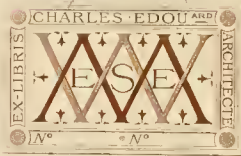
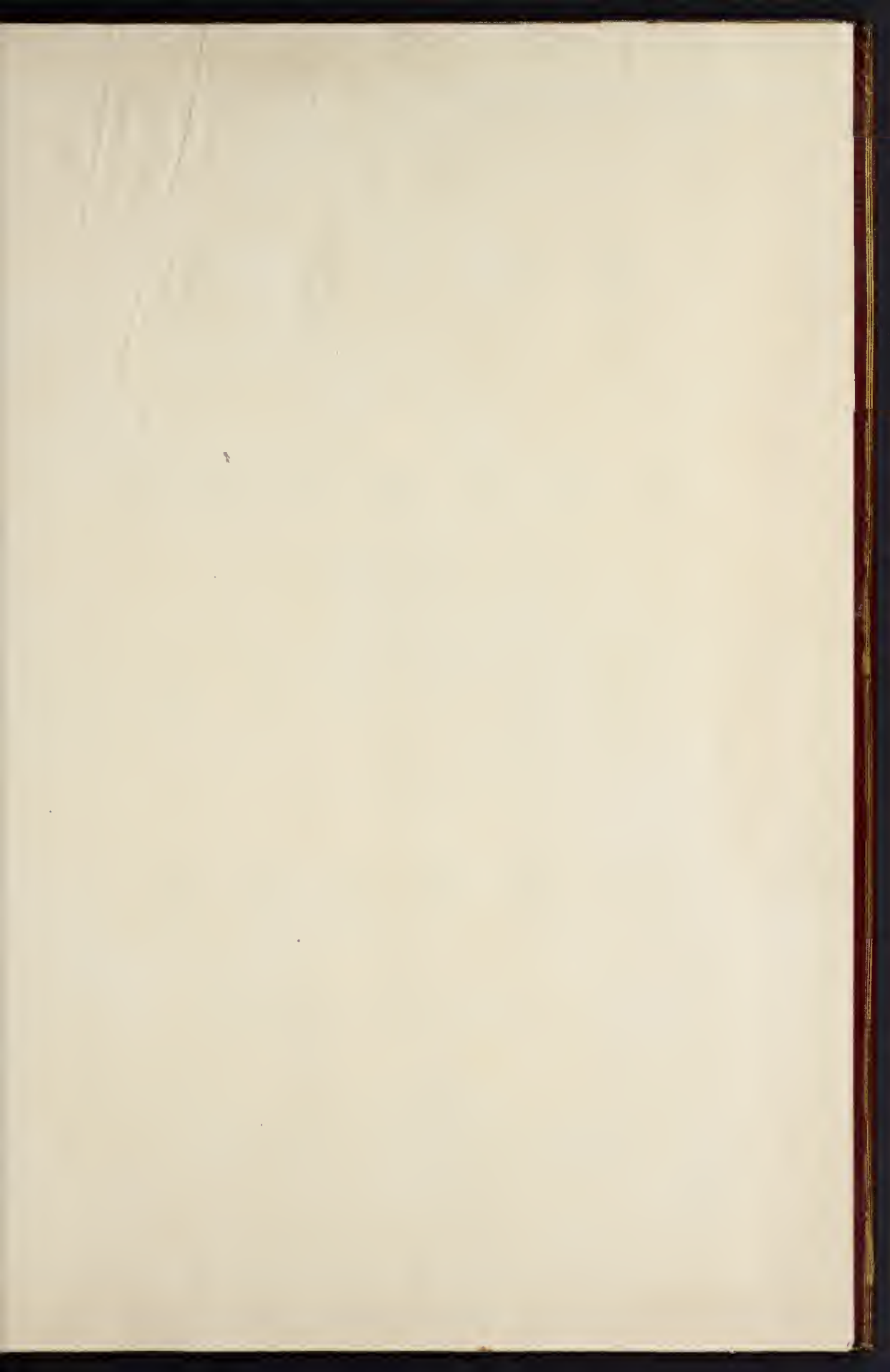


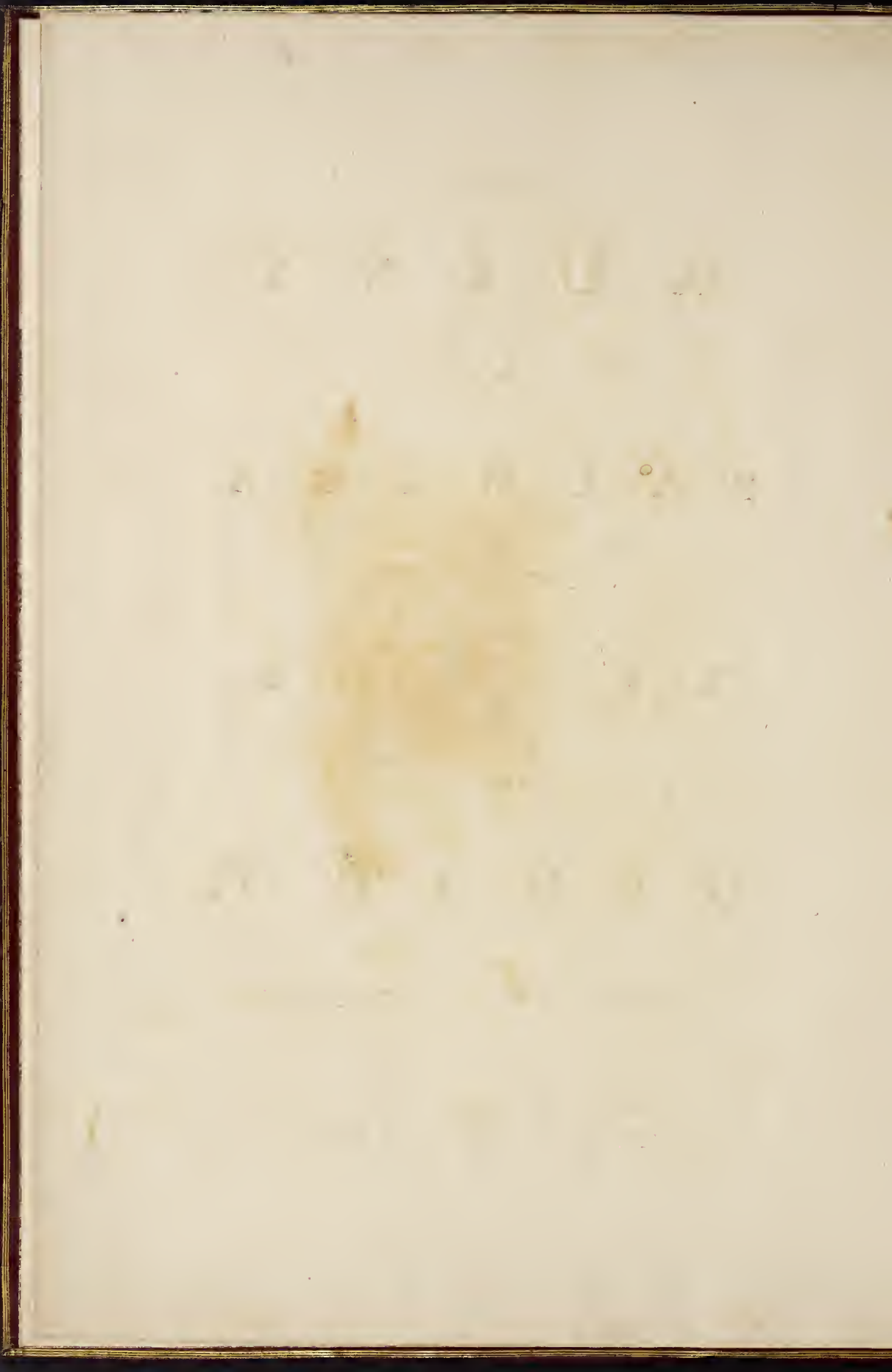
1. VIII - 4





T H E
R U I N S
O F
P A L M Y R A,
O T H E R W I S E
T E D M O R,
I N T H E
D E S A R T.

L O N D O N :
P R I N T E D I N T H E Y E A R M D C C L I I I .



THE
P U B L I S H E R
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

AS the principal merit of works of this kind is truth, it may not be amiss to prefix to this, such an account of the manner in which it was undertaken, and executed, as will give the publick an opportunity of judging what credit it deserves.

Two gentlemen whose curiosity had carried them more than once to the continent, particularly to Italy, thought, that a voyage, properly conducted, to the most remarkable places of antiquity, on the coast of the Mediterranean, might produce amusement and improvement to themselves, as well as some advantage to the publick.

As I had already seen most of the places they intended to visit, they did me the honour of communicating to me their thoughts upon that head, and I with great pleasure accepted their kind invitation to be of so agreeable a party.

The knowledge I had of those gentlemen, in different tours through France and Italy, promised all the success we could wish from such a voyage; their strict friendship for one another, their love of antiquities and the fine arts, and their being well accustomed for several years to travelling, were circumstances very requisite to our scheme, but rarely to be met with in two persons, who with taste and leisure for such enquiries, are equal both to the expence and fatigue of them.

It was agreed that a fourth person in Italy, whose abilities as an architect and draftsman we were acquainted with, would be absolutely necessary. We accordingly wrote to him, and fixed him for the voyage. The drawings he made, have convinced all those who have seen them, that we could not have employed any body more fit for our purpose.

Rome was appointed for our place of rendezvous, where having passed the winter together, we were to proceed to Naples, and there to embark in the spring on board a ship hired for us in London, and fitted out with every thing we could think might be useful. All this we performed without deviating from our original plan, except in a few particulars, where accidents it was impossible to foresee, made some alterations necessary.

We passed the winter together at Rome, and employed most of that time in refreshing our memories with regard to the antient history and geography of the countries we proposed to see.

We met our ship at Naples in the spring. She brought from London a library, consisting chiefly of all the Greek historians and poets, some books of antiquities, and the best voyage writers, what mathematical instruments

TO THE READER.

we thought necessary, and such things as might be proper presents for the Turkish Grandees, or others, to whom, in the course of our voyage, we should be obliged to address our selves.

We visited most of the islands of the Archipelago, part of Greece in Europe; the Asiatick and European coasts of the Hellespont, Propontis and Bosphorus, as far as the Black-sea, most of the inland parts of Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine and Egypt.

The various countries we went through, furnish, no doubt, much entertainment of different sorts. But however we might each of us have some favourite curiosity to indulge, what engaged our greatest attention was rather their antient than present state.

It is impossible to consider with indifference those countries which gave birth to letters and arts, where foldiers, orators, philosophers, poets and artists have shewn the boldest and happiest flights of genius, and done the greatest honour to human nature.

Circumstances of climate and situation, otherwise trivial, become interesting from that connection with great men, and great actions, which history and poetry have given them: The life of Miltiades or Leonidas could never be read with so much pleasure, as on the plains of Marathon or at the streights of Thermopylæ; the Iliad has new beauties on the banks of the Scamander, and the Odyssæy is most pleasing in the countries where Ulysses travelled and Homer sung.

The particular pleasure, it is true, which an imagination warmed upon the spot receives from those scenes of heroick actions, the traveller only can feel, nor is it to be communicated by description. But classical ground not only makes us always relish the poet, or historian more, but sometimes helps us to understand them better. Where we thought the present face of the country was the best comment on an antient author, we made our draftsman take a view, or make a plan of it. This sort of entertainment we extended to poetical geography, and spent a fortnight with great pleasure, in making a map of the Scamandrian plain, with Homer in our hands.

Inscriptions we copied as they fell in our way, and carried off the marbles whenever it was possible; for the avarice or superstition of the inhabitants made that task difficult and sometimes impracticable.

The only opportunity we had of procuring any manuscripts, was among the Maronite churches of Syria; and though those we met with in Greek were very little interesting, either as to their subject or language, yet it did not discourage us from purchasing several in Syriac and Arabick, in the same places, as we chose rather to bring home a great many bad things, than run the risk of leaving any thing curious in languages we did not understand.

Architecture took up our chief attention; and in this enquiry our expectations were more fully satisfied. All lovers of that art must be sensible that the measures of the antient buildings of Rome, by Monsieur Desgodetz, have been of the greatest use: We imagined that by attempting to follow the same method in those countries where architecture had its origin, or at least arrived at the highest degree of perfection it has ever attained, we might do service.

TO THE READER.

It was chiefly with this view, that we visited most of the places in Asia Minor, where we could expect any remains of buildings of a good age; we seldom had reason to regret the trouble we were at in this pursuit, particularly in Lydia, Ionia and Caria. Few ruins were so compleatly such, as not to preserve very valuable fragments, especially as we had provided ourselves with tools for digging, and sometimes employed the peasants in that way, for several days, to good purpose.

The examples of the three Greek orders in architecture, which we met with, might furnish a tolerable history of the rise and progress of that art, at least the changes it underwent, from the time of Pericles' to that of Dioclesian. We thought it would be proper to give Palmyra first, as that part about which the curiosity of the publick seems most pressing; the success which this work meets, will determine the fate of the rest.

Such was our scheme, and such the manner in which we carried it into practice, in spite of some discouraging difficulties, inseparable from an undertaking of this kind; and though, at our setting out we knowingly engaged with great fatigue, expence and danger, yet, upon the whole, it would have answered our expectations as to pleasure, as well as profit, had not our happiness been interrupted by the most affecting misfortune which could possibly have happened to our little society; when I say, this was the death of Mr. BOUVERIE, all those who had the pleasure of knowing that gentleman, must pity our situation at that time.

Besides those virtues, the loss of which we regret in common with all his friends, he had qualities particularly well adapted to the part he bore in this voyage; the great objects of his private entertainment were almost every thing which comes within the circle of Virtù, in which he had acquired such knowledge, by several journeys to Rome, that his opinion in those matters had authority among the connoisseurs of that country; and indeed his collection of drawings, medals, intaligo's and cameo's, (which would have grown very considerable had he lived) are proofs of the correctness of his taste.

How much the loss of such a person must have broke in upon the spirit of our party, may easily be supposed. Had he lived to have seen Palmyra we should, no doubt, have less occasion to beg indulgence for such inaccuracies as may be found in the following work.

An accident so highly distressing would have entirely disconcerted us, had it not been for the uncommon activity and resolution of our surviving friend; and indeed, if any thing could make us forget that Mr. BOUVERIE was dead, it was that Mr. DAWKINS was living.

If the following specimen of our joint labours should in any degree satisfy publick curiosity, and rescue from oblivion the magnificence of Palmyra, it is

* I mean with the addition of the ancient buildings of the Attica, which make no part of our collection, for the following reason. When we arrived at Athens, we found Mr. STEWART and Mr. REVER, two English painters, successfully employed in taking measures of all the architecture there, and making drawings of all the bas reliefs, with a view to publish them, according to a scheme they had communicated to

us at Rome. We were much pleased to find that some of the most beautiful works of the antients were to be preserved by persons so much more equal to the task; and therefore did no more at Athens than satisfy our own curiosity; leaving it to Mr. STEWART and Mr. REVER to satisfy that of the publick. We hope they may meet with that encouragement which so useful a work deserves.

T O T H E R E A D E R .

owing entirely to this gentleman, who was so indefatigable in his attention to see every thing done accurately, that there is scarce a measure in this work which he did not take himself.

At the same time that, by this declaration, I disclaim any share of merit which the publick, uninformed of the truth, might have given me, I cannot help in return indulging my vanity with a circumstance, which I am sure does me honour, viz. that my being the publisher of these sheets is owing to Mr. DAWKIN'S his friendship for me, who while he highly enjoys the pleasure of contributing to the advancement of arts in this manner, declines the profits which may arise from this publication.

If I venture to mention this single instance of my friend's regard for me, I shall compound with him for that liberty, by suppressing others without number: To join Mr. DAWKIN'S name with mine (where I must still continue to be the only gainer) is, I fear, little less than impertinent, but it is the impertinence of gratitude, which, like love, is never more awkward in it's declarations than when it is most sincere and in earnest.

R O B E R T W O O D .

T H E

AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
ANTIEN T STATE
OF
PALMYRA.

OUR account of Palmyra is confined merely to that state of decay in which we found those ruins in the year 1751. It is not probable that the reader's curiosity should stop here: The present remains of that city are certainly too interesting to admit of our indifference about what it has been; *when and by whom it was built; the singularity of its situation (separated from the rest of mankind by an uninhabitable desert,) and the source of riches necessary to the support of such magnificence,* are subjects which very naturally engage our attention. The following Enquiry is an attempt, in some measure, to satisfy that curiosity.

It seems very remarkable, that Balbeck and Palmyra, perhaps the two most surprising remains of antient magnificence which are now left, should be so much neglected in history, that, except what we can learn from the inscriptions, all our information about them, would scarce amount to more than probable conjecture.

Does not even this silence of history carry with it instruction, and teach us how much we are in the dark with regard to some periods of antiquity?

It is the natural and common fate of cities to have their memory longer preserved than their ruins. Troy, Babylon and Memphis are now known only from books, while there is not a stone left to mark their situation. But here we have two instances of considerable towns out-living any account of them. Our curiosity about these places is rather raised by what we see than what we read, and Balbeck and Palmyra are in a great measure left to tell their own story.

Shall we attribute this to the loss of books, or conclude that the Antients did not think those buildings so much worth notice as we do? If we can suppose the latter, it seems to justify our admiration of their works. Their silence about Balbeck, gives authority to what they say of Babylon, and the works of Palmyra scarce mentioned, become vouchers for those so much celebrated of Greece and Egypt.

THE ANTIENT STATE

Any authorities I can collect from the Antients, immediately relating to Palmyra, might be thrown into a very small compass; but as persons of more leisure may, if they think it worth while, enlarge and correct these hints, I shall not only produce such materials as I have met with, but also give the historical order in which I searched for them, by taking a short view of the most remarkable revolutions of Syria, from the earliest account of this place, which may at least be of some use towards a more diligent and accurate enquiry.

To what information history affords I shall add what may be gathered from the taste of the Architecture, and from the inscriptions.

Fabulous
History.

THE Arabick translator of Chronicles^a makes Palmyra older than Solomon; John of Antioch surnamed Malala^b says, that he built it on the spot where David slew Goliath, in memory of that action; and Abul Farai^c mentions in what year, with other particularities.

But these and other accounts of the early state of Palmyra, which might be collected from the Arabian historians, bear such evident marks of fable and wild conjecture, that we shall pass them over, and come to the earliest historical authority which deserves to be quoted as such.

Solomon
built Pal-
myra.

That Solomon built Tedmor in the wilderness we are told in the Old testament;^d and that this was the same city which the Greeks and Romans called afterwards Palmyra, tho' the Syrians retained the first name, we learn from Josephus.^e We may add the authority of St. Jerom, who (if the vulgar latin version be his) thinks Tedmor and Palmyra are only the Syrian and Greek names of the same place.

What seems to strengthen this opinion is, that at this present time the Arabs of the country call it Tedmor,^f and we follow their pronunciation as the best authority for this way of writing that name.

Amnianus Marcellinus^g takes notice of the attachment of the natives of Syria to the old names of their cities, which they kept up notwithstanding the Greek ones given by Seleucus Nicator, when he rebuilt them. And there are now several instances in that country of the old name of a place preserved by the Arabs, while the Greek one is from long disuse forgot and unknown in the country. Thus the Acco^h of the Old testament in the tribe of Asher, was called by the Greeks Ptolemais, but now by the inhabitants Acca, the original name only altered in one letter; and Haran where Abraham dwelt before he set out for the Land of promise, was afterwards the Carrhae of the Romans; but has again recovered its first name, Haran.

It seems natural for people to have this affection for the names their towns bore during their state of freedom and prosperity; and an unwillingness to admit innovations imposed by conquest is observable in all countries, but no where more than among the Arabs, who, notwithstanding the frequent attempts made

^a 2 Chron. 8.

^b Dynastiar. lib. 5.

^c Verf. Pococ.

^d 1 Kings, 9. and 2 Chron 8.

^e Antiq. Jud. lib. 1. Pere Hardouin's objections to this opinion seem chiefly to arise from his ignorance of the present state of this place.

^f Of several ancient ways of writing this name the *Sidong* of the Alexandrian copy comes nearest the pronunciation of the present Arabs. We take the Greek name Palmyra from the inscriptions, though Josephus writes it *Παλμυρα* and Pliny *Palmyra*.

^g Lib. 14.

^h Judges 1. 31.

upon

upon them, boast a longer independence and a purer antiquity than any other nation.

But that these ruins which we visited were the works of Solomon, we only offer as the established opinion of the present inhabitants of Palmyra, who, perfectly satisfied of the truth of it, add several curious anecdotes, and point out his seraglio, his harem, the tomb of a favourite concubine, with several other particulars: "All these mighty things, say they, ^a Solomon the son of David did by the assistance of spirits."^b

Whatever buildings then Solomon may have erected here, we shall suppose to have perished long since, even tho' we had not the authority of John of Antioch to support us, who affirms that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed this city before he besieged Jerusalem.

Nebuchadnezzar destroyed it.

Buildings in the taste of those of Palmyra cannot reasonably be supposed prior to the time the Greeks got footing in Syria; and therefore it is not surprising that we find nothing of that city in the accounts of the Babylonian and Persian conquests of this country; nor that Xenophon should take no notice of it in his Retreat of the ten-thousand, tho' he gives a very accurate account of the Defart, and must have left this place not a great way to the right in his march towards Babylon.

Is not mentioned in the expedition of Cyrus the Younger.

Nor could one for the same reason expect more from the accounts of Alexander the great than what use he, or his enemies might have made of such a situation, when he marched through this Defart to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, which was the place where he, as well as Darius and Cyrus the Younger, passed that River.

Of Alexander the Great.

From the death of Alexander to the reduction of Syria to a Roman province would seem a more proper period for enquiring about Palmyra. Seleucus Nicator was a great builder, and tho' the ruins of Antioch on the Orontes and Seleucia, at the mouth of the same river, are inconsiderable, yet what is left to be seen of them, shews the good Greek manner of that happy age of architecture. So convenient a situation as that of Palmyra, between these two great cities already mentioned and Seleucia on the Tygris, as also between the Euphrates and the great trading towns on the coast of the Mediterranean, could hardly be over-looked; and indeed, as a frontier towards the Parthians, its importance must have been great, from the time Arsaces the founder of that empire took Seleucus Callinicus prisoner. These might be good reasons for supposing the buildings of Palmyra a work of some of the Seleucidæ, had we any historical authority to support such an opinion; but I cannot find even the name of this city in any part of their history.

Not taken notice of in the reign of Seleucus Nicator who built and repaired many cities in Syria.

Its importance as a Frontier must have been considerable as early as Seleucus Callinicus.

Yet it is not mentioned in the history of the Seleucidæ.

It is true, the Æra of Seleucus was used at Palmyra, as we shall see from the inscriptions, but all that we can infer from thence, is, that this city submitted to Alexander, and was governed, at least for some time, by his successors; an opinion however, which, were it not otherwise probable, could scarcely be received merely upon this evidence; for why might we not suppose that so trading a city, tho' independent of the Seleucidæ, might have introduced the same method

^a Solyman Ebn Doud.
^b They are firmly believed that we made use of the same assistance in searching after treasure. This odd opinion pre-

vails in all countries where there are old ruins, and in Italy is not merely confined to the common people.

of reckoning their time, which their neighbours used, as a matter of convenience?

Not mentioned when Pompey conquered this country.

The Roman history of Syria comes next under consideration. That country was conquered by Pompey, when a taste for the fine arts had been for some time introduced at Rome, and had made the same progress which their arms had done in Greece and Asia; and when not only the riches of these provinces, but their architecture, painting, and sculpture became objects of enquiry to a Roman government. One would imagine that Palmyra might have gratified both their curiosity and avarice, and yet we do not meet with any mention of this city in their history, until Mark Antony's^a attempt to plunder it, which they escaped by removing their most valuable effects over the Euphrates, and defending the passage of the river by their archers.

Appears first in the Roman history in the time of Mark Anthony.

The pretence he made use of, to give such conduct a colour of justice, was that they did not observe a just neutrality between the Romans and Parthians; but Appian^b says his real motive was to enrich his troops with the plunder of the Palmyrenes, who were merchants, and sold the commodities of India and Arabia to the Romans.

When they were a rich free trading people.

We may conclude from hence they were at that time a rich, trading, free people. How long they had been in possession of these advantages, we are left to guess.

It seems probable that their riches, and of course their trade, must have been of some standing; for we shall find by the inscriptions, that in less than forty years after, they were luxurious and expensive to such degree, as must have required considerable wealth to support.

As to the time when they acquired their freedom, we are likewise left to conjecture.

Doctor Halley^c is of opinion, that "when the Romans got footing in these parts, and the Parthians seemed to put a stop to their farther conquest in the East, then was the city of Palmyra, by reason of its situation, being a frontier and in the midst of a vast sandy desert, where armies could not subsist to reduce it by force, courted and caressed by the contending princes, and permitted to continue a free state."

But I cannot help thinking there are good reasons for giving their freedom an earlier date. That importance as a frontier, to which the Doctor attributes their liberty, was as considerable before the Roman conquest as afterwards: the many wars the Seleucidæ were engaged in, offered several good opportunities of withdrawing themselves from the dominion of those princes. Besides it does not seem probable that Palmyra should have submitted to the usurpation of Tigranes, and yet have become free under Pompey, who drove that prince out of the country; and indeed Pompey's best excuse for not giving up Syria to^d Antiochus Asiaticus, was, that the Romans could defend it from the insults of its neighbours, which the Syrians themselves could not.

^a Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. 5. Ibid.

^b Account of the antiient state of Palmyra, Philos. Transact. Appian in Syriac.

Ptolemy gives us the names of several cities in the Palmyrene, some of which are repeated in Peutinger's tables, but, I believe, none of them to be met with any where else. He also mentions a river at Palmyra.

I am not so much surpris'd to see nothing of this city in other ancient geographers, as that Strabo, our faithful guide round the Mediterranean, (who of all those writers had most judgment, with most curiosity) should not even mention its name.

Pliny^a has very happily collected, in a few lines, the most striking circumstances with regard to this place, except that he takes no notice of the buildings. This short account may be worth comparing with what we saw, as the only ancient description we have of this city.

Pliny's description of Palmyra, the only one we have from the ancients.

“ Palmyra is remarkable for situation, a rich soil and pleasant streams; it is surrounded on all sides by a vast sandy desert, which totally separates it from the rest of the world, and has preserved its independence between the two great empires of Rome and Parthia, whose first care when at war, is to engage it in their interest. It is distant from Seleucia ad Tigrim 337 miles, from the nearest part of the Mediterranean 203, and from Damascus 176.”

In its flourishing state Palmyra could by no means fall short of this description; its ‘situation’ is fine, under a ridge of hills towards the west, and a little above the level of a most extensive plain, which it commands to the east.

His account compared with what we saw.

Those hills were covered with great numbers of sepulchral monuments, several of which remain almost entire, and have a very venerable aspect.

What ‘soil’ remains is extremely rich, and ‘its waters’ very limpid, rising constantly, and in greater abundance in summer than in winter, from rocks close by the town, at such a height as to be capable of receiving any direction. What Ptolemy calls the river of Palmyra, I suppose to have been no more than the united streams from those fountains, which still continue to flow with a pretty smart current as far as their old channels remain entire. Those were lined with stone, to prevent the loss of water, which, for want of the same care, is now soon soaked up in the sand, without producing much verdure; tho’ a considerable spot immediately about the town might certainly with little pains be rendered fertile. The hills, and no doubt a great part of the desert, were formerly covered with palm-trees, which we have seen grow in the driest sandy deserts. Abulfeda mentions the palm as well as fig-trees of Palmyra, and the merchants who went thither from Aleppo in 1691, take notice of several, tho’ we could find but one left in the country.

The other particulars mentioned by Pliny, “ as its situation in the midst of a vast desert, which totally separates it from the rest of the world; its independence; how necessary its friendship to the two great contending powers, the Parthians and Romans,” are all circumstances which strongly characterize Palmyra. ‘The distance’ he gives it from ‘Seleucia, Damascus and the Mediterranean’ are tolerably exact, tho’ something too great.

^a Palmyra urbs nobilis situ, divitiis soli atq; aquis amœnis, vasto undiq; ambita arenis includit agros, ac velut terris exempta a cœcâ natura; privata forte inter duo summa imperia Romanorum Parthorum; & prima in discordia semper

utrinq; cura; abest a Seleucia Parthorum quæ vocatur ad Tigrim 337 millibus passuum, a proximo vero Syriæ litore 203 millibus & a Damasco 27 propius. Plin. lib. v. Nat. Hist.

Not menti-
oned in Tra-
jan's progress
thro' those
Countries.
Nor in that
of Adrian.

We hear nothing of this city either in Trajan or Adrian's expeditions to the east, tho' they must have passed either through or near it. Stephanus indeed mentions Palmyra being repaired by Adrian, and called from that Adrianople. It seems odd, that we should have no better authority for this, while that emperor has been so much complimented for less considerable works in several parts of Greece.

Is a Roman
colony in
the time of
Caracalla.

Palmyra is called upon the coins of Caracalla a Roman colony, which we know from Ulpian was Juris Italici.

Assists Alex-
ander Severus
against the
Parthians.

We find from the inscriptions, ^a that they joined Alexander Severus in his expeditions against the Persians.

Becomes con-
spicuous in
the reign of
Gallienus.

We do not meet with Palmyra again until the reign of Gallienus, when it makes a principal figure in the history of those times, and in a few years experiences the greatest vicissitudes of good and bad fortune.

The facts relating to this short, but interesting period are imperfectly, and variously handed down to us by Zofimus, Vopiscus, and Trebellius Pollio. I shall attempt to throw into some order the separate passages in these historians, which seem most for our present purpose; and leaving it to others to reconcile their different accounts, shall make use of the authority which has gained most credit.

Odenathus.

THE Roman affairs in the east had been for some time in a very deplorable situation, when Odenathus, a Palmyrene, but of what family or rank originally in the state, is not agreed, made so proper a use of this situation between the two great rival empires of Rome and Persia, as to get the ballance of power in his hands.

His politicks.

It appears that he declared in favour of different interests, as alterations in the face of affairs made it necessary. The alliance which gained him most reputation was with Gallienus. His courage, activity, and remarkable patience of fatigue, were the very opposite of the shameful negligence of that emperor, who seemed even pleased with the captivity of his father Valerian, prisoner of Sapor king of Persia, and treated by him with the greatest indignity.

Virtues.

Routs Sapor.

Odenathus joined the shattered remains of the Roman army in Syria, routed Sapor the Persian king, and advanced as far as Ctesiphon, the capital of his empire, victorious in several engagements.

Is declared
Augustus
and co-part-
ner of the
empire.

He returned from this expedition with great applause, and a considerable booty, and was for his services declared by Gallienus, Augustus and co-partner of the empire, a reward which does him honour with posterity; not because Gallienus conferred it, but that the publick approved ^b of it.

^a Inscription the IXth.

^b Treb. Poll. says. Laudator sane ejus optimum fidelem, nam consilio Valeriani fratris sui & Lucilli propinqui, ubi comperit ab Olenao Persas vallatos redactam Nisibin & Carras in potestatem Romanam, &c.—Odenatum participato imperio Augustum vocavit, ejusque monentem qua Persas captus traheret, eundi jussit, quod & senatus & urbs & omnis aetas gratanter accepit.

Another considerable piece of service done by Odenathus to the Roman emperor, was the defeat of Ballista, one of the many pretenders to the empire, in those times of confusion. He was an officer of much experience and great merit, had served under Valerian, and was his particular favourite. The many good qualities recorded of him in the letters of that emperor shew, that he might have been a dangerous enemy, had not Odenathus removed him.

The^a last publick action of Odenathus, was, his relieving Asia minor from the Goths, who had over-run several of its rich provinces, committing great ravages; but retired upon his approach. He is generally supposed to have been murdered in pursuing them, by Mæonius his kinsman.

Herodes, his son by a former wife, whom he had joined with him in the empire, suffered the same fate; of whom all we know from history is, that he was delicate and luxurious to a great degree, much indulged by his father, and as much hated by his step-mother Zenobia.

The short and confused accounts we have of Odenathus, rather raise than satisfy our curiosity, and give great reason to regret the loss of an oration written by Longinus in his praise, and mentioned by Libanius^b. But whatever uncertainty there may be about some part of his life, it is agreed by all, that he had many great and good qualities. Pollio says, the Roman affairs in the east must have been totally ruined, had he not engaged himself in their interest; and reckons his death an instance of the divine vengeance upon that people.

Mæonius; the kinsman and murderer of Odenathus, survived but a little while; he was saluted emperor, and soon after cut off by the soldiers.

Odenathus left behind him his queen Zenobia, and two sons by her, Herenianus and Timolaus, others add Vaballathus^c, supposed by some rather the son of Herodes.

Her extraordinary character and various fortunes seem so much to deserve attention, and are with so little connection interspersed in works of the writers^d already mentioned, that we shall enter a little more particularly into them, than is necessary to the principal view of this enquiry.

Zenobia makes her appearance under the imputation of a crime, which were it to be credited, would prepare the reader very unfavourably for the rest of her character. She is said to have consented to the murder of her husband, and step-son. All the authority I can find for this heavy accu-

^a Pollio indeed mentions a peace made between Gallienus and Odenathus about this time, but takes no notice of any preceding rupture. The facts in general for which we are obliged to have recourse to that historian, are so injudiciously chosen, and so confusedly put together, that they look liker the indigested hints of a common place book than any thing he intended for the publick.

^b Epist. cxxlii. l. 3. Faber says of this oration, Si ita tulisset fatum litteratum ut ne illa oratio perisset, multa hodie

de bellis orientalibus quæ Odenathus sustinuit, quæque ad eum perire a minoribus illis Historiæ augustæ scriptoribus, prodita fuerunt, teneremus.

^c If any person chuses to know the reason of this difference of opinion about Vaballathus (of whom no single fact is recorded in history) let them consult Spanheim, Tristram, Hardouin, Vaillant.

^d Pollio, Zofimus and Vopiscus.

fation is from Trebellius Pollio, who does not positively assert it neither, but gives it as a report. To which if we add, that though the same author has wrote the life of Odenathus and Zenobia, he takes no notice of this remarkable circumstance in either, nay even praises Zenobia for her clemency^a; it seems at least a compliment we owe her virtues, to believe her innocent.

Her family. ^b All that we know, with any degree of certainty, of Zenobia's family, is, that she boasted herself descended from the Ptolemys, and was fond of reckoning Cleopatra among her ancestors.

Beauty. She was accounted a woman of extraordinary beauty; and the particular description we have of her person answers that character. 'Her complexion was a dark brown; (a necessary consequence of her way of life in that climate) she had black sparkling eyes, of an uncommon fire; her countenance was divinely sprightly, and her person graceful and genteel beyond imagination; her teeth were white as pearls, and her voice clear and strong.'

Of the masculine kind. If we add to this her uncommon strength, and consider her excessive military fatigues; for she used no carriage, generally rode, and often marched on foot three or four miles with her army: And if we, at the same time, suppose her haranguing her soldiers, which she used to do in a helmet, and often with her arms bare, it will give us an idea of that severe character of masculine beauty, which puts one more in mind of Minerva than Venus.

Her learning. The picture of her mind may as justly claim the same resemblance; for she understood several languages, spoke the Egyptian perfectly well, and knew the Latin, though she did not care to speak it, from a modest diffidence, but read and translated it into Greek. She was acquainted with history; and so particularly well versed in that of Alexandria and the East, that she is said to have made an abridgment of them.

Virtues. She was cautious and prudent in council, but determined in executing, generous with economy, and so chaste, that it is said her sole views in matrimony^c were propagation. She could be open or reserved, implacably severe or indulgently forgiving, as occasion required.

Religion. We shall omit saying any thing of her religion, as a controverted article, which would have taken up more time than we can here spare. The opinion of her being made a convert by the Jews prevailed much, I think, for want of examination.

Fondness of pomp and shew. With these military and manly virtues, we discover a female fondness of shew and magnificence. Her dress was rich and set with jewels. She imitated in her way of living the royal pomp of Persia, and received homage of her subjects with the state of their kings. In her banquets she copied after the Romans, but like Cleopatra drank out of gold cups set with gems.

^a Bonorum principum clementia ubi pietas requirebat.

^b That Achilleus was her father, who was at the head of the Palmyrenes, who cut off the Roman garrison, is believed by some upon the authority of Vopiscus; but Zosimus calls the chief of that rebellion Antiochus, and far from supposing him to have any connection with Zenobia, says, Aurelian

thought him too contemptible for his resentment. It is odd, that mere insignificance should save a ringleader from punishment while those concerned in an inferior degree were thought proper objects of very cruel severity.

^c Cujus ea castitas fuisse dicitur ut ne virum suum quidem sciret nisi tentatis conceptionibus. Treb. Pol.

Trebellius Pollio, from whom I collect this account of her, adds a circumstance which may expose our heroine to some censure. He says 'she^a often drank with her officers, and could, in that way, get the better of the Persians and Armenians, tho' he says she was generally moderate in the use of liquor.'

Could drink much wine.

However this passage may imply a want of delicacy in Zenobia, it does not seem to carry with it any imputation of intemperance; I think all that we can fairly conclude from it is, that being able to drink much without intoxication, she made an artful use of that power, to get acquainted with tempers, and learn secrets necessary to her schemes.

Tho' not intemperate.

To these extraordinary qualities, we may add, that Zenobia engaged in the management of affairs with advantages which scarce ever met in the same person and at the same time, youth and experience. Her age we may guess at from her being married and having children at Rome several years afterwards; and yet she had already made such progress under the direction of her husband Odenathus, whom the most constantly attended in the field, that the emperor Aurelian gives her the honour of his victories over the Persians, in his letter to the senate, which is preserved in Pollio

Began to govern young, tho' experienced.

It is a loss, that the only writer of her life, from whom we have collected these particulars of her manners, person and dress, should be so silent about the more important parts of her publick character, and enter so little into the spirit of her great actions, when he dwells so minutely upon things of less consequence: While we acknowledge ourselves indebted to him for her black eyes and white teeth, we cannot help reproaching him with an absolute silence about any battle she fought, or any law she enacted.

In this case we must have recourse to the history of her cotemporary Roman^b emperor's; her story is so connected with theirs, that they may throw some light upon each other.

Zenobia took upon her the government, in the name of her sons then very young: She found Gallienus, one of the worst of the bad emperors, in the last year of his reign, and his affairs in a perplexity extremely favourable to her ambition; his single good quality was a love of letters, his bad ones were without number, but lewdness and cruelty were his favourite vices, in which he is said to have rivalled Heliogabalus and Nero. A total neglect of his duty to his country and captive father, would have reduced the empire to an irretrievable state of confusion, had not Odenathus supported his interest in the east.

Takes the government upon her, in the name of her sons.

Gallienus.

His character.

Zenobia's views were inconsistent with any longer alliance with the Romans. Upon what pretence she broke through the engagements they and her husband were under, is not clear; but she attacked and routed Heraclianus the Roman general, sent by Gallienus with an army against the Persians, who narrowly escaped, after a sharp engagement, and left her in possession of Syria and Mesopotamia. In the same year Gallienus was murdered at Milan.

Zenobia conquers Syria and Mesopotamia.

^a Bibit sepe cum ducibus, cum esset alias sobria bibit etiam cum Persis & Armenis ut eos vinceret. Treb. Pol.

^b The facts are taken from Zosimus and Vopiscus; it will be needless to quote them in every instance.

Claudius. Claudius succeeded him; a character so amiable and so different from his predecessor, that he would probably have restored happiness and tranquillity to the empire, had he reigned long enough. 'He^a had the valour of
 Hischaracter. Trajan, the piety of Antoninus, and the moderation of Augustus;' virtues which he indefatigably exerted in the publick service. The grand object of his attention was reformation. How difficult this task was, appears from the letter he wrote to the senate immediately before that memorable victory which gave him the name of Gothicus.

Zenobia, conquers Egypt. While he was thus taken up by affairs nearer home, Zenobia finding a party for her in Egypt, supported by one Timogenes, sent Zabdas, an experienced officer who had fought under Odenathus, and attended her in all her battles, to make the conquest of that country, to which she perhaps claimed an hereditary right, as the descendent of the Ptolemys, their former kings. He came to a battle with the Egyptians, the success of which put him in possession of that province, where he left a body of 5000 men, and returned to Palmyra.

This revolution happened in the absence of Probus prefect of Egypt, who was then out upon a cruise against the pirates who infested the neighbouring seas. Upon the news of it he returned, and drove the Palmyrene troops out of the country.

This sudden turn of affairs brought back Zabdas again with his army. Probus engaged and beat him; but not content with this success, attempted to cut off the retreat of the Palmyrenes: Which proved fatal to him, for having with that view got possession of those heights near Babylon, (which command the present town of Cairo) Timogenes, better acquainted with the country, shewed the Palmyrenes an unguarded road up to that part, by which they surpris'd and destroyed his army. Probus taken prisoner, and drove to despair by the misfortunes his mismanagement had occasioned, killed himself, and Zenobia became mistress of Egypt.

Claudius resolv'd to march again Zenobia about the latter end of the second year of his reign; but was taken off by the plague at Syrmium in Pannonia.

Aurelian. Aurelian was elected in his room by the army, and Quintillus brother to the late emperor by the senate; but the death of the latter in seventeen days after he was proclaimed, prevented a competition, and Aurelian was unanimously declared.

Hischaracter. He was a mere soldier of fortune, and from the lowest rank in the army rose to be general of the cavalry: remarkable bodily strength, great courage, and an unwearied attention to military discipline, were the virtues to which he owed his rise. He was generous in rewarding, but quick and always severe in punishing; cruelty was his dangerous vice, and the more so, as he was credulously open to accusations. However, Rome got more by his virtues than she lost by his vices. The disorders introduced by Galienus were but partly remedied by Claudius, and still wanted a man of Au-

^a Treb. Pollio.

^b Preserved in Treb. Pol. vit. Zenob.

relian's active spirit to complete the work. While the two first years of his reign were successfully employed against the Goths, Germans, and Vandals, and in reforming the police at Rome, Zenobia added a great part of Asia Minor to her dominions.

Zenobia
conquers
great part of
Asia.

It may be worth while to take a short view of Zenobia's present situation. She is now arrived at the highest pitch of her glory, and furnishes an example of one of the most rapid and extraordinary changes of fortune we meet in history.

A small territory in the desert, under the government of a woman, extends its conquests over many rich countries and considerable states. The great kingdoms of the Ptolemys, and the Seleucida are become part of the dominions of a single city, whose name we in vain looked for in their history; and Zenobia lately confined to the barren plains of Palmyra, has now Egypt in her dominions to the south, and to the north commands as far as the Bosphorus and black sea.

The extent
of her con-
quests.

Her success had hitherto been very little interrupted; Claudius thought it the most prudent measure to employ his whole force in the suppression of evils nearer home. This conduct had Aurelian's approbation, as we see both in his letter ^a to the senate, and by his taking the same steps; for he intirely subdued the Goths, and then marched to the relief of the eastern empire. He crossed the Bosphorus at Byzantium, and except at Tyana, a town of Cappadocia, which he took by stratagem, met with no opposition in his march to Antioch.

At this city and at Emesa, were fought these two battles by which Aurelian recovered the provinces of the east, and Zenobia was reduced to take shelter within the walls of our own capital.

Battles of
Antioch and
Emesa.

The most remarkable things in these two actions, the last of which was very obstinate, were the superiority the Palmyrenes had in their cavalry, and the Romans in the art of war. The same country excels in horfes and horsemanship at this day.

Aurelian proceeded to Palmyra, greatly harrassed in his march by the Syrian banditti, and having taken proper precautions to have his army supplied with provisions, besieged the town. The obstinacy with which the garrison defended it, is particularly taken notice of in a letter ^b from Aurelian to Mucapores, as an apology for the length of the siege.

Palmyra is
besieged by
Aurelian.

At last tired out with unsuccessful attempts, he was resolved to try the effects of negotiation, and accordingly wrote ^c to Zenobia, but in a style

He writes to
Zenobia.

^a Preserved in Treb. Pol. vit. Zenob.

^b Quoted by Vopiscus. vit. Aurelian.

^c The letter is preserved in Vopiscus. Aurelianus imperator Ro. orbis & receptor Orientis, Zenobiae, ceterisque quos societas tenet bellica. Sponte facere debuistis id quod meis litteris nunc jubetur: deditionem praecipio impunitate vitae propolita, ita ut illic, Zenobia, cum tuis agas vitam, ubi te ex senatus amplissimum sententia collocavero. Gemmas, argentum, aurum, lexicum, equos, camelos in ararium Ro. conferas: Palmyrenis jus suum servabor: Vopiscus adds. Hac epistola accepta, Zenobia superbius insolentique rescripsit quam ejus fortuna polcebat, credo ad terrorem. *The same author*

gives the following copy of her letter. Zenobia regina Orientis Aureliano Augusto.—Nemo adhuc, praeter te, quod pollicis litteris petit: virtute faciendum est quicquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum. Deditioem matrem petis, quasi necias Cleopatram reginam perire maluisse quam in qualibet vivere dignate: nobis Periarum auxilia non desunt, quae janspetamus. Pro nobis sunt Saraceni, pro nobis Armenii. Latrones Syri exercitum tuum, Aureliane, vicerunt; quid igitur si illa venerit manus, quae undique speratur? Pones profecto supercilium, quo nunc mihi deditioem, quasi omisitiam victor, imperas. *Vid. Vopisc. in vita Aurelian.*

which rather commanded than proposed terms, which she rejected with great disdain; and notwithstanding the desperate state of her affairs treated his offers as insolent, bid him remember that Cleopatra preferred death to a dishonourable life; and even insulted him with the advantages the Syrian banditti had got over his army.

Her haughty answer.

This haughty answer greatly inflamed Aurelian: he immediately ordered a general attack with more fury than ever, and at the same time that he pressed them so vigourously in the town, he intercepted their Persian auxiliaries, and bought off the Saracens and Armenians.

Palmyra distressed.

Besides this, provisions began to fail in the town, while the enemy was well supplied; a circumstance greatly discouraging to the besieged, who placed their chief hopes in the difficulty Aurelian would find of subsisting his army in the desert.

In this distress it was resolved in council, to let the Persians know the desperate situation they were in, and to implore their assistance against the common enemy.

Zenobia attempts to go to Persia for succour. Is taken.

Zenobia undertook to transact this affair in person, and set out for Persia upon a dromedary, an animal made use of for expedition in the same country at this day; but she found it impossible to escape the vigilance of the besiegers. Aurelian informed of her escape, dispatched a party of horse, which overtook her just as she had got into a boat to pass the Euphrates.

We are told, that the sight of the captive queen gave the Roman emperor infinite pleasure, at the same time his ambition suffered some mortification, when he considered that posterity would always look upon this, only as the conquest of a woman.

Palmyra submits.

Zenobia being taken, the citizens of Palmyra submitted themselves to the emperor's mercy, though a considerable party were for defending the city to the last. He spared them upon their submission, and marched to Emesa with Zenobia, and a great part of the riches of Palmyra, where he left a garrison of 600 archers, commanded by Sanderio.

At Emesa, Aurelian made enquiry into Zenobia's conduct, and her motives for so much obstinacy.

Zenobia gives up her friends to death.

I wish it were possible to vindicate her behaviour upon this occasion: but here she fell short of her grand model Cleopatra, and purchased a dishonourable life, at the expence of her friends, whom she betrayed as her advisers in what she had done: They were put to death, and she reserved to grace the emperor's triumph.

Longinus is among them.

Among those, who suffered, was Longinus. He was accused of having dictated the haughty letter, which his mistress Zenobia wrote to the emperor. The intrepid steadiness with which he met his fate, shews that he was as brave, as he was learned.

The misfortunes of Palmyra did not end here: So quick a transition from long enjoyed liberty to a state of slavery, is apt to suggest desperate measures. The inhabitants cut off the Roman garrison. Aurelian informed of this in his road to Rome, returned with uncommon expedition, took and destroyed the town, putting to death most of the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex.

Palmyra revolts, and is punished for it.

For the particulars of this cruelty, we have the emperor's own authority in his letter ^a to Bassus, whom he ordered to repair the temple of the sun, damaged by the foldiers, and appropriated to that use 300 pounds weight of gold, found in Zenobia's coffers; with 1800 pounds weight of silver, from the goods of the people, besides the jewels of the crown.

The most credible account of the remaining part of Zenobia's life is, that Aurelian carried her to Rome, where she graced his magnificent triumph; and was allotted by that emperor, some lands at Conche, near the road from Rome to the ancient Tibur, where at this day some ruins are shewn to travellers, as the remains of her Villa. She is said to have married there and to have had children.

Zenobia brought to Rome, where she passed the remainder of her life.

From this time Palmyra having lost its liberty, had, no doubt, a Roman governor. Ceionius Bassus, to whom Aurelian wrote the letter we have mentioned, was very probably the first; and we find Hierocles in that charge for the fifth time, with the name of president (Præses) of the province, when Dioclesian erected some buildings there. This information we owe to the only Latin inscription we found at Palmyra, to which we refer the reader ^b.

Dioclesian builds at Palmyra. Justinian repairs it.

The magnificent remains of Dioclesian's buildings at Rome, Spalato, and Palmyra, shew this art flourished, as late as the reign of that emperor, contrary to the opinion of Sir William ^c Temple, who says that Trajan's bridge over the Danube seems to have been the last slight of ancient architecture.

The first Illyrian ^e legion was quartered at Palmyra, about the year of Christ 400; but it seems doubtful, whether it continued to have a Roman garrison without interruption; for Procopius ^e says, that Justinian repaired Palmyra, which had been for some time almost quite deserted, and supplied the town with water for the use of the garrison which he left there. Such repairs no doubt regarded more its strength than ornament. This author seems very little acquainted with its ancient history, when he says it was built in that situation, to stop the incursions of the Saracens into the Roman territories. We have no more of Palmyra in the Roman history.

The civil revolutions of this country, shew that christianity could have been but for a small time the established religion; so that I am not surpris'd at getting nothing worth repeating from church history.

^a This letter is also preserved in Vopiscus Aurelianus Augustus Ceionio Basio--Non oportet ulterius progredi militum gladios, jam satis Palmyrenorum cæsum atque occisum est. Mulieribus non peperimus, infantes occidimus fene jugulavimus, rusticos interemimus, cui terras, cui urbem deinceps relinqueamus? Parcendum est iis qui remanserunt. Credimus e im paucos tam multorum supplicis esse correctos. Templum sane solis, quod apud Palmyram aquilifer legionis teræ cum vexilliferis & draconario cornicinibus atque liticinis diruperunt, ad eam formam volo, que fuit, reddi.

Habes trecentas auri libras Zenobiæ capsulis: habes argenti mille octingenta pondo e Palmyrenorum bonis: habes gemmas regias Ex his omnibus fac colonefari templum: mihi & diis immortalibus gratissimum feceris. Ego ad senatum scribam, petens ut mittat pontificem, qui dedecet templum.

^b See Inscription XXVII.

^c Essay on ancient and modern learning.

^d Notitia Imp.

^e Procop. Cæsar. de ædificiis Justin. lib. 2. çap. ii.

It is little known since Mahomet's appearance.

Its various fortunes from the time of Mahomet's appearance are very obscure. That it has been made use of as a place of strength, appears from the alterations made to answer that purpose in the temple of the sun, which, as well as the castle on the hill, cannot be above five or six hundred years old.

Is mentioned by Benjamin Tudulensis, who was there about 1172.

Benjamin Tudulensis, an ignorant and superstitious Jew, who passed through it in the twelfth century, says, there were 2000 of his religion there at that time.

By Abulfeda who lived in 1121.

Of the Arabian writers, some take no notice of Palmyra, and of those who do, Abulfeda prince of Hamah, a city in its neighbourhood, who wrote about the year 1321, seems to be the only one worth quoting. He mentions very shortly its situation, soil, palm and fig-trees; its many antient columns, and that it had a wall and castle. He was very probably ignorant, both of its Greek name and history, and only calls it Tedmor.

Little known to geographers.

On the other hand, some of the best writers on antient geography, who were in general acquainted with the history of Palmyra, seem quite ignorant of its ruins. Castaldus, Ortelius and others, do not take it for the Tedmor of Abulfeda, but give it other modern names.

In short, so little were these ruins known before the latter end of the last century, that had their materials been employed in fortifying the place, which might have been a very natural consequence of a war between the Turks and Persians, Palmyra would scarce have been mist: a very strong instance of the precarious fate, that the greatest monuments of human art and power are liable to!

The English merchants visit it in 1678.

But about that time, some English merchants from Aleppo visited these ruins, who were plundered by the Arabs, and obliged to return without satisfying their curiosity: but made a second attempt thirteen years after the first, and stayed there four days.

And in 1691.

Their account is published in the Philosophical Transactions, and is the only one I have ever seen of this place. It is wrote with so much candour and regard to truth, that some errors occasioned by haste, and their not being much acquainted with architecture and sculpture, deserve indulgence. We hope, at least, our additional authority will rescue them from an unjust imputation, which was the more dangerous as it had the sanction of some men of sense and letters, who found it easier to doubt^a the veracity of their relation, than to account for such vast ruins, in so odd a place.

Our journey there in 1751.

If our journey thither in the year 1751 has produced any thing which may be more satisfactory to the curious, it is entirely owing to our having undertaken it with advantages which they wanted; and however we may claim the merit of a more inquisitive examination into the ruins of Palmyra, the discovery of them is entirely due to the English factory at Aleppo.

^a Nunc rudera superfont, magne olim urbis indicia, ut referunt ii quorum tamen nosim fidem præstare. Pere Hardouin. Vide Plin. lib. v. Hist. Nat.

The account given by these gentlemen occasioned a short history of the antient state of Palmyra, and some ingenious remarks on the inscriptions found there, by Doctor Halley; as also a history of Palmyra, and commentary upon the inscriptions, by Ab. Sellar. The first seemed too short, and the last too diffuse, as well as incorrect, to answer what is meant by this enquiry; in which, however, I have had some assistance from both.

In this short sketch of the history of Palmyra, it appears that all we have been able to collect from books, with regard to its buildings is, that they were repaired by Adrian, Aurelian, and Justinian, the Latin inscription adds Dioclesian. We shall now proceed to what we proposed, as the second part of this enquiry.

HOW far the taste and manner of the architecture may give any light into the age which produced it, our engravings will put in every person's power to judge for himself; and in forming such judgment, the reader will make what use he thinks proper of the following observations, thrown together, without any view to order.

We thought we could easily distinguish, at Palmyra, the ruins, of two very different periods of antiquity; the decay of the oldest, which are mere rubbish, and incapable of measurement, looked like the gradual work of time; but the later seemed to bear the marks of violence.

There is a greater sameness in the architecture of Palmyra, than we observed at Rome, Athens, and other great cities, whose ruins evidently point out different ages, as much from the variety of their manner, as their different stages of decay. The works done during the republican state of Rome are known by their simplicity and usefulness, while those of the emperors are remarkable for ornament and finery. Nor is it less difficult to distinguish the old simple dorick at Athens from their licentious corinthian of a later age. But at Palmyra we cannot trace so visible a progress of arts and manners in their buildings; and those which are most ruinous seem to owe their decay rather to worse materials, or accidental violence, than a greater antiquity. It is true, there is in the outside of the sepulchral monuments, without the town, an air of simplicity very different from the general taste of all the other buildings, from which, and their singular shape we at first supposed them works of the country, prior to the introduction of the Greek arts; but we found the inside ornamented as the other buildings.

It is remarkable, that except four ionick half columns in the temple of the sun, and two in one of the mausoleums, the whole is corinthian, richly ornamented with some striking beauties, and some as visible faults.

In the variety of ruins we visited in our tour through the east, we could not help observing, that each of the three Greek orders had their

* I mean singular, with regard to the antient buildings of Greece and Italy; but in countries where the use of bells has made great steeples common, they would not appear so, for they are exactly of that form.

fashionable periods: The oldest buildings we saw were dorick; the ionick^a succeeded, and seems to have been the favourite order, not only in Ionia, but all over Asia Minor, the great country of good architecture, when that art was in it's highest perfection. The corinthian came next in vogue, and most of the buildings of that order in Greece seem posterior to the Romans getting footing there. The composite, and all its extravagancies followed, when proportion was entirely sacrificed to finery and crowded ornament.

Which was the Greek order last in vogue.

Sculpture sooner brought to perfection and sooner lost than architecture.

Examples of it.

Another observation we made in this tour, and which seems to our present purpose, was, that in the progress of architecture and sculpture towards perfection, sculpture arrived soonest at it, and soonest lost it.

The old dorick of Athens is an instance of the first, where the bas-reliefs on the metopes of the temples of Theseus and Minerva, (the first built soon after the battle of Marathon, and the latter in the time of Pericles) shew the utmost perfection that art has ever acquired, though the architecture of the same temples is far short of it, and in many particulars against the rules of Vitruvius, who appears to have founded his principles upon the works of a later age.

That architecture out-lived sculpture we had several instances in Asia Minor, and no where more evident proofs of it, than at Palmyra.

This observation on the different fates of those sister-arts, which I have attempted to support by facts, has appeared a little extraordinary to some persons, who very justly consider architecture as the mere child of necessity, a discovery which our first wants must have pointed out, and employed us in long before we could have thought of sculpture, the work of luxury and leisure. How comes it about then, say they, that it should be left so far behind by an art much later thought of? Perhaps my having had ocular demonstration of the fact, may induce me to think too favourably of the following manner of accounting for it.

Reason of it.

The sculptor having for his object the human figure, has in his first, and most rude essays, the advantage of a model in nature, the closest imitation of which constitutes the perfection of his art. But the architect's invention is employed in the search of proportions by no means so obvious, though when once established they are easier preserved and copied. The first part of this remark perhaps accounts for the quicker progress of sculpture, from the infancy of arts to their happiest state, as the latter part of it attempts to give the reason why architecture should not so immediately feel the decline of good taste.

If I am allowed to lay any stress on these observations, in applying them to Palmyra, it would induce me to fix the date of its buildings after the happiest

^a Which of the orders is most pleasing, is a question foreign to our present purpose; but lest this preference of the ionick, in an age when architecture most flourished, and by a people whose productions of genius have been so long the standard for good taste, that they have in some measure acquired a right of deciding, may be an authority too much in its favour, we may observe first, that the Ionians were, no doubt, partial to the order which they claimed the honour of inventing;

and next, that they would have preferred the dorick, in some instances, but that their own order was less difficult to execute, and gave greater scope to the architect's fancy, not confined, as in the dorick, by a constant attention to a proper distribution of the metopes and triglyphs. Hermogenes intended the famous temple of Bacchus at Teos should be dorick, but for this last reason changed his plan to the ionick, after he had collected the materials. Vitruv.

age of the fine arts. But with regard to this we shall know more from the inscriptions.

WE see from their dates, (in which the *Æra* of Selucus is observed, with the Macedonian names of the months) that there are none earlier than the birth of Christ, and none so late as the destruction of the city by Aurelian, except one in Latin, which mentions Dioclesian. They are all in a bad character, some sepulchral, but most honorary; the names in the oldest inscriptions are all Palmyrene, those of a later date have Roman pronomina.

TWO of the mausoleums, which still remain pretty entire, preserve on their front very legible inscriptions, of which one informs us, that Jamblichus, son of Mocimus, built that monument, as a burial-place for himself and his family in the year 314, (answering to the third year of Christ) and the other, that it was built by Elabelus Manaius, in the year 414 (the 103 of Christ).

The ornaments of these two are much in the same taste; but the latter is richest and most diligently executed. However, both are so much in the style and manner of the other publick buildings in general, that they may be supposed works not of very different ages.

As to the honorary inscriptions, they are almost all upon the columns of the long portico; where it will appear, that there were statues of the persons named in them, and that the several dates mark the time when such persons received that honour. So that all we can conclude from them, with regard to the buildings is, that the portico is older than the earliest of those dates.

We were diligent in our search after inscriptions, from which we hoped for some valuable information, with regard to a place about which history is so deficient, but in vain. We for the same reason enquired strictly after medals, cameo's and intaglio's; but with as little success. All the medals we got were Roman small brass, and of the low empire, and some cameo's and intaligo's, which we found, are not worth notice.

We were not much disappointed, in not finding the name of Zenobia in any inscription, as her short reign was almost entirely employed in a war, the unhappy end of which prevented any opportunity either of compliment or flattery. Nor is Doctor Halley's observation improbable, that the Romans, so much irritated at her behaviour, should have destroyed, or defaced every thing which did her honour.

UPON the whole, I think, we may conclude, that as soon as the passage of the desert was found out and practised, those plentiful and constant springs of Palmyra must have been known; and that as soon as trade became the object of attention, such a situation must have been valuable, as necessary to the keeping up an intercourse between the Euphrates, and the Mediterranean, being about twenty leagues from that river, and about fifty from Tyre and Sidon, on the coast. This, no doubt, must have happened very soon, from the situation of

Palmyra in-
habited ear-
ly, and why

this defart, in the neighbourhood of the first civil societies we know any thing of; and we have positive authority from the writings of Moses, of a very early intercourse between Padan-Aran, afterwards Mesopotamia, and the land of Canaan.

If it be alledged, that such intercourse was kept up, not through the defart, but by a longer road, through the inhabited country, as is generally the practice at this day, and that the patriarchs in their journies between those countries, used nearly the same caravan-road, which is now commonly chosen for security from Damascus by Hamah, Aleppo, Bir, &c. This objection may be answered by an observation which occurred to me when I travelled this road into Mesopotamia (now Diarbekir) in my first tour into the east in the year 1742, viz. That the expeditious journey of Laban and Jacob from Haran to Mount-Gilead, will admit of no other road than this through the defart; which alone can account for the small time in which they performed it. As Laban may have used extraordinary diligence, and exerted himself in the pursuit, we shall not venture to say what he could have done in seven ^a days; but Jacob's journey will admit of a pretty exact calculation, nor could he easily have arrived at the nearest part of Mount-Gilead, even through the defart, in less than ten days, as he must have kept the common caravan-pace, observed by the present inhabitants; for he travelled with the same incumbrances of family, flocks, and in short, all his substance, carrying his wives ^b and children upon camels, as the Arabs now do, who retain a surprizing similitude of manners and customs to those of the patriarchs, and much greater than is observable between any other antient and modern people.

The defart
was liable to
change.

This reasoning, no doubt, supposes the face of the country to have been always the same that we saw it, which is not improbable; for few parts of the globe seem to be less subject to change than the defart; nor does it seem unreasonable to conclude, that Palmyra had always the same supply of water, and it's neighbourhood the same want of it. ^c Josephus gives this as Solomon's reason for building here. The Persians ^d when they became masters of Asia, attempted in some measure to water the defart, by granting a property in the land for five generations, to those who brought water thither. But the aqueducts which they made underground, from Mount-Taurus, for this purpose, were so liable to be destroyed, that they did not continue to answer the end for which they were built. In the war between ^e Arfaces and Antiochus the Great, we see the first care on both sides was to secure the water in the defart, without which an army could not pass.

Its riches
owing to the
East-India
trade.

How much the East-India ^f trade has enriched all the countries through which it passed, from Solomon to the present time, is evident from history

^a Gen. chap. xxxi. v. 22. And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob was fled. And he took his brethren with him, and pursued after him seven days journey, and they overtook him in the mount Gilead.

^b Gen. chap. xxxi. v. 17. Then Jacob rose and set his sons and his wives upon camels.

^c Antiq. Jud. lib. 8.

^d Polyb. lib. 10. It is true, the defart mentioned by Polybius, in this and the following instance, is farther north than that of Palmyra, but the northern part of the defart is more easily supplied with water than to the south.

^e Polyb. lib.

^f Prideaux Connect.

The immense riches of that prince, of the Ptolomies, and indeed of Palmyra, are to be accounted for, from no other source.

It seems highly probable that the Phœnicians, who from their intercourse with the Jews, soon learned the value of the East-India trade, must as soon have found out how profitably it might be carried on through Palmyra, situated more conveniently for them, and at a less distance from their capital than from that of the Jews.

The Phœnicians probably traded to Palmyra.

The grand passage for the India-Merchandise (before the Portuguese discovered that by the Cape of Good-Hope) was, no doubt, by Egypt and the Red-sea. The cities Esiogeber, Rhinocolura, and Alexandria, were the different marts for this trade, as it passed through the hands of the Jews, Phœnicians and Greeks. But there were formerly other channels less considerable, as there are to this day.

It is true, that their India-Trade, is now at a very low ebb, occasioned by the discovery of America, and the Cape of Good-Hope, but most of all by the bad government of the Turks, diametrically opposite to the true spirit of commerce. There is, however, enough left to point out what might be done with proper management. And besides the trade carried on by Cairo and Suez, a small intercourse is kept up by caravans from Aleppo and Damascus to Bassora. I make no doubt, that should this country once more become the seat of well regulated civil society, Palmyra must of course become considerable, by the trade of India, though Egypt might still be its grand channel.

The trade through Turkey to India low, though not quite lost.

When we were in Egypt, a person who had been long in India, and was well acquainted with the trade of that country, was sent to Grand Cairo by the present emperor of Germany, to see what commerce might be laid open between his Tuscan dominions and the Red-sea. The gentleman so employed told us, that he did not then pursue his scheme of going on to Suez, and embarking for Mocha, because of the present unsettled government in Egypt; but that if tranquility was once restored, and there was security for merchants, the trade would greatly answer.

Attempts to recover it.

But at whatever time we may suppose Palmyra became a passage for the commodities of India, it seems very reasonable to attribute their wealth to that trade, which must have flourished considerably before the birth of Christ; as we find by the inscriptions, about that time they were rich and expensive; and as Appian^a expressly calls them India-merchants, in Mark Antony's time, it seems to put this matter out of all doubt. I take it to have been owing to a want of proper attention to this circumstance of the trade of Palmyra, and the riches it might have produced, that writers have hitherto pretty confidently attributed its buildings to the successors of Alexander, or to the Roman emperors, rather than suppose its inhabitants could have been equal to the expence.

As antient authors are intirely silent about this opulent and quiet period of their history, we are left to conclude that, intirely intent upon com-

^a De bel. civil. lib. 5.

merce, they interfered little in the quarrels of their neighbours, and wisely attended to the two obvious advantages of their situation, trade and security. A country thus peaceably employ'd, affords few of those striking events ^a which history is fond of. The desert was in a great measure to Palmyra what the sea is to Great Britain, both their riches and defence. The neglect of these advantages made them more conspicuous and less happy.

What connections the Palmyrenes had with the Romans.

What their particular connections were with the Romans, before the time of Odenathus, how early began, and how often interrupted, may be difficult to decide with any satisfaction to ourselves. The earliest mark of their dependence, as we have seen in the foregoing history is, their having been a Roman colony in the time of Caracalla: that they assisted Alexander Severus against Artaxerxes, proves no more than an alliance: we see Roman prænomena, and a few Roman names in the inscriptions; and that, in one place, they have scratched out the name of a person, odious to the Romans; and in other places seem to acquiesce in the Roman deification, by calling two of their deceased emperors gods. Whether all this means any more than compliment to their friends and allies, or argues a nearer interest in the Roman religion and politics, is left to the reader to judge for himself.

We have seen, before the time of Justinian, this city was reduced to as low a state as that in which we found it, and had lost its liberty, trade, property and inhabitants, in that natural chain in which publick misfortunes generally follow each other.

Why the decay of Palmyra was so quick.

If the succession of these calamities was quicker than ordinary, it may be accounted for from the particular situation of Palmyra: a country without land, if I may use that expression, could only subsist by commerce^b; their industry had no other channel to operate in; and when the loss of their liberty was followed by that of trade, they were reduced to live idly on as much of their capital as Aurelian had spared; when that was spent, necessity obliged them to desert the town.

However, its use as a place of strength, was still evident to Justinian; a use ever inseparable from its situation, unless it should become the center of a great empire, which there seems no reason to expect; for the desert is a very natural boundary, and will probably continue to divide different states, with as little interruption as it has done from the earliest accounts of time.

Why now neglected, at a place of strength.

If the Turks do not seem to know its value in this light, it is only because the weakness of the Persians has encouraged them in their neglect of it, especially as the Arabs would make it a little troublesome to support a garrison there. However, if they lose Bagdat, their present extended frontier, they will no doubt, fortify Palmyra.

^a The Agareni, a people of Arabia Felix, whose capital was situated, like that of the Palmyrenes, in a barren parcht desert, baffled the forces of two victorious Roman emperors Trajan and Severus, who after vigorous, tho' vain attempts, to add this to their other conquests in the east, were obliged to leave its inhabitants in the possession of their rights. This glorious defence of their liberty comprehends the whole history of this people, as far as I can find; and were it not for

the injustice and ambition of their enemies, we should not even know that there had been any such brave and powerful people. Vide Dion Cass. in vit. Trajan.

^b A few exceptions which this opinion is liable to, are of so singular a nature, that they do not break in upon the general truth of it: if Jerusalem, a capital tolerably well inhabited, subsists without trade or agriculture, it is owing to the singular devotion of the Christians, Jews and Turks for that city.

As to the age of those ruinous heaps, which belonged evidently to buildings of greater antiquity than those which are yet partly standing, it is difficult even to guess; but if we are allowed to form a judgment, by comparing their state of decay with that of the monument of Jamblichus, we must conclude them extremely old; for that building, erected 1750 years ago, is the most perfect piece of antiquity I ever saw, having all its floors and stairs entire, though it consists of five stories.

But those buildings which we saw and measured, seem neither to have been the works of Solomon, as some have thought, nor of any of the Seleucidae, according to others, and but few of them of any of the Roman emperors, but mostly of the Palmyrenes themselves, as we may conclude from their inscriptions, which are in this case our best authority. The monument erected by Jamblichus seems to be the oldest; and the work of Dioclesian the latest, taking in about 300 years between them.

The other rich and expensive buildings were, no doubt, erected before the last of these dates, and probably after the first; perhaps about the time Elabellus built his monument.

It is reasonable to suppose, that when private persons could erect monuments of such extraordinary magnificence, merely for the use of their own family, about the same time of opulence, the community may have been equal to the vast expence of their publick buildings.

We are at a loss, what to think about the repairs of Adrian; those of Aurelian were considerable and expensive. We leave it to the reader to determine, whether these singularities of the temple of the sun, which could scarce ever have entered into the original plan, can have been the work of that emperor.

What remains there are of the wall, do not look unlike the work of Justinian, and may be the repairs mentioned by Procopius, and the highest antiquity any thing else can claim is the time of the mamalucs.

That the ruins are the greatest, and most entire of any we know, is, no doubt, much owing to there being few inhabitants to deface them, to a dry climate, and their distance from any city, which might apply the materials to other uses.

THEIR RELIGION, we know, was pagan: and from the extraordinary magnificence of the temple of the sun, it would appear, that, in common with their neighbours in Syria, they had a high veneration for that divinity.

THEIR GOVERNMENT, we see, both from history and the inscriptions, was republican; but their laws, police, &c. are entirely lost; nor can we learn more than the names of a few magistrates from the inscriptions.

As to the state of LITERATURE among them, we have great reason to judge favourably of it: nor could they have left a more lucky specimen of their abilities in that way, than the only performance of theirs, which has escaped, viz. Longinus^a his Treatise on the Sublime.

^a It is not certain that Longinus was a Palmyrene, though very probably he was of some part of Syria. But which argues the most flourishing state of letters in a country, to have given birth to a great genius, or to have given him honour and support?

Manners and customs.

Of their MANNERS AND CUSTOMS we know little. We see from Pollio, that Zenobia, notwithstanding her military virtues, had something of the Persian luxury, and the same author says, that Herodes the son of Odenathus, was 'Homo omnium delicatissimus & profusus Orientalis & Græcæ luxuriæ.'

Skill in horsemanship, and the management of the bow.

We have seen in the first part of this Enquiry, page, 11. that horsemanship was held in much esteem in this Country, as it still is by the Arabs; and Appian a tells us the Palmyrenes were, expert archers.

Necessary ignorance of agriculture.

It plainly appears from their situation, that agriculture and country improvements could make but a very small part of their business or amusements. From hence it is easier to account for the extraordinary magnificence of their city, where, no doubt, their pleasures, as well as their business must have centered.

No place for games or exercises remaining.

We were a good deal surpris'd to perceive, that a people, confined by situation in their amusements, should have no remains of a theatre, circus, or any place for games and exercises, when we considered, what lengths the Greeks and Romans went in their love of those diversions. Of all ancient buildings those best resist the injuries of time, from their shape; and we had seen above twenty mable theatres in Asia Minor alone, most of them pretty entire.

Probable however that they used them.

However, as we meet with the office of *Ἀγορανομος*, or Ædile, in the inscriptions, it may be alledged from thence, that there were publick games at Palmyra; the inspection of which, is a care belonging to that magistrate, whose duty originally extended only to the direction of the market. It is the more probable, that this office included both those provinces at Palmyra, as Zenobius^b seems to be complimented for having discharged it with liberality; a very popular virtue, and expected in him who exhibited games, tho' I do not see how it could be exercised in the direction of the market.

Sepulchres.

The uncommon magnificence of their monuments of the dead, seem borrowed from Egypt, to which country they, of all people, come nearest in that sort of expence. Zenobia was originally of Egypt; she spoke their language perfectly well, and affected much to imitate in many things her ancestor Cleopatra. But, that they borrowed some their customs from Egypt before her time, seems plain from a discovery we made, to our great surprize, of mummies in their sepulchral monuments. We had been in Egypt a few months before, and by comparing the linen, the manner of swathing, the balsam, and other parts of the mummies of that country, with those of Palmyra, we found their methods of embalming exactly the same^c.

Art of embalming.

The Arabs told us, there had been vast numbers of these mummies in all the sepulchres; but that they had broke them up, in hopes of finding treasure. They were tempted, by the rewards we offered, to make strict search for an entire one; but in vain: Which disappointed our hopes of seeing something curious in the Sarcophagus, or perhaps of meeting with hiero-

^a Appian de Bell. Civil. lib. 5.
^b Inscrip. IX.

^c The pieces we brought away, which are in the possession of Mr. DAWKINS, are a proof of this.

glyphicks;

glyphicks. Among the fragments we carried off is the hair of a female, platted exactly in the manner commonly used by the Arabian women at this time.

From these few hints we see, that this people copied after great models in their manners, their vices and their virtues. Their funeral customs were from Egypt, their luxury was Persian, and their letters and arts were from the Greeks. Their situation in the midst of these three great nations makes it reasonable to suppose they adopted several other of their customs and manners. But to say more on that head from such scanty materials, would be to indulge too much in mere conjecture, which seems rather the privilege of the reader than of the writer.

How much it is to be regretted that we do not know more of a country, which has left such monuments of its magnificence? Where Zenobia was queen, and where Longinus was first minister?

T H E
I N S C R I P T I O N S.

THE antient inscriptions we found at Palmyra were all Greek, or Palmyrene, except one in Latin. The greatest number of those in Greek were published by the English merchants of Aleppo, with some errors, but such as did not in any remarkable degree perplex, or alter the sense. Doctor Halley made some remarks, and Mr. Seller wrote a Commentary on them, in which he often takes the liberty of corrupting the genuine reading, to favour his own conjectures.

It is rather to correct the errors of the commentators, than those of the first copy, that we publish these inscriptions, upon which we shall only make such remarks as obviously occurred to us on the journey, with a view to prepare them for a more critical examination; and beginning with those which have dates, we shall place them according to their antiquity.

I. Upon the architrave of the door of the most entire mausoleum, in that * See plate II. Fig. 41. vale* through which we arrived at Palmyra; it is repeated in a larger character, higher up, on the front of the same building.

The letters *c. w. e* are used for *z. n. z.* as well in this, as in all the inscriptions of Palmyra. As this contradicts a rule established by antiquarians (who have decided, that those letters are not to be met with in that form on coins, or marbles before the time of Domitian) we were careful in examining the date, which is very legible in both inscriptions, $\overline{\alpha} \overline{\tau} \overline{\tau}$ and being read from the right to the left (the only way the dates of Palmyra are intelligible,) makes the 314th † See Inscip. IX. year of the *Æra* † of Seleucus, answering to the 3d year of Christ.

We took, as exactly as we could, from the marbles, the shape of the character, which is bad, and have observed the same number of lines. We are at a loss whether to attribute so much bad spelling, and different ways of spelling the same word, as may be observed in these inscriptions, to the mistakes of the engraver or to their ignorance of the Greek language at Palmyra. Longinus complains that he found it difficult to find a person there to copy Greek.

‡ See Plate LV, LVI, LVII. II. Upon the front of that mausoleum § of which we have given the plan, elevations and ornaments. Besides that we found no difficulty in reading it, both grammar and sense so evidently authorise the difference of this copy from that already published, that we shall not trouble the reader with any defence of it.

III. On the shaft of the great column marked F, in plate XLIII. If we are not mistaken, it is more difficult to understand than to translate it. This will appear by rendering it literally, which is easiest done in Latin thus: ‘ Senatus
‘ populusque Alialamenem, Pani filium, Mocimi nepotem, *Æranis* pro-
‘ nepotem, Mathæ abnepotem & *Æranem* patrem ejus, viros pios & Patriæ
‘ amicos & omnimodo placentes patriæ patriusque diis, honoris gratia ‡ anno
‘ 450 mense Aprilii.’

† Viz. Pofa-
eunt.

Marmora Palmyrena

I	<p>ΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΑΙΩΝΙΟΝΓΕΡΑΣΩΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΕΝΙΑΜΜΙΧΟΣΜΟΚΕΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΚΚΑΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΜΑΛΙΧΟΥΕΙΣΤΕΕΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΥΙΟΥΣΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΥΣΕΤΟΥΣΔΉΤΗΜΗΝΙΖΑΝΔΙΚΩ</p>	
II	<p>ΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΚΤΙΣΑΝΕΛΑΒΗΛΟΣΜ ΑΜΝΑΙΟΣΣΟΧΑΙΕΙΣΜΑΛΙΧΟΣΟΥΑΒΑΛ ΛΑΘΟΥΤΟΥΜΑΛΛΑΙΟΥΤΟΥΕΛΑΒΗΛΟΥΑΥΤ ΟΙΣΚΑΙΥΙΟΙΣΕΤΟΥΣΔΉΤΗΜΗΝΟΣΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ</p>	
III	<p>ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΑΛΙΑΛΛΕΜΕΙΝΑΠΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥΜΟΚΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΑΙΡΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΜΑΘΘΑΚΑΙ ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΣΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΙΤΡΩΨ· ΣΙΜΩΣΑΡΕΣΑΝΤΑΣΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣΠΑΤΡΙΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣΤΕΙΜΗΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΣΔΉΤΗΜΗΝΟΣΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ</p>	<p>IX ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΖΗΝΟΒΙΩΝ ΤΟΝΚΑΙΖΑΒΔΙΛΑΝΔΙΣΜΑΛ ΧΟΥΤΟΥΝΑΣΟΥΜΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΗ ΓΗΣΑΝΤΑΕΝΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑΘΕΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΚΑΙΥΠΗΡΕΤΗ ΣΑΝΤΑΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΔΙΗΝΕΚΕΙ ΡΟΥΤΙΛΛΙΟΥΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΟΥΤΟΥ ΗΓΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΙΤΑΙΣΕΠΙΔΗ ΜΗΣΑΣΙΣΟΥΗΞΙΛΛΑΤΙΟΙΣΙΝΑ ΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΤΕΚΑΙΟΥΚΟΛΙ ΩΝΑΦΕΙΔΗΣΑΝΤΑΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙΚΑΛΩΣΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΩΣΔΙΑΤΑΥΤΑΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΥΠΟΘΕΟΥΙΑΡΙΒΟΛΟΥΚΑΙΥΠΟΙΟΥ ΛΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΕΞΟΧΩΤΑ ΤΟΥΕΠΑΡΧΟΥΤΟΥΙΕΡΟΥΠΡΑΙΤΩ ΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΤΟΝΦΙΛΟ ΠΑΤΡΙΝΤΕΙΜΗΧΑΡΙΝΕΤΟΥΣΔΉΤΗ</p>
IV	<p>ΗΒΟΥΛΗ ΑΟ ΑΛΕΙΝΑΙΡΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΣΑΒΑΤΟΥ ΝΟΥΤΟΥΒΩΝΝΕΟΥΣΕΠΑΝΓΕΙ ΝΩΝΑΥΤΗΕΠΙΔΟΣΙΝΑΙΩΜΙΑΝ ΙΟΥΣΙΑΝΚΛΙ· · · ΑΙ·ΘΕ·ΑΤΑ ΛΑΧΒΗΛΩΚΑΙ·ΣΧΗΘΑΜΕΙΟΣΚ· Ι·ΑΤΕΙΠΑΤΡΩΟΙΘΕΟΙΣΤΕΙΜΗΧΑΙ ΝΗΜΗΧΑΡΙΝΕΤΟΥΣΔΉΤΗ·Ω</p>	<p>X ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΖΕΒΕΙΔΑΝ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΣΕΒΕΙΔΟΥ ΑΣΘΩΡΟΥΒΑΙΔΑΟΣΥΝΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣΕΙΣΟΛΟΓΕΣΙ ΑΔΑΕΝΠΟΡΟΙΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΑΝΑΡΕ ΣΑΝΤΑΥΤΟΙΣΤΕΙΜΗΧΑΡΙΝ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΩΤΟΥΗΉΦΕΤΟΥΣ</p>
V	<p>ΝΕΣΧΑΛΑΤΟΥΝΕΣ· · · · · ΝΕΣΧΑΛΑΤΟΥΝΕΣΗΤΟΥΑΛΑΤΟΥΡΕΦΕΛΟΥ ΤΟΥΑΡΙΣΕΟΥΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΡΧΗΝΟΙΣΥΝΑΜΑΒΑΝ ΤΕΣΜΕΤΑ·ΤΟΥΕΜΠΟΡΟΙΑΠΟΦΟΡΑΘΟΥΚΕ ΟΑΛΓΑΣΙΑΔΟΣΤΕΙΜΗΧΑΙΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝΕΤΟΥΣΓΉΤΗΜΗΝΟΣΖΑΝΔ· · · ·</p>	<p>XI ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝΑΙΡΑΝΗΝΟ ΔΑΙΝΑΘΟΥΤΟΝΑΛΑΧΠΡΟ ΤΑΤΟΝΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΙΚΟΝ ΕΞ ΝΩΝ ΑΥΡΗΑΙ ΡΗΑΙ ΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩ ΤΗΣΛΕΓ ΚΗΣΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ· · · ΕΙΜΗΧΑΙΕΥΧΑ ΡΙΣΤΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝΕΤΟΥΣΓΞΦ</p>
VI	<p>ΔΙΙΥΥΙΣΤΩΜΕΓΙΣΤΩΚΑΙΕΡΗΚΩΒΩΛΑΝΟΣΖΕΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΑΙΡΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΜΟΚΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΜΑΘΘΑΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΗΣ ΑΙΡΕΒΕΙΣΕΦΚΑΣΠΗΓΗ·ΣΥΠΟΙΑΡΙΒΩΛΟΥΤΟΥΘΕΟΥΤΩΝΒΩ ΕΞΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΕΤΟΥΣΔΉΤΗΜΗΝΟΣΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥΚ</p>	
VII	<p>ΜΑΡΒΕΙΝΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΠΑΔΗΤΟΥΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥ ΤΟΥΣΥΜΩΝΟΥΣΟΡΑΙΧΟΣΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΑΝΗΡΑΥΤΗΣΜΗΜΗΝΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΜΗΝΕΙΔΥΣΤΡΩΤΟΥΣΥΕΤΟΥΣ</p>	<p>XII ΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΣΕΛΕΥ ΚΩΝ ΣΕΕΙΛΑ ΔΥ ΩΣ ΣΤΡΑΤ ΜΑΡΤΥ ΡΗΘΗΝ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ Α·ΜΕΝ ΡΑΤΙΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΜΥΡΙΑΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΕΤΟΥΣ ΞΞΦΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΩ</p>
VIII	<p>ΔΙΙΥΥΙΣΤΩΚΑΙ· ΤΗΚΩΨΙΟΥΑΥΡ· ΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΙΤΟΥΖΗΝΟΒΙ ΟΥΤΟΥΑΚΟΠΤΑΟΥΓ ΕΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΑΝΕ ΘΗΚΕΝΕΤΟΥΣΔΜΦ ΑΥΔΥΝΑΙΟΥΚΔ</p>	<p>XIII ΗΒΟΥΛΗ ΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟ ΑΘΩΝ ΜΑΛΗ ΡΧΕΜΠΟΡΩΝ ΑΝΑΚΟΜΙΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΝ ΠΡΟΙΚΑ ΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΕΙΜΗΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΣΘΞΦ</p>

J. Gibson sculp.

Our difficulty is, that *Æranes* is called the father of *Alialamenes*, who is called the son of *Panus*.

IV. On a well proportioned pedestal, upon which is an attick base cut out of the same piece of marble, in the burying-ground of the Arabs. It seems to signify honours done by the senate, to some person, which have not been so lasting as we could wish. We give it a place here as its fragments confirm some part of the inscription published by Gruter. The last word is, no doubt, *Περίω*, the Macedonian month, answering to February.

* See plate XIV.

V. In the court of the temple of the sun, on one of those pedestals * which projects from the shafts of the columns to support statues.

Though some words in this inscription do not seem very intelligible, yet we make no doubt, but those who have time to consider it, will find that it relates to the ancient trade and customs of Palmyra. We know from history ^a that there were formerly in that country, as well as at present, a set of petty princes, who lived upon rapine, making it dangerous for merchants to travel except in bodies, and escorted in the manner of the present caravans. We offer it as our conjecture, that the person mentioned in this inscription was director or commander of such a caravan, *Συνδιερχης*; and that he had a statue erected to him by the merchants trading to *Vologelas* on the *Euphrates*, eighteen ^b miles below *Babylon*, for his services in protecting their trading caravans. Inscription XVIII. which mentions the reason why a particular person was honoured by the senate, takes notice among his other publick services, of that of his protecting such caravans, *Συνδιας*, at his own expence; and that he had the testimony of the chiefs or presidents of the merchants to that purpose. Inscription XIII. contains something of the same kind. If we add to those, Inscription X. it will help out the sense of this.

VI. Upon an altar dedicated to Jupiter.

† See plate II. Fig. 32.

We found it close by the large fountain, † which, no doubt, is the same called *Ephca* in the inscription, of which *Bolanus* was elected overseer. This office must have been of importance at Palmyra, where such a fountain was so necessary, as well to the subsistence, as pleasure, of the inhabitants. Mr. Seller has changed the true reading of *Ephca* to *Aphaca*, to support a very singular opinion, viz. that the famous oracular fountain is meant here, which was near that temple of *Venus*, between *Heliopolis* and *Byblus*, which long continued to have votaries among the women of *Mount Libanus*, noted for beauty and prostitution. The last letters of the word *Βωμεν* in the third line, have hitherto been supposed to belong to the second, and explained upon that supposition. In several other instances where the text of those inscriptions has been altered, or a hiatus filled up by the com-

^a Strabo's account of this is so exact a representation of what passes in the same country at this time, that it may be proper to insert it. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς μισθῶν κελύμενα τῆς Μισοθρακίας, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν ἡνίων, αὐτῶν καὶ λυστρά ὄψα ἔχουσι οἱ Σικριταὶ Λαβίαι, ληστρικοὶ τῆσι καὶ ποταμικοὶ, μηδισμένοι καθύπερθε ἄλλης τῆσι, ὅταν ἐπιλείψωσι αἰ γαζῆ, καὶ αἱ ἀναλαίαι. — Διὰ δὲ τῶν Σικριτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Μαλιανῶν καὶ λυστράων, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἡγεμίας, ἣ ὁδοὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Συρίας εἰς Σελουκείαν, καὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἐμπαρονομασίου ἐστίν. — Παρέχουσι δ' αὖτις οἱ Σικριταὶ τῆν τε ἀρτίαν, καὶ

τὴν μερίστηα, τῆς τῶν τελῶν πράξεως, καὶ χάριν φεύγουσας τῶν παρασημασίας, διὰ τῆς ἡγεμίας παραβάλλουσαι, καὶ αἰαλοπόδες ἐν δέξῃ τῶν πῶμων, ἡμερῶν σχεδὸν τριῶν ὁδῶν. Οἱ γὰρ παλαιότεροι ἐκάλειον τὸν πῶμον Φύλακρον, χρόνον ἢ ἐν πῶρον ἔχουσι, ἦσαν δὲ ἄπορον νημέμων, διασείων ἡκαστος ἰδίᾳ παραβιβλόμενος, ἕταν καὶ τελῶν ἔχον καὶ τῶν ἢ μέτρων. Καλεῖται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τεύχεσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθόδοσι κοινῶν ἀφροειδῶν μέτρον τὸ τῆς ἐμπόρου λυσθίδος. Strab. lib. XVI.

^b Peutinger's Tables.

mentator,

Harmosa. Palmyrena.

<p>XIV ΥΠΙΛΙΣ ΝΟΥΡΩΔΗΝ ΙΠΠΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΝ ΠΑΛΜΥΡΗΝΟΝ ΒΗΛΑ ΚΑΒΟΣΑΡΑΤΟΝ ΦΙ ... ΕΙ. ΨΗΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ Θ Φ</p>	<p>ΕΠΤΙ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠ ΟΥΚΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΥΡΗ Ο ΒΑΛΟΣ... XXIX ΔΟΥΤΟΥ ΗΓΟΣΙΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΑΣ ΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ... ΜΗΝΕΙ ΑΠΕΪΑΙΩ</p>
<p>XV ΣΕΠΤΙΜ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑ ΠΟΝΣΕΒ Η ΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΝΗ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΥΡ ΟΣΣΕ XVI ΠΥΛΙΟΣ Ψ ΜΑΛΩ ΚΑΝΝΑΣΣΟΥ ΟΚΡΑΤΙ ΣΤΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΤ ΑΤΗΝ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ Ζ Ο Φ ΜΗΝΕΙ ΖΑΝ ΔΙΚΩ</p>	<p>... Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΜΑΛΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΝ XXI ΙΑΡΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΡΑΙΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΤΕ ΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕ ΡΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΗΜ... ΘΕΟΥ ΑΔΡΙ ΑΝΟΥ ΑΛΛΗΜ ΜΑΡΑΣΧΟ ΤΑ ΞΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑ...</p>
<p>XVII ΣΕΠΤ ΟΥΡΩΔΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟ ΠΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΗ ΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΓΑΠΕΤΗΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΛΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΕΠΤΙΜΟΣ ΙΑΔΗΣΙΠ ΠΙΚΟΣ ΣΕΠΤΙΜΟΥ ΑΛΕ ΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΙ ΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ Η Θ Φ ΜΗΝΕΙ ΖΑΝ ΔΙΚΩ</p>	<p>XXII Η ΒΟΥΑΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΒΑΡΕΙΧΕΙΝ ΑΔΡΙΣ... ΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΡΙΒΩΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΛΥΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΣ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΣΧΑΡΙΝ</p>
<p>XVIII ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΟΥΡΩΔΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟ ΠΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΗ ΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΓΑΠΕΤΗΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΑΛΜΙΣ ΚΑΣΣΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ... ΕΝΙΟΥ ΙΠΠΕΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ Θ Φ ΜΗΝΕΙ ΖΑΝ ΔΙΚΩ</p>	<p>XXIII ΓΕΝΔΑΤΙΟΝ ΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΝ ΠΡΕΙΣΚΟΝ ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΜΑΝΜΟΣΟΚΑΙ ΜΕΖΑΒΒΑΝ... ΟΛΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ</p>
<p>XIX Η ΒΟΥ ΜΟΣ ΣΕΠΤΙΜ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΝ Σ ΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΗΝ ΕΟΔΟΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΗ ΝΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙΑ ΝΑΚΟΜΙΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΣ ΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΕΝΤΑ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΕΜΠΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ XXI ΛΑΜΠΡΩΣ ΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣ ΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙ ΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΔΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΟΙΚΟΘΕΝΑΝ ΑΛΩΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΕΣΑΝ ΤΑΤΗ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΔΗΜΩ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΝΕΙΑ ΛΑΜΠΡΩΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΑΡ ΧΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΒΗΛΑ ΟΥΙΕ ΩΝ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΖΑΝ</p>	<p>XXIV ΣΕΠΤ ΥΑΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛ... ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤ... ΣΤΗ ΤΗΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ</p>
<p>XXII ΤΟ ΜΗ ΜΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΦΩΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΙΣ ΕΞΙΔΙΩΝ ΣΕΠΤΙΜΟΣ ΔΑΙΝΑΒΟΣ Ο ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑ ΤΟΣ ΣΥΝ XXIII ΚΑΝΤΙΚΟΣ ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΣΩΡΟΥ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩΝ ΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΤΕ ΛΕΣΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΤΕΙΧΗΝ</p>	<p>XXV ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΙΜΗ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΥΤΩΝ ΘΕΙΩ ΤΑΤΩΝ Α... XXVI ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΡΑ ΤΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΑΡΧ ΣΕΙΛΗΣ... ΑΡΕΛΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ... ΕΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ...</p>
	<p>XXVII ΔΕΣΟΒΙΣΙΟΥ ΕΤΡΟΠΡΑΓΑΤΟΡΕΣ ΓΕΝΕΡΙΣ Η ΜΑΝΙΔΩΝ ΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΤΑΝΥΣ ΣΙΜΠΡΙΜΠΡΕΤΟΝ ΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΕΤ ΜΑΧΙΜΙΑΝ ΙΝ ΝΟΒΒ. ΓΕΣ. ΕΣΤΑΡ ΠΑΡΕΛΙΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΙΒΕΡΥΤ ΣΟΒΣΙΑΝ Ο ΜΕΡΟΚΛΙΤΕ ΒΡΑΕΣ ΠΡΟΒΙΝΚΙΑΣ Δ. Μ. Β. Ε. ΟΥ Β. Υ.</p>

J. Gibbon scripsit

mentator, such liberties have always perverted the genuine sense. Those mistakes we now mention in general only as authorities for this inference, that all attempts to restore the imperfect sense either of marbles, or manuscripts should be received with diffidence; for it is not difficult for a lively imagination to correct or fill up very plausibly; and men are, in this case, led astray by their own ingenuity.

VII. The only inscription already published, which we could not find.

* See plate XIV.

It was copied from one of those pedestals * already mentioned, which project from the shafts of columns, and is not sepulchral, as has been imagined, but signifies that Martha had a statue erected to her by her husband Sorachus.

VIII. On an altar which we brought to England.

It has a Palmyrene inscription on another face: The last two letters seem to signify the 24th day of the month: but if so, they must be read, not as the other dates, but in the common way, from the left to the right.

IX. On the shaft of a column in the long portico, where all the inscriptions seem to have been under statues.

The word, in which one letter is wanting, is plainly *ολιων*, and not *ουσιων*, according to Doctor Halley, nor *των ιδιων*, according to Seller. There is a word purposely erased both in the Greek, and Palmyrene † which is under it. This inscription has been quoted in the ancient history of Palmyra. What other use may be made of it, Doctor Halley has shewn, as follows.

† See VI. of Palmyrene inscriptions.

‘The Æra or account of years observed by the Palmyreni in these inscriptions, is evidently that of Seleucus, called afterwards Dhilcarnian or Bicornis by the Arabians, and by them kept in use till above 900 years of Christ (as appears by the observations of Albatani, published in numb. 204 of the Philosoph. Transact.) and not that of the death of Alexander. This may be demonstrated from this inscription, wherein Alexander Severus is styled *εεοο*; that is, after the death and consecration of that emperor, or after the year of our Lord 234: and from the name of Julius, who, when this inscription was put up, was Prefectus Prætorio, (and could be no other than Julius Philippus Arabs, who might be esteemed by the Palmyreni as their country-man,) it follows, that it was in the last year of Gordian Anno Christi 242 or 243: And that emperor being soon after murdered by the treachery of this Philip, who succeeded him, and his treason coming afterwards to light, it is not strange that his name was purposely effaced in this inscription. The date thereof, Anno 554, shews the beginning of this account 311 or 312 years before Christ, co-incident with the Æra of Seleucus, which was likewise observed by several other cities ‘in the east.’

X. In the long portico.

Seller's corrections and conjectures, upon this inscription, will not bear examination. Doctor Halley's remark is this: *καταληθητες εις ολοσενιαδα ενποροισιν ετησαν*, descendentes [ad] Vologesiada commercium stabiliverunt anno 558, five anno Christi 247. Whereby it appears that this people, having had their trade

‘ interrupted by the wars between the Romans and Persians under Gordian,
 ‘ did now send an embassy to the court of Sapore king of the Persians, to
 ‘ get it re-established; which succeeded according to their desires.

We are inclined to think it has a very different meaning; if we divide the words thus, *επιχειρουντες*, the inscription may signify, that a statue was erected to Julius Aurelius, &c. by the merchants whom he accompanied to Vologesias. See inscription V.

XI. The first three lines of this inscription, are upon a pedestal in the long portico, the remaining imperfect part on the shaft of the column under it.

Though they have been published as separate inscriptions, we imagine that both together they may signify, that the statue of Septimius Æranes the senator, was erected there by a foldier in honour of his patron, for so we would supply the letters wanting in the last line but one, *παλμυρην τειχης*.

XII. and XIII. In the long portico.

We insert them principally with a view to their assisting in the explanation of the Palmyrene inscriptions, which are found under each.

XIV. In the long portico.

XV. This, with the four following, all in the long portico, we suppose refers to the same person. We also think, that the dates of the two last, viz. the 18th and 19th, which are not legible, could differ but a very little from the dates of this, and the 16th, and 17th; and that those five inscriptions are the latest we saw at Palmyra, in Greek. Our reason is, that the title *Σεβαστος* (Augustus) which we only meet with in those inscriptions, is applicable to Odenathus alone, who obtained the imperial purple, the year before the earliest of these dates, and enjoyed that honour but for a short time. If during his short reign we find so many complimentary inscriptions to Septimius Vorodes, it may be accounted for, from his great rank as *Επιτροπος Σεβαστι Δικτατορος*, which must have made him very considerable, especially in the absence of Odenathus, who was generally in the field. Doctor Halley imagines the Romans, who soon after this were in possession of Palmyra, spared his memorials, as a favourite of Odenathus their friend, while they effaced all those of Zenobia, and Vaballathus.

XVI. As we were afraid of having made a mistake in the odd word *αργυροπτην*, we examined the marbles a second time, but found that we had copied it right both in this and the following inscription; so that Doctor Halley's correction to *αργυροπτην* Praefectum annonae, cannot be admitted.

XVII. The compliment paid by a Roman knight to Septimus Vorodes, whom he calls his patron, *Προσαδην*, seems to be another argument of his high rank.

XVIII. See inscription V. Doctor Halley conjectures the last word in the fourth line to be *κεροδοτην*, distributor of the emperor's munificence in flesh to the people.

XIX. This we insert, as it may be of some assistance in the explication of the Palmyrene inscription under it.

XX. Upon one of the same sort of pedestals already mentioned, projecting from the shaft of one of the columns of the little temple*.

* See Plate XXVIII.

Though it has no date the subject sufficiently shews it was inscribed, after the death of Adrian, to the secretary of Palmyra, for services done when that emperor was in Syria.

XXI. On the shaft of a large column marked 30 in plate II.

This and the following inscriptions have no dates.

XXII. On a projecting pedestal of a column in the court of the temple of the sun.

XXIII. and XXIV. In the long portico.

XXV. On a projecting pedestal of the column next to that of inscription XXII.

XXVI. On an architrave, exactly like that from which we copied the first inscription, which, no doubt, belonged to a mausoleum.

Doctor Halley supposes it may have been that which Odenathus built before he had obtained the imperial dignity. For this opinion there seems no other authority than the name.

XXVII. This imperfect Latin inscription, in a bad character, we copied from a broken architrave belonging to the building in plate XLV. Which we suppose to have been a work of Dioclesian, and that the word castra does not refer, as some think, to the fortifications of Cercusium, but to Palmyra, which is called by Stephanus *Qeugov*.

The inscriptions in a language unknown can be matter of entertainment to so few, that it may be proper to give our reasons for allowing them a place in this work. The first specimen of those characters made publick was that in Gruter, from a marble at Rome, and published a second time by Spon, with another of the same sort. Doctor Halley, who found an irreconcilable difference between Gruter's and Spon's copy of the same inscription, had the stone purposely viewed, and the exact figure of the letters taken; by which, and two other inscriptions brought from Palmyra by the English merchants of Aleppo, he hoped one day to find out the alphabet. Bernard,^a Smith, Rhenferdius,^b and others, have attempted this discovery, but unsuccessfully;^c perhaps for want of sufficient materials to work upon. It was entirely with a view to satisfy the curiosity of such persons, and not our own, that we copied these inscriptions; and from the same motive Mr. DAWKINS brought home three of the marbles.

We have placed these inscriptions in that order in which we think they are to be read, from right to left; the small figure shews the number of the Greek inscription, which was copied from the same marble with the Palmyrene, and of which, no doubt, it is a translation; for this reason, that, by examining the Greek and Palmyrene inscriptions copied from the same column, we find the Palmyrene characters, which seem to correspond to any Greek word, are re-

^a Inscriptiones graecae Palmyrenorum cum scholiis & annotationibus, Edwardi Bernardi & Tho. Smith.

^b Periculum Palmyrenum.

^c See Abbé Renaudot's dissertation on those inscriptions, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

peated as often as that word occurs. This is most remarkable in the eighth and ninth Palmyrene inscriptions, in which more than the first two lines are exactly the same, and as much of the two corresponding Greek inscriptions are also the same: Besides, in the ninth Greek inscription there is a word purposely erased; and in the same part of the Palmyrene under it, there is also a word erased.

The marbles of the first three of the Palmyrene inscriptions are in the possession of Mr. DAWKINS, the 11th and 12th, were copied from under the heads in plate LVII. and the 13th from an altar. The 8th and 9th are not perfect; the ending of both was too much defaced to be copied. The small dots in some parts of those inscriptions, signify that the marble had suffered a little in that place. There are very few Greek inscriptions at Palmyra, which have not one, in this character, under them; and sometimes we met with the Palmyrene alone, but could not venture to copy those which were not tolerably well preserved.

A
J O U R N E Y
T H R O U G H T H E
D E S A R T.

OUR journey to Palmyra was that part of our tour through the East, in which we expected to meet with the greatest difficulties, as it was much out of the common road, and where the protection of the Grand Signior could do us no service.

Aleppo and Damascus seemed to be the places where we might most effectually consult our ease and safety in this undertaking. Having unsuccessfully attempted to make the first of those cities our road, we left our ship at Byroot on the coast of Syria, and crossed Mount-Libanus to Damascus.

The Bashaw of this city told us, he could not promise that his name, or power, would be any security to us in the place to which we were going. From what he said, and from all the informations that we could get, we found it necessary to go to Hassia, a village four days journey north from Damascus, and the residence of an Aga, whose jurisdiction extends as far as Palmyra.

Since we propose this work merely as an account of the ruins of Palmyra, and not of our travels, we shall here only promise such a short sketch of our passage through the Desert, as may give a general idea of our manner of travelling in a country, which no body has described.

Hassia is a small village upon the great caravan-road, from Damascus to Aleppo, situated near Antilibanus, and at a few hours distance from the Orontes. The Aga received us with that hospitality, which is so common among all ranks of people in those countries; and though extremely surprized at our curiosity, he gave us instructions how to satisfy it in the best manner.

We set out from Hassia the 11th of March 1751, with an escort of the Aga's best Arab horsemen, armed with guns and long pikes, and travelled in four hours to Sudud, through a barren plain, scarce affording a little browsing to antilopes, of which we saw a great number. Our course was a point to the south of the east.

Sudud is a poor small village, inhabited by Maronite christians; its houses are built of no better materials than mud dried in the sun. They cultivate as much ground about the village as is necessary for their bare subsistence,
S and

and make a good red wine. We bought a few manuscripts of their priest, and proceeded after dinner through the same sort of country, in a direction half a point more to the south, to a Turkish village called Howareen (where we lay) three hours from Sudud.

Howareen has the same appearance of poverty as Sudud, But we found a few ruins there, which shew it to have been formerly a more considerable place. A square tower, with projecting battlements for defence, looks like a work of three or four hundred years, and two ruined churches may be of the same age, though part of the materials, awkwardly employed in those buildings, are much older. In their walls are some corinthian capitals, and several large attic bases of white marble. Those and some other scattered fragments of antiquity, which we saw here, have belonged to works of more expence than taste. We remarked a village near this entirely abandoned by its inhabitants, which happens often in those countries, where the lands have no acquired value from cultivation, and are often deserted, to avoid oppression.

We set out from Howareen the 12th, and in three hours arrived at Carietein, keeping the same direction. This village differs from the former, only by being a little larger. It has also some broken pieces of marble, which belonged to ancient buildings, as some shafts of columns, a few corinthian capitals, a doric base, and two imperfect Greek inscriptions. It was thought proper we should stay here this day, as well to collect the rest of our escort, which the Aga had ordered to attend us, as to prepare our people and cattle for the fatigue of the remaining part of the journey, which, though we could not perform it in less time than twenty four hours, could not be divided into stages, as there is no water in that part of the desert.

We left Carietein, the 13th, about ten o'clock, which was much too late: but as our body became more numerous, it was less governable. This bad management exposed us to the heat of two days, before our cattle could get either water or rest; and though so early in the season, yet the reflection of the sun from the sand was very powerful, and we had not the relief of either breeze or shade during the whole journey.

Our caravan was now encreased to about two hundred persons, and about the same number of beasts for carriage, consisting of an odd mixture of horses, camels, mules and asses. Our guide told us, this part of our journey was most dangerous, and desired we might submit our selves entirely to his direction, which was, that the servants should keep with the baggage immediately behind our Arab guard; from which one, two, or more of their body were frequently dispatched, for discovery, to what ever eminences they could see, where they remained untill we came up. Those horsemen always rode off from the caravan at full speed, in the Tartar and Huslar manner. We doubted whether all this precaution was owing to their being really apprehensive of danger, or whether they only affected to make us think highly of their use and vigilance. Our course from Carietein to Palmyra, was a little to the east of the north, through a flat sandy plain (without either tree or water the whole way) about ten miles broad, and bounded to our right and left by a ridge of barren hills, which seemed to join about two miles before we arrived at Palmyra.

The tiresome fateness, both of our road and manner of travelling, was now and then a little relieved by our Arab horsemen, who engaged in mock fights with each other for our entertainment, and shewed a surprizing firmness of seat, and dexterity in the management of their horses. When the business of the day was over, coffee and a pipe of tobacco made their highest luxury, and while they indulged in this, sitting in a circle, one of the company entertained the rest with a song or story, the subject love, or war, and the composition sometimes extemporary.

In nine hours from Carictein we came to a ruined tower, on which we observed, in two or three places, the Maltese cross. Near it are the ruins of a very rich building, as appeared by a white marble door-case, which is the only part standing and not covered with sand: its proportions and ornaments are exactly the same with those of plate XLVIII. At midnight we slept two hours for refreshment, and the fourteenth about noon we arrived at the end of the plain, where the hills to our right and left seemed to meet. We found between those hills a vale through which an aqueduct (now ruined) formerly conveyed water to Palmyra.

In this vale, to our right and left, were several square towers of a considerable height, which upon a nearer approach we found were the sepulchres of the ancient Palmyrenes. We had scarce passed these venerable monuments, when the hills opening discovered to us, all at once, the greatest quantity of ruins we had ever seen, all of white marble, and beyond them towards the Euphrates a flat waste, as far as the eye could reach, without any object which shewed either life or motion. It is scarce possible to imagine any thing more striking than this view: So great a number of Corinthian pillars, mixed with so little wall or solid building, afforded a most romantic variety of prospect. But the following plate will convey a juster idea of it than any description.

In the following works we not only give the measures of the architecture, but also the views of the ruins from which they are taken, as the most distinct, as well as the most satisfactory method. For as the first gives an idea of the building, when it was entire, so the last shews its present state of decay, and (which is most important) what authority there is for our measures.

P L A T E I.

A

V I E W

O F T H E

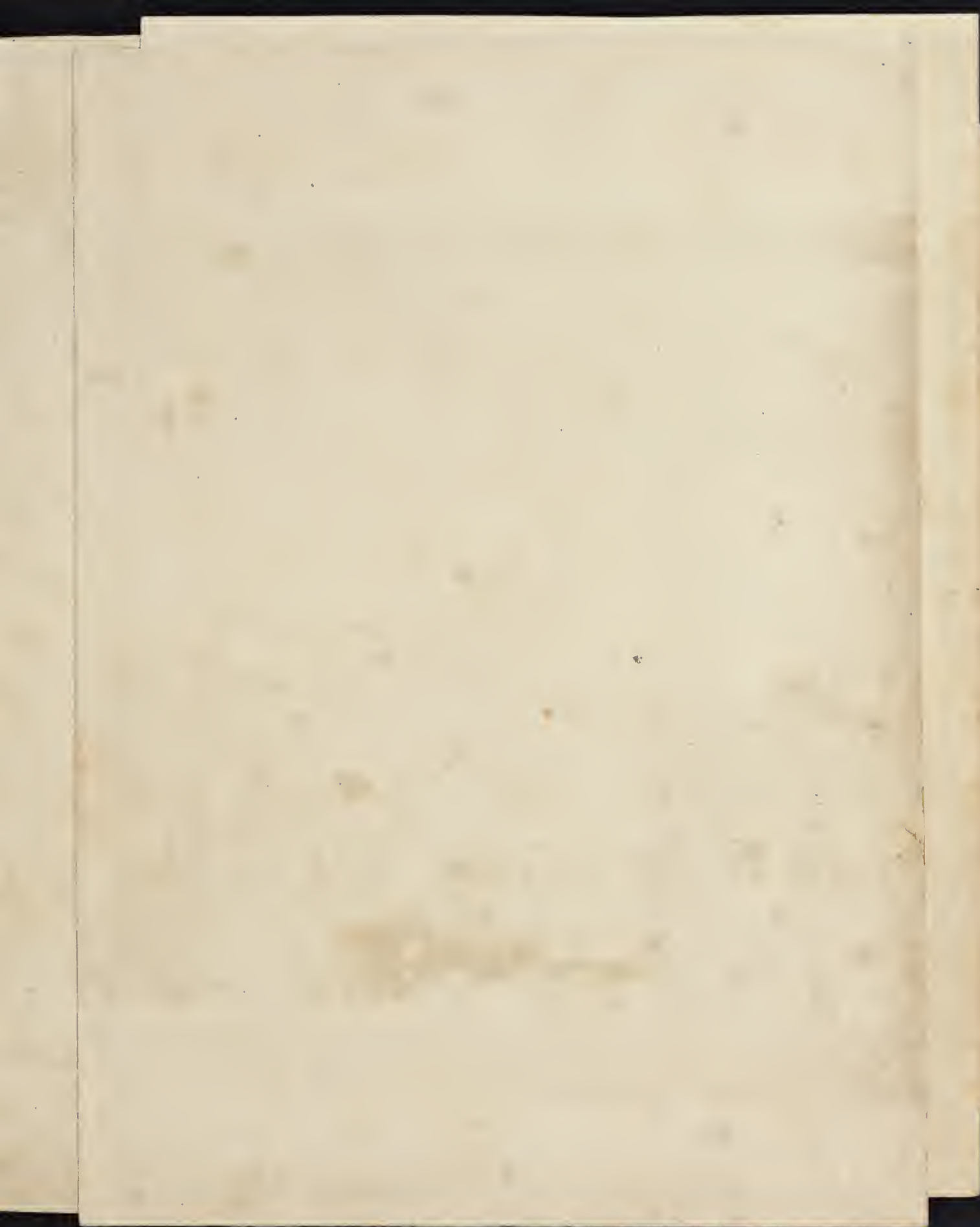
R U I N E D C I T Y O F P A L M Y R A,

Taken from the North East.

IN the following explication of this view, the plates are referred to which contain the parts of each building, at large; and whatever part of this view is not more particularly explained afterwards, in other plates, was either too much destroyed to allow of measurement, or is purposely omitted, to avoid a repetition of the same proportions and ornaments.

- A. The temple of the sun.
 B. A square tower built by the Turks, in the place where the portico stood.
 C. The wall which enclosed the court of the temple. The parts of this temple and its court are particularly described from plate III to plate XXI.
 D. Ground cultivated by the Arabs, whose olives and corn are divided by little enclosures of dried mud.
 E. A very large column, the greatest part of which, (with its entablature) is fallen. Some fragments about it shew, there has been a large building in this place. Its diameter near the base is five feet and a half.
 F. A ruinous Turkish mosque, with its minaret.
 G. A great column of the same diameter with that marked E.
 H. An arch. See it described from plate XXII to plate XXVI. From this arch to the building marked W, a distance not much less than 4000 feet, extends a portico. Plate II shews the direction of its columns.
 I. Columns, which still support a considerable part of their entablature, and are so disposed, that they look like the peristyle of a little temple, of which the cell is quite destroyed.
 K. Here are four granite columns, one of them is still standing, the other three are on the ground; their shaft is of one piece, and their diameter the same with the other columns of the long portico.
 L. A number of columns which, from the manner in which they are disposed (See plate II) we thought at first might belong to a Circus; but, upon closer examination, it did not seem possible, that the ground could admit of such a building. Their diameter is two feet four inches, and their intercolumniation six feet ten inches.
 M. A little temple, which see described from plate XXVII. to plate XXXI.
 N. The cell of a temple, with part of its peristyle.
 O. Four large pedestals, which see from plate XXXII to plate XXXIV.
 P. A line of columns, which seem to have belonged to a portico, terminating upon that part of the long portico, where the foregoing pedestals are. Their diameter is two feet six inches, and their intercolumniation seven feet three inches.
 Q. Seems to be the ruins of a christian church.
 R. Nothing more remains of this large building, than those four columns and their rich entablature.
 S. These columns are disposed much as those marked I.
 T. Ruins of a sepulchre.
 V. Building which we suppose to have been erected by Dioclesian. See from plate XLIV to plate LI.
 W. Sepulchre, upon which the long portico terminates to the north west. See from plate XXXVI to plate XLII.
 X. Ruins of a Turkish fortification.
 Y. A sepulchre. See plates LIII and LIV.
 Z. The Turkish castle on the hill.
 a. The sepulchres without the wall. See from plate LV to plate LVII.

AFTER





PALMIRA URBS NOBILIS SITU, DIVITIIS SOLI, & AQUIS AMOENIS, VASTO UNDIQUE AMBITU ARENIS INCLUDIT AGROS, AC VELUT TERRIS EXEMPTA A RERUM NATURA, PRIVATA
QUÆ VOCATUR AD TIGRIN CCCXXXVII MILL. PASSUUM: A PROXIMO VERO SYRIÆ



A SORTE INTER DUO IMPERIA SUMMA, ROMANORUM PARTHORUMQUE, ET PRIMA IN DISCORDIA SEMPER UTRIMQUE CURA ABEST A SELEUCIA PARTHORUM,
E LITTORE, CCHI MILLIBUS, ET A DAMASCO VIGINTI SEPTEM PROPIUS. Pin. Nat. Mill. Lib. V.



AFTER this general view (by which we found things rather exceed than fall short of our expectations) we were conducted to one of the huts of the Arabs, of which there are about thirty in the court of the great temple. The contrast between the magnificence of that building and the poverty of our lodging, was very striking. The inhabitants, both men and women, were well shaped, and the latter, though very swarthy, had good features. They were veiled, but not so scrupulous of shewing their faces, as the eastern women generally are. They paint the ends of their fingers red, their lips blue, and their eye-brows and eye-lashes black, and wore very large gold or brass rings in their ears and noses. They had the appearance of good health, and told us, that distempers of any sort were uncommon among them.

We concluded from this, that the air of Palmyra deserves the character which Longinus gives it, in his epistle to Porphyry. They have seldom rain, except at the equinoxes. Nothing could be more serene than the sky all the time we were there, except one afternoon, that there was a small shower, preceded by a whirlwind, which took up such quantities of sand from the desert, as quite darkened the sky, and gave us an idea of those dreadful hurricanes which are sometimes fatal to whole caravans.

We were tolerably well provided with mutton and goat's flesh, by the Arab inhabitants; which, however, would have become very scarce, had we remained there longer than fifteen days, in which time we satisfied our curiosity.

PLATE II.

A

GEOMETRICAL PLAN

OF THE

RUINED CITY OF PALMYRA.

PALMYRA is situated under a barren ridge of hills to the west, and open on its other sides to the Defart. It is about six days journey^a from Aleppo, and as much from Damafcus,^b and about twenty leagues west of the Euphrates, in the latitude^c of thirty four degrees, according to Ptolomy. Some geographers have placed it in Syria, others in Phœnicia, and some in Arabia.

The walls (43) of this city are flanked by square towers, but so much destroyed, that in most places they are level with the ground, and often not to be distinguished from the other rubbish. We could see no part of them to the south-east; but had great reason to think, from the direction of what we had traced, that they took in the great temple: if so, their circuit must have been at least three English miles.

The Arabs shewed us some ground about the present ruins, which might be about ten miles in circumference, a little raised above the level of the Defart, though not so much as the part of this plan within the walls. This, they said, was the extent of the old city, and that by digging in any part of it, ruins were discovered. There appeared to us better reasons for this opinion, than merely their authority. Three miles was a small compass for Palmyra in its prosperity, especially as most of that space is taken up by publick buildings, the extent of which, as well as the great number of magnificent sepulchres, are evident proofs of a great city.

We therefore concluded, that the walls, which we have marked in this plan, inclose only that part of Palmyra which its publick buildings occupied during its flourishing state; and, that after its decay, the situation still recommending it, as the properest place to stop the incursions of the Saracens, Justinian fortified it, as we learn from Procopius, and most probably contracted its walls into a narrower compass. Palmyra,^d was no longer a rich trading city, where he was obliged to attend to private convenience, but a frontier garrison, where strength alone was to be considered.

^a Our day's journey was generally about eight leagues.

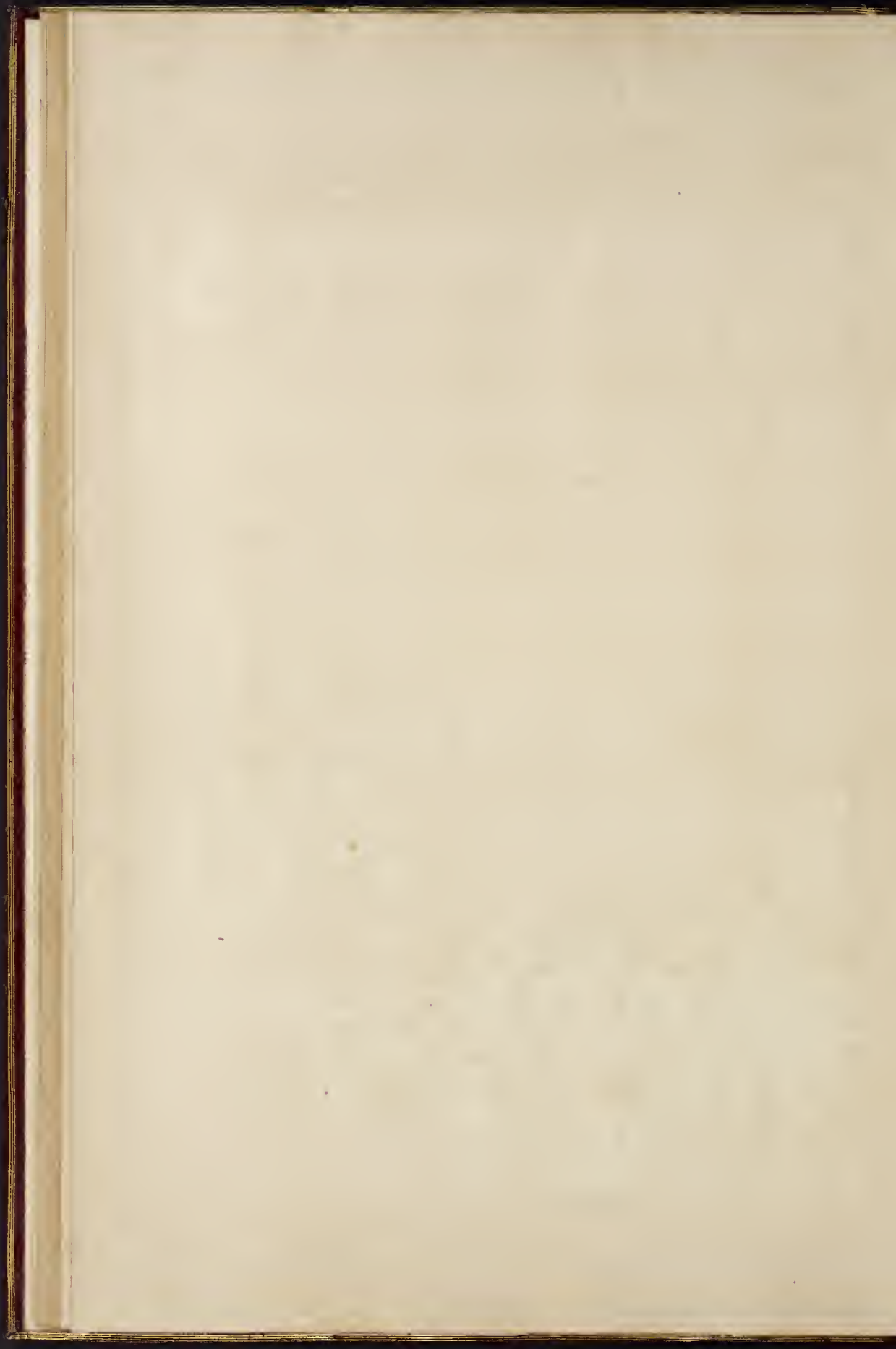
^b There is a much shorter road from Damafcus to Palmyra, but a more dangerous one.

^c We found it inconvenient to bring a quadrant so long a journey by land, which prevented our taking its latitude.

^d See page 13.

Tab II





Besides that the manner in which the wall is built, looks a good deal like the age we give it, another observation, which occurred to us on the spot, seems to strengthen the same opinion.

We found that in building this wall towards the north-west, they had taken the advantage of two or three sepulchral monuments, which answered so conveniently, both in shape and situation, that they converted them into flanking towers.

As we had no doubt, but the wall was posterior to the sepulchres, so we conclude that it was built, when the pagan religion no longer prevailed there. For it was not only contrary to the veneration, which the Greeks and Romans had for their places of burial, to apply them to any other use, especially to so dangerous a one, but it also breaks through a general rule which they observed, of having such places without the city walls. This^a was ordered at Rome by a law of the twelve tables, and at Athens by a law of Solon; and we found it religiously observed all over the East.

We suppose then, that this wall (which for the foregoing reasons we call Justinian's) not only leaves out a great deal of the antient city, particularly to the south-east, but also takes in something more than belonged to it, to the north and north-west. That part of the wall, which has no towers, as well as the ruinous building, (19) has been added long after the rest, and is built something in the manner of the castle, of which afterwards.

Upon the top of one of the highest of those hills, north-west of the ruins, is a castle (34) to which there is a very rude and steep ascent. It is enclosed by a deep ditch, cut out, or rather quarried out, of the rock, which we passed with some difficulty, as the draw-bridge is broke down. In the castle is a very deep hole cut in the rock, which though now dry, looks as if intended for a well.

The building of this castle is so very bad, that it is not only evidently posterior to Justinian, to whom some ascribe it, but unworthy of the Mamelukes.

The English merchants, who visited this place in 1691, were informed it was built by Man Ogle, a prince of the Druses, in the reign of Amurath^b the third. We were told by the Arabs, that it was the work of a son of the famous Feccardine, who, while his father was in Europe, built this for a retreat. Neither of these accounts are at all agreeable to the history of the Druses.

This hill, on which the castle is built, is one of the highest about Palmyra. It commands a most extensive prospect of the Desert towards the south, which, from this height, looks like the sea; and westward we could

^a The Romans in the earlier times of their common wealth, dispensed with this law, only as a particular compliment to merit; though afterwards the same compliment was paid to power; but the Athenians refused to let Marcellus be buried within their walls, and told Sulpitius, when he asked that favour, *Religioni se impediri*. Vid. Cicero. Epist. ad Famil.

lib. iv. It is true the Lacedæmonians differed in this, from the other Greeks; and Lycurgus (who took all occasions to inculcate a contempt of death) appointed the most publick streets for burying places, to make such objects familiar to the Spartan youth.

^b Anno Christi 1585.

THE PLAN OF PALMYRA.

see the top of Libanus, and take very distinctly the bearings of some part of Antilibanus, which we had observed at Hallsia.

To the east and south of the temple of the sun are a few olive-trees and corn intermixed, defended from the eattle by mud walls. This might be made a very agreeable spot, by a proper distribution of two streams, which are now entirely neglected by the Arabs.

They are both of hot sulphureous water, which, however, the inhabitants find wholesome and not disagreeable. The most considerable (44) rises westward of the ruins, from a beautiful grotto, (33) at the foot of the mountains, almost high enough in the middle to admit us standing upright. The whole bottom is a basin of very clear water, of about two feet deep: the heat thus confined makes it an excellent bath, for which purpose the Arabs use it; and the stream which runs from it in a pretty smart current is about a foot deep, and more than three feet over, confined in some places by an old paved channel, but after a very short course soaked up in the sand eastward of the ruins. The inhabitants told us, this grotto had always the same quantity of water, and that though we could see but about a dozen paces into it, yet it extended much farther. While Palmyra flourished, this beautiful source must, no doubt, have been of great value. We learned from an inscription close by it, upon an altar dedicated to Jupiter, that it was called Ephca, and that the care of it was committed to persons who held that office by election.

The other stream, (45) whose source we could not see, contains near the same quantity of water, and runs through the ruins in an ancient aqueduct under ground near the long portico, and in the same direction; it joins the first to the east of the ruins, and is lost with it in the sand. The Arabs told us, there was a third stream, not quite so considerable as these two, and conveyed in an aqueduct under ground through the ruins, as the last, but that its passage was so broke and choaked up with rubbish, that it had not appeared for some time. We were the more inquisitive about these streams, as the little notice the merchants from Aleppo have taken of them, has puzzled some persons to account for the loss of the river mentioned by Ptolemy, which they attribute to an earthquake. There seems no reason to suppose the water of Palmyra has suffered any alteration but that which negligence has produced. If the English merchants thought those streams too contemptible to deserve the name of a river, they should for the same reason have denied that honour to the Pactolus, the Meles, and several rivers of Greece, which do not contain so much water, except immediately after rains.

Besides those sulphureous streams, there has been a large quantity of well-tasted water conveyed formerly to the town by an aqueduct, which we have already taken notice of, page 35. It is built under ground in a very solid manner,* with openings at the top, at certain distances, to keep it clean. It is now broke about half a league from the town; the general opinion of the Arabs is, that this aqueduct extends to the mountains near Damascus. There seems not the least foundation for such an opinion, as there is plenty of good water at Carietin, between Palmyra and Damascus. Procopius tells us, that Justinian brought water to the garrison he left here; which we imagine he did, rather by repairing than building this aqueduct, which seems an expensive work and of greater antiquity. Palmyra in its prosperity would cer-
tainly

* See Plate XXVII.

THE PLAN OF PALMYRA.

41

tainly not have wanted such a convenience; and in more than one place we saw the Palmyrene characters on it, too much decayed to copy, but could find no inscription in any other language.

About three or four miles to the south-east of the ruins, in the Defart, is the Valley of Salt, (supposed to be the place where David smote the Syrians 2 Sam. viii. 13.) which now supplies, in a great measure, Damascus and the neighbouring towns, with that commodity. We went to see it, and found they had hollowed the ground in several places deep enough to receive a foot, or more of rain-water, which, when once lodged, covers the part so hollowed with a fine white salt. Where-ever we could thrust the Arabs pikes into the ground, we found it was impregnated with salt to a considerable depth.

For other particulars in this plan we refer to the following explication. Nothing less entire than a column standing, with at least its capital, is marked. Almost the whole ground within the walls is covered with heaps of marble; but to have distinguished such imperfect ruins would have introduced confusion to no purpose.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Temple of the sun. | 28. Great column standing alone. |
| 2. Its court with the huts of the Arabs. | 29. Cultivated ground. |
| 3. Its portico. | 30. Great column, from which the inscription number XXI. was copied. |
| 4. A Turkish mosque. | 31. Great column. |
| 5. An arch. | 32. Altar, from which the Greek inscription, number IV, was copied. |
| 6. Four granite columns. | 33. The fountain Ephca. |
| 7. Peristyle of a ruined temple. | 34. Turkish cattle. |
| 8. Columns disposed in the form of a circus. | 35. Ground raised by ruins between which and the wall has been a ditch now almost filled up. |
| 9. Cell of a Temple. | 36. Confused ruins, near the fountain. |
| 10. Four pedestals. | 37. A ruined building, near the stream. (44). |
| 11. Row of columns which stand alone. | 38. Sepulchral monuments, reduced to mere rubbish. |
| 12. The cell of a temple and part of its peristyle. | 39. A water-mill, where the Arabs grind their corn. |
| 13. Seems to have been the peristyle of a temple. | 40. Arab burying-ground. |
| 14. 15, 16, 17. Have been all distinct buildings, but are so much ruined, that we could not even guess at their plan. | 41. Our road to Palmyra, through the vale of the sepulchres. |
| 18. Dioclesian's buildings. | 42. Indistinct ruins of large buildings, near the temple of the sun. |
| 19. Ruin of a Turkish fortification. | 43. Remains of Justinian's wall. |
| 20, 21, 22. Sepulchral monuments. | 44. The largest stream. |
| 23. Sepulchres of many stories, all without the city walls. | 45. The lesser, which runs through the ruins, and joins the first to the east of the temple of the sun. |
| 24. Probably a ruined temple. | |
| 25. Ruins of a christian church. | |
| 26. Four columns. | |
| 27. Little temple. | |

EXPLICATION OF

P L A T E III.

The plan of the temple of the sun, and of its court.

* See plate XVIII. and XIX.

From the greatness of this building, as well as from some of its ornaments,* we conclude it is the temple of the sun, which was damaged by the Roman foldiers, when Aurelian took the town, and for the repairs of which he ordered so much money, in his letter to Ceionius Bassus †.

† See page 63.

The solidity and height of the wall of its court, tempted the Turks to convert it into a place of strength; for this purpose, they stopped up the windows to the north, east and south, and made a ditch before it to the west, where they destroyed the portico of the grand entrance to build in its place a square ‡ tower to flank that side.

‡ See the letter B, plate I.

§ See plate XIV. and XXI.

The court is paved with broad stones, but so covered with rubbish that we could see the pavement but in few places. That part of it which is inclosed by lines, in this plan, to the north-west, and south-west angle is sunk sixteen § feet lower than the rest of the pavement, to what purpose we could not guess. It is so covered with rubbish that we could not discover any stairs by which it might have communicated with the rest of the court.

The parts of this plan which are marked black, shew what is still standing, but the ruined part is marked by an out-line only. Every thing else may be understood by the measures, without further explication, which we shall always avoid where it is not absolutely necessary, and leave it entirely to the reader to make his own remarks upon the architecture.

N. B. All the scales in this work are of English feet and inches.

P L A T E IV.

Upright of the grand entrance to the court of the temple.

** See explication of the foregoing plate.
†† See plate III. and XIV.

It has been** observed that this portico was destroyed by the Turks; the pediment is here restored, without any authority, but the columns and their particular distribution, are copied from the internal portico ††.

P L A T E V.

Base, capital and entablature of the pilaster, in the foregoing plate.

This order is continued quite round the court of the temple, on the outside. All the bases at Palmyra are Attick.

P L A T E VI.

Ornaments of the inside of the portico †† of the grand entrance.

†† See plate IV.

The wall which divides this portico from that of the court of the temple, is almost perfectly entire, and the ornaments of the doors and niches very little defaced.

A. Niche for a statue. C. Inferior tabernacle.
B. Superior table for a statue. D. Side-door and plan of its soffit.

PLATE

P L A T E VII.

Upright of the great door of the court of the temple.

The ornaments of this door are finished in the highest manner, and notwithstanding its great size, each of the side-architraves are of one piece of marble; the soffit is the only part of it too much damaged to admit of a drawing, but we could discover that it was richly ornamented in the same manner with the soffit of the small door, in the following plate.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. Profile of the cornice. | G. Plan of the Scroll. |
| B. External profile of the scroll. | H. Projection of the mouldings of the cornice under the modillions. |
| C. Internal profile of the scroll. | I. Projection of the freeze. |
| D. Section of the freeze and architrave. | K. Projection of the architrave. |
| E. F. Projection of the side-architrave from the wall. | |

P L A T E VIII.

Ornaments of the foregoing door at large, with the soffit of the small doors.

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| A. The side architrave. | C. The scroll. | |
| B. The freeze. | D. Soffit of the side door. * | * See the following plate. |

P L A T E IX.

Upright of the side door, of which the soffit has been shewn in the foregoing plate, and of the niches and tabernacles for statues.

P L A T E X.

Ornaments of the tabernacles for statues in plate VI. at large.

- | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| B. Superior projecting entablature. (b) | G. Soffit of the second. | |
| C. Inferior projecting entablature. (b) | H. Projection of its mouldings, which are under the modillions. | (b) See the same letters in plate VI. |
| D. Soffit of the first. | I. Projection of its mouldings, which are above the modillions. | |
| E. Projection of its mouldings, which are under the modillions. | K. Section of the architrave of both, to shew the depth of the soffit. | |
| F. Projection of its mouldings, which are above the modillions. | | |

P L A T E XI.

Ornaments * of the inside of the portico of the court of the temple.

The three larger doors are the same here as in plate VII and IX.

- | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------|
| A. Small door; two of those lead to stairs in the wall which divides the portico of the grand entrance from that of the court, the other two are false doors. | C. Projecting base which supported the statue. | |
| B. Projecting pediment and entablature, under which was a statue. | D. Door, which see in plate IX. | * See the plan, plate VI. |
| | E. Pediment of the niche over the door. | |
| | F. Niche. | |
| | G. Its pilaster. | |

E X P L I C A T I O N O F

P L A T E X II.

- * See A, plate XI. A. The small door, † east and fourth. Its ornaments are the same without and within the court.
B. The window of the court of the temple, to the north-

P L A T E X III.

Ornaments of the tabernacles for statues, in plate XI. at large.

- † See the same in plate XI. A. Flower upon the angles of the pediment. E. Soffit of the base.
B. Entablature. † F. Section of the base.
‡ See C, plate XI. C. Its soffit, with a plan of the modillions. G. Section of the architrave of the entablature B, to shew the depth of the soffit.
D. Projecting base. ‡

P L A T E X IV.

Upright of the portico within the court of the temple.

§ See plate III. The pediment here, as well as in plate IV, is restored by guess, there being no remains of it; the west side of those spaces, which § are sunk sixteen feet lower than the rest of the pavement, forms a subsistence to the columns; those projections from the shafts of the columns were undoubtedly intended to support statues, the irons still remain in some of them, by which the statues were fastened; and on some the marks of the feet are still seen. All those statues were probably destroyed or carried away when Aurelian took the town, for we could not discover even a fragment of one at Palmyra.

P L A T E X V.

** See the soffit of the cornice, plate XVIII. Capital and entablature ** of the order in the foregoing plate, with the plan of the capital.

Both the freeze and capital has suffered a good deal, which is not surprising, if we consider the delicacy of the work, finished in as high a manner as marble is capable of.

P L A T E X VI.

Plan of the temple and its peristyle.

The steps are so much destroyed that we could only guess at their number. We could discover no repairs which might account for the singularities in this plan. The ornaments belonging to those divisions within the cell are so choaked up with Turkish buildings that we could only copy the soffits †† of A and B, and a basso relievo from an architrave. ††

†† See plate XIX.
‡ See K, plate XVIII.

P L A T E X VII.

Upright of the temple.

- A. Pilaster joined to the column, which supports the scroll of the door. in it, by wh'ch the leaves, &c. were fastened; which were no doubt of metal, and have been taken away for the value of the materials.
B. Singularity in the manner of fluting the columns. E. The architrave of the cell.
C. Panel between the capitals over the door. F. The freeze of the cell.
D. The bell of the capital only remains, with holes

There

THE PLATES.

45

There seemed nothing either in the door which is here placed in so singular a manner between two columns, or in the door of the cell of the temple, worth being described more at large, except the soffit of the latter, which see in the following plate.

P L A T E XVIII.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A. The soffit of the cornice in plate XV.
 B. A square pannel which incloses
 C. The rose.
 D. Distance between the modillions.
 E. The modillions.
 F. Soffit of the architrave in plate XV.</p> | <p>G. Its ornament.
 H. Soffit of the door of the cell of the temple.
 I. Freeze, of plate XVII, at large.
 K. Bas relief of the face of an architrave belonging to one of the divisions within the cell. It is not to be measured by the scale.</p> |
|--|--|

P L A T E XIX.

Two soffits, of one piece of marble each.

- A. B. Mark the places in plate XVI, to which those soffits belong.

P L A T E XX.

- A. Window of the temple on the side of the peristyle. B. The same window seen from within the cell.

P L A T E XXI.

View of the temple of the sun, taken from the north-west corner of the court.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>A. The temple.
 B. Two ionic half columns at each end of the cell of the temple. We could not get up to their capitals to take the measures of them.</p> | <p>C. The huts of the Arabs
 D. Part lower than the rest of the pavement * of the court of the temple.
 E. The portico of the court of the temple.</p> |
|---|--|
- * See plate III.

P L A T E XXII.

Plan and Upright of the east-side of the arch marked H in plate I.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>A. Supported pediment.
 B. Middle archivolt.
 C. Its impost.
 D. Side archivolt.
 E. Its impost.
 F. Baso relievo † of the pilaster.
 G. Baso relievo of the pilaster under the impost of the middle arch.</p> | <p>H. Baso relievo of the pilaster under the impost of the side arch.
 I. Niche.
 K. In the plan. Projection of the capital of the pilaster upon which the colonades of the portico terminate on the west side of this arch. §</p> |
|---|--|
- † See the same letter in the following plate.
 § See letter J, in plate XXIV.

P L A T E XXIII.

Pilaster of the foregoing arch, with its capital and entablature.

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| <p>A. Angular modillion.</p> | <p>B. Baso ‡ relievo of the pilaster at large.</p> |
|------------------------------|--|
- ‡ See the same in the foregoing plate.

A a

PLATE

P L A T E XXIV.

- A. Plan of the angular modillion in the last plate, with the soffit of the cornice.
 B. Middle archivolt, at large.
 C. Its impost.
 D. Side archivolt, at large.
 E. Its impost.
 F. This letter refers to the foregoing plate.
 G. Basso relievo of the pilaster, under the impost of the middle arch, at large.
- H. Basso relievo, of the pilaster, under the impost of the side arch, at large.
 I. Basso relievo of the pilaster on the west side of the arch, whose projection is marked K, in the plan of plate XXII.
 K. Soffit of the middle arch.
 L. Scroll and capital of the pilaster of which the basso relievo is marked I, in this plate.
 M. Profile of the same.

N. B. aa, bb, cc, are measured by the small scale.

P L A T E XXV.

Plan and Upright of the west side of the arch, in plate XXII.

The three foregoing plates explain this. The pilaster, with its ornaments, marked I, L, M, in the foregoing plate, is covered in this by the columns of the portico, which terminates upon this side of the arch.

P L A T E XXVI.

View of the arch from the east.

- A. Great arch in its present state.
 B. One side of the long portico, which terminates upon the arch.
 C. Part of the long portico, terminating upon the sepulchre. * Both the part marked by this and the following letter are a little misplaced, by a mistake in finishing the drawing.
 D. Sepulchre *
 E. Temple marked M in plate I.
 F. Building marked 12, in plate II.
- * See plate XXXVI.

P L A T E XXVII.

Plan of the small temple, marked M in plate I, with the plan and sections of an aqueduct mentioned page 35.

- A. Plan of the aqueduct.
 B. Plan of the openings, by means of which it was kept in order.
 C. Steps down to the water.
 D. A transverse section of it.
 E. A longitudinal section of it.
 F. Its soffit, of one stone in breadth.
 G. Height of the earth over the aqueduct.

P L A T E XXVIII.

Upright of the front and flank of the temple of which the plan is in the foregoing plate.

- A. Supposed pediment.
 B. Pedestal for statues, projecting from the shaft of the column.
 C. Supposed roof.
 D. Profile of the projecting pedestals for statues.

P L A T E XXIX.

The base, capital, and entablature of the foregoing Temple.

See the soffit of this cornice, plate XXXII.

PLATE

THE PLATES.

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PLATE XXX.

The windows of the same temple.

A. Window within the cell.

B. The same window without.

PLATE XXXI.

View of the same temple.

A. Its present remains.

B. Part of the long portico.

C. Sepulchres marked a, plate I.

PLATE XXXII.

Plan and Upright of the pedestals marked O, in plate I.

A. Square entablature, supported by four columns.

B. Pedestal for a statue.

C. Double plinth.

D. Plan of the four columns, of their subsistence and of the pedestal in the middle.

E. Soffit of the cornice of plate XXIX. To be measured by the scale in that plate.

PLATE XXXIII.

The base, capital and entablature belonging to the foregoing columns.

PLATE XXXIV.

A. Soffit of the foregoing cornice and architrave.

B. Soffit supported by the four columns.*

C. Section of the same.

D. Freeze of the same. Its architrave is the same with that on the outside. †

* See plate

XXXII.

† See plate

XXXIII

PLATE XXXV.

View of the arch from the west.

A. The temple of the sun.

B. The great column, marked G in plate I.

C. The arch.

D. One side of the long portico.

E. The building marked I, in plate I.

F. Piece of a column put up here by the Turks, to what purpose we could not learn.

PLATE XXXVI.

Plan of the sepulchre, marked W in plate I.

A. Repositories for the dead, fronting the door.

B. Repository separate from the rest, with four broken columns of a larger order than that of the sides.

C. Angular repositories.

D. Repositories on each side.

E. Portico.

B b

PLATE

E X P L I C A T I O N O F

P L A T E XXXVII.

Upright of the fame with one of the soffits of the repositories.

A. Pediment.

B. Soffit of a repository, of one piece of marble.

P L A T E XXXVIII.

Base, capital, and entablature of the foregoing sepulchre, without. See the soffit of the cornice, plate XLI.

P L A T E XXXIX.

Section of the fame.

A. Section of the wall above the door.
 B. Flank of the door.
 C. Space from the side order to the soffit.
 D. Repositories.
 E. Subassement.

F. Soffit of one piece of marble, which forms the profile of the cornice.
 G. Flank of the repositories.
 H. Floor of the repositories.
 I. Space in which there were sepulchral urns.

P L A T E XL.

Base, capital, and entablature of the foregoing sepulchre, within.

P L A T E XLI.

* See plate A. Soffit of the cornice * without.
 XXXVIII B. Soffit of the architrave without.
 † See plate XXXVI

C, D. Two soffits of repositories.†

P L A T E XLII.

Three soffits of repositories.

A, and B. Belong to the foregoing sepulchre.

C. Belongs to the ruined sepulchre marked T, in plate I.

P L A T E XLIII.

A. Temple of the sun.
 B. Column marked G, in plate I.
 C. The arch.
 D. The long portico.

E. The little temple, marked M, in plate I.
 F. Great columns standing single from the shaft of which we copied the third Greek inscription.
 G. Building marked J, in plate I.

P L A T E XLIV.

Plan of a building, upon an architrave of which we found the twenty seventh inscription.

A. Body of the building.
 B. Vestibule.

C. Portico in front.
 D. Portico on each side.

P L A T E

THE PLATES.

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PLATE XLV.

Upright of the same building.

- A. Supported pediment.
- B. Door.
- C. Niche.

- D. False door.
- E. Socle.

PLATE XLVI.

Base, capital and entablature of the foregoing plate.

See the soffit of the cornice, plate LV.

PLATE XLVII.

Ornaments of the inside of the portico, in front.

- B. Great door.

- C. Niche.

- D. False door.

PLATE XLVIII.

Ornaments of the great door * at large.

* See plate XLVII.

- A. External profile of the Scroll.

- B. Bas-relief at large, of the Cavetto marked B in the plan.

PLATE XLIX.

The false door † at large.

† See D, plate XLVII.

PLATE L.

The Niche ‡ at large.

‡ See C, plate XLVII.

PLATE LI.

- A. Pilaster § of the portico in front.
- B. Bas-relief of the flank of the great door.
- C. Section of the niche.**
- D. Section of the false door. ††

- E. Section of the projection under the niche.
- F. Bas-relief of the arched soffit of the niche. ††
- G. Soffit of the projection under the niche.

§ See plate XLVII.
 ** See plate L.
 †† See plate XLIX.
 †† See letter C.

PLATE LII.

View of the building last described.

- A. Castle on the hill, marked Z, in plate I. scribed, which looks like the tribunal of a Basilica.
- B. Part of the present remains of the building last de- C. Door of a building quite destroyed.

PLATE LIII.

Plan and Upright of the sepulchre, marked y, in plate I.

- A. Upright.
- B. Mouldings, which run round it.

- C. Its plan.

C c

PLATE

P L A T E L I V .

Base, capital, and entablature of the pilaster, of the foregoing sepulchre.

B. Mouldings at large, which are marked with the same letter, in the last plate.

P L A T E L V .

A. Plan of one of the sepulchres marked a, in plate B. Soffit of the cornice in plate XLVI. To be measured by the scale of that plate.

P L A T E L V I .

Upright of the same.

A. Window, under which is a figure in alto relievo, lying by a sarcophagus. B. Door.

P L A T E L V I I .

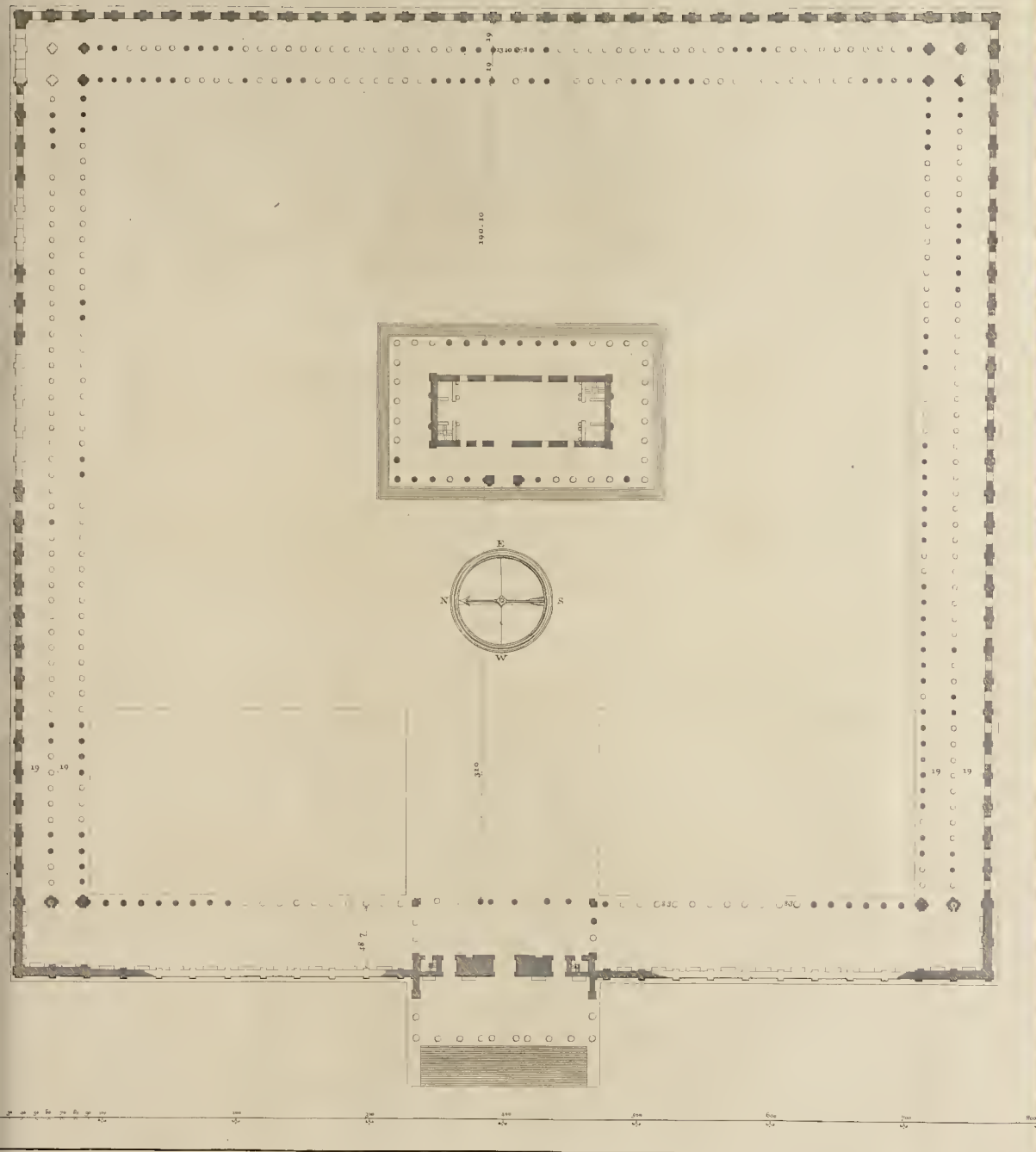
Front and flank of the inside of the first story of the same sepulchre.

A. The flank. alto relievo, and under it two sarcophagi, with heads on them in mezzo relievo.
 B. Repositories for bodies.
 C. Pilaster.
 D. Section of the door.
 E. Front opposite to the door, where there is a figure in
 F. Here are some Palmyrene inscriptions, of which we copied two. See Palmyrene inscription XI, and XII.
 G. Repositories for bodies.

F I N I S

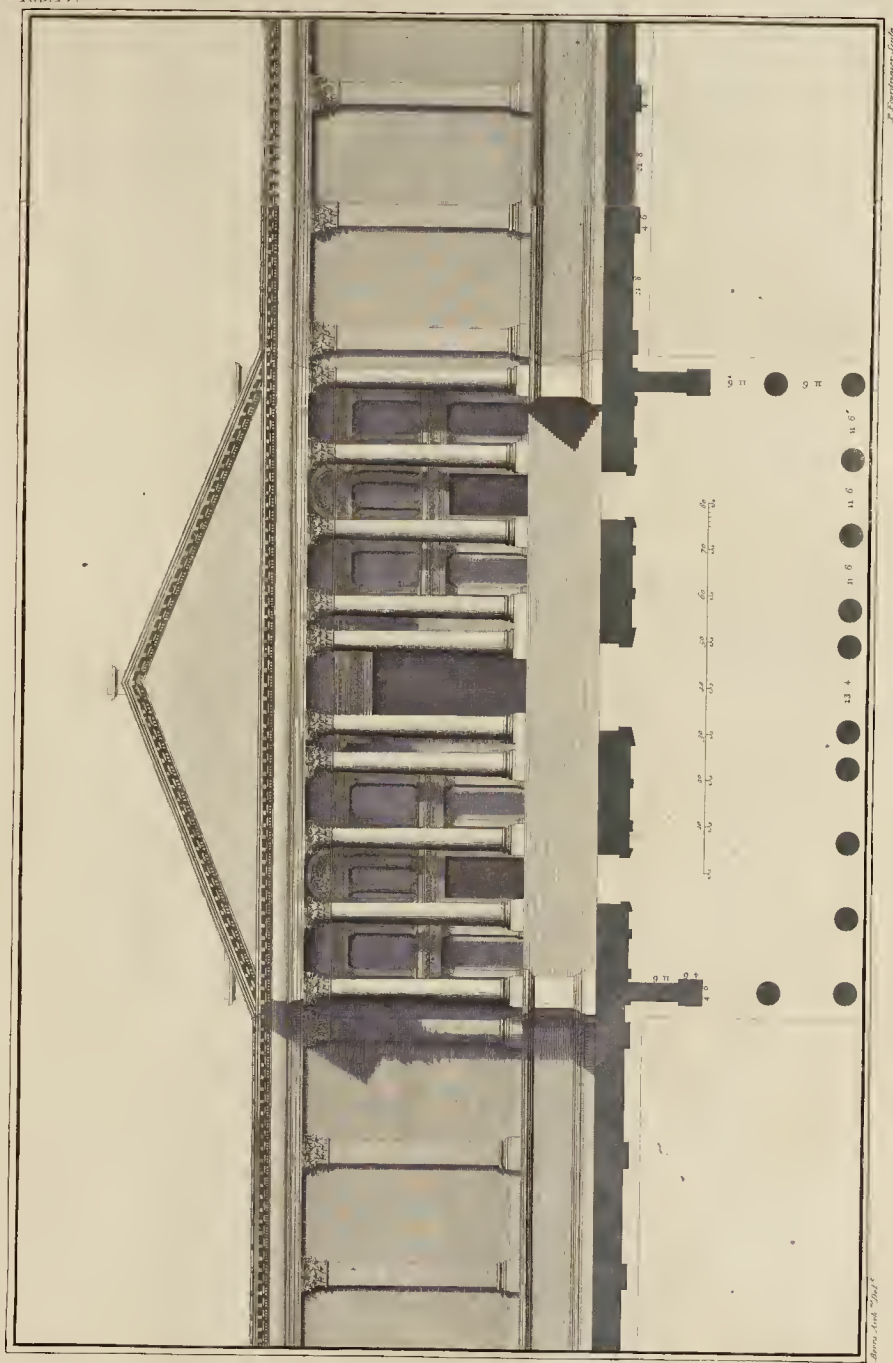
E R R A T A

Page 9. l. 26. for *emperors*, read *emperors*. In the same page, note b, in *quote to them*, dele *to*. Page 11. l. 26. for *our own*, read *her own*. Page 15. l. 17. after *ruins*, dele the , . Page 17. l. 3. for *Selucus*, read *Seleucus*. P. 17. l. 37. for *desert*, read *defert*. P. 20. Bottom note l. 3. after *desert* put , .





Tab. IV.

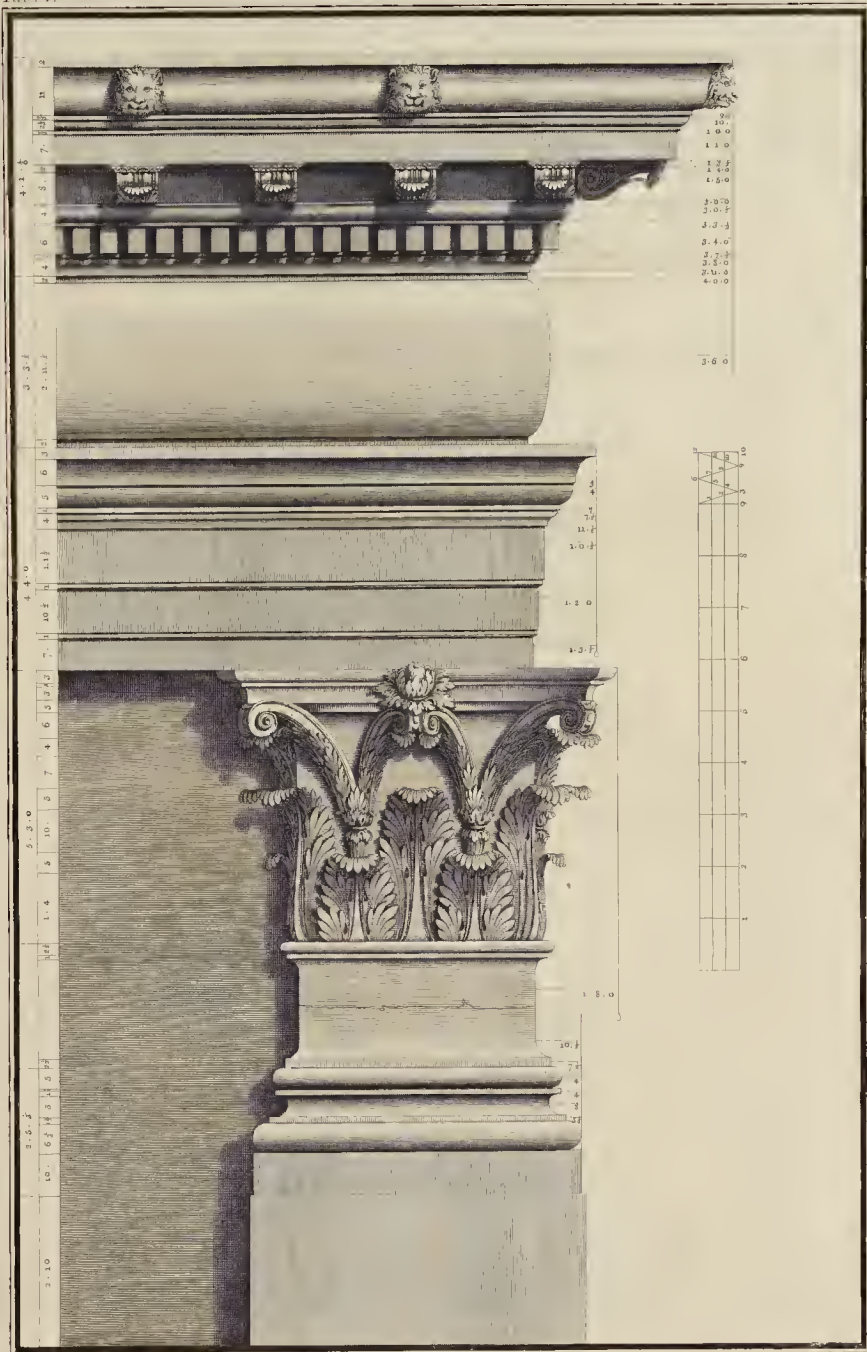


Il Portico della Chiesa

Bernini Arch. 1711

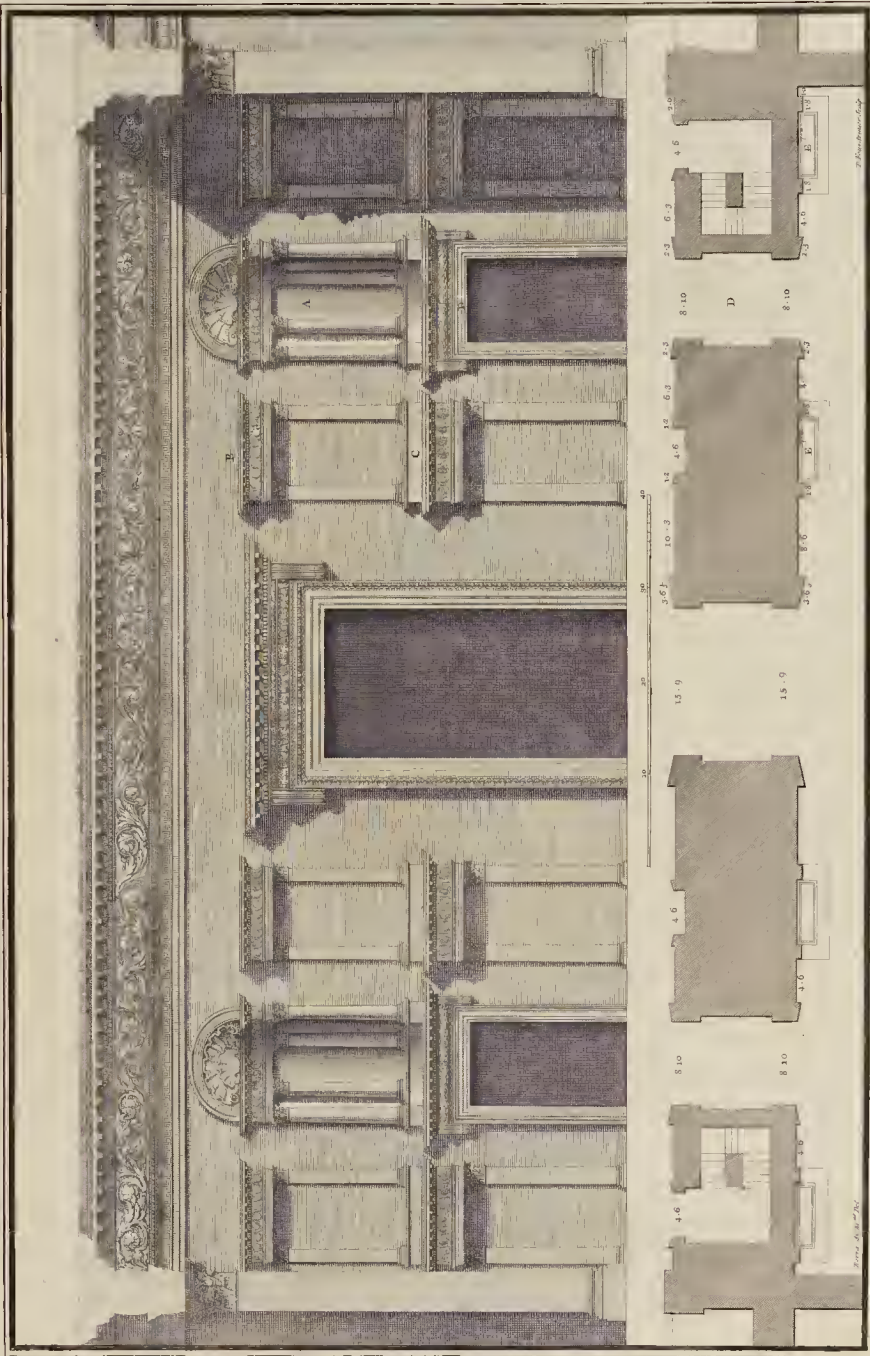


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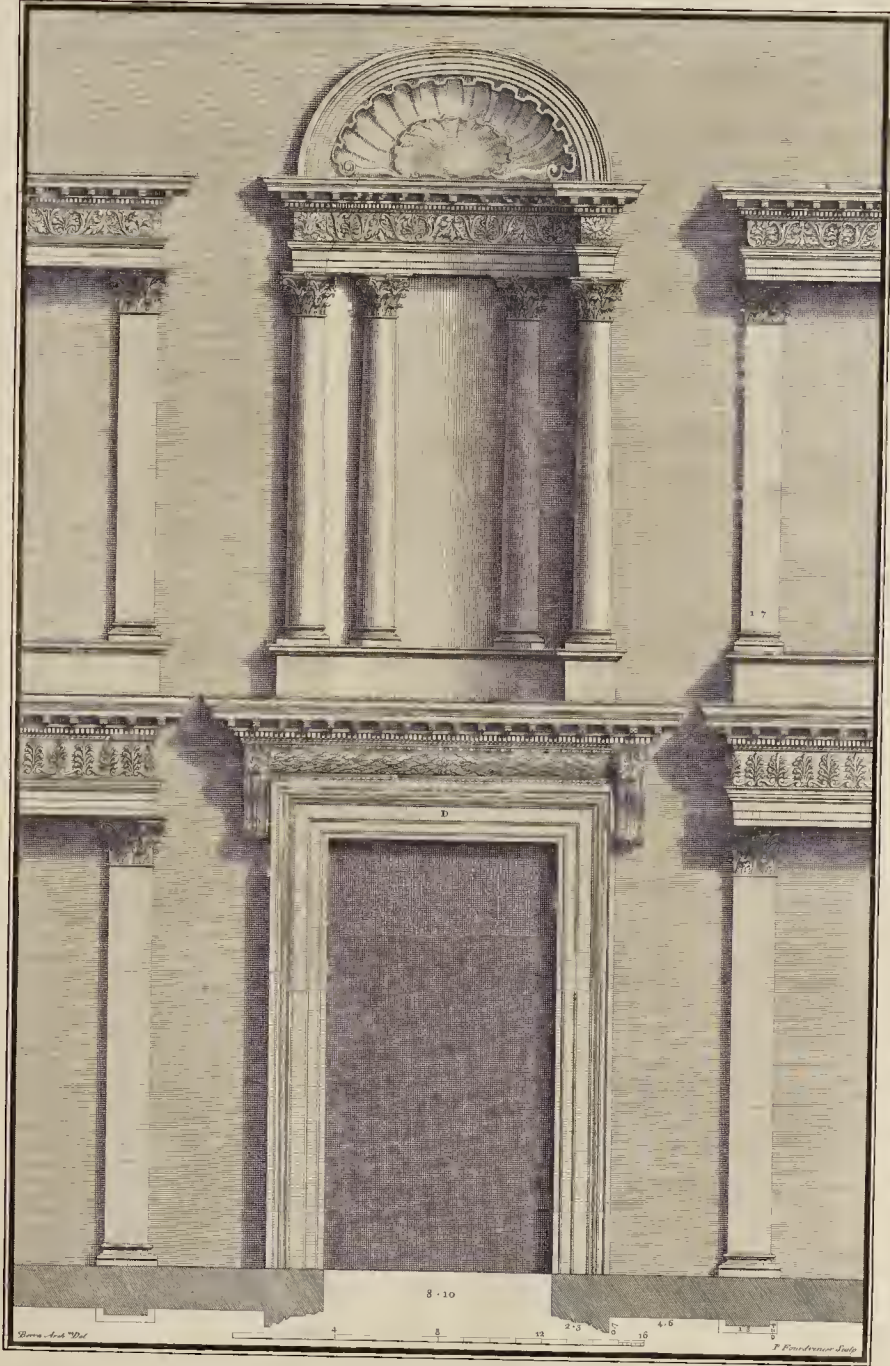
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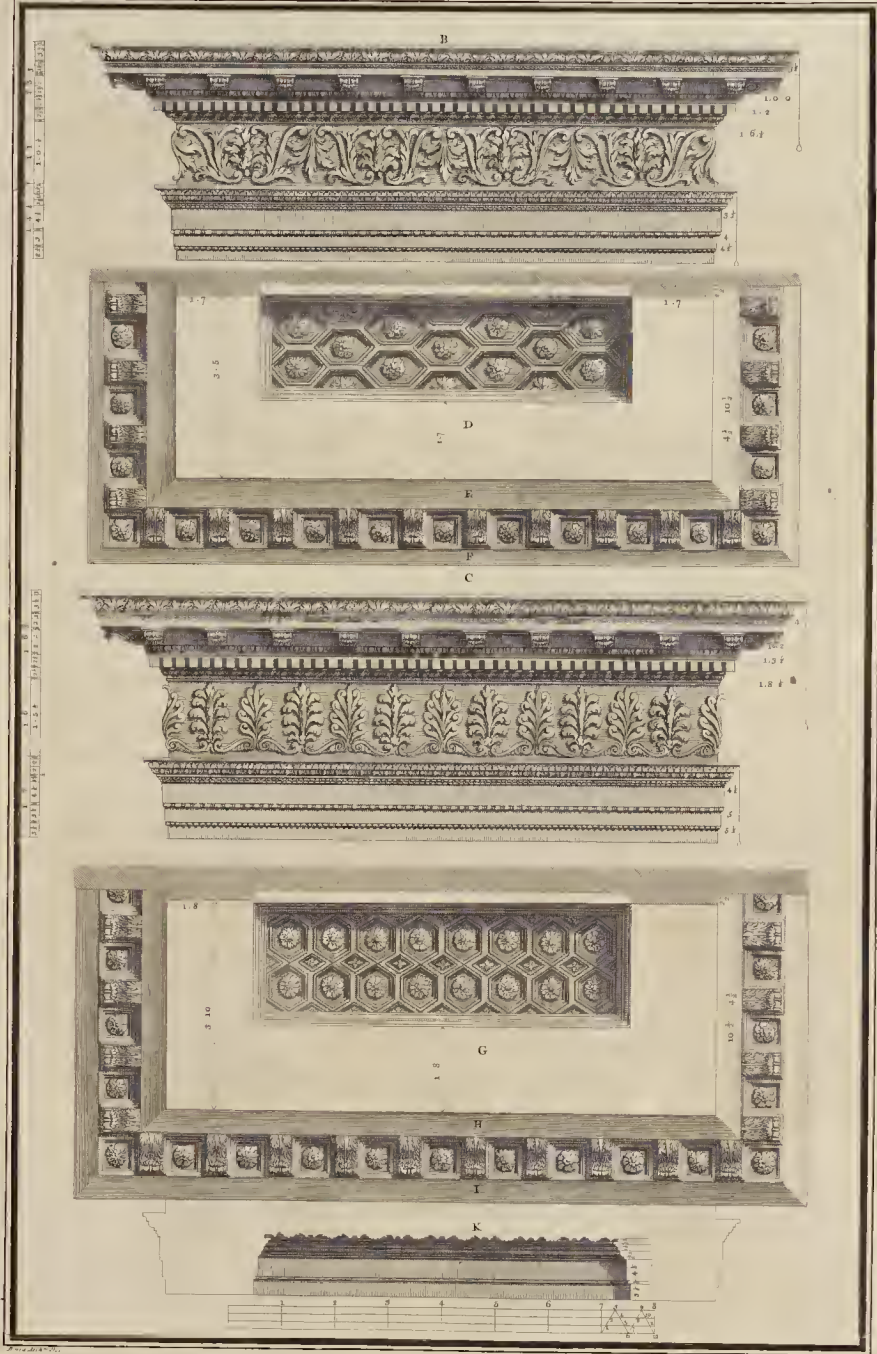


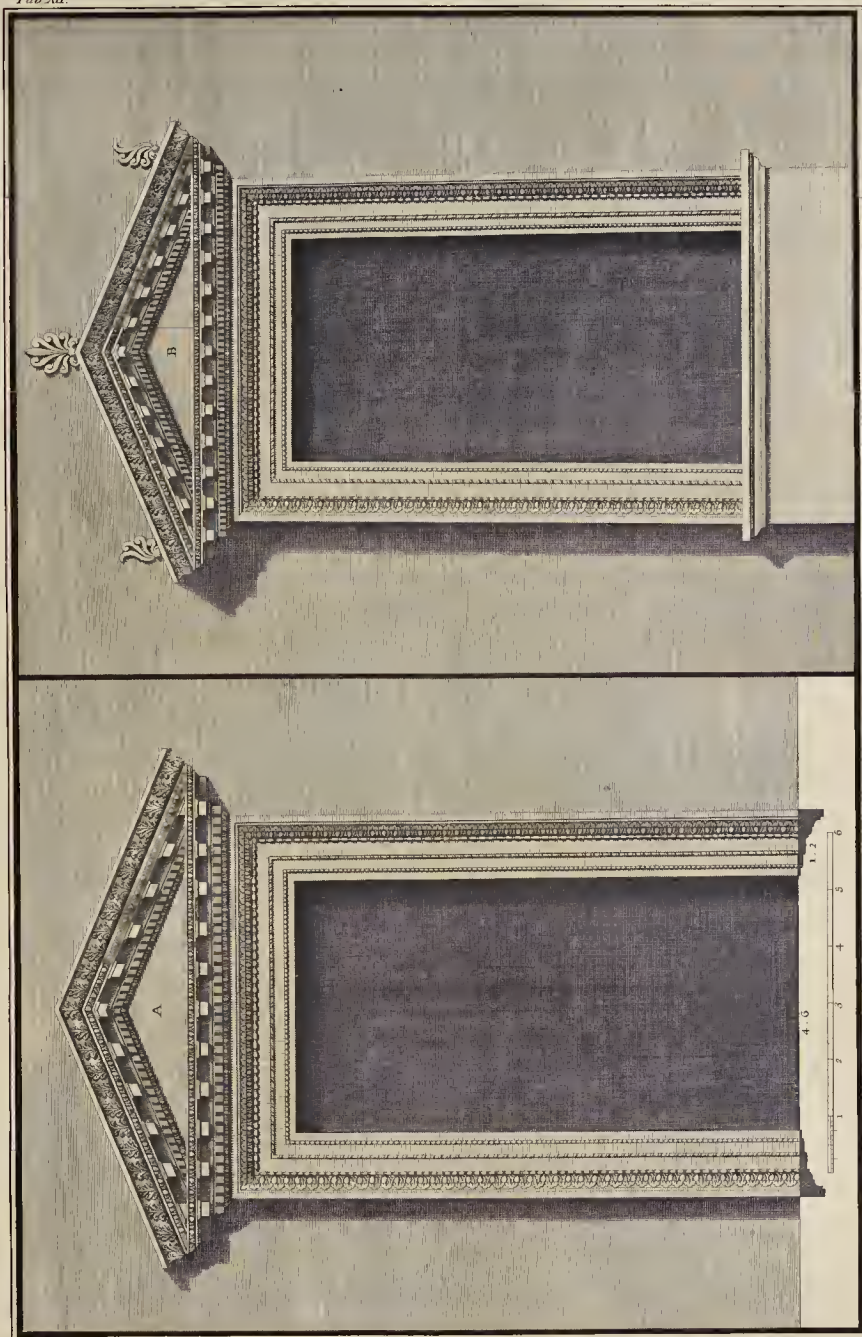


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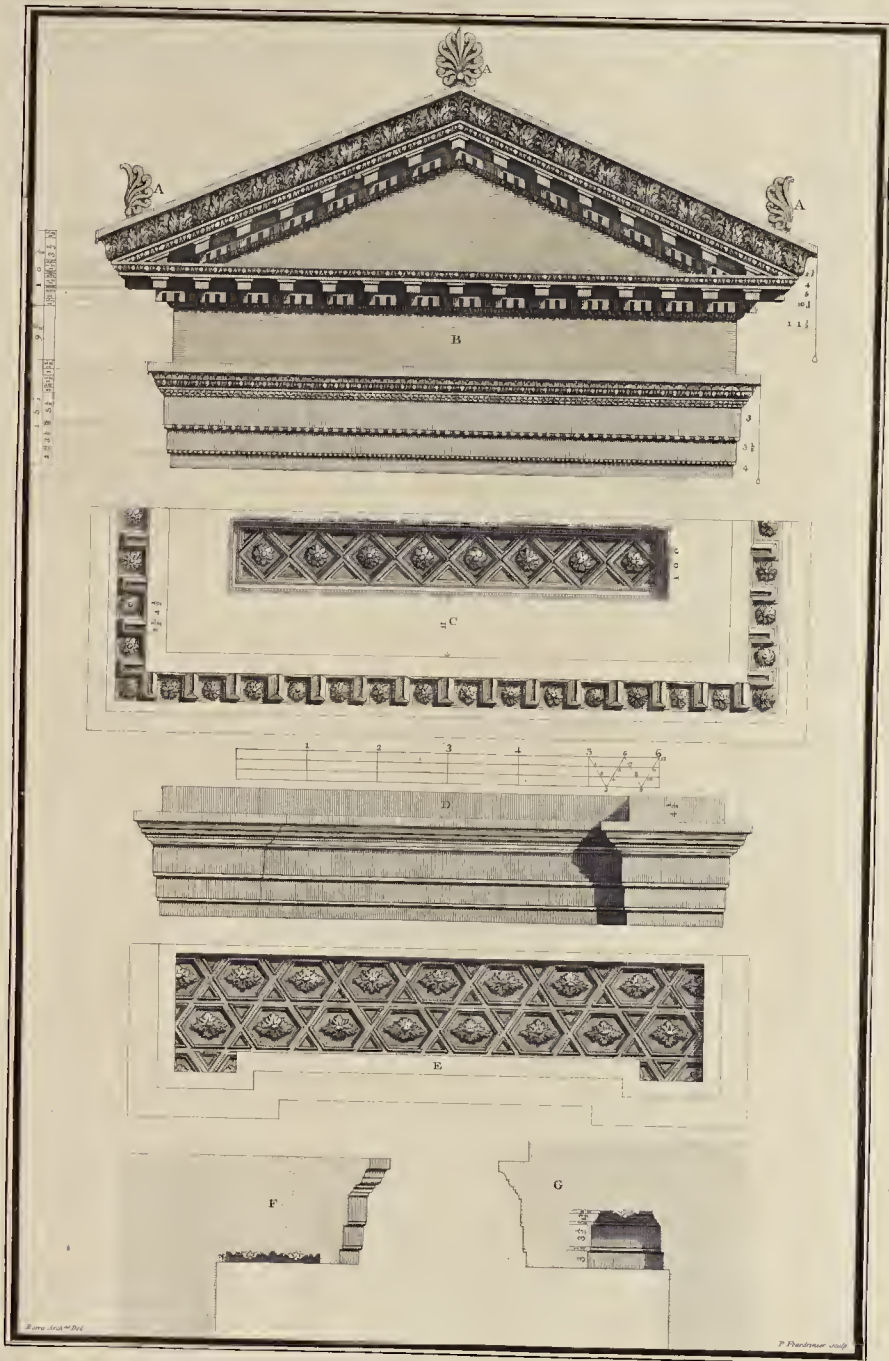
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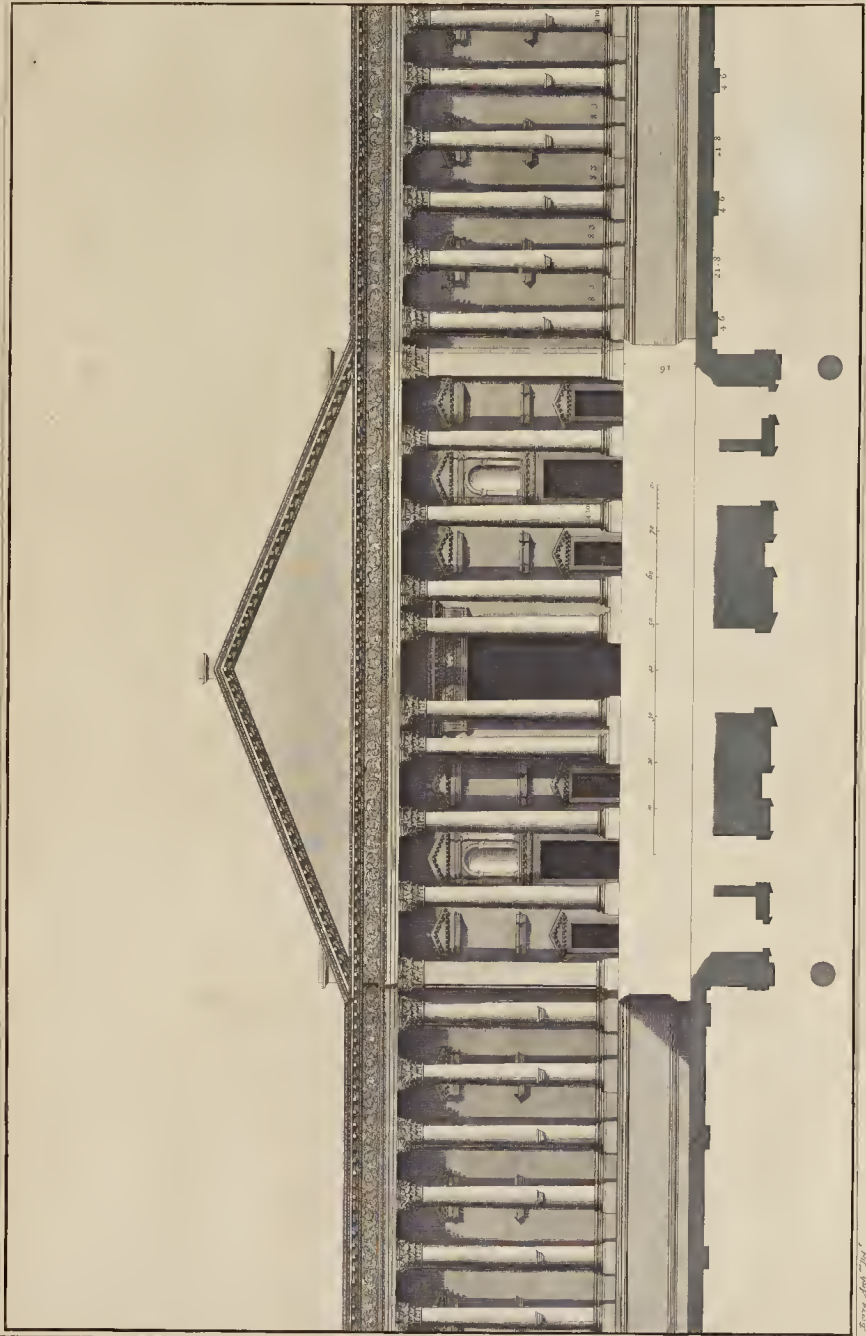




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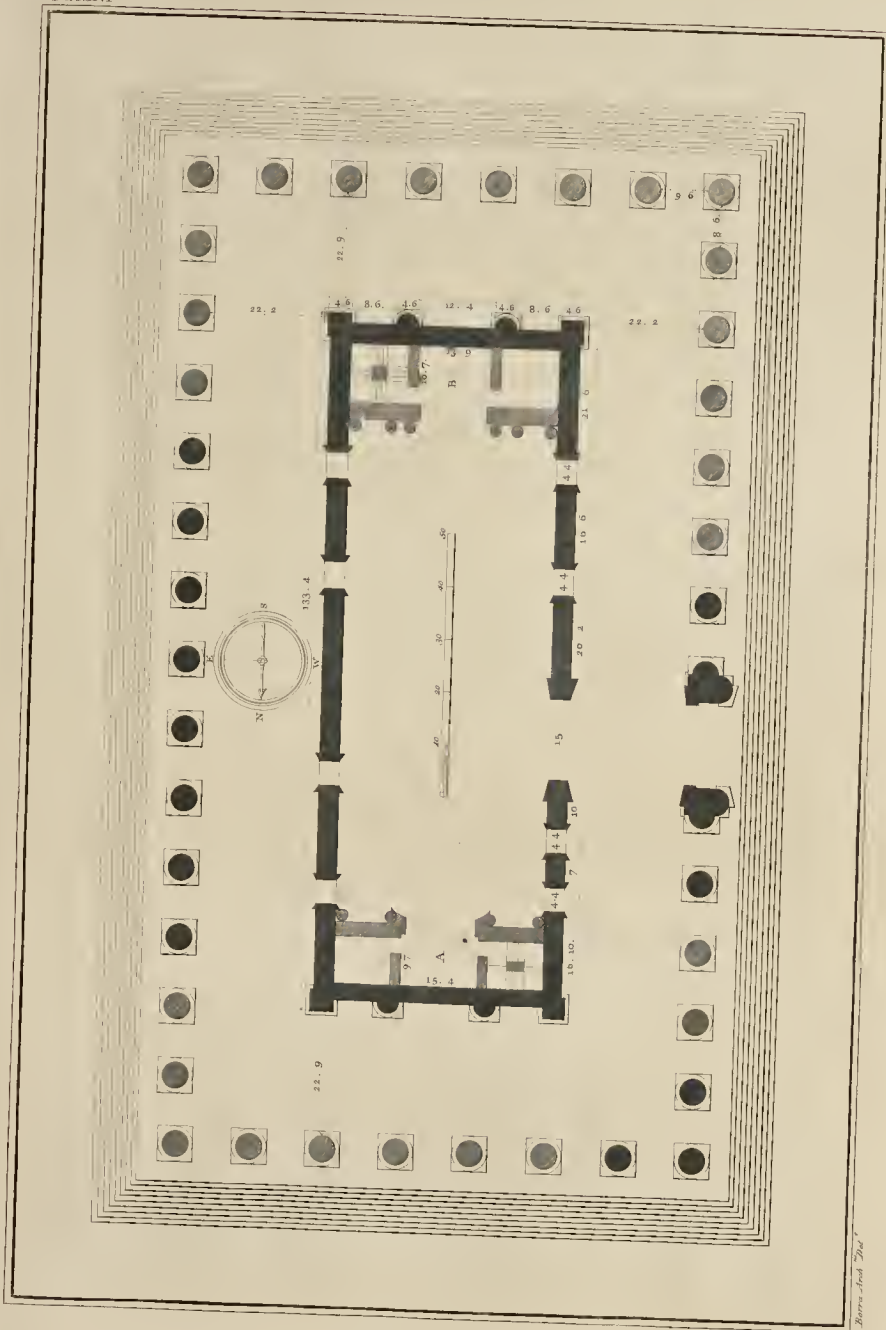
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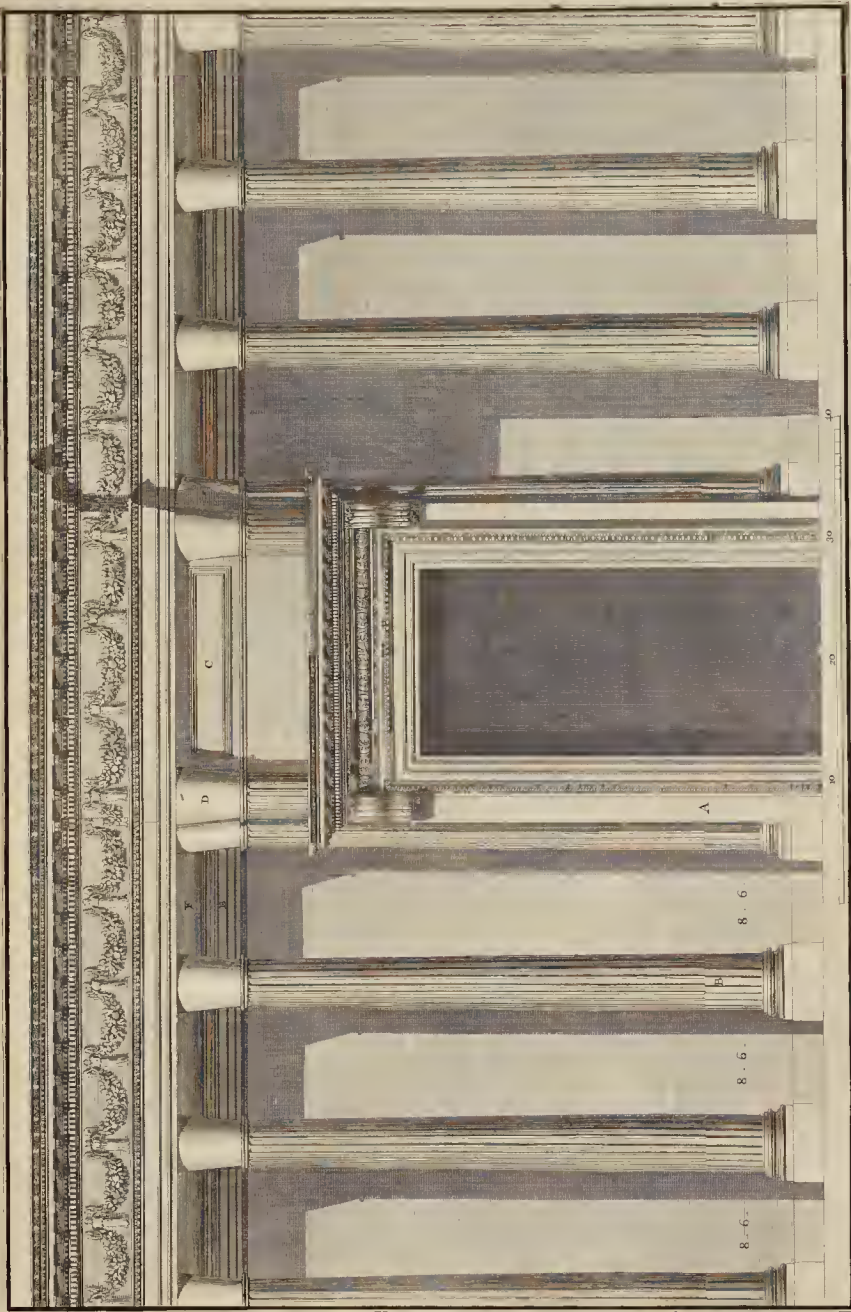
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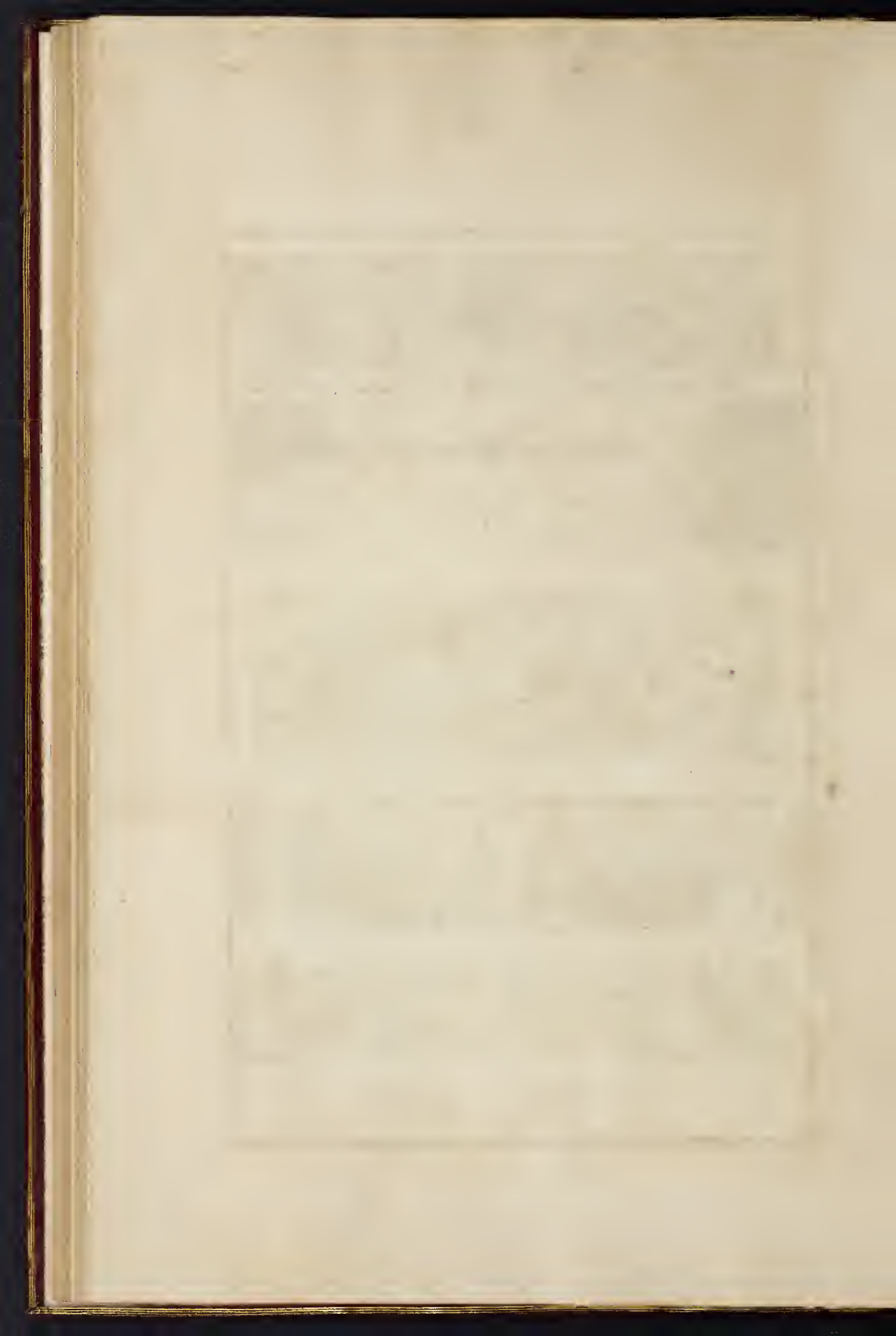
Tab. XV.



P. Bouchard del.

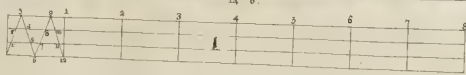
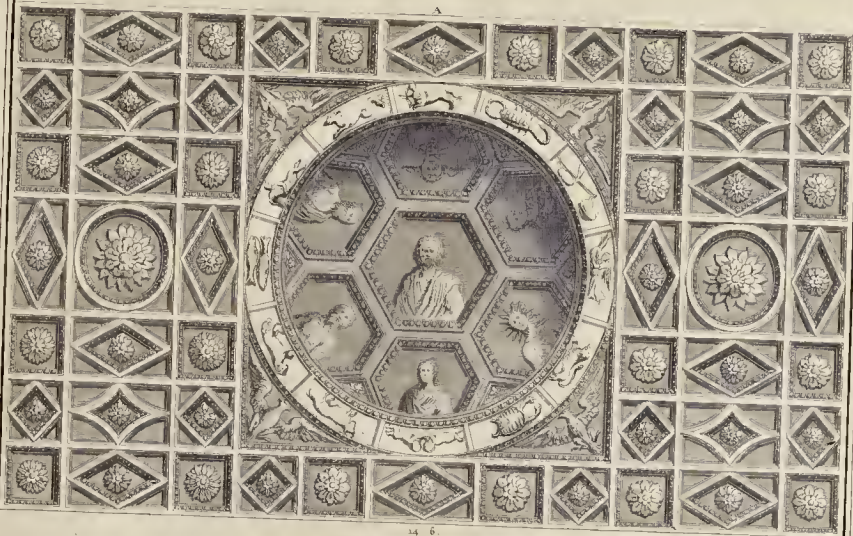
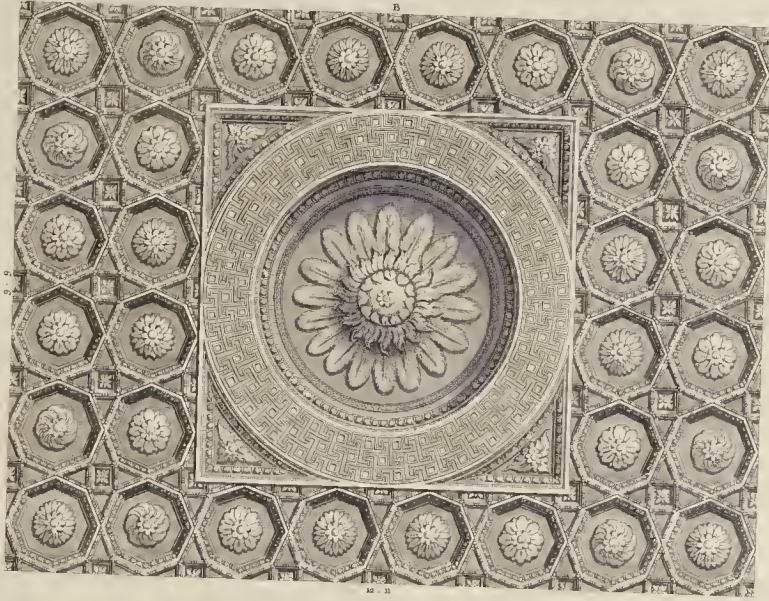
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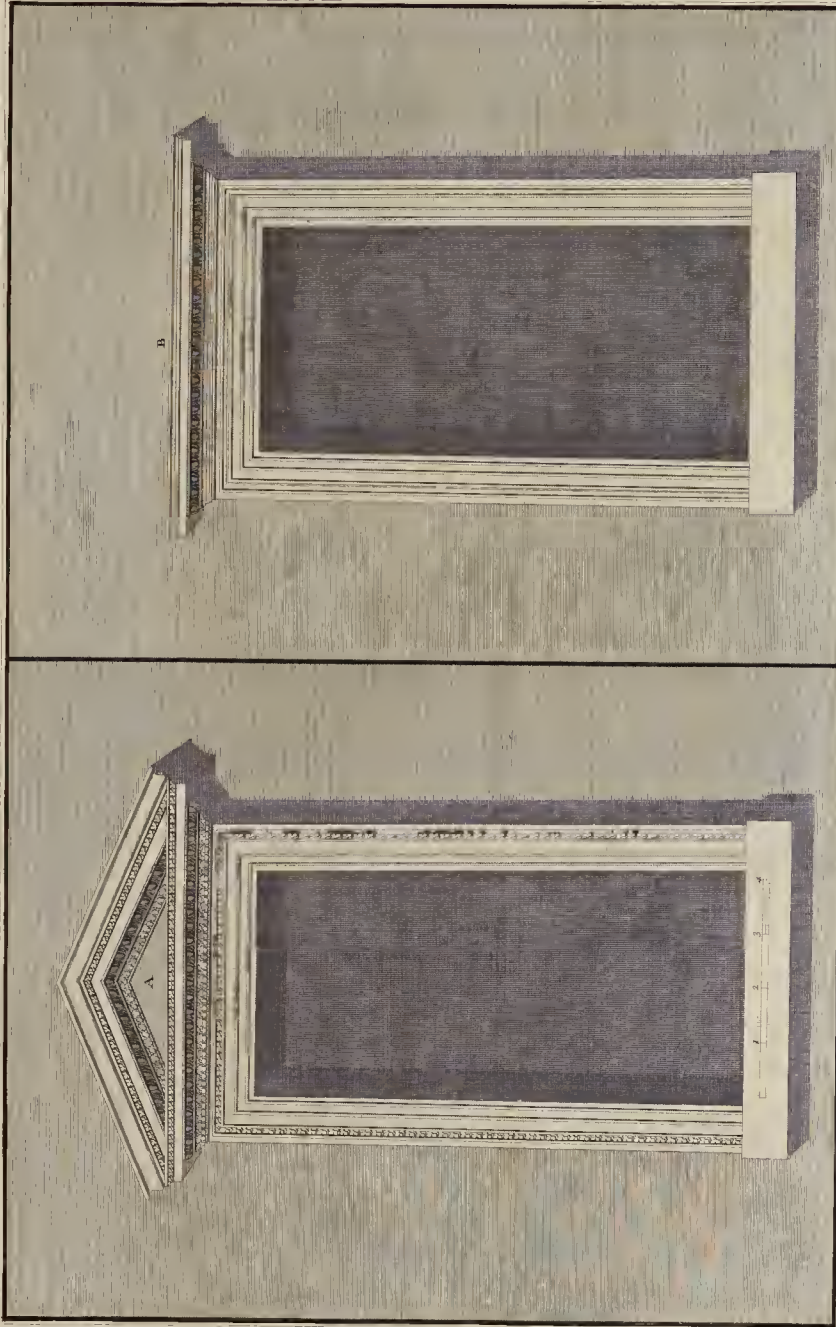




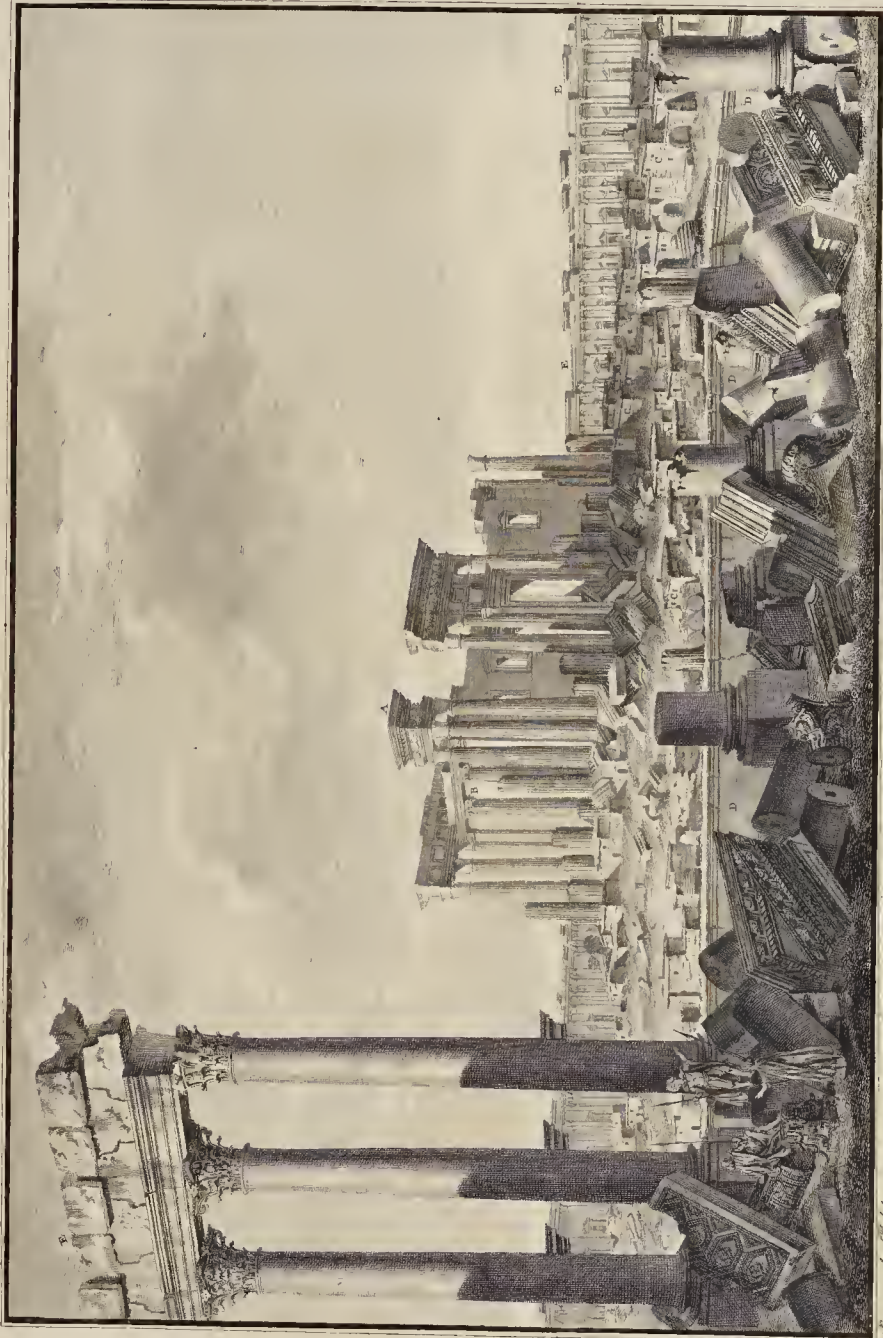
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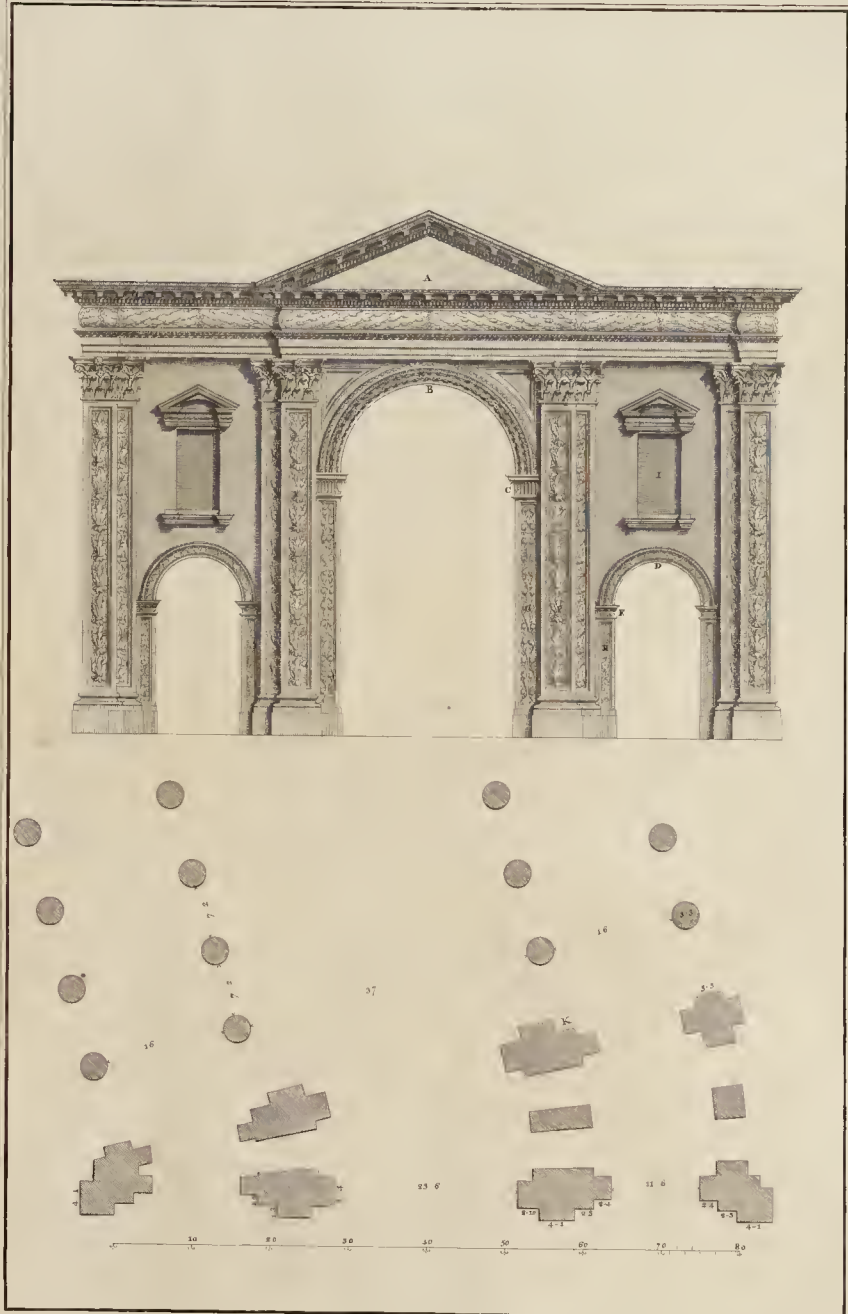
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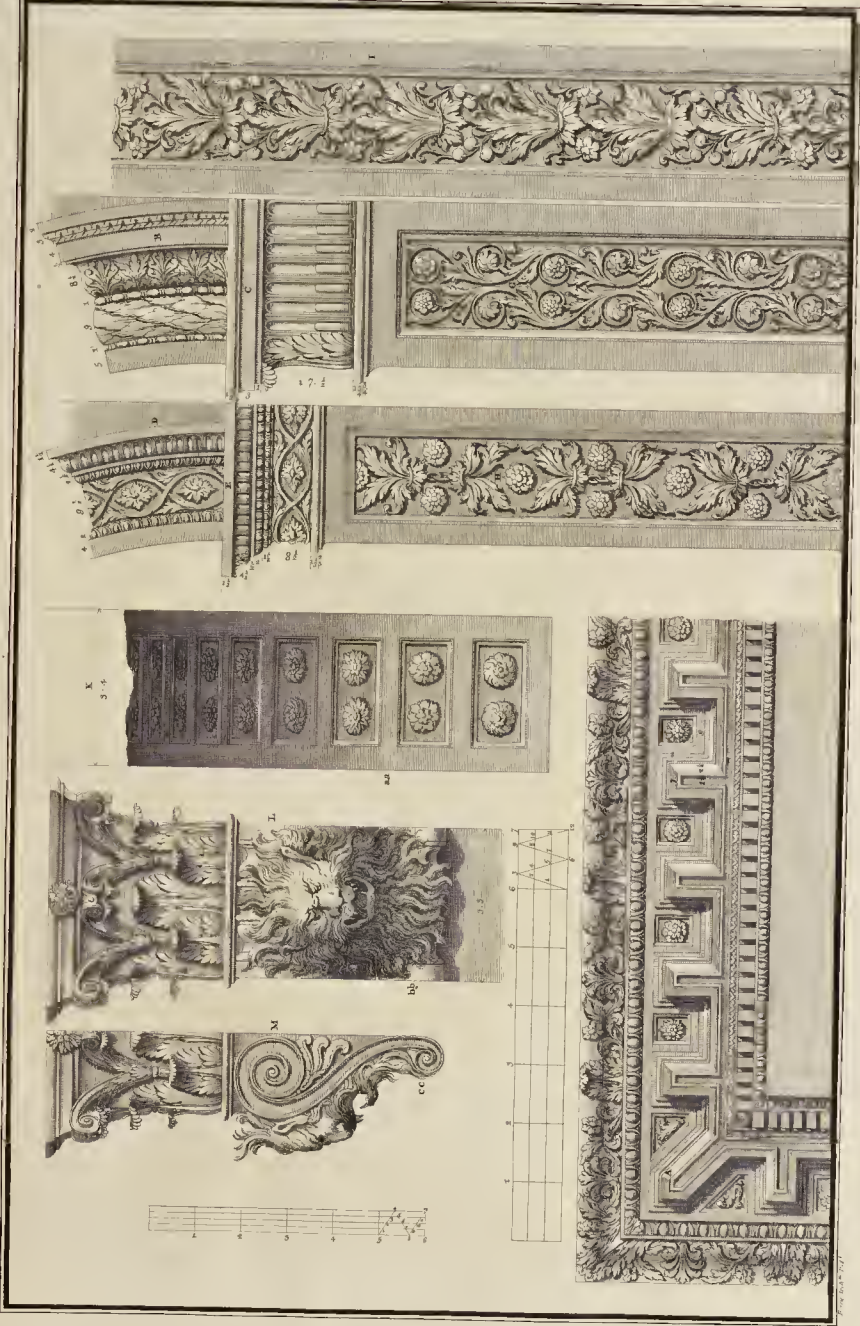


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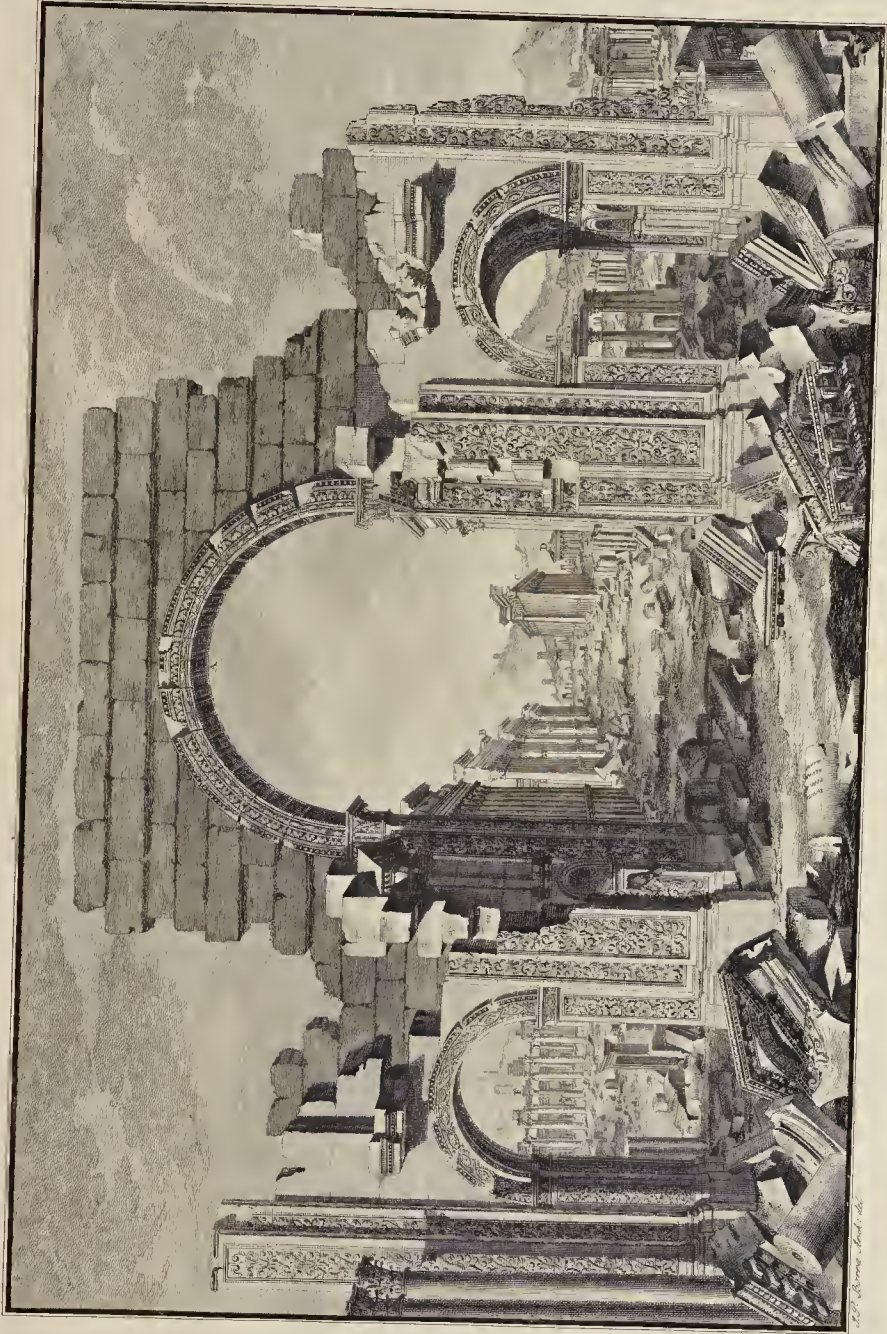
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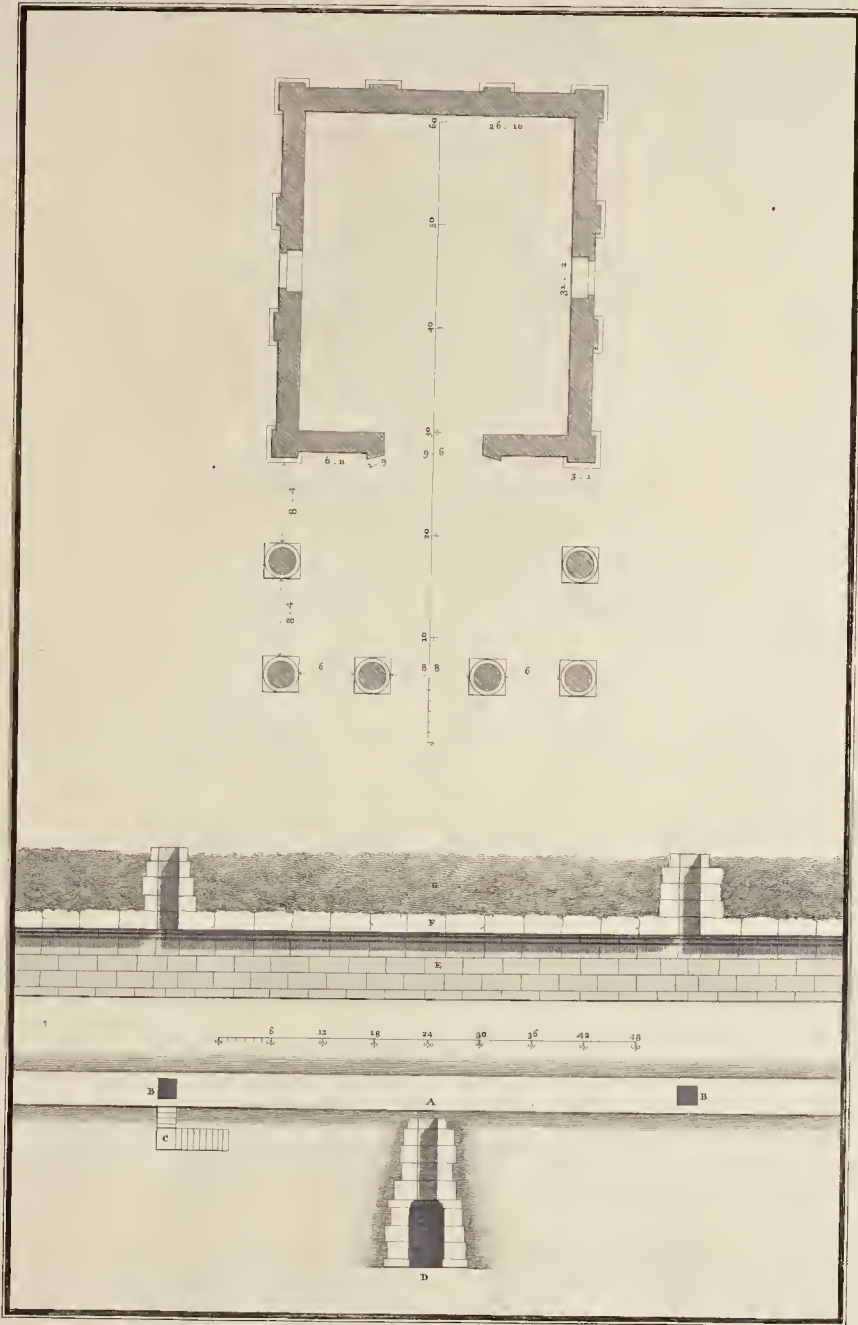


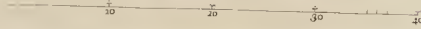




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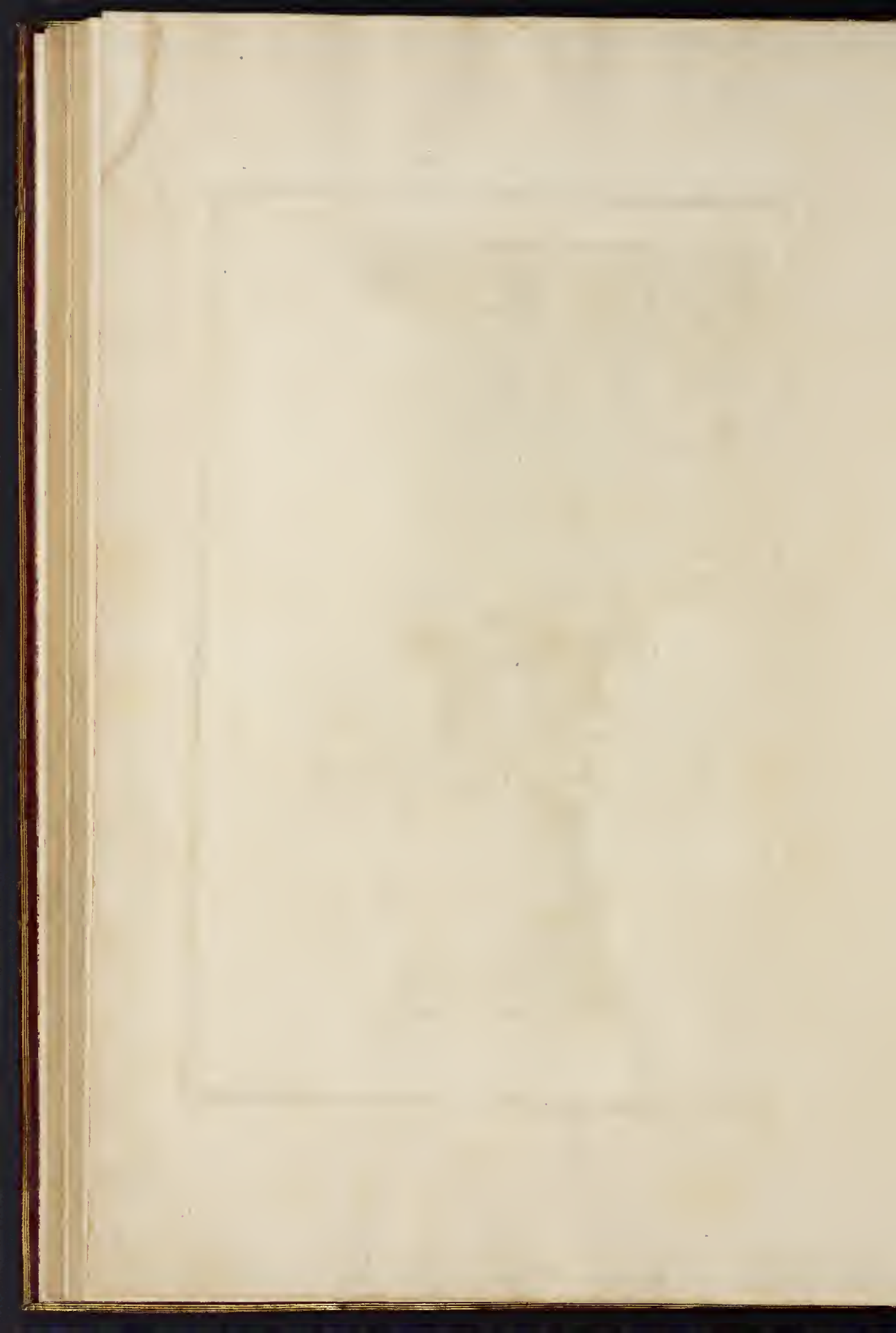
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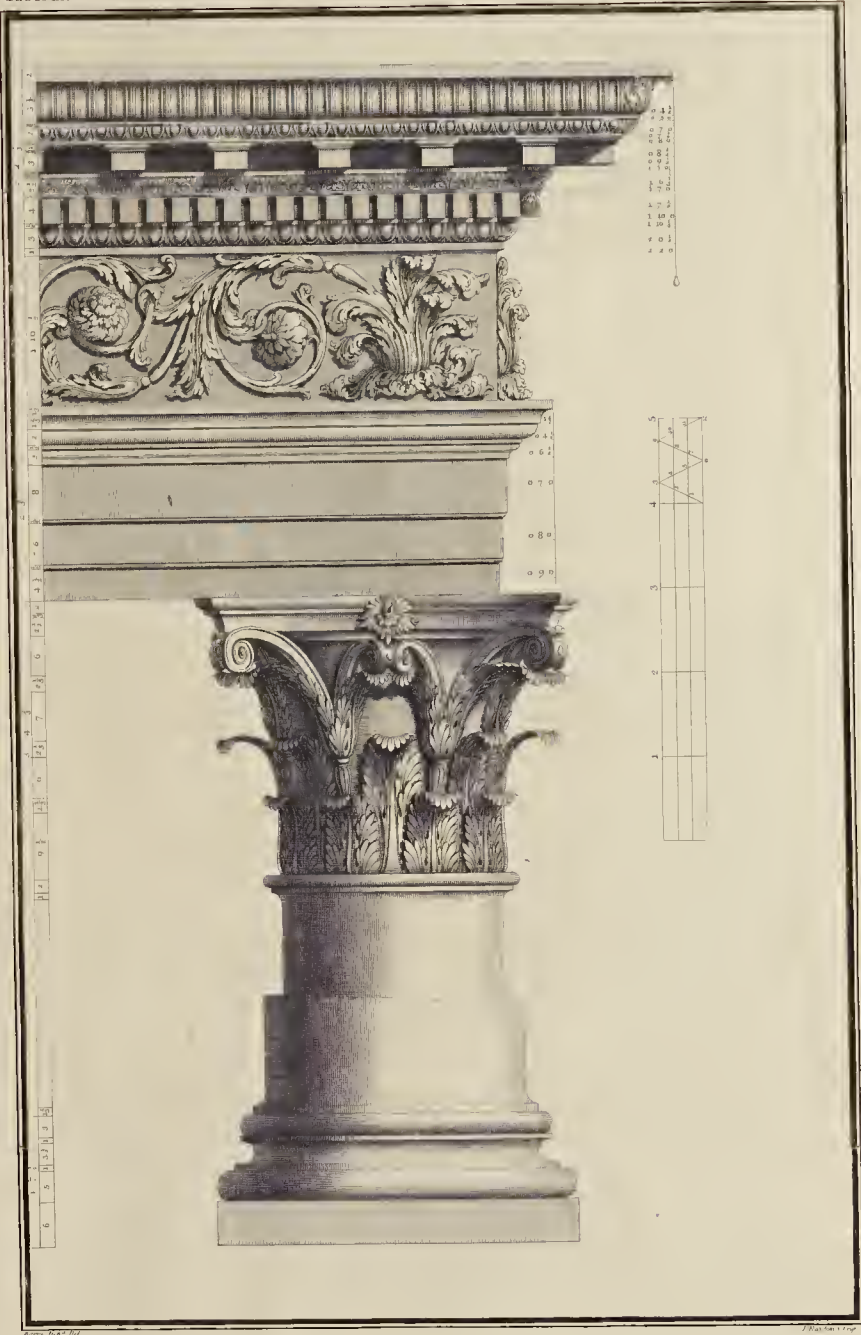


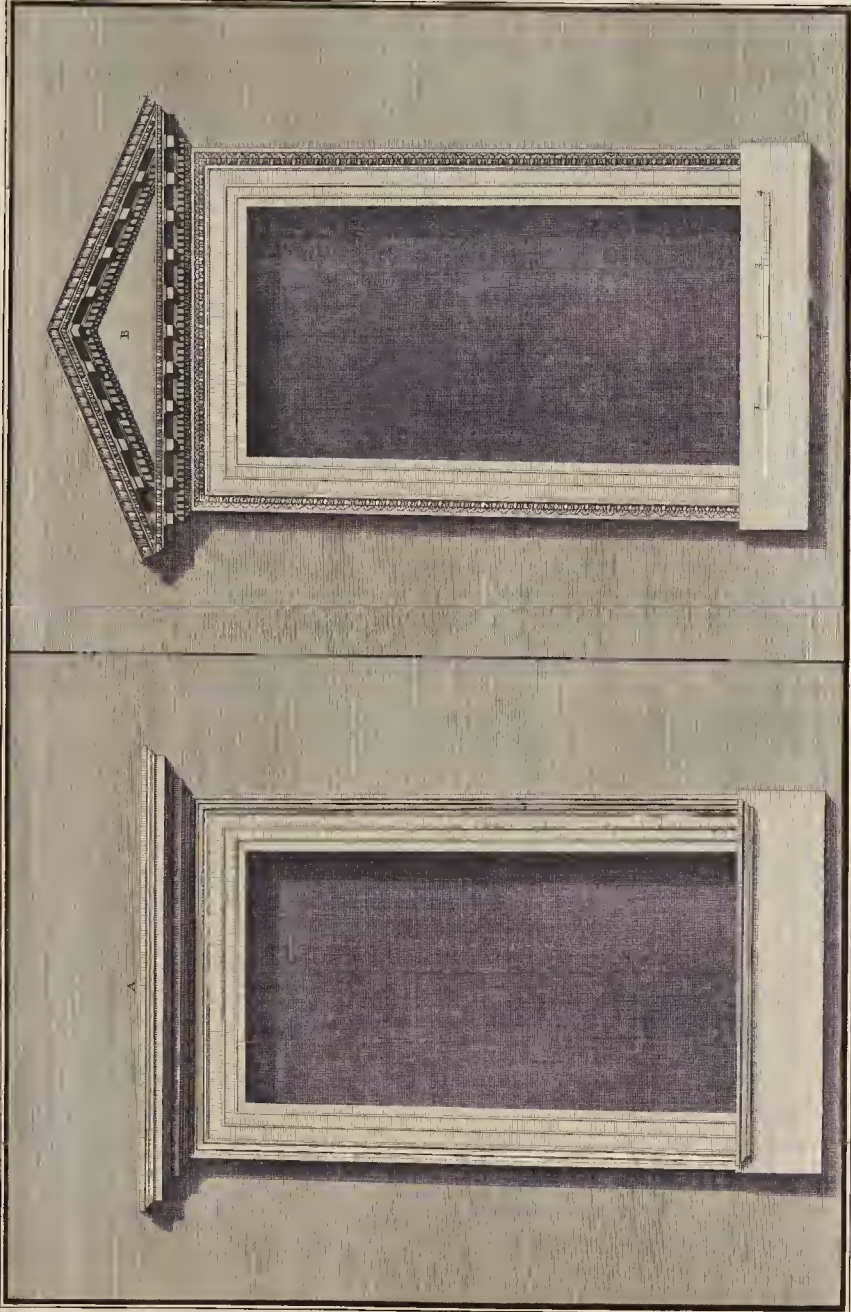


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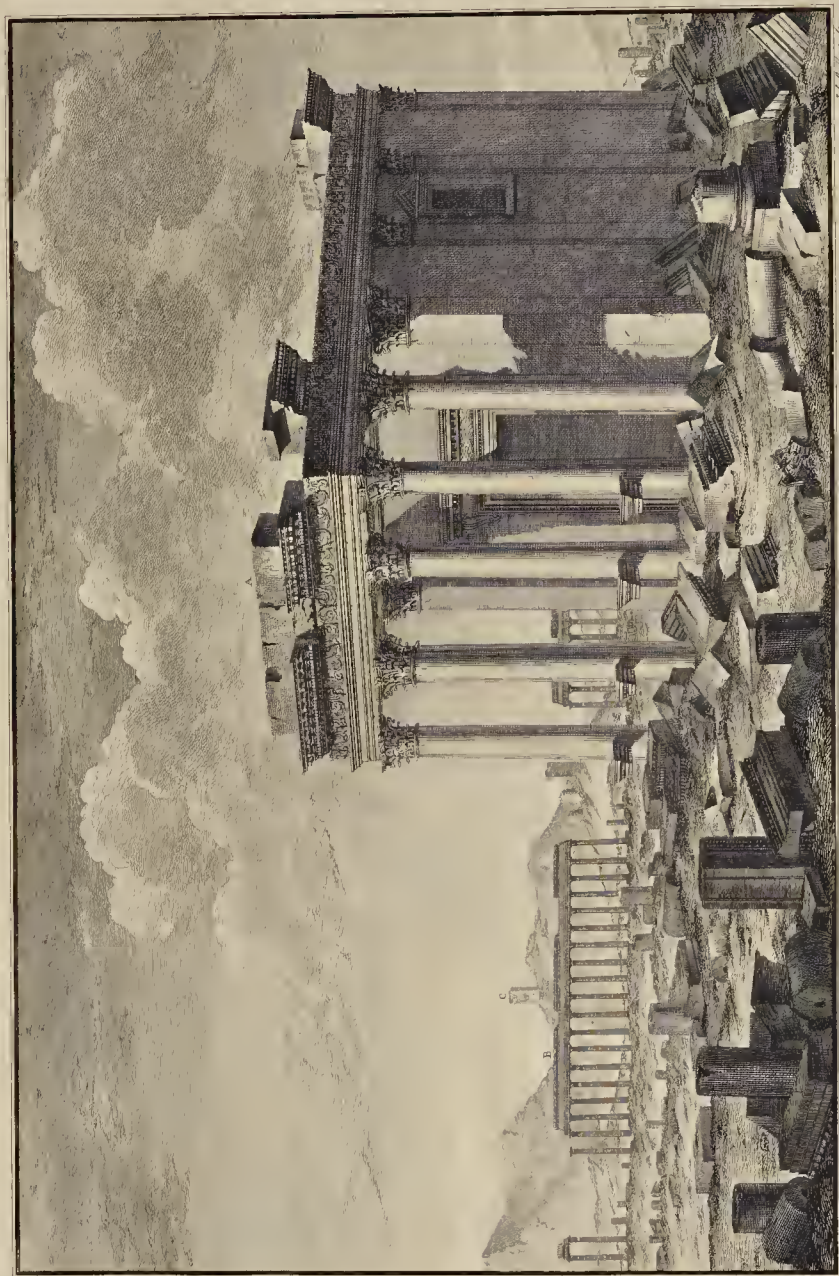




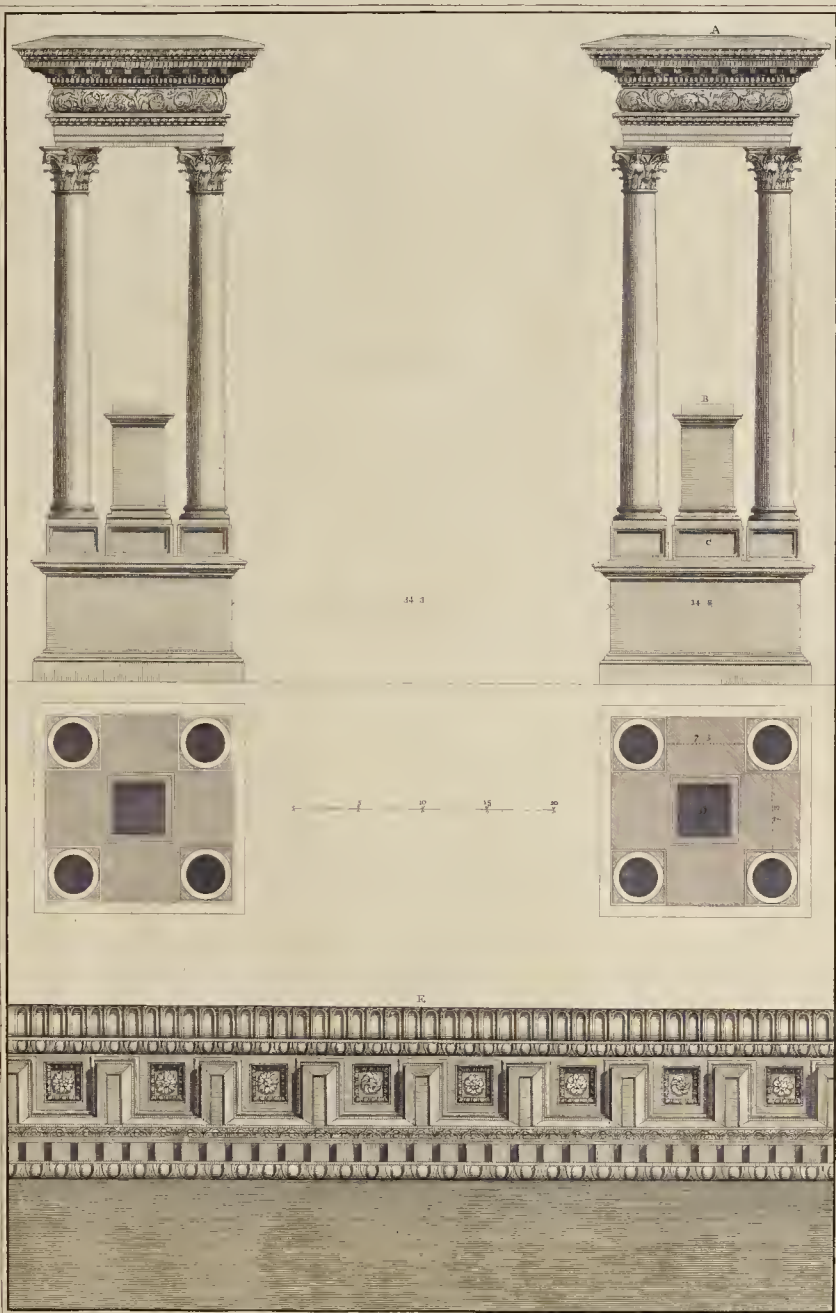


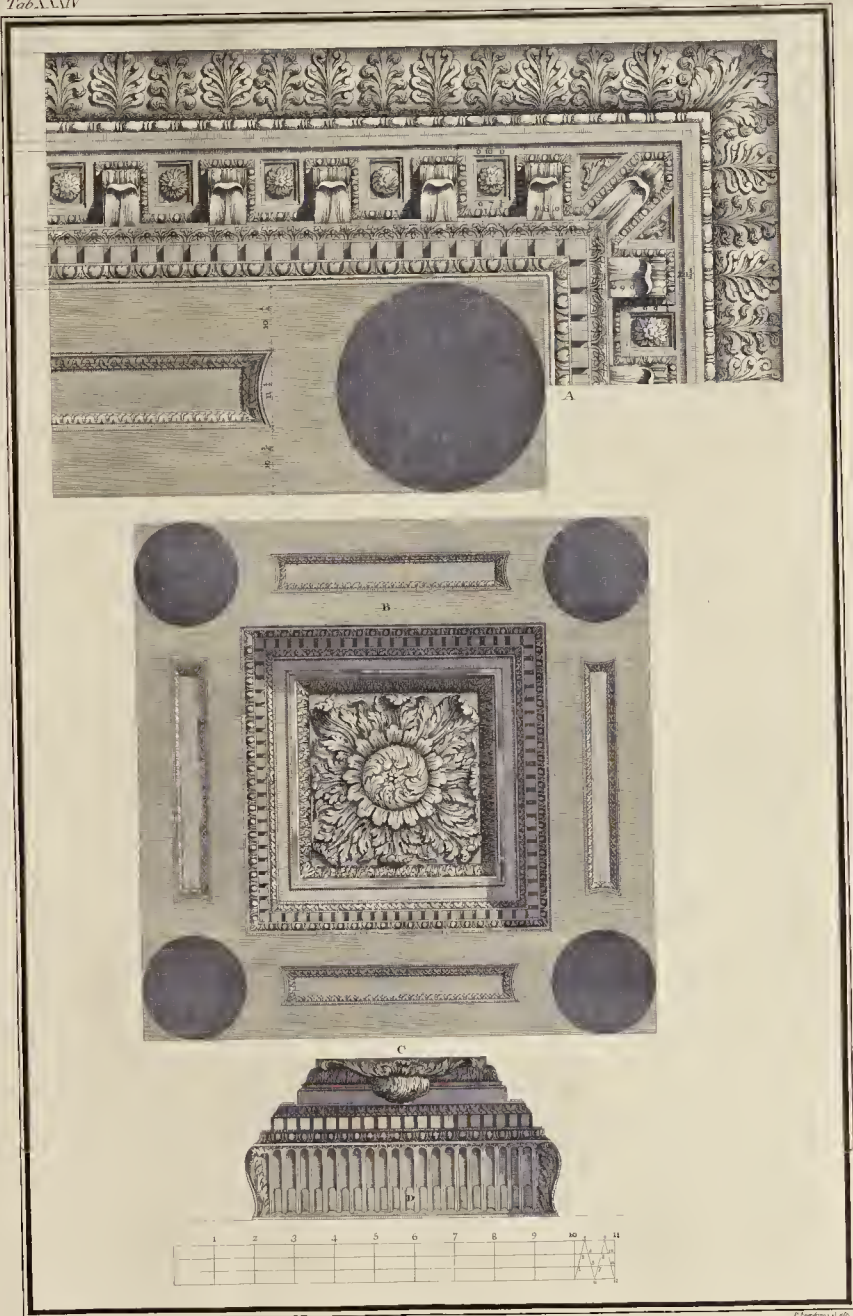
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W. G. B. 1848





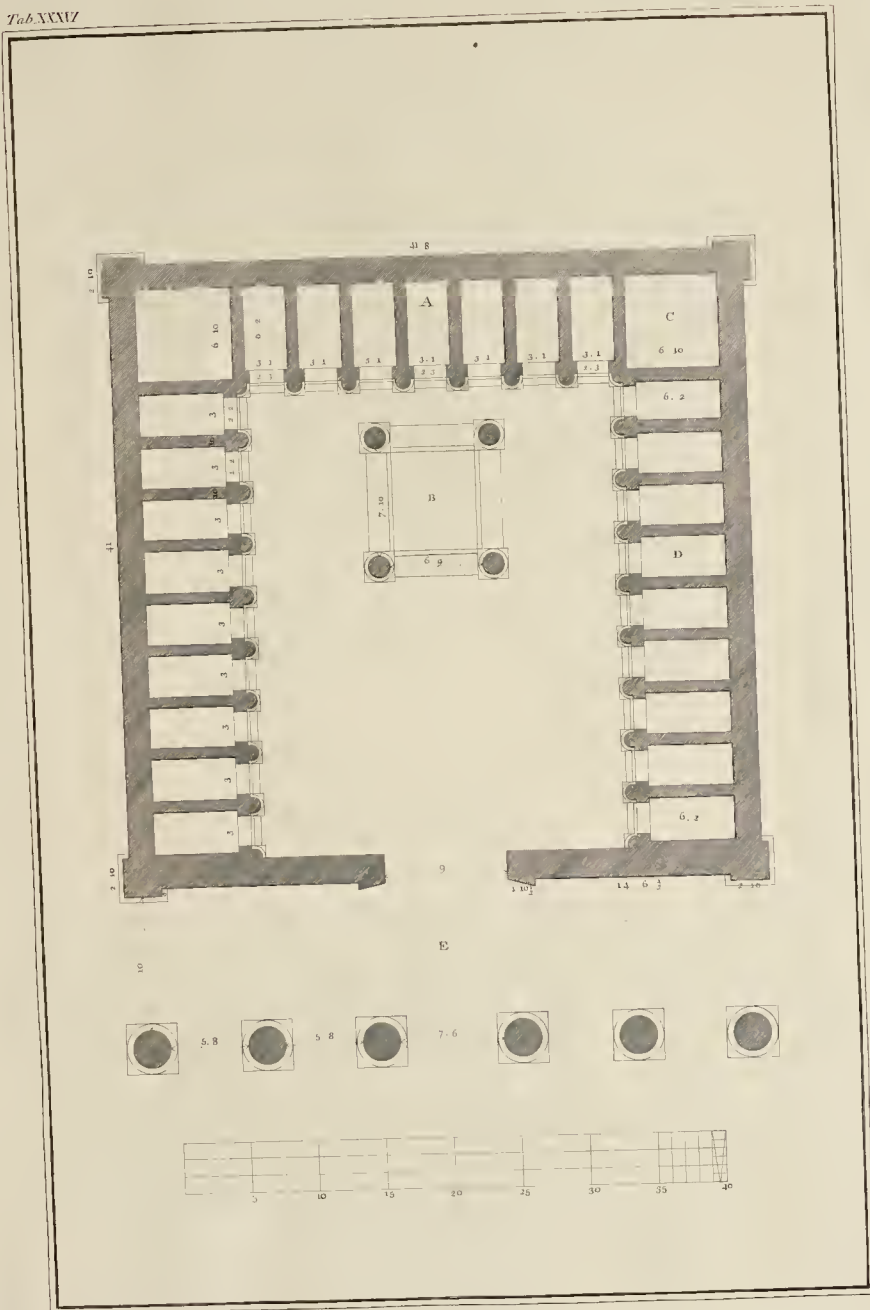


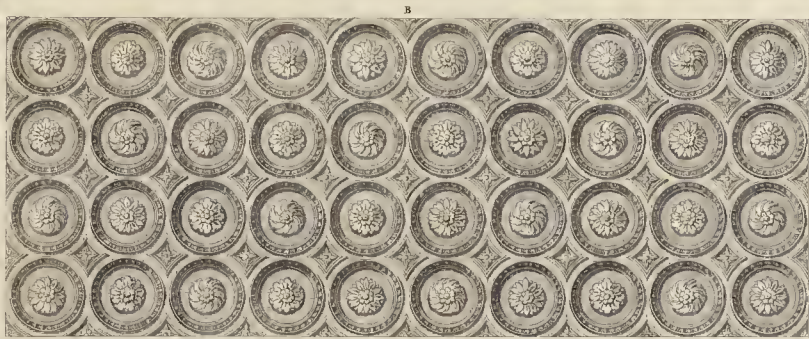
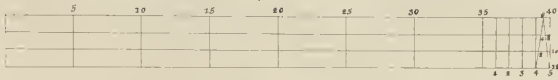


W. Miller del.

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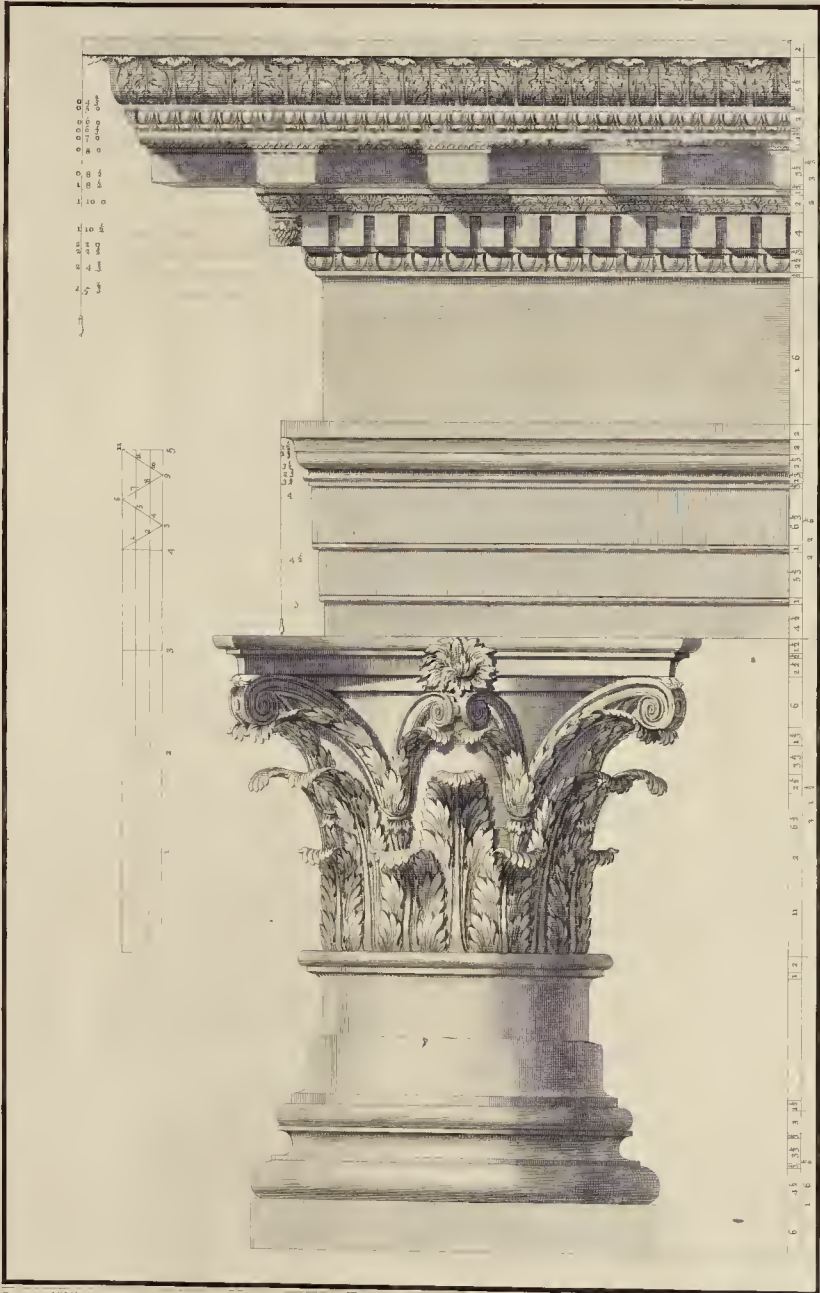
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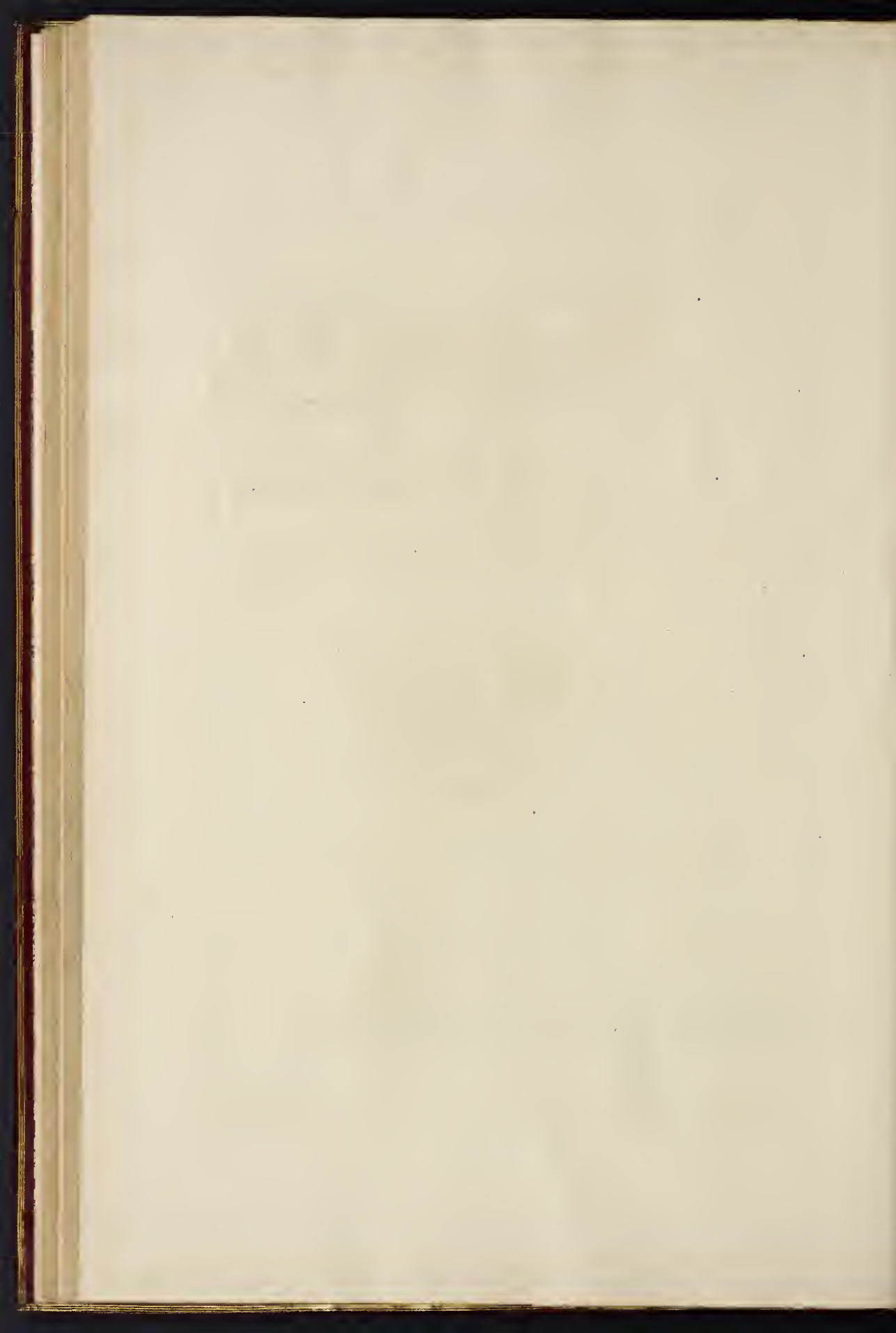


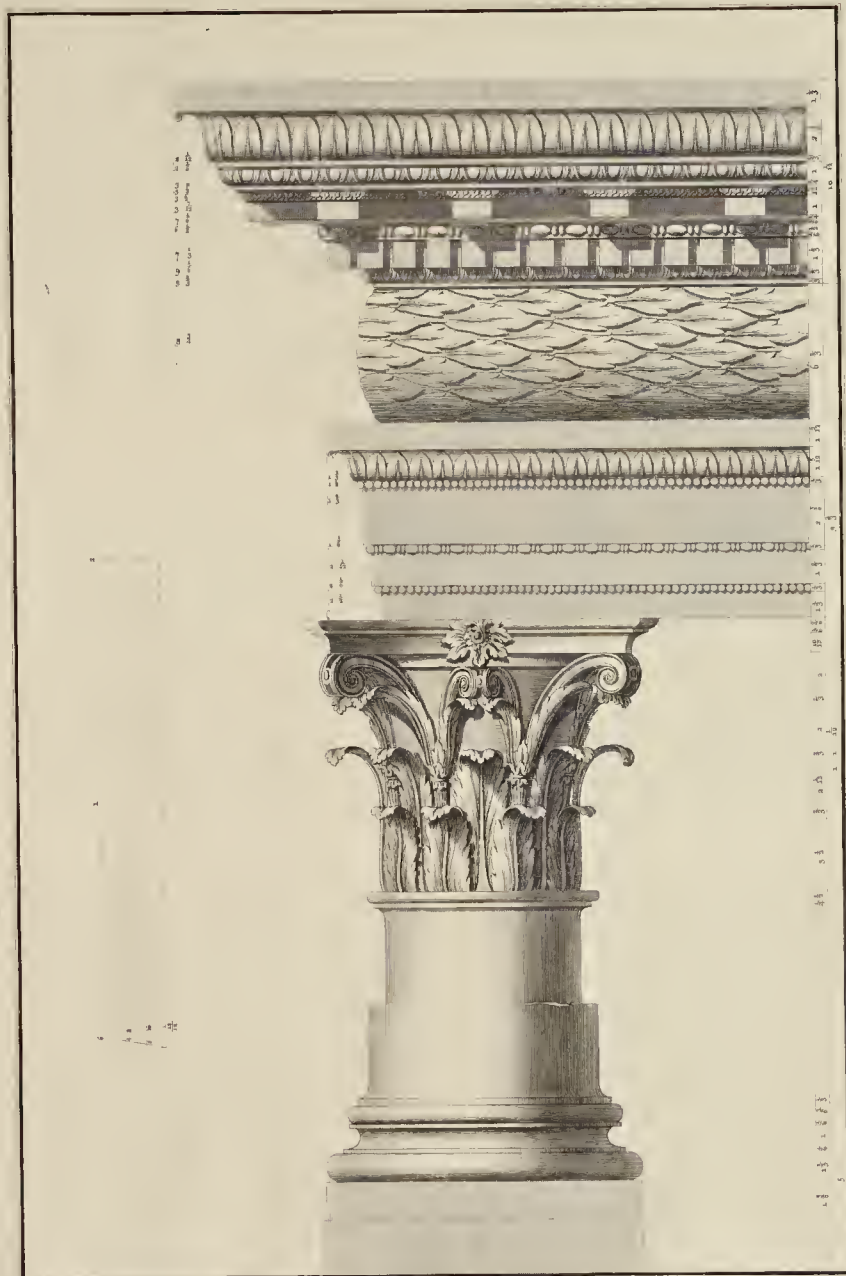


5-2

J. M. Muller pinx. sculp.

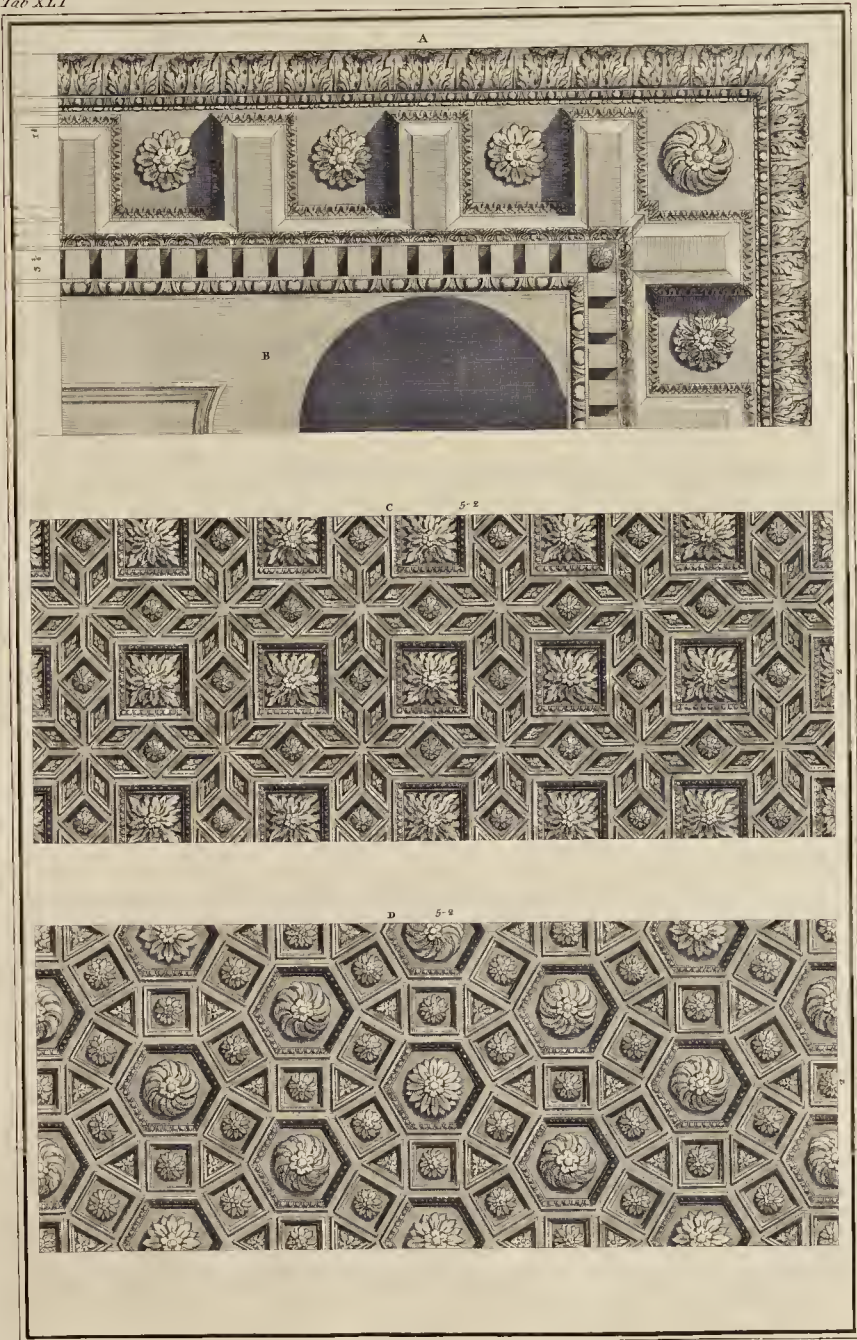


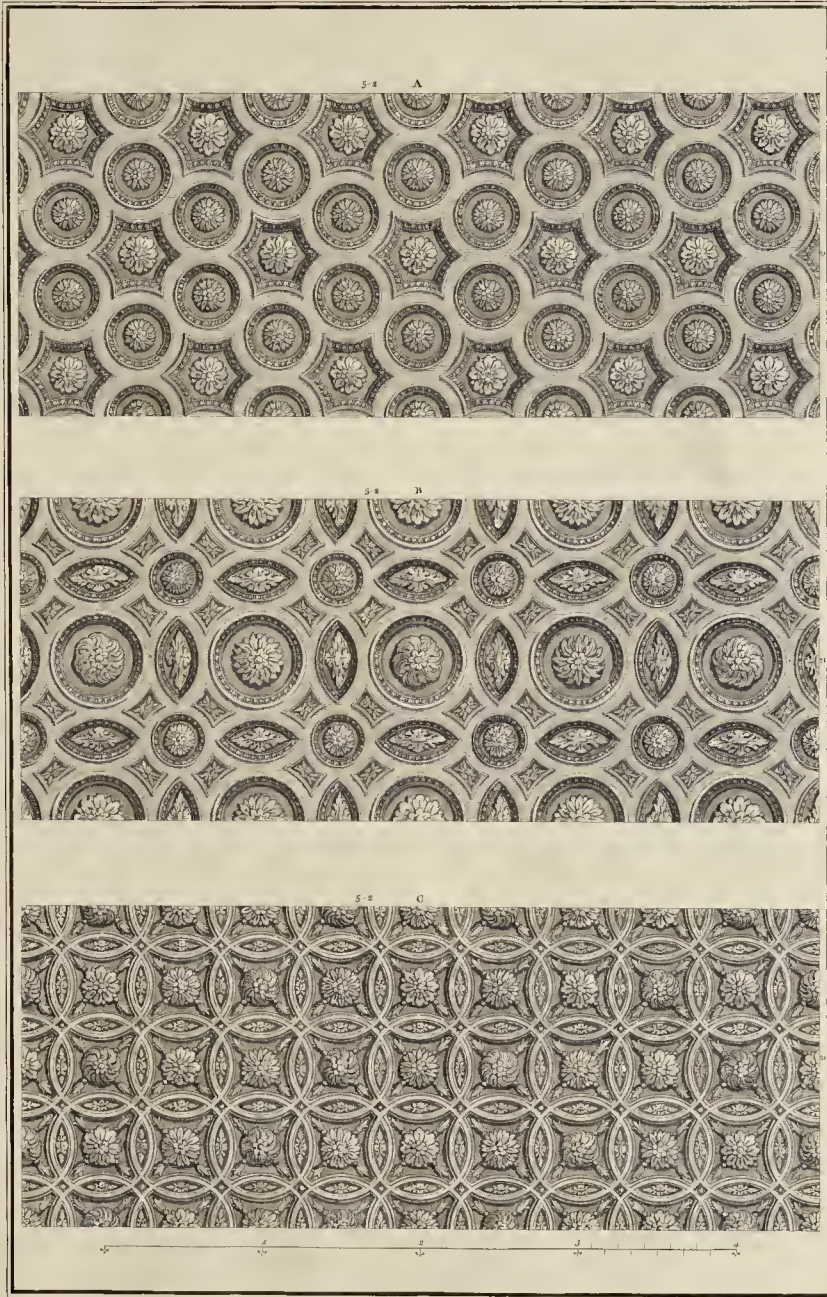




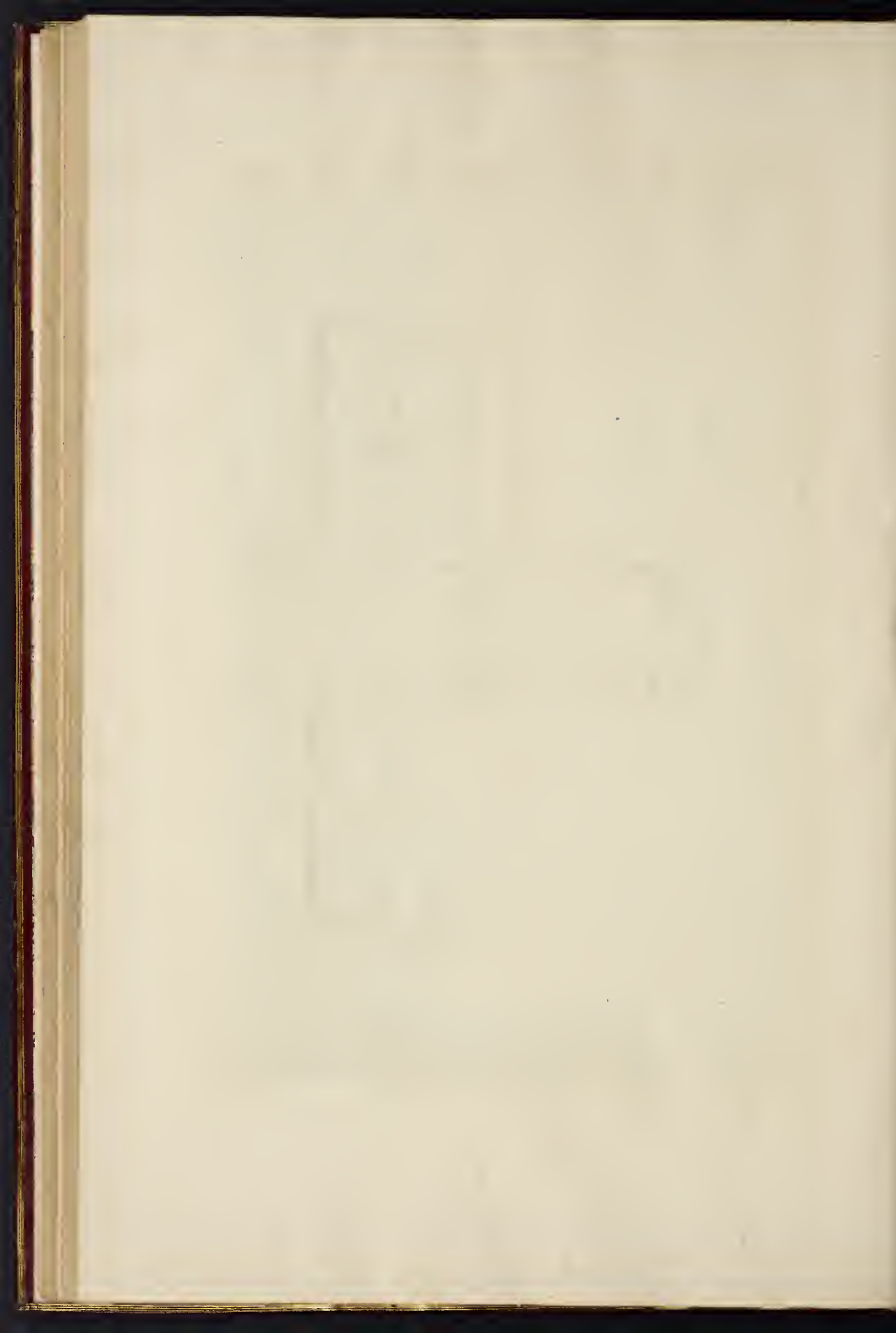
Dorra Arch^{ta} Delin.

L. M. Müller Jun' Sculp^t

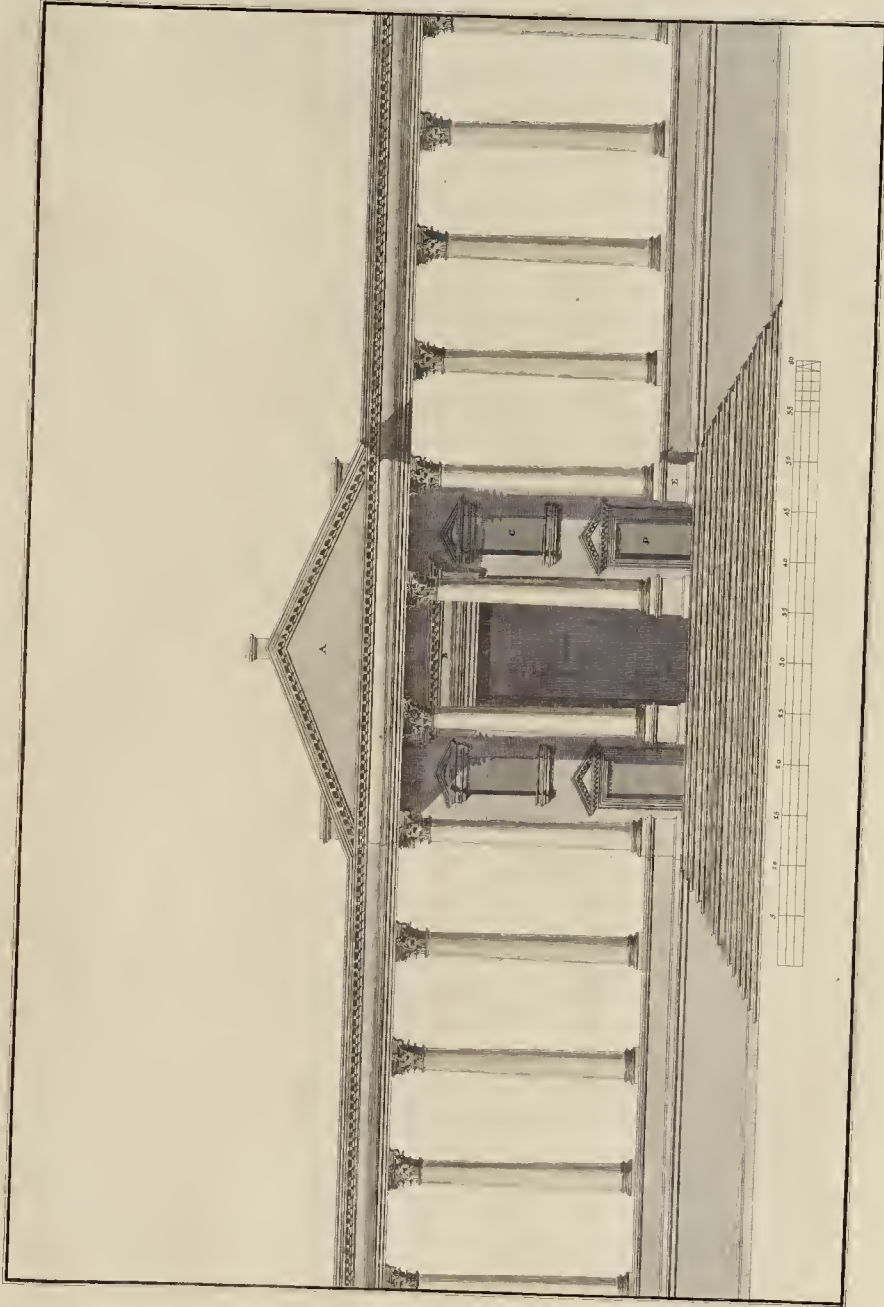




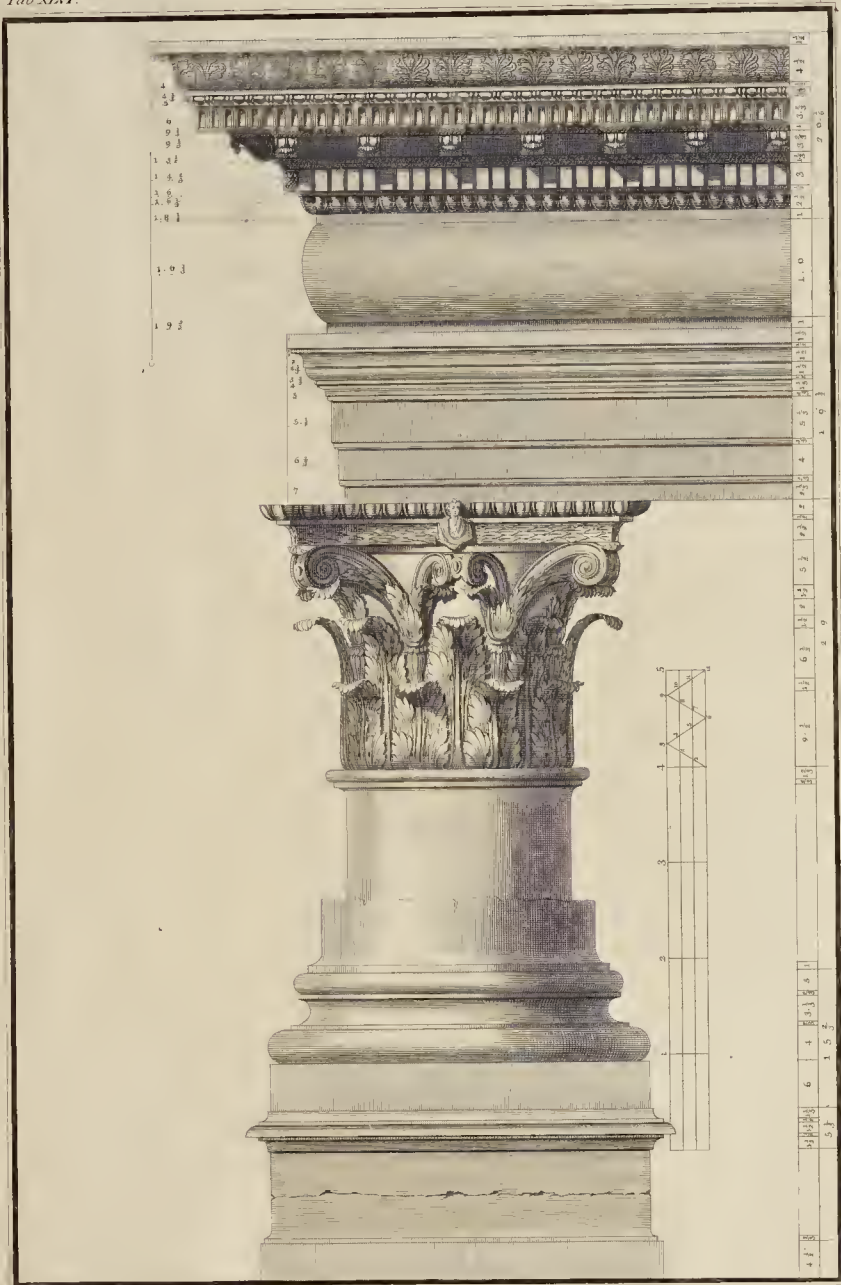




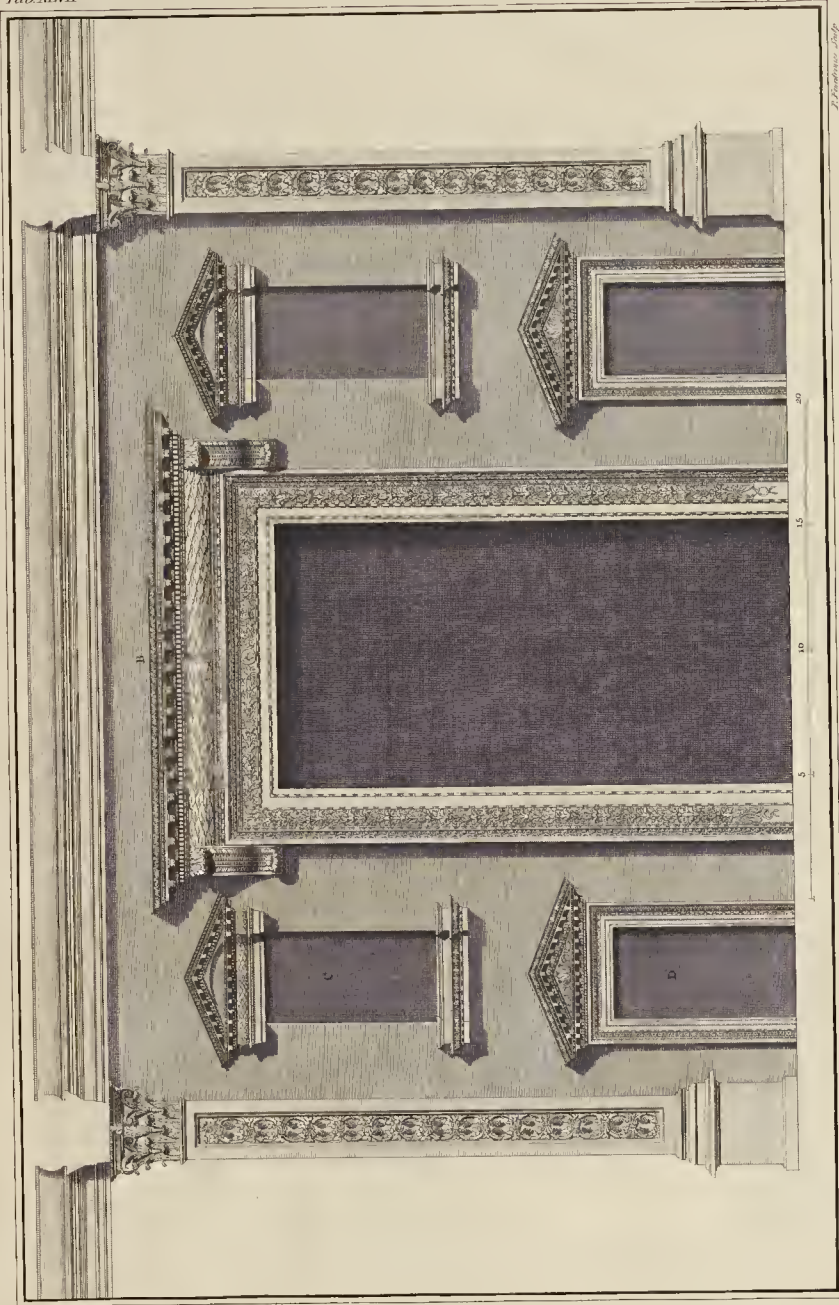
Tab. XLV



Tab. XLV. frontisp.

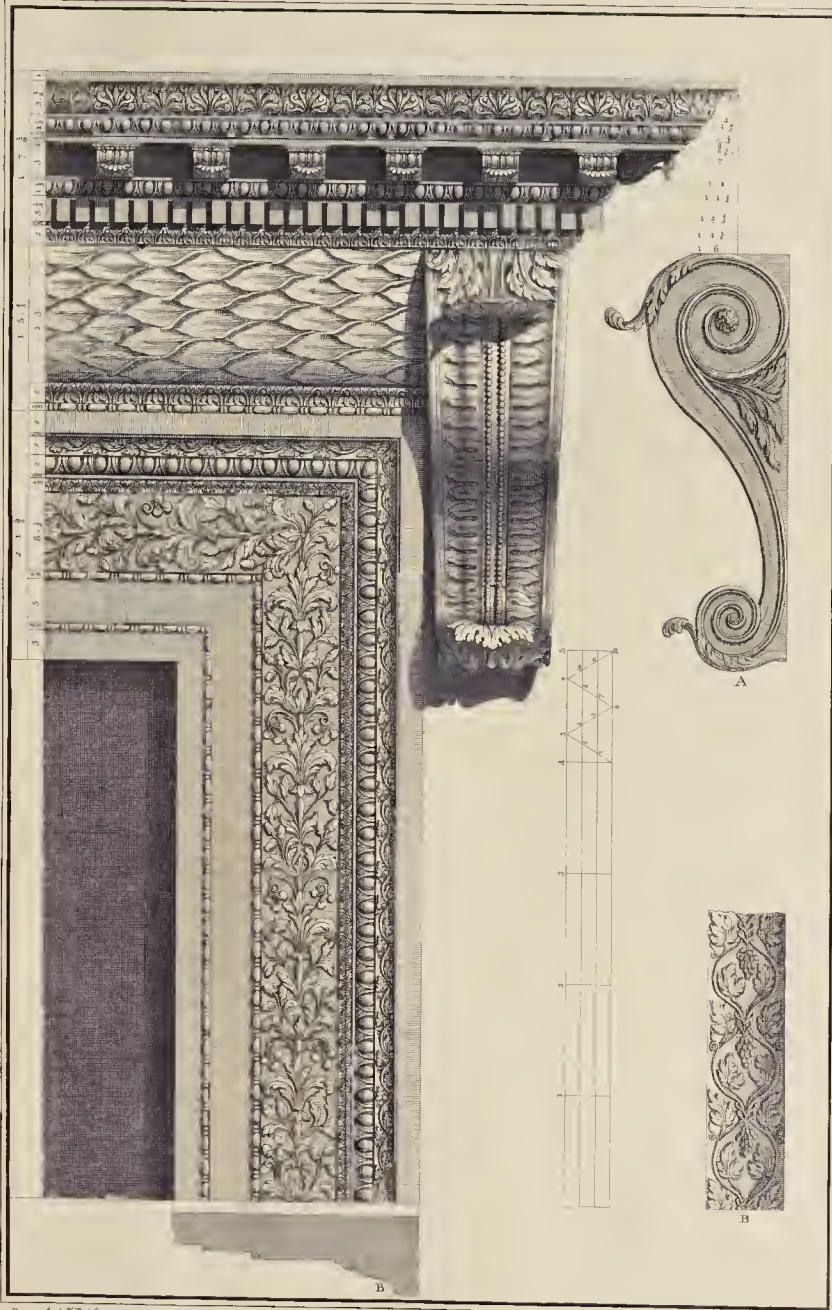


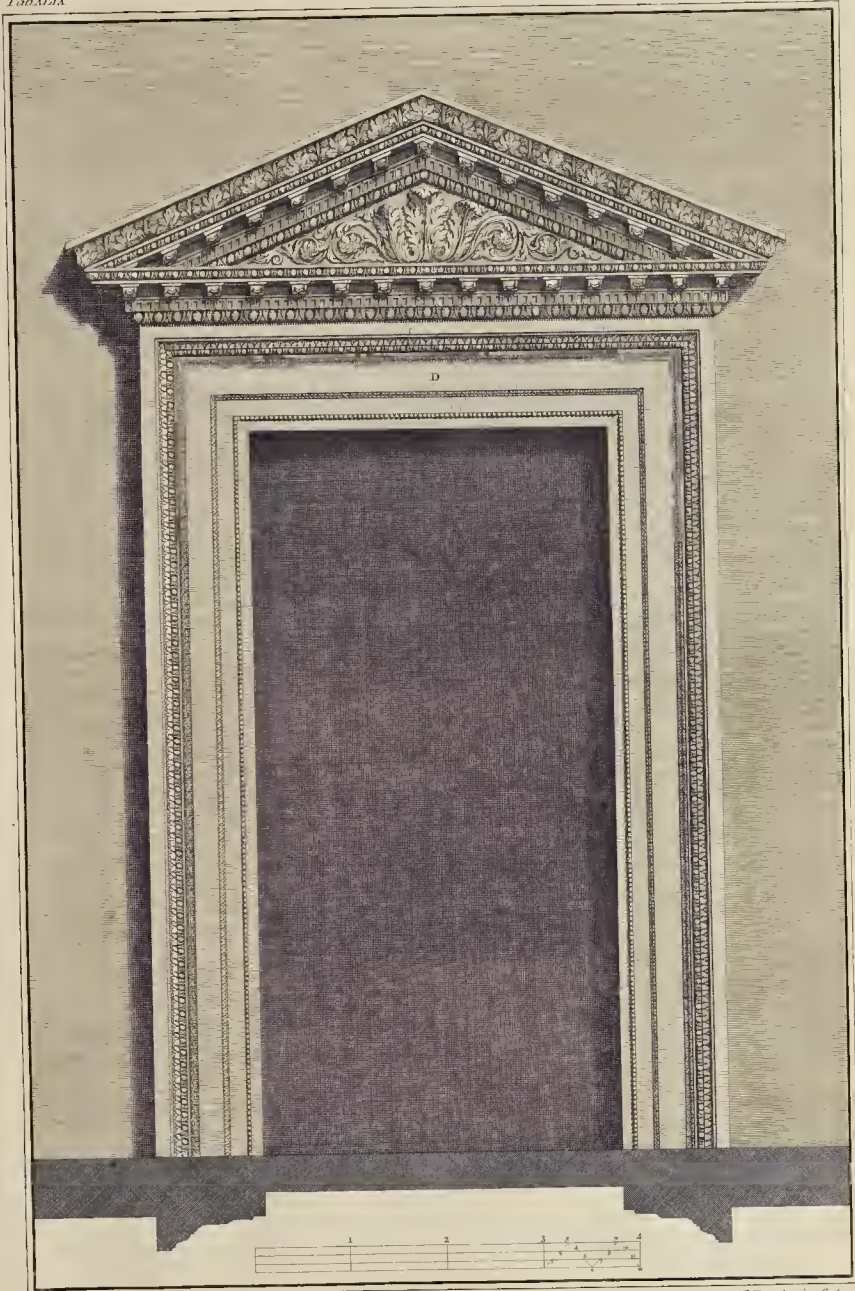
A. Müller sc.



Architectura

Tab. XLVI

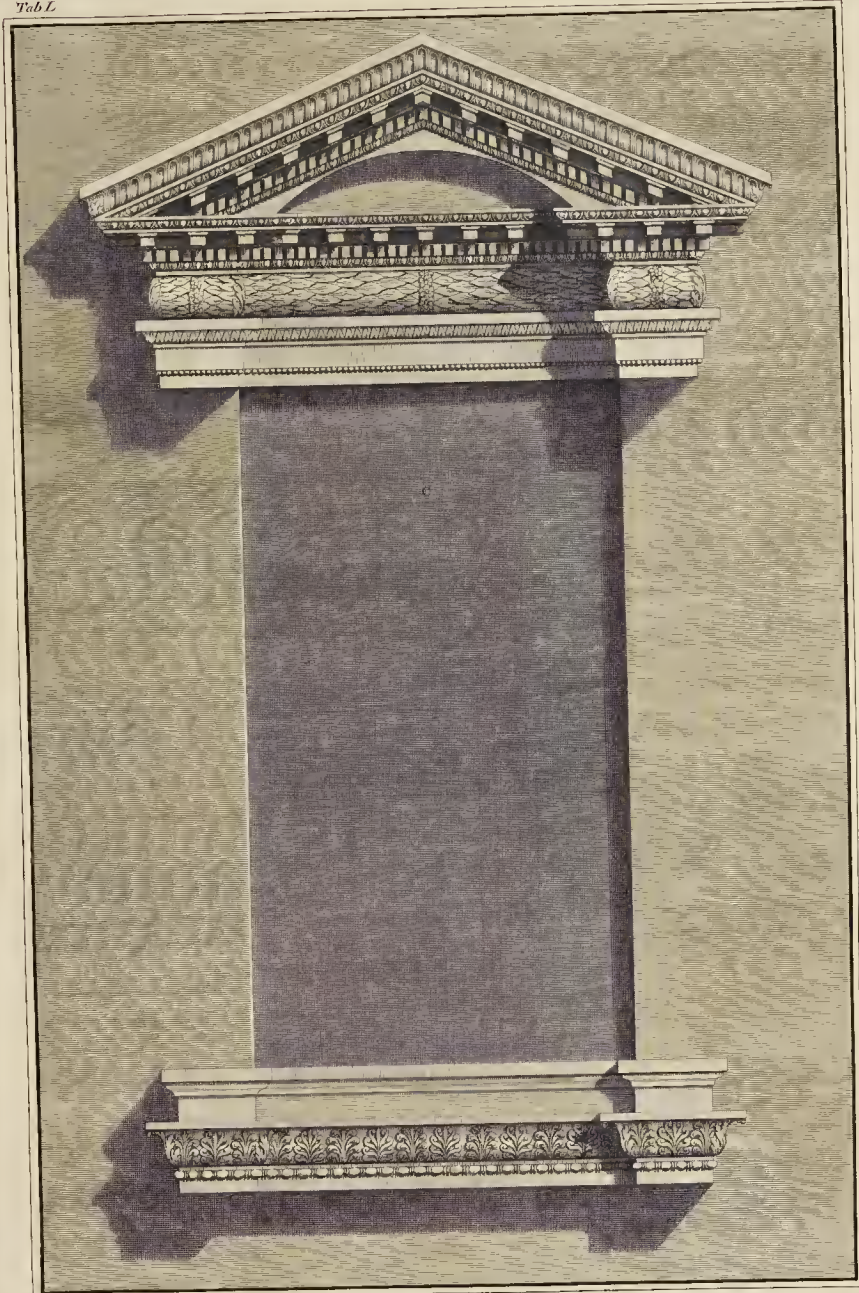




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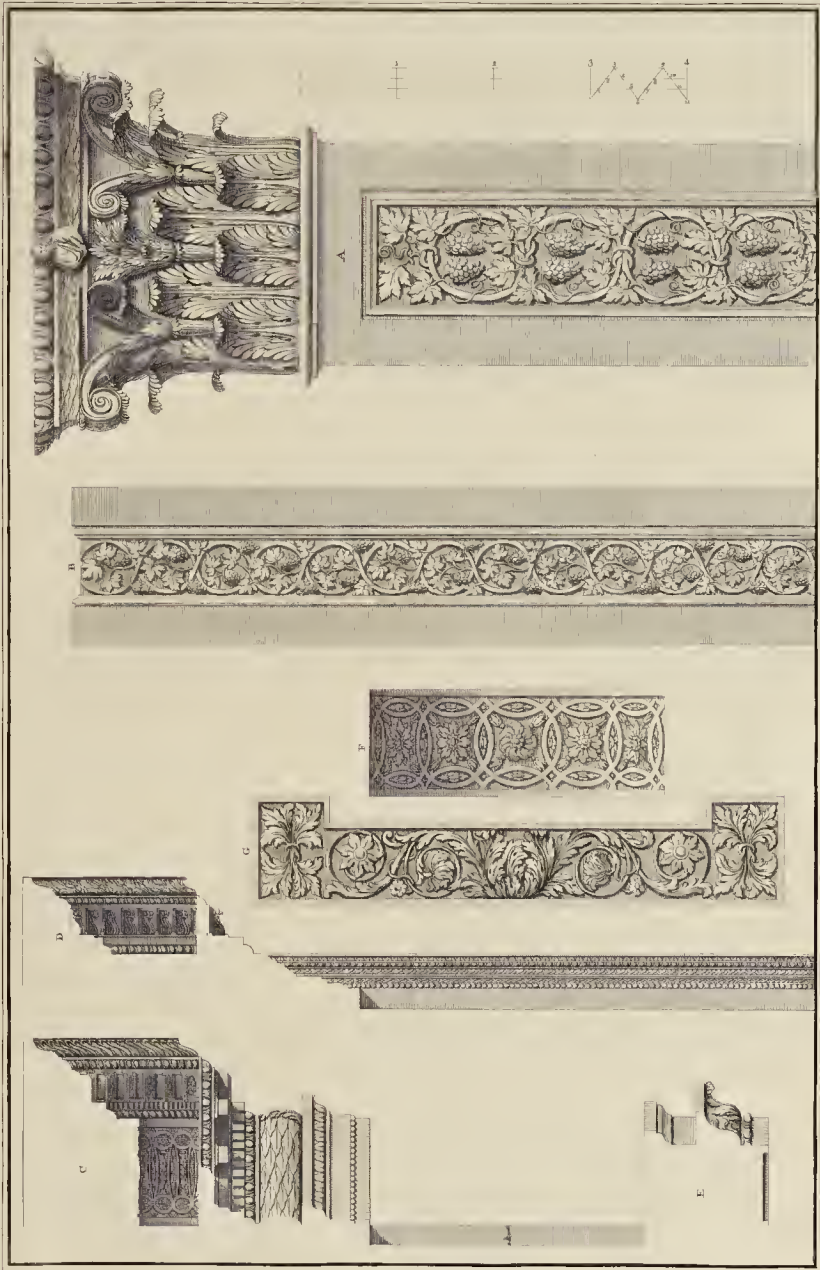
P. Fourdrinier Sculp.

Tab L



Borra Arch. Del.

J. F. Goussier Sculp.



J. Bouchard del.

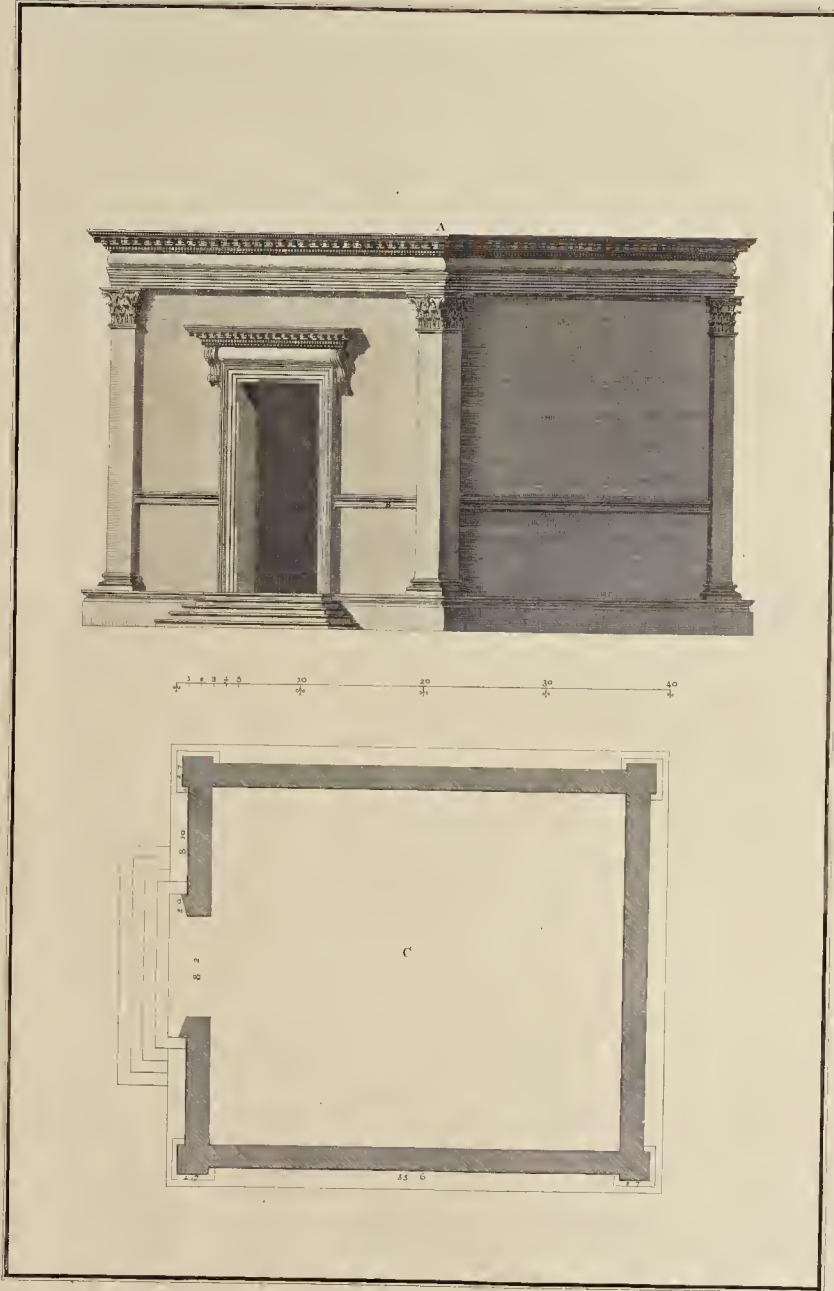
Brown Arch. Pl. C.

Tab. LII.



J. G. Muller sc.

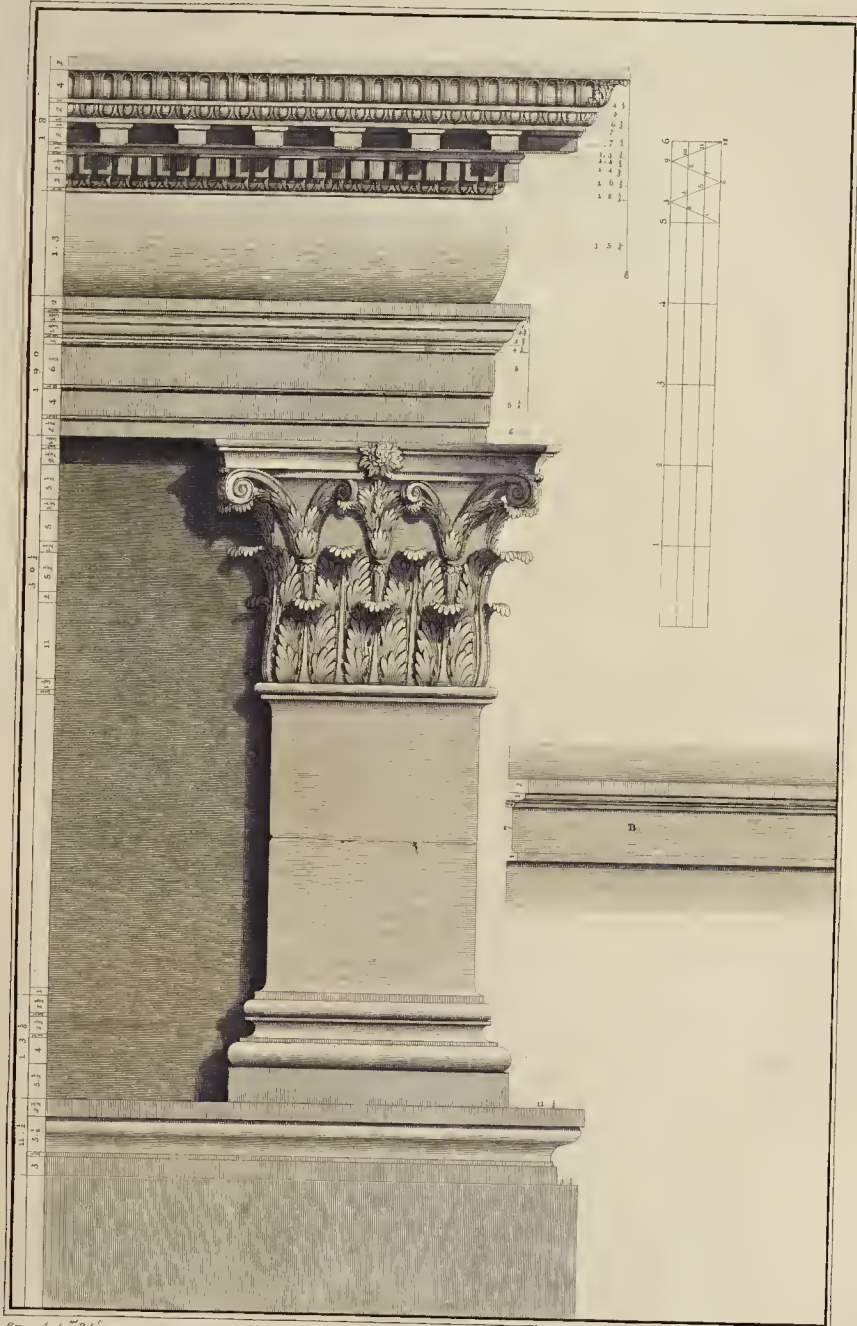
Tab. I. III



L. M. Muller, fecit

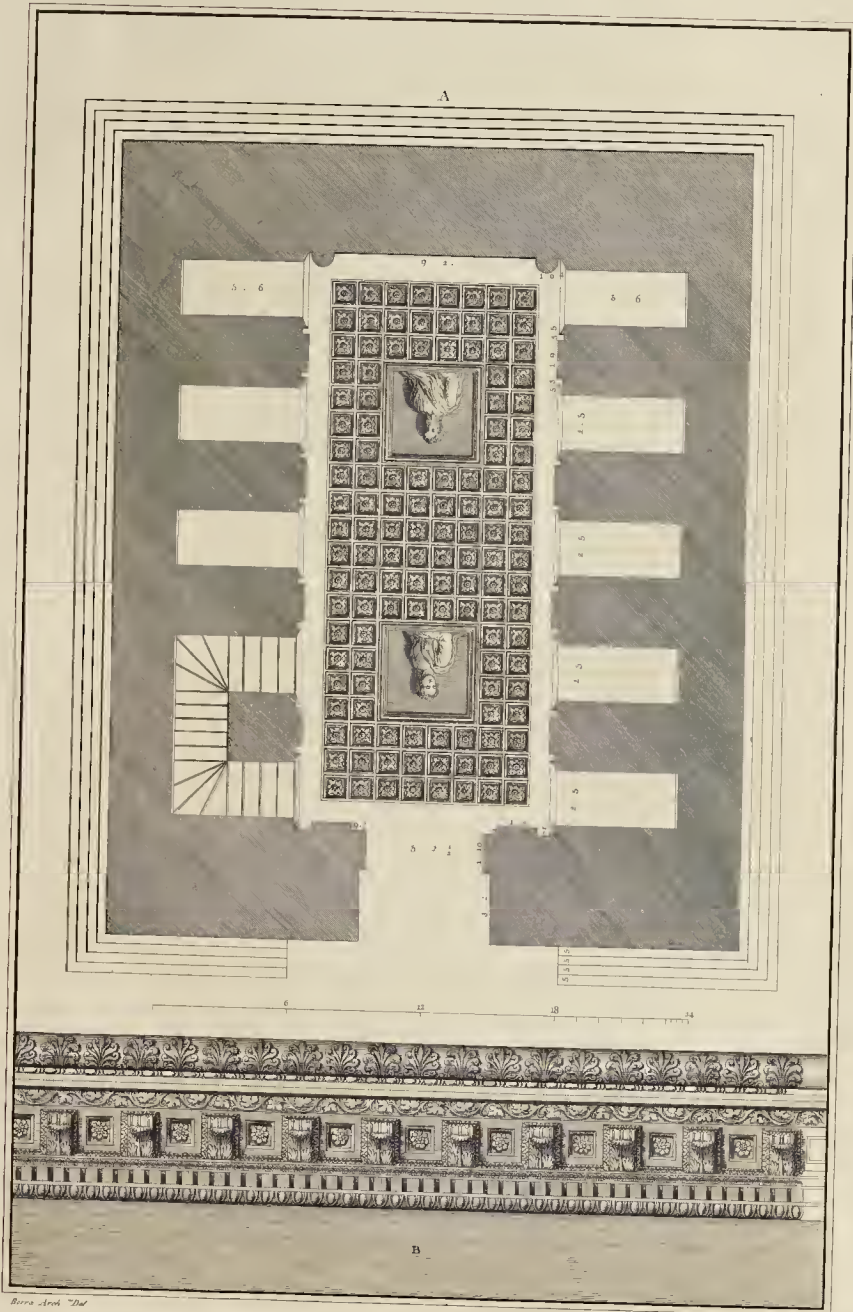


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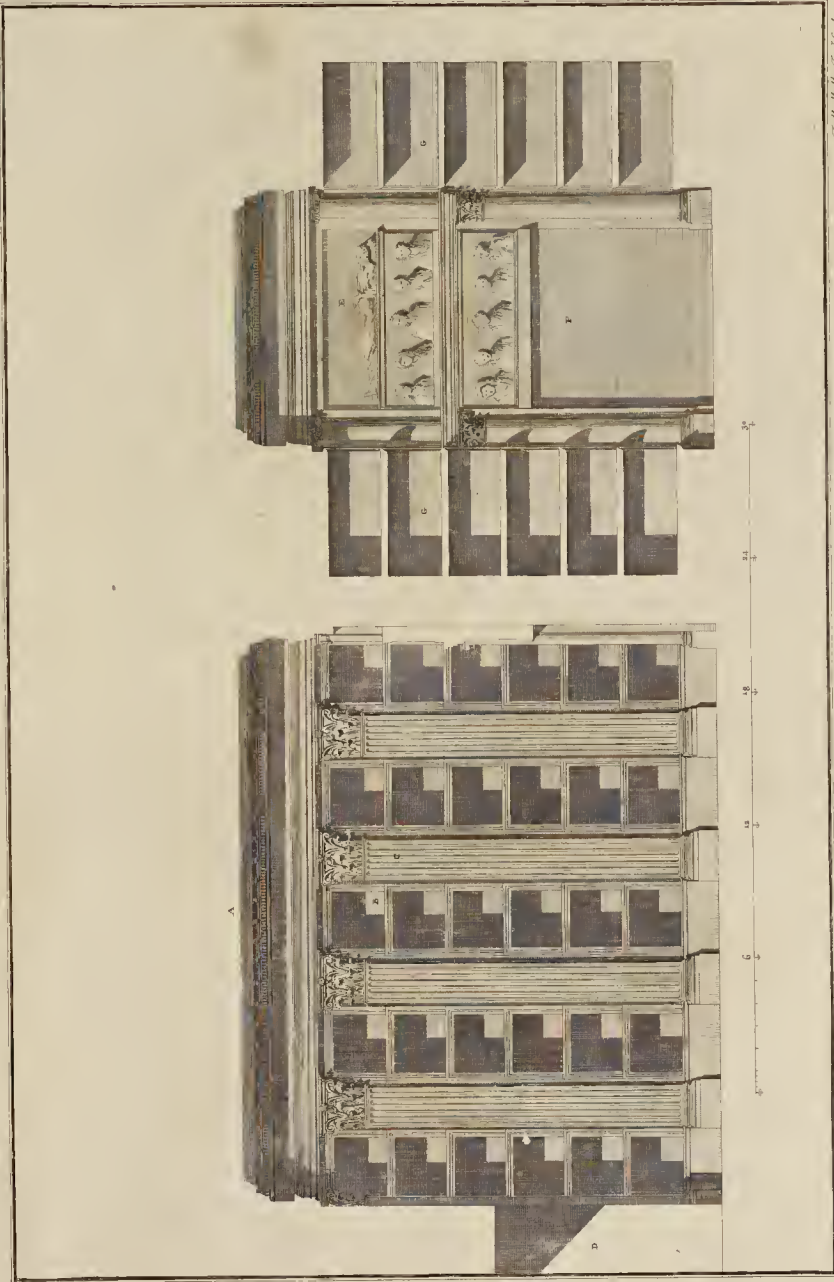
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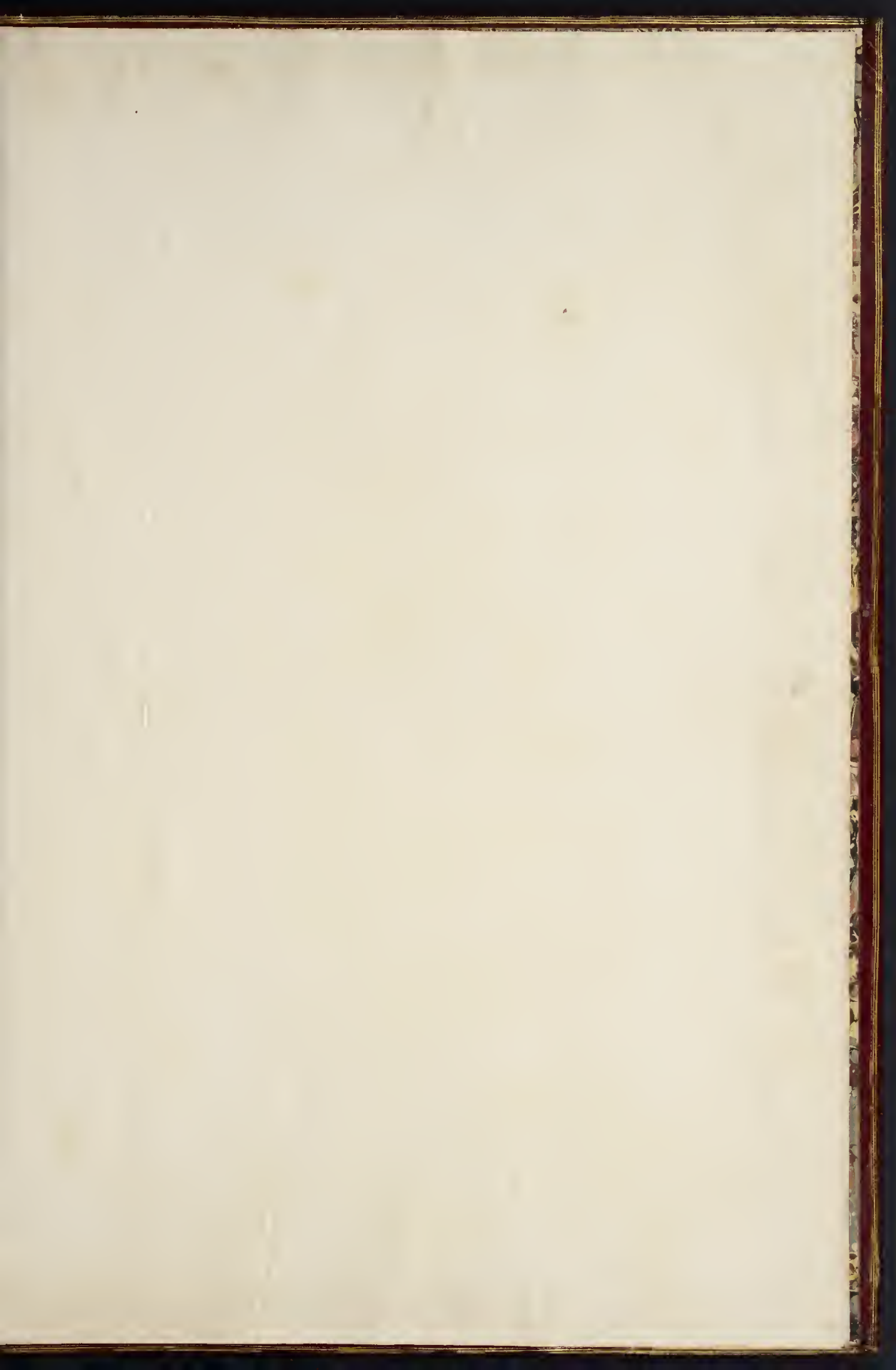
J. Fontanae Sculp.





Tab: LVII.





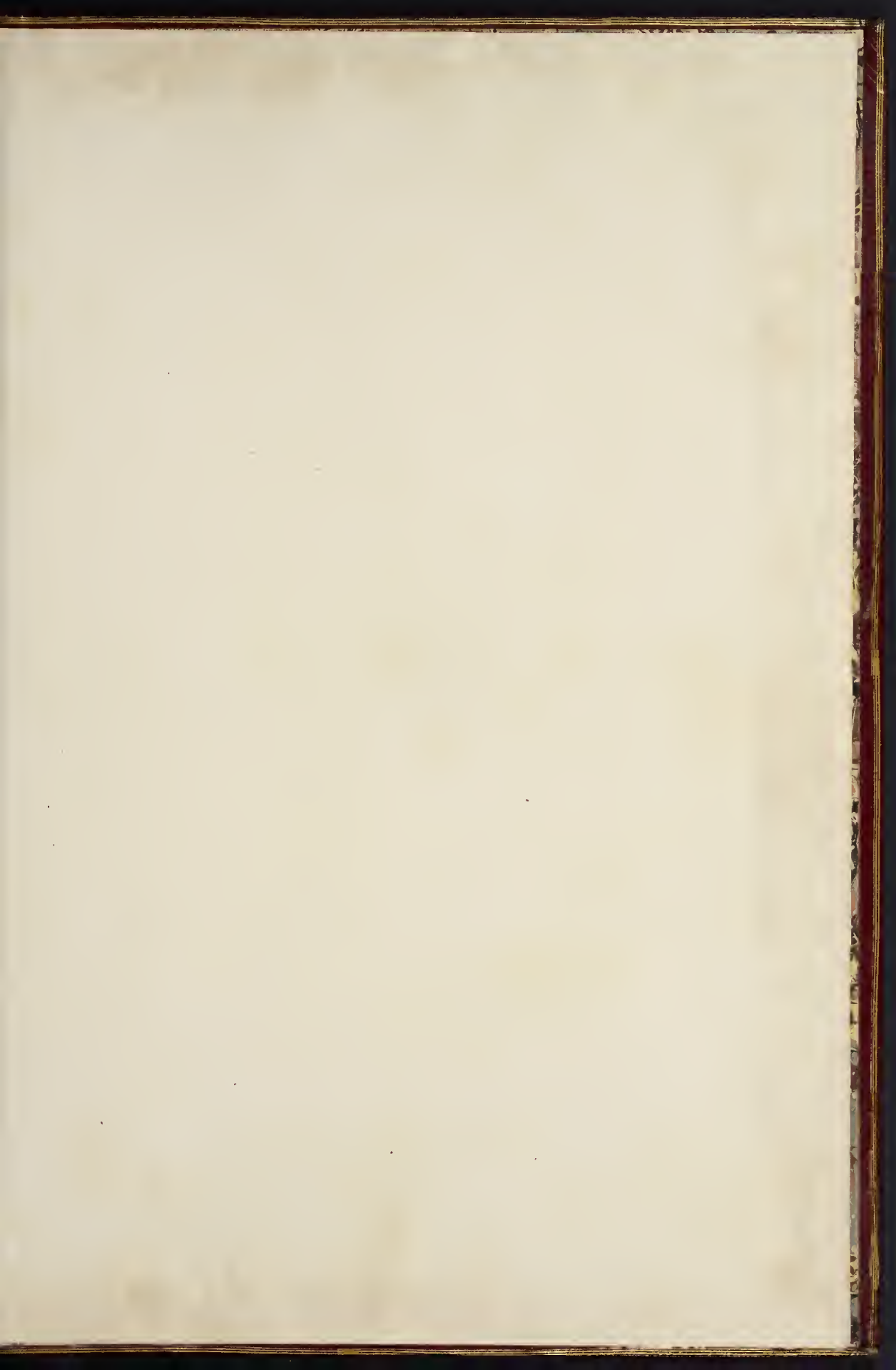
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