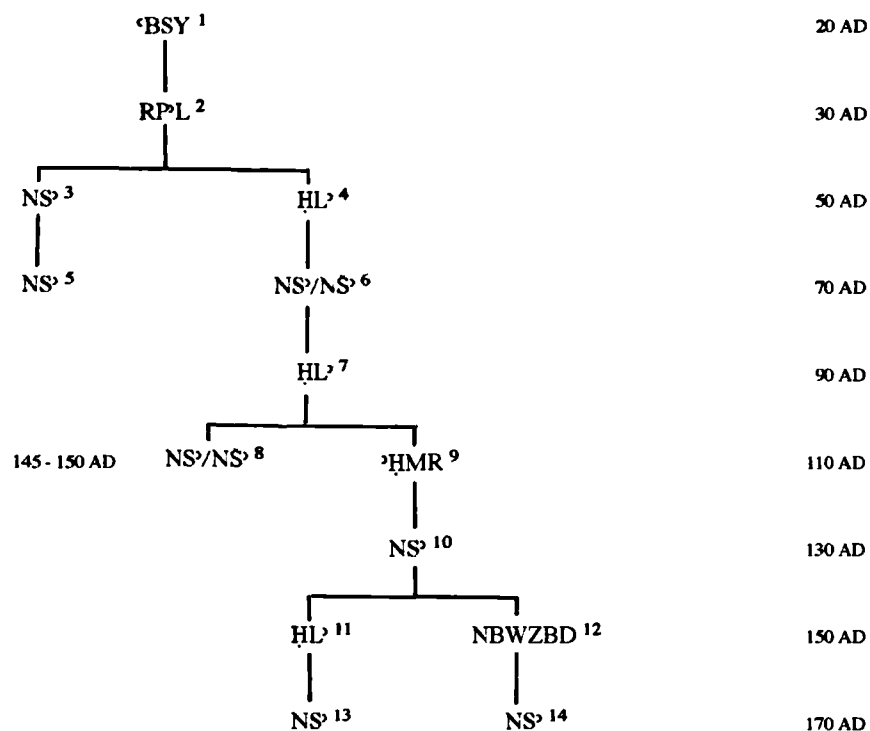
Two dated inscriptons (*CIS* 3916=*Inv IX*, 14a and *Inv X*, 124) refer to the synodiarch, head of caravans, Nesâ/Nešâ [8]. He was honoured twice by the tradesmen who went to and back with him from Phoral and Vologesias. The text *CIS* 3916 is written on the 8th column of the Southern Colonnade of the 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. Aḥmar'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*, 14 b has a cursive type of script (same period or later). For chronological reasons has been considered Nesâ's[8] brother. Of the name ʿBSY is also attested the variant ʿBSY and ʿBSᵓ (see *PNPI* 103). The bilingual text *CIS* 3916, gives the Greek transcription of ʿBSᵓ, Abisseos. The anthroponym is derived from Arabic ʿ *ibis* 'austere, severe' and is also found in Safaitic, see *ICPANI* 402.

53. The ʿAṣûlî family: from the hypogeum of Abdaʿastôr, SW

ꜣṢWLY [1]   41 BC

ʿTNWRY [2]   11 BC

KHYLW [3]   19 AD

NWRBL [4]   49 AD

ʿBDꜣSTWR [5]   99 AD   79 AD

ZBDꜣTH [6]   ᶠBʿLTGꜣ [7]   YRḤBWLꜣ [8]   BWNꜣ [9]   109 AD

ʿBDꜣSTWR [10]   ʿBDꜣSTWR [11]   ᶠBʿLTG[ꜣ] [12]   YDYʿBL [13]   139 AD

MQY [14]   ᶠYWLYꜣ ꜣWRLYꜣ SLMT [15] ~ ZBYDꜣ [16]   SLMNꜣ [17] 239 AD   169 AD

ᶠḤGꜣ [18]   199 AD
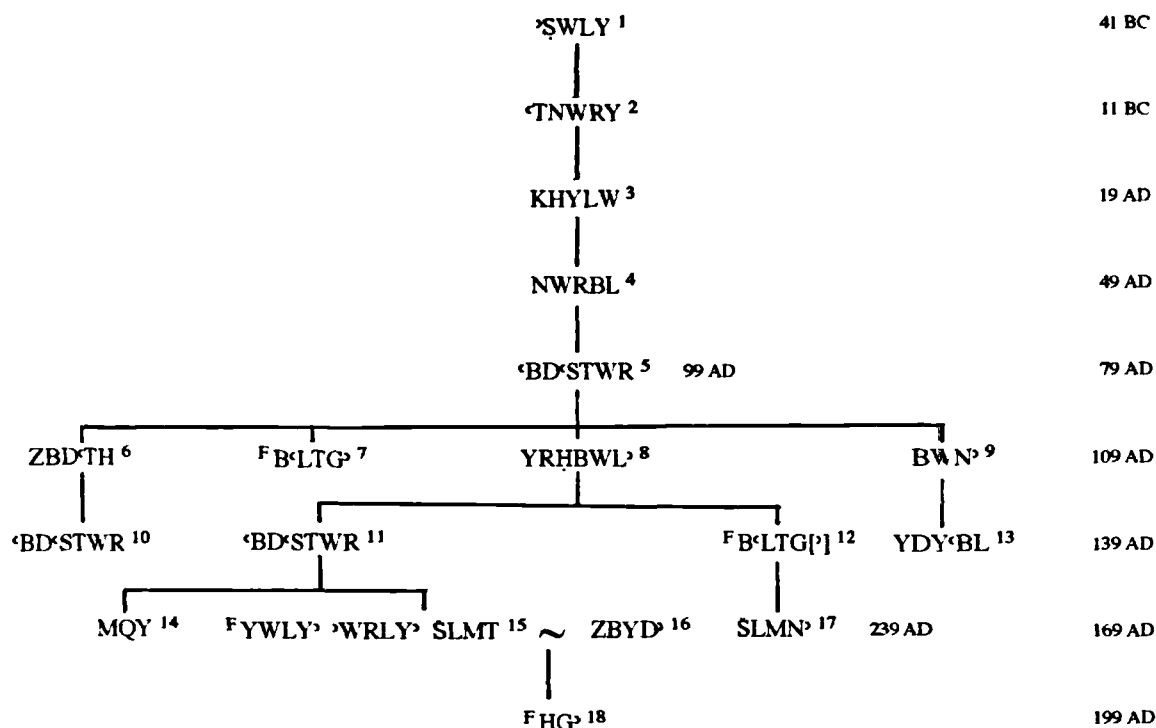
ʿAbdʿ astor son of Nûrbel the physician, built in 99 AD a tomb for himself and his family. Beside the foundation text, we have only one cession text recorded almost one hundred and forty years later by the great-granddaughter of the tomb builder. Many other people were buried in this tomb but we do not 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 CIS4418 we based ourselves on papponimy supposing a regular recurrence of ʿAbdʿastôr's name. The latter seems to be typical of this family. In CIS 4417 the link is the name Baʿaltagâ, as the founder's daughter's name is Baʿaltagâ, thus implying a Baʿaltagâ already in the family, possibly Nûrbel'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 ʿAbdʿastôr and his great-granddaughter. Julius Aurelius Salmat is a joint-owner of the side-chamber to the right when you enter the tomb, with Amdabû freedwoman of Julius Aurelius Abdsamayâ and foster-mother of Bonnê son of Rafael.

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54. The Mahôî family: tomb in Qaryatein

```
MTNY alias MHWY 1                                            65 55 BC
     |
   BWN³ 2                                                    45 35 BC
     |
   MTNY 3                                                    25 - 15 BC
     |
  TYMḤ³ 4                                                    5 BC - 5 AD
     |
  MLKW 5                                                    15 - 25 AD

ḤRS³ 6        NWRBL 7      ∽      F NBY 8                    35 - 45 AD
  |
F TMᵖ 9            ∽       MTNY 10   95 AD                   55 - 65 AD
                   |
                TYMY 11                                      75 - 85 AD
            ┌──────┴──────┐
         NWRBL 12      F TMᵖ 13                              95 - 105 AD
```
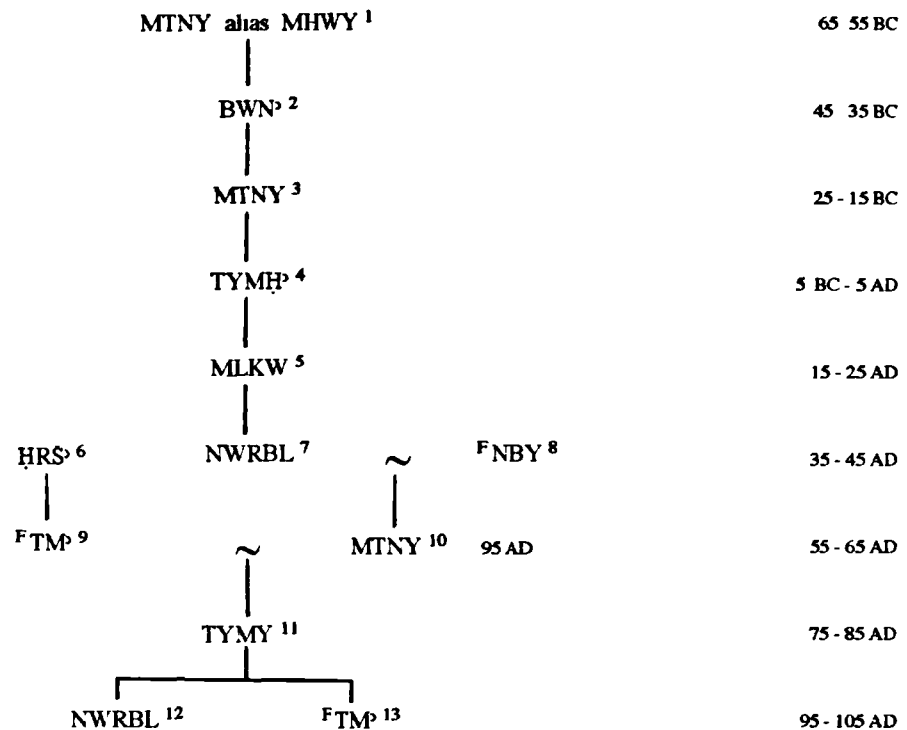
Mattanai[10] built a tomb in Qaryatein for his father Nûrbel and his mother Nabbai probably already dead at the time. Mahôî preceded by the expression *dy mlqrh* 'called' stands for the family name that is the ancestor'sname. The name MÂHÔY is attested as Persian in Gignoux, *Iranisches*, 113 no.545 where it is explained as an hypoconsticon of the personal name MÂH 'Persian'. The name MHWY is also found in Aramaic incantation bowls, see *AITN* no.28, spelled with a *ḥet*

55. The Mattâ family: tower tomb no.85b of Aʿailamî and Zebîdâ, VT

10 - 30 AD		MTʾ [1]	10 - 30 AD
30 - 50 AD		ḤYRN [2]	30 - 50 AD
50 - 70 AD		MQYMW [3]	50 - 70 AD
70 - 90 AD	† after 139 AD	ḤYRN [4] MQYMW - MOUKIANOS [5]	70 - 90 AD
90 - 110 AD	† after 148 AD ʾʿYLMY [6]	† after 149 AD ZBYDʾ [7] ~ ʾMTḤʾ - AMATHAES [8] ḤYRN - HERÔDES [9]	90 - 110 AD
110 - 130 AD	ḤYRN [10]	ʾʿYLMY [12] MQYMW [13] BWLY - BÔLANOS [14] ~ ḤNWNY? - KALLISTÊ [15] † after 162 AD	110 - 130 AD
130 - 150 AD	MQYMW [16]		130 - 150 AD
150 - 170 AD	† 233/234 AD ZBYDʾ [17]		150 - 170 AD
170 - 190 AD	ʿBTḤBY [18] MQY [19] BR[K]ʾ [20] † 226 AD		170 - 190 AD

According to an accurate study by C. Makowski (*DM* 1 (1983) 175-187) of the sculptures from the Aʿailamî and Zebîdâ's 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 *Moukιανou*, most likely, MQYMW is the Palmyrene correspondant. For the name *Kαλλιστη*, Milik, p. 251 has proposed ḤNWNY or [Ḥ]NNY but the beginning of the line does not seem to have a missing letter. There is a NNʾ, female name or NYNYʾ but attested only as masculine. The tomb was founded in 119 AD by the two brothers Aʿailamî and Zebîdâ. Aʿailamî and his father Ḥairan 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 Bôlai-Bôlanos who held one

of the most important charges at Palmyra, that is the administration of the Spring Efca 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 Zebîdâ[17] and Moqîmû. In the tesserae *RTP* 375 and 580 we find a [MQ]YMW ZBYD[ʾ] ḤY[RN] and a MQYMW ZBYDʾ respectively. This priest Moqîmû must be the same in both tesserae and he could be identified either with Moqîmû[13] brother of the symposiarch Bolanos or he may be considered a brother of the priest Zebîdâ[17].

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56. The Lišamš **family: from the hypogeum of** Faṣael **and** Zebîdâ

LSMS [1]

|

LSMS [2]

|

ʿWYD [3]

|

ʿSTWRGʾ [4]

|

PṢYʾL [5]

|

ʿSTWRGʾ [6]

|

LSMS [7]

|

F SGL [8]   193 AD
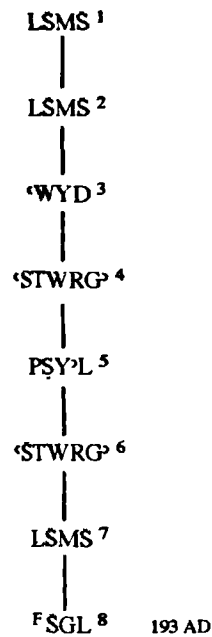
This hypogeum was built by Faṣael son of ʿAstôrgâ but we do not know when as the date is not given in the inscription. This records also a cession of part of the tomb made by the great-granddaughter of the builder, Segel. The year is 193 AD. Faṣael excavated two galleries on the right and Zebîdâ one gallery to the left.

57. The Mariôn **family**

ʿWYDʾ [1]

|

MRYWN [2]   TYMRṢW [3]

| |

ʾLHBL [4]   ʿWYDʾ [5]

┌──────┴──────┐ |

+217 AD   F MRTY [6]   MRYWN [7] ∼   F BʿLT[GP [8]   +217 AD

|

HYRN [9]

|

ʾLHBL [10]

|

MRYWN [11]

|

HGGW [12]
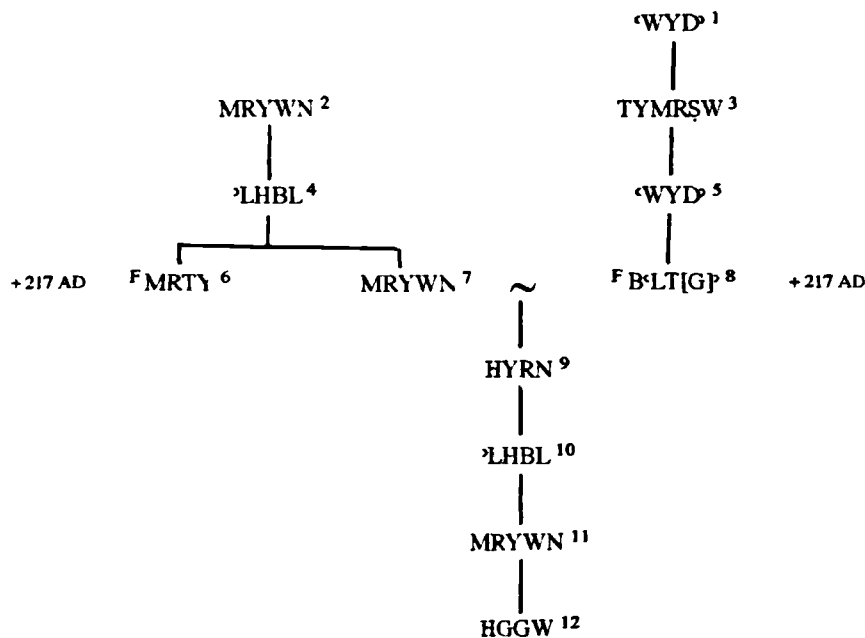
The only date available is 217 AD when Manôn 's wife and sister died. He was a pnest and if our identification is correct his wife's father ʿAwîdâ was a symposiarch. Following the onomastic patterns this seems to be the only family tree possible but we cannot justify it from a chronological point of view because of the lack of datings. The name MRYWN is to be considered the Greek name Manôn, see WGE 862 and LGPN 298. The name is attested another time at Palmyra, see Inv IX, 24.

58. The Nešâ family: tower tomb no.187 of ʿOgeilû and his sons
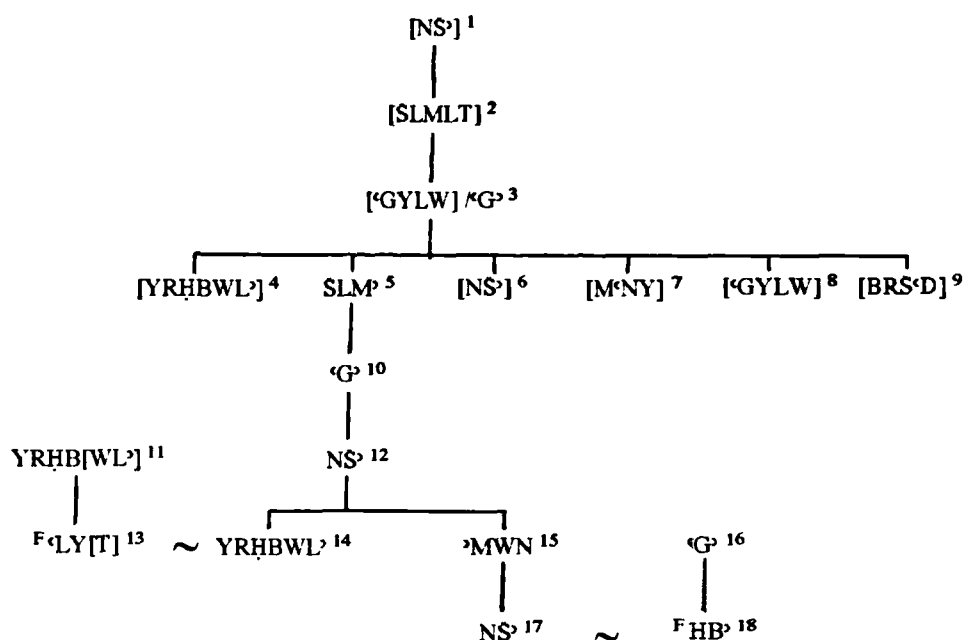
Of the foundation text *CIS* 4215 only the Greek text is left. The names being all well known have been easily identified and transcribed into Palmyrene. The foundation date is lost. The busts of two brothers, both of them symposiarchs, are one in the Museum of Archaeology of the American University 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 ʿAliyat of *CIS* 4411 the wife of Yarhibôlâ son of Nesâ, (son of) ʿOggâ, taking into account onomastics and sculptural evidence. The same is true for *CIS* 4423. It is worth noting the abbreviated form of ʿOgeilû in ʿOggâ and Salamallat in Salmâ.

59. The Qûqaḥ family

30 BC	SMʿWN alias QWQḤ RBʾ [1]	30 BC
10 BC	ḤLPTʾ [2]	10 BC

QWQḤ [3]   SʾYLʾ [4]   NSʾ [5]   F TMʾ [6]   TYMRṢW [7]   10 AD

Ḥ[L]PTʾ [8]   SMʿWN [9]   ḤNYNʾ [10]   NSʾ [11]   ḤLPTʾ [12]   30 AD

QWQḤ [13]   F ṢPRʾ [14]   TYMʾ [15]   50 AD

ḤLPTʾ [16]   ZBDʾ [17]   ZBYDʾ [18]   70 AD

TYMʾ [19]   +150 AD F NʿMY [20]   ~   ḤLPTʾ [21]   90 AD

ZBYDʾ [22]   110 AD
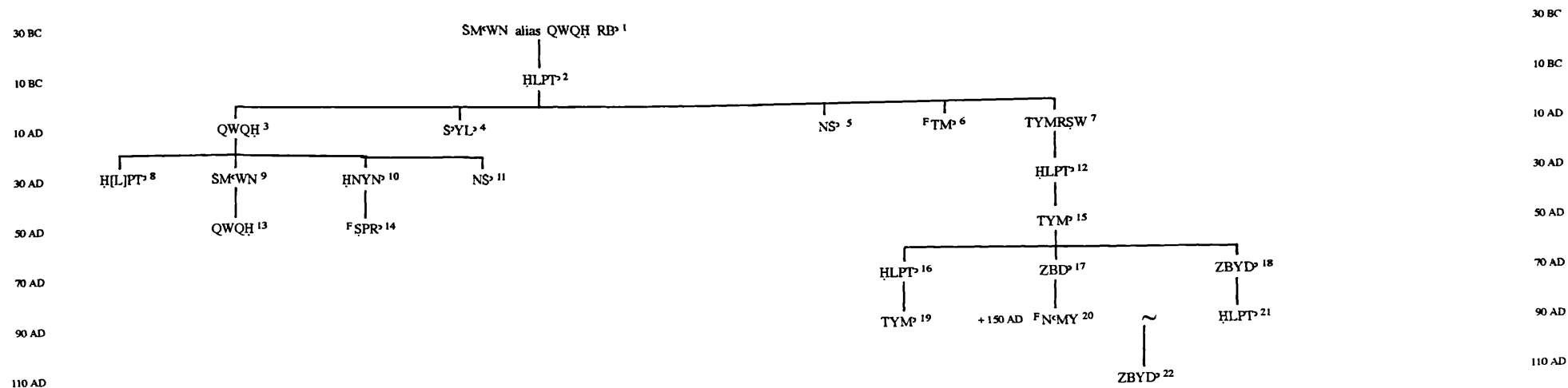
For this family we have only one date which is 150 AD. If our reconstruction is correct, this family is one among the oldest families at Palmyra. The onomastics helped to identify Ḥalaftâ[12] of *CIS* 4268 with the one of Qûqaḥ Rabbâ's family attested in *CIS* 4277. In *Inv VIII*, 198 Qûqaḥ is written Qûqâ which must be a mispelling for the first as this name appears only here. Tammâ could also be the daughter of Ḥalaftâ[12] or Ḥalaftâ[8]. The name QWQḤ is also attested in Syriac, see Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, 3558.

60. The Sewîrâ family

YD R[..][1]

MZBN[2]

SWYR[3]

X[4]

TYM[5]   [YR]HBWL[6]   ～   FX[7]

97 AD   TYMRSW[8]   HGGW[9]

TYM[10]   'GYLW[11]

153 AD   SWYR[12]   MQY[13]

'GYLW[14]   199 AD
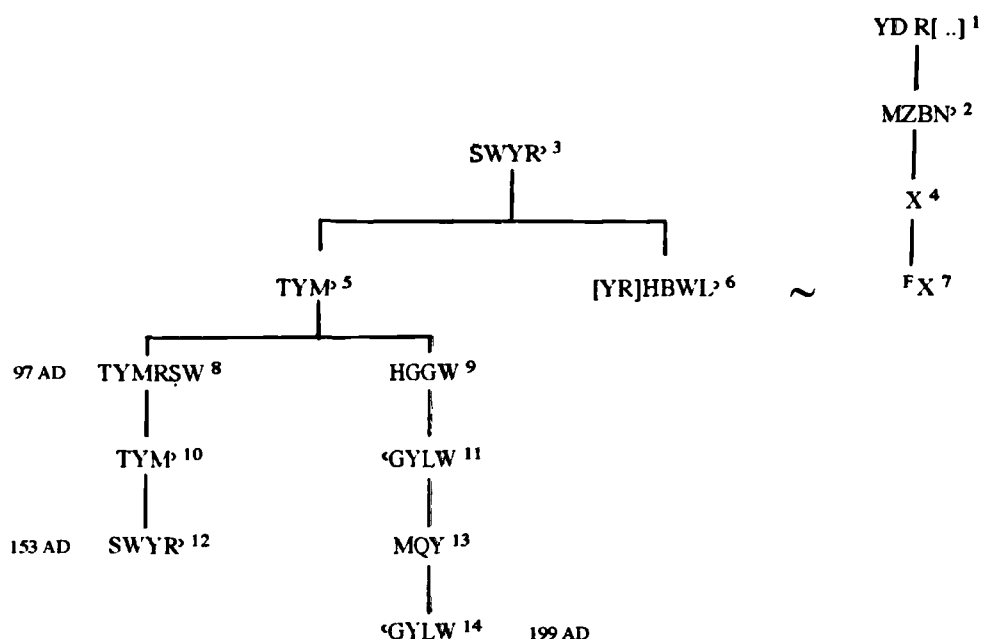
In the year 97 AD, the two brothers Taimarṣû and Ḥaggû must have been active under the orders of a strategos of nomads, Zebîdâ Haumal in the SE desert of Palmyra in the year 97 AD. A grandson of Taimaṣû , Sewîrâ made a relief together with a certain Malê son of [...]MLKY to the merciful and bountiful gods Baalshamîn, 'Aghbôl, Malakbel, Astarte, Nemesis, Arṣû and Abgal. The year is 153 AD. Another member of this family 'Ogeilû[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. Yarhibôlâ 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 symposiarch belongs to this family as well as the family of 'Oggâ son of 'Ogeilû, founder in the SE necropolis of the lower tomb no.194. No clear evidence are available. Cf. Milik, p. 23-25.

(see below no. 101 and 103)

61. The Yaᶜatai family
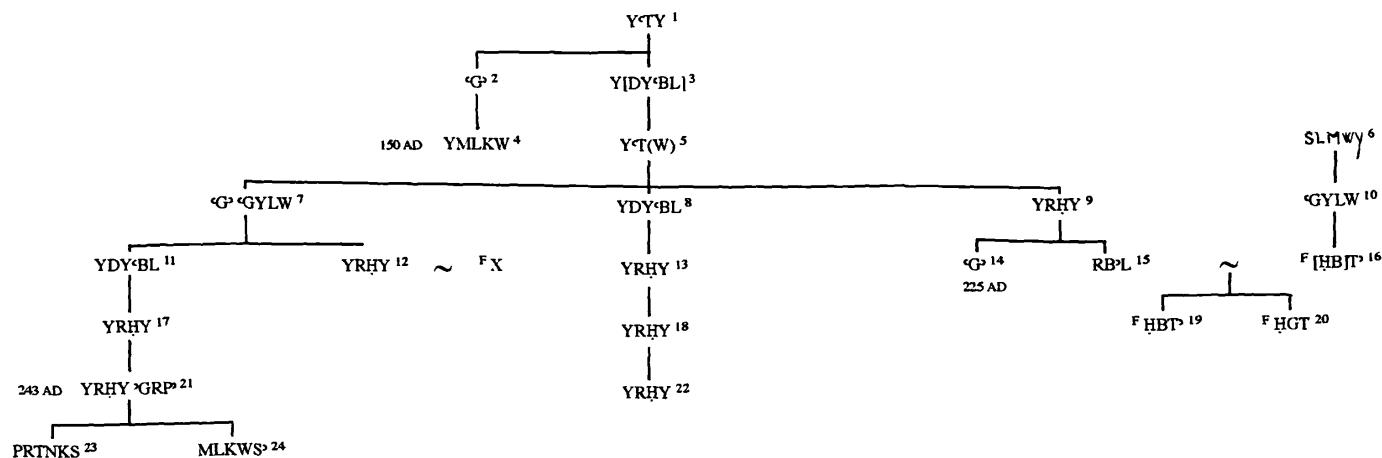
Yarḥai Agrippa is a symposiarch of the thiasos of the temple of Bel whose office expired in 243 AD. One of his sons Pertinax appears in *RTP* 806 and the other, Malkûsâ may be the same of *CIS* 4385. In *PNO*, p. 177 we find ᶜG' MRQL' YᶜT which is clearly related to this family but it is difficult to find for him a safe position in the genealogical tree. In *Inv XI, 69* the name of ᶜOggâ's[7] grandfather is lost. As the papponimy recurs here with a certain regularity, we have surmised that it might be Yedîᶜbel[3]. In *CIS* 3967, in the year 150 AD, a certain Yamlikû son of ᶜOggâ, son of Yaᶜatai was honoured with the erection of a statue. Clear seems to be the connection of Yamlikû with this family. It is also possible to imagine that ᶜG'ᶜGYLW[7] 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 ᶜOggâ son of Yaᶜatai and brother of Y[DYᶜBL]. If the reconstruction is right, the name ᶜOggâ will return for three generations.

The vocalisation of the name YᶜT can be found in the bilingual text *CIS* 4022 where the Greek transcription of the name is Eiathos. In the same text, the name ḤBT' is rendered Abbatha and HGT is to be vocalized Aggath.

SEVEN GENERATIONS

62. The A‘ailamî family: hypogeum of Belhazî and his sons, SE

```
                                            ꜣ ‘YLMY ¹
                                               │
                                            ZBDBWL ²
                                               │
                                            NWRY ³
                    ┌──────────────────────────┼──────────────┐
              BLḤZY ⁴                        ‘GYLW ⁵        ḤYRN ⁶      34 AD
        ┌────────┬───────┬───────┐                            │
   ꜣ ‘YLMY ⁷  NRGLZBD ⁸  ‘GYLW ⁹  FꜣQMT ¹⁰                ZBDBWL ¹¹    87 AD
        │
   WHBLT ¹²
        │
   F SGL ¹³
```
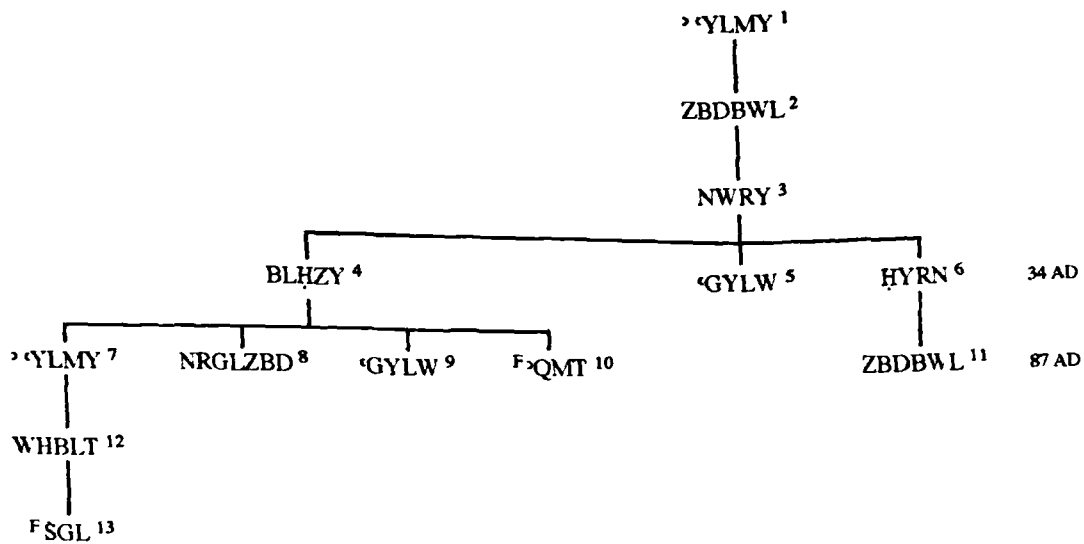
In 87 AD, Belhazî and his sons A‘ailamî, Nergalzabad and ‘Ogeilû built an hypogeum in the SE necropolis. The tomb is made in honour of the sons of their paternal uncle and of the descendants of A‘ailamî. Another person seems to take part to the construction, that is Wahballat son of Belnûrî Bôsâ. Wahballat 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. ‘Ogeilû⁵ is a member of the thiasos of the ‘holy garden' dedicated to ‘Aghibôl and Malakbel and in 34 AD, together with eight more thiasists, he offered an altar to these two gods.

63. The Elahbel family of the Fabia and Sergia tribes: tower tomb no.13 of Elahbel, VT

TYMRṢW RBʾ [1]

| 7 BC - 3 AD | | | ʾLHBL [2] | ʿTRṢWRY [3] | SLMN [4] | 7 BC - 3 AD |

| 13 - 23 AD | ḤYRN [5] | | NSʾ [6] | MLKW [7]   MʿNY [8] | SKYY [9] | 13 - 23 AD |

| 33 - 43 AD | MLKW [10]   ʾLHBL [11] | | BLʿQB [12] | ʾTPNY [13]   WHBLT [14] ~ F SGL [15] | SLMT [16] | 33 - 43 AD |

| 53 - 63 AD | ʾLHBL alias SATURNINUS [17]   ḤYRN [18]   GʾYS YWLYS ḤYRN [19] | F [PQ]MT [20]   MRQS ʾLPYS ʾLHBL [21] | ~ F ʾMTḤ [23]   MʿNY [24] † 30 oct 121   ~ F BLTYḤN [25] | SKYY [26] ~ Fʾ MTʾ (35)   MLKW [27] ~ F ʿTY [28] | 53 - 63 AD
103 - 120/121 AD |

| 73 - 83 AD | BGDN [29]   MLKW [30]   [ʾLHBL] [31]   MʿNY [32]   WHBLT [33]   BLʿQB [34] ~ F SGL (43)   Fʾ MTʾ [35]   F SGL [36]   F HDYRT [37] | ʾTPNY [38]   WHBLT [39] ~ F ʾMTʾ [44]   F HDYRT [40] | WHBLT [41]   ʾLHBLʾ [42]   F SGL [43]   Fʾ MTʾ [44]   WHBLT [45] ~ F SGL (36)   F SGL [46] | 73 - 83 AD |

MʿNY [47]

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, Maʿanai, Sokayyî and Malkû founded the tower tomb no.13 called of Elahbel. Elahbel[21], the first born, was a Roman citizen because he bears the gentilic Marcus Ulpius (the citizenship given by Trajan, see D. Schlumberger, *BÉO* 9 (1942-43) 53, 66 nos.5-7) and in Bounni and Saliby, *AAS* 15 (1965) 126-135=Milik, p. 163 he is said to belong to the Sergia tribe . Maʿanai, his brother, died the 30th of October 121 AD. This is one of the few dates available. Sokayyî[26] is attested in two tesserae, *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 (Palm.-Latin) erected a statue in honour of Celesticus, the centurio of Legio III Gallica, IV Scythica and VI Ferrata. The fourth brother Malkû[27] 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: Sokayyî[26] is married to Amatê[35], his brother's daughter; Malkû[27] married his cousin ʿAttai[28] and the same does Belʿaqab[34], Wahballat[39] and Wahballat[45]. Caius Julius Ḥairan[19] belongs to the Fabia 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 Daká family

	DK' 1	81 91 AD
	ZBD'TH 2	101 111 AD
	MQYMW 3	121 131 AD
181 182 AD YRHY 7 — X 5		141 151 AD
	YRHY 6	161 171 AD
	YHYB' 7	181 - 191 AD
232 261 AD HGGW 8		201 211 AD
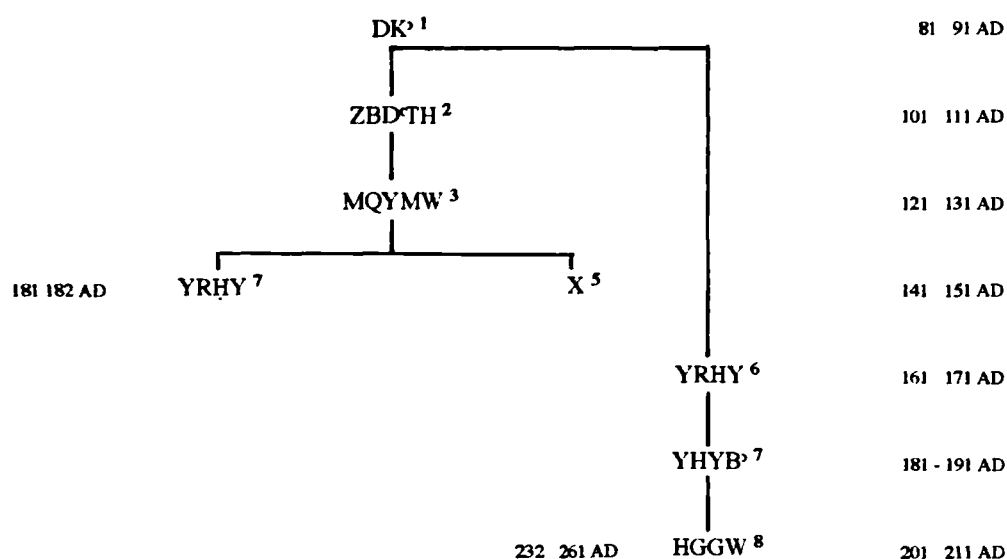
The name Daká is attested only in three inscriptions. This is why we preferred to present together these two family groups that may be related between them. Yarhai[4] received a statue from his father after his and his brother's death. The name of the brother is not given. One may identify him with Yarha[6]. Hagegû, attested in two texts, made in 232 AD and in 261 AD a dedication to the Anonymous God.

65. The Garbá family

GRB' 1		50 - 60 AD
MQYMW 2		70 - 80 AD
TYM' 3		90 100 AD
TYMRSW 4 — ZBYD' 5 158 AD		110 120 AD
YDY 6 — ZBDBWL 7 193 - 211 AD		130 - 140 AD
BR'' 8 TYMRSW 9		150 160 AD
M'N' 10 ~ F MRTHWN 11		170 180 AD
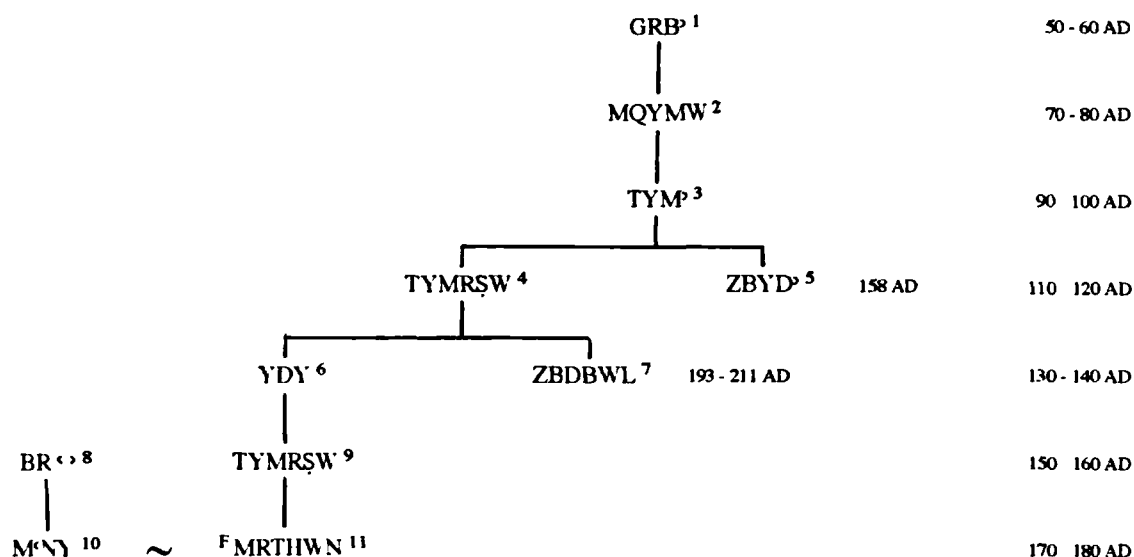
The Garbá family is attested from the end of the 1st c. AD to the first half of the 3rd c. AD. Some of the members have received special honours. In 158 AD, Zebîdâ brother of Taimarsû was honoured by the Senate and People of Palmyra because he loved his city and he founded something which is not specified in the inscription. His brother received honours from his sons Yaddai and Zabdibôl from the caravan people who went back from Spasinou Charax with him because he spared them from spending 300 golden dinars. Taimarsû[4] was the synodiarch, i.e. the chief of the caravan.

66. The Malê Rabbâ family : hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE
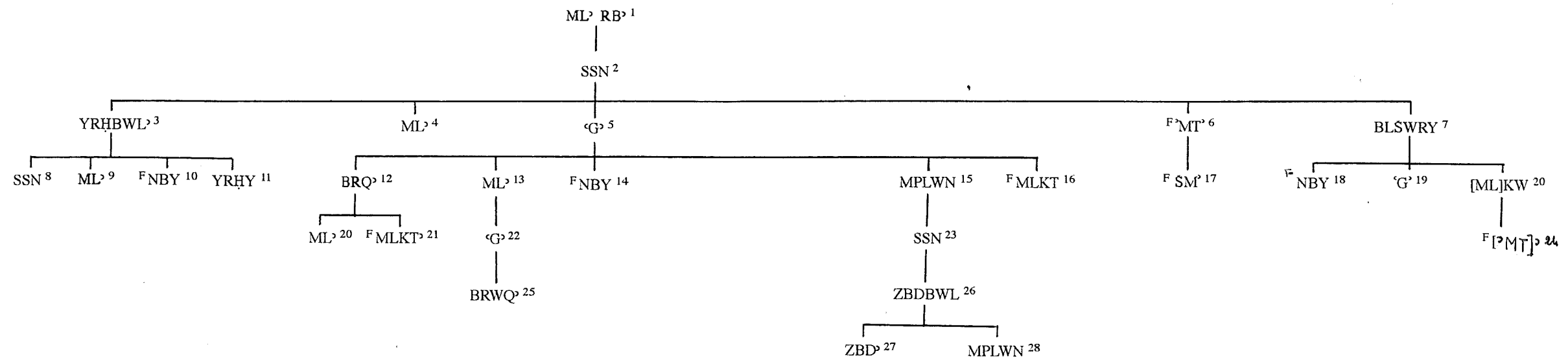
Sasan[2] is considered to be the founder of the hypogeum no.6 in the SE necropolis. The foundation text is lost and so eventual cession texts. The numerous sculptures available seem to belong to the 1st-2nd c. AD. Only one inscription is dated to the year 181 AD. The reconstruction has been made on onomastic and sculptural bases. The hypogeum has quite large dimensions. It contains six exedrae with a high number of loculi. Sarcophagi and funerary banquets have not been found. Furthermore, the modest decorations may reflect limited financial resources. This family was not authoctonous 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, ʾBRNYQ, ṬLHBL and MṬY, for some of which the etymology is unknown.

67. The Moqîmû family: hypogeum of Ṭaʿai, SE

```
                              MQYMW 1
                                 |
                               ṬY 2
                                 |
   _____
   |                 |              |           |                     |
 MQYMW 3         ЈDYʿBL 4       YRHBWLЈ 5    ZBDLЈ 6              BWRPЈ 7
   |                                |           |                     |
 _____                           MQYMW 10    ZBYDЈ 11    _____
 |   |                                        ZBDLЈ 13   |        |        |        |
ṬY 8 ṬY 9                                               ṬY 12  ᴿQBWD RM 13 [..PЈ 14  Ҳ 15
       |
    MQYMW 16
   _____
   |        |         |
 ṬY 18  BWRPЈ 19  ᶠMWDLЈ 20
                     |
                  ᶠBRTЈ 21
```
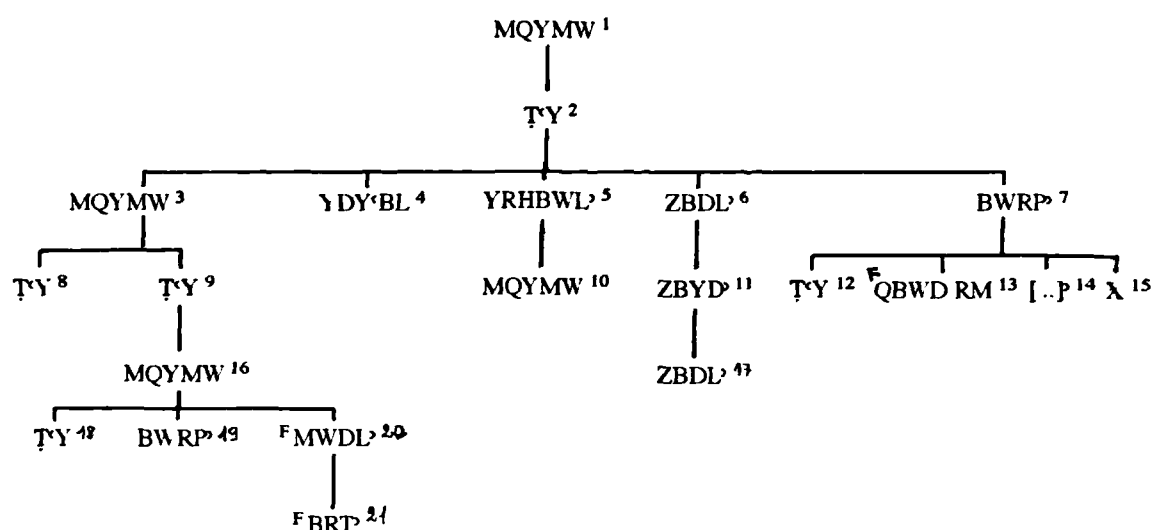
According to the foundation text (*RSP* 1), the hypogeum was founded by ʿOgeilû son of Bôrefâ, son of Qasmâ. We wonder whether this family belongs or not to Ṭaʿai's family. The recurring of some names in both families would favour to recognize them as a whole group (see above no.50, the Qasmâ family). 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 Ṭaʿai (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 Ṭaʿai and *RSP* 16 of Nabûlâ son of Maʿanû, son of Ṭaʿai have not found place in the tree.

ûsûrî Rabbâ family: hypogeum of Bôlhâ, SE

bôlhâ was built by Bôlhâ son of NabûSûrî. From the inscription *RSP* 79, we learn that he
?4 AD. A date between 49 and 69 can be chosen as birth so that at the moment of the death
5 years old. The spelling BWLH? changes often in BLH? and NBWSWRY becomes
BWSWR. We retained the most common spellings with W and Y. The tomb is largely
Bôlhâ's and his brother's families Baᶜadiyâ?¹was married to her nephew who probably was
of Bôlhâ the founder. We have two cases in which at the new born was given the name of a
?t. ᶜOgglâ?³² and ᶜOgeilû³³, ᶜOgeilû⁵⁵ and ᶜOgeilû⁵⁶ The reconstruction of this large family
on the bases of epigraphical and sculptural evidence, which helped us to identify the names
ions with their portraits. Being the onomastics so repetitive, it would have been almost
terwise. Members of this family belong to the Palmyrene priesthood. Malkû⁴⁹, Barᶜaich²⁴
?. Children usually have a matronymic in their genealogies, this is the case of Hairan⁴⁴ and
of ᶜNYBN?; ᶜOgeilû son of Barᶜabdas from the same tomb (see *RSP* 93) Amongst young
I two boys, ᶜOgglâ?³² and ᶜOgeilû³³; ᶜOgeilû⁴¹ and Qorbulâ⁴²; ᶜOgeilû⁵⁶ and Yarhai⁵⁹ For a
nb, see K. Makowski, *SP* 8 (1985) 79, fig. 2. On the exedra on the right when you enter the

tomb there is a sarcophagus representing two men Zabdibûl Qorbulâ and Bôlhâ, sons of ᶜOgeilû, son of Zabdibûl
NabûSûrî and one boy ᶜOgeilû son of Zabdibûl Qorbulâ. In the same exedra another sarcophagus represents two men
one of whom is a priest Malkû⁴⁹ and the other is his father ᶜOgeilû³⁶ son of Zabdibûl, son of Bôlhâ NabûSûr; a woman
ᶜAttâ⁵⁰ wife of Malkû appears as well as their sons Nabûdâ⁵⁴ and ᶜOgeilû⁵⁵. Between the legs of the inclinium there are
four busts, three of which bear names: Qorbulâ and ᶠBaᶜadâ sons of Malkû⁴⁹, son of ᶜOgeilû³⁶ and Tammâ⁵² daughter of
Hûrâ³⁶ son of Bôlhâ³⁷ A third sarcophagus in the same Northern exedra identifies Hermes, the freedman of Malkû and
Bôlhâ, Baᶜadiyâ, ᶜOgeilû ³⁶ son of Zabdibûl who married a nephew, and probably their grandchildren, ᶜOgeilû and
Yaᶜbai A fourth sarcophagus was found in the Southern exedra, where two men, a woman and two children are
portrayed. They are ᶜOgeilû²⁵, dead at the age of sixty, and his son NabûSûr³⁹, the priest. The name of the woman is
Aqmê daughter of Barᶜaich (*RSP* 103 c), probably the daughter of the priest Barᶜaich²⁴. For the family of
Baᶜadiyâ ¹⁰, see above no. 10.

611

69. The Nûrbel family: tower no.164, NW

```
                  NWRBL ¹                                    28  38 AD

                  │

                  ᵓBYHN ²                                    48  58 AD

                  │

                  SMᶜWN ³                                    68  78 AD

                  │

         PPLWS ᵓLYS ᵓBYHN ⁴    118 AD                       88  98 AD

                  │

              [TY]MRSW ⁵                                   108  118 AD

                  │

                  X ⁶                                      128 - 138 AD
         ┌────────┴────────────────┐
  YWLYS ᵓWRLYS ᵓBYHN ⁷      YWLYS ᵓWRLYS MLKW ⁸           148 - 158 AD
```
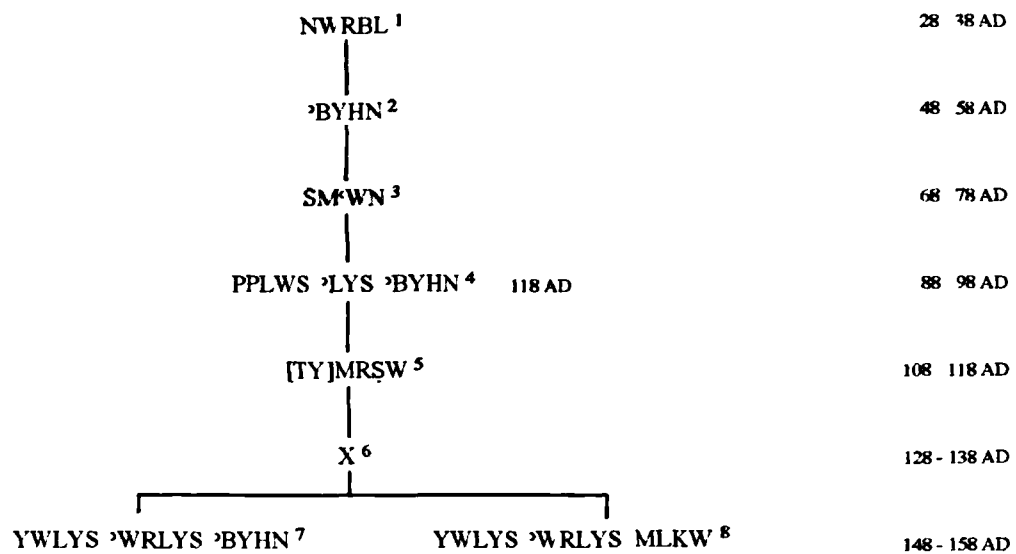
Publius Aelius Obaianes, as the Greek version tells us, was the founder of the tower tomb no.164 in the North West necropolis in 118 AD. Only one cession text is recorded beside the foundation one. Unfortunately the inscription is damaged so that no date is left and the Julii Aurelii Obaihan and Malkû 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 Taimarṣû and Julius Aurelius X sonsof ʿAwîdâ, son of Malkû.

70. The Qirdâ family

```
                              QRD⁰ ¹
                                │
                             TYBWL ²
                                │
                             YDY⁽Y ³                          ML⁰ ⁴
                                │                               │
     ꟻMRTY ⁵    ～   TYBWL ⁶                   QRD⁰ ⁷  ～  ꟻBTMLKW ⁸
                       │
200 AD ca.        X         X            YDY ⁹   ḤYRN ¹⁰   ḤYRN ¹¹   ꟻBT⁽⁰ ¹²
                                            │
                                         QRD⁰ ¹³
                                            │
                                         ḤYRN ¹⁴
```
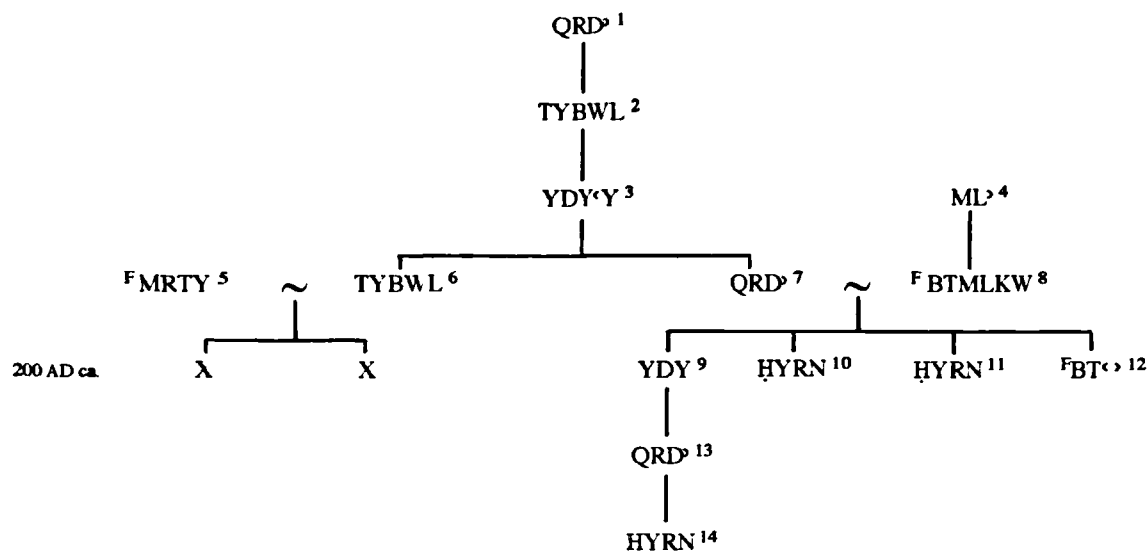
The name Qirdâ represents here the name of the whole family. It is not introduced by the word BR 'son'. The name is found in an inscription engraved on a funerary banquet representing the symposiarch Taibbôl son of Yadîꜥai Taibbôl Qirdâ, his wife Martî and two young men whose names are unknown. The triklinium is undated but sculpturarly is very similar to the one from the tombs of Yarḥai, Bôlḥâ and the Three Brothers, Yarḥai, ꜥAtenûrî and Zabdibôl. 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 Qirdâ appears only in four more reliefs. Its ranty 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 Batmalkû and her husband Qirdâ gave to the second-born the same name, Hairan, of the first-born who died when he was still a child. Qirdâ⁷ is also father to Batꜥa and Yaddai and his name, in this istance, is introduced by the word 'son'. One might be tempted to see in Yaddai the grandchild of Yadîꜥai but the first is not an abbreviation of the second. Yaddai must derive from a different root than Yadîꜥai. In fact, in the Greek transcription we have a doubling of the letter 'd' that does not take place for Yadî ꜥai which comes from the root yd ꜥ 'to know'. The name QRD⁰ finds parallels in Safaitic, QRD, cf. ICPANI 479 vocalized QIRD, see CIK 469.1.

71. The Qurqeban? family

```
                              QRQPN ¹                          70 BC
         ┌────────────────────────┐
     HLKS ²                        │                           50 BC
       │                          │
   [M]LKW ³      4 AD             │                            30 BC
                                  │
                                  │                            10 BC
                                  │
                                  │                            10 AD
                                  │
                              ZBYD⁴                            30 AD
                      ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                 ʿSTWRGʾ⁵           SMʿWN⁶   ± 90 AD          50 AD
```
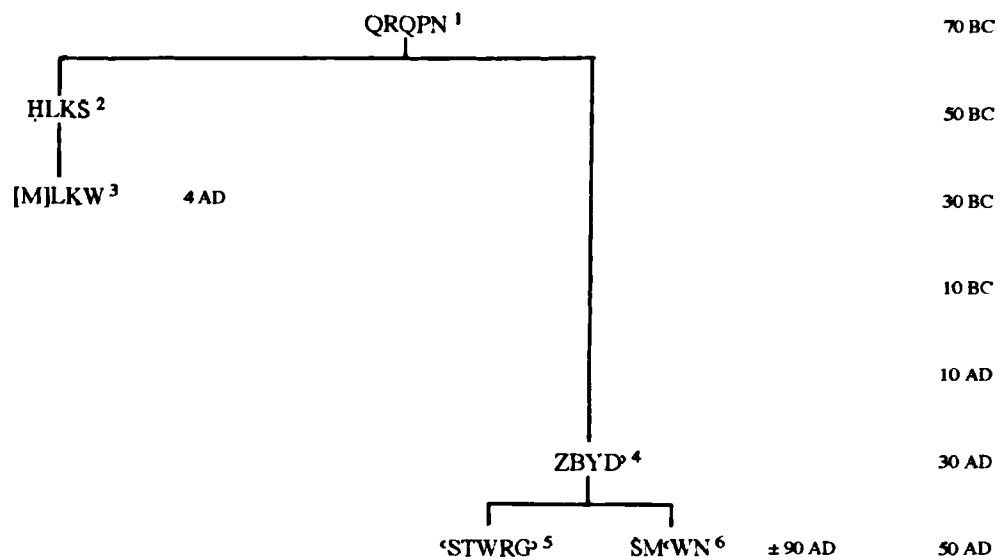
In *Tadmorea* *I*, 12 A is impossible to understand who honoured whom and why. ʿAstôrgâ and Simʿôn offered three columns to Baalshamîn in his temple.

72. The Ṣaʿadî family: hypogeum of the Three Brothers, SW

	ṢʿDY [1]		52 62 AD
	MLʾ [2]		72 82 AD
	ṢʿDY [3]		92 102 AD
NʿMʿYN [4]	MLʾ [5]	ṢʿDY [6] 142 191 AD	112 122 AD
		ZBDBWL [7]	132 - 142 AD
		ZBDBWL [8]	152 - 162 AD
	241 AD FYWLYʾ ʾWRLYʾ BTMLKW [9]		172 - 182 AD
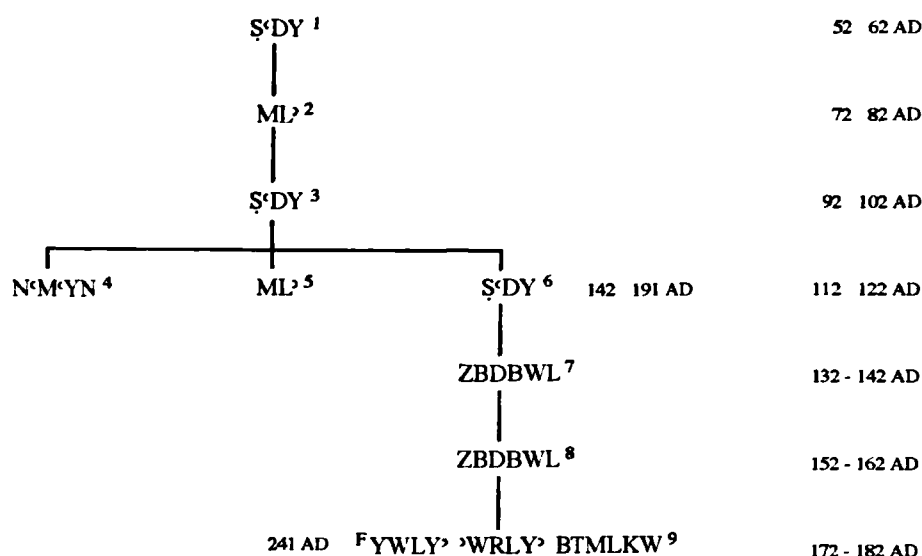
The hypogeum was founded by one of the three brothers, Malê, in 142 AD. The history of the tomb is known to us till 241 AD with a great-grandniece of the founder. In the year 160, AD two cessions of the tomb took place: Malê and his brothers gave to Ḥaddûdan son of Salman, son of Zabdibôl eight loculi 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 ʿAbdṣayarâ freedman of ʿAteʿaqab son of Rafabôl the whole exedra on the right when you enter and four loculi in the first central chamber. Thirty years later, they ceded to Zabdibôl son of Kaftût son of Barâ 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, Zabdibôl sold all his property to Narqaios freedman of ʿOgeilû son of Malkû (*CIS* 4173; see below no.600). In 191 AD, Narqaios 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 Simʿôn son of Abbâ, son of Honainâ, son of Abramâ (*CIS* 4174; see below no.89). Batmalkû, fifty years later, sold to Julius Aurelius Malê son of Yadaʿî, son of Yedîʿbel four loculi of the Northern wall of the first central chamber (*CIS* 4175). Malê[5], 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.

73. The Ṣefferâ family: tomb of the ʿAlainê

SPRʾ [1]

ʿLYNʾ [3]

HYRNʾ [5]

138 AD ʿLYNʾ [7]   † after 179 AD   ṢRYKWʾ [8]
† after 179 AD

'Ηρώδης - HYRNʾ [10]

† after 193   SPṬMYWS ʾLKSNDRWS [13]

† after 264 YWLYS ʾWRLYSʾ SPṬMYWS YDʾ [14]

SMʿWN [2]   60 80 AD

WHBLT [4]   80 100 AD

YDʾ [6]   100 - 120 AD

~ ᶠMRTY [9] † 179 AD   120 - 140 AD

YDʾ [11] † 4 4 AD   ʿGYLW [12]   140 - 160 AD

[...]ʾ [14]   Χ [15]   160 - 180 AD

                                  180 - 200 AD
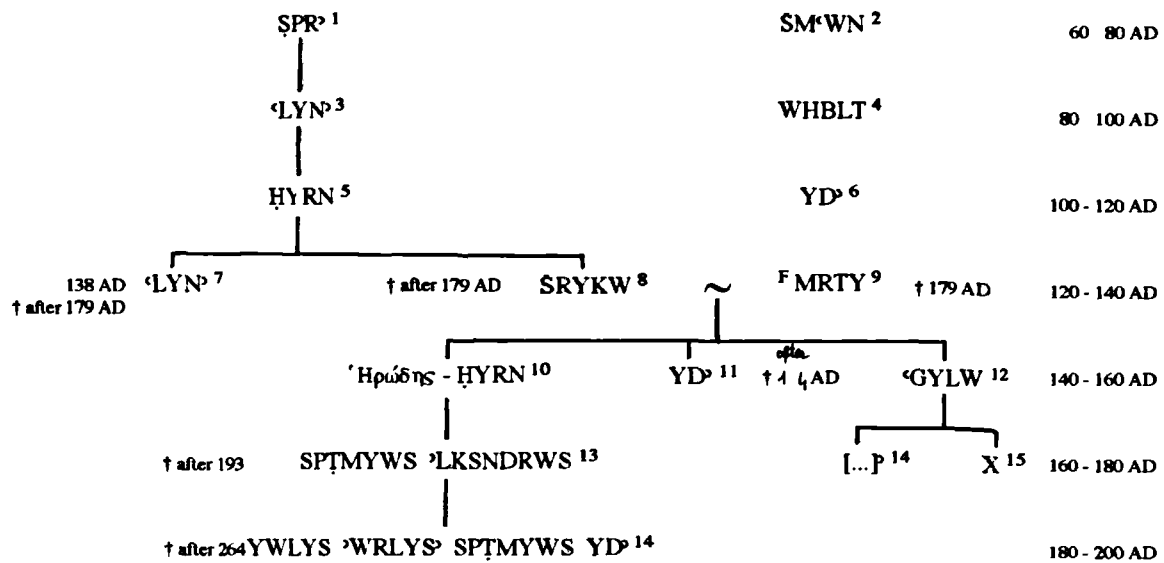
The tomb of ʿAlainê was founded in 138 AD which represents the earliest date for the whole family. ʿAlainê[7], the tomb builder, his brother Ṣoraikû and his sister-in-law Martî together with their sons, Hairan and Yadê were honoured with statues in 179 AD. ʿAlainê[7] was honoured by the Zabdibôl tribe. 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 Ṣoraikû, who offered seven columns was instead honoured by the Senate and he was very likely more well-off than his brother. Ṣoraikû is definitely still alive in 179 AD as himself erected a statue in memory of his wife Martî dead by that time. His first-born son Hairan-Herôdês was offered a statue by the Zabdibôl tribe in honour of his father Ṣoraikû and the same is for Yadê who in 179 AD also received a statue from the Zabdibôl tribe in honour of his father. Yadê is still alive in 194 AD when he honoured Manilius Fuscus, legatus of Syria 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 Yadê, 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. Yadê offered a statue to Septimius Worôd 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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74. The Taimšâ family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE
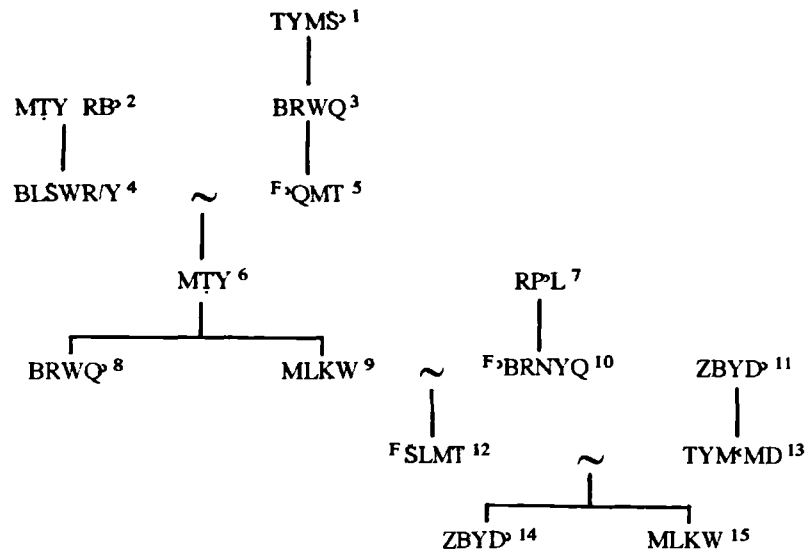
The family is attested on the busts found in the exedra E of the hypogeum of Sasan. The name MṬY is new. In Nabataean we find MṬWY, see *PNNR* 38 no.625. In Safaitic MṬY is also attested, see *ICPANI* 551. The vocalisation Maṭwî is recorded in *CIK* 404.2. The Greek transcription Matthaios is in *Wuthnow*, 69. The feminine name ʾBRNYQ (and not ʾBRNYM of the author) is also new.

The second part is of difficult interpretation. Should the name Berenice be approached to our ʾBRNYQ?

75. The Zabdibôl family: tomb of the Yarhai, ꜥAtenûrî and Zabdibôl, SW

[ZBD]BWL [1]   3 AD

ꜥBDY [2]   23 AD

ZBDꜣ [3]   43 AD

NWRBL [4]   63 AD

MQYMW [5] ～ ꜰTDMR [6] † 148 AD   83 AD

YRHY [7]   ꜥTNWRY [8]   ZBDBWL [9]   NWRBL [10] ꜰTDM[R] [11] ～ ZBDB[WL] [12]   103 AD
133 134 AD   † 181 AD

Fꜣ QMT [13] ꜰTDMWR [14] MQYMW [15] Fꜥ LYT [16] Sꜥ Dꜣ L [17] MQYMW [18]   123 AD
194 AD   † 172 AD
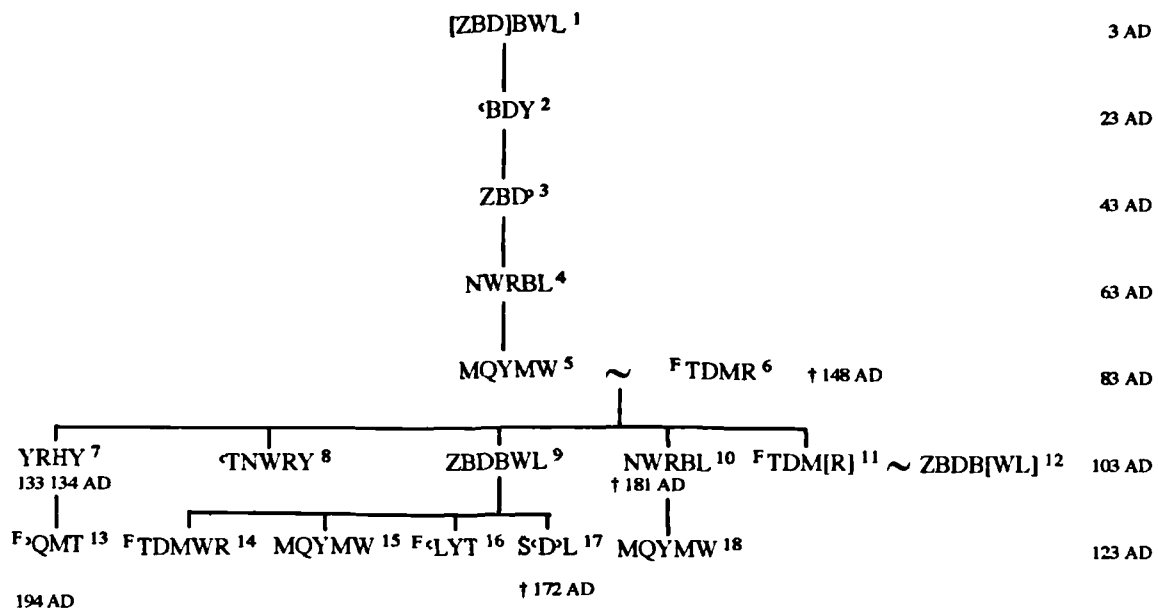
This family is well attested thank to the large number of sculptures portraying its members. In the year 133/134 AD three brothers, Yarhai, ꜥAtenûrî and Zabdibôl built a tomb in the SW necropolis. Their brother Nûrbel is not mentioned in the foundation text As H. Ingholt (*Berytus* 5 (1938) 103) had 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[WR]. As the name of her mother is TDMR we optioned 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[II] 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 Yarhai, together with Moqîmû son of Lišamš son of Hifrai (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 ꜣtth 'his wife'.

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SIX GENERATIONS

76. The Azarzirat family: tower tomb no.144

```
                    ʾZRZYRT ¹                              19 AD

              TYMʾ alias ʾZRZYRT ²                         39 AD

                    LSMŚ ³                                 59 AD
        ┌──────────────────────────────┐
     HGGW ⁴                          MQYMW ⁵   99 AD       79 AD
   ┌──────────┐
HDWDN ⁶      ʿLYŠ ⁷   153-169 AD                           99 AD

              HDWDN ⁸                                     119 AD
```
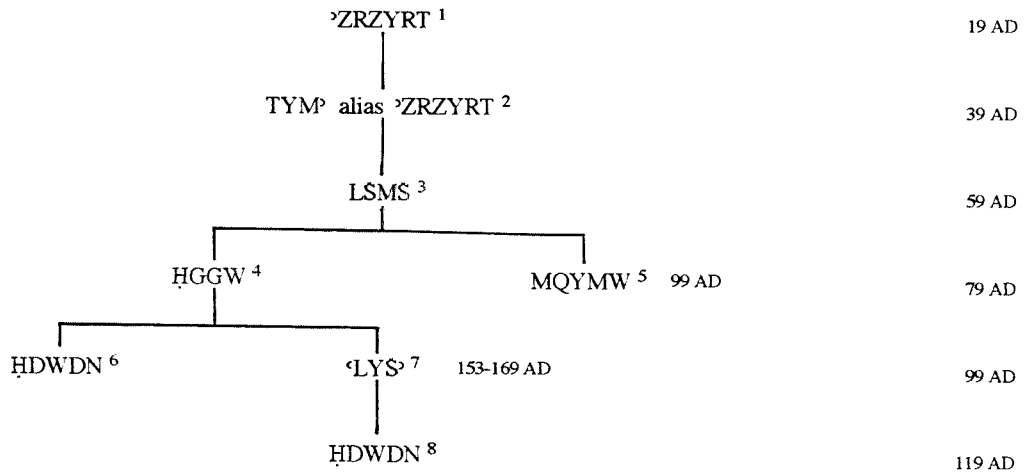
The first tomb in the family was built by Hagegû and Moqîmû in the year 99 AD and they had prepeared their portraits before their death. The second one is recorded in the year (1)53 AD (if the date is correct, otherwise is 253 AD) when Haddûdan and his brother ʿAlaišâ built the tower tomb no.144. Haddûdan son of Hagegû was honoured by his brother ʿAlaišâ with the erection of a statue in the Agora to thank him of having paid the expenses to consacrate his son Haddûdan 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, Haddûdan and ʿAlai šâ and their ancestor Taimê Azarzirat belong to this family.

77. The Annūbat family

<pre>
                    ʾNWBT ¹   57 67 AD

        ┌──────────────────────┐
   TYMʾ ²   ḤYRN ³   77 - 87 AD

   YRHY ⁴   YRHY ⁵   97 - 107 AD

   ḤYRN ⁶   ḤBYBY ⁷   157 AD   117 127 AD

                           MLKW ⁸   137 147 AD

                           ḤBYBY ⁹   157 167 AD
</pre>
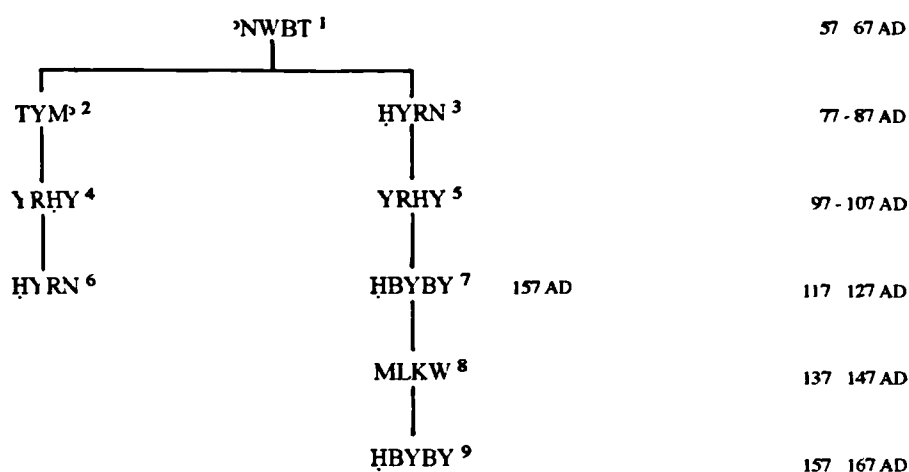
Ḥairan[6] and Ḥabîbî[7] were relatives and both of them tradesmen. In fact they gave honours to the most acknowledged Palmyrene chief of caravans Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai. From a bilingual text in the Capitolino Museum, we know a Ḥabîbî son of Malkû, son of Ḥabîbî Annûbat. We propose to see in the tradesmen and Ḥabîbî 's[9] 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 Ḥabîbî[9] died at the age of 32, the 21st of May.

78. The Belyadaᶜ family

<pre>
                    BLYDᶜ ¹   45 55 AD

                    TYMᶜMD ²   65 75 AD

        ┌─────────────┬─────────────┐
   BLYDᶜ ³   ᶜTNWRY ⁴   MᶜNW ⁵   115 AD   85 95 AD

                               TYMᶜ' ⁶   105 115 AD

                               Mᶜ[.] ⁷   125 135 AD

                  205 AD   T[Y]Mᶜ' ⁸   145 155 AD
</pre>
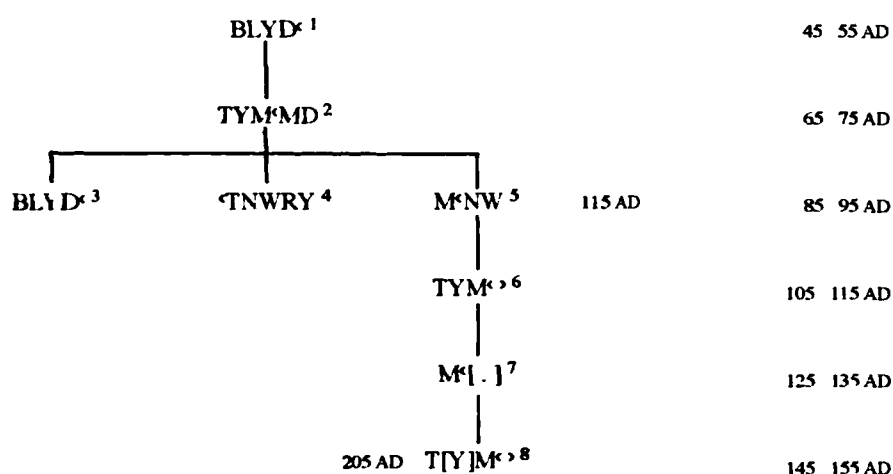
The 22nd of February 115 AD, three brothers, Belyadaᶜ, ᶜAtenûrî and Maᶜanû made a dedication to the Anonymous God. Taimᶜâ[8] is assistant of Bôlḥâ (see above no.49, the Ḥaumal family), administrator of the Spring Efca. He and Ḥairan son of Moqîmû, son of Malkû, another assistant, were commemorated, in 250 AD, by the same Bôlḥâ, the administrator. The onomastics of Taimᶜâ's family would suggest that the three brothers belonged to the same family.

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79. The Bônnê family

```
                          BWN' 1
                            |
                  YRHBWL' SLMWY 2
          ┌─────────────────────┴──────────┐
       BWN' 3                            MLKW 4
          |                                 |
       MTN' 5                           YRHBWL' 6
                               ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                            MLKW 7                    BWN' 8
                               |
                            F MRT' 9
```
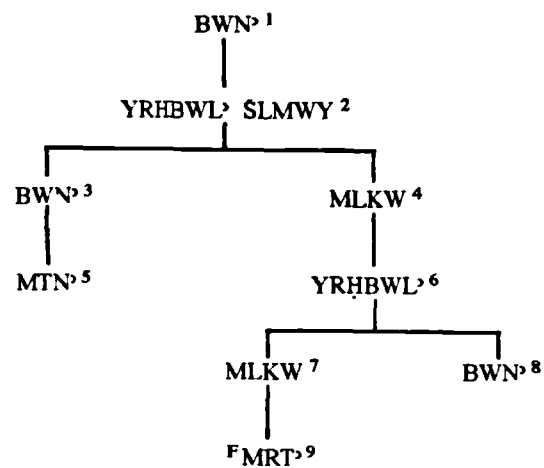
The second name of Yarhibôlê must refer to a remote ancestor of this family. This is not the only example, see e.g.:
ʿBDBWL BRBL', ʿTNTN KPTWT, ʿBYDW ʿSTYYW, etc.

80. The Dionysios family: hypogeum no.24 of Salamallat, VT

74 AD	ʿT(H)ZBD [1] — DYNYS [2]	74 AD
94 AD	TYMRṢW [3] MLKW [4] ḤNBL [5]	94 AD
114 AD	F PRSTNʾ [6] ~ SLMT [7] † before147 AD 33 years of age DYNYS [8] ZBDʿTH [9]	114 AD
134 AD	ḤNBL [10] MLKW [11] ḤNBL [12] YRḤY [13] DYNYS [14] MNʿ[YM] [15]	134 AD
154 AD	F B[...]Y [16] TYMRṢW [17] ZBDʿTH [18] MQYMW [19]	154 AD
174 AD	F MRTY [20] TYMRṢW [21] ~ F ʾQMʾ [22] 201/202 AD	174 AD
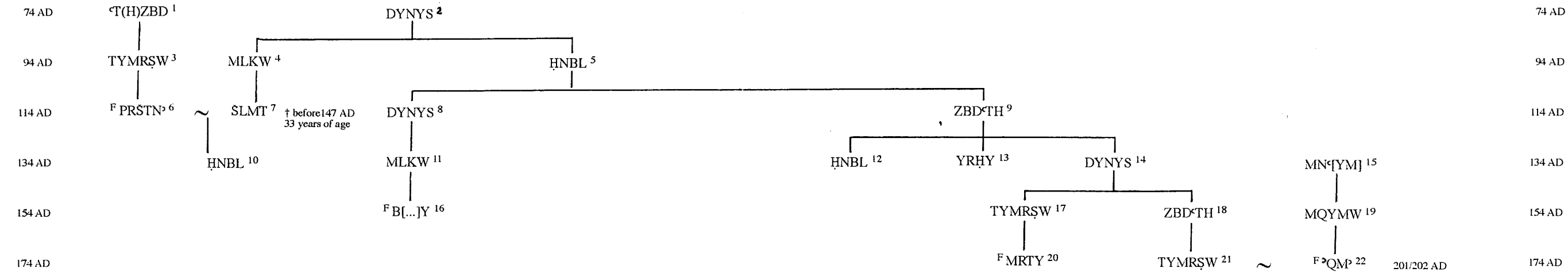
We have three inscriptions attesting Ṣalamallat as founder of the tomb no.24 (*RSP* 24-25, 28). In *RSP* 25, the only date of construction is given but unfortunately it is not complete. Salamallat's father died at the age of 33, at which time Salamallat had to build a tomb for his father. After Salamallat's death, his son Ḥennibel together with his mother Pristina, had to give in cession half of the tomb to his uncle Zabdaʿateh, 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 Aqmâ daughter of Malkû, son of Dionysios and her two children, Soraikû and Bataḥû. The name Dionysios is (see below no. 168)

popular in Salamallat's family but it is not found outside. This is one reason why we are willing to see in Salamallat's father and grandfather the same as Aqmâ's. The chronology is also in favour of an identification between the two. In fact Aqmâ's stele can be dated, according to its sculptural style, around 50-150 AD. It is less probable that Dionysios[8] and Malkû[11] are of Aqmâ's family because her birth should then be placed around 150 AD.

81. The Ḥolaifī family

ḤLYPY [1]		80 90 AD
M‘YTY [2]		100 110 AD
MQYMW [3]		120 130 AD
MLKW [4]		140 150 AD
LSMS [5]		160 170 AD
BR‘TH [6]	229 AD	180 - 190 AD

It is probable that in the date 540 (Seleucid era) = 229 AD, the units are missing. Bar‘ateh restored the statue of his grandfather Malkû whose original inscription is lost. In *CIS* 4347=*PS* 154 is attested a certain Moqîmû son of Ḥolaifī that might belong to this family. The Greek transcription of the name ḤLYPY can be found in *Inv IV*, 13: Olaiphei.

```
                        MLKW ¹                              30 - 40 AD
                          |
                        NWRBL ²                             50 - 60 AD
                          |
                        MLKW ³                              70 - 80 AD
                          |
                        MLKW ⁴        121 AD               90 - 100 AD
                          |
                       MLKW RBᵓ ⁵                          110  120 AD
        ┌─────────────────┼──────────────────┐
        |                 |                   |
YWLYS ᵓWRLYS NWRBL ⁶   FᵓQMT ḤBᵓ ⁷      MLᵓ ⁸  186-214AD   130 - 140 AD
```
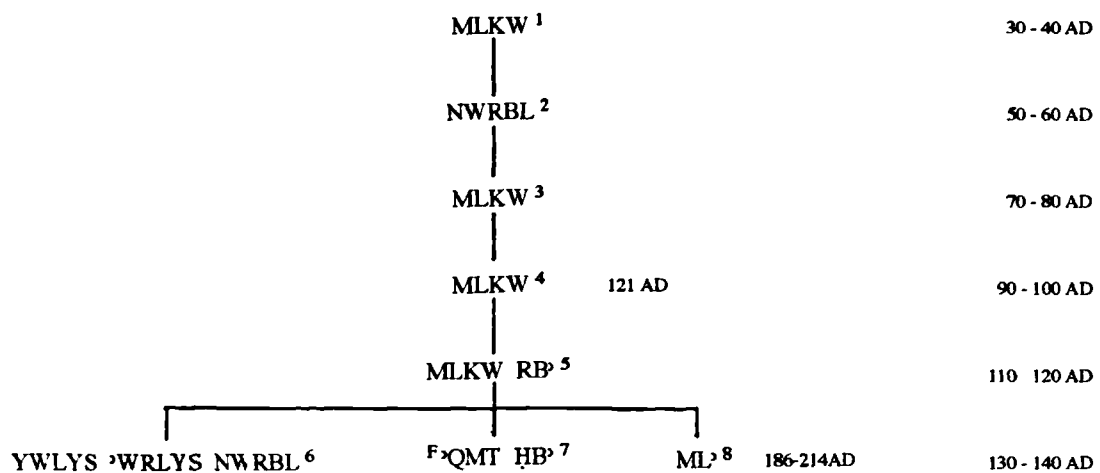
The tomb of Malkû was discovered in 1924 in the Southwestern necropolis at Palmyra. The foundation text of the tomb is dated, April 121 AD. This date was corrected by J. Cantineau, *Syria* 19 (1938) 162 and Littmann, art. cit., 165. The founder is a certain Malkû, son of Malkû, son of Nûrbel, the physician. 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 Ḥabbê in 186 AD, more than 60 years later the building of the hypogeum. Aqmat Ḥabbê 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 (Nûr)ʿateh family: from the hypogeum of Faṣael and Zebîdâ

(NWR)ʿ TH [1]
|
BWLNWR [2]
|
MʿN [3]
|
ZBYDʾ [4]
|
ḤGGW [5]
|
FʾQMT [6]
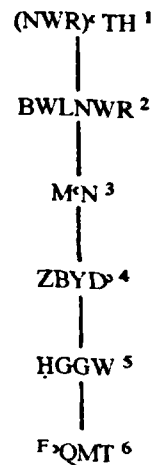
Zebîdâ excavated one gallery on the left in the same hypogeum where Faṣael son of ʿAstôrgâ made two galleries on the right. The date is not given. The sculpture of Aqmat belongs to the 2nd group of H. Ingholt's classification that corresponds to 150-200 AD.

84. The Saidan family

ŠYDN [1]
|
ʿTʿY [2]
|
ʿBDʾ [3]   YRḤY [4]   SQNʾ [5]
| | |
F SLMT [6] ∼ TYRDT [7]   ḤYRN [8]
   ┌───────┴───────┐ |
F [ʾ]MT[ʾ] [9]   FʾBNʾ [10]   ∼   ML [11]
                              |
                            MLʾ [12]
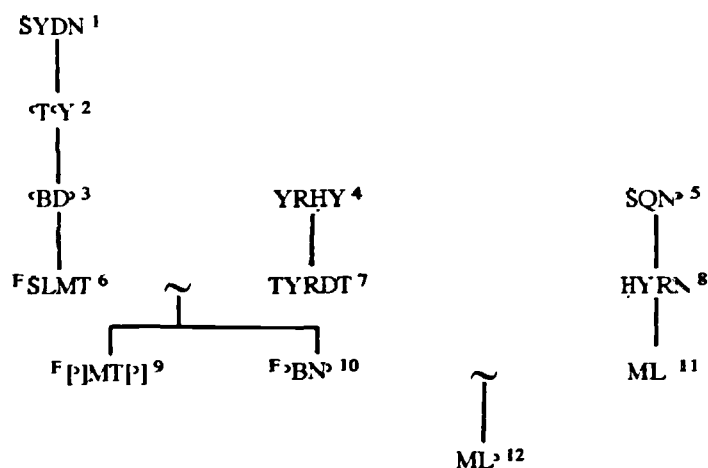
The name ŠYDN is attested in Safaitic, *ICPANI* 363 where is derived from Arab. *ṣaid* 'insane, possessed' while in *PNPI* 114 the name is derived from Arab. *sayyid* 'lord, master'. The name T ndatēs, attested only in this family, is a anthroponym of Persian origin, see *PNPI* 117 and *OP* 239-240 no 8 1641.

85. The Yedîʿbel family


```
                              YDYʿBL ¹                                    0 - 10 AD

                               ʿGʾ ²                                      20  30 AD

            ┌──────────────────┼──────────────────┐
         LSMSY ³            HGGW ⁴            YRHY ⁵                       40 - 50 AD

            │                           ┌─────────┼─────────┐
         TYMʾ ⁷                      HGGW ⁸    HGY ⁹   ᶠBLYʾ ¹⁰ 112 AD    60 - 70 AD

  ʿGʾ ⁶        ┌──────────┼──────────┐
            LSMSY ¹²              SʿDW ¹³  127 - 137 AD                   80 - 90 AD
 ZBDBWL ¹¹

      ┌──────────┼──────────┐
 Fʾ QMʾ ¹⁴ ~ YRHBWLʾ ¹⁵   ZBYDʾ ¹⁶                                       100 - 110 AD
```
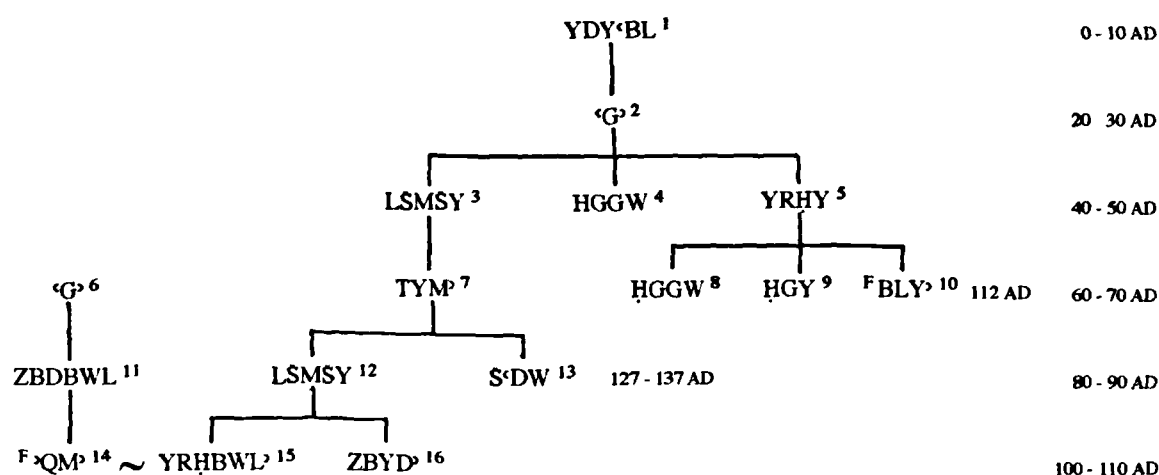
The origin of this family goes back to the beginning of the 1st c. AD. It is difficult to say if there is any relation of this family with the one that built a tomb in the temple of Baalshamîn (*BS* 60), whose ancestor is also a Yedîʿbel (see above no.21). Here the dating goes back to the 1st half of the 2nd c. BC. The Benê Yedîʿbel are also mentioned in some tesserae: *RTP* 95, 124 and 586. We may consider the Yedîʿbel 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 Hagegû[8] the brother of YʿT(W)[2] of the Yaʿatai 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 *CIS* 3920 we learn that Taimâ died before or in 127 AD as the inscription specifies and his son Soʿadû erected a statue in his honour after his death.

86. The Yorq family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malê, SW

YRQ[1] — 108 - 113 AD

ᶜGᵓ[2] — 123 133 AD

ḤNYNᵓ[3]   SᶜDY[4] — 143 153 AD

YRHBWLᵓ[5]   ḤNYNᵓ[6] ∼ FᵓQMT[7] — 163 - 173 AD

FMRTY[8] ∼ YWLYS ᵓWRLYS ᶜBSY[9] SᶜDY[10] FSLᵓ[11] ḤNYNᵓ[12] 223 AD 183 - 193 AD

FX[13] X[14] FBTŠMY[15] SᶜDY[16] — 203 - 213 AD
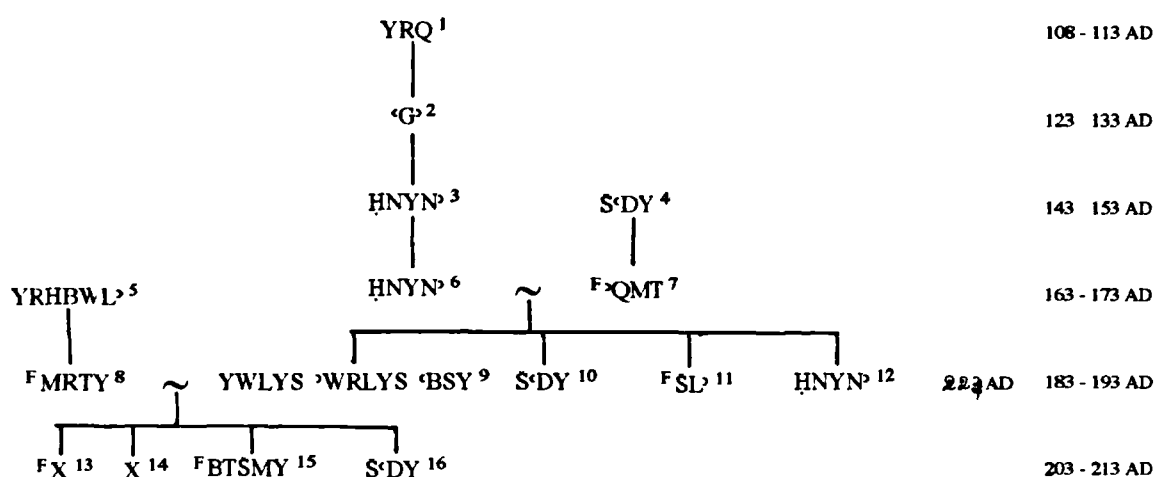
Julius Aurelius ᶜAbıssai bought a whole wall ın 223 AD from J.A. Malê (see below no 121, the Sasan famıl) from the h)pogeum of J.A. Malê) and in the small chamber of ᶜAbıssai's propert), three sarcophagı ha\e been found representing hıs famıly. At the moment of the executıon of the sculptures, ᶜAbıssaı and hıs wıfe Martî, his mother Aqmat and his sıster Sullâ must have been stıll alı\e as theır names are ıntroduced b) the word slm 'statue, ımage' and not hbf 'alas'.

FIVE GENERATIONS

87. The Aʿabî family

```
          Pʿ BJY ¹
             |
          [M]QY ²
             |
          BLḤ² ³
             |
          BLḤZY ⁴
             |
         [ʿGY]LW ⁵
```
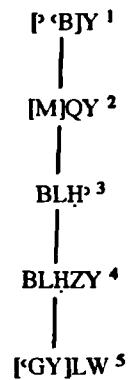
The restorations are given in the *Corpus* but without sufficient supporting evidence. On the other hand this family is not known elsewhere and alternative suggestions cannot be proposed. The name ² ʿB Y appears in a good number of inscriptions and the Greek transcription Aabei is found in a bilingual text (*CIS* 3963).

88. The Aʿawîd family

```
                          ² ʿWYD ¹
            ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
         MLKW ²                            MQYMW ³
      ┌─────┴─────┐                    ┌──────┴──────┐
  ZBDBWL ⁴     MQYMW ⁵              F SB² ⁶        F RʿTH ⁷
      |            |
   MLKW ⁸      ʿGYLW ⁹
      |
     F X
```
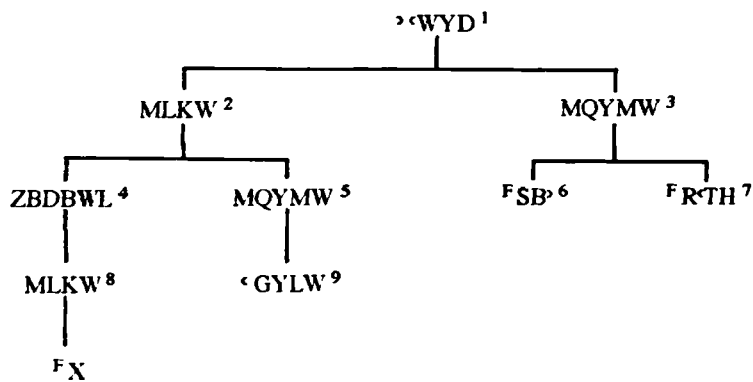
The feminine name in *CIS* 4321 has to be read Sabbâ and not Habbâ as the first letter of the name has the typical shape of a šin and not of a ḥeʾ

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89. The Abramâ family: from the hypogeum of the Three Brothers, SW

’BRM’ [1]

HNYN’ [2]

’B’ [3]

SM‘WN [4]   191 AD

F B[T]’ [5]
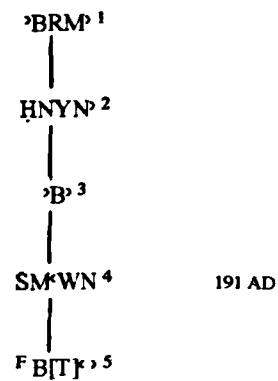
Sim‘ôn bought from Narqaios the freedman four loculi from the exedra to the left when you enter the tomb (see, *Corpus* p. 281 and K. Makowski, *SP* 8 (1985) 91, fig. 8) and two in the first central chamber in the year 191 AD. Abraham is a Jewish name and at Palmyra is only attested once. This is not the only Jewish family present in the Palmyrene community, for the others see *CIS*4201; J. Cantineau, *RA* 27 (1930) 39 no.72; H. Ingholt in *G.C. Miles*, Beirut 1974, p. 50; *Inv VIII*, 68, etc.

```
                                              ꜣḤYTWR 1
        ┌──────────────┬───────────────────────────────────────┬──────────────┐
      BWRPꜣ 2        ꜥTNTN 3                                  MLKW 4         BWLḤ 5
    ┌─────┴─────┐  ┌─────┴──────┐                              │              │
  BWLḤ 6    MLKW 7  BWRPꜣ 8    BWLḤ 9    ṢꜥDY 10            ꜥTNTN 11       ꜥTNTN 12  ~  F SLMT 13
    │              │            │                                            ┌────────┴────────┐
 WHBLT 14    ꜥTNTN GWRY 15  SDY 16  ~  F ḤGT 17  ~  DYNYS 18            BWLḤ 19   FꜥTY 20   YRḤY 21
              † 133 134 AD          │              │                         │
                                 ꜥTꜥQB 22       F ꜣQMꜣ 23    ↓            BWRPꜣ 24
```
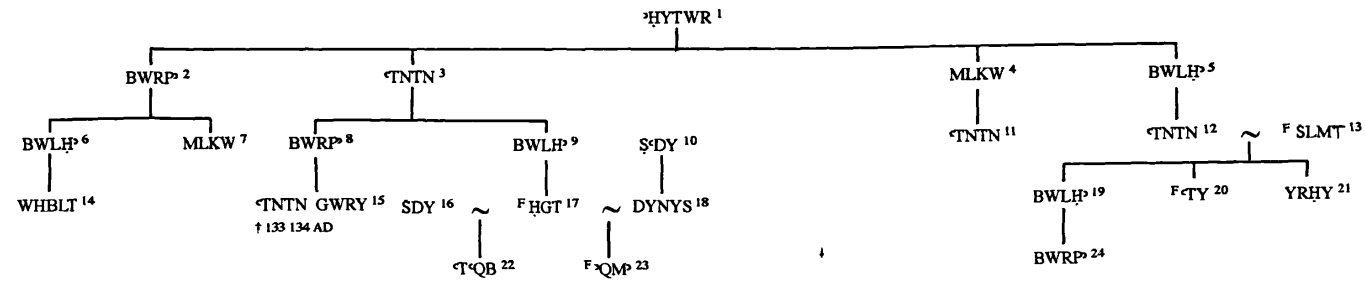
The only dated inscription regarding this family is the one of ꜥAtenatan Gôrai who died in 133/134 AD. All the sculptures belong to the first group of Ingholt's classification that corresponds to 50-150 AD. This family is attested for five generations but the funerary busts can be dated the latest to the 2nd c. AD. Bôlḥâ[20] is represented as a priest and Ḥaggat is said to be married twice, to Dionysios from whom she had Aqmâ and to Saddai from whom she had ꜥAteꜥaqab. It is impossible to say to who she was married first.

91. The Aknabî family

```
                ʾKNBY [1]
                  |
                ZBDLʾ [2]
                  |
                NBWZBD [3]
                  |
                BRNBW [4]
          ┌───────┴───────┐
     NBWZBD [5]        YRḤBWLʾ [6]
```
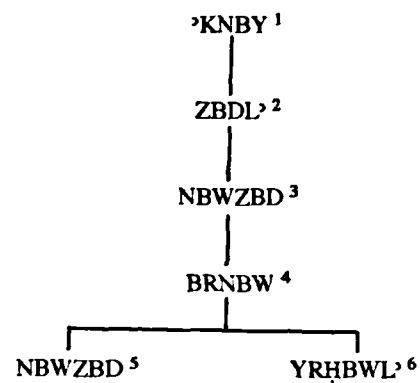
The two brothers dedicated an altar to Baalshamîn.

92. The Allaṭai family

```
                ʾLṬY [1]                          94 - 114 AD
                  |
                BRʿTH [2]                         114 - 124 AD
                  |
                ḤLPṬʾ [3]                         134 - 144 AD
                  |
                TYMʾ [4]    +214 AD              154 - 164 AD
                  |
          ┌───────┴───────┐
 +214 AD  ḤLPṬʾ [5]      ᶠHGʾ [6]                174  184 AD
```
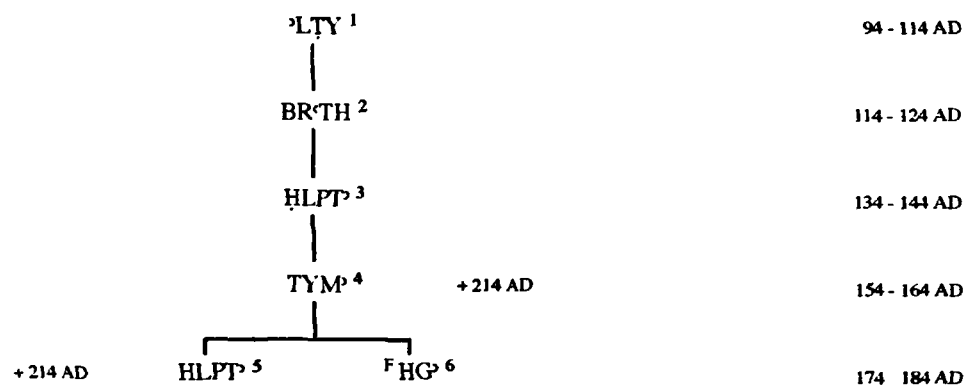
Haggâ, who in the Greek version of the text is called Julia Aurelia, erected two statues in honour of her father Taimê and her brother Halaftâ[5] after their death. The date in the Palmyrene version is January 214 AD and in the Greek one is August 216 AD.

93. The Asorai family: tower tomb of Ḥabbatâ

```
                                ʾSRY ¹
            ┌───────────────────────┬───────────────────────┐
         ᶜGYLW ²                  ḤNYNʾ ³                 ḤLKS ⁴
            │                       │                       │
         ḤNY\ ⁵                   ZB[ . ]⁶                 X ⁷
      ┌─────┴─────┐                 │                       │
195 AD  ᶜGʾ ⁸      MQ[Y] ⁹     ᶠ ḤBTʾ ¹⁰    ∿     MLK[W] ¹¹
        │                                    │
      QRYN ¹²                            MLK[W] ¹³
```
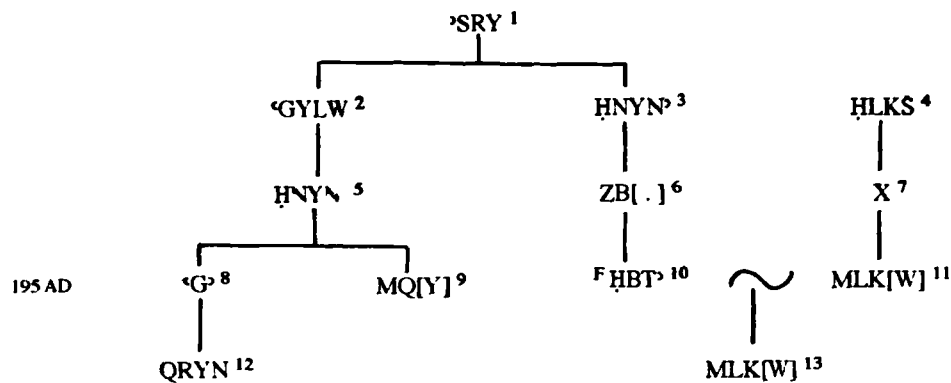
In the hypogeum of Bôlḥâ a text was found recording the foundation of a tower tomb by a woman, Ḥabbatâ daughter of Zab[...], son of Ḥonaınâ Asorai. We find other members of her family in the Palmyrena. In 195 AD, ᶜOggâ buılt a temple for the gods Abgal and Maᶜan (*PN O*7-8). As regards Ḥabbatâ's husband Malkû, we find a Malkû son of ḤLKS QRQPN, of the Qurqeban? famıly in a hononfic text dated to 4 AD (*Tadmorea I*, 12 A). The name ʾSRY ıs also attested in a bılıngual text where the Greek transcription is Asoraiou (see M. Gawlikowskı, *Berytus* 19 (1970) 65-67 no.1). At Hatra, we find a parallel ʾSRYBRK 'Assur wıll bless' (see A. Caquot, *Syria* 41 (1964) 259 no.141), but the same element ʾSR is attested in the Aramaıc ınscrıptıons from Assur: ʾHYʾSR, ʾSRNTN, ʾSRŠMR. For our name we may suggest 'the man of Assur' as gentılıc or as theophorous wıth a hypocorıstıc *yod*.

94. The Aṣraᶜ family
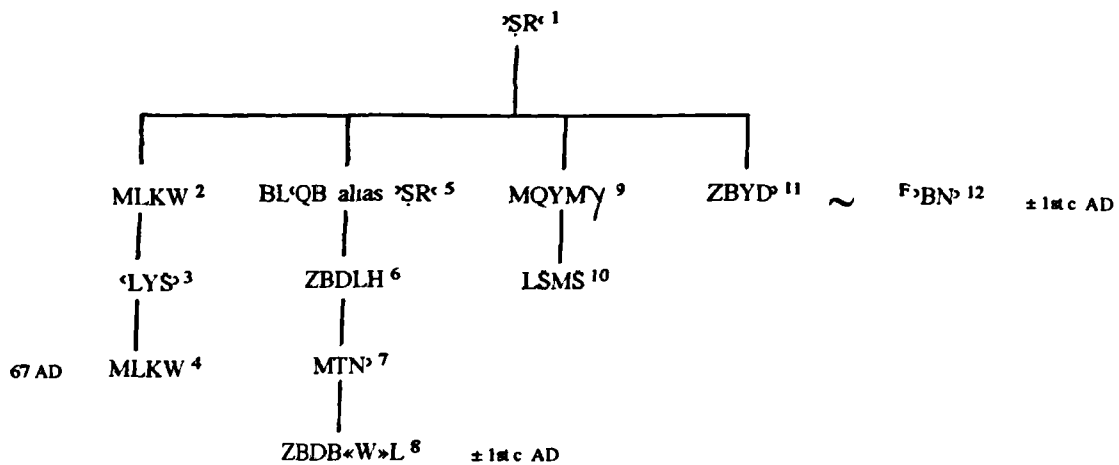
Aṣraᶜ, the ancestor of this family, appears in all the inscriptions without the word *br* 'son' introducing it. It is clear that these different families belong to the same group but a lack of epigraphical material attesting it, does not allow us to determine which is the relationship amongst its members. The only dated inscription is the one of Malkû son of ᶜAlaiŠâ, that offered three columns in the temple of Baalshamîn. The year is 67 AD. This family probably belongs to the Maᶜziyân tribe like many others in the temple of Baalshamîn, 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.

95. The ʿAlban family

```
      ʿLBN ¹                              ʿLBN ¹
        |                                   |
      NŠʾ/NŠʾ ²                          MQYMW ⁸
        |                                   |
   ┌────┴────────┐                       ʿWYDLT ⁹
  HBYBY ³      BRWQ ⁴                        |
   |                                      HYRʾ ¹⁰
 ┌─┴──────┐
HBYBY ⁵  HBYBY ⁶
           |
        HBYBY ⁷
```
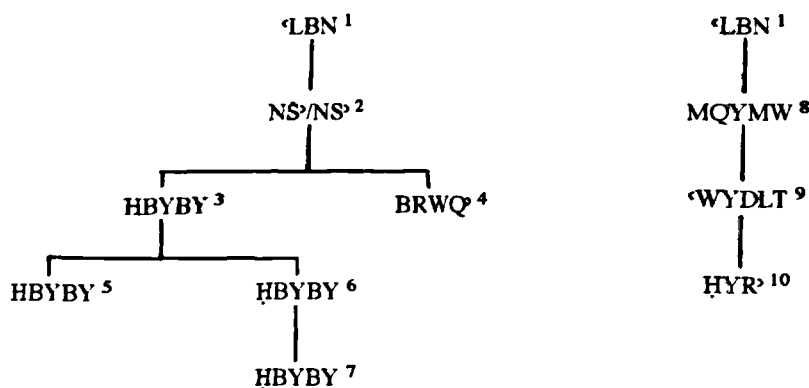
The rarity of the name ʿAlban, only present in these inscriptions, suggests that the ancestor of these two families is the same person. In both cases ʿAlban is not introduced by the term *br* 'son'. The lack of dating does not allow us to establish with certainty if they belong to the same period and how many generations can be counted between ʿAlban 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 to date as the inscription is a graffito found in the side-chamber to the left of the hypogeum of ʿAbdʿastôr in the SW necropolis. The graffito commemorates Hairâ but we do not know how he acquired burial rights in the tomb. Barôqâ and Habîbî⁵ are represented on the stele as two young boys. Thus we surmised that Habîbî⁵ represents a first-born of Habîbî³ who died young and whose name was given to the second born. As regards the name Neŝâ/Nesâ, there are numerous examples at Palmyra of the alternative use of ŝ/s In this case Nesâ represents the Aramaic variant with phonetic *s* and Neŝâ, the older form, with etymological *ŝ* According to Stark, PNP ÏÏ00, the name has to be considered as a hypoconsticon with the meaning of 'DN has lifted up' from CS * *nŝ* 'to raise, to lift up'. The name ʿLBN has parallels in Safaitic, cf. ICPANI 430 and in Nabataean under the form ʿLBW, see PNNR 51 no.886. The Greek transcription is Alab, Alebou, see Wuthnow, 17.

96. The ʿAqqabai family

ʿQBY [1]

YDYʿBL [2]　　　　　　ʿTʿQB [3]

ʿTʿQB [4]　　　　　　YDYʿBL [5]

YDYʿBL [6]　　　　　　ʿTʿQB [7]

† 13 May 157 AD　　ʿTʿQB [8]　　YDYʿBL [9]　　[TYM]RṢW RBʾ [10]　† 4 March 162 AD

† 17 Nov 141 AD
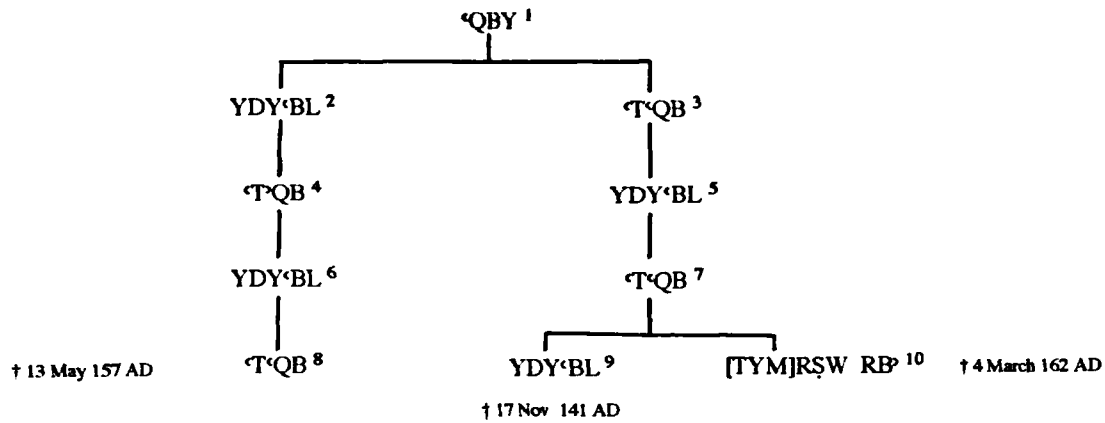
The Greek transcription of the name ʿQBY is Akkabaiou, see *Wuthnow* , 15. Three busts portray two brothers, Yedîʿbel and Taimarṣû Rabbâ and a relative ʿAteʿaqab. Yedîʿbel[9] is a priest, he is beardless and he wears a simple modius while his brother, Taimarṣû Rabbâ, wears a wreathed modius and died 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 ʿAteʿaqab was born in 101 AD and died in 157 AD at the age of 56 and Taimarṣû Rabbâ was born in 86 AD and died in 162 AD at the age of 76.

97. The Baidâ family: from the tower tomb no.150, NW

	BYDᵓ [1]	120 AD
ᶜSTᵂR [2]	ZBYDᵓ [3] F HRTᵓ [4]	140 AD
ZBYDᵓ [5]	ZBDᶜTH [6]	160 AD
ᶜSTWR [7] MQYMW [8]	ZBYDᵓ [9]	180 AD
[YWLYS ᵓWRLYS ZBYDᵓ] [10] YWLYS ᵓWRLYS ZBYDᵓ [11]	BRᶜTH [12] 236-247 AD	200 AD
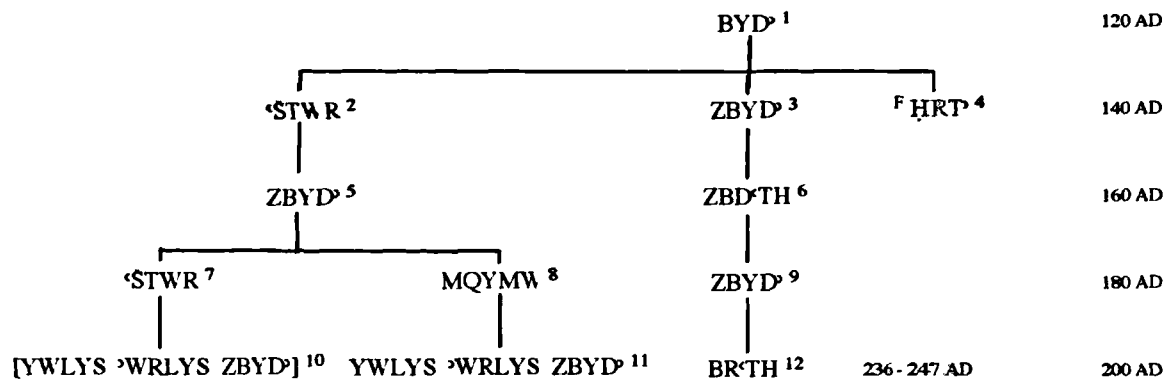
Julius Aurelius Zebîdâ[11] was honoured by the tradesmen that went to Vologesias with him in the year 247 AD. His cousin Julius Aurelius Zebîdâ[10], who also appears in tessera *RTP* 997, gave in cession the tomb he bought from Julius Aurelius Marônâ who built the tower tomb no.150 in 236 AD. Of the same family is Barᶜateh, 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 Zabdaᶜateh son of Zebîdâ 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 Zabdaᶜateh[6]. Based on this second inscription, we restored the names of Zabdaᶜateh[6] and Zebîdâ[3].

98. The Bakrî family: tomb of Zabdâ, VT

BKRY [1]

MQYMW [2]   ᵓTPNY [3]

ZBDᵓ [4]   ~   ᶠBLTYḤN [5]

ᶜGᵓ [6]

ZBDᵓ [7]
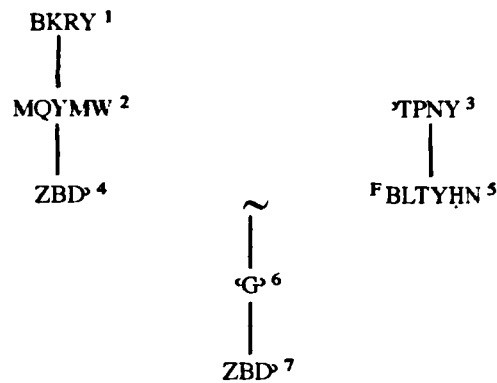
From this tomb we have three inscriptions. There is not a proper foundation text. The genealogy Beltîḥan daughter of Atefanî appears in the tomb of Elahbel (see above no.63). If it is the same person, then Beltîḥan had been married twice. According to the sculptures, ca. 150 AD is the time when they 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[7] has been considered here Zabdâ's[4] grandchild following the onomastic patterns. As the sculpture seems have been produced together with the one of Beltîḥan and her husband, Zabdâ son of ᶜOggâ could well be a cousin of the founder of the tomb. Always according to the style, the statue of Beltîḥan daughter of Atefanî belongs to a period from 70 AD to 120 AD. The banquet representing the founder Zabdâ and the bust of Zabdâ son of ᶜOggâ 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 Moqîmû is not a foundation text but testifies his contribute to the building of a part of the tomb.

99. The Bôlḥâ family of the Claudia tribe

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{BWLH}\ ^1 \\
| \\
\text{ʿTNTN}\ ^2 \\
| \\
\text{BWRPʾ}\ ^3 \\
| \\
\text{ʾWTKʾ alias BWRPʾ}\ ^4 \\
| \\
\text{ZBYDʾ}\ ^5
\end{array}
$$
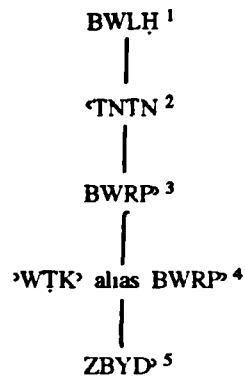
No date is given in these inscriptions. Milik, p. 261 regards these people as part of the Haumal family where the Claudia tribe is also attested. A part from the presence in the personal names of the theophorous element Bôl, we cannot see any other connection between the two family groups. According to the sculptural style, the bust of Bôrrefâ[3] 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 *mtqrʾ* 'called' understood here and identified the two Bôrrefâ as a single person.

100. The Corbulo family: from the hypogeum of Zabdaʿateh, SW

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{QRBLWN}\ ^1 \\
| \\
\text{ʿTTN}\ ^2 \\
| \\
\text{QRBLWʾ}\ ^3 \\
\end{array}
$$

ᶠʾBNʾ ⁴	ḤYRN ⁵	ᶠMRTʾ ⁶
		X ⁷
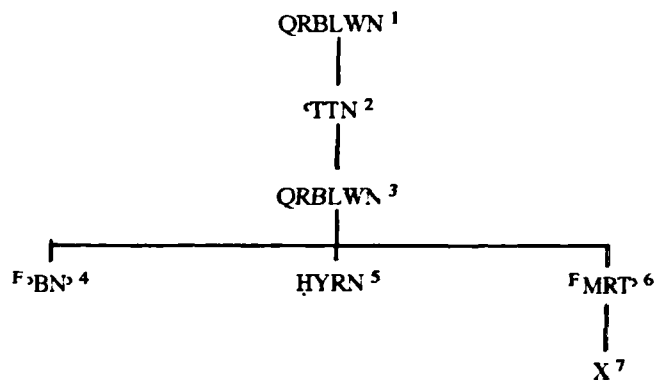
We do not know how Corbulo and his family acquired right of burial in this tomb. No dates also are left, but the sculptural style is in favour of a period between 150 and 200 AD. The name Corbulo and its transcription appear also in *CIS* 3913, col. 3, 121.

101. The Dionysios family: from the hypogeum no.24 of Salamallat, VT
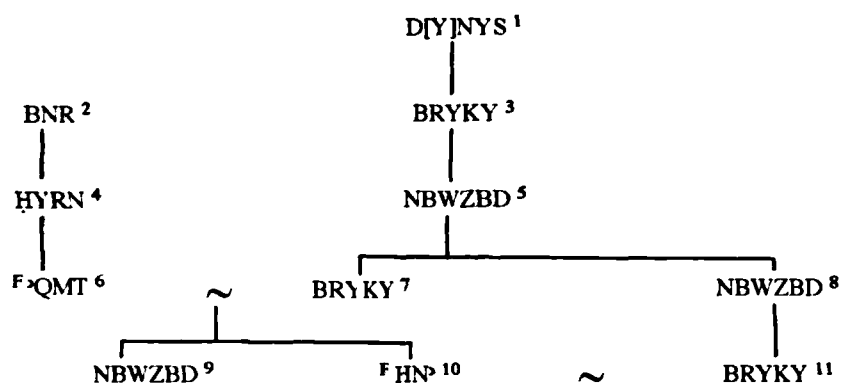
This might well be another branch of Dionysios' family (see above no.80), but the reading is uncertain. We have no records about when and how they acquired property in this tomb. The dating is missing. Hannâ and her husband Barîkai[11] are cousins; a quite well attested costum at Palmyra. Hannâ died at the age of 32.

102. The Haddâ family: Haddûdan the symposiarch and senator
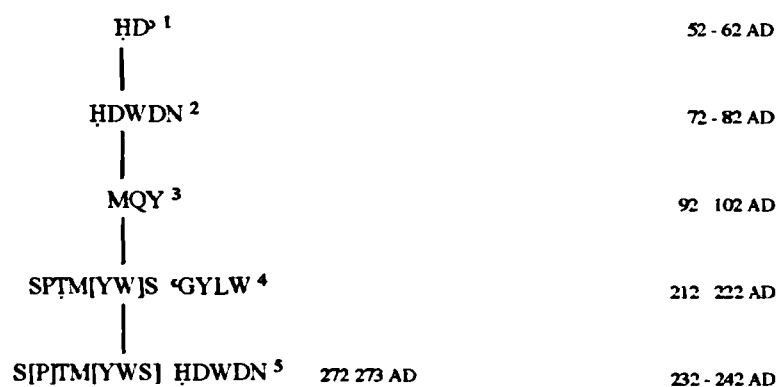
'Ogeilû offered a throne, an altar and a burnt offering to Odainat son of Hairan Wahballat prince of Palmyra. In two other texts, he is mentioned with his son Haddûdan[5]. Haddûdan[5] is a Roman senator like the princes of Palmyra, and he was in charge for two years in a row, 272-273 AD, as symposiarch 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 troups of Aurelianus and stayed with the custodians in the temple in August 272 when the imperator arrived. Many tesserae mention a Haddûdan Maqqai (*RTP* 486, 490-492, 495) but it is not certain that can be identified with our Haddûdan. A tessera in the Louvre Museum, AO 11596 also bears the same names.

639

103. The Haddûdan family: tower tomb no.194, SE

```
                    HD[W]DN ¹                                    37-27 BC

                    MQYMW ²                                      17  7 BC

                    ‹G› ³                    BWN› ⁴              3  13 AD

   + after 73 AD    ‹GYLW ⁵        ~       F›MTH› ⁶  + after 73 AD   23-33 AD

                               ‹G› ⁷  73 AD                         43  53 AD
```
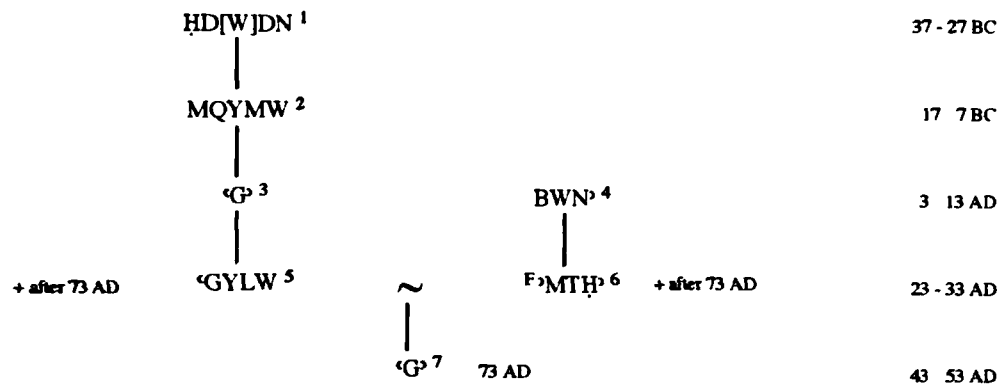
‹Oggâ son of ‹Ogeiû built in 73 AD a tower tomb in his honour and the honour of his father still alive at the moment of the construction. ‹Oggâ's⁷ family and his mother's family are said 'Palmyrene', probably to underline their belonging to the indigenous group of the oasis. The onomastics suggests a possible relationship between this family and the one attested in the 3rd c. AD of Haddûdan 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 Hagegû family

```
                         HGGW ¹

                         BR‹TH ²

         BRNBW ³                        F HSD ⁴    + 150-200 AD

   HGGW ⁵        MQYMW' ⁶

              ›HYBL ⁷
```
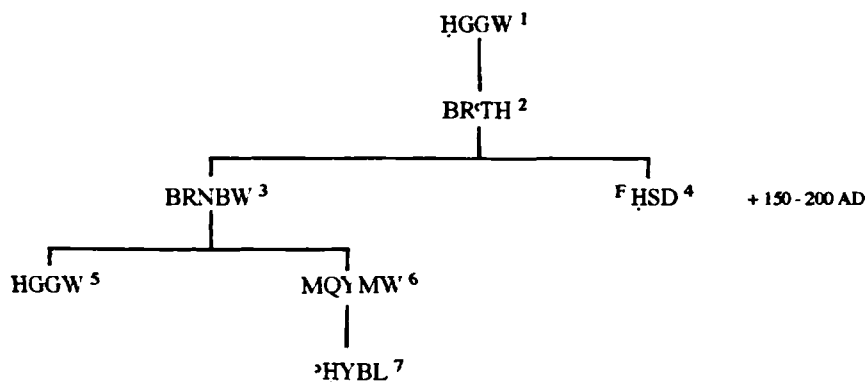
The stele of Hesed is dated, according to its style, to 150-200 AD. A sarcophagus from Jebel el-Husayniet represents three men, two brothers and the son of one of them. According to the onomastics, all these people belong to the same family but no safe evidence is available from an archaeological or chronological point of view.

105. The Ḥairan family: tomb of Bôlḥâ, ʿAteʿaqab and Yarḥai

ḤYRN [1]   13 - 23 AD

YRḤY [2]   ʿTNWRY [3]   33 - 43 AD

TYMY [4]   BWLḤ [5]   YRḤBWL [6]   53 - 63 AD

103 104 AD   YRḤY [7]   ḤYRN [8]   ʿTʿQB [9]   73 - 83 AD

131 132 AD   TYMP [10]   SMʿWN [11]   93 - 103 AD
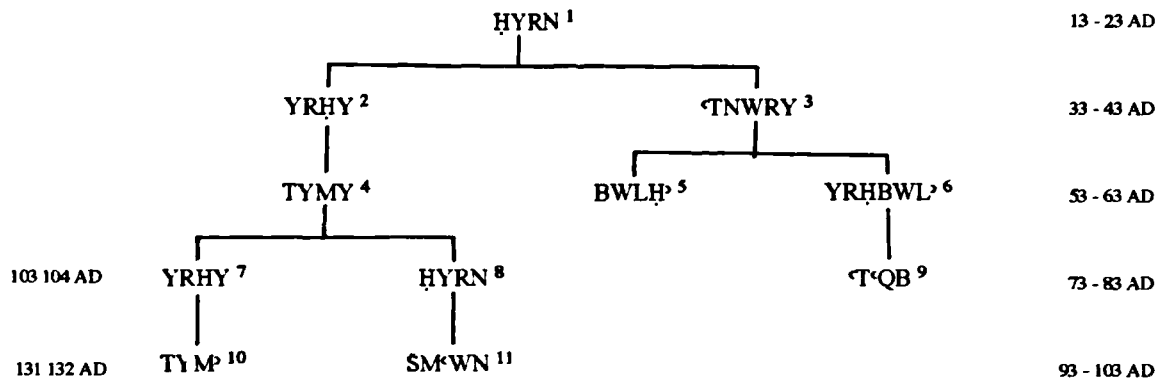
We believe that this text does not concern the building of a tomb itself but the late construction of two lateral exedrae (the one to the right and the one to the left when you enter). Bôlḥâ is the builder of the exedra to the right whilst the one to the left has two builders: ʿAteʿaqab and Yarḥai[7]. On the same plaque almost 30 years later two lines were added to register the partnership of the tomb between Taimâ and Simʿôn, probably two cousins. The last sentence gives problems in that it is not clear if Taimâ's uncle is (referred to) Simʿôn or (to) his father Ḥairan. The text reads: TYMP W SMʿWN BR ḤYRN DDH. Grammatically speaking the word 'uncle' should refer to Simʿôn but then he would be the cousin of Taimâ's father instead of being Taimâ's cousin.

106. The Ḥairan family

[ḤYRN] [1]

LSMŠY [2]

YRḤBWL [3]

ZBDBWL [4]

ZBDBWL [5]

The inscription seems to be composed of two parts. In the first (A), Zabdibôl[4] made a dedication to the Anonymous god and in the second (B), it is his son who did the same.

107. The Ḥairan family

HYRN [1]

|

ʿTD/RT [2]

|

MSKW [3]

|

KYLY [4]

|

ʿTNTN [5]

The name ʿTD/RT is of unknown origin.

108. The Ḥalâ family

HLʾ [1]

|

RMW [2]

|

YDY [3]

|

MQYMW [4]

|

YDY [5]

The Greek transcription of HLʾ, ALA, is found in bilingual Texts (see CIS 3916 and INV X, 134).

109. The Ḥalaftā family

HLPT¹ [1]

YRḤY² [2]

HLPT³ [3]   ḤṬRY⁴ [4]

175 AD   YRḤY⁵ [5]   ~   F SL³ [6]   YM[L³]⁷ [7]

ḤṬRY⁸ [8]   ~   F R‹T›⁹ [9]
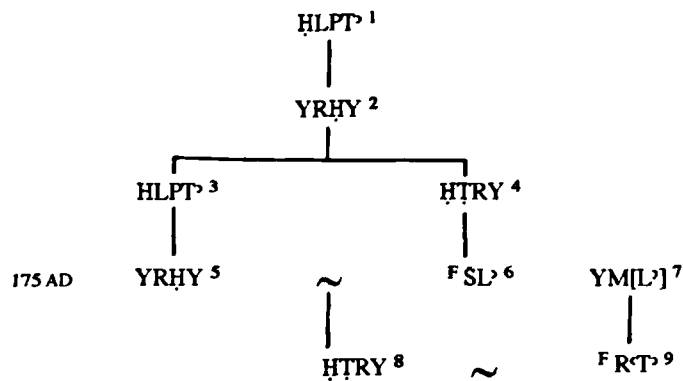
In 175 AD, Yarḥai[5] offered altars to the Anonymous God. One of those has been found near the Gate of Damascus at Palmyra. Sullâ's husband who is also his cousin, is represented on the funerary stele *CIS* 4483 and must have died after 175 AD, as did her husband. J. Starcky (*MUSJ* 28 (1949-50) 53) identifies the Ḥatrai of *CIS* 4484 with the father of Sullâ and refuses to see a different person (see Eodem, art. cit., the genealogical tree presented). Instead we believe that we have the nephew of Ḥaṭrai [4] named after his maternal grandfather. It is possible that this family belongs to the Ḥaṭrai tribe (see *CIS*4164) but no evidence is available. Ḥannâ daughter of Yarḥai, mother of Ḥalaftâ (*Inv VIII*, 134) may belong to this family (see below no.519). The name HLPT³ is transcribed into Greek as Alaphatha, see *Inv X*, 119.

110. The Kûlai family

KWLY¹ [1]

LSMS² [2]

KLBY³ [3]

‹TSWR⁴ [4]

‹TY⁵ [5]
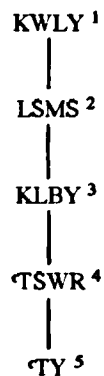
The name ‹TŠWR is only attested twice (CIS 4526-4527).
We also know ‹TRŠWRY, ‹BLŠWR and BLŠWRY.

111. The Lišamš family

X [1]
|
[L]ŠMS [2]
|
X [3]
|
ṢPRY [4]
|
QWPᵓ ḤLPᵓ [5]   204 AD
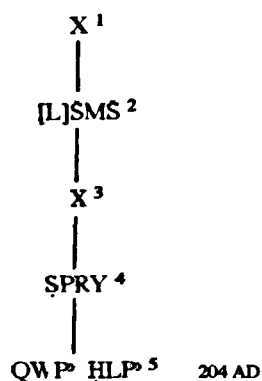
The text is very damaged. Originally it was composed by a foundation text, of which very little is left, and a cession text. Qûfâ Ḥalafâ sold a portion of his property to a certain Zebîdâ son of Salmanai, son of ʿAbšalmâ (see below no. 189).

112. The Malkû family: the sarcophagus of Soraikû

MLKW [1]
|
BLHZY [2]
|
┌─────────────────┼─────────────────┐
MLKW [3]   SRYKW [4]   YDYʿBL [5]
| |
┌──────┴──────┐   BWLNᵓ [8]
BLHZY [6]   TYMHᵓ [7]
|
ᶠMRTY [9]
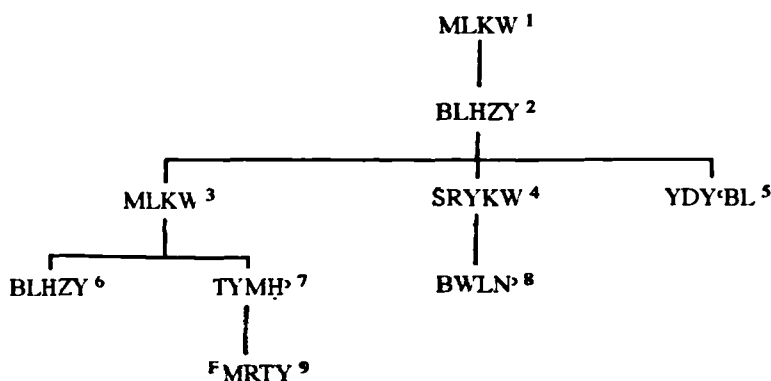
This sarcophagus of Soraikû must have come from a tomb, but unfortunately we do not know from which one. Five portraits represent people of the same family and according to the sculpture, it belongs to the 3rd c. AD. It is difficult to say if Martî is a granddaughter of Malkû[1] or of Malkû[3]. The people portrayed are Soraikû[4] and he had built an ᵓwn ᵓ 'place of (eternal) rest' (see M. Gawlikowski, *Berytus* 19 (1970) 78). Then we have a bust of a young man, Bôlnâ son of Soraikû[4], Bethani's saw Yedîʿbel and Belḥazî that cannot be identified to Soraikû's [4] father as he is represented as a young boy. Another brother of Soraikû [4] is portrayed and he is Malkû[3] and Martî.

113. The Malkû family

MLKW [1]

HGGW [2]

F HDYR' [3]   ∼   MLKW [4]   F TBNN [5]

HGGW [6]   TYM' [7]

MLKW [8]
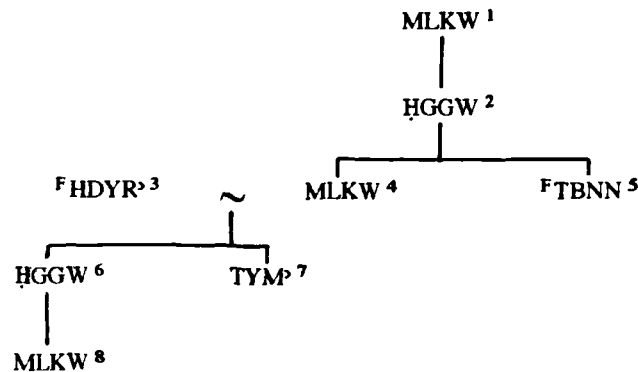
None of the inscriptions concerning this family are dated. We have to rely on the iconographic representations. The sculptures of *CIS* 4501 and 4502 belong to the 3rd group of Ingholt's classification that corresponds to 200-250 AD and the portrait of TBNN belongs to the 2nd group, that is 150-200 AD. Malkû[4] is said to be a *qšyš'* 'presbyter' but he is not portrayed with the priesthood modius. The *qaššišin* according to Milik, p. 367 must have been a special group of the clergy of the temple of Bel, distincted from the priests and charged with secondary services in the temple. It is not sure that the priest Malkû[8] son of Hagegû[6] also mentioned in *RTP* 315 belongs to the same family, but the onomastics favours this hypothesis. Malkû is represented with a wreathed modius like the one of symposiarches.

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

MLKW [1]   86 - 96 AD

DYWN [2]   106 - 116 AD

HYRN [3]   B'LY [4]   186 AD   126 - 136 AD

F BRBRH [5] ∼ DYWN [6]   F SLY [7]   F HBY [8]   F NBY [9] 188 AD   146 156 AD

F 'MT' [10]   F RMY [11]   166 176 AD
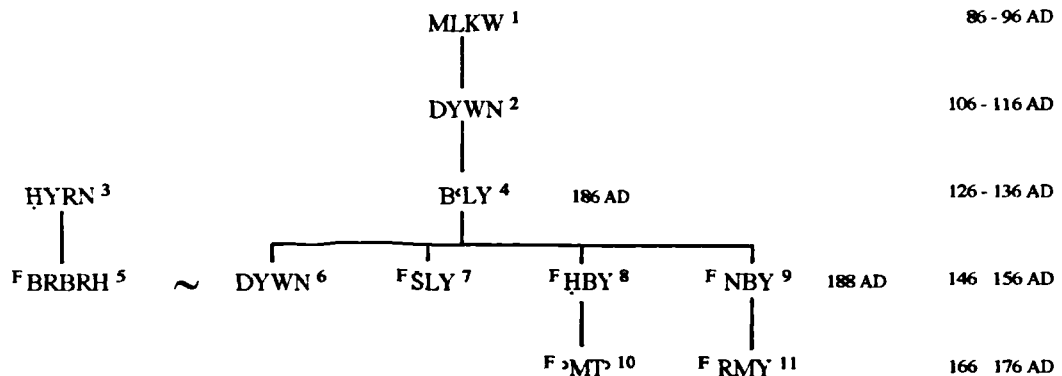
B'alai in September 186 AD bought from the grandchildren of the tomb builder, Malkû, the whole Southern exedra (the one on the left when you enter). Two years later he transfers to Sa'arônâ son of Belai three niches (see the Belai family no.160). In this chamber was found a sarcophagus representing Ba'alai's family, dated to 188 AD (see H. Ingholt, *MUSJ* 46 (1970-71) 173-200, pl. III). Ba'alai and his son Diyôn are portrayed with a modius, from which we can deduce they belonged to the rank of priests of Palmyra. Ba'alai is also called *dqrywn'* 'decurion' (H. Ingholt, *Berytus* 2 (1935) 93 no.). 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, 'Adôn, 'Anan and the Tammâ families).

115. The Maqqaia family

MQY² ¹

X ²

BLHZY ³

MQY² ⁴

ZB² ⁵   180 - 220 AD ca.
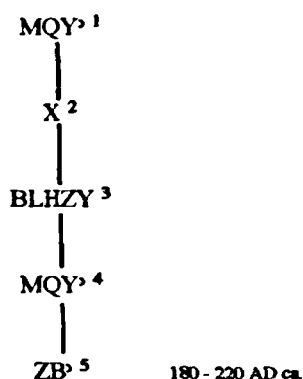
Zabbâ received honours from the cavalrymen stationed at Gamla and ʿAna.

116. The Mattan family: hypogeum of Simʿôn and Bôrrefâ and Malkû his sons, SE

MTN ¹	0 20 AD
ʿGYLW ²	20 - 40 AD
BWRP² ³	40 - 60 AD
SMʿWN ⁴ 118 AD	60 80 AD
BWRP² ⁵ MLKW ⁶	80 100 AD
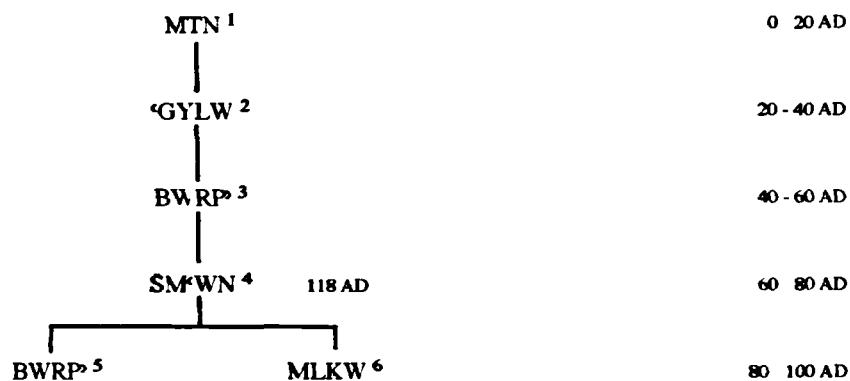
In the year 118 AD, Simʿôn and his two sons already of age, Bôrrefâ and Malkû built an hypogeum in the South-Eastern necropolis of Palmyra. Mattan, not introduced by the word br 'son', represents here the ancestor of this family. The bust of Malkû bought in 1937 from a French antiques dealer must belong 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 favour a date around the 1st half of the 2nd c. AD. A possible parallel for the name MTN can be found in Safaitic MT, cf. ICPANI 550 derived from Arabic MTT 'to stretch, lengthen'.

117. The Nabûlâ family

NBWL[1]

WSHW[2]

MLKW[3]

WSHW[4]   MLKW[4a]

YWLYS ᵓWRLYS MLKW[5]
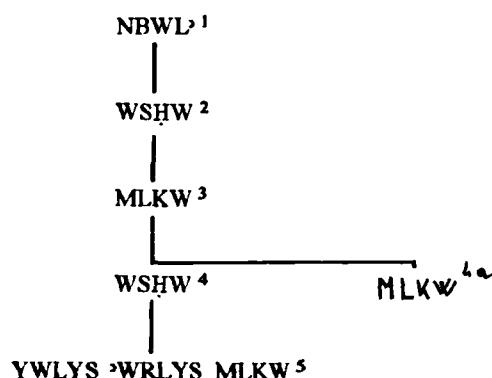
Julius Aurelius Malkû was honoured with three statues by the Senate and People when he was strategos of the colony and agoronomus. His father Washô is also mentioned in the text and most probably he had a statue or more erected in his honour. The date is lost but the inscription must be later than 212 AD because the gentilic Julius Aurelius was given by the edict of Caracalla.

118. The Qorainû family

QRYN/W[1]		117 - 127 AD
[LS]MS[2]		137 - 147 AD
MᵓL[3]	YRHBWL[4]	157 - 167 AD
QRYNW[5] (207 AD)	HYRN[6]	177 - 187 AD
LSMS[7] (256 AD)	QRYN[8] (251/252 AD)	197 - 207 AD
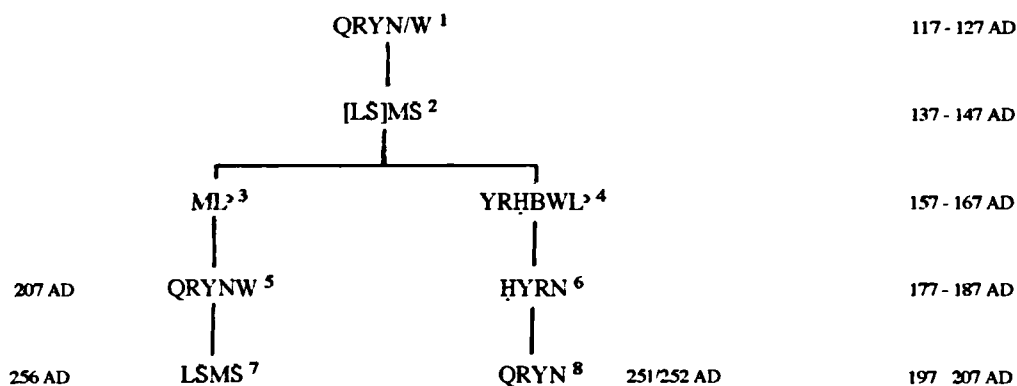
Qorainû[5] offered an altar to the Anonymous God in 207 AD. His son Lišamš[7], in 256 AD, offered another altar to thank the same god because he heard his prayers. Another member, Qorain[8] did the same. We have surmized that Malê and Yarhibôlâ are brothers only on the base of chronology as we lack of sufficient epigraphical evidence.

119. The Qûfiyân family

QWPYN [1]

BWLḤ [2]

[M]QYMW [3]

(JTH [4]

FX [5]   ~   MQYMW [6]
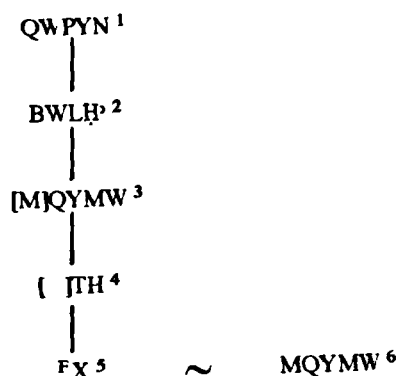
The name QWPYN is only attested in this family. Stark, PNPI 110 considers it a plural form to QWP' from Arabic qôp 'ape'.

120. The Royal family

NŠWR [1]

WHBLT [2]

ḤYRN [3]   'NṬYWKWS [4]

FX   ~   SPTMYWS 'DYNT [5]   ~   F SPTMY' BTZBY [6]

SPTMYWS ḤYRN - HERODIANUS [7]   SPTMYWS WHBLT [8]   HERENNIANUS [9]   TIMOLAUS [10]
'TNDR[WS]
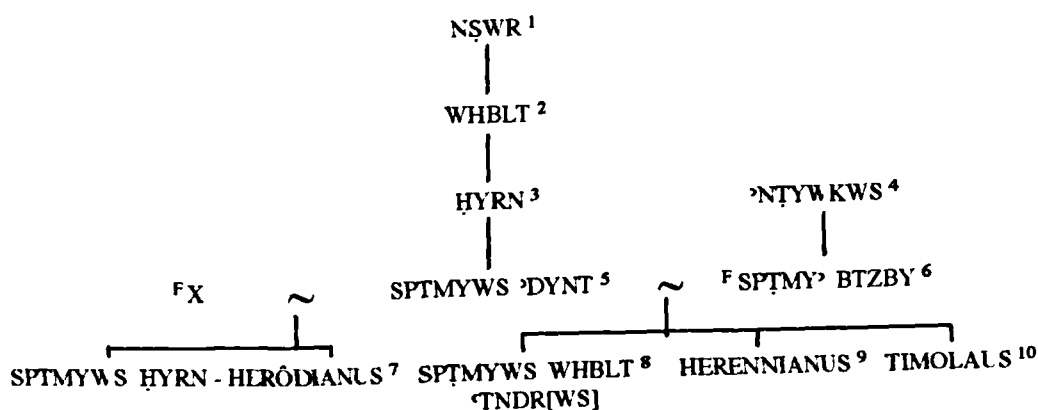
It was only after the discovery of the text, M. Gawlikowski, Syria 62 (1985) 257 no.13=As'ad - Gawlikowski, AAAS 36 (1986) 169 no.10, and the relative brilliant study carried out by M. Gawlikowski (Syria 62 (1985), 251-261) that the existence of two Odainat, the Elder and the Young was regarded as untrue. 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 senatonal rank and later became the 'head of Palmyra' (cf.PIR III, p. 209; Milik, p. 316-321; Ingholt, PBP, p. 120-130). He was supposed to have been killed by a Roman magistrate called Rufinus together with his son Herodianus in 267 268 (on the identification of Rufinus, see As'ad - Gawlikowski, art. cit., 171 note 25). Septimius Hairan 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 Hairan (cf. PIR III, p. 208-209; J. Févner, Histoire, p.

78; 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 Hairan, already senator in 251 AD. Odainat is first *rš³dy tdmr* - ἐξάρχον 'head of Palmyra' in 252 (see, Asʿad - Gawlikowski, art. cit., 169 no.10), then governor of Syria-Phoenice in 257 258 AD (*BS* 52; *BS* p. 66 note 2; *CIS* 3945=*Inv III*, 17), 'Restorer 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. Hairan, 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'. Hairan-Herodianus was the son of Odainat and a first wife before Zenobia. The Historia Augusta mentions two more sons of Zenobia (*SHA*, XXX Tyranni, XVII), Herennianus and Timolaus. Their names could correspond to Hairan and Taimallat (see, H. Seyrig, *AAS* 13 (1963) 170 and A. Baldini, *SP* 8 (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 *RTP* 736 there are a Wahballat and a Hairan sons of Odainat. H. Seyrig (*AAS* 13 (1963) 172) identifies Hairan with Herennianus while Milik, p. 320 identifies them with Wahballat Atenodôros and Hairan-Herodianus.

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

	SSN [1]	113 - 123 AD
	HYRN [2]	133 - 143 AD
193 - 223 AD	YWLYS ³WRLYS ML³ [3]	153 - 163 AD
	³WRLYS HYRN [4]	173 - 183 AD
234 - 235 AD	YWLYS ³WRLYS ML³ [5]	193 - 203 AD
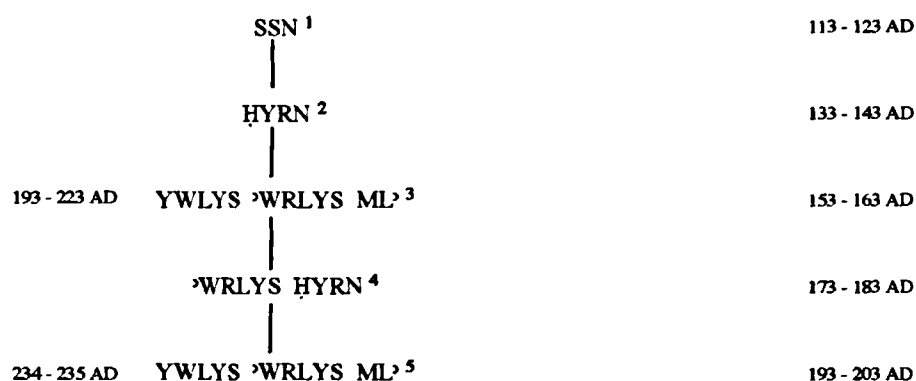
The date of foundation of the tomb is 109 AD, but the inscription does not give the name of the founder (see H. Ingholt, *Berytus* 2 (1935) 75 no.1). The tomb called of Julius Aurelius Malê contains a number of nine inscriptions, eight of which are cession texts. The oldest is dated 193 AD and the owner, 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 Hairan and Julius Aurelius Abbâ sons of Julius Aurelius Malê son of Yarhai, his relatives. A whole wall is bought in 223 AD by Julius Aurelius ʿAbissai from J.A. Malê The grandson of J.A. Malê³, J.A. Malê⁵, is attested by three cession texts: in 234 he sold to J.A. Sibai three niches; in 235 three more niches to J.A. Halaftâ 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.

122. The Saddadâ family

```
SDD² ¹
  |
YRHY ²
  |
[ZBD]ʾTH ³
  |
HDYDW ⁴
  |
ZBDʾTH ⁵
```

This inscription comes from Wadi Hauran.

123. The Lucius Salman family: hypogeum of unknown location

```
LQY SLMN ¹
   |
[B]RYKY ²
   |
LS[M]S ³
   |
ʿSTWRGʾ ⁴
   |
LSMS ⁵          232 AD
```

Lišamš⁵ 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.

650

124. The Sc'adû family

```
          S'DW ¹
            |
          LSMS ²
            |
          YRḤY ³
            |
          ḤLYPY ⁴
            |
          YRḤY ⁵              236 AD
```
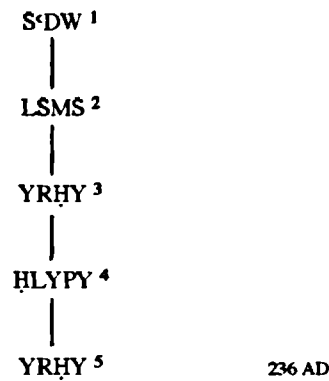
Yarḥai⁵ offered to the gods 'Aglıbôl and Malakbel an enseign in silver. His name is transcribed in Greek as 'Heliodôros' which usually represents the transcription of 'Lišamš'. The connection can be seen in the fact that Yarḥai is a shortened form of Yarḥibôlâ and the god Yarḥibôl is also a solar god. The name Holaifî is rendered in Greek with Antiokos. Yarḥai is one of the numerous Palmyrenes in Rome.

125. The Taimâ family

```
               TYM' ¹
                 |
              SY'WN' ²
                 |
     ┌───────────┼───────────┐
  ᶠ YDY'T ³    'G' ⁴       SLMN ⁵
                            |
                    ┌───────┴───────┐
  + 226 AD  ᶠ NHR' ⁶       SY'WN' ⁷   ~   ᶠ LWY' ⁸  + 236 AD
                  + 240 AD              |
                            + 236 AD   SLMN ⁹
```
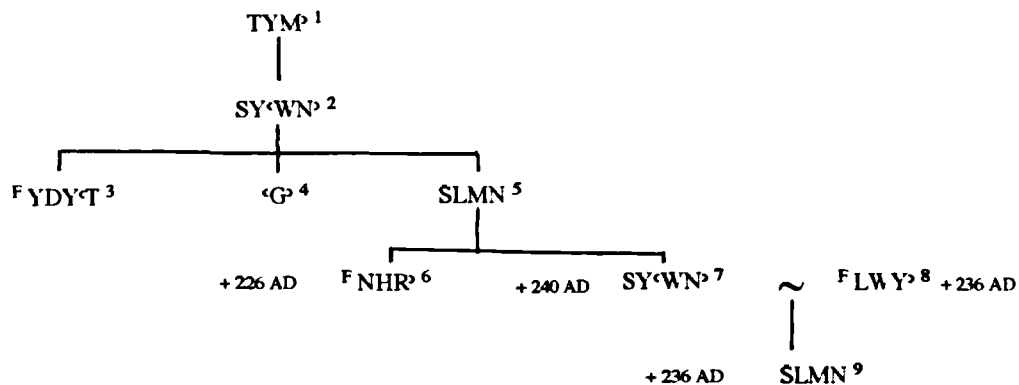
Sï'ônâ⁷ commemorated his sister's death with an 'image' in the year 226 AD. He himself died in 240 AD. His wife and child died 6 years before him.

651

126. The Taimarṣû family

TYMRṢW [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

YRḤBWL⸗ [3]

|

SBY [4]

|

YRḤBWL⸗ [5]
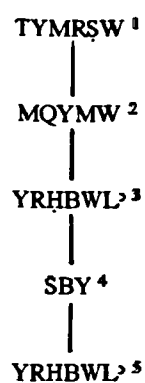
Yar ḥibôlâ [5] was a symposiarch of Bel and as suggested by Milik, p. 249 we think that his father is identical to the Sabî attested in *RTP* 188.

127. The Tôfâ family
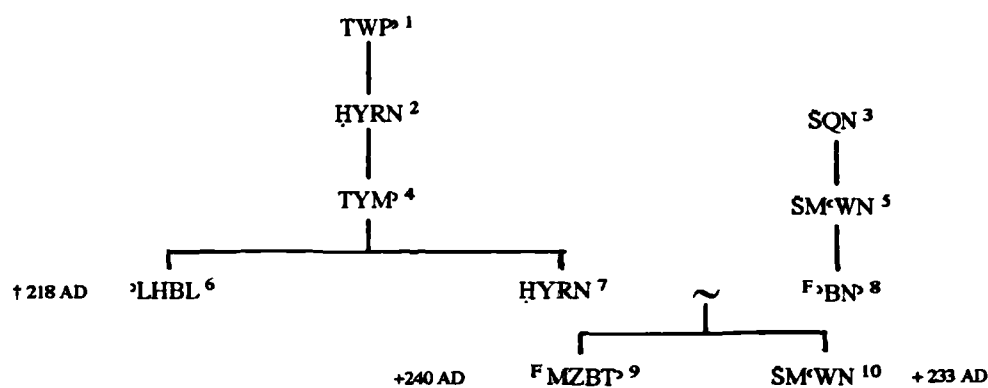
In the year 242 AD, Hairan made a monument in memory of his brother Elahbel dead in 218 AD. Of the same year is a sculpture portraying Hairan and Abinâ his wife but it cannot be funerary as in 242 he is still alive. J. Starcky (*Syria* 26 (1949) 36 no.3) says that TWP⸗ is the Aramaised form of the Arabic TPN, attested there and he states that the family has an Arabic origin. We find also in Aramaic *tôp* 'kettle drum', cf. *PNPI* 116.

128. The Wahballat family
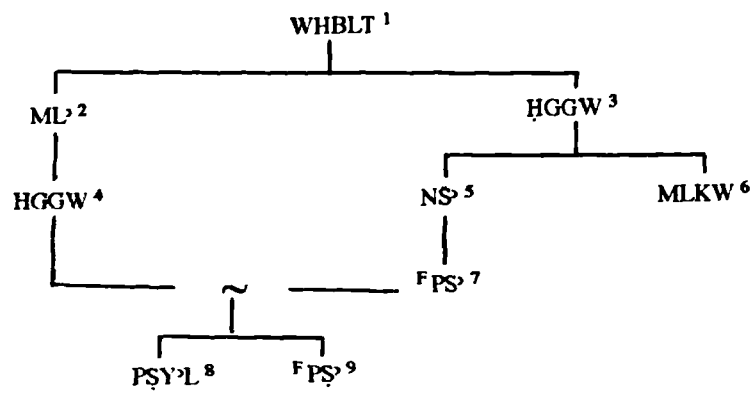
A sarcophagus represents five people, Faṣael[8], his mother Faṣê[7], his father Hagegû[4] and his sister Faṣê[9].

FOUR GENERATIONS

129. The Abgar family of the Sergia tribe : Marcus Ulpius Yarhai the synodiarch

```
                            'BGR 1                              70

                            HYRN 2                              90

              ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
135 AD   MRQS 'LPYS 'BGR 3              MRQS 'LPYS YRHY 4   239 AD   110

                                          'BGR 5            239 AD   130
```
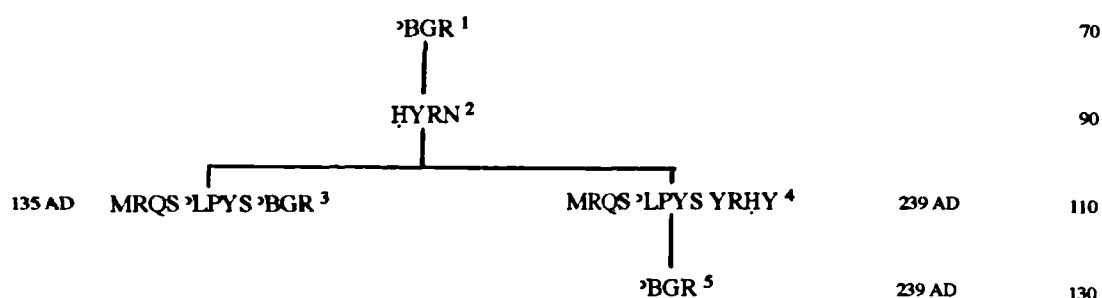
Marcus Ulpius Yarhai is a well attested figure of the Palmyrene trade with the East. In eight inscriptions he received honours from the caravans he had helped in their trips from and to Palmyra. Only in *Inv X*, 128 he is said to be of the Sergia tribe and here he honoured Tiberius Claudius, prefect 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. Malkû (*Inv X*, 108 and *Inv IX*, 24) and M.U. Abgar (*Inv X*, 29).

130. The Ahwad family

```
        'HWD 1

        ZBDBWL 2

        'LHBL 3

        'LHBL 4
```
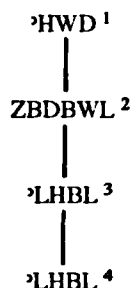
Elahbel[4] received a statue erected for him by the Senate at the time of his presidency.

131. The Aḥib family

ʾHYB [1]

|

LSMS [2]

|

NSRY [3]

|

FTYKSʾ [4]

The name ʾHYB lies unexplained. It has not been possible to check the reading as no photograph of the inscription is available.

132. The Aḥtai family

TYBWL alias BRʾHTY [1]

|

ʿGYLW [2]

|

MLʾ [3]

|

ʿGʾ [4]   128 129 AD

The name BR ʾHTY 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 mqr ʾ/h 'called'. We find BRZBYDY from the Gaddibôl tribe; BRBʿ ʾ from the Kennabat tribe; BRʿBDBL from the MGRT tribe, etc.

133. The Aklab family

'KLB [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

BR'TH [3]

|

'LHBL [4]   188 AD
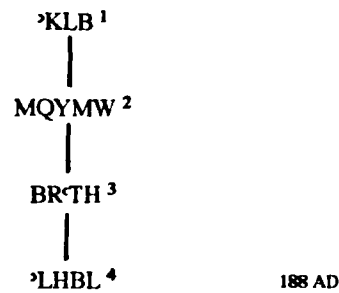
Elahbel made a dedication to the Anonymous God in 188 AD.

134. The Amrai family

'MRY [1]

|

'BD'Y [2]

|

B'LY [3]

|

BRNY [4]   209 AD
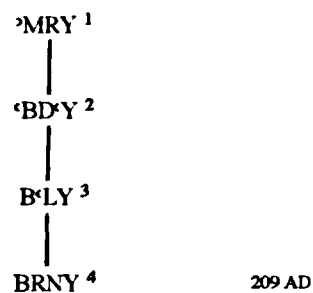
For the name 'MRY we find the Greek transcription Amraion in *Inv X*, 68. The name must be an hypoconsticon of a theophorous name formed by the root *'mr* 'utter, to say' plus DN (see *WSB* 82, with literature). Stark, *PNP* 169, considers the name as 'man of DN'. The anthroponym 'BD'Y is an abbreviated form for 'BD'TH such as 'BD' ' (H. Ingholt, *Berytus* 1 (1934) 42).

135. The Amṣar family

```
                ʾMṢR ¹
                  |
                NŠM ²
                  |
                GWRʾ ³
                  |
         ʿBYDN ʿSTYY/W ⁴
```
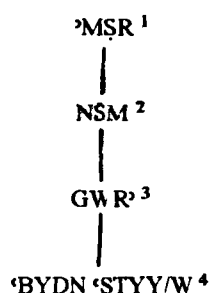
ʿObaidû made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The name NŠM is a variant of NŠWM widely attested at Palmyra. For ʾMṢR and ʿSTYY/W a valid etymology cannot be proposed.

136. The Annaqîr family

```
                ʾNQYR ¹
                  |
                ZBDʾTH ²
                  |
        ┌─────────────────────┐
     GRYMY ³                MTNʾ ⁴
                              |
                           ZBDʾTH ⁵
```
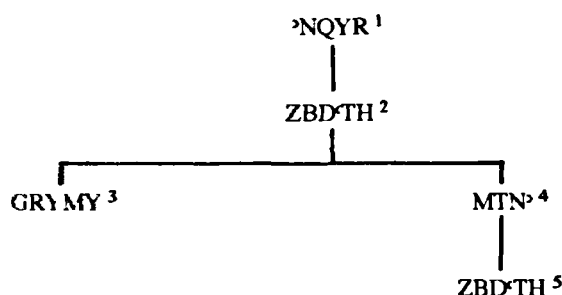
The Annaqîr family seems to be devoted to the cult of Nabû. In fact the inscription comes from the temple of this god. The tesserae also are related to its cult. Zabdaʿateh² and Garîmai his son are portrayed as priests. In tessera *RTP*819 we find the priest Zabdaʿateh (son of) Mattanâ, (son of) Annaqî(r) who must be a grandchild of Zabdaʿateh². Mattanâ⁴ son of Zabdaʿateh is also attested in *RTP* 305. The name ʾNQYR 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 ʾNQYD of Bounni-Saliby (*AAS* 15 (1965) 133-134)where this inscription was first published and to ʾNQYDW of Milik, p. 164. Also MTNʾ has to be preferred to ʾTNʾ of the authors. The relief has to be dated to the 1st c. AD.

137. The Aphphousos family : tower tomb no.191

```
                                                          13  23 AD

        APHPHOUSOS¹                                       33  43 AD

             │
             │
             │
          [ML']²                                          53  63 AD
             │
             │
          [YRḤY]³                                         73  83 AD
             │
             │
          ['WYD']⁴              184 AD                     93 - 103 AD
```
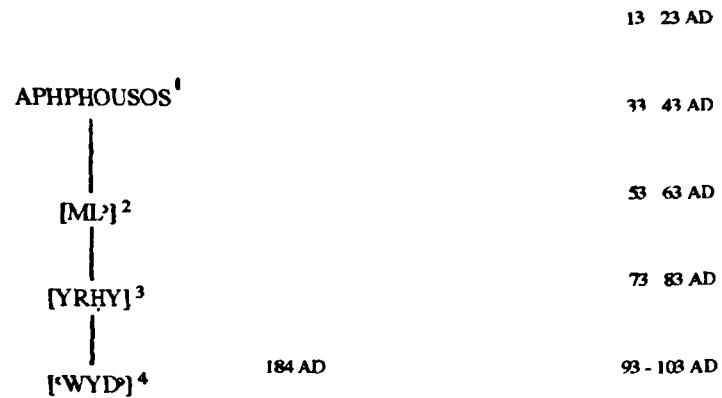
'Awîdâ built the tower tomb no.191 for himself, his male sons and grandsons. The names are preserved only in the Greek text. They are all well known and also their interpretations. The only problem we are presented with is the name Aphphousos. The Greek name Aphphous appears in 1 Macc. II.5. On the other hand in N/L Babylonian we find a related form in AP-PU-US-SA-A which lies unexplained (see WSB 136).

138. The Aqôfaᶜ family

```
          'QWP'¹
             │
             │
          ZBYD'²
             │
             │
         ' 'YLMY³
             │
             │
   YWL(YS) 'WR(LYS) ḤLPWN'⁴          233 AD
```
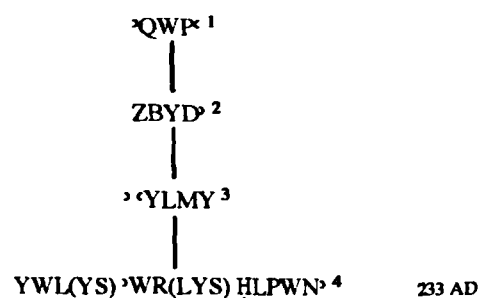
In 233 AD, Julius Aurelius Ḥalafônâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

139. The Artaban family

ʾRṬBN [1]

NṢRY ḤBY [2]

ʿG ʾ [3]

NṢRY ḤBY [4]   134/135 AD
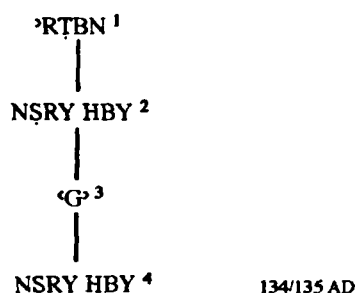
Naṣrai Ḥabbai was administrator of the 'holy garden' of ʿAglibôl and Malakbel together with Yarḥibôlâ; Malkû son of ʿAwîdâ Annaqîr; ʿOggâ and Rabbel son of Ḥairan Bageśû.

140. The Atefani family
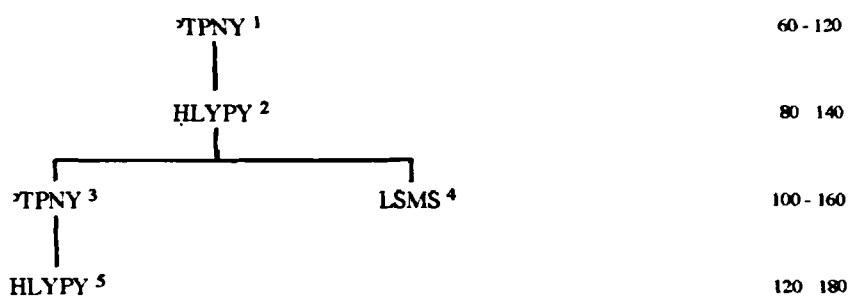
ʾTPNY [1]   60 - 120

ḤLYPY [2]   80 140

ʾTPNY [3]   LŚMS [4]   100 - 160

ḤLYPY [5]   120 180

Lśarś son of Ḥolaifi was honoured with a statue by the priests of Baʿaltak, the Benê Taimarṣû. The goddess and the priests appear again in the tesserae; see RTP 66 and 77. According to the script the inscription is of the 1st c. AD. Ḥolaifi[5] son of Atefani[3] was honoured in 162/166 AD by Ḥolaifi son of Hagegû because he pleased him and "gave him power" (for an explanation of this expression see Palmyre VI, 89). We have preferred to see in Lśamś an ḤL of Ḥolaifi[5]. 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 Afûqah family

ʾTNDWRʾ ʾPWQḤ [1]

|

MLKʾ [2]

|

ZBDBWL [3]

|

DWRʾ [4]
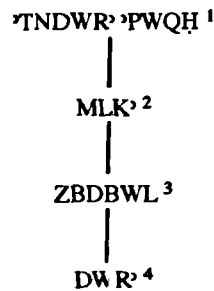
Dûrâ, which should represent the shortened form of Athenodôros, made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The name ʾPWQḤ is difficult to interpret (see *PNPI* 71-72).

142. The Isiʿadar family

ʾSʿDR [1]

|

ʿGYLW [2]

|

ZBYDʾ [3]

|

ʿGYLW [4]   YRḤY [5]
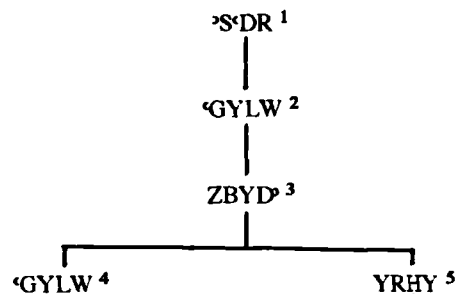
The name ʾSʿDR is attested only once. In *CIS* 4467 we find ʾSʿDR. We propose to consider the name as a verbal sentence with the meaning of 'Isis has helped'. The first element is the goddess - ʾS - 'Isis', attested in Neo-Babylonian times with North-West Semitic elements, see *APN* 255. The root ʿdr 'to help' is attested in Aram., Hebr., Ugar. and Phoen., see DNWS 856 f.,Cf. Nabataean QWSʿDR, *PNNR* 57 no.1013 and ʾTʿDR, Silverman, *J A O* 89 (1969) 699. It presents also some difficulties the variant spelling ʾS which is rarely attested. In Phoenician, if the reading is correct, there is the variant ʿBDʾS of ʿBDʾS, see *PNPPI* 271. At Carthago the Greek name Isodôros 'gift of Isis' is transcribed ʾSʾDRʿ (*CIS* , I, 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 Iyyūnū family

```
                    ꞌYWN[W] [1]
                        |
                     BWLḤꞌ [2]
                        |
                      X [3]
           ┌────────────┴────────────┐
       ꜥLYŞꞌ [4]                   DYNꞌ [5]
```
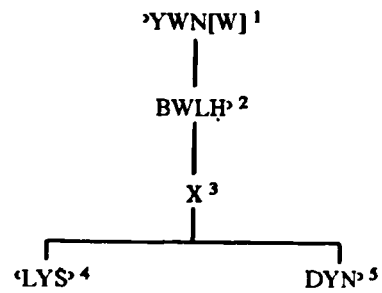
The name ꞌYWN[W] could also have either a final aleph or yod. Milik, p. 2 identifies it with the Greek transcription Ιουν from the Palmyrene Jews buried at Besara in Palestina, see *Beth She ꜥarim*, Jerusalem 1967, p. 1, 3 nos.1, 7 and 9.

144. The Odainat family

```
       ꞌDY[NT] [1]
           |
        WHBY [2]
           |
        TYMNꞌ [3]
           |
        BLḤZY [4]
```
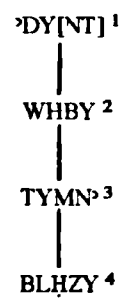
The script would date the stele to the 1st c. AD.

145. The ʿAbbâ family

```
                        ʿBʾ 1
          ┌───────────────────────┐
      ZBYDʾ 2                   [KY]LY 3
          │                        │
      MLKW 4                     ʿBʾ 5
          │
      ZBYDʾ 6        236 AD
```
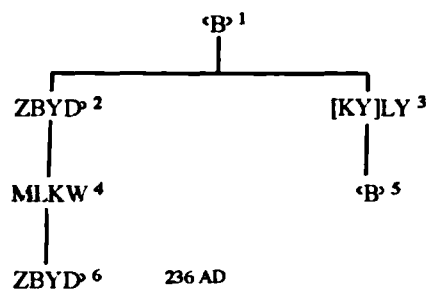
Zebîdâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God for himself and the servants of his house. ʿAbbâ[5] also offered an altar to a deity but it is not speified which one. His grandfather has been identified to the ʿAbbâ of *CIS* 4033 on onomastic bases given the few attestations of such a name.

146. The ʿAmmat family

```
      [ʿMT] 1
         │
      [TYMʾ] 2
         │
    [MQYMW] 3
         │
    [WHBLT] 4
```
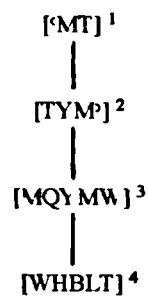
The inscription is in Greek, but the names are known from other bilingual texts. The Greek Athenodôros usually transcribes Palmyrene Wahballat, see *CIS* 3971. For ʿAmmat, see Cantineau, *RA* 27 (1930) 11-12 no.10. It is a dedication either to the Anonymous God or to Baalshamîn which in Greek are both called 'Zeus most high'.

147. The ᶜAqqabel family

[ᶜQBL] [1]

|

[ZBDᵓTH] [2]

|

[ZBDBWL] [3]

|

[ZBDBWL] [4]

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 [ᶜQBL], in Greek Akkabelos. This name has the same form as ᵓGDM, ᵓQLYŠ, ᵓQML and [ᶜQDN?] with a doubling of the first consonant. In Babylonian is known the name Aqabiel and in Hebrew we find Yaqub-El, see IPN 177. The meaning must be ᶜQB-ᵓL 'El has protected'.

148. The ᶜAqqadan family

[ᶜQDN?] [1]

|

[SLMLT] [2]

|

NBWZBD [3]

|

YRHY [4]

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 [ᶜQDN] as in Safaitic we find ᶜQD and ᶜQDT, see 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 ʿAteʿaqab-Rafabôl family

```
                                                    ʿTʿQB alias NB [WZBD] ¹
                                                            |
                                                            |
                                                         RPBWL ²
                                                            |
                                                            |
  160 AD          ʿBDṢYRʾ ³   freedman of              ʾNṬYKS ʿTʿQB ⁴
                                                            |
                                                            |
  186-228 AD    ʾWRLYS WRDN ⁵  freedman of    [YWLYS] ʾWR[LYS] ʾNṬYKS RPBWL ⁶  218 AD
```
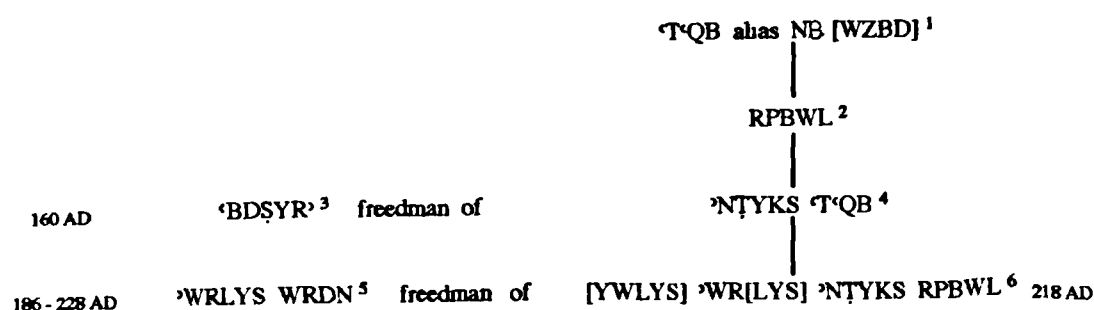
In chronological order, ʿAbdṣayarâ freedman of ʿAteʿaqab son of Rafabôl, bought in the hypogeum of the Three Brothers the whole exedra on the right in the year 160 AD. According to K. Makowski (*SP* 8 (1985) 100-101) all the triklinia in the form of sarcophagus come from the exedrae sold by the original owners to other people. In the exedra to the right of the tomb of the Three Brothers (see, Eodem, art. cit., p. 91, fig. 8) a triklinium has been found that can be dated to 170-220 AD and must portray the family of ʿAbdṣayarâ freedman of Antiokos ʿAteʿaqab. In 186 AD another freedman, Wardan, acquired property in the hypogeum of Liša mš 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 Antominiana' 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 ʿAte ʿaqab 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 ʿOggâ family

ʿG[ʾ] 1

MTNY 2

ʿ(G)ʾ 3   YRḤY 4

F ʾQMʾ 5
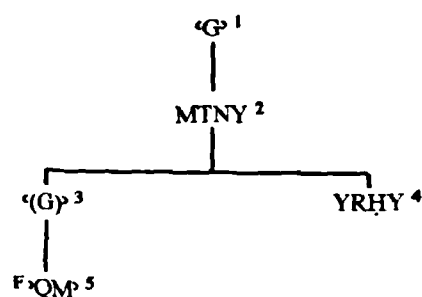
ḤTNʾ and ḤTNW are variants of ḤTNY which must be a
hypocoristicon of * ḤTNBW not attested as such.

151. The ʿOggâ family

X 1

ʿG[ʾ] 1

YRḤB[WLʾ] 3

[ML]KW 4
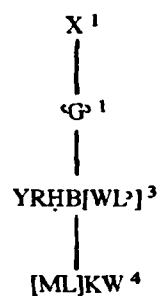
[Mal]kû made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The date in the Palmyrene text is 46[.], thus not later than 187 AD, and the Greek version allows the year 7 to be restored [50]7=195 AD. It is not the only example of different dating between the two texts (cf. *CIS* 3940).

152. The ʿOgeilû family

```
ʿGYLW [1]
   |
HYRN [2]
   |
HYRN [3]
   |
HYRʾ [4]
```

All the names of his family are of a good Arabic derivation.

153. The ʿOlaibaʿal family

```
ʿLYBʿL [1]                                    42 AD
   |
ZBDʿTH [2]                                    62 AD
   |
ḤGGW [3]                                       82 AD
   |
ZBDʿTH [4]          142 AD                    102 AD
```

The identification of Baʿal and Bôl is attested by another form of ʿLYBʿL, that is ʿLYBWL (*Inv XI*, 45) where the meaning of the name 'Bôl or Baʿal 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. Zabdaʿateh [4] offered 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

BGDN [1]

RPBWL [2]

YRHBWL' [3]

MZBN' [4]   150 - 200 AD
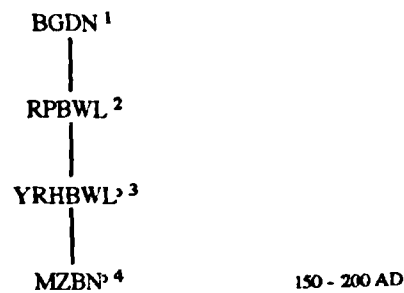
It is Annâ, Mezzabbanâ's nurse, that made the stele for him.

155. The Bannâ family

BN' [1]

'[ ]B' [2]

YRHBWL' [3]

B'LW' [4]
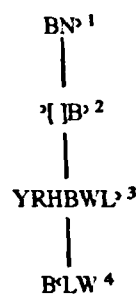
Yarhibôlâ offered a relief to the 'gods of the garden' Arṣû and Rahîm. The inscription is undated but the script suggests the end of the 2nd c. AD or beginning of the 3rd c. AD. The Latin transcription Bannae of BN' is known from H. Ingholt, *Berytus* 5 (1938) 111 no.9.

156. The Bar'ai family

```
            BR'Y 1
              |
           HYRN 2
              |
           MQYMW 3
              |
           MLKW 4
```
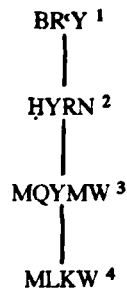
The date 43[.] could also be read 48[.], so that we have either 125/126 AD or 169/170 AD. Malkû received a statue from the Senate and the People because he was a patriotic person and financially very generous to the city.

157. The Barnabû family

```
                                              GDYBWL 1
                                                 |
              BRNBW 2                         MQYMW 3
         ┌───────┴───────┐                       |
      BR'TH 4          BRNBW 5     ~        F'TM' 6
         |          ┌──────┬────────┬──────────┐
      BRNBW 7    BR'TH 8  BR'TH 9  BRNBW 10  NBWGDY 11   150 200 AD
```
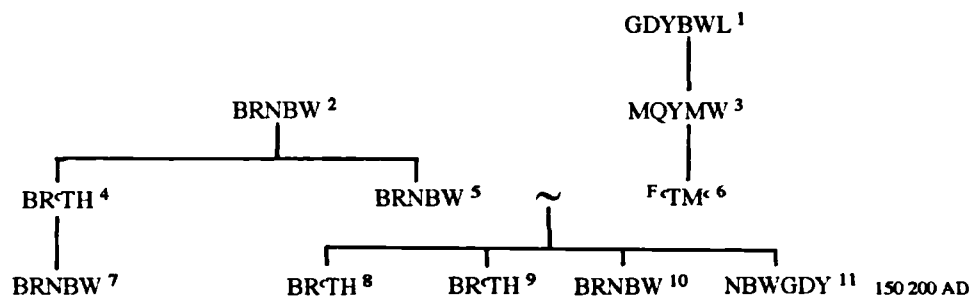
As the onomastics shows, this family seems to be devoted to the cult of Nabû and 'Ateh. We are presented here with two brothers bearing the same name, Bar'ateh. One, Bar'ateh[8], is represented as an adult and he is a priest. The other, Bar'ateh[9], is a youth. None of the inscriptions are funerary, 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 Barnabû[5] a brother to Bar'ateh[8], being the latter then the uncle and not the brother of the three youths portrayed on the sarcophagus. In the expression 'X[1] son of X[2], his brother' Ingholt sees the term 'brother' referred to X[2] instead of X[1] 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

BRWKY [1]

|

SMʿWN [2]

|

BRYKY [3]

|

ZBDʾ [4]   138 AD

Zabdâ offered a statue to Yarḥai son of ʿOgeilû, son of Ḥairan Dûḥai because he helped him.

159. The Batûsi family: from the hypogeum of Zebîdâ, SE

BTWSY [1]

|

SWʾ? [2]

|

NBWLʾ [3]

|

F GPNʾ [4]

The reading SWʾ? 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 Zebîdâ.

160. The Belai family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

```
        BLY ¹     ~    ᶠMRTY ²                          128 - 138 AD

                        |
                     SᶜRWNᵓ ³              188 AD         148  158 AD
                        |
        ┌───────────────┴───────────┐
      BSᵓ ⁴                      RYSQᵓ ⁵     213 AD       168 - 178 AD
        |
      FᵓMW ⁶                                267 AD        188 - 198 AD
```
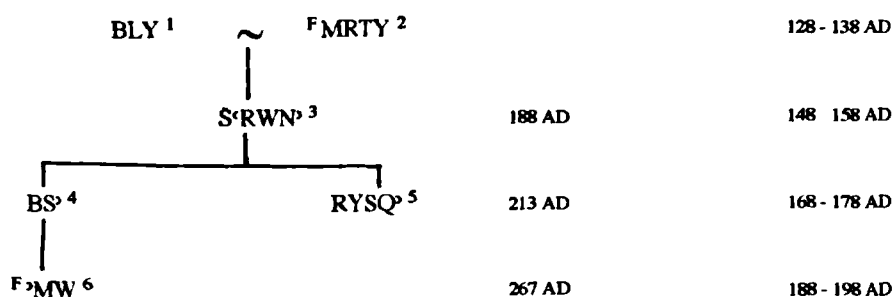
The first cession of the first central chamber of the hypogeum of Malkû is dated October 213 AD. The grandchildren of Malkû, the tomb founder, sold to Bassâ and Risqâ, two brothers, six niches. In 188 AD, their father Saᶜarônâ had bought from the decurion Baᶜalai, three niches in the Southern exedra of this same tomb. Nearly eighty years later a granddaughter of Saᶜarônâ, Ammô, bought four more niches in the Southern exedra and in the same year 267 AD resold two out of the four niches. The Saᶜarônâ 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.

161. The Belšûr family: from the hypogeum of Bôlhâ, SE

```
        BLŠWR ¹
           |
        YDY ²
           |
        YRḤBWLᵓ ³
           |
        YDY ⁴        150 - 200 AD
```
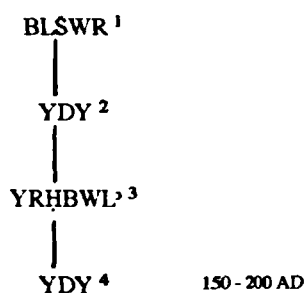
According to the sculptured style this bust belongs to the 2nd group of Ingholt's classification, that is 150-200 AD.

162. The Bôlai family

BWLY [1]

WHB² [2]

ᶜBD⁾ ⁾ [3]

WHB⁾ [4]   154/155 AD
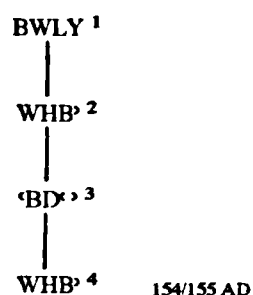
Wahbâ[4] is represented with a modius decorated with a wreath which usually indicates symposiarchs. He died in 154/155 AD. The name of his father is a hypocoristicon of ᶜBDᶜTH 'Servant of ᶜAteh' and it is not common. That is why we believe that the priest ᶜAbdaᶜâ of an, so far, unpublished bust must be the father of our Wahbâ.

163. The Bôlemmâ Abab family

BWLᴹ ⁾BB [1]   15 AD

ᶜWYDY [2]   35 AD

BWLᴹ⁾ [3]   55 AD

ᶜWYDW [4]   MLKW [5]   YRḤBWL⁾ [6]   [ḤGGW] [7]   115 AD   75 AD
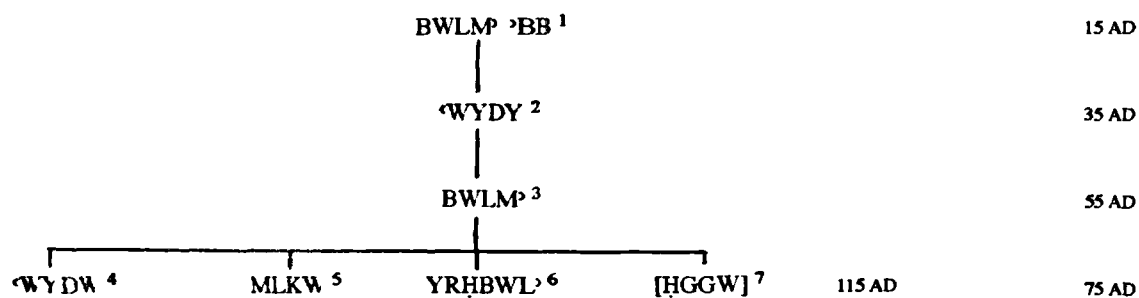
The 7th of February 115 AD, four brothers offered an altar to Baalshamîn and in honour of the Benê Saᶜarê, their relatives. These Benê are not to be considered a tribe but more simply a family group. Milik, p. 60-61 suggests to see in them the promoters of the religious panegynes. A re-examination of the inscription has favoured a new reading for ⁾D/RB in ⁾BB (see also Milik, p. 60) already attested at Palmyra (PNPI 1). It is not the first time we meet with a double name and possibly the second, Abab, is the name of a remote ancestor of the family.

671

164. The Bôlḥâ family: from the hypogeum of Bôlḥâ, SE

BLḤ⁾ ¹
|
YDY ²
|
NBWŠWR ³
|
ᶠ ḤL⁾ ⁴   200 - 250 AD
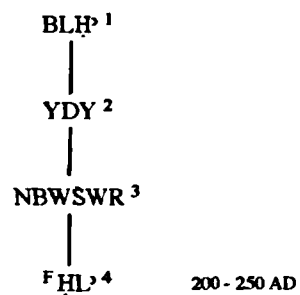
The names Bôlḥâ, Nabûšûrî and Yaddai are very common in this tomb but it is difficult to establish a kinship among them.

165. The Bôlḥâ family

BWLḤ⁾ ¹
|
ᶜG⁾ ²
|
ᶠ Bᶜ DY⁾ ³
┌──────────┴──────────┐
YRḤBWL⁾ ⁴   BHR⁾ ⁵
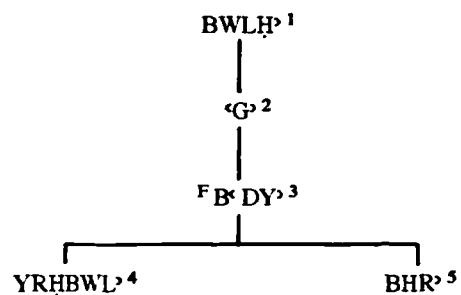
The funerary stele attesting this family, portrays Baᶜadiyâ and her two children, Yarḥibôlâ and Baḥarâ. The name Baḥarâ is only attested once and may derive from the root *bḥr* 'to choose, select' (Hebr. and Aram., see *WSB* 118 and 130).

166. The Boraq family

```
        BRQ¹
         |
        ḤYR²
         |
        NŠ³
         |
        SLMN⁴        136 AD
```
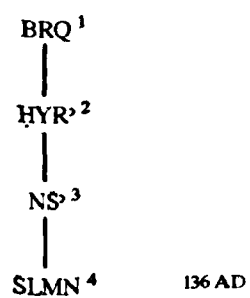
Salman dedicated an altar to the Anonymous God. Lidzarski, *ES* EII, p. 341 registers a soldier called Βόρακος.

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

```
              BWRP¹
                |
              SŠN²
    ┌───────────┼───────────┐
  BWRP³      ʾBRNYQ⁴      MQY⁵        [ P⁶
                |
              BWLMʾ⁷
```
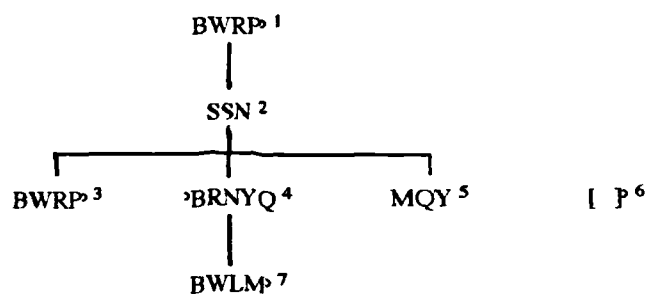
These busts come from the exedra D of the hypogeum of Sasan.

168. The Bôśâ family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

```
                          BWSʾ 1
          ┌──────────────────┴──────────────────┐
    BLNWRY alias BWLY 2                      NDBʾL 3
          │                                      │
  87 AD  WHBLT 4                              ḤYRN 5
          │
        WHBLT 6
```
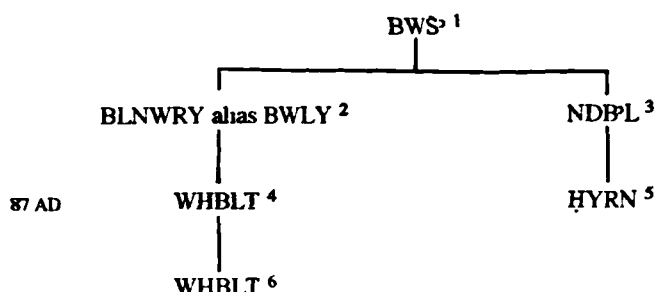
Wahballat[4] took part to the construction of the tomb that Belḥazî and his sons of the Aʿailamî in the SE necropolis in 87 AD. The tomb is made in honour of the children of his paternal uncle. A relation of kinship can be guessed between these two families but no sure epigraphical evidence is available. 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[4] whose father bears the surname Bôlai that definitely refers to an ancestor. A second bust portrays a son of Wahballat, Wahballat[6]. The last one is of Ḥairan son of Nadabel, whose father's name is attested only once at Palmyra.

169. The Dionysios family

```
                    DYNYS 1
                      │
                    MLKW 2
          ┌───────────┴───────────┐
      MLKW 7                    FʾQMʾ 4    ~    BNWRY 5
                                  │                │
                               SRYKW 6          F BTḤW 7
```
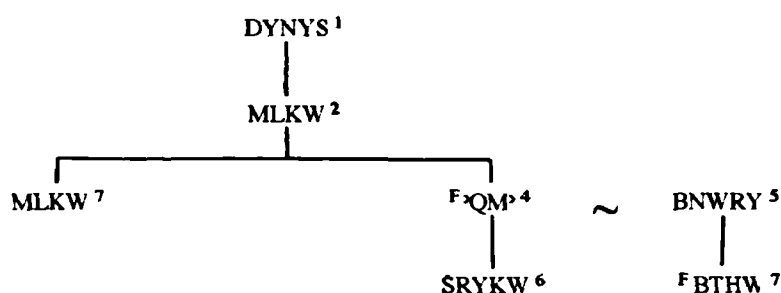
The Greek transcription of DYNYS can be found in bilingual texts: Διονυσιος (A   Bounni, *AASl* 1 (1961) 146-147, 155). It is Bennûrî whomade the stele in honour of his wife because she had honoured her/his brother. There is a problem in the interpretation whether Malkû[3] is Aqmâ's or Bennûrî's brother. Aqmâ's father bears the same name Malkû, so that we are in favour of seeing in Malkû[3] 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 Dûhai family

DWHY [1]

|

HYRN [2]

|

ʿGYLW [3]

|

YRHY [4]   138 AD
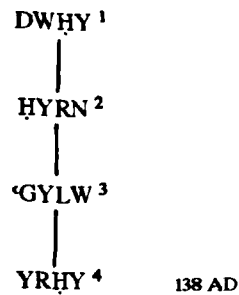
Yarhai was honoured with a statue in the temple of Baalshamîn by Zabdâ son of Barîkai, son of Simʿôn, son of Barûkai. The name Dûhai is attested once (H. Inghalt, *Berytus* 2 (1935) 60 no.2) in the tomb of ʿAtenatan, but the onomastics does not suggest any relationship between the two.

171. The Dûhai family: from the hypogeum of ʿAtenatan

DWHY [1]

|

MQY [2]

|

ZBDBWL [3]

|

YWLYS ᵓWRLYS MQY [4]   229 AD
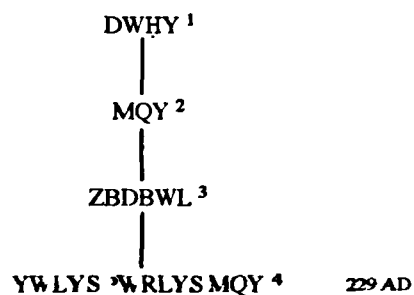
The hypogeum of ʿAtenatan was built in 98 AD and 130 years later, Julius Aurelius Maqqai built the single lateral exedra of the tomb. The exedra excavated in 229 AD was for Maqqai himself, his sons and grandsons. It is specified that the property rights of the tomb was prerogative of the male heirs only. 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

PZL [1]

|

ZBD³ [2]

|

ZBD³ [3]

|

PZL [4]

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

173. The Fatīhab family

PTYHB [1]

|

YDY [2]

|

MLKW [3]

|

YD'W [4]

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

174. The Ga‘alû family

G‘LW [1]

|

MLKW [2]

|

SM‘WN [3]

|

ML° [4]

Ga‘al is attested in Hebrew, see *IPN*230 and G‘L° in *KA1*227. 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 *ICPAN1* 163.

175. The Gamaluwa family

GMLWH [1]

|

KMLW [2]

|

Z‘WR° [3]

|

ML° [4]   † 150-200 AD

The name GMLW is attested in Nabataean, *PNNR* 19 no.236 and Safaitic, *ICPAN1* 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 correctely read, may derive from the root *kml* 'to be perfect' attested in Safaitic, see *ICPAN1* 505 and it is found here for the first time. The other name Z‘WR° may be derived from z ‘r, Aram. z‘ ‘ôrâ 'small', see *WSB* 220 and 323 n.17.

176. The Gamlâ family

GML° [1]

|

YRHBWL° [2]

|

MQYMW [3]   114 AD

|

F SGL [4]

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 Garîmai family

GRYMY [1]

<TTN [2]

F ḤLYPT alias X [3]   † 241/242 AD

ZBYD' [4]
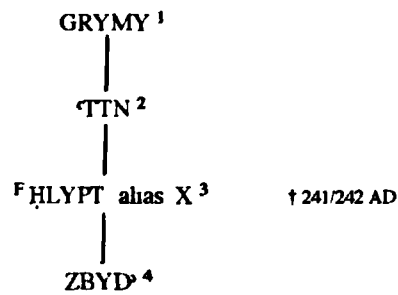
The name GRYMY is normally vocalized as a *fu ʿail* form and in *PNPI* 82 the name is derived from Arabic, *jarîm*'dry dates'. We prefer to consider the name a past participle of *grm* 'to decide, determine', well attested in Palmyrene onomastics. In Nabataean we find GRYMW, see *PNNR* 19 no.242.

178. The Gûrâ family

GWR' [1]

WHBLT [2]

ML' [3]   YRḤBWL' [4]

† 150-200 AD   WHBLT [5]

179. The Gûronnai family

GWRNY [1]

[L]ŠMŠ [2]

TYMRṢW [3]

[TYM?] [4]   157 AD
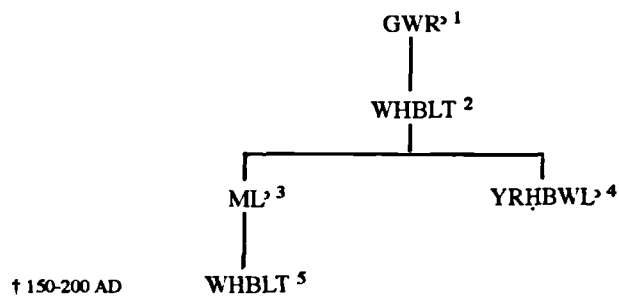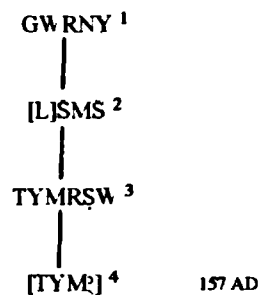
Taimê honoured Marcus Ulpius Yarḥai, one of the most popular chief of caravans of Palmyra.

180. The Ḥairan family

```
                    ḤYRN ¹
                      │
                    [  ]R› ²
                      │
                    MLQ ³
                      │
                    BWLY ⁴      † 150  200 AD
```

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

181. The Ḥairan family

```
                    ḤYRN ¹
                      │
                    MQYMW ²
                      │
                    Ṣ‹DY ³
                      │
                    NBWZBD ⁴
```

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

182. The Ḥalâ family

```
                    ḤL› ¹
                      │
                    MQYMW ²
                      │
                    ‹NNY ³
                      │
                    SBTY ⁴
```

The name Šabbâtai is a Jewish name, see IPN 822. It finds parallels in Nabatæan, see PNJR 62 no. 1103, ŠBTY.

183. The Hannateh family: hypogeum of Hairan, SW

HNT° [1]

|

HYRN [2]

|

YDY [3]

|

HYRN [4]   106/107 AD
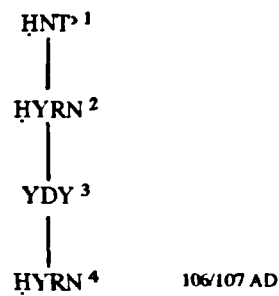
In 106/107 AD, Hairan[4] build a tomb for his family. The name of the ancestor HNT° is otherwise attested as feminine name and it has the meaning of "ʿAteh is gracious', * HN - ʿT°.

184. The Kad/rah family

KD RH [1]

|

ZBDLH [2]

|

YRHY [3]

|

F HGT [4]
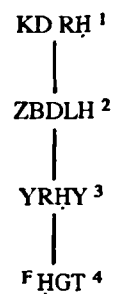
The name KD|RH also unexplained.

185. The Kahilai family

X [1]

|

KHYLY [2]

|

MʿNY [3]

|

PPLYS ᵓL[YS] KHYLY [4]
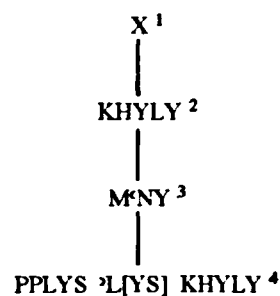
This family is one of the few that bears the gentilic of Hadrian. We know three more Publii Aelii (D. Schlumberger, *BÉO* 9 (1942-43) 53; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 20 (1939) 320 and Milik, p. 229-231). The inscription whose date is broken must be of Hadrian time (117-138 AD).

186. The Kûmai family

```
          KWMY ¹
            |
         YMLKW ²
            |
         TYMLT ³
            |
   ┌────────┴────────┐
YML' ⁴              LSMS ⁵
```
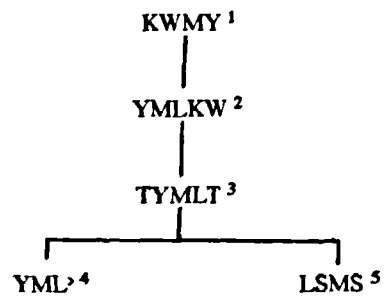
The name KWMY is widely attested in Nabataean, *PNNR* 35 no.555 and Safaitic, *ICPANI* 505, KMY. On its meaning, see *PNPI* 92. A certain Taimallat son of Yamlikû is attested in *Inv VIII*, 29.

187. The Ma'anû family

```
MʿNW ¹
   |
HYRN ²
   |
MLKW ³
   |
SLMLT ⁴
```

This family is known from tessera RTP 630.

188. The Maišan family

```
MYSN ¹
   |
LSMS ²
   |
ZBD' ³
   |
YDYʿBL ⁴    190 AD
```
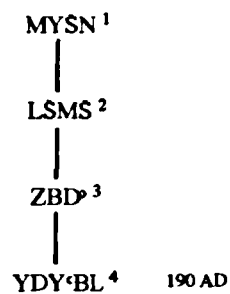
Yedî'bel offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his brother's sons.

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189. The Mâle family: tomb of Ḥûr in the garden of Palmyra Museum

MLʾ [1]
|
ʿTʿQB alias ḤWR [2]   MLKW [3]
| |
PṢYʾL [4]   HNʾY [5]
| |
ḤWR [6]   ~   F TDMR [7]
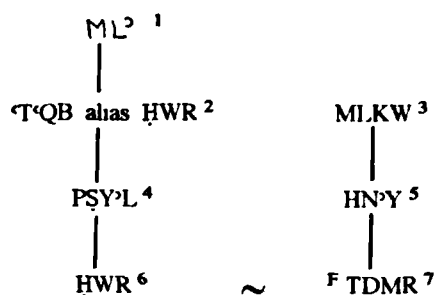
The inscription attesting this family is a curse text against anyone who will attempt to open the tomb. According to the script, it may be dated to the first half of the 1st c. AD.

190. The Mâle family

MLʾ [1]
|
MLʾ [2]
|
X [3]
|
HRMS [4]

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

MLKW [1]
|
[ʿ]GYLY [2]
|
YRḤʾ [3]
|
F LWYʾ [4]   ZBYDʾ [5]
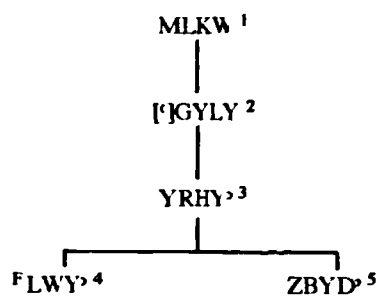
In the inscription there is a mistake of the sculptor who wrote the word *bbr* alas' before the last name of the genealogy, MLKW. One could also consider Malkû as the name of another brother of Luiâ. On the stele only a young woman, Luiâ and a child are portrayed.

192. The Malkû family: from the hypogeum of Zabda'ateh, SW

MLKW [1]
|
WHBLT [2]
|
SY'WN' [3]
|
┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
MLKW [4]   PSY'L [5]
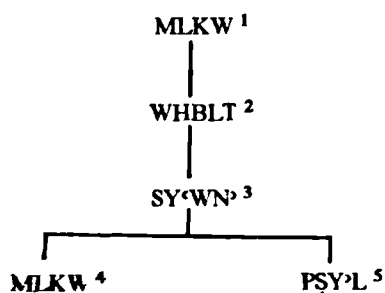
All the inscriptions regarding this family are funerary. According to the style of the sculptures they have been executed in 150-200 AD. We do not know how they came to acquire property in this tomb.

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

NWR'TH alias BRMQY [1]
|
MLKW [2]
|
YRHBWL' [3]   ∼   F TMLK [4]
                    |
MLKW [5]   86 AD
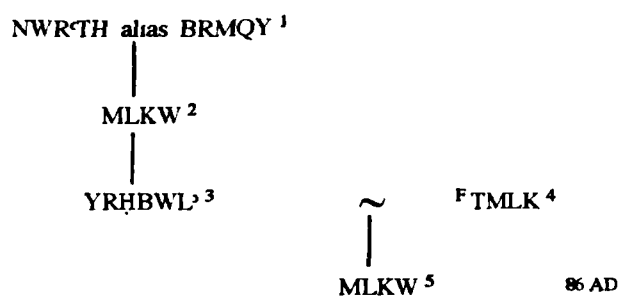
The Greek house inscription of the name TMLK is THOMALLACHIS (Ingholt, Beytus 3 (1936) 109-112 no. 11).

194. The Maqqai family

MQY [1]
|
YRHY [2]
|
'YD'N [3]
|
F'L' [4]

On the name Ayde'ou see above the Aydeou family, no. 8.

195. The Marcus family: from the hypogeum of Zabda'ateh, SW

```
                    MRQ S /MRQWS¹                              61  91 AD
               ┌──────────────────────────┐
 FTDMWR² ~    WLS³                      BRTH⁴      131 AD        81  111 AD
         │                   ┌──────────────┴─────────┐
 MRQWS⁵        F'TNY'⁶ ~ MRQWS⁷              WLS⁸ ~ FMRT'⁹   101-131 AD
                                        ┌───────┴───────┐
                                    FB'SG'¹⁰     'BD'STWR¹¹  121-151 AD
```
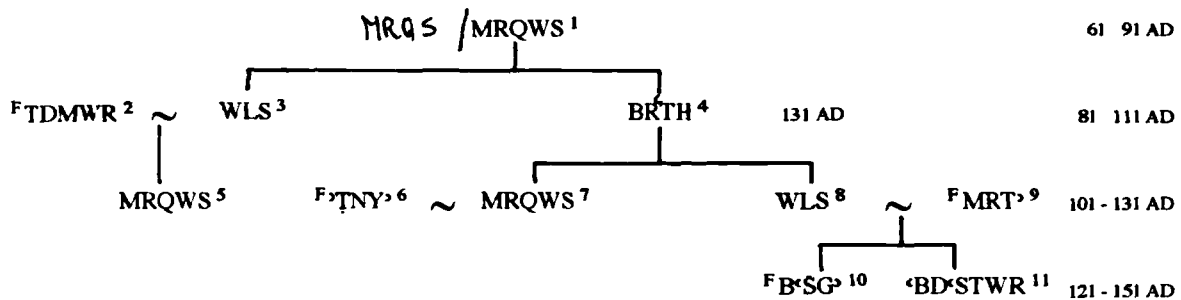
For the hypogeum of Zabda'ateh, no date or foundation text have been found. A number of 23 inscriptions are recorded, among them one cession text. The tomb seems to gather several different family groups. The best attested is the Marcus family. Another is the Corbulo family (see above no.100). It is 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 Marcus⁷ and Walis⁸ must have been born between 101 AD and 131 AD. Marcus⁷ cannot be identified with Marcus⁵ 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 Marcus⁵ father of Marcus⁷. 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 Mašikû family

MSKW [1]

|

ZBYD° [2]

|

TYM‹MD [3]

|

ZBYD° [4]   97 114 AD
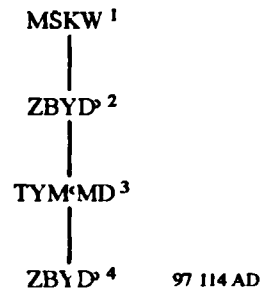
Zebîdâ [4] was in 97 AD with the strategos Zebîdâ Haumal in the desert, South-East of Palmyra and in 114 AD he was a quaestor at the time the city offered a monumental altar to the Anonymous God.

197. The Mîtaqâ family

MYTQ° [1]

|

ZBYD° [2]

|

‹G° [3]

|

BWRP° [4]
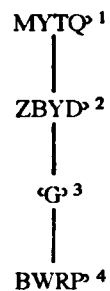
No valid etymology can be proposed for the name MYTQ°.

198. The Mophleos family

MPL[°] [1]

|

SM‹WN [2]

|

PYL° [3]

|

SM‹WN [4]
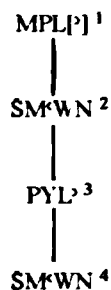
In 114/115 AD, Sim‹ôn [4] built an hypogeum for his family in the South-Western necropolis. The tomb is in honour of his father Fîlâ, already dead by 114/115 AD. The name of the ancestor presents difficulties in its etymology. The Greek reads Mophleou and the Palmyrene has been restored on the base of 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 Moqîmû family

```
          [M]Q[Y]M[W] ¹
               |
             NŠ² ²
               |
     ┌─────────┴─────────┐
   MQY ³              YRHY ⁴
     |
    NŠ² ⁵
```
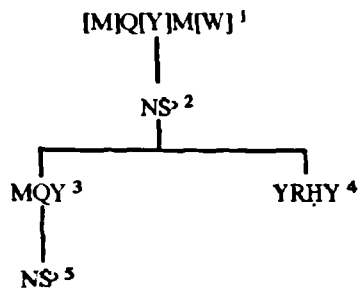
This reconstruction is based only on onomastic ground.

200. The Moqîmû family

```
      MQYM[W] ¹
          |
       MLKW ²
          |
      MQYM[W] ³
          |
       HYRN ⁴
```
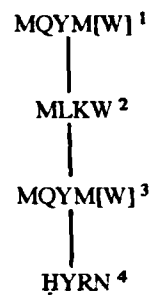
The inscription was part of a bust of unknown origin.

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

```
NYŠY ¹                          NBWMR ²
  |                                |
BWLM² ³                          TYM² ⁴
  |                                |
7BDBWL ⁵ ~    ┌──────┬──────────┬──────────────────────┐
  |          F X ⁶  NBWMR ⁷   NBWṚ² ⁸               SLM² ⁹
  |            |       |      ┌───┴───┐          ┌──────┴──────┐
YWLYS ²WRLYS BWLM² ¹⁰ SLMLT ¹¹  FX¹² TYMRSW¹³  YWLYS ²WRLYS  YWLYS ²WRLYS
                                                  ²G² ¹⁴        SLM² ¹⁵
             234 AD         234 AD
                                              229 AD        229 AD
```
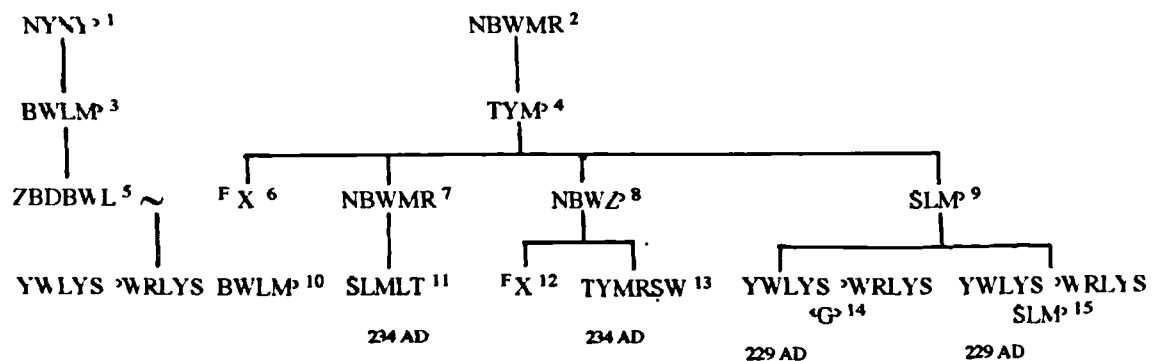
The foundation text of the tower no.70, in the Valley of Tombs, is lost. What we know is that in 229 AD a certain Julius Aurelius Bôlemmâ owned a part of the tomb and ceded half of his property to two cousins, Julius Aurelius ʿOggâ and Julius Aurelius Salmê, sons of his maternal uncle. Five years later the same J.A. Bôlemmâ, 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 miraclously saved from an earthquake.

202. The Naṣôr family

NṢWR [1]

|

NṢWR [2]

|

MLKW [3]

|

ḤYRN [4]   159 AD
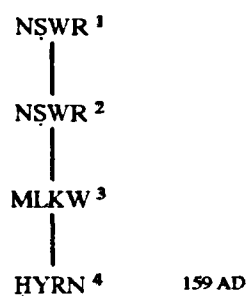
Hairan made a dedication to the Gad of Dura in the year 159 AD and in the same year to the Gad of Tadmor.

203. The Naṣrallat family: hypogeum of Naṣrallat, SW

NṢRLT [1]

|

MLKW [2]

```
          ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
142 AD    NṢRLT [3]                ZBYDᵓ [4]
                                       |
                                      BLY [5]
```
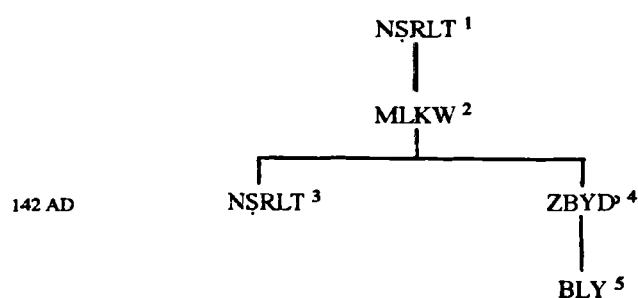
This hypogeum was founded in 142 AD by Naṣrallat[3] and it remained unused for more than a century. In fact, from the foundation the next record is a cession text dated to 263 AD. Naṣrallat[3] is portrayed in a bust with a modius that normally indicates members of the priesthood. Belai also is attested 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

NṢRLT [1]

|

RPBWL [2]

|

MQYMW [3]

|

ᶜGYLW [4]
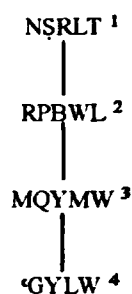
The inscription was part of a bust portraying ᶜOgeilu found in the new village of Faliyre.

205. The Qaisâ family

```
                    QYS' 1
                      |
        ZBD'TH 2                TYM' 3
           |                       |
        TYM' 4        ~         F'QMT 5
      ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
   ZBD'TH 6        TYM' 7        'T'QB 8
```
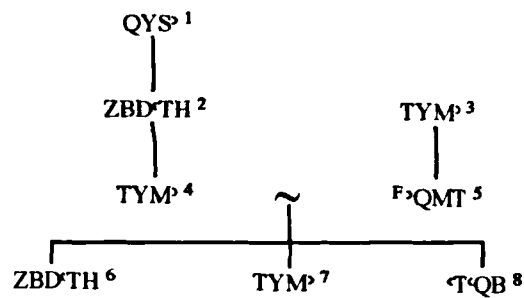
The inscription is engraved on a slab and it may come from a tomb although it is not a foundation text.

206. The Qamîlâ family

```
        QMYL' 1
          |
        WHBLT 2
          |
        ZBYD' 3
          |
        WHBLT 4      182 AD
```
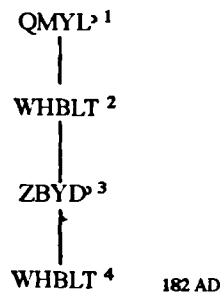
The inscription was found not far from 'Arsâ in North Tripoli, Lebanon.

207. The Qaštai family

```
        QŠTY 1
          |
        MQYMW' 2
          |
        MLKW 3
          |
        'GYLW 4      132 AD
```

'Ogeilû offered an altar to Baalshamîn.

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208. The Qorrâ family

MQYMW alias QR' [1]
|
ZBDBWL [2]
|
'GYLW [3]
|
'T'QB [4]   252 AD
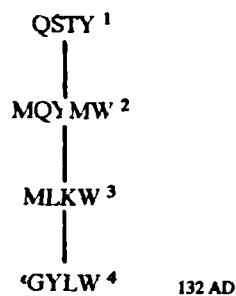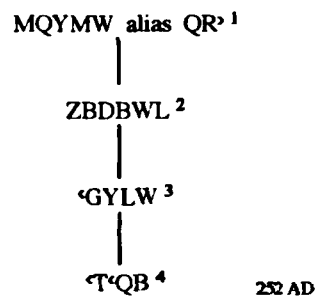
In 252 AD, 'Ate'aqab honoured Septimius Odainat, illustrious chief of Palmyra, with a statue in the Great Colonnade. The statue was erected in the 'presidency' of 'Ate'aqab, when he was probably the annual president of the priests of Bel.

209. The Ramî family

RMY' [1]
|
MLK'L [2]
|
ZBDBWL [3]
┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
TYMRSW' [4]   MLK'L [5]
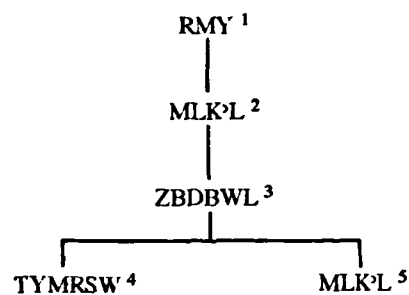
The name Malakbel offers a good example of papponymy.

210. The Rafael family

RP'L [1]
|
MQYMW [2]
|
GD' [3]
┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
ZBDBWL [4]   MQYMW [5]   188 AD
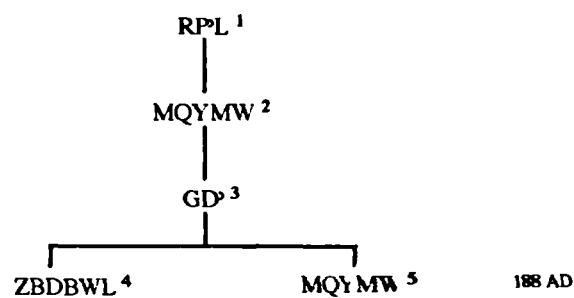
The two brothers offered an altar to the gods 'Aghbôl and Malakbel.

211. The Reʾômâ family

RʾWMʾ [1]
|
MʿNY [2]
|
MLKW R[Bʾ [3]
|
MʿNY [4]   132 AD
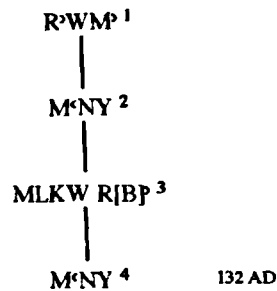
Maʿanaı offered an altar to the 'Lord of the world', that ıs Baalshamîn.

212. The Sêmanaios family

SÊMANAIOS [1]
|
[MLKW] [2]
|
[BRʿʾ] [3]
|
[MLKW] [4]
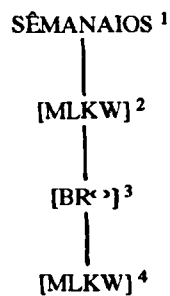
For the name Sêmanaıos it is difficult to identify the Palmyrene corresponding name. It is attested here for the first time. The other names instead, are well known. Malkû[4] was in charge of the presidency of the Senate and he was honoured by Aetrıus Severus the governor. H. Seyng (*Syria* 22 (1941) 245) proposes to identıfy this Aetrıus Severus with the tutelar pretor of 193-198 AD (see Groag and Steın, *PIR*, 1, 73 no.435. In this case he would have ruled the provınce of Syria Phoenıce, as legatus of pretorıan rank, around that tıme (see also P. Lambrecht, *La composıtıon du sénat romaine de Sept.-Sévère à Diocletien*, Budapest 1937, p. 14 no.15).

213. The Samâ family: hypogeum of Hairan and P.A. Taibbôl and P.A. Yarḥibôlâ, SE

SMʾ [1]
|
TɣBWL [2]
|
NŠʾ [3]   MLKW [4]
|
138 AD   ḤɣRN [5]   PPLYS ʾLYS TYBWL [6]   PPLYS ʾLYS YRḤBWLʾ [7]
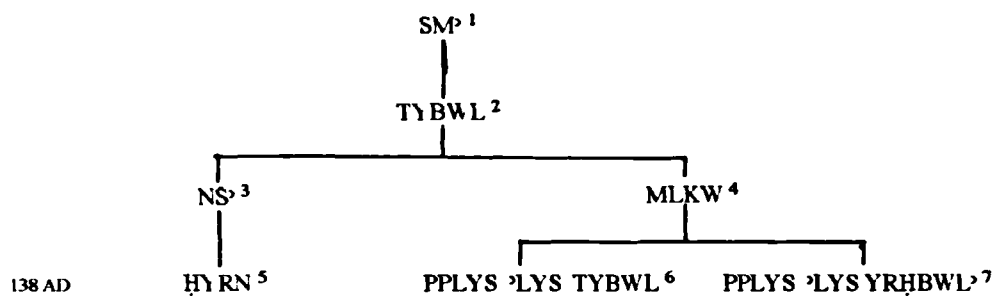
In 138 AD, Hairan and his cousıns Publıus Aelıus Taibbôl and Publıus Aelıus Yarḥibôlâ buıll a tomb. The half on the left when you enter belonged to Hairan and the half on the right to his cousıns.

214. The Sa'adallat family

```
                    S'DLT ¹
                       |
                    'NMW ²
          ┌────────────┼────────────┐
      M'YTY ³       'BYDW ⁴       'BDW ⁵          132 AD
                       |
                    S'DLT ⁶
```
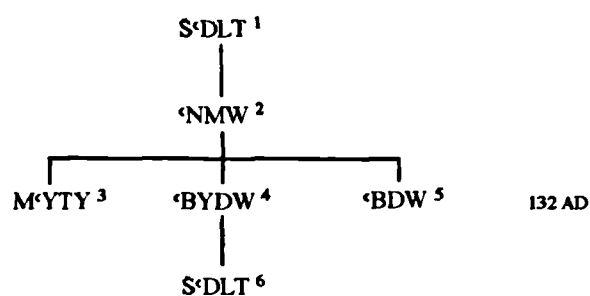
'Obaidû, an ex-eques in Ḥirtâ and 'Anâ, was a Nabataean of the tribe of Benê Rawwâḥ (see J.T. Milik, *Syria*35 (1958) 229). He erected two altars to Saf-al-qaum, the god who does not drink wine. Furthermore he commemorated his friend Zebîdâ son of Sim'ôn, son of Bel'aqab (*see below no. 325*),

215. The Sa'îlâ family

```
                    S'YL' ¹                              140 - 150 AD

                    'ZYZW ²                              160 - 170 AD

                    'ZYZW ³                              180 - 190 AD
          ┌────────────┴────────────┐
  YWLYS 'WRLYS 'G' alias SLWQWS ⁴      BWLN' ⁵    254 - 259 AD   200 - 210 AD
```
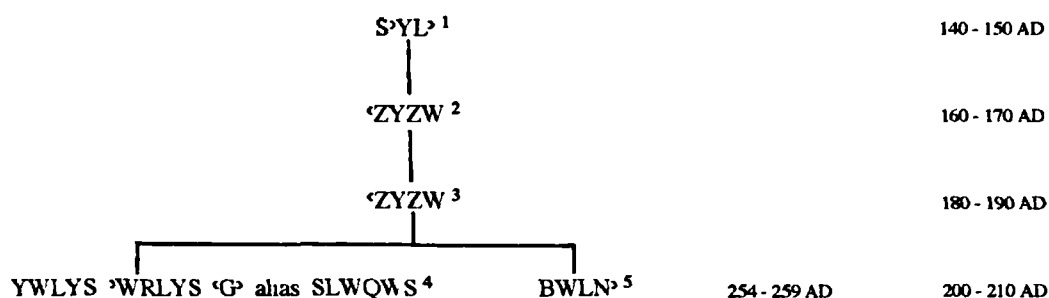
Two inscriptions *CIS* 3934 and 3935 mention Julius Aurelius 'Oggâ alias Seleukos. He was generous with money (10.000 dracme) and he was good in his municipal office of strategos=duumvir, so to deserve a statue from the Senate and People of Palmyra. His brother Bôlanâ was in charge for two years in the office of administrator of the Spring Efca. *The Greek transcription of 'byl' is SELILA (CIS 3934).*

216. The Sammai family

```
                    SMY ¹

                    YRHY ²

                    F'LYT ³

                    X ⁴
```

According to the script, this text can be dated to the beginning of the 3ª c. AD.

217. The Samûel family: tower tomb no. 175 of Zebîdâ and Samûel, NW

```
              SMW'L 1
                |
              Y'QWB 2
                |
              LWY 3
      ┌─────────┴─────────┐
   ZBYD' 4            SMW'L 5        212 AD
```
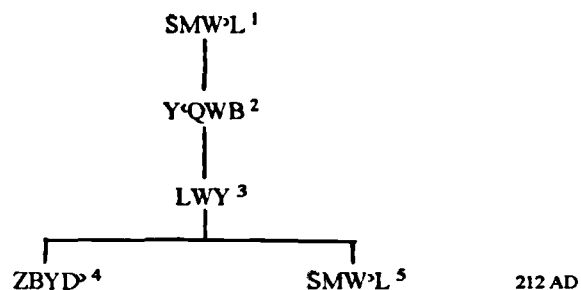
The two brothers built a tomb for their own family. According to the onomastics this is a Jewish family that established himself, at some point, at Palmyra. The presence of Zebîdâ, a well attested Palmyrene name, may be due to a desire to mix with the Palmyrene society.

218. The SWHBW family

```
    SWHBW 1
       |
    LSMS 2
       |
    'YD'N 3
       |
   TYMRSW 4
```
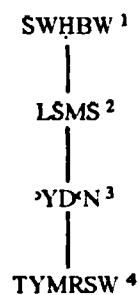
On the name 'YD'N, see above the Aydecan family, no 8.

219. The Taibbôl family

TYBWL [1]

BWRP⸃ [2]

ḤYRN [3]   ～   FSLM⸃ [4]

BWRP⸃ [5]   FRʿT⸃ [6]

† 189 AD   ḤYRN [7]

Ḥaıran[7] ıs saıd to be a 'benefıcıarıus'.

220. The Taibbôl family

TYBWL [1]

ʿWYD⸃ [2]

ʿTNTN [3]   ḤBY [4]

ʿTY [5]
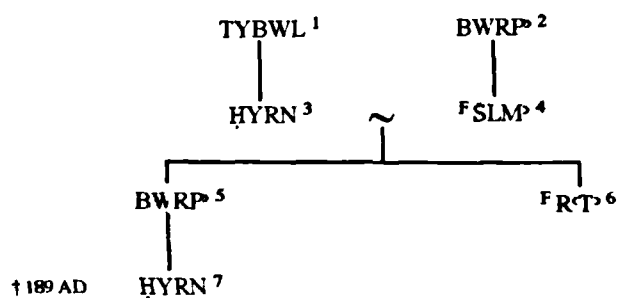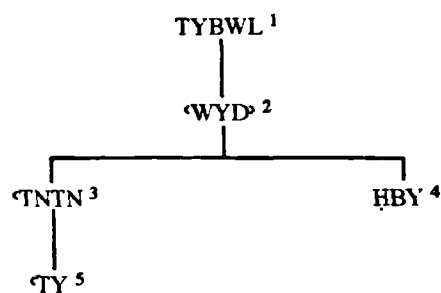
The name ʿTY is attested both as feminine and masculine.

221. The Taibbôl family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malê, SW

TYBWL [1]

ʿBD⸃ [2]

TYBWL alias ʿBD[ ] [3]

ʿZYZ [4]
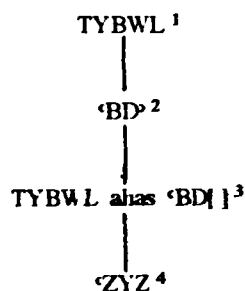
We have ıdentıfied, on onomastıc bases, Taıbbôl the one who bought a portıon from the tomb of Julıus Aurelıus Malê ın 193 AD wıth the Taıbbôl called ʿAbdâ mentıoned ın C I S 4288. They mıght well be relatıves of Taıbbôl Rabbâ's famıly. No clear evıdence ıs available.

(see below no. 838)

222. The Taibbôl Rabbâ family

```
                    TYBWL  RB' 1
                         |
                      LSMS 2
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
          TYBWL 3                  HLP' 4
                                     |
                                  F HLPW 5
```
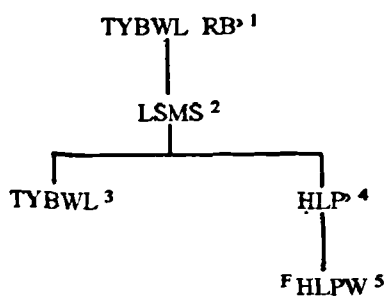
A certain 'Azîz son of Taibbôl called 'Abdâ erected a monument for Taibbôl[3]. They are probably relatives.

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

```
              TYMY 1                            52 - 62 AD
                |
              YDY 2                             72 - 82 AD
                |
              ZBDTH 3                           92 - 102 AD
       ┌────────┴────────┐
   H[YR]N 4           'TNTN 5    98 AD          212 - 222 AD
```
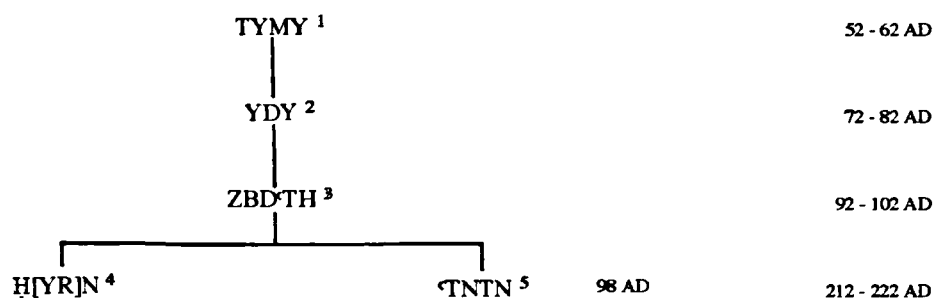
'Atenatan built a tomb for himself and his brother Hairan in the South-Western necropolis.

224. The Taimê family

```
              TYM' 1
                |
              MLK' 2
                |
              TYM' 3
                |
              MLK' 4    110 AD
```
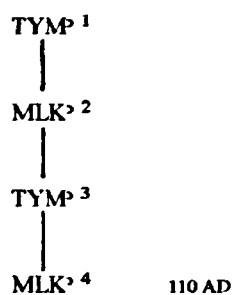
Malkâ made an offenng of two columns.

225. The Taimê family

TYM' [1]
|
ZBYD' [2]
|
YRḤBWL' [3]
|
X [4]   89 or 188 AD
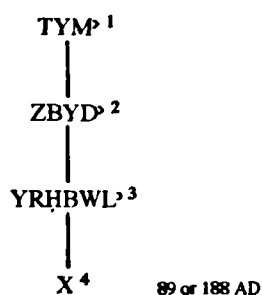
The son of Yarḥibôlâ built a tomb for him and his family and prohibited the use of the tomb for people other than his male children, threatening a fine of more than a thousand denarii. The date is broken and only the signs for 400 are visible, thus it would be a date between 89 and 188 AD.

226. The Taimê family: hypogeum of Seleukos, SW

TYM' [1]
|
SBYN' [3]
|
┌───────────┴───────────┐
ᶠX [5]   YRḤBWL' [6]

SLWQS [2]
|
TYPYLS [4]   ~
                  |
                  SLWQS [7]

251 AD
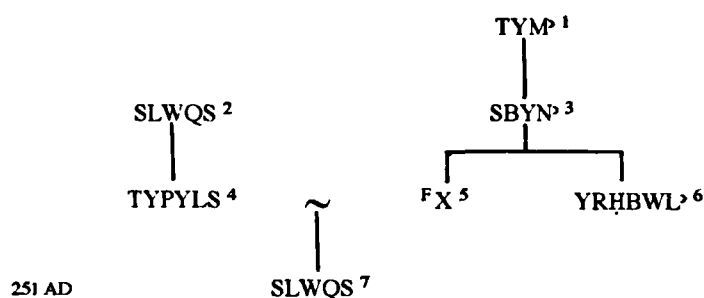
Unfortunately we do not have the foundation text of this tomb. Seleukos[6] sold to his maternal uncle ten niches in the central chamber, five in each side side-wall. His family, according to the onomastics, must have been of Greek origin. His grandfather Sabinus, the veteran, had served in the Roman army. The Greek transcription of Typyls is Theophilos (Tadmoree III, 3 c).

227. The Taimê family

[T]Y M' [1]
|
ʿGYLW [2]
|
[L]SMS [3]
|
SWS' [4]
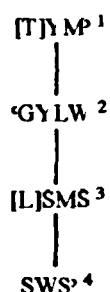
Sûsâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God. The date is lost but the most part of the inscriptions mentioning this god belong to the 3rd c. AD.

228. The Taimarṣû family

TYMRṢW [1]

HLPṬ [2]

HLPṬ [3]   TYM' [4]

F ḤBṬ [5]   ~   ZBD' [6]   140/141 AD
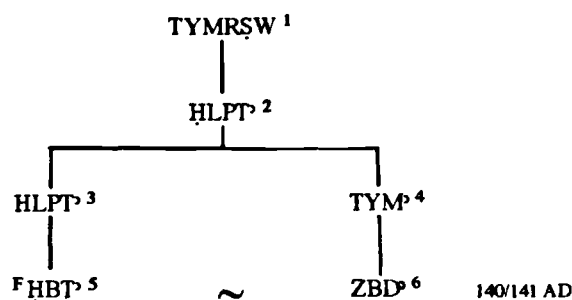
Ḥabbatâ is the daughter of Halaftâ, son of Ḥalaftâ, son of Taimarṣû and she was married to Zabdâ son of Taimê, son of Ḥalaftâ. We propose for Ḥabbatâ and Zabdâ the same grandfather, so that they are to be considered two married cousins, in line with a well established custom at Palmyra.

229. The Taimarṣû family

TYMRṢW [1]

SLMN [2]   WHBY [3]

SLMN [4]   'GY[LW] [5]

F [']BN' [6]   ~   X [7]
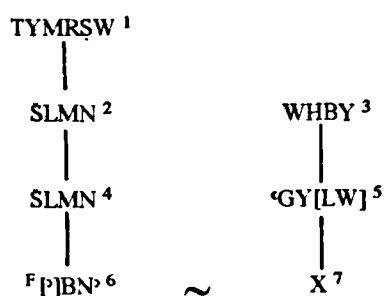
The name 'BN' is of uncertain etymology, see PNPI f4.

230. The Taimarṣû family: from the hypogeum of 'Abda'astôr, SW

TYMRṢW [1]

F'N' [2]

'GYLW [3]

B'LTG' [4]   MW'S' [5]   BTY [6]   F'Ḥ' [7]
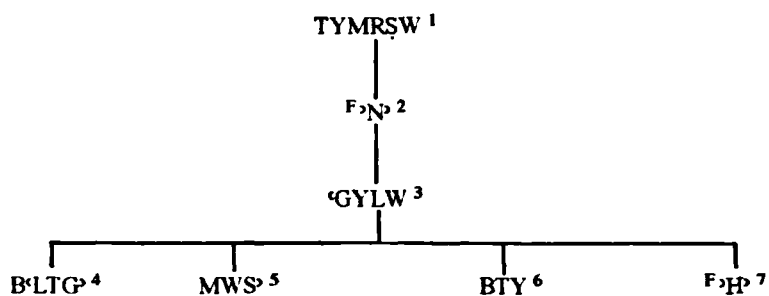
We do not know how they acquired burial rights in the tomb. The names appear in graffiti in the chamber to the right, on the left wall which, in 239 AD, was transferred by J.A. Salmat and Amdabû to J.A. Malkû son of 'Ogeilû, son of Salman *(see below no. 474).*

231. The Taimarṣû family: hypogeum of Yarḥai, VT

[TY]MRSW [1]

128 - 138 AD

B[R]YKY [2]

148 158 AD

YRHY [3]   108 AD

168 178 AD

F NS² [4]

188 - 198 AD
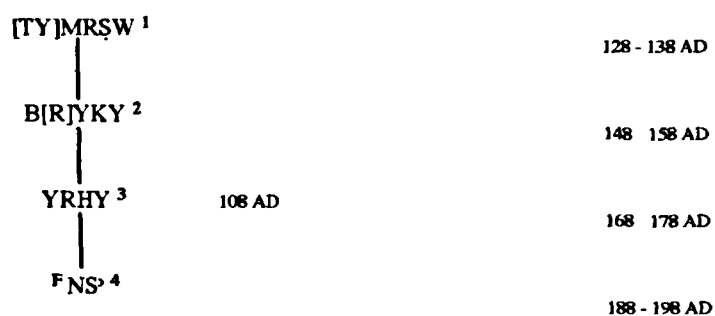
Yarḥai built a tomb for himself, his sons and grandsons and in honour of his father Barîkai, already dead at the time of the construction. For plans and sculptures found in the hypogeum, see R. Amy and H. Seyng, *Syria* 17 (1936) 229-266.

232. The Taimšamš family: Soʿadû, the synodiarch

TYMŠMS [1]   40 AD

SʿDW [2]   60 AD

117 AD   ZBYD² [3]   BLYDʿ [4]   80 AD

132 - 147 AD   SʿDW [5]   NS² [6]   161 163 AD   100 AD
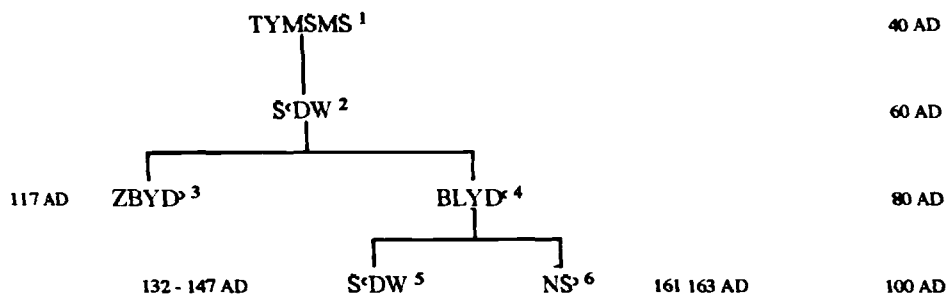
Soʿadû with M.U. Yarḥai is the most well known character among Palmyrene public figures. His activity as synodiarch is attested over a period of ten years. He was honoured with 17 statue; rescripts from Hadnan and Antoninus, a decree from Publicius Marcellus. His brother Nešâ was a synodiarch and his paternal uncle was a symposiarch of the priests of Bel. On his carrier see also M. Gawlikowski, *Syria* 60 (1983) 64.

233. The Yaddâ family: hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Salman and Julius Aurelius Saknai

YD> [1]

|

SLMN [2]

|

YRḤY [3]

YWLYS >WRLYS SLMN [4]   YWLYS >WRLYS SKNY [5]   226 AD
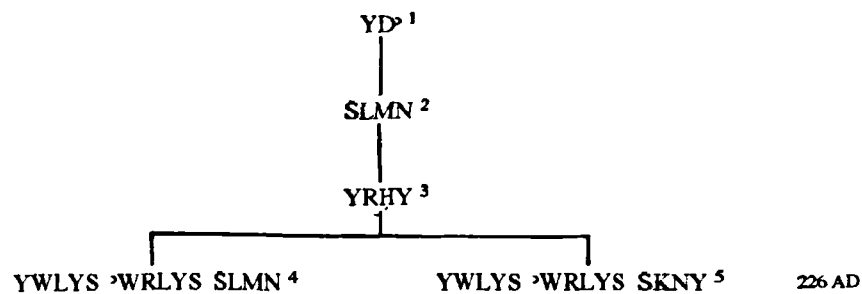
There is not a foundation text, so we do not know if this family was the one that built the tomb. The two brothers gave in cession an exedra to Julius Aurelius Yarḥibôlâ son of Moqîmû Nafrai (اسم الشخص no. 447).

234. The Yaddai family: tower tomb no.38 of Zabda'ateh son of Zabdilâ, VT

```
                                                    RP' 1            55  65 AD

                    YDY 2                            'T'Y 3           75  85 AD
            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        ZBDL' 4              TYMRSW 5        ZBYD' 6           95 - 105 AD
     ┌──────┴──────┐
155  181 AD  YDY 7        ZBD'TH 8       YDY 9    ~    F'L' 10   189 AD   115  125 AD
```
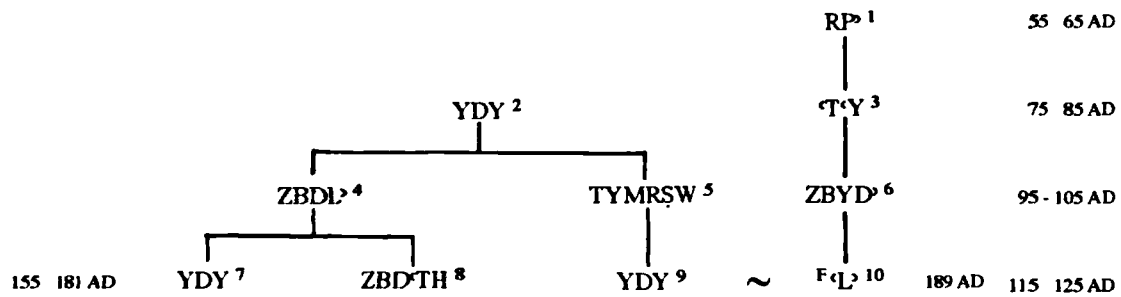
Zabda'ateh, synodiarch, and his brother Yaddai[7], head of caravans, honoured in 155 and 157 AD the well known trademan Marcus Ulpius Yarhai Almost twenty years later Zabda'ateh built a 'house of eternity' for himself and his family. We propose to see in Yaddai[9] a member of this family because of the chronology and genealogy. His wife made a dedication to the Anonymous God in 189 AD.

235. The Yamlê family

```
                    YML' 1

                    MQYMW 2
            ┌─────────┴─────────┐
        YML' 3                YRHBWL' 4
     ┌──────┴──────┐
235 AD  MQYMW 5      HYRN 6   243/244 AD   'WYD' 7    240 AD
```
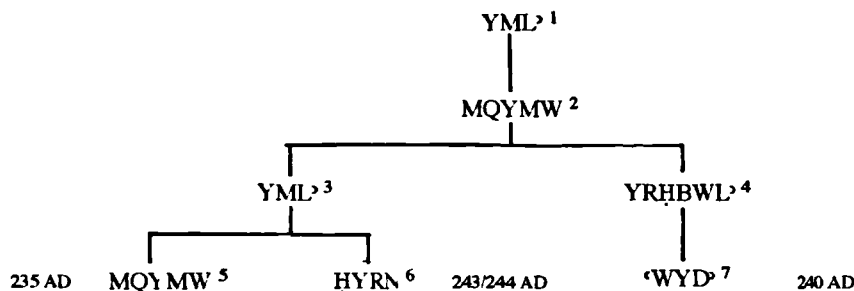
In 235 AD, Moqîmû[5] offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his brother Hairan. The same Hairan and his father Yamlê are represented in an altar with the priest headdress. Hairan also offered the altar to the Anonymous God, for his life, the life of his paternal uncle and 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 Yarhibôlâ and his son 'Awîdâ who also are portrayed as priests. The onomastics suggests a relationship between this family and the Yamlê family that made offers in the temple of Baalshamîn (see below no. 510).

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

```
            YQRWR 1

            BWN' 2

            BWLH' 3

            BWN' 4    188 AD
```
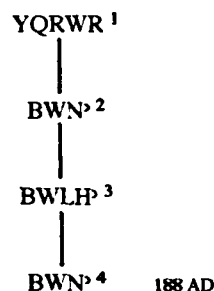
Bônnê acquired burial rights in the second central chamber of the hypogeum of Lišamš buying eight niches from Lišamš son of Lišamš, son of Taimê (see below no. 497).

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237. The Yarḥai family

YRḤY [1]

'G' [2]

F ḤB' [3]

X [4]   † 150 - 200 AD
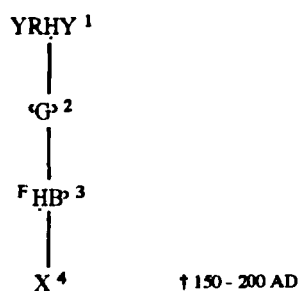
Ḥabbê is portrayed with a child in her arms, but we do not know his name. Her father and grandfather bear very common names so that any suggestion to attach them to a bigger family could result unlikely.

238. The Yarḥai family

YRḤY [1]   GDRṢW [2]

ḤNYN' [3]   ∼   F N'M[Y] [4]

YRḤY [5]   GDRṢW [6]   ML' [7]   F ḤB' [8]

MLKW [9]   GDRṢW [10]
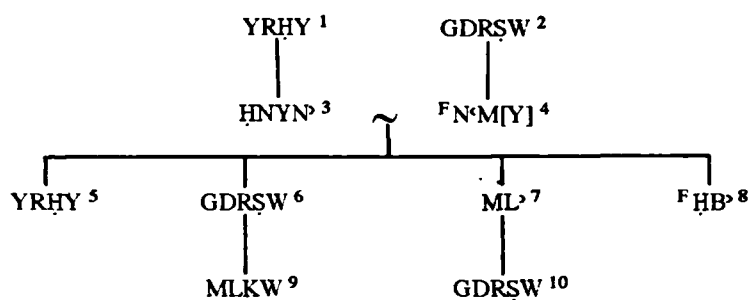
The name ḤB' is attested both as feminine and masculine.

239. The Yarḥibôlâ family

ḤYQ[.] [1]

[YR]ḤBWL' [2]

YRḤB[WL'] [3]

YRḤY [4]   241 AD
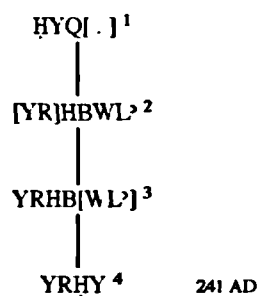
Yarḥibôlâ[3] offered an altar to the Anonymous God for himself, his son Yarḥai and his brother.

700

240. The Yarḥibôlâ family

YRḤBWL' [1]   (40 AD)

'MRS' [2]   60 AD

BRYKY [3]   80 AD

MQYMW [4]   138-139 AD   100 AD

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

241. The Yedî'bel family

YDY'BL [1]

KHYLY [2]

ḤYRN [3]   F NBY [4]

F 'BB' [5]   F SYST' [7]
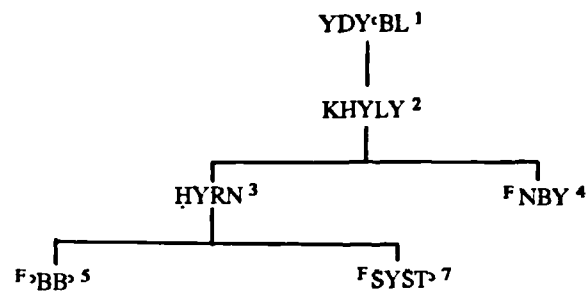
The name *SyST'* is only attested in this family.

242. The Yedî'bel family: from the hypogeum of the Three Brothers, SW

YDY'BL [1]

YD'W [2]

YWLYS 'WRLYS ML' [3]   241 AD

F BT'' [4]
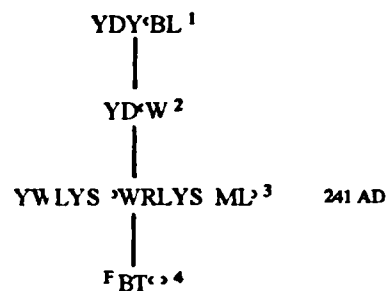
In 241 AD, Julius Aurelius Malê bought from Julia Aurelia Batmalkû, four loculi (see the Sa'adû family, no. 78).

243. The Zabdâ family: from the hypogeum of Salamallat, VT

```
      MQYNᵓ ¹                    ZBDᵓ ²
        |                          |
      BRYKY ³                   ᶜZYZW ⁴
        |                          |
     ᶠMZBW ⁵        ~            ZBDᵓ ⁶
                    |
                  QYRLᵓ ⁷          † 200  250 AD
```
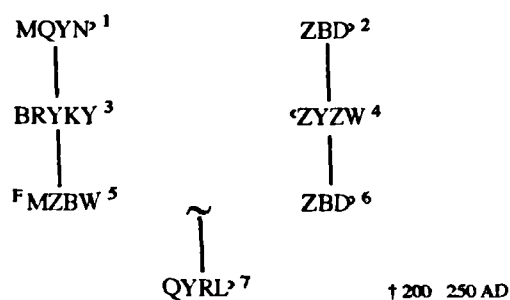
The funerary stele represents Mezzabû and her son Kirillos.

244. The Zabdaᶜateh family

```
                    ZBDᵓTH ¹
                       |
                     WHBᵓ ²
                       |
                    ZBDᵓTH ³
    ┌──────────┬──────────┼──────────┬──────────┐
  WHBᵓ ⁴   ZBDᵓTH ⁵    [ᵓ]Gᵓ ⁶   YRHBWLᵓ ⁷   MQY[MW] ⁸
```
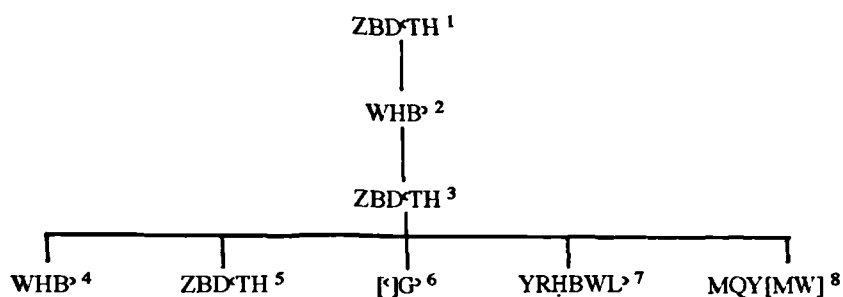
Wahbâ,⁴ who is possibly the first-born, took care of the burial of his father Zabdaᶜateh and of his four brothers who died before he did.

245. The Zabdibôl family

```
      ZBDBWL ¹
         |
       MLKW ²
         |
      ZBDBWL ³     240 AD
         |
       MLKW ⁴
```
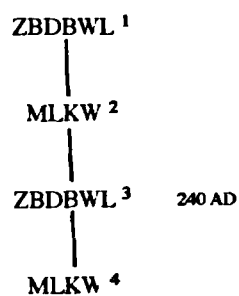
Zabdibôl consacrated an altar to the Anonymous God for himself, his sons and his servants. Malkû⁴, his son, made also a dedication to the same god to thank him.

246. The Zabdilâ family : from the hypogeum of Barʿâ, SW

```
                        ZBDL² ¹
                          |
                        BWLH ²                    ZBDTH ³
              ┌───────────┴───────────┐              |
         ZBDLH ⁴      † 125-126 AD   FHD² ⁵  ~    BR²² ⁶
              |
† 138-139 AD  RM² ⁷
```
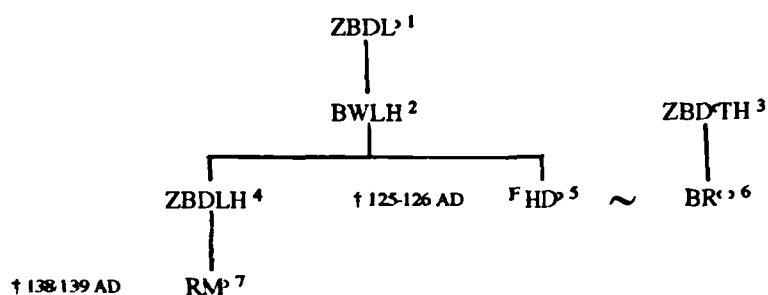
Hadâ is the wife of Barʿâ of the Barʿâ family of the Mattabôl tribe (see above no.35). The two inscriptions come from the tomb of Barʿâ in the SW necropolis.

247. The Zabdilah family

```
            ZBDLH ¹
              |
           BWRP² ²
      ┌───────┴───────┐
   ZBDLH ³          WHBLT ⁴
      |
  ZBDBWL ⁵
```
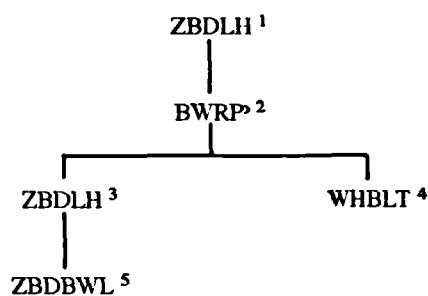
CIS 4575 is a funerary inscription, the other two texts concerning this family are simply introduced by *slm* 'image' and they portray two brothers, Zabdilah³ and Wahballat. Both of them are priests. In the ʿAqqabai family we also find two brothers members of the Palmyrene clergy (see above no.96).

248. The Zaur(û) family

```
                  ZWR(W) ¹
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
       TYBWL ²                  ʿG² ³
          |                       |
† 201 202 AD  ʿG² ⁴           MLKW ⁵
          |                       |
       MLKW ⁶                  [ʿ]G² ⁷
```
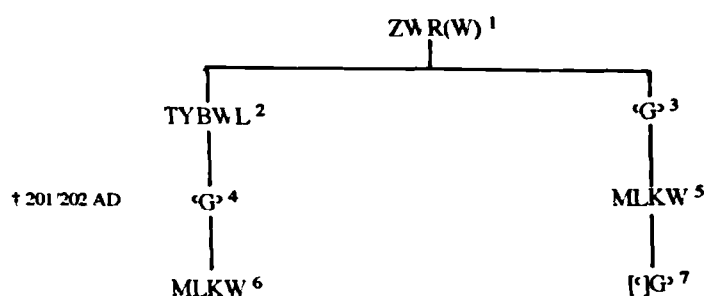
The name Zaur(û) is spelled twice as ZWR (CIS 4894-4895) and once as ZWRW (CIS 4893).

249. The Zebîdâ family

ZBYD' [1]

|

MLK' [2]

|

NSR' [3]

|

ZBYD' [4]

The name NȘR' is a shortened form of NȘRLT 'help from Allat'.

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

[Z]BYD' [1]

|

TYMRȘW [2]

BWN' [3]   YWLYS 'WRLYS TYPYLS [4]   241 AD

F NȘ' [5]
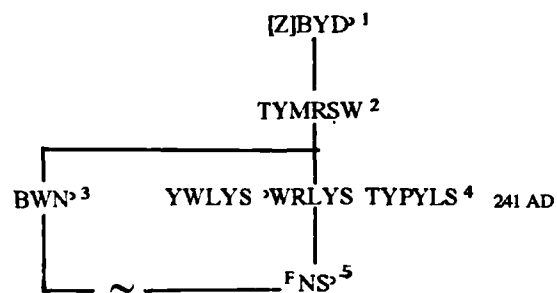
Julius Aurelius Theophilos bought burial rights in the hypogeum of Yarhai from Julius Aurelius Hairan and Julius Aurelius Malôkâ sons of Germanus (see below no. 562).

251. The Zûzai family

ZWZY [1]

|

MLKW [2]

|

HGGW [3]

MLK' [4]   'T'Y [5]   241 AD
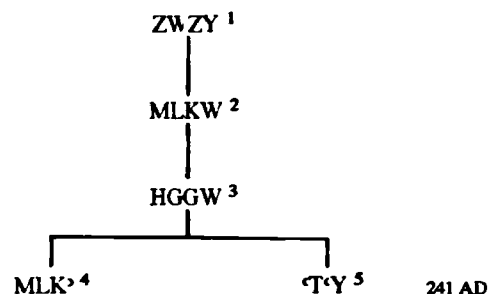
The two brothers, Malkâ and 'Ate'ai made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

THREE GENERATIONS

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

> ''RG [1]
> |
> ‹G› [2]
> |
> YRḤY [3]

The name ''RG is attested here for the first time. In Safaitic 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 *af̄al* formations.

253. The Abab family

> 'BB [1]
> |
> ḤYRN [2]
> |
> MLKW [3]

This family is known from tessere RTP §37.

254. The Abab family

> 'BB [1]
> |
> YRḤY [2]
> |
> F‹L› [3]   † 113 114 AD

The name Abab is only attested in this family. The Greek transcription ΑΒΑΒΟΥ can be found in WUTHNOW, p.

255. The Abgar family: from the hypogeum of Fasael and Zebîdâ

ʾBGR [1]

TYMʾ [2]

SYʿN [3]   193 AD
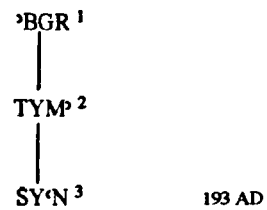
Sîʿan bought the central exedra in this tomb from the great-granddaughter of one of the tomb builder, Segel. The year is 193 AD. Sîʿan is said to have excavated and decorated this exedra.

256. The Abrôq family

ʾBRWQ [1]

TYMRSW [2]

YRḤBWLʾ [3]   34 AD
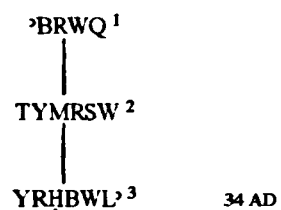
Yarḥibôlâ was a member of the thiasos of the 'holy garden' and together with other eight thiasists offered an altar to the gods ʿAglibôl and Malakbel.

257. The Adrianus family: funerary tower no.150 of Julius Aurelius Marônâ, NW

```
             ʾDRYNWS [1]
                 │
                 │
       MLʾ [alias MZBNʾ [2]
                 │
                 │
   YWLYS ʾWRLYS MRWNʾ [3]      236 AD
```
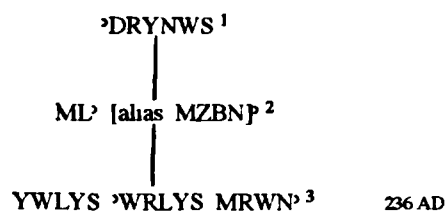
The name of Julius Aurelius Marônâ's grandfather is a Latin name, probably influenced by the Roman onomastics present at Palmyra. In fact, the other anthroponyms are good Aramaic names and this is very likely an indigenous family.

258. The Agathos family

```
         ʾGTʾ [1]
           │
           │
        MQYMW [2]
           │
           │
        MLKW [3]
```
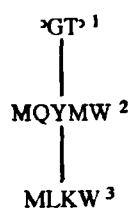
This family is known from tessera RTP 704.

259. The Akran family

```
        ʾKRN 1
          |
        SLMLT 2
          |
      F MRTY 3        † 170-190 AD
```

The name ʾKRN is of Syriac derivation from ʾAKĀRĀ ʿploughman,
see PNPI §7-§8.

260. The Aklab family

```
        ʾKLB 1
          |
        SGʾ 2
          |
       ZBYDʾ 3
```

Zebîdâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

261. The Aknat family

```
        ʾKNT 1
          |
       BRWQʾ 2
          |
       ZBDBWL 3
```

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

262. The Alahû family

```
ʾLHW ¹
  |
YDYʿBL ²
  |
ZBDBWL ³    34 AD
```

Zabdibôl, member of the thiasos of ʿAglibôl and Malakbel offered an altar to the gods together with eight more thiasists

263. The Alahû family

```
ʾLHW ¹
  |
MLʾ ²
  |
BʿLY ³    † 98 AD
```

The inscription attesting this family was found in Wadi Hauran.

264. The Amrisaʿ family

```
ʾMRSʿ ¹
  |
ʿWYDLT ²
  |
TYMLT ³    † 113 114 AD
```

The bust bearing this inscription has been found in the Valley of Tombs. The name ʾMRSʿ of unclear etymology is only attested here.

265. The Amriša family

<pre>
ʾMRŠ¹
   |
ᶠMQY²
   |
ᶠʾMṪ³
</pre>

The Greek transcription of ʾMRŠ in ANRISANSOU (CIS 3931).

266. The Annaqîr family

<pre>
ʾNQYR¹
   |
ʿWYDʾ²
   |
MLKW³   134/135 AD
</pre>

The scarce presence of the name Annaqîr 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 ʿAglibôl and Malakbel.

267. The Appiôn family

<pre>
ʾPYN¹
   |
ZBYDʾ²
   |
[QSYNP³   173 AD
</pre>

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 QSYNʾ, 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 PNPI 72). For Zebîdâ instead, we find that his surname is Philopatoros, not found in the Palmyrene text.

268. The Aqzaman family

ꜢQZMN [1]
|
NBWLꜢ [2]
|
MLKW [3]

The bust of Malkû is at the Iraq Museum of Baghdad.

269. The Aqqaiḥ family

ꜢQYḤ [1]
|
[Nʿ?]RY [2]
|
ꜢQYḤ [3]   108 AD

Aqqaiḥ was honoured with a statue erected in the temple of Bel, by the Benê Gaddibôl 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 *ḥammanâ* or 'place of cult' (on the term see discussion in *Palmyre VI*, 85; Milik, p. 306-307; J. Starcky, *Syria26* (1949) 51-55 and under the Zimrâ tribe) and an *addarônâ*=ἀνδρών, synonym of symposion 'room of banquets' (see *Palmyre VI*, 74; J. Starcky, *Syria* 26 (1949) 55-59; *Inv X*, 144). The name Aqqaiḥ 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 Aqqaiḥ family

[ꜢQYḤ] [1]
|
[WHBLT]² [2]
|
[ꜢQYḤ] [3]

Greek is the only version of the text left. We know the names from inscription *CIS* 3917=*Inv IX*, 15 (see above no.269).

271. The Arônâ family: tower tomb no.63of Bannai, Elahšâ and Araûm , VT

```
                  BNY alias ’RWN’ 1
                        |
                     TYMS’ 2
           ┌────────────┼────────────┐
        BNY 3       ’LHS’ 4       ’R’WM 5        79 AD
```
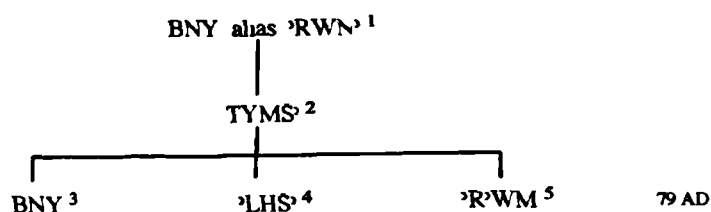
In 79 AD, three brothers, Banai, Elahšâ and Araûm built a tomb in the Valley of Tombs, for themselves and their children. The name Elahšâ and Taimišâ are found also in the Elahšâ family and in the Habazai family, both belonging to the Mattabôl tribe but the ancestors are different (see above nos. 40 and 43).

272. The Arqîm? family

```
        ’RQYM? 1
           |
        ‘GYLW 2
           |
        FTM’ 3
```

The last letter of the name ◦RQYM? could also be read s since it is in shadow.

273. The Asîd mai family

```
        ’ṢYD RNY 1
           |
         ‘G’ 2
           |
         TM’ 3
```
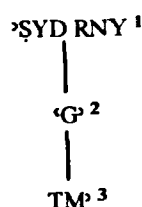
According to the script this text can be dated to the 1st c. AD.

274. The Aša'a' family

>S< ([1]

|

ḤYRN [2]

|

SṬM [3]

This family is attested in tessera *RTP* 480.

275. The Ašbar family

>ŠBR [1]

|

F NBY [2]

|

ZBDBWL [3]   >ŠBR [7]
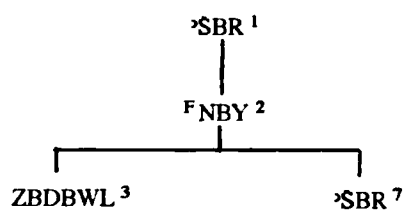
The name >ŠBR is attested for the first time. In Safaitic and Thamudic we find ŠBR and ŠB R̊L, see *ICPANI* 338 and also Seber, see *PIAP* 79.

276. The Ašim family

>ŠM [1]

|

'GYLW [2]

|

'GYLW [3]
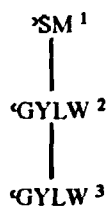
The name >ŠM is to be related to the name >SYM> found at Teima (K. Beyer and A. Livingstone, *ZDMG* 137 (1987) 286-288 no.1). Several names including the divine element >ŠM are attested at Elephantine, see *OAÄ* 42.

277. The Ašiyan family

ʾSYN [1]
|
MLKW [2]
|
HYRʾ [3]　　～　　ᶠNᶜM [4]
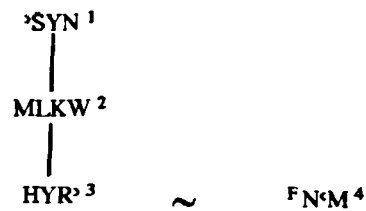
The name ʾšyא is only attested in this family.

278. The Azmar family

ʾZMR [1]
|
TYMʾ [2]
|
YRḤBWLʾ [3]
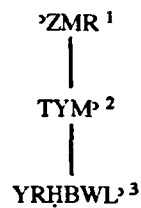
The name ʾZMR is only attested once. A parallel can be found in Mabctaou, ZMRW, in PNNR 36 no. 335.

279. The Elahbel family

ʾLHBL [1]
|
ᶜGYLW [2]
|
YRḤY [3]
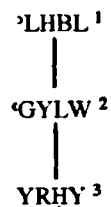
This is a graffito found in the temple of Baalšamin.

280. The Elahbel family: from the tomb of Yarḥai, ʿAtenûrî and Zabdibôl, SW

ʾLHBL [1]

|

QLYBW [2]

|

SLMN [3]   194 AD
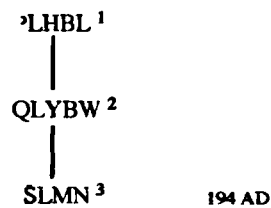
Salman bought with Taimû son of Dabaḥ, son of Ḥimyan (see below no.37ʔ), a portion of the tomb from Aqmat daughter of Yarḥai, son of Moqîmû (see above no.75) and Moqîmû son of Lišamš son of Ḥifrai (see below no.37).

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

[ʾLH]BL - THEODÔROS [1]

MQYMW [2]   MLKW [3]

85 AD   ʾ[L]H[B]L alias MRWNʾ [4]   ~   F X [5]
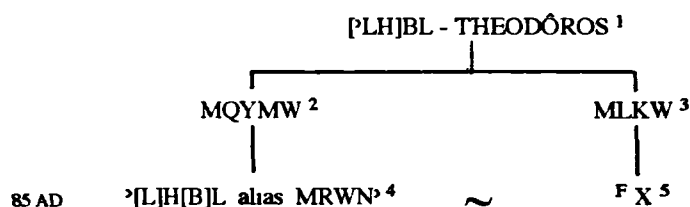
The bilingual text attesting the foundation of a tomb is engraved on a lintel found re-employed in the Camp of Diocletian. The lintel might come from the necropolis West which is very close to the Camp. In 85 AD, Elahbel called Marônâ built the tomb in honour of his father Moqîmû and of his uncle Malkû 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 *šnt* 'year'. Therefore the date has to be corrected in 85 AD. The onomastics of this family presents some peculiarities. The founder's name is Theodôros Elahbel alias Marônâ, son of Moqîmû (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 Moqîmû is very unusual.

282. The Išiʿadar family

ʾSʿDR [1]

|

YRHY [2]

|

MLKW [3]

On the name ʾSʿDR, see explanation under the Isiʿadar family (see above no.142).

283. The Obaihan family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

ˀBYHN [1]

|

HRMS [2]

|

MLKW [3]   249 AD
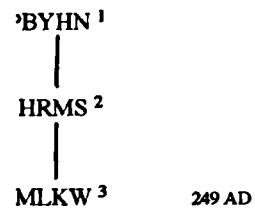
Malkû owned one niche in the Northern chamber of this tomb. He bought it in 249 AD from J.A. ʿОggâ son of the freedman Rauḥibel.

284. The Odainat family

ˀDYNT [1]

|

FʿTY [2]

|

YRḤY [3]   F ˀMYˀ [4]

No valid etymology can be proposed for the name ˀtyˀ.

285. The Odainat family

ˀDYNT [1]

|

LŠMS [2]

|

LŠMŠY [3]   139 AD
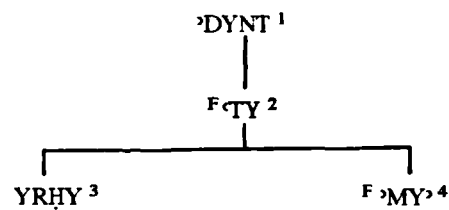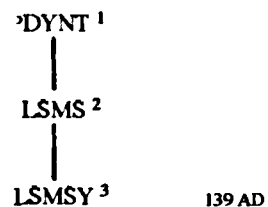
Lišamš dedicated an altar to the Anonymous God like many others found in the Camp of Diocletian.

286. The Ummabî family

```
                   ʾMBY ¹
                     │
                   MQY ²
                     │
     ┌───────────────┼───────────────┐
   ᶠṬ.Ṗ³          ᶠHGR⁴            MᶜNY ⁵
```
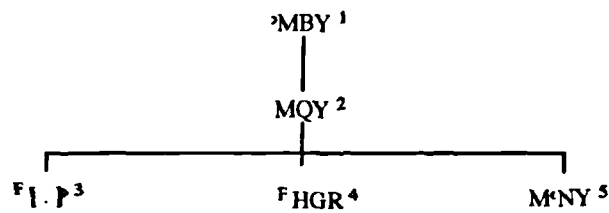
According to to the style, the sculpture can be dated to 50-150 AD. The stele was offered by Meʿown for his two sisters.

287. The ʿAbdai family
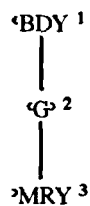
```
   ʿBDY ¹
     │
   ʿGʾ ²
     │
   ʾMRY ³
```

The name ʾPRY is attested in this family and in several RTP 3?.

288. The ʿAbdai family

```
         ʿBDY ¹
           │
         MLʾ ²
           │
   YWLYS ʾWRLYS SLMLT ³    257/258 AD
```
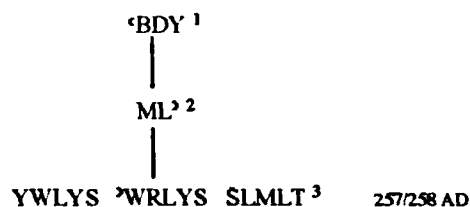
J.A. Salamallat was honoured by the Palmyrene Senate and People because he reconducted the caravan with money from his pocket. He is said to be an archemporos=president of the tradesmen.

289. The ʿAbšalmâ family

ʿBSLMʾ [1]

|

SLMNY [2]

|

[ZBY]D[ʾ] [3]   204 AD

The inscription is very damaged and consisted of a foundation and a cession text. Zebîdâ, whose restoration seems to be the most probable given the space left, bought burial rights in this hypogeum from Qôfâ Halafâ son of Sefferai son of X, son of Lišamš, son of X (see above no. 44).

290. The ʿAdôn family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

ʿDWN [1]

|

ʿBDY [2]

|

YWLYS ʾWRLYS BʿLY [3]   267 AD

J.A. Baʿalai bought together with J.A. Agatônâ son of Bassâ, son of Germanus two niches in the Southern chamber of this hypogeum. The year is 267 AD.

(see below no. 348)

291. The ʿAmirat family

ʿMRT [1]

|

YRHY [2]

|

HYRʾ [3]

The name ʿMRT is attested in Nabataean, see PNNR 53 no.919 and Safaitic, ICPANI 437 and IFSC 597. The Greek transcription is Amerathos, Amirathou, Wuthnow 19, 158.

292. The ʿAmr family

‘MR [1]

|

‘GYL [2]

|

ᶠḤGT [3]   † 200-250 AD
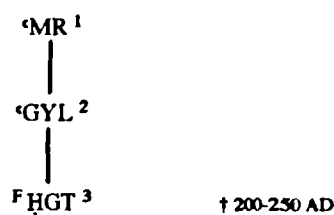
The name ʿMR finds parallels in Mabartoou, see PNNR 52-53
no. 313- 319.

293. The ʿAnan family

‘NN [1]

|

[Y]HYBʾ [2]

|

MLʾ [3]   243/244 AD
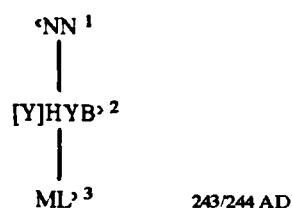
Malê made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

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

‘NN [1]

|

TYMʾ [2]

|

ʾBGR [3]   279 AD
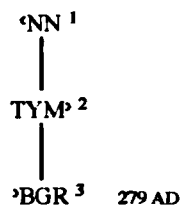
The acquisition of five niches in the Southern chamber by Abgar, represents the latest recorded cession in this hypogeum. In *CIS* 4000, we find a freedman ʿAbnergal who made a dedication to the Anonymous God for his patron ʿAnan son of Taimê and his son ʿAnan. The year is 143 AD.

295. The ʿArabî family

```
ʿRBY ¹
   |
ʿBDLT ²
   |
ʿGYLW ³        249 AD
```
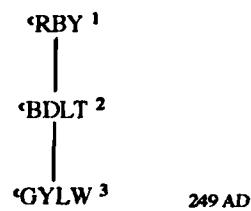
ʿOgeilû made a dedication to the Anonymous god for his life, the life of his father and brothers. The name of his grandfather is a nisbe form with the meaning of 'Arabian'. This is a family of Arabic origin.

296. The ʿAštôr family
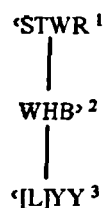
```
ʿSTWR ¹
   |
WHBʾ ²
   |
ʿ[LJYY ³
```

The name ⁽ʾŠTWRG⁾ and ʾŠTWRG⁾ are variants of ʿŠTWR.

297. The ʿAteʿaqab Taimê family

```
TYMʾ ¹              MQYMW ²
   |                   |
ʿTʿQB ³      ~      ᶠS[ ]⁴
                     |
                   HBʾ ⁵
```
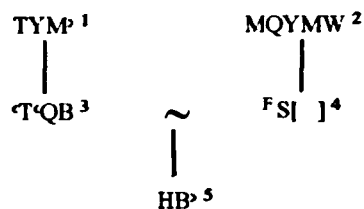
The reading of Chabot, CIS 4373 A-B, gives Ḥabbâ as a feminine name, that is followed by BR[T]. Thus we have two feminine names together with a masculine name, while on the stele only a woman and a child are represented. The name Ḥabbâ is attested both as feminine and masculine (see PNPI 19). We propose 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].

720

298. The ʿAtenatan family

ZBD'TH [1]

TNTN [3]   ~

F'QMT [5]

NŠ' [2]

F'Ḥ' [4]

† 50-150 AD
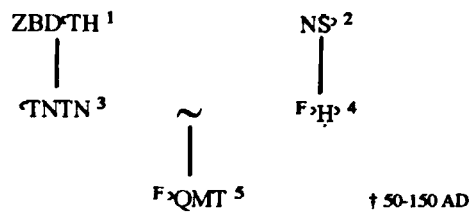
The name NŠ' has the variant spelling NŠ'.

299. The ʿAtîkâ family

ML' [1]

FHGR [4]   ~   MLWK' [5]

NWRBL [12] FHLYW [13] FHB' [14]
† 205 AD

'TYK' [2]

MLKW [6]   ZBYD' [7]   BWRP' [8]   NWRBL [9] BLYD' [10]   ~   F'Ḥ' [11]

'TYK' [15]   FHGR [16]   FHGR [17]   S'D [18]   F'QM' [19]

BWRP' [3]
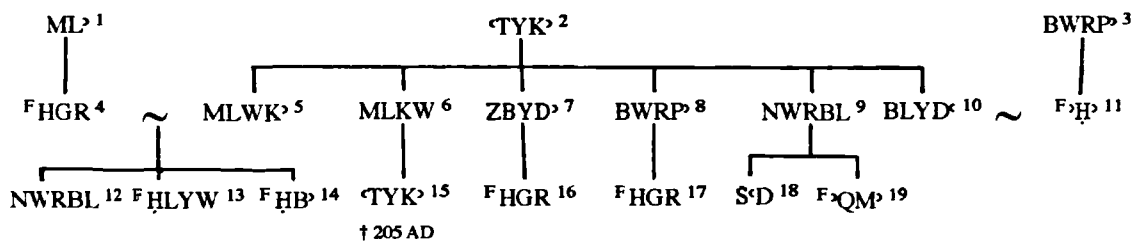
The name ʿAtîkâ is of a good Aramaic formation 'Ateh is here' and appears only in this inscriptions. That is why we have chosen to present them all together. One date only is available *CIS* 4439, that is 20th November 205 AD. Chabot reads 512; in *PS* 21 we find 516 but the exact date should be 517=205 AD. Malôkâ, his wife and children represent a family whose ancestor is ʿAtîkâ. 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 frequence of the feminine name Hagar, very likely the name of a female ancestor not attested in the inscriptions.

300. The ʿAtenûrî family

'TNWRY [1]

ḤYRN [2]
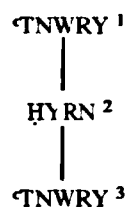
'TNWRY [3]

The bust portraying ʿAtenûrî is mutilated and he is represented with a simple modius.

301. The ʿAtenûrî family

TNWRY [1]

|

ʿGYLW [2]

|

ʿTNWRY [3]

ʿOgeilû is represented with a wreathed modius that usually indicates the symposiarch. Is ʿOgeilû to be identified to the priest in *RTP* 670 reading ʿGYLW ʿTNWRY and not the contrary?

302. The ʿAtenûrî family

ʿTNWRY [1]

|

TYMʿ᾿ ḤLᵓ [2]

|

ʿTNWRY [3]   219 AD

ʿAtenûrî made a dedication to the Anonymous God for himself, his children and the Benê PṬRTᵓ.

303. The ʿAwdû family

ʿWDW [1]

|

ʿTNWRY [2] .

|

[WH]BY [3]   34 AD

Wahbai, member of the thiasos of the 'holy garden' dedicated to the gods ʿAglibôl and Malakbel, offered an altar to them together with eight more thiasists.

722

304. The ʿAwîdai family

<pre>
ʿWYDY [1]
   |
ʿGʾ [2]
   |
SʿD [3]   119 AD
</pre>

Saʿad together with Holaiŝî son of Barîkaı, son of Belḥazî built a tomb ın the SW necropolıs (see below no.330). The locatıon of the tomb is unknown.

305. The ʿAwîdai family

<pre>
ʿWYDY [1]
   |
TYMʾ [2]
   |
SLMLT [3]
</pre>

This family is known from here RTP 760.

306. The ʿAzûlat family

<pre>
MQYMW alıas BRʿZWLT [1]
   |
LSMS [2]
   |
YRḤBWLʾ [3]
</pre>

The ınscrıptıon comes from Wadı Ḥamou.

307. The ʿOggâ family

ʿGʾ [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

MLKW [3]   171 AD
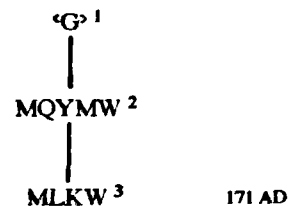
In 171 AD, Malkû bought from Salmê daughter of Bôlhâ, son of Bôrrefâ, half of the portion that was in her possession. There is a witness to this transaction that is Yaddaı son of Kîlî. Malkû payed the sum of 120 denarii.

(see below no. 341)

308. The ʿOggâ family

[ʾ]Gʾ [1]

|

ʿTʿQB [2]

|

[N]BWLʾ [3]   SLMʾ [4]
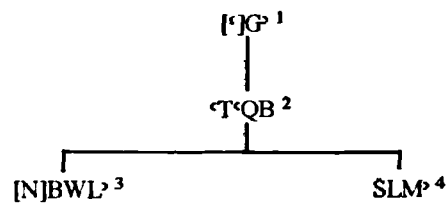
The name [H]BWLʾ intepreted by Hvidberg-Hansen, has been corrected in [N]BWLʾ as it is much more common and frequent. The family is unknown.

309. The ʿOggâ family

ʿGʾ [1]

|

SLMN [2]

|

HYRN [3]   ca. 110-120 AD
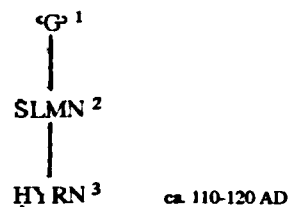
The name Šolmou is also the name of a tutelar god (see Starcky, Semitica 3 (1950) 45-52).

310. The ʿOggâ family

ʿGʾ [1]

|

ḤYRN [2]

|

ʿGʾ [3]   † 50-150 AD
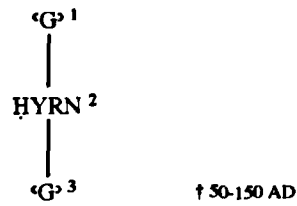
ʿOggê is the shortened form of ʿOgeilû.

311. The ʿOgeilû family: from the hypogeum of Zebîdâ, SE

ʿGYLW [1]

|

ZBYDʾ [2]

|

F SLMT [3]
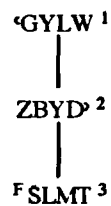
The bust of Salmat can be dated, according to Ingholt's classification, to 50-150 AD.

312. The ʿOgeilû family

ʿGYLW [1]

|

ʾLYSʾ [2]

|

TYMḤʾ [3]
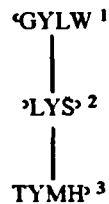
The name ʾLYSʾ is attested for the first time. Its meaning is uncertain: either the ʾaleph stands for ʿayin (as the name ʿLYSʾ exists, see *PNPI* 106) or if we retain the spelling with initial ʾaleph as correct, the meaning 'Samaš is my god' may be suggested.

313. The ʿOgeilû family

ʿGYLW [1]

YDYʿBL [2]   ∾   F ʾMBY [3]

ZBYDʾ [4]
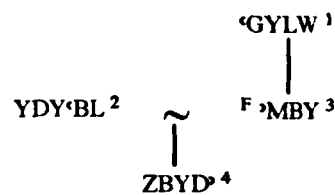
The stele is a double bust representing Zebîdâ, the dead person as at his back can be seen the funerary drapery, and his mother Ummabî in a mourning attitude. Her hair is lose and her right breast is uncovered. On her breast as well as on her arm appear three small incised strokes which are part of the 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 ʿOgeilû family
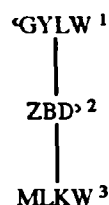
ʿGYLW [1]

ZBDʾ [2]

MLKW [3]

The bust of Malkû can be dated, according to its sculptural style, to 80-150 AD.

315. The ʿOgeilû family

ʿGYLW [1]

MQYMW [2]

ʿGYLW [3]

ʿOgeilû [3] offered two statues. One in honour of a certain [...]ʾ son of Zabdâ, (son of) ʿOgeilû. The other was erected in the temple of Baalshamîn in honour of Malkû son of Hairan, son of ʿOgeilû Aytîbel, his master. The date is lost. The type of script would suggest the 1st c. AD or later.

(see above no. 26)

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316. The ꜥOlaibaꜥal family

$$^{\text{ꜥ}}\text{LYBꜥL}^{\,1}$$
$$|$$
$$\text{TYMW}^{\,2}$$
$$|$$
$$^{\text{F}}\text{MKY}^{\,3}$$

The name מכי is attested both as feminine and masculine.

317. The Baꜥalai family

$$\text{Bꜥ LY}^{\,1}$$
$$|$$
$$\text{YDYꜥBL}^{\,2}$$
$$|$$
$$\text{Bꜥ LY}^{\,3} \qquad 121\ \text{AD}$$

In 121 AD, Baꜥalai offered a stele to the gods Bel, Baalshamîn, Yarḥibôl and ꜥAglibôl.

318. The Babat family

This inscription from Bucharest presents an unusual formulary. A tomb is made for BRLL and only example at Palmyra, her genealogy is matrilinear, 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 Ḥairan son of Arat and his father Mešullam, 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 Mešullam and Ḥairan her son, but then the mention of Arat would lie unexplained. The name MSLM is amply attested among the Jews of Elephantine, see TADAE, 2, p. 1 and TADAE, 3, p. lxii.

319. The Baidan family

BYDN [1]
|
TYMLT [2]
|
‘LY [3]
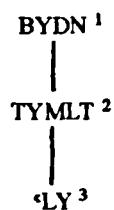
The etymology of the name BYDN is unknown.

320. The Bannai family

BNY [1]
|
TYMY [2]
|
┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
BNY [3]   F‘GB’ [4]
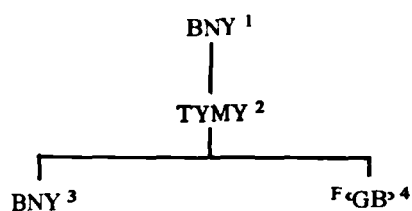
The authroponym BNY is of uncertain etymology, see PNPI 77.

321. The Baqqai family

BQY [1]
|
MLKW [2]
|
F KDNNY [3]   † 50-150 AD
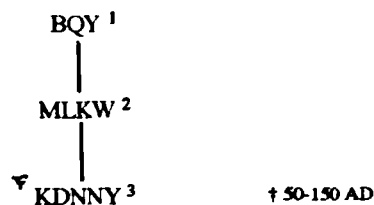
The name KDNNY is only attested in this family and it is of uncertain derivation, cf. PNPI 92.

322. The Barâ family: from the hypogeum of the Three Brothers, SW

BR' [1]
|
KPTWT [2]
|
ZBDBWL [3]   191 AD
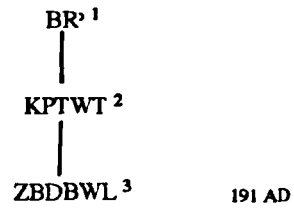
In 191 AD, Zabdibôl bought from the Three Brothers, eight loculi from the Eastern wall of the exedra to the left when you enter and three loculi from the first central chamber.

323. The Bar'ateh family

BR'T' [1]
|
'TTN [2]
|
F SB' [3]
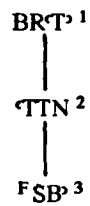
The name ЅB' is attested both as feminine and masculine. A parallel can be found in Mahataou, see PNNR 61 no. 1063.

324. The Bar'ateh family

BR'TH [1]
|
ṢPRY [2]
|
HDWDN [3]   138 AD
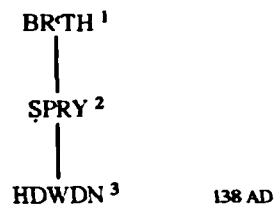
Haddûdan built a tomb in the SW necropolis for himself and his sons.

325. The Bar‘ateh family

BR‘TH [1]

|

F’M[T’] [2]   ~   X [3]

MLKW [4]   KHYLW [5]   BWN’ [6]
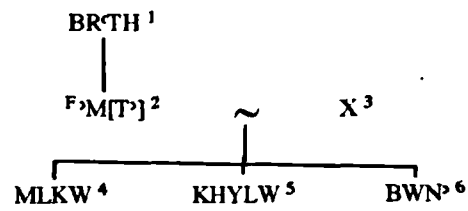
The name of Amatê's husband is lost.

326. The Barba‘aššamên family

BRB‘SMYN [1]

|

BLY [2]

|

B[R]SMS [3]
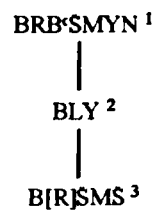
The inscription was written on a jar from Dure-

327. The Battâ family

F BT’ [1]

|

BRYKY [2]

|

MTNY [3]

The name BT’ is only attested once-

328. The Bazî family

BZY [1]

|

TYMN' [2]

|

MLKW [3]

The name BZY is only attested once and Stark, PNPI 76
derives it from Arabic / BĀŽIYY 'falcon'.

329. The Bel'aqab family

BL'QB [1]

|

[S]M'WN [2]

|

ZBYD' [3]   132 AD

Zebîdâ is commemorated before the god Saf-al-qaum by his friend 'Obaidû son of 'Ananû, son of
Sa'adallat of Nabataean origin (see above no. 214).

330. The Belhazî family

BLHZY [1]

|

BRYKY [2]

|

HLYSY [3]   119 AD

Holaîšî built a tomb in the SW necropolis together with Sa'ad son of 'Oggâ, son of 'Awîdai (see above
no. 304).

331. The Belšûr family of the Claudia tribe

BLŠWR [1]

|

ḤYRʾ [2]

BLŠWR [3]   MQYMW [4]   ᶠBTʿGʾ [5]
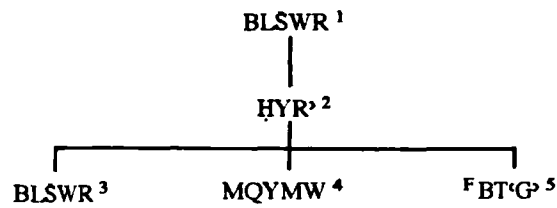
All the inscriptions attesting this family are dateless and funerary. We only know that Belšûr[3] died at the age of eighteen and his brother Moqîmû at the age of sixteen. They must belong to the Claudia tribe as the word ʾKLDY with a prosthetic ʾaleph testifies, otherwise spelled KLDYʾ. Malkû[4] of the Haumal family, founder of the tower tomb no.155, is also said to belong to the Claudia tribe (see above no.49). The Bôlḥâ family, probably related to the Haumal group (see Milik, p. 261), is part of the Claudia tribe.

332. The Beltai family

BLTY [1]

|

BWNʾ [2]

|

STM [3]

This family is known from *RTP* 752.

333. The Belyadaʿ family

BLYDʿ [1]

|

MLKW [2]

|

SLMʾ [3]   203 AD
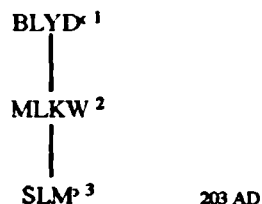
Salmê was a symposiarch. He honoured the emperor Septimius Severus and other members of his family with statues.

334. The Belyahab family

BLYHB [1]

|

TYMY [2]

|

TYMY [3]

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

335. The Bišrâ family

BSR' [1]

|

ḤYRN [2]

|

MLKW [3]

This family is known from tessera *RTP* 643.

336. The Bôlḫâ family: from the hypogeum of ʿAbdaʿastôr, SW

BWLḪ' [1]

|

BWN' [2]

|

F MʿYN' [3]   239 AD

(see below no. 676)

Muʿainâ, together with J.A. Malkû son of ʿOgeilû, son of Salman, acquired burial rights in this tomb from J.A. Salmat, great-granddaughter of the tomb builder, and a freedwoman named Amdabû.

337. The Bonnê family: from the hypogeum of Lišamš, SW

BN' [1]

|

SLMN [2]

|

'WRLY MLKW [3]   228 AD
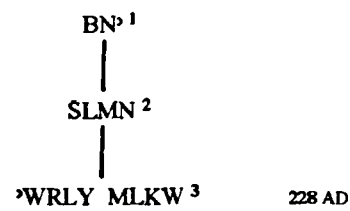
Aurelius Malkû acquired burial rights from Aurelius Wardan freedman of Antiokos Rafabôl. The names Malkû and Salman appear again in some graffiti in the tomb.

338. The Bônnê family

BWN' [1]

F HB' [2]   [H]LYP' [3]

|

F MRTHWN [4]   † 150-200 AD
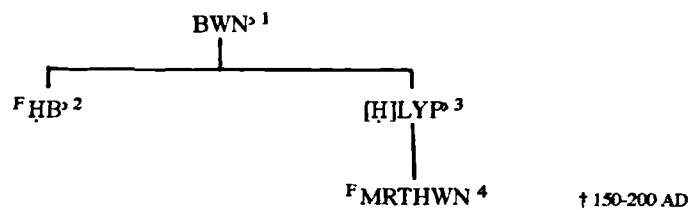
The name HB' is attested both as feminine and masculine.

339. The Bôrrefâ family

[B]WRP' [1]

|

ZBD'TH [2]

|

YRHY [3]
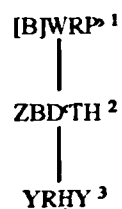
This family is known from tessera RTP640.

340. The Bôrrefâ family

```
        BWRP 1
          |
       YDY'BL 2
          |
       'GYLW 3        18 AD
```

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 Bôrrefâ family: tomb in Bâzûriyye

```
          BWRP 1
            |
          BWLH 2              BWRP 3
            |                   |
171 AD    SLM 4      ~        'GYLW 5
```

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 Kîlî. The transaction is conducted by a woman, Salmê, that acts on behalf of her husband 'Ogeilû, 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

```
          DNY 1
            |
        'ST[RG] 2
       _____|_____
      |             |
    DNY 3        [']LYW 4
```

The two brothers Dinai and 'Olaiyû 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 Malkû, SW

DYGNS [1]

|

ḤBY [2]

|

DDYWN [3]   267 AD
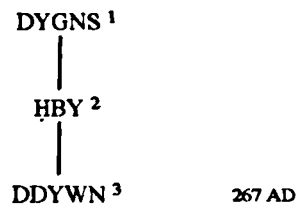
In February 267 AD, Dadiyôn son of Ḥabbai, son of Diogenes transferred four niches in the Southern chamber of the tomb to Ammô daughter of Bassâ son of Saʿarônâ.

344. The Faggâ family

PGʾ [1]

|

ZBDʾTH [2]

|

YRḤY [3]   † 150-200 AD
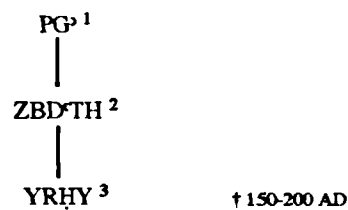
The bust of Yorhai, according to its style, belongs to the 2nd group of Ingholt's classification, that is 150-200 AD.

345. The Fawrâ? family

PWRʾ ? [1]

|

ZBDʾTʾ [2]

|

YRḤY [3]

The name of the ancestor is of difficult reading. Previously has been read as PZGʾ (Chabot, *Corpus* p. 447) and BWNʾ (Lidzbarski, *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 ʾ, unattested so far. Cf. Nabataean PRʾ, *PNNR* 55 no.973 and Safaitic FRʾ, *ICPANI* 464.

346. The Fīlâ family

PYL' [1]

|

MTNY [2]

|

MLKW [3]

The name PYL' is transcribed in Greek, Pheilas (*CIS* 4160).

347. The Gabinus family

GBYNS [1]

|

'G' [2]

|

BWN' [3]   217 AD

Bônnê offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

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

GRMN' [1]

|

BS' [2]

|

YWLYS 'WRLYS 'GTWN' [3]   267 AD

Julius Aurelius Agatônâ bought two niches in the Southern chamber of the hypogeum of Malkû, from Ammô daughter of Bassâ, son of Sa'arônâ who had property here like her grandfather. Her father and uncle had property instead in the central chamber of this same tomb. J.A. Agatônâ shared the right of burial of these two niches with J.A. Ba'alai son of 'Abdai, son of 'Adôn (*see above no. 290*)

349. The Gofn family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

GPN [1]
|
SLMN [2]
|
YWLYS ᵓWRLYS LMLKᵓ [3]   241 AD
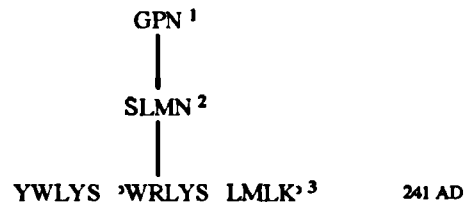
In 241 AD, Julius Aurelius Limalkâ acquired property in the Northern chamber of this tomb buying two niches from Julius Aurelius ʿOggâ son of the freedman Rauhibel *(see below no. 602).*

350. The Guhainat family

GHYNT [1]
|
BRʿTH [2]
|
ᵓBRWQ [3]
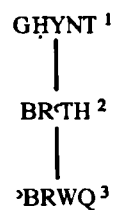
The name GHYNT is attested only once. A parallel can be found in Safaitic, ᵓHN, see ICPANI 154.

351. The Hanaᵓî family

HNᵓY [1]
|
SMᵓWN [2]
|
ᵓLQMᵓ [3]
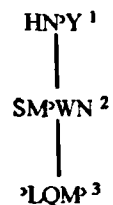
The name Hanaᵓî is only attested here and in *RSP* 105. It has parallels in Nabataean under the form HNᵓW, see *PNNR* 22 no.308 and its Greek transcription is Anaios, *Wuthnow* 135. Of the name ᵓLQMᵓ we know the variant ᵓLQMS, Alkimos (*CIS* 3913).

352. The Hermai family

HRMY [1]

|

ʾBYN [2]

|

DKRY[3]

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

353. The Ḥabbâ family

ḤBʾ [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

ZBDBL [3]   † ca. 140 AD

The name ḤBʾ is attested both as feminine and masculine.

354. The Ḥabbai family

ḤBY [1]

|

ZBYDʾ [2]

|

ḤBY [3]

The inscription was found in Wadi Hauran.

355. The Ḥabban family

HBN [1]

|

ʾBRWQ [2]

ʿGʾ [3]   ᶠSLMT [4]
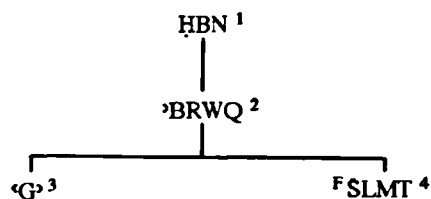
The name of the ancestor is attested in Nabataean and Safaitic, see *PNNR* 27 no.410 and *ICPANI* 175. The Greek Αββανος (A. Negev, *IEJ* 31 (1981) 70 no.12) could represent the transcription of this name. Cf. Milik, p. 346 who finds a Greek inscription at Sammet el-Baradân (Hauran) where he reads ʿΑβανης that also transcribes the name Ḥabân.

356. The Ḥabrai family

ḤBRY [1]

|

ZBDBWL [2]

|

MQYMW [3]
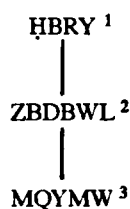
Moqîmû offered an altar to the Anonymous God because his prayers were heard. Ḥabrai is a one-word name derived from *ḥbr* 'to unite, to be joined' attested in Aram., Hebr., Phoen., Eth., see *PNPI* 87 and Milik, p. 132.

357. The Ḥaddâ family

ḤDʾ [1]

|

TYMRSW [2]

|

ʿGYL[W] [3]   213 AD
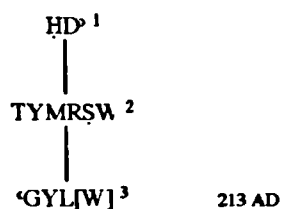
ʿOgeilû offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

358. The Haddûdan family: from the hypogeum of Bôlḥâ, SE

[Ḥ]DWDN [1]

|

ZBDᵓT [2]

|

ḤDWDN [3]

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

359. The Haffaqôs family

ḤPQWS [1]

|

MSKW [2]

|

GDᵓ [3]

J. Teixidor (*MUSJ* 42 (1966) 177-178) considers ḤPQWS a word with the meaning of 'of the equestrian order'. His suggestion is difficult to accept because the word ἱππικός is normally transcribed with a *he* and not *ḥet* and the *waw* is not always written. Milik, p. 26 derives the name ḤPQWS from *ḥpy* 'to protect', 'Qôs has protected'. Qôs is a god of Edomite origin. On the other hand in Safaitic we find the name ḤF, from the root *ḥff*, with the meaning of 'to surround, enclose'. Gaddâ offered an altar in 213 AD to Bel and Arṣû.

360. The Haggai family

ḤGY [1]

|

ᶜGᵓ [2]

|

ḤGY [3]   150 AD

Haggai and his brothers, whose names are not given, offered a statue in honour of Yamlikû son of ᶜOggâ, son of Yaᶜatai. The date is 150 AD.

(see above no. 1)

361. The Ḥairan family

HYRN [1]

|

YRḤY [2]

|

F BTʿTY [3]   † 150-200 AD
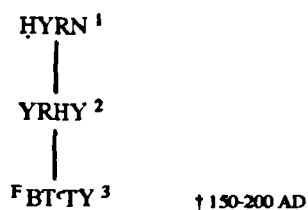
For a list of the several BT-names, see the Catalogue pp. 120-123.

362. The Ḥairan family

HYRN [1]

|

BRYKY [2]

|

ḤYRN

Ḥairan made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

363. The Ḥairan family

HYRN [1]

|

MTNY [2]

|

F ʾQMʾ [3]   † 50-150 AD
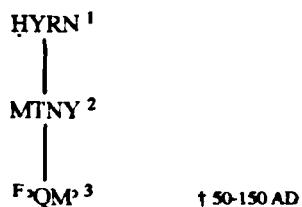
According to the style, the bust of Aqmê belongs to the 1st group of Ingholt's classification, that is 50-150 AD.

364. The Ḥairan family

HYRN [1]

ᵓLHBL [2]

MQYMW [3]   † 150-200 AD
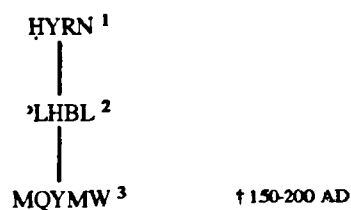
The bust of Maqqimu is kept at the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston. Its origin is unknown.

365. The Ḥairan family

HYRN [1]

MLKW [2]

X [3]   KHYLW [4]   ZBDᶜTH [5]
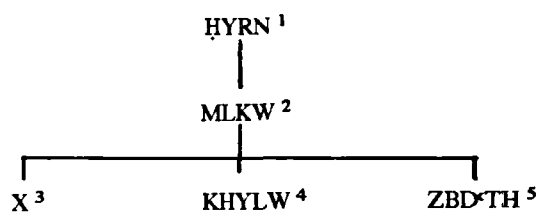
The names of the three brothers are engraved on a stone jar that was used as a receptacle for liquids, probably wine, consumed during the religious banquets. The god to whom the jar was presented might be Bel as it was in his temple that the jar was found.

366. The Ḥairan family
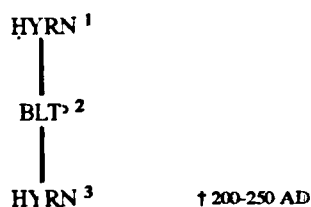
HYRN [1]

BLTᵓ [2]

HYRN [3]   † 200-250 AD

The name BLTᵓ is also attested as feminine (cs 4405).

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367. The Hairê family

HYR' [1]

S'DW [2]

HYR' [3]   YWLYS 'WRLYS NBWZBD [4]   262 AD
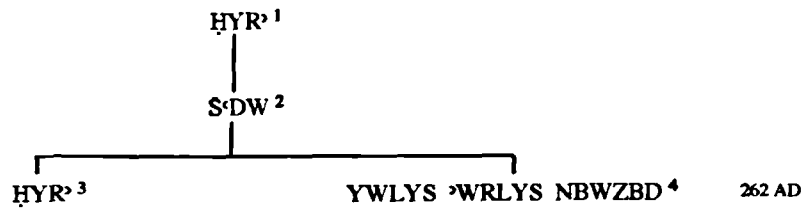
Julius Aurelius Nabûzabad honoured his friend Septimius Worôd. He is said to be the illustrious strategos of the colony.

368. The Hairê family

HYR' [1]

ZBDBWL [2]

HYR' [3]
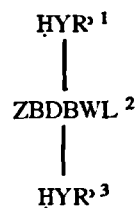
In spite of the frequency of the name HYR', no connection can be seen between this family and the Hairê family, no. 367.

369. The Halâ family

HL' [1]

ML' [2]

ML' [3]
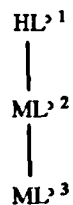
The name HL' is once attested as feminine, see RSP 83.

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370. The Ḥalaftâ family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

```
                    ḤLPṬ⸴ 1
          ┌───────────┴───────────┐
      BRWQ⸴ 2                   ZBD⸴ 3
   ┌──────┴──────┐
ḤLPṬ⸴ 4      ZBDL⸴ 5
```
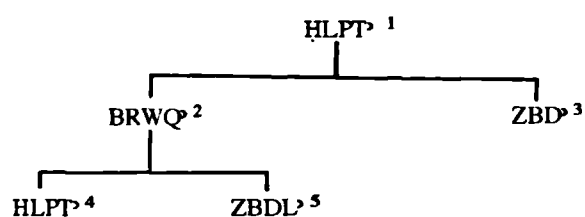
The bust represents a man and two children. The children are Ḥalaftâ[4] and Zabdilâ[5] sons of Barûqâ and the man is Zabdâ[3] (son of) Ḥalaftâ, very likely the brother of Barûqâ and the uncle of the two children.

371. The Ḥaldâ family
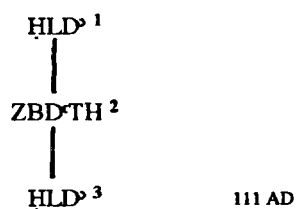
```
      ḤLD⸴ 1
        │
     ZBDʿTH 2
        │
      ḤLD⸴ 3          111 AD
```

Ḥaldâ 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 426, Seleucid era.

372. The Ḥasas family

```
      ḤSS 1
        │
     MLKW 2
        │
      SʿDW 3        240 AD
```
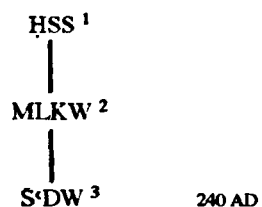
Soʿadû offered an altar to the Anonymous God because he was heard and fulfilled by the god.

373. The Ḥašai family

HSY [1]

|

ʿTʿQB [2]

|

WHBLT [3]
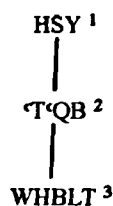
According to the script the text can be doted to the 1st c. AD.

374. The Hattai family

ḤTY [1]

|

YRḤBWLʾ [2]

|

MLKW [3]   34 AD
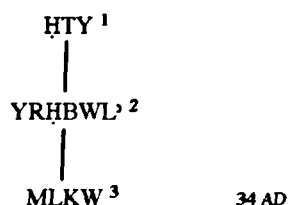
Malkû was a member of the thiasos of ʿAglibôl and Malakbel and together with other eight thiasists offered an altar to the two gods.

375. The Heršô family: hypogeum of Lišamšû, SE

ḤRŠW [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

F ḤNT [3]   ∼   LŠMŠW [4]   F SBʾ [5]   123 124 AD
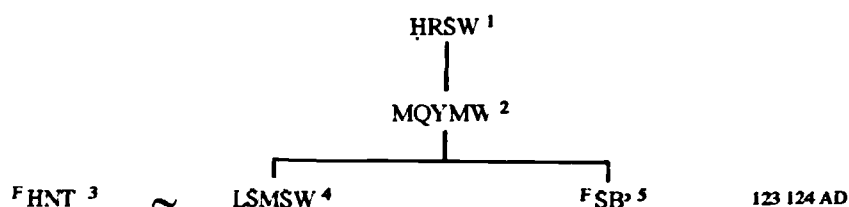
Lišamšû built a tomb for himself, his brother and for the children of his paternal uncle. His uncle and children are free to excavate any part of the tomb except the interior exedra where his sister Sabâ and his wife Ḥanat were buried. From the genealogy we find the same Lišamšû portrayed on a bust that belongs to the M. Koutoulakis Collection (H. Lozachmeur, *Semitica* 29 (1979) 105-107). The name ḤRŠW is attested in Nabataean, see *PNNR* 32 no.491 and the Greek transcription is Ersos, Erasos, see *Wuthnow* 47.

376. The Hifrai family: from the hypogeum of Yarhai, ʿAtenûrî and Zabdibôl, SW

HPRY [1]

|

LSMS [2]

|

MQYMW [3]   194 AD

Moqîmû together with Aqmat, the daughter of Yarhai the tomb builder, gave in cession part of the tomb to Salman son of Qulaibû, son of Elahbel and to Taimû son of Dabah, son of Himyan (ᵃ̶ᵉ ᵐᵃᵏᵗ ᵃᵤᵗʰᵃᵧ ᵃᵉ. 37).

377. The Himyan family: from the hypogeum of Yarhai, ʿAtenûrî and Zabdibôl, SW

HMYN [1]

|

DBH [2]

|

TYMW [3]   194 AD

Taimû bought with Salman son of Qulaibû, son of Elahbel, a portion of the tomb from Aqmat daughter of Yarhai, son of Moqîmû and Moqîmû son of Lišamš, son of Hifrai. The name HMYN is widely attested in Safaitic, cf. *ICPANI* 205 and in Nabataean, *PNNR* 30 no.462. See also *IFSC* 570, * Humaiy ûn and Himyān.

378. The Honainî family

HNYNY [4]

|

SHRW [2]

|

BGSW [3]

The text was engraved on a sarcophagus found in a tower tomb in the SW necropolis.

379. The Kad/raḥ family

KD/RH [1]

|

NSR' [2]

|

YRḤY [3]

The name KD/RH lies unexplained.

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

KHYLY [1]

|

ML' [2]

|

KHYLY [3]

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

381. The Kahîlû family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malê, SW

KHYLW [1]

|

ZBDBWL [2]

|

YWLYS 'WRLYS ZBDBWL [3]   235 AD

In 235 AD, Julius Aurelius Zabdibôl bought three niches from Julius Aurelius Malê junior in the hypogeum of J.A. Malê (see above no. 121).

382. The Kalb family

KLB [1]

|

[M]QYMW [2]

|

[YDY]BL [3]   † 170-190 AD
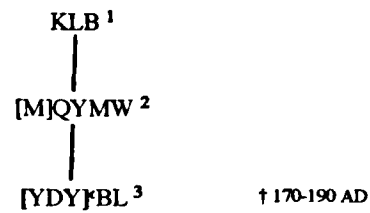
The bust portraying Yedî'bel bears two inscriptions, one on the right shoulder and one on the left shoulder. Very likely, originally it was a double bust, half of which is now lost. According to the onomastics, the two people do not seem to be related. We have preferred to read KLB instead of KLB[W] as the name ends next to the beard of the man and there is no more space for other letters.

383. The Kallistos? family

QL[ST] [1]

|

HYRN [2]

|

MLKW [3]

This family is attested in tessera *RTP* 661.

384. The Kîlî family

KYLY [1]

|

NBWZBD [2]

|

HL' [3]   † 237 AD
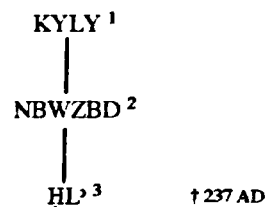
In Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, 1723 Kîlî is attested as personal name.

749

385. The Kîlî Rabbâ family

KYLY RBʾ [1]
|
YRḤY [2]
|
MZBNʾ   238/239 AD

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

386. The Komarê family

KMRʾ [1]
|
ZBDLH [2]
|
ḤGGW [3]   34 AD

Hagegû was member of the thiasos of ʿAglibôl and Malakbel and he offered an altar to these gods together with eight more thiasists. The word KMRʾ 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 Lišamš family: from the hypogeum no.6 of Sasan, SE

LŠMS [1]
|
ZBYDʾ [2]
|
ZBYDʾ [3]

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

388. The Lišamš family

LSMS [1]

|

SLMLT [2]

|

NTNY [3]

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

389. The Lišamš family

LSMS [1]

|

TYMW [2]

|

F SLMT [3]

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

390. The Lišamš alias Saprai family

LSMS alias SPRY [1]

|

BR⟩ [2]

|

F BT⟨⟩ [3]   † 91 or 103 AD

The name Saprai is attested for the first time.

391. The Maʿan family

MʿN [1]

|

FGTMY [2]

|

MʿN [3]   † 200-250 AD
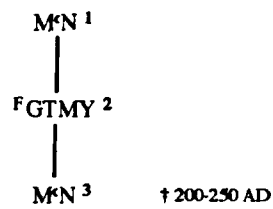
Maʿan, a child, is portrayed on the funerary stele together with his mother.

392. The Maʿanai family

MʿNY [1]

|

ZBDʾ [2]   RMY [3]

| |

F ḤGʾ [4]   ～   WHBY [5]
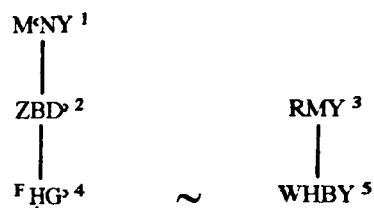
The name Hoggê is a Jewish name, see PN 222. A parallel can be found in Mahadeau, HGW, see PNAR 27 no. 414.

393. The Maʿanai family

MʿNY [1]

|

QSYNʾ [2]

|

YWLYS ʾWRLYS SLMʾ [3]   267 AD
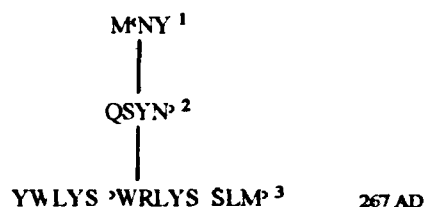
Julius Aurelius Salmâ, eques, honoured his friend and protector Septimius Worôd, governor and procurator ducenarios. In an inscription of the 3nd c. AD, Salmâ is commemorated in a dedication to Allat and Raḥim by Rabbel son of ʿAwîdâ, son of Yadaʿai and he is not the sculptor as Cantineau, *Tadmorea I*, no.5 suggests. QSYNʾ is the Palmyrene transcription of the Latin name Cassianus as the Greek version of the inscription attests.

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394. The Makkai family

MKY [1]
|
^{F}SLMT [2]
|
ʿLYBʿL [3]

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

395. The Makkai family

MKY [1]
|
MLʾ [2]
|
MLKW [3]   † 120-140 AD

The name ΠΚΥ is attested both as feminine and masculine.

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

MKY [1]
|
NSʾ [2]
|
ϓRHY [3]

The name ΠΚΥ is also attested as feminine.

397. The Malai family

MLY [1]

|

ʿTTN [2]

|

ᶠSGL [3]   † 150-170 AD
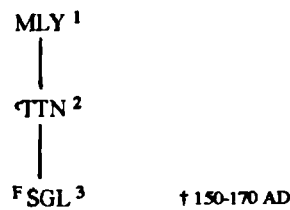
The name תLY may be regarded, together with תLʾ, as a shortened form of the more popular תLKW.

398. The Malai family

MLY [1]

|

MLKW [2]

|

ʿTʿQB [3]   † 150 AD ca.
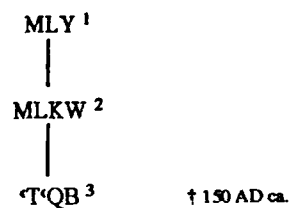
In spite of the few attestations of the name תLY, it has been difficult to see any connection between this family and the Malai family, no. 397.

399. The Malakel family

MLKʾL [1]

|

[H]YRN [2]

|

ZBDʾ [3]

The name Malakel is amply attested at Palmyra and its meaning is 'El is King', see PNPI 95.

754

400. The Malê family

$$ML^{\circ\,1}$$
$$|$$
$$YR\underline{H}Y^{\,2}$$
$$|$$
ML^{\circ}   272 AD
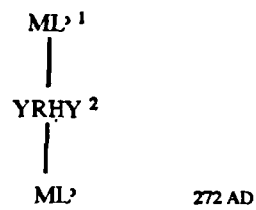
Malê[3] was a custodian of the temple of Bel but his charge is unfortunately lost.

401. The Malê family

$$ML^{\circ\,1}$$
$$|$$
TYBWL[2]   ~   F°QM^{\circ}[3]
$$|$$
ML^{\circ}[4]   † 150-200 AD
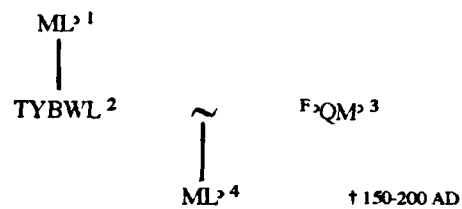
This family offers a good example of polygamy.

402. The Malê family

$$ML^{\circ\,1}$$
$$|$$
† 150-170 AD   YR\underline{H}BWL^{\circ}[2]
$$|$$
F BLT^{\circ}[3]   † 150-170 AD

Beltâ is a little girl.

755
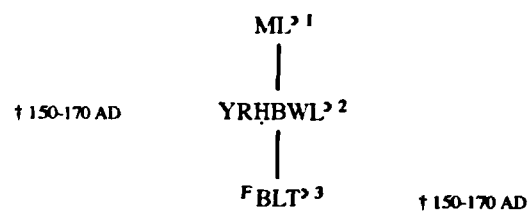
403. The Malê family

MĿ' [1]

F ḤB' [2]   ~   MĿ' [3]

F ḤB' [4]   † 150-200 AD
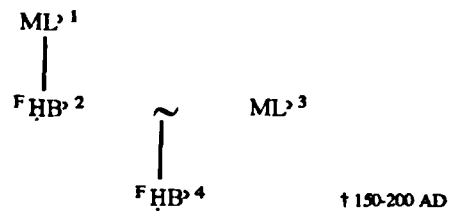
ḤB' is also attested as masculine name.

404. The Malê family

MĿ' [1]

WHBY [2]

ŠKY [3]
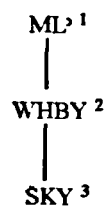
The bust has been found not far from the temple of Bel. A man and a camel are portrayed.

405. The Malê family

MĿ' [1]

DYNY [2]

133 134 AD   MĿ' [3]   ZBYD' [4]
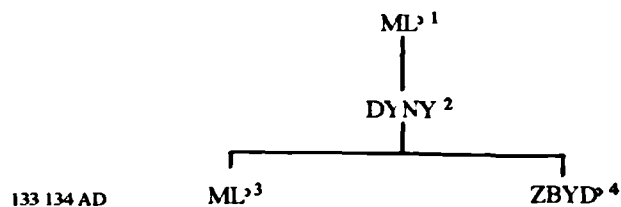
Malê[3] offered in 133 134 AD an altar to 'Aštarte the good goddess. Given the rarity of the name Dînaı, we propose to see the same person in Dînaı, father of Malê and Dînai, father of Zebîdâ, which is also possible from the chronology.

406. The Malikbel family

MLKBL [1]

|

MLKW [2]

|

HGWR [3]   236/237 AD
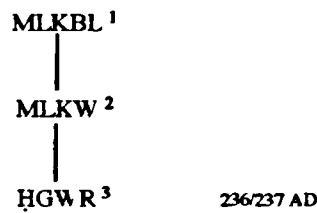
The name MLKBL appears only in this family and it is spelled like the name of the Palmyrene solar god MLKBL, Malakbel. It is very unlikely that we have to do with the same name. A similar example may be found with the name of the god YRHBWL that as personal name always takes a final anthroponymic *aleph*. For Malikbel we propose 'Bel is king' as already suggested by H. Ingholt (*Berytus* 1 (1934) 37-38)

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

MLK' [1]

|

'BDŠMY' [2]

|

YWLYS 'WRLYS YDY'BL [3]   263-265 AD
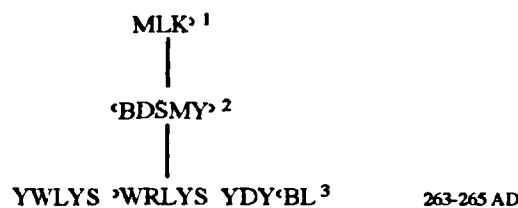
In 263 AD, Julius Aurelius Yedî'bel gave in cession two exedrae of this tomb to Julia Aurelia Amatê daughter of Bôlhazî, son of Moqîmû and in 265 AD, four more niches. We do not know how and when Yedî'bel acquired burial rights in this tomb that was built by Nasrallat in 142 AD and till 263 AD was left without any epigraphical record.

408. The Malkû family

MLKW [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

BLYD'W [3]

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

409. The Malkû family

MLKW [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

ḤYRN [3]

The inscription was part of a bust now completely destroyed.

410. The Malkû family

MLKW [1]

|

ḤGGW [2]

|

ḤLYPY [3]   162/166 AD

Holaifî [3] honoured Holaifî son of Atefanî, son of Holaifî because he pleased him and 'gave him power' (on this expression , see *Palmyre VI*, 89 ; on the family see above no. 40).

411. The Malkû family

MLKW [1]

|

TYMRSW [2]

|

WHBLT [3]   236 AD

Wahballat offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

412. The Malkû family

MLKW [1]

|

ZBDBL [2]

|

F'BYSY [3]

The name ʾBYŠY is also attested as feminine in Inv VII, 93.

413. The Malkû family

[MLK]W [1]

|

MQYM[W] [2]

|

ḤYRN [3]   205 AD

Ḥairan was commemorated by Bôlḥâ of the Ḥaumal family who was the administrator of the Spring Efca. He is said to be chosen as assistant by Bôlḥâ himself.

414. The Malkû family

X [1]

|

MLKW [2]

|

┌─────────────┴─────────────┐

M'NY [3]   'ZYZ\ [4]

The two inscriptions attesting this family are uncomplete. 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]   221 AD
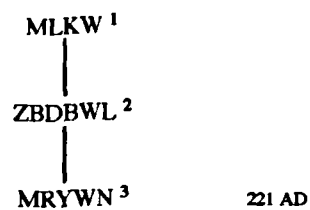
Manôn offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his brother.

416. The Malkû family

MLKW [1]

|

YRḤY [2]

|

F ʿTSBʾ [3]

The Greek transcription of the name ʿTSBʾ is given in the bilingual text *Inv VIII*, 64: Athesôba. 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 ʿAtehšôbâ related?

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

MQY [1]

|

BWLMʾ [2]

|

PṢYʾL [3]
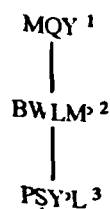
This bust comes from the exedra D of the hypogeum of Sasan-

418. The Maqqai family: from the hypogeum of Lišamš, SW

```
                    MQY ¹
          ┌───────────┴───────────┐
       ᵓBYHY ²                    SKY ³
          │
       ᶜZYZW ⁴
```
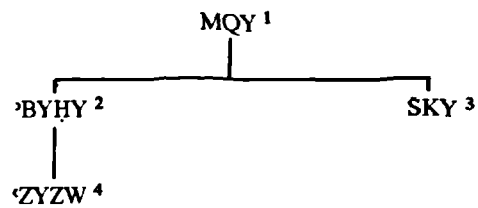
ᶜAzîzû had burial rights in one of the side-chambers of the hypogeum of Malkû. We do not know how he did it. We propose to see in this ᶜAzîzû and the ᶜAzîz of *CIS* 4592 the same person, because of the rarity of his father's name, Abîhai Therefore Sokai is considered to belong to the same family.

419. The Maqqai family

```
       MQY ¹
         │
      NBWDᶜ ²
         │
      YRHY ³      263/264 AD
```
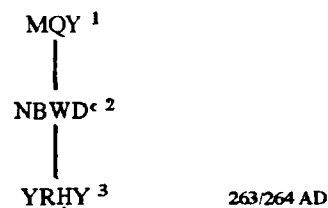
Yarhai offered an ex-voto because he was heard by the god. The formula of the inscription is the one used for dedications to the Anonymous God.

420. The Maqqai family

```
       MQY ¹
         │
      SᶜDY ²
         │
       MQY ³
```
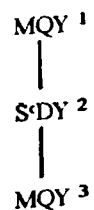
The bust of Maqqai is of unknown origin.

421. The Marcellus family: from the tower tomb no.150 of Julius Aurelius Marônâ, NW

[MRQLʾ] [1]

|

[ʾGRPʾ] [2]

|

YWLYS ʾWRLYS TYDRWS [3]

Julius Aurelius Theodôros bought from Julius Aurelius Zebîdâ this tomb and its rights. J.A. Zebîdâ 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 Malê, SW

MRQʾ [1]

|

HRMS [2]

|

YWLYS ʾWRLYS SYBY [3]   234 AD

In 234 AD, J.A. Sibai bought from J.A. Malê junior three niches. The name MRQʾ would suggest the Latin name Marcus but it is the only instance of the name with a final ʾaleph , 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

[MR]WNʾ [1]

|

ḤDWDN [2]

|

MRWNʾ [3]

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

424. The Mattâ family

MTᵖ ¹

|

BRᶜᵖ ²

|

MZBNᵖ ³

Is MZBNᵖ BR BRᶜᵖ of *PS* 288 the same person of this MZBNᵖ? 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 Mattanâ family

MTᴺᵖ ¹

|

MLKW ²

|

[N]BWZBD ³   34 AD

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

426. The Mattanai family

MTᴺY ¹

|

MTᵖ ²

|

ᶠQBWDᵖ ³   ∼   ML[..] ⁴   † 135-150 AD

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

427. The Mawêlâ family

MW'L' [1]

|

ZBYD' [2]

|

SM'W[N] [3]   † 200-250 AD

The name MW'L' 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]

|

ḤYRN [2]

|

TYBWL [3]

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

429. The Mîkâ family

MYK' [1]

|

ZBD'TH [2]

|

ZBDLH [3]

Zabdilah is very likely a priest of Baalshamîn 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 Moqîm family

MQYM [1]

|

[N]BWZBD [2]

|

[M]LKW [3]

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

431. The Moqîmû family

MQYMW [1]

|

MKY [2]

|

MQYMW [3]

The name MKY is attested both as feminine and masculine (see INV VIII, 5 and INV XI, 63).

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

MQYMW [1]

|

BLḤZY [2]

|

FYWLY> >WRLY> >MT> [3]   263 - 265 AD

In 263 AD, J.A. Amatê bought two side-chambers of this tomb from J.A. Yedî'bel and, from the same person, four niches in 265 AD (see the Ingholt family, no. 407).

433. The Moqîmû family

```
        MQYM[W] 1
            |
         MLKW 2
            |
         ‘GYLW 3        † 50-150 AD
```
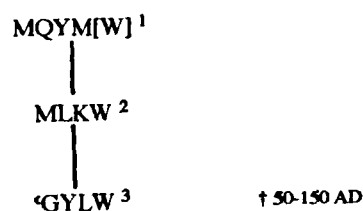
Aecording to the sculptural style, the bust of ‘Ogeilû can be dated to 50-150 AD.

434. The Moqîmû family

```
        MQYMW 1
            |
       [‘]TNWRY 2
            |
         FSGL 3        † 50-150 AD
```
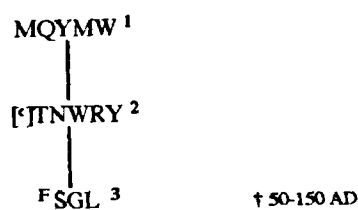
In 133/134 AD, a certain ‘Atenûrî son of Moqîmû built, with his two brothers, a tomb in the SW necropolis.

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

```
                    MQYMW' 1
          _____|_____
         |                     |
        ‘G' 2                MLK'L 3
         |                     |
      MQYMW' 4              F'MT' 5
```
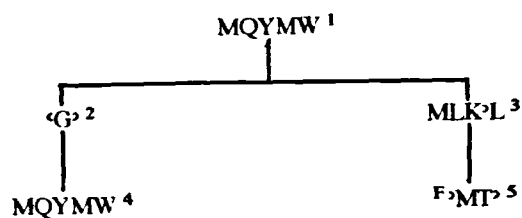
The busts of Meoqîmû and Amati came from the exedra 7 of the hypogeum of Sasan.

436. The Naqbā family: from the hypogeum of Yarhai, ʿAtenūrī and Zabdibōl, SW

```
                              NQBʾ 1
                         ┌───────┴───────┐
  FʾMTʾ 2        ~      BSʾ 3          MLWKʾ 4
         ┌───────┴───────┐
         X               X
```
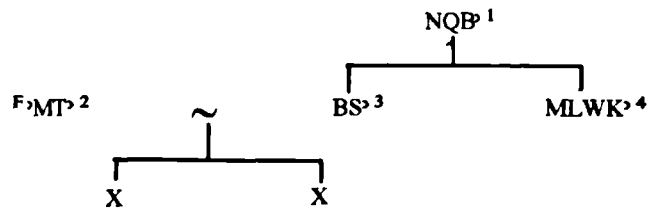
In the first central chamber of this tomb a sculptured slab portrays Bassus with his wife Amatê, his brother Malôkâ and his two children whose names are not known. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know what type of kinship there was between Bassus and the tomb builders' family and how he acquired property in the tomb. According to H. Ingholt (*Berytus* 5 (1938) 102), the style of the costumes favours a date in the 3rd c. AD.

437. The Nasrê family

```
            NSRʾ 1
              │
            MLKW 2
       ┌──────┴──────┐
    NSRʾ 3         MQYMW 4
```
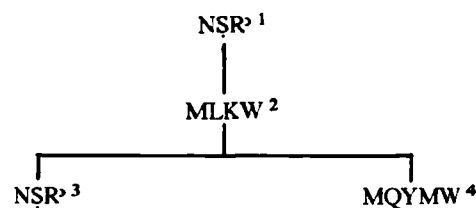
Nasrî represents a shortened form of the name NSRLT

438. The Nasrê family

```
     NSRʾ 1
       │
     YRHY 2
       │
    ʿWYDLT 3
```

The Greek transcription of ʿwyDLT is Aoue bALLATHOU (see Cantineau, RB 39 (930) 54).

767

439. The Nabê family: from the hypogeum of Bôlḥâ, SE

NB' [1]

|

ḤYRN [2]

|

YDY [3]   † 150-200 AD
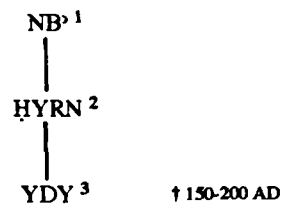
According to the script, the text can be dated to the 3rd c. AD.

440. The Nabûlâ family

NBWL' [1]

|

'GYLW [2]

|

ḤNYN' [3]
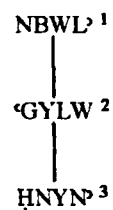
The origin of this bust is unknown.

441. The Nabûšûrî family: from the hypogeum of Bôlḥâ, SE

NBWŠWRY [1]

|

BWLḤ' [2]

|

ḤYRN [3]   † 150-200 AD
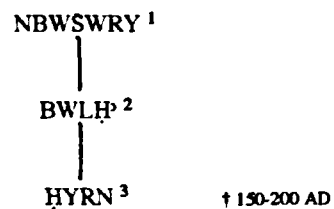
According to the script, the text can be dated to the 3rd c. AD.

442. The Nabûyadaᶜ family

NBWYDˣ [1]
|
[B]RᵀH [2]
|
NBWYDˣ [3]

The name Nabûyadaᶜ is attested only in this inscription.

443. The Nesâ Rabbâ family

NSᵓ RBᵓ [1]
|
ᶜGᵓ [2]
|
MLᵓ [3]   218 AD

Malê made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

444. The Nešâ family

[N]Sᵓ [1]
|
BLᶜQB [2]
|
WHBLT [3]

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

445. The Nešâ family

NŠ' [1]
|
[N]BWZ' [2]
|
┌─────────────────────┐
RBN' [3]   N[..] [4]   207 AD
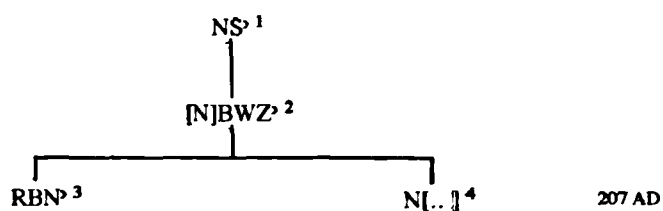
Nabûzâ offered an altar to the Anonymous God for his life and the life of his two children Rabbanê and N[...]. The broken name could be restored as N[Š'] like his grandfather's name.

446. The Nešâ family

NŠ' [1]
|
YMLKW [2]
|
ZBD'T' [3]   † 150-200 AD
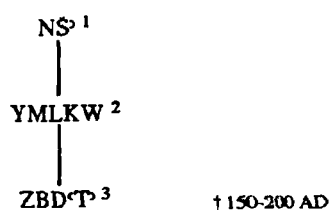
The sculpture of Kabده'oleh is kept at the Musée du Cinquantenaire of Brussels.

447. The Nafrai family

NPRY [1]
|
MQYMW [2]
|
YWLYS 'WRLYS YRHBWL' [3]   226 AD
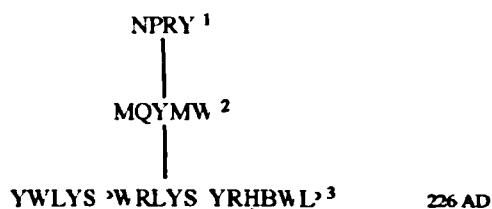
The family acquired an exedra in an hypogeum of the SW necropolis, from the two brothers J.A. Salman and J.A. Saknai. The name NPRY is attested in Safaitic, see *ICPANI* 596.

448. The Nafrai family

NPRY [1]

|

SM'WN [2]

|

SLMN [3]

The stele is dedicated by Solmon to the tutelar gods Solmon and ꜣRꜥyꜥ.

449. The Nûr'ateh family

NWR'TH [1]

|

TYBWL [2]

|

GDY' [3]

The name GDY' could be a hypocoristicon either of GDYBWL or of GDY'T.

450. The Nûrbel family

[NWR]BL [1]

|

[MQY]MW [2]

|

F['JTY [3]   † 150-200 AD

The bust of 'Attai is kept at the National museum of Istanbul.

451. The Nûrbel family

NWRBL [1]

|

LSMS [2]

|

NWRBL [3]   † 150-200 AD
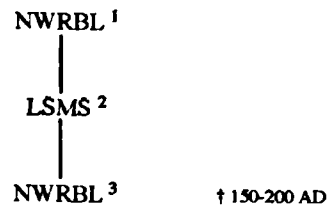
The stele portrays a man and two children on both sides.

452. The Nûrbel family

NWRBL [1]

|

YRḤBWLʾ [2]

|

ḤBYBY R[BP [3]   † 150-200 AD
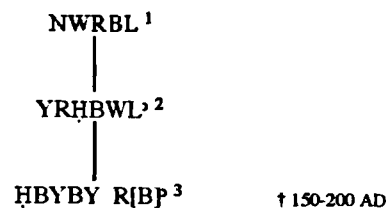
The Latin transcription of ḤBYBY is HABIBI (see CIS 3905).

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

NWRBL [1]

|

MQY [2]

|

F ḤBYBTʾ [3]
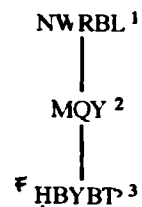
This bust comes from the exedra D of the hypogeum of Sasan.

454. The Qaḥmâ family

QHMᵓ ¹
|
BWLHᵓ ²
|
YRḤY ³

Yarḥaı 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 QHMᵓ, attested here for the first time, finds parallels in Nabataean, QHMW, *PNNR* 57 no.1016 and Safaıtic, QHM, *ICPANI* 477.

455. The Qašṭâ family

QSṬᵓ ¹
|
SLMN ²
|
TYMRṢW ³

This family is attested in *RTP* 94.

456. The Qašṭâ family

QSṬᵓ ¹
|
BWRPᵓ ²
|
ᶜGYLW ³

The Qašṭâ family is known from tessera *RTP* 60.

457. The Rabbel family

RB'L [1]

NS' [2]

F'MTH' [3]   DYNYS [4]
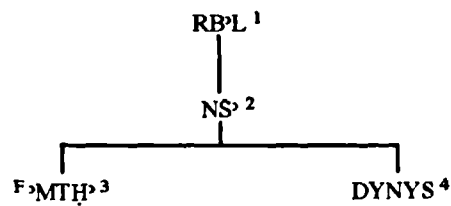
The stele was originally a double bust of a brother and his sister. The only portrait of Dionysios is left.

458. The Rabbel family

RB'L [1]

'D' [2]

'ZYZW [3]   178 AD
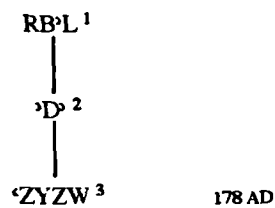
'Azîzû bought from a woman, Salmat daughter of Sohaimû, son of Sohaimû, a portion of her property (see below no.481).

459. The Rabûtî family

RBWTY [1]

RMY [2]

S['ID' [3]   † 50-150 AD
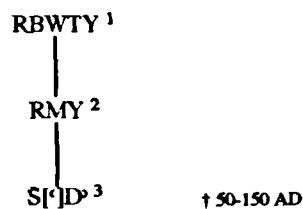
The name RBWTY lies unexplained and no parallels can be found.

460. The Rafael family: from the hypogeum of LiŠamŠ, SW

```
              RP'L ¹
                │
              RMY ²
       ┌────────┼────────┐
    LŠMS ³   WHBLT ⁴    FN'M ⁵
```
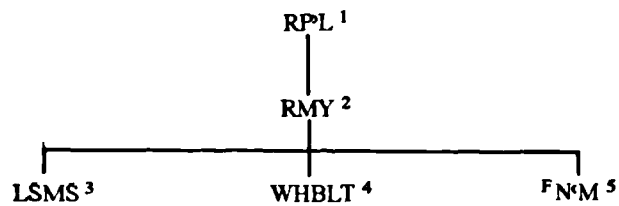
The stele representing LiŠamŠ was found in the hypogeum of LiŠamŠ and it belongs to the 1st sculptural group of Ingholt's classification that corresponds to 50 -150 AD.

461. The Rafanû family

```
   RPNW ¹
     │
   MLKW ²
     │
   WHBLT ³
```
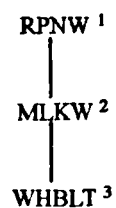
Milik, p. 279 prefers the reading RPBWL to RPNW.

462. The Ribabat family

```
   RBBT ¹
     │
   'GYLW ²
     │
   TYMW ³     34 AD
```
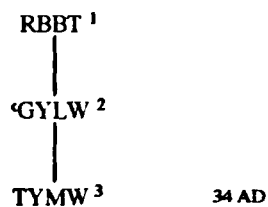
Taimû was a member of the thiasos of the gods 'Aghibôl and Malakbel to whom he and eight more thiasists offered an altar. The name RBBT is attested in Thamudic, *ICPANI* 264. The name Ribâba is attested in *CIK* 486.2.

463. The Rôʿî family

RWʿY [1]

|

BRʿTH [2]

|

ᶠHDY[RT] [3]

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

464. The Sokayyî family

SKYY[1]

|

ʿGYLW [2]

|

YRḤY [3]   251 AD

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

465. The Sabîḥî family

ṢBYḤY [1]

|

YRḤY [2]

|

ʿGYLW [3]

Cantineau, *Inv VIII*, 94, reads the inscription [ʿ]GYLW BR YRḤY BR ḤRY ḤY[RN]. He states that actually there is not space for the last two letters of the name Hairan. We propose a new reading for the last name: [ʿ]GYLW BR YRḤY BR ṢBYḤY. The Ṣ and Ḥ in Palmyrene are very similar and the R of ḤRY is half affaced. Furthermore, the name SBḤ and its variants are extremely popular in Safaitic, see *ICPANI* 365, 367 and Arabic Ṣabîḥ 'beautiful'.

466. The Sa'â family

$$S\langle\rangle 1$$
$$|$$
$${}^{\circ}T^cQB\ 2$$
$$|$$
$$S\langle\rangle 3 \qquad 272\ AD$$
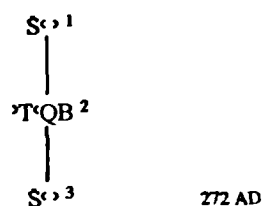
Sa'â[3] was in charge of the altar and custodian of the temple of Bel.

467. The Sa'ad family

$$S^cD\ 1$$
$$|$$
$$QML^{\circ}\ 2$$
$$|$$
$$BGSW\ 3 \qquad 174\ AD$$
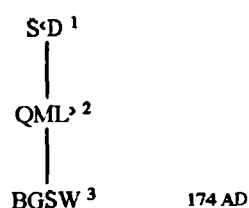
This inscription comes from Wadi es-Sinhen in North Arabaq -

468. The Sa'adai family

$$S^cDY\ 1$$
$$|$$
$$MLKW\ 2$$
$$|$$
$$MLKW\ 3$$
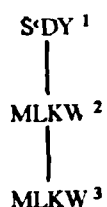
According to its style, the bust of Malkû belongs to the 3rd group of Inghoelt's sculptural classification, that is 150-200 AD.

469. The Safrâ family

SPRᵓ [1]

|

TYMRṢW [2]

|

YRḤY [3]
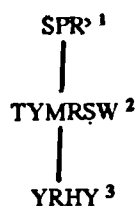
The inscription is engraved on a limestone kept at the Iraq Museum of Baghdad -

470. The Sagâ/Sagâ family

SGᵓ/SGᵓ [1]

|

YRḤY [2]   ᵓMᵓ [3]

| |

† 50-150 AD   F ᵓQMT [4]   MLKW [5]   ~   F BRTᵓ [6]
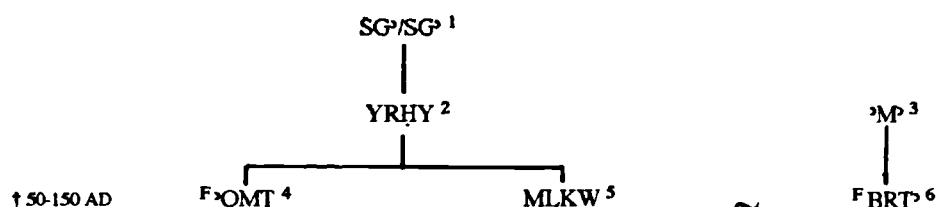
The name SGᵓ is attested in Safaitic, SGᵓ, see *ICPANI* 340 and in Nabataean, SGY, *PNNR* 62 no.1105. The Greek transcription is Sagou, Sageios, Sagos and Sagios, see *Wuthnow* 100, 173. We know from *Inv XI*, 50 the variant spelling SGᵓ, as it happens for other names like NSᵓ/NS ᵓ, SRYKW/ SRYKW, ŠKYY/SKYY. 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 ᵓtt '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 Sagâ of *CIS* 4574 with our Sagâ.

471. The Sagrai family

SGRY [1]

|

NWRBL [2]

|

YRḤY [3]   114 AD
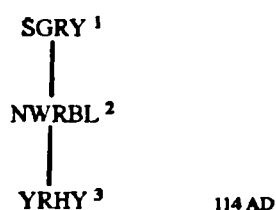
Yarḥai was a treasurer, in 114 AD, when the city offered a monumental altar to the Anonymous God. With him there are three more treasurers: Zebîdâ of the Maŝikû family; Moqîmû of the Gamlâ family and ʿAnanû of the ʿAnanû family (see above nos. 196, 176 and 39).

472. The Sagrai family

SGRY [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

FTMH [3]

The noune SGRY is derived by stock, PNPI 113 from Syriac SEGARA ' pistachio-nut '.

473. The Sahrâ family

SHR' [1]

|

HYRN [2]

|

Z'QW [3]   147 AD

The inscription comes from Kheurbet Abu Duhur from the Palmyrene.

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

SLMN [1]

|

'GYLW [2]

|

YWLY(S) 'WRLY(S) MLKW [3]   239 AD

Julius Aurelius Malkû, together with Mu'ainâ daughter of Bônnê, son of Bôlhâ, 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. 33ţ).

475. The Salman Marcellus family

```
              SLMN alias MRQL' [1]
                      |
        ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
    QLST' [2]                   NRQ(Y)S [3]
        |
    TYM' [4]
```
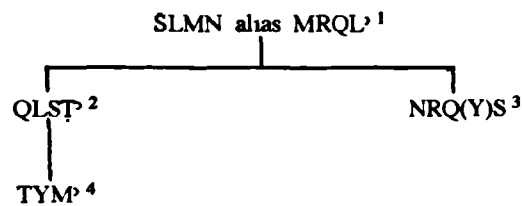
Salman bears a typical Palmyrene name followed by another name that, in this case, is the Latin Marcellus. His two sons bear two Greek names: Kallistos and Narqaios. His grandchild has again a Semitic name, Taimê. We know another case where the second name is simply introduced by the relative particle *dy* instead of the whole formula *dy mtqrh* 'called', see *CIS* 4357.

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

```
    SLMLT [1]
        |
    YD'W [2]
        |
    SLMLT [3]
```

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

477. The Salmê family
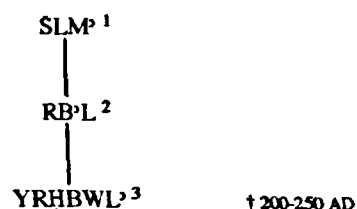
```
    SLM' [1]
        |
    RB'L [2]
        |
    YRHBWL' [3]        † 200-250 AD
```

The sculpture of Yarhibôlê is kept at the British Museum
of London.

478. The Salmê family

SLMᵖ [1]

|

YDYʿBL [2]

|

DYNYS [3]

This family is attested in teraue RIP 250.

479. The Samûel family

[SMWᵖL] [1]

|

[SMWᵖL] [2]

|

[SMWᵖL] [3]

The only Greek version of this text is preserved. The restoration of the name Samûel 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 Julii Aurelii whose names are unfortunately lost.

480. The Simʿôn family

SMʿ[WN] [1]

|

[Y]RHY [2]

┌────────────┴────────────┐

SMʿWN [3]   MZBNᵖ [4]

Simʿôn offered an altar to the gods ʿAglibôl and Malakbel and Mezzabbanâ offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

481. The Sohaimû family

SHYMW [1]

|

SHYMW [2]

|

F SLMT [3]   178 AD

Salmat transferred portion of her burial rights to ʿAzîzû son of ʿAddâ, 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 Soraikî family: from the hypogeum of Salamallat, VT

SRYKY [1]

|

ʿGʾ [2]

|

F ʿTʾM [3]   † 150-200 AD

The stele portrays ʿAteʿom with a child on her arms –

483. The Taibbôl family

TYBWL [1]

|

RPBWL [2]

|

ḤYRʾ [3]   252/253 AD

The text is written in cursive script amply attested in the 3rd c. AD.

484. The Taibbôl family

```
                    TYBWL ¹
        ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
      ʿGʾ ²                        YRḤBWLʾ ³
        │                              │
      FʿTY ⁴              ~  ──────────┘
```
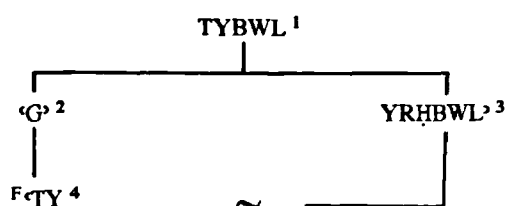
ʿAttai is married to her paternal uncle according to a well attested custom, see above families no. 10 and 63.

485. The Taibbôl family

```
        TYBWL ¹
          │
       [T]YBWL ²
          │
        TYBWL ³          252/253 AD
```
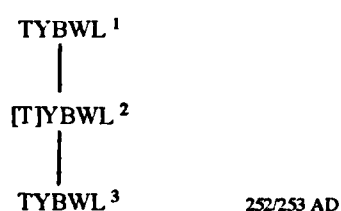
The name Taibbôl is common and his family cannot safely be attached to others.

486. The Taimʿâ family

```
        TYMʿʾ ¹
          │
       TYMRṢW ²
          │
        MQYMW ³
```
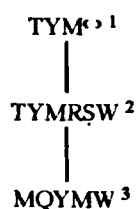
The sculpture of Moqimu is kept at the Syrian Protestant Museum of Beirut.

487. The Taim'amad family

TYM'MD [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

MLKW [3]   34 AD

Malkû, member of the thiasos of the 'holy garden', made a dedication to the gods 'Aglibôl and Malakbel together with eight more thiasists.

488. The Taimarsû family

TYMRSW [1]

|

ḤYRN [2]

|

F B'YT [3]

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 misterious 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 Taimarsû family

TYMRSW [1]

|

Y'QWB [2]

|

KYLY [3]   231 AD

Kîlî 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 Taimarṣû family

TYMR[ṢW][1]

|

ʿLYBʿL[2]

|

[M]QYMW[3]

This is most probably a fragment of a funerary bust.

491. The Taimarṣû family

T[YMRṢW][1]

|

WHBLT[2]

|

TYMRṢW[3]   229 AD

Taimarṣû[3] 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 Taimarṣû family

[T]YMRSW[1]

|

[ʾ]BGR[2]

|

F[BʿL]TGʾ[3]   † 200-250 AD

An Abgar son of Taimarṣû 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

```
                    TYMP ¹
                      │
                   WHBLT ²
                      │
         ┌────────────┴────────────┐
     TYMH⁵ ³                      PLNS ⁴
```
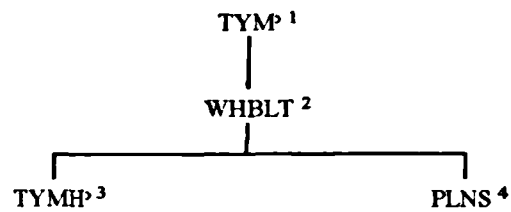
The two brothers, Taimhâ and Philinos, are represented as two children. They must have died at a very young age. According to Ingholt's classification, the stele belongs to the 1st group of Palmyrene sculptures, that is 50-150 AD.

494. The Taimê family

```
                    TYMP ¹
         ┌────────────┴────────────┐
       ML ²                    ᶠMZBT⁵ ³
         │
      TYMP ⁴
```
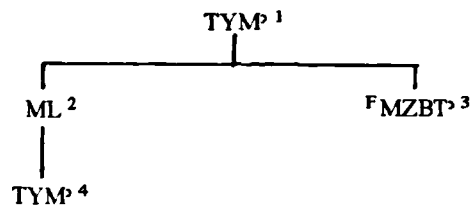
The bust of NZBT⁵ can be dated, according to its sculptural style, to the 2nd c. AD.

495. The Taimê family

```
                   [TYMP] ¹
                      │
                   [YRHY] ²
                      │
                  BL[SWR] ³        157 158 AD
```
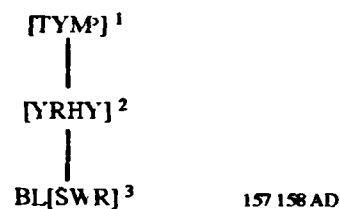
Belšûr honoured M.U. Yarhai, the well known Palmyrene chief of caravans.

496. The Taimê family

TYMᵖ ¹
|
MLᵖ ²
|
SGNᵖ ³   † 200-250 AD
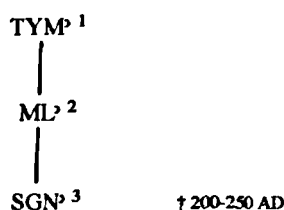
The sculpture is Kept at the Museum of Natural History and Art of Pittsfield.

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

TYMᵖ ¹
|
LSMS ²   ~   ᶠ X ³   ~   YDYᶜBL ⁴
| |
181 - 188 AD   LSMS ⁵   ᵖMDY ⁶   186 AD
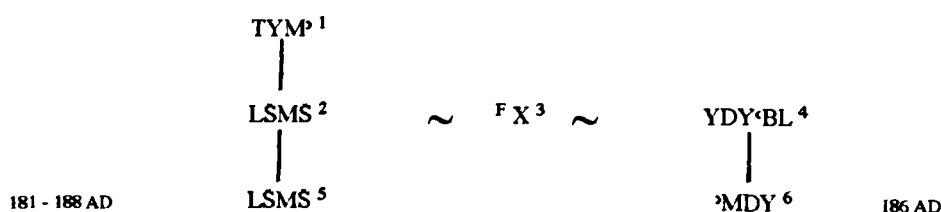
The history of the hypogeum of Lišamš starts around the year 181 AD, with the first cession text recorded when Lišamš gave in cession one exedra and six niches to Sirai son of Zabdaᶜateh, son of ᶜA tᶜaqab. *(see the Anad family no. 4?)* Three more followed the first and many graffiti commemorated people 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 Bônnê. 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

TYMNᵖ ¹
|
TMᵖ ²
|
Y[D]Yᶜ[BL] ³
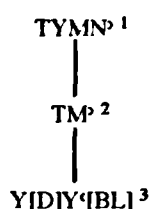
The stele, attesting this family, shows a dark on the background.

499. The Tawrî family

TWRY [1]

|

TYBWL [2]

|

FʾMBY [3]   † 50-150 AD

The bust of ʾMBY is Kept at the Museum of Natural History and Art of Pittsfield.

500. The Theodôros family

TYDWRʾ [1]

|

MQWLʾ [2]

|

SLWQ[ʾ] [3]

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

501. The Timaios family

ṬM[YS] [1]

|

MQYM[W] [2]

|

ZBDLH [3]   123 AD

Zabdi â 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

WHBY [1]
|
X [2]
|
M'N [3]   † 150-200 AD
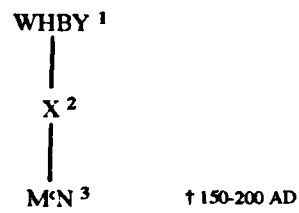
Ma'an is portrayed like a symposiarch.

503. The Wahballat family

WHBLT [1]
|
YMLKW [2]
|
WHBLT [3]   MLKW [4]   YRHY [5]
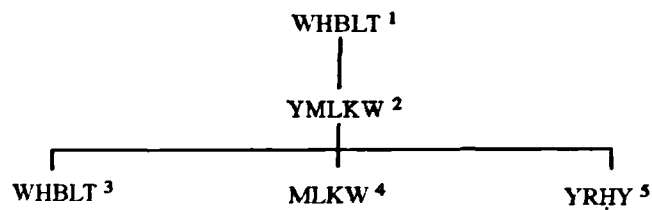
The bust of the three brothers can be dated, according to its style, to 50-150 AD.

504. The Wahballat family

WHBLT [1]
|
SLMLT [2]
|
M'[NY] [3]   122/123 AD
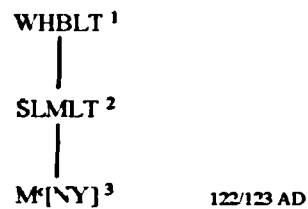
Ma'anai was honoured by the Komarê tribe and the gods 'Aglibôl and Malakbel.

505. The Walî family

WLY [1]

|

ML' [2]

|

ZBD' [3]

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

506. The Wartan family

WRTN [1]

|

M'N [2]

|

SM'WN [3]

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

507. The Yada'û family

YD'W [1]

|

['G]YLW [2]

|

YD'W [3]

Yada'û offered an altar to the Anonymous God. The date is lost.

508. The Yakîn family: from the hypogeum of Zabda'ateh, SW

YKYN [1]

|

ḤYRN [2]

|

ZBD'TH [3]   131 AD
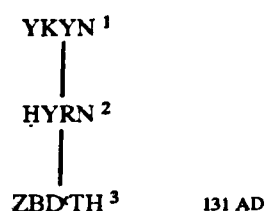
Zabda'ateh, probably the founder of this tomb, sold in 131 AD a portion of the hypogeum to Bar'ateh son of Marcus. No foundation text nor other dated inscriptions were found. The name YKYN appears only in this family. We find *IA-KI-NI* among the Assyrian names, see *APN* 91 and in Hebrew YKYN, *IPN* 28, 202. The root is *kw/yn* 'to be' in the *yqtl* form. The name Yakîn is the same as Neo-Assyrian and Neo- and Late-Babylonian *IA-KI-NI/NU*, see *PIAP* 36 and 134.

509. The Yamlê family

YML' [1]

|

YRḤY [2]

|

YML' [3]   † 150-200 AD

The name Yamlê represents a shortened form of YRḤLKW.

510. The Yamlê family

YML' [1]

|

TYM' [2]

|

┌───────────────┴───────────────┐

YML' [3]   ḤYRN [4]   ca. 140 AD
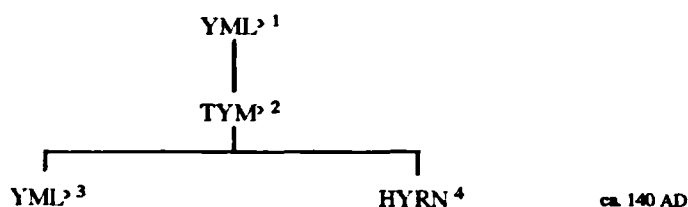
Yamlê [3] and his brother Ḥairan offered four columns to Baalshamîn and Durahlôn in the temple of Baalshamîn. The onomastics would suggest to see in this family and in the Yamlê family that belongs to the Palmyrene priesthood, the same group (see above no.221).

511. The Yamlikû family

```
          YMLKW 1
             |
          ʿGYLW 2
             |
          LSMS 3         † 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
             |
          MŠKW 2
             |
          KHYLW 3
```

The Greek transcription of MŠKW, ΠΑSECHOS, can be found in WUTHNOW, 74.

513. The Yarḥai family

```
          ᴵRHY 1
             |
          SKY 2
             |
          LSMS 3
```

The inscription comes from Tahun el Marak from the Palmyrene.

514. The Yarḥai family

```
          YRḤY ¹
            |
         YDYʿBL ²
            |
       ᶠDWMNYNᵌ ³        220/221 AD
```

Domnina offered an altar to the Anonyous God.

515. The Yarḥai family

```
          YRḤY ¹
            |
        YRḤBWLᵌ ²
            |
         SBYNS ³
```

Sabinus made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

516. The Yarḥai family

```
          YRḤY ¹
            |
         ʿGYLW ²
            |
         YRḤY ³         1[78]AD
```

The date of this inscription is broken and it could be restored either 47[.] or 43[.] Seleucid era.

517. The Yarhai Edipus family

```
                                        SWYRᵓ ¹
                                          |
                                          |
YRHY ᵓDPWS ²                            BLHZY ³
     |                                    |
     |                                    |
  SWYRᵓ ⁴            ~                  ᶠŠLWM ⁵        † before 169/170 AD
```
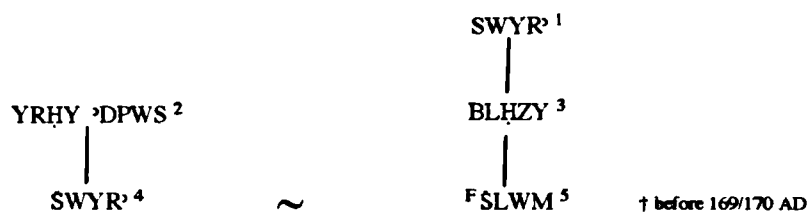
The name Sewîrâ comes up again in the Sewîrâ family (see above no.60) but we do not dispose of sufficient epigraphical evidence to think they belong to the same family group. The variant spelling SWYRᵓ appears also in A. Bounni, *Mélanges Michalowski*, 1966, p. 316 and three are parallel cases like SRYKW/SRYKW or ᶜSTWRGᵓ/ᶜSTWRGᵓ. Yarhai 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. Sewîrâ erected a statue in honour of his wife who died before 169/170 AD.

518. The Yarhai family

```
  YRHY ¹
     |
     |
  YRHY ²
     |
     |
 ᶠ BTY ³        † ca. 250 AD
```
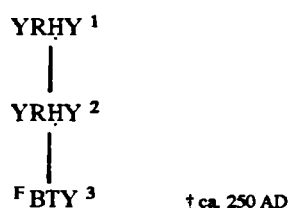
In *CIS* 4384 we found another Battai daughter of Yarhai. From an iconographic point of view, they seem to be two well different people.

519. The Yarhai family

```
  YRHY ¹
     |
     |
 ᶠ HNᵓ ²
     |
     |
  HLPTᵓ ³
```

Do they belong to the Halaftâ family?(cf. above no.109).

520. The Yarhai family

YRHY [1]

|

ŚRYKW [2]

|

QYP° [3]   † 98 AD
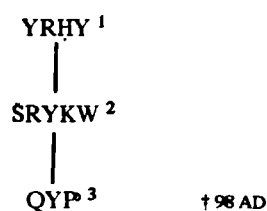
The name QYP° was read QWP° by F. Safar (*Sumer* 20 (1964) 15-17) but on pl. I clearly a *yod* is shown. In Nabataean we find QYPW, see *PNNR* 58 no.1030.

521. The Yarhai family

YRHY [1]

|

°°YLMY [2]

|

°YT° [3]   † 50-150 AD
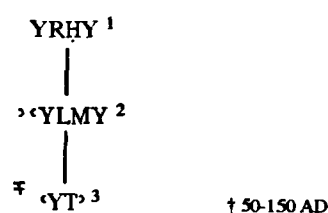
The name °yt° is only attested in this family.

522. The Yarhai family: from the hypogeum of Julius Aurelius Malê, SW

YRHY [1]

|

YWLYS °WRLYS MQY [2]

|

215-237 AD   YWLYS °WRLYS HYRN [3]   YWLYS °WRLYS °B° [4]   215 AD
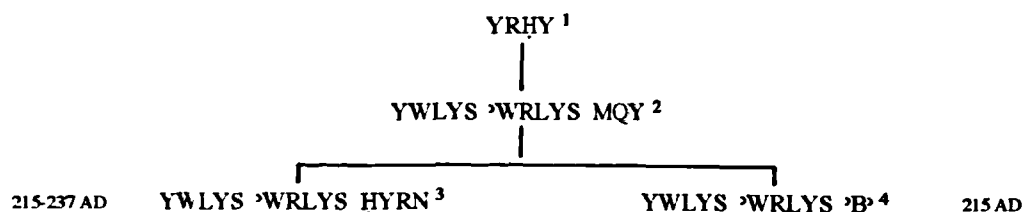
In 215 AD, J.A. Hairan and J.A. Abbâ bought an exedra in the hypogeum of J.A. Malê, from J.A. Malê who is said to be their relative. It is difficult to understand what kind of kinship bound these people. In 273 AD, J.A. Hairan resold part of his property to J.A. As[...] son of Honainâ, son of Sim°ôn and part to J.A. Halaftâ son of Hermes Marcus, seen already buying niches from J.A. Malê in 235 AD. Again in 237 AD, J.A. Hairan gave away two more niches to A. Sammai, a woman, for herself and her offspring.

523. The Yarhibôlâ family: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

YRHBWL' [1]

|

'BD'STWR [2]

|

F TM' [3]   279 AD
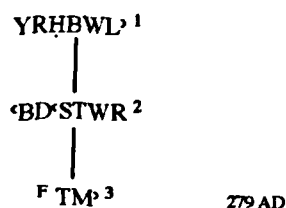
Tammâ sold five niches to Abgar son of Taimê, son of 'Anan. (see above no. 334) We do not know how she acquired right of property in the Southern chamber of this hypogeum. This represents the last transaction in the tomb. The year is 279 AD. From this text we learn that women also could conduct cessions as well as men.

524. The Yarhibôlâ family

YRHBWL' [1]

|

'GYLW [2]

|

WHBLT [3]
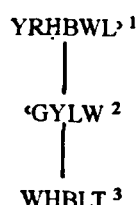
The inscription is on a fragment that was part of a funerary bust.

525. The Yarhibôlâ family

YRHBWL' [1]

┌─────────────────────┴─────────────────────┐

F TM' [2]   SKBL [3]

|

YRHBWL' [4]
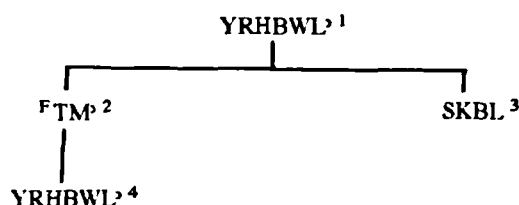
This is a relief with a double bust representing two men, SKBL and his nephew Yar hibôlâ. The name SKBL has been previously read in many different ways: [S]B[N'] (*CIS* 4535); SBBW (*PNPI* 40 and 101); MKBL (E. Cussini, *Syria* 69 (1992) 423-424, fig 1). The name SKBL is therefore attested for the first 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 Š by Šor S (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.

796

526. The Yarḥibôlâ family

YRḤBWL' [1]
|
NS' [2]
|
ḤLPWN' [3]   † 50-150 AD

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

527. The Yarḥibôlâ family

YRḤBWL' [1]
|
'GYLW [2]
|
ᶠRᶜT' [3]

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

528. The Yedîʿbel family

YDY'BL [1]
|
ZBDBL [2]
|
ZBYD['] [3]   129 AD

Zebîdâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

529. The Yedîbel family

YDY'BL [1]

|

YRHB(W)L' ṬMYS [2]

|

F MR' [3]
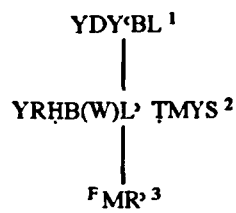
The second name of Yarhibôlâ is a Greek name, Timaios. It usually indicates a family name, the name of an ancestor who probably was of Greek origin.

530. The Yedîbel family

Y[DY'BL] [1]   162 - 152 BC

|

N'B' [2]   142 - 132 BC

|

YDY'[BL] [3]   82 BC   122 - 112 BC

Yedîbel[3] erected a stele to honour the goddess ʿAštarte. The year is 82 BC. If Yedîbel[3] had consacrated the stele around his fourties, he must be born in 122 BC and his grandfather in 162 BC. Thus Yedîbel[1] 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]
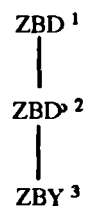
Zabbai offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

532. The Zabdâ family

ZBD' [1]

|

'GYLW [2]

|

MQYMW [3]

The Greek transcription of ZBD' is ZABDAS (see CIS 3947).

533. The Zabdâ family

ZBD' [1]

|

S'DW [2]

|

MLKW [3]

This is a graffito found in the temple of Baalshamîn.

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

ZBD' [1]

|

MQYMW [2]

|

YWLYS 'WRLYS HLPT' [3]   235-237 AD

In 235 AD, J A. Halaftâ bought three niches from J.A. Malê junior in the hypogeum of J.A. Malê and in 237 AD, he bought some more from J.A. Hairan who also had property in the same tomb.

535. The Zabda'ateh family

ZBD'TH [1]

|

ZBDBWL [2]

|

STM [3]

This family is known from tessera *RTP* 407.

536. The Zabda'ateh family

ZBD'TH [1]

|

ML' [2]

|

'BGR [3]

The inscription is kept at the Iraq Museum of Baghdad.

537. The Zabda'ateh family

ZBD'TH [1]

|

[BGR]N [2]

|

[RPBWL] [3]

The Greek transcription of the name BGRN is Bogranês. The name is rare at Palmyra.

538. The Zabda'ateh family

ZBD'TH[1]

|

YDY'BL[2]

|

ZBD'TH[3]   † 200-250 AD
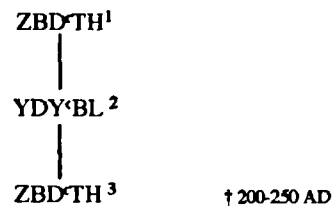
The stele portrays Yedî'bel and his son Zabda'ateh named after his grandfather.

539. The Zabda'ateh family

ZBD'TH[1]

|

F'QMT[2]

|

ZBDBWL[3]
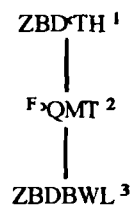
Zabdibôl made the funerary relief for his mother who was dead.

540. The Zabdibel family

ZBDBL[1]

|

LSMS[2]

|

'LYS'[3]
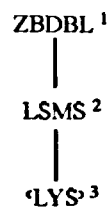
'Alaišâ built and offered a whole portico and six columns in honour of Baalshamîn. His name is engraved on the columns, reminding he was the one who made the offer. The date is lost but the script of these inscriptions is identical to the one of BS 1 A-B which are dated 67 AD.

541. The Zabdibôl family

ZBDBWL [1]

|

BRYKY [2]

|

WHBLT [3]
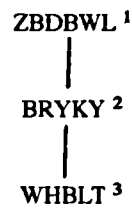
This inscription is engraved on a sarcophagus found in the necropolis.

542. The Zabdibôl - ʿAmrû family

| ZBDBWL [1] | | | ʿMRW [2] |
| BRŠMS [3] | ~ | | F BLHY [4] |

| ZBDBWL [5] | ʿTNWR [6] | MLKW [7] | ʿMRW [8] | YDYʿBL [9] | 134 AD |
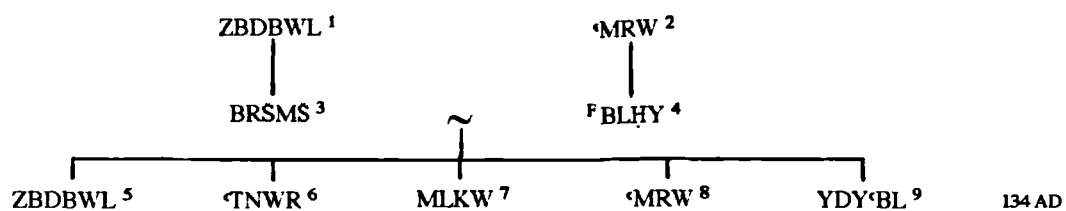
In 134 AD, these five brothers offered a column to the 'great god of Nazala'. They are Palmyrenes who lived in Nazala as the inscription specifies it. It is to be noted that the first-born bears the name of his grandfather from his father's side and the fourth child bears the name of the grandfather from his mother's side.

543. The Zabdibôl family

ZBDBWL [1]

|

ZGWG [2]

|

ZBDBWL [3]
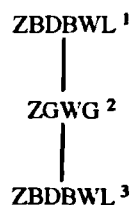
The bust portraying Zabdibôl can be dated to the end of the 1st c. AD or beginning of the 2nd c. AD.

544. The Zagûg family

ZGWG [1]

|

YRḤY [2]

|

F[N]BY [3]

The name NBY lies unexplained.

545. The Zebîdâ family

ZBYDᵓ [1]

|

MLᵓ [2]

|

F MKY [3]   † 150-200 AD

The name Makkai is attested as both masculine and feminine.

546. The Zebîdâ family

ZBYD[ᵓ] [1]

|

F TMᵓ [2]

|

F SBḤY [3]

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

547. The Zebîdâ family

```
ZB[YDˀ] ¹
    |
ZBYDˀ ²
    |
ZB[YDˀ] ³
```

Zebîdâ offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

548. The Zebîdâ family

```
ZBYDˀ ¹
   |
MˁN ²
   |
ˀHLT ³
```

The inscription is a graffito found in the Palmyrene.

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

```
ZBYDˀ ¹
   |
MQYMWˀ ²
   |
ZBYDˀ ³       150 AD
```

This is the only record coming from the tower tomb no. 38 a executed in the Valley of Tombs.

550. The Zebîdâ family

```
ZBYD³ 1
  |
SM'WN 2
  |
HYRN 3        98 AD
```

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

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

```
ZBYD³ 1
  |
YRHY 2
  |
F³HWT 3
```

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

TWO GENERATIONS

552. The Aristides family

MRQWS YWLYWS MKSMWS ꜣRSṬYDS [1]

|
F LWQLꜣ [2]   ~   PRṬNKS [3]
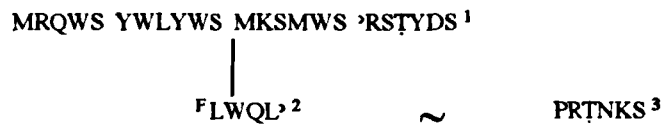
The stele represents Marcus Julius Maximus Aristides, father of Lucilla wife of Pertinax. Aristides bears a Greek name introduced by three Roman names as well as his daughter and son-in-law have Roman names. He was a *colonus* of Beirut.

553. The Eutykês family

ꜣWṬKꜣ [1]

YWLYS ꜣWRLYS TYMꜣ [2]   YWLYS ꜣWRLYS LŠMŠ [3]   240 AD
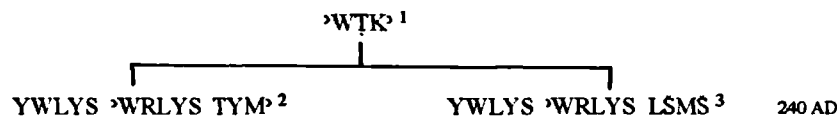
The cession text *RSP* 163 is engraved on a lintel found reused in the Camp of Diocletian. In the same lintel two names and the date of foundation of an hypogeum are also left. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know the original location of the tomb. A person, whose name is lost, son of Salman, son of Taimhâ, built a 'house of eternity'. The date is 92/93 AD. Almost half and a century later, a certain Julia Aurelia Sullâ transferred the exedra on the right when you enter to J.A. Taimᴇ̂ and J.A. Lišamš, 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 Baršamš family

BRŠMŠ [1]   ~   MRYM [2]

|
ꜣDYNT [3]   226-227 AD

Baršamš consacrated an altar to the Anonymous God together with Odainat, his son and Mariam his wife, of Jewish origin.

555. The Bel'aqab family

BL'QB [1]

RBT [2]   ~   F MQY [3]   † 200-250 AD

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

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

BLSWRY [1]   ~   F SYG' [2]

F 'QM' [3]
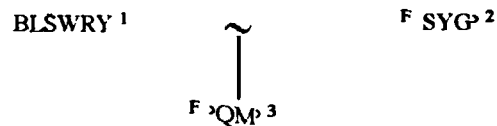
This bust comes from the exedra E of the hypogeum of Sasan.

557. The Bôlai family

BWLY [1]

'LHBL [2]   RB'L [3]   MHRW [4]   194 AD
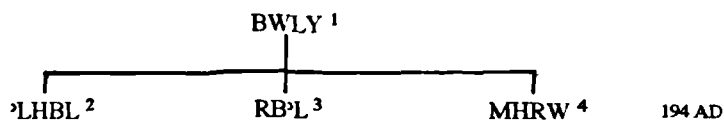
The three brothers made a dedication to Ma'anû, the good and bountiful god.

558. The Bônnê family

BWN' [1]

YRHY [2]   F M'YNT [3]
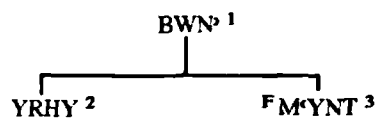
It is the nurse or foster-mother of the two brothers who made the stele for them.

559. The Bôrrefâ family of the ƧЄRЧIΛ tribe

BWRPᵓ [1]
|
GᵓYS [LQN]YS PLWYNWS [MLKW] [2]

C. Licinius Flavianus Malkû 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, Zebîdâ, ʿAbdai and ʿA bdastôr, sons of Nešâ ʿA tʿaqab. The authors of *RTP* identify this C. Licinius Flavianus Malkû son of Bôrrefâ-Burrus with LQNYS BRS attested in three tesserae which seem to represent a symposiarch.

560. The T. Claudius Felix family

ṬBRYS QLWDYS PLQS [1]   ~   ᶠCLAUDIA HELPIS [2]
                                |
                TI(BERIUS) CLAUDILS ALYPUS [3]

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

561. The Gaddarṣû family

GDRṢW [1]
|
ᶠBTZBYDᵓ [2]   ~   ʿBYDW [3]   230 AD

Batzebîdâ made a dedication to the Anonymous God for her life and the life of her husband ʿObaidû. 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 Yarhai, VT

GRMNᵓ [1]
    |
241 AD   YWLYS ᵓWRLYS ḤỴRN [2]   YWLYS ᵓWRLỴS MLWKᵓ [3]

J.A. Hairan and his brother J.A. Malôkâ sold part of their burial rights to J.A. Theophilos. We do not know how they acquired the property in the hypogeum of Yarhai.   *on the Zebîdâ family, no. 250)*

563. The Ḥaggai family

```
                            HGY ¹
         ┌──────────────────┴──────────────────┐
     [MʿNY]²      YWLYS ʾWRLYS ʾWTKʾ³      [GYS YW]LY[S HRMYS]⁴      237 AD
```
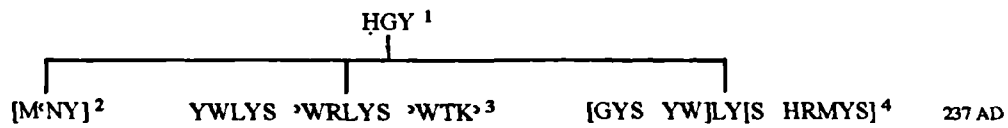
J.A. Eutykês took in partnership his brother Gaius Julius Hermeias in the high part of the tomb. They together built and restored the tomb of their own pocket. The tomb also was made in honour of the sons of another brother, Maʿanai.

564. The Ḥairan family

```
   HYRN ¹            YRHY ²
     │                 │
   SHRW ³    ~      F SLMT ⁴
```

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

565. The Ḥennibel family

```
   HNBL ¹      ~      F HRʾ ²
     ┌─────────┴─────────┐
   MLʾ ³              ʾQYH ⁴
```
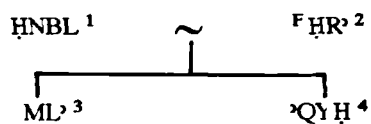
: According to the sculptural style, the bust of Ullabi can be dated to 150-200 AD.

566. The Hermes family

```
        HRMS ¹      ~      F ʾMTBL ²
     ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
   TYMRSW ³      ʾTʿMʿ ⁴      YMLʾ ⁵
```
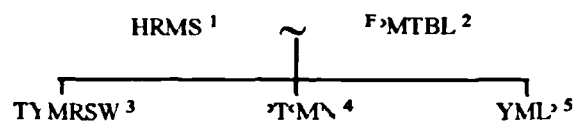
Hermes and his wife Amatbel made a dedication to the Anonymous god for their life and the life of their sons.

567. The Malkû family

```
          ʿGʾ 1                      MLKW 2
           |                          |
207 AD   F MKY 3        ∼            MLʾ 4
```
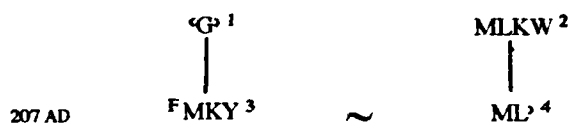
In 207 AD, Makkai, daughter of ʿOggâ, made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

568. The Marcus Ulpius Malkû family of the Sergia tribe

```
                    MARCUS ULPIUS MALKÛ 1
    ┌──────────────────┬─────────────────┬──────────────────────┐
ULPIUS MUCIANUS 2  ULPIUS THEOBULUS 3  ULPIUS APOLINARIUS 4   ULPIUS MARIÔN 5
```
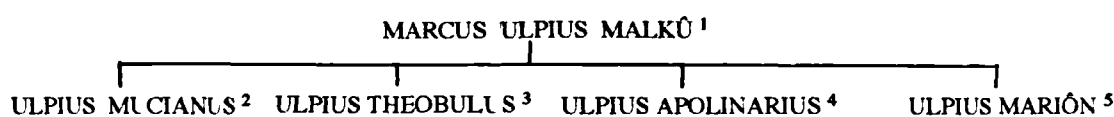
The four sons of M.U. Malkû erected a statue in his honour because he accomplished with distinction the three equestrian militiae. He is attested in another text where he honoured his friend M. Acilius Wahballat (*Inv X*, 108) who was a tribunus. It is noteworthy that all the people who belonged to the Sergia tribe distinguished themselves in military matters that probably gained them the privilege of the Roman citizenship.

569. The Moqîmû family

```
        HYRN 1                    MQY[MW] 2
          |                          |
        F TY[Mʾ] 3       ∼        ZBYD[ʾ] 4
```

570. The Acilius Moqîmû family of the Sergia tribe

```
              ACILIUS MQYMW 1
                    |
              M ACILIUS WHBLT 2
```
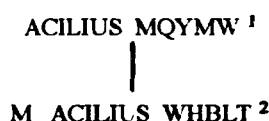
The inscriptions *Inv X*, 108-109 are in Greek and undated. The name Wahballat is transcribed by the Greek Athenodôros (see *CIS* 3971). There is no doubt that both, father and son, are Palmyrenes as the Semitic names show. M.A. Wahballat was first tribunus of the Cohors I Ulpia Petraeorum (stationed in Syria) and then of the Legio X Fretensis (stationed in Palestina). 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. Yarhai (*Inv X*, 128); C. Licinius Flavianus Malkû (*Inv X*, 130); M.U. Elahbel (Bounni-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. Seyrig (*Syria* 2 (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 troups where Palmyrenes archers were very numerous in the equestrian rank.

571. The Nabûmâ family: from the hypogeum of Yarḥai, VT

[NB]WMᵖ 1

F[ᵖ]QMᵖ 2   [N]YNY 3
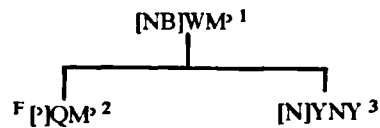
The name [ᵖ]yny lies unexplained.

572. The RZYṢYḤ family

RZYṢYḤ 1

FᵖNᵖ 2   ~   GDYᵖ 3   † 150 AD

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

573. The Saᶜad family

ᵖSD 1   SᶜD 2

F SLMT 3   ~   LSMS 4

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 Saḥrâ family

SHRᵖ 1

FᶜTY 2   FSBHY 3   23 AD
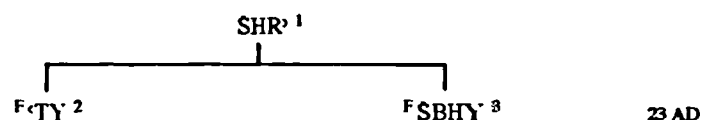
Two sisters, ᶜAttai and Saṯhai, together with another woman, ᶜAttâ daughter of Perdeš, offered two columns to Baalshamîn. The year is 23 AD and it represents the oldest inscription of the temple of Baalshamîn.

575. The Samšigeram family

SMSGRM [1]   ~   F SLMT [2]

F SLMT [3]   ḤYRN [4]   † 184 AD
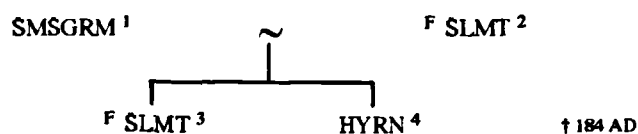
The funerary stele portrays only Salmat mother and Salmat daughter, a little girl.

576. The Taimê family

TYM' [1]   MLKW [2]

BWS' [3] ~ F SLM' [4]   † 50-150 AD

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

577. The Tammâ family

FTM' [1]

MLKW [2]   MQYMW [3]
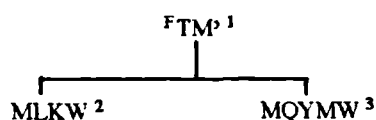
Matronymy is normally used in the case of small children.

578. The Taimarṣû family

TYMRSW [1]

F MRTY [2]   F SGL [3]   † (2)15 AD
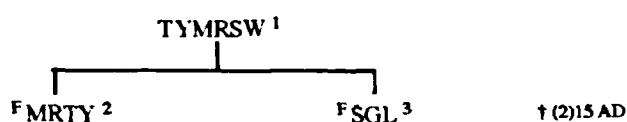
The stele portraying the two sisters comes from Antioch on the Orontes.

579. The Yarḥai family

'GYLW [1]   YRḤY [2]

F'QM' [3]   ~   YDY'BL [4]   † 50-150 AD

The bust of Aqmê is kept at the National Museum of Istanbul

580. The Yedi'bel family

YDY'BL [1]

'RW[N']? [2]   F'TD R[N] [3]   † 130-170 AD
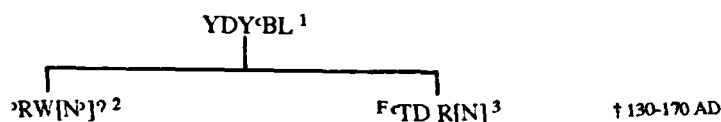
The stele of 'RW[N']? and 'TD/R[N] is kept at the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienne.

581. The Zabdibôl family

ZBDBWL [1]

F'LYT [2]   ~   TYMY [3]

The stele represents 'Aliyat and her husband Taimai 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 Zabdibôl but it is difficult to say if they are the same person or not.

FREEDMEN AND FREEDWOMEN

582. The freedman Abûhan

ʾBWHN [1]   freedman of   ʾDY [2]

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

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

BWNʾ [1]
|
HYRN [3]
|
ʾGTPWS [2]
|
YWLYS ʾWRLYS ʾGRPʾ [4]   freedman of   HLYDWRS YRHBWLʾ [5]   213 214 AD

(*see above no. 62*)

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. ʿOgeilû who also had property in the same chamber. Being that their niches were contiguous, some sort of agreement must have raised between the two. J.A. ʿOgeilû 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

X
|
┌──────────┐
YRHY [4]   ʾHYʾ [2]   freedman of   KHYL[W] [3]

The freedman made a memorial to Bel, Yarhibôl, ʿAglibôl and Arsû.

814

585. The freedwoman Immedabû: from the hypogeum of ʿAbdaʿastôr, SW

RPʾL [1]
|
|
BWNʾ [2]   foster mother of Fʾ MDBW [3]   freedwoman of LWQYS ʾWRLYS BRSMYʾ [4]   239 AD

She sold to J.A. Malkû son of ʿOgeilû, son of Salman and to Muʿaina daughter of Bônnê, son of Bôlḫâ, the side-chamber to the right. The Greek transcription of ʾMDBW can be found at Dura-Europos, [Ἱ]μηδαβους (*Rep. VI*, 171 no.691 B) and Ἐμιδαβους of a woman of Dana of Apamea who died in Rome (cf. H. Seyng, *MUSJ* 37 (1960-61) 269 note 1 where an Ἐμμηδαβουας is attested).

586. The freedman ʿAbdâ

ʿBD(ʾ) [1]   freedman of   Fʾ QMʾ [2]

In this inscription the word for freedman is spelled BR ḤRʾ instead of the more common BR ḤRY.

587. The freedman ʿAbnergal

```
                 X                              YTMʾ [1]
         ┌───────────────┐                         |
         |               |                         |
      MHRDT [2]      ʿBNRGL [3]    freedman of    MQY [4]           160 AD
```

Meherdat and a friend, Gamiliyâ, made a tomb for his brother ʿAbnergal freedman of Maqqai son of Yatimâ. ʿAbnergal and his brother were foreigners at Palmyra as their names may suggest.

588. The freedman ʿAbnergal

```
                                       GLʾ [1]
                                        |
                                        |
                                      ḤYRN [2]
                                        |
                                        |
          ʿBNRGL [3]     freedman of   LSMS [4]
```

ʿAbnergal offered an altar to the Anonymous God.

589. The freedman ʿAbnergal

```
                                            TYMʾ ¹
                                              |
143 AD       ʿBNRGL²        freedman of      ʿNN ³
                                              |
                                            ʿNN ⁴
```
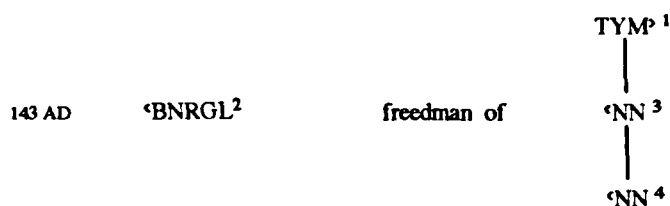
ʿAbnergal made a dedication to the Anonymous God, not for himself but for his master ʿAnan³ and his son ʿAnan⁴. The same happens in *CIS* 3996. There are cases in which the freedmen dedicate inscriptions to their own children (see the hypogeum of ʿAbdʿastôr). If this Taimê is the same of *RTP* 789, then he was a priest. We find in the hypogeum of Malkû, a certain Abgar son of Taimê, son of ʿAnan 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 ʿAnan 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 ʿOgeilû: from the hypogeum of Malkû, SW

```
                                                        ʾSWYT ¹
                                                          |
              ʾPRHT ²                                   MLKW ³
                 |                                        |
214 AD  YWLYS WRLYS ʿGYLW ⁴     freedman of            ZBDBWL ⁵
                 |
              ʾPRHT ⁶
```
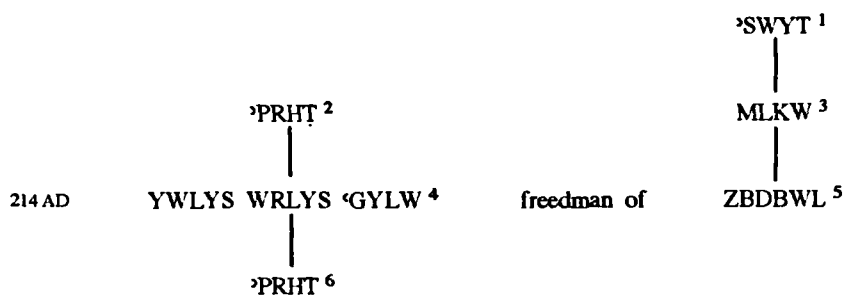
In 214 AD, the descendants of the tomb builder Malkû sold three niches to J.A. ʿOgeilû in the first central chamber. A legal document, dated 214 AD, concerns a disagreement raised between J.A. ʿOgeilû and the freedman J.A. Agrippa, who also had property in the tomb. J.A. ʿOgeilû specifies a restriction 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)

```
                                        SMSGRM ¹
                                           |
            PRN(K) ²       freedman of    LSMS ³          125 AD
```
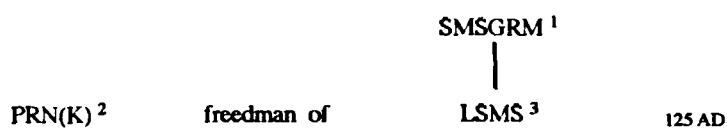
Farna(k) made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

592. The freedman Hermes

```
                                        BRNBW ¹
                                           |
            HRMS ²        freedman of     BRʿTH ³
```
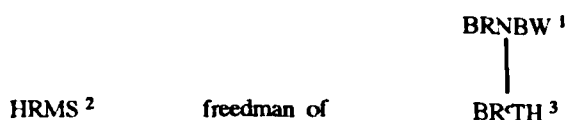
Hermes is portrayed with a double on the background.

593. The freedman Hermes Bassam

WHB' [1]

HRMS BSM [2]   freedman of   MLKW [3]   205 AD

Hermes made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

594. The freedman Julius Aurelius Hermes

'NT[Y]K[S ḤLYPY] [1]

F'WRLY' 'QM' [2]   freedwoman of [YWLY' 'WRLY' TJYM' [3]$_{N}$ YWLYS 'WRLYS HRMS[4] freedman of 'WRL[YS] [5]

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

595. The freedman Hermes: from the hypogeum of Bôlḥâ, SE

X

HRMS [1]   freedman of   MLKW [2]   BWLḤ' [3]

The inscription reads 'image of Hermes, freedman of Malkû and of his brother Bôlḥâ'. One hesitates in interpreting the word 'brother' as referred to Hermes or Malkû. 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, s/m Thus Bôlḥâ is to be considered Malkû's brother.

.

596. The freedman Kilix

QLQ'S [1]   freedman of   QYSR [2]   137 AD

The freedman is attested in the Tax Row of Palmyra (cis 3913)

817

597. The freedwoman Luiâ

HBZY[1]
|
F [L]WY'[2]   freedwoman of   F'QM'[3]   † 200-250 AD

The name HBZY is of Arabic origin, from HABBAX 'baker'.

598. The freedman Ma'anâ

MRQL'[1]
|
M'N'[2]   freedman of   BWRP'[3]   † 200-250 AD

The bust of Me'aoñâ is kept at the American University Museum of Beirut.

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

HLPT'[1]
|
WHBY[2]
|
NHSTB[3]   freedman of   HNT'[4]   186 AD

In 186 AD, Nûrbel and Aqmat Habbê, 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, Nahaštab and Rauhibel (for the letter see below no. 603).

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

MLKW[1]
|
NRQYS[2]   freedman of   'GYLW[3]   191 AD

(see above no. 323)

In 191 AD, Narqaios bought the whole property of Zabdibôl son of Kaftût, 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'ôn 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

$$\text{BRP}^{\mathfrak{o}\,1}$$
$$|$$

NRQYS [2]   freedman of   ML' [3]   125 AD

Narqaios made a dedication to the Anonymous God.

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

$$\text{ZBYD}^{\mathfrak{o}\,1}$$
$$|$$

RWHBL [2] freedman of ᴾ'MTSLMN [3] freedwoman of ᶠ SGL [4]   186 AD
|

YWLYS 'WRLYS ᶜG' [5]   213-249 AD

Rauhibel shared the property of the whole Northern exedra with another freedman, Nahaštab. In 213 AD, his son J.A. ᶜOggâ sold 'the rest of the profane exedra' to a certain ᶜAttetan, 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. ᶜOggâ sold two niches to J.A. Limalkâ and in 249 AD, one niche to Malkû son of Hermes, son of Obaihan *(see above no. 263)*

603. The freedwoman Regina

ᶠ RGYN' [1] freedwoman and wife of BRᶜT' [2]

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

ᶠ SLMT [1] freedwoman of BGDN [2]   † 150-200 AD

The name BGDN is of Persian origin.

605. The freedwoman Segel

F SGL [1] freedwoman of YRḤY [2]   175/176 AD

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

606. The freedwoman Tadaʾal

ʾRQṬWS [1]

M'N[W] [2]

F TDʾL [3]   freedwoman of   BSS [4]

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[1]. 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[2], like *ʾsṭrtgʾ*- στρατηγός [3], *ʾrkwn* - ἄρχων [4], *grmtws*- γραμματεύς [5]. Palmyrene also uses proper Aramaic terms like *rbnwt mrzḥwt* for συμποσιαρχία [6] and *dy rbʿʾ* for τεταρτώνης [7]. Elsewhere, in bilingual texts Palmyrene can diverge from the Greek like in the case of the term οὐξιλλατίοισιν, 'vexillationes' rendered by *lgynyʾ*, 'legions'[8]. Other differences can be found in words concerning the military organisation: *[rb] ʾl ʾ drmdryʾ*, 'chief of the dromedaries' -

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[1] One example can be found in the terms *mtqnn ʾ* (*CIS* 3946) and *pnrtt* (*CIS* 3971) that indicate the title of 'restorer', the first being Aramaic and the second being a borrowing of the Greek επανορθωτής.
[2] Cf. S. Swain, *ZPE* 99 (1993) 160-161.
[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.

ἔπαρχον εἴλης πρώτης [Οὐλπί]ας δρομαδαρίων, 'prefect of the ala I Ulpia dromedariorum'[9].

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[10]. At Palmyra they are the municipal magistrates of the city[11].

Malkû: 137 AD, *CIS* 3913, col. I 3.
Zebîdâ: 137 AD, *CIS* 3913, col. I 3, ʾrkwn (pl. ʾrkwnyʾ) - ἄρχων.
PN: *BS* 34, ʾrkwn.

ARGAPET[12]

This is a Persian title meaning 'governor of the city' and was given, in the times of 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[13].

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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-eminence 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 Maʿziyân 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.

[11] See J. Obermann, *Berytus* 7 (1942) 103.

[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, ʾrgbtʾ - ἀργαπέτην; 265 AD, *CIS*
    3941=*Inv III*, 8, [ʾrg]btʾ - ἀ[ργαπ]έτην; 264 or 267 AD, *CIS* 3940=*Inv III*, 9, ʾrgbtʾ
    - ἀργαπέτην; *CIS* 4105 ter, ʾrgbtʾ.

EXARCHON or CHIEF OF PALMYRA

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

Septimius Odainat: 252 AD, Cantineau, *Syria* 12 (1931) 138 no.17, [rš]ʾ dy tdmwr; 252
    AD, Gawlikowski, *Syria* 62 (1985) 257 no.13=Asʿad Gawlikowski, *AAAS* 36
    (1986) 168 no.10, rs[ʾ] dy tdmwr.
Septimius Hairan: 251 AD, *CIS* 3944=*Inv III*, 16, rš tdmwr - ἔξα[ρχον τε
    Παλμυρη]νων.

DEKAPRÔTOI [15]

They represented a board of municipal officials.

137 AD: *CIS* 3913, col. I 7 and 12, ʿsrtʾ - 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 ὑπατικοί.[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.

[17] On Avidius Cassius see Klebs, *PIR*, I, p. 186-187 no.1165; Bowersock, *Epigrafia*, p. 657, 665 no 13 and
the monographic work, M L. Astarita, *Avidio Cassio* Rome 1983, in particular p. 56 note 156.

Bruttius Praesens: 138 AD, *Inv X*, 114, [ὑ]πατικός[18].

C. Publicius Marcellus: 132 AD, *BS* 45, hgmwnʾ mrn - ὑπατικ[ου] 'our lord governor'. He was *legatus* of Syria in 132 135 AD ca. and *consul suffectus* in 120 AD with T. Rutilio Propinquo[19].

Julius M[...]: 138 AD, *Inv X*, 114, [ὑ]πατικός[20].

Lucius Aelius Caesar: *CIS* 3913, ὑπάτω[ν]. 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, ὑπατικου. He was *legatus Augusti* in 191 AD, in Dacia[21]. On some Roman milestones, Manilius Fuscus appears like governor of the Syria Phoenice[22] 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, hgm[w]nʾ.

Marinus: 137 AD, *CIS* 3913, col. II 2, hygmwnʾ - ἡγεμών[23].

Publius Coelius Balbinus: *CIS* 3913, ὑπάτω[ν]. Consul with L. Aelius Caesar.

Rutilius Crispinus[24]: 242/243 AD, *CIS* 3932=*Inv III*, 22. He is called in the Palmyrene text *hygmwn* ʾ that translates here the Greek ἡγησάμενος but elsewhere the Greek ἡγεμών already met as title of the governor. He was governor of Thracia and *legatus Augusti*[25] in Syria Phoenice.

Septimius Odainat: 257/258 AD, *BS* 52, τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικὸν; 257/258 AD, *Inv XII*, 37=*BS* 52, note 2=Gawlikowski, *Syria* 62 (1985) 255 no.8, [τὸν] λαμπρότατον [ὑπ]ατικὸν; 257/258 AD, Seyrig, *AAS* 13 (1963) 161=Gawlikowski, *Syria* 62 (1985) 254 nos.5-6, τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ὑπατικοῦ; 258 AD, *CIS* 3945=*Inv III*, 17, nhyrʾ hptyqʾ mrn - τὸν λαμ[πρότατον ὑπατικ]ὸν.

Venidius Rufus: 198 AD, Ingholt, Syria 12 (1932) 278-289. His name is found on milestones in 198 AD[26]. 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. Seyrig, *Syria* 18 (1937) 369-378 who proposes to see in Bruttius 1. a friend of Plinius the young or 2. a colleague of Antoninus Pius, consul for the second time in 139 AD and governor of Galatia 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

[20] Cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria* 18 (1937) 371 where he sees in this Julius M... the consul L. Julius Marinus Caecilius Simplex, in charge in 101 or 02 AD and governor of Syria in 108 after Cornelius Palma: Dessau, *PIR*, II, p. 200 no.274; Stein and Petersen, *PIR*, IV, p. 235 no.408 and Bowersock, *Epigrafia*, p 667 no.37.

[21] Dessau, *PIR*, II, p. 327-328 no 106.

[22] M. Dunand, "La voie romaine du Ledjâ" in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants a l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, XIII 2, Paris 1930.

[23] H. Seyrig, *Syria* 22 (1941) 159 argues that in spite of the title ἡγεμών, this of icial is not likely to have been a *procurator* but he must have been a egate. Cf. Bowersock, *Epigrafia*, p. 653 and p 667 no.36 on the possible relation of this Marinus with a L. Julius Marinus 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] *CIL*, III, 205, 6723 and 6725.

[27] His full name is Q. Venidius Rufus Marius Maxim(us) L. Calv nianus, 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 kʾ[28].
 Palmyre VI, 100.
Septimius Herodianus: *Inv III*, 3, [βα]σιλεῖ βασιλέων.
Septimius Wahballat Athenodôros[29]: *CIS* 3971, mlk mlkʾ - βασιλέως.

PROCURATOR [30]

Septimius Worôd: 262 AD, *Inv III*, 10, ʾptrpʾ dwqnrʾ - [κράτιστ]ον ἐπίτροπ[ον
Σεβαστοῦ δ]ουκηνάριον; 262 AD, *CIS* 3938=*Inv III*, 11, ʾptrpʾ dwqnrʾ - κράτιστον
ἐπιτροπον [Σεβ]αστο[υ] δου[κηνάριον]; 264 AD, *Inv III*, 9, ʾptrpʾ dqnrʾ - κράτιστον
ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστου δουκηνάριον; 265 AD, *Inv III*, 8, ʾ[p]t[rpʾ dqnrʾ] - κράτ[ιστον
ἐπίτρο]πον Σεβα[στου δουκ]ηνάριον; 266 AD, *Inv III*, 7, κράτιστον ἐ[πίτροπον]
Σεβαστοῦ δουκην[αριον]; 267 AD, *Inv III*, 6, ʾptrpʾ dqnrʾ - κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον
Σεβαστοῦ δουκηνάριον.

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 Senate[31].

Bônnê: 137 AD, *CIS* 3913, col. I 1, bplhdrwtʾ - προέδρου.
[Zebîdâ]: *Inv X*, 45, προέδρ[ου].
[Malkû]: *Inv X*, 55, προεδρεύσαντα.
[Yarhibôlâ]: *Inv X*, 59, [προ]εδρον[32].

RESTORER[33]

Septimius Odainat: 271 AD, *CIS* 3946=*Inv III*, 19, mtqnnʾ dy mdnhʾ klh, 'restorer of
    the whole East'.
Septimius Wahballat Athenodôros: *CIS* 3971, ʾprtʾ dy mdnhʾ klh.

SATRAP

Yarhai (citizen of Palmyra): 131 AD, *Inv X*, 38, σατρά[π]ην (satrap of Thilouana for
    Meherdate king of Spasinou Charax).

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[28] In Aramaic the plural for 'kings' would be *mlky* ʾ, *mlk* ʾ 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 [σύν]εδρον but in the inscriptions in honour of *synedroi*, 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 *mtqnnʾ* and *ʾprtʾ* 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 *tqn* 'to make straight, to establish' and the second the transcription of the Greek word ἐπανορθωτής

SENATOR

In both instances, the Aramaic is a simple transcription of the Greek terms. This term 's

used in the acceptation of members of the local Senate[34].

M.E. Marcianus Asklêpiadês: 161 AD, *Inv X*, 29, blwṭ - βουλευτὴν 'senator (of
    Antiochia)'.
Aurelius Worôd: 258/259 AD, *CIS* 3937=*Inv III*, 12, bylwṭʾ - βουλε τὴν Παλμυρηνὸν.

This term is used to indicate exclusively members of the Roman Senate.

Septimius Ḥaddûdan: 272 AD, *Inv IX*, 28 and Gaw ikowski, *Syria* 48 (1971) 412-421,
    sqltyqʾ[35].
Septimius Odainat: *CIS* 4202=*Inv VIII*, 55, sqltyqʾ - [συγκλητικός]ʾ[36].
Septimius Ḥairan: 251 AD, *CIS* 3944=*Inv III*, 16, snqltyqʾ - συνκλητικόνʾ[37]

SYNEDROS OR MEMBER OF THE SENATE[38]

Elahbel: 119 AD ca., *Inv X*, 63, bmwtbh.
Hagegû: 112 AD, *Inv X*, 69, σύνεδρον.
Malkû: 119 AD, *Inv X*, 106, bmtbh.
G. Vibius Celer: *Inv IX*, 23, σύνεδρον.
PN: *Inv X*, 57, [σ]ύνεδρον.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

AGENT

Galenus: 174 AD, *Inv X*, 113, prgmṭṭʾ - πραγματευτής, '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 ludorum*. 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 rbᶜ ʾ- τεταρτώνην - manc(ipi) II I
    mer(caturae).

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[34] On the different use of the terms συγκλητικός and βουλευτής see *Nomenclatura*, p. 73. and note 2.
[35] See Bowersock, *Epigrafia*, p. 666 no.24.
[36] Cf Bowersock, *Epigrafia*, p. 666 no 19 and 21
[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. Taxidor, *Semitica* 34 (1984) 63 64.

Lucius Spedius Krisanthus. 58 AD, *CIS* 4235=*Inv VIII*, 57, mks³ 'publicanus'.

M.E. Marcianus Asklêpiadês: 161 AD, *Inv X*, 29, dy rbᶜ ᵎ- τεταρτώνην, 'publicanus of the quarter'. It is a duty of the 25%.

137 AD: *CIS* 3913, col. I 6, mks³ - τελωνουντα.

SECRETARY

It designates the secretary of the Senate and People of Palmyra.

Alexandros: 137 AD, *CIS* 3913, col I 2, grmtws dy bwl³ w dms - γραμματέως βουλης καὶ δήμου[39].

Malê alias Agrippa: 130/131 AD, *CIS* 3959=*BS* 44, grmtws dy trty³ - γραμματέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτερον 'secretary for the second time'.

Taibbôl: 218 AD, *Inv X*, 13, bgrmty³.

Zabdilah: 75/76 AD, *Inv X*, 39, grmtws - γραμματέα and bgrmty³ - γραμματ[έυσα]ντα.

SYNDICS OR DIFENSORES CIVITATIS

They constituted an official body entrusted with the protection of the interests of Palmyra

before the governor of the Syrian province[40].

137 AD: *CIS* 3913, col. I 11, sdqy³ - συνδίκο[υς], 'difensores civitatis'.

TREASURER

ᶜAnanû: 114 AD, *CIS* 3994, bᶜnw št - ἐπὶ ἀργυροταμιων, 'under the quaestorship'.

Moqîmû: 114 AD, *CIS* 3994, bᶜnw st - ἐπὶ ἀργυροταμιῶν.

Yarhai: 114 AD, *CIS* 3994, bᶜnwšt - ἐπὶ ἀργυροταμιων.

Zebîdâ: 114 AD, *CIS* 3994, bᶜnw št - ἐπὶ ἀργυροταμιῶν.

25 AD: *Inv IX*, 12, ³nwš ᶜnwšl³ - οἱ ἀργυροτομίαι, 'treasurers'.

COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

The merchants of Palmyra were very active in Mesopotamia. The f rst 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 Yedîᶜbel

son of ᶜAzîzû, son of Yedîᶜbel 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

Hašaš son of Nesâ[43] and in a text of 81 AD, the capital of the Mesene, Charax is

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[39] Only one text (*CIS* 3913) specif es "secretary of the People and Senate", the other texts mention more simply a 'secretary'.

[40] Cf. J.F. Matthews, *JRS* 74 (1984 175 note 8 and J. Teixidor, *Semitica* 34 (1984) 100 note 251.

[41] *CIS* 3924=*Inv IX*, 6 a.

[42] J. Cantineau, *Syria* 12 (1931) 139 no. 18.

[43] *Inv IX* 11.

mentioned[44]. Another Palmyrene emporium was at Vologaesias where in 08 AD, a certain Aqqaih adorned the sanctuary of Palmyrene gods[45]. Furthermore, an inscription of 131 AD, tel s us that the king of Mesene, Meherdate, had given the admin stration of Thi ouana to the Palmyrene Yarhai son of Nabûzabad with the title of satrap[46]. Yarh bôlâ of the A'abî family, was sent to Susa for an embassy in 138 AD[47]. Also the port of Phorat 'n Characene is ment oned in two inscriptions dated to 140 and 141 AD[48]. Palmyrene tradesmen are also present in Egypt, one group was resident in Coptos and others were attested in Denderah[49].

AGORANOMUS[50]

Julius Aurelius Malkû: *Inv X*, 115, brbn šqwth - ἀγορανομήσαντα.
Septimius Worôd: 266 AD, *Inv III*, 7, ἀγορανομήσαντα.
Jul us Aurelius Zabdilah: 242/243 AD, *CIS* 3932=*Inv III*, 22, rb šwq - ἀγορανομήσαντα.
PN: 193 AD *Inv X*, 85, [ἀ γορανομήσαντα, 'chief of the market'.

ARCHEMPOROS or PRESIDENT OF THE TRADESMEN

Julius Aurel us Salamallat. 257/258 AD, *CIS* 3936=*Inv III*, 13, rb šyrt' - [α]ρχεμπορον.
Septimius Worôd: 266 AD, *CIS* 3942=*Inv III* 7, ἀρχεμπόρων.

TRADESMEN

The tradesmen are always mentioned collectively in the inscriptions and their names are not given.

tgry' - ἔμποροι '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.
88-188 AD: *Inv X*, 19 (Palmyrenes in Spasinou Charax).
131 AD: *Inv X*, 38 (Palmyrenes in Spasinou Charax .
138 AD: *Inv X*, 114 (Palmyrenes in Spasinou Charax).
157 AD: *Inv X*, 87
157 AD: *Inv X*, 96 (from Scythia .
161 AD: *Inv X*, 29 (from Spasinou Charax .
199 AD: *Inv X*, 44
247 AD: *CIS* 3933=*Inv III*, 21 (from Vo ogaesias .

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[44] *Inv X* 40. In Aramaic the city s cal ed *lrk' dymšm* and in Greek Σπασινου Χαραξ
[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 wel -known ch ef 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 šyrʾ '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 šyrʾ or brbnwt šyrʾ - συνοδιάρχος[51]
ʿOgeilû: 199 AD, *Inv X*, 44.
Hagegû: 132 AD, *BS* 45.
Julius Aurelius Nabûmai: *Inv IX*, 30.
Nesâ: 142 AD, *CIS* 3916=*Inv IX*, 14 (same person of *Inv X*, 124).
Nešâ: 150 AD, *Inv X*, 124.
Nešâ: 161 AD, *Inv X*, 29.
Taimarṣû: 193 AD, *CIS* 3948=*Inv III*, 28.
Taimarṣû: 132 AD, *BS* 45.
Yaddai: 157 AD, *Inv X*, 90.
Zabdaʿateh: 155 AD, *CIS* 3928.

RELIGIOUS OFFICES

The personal names attested in the tesserae designate priests, members of the sacerdotal

colleges or thiasos (θίασος '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[52] and at their head there was a great priest

who also had the title of symposiarch[53]. The symposiarchy of the priests of Bel

constituted the top of the 'sacred carrier' at Palmyra because itself was enough to indicate

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[51] Cf A. Bounni, *ET* 15 (1988) 78-79.

[52] *Inv IX* 20; *Tadmorea I*, 3 and 4 and the tesserae, *RTP* 10-29.

[53] For a list of symposiarches, see H. Seyrig *Syria* 14 (1933) 263 and Milik, p. 219-281.

the importance of the dead person. Most probably th s 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 ʿAglibôl and Malakbel, are attested in two inscriptions[54]. The priests of Baalshamîn[55]; the priests of Hertâ and the priests of Sadrafâ and Dûʿanat are also known[56]. 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[57].

Priests at Palmyra are married, in fact they are often portrayed on sarcophagi with their wives seated at the right of the sculpture[58]. They are represented and identified by their modius and they usually appear beardless[59].

ADMINISTRATOR OF THE SPRING EFCA

Bôlai: 162 AD, *RSP* 125 and 126, rb ʿyn ʾl ʾpqʾ - ἐπιμελητὴς αἱρεθεὶς ῎Εφκας[60].
Bôlanâ: *CIS* 3976, bʾpmlwtn trtn 'administrator for the second time'.
Bôlhâ: 205 AD, *RSP* 127, brbnwt ʿynʾ 'under the administration of the Spring'.

ADMINISTRATOR OF THE TEMPLE OF ʿAGLIBÔL AND MALAKBEL

ʿOggâ: 114 AD, *CIS* 3968=*Inv* VI, 6=*RSP* 157, bʾpmltwt 'during the administration'.
Malkû
Nasrai Habbai
Rabbel
Yarhibôlâ

CHIEF OF THE DIVISION FOR DUTY OF PRIESTS[61]

In Palmyrene the term *ʿwntʾ* has the generic meaning of 'dai y duty' and it is synonymous of *ephêmeria* 'division of the sacerdotal college'[62].

[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 bis=*PS* 38, pl. XII 1; H. nghot, *Berytus* 2 (1935) 68, pl. XXVIII 1.

[59] On the iconography of priests and its study see R.A. Stuck , *Syria* 50 (1973) 163-180 and J Starcky, *BMB* 12 (1955) 30.

[60] On the term ἐπιμελητής, see *Nomenclatura*, p. 77 n.2.

[61] In Hebrew, *ʿnah* as well as in Judeo-Aramaic, *ʿnet* ʾhave 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 ʿwnt⸠ dy bl 'chief of the division for duty of the priests of Bel'

Amrai: *RTP* 37.

ʿOggâ: *RTP* 37.

ʿAbd[...]: *RTP* 37.

Moqîmû: *RTP* 37.

rb ʿwnt⸠

Hairan: *RTP* 38.

Satâ: *RTP* 38.

Taibbôl: *RTP* 38.

Yadiʿû: *RTP* 38.

CUSTODIAN

mhdmryn, 'custodians ' (of the temple of Bel)[63].

[m]dmry⸠ or dmry⸠, 'custodians' (of the temple of Baalshamîn)[64].

PRIESTS

Baʿalai: 213 AD, *CIS* 3974 (of the god Arṣû), ⸠pkl⸠ 'priest'[65].

Faṣael: *CIS* 4065, ⸠pkl⸠ (of the stele of the Spring).

Malkû: *CIS* 4501, qšyš⸠ dy dyr⸠ 'priest of the precinct'[66].

Maqqai: *CIS* 4064, ⸠pkl⸠ (of the stele of the Spring).

SYMPOSIARCH

brbnwt mrzḥ wt 'at the head of a thiasos' and rb mrzḥ⸠ - συμποσιάρχης 'chief of the thiasos' or 'symposiarch'

ʿAwîdâ: *RTP* 30.

Bageṣû: 132/133 AD, *RTP* 32.

Bôlai: Milik, p. 250=*IP* 14 (of the priests of Bel).

Bôlḥâ: *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, συμποσίαρχον των το[υ θεου] Διὸς Βήλου

    ἱερέων.

Yarhai Agrippa: 243 AD, Ingholt, *Syria* 7 (1926) 128-141.

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[63] Published and studied by M. Gawlikowski, *Syria* 48 (1971) 415, 417. He derives the term from the root *dmr*'to protect, to guard', in the *af til* 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 Esarhadon is mentioned 'Apakallatu, the queen of the Arabs', cf. R. Borger "Assyriologische und altarabischen Miszellen", *Orientalia* 26 (1957) 9-10. It is possible that this word has arrived 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.

Yarhibôlâ: *RTP* 35.

Zebîdâ: 119 AD, *Inv IX*, 19 (of the priests of Bel).

Represented as symposiarch with wreathed modius or mentioned in the tesserae with the triad of Bel.

Amôn: *PS* 244 A.

Elahšâ: Dunant, *Syria* 36 (1959) 107 no.24 b.

ʿOggâ: Saliby, *DM* 6 (1992) 273 no.17.

ʿOgeilû: *RTP* 14 (of the priests of Bel).

ʿOgeilû: 150-200 AD ca., *CIS* 4497.

Baʿalai: Ingholt, *MUSJ* 46 (1970-71) 190.

Barʿateh: 50-150 AD, *RSP* 94.

Barsegel: *RTP* 903.

Lišamš: *RTP* 19.

Maʿan: *RSP* 43.

Malkû: *RTP* 770.

Malkû: *RTP* 17.

Malkû: *RTP* 118.

Malkû: *RTP* 661.

Malkû: *RTP* 754.

Malkû: *CIS* 4504.

Malkôsâ: *RTP* 551.

Mariôn: 230-250 AD ca., *CIS* 4298.

Moqîmû: *RTP* 375.

Moqîmû: Ben-Hayyim, *BJPES* 13 (1947) 141 no.1.

Moqîmû: 138 AD, *SMC* 294-295 no.234.

MZDYMNˀ: *RTP* 23.

Nabûzabad: *RTP* 822.

Naššûm: *RTP* 773 and 774.

Nesâ: *RTP* 10 (of the priests of Bel).

Pertinax: *RTP* 806.

Rafabôl: *RTP* 779.

Salamallat: *RTP* 630.

Salman: Ingholt, *MUSJ* 46 (1970-71) 183.

Samsigeram: *RTP* 381 and 767.

Simʿôn: *RTP* 12 (of the priests of Bel).

Sokayyî: *RTP* 825 and 376.

Taibbôl: 180 AD ca., *SMC* 298-299 no.238.

Taimâ: Dunant, *Syria* 36 (1959) 105 no.12 b.

Taimarṣû Rabbâ: 162 AD, *CIS* 4562.

Wahbâ: Ingholt, *Berytus* 1 (1934) 42-43 no.6.

Wahballat: *RTP* 696, 724 and *APML* 105 no.62.

Wahballat: *RTP* 786 and *APML* 107 nos.66-67.

Yarhai: 150 AD ca., *CIS* 4607.

Yarhai: 180-200 AD ca., *CIS* 4381.

Yarhai: 210-230 AD ca., *CIS* 4364.

Yarhai: 230-250 AD ca., *CIS* 4322.

Yarhibôlâ: *RTP* 15 and 22 (of Bel).

Yarhibôlâ: *RTP* 763.

Yarhibôlâ: Ingholt, *Berytus* 1 (1934) 33 no.2.

Zabdibôl: 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: ʾlʾ drmdryʾ - εἴλης πρώτης Οὐλπίας δρομαδαρίων Παλμυρηνων.

Ala Herculiana: *Inv X*, 117 and *Inv X*, 125, εἴλης ʿΗρακλιανῆς[69].

Ala I Ulpia Singularium: *Inv X*, 121, [εἴλης Οὐλ]πίας Σιγ(γουλαρίων)·

ARCHER

Soraikû: *CIS* 3908, qštʾ qtryʾ mksmws - sag(ittarius) c(enturia) Maximi 'archer of the centuria Maxima'.

Taimarṣû: *Inv VIII*, 121, qšt.

CENTURION

Catulus (Κάτλον): *Inv X*, 1, (ἑκατόνταρχον) λεγ(ιωνος) γʹ Γ[αλ(λικης)], 'centurion of the III Legio Gallica'.

Celesticus: *Inv X*, 17, qtrywnʾ dy mn lgywnʾ dy ʾrbʿtʾ - [(centurioni) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae)], IIII Scy(thicae), VI Ferr(atae); *Inv X*, 22, [(centurioni)] leg(ionis) III Ga[ll(icae), II]II S[cy(thicae)], VI Fer(ratae).

Julius Maximus: 135 AD, *Inv X*, 81, qtrynʾ dy lgywnʾ - (ἑκατόνταρχον) λεγ(ιῶνος); 115 AD, *Inv XII*, 33, qtrywnʾ dy mn lgywnʾ dy [...].

Pomponius Darius: 224/225 AD, *Inv III*, 5, (ἑκατόνταρχον) λεγ[εωνο]ς Σεουηριάνης.

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[67] See B. Lifshitz in *ANRW*, 18.1, 1977, p. 3-30 and H.J.W. Drijvers in *ANRW*, 2.1, 1977, p 837 863.

[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)ebas[t]e[n]ae; *Inv X*, 22, [coh(ortis) I] Sebast(enorum).

Cohort I Ulpia Petraeorum: *Inv X*, 108 and 109, σπείρης α' Οὐλπίας Πετραϊκης.

Cohort I Augusta Thracum: (150 AD), *Inv X*, 128, σπείρης πρώτης Αὐγούστης Θρακων ἱππεων.

EQUES

'Obaidû: *CIS* 3973, prš 'eques'.

M. Ulpius Malkû: τρεῖς ἱππικάς στρατείας (a tribus militiis)[70].

Aurelius Worôd: 258/259 AD, *CIS* 3937=*Inv III*, 12: hpq' - ἱππικὸν 'eques of the order of knighthood'.

Julius Aurelius Yadê: 265 AD, *CIS* 3940=*Inv III*, 9, hpqws - ἱππικὸς ἀπὸ στρατίων. *BS* 51, pršy' 'br' dy gml' w 'n' 'cavalrymen of the ala (stationed) at Gamla and Ana on the Euphrates)'.

GENERAL

Septimius Zabbâ: 271 AD, *Inv III*, 19-20, rb ḥyl' rb' - ὁ μέγας στρατηλάτης 'chief general'.

Septimius Zabbai: 271 AD, *Inv III*, 19-20, rb ḥyl' dy tdmwr - ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατηλάτης 'general of Palmyra'.

LEGION

Legion III Gallica: *Inv X*, 1, λεγ(ιῶνος) γ Γ[αλ(λικῆς)]; *Inv X*, 17, leg(ionis) III Gall(icae)]; *Inv X*, 22, leg(ionis) III Ga[ll(icae)].

Legion IIII Scythica: *Inv X*, 17, leg(ionis) IIII Scy(thicae); [II]II S[cy(thicae)]; 140/141 AD, Seyrig, *Syria* 20 (1939) 320 no.24, [λ]εγέωνος τετά[ρτης Σκυ]θικ[ης][71].

Legion VI Ferrata: *Inv X*, 17, VI Ferr(atae); VI Fer(ratae).

Legion X Fretensis: *Inv X*, 108 and 109, λεγιῶνος ι' Φρετηνσίας.

Legion XVI Flavia Firma: *Inv X*, 128, λεγέωνος ἑκκαιδεκάτης Φλαουίας Φίρμης (Syria)[72].

Legion III Cyrenaicae: λεγ[εωνος Κυρηνα]ικης[73].

Legion Severiana: *Inv III*, 5, λεγ[εωνο]ς Σεουηριάντς[74].

OPTIO - ὀπτίων

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 offices[75].

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[70] Cf. H. Devijver, *BARIS* 297.1 (1986) 182 no.27 and 188.

[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 *[op]tio ex n(umero) Palmur(enorum)* or ḥpṭyṭ is 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, ὁππίων πρίνκιψ, 'optio princeps'.
Gûrâ (Flavius Guras): *CIS* 3906, ḥptyn - [op]tio ex n(umero) Palmur(enorum).

PRAEFECTUS - ἔπαρχον

The classic scheme of the *tres militiae* after Claudius is: 1. *praefectura cohortis*

quingenariae; 2. *tribunatus angusticlavius legionis*; 3. *praefectura alae quingenariae* [76].

Clodius Celsus: *Inv X*, 125, ἔπαρχον εἴλης 'Ηρακλιανης. He is prefect of the Ala Herculiana.

G. Vibius Celer: *Inv IX*, 23 [77].

Julius Julianus: *Inv IX*, 22. He is prefect of the ala Thracum Herculiana 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]r: *Inv X*, 99. He is the prefect of the Palmyrene archers in 141 AD (ἔπαρχος Παλμυρενω[ν το]ξοτων καὶ 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 σπείρης πρώτης Αὐγούστης Θρακῶν ἱππεων καὶ ἔπαρχον εἴλης πρώτης Οὐλπίας δρομαδαρίων Παλμυρηνων [79].

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 AD [80], [ἔπαρχον τῶν] ἐν Παρολι[σσω τῆς ἀνοτέ]ρας Δακίας κατειλεγμένων τοξοτων.

SOLDIER

Septimius Alexander [81], 267 AD ca.
Aurelius Flavianus [82]: 251 AD, *CIS* 3944=*Inv III*, 16, plḥ' dblgywn' dy bṣr' - στρατιώτης
    λεγ[εωνος Κυρηνα]ικης 'soldier of the Legion III Cyrenaicae'.
PN: 140/141 AD, Seyrig, *Syria* 20 (1939) 320 no.24, [λ]εγέωνος τετά[ρτης
    Σκυ]θικ[ῆς] 'soldier of the Legion IV Scythicae' [83].

the temple of Baalshamîn suggests that he was stationed at Palmyra and probably belonged to the *Legio I Illiricorum*.

[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.

[78] Cf. H. Devijver, *BARIS* 297.1 (1986) 182 no.25 and 189.

[79] H. Devijver, *BARIS* 297.1 (1986)180 no.8 and 188.

[80] Cf. H. Devijver, *BARIS* 297.1 (1986) 179 no.3.

[81] H. Devijver, *BARIS* 297.1 (1986) 182 no.20.

[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 *RTP* 785.

STRATEGOS[84]

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[85]. In a text published by H. Ingholt (*Syria* 13 (1932) 278-289) is attested a charge called στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης '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 Bôrrâ was in charge of the safety of the caravans within the confines of the Palmyrene state.

Atefanî: 168 AD, *ID* 19, ᵓstrtgᵓ ᵓl qsᵓ, 'general of the archers'.
Aelius Bôrrâ: 198 AD, Ingholt, *Syria* 13 (1932) 278-289, ᵓstrtgᵓ - [στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς] εἰρήνης, 'strategos for the peace'[86].
Julius Aurelius ᶜOggâ alias Seleukos: 254 AD, *CIS* 3934=*Inv III*, 14, στρατ[ηγήσαντα].
ᶜOgeilû: 199 AD, *Inv X*, 44, bᵓstrtgwn - κατὰ τῶν νομάδων στρατηγίας.
Julius Aurelius Malkû: *Inv X*, 115, bᵓstrtgwtᵓ dy qlnyᵓ - στρατη[γήσαντα τῆς κολωνείας].
Julius Aurelius Nabûzabad: 262 AD, *CIS* 3939=*Inv III*, 10, ᵓstrgᵓ dy qlnyᵓ - στρατηγὸς τῆς λαμπροτάτης κολωνείας.
[Julius Aurelius Šeibâ]: 224/225 AD, *Inv III*, 5, στρατηγούντων, 'in the generalship'.
[Wahballat]: 224/225 AD, *Inv III*, 5, στρατηγούντων.
Julius Aurelius Septimius Worôd: 260 AD ca., *Inv III*, 3, στρα[τηγοὶ τῆς λαμ]προτάτης [κ]ολω[ν]είας; 266 AD, *Inv III*, 7, στρατηγήσαντα.
Yarhai: Starcky, *Syria* 40 (1963) 48-55.
Julius Aurelius Zabdilah: 242/243 AD, *CIS* 3932=*Inv III*, 22, ᵓstrtg lqlnyᵓ - στρατηγήσαντα.
Zebîdâ: 98 AD, Safar, *Sumer* 20 (1964) 13 no.1, bᵓstrtgwth - στρατηγήσαντα.
Julius Aurelius [...]: 260 AD ca., *Inv III*, 3, στρα[τηγοὶ τῆς λαμ]προτάτης [κ]ολω[ν]είας
PN: 193 AD, *Inv X*, 85, [στρατηγή]σαντα.

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.

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[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 Bôrrâ was a duovir of the colony or his was a temporary charge.

M. Acilius Athenodôros: *Inv X*, 108, χειλίαρχον λεγιωνος ι' Φρετηνσίας καὶ
χειλίαρχον σπείρης α' Οὐλπίας Πετραίκης; *Inv X*, 109, χειλίαρχον
λεγιωνος ι' Φρετηνσίας καὶ χειλίαρχον σπείρης α' Οὐ[λ]πίας
Πετραίων[87].

Frontonius: *Inv X*, 25, praef(ecto) coh(ortis).

Tiberius Claudius: *Inv X*, 128, χειλίαρχον λεγέωνος ἐκκαιδεκάτης Φλαουίας
Φίρμης.

VARIOUS

COOK

Zabbai: Ingholt, *Syria* 7 (1926) 128-141, dy hw' 'l bt dwc' 'chief of the kitchen'.

PHYSICIAN

Malê: *CIS* 4513, 'sy'.
MLQ: 243 AD, *Inv XII*, 45, 'sy' gwy'.
Nûrbel: Ingholt, *Berytus* 5 (1938) 120-124 no.1, 'sy'.
Nûrbel: Ingholt, *Berytus* 2 (1935) 90-91 no.1=*Inv VIII*, 60, 'sy'.

SCRIBE

J. Aurelius Yedî'bel alias Mezzabbanâ: 214 AD, Ingholt, *MUSJ* 38 (1962) 106, 'š'lt ktb
ydy 'I have lent the writing of my hand'.

SCULPTOR

Ḥolaifî: 62 AD, *RSP* 159, [g]lwp'.
Yarhai: (2)13 AD, *CIS* 3974, glwp'.
PN: *Inv X*, 110, glwp['].

PEOPLE AND PROFESSIONS

M.E. MARCIANUS ASKLÊPIADÊS

He was senator of Antioch and tax collector in 161 AD (*Inv X*, 29).

BÔLAI - BÔLANOS

He was administrator of the Spring Efca and symposiarch in 162 AD (*RSP* 126; see the

Mattâ family no.55).

BÔLHÂ [26]

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[87] See Da browa, *Legio X Fretensis*, p. 73-74 no.11. He belongs to the Sergia tribe which included Roman
citizens who obtained their *civitas Romana* from Hadrian, cf. H. Devijver, *BARIS* 297.1 (1986) 179, 185
and 189.

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 HADDÛDAN

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 Maʿziyân tribe. In 130/131 AD, he built the temples of Baalshamîn, Dûrahlôn and the Gad of Benê Yedîʿbel. 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 Raʿai 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 Nabûlâ 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).

SOʿADÛ

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[88]. 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 Taimšamš family, no.232).

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS

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[88] Cf. M. Gawlikowski, *Syria* 60 (1983) 64.

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 ducenarios (*Inv III*, 10 11); from 265 AD to 267 he was Imperial procurator ducenarios 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).

YARHIBÔLÂ [12]

He belonged to the ʿAgrûd tribe. He was symposiarch and president of the Senate (*Inv X*, 59 and *RTP* 763; see the Aʿabî 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).

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[89] About Worôd and his career, see M Rostovtzeff and C.B. Welles, *Yale Classical Studies* 2 (1931) 55, note 72; H. Ingholt, *Berytus* 3 (1936) 93; A. Alfoldi, *Berytus* 5 (1938) 81; A. Maricq, *Syria* 35 (1958 331; H. Seyrig, *AAS* 13 (1963) 166-167; D. Schlumberger, *Syria* 49 (1972) 339-341 and Milik, p. 268-269.

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 fami y 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 Yedîʿbel 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 Yarhibôl 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 Hašaš (see the homonymous family, no.6) by two Palmyrenes tribes, the Komarê 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 ʿAgrûd, the ʿAttar, the Gaddibôl, the Hatrai, the Kohennabû, the Komarê, the MGRT-Magerenôn, the Maʿziyân, the Mattabôl, the Mîtâ, the ŠMʿR[ʾ/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 ʿAgrûd tribe is attested in 81 AD and two families are part of it. The ʿAttar tribe is mentioned only once; the year is 179 AD and it includes one family. The Gaddibôl tribe goes from 32 BC to 108 AD with one family attested. One family is member of the Hatrai 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

KNBT tribe belongs the Baʿâ 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 Mîtâ tribe includes five family groups going from 9 BC to 84 AD. The largest and best known tribe is the Maʿziyân one with thirteen families and the time is from 82 AD to 103/104 AD. The Mattabôl 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 ŠMʿR[ʾ/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 *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 *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 (*phdyʾ*) 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 difficu t 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 *B S* 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 Yedîˤbel 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 ˤAtehzâ 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 Baˤâ family of the KNBT tribe goes back to ca. 100 BC (see above no.13) and the Aušai 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 *tdmry* ˀ '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 Bôl. The Zabûd, the Komarê and the Zimrâ tribes bear pure Aramaic names whilst the Maˤziyan tribe is with certainty of Arabic origin. The Ḥaṭrai 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 n 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 we l as common people were responsible for the construction of sanctuaries. The oldest record is dated to 6 BC, ᶜOgeilû son of Yarḥai of the Aydaᶜan family (see under the Komarê tribe, no.8) is honoured because of his generosity and contribution to the buildings of the gods Hertâ, Nanai and Rešef. In 11 AD, Wahballat of the Yedîᶜbel family (no.21, of the Maᶜaziyân 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 Malê Agrippa of the Raᶜai family (no.26, of the Maᶜaziyân tribe) built a place of cult for Baalshamîn, Dûraḥlôn and the Gad of the Benê Yedîᶜbel. A temple of Bel was built in Babylon in 24 AD and Malkû of the Ḥašaš 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, Yarḥibôl and ᶜAglibôl is built by a priest of the Šakaibel family (no.10, of the Komarê tribe). In the same year, a member of the Gaddibôl tribe offered a temple to Bel and Yarḥibôl at Dura-Europos. Other constructions of temples are attested outside the oasis. The Benê Gaddibôl are mentioned a second time in a text where they erect a statue in honour of a certain Aqqaiḥ who contributed to the erection of cultual buildings at Palmyra and Vologaesias in 108 AD. At Seleucia on the Tigris, Yedîᶜbel of the Barakai family (see no.34, of the Mattabôl 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 ᶜAbdibel family, no.15) and two people respectively of the ᶜArimâ and Aᶜabî families built a temple to Belḥamôn and Manawat on the Jebel Muntar in 89 AD (see no.44 and 45, of the ᶜAgrûd tribe).

To the temples mentioned above the temples of Allat, ʿArṣû 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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