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Palmyra, Past and Present

HISTORY

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PALMYRA, PAST AND PRESENT

BY

NUBA MITCHEL PLETCHER, A.B., 1901

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN HISTORY

IN THE

GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

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THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY

Nuba Mitchel Pletcher


ENTITLED *Palmyra, Past and Present*

IS APPROVED BY ME AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF *Master of Arts in History*

Ewart B. Greene

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT OF *History*



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From the Great Arch.

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THE STORY.

The circumstances and time of the founding of Tadmor, or Palmyra, are alike uncertain. As yet, nothing definite has been ascertained on these points; we have to deal only with probabilities. The fact that it offered a water-supply at an important point in the desert would attract a population. The fact that there was early an important commerce between the East and the West would make trade-routes a necessity. There was probably a very ~~ex~~ early settlement near the water-supply at Palmyra, and possibly a civil society was formed.

Under whose direction the first settlement was made is unknown. Some have ascribed it to Arab wanderers after the downfall of Chaldaea; others name Solomon as the founder- possibly population gathered from many different quarters as the trade-route to the East gradually shifted from Duma to Palmyra, after the sixth century B.C.

The oldest known monument which could have any connection with Palmyrene history is a small tessera of the Egyptian king Teharqa, who ruled in the Seventh Cent. B.C. His conquests extended far into Syria, and may have included Palmyra, if the city then existed. But it is more probable that the small fragment was carried to Palmyra at a later date.

The Bible says that Solomon founded 'Tadmor in the wilderness.' Josephus and later writers take this to mean Palmyra; the former says that it was built so far to the East because of the scarcity of water nearer at hand. It is known that Solomon built fortified posts on the caravan route from Egypt to the East, but it is probable that the city which he set up was south of Hebron. The

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The first recorded connection of the city with the Roman Empire resulted from the raid of Mark Antony (42-41 B.C.). He went on the pretext that Palmyra was not maintaining a strict neutrality between Rome and Parthia, but his real purpose seems to have been robbery. On account of their favorable location, the Palmyrene merchants had been able to deal most advantageously with both Eastern and Western markets. They had grown wealthy and were known as far west as the Mediterranean.

The citizens met the emergency- they gathered together all they could carry away, and before Antony overtook them, they had fled beyond the Euphrates. There the Palmyrene archers were sufficient to cause him to turn back. The fact that he returned past the ~~city~~ city to the west, practically empty-handed, shows that there had not been a very permanent development at Palmyra; certainly not as much as one would expect, after a growth of some hundreds of years.

During the first century of the present ~~era~~ era the city had an uneventful history, growing slowly as it increased in importance as a trade depot. Inscriptions from time to time, show a development in language and art. The material prosperity increased and costly memorials were built for the dead. One of the best finished tomb-towers was erected in this period- that of Iamblichus, 82 A.D.

D.V.

It was not until the overthrow of the neighboring Nabataean kingdom of Petra, however, and the consequent closure of that route to the East, that Palmyra entered upon her greatest development. With a large part of the Roman trade with the East turned into her channels, she grew to be one of the principal cities in Syria. Ptolemy mentions Palmyra as the richest and largest city in the province of Palmyra. In the year 115 A.D., a disastrous earthquake did much damage in all parts of Syria, and it is supposed

The first section of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the various branches of industry and commerce. It mentions that the country is a large one, and that the population is increasing rapidly. It also notes that the government is making great efforts to improve the condition of the people and to develop the resources of the country.

The second section of the report deals with the state of the various branches of industry and commerce. It mentions that the agricultural industry is the most important one, and that the government is making great efforts to improve it. It also notes that the manufacturing industry is developing rapidly, and that the government is making great efforts to improve it.

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that it gave a temporary set-back to the rising young city. At any rate, when Hadrian visited it in 131 A.D. and gave some assistance in building*, he was joyfully received; the name Hadrianapolis was given to Palmyra in honor of him.

His visit was of great importance in the life of the city, for it brought the Roman influence in direct contact with the Oriental society which was found there. It is probable that he aided in the establishment of the Palmyrene Senate, mention of which does not appear in any of the Inscriptions prior to that date. Palmyra may also have been created a Roman 'Colony' after the model of other Provinces- with possibly more freedom in internal affairs. When this basis was established between Palmyra and Rome is not known, but coins of Caracalla(211-217) speak of it as existing. Some have regarded it as being established under the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.). Whenever it came about, it marked a union of Roman and Oriental in a stronger civilization. The City was left the management of its own internal affairs, and was allowed to develop all its trade possibilities.

In 137 A.D. — Hadrian formulated a Customs Law regulating the duty on all goods passing through the city. It was proclaimed in a bilingual inscription, one of the longest and most famous ever found among the Palmyrene ruins. ~~Later~~, There were also Customs Laws by [#]Germanicus and Corbulo, but Rome was never inclined to put many restrictions upon the commercial transactions of the frontier

*Note: He seems to have aided in the construction of the great Colonnade.
Governor-General of the East.

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city. In fact, so important was the location of Palmyra on the Parthian frontier, that it was left practically independent by Rome, lest it be driven into the hostile camp. It was used as a base of supplies by the Romans in their Eastern expeditions, though nothing is said in histories of the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Several Palmyrene inscriptions speak of such visits; one mentions the visit of Hadrian in 131 A.D., another is supposed to have been set up on his return from crushing a rebellion in Jerusalem, just before his death.

For forty years after the visit of Hadrian, Palmyra seems to have enjoyed peace, and its commerce was widely extended. Its caravans touched at many points on the Euphrates, and well-built roads connected it with the Mediterranean on the West. The value of the goods transported must have been very great- even in the time of Pliny, the great historian had lamented the fact that Rome was annually drained of 1,000,000 Sestertii which went to pay for her Eastern luxuries. During the Parthian wars, Palmyra was faithful to the Roman cause, and furnished supplies and troops.

About the year 200 A.D., Septimius Hairanes, head man of Palmyra, was in alliance with Septimius Severus against the Parthians. He was probably given senatorial rank for his services. His appearance is interesting, not only because of his Roman name, but also, because he is ^{one of} the earliest known representatives of the family which afterwards had so much to do in Palmyrene history. From the story of the Inscriptions, he seems to have been the father of

* The +Roman Name+ was often received as a reward for service in war.

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Odenathus I, who was, in turn, the head-man of Palmyra. It is not known when Odenathus succeeded his father, but he is named as the ally of Alexander Severus. An inscription of 242 A.D. speaks of the visit of the Emperor Alexander to Palmyra and the honors which were exchanged. If not given by one of the earlier Emperors, the Senatorial rank was probably conferred upon the family at this time,

The oldest son of Odenathus was called Hairanes, after the Palmyrene custom of ~~naming~~ naming children for grand-fathers. He was associated with his father as head-man of the city and was even called "Prince of Palmyra" in an inscription of 251 A.D. These two able men turned their whole energy to developing the Palmyrene power, both by extending and protecting the caravan trade, and by building up the city. They finally grew restive under the authority of Rome and seemed to have been on the point of breaking away from that steady allegiance which Palmyra had shown for over a century. It is said that Cyriades, one of the Thirty Tyrants, who had taken refuge with the Persians, urged Odenathus to join an alliance against Rome. Palmyra's growing power and independent location would naturally foster a desire for complete independence. At any rate, a Roman officer named Rufinus, thought there was a just cause for action and he brought about the ^{ass}assination of Odenathus and his son, sometime near 256 A.D. The murder took place at Homs.

The Persian Empire had been extended by the powerful Sassanian Dynasty, which had arisen after the last Parthian War in 226 A.D. The hostile elements on Rome's eastern border united under an able line of rulers, to carry on the old conflict under another name. In 241 A.D., Sapor-I. came to the Persian throne. He was not only able to hold his own against Rome, but in 255 A.D. he began a westward

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The first of these is the fact that the Commission of Inquiry, which was set up in 1952 to investigate the activities of the Communist Party, had already found that the Party had been active in the U.S. for many years. It was also found that the Party had been active in the U.S. for many years.

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movement. Though Palmyra had not joined him as an ally, he conquered all of Northern Syria; he went as far west as the Mediterranean and captured Antioch and Damascus.

An inscription to Valerian has been found at Palmyra which was set up by the Gold- and Silver-smiths in 258 A.D. At about that ~~xxx~~ time he raised an army and went east to reconquer his territory from Persia. In order to keep the friendship of Palmyra, it is probable that Odenathus was made Consular Legate of Syria. What support was given by Palmyra at this time is not known. The Roman army advanced into Syria as far as Homs, before it came to decisive blows with the Persians. At that place, the Romans were completely routed in 260 A.D., and Valerian was taken prisoner. His son Gallienus was a weak individual, and did nothing to recover the territory or rescue his father.

On the death of Odenathus under suspicion of conspiracy with the Persians, his second son (also called Odenathus) was made head-man of Palmyra. Under his government Palmyrene authority was to reach its greatest extent. He had had an excellent training for his work. It is said that he was brought up among the Arabs, and thoroughly learned their manner of life and art of warfare. He was certain to hold the support of those uncertain allies more surely than one who could not sympathize with them in any way. In his youth he also probably of-ten went with the caravans to the East, sharing the dangers, and earning the support of the large numbers of his people engaged in that work. The murder of his father and the growing ~~x~~ strength of his ^{native} ~~city~~ city gave him an incentive to work for independence from Rome. After the Persian victory, he sent important presents and offers of peace and alliance to Sapor. His embassy was

The first part of the report is devoted to a description of the work done during the past year. It is divided into three main sections: the work done in the laboratory, the work done in the field, and the work done in the office.

The work done in the laboratory is described in detail. It includes a list of the experiments performed, a description of the apparatus used, and a discussion of the results obtained. The work done in the field is also described, and includes a list of the stations visited, a description of the work done at each station, and a discussion of the results obtained.

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turned back with scorn, and Palmyra was really left independent, with no connection with either Persia or Rome. Odenathus set out to extend the Palmyrene power as far as possible.

Although Gallienus had left the Asiatic provinces to take care of themselves, Sapor was not left to enjoy his conquests very long. Ballista, one of the minor Roman leaders, gathered up the fragments of the Roman legions in the East, and succeeded in partially defeating Sapor near Edessa in 260 A.D. Odenathus also went north from Palmyra with an army made up of both Roman and Palmyrene elements and completed the work which Ballista had begun. Near the Euphrates he overtook the retreating Sapor, destroyed his army and captured his camp and treasure. The Palmyrene archers did much to decide this battle. In two later campaigns Odenathus penetrated into the heart of the Persian territory, even to the capital, Ctesiphon, capturing Nisibis on the way.

The movements of Odenathus against the Persians occupied the years from 260 to 264 A.D. At the end of that time he had reconquered all the East in the name of Rome. The Emperor and the Roman Senate recognized his services, and various are the rewards and titles said to have been given him. He received the right to coin money at Palmyra, though none of his coins have been found; he was in command of the army of the East and was the real ruler. His power extended from Asia Minor through Syria to Egypt. In 264 or 265 A.D. the Senate made him an Associate of Gallienus, but he scarcely could have had the rank of Emperor, though it is claimed for him by some of the Latin writers; he was probably merely Corrector.*

* The Corrector was a governor of a province under the Roman Empire, whose rank was next below the Consul. †-Gibbon, D. & F. II:37.

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The royal title was assumed by Zenobia after the break with Rome occurred.

Odenathus, though called "King of Kings" by his own people, conquered all his territory in the name of Rome. He even put down pretenders who arose to dispute with Gallienus for the crown. Quietus, one of the Thirty Tyrants, mentioned by Trebellius Pollio, was among the number of Pretenders who claimed the Eastern Provinces after Valerian's army had been destroyed. Odenathus drove him into ^{*}Emesa, captured the city and put Quietus himself to death in 262 A.D. He established order throughout all the Eastern Roman Empire. Egypt had come under his power, possibly conquered by a Palmyrene army sent out by Zenobia from Palmyra, while Odenathus himself was campaigning against the Persians. When Sapor had been silenced, the Gauls and Scythians broke into Asia Minor, and Odenathus took some time to drive them out of the country.

On the return toward ~~to~~ Palmyra, a banquet was given the victorious general at Emesa, or Homs. There he was [#]brutally murdered ~~with~~ with his oldest son, Septimius Herodes, by one Maeonius, who was probably the son of his older brother Hairanes. This was in 266 or 267 A.D. Roman influence probably had little to do with this murder.

^{*} There is also an account which says that Ballista turned against Rome after defeating Sapor, and that Odenathus crushed his army and killed him (264 A.D.).

[#] It is said that Maeonius had been disciplined by Odenathus for disobedience and so took his revenge. The statement that Zenobia had instigated the murder in order to procure the succession for a younger son, is rejected by Gibbon.

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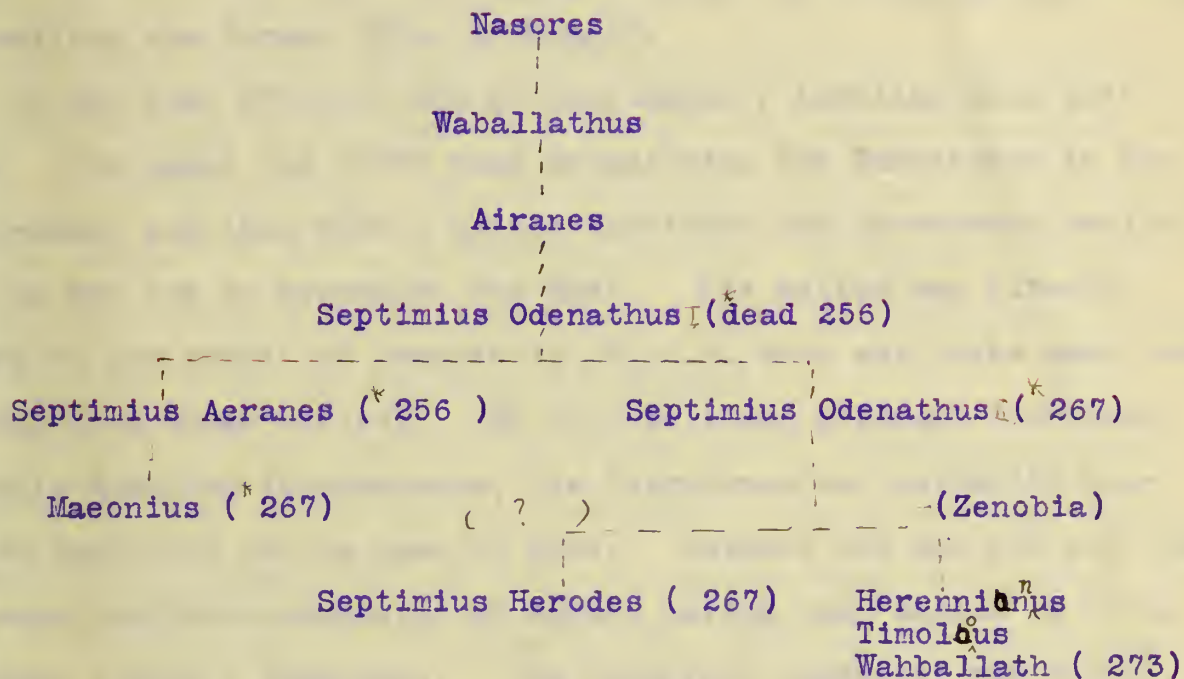
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The question of the immediate family circle of Odenathus is a complex one. It seemed that he was twice married and that Herodes was a son of the first marriage. He was associated with his father in the government, and was left the important charge of the city of Palmyra during his father's absences. Some of the Roman writers have alluded to him as a weak, incapable despot, but later information gives a contrary idea. Between 262 and 267 A.D., four different inscriptions speak of statues and honors granted him as headman of Prince of Palmyra.

About the year 256 A.D., Odenathus had married for the second time; his queen, Zenobia, was probably a native of Palmyra, and at least of partial Arabian descent. She brought to the government an administrative energy as great as that of Odenathus himself. On the death of the latter in 267 A.D., she took complete control of the government, for her young son Wahballath or Athenodorus. There is also casual mention of two older sons by this marriage, Herennianus and Timolaus, but they seem never to have had any authority ~~ex~~ and probably had died before this time.

Knowing the headless condition of the Roman state, Zenobia determined upon complete independence for her people. When Gallienus finally roused himself enough to send an army against the Persians in 268 A.D. to rescue his father, Zenobia aided the Persians; the Roman general, Heraclianus, was completely defeated on the Persian border by the combined Eastern armies, and Valerian was left to his captors. Gallienus was soon after assassinated. His successor, Claudius, died before he could organize an army for reconquering the East. Meanwhile, Zenobia was in complete control of Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Egypt; Bithynia was on the point of revolt against Rome.



Suggested family line of Odenathus.

Uscor-2

Waballina

Altrier

Septimia Obertina (born 285)

Septimia Obertina (285)

Septimia Averna (285)

(Kerwin)

Marcus (287)

Remondina

Septimia Heredia (287)

Tindina

Waballina (287)

Septimia family line of Obertina.

Coins were struck in Alexandria in 266-7 A.D. with the image of Wahballath on one side and that of Aurelian on the other. Later, in 271 A.D., Zenobia took the royal title to herself and son alone, and struck coins with no reference to Rome; these later coins were issued either in the name of Zenobia or Wahballath, but in public inscriptions her name preceded his. In the same year, Zabbai and Zabdas, the Palmyrene generals, erected statues to Odenathus and Zenobia calling the former "King of Kings".

In the year 270 A.D., the soldier-Emperor Aurelian came into power. He spent his first year in quieting the Barbarians in the north-west, and then with a united territory and government behind him, he set out to reconquer the East. His action was directly caused by the revolt of Zenobia in 271 A.D., when she broke away completely from Roman control. Up to that time, although doubtless secretly desiring independence, the Palmyrenes had outwardly conquered territory in the name of Rome. Between 268 and 270 A.D. they had taken complete possession of Egypt, having been called in by an Egyptian traitor, Timagenes. The Palmyrene commander was Zabdas, supposed to have been himself an Egyptian. He was able to hold the country against all comers; a Pretender called Probatus was driven out.

Palmyra was not left long in possession of the territory. The first step in Aurelian's campaign in the East was the re-conquest of Egypt. It was the first Province to fall away, among those so loosely bound together by the Palmyrene rule. In 271 A.D. Probus drove Zabdas out of the country. It was highly expedient for the Romans to get back into possession of their store-house provinces, for Egypt and Syria were the two most important provinces in the Roman Empire considered from an economic standpoint.

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Aurelian himself moved eastward with a well-organized army and crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor. He was just quick enough to prevent a general uprising against Rome, - not so much because of Roman injustice, as of a desire to aid a more typically Oriental Empire. The first real opposition was met in Cappadocia, where the city of Tyana^{*} refused to let him pass. Preparations were made for a siege, but the city was, fortunately, soon taken by strategam. Aurelian showed his statesmanship by an act, which was typical of his treatment of the entire Eastern question:—he granted a general amnesty to all the rebels. He realized that there was no deep-seated feeling against Rome, so far west, at least. He allowed the Syrians to see, as he continued the march, that their best interests lay under the rule of the strong Roman government.

Zenobia, on her part, had not been idle. She gathered in her soldiers from all the tributary provinces. She established three concentration camps at Springs to the north and west of Palmyra; she sought by training and discipline to weld together the heterogenous elements into a war-machine which would be able to withstand the compact Roman Legion. Palmyrene archery had been famed for centuries, and her heavy cavalry could be relied upon to deal with the Roman cavalry, but she had no reliable heavy infantry.

Her efforts at this time seemed to have been prodigious - her executive ability appeared on every hand in the careful organization

* Some accounts say Ancyra in Galatia.



Aerial search covered eastward with a well-organized group and
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 executive action appeared on every hand in the tactical organization

 Some additional key factors in the situation.

of the powers under her. In fact, in this one-sided struggle with the Western soldier, Zenobia showed a queenly dignity and power which has placed her among the greatest women of history. To succeed in man's province would have been difficult for any woman, - but to rise above Oriental prejudice against women, and still be a marked success among men, is little short of wonderful.

She seems to have been descended from a powerful family in the Hauran, which moved to Palmyra about 230 A.D. Her mother was probably an Egyptian, and Zenobia claimed descent from Cleopatra; at least, she knew Egyptian very well, and had a perfect command of Eastern history. She was well acquainted with Greek and Latin, her sons being instructed in the latter language. She herself was a pupil of the philosopher Cassius Longinus, who was her principal adviser at court. Her father is sometimes identified with Zabbai, military governor of Palmyra, and her associate in the battles against Aurelian. Her family was distantly related to that of Odenathus.

In preparing to move northward against Aurelian, Zenobia spared herself no inconvenience in visiting her different camps and reviewing the men. She often wore the mail of the soldier, or galloped along the lines on horseback. Her beauty and patriotism made her army largely a personal following; in short, she was just the sort of a dashing woman or queen, to overcome experience and discipline with energy and enthusiasm. With the coming of the news of Aurelian's uninterrupted march through Asia Minor, the Palmyrene army set off toward Antioch to meet him. Besides the cavalry and the archers, there was also a large Roman contingent, gathered together from the wrecks of previous Roman armies sent to the East. These troops had

of the present country. In fact, in this over-land journey with
the Western and Eastern, we have almost a true and good
has passed our way, the primary work of history. To sum up
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formerly supported Palmyra in the name of Rome, and now they were to fight for Zenobia against Rome itself.

The two armies met on the Plain of El 'Amk, north-east of Antioch. The Palmyrenes were at first successful, and their heavy cavalry broke the Roman lighter cavalry to pieces, and sent it scurrying away. It was soon seen, that this merely was a part of a stratagem of Aurelian,—for as soon as the Palmyrenes were worn out and disorganized in pursuit, his foot-soldiers came out of an ambush and utterly routed them. The whole Palmyrene army was checked by this disaster, and Aurelian was able to move forward on his part, driving everything before him. Zenobia and Zabbai were able to ^{*}draw off that night with part of their army; they retreated back upon Homs.

Aurelian entered Antioch without meeting resistance. The people were too much interested in their own life, to care who was the supreme master, so long as they were left alone in their commercial and religious rights. Aurelian ~~xxx~~ showed clemency to all, and went on after the retreating Palmyrenes. After defeating their rear-guard at Daphne, he pushed on to Homs. After the battle of Antioch, the Roman divisions of Zenobia's army had gone over to Aurelian. They were simply mercenaries, who felt the winning side and wished to espouse it. Zenobia still had a large army; her quick re-

* As they passed through the city of Antioch, a strange deceit as to the outcome of the battle was practised upon the people. An old man was led along in chains and the citizens were given to understand, that the Palmyrenes had been entirely successful in the battle, and that Aurelian was being taken back to a Palmyrene triumph.

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treat had saved a rout, and by the time she had reached Homs, she was sufficiently well-organized once more to try a battle. In that level plain near Homs, so perfectly adapted to military evolutions, she carefully chose a position near the Orontes, and waited for Aurelian to come up.

Profiting by the experience of the earlier battle, the Palmyrenes met the Romans more on the defensive. The contest was most stubborn and the Roman cavalry was annihilated; but the compact Roman legions finally decided the battle for Aurelian and Rome. A most ~~and~~ significant part was played in the battle by the peasants of Palestine. They fought in the army of Aurelian, though armed only with clubs. This strange method of fighting did a great deal to disturb the Palmyrenes.

Zenobia's defeat was decisive, but she did not give up. She left everything to the Romans - so hasty was her flight that her whole treasure fell into Aurelian's hands. She hurried back across the desert to Palmyra, destroying the springs on the way. Aurelian waited only to gather supplies for conducting a siege, and then followed to Palmyra itself. He sent a message to Zenobia, demanding surrender, but received an answer that for calm and determined defiance should stand along with statements of the greatest soldiers of the world. She said that she had not yet begun to fight; that the Emperor had simply routed his own Roman troops, but the Palmyrene archers had not yet had a chance to show their power.

With the Palmyrene treasure, Aurelian bought supplies from the Syrians and bribed them to show him the wells which Zenobia had destroyed. It is also probable that the country about Palmyra was better wooded and more productive at that time than it is today.

great was based a month ago by the time we had finished work, two was
- political well-organized ones were to try a battle. In that way
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Political in the experience of the earlier parties, the Party
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Political's battle was decided, but the did not give up. We
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Otherwise it is incomprehensible that sufficient supplies could be found for a large army, while maintaining a siege around an oasis in the desert.

Aurelian occupied the three camps which Zenobia had once used for her own army. The walls of the city were very strong, and Zenobia was relying upon her natural ally, the Desert, and her neighboring allies, the Persians, Armenians and Arabs. Vopiscus says, * that there was some sort of an alliance between Palmyra and Persia # at this time; the Arabs were closely interested in Palmyra by blood and trade.

4p.36. So the contest dragged on until the Spring of 273 A.D. There was sufficient food within the city to last several months, and besides a large fountain, the private houses probably ^b had reservoirs enough to give a sufficient supply of water. The Romans tried to storm the walls, but were repulsed, their historians say, by stones, darts and fire. The poorer parts of the city, built of wood, were burned by the besiegers. Zenobia continued to hope for assistance from without, but Aurelian was at work in that quarter also, and the desert Queen was left to fight her battles alone. With her own gold Aurelian bought off the Armenians and Arabs; he kept such a close watch of the Persian frontier, that no reinforcements could get across to the besieged city.

Finally after giving a most spirited *refusal to another demand

Sapor was probably dead at this time, and the two or three weaklings who followed him were incapable of dealing with such a crisis.

* "Queen Cleopatra chose rather to perish than survive her dignity". - Flavius Vopiscus - Hist. August.

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for surrender, Zenobia determined to seek for allies in person. She crept out of the wall through a secret door, slipped past the Roman lines on a fast camel, and sped toward the Persian border, on the Euphrates. A detachment of Roman cavalry set out in pursuit as soon as her flight was discovered, but did not overtake her until she reached the border near the present village of Deir. Just as she was stepping into a boat, to be rowed to the other side for safety, she was suddenly surrounded and carried back.

The city surrendered as soon as her capture was announced. Aurelian showed his usual clemency and spared both city and people. The royal family and the principal advisors were taken prisoners. The Roman soldiers were eager for the death of the woman, who had opposed them so long, but Aurelian protected her, - partly because of admiration, partly from a desire to have her in his coming triumph at Rome. He took severe vengeance on some of her ministers instead; Longinus was beheaded at Homs, which is said by some historians to have been his [#] native city.

As soon as the Persians heard of the outcome at Palmyra, they sent presents to Aurelian and asked for peace. They were allowed to remain unmolested. Aurelian left a small garrison of 600 archers at Palmyra, under Sardonius. He took his way back toward Rome across Syria and Asia Minor, as speedily and as directly as he had come.

* It is said that Zenobia blamed him with writing the burning answer to Aurelian's demand for surrender. She has been greatly blamed for this but she probably spoke the truth, for Longinus came of a powerful family, for a long time hostile to Rome.

It is more probable that Athens was his home. (Suidas.)

for surrender, Xenobis determined to see for himself in person. He
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 remain unmolested. Amelitan left a small garrison of 500 men
 at Palmyra, under Gordianus. He took his way back toward Rome a-
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 powerful family, for a long time hostile to Rome.
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He had not crossed into Europe before he heard of a second rebellion at Palmyra. A relative of Zenobia, called Antiochus, had headed a force, destroyed the Roman garrison, and had been received as King. Aurelian made a characteristically rapid march in return, and long before the rebels expected him, he once more set siege to the city. He took it without difficulty and dealt out a punishment as terrible as it was complete. The beautiful city was destroyed and its walls thrown down. The Temple of the Sun was almost completely destroyed. The people were indiscriminately massacred or sold as slaves. Aurelian wrote a ^{*}letter describing in detail the completeness of the destruction, which he had wrought. He left Sejanus Bassus in charge of a garrison there, and gave instructions about the rebuilding of the temple from spoils captured in the city. With a large company of Palmyrene prisoners he once more set out for home.

What had been the experiences of the royal family during this time, as well as their ultimate fate is uncertain. ^hWaballath probably lived to about 273 A.D., but whether he died during the siege or on the way to Rome cannot be ascertained. Zenobia seems to have been taken directly to Rome by Aurelian; though one account says, that she persistently refused food and died on the journey. The main body of Palmyrene prisoners was drowned in the Hellespont by Aurelian, as he passed over from subduing the second rebellion.

In the year 274 A.D., Aurelian celebrated a great triumph at Rome; Vopiscus says that one of the greatest sights in the procession

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"We have not spared women; we have slain children; we have strangled old men; we have destroyed noblemen." - Hist. August.

was the beautiful Palmyrene Queen. Barefooted, but loaded with jewels and led by golden chains, she was forced to follow Aurelian's chariot, while all Rome stared to see the woman who had dared to oppose the Empire. She was later given her freedom, and was granted lands at Conche, in Italy; the remains of her villa are still shown. She has been said to have married a distinguished Roman Senator; as late as the fifth century, her ^{*}descendants were still pointed out in Italy.

Aurelian died in 275 A.D. There is no mention of the fallen city during the reign of Carinus, but Aurelian's plans for reconstruction were probably being carried out to some extent; they could scarcely have been completed. Palmyra's day as a power had closed. Henceforth it was to be important simply as a fort in that neutral territory between the East and the West. Trade soon changed to more direct routes by Aleppo and Bosrah and, though there was always a population there, attracted by the water supply, its opportunity had passed away. Palmyrene soldiers were separated from their native city by service in distant countries. The city lost the name of Palmyra, and after Roman times, was known simply as Tudmor.

Diocletian (284-305 A.D.), gave some support in rebuilding, and made a new wall, which enclosed a much smaller area than the ancient city had covered. His name appears in one inscription with that of Constantine. With the coming of Christianity as the State Religion, Palmyra became a Bishopric, and was so represented at the Council of Nicaea. During the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, many names

* They may have been descendants of Zenobia's ^{sons}, by Odenathus.

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are mentioned in the writings of Church Fathers as ^{*}Bishops of Palmyra.

After the withdrawal of the Roman power, the history of Palmyra becomes a mere summary, up to the present time. Only occasional mention was made by the Arabic Geographers and Historians, and later European travellers.

In 400 A.D. the first Illyrican Legion was stationed at Palmyra though the city had been deserted shortly before. In 520 A.D. Justinian sent a body of Armenians with funds to rebuild the city, and to construct a citadel. He used the site as a fort of the eastern Roman frontier. Procopius gives an interesting account of his building there and on the Euphrates. He set up some public buildings, built a fort and made another wall, lying considerably within the circuit of the one built by Diocletian. He stationed a garrison there and built, or reconstructed, an aqueduct, for a water supply.

For a time after Rome fell, Palmyra continued to exist as one of the divisions of Syria, in competition with Hira and the Hauran. Aiham III of the Rassanid family, was once in power. In the middle of the sixth century, the city was under the control of the Gassanids of Damascus. The great Moslem conquests of the 7th century found Palmyra an easy prey. Persia was conquered in 633 A.D. by Khalid, in the battle of the Chains, and in the following year, Tudmor and the entire Hauran fell into Moslem hands. As the price of non-resistance, the city was spared. For 300 years, it remained under Saracen control, having little more importance than a post and a

* Marinus, 325 A.D.; John of Palmyra, 518 A.D.

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Marib, 320 A.D.; John of Ephesus, 518 A.D.

water station. In 745 A.D. it was captured and the walls were destroyed, by Merwan II, the last Prince of the Ommiades. The city had supported a rival Abasside Dynasty. In the 10th century, Mukkadasi, the Arabic historian, wrote of its being in the governmental district of Homs. It was a part of that government until the 11th century. He spoke of the wide, strong citadel of the desert-city, Tudmor. In the middle of the 11th Century, a great earthquake shook down all Syria, throwing many monuments and other buildings. It is probable that this also affected Palmyra, for rows of columns have been found which appear to have fallen en masse.

Until 1135, the city was under the Damascus government; the Emir of Homs had his residence at Palmyra for part of the year at that time. Abu-Obeida gives a short description of the Palmyra of the 12th century. In 1169 it was under Saracen authority, and was associated with Ba'albek under one governor. In 1173, Benjamin of Tudela visited the place, and found a Jewish population there, at war with Nur ed Din, governor of Damascus. He gave the population as 2000.

The Arabic Geographer, Jakut, tells a Palmyrene legend in the 13th century. In the middle of the century came a Mongol invasion from the East. In the 14th century, however, it still had some sources of wealth; Abu-'l-feda describes its waters and gardens. At the close of the century, Tamerlane made his great invasion of Syria and captured Damascus. In pursuit of some fugitives, in 1401, he sent 10,000 to the east, and they took Palmyra and plundered it. No mention is made of the city in the 16th century, except a tradition concerning the erection of the castle on the steep hill north-west of

water station. In 1444 A.D. it was plundered and the walls were destroyed, by Nur al-Din, the last Prince of the Crusades. The city had supported a rival Abbasid dynasty. In the 13th century, Ibn al-Khatib, the Arabic historian, wrote of its being in the governmental district of Hama. It was a part of that government until the 13th century. He spoke of the wide, strong citadel of the Abbasids. In the middle of the 13th century, a great earthquake shook all Syria, throwing many monuments and other buildings down. It is probable that Hama also suffered Palmyra, for rows of columns have been found which appear to have fallen in place.

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Wood. the city. This account says that Ma'n Ogle, a Druse prince, built the castle in 1585. It has no connection with the Palmyrene ruins. Less probable reports ascribe it to Fakr ed Din, or the Crusaders.

In the 17th century, Palmyra was re-discovered for Europe, and western travellers have been making visits to the ruins from that time until this. About 1640, the city, or village, was free from Turkish rule. It was controlled by the Anaseh Arabs when Europeans first visited the place. The Anaseh had been preceded by the tribe of Thay. Many Western travellers visited Palmyra in the 17th century, in spite of the great difficulties in ~~their~~ their way. They did much to bring the city back to life again, for its existence had been entirely forgotten. The ruins have often been described and all portable monuments have long ago been carried away to many different Museums of Archeology.

* In 1616 and 1625, Della Valla paid visits to it, in 1638, Tavernier saw it, in 1678, were the trips of Halifax of Aleppo, and of Lanayard and Goodyear. In 1751, Wood and Dawkins visited Palmyra from Aleppo, and published an account of the city, which is still taken as authority. Irby and Mangles went to Palmyra in 1818.



Grand Colonnade showing granite pillars.

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SPECIAL ASPECTS OF PALMYRENE LIFE.

(a) Palmyrene Government and Extent of Authority.

Palmyrene authority over provinces, even at the height of the city's power, was not a very substantial thing. As often happens, the ruler at that time in the East, was the man with the strongest army. The mass of the people, in both Egypt and Syria, cared little whether Roman or Palmyrene ruled over them, provided they were left to enjoy a fair amount of freedom in internal affairs. In Egypt, as soon as the Palmyrene army had conquered the Romans, the government was Palmyrene - when they were later driven away, by reinforcements, it became Roman, to be followed again by Palmyrene rule and Palmyrene coinage, within a very short time.

In Syria, the hold upon the people was no stronger. A company from Palestine fought against Zenobia in the battle of Homs. After the battle of Antioch, the Palmyrene General resorted to deceit in order to protect his army from an attack by the city before he could make good his escape. Palmyra's hold of Asia Minor was almost a fancy; her power with Persia was a mere matter of policy, for as soon as Palmyra was destroyed, Persian presents and support were for Rome. The desert-city seems to have had the strongest hold upon the Arabs. Uncertain as to location and numbers, as these people were, they furnished, however, one of the strongest elements of strength in the support of the city's pretensions. Connected by blood with a large part of the Palmyrene population, they naturally felt an interest in a claim and an ambition that seemed almost their own. They were also dependent upon Palmyra to a certain extent, for the vast caravan trade of the city furnished them a field for work, in the transportation of Eastern commodities.

In addition to the provinces mentioned west of Palmyra, the authority of the city was extended over the country on the east as far as the Euphrates. The territory on the west was well-guarded and perfectly safe, but the long desert stretch to the east was full of dangers, and demanded able leaders for the caravans that cut across it in all directions. Zenobia built a town on the Euphrates north-east of Kabakib and gave it her own name, which it ^{*}still bears. It is supposed to mark the approximate northern limit of Palmyrene authority on the Euphrates. The modern ruins of [#]Salahieh are those of the ancient Mambri of the time of Procopius and Justinian. The style of architecture and the Tomb-Towers point to its builders as Palmyrenes. It was probably the ^osouthern Palmyrene fortress on the Euphrates. Kiepert shows a direct route from here back to Suchne near Palmyra, and it is very probable that this direct route was used in Zenobia's time. The present villages of Suchne and Kabakib are the sites of ancient guard-houses on another route to the Euphrates. Resafa (II Kgs.XIX:1²) directly north of Palmyra was a post on another route to the Euphrates. It lies 25 miles south of the river. The Palmyrenes from their contiguity to the Persians, and having a common foe with them, were closely bound to them in commerce. The Palmyrene inscriptions mention several places which were great goods-depots on the east edge of the desert. Forath and Vologesias were

* Sometimes called Halebieh; it has tomb-towers and rock-hewn tombs.

The name shows some connection with Saladin.

^o Between Sâlahieh and the present Deir-ez-zor was another post by the name of Charax. This may have been the one referred to in the inscriptions, though no one seems to have noted that fact.

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In addition to the previous mentioned wall of Babylon, the wall
 north of the city was extended over the country on the west as far
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 the ancient Borsippa of the time of Herodotus and Diodorus. The
 style of architecture and the tower-towers point to the Babylonian
 Borsippa. It was probably the southern Babylonian Borsippa on the
 Euphrates. Borsippa shows a direct road from Babylon to Borsippa
 near Borsippa, and is very probable that this direct road was built
 in Borsippa's time. The present villages of Borsippa and Borsippa are
 the sites of ancient Borsippa on either side of the Euphrates.
 Borsippa (II Kings, XIA:12) directly north of Babylon was a road to the
 other side of the Euphrates. At this site north of the river,
 The Borsippa from their continuity to the Borsippa, and called a
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Between Borsippa and the present Borsippa was another town
 by the name of Qarax. This may have been the one referred to in
 the inscriptions, though no one seems to have noted that fact.

were on the Euphrates: Spasinacharax was on the Persian Gulf.

Little is known concerning the details of government in the Palmyrene state. The earliest days there was probably a head-man or sheikh, who exercised all the functions of government. With the coming of the Romans, the details of the governmental machine were quickly developed. An inscription of 21 A.D. speaks of "the people" erecting a statue: since the Senate is not mentioned, we conclude that it did not exist at that time; but at the time of the visit of Hadrian, the legislative power was exercised by a Senate, with a President, a Scribe, two Magistrates and a Financial Council of ^{Ten.} 10. When Hadrian visited Palmyra, he probably organized the Senate on the Roman plan. When Palmyra became a Roman Colony, it received the Roman Law, and the legislative power went into the hands of a Senate and the People. The two names often appear in inscriptions. The administrative officers were called Strategi; in the last period of Palmyra's development, the administrative power was in one Family, and finally went to one member of a family. In the time of Odenathus and Zenobia, the chief ruler was virtually an absolute sovereign. Zenobia had Advisers or Ministers - two of the most famous were the philosopher Cassius Longinus and Paul of Samosata, a heretic Bishop of Antioch.

The Senate did not hesitate to appropriate public money for buildings and monuments. Although many private persons set up many Tomb-Towers, Altars, and even Temples, the Senate also spent vast sums in public improvements. Not the most uncommon of these appropriations were those for statues of distinguished Palmyrenes. Many are the inscriptions proclaiming the granting of statues to men, who

was on the Government: Government was in the hands of the

Article 13 which contained the details of government in the...
 The earliest laws were probably a...
 The function of government...
 The details of the governmental...
 An inscription of...
 since the Senate is...
 at that time; but at the time of...
 the legislative power was exercised by a...
 a President, a Council, two Ministers and a...
 who probably organized the...
 When...
 and the legislative power...
 The two houses...
 administrative offices were called...
 the administrative power was...
 and they went to one...
 and Senate, the chief...
 Ministers of...
 were the...
 Group of...

The Senate did not...
 Although many private persons...
 and even...
 for the...
 were...
 the...
 the...
 the...
 the...

had faithfully served the city at home, or led one of the great caravans back from the East. Regulations were made by the Senate, concerning duties on goods and the use of the water supply. Since the city had the monopoly of the latter, very heavy charges were made. The Customs Inscription of April 18, 137 A.D. is the longest inscription ever found among the ruins here. It regulates ~~Tariff~~* and water*charges in detail.

No. 24-27
No. 28.

The Palmyrene ruler was not called a King until late in the history of the city. Even after the Senate was formed, the principal executive power was probably in the hands of a representative of the strongest family. With the increasing importance of the titles given by the Romans to the Palmyrene ruler, came an increasing rank to him at home. The Romans gave the title of "Senator", ~~xx~~ and finally, "Consul" to the family of Odenathus, and the Palmyrenes called him "Head-Man" or "Lord". They called Herodes "Prince of Palmyra"; Gallienus recognized Odenathus as "King of Palmyra", and the Palmyrene inscription of 271 A.D. ^{calls} ~~calls~~ him "King of Kings." Finally if the Romans did not grant the honor, Zenobia took the title of "Emperor" for her son, and she was supported by a united government in her claim.

(b) Palmyrene Commerce and Industry.

In Ezekiel's summary of the commerce of Tyre, great emphasis is laid upon the richness and importance of the products of the East. In the time of Rome, the value of the Eastern commerce had increased to such an extent, that much of the magnificence of the Mother-city

and finally, having the city at home, or the one of the great ones
 was taken from the East. Regulations were made at the time, and
 certain duties on goods and the use of the water supply. Since the
 city had the monopoly of the water, very heavy charges were made.
 The German Invention of 1871 A.D. is the latest invention
 since ever found among the ruins here. It is a very simple and
 unchanged in detail.

The Egyptian gods were not called a King until 1860 in the
 city of Thebes. Even after the gods were found, the religious
 executive power was given to the hands of a representative of the
 Egyptian family. With the increasing importance of the city
 given by the houses to the Egyptian gods, and an increasing rate
 to the gods. The houses gave the title of "Gods", and the
 title, "Gods" to the family of Gods, and the houses called
 the "Gods" or "Lords". The houses called "Lords of Thebes";
 the houses called "Lords of Thebes", and the houses
 the houses of 1871 A.D. called "Lords of Thebes". The houses
 the houses did not give the title, "Lords" to the title of "Lords"
 "Lords" for the gods, and was reported to a higher government in
 the state.

() Egyptian Gods and Kings.

In the history of the country of Egypt, great changes
 have been the result and progress of the people of the East.
 In the time of Rome, the title of the gods was changed and
 the gods were called, the gods of the world, the gods of the world.

was drawn in products from far-eastern Provinces or from lands beyond Roman authority. Persian fabrics and gems, Indian woods and jewels, went in a constant stream to the Roman capital. Pliny lamented the circumstance, claiming that it was draining the country of its gold.

Many different routes were employed at different times in transporting these Eastern goods to Western markets. Some were used at the same time, but in general, they fall into three divisions. The one farthest the south, passing through Alexandria and across Arabia, was principally used before Palmyra reached its highest development. The middle one, by the Eastern Mediterranean coast and Palmyra, reached the Euphrates and finally the Persian Gulf, and was the occasion of the growth of the city. After the fall of Palmyra, trade was carried on with the East, either by way of Aleppo and the country north of Palmyra or through Arabia to Bostra (Bosrah) on the Persian Gulf.

The trade-route from the East through Palmyra divided at that point; one road led north-west to Homs about 70 miles away, and then on the Antioch and finally to Rome. The other went south-west to Damascus, 150 miles distant. This supplied the Egyptian and Syrian trade. In the early history of Palmyra, communications were maintained with Egypt through Petra. The roads west of Palmyra were well-laid out and carefully paved. They ran through a pleasant country, thoroughly protected from violence. Guard-houses were maintained at a distance of every three leagues. At Danava, half-way between Palmyra and Damascus, were the headquarters of one of the Roman legions.

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 was carried on with the East, either by way of Aleppo and the country
 north of Palestine or through Arabia to Basra (Bassorah) on the Persian
 Gulf.

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 well-laid out and carefully paved. They ran through a pleasant
 country, thoroughly protected from violence. Guard-houses were
 maintained at a distance of every three leagues. At Damascus, half-
 way between Palestine and Damascus, were the headquarters of one of the
 Roman legions.

The territory east of Palmyra was not so secure, and the routes were not so clearly laid out. To fit out and safely conduct a great caravan across this waste, was no small undertaking - if successfully done, it was regarded as worthy of public recognition in the shape of a statue in the Market-Place or along the Grand Colonnade of the mother-city. Such inscriptions commonly mention Vologesias as the objective point toward the East. This was a trading centre on the Euphrates south-west of Babylon. The latter city was itself called a "City of Merchants".

M.S.
2:384

The Customs' Inscription throws some light on the nature of the articles of commerce. Ointments are often mentioned, and so are grease, oil and skins. To these must be added silks, jewels, perfumes and pearls from India, China, and Arabia. The trade was very profitable, not only to the merchants, but also to the city itself. Heavy export and import duties were levied and the water of the city was farmed out at ^{*}high prices. Goods were transported by carts, [#]camels and asses; since camels were largely supplied by the Arabs, there grew up a source of interdependence between the two peoples. The great Customs' Inscription carefully regulated the size of donkey and camel loads and fixed the rate of duty for each different article of merchandize.

The principal industry and interest of the city was the transportation of goods. It could not be expected to direct its atten-

* The price for using the fountains was over 100 dollars; the Greek of the inscription gives that amount as the annual charge.

A camel's load was made 300 kilos and a cart was allowed to carry 1,200 kilos; the donkey's load was one-half that of the camel. Wagons were used on the roads west of Palmyra.

The territory east of Bahayra was not so secure, and the roads were not so clearly laid out. To this end and partly because of the caravan across this waste, was no small undertaking - if necessarily done, it was regarded as worthy of public recognition in the shape of a statue in the market-place or along the Grand Colonnade of the town itself. Such inscriptions commonly mention Vologases as the objective point toward the East. This was a trading centre on the Euphrates north-west of Bahayra. The latter city was itself called a "City of Merchants".

The Customs' Inscription shows some light on the nature of the articles of commerce. Statements are often mentioned, and so are precious, oil and skins. To these must be added silk, jewels, pearls and pearls from India, China, and Arabia. The trade was profitable, not only to the merchants, but also to the city itself. Heavy export and import duties were levied and the water of the city was turned out at high prices. Goods were transported by canal, canals and roads; state canals were largely supplied by the Arabs, there being a source of interdependence between the two peoples. The Great Customs' Inscription carefully regulated the rate of duty on camels and camel loads and fixed the rate of duty for each different class of merchandise.

The principal industry and interest of the city was the transportation of goods. It could not be expected to direct its attention to the price for which the four ounces was over 100 dollars; the Greek of the inscription gives that amount as the usual charge. A camel's load was made 500 kilos and a cart was allowed to carry 1,500 kilos; the donkey's load was one-half that of the camel. Wagons were used on the roads of Bahayra.

tion to manufactures, or art, or agriculture in a region poorly adapted to such things. Its people were professional merchants, finding their opportunity in the strategic position of their city; so they developed in the line of trading, even at the charge of being mercenary. Appian speaks scornfully of them as "those merchants who seek among the Persians the products of India and Arabia, and carry them to the Romans".

3.116. The city had some development of industries, however; there ~~xxxx~~ seems to have been some activity in leather-making, and salt was gathered in large quantities from the salt-marsh south-east of the city. They acquired skill in cutting and working stone, for it was the most important element in their building operations. The work in precious metals and stones was important; one-quarter of the ruins is still pointed out today as that of the Gold- and Silver-smiths. In the year 258 A.D., the guilds of Gold- and Silver-smiths set up an inscription to Odenathus at their own expense.-- There was also some development in pottery-making, though most of the product was crude in finish, and ill-colored. There was a trade in grease and skins, the products of the herds belonging to the Arab tribes. In a word, Palmyra was not a great industrial centre.

(c) Gods and Religious Worship.

As might be expected from the location and development of Palmyra, the religion was eclectic in nature. The people took parts from all the religions about them, since many representatives of those religions were constantly passing in trade between the East and the West. In the time of Zenobia, there was practically no

tion to manufacturing, or art, or agriculture to a very poor
 noted to such things. Its people were professional
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 and the West. In the time of Xenophon, there was practically no

State+Religion. The Queen herself was probably Egyptian; Longinus, her chief minister, was a Neo-Platonist; a part of the population was probably Jewish, and there is a hint of ^{*}Christian influence in the city. There were also the followers of the ancient Syrian gods or of their own proto-types.

The main religious worship of the city centred about the old Syrian sun-gods and the Planetary system. The Roman System influenced this system, but did not supplant it. The Roman gods were worshipped to some extent under their Roman names - there being still found an altar and inscription to Jupiter, dated 162 A.D. The Syrian gods worshipped had their proto-types in the gods of the surrounding nations.

Thus, Malachbel or Bel, was the god of the Sun, corresponding to Moloch of the Ammonites, and Melcarth of the Syrians. Aglibol, or Jahribol was the Moon+god, but with male attributes, corresponding to the Phrygian god, Athys. Supreme over these two gods, or couples of gods, there was another power often addressed as Baalsamin, having some of the Sun+attributes. It may be compared with Jupiter as the god of Thunder; its symbol was the eagle. The title, Baalsamin, points out Palmyra as a centre of Baal-worship along with Phoenicia. To this god is, no doubt, addressed the oft-recurring indefinite allusion, "to Him whose name be blessed, *etc." of many inscriptions.

eye. dit.

The Jews could make such an indefinite allusion and refer as well to Jehovah as to any heathen god . A common syllable in proper names is that

* One inscription has no reference to heathen gods and is ornamented with two crosses.

... The Queen herself was probably ...
... was a Neo-Platonist; a part of the ...
... and there is a kind of ...
... There were also the followers of the ...
... of their own ...

The main religious worship of the city ...
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... but did not appear in ...
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... dated 182 A.D. The ...
... in the gods of the ...
... .

... Bel, was the god of the Sun, corresponding to ...
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... with two crosses.

of ^{*}Bol or Bel, meaning god. A small tessera described by Bernoville shows the three principal Palmyrene gods in their relative rank. They are represented in Roman dress.

The city gave much attention to the erection of temples and altars. Not only at numerous places throughout the city, but also throughout the surrounding country, [#]altars were set up to the gods at the city's expense. Three hours east of Beida, three large altars were built and inscribed. Similar monuments have been found on the road to Homs. The fountain of Ephca was also worshipped, and an altar was placed near it by one who had been cured in its waters. The service of the fountain was in the hands of a few priests chosen by election. The presiding deity of the place was made Aglibol, the god of the Moon. At other places in the city there were costly temples. One was built to Osiris, another is sometimes called the Little Temple of the Sun, but has lately been pointed out as the "Temple of the King's Mother".

3.64.

The crowning glory of the sacred buildings, and of the city itself, was the Great Temple of the Sun, on a hill near the centre of the city. This structure was very similar to the Temple of the Sun at Ba'albek; it is one of the largest and grandest temples ever built. Several of the inscriptions speak of the great part played by private citizens in the erection of the structure. The same inscription often praises the gods and individual citizens together. A similar circumstance appears in honorary inscriptions to caravan



* Taibol means "servant of god".

Private citizens often took this method of expressing gratitude to the gods for favors expected or received.

of Bol or Bel, meaning god. A small temple dedicated by Belshazzar shows the three principal Babylonian gods in their relative rank. They are represented in Roman dress.

The city gave much attention to the erection of temples and altars. Not only at numerous places throughout the city, but also throughout the surrounding country, altars were set up to the gods at the city's expense. Three fountains east of Babil, three large altars were built and inscribed. Similar monuments have been found on the road to Hama. The fountain of Igbon was also worshipped, and an altar was placed near it by one who had been cured in its waters. The service of the fountain was in the hands of a few priests chosen by election. The presiding deity of the place was made Agilal, the god of the Moon. At other places in the city there were costly temples. One was built to Oairia, another is sometimes called the Little Temple of the Sun, but has lately been pointed out as the "Temple of the King's Mother".

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Faihol means "servant of God". Private citizens often took this method of expressing gratitude to the gods for favors expected or received.

leaders where commercial and religious functions often center in the same individual.

The Temple building was not as large proportionally as was its outer court. The richly ornamented interior shows something of the nature of the worship. The walls were heavy with ornament; the decorations on the ceiling were particularly important. The twelve signs of the Zodiac were represented in a circle. An inner circle of seven figures seems to signify the Planetary system, and the blazing central head is certainly meant for the Sun. It points to a cult similar to the Star-worship of the Persians and Chaldeans.

(d) LANGUAGE, CALENDAR, and SYSTEM OF NUMERATION.

The Calendar used in Palmyra was Macedonian, being based upon the rise of the Seleucidæ in 312 B.C. The ^{*}months were the same as those used by the Hebrews, excepting the use of Qinian instead of Marcheshvan. The [#]year began with Tishri (October).

The language of Palmyra was first Aramaic. It lay midway between the East Aramaic, or Chaldean, and the West Aramaic, commonly called Syriac. It closely resembled the Aramaic of Palestine, and its characters were almost the same as the Hebrew. Ten of its fifteen letters were bi-lingual. There was a vulgar script and an official writing; samples of the former have been found in many parts of the world, carried there by Palmyrenes serving in Roman armies. As the city developed, the written characters changed from the square Hebrew into more ornamental forms. As Palmyrene connections extend-

^{*} The Palmyrene months as given in the inscriptions were: Thebet (January), Shebat (February), Adar (March), Nisan (April), Iyar (May) Siwan (June), Thammuz (July), Ab (August), Elul (September), Tischri (October), Qinian (November), Kaslul (December).

[#] There was probably a national festival in the Spring, during the

leaders were concerned and religious institutions often center in the same individual.

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(5) LANGUAGE, CALENDAR, and SYSTEM OF NUMERATION.

The Calendar used in Palmyra was Mesopotamian, being based upon the rise of the Seleucid in 312 B.C. The months were the same as those used by the Hebrews, excepting the use of Qintan instead of Marchesivan. The year began with Tishri (October).

The language of Palmyra was first Aramaic. It lay midway between the East Aramaic, or Chaldean, and the West Aramaic, commonly called Syriac. It closely resembled the Aramaic of Palestine, and its characters were almost the same as the Hebrew. Ten of the fifteen letters were original. There was a vowel sign and an initial writing; samples of the former have been found in many parts of the world, carried there by Palmyraes serving in Roman armies. As the city developed, the written language changed from the simple Hebrew into more ornate forms. As Palmyra's connections extended

The Palmyra month as given in the inscriptions were: Thous (January), Sebte (February), Am (March), Kinn (April), Iar (May), Iwan (June), Thous (July), Au (August), Hui (September), Tisri (October), Qintan (November), Kasal (December). There was probably a national festival in the Spring, during the

ed into other nations, new elements came into the language. Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, all contributed in one way or another to it. Many Nabata^en proper names appear in the inscriptions, and others are made by a union of Arabic and Syriac roots. In the time of the Christian Roman Empire, the Edessine Aramaic was the prevailing tongue. In Islamic times Arabic was the official means of communication; a later rule brought in Turkish, but the common people still speak Arabic.

The Greek language became the tongue of learning and culture all over Syria; it appears on Palmyrene monuments along with Palmyrene but it is doubtful if it was ~~XXXX~~ ever fully understood in that city. Over 60 Greek inscriptions and 100 Palmyrene have been copied and ~~PK~~ published. Latin was not used to any great extent.

The only Palmyrene writings extant are upon stone, but of these there are many. On tomb, on temple, on sacrificial altar, or on commemorative tablet, the praise-loving Palmyrene was always ready to set down names and dates, - but little more that would tell of the life of his native city. The votive⁺ inscriptions were often opened with an indefinite address to Deity[#] - the mortuary inscriptions generally close with a conventional expression of grief - the public monuments were duly inscribed by "SENATE AND PEOPLE". These inscriptions extend over a period of nearly three centuries, from 9 B.C. to 271 A.D. Nearly all of them are in Greek or Palmyrene, generally

month of Nisan, for many of the altars were set up at that time, Many governmental inscriptions are dated Ab (August); there may have been another general gathering at that time.

* "To HIM, whose name be blessed for ever and ever", etc. The first of such inscriptions is dated 111 A.D. - D.V.No. 74.

"Hannata, daughter of Barepha, Alas"!

ed into other nations, new elements came into the language. Persian, Arabian, Greek and Latin, all contributed in one way or another to it. Many Nabataean proper names appear in the inscriptions, and others are made by a union of Arabic and Syriac roots. In the time of the Christian Roman Empire, the Edessians Aramaic was the prevailing tongue. In Islamic times Arabic was the official means of communication; a later rule brought in Turkish, but the common people still speak Arabic.

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... of the ... time, ... there may have ... The ... 74.

in both languages. There was one Hebrew inscription and one in Latin. The later writings often contain proper names with Roman praenomen; one of the writings is full of Jewish proper names. One of them is looked upon as of Christian origin.

The Palmyrene system of ^{*}numeration was very simple, and much like that of the other Syrian states; the symbols employed mark the first steps toward the Arabic numerals. The following ^{four} ~~five~~ symbols were used in different combinations: \, / (1), √ (5), } (20), -> (10). They were simply placed side by side and the number indicated was the sum of them all. In order to express ^{as} hundred~~s~~, the sign -> was placed after another number; -> then lost its value as ten. There were [#]written names for their numerical characters, and a number of such names has been discovered in either masculine or feminine form. They always came after the names of the objects counted.

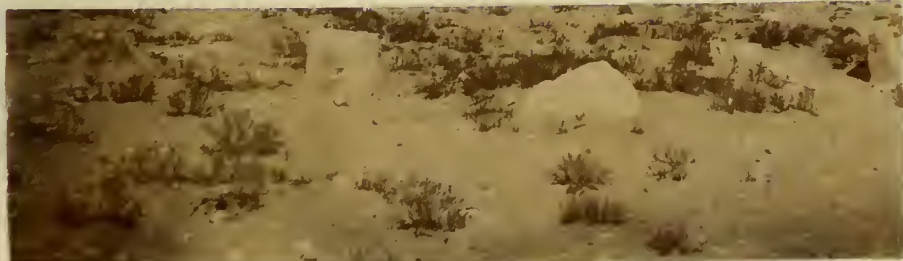
v. p. 4.

1. M. G.
12: 408.

* Thus counting from right to left, |||√ would be 8; ||} would be 22; |||-> would stand for 14 and |||->->||| for 414. The cost of the use of the fountain was ->|||√ (800) denarii.
- (Customs' Inscription, 2nd col., 1.8.)

The inscription was set up in |||√}}->||| (448) by the Palmyrene Calendar.

The names for 1-9, 16, 300, 10000. D.V.No.95 shows the expression "For the second time."



in the same way. The last writing often contains proper names with long vowels. One of them is looked upon as of Christian origin.

The Palmyrene system of numeration was very simple, and each like that of the other Syrian peoples, the symbols employed were the same. The following ^{year} signs were used in different conditions: (1) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. They were simply placed side by side and the number indicated was the sum of them all. In order to express hundreds, the sign 1 was placed after another number; thus 1100 was written as 1100. There were written names for these numerical characters, and a number of such names has been discovered in other inscriptions of Palmyrene form. They always came after the names of the objects counted.

These counting from right to left, and would be 10; 20; 30; 40; 50; 60; 70; 80; 90; 100. The use of the letter 1000 was not used in Palmyrene. The inscription was set up in 300 (418) by the Palmyrene Caliph. The names for 1-9, 10, 200, 1000. D.V. 10.11.11 shows the expression "for the second time."

(e) Art and Architecture.

The art of Syria during the Roman occupation was Greek. This great civilizing influence had first come into the country in the success and Eastern march of Alexander's army. The situation at Palmyra was the same as that which existed at Ba'albek, Petra and other places. There was a crude indigénous art, which received the Greek and left its influence upon it. The product was a composite of many different art tendencies. Oriental imagination took the somewhat rigid forms of classic art and loaded them with ornaments. As the result there grew up "and an artificial rococo style of sculpture and architecture distinguished more for splendor than for feeling." Ceilings, pilasters, and capitals were covered with various combinations of the ~~great~~³²⁸ cluster, the leaf, the egg and diamond-shaped relief. Gold-foil and bronze were used on stone, where mere carving was not sufficient.

One element of Palmyrene architecture was unique; this was the construction of Tomb-Towers. In this, the Asiatic turn to the Palmyrene mind is manifest. The Persians and other nations have had such towers, but they ha-ve not been used by Western nations. The Persian towers were built for the purpose of holdíng the dead, until consumed by wild birds; but the Palmyrene Towers were for the sake of protecting the remains of the dead. Not all the dead were laid away in towers; many tombs have been found , under-ground and above-ground, and this mode of burial was mostly used ^{*} after the Roman influence became strong.

* The latest date found on any Tomb-Tower is that of 102 A.D. on the Tower of Elabálus Manáus (C.I.G.4505.).

(1) Art and Architecture.

The art of this period during the French occupation was French. The French civilizing influence was felt down into the country in the economic and literary sphere of literature and art. The sculpture of this period was the same as that which existed at Orleans, Bourges and other places. There was a crude indigenous art which resisted the Greek and Latin influences of the time. The products were a mixture of the two influences and indigenous art. Original sculpture was the somewhat rigid form of classic art and looked down upon as a relic. As the French came over of "the art of the French" was a mixture of the two influences and the products were the same as those of the French, "the art of the French", and sculpture was done with various modifications of the French style, the French, and the French style of art. The French style of art was the same as that of the French, and the French style of art was the same as that of the French.

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The Palmyrene Tomb-Towers were of two kinds - those on the Plain, which were older, and those on the hills and in the valley above the city. The later Towers are much better preserved than those on the plain. These Towers were ordinarily built of rough stone, although some of them are smoothed off and carefully ornamented in the interior. They were generally from four to six stories high, with stone stairways running from top to bottom; the bodies were kept in sealed compartments one above the other, opening off from a central court in each story. At the back of each Tower there was often a cave with rough divisions, possibly for slaves or dependents. The estimated capacity of such a Tomb Tower was between 450 and 500 bodies. Thus all the connections of a great family were gathered together for many generations in one great tomb.

* The Tower of Iamblichus deserves special notice. It had an open central room in each story, with coffin-like recesses on each side for the reception of bodies. Between each recess was a fluted pilaster bearing acanthus leaves. Busts in half-relief ornamented the wall opposite the entrance in the first story; these busts have all been destroyed by the Arabs. The ceiling was made of panelled stone, ornamented with bright blues and browns and a star-shaped white flower in relief. The colors and the acanthus leaves are seemingly as clear-cut and distinct as when left by their makers.

* Wright measured the Tower of Kasr-eth-tunyah. He found it six stories high (11 ft.), with the top lacking. It measured 33½ feet around below, and 26 feet above. It contained places for 480 bodies.

° See D.V.No.65. "This tomb with all its decorations has been built of their own means, by Zebeida and Samwil, sons of Levi, the son of Jacob, the son of Samwil, in honor of their father Levi, as an eternal resting-place for him, for themselves, their children and grand-children, forever. In the month of Nisan, 523 (April 212 A.D.)

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Few statues or busts illustrative of Palmyrene art still remain, but such of those as were found in the Towers and the Temples, go to show the artificiality and lack of feeling of Palmyrene art. The women figures are better carved than the men; both classes are generally shown with a Semitic or Jewish cast of countenance. The draping of the garments is Roman and conventional; on the head is placed a round, close-fitting cap for the men, and a flowing cloth for the women. The conventional commemorative female bust shows a figure ~~half-reclining~~ half-reclining and leaning on one elbow. An attendant presents a cup at one side.

In sculpture as in building, the Palmyrene had a beautiful but yielding stone in which to work. It was not marble, but a pinkish-yellow limestone easily handled, and retaining its color in spite of the weather. Several quarries were used in the surrounding mountains; one of the most important was about an hour north of the city. The dazzling whiteness of its public buildings, along with its green groves, made Palmyra one of the most beautiful cities of its day. Greek architecture was the prevailing type; all the capitals are Corinthian except those in the Temple of the Sun. The construction of Temples, of Colonnades and Aqueducts, was very similar to that in other cities which came under Greek and Roman influence.

The Temple of the Sun was the most extensive building in the city. It included an inner Temple building and an outer Court. This Court, a square with sides over 700 feet long, was surrounded by a wall over 70 feet high. The blank wall space was broken up by fluted pilasters supporting a frieze and a cornice; between the pilasters were window openings. The court was surrounded by a double

lit. I. 136.

2. 66.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the origin of life is a problem of the first importance, and that it is one of the most interesting and important problems of the present day. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most probable theory is that of spontaneous generation. He also discusses the evidence in favor of this theory, and shows that it is supported by the facts of the case.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the evidence in favor of spontaneous generation. The author shows that the evidence is of the most convincing nature, and that it is supported by the facts of the case. He also discusses the various objections to this theory, and shows that they are all unfounded. The author concludes that the origin of life is a problem of the first importance, and that it is one of the most interesting and important problems of the present day.

The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. The author shows that the most probable theory is that of spontaneous generation, and that it is supported by the facts of the case. He also discusses the various objections to this theory, and shows that they are all unfounded. The author concludes that the origin of life is a problem of the first importance, and that it is one of the most interesting and important problems of the present day.

row of pillars except on the west side. The pillars were about 40 feet high with ornamented capitals, and supporting^{ed} a decorated entablature. The double row of columns recalls Herod's Temple, but was different in that each column had a corbel for supporting a statue. The grand entrance on the west side was approached by a series of steps or terraces over 100 feet wide. A portico of ten columns covered the entrance way, which was in three divisions. The central door was over 30 feet high and 15 feet wide; the side doors were half as large.

The Temple building stood on a raised platform near the centre of the court. Its dimensions were about 45 by 100 feet; it was surrounded by a single row of fluted columns, 60 feet high, with capitals of bronze. The building was constructed of immense blocks of stone, so carefully joined, even without mortar, that a knife blade cannot be inserted between them. Some of these stones were over 20 feet long; the sides to the main entrance to the Temple enclosure ~~xxx~~ were monoliths.

The doorway to the Temple proper was as large as the central division of the main entrance, and was on the ~~ni~~ west side between two columns. It was similar to the entrance to the small temple at Ba'albek; the lintels showed the same eagle ornament without-spread wings. Immediately inside the Temple door there were two basins, one on each side. They were about 13 feet deep and were probably used in washing sacrifices. The most important division of the Temple was in the east end; a small chamber was cut off on the north of this division and another on the south. The north chamber was richly ornamented with busts and a ceiling of panelled stone. This

ceiling held the famous Zodiacal signs and figures of the gods, which have given some idea of Palmyrene religion. It was also ornamented with square and diamond shaped designs in color.

Many honorary inscriptions were set up in the Temple of the Sun, and in the confusion of dates, it ^{is} ~~was~~ difficult to ascertain the ~~the~~ time of its erection. The first of these dates is 21 A.D., another followed in the year 49 A.D., and the sons of Malchu honored their father with one in 85 A.D. There are others, among them 178 A.D. and 257 A.D. It is probable that the Temple was built at the close of the first century or at the beginning of the second, during the patronage of Hadrian.

Leading directly up to the main entrance of the great Temple, was a long Colonnade which extended through the heart of the city from the Valley of the Tombs. It was almost a mile long and contained over a thousand columns, when first erected. Judging from the three divisions of the great Arch at the east end, two side colonnades were also planned but no traces of them exist now. The columns were 55 feet high from pedestal to the top of the capital; in some places they supported a raised foot-way and a cornice for sustaining coverings for the street beneath. This resembles the Colonnade of Antioch; Apamea, Damascus and other great cities of ~~the~~ that time had similar long Colonnades.

A footepassage paved with marble led along the side of the street, by the bases of the columns. One of the aqueducts came across the hills on the west, and entered the city along the south side of the Colonnade. On the inside of many of the columns there was a corbel, or bracket, for supporting a statue. As the columns

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were not monoliths, it was easy to cut one section with a projecting bracket; a few of the corbels were inserted in cavities ~~in~~ cut into the columns. The pillars of the Colonnade were well proportioned but less carefully worked out in matters of detail, than those in the Temple of the Sun. The Great Arch, on the other hand, was covered with ornamental designs. Its jambs and side panels were covered with climbing grape-vines and leaves. The Colonnade could not have been built after 155 A.D. for there is an inscription of that date upon one of its columns. The whole structure was probably a part of Hadrian's great plan for beautifying the city.

D.V. Nos.

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2590.

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II:243

In addition to the great monuments of the city, the Palmyrenes also paid close attention to smaller details of buildings, for the ornament or service of the city. The small Temple of the King's Mother is a little masterpiece in its simplicity. It is very solidly built and possibly owes its preservation to that ~~in~~ fact. Its dimensions are about 25 by 50 feet; its height has been diminished by sand which has drifted in about it. The front of the Temple is ornamented by a portico, having a well cut frieze; the whole is supported on six columns. There are windows in the sides of the building, plain within, but ornamented without with pilasters crowned with acanthus leaves. One of the columns in front bears an honorary inscription dated 131 A.D.

Commemorative columns were erected in honor of the Roman allies or of illustrious citizens. Many altars were set up for religious service and sometimes these were of silver. Numbers of small chapels were erected, often by private enterprise. These have sometimes been called the dwelling places of the wealthier families: the prevailing desire for ornament is shown in the general use of two columns by the doors of such buildings. On some of the most public

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a Palmyra

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VIII.

Milestone Inscription east of Palmyra.

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streets imposing porticoes were built by private persons. The Jews were allowed to build for their own worship, considerable ruins of a third century synagogue having been unearthed.

Ex. 71:20
The imperative need of a reliable water-supply called for the construction of an aqueduct. The fountain of Ephca and nearby spring were not sufficient, so connections were made with the great spring of Abul Fawaris, one-half hour to the west, in the plain beyond the hills. An underground passage eight feet deep by four feet wide, was lined with stone and served to conduct the water into the city. At regular distances shafts were sunk to facilitate construction and aid in the management of the water-course. The aqueduct led into the heart of the ~~six~~ city, ending near the Grand Colonnade, possibly in the Market-Place.

Of theatres there are no traces. If Palmyra followed Roman taste in this respect, the remains of the buildings lie buried in the sand. There seem to be some evidences of baths, but these are also probably below the present level of the city. A sign of Roman influence is evident in the paved roads on the main routes into the city. Their importance in war and in the development of commerce with the east was of the first importance. Easy and rapid communications were thus established between Palmyra and Damascus and Homs on the west. The distance was regularly measured off by mile stones with inscriptions. Although routes were less definitely followed in the region east of Palmyra, both roads and mile stones existed, especially toward the north-east.

Palmyrene terra-cotta and pottery work was of only mediocre order. Few specimens of pottery have been found and they seem highly

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colored and somewhat coarse. There are many specimens of little tablets and other ^{*}tesserae in clay,; they are very valuable as witnesses to the life of the city, if showing but little art. They were of many shapes, - sometimes round, often irregular, representing houses, crescents, pyramids and the heads of animals. Some were cone shaped and served to typify the regenerative force in nature, which was often worshipped - sometimes as a god, sometimes as a goddess. These tesserae were not held on strings but were carried loosely like coins.

Palmyrene art was artificial; it was transient; it may have been decadent, - but it had an individuality of its own. It was the outgrowth of a life which was both artificial and transient; in its combined Oriental and Occidental spirit it created a type of feature in its statues which is recognized as Palmyrene by the most careless observer; the style of architecture of ruins on the Euphrates points them out definitely as Palmyrene.

(f) PALMYRENE CIVILIZATION AND LIFE.

Western culture met Arab vigor in Palmyra on neutral ground. The resultant life, it cannot be called nationality, was neither Greek nor Arabic; it was a composite of many civilizations yet differing from them all. In spite of its mushroom growth, Palmyrene life had characteristics of its own. Of all the Syrian cities, it was the one to retain the greatest individuality in language and customs. It did not adopt the Roman system of numeration or of calculating time.

 * "Tsenabar, son of Soraiku,"
 " - - -, son of Soraiku." --D.V. No.130.

Heer
285

v. p. 84

It has been said that Grecian culture and art, Egyptian burial customs and Persian luxury, all found a place in Palmyrene life - and that ~~it~~ is so; it is also a fact that Roman life had its influence, for Roman names and customs were adopted as honorable; Nabatean families brought in a different life and manner of speech; the Jews found a home there and prospered - Arabic forms and names were a part of that life from the very beginning. In short, like all great commercial centres, Palmyra was cosmopolitan.

Palmyrene burial-customs deserve notice. With true Semitic feeling, great reverence was paid to ancestors. In addition to the numerous tomb-towers and commemorative tablets already described, great care was taken for the preservation of the dead. Mummification was much used in the early history of the city, but declined with the growth of Roman influence. The method of preparing mummies in Palmyra was the same ~~x~~ as that used in Egypt; mummies and ~~xx~~ wrappings found in the two countries are very ~~xxxxxxx~~ similar. This close resemblance may show that part of the Palmyrene population was of Egyptian descent. We cannot say whether mummification had the same religious signification that it had in Egypt or not. Some Palmyrene skulls contain quantities of peach, apricot and date seeds, the significance of which is not understood.

Ancient Palmyra was ten or twelve miles in circumference and was surrounded by cultivated fields. The heart of the city, now represented by the Colonnade and the Temple of the Sun, was open and well

* Mummied remains point to the Palmyrenes as a race of large stature and powerful build.

arranged; it gave opportunity for lavish display in public monuments. The common people lived apart from this central district and probably in greatest numbers in a section north of the Colonnade. Addison reports having outlined streets in that locality. The poor were very poor and were taxed for the necessaries of life. Few if any details of their homes have been found; they were built of some very perishable material; if of wood, ~~the~~^{the} second capture of the city by Aurelian would answer for their disappearance. They were probably set up of clay or of some soft building stone which has been dissolved by heat and storms.

The Palmyrenes honored the man who fostered commerce. They reached out farther and farther in their transactions until they included the entire east. Stimulated by the desire for gain, they led caravans across deserts and through dangers of robbers; the result upon the whole people was to make them hardy and enterprising, ready to go out and to bring things to pass. Aramean, Arab, Greek, Armenian, Jew and Persian worked in a common field, against common dangers; they were fused together into a life unified enough, to found and maintain a great city.

The inner life of that city passed away, leaving few definite records. We know that the same pride in family and in family line so often found in the East, was felt also in Palmyra. Marriages ordinarily took place between members of the same line, and the names of a man's ancestors were placed with his own on public monuments. To a certain extent this was necessary, because of the small number of proper names used. This came about from the custom of naming children after the grandparents. The first male child was named after the paternal grandfather, the first female child after the paternal

grandmother; the second son was named after the maternal grandfather; the second ~~girl~~ daughter after the maternal grandmother. Other children were named for more remote ancestors.

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84.

The Palmyrene dress was modeled after^{the} ~~the~~ Greek and Roman. The different statues give considerable information along this line. The principal garment of ~~the~~ both men and women was a wide-flowing robe, with many folds, secured about the waist by a girdle. It was draped in such a way as to leave part of the arm bare. The men sometimes wore a kind of baggy trousers. Most of the statues representing men show the subjects with heads bare, and hair and beard arranged in curling, conventional forms. Some are shown with a round cap, resembling the Tarbusch (fez) of the present day, but being wider at the top than at the bottom. Sometimes this was wrapped with a wide cloth forming a turban. A small white cap was sometimes worn under this Tarbusch. The head-dress of the women always shows the greatest care. The hair was neatly drawn up over the head and caught with an encircling cloth, often ornamented with spangles or gems. This cloth head-dress fell down in graceful folds behind the neck and shoulders; it might easily have been used as a veil when occasion demanded.

The dress of the Palmyrene women calls to mind a most important characteristic of Palmyrene dress - its richness. Gold and gems and other ornaments were used in the greatest profusion. The necks and bosoms, shoulders and arms of the women are represented as covered with rings and spangles. The Oriental spirit of the people is shown, not only in the overloading with ornament, but also in the figures used, - the crescent being the most common.

85.
Mention has already been made of the numerous tesserae of Palmyra, and their connection with Palmyrene art. They also have great value as throwing light upon the life of the city. Sometimes the small objects seem to have been used as visiting cards. They held either the name of the owner or the trade which he followed. At other times they probably served as tickets, either to public entertainments or to religious feasts. The mortuary tesserae were issued in large numbers at the ^{*}death of a person to be given to relatives and friends. If such a thing existed in Palmyra ~~as~~ [#] as largesses of oil and corn, some of these clay tablets were used as certificates, entitling the holders to shares. They were given out by the officers in charge.

Little more can be said of the life of the ancient city. The absence of records and of a literature leave us only to surmise. What were the amusements, the questions before the people, the everyday life of the multitudes which came and went through its streets, we can not say. We know that a brief life was lived, that it passed away like a flower, leaving behind only a suggestion of what had been. We know that there was a civilization there, with marks of individuality; but we cannot say that there ever was a true spirit of nationality. The great extent of authority from Salahieh and Zenobia on the Euphrates, to the Mediterranean on the west, was only nominal, to pass away with the destruction of the main city. The

* "Qasbel (has died)". D.V. 131.

D.V.No.16 mentions gifts of oil to citizens, soldiers and strangers on the occasion of Hadrian's visit. In this connection notice D.V.No.146, 147- "Ouzzi, Bread and Oil." This inscription was found on a tessera ornamented with a figure of the sun.

Western culture was a varnish, polishing the surface of the Eastern life; Palmyrene life was unstable, called into being by a happy combination of circumstances, built of discordant material and dissolved by the first stern opposition that appeared.



Arab Sheikh and Turkish Soldier.





Valley of the Tombs from the Saracen Castle.



Shows effect of the weather.



View of the ruins from the castle.



Detail



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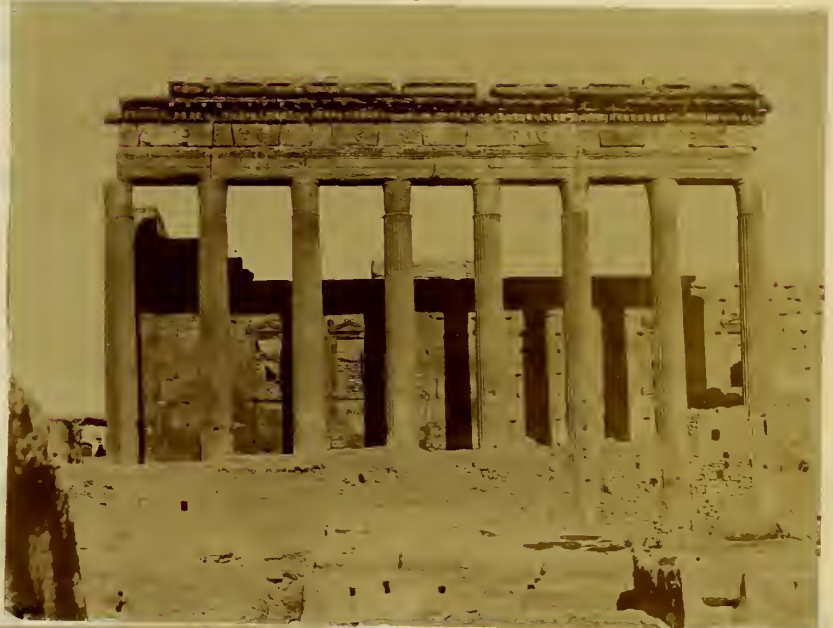
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Temple of the Sun
Columns on the west



Temple of the Sun enclosure.



Peristyle E. of temple building.



North wall of the Temple of the Sun.

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PALMYRA PRESENT.

(a) The Village and Surrounding Country.

Palmyra may be reached from the west by way of either Damascus or Homs. The former route is the longer, extending over about 150 miles; it lies toward the north-east and passes through several small desert villages, whose existence is made possible, by springs of water. The second route goes south-east from Homs and covers about 70 miles. Traces of old Palmyrene roads are here to be found, and the entire journey can be made by carriage. The first route is more difficult for carriages, but has often been traversed in that way. Horses and camels furnish the commonest means of transportation and travel. It seems possible that a bicycle might also be used in pleasant weather.

The Plain west of Palmyra is broken up by spurs of the Anti-Lebanon mountains, which spread out to the east like the fingers of a hand. The general direction of these ranges is north east; one line, reaching from near Damascus to Palmyra, has the name Djebel Tadnor. With one of the other spurs, which makes a curve to the north, this range encloses an oblong plain, immediately west of Palmyra. This plain at its widest extent, is about 30 miles across; it is perfectly level; it slopes to the east and opens upon Palmyra by a pass through the two chains at their point of meeting.

The country about Palmyra has no streams, has a scanty vegetation of desert grass and kali plants, and supports a population only where springs break through. Most of the villages are located near the west end of the plain. The main expanse is dry and dusty and lies glaringly white in the strong Syrian sun. The soil is sandy in but few places, being in general a clayey marl. The mountains are

hippur
II:24.

TAIYUAN COUNTY.

(a) The Village and Surrounding Country.

Yajiao was reached from the town of Taiyuan by a road of about 100
 or more. The former route is the longer, extending over about 100
 miles; it lies toward the north-west and passes through several small
 desert villages, where villages in such positions, by way of the
 way. The second route goes north-east, from Taiyuan and covers about 80
 miles. Traces of old Silk Road roads are seen in the town, and the
 entire journey can be made by carriage. The first route is more
 difficult for carriages, but has often been traversed in that way.
 Horses and camels furnish the principal means of transportation and
 pack. It seems possible that a stevedore might also be used in
 the most westerly.

The plain west of Taiyuan is crossed up by spurs of the Tai-
 yan mountains, which spread out to the east like the fingers of
 a hand. The general direction of these spurs is north-south; one
 line, reaching from near Taiyuan to Taiyuan, has the same direction
 as the rest of the other spurs, which extend a distance of 100
 miles. This range includes an entire plain, immediately west of Tai-
 yuan. This plain at the widest extent, is about 30 miles across;
 it is generally level; it slopes to the east and opens upon Taiyuan
 by a gap through the mountains of which part of the range.

The country about Taiyuan has no streams, but a steady supply
 of water is obtained from the Yellow River, and supports a population of
 about 1,000,000. Most of the villages are located near
 the west end of the plain. The main exposure is dirt and hard
 iron clay, which is the source of iron ore. The soil is sandy
 and the climate, being in general a dry one. The mountains are

bare and of a whitish-brown color. They offer a desolate retreat from which the Bedouins can rush down upon caravans passing through the plain. The northern line is Marbit el Hâsan, associated with the Arab hero, Antar. The mountains just west of Palmyra are the Djebel Abiad, or White Mountains.

To call this region the Syrian Desert is a mistake, in spite of the desolate nature of the country in the summer months. In the winter there is considerable rainfall but the water soon sinks away. The absence of trees and other vegetation leaves no protection against the strong rays of the sun, and the whole country is baked and parched in a short time. In the Spring, the "Desert" is covered with bright-colored flowers, and a considerable growth of vegetation springs up, showing the fertility of the soil. Dr. Geo. E. Post of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, says that the soil could easily be brought under cultivation, if the water supply could be kept continuous; that the hope of the country lies in the development of artesian wells. This process would tap the under stratum of water which seems to underlie the whole plain; it breaks forth in a few places at the present time in abundance, in never-failing springs.

There are few animals in the neighborhood of Palmyra, owing to the lack of food. Herds of gazelles are sometimes seen and the jerboa, or desert mouse, honeycombs the ground in places with numerous holes. Large black lizards and rabbits also have holes there; some travelers have seen a species of skunk.

Most of the villages of the Palmyrene plain have little connection with the ancient city. The first one of importance, definitely associated with Palmyra, is Karyaten, situated about 75 miles to

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here and of a reddish-brown color. They offer a desirable contrast
 from which the vegetation has been removed leaving the
 the plain. The country is a fertile plain, associated with
 the high hills, and the mountains that rise of Patna are the
 District of White Mountains.

To call this region the Great Desert is a mistake, in spite of
 the desolate nature of the country in the summer months. In the
 winter there is considerable rainfall but the water soon dries away.
 The absence of trees and other vegetation leaves no protection against

the strong rays of the sun, and the whole country is baked and
 parched in a short time. In the spring, the desert is covered

with bright-colored flowers, and a considerable growth of vegetation
 springs up, showing the fertility of the soil. Dr. Geo. F. Scott of the

British Protestant College, Patna, says that the soil could easily
 be brought under cultivation, if the water supply could be kept con-

tinuous; that the hope of the country lies in the development of an
 irrigation works. This process would tap the under current of water

which seems to underlie the whole plain; it breaks forth in a few
 places at the present time in abundance, in never-failing springs.

There are few animals in the neighborhood of Patna, owing to
 the lack of food. Herds of gazelles are sometimes seen and the her-

ds, of desert oxen, sometimes the ground in places with numerous
 holes. Large black lizards and reptiles also inhabit there; some

lizards have been seen a species of snake.

Most of the villages of the Patna plain have little commerce
 with the nearest city. The first one of importance, distant

is associated with Patna, in Kherston, situated about 75 miles to

the west, almost in the center of the oblong plain. Its ancient name was Kirjaithin, or Nazala; the present name means "Two cities". This village was probably a post on the route from Palmyra to the West. At present it is a Syriac village with a Turkish guard. It has rich vineyards and some poor fields of durra, or Guinea corn. It has a souvenir of Palmyra, in the shape of an inscribed stone bearing Zenobia's name. This is built into the wall of the Sheikh's house. ~~Key~~

It is 17 or 18 hours by horseback from Karyaten to Palmyra. Eleven hours to the south-east, at the foot of the mountains, is the well-known spring of Ain ~~Wuxul~~ Wu'ul, or of the Ibex. It is commonly used by passing caravans, and certainly was a water-supply in Zenobia's time. About 7 hours north-east of Karyaten, there is a lonely tower by the side of the desert route. Near it there are ruins of pools, of an aqueduct and of other buildings. The site is called Kasr-el-Her and probably marks the location of the ancient Heliaramia which was a road station west of Palmyra. The tower is built in Palmyrene style and bears Palmyrene sun-discs on one of its sides. It was evidently partly rebuilt in the time of the Caliphate.

Five hours west of Palmyra is Beida, the site ~~xxx~~ of another fort and road-station in Zenobia's day. It lies north of the regular route from east to west, and has simply a mud guard-house and a well. A few Turkish soldiers are stationed there, to protect the eastern end of the plain; bands of Bedouins still come down from the mountains, however, and attack caravans, killing men and driving away camels. The guard has only recently been stationed there. The well is very ancient and measures over 80 feet in depth. The water is sulphurous, but is the only supply in that vicinity. An hour

the west, almost in the center of the valley. Its name was Kuzjattik, or Kuzal, the present name being "New Kuzal". This village was probably a post on the route from Palmyra to the west. At present it is a typical village with a Turkish square. It has rich vineyards and some pear fields or dunes, or other parts. It has a cemetery of Palmyra, in the shape of an isolated stone bearing Semitic's name. This is built into the wall of the Semitic's house. Kay.

It is 17 or 18 hours by horseback from Karyston to Palmyra. In seven hours to the south-east, at the foot of the mountains, is the well-known spring of Ain Kharj W'ul, or at the Box. It is commonly used by passing caravans, and certainly was a water-supply in Semitic's time. About 7 hours north-east of Karyston, there is a large tower by the side of the desert route. Near it there are ruins of pools, of an aqueduct and of other buildings. The site is called Kar el-her and probably marks the location of the ancient Palmyra which was a road station west of Palmyra. The tower is built in Palmyrene style and bears Palmyrene inscriptions on one of its sides. It was evidently greatly rebuilt in the time of the Galileans.

Five hours west of Palmyra is Bahid, the site of another fort and road-station in Semitic's day. It lies north of the regular route from east to west, and has a single guard-house and a well. A few Turkish soldiers are stationed there, to protect the eastern end of the plain; bands of Bedouins still come down from the mountains, however, and attack caravans, killing men and taking away camels. The guard has only recently been stationed there. The well is very ancient and measures over 80 feet in depth. The water is sulphurous, but is the only supply in that vicinity. An hour

east of Beida are the remains of an ancient fort. Three hours to the east, there is a salt-marsh in rainy weather. The country becomes marshy in many places during the rains, owing to the lack of streams. Dr. Post says that he once saw a district of ten square miles turned into a marsh by a sudden storm. In this same salt-marsh there are three Palmyrene altars, one of which bears an inscription. Dr. Harvey Porter of the Syrian Protestant College, translates it as follows: "The City has erected this to Him, whose name is forever blessed, from the money of the Treasury, under the ~~administration~~ administration of the Treasurers Zebaida, son of Thaimo 'Amed Mosku, and Moquimu, son of Yarhibol Agmala, and Yarhi, son of Nurbel Sagri, and Anani, son of Malku Ananâ. In the month of March, the 21st day, in the year 425 (114 A.D.)!"

One-half hour west of the old city is the fountain of Abul Fawaris, whence aqueduct ruins lead down the valley, to the city on the other side of the mountain range. On entering the pass between the northern and southern mountains, the entire extent of ruins comes into view, spread out over the Plain which lies somewhat beneath the one we have been following from the west. The pass itself is the famous Valley of the Tombs of Palmyra. The Plain of Hamad, drearier and more extensive than the one to the west of Palmyra, slopes off gently on the east toward the Euphrates. No villages or oases break its barrenness. One range of mountains appears on the southern horizon, extending from east to west. Eight hours to the south-east of the city are ruins which have never been identified. Three or four miles south-east, is a salt marsh which offers a field for one of the most important industries of the present village. Fif-

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east of the city is the remains of an ancient fort. The country to the east, there is a salt-marsh in rainy weather. The country to the west is very fertile during the rains, owing to the fact of the water. Mr. Post says that he once saw a district of ten square miles turned into a marsh by a sudden storm. In this same salt-marsh there are three Palmyrene altars, one of which bears an inscription. Dr. Harvey Porter of the Syrian Protestant College, translates it as follows: "The City has erected this to him, whose name is forever blessed, from the money of the Treasury, under the administration of the Treasurer Zenobius, son of Theodoros, and Mopolinos, son of Yarithel Amal, and Yarith, son of Harbel Gari, and Anani, son of Malka Anani. In the month of Iyar, the 21st day, in the year 432 (112 A.D.)."

One-half hour west of the city is the fountain of Abil. It is, whence abundant waters lead down the valley, to the city on the other side of the mountain range. On entering the pass between the northern and southern mountains, the entire extent of view comes into view, spread out over the Plain which lies somewhat beneath the one we have been following from the west. The pass itself is the famous Valley of the Tomb of Palmyra. The Plain of Hamat, however, and more extensive than the one to the west of Palmyra slopes off gently on the east toward the Maghribates. No villages or oases break the barrenness. One range of mountains appears on the southern horizon, extending from east to west. Eight hours to the south-east of the city are ruins which have never been identified. Three or four miles south-east, is a salt marsh which offers a field for one of the most important industries of the present village. It-

teen hours to the north-east from Palmyra is the present town of Suchne, the ancient city of Cholle. Two days journey on the route north-east from Suchne brings the traveller to Kabakib, which has remains of a Palmyrene reservoir and aqueduct. Another days travelling completes the journey to Deir-es-Zor on the Euphrates, the eastern end of the caravan route from Damascus.

The city of Palmyra is located in latitude $34^{\circ} 10'$, 50 miles ~~east of Karyaten~~ east of Karyaten and 150 north east of Damascus. It is about half-way on the caravan route to the Euphrates. It is about 1400 feet above sea level and the same distance below Karyaten. Ptolemy made a very accurate estimate of its location in the second century when he placed it on the 34th parallel.

The present village no longer called Palmyra, but Tudmor, is wretched in every way. Its inhabitants are in abject poverty and ignorance, living much like their beasts and only slightly above them in intelligence. Their few gardens furnish them with scanty supplies of food. They ~~take~~ take little part in the caravan trade between the East and the West, spending most of their time in idleness. The main industries of the place are salt and potash making, and agriculture in a small way. The salt is controlled by a government monopoly, being in the hands of the Commissioner of the Public Debt. Therefore, the industry is not developed to its possible extent, for a good grade of salt is easily obtained by evaporating the waters of the marsh. The potash is made by burnⁿing the desert plant, the kali, and pouring salt water over the ashes. There are only a few poor bazaars in the city, for the local trade. The village was once of some importance, as a depot for the surrounding Bed-

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ouin tribes, but has been superseded by Deir ez Zor on the Euphrates.

The population of the village is descended from various Bedouin stems. At the present time, there are about 1500 inhabitants; within the walls of the Temple of the Sun, there are 40 or 50 mud huts, which contain most of the people. A few houses have been built outside since Turkish soldiers have been located there. The government house is also outside the Temple enclosure. The present Palmyrenes are all of one type of build and feature, and are probably entirely different from the ancient Palmyrene stock. The village seems to have grown in size during the present century, for in 1835 it numbered only 200 or 300 inhabitants.

Tudmor is still a stopping place for caravans. They are attracted by the clear, sulphur-blue waters of the spring of Ephca, fifteen minutes south-west of the village proper. This spring issues from a large cavern at the foot of the hills west of Palmyra. It is associated with Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and is sometimes called after the latter. Until 1888 it was the only source of water which the city had. An underground conduit has since been opened, flowing north-east from the Grand Colonnade. The water of Ephca is warm and very sulphurous.

The people of Palmyra are represented by a shiekh. Until recently, there were two rival shiekhs, and the miseries of feud and bloodshed were added to poverty and isolation. The present shiekh, Muhammad Abd-allah enjoys the distinction of having visited in France. The Turkish Government has recently taken control of Palmyra and placed a Mudir in charge, subject to the Mutesarrif of Deir-ez-Zor. He has with him a few Government soldiers or zaptije, under a lieutenant. There is little governing to be done, the Mudir's principal

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The population of the village is ...

At the present time, there are about 1500 inhabitants; within the walls of the village ... and are 40 or 50 feet high, which contain most of the people. A few houses have been built outside since Turkish soldiers have been located there. The present house is also outside the village enclosure. The present Palmyra are all of one type of built and feature, and are probably entirely different from the ancient Palmyra ones. The village seems to have grown in size during the present century, for in 1855 it numbered only 300 or 400 inhabitants.

Today is still a stopping place for caravans. They are situated by the clear, sulphur-like waters of the spring of ... fifteen minutes north-west of the village proper. This spring is said from a large cavern at the foot of the hills west of Palmyra. It is associated with Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and is some times called after the latter. Until 1858 it was the only source of water which the city had. An underground conduit has since been opened, flowing north-east from the Grand Colonnade. The water of which is warm and very sulphurous.

The people of Palmyra are represented by a sheikh. Until recently, there were two rival sheikhs and the interests of feud and bloodshed were added to poverty and isolation. The present sheikh, Mohammed Abd Allah enjoys the distinction of having visited in France. The Turkish Government has recently taken control of Palmyra and placed a British officer, subject to the Mutasarrif of Damascus, in charge with him a few Government soldiers or gendarmes, under a British command. There is little governing to be done, the British principal

The west wall of the present enclosure was rebuilt in Saracen times, of portions of other ruins. It is simply a pile of stones, crudely thrown together. It leans perilously and may fall at any time. It has the main entrance to the city, which is a narrow, ~~common~~ broken passage, scarcely wide enough for a loaded donkey to pass through. Within the west wall there are six large columns with a cornice. The capitals and pilasters still preserve their detail in ornament, in spite of the soft stone in which they are wrought. These columns are a part of the Colonnade which encircled the entire court of the Temple, when it was first built. The south wall is not so perfect as the one on the north; there are several columns along that side - remains of the same Colonnade noted on the west.

The original Temple building was small compared with the Court. It was approached by a giant stairway, but of this there is now no trace. The ruins of this building contain the ornamented ceilings, showing the representation of the Planets and the signs of the Zodiac. The mud huts of the village are built close against, and upon these almost sacred ruins. A giant lintel, richly ornamented with eagles, fruits and foliage, has fallen from the great doorway which formed the entrance to the Temple, and lies uncared for in the filth of a dooryard. By climbing to the top of a hut, one can examine the great stones of which ^{the} building is made. A circular stairway leads up from the south-west corner of the Temple building, but it has been broken down and filled up with stone. Along the west side of the Temple building runs an irregular line, deeply cut into the stone. Its use is uncertain, but it would have held cables from slipping, if they were ever thrown round the building in order to

The west wall of the present enclosure was rebuilt in various times, of portions of other walls. It is simply a pile of unconsolidated thrown together. It leans perilously and may fall at any time. It has the same character as the city wall in a narrow corner broken through, especially where enough for a loaded cart to pass through. Within the wall there are six large columns with a cornice. The capitals and pilasters still preserve their detail in ornament, in spite of the soft stone in which they are wrought. These columns are a part of the colonnade which enclosed the court of the temple, when it was first built. The south wall is not so perfect as the one on the north; there are several columns along that side - remains of the same colonnade noted on the west.

The original temple building was well covered with the Ganga. It was approached by a giant staircase, but of this there is now no trace. The ruins of this building contain the ornamented ceiling, showing the representation of the Yameta and the signs of the Kolar. The main axis of the village are set in close contact, and upon these almost sacred ruins. A giant staircase, nearly obliterated with age, first and foremost, has fallen from the great doorway which formed the entrance to the temple, and lies propped for in the line of a doorway. By climbing to the top of a wall, one can examine the great tower of which building is made. A circular staircase leads up from the east-west corner of the temple building, but it has been broken down and filled up with stone. From the west side of the temple building runs an irregular line, which one may see from above. The use is uncertain, but it would have held a narrow passage, if they were ever known from the entrance in order to slipping.

concern being to regulate the salt collection and receive fees from such travellers as may happen to visit the ruins. The presence of the Mudir makes the office of sheikh of little importance.

There are no missionaries at Palmyra. The Moslem villagers have changed the Temple into a Mosque, but there is little but superstition ~~existence~~ in the hearts of the people. A small native school is sometimes in session with 20 or 30 in attendance. The men of the village are stolid and sullen - the women slave along doing the most degrading work. The children are simply young animals in neglect and dirt. A drearier life, and drearier surroundings would be hard to find.

(b) The Present Ruins.

The best view of the ruins of Palmyra is obtained from the top of the heights west of the city. On climbing the hill ~~to~~ the foot of the castle, late in the afternoon, a magnificent sight opens out before the eyes. The setting sun has lost its dazzling brightness and throws a soft golden glow over the entire extent of the ruins, so that columns and temples and tombs stand out in clear relief. The pink color of the limestone, unchanged by the weathering of centuries adds another delicate tint to the glow of the sun. The strongest impression of the ruins as a whole, is that of countless columns.

The Temple of the Sun is on the eastern edge of the present ruins on a small hill. It contains the present village of Tudmor, and has little ^{to} ~~pointed~~ ^{it} out as an ancient temple. If the mud huts ~~appear~~ of the villagers were removed, many interesting relics would doubtless come to light. The north wall of the ~~temple~~ ^{en} enclosure is well preserved and shows many ornamented pilasters and entablature. ^{an}

... to regulate the salt collection and receive fees from such travellers as may happen to visit the mine. The presence of the mine makes the office of a mine important.

There are no missionaries at Palmyra. The Indian villagers have changed the Temple into a mosque, but there is little but ^{excitation} ~~excitation~~ in the hearts of the people. A small native school is sometimes in session with 20 or 30 in attendance. The men of the village are stolid and silent - the women have almost the most degrading work. The children are stupidly young animals in respect and dirt. A greater life, and greater surroundings would be said to find.

(b) The Present Ruins.

The best view of the ruins of Palmyra is obtained from the top of the heights west of the city. On climbing the hill above the east of the castle, late in the afternoon, a magnificent light opens out before the eye. The setting sun has lost its dazzling brightness and throws a soft golden glow over the entire extent of the ruins, so that columns and temples and towers stand out in clear relief. The pink color of the limestone, unchanged by the weathering of centuries adds another delicate tinge to the glow of the sun. The strongest impression of the ruins as a whole is that of countless columns.

The Temple of the Sun is on the eastern edge of the present ruins on a small hill. It contains the present village of Tabor, and has little ~~left~~ ^{left} out an ancient temple. If the and have ~~any~~ ^{any} of the villagers were removed, any interesting ruins would doubtless come to light. The north wall of the temple enclosure is well preserved and shows many ornamented pilasters and capitals.

pull it down. East of the Temple there is a Peristyle of 8 fluted columns with a cornice. It is very similar to the one at Ba'albek, but lacks ornamented capitals. They were of bronze and were stolen in post-Palmyrene times. At every joint of the pillars there is a great defacing hole dug in toward the centre. Similar marks are ~~seen~~ seen on the other pillars of the Temple enclosure, and at joints in the walls. They may have been made by the Arabs, to get the iron binders used to hold the stones together.

The Grand Colonnade still has many columns standing, while whole rows of them lie stretched on the ground, where they have been thrown over together, by earth-quakes. The south side of the street has the largest number of columns still standing; the east end of the Colonnade is much the best preserved. In some places parts of the cornice still cling to the tops of the columns. At the east end of the Colonnade is the great Triumphal Arch, now much worn away. The keystone has slipped and the foundation stones on the north side are so eaten away by sand, that they may give away at any time. The arch is in three divisions; some of the side panels still show rich ornamented details. There are traces of a continuation of the great streetway, even as far as the entrance of the Temple of the Sun, and this is probable. Ruins of great columns are scattered about in that section or are built into walls and houses.

At several places in the Colonnade there are remains of arches where side streets led off. These were also ornamented with columns. A third of the distance from the east there is a great curve of columns connected with the great Colonnade on the south side. This side Colonnade may mark an avenue, or it enclosed a Market-place.

The Grand Colonnade at I has very columns standing, while
 whole rows of them are strewn on the ground, where they have been
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 the Colonnade is much the best preserved. In some places parts of
 the columns still cling to the top of the wall. At the east
 end of the Colonnade is the great triangular arch, the work of the
 The bastions are stepped and the towers are connected by walls
 and an avenue way to each, that they may give way at one time. The
 arch is an immense distance; some of the walls still show the
 ornamented details. There are traces of a continuation of the
 great structure, even as far as the entrance of the Temple of the Sun
 and this to propylae. Lines of great columns are scattered about in
 that section on the hill into walls and houses.

At several places in the Colonnade there are remains of buildings
 there side streets led off. There were also ornamented walls
 walls. A third of the distance from the sea there is a great mass
 of columns connected with the great Colonnade on the west side. This
 the Colonnade may have an avenue, or it enclosed a third space.

Some have regarded ~~xxxx~~^{it} as enclosing a Circus, but this does not seem probable.

Just outside the circle of columns there are the remains of a large square building, which was probably Zenobia's Palace, or the Government House. It has a central location and is near what seems to have been the Market-place. The building is divided into two main divisions, the western one having a court surrounded with columns. The division on the east side was divided into two parts; the smaller and rear division was entered from the outer one by three great ornamented portals. The walls of this building are largely missing, one having fallen outward en masse; it lies as it fell. The foundations of the structure can easily be traced. On a slight elevation just east of this Palace, there was a small temple in Zenobia's time. An Avenue probably led out to it from the main Colonnade. This Temple would coincide with the Temple of Osiris on which the Customs Inscription was set up.

On many of the columns along the side avenues and on practically all those in the main Colonnade, there are corbels for holding statues. On these, the figures of the great men of Palmyra are set up with explanatory inscriptions. Several of these inscriptions mention Zenobia's family, and one names the Queen herself. The statues have all disappeared from the corbels and very few have ever been found. They were probably destroyed by the Arabs if they survived Roman revenge.

Two-thirds of the way toward the west end of the Colonnade, there are four large pedestals at the junction of an important avenue with the main highway. It is not certain what they bore, probably large

Some were reported as being in the area, but this does not seem probable.

The outside the circle of evidence here are the remains of a large square building, which was possibly Benedict's Palace, or the Government House. It has a central tower on one side and was built in part of the latter part. The building is divided into two main divisions, the western one being a main courtyard with colonnades. The division on the east side was divided into two parts, the smaller and rear division was entered from the other side of the great arched gateway. The walls of this building are thick and solid, the having a high tower on each side; in fact on the north side of the courtyard can easily be seen. On a slight elevation just east of this Palace, there was a small temple in the same line. The temple probably had a tower on each side. This temple was in the middle with the temple of the east and west the Palace inscription was on the

On top of the column along the side of the temple and the gateway all these in the main Courtyard, there are several for building etc. On the east, the figures of the front end of the temple are set up with explanatory inscriptions. Several of these inscriptions were the Emperor's name, and one name the Great Temple. The way you have all disappeared from the temple and very few have yet been found. They were probably destroyed by the Arab invaders.

Two miles of the way toward the west end of the Courtyard, there are two large pyramids at the junction of the highway and the main highway. It is not certain what they were, probably large

equestrian groups. At this same place there are four pillars of Egyptian granite, only one of which is standing. How such stone came to be in Palmyra, no one can explain. It is not found today nearer than ~~in~~ Egypt, and its transportation in immense masses to such an isolated place as Palmyra, offers almost insuperable obstacles. The granite is practically untouched by the weather.

The district north of the Colonnade has many small and broken ruins; the most important of these is the Little Temple of the Sun or the Temple of the King's Mother. It is well preserved and very symmetrically constructed. It bears evidence of having been used in later times as a fort, for its windows are roughly blocked up.

The west end of the great Colonnade terminates in a richly built structure, which from its ruins, seems to have been a mausoleum.

Near by, but farther south, a clear cut inscription of Diocletian among the ruins of a large building, points out what has been called "the House of Diocletian". It stands slightly above the rest of the ruins owing to the rise of ground toward the hills.

In the Valley to the right of the castle, - again south of the city, - and also north-west of the ruins, there are ~~the~~ remains of Tomb Towers; some, mere piles of stones with little semblance to a structure, others carefully built and well-preserved. Those in the Valley of the Tombs ~~were~~ were best preserved; those on the plain had the greatest care given in their construction. The ruins of the ancient ^{aqueduct} are found in the Valley of the Tombs, and Addison claimed to find the ruins of baths near the east end. The ruins of the wall of Justinian can still be seen on the hills south of the Valley of the Tombs, circling far out around the east edge of the ruins in an indistinct

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line, until it returns to the ~~hills~~ hills on the north side of the valley whence the spectator views the ruins.

Across the Valley of the Tombs, at the base of the hills southwest of the city, is the fountain of Ephca, which waters the present gardens south-west of the great Temple. Near Ephca is an overturned column. In an open space between Ephca and the south end of the government hall, there is a large overthrown column which was probably commemorative. Its counterpart is still standing far north of the Temple of the Sun, in another open region. It is inscribed as set up in honor of Alilames, son of Hairanes, 138 A.D.

No. 1.
179.
The castle from which the spectator has seen the ruins of Palmyra, is not of Palmyrene origin. It is situated on a very steep hill, almost impossible to climb. It is surrounded by a deep moat, cut in the solid rock. The castle building is still compact and could be held by a small force against superior foes. On account of its lofty position, it commands a view of the Palmyrene Plain to the west, and as far as the horizon reaches on the south and east.

Some one has said that the ruins of Palmyra stand today much as they were left by the Romans. This report gives a wrong impression; certain it is, that the main outlines have not changed, but most of the details have been destroyed. The time will soon come when all the interesting details will have been worn away. The soft, yielding stone has been deeply cut by the furious storms of sand and rain and many winters. Most of the columns have the appearance of bark, from erosion, and some are almost cut in two at the surface of the ground by the wearing of the sand.

The entire city is covered by a mass of sand which has gradually drifted upon it. Along the main colonnade this is about 8 feet thick, so that the corbels can now almost be reached from the ground.

line, and it returns to the other side on the north side of the
 valley across the opposite view the hills.

Across the valley of the river, at the end of the hills south-
 west of the city, in the foreground of the view, which extends the present
 horizon northward of the great bridge. From thence to an elevated
 column. In an open space between them and the south end of the
 government rail, there is a large rectangular column which was prob-
 ably commemorative. The column is still standing far north of
 the temple of the Sun, in another open region. It is described as
 set up in honor of Atlixca, son of Huanacay, 150 A.D.

The castle from which the spectator has seen the ruins of Pal-
 pyra, is not of Palpyrene origin. It is situated on a very steep
 hill, almost impossible to climb. It is surrounded by a deep moat,
 and in the solid rock. The castle building is still complete and
 could be held by a small force against superior force. On account of
 its high position, it commands a view of the Palpyrene plain to the
 west, and to the east. The hills on the south and east.

From the top of the hill the ruins of Palpyra stand today much as
 they were when the report gives a strong impression; the
 remains of the walls have not changed the least of the
 time will also soon see all the
 scattered fragments of the wall worn away. The wall, being
 composed of stones of sand and mud and
 have the appearance of brickwork.
 in fact at the entrance of the ground
 the ground is level.

The ruins are composed of a mass of sand which has gradually
 been raised to about 5 feet
 the ground.

There is opportunity for profitable excavation, and such work should be taken up in a systematic way. A party of German Archeologists has recently done some digging there. The basis of ²the few columns were exposed - the front of the Little Temple was uncovered, and considerable excavating was done in what we have called the Market-place.

Owing to the extent of the ruins, the best results will follow only a systematic uncovering of the entire city. Such a work might bring great results. Three hundred years lie between the earliest and the latest monuments; under the mud huts in the Temple of the Sun, along the Colonnade, or in the Market-place, there may lie the evidences which will not only write the history of Palmyrene life, but give many commentaries on the contemporary life as well.



Sarcophagi and Mausoleum.

There is opportunity for political education, and that work should be taken up in a systematic way. A party of German Frontoposters has recently done some nighting there. The basis of the few columns were exposed - the front of the little temple was uncovered, and considerable excavation was done in what we have called the "architectural" class.

Owing to the extent of the ruins, the best results will follow only a systematic uncovering of the entire city. Such a work might bring great results. These included years in between the earliest and the latest monuments; what the old was in the temple of the sun, along the columns, or in the temple-places, there was the old - hence which will not only write the history of Egyptian art, but give any comments on the contemporary life as well.

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*Tomb tower, showing stair ways
and places for bodies.*



Valley of the Tombs.



Ceiling of a tomb tower.



Sarcophagi.

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Little Temple of the Sun.



Ornamental Detail.



Temple of the Sun.
Capitals.



Detail.



Panels in the great arch.



Fallen Column.

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Temple of the Sun enclosure, toward the N.W.



Pilaster. Tomb tower.



Same toward the S.W.



Interior of tomb tower, showing divisions for bodies.



Tower of Janbuchus.

1875



The Great Arch.



The Colonnade from the pedestals.



Double corbels.



Colonnade.



Moslems Praying.



Fluted Column.

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