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Preface

The conference organized by the Ancient History Commission of the Polish Historical Society (held in Szczecin, 18–20 September 2013), on the theme of *Elites in the Ancient World*, was an opportunity for scientists from many academic centers in Poland and from around the world to exchange views and experiences in the study of Antiquity.

The symposiums, which were not infrequently turbulent, gave rise to the concept of this publication as a medium to reveal new research findings to the scholarly community. The response to our efforts was far beyond our expectations – many scholars of antiquity, who were unable to attend the conference for various reasons, declared their wish to submit papers for this publication. We included some of them, related to the topics of the meeting, in the present volume.

It is noteworthy that the published papers cover a wide temporal range, from the ancient Near East, through the culture of classical antiquity, to the decline of the ancient world. This is also the chronological order in which these papers have been arranged. Readers can just as well substitute this selection with the subject matter criterion: Piotr Briks, Mireille Corbier, Stefan Zawadzki write about the representatives of the ruling house, Aleksey Egorov, Daria Dymkaya, Candice Gregg, Peter Herz, Henryk Kowalski, Katarzyna Maksymiuk, Danuta Okoń, Benet Salway, Stefan Zawadzki about aristocracy, while Christer Bruun, Michael Sommer, Andrzej Wypustek write about provincial elites.

The authors treat the elites of the ancient world both as a whole and as a group of individuals, with selected figures being presented. Consequently, the work that has emerged is of diverse character, presenting the main topic from various perspectives. This is the very advantage of this publication, as the analyses are not limited to one research area, but offer a valuable holistic approach. We are grateful to all of the authors who contributed to this monograph for the achievement of this effect.

with this inscription. In my opinion, there is only one mythological story that had all the chances in her favour. To behold the naked Nymphs means to see them erotically aroused, naughty, and lascivious, and take the consequences¹⁶. Such were – according to the popular myth – the water Nymphs who snatched beautiful Hylas, one of the Argonauts and companion of Heracles, pulling him into a local spring or pool. Once united with the goddesses, he underwent a sort of heroisation or apotheosis and enjoyed deathless existence ever since. Abduction of divinely beautiful Hylas by the Nymphs gained striking popularity as a motif in funerary art and epigraphy in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, especially in 2nd and 3rd century AD¹⁷. It presented the cruel rape of death, while at the same time emphasising bitterness of loss for the living accentuated by idealisation of the deceased. Such imagery was also suitable to express hopes for their godlike status in the afterlife¹⁸. The depictions in art usually present the group of Nymphs who capture Hylas as nude or semi-nude females¹⁹. In some of them Hylas appears as brave, vigorous hero, symbol of masculine *virtus* which aroused the passions of the Nymphs²⁰.

In the inscription from Aquae Flavianae, however, the myth is alluded to as culmination of a humorous, witty strain of thought. Instead of a charming boy, we are witnessing an adamant ego of seasoned, voyeuristic veteran, claiming his share of divine graces of eternal youth and beauty. Imbued with humorous and satirical elements, apparently revealing overconfident personality of the commemorand himself, the text as it stands presents an idiosyncratic, autobiographic, account of life. Originally it was located in the neighbourhood of the area of the renowned thermal establishment of Aquae Flavianae, just close enough to make jocose reference to Nymphs possible. At some point in time, it was thrown into the nearby pool, likely the victim of an act of random vandalism.

¹⁶ See: Sen., *Phead.*, 777–784: *turba licens, Nāides improbae [...] lascivae deae*.

¹⁷ See e.g. *CIL VI* 29195, funerary monument of a eight-year-old boy from Rome ([...] *Ulpius Firmus, anima bona superis reddita, raptus a Nymphis [...]*). For possible connections between funerary monuments and the cult of Nymphs see Bober (1977) 232–233, Glaser (1981–1982).

¹⁸ Wypustek (2013) 157–175.

¹⁹ The motif was widely popular in Roman Africa (mosaics and reliefs from Volubilis in Morocco, Cuicul and Constantine in Algeria and Carthage and Thaeanae in Tunisia, in public baths), see the catalogue in Ling (1979) 803–808.

²⁰ Zanker, Ewald (2004) 97–98.

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Les notables de Palmyre – Local Elites in the Syrian Desert in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD¹

Se vogliamo che tutto rimanga come è, bisogna che tutto cambi.
Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa,
Il gattopardo

It was one of those beautiful spring days in Palmyra, the oasis city in the Roman province of Syria, when the air is crisp and the desert covered with green. The year: 468 of the Seleucid Era, the 20th of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Bēlai, the captain of one of the Palmyrene merchant vessels which had just returned from Scythia (as India was known at the time), and his crew mates were gazing at the bronze statue that had just been put up on Palmyra's colonnaded street, the main traffic axis of the city. The men were pleased: they had sponsored the statue for Marcus Ulpius Yarhai in return for the protection this powerful man had given them on their perilous journey to and from India, a most beautiful work of art. The Greek version of the bilingual inscription they had attached to the statue read: "To Marcus Ulpius Yarhai, son of Hairan, who loves the fatherland; the merchants who returned from Scythia in the ship of Bēlai, son of Cyrus, son of Ogēlu, whom he helped with all his fervour and all his studiousness; for his honour, in the month of Dystros in the year 468"².

¹ The author of the present paper is most grateful to his Szczecin colleagues, in particular to Danuta Okoń and Małgorzata Cieśluk, for their kindness and hospitality. The concept of Palmyrene elites put forward here draws upon ideas developed in an earlier paper to be published in the proceedings of the closing conference of the University of Bergen's Palmyrena project (eds. Jørgen Christian Meyer and Eivind Heldaas Seland).

² *PAT* 206 = Schuol (2000) 75–76, no. 22. On Palmyra in general al-As'ad/Schmidt-Colinet (2005), Millar (1993b) 319–336, Smith (2013), Sommer (2005b) 139–224, Starcky/Gawlikowski (1985), Teixidor (1984), Will (1992) and the contributions in

Bēlai and his men were not the only ones who honoured Yarhai with a statue; nor was Yarhai the only recipient of such honours. To the Palmyrene merchants' practice of honouring their benefactors with (now invariably lost) statues and (partly surviving) inscriptions we owe a great deal of information on Palmyra, its caravan trade and the social structure underlying it. However, as with all fragmentary, difficult to read corpora of evidence, these inscriptions offer wide scope for interpretation. So far, there is little consensus as to what the inscriptions mean and who is actually honouring whom. It can be taken for granted that the ones who are honoured, men like Yarhai, belonged to the Palmyrene elite. But then again, what was this elite like? How was it composed and what did it mean to belong to it? What was, in relation to other places in the Roman empire, this elite's importance to Palmyra?³

In order to provide answers to such questions, a brief theoretical digression is necessary. Understanding elites, ancient and modern, is crucial for conceptualising the upper echelons of Palmyrene society. As a second step, this paper will look at elites elsewhere across the Roman empire before, finally, it will revisit Bēlai and his peer aristocrats.

Ruprechtsberger (1987). On Palmyrene archaeology Berchem (1976) and now, on recent fieldwork in the so-called Hellenistic city, Schmidt-Colinet (2003a), Schmidt-Colinet (2003b), Schmidt-Colinet/al-As'ad (2000), Schmidt-Colinet/Al-As'ad (2013). On Palmyra's history in the 3rd century AD Hartmann (2001); Sommer (2008). On religion and society Dirven (1999), Drijvers (1977), Gawlikowski (2003), Kaizer (2002), Sartre (1996), Schlumberger (1971), Sommer (2005a), Yon (2002), Yon (2003). On Palmyrene economy and long-distance trade Dirven (1996), Gawlikowski (1983), Gawlikowski (1994), Will (1957), Yon (1998), Young (2001) 136–186. On the honorific inscriptions and the epigraphic evidence from Palmyra Cantineau (1930a), Cantineau (1930b), Cantineau (1931), Dijkstra (1995) 81–170 and now Schuol (2000) 47–90.

³ While most scholars [Will (1957), Will (1992) 59–63, Yon (2002) 100–102, Young (2001) 149–157] agree that the honorands were members of the elite and powerful individuals, there is dissent as to their role in Palmyrene society. To Will, the addressees of the honorific inscriptions were “grands patrons” and owners or large herding estates in the steppe to the north-west of Palmyra, both Young and Yon conceptualise Palmyra's elite as a class of “notables”, members of a landed aristocracy whose prime motivation for engaging in the caravan trade was their interest in ‘honour’.

1. Elites in theory: from Machiavelli to Bourdieu

The first modern elite theorist was Niccolò Machiavelli. In his *Discorsi*, the *segretario della seconda cancelleria* in Florence observed the characteristics of the Roman republican nobility and its Florentine counterpart, the *Grandi*. According to Machiavelli, such aristocrats are driven by an insatiable appetite for wealth, prestige and power. Rather than promoting the common good, they are primarily interested in exerting power over others. But while in Rome the exertion of political power was detached from the social pecking order, while the ancient Roman nobility was open to skilled, ambitious newcomers, the Florentine *Grandi* formed a hermetic clique with no meritocratic component whatsoever. Machiavelli, who originated from the impoverished branch of a patrician family knew what it meant to be talented, but with no chance of advancement into the Florentine republic's inner circle of power⁴.

With his comparative description of the Roman nobility and the Florentine *Grandi*, Machiavelli laid the foundations for all future elite theory. The *segretario* believed that, while individual leaders and systems of government and elite recruitment are subject to change, the basic pattern of inequality between the rulers and the powerless masses remain the same. In order to function successfully, societies need inequality – and they require elites. Machiavelli's proposition of inequality being intrinsic to society as such became a problem when, from the American and French revolutions onwards, liberal constitutionalism championed the principal equality of all citizens. That this equality was an illusion, was pointed out by two Italian sociologists, Gaetano Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto. At the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, they claimed that whenever old elites were doomed, new ones stood by in order to take over. Not by chance the cycle of elites they proposed stood in the best Machiavellian tradition. According to Mosca and Pareto, all society is the history of a perpetual power struggle between

⁴ Machiavelli, *Discorsi* III 25, puts particular emphasis on the Roman aristocrats' ability to step back from supreme power in order to give way to others: *considerare la generosità dell'animo di quelli cittadini, i quali, preposti ad uno esercito, salva la grandezza dello animo loro sopra ogni principe, non stimavano i re, non le repubbliche; non gli sbigottiva né spaventava cosa alcuna; e tornati dipoi privati, diventavano parchi, umili, curatori delle piccole facultà loro, ubbidienti a' magistrati, reverenti alli loro maggiori: talché pare impossibile che uno medesimo animo patisca tale mutazione.* See now Reinhardt (2012) 264–265.

elites and counter-elites. They intended to expose the idea of a coming age of democracy, in which all individuals stood the same chance to participate, as a myth⁵.

Not surprisingly, the elite concept has been controversial throughout the 20th century. The raison d'être of elites has been denied as such, or elites have been villainised as 'the establishment'. In the post war United States, the so-called 'pluralists' believed that western democracies had disposed of elites for good, whereas the 'elitists', led by Charles Wright Mills, contended that such societies are still ruled by – more or less – coherent groups which tend to isolate themselves from the crowds, develop some sort of esprit de corps and reproduce themselves by means of professionalization – represented in the hierarchies of the economy, the military and the government bureaucracy⁶. Where Marxist theorists saw the good old 'ruling classes' at work, present-day elite theorists proposed more flexible, less monolithic models: modern, pluralistic societies have a likewise complex elite structure – with stratification according to economic status, political influence, education and merit⁷.

One such approach is offered by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social distinction. In his 1979 masterpiece *La distinction*, the French sociologist argues that habitus, taste and aesthetic judgement make for equally efficient markers of distinction as the classical cleavages of social class, political power and wealth⁸. This approach is complemented by Bourdieu's theory of the three types of capital: elites operate with economic, social and symbolic capital, which they accumulate and exchange against each other. Bourdieu has shown how elites employ symbolic capital – education, taste, habitus – in order to make their status visible and hence legitimate. They can translate their superior networking capacity – social capital – into political power

⁵ Mosca (1923), Pareto (2009). The background before which Pareto and Mosca established their elite theories was the Kingdom of Italy with its largely disfunctional elites and its political reality of *clientelismo* and *trasformismo*. See Hartmann (2012) 8–14, Marshall (2007) 10–25.

⁶ Mills (1956), see Hartmann (2012) 41–46.

⁷ While some or indeed all of these distinctions can be accumulated by certain individuals, this is not necessarily the case. Elite theory usually distinguishes between value elites, functional elites and power elites. Their circles can, but do not have to, overlap. See Bohlken (2011) 21–81.

⁸ Bourdieu (1979).

and economic wealth; or they can invest, through charity, money in order to gain in reputation and acceptance⁹.

Modern democracies are overwhelmingly dominated by professional politicians who make a living on making politics¹⁰. The same holds true for only a handful of pre-modern societies, and only to a limited degree: rather than anything else Greek democracies of the Athenian, Ephialtian type with the *ekklesiastikon*. Neither the Roman nor any other pre-modern republic knew a system of financial compensation for political services. Here, Max Weber's concept of notability – 'Honoratioren' – comes into action. 'Honoratioren' are, first, able to assume 'executive functions in a collective' with no or only notional remuneration – 'Abkömlichkeit', economic independence, is the term coined for this by Weber; they are, second, held in 'high social esteem' in such a way, that 'they have the chance, in a system of formally direct democracy, to hold offices by virtue of their associates' confidence, which is first voluntary and then becomes traditional.'¹¹

2. Elites in practice: the Roman Empire

Weber's 'Honoratioren' ideal type is now, implicitly or explicitly, the standard model for describing the various elites throughout the Roman world. Weber himself understood the nobility of the Roman republic as the prototype of 'Honoratiorenherrschaft' – the high ranking senators formed a landed aristocracy, which was economically independent and managed to monopolise social esteem to such a degree, that hardly any outsider could enter this inner circle of power. This model has recently been subject to a fierce debate, in the famous Millar-Hölkeskamp controversy, with a still somewhat open end¹².

Whatever the solution, this paper is concerned with Roman imperial elites. While the republic's senatorial aristocracy was a relatively monolithic ruling class almost in the Marxist sense, the empire saw a gradual differentiation of elites towards a far more complex, differentiated pattern.

⁹ Bourdieu (2001).

¹⁰ Beyme (1996).

¹¹ Weber (2005) 215 (translation M.S.).

¹² Summing up the debate (for each of the two camps) Hölkeskamp (2010), North (2007). Most influential for the interpretation of Greco-Roman elites as 'Honoratioren' is Veyne (1976).

Despite having lost its quasi-monopoly of power, the Roman senate continued to be the pool from which higher office holders, civilian and military, were invariably recruited. Yet the profile of the offices changed dramatically: office holders became totally dependent on the emperor, but required skills and a degree of professional experience unheard of in the republic. In spite of such changes, the senatorial order continued to be a 'Honoratioren' elite, why it was gradually superseded by new, functional elites: professional soldiers, administrators and lawyers¹³.

Below the imperial level there were the local elites of the *municipia* and *poleis*¹⁴.

Even better than the increasingly diverse imperial elites they fit into Weber's category of 'Honoratioren'. Throughout the empire, from Italy to Britain, from Spain to Asia Minor, access to the top offices depended on wealth in general, on landed property in particular¹⁵. The local notability was, in Weber's terminology, a class of 'Grundrentner' – a landed leisure class. Social mobility was restricted, though possibly somewhat higher in port cities and 'industrial' centres than in rural areas¹⁶. Occasionally, veterans and the sons of wealthy freedmen achieved to be admitted to the *ordo decurionum*¹⁷. De facto, however, membership in the *ordo decurionum* was hereditary. Aristocratic ethics put strong emphasis on lineage¹⁸. Local elites, in west and east, possessed a powerful sense of status and honour – and were, as a rule, suspicious against parvenus. For the Hellenistic east in the

pre-Roman period, the validity of the concept has recently been contested¹⁹. Various scholars have argued that access to the magistracies and political decision-making was less restricted than assumed by Paul Veyne and others. Yet there is little doubt that Veyne's model of notability regimes based on wealth, honour and lineage still possesses validity.

The pillars on which this system rested were the notability's financial potential and their capacity to convert it into other forms of capital: symbolic – honour – through euergetism and lifestyle, or social – friends, allies and protectors, among them many Roman officials – through gifts and bribes. Ruling through generosity was common practice throughout the Roman provinces, whether the municipalities were Roman or peregrine, western or eastern, large or small, economically powerful or insignificant.

3. The elites of Palmyra – 'Honoratioren'?

To Palmyra, the concept of 'Honoratioren'/notability has been applied by Jean-Baptiste Yon's *Les notables de Palmyre*, published roughly a decade ago. However, Yon uses, as it were, a significantly slimmed down version of Weber's ideal type to which he does not refer explicitly. To him, a *notable* is "personne à laquelle sa situation sociale confère une certaine autorité dans les affaires publiques"²⁰. This definition omits an aspect emphasised by Weber: that 'Honoratioren' are not tied up in any way by tedious work, but form a leisure class.

What does the evidence tell us about the Palmyrene elite and to what degree were they compatible with the 'Honoratioren' classes of the other Roman cities? In order to get closer to an answer we shall focus our investigation on two areas: first, the nature of the elite's authority – what was their influence based upon and where was it visible? And second, the elite's lifestyle – how did they distinguish themselves from the crowds, how did they put their status on display?

Palmyra was a trading, as Michael Rostovtzeff put it, a 'caravan city'²¹. Logically, one may conclude, its elite should have been one of merchants, similar to those in the Phoenician cities, at Carthage, Venice and the cities

¹³ Eich (2005) 350–370 interprets the changes taking place from the 1st to the 3rd centuries AD as an emerging "personal bureaucracy". For a thorough prosopographic investigation of the 3rd century developments now Mennen (2011), Okoń (2013a), Okoń (2013b). While not all parameters seem to point into the same direction (at least the Severans appear to be concerned about maintaining a good working relationship with the Senate), the "gradual disappearance of the coincidence of status and power" [Mennen (2011) 249] is an undeniable fact.

¹⁴ In general Alföldy (1979) 110–112, Garnsey/Saller (1987) 26–34, Jaques/Scheid (2008) 368–376, König (2009) 188–189, Lendon (1997) 73–89. East: Jones (1940) 170–191, Kokkinia (2006), Millar (1993a), Quass (1982), Quass (1993), Stephan (2002) 59–71. There is hardly any specific study in elites in the Roman west, but see Panzram (2002) 313–322. On elite euergetism across the later Roman Empire Drecoll (1997).

¹⁵ Vittinghoff (1980) 275.

¹⁶ Jaques/Scheid (2008) 371.

¹⁷ Wesch-Klein (2007) 448.

¹⁸ Garnsey (1970) 229, Garnsey/Saller (1987) 141–145.

¹⁹ See, in particular, Carlsson (2010), Grieb (2008), for the state of research see the overview by Mann (2012).

²⁰ Yon (2002) 5, quoting the French dictionary *Le Robert*.

²¹ Rostovtzeff (1932). For a critical re-assessment of the concept see Millar (2006).

of the Hanseatic League. That this is not the case is proven by the inscription cited above and indeed by many others of the so-called caravan inscriptions, in which the merchants are evidently not the recipients of honour, but those honouring others. These others, men like Marcus Ulpius Yarhai, were in some way involved in Palmyra's trade, but not as merchants²². It was Ernes Will who, half a century ago, suggested that they acted as 'grands patrons' of the trading enterprises, serving sometimes as their leaders, *synodiarchai*, but mostly providing the merchants with some kind of protection not necessarily involving their personal presence²³. Some men were honoured because they had helped caravans in distress²⁴, dealt with Parthian officials and local rulers²⁵ or helped out with money in critical situations²⁶.

Such a line-up of benefactors and recipients of benefits who return the favour with public honours is reminiscent of the situation in Hellenistic and Roman cities, especially in the east, where honorific inscriptions make up a large proportion of the epigraphic evidence. At least the epigraphic habit of honouring elite members in return for generosity and benefactions was the same at Palmyra as in other Roman cities of the east. But while the formulas of some later caravan inscriptions – those dating from the 190s AD onwards – mention the *boulē* and the *dēmos* as the institutions commissioning the honours²⁷, earlier inscriptions only make reference to the merchants as the ones putting up inscriptions and statues. It is not the community at large that pays respect to a benefactor, but a particular sub-group.

In Roman towns, elite members are honoured for two types of benefactions. They have to do with either material largesse or the procurement of patronage. The range of benefactions provided by the Palmyrene 'grands

²² M. Ulpius Yarhai is the one individual named in a relative majority of the caravan inscriptions: Inv. X 38 = PAT 1374; PAT 0274, Inv. X 111 = PAT 1411, Inv. X 90 = PAT 1399, Inv. X 96 = PAT 1403, Inv. X 95/91 = PAT 1400/2763, Inv. X 87/88 = PAT 0306, Inv. X 107 = PAT 1409, Schuol (2000) 78–79, no. 25.

²³ Will (1957) and again Will (1992) 60–63.

²⁴ Soados inscription, AD 132, PAT 0197 = Schuol (2000) 58–60, no. 10, Gr. 14–15: "[...] because he saved a *synodia* from great danger [...]" (= Pal. 9–10).

²⁵ Yarhibol inscription, AD 138, Inv. X 114 = PAT 1414, Gr. 7–9: "[...] who voluntarily went to Orodēs, the king of Elymais, as an envoy [...]"

²⁶ Taimaros inscription, AD 193, Inv. III 28 = PAT 0309 = Schuol (2000) 81–82, no. 28, Gr. 5–6: "[...] for whom he generously paid 300 old *denarii* [...]" (= Pal. 3).

²⁷ Aelius Bora inscription, AD 198, AE 1933, 206 = PAT 1063; Ogelu inscription, AD 199, Inv. 10, 44 = PAT 1378, but similarly the much earlier Soados inscription (AD 145/46, PAT 1062).

patrons' is obviously wider. While financial assistance and making available social network capacities to clients are certainly part of the services they provide, they also act as knights in shining armour. While the wording is often vague, it is evident that more than one of the honoured saved the caravans from potentially lethal danger: Yarhibol, for instance, was honoured in AD 138, because he had "risked his life and his fortune" for the Palmyrene merchants at Spasinou Charax on the Persian Gulf²⁸. Six years before, Soadu had been honoured for taking similar risks. Both, the Greek and the Palmyrene version of the text, explicitly mention the "great danger" from which Soados had saved the caravan²⁹. In addition, more than one recipient of honours served as a *synodiarchēs*, or caravan leader – indicating an active role of some elite members in the organisation of trade.

Will concluded that the 'grands patrons' had a nomadic background. He envisaged them as 'des cheikhs selon le terme arabe' – people who had established themselves within the walls of the city, but maintained close contacts with the steppe, its people and lifestyle³⁰. One should add that they perceived themselves, partly at least, as a military aristocracy, which provided the caravans with the necessary protection in hostile territory. The assumption that military leadership was at least one role, and a significant one, members of the local ruling class had to play, is further strengthened by some surviving specimen of Palmyrene funeral statuary. A sarcophagus with the representation of a warrior in full dress uniform, with kaftan and boots, speaks for itself. This is how the tomb owner wanted to be seen by posterity: as a military man, accompanied by his horse³¹.

On the frieze below, the same man can be observed in a rather different scene: as a *togatus* performing sacrifice. This indicates that the Palmyrene elite can by no means be reduced to its military functions. On the other hand, a local elite that obviously derives, to a significant extent, legitimacy from military leadership, is a singular anomaly in the entire Roman world. This makes its classification as 'les notables', or 'Honoratioren' elite, dubious. Rather than the leisure class so familiar to us from Italy and the Roman provinces, Palmyra's ruling class was a functional elite based on military expertise. There are other aspects to it which cannot be discussed

²⁸ Above, note 512.

²⁹ Above, note 511.

³⁰ Will (1957) 273.

³¹ Al-As'ad/Schmidt-Colinet (2005) 42–47, fig. 60–66.

here – namely the importance of kinship in a society largely kept together by tribal bonds.

Understanding the Palmyrene elite as, at least partly, a military aristocracy makes sense historically. It is the only model that helps to explain Palmyra's sudden rise to global political importance in the 3rd century AD. And it makes plausible the stunning career of Septimius Odaenathus who, in the course of a few decades, advanced from a humble local aristocrat to *restitutor totius Orientis*, the title given to him by the emperor Gallienus. No other Roman city ever spawned a man who, as a local ruler, took on the role of a Messiah for half the empire. Indeed, Palmyra was different.

Peter Herz
(University of Regensburg)

P. Aelius Septimius Mannus A Governor of the 3rd Century AD and his Origins

Some years ago S. Dmitriev dealt with the recently established province Caria-Phrygia and provided a list of governors, among them a consularis with the name P.Aelius Septimius Mannus¹. The same person was already known from an inscription from Ladokeia at the Lykos². Here his name was transmitted in short form as Septimios Mannos.

If we take a closer look on the nomenclature of this man as it is mentioned in the new inscription it is possible

1. to trace his origins and
2. to find some additional information for the history of the Near East during the 2nd and 3rd century.

SEG 46, 1996, 1394³

Πόπλιον Αἴλιον
Σεπτίμιου
Μάννου τὸν
λαμπρότατον ἡ-
γεμόνα ὑπατι-
κῶν ἔνδοξου
ἀδρεῖου ἀγνὸν
φιανθρώπου δι'
ἀπάσης ἤκοντα
ἀρετῆς τὸν ἑαυ-
τοῦ εὐεργέτην

¹ Dmitriev (2001) 468–489.

² *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* I nr. 46, z. 9–10.

³ Rouech (1996), 231–239, especially 232.