

AIR VIEW OF DURA FROM THE SOUTH, DECEMBER 1932

THE
Excavations at Dura-Europos

CONDUCTED BY
YALE UNIVERSITY AND THE FRENCH ACADEMY
OF INSCRIPTIONS AND LETTERS

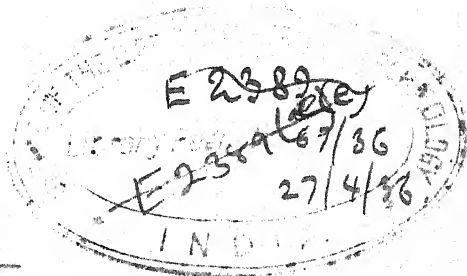
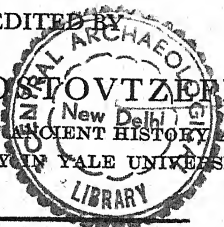
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Preliminary Report of Fifth Season of Work
October 1931—March 1932

EDITED BY

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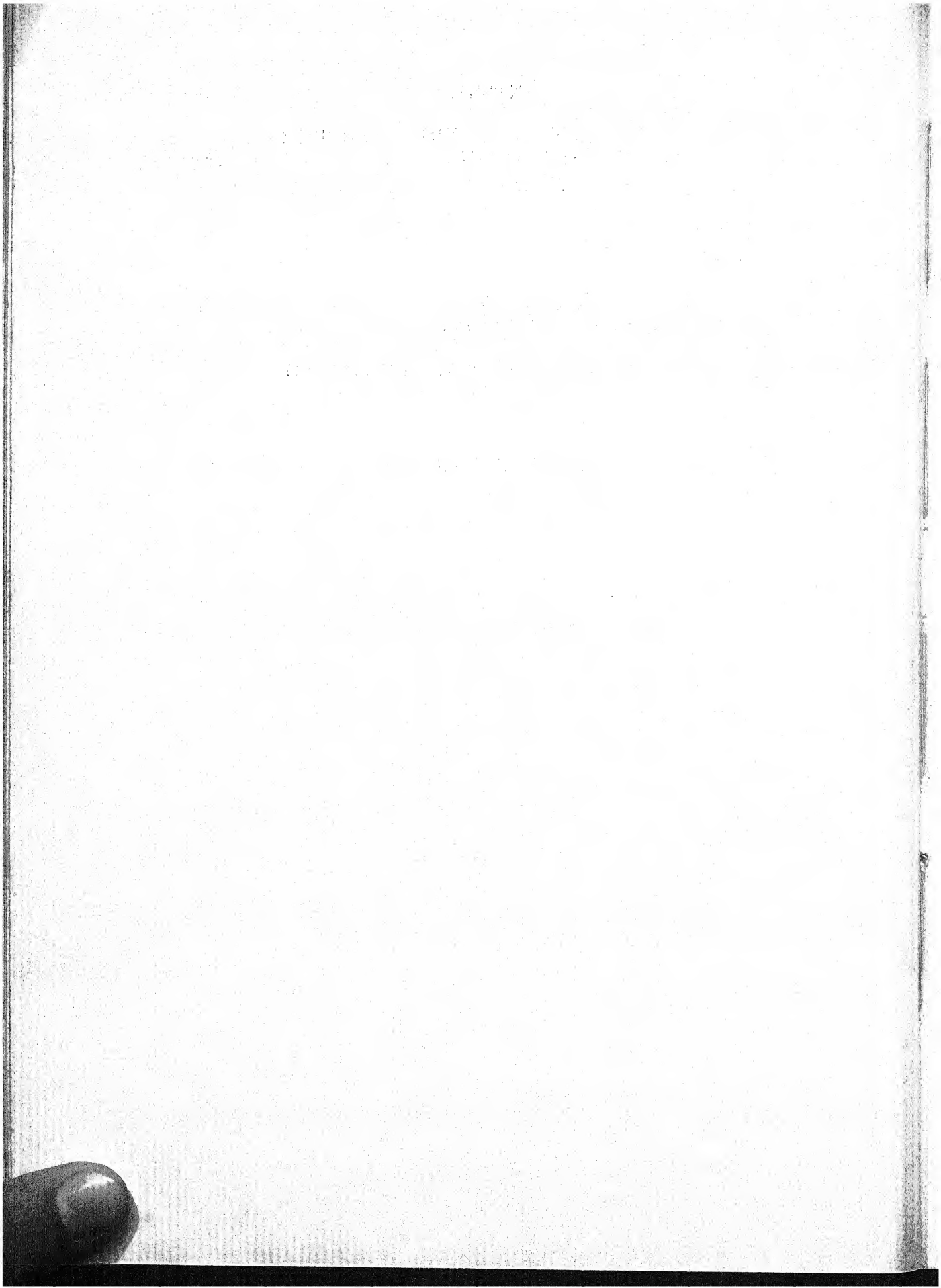
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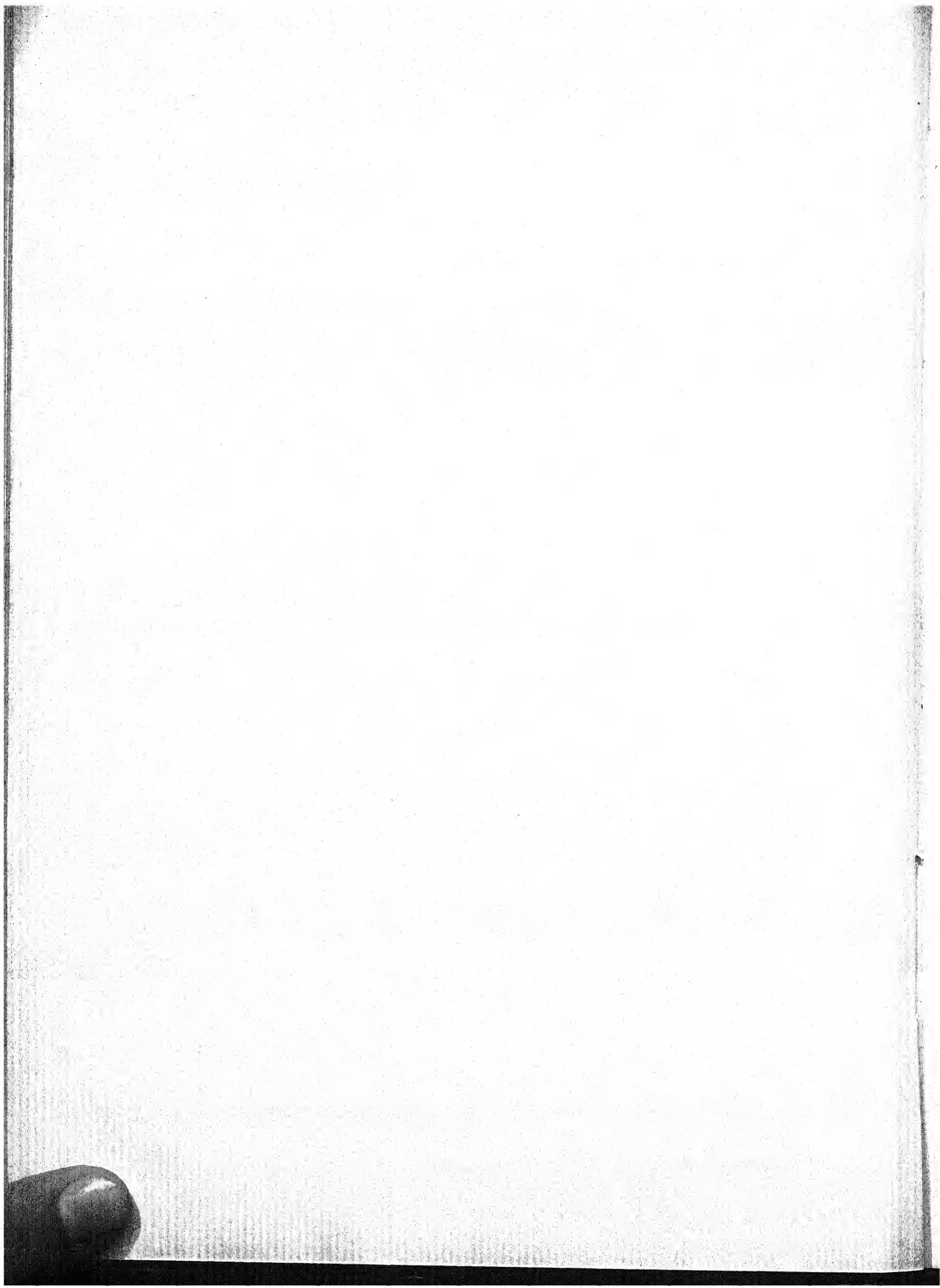
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ABBREVIATIONS

(For the Abbreviations to chapter VIII see p. 285).

- A. J. A.*: *American Journal of Archaeology*. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1885—.
- A. J. S. L. L.*: *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago, 1884—.
- Andrae, *Hatra*: Walter Andrae, *Hatra*. Teil I und II. Allgemeine Beschreibung der Ruinen, Leipzig, 1908—1912, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
- Andrae und Lenzen: Walter Andrae und Heinz Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, Leipzig, 1933.
- Athen. Mitteil.*: Mitteilungen des kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung, 1876—.
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- Delos: *École française d'Athènes. Exploration archéologique de Délos*. Paris, 1909—31.
- Dessau: H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892—1916.
- Dessau, *Prosopogr.*: H. Dessau, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I, II, III*, 3 vol. Berlin, 1897—98.
- Domaszewski, Hyginus: Hyginus Gromaticus, *Liber de munitionibus castrorum*. Ed. A. von Domaszewski, Leipzig, 1887.
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- P. G.: J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*.
- Pal. Soc.*: *Palaeographical Society*. London, II, 30.
- Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*: *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll. Stuttgart, 1894—1932.
- Preisigke, *Namenbuch*: F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, Heidelberg, 1922.
- Rep. I.*: *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, *Preliminary Report of First Season of Work, Spring, 1928*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929.
- Rep. II.*: *Preliminary Report of Second Season of Work, October, 1928 — April, 1929*, New Haven, 1931.
- Rep. III.*: *Preliminary Report of Third Season of Work, November, 1929 — March, 1930*, New Haven, 1932.
- Rep. IV.*: *Preliminary Report of Fourth Season of Work, October 1930 — March 1931*, New Haven, 1933.
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- Wad.: *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I, I, "Pont et Paphlagonie", W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon and Th. Reinach, Paris, 2nd ed., 1925.
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- Wuthnow: Heinz Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in Griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig, 1930.

PREFACE

IT IS OBVIOUS to all who know the conditions of the Syrian desert and the region of the middle Euphrates that the security of excavations at Dura depends upon the French and Syrian authorities. It is to them, therefore, that we owe most sincere thanks for the possibility of continuing our work and for the success of the 1931-2 campaign. We may mention in particular our obligation to the Haut Commissaire de la Syrie et du Liban, the General Commandant Supérieur des Troupes du Levant, and the General Commandant des Régions Nord de la Syrie, but we should like to extend our thanks to include all those officers civil and military, who through their kind offices have helped to make the 1931-2 campaign most agreeable as well as most successful.

Through the kindness of M. H. Seyrig, Directeur du Service des Antiquités de la Syrie et du Liban, and of his staff many of the practical difficulties of organization were smoothed over and through M. Seyrig's personal interest and wide understanding many of the scientific problems were resolved. The Emir Djaffar, Conservateur du Musée de Damas, has always placed at our disposal the valuable records of the museum. It was through his kind assistance this year that we were able to secure a mold of the basrelief of Aphlad.

The hospitality and sympathy of the President and Faculty of the American University at Beirut never fail to add much pleasure to the sojourns of the expedition in Beirut.

Needless to say, without the whole-hearted cooperation of the Yale School of Fine Arts, the preservation of our material and the publication of these reports would be impossible. The enthusiasm of Dean Everett V. Meeks and of Professor Th. Sizer and the untiring efforts of the museum staff have made it possible to put on exhibition at once our most important finds and to study at leisure the results of the campaign. To name all who have contributed to this work would form a list far too long for this preface. May all who have so generously rendered their services read this brief mention and accept our gratitude for a success due largely to their efforts!

M. R. Dussaud and M. F. Cumont stand always first in the list of scholars to whose wide learning and sympathetic understanding the interpretation of results is largely due. The kindness of Herr W. Andrae made available the Parthian collection from Assur in the Vorder-

asiatische Abteilung of the Berlin Museum and Professor H. Lietzmann lent his wide knowledge of early Christian archaeology to the study of the Christian Chapel. Professor Carl H. Kraeling of Yale has contributed largely to the interpretation of Semitic names and Professor C. C. Torrey to the solution of Semitic problems. Père Poidebard took air-views of the site in December 1932 and to his generosity we owe our photograph.

The reader will note that the names of my colleagues, Prof. P. V. C. Baur and Prof. Alfred Bellinger, who collaborated with me in editing the previous *Reports*, do not appear on the title page of the present volume and that consequently I alone assume the responsibility of editing it. The temporary absence during the academic year 1932—1933 of Prof. Bellinger from Yale where this *Report* was prepared for publication, prevented him from taking his usual part. Since this *Report* is being printed in Prague, Prof. Baur has not been able to read the proofs nor to criticize or endorse my editorial notes, though he has assisted me in preparing several chapters of the manuscript for the printer. I take this opportunity of thanking Prof. Baur for this assistance and I hope that the responsibility for the subsequent *Reports* will again be borne by the three of us. In reading the proofs I have been aided by Mr. G. K. Boyce, now Fellow in the American Academy in Rome.

Finally, I wish to thank the Kondakov Institute at Prague and Prof. N. P. Toll for the assistance they have generously given me in seeing this volume through the press.

The publication of parchments and papyri will occupy a separate volume and the account of pottery, glass-ware, and small bronzes enlarged to include the discoveries of subsequent campaigns will be published in later reports.

M. I. R.

Rome
November 1933

INTRODUCTION

by Clark Hopkins, Field Director 1931—2.

THE EXPEDITION to Dura-Europos was during this season composed of M. André Naudy, first assistant; Messrs. H. Pearson and R. Deigert of the Yale School of Fine Arts, architects; M. Antoine Walter, photographer and Mr. D. Clark. The staff was augmented in the middle of the season by M. Emile Bacquet, expert from the Musée Guimet, who took charge of the delicate work of removing the frescoes.

Camp was opened the last week in October and work was begun at once. On November first, the number of workmen increased to 300 and three large *chantiers* were begun. The largest group under the direct supervision of M. Naudy excavated a district in the center of the city and uncovered in the course of the season a large portion of the market place. Mr. Clark with a second group began work in two blocks of houses (B 8 and C 7) along Main Street, then moved at the completion of this task to the northwest section of the city where the Roman Praetorium and the Temple of Azzanathkona were discovered. Mr. Pearson and I took charge of a third group excavating the Temple of Aphlad, a group which was later moved to the south end of the citadel. In completing the excavation of a building in front of Tower 17, a building largely excavated during the previous campaign, the Christian Chapel was brought to light.

M. Naudy took entire charge of the largest group of workmen and bore all the duties of assistant director. M. Walter not only acted as photographer but took charge of supplies and assisted in the organization of the work-groups. Thanks largely to the experience and ability of these members of the staff, the organization and operation of the camp was carried forward with the utmost smoothness. The plans of buildings excavated, except that of the Christian Church, were drawn by Mr. Pearson, who also supervised the dangerous work in the southwest tower, drew the finds for the card catalogue, and made a special study of private houses. To Mr. Deigert we owe a large scale (1/500) map of the entire city, the map of the Christian Church, a study of the redoubt, and copies of the frescoes. Mr. Clark directed one team of workmen during the entire season and kept the daily record of finds.

In writing the report I am especially indebted to the notes of Mr. Pearson for details of the towers and the Temple of Aphlad and of Mr. Clark for

accounts of the Roman quarter and the Temple of Azzanathkona. The chapters on these districts are largely the results of their efforts and I take this occasion to record my indebtedness to their careful observation and untiring study. The study of graffiti is made difficult in many cases by the poor condition of walls, and by a script often very carelessly rendered. I considered it best, especially as plaster walls are not always secure, to record as much as possible at once and to publish the results in this account. I hope, however, that future study may clear up many of the difficulties of reading and interpretation. Since excavations in the citadel were continued during the current season, the publication of the map of this work has been left for the report of the 1932—3 campaign.

The season was cold but exceptionally free from rain, and the work was continued almost without interruption until the middle of March. At that time the actual work of excavation was stopped and the departure of M. Naudy, M. Walter and Mr. Clark at the end of the month brought the season officially to a close. M. Bacquet remained during April to complete his work on the frescoes and this extra month gave the opportunity to the architects and myself to continue work on the plans and the study of inscriptions. M. Bacquet worked with such success that all the frescoes of the Christian Chapel, one from the Temple of Palmyrene Gods and a drawing from the Temple of Azzanathkona were removed before camp was broken at the end of April. All have been subsequently transported without injury to the museums.

I should like, in closing, to express my special gratitude to two friends in Syria, Colonel Goudouneix in charge of the district of the middle Euphrates, and M. Seyrig, Directeur du Service des Antiquités. Colonel Goudouneix interested himself personally in our work, visited our camp several times, and offered us every possible service throughout the season. Monsieur Seyrig not only put at our disposal every facility of his department for the organization of our work, but joined himself in the difficult task of interpreting the results of the campaign. Certainly no report would be complete without a personal acknowledgment of their great services.

Needless to say without the constant help of Prof. Rostovtzeff this report could not have been written. Were I to mention in every case his suggestions, criticisms and judgments largely incorporated in this report, the chapters would be studded with these references.

I.
THE FORTIFICATIONS

BY C. HOPKINS

WALLS AND TOWERS

During the campaign of 1930—31 the clearing of the southwest bastion was begun, one of the towers between the main gate and the south wadi was entirely cleared and a good part of the *débris* in the other two removed. This last season the work along this section was continued, the towers were completely excavated and a special study made of the construction of these towers and walls including the main gate. The clearing of the temple of Aphlad and of the Christian church brought to view details of the mud brick wall constructed inside the battlements, and a cut from outside along Tower 15 allowed a study to be made of the mud brick embankment outside the stone wall, of the flange and the method of linking towers and walls. Chance through the preservation of certain crenellations intact beside Tower 15 gave us exact information of the battlements themselves (Pl. VIII, 2), and a large graffito from a shop added an ancient illustration of main gate, curtine and towers. Finally the clearing of the south entrance and tower of the citadel furnished material for comparison of types of construction in citadel and circuit wall.

Excavations on the citadel during the campaign 1928—9 showed the existence of a small Arab settlement, apparently of the ninth century A. D. Probably to these inhabitants was due the partial blocking of the lower entrance into the south tower of the citadel. Very probably the upper floors were still standing at that time, and the ground floor therefore was utilised as a house, at which time for greater safety and warmth the doorway was partially blocked to allow only a very narrow entrance. On the other side of the arched entrance into the citadel a make-shift wall on dirt fill probably belonged to the same period, but no remains either in the tower or among the house walls gave any further indication of the identity of these late inhabitants.

As was to be expected the south tower of the citadel was very similar in construction to the north tower.¹ In the method of defense through loopholes and windows as well as in the special method of

¹ The plan of the citadel will be published later when the excavations are completed.

building the corners, these towers follow Hellenistic models. The north tower has a niche with loophole on the south side to cover the postern door, and two windows on the floor above, one on the north, one on the west side. The south tower has no opening against assailants on the ground floor but three loopholes, one on each side, on the second story. At Assos exactly the same system was employed in the towers beside the west gate, for no openings were made on the ground floor, but a series of loopholes introduced in the second, to cover the entrance to the gate and allow fire to the front.² The Hellenistic fortifications of Asia Minor at Ephesos, Priene, Assos and Heraclea at the foot of Latmos regularly show a system of defense employing windows serving as *Pecknasen* and loopholes. It is astounding therefore to find that at Dura this method is only employed in the citadel towers. There are two windows in each tower of the main gate high above the ground. Otherwise as far as can be seen in the six towers of the circuit wall thus far excavated there is not a single loophole or window, a most startling contrast to the citadel and Hellenistic models. To be sure much of the towers above the *chemin de ronde* has been destroyed. The side walls preserved in Tower 15 and Tower 2 clearly have no windows or loopholes however, and the side toward the desert in Tower 2 shows no trace of opening. The walls of the citadel towers are roughly cut but at the corners the edges have been cut more carefully for a few centimeters to allow more exact fitting. At Heraclea at the foot of Latmos this same method is employed³ as it is also at Priene.⁴ Again we have a Hellenistic feature in the citadel not followed in the towers of the enceinte.

It is worth remarking that at Assos the only gate spanned by a true arch is gate No. 1, a small postern 1.15 m. wide just beside a tower, an entrance very similar to the arched postern just beside the north tower in the Dura citadel. Again the Dura fortress seems to be following Hellenistic precedent, and it is therefore significant that at Assos this gate is considered to be of later date.⁵

If in certain details, however, the citadel recalls Hellenistic constructions of the third century, in certain other respects it differs very essentially. The two principal entrances to the citadel are formed with

² Clarke, Bacon, Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos*, Boston, 1902—21, p. 193.

³ Theodor Wiegand, *Milet*, Band III, 2: "Die Befestigungen von Herakleia am Latmos", von Fritz Krischen (Berlin, 1922), Taf. 18.

⁴ Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895—98*, p. 39 Abb. 23 and Tafel VI.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

barrel vaults, and stone screen in front to make a square head for the door. The true arch was by no means unknown in the third century for it is found at Priene and Heraclea as well as in fortifications outside Asia Minor. I know of no case, however, where barrel-vaulted entrances were used to support a platform or tower above. At Dura in the Palmyrene Gate, the arch is found, the only arch in the circuit wall. It is used only to cover the gate, not as part of a barrel vault.

Finally, there is the use of the keystone in forming a square headed door top, perhaps the most curious and characteristic feature of the citadel. The doors to the second stories of both south and north towers have straight tops all the way through but instead of flat lintel blocks, a keystone is introduced to link the blocks of the top. The ground floor entrances of both towers have corbelled vaults with screen of stone concealing the triangular tympanum and making a square head for the door. The triangular tympanum is employed at Assos, sometimes with and sometimes without screen.⁶ The screen, however, is always constructed of straight blocks supported on piers to either side, while on the citadel at Dura the keystone is widely made use of. The excavations of 1929—30 along the south wadi revealed that the construction of straight topped doorway with keystone had also been employed in the towers of the south rampart.⁷ It is rather striking that in these towers the corbelled vault is not found, in all the other towers of the enceinte, thus far cleared, the low corbelled arch is employed but an arch without the screen to make a flat topped door. In the Palmyrene Gate where straight tops for doorways are employed, lintel blocks are used long enough to span the entrance.

I had remarked in the second preliminary report that the doorways of citadel and circuit towers were distinguished not only by the stone screens but also by the height of the triangular tympanums, those of the citadel rising through four courses of stone, those that we knew in the circuit towers employing merely two courses for the vault. Excavations this year revealed not only that the doorway of the south citadel tower had a tympanum only three courses high, but also that some of the doorways in the towers south of the main gate employed doors with vaults of the same height. These towers along the south wadi, therefore, and those between this wadi and the Palmyrene Gate, though still separated in construction from the towers of the citadel,

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 207, Fig. 1, Gate 4; p. 219, Fig. 4, Gate 10; p. 203, Gate No. 3.

⁷ M. Pillet, by mistake, reports that these doorways have the triangular corbelled vaults (*Rep. IV*, p. 6).

come closer to the type of work in the citadel than other towers along the circuit wall. One may still say with certainty that the circuit wall was built later, but I do not believe the difference in time was as great as I first suspected.

The barrel vault was used commonly at Hatra in the great halls of the palace and the stone screen was employed to form one end of the room. At Hatra also the high corbelled vault was not infrequent. In the latter walls of Halibeyeh, 150 kilometers up the river, the keystone is used in the screen forming a straight top for the door in front of a barrel-vaulted entrance. I suspect that these methods of construction were the result of eastern as well as western influence.

Clearly the oldest tower along the desert is the southwest bastion for it does not meet the *chemin de ronde* of the circuit squarely. So awkwardly is it placed in fact, that there was no space for a door on the side, and it was necessary to erect an additional buttress in front to allow access to the interior of the tower from the top of the wall (See plan Pl. I). At the northeast interior corner, in the north wall, was a doorway closed with inferior masonry which would have opened outside the city wall. Another peculiarity of this tower was the fact that the entrance is not in the center of the building as in the other towers, but close beside the buttress. Clearly it was not constructed on the same model as the others or with the later circuit wall in view.

Certain peculiarities in the Palmyrene gate also call for consideration. The walls of the southwest and northwest towers (Nos. 14 and 3) as well as of towers in the citadel rise straight from the rock itself. The three towers between the Palmyrene Gate and the south wadi (Nos. 15, 16, and 17) have two tiers of foundation stones forming a slightly wider base than the wall above. In the Palmyrene Gate a regular foundation of cut stone made a wider base for the south and north wall of the tower. The first step was to cut a channel in the bed rock to a depth of one tier of stone. On the outside of the tower the line of the foundation was left flush with the wall above; inside the towers, the second, third and fourth tiers diminished in width, thereby forming a wide foundation base which stepped up to the wall thickness above.

The circumference wall of the Palmyrene Gate had another peculiarity. For five tiers above the base the wall is composed of stones well cut on the sides and laid together with very little mortar. The ends of the stones however were left so rough that the interior seems to be rusticated. The rustication is similar to that which appears on the exterior of other towers facing the desert, especially noticeable on the

southwest tower. The logical explanation seems to be that a tower similar in construction to the other desert towers, was destroyed to make way for the gate, and the stone from this tower was re-used for the lower tiers of the new gate fortifications. If stone, smooth on all sides but one, was re-used in building a thicker wall, it is likely that the rough surface would be placed inside since a better joint could thus be formed. The interior stone partitions of the tower have neither the broad foundation courses nor the rusticated tiers. Nor do they link with the rusticated base of the outer wall, although above this base all walls link together. This evidence linked with the fact that the Palmyrene Gate is off-center from the circuit wall but in line with Main street, leads to the conclusion that there were two building periods. Apparently then an original tower or gate which must have been in accord with the line of present fortifications along the desert was destroyed to form a new tower conforming to the line of Main Street. Since however, the present towers tie in with the circuit wall on either side, they must have been contemporaneous with the building of the circuit wall. At this time probably Main Street was laid out and though the old line of defense along the desert was kept, the new gate was swung to the angle formed by the chief street of the city. Partition walls in the towers linking with the upper tiers of stone but not with the lower rusticated tiers, suggest that the gate had first been a low building, and built to its present height only when the partition walls were constructed. Inscription D. 72 of 17/16 B. C. written on the circumference wall of the gate gives us the *terminus ante quem* for the new low tower. It is worthy of remark that the remodelled gate with three doorways forming two small chambers is the Parthian type employed in the walls at Hatra.⁸ One suspects, therefore, that the towers without loopholes or windows were based on Parthian models. If the low walls of the new gate were constructed about 16 B. C. the part above and the curtains could not have been erected much later for the upper sections were completed when the frescoes of the Palmyrene temple were painted about 75 A. D. and perhaps when inscription D. 33 of 32—3 A. D. was written. The earliest inscription from the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods is 55 A. D. As the temple occupies an important corner of the wall it seemed probable that the temple was built soon after the wall was completed. Excavations during this winter revealed a temple of Aphlad in the southwest angle in which one of the sanctuaries was dated in the year

⁸ Andrae, *Hatra*, II, Abb. 25.

53 A. D., and a Temple of Azzanathkona also resting against the wall, a temple whose earliest monument was 12 A. D. One may say, therefore, with certainty, that the wall was complete in this first half of the first century A. D. The uniformity of dating which places the erection of all three temples within a period of 50 years of one another is strong evidence that in this period the fortifications were first completed.

One more item may be added to this review of the chronology of the stone fortifications. The foundations of every tower so far dug along the desert wall (the southwest Towers [14], 15, 16, 17) except the Palmyrene Gate, are alike in construction and differ from the tiers above. They are 2.50 m. thick and appear to be all of header construction. The stones, well cut and without mortar, are 0.53 m. by 0.33 m. on an end. The wall is made secure by varying the length of the stones (0.53, 0.73 and 0.93 m.) so that no cleavage joints are formed in the wall. This type of construction extends upwards from six to eight tiers above the ground level and is 0.40 m. wider than the later superstructure. We know that the section of wall between the southwest tower and the wadi did not link with this foundation, nor did the *chemin de ronde* buttress before the same tower. Outside of Tower 16 the rubbish was cleared down to the rubble flange at the exterior base of the wall. Tower and wall were here found to link in the upper part but the flange may well have served to screen the lack of joint in the lower part. If this is so then we had as a first period of construction a series of low stone towers across the desert not connected by a stone wall. Only after the Palmyrene gate was remodelled was the present connecting wall erected, and at that time walls and towers were built to their present height.

The large graffito from shop B 8, H 17 (Pl. XXXIII, 1) adds one or two details of interest to our study of walls and towers, especially of the main gate. We see once more in this drawing as in previous graffiti the crenellations which adorn walls and towers, and are added even to the little space above the arch of the gate. The curious marks on the stones, a symbol resembling a capital D written backwards and carelessly were found actually cut in many of the stones in the towers of the gate and may be interpreted confidently as masons' marks. Finally the ladderlike designs across the towers to the top of the arch probably represent staircases leading to the top of the arch.⁹ In the

⁹ For this method of portraying stairs see the late representation of altar stairs in Egypt, Sieglin and Schreiber, *Ausgrabungen und Forschungen* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 213, Abb. 151 and p. 243, Abb. 181.

design, the wall between the towers runs just above the crown of the arch and the stairs run up from a point level with the springs of the arch. Actually we know that the wall above the arch was much higher than the *chemin de ronde*, probably as high as the towers themselves. Inside of each tower a staircase led from the level of the *chemin de ronde* to the top of the wall above the arch. I think the artist intended to represent these stairs though they would not be visible to one outside the tower. Mistaken in the height of the wall above the arch, he was forced to represent the bottom of the steps at a lower level than was actually the case.

THE CHEMIN DE RONDE

Both walls and towers above the lower tiers are of gypsum blocks laid in alternate tiers of headers and stretchers. Where in parts of the towers the wall was, in thickness, equal to the length plus the width of one block an inside tier of headers is laid against an outside line of stretchers. Where the walls of the towers diminish in width, the difference is accomplished by shortening the headers. In the wider curtain walls, no attempt was made to fit the interior blocks closely together and gaps usually small but sometimes as large as an ordinary block, were filled with rubble.

The circuit wall along the desert is 8—9 meters high and the top, decorated inside with a simple coping formed by projecting the top tier about 5 centimeters is 3.05 m. wide.¹⁰ Thus ample room was given for a *chemin de ronde* behind the crenellations.

The crenellations themselves were preserved intact from Tower 15 to a distance half way to the southwest tower for at this point the assaulting Persians had heaped a great ramp against the wall. To meet this attack the defenders had erected a wall of mud brick above the stone fortification thus encasing the crenellations solidly between mud brick and ramp. As the photograph (Pls. V and VIII, 2) shows the battlements were composed of a regular series of bays each with its opening and protecting partition. The screen wall was 0.60 m. wide, the buttresses 0.60 m. square and the height to the opening about a meter with the total height of the wall 1.80 m. The lower tier is composed of a double series of long thin blocks set on edge. The outer course runs in a regular line, the inner is broken to introduce the header blocks of the buttress. Above this tier a horizontal

¹⁰ Compare the similar arrangement at Heraclea at the foot of Latmos, Wiegand, *Milet*, III, 2, p. 13.

layer was laid linking the whole together. Finally on top a third row of blocks was laid similar in construction to the bottom tier except that the double block on one side of each buttress was omitted to give the necessary opening. Through these crenellations the defender could shoot, protected by the screen from shots to the front, by the buttress from cross fire. Even so, there is evidence that additional protection was given the soldiers in defense, for on either side of the open bays, just below the horizontal base block, a hole flat on top, rounded beneath (0.07—0.08 m. by 0.06 m.) was cut through the stone. These must have held the sliding supports of a shutter of wood which blocked the bay. When an attack was made against the wall, the sliding supports were thrust forward. The half opening allowed the defendant to fire straight down the wall, while he was protected by the wooden screen from arrows of the assailants. This form of *Pecknasen* is well known in Hellenistic fortifications (Knidos, Jasos, Chalcis in Aetolia, Samos and Athens). These regularly were covered with stone; at Dura we must suppose wooden beams were laid across from which the shutters were suspended.

Excavations of the towers along the desert show that as a rule the *chemin de ronde* met the towers close to the inner wall. Here doorways were made in the towers to allow the watch to pass through the upper story of the tower. Supporting no great weight above, the doorways are straight lintelled. The doorways of Tower 15 show that at some period they were given plaster jambs and thresholds which reduced them in size, but which allowed the hanging of doors. It is worth remark that in no case where the sill is in place, is it near to the stone floor but rather rests on a thickness of dirt. Either then the upper stories were strewn thick with reeds and dirt or a long period elapsed before the jambs were constructed and much rubbish had accumulated in the meantime.

To support this upper story and the *chemin de ronde* additional walls of rubble or mud brick were constructed making partitions in the towers. Thus in a country where beams were expensive and difficult to obtain, the upper stories could be supported with a shorter span. In the southwest tower as in the northwest the partition runs the depth of the tower. A similar wall was found in the northwest chamber of the Palmyrene Gate. In the other front towers, all less long than those of the southwest and northwest corners, the wall runs across. In Tower 15 a high pier of rubble was erected and across the top a stone lintel ran to a buttress on either side. Later the two openings thus formed

were closed but for a door, and a low mud brick wall was added to the top. The walls in the other towers are of mud brick on a high rubble foundation.

At the Palmyrene Gate a special construction was required to allow the continuance of the *chemin de ronde*. The arch toward the city had a lower spring than the others, and above the crown of the arch the curtain wall diminished to less than half the depth of the arch. Thus was formed a ledge wide enough for passage. An awkward space still remained, however, between the arch and the doorways, since the doorways of the towers were not in line with the arch but in line with the course of the circuit wall. This was spanned by a wooden walk or balcony that extended across each side of the second chamber of the central passage. The holes for the supporting beams of this walk are still visible.

In the angle of the high wall just south of the southwest bastion, three buttresses of mortared mud brick rise against the wall on high rubble piers. Mr. Pearson believes that these probably were built to support the *chemin de ronde* after the southwest bastion had been wracked and the wall was no longer considered solid. I am inclined to believe, however, that the *chemin de ronde* was continued on top of the wall and the buttresses erected merely to strengthen the high fortifications.

As has been said the *chemin de ronde* all along the desert was 8—9 meters above the ground. Just beyond the southwest and northwest towers, however, where the circuit walls met the wadis the walls apparently dropped to ground level. So in the southwest angle the high wall is kept to chamber 3, then it drops perpendicularly to the lower level. There we know that the top of the wall was accessible and used from the ground level because at that height it is plastered on top behind chambers 3 and 4. Along the wadis also the *chemin de ronde* was less broad, the top of the wall measuring 2.15 m. wide instead of 3.05 m. along the desert.

THE MUD BRICK WALLS

Changes in the walls as revealed in patches close by the Temple of Azzanathkona, in alterations within the southwest tower and in new constructions in the temple of Aphlad may best be left to the separate discussions devoted to these districts.

Before the final capture of the city in 256 A. D., however, tremendous changes had been made in the fortifications by the erection of

a series of mud brick walls inside and outside the stone fortifications. Just when this work was done we do not know. On the back wall of the Christian church, a wall blocked by mud brick which must have made part of the first embankment, was scratched a graffito dated in 232 A. D. It was drawn on an inner layer of plaster and presumably therefore marks a year some time before the erection of the mud brick. A graffito of the 1930—31 campaign records the fact that the Persians descended upon Dura in 238 A. D. It seems reasonable that at least part of the embankments was constructed to meet that raid or to avoid a repetition of the attack. Mr. Pearson remarks that the *débris* of the first embankment seems only to come from the city since it contains cinders, broken bricks, bits of pottery, rags, metal, and even whole vases and jars. A potsherd dated in 252 A. D. and a papyrus dated in 251 A. D. found more recently in the fill of block L 7 proved that the wall in this section was not erected until the very last years of the city's existence.

The first embankment was made by condemning the buildings along the curtain toward the desert, piling great quantities of dirt and debris against the city wall at the angle of repose and covering the bank with a steep embankment of mud brick mortared with clay. The brickwork is about three meters wide at the base, but tapers slightly toward the top. Brickwork and fill together are eleven and a half meters thick at the base; they taper to three meters from the top of the wall where the dirt fill ceases. Above the mud brick is solid with a width of three meters at the height of the wall. How high it extended above the top of the stone wall is not known. Near Tower 15 the height was still above two meters but I am inclined to think this was exceptional, the special height at this point being due to the ramp of the Persians directed against this spot.

At the Palmyrene Gate a staircase of plastered mud brick was erected leading to the top of the wall from either side of the main street. At Tower 15 another similar stairway led to the top of the stone wall. Here a plaster doorway on the inside edge of the stone wall led into a small mud brick passage, contained in the thickness of the wall, and built to give access to the doorway of the former *chemin de ronde*.

The embankment when finished was smoothly covered with a coating of mud. In the southwest angle were found also two plaster drains running straight down the slanting face of the embankment, mute evidence of the careful drainage system involved. These two drains may well have led from a platform of mud brick in front of the south-

west tower on which perhaps stood a shrine to replace that covered by the embankment.

By this first embankment, the *place d'arme* was filled and the lower entrances to the towers were blocked. Access to the lower story of the towers could be gained therefore only from the story above. In the southwest angle, the bank engulfed the furnace and the subterranean passage, and blocked up both the shrine of Aphlad and the naos leaving only their façades exposed. It was built carefully and walls covered by its construction were carefully strengthened with mud brick to withstand the pressure of the fill. In the Christian church the same care may be observed. Instead of continuing through the building the slanting embankment stops on either side. Within the church a heavy tapering wall of mud brick was constructed against the back wall of the building, then the space between back wall and tower filled with *débris*. In the baptistry the *aedicula* was carefully protected by packing it in dirt before the mud brick was added. The temple of the Palmyrene Gods was also carefully covered and due to this care alone the frescoes of the church and the temple were so well preserved.

This supplementary mud brick wall was continued along the wadis as the excavations in the temple of Azzanathkona and along the south wadi show. In the temple of Azzanathkona, the chambers along the wall were filled with dirt and across the face of several of them a mud brick wall was constructed. Even the *salle aux gradins* was halfway blocked by a mud brick embankment. At the eastern end of the temple, a mud brick staircase was uncovered, obviously to give access to the top of the mud brick additions. That access to the top of the wall was provided indicates that here, at least, there was a *chemin de ronde* provided along the new fortifications. The wall of mud brick that parallels the back of the *salle aux gradins* and is perpendicular to the city wall could hardly have been constructed for fortification purposes. Possibly it was built to protect a part of the temple or to alter the arrangements in such a manner that part of the temple could still be used.

Along the south wadi a heavy mud brick wall running parallel to the stone wall was constructed and the space between this and the stone enceinte filled with *débris*. In the southwest angle, where the stone wall did not go above the level of the ground, the mud brick wall still stands to a height of two meters above the surface ending in the face of the first embankment. Certainly another wall was built along the stone battlements, perhaps merely blocking the crenella-

tions, perhaps reaching some distance above. Between these two was a fill of dirt similar to that behind the first embankment.

Some time after these fortifications were completed, another embankment of mud brick was constructed against the first. This was about three meters wide at the base, and tapering more rapidly than the first, reached a thickness of one and a half meters at the highest point still preserved. The purpose was obviously to allow the height of the wall to be increased as well as to make it more impregnable. To add to the height already established by the construction of the first embankment, and preserve a *chemin de ronde* along the top, this second wall was essential. Perhaps also the settling of the first embankment made the addition of another to bolster it imperative. It is the tendency of such a mass of *débris* as that created by the first embankment to settle considerably, and that this actually occurred is apparent at the shrine of Aphlad where the embankment has broken and twisted the walls as it settled more firmly behind them.

This second addition completed the obliteration of the buildings along the wall. While some care had been taken in the first embankment to preserve the buildings covered, the second ignored them. The exposed façades of the southwest naos and the shrine of Aphlad were completely buried and in the church, the baptistry walls were razed where they extended above the second embankment. In front of Tower 15, the staircase was buried and another put above it in the same position. It is significant that this later plastered staircase is steeper than the one below it indicating that the wall was made still higher.

The embankments covered the two corner temples, the Christian church and the Temple of Artemis Azzanathkona. Since in the southwest temple and in the Temple of Azzanathkona, bas-reliefs were found carefully left, and since the embankments greatly impeded the temples, it is almost certain that they were regarded as a temporary expedient, and were to have been later removed.

Probably at the same time that one of these embankments was erected inside the wall a somewhat similar construction was raised against the surface toward the desert. This consisted of a fill of dirt covered with mud brick, an embankment whose width at the base was seven meters and whose height was slightly less than that of the wall. It was therefore much smaller and steeper than the first embankment inside. The purpose must have been to protect the base of the wall against battering rams, perhaps also in this case to support the wall against the tremendous weight of mud brick inside.

Significantly enough, the recent excavations at Ctesiphon revealed just such an embankment of mud brick and *débris* constructed outside the walls. It is described as a steep scarp of dumped *débris* covered with mud brick.¹¹ As far as I know this method of defense was unknown in the west. Apparently then the inhabitants of Dura borrowed the methods of their assailants in the last desperate effort to defend the town. One may surmise that this embankment was the result of improved methods of attacking machinery. Probably also the embankments inside the wall were designed for the same purpose of defeating more powerful battering rams and better methods of sapping.

THE SOUTHWEST BASTION

Certain peculiarities of the southwest bastion have already been mentioned, and reasons given for considering it and the early northwest tower as the earliest constructions along the desert front. One might mention again the blocked up doorway on the north side of the tower, which opened outside the circuit wall. It was of the straight-topped type with keystone, a type found in towers along the south wadi and in the citadel. This is especially interesting for the later door opening into the city has the regular corbelled vault characteristic of the tower doors along the desert. It remains to give an account of a most striking feature and to list the series of graffiti which adorned the lower courses of its blocks.

It was evident as soon as the clearing of the tower began that at some period the northeast corner had sunk. The whole front of the structure tips toward that corner and the south portion of the circuit wall has a similar dip (Pl. VIII, 1). One suspects that the buttress must have been erected after the corner had settled for the buttress shows no signs of wrack. Possibly, however, the buttress had been previously constructed but not being linked to the tower stood fast when the rest gave way.

A slight earthquake seemed sufficient reason for the displacement especially since, as Pearson pointed out, the surface of the desert is a hard stone layer beneath which one frequently finds caves or soft fill. What was our astonishment, however, to find that beneath the very walls of the tower a great cave had been opened out by artificial means, perhaps merely by enlarging a natural grotto. Entrance was

¹¹ O. Reuther, *Die Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Ktesiphon-Expedition im Winter 1928—9*, p. 7.

obtained from room 20 of the temple where the stones of the tower wall project over a low opening, or from in front of the tower where the passage emerges from beneath the wall and runs along the front covered with heavy planks supported on poles. From this entrance it runs beneath the buttress at the northeast corner of the tower, then branches, one part extending beneath the north and back walls of the tower, the other for a short distance, at least, beneath the circuit wall toward Tower 15. Although it is completely collapsed, and filled with blocks fallen from the foundations, it was possible to enter through a low fissure beneath the back wall. Here it was found filled to capacity with charred wood, sticks, poles and planks. The rear wall of cut stone and the ceiling are blackened by soot. Evidently fire had burned much not only in this section but also in the passageway in front of the tower for the timber and planking of the passage roof were also badly charred. In the passage there was no such miscellaneous collection of wood but part of a wooden door made of wide boards was found. The carpenters had joined the pieces by cross sections introduced through the center of the heavy planks, an example of difficult and skilful carpentry.

For what purpose this grotto was constructed and how it was related to temple and tower it was impossible to determine. As the only entrance appears to be that from the ground floor of the tower it is very possible that it was used as one of the temple chambers. Possibly the cave was used as a storehouse for material such as wood for the furnace. Perhaps it was connected for cult practice or employed as treasure house. It is at any rate extraordinary that having the tower above they should so undermine the walls with the cave, or having the cave they should erect the tower immediately above. The collapse of the northeast corner of the tower is evidence of the risk run. It may be said, however, that this readjustment occurred before the destruction of the city and that the walls have stood solidly ever since. One is the more amazed at this when one sees the west section of the cave so constructed beneath the wall blocks, that the wall for several meters seems suspended in the air. Excavation is impossible unless the whole wall is removed for some blocks have already dropped from the ceiling and the whole wall may collapse without warning. Very interesting is the suggestion of M. le Cte. Du Mesnil du Buisson that the cavern is the work of sappers. Apparently the city was taken by the construction of a ramp between the southwest angle and the next tower to the north. I think the evidence is conclusive that a large cave existed

beneath the tower before the Persians made their attack. For this very reason sappers might have been set to work beneath it and enlargements of the cavern endangering the whole structure of the building may have been made by the Persian enemies.

The walls of the tower much blackened in parts by soot were inscribed with a series of graffiti. Curiously enough, except for a small drawing of a horse there were no designs. The three towers between this and the main gate, on the other hand, had designs hammered in the stones but no inscriptions. The southwest bastion should, therefore, be compared with the passage of the main gate which was covered with inscriptions and with the tower of the temple of the Palmyrene gods decorated both with inscriptions and designs. In all three places the common type is the $\mu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$ inscription, a type placed apparently either where many might read as in the main gate, or within the precinct of a temple as in the northwest tower. The graffiti in the southwest tower therefore suggest that this part of the fortifications also fell within the special province of the god. Finds within the tower included cloth, reeds, a skeleton, arms and armor. It was not possible to tell with certainty, however, which belonged to the ground floor and which to the fallen floor above.

INSCRIPTIONS (For the position of the blocks see Pl. VII).

372 and 373 (Blocks E 10 and 4). Most important for the history of the tower are these two which may be taken together. They belong to the same man, are both found on the same side of the tower and are on relatively the same level. Evidently Seleukos inscribed his name at the level most convenient for writing. The interesting feature is that while 372 on block E 10 is engraved on the second tier of stones below the ledge level, 373 on block E 4 is written on a stone of the tier above. At this point, however, the sinking of the north end of the tower caused the stones to tip at such an angle that block E 4 on a higher tier settled to the level of block E 10 in the tier below, excellent evidence that the sinking of the tower occurred before the city was abandoned and that the tower continued to be used even after the tower was tipped. Inscription 372 is cut through the soot which coated the block, and was accordingly cut after the tower had been in use for some time. Probably the sinking of the tower with the probable collapse of upper floors accounts for the mud brick walls built across the middle of the tower perpendicular to its axis, though

previously a long rubble and mud brick wall had been erected through the center of its length.

372. Tracing.

Μ̄ CΕΛ^EΥΚΟΣ ΝΕΑΡΧΟΥ
ΠΡΟΒΒΟΝΝΑΟΥΑ
ΖΑΝΟΥ

The letters 0.025—0.05 m. high are scratched with a point. The second E of Σέλευκος is written above the line. The reading of the second line is by no means clear, but apparently the name is related to that in inscription 380, Ῥαβονινάου. Azanos we may perhaps connect with the name of the goddess Azzanathkona. Seleukos is of course a common name at Dura, Nearchos occurs for the first time.

373. Tracing.

Μ̄ CΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ
Ν[Ε]ΑΡΧΟΥ

The letters are faintly scratched in a scrawling hand.

374. (Block W 23). Squeeze and Tracing. With these first two may be taken the graffito on the back wall of the tower (Block W 23) which gives us the date 93 A. D.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΥ ΟΛΩΙΟΥ Κ
Π̄ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΟΣ

Letters scratched with a point 0.015—0.02 m. high. The name Kallistratos occurs in Cumont's inscription No. 43, the other two names though common in Greek, are new at Dura. Not uncommonly the citizens signed themselves Europaios though this addition to the name is usually connected with early inscriptions. In every case it is connected with names entirely Greek and I am inclined to think it was a title of honor belonging to the leading families. It would mean that the family held full citizenship, a privilege denied to the non-Greek settlers.

375. (Block N 26). Tracing. Letters 0.03—0.05 m. high.

ΠΝΗΣΘΕΙΗΣ ΦΑΛΟΤΙΝΑΡΟΣ
ΚΑΙ ΡΑΒΟΡΓΑΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ

Time has treated kindly the little graffito D. 139 in the north doorway of the Palmyrene Gate, and the letters are clearer than they were three years ago. Not all is readable by any means but the phrases analogous to 375 may be read with certainty. I suggest instead of Johnson's reading

ΠΙΝΗΣΘΕΙΗΣ ΑΔΑΔΟΣ Δ
 ΚΑΙ ΒΑΙΣ - ΚΑΙ ΖΑΒΑΔΔΗΣ
 ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝ
 ΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ.....

It is very interesting to find that in both cases in which the phrase *πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους* is used, the form of the verb is the second person singular. Very probably in the other graffiti in which *μνησθείης* is found, some such phrase as *πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους* is understood. The form has been discussed at some length in *Rep. II*, pp. 96 ff. No explanation of the form, however, is entirely satisfactory and the present instances accentuate the difficulties of interpretation rather than clarify the meaning. Obviously the inscriptions ask that the dedicants be remembered by gods and men. Since the verb is second person, one expects the names of the dedicants to be in the vocative case and the verb to be interpreted as passive or to find the names in the genitive or accusative as objects of the verb. With the phrase *πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους* it seems more reasonable that unless the verb is used in a passive sense the passer-by rather than the divinity was addressed. Such an invocation followed by the signatures of the dedicants with the phrase 'before gods and men' added, makes literal translation exceedingly difficult. Perhaps it is better for the present to leave the question still open and hope that future inscriptions will bring the true explanation.

The middle of the first name is not at all clear and the faint scratches may be read *Φανιτιναρος* or *Φαντιναρος*. M. le Cte. Du Mesnil du Buisson, however, suggests its connection with the roots "faleti" "has delivered" and "Nehar" "Nahr" "the river" and this seems the best reading.

In the second name we may have the name of the goddess 'Ate. *Βαργάτης* is of course a common compound formed with this root. We may have the same name here with *omicron* written for *alpha*. Cumont found (Inscription 33) a *Ῥόβος*, which he says is written for the common *Ῥάβος* or *Ῥάββος* (Cumont, p. 392). More satisfactory is the suggestion of M. Du Mesnil that the last part of the name be connected with the name *Ῥαργάθος* (Wuth. p. 160).

376. Squeeze. (Block S 35). Letters 0.02—0.04 m. high and cut clearly in the stone.

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ

The inscription may be compared to that found in the first campaign scratched on the Palmyrene gate (C 3) εὐχαριστῶ τῇ Τύχη Δούρα(ς).

377. The remaining inscriptions from the southwest tower are of the common type of μνησθῆ dedication, sometimes with and sometimes without the verb. The large proportion are found on the north wall of the tower.

The first (377) is scrawled across two blocks (N 32 and 31) with letters 0.04—0.14 m. high. It gives the name

ΕΛΛΑΜΑΝΑΙΟΣ

The reading of the *nu* is very doubtful for the marks on the stone look more like *lambda*, *delta*, or a *mu*. Σαλαμόνης is a common name at Dura, however, (D. 32, D. 116, R. 18, Pg. III. 8 and 115; Cumont, 127) and Σαλαμόνος occurs elsewhere in Syria (Wad. 2262 and Wad. 2337). Probably then this is the root we have here with Σαλαμαναῖος as a variation of Σαλαμάνιος.

On the tier of stones below this name (Block N 50) is a right handed swastika; a left handed one occurs on the south wall (Block S 41).

378. (Block N 43). Squeeze. Hammered across 2 blocks in letters 0.045—0.09 m. high.

ΠΙΝΗCΘHC
ΓΟΡAC
ΚΑΙ ΟΥΒΑΒΝΗC

It is interesting to see the form μνησθῆς occurring again for it confirms the reading in inscription H. 45. In H. 45 the dedicant is Διογόρος but as the name Γόρος is common at Dura (Cumont, 50, 121, D. 36) there is no necessity to restore three letters in front. The reading of the first part of the second name is by no means clear and the unique appearance of the name here makes the reading more than doubtful. Οὐβάβνης is probably to be connected with the name Οὐβέβη (Wuth., p. 92).

379. (Block N 24). Squeeze. Letters 0.030—0.055 m. high hammered in the stone.

ΑΛΟΥΛΑΙΟΣ
ΓΟΡΑΙΟΣ

The first name is cited by Wuthnow (p. 18). Γορναῖος is known at Dura (D. 131) and Γοριαία (Cumont, 58). Γορᾶιος must be a form of the same root.

380. (Block N 47). Letters 0.015—0.04 m. high scratched with a point.

ΠΚΝἨCΘΕΙΗC ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC
ΚΡΑΤΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΡΑΒΟΝΙΝΑΟΥ

The verb is misspelled for the *nu* is omitted. The final *eta* looks more like *omicron* than *eta*, but must be restored as *eta*. Theodorus is well known at Dura and Κρατέας occurs in the genitive in Cumont, 104. For the last name compare 372. The last syllables are probably to be connected with the root Ραβωνία.

381. (Blocks N 46 and 45). Tracing. Letters 0.1—0.13 m. high are scrawled with a point.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡ[ΟC] ΚΡΑΤ[ΕΟΥ]

A repetition of the name in the inscription above.

382. (Blocks N 29 and 28). Squeeze. Letters 0.05 m. high hammered in the stone, quite carefully made and running across two blocks.

ΕΗΔΙΕΔΙΛΙΑΙΟΕ

Though the letters were regularly cut, the reading is particularly difficult. The first *delta* may be *alpha*, *sigma* may be *omicron*, the second *delta*, *beta*, and the combination *iota-lambda* may be *omega* or *alpha*. Under the circumstances a satisfactory reading is impossible but compare the name Σαδείλος (Wuthnow, 101).

383. (Block 29). Tracing. Letters 0.015 m. high scratched with a point.

ΠΑΠΙΑC ΔΑCΑΡΕΚΟC ΒΑΡΛΑΑC ΑΚΚΑ

The genitive Παπίου occurs at Dura (Cumont 57, *Rep. IV*, 276 and 341). Βαρλάας is common at Dura. The name *Ακκας with genitive *Ακκα occurs in the second—third century A. D. in Egypt (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*). Compare also *Ακκεος genitive and accusative in Palmyra (Wuthnow, p. 15).

384. (Block N 29). Squeeze. Letters 0.02—0.025 m. scratched deeply with a point.

- (a) Μ ΣΚΟΡ
(b) ΠΟΦΙ

The letters of the first word are very well cut but the only suggestion I can make is to connect it with the soldier's name Σκαυριανός Μαξίμου (D. 158) found in the 1929—30 campaign.

385. (Block N 44). Letters 0.025 m. high scratched with a point.

ΜΝΗΣΘ(Ε)ΙΗΣ ΔΑΝΥ
ΜΟΣ

Μνησθίης written for μνησθείης perhaps through carelessness, perhaps with the common shift from ει to ι. Δάνυμος is common at Dura.

After this graffito had been engraved someone scratched the syllable μνησθ on the stone in letters six centimeters high. The first two letters come just before the -μος of this inscription, and the last three after it, obviously avoiding the letters previously written.

386. (Block N 4). Squeeze. Letters 0.09—0.13 m. high hammered in the stone.

NABOYBAPAKO[C
ABBAC

Ναβουβάρακος occurs for the first time this year but was found several times. 'Αββᾶς was found at Dura in H. 18.

387. (Block N 22). Squeeze and Tracing.

ΜΗΛΙΟ ΔΩΡΟΧΗΡΑΚΛΗΔΟΥ
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΟ ΣΤΩΝ ΔΑΔΑ

Cumont found (Inscription 27) the words τῶν Δαδᾶ. The occurrence of this formula τῶν followed by a proper name in the genitive designates he believes (p. 344) the tribe or family to which the individual belongs. It is equivalent to the *Beni* of a person. In our inscription the ending is not clear, but the τῶν Δαδᾶ is certain and it seems clear that we have the name of the patriarch or *genearches*. What is strange, is to find one with such an entirely Greek name, especially with the title *Europaioi*, which I believe belongs to privileged families, belonging to a tribe the name of whose *genearches* is entirely Semitic.

This can only be explained, I believe, by postulating a complete mixture proved by the Semitic and Greek names in the same family found on the blocks of the *salle aux gradins*. Probably this same tribe title we have after the word *Europaios* in inscriptions H. 46 and 47 from the tower No. 3. (*Rep. II*, p. 110).

Johnson restored in D. 122

Ἡλι[ό]δω[ρος]
Ἡρακ[λείδους].

Our inscription confirms his reading.

388. (Block N 59). Squeeze and tracing. Letters 0.035 m. high faintly traced with point.

ΠΝΗΕ ΘΕΗΕΠΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ
ΟΣ ΚΑΙ Δ ΓΟΡΑ ΝΟΥΠΗΓ

The first three names are well known at Dura. This is the first mention of an *ἀγορανόμος* at Dura. Possibly the same office is referred to, as Welles remarks, in the graffito ἐπίσκοπος from the Church (*Rep. IV*, p. 177). Probably the letters AT in the last line (not reproduced on the facsimile) are not a date but part of another name. The date, however, of 11/10 B. C. would not be improbable in the tower.

The graffito is almost on the ground level. If the floor were so low, however, as to make this level convenient for writing, the series of graffiti above would be entirely out of reach. As the stone floor level is clearly marked just below this block, the low position is good evidence of an early date. The breaks in the walls show us that this portion of the tower sank into the cave beneath, to the depth of two tiers of blocks.

389. (Blocks N 65—63). Tracing. Letters 0.06 m. high hammered with a succession of dots.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΙΜΑΙΟΣ

Δικαιοκλῆς occurs in H. 60 but not Δίκαιος. It seems more probable that δίκαιος is here used as an adjective especially since

the following name is in the nominative case (cf. $\mu\acute{o}\gamma\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ in inscription 391). As the first letter of the second word is clearly a three bar *mu*, the third symbol must be read as double *lambda* rather than *mu*. The name, however, is not known at Dura. M. Du Mesnil suggests the name is connected with the word "Milelai." Compare also Malhae, Malleos (Wuthnow, p. 70 and p. 148).

390. (Block S 43). Letters 0.04—0.07 m. high, cut with point.

ΑΘΕΝΟΔ
ΑΤΗC

Apparently the last part of the name is written below, a name formed by combining the Persian form $-\delta\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ with the name of the Greek goddess.

On block S 51 the first four letters of an abecedarium are written in letters 0.055 m. high. On block S 56 a horseman is scratched.

391. (Blocks W 15 and 14). Tracing. Letters 0.06—0.07 m. high hammered in the stone.

ΠΟΓΕΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛ[ΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ

The first letter might be *pi* or *gamma*. *Mu* seems the best reading, however, and the name $\mu\acute{o}\gamma\epsilon\rho\varsigma$ occurs in South Syria (Littmann, Magie, Stuart, *Syria*, Section A, Southern Syria, Leyden, 1921). Perhaps, however, the word is an adjective qualifying the name as in inscription 389 (cf. inscription 595 from the Christian Chapel).

A figure is hammered in the stone between the two names and the names probably have nothing to do with one another.

392. (Block E 16). Letters 0.01—0.015 m. high scratched with point.

ΟΡΟCΘ
ΗΛΙΟΔ[ωρος]
ΠΙΠΟΝΑΙΟC
ΖΕΒΙΔΑΑC
ΒΟ... Β

The genitive form Ζεβειδίου occurs in the Dura parchment VII, 9. The first and last words are unsatisfactory. The letters of the third word seem clear except for two near the end, but I can find no other occurrence of such a name.

393. (Block S 10). Scrawling letters scratched with point.

ΑΙΠΑΝΑΙ

394. (Block N 8). Letters hammered in the stone 0.05—0.06 m. high.

ΘΑΙΠΟΣ

The reading seems perfectly clear and though it has not occurred hitherto at Dura the name is not uncommon (Wuth., p. 52).

395. Squeeze. Letters 0.09 m. high hammered in block outside the tower just to left of entrance.

ΑΓΑΓΓΑΠ...ΛΛ

The letters seem clear but no such name occurs. Probably we have the same root as in the name, Αγγαίος (Cumont 25).

396. Photograph. Letters 0.01—0.015 m. high painted in red on white plaster. The fragment 0.225 m. wide by 0.17 m. high was found in the *débris* in front of the southwest bastion and should be included here. It was probably part of the same inscription to which the fragments D. 155 (Αὐρήλιος | σεν...ος) and D. 156 (Ἄ]πόλλω[νι | Ἄρτέ-μι[δι) found in the 1929—30 campaign belong.

ΑΥΡ]ΗΛΙΟΣ ΘΕΟ]ΔΟΤΟΣ
 ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ Δ Ο[..
 ΚΟΛΩΝΙΟΔ[ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ
 ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ
 ΖΗΝΟΔ[ΟΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ
 Δ]ΥΡΗ[ΛΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΔ
 [ΟΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΥΙΟΥΣ]

The plaster on which these names were painted was apparently attached to the tower probably at the end of the *chemin de ronde* for fragments were found high up in the *débris*. The position is significant for it suggests that the inscription was written after the first mud brick embankment was constructed when the only entrance to the tower would be by means of the *chemin de ronde*.

Since all the men mentioned in the inscription bear the *gentilicium* of the Emperor Caracalla, they must have lived during or after the reign of this emperor.

Professor Rostovtzeff suggests Κολωνιοδουρανός for the third line and this seems the best suggestion though it is curious that a citizen of Dura should so sign himself when the term Ἑυρωπαϊά was used in the Roman title of the city rather than Δουρανή. Note however that Cumont (Inscription 50) found reference to certain Κόλωνες at Dura.

It would be most interesting if we could interpret the fragment D. 156, part of this same inscription, with certainty as a dedication to Apollo and Artemis (see *Rep. III*, p. 58). There is no reason why dedications to any gods should not be made in a temple dedicated to special gods. Such, as a matter of fact, is the case in the Temple of Azzanathkona, in which a soldier's inscription is erected to Jupiter. We know however that at least part of the southwest temple was dedicated to Aphlad whom I am inclined to associate with the sun. Fragments of plaster show part of the face of a goddess or priestess. Very possibly, therefore, there was a divine pair in the temple, whose Greek equivalents would be Apollo and Artemis. Not very much weight can be placed on the painted fragment, however, for the parts of the two words may well be sections of proper names, formed from the names of the divinities.

397. Block 55. Tower of Palmyrene temple. Tracing. Letters 0.005—0.01 m. written in ink on the stone. Mrs. Pearson who was our guest at camp at the beginning of the season was kind enough to assist in studying the interesting series of figures hammered in the stones of this tower. In this study she discovered the two following ink inscriptions whose letters had been completely lost to view in the soot of the walls.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΛΤ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ Η
 ΝΑΒ[ΟΥ]ΒΑΡΑΚΟΣ
 ΜΑΡΙΩΝ
 ΡΑ[ΓΗ]ΑΔΑΔΟΣ
 ΒΑ...

The year 26 A. D. is the earliest we have for the tower and indeed for this section of the city including the temple. We know that this part of the tower is older than the west and upper portions of the structure, however, and the date, therefore, is of no assistance in fixing the date of the circuit wall.

There is no trace of 'ου' in the first name or of 'γη' in the third. A space sufficient for the letters is left in both cases, however, and restoration in view of the occurrence of the names elsewhere at Dura, seems certain.

The name Μαρίων occurs in Cumont 69.

For the final dedicant probably the common Semitic name Βαρχάβος or Βαρσας should be supplied.

398. Block 55. Tower of Palmyrene temple. Letters 0.005—0.01 m. in ink and very faint.

ΕΤΟΥC[ΓΛ]ΤΕ[ΤΟ]ΥC ΓΛΤ

Apparently we have the date 21—2 A. D. repeated.

399. Block 55. Letters 0.01 m. high scratched with point. Rubbing.

ΠΝΗCΘΕΙ[Η]C ΑΝΤ[Ι]ΟΧΟC

Of the names beginning with Ἄντ-, Antiochus is the most common at Dura.

FIGURES IN THE TOWERS

The curious fact that in the towers between the southwest bastion and the Palmyrene Gate there were no inscriptions but several figures whereas in the southwest bastion there were many inscriptions but almost no figures has already been remarked. The figures like those cut in the stones of the northwest tower are hammered in the blocks with a dull instrument. The whole surface of the figure is uniformly marked so that all details except the outline is obscured. The work is often most crude and the figures sometimes by no means clear.

The figures in the newly-excavated towers are entirely scenes of daily life; many representations of river boats (Pl. XXXII, 1) with high prow and stern, guided down the current, or pushed along with a pole; a man leading a horse; two dogs or jackals fighting; a man with hands raised in prayer.

In the tower of the Palmyrene temple the river boat with crew is found again and the representation of the man with hands raised as if in prayer is most common. In addition there is the group of warriors fighting and a scene, scratched with a point, of a man fighting a lion. Closely related to the suppliant is the figure of a man whose hands, raised in the attitude of prayer, apparently hold a band or fillet which arches over the head (Pl. XXXII, 3). A similar posture is found in one of the little figures of a Palmyrene altar.¹² A still closer and very significant parallel, however, is found in a little figure, now in the

¹² J.-B. Chabot, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Palmyre* (Paris, 1922), Pl. XXIII, 4.

Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, from a Parthian faience slipper coffin.¹³ Not only as the photograph shows is the gesture the same with the same type of circlet going over the head from hand to hand, but the style of work, in which the figure is very roughly blocked out and outlines alone clearly marked, is strikingly similar to the hammered representations.

It is probably the Parthian element that explains best certain details in the large figure of a god (Pl. XXXII, 2). The divinity, portrayed with rayed head, stands just over a meter high, and is drawn in the eastern fashion with feet and legs in profile, waist and head full front. The cleaning and study this year revealed that he carries in the left hand a wreath or crown adorned with ribbons, in his right a spear. Two of the ribbons stretch straight down to the feet, the third extends to the right then twists back across the other two. The hair forms a broad semicircular band around the head, and from this two triangular points representing rays project. Additional lines emanating from the head at various points increase the effect of the radiated crown. Since an altar dedicated to Iarhibol was found just outside the entrance to the tower, the drawing doubtless represents this popular deity. In the Palmyrene representations, moreover, as well as in the Dura paintings, Iarhibol is usually portrayed as a warrior with spear. The wreath with tassels, on the other hand, is most common in representations of Parthian and Sassanian kings and deities. It seems, therefore, that we have here a mixture of Semitic and Parthian elements, a mixture by no means uncommon in the cults of Dura.

Another representation of great interest is that on block 59 portraying steeds with riders standing before altars (Pl. XXXII, 4). One of the animals is clearly a camel and the presence of the altar in front must identify him as the caravan god 'Arsu. Whether the second rider is mounted on a camel or stands on the back of a horse is not clear. One is tempted to consider him a horseman and to compare the scene with the representations of 'Arsu and Azizu on the famous relief of Palmyra (Chabot, Pl. XXII, 1; Ingholt, Pl. VII and pp. 42 ff.). The drawing, however, though too crude for complete certainty seems better interpreted as a second representation of camel and rider. Professor Rostovtzeff has recently published some of the Palmyrene tesserae with representations of these two popular gods.¹⁴ 'Arsu was the more important at Palmyra, leading the caravans in the desert by

¹³ Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 64.

¹⁴ *Journal of Roman Studies*, XXII (1932), Part I, pp. 107—116.

night, as divine star (and perhaps the moon also) while Samas and perhaps Bel leads them by day. It is no surprise to find one or both at Dura, but it is interesting to see that the representations of these gods so popular at Palmyra are drawn in a tower which was certainly included in the precinct of the trinity Zeus-Baal, Iarhibol and Aglibol, a trinity also most prominent at Palmyra. It is not impossible that in the great painting of five divinities found in room K beside the tower we have beside Zeus-Baal, Iarhibol (the sun), Aglibol (the moon), also the portrait of 'Arsu, the divine star even though his symbol, the camel, is absent.

A second relief from Palmyra¹⁵ depicts a nude boy, in profile sitting on a throne or altar, turned to right and raising some object to his mouth. Three women reclining on a couch are also turned to the right but hold their heads face to the front. Professor Rostovtzeff¹⁶ has called attention to the fact that the male or female figure reclining on a couch is common among the so-called Parthian terra cottas and that such figures occur on many a Palmyrene tessera. They represent either deified mortals (the deceased as hero) or gods, sometimes in groups of three. The Palmyrene relief Professor Rostovtzeff interprets as representing perhaps a group of gods, perhaps one god (the boy) and worshippers reclining and partaking of a sacred meal. With the example of this relief and the other Palmyrene tesseræ, one may recognize the design in a small scene hammered on block 49. A couch is represented and apparently three small figures recline upon it. In the foreground a boy seems to be seated on the ground. Details are obscure but there can be no doubt that the whole falls into this class of reclining god or hero representation.

Special mention should also be made of the series of altars some scratched, some hammered on the surface of some of the blocks. The altars before the caravan gods have columns rising from a fairly wide base and supporting a wide semicircular top. The second type, of which there are four in the tower, has a more or less square base. The lines of the sides are continued some distance above the top of this base and from the top of each a line descends to the middle of the altar forming a pointed projection whose highest point is immediately above the outside edge of the altar. In the center of the altar fire is represented by a series of lines in shape like a standing branch. It is this type of

¹⁵ Chabot, Pl. XXII, 1; but Ingholt, p. 42 ff. has shown it does not belong to the representation of the caravan divinities.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.* p. 109.

altar which was the common one among the Parthians and Sassanids as the coins show.

In this group of altars there might be included also a design hammered in the stone close to the representation of the great god. Lines rise from the center as towards the horns of an altar but here a series of steps is formed to depict a top similar to the altar horns represented on some coins from Persis.¹⁷ Unfortunately the design was never completed and identification is not entirely certain.

STATISTICS OF TOWERS

Tower 17. Length, 5.30 m. Width, 5.27 m. Height from foundation tier to ledge supporting second floor, 2.09 m. The ledge is 0.485 m. deep and runs around all the walls except the front. The first foundation tier projects 0.32 m. and the second 0.10 m. A rubble wall, 1.14 m. wide, is built up across the middle of the width of the room to the third story. The door in the middle of the wall had a straight top supported by wooden beams. The tower doorway placed in the center is 1.56 m. wide, 2.20 m. deep and 1.20 m. high plus an arch of 0.70 m. running through two courses of stone.

Tower 16. Length, 5.86 m. Width, 5.26 m. Height from foundation tiers to ledge of second floor, 2.13 m. The ledge is 0.415 m. deep and runs around the back and two side walls. The first foundation tier projects 0.30 and 0.36 m. A rubble wall 1.36 m. wide, is built up across the middle of the width to the third floor. The door at the north end has a straight top supported by wooden beams. The tower doorway placed in the center of the front wall is 1.645 m. wide, 2.17 m. deep and 1.25 m. high plus a corbelled arch 0.78 m. high running through two courses of stone.

Tower 15. Length, 6.49 m. Width, 5.26 m. Height from foundation tier to ledge of second floor, 2.02 m. The ledge is 0.44 m. deep and runs around the back and two side walls. The first foundation tier projects 0.36 and 0.33 m. from the wall. A rubble wall 1.08 m. wide is built up across the middle of the width to the third floor. Above this part of a mud brick wall remains. The door in the south section of the wall has a straight top supported by wooden beams. The tower doorway placed in the center of the front wall is 1.63 m. wide, 2.20 m.

¹⁷ G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922), Pls. XXIX, 7; XXX, 2—8 etc.

deep and has an arch 1.20 m. high running through three courses of stone.

Tower 14. (The southwest tower). Length, 10.55 m. Width, 5.40 m. There are no projecting foundation tiers but the walls rise directly from the stone desert floor. The ledge 0.43 m. wide supporting the second story is found on the north, west, and south sides. This on the south is 3.06 m. above the rock, on the north where the wall has settled down it is 1.90 m. A rubble wall, 1.32 m. wide, is built along the middle of the length of the room leaving only space enough at either end for doorways. This rises to a height of 1.77 m. above which a mud brick wall is placed. In addition mud brick walls have been built from the center of each side wall to the middle rubble wall. These were 0.67 m. wide. The tower doorway placed in the front wall only half a meter from the north wall of the tower, is 1.62 m. wide, 2.22 m. deep and its present height above the rock is 0.76 m. (this section of the tower has settled down) plus a corbelled arch 1.03 m. high running through two and a half courses of stone.

The blocked doorway is in the north wall, half a meter from the east wall. It was made with a straight keystone top and is 1.60 m. wide.

Southwest Citadel tower (9). Length, 5.87 m. Width, 5.02 m. There are no projecting foundation tiers but the walls rise directly from the desert rock. Along the south and north walls runs a ledge approximately 0.40 m. wide, some 4.44 m. above the ground. These ledges supported the beams of the second floor. On the east and west walls a ledge only a few centimeters wide and some 0.20 m. higher helped to support probably the smaller cross beams. The second floor possessed three niches with loopholes, one on each side (north, west and east). Each was built with corbelled arch running through three courses of stone and screened with a wall of stone at the back through which a narrow opening had been made allowing space for shooting with bow and arrow. In the front (the east wall) a doorway with straight keystone top running completely through had been built, immediately above the first floor doorway.

The doorway to the ground floor placed at the north end of the east wall is 2.82 m. high plus a corbelled arch 1.00 m. high running through three courses of stone. The width of the doorway inside is 1.60 m. The stone posts supporting the screen of the arch project, however, 0.14 m. on each side narrowing the doorway to 1.32 m. The depth of the screen is 1.06 m. and of the whole doorway including

screen, 2.74 m. The screen forms a square top for the door, blocking the arch and one tier of stones (0.41 m.) below the spring of the arch. Just inside this top screen a great beam ran across the top of the door. One end of this still shows the round hole into which the jamb of the wooden door fitted.

II. PRIVATE HOUSES

BY C. HOPKINS

GENERAL SURVEY

From a topographical point of view our most important work this year was the excavation of a large section in the center of the city. The previous campaign had disclosed two houses in block C 7, one of which contained the Sassanian wall paintings. At the beginning of our campaign work was begun here and the entire block cleared. At the same time the last two rooms (3 and 4) in the House of the Archives (B 8, H) were excavated and work continued along Street H north of Main Street. Finally a large section comprising parts of Blocks G 1—6 was dug to reveal the market center of the city, and some study made of the routes from the lower levels of the city beside the citadel to the upper plateau.

In this work a series of houses in block C 7 was brought to light, a group of houses on either side of alley G 3 were found, and linked to the shops a few private houses around the market place proper were revealed.

The private houses were found to conform in general to houses excavated in previous campaigns. The street entrance does not lead directly to the court but makes an elbow turn thus screening the court from the gaze of the passer-by in the street. The court was uncovered and gave entrance to the series of rooms which surrounded it. The largest room of the house invariably had its entrance in the middle of one side of the court. It was approached by one or two steps, in all but the largest houses was adorned with a bench of plaster a few centimeters high and a meter or so wide, running from the doorway completely around the chamber, and was often decorated with a narrow plaster molding. The largest houses probably had the same type of bench, but made of some more costly material such as wood which has disintegrated. The houses were of one story but a staircase either in the court or beside it led to the roof. In the middle of the court was constructed an underground cistern. Analogy with the houses in Delos suggests it was used for storing water. At Dura, however, in many cases the opening at the head was too narrow to allow easy access to a water supply. Lack of any other provision for latrines suggests it was used for this purpose though its position usually in the

center of the court does not speak well for the modesty of the inhabitants. The cistern served also the useful purpose of draining the court in the occasional hard rain. Excavations of a few of these pits confirmed the theory that at least many were used as latrines.

In the second Preliminary Report the ground plans of houses at Dura had been compared with those of Olynthus in Macedonia, for in Olynthus also one finds the central court surrounded by a series of rooms, and the chief room adorned with the same type of low plaster divan.¹ Since that time excavations at Ur and the publication of houses in Assur have revealed an eastern type remarkably similar to houses in Dura. The usual plan at Ur is a series of small rooms around a central court. One may compare the Dura houses especially with house III on Store Street, house IV on Straight Street, and house XIII on Church Street, for in all three the entrances make an elbow turn to screen the court from public view.² Parthian houses at Assur dating from the early third century have even more details in common with the Dura constructions. They have almost invariably the angle turn into the open court, a staircase leading to the roof and around the court a series of rooms one of which is adorned with the same type of low divan. A new and peculiar element at Assur, however, was the *Liwan*, a vaulted room whose side toward the court was left open. Oelmann has shown that the *Liwan* type is a Syrian creation, dating from early times.³ Andrae and Lenzen, on the other hand, in their recent publication, suggest that though to a certain extent the *Liwan* could be called Assyrian, the examples at Assur, similar to chambers at Hatra, have been perhaps introduced from Persia or Arabia.⁴ Certainly it seems that in the private houses at Assur, the *Liwan* room has been introduced into the usual type of eastern house, not that an entirely new type of structure has superseded the regular eastern form. The modern Arab house in Deir-ez-Zor and Meyadin preserves the open court, the stairs to the roof, and the series of rooms about the court, but allows the street door to open directly into the court, a convenience in driving the sheep and donkeys in and out. Quite commonly there are no rooms on the street sides of the courts. With these analogies we must discount the Macedonian element in

¹ *Rep. II*, pp. 58—59.

² *The Antiquaries Journal*, October 1931, Vol XI, No. 4. "Excavations at Ur 1930—31," pp. 433 ff. House plans in plate XLVII.

³ F. Oelmann, "Hilani und Liwanhaus," *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CXXVII, pp. 189 ff.

⁴ W. Andrae und Heinz Lenzen, "Die Partherstadt Assur" (Leipzig, 1933), p. 5.

the house plans at Dura though one reason for the adoption of this eastern style may have been its similarity to the houses already familiar to the Macedonian settlers. V. Müller, in his excellent article on the palace of Vouni in Cyprus,⁵ suggests that to eastern influence is due the house-type at Olynthus and subsequently that at Delos. This theory explains admirably the similarity in plan of houses at Olynthus and Dura, and, stressing the very wide acceptance of the eastern type, throws into relief at Assur the innovation which superimposed a *Liwan* room on a common house-type.

Special features of arrangement may best be discussed in the description of the individual house but certain details should be mentioned here. They are illustrated by the drawings of Mr. Pearson (Pl. VI) who made a study of all the houses excavated at Dura. The plan of a typical house illustrates many of the domestic arrangements, the location of the kitchen screened from the court and equipped with oven, trough for kneading and storage jar; the bowl set beneath the stairs and supplied with pipe to catch rain water from the roof, the position of the latrine, character and disposition of the divan and its entrance, etc. The court or entrance way of almost every house was equipped with a heavy plaster bowl, the inside of which was coated with successive layers of plaster.⁶ Obviously the method of repair of walls and doorways was the same as at present, to mix a little plaster at a time in the bowl and apply it to the house. Three types of stairways were employed, one with two turns in a little chamber beside the court, a straight stair up the side of the court, and one in the court with a right angled turn close to the bottom. The profiles of lintels and jambs are most interesting for they differ so strikingly from the usual Greek type. In profile the lintels remind one somewhat of lintels in the Hauran but there the lines of the lintel turned at the jambs and continued to the ground. This Hauran type still remains apparently in the entrance to the pronaos of the temple of Nannaia for the cutting of the side posts reminds one of lintel blocks.⁷ The lintel block itself, however, was not found. The other doorways at Dura have ornamental cutting only on lintels and jamb capitals. None of the cast plaster

⁵ V. Müller, "A. J. A.," (XXXVI) (1932), pp. 408 ff.

⁶ Compare the similar plaster bowls found in late Parthian houses at Assur; Andrae und Lenzen, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁷ For the Hauran see the *Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Div. II, Section A, Part five, Ill. 283; plate XXIV, etc. Compare also the doorways in Galilee, Kohl-Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, p. 90.

blocks with busts in relief was found *in situ* but the discovery of similar plain blocks left no doubt but that they were all employed in supporting wooden benches. Parts of columns with deep flutes were found in the palace on the citadel, in the entrance doorway of the redoubt, and in drums utilised as blocks in the rear wall of the temple of Nannaia. Other columns in the redoubt had very shallow flutes; the rest of the columns at Dura were plain. Interesting is the peculiar decoration of the underside of the lintel stone. That found in the redoubt still preserved the red and black paint with which it was colored. A second came from the temple of Nannaia, a third from the building of cut gypsum blocks excavated this year in G 3, G. Only these three have been found, all cut from exceptionally large blocks of gypsum. Apparently they belonged to the most important buildings and to a period very early in the city's existence.

BLOCK C 7.

This block lies on the east side of Street H between Main Street and the north corner of the temple of Atargatis. Main Street between blocks C 7 and B 8 was adorned with an arch spanning the thoroughfare on the east side of Street H. Between the arch and the wadi Main Street narrows considerably, the middle of block B 8 jutting out into it sharply and block C 5 reaching forward in successive steps until the wide avenue of the middle city becomes little more than an alley less than four meters wide. It is obvious, therefore, that the traffic of the city did not proceed straight through to the wadi but turned aside on Street H, either left to approach the wadi and the river gate through Street 2, or right to the entrance of the temple of Artemis, the southeast quarter of the town as a whole and perhaps to the lower city by the south branch of the wadi. Block C 7 then fronts on the less important section of Main Street beyond the arch, and on the thoroughfare which bore the chief traffic southward from Main Street. The block as a whole is divided into series of houses (eleven in all) and a few shops (six) in a manner probably differing only in details from many blocks of the residential district (for the plan see *Rep. IV*, Pl. V).

House A.

One expects that a residential block will be divided into two groups of houses ranged along the length of the block and separated by a

common back wall which divides the block longitudinally. This plan is followed in general by block C 7 except that house A with its entrance in the middle of the block on Main Street interrupts the continuity of the design. It is an interesting feature for it suggests that house A was the first constructed, built before the regular scheme of lot divisions had been made. This priority of construction in the case of A seems borne out by the entrance alley 9 which ends in a blank wall to the west. Originally it must have led into one or two rooms separated from the rest of the house, in the space which is now taken up by house E. This arrangement of an entrance alley leading on the one hand to the court, on the other to rooms isolated from the rest of the house is already known at Dura for the house beside the little temple of the Roman archers showed just such a plan (*Rep. II*, pp. 57 ff.). In this latter case the alley led to a series of two rooms (see the plan *Rep. II*, Pl. VIII) which one might enter without going through the central court of the building. Since M. Cumont also found in his excavations (*Fouilles*, pp. 242 ff. and Pl. LXXXIX) a series of two rooms set aside from the rest of the house it seems reasonable to conclude that our house originally had this same feature. None of the other houses in the block has followed this arrangement except perhaps house B, which had also lost these rooms in later alterations. The question presents itself, therefore: was the style of additional isolated rooms given up because of a change of fashion or for the sake of economy? Here, at least, in block C, I am inclined to think it was due to economy for the block contains an exceptionally large number of houses besides several shops and must therefore in the third century have been inhabited by people of moderate means.

House A has many other peculiarities in its arrangements due, in part at least, to changes in the course of its existence. The divan (10) is placed in an unusual position for its entrance is from a corner of the court into one end of the room. Clearly at one time this room belonged to house A². Its entrance then would have been much more appropriately placed near the center of the sides of court and room. The double wall between rooms 3 and 10 shows that room 10 did not form an intrinsic part of the early building. It is unusual also to have in a small house an inner room not opening on the court as does room 2 here. Beneath room 2 a small cellar was constructed. A gypsum cover to the entrance rested on a narrow plaster rim and beneath a few steps led down to the chamber. M. Cumont believed the cellars served as refuge for the inhabitants in the heat of the summer. Most

of those excavated this year were, however, so small that they would be suitable only for storerooms.

The kitchen seems to have been located between the curtain wall which screened the entrance and the stairs for the plaster trough for mixing or kneading lay beneath the top of the stairs. Quite commonly a column or two helped to cut off the kitchen from the rest of the court. Perhaps in deference to this custom the curtain wall here was treated to form a quarter-engaged column at the outer end. In the wall just above the plaster bench in the divan and beside a series of three niches, a round socket of plaster was made approximately 0.12 m. in diameter. This type of socket is found in many houses usually in the divan. It appears to be designed to hold one end of a beam but there is never more than one in a room and the purpose it served remains a mystery. A curious feature were two disks of plaster one in room 3, the other in room 2, both disks colored with paint. That in room 3, 0.80 m. wide, had a bottom layer of plaster apparently encircled by a black band, and a concentric row of red dots. Red dots also adorned the inside of the circle. Similar red dots and a light blue pattern of some sort adorned the later layer of plaster. The small disk of room 2 was circled by a raised band of plaster and apparently also had been marked with red dots. Two graffiti of horned altars had been scratched on the plaster with a point. Possibly the disks were used as background for an image or ornament. On the west wall of room 10 a series of graffiti had been scratched. Unfortunately the plaster had been badly damaged and only a part could be read.

400. Tracing, Letters 0.02 m. high.

MNHCΘΗ
TIBEP[IA]NO[C]

The name is probably Tiberianus found in Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 5911, or Tiberinus, written with *epsilon iota* for *iota*. The Latin 'u' is written for the Greek *upsilon* in the ending of the name.

House A² and Shops A² 4—5.

The house A² was one of the smallest found, consisting really of only the court and the small chamber 8 whose wall helped to screen the court from the street. Probably originally the house contained rooms 4 and 5 and also, as has been remarked, room A 10. Room

A 10 was ceded to house A and rooms 4 and 5 though retained by the owner of house A² were turned into shops with openings on Main Street. From A² 4 came an immense quantity of coarse pottery fragments. Very probably, therefore, the owner dealt in this ware or perhaps he was a dealer in wine and employed many vessels to separate the vintages. In the court A² 6 was discovered a small camel of green *faïence* equipped with pack saddle (now at Yale) in the form of a little bowl (Pl. XX, 4). Traces of fire in this bowl showed it had been used for burning incense. Figurines of *faïence* are comparatively rare at Dura though common in Assur in the Parthian period. Our figure of a camel may be compared with the many *faïence* camel figurines from Assur though I know of none made in just this form. The work is very crude and may well be of local workmanship.

In the court was found also an alabaster figurine of a bird (Pl. XX, 3). The square stand of the same material found near by was evidently designed to support it. Apparently the bird was a hawk or eagle, though the loss of the head makes identification difficult. The modelling was done with some care and indication of the feathers carefully made. One must associate this representation with the great bird perched on the horns of an altar painted in the temple of Aphlad. Very probably here also, the base represented not merely a perch for the bird but a small altar. As the court of house B also contained a cult statue, we may judge the court to be the cult center. It was the appropriate place for in the court the common family life must have been concentrated.

House B.

House B consists of merely two rooms beside the court, the divan adorned with usual low plaster bench and a leaf and acorn molded frieze; and a little side chamber from the court. As the space was very limited and the narrow entrance gave on a corner of the court no additional screening was considered necessary.

House B².

House B² is distinguished by its unusual arrangement of rooms, rooms 3 and 4 opening only into the divan, a disposition undoubtedly dictated by the corridor-like space allocated to the building. In the divan much of the molding (leaf and acorn similar to that of house B) is preserved. It is placed immediately above the lintel of the door,

and some distance below the ceiling. Two mortar bowls and a great storage jar were found in the corner of the court beside the entrance to the divan.

House C.

House C was more pretentious as its size and its covered stairway showed. Interesting was the arrangement of the kitchen, separated from the court by a column and a low wall later changed to a partition. The column must have supported a roof sheltering the fire. In one corner was a high plaster socket in which was part of a wooden pole. A doorway from the divan through the back wall gave entrance to house G. Possibly as in house D an additional room had been purchased. Perhaps, however, friends living in the two houses constructed a means of communication between the two residences.

In room 4 a series of graffiti was scratched on the wall. Along the south and east walls a number of large deer with branching antlers were outlined. There is good reason to believe that large deer inhabited the banks of the river in the early centuries of our era. Ammianus records a great lion killed in the ruins of Dura itself. For these great beasts there must have been game larger than the little gazelles and the frequency with which big deer and lions are drawn at Dura suggests that both were most familiar to the inhabitants. One would then consider the deer antlers found in the *débris* at Dura as local trophies of the chase. Above the deer were written several lines of an illegible graffito apparently relating to certain accounts. Close by was the representation of a round bottomed river boat, propelled by a man with a great pole, and adorned at stern and prow with a palm branch (Pl. XXXIV, 3).

The north wall is cut by a doorway and niche. On one side of this niche, a bird probably an eagle was crudely drawn, and above a water buffalo approaching an altar (Pl. XXXIII, 2). On the other side of the niche there was a more elaborate scene (Pl. XXXIII, 3). The front of a temple is here represented, the pediment supported by two spirally fluted columns. In the pediment is represented the sun in the shape of a circle with crossing diameters. Two gladiators stand in the temple front one armed with trident and probably net, a *retiarius*, the other equipped with legionary shield and probably with sword. Both wear greaves. Beside the temple two eagles, one above the other, both with outspread wings are drawn. Professor Rostovtzeff suggests that the building represents the little Roman temple dedicated by the

soldiers of the second Ulpian cohort and the warriors, the gladiators brought to Dura to celebrate the games at the dedication.

It is tempting to connect the scene with a graffito scratched on the east wall.

401. Photograph. Letters 0.01 m. high:

ΜΝΗCΘΗ ΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΙΝΟC
 ΚΑΙ ΚΑCΚΙC ΟΥΤΟΙ ΟΙ ΔΙΩ ΚΟΝΤΟΒΕΡΝΑΛΙΟΙ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝΔ[Ε Μ]ΟΥ ΟC ΑΝΑΓΟΙΝΩCΚΙC ΟΙΧΗCΟΝ ΚΑΙ CΙΤΗC
 ΜΝΗCΘΗ Ο ΓΡΑΨΑC
 ΚΑΙ Ο ΑΝΑΓΙΝΩCΚΩΝ
 5 ΜΝΗ]CΘΗ ΟΥΕΡΝΑ ΥΙΟC CΑΔΔΑ ΔΔΑΘΟC
 ΙCΙΟC..ΤΩΝ ΠΛΟΙΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΟΥΕΡΝΑ
 ΤΟΥΤΩ ΑΓΟΡΑCΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΩΛΗCΙ

(Below in a different hand) ΟΥΕΡΝΑΙΟΙ.

The chief difficulties in this inscription lie in the third and seventh lines, in which the letters are almost all clear but the constructions are not regular. Apparently ἀναγοινώσκις is written for ἀναγινώσκεις. οἰχησον καὶ σιτηῆς seems to be an independent phrase expressing a good-luck wish with καλῶς understood. The combination of imperative and subjunctive might be compared to the combination of imperative and optative on glassware of this period, *e. g.*, π[ι]ν[ε] ζήσαις αἰεὶ ἐν ἔγασοῖς (Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*, pp. 960—961, No. 240). In line seven the wish of the writer is expressed again, this time with the infinitive ἐγοράσε (for ἐγοράσαι) and the subjunctive πωλήῃς probably with καλῶς again understood. The writer, then, asks that the two *contubernales* be remembered, as well as the reader of his inscription; offers a welcome to the guest οἰκησον (written οἰχησον) καὶ σιτηῆς, or a general good-will wish to the reader, then requests remembrance of writer and reader in the usual phrase; and remembrance also of the slave boy and the boatman. Finally he demands that they deal (buy and sell) fairly, or favorably with the slave.

L. 2. Κάσσις for Κάσσιος, διω for δύο

L. 5. In the 1929—30 campaign an altar was found dedicated to Σάδδουδαν (D. 160). Probably the slave's name has this same root. Waddington (2044) reports a name Σαδδάθου which gives us our closest parallel. It would not be uncommon to separate the *deltas* though the doubling of each is unusual.

This graffito might well explain the drawings just mentioned, on

the walls of this same room. The two soldiers are comrades who share quarters in the house. They record on the walls the dedication of the temple, the gladiatorial games, and the sacrifice (the bullock beside the altar). The eagles recall at the same time the standards of the legions and the god (Jupiter) to whom the temple was dedicated.

Most important of all, the graffito proves that the Roman soldiers were actually quartered in the town. Either then the camp in the northwest corner of the city was designed to hold only a part of the troops or before the permanent camp was erected, soldiers had been quartered in the city.

House C².

The oven is preserved *in situ* in house C² and allows us to envisage the culinary arrangements. The kitchen was sheltered by the screen wall of the court and two columns in front supporting a roof. Just behind one of the columns lay the oven, a beehive shaped contrivance of baked clay with a square opening some 0.12 m. on a side. Probably the fire was placed beneath and the cooking done by introducing spits in the door or by raking out the coals and placing the bread in the hot stove. To-day the natives fry their bread over the top of a shallow iron bowl turned upside down. The unleavened bread of the ancients may well, therefore, have been cooked over the hot top of this stove. Through the screen wall in C² a small arched window was constructed to allow the cook to observe the arrival of persons at the house.

Attention might be called to the monumental doorway to the divan 8 and to the lack of a low plaster bench. Clearly the owner was one of the richer inhabitants of the block. At one period a doorway had been made between C² 3 and G 3. When this was blocked up the opportunity was taken of constructing a series of niches in its place — a usage very common at Dura.

House D.

House D was one of the largest on the block, but the walls had been made almost entirely of mud brick and the deposit of *débris* was not deep so it is difficult to ascertain the exact arrangements. One apparently entered through a fairly large room. The court was small and connected directly only with the series of rooms in the southeast corner. An isolated group of rooms, perhaps for women's quarters was con-

structed in the opposite corner, the only approach being through room 11. One could, therefore, enter these rooms from the outer door without having to go through the court. An additional room in this group was G³ 24 and a doorway had been built through the back wall to give access to it.

Houses E and F.

These two houses were excavated in the 1930—31 campaign and no further description is needed here. One might notice the very small doorway to the inner room E 3 from which access is obtained through room 2. Perhaps this was used as a storeroom for valuable articles and its entrance concealed by a curtain. In E 2 was found again the curious disk (0.60 m. in diameter) adorned with red dots and raised edge of plaster, similar to the two found in rooms A 3 and 2.

On the south wall of F 4 were found the Sassanian paintings. This house had at first contained rooms 5, 6, and 13. When these were turned into shops the entrance into 6 was retained probably because the owner of the house was proprietor of the shop. Room 5, however, was made into an independent booth and the doorway to room 4 blocked. Three large bowls were sunk in the floor of shop F 5 and a series of niches constructed in the wall on the other side. Probably some kinds of foodstuffs were dealt in. The doorway between F 5 and 13 had been blocked and an entrance into G 16 made. Later this also was sealed up with a thin wall of plaster to make the room an independent booth.

House G.

The only suggestion of windows was the discovery of a large transparent piece of mica in G 10. In the house located beside the temple of Roman Archers it seemed certain that panes of mica and glass had been used for windows looking on the court. Room 10, however, did not give on the court and one must suppose the window was placed on the street side, probably introduced because the room would normally be exceptionally dark. A very curious feature is the little hallway 8 between rooms 4 and 10. This can be most easily explained by the supposition that rooms 5, 7, and 9 originally belonged to house G rather than to G². Here then once again we should have had the little series of rooms isolated from the rest of the house.

Four columns were found in the court G 1. Disappearance of the bases precluded the possibility of determining their position. Probably,

however, the Palmyrene fashion of having a column in each corner to support a small portico had been followed. By the portico had been sheltered the little shrine whose image was found not far from the stairs in the northeast corner of the court.

The cult image was a statue of the god Hadad (now in Damascus) seated between his bulls (Pl. XVII, 2). The gypsum block is 0.45 m. high arched at the top, 0.24 m. wide, 0.085 m. thick above and 0.13 m. below. The relief of the upper part of the body is 0.04 m. deep, that below with the lap of the god and the bulls about 0.09 m. The god is seated on an armless throne, but the small figure of a bull on either side gives the appearance of side rests. He is clad in chiton, himation, and low shoes, carries a double ax in his right hand and probably a bundle of wheat (see *Rep. III*, pp. 100 ff.) in his left. Above the left shoulder is portrayed the thunderbolt in the form of four undulating pointed incised lines, two on each side of a straight double-pointed incision, the whole bound with a crescent-shaped band.

Between the chiton which covers the knees and the shoes, the legs are bare. The himation covers both shoulders and both arms, falls to the waist and ends apparently at the left hip where a section from the left shoulder coming across beneath the left hand covers the other end. Folds are stiffly drawn with incised lines and planing of the surfaces. Those which fall from the right shoulder are drawn almost parallel and practically straight. They make almost a right angled turn at the waist then curve up and over the left forearm making a thick band. Over the left shoulder a series of lines culminating in a point beside the left elbow makes a quite unnatural series of folds over the shoulder and upper arm. The border of this part of the himation is caught together in several folds making a thick band similar to that over the forearm. Apparently it went beneath the forearm, was concealed by the other fold of the himation for a short distance then falls down over the left knee. This best explains the arrangement of folds in the lap. One can in fact see in the photograph the tag end just below the left knee above the chiton. No border is apparent on the neck-band of the chiton whose more or less semi-elliptical folds fall from either shoulder where the edge of the chiton meets the himation. Below the knees a series of folds not so different from those below the neck falls in semi-elliptical folds from either knee. One sees the tongue projecting from the top of each shoe. The shoes were made in two sections, one part covering the fore foot the other protecting the heel (perhaps simply making another covering over the inner slipper), and fastening over the tongue.

A drooping mustache, a heavy beard and a thick mass of hair falling low over the forehead adorn the face of the deity. The beard is made in three bands separated by incised horizontal lines. The last of the three, that beneath the chin is marked only by a series of straight and almost straight incised lines. Above in the second band, the straight lines of the side are varied by a series of curls over the chin itself, each represented by two or three semicircular incised lines making little raised surfaces around a central point. The point is cut but not bored. Eight instead of six curls adorn the upper band and run almost from ear to ear. Above, short straight vertical lines cut in the cheek immediately above the curls, and scarcely noticeable, indicate the top of the beard. Into the magnificent array of curls fall the ends of the mustache. The mustache is rolled, not curled, for the lines are spiral running toward either end.

A second double band of curls adorns the forehead, the curls circling the head. They are larger but similar in construction to the curls of the beard. On the side they are in low relief but are cut gradually as they reach out over the forehead. In the second row the middle of the curl is placed more or less between the tops of those in the lower row. On top, behind and level with the top of the curls the hair is marked with slightly incised lines representing other curls for they curve semicircularly about a central point. As far as one can judge from the part remaining there was a series of three across the top of the head. Between the tops short straight incisions were cut.

Eyebrows and eyelashes are unmarked. The pupil of the eye is a projecting point of plaster and the iris a raised band made by incised lines within and without. The iris is almost in the middle and almost entirely shown, merely the very top concealed beneath the upper lid. Quite wide and staring the eyes are though they have not the excessive roundness of early Palmyrene work. From the end of the eye a deep cut is made back toward the hair above the ear.

The lips protrude far too much to be natural between mustache and beard; a single incised line marks the lips; and the mouth as a whole, small and rounded, presents quite a comical, ape-like appearance. Far too thick is the neck and too long, for its folds extend to the chiton edge and completely conceal the collar bone.

The bulls resemble to some extent those portrayed on a bronze statue of Jupiter Heliopolitanus in the collection of Charles Sursok in Beirut (*Syria*, I, Pl. I) though ours are less well sculptured. The horns must have been short and stumpy as are those of the Jupiter statue.

The ears of our animals are laid flat against the head, sculptured with elliptical projections cut by a horizontal line across the middle and two small vertical incisions. A deep incision surrounds the eye and the pupil is represented with a cut point. Hair over the foreheads, made with three series of short vertical incisions comes to a point over the nose. It extends to just beyond the ears on either side and between them along the top of the forehead. The heavy necks hang low between the legs. Their fleshy wrinkles are represented with slightly undulating lines and inclined surfaces much as the folds are represented in the robe of the god. Two incised lines along the length of the foreleg attempt to block off roughly muscle and knee. A single incision marks the split of the hoof. Obviously the statue is to be seen from below and in front for on the backs of the bulls no hair is marked and the general outlines of the body are only roughly blocked off.

Professor Baur has presented so detailed an account of the types and cult symbols of the god Hadad in his description of the relief of Hadad and Atargatis (*Rep. III*, pp. 100 ff.) that it would be superfluous to discuss them here. Our relief combines in a most interesting way Palmyrene and Eastern influence. The plastic representation of the iris with the help of two concentric circles, and the lack of eyebrows are characteristic of the earliest group at Palmyra (end of the first and first half of the second century A. D.).⁸ Except for the crude image of Sadrafa, however, the members of the first group are unbearded. When beards came into fashion after Hadrian's reign, they were represented by little snail curls. The hair at the same time was arranged in the type of Roman curls dating from the time of Marcus Aurelius.⁹ The folds of the himation and chlamys became at Palmyra gradually more natural.

If a year ago, however, we should have said the Palmyrene influence was supreme, now we may judge more accurately for the relief of Aphlad has brought a new criterion. This piece of sculpture (see page 106) dating from the middle of the first century A. D. presents a bearded god standing on winged eagle-griffins. The iris is represented plastically by two concentric circles, there is no indication of eyebrows or eyelashes, details which would have appeared typically Palmyrene. Furthermore, in both the relief of Aphlad and of Hadad the iris is represented in exactly the same place, the upper part just covered by the upper lid. With such an analogy before us we may conclude

⁸ H. Ingholt, *Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur* (Copenhagen 1928).

⁹ Ingholt, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

not so much that these details in the Dura reliefs are due to Palmyrene influence, as that these peculiarities at Palmyra are due to custom already widespread in the East. If then we assign our piece of statuary to the period between the first and second series at Palmyra (middle of the second century) it is only until such time as other pieces at Dura give us more accurate data. Probably, at least, it should be assigned to the second century for in the third the method of representing the eye changed at Dura, just as it had done previously at Palmyra.

House G².

House G² is a small house apparently made up of rooms formerly belonging some to house G, others to house G³. A doorway links the courts of G² and G³ together and there seems to be but one stairway, that in G², to the roof. Perhaps originally the court of G² had included the space now used by the two courts. It seems as if the owner of G², a relative or close friend of the occupants of G³ had been given some of the rooms of that house and purchased rooms 5, 7 and 9 to form a separate dwelling. It is a good illustration of how easily arrangements might be shifted through the opening or closing of common doors to suit the convenience of owners.

In the entrance to G², room 14, a gypsum torso of a man or god with a ram (now in Damascus) was found (Pl. XVII, 3). The large house in J 1, close to the Praetorium possessed as ornament the relief of a great hand holding the thunderbolt, clearly a protecting symbol against evil spirits and robbers. Probably in this statue we may see also a patron divinity guarding the approach to the house.

The torso measures 0.39 by 0.19 by 0.10 m. and the ram 0.16 by 0.06 m. (broken). The figure is nude except for the end of a mantle which descends over the right shoulder to the top of the stomach and ends in a small tassel. One incised line down the middle marks a hem or fold. The left hand resting just over the left hip clasps the staff of a shepherd's crook. Few details of modelling are shown. The fingers are distinguished by incised lines, the navel is marked with a bored hole and the line between hip and abdomen is rendered on the right with a deep cut. Otherwise body and limbs are merely modelled in the round without details; the line of the right side is straight from shoulder to hip, surfaces are planed off to give some indication of the knee, but only a very slight round on the top marks the knee-cap. Apparently the right hand rested on the upper leg but the arm did

not rest against the body and it has been broken off. The hand and in general the whole statue is very much too thick, showing that it was intended to be seen only from the front. The ram reaches only to the knee, the wool marked with diamond-shaped incisions and straight incised lines. The ears project and hang down to the sides, but with rather deep incisions. A deep elliptical incision marks off the eyeball in which the iris was apparently painted black. Above, the horns curved out to right and left making a curve along the side of the head. The nostrils are two little incisions on the end of the nose, the mouth is one straight incised line drawn at a slight angle across the end of the nose. The back and the sides of the figures, behind the immediate front, are left roughly chiselled.

The work is very crude and the lack of distinguishing details does not allow accurate dating. The god represented may be Zeus Ammon with the ram or merely a special patron god of flocks. We know that the ram-god had a great vogue in Assur. This, however, is the first indication of such a cult in Dura. The nudity of the figure would preclude the possibility of its being a Christian representation. One recalls the sculptured figure from Palmyra, the boy holding the lamb in his arms (Chabot, *Choix*, Pl. XX) and the similar representation in the Louvre.¹⁰ The pieces of sculpture portray probably the shepherd and his flock and are designed, as offerings to the god, to place the dedicant under the protection of the divinity. Possibly the Dura piece represents the patron divinity of flocks himself, but evidence of such a deity is too scanty at present to allow us to lay much stress upon the point.

House G³.

As in house D the walls of G³ were poorly constructed, being almost entirely of mud brick covered with plaster, as opposed to the rubble, or rubble beneath mud brick in the other houses. Changes in the arrangement of the house have been discussed in the descriptions of D and G². The little room on the corner (20) was made into a shop, though it kept its communication with rooms 21 and 19. It was the owner of the house then who carried on the business, an arrangement very common in this block. Possibly incense and tapers for the cult of the goddess whose temple lay diagonally across the corner, were sold.

¹⁰ *Louvre*, No. 26774-A. O. 4084. Cf. F. Sarre, "Studien zur Kunst des Ostens," *Festschrift für Strzykowski*, pp. 69 ff. Cf. also the statuette of a youth carrying a lamb found last season (*Rep. IV*, Pl. IX, 5 and pp. 245—6).

HOUSE IN BLOCK B 8.

The House of the Archives had been largely excavated last year.¹¹ Two rooms were dug during this last campaign and some clearing completed in others. A large number of notable features deserve special attention. At the end of the entrance passage an arch of plaster decorated this vestibule. Many rooms (4, 5 and 13) had low plaster benches besides the divan (2). The molding in the divan was the type of ornament usually used for lintel blocks. It crossed the door in the usual fashion forming a decorative lintel then continued around the room. Room 12 must also have been adorned with a molding for the retaining holes were visible in the walls. The pieces of molding were held in place by wooden pegs fixed in the plaster of the molding then set into holes in the wall. Some of the wooden pegs were found intact in portions of plaster molding from other houses. Of a common practice in Dura many examples were found in this house. This practice was the habit of increasing the depth of reveals to make the doorway longer and more massive in appearance. The doorway to the street, the doorways from the court to rooms 2, 11 and 12, and the doorways from 2 to 4, 5, and 13, all show these projecting pilasters against which the doors were fastened. Usually just behind the jambs plaster sockets were made above and below for the doors and at a convenient height, a square cut hole was made in the wall to hold the fastening bar. Doors were of two panels one larger than the other, the smaller one usually fastened in place with foot catch to the floor while the other swung free. When the door from 2 to 13 was blocked the reveal was used for a series of shelves. Again a practice common at Dura of supporting the shelves on poles held by plaster was employed. A series of decorative shelves (in room 12) constructed with columns and little arches, were made of plaster reinforced by wooden poles.

Rooms 8 and 9 were small shops opening into Main street. Beneath both, however, small chambers had been erected, approached from the court by low doorways and two or three steps. The room beneath 8 had evidently been used for a kitchen as the plaster trough and the corner supports for the oven showed. These supports were low ridges of plaster along the walls of one corner and a third support bisecting the angle. The fire was probably made in one or both of the two compartments so formed. The plaster lintel of both doorways had

¹¹ *Rep. IV*, pp. 79 ff.

been supported by wooden poles, holes for which still remained in the plaster. A little niche beside the entrance to 9 probably contained a lamp. Along the walls of the cellar 9 a series of plaster walls forming niches was constructed. The graffiti showed that many goods were dealt in by the owners of the house and this may well have been the storeroom.

Room 5 contained a curious square basin made by setting low sides of plaster on the floor. Possibly it was used as a fire-box for heating the room in winter. A little niche in the corner of room 5 concealed a right angled turn at the back to a little secret pocket. The house treasure was not found here, however, but six inches under the floor of room 2 not far from the door to the court. The jar there found contained three or four hundred coins, and at the bottom a gold necklace. Perhaps this is good indication that the divan was used as the sleeping apartment.

On the south wall of room 4 was scratched a graffito of a winged Victory. The figure is most similar to that of the painted panel found in the second campaign. The winged goddess clad in the same type of high girded flowing robe, is alighting on a ball, bearing the palm branch of victory in her hand.¹² The skirt is pleated, was made with a bustle, and apparently split (as in the painted representation) exposing the lower leg. Above, the close-fitting tunic has a band of embroidery up the middle. The right arm crosses the chest and grasps the branch just below the level of the shoulder while the left hand held probably the end of the branch close to the thigh. On the head rests a high miter-shaped hat adorned with a cross just above the forehead. Probably the headdress was intended to represent the type of high, pointed turbans seen in the graffiti of the priestesses pictured beside the shrine of Aphlad.

Inscription 402. Photograph and Squeeze. Letters 0.005 m. stamped in jar.

We may add one little inscription from this house to the series of inscriptions found on the walls for the fragment of a storage jar showed a stamp of arrow heads and palm branches around a central point in the middle and the following name of the maker or owner around the edge.

ABEMMHC BAPXAAB

As fragments of the same stamp (Cat. E 1950 and 1484) were found in block G, we may suppose the name is that of the maker.

¹² Compare also the graffito of Victory in Tower 15 (*Rep. IV*, p. 213).

Cumont found the genitive form Ἀβέμμους (Cumont, Inscription 98). The name Βαρχάλβος was found again this year in the *salle aux gradins* and previously in D. 78, 80 and 81.

HOUSES IN BLOCK G 1.

House A.

The largest and most elaborate house in block G 1, is house A. Entrance and court are tiled with square bricks, the stairway is located in a little room between the court and the street, so arranged that the space beneath the stair gave exit to the street and a great series of rooms surrounded the court. One notices that rooms 28, 36 and 38 form a series by themselves with a single entrance from the court; and rooms 14, 32, 34, 21, 17, and 20, a second series giving on the court and the divan. From the divan alone one entered rooms 2, 2 *bis* and 4. Finally a doorway cut through the wall of house B gave entrance to room 12, probably purchased from house B. The entrance has the usual angle turn, the court has the latrine in the middle, and the divan shows no sign of the plaster bench which adorned the less pretentious houses. A very unusual feature was the pavement of brick tiles in an inner room, No. 34.

One expects that the group 28, 36 and 38 would have been used as women's quarters. Significant finds were a bronze ornament inlaid with polished glass or stone, a bronze swastika clasp pin, a small stone altar, a very handsome little bronze altar of the pointed Parthian type (Pl. XXIII, 3), a bronze rosette, a bronze pendant, and a handful of gold thread. Less easy to explain, if this was the women's quarters, were a few bronze armor plates, still attached to the cloth of the suit, a square lead plaque probably used for a measuring weight, and a basalt platter with bull's head decoration, a type of object and of ornament common in the East. We have only half of the platter, a stone 0.14 by 0.15 m. and 0.09 m. high. Above each of the two legs remaining is cut the outline of a bull's head. The horns and ears have disappeared, the eyes are represented by large round knots, the nose is blocked off squarely at the end. Probably the vessel was used for grinding grain or face powder.¹³

Room 2 yielded a crude figure of a man, probably a doll, and room

¹³ Similar platters adorned with bulls' heads in the museum in Aleppo, and dating from the sixteenth to the sixth century B. C. are called *tables d'offrande*.

three a bronze lamp and one of the pilaster busts (of a woman) used to support a wooden bench. Three *faïence* vases were found one in room 4, a large three-handled one of ornamental type in room 14, and parts of a great jar of storage type embossed with knobs in room 13. From room 4 came also a *faïence* handle in the shape of an animal's head.

Most interesting was the great bas-relief head of a man (now in Damascus) found in the doorway between the court and room 14. The block of gypsum on which the head is cut is 0.40 m. high by 0.53 by 0.115 m. thick, the relief of the head extending 0.125 m. further. The relief broken off just below the chin, made part probably of a full length representation (Pl. XV, 1).

The modelling is very crude and reminds one strongly of the earliest portrait busts at Palmyra.¹⁴ Obviously there is a wide gap between this work and the sculpture in the relief of Hadad. Here the eyes are very wide and round, the upper eyelid moving up almost vertically from the corner of the eye, curving over the eyeball, then dropping sharply in an oblique line to meet the almost horizontal line of the lower lid. The corners of the eye are cut in sharply throwing into strong relief the round ball which covers almost all the area. No special designation of the iris is given and the resulting staring expression is closely paralleled by first century work at Palmyra. No indications of eyebrows or eyelids are given. The hair as in early Palmyrene busts, is divided, except on the sides of the head into three bands of snail curls separated by incised lines. In front the curls are very flat scarcely raised above the level of the forehead, on the sides they extend 0.05 m. The second band is very much narrower than the other two (0.025 m. as opposed to 0.045 m. for the other two), and it is less flat. The spiral lines of the curls all move to the right, except for one curl just to the left of the center in the first row, and that on the extreme left in the top row. The number of curls are 7, 8, and 7, in the three rows. Modelling of the chin is very poorly done, and, though one cannot judge very accurately from the little that remains, the neck seems to have had the length and stiffness so characteristic of the first Palmyrene work.

The end of the nose is broken, but one can still see that a very wide round nostril was portrayed. In contrast to this the mouth was small, probably represented merely with a couple of horizontal incised

¹⁴ The earliest Palmyrene portrait bust (65—66 A. D.) is published by Ingholt in *Acta Archaeologica*, I (1930), p. 191.

lines, and the lips scarcely modelled at all. The face as a whole is made very long and oval through the extension of the chin. No incisions for a mustache or beard remain but short horizontal lines represent sideburns along the side of the face to the level of the mouth. Perhaps a piece of metal was fastened beneath the chin, but there are no holes for fastening though the round sharp cut beneath cheek and chin would be appropriate for such an appendage.

The forehead is almost square cut, practically flat on top and cut away very sharply on the sides. Beside the neck the closed fingers and thumb of the right hand were represented. The hand, palm to the front, grasps something the end of which extends to the level of the ear. If it is a straight spear, it is grasped very awkwardly for the hand is represented not at all in a vertical position. As far as one can judge, the great semicircular projection is the thumb placed around the object grasped, and one may discern part of the object running between thumb and forefinger. Possibly the object is a spear very badly represented. I am more inclined, however, to see a serpent and to liken the statue to that of Sadrafa in Palmyra (Ingholt, *Studier*, Pl. I, and pp. 1 and 2). One recalls that Sadrafa grasps in the right hand a spear around which a serpent twists, and that the beard goes around the bottom of the chin from ear to ear. This Palmyrene piece is dated in 55 A. D. Analogies with Palmyrene work would place our head just about in that period.

A far closer parallel to this remarkable head, however, is a head cut in black basalt found on the mound of Mishrifé,¹⁵ a head which Contenau¹⁶ and Dussaud¹⁷ date in the thirteenth century B. C. (Pl. XV, 2). Clermont-Ganneau¹⁸ considers it to be an example of ancient Syrian sculpture related to the primitive art of Chaldea and Assyria, but Dussaud¹⁹ with greater reason attributes it to an independent Syrian school, which, though developed from older cultures, possessed a vigorous personality of its own. Like the Dura head, the head from Mishrifé is exceptionally long, and possesses a forehead almost square cut, flat above the eyes, and cut away sharply at the sides. The noses of both are long, and apparently both have wide nostrils, though the

¹⁵ Du Mesnil, "Les Ruines de Mishrifé," *Syria* VII (1926), p. 312—3.

¹⁶ G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale* (Paris, 1931), II, p. 1015.

¹⁷ R. Dussaud, "L'Art syrien du deuxième millénaire avant notre ère," *Syria*, VII (1926), pp. 336 ff.

¹⁸ Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'arch. or.* II p. 26.

¹⁹ Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

flare is much more clearly marked on the Dura countenance. As was customary in early Syrian art, the Mishrifé head had eye cavities cut to receive colored stones. The eye sockets are as usual very large, however, and enhance the similarity to the Dura head with its fashioned but wide staring eyes. Most astonishing are the relations between the two types of headdress and hair representations, relations brought into relief as well by their differences as by their similarities. The Mishrifé head, carries a *qalpaq*,²⁰ a bonnet made of fur always represented as curling like Astrakan wool. For this reason the curls stand out far from the brow, and one sees the band of leather along the forehead. In contrast to this heavy head piece, the lines of the beard are so lightly incised along the cheeks as to be scarcely noticeable except by close scrutiny. In addition to the band of leather along the forehead, the curls of the wool are marked off from the forehead by incisions in the bonnet itself, incisions which perhaps mark another layer of leather. The cap does not cover the ears. In the Dura head it is the hair and not a bonnet which is represented and the semi-circle of curls covers the ears. The curls stand out prominently from the forehead however and give a very similar impression to that produced by the *qalpaq*. Most striking is the separation of the side curls from the head by incisions just above the forehead, an exact parallel to the incision marking the edge of the second thickness of leather in the Mishrifé *qalpaq*. Moreover the side-burns of the Dura head, so lightly cut as to be invisible in a front view, and so much in contrast to the heavy curls of hair, furnish a striking parallel in the contrast between *qalpaq* and beard in the head from Mishrifé.

More than a millenium separates the two heads; the treatment of the eyes has changed; the hair in the Dura head covers the ears, yet they obviously belong to the same school. Apparently the seat of the Syrian school was the desert between the Euphrates and the Anti-Lebanon. Perhaps then it is not surprising to find that this art survives in a purer form along the Euphrates, whence the new Western influences penetrated more slowly, than in other places. It is, however, this same school which formed the foundation of the early Palmyrene art, and it is for this reason that this great head links closely both the Palmyrene work of the first century A. D. and the ancient Syrian sculpture of the thirteenth century B. C.

²⁰ The *qalpaq* was a survival from the Sumerian period and our best examples are found on the heads of Gudea and of his son. Contenau, *Manuel*, pp. 720 ff. and Figs. 505—8 and 513.

House B.

House B is an excellent example of a more or less typical house of the man of moderate means at Dura. The space covered is roughly a square, with court in the center and rooms opening from it. Two columns block off a section for the kitchen, and the entrance to the women's quarters. The plaster trough for kneading has been built between one pillar and the wall. The staircase is in a separate alcove, but has not the turn usual to such a position; the divan possesses the usual low plaster bench and the monumental doorway with steps and widened reveal. The latrine here, in contrast to that in the middle of the court in house A, is more modestly concealed in the little chamber between the court and room 37. Here almost certainly we may designate chambers 29 and 37, set aside from the rest of the house, as women's quarters, for the workmen recognized the two basins in room 37 as equipment for the loom and for wool-dyeing. As at present the loom was placed against the wall and the weaver sat with his feet in a shallow hollow to carry on his task. A special feature is the extra staircase to the roof in the private apartments of the ladies.

In rooms 8 and 23 parts of a small *faïence* altar were found. Other parts were found later in block G 1, 9. With its base it stands about 0.16 m. high, the top supported by four columns (Pl. XXI, 3). The columns are square but adorned on the outer sides with crude flutings and imitations of capitals and bases. Four fluted points rise one from each of the corners, and in the middle of each side was represented a head. It is very interesting to see this type of molded head, not uncommon on ornamental jars, fastened between the horns of an altar. The whole is, of course, typically Parthian both in the horned form of the altar, and in the decoration by a series of heads. As nothing of similar type has been found at Dura, I think this must have been imported from Parthian centers to the south or the east.

In room 23 a bronze rosette and a bronze bell were found, and in 29 a sherd with the following stamped inscription:

403. Squeeze. Design of arrow points around a dot, the name inscribed in a circle around it.

ABAPNAIOC EN __ NU

The name may be Βαρναϊός which is common at Dura (Cumont, 121 and 127, and *Rep. II*, D. 3.). Either the two straight lines before

the *alpha*, however, make a division between the words or they belong to an *upsilon* at the end of the father's name. It seems preferable, therefore, at present to read Ἀβραναῖος. In the second word a break, sufficient for two or three letters, bears no stamp.

A second stamped design on the same fragment consisted merely of a stem and petal pattern around a central point.

Once again the most interesting finds came from the court, certainly in this case the center of the family cult. One of the objects was a little gypsum altar 0.0675 m. high, of the usual Palmyrene shape. The shaft is stepped in from the base and supports a top which projects over the four sides and carries a small bowl for incense on top. A little inscription adorns the four faces of the altar as follows:

404. Photographs. Altar 0.0675 by 0.0425 m. Faces 0.025 by 0.035 m.

KYPI		EYTY		CYN		ΔΙΑ
ΛΛΑ		ΧΙΑ		ΘΕΩ		ΒΙΟΥ

Κυρίλλα εὐτυχία σὺν θεῶ διὰ βίου

This is the first occurrence of this common name at Dura.

The inscription has an especially monotheistic sound, but may be only the common wish for happiness through the aid of the god.

Of cult images two pieces were recovered, one part of a bas-relief showing an individual beside a column (Pl. XIX, 1), the other part of a relief of Heracles (Pl. XIX, 2). The former fragment (now in Damascus) measured 0.15 high by 0.17 by 0.06 m. with relief of 0.02 m. All but the lower part of a column, one leg from the knee down, and a fraction of another leg of the figure have disappeared. It must have represented a man or a god standing before an altar fashioned in the shape of a column. A round of plaster at the ankle may represent the roll of the shoe-top, but possibly the end of a close fitting trouser leg. The column rises perfectly straight from a conical base cut by three parallel incised lines. On the whole, from the modelling one sees, one judges the work to be crude. The general form, however, with the single figure and the altar shows a pleasing sense of balance.

Of the figure of Heracles (now in Damascus) we have a little more. The stone is 0.18 by 0.25 by 0.08 m. with a relief of 0.02 m. and represents the lower half of a nude Heracles. In this piece the god is advancing to right with the left leg advanced and slightly bent at the knee, the right leg behind and quite unnaturally bent. The legs are in profile and both feet are flat on the ground in the Assyrian style.

Apparently the body was full front as far as one can judge from the little that remains. The proportions are extremely poor for the left shin and foot are represented four times as long as the leg from knee to thigh, and almost the same proportions are kept in the right leg. The left shin is cut with a decided curve as in many of the Assyrian statues. Muscles of the lower leg are most prominently displayed, but they have not the semicircular line defining the inner side of the muscle, a line which so distinguished the prominently-marked muscles of the Assyrian epoch. One sees the right hand grasping the top of the club which rests on the ground. Probably the lion's skin hung over the left forearm, but possibly the hand is represented as grasping the top of the skin. Just as in another relief found this year, the skin hangs down to the ground with the head to the front. Details, however, are not clear, and one sees merely the two folds of the skin falling not quite vertically and the projection which must have represented the head. Fragments of the plaster which evidently fastened the relief in place, still remain between the right leg and the club.

A final ornamental piece of sculpture was a fragment of a flower pattern cut in relief. Possibly it adorned the lintel of a door.

House C.

This is a very small little house crowded in between B and D. Nevertheless it yielded some rather interesting finds. The only architectural detail worthy of remark is perhaps the large pilaster at the end of the vestibule, a construction which helps to screen the court from the street.

In room 5 was found a very handsome bronze lamp of Roman style (Pl. XXI, 2), and a small bronze arrowhead, and in the court part of the *faïence* altar described above and part of the statue of a girl. A second part of this statue was found in room 22, and a third part in block G 6, 1. It is worthy of remark how widely scattered the parts of this little altar and this statue were. One might not be surprised to find parts of the same object in different rooms of a house but the fragments could scarcely be carried half a block or so without some special agency. Possibly the little *faïence* altar should be assigned to this house rather than room 23 of house B, a supposition borne out by the find of the little altar in the court of B. Of the statue the legs and the upper breast were found in the court of house C and in room 22, the middle part which linked the two in the Agora, G 6, 1. The head is still missing, presumably deposited in still another section of this district.

The figure (now at Yale) stands 0.68 m. high, is 0.32 m. wide across the chest and 0.17 m. in depth (Pl. XVII, 1). The bird and grapes in the hands are common symbols in the Palmyrene representations of children and show this to be the statue of a child. She wears a long-sleeved chiton reaching to the ankles, with deep folds falling between the legs, and a himation which covers the left shoulder and arm to the wrist and ends in a little tassel just below the forearm. The other part of the garment comes round beneath the right arm across the abdomen and disappears under the folds on the left. From this portion of the garment also is suspended a tassel, which rests on the center folds of the chiton. Details of the arrangement of the himation over the left arm are not easy to discern. Apparently the end was caught up from the back over the forearm and allowed to fall between the arm and the body. The folds from the neck, however, seem to fall straight over the forearm and down to the hips. The folds, themselves, are made with deeply incised lines and planed edges. The folds of the himation over the left shoulder fall almost straight, but over the forearm a series of four converge toward a point near the wrist. The treatment is the same for the chiton on the right arm except that the folds are less deeply cut and are one less in number. From the neckband of the chiton, roughly semicircular folds fall across the chest. The same type of semicircular or rather semi-elliptical fold is carried down the legs on either side of the heavy vertical middle folds. The left knee, slightly bent forward, is indicated by the projection of the leg as a whole, not by any change in the folds. Plain shoes cover the feet. From the neck to the right elbow the chiton is adorned with a beadband ornament perhaps of embroidery. A second band of this type starts on the right shoulder, disappears beneath the arm at the elbow, and reappears again around the wrist. It must be this same type of ornament which circles the collar of the garment.

Two thick bracelets of the spiral bead and band type circle either wrist, and around the neck is hung a necklace of three bands of metal to which is attached a trapezoidal plate set with a stone. The forefinger of the left hand is adorned with a small ring. The arms are bent and the hands rest just beneath the breasts, the left holding the bunch of grapes upright, the right a bird with half-upraised wings. Part of the head and breast of the bird have disappeared, but one perceives the beak above the tip of the left wing, the diamond shaped feathers of the right breast and the long incisions marking the right wing.

From beneath the elbows the back is cut in sharply at equal angles

and runs back to leave a flat unworked surface only 0.08 m. wide. Along the two inclined surfaces semi-elliptical folds are cut. Behind the shoulders the stone has been only roughly blocked off and no details of dress are portrayed. A small space along the backbone has been levelled off to allow the statue to stand easily against the wall.

The work, as in the case of the great head, is under very strong Palmyrene influence and must be compared to the full length bas-relief of a girl dated 114 A. D. (Ingholt, *Studier*, 2) and to the high relief cut in 130 A. D. also of a girl. In the first, brother and sister are portrayed together, the boy in this case holding bird and grapes. The girl wears around her neck three necklaces one of amphora-like pieces, the second of rectangular links, the last of small cylinder shaped stones. Wrists are adorned with bracelets, a twisted thread of metal with balls in the middle, then broad armbands. Both wear sandals in this relief but in the relief of 130 A. D. the plain type of shoe similar to that of the Dura statue is found (Ingholt, *Studier*, 3) a shoe similar in form to some of those found by Cumont (*Fouilles*, p. 253, Pl. XCIV, 1 and 2). The girl in this case wears only the chiton with short sleeves, but the boy wears a chiton and a himation the end of whose sleeves end in tassels as in our own monument.

As Ingholt remarks, birds and grapes are characteristic attributes of children at Palmyra. Sometimes one holds both, sometimes brother and sister each hold one. The birds go back to Greek antecedents and represent perhaps a sort of plaything, perhaps the sacred bird of Atargatis or with stronger Greek influence the dove of Venus. The grapes also seem to go back to Greece; but there is no agreement as to their meaning. Some believe them to be a general attribute for children, some merely a choice morsel for the bird, the marks of particular affection for the deceased, or a reference to Dionysian mysteries. (See Ingholt, *Studier*, 2 for the discussion).

It is not easy to date a headless statue, for the treatment of eyes and hair gives the best indication of the period. Nevertheless, the type of ornaments similar to those of the early Palmyrene bust (114 A. D.), the circular folds over the chest paralleled in both examples from Palmyra, and the treatment of arm folds with lines converging at the wrist found also in the Palmyrene relief of 130, must date our statue to the first part of the second century A. D.

It is worth remark that of all the pieces of statuary found at Dura, the two (the great head, and this statue of a girl) which show most strongly the effect of Palmyrene influence, both date from a compara-

tively early period. We know that Roman influence was strong in Palmyra in the last half of the first century A. D. and from the coins that trade with Palmyra was not great at least in the third century. It is not unlikely that trade with Palmyra was most active before Dura became a Roman center, perhaps especially active when Palmyra was still free. It was in this period (the early part of the first century A. D.) that the temple called that of Palmyrene gods was erected and one may see in the popularity of this trinity both at Palmyra and at Dura evidence of a close connection at this time.

This does not mean, however, that our figures were actually made at Palmyra. There is no relief at Palmyra which really parallels that of the great head, and the statue of the girl differs from Palmyrene work in that it is in the round, albeit the figure was designed to stand against the wall, with details of the back very little developed. Parallel schools of work may be postulated, therefore, rather than importations from one center to the other.

Houses D and E.

Only two rooms of house D and the little shop which had entrance to its court have thus far been excavated. Its arrangements in general must have been similar to house C, though D, as the size of its court indicates was smaller.

House E had its entrance through alley 81 and must have included all the space not excavated except for a room or two of D. The line of the shops on the south and of house F on the east make unbroken walls which separated distinct dwellings. No finds of importance were made.

Houses F—I.

In the middle of block G 1, a series of houses was built, their walls made of mudbrick and plaster. They were occupied apparently by people of very moderate means for the finds were small. They follow in general the usual arrangement of a series of rooms around a court, though the exigencies of space have caused many changes in the disposition of the rooms. Houses H and G probably belonged to shopkeepers for the court lies beside the row of shops. The condition of the walls is such, however, that it is often very difficult to locate the doorway. As the excavations stand it is difficult to see how one obtained access to house F except through the court of house G. Even G was

not easy to approach unless rooms 83 and 88 were used as an alleyway. More probably there was an alley into the center of the block in the space not yet dug.

One may remark the very great differences in the types of the houses belonging to this block. House A is one of the largest and handsomest excavated at Dura, B is average in size, C below the average, but equipped with ornaments above the usual. The rest of the houses are poor and in general small. Apparently then the districts for the wealthy and for the people of very moderate means were not separated, but members of different classes were grouped together in the most democratic manner imaginable.

The two finds of importance in this group were a little, gypsum plaque with the bas-relief bust (0.095 by 0.08 by 0.03 m.) of a woman and a sculptured head. The edge of the bas-relief, uncut arches over the head and makes a frame for the relief (Pl. XX, 2). The head is broken so badly that only side locks of the hair remain visible, not enough to allow one to be sure of the arrangement of the hair as a whole. Shoulders are very broad and square. A long-sleeved chiton covers the arms and fits close to the waist. Folds along the arms are marked with almost parallel incised lines along the upper arm and lines converging to the inside of the elbow at the bend. The breasts are modelled with round incised lines and beneath, a series of horizontal lines marks folds in the robe along chest and abdomen. The left arm is bent across the chest and holds a spindle which rests just below the right breast. Details of hand and spindle have, however, disappeared. An incised line just below the collar of the garment marks either the hem of the chiton or a necklace.

In the earliest group of female bust-reliefs at Palmyra, a spindle and distaff is held in the left hand and a veil covers the head. In our figurine one might see a veil in the border band for it rests on top of the head, but the lack of folds makes such identification very uncertain. Perhaps the smallness of the figure accounts in part for the crudeness of the details.

A relief from the 1929—30 campaign, however, gives us another and most striking parallel. In the relief of Hadad and Atargatis (*Rep. III*, pp. 100 ff.) the goddess is portrayed with very high wide shoulders, and a dress whose folds along the sleeves are marked with almost parallel oblique lines. The great globular earrings which adorn the ears of the goddess, remind one so strongly of the little which remains of the headdress on our relief that one must recognize the ball below

the ear not as a curl but as an earring. Professor Baur remarks (p. 101) that in the left fist of Atargatis is bored a hole for an attribute, perhaps a spindle. In our plaque we have the spindle still grasped in the hand. The little relief is infinitely cruder than the relief of Atargatis, so crude that analogies are dangerous. Nevertheless, similarities are so striking that we cannot but assign our representation to the class of Atargatis reliefs, and its work to the same period as the Atargatis figure (third century). Probably then the loss of detail about the right breast was due to the position of the right hand, raised in the gesture of blessing. Folds along the sleeves in our figure are represented with lines more horizontal than in the Atargatis relief, and these same horizontal lines are employed to represent the folds beneath the breast. One recalls that in Parthian figures, (*e. g. Rep. II*, Pls. XXIV, 3 and XXV 1—3) the representation of folds by horizontal parallel lines is a most common characteristic. (Compare also the almost horizontal chiton sleeves in the Palmyrene bust of 130 A. D. [Ingholt, *Studier*, 3]).

Work of quite a different type was discovered in room 95 of house H, a gypsum head (now at Yale) cut in the eastern style, 0.22 m. high and 0.145 m. broad by 0.10 m. (Pl. XVI, 1). Apparently this head was designed to stand alone for it is unbroken and yet shows no sign of ever having been attached to or fitted into another piece. It was set in plaster and may have made an ornament in the wall as the famous heads in the great hall at Hatra. The fragments of plaster are chiefly around the bottom, however, and there are no indications that the back had been set into a wall. I believe, therefore, it stood alone on a shelf or pedestal much like the modern busts. And a gallant figure it made when it was new; the flesh parts of the face painted red, the beard black and the wide, black irises staring out between the whites of the eyes and the red of the lids. Above and on the sides a thick curly mass of black hair surrounded the oval of the face. The frame-like aspect of this ornament was accentuated by the deep cuts beneath the side locks so that they in part overhang the cheeks. Apparently completely circling the head was a band of curls represented sometimes with irregular concentric circles, sometimes with spiral incisions and all deeply bored in the center. Above this band of curls the flat hair is portrayed with undulating incisions. One undulating wrinkle running completely across the forehead, a second over the right eye, and a short vertical incision between the eyebrows belie the smiling, smug expression of eyes and lips. The curved incised line of the eyebrows is placed high above eye-socket apparently to

portray the upper edge. No indication of eyelashes remains. The irises are blocked off with incised lines making a rough circle cut by the upper and lower lids. The eyes themselves slope downward, and are set slightly too far forward. The iris protruding between the lids accentuates the staring, intent expression of the countenance.

Not enough room has been left between nose and mouth to allow for upper lip and mustache so the lip has been sacrificed. Oblique incisions mark the hair of the mustache. Above the mustache a depression is quite correctly given between nose and cheeks, but the line along the fleshy part of the cheek has been pushed too far up and to the side, thus causing a probably unintentional, smiling effect. A horizontal line marks the mouth, the lower lip protrudes and beneath, the beard is represented with irregular incisions arranged more or less in three bands. Five bored holes may suggest snail curls, but their arrangement is not that which one would expect if snail curls were to be represented.

In the same class with this head belongs the head, found in the 1929—1930 campaign, which Professor Baur compares with a Phrygian head of Zeus Bronton.²¹ Rodenwaldt calls attention in this Zeus Bronton to the great almond shaped eyes with deep cut outlines, the flat, trapezoidal nose and the small, thin mouth. All these characteristics belong to the north Phrygian school of sculpture dating from the second, third, and the beginning of the fourth centuries A. D. Baur (p. 104) notes that on the Phrygian coins one perceives the same tendencies, the sloping eyes, the same surface effect in the modelling, everywhere a stylization purposely carried out to the most logical conclusion. The portraiture no longer materialistic but purely ornamental makes even the heads of emperors on Roman provincial coins difficult to recognize.

For the identity of our head, we can go little further than to repeat the remarks of Professor Baur. His head, he says, may be a priest of Hadad, or Hadad himself, for Hadad both artistically and in ritual is a close relative of Zeus Bronton. Hadad is Thunderer and Storm-god in Syria as Zeus Bronton is in Phrygia. Possibly the head may be the direct descendant of the colossal, curly-headed Adad from Senjirli. The head of the 1929—30 campaign was found in the street just

²¹ O. Wulf, *Amtliche Berichte aus den kgl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIX. Jahrgang (Aug. 1918), pp. 238 ff., Fig. 85, a and b. Rodenwaldt, "Zeus Bronton" in *Jahrb. XXXIV* (1919), pp. 77 ff. Photographs reproduced in *Rep. III*, Pl. XV, 2 and Pl. XVI, 2.

outside the sanctuary of Atargatis, our own was found in a private house. The large proportion of our pieces of sculpture consists, however, of images of the god, and I think the discovery of a second head of the same style strengthens the supposition that they belong to a divinity, *i. e.* Hadad.

Rodenwaldt (*loc. cit.*, p. 85) goes on to state that the transposition of plastic forms into lineal and flat is seen as the sign of reaction in the whole provincial Roman art in all times and in all provinces of the Empire. Baur (p. 103) agrees with this conclusion stating that the close analogy between northern Phrygian and Syrian sculpture must be found not in any direct influence of the one on the other but in the general tendencies of the times. As proof of this hypothesis Rodenwaldt cites in the East two groups, the Palmyrene and the Phrygian in which more strongly than in other places there entered beside the modification of the plastic, the positive element of the known purely ornamental tendency.

This is on the whole, I believe a sound conclusion. When Rodenwaldt goes on to say, however, that we must accept the Palmyrene and the Phrygian not as direct sources for Byzantine art but rather as previous parallel expressions of the same development, I think some modification must be made. Palmyrene art was based at first on certain definite characteristics of the Eastern Hellenistic schools of sculpture. From this foundation it developed on lines of its own partly under western, *i. e.* Roman influence. It kept always a stylization and an ornamentalization, but one has only to compare the late with the early busts in Ingholt's series to see that it was developing away from the lineal and the flat rather than in the direction of the Byzantine. The Parthians accepted some of the eastern Hellenistic characteristics, but brought in certain definite traits of their own. Among these were, an almost universal frontality, the almond shaped eyes, and an increasing flatness in the modelling. In the south they carried on the manner of doing the hair in three separate parts or bunches, in the north this influence was less strong. The Phrygian art developed at this later epoch and retained these tendencies more persistently than did the Palmyrene. Still later the Byzantines accepted the oriental forms almost *in toto* as the base for their own art. It is more just to say, therefore, not that there were parallel expressions of one development, but rather different stages in the same development. Eastern Hellenistic art becomes more oriental under Parthian influence, the Parthian influence itself develops in the course of cen-

turies, and in the north receives modification under influences from Asia Minor. The Byzantine is the result of this growth. At Dura we may see all the stages and mark the gradual progress from Hellenistic with early Palmyrene to Parthian, and from the Parthian to the types of Asia Minor, beneath them all the characteristics of Byzantine art, characteristics which become more marked as the centuries go on.

On this account especially, Professor Baur well remarks that it is mere chance that the closest number of parallels to these third century heads are found in north Asia Minor. Certainly at Dura they must have marked a progress made in Asia Minor and north Syria as a whole. So analogies and differences between the heads at Dura and those in northern Asia Minor are particularly interesting, for they give at once the general progress of the group as a whole, and within that the result of various and different elements at work in the different districts. We may note especially the curls in the hair of the Dura heads, a persistently Syrian characteristic, as compared with the wavy band of the Phrygian, the flatness of the hair in one Dura head compared with the great crown of hair in northern Asia Minor.

It is perhaps worth while to add a few remarks about the development of styles at Dura, particularly since the discovery of Christian frescoes has given new weight to the question of indigenous and imported characteristics. A special study of this intricate subject may better be made when at the end of the excavations even more material will be available. For a short account, the subject is complicated by the number of different types and styles found at Dura. Nevertheless, a definite sequence is already, I believe, apparent.

In the middle of the first century A. D. as shown by the Aphlad relief, the Hellenistic influence was still strong though already modified by the introduction of eastern elements. Local artists at Dura copied this Eastern, Hellenistic style even less skilfully than did the Palmyrenes. Their work, reflecting to a large extent ancient Syrian tradition, resulted in the statue of the girl (pp. 55 ff.) and the great bas-relief head (pp. 50 ff.). When toward the close of that century the great frescoes of Konon were painted in the Palmyrene temple, the eastern Parthian tradition was very much stronger, the body is disproportionately long, the pose is statuesque, the face is ovoid almost pointed in the Parthian manner, even the later Byzantine style of architectural details to block off personages is introduced. Professors Rostovtzeff and Baur assign to the last half of the second century the painted panel of Victory found in the second campaign (*Rep. II*, pp. 181 ff.). The figure retains

the disproportionately long body, and has adopted the Parthian tripartite hairdress. In this same century may be placed the heads and graffiti of Parthians with this characteristically Parthian manner of arranging the hair. The painted panel shows the almond eyes, probably reminiscent of far-eastern types. A Parthian head to be described later (pp. 291) reveals not only this coiffure and almond eyes but eyes which slope down to the sides from the middle of the forehead, and a sharp tendency to flatness in modelling as opposed to the earlier rounder style.

These three Parthian elements, the almond eyes, eye sockets which slope downward toward the sides, and a tendency toward flatness were continued in the northern tradition which came in with the Romans and brought the two heads of Hadad and a bas-relief of a warrior (pp. 86ff.) all with parallels in Asia Minor. At this time there is a very decided tendency to represent the face with narrow upper lip, very thin lips, and often with exceptionally small mouth. At the same time the Romans exerted an influence of their own as the frescoes in the Palmyrene temple show. As usual the types were modified by the eastern tradition. In the figures of the Tribune and of Otes we may see reminiscences of the long body characteristic of the Konon pictures, and in the Roman frescoes as a whole the universal frontality. Perhaps Roman methods of doing the hair caused the flatness of the representation of hair in the third century head from the third campaign. For the body as a whole, the Roman tendency was to depart from the disproportionately long body. One may see both tendencies if one compares with the long figures of Otes and the Tribune, the stocky little figures of the gods in the same paintings.

In the Christian work the same influences are at work. In the scene of the Myrrhophores, there is a recrudescence of the long body with sweeping robe, and of the statuesque pose, details which so marked the frescoes of the first century and which continued to Byzantine times. In the other scenes, however, the short, stocky body is more apparent, and one may well compare the little figure of Christ in the Paralytic scene with the figures of the gods in the Roman paintings from the temple. Into this same group fall the representations of the Good Shepherd and of David. Everywhere in the Christian scenes, the eastern frontality is insisted upon. The special contributions of Christian art, the direct presentation of a story and the insistence on the action at the expense of pose and artistic detail come to Dura as innovations. Nevertheless, the same elements are found in the pagan

scene of the shepherds found in the Palmyrene temple. The most interesting feature is that the new elements in the Christian frescoes are as foreign to the Roman style as exhibited in the Roman pagan paintings (all except the scene of the shepherds), as they are to the Parthian pictures. The origin of the new style is left open. Certainly one may say that it came down from north Syria or northern Mesopotamia. This question, however, will be dealt with by Professor Baur in his account of the Christian paintings.

From the entrance of house E (G 1, 81) came a little relief (0.21 by 0.075 by 0.06 m.) very much mutilated. The raised border of stone which frames the head represents the veil for it descends only to the waist. Beneath one sees the heavy end of the himation falling to the hips. The chiton is girded very low at the waist, a cut in the stone representing the difference in the plane surface of the garment. The left arm was bent at the elbow, probably rested against the chest, and may have held a spindle, as did Atargatis in the relief described above. The right arm extends straight along the side and the hand probably held some object for a fragment remains at the hip. Folds along the arm are portrayed with short, straight incised lines extending obliquely down either side of the arm to the front of the arm. All details of chest and face have disappeared unless the three holes in the countenance represent eyes and mouth. One sees at least that the neck was poorly done for it was made too long, and comes to too much of a point at the top.

One may assign the relief tentatively to the same group of Atargatis reliefs represented by the bust described above, but the lack of details renders any certainty impossible.

HOUSES IN BLOCK G 2.

Block G 2 is divided into two sections, one of which has not been dug at all except for the shops along Street H. Two small houses were constructed in the north section, probably built before the shops along Street G 2 were made, for they break the line of the route. The small size of the houses probably accounts for the entrances giving directly on the courts. The most unusual feature in the two buildings is the entrance from the street directly into the divan (Room 23) in house C. It is the only case of such an arrangement in Dura. One might call attention in the block as a whole to the pilasters constructed at corners not protected by the colonnade. Here certainly we have a good

example of the common Roman practice, to protect exposed block corners from the axles of passing wagons.

Only two noteworthy finds were made, part of a little statuette in house C, room 40, and a graffito scratched on the north wall of house C, room 44. The fragment of statuary (0.10 by 0.10 by 0.04 m.) was probably a copy of a draped Venus. The robe is caught up at the waist, was probably held in front by the hand and girdles the thighs with a heavy fold. Only a fragment remains above the robe, enough to show that the body was bare. A wide, straight band of the robe, marked with transverse incised lines, falls between the legs and rests on the ground in front. The irregularly incised lines which mark folds of the robe to either side of this band are rendered fairly naturally, and some attempt has been made to portray the bend in the right leg. The dress over the left leg, however, is merely blocked off with no attempt to give careful modelling. Traces of color in the folds show the central band, and the heavy fold about the thighs was painted red, the rest of the robe black. The edge of the base still retains much of its original red color. It is evidently a very poor copy of the Venus of Melos.

The graffito scratched on the plaster in letters 1 cm. high is evidently part of an account.

405. Tracing.

Δ	
ΜΑΛΧΟΣ	
ΠΑΤ ΤΔ	ΠΑΝΤΟΣ
ΑΝΤ ΤΖ	
ΜΑΝ ΤΥΑ	
ΝΟΜ ΤΔ	
ΒΟ ΤΒ	
ΒΑΙΑ ΤΒ	
ΑΝΤΕ ΤΑ	
ΕΡΩ	

The name Μάλχος occurs in Dura in Nos. 245, 248, 358, cf. *Rep. IV*, p. 164. παντός is not at all certain for both the *pi* and the *tau* are doubtful. The first letters may well be abbreviations for names with the numbers after the name giving the account. The fact that all the numbers have such a narrow range, 301—307, means the account was probably not amounts paid for different materials. There was no evidence in the house to elucidate the meaning. Almost all the letters were perfectly clear.

HOUSES IN BLOCK G 3.

In the last period of the city the block G 3 was apparently devoted to private houses except for the building in the southeast corner, which was apparently of a public character and belonged to the market place. Part of this building was a structure made of great gypsum blocks and had been of quite unusual character. Future excavations will be needed to show the complete arrangements, but it is worth while noting now the characteristics already apparent. The map shows the walls of gypsum as opposed to the later walls of rubble. Probably the building reached only to Street G following the older city plan. In the south side, three doorways had been made, the two side ones opening on rooms whose length is perpendicular to the axis. The middle one ran back farther and had its length parallel to the axis. There was evidently a balance in the plan, the two end rooms each opening into two small chambers behind, the central one having its only entrance from the street or court. Later house walls obscure at present the original arrangements in the south. One sees only a single doorway in the gypsum wall, an entrance whose doorstep was some two meters below the later floor level.

It is obvious from the irregularity of the rubble wall along alley G 1, compared with the precision of the gypsum wall that these houses are later. The patching is most clear on Street F where the rubble wall meets the corner of the gypsum building. In the houses themselves there is little to engage our attention. Houses B, C, and D, all follow the orthodox arrangement with entry-way or vestibule between court and street, and a series of rooms about the court. The kitchen in C 2 is cleverly placed in a corner of the court. One notices that house D, a far larger and more elaborate one than either B or C, interrupts the line of the gypsum building. Through the top of the staircase in D a pipe had been placed, probably to bring water from the roof to the court. Houses F and D both have the entrance directly into the court. This is less strange in F for the house is very small. In G, however, there was a large series of rooms for a doorway pierces the gypsum wall in the back and allows access to rooms in the middle of the block. In G the divan is in an unusual position for it does not communicate directly with the court. This is the more strange as one side of the room makes a wall of the court and an entrance could have been easily constructed. The wall and column in the court of G,

and the staircase in the court of F help to screen the courts from the streets.

The usual number of small finds were made but the only piece of statuary was a bas-relief of Heracles (Pl. XVII, 4) from the court of house G. Three pieces of the relief (now in Damascus) were recovered, but the head, the left hand and foot, and the right hip are still missing. At present the stone measures 0.39 by 0.26 by 0.14 m., with a relief of 0.055 m. Heracles stands in the characteristic attitude, facing full front, holding the end of the club with the right hand, and supporting the lion's skin with the left. The relief is deeper and on the whole the work is more carefully done than in the other Heracles pieces, even though so much is still left to be desired. The chest muscles are raised in slight relief but details of the abdomen are omitted. The incised line which separates right shoulder and arm is placed too far down and the muscle of the upper arm is not given except by making the whole arm slightly thicker. The left leg is perhaps the most successful part of the sculpture for the upper leg tapers quite naturally to the knee, the knee-cap is indicated by the rounding of the stone into a slight projection and the modelling of the calf, though perhaps a little too symmetrical, is not unskillfully cut. A tremendous club marked with six bands of knots descends from the right hand, along the right side and rests on the ground. The lion's skin is decorated with angularly marked incisions; ears of the lion are presented laid back against the skin and pointing to the front, eyes are small incisions and the nose is merely roughly rounded off.

Heracles rests his weight on his right leg and holds the left slightly advanced with knee bent. The right foot is carelessly modelled, the top being planed flat with a slight incline and the lower part cut with three incisions to make four toes of almost equal length. The lower part of the foot has not been marked and the block is left thick almost as if the foot rested on a small pedestal.

Discovery of this piece in a house of late period suggests that it is work of the second or third century. Evidently it is a copy, but the lack of accurate dates for pieces of this sort, the differences in modelling obviously due to the skill of local cutters, and the lack of outstanding characteristics, preclude at present precise dating.

HOUSES IN BLOCK G 4.

In the little block G 4 a series of houses was constructed behind the row of shops. Only one, house A, has been excavated completely. Entry to the court is obtained not only through the vestibule to street G but also through shop 47. Apparently the divan was connected with a second shop not yet excavated. House B was also connected with a shop (50) besides having an entry-way arranged in the usual manner. Of house C only the divan has been cleared, but again we find it connected with a shop. Evidently the whole block is given up to small store-owners.

On the south wall of room 58 in house A, there is a graffito of several lines, apparently names. The letters are very difficult to read, however, on account of the condition of the stone. Close by in letters 0.01 m. high is scratched our next inscription.

406. Tracing.

ΘΕΜΑΡCΑC

The name Θημορσῶς is very common at Dura (R. 4, H. 5 and D. 25). Our name must be a different spelling of the same word.

In room 55 of house B a bas-relief of Heracles (E. 1186) now at Yale, was recovered (Pl. XVIII, 1). The stone measures 0.30 by 0.195 by 0.09 m. with a relief-depth of 0.025 m. The head, the right arm, and the right leg below the knee are gone. The weight of the body was evidently supported by the straight left leg, the right being slightly bent at the knee. The lion's skin falls over the left forearm and the club resting on the ground is grasped by the left hand. The body is a little better modelled than in the other two reliefs of Heracles found this year, for the proportions are more normal and the details more carefully brought out. One sees the three parallel incised lines which mark the lower abdominal muscles and the attempt to render the breasts. This latter attempt, however, has not been too successful for they are made quite differently, the left being rounded very much more than the right. Little or no attempt has been made to model the chest and arm muscles. The left shoulder has a slight muscle round, the right none, and the left upper arm comes down in straight lines with no modelling of muscle at all. The upper leg is almost one and a half times as long as shin and foot together. Modelling of the knee is very faintly made. The right leg is a little better done but even here the upper leg is too long. Toes are marked with little in-

cisions but no modelling. The club is merely a straight long piece of unknobbed wood becoming slightly heavier along its length. Folds in the lion's skin are made with vertical incised lines converging somewhat over the forearm. Beneath these an irregular herringbone pattern marks the mane. The head is roughly but quite clearly blocked out. One sees the diamond shaped ear lying back along the head, the elliptical incisions for the large eyes, and the square cut nose protruding a bit beyond the cheeks. Apparently the whole statue including skin and club was formerly painted dark red for many traces of color still remain.

One may remark again on the extraordinary popularity of Heracles, whose reliefs make up a large proportion of the pieces of sculpture found at Dura. Perhaps the popularity is due in part to the strength of his cult among the Parthians. Most of the reliefs, as is this one, are very poorly cut, and are of local workmanship. They should, as a rule, I believe, be assigned to the last period of the city's existence, *i. e.* the third century.²²

HOUSE IN BLOCK G 6.

The only house excavated in this block is an excellent example of the house connected with a shop, perhaps with two shops. The house entrance is on the open place between blocks G 1 and G 5. From the interior vestibule, however, one could advance into the wine-shop C 4, or to the shop, room C 8. The court was very small, but tiled and equipped with staircase so well constructed that it has remained almost intact. From the court one could enter the chief room C 11 and from there advance to the only other room in the house, C 5; or from the wine-shop itself one could enter C 5 by a side door and so proceed to C 11 and the court.

Graffiti from house and shop were:

407. Tracing. Scratched with point in C 4, east side of room, left of the big niche.

- (a) ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟC Letters 0.0075 m. high.
- (b) ΠΡΟC Letters 0.010—0.015 m. high written above and not connected with the preceding.
- (c) $\begin{matrix} AB \\ AZ \end{matrix}$ Letters 0.02 m. high.

²² For similar bas-reliefs, signaling a like popularity of Heracles in Parthian Assur, see Andrae and Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, Taf. 59 *e* and *f*.

Heliodorus is, of course, a very common name at Dura. Other writing, at present indecipherable is found right of the niche.

408. Scratched on plaster in pillar of north doorway.

- (a) $\overset{N}{M}$ AΔ Letters 0.005 m. high.
- (b) $\overset{N}{M}$ ΛICAMCOC Letters 0.005 m. high.
- (c) ΑΓΡΙΝΟC Letters 0.01 m. high.

These names are apparently not in the same graffito. The first might belong to any one of several names, Addaios, Admalichos, Addes, Adadmathes, etc. The first letter in the second name looks more like *nu* than *lambda* but probably the last line is an accident for though the name Lisamsos is common at Dura and Palmyra, Nisamsos is not known. Agrinos is not found but the letters seem clear. Waddington (2465) mentions a Γραϊνη from the Harran and perhaps the roots of the two words are the same. As there is a Latin name Agrinus, however, (Dessau, 5488) it is not necessary to look for Semitic parallels.

409. Tracing. Letters scrawled on south wall and not clear. 0.02 to 0.03 m. high.

ADI]V[T]OREM
E . K SIVOR CADEMVRO
A]ΔIVTÖREM . LO

HOUSES IN BLOCK D 3—4.

For the sake of discovering the nature of the buildings and of attempting to determine something of the history of the quarter, a small dig was carried out between the redoubt and the south wall of the city.

Mr. Deigert in tracing the blocks for the new plan of the city noticed that street seven, running through the center of section D was blocked by foundation walls between blocks 3 and 4. At the same time it was remarked that the side walls of this building cutting through the street, were constructed of solid gypsum blocks instead of the more usual rubble or mudbrick. For these reasons as work was completed in the temple of Azzanathkona, a small chantier was transferred to the new quarter.

The clearing revealed only a private house, or rather parts of two private houses, but brought to light several interesting details. The

house most completely dug, consisted of a large court with a single column, a divan without plaster bench, an inclosed staircase, and two other chambers one of which has not yet been dug. The large divan without plaster bench and the inclosed staircase argue a home of the richer class. This hypothesis is borne out by the plaster molding of the satyrhead and dolphin type which decorated the divan. Most interesting of all, the south wall of the court was built in part of large blocks of gypsum some of which had rustication at top and bottom. Such blocks belong to the early period and to houses of wealth. In the house was found an alabaster jar such as priests use (see the representations of priests at Palmyra and our own relief of Aphlad), the bronze foot of a tripod in the shape of a lion's paw and fragments of an ornamental *faïence* vase, finds of more intrinsic value than those in most houses.

Of the house to the north there was time to dig only two rooms. Two walls of one room were made of gypsum blocks without rustication. The large doorway and general size of this chamber indicate it as the divan. There were here no finds of importance.

Apparently the east side of these houses followed the regular line of Street K. The north-south streets in this section of the city must therefore have been defined before the houses were constructed. Street F, however, had not been pushed through. The most important question is whether at the time the house was constructed the whole plan of the city had been realized and the cross streets perpendicular to Main Street defined even though some cross streets in the more distant quarters of the city had not been constructed, or whether at this period the chief streets radiating from the district of the redoubt had been made, but only a few of the cross streets laid out. We may say at once, that from blocks 3—4 Street F runs without interruption to the desert wall. Secondly as far as can be observed none of the houses along it has walls of gypsum blocks. In fact, if the gypsum construction may be taken as a criterion for age, as I believe it can be, the houses dug in D 3—4 will antedate almost all the houses along the Main Street and in the south section of the city. The question of the focal point for the first streets, cannot as yet be settled. The excavation has shown, at least, that from the redoubt to this house in D 3—4 an old section of the city was inclosed and the interest in excavations in this district is consequently increased.

III. THE MARKET PLACE

BY C. HOPKINS

THE AGORA AND THE SHOPS.

The topography of the market place furnishes many irregularities to the general block plan of the city and provides rich material for a study of the city's development. It seems clear that when the market place was constructed the outlines of the city blocks had been defined. Not only is the section as a whole composed within an eight-block district which preserves around it the regular streets of the city plan, but within this large section, though the blocks are not of the usual size or placed regularly, the streets which separate them are all straight and all follow the alignment of city streets. Apparently then the general plan of the city was observed but the district of the market had not been encroached upon by private houses and so the ancient architects felt free to arrange the section as best suited the convenience of business.

The principal entrance from Main Street was probably through Street H for at the junction of these two streets an arch had been erected across the Main Street (Pl. II). Immediately beyond this on Street H the shops began, both sides of the street being lined with booths each just large enough for the proprietor and a small stock of goods; exactly the arrangement in a modern *sūk* to-day. One could advance beneath the colonnade which adorned the west side of Street H and then turn into Market Street with its double row of columns. Along this one saw a row of shops on either side, uninterrupted except for the entrance of Street G on the left. Beyond one perceived the doorway in the high wall which bordered the square of the agora proper. The little shops along the north side of this square evidently continued to Street D for Street E is not cut through and excavations in the northwest corner of the agora show the line of business booths continuing to the west. This fact may well account for the arch which spanned Street D at its entrance to Main Street, for this street made the second entrance to the business district. Apparently, however, this western end was not as important from a business point of view, for, as far as we can tell, block G 8 remained intact, whereas in G 2 a little alley had been introduced so that additional place might be secured for

stores, some being built back to back with those on Market Street. Northwest of the agora proper an open square had been formed, made by widening very considerably Street F. Time did not allow the excavation of more than a small portion of this square but the work revealed an important public building located on the north side and two large bases, probably altar bases, near the southwest corner. Clearly the square was an important and intrinsic part of the business center as a whole.

Unfortunately no definite proof of the date of the first occupation of the market place was brought to light. In the cleaning of the temple of Atargatis in the 1929-30 campaign, some numismatic evidence was discovered of its foundation in the Seleucid period. One would expect therefore, that a considerable portion of the city above the wadi had already been built, and that already at this period the market place had been laid out. In the market place itself, different floor levels were discovered in some of the shops showing a long period of occupation, but no pottery of the Seleucid epoch was found. From ceramic evidence, therefore, we should place the foundation of the market during the *régime* of the Parthians. Perhaps the thousand or so coins picked up in the different shops will allow us to date this foundation more accurately, possibly to push it back into the end of the Seleucid *régime*.

Certainly when the great walls were constructed to shelter this rapidly growing community, the development of the agora had already begun. The caravan route entered the city by the great Palmyrene gate, proceeded down the broad main street to the ornamental arch spanning it at Street H then split to proceed down the wadi by three routes. Main Street itself continued straight on but rapidly became more narrow, block C 5 projecting into it at the corner of Street I and the house on the edge of the wadi projecting again to leave a passage scarcely four meters wide. From the top of the wadi, a narrow steep stairway descended to the lower level. It is clear, therefore, that not all the through traffic passed this way but rather turned to right or left on Street H, passing to the right in front of the temple of Atargatis, then down the side of the wadi to the plain, or left to Market Street then east to the head of the wadi. Hereby a shorter, less steep stairway descended the zigzag road to the river gate.

It was this last route which probably determined the position of the market. To obtain the shortest and easiest route down the wadi, a street was cut through block B 8 making it very much shorter than

the average. This street continued to the west, formed the central artery of the market and led to the ornamental central squares which marked the middle.

It will be noticed on the map that the street widens as it advances west, block G 4 being only half as large as an ordinary block. Possibly the architects intended to combine parts of G 4 and G 2 in such a way as to make a block of the usual size but one whose length would be placed perpendicular to the lengths of the rest. I am inclined to think, however, that the route down the wadi was the most important reason for the continuation of this street. On this street the market center, tapping as it did the main artery of trade, is logically placed. The details of the market were then planned to link with this conception. Market Street (photograph, Pl. IX, 1) widened considerably at the end of block G 2, probably to give room for the open market. At the end of this street with its principal entrance giving on Market Street, lay the colonnaded market square. Probably the little alley which divides block G 2 was made later for it makes a jog to give room for houses in the northwest corner of the block.

At first sight it seems strange that the entrance to the chief square, G 6, A, should not be opposite the center of Street G 1 (Market Street), but should be almost in a line with the facade of the shops on the north side of the street. The explanation is probably that the row of shops, 42, 62—69 and those just north of 69 (Nos. 79, 80, 75 and 74) were later additions. Between shops 75 and 80 the entrance way to house E has been extended making it unnaturally long. This combined with the fact that the five shops in this corner project beyond the line of the houses B—D is sufficient evidence that the shops are later additions. Perhaps the strong partition walls in shops 42, 62 and 63 are due to the fact that formerly these walls formed the facade of shops, and were later formed into partitions as the merchants encroached on the streets.

There is, however, an additional piece of evidence. One of the oldest buildings in the district was that located in the southwest corner of block G 3. As the outer wall of great gypsum blocks shows, the building originally included rooms A 2—5, the rooms of house F and the rooms of house G. It was an imposing and important building and, if one can judge from the later use of the rooms of A, was devoted to some public purpose. Its chief entrance was the doorway in the center of the east side, the present door to room A 3. Originally A 3 was the central room with the long room A 2 on one side, a similar

long room later divided into G 4, 5, and 6 on the other. In this period if, as seems likely, the room A 3 gave on the open campus then the houses on the west side of block G 1 had not yet been constructed. It will be noticed that later when the rubble wall around the court was built, the entrance was placed not in the middle of the south side but toward the west so that it should open directly on the campus. Probably then before this time the group of houses G, B—E were standing. One notices the straight strong wall on the west side of house A running completely through block G 1. It is this wall which probably first limited the east side of the square.

Originally then the business center consisted of Street H between blocks B 8 and G 2, Market Street both east and west of Street H, the colonnaded square in block G 6, and a great open campus, bounded by a part of block G 3, parts of Blocks G 5 and 6, the north side of block G 4, and the west side of houses A and G in block G 1. Later, as the city grew, encroachments were made principally in the oblong campus. First houses B—E were erected in block G 1, and the little shops on the west side of houses B—D. Then an additional series of shops was built around house E further limiting Market Street and the open square. Probably before this last change was made the little street G 2 was cut through to allow for still more shops. Apparently houses G 2, C, and E had previously been built, thus necessitating the jog in the alley.

The Hellenistic cities of the East seemed to follow no regular model in constructing their market places. Compare for example the long colonnades on each side of the open agora at Assos¹, its single temple on one side, the *bouleuterion* on the other, with the great square at Priene² with temple and altars on one side, the colonnades with *ecclesiasterion* and *prytaneion* above the steps on another, shops behind a colonnade bounding a third; and these again with the agora at Ephesus,³ adorned with a double row of columns around the square, porticoes shading on three sides rows of shops. It is to this last we must compare the square at Dura and we can only express surprise that the general arrangements were so similar. At Ephesus, as has been said, a double row of columns and shops was set on three sides

¹ Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* (Boston 1902—21), p. 33.

² Wiegand und Schrader, *Priene* (Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895—1898) (Berlin 1904), Tafel XII and XIII.

³ W. Wilberg in *Forschungen in Ephesos*, veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archaeologischen Institute, III (Wien 1923), p. 5, Fig. 4.

of the square, on the fourth, there were no shops and the space was taken up by an extra row of columns. At Dura, the shops go around three sides, the fourth was left open. Along this open side, however, a wall was raised and within a row of great columns to form a portico. The columns continued along the north side to form a portico over the continuation of Street 2. It is apparently the bases of altars that we have found in the open quadrangle just north of the agora.

According to the excellent study of A. von Gerkan,⁴ a sharp distinction must be made between the plans of Greek cities based on the Hippodamean system and the plans of Roman centers based on the system of axial streets meeting in or near the center of the community. The original Roman scheme inspired by considerations of military defense, employed a regular circuit wall, generally with right-angled corners. The gates were more or less in the middle of the sides, and from these gates the axial streets led to the center of the city, where were constructed the government offices, originally the praetorium. One side of this forum, then, was bounded usually by one of these streets, while the other, generally the Decumanus was directed to the center of the place.⁵ The forum began, therefore, with important buildings in its center, and, as the real center of official life, tended to attract other important and ornamental structures, temples, monuments, etc. Thus it became the artistic as well as the civil center of the city. Within the quarters of the city bounded by the chief avenues, the streets were frequently irregularly placed.

The Hippodamean system employed no regular system of fortifications, marked out the whole city as far as possible into blocks, laying no stress on axial streets meeting in the center of the community, and made the civic center not the district of government offices, but the region of business activity, the agora. The course of fortification walls was determined by topographical considerations, the line following where possible the rise of the ground and often extending to include a high point which would otherwise have given the enemy a dominating position. The wall, therefore, zigzagged along the crest of ravines and circumscribed an area wholly irregular in shape. The strategic position of gates determined the lines of principal streets, but within this limitation the whole city was laid out on a strict principle of squares, or blocks. The location and arrangements of the agora, were determined by considerations strictly of commercial activity.

⁴ A. von Gerkan, *Griechische Städteanlagen* (Berlin 1924).

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 137.

Necessarily it lay on or near one of the wide chief streets so that traffic would have easy access. Conforming to the block plan, it comprised one or more block units, and so was bordered by streets, which made tangents, as it were, from this center. Usually as von Gerkan has pointed out⁶ it has the shape of a horseshoe, though with right-angled corners, its open side lying on a main street. Since it was entirely a business center, ornamental buildings such as temples, had no place within its circumference. Porticoes were employed as useful facades to protect shop fronts not for purely ornamental purposes; public buildings such as courts, senate house etc., were located elsewhere. It was only in its later development, under Roman influence, that the agora assumed its decorative aspect with elaborate porticoes and imposing temples. One suspects that the Roman love of ostentation led to the great colonnaded avenues of Palmyra, Jerash etc. and that this last development signalized the origin of the covered market, an innovation introduced into Rome by Trajan.⁷

The amazing feature at Dura is how closely the plan of the city follows the original scheme of Hippodamus. That the system of fortifications, following the edges of the cliffs, was based on Hellenistic conceptions, and that the regular series of blocks was of Hippodamean origin, were long ago pointed out.⁸ It is the market, however, which provides the most striking proof of Hippodamean influence. The open square is located half a block from the main street, and conforms to the block requirements, incorporating less than one unit in its area. The regular horseshoe shape is employed, with the open side lying along the street front, and the others enclosed with series of shops. Ornamental features are almost entirely lacking and public buildings, except for one in the corner of block G 3 are conspicuous by their absence. Only one irregularity from the Hippodamean scheme is apparent, *i. e.*, the blocks G 2 and G 4 were shortened to allow Market street to approach the middle of the agora. It was under the Roman *régime* that the ornamental arches at H and Main Streets were erected and probably the arch at Main and E Streets. Very probably at this time, also, some of the colonnades on Market Street were built, though in general they serve merely the purpose of protecting the shop fronts and are far from the elaborate constructions of true Roman centers.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 97.

⁷ Cf. A. Boëthius e R. M. Riefstahl, "Appunti sul Mercato di Traiano," *Roma*, X (1931), pp. 447 ff. and 501 ff.

⁸ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 26 and pp. 1 ff.

The date of the construction of the agora at Dura we do not know and it may have been erected under the Parthian *régime*. If this is so, it was, at least, built very early in this epoch and certainly under Greek architects. But in Syria and Palestine, there have been no good examples of the Greek Hellenistic city brought to light, for the chief centers excavated, Palmyra, Jerash etc. bear too much the imprint of Roman alterations. Even in Asia Minor it is very difficult to distinguish the original Greek elements from the Roman additions. Dura, therefore, as a city of purely Hellenistic plan, must be of prime importance for any consideration of Hippodamean city-planning in Hellenistic times. Of very great significance therefore is the arrangement at Dura, a system which locates the market on one side of Main Street, the two great temples on the other; for in Dura almost alone, the Hellenistic architects found no temples or shrines previously consecrated. The plan of the agora, also, unaltered by the Romans, lends added weight to the theory that the general lines of the agora at Ephesus, similar to those in Dura, are of real Hellenistic origin.⁹ Further excavations are required before the complete plan of the market center can be drawn, and before the methods by which the city architects overcame the difficulties of the block system in sloping terrain can be determined.

Both at Ephesus and at Dura the center of the agora seems to have been left open. At Ephesus a *horologium* was constructed near the middle. By no means all of the square at Dura has been cleared but in the half dug there was no sign of foundation walls. Three pieces of statuary were, however, found: a part of the statue of a girl, already described (p. 56), a small bas-relief of Heracles and a gypsum bust of a man. The first belonged apparently to a private house in G 1; the last found in the southeast corner probably stood against or beside one of the columns in this section.

The bust of the man (now in Damascus), 0.265 m. high, 0.21 m. wide and 0.155 m. thick, is quite different in style from the other pieces of sculpture found this year (Pl. XVI, 2). In the cut of the hair, the rather mournful expression of the whole and especially the arrangement of mouth and beard it reminds one of Hadad in the Hadad-Atargatis relief of the 1929—30 campaign. The hair falls very low over the forehead, makes almost a straight line across the top and is arranged in short locks which the sculptor has represented as curving

⁹ G. Cultrera, "Architettura Ippodamea," *Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, XVII, (1924), Fasc. IX, p. 67.

out to either side of the center of the forehead. In detail the first lock on either side of the center is thrown straight back, the second on each side makes an angle turn around a very small lock on the forehead and turns back to the forehead. To either side of these, incised oblique lines running back from the forehead mark the lines of hair. Since the forehead is very low and the hair rises only a centimeter and a half the top of the head is low and square cut. No indications of eyebrows or eyelashes are given. The eyelids of the right eye are set a little too far apart and both eyeballs project too far. Nevertheless there is a noticeable improvement over the work of the great head. The nose was broken in antiquity and has been patched very crudely with plaster. On either side the cheeks round up with little detailed modelling from the base of the eye and fall sharply away at the sides of the face to disappear beneath the beard. Very little space has been left between nose and mouth for the upper lip and mustache. Apparently the upper lip is almost concealed by the mustache. On the right side of the face the hair extends to make a flat curl on the cheek. The lower lip protrudes slightly and makes a semicircular curve just as the lip of Hadad in the Hadad-Atargatis relief. On the front and sides of the chin a series of flat curls and waves is depicted on either side of a little curl placed just below the point of the chin. None of the curls is bored. Some make a complete curve, some a slightly labyrinthine pattern along the cheek. The ear is well placed, is fairly well drawn and marked with incised lines which form a sharp angle at the top. The neck is a little thick projecting far toward the point of the chin. Deep incisions below and on either side of the chin running down to a point at the bottom expose the ovoid shape of the Adam's apple. No details of the chest are shown except the line of the collar bones. The bust has broken along its height just behind the ears and part of the left ear and side of the head is gone.

The head is perhaps the bust of the dedicant but may be regarded with more certainty as a representation of the god Hadad. In this case it may be associated closely with the work of the Hadad-Atargatis relief relegated by Professor Baur to the third century.

The relief of Heracles (now in Damascus) (E. 1261) is a little block 0.245 by 0.17 by 0.065 m. with a relief depth of 0.03 m. The head, the feet, part of the club and the left forearm with most of the lion's skin are gone. The stone is badly weathered so that details are not clear. The nude figure stands full front, with right leg held straight and supporting the weight of the body, the left leg slightly advanced

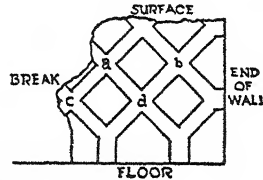
and bent at the knee. The shoulders are made very broad and the muscles of the upper arms are prominently displayed. The proportions in both arms are bad, but whereas in the right the forearm is too long in comparison with the upper arm, in the left as far as one can judge from what remains the disproportionate sizes were reversed. The right arm is bent at the elbow and the hand grasps the end of the great club which extends to the ground. The left elbow was probably more sharply bent and over it hung the lion's skin. One seems to discern the lion's head hanging close to the ground with the forepaws on either side. The chest muscles were apparently prominently rendered. Details of the treatment of the abdomen have become effaced. Legs are quite well blocked off but little attempt is made to render the knee exactly.

The most interesting structure of the agora is the curious building in the southwest corner of block G 3. Part of this building was very old for the walls were made of great gypsum blocks, one of the lintels is similar to that found in the redoubt, and the old door level on Street 4 is a meter and a half lower than the door sills of the latest houses. Just what the arrangements of the building were when it was first erected, however, is not clear, for part of the building is not yet excavated, and many of the old foundation walls are obscured by later alterations. In any case long before the city was abandoned arrangements were made so that certain rooms might be devoted to the public service. To accomplish this a rubble and mud brick wall was built out in the southwest corner of the block to form an open court. The entrance was placed on the open campus of the market and beside the door was constructed an altar or statue base 1.80 m. wide by 1.65 m. deep. At present the height is 0.80 m. plus a base block of 0.40 m. Rooms A 2—5 the new owners found ready at hand and they simply blocked up the little doorway which had led from A 4 to F 2 in order to segregate the group of four rooms. At the same time probably they erected the stand in front of rooms 4 and 5, a base 1.565 m. wide, 0.80 m. deep and something over a meter (the present height) high. In room A 3 a series of niches was constructed around three sides of the room.

The finds of chief importance, and almost the only ones made in the building were a great bronze foot (Pl. XX, 1) a little more than life size from A 4, a silver crown with nine points and a small stone altar from A 2 and from A 3 a group of graffiti, cut in the plaster bands between niches, the graffiti representing a series of numbers. The silver crown (Pl. XIX, 3) might better be described as a sort

of halo for it is crescent shaped with projecting points, and large enough to be placed behind the head of a statue and thus to portray the beams of light radiating from the head of a deity. Clearly then on one or both of the pedestals was placed a bronze statue or statues, one representing the sun god Iarhibol, perhaps the other the founder of the city or its patron emperor Caracalla.

In the long narrow room A 3, a low bench 0.33 m. high and 0.85 to 0.90 m. wide had first been built around three sides of the room. On this at intervals of 0.45—0.47 m. low narrow walls of plaster and mud brick 0.25 m. wide had been placed, and from these diagonal lines formed a series of niches. These are intact only in the northwest corner where the surface of the ground is 1.32 m. above the bench. Four series are almost entirely preserved, very probably others now entirely destroyed had stood above. The diagram shows the arrange-



ments of the niches and the position of the graffiti. There were no numbers at the junction of base and diagonals. Above, numbers were probably inscribed beside each niche. Unfortunately, at the cross point just at ground level no trace of the writing remains. It will be noticed that the two niches in the second series bear the numbers from 266 to 271, those in the third series from 458 to 478. Along the length of the west wall some 9.25 m. long there was room for eleven or twelve niches on the bottom row, the north side contained four, and the east probably ten as the corner for the space of 0.90 m. was left vacant. Since the length of the series of numbers differs from three to thirteen in the four *in situ* it is impossible to calculate exactly the allocation of different figures. Since a difference of roughly 200 separates the numbers in the second and third series, and since a total of twenty five or more niches in each series was built around the room, it seems logical to conclude that the average number in a niche-series was about eight. The bottom row, therefore, marked in some other manner than with the scratching on the plaster bore the numbers from 1 to 200 the second row from 200 to 400 and the third from 400 to 600.

name on an inscription of Antiochus III, 222—187 B. C., believe this block was erected in the third or second centuries B. C. Fortunately now we may date the inscription of Seleucus son of Lysias definitely to 32 B. C. (See *Rep. VI*). Since there are a number of inscriptions beginning with the year 9 B. C. and all employing the three-bar *sigma*, we may state with certainty that the change from the four to the three bar *sigma* occurred in the last quarter century before our era. It may be that though the change was universal in inscriptions and graffiti, the old form was retained in numbers but this is very improbable. Until further evidence is brought to light it must be supposed that the room of niches was erected and the graffiti inscribed before the change took place in the last quarter of the first century B. C. The first development of the market place must have occurred almost as soon as the foundations of the temples of Artemis and Atargatis were laid on the other side of Main Street. These foundations were laid as will be seen (see *Rep. III*, p. 19 and 35, also the results of later investigations to appear in *Rep. VI*) considerably before our era. There is no reason, therefore, why the room A 3 should not have been built in its present form by 32 B. C. when the four bar *sigma* was still in use. Interesting it is in this connection that a sounding in the court whose pavement is on the same level as that in A 3 showed a considerable deposit beneath the floor (approximately 0.50 m.) proving a considerable period of occupancy before the present pavement was laid.

Just what purpose the building A served it is difficult to say. In Ephesus just beside the south door of the agora lay the library.¹⁰ Libraries as a rule, however, at least under the Empire, had a pretty definite form consisting of colonnaded hall lined with niches and adorned with an apse at the end.¹¹ Undoubtedly our building contained books or documents of some sort filed according to catalogue numbers. It may have been either a library or the *dépôt* for state archives. I am inclined to think it was the latter simply because there was no trace of dedicatory inscription, a monument which one might reasonably expect if a library had been donated by a private citizen. At the same time the building served as a public center of some sort, a center connected with the cult of the sun god. On one side of the

¹⁰ W. Wilberg in *Forschungen in Ephesos*, III (1923), p. 5, Fig. 4.

¹¹ See R. Cagnat, "Les bibliothèques municipales dans l'Empire romain," *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXVIII, (1909), pp. 1—26.

agora at Priene stood the *Prytaneion*.¹² Here stood the hearth of the state, here the *Prytaneis* dined with their guests. One expects such a building in Greek Europe, and apparently the building A in block G 3 is the only one which might meet the requirements. If the house in the presence of the god represented all the houses in the city, it would not be unusual to find a representation of a god in the court. Possibly also a statue of the founder of the city Seleucus Nikator adorned the structure and in the great bronze foot we may have a part of this work of art. But these speculations carry us too far beyond the ground of solid evidence.

The question of the location of various types of shops is not easy for finds were small. It must be remembered that a great proportion of the goods sold, the food, clothing, rope, wood, leather etc. was perishable and would disappear without leaving a trace. One would expect that the richer merchants would have their places of business in the colonnaded square and that the more modest establishments would be located on side streets. Except for the find of a bronze ring with intaglio in G 6, A 8 nothing indicated merchants of especial wealth in the square, and the uniform size of the shops suggests no great difference in the prosperity of the owners. The ring was a plain silver band set with a stone, probably agate, in which was cut the representation of a warrior. He is portrayed standing, a spear held upright in the left hand. Apparently a high helmet or a peaked cap with neck-covering behind covered the head. Details of the features are only roughly cut, however, and a break in the center of the stone has destroyed a large part of the body. Since several rings similar in type have been found in various parts of the excavations, one is inclined to attribute its presence in shop G 6, 8 to a chance loss rather than to see in it indication of merchandise sold here. A few small bronze objects were almost the only other articles found in the group of shops on the south and west of the square. One might mention here the little bronze gazelles (Pl. XXIII, 1) though a special study of the bronzes as a whole will be made separately. The two found in G 6 were part of a series of six, all almost exactly alike found in various places during the campaign. The animal stands on a little pedestal, the feet quite close together. Body and head in spite of the small size are quite well proportioned. One sees the short horns above the head, and obtains from the representation, quite a good idea of the lightness and grace of the animal itself. The work is especially interesting for it reminds one strongly of the Anatolian-Hittite figurines.

¹² Wiegand und Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 233—4.

Shops 72 and 76 in block G 1, C 12 and C 14 in G 6, and shop 31 in G 2 b, contained small central fireplaces, probably for forging and water basins set in the floor for tempering the metal. Apparently, then, a small group of shops on the west side of block G 1, were devoted to metal working, and another series of similar shops beginning with C 12 and C 14 stretched from the agora west along the north side of Street 2. In shop G 2, B 29 some armor plates and a bone instrument for boring holes in leather were recovered. Perhaps these finds might be connected with the forge in G 2, B 31, and the section be assigned to the armor makers.

In the middle of the north side of Market Street, the stone cutters seem to have been located for in shops 54 and 59 of block G 1, two great blocks of stone were found, one a lintel too large for the shop itself, the other an uncut block standing upright on the floor. From shop 57 came fragments of an inscribed stone plaque beginning with the letters ETOYC and from shop 41, next to 57 part of a bas-relief of a man with a spear (now at Yale). Just in front of shops 41 and 42 three stone slabs marked with black, red and orange, probably slabs formerly used for the grinding of pigments, were recovered. Since the letters on practically all the inscriptions at Dura were partly filled with red pigment, we are not surprised to find these stone palettes in the shops of stone-workers. One may, however, suppose that shop 42 was especially devoted to furnishing colors to stone cutters and painters.

The bas-relief deserves more than passing notice. The stone is broken and the part preserved (0.145 by 0.18 by 0.065 m. with relief depth of 0.015 m.) shows the warrior only to the waist. He stands full front, his left hand raised and clasping the shaft of the spear (Pl. XVIII, 2). He wears a sleeveless chiton which covers the body and a chlamys which is caught around the neck and flares out in a wide semicircle behind. Folds in the chiton are drawn with five deep incisions between partly planed surfaces. The band of the chlamys around the neck is marked by one deep incision, the rest of the garment is represented by a flat raised semicircle without details. A great sweep of hair low on the forehead and parted in the middle circles the head. The long locks falling on either side are boldly drawn with undulating incisions. Perhaps on both sides the next to last lock curled back to the head circling the final curl but the representation remains clear only on the right. Details of the face are not very clear. The figure is beardless, the eyes are rather wide, round and protruding, the mouth was

apparently drawn too close to the nose. The neck is carelessly represented for the incision which marks the edge of the chin is not carried far enough and little care is taken in the modelling of the neck itself. The left arm moves behind the spear at shoulder height, is bent at the elbow and grasps the spear opposite the forehead. Fingers distinguished merely with incised lines are made too long and too straight. The end of the spear has disappeared. On the whole the figure is crudely but boldly drawn, rather a pleasing change from the cramped style of many of the Dura artists.

In Persian art there seem to be two types of heads sharply distinguished from one another, one with round full face, the other with long visage almost ovoid in shape. One may contrast the wide, almost moonlike masks of the halls of Hatra¹³ with the face of the little silver statuette of the Achaemenid period,¹⁴ or with the unnaturally long countenance of the victory-panel found at Dura in the second campaign.¹⁵ Compare again on the coins the round smug face of the unknown King with the long thin melancholy countenance of Volageses III.¹⁶ In the figurines the difference is no less striking and one need only cite now as representatives of the round type two figurines of Parthian riders,¹⁷ of the ovoid variety a clay plaque from Dura of the 1929—30 season.¹⁸ We may perhaps see in the Konon frescoes at Dura Parthian influence at work through the very fact that there are both types of faces represented, the long narrow type in the features of the chief priest, the round figure in the countenances of the priests in Tableau IV (Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. XLV). In the sculpture of Parthian style at Dura, the second type with long ovoid face is far more common. One sees a reflection of this tendency in the Parthian head already described in Chapter II and in the male head from Dura found in 1929—30.¹⁹ Interestingly enough, it is the latter piece which has been compared with the Zeus Bronton head in Berlin, a head of the first type, very round, very smug in appearance. The great sweep of hair which adorns the head in the bas-relief has parallels in the representations of the priests in Tableau IV from the Palmyrene

¹³ W. Andrae, *Hatra*, Pls. XIX and XX and p. 130.

¹⁴ F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Pl. 43.

¹⁵ *Rep. II*, Pl. 1.

¹⁶ W. Wroth, *B. M. C., Parthia* (London 1903), Pl. XII. 1—6. and pl. XXXIV, 9.

¹⁷ The first No. 4507 in the Semitic Museum, Harvard University, the second from Nicosia, Cyprus, both published in *Rep. II*, Pls. XXIV, 1, XXV 2.

¹⁸ *Rep. II*, Pl. XIII, 2.

¹⁹ *Rep. III*, Pl. XV, 1.

temple, in the warrior on the Parthian altar found in the southwest temple,²⁰ and in many of the small clay plaques of Parthian design at Dura. One may call attention again to the Berlin Zeus Bronton for one has there the same aureole of hair, though the locks are quite differently represented.

The closest parallel to the general style of our work is found in the figurine of a Parthian horseman from Nicosia, Cyprus, mentioned above. One has the same round countenance, the same flowing hair circling the head, even the robe flying out in a crescent curve behind. In the figurine the shield of the horseman conceals the chest, but the folds of the sleeve are modelled with the round bands so common in Parthian work. The arms are bare in our sculpture but the deep semicircular cuts across chest and hips to represent folds in the chiton betray the Parthian influence. Possibly the Dura relief portrays merely a warrior standing with spear. More probably it represents one of the armed gods so common in Palmyra reliefs and in Dura paintings. There is no trace of rays of the sun or of the crescent tip of the moon. One hesitates, therefore, to assign the piece definitely to the category of Iarhibol or Aglibol representations. The god is represented, however, holding the spear in the fashion so typical of these warrior gods. For the present, then, it may be assigned to the general class of warrior gods without further specification. I am inclined to date it in the period before the fashion of short hair and hair done in three parts came so much into vogue, the period, therefore, of the early second or first century A. D.

In shop 24 of block G 2 was found a small bronze hand holding lion's skin and club (Pl. XXIII, 4), a large iron ladle and a bronze weight. From Street H were recovered half of a mold for a small pendant and a bronze dish. Perhaps we might connect these bits of evidence together, and assign to this quarter of the *sûk*, the jewellers. With more certainty the caterers may be given shops in G 2 around the corner of streets H and G 2 for two plaster molds for bread and cakes were found there, one in G 2, 5, the other in the street G 2 itself. The first is a more or less round plaster plaque approximately 0.11 m. in diameter and one to two centimeters thick. The border is raised a bit above the rest leaving a round centre approximately 0.08 m. in diameter. Here is inscribed (Inscription 411) in letters

OMO
A

0.01 m. high ION and beneath OZ
H. When impressed upon the cakes the

²⁰ *Rep. III*, Pl. XI, 2.

words *δμόνοια* and *ζοή* 'concord' and 'life' were formed, wishes most appropriate for and common on wedding cakes. On the back a palm leaf 0.09 m. long and 0.0375 m. broad at its widest point was scratched. This also was formed from a mold. Possibly the design was used in one form or another around the inscription on the wedding cakes. The second is a round plaster mold (now at Yale) designed to make a medallion 0.12 m. in diameter with the busts of a man and a woman facing the head of a small child in the center (Pl. XXI, 4). Beneath in letters 0.0075 m. high is cut an inscription (412). The letters are not very clear and largely to the kind assistance of M. Seyrig I owe the interpretation. The impressions read apparently ΕΙΣ ΑΙΩΝΑ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΩΝ. Beneath in slightly larger characters is drawn S. C. The heads of the man and woman are in profile, the child's full front. Details are not very clear. The man apparently wears a laurel wreath about the head, the woman the band which fixes the hair in the fashion found on coins of Otacilia and Herennia Etruscilla. The busts drawn in three-quarters view allow one to see part of the heavy robe which covered the shoulders of the woman, and the neckbands fastened in front; and part of the toga of the man. The inscription expresses a common wish for the eternal rule of the emperors.

The mold presents probably the busts of Otacilia, Philip and their son. It was Tranquillina, wife of Gordian III, who apparently introduced into fashion the new hair-dress with crest curving to the top of the neck combined with the raised band circling the top of the head. After this reign three emperors are represented with wife and child on the coins, Philip, Trajan Decius, and Gallienus.²¹ Herennius, son of Trajan Decius, however, was already a man when his father came on the throne, and Saloninus, son of Gallienus, was about eleven years of age when his father mounted the throne.²² On the other hand, when Philip ascended the throne in 244, his son whom he made associate with him, was but seven years of age.²³ Such an age would be appropriate for the youthful figure on the mold. On the coins the son is never represented between the parents but the arrangement with the young associate in the middle had been introduced just previously when Balbinus and Pupienus struck coins with the bust of the young Gordian between the two emperors. The celebration of the

²¹ H. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales*, 2nd Ed. (Leipzig 1930), V, pp. 134—5, 207 and 496.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 516.

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

one thousandth and one year of Rome in 248 A. D. might have been the reason for the making of the mold but I believe that an earlier date is more fitting since the small figure seems nearer seven years of age than eleven. Probably the fact that Philip was close to Dura when he succeeded Gordian, and very probably entered the city as emperor occasioned the striking of medallions. The inscription carries a formula frequently found in the Empire: *e. g.*, εἰς αἰῶνα τὸ κράτος τῶν κυρίων *TAM.*, III, 1, 876; cf. *SEG.*, VI, 64; E. Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός*, 1926, pp. 168 ff.

Special mention might be given to the finds in three shops for they furnish some clue as to the merchandise dealt in. The discovery of a pair of small bronze scales in B 8, H 16, parts of glass bottles and phials, a bronze spoon-like instrument and a smooth stone plaque seems best explained by considering it an apothecary's shop. In G 6 the room C 4 seems clearly to have been a wine shop since a number of large jars are set in the floor around the room. In shop 63 of block G 1, the great quantity of iron nails discovered, contrasting with the almost total lack of them elsewhere in the *sūk* must betray a carpenter's workshop, or a dealer in iron goods.

A good example of the different periods in the district was furnished by the strata in shop B 8, H 18. Below the top floor level of plaster was found a deposit of soft soil some 0.40 m. in depth reaching to a second floor level. Coins, a small bronze bowl, a bone stylus and fragments of pottery found in this earth showed that the deposit represented an accumulation of some time. Below this floor was a stratum 0.20 m. deep, then a third floor 0.04 m. thick, another deposit of earth and a fourth floor level placed on virgin soil. Coins and sherds in the second level, as well as sherds and bronze fragments in the two lowest indicated successive periods of occupation.

Human bones were found in shop B 8, H 17, in B 8, H 19 and in G 1, 63. Traces of fire in B 8, H 18 might be evidence of a particular catastrophe which destroyed house and owner but they are not enough to explain the skeletons in other shops. The numismatic evidence points to the destruction of the city in 256 A. D. at which time the Persians raided the Syrian territory. Very probably then the bones found in the agora are those of shop owners killed in defending their property or lost in the conflagration which followed the capture of the city.

Finally, in an account of the market place as whole one must describe the few but most interesting graffiti found in the shops along the east side of Street H. The drawing of the Palmyrene gate and the city

walls has been already mentioned. In the same room B 8, H 17 on the west wall was found the representation of a great ship under full sail.²⁴ The graffito itself, a meter high and 1.33 m. long is drawn with considerable skill. The round bottomed boat advances right the sail billowing in the favorable breeze. The prow in the shape of a great horse's hoof rises high above the deck, along the bow one sees the crenellations for the scuppers, from the bottom beneath the water protrude two great steering oars. The water line is portrayed by a series of crude semicircles drawn up to a line along the boat. One is rather surprised not to see the usual fish or two swimming beside the vessel. Details of the deck are not clear though the deck in the bow and amidships where the mast is set, is strongly drawn. The mast is an immensely thick shaft of wood supported by a number of stay ropes. The whole sail is marked off in a series of squares. The representation is very similar to the splendid sail boat portrayed on the sarcophagus in the Beirut Museum. The excellent article in *Syria*, I, pp. 37 ff., illustrating this ship (Pl. VI) reviews the evidence we have for Phoenician vessels in the early centuries of our era. The type is well known from coins. From the arrangements on the deck of the vessel, the Beirut boat seems to belong to the second century A. D. Our own differs from this principally in the location of the steering oars. Lack of precise details as to arrangements on the stern-deck makes close comparison impossible. That it is the type of sea-going ship rather than river boat seems clear, for we have numerous representations of the latter pushed by oars on the walls of Dura. On the other hand not infrequently a drawing of a more striking form of boat might be made without reference to the specific use for which it was employed. So, for example, in the Christian chapel the boat in which the apostles sit appears to be of this same type with high mast and lofty stern. In drawing, however, the artist must have had in mind the Phoenician boat of the Mediterranean. Probably the drawing is of the second or third century and the result of caravan visits to the coast or perhaps a sea voyage to more distant regions.

In shop B 8, G 6 two scenes are represented, one of a secular the second of a religious character. The first represents a Parthian warrior hunting on horseback. The sturdy little steed leaps forward with flying gallop while its rider draws back his great curved bow to shoot. From the back of the rider the wide cloak flies out behind. A sword is attached to the belt and the quiver full of arrows lies just behind

²⁴ A drawing is given in *Rep. IV*, Pl. XXIII, 1.

the saddle. The horse is in profile but the rider turns full front to shoot. He is clad in a long sleeved chiton with a band of embroidery up the front. The face is crudely drawn with great round eyes, large nose and small mouth. His right arm is stretched up above the shoulder in drawing back the bow string, and the left reaches forward above the horse's head with the stretched bow. As usual in the Parthian pictures the bow has a double curve, as if it were made of two rams horns fastened together. The picture is made from an angle in front and above, so that though the horse is in full gallop the left foot is considerably higher than the right and the off hind leg somewhat in front of the near. This angle seems characteristic at Dura in representations of horses in full gallop and is found not infrequently in Parthian and Sassanian reliefs. The horseman apparently wears high boots, but the lower left leg is so carelessly presented it seems as if the boot were suspended in the air.

Below this scene one may just discern part of the figure of a standing Parthian warrior. He holds a spear in the right hand and rests the left on the hilt of the sword at the hip. Like the horseman he wears a full sleeved chiton with short wide skirt. The face is of the ovoid type, surmounted with the three masses of hair, a Parthian fashion very common in the early third century. The band of embroidery up the front of the dress is clearly visible but no folds are marked. The neck is unnaturally long and the figure as a whole must be related to the class with almost abnormally long, thin bodies, a class very well represented in Parthian art.

Some distance from this picture is the second scene (Pl. XXXIV, 1). On the left, set on a pedestal of two steps, is represented a horned altar with the fire of sacrifice blazing upon it. On either side has been placed an upright branch, perhaps a palm branch. In the centre of the scene stands a small individual in Persian dress and the rayed head of a divinity. He wears the full sleeved chiton with short wide skirt and baggy trousers and seems to carry a double ax in the right hand. Folds are represented by hatched lines on either side of the centre. Apparently the hands rest on the hips. On the right an immense figure advances left holding in the outstretched right hand a flaming torch or bundle of twigs. The figure is represented full front and the outlines of features are quite clear. The upper part of a wing is represented above each shoulder, but other details of the body have been effaced. Below the arm a second very much smaller figure is represented in an analogous position. More clearly here one sees the

torch in the outstretched arm, the turban effect of the hair, the wing reaching down along the right side. Above the outstretched arm of the great figure, a third figure is represented in a similar position. This last figure is smaller than the others, and apparently without wings. He holds torch in right hand and supports the left on the hip. All the figures are naked. Apparently the three advance toward the altar and the figure with rayed head, but the interpretation of the scene as a whole is far from clear. The altar is of Parthian type and the branches on either side correspond well with the standards which so often stand beside Persian altars on the coins. A figure with rayed head usually represents the sun god. With Mithra, the Persian sun god, are most commonly represented figures with torches to represent the rising and the setting sun. Here, however, instead of having one of the torch-bearers on each side, one raising, the other lowering the torch, both are on one side and both raise the torch. Mr. Kraeling of the Semitic department recognized the Gnostic character of inscription No. 413 from this room and suggested that this drawing be taken with inscription 413 and inscription 414, also from this shop, as part of Mithraic or Gnostic representations. I append the inscriptions with the note which Mr. Kraeling was kind enough to write.

413. On fallen pillar probably from the north wall between rooms B 8, G 6 and B 8, G 7. Letters 0.03 m. high and perfectly clear.

ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΛΒΑ

414. On the south wall of room B 8, G 7 is scratched a rectangle 0.36 by 0.28 m. divided into a series of smaller rectangles. In some of these parts of alphabets are written as the tracing shows. The middle squares have a few words connected with letters.

In the third row from the top

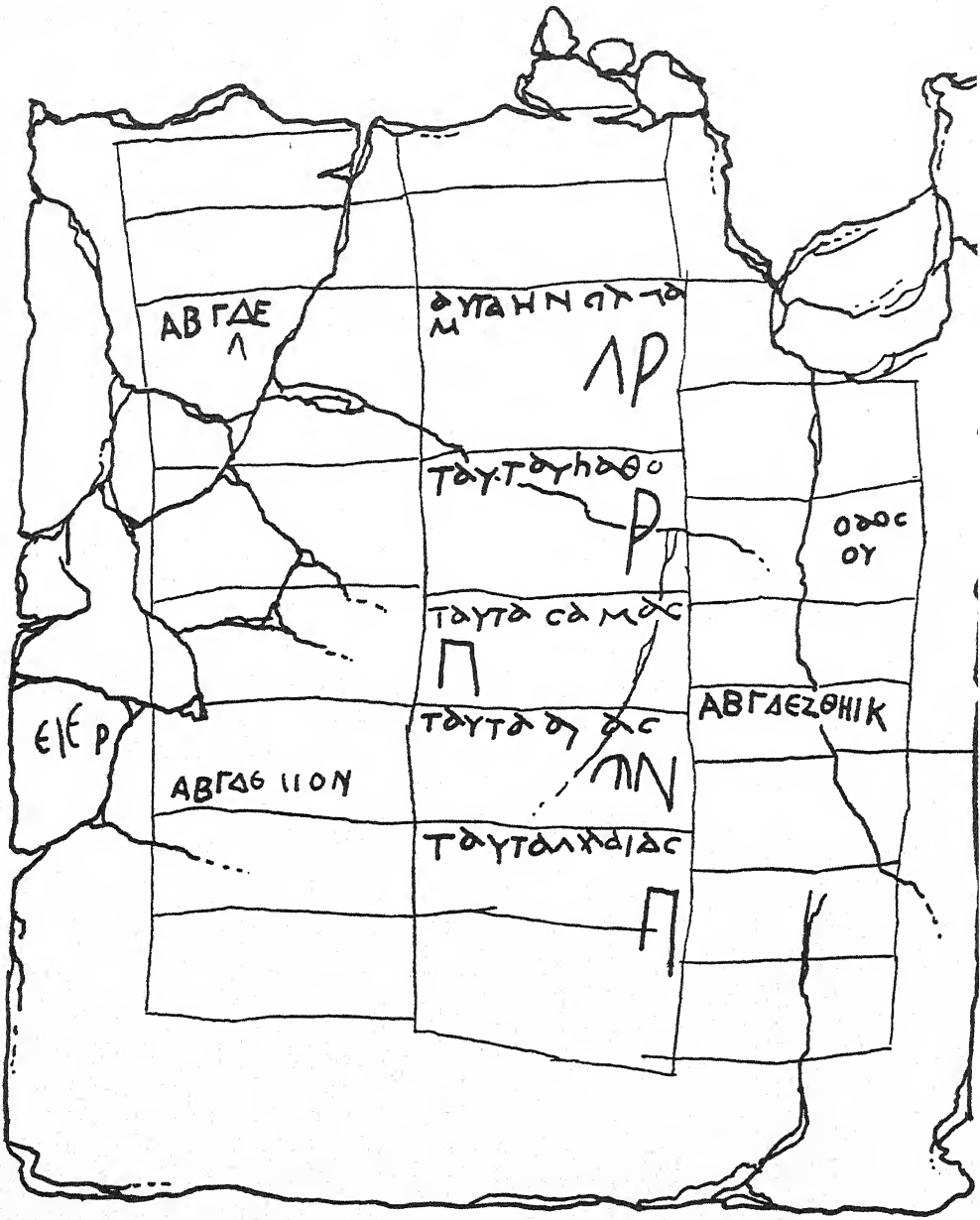
αυτα ηκισιλμα
ΛΡ

Fourth row ταυτα γηδθο
Ρ

Fifth row ταυτα σάμας
Π

Sixth row ταυτα ασος
ΦΝ

Seventh row ταυτα α.αιας



Facsimile of 414.

Other graffiti in the little shops are as follows:

415. On the south pillar between rooms B 8, G 6 and B 8, G 7 many letters scratched crudely with point among which one can distinguish:

- (a) ΠΙΓΑΘΑΕ ZEBI Letters 0.02 m. high.
- (b) Written vertically in letters 0.015 m. high ΒΟΥΔΗΟΕ.
- (c) Written horizontally in letters 0.02 m. high

BAP MB
ΓΑΜΛ

(d) ΙCΙΑΘΛΑ

The pillar is so covered with scratches that it is difficult to be sure of the names.

(a) M. Cumont found (114) 'Πιγούταϊ. More probably, however, it should be associated with the name 'Οαρεγαθός (Wuthnow, p. 85).

(b) Compare the name Βουζιος (*Rep. IV*, 194). Possibly one may connect it with the name of the Indian god.

(d) Compare this with the -αθαλβα of the Gnostic word inscription 413. Possibly some of the other letters represent magic formulae rather than proper names.

NOTE ON ROOMS B 8, G 6—7.

BY. C. H. KRAELING

Of the graffiti on the walls of rooms B 8, G 6—7, three, when taken together, afford an interesting insight into the religious thought of the individual who made them. The first is No. 413. It is nothing more or less than the famous ἀβλαθανάβλα formula, familiar from Gnostic and syncretistic texts and gems.²⁵ The second is the checkerboard design, with its inscriptions, contained in No. 414. This I am inclined to regard as an uncompleted diagram of the celestial topography as conceived in Oriental religious thought. Particular importance attaches in this connection to the block of rectangles in the middle of the design. The spaces are eight in number. Spaces two to six, counting from the bottom, contain inscriptions beginning with the word ταῦτα. Of the words following the ταῦτα only that in the fourth space from the bottom is intelligible to me at present. It is the Semitic word for "sun", here

²⁵ On the use of this formula see Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *Abrasax*.

transcribed σάμας. The fact that the sun is mentioned in the fourth of the eight superimposed areas shows what the design is, for eight is the number of the heavenly zones in Oriental thought,²⁶ and the fourth from the earth is that of the sun.²⁷ The words ταῦτα σάμας are then to be understood as an abbreviation of the sentence ταῦτα τὰ μέρη τοῦ Σάμας.²⁸

The importance of the celestial realms for Oriental faiths of various kinds in the period of our graffiti requires no particular comment, for it was by conveying a knowledge of the spheres through which his soul must pass at death and by acquainting him with the powers he would meet on his journey and with the pass-words necessary to get by them, that these faiths conveyed the assurance of attaining a blessed immortality to the believer. The use of diagrams to explain the celestial topography is by no means unusual. The elaborate drawings of the Coptic Gnostic Books of Jeu and the famous "diagram" of the Ophites are cases in point. Perhaps the closest approach to the particular type of drawing with which we are dealing is that to which Celsus makes reference. In the mysteries of Mithra, he says, "there is a representation (σύμβολον) of a ladder with seven gates (κλίμαξ ἑπτά-πυλος) and on top of it an eighth gate."²⁹ The "ladder" in question, the report goes on to say, represents the eight celestial realms. The middle portion of our Dura diagram may well be taken to represent such a "ladder", the columns of rectangles at the right and left of the design affording space in which to furnish additional information of a magical kind. The presence of inscriptions of an alphabetical type in these columns supports this view, for the magical use of the alphabet in syncretistic religion is common.

The suggestion thus offered for the interpretation of graffito No. 414 raises the question to what extent Mithraic beliefs entered into the religious thought of the man who inhabited these rooms. It should be said at the outset that the sequence of the heavenly zones in the Mithraic "ladder" design of Celsus is not identical with that of our Dura graffito, for in Celsus the sun is the seventh from the bottom

²⁶ The lower seven are the zones of the planets, the eighth that of the sun.

²⁷ On the general conception see Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York, 1912), pp. 119, 127—128, and *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New Haven, 1922), p. 100. Cumont speaks of this particular form of celestial topography as "Chaldean".

²⁸ The names contained in the other five spaces are not the names of the planets in Semitic idiom.

²⁹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VI, 22.

instead of the fourth.³⁰ But this does not rule out the possibility of Mithraic influence here because, as Cumont has showed, Helios-Mithras was as frequently assigned to a position in the middle of the celestial system as at its apex, and thus came to be thought of as μεσίτης.³¹

With this in mind we turn to the third of the three graffiti under consideration. Here Professor Hopkins has correctly spotted additional Mithraic influence. The question what the scene represents is not easy to answer. The figure standing beside the fire-altar and the trees with an ax in his hands reminds one of nothing so much as the mosaic of the god Silvanus found in the vestibule of the Mithraeum at Ostia.³² This deity, associated with the cult of Mithras, was also worshipped in the East, inscriptions to him by soldiers of the IV Scythian legion having been found at Enesh on the Euphrates.³³ The three figures approaching from the right in the graffito I am inclined to regard as Mithras and the two *dadophoroi*. All three are either winged, or what is in my estimation more probable, are showed with cloaks flowing behind them, like Mithras on the Mithraic reliefs. The small figure in the foreground carries what appears to be a torch. The large central figure has in his outstretched hand what may be a torch but what looks more like the branch carried by Silvanus in the Ostia mosaic, or the barsom branch of the Persian priests. The small figure in the background is very indistinct but apparently has its hand outstretched and should therefore be carrying something, possibly an inverted torch.

These three graffiti, taken together, show that fundamentally the man who made them identified himself with the cult of Mithras, or more especially with that of the god Silvanus, but that he included in his religious purview elements of the syncretistic and Gnostic type of belief. His use of the alphabet for magical purposes, his use of the $\alpha\beta\lambda\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\beta\alpha$ formula and his interest in "diagrams" of the celestial spheres are testimonies to this fact.

³⁰ Celsus' sequence, beginning at the bottom, is: Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury Mars, Moon, Sun, Fixed Stars.

³¹ *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 127—128.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 66, fig. 17.

³³ Cumont, *Études syriennes* (Paris, 1917), pp. 159—166, 327.

IV.
THE TEMPLE OF APHLAD
BY C. HOPKINS

The temple of Aphlad is built in the southwest corner of the city, in an angle of the ancient wall, a position corresponding closely to the position of the temple of the Palmyrene gods in the northwest corner. A curious feature of both these corners is that the towers do not stand at the corners themselves but a few meters removed from them (see the plan, Pl. I) so that spaces for one or two rooms are left between them and the turn of the wall. Both temples use the fortifications as back and side temple walls, and they both must therefore have been built after the city walls were constructed.

As is usual at Dura the temple consists of a series of rooms about an open court. The Aphlad temple differs from others, however, in being more irregular in plan. This is partly due to the fact that the ground level at the east end is extremely low and has not preserved the foundations of the main entrance. Secondly the temple apparently had two sanctuaries, as did the temple of Azzanathkona, so that there was no singleness of purpose. The most curious feature, however, was the number of altars located in the court, erected apparently with no definite relationship one to another.

As the temple stands, one enters through the wide open space between rooms 5 and 6 at the east end. Just beyond room 5 there stands a series of three large altars built with approach steps in the customary manner, one (17) immediately in front of the west entrance to room 5, a second (16) just beside the northwest corner of the room, and a third (15) a little further north and west of 16. Altar 17 may have been associated with room 5 but one would expect the steps in that case to be on the west side of the altar. It seems better, therefore, to take them as a group and consider them built before room 5 was completed. Their bases are not parallel to one another but they seemed designed to be turned roughly to the same focal point, perhaps the sanctuary 2 *a—b*. In the passageway itself traces of bases are seen at points 21 and 22 but not enough of the walls remain to establish the forms. Just west of the series of three altars 15—17, were built two small bases 12 and 13. If one considers these statue-bases for images of gods it gives good reason for the altars immediately in front

and beside them. Altar 10 clearly goes with sanctuary 2 *a—b*. It stands in the middle of the court opposite the entrance of room 2, is aligned with the room, and is of a size proportionate with the size of the sanctuary. A small pillar base is found on either side of the altar and just to the south, a small pedestal base. To the north not far from the entrance to room 7 there remains another pillar base beside a small pedestal. Apparently here again one had an ornamental pillar beside a pedestal. Beyond this curious group of altars and pedestals is found on the left backed against the wall, a room (3) with immensely thick walls. The foundation is of rubble 2.30 m. thick, above which had been built a solid mud brick wall. Excavations revealed that the rubble foundations had formed the walls of a small cellar, its roof formed of wooden beams let into the top of the rubble. On the front of this building at the west corner had been built a little rubble stand (18) with seven cup-like depressions marked with fire. At some time this had been covered with a wooden roof for the marks of beam holes are still clearly visible in the mud brick wall above. Just in front of this is seen the low base of an altar (9) whose approach steps lay on the north side, in such a position that they screen in part the entrance to room 2. The two chief sanctuaries 1 and 2 lay right and left of the entrance passage; beyond and close to the southwest corner of the tower lay a great furnace (19), its walls made of mud brick, coated inside with deeply calcined clays. At the north end is a small opening below the present ground level. A wall running from this to the wall of the *enceinte*, made a room in the angle two sides of which were bordered by the *enceinte* wall, the third by a portion of the tower.

As the altars and pedestals are all founded on bed rock, it is not easy to determine the chronological order of their erection. Tentative conclusions may, however, be drawn from their arrangements and their final disposition. One of the earliest was certainly altar 9 which partly blocked the entrance to room 2, and whose base was later covered by the second pavement of the court. The foundations of room 2 go down to the lower pavement of the court but at the west end of the room this pavement rests on a fill half a meter deep. I believe that when room 2 was built, therefore, the first pavement was in use. With the construction of room 2, altar 9 was destroyed, and the floor level raised to cover the base. Altar 10 which goes apparently with room 2 was probably built at this time. One suspects that the altars and pedestals 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 were not yet erected, otherwise altar 10 would probably be set nearer the sanctuary in a place less crowded

with other altars. On altar 17 nine thin layers of plaster can be counted. Probably therefore, this altar at least was in use for a long period of years. There is the possibility that after the mud brick wall had blocked some of the temple, additional altars were constructed in front of the wall, to make up in part for the sanctuaries lost. Altar 18 was one of the last constructed for it is attached to the wall of room 3 at the height of the later floor level. Possibly it was designed to take the place of altar 9 which had stood immediately in front of it.

Room 4 differs from the others and may well have been one of the earliest constructed. It is built against the city wall and consists of three walls, the fourth side toward the wadi, being open. The doorway was at one time very wide with a column, marked with a Sabaïtic inscription,¹ in the center. By a later alteration the opening to the left of the column was closed with a thin rubble wall and the right side considerably narrowed by the addition of jambs between which a door could be hung. The two side walls impinge upon the city wall a short distance, and a block of plaster set on the city wall very nearly in the center between the sides suggests that a central pier or column formed with the side walls two large openings overlooking the wadi. The top of the city wall was plastered and raised only a low step above the floor of this chamber, proving that it was used at this height as a porch or platform. Later the east wall was continued blocking off the corner of the temple and forming the front wall to room 5.

Chamber 5, almost square, is small and has a low bench on the north and east sides. In front and to the right of the once lintelled doorway is a low plaster platform similar to that before chamber 2. The construction is poor and the rear wall has entirely disappeared, probably destroyed by the late fortifications.

While rooms 4 and 5 are of rubble, the three north chambers are of mud brick on rubble construction. First of these was chamber 6, now almost entirely gone. A wide doorway, probably arched, leads into a long chamber with the usual plaster bench extending from the left side of the door and along the west and north walls. Towards the southwest corner a T-shaped plaster block was found. Having no foundations beneath it and being askew to the chamber's orientation it seems to have no close connection with the original construction.

Next built was room 8, perfectly rectangular and containing nothing but a large basalt mill. The front wall of this chamber, as the eastern wall of chamber 4, was extended as a curtain wall in both directions

¹ *Rep. III*, pp. 66 ff.

connecting the shrine of Aphlad to chamber 6. Thus was formed a fairly complete enclosing wall to the temple area on both the south and north sides. Later room 7 built with a wide arched door was added beside 6. Using the continued wall of 8 and the west side of 6, little construction was necessary. Perhaps the projection, shown as a buttress on the west wall had some cult significance for it is exactly opposite the doorway of the shrine of Aphlad.

Between the back of the shrine of Aphlad and the city wall no enclosing wall was constructed. Elsewhere along the length of the city wall, an open place or street has been left between wall and house constructions. This space in the temple probably, therefore, remained open to allow free passage to the defenders of the city in case of emergency.

Room 3 was probably later, for it blocks the space immediately behind altar 9, a space which originally must have contained some shrine connected with the altar. On the other hand the foundations of room 3 are very much lower than the foundations of other rooms for they descend to a bed rock sloping toward the wadi. Perhaps chamber 3 was a late addition to the city's fortifications for another chamber very similar in size and construction appears against the wall further east. Chamber 3 is built at the point where the high wall of stone fortifications which circles the corner drops to the low level along the wadi, it was erected with walls extraordinarily thick (2.30 m.) and in it were found several stone catapult projectiles. On the other hand it is the wall toward the temple that had the strongest as well as the most ornamental material, rubble instead of mud brick. Though, therefore, it probably played its part in the ramparts of the town, it served also in the service of the temple priests. The only find of importance beside the catapult balls, was a tile, painted with a head surrounded by a red and green wreath. Unfortunately the painting is in very poor condition.

Altar 18 was a late addition attached to the walls of room 3 at the height of the last floor level of the temple. It consists of a short rubble pedestal, probably used for a bust or statuette on the right and seven cup-like depressions ranging in a line along the low block to the left. These cups all had a sediment of the thick soot peculiar to oils in them and one concludes they were used as lamps or as incense burners.

The first embankment covered much of the temple. First a heavy mud brick wall was constructed to the back of Aphlad's shrine running north, parallel to the city wall. Behind this was dumped rubbish and

cinders. On this the first mud brick embankment (I) was built, completely blocking Aphlad's shrine and the naos (2 a) though leaving their façades carefully exposed and intact. It continued across the precinct behind chamber 3 to the city wall. In connection with this, probably, another mud brick wall, wedge-shaped, was built from chamber 3 against the slanting embankment. Another embankment was built across the front of 4, and the curtain wall joining 4 to 5 was destroyed to allow it to continue parallel to the city wall. A small retaining wall of mud brick was built in chamber 5 against the south side to withstand the thrust of the larger wall behind.

Even then the temple probably continued to operate. On top of the embankment was discovered in the third campaign the altar with Parthian reliefs (see *Rep. III*, pp. 88 ff.). Several meters above the ground level and immediately in front of the tower were brought to light many fragments of fresco, at one time attached to a mud brick wall. An interesting fragment shows the feet of a bull, another the head and shoulders of a figure dressed in Parthian costume. Other fragments show parts of two other heads and many bits of floral and border designs. Perhaps this new shrine reproduced the frescoes and the arrangements of the naos beneath it. Another embankment (J) erected hurriedly, probably just before the city fell to increase the height of the walls, covered the façades of the two shrines and even buried altar 18.

The naos itself (2 a—b) had been located eight meters in front of the tower, to the left of the lower door. Roughly square in plan, it is divided by a thin partition into naos and pronaos. Because of its central position one supposes it to be the earliest chamber of the group. The walls were thin and the foundations reached only to the first floor level of the temple. One entered by the door on the east side and found oneself in a chamber divided into two shallow rooms separated by short partition walls which probably supported an arch. No altar was found. Probably it was removed when the mud embankments were constructed. The walls of both chambers were frescoed and an abundance of fragments was recovered. Buried as they were beneath a huge embankment of mud brick, they preserved their original colors excellently, but were crushed into innumerable small pieces. One can only say that in the naos a decorative border in black and red lines, with a pattern of yellow flowers seems to have bordered all the rear wall of the naos. To the left was a picture done in bold reds and black with a design of large pattern. Parts of a female face with high head-

dress show that the work was quite good. To the left were other large scale figures and also a series of black line pictures on white plaster. Among them was the tiny drawing of a woman's bust on a pedestal. In the pronaos no design was recovered and probably only a part of the room was painted since much plain plaster appeared among the colored bits.

A curious feature of the shrine is a bowl set in the plaster floor just within the wide doorway. Its only use could have been to hold water, and one supposes from its position that it was the custom of those visiting the shrine to leave their sandals outside, probably on the small platform to the left of the door, and to use it for ritual ablutions.

The shrine of Aphlad (Photograph Pl. X, 1) lies to the right, very slightly behind and not quite aligned with the naos. It is well constructed and of a regular plan. The rubble foundations extend breast high, above which was laid mud brick. The roof was probably made of poles overlaid with matting and plastered above and beneath. The door jambs were strengthened by continuing the rubble wall to a height of 2.5 m. Outside and to the right a rather high rubble shaft is fastened to the wall by plaster. The top is indented as if it might have served as an incense altar, but no sign of burning was discernible. Like the little altar of Iarhibol (also unmarked with fire), just outside the tower of the temple of Palmyrene gods, it probably served only for libations.

The shrine itself consists of a single large chamber with low wide benches running along both sides and the back. To the left of the door a narrower, lower bench may have been used for the sandals of worshippers. In the wall to the left a deep niche is set in the rubble. Directly opposite the door is the rubble niche which contained the bas-relief of Aphlad. This niche projects from the wall and probably extended to the ceiling. A rubble block, projecting to the edge of the bench, rises to the height of more than a meter, forming a shallow shelf before the niche itself. Probably it is on this that offerings were laid. Before this block, on the floor, is a small well-cut gypsum altar with the four points about an incense dish, a form common in Parthian cults. Slightly raised from the shelf before it is the niche proper. Its two sides meet in an arch about a meter high. Set in this is a small rubble block supporting the plaster frame for the bas-relief of the god.

The niche was covered with several layers of plaster. The last layer, a thick crude coating which blocked the gypsum incense burner and covered the niche unevenly was obviously applied as a protection

when the chamber was finally blocked with mud brick. Beneath were found at least two layers of good plaster, the lower one being black. On this layer, over the face of niche, block, and shelf, were scratched many graffiti, principally names of worshipers with the usual $\mu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$ formula.

In the rear wall of the room on either side of the shrine, a small niche had originally been built into the rubble wall. That on the left was completely covered with plaster and was only disclosed when part of the covering fell away in removing the fresco. In the niche to the right had been deposited the bas-relief from the shrine and stone with inscription dated in 54 A. D. The niche still retained a raised border of plaster and it too had probably been completely covered with plaster. When a place was needed to dispose of the monuments of the shrine, part of the covering had been removed and the niche once more utilized. The fact that both stones were found carefully turned face down and then covered with the mud brick embankment suggest that either the embankment was considered only temporary or that there was hesitation in removing the god from his sanctuary. Since in the temple of Azzanathkona, the bas-relief was also left in place when the mud brick wall was built, the embankment was probably regarded as a temporary expedient.

Left of the niche, on a thin layer of fine gray plaster was drawn in red a crude but most interesting cult scene (Pl. XXXVII, 1—2). The picture is drawn in outline with red and black lines on the gray background and depicts a great bird mounted on the horns of an altar. Behind the bird a little winged Victory clad in a long red and black robe strives to place a crown on the bird's head and in front a priest is offering sacrifice on a blazing altar. The whole scene is framed by the representation of the front of a sanctuary or temple. On either side stands a column adorned with crisscross bands, supporting the pointed arch of the roof. Palm branches take the place of *acroteria* at the eaves and the top. To the left a man armed with sword and clad in Persian costume with long sleeves advances with palm branch in the right hand.

Whether the bird carries anything in its mouth is not certain. A little line above the beak suggests it may have held a palm branch. Noticeable above the head are three little wavy lines running to the left. Perhaps they represent some sort of fillet bands. One remarks at once the difference in the two altars, the large one with two horns supported by two blocks resting on stepped foundations composed of two larger

blocks, the second with shaft composed of four rounded knobs with cup shaped top and slightly conical base. Details of the priest beside the little altar are not clear. He apparently faces full front and wears the cylindrical hat so well known on the reliefs of priests at Palmyra. His dress with short flaring skirt and band of ornament up the front is similar to the dress of the second figure. In the latter figure one sees more clearly the ornamental front border of the jacket. The sword is clearly drawn and the round scabbard butt carefully marked.

The very crudeness of the scene in a way enhances its historical importance for it proves the picture to be the work of a local artist depicting the Dura cult. In the great pictures from the Synagogue at Dura, a common device is that of showing in the open doors of a temple the cult objects which would ordinarily be concealed within the building. So twice the great branched candlestick reaches up across the doorways, once one sees in the doorway of the temple of Dagon the furniture which adorned the interior. In this bird scene the same arrangement must have been adopted. The shrine or temple is depicted by the arched and columned front. In the foreground has been placed the altar and cult image which must actually have been concealed within the recess. Perhaps the bird on the altar is a copy of a larger and finer painting which adorned the real sanctuary. No other trace of bird-cult was found in the temple of Aphlad. In one of the private houses, however, parts of two birds sculptured in stone were found. One was mounted on an alabaster base, very possibly an altar, and should probably be connected with this cult.

The scene itself throws some new light on the representations depicted on a little altar found at the Palmyra gate in the first campaign (*Rep. I*, pl. V). One side of this little altar represents a bird on an altar in front of a standard. The altar was allocated to the Roman period and it was thought the stepped construction must represent the tomb of an emperor. Now we may recognise it more satisfactorily as a horned altar built up in steps and supporting a bird which plays a chief part in the cult. The palm branches above are paralleled by those of the *acroteria* in the fresco and the winged figure with palm on another face is comparable to the flying Victory with crown in the painting. From another point of view, the representation of the bird with standard is undoubtedly related to the designs of birds perched on standards pictured beside the horned altars on the coins of Persis.²

² G. F. Hill, *Cat. of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis* (London, 1922), pl. XXX, 1—14 etc.

The cult may, therefore, have been originally Persian, or adopted by the Persians from the Semites. The horned altar, so common in Parthian centers seems to bear out this contention. Interestingly enough also, it is from the Parthian settlement at Assur that one obtains the closest parallel to the smaller altar. A drawing in ink on a potsherd, now in the Berlin museum, depicts not only an altar of the same type, but a priest beside it offering sacrifice with the same gesture. Certainly then, the Parthian elements, if not the original and sole contributors to the cult, played a very large part in its development.

In passing it is worth while noticing the relation of this smaller altar to others depicted at Dura. The altar on the stele of Aphlad like those in the frescoes of the Tribune and of Otes (Cumont, Pl. LI and LV) has one knob in the middle. The chief priest in the Konon scene (Pl. XXXII) and at least one of the people among the sacrificants, stand beside altars with three knobs in the shaft. One might conclude tentatively, therefore, that though both types were contemporary in the first century, the more elaborate was gradually given up in favor of the other. If this is so then the drawing would go back to the first century A. D. I am, in any case, inclined to date it before the Roman period.

Some distance below the cult scene and a little to the left, so far that there could scarcely be direct connection between the pictures, is drawn the figure of a Parthian warrior shooting a bow. He wears the regular Persian dress with short skirt, raises the right hand shoulder high to draw back the string, and holds in the outstretched left a bow with the usual double curve which marks those of Parthian manufacture. A little below and to the right the outlines of a standard are drawn. As the same types of standards are found in the fresco of the Tribune, in the painting of Israelite tribes in the Synagogue, and on the little altar with Parthian affinities from the Main Gate, it is impossible to draw from its presence any evidence as to the nationality of the painter. Some distance below the standard, parts of two smaller figures are drawn. The lower in Persian costume offers sacrifice on a small altar, the other advances right. Both seem to be chance sketches without relation to any general scheme.

The relief of Aphlad (now in Damascus) is cut on a stone whose surface measures 0.51 by 0.31 m. A raised border 0.02—0.025 m. is left around the stone. The bottom is left plain but the top and sides are cut to form a moulding as frame around the bas-relief. The god stands on a flat pedestal on the backs of winged griffins, a pedestal

0.13 m. above the base. The top of the *polos* touches the molding. The relief at its greatest depth is 0.075 m. but the god himself has a maximum depth of 0.035 m.

The stone has an exceptionally fine grain which contrasts with the usual rather coarse-grained local gypsum stones. M. Bacquet was kind enough to make a careful comparison between this stone and stones in Palmyra and reports that they are not the same type. Perhaps the relief was cut at Anath, the home of the god, and imported. If so it was made expressly for export since the original domicile of the god is expressly mentioned. I see no necessity, however, for regarding it as an importation. A little altar very simply cut, and made of the same type of stone was found in the sixth campaign. I believe, therefore, the stone is local, at least obtained not far from the city, though it is not as common as the coarser gypsum.

The god faces full front and is clad in the dress of the Hellenistic officer with buckled shoulder straps supporting a cuirass that reaches almost to the knees (Pl. XIII). Knees and arms are covered with a thick garment whose folds are cut in the Parthian manner with circular bands. Two rows of fringes mark the edges of the cuirass above the knee and just at the knee the end of an undergarment appears, its folds falling in semi-circular lines above the knees. The cuirass itself consists of a breastplate of metal fastened to its leather backing by one row of nails at the neck and a second around the waist. This second row fastens in place also the top row of two series of lamboys which like a kilt form the lower part of the cuirass. Ornaments of the god of heaven: a star on either shoulder strap, one in the center of the chest and one just below the knot of the belt mark the breastplate. Around the central star are crosses representing the less brilliant stars of heaven. Such ornaments on the breastplate are not uncommon in Parthian times for they appear on the edge of the cuirasses of kings on many Parthian coins especially from the time of Phraates IV and thereafter.³ On the coins only a fraction of the cuirass appears and a single star alone is shown. Antiochus I of Commagene had adopted this Parthian custom however and his jacket in the three scenes at Nimrud Dag which portray the monarch successively with Commagene, with Heracles and with Zeus,⁴ is studded with stars.

A curious feature of the costume of Aphlad is the cloth belt which

³ *B. M. C. Parthia*, Pls. XIX, 6; XXI, 2; XXVI, 1; XXVII, 1, 3 etc.

⁴ Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (1890), Taf. XXXVII, 1; XXXIX, 1, 2.

circles the waist and is looped up with a double knot in front, for on the metal breastplate it seems to serve no useful purpose. Such a belt tied loosely around the waist and with loose ends hanging down in front is a feature of the costume in the little silver statue of a Parthian now in Berlin, and in the representation of the priest on the gold cup of the British Museum.⁵ More ornate belts appear on the statues of Antiochus and of Mithra at Commagene and we may consider a belt as an essential part of the standard Parthian costume. To Parthian influence also must be ascribed the braided torque set with a brooch which circles the neck. Horace characterizes the Parthians as wearers of torques and belittles their wealth by inferring that their "poor little torques" were their only ornaments.

Jam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus
Non auspicatos contudit impetus
Nostros, et adjecisse praedam
Torquibus exiguis renidet.⁶

The torque of Aphlad, set with a brooch, and so combining torque and necklace, is of the more elaborate type which Horace suggests is due to Roman booty. That the torque was the common ornament of the Celts as well as the Parthians is too well known to require further comment. The brooch with inset stone is a not uncommon ornament of necklaces represented on busts from Palmyra and the sculptures of Gandara.

The body is well proportioned and has none of that excessive length of waist which characterizes the fresco of Konon. The head is large in proportion to the body and the impression of size is increased by the heavy beard and the row of snail curls. Undulating incisions (of the same type which mark the fringes of the cuirass) portray the hair of the beard, the ends of the incisions curving toward the center. A mustache drawn with oblique lines which curve down a little at the ends, droops a little into the top of the beard. Beneath the beard, the neck is disproportionately wide, left so probably because of the difficulty of cutting beneath the beard.

Neither eyebrows nor eyelashes are represented but the planing away of the surface of the forehead just before the eyesocket to make a slight incline toward the eye breaks the transition between eye and

⁵ Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pls. 42 and 43.

⁶ Odes, III, 6, 9—12.

forehead and gives a suggestion of eyebrow. The raised circle of the iris is entirely represented except for a fraction hidden beneath the upper eyelid. The pupil is just a dot separated from the iris by an incised circle. The snail curls (unbored) curving away from the center, are represented as heavier at the sides, and those which conceal the ears are turned out to show the front rather than the side. A diadem covers the hair behind the front row of curls and from this the *polos* rises. It consists of two rows of jewels with a band of cloth above and below each row. From the *polos* the two ends of the diadem, one to either side of the head, fall to the point of the shoulder. Quite unusual is the combination of diadem and *polos*. On the Parthian coins the kings are represented either with diadem alone or with diadem and helmet. The diadem itself, an inheritance from the Assyrian epoch,⁷ was widely accepted in the east under the Parthians. In Bactria the royal band accompanies the casque or *causia*. The representations of Antiochus at Nimrud Dag show the diadem girding the tiara. On the Parthian coins, where its employment is most general, one finds both ribbons represented, one on either side of the head, with the frontal portraits of Vardanes II, Phraates III and Volagases III.⁸ Perhaps the ribbons represented falling to either side of one of the masks at Hatra are also part of a diadem.⁹ Through the kindness of M. Seyrig we are able to publish



Fig. 1.

a tessera from Palmyra with the same royal bands (fig. 1). A second tessera from Palmyra Seyrig publishes in Syria,¹⁰ in order to compare the representation with a bas-relief of unknown provenance but of Palmyrene style. Both the tessera and the relief show the bust of a male god whose head facing full front is adorned with diadem and *polos* or *calathos*. In both cases we have the ribbons hanging down to either side so that they present almost exact parallels to the Aphlad representation. The *polos* of Aphlad however is set with two horizontal rows of precious stones, ornaments which belong neither to the *polos* of representations from Palmyra, nor to the *polos* of Hadad in the Hadad-

⁷ For its use by Assyrian kings see Contenau, *Manuel*, Figs. 790 and 819.

⁸ *B. M. C. Parthia*, Pl. XXIX 15—17, and Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 66, 4 and 14.

⁹ Andrae, *Hatra*, Pl. XIX.

¹⁰ *Syria*, XIII (1932), Fig. 1.

Atargatis relief.¹¹ On the Parthian coins,¹² the kings do not wear the *polos*, but Musa, mother of Phraataces wears the tiara set with horizontal bands of jewels and the diadem.¹³

The right arm is bent at the elbow and the hand resting on the right breast holds a short instrument which may be a stylus. The ends of the instrument are not cut in the round so it appears as if the thumb which is shown on either side, went through the piece. Probably the intention was, however, to represent the object as round, and the thumb as passing behind it. The outlines of the middle finger can be seen on the stone bent under so that it does not touch the stylus. The little finger is entirely destroyed.

The left hand of the god, held just above the left shoulder, grasps a long staff adorned with a knob surmounted by a ring of metal. The break in the stone at the fingers does not allow us clearly to discern the details of the manner of holding the rod. Apparently the hand holds partly a rope or metal band which circles the staff. It is possible to believe that the ends of thumb and forefinger are still visible; if so, they are represented as disproportionately long. Moreover, it is very difficult in any case to see how they might fit the hand gracefully. The skill with which other details are drawn induces one to believe that it is not the finger and thumb which are seen around the staff but some band which the hand holds. The long sceptre is apparently another survival from the Babylonian-Assyrian period, in which period the gods and the kings carry commonly the long staff set with symbols above, like a standard. On the Parthian coins the monarchs very often bear the long sceptre, the end now fashioned with simpler ornaments. The many variations in this ornament may have special significance, as did the symbols in the Assyrian period, or they may depend merely on the artistic taste of the bearer. In the reliefs at Nimrud Dag, Antiochus carries a sceptre adorned with small double knobs rising from flower petals, Zeus one with an ovoid end like a bud between petals. It is not easy to distinguish details on the coins but it is clear that there are many slight variations: a knob and trefoil on a coin of Phraates III, a knob, bar and round tip on a coin of Orodes I etc.¹⁴

¹¹ *Rep. III*, Pl. XIV.

¹² *B. M. C. Parthia*, Pl. XXIV 1—3.

¹³ For precious stones in the headdress of the Syrian female goddess see Baur, *Rep. III*, p. 107, and Zahn in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir W. Ramsay* (Manchester, London, New York etc., 1923), p. 452, n. 3.

¹⁴ *B. M. C. Parthia*, Pl. XI, 1; XIV, 12.

The closest analogy to the sceptre of Aphlad occurs on the coins of Phraates IV,¹⁵ for the sceptre ends in two knobs set close together. Aphlad's costume as a whole then is a combination of Hellenistic and Parthian elements, with one item (the *polos*) to be ascribed to Semitic influence.

The left leg and foot, completely preserved, allow us to see the cross-lacings of the high boots and the knot which fastened the thongs below the knee. The boot-top extends down to the bottom of the instep. From beneath this emerges the leather covering of the fore-foot, a covering unmarked by any thongs or buckles. The tongue of the shoe protrudes a little above the boot.

The ears of the eagle-griffins point very sharply forward and are flattened down against the head. A sharply incised line cut into the flattened ear gives the impression that the ear is turned sideways in a very unnatural manner, rather than front. Details of the eyes are invisible. Over the center of the head runs the mane, a narrow raised band adorned with incised spiral bands. Around the neck a thick ring of hair is represented by a band of stone cut with vertical lines. Around the neck each wears a loose cord on which is suspended a bell with tongue. The wings of the griffins are striated on both sides, and the outside of the wing nearest the altar is marked with cross lines to give the effect of feathers. The legs, too short and not very well sculptured, end in the paws of lions.

The priest who offers sacrifice to the god stands left of the little altar, facing three quarters front. He holds the alabastron with offering of wine in the left hand, and reaches across with the right to place a ball of incense on the flaming altar. Following the rule of the sacred colleges at Palmyra, the priest is clean-shaven. The pointed cap, probably a mark of office is comparable to the high pointed cap of the priest in the Konon fresco. It is worth remarking that one of the reliefs from Tell Halaf,¹⁶ shows a rider with this same type of cap. At Palmyra the priests, as the numerous busts show, adopted the tarboosh, rather than the pointed cap.¹⁷ The priest stands barefoot, holds the alabastron between the fingers of one hand with thumb on top, and drops a little

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* XIX, 2 and 3, XX, 3 etc.

¹⁶ Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf* (Leipzig, 1931), Tafel 18, b. (22 B).

¹⁷ The pointed cap does appear, however, on a Palmyrene relief now at Yale. In this representation both the priest and his attendant wear the pointed cap while the tarboosh of the priest rests on a little stand in the background.

ball of incense, held between thumb and fingers of the right hand into the flame of the altar. Only the little finger on the right hand is marked off separately from the rest. The eyes, as those of the god, have neither eyebrows nor eyelashes. There is no marking to designate iris and pupil except that the stone is cut to make a rounded point in the middle of the eyes. Probably both iris and pupil were painted. The hair appearing just beneath the cap is portrayed in short locks which curve to the right. The ears stand out somewhat too much and are perhaps a trifle large. The neck is fairly well proportioned, though a little too long as in early busts at Palmyra. As also at Palmyra two incised horizontal lines mark the folds.

The priest is clad in a long chiton caught at the waist with a belt. The breast of the chiton appears to have regular sharp-angled folds. In reality only two of the lines meet, and the irregularity gives a pleasing effect of naturalness. Similarly on the arm the wide sleeve above the elbow is caused to fall gracefully and easily by the cutting of a few irregular fold lines. Indication of the right knee beneath the drape is given by a round at the knee itself from which a fold falls away to either side. Above folds are represented falling from the center of the robe along the leg. They become much lighter as they approach the front of the leg, finally disappearing altogether.

The altar with one knob in the shaft and small cup-shaped top is the type already known from some of the frescoes in the Palmyrene temple. In the temple of Aphlad itself, a small cup-shaped object attached to a cylindrical shaft, and made of *faïence* was found. Near it was discovered an alabstron similar to that held in the left hand of the priest. Obviously then, the same instruments depicted in the relief were employed in the cult rites of the temple.

Across the upper left face of the stone was cut the following inscription in letters 0.01—0.025 m. high. Inscription 416.

ΤΗΝ ΑΦΕΙΔΡΥCΙΝ
 ΤΑΥΤΗ[Ν] ΙΕΡΟΥ ΑΦΛΑΔ
 ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ
 ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΘ ΚΩΜΗΣ
 5 ΕΥΦΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
 ΑΔΑΔΙΑΒΟΣ
 ΖΑΒΔΙΒΩΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 CΙΛΛΟΙ ΕΥΧΗΝ
 ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ

This foundation
 of the sanctuary of
 Aphlad, called god
 of the village of Anath
 on the Euphrates,
 Adadiabos, the son
 of Zabdibolos, son
 of Silloi erected as
 his vow in behalf of

10

ΩΩΤΗΡΙΑC
 ΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙ[N]ΤΟΥC
 ΟΙΚΟΥ

thesafetyofhimself,
 his children and all
 his house.

Between this inscription and the top of the alabastron is scratched with a point in letters 0.0075— 0.015 m. high (417).

ΑΠΟΛΛ
 ð CEΛE
 ΥΚΟC NEA
 ΒΑΙΧΟΥ

L. 2. The *nu* here and in line 13 was omitted in the cutting. In the word Ἀφλαδ, the third and fourth letters are made with no sign of crossbar. Ἀφλαδ seems the preferable reading as the presence of both *alpha* and *lambda* is assured by other inscriptions and the name seems best interpreted as Apal-ad — Son of Ad (Hadad).

L. 4. Ἀναθ is the modern Anah on the Euphrates, 50 miles down the river. It is mentioned in the list of stations of Isidorus of Charax.

L. 6. Names formed from the name of the god Hadad are of course common. This particular combination occurs neither at Dura nor elsewhere.

L. 7. This is the first occurrence of the name Zabdibolos at Dura, though it is well known elsewhere (Wuthnow, p. 48).

L. 8. Johnson (*Rep. II*, D. 100) cites the name Σιλᾶϊος; Wuthnow gives Σιλᾶ (p. 109); and Justi (*Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 301) Šili, and Σιλλᾶκης.

Graffito. The abbreviation ð for μνησθῆ seems to suggest this is much later, probably of the Roman period.

L. 1. Ἀπολλ is probably part of a proper name.

L. 2—3. The name Neabaichos is not known elsewhere. It is possible to regard Nea as beginning of the name Nearchos and divide it from Baichos, cf. above inscriptions 372 and 373 = Σέλευκος Νεάρχου.

Thanks to the inscribed block (Pl. XXVI) found with the Aphlad statue, a block which is dated in 54 A. D. and which contains the name of the dedicant of the bas-relief we can date both inscriptions and the sanctuary with certainty to this year. The stone is gypsum, 0.43 m. high, and 0.41 m. wide at the top (now at Damascus). The

face is marked off by incised lines into a square 0.33 m. on a side. Within this is cut in letters 0.01—0.025 m. high inscription 418 (Squeeze and photograph).

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΣΤ ΓΟΡΠΙ
 ΑΙΟΥ Κ ΟΙ ΥΠΟΓΕΓΡΑΜ
 ΠΕΝΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ
 ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑ
 5 ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΑΠΑΛΑΔΩΙ ΘΕΩΙ
 ΒΑΡΙΒΑΓΝΑΙΟΣ ΡΑΧΙΠΝΑΙΟΥ
 ΝΑΒΟΥΣΑΠΔΟΣ ΑΒΕΠΠΟΥ ΣΑΒΔΙ
 ΣΑΠΟΣ ΖΑΒΔΙΒΩΛΟΥ ΝΑΒΟΥΔΑΡΑΟΣ
 ΦΑΛΑΖΖΑΧΕΙΣ ΑΒΟΥΙΣ ΖΑΒΙΔΑΔΑΔΟΥ
 10 ΣΑΛΑΠΙΣ ΦΑΛΑΖΑΧΕΙΣ ΡΟΥΠΗΣ ΟΧΧΑΝΟΥ^Υ
 ΝΑΒΟΥΑΖΖΑΝΗΣ ΡΑΧΙΠΝΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟ
 ΓΕΝΗΣ ΖΑΒΙΔΑΔΑΔΟΥ ΑΔΑΔΙΑΔΒΟΣ
 ΖΑΒΔΙΒΩΛΟΥ ΑΔΔΑΙΟΣ ΦΑΛΑΖΑΧΕΙΣ
 ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΗ
 15 ΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ

54 A. D. The twentieth day of Gorpaios. The undersigned members of the association erected this andron to the god Aphlad, in behalf of the safety of the general Seleucos, of themselves and of their children.

L. 3. The subscribers in the organization belong to six families. There are two sons of Rachimnaios, two of Zabdibolos, three of Phalazzacheis, and two of Zabidadados. In all but one case, one son of each family, probably the eldest and so head of the family, is mentioned first. The third son of Phalazzacheis is mentioned last. Perhaps Salamis, son of Phalazacheis, mentioned before Roumes, son of Ochchanos, belonged to a different branch of the family from Naboudaraos, son of Phalazzacheis or to an entirely different family whose name was spelled with single *zeta*. The names are all Semitic except for Theogenes, an obviously Greek translation of a Semitic word, a fact the more surprising in view of many graffiti of Greeks scratched in the sanctuary. Many of the names are also new ones at Dura and one suspects that there was a closely knit group of foreigners in this section of the city. Since the god was imported from Anath, down the river, probably most of these families had come up to Dura from the south.

L. 4. *ἀνδρῶν* seems to define more clearly the *ἱερόν* of the bas-relief. *ἀνδρῶν* and *ἀνδρεῶν* are commonly used in classical literature and in the Egyptian papyri as the men's chamber in a private house. A recent inscription from Jerash mentions an *ἀνδρῶν* which Jones

takes to be a passage.¹⁸ The ἀνδρών in Samos mentioned by Plutarch (*Q. Gr.* 303, 57) is either the men's barracks or a banqueting hall. An inscription from Segesta (*C. I. G.* 5545), however, suggests that the room is part of the temple. At Dura it is clearly a sanctuary but one probably reserved for men. The fact that there was an association of men grouped about the cult of Aphlad may explain the low benches around the room, benches utilized for the convocations of this club.

L. 5. It is interesting to notice the difference in spelling of the name of the god, this spelling going back more clearly to the origin of the name Apal-ados. The connection of θεός directly with the name clears up the translation of the relief, so that we may render it with certainty, "Aphlad, called god of Anath", not "Aphlad, called a god, of Anath."

L. 6. Cumont found the name Ἀβιγγινάϊος (97) "Servant of Ginai" and Johnson the name Βαργινάϊος (*Rep. II*, D. 81). Apparently here we have a combination of the two.

Ῥαχιμνάϊος is not found elsewhere.

L. 7. Ναβουσαμδος is probably an alternate spelling for Ναβουσαμσος, a word composed of the name of the god Ναβου and σαμς, the sun.

For Ἀβέμμη, "father of the mother" see Cumont, p. 432.

Σαβδισαμσος is probably for Ζεβιδ-σαμσος — "given by the sun."

L. 8. Ζαβδιβωλος "given by Baal"; compare Ζαβδιν?]άβου, Cumont p. 444. The name is common in Palmyra.

Ναβουδάραος does not occur elsewhere. For names composed with "Nabou" at Palmyra see Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil*, VI, 113, VII, 339 ff; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 320.

L. 9. Φαλαζζαχεις does not occur elsewhere.

Ἄβουις, the name occurs again but with double *beta* on graffito 438.

Ζαβιδαδάδου, *alphas* and *deltas* are not easily distinguished on the stone but we have here apparently the same name mentioned in Cumont (52, 57).

L. 10. Σαλαμς is probably a variation of the well known name Σάλμας (see Cumont, p. 368).

Ῥούμης is probably the Nabataean name Ῥούμας (Cumont, p. 445).

Οχχανου does not occur elsewhere. Perhaps it is from the same root as Οχχαισου (Wuthnow, p. 93).

L. 11. Ναβουαζζανης contains the name of the god Ναβου with a part of the name of the great goddess Αζζαν-αθκονα. Perhaps Ἀζζαν just means "great" and the name signifies "Nabou is great".

¹⁸ *J. R. S.*, XX (1930), p. 43.

L. 12. Ἄδαδίαδβος a misspelling for Ἄδαδίαβος, "Hadad gives". Compare Βεελίαβος, Ναβουίαβος, Ἰάβσυμος, etc.

The name of this individual found as the dedicant on the bas-relief allows us to date the piece of sculpture to this period, probably to the same year 54 A. D.

L. 14. This same Seleucus is mentioned in Cumont's inscriptions 116 and 118 of 60—61 A. D. and in an inscription from the temple of Palmyrene gods dated in 50—51 A. D. In one of these, only the title *strategos* is given, in the other two both the title *strategos* and that of *epistates* is mentioned. Cumont p. 424 gives the genealogy of the family and Johnson in *Dura Studies* shows that the office of *strategos* is hereditary. In this sixth campaign it was noticed that Cumont's inscription 52, a dedication of Seleucus, son of Lysias, *strategos* and *genearches* was dated in 32—1 B. C. He then, was the grandfather of the holder of the title in 54 A. D. for Cumont's inscription 118 mentions the father's name Lysias. That the dedication of the Semitic association should be erected in behalf of Seleucus, shows that he was a man both of power and popularity. Perhaps due to his influence Dura attained the wealth reflected in the numerous temple dedications at this time.¹⁹

* * *

The date of the inscription is not the only evidence for dating the bas-relief in the early first century for striking parallels of style are found in art works of this same period. One remarks at once the similarity of the priest to the priests in the frescoes of Konon, dated in the second half of this century. There is the same position of the hands and feet, the same statuesque pose and the same treatment of neck and head. A striking difference between the two works, however, is found in the lengths of the bodies, those in the relief being short and stocky, while those in the frescoes are disproportionately long. In this respect some of the figures in the magnificent reliefs just discovered in Palmyra and dated in 32 A. D. come closer to the figures of the bas-relief than do the figures of the Konon frescoes. In the relief of the warrior gods, we have a close parallel in stature and in posture to our own Aphlad. Moreover though the Palmyrene figures have the Roman cuirass with cut at the waist, compared with the straight waist-line of Aphlad; other details, as the pleats, the fringes, the length,

¹⁹ Note the same name Seleucus probably son of Nearchos scratched on the bas-relief of Aphlad, above no. 417.

even the relation of the length of the skirt to that of the undergarment are exactly the same. In the reliefs of Palmyra, one finds also the same type of altar as in the Aphlad relief, and the same gesture of sacrifice. It is worth noticing that only part of the figures in the Palmyra relief have the short stocky stature of Aphlad, and that the rest approach in stature the priests of the Konon frescoes. Apparently this style of elongated body was already beginning to supplant the shorter type.

A second most interesting parallel to the type of work in the Aphlad relief is afforded by the big tomb sculptures of Antiochus I (69—34 B. C.) from Nimrud Dag in North Syria. In the portrait of the Persian ancestor of Antiochus himself is portrayed the same type of mustache and beard as that found in the relief of Aphlad,²⁰ the beard portrayed in the same manner with undulating vertical lines curving slightly toward the center at the ends. The portrait has the same large head and short body. Around his neck the Persian wears a twisted torque set with ornamental stone, just as Aphlad wears the braided necklace and jewel. The head of the Persian is drawn in profile according to the Hellenistic preference, though his body is almost full front. Aphlad, like the figures in the Konon frescoes, faces full front in accordance with the Parthian style.

These three groups of sculpture, the new reliefs from Palmyra, the reliefs in Nimrud Dag and the representation of Aphlad belong to the same school, a school which combines a survival of the eastern Hellenistic work with many elements of the Parthian art. The school is of great importance in three ways. Artistically it introduces the stiffness of Persian tradition, a stiffness which revivifies and strengthens the weak models of the late Hellenistic school. Historically it brings to the fore the new elements which played so large a part in determining the later Byzantine conceptions. Locally both at Palmyra and Dura it established many conventions which survived for a long period. The long neck with horizontal folds, the iris made with concentric circles, the lack of eyebrows all become a part of the Palmyrene and Durene traditions. It is on the tesserae of Palmyra that one finds the curious *polos* worn by Aphlad, with ribbons falling to either side. (See pp. 109 ff.) The preference for frontality, and a statuesque stiffness, almost hallmarks of the new Parthian influence was never lost either at Palmyra or at Dura. It is, then, these early reliefs which give the key to the understanding of art development at Dura, at

²⁰ K. Humann und O. Puchstein, *Denkmäler des Nimrud Dagh, Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Berlin, 1890), pl. XL.

Palmyra and in much of northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia as a whole.

The identity of Aphiad presents a most interesting problem. Mr. Gadd of the British Museum was kind enough to point out to me that the name of the god was probably the name Apladda — 'son of Adda (Hadad)' mentioned in Assyrian records.²¹ Since once the name is written Aplada 'Son of Ad (Hadad)' and since an eighth century document refers to the god in connection with the middle Euphrates region which includes the town of Anath, there seems to be no doubt but that this is the deity in question. Our own records give the name once as Ἀφλαδ, once as Ἀφλαδος and once as Ἀππλαδος; the last being a remarkably accurate transcription. Nothing more is known of the god in Assyrian times.

On the coast of Syria the son of Hadad was Aleyin, god of streams and of vegetation, the Ba'al of the earth.²² It cannot be purely coincidence that the great goddess Anat is represented as the sister of Aleyin, and that in our monument Aphiad is said to come from Anath, named after the great goddess. Albright believes²³ that the worship of 'Anat in Palestine may have died out at a comparatively early date since names formed with 'Anat are curiously rare and nearly all are place names. On the other hand as he says (p. 87) "there can be little doubt that the middle Euphrates region was a center of the cult of 'An- 'Anat, especially since one of its principal towns bore the name Hanat-Anat, i. e. 'Anat, modern Anah." Our bas-relief shows that Aphiad was a great god. Apparently he was *the* great god of Anath, the Baal of Anath. That he should then be associated with Anath, the local goddess is more than probable. We shall discuss later the relation of the great goddess Azzanathkona, whose temple was found at Dura, with the goddess Anath. Suffice it to say now that the element 'Anath' in the name must relate to the goddess or to the town. The Greeks of Dura called Azzanathkona Artemis. Anat, as Albright remarks, (p. 83) was one of the great goddesses 'who conceive but do not bear.' She had then the characteristic of being both fecund and virgin at the same time, a characteristic common to most, if not all,

²¹ Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Nr. 4, Kol. III, Z. 2 ff.

²² Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 165 ff. For the new material on Aleyin from the Ras Shamra tablets, see in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CV, Nos. 2—3 (1932), the excellent article of R. Dussaud.

²³ W. F. Albright, "The Evolution of the West-Semitic Divinity 'An-'Anat-'Atta'", *A. J. S. L. L.* January 1925, p. 84.

Asiatic goddesses. But if Azzanathkona was associated with Artemis, one expects some mention of a god corresponding to Apollo, brother of Artemis. Since on the coast one finds just this correspondence between Anat and Aleyin, son of Hadad, it is not too much to suppose that on the middle Euphrates where the cults of Anath and Aphlad were both powerful, the same relationship was found.

An extraordinary feature of the Aphlad relief is that the god stands on a pedestal adorned with eagle-griffins, animals usually associated with the sun. The stone pedestal adorned with animals or fantastic figures was of course common in Hittite art, and we have examples of lions, bulls and human headed lions on bases from Carchemish and Sinjirli.²⁴ Hadad was of course usually portrayed with bulls and so we find him portrayed in the relief at Dura (*Rep. III*, Pl. XIV). The Hittite Hadad, Teshub, however, is mounted on lions in the Sinjirli reliefs and in monuments from Tell Halaf. A bronze Syro-Hittite figurine in the British Museum (*B. M.* 105152) portrays the figure of a god, probably Hadad, standing on a lion. It is possible then to go half-way in explaining the lack of bulls in the representation of a son of Hadad. This explanation, however, does not go far enough.

The famous Helios relief at Hatra²⁵ depicts the rayed head of Helios flanked by eagles. On one side of these is portrayed the head of a bull, on the other side, the head of a second divinity, beside both of which stand winged eagle-griffins. Four more eagle-griffins flank two heads on either end of the relief. Sarre²⁶ remarks that the bust of the sun-god flanked with griffins is of exceptional interest because of the close relationship between these beasts and the later Sassanian dragons.²⁷ It was this eagle-griffin with straight wings and bird head that became most popular in Hellenistic and Parthian times as opposed to the lion-griffin with curled wings, lion head, and horns of the Persian period.²⁸ Hill remarks that this lion-griffin, associated by the Greeks with Persia,²⁹ and appearing on the coins of Alexander the Great, gives place entirely on coins to the eagle-griffin after 317—16 B. C. On Parthian and Sassanian gems the motif is common. Cumont re-

²⁴ Contenau, *Manuel*, III, Pls. 747, 748 and 756.

²⁵ Andrae, *Hatra*, I, Pl. XI.

²⁶ Sarre, *Die Kunst*, p. 28—9.

²⁷ For the development in Sassanian times see H. Glück, *Die Beiden "Sasanidischen" Drachenreliefs* (Constantinople, 1917).

²⁸ A. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, "Gryps", pp. 1742 ff.

²⁹ G. F. Hill, "Alexander the Great and the Persian Lion-Gryphon," *J. H. S.*, XLIII (1923), pp. 156 ff.

cently published a gem from Emesa with intaglio of the Sun on an eagle with lion on one side, an eagle-griffin on the other. The first Cumont associates with Helios, the second with Apollo.³⁰ Of exceptional interest is the relief of Zeus at Nimrud Dag for the god is seated in a chair whose arms are lion-griffins, and whose back supports two eagles. Since in the shrine of Aphlad we have the god supported by eagle-griffins, and find the representation of a bird-cult in the sanctuary, we may well see a direct relationship here to the conception of the supreme god at Nimrud Dag. In this detail also, then, the Parthian element seems evident in the Aphlad relief.

When we review the evidence, the presumption seems strong that Parthian influence played an important part in the whole Aphlad cult. The little painted scene beside the niche reflects largely Parthian conceptions. The little altar placed before the niche is the pointed type so popular at Hatra and Parthian Assur. The corresponding temple (that of the Palmyrene gods) in the northwest corner of the city, stresses in its worship of Zeus-Baal, Iarhibol and Aglibol, just the three warrior gods which would be most acceptable to Parthian ideas, i. e. the god of heaven, the Sun and the Moon. The gods are Semitic but either the ones selected in the Palmyrene temple were chosen from the Semitic pantheon according to Persian ideas, or the Persian gods were given in the temple the Semitic names and some of the Semitic attributes. The same thing seems to have been the case in the temple of Aphlad. In this case the strong local god Aphlad is given characteristics derived from Persian ideas. He adopts the symbols of the god of the Sun and becomes associated with the winged griffins of the solar deity. Probably in spite of this he retained many of the characteristics of his father, Hadad, god of the thunder and the heavens. Perhaps it is on this last account that he wears the symbols of stars and planets on his breast, and does not bear the rayed crown, the attribute of the purely solar deity. Possibly the association of Aphlad with the sun assisted in identifying the great goddess of Anath with Artemis, sister of Apollo.

On the niche and the west wall of the room a number of graffiti were inscribed as follows.

419. On the face of the stand which supported the bas-relief of the god, in letters 0.005 m. high scratched with a point.

³⁰ *Syria*, VII (1926), p. 350.

MNHΘH AΠOΛΛΩNIO[C] ΔEΞIONIKOY KAI BAPAΔ
KAI BO . OC

Apollonios is a name very common at Dura but this is the first mention of Dexionikos.

Βαρσάδης occurs in Dura in inscription *Rep. I*, p. 46 (3).

The last name is not all at clear, but very possibly it begins with Βορ. 420. Along the south inside wall of the niche in letters 0.025 m. high scratched with a point and clear.

ΠΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ Μ(νησθῆ) Ἀπολλᾶς

Cumont (Inscription 40, line 8) reads Μ(νησθῆ) [Ἡ]λιόδ[ωρος τ]ο[ῦ Ἀ]πολλ[ᾶ]?

The letters in our graffito are clear and one must read the *mu* for an abbreviation of μνησθῆ and the name as Ἀπολλᾶς with genitive Ἀπολλᾶ.

421. Tracing. Face of niche, top *a*. Letters 0.01—0.02 m. made with point and clear.

KAI CEΛEYKOC
AΠOΛΛOΦANOY
KAI ΛICAMC
KAI ΛYCANIAC ΔIΘΩPOY

The first part of this μνησθῆ inscription has been lost. In Cumont's inscription 76, dated 123 A. D., the same name Σέλευκος Ἀπολλοφάνους occurs. In our inscription the name of the father is given without the final *sigma*. If as is most probable the individual is the same he belongs to the great Seleucus-Lysanias family at Dura (See Cumont, p. 424).

The name Lisams is common both at Palmyra and at Dura (H. 8, D. 93 etc.).

The first letters of the last word are very doubtful. On the plaster they seem to be *mu-tau*. One may restore tentatively Διοδώρου.

422. Face of niche, top *b*. Letters 0.01 m. and far from clear.

ΠEΠINHΘH YΔΔ/ IC . . .

The writer began to write the perfect form of the verb here, or wrote *epsilon* by mistake and began again. Unfortunately it is impossible to read the name satisfactorily. It begins certainly with υδδ.

423. Tracing. Face of niche, top *c*. Letters 0.02—0.06 m. made with point and clear.

Μ̄ ΣΕΛΕΝΕΕ ΝΕΑΡΧΟΥ

The letters are clear but the name Σελενες does not occur elsewhere at Dura. Inside the southwest tower we find the name Σέλευκος Νεάρχου written twice (372 and 373).

424. Tracing. Face of niche, left side *a*. Letters 0.01—0.015 m. made with point and clear.

Μ̄ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩ[ΡΟΥ

The name Ἀπολλόδωρος occurs in Cumont 122. Here we have an irregular nominative Ἀπολλοδώρους perhaps due to Roman influence.

425. Tracing. Face of niche, left side *b* and *c*. Letters of (a) 0.0075 m. made with point and not clear. Letters of (b) 0.02 m. made with point and clear.

(a) ΤΟΝ . . ΑΔΙ . . ΑΔΑΔΟΥ

(b) ΣΙΑ°

(a) the name is not clear except that it is formed in part with the name of the god.

(b) Σιλσίος is found in D. 100, and the name Σιλς comes from Jerusalem (Wuthnow, p. 109). Apparently our name was never completely written, for the four letters are deeply cut but have no suffix. Compare Σιλλοι in 416.

426. Squeeze (Tracing Pl. XXXIV, 2). Face of niche, left side *d*. Letters 0.01—0.02 m. made with point and clear.

ΜΝΜΝΗCΘΗ ΑΒΒΟΥΙC ΛΥCΑΝΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ CΟΜΑΛΑΚΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ
ΑΦΑΛΑΔΟΝ ΘΕΟΝ

Ἄβους is common in Egypt from the first to the fourth century A. D. and Ἄβουις occurs in el-ʿAondjeh (*Revue Biblique*, 1920, p. 113 ff.; Wuthnow, p. 10). Ἄβουις is found in 418.

L. 2. We have at Dura Ναβουμάλαχος (D. 32), "Nabou has counseled." The name Σέμεος and Σόαιμος is well known in Syria, and Julia mother of Elagabalus had the name Σοαιμίς. Perhaps here we have a combination of the first part of this name with the common ending -μαλακος.

L. 3. The use of *πρός* before the name of a god or gods is not uncommon at Dura. Attention has already been paid to the variation of the name of Aphlad. The fact that *θεόν* is added each time means probably that the divinity was not very well known at Dura when the inscriptions were written.

427. Tracing. Left face of niche. Letters made with point.

Μ̄ ΑΓΓΑΣ

Cumont (27) found Ἀγγαῖος, and Wuthnow (p. 11) cites Ἀγης 428. Tracing. Left face of niche near top. Letters 0.01—0.02 m. made with point.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΤ

The year 69—70 A. D.

429. Tracing. Right face of niche, *a*, top. Letters 5—10 mm. made with point.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ
 ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ
 ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΟΣ

These names are all well known in Dura, and I think the title *Εὐρωπαῖος* means the individual belongs to one of the leading families. This combination in one family, however, has not been found elsewhere at Dura.

430. Tracing. Right face of niche, *b*. Letters 0.015 m. made with point.

Μ̄ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ
 ΕΙΔΟΥΣΙ

Apollodorus is of course well known but there appears to be no name corresponding to *Εἰδουσι* except *Εἰδαῖος* (Wuthnow, p. 45). Perhaps we have here only the suffix.

431. Right face of niche, *c*. Letters 0.03—0.06 m. sprawling, and doubtful.

ΑΡΧΕΛ
 ΑΦΣ

The name is known at Dura (Cumont 62, H. 34) but the reading here is exceedingly doubtful.

432. South side of niche. Letters 0.015—0.02 m. made with point.

(a) ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΖΤ

(b) ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΖΤ

The year 365 of the Seleucid era, 53—4 of our own.

433. South side of niche. Letters 5—10 mm. high and not very clear.

Π[ΝΗC]ΘΗC ΖΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗC ΒΟΗΘΕΙΔΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥ [ΒΟ]ΗΘΕΙΔΙΟΥ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΟC ΚΑΚΜΑΟΙ ΠΡΟC
ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟC.....

Ζενοκράτης is well known at Dura. For Βοηθειδίου compare Βόηθος, Βοήθιος and Βοηθοίδης in Pape's *Eigennamen*.

434. West wall of room, south of niche, written through the bird in the fresco. Letters 0.025—0.035 m. and all clear.

ΙΚΑΔΙ

The same name occurs below in inscription 438. Apparently it is a nominative case. Cumont found the first part Ικα... in Inscription 40.

435. West wall, south of fresco, a fragment. Letters 0.10 m. and fairly clear.

ΚΑΙ ΔΑΣΙΛΛΑ * Α

Fragments of several accounts or donations are scattered along the face of this wall. Here apparently we have part of one. The name Dasilla is not known elsewhere at Dura.

436. West wall, north of fresco. Letters 0.06 m.

ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟC
ΟC ΑC

The *iota* is not clear and *rho* may be a better reading. As the name Karpros does not occur, however, and since the use of *πρός* with a proper name is frequent it seems better to take this as a fragment of an account similar to that of 438.

437. West wall, below fresco. Letters 0.03—0.035 m.

ΒΑΕΙCΑΡΗ ΒΑΡΙC ΔΑΒΑΗ
ΖΑΒΙΝΗ

The second *iota* is not clear and should perhaps be read as *eta*. Ζαβεινᾶς and Ζαβινᾶς both occur at Dura. For the other names, however, I have been able to find no parallels. Probably they are names of women.

438. West wall, below fresco. Letters 0.005—0.015 m.

ΠΡΟΣ ΑΡΦΙΑΣ Ζ
 ΙΚΑΔΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΑΒΑΥ
 ΛΑΟΥΛ * ΙΨ ΤΟΝΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΣ
 ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΑΜΑΝΧΑΛΑ * Α
 ΠΡΟΣ ΡΑΗΔΑΔΟΣ * Α
 ΠΡΟΣ ΣΑΛΙΦΑ ΑΒΟΥΙΣ * ΒΙ

Two of these names Ἄβουις and Ἰκαδι occur again in the shrine of Aphlad. Ῥαῆδαδος is common at Dura with the spellings Ῥαγειᾶδαδος (Cumont, 440) and Ῥαγηᾶδαδος (D. 60). The rest of the names are unknown.

The names are in the nominative as Ραῆδαδος shows. Πρὸς would be appropriate with either genitive or accusative, meaning (received) "from" or (contributed) "in behalf of" the individual. The phraseology is, however, unusual. Perhaps, as Prof. Rostovtzeff suggests πρὸς stands for προσκύνημα.

439. West wall, beneath fresco. Letters 0.02—0.05 m. and poorly written.

ΒΑΦΑΔΑΑΔ
 ΑΔΘΑΡΒΑ * Ε ΚΑΙ ΑΣ

Close beside this graffito is drawn with point the crude figure of a man in straight chiton and with left hand on hip.

440. West wall, north of fresco. Letters 0.01—0.02 m. and not very clear.

ΜΗΝΟΣ
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥ ΔΚ
 ΜΑΛΙΧΑΕΟΣ
 ΚΟΔΙΟΝ * ΙΘ
 ΒΘΑΑΦ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΟΣ
 ΘΑΚΝΕΟΣ

The twenty-fourth day of the month Artemisios.

L. 3. Μαλιχαθος is a common Semitic name and very possibly the *epsilon* should be read as *theta*.

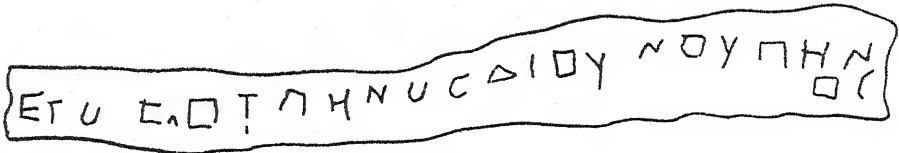
L. 4. Κοδιον perhaps for κώδιον 'skin.'

441. West wall, just above top of fresco. Letters 0.02—0.03 m. and well drawn.

Ἡ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

The name is found also in Cumont's Inscription 43.

442. Tracing. Face of bench along west wall, south of niche. Letters 0.01—0.015 m. cut deeply with point.



Ἔτους Ϛοτ' μηνός Δίου νομηνιός

The year 376 of the Seleucid era, 64 of our own, the month of Dios, the time of the new moon. That is the beginning of Dios which was at Dura the second month of the year. (See Johnson, *Dura Studies* for discussion of the calendar.)

443. Tracing. North side of niche just above graffito of two figures. Letters 0.015 m.

ΖΕΒΙΝΟΥΣ

The reading is not very clear, for the *epsilon* is more like a *rho* and the *omicron* more like a *sigma*. The restoration of Ζεβινός, however, seems the only plausible one.

444. Tracing. West wall, north of niche. Letters 0.01—0.015 m. and clear.

Μ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΟΥ
ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ

One of the very common names at Dura though not occurring elsewhere for both father and son.

445. Tracing. West wall, north of niche. Letters 0.03—0.035 m. and sprawling.

Μ ΓΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ

Mu for μνησθῆ as in 420.

446. A fragment of pottery had written in red ink the letters 0.02 to 0.025 m. high.

ZEB

The word is evidently a name, and this beginning probably part of Ζεβιδ "given by" a very common one in Dura.

447. On a fragment of pottery was written in ink letters 0.0125 to 0.02 m. high

BOYB

Cumont, parchment VII, 14, has the name Βοῦβας.

On the left face of the niche through the inscription of Abouis, son of Lisams are drawn two curious figures (Pl. XXXIV, 2). They are two men dressed in long robes and Persian trousers, both portrayed in the same position with left hand raised in front of the face, the right bent up so as almost to touch the top of the neck. They advance apparently right, that is toward the image of the god. The robes are longer and fuller than the jacket of the Parthians, and are not caught at the belt. One may compare them with the robe of the camel driver on the Parthian altar found in this same temple during the 1929—30 campaign, and with the robes of figures hammered in the stone in the tower of the Palmyrene temple. The hair is bound up high on the head in a fashion similar to that of the Persian on the Parthian altar. One might interpret the gesture as one of adoration except that in this attitude it is usually the right hand which is held up. Differing from most of the graffiti in Dura the face is given in profile even though the body is full front.

On the north side of the niche is drawn a graffito representing two figures close together (Pl. XXXV, 1). Both are female figures clad in long double skirts, the outer one laced up the front (or with band of embroidery), the under one appearing just at the feet and apparently pleated. One of the figures plays the double flute and the other with arms pressed against the chest holds a box, probably the cymbals or the tambourine. They form, of course, the pair of musicians so well known in the eastern cults. One may compare them with the little figurine showing the same type of figures found by Loftus,³¹ and the figurines of the same kind exhibited in almost every museum of eastern art. Remarkable in our own representation is the extremely high head-

³¹ W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana* (London, 1857), p. 214.

dress, apparently a turban wound round and round above the head. A figure of a woman with somewhat similar high headdress Loftus attributes to the Parthian period.³² In Dura, the graffito of Nike from B 8, H 4 already described seems to wear the same type of headdress. Worthy of remark are the ribbons which hang down on either side of the musicians' heads. The lines may represent curls but the hair seems pretty thoroughly concealed, and the headdress of Aphlad with ribbons to either side, makes plausible the theory that we have the same arrangement here. Perhaps this high headdress is derived from the Hittites for the great figures of the gods before the palace at Tell Halaf have high conical hats or turbans of about the same form.³³ At any rate this type of headdress seems common in the Parthian period for it is represented also in a drawing on pottery from Parthian Assur.³⁴ On the west wall just north of the niche the same two figures are drawn. Unfortunately a break across the top does not allow us to see the headdress. Otherwise the figures are clad as are those just described, and have the same position. Beside them stands a third female attendant in a similar dress. She wears on her head the same high turban found in the other graffito, and apparently she holds something close to the chest with the right hand. As the figures are all three of the same height and drawn close together, it is probable that we have here three musicians, perhaps two with flutes and one with cymbals. Isaac of Antioch states that in his day Baalshamin was still fêted with tambourines and hornes at Nisibis.³⁵

During the excavation of the temple, part of a female terra-cotta figurine and two small terra-cotta plaques were found. The first is a female head 0.12 by 0.07 by 0.05 m. The head evidently made part of a small statue for the clay at the bottom of the piece is molded to fit into the torso (Pl. XVI, 4). A veil falls from the middle of the

³² *Ibid.*, 214. Compare the reclining figure with high turban of 100 B. C. (*B. M. C.* 117, 943), E. Douglas Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* (New Haven, 1930), Fig. 80.

³³ Max Freiherr v. Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf* (Leipzig, 1931), p. 114 and Frontispiece.

³⁴ Andrae and Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, Taf. 60, a. A Hittite mold, now in the Ashmolean museum shows two figures with this same headdress divided into horizontal bands.

³⁵ Isaac Ant., ed. Bickell I, p. 209, 78 ff. For sacred dances in the temples see Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 202—3, and for references, Cumont, *Rel. Or.* (4th Ed.), p. 251, n. 6 and p. 253 n. 25. Cf. Jalabert et Mouterde, *Inscrip. de Syrie*, I, 161 and note. Cumont calls attention to the Syrian dancers (*sambucistriae*) in Rome in 187 B. C. (Livy, XXXIX, 6.)

head to the shoulders coming in close to the neck in the early Palmyrene style. Two round knobs, probably ornaments, are molded just above the forehead. The forehead itself instead of being almost vertical turns back sharply half way between eyes and hair. The eyes, wide and round, are bordered by a very heavy upper lid. A slight incision marks the pupil just below the upper lid. Cheeks are quite well modelled though with no details of drawing. Mouth and chin are partly broken but even from what remains one can see that the chin must have been most prominent and forceful. The back of the head shows the marks of the fingers which have pressed the clay into the mold. One may assign the piece through comparison with work at Palmyra to the late first or early second century A. D., but it is impossible to identify it definitely as head of goddess or individual for both are commonly represented with veils, and hair ornaments would be appropriate to either. Not improbably, however, it made part of a statue of Atargatis with raised right hand. Its presence in the shrine of Aphlad suggests that the sanctuary was devoted to two divinities, a male (Aphlad) and a female, a suggestion given some weight by the fresco fragments which showed female heads from Naos 2, and the possibility that the inscription fragment found in the 1929—30 campaign (*Rep. III*, p. 58) bears the names of Apollo and Artemis.

A little round plaque (now at Yale) 0.055 m. in diameter portrayed the bust of a bearded god (Pl. XXII, 3). The thick mat of hair circles the head and comes low over the forehead. Short incisions marked hair and beard but apparently there were no curls. Details of eyes and nose have almost disappeared but from the general appearance, one judges that they were quite well drawn. Two folds of the chiton around the neck are represented one with an angular turn, the other rounded in semicircular form. The hands are held on the chest and each grasps a six pointed thunderbolt, the thunderbolts represented with a central straight rod, and two undulating lines ending in points. The upper points reach up over the shoulder. Apparently in the mold a little border was represented, but in the model this is only apparent for a short distance to the figure's right. The god with the thunderbolt one takes, of course, to be Hadad. The question is, however, whether the son of Hadad, Aphlad, to whom the temple was dedicated was not sometimes armed with the weapons of his father. We have seen already that Aphlad is associated apparently with both the sun and the heavens as a whole. Possibly then, this little plaque can give us a clue to the object held in the right hand of Aphlad. The remains

of the object in the hands of Aphlad are, however, so small that little support can be obtained in the sculpture to support the theory that he held the thunderbolt in his right hand.

Probably from the same mold which fashioned the plaque found in room K of the priests house (*Rep. III*, p. 84), comes a little plaque 0.055 by 0.06 by 0.01 m. of a Parthian warrior with sun and moon over the shoulders. As in most of these models details of drawing are obscured. A great mass of hair aureoles the oval, bearded face. Perhaps it is not fair in so small a figure to remark that the nose is too long, the forehead too low, and the eyes scarcely marked. The figure is clad in a close-fitting garment which comes up close to the neck and reaches to the elbow. Folds are made with parallel lines placed close together and giving a quilted effect. The left hand grasps the hilt of the sword across the stomach. One sees the knob of the hilt on one side of the hand, the blade running out to the right almost perpendicular to the line of the body. The right hand is bent at the elbow and apparently points to the right. Since a little border runs around the plaque, at first sight the warrior appears to hold a spear. More probably he simply points to the right. Above the right shoulder is the crescent moon and above the left the sun (or a star) in the shape of a ball, slightly more oval than round. I have nothing to add to the discussion of these pieces I wrote for the Third Report (*Rep. III*, pp. 84 ff.) except to call attention to the similarity of this figure to that on the Parthian altar found in this same temple (*ibid.*, pp. 88 ff.).

The rather nicely cut stone of a ring with face 0.001 by 0.008 m. (now at Yale) found in the débris along the walls in the southwest angle portrays Artemis with bow and dog. The dog at her feet leaps forward in pursuit of the quarry. Artemis advances right, grasps the bow in her outstretched left hand, and reaches over her shoulder with the right to extract an arrow from the quiver. She wears a short skirt and a chiton from which two ribbons float out to the left. Around her head is bound apparently a crown or garland. The face is in profile, ample proof that the work is not of local manufacture. Probably it belongs to the Roman period. Since the stone is of a type common in finger rings, its presence in the temple can lend little or no weight to the argument that part of the temple was dedicated to the worship of the goddess. It is a curious coincidence, however, that the representation of Artemis should be found just where a sanctuary of hers may have lain.

V.

THE TEMPLE OF AZZANATHKONA

I. GENERAL HISTORY

BY C. HOPKINS

One of the surprises of this season was the discovery of the Temple of Azzanathkona (pl. III.) behind the praetorium and one of the most interesting studies was to attempt to reconstruct chronologically the steps in its growth. To this study the discovery of several dates brings essential assistance. The *salle aux gradins* because its earliest step bears the date 12—13 A. D. must have been constructed just at the beginning of our era. The little stele of Heliodorus *in situ* above the door of room 12 places the construction of at least the south wall of this room in the year 153. Finally the dedication to Artemis-Azzanathkona found just before the doorway of rooms D 8 and 9 (block E 7) indicates the completion of these rooms exactly one year after the earthquake, the month Dios, 161 A. D.

Except for these dated rooms, however, it is very difficult to be sure of periods of construction or even of a definite sequence for in some parts the walls made of mud brick and plaster are largely destroyed; in others, groups of rooms are almost entirely separated from the rest so that there is no linking of one wall to another to assist us. A most interesting question is presented in the relative chronology of temple rooms and circuit wall. The wall on the north side of room W 3 is made of well cut gypsum stones laid in the regular manner. The end of this wall projects to the west, has been obviously cut off short and supplemented with a patched up wall of small irregular stones and rubble which cuts off a corner of room W 3 and links with the wall of rubble and small stones which now limits the temple area, between rooms W 7 and 9. It is noticeable that if the wall of regular stones continued west it would join the wall similarly made north of room 18. Since the side walls of this section behind 18 are also constructed in quite a different manner from the north wall and do not link with it, it seems conclusive that at some time the stone wall collapsed probably with parts of the foundation beneath, that at that time new sections hastily built were crowded into the temple area and that short side walls were erected to bring the different sections together. If, as seems likely, the temple area had reached to the *enceinte* wall in the early period, the loss of a good portion of the north side of the precinct

must have necessitated a rearrangement of the chambers about the court. It is this rearrangement which brings an added element into our consideration of chronology.

Before entering, however, into a discussion of this difficult phase, we must consider the arrangement of the temple as a whole. There are obviously two chief sanctuaries: the pronaos and naos, rooms D 3 and 5, and the *salle aux gradins* with the little sanctuary beyond it (rooms W 9 and 10). The main entrance of the temple to the east lies in front of the entrance to room D 2, and the chief altar in the court is immediately in front of the room series 2—3—5. This sanctuary then must have been the principal one in the temple area and the oldest if there was a difference in date between the two. If the precinct as a whole was divided into two centers of worship, they were as far as we can tell from our evidence both dedicated to Artemis-Azzanathkona for a little dedication of 34 A. D. from the *salle aux gradins* contains the single word, Azzanathkona written at the bottom, and the longer stele of 161 from rooms D 8 and 9 gives us the whole name Artemis-Azzanathkona.

We know of two other *salle aux gradins* in Dura one in the Temple of Artemis the other in that of Atargatis-Hadad, both built in the same period of the city's history as that of Azzanathkona, *i. e.* close to the beginning of our era. In both the Temple of Artemis and that of Atargatis, however, the *salle aux gradins* made the pronaos to the principal shrine and one expects that the same would be true for the temple of Azzanathkona. One remarks that the front of the *salle aux gradins* is by no means on a line with the front of the series D 2, 3, 5. If the two buildings had been constructed at the same time one might have expected them to be equally distant from the main entrance. If the circuit wall at the back of W 12, 13 and 14, however, is in its original position, the forward position of rooms W 9 and 10 might well be accounted for by the desire for side rooms along the great city wall.

In form both sanctuaries are very much the same, with a pronaos whose length is perpendicular to the axis, and a naos the length of whose walls on either side of the door is not the same due to the introduction of a little chamber at one end. This arrangement is the same as that of the sanctuary of Artemis, and Cumont has already called attention to the resemblance with the temple of E'Makh at Babylon (Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 34).

One must note in passing how many temples were constructed in

the century about the beginning of our era, the Temple of Artemis about 32 B. C., the Temple of Azzanathkona by 12—13 A. D., the Temple of Aphlad before 53 A. D. and the Palmyrene temple before 55 A. D. The dates given are all dates found in the respective sanctuaries and show that the precinct had at least been dedicated to the god at that time. This then must have been a period of great prosperity. Perhaps so many new temples are due simply to the introduction of many new elements in the population at this time, and the desire of each group to establish its own cult. One cannot help but believe, however, that also at this time a larger city scheme was adopted giving new room for sacred precincts. Especially significant, it seems to me, is the fact that both the Temple of Aphlad in the southwest angle of the enceinte wall and the Temple of Palmyrene Gods in the northwest corner date from the middle of the first century. Now we have also the Temple of Azzanathkona not far from the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods and abutting the fortifications. The inference is strong that it was not long before this period that the great wall was built around the growing city.

Whatever may be the relation of the temple to the walls, however, one may presume that the room series D 2, 3, 5 and W 9—10 were constructed about the beginning of our era and that at that time, there was a precinct wall and perhaps some side chambers about the court. The first of these side chambers may have been rooms D 6 and 7 for the south wall of room D 8 does not link with the south and west walls of D 7. At the other side of the temple the west and north walls of room W 13 have plaster very much more weathered than the other two walls. This may be merely the under coat of plaster but the graffiti suggest that it was used for some time as the outer covering and there are no signs of any later plaster coats. Apparently the west and north sides were exposed to the weather for some time, and it seems plausible that this corner made an angle in the open court before the rooms were constructed.

This brings us to the problem of the chronological relation between wall and temple. The date of the construction of the city wall is by no means certain, but it seems most probable that it was built at least as early as the beginning of our era. If the wall had not been constructed when our temple was about to be built in 12—13 A. D., it seems hard to believe that the dedicants would have chosen such a distant spot from the main center, and one so open to attack in case of raids. Secondly, the natural boundary on the north for the temple precinct is

the edge of the wadi, and the city wall once constructed would form an excellent boundary for temple territory. As has already been said, however, when the wall was new it probably ran in a straight line from the north side of W 1 to the north side of W 18. At that time, therefore, there would be room for side chambers along the wall between these two points. A change in the position of the wall behind rooms W 12—14—13, however, is more doubtful. It is true that the short wall which links the part behind these rooms with the section behind 18 is composed of small stones and rubble reinforced with earth inside. On the other hand, the lower courses of the section behind rooms 12—14—13 just as that on the north side of 18 are regularly laid and well constructed of large gypsum blocks. One may presume, therefore, that it was the small link between these two sections which was reconstructed, and that this was built more or less in the same place as the former wall, rather than that the whole position of this section of the wall had been changed.

We have, in fact, good reason to believe that a particular catastrophe considerably altered some parts of the city, for an inscription of 160 A. D. tells of a great earthquake which shook the district. It may be only chance that this stele was erected in the Palmyrene temple, but it may well be that this quarter of the city was most strongly affected. In such a case it is not difficult to explain the fall and rebuilding of certain portions of the wall patching together portions of the old wall which remained.

In the Temple of Azzanathkona itself we find that two rooms at least, D 8 and 9 were erected just after the earthquake, having been dedicated in 161 A. D. Perhaps these rooms replaced side chambers on the north side that had been destroyed with the falling of the wall.

According to the only evidence we have, the inscription of Heliodorus, room W 12 was built in 153 A. D. The south wall of this room links with the south wall of 14, so that the two must have been constructed together. At that time room 13 may well have been already standing for many years. The only exit from this room is the door into room W 14.¹ The doorway is very well built with door-posts most like those represented in the frescoes of the Palmyrene temple. Conclusions about the date of this room must rest upon the evidence of this door; whether

¹ There is some evidence that the south wall of 13 was first built on a line with the south walls of rooms 12—14 and afterwards pushed forward. If that was the case it was of course possible for a doorway to have been formerly placed in the south wall. See below under Room 13.

this ornamental entrance was an inner one or first opened directly into the court. As room 14 was an open one, apparently used for scribes, I am inclined to believe that the entrance to W 13 made originally one of the ornaments of the court and that therefore the room should antedate W 14 and 12.

Since room W 12 is so much later than the sanctuaries, the naos and pronaos W 9—10 could not have been moved forward to allow for it. For this forward position of W 9 and 10, however, the angle of the city wall not far behind seems sufficient reason, the precinct as a whole being very much wider in the western half. For the moment then, we may accept the two sanctuaries as part of the earliest construction bounded on the north by the circuit wall running from the north side of W 1 straight to the north side of W 18, then behind the later rooms W 12 and 14 to make the angle in the northwest corner of W 13.

On the east the original wall was undoubtedly that whose west section makes the east wall of D 6, for in this wall the principal entrance to the temple was built. Just where this wall reached the fortifications is not clear. Room W 7 is evidently very late in construction for the rebuilt city wall runs under one corner. The south wall of the room, however, is a double one, formed by the actual room wall on this side being built against an earlier temple wall. Even this earlier wall, however, does not seem to go back to a very early period for it is part of the wall bounding room 3 on the south and east, and has the same foundation level as the south wall of room W 1, a wall constructed in Roman times according to the evidence of pottery beneath its foundations. Very possibly then room W 11 was the limit of the precinct wall at this corner and the space between room W 11 and the fortifications was left open for military reasons. If this were so it would help to explain the position of the sanctuary W 9—10, whose rooms face toward just this corner of the court.

One might add that rooms W 18 and 20 on the north side of the temple were probably both late for both are bounded in part by late sections of the city wall. Very little now remains of room W 20 except the doorway, for much of its wall has fallen down the wadi.

The results of the study are by no means conclusive, but tentatively we may suggest the steps of development as follows: in group one, as the earliest constructions, the two sanctuaries and a precinct wall whose angles included the space of rooms W 13 and 3 and D 6 plus the corridor just east of 6, but which did not include chambers D 8,

9, 10 and 11; in group two certain of the side chambers in which should be included those between rooms W 1 and W 18 later lost in the earthquake, certainly D 6 and 7 which must have been from their prominent position some of the first built and room W 13, with its ornamental doorway facing the court. Group three would comprise only rooms D 12 and D 14 and these two we can allocate definitely to 153 A. D. The earthquake cutting off a part of the plateau on the north side of the temple precinct, caused the circuit wall to be shifted to the south and eliminated what rooms there were between W 1 and W 18. The last group of constructions would include all the sections built after this time, first the rooms D 8 and 9 in 161 A. D., secondly either at this time or later room W 7, and the staircase which partly blocks the entrance to room 18.

Perhaps before these last changes a different arrangement had been made in the rear of the temple in and around W 15. At some time the original small doorway opening into the court on the east side of W 15 had been blocked up and a very wide entrance just to the north of it substituted in its place. This was due to the cutting through of the rear wall to make an entrance to the temple precinct on the side of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods and the Tower of the Archers. When this was constructed the south wall of W 13 had no doorway. Perhaps formerly this south wall had had a doorway, or perhaps it had been left open on the south side as was room W 14. A pilaster in the south corner of the west wall of room W 13 still remains. It is in line with the front walls of W 14 and 13 and very probably before W 15 was completed, rooms W 13, 14 and 12 made one unit with their south walls on the same line.

Before the city was destroyed many of the rooms were partly blocked with mud brick to strengthen the ramparts. A wall of mud brick 1.30 m. thick was run through the *salle aux gradins* almost to the altars and bas-relief, then the rest of the north side was filled with *débris*. A thin mud brick wall was then run across the open end of W 14 thus cutting off W 13 as well as 14, and the doorway of W 12 was blocked. Probably the heavy wall along the circuit fortifications between W 7 and W 9 was erected at the same time. All these, however, were probably very late, constructed in connection with the other mud brick reinforcements to the city wall, in order to withstand the attack of the Persians.

The chief entrance to the temple lay on Street E. When the street was blocked by the praetorium, a short approach was constructed from the continuation of Street F.

II. DETAILS OF INDIVIDUAL ROOMS

BY C. HOPKINS

Room D 1.

The chief altar 1.44 m. by 0.90 m. possibly originally square 1.44 m. on a side stood in this open court between the entrance to the temple and the door of room D 2. The altar was built of rubble and except for the foundations is almost entirely destroyed. Probably it was much the same as that in the Temple of Atargatis for in this latter also there are no remains of steps leading up to the top.

The only finds were two bronze pendants E. 1164 (En. 717) and E. 1355 (En. 779).

Room D 2.

An altar shaped like a short thick column 0.59 m. high was found near the north door of this room. The top, 0.40 m. in diameter, was unmarked by fire. Just below the top there was left in relief a band of stone 0.03 m. wide and 0.065 m. high ornamented with a molding pattern. A variation of the same type of pattern adorns the base. Since a large plaster mortar was discovered in the south half, however, it is probable that the room served merely as a useful anteroom, certainly not as a chamber dedicated wholly to sacred purposes. That part of the west wall which separates the room from the corridor D 10 was evidently a late addition for its foundation is of baked brick. These same Roman bricks are laid beneath the north door. One remarks that when the wall separating room 2 and room 10 was built, a doorway was constructed. Later this was blocked.

Room D 3.

The door between D 2 and D 3, though of a type common at Dura, is worthy of note for it seems to explain the screen of stone which made a part of certain doors in the praetorium. It was composed of two panels, that to the right as one entered being considerably larger than the other. One entered only through this larger section as the marks on the sill showed, while the smaller panel remained closed, fixed in place. The door was locked by a bar behind, which fitted into a hole in the wall. Probably the stone screens fixed in place and

occupying a third or more of certain doorways in the praetorium made part of the same type of double door. In room D 3 was found the bronze wing of a bird very nicely cut, and the small bronze leg of a stand. The bird's wing recalls the fact that a bird, probably a dove was represented in the pediment of the temple in the relief of Azzanathkona.

Room D 5.

Just opposite the doorway stood the rubble altar 0.95 m. by 0.83 by 0.66 m. high. The altar is partly hollow just as is that in the Temple of Hadad and Atargatis. The cavity with opening on the south side probably held some of the ornaments of the god and the more valuable vessels for sacrifice. Nothing of these, however, remained. The top of the altar was only 0.10 m. below the surface of the ground, a fact which explains the disappearance of the stone slab which must have covered it. Part of this may have been the pieces of stone slab found between altar and doorway and marked with fastenings of bronze bolts. The stone was very fragile and crumbled to pieces before it could be removed. A fresco adorned the north end of the west wall, for several fragments very much weathered were found in the *débris*. In one large piece one could discern the outlines of a man's head. The face was the usual red brown; the narrow band of hair, black; the background, yellow. The rounds for beam-ends in the plaster immediately above the painted head, showed that there had been no attempt to conceal the ceiling beams. Just beside the face in black letters against the yellow background could be read the name of this priest 'A]π[ο]λ[ω]ν[ι]ος [Δάδ]δου.² Through these black letters the same name was scratched with a point, perhaps as a guide to the painter.³ Features of the face and details of drawing had been quite obliterated but the painting in general style seemed to be of the Roman period. A final interesting feature was discovered in the last cleaning. This was the presence in the floor of two small holes, one on either side of the altar, a quarter and a third of a meter to the front, 0.77 and 0.34 m. from the sides of the altar. As they were only a few centimeters (0.065 and 0.07 by 0.05 m.) in diameter they were obviously designed to hold small poles. Possibly

² 448 a. Letters 0.0175—0.025 m. high, written in two lines.

³ 448 b. Letters 0.0075 m. A]ΠΟΛΩΝΙΟΣ Δ[ΑΔΔΟ]Υ. This graffito helps us to establish the name of the father. We know that the name begins with delta, ends in δου, and that there are probably two letters missing in the middle. Cumont, 14, 27, has Δάδδσ. Apollonios is of course a common name.

these supported standards such as those we see beside altars on the Parthian coins. A larger hole in the floor some 0.20 m. in diameter cut in the north section of the room was probably designed to fix an altar or statue base in place.

Room D 4.

This little sideroom has the same type of strong plaster floor that room 5 contains. Nothing was found in it except one coin. Its presence was most interesting for little side rooms beside the naos were features of both the Temple of Artemis and that of Atargatis. For the similarity of arrangements in these temples with the temple of E-Makh in Babylon see Cumont, pp. 34 ff. and the excellent article by Bellinger "The Temples at Dura-Europos and certain early churches." (*Seminarium Kondakovianum*, IV [1931], pp. 173 ff.). It is worth remark here that our own temple with one little side room instead of two and the corridor behind the naos and pronaos follows even more closely the plan of the Babylonian temple than do the other sanctuaries at Dura.

Room D 6.

As one entered the main gate of the temple one saw on one's left a large side chamber D 6 with a doorway over four meters in width. Through the doorway one could see the niche or *naiskos* against the west wall, the foundations of whose posts still remain. This contained probably the statue of the divinity, just as did the little niche similarly placed in room K of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. Just as the wall about the niche in room K was adorned with a great fresco, so this room also had a great picture, many fragments of which were recovered. The picture represented apparently two men, one of whom at least was clad in a *lorica squamata*. The clothing and flesh is represented in pink and red shades against a dark green background. On the background as a whole were scratched many graffiti in Greek usually with the $\mu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$ formula abbreviated to μ . From this abbreviation as well as from the general style of the picture I judge the work to be late. Nothing was found in the room except the fragments of fresco, but one notices the bench running along the west wall and the east corner of the south wall from the niche to the end of the room.

The inscription of incised letters filled with red paint, an inscription which must have contained the dedication of the painting read as follows:

ΕΕΛΕΥΚΟ
Υ

d) Below on the same fragment in letters 0.01 m. high

ΕΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ

e) Fragment 0.10 by 0.15 m. Letters 5 mm. high

... ΤΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ[ΙΟΥ
... ΓΑ[Ι]ΟΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑΘΕ[ΟΥ

f) Fragment in three pieces 0.16 by 0.17 m. Letters 0.0075—0.01 m.

ΓΙΟΣ
Ἰ Α
ΠΡ
Ἰ ΗΛΙ[ΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΜΝ

g) Fragment 0.075 by 0.085 m. Letters 0.005—0.01 m.

... ΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ
Α]ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ

h) Letters 0.01—0.02 m.

ΩΓΕΝ
.... ΑΧΟΣ ΒΑΡΝΑΙΟΥ
Ο ΒΗΘΙΔΔ

Other fragments of names are Ἡρα[κ]λείδους (gen.), Ζηνό[δοτος], Νικά[νωρ], Δαδλιου . . . , . . . ωνικός, Διογέν[ης], Ἀπολλών[ιος], Διόδοτος, Ζαβιδγάτης, Ἀλέξαν[δρος], Ἡλιό[δωρος], Σαλι . . . , Ἀμμώνιος, [Δ]ημήτ[ριος], Ῥαγηάδ[αδος], and Βαρχ[άλ]βου. All the complete names are well known at Dura except Daimonatheos.

451. In the middle of the west wall of the room is written vertically in letters 0.01 m. high.

ΛΟΧΗΑΣ
ΙΟΛΙΣ

The second name stands probably for the Latin Iulius.

mentioned in the inscription. Cumont (Inscription 1) found the phrase ἀνήγειρεν ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν τόνδε τὸν οἶκον εὐσεβίας τῆς εἰς τὸν Δία. In our inscription the form οἶκον should have been written instead of οἶκος. Probably the stone-cutter, confused by the repetition of the name omitted Ἀρτέμιδος. Θε of course stands for Θεᾶ. In line nine *gamma* has been introduced into ἑαυτοῦ by mistake.

The most important question raised by the inscription is of course the identity of the goddess Azzanathkona. Since in this inscription we have the name Zabidkonos "given by Kona" and in an inscription from the *salle aux gradins*, we have Amathkona "gift of Kona", it is evident that in *Kona* we have the name of a divinity. In passing one might remark that the well known name Konon at Dura may be related also to the name of the divinity. Or perhaps the Semitic root under Greek influence may have taken the Greek form Κόνων. Certainly this must have been the case in respect to Konon, son of Abissaios, since the family is certainly Semitic.⁴ In the bas-relief of the *salle aux gradins* the goddess is portrayed seated between lions. Above her head an attendant is leading toward the divinity a bull. Clearly then Azzanathkona is not very different from Atargatis. In Dura itself was discovered the relief of Atargatis seated between lions and accompanied by Hadad flanked with bulls (*Rep. III*, pp. 100 ff.). This similarity to Atargatis is especially striking since the name Atargatis seems to have descended from the name of the great goddess "Anath," syllables which make up the middle of our own name Azzanathkona. Albright in the article already quoted "The Evolution of the West-Semitic divinity 'An- 'Anat-Atta," in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January 1925, pp. 73 ff. states that the Canaanite 'Anat is the Aramaean 'Atta. He believes that the Aramaeans replaced the Canaanite-Hebrew name 'Anat with the Aramaeized form 'Atta and later amalgamated the sister-deities 'Attar and 'Atta into the Dea Syria, Atargatis. Since our own relief depicts a goddess between lions, a representation similar to that given to the great goddess of Syria, and since the name contains the name of Anath, it seems most reasonable that there is here a combination name in which the goddess Anath makes a part. As has been said Albright believes that the worship of Anath died out early in Palestine because names formed with Anath (Bêt-'Anath, Bêt-'Anot, 'Anatôt) are nearly all place names. If this is true also of the middle Euphrates the

⁴ See, however, Cumont, p. 341, for the theory that Semitic families sometimes took over Greek names though they were not connected with Greek families.

syllables *anath* might refer simply to the city, the place of her origin, the name joined more closely than the district of Aphlad is joined to the name of that god (Aphlad, called god of Anath). The middle Euphrates district was a center of the cult of Anath, however, and at Dura itself Cumont found the name (Inscription 55) Μαῖανῶνα, "gift of Anath." The goddess was still revered under her original name, therefore, and there is no reason why her cult should not have been established in Dura. For a combination name, we have to look no further than the later name of the great goddess, Atargatis, to find an excellent parallel. Combinations with the name 'Anath are in fact common, for in the Elephantine papyri one finds, 'Anat-Yāw, the father-mother divinity; and 'Anat-Bêthêl, a combination of 'Anat with the sun-god Bêthêl.⁵

In Egypt during the Ramessid age, 'Anat has the role of war-goddess and in Cyprus she was associated with Athena, because of the likeness in name and the similarity of their powers (Albright, *op. cit.*, pp. 81—82). At Dura, however, Artemis was the Greek name given to the great goddess. Cumont (p. 199), discussing the cult of Artemis-Nannaia, has already suggested that Artemis at Dura was less Greek than Semitic. The association of Artemis with Azzanathkona would only strengthen the evidence therefore, that we have here the great goddess of Syria, and also the conception that the syllables *anath* stand for the divinity formerly supreme in the middle Euphrates region.

The real difficulty lies in the suffix *kona* which must, as we have seen, also have been the name of a divinity. As far as I know there is no god or goddess known with the name Konos, or Kona. We are, therefore, left to conjecture. Even the problem whether the divinity was male or female is unsettled. We know that the female-male combination was common in Syria. At Gaza, where Yāw is the sun-god, coins frequently bear the figure of 'Ashtart-Yaw, 'Anat Yāw, and 'Anat-Bêthêl and in Phoenicia appear Melk-'Ashtart and Eshmun-'Ashtart.⁶ Langdon states that in the Persian period the male-female, or female-male deity is one who combines the attributes of both, and the joining of the two heads proves the fact.

In the bas-relief is represented a bull led toward the goddess. Since bulls are the usual attributes of Hadad, and since we find the lions of

⁵ S. Langdon, *Mythology of all Races*, V, *Semitic* (Boston, 1931), p. 44. But see the article of Albright who believes (*op. cit.*, p. 94) that undue stress has been laid on the pagan associations of the Elephantine cult.

⁶ S. Langdon, *l. cit.*

Atargatis beside the bulls of Hadad in another temple at Dura, the presumption is strong that Azzanathkona is very closely associated with Hadad. On the other hand, the name has a feminine ending and the association of Azzanathkona with Artemis suggests, from the Greek point of view at least, a purely feminine divinity. The proper names at Dura, Zabidkonos and Amathkona leave the question open and in this state I think it may best remain until more evidence is available. For the present we may tentatively accept the conclusion that there is in Azzanathkona a form of the great Syrian goddess, and that the name retains that of the former great goddess of the district 'Anath.

Room W 3.

Room W 3 is in a curious position stuck off in the extreme northeast corner of the temple and communicating with the temple precinct only through W 7. The five common ware vessels found there suggest that it was used as living quarters by one of the priests. A half dozen coins and three small bronze pieces were the only other finds in this chamber. The room has a very well preserved plaster floor and it may be that before the *enceinte* wall cut off a corner of the room it had played a more important rôle in the service of the temple. If that was the case the strong bar to bolt the door from the inside would be best explained.

Room W 7.

That room seven is comparatively late seems proved by the facts that the door-sill is built on a very high level, that the reconstructed *enceinte* wall runs under it and that the west wall does not link with the back wall of room 8, but is thrown up against the smooth plaster. At first the room had a very wide doorway, opposite which stood the ornamental altar (Pl. XII, 1). The altar is well preserved standing, 1.015 m. high, with a width of 1.05 m. and a depth of 0.83 m., and retaining intact its simple molding of hollow curves and fillets. On either side are small columns 0.26 m. in diameter, probably complete except for the capitals. A little in front and to the right of the altar one notices a hole for a standard bored through the floor, an arrangement similar to that in D 5. Several graffiti on the walls give us the names of worshippers but contain no information as to the date or the cult rites. It is worthy of remark, that though the steps in the *salle aux gradins* are dedicated to women, the graffiti and other inscriptions in this room and

all the other rooms of the temple are all made by men. The wide doorway was later partially blocked to leave only a small entrance in its place. One small terra cotta figurine (E. 1012) was found. Besides this there were only a few coins and a bronze instrument.

Graffiti in room W 7.

454. Photograph. East wall, left (north) of altar. Scratched on plaster, letters, 0.01 m. high

.... ΒΑΙΧΔΙ	MAMAΙOC
... ΝΑΪOC ΒΑΙ	ΒΑΡΝΑΒΟΥC ΙΑΡΑΙC
-- ΛΛΑC	ΒΑΡΑΔΑΔΑC
- ΑΡ[ΒΗΛΟC	15 ΝΑΒΟΥΝΙC
5 ΚΑΝΟΔΑΙΟC	ΒΑΡΝΑΙΟC ΛΙCΙΟΥ
ZABΔΑΪΟC	ΒΑΡΝΑΙΟΥC ΒΟΥCΟΥ
ΒΗΛΑΑΚΑΒΟC	ΒΑΡΝΑΙΟC ΒΟΥCΟC
ΟΚΒΑΝΗ	ΟΝΩΝ
ΒΑΡΒΑΙCΟΝΟΝΗC CΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗC	20 ΑΔΕΟC
10 ΑΔΕΟC	ΑΒΙCΟΜΗC
ΒΑΡΝΑΒΟΥC ΓΡΑΜΑΤΟΥC	ΑΒΒΑΡΡΑΜΑΝΟC

1. The letters are not very clear. Possibly we may connect it with the name Νεαβαίχου in E. 44 *b*.

2. Perhaps Βαρ[η]νάος Βαρ.

3. Perhaps Βαρ[η]λάας.

4. Probably Β[η]αρβηλος though the *rho* may be only *iota*.

5. The *nu* is doubtful and the delta looks more like *alpha*. I can find no parallels.

6. Cumont, 27, has Ζάβδας. Ζαβδαΐος occurs elsewhere (Wuthnow, p. 47, *Rep. IV*, No. 351).

7. The same name with two *alphas* is cited in Cumont, III, 8.

8. The reading is doubtful for the *kappa* may be *beta* and the *beta*, *rho*. *Kappa beta* seems the best reading, however, and Wuthnow cites the names Οκβεος and Οκαβα. Welles reads 'Οκβασσιῆς in *Rep. IV*, No. 245.

9. 'Ονώνης is the Iranian Vonones,⁷ Βαρβαΐς may be Βαρναΐος (*Rep. IV*, Nos. 173, 188). From the name Mamaios and the endings in — ούς, and the fact that the room was erected late in the history of the temple, I suspect the inscription comes from the Roman period. In this case Barbais would be one of the Roman soldiers stationed in the temple.

10. Probably for 'Αδδαΐος, a name common at Dura.

⁷ Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 376.

11. The name is common. The scribe has left out one *mu* in γραμμα-
τεύς and made the ending -ους perhaps under Roman influence.

12. The *iota* may be *nu* but probably the name is related to that of
the Empress Julia Mamaea.

13. Ἰεραῖος occurs in D. 132. It is derived from the Palmyrene
Yarhai (see *Rep. II*, p. 143). The name occurs again in *Rep. I*, p. 37.

15. Wuthnow, p. 83 cites Νεβουνας.

16. Λισίου for Λυσίου.

17—18. The name seems to be repeated. Wuthnow, p. 37 cites Βυσος
and Βυσσοσ but this is the first occurrence at Dura.

19. I can find no parallels. Possibly one may connect the name with
those of Ονεσος and Ονηνος, Wuthnow, p. 89.

21. The reading is clear and perhaps the root is the same as that in
Ἀβιδσήμις and Ἀβιδσιμ[ος] (Cumont, 21 and 27).

22. The reading is not very satisfactory and there are no parallels.

455. Tracing. East wall just to right of altar. Written with point in
scrawling letters 0.03 m. high.

ⲙ ΑΧΛΕΟϢ

The name does not occur elsewhere.

456. Tracing. East wall. Just to right of altar. Letters 0.02 m. high.

ΡΗΠΚΥΜ
ΗΕ

The reading is not entirely satisfactory for *rho* may be *beta*. There
are parallels for neither.

457. Tracing. East wall, half a meter to right of altar. Letters
5—10 mm. and far from clear.

ΜΝΗ]ϢΘΗ ΤΙΜΙΟϢ .. ΗΚΙΟΘΗ
ΜΟΝΑϢΙΜΕΟΝ
ΑΛΩΝΜΙΕϢΟ
ΜΕ ΛΑΒΟϢ ΚΑΙ
ΚΛΕΠΤΗϢ ΚΑΙ ΔΩΡΟΝ
ΚΑΜΒΑΝΙΕϢΙΟ
ΚΑΙ ΜΝΗϢΘΗ Υ... ΔΘΥ

458. Tracing. East wall, right of altar. Letters 0.03 m. high.

ⲓ ΙΑΚΑΒΟϢ

The common Semitic name was found for the first time at Dura during the fourth campaign (*Rep. IV*, No. 357).

459. Tracing. East wall, south end. Letters 5 mm. high.

ΔΟΥϢ(Ι?)ΟϢ * Δ	... PAC
ANINIC * Ε	ΙΟΥΙϢ * Δ
ZABIΔBANAC * Δ	---- C * Γ
AJΔΔΑΙΟϢ * Δ	¹⁰ * Δ
⁵ MAKIMEOC * Δ	.. ΟΥΟϢ * Δ
ANNEOC * Β	BAPNIOϢ * Β

1. A doubtful Δουριος occurs in D. 57 (*Rep. II*) and Δουσάριος in Cumont, 44 *b*. Possibly instead of either of these we have here Δουσος (Wuthnow, p. 44).

2. For Ανινις compare Wuthnow, pp. 22 and 23, where 'Ανιν, 'Ανινος, and 'Ανινος are quoted. 'Ανανις is read by Welles in *Rep. IV*, No. 245.

3. The second *beta* is far from clear. D. 139 (*Rep. II*) has Ζαβαδνανος.

4. Addaios is a common name at Dura.

5. Possibly a corruption of Μάξιμος (Cumont, 39, 40; *Rep. III*, D. 158).

6. Wuthnow (p. 23) quotes the name.

8. Probably for 'Ιούλις, *i. e.* Julius.

12. Βαρναϊος is common at Dura and Βαρνεός occurs in D. 41 (*Rep. II*). Probably the list is one of contributions to this particular shrine.

460. Tracing. East wall close to south corner. Letters are clear but the plaster is mutilated.

AΦΦANNIC	-----
ZABIKKINA	A ΛΙΔ
ΛΟΥ...Ι.	¹⁰ AP...KHA
ABBO`	BAPNEIΟΥ
⁵ NAIBIIΔ	BAPNEIΟΥ
ACΛAΓ	ANNAIO.
.. ΙΛΗII	BAPN[Ε]ΙΟ.

1. I can find no parallels for this name.

2. Compare Ζαβιδκονος in No. 453.

3. Wuthnow (p. 68) cites Λουβη and Λουλαβου. No names beginning with these letters are found at Dura.

4. Names at Dura beginning with Αβ(β)ου are Ἀβούλιμ (*Rep. III*, p. 56), Ἀβουαληϑ (*Rep. IV*, No. 251) and Αββονις, No. 426. As the fifth letter is probably *alpha*, we may have Ἀββουαληϑ.

5. Possibly Ναβου -----

11. Cf. Βαρνέος (*Rep. II*, D. 41).

13. Wuthnow cites Ανναίος (p. 23) and Αναιος (p. 21).

461. Tracing. West wall. Letters 0.02 m. high and clear.

ΑΒΓΑϢ

Wuthnow cites Ἀβγαίος (p. 7). The name of Abgar is of course well known from the names of the Osroenian kings.

462. Tracing. West wall. Letters 0.03 m. high.

ΜΑΝΙΟϢ

Cumont found Μανέος (34). Wuthnow cites Μανίος (p. 72).

Room W 11.

Before the praetorium was erected the chief approach to the temple was Street E on which the entrance to the temple opened. The east side of the street opposite the temple is adorned with a colonade and the end of the street is blocked by the little room W 11. One door gave on the street, and opposite this against the north wall was erected an altar. The room then formed a little shrine to which one might pay reverence before entering the temple proper. The altar is of rubble 0.31 m. high by 0.69 by 0.61 m. and situated just in front of the large niche in the north wall. Further ornaments of the chamber are two benches, *i. e.* a wide divan extending along the length of the east side and a small one running along the west wall from the door to the north corner. On the plaster which remains in place the names of a few of the pious are preserved. The room contributed to our collection of bronzes with a tube made of rings closely fastened together possibly making part of a necklace.

The graffiti were:

463. North end of room, just to right of altar. Letters 0.015 m.

MNHCOH
A[PT]EMIDWPOC
AΘ]HNO[ΔΩPOY

The names are common at Dura though this is the first time they occur in the same family.

464. Tracing. East wall close to north corner. Letters 0·025 to 0·03 m. made with broad point.

Ḿ NIKOΦΩN
Ḿ HΛIOΦΩNTOY
Ḿ ANTIO[XOC

1. Νικοφῶν is cited in *Rep. I*, R. 9, and in *Rep. IV*, No. 229.
2. Ηλιοφώντου is not found otherwise at Dura.
3. The last name is scratched with a sharp point. The name is very common.

465. Tracing. East wall just to right of preceding. Letters 0·015 m.

Ḿ AΘHN[OΔWPOC
Ḿ [HP]AKΛ[HC
Ḿ AΘH[NOΔWPOC

Ἡρακλῆς is cited in Cumont, III, 13, and in 26.

466. Tracing. East wall above the preceding and scratched on an under coat of plaster in letters 0·015 m. high.

Ḿ MABPIΩN

The name is not found at Dura.

467. Above the preceding and also on the earlier layer of plaster. Letters 0·0075 m.

ΔIOΓENHC

The name is common at Dura.

It is worth remarking that whereas in room W 7 the names are almost without exception Semitic, here in room W 11 they are all Greek. Apparently then in this temple shrines were reserved for different and particular members of the population.

Room W 12.

The inscription of Heliodorus was still in place above the lintel of the door when excavations began. As soon, however, as the mud brick which filled the door was removed the lintel fell. The most important find in the room itself was an invocation on behalf of Septimius Severus by an actuarius of the second Ulpian cohort, an invocation painted in red letters on the east wall.⁸ That the room was regularly occupied by soldiers seemed evident from the two bronze Roman scabbard tips found inside. A stone with small bored hole suggests that in front of the inscription there may have been a shrine dedicated to the emperor beside which stood the standard fixed in the floor. It is interesting to note that the circuit wall behind rooms 12 and 14 is made of smaller blocks and that most of it has disappeared, whereas behind 13 the well-laid courses still remain. Perhaps it was for this reason that 14 and 12 were blocked with mud brick while 13 received merely a fill of dirt. The two niches in W 12, deserve special mention for one has a second niche running at an angle from the back of the first far into the side of the wall. Above the second niche a little projection serves as stand for a lamp.

As a number of Roman military inscriptions were found in the praetorium it seems better to leave the discussion of the dedication to Septimius Severus for the next chapter. The inscription of Heliodorus we give here.

468. Squeeze and photo (Pl. XXVIII, 1—2). The stone is 0.32 m. high, 0.23 m. wide and 0.02—0.025 m. thick and was found *in situ* over the lintel of the door. The letters were carelessly cut and painted red. Later they had been covered with plaster.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΖΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΟΛΩ[Ι ΟΥ ΑΝΗΓΕΙ ΠΕΝ ΗΛΙΟΔΩ 5 ΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΚΑΛΟΥΜΕ ΝΟΥ ΓΑΜΕΒΑΝΑΣ ΑΒΙΔΙΕΩΜ[Ο]Υ	The 464 year (A. D. 153). The month of Oloios. There erected this, Helio- dorus son of Theo- dorus, called Sams- banas, son of Abi- disomos for the well
--	---

⁸ See below No. 561, p. 226 ff., Pl. XXIX, 2.

	ΕΠΕΙ ΕΥΜΕ	being of himself and
10	ΝΕΙΑ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ	his family.
	ΚΑΙ ΙΔΩΝ	

4—5. Both names are common at Dura, but both in the same family are found for the first time here.

6. The τοῦ must mean that it is the Semitic name of the same man following, as in Cumont's inscriptions 2, 76 and 78.

7. The name Samsbanas is not found, but Wuthnow (p. 173) cites Samis-el-abna, becoming Σεμισιάαβος. We have this latter name at Dura in Cumont, 45, and more than probably therefore we have a varied spelling of the same word here.

8. Ἀβιδισωμος is not found elsewhere. Abid is of course the common Semitic word "servant".

9. ἐπεὶ for ἐπί.

11. ἰδων for ἰδίωv.

The Greek names Heliodorus and Theodorus are, of course, pure translations of the Semitic forms Ἰαβούμσου (Cumont, 9, *c* and *d*), "the sun gave," and Beliabus, "god gave."

469. Tracing and rubbing. In the same room was found a fragment of plaster with the same word written twice, once in ink (letters 0·01 m. high), once scratched with a point (letters 0·0075 m.).

a) Ν ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ

b) ΑΔΕΛΦΟ[Ν

Room W 14.

This room had no south wall but merely two narrow pilasters on the south side. Probably, therefore, it was left open. Originally it communicated with both 13 and 12; later the doorway to twelve was blocked up. The room was distinguished chiefly by the pen and ink drawings described below. On the blocked up doorway to room 12, a very much faded scene in red paint portrayed a priest offering sacrifice. Several *dipinti* in ink as well as point-scratchings remained on the wall and close to the entrance on the east wall, fragments of a Roman military dedication painted in red. On the west wall one remarked a great many smudges of ink, as if one had used the plaster for wiping pens and fingers. Since room 13 contained parchment and papyrus records it is probable that 12 and 14 were the office rooms of the military scribes and the graffiti on the walls the results of their efforts to embellish the room and to commemorate their names and pious wishes.

Benches ran across the north and west sides including the space of the blocked-up doorway. The doorway between rooms 14 and 13 is in an excellent state of preservation and presents to us in actual fact the type represented on the frescoes of Konon. Above the door was painted a wreath with a pleasing and carefully rendered geometric design (Pl. XII, 2). Probably within was drawn a design or inscription in red, but this with half the wreath had been effaced by the elements.

The most important of the drawings is that in the middle of the west wall. The drawing is approximately 0.60 by 0.32 m. and portrays in the center a god with rayed head standing on a pedestal composed of three steps (Pl. XXXVI, 1—3).⁹ The god is clad in the uniform of the Roman officer, with high-topped boots, and close-fitting jacket or cuirass caught above the waist with a belt, and adorned along the lower edge with a fringe. Over his shoulders is thrown a cloak which is fastened around the neck and falls down behind. The ornaments consisting of dots arranged in triangular figures are visible below the skirt and beside the body. His right hand is raised and grasps two small palm leaves and the top of a spear or long scepter fixed on the pedestal. The left upper arm falls loosely along the body, the forearm is bent across the waist and the hand holds a globe. The face has, unfortunately, been crushed in, but part of the plaster remained beneath the dirt and one could distinguish the mouth and part of the nose. About the head is a crown made of a circle like a halo, through which are drawn five points and six small zigzag lines representing the rays of the sun. The god rests his weight on the right foot, drawn in profile, and raises the heel of his left slightly from the ground as if to take a step.

Just to the right of the head, a winged Victory flies toward the divinity, a crown in the outstretched right hand, palm branch in the left. Though the wing is clearly outstretched in the flight, and the diaphanous robe is pressed against the body by the rapid motion, the feet still cling to the ball, symbol of the deity. Just beneath the goddess is a *thymiaterion* and to the right of it the outlines of a figure in long-sleeved chiton offering sacrifice. Left of the sun-god an eagle, with outspread wings and with laurel crown in its beak flies toward the god.

Beneath is a second scene of sacrifice, a sacrificant standing beside an altar with double boss on the shaft. He is clad in long-sleeved tunica with fringe, high boots, and paludamentum fastened at the neck and falling behind the shoulders. His right arm stretched across the body

⁹ It was detached from the wall and is now at Yale.

extends to just above the flames of the altar. A shoulder strap is attached to the right side of the belt to support the sword. The clothing is the same as that of the tribune depicted in the great fresco of the Palmyrene temple, and we have here obviously another officer offering sacrifice to the god. The greatest difference in the figures lies in the fact that they stand on different sides of the altar. As sacrifice was offered with the right hand, the tribune on the right side of the altar merely drops the incense from the extended hand, whereas in the drawing the officer left of the altar has to reach across the body to approach the fire. Left of the sacrificant a boy bearing palm branch and box of incense advances to the right. This figure reminds of the smaller figures of the sacrifice of Otes.

Somewhat behind and left of the sacrificant, a horseman is depicted riding up to the scene of sacrifice. His horse is ably represented, stepping proudly forward, head high, the off foreleg well raised from the ground. The rider, clad in boots, Persian trousers, and long-sleeved kaftan, guides the steed with right hand stretched along the neck. The left hand holds apparently the shield, the oval edge of which may be seen between the horse's neck and the body of the rider. Though the head of the horseman is gone, the rider evidently faced front in Parthian style for the band of embroidery up the middle of the tunic is clearly visible. The ends of the ribbons of the diadem are visible just above the rump of the horse. Just behind him along the saddle is fastened a quiver full of arrows. Interestingly enough the panoply of the horse is Sassanian. Two melon-shaped tassels are suspended from the harness, one hanging down beside the back leg, the other flying in the air behind, and the breast-band is adorned with those round metal plates so common on the Sassanid reliefs. In addition an aigrette adorns the top of the head. The whole drawing is done with confidence and decision, and in spite of its small size and the conventions observed (the figures all full front), makes one of the most artistic works yet found at Dura. This fact is particularly significant for since the little drawing is obviously the product of a local artist it shows that even in this late period great artistic skill was by no means lacking in the city.

The horseman is evidently a man of importance, very probably the one on whose behalf the sacrifice is given. Possibly, as Professor Rostovtzeff suggests, it is a representation of Odenath, ruler of the Palmyrenes or of one of his victorious assistants. In this case the three rows of small circles drawn beneath the feet of the horse may represent the pieces

of money thrown in the path of the victorious leader. Unfortunately we have no graffito here to make identification possible.

In the case of the other figures we are more fortunate. Above the head of the sacrificant on the right are written two lines in ink (letters 0.05), the first almost completely gone, perhaps A[PTEMI]ΔΩΡΟC, the second preserving the word CHMIAΦΟΡΟC (Inscription 470). Beneath his feet and a little to the right is written in cursive Latin the name, *SALVIANUS* (Inscription 471). Beneath and to the left of the figure of the *vexillarius* are traces of a square base, probably an altar, and below part of an indecipherable graffito.

To the left of the right leg of Iarhibol and between the legs is a painted inscription of four lines, in very cursive Greek. Welles reads the dipinto as follows (Inscription 471 a): ΕΤΟΥC | ΕΠΙ ΥΠΑ|ΤΩΝ. The new mode of dating by consuls which came to Dura with the Romans is responsible for several inscriptions of the same kind. A little below this inscription, for example, is scratched (Inscription 471 b), according to Welles, ΕΠ[Ι] ΥΠ[Α]Τ[Υ]Ω(N). Under the base of the pedestal, beginning under the tribune, is written a long painted inscription in one line, illegible. Above the head of the tribune is his name ΗΛΙΟΔΩ[ΡΟC] (Inscription 472).

More important are the inscriptions relating to the god himself (Inscription 473). On the top tier of the pedestal is written in letters 0.0025—0.005 m. high ΜΝΗ[C]ΘΗ..ΒΟC; on the second tier ΜΝΗC-[ΘΗ] ΖΟΔΟC and in letters 0.015 m. ΙΑΡΑΒΩΛ ΜΑΛΧΑ; on the third tier a very faint inscription I read as ΙΜΑΡΟΥ ΜΟΥΛ ΙΑΡΑΒΩ[ΛΗΟΥ], Prof. Rostovtzeff gives ΙΑ . ΑΒΩΛ ΛΟΥΛ ΙΑΖΑΡΩ. Possibly in this last line we have the name of the god repeated twice with some short epithet in the middle. Left of the head of the god is written ΝΕΙΚΑΤΩΡ (Inscription 474).

The god is certainly the sun-god Iarhibol. The winged Victory is common in both Hellenistic and Parthian art, and for the eagle with crown we have to look no farther than the coins of Antioch. On the other hand, it is worth remarking that the flying Victory with crown upraised is a characteristic feature of Parthian reliefs and that the eagle also has a parallel in Parthian designs. On the coins we find the head of the king sometimes approached by eagle with crown, sometimes by flying Victory with crown and sometimes with two flying Victories with crowns.¹⁰ At Hatra over the lintel of the sanctuary an

¹⁰ W. W. Wroth, *B. M. C.*, Parthia, Pls. XXII, 9—12, XXII, 20 and XXIII, 12—15 and 17.

eagle with crown in beak is depicted beside the rayed head of the sun god.¹¹

The word νικῶτωρ brings the representation in close relation to that of the *Sol Invictus* of Aurelian. It was in Palmyra that Aurelian found the new divinity that he brought to Rome, believing that the solar god had deserted his enemies to bring about his own triumph.¹² The sun god is represented at Dura in the frescoes of the temple of the Palmyrene gods and in a graffito found in the Redoubt (*Rep. IV*, p. 210 and Pl. XIX, 2) and is mentioned in many graffiti and inscriptions. There were, however, two sun gods at Palmyra, Iarhibol and Malakhbel and it is not always easy to distinguish between them. M. Seyrig believes that it is Malakhbel who is represented at Dura in the frescoes of the tribune from the temple of the Palmyrene gods, for he stands on the left of Zeus whereas Iarhibol stands always on the right.¹³ The inscriptions and graffiti of the temple of the Palmyrene gods, however, mention only Iarhibol. This dipinto from the temple of Azzanathkona may in part explain the difficulty, for on the second step appear the words Ἰαριβωλ-Μαλχα, probably the names of the two divinities Iarhibol and Malakh taken as the title of the one sun-god. When Zosimus (I, 61) reports that Aurelian brought to Rome the statues of Helios and Baal (Ἡλίου τε καὶ Βήλου) he may well have meant Baalshamin the supreme god and the worship of the sun which linked Iarhibol and Malakhbel together. It is worth noting that in both cases at Dura in which we have representations of a Roman officer offering sacrifice, the sun god plays a prominent part. Certainly the great popularity of the solar divinity with the soldiers would influence strongly Aurelian in his choice of cults.¹⁴

475. Tracing. Letters 0.06 m. high and clear.

Ἰ ΙΑΡΑΒΩΛΗΟC

The name of the god is usually spelled Ἰαριβῶλος or Ἰαριβῶλος. In proper names Wuthnow (p. 56) quotes Ἰαριβωλέους as a genitive form and Ἰαριβωλησεγη.

¹¹ Andrae, *Hatra* I, Pl. XI.

¹² Cumont, *Religions Orientales* (4th Ed.), p. 106 and p. 254, note 42.

¹³ *Syria*, XIII, 1932, p. 195.

¹⁴ Perhaps related to this scene of Iarhibol is the drawing somewhat to the right of the chief scene, of two concentric circles linked with three bands and enclosing a cross and four small circles. Remains of a figure, the leg, foot in high shoe, and part of a paludamentum appear above.

On the same wall in the north corner is presented a small scene 0.22 by 0.08 m. of a lion hunt drawn in ink (Pl. XXXV, 3) (now at Yale). The horse leaps forward with the flying gallop characteristic of late Parthian drawings. The horseman clad in trousers and long-sleeved jacket draws the bow with right hand pulling the string back to the right shoulder; the left hand is extended holding the double arched bow just above the horse's neck. Opposite, a lion with great bushy mane is springing forward to the attack with outstretched claws. The beast is represented almost on top of the horse, but the rider sits nonchalantly facing front according to the Parthian conventions and discharges his arrow with the utmost confidence. A quiver is represented strapped to the horse's back, and two reins cross the neck of the steed. The face of the rider is of the round wide type with eyes disproportionately large, a face reminiscent of the countenances of the apostles in the 'Walking on the Water' scene from the Christian chapel.

Just above the scene is written an inscription (475 *a*), probably the name of the huntsman, in ink letters 0.07—0.03 m. high. [Tracing.] ZABΔO(I)YC and to the left [475 *b*, tracing] the word VICTOR in letters 0.01 m. high.

Zάβδος is found in Cumont, 27 and Ζάβδος and Ζάβδεος are cited by Wuthnow (p. 48).

Another hunting scene 0.40 by 0.20 m., this time the chase of the wild boar, is presented near the south corner of the west wall (Pl. XXXV, 4). The picture here is better drawn and the details remain more clear. As in the hunt of Zabdous the angle of presentation is from in front and above, so that the front near foot of the horse is lower than the off foreleg. The rider wears baggy trousers and long-sleeved jacket. On the right side of the horse just behind the rider is fastened the quiver full of arrows and above the top is visible the hilt of the sword suspended from the left side. Possibly as in the scene of arms in the Palmyrene temple the oval decorations of the quiver represent thumb-rings bound to the case. The horseman holds the bow just left of the horse's neck so that half the arc is concealed. As usual the left arm is stretched far forward holding the bow, the right draws the bowstring to the shoulder, the rider himself faces full front. The horse has a large tassel suspended from the tail, and a round ornamental boss on the harness, a boss partly concealed by the leg of the rider. The wild boar springs forward savagely to the attack from the cover of river reeds to which it has retreated. The head of the animal is much effaced, but one sees clearly the body, legs, and curling tail.

The wild boar is still common in the district of the middle Euphrates, and the great Sassanid relief of Khosru II reveals how popular was the chase in the times of the kings of kings (Sarre, *Die Kunst*, Pl. 88).

In ink letters 0.0125 m. high over the back of the horseman is written (476). Tracing.

ΡΟΥΒΑΘΙΑ
ΛΕΥC

Cumont (44) cites 'Ρουβάθ.

The scene painted in red on the blocked-up doorway in the east wall is very much smudged as well as obliterated. One can just see the outlines of the figure standing beside an altar and dropping incense on the flames. Above the right shoulder of the sacrificant was written in ink an inscription [477, letters 0.01—0.015 m. high], of which the first and the last lines are not entirely legible. The legible part is as follows:

Γ Γ Γ
Ε Ε Ε
Α Α
Ζ Ζ
ΠΙCΤΑΥΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΡΙΩΝ

πιστά(α)ύτά από τριῶν (γραμμαίων). The meaning may be of a mantic character: divination by means of letters is declared reliable. Cf. F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystic und Magie*, 2nd ed. 1925, p. 35 ff.: Die Vokalreihen im Zauber and p. 60f.: Konsonantenreihen; and O. Weinreich in *Gnomon* 1930, p. 365 (a Trishagion used as letter-magic).

The other graffiti in the room are as follows:

478. Rubbing. East wall, below and right of boar hunt, letters 0.02 m. high.

ΒΑΡΧΑΛΒΑC

The name is common.

479. Rubbing. East wall above hunting scene. Letters 0.01—0.02 m.

ΖΕΝΟΔΩΡΟC

480. Tracing. Below hunting scene. Letters 0.01—0.015 m. NOC followed by an abecedarium in Latin, then

Ο ΓΡΑΨΑC

481. The same *rebus* occurs three times in different places.

a) Rubbing. On the east wall below and right of hunting scene, letters 0.005—0.01 m. scratched with point.

ROTAS
OPERI

b) Photo and Tracing. East wall and to left of entrance, letters painted in red.

ROTAS
OPERA
TENET
AREPO
SATOR

c) Rubbing. Outside of E 7, W 13. Letters scratched with point.

ROTAL
OPERI
TENET
AREPO
LATOR

The well known so called *rebus* is repeated here twice quite correctly. Note however that in (a) and (c) the writer has written by mistake "operi" instead of "opera" and that in (c) he has made use of the Greek *sigma*.

[*Note of the editor.* It is well known to all students of antiquity that the letter-square which begins with *Sator* was widely spread all over the ancient world. It appears in inscriptions, papyri etc. both in the East and in the West, written in both Latin and Greek. The use of this square for magic purposes is still common in many parts of the modern world and this phenomenon is familiar to all students of the history of religion. It was long thought that the letter-square in question was just a meaningless *rebus* written for the amusement of the writer and reader. Modern scholarship has however found out that the square belongs to the widely spread monuments of letter-magic many of which occur also at Dura. Many interpretations of the words of the square were offered, all unsatisfactory.¹⁵ It seems however that

¹⁵ A good bibliography will be found in F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystic und Magie*: 2nd ed. 1925, p. 79 and p. 179.

quite recently F. Grosser¹⁶ has established once and for all the correct interpretation of the formula. Starting from the observation that all the letters of the square are repeated twice, except for the N which stands in the center and except for two additional A's and two additional O's, he rearranged the letters of the rebus and saw that if rearranged the letters give a perfect *pater noster* cross flanked by the well known formula A—Ω repeated twice. The idea is convincing and the square appears now as a Christian cryptogram of magic character, as a hidden Christian cross. If Grosser is right and the sator square is a Christian cryptogram — and I believe it is very difficult to disprove the interpretation of Grosser¹⁷ — then the Dura squares acquire a great importance for the history of Christianity. It must be noted first and foremost that our three dipinti and graffiti are the most ancient representatives of the square: the oldest hitherto known was a magic papyrus of the fourth century A. D.¹⁸ Furthermore we ought not to forget that the square appears at Dura in a place which was occupied by soldiers and that consequently it was written in all probability by one of them. It appears therefore that there were many Christians among the soldiers of the Dura garrison at the beginning of the third century A. D. These soldiers during the periods of persecution carefully concealed their

¹⁶ F. Grosser, Ein neuer Vorschlag zur Deutung der Sator-Formel, *Arch. f. Religionsw.* XXIV (1926), p. 165 ff.

¹⁷ It has been accepted by many authoritative scholars e. g. by Dornseiff (in a letter written to Grosser) and by O. Weinreich, *Gnomon*, 6 (1930) p. 365 f. in a review of Dornseiff's book. Dr. Th. Klauser has drawn my attention to the two recent articles of F. J. Dölger dealing with the *sator rebus*: *IXΘYS*, V (1932), pp. 57 ff. and *Antike und Christentum* III (1932), pp. 278 ff. Dölger is right in characterizing the *sator rebus* as *versus recurrentes* and as a *karkinos* (crayfish) — well known forms of ancient metrical riddles. The rebus has certainly a definite meaning and may be translated either in the way in which Haverfield translates it (see Note 18) or with the interpretation given by Dölger. And yet I see no reason for rejecting with Dölger the suggestion of Grosser. It is hard to understand, if we do not accept Grosser's interpretation, how the harmless and almost meaningless *sator* crayfish came to be Christianized and adopted as a charm by the early, and retained by the later Christians. On the other hand everything is explained if we assume that the rebus form was intended to conceal Christian contents beneath a clever and perfectly harmless metrical dress, familiar to everyone in the third century A. D. The word *arepo*, which looks Celtic, may point to Gaul as the place where the *karkinos* originated.

¹⁸ The only contemporary and palaeographically similar *sator rebus* was found near Cirencester at Watermore in 1868, scratched on a piece of wall plaster in ruins of the Roman period: *Ephemeris Epigraphica* IX, No. 1001; R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, p. 176 and fig. e, p. 174; cf. F. Haverfield, *Archaeological Journal*, LVI (1899), p. 319.

allegiance to the new religion and used cryptogram instead of regular monogram of the name of Christ. It seems that the contention of Grosser who thinks that the formula was first invented by the Christians in time of persecution is fully supported by our copies of the *sator square*.]

482. Close to the entrance on the east wall and on an under coat of plaster was written in large red characters a Latin inscription only fragments of which remain. (Tracing and photo). Letters 0.05 m. high.

I PII O
I]MPERATO[RIS
ENEN (n or m)
N

The inscription is obviously of the same type as that in W 12 but restoration seems impossible.

483. Rubbing. West wall, north end of wall — beneath wreath. Letters 0.02 m.

Z E Y K Y P I E C W Z E
T H N O V H Z I Λ Λ A T I Ω N A N
T Ω N A N T Ω N I N Ω N

(a) Z E Y K Y P I E C W Z E
T H N O V H Z I Λ Λ A T I Ω N A N
T Ω N A N T Ω N I N Ω N

(b) Just beneath in smaller characters 0.015 m.

ΛΙΦΩΝ — ΧΗΓΟΝΤΙΖΗΝ

This must mean "O Zeus, Kyrios, preserve the detachment of the Antonines," οὐρηξιλλοτιωνων being written for vexillationem, and Ἀντωνινων referring to the Emperors themselves. The emperors would be Caracalla and Geta together and the inscription would therefore be dated in the year 210 A. D. Note however that in the time of Caracalla,

both the vexillatio of the Fourth Scythian legion and that of the Third Cyrenaic legion carried the name Antoniniana. The detachment here referred to must be one or both of these and Ἀντωνίνων might be written for Ἀντωνιν(ικων)ῶν. The scratching (b) might be read Λίφων Σήγοντι 3ῆν. However neither Λίφων nor Σήγων occurs as a proper name.

Zeus with the title Kyrios is here found for the first time at Dura. Other titles at Dura are Zeus Megistos (Cumont, 25 and *Rep. II*, H. 2), Zeus Kallinikos (Cumont, 17), Zeus Soter (*Rep. II*, H. 9) and Patros Zeus Betylos (*Rep. IV*, No. 168).

484. Tracing. West wall, left of Iarhibol drawing. Letters in ink 5—10 mm. high.

ΚΩΝΟΙΝ ΒΟΥΔΟΠΟΑC
 ἸΚΡΙΠΠC

The letters seem clear but I can find no such names.

485. Tracing.

(a) West wall, north corner. Scratched with point. Letters in first line 0.03 m., in others 0.01—0.015 m. and very faint.

VICTORIAE
 ANTONINI AVGVCT
 NOCTRI

VI[CTORIAE
 ANTONINI AVGOVCT[I
 NOCTRI

b) Above the previous graffito. Letters 0.02—0.03 m.

VICTORIAE

c) Center of wall

VICTORIA ANTONINI

d) Just below 485 b, letters 0.02—0.03 m.

VICTORIAE

This little group must go with inscription 480 and refer to the campaign of Caracalla against the Parthians. On the coins such dedications are common: e. g. *Victoria Augusti* (Cohen, *Médailles Imperiales*, V, p. 63), *Victoriae Augustorum* (*Op. cit.* p. 140). Note in (a) the mixture of Greek and Latin letters and spelling.

486. Tracing. West wall just north of door. Letters in ink 5 mm. high.

ANT ΜΗΓRES
AUREL M
NIXE

Obviously the names of soldiers but the letters are not clear and one can be sure only of the names Ant(onium) and Aurelius.

487. Rubbing. West wall. Between hunting scene and Iarhibol drawing. Letters scratched with point 5—10 mm. high.

ΜΝΗCΘΗ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΟΥΑΛΕΝΤΙΝΥ

The letters seem clear but the writer must have intended to scratch 'Ιούλιος instead of 'Ιουλίου. Apparently the *sigma* at the end of Valentinus was made simply by joining a horizontal line to the end of the *omicron*.

488. Rubbing. West wall below hunting scene. Letters 5—10 mm.

ΔΟΜΩ ΠΡΟ ΔΩΡΟC

The letters seem clear and the nominative ending in the last word suggests that it is not the ordinary type of inscription with the names of son and father. The first word may well be the dative case of δόμος "house" for I can find no proper name beginning with these letters.

489. Rubbing. West wall. Below and left of hunting scene. Letters 5 mm. scratched faintly with point.

LEGIO ANTONINI .

The reading is very doubtful. We expect "legio Antoniniana" but there are traces of only one letter at most after "Antonini." Perhaps as in No. 483 *a* the writer referred to the legion by writing the name of the emperor, rather than giving the more usual adjectival form.

490. Tracing. On the west wall between the hunting and the sacrifice scenes is drawn in ink a small figure of a man, and beside it is written in ink with letters 0.01 m. high.

ΓΕΡΩ[N].C

In inscription D. 154 (*Rep. III*) is cited Βαρσᾶς γέρων. Probably the word was used in a general sense, with no special reference to a member of a γερουσία.

491. Tracing. West wall, below lion hunt. Letters scratched 0.08 m. high and clearly written.

ΓΑΟΙC

No such name is found and probably the writer attempted the Latin name Gaius.

491 a. Beneath the graffito representing the god Iarhibol is scratched in large letters

ENNEA ΓΥNH ΤΕΚΟΥCΑ

Below, another line of scratched letters of the same size. Welles reads the last letters as ΑΙΤΗC and before that, K or E. He thinks it is a continuation of the upper line beginning ΕΖ.

Since this graffito was inscribed in a temple, it refers probably to a religious rite connected with childbirth. The number "nine" suggests that it has reference to the birth of a son since on the ninth day the son, according to Roman custom, was lustrated and named. The *dies lustricus* for the Roman girl was the eighth day after birth and for the children of Semites, according to the Bible, the seventh.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Kurzgefaßtes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Zwölfte Lieferung.* "Die Bücher Exodus and Leviticus," von August Dillmann, Leipzig 1897, pp. 550—1; Wissowa, *Rel. d. Römer* p. 393; Daremberg et Saglio V. "Lustratio", III, 2 p. 1421 by A. Bouché Leclercq. [Note of the editor: I am inclined to believe that the short text from Dura refers to that well-known peculiarity of religions, both western and eastern, which regarded childbirth as ritually unclean and excluded from the sanctuaries for a certain period of time the mother and any others who came into contact with her. The duration of this exclusion for the woman herself is unknown. Forty days is the period given (Censorinus, *de die natal.* XI, 7) in the case of the birth of a son, thirty in that of a daughter, just as in *Leviticus*, XII, 2 ff., but it is probable that the period of impurity was ordinarily much shorter. In the case of another person who had come into contact with a woman contaminated by childbirth, the period of uncleanness was much shorter: two days, seven days and from three to ten days are severally reported. On the problem in general

492. Tracing. West wall, above and left of sacrifice scene. Letters scratched 0.02 m. high.

Μ ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ

493. Tracings. West wall.

(a) Right of door. Letters in ink 5 mm. high.

ΗΛΕΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ

(b) Right of (a).

ΗΛΕΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ

(c) Just below No. 492.

ΗΛΕΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΒΑ

The spelling of (a) and (b) is the same but the Roman *s* is used in (a). In (c) an *omicron* has been omitted. 'Αβ̄̄̄ is probably the genitive form of 'Αβ̄̄̄ς for 'Αββ̄̄̄ς (*Rep. II*, H. 18).

494. West wall. 0.65 m. from door top, letters 0.02 m.

ΜΝΗCΘΗ ΠΑC
ΓΟΠΩΠΟΣ

The reading is very unsatisfactory, and though there are many names beginning with π̄̄̄̄ . . ., I have found none which contains the letters following.

495. Tracing. Across the lintel of the door is written an inscription which seems from its position and the size of the thick black letters (0.02—0.025 m.) to be of greater importance than the general run. I can, however, make no clear meaning of the remains.

ΙΙΙΙΙ ΟΝ ΚΕΡΟΔΟΔ

see Th. Waechter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, 1910 (Religionsg. Vers. und Vor. IX); cf. P. Roussel, *Reglements rituels*, Mél. Holleaux, 1913, p. 270 (note in this Delian inscription the three periods: contact with a woman who has given birth to a child — 7 days, with one who has suffered miscarriage — 40 days, with one during her menstruation period — 9 days); Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3, 982, 1, 8.]

Room W 13.

The very high walls of W 13, still standing to the height of 3.34 m., probably partially account for the preservation of the many pieces of papyrus and parchment found in the room. Luckily the room, resting against a well-preserved section of the circuit wall, was well protected to the north and the bank of earth thrown up against the fortifications caused a high mound in the ruins from which the rain water was quickly shed. Just the same it was a surprise to find so many fragile things intact, especially to discover a large, well-preserved piece of papyrus not 1.50 m. beneath the surface of the soil. Probably the room itself had been partially or wholly filled with dirt when the mud brick walls were constructed along the fortifications and when rooms 14 and 12 were blocked with mud brick. The papyri and parchments were chiefly in the northwest corner and perhaps had lain on a shelf, for holes in the wall 1.53 m. above the floor and extending somewhat over a meter on each side of the corner (1.25 m. west, 1.02 m. north) probably served to support shelves. No traces of wooden boards or beams, however, remained, nor were there any other remains of wood or leather to suggest covering for the documents. Most of them lay in confusion on the floor, many already in fragments, some complete, some still in rolls. Their chief enemy had evidently been not rain, but worms for many pieces had been bored through and through. Thanks to the complete protection from rain many other items of interest were preserved, a leather shoe, pieces of cloth, ceiling reeds, the wooden pivot block on which the door swung, wooden rods plastered over to form the sides of a niche, the ends of lintel beams still in position and a reed arrow-shaft. Perhaps there was a second story for this would best account for the reeds in the debris and the papyrus found so high above the floor (and not in the shelfcorner). Reeds of course were usually used for flooring rather than against the plaster of the ceiling. Other finds in the room included three pilaster busts of a curly-haired man or boy, a large silver ring, a fibula of bronze and Egyptian glass, a small inlaid bone disc and a few coins.

The graffiti in the room are as follows:

496. The name Ἀρασίβηλος occurs six times.

(a) On the capital of the door-jamb between rooms 14 and 13, at the top in letters 0.025 m. high.

ΑΡΑΕΙΒΗ[ΛΟC

(b) On the upper curve of the capital molding, letters 0·01 m.

ΑΡΑΕΙΒΗΛΟC

(c) On the second curve of the molding, letters 0·015 m.

ΑΡΑΒΗΛΟC

(d) On the west wall of the room in letters 0·02 m. high.

ΑΡΑΕΙΒΗΛΟC

(e) On the same wall again.

ΑΡΑΕΙΒΗΛΟC

(f) In the center of the west wall in letters cut 0·15—0·22 m.

ΑΡΑΕΙΒΗΛΟC

The name is, of course, the same as that of 'Ραγεῖβηλος (Cumont, 115, *Rep. II*, D. 136) etc., meaning "répos de Bel." (See Cumont, p. 440).
497. Rubbing. On south post of door.

(a) ΒΕΡΥΛΛΟC
ΒΑΡΝΑΒΟΥ
ΒΑΝΑΒΟΥ ΒΑΡΑΧ

Βέρυλλος occurs for the first time but Βαρνάβου is cited in Cumont, 123 and 127; and Βαράχος occurs in Cumont, VII, 3.

(b) Rubbing. On the west wall above 496 *d* and *e*. Letters 0·01 to 0·015 m. made with a point.

ΝΡΟ ΒΑΡΑΝΑΒΟΥ ΒΑΝΑΒΟΥ ΒΑΡΑΧ

498. Tracing. East wall. Letters in ink 0·015 m. high and very clear.

Α — ΑΝΕΜΟC

499. Tracing. West wall, right of center. Letters 0.01 m. high made with point.

ΣΘΚΟΙΦΑ ΑΡΑΝ
 ΕΟΥΝΝΑC ΑΡΑΒ
 ΑΒΙΔΝΑΒΟΥ ΑΡΑ
 ΛΥCΑΝΙΑC ΑΡΕΑΡΑΑ
 ΟΦΙΛΟΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΟΙΓ ΑΡΕ

For the first two names I can find no parallels. The third combines the two elements "Abid," servant, and "Nabou," the god. The name Lysanias is most common at Dura. In the last line one expects some name ending in -φίλος as Δίφιλος etc. Since μοι follows, however, it seems to read ο[ι] φίλοι μοι. The last letters in each line must be abbreviations, perhaps for names. Ἀραβα and Ἀραβών (Cumont, 49) are cited by Wuthnow (p. 25), also the genitive form Ἀρασα (p. 26).

500. Plaster fragments found in the room gave us parts of inscriptions.

(a) Red on white. Letters 0.055—0.08 m.

(1) ETASES (2) AV[G

(b) Black on white, letters 0.0075—0.01 m.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) DN MA | (1) D(ominus) N(oster) M(arcus) A(urelius)? |
| (2) ΚΕΙΝCΑ NO COS | (2) no co(n)s(ule) or co(n)s(ulibus) |
| (3) Κ DEC | (3) K(alendas) Dec(embres) |
| (4) DIMI DVO | |
| (5) In thicker letters 0.0125 m. MAXIMOA and EΛI. | |

It is obvious that we have here fragments of at least two military inscriptions all mentioning the name of the emperor, the second being dated. If the fourth line of *b* can be read *bimi duo* the inscription probably bears in one way or another on the horses of an auxiliary cohort.

Room W 15.

It has already been remarked that this room was altered to make a large entrance to the temple from the side of the Tower of the Archers. When this change was made the room probably served as a sort of vestibule and the benches on the south and part of the east wall as resting places for entrants. The walls were adorned with small

pen and ink sketches, of which one showing a gazelle, another a dog were recovered (Pl. XXXVIII, 3.). Due to the high wall on the north side of the room, some of the ceiling reeds and pieces of cloth were preserved.

The drawings are small and very simply done with a minimum of lines, but the artist has portrayed with some skill his subjects. The first shows a little gazelle fleeing before a great dog or wolf. The second portrays a dog turning in the chase, behind the flying feet of his quarry. Just above the gazelle is written in ink letters 5 mm. high.

501. Photograph. Now at Yale.

ΔΟΡΚΑΚ

502. On another fragment of plaster was scratched in letters 0.01 m. high.

ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙC
ΒΑΡΓΑC
ΜΟΥΚΙΑΝΟC

Roman names are very commonly given with the suffix "is" standing for "-ius" as here Οὐαλέρις for Valerius.

Βαργᾶς is cited in Cumont, 125 and Μουκιανός in *Rep. II*, H. 3.

Room W 16.

Room 16 was apparently added late as an antechamber before the entrance room 15. It is a true vestibule with wide doorway to the west, a subsidiary one to the south. Again reeds and cloth were found and in addition the Doric capital of a column, probably belonging to the pillar whose base was discovered just outside the room. A fragment of fresco showed merely part of a geometric or floral design.

Room W 17.

Two wide benches on the north and west both well over a meter in width (1.31 m. and 1.195 m.) distinguish room 17, and seem to mark it as a triclinium or resting room. A bronze lock plate and a bronze ring with intaglio of Victory were the only finds of importance. The Nike figure advances left carrying a crown with tassels in her outstretched left hand, and holding in her right the palm branch

which rests on the right shoulder. She wears the long split-skirt with bustle. The wing is extended behind the back. Apparently the head is turned full front but the features are indistinguishable.

Room W 18.

In the bank of earth just outside and south of 18 fragments of papyri were recovered. The same conditions as in room 13 seemed to prevail here with a bank of earth, sharply cut, shedding the rain. One must suppose that some sort of roof covered the documents until some fill of dirt accumulated above. Possibly, however, they were old records thrown out in the general fill during the last days of the city. Unfortunately here, the thin strata of documents reached up to within half a meter of the surface, the papyri had evidently been wet through many times and though in many cases documents pressed together preserved the writing, the fabric itself had so rotted that it disappeared into dust with the slightest rubbing or touch. The dirt surrounding them was therefore cut in squares, the whole blocked with paraffin and cloth and the bricks shipped back to Yale where perhaps they may be separated and the documents read. Room 18 itself, built in the angle of the city wall, yielded only two bronze pendants, a bronze dish and a single coin. The room had been constructed after the erection of the mud brick wall behind 13—15 for the continuation of this wall made the south side of the chamber.

One may remark in general that much of the temple seems to have been burned. The floor of the *salle aux gradins* was full of ashes probably not fill, and fire marked the walls of many rooms.

The area as a whole yielded several other items of interest among which might be mentioned an alabaster bottle used by the priests in sacrifice, two pilaster busts of women, and two of boys, a small plaster altar found just outside room 9, coins, small bronze objects etc.

Rooms W 9, 10.

These two rooms together form a separate shrine within the temple, though they are dedicated to the same goddess. This arrangement of additional shrines is not uncommon and one might cite as a parallel arrangement the two shrines in the temple of Aphlad. Here, however, we have both naos and pronaos together.

The naos (room 10) has a most curious arrangement. The center

of the great pillar which incloses the niche is not set directly opposite the doorway but to the right, the pillar extending to the middle of the room and leaving only a very narrow passage between its north end and the wall of room 9. The niche is small and partially covered by the top of the pillar so that the place for the statue or cult objects was not large. In the room, thirteen large storage jars were found, eight along the north wall and five along the west wall in the south corner. Some of the jars were filled with ashes, perhaps the remains of sacrifices made. The north end of the room may have had a second story for holes to support the ends of wooden rods were found along all three sides at a height of 1.60 m. For a strong floor, however, the beams must have been exceedingly small, and it is more probable that they supported merely a deep shelf. Above, two very narrow and deep windows allowed a little light to penetrate into the interior. Probably they were made in this way to prevent anyone from breaking in or reaching through. A small piece of painted plaster representing a hand is all that remains of fresco fragments. A small side chamber was built in the south end, an arrangement similar to that in the naos D 5.

The pronaos, as in the Temples of Atargatis and of Nannaia, was made into a sort of small theater with a series of inscribed steps, forty-six of which remained *in situ*, rising on each side of the central passage. Just to the right of the west doorway (the entrance to the naos) a bas-relief of the goddess (now in Damascus) had been set in the wall at 0.63 m. above the floor (Pl. XXIV). Below it a square block 0.36 by 0.295 by 0.36 m. high with a blackened hole (0.09 m. in diameter) in the top and an opening on the north side served as incense altar. By smoke from this the relief itself had been covered with an oily soot. Beside this block stood a little fluted (18 flutes) column 0.67 m. high, adorned with Doric capital in whose top a little bowl was cut. As there were no marks of fire it is probable that this served for libations.

It is interesting to speculate on the rites which were held in this room. In the frescoes of Konon the priest is represented as offering sacrifice just in front of an ornamental doorway. This background may have been portrayed merely for its architectonic value in blocking off the persons in the frescoes. It is quite possible, however, that the instruments of ritual were brought into view of the spectators from the inner sanctuary and sacrifice offered just in front of the door. In this room the relief and altars just beside the door seem to support such an hypothesis. Halfway up the steps on the south side of the east door, a small base seems to have been designed to hold another altar

or statue probably inclosed in a niche. Several bronze or silver heart-shaped pendants found in this room, all made of thin metal with small knob on the point suggest that such ornaments had a special place in the worship of the divinity. Bits of wood in the *débris* showed that the fill behind the later mud-brick wall which blocked up the north side, had been deep enough to prevent the seepage of rain water.

The block of the bas-relief is 1.16 m. high, 0.515 m. broad at the widest point and 0.165 m. thick (Pl. XIV). The front of the temple is given a relief of 0.045 m. and this same depth is given to the lions. The pediment of a temple crowns the top and a column of ten flutes borders either side. The capitals are of Corinthian type with small spirals at the corners and three leaves just below. Apparently a fourth leaf ran up between the joints of the spirals. The *acroteria* are made of leaves with central bars, three tendrils on either side turning at the end toward the center, a fourth curving out. Those over the gables have a semicircular turn to cover the corner.

Within the field edged by these architectural details is presented a scene, obviously a representation of a cult scene within the temple of the deity. Like Atargatis, the goddess is seated between lions and raises her right hand in benediction. She is clad in a long robe reaching to her feet and a heavy mantle which covers most of her hair and falls on one side down behind the right arm, passes under the right elbow across the waist and reaches over the left forearm. On the other side it covers the left shoulder and upper arm and disappears beneath the rolled border of the other end. Two thick locks visible in front of the mantle bear no marks of incisions to show the lines of the hair. Two incised lines making a band on the right hand side of the mantle are probably intended to mark a braid of hair beneath.

A heavy border, probably of embroidery adorns the neck of the robe and this ornament is carried down the center of the garment till it is lost to view beneath the lower part of the mantle. This center band serves to accentuate the contours of the breasts. In contrast to the elaborate design of the *polos* of Aphlad, that of Azzanathkona is plain except that the lower part is slightly thicker perhaps because of the band which circles it.

The features of her face are not entirely clear, due in part at least to the fact that the fumes of incense have blackened the stone, and the fact that the crystals of gypsum are in many cases too insecure to allow proper cleaning. The upper and lower eyelids are quite naturally given, but there is no indication of pupil and iris. She holds her

head slightly inclined to the right as if to receive the crown held just above.

Just below the breasts a girdle circles the waist, and forms a knot beneath the right breast from which the two ribbon ends fall to either side. Beneath the knees the robe curves in slightly to mark the contours of the leg from knee to ankle. On the right an incision marking a side fold brings the shin into sharper relief.

To the right of Azzanathkona stands a man clad in the Roman-Palmyrene fashion with himation, chiton and high boots. The himation thrown up over the left shoulder hides the chiton from neck to waist, apparently goes over the left arm and falls in a thick fold just behind the left hand. The folds are marked with incised lines which follow in general the lines of the roll at the top, moving across the body and up toward the left. Above the roll which forms the top of the himation, the edge of the chiton is visible, the hem around the neck making a little point which projects slightly just in the middle of the chest. Between this point and the extended right arm are discernible parts of semicircular folds around this central projection. The folds of the chiton below the himation are quite discernible on the photograph and one remarks the outline of the right knee beneath the robe. The right leg, slightly raised and advanced is completely covered by boot and robe, but over the left leg the chiton is raised sufficiently to allow the upper shin to appear. Between the left knee and the pillar a small piece of plaster is fitted into the relief and was apparently fixed in place with wooden pegs. The piece was loose, however, and beneath, the soot on the pillar showed that the plaster did not belong to the original design. Perhaps it was introduced later to support some symbol or offering.

The only covering of the extended right arm is the short sleeve of the chiton reaching half way to the elbow. Apparently, it is a crown or wreath which the right hand holds and obviously it is the intention of the individual to adorn the head of the goddess with this gift. Perhaps a particular dedicant represented himself on the stone as offering homage to the divinity. Judging from the two altars below the relief, however, one judges the stone to be a cult scene of offering and consequently it seems best to consider the figure not the portrait of any particular citizen.

The figure is smooth shaven and bare-headed. The hair, portrayed with irregular incised lines, falls low over the forehead in a thick mat. No indications of eyebrows and eyelashes are given and it is impossible

to see any marks to distinguish iris and pupil. One can discern, however, that the eye was made very wide and round, and with protruding eyeball as in the early Palmyrene busts. Though the nose and mouth are well formed and the ear seems quite well drawn, the neck is far too thick.

Above, almost walking on the wreath above the goddess's head the smaller figure of a man is portrayed, looking nonchalantly up to the right and leading a bull which he grasps apparently by the ear. The short-sleeved chiton is girt about the waist with a girdle whose broad ends fall from the knot in the center down to either side, much as those of Azzanathkona. Details of his features can scarcely be distinguished. He is hatless and the arrangement of his hair is apparently much like that of the larger figure. The right arm is bent at the elbow, and the hand rests on the hip. As the representation of the right arm shows, the body is portrayed full front though the figure is advancing left and turns his head in three-quarters profile.

The bull is shown in profile, but as is quite common the horns are shown in three-quarters view. The modelling shows a decided hump above the shoulder, but scarcely enough to justify the assumption that it was a water buffalo, were it not for the fact that the water buffalo is the most common animal of sacrifice at Dura. The tail is thrown up over the back and falls along the front of the leg muscle.

Just what is the significance of this man and bull scene, is difficult to determine. We are accustomed to find lions and bulls together as attributes of Atargatis and Hadad. It does not seem easy to believe, however, that this little figure in the background could be Hadad himself. It is not even clear whether the man and bull are to be taken simply as portrayed as far in the background, raised up on a natural elevation, a hill for example, behind Azzanathkona, or whether they are to be considered as introduced in the tableau above the head of the goddess simply for convenience in spacing.

On the whole it seems best to consider the man and bull as in the background, for the individual is very much reduced in size compared with the man in the foreground. I believe that the bull represents only the attribute of Hadad as the male counterpart of the goddess and suggests merely another phase of her authority as wife of the sky god.

Above in the pediment, stands a bird, perhaps an eagle, for the beak may be slightly hooked and the figure is very large in size. Details, however, are hard to discern. The wing is built in with plaster but on the back where the covering has broken away the feathers are

represented with incised lines. Tail feathers are marked with vertical incised lines. The general outlines are good, (though except for size the bird is not very eagle-like in appearance) but the legs are carelessly rendered in front view instead of side.

One remembers that the common attribute of Atargatis was the dove and that between the statue of Hadad and Atargatis in the sanctuary of Hieropolis a golden dove was perched on top of the standard. Since, as has been remarked, Azzanathkona has many similarities to the great Syrian goddess, there is a greater probability that here also a dove, symbol of the goddess is portrayed.

The steps in the pronaos date from 12—13 A. D. to 107 A. D. and one expects that the bas-relief would have been erected during this period. The deep fluting of the pillars of the temple as well as the flutes on the pillar-altar which must have been made about the same time, also argue a period pretty early in the history of the city.

In style the relief falls into the large class of late Hellenistic works. Perhaps the best parallels are found in the grave reliefs now in the museum of Delos.²⁰ The figures in these monuments are more often in profile, but the disproportionate length of the body, the balance of the scene and the general impression are the same. The style was carried over to Alexandria and continued there especially in the third and second centuries B. C. Pfuhl²¹ says that these reliefs are of two kinds, one a simple stone crowned with a gable, a second with gable and columns to form a small *naiskos*. Both these forms occur in the third century, the *naiskos* form supplants the other almost entirely in the second. He calls attention in the Alexandrian reliefs²² to the small head (purely Alexandrian), the slender upper and heavy lower body, and the thighs set wide apart.

All these features are characteristics of the man carrying the crown in our own relief. Even the disproportionately long body is typical of late Hellenistic work as well as of eastern representations under Parthian influence. At Alexandria also we find the high girt chiton, the mantle which covers the left arm of the seated figure and the hair parted and combed back. Other examples of the same type may be cited from the island of Samos.²³

²⁰ Compare the reliefs published in the excavations of Delos Vol. II, Fig. 90, p. 62, Fig. 87, and in Vol. VIII, Fig. 1.

²¹ E. Pfuhl, "Alexandrinische Grabreliefs", *Athen. Mitteil.*, XXVI (1901), p. 266.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 274.

²³ T. Wiegand, "Antike Skulpturen in Samos", *Athen. Mitteil.*, 1900, pp. 193—4.

If the style is late Hellenistic, however, the scene itself is typically Syrian. The seated goddess in naiskos, with hand upraised in benediction is already well known. Of this the plaque from Aleppo published by Sarre (*Die Kunst*, Pl. 65) gives a good example.²⁴ The offering of the crown is more characteristic of Parthian art, but the popularity in the east as well as west of Nike with crown and eagle bearing crown makes it difficult to ascribe the rite to any definite place of origin. The stone is the common gypsum found in the vicinity at Dura. Apparently then the relief was made here and probably in the early part of the first century A. D. not many years, therefore, from the time when the Aphlad relief was cut. The two styles though different reflect, I believe, merely two phases of the same development, that of Azza-nathkona carrying on more conservatively the Hellenistic work of west Syria and the Aegean, the Aphlad stone incorporating the new influence of the Parthian east.

On the walls inside and outside the room several graffiti were scratched. The first is that located on the east wall, outside and just north of the door. The drawing is approximately 0.35 by 0.25 m. and represents a walled city or fortress, the walls resting on a series of terraces (Pl. XXXIV, 5). Three towers are visible in the lowest series, though probably four had been drawn. Between these rises a series of three larger towers, then two, and finally one crowning the fortifications. The towers are all crenellated, those of the lowest and third tiers having three, the second five crenellations. Probably the highest tower had five also, though the outlines are not sufficiently clear to make it a certainty. There is no trace of a gate. The clay tessera from Palmyra showing rather similar battlements rising one above another makes an interesting comparison.²⁵ Probably no special city is depicted but merely the attempt made to reproduce the impression of a city or fortress built on a hill-side.

Within the room on the east wall north of the door a crude drawing 0.27 by 0.22 m. in size depicts a man in Persian costume holding in his left hand five arrow-shaped objects branching from a single stem (Pl. XXXIV, 4). Four of these are of the same length, the fifth projects beyond the rest. The figure faces full front. Toes are turned out, baggy trousers cover the legs, a long-sleeved Persian jacket with flare at the bottom the upper body. Inordinately high shoulders remind one a little of the work on the Hadad and Atargatis relief of the third

²⁴ Cp. *Rep.* IV, p. 242.

²⁵ Published by M. Pillet, *Rep.* I, Fig. 1.

campaign. The neck is very badly made, for it is both longer and broader than the head; the nose is formed by two lines shaped like a reversed V; the short hair rises straight up from the head; and the beard is done with a few short vertical lines.

Further north on the same wall is drawn a large figure of a man 0.49 m. high. He wears a long straight-cut coat reaching to the knees and no trousers. A series of cross lines gives the appearance of scale armor but, as they continue on arms, legs, and face, they probably only fill out the space of the drawing. Arms are placed akimbo, the left resting on the hilt of the sword. The whole figure is very crudely done, but the most glaring fault occurs in the arms which leave the body some distance below the shoulders.

Smaller, less important figures, many of them only partially complete, present a few interesting features. Three show the head circled by a turban-like band cut with cross-lines (Pl. XXXV, 2). One has the same squarecut dress and stands in the same position as the figure just described. Very probably the same person drew both. Worthy of remark is one drawn with head in profile, a position rather rare in Dura. This figure is drawn horizontally and just above is depicted a horse. Perhaps one of the worshippers drew the man while leaning forward in his seat and so intended to represent him as upright; or possibly as fallen to the ground and trampled by the horse.

Close to the east doorway of the room were found fragments of plaster, probably coming from the lintel, with letters in thick black paint.
503. Tracing. Letters 0.025 m. high.

TON ΘΕΟ[Ν]

It seems rather strange to have this dedication to a male god at the entrance to a shrine devoted to Azzanathkona and the word suggests that with Azzanathkona was associated a male deity. The fragments are not sufficient, however, to allow us to place much weight on the evidence.

504. Photograph (Pl. XXVIII, 3) and squeeze. Fallen on the north steps was an irregularly shaped stone of gypsum 0.35 by 0.28 by 0.10 m. with letters cut and painted red.

ΕΤΟΥΣ · ΕΜΤ
ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙ[ΟΥ
ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ

The year 345 (33 of our era)
the month of Hyperberetaios

PEXIMNAIOC	there erected (this)
BOYMAIOY	Rhechimnaios
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ Ε	son of Boumaios
ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Τ	on behalf of the
ΕΚΝΩΝΕ	safety of himself
ΠΤΗΡΙΑΣ	and his children
AZZANA[Θ]	(to) Azzanathkona.
KONA	

In an inscription engraved a score of years later on one of the steps of the room we have the name Ρεχειμανναια.

The name Βουμαιος is not found.

For discussion of the name Azzanathkona, see above p. 143.

505. Rubbing. West side of room, north section. Letters 0.35 m. and clear. The first name is enclosed in a rectangle.

ΑΡΑΕΙΒΗΛΟΣ
 μ̄ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙ
 ΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ
 μ̄ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗ[ΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ
 μ̄ ΑΕΙΒΗΛΟΣ ΝΑΒΟΥΒ
 ΑΡΑΧΗΣ ΔΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ μ̄

L. 2. An Athenodorus, son of Zenodotus, is quoted by Cumont (6 c). Probably we have here members of the same family.

L. 5. 'Αείβηλος for 'Αραείβηλος; Ναβουβαράχης for Ναβουβαράχου. The occurrence of Δουρανός here confirms the reading in No. 395, Κολωνιοδουρανός. 'Ευρωπαϊός is a much more common term for the inhabitant of Dura and apparently the only one used in the early period.

506. Photograph and tracing. West side of room between bas-relief and inscription 505. Letters 0.015 m. high.

ΒΑΡΝΕΒΟΥΣ
 ΚΑΜΗΣ
 ΒΑΡΝΕΒΟΥΣ
 ΝΙΝΑΙΑΣ
 5 Β[Α]ΡΝΑΝΑΙ
 ΣΑΧΛΕΙΦΘΑ
 ΗΜΗΜΑΙ
 ΒΑΘΙΛΑΣ

L. 1. Βαρνάβου is cited in Cumont 123 and 127. Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Nordsyrien* (1890) (p. 398) quote Βαρνέβου. They are certainly variations of the same name.

L. 2. The name Καμης does not occur elsewhere.

L. 4. The name is probably to be connected with the name of the goddess Νανναία.

L. 5. Probably for Βαρνανναϊος "son of Nannaia."

L. 1. 6—8. The readings are not entirely clear and I can find no parallels for the first two names. Possibly we should read Ηλλημμι instead of Ημημμι. Welles (*Rep. IV*, 241) cites Βαθης from Dura and Wuthnow (p. 32) quotes Βαθελος from Nela.

507. Tracing. West wall, left of doorway. Letters 0.03 m.

ΒΙΘΝΑ . ΠΚ
 ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΑC . . Χ
 ΑΝΝΑΙΟC Β
 ΑΡΑΕΙΒΗΛΟC Ν . . . Ε
 ΜΗΚΑΝΝΕΟC ΓΡΥΣΗ *ΑΝ
 ΑΔΔΕΑΟC ΡΥ . Ν *Β

L. 1. The first name should probably be restored Βιθναν- to form some combination as Βιθναναία, though there is no sign of the cross bar in the *theta*.

2. Σαλαμίνης is cited by Cumont III, and Σαλαμης in *Rep. II*, D. 9.

3. Ανναϊος does not occur at Dura but Wuthnow, p. 21 and 23, has the two spellings Αναϊος and Ανναϊος.

4. Μηκαννεος occurs for the first time but the feminine name Μηκανναία is cited several times.

5. Combinations with the root — δαδ — are common in Syria but this particular form occurs for the first time.

Again the list is part of an account, either of sums contributed or of money owed to the temple fund. Unfortunately the right hand portion has weathered badly and only two of the figures remain.

508. Tracing. East wall, south of door. Letters 0.015—0.025 m.

ΝΑΒΟΥΒΑΡΑΧΗC
 ΝΑΒΟΥΒΑΡΑΧΗ[C]

The two elements Ναβου-, the god, and βαραχ, the Aramaean name (see Cumont, p. 319) are common but the combination occurs this year for the first time.

The first *nu* is written with the diagonal reversed.
509. Rubbing. East wall, letters 0.03 m. high and clear.

ΑΡΑΕΙΒΗΛΟC

As has been remarked this is the name Ἀργεῖβηλος, Ραγεῖβηλος, "Repose of Bel" (Cumont, p. 440).

III. THE STEPS

BY S. M. HOPKINS

There are in all on the steps of this room 46 inscriptions, 32 on the north side in rows, reading from the bottom of 6, 6, 5, 6, 3, 4, 2, and 14 on the south side in rows 4, 4, 3, 3. There is no uniformity of size, design, or even of placing, some steps being wider and higher than others in the same row. At the time the building was discovered there were great gaps, notably near the west wall on the north side. Similarly on the south side close to the west wall there were indications that two objects had been removed in antiquity.

The dated inscriptions cover the period 12—13 A. D. to 107—108 A. D., though the majority fall into two main groups, dating respectively from 62—63 to 67—68 A. D. and from 107—108 A. D. Except for two in the lowest row on the north side dated 9μτ (37—38 A. D.) and 8ντ (42—43 A. D.) and one in the third of 3υ (95—96 A. D.) all the inscriptions on that side fall into one or the other groups. The manner in which they are grouped clearly indicates a reconstruction in the year 107—108. This reconstruction may have been one of two kinds: either an enlargement of the room toward the east or the changing into seats of a row of steps which ran up beside the wall. At the same time the seating capacity was enlarged by the addition of rows of seats at the top, all dating from that year. A similar condition existed on the south side, all of the seats adjoining the wall being of the year 107—108 A. D. No other two inscriptions on that side are dated alike and there is no apparent order in their arrangement.

The inscriptions are identical in structure with those found by M. Cumont in the Temple of Artemis and in many cases were dedicated by members of the same families. The prevalence of feminine names again suggests a cult to which only women were admitted, a suggestion not disproved by the presence of inscriptions bearing only

masculine names. One of these (550) is an abbreviated duplicate of 99 in which the dedicant's daughters are mentioned and the others are undoubtedly of the same kind. The benches cannot always have been occupied by the person whose name they bear inasmuch as there is at least one clear case of the dedication of two separate seats to one woman. Moreover, the fact that the dedications cover such a long range of time makes it extremely improbable that the holders of all the seats could have been living at the same time and indicates that here, unlike M. Cumont's *salle aux gradins* or his *salle C*, the seats were allowed to remain after the death of the owner and that new seats were added around them.

North Side.

510. Row I, east step — step 0.40 m. wide. Molding 0.10 m. wide somewhat broken. Letters 0.0125—0.025 m. high, irregularly cut. A. D. 107/8.

ΘΙΥ ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ
ΙΟC ΔΑΝΥΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙC
ΤΟΔΗΜΟΥ

Cumont (62) mentions an Ἀπολλώνιος, son of Δάνυμος in 19—20 A. D. Ἀριστόδημος also occurs (Cumont, 2). Since the names of the Ἀπολλώνιος-Δάνυμος line are found here and in Cumont for several generations, it may well be that about the time of Ἀπολλώνιος (see No. 533) there was another brother whose sons carried on the old family names.

511. Row I, second step from east. Similar in height, 0.41 m. long. Wide molding with overhang of 0.06 m. Letters 0.015—0.0225 m. high.

ΘΙΥ ΟΛΩΙΟΥ
ΣΑΛΑΜΙΛΑΙC
ΘΥΓΑΤΡΑΣΙΝ
[ΑΥ]Τ[ΟΥ]

L. 1. Ὀλωίου — for this form of Ἀῶος compare Cumont 2, and D. 159, 2 (*Rep. III*).

L. 2. Σαλαμιλαίς — not previously found at Dura. It is probably a combination of Σαλα and Μιλλαίος — cf. No. 559.

L. 4. This inscription had a fourth line which must already have

been broken when the stone was set. Only the upper part of a *tau* appears beneath the *alpha* of *Θυγατράσι*.

512. Row I, third step from east. 0.32 m. wide, 0.06 m. lower than No. 511. Inscription in two lines, much broken. Letters 0.015—0.02 m.

ΕΙΤ' ΧΛΑΝΝΙΟC
// Η ///

L. 1. *Σηλάννιος* — name not hitherto known, though a similar name *Σηλανναια* occurs in No. 542. To the west of this step is one 0.85 m. long, broken and uninscribed. It projects 0.20 m. beyond the others to the east.

513. Row I, fifth step from east. Step 1.28 m. long and in line with next step to east. Well worked stone with projecting overhang. Inscription between incised lines 0.99 m. apart. Letters 0.03 m. high

ΑΝΤ ΖΑΒΕΙΝΑC ΝΙΚΑΝΟΡΟC ΑΝΗ
ΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΑΜΜΙΑΙ ΙC[Ι]ΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙ
ΚΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ (vac)

L. 1. *Ζαβεινῶς* — found here several times (Cumont, 37, 18; *Rep. I*, R. 17).

L. 1. *Νικάνωρ* — this name has been found 92 A. D. (*Rep. III*, D. 159), 121 A. D. (*Pa. X Rep. II*) and 129 A. D. (Cumont, 79). It has also been found in several undated graffiti, but this appears to be the earliest dated occurrence, just 50 years, approximately two generations anterior to the next earliest date.

L. 2. *Ἀμμία* — Only occurrence here. Cf. Wuthnow, p. 20.

L. 2. *Ἰσίδωρος* — The same name though with the spelling *Εἰσίδωρος* was found by Cumont (38).

514. Row I, sixth step from east. Step 1.06 m. long with slight overhang and molding at side 0.06 m. wide. Letters 0.015—0.03 m. high

ΕΤΟΥC ΘΜΤ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΑ ΠΙΝΑCΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ
ΔΗΠΗΤΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ ΑΙ ΠΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΕC (vac)

At approximately the same time (35—36 A. D.) the same family was dedicating a seat in the Temple of Artemis (Cumont, 66). We know that *Ἀρτεμιδώρα* was the wife of *Μηνόφιλος* and that *Δημητρία*

was their daughter, but this is the first mention of Ἀπολλωνία and the first occurrence of the name at Dura.

515. Row I, seventh step from east. Step 0.22 m. long, partly blocked by step to door and by plaster. Upper letters on right much defaced. Letters about 0.025 m. high.

ΤΙΠΩΝΑΕΣΣΗ ΤΗΕ
ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
ΔΕ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗ
ΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ (vac)

All the names in this inscription are already well known and all occur repeatedly in this same room. Who this Ἀμμώνιος was we cannot be sure, though it is conceivable that he may be the son of Lysanias (No. 539) and the grandson of Ἀθηνόδωρος, Τιμώνασσα's husband's father. The inscription is interesting, however, in that Ἀπολλώνιος is credited with another wife Ἀθηνοδόρα (No. 545). Inasmuch as the dedication to the latter is made in δκτ (12—13 A. D.), the earliest date in the temple, it is reasonable to suppose that this is of later date and Τιμώνασσα was the second wife. If she really were the daughter of Ἀμμώνιος, son of Λυσανίας, she would be very young at the time when her great-uncle-husband was already an old man.

That this Ἀμμώνιος did have a daughter Τιμώνασσα we discover from (No. 530) dated ζτ. The double seat needs no explanation, inasmuch as there are in the temple several other examples of the same kind, and the fact that in the one (No. 530) her ancestry is so well set forth may account for the appearance of the name of her father only in the other. Perhaps this was purchased by her husband; the other by her father; or perhaps the dated inscription dates from before her marriage; the other from a later date.

516. Row II, first step to east. 1.26 m. long, occupies same space as three steps below. No molding. Inscription 0.81 m. long. Letters 0.015—0.025 m. high.

ΘΙΥ ΑΡΤΕΠΙΣΙΟΥ ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΑΙΩΣΑΠΕΞΟΣ ΟΤΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΟΦΙΛΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΗΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ (vac)

L. I. Αιωσαμμος—Is this another form of a name found by Cumont, 97: Ἀνωσάμμος or Ἀνωσάμιμος?

L. I. Ὀταίνετος—Wuthnow, p. 90 cites many names beginning Οται.

L. 2. Πατροφίλα is a name already known at Dura (Cumont, 62) and again in this same room (No. 534) but this is the first occurrence of Πατροφίλα, daughter of Philip.

L. 2. Φίλιππος — curiously enough until this year was never found at Dura. It occurs also in a graffito on a fragment of green plaster No. 450 *e* Φίλιππος Ἀπολλωνίου. In view of the importance of the Ἀθηνώδωρος family in the temple (their name was also found scratched on the same piece of plaster) among whose sons was a certain Ἀπολλώνιος, we may have here a member of the same family. The date suits exactly.

517. Row II, second step from east. Step 0.48 m. long, 0.185 m. high. Set on 0.10 m. of plaster. Projects 0.105 m. beyond No. 516. Letters 0.015 m. high. Last line much weathered.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΗΟΤ ΠΕΡΙΤΙΟΥ ΠΟΙΤΗ
ΡΕΧΕΙΠΑΝΝΑΙΑΙ ΣΙΝΝΑΝΑΙΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΑΧΑΒΟΥΣ ΑΒΟΥΙΛΙΠΟΥ
[ΓΥΝ]ΑΙΚΟΣ

L. 1. ΠΟΙΤΗ — It has been suggested that this word may be τρίτη. If so, this is the first case in which the day of the month has been spelled out.

L. 2. Ῥεξιμάννια occurs here for the first time, though a masculine form Ῥεξιμναιος was found in a dedication to Azzanathkona (No. 480). The form Ῥαξιμναιος also occurs in the Temple of Aphlad (No. 455).

L. 2. Σιννάνας — Also occurs for the first time. The name is undoubtedly a combination of the goddess' name Νανναία with the root found in such names as Σιννα, Σιννας, Wuthnow, p. 109.

L. 3. τῆς — the confusion of cases, dative or genitive, is worthy of notice.

L. 3. Ἀχάβους — This name has already occurred several times, the genitive form being either Ἀχάβου (Cumont, 7) or Ἀχάβους (Cumont, 127, 6). Here the form is doubtful, sufficient space remaining for a *sigma*, which, however, cannot be read with certainty.

L. 3. Ἀβουίλιμ — This name is by no means clear. The same name occurs *Rep. III, D. 153*.

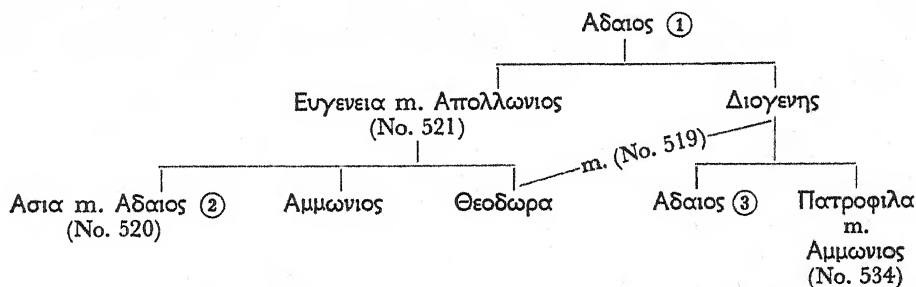
518. Row II, third step from east. Single seat 0.41 m. long. 0.10 m. high set on a layer of plaster 0.22 m. high. Left side completely destroyed. Letters 0.0075—0.015 m.

ΕΤΟΥ]Ε ΔΟΤ [Ξ]ΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ
 Κ ... ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ
 ΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
 (vac) ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

519. Row II, fourth step from east. Step 0.70 m. long. Inscription just beneath top border. Letters 0.01—0.015 m. high, painted red. This and steps to left on same level as one just east of them.

ΕΤΟΥΕ ΔΟΤ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩ
 ΡΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ Η ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗ
 ΤΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ (vac)

L. 1. The name Θεοδώρα occurs only once before, in Mr. Johnson's restoration of Cumont, 107, probably the name of a member of the same family, perhaps even the great-aunt of our Θεοδώρα. All the other names occur frequently. Θεοδώρα is probably the daughter of Εὐγένεια (No. 521); she marries her uncle Διογένης, and is herself, perhaps, the mother of Ἀδαῖος (No. 535) and Πατροφίλα (No. 534). With the aid of those inscriptions the following table may be constructed:



520. Row II, fifth step from east. Step 1.155 m. long with border of 0.12 m. at each end, 0.03 at top. Height 0.26 m. Letters very clear, painted red 0.015—0.03 m. high.

ΕΤΟΥΕ ΔΟΤ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ ΑΣΙΑΕ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ
 ΑΔΑΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

L. 1. Though the name Ἀσία occurs twice in this room (No. 539) it is found here for the first time. She is a sister of Τιμώνασσα of No. 523

and No. 525 and a sister-in-law of the Θεοδώρα who occupied the adjoining seat.

521. Row II, sixth step from east. Step 0.35 m. long, 0.275 m. high. Inscription in red. Letters 0.01—0.015 m. high.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΤ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ
Η ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ (vac)

L. 1. The name Εὐγένεια occurs twice before (Cumont, 58 and 60), once with the spelling Εὐγενία. She marries her cousin, her father Ἀπολλώνιος being the brother of her husband's father Ἀδαίος. She is probably the mother of the children shown in the table (No. 519).

522. Row III, second step from east. The first step 1.16 m. long and 0.32 m. high has no inscription. Second step 0.55 m. long, 0.22 m. high, has a molding varying on the three sides from 0.015—0.04 m. Red letters 0.015—0.02 m. high.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΥ ΔΙΟΥ ΑΝΗΓΕΙ
ΡΕΝ ΠΑΧΧΙΑΙΟΣ ΣΑΛΑΙΝ
ΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΧΧΙΑ[ΙΟΥ]Υ ΣΑΛΑ[ΠΙ]
ΠΑΡΑ ΡΑΓΕΙΒΗΛΟ[Υ] ΤΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΗ
ΑΥΤΟΥ (vac)

L. 2. and 4. Ῥαγείβηλος Μαχχισαίου occurs in an inscription of 159 A. D. found by Cumont (No. 2) and Ῥαγείβηλος Μα- was found again in a graffito from the Palmyrene Gate (*Rep. II*, D. 136). We are faced there with two possibilities: either Σαλαμαρα and Μαχχισαίος had a son named Ῥαγείβηλος who 65 years later made the dedication on the clay plaque found near the Tower of the Palmyrene Gods (Cumont, 2) or Ῥαγείβηλος was himself the son of Μαχχισαίος, the elder, in which case our inscription shows again a case of cousin marriage. The latter is, however, scarcely possible if the date of Cumont, 2 is really 159 A. D. though it is very reasonable, if, as M. Cumont himself suggests, the doubtful date is 100 years earlier. I shall consider the matter at greater length later.

L. 2. Σαλαίνος — I can find no record of this name. In view, however, of the fact that the name begins in the same way as that of Cumont, 115, which is a dedication to the wife or daughter-in-law of

Ῥεγείβηλος, I venture to suggest that the names may be the same and that this is another example of marriage between close relations. If so, the lady, perhaps granddaughter of Σαλαΐνος, may have married her great uncle, Ῥεγείβηλος himself, or more probably her cousin, son of Ρεγείβηλος. The date 61 A. D. makes either reading not improbable.

L. 3. Σαλα[μ]μαρα — This name has not been found hitherto, though its elements are common. Cf. Ναβούμαρι (Cumont, 44, 5) and Μαραβήλ, *Rep. IV*, 240, 245, etc. There are indications of a *mu* at the end of the line, indicating either that the name had two *mus* or that the stone cutter began a letter and reconsidering the spacing began again in the next line. At any rate, this *mu* alone of the letters of the inscription shows no trace of red.

523. Row III, third step from east. 1.12 m. long, 0.245 m. high. This is one of a group of three steps, No. 524 and No. 525 being the other two, dedicated together and cut to represent a single slab, the center (No. 524) having no side molding and each of the others a molding only at the end. No. 523 and No. 525 are duplicates. Letters 0.012 m. very clear.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΤ ΖΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ ΤΙΜΩΝΑΣΣΗΣ ΠΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΝΥΜΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ (vac)

L. 1. This Τιμώνασσα is a sister of Ῥασία (No. 520). Both families are well known at Dura.

524. Row III, fourth step from east. Step 0.54 m. long, 0.26 m. high. Moulding at top 0.03 m. wide. Letters 0.01—0.015 m. In bad condition.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΤ ΖΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΑ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΝΥΜΟΥ
////////// ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ (vac)

The third line is too badly broken to yield any certain reading.

L. 1. Σωσιπάτρα is a common name at Dura. Cumont (83) mentions Σωσιπάτρα, wife of Ῥαλλώνιος, undoubtedly the mother of Σωσιπάτρα, daughter of Ῥαλλώνιος (Cumont, 88) who is probably identical with our Σωσιπάτρα, though this is the first time in which the name of the grandfather occurs. The third line may perhaps be supplied, following Cumont and Johnson (*Rep. II*, p. 169), Λυσίου τοῦ

Σελεύκου γυνή. This reading has powerful support in the fact that the inscriptions is one of three erected together, probably by relatives. What the relationship is is not clear. Τιμώνασσα and Ἀσία must be daughters of Σέλευκος (33) (J. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, p. 18 and Pl. II), or of Σέλευκος (40) and consequently either grand-daughters or sisters-in-law of Σωσιπάτρα (39). The dates make it appear probable, however, that they are of the same generation and that Λυσίας (34) is the brother of Τιμώνασσα and Ἀσία.

L. 2. The Δάνυμος-Ἀπολλώνιος family is discussed (No. 533).

525. Row III, fifth step from east, 1.11 m. long, 0.255 m. high. Last of the group of three (No. 523 and No. 524) and exact repetition of No. 523.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΤ ΖΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ ΤΙΜΩΝΑΣΣΗΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ
ΤΗΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΝΥΜΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ (vac)

This inscription is an exact duplicate of 523.

526. Row III, sixth step from east. Unbordered step beside fluted altar, 0.36 m. high by 0.32 m., the lower 0.18 m. being of plaster now fallen. Rough letters 0.025 m. high.

ΑΜΑΘΚΟΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ[Ι
ΟΥ Η[Γ]ΥΝΗ

L. 1. The same name hitherto unknown occurs again 532. It appears to be a combination of two roots, Ἀμαθ which is of frequent occurrence in such names as Μαθθάναθ (Cumont, 55; *Rep. IV*, 192) and Ἀμαθαλλάθης, Wuthnow, p. 18 and of Kona which appears to be the name of a god and occurs elsewhere in Ζαβίδκονος and Ἀζζα-νάθκονα Nos. 453, 504. The meaning is probably "Gift of Kona". The end of the inscription had already disappeared when the room was excavated.

527. Row IV, east step. 1.10 m. long, 0.29 m. high. No molding. Very deep coarse letters 0.055 m. high, never finished.

ΕΤΟΥ' Β

528. Row IV, second from east. Step 0.62 m. long, 0.305 m. wide. No molding. Only two letters in second line are clear.

A
ΗΛΙΟΥΔ [ΩΡΟΥ]

529. Row IV, third step from east. Step 1.01 m. long, 0.28 m. high with molding on three sides varying from 0.03—0.06 m. in width. Letters 0.02 m. high, well but irregularly cut.

ΕΤΟΣ ΕΟΤ ΠΕΡΙΤΙΟΥ ΤΙΜΩΝΑΣΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛ
ΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΥΚΟ
Ε

L. 1. Note the misspelling of ἔτους and of γυναικός in l. 2. This inscription is interesting in that we have already met with a wife of Ἀπολλώνιος, son of Ἀδαῖος whose seat was dedicated only one year before this one (No. 521).

530. Row IV, fourth step from east, 0.29 m. high of which 0.185 m. of plaster. Letters 0.025 m. high.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΟΤ ΖΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ ΤΙΠΩΝΑΣΣΑ
ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ

No trace of the last two letters is visible on the stone, a fact which suggests a third line, but careful examination shows that unless the inscription were actually split at the time of setting the stone we have it in its finished state. In that case it must be supposed that a τοῦ was omitted before Ἀθηνόδωρος. The relationship is then quite in accord with what is already known of the family. The lady mentioned is possibly the same as in No. 515.

531. Row IV, fifth step from east, 0.82 m. long, 0.24 m. high. Double molding, each with incised line and rounded edge forming overhang of 0.17 m. Letters 0.025—0.04 m. high.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΟΤ ΒΟΚΑΝΑΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΥ
ΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΧΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

L. 1. First occurrence of Βοκάναια which however, may be the same as Θεοκάναιος, cf. Nos. 542, 546.

L. 1. Παυσανίας has been found once before (Cumont, 99). The date makes it appear very probable that they are the same man.

L. 3. Ἀντίμαχος has never before been found at Dura.

532. Row IV, sixth step from east, 1.00 m. long, 0.27 m. high. Border 0.055 m. at top. Letters 0.04—0.08 m. high, very irregular.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΟΤ ΑΜΑΘ ΟΥ
 (vac) ΚΟΝΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ (sic)
 (vac) ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΓΟ[Ρ]ΟΥ

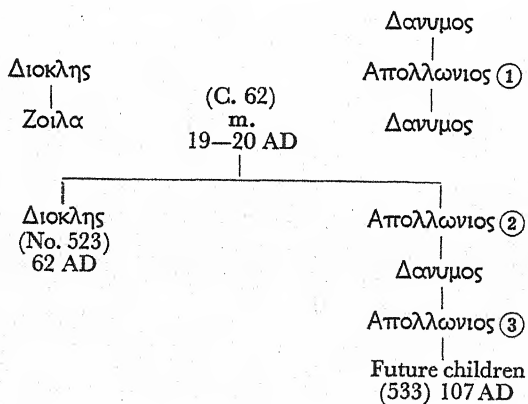
L. 1. Ἀμάθκονα. Another seat of an Amathkona is immediately below this one.

L. 3. Διαγόρος — occurs only once before in a graffito from the tower of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods (*Rep. II*, H 45).

533. Row V, east step, 1.69 m. long, occupying same space as two steps below. Straight, well cut molding 0.115 m. deep. Step 0.35 m. high, 0.12 m. being plaster. Letters 0.02—0.035 m. high, painted red.

ΘΙΥ ΑΡΤΕΠΙΣΙΕΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΔΑΝΥΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
 ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΛΛΟΠΕΝΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ

These are members of a family found by Cumont (62) in an inscription of 19—20 A. D. The same names occur again in Nos. 523, 524, 525 dated in the year 62 A. D. The Δάνυμος of these inscriptions is probably of the third generation of the genealogical table given by Cumont (p. 415) in which case his two sons, Διοκλῆς and Ἀπολλώνιος, known to us from Nos. 523, 524, 525, have respectively the names of their maternal and paternal grandfathers. In 91, 40 years later, Ἀπολλώνιος who makes the dedication of this inscription is probably a young man, still unmarried, probably Ἀπολλώνιος (3) of the following table constructed with the aid of that given by M. Cumont.



534. Row V, second step from east. Inscription on two stones, one to east 1.15 m. long, other 0.395 m., 0.26 m. high, 0.03 m. molding with incised line at top, left and right 0.055 and 0.06 m. respectively. Letters 0.025—0.04 m. very clear.

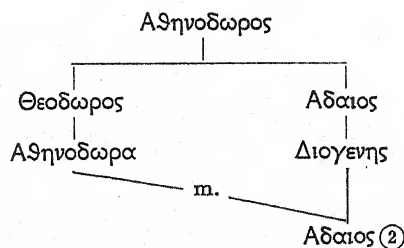
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΘΟΤ | ΔΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΦΙΛΑΣ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 ΑΔΑΙΟΥ ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

Though the name Πατροφιλα was known to Cumont (62) and occurs also in No. 516, this is the first mention of this particular lady. She is also a member of the Ἀθηνώδωρος family and marries her first cousin. Ἀδαῖος of No. 535 is her brother.

535. Row V, third and fourth steps from east. Step to east 0.41 m. by 0.23 m., that to the west 1.00 m. by 0.21 m., 0.04 m. molding with incised line at top and sides. Letters 0.02—0.04 m. very clear.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΘΟΤ ΔΙΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΑ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ
 ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

L. 1. The name Ἀθηνώδωρα appears in this room for the first time and four different women of that name are here mentioned (Nos. 545, and 543). Ἀθηνώδωρος is known from other inscriptions (Nos. 529, 543) to have had a son, Ἀδαῖος. His grandson Ἀδαῖος (2) is, then, the husband of his father's first cousin. So the table of No. 519 may be carried back another generation.



The last step in Row V is 0.89 m. long, set back 0.16 m. and bears no inscription.

536. Row VI, east step 0.885 m. long, 0.33 m. high. Plaster border 0.065 m. wide partly on next step. Letters 0.015—0.025 m. high.

ΘΙΥ ΑΡΕΠΙΣΙΟΥ (sic) ΑΝΗΓΕΡΕΝ (sic) ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΣΕΛΕΥ
ΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΕΥΘΥΝΙΚΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΑΙ
ΤΑΙΣ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΑΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ (vac)

L. 2. Εὐθυνική is a name already well known though neither this Εὐθυνική nor Ἀθηνοδώρα has been mentioned before. They are the daughters of the marriage mentioned (No. 537).

537. Row VI, second step from east, 0.77 m. long, 0.345 m. high. No molding. Letters 0.015—0.035 m. high.

ΘΙΥ ΑΡΤΕΠΙΣΙΟΥ ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩ
ΡΟΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΙΠΩ
ΝΑΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΗΙ ΟΠΟΠΑΤΡΙΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΑΔΕΛΦΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΝΑΙΚΙ (vac)

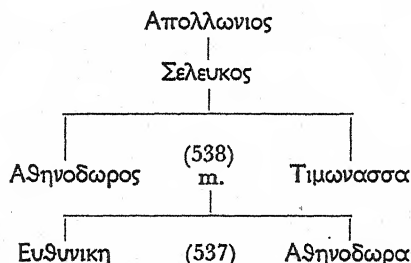
This dedication is one of two made by the same man. Cf. No. 536.

L. 2. Another Τιμώνασσα, daughter of Σέλευκος is mentioned by Cumont (106). Note the mistake in spelling made by the stone cutter.

L. 3. Ὀμοπατρία ἀδελφή — is common in these inscriptions. See Cumont, 65 and 68.

L. 4. The carelessness or ignorance of the stone cutter is again manifest in the misspelling of γυναίκι.

The relationship is, then as follows:

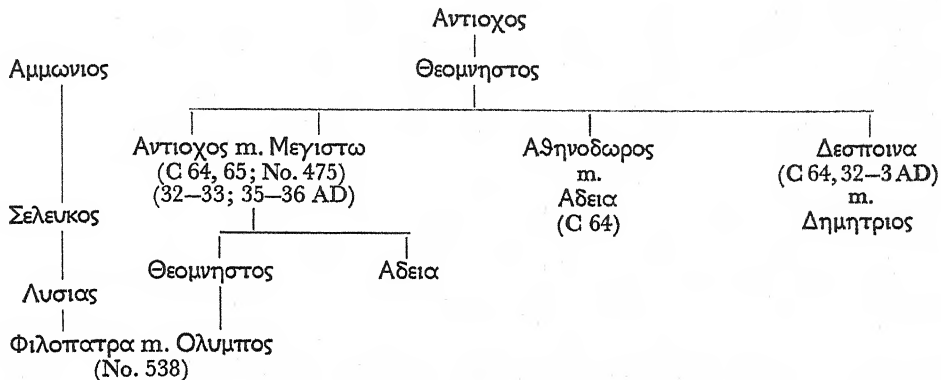


538. Row VI, third step from east, 1.38 m. long, 0.30 m. high. Plaster molding 0.05 m. wide covers joint with next stone at left. Letters 0.02—0.025 m. high.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΘΙΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ
Α]Μ[ΜΩ]ΝΙΟΥ ΟΛΥΜΠΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

L. 1. Three different Φιλοπάτρα's were found by M. Cumont, none of them the same as this one.

L. 2. The Θεόμνηστος — Ἀντίοχος family is already known to us from its dedications in the Temple of Artemis (Cumont, 64 and 65) in the year 32—33 A. D. and its dedication a couple of years later in this same room (No. 544). The difference in time, however, makes it impossible that the Θεόμνηστος of the inscription is the same as that of Cumont and No. 544. It is possible that the relationship may be reconstructed as follows:



L. 2. Ὀλυμπος is a well known name.

539. Row VI, fourth step from east and last inscribed step. 1.46 m. long, 0.37 m. high. Molding 0.045 m. wide at top. Letters 0.015—0.035 m. high, on plaster.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΘΙΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥ ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΖΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ
ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΑΣΙΑΙ ΤΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ

All the names are known, Ἀσία occurring elsewhere in this room (No. 520). Since Λυσάνιος, son of Ἀθηνοδωρος is known to have had a son Ἀμμώνιος (No. 530) it is probable that we have here the fifth generation of the same family.

540. Row VII, first and second steps east. 1.30 and 1.34 m. long, 0.33 m. high. No border. Letters poorly cut in plaster and largely destroyed.

ΑΙ..... | ΤΗ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ...Δ...ΙΕΛΙΗΕ

541. Row VII, third step from east. 0.92 m. long, 0.39 m. high.

No molding. Letters 0.02—0.03 m. high, partly cut in stone, partly in plaster only. Painted red, very irregular.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΘΙΥ ΟΛΩΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑΣ ΝΙΚΑΝΟΡΟΣ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΔΕ ΡΗΤΑΓΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΑΙΟΥ

L. 1. Ὀλώϊος for this form cf. No. 511, Cumont, 2, l. 1 and *Rep. III*, D. 159, l. 2.

L. 1. Θεοδώρα occurs only once before (Cumont, 107 as read by Mr. Johnson, *Rep. II*, p. 170.)

L. 1. Νικάνωρ Cf. No. 513.

L. 2. Ῥητάγθος for this name I can find no parallels.

L. 3. Ἀνταῖος was found once before at Dura (Cumont, 68). Beyond this step is an uninscribed, plastered step and a vacant space.

South Side.

542. Row I, east step. 1.15 m. long, 0.31 m. high, formed of two stones. Narrow molding 0.03 m. Only one line of inscription on right.

ΘΙΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥ ΔΕΠΟΙΗΕΝ ΡΑΓΗΑΔΑΔΟΣ ΘΟΚΑΝΑΙΟΥΤΟΥ [ΝΑ
ΒΟΥΒΑΡΑΚΟΥ ΣΗΛΑΝΝΑΙΑΙ ΤΗΙ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ ΑΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΙΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΒΑΡΧΑΛΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ
ΑΥΤΟΥ

L. 1. Ῥαγήάδαδος occurs elsewhere. It is found together with Ναβουβαρ- in an ink inscription on Block 55 in the Tower of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods (E 2). A man of that name scratched it upon the wall of the House of the Archives (*Rep. IV*, 299) in 11—10 B. C. A daughter of a Ῥαγήάδαδος, probably the same, dedicated a step in the Temple of Artemis 61—62 A. D. (Cumont, 114, also *Rep. II*, D. 60). This man must be a descendant of the earlier Ῥαγήάδαδος.

L. 1. Θεοκαναῖος. This name occurs here for the first time. It may, however, be the same as Βοκαναῖα (No. 531).

L. 1. Ναβουβάρακος has not been found hitherto, though its roots are common; (a) Ναβου in such names as Ναβουιάβου (Cumont, 56), Ναβουμάλαχος (*Rep. II*, D. 32) and (b) Βαράχος in Cumont, VII, 3. In this season Ναβουβάρακος occurs in Nos. 386 and 546 (here in a list of names with Ῥαγήάδαδος and one which may be Βαρχαλβος) and in the form Ναβουβαράκης (No. 508).

L. 2. Σηλάνναια This is the first occurrence of this name which, must, however, be related to another name new this season Σηλάννιος (No. 512). Cf. also a similar compound Σιννάνναια 517.

L. 3. Αδία does not occur in this spelling but Cumont (64) contains Ἀδεῖα which is certainly the same name.

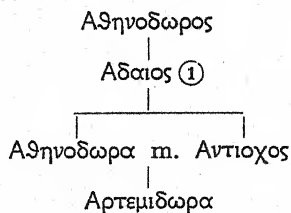
L. 3. Βαρχάλβας is frequent (*Rep. II*, D. 78, 80, 81, also 372). The same names occur again in 546 which is directly above this step.

543. Row I, second step from east. 0.90 m. long, 0.245 m. high. Slight overhang at top. Letters 0.025 m. high.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΟΤ ΖΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΑΣ ΑΔΑ
ΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΑΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΤΕΠΙ
ΔΩΡΑ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΘΥΓ

L. 1. Ἀθηνοδώρα seems to have been a favorite name in the family being held by the wife of Ἀπολλώνιος who may possibly have been his sister and have been given the name of the father, by the daughter of his brother Ἀδαῖος (No. 543) and by a daughter of a third brother, Θεόδωρος (No. 535).

L. 2. This Ἀδαῖος is Ἀδαῖος (2) of the tables accompanying Nos. 519 and 535. Ἀντίοχος is a brother of Διογένης. It is probable that he had a son also named Ἀδαῖος the combination having been found in a graffito from the Palmyrene Gate (*Rep. II*, D. 117). We may now amplify our previous tables as follows:



L. 3. This is only the second person named Ἀρτεμιδώρα so far found at Dura.

544. Row I, third step from east 1.13 m. long, 0.33 m. high. Border on three sides 0.03—0.055 m. Letters 0.02—0.03 m. painted red.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΜΤ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΜΝΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΕΙΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΜΝΗΤΟΥ
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΑΣ

All of these names were found by Cumont (64 and 65) in the Temple of Artemis, from which we learn that Μεγιστώ was the wife of her brother Ἀντίοχος and that Ἀδεία their daughter married her other brother Ἀθηνοδωρος. The same family dedicates No. 538 but they are of a later generation.

L. 2 and 3. This is the first instance of Εὐρωπαῖος as applied to women. Cf. the discussion on page 16.

545. Row I, fourth step from east. Stone divided, left half 0.50 m. long, 0.24 m. high, right 0.38 m. by 0.19 m. Molding 0.04 m. wide. Letters 0.025—0.015 m. on right half. Lower part has been blocked up by the plaster floor. The last letters were on a thin coat of plaster and practically effaced.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΚΓ Λ ΙΙΙΙ
ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΟΥ
ΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ

This date 12—13 A. D. is the earliest date in the temple.

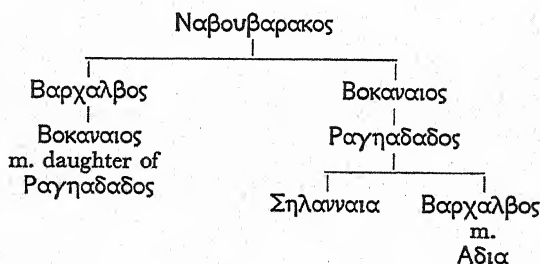
L. 1. The letter at the end of the line is probably a Δ in which case the month is Δῖος or Δύστηρος.

L. 2. Ἀθηνοδώρα, as has been noted (No. 515), was probably the first wife and was succeeded by her grand-niece.

546. Row II, east step, 1.24 m. long, 0.22 m. high. Border 0.045 m. wide. Letters 0.02—0.025 m. high, partly cut in stone, partly in plaster. Painted red and much destroyed.

ΘΙΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥ Δ ΒΟΚΑΝΑΙΟΣ ΒΑΡΧΑΛΒΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΒΟΥ
ΒΑΡΑΚΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΡΑΓΗΑΔΑΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΟΚΑΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΑΒ — ΒΑΡΑΚΟΥ

All of these names occur also in No. 542 which is on the step immediately below this one and with the aid of which the following table may be constructed:



The wife is, then, either Σηλωνναια or an unknown sister. The former case is not impossible since we have already encountered an example of a double dedication to the same lady (Nos. 523, 525).

547. Row II, second step from left, 0.99 m. long, 0.30 m. high, set back 0.14 m. from one to east and 0.03 m. higher. Letters 0.02—0.025 m. high poorly cut on left half only of stone which was obviously split at time of cutting.

ΛΥΣΙΠΠΑΙ ΓΥ[ΝΑ]ΚΙ - -
ΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΕΤΡΑΤΟΥ

L. 1. Lysippa occurs here for the first time, though Lysippos is already known (Cumont, 92).

L. 2. Νικόστρατος is common (Cf. Cumont and *Rep. II*) but no son of the family with a name ending in -δωρος has yet been found.

548. Row II, third step from left. This is one of a group of three seats apparently dedicated together and comprising also No. 528.

Unfortunately, none is dated but accumulative evidence drawn from the occurrence of the same names elsewhere tends to show that they belong to the second half of the first century.

ΑΘΗΝΟΦΙΛΑΕ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ

L. 1. Ἀθηνοφίλα — a lady of the same ancestry was found during the season of 1929—30 on a dedication from the Temple of Atargatis (D. 144) dated, in the opinion of the authors ηπ, 76 A. D. That our lady is probably the same appears very likely after a consideration of the following inscription.

549. ΕΥΒΟΥΛΑ

ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ

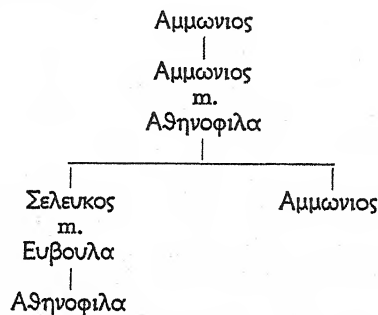
Εὐβουλα. This name was found on a seat in the *salle aux gradins* of the Temple of Artemis (Cumont, 101). She was the wife of Seleucus and the dedication also includes her daughters, names unknown. Another lady of the same name, daughter of Σέλευκος and wife of Λυσίας was found in an inscription of the same year 61—62 A. D. (Cumont, 118). Inasmuch as neither the latter nor her husband has, as far as can be determined, an Ἀμμώνιος among their immediate ancestry, she cannot be the one referred to here. Inasmuch, then, as the steps were certainly dedicated together and, as the names indicate, by members of the same family, Εὐβουλα bears some close relationship to Ἀθηνο-

φίλα. Inasmuch, also, as a person of that name was married to a Seleucus and had daughters, of whom Ἀθηνοφίλα might be one, I venture to suggest that Εὐβουλα is the mother of Ἀθηνοφίλα and that the inscription may be restored somewhat as follows:

Εὐβουλα ἡ Σελεύκου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου γυνή. Starting at the end of Ἀμμωνίου and directly above it is the following:

ΔΙΟΥ ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΠΠΩΝ ΙΟΥ [ΤΟΥ] ΑΠΠΩΝΙΟΥ ΕΚΘΕΜΗΕΣΑ[Ι

This reading is extremely doubtful but there is no doubt of the repetitions of Ἀμμώνιος, of whom the latest makes a dedication for a lady whose name begins εκ and ends, probably ησσα. Ἀμμώνιος, is then, a brother of Σέλευκος and we may amplify the known table as follows:



Σέλευκος, son of Ἀμμώνιος appears elsewhere, C. 95, dated possibly about the year 60—61 A. D. and *Rep. II*, H. 4, a dedication from the Temple of Palmyrene Gods made by Ζενοκράτης his son and dated 50—51 A. D. This Ζενοκράτης may, then, be a brother of Ἀθηνοφίλα.

550. Row III, east step, one of two narrow steps together occupying the place of one. 0.85 by 0.36 m. Slab 0.04 m. thick extending 0.015 m. beyond the plaster base. Letters 0.015—0.025 m. high, painted red.

ΘΙΥ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ

Both names are already known at Dura. The two were found together in a graffito from the Tower of the Palmyrene Gods, *Rep. II*, H. 34, though in the reverse order. The same Ἀρχέλαιος also dedicates the step immediately above (No. 553).

551. Row III, right end of east step, 0.06 m. lower than left side of step. Coarse letters 0.05 m. high.

AB /// ΑΙΔΟΣ
THE ΕΠΑΝΩ

L. 1. The name is doubtful as is the corresponding name in the inscription to which this refers (No. 554).

L. 2. Τῆς ἐπάνω. The first occurrence of this expression.

552. Row III, third step from left. 0.9 by 0.33 m., projecting 0.26 m. beyond the step to east.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΑΤ ΔΗΠΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΡΑΙΠΙΕ
ΒΑΡΝΑΙΟΥ ΗΓΥΝΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ

Δημήτριος and Διόδωρος are both names common at Dura, though not hitherto found together.

Ῥαίμις is new but Βαρναῖος is of frequent occurrence (C. 120, 121, 127, etc.).

553. Row IV, east end. Letters cut in stone, painted red.

ΘΙΥ ΖΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΑΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ

554. Row IV, right end of east step.

AB // ΑΙΔΟΣ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΪΔΟΥ

L. 1. This is obviously the same name as in No. 551.

555. Row IV, center right, 0.8 m. from west wall. Letters 0.025 m. high, painted red, only visible in center and at right end.

Τ. ΤΙΠΩΝΑΣΣΑ
[Ε]ΕΛΕΥ[ΚΟΨΤΟΥΣ]ΕΛΕΥ
Α]ΠΟΛΛΩΝ[ΙΟΥ] ΓΥΝΗ

No Τιμώνασσα daughter and granddaughter of Σέλευκος has yet been found. Since, however, the *tau* which is undoubtedly the concluding figure of a date places her in the first century A. D., she may

have been a daughter of the line represented also by Τιμώνασσα of Nos. 525 and 523. Possibly she and the wife of Ἀπολλώνιος son of Ἀδαῖος (No. 529) were the same person.

Prof. C. H. Kraeling has kindly collected the following Semitic equivalents of some of the new names found on the steps.

Σαλαμιλαις	שלם-אלי
Σηλαννιος	שאל-חני
Σηλανναια	שאל-חני
Αιωσαμοσ	חיא-שמש
Ρεχειμανναια	רחם-חני
Σινναναιος	חני-?
Σαλαινος	שלי
Σαλα[μ]μαρα	שלם-מר
Αμαθκονα	אמף-קוא

VI.

THE PRAETORIUM

BY C. HOPKINS AND H. T. ROWELL

I. THE BUILDING.

Our material for a comparative study of a Roman camp or any one of its component parts can be conveniently divided into two parts: literary and archaeological. The literary documents pertain almost exclusively to *castra aestiva* or temporary camps, the archaeological monuments to *castra stativa* or permanent garrisons. Due to the system of border defense conceived by Augustus and carried out to its logical conclusion by Hadrian, the permanent garrison gradually became the usual type of Roman camp under the empire, the home of the Roman soldier while performing his principal duty of protecting the *limes*. It was only during campaigns or expeditions into hostile territory that the temporary *aestiva* or *Marschlager* played an important part.

The very nature of the temporary camp compels recourse to literary documents for information concerning it. Pitched to shelter troops for a night, it was set afire on being abandoned,¹ and left few or no traces to be detected and interpreted by future archaeologists. On occasion, however, it might be invested with a semi-permanent character as when a town was being subjected to a lengthy siege, and considerations of security and comfort led the besiegers to strengthen and embellish their encampment beyond the needs of an evening's halt. Such was the case at Masada to which we shall return later.²

Our main source of information in regard to the imperial *castra aestiva* is the work on castrametation attributed to Hyginus Gromaticus.³ Opinions vary as to the period when this work was composed,⁴ but for our immediate subject, the question is almost purely academic. Both von Domaszewski⁵

¹ Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, III, 5, 4.

² Brünnow-Domaszewski, *P. A.* III, p. 221 ff.

³ A. von Domaszewski, *Hygini Gromatici Liber de Munitionibus Castrorum*. Leipzig, 1887. In citing Hyginus, we shall refer to this edition throughout.

⁴ Domaszewski, *Hyginus*, p. 69 ff., assigns it to the time of Trajan; Jung, *Wiener Studien*, 11, p. 153 ff., to the first part of the third century; Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* VI, p. 114, to the third century.

⁵ Domaszewski, *Hyginus*, p. 39, note 1.

and E. von Nischer⁶ have warned against the common mistake of attempting to identify the camp described by Hyginus, which is a *castra aestiva*,⁷ with one of the permanent camps excavated on the borders of the empire. Furthermore, the author of the *De Munitionibus Castrorum* does not pretend to do more than describe an ideal temporary camp, arranged to shelter an arbitrary number of troops.

The same can be said of the much less technical description furnished by Josephus in his excursus on the Roman army in the *Bellum Iudaicum*.⁸ Josephus, we know, campaigned both against and with the Romans in the Jewish war, and had every opportunity to make personal observations. Hyginus, and his work shows it plainly, confesses that he drew much of his material from other writers on the same subject.⁹ In that the two men differ, yet we must treat them together in respect to the type of camp with which they deal.

These two descriptions of imperial *castra aestiva* are far from valueless, if used discreetly, in considering a *castra stativa*. Stolle, basing his observations on the plan of the *castra stativa* at Novaesium before its restoration with certain changes following the Batavian revolt of 69 A. D., remarks that it is impossible to speak of real differences between permanent and temporary camps.¹⁰ This is true insofar as the republican *castra hiberna* or winter-quarters was undoubtedly the forerunner of the imperial permanent camp.¹¹ But although the development from one type of camp to the other did not result in fundamental changes, the very nature of the *aestiva* called for the greatest possible economy in material and effort, while the *stativa*, a permanent edifice, was not only erected with a view to its character as a base of supplies and operations, but also with the comfort of the garrison in mind. Add to this that the individual plan of the permanent camp was profoundly influenced by the size and character of the garrison it was destined to shelter and the nature of the site intrusted to its protection, and it will be clear to what extent such a camp might differ from the ideal conception of Hyginus.

For the comparison of permanent camps, we have a great wealth

⁶ In Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (München, 1928), p. 541.

⁷ Domaszewski, *Hyginus*, 45: *omnes auctores sum persecutus et quidquid circa compositionem castrorum aestivalium instituerunt . . . declaravi.*

⁸ Josephus, *Bell. Iud.*, III, 5, 1 ff.

⁹ See note 7 above.

¹⁰ F. Stolle, *Das Lager und Heer der Römer* (Strassburg, 1912), p. 128.

¹¹ See Kromayer-Veith, *op. cit.*, p. 541, note 1.

of material. The systematic excavation of a large number of sites on the borders of the empire has resulted in bringing to light the remains of many garrisons.¹² As might be expected, these camps often differ in detail, but in fundamentals they betray a common origin and a common technique which are easily recognized. They will furnish us through comparison with invaluable material for understanding and interpreting the praetorium at Dura.

Before proceeding to a detailed study of our immediate subject, it is necessary to emphasize certain features of the Dura garrison peculiar to itself. In the first place, the camp was situated within a city which had long existed before the coming of the Romans. Judging from the present state of excavation, the military quarters were not separated by any enclosure from the section inhabited by the civilian element of the population. In a large sense the massive city walls took the place of the usual camp fortifications, although the camp they protected occupied but a fraction of the enclosed territory. This is in direct contradistinction to the great majority of permanent camps of which we have record, for the latter formed independent units circumscribed by their own defenses.

In fact at Dura, we have, to our knowledge, the earliest example of a Roman *castra stativa* established within the walls of a full grown city. The camp at Palmyra, dating from the time of Diocletian, presents the same phenomenon, but possesses little value for the purpose of strict comparison, due to its peculiar disposition.¹³ Nevertheless, it falls within the same category as the camp at Dura, the category of camps established within the walls of pre-existing cities not to be confused with the fortified towns on the borders of the later empire which grew up within the circuit walls of earlier Roman camps, as was the case in the Hauran.

The site of Dura led naturally to this arrangement. The city proper occupied in its entirety the only strategic position for miles around, and it could hardly have occurred to the Romans to build a camp which would be dangerously exposed to attack without the city when they might establish themselves securely within.

In the second place, the character of the Dura garrison deserves our attention. It is an established fact that the city was occupied by

¹² For a selected list with bibliography of the most important camps already excavated, see Kromayer-Veith, *op. cit.*, p. 541, note 2.

¹³ See *Palmyra, Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917* (Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches, Abteilung Istanbul, Berlin, 1932), p. 85 ff., and Pl. 10.

Roman troops at the time of Lucius Verus' Parthian campaign.¹⁴ The *cohors II Ulpia Equitata* appears in an inscription dedicated to the emperor Commodus, whence it is reasonable to suppose that it was or formed part, at least, of the original force of occupation.¹⁵ It was still at Dura under Septimius Severus.¹⁶ By the reign of Septimius Severus, the *cohors XX miliaria Palmyrenorum* had joined the garrison.¹⁷ Whether the Palmyrenes supplanted the Ulpian cohort or merely reinforced it is a question which the recently found military papyri are almost certain to answer, but until these documents have been completely studied and interpreted, we must reserve judgment. In addition to these auxiliary forces, we are taught by an inscription that at least two legionary detachments (*vexillationes*) from the *IV Scythica* and the *III Cyrenaica* were stationed at Dura in 213 A. D.¹⁸ Together with the auxiliary cohort or cohorts, they constituted the *numeri*, in the general sense of the word *numerus* signifying a military unit, mentioned in the inscriptions, one from the Temple of Azzanathkona,¹⁹ the other from a place where we are inclined to locate the earlier camp.²⁰

One thing, therefore, is certain: at the time the permanent praetorium was erected, a mixed garrison occupied Dura consisting of one or more auxiliary cohorts and two or more legionary detachments.

We have examined the nature of the Dura garrison in some detail since it constitutes one of the basic reasons why we cannot expect to make an exact comparison between the Dura praetorium and the praetoria of other permanent camps. Those hitherto excavated were erected to shelter either a legion (two in the case of Vetera), an auxiliary unit, or a detachment. In regard to Novaesium, we find a significant exception.²¹ Before its destruction in 70 A. D., it was occupied by a legion and its attendant *auxilia*, probably two cohorts and an ala; on being rebuilt in the same year or the one following, quarters were not planned for the two cohorts.²² This accorded with a general policy of eliminating the *auxilia* from the legionary camps and estab-

¹⁴ Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscr. 53.

¹⁵ *Rep. I*, p. 42, and p. 43, note 1.

¹⁶ See inscription 561 below.

¹⁷ Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscr. 3 is now supplemented by a Latin papyrus which mentions the XX Palmyrenorum in A. D. 208.

¹⁸ To be published in the following report.

¹⁹ See inscription 561 below.

²⁰ *Rep. II*, p. 83, inscription H. 1.

²¹ On the history of Novaesium, see Nissen in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 111, pp. 1—96.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 82.

lishing them in small garrisons of their own which served as outposts in potentially hostile territory or as connecting links between the legionary camps. Both Carnuntum and Lambaesis, built after the restoration of Novaesium, do not contain quarters for auxiliary troops.

The praetorium of the imperial *castra stativa* is better known to us than any other building situated within its enclosing walls.²³ This is only natural in that the praetorium occupied the center of the camp, was also its most important and imposing building.

In the *castra aestivalis*, the praetorium was the tent of the commander, the official center of the camp where the day's orders were issued (in the *schola*), sacrifices made, and omens taken. With the establishment of permanent camps, the commander removed his living-quarters to an adjacent building erected to serve as his home, and exhibiting, in general, the plan and features of a Roman private house. It was more or less elaborately designed according to the rank of the commander and the inclination of his taste. The house of one of the *legati* at Vetera, a two legion camp, exemplifies the magnificence to which such a building might attain.²⁴

Von Domaszewski has objected to the use of the word *praetorium* to designate a building which no longer housed the commander.²⁵ He has proposed substituting the designation *principia* with the approval of Mommsen.²⁶ But this suggestion has not found general acceptance. Apart from the uncertainty obtaining among scholars as to the precise extent of the *principia*, a tradition of many years standing has established *praetorium* as the common designation for the central administrative building of the Roman camp, situated in a fixed position and containing the chapel of the *signa*.

Nor has this designation been limited to legionary camps. For although differing in scale and type, central buildings erected on the same fundamental lines appear as well in the small fortresses of the *limes*, manned by auxiliary troops or legionary detachments. Accordingly, we shall not hesitate to call the military building at Dura, whose close resemblance to other *praetoria* will be demonstrated below, the *praetorium*.

²³ On the praetorium in general, see Cagnat in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, s. v. *praetorium*, p. 640; *Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine*, I, p. 262 ff., and Koepp in *Germania Romana* (Bamberg, 1924), p. 15 ff.

²⁴ See *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 124, p. 134 ff., and Pl. XIX.

²⁵ See *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, IX, p. 141 ff.

²⁶ See *Ges. Schr.* III, pp. 128—133.

But before proceeding to this demonstration, a word should be said about praetoria of a different nature in order to avoid any possible confusion between two distinctive types. The official residence of the governor of a province was called the praetorium; for example the residence of Pilate at Jerusalem.²⁷ At Gortyna in Crete, the praetorium of the civil governor, excavated by an Italian expedition, has yielded a rich harvest of inscriptions of a purely civil nature.²⁸ Unfortunately, the plan of this building had not yet been published at the time this report was being written, and we cannot say to what extent the civil praetorium resembled the military.

Be that as it may, there can be no question of the military character of the Dura praetorium. We know from a Dura papyrus, as yet unpublished, that the garrison of that town was subject to the orders of Marius Maximus, governor of Coele-Syria at the beginning of the third century A. D.²⁹ Consequently, Dura fell within the borders of his province which owed its existence to the division of the old province of Syria into two parts, Coele and Phoenice, under Septimius Severus.³⁰ That the comparatively small border town of Dura-Europos was not the place of residence of the governor of Coele-Syria is too obvious to need discussion.

The praetorium at Dura, built between February 211 and February 212 A. D.,^{30a} presents a tripartite plan common not only to the legionary camp (Lambaesis), but also to the smaller fortress of the limes (Saalburg, Newstead).³¹

This type of praetorium consists of a monumental entrance which may run the entire width of the building covering the *via principalis* (as the so-called *Exerzierhalle* at Saalburg) or simply extend over the crossing of the *via principalis* and the *via praetoria* (as at Lambaesis where the entrance, formerly mistaken for the praetorium proper, stands in the form of an elaborate, rectangular archway with several passages to a side).

²⁷ Mark, XV, 16.

²⁸ See Margherita Guarducci, "Le Iscrizioni del Pretorio di Gortina" in *Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, I, p. 143 ff.

²⁹ On Marius Maximus, see Miltner in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, 28, p. 1829.

³⁰ Cf. Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria* (Princeton, 1915), pp. 87 ff. A new inscription from Palmyra indicates clearly that the division had taken place by the beginning of 195 A. D. See Ingholt in *Syria*, XIII, 3, p. 282 ff.

^{30a} See inscription 556 below.

³¹ For Lambaesis, see Cagnat, *Les Deux Camps de la Légion III^e à Lambèse*; for Saalburg, L. Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, p. 9 ff.; for Newstead, Haverfield and Macdonald, *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (Oxford, 1924), p. 141.

This entrance, in the direction of the *porta decumana*, opens on a large court (*atrium* or *forum*), surrounded by a colonnade and flanked by small rooms on three sides. The fourth side, the back of the court, affords entrance to a second, more shallow, court or hall, surrounded by small rooms of which the most important is the one in the center facing the entrance and contiguous to the rear wall of the entire building, the chapel of the *signa*.

Many camps are devoid of one of these parts. At Novaesium, both before and after the restoration of 70 A. D., the praetorium lacked a monumental entrance.³² The same seems to have been the case at Vetera and Carnuntum.³³ In the *limes* fortresses of Urspring and Wiesbaden, the second small court was omitted, the large atrium affording direct entrance to the chapel of the *signa*. Yet Urspring has an extensive entrance covering the *via principalis* which is lacking at Wiesbaden.³⁴ Thus we see that a Roman praetorium might consist of one to three parts, and that our praetorium at Dura belonged to the most elaborate type.

Our excavations revealed that the Romans, probably at the beginning of the third century, had taken over the northwest corner of the city for the encampment of their troops. The Temple of the Palmyrene Gods and the Temple of Azzanathkona had long been established in this corner of the walls; otherwise, apparently, the quarter was little developed. Under the Romans, a bath was constructed at the corner of Tenth and G Streets.³⁵ Probably at the same time between Streets D and E, and between Tenth Street and the Temple of Azzanathkona, the praetorium was erected. The Main Street of the camp, the *via principalis*, was Tenth Street which connected the bath with the praetorium and traversed the monumental entrance of the latter. The street was widened, adorned with a double colonnade, and ornamented with an arch which spanned the end of F Street, probably the main approach to this quarter of the city. One does not hesitate to place the bath in conjunction with the praetorium since both at Lambaesis and in several fortresses of the German *limes* a bathing establishment for the use of the garrison was situated within the walls of the camp proper.³⁶

³² For plans, see *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 111, pp. 33 and 89.

³³ For Vetera, see *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 122, p. 312 ff., Pl. XLI; for Carnuntum, see Kubitschek, *Führer durch Carnuntum* (Vienna, 1923), p. 147 ff.

³⁴ For plans, see *Germania Romana: Urspring*, Pl. XIII, Wiesbaden, Pl. XIV.

³⁵ See *Rep. II*, p. 61 ff.

³⁶ For Lambaesis, see Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique*, p. 514; for the *limes* fortresses, Koepf in *Germania Romana*, p. 45 ff.

At Dura, the main entrance of the praetorium projected across the *via principalis* in the form of an enclosed chamber occupying the space between the street's colonnades and containing four large doorways, one in the middle of each side. Plaster benches some half a meter high ran along the walls between the entrances. The floor had apparently been made of a layer of hardpacked pebbles perhaps linked with a thin coat of plaster. In the room fallen fragments of plaster adorned with curving red lines suggest the simple ornaments of the walls. The walls themselves were made of rubble, a construction in which the mortar predominated, a mortar made with small varicolored pebbles. Worth mentioning, perhaps, was a small plaster half column found projecting from the wall of the house just south of the vestibule. Although quite crudely cut and in poor condition it seems to have been clearly a small, un-inscribed altar. Its only decoration was a demi-pillar at each side.

From the manual ascribed to Hyginus, we learn that it was customary in the *castra aestiva* to assign *scholae* to the first cohorts of the several legions where they might receive their orders for the day. The situation of these *scholae* was *in scamno legatorum contra aquilam*.³⁷

Now, the original meaning of *schola* as a structure seems to have been a resting-place in the form of a semi-circular bench, examples of which can be seen in Pompeii today.³⁸ The apsidal niches of baths into which bathers might withdraw to rest or dry themselves were also called *scholae*. Under the empire, this designation came to be used for the meeting-places of clubs and guilds, apart from their shape or plan. Characteristic, however, were benches placed along the wall for the use of the members, which were sometimes of a semi-circular nature. With the creation of military *collegia* under Septimius Severus, *scholae* was naturally the name given to the club-rooms of these societies. A further development was the extension of the word to designate the club proper; hence, *schola tubicinum* (C. I. L., III, 10997), *schola vexillariorum* (C. I. L., III, 3524). These last must not be confused with the *schola* as *salle de rapport*.

Returning now to the *De Munitionibus*, von Domaszewski in his investigation of the Roman camps at Masada discovered two pieces of construction, one to each camp, which he does not hesitate to identify as *scholae* in the sense of Hyginus.³⁹ The form of both is semi-circular,

³⁷ Hyginus, P. 12, 20.

³⁸ On the *schola* in general, see Hug in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, II A 1, p. 618 ff., and Cagnat in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, s. v. *schola*, p. 1120 ff.

³⁹ *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, IX, p. 145 ff., and Pls. I, II.

and both, likewise, are situated on the *via principalis dextra*, opposite the praetorium. There can be no doubt but that von Domaszewski's identification is correct. Yet we must keep in mind that the camps at Masada were at best of a semi-permanent nature, built for the duration of a siege. Therefore, we must examine permanent camps for evidence of *scholae* before undertaking comparisons.

It is only at Lambaesis, a camp erected under Hadrian, that we find a structure resembling the *schola* mentioned above.⁴⁰ Remains can be seen of a semi-circular niche on the *via principalis dextra*, a few meters west of the monumental entrance to the praetorium, whose back is barely separated from the front wall of that building. Hence, the *schola* at Lambaesis is situated in a position directly opposite to that of the ones at Masada, it is not *in scamno legatorum* nor *contra aquilam*. Add to this the fact that such a structure does not occur in any other of the many permanent camps of which we have record, and its identification might seem far from certain.

On the other hand, an observation made by Cagnat helps to eliminate one of these difficulties.⁴¹ It is possible, he indicates, that for the sake of convenience this *salle de rapport* was not established *contra aquilam*, that is, within the praetorium, but kept in its original place outside of the building. This may well have been the case for there is no compelling reason why the *schola* and the *signa* should have been closely connected in a permanent camp. We can not, either, place too much emphasis on the fact that the position of the *schola* at Lambaesis differs from that of the ones at Masada, for we have already seen to what extent a permanent camp might vary in its disposition from a temporary one to say nothing of variations among those of the same nature. Finally in considering that other permanent camps were devoid of a *schola* of this sort, it occurs to us that the creation of such a building may have been a comparatively late development in the case of a permanent legionary camp. The great castra of the Rhine and Danube were all constructed before the reign of Hadrian and it is not impossible that he, one of Rome's greatest military innovators, first caused an institution which had proved its worth on the march, to be incorporated into the permanent camp of the legion. Be that as it may, the form and general position of the structure at Lambaesis remain our most persuasive argument for its identification as a *schola* where the day's orders were issued.

⁴⁰ See Cagnat, *Les Deux Camps*, p. 47, and the plan on p. 19.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Assuming, then, that a permanent Roman camp might contain this kind of *schola*, we return to Dura where a small building is situated just east of the entrance to the praetorium (E 19). It is located only two meters from the southwest corner of the main court of that building, and its position corresponds almost exactly to that of the *scholae* of Silva's camp at Masada, differing from it, and the one at Lambaesis, by occupying the middle of the *via principalis* instead of flanking one of its sides. The building is oblong, some 3.18 m. wide and 3—4 m. long, containing a doorway facing east toward the main entrance of the praetorium. Only the foundations remain but a little plaster still in place suggests that it once had the form of a small room. A short distance from it, down street D, lay the residence of the commander. In spite of its form, which is not semi-circular, the position of this room inclines us to believe that we are here in the presence of a later development of the *schola* as *salle de rapport*. Although the evidence is far from conclusive, we must abide by this conjecture until further excavations, either at Dura or elsewhere, bring a clear light to bear upon the subject.

Passing through the monumental entrance, one entered into the great court of the praetorium, adorned with a colonnade on three sides, the one to the east containing a succession of small rooms. Through comparison, their character is almost certain. They are *armamentaria*.⁴² At Lambaesis, similar rooms surrounding the main court or *atrium* of the praetorium were first identified as such by von Domaszewski on the basis of two inscriptions mentioning the *armorum custodes* and a *cur(ator) operi arm(amentarii)*.⁴³ Since his initial publication, other inscriptions have come to light confirming his opinion.⁴⁴ Moreover, this arrangement for the arms was not peculiar to Lambaesis alone. An inscription from Lanchester in Britain tells us that the emperor Gordian *principia et armamentaria conlapsa restituit*.⁴⁵ As seen clearly by Cagnat⁴⁶ a close connection existed between these two parts of the camp, and following him in identifying the *principia* with the façade of the praetorium and its adjacent buildings, we must conclude that the *armamentaria* at Lanchester were the rooms on the side of the large court in which the main entrance was situated.

⁴² On *Armamentaria* in general, see von Domaszewski in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, I, p. 1176, and Saglio in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. s. v. Armamentarium*, p. 431.

⁴³ *Korrespondenzblatt der Westd. Zeitschrift*, 1902, p. 21 ff.

⁴⁴ See Cagnat, *Les Deux Camps*, p. 45.

⁴⁵ *C. I. L.*, VII, 446.

⁴⁶ See Cagnat, *Les Deux Camps*, p. 44 ff.

In contradistinction, however, to Lambaesis where three sides of the main court are flanked with small rooms, the *armamentaria* at Dura comprised, as befitted the smaller garrison, only the series of rooms on the east, for on the west, the blank wall formed part of a structure wholly separate from the praetorium.

In addition to the central doorway, two entrances at the south end gave direct access to the court from the colonnade on the north side of Tenth street. Interesting features from an architectural point of view in the court itself were the two half columns resting against the façade of the building proper, and the double half columns on the south corners of the colonnade. Some of the columns at least had once been decorated with designs in red paint but later this ornament had been covered with a plain coat of plaster. Some six and a quarter meters from the main doorway was placed a large altar, 2.10 m. by 1.83 m. with a series of small steps leading to the top. In the position and arrangement of this altar, the local temple tradition is followed, as opposed to the usual arrangements in the Roman camps. In the latter case it was customary to place the altar in the central room at the back of the building, a room dedicated to the *signa* and the imperial cult. Possibly the corresponding room in our building once contained a smaller altar of wood, now completely destroyed, although it is possible that this large altar, occupying the commanding position in the court, took the place of the altar within the chapel, and received the sacrifices of the military cult. At Lambaesis basins at the four corners of the court held drinking water, and canalization on three sides of the court drained the area. At Dura a little basin 0.58 by 0.36 m. set in the pavement of the southeast corner just inside the colonnade, was so designed as to hold in place a certain amount of water, and to allow the rest to run into the drain running east into Tenth Street. Certainly the chief purpose was to carry off the water of occasional rains from the court. In the dry seasons, however, fresh water may have been kept in the basin for drinking.

There were two interesting finds: fragments of a crude little stone altar (E 598), its top supported by four columns, found in the southwest corner, and a fragment of bas-relief with a grape motif (E 625) found close to the east wall. The little piece of gypsum frieze measured 0.12 by 0.08 by 0.055 m. with a relief depth of a quarter centimeter. The stem makes a border around the edge and on the right a leaf is conventionally drawn with sharp angled incised lines. In the middle a short line of stem curves down to support the bunch of grapes. The

surface of the relief is levelled off and the circular disks of grapes are flattened on top. Between the bunches of grapes a plane surface was left on the stone except for the band of the stem uniting the designs. The type of frieze as a whole is most interesting for it recalls most strikingly the small friezes over the arches of the Byzantine basilica of Saint Sergius at Resafa⁴⁷ (491—518 A. D.) and also the frieze from the church of the Holy Apostles at Zebed.⁴⁸ In the Resafa reliefs the leaves are more carefully drawn and the relief made deeper, but the feeling is the same and the type as a whole is derived obviously from the same source.

Part of the front wall of the praetorium remained standing to a height of six meters and the building may have been originally considerably higher. Two side doors one on either side of the colonnade, and a great central portal some 2.27 m. wide formed the entrances to the building. Additional light was let in by the two windows between the doorways, the windows 1.30 m. wide raised a meter and a quarter above the floor. Apparently these windows were left open for no trace of glass or mica was found in the debris. An immensely ornamental feature must have been the arched lintel block of gypsum set above the central doorway, and inscribed with a monumental dedication to Caracalla.⁴⁹ The letters were cut in the stone and painted dark red, thus standing out boldly against the flashing white of the background. In the side door to the east was found a stone fragment with a molding still *in situ*. The piece was of the same type as the panel 1.47 m. by 0.55 m. by 0.11 m. found in the west doorway and it is plain that these panels, fixed in position made part of the door, probably with a second, swinging panel for entrance. The panel however was less than a meter and a half in height while the doorway must have been over three meters high, for the holes of lintel beams are found at 3.10 m. above the still. Either, then, the upper part was left open to introduce more light into the hall or a second panel was introduced above the first. This latter supposition does not seem impossible for a part of a second panel cut with the name of the *legio III Cyrenaica* was found in the west doorway.⁵⁰ Perhaps, however, one of the panels was fixed against the wall at the side though no trace of its fastenings

⁴⁷ See Brehier, "Études sur l'histoire de la Sculpture Byzantine" in *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques*, nouvelle série, fasc. 3, 1911, p. 66.

⁴⁸ See H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria* (Princeton, 1929), p. 40, Ill. 39, post C.

⁴⁹ See inscription 556 below.

⁵⁰ See inscription 557 below.

remains. The piece of frieze mentioned above formed evidently part of the decoration of the door jambs, or an ornamental border for an inscription.

We now come to the large rectangular hall situated behind the main court, from which it is reached by five doorways, two opening from under each side of the colonnade, three, evenly spaced, from the courtyard proper. It is unique in that it contains a raised platform some 1.65 m. high on either side, each flanked by narrow staircases, and adorned with plaster mouldings. In the majority of praetoria, this space is occupied by rooms and at Vetera, the excavators have thought to identify, one on each side, the chapels of the *signa* of the two legions stationed there.⁵¹

Hyginus⁵² tells us that in a temporary camp the left part of the praetorium on the *via principalis* was the place where the tribunal was erected. Von Domaszewski has succeeded in detecting its remains in the large camp at Masada.⁵³ At Lambaesis, the remains of a structure opposite the *schola* on the *via principalis* may have belonged to a tribunal although the evidence is too scant to warrant more than a pure conjecture.⁵⁴ In other permanent camps, it appears to be lacking entirely.

Yet it is only reasonable to believe that every camp possessed a fixed vantage point from which the commander might address the assembled troops. In the temporary camp, where the praetorium was the living-quarters of the commander, the tribunal was logically situated on the *via principalis*, the largest free space wherein the garrison might gather. With the creation of permanent praetoria, there was room within the building proper for an assembly. In the light of these considerations, we are inclined to identify the raised platforms at each end of the great hall of the Dura praetorium as tribunals from which the garrison was addressed and military judgments were delivered.

⁵¹ *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 122, p. 141.

⁵² P. 8, 11.

⁵³ *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, IX, p. 141. [Note of the editor: On the camps at Masada see now A. Schulten, *Masada, die Burg des Herodes und die römischen Lager*, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palästina Vereines*, LVI (1933), pp. 120 ff. (the Praetorium, Lager B), cf. p. 139 (the Praetorium, Lager F¹) — an article which appeared too late to be used by the authors of this chapter. Note that Schulten has been able to identify at Masada the mole of the besiegers (Angriffsdamm) by means of which the city was taken, which is of exactly the same type as that at Dura mentioned above in Ch. I, p. 14. See the chapter of General Lammerer in Schulten's book, p. 167.]

⁵⁴ Cagnat, *Les Deux Camps*, p. 48.

Apparently the ceiling was flat, probably made of plaster and reeds laid over beams, for many plaster fragments bore the impression of these materials. The only remains of flooring was a powdery layer of plaster about one centimeter in thickness laid on a foundation of hard-packed, coarse, red, sand. Just opposite the main entrance, on either side of room 5 were placed two large pilasters, set with gypsum blocks on which were written dedicatory inscriptions. That on the left was a monumental dedication to the emperor Geta, that on the right, painted instead of cut, was entirely effaced except for a few letters. Perhaps the pilasters supported busts of the emperors Caracalla and Geta to whom the building was dedicated.

In larger praetoria, such as those of Lambaesis, Vetera, and Novesium, at least five rooms opened into the great hall not to count the little side chambers and the rear entrances. In our own more modest establishment there were but three. The center room, the largest of the chambers, by whose doorway the inscriptions were placed, was certainly the chapel of the standards.

The identification of the central room in the rear of the permanent praetorium was first established by an inscribed altar from the camp at Bremenium dedicated to *G(enio) d(omini) n(ostri) et signorum*. The complete evidence has been collected and interpreted by von Domaszewski⁵⁵ and we shall not repeat his unassailable conclusions. Suffice it to indicate that in many camps, the *aerarium* of the garrison was situated in a cellar just below the chapel of the *signa* being thus under their direct protection.⁵⁶ At Dura, no trace of such a cellar is apparent.

In the floor made of hard plaster mixed with pebbles and laid on a foundation of stone, two holes, 0.13 and 0.125 m. in diameter had been introduced some 0.87 and 0.73 m. from the east wall. Wooden supports had probably been introduced into these to form the base of a table or shelf. Perhaps the table supported the altar or special cult objects, possibly they merely formed stands for the standards. As has been remarked, the presence of the large altar in the court makes it more probable that the actual sacrifice and cult rites were carried out in the open than in the room. Unfortunately though the walls of rubble, mud brick and baked brick still stood to a height of two meters and more, the plaster had almost completely gone and there were therefore no graffiti to assist in identifying the occupants.

⁵⁵ A. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* (Trier, 1895), p. 9 ff.

⁵⁶ For a detailed description of the *aerarium* at Lambaesis, see Cagnat, *L'armée d'Afrique*, p. 539.

Rooms 4 and 6 on either side of the central chamber, are almost of the same size and type of construction with low benches completely circling the room. The many graffiti in both rooms showed that both had been largely occupied by the soldiers. The names of the legions are given but not the offices of the individual soldiers. At Lambaesis, an inscription teaches us that the room to the left of the chapel of the *signa* (to one facing the *porta decumana*) served as the *schola*, in the sense of meeting-place or club, of the *equites legionis*.⁵⁷ That the corresponding room at Dura could not have performed the same function is indicated by the fact that the *equites legionis*, who formed, under the empire, the guard of honor of the *legatus legionis*, would hardly have been detached from the main body of the legion.⁵⁸

The arrangement of doors in these rooms deserves more than passing notice. In the doorway of the central room jambs of baked brick extend about twenty centimeters on either side. Against these, panels (app. 1.30 m. high) had been placed, the lower border of the one on the right still remaining in situ. Behind the panelling, a space a few centimeters wide had been left, then a low plaster construction (0.41 m. high) set into place in such a way as to leave a groove, a few centimeters wide and 0.75—0.80 m. long. These grooves probably held sliding doors of wood for the combined length of the grooves app. 1.55 m. makes just a little more than half the width of the doorway 2.66 m. The sliding panels were, however, probably a later alteration for a semi-circular hole in the marble sill at the end of the panel was evidently the pivot for an earlier swinging door. In the doorway of room 6 there still remained enough of the panel in place to show the type. Whether room 4 had the same type of panelling cannot be definitely determined for no trace of it remains. The rooms are otherwise so much alike, however, even the doorways being of almost exactly the same size, that probably further architectural balance was obtained through similar ornamental panelling. The field of the panel 0.06 m. thick is pierced by a series of diamond-shaped holes 0.08 by 0.07 m. The border around the field projects four centimeters, and consists of a plain band 0.025 m. wide, a cut separating it from the edge, and a semi-cylindrical frame incised with twisting lines to form a sort of spiral column. The type became very popular in Byzantine times but this is the earliest example of the kind to our knowledge.

The balance in the arrangements within the praetorium, noticed

⁵⁷ Cagnat, *Les Deux Camps*, p. 35.

⁵⁸ Cf. von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 29.

in the arrangements of doors and windows, in the double platforms, and the rooms opposite the entrances was continued in the plan of the two corners. At both ends long narrow rooms or corridors (3 and 7) open from the great hall and give entrance to two side chambers. Very slight differences occur in the two sides: in width the rooms do not quite correspond, benches have been introduced in the series at the west end, an extra doorway in corridor 7 gives access to the alleyway between the praetorium and the temple of Azzanathkona. Perhaps when the doorway was constructed between rooms 10 and 11 the entrance to 11 from room 7 was blocked. In this case the traces of plaster-fastening in the doorway probably served to retain a screen similar to that in room 6, so that some light could be introduced. In the west end a Latin inscription of the fourth Scythian legion, painted black on plaster had been erected.⁵⁹ Fragments were found in both room 8 and room 9 but since they were all near the entrances it is probable that the dedication was placed between the two rooms in the corridors.

The inscription mentions one *librarius* and four *adiutores* without further specification, whom we shall attempt to identify below. At Lambaesis the corresponding room, as attested by an inscription, served as the *tabularium legionis*.⁶⁰ Although there is no question of a legion at Dura, both the location of rooms 8 and 9 and the offices of the men who set up the inscription between them indicate that we are dealing here with military archives.

Curious, however, is the fact that the graffiti and inscriptions from the praetorium proper pertain to legions alone. Mention is made of the *III Cyrenaica*, *III Gallica*, *IV Scythica*, and *X Antoniniana* (probably *Fretensis*). Of these, we know that the *IV Scythica* and the *III Cyrenaica* had sent detachments to Dura. But of the auxilia, the *II Ulpia* and the *XX Palmyrenorum*, there is no record in the praetorium. The great majority of inscriptions and papyri referring to these cohorts was found in the Temple of Azzanathkona directly behind the praetorium. It would appear, then, that this temple served as headquarters for the forces occupying Dura before the praetorium was built, and that even after its construction, the auxiliary forces continued to deposit their records in the earlier archives. We can hardly doubt, however, but that the new praetorium contained the *tabularium* of the *praepositus* who was commander-in-chief of all the units or *numeri* which constituted the Dura

⁵⁹ See inscription 560 below.

⁶⁰ Cagnat, *Les Deux Camps*, p. 37.

garrison and that the particular records of the legionary detachments, as contingents outranking the *auxilia*, were kept in the same building.

Before closing this account a few details should be added in regard to the rooms located on the east of the court, the *armamentaria*. Mr. Clark has given me the following notes: In room 23 two distinct floors were visible. The earlier was a layer of plaster laid as usual slightly below the level of the door sill. Contemporary with this are three low plaster-covered benches about 0.50 m. wide and 0.25 m. high built against the rear wall. At some later period the room was filled to a height of about 0.40—0.45 m. with pieces of plaster, rocks and earth. Even the three benches were completely covered. Over this foundation was laid another plaster floor one centimeter thick. The walls were recoated at the same time, for smooth plaster does not continue below this flooring. As a final step in the alterations a rubble bench (1.55 m. long, 0.63 m. wide and 0.36 m. high) was constructed against one of the two pilasters raised against the east wall.

Excellent evidence remains that room 23 was eventually damaged by fire. On part of the later floor was a great layer (0.04 to 0.18 m. thick) of rocks and mortar charred and blackened. Occasional stones with plaster still clinging to them showed the dark mass to have been made up of fallen walls. After the conflagration no attempt was made to clear away the *débris* or put the chamber in a state of repair. The only finds were a number of small bronze armor scales.

Against the west wall in room 24 is what seems at first sight to be a well-made plaster-covered bench 0.25 m. high. Forty-five centimeters wide at the southwest corner, it grows narrower and narrower and finally disappears beneath the west wall. Probably then it was not a bench but an earlier wall, a wall which crops out again in room 25 immediately to the south. This wall evidently ran along the west side of Street E, before this approach to the Temple of Azzanathkona was blocked by the praetorium.

Room 25 probably contained the staircase leading to the roof. None of the steps remains but the size of the room and the arrangements of a supporting wall down the center are characteristic of the type of staircase chamber quite common at Dura.

It is worth remarking that in four different doorways of the building black earth and ashes with bits of burned wood were visible. There could not have been very much that was inflammable in this building of mud brick and rubble but the evidence seems clear that in the end the structure had at least been considerably damaged by fire.

The series of rooms 12—16 did not make part of the praetorium proper. Perhaps they were merely a series of little shops. Such an explanation seems borne out by the discovery of a terracotta pottery stamp bearing the swastika and branch designs. One recalls that a plaster mold for a small bust was found in the *débris* west of the bath in the 1928-29 campaign. Possibly even before the Roman occupation a series of little shops lined the street leading to the great temple. When the praetorium was built the shops 13—16 were stationed against its walls.

II. INSCRIPTIONS AND GRAFFITI.

556. An arched block found in the central doorway of the praetorium. Length, 1.28 m.; height 1.50 m.; height of letters 0.06 m. Half the stone remains intact; of the other half we have fragments alone. The first line is short, the second and third begin to the right of the margin established by the rest, leaving a space for two letters. The stone is unmarked in the twelfth line, but the fourteenth seems to have been erased.

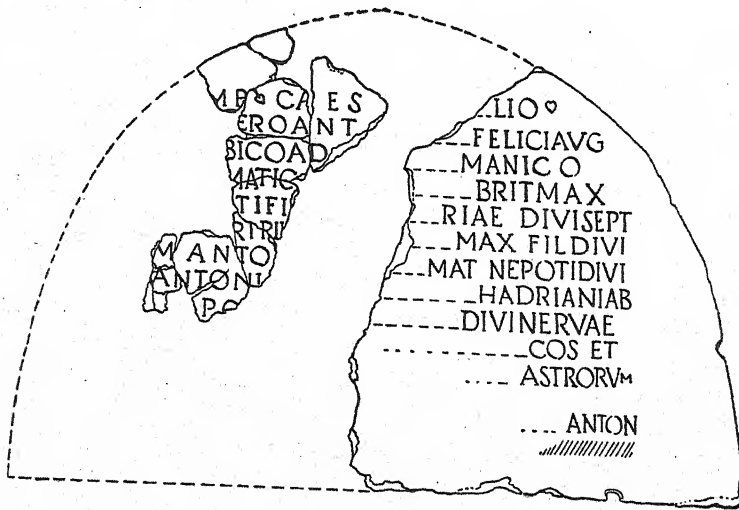


Fig. 9.

*I]mp(eratori) Caesa[ri Marco Aure]lio
 Sev]ero An[tonino Pio] Felici Aug(usto)
 Ara]bico Ad[iabenico Ger]manico
 Sar]matic[o Parthico max(imo)] Brit(annico) max(imo)
 s. Pon]tifi[ci max(imo) p(atr) pat]riae divi Sept(imi)*

Seve]ri Pii [Felicis Brit(annici)] max(imi) fil(io), divi
 M(arci) Anto[nini Pii Sar]mat(ici) nepoti, divi
 Antoni[ni Pii pron(epoti) divi] Hadriani ab-
 [ne]pot[i divi Traiani Parth(ici) et] divi Nervae
 10 [adnep(oti) trib(unicia) potest(ate) XV Imp(eratori) II] Co(n)s(uli) [III] et
 [Iuliae Aug(ustae) matri Aug(ustorum) et c]astrorum
 [et senatus et patriae] (vacat)
 ----]Anton(inianarum)

This is apparently the building inscription of the praetorium dedicated to the emperor Caracalla: the stone must have been put in place when the building was erected. Another monumental inscription of the same building which is also contemporary to the erection of the praetorium is however dedicated to Geta. Since Geta was killed in February 212 and Septimius Severus, already referred to on our inscription as 'divus' died in February 211, we may date the building and the inscriptions in the twelve months between these two dates.

Part of all the titles except that of Parthicus Maximus, which Caracalla received in 199 remain on the stone. It would seem therefore that they were all bestowed before 212, though Cagnat states that the titles *Germanicus*, *Arabicus* and *Adiabenicus* are to be assigned to the year 213-14.¹ As Von Rohden² suggests, however, it is extremely difficult to draw definite conclusions about the titles *Arabicus* and *Adiabenicus*, for they are found neither on the coins nor on Roman city inscriptions. Miss Goggin refers very appropriately to an inscription found in Baetica, dated without doubt before 212 (for Septimius Severus is still alive), and containing both titles.³ Miss M. Goggin calls attention also to significant passages in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*: *Non ab re est etiam diasyrpticum quiddam in eum dictum addere. Nam cum Germanici et Parthici et Arabici et Alamannici nomen adscriberet (nam Alamannorum gentem devicerat) Helvius Pertinax, filius Pertinacis, dicitur ioco dixisse, "adde, si placet, etiam Geticus maximus," quod Getam occiderat fratrem:*⁴ and again: *et cum Germanos subegisset, Germanum se appellavit vel ioco vel serio, ut erat stultus et demens, adserens, si Lucanos vicisset, Lucanicum se appellandum.*⁵ Miss Goggin adds "These two passages show that Caracalla had the

¹ R. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine* (4th Ed., 1914), p. 209.

² In Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, II, p. 362.

³ *C. I. L.* II 1037.

⁴ *S. H. A.*, Car. 10, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5, 6.

reputation of being fond of titles and of assuming them at pleasure without a formal decree of the senate. It is probable, although the entire question calls for study, that *Parthicus maximus*, *Britannicus maximus* and *Germanicus maximus* were formally decreed to him by the senate but that *Germanicus* (without *maximus*) [S. H. A., Car., 5, 5 says that he assumed the name *Germanicus* during his father's lifetime], *Arabicus*, *Adiabenicus*, *Alamannicus* and *Sarmaticus* (see S. H. A. Geta, 6, 6) he vainly assumed himself and used in varying combinations in places outside of Rome at least as early as 210."

L. 9. Whether the title 'Parth(icus)' should be included after Trajan's name is doubtful. After the title we have a choice between *adn*, *adnep* and *et*. *Et* seems more common with the word *adnep* following the *Nervae*. Dessau (449) does however cite one case of *proadnep* and the difference in the number of letters in each line, leaves the matter in doubt.

L. 10. The numbers after the offices, we have supplied for the year 211 A. D.

L. 12. There is no mark on the stone for this line and it seems never to have been engraved.

L. 13. *Anton* is very clear at the end of the line, nothing else is visible. Curiously enough there seems to have been another line (14) which has been erased. Since there is a break at the end of line 12, one expects in lines 13 and 14 the names of the dedicants. If this is so *Anton* might stand for the title of a legion, or the name of the city *colonia* (?) *Aurelia Antoniniana Europaea*.

It is most probable that legionary detachments dedicated the inscription to their emperor, and this supposition best explains the erasure in the last line, for in the praetorium itself we have record of the *III Gallica* legion whose name, after its abortive attempt to place a legate on the throne of the Emperor during the reign of Elagabalus, was erased in many inscriptions from Syria and Phoenicia.⁶ From other inscriptions in the praetorium we learn that two legions which camped at Dura, the *III Cyrenaica*, and the *IV Scythica* bore the title *Antoniniana*. One may restore then the last two lines in part

*Vex. legg. III Cyr. et IV Scyth.] Anton.
et III Gall.*

⁶ Dessau, 2657, 5865, 9198. *C. I. L.* III, 186, 206, 14385 b, 14387 i; *J. of R. Stud.*, VI (1916), 94; Cagnat, *I. G. R.*, III, 1113, 1116, 1128, 1148, 1149, 1183. See G. Zedler, *De memoriae damnatione* (Darmstadt 1885), 49.

*divi Hadriani abnepoti, divi Trai[ani Parthici et divi N]ervae
adnepoti a [|||||] et
[Ju[lia]e Aug[ustae] Piae Felici matri Aug[ustorum] (duorum) et [castro-
rum et senatus] et patriae.*

Miss M. Goggin made a special study of this inscription (558) for Professor Rostovtzeff's seminar and restored the lines and commented upon them in part as follows:

"Noting the fact that the words *Imperatori Caesari* in the dative case occur in the first line followed by *divi Septimi Severi* in the genitive case, one thinks immediately of the emperors Caracalla and Geta as being possibly the persons honored. The presence of the erasures enables us to eliminate Caracalla for there would be no reason for removing his name. Geta's memory we do know, however, was abolished after his death by a decree of the senate and his name erased from all inscriptions. The only other names of this period which were erased from inscriptions were those of Fulvia Plautilla, wife of Caracalla, and her father Fulvius Plautianus, but the genealogy of our inscription could not fit either of these names. There seems little doubt then that we have here a dedication to Geta.

"The presence of the adjective, *divus*, qualifying Septimius Severus gives us a *terminus post quem* for the date. Septimius died in February, 211. In the last line clearly visible are two G's after the *Au* of *Augustorum*, proving that there were two emperors ruling at the time. The inscription, therefore, must have been set up before Geta's death in February 212, after which time Caracalla ruled alone. The date then falls sometime between February 211 and February 212.

"The number of letters in the individual restored lines is not consistent, but with the exception of line 3, the difference is not greater than that which would be expected from the variation in the size and spacing of the letters as seen in the preserved sections of the stone. Since the lettering in line 3 is much higher and wider than in the rest of the stone, I calculate about forty letters for this line.

"It is impossible to be quite certain about the exact form of Geta's name. Because it was erased from practically all of the inscriptions where it occurred, much evidence bearing on the subject has been destroyed. The most usual form is P. Septimius Geta, but many variations are found. Cagnat⁹ says that *Lucius* is found on certain monuments and also *Severus*. The available evidence, it must be admitted,

⁹ *Cours D'Epigraphie Latine* (1914), p. 211.

points to the use of *Lucius* as occurring chiefly in the earlier years of Geta's career.¹⁰ As regards the varying length of the titles of Geta in his few existing inscriptions the spacing in our inscriptions seems to demand the longer name.

"In lines five and six I have made *divi Traiani Parth(ici) et divi Nervae* depend upon the same *adnepoti*, that occurring at the beginning of line 6, instead of using this word twice, once after *Traiani Parth(ici)* and again after *Nervae*. This grouping of the two is not uncommon".

In her following remarks Miss Goggin gave a tentative restoration of the name and titles of Geta. Since however the evidence is scanty and the restorations problematic we have left parts of the ll. 3 and 6 which contained the name and titles of Geta blank.

559. Photo. Fig. 10. This inscription attached to 558 was evidently an addition for it juts out into the doorway. The letters were cut 0.05—0.06 m. high and painted red.

[*Senatus*]
 [*Aureliorum*]
An[toninianorum
Europa[eorum
 5 *devoti num[ini*
maiestatique
eius

L. 3. The *N* is clear. Before *N* the first letter has a slant line which must be *A*. There is room for one letter before *A* for the *A* is directly over the *V* of the line below. After a break, the top of *N* or *A* is clear. A curved line in the second space after *N* may well be the bottom of the *O*.

L. 4. The first letter has a bar on the left and at the bottom but as the rest is broken the letter may be either *L*, *D* or *E*. The *V* before *R* seems clear. The bar top of the second letter after *R* is clear but the stroke could serve well for the straight top of *P* or *R*. The *V* is one space to the left of the *V* in the fifth line and since the *V* in the fifth line is the third letter, the *V* in line four must be the second.

L. 5. The line at the left and the bottom of the *D* remain. There is a trace of the bar for the top of the *T* and the *V* seems clear. Between the *O* and the *N* there is a space of 0.07 m. Since the

¹⁰ Cagnat, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

T in *maiestatique* takes 0.05 m. and the *TI* 0.065 m. the word must be *devoti* not *devotus*.

One expects that the names of the legions would be inscribed here rather than the name of officials or individuals of the city. The names of the legions however do not seem to fit and the name of the city *Europaea* accords admirably with the remains in line 5. This restitution also fits well with the name *Antoninianorum* in the line above for we know from inscription D 149 of the third campaign that the official name of the city became *Aurelia Antoniniana Europaea*. Perhaps an abbreviation was used for *Antoninianorum* and the word placed in the middle of the line so that one blank space was left before the word. Who the individuals or officials were who dedicated the inscription is entirely hypothetical. It was however the βουλή of the city who dedicated the inscription D. 149 to Julia Domna.

559*b*. On the pillar on the corresponding position to the right of the doorway to room 5 the letters were painted in red. Unfortunately only traces of a few in the last line remain.

EARVMIN

560. Photo, Pl. XXVII, 1. The third good-sized inscription was found in the corridor between rooms 8 and 9 and some other fragments in each of those two rooms. The letters were painted black on white plaster. The large letters SPQ — 0.28 m. high, the others — 0.02—0.04 m. The block of plaster is 0.75 by 0.63 m. and is now at Yale.

impera[tori
Caesari [.
bona fortuna nobis
*summo summo*¹¹
Senatui Populoque Romano

Beneath these five lines three large capital letters are painted — the well-known formula SPQ[R] — each letter 0.28 m. high. Inside the letter Q is written the following inscription of eight lines:

¹¹ [Note of the editor. The reading of this line is doubtful. It seems as if a line was erased here and cross-lines painted on the erased surface. After *Imperatori Caesari* a good wish e. g. *feliciter* must be supplemented.]

Spem bonam
Iulio Domnino lib.
et Aurel(io) Antiocho
et Donnio Pasia
et Septimio Sigilliano
adiutoribus
leg. 1111 Scy(thicae).

After the letters SP in small characters *em sua[m]*, probably intended to be read *spem suam*. Beneath in large capital letters is painted *Senat[ui po]puloq[ue]*.

Beneath but reaching up into the Q is scratched in large letters 0.185 m. high SPQ[R. A large R is scratched with double lines into the S of the preceding. The name of the legion LEG 1111 SCY is repeated in small letters 0.01 m. between the *populoque* and the large P. Below line 5 and reaching into the Q is written CY in letters 0.095 m. high. Scratched in below the first line is SENATV[S in letters 0.05 m. high.

Professor Julian J. Obermann, visiting professor of semitics at Yale suggests that a little Aramaic inscription שְׁתוּבָר written below gives us the date 534 = 222 — 3 A. D.

L. 6. *Spem bonam*. *Spes* in the *sermo castrensis* meant hope of promotion. The *optio spei* or *ad spem ordinis* ranked just below the centurion and was qualified for promotion to that office. *Optiones* who had not been promoted to the centuriate during their normal period of service, might remain in the service *retentus ad spem*. The promotion of an *optio* to the post of centurion is expressed in an inscription as follows: *uti collega (optionum) proficiscens ad spem suam confirmandam . . .* Nor does this phrase pertain to the tactical offices alone, for we know of a *singularis tribuni spe beneficatus*, that is, a *singularis* who was awaiting promotion to the office of *beneficiarius*. (See von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 33 ff. where the evidence is collected).

L. 7. *lib(rarius)*: A *librarius* was attached to almost every *officium* of the Roman army including the *tabularium principis*. As the title of his office implies, he performed work of a clerical nature. Another type of *librarius* seems to have been assigned to each century of a legion. Von Premerstein (*Klio*, III, p. 1 ff.) has pointed out that before 89 A. D. when deposits of individual soldiers were limited to 250 *denarii in toto*, the *signiferi* had charge of the official papers of their respective cohorts including the savings-accounts. After 89, it was the

librarii to whom they were entrusted (cf. Digest., L. 6, 7: *librarii depositorum*). In the Geneva papyrus examined by von Premerstein, a single legionary century possessed one *librarius* and one *cerarius*, that is, since the functions of both were almost identical, two *librarii*.

In an inscription pertaining to the *tabularium principis* at Lambaesis (C. I. L. VIII, 18072) two *librarii* appear who seem to have belonged as *immunes* to both the *tabularium principis* and the first cohort. Now we know that a *vexillatio* of the IV *Scythica* was stationed at Dura and it must have consisted of more than one century. Hence we can assign our *librarius* to the *officium* of the commander (probably a centurion) of the entire *vexillatio* detached from the IV *Scythica*.

The four *adiutores* were probably his clerks or assistants. If on the basis of inscriptions pertaining to the *vigiles* we attribute one *adiutor* to each century (cf. von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 14 f.), we can conclude that the Fourth Scythian detachment at Dura consisted of four centuries or about 360 men.

The *spem bonam*, hope of promotion, seems to refer to all five men. Since we are probably dealing here with the *officium* of a legionary *vexillatio*, a type of *officium* which appears here for the first time, we cannot tell to what offices these men might expect promotion. If an *adiutor* stood just below the *librarius* in rank, as seems to be indicated by this inscription (cp. also Dessau *I. L. S.*, 9170), he might expect promotion to that office, while the *librarius* might be transferred to a more important *officium*, that of the *praepositus* for example.

L. 7. *Domninus* is common, especially in Syria.

L. 9. *Donnus* occurs as cognomen and *Donnia* as feminine cognomen. The reading of the cognomen is not quite clear, but it appears to be either *Pasia*, or *Paspa*. *Πασίας* is a very common Greek name, see Passow, *Wörterbuch*.

L. 9. *Sigillius* is cited as a cognomen in Dessau, *I. L. S.* 3922.

561. Photo and Tracing (Pl. XXIX, 2). With these longer Latin inscriptions should be included that painted in red letters on the east wall of room E 7 W 12 in the Temple of Azzanathkona. The inscription measures 0.68 m. by 0.75 m. and the letters are 0.07 m. — 0.03 m. high.

IOM

Conservatori [cete
risque dis immor[tali
bus pro salutem et vic
5 tori d. n. imp. L. Sep. Severi

P]ert. Aug. II D. Cl. Alb. [Caes.] II
 Min]ervae sanct. sacrum feci[t
 . . . eus Mocimi actuar. n̄. per Tre[b
 ium Maximum trib. coh. II Vl̄p. eq.
 vo]tum solvit libens l[ætus
 meruit

L. 1.—5. Dedications to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Silvanus Conservator* are not uncommon in Syria and we find one erected by the 4th Scythian legion.¹² From Africa comes an inscription somewhat parallel to our own, and mentioning Septimius Severus, though with Caracalla and Geta (Dessau 429; *C. I. L.* VIII, 1628): *Iovi Opt. Max. Conservatori sanctissimorum principum ddd. nnn. imp. caes. L. Septimi Severi pii Pertinacis Aug.* etc. The address to the same gods, *Iovi Optimo Maximo ceterisque dis immortalibus* is cited Dessau 628; *C. I. L.*, VIII, 9324. The combination of *salus* and *victoria* is common. *Victori* is, of course an abbreviation for *victoriam*.

L. 6. Half of the line has been erased. Indications of letters remain, however, and the *Alb* before a dot seems certain. We may, therefore, restore *D(eci) Cl(odi) Alb(ini) Caes(aris)*. Whether the names of the two emperors were joined with *et* is uncertain. At the end of the line, an undulating stroke, similar to that above the *II* is visible. Apparently the number of the consulates of both was given and the date of the inscription must be 194 A. D. One of the coins of Severus bears the inscription *Imp. Cae. L. Sep. Sev. Pert. Aug. II* without the word *cos.*,¹³ a parallel to our own inscription.

L. 7. A coin of Septimius Severus, dated 201 A. D. bears the inscription on the reverse *Minerva sanct(a)*. The use of *sacrum* as a noun is found in an inscription from Beirut,¹⁴ [*T.*] *Statilius Maximus [L. f.] Brum[i]acus sacrum restituit*. M. Seyrig notes in his comment that the usage is not good Latin but a translation of the Greek ἱερόν.

L. 8. Fallen fragments of plaster contained the letters, *vo*, the first syllable of the word *votum*; *tali*, belonging to *immor[tali]bus*, *ri* and *ab*. It is difficult to see where the last two fragments should be placed but probably as least one comes from the beginning of the name ending in *-eus* in line 7. The name *Abrieus* seems not to be out of question.

¹² Jalabert et Mouterde, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, No. 68.

¹³ H. Cohen, *Médailles Impériales* (2nd Ed., Leipzig 1930), IV, p. 24, No. 186.

¹⁴ *Syria*, XII, 1930, p. 321.

The head of the *officium* of a Roman commander, whether *legatus legionis* or *praefectus* of an auxiliary unit, was the *cornicularius*. Just below him in rank in *officia* of the *auxilia* stood the *actarius*. We know that the commander-in-chief of the Dura garrison was a centurion or *primus pilus* of the *legio IV Scythica* with the title *praepositus numerorum* (*Rep. II*, p. 83). He would naturally have an *officium* to look after the official papers of the garrison. Not being, however, a member of the *militia equestris*, he may well have had a *chef de bureau* who was not a *cornicularius* but an officer of a slightly lower rank: an *actarius* or *actuarius*.

We know that the various units constituting the garrison at Dura were designated by the general term *numeri*. It seems likely that the *actarius* of the entire garrison called himself *actarius n(umerorum)* to distinguish his important position from that of the *actarii* of the individual auxiliary units (Cf. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 58).

It is not necessary to suppose that Minerva is the Latin equivalent of Azzanathkona for Minerva, especially the Minerva Augusti, was very popular among the soldiery. At Lambaesis a dedication to the goddess of knowledge was found in the room of the specialists, and probably here the *actarius* addresses her as his patron divinity.¹⁵

The Second Ulpian cohort *equitata* is mentioned with the Fourth Scythian legion in the dedication of the little temple near the citadel (*Rep. II*, p. 83 ff.). Since the temple was built according to the inscription when the *campus (exercitatorius)* was enlarged, it is probable that in general the encampment of the soldiers was originally along the

¹⁵ [Note of the editor. The statement made in the text does not account for the fact that the *actuarius* of our inscription apparently had his office in the temple which was used exclusively by the auxiliary cohorts. Another fact which contradicts the hypothesis by which the dedicant of our inscription is made *actuarius* of the whole garrison is his civic status: he was not a Roman citizen. Moreover he must have stayed in close relations to the IInd Ulpian cohort since the commander of this cohort acts on his behalf. This is the reason why I take our *actuarius* to be the *actuarius* of the IInd Ulpian cohort. The abbreviated word then which appears after *actuarius* must be interpreted either as *n(umeri)* by which general term the IInd Ulpian cohort is meant or as *n(umerorum)* and in this last case interpreted as being a specification of the office of the *actuarius*. In the late Roman Empire each military detachment had an *actarius* and a *numerarius*, the last being the accountant, the first the secretary of the detachment. A Greek inscription of the III^d cent. shows that such a division of the office existed already in the III^d cent. (Rostovtzeff, *Storia Soc. e Ec. d. Imp. Rom.*, p. 441, note 38). An excellent parallel to the dedication of Dura is presented by a dedication of Gardun in Dalmatia, Dessau *I. L. S.*, 9170: *Minervae Aug. s. | L. Sulpicius Proculus actarius coh. | VIII vol. ex | adiutore | cornicu | larium | cos. l. p.*, cp. *B. G. U.* 741 and Dessau *I. L. S.* 2586.]

citadel wall. Judging from this dedication to Septimius Severus in 194 however, we may conclude that the headquarters of the camp had already been moved, at this date to the northwest angle of the city. The only other mention of the second Ulpian cohort *equitata* is found in an inscription of the Palmyra gate, a stele dating from the reign of Commodus (*Rep. I*, p. 42). From the present evidence therefore it seems that this mounted cohort came to Dura very early in the period of Roman occupation. Probably at once the space west of the citadel, a strategic position because of its proximity to the river gate, was taken for their camp. In the time of Severus when a larger force was concentrated in the town, the north-west corner was chosen for the camp since this little-built quarter of the city offered more room. In Caracalla's time a permanent camp was decided upon and the praetorium built.

It is very curious that we find no mention of the *auxilia* in the praetorium, though in inscriptions and papyri found elsewhere, the second Ulpian cohort *equitata*, and the Twentieth cohort *equitata* Palmyrenorum are both mentioned several times. The Second Ulpian may have been transferred before the praetorium was erected but we know that the Twentieth Palmyrene was located in Dura from last years of Septimius Severus on. Perhaps the headquarters of the *auxilia* was in the Temple of Azzanathkona rather than the praetorium, an hypothesis supported by the discovery of documents of both the II Ulpia and the XX Palmyrene cohort among the papyri from the temple.

We suspect since all the inscriptions of the Second Ulpian cohort date from the second century, and those of the Twentieth Palmyrene come from the third that there was never more than one of these units stationed at Dura at any given time. When the Second Ulpian cohort was removed, however, and when the Twentieth Palmyrene took up its quarters there is not clear. Perhaps this difficult question the papyri will help us to resolve.

562. Rubbing. Scratched on west wall of E 7, 4. Letters 0.03 to 0.04 high.

LEG III GALL

It is not surprising to find the Third Gallic legion at Dura for it played a most important part in Syrian affairs. It must have first appeared at Dura with Verus for in that campaign it played a special rôle and sacked Seleucia. Its headquarters during the second century was Rhaphaneae and detachments may have been stationed at Dura at the end of this period. Apparently at least a detachment was sent

for the Parthian campaign of Caracalla if our supposition that its name has been erased from the dedication of Caracalla is correct. Though unsuccessful in attempting to establish Avidius Cassius and Pescennius Niger on the throne, the legion took a leading part in the cause of Elagabalus and secured for him the supreme rule. Elated by this success they attempted to displace the emperor in favor of one of their own legates. Their failure led to the disbanding of the legion and the condemnation of its name.

Soon after the fall of Elagabalus, however, it was put together again, probably by Alexander Severus, and established its new headquarters at Damascus where it remained at least through the middle of the century (Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, Ritterling, s. v. "Legio" — *Legio III Gallica*).

It would be most important to know just when this graffito was inscribed. The datable graffiti in the room come from the time of Alexander Severus and later. There seem, however, to be no successive layers of plaster and the room was built at least as early as 210 A. D. There are thus far so few records of the Third Gallic legion at Dura that I think the detachment could have been there only for a short time, and I should date the period tentatively to the reign of Caracalla.

563. Rubbing and tracing. Letters 0.05—0.07 m. high lightly cut on the south wall of E 7, 4, east of the door.

LEGI
ANTO
X

The letters are clear and probably refer to the *X Fretensis*, since that legion was permanently quartered in the adjoining province of Judaea. There is no other record of its presence at Dura.

564. Rubbing of part. West wall of E 7, 4.

AURE]LI SEVERI ALEXANDRI
AUG FELIX COWINO EIUS

In the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods a dedication to Alexander Severus was found by Cumont (p. 357 ff.). The dedication was made by the Twentieth Palmyrene cohort. Unfortunately the fragmentary state of our graffito gives us no clue as to the dedicants. We may perhaps suggest *Felix com(m)ilito eius*.

565. Rubbing. Letters 0.045 m. high on the west wall of E 7, 4.

OYPBAKOC

This is the only occurrence of the name at Dura.

566. Rubbing. West wall of E 7, 4.

(a) Letters 0.085 m. PRO SAL[VTE

(b) Letters 0.055 m. PRO SAL[VTE

567. Rubbing. Letters 0.015—0.03 m. on the west wall of E 7, 4.

MΛΛXOC

The name is common at Dura (D. 34; 245; 248; 358).

568. Tracing. Letters 0.06 m. high on the west wall of E 7, 4.

AΛEΞANΔ[P]OC

ANBOYTAPKAC

Alexander is of course a common name at Dura. But I can find no record of the second name. The name seems, however, to be in the nominative which would mean that Alexander was in this case the cognomen, and one assumed probably by a citizen in the time of the emperor Alexander Severus.

569. Tracing. Letters 0.015 m. high on the east wall of E 7, 4.

(a) APTOIOOC

(b) Two Greek abecedaria are scratched on the wall one with letters from A-E the other complete.

The name *Artoios* is not elsewhere found.

570. Rubbing and tracing. Letters 0.035 m. high on the west wall of E 7, 4.

LUPPOC

Probably

Lup(p)io c(onsule). Lupus was consul in A. D. 232.

571. Rubbing. In letters 0.055—0.095 m. high on the west wall of E 7, 4, the common name

HΛIOΔΩPOC

572. Tracing. Letters 0.07 m. high on the east side of the south wall of E 7, 4.

PRO SALUTE

573. Tracing. Letters 0.055 m. high, clearly written on the east wall of E 7, 4.

ΒΗΡΥΛΛΑΓ

Βηρυλλος is cited in Wuthnow, p. 36.

574. Letters 0.02 m. high on the east wall of E 7, 4.

Μ ΗΛΙΟCΙΝΙΦΙΚΙΝΟΣ

Probably the first *mu* stands for Μνησθῆ and the name is a combination with the common root Ἡλιο—. I can find no parallels.

575. Rubbing. Letters 0.01 m. high on south wall of E 7, 4, east section.

AUR MAXIMIANUS

576. Tracing. Letters 0.005 m. high of the south wall of E 7, 6, west side.

ΖΗΙΜΘ
ΝΙΚΟCΙΟΥ
ΤΙΗΓΕΡΕC
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΥ

The letters are very doubtful and only the name Ἐπίνικος occurs elsewhere at Dura.

577. Tracing. Letters 0.005 m. high on the south wall of E 7, 6.

ΜΝΗCΘΗ ΑΠΟΛΟΝΑΙΗC

Apparently a varied spelling of Ἀπολλώνιος. Perhaps we should read Ἀπολλοφάνης.

578. Tracing. Letters 0.02—0.03 m. high on the south wall of E 7, 6, west side.

ΜΝΗCΘΗ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟC

The Latin name Germanus is common at Dura (Cumont, 39 and 126; and D. 264 and 288).

579. Tracing of part. In letters 0.01 m. high on the west wall of E 7, 6. The common formula

ΜΝΗCΘΗ ΟΓΡΑ[ΨΑC]

580. Tracing. Letters 0.015—0.02 m. high on the west wall of E 7, 6.

I]VL CASIVS
IV]L GNAIVS

581. Tracing. Letters 0.02 m. high on the west wall of E 7, 6.

ΜΑΗΜΑIVS

Cumont found (No. 16) Μάεμος and Johnson (D. 5) Μημοια. I find no exact parallel for this form of the word, which apparently adds a Latin ending to the root to make the name Maemaius.

In E 7, 6 there are also parts of abecedaria, one A-E, the second A-Δ, both on the east wall.

582. Letters 0.15 m. high on the north wall of E 7, 11.

ΑΥΡΗ[ΛΙOC

583. Tracing. Letters 0.005—0.01 m. high on the north wall of the west platform in E 7, 2.

ΛΕΚΘCΗC
MEIMEN . Π
Ο ΔΟΥ[Λ]OC ΔΟΜΝOC
Κ ΖΕΙΘ
. . . . ΤΟV ΚΥΡΙΟΓ

584. Tracing. Letters 0.01 m. high on the front of the west platform in E 7, 2.

Μ]ΝΗCΘΗ ΟΥΑΠΙΑΝOC . .

585. Tracing. Letters 0.0075—0.01 m. high on the south side of the west platform in E 7, 2.

SOENIOVS NOC
. SIMVS NON

Cumont (No. 37) cites Σοήμιος a variant of the name Σοαμίος.

586. Tracing. In letters 0.015 m. high, made with double lines on the east side of the west platform, the common name

ΜΝΗ[Σ]ΘΗ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ

587. Tracing. In letters 0.01 m. high on the south side of the west platform, the common name

ANTIOXOC

588. Tracing. Letters 0.01 m. high on the south side of the west platform.

Ω KYPIE [K]ECAP

589. Tracing. In letters 0.035 m. high on the south side of the south stairway to the east platform, the common name

ΔΙΟΝΥ[Σ]ΙΟΣ

590. Tracing. With letters 0.005—0.01 m. high on the south side of the east platform, the repeated name, apparently written by two different hands

ΑΦΡΑΑΤΗC
ΑΦΡΑΑΤΗC

The name must be a variant of the Parthian name Φραάτης found in Parchment 10 and in Inscriptions D. 240, 260, and 270.

591. Rubbing. Fragments of bricks found in the praetorium contained the letters:

a. Fragment 0.10 by 0.08 m., letters 0.015—0.02 m. high.

C AN
Ω

b. Fragment 0.08 by 0.11 m., letters 0.015—0.02 m. high.

ABC
IYIOI
OAIL
Δ

c. Perhaps the end of a name with ἀν[έ]θηκεν.

III. HOUSE OF THE PREFECT.

When the excavations of the praetorium and the Temple of Azzanathkona had been completed, the ground between these two buildings and the Temple of Palmyrene gods was cleared as far as possible to obtain the topography of the whole quarter. In this section the *débris* is very shallow, for the depth to virgin soil is only half a meter to a meter in depth. As a result a considerable portion could be cleared in spite of the short time given to the task.

The chief feature in this territory was a house, a structure in general following the usual arrangements at Dura, but larger and more sumptuous than most (Pl. III). The large court was adorned with columns on three sides; the divan followed the tradition of the richer houses and had no plaster bench around its walls; two series of rooms instead of one flanked the east end of the court; and the house boasted an enclosed staircase to the roof. Entrance at first was gained through room 12, the doorway probably opening on a little alley, a continuation of the alley between temple and praetorium. The great pilaster on the outside corner of room eleven is sufficient evidence that originally this was the corner of the house. Later room 21 was added and formed the vestibule of the house. A second entrance was offered by the doorway of room 17, a doorway which was later blocked with large stones.

The position of this house with its entrance just opposite the alley behind the praetorium must indicate that it was the residence of the military commander. At Haltern the house of the legate was situated immediately behind the praetorium, and its entrance placed directly opposite the rear door of the praetorium. Vetera, on the Rhine, furnishes an even better parallel for the legate's house is placed just left of the praetorium and its entrance erected opposite the rear of the court.¹⁶ Evidently the commander used the private entrance in the rear, and the official residence was placed as near to this entrance as was conveniently possible. At Dura since the Temple of Azzanathkona occupied the district to the north, the site immediately beside the praetorium to the west was employed. The alley left between the praetorium and the temple then gave easy and immediate access to the house.

The finds were few. In the court just outside rooms 18 and 19 two

¹⁶ *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 124 (1917), S. 134.

low plaster columns, one semi-circular, the other rectangular were placed, for just what purpose cannot be determined. Possibly they were merely to hold water that the evaporation might alleviate the heat of the court during the summer. Nothing of the columns of the courts remains except the square rubble bases. Even these do not stand to their original height as shown by the lack of finish on their upper surfaces. If the pillars had been made of rubble one would have expected to find at least shattered portions in the court. Stone drums might of course have been removed later for building material but since not one remained it seems more probable that they were of some perishable material such as wood. A basalt mill unearthed in room 16 indicates that this chamber formed part of the kitchen. A black glass finger ring from room 21, a few coins from room 3 and a few small bronzes almost complete the list of finds.

The most important find, however, was that of a bas-relief in stone (now in Damascus) representing a great hand grasping a thunderbolt (Pl. XVIII, 3). It lay not 15 centimeters below the surface but fortunately face downward. As a result the back of the stone was in very bad condition but the front quite remarkably preserved. It was found in the west end of room 21 and had probably been placed in the wall just opposite the street entrance, a symbol of divinity to avert evil spirits. The stone measured 0.40 by 0.33 m. with a relief depth of 0.025 m. A raised border running around three sides of the work frames the representation. Possibly the border on the fourth side is lost, more probably it had never been cut, the base on which the plaque rested, forming the frame at the bottom. A single hand, approximately double the normal size, is represented palm to the front, fingers bent at the second joint and grasping the middle of the thunderbolt. No allowance has been made for the finger muscles, the ends of the fingers being pressed down far too flat against the hand. The fingers are quite carefully rounded and apparently the wrinkles of the skin were represented by incised lines. Finger nails, especially that on the middle finger, are disproportionately long. The cuticle is carefully represented with a semicircular incision. Details of the thumb are lost. The thunderbolt held in the center between thumb and fingers, branches out on either side in wide, deep, undulating folds to disappear beneath the borders on either side.

South of the court walls of other epochs were discovered. As the plan shows, the west walls of rooms 14 and 15 rest against the wall of another building, clearly anterior to the house. Immediately south of

room 17 a low wall was found running at an angle of about 45 degrees to the south wall of room 17. The foundations of this wall are laid on a much higher and consequently later level. Probably therefore when this new building was added and the alley blocked up, the doorway to 17 was permanently closed.

One might mention here the series of round water pipes running north along the road between praetorium and prefect's house, reappearing just west of the north end of the Temple of Azzanathkona. Clearly they ran to the wall of the wadi and at the wall there must have been some sort of reservoir or basin filled with water from the river and supplying at least the north end of the city.

VII. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY C. HOPKINS

Most surprising of the discoveries of the campaign was that of a church, adorned in part with frescoes admirably preserved. The building, located immediately in front of Tower 17, had been largely cleared in the previous season, and a description of it rendered by M. Pillet (*Rep. IV*, pp. 11 ff.). As Mr. Pearson pointed out, the ground plan of the building conforms exactly to the usual plan of the private house at Dura (Pl. XXXIX). One enters from the street, not directly into the court but into a little vestibule which makes a turn into the court proper. A common type of small square brick (0.195 m. on a side) is employed to pave the whole court area (8.26 by 7.82 m.). Around this court a series of rooms had been built in the ordinary manner (Pl. IX, 2). The divan (4a) was placed on the south side, with a wide doorway (2.35 m.) approached by two steps. Apparently, as in the more wealthy houses there was no low bench of plaster. One had erected however just west of, and close beside the doorway one of the low plaster rectangular receptacles (in this case 0.93 by 1.10 m.) probably used for heating. An exceptional feature was a low platform 1.08 by 1.44 m. built a few centimeters high against the middle of the east wall. In the corner formed by the juncture of the south side of this base with the east wall of the room a little socle 0.20 m. in diameter had been formed by a curved band of plaster 0.09 m. high. Entrance to room 3 was obtained by a narrow doorway just north of the platform. Between the doorway to the court and the west wall of the room the wall is preserved to a height sufficient to retain the frieze with the ordinary mask and drinking cup design with dolphin and shell beneath, a frieze which originally encircled the room. Opposite the entrance of this room on the north side of the court, lay the covered stairway to the roof. One can trace the two turns and at the edge of the court the landing, beneath which a closet with arched rubble doorway was formed. The stairway must have made the circuit again to reach a roof well over 5 m. high, and this supposition is supported by the mass of fallen debris which preserved the walls to a height of over two and one half meters.

On the west side of the court another large doorway (1.53 m. wide) approached by one step gives access to a second large room (5). In

this room as in the rooms to north and south, the embankments of mud brick supported by the *débris* behind the building have preserved the rear walls to a height of 5.23 m. In room 5 a little niche close to the top of the rear wall must originally have served as a window, though always most of the light was obtained from the court through the doorway, still standing almost 3 m. high. In the north and south wall doorways (1.79 m. high) adorned with the usual pilaster capitals and little blocks of molding designs, gave entrance to the side chambers (4*b* and the chapel). Above the middle of the lintel of the south door, the bottom of a green *faïence* jar had been placed in the plaster as a decoration, the bottom (*faïence*) side out. A doorway with similar decoration found in the subsequent campaign shows the type to be not uncommon at Dura, a fact especially interesting in view of the modern Arab custom of setting little *faïence* bowls above the door, undoubtedly a survival of the Roman period. On the west doorpost of the north door a crude cross with two diagonal lines was painted in red ink and above the four letters ΔΑΒΑ (Inscription 592). Possibly we may interpret it as the genitive case of the name Ἀββᾶς (*Rep. II*, H. 18) for the *delta* is lower than the other letters but the significance of the whole is not clear.

At a height of 3 m. above the floor in the west wall of room 4*b*, two windows were constructed to light the chamber. In the west corner of the north wall a niche 1.08 m. wide, 1.65 m. high and 0.50 m. deep was placed 0.55 m. above the floor *i. e.* in the mud brick wall just above its rubble base. On an under coat of plaster on the south wall a large abecedarium was scratched and at 2.5 m. above the floor on the west wall a most important graffito which supplies our only date for the building (232—3 A. D.).

593. Rubbing. Letters 0.05—0.06 m. high.

ΕΤΟΥC ΔΑΜΦ
 ΑΜ ΔΛΥΡΟΘΑΦΟC

ἔτους δμφ
 ἡ Δωρόθεος

Cumont restores the name Δωρόθεος in 123*a*.

The graffito was on an under coat of plaster and may well mark the time of the construction of the building. Apparently the name was pressed in with a blunt instrument in wet plaster not scratched in after it was dry.

The room to the north, entered both by the doors from room 5 and by a door from the court, was the chapel. At the west end an arched niche supported by two free columns and two pilasters and covering a basin 1.61 by 0.95 by 0.65 m. was erected. Columns and pilasters were painted to represent veined marble, the front above the arc was adorned with a pattern of grapes, pomegranates, and wheat stalks, and on the carved bottom of the arc itself stars and rosettes in white were painted on a dark gray background (Pls. XL and XLI). The walls of the room including the space between the roof of the niche and the basin were then covered with a series of frescoes. Only the west end of the side walls where much of the paintings would be concealed by the columns of the niche, and a small space between the two doorways, given over to an arched niche were left vacant. Of these frescoes a considerable part had been preserved by the embankment of mud brick built up through the room in the last siege of the city. The second brick embankment cut diagonally through the north wall of the room destroying the frescoes to the east to within a few centimeters of the floor but establishing the best possible protection for the niche and the paintings on the west half of the walls. The description of the paintings and a discussion of their significance will be given by Professor Baur (pp. 254 ff.). It seems best to defer for the moment also the question as to the purpose of the Chapel, and to record here merely the graffiti of the room.

594. Tracing. Letters 0.015 m. high on the west doorpost of the door between court and chapel. At Yale.

ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ
ΕΝ Ο(Υ)ΡΑΝΩ

εἰς θεός
ἐν ο(ὐ)ρανῶ

Welles (D. 291, 292) found the words εἰς Θεός twice in the redoubt. The formula is of course a common Christian one.

595. Photograph. Letters 0.015—0.02 m. scratched with a point in the square painted gray and adorned with black border between the court door and the small niche.

TON ΧΡΙC ΜΝΗΚΕΤΕ
CICEON TON ΤΑΠΙ
NON

L. 2.—3. ταπινόν for ταπεινόν.

596. Photograph. Letters carefully cut and placed in a green border line just below the little niche between the two doorways.

TON ΧΝ ΙΝ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΜΝΗΚΕCΘ[Ε . . .]ΟΚΛΟΥ

These two inscriptions with the abbreviations Χρις and Χν for Χριστόν and the imperative forms of the verb may best be discussed together. It is exceedingly interesting to note first of all that in these Christian inscriptions there is a sharp change from the formulae of the usual μνησθη inscriptions at Dura as well as from the later common form in inscriptions of Christian Syria μνησθητι. In this latter case the supplication is addressed directly to God. In our graffiti since Χριστόν is in the accusative case and so object of the verb, the persons addressed must be the Christian members of the community. For the interpretation the real difficulty lies in the double accusative and the accusative-genitive construction which follows the verb. I am inclined to translate the first 'recall to Christ the humble Siseos' and the second 'make mention of Proklos to the Christ among you.' There is of course the possibility, as Professor Rostovtzeff points out, that one should supply another verb and translate 'Keep Christ (in your heart). Remember the humble Siseos'; and 'Keep Christ in you (and) remember Proklos.'¹ The phrase seems to favor this latter interpretation for if one meant merely 'Recall to Christ Proklos,' the ἐν ὑμῖν would be superfluous. It is not entirely satisfactory, however, to supply an additional verb and I think the ἐν ὑμῖν may well be interpreted as stressing the peculiarly Christian attribute 'the living Christ among you' or 'the Christ who is in your midst.' It may well be said it is not necessary to supply an entirely new verb but simply to carry the force of μιμησκω over both objects, supplying the inferred conjunction "Remember Christ (and) Siseos" "Remember the Christ among you and Proklos."

¹ See the article by Nock in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1929, p. 393.

It is entirely reasonable as a matter of fact to suppose that in the emphatic position of Χριστόν followed by the verb one should intend to remind the readers of our Lord. There was already at Dura, however, in the pagan formulae the common phrase *μνησθή πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* and I think a reflection of the meaning of this one may see in the new Christian graffiti. In the former case the verb is passive "May he be remembered before gods and men." In the Christian phrases, the people are addressed and the object from the Christian point of view would not be to keep his memory green so much as to appeal in his behalf to God. The active sense of the verb I believe, suggests that in their prayers to God they are to remember the individual. Of first importance of course, is the remembrance of God and this is well portrayed by the placing of Χριστόν first in the sentence.

Of the two inscriptions the second is of course the more important for though the first was written in a square surface marked off by a border, it was only roughly scratched in with a point. The second obviously was carefully written in its border when the chapel was erected and must have had some special significance. From analogy with the Synagogue in which the Jewish leaders and founders recorded their names on the inscribed bricks, I believe that we have here the name of the donor of the Chapel or the Christian leader under whose direction it was built. Or perhaps, since the inscription is in a rather inconspicuous position between the two doors, it refers to utensils dedicated by Proklos and deposited in the little niche immediately above the inscription or to the one scene of David and Goliath painted just below. It was customary in the pagan temples at Dura, as well as later in Christian churches throughout Syria for the donors or leaders to commemorate their names on the monuments erected. We expect therefore to find some such mention in the Chapel. Equally common at Dura was the commemoration of individuals by graffiti in the temples and the graffito of Siseos is probably of this class, an inscription scratched by some friend, hence the complimentary τὸν ταπεινόν.

597. Photograph. Letters scratched on the scene of David and Goliath.

a. On the upraised right forearm of the figure with sword (Pl. XLVII, 2), letters 0.0075—0.015 m. written perpendicularly ΔΑΟΥΙΔ

b. Above the prostrate figure of the giant. Letters 0.01—0.015 m.

ΓΟΛΙΘΑ

It is not uncommon at Dura for Semitic names to be written in Greek but without a Greek nominative ending. For the form Γολιθα instead of Γολιθα we have a parallel in the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases at Yale. The lamp No. 653² shows Goliath advancing to meet David and contains the names of both written down beside the individuals: That of Goliath reads

Γ
Ο
Υ
Λ
Ι
ΔΑ

Clearly a form parallel to our own.³

The arrangements on the east side of the court present a very interesting problem. There remains on this side of the court a low rubble wall a few centimeters high and 0.87 m. thick, forming a room east of the court 2.61 m. wide (2). M. Pillet (*Rep. IV*, pp. 11 ff.) believed that the room communicated with the court only through the room in the northeast corner of the building. Mr. Deigert, on the other hand, through his study of the building was convinced that the rubble base supported a colonnade and that the room beyond was merely a covered portico. This last hypothesis is supported by the column drums found walling up the doorway to room 5 (*Rep. IV*, pp. 11 ff.) and by the fact that columns closing off one end of the court are by no means unusual at Dura. The question is complicated by the fact that extensive changes were made in the building at some period in its existence and these changes may well have included this section of the court. Personally I am convinced that in the beginning, the plan of the building conserved entirely that of the private house and that it must have been used as a private residence (though one room may already have been used as a chapel). The cooking arrangements then must have been either in the court itself or, as is not infrequently the case at Dura, in a portion of the court partly or wholly separated by a colonnade or wall. Unless a regular room was made for the kitchen the partition walls for this segregated part were very thin. Furthermore, the columns were usually placed on the floor of the court

² See P. V. C. Baur, *Catalogue of the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases in Yale University*, (New Haven, 1922), No. 653, Fig. 118.

³ For further description of the scene, see pp. 275 ff.

not on a raised rubble base. On the surface of the rubble wall one sees traces of niches or doors. The first and most clearly marked is 2.26 m. from the south wall and consists of plaster slightly raised around an opening 0.75 m. wide and 0.52 deep. The second at 2.25 m. from the north wall measures 0.78 by 0.64 m. I should judge them to be the bases of niches placed in the mud brick wall and resting on the rubble base, as do the two niches in room 4 except that such niches opening on the court would be unique at Dura. It seems best therefore to regard them as narrow doors opening into room 2 from the court. This hypothesis gives no explanation, however, of the column drums. M. Pillet gives no suggestion as to their original position and I am quite at a loss. At any rate it is not at all clear that there was more than one or perhaps two columns. One might connect the rectangular niche bases with the columns and suggest that the base block of the columns had lain in these places. The niches are, however, neither the right shape nor in the middle of the wall.

The chief alteration which was made in the arrangement of the building has already been referred to. This was the throwing together of rooms 4a and 4b to form one chamber running almost completely the length of the house. The evidence for this change is entirely adequate. In the cement floor of the room a roughened wall line is left running from north to south across the chamber at 5.31 m. from the west wall; the doorway between 4b and 5 was blocked up and the plaster frieze just west of the door between 4a and the court continues only to the break. This last proof is particularly convincing for, though three walls of room 4b still stand far beyond the height of the frieze, there are no marks of frieze fastenings on any of them. Yet obviously, as in all the divans with frieze, this ornament once circled the room. Probably to this change in the rooms was due the blocking up of the two windows in room 4b for with the junction of the two adequate light for both could be obtained from the large court doorway. Room 4b had previously been equipped with a large niche 1.08 m. wide, 0.50 m. deep and 1.65 m. high in the west corner of the north wall at 0.55 m. from the floor, *i. e.* at the height of the rubble base to the mud brick wall. Now a second niche 1.20 m. wide and 0.55 m. deep was built in the north wall just short of two meters from the court door in a space formerly partly occupied by the division wall between the two rooms. Probably also the rectangular plaster receptacle for heating was removed at the same period from beside the doorway. It seems obvious that one should attribute to this unusual change the

unique feature of the room, the plaster base or low platform built against the east wall.

The most important question, whether room 6 was made into the chapel at the time of the other alterations or previously, cannot be resolved with certainty. I am inclined, however, to think that it was one of the original features of the house. The shape and size of the room are not common in the Dura houses. It is most exceptional to have two doors in a small room so close to one another, and there is no clear evidence of other arrangements in the room before the construction of the niche. At any rate one may say that if the chapel was built when the house was first constructed, it was entirely distinct from the rest of the house. There is a doubtful reference to an ἐπίσκοπος perhaps a "bishop" in a graffito of room 4. None of the other graffiti or house ornaments is Christian. Conclusive seems to be the fact that the two large graffiti in the court represented a *cataphractarius* and a charging *clibanarius* (*Rep. IV*, pp. 216 ff.), certainly the work of one not primarily interested in the Christian church. The frieze of the divan was the usual Bacchic one of satyr masks and pipes, with the dolphin and shell beneath; no other ornaments decorated the walls. The frieze of course was so commonly used at Dura that one could scarcely be surprised to find it even in a church, but it is remarkable to find no frescoes on the walls when the chapel walls were covered from floor to ceiling with a great series of paintings. Moreover three inscriptions within the chapel and one on each of the doors were all Christian in character, a sharp contrast to the rest of the house. To this point we shall return later.

The house, as house it was originally, belonged certainly to a citizen of some wealth and distinction. M. Pillet (*Rep. IV*, pp. 11 ff.) has already called attention to the proportions surpassing those of the usual house at Dura, and to the exceptionally wide and high doorways. More recent excavations along the wall have shown us that walls of five or six meters in height are not so exceptional as was at first supposed. The paved court, the enclosed staircase and the divan free from the low plaster bench are all marks however of the wealthy citizen. The chapel, of course, marked it as the residence of Christians, very probably the meeting place of all the Christians of Dura, at least for those dwelling in this quarter of the city.

For the use of private houses as the meeting place of Christians in the early centuries the references are many. One recalls that the last supper was eaten in the large upper room of a private house (Mark,

XIV, 15; Luke, XXII, 11 ff.; Matt. XXVI, 17 ff.). In the time of persecution it was naturally only in the private houses that meetings could be held. So at Tarsus, *Acts VIII, 3*, states "As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison." Apparently when there was no persecution the temple and the private house were the only two places of meeting. As one reports from Jerusalem (*Acts, II, 46*) "And they (the apostles), continuing daily with one accord in the temple and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart." Paul at Damascus, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Thessalonica, at Beroe, Athens, and Corinth went straight to the synagogue and preached. Subsequently due to opposition he went to private houses instead. So in the Troad the meeting is held on the third floor of a private house (*Acts, XX, 6—9*), in Rome in the home of two rich merchants, Aquilas and Prisca, at Colossus at the home of Numpha and at the home of Philemon. Eventually Paul hired his own house at Rome (*Acts, II, 30—31*) "and Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, (31) preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him." A little later we hear of private houses being set aside wholly to the work of the church, or dedicated as a church. It is reported (*Recognitiones*, lib. X, n. 71; *P. G. I*, col. 1453) that during a sojourn of the apostle Peter at Antioch, the number of those baptized rose in seven days to more than ten thousand people and that therefore a certain Theophilus, the first citizen of the town converted part of his house into a meeting-place. The apostle established there his episcopal chair and each day the multitude came to hear his preaching. "*Ut . . . domus suae ingentem basilicam ecclesiae nomine consecraret in qua Petro apostolo constituta est ab omni populo cathedra, et omnis multitudo quotidie ad audiendum verbum conveniens . . .*" Similarly at Tripoli, when Peter asks for a place to preach, a citizen offers his home saying it is large, can hold more than five hundred persons, and has moreover a garden around it. Peter having seen and approved it, accepts it: "*considerans quia esset aptus ad disputandum locus*" (*Recognitiones*, lib. IV, n. 6; *P. G. I*, col. 1318). A text in the "passio Caeciliae" reports the request of a woman to be allowed to cede her house to the Christians for use as a church: "*ut domum meam ecclesiam consecrarem.*" (*P. G.*, CXVI, col. 180).

⁴ See the excellent articles in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Cabrol and Leclercq, IV (Paris 1921), p. 2285: Églises: III, Habitations privées.

It is well to combine with this the negative evidence on the other side, evidence well summed up by Butler.⁵ "It is as difficult" he says "to determine the type and character of the places of worship used by the Christians before the time of Constantine in Syria, as it is in other parts of the world. No traces of such places have been found and no references to them are forthcoming." It is not until 344 A. D., in fact when the church in Umm idj — Dimal was dedicated, that one can point with any certainty to a church structure in Syria.⁶ The inference is obvious. In the first three centuries the meeting places were concealed in private houses, or were formed from parts or the whole of private residences dedicated to the church. Of such a type, is the church at Dura, the only example of this primitive ecclesia yet found.

Partly because of its unique character, the date of the structure is of primary importance. Of great interest also is the date of the alteration which threw rooms 4 *a* and 4 *b* together, for it is obvious that this rearrangement marked the change from a residence with a private and concealed chapel, to a house dedicated almost entirely to sacred purposes, *i. e.*, a church in every sense of the word. The combination of rooms 4 *a* and 4 *b* meant that the congregation had now grown too large to be contained in a single room. With this larger group it became necessary to assist the discourse of the speaker by elevating his rostrum above the level of the congregation. We read in the *Recognitiones* that Peter preached from the episcopal chair. It was to build a base for such a chair or to make a platform for a standing preacher that the rubble stand was constructed at the east end of room 4 *a*. At this time then the house was openly and entirely used as a church. Practically all one side was given up to the long meeting room; the opposite side contained the entrance, the stairs and the chapel. There was left on the west a large room from which a door led to the chapel and on the east, two very narrow chambers.

Obviously when these changes were made, there was no longer any attempt to conceal the fact that it was the meeting place of Christians. One expects then that the date would fall in a period when a surcease of persecution had been obtained. There were two such periods in the third century, the first under Elagabalus and Alexander Severus and the second during the reigns of the Gordians and Philip. Septimius Severus, it will be remembered seemed favorable to the new faith until 202 A. D. when he passed stringent laws against the conversion of

⁵ H. C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria*, (Princeton, 1929), p. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

pagans to Christianity. Caracalla continued the persecution begun by Septimius. Elagabalus tolerated or forgot the Christians, Alexander professed at least a sympathetic interest in the monotheism of Jews and Christians and placed in his *lararium* the image of Christ beside those of Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana and the best Caesars. More important still for the Church, he confirmed its right to possess property and to worship God. Maximinus began the persecution afresh, and Decius after the reigns of the Gordians and Philip, vehemently attacked the Church.

On an under coat of plaster in room 4 *b* was inscribed the date 232 A. D. The graffito was scratched on the plaster while it was wet and it is more than probable that this plastering marked either the time when the building was built, or the date when rooms 4 *a* and 4 *b* were thrown together and the walls of the room re-covered to conceal the break. Either then the building as a whole was constructed during the reign of Alexander and the alterations took place at a later date, perhaps under Philip when the great Jewish Synagogue was constructed and painted, or the building had been built earlier and the alterations made in 232 A. D. We have already remarked, however, that for some time the building was used as a private residence, and judging from the difference in the graffiti between the chapel and the rest of the house, there had been an attempt to conceal the fact that a Christian Chapel was hidden in the house. If the whole had been built in 232 during the reign of Alexander Severus there would have been no need for such concealment. Furthermore it seems a little strange that if the whole were built as a church in the reign of Alexander that only the chapel should receive the frescoes, and no ornaments be given to the meeting room. I suggest on this account, that the chapel was built and painted earlier, in a period when concealment was necessary, and that the alterations were made in the time of Alexander Severus, at which time the building was openly employed as a Church. Some changes in the desires of the congregation, or a prudence natural to those who had experienced so many vicissitudes under the different emperors, led the group to leave the assembly room unadorned, even though they retained the frescoes of the chapel. Perhaps one may use as evidence the little piece of parchment found in March of this year, a document which seems to be part of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian and suggest that under Tatian's influence was begun the movement at Dura which led to the construction of this early chapel and church.

The niche in the Dura chapel with its arched roof resting on pillars and set against the wall has just the form of so many tombs in the catacombs at Rome. So in the catacomb of Domitilla free standing columns are cut in a chapel with three arcosolia dating from the second half of the fourth century.⁷ In the tomb of Diogenes in the catacomb of Domitilla (circa 348 A. D.) free standing columns are placed in front of the apse.⁸ The columns of both these tombs are decorated with painting representing marble, an arrangement exactly similar to the columns at Dura. The same type was taken up by the Jews at Rome, for one of the Jewish tombs had four columns supporting the arched roof, columns which were painted to represent marble.⁹ Wilpert dates the introduction of this type to the end of the third and the fourth centuries A. D.¹⁰ Furthermore the hypothesis that the niche was a tomb seems borne out by the representations of so many Phrygian and Syrian tombs having just this form of arcuated façade resting on pillars. Baldwin Smith¹¹ cites the type represented in frontality with arch supported on two columns as a Syro-Anatolian rendering. This type of tomb, he says, first occurs on a relief recently discovered in Phrygia and dated by Ebersolt in the fourth century (Ebersolt, *Revue Archeologique*, IV, XXI [1913], pp. 333—339, fig. 3). Though this earliest relief comes from Phrygia, however, it was in northern Syria rather than in Asia Minor that the arched entrance was frequently used for the façades of tombs and sepulchres. So Butler (*Architecture and Other Arts*, pp. 106, 109, 110, 158, 243, 300) could show the remains of many Christian tombs either actually barrel-vaulted, or possessed with barrel-vaulted porticoes entered by arched doorways.

In spite of this strong evidence I think we must consider the chapel at Dura as a baptistry rather than a *martyrium*. We must remember first of all that the chapels at Rome are in the catacombs not in the city, and by analogy at Dura we should expect to find a *martyrium* in the cemetery which lay just outside the walls of the city. Furthermore, in Syria and Anatolia, though the arch supported by columns was common in tombs, it was employed only as the entrance to the building, apparently a sort of porch, not for the sarcophagus proper as we

⁷ J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1903), Tafel 229.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Tafel 180.

⁹ H. W. Beyer and H. Lietzmann, *Die Katakombe Torlonia* (Berlin 1930).

¹⁰ Wilpert, *o. c.*, p. 126.

¹¹ E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence* (Princeton, 1918), pp. 109 and 115.

should have to consider it at Dura. Both the apse and the arch supported by columns are found at Dura. The first supported by free standing columns formed the covering for the seat of the chief priest in the synagogue. The second, of the same form as that in the chapel, *i. e.*, a barrel vault supported on free standing columns and resting against the wall was employed in room K of the Temple of the Palmyrene gods. The *aedicula* of the temple was placed immediately opposite the entrance of the chamber (Cumont, pl. XXIX, 1 and p. 38) and probably contained the image of the god. Above and to either side of it stood the great painting of the five Palmyrene gods. The similarity of this arrangement to the disposition of the chapel with its *aedicula* of the same type and its series of frescoes about it is most striking. It may be said of course that the arch and pillar would be as appropriate for a tomb as a baptismal font, and the statement is true, but the fact remains that at Dura though many tombs are known, none has this form, whereas in chambers devoted to purely religious as opposed to mortuary purposes, the use of this type is established.

The Princeton Archaeological expeditions to Syria found not a single building in southern Syria that could be identified as a baptistry and only one (and this not certain) in northeastern Syria.¹² Fortunately in northern Syria fourteen were discovered, many of them with inscriptions. Butler¹³ sums up the evidence as follows "There are three types of baptistries among the ruins of northern Syria; one, a small, square building with a low pyramidal roof, another of the same general plan, but having a little apse toward the east and a third of central polygonal form. Fourteen of these buildings are known in northern Syria and half of them are dated. Only two are dated earlier than the 6th century, the baptistry of Ksedjbeh and Kaṣr Iblisū and they are both dated in the first half of the fifth."

At Dar Kitā the baptistry of St. Paul and Moses (515 A. D.) had a semicircular half domed apse protruding from the east wall.¹⁴ An examination was made of the lower part of the apse and a font discovered, a semicircular basin 0.93 m. in radius and 1.26 m. deep, sunk behind a low parapet.¹⁵ At Dura the length of the font was 1.61 m. (compared with a diameter of 1.86 m. at Dar Kitā), the width 0.95 m.

¹² H. C. Butler, *Early Churches*, p. 152.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

(compared with 0.93 m. radius at Dar Kitā), and a depth of 0.65 m. (compared with 1.26 m.). Just as at Dar Kitā, the font at Dura was sunk behind a low parapet. The greatest difference between the two as will be remarked is in the depth. It is interesting therefore to note the parallel at Khirbit il-Khatib (532 A. D.). In this chapel the baptistry is again set in the end of the building for the east wall is thicker than the others and contains a niche with a shallow basin in the bottom of it.¹⁶

It may be said at once that the majority of baptistries had neither apse nor niche and that such fonts as they had must have been in the middle. To quote Butler again (p. 207) "A few buildings had semi-circular half domed apses protruding from the east wall, as for example the baptistry of St. Paul and Moses at Dar Kitā. Others like the baptistry at Khirbit il-Khatib were provided with a niche and basin cut in a doubly thick east wall; but the majority of the detached baptistries had neither apse nor niche . . ." Since the fashion of having the font in the center became later the prevailing one it may be that the type against the end of the building was the earlier. We cannot surely put much weight on this evidence but we can say with certainty that in the earliest period for which we have data the type of baptistry with the font in the center existed in Syria side by side with the type with font at the end. Our Dura type then has good precedent or rather good successors in the types of north Syria.

It is perhaps not inappropriate to note that the *martyrium* or burial chapel (one of the few burial chapels found) at Kasr Iblisu (431 A. D.) had a regular sarcophagus not an arcosole grave at the end.

To judge from the literary evidence, a baptistry would be one of the first architectural features erected in a meeting place for Christians, and its establishment in a private house would cause no surprise. We have already noticed that Peter at Antioch baptized more than ten thousand in seven days yet used a private residence for his teachings. The acts of Pope Marcel whose redaction in the fifth or sixth century marks a more ancient text (*Liber pontificalis* ed. Duchesne, I, p. XCIX, 165) has more definite details.¹⁷ A "diacre" Sisinius baptized a certain Apronianus sent to bring him to the prefect Laodicius and performed the ceremony in a basin in a private house (*eadem hora allata est aqua et catechizavit eum et benedixit fontem et deposuit eum nudum in pelvim dicens*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹⁷ H. Leclercq in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, II, Baptistère, pp. 382 ff.

— — *et elevavit eum de pelvi et duxit eum ad Sanctum Marvellum*). A little later in the same source we read of a baptismal *fons* erected in a private house, a font whose site a subsequent pagan owner chose for a bath (*cum vidisset Carpasius placatum sibi Maximianum petiit ab eo domum beati Cyriaci qui confestim quod petebatur ei concessit. Et cum introisset in eandam domum quam donaverat S. Cyriaco Diocletianus Augustus, invenit locum ubi S. Cyriacus fontem aedificavit quem consecravit beatus Marcellus episcopus ubi frequenter baptizabat S. Cyriacus venientes at fidem. Tunc Carpasius vicarius paganus crudelissimus cum in eadem domo invenisset baptisterium fecit in loco eodem balneum, quasi ad deridendam legem Christianorum*). When the baptistries came to be attached to churches, they were of course more commonly connected with the churches of bishops. This was not always the case however for in north Syria there are baptistries in three or four towns within a radius of five miles and in two cases, two in a single town.¹⁸ It would not be surprising therefore at Dura, even though the church excavated were not the most important in the city, to find the structure equipped with baptism. Certainly in the early days even more than today the baptismal rite played a leading role in all Christian centers.

There are, one may say in conclusion, three intrinsic reasons why the niche should be considered a baptismal font rather than a tomb. First of all there was no sign of cover for the receptacle nor of bones or human remains within. It is perfectly possible that these should have been removed when the chapel was blocked up but one might well expect to find some evidence of their former presence. Secondly, the square pillar plinths 0.46 m. on a side, though corresponding in measure with the width of the side walls of the basin, surpassed by 0.14 m. the width of the low front parapet. Since the plinths were placed even with the outer edges it meant that they ran 0.14 m. beyond the inner edge of the parapet. This would make it exceedingly difficult to introduce a cover and render almost impossible the snug fitting of the top. At Rome the pillars were placed well away from the tomb openings so that the top blocks could easily be put in place and would close the tomb completely. At Dura, plaster would be needed to cement the block to the projecting plinths, but there is absolutely no sign of such material having been employed. Finally the plaster of the sides and floor of the basin has a peculiar gray dirty color, strikingly different from the plaster walls in the rest of the house and in temples and residences of the city. One does find this

¹⁸ Butler, *Early Churches*, p. 152.

very marked type frequently in Dura however, but only in the basins of the baths. That the color was the result of the action of constant changes of water slightly discolored seems almost a certainty. A chemical analysis will perhaps enable us to say definitely that the Dura basin was a real font. Meanwhile one may say at least that the evidence points in that direction.

Note: To complete a review of the Dura church we should mention the two little clay plaques in relief one found this (1932—33) season, the other in the 1930—31 campaign. The latter M. Pillet (*Rep. IV*, p. 13) describes as "a small terra cotta plaque of curious workmanship, depicting a goddess giving her blessing." Professor Baur (*ibid.*, p. 242) states that it was made from the same mold as the one in the possession of Sarre, and represents Atargatis standing in or before an *aedicula* in the attitude of blessing or protection. The plaque of the last campaign found in room 5 close to the door of the chapel portrays the bust of a goddess, probably the same Atargatis with hand raised in the same attitude of blessing or protection. The plaque is round, and forms a sort of medallion. In this case the presence of this pagan relief in the church might be purely accidental for it was found in the mud brick fill wall which blocked half of room 5. It is noticeable in the mud brick fill along the walls that objects of similar type are apt to be found close together, due undoubtedly to the fact that *débris* from close at hand was employed, and therefore material from the same house or shop dumped together. If a potters shop or a sanctuary lay near the church, one might easily find two or more plaques in the debris near by. Nevertheless, it is more than curious that two such images should be found in the church and it is just possible that they are relics of a pagan owner who inhabited the house before the Christians, or that this pagan representation of blessing with upraised hand was taken over by the Christians of Dura as a symbol of the blessing of the church or of its apostles.

Postscript: Since writing this chapter I have been able to study again the architectural details of the building. I am now convinced that two columns stood in the court and have altered the plan accordingly.

VIII.
THE PAINTINGS IN THE CHRISTIAN CHAPEL

BY P. V. C. BAUR.

I. GENERAL SURVEY

THE HOUSE close to Tower 17 (Pl. XXXIX), just south of the Palmyrene Gate, contained in its northwest corner a Christian chapel with mural paintings.¹ The room had a flat ceiling representing the starry sky, as is evinced by the fact that on the floor there were found many fragments of white stars with eight rays painted against sky blue.² There are two doors leading into the chapel, one from the central court, and another from the *liwan* situated at the west end of this court. A wall of crude brick built against the ramparts partially destroyed the paintings on the north and south walls of the chapel, but, on the other hand, it protected that part of the paintings which lay behind it. The east wall was almost entirely destroyed. In front of the west wall, and extending 1.55 m. into the chapel there was an *aedicula* supported by two squat columns³ which were adorned with zigzag lines of black and green (Pl. XLIII). Columns painted to imitate veined marble also occur in the Jewish catacomb Torlonia, and in the Roman catacombs.⁴ Somewhat similar to the *aedicula* in our chapel is that of the Christian church built in the temple of Luxor, a church which can be dated about 470 A. D. There we find two columns before an apse, but they are Corinthian in style. On the back wall of the apse at Luxor there were frescoes with figures standing in the usual oriental manner with feet far apart.⁵ The columns of our *aedicula* are of extremely debased form, without the usual capital, but with abacus and base. Their rectangular bases rest on a brick wall (0.70 m. high) covered with plaster, behind which

¹ The architectural details and inscriptions are published in this Report (V) by Professor Clark Hopkins.

² Vaulted ceilings first occur in the Christian catacombs of Rome in the fourth century, see Wilpert, *Malereien*, p. 5.

³ The columns are 1.30 m. high, and 0.44 m. in diameter. The dimensions of the whole chapel are 7.30 m. by 3.15 m.

⁴ See Beyer-Lietzmann, *Katakombe Torlonia*, p. 16, Pl. 3. For columns in the catacombs, see Wilpert, *Malereien*, Pls. 180, 202, 209.

⁵ See v. Bissing, "Altchristliche Wandmalereien aus Ägypten" in *Festschr. Clemen*, pp. 181—188.

there is a sunken receptacle 1.70 m. by 0.95 m., with a depth of 0.945 m. This may have been the tomb of a martyr,⁶ and over it there probably was a slab on which stood the *mensa* or altar table for the performance of the eucharistic rite. I do not believe that the receptacle could have been used as a *baptisterium*, for in all early Christian basilicas converts were baptised by immersion and privately in a side chamber.⁷ To the right and left of the *aedicula*, and extending from its columns to engaged pilasters on the rear wall, are two small arched openings (Pl. XL). On the pilasters are painted in panels clusters of grapes in brown. The vaults of these side arches are painted white with a black border, but the barrel vaulting of the *aedicula* is decorated with white stars against blue.

The face of the archivolt of the *aedicula* is decorated with a winding fillet, and in the intermediary sections of a rose-colored strip there are preserved ears of wheat and three pomegranates on the left, a bunch of grapes and three pomegranates on the right. Of the other objects nothing remains. The spandrels of the archivolt are filled with triangles with curved bases. Behind the barrel vaulting of the *aedicula*, on the west wall, (Pls. XLIV and XLIX) are two scenes; the lower one depicting Adam and Eve against a light red background, the upper one representing the good shepherd against orange-pink.

Around the corner, on the north long wall, conspicuously placed opposite the two entrances, are, in the upper part of the wall two pictures; the one on the left represents the scene of the paralytic, the one on the right that of the miracle of the lake, both painted against a background in gray with a touch of pink to make it a light brown.⁸ On the lower part of the wall, separated from the upper part by a series of horizontal bands,⁹ is the scene of the Marys approaching

⁶ The cult of the martyrs begins in the second century. Simson, the second bishop of Arbela, was the protomartyr of that city. He was tortured to death seven years after the victory of Trajan over the Parthian king Osroes, *i. e.* in 122 or 123 A. D. See Eduard Sachau, "Die Chronik von Arbela" (*Abhandlungen der kön. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1915, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, No 6), pp. 1—94. For a discussion of Trajan's victory over Osroes, see Gould, *Rep. IV*, pp. 60 ff.

⁷ Baptism meant for the early Christian a complete bath with the immersion of the whole body. See Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I, pp. 143 ff., and especially p. 156 for Tertullian, *De baptismo*. Cf. also Wulff, *Altchr. u. Byz. Kunst*, I, p. 206; Neuss, p. 63. For another view see chap. VII of this report.

⁸ In this article all the references to the colors are based on the notes of Dr. Clark Hopkins, and those of Mr. Pearson. When the paintings were first discovered the colors were much fresher than they are today.

⁹ These dividing bands are arranged as follows: between two black bands,

the tomb of Christ painted against a red background (Pls. XLII and XLVIII).

On the south wall, between the two doors, and below a central niche, occurs a fragmentary scene of David and Goliath, so badly weathered that the colors of the figures and of the background are faded (Pl. XLVII, 2). The background was probably of the same light color as that used in the good shepherd, for in both scenes the figures are outlined in red. The head of David extends into the yellow band of the upper border.

The next scene on the lower register of the south wall, between the door which leads into the *liwan* and the south column of the *aedicula*, represents the Samaritan woman (Pls. XLVII, 1 and XLVI). This small picture is bordered above and on the left side by three white bands separated by black lines; there is certainly not enough space for a figure of Christ. Above and beyond this border runs the usual frieze of three white bands¹⁰ which separates our scene from one in the upper register which is only partially preserved. There are traces of a garden, perhaps the celestial paradise, adorned with green trees and bushes.

With the exception of this last fragmentary scene, all the paintings mentioned above have been removed from the walls, and are now on exhibition in the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University, where a small model of the chapel has been made by Mr. Pearson with the assistance of other members of the School of Fine Arts (Pl. XLI).

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE PICTURES

1. *Adam and Eve*

After this brief survey of the mural paintings in the chapel, let us now describe each picture in detail, beginning with the two scenes in the upper part of the wall behind the vaulting of the *aedicula* (Pls.

0.065 m. thick, are three white bands, each 0.03 m. thick, separated by two thin red lines, and below the lower black band is another in white. The central white band is decorated with a highly stylized Lesbian cymatium in dark reddish-brown, the upper and lower white bands are ornamented with dentils in the same color. The Lesbian pattern encroaches upon its red bordering lines.

¹⁰ This frieze is arranged as follows: between a dark red and black band, 0.063 m. thick, are three white bands, the lower one is 0.023 m. thick, both the central and the upper bands are 0.032 m. thick. They are decorated with the same dentil and wave pattern described in the previous note. The central white band of the frame is 0.05 m. thick.

XLIV and XLIX). Above they are bordered by a thick, curved band in dark red between black lines, and below by a horizontal band of the same color so as to give the size and shape of the vaulting through which they are visible. Near the lower left-hand corner is depicted the fall of man, a little scene bordered by grayish-green pilasters which represent the walls of the terrestrial paradise. Separated by a tree on which grow two dark red pomegranates(?) are Adam on the left, and Eve on the right, both in frontal view, the former a little taller than the latter who stands on lower ground-lines, and wears the coiffure of a woman.¹¹ In their clenched hands they hold grayish-green leaves before them. At first glance it might appear that they are wearing loin-cloths, but on close observation it is certain that leaves are meant, because the flesh of their thighs extends beyond the leaves. The figures are outlined against the red background, but their hands are painted against the leaves, and their bodies are flesh color. Their arms nearest the tree are raised shoulder high, bent at the elbow, and their hands are reaching up into the branches. The ground below this scene is rendered by gray horizontal lines of paint on which a very long serpent creeps to left. Here the painter made a correction; he started to paint the head of the snake too far to the left, but he did not obliterate the mistake. In the broad space to the right of this scene it may have been the intention of the painter to represent the expulsion from paradise, but this part was never finished.

No subject occurs so frequently in Christian art as the fall of man. It would be futile to discuss all the examples.¹² Suffice it to say that it is the only scene treated in western art in much the same way as it occurs in the birthplace of Christian art. The characteristic peculiarity is the symmetrical grouping with the tree between Adam and Eve. That this scene in the West was borrowed from the East is made certain by the fact that its earliest occurrence in the Roman catacombs is later, *i. e.*, not before the middle of the third century.¹³ On the later representations in the catacombs Adam and Eve, with few exceptions, are more or less in profile, though the symmetrical grouping remains the same.¹⁴ With the exception of our picture at Dura, the

¹¹ Height of the pilasters, 0.25 m., height of Adam, 0.21 m., of Eve, 0.20 m.

¹² Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dict.*, V, 1 cols. 923 ff. lists one hundred and eleven examples.

¹³ Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pl. 70, 2: in Priscilla, middle of third century.

¹⁴ Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pl. 101: in Peter and Marcellinus, second half of third century; Pl. 93: same place, and same date. Two exceptions with frontal view of Adam and Eve, Pl. 169: in cemetery Maius, fourth century; Pl. 197: in Domitilla, same date.

oldest rendering of the fall of man is in S. Januarius, Naples,¹⁵ where, although the serpent is omitted, they already hold leaves before them. In all cases the leaves are added proleptically, in other words, a series of events are welded into one picture. According to the Biblical account, the temptation by Satan, in the guise of a serpent, is followed by the eating of the forbidden fruit, then comes the awakening of a feeling of shame, and finally the covering of their nudity with leaves.¹⁶

In the Vienna *Genesis*, however, an illuminated manuscript of the fourth century A. D., three consecutive events in the story occur in one and the same picture.¹⁷ In the first scene Adam and Eve are nude, therefore the sin has not yet been committed, although he is taking the forbidden fruit from her. The symmetry of the East is preserved in that a tree stands between them. In the second scene both bend down, and are walking to right with bunches of leaves held before them. In the third scene they hide in the underbrush, and the hand of God is pointing at them. This continuous style, with consecutive events in one picture, is usually considered to be of Roman origin; we shall find it, however, already at Dura, in the scene of the paralytic discussed below.

In one respect the representation of the scene in our chapel differs from the rendering of the subject in the West, namely, in the addition of flanking pilasters to indicate the walls of the terrestrial paradise. In another illustration of the Vienna *Genesis* Adam and Eve, clad in brown garments made of hide, are approaching the door of paradise, a double door painted blue to indicate iron.¹⁸ The only other occurrence of a door leading from the Garden of Eden is in a most remarkable painting of the fifth or sixth century in one of the funerary chapels at El-Bagawat in the Libyan desert.¹⁹ Here the serpent, which is out-

¹⁵ Sybel, I, p. 167 (illustration), II, p. 124.

¹⁶ *Genesis*, III, 4—7.

¹⁷ Hartel-Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, Pl. I; Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis*, pp. 176 ff. dates the illustrations of this manuscript to the sixth century, but admits that the *Vorlage* goes back to the fourth.

¹⁸ Hartel-Wickhoff, *ibid.*, Pl. II.

¹⁹ de Bock, *Matériaux*, p. 22, Pl. XII; Neuss, Fig. 46; Cabrol, *Dict.* II, 1, col. 48, Fig. 1187; Wulff, *Altchr. u. Byz. Kunst*, I, pp. 94 f., Figs. 77—78; see also the important monograph of Troje, *ADAM und ZΩH*, for good illustrations of details. The paintings in the cupola of this funerary chapel E (see the plan of de Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 17, Fig. 29) are all massed together, without any demarkation of the various scenes, entirely different from the well-organized symmetry of Roman catacombs. The desire to tell a story is characteristic of eastern art, and nowhere is the narrative and dramatic mood, the intensity, and realism of the Syrians better illustrated than at El-Bagawat.

side the garden, looks over the closed door. Inside the door is a fig tree and a grapevine up which the serpent coils, but Adam and Zoe, as they are called in the explanatory inscriptions, are not aware of the presence of the serpent, for they turn their backs to the vine. From this scene steps lead up to the heavenly Jerusalem. It is a most interesting and unique picture which Dr. Troje interprets in a very masterly manner, and explains why Eve is called Zoe.²⁰ These sepulchral frescoes are altogether different from those of Rome, and follow an oriental tradition. Troje surmises that the scene was taken from an illuminated manuscript of the Adam legend²¹ in which there is no reference to disobedience, but that Satan in secret poisoned the fruit.

In an earlier chapel at El-Bagawat²² there is a more conventional rendering of the scene of Adam and Eve, also with explanatory inscriptions. Between them is a palm tree up which coils a serpent whispering into the ear of Eve, who holds her right hand to her ear as if listening intently to its words. Adam makes the same gesture.

But to come back to our scene at Dura. Its meaning is well brought out in *Romans*, V, 19: *For by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.* In *Romans*, VI, 23 we read: *For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of god is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.* In *I Corinthians*, XV, 22 however, the meaning is especially clear: *For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.* In these three passages it is noteworthy that Adam and Christ are contrasted, and so it is not surprising that the scene above the fall of man depicts the good shepherd.

2. *The Good Shepherd (Pls. XLIV and XLIX).*

That the good shepherd is Christ is definitively stated in John, X, 11—15: *I am the good shepherd, the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep . . . I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine . . . I lay down my life for the sheep.*

The good shepherd is depicted in frontal view, and stands *behind* his flock. On his shoulders he carries a huge ram, holding the hind leg of the animal with the right hand against his chest, and grasping

²⁰ Troje, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 ff., 97.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

²² For the plan, see de Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 26, Fig. 34, and for the illustration Pls. XIII—XIV. The paintings of this chapel are of the fourth century.

the foreleg with the left hand held close to his shoulder. He is painted in dark red; the details of his feet are not clear.²³ The girt tunic is yellowish-brown with dark edgings. Slung over his right shoulder is the strap of a bag which hangs at his left side. The head is represented with a band of dark hair; the eyes are dark dots; nose and mouth are scarcely distinguishable. In front of him is a flock of seventeen rams huddled together, and as difficult to count as a real flock of sheep. They are of the oriental fat-tailed variety with long, curving horns.²⁴ The leader of the flock, and some of the other rams, lower their heads to drink at a brook beyond which reeds grow. Behind the good shepherd, on the left side of the picture, are a number of trees. From one of these trees, which probably indicate the celestial paradise, the paint ran down, making a streak on the face of Adam.

In early Christian art there are two types of shepherd: the one with a sheep on his shoulders, of which there are unimportant variations, the other an ordinary shepherd.²⁵ The first type is inspired by the words of Christ as reported by Matthew and Luke. In Matthew, XVIII, 12—14 we read: *If a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, does he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep than of the ninety and nine which went not astray.* In Luke, XV, 4—7 the parable is told in much the same way, but he adds: *And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me, for I have found my sheep which was lost.* Thus we see that only Luke mentions the fact that the lost sheep was carried on the shoulders of the shepherd.

There are eighty-eight representations of the good shepherd in the Roman catacombs, most of them of the first type; usually, however, they differ in composition and grouping from the scene as we have it at Dura, where the asymmetrical composition is the distinguishing feature. With one exception,²⁶ this asymmetrical grouping does not occur in the catacombs of Rome or of Naples. In the western type

²³ Height of good shepherd, 0.43 m.; length of ram on his shoulders, 0.32 m.

²⁴ See Orth, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Enc.*, 2te Reihe, s. v. *Schaf*, pp. 375 ff.

²⁵ In the second type, the shepherd often has a dog at his feet, or he is milking a ewe. Sometimes he is bearded. Occasionally, however, there is a confusion of types in that he carries a lamb on his shoulders. For examples of the second type on gems, see de Waal, *Röm. Quart.*, 29, 1915, p. 118, Fig. 6; on sarcophagi, see Sybel, II, Figs. 6, 8, 11, 12.

²⁶ Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pl. 51, 1.

we find a well-balanced, symmetrical composition; the shepherd stands *between* his sheep, so that there are one or two on either side of him, and at the right and left end is a large tree.²⁷ Here we do not get the impression that the shepherd is bringing the lost sheep back to the fold. The composition is as simple as possible, and reminds one, in the general arrangement, of Daniel between two lions. Thus we see that the western tradition is preëminently symbolic.

In the representations of the good shepherd there are many variations. He is dressed either in a girt tunic or he wears the tunic *exomis*;²⁸ occasionally he wears a cloak over the tunic.²⁹ Sometimes he wears shoes, and very frequently laced gaiters, the *fasciae rurales* or *udones* of real shepherds.³⁰ He stands with feet far apart, or with legs crossed.³¹ The sheep on his shoulders has the head either to right or to left; he holds all four legs either with one hand³² or with both hands³³ so that the front legs as well as the hind legs are held either close together or far

²⁷ One sheep to the right, and one to the left of the good shepherd: Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pls. 69, 73, 100, 130, 190, 198, 203, 222. Only one sheep at his feet *ibid.*, Pl. 146. On the sarcophagus from Salona, dating from the beginning of the fourth century, Christ as the good shepherd is bearded. He stands in an *aedicula*, and holds with both hands a ram on his shoulders; at his right and left a lamb looks up at him and at the extreme right and left is a tree. This sarcophagus is illustrated by Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, II, p. 29, Fig. 28; cf. also Weigand, *Strena Buliciana* (Sonderabdruck), p. 28, who considers it to be of probable Athenian fabric. This attribution is more than doubtful, especially since the good shepherd follows the Roman tradition.

²⁸ For the shepherd wearing the tunic *exomis*, see Sybel, II, Figs. 3, 4, 9; G., Pls. 76, Fig. 2, 175, Fig. 9, 358, Fig. 2, 371, Figs. 2—4; Wilpert, *Sarc.*, Pl. LXXV, 4. Cf. Strzygowski, *Röm. Quart.*, 1890, p. 99.

²⁹ Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pls. 66, 2, 117, 2, 236, 266.

³⁰ Roller, *Catacombes*, Pl. XLI; Sybel, I, pp. 210, 242, 243, 245; Sybel, II, Figs. 8, 45; Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pls. 35, 1, 66, 236.

³¹ As in the catacomb of S. Januarius, Naples: G., Pl. 91, and on a gold glass: G., Pl. 175, Fig. 9. On all the other examples, the feet are far apart.

³² When the good shepherd holds the sheep on his shoulder, with one hand, he has an attribute, either a syrinx or a staff in the other, as in Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pls. 63, 1, 183, 1, 266; Cabrol, *Dict. s. v. Cyrénaïque*, col. 3223, Fig. 3479; Sybel, II, Fig. 36 (statue in Istanbul); Strzygowski, *Röm. Quart.*, 1890, Pl. IV, 2 (statue in Sparta); Sybel, II, Figs. 6, 45 (sarcophagi); G., Pl. 357, Fig. 4. For most of the iconographical material used in this article, I am indebted to the Index of Christian Art of Princeton University.

³³ The sheep held on his shoulders, with both hands, are so numerous, that it would take too much space to cite all of the twenty-six examples. On sarcophagi: Sybel, II, Figs. 3, 7, 8, 12; Wilpert, *Sarc.* Pl. IV, 3; Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, II, p. 29, Fig. 28. On frescoes: Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pls. 35, 1, 106, 2, 146. On gems: de Waal, *Röm. Quart.*, 29, 1915, p. 111, Fig. 1. On gold glass: G., Pl. 175, Fig. 9.

apart. On later monuments, although the body of the good shepherd is in frontal view, he looks toward the head of the sheep on his shoulders. Occasionally the sheep rests on his shoulders without being held at all.³⁴ In one respect our good shepherd at Dura is unique in that he holds only one hind leg and only one foreleg of the ram.

In one of the three graves under the church of S. Sebastian, at Rome, an interesting painting of the good shepherd has been found.³⁵ He is depicted as bringing the lost sheep to a flock of sheep and goats. From the left two other shepherds run toward him, and stretch out their hands. This is a unique scene, which may illustrate Luke, XV, 5—6, quoted above. It is not in keeping with the well-organized symmetry and symbolism of western art, but with the asymmetry and narrative style of the East.

Let me again emphasize the juxtaposition of the fall of man and Christ, the good shepherd, in the chapel at Dura. That this is not accidental, but intentional, we have already noted. The location of the good shepherd in a semicircular space is rare, because the given space is ill-adapted to the subject. In later pictures this location is reserved for Christ enthroned between the apostles.³⁶

Our picture of the good shepherd is also unique in the manner of grouping the sheep which, as has already been observed, are huddled together as in a real flock. The overlapping of the sheep never occurs in Roman catacombs, where each sheep stands out sharply against the background.³⁷

3. *The Paralytic (Pls. XLV and L).*

On the upper part of the north wall there are two scenes which are not separated by any line of demarkation: the one, the miracle of the lake; the other, the paralytic. The latter scene, at the left end of the wall, represents the bed on which the sick man lies. The front and

³⁴ Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pls. 66, 1; 112, 2.

³⁵ See Lietzmann, *Peter und Paul*, pp. 158 ff. for these graves which are numbered X, Y, and Z. About 200 A. D. grave X received an attica which was covered with stucco on the gable of its brick façade. This whole white surface was decorated with sepulchral pictures, one of which (Pl. 9) is the good shepherd. These pictures are discussed by Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 301 ff., and by G. Mancini in *Not. d. Scav.*, 1923, pp. 53 ff.

³⁶ See Sybel, I, p. 288.

³⁷ The lack of overlapping, even of human figures, in the catacombs is general; I know of only two exceptions, Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pls. 79, 86.

back legs of the bed are strengthened by cross-bars just above the ground, which is reddish-brown in color. The bed is slightly tipped forward by depicting the legs in the foreground as resting on lower ground, which partly conceals one of its back legs. This allows us to see more clearly the figure lying at full length on his left side. On the bed is a coverlet with red fringes. The paralytic is dressed in a yellow tunic outlined in brown. His outstretched right arm rests on his side, but the left arm is bent so that the hand supports the head, which is slightly raised over a long, cylindrically shaped, green pillow. His hair is light brown. A little above the bed stands Jesus on a ground-line made by several red brush-strokes forked at the left. Christ, facing front, extends his right hand with outstretched fingers across his body toward the head of the sick man, and is in the act of performing the miraculous cure. He wears sandals, and is clad in tunic and mantle. The latter, arranged around the right side and thrown over the left shoulder, hangs down the left side so as to conceal the left arm. Both tunic and mantle are white, but the folds are indicated in pink and yellow. The hair is light brown between two small bands of black; the eyes, set in dark red sockets and red upper lids, have a black dot for iris and pupil, the usual method of indicating eyes in almost all the figures. He seems to wear a crown.

At the left of this scene is its continuation, the cured paralytic walking down hill to right with the bed on his back. The fringed coverlet is missing, so that the crisscross thongs of the lacing are visible. He holds the bed upside down by the lacing with the left hand; the right is outstretched as if to guide his step. His bare feet do not rest on the curving ground-line, but hover over it. The features are blurred. Here, too, he wears a yellow tunic. Above and below are the usual borders.³⁸

The manner of treatment of this scene is unique. Its chief importance lies in the fact that now we can definitively say that it is the scene at Capernaum. Formerly, there was considerable doubt expressed as to which of the two occasions — the one at Capernaum, the other at the pool of Bethesda³⁹ — was represented, when the paralytic walks off with his bed, for, on both occasions Christ said to the sick man: *Take up thy bed and walk.*

³⁸ Height of the figure of Christ, 0.31 m., of the paralytic carrying his bed 0.32 m. Length of bed, 0.25 m. For the arrangement and dimensions of the borders, which certainly extended around the north and west walls of the chapel, see above, notes 9—10.

³⁹ For the cure at Bethesda, see John V, 1—15.

E. Baldwin Smith, who has made an exhaustive study of the scene, has tabulated all the monuments,⁴⁰ and it is noteworthy that in the oriental rendering, the paralytic carries his bed upside down on his shoulders, as at Dura, whereas in the western method of presentation, he carries his bed with the legs hanging down. When the legs hang down, the paralytic holds it tightly against his back. On some monuments, but not before the sixth century, he carries the bed, legs down, on his head, grasping the front legs of the couch. In this rendering only the front end of the bed is indicated, and consequently the paralytic is represented facing.

The first, or eastern, type is the earlier, and it is important to emphasize the fact that it has influenced all the frescoes in the Roman catacombs with two exceptions.⁴¹ Christ is usually omitted from the composition. In the method of representation in S. Hermes⁴² the scene of the paralytic carrying his bed is similar to that at Dura. The earlier examples of glass bowls, and those with gold representations in the bottom, depict the eastern rendering,⁴³ whereas, on the later examples of glass bowls, the Roman manner is usually adopted.⁴⁴ On the western sarcophagi the paralytic, a very small figure, stands in profile at the feet of Christ, and carries on his shoulders the bed with legs hanging down, grasping the sides of the bed with both hands.⁴⁵ There are, however, two exceptions in which the bed is carried upside down.⁴⁶ Thus we see that in the sarcophagi both the eastern and the western types are represented.

The ivories of the sixth century show a variety of types. The only one which is purely eastern in type, thereby following the tradition first found at Dura, is the Milan book-cover.⁴⁷ Elsewhere, he either

⁴⁰ E. B. Smith, *Iconography*, pp. 102 ff., Table VII.

⁴¹ The exceptions are in Callixtus, Chapel of the Sacraments, Cub. A³: Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pl. 27, 3, and in Peter and Marcellinus: *ibid.*, Pl. 69; G., Pl. 45, Fig. 3; Mesnard, *Riv. arch. crist.*, V, p. 317, Fig. 9.

⁴² Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pl. 246.

⁴³ So, for example, the glass bowl found at Cologne, now in the Brit. Mus.: Leclercq, *Manuel*, II, p. 489, Fig. 327, Neuss, *Z. Christl. K.*, 1915, cols. 107 ff. and Pl. IX, Kisa, III, p. 891, Fig. 369. In this bowl, however, the bed is held crosswise, and upside down, on his back.

⁴⁴ G., Pls. 171, Figs. 1—2, 177, Figs. 2—4.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Wilpert, *Sarc.*, Pls. CXII, 2, CXXIX, 1, CXXXXIII, 1, CLVIII, 3.

⁴⁶ In the Lateran Museum and in the Museo delle Terme: Mar., Pl. XXXVIII, 1, and G., Pl. 404, Fig. 2.

⁴⁷ G., Pl. 455.

carries the bed legs down on his back, and holds the front legs, not the sides, so that the bottom of the couch covers his whole back against which it tightly fits,⁴⁸ or he carries it on his head, grasping the front legs.⁴⁹

The mosaics of Ravenna, in S. Apollinare nuovo, represent the miracle in two types; the one⁵⁰ depicts the paralytic carrying the bed on his shoulders by the front legs, the other⁵¹ represents him lying on his bed, and lowered down to Christ through the roof of a house, according to the Biblical account,⁵² but the effect of the miracle, the healed paralytic carrying his bed, is not pictured in the second type. The first type at Ravenna is the earliest Byzantine rendering of the paralytic on his bed, and it harks back to the eastern tradition, as we have it at Dura.

In the sixth century the eastern type figured in the paintings of S. Sergius of Gaza, described by Choricius, who was a native of that place.⁵³ It is safe to assume that in this picture at Gaza the paralytic carried his bed upside down.

As we have already noted, the first part of the scene at Dura, in which Christ stands over the bed of the sick man and heals him, is unique for early Christian art. This part of the story does not again occur until the sixth century, and then in the above-mentioned Ravennate mosaic. It is important to emphasize once more the narrative style, and the occurrence of two consecutive events in one picture. This is what is called the continuous style. The first event evidently did not appeal to western artists, who avoided the narrative and dramatic mood of the Syrians.

Wilpert, on many occasions,⁵⁴ insists on the deep symbolic or hidden meaning of the scenes in the catacombs, so, for example, he interprets the healing of the paralytic as a symbolic representation of baptism. To this Styger⁵⁵ takes exception, and asks why the scene should have any connection with baptism. Although Styger is too sceptical in many parts of his book, I agree with him on this point.

Interesting is the type of Christ in our scene, for it is the earliest

⁴⁸ For example, the Murano book-cover, Ravenna: Sybel, II, Fig. 73, G., Pl. 456, Aus'm Weerth, *Elf.-Arb.*, Pl. XXVII.

⁴⁹ As on the book-cover in the Bibl. Nat., Paris: Sybel, II, Fig. 76.

⁵⁰ Mesnard, p. 316, Fig. 8, G., Pl. 248, Fig. 1.

⁵¹ Mesnard, p. 324, Fig. 16, G., Pl. 248, Fig. 3.

⁵² Mark, II, 3—12, Luke, V, 18—25.

⁵³ See Bayet, *Recherches*, p. 61.

⁵⁴ *Malereien*, pp. 143, 153, 264 f., *Fractio Panis*, p. 26 and elsewhere.

⁵⁵ *Grabeskunst*, p. 15.

known representation of our Savior. He is a beardless, young man with short hair, and is clad in the ordinary costume of the day. In the Roman catacombs there are three types of Christ. The earliest is identical with that of Dura, and evidently originated in the East.⁵⁶ In the second type, which first occurs in the third century, Christ is also youthful, but with long, curly hair. In the third type, which occurs as early as the fourth century, he is bearded, although in the fourth century there are many examples of the beardless type.⁵⁷

4. *The Miracle of the Lake (Pls. XLV and LI).*

To the right of the scene of the paralytic is depicted, without any line of demarkation, the miracle of the lake. In a ship plowing through the water four apostles and fragments of a fifth and a sixth are sitting on the deck with arms outstretched. Their feet are not visible. As the crude brick wall, which leaned against the ramparts, cuts through this picture, only the rear part of the ship with the high stern is preserved. On the stern are still discernible two ropes which evidently had been fastened to the yard of the mast. The ship is yellowish-brown in color with planks outlined in red, and along the sides are represented rectangular portholes in white. One of the apostles, who served as helmsman, is sitting on the stern, but he holds no rudder, for both arms are outstretched to right. From left to right the color of their tunics is as follows: pink, yellow, pink, green, yellow, and pink. The gestures of all obviously indicate astonishment, and, in full frontal view, they are looking out to sea at two figures walking on the water. The figure on the left, depicted more in the foreground than the other, is walking to right, but his head faces front. He is bearded, and wears over his tunic a pallium, arranged in the same manner as that of Christ healing the paralytic, but the beard and the thick, curly hair make it certain that this figure represents Peter.⁵⁸ Christ is clad only in a

⁵⁶ See the illustrations in Sybel, I, pp. 225, 229, 233. Cf. Wilpert, *Malereien*, pp. 106, 254 n. 1; Kraus, *R. E.*, II, p. 15; *idem*, *Kunstgesch.*, I, p. 176.

⁵⁷ As in Domitilla, Cubicle II, dating from the middle of the fourth century: Wilpert, *Malereien*, Pl. 196. For the appearance of Christ in literary sources, always based on the imagination of the various authors, see J. Sauer, "Das Aufkommen des bärtigen Christustypus in der frühchristlichen Kunst" in *Strena Buliciana* (1924), pp. 303—329. Cf. also V. Schultze, "Christus in der frühchristlichen Kunst" in *Strena Buliciana*, pp. 334 ff.

⁵⁸ Height of Peter, 0.33 m. For Peter clad in the same manner on the fragmentary lid of a sarcophagus, see Wilpert, *M. & M. Text*, pp. 806 f.

yellowish-white tunic. Unfortunately, his head and left shoulder had been destroyed when the mud brick wall was erected. He walks to left with outstretched right hand which Peter is about to grasp. The right arm of Peter crosses his body, and is raised higher than that of Christ. Thus we get the impression that Peter is sinking, though in reality his feet are clearly visible. The water is rendered in gray with a touch of pink to make it a very light brown against which the waves are thrown on in black strokes, some grouped horizontally, others diagonally. This naturalistic touch very cleverly gives the effect of rising and sinking waves.

On the whole, the color scheme is extremely interesting. The lack of color in the drab foreground, with Peter and Christ against the light brown water, is contrasted with the brilliantly painted ship and the dark green, pink and yellow tunics of the apostles. If the entire boat with the eleven apostles had been preserved, the color scheme would have been even more effective.

In general, the ships of the ancients have a single mast in the middle, and a square sail attached to a transverse pole or yard not far from the top of the mast. Ropes were attached to the ends of the yard for changing the position of the sail. That the ship of the apostles in our scene is moving to right, and that the stern is preserved, is made certain by an examination of analogies. On the ship in the scene of Jonah, depicted in the cemetery of Callixtus,⁵⁹ the stern is indicated by a pair of rudders; the sail is reefed because of the storm. The portholes are also indicated. By far the closest parallel to our ship, however, is on a mosaic of the early fourth century, in the Basilica of Aquileia,⁶⁰ figuring the casting of the net on the right side of the ship, according to the advice of Jesus.⁶¹ Here the stern of the ship has exactly the same shape as that in our scene, even the square openings or portholes are rendered in the same manner. Other representations of ships, as, for example, the one painted in the cupola of El-Bagawat, below the scene of Adam and Zoe,⁶² the ship engraved on the bezels of two

⁵⁹ Well illustrated in Sybel, I, p. 216.

⁶⁰ Gnirs, "Die christliche Kultanlage aus konstantinischer Zeit am Platze des Domes in Aquileia" in *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch*, IX (1915), Pl. X; Brusin, *Aquileia*, p. 270, Fig. 204. For a general discussion of the Basilica (church of S. Theodore), see Gnirs, *Jahresh.*, XIX—XX (1919), Beiblatt, cols. 187 ff. For Aquileia's importance as a commercial and industrial center, see Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im Römischen Kaiserreich*, I, pp. 58 ff., 138, 244 n. 16, 300 n. 17, 306 f. n. 23.

⁶¹ John, XXI, 6.

⁶² De Bock, *Matériaux*, Pl. XII; Cabrol, *Dict.*, s. v. *Arche*, col. 2714, Fig. 906.

bronze rings in the British Museum,⁶³ the ship on a shard in the British Museum,⁶⁴ verify my opinion that the stern of the ship of the apostles in the scene of the miracle of the lake is the part preserved.

That the sea was stormy is distinctly stated by Matthew,⁶⁵ who alone reports the episode of Peter walking on the water.⁶⁶ The rendering of water in the catacombs of Rome is usually quite different. In the scenes of Noah in the ark,⁶⁷ and those of Jonah,⁶⁸ it is more naturalistically represented, although the method used in Dura occasionally occurs.⁶⁹

Our scene is full of action, and was one which manifestly appealed to the Syrians, and others of the East, who chose by preference narrative subjects. It is a noticeable fact that the miracle of the lake does not occur in western art until the eighth century. Wilpert, to be sure, reconstructs two scenes for the fourth century; the one a fragment of a lid of a sarcophagus, found by him in the cemetery of Callixtus,⁷⁰ where, however, only Peter is in the water and Christ stands on the shore and so it is certain that the scene represents the miraculous catch of fish,⁷¹ and the impetuous Peter swimming to shore. The other scene reconstructed by Wilpert, as depicting the miracle of the lake,⁷² is on a fragmentary mosaic in the Baptistery of S. John, Naples, where, in the middle register, the stern of a boat is discernible, nothing more; certainly not enough to warrant Wilpert's interpretation.

On a mutilated fresco of the eighth century in the church of S. Saba,⁷³ on the Aventine, Christ, bearded, and with a cruciform halo, is walking on dark blue waves of the sea, and is extending a helpful hand to the sinking Peter. To the right is preserved a fragment of the boat with several apostles. This picture is clearly based on the eastern tradition.⁷⁴

⁶³ Dalton, *Cat.*, I, Pl. II, 70 and 71.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. II, 40.

⁶⁵ Matth., XIV, 24. Cf. also Mark, VI, 48 and John, VI, 18.

⁶⁶ Matth., XIV, 28—31.

⁶⁷ Wilpert, *Malereien*, Pls. 67, 73, 98, 104.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Pls. 47, 82, 109.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Pls. 203, 212.

⁷⁰ Wilpert, *M. & M.*, text, pp. 306 f.

⁷¹ According to John XXI, 6—7. See Styger, *Grabeskunst*, p. 95.

⁷² Wilpert, *M. & M.*, Pl. 31, text, p. 216, fig. 68 and p. 244.

⁷³ Wilpert, *op. cit.*, Pl. 188, 1; Wüscher-Becchi, *Röm. Quart.*, 1903, p. 63 (illustration); C. Cecchelli, *Riv. arch. crist.*, IV (1927), p. 126, Fig. 7.

⁷⁴ For the explanatory inscription, which Wilpert was able to restore from fifteen fragments, see Wilpert, *M. & M.* text, p. 307.

The scene of the miracle of the lake of Gennesaret was, in fact, more popular in the East than in the West. It was represented in the sixth century in one of the paintings of S. Sergius of Gaza, described by Choricus.⁷⁵ It is also found twice on the ampullae of Bobbio,⁷⁶ which belong to the same century. There Christ is on the right, and Peter on the left, as at Dura. Again, as at Dura, the ship is sailing to right, and is above them. The eastern tradition is also found on a lost gem⁷⁷ of the sixth century, and on the illuminated manuscript of S. Gregory of Nazianzen,⁷⁸ which belongs to the ninth century.

A series of pictures without a separating border or paneling, as our scenes of the paralytic, and the miracle of the lake, is seldom found in the catacombs of Rome.⁷⁹

The scene before us is usually listed under the subject of salvation, but it seems to me that it refers rather to faith than to salvation. To be sure, Peter calls out when he begins to sink: *Lord, save me*, but Jesus after rescuing him says to Peter: *O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?*⁸⁰

The figure of Peter is in excellent preservation, and is of especial importance, because it is the earliest known illustration of that apostle. He is bearded, and has a thick growth of curly hair. The oldest datable picture of Peter in western art is in the cemetery of Peter and Marcellinus, which Wilpert assigns to the second half of the third century.⁸¹ There he has short, curly hair and a beard, a low forehead, and slightly hooked nose, the type of man of the masses. Later, however, the hair over his forehead is more accentuated, and in the course of time it seems to be a band or diadem, which crowns the forehead. Still later,

⁷⁵ See Bayet, *Recherches*, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Cecchelli, *loc. cit.*, p. 127, Fig. 8.

⁷⁷ G., Pl. 478, Fig. 13; Fleury, *L'Évan.*, II, Pl. LIV, Fig. 2; Roller, *Catacombes*, Pl. XIX, 20; Leclercq, *Manuel*, II, p. 374, Fig. 280. For the date, see Wüscher-Becchi, *Röm. Quart.*, 1903, p. 68. On this onyx gem, which is now lost, there are only three apostles, due to lack of space, in the boat, one at the rudder, and two with hands uplifted in amazement. The boat with reefed sail, to indicate the storm, is moving to right. The sinking Peter, clad in tunic, is on a much larger scale than the apostles in the boat. Again, as at Dura, Christ walks to left, and grasps Peter's hand. Both are identified by inscriptions.

⁷⁸ Manuscript of S. Gregory of Nazianzen, 880—886 A. D., Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 510. See Omont, p. 22, Pl. XXXVI, Fleury, *L'Évan.*, II, p. 7, and Pl. LIV, Fig. 1.

⁷⁹ For its rare occurrence, see Wilpert, *Malereien*, p. 30 and Pls. 14, 62, 1, 147, 219, 220, 227.

⁸⁰ Matth., XIV, 30—31.

⁸¹ Wilpert, *Malereien*, pp. 91, 113, Pl. 95.

the hair of his head becomes thinner and finally disappears altogether, or a tonsure takes its place. The "lock of Peter", a single curl in the middle of the forehead, is the last phase in the development.⁸²

5. *The Holy Women at the Sepulcher (Pls. XLII and XLVIII).*

Below the two scenes of the paralytic, and the miracle of the lake, is the main picture of the north wall, the holy women at the tomb of Christ. This scene follows Mark, who mentions three Marys as coming to the tomb to anoint the body. In our picture they carry bowls of myrrh. The mud brick wall, which destroyed the greater part of the ship of the apostles, did much damage to the lower scene, so that part of the head of the second figure, and almost all of the third one are missing. Furthermore, a large piece of plaster fallen from the first figure has destroyed it from the waist down. It is certain that Luke is not followed, for, in addition to the three Marys, he mentions other women. At first we were of the opinion that the pair of feet, just beyond the corner on the east wall, belonged to our scene, and that it was part of one of the other women, but just behind the third Mary there is a vertical border, and beyond that a peculiar, box-like object. Of this object only the lower part is preserved, so that it is impossible to interpret it. At first glance, I thought that it might represent the gate leading from Jerusalem.

The three Marys are moving slowly to left, and are approaching a huge sarcophagus, which is painted yellowish-white with black outlines. A black horizontal line separates its body from the gable-shaped lid. The short side of the sarcophagus is so depicted that its left half is slightly foreshortened. The lid, which has end *acroteria* in the shape of a cymatium decorated with a thick red horizontal line, is adorned in its gable with wavy lines in red, forming scrolls asymmetrically arranged. It is the eastern type of sarcophagus.⁸³ Above the *acroteria* are two stars of twelve and eleven rays, respectively. The centers of the stars consist of three concentric circles, the inner one in black, the middle one in white, and the outer one again in black. From the edge of this outer circle radiate the points, fashioned by black lines outlining the white rays. Two of the lower rays partly cover the *acroteria*, and four or five points, respectively, of the upper rays extend into the white lower line of the bands which separate this picture from those above.

⁸² For the references, see Wittig, pp. 101 ff.

⁸³ See F. Matz in *Arch. Ztg.*, 30 (1872), pp. 11 ff., for the first discussion of the difference between Greek and Roman sarcophagi.

The two Marys nearest the tomb of Christ are in frontal view. Both wear the white palla, and long, white veils which serve as a background for the outline of the hair. Their garments and veils are represented in the white plaster, on which are painted their girdles, and the embroidery of their dresses. The robe of the first Mary has a red neckband and girdle, the long ends of which hang down on either side of the central knot. In the second Mary these details are painted in green. The hair is arranged in six little, brown tufts covering the ears. The lips and nose of the first figure, which, as we shall see, represents Mary Magdalene, are drawn in lines of red. She carries in her extended right hand a burning torch held upright, whereas the torch of the second figure is, for the sake of variation, held diagonally. The flames of the torches are black instead of red, so that they could be distinguished from the red background. Each figure holds in the left hand an open bowl close to the waist; the contents — no doubt, myrrh — are indicated by two dark red lines.⁸⁴

The figures are drawn with great care, and in an altogether different style from those of the upper scenes. Because this scene was held to be the most important one in the chapel, one of the best available artists was employed for its execution.

It is a noteworthy fact that this picture of the holy women approaching the sepulcher of Christ is the only example known to us in which they hold torches. The torches, which are not mentioned in the Biblical version, were added by the painter to indicate early dawn, before break of day. Similarly, in a fresco in a church of Cappadocia, representing the flight into Egypt, a torch was added because the flight took place at night.⁸⁵ For the same reason the two stars shining over the tomb were depicted in our picture. It is interesting to note in this connection that stars with eleven or twelve rays do not occur in western art. In the catacombs of Rome they are simpler, and are never found with more than eight rays.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ The height of the two Marys nearest the tomb of Christ is almost equal to that of the field, which is 0.88 m. They are almost as tall as the sarcophagus, which is 0.91 m. high. The greatest height of the lid is 0.36 m. The length of the stars from point to point is 0.30 m.; the diameter of the central circle is 0.03 m., that of the middle one, 0.06 m., and that of the outer one, 0.10 m. The height of the face of the first Mary is 0.10 m., including the hair, 0.13 m. The length of the handle of the torch is 0.21 m. The diameter of the bowl at the rim is 0.09 m.

⁸⁵ See Jerphanion, *Églises de Cappadoce*, text, I, p. 79, Album, I, Pls. 40, 4 and 41, 2.

⁸⁶ For stars with eight rays, see Wilpert, *Malereien*, Pls. 22, 218. To be sure, stars of eight rays occur in the vaulting of the *aedicula* and on the ceiling of the chapel.

There can be no doubt that the painter of our scene was under the impression that Christ had been buried in a sarcophagus. Although all the later renderings of the sepulcher are quite different, there is literary evidence for the burial of Christ in a sarcophagus. A description of the grave in 1620, namely, tells of its restoration in 1555 by Bonifacius Stephanius of Ragusa. This description tells of two chapels, the rear one containing the tomb of Christ in the shape of a chest, and that Boniface had the chest or sarcophagus veneered with marble. According to another source, the sarcophagus, which stood in an inner room with a vaulted ceiling, was cut out of the living rock, and had a hand-wrought lid.⁸⁷

Neither the angel nor the soldiers are represented in our scene. The omission of the angel and the soldiers, who were sent to guard the tomb, is characteristic of the primitive version of the beginning of the third century. When angel and guards are omitted on later monuments, it is always due to lack of space.⁸⁸ Often, on small objects of a later period, the angel alone, without the guards, is represented.⁸⁹

Again our picture at Dura is unique in that the Marys carry the precious spices in bowls. On the later renderings of the subject, which follow an eastern tradition, they carry either incense-burners hanging from strings, or they hold boxes of incense in their hands, although occasionally they hold bottles of scented ointment.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ See Gurlitt, *Festschr. Clemen*, pp. 190 f., 192, Fig. 4, for the best discussion of the sepulcher of Christ.

⁸⁸ As on the bezel of a bronze ring in Berlin, of the seventh or eighth century, published by Wulff, *Altchr. u. Byz. Kunst*, Pl. XLII, 88; on the sarcophagi: G., Pls. 315, Fig. 5, 350, Fig. 4, Wilpert, *Sarc.*, Pl. XV; and on an Egyptian amulet: Reil, *Kreuz. Chr.*, Pl. I, Fig. 1, cf. *Byz. Zeitschr.*, II (1893), p. 188, the only example on which Mary and Martha are identified by inscriptions.

⁸⁹ As on the Monza and Bobbio ampullae: G., Pls. 433, Fig. 8, 434, Figs. 1—2, 4—7, 435, Fig. 1, Morey, *Festschr. Clemen*, p. 153 Fig. 2, Cecchelli, *Riv. arch. crist.* IV (1927), p. 119, Figs. 3—4; on the bronze censers: cited below, n. 94; on Gnostic bracelets: Maspero, *Ann. Égypte*, IX (1908) Pl. to p. 289, Figs. 2—5; on the pallium in Strassburg: Forrer, *Seiden-Textil.*, Pl. XVII, 9; on one of the panels of the wooden door of S. Sabina, Rome: J. Wiegand, pp. 43 ff., Pl. IX, No. 6. On the paintings of the churches of Cappadocia, angel and guards are depicted, with the exception of the church of Qeledjar, where the soldiers are omitted: Jerphanion, *Églises de Cappadoce*, pp. 225 f., Album I, Pls. 51, 58, 2.

⁹⁰ On the ivory pyxis in the Museum of Sitten, Switzerland, the Marys hold by strings boxes of incense, which they are going to burn at the tomb: Fleury, *Messe*, V, Pl. 371. On the ampullae from Monza and Bobbio they hold either incense-burners by strings or boxes of incense in their hands: cited above, note 89. The same attributes are found on the textile vestment, a pallium, in Strassburg: cited in note

A western tradition of the scene, in which the holy women do not carry attributes, is found on all the ivories⁹¹ with the exception of that in Sitten. In addition to these ivories, the western type is also found on the three sarcophagi which represent the scene.⁹² It is surprising that the scene occurs so seldom in western art. There is not a single example in the Roman catacombs.

In the Orient, on the other hand, it is one of the subjects most frequently represented. In addition to the Monza and Bobbio ampullae, the pallium in Strassburg, the Rabula Gospels, the amulet in Paris, and the paintings in Cappadocian churches,⁹³ may be added a whole series of bronze censers in Berlin, London and Odessa, a Syrian platter in Perm, a Ravennate mosaic, and a column of the ciborium in S. Marco, Venice.⁹⁴ In the sixth century, according to Choricius, the scene was painted in the church of S. Sergius at Gaza.⁹⁵

As we have already noted the tomb of Christ is represented in our scene at Dura as a sarcophagus of the eastern type. All the other renderings of the subject, which go back to an oriental tradition, substitute the Constantinian type of tomb concerning which E. Baldwin Smith, Morey,⁹⁶ 89; in the Rabula manuscript, Florence, Syr. 56: Morey *Festschr. Clemen*, p. 150, Fig. 1, Biagi, Pl. I; on a circular disk (amulet) in the Bibl. Nat., Cab. des Meds.: Cabrol, *Dict.*, I, 2, col. 1819, Fig. 486; on the paintings in the churches of Cappadocia: Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, Album I, Pl. 51, 1 (with inscriptions), Album II, Pls. 103, 1, 125. For the Marys holding bottles of ointment, see the painting in the Cappadocian church, Toqale Kilisse: Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, Album I, Pl. 69, and in the chapel of Theotokos: *ibid.*, Album I, Pl. 34, No. 1.

⁹¹ See Stuhlfauth, p. 143. These are the casket in the Brit. Mus.: Dalton, *Cat.*, No. 291, Pl. VI, and his *Cat. Ivory*, Pl. IV, 7c; the diptych at Milan: G., Pl. 450, Fig. 2; the diptych at Milan, Coll. Trivulzio: Smith, *Art Studies*, II, Fig. 4, Sybel, II, Fig. 65; the plaque in Munich: Goldschmidt, I, p. 69, Fig. 27.

⁹² These sarcophagi are cited above, note 88.

⁹³ See above, notes 89 and 90.

⁹⁴ Bronze censers in Berlin: Wulff, *Altchr. u. Byz. Bildw.*, III, 1, Nos. 967—971; London: Dalton, *Cat.*, No. 540, p. 108; Odessa: Fleury, *Messe*, V, Pl. 416, 1, 2. Syrian platter in Perm: Reil, *Kreuz. Chr.*, Pl. II, Fig. 3, and p. 65 for its Syrian inscription. Mosaic, Ravenna, S. Apollinare nuovo: G., Pl. 251, Fig. 6, Berchem et Clouzot, *Mos. chrét.*, p. 136, Fig. 169, best illustrated in Mesnard, p. 325, Fig. 18. Column of ciborium, S. Marco, Venice, in the archivolt: G., Pl. 497, Fig. 1, Venturi, I, p. 276, Fig. 263.

⁹⁵ Bayet, *Recherches*, p. 62.

⁹⁶ In *Festschr. Clemen*, p. 154, Fig. 3, Morey reproduces the types of tomb, after E. B. Smith, *Art Studies*, II (1924), Pl. I. On p. 155, Morey says that the Monza ampulla shows "the only attempt at a veritable rendering of the sepulchre's actual appearance." In that paper, Morey makes an exhaustive study of the Vatican panel from the Sancta Sanctorum, which, on pp. 164 ff., he connects with the Cappadocian school.

Gurlitt,⁹⁷ and Baumstark⁹⁸ have written. In some of the illustrations of the sepulcher, the artists give free reign to their imagination.

The Biblical version of the holy women at the tomb varies considerably. Matthew⁹⁹ mentions two women at the tomb, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, but there is no mention of ointment; they merely came to see the tomb. Mark¹⁰⁰ speaks of three women, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome, who brought sweet spices to anoint the body of Christ. This is the version followed in our picture. According to Luke,¹⁰¹ however, three holy women, Mary Magdalene, Joanna, and the mother of James, and other women brought spices and ointments. John¹⁰² mentions only Mary Magdalene, but does not refer to ointment. All four gospels mention Mary Magdalene first, wherefore we can identify the first Mary in our picture with Mary Magdalene. Matthew mentions one angel, and is the only evangelist to speak of the soldiers. Mark also mentions one angel, but Luke speaks of two. The Biblical version does not refer to the angel as sitting on the stone which had been rolled away. This is merely an inference of the early Christian artists. Nor does Matthew mention the number of guards set by the Pharises. The number of two so frequently found on Christian monuments is adopted for the sake of symmetry, and where there is no space for them on the ground, they are placed on top of the tomb. Only on one picture, in the Rabula manuscript,¹⁰³ three guards occur.

It is possible to date our painting fairly accurately, because of the peculiar coiffure of the two Marys whose heads are preserved. It is identical with that introduced by Julia Mamaea, the mother of Severus Alexander who ruled from 222 to 235. Her hair is waved in front, and falls down the sides so as to cover the ears. Orbiana, the wife of Severus Alexander, dressed her hair in the same manner, so too Paulina, the wife of Maximinus I (235—238), but the hair of the

⁹⁷ Cornelius Gurlitt, "Das Grab Christi in der Grabeskirche in Jerusalem" in *Festschr. Clemen*, pp. 189—199.

⁹⁸ Baumstark, *Myrophoren*, pp. 5—20. On the last page of that article, Baumstark is quite prophetic in his assumption that the pre-Constantinian scene must have been an oriental type, because it is lacking in Rome. It may be forever lost, he says, but we cannot doubt its existence. Professor Baumstark will no doubt welcome our picture from Dura, for it brings the verification of his thesis.

⁹⁹ Matth., XXVIII, 1 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Mark, XVI, 1 ff.

¹⁰¹ Luke, XXIII, 55 f., XXIV, 1—5 and 10.

¹⁰² John, XX, 1 and 11—12.

¹⁰³ The Rabula manuscript is cited above, note 90.

latter is so arranged that the ears are visible.¹⁰⁴ This hairdress evidently originated in Syria, and thence was brought to Rome. Judging from these analogies, we may say that our picture was painted not later than 235 A. D., but we do not know how much earlier, for we do not know when Julia Mamaea first introduced this peculiar hairdress. It may have been as early as 200 A. D.

6. *David and Goliath* (Pl. XLVII, 2).

On the south wall, between the two doors, and under an arched niche, is the scene of David and Goliath. The part of the picture to the right has been entirely destroyed by the wall of mud brick; the part to the left is much damaged by wind and weather. Furthermore, through the center of the scene, the plaster has given way, leaving a huge gap. Of the upper part of the figure of David there is preserved only a small fraction of the hair with a bit of the face, the outline of the chin, and the right arm brandishing a sword. The arm is sharply bent at the elbow so that the sword is held horizontally over his head. The upper part of the head, the hand and sword reach into the yellow band of the upper border. Up his arm, which is outlined in brown, is scratched in bold letters ΔΑΟΥΙΔ. Below the break one sees the outline of his bare legs from the knees down, and the left arm hanging along his side, the hand touching the tunic just below the hip. Another fold of drapery, probably of a pallium, reaches a little below the edge of the tunic. Just in front of David was depicted the giant's head, of which only the outline of the chin is preserved. At David's right is stretched out on raised ground the huge body of Goliath, the right arm bent across the chest, one of his legs drawn up. The arm is white outlined in yellow, and the yellow bands across it suggest that he wore a long-sleeved garment. Other bands in pink across the body and chest indicate the armor of the champion of the Philistines. The arc of a circle outlined in black, just below the forearm, probably depicted the shield. Above the chin is scratched ΓΟΛΙΑΘ misspelled for ΓΟΛΙΑΘ. This is the only picture in the chapel with explanatory inscriptions. The dedicatory inscription of the chapel, and other inscriptions of the church are treated elsewhere.

¹⁰⁴ See Stückelberg, *Bildnisse*, Pl. 82: a bust of Orbiana, in Paris; Pl. 83: bust of Julia Mamaea, in the Vatican. See also Bernoulli, II, 3, Münztaf. III, 4—5 and Pl. 31: Orbiana; Münztaf. III, 6—7 and Pl. 32: Mamaea; Münztaf. III, 13: Paulina. See also the catalogues of coins.

According to the Biblical account¹⁰⁵ the height of Goliath was six cubits and a span, his helmet was of brass, and he was armed with a coat of mail weighing five thousand shekels of brass, he wore greaves, and his spear, which was like a weaver's beam, weighed six hundred shekels of iron. For the deeper significance of the scene the words of Samuel¹⁰⁶ must be borne in mind: *The lord that delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of the Philistine.* We have, therefore, in our scene an example of deliverance from evil. After the stripling David had slain the giant with a stone from his sling,¹⁰⁷ Goliath fell face down, not on his back as our scene has it. Then David drew the Philistine's sword out of the sheath, and therewith cut off his head which he brought to Saul.

The episode of David seldom occurs in early Christian art. The earliest picture of David about to slay the fallen giant is that at Dura. Next in point of time, nearly two centuries later, is the wooden relief on one of the panels of the door of S. Ambrose, at Milan,¹⁰⁸ but this scene follows another tradition in which the giant is no larger than David. He has fallen on his back, as in our picture, but David, who stands facing, is not armed with the sword, and an angel of victory is added to the scene. The figures are not inscribed, because the panels are so small that inscriptions would not have been visible.

Not until the sixth century does the scene again occur, and then in one of the chapels of the monastery of Bawît in Egypt, where there is an interesting series of Coptic mural paintings in tempera depicting twelve scenes from the life of David.¹⁰⁹ On the north wall of this chapel is pictured a drama in three acts: the first event is the preparation for the combat, then follows David attacking the Philistine with his sling, and finally David about to decapitate Goliath with the giant's sword. In the artistic execution of the figures, and in the ornamentation, there is strong Syrian influence. Here, as at Dura, it is not mere chance that explanatory inscriptions are added. Again, as at Dura, the Phi-

¹⁰⁵ I Samuel, XVII, 4 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, XVII, 37.

¹⁰⁷ For the earliest representation of this scene, on a Christian lamp of the third century, in the Stoddard Collection, Yale University, see Baur, *Yale Classical Studies*, I (1928), pp. 43 ff., and Plate.

¹⁰⁸ Goldschmidt, *Die Kirchenthür*, Pl. V, 2. For the bibliography, see Baur, *loc. cit.*, p. 48, n. 19.

¹⁰⁹ These twelve scenes are in chapel III. See Cledat, *Le Monastère et la Nécropole de Baouît*, pp. 13 ff., Pls. XII, XVII—XIX. For the bibliography, see Baur, *loc. cit.*, p. 48, n. 20.

listine is of colossal size, he is lying on his back, and David is swinging the sword over his head. We may, therefore, say that the scene follows the eastern tradition.

A different tradition, however, is followed on a silver dish from Cyprus.¹¹⁰ Here David is in the act of decapitating the giant who kicks up his heels in a most undignified manner. Quite different, again, is the scene on a mutilated fresco in the central nave of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome, which was dedicated by a certain Theodotus, in the middle of the eighth century. It is the only illustration of David's victory over Goliath with Latin explanatory inscriptions.¹¹¹ Here David places his foot on the prostrate body of his opponent, as a sign that he has conquered him.

We have seen that most of the parallels cited above have explanatory inscriptions, and that it is the only scene in the Christian chapel at Dura to which such inscriptions are added. Were inscriptions necessary because this rare subject was not familiar to the early Christians? Why does the episode never occur in the Roman catacombs? These are questions difficult to answer. It should be remembered, however, that the scenes chosen for illustration in the Roman catacombs are self-explanatory, and need no identification by means of inscriptions.¹¹²

The contrast in size between David and his opponent is characteristic of Syrian art. Another assertion of the Syrian spirit is the dramatic sense based on reality.¹¹³ Our scene, in the chapel at Dura, is an excellent illustration of this Syrian manner.

7. *The Samaritan Woman (Pls. XLVI and XLVII, 1).*

The next scene is on the west end of the south wall, and depicts the Samaritan woman. In the lower left-hand corner of the little picture a large *pithos*, outlined in black, is represented; it is only slightly buried in the ground. Over it bends a female figure clad in a *palla*

¹¹⁰ Now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. It is well illustrated in Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran*, Pl. VI. For the treasure from Cyprus, in general, see the bibliography in Baur, *loc. cit.*, p. 49 n. 21; add Wilpert, in *Riv. arch. crist.*, IV (1927), p. 307, Fig. 43. In that article, Wilpert considers it to be modern.

¹¹¹ Only the inscription of Goliath is preserved, see Wilpert, *M. & M.*, Pl. 178, text p. 694.

¹¹² The grave of Vibia is the only exception, but that is not Christian, though it is based on Christian paintings. See Wilpert, *Malereien*, p. 144, and the illustration in his *M. & M.*, Pl. 132.

¹¹³ See the apt remarks of Dalton, *E. C. A.*, Chapter IV, Painting, pp. 226 ff.

which reaches to the ankles. Not only the robe, but also the entire figure are outlined in dark purple against a background which is now gray. The right foot is slightly advanced. She is drawn almost in three quarters profile, quite different from the usual frontal view of the other figures in the chapel. A dark band of hair, ending in a roll on either side of the neck, frames the face. With arms outstretched, she grasps with both hands a rope to raise a pail from the *pithos*-shaped mouth of a well. Indeed, the Samaritan woman is the most beautiful and graceful of all the figures depicted in the chapel, and is more Hellenistic than Christian in style. As has been noted above, in the General Survey, there is not sufficient space for a figure of Christ.

The earliest Roman analogy of the Samaritan woman fetching water from a *pithos*, as it is depicted at Dura, but with a small vase or pail fastened to the rope, is in the cemetery of Domitilla. Christ is not represented. It belongs to the first half of the third century, if Wilpert's chronology is correct.¹¹⁴ This figure was thought to have been destroyed, and to be known only in the drawing made for Bosio, but the original is at present in the Museum of Catania, where it was incorrectly repainted and restored in the eighteenth century.¹¹⁵

Another close analogy of the Samaritan woman bending over the mouth of a well and drawing water, is in the cemetery of Callixtus.¹¹⁶ Again, Christ is not represented. This picture dates, according to Wilpert, to the end of the second century. If this date is correct, then it is certain that the origin of the scene is earlier than its occurrence at Dura. But the manner in which the story is told has nothing to do with Rome. It was borrowed from the East.

The typical Roman manner of rendering the scene occurs in the cemetery of Praetextatus,¹¹⁷ where western symmetry and lack of action prevail in that the mouth of the well is between the standing figure of Christ and that of the Samaritan woman.

¹¹⁴ Wilpert, *Pitt.*, p. 270, and Pl. 54, 2.

¹¹⁵ Achelis, *Katakombenbilder in Catania*, Pl. 4. For this picture and the drawing for Bosio, side by side, see Achelis, *op. cit.*, p. 12, Fig. 4. Bosio's drawing is also illustrated in Bottari, Pl. LXIV = G., Pl. 26, Fig. 2; Roller, *Catacombes*, Pl. XXXVII, 1. In the Museo Comunale of Catania, formerly the Benedictine Museum, there are thirty-seven frescoes which were stolen from Roman catacombs in the middle of the eighteenth century. They were restored without knowledge of Bosio's drawings. All traces point to the fact that they came from the catacomb of Domitilla.

¹¹⁶ Wilpert, *Pitt.*, Pl. 29, 2, Fleury, *L'Évang.*, Pl. XLVIII, 2, cf. Sybel, I, pp. 295, 299.

¹¹⁷ Wilpert, *Malereien*, Pl. 19, Perret, I, Pl. LXXXI, Neuss, Fig. 32, Fleury, *L'Évang.*, Pl. 48, 1, Sybel, I, p. 233 (illustration).

The only Biblical source of the subject is in the Gospel of John¹¹⁸ who states that Jesus being wearied with his journey sat down by Jacob's well. E. Baldwin Smith¹¹⁹ has convincingly shown that the eastern rendering of the type occurs on those monuments on which Christ is seated, not standing, by the side of the well, and that in the western type both Christ and the Samaritan women are standing on either side of the well. He has also demonstrated that in the later monuments of the East a pulley is depicted over a real well which is covered by a well-house, but that in the monuments of the West a windlass is represented over the mouth of a *pitthos* stuck into the ground.

On all the Roman sarcophagi — they first illustrate the scene in the fourth century — only the western method of presentation, with the standing figure of Christ and the windlass, is found.¹²⁰ There are, however, two examples from Gaul where the eastern type, with Christ seated, occurs,¹²¹ whereas on the other sarcophagi from Gaul¹²² Christ is standing. There are, therefore, two distinct traditions, an eastern and a western, in Gaul. In the middle of the sixth century there is a confusion of types, best exemplified in one of the ivory plaques of the chair of Maximianus,¹²³ where, although the eastern type of well-house and pulley is represented, Christ is depicted in the western type as standing. Here, as also in the Coptic art of Egypt of the sixth century, there are two sources of influence, an eastern Syro-Palestinian and an Alexandrian, and this fact sufficiently accounts for the confusion of types. If Strzygowski is right in his attribution of the chair of Maximianus to Antioch,¹²⁴ Christ would surely have been seated. There

¹¹⁸ John IV, 5 ff.

¹¹⁹ Earl Baldwin Smith, "The Alexandrian Origin of the Chair of Maximianus" in *A. J. A.*, XXI (1917), pp. 30 f., also in his *Iconography*, p. 204.

¹²⁰ See, for example, Grousset, No. 150 = G., Pl. 313, Fig. 3; G., Pl. 333, Fig. 1 (Verona), G., Pl. 334, Fig. I (Vatican); Bottari, Pl. XXIII, Kraus in Kraus, *R. E.*, II, s. v. *Samariterin*, p. 714, Fig. 425, G., Pl. 402, Fig. 4 (Santa Agnese), G., Pl. 319, Fig. 1 (Paris), G., Pl. 399, Figs. 2 and 4.

¹²¹ Le Blant, *Gaule*, Pl. XLVII, 2, p. 135, No. 188 = G., Pl. 402, Fig. 7 (Narbonne), Le Blant, *Arles*, Pl. 18, 1 (Arles).

¹²² Le Blant, *Arles*, Pl. 18, 2 = G., Pl. 381, Fig. 3, Le Blant, *Gaule*, Pl. XXX, 4 (Nimes).

¹²³ See above, note 119.

¹²⁴ See E. B. Smith's summary of attributions in *A. J. A.*, XXI (1917), p. 23, and Sybel, II, pp. 247 f., n. 1 on p. 248. For the influences from Syria in Egypt and in Coptic painting of the sixth century, and for "the gradual encroachment upon Hellenistic forms by an indigenous art assimilating Syro-Palestinian types", also for the affinities of the catacombs of Alexandria with those of Rome, see Dalton, *E. C. A.*, p. 247, Wulff, *Altchr. u. Byz. Kunst*, pp. 283, 354.

are also two distinct traditions, an eastern and a western, on the other ivories of the sixth century. Christ is seated on the ivory book-cover in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and on the pyxis, La Voute-Chilhac, whereas he is standing on the Basilewski, the Youlgrave, and the Hahn pyxides, and on the Trier diptych, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.¹²⁵

An exception to the rule is the pyxis in the Cluny Museum, for on it Christ is omitted.¹²⁶ Other examples of the scene on which Christ is seated, thus following the eastern tradition, are the monuments at Ravenna. On a mosaic dating from the sixth century, in the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo,¹²⁷ it is surprising how closely the rendering of the Samaritan woman at Dura is followed, for in both scenes the figure of the Samaritan woman is slightly bent, and holds the rope in both hands. In the mosaic there is, however, a confusion of types, for, instead of a pulley over the well-house, there is a windlass of the western type. Also in the mosaic in the Baptistry of St. John at Naples,¹²⁸ which belongs to the second half of the fourth century, the eastern tradition is found. A miniature painted in 586 A. D. by Rabula¹²⁹ for the Syriac manuscript of the gospels, and all the Byzantine examples after the seventh century, adhere to the eastern tradition, so, for example, a gold *encolpium* from Adana in Cilicia,¹³⁰ and the cameo Biehler.¹³¹

From the examples cited above, it is obvious that the method of presentation in the Orient is a development of the rendering of the

¹²⁵ Book-cover in Bibliothèque Nationale: G., Pl. 458, Figs. 1—2, Sybel, II, Fig. 76, Neuss, Fig. 153, Aus'm Weerth, *Elf.-Arb.*, Pl. XVIII, who calls it Syro-Egyptian, whereas, according to Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 37 it is Alexandrian. La Voute-Chilhac pyxis: Fleury, *Messe*, V, Pl. 367. Basilewsky pyxis in the Hermitage: Aus'm Weerth, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX. Hahn pyxis: G., Pl. 438, Fig. 5. Cambridge or Trier diptych: G., Pl. 452, Fig. 2, Dalton, *Fitz. Mus.*, p. 84, Nos. 32, 33, Pl. IV.

¹²⁶ G., Pl. 438, Fig. 4, Fleury, *L'Évang.*, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 4. According to Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 31, it is similar in type and form of well-house to the chair of Maximianus, *i. e.*, Alexandrian.

¹²⁷ G., Pl. 249, Fig. 2, Fleury, *L'Évang.*, I, Pl. XLIX, Fig. 1, Berchem et Clouzot, *Mos. chrét.*, p. 129, Fig. 151.

¹²⁸ Wilpert, *M. & M.*, Pl. 30, text pp. 217, 234, 236 ff., 438, G., Pl. 269. For the restoration of this badly damaged mosaic, see Wilpert, *op. cit.*, p. 216, Fig. 68.

¹²⁹ G., Pl. 132, Fig. 1, Fleury, *L'Évang.*, I, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 3. In the Rabula gospels, however, the seated figure of Christ is bearded for the first time in this scene.

¹³⁰ Strzygowski, *Byz. Denk.* I, Pl. VII. He attributes it to the Palestinian or neighboring art center. It is now in the Ottoman Museum of Istanbul.

¹³¹ G., Pl. 479, Fig. 12.

scene at Dura, and that this version influenced some of the monuments of the Occident, even of Rome, but that there was also a traditional Roman manner of presentation. The latter shows a rather stereotyped and symbolic treatment of the scene, whereas that of the East is full of action, and adheres more closely to the Biblical account.

As in the scene of the Marys at the sepulcher of Christ, where, as we have seen, Mary Magdalene's hairdress is identical with that of Julia Mamaea, so here, too, it is possible to date our picture fairly accurately by means of the Samaritan woman's coiffure, which is bunched at the neck, just like that of Julia Soaemias, who was killed, at the same time with her son Elagabalus, in 222 A. D. Her mother, Julia Maesa, also the three wives of Elagabalus, Julia Paula, Aquilia Severa, and Annia Faustina, wear their hair arranged in the same manner.¹³² This hairdress evidently originated in Syria, and our picture seems to have been painted not later than 220. I feel convinced that we do not go far astray if we assign the mural decorations of the chapel to the very beginning of the third century of our era.

8. Conclusion.

In the course of our study of the various scenes, it has become apparent that one artist did not paint all the pictures. So as to finish the decoration of the chapel as quickly as possible a number of artists must have been employed at the same time. Only in this way can we account for the differences in style. The scenes of the good shepherd, and the fall of man, were painted by one man, another painted the scenes of the paralytic, and the miracle of the lake, a third, of greater talent, painted the holy women approaching the tomb of Christ, a fourth, the scene of David and Goliath, and a fifth, by far the greatest of them all, executed the Samaritan woman. But even at its best, the style of the paintings is poor if compared with the frescoes in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. It is a linear, impressionistic art, inferior to the recently discovered paintings in the Jewish synagogue at Dura.

The pictures are only in part done in fresco. This technique seems to be limited to the red background of some of the scenes, such as

¹³² See Stückelberg, *Bildnisse*, Pl. 76: Julia Soaemias; Pl. 77: Julia Maesa; Pl. 78: Julia Paula; Pl. 80: Annia Faustina. For this hairdress on coins, see Bernoulli, II, 3, Münztaf. II, 13—17: the wives of Elagabalus. See also the various catalogues of coins.

that of Adam and Eve, and the Myrrhophores. When this background was dry, the figures were painted in outline, and the details were filled in with a sort of chalk that rubbed off at the slightest touch when the figures were first discovered, and before the colors were fixed. In their present state they give us no conception of the original colors, and, in fixing the pigments, the tints have changed considerably. At Pompeii a similar combination of techniques, background in fresco, and figures in tempera, occasionally occurs. As long as the stucco was wet, the Pompeian artist painted in fresco, after the stucco became dry, he continued in tempera. This is what Vitruvius refers to by the words *parum diligenter et in arido*.¹³³

By the adherents of the western school, who believe that Rome followed her own development without any influence from the East, there undoubtedly will be much adverse criticism of the attitude toward the question taken in this report. To be sure, East Christian art is a growth from many roots, Mesopotamian, Iranian, Syrian — both Syro-Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian — and oriental Hellenistic. Christian communities, in each of these centers, used the art of the region. Of western influence, so far as I can see, there is not the slightest trace. On the other hand, as the parallels to the scenes depicted in the chapel prove, there is considerable eastern influence on Roman art.

How the early Christian ecclesia, or assembly hall was decorated was unknown until Professor Clark Hopkins had the good fortune to unearth this chapel. Its discovery is of fundamental importance for our knowledge and judgment of the attitude taken toward art by the early Christians in the very home of Christ, not more than two centuries after his birth. It is surprising that there is in these pictures so much that is characteristically Christian, and that the types are already firmly fixed. How much earlier than 200 A. D. the prototypes were invented, where, and by whom, we are not yet ready to say. But this much, at least, is certain, as has been shown in the study of the iconography, the tradition has nothing to do with Rome. The paintings are, it seems to me, in an indigenous Syrian style. A Syrian remained a Syrian whether he lived in the East, in the West, or in the North, and he carried his art traditions with him.

In our chapel the only scene bodily adopted by the art of Rome is that of Adam and Eve, with the tree arranged symmetrically between them. In the West, however, the limits of paradise are never indicated. It is important to emphasize again that the scene of the fall of man is

¹³³ Vitruvius, VII, 3, 8.

brought into typological connection with the scene of the good shepherd, who rescues the lost sheep, and brings it back to the fold. This juxtaposition is not accidental, for the observer was meant to see in it that through Adam came death, but through Christ, the savior of souls, come salvation and eternal life. The miracle of the lake, however, has nothing to do with salvation, for although Peter was saved from drowning, the lesson is one of faith. The healing of the paralytic has nothing to do with baptism, so far as I can see. But in the scene of the Samaritan woman, John,¹³⁴ with his usual emphasis on symbolism stresses the words of Christ, the teacher: *he would have given thee living water, and: whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.* David rescued from the giant Goliath is, on the other hand, a salvation scene.

Our knowledge of the attitude taken by the early Christians toward art is considerably increased by the discovery of these pictures. The mural decorations of the early Christians, both in the East and in the West, made but little appeal to their artistic sense. In the catacombs they did not hesitate to break through pictures in order to build new graves. The artistic decoration of our chapel no doubt interested the convert to Christianity less than the subject matter. The chief aim then of the paintings was didactic and for edification.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

BY A. D. NOCK AND C. HOPKINS.

Professor Arthur D. Nock of Harvard University very kindly read and commented upon the report of inscriptions in the Christian chapel. Thanks to his suggestions I may add a few observations on these most interesting inscriptions. Adolf Wilhelm has collected a group of inscriptions from Asia Minor which contain the phrase τὸν θεόν σοι, μὴ ἀδικήσης.¹ Here the first words mean "by your God" and such

¹³⁴ John, IV, 10 and 14. I believe that the four canonical gospels are followed by the painters of our pictures, although the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (about 170 A. D.) was used for centuries by the Syrian church in a Syrian translation. See Jülicher, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s. v. *Diatessaron*. Recently a fragment of the Greek *Diatessaron* was found at Dura, but this discovery does not necessarily imply that our pictures are influenced by this harmony.

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1932 (Phil. Hist. Klasse) p. 847 ff.

an interpretation may be given to the τὸν χρισ and τὸν χν of the Christian Chapel. The interpretation of ἐν ὑμῖν as "the living Christ among you" or "the Christ who is in your midst," however, Professor Nock objects to and suggests instead the translation "among yourselves." He believes that though the τὸν χρισ and τὸν χν may be parallel in construction to the τὸν θεόν of the Asia Minor inscriptions, it is preferable to take the words as governed by the verb and translate "remind Christ of Proclus among yourselves" and "remind Christ of the humble Siseos." This would mean that Siseos and Proclus are to be remembered especially in the prayers and Eucharistic ceremonies of the congregation. Such an interpretation is very strongly supported by the several mentions of such prayers in the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites, and in the insistence on the recalling of individuals to God. One of the intercessions reads "Remember also, O Lord, those who have charged us to remember them in our prayers — — — — —" Μνήσθητι, Κύριε — — — — — καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐντειλαμένων ἡμῖν τοῦ μνημονεύειν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς; and again "O Lord, Lord God of Spirits and of all flesh, remember, O Lord those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned," Μνήσθητι Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθημεν — — — .² The custom then of a congregation recalling together to God individuals (both living and dead) was very common and I think that Professor Nock's interpretation is the correct one.

In this liturgy the prayer is made to God rather than to our Lord. Christ, it may be said, is more often addressed as mediator between man and God though prayers addressed directly to Christ are not unknown.³ Very appropriately, however, Professor Nock calls attention to the article of E. C. Ratcliff in the *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1928—9) pp. 23 ff. in which article strong evidence is advanced for the theory that the Church of Edessa addressed its prayers to Christ. "The present Nestorian Liturgy" Ratcliff states (p. 32) "is in the liturgical tradition of Edessa and perhaps ultimately derives from Antioch — —. It was in its original form addressed to Jesus Christ, not to the Father." We may not place much weight in this discussion on the inscriptions of Dura but the fact that Christ, not the Father, is addressed in both cases, may signify that even before the Nestorians, the east Syrian Church addressed itself commonly to Christ rather than to the Father.

² F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford 1906, pp. 91 and 56; 95 and 57.

³ J. A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, Münster, 1925 pp. 51 ff.

The abbreviation XC is of course common and Traube states that in Egypt at least since the fourth century, and perhaps since the third it was in ordinary use.⁴ In the papyri and parchments the abbreviations of sacred names and words are written with the line above to mark the contraction and that this was also the case at Dura is proved by the abbreviations written so in the Tatian fragment found in the sixth campaign. Very possibly, however, in short inscriptions this line above was not considered necessary. I could find no parallel for the abbreviation XPIC though XPC is, of course, common.

In relation to the graffito εἰς Θεὸς ἐν οὐρανῶ Professor Nock calls to my attention the book of E. Peterson ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ (1926) with its exhaustive collection of material.

ABBREVIATIONS TO CHAPTER VIII.

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Bayet, *Recherches*: Ch. Bayet, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la peinture et de la sculpture chrétiennes en Orient, avant la querelle des iconoclastes*. Paris 1879. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 10.

Berchem et Clouzot, *Mos. chrét.*: Marguerite van Berchem et Étienne Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IV^{me} au X^{me} siècle*, Geneva, 1924.

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De Bock, *Matériaux*: W. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, St. Petersburg, 1901.

Bottari: Bottari, *Sculture et pittura sacre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma*, 1737.

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⁴ L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, München 1907 p. 44.

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- Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, II: Rudolph Egger, "Der altchristliche Friedhof Mänastirine, nach dem Materiale Fr. Bulić" *Forschungen in Salona*, II (Veröffentlicht vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institute), Wien, 1926.
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IX. ADDITIONAL FINDS

BY C. HOPKINS

ARCHITECTURE.

a. BETWEEN the wadi at the northwest end of the citadel and the north wall of the city (the larger part of section A in the city map) lies a flat portion of ground almost without traces of walls. It is rectangular in shape, bounded by the citadel wadi, the edge of the cliff, the north section of the city wall with the colonnade and building of the bath, and the modern road. To solve the mystery of this apparently deserted portion of the town, it was determined to dig one of the few buildings whose walls appeared on the surface. The edifice chosen was that at the edge of the cliff, about where the east corners of blocks A 1 and 3 would be located, a building whose semicircular baked brick wall promised interesting possibilities.

A close examination before work started, however, showed in addition to the wall already mentioned, one or two small round baked-brick tiles and a great quantity of ashes. The presumption was strong therefore that the building was a Roman bath. Excavations revealed a long narrow apsidal room paved with plaster and tiles. The tiles were located in the apse and were marked beneath with soot and ashes perhaps from a former heating system beneath the floor. A little side room proved to be merely a closet.

In a second, small side room, however, the basin for a bath was brought to light. Close by were several hollow bricks but apparently they had fallen from the wall of a hot room beyond, for the walls of this chamber were unheated. Probably it was a small tepidarium. Details of arrangements, however, can only be determined by further digging. Even this might not give us the full plan, for I believe a part of the building has fallen over the cliff.

Whether the section was devoted to military purposes, and the bath placed here for special parts of the camp, or whether a location particularly favorable for raising water from the river was chosen, is not clear. At any rate the presence of the bath suggests that the quarter was more important and probably more frequented than had previously been supposed. On the west wall of the long room was scratched part of a graffito.

598. Letters 0.05—0.06 m. high.

---ONME
MENΩ

b. A veritable cloudburst early in March washed clear a low plaster foundation, part of whose walls had already been noticed, in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods and revealed the base of a large altar. Apparently the altar had been leveled when the temple was repaved, probably when the present altar opposite the entrance to the naos was constructed, and the pavement placed above it. Consequently the base stands only a few centimeters high. Thanks to the rain, however, the form and original purpose are unmistakable. It stands to the south of the later altar, its west side almost on a line with the west side of the other and placed 4.45 m. from the northeast corner of room M (Pl. IV). It has the regular form of altar with steps, the steps in this case pointing almost exactly to the entrance to the temple. As the plan shows it is almost twice as large as the later altar, being approximately square, 2.50 m. on a side, with the steps projecting two meters. One of the peculiar features in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods is the position of the entrance, placed not opposite, but south of the entrance of the naos and pronaos. (See *Rep. II*, pp. 67 ff.). The location of the entrance is now explained by the position of the great altar opposite it. It is far from clear, however, why altar and entrance should not correspond with the entrances of naos and pronaos as is usually the case. I suggested (*Rep. II*, pp. 88 ff.) that the tower was the original sanctuary, since it was earlier than the wall and contained among many inscriptions the important one of the earthquake.¹ The new altar does not entirely confirm this hypothesis for it is not directly between the entrances of the tower and the temple as one would expect. At the same time the excavations before the southwest tower in the Temple of Aphlad, revealed a great number of altars, best described as "scattered" in front of the tower and sanctuary. The altars themselves then must have formed cult centers. The size of the altar in the Temple of Palmyrene Gods marks it of unusual importance. Certainly then it formed a cult center of considerable significance. That center was established before the construction of the present naos and pronaos; included, I am sure, the Tower L;

¹ For the fuller discussion of a sanctuary in the tower, see my article in *J. A. O. S.*, LI, No. 2, 119—137.

and was powerful enough to make the later temple entrance conform to its position, even though the actual naos of the temple was now transferred to room B to the east.

One might add that the discovery of the great mud brick walls in the Temple of Azzanathkona, now shows us that the great semi-circular mud brick wall found during the 1928—29 campaign in the Temple of Palmyrene Gods, is merely a part of the embankment heaped against the fortifications. It was due to this wall and the fill of *débris* within that the great frescoes of the naos and pronaos are so admirably preserved.

c. Mr. Pearson discovered that the lines of walls in the southeast corner of block L 5 did not correspond with the usual arrangements in the private houses of Dura. Digging revealed in fact that two rooms placed together and facing west were separated only by a wide bay and that the inner one was surrounded on three sides by a narrow corridor. Time did not allow further digging and the only finds were fragments of painted frescoes from the inner room and in the court graffiti in ink of two warriors, one with spear and one with bow. Continuation of this work just at the end of the latest (1932—33) campaign brought to light in the court an inscription to the god Adonis. Further discussion of the building can then be better left until later.

SCULPTURE.

A head of Parthian style (Pl. XVI, 3) was found on the surface by a workman. The occasion was the collection of stone and rubble for purposes of construction. The piece of sculpture (now at Yale) was discovered only when the pieces were examined at the house and the exact provenance is not therefore known. Apparently it was found in the northwest corner of the city and may well have come from the northwest baths excavated in the 1928—29 campaign. The piece is of plaster 0.18 by 0.145 by 0.12 m. The style is almost that of the Far-East with its high arching eyebrows, its rather delicately cut features and its three blocks of hair. As it is cut in soft plaster, not modelled in stone, some of the details have been effaced. The three globes of hair, one above the head, one over each ear are quite in the Parthian style. The face is oval and narrow with a clearly defined line marking the division between hair and brow. Eyebrows are pushed far back over the eyesockets and the eyelids are apparently raised in little or no relief. An incised elliptical line defines the eyeball, which


protrudes slightly. Probably painting distinguished the eyeball and iris for traces of dark paint remain near the lids. The nose is broken away. A very small mouth is represented by a single horizontal line beneath the nose and by slightly protruding lips. Cheeks are quite puffy in appearance. Traces of red paint remain on the right side of the neck, and some evidence of black paint is found on hair and face. It may be however that soot has left traces of black which remain on the countenance and the hair. The back of the head is not modelled at all.

In discussing the Parthian head from G 1 (pp. 60 ff.) we have already called attention to the characteristics of Phrygian-Syrian sculpture in the third century, *i. e.*, the low forehead, the lack of depth of the eyesockets, and the shape of the eyelids which slope sharply downward from the inner to the outer corners.² The value of the present head for the history of art lies in the fact that the ensemble is entirely oriental, almost Chinese in appearance. Professor Baur states that the type is due not so much to the inability of an awkward stone mason as the method of work from the third century down, not only in northern Syria but also throughout the Orient. Our head is, I think, decisive proof that the new Phrygian-Syrian style is due largely to oriental influence transmitted by the Parthians. A part of the new style may be the sign of the reaction in the whole provincial Roman art. Much more is due to a new and distinct influence and it is the development of this style in Constantinople which resulted in the Byzantine school.

Our head should be dated in the first half of the third century.

INSCRIPTIONS.

599. Tracing. Letters 0.02 m. scratched on fragment of storage jar. Catalogue No. E. 1120.

ΓΕΡΑC 

The sherd is broken across the first letter and it is impossible to tell whether it is *gamma* or *upsilon*. The *chi* with the *sigmas* is probably just an ornamental sign.

600. Tracings. Letters written on fragments of pottery.

(a) Black letters 0.05 m. high (Cat. E. 862) ΛΑΡΛ

(b) Red letters 0.025 m. high (Cat. E. 1256) ΑΠΟΛ[ΛΩΝΙΟC

² See the account of Professor Baur, *Rep. III*, p. 103.

(c) Red letters 0.015 m. high (Cat. E. 451) ΕΡΠ[ΙΑC (*Rep. II*, p. 169) or 'Ερμῆς (Cumont, 26).

(d) Black letters 0.05 m. high (Cat. 1257) ΓΕΓ

601. Squeeze. Stamps on the same storage jar (Cat. E. 1450).

(a) ΑΔΑΓΓΑΒΑΡΟΣ ΑΜΙΜΜΗΛΟΥ Μ

(b) ΑΒΕΜΜΗC ΒΑΡΧΑΛΒ

(a) Welles cites (241) Βιμῆλ 'Αδογαβάρου. In No. 244 Welles also cites a doubtful 'Αβιμμήλου. The present names must be the same with slight differences of spelling. Very probably in view of the present spelling we should substitute 'Αμιμμήλου for 'Αβιμμήλου in Welles graffito 244.

(b) The same stamp was found on another jar fragment and reported in inscription 402 (Cat. E. 1444).

602. Rubbing. Letters 0.015—0.02 m. high scratched on storage jar found on the surface.

ΒΑΡΙΒΟ . . .

The only name at Dura beginning with Βαριβ is Βαριβονναία (Cumont, 79).

603. Rubbing. Letters 0.02 m. high scratched on storage jar found on the surface.

. ΜΑΡΝ

Perhaps for Μαρῖνος or Μαρῆνος.

604. Letters on fragments of storage jars.

(a) Tracing. Letters 0.025 m. painted black ΠΟ

(b) Rubbing. Letters 0.025 m. scratched in the jar CABIA. Wuthnow (p. 1001) cites Σαβίαν but the word occurs first in the seventh or eighth century.

605. Rubbing. Letters 0.015—0.02 m. scratched on jar found in the debris outside the southwest angle, the word *Antioch* in Latin.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑ

606. Rubbing. Letters scratched on large storage jar.

ΜΧΙΧΘ

Possibly a number.

607. Rubbing. Letters 5 mm. scratched on fragment of plaster found in a wagon dumping from block G 5.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟC

The names, of course, are common.

608. Rubbing (Cat. E. 136). Letters 0.015 m. cut in jar from block G 1, 3.

ΠΟΤ
ΛΕΥ

609. Letters 0.02—0.025 m. painted black on a fragment of plaster from the vicinity of Tower 17, perhaps originally from the church.

ΩΚΟ]ΔΟΜΗCΑΝ

MINOR FINDS.

A very interesting find was that of an alabaster bottle with what seems to be a cuneiform inscription (Pl. XXII, 1). It was picked up on the site by one of the workmen. As this is the only object thus far discovered at Dura with cuneiform writing, the bottle was probably an importation from another site.³

Many more sherds with stamped designs were found during the season. A special study of these will be made later. The first with a molded design superimposed on a fragment (Pl. XXII, 4) was found at the end of last season in Block L 5. The head is quite Hellenistic in appearance.

I add the most interesting of the little Roman lamps found during the season, one with the design of a man leading a camel (Pl. XXI, 1).

³ [Note of the Editor. The late Prof. R. Dougherty examined the letters or rather marks of this jar and came to the conclusion that the signs were not those of a cuneiform script.]

X.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST

OF PAPYRI FROM THE TEMPLE OF AZZANATKHONA

BY E. T. SILK AND C. B. WELLES¹

Almost a score of papyri and one parchment, not to mention a large number of small fragments of papyri, were found in the temple of Azzanathkona. The parchment (D. Pg. 13) and one papyrus (D. P. 5) are in Greek. The rest are in Latin and constitute a part of the archives of the military establishment at Dura during the first half of the third century. A variety of phases in the life of this station are reflected in these documents. There is a calendar of official military festivals, a contract of sale and fragments of other legal documents, a record of horses purchased for the army with dates of purchase and the prices paid, two daily registers of the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, a letter of Marius Maximus concerning the entertainment of Goces, the Parthian legate at various places on his journey through Roman territory, part of another letter of Marius Maximus concerning the purchase of a horse for a soldier, and several lists of soldiers with particulars regarding their date of enlistment, etc. These lists alone raise numerous interesting questions. The material as a whole is of immense value for the study of Roman military organization in this period. The papyri have also considerable palaeographical interest. They afford a wealth of new material for the study of Roman cursive writing of the third century.

D. P. 2. Length 0.29 m., height 0.23 m. (Pl. XXXI, 2). Complete above and below. Also detached fragments. The recto contains part of two columns of a calendar in Latin, written in carefully executed but crude rustic capitals. It is a list of festivals to be observed by the army with appropriate sacrifices. Aside from the commemoration of the official Roman holidays: the *Quinquatrus*, the founding of Rome, the *Vestalia*, the *Neptunalia* and some military celebrations e. g. the *Rosaliae signorum*, the feasts consist chiefly of the birthdays and other

¹ Parts of several documents were transcribed by Professor Hopkins at Dura. The notices of D. P. 5, 6, and of D. Pg. 13 were written by Prof. C. B. Welles. The text of D. P. 4 given below is the result of the combined efforts of Professor Hopkins, Prof. E. T. Silk, and Mr. Robert Fink, with certain suggestions from members of Professor Rostovtzeff's seminar.

memorial days of deified emperors and notably of anniversaries in the life of Alexander Severus, in whose time the calendar was written. A brief excerpt from this text follows:

- 14]Kal(endas) Iunias ob Rosalias sign[oru]m supp[li]-
c[a]t[i]o
15 I]unias ob V[e]stalia Vest(a) e m[at]ri supp[li]cat[i]o
16 I]u[l]ias quod Dominus No[ster M]arcus Aur[eli]us
[Se]uerus Al[exander Caesar (?)]
17 fact]us sit et toga uirili mu[nitus (?)] genio Alexan[dr]i
Augusti taur[um auratum (?)]²
18 qu]od Alexand[er] Aug(ustus) N(? oster) p[r]imo co(n)-
s(ul) designatus [s]it supplicatio
19 Iu]lias ob [n]atalem diua[e M]atidia[e diua[e] Mati[di]ae
supplicatio.

The first date that occurs in the portion of the calendar that is preserved is *xiiii kal(endas) Apriles* and our text extends probably into August or September. The verso of the papyrus is blank.

D. P. 3. Length 0.845 m., height 0.26 m. Complete above and probably below. The recto contains parts of two columns of Latin. The first, incomplete at the left, consists of eight widely separated lines in a flowing cursive hand. The text is part of a register of soldiers. The first two lines illustrate the form:

- 1 — — —] drom(edarii) xxxiiii in his sesq(uipticarius) i eq(uites)
ccxxiii in his dec(uriones) v dupl(icarii) vii sesq(uipticarii) iiiii
2 — — —]. s Aurel(ius) Demetrius, (centuriae) Nigrini Aurel(ius)
Romanus Aurel(ius) Rufus, (turmae) Anton(ii) Iarhabolus
Odeati

The second column written in a much more compact style and with the lines close together, although damaged at the right, contains a considerable portion of a list of soldiers dispatched upon or returned from various missions. The record covers two days of the operations of the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum*. Entries are of the following type: *missi*

² [Note of the editor. Since *toga virili muniti* is a very unusual expression and the omission of *sit* after *munitus* (required by the space) is awkward I would prefer the following reading of l. 16—17: *quod [praetextam d]i[m]i[s]sit* (cf. Prop. IV, 1, 131) *et toga virili mu[tavit]* (cf. Gell. XVIII, 4).]

ad hordeum parandum mil[ites — — —]; missus lig(narius) balnei mil(es) I (centuriae) Nigrini Zebidas Barnei; etc. The heading of the second day's record can be read almost in its entirety:

iii kal(endas) Apriles . . . mil(itum) cal(? igatorum) dccccxiii
 [——— coh(ortis) xx Palmyren[oru]m Seuerianae Alex[andrianae]
 —— Iulius Rufianus tr[ibun]us . [.].no[—— —]

[Note of the editor. It is probable that the second column has preserved the beginnings and the first the ends of the lines of successive day registers all of the same or similar character.]

The verso contains a record of horses purchased for the use of the army. The record, imperfect at the left, covers the whole page in widely separated lines of clear cursive writing. The form of the entries is usually: (1) description of the horse (only the last few words of these descriptions are preserved); (2) the name of the officer by whom the purchase was approved; (3) the consulship in which the purchase was made; (4) the price. The dates range from 246—251 A. D.

The form of the entries may be illustrated by the following two excerpts:

3 ——]. binum nigrum ref(ertur) (?) ad prob(atum) a tunc pre-
 f(ectis) iiii kal(endas) Ianuarias Tittiano co(n)s(ule) cxxv
 12 ——] prioribus in albis in signata a L[icinnio P]acatiano tunc
 duce iii idus Aug(ustas) Tittiano co(n)s(ule)

D. P. 4. Length 0.30 m., height 22.5 m. (Pl. XXX). Complete above and below. A letter of Marius Maximus relating to the reception and entertainment of one *Goces legatus Parthorum*. The letter formed part of a roll; a few traces are preserved of a column of writing at the left and of another at the right of the present text. A transcript of the letter is given below. It has been published by Professor Rostovtzeff in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1933, pp. 309 ff.

1 Marius Maximu srib(unis) et praef(ectis) et praepositis nn(ostris)
 [or n(umerorum)] salutem.
 2 quid scriberim Minicio Martiali pro(curatori) Aug(ustorum)
 n(ostrorum)
 3 et notum haberetis adplicui. opto bene ualeatis.
 4 ex(emplum).

- 5 curae tibi sit et quaesturae nn(nerorum) per quos transit
Goces
- 6 legatus Parthorum missus ad d(ominos) n(ostros) fortissimos
imperatores
- 7 secundum morem xenia ei offerre. quid autem in
8 quoque numero erogaueris scribe mihi.
- 9 Gazica
- 10 Appadana
- 11 Du[r]a
- 12 Ed[da]na
- 13 Bi[— — —]

D. P. 5. Length 0.12 m., height 0.17 m. Complete below. In Greek. The end of a decision in a legal case signed and presumably delivered by the tribune of the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum Alexandriana*, Laronius Secundianus. It is dated April 20, A. D. 235. The subscription is as follows:

[ἐπὶ Σεου]ήρου καὶ Κυντιανοῦ ὑπάτων πρὸ δεκαδύο [Καλαν-]
[δῶν Μαί]ων Λαρώνιος Σεκουνδιανὸς χειλίρχος σπεί[ρας εἰκοσ-]
[τῆς Παλ]μυρηνῶν Ἀλεξανδριανῆς τῇ ἀποφάσει πρ[ογε-]
[γραμμέ]γη ὑπέγραψα.

The nature of the case decided by the tribune is not clear, but the result seems to have been confirmation of an earlier division (μερισμός) (of property or work?).

D. P. 6. Length 0.09 m., height 0.22 m. Complete on all sides, though damaged, but perhaps from a roll. The column of writing does not seem to give the beginning of the text. In Latin. Record of a decision of the same tribune as in D. P. 5, delivered perhaps on the same day. The subscription is as follows:

Severo et Quintiano co(n)s(ulibus)
a(nte) d(iem) du[odec?]imum Kal(endas) Maias
Laronius Secundianus
trib[unus coh(ortis) x]x Palmyren[orum]
Alex[and]rianae s[enten]
tia[a m]e datae sub[scripsi.]

The circumstances of the case are obscure. There is mention of a *fideiussio*, and the text ends with the phrase, *soluta omni contractu emptiois*.

D. P. 7. Length 0.17 m., height 0.26 m. (Pl. XXXI, 1). Incomplete on the right. A badly damaged fragment of a letter in Latin, written in the official hand of the Roman chancery (cf. *Pal. Soc.* ii, 30). Only a few letters at the beginnings of lines are legible. There is a reference to the Twentieth Cohort.

D. P. 8. Length 0.17 m., height 0.185. Complete above and on the left side. Many detached fragments. A letter of Marius Maximus approving the purchase of a horse for the use of a soldier. The horse is described as *ecum quadrimum*. The soldier's name is Iulius Bassus. The form of the statement of approval suggests a comparison with D. P. 3 verso. It reads:

probatum a me Iulio Basso eq(uiti) coh(ortis) xx Pal(myrenorum)

The letter formed part of a roll; a few letters of a second column of writing can be read at the right. The date of the letter is 208 A. D.

D. P. 9 and 14. These two badly damaged fragments (0.12 by 0.255 m., 0.185 by 0.26 m.) complete above and probably below almost certainly formed originally one sheet. The writing of both pieces recto and verso corresponds exactly. The recto of the original papyrus contained a daily (?) register in Latin pertaining to the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum*. Enough of the text is preserved to show that in form the document resembled the record of this cohort found on D. P. 3 recto. Two lines give each the total number of troops (cf. D. P. 3, l. 1), first the number of *pedites* (DCCLXXXI), with their officers *ordinarii*, *duplicarii* and *sesquiplicarii*; then the number of *dromedarii*. If one reading [*G*]ord(iani) *principis* is correct, the document falls between the years 238 and 244. On the verso of both fragments are preserved parts of a long list of soldiers' names arranged in small groups from each century.

D. P. 10. Length 0.195 m., height 0.12 m. Complete above. Small fragment of two columns of writing. Of the first only a word or two at the ends of lines are preserved. The second contains the beginning of a letter:

Iul(ius) Apr[o]nianus ..[....].no suo
vi kal(endas) Iul(ias) Gentiano et Ba[sso co(n)s(ulibus)] sa[l]utem
peto domine frater Themar[sa — — —
da et hiereum ab[— — —
de quibus tibi m[— — —
meus [— — —
Appada[na — — —
[.]e[— — —

D. P. 11a. Length 0.29 m., height 0.255 m. Complete above. In Latin. The recto contains parts of five columns of a list of soldiers arranged by centuries. The roll of each century is headed by the centurion's name with the date presumably of his enlistment. Following that are the names of the soldiers with the date at which each soldier or group of soldiers entered the service. At the end of the list is found the total enrollment of the century.

The form of the document is illustrated by the following excerpts:

Col. 2

- 22 (Centuriae) Marci Muciano co[(n)s(ule)
 23 Ord(inarius) Iul(ius) Marcus
 24 Erucio [Claro co(n)s(ule)
 25 Malchus S[— — —

Col. 3

- 9 Seuero III co(n)s(ule)
 10 Iul(ius) Domittius
 11 Iarabolus Themarsa
 12 Geta Seniore II co(n)s(ule)
 13 Marinus Barachi

Col. 4

- 5 Sabino [II] co(n)s(ule)
 11 Aurel(ius) Zabdas
 12 Aurel(ius) Apollonius
 13 Aurel(ius) Bassus
 14 Aurel(ius) Flavius
 15 LII
 16 (Centuriae) Antonini Victorino co(n)s(ule)
 17 Ord(inarius) Domittius Antoninus
 18 Erucio Claro co(n)s(ule)
 19 Malchus Anini

The date of this muster-roll would appear to be about 218. The latest date cited is the second consulship of Sabinus (216 A. D.). The earliest is the consulship of Erucius Clarus (193 A. D.). Since the normal term of service in the *auxilia* was twenty-five years, the roll was probably written between 216, the date of the latest enlistment,

and about 218 A. D., when the oldest veteran should have finished his service.

The verso contains parts of two columns of another list in Latin. The names of the soldiers are given in small groups of four to six headed by the name of the centurion. The list is dated: *Pridie kal(endas) Decembres Lupo co(n)s(ule)*. That is 232. Below the date as just given the words *Lupo et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus)* have been erased and then rewritten apparently at the beginning of another document, of which only the tops of one or two letters are preserved.

D. P. 11 *b*. Length 0.13 m., height 0.23 m. Complete above. This fragment appears to have formed part originally of D. P. 11 *a*. The recto contains parts of three columns of names in Latin arranged in the same way and written in the same hand as the list of 11 *a* recto. The latest date cited is the second consulship of Extricatus (217).

The verso contains part of a list of *duplicarii* written in a flowing hand which is apparently the same as that of D. P. 11 *a* verso. The list begins as follows:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1 | (Turmae) Tiberini |
| 2 | dupl(icarii) Lucius Actorius |
| 3 | [[Males Themar[s]a]] |
| 4 | Aurel(ius) Mocimus |
| 5 | Aurel(ius) Isidorus |
| 6 | (Turmae) Antonini |

At right angles to the list of *duplicarii* are three lines of figures pertaining to an account of some sort.

D. P. 12. This is a large roll that was found in extremely mangled condition. It has been sent to Germany to be opened. At the time of writing only partial information is available regarding its dimensions and contents. The roll appears to be complete above; the largest fragment 2.25 m. in length and 0.24 m. in height; eighteen columns of Roman cursive on each side of the papyrus. It contains, as far as may be ascertained at present, a list of soldiers' names with the following particulars: (1) office; (2) date of enlistment (given as in D. P. 11 *a* recto); (3) opposite some names (in the left-hand margin) the name of a town indicating, perhaps, the place of origin of the soldiers in question. Photographs of two columns are at hand, from which the following excerpts are taken:

[col. 'x' recto]

3		Victo[rino co(n)s(ule)]
4		Aurel(ius) Iulius .[....].[..]us
5	offic(iales)	Aurel(ius) Iulius .[.].[...].[.].[
6		Mucian[o] c[o(n)s(ule)]
7		Aurel(ius) Malchus .[.].[.].ei
12	expl(orator)	Aurel(ius) Iulius Salman
17	vex(illarii)	Aurel(ius) Bolanus Bolani
18		Aurel(ius) Themes Salm[a]n
19		Aurel(ius) Gaius Abiba
20		Aurel(ius) Seleucus Ier[h]aei
21	Appad(ana)	Aurel(ius) Malabanas Be[acabi
24	Appadana	Aurel(ius) Iulius Marin[u]s
25	explora(tor)	A[ur]el(ius) Zebidas Ier[h]aei
26	deccuri(ones)	A[urel(ius)] Iulius Barl[a]a
27		Aurel(ius) Ierhaeus Zabda

[col. 'x' verso]

8		Geta Seniore I[I c]o(n)s(ule)
12		Laius Bassus
13		Cilone II co(n)s(ule)
14		Siluanus Mocimi
15		Maronas Ainei
17	Admanna	Abbulas Bassi
18	Sing(ara)	Bassus Bibi
19	vex(illarii)	Domittius Arod[.]us
20		Abid Malchus Ai[a]nei
21		D(omino) N(ostro) Anton(ino) II co(n)s(ule)
22		Lanius Siluanus
23		Aelius Fortunatus

A definite statement regarding the date of this list can scarcely be made until the whole document is available for study. The latest consulship cited in the portion of text covered by our photographs is that of Messalla (spelled here *Mesala*) in 214 A. D. The roll probably falls between that date and 225 A. D. when the soldiers that enlisted in the consulship of Victorinus (200 A. D.) should have been discharged.

D. P. 15. Length 0.60 m., height 0.22 m. Also numerous detached fragments. Apparently part of a roll. A much damaged fragment con-

taining a few lines from two documents that appear to be copies of letters. In each case address and subscription are wanting. The name of Antonius Seleucus occurs in both. He is possibly to be identified with Julius Antonius Seleucus, legate of lower Moesia under Elagabalus (cf. Dessau, *Prosopogr.* II, 167).

D. P. 16. Many fragments of a large list of soldiers. The largest fragment is 0.73 m. in length and 0.23 m. in height. There are many smaller pieces. All are in extremely damaged condition. The names appear to have been listed in the same manner as in D. P. 11. The dates of enlistment given are approximately the same also.

The material at present designated as D. P. 13, 17—72 inclusive, consists of a few badly mangled rolls and innumerable minute fragments of military documents of all sorts. This material is at present in too damaged and disordered a condition to warrant a detailed description.

D. Pg. 13. Length 0.075 m., height 0.135 m. Complete and little damaged, but the parchment has darkened and the ink has faded, making reading difficult. In Greek. Apparently a contract of loan. There can be read something of the clause of repayment: ἀποδώσει . . . [ἐν τῷ ὡς τὸ] πρότερον ἐμὲ ἔτει (A. D. 134/5), ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ ἐν τῷ ὠρισ[μένῳ] χρόνῳ]. The phrase shortly before, τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ πᾶσιν, has reference apparently to the security, ἐφ' ὑποθήκη τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν. The text is much shorter than D. Pg. 10 (*Rep.* II, 201—215), and there is no indication that it will throw more light on the ἀνανέωσις problem. As drawn in the period of Parthian control at Dura, the text begins [βασιλε]ύοντος βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου.

XI.

THE COINS

BY A. R. BELLINGER

The sixth hoard of coins was found during the season of 1931—32, complete with the jar in which it had been buried. It consists of 280 tetradrachms, badly corroded, beginning with Caracalla and ending with Volusian. It is thus parallel to the second hoard and to the tetradrachms of the first, and since those two have been published in detail (*Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos*, American Numismatic Society: *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 49, 1931) a summary list will suffice for the present collection, with notes on the few pieces not appearing in the previous publications.

The capital letters refer to obverse, the numbers and small letters to reverse types as there described; in parentheses are added the *officinae* represented for each type. The most interesting aspect of the find is that the coins give a means of dating the pretty gold necklace which was found at the bottom of the pot.

The contents of the hoard is as follows:

Caracalla, 213.

1. Head r., laur. *Rev.* Eagle on leg and thigh, head r.; to l. and r. ΔΕ. Cf. *B. M. C.* p. 195, No. 363 where the reverse has the ΔΕ which is always used under Elagabalus, but was not first introduced by him. Cf. also the reverse of Dura, Hoard IV, No. 179 (Macrinus).

Macrinus, 217—218.

2. *Emisa*. Symbol: bust of Helios l., radiate; behind it, Λ Hoard I, No. 12.

Elagabalus, 219.

3. B 1.
4. C 1.
5. B 2.

Philip, Senior, 244, 245.

6. B 2.

- 249.
- 7, 8. D 7.
9. D 8.
- Otacilia*, 244, 245.
10. M 2.
- Philip, Junior*, 244, 245.
11. *Obv.* ΜΠΑΡΚΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΚΕΣΑΡ Bust r., draped, laur. *Rev.* 2.
B. M. C. p. 217, No. 547.
12. P. 2.
- 248.
13. T 6 d.
- 249.
14. T 7.
- Trajan Decius*, 250.
- 15—20. B 1 (*off.* 1, 2, 3, 8).
21—27. B 2 (*off.* 1, 2, 5).
28, 29. C 1 (*off.* 3).
30—38. C 2 (*off.* 2, 3).
39—77. D 1 (*off.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).
78—132. D 2 (*off.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).
133, 134. E 1 (*off.* uncertain).
135, 136. E 2 (*off.* 4).
- 251.
137. D s (?) 3.
138. D z (?) 3.
- 251.
139. Bust 1. *Rev.* 1 (*off.* 2).
Cf. Hoard II, No. 67 where the *officina* mark is not distinguishable.
- Herennia Etruscilla*, 249, 250.
140. F 1 (*off.* 1).
141—144. F 2 (*off.* 1, 8).
145, 146. G 1 (*off.* 1, 4).
147. G 2 (*off.* 5).
- Herennius Etruscus*, 249, 250.
- 148—191. H 1 (*off.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).
192—225. H 2 (*off.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

251.

226. H vi 3.

Cf. Hoard I, No. 508, where a piece of Hostilian has the *officina*
mark vi.

Hostilian, 249, 250.

227—229. I 1 (*off.* 1, 6).230—232. I 2 (*off.* 1, 7).

Trebonianus Gallus, 251.

233—238. B 1 (*off.* 1, 3, 4, 6, 7).239—244. B 2 (*off.* 2, 3, 4, 7).

252.

245—267. B 3 (*off.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7).268—273. B 4 (*off.* 1, 3, 4, 6, 7).

253.

274—276. B 5 (*off.* 1, 6).277, 278. B 6 (*off.* 3, 6).

Volusian, 251.

279. D 1 (*off.* 2).280. D 4 (*off.* 4).

XII. SILVER LIBATION BOWL

BY M. I. ROSTOVTZEFF
AND C. B. WELLES

The discovery of this bowl in the season of 1931/32 was announced by Professor Baur in *Rep. IV*, p. 231. One of the measurements, however, requires correction. The radius, not the diameter, is 0.12 m., making the latter 0.24 m., and the circumference approximately 0.754 m.

The bowl is of the usual *omphalos* type (φιάλη ὀμφαλωτός or μεσόμφαλος) with the ὀμφαλός itself capped by a badly eroded medallion on a separate piece of silver. The medallion represents a head of a bearded god in full face of the Zeus type, probably the local Zeus-Baal mentioned in the inscription. An ὀμφαλός with such a cap is quite unusual. In most of the libation-bowls the ὀμφαλός is not adorned by any figures or ornaments.¹ Very seldom we find on it a figure or ornament in *repoussé* work (see e. g. the silver bowl of the Zubov's barrow in the North Caucasus dedicated to Apollo; its *omphalos* is adorned with the figure of the sacred animal of Apollo — the snake).² However on many bowls the *omphalos* is replaced by a flat medallion with figures or ornaments in *repoussé* work, the so-called ἔμβλημα.³ Our bowl is a kind of compromise between the *omphalos* and the *emblema*. The bowls without any ornaments (λεῖται) were bought in shops ready made and in addition a special *crusta* with an appropriate image was ordered to an artist — a *caelator* or *anaglyptarius*. This cap was then welded to the *omphalos*. We know of no exact parallel to the *emblema* of our bowl.

It is well known that libation bowls were the most usual offerings to the gods of the worshippers who performed a sacrifice in their sanctuaries. Silver and gold vessels of this kind are often mentioned in the inventories of all the sanctuaries both oriental and Greek. The most general term used for them for example in the graffiti of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods at Dura is ποτήριον.⁴ The same

¹ E. Pottier, art. *Phiala* in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.* IV, 1, p. 434 ff.

² E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 231, fig. 136.

³ O. Rossbach, art. *Emblema* in Pauly Wissowa, *R. E.*, V, p. 2487 ff.; R. Zahn, "Silber-Emblem der Sammlung Loeb", *Festschrift für James Loeb*, p. 131 ff.

⁴ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 375 ff., Nos. 12, 14, 15, 21, 23. In the inventory No. 14 the expression ποτήρια θεῶν is used. The word φιάλη was never used at Dura.

word we have accordingly restored in the inscription of our bowl. We may remind the readers of the fact that dedications of bowls with an *emblema* which reproduced the image of the god-protector of the worshipper were of common occurrence all over the ancient world. We may quote an interesting instance of it. The mother of the Emperor Aurelian was a priestess of the invincible Sun-god (Sol Invictus) of her own village. The biographer of Aurelian in speaking about the *prodigia* which foretold his future glory says: "furthermore when he had gone as envoy to the Persians, he was presented with a sacrificial bowl . . . on which was engraved the Sun-god in the same attire in which he was worshipped in the very temple where the mother of Aurelian had been a priestess".⁵

About the rim of the bowl, on the outside, cleaning disclosed a text which occupied almost the entire rim. The letters were made up of rows of dots, and average 0.005 m. in height. They are of generally cursive character, and resemble the third century alphabet used in the Archives of Nebuchelus (*Rep. IV*, pp. 78—145).

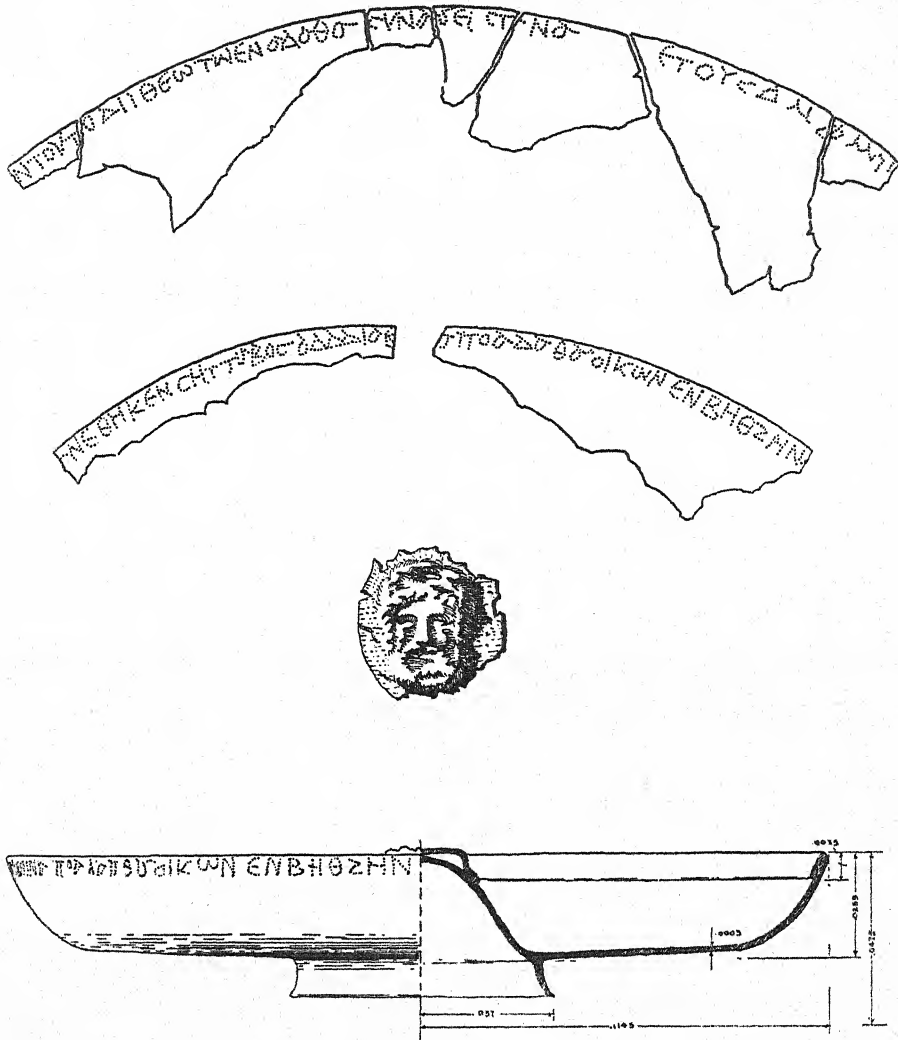
Inscription 610. Fig. 13.

ἔτους δμφ', μην[ός — 15 letters —] ἀνέθηκεν Σηπτάβος Ἀδαδιάβ[ου
τοῦ δεινός τῶν] ἀπὸ Ἀδαθα οἰκῶν ἐν Βηθζηνα [τὸ ποτήριο]ν τοῦτο
Διὶ θεῶ τῶ ἐν Ἀδαθα σὺν αγειστ. . α.

The only difficulty in the reading occurs in the last word. Six letters are clear: ΑΓΕ. ΣΤ. . Α. The letter following E resembles I, but there is room for something wider. The letter preceding the final A resembles N, but the traces do not exclude another interpretation, most naturally ΑΙ. There would be no difficulty in reading ΑΓΕΙΣΤΑΙΑ and we may be entitled to interpret this as a misspelling (not phonetic) of ἀγιστεία⁶

⁵ S. H. A., v. *Aurel.* IV, 2 and V, 5. The *patera* presented to Aurelian by the Persian king was probably similar to the well known *patera* of the Hermitage with the Sun and Moon chariot reproduced on the *emblema*, J. Smirnoff, *Argenterie Orientale*, p. CXXI, No. 306.

⁶ The word ἀγιστεία is used in the singular by writers of the *Koine*, although earlier it occurs only in the plural. The instances most closely approaching the present use are the following: Plutarch, *Romulus*, 22, 1: τὴν περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀγιστεῖαν, "the consecration of fire"; Strabo, 9, 3, 7: χρημάτων ἀποκειμένων (at Delphi) πολλῶν καὶ ἀναθημάτων φυλακῆς καὶ ἀγιστείας δεομένων μεγάλης; Julian, *Oratio* 5, 178 D: διὰ τῆς ἀγιστείας (of Asclepius) οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σώματα βοηθείας πολλῆς καὶ σωτηρίας ἀξιοῦται; Joseph., *Apion.*, 1, 7: ἀπηγόρευται μήτε τοῖς βωμοῖς παρίστασθαι μήτε μετέχειν τῆς ἄλλης ἀγιστείας.



(for ἀγιστ-). The phrase σὺν ἀγιστείῳ would mean "with worship" or "consecration", the dedication was accompanied by some kind of ceremonial. The formula is otherwise unknown, however, and another possible interpretation of the end of our inscription may be taken into consideration. We may interpret σὺν ἀγιστείῳ as a misspelling of ἀγχιστείῳ — "kin". The terms ἀγχιστεῖς and ἀγχιστεία are used in this sense in the well known Dura-parchment which contains

the law regulating the succession *ab intestato*, Cumont, *Fouilles* p. 310, parch. V, 3 and 15, and 2.

The dedication of the bowl took place in the Seleucid year 544, A. D. 232/3, in the period of the Roman control of Dura. Settabus the son of Adadiabus⁷ was not a resident of Dura. He defines himself as one of Adatha, dwelling in Bethzena. The latter formation suggests a district; in the uncertainty of the last letter one should perhaps read Βηθζηνή.⁸ The place is quite unknown. Adatha, or Hadatha, is on the other hand a common place-name, meaning "New". The spelling is not always the same in the Greek sources, but an Ἀδαθα is mentioned in the neighborhood of Palmyra in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, XXXII, 18.⁹

In general, the places mentioned by the inhabitants and visitors of Dura should be looked for in the immediate region. Commercial relations in the third century did not reach far. It is not at all impossible that the "Adatha" of this text is the Αὐδαθα of Ptolemy (V, 18), a town lying on the right bank of the Euphrates between Αὐζάρρα (Deir-ez-zor) and Ἀδδάρρα (Dura),¹⁰ apparently on the site of Meyadin.

The transaction is of a familiar type. Dedications made by travelers to the god of their native village are common. Compare for example above, No. 416. The Greek term "Zeus" ordinarily represents the Semitic Baal.¹¹

⁷ For the name Adadiabus see above No. 416. The name Settabus, apparently a certain reading, is unknown.

⁸ On the names of districts ending in ηνη or -ωνη, W. W. Tarn, *Seleucid-Parthian Studies*, p. 24 ff.

⁹ R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie* (1927), pp. 270 ff. M. Dussaud points out in a letter that this Adatha is too distant from Dura to be the Adatha of the text.

¹⁰ Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 455—457.

¹¹ Cf. for example the Ζεὺς Θεὸς of Baetocaece, *O. G. I. S.*, 262.

XIII.

NEW MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF DURA

BY M. I. ROSTOVITZ

The season of excavations described in this *Report* was by far the richest in finds which throw light on many problems in the history of Dura. Most important in this respect was the excavation in the center of the city around the market place. This business center of Dura appears, at the present state of our knowledge, very like the *sûks* of the modern cities of Syria and Iraq. However, remains of older constructions, perhaps of Seleucid date, with some pre-Parthian inscriptions have been found and further study of them may alter our present conception of this area.

For the Parthian period the excavations in the southwest corner of the city have added new and important information. New data on the history and system of Dura's fortifications are welcome. Still more important for the history of religion and the history of Parthian art is the completed excavation of the sanctuary of Aphlad, the Baal of Anath, which dates from the early first century A. D., a striking counterpart to the sanctuary of the Palmyrene Gods in the opposite corner of the city wall. Contemporary with this shrine of Aphlad was the Temple of Azzanathkona, later incorporated in the military buildings of the Roman garrison. It has yielded among other things a fine set of step inscriptions in its *salle aux gradins*, which enable us to modify and complete the history and genealogy of the leading families of Dura.

The excavations of many private houses in various sections of the city bear on both the Parthian (and probably pre-Parthian) and the Roman periods. These excavations have given us for the first time a good idea of the plan and elevation of the private houses of Dura, houses which apparently were typical for the whole of Mesopotamia, including Babylonia.

During the Roman period the dominant influence in the life of Dura was the strong garrison composed of detachments of the Roman army. The discovery this year of the center of this military occupation — the praetorium, closely connected with the early Parthian temple of Azzanathkona — and of a set of important inscriptions and graffiti in and around the praetorium, enables us to give a much more detailed and accurate account of the military occupation by the Ro-

mans than was before possible. Still more important was the discovery in one of the rooms of this temple of the military archives of the garrison at Dura, or perhaps only of the auxiliary detachments of this garrison whose headquarters may have been located in the temple, while the praetorium proper was reserved for the legionary vexillationes. The papyri found in these archives are listed in the present *Report*; the complete publication of these texts will require a long and careful study. This, at least, can be said, even before the final decipherment and publication, that the discovery of these documents from the military archives has certainly much more than a local significance. This is the first time that a group — not mere scattered documents — of this type has been found and, moreover, documents exhibiting such a variety of contents.

For the last period in the history of Dura new information has been gathered from the careful study of the city wall, especially of the sloping mud brick and *débris* walls, which were hurriedly built on both sides of the city walls at a time (about 256 A. D), when Dura was momentarily expecting attack and siege at the hands of the Sassanian Persians. It was this emergency wall which preserved for us within the city the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods and the shrine of Aphlad, the Temple of Azzanathkona with its military archives and most of the minor finds of papyri and parchments, textiles and objects of wood.

This same wall partly preserved and partly destroyed the most important building found last year at Dura — the Christian chapel with its frescoes, located in a private house. The importance of this find cannot be overestimated. Still more important are the frescoes. Like the frescoes of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, like the papyri and parchments of Dura, they throw a new and clear light on many vexed problems of religion and art, the solution of which is vital to the understanding both of antiquity and of the genesis of our own life and art.

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 Ῥουμάς, No. 418 l. 10

 Σαβαυλαουλ, No. 438
 Σαβδισαμσος, No. 418 l. 7—8

 Σαβια (?), No. 604
 Σαδαβ . . . ς, No. 449
 Σαδδαδδαθος, No. 401 l. 5
 Σαλαινος, No. 522
 Σαλαμαναΐος, No. 377
 Σαλαμιλαις, No. 511
 Σαλαμινας, No. 507
 Σαλαμίς, No. 418 l. 10
 Σαλαμμάρρα, No. 522
 Σαλι, No. 450
 Σαλιφα, No. 438
 Salvianus, No. 471
 Σαμσβανας, No. 468
 Σανοδοις, No. 454
 Σελενες, No. 423
 Σέλευκος, Nos. 372, 373, 417, 418 l. 14,
 421, 429, 445, 450, 520, 523, 525,
 536, 537, 538, 548, 555
 Septimius Sigillanus, No. 560
 Σηδισαλιαΐος (?), No. 382
 Σηλανναια, No. 542
 Σηλάννιος, No. 512,
 Σηττάβος, No. 610
 Sigillanus (Septimius), No. 560
 Σιλλοι, No. 416 l. 8
 Σιλο, No. 425 b
 Simus, No. 585
 Σινναναΐος, No. 517
 Σισεος, No. 595
 Σκορ (?), No. 384
 Σκριππς, No. 484
 Σοκοιφα, No. 499
 Σομσλακος, No. 426
 Σωσιπάτρα, No. 524

 Τιβερικανός, No. 400
 Τιμωνάσση, Nos. 515, 523, 525, 529,
 530, 537, 555

 Υδδ . . . ις, No. 422

 Φαλαζαχεις, No. 418
 Φαλοτιναρος (?), No. 375
 Φίλιππος, Nos. 450 e, 516
 Φιλοπάτρα, No. 538

B. Religion

(Names of Divinities, mystical formulas etc.)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Ἰαβλαθανάλβα (ἄβλαναθάλβα), No. 413 | Ἰαράβωλ, No. 473 |
| Ἰαδᾶδος No. 425 <i>a</i> | Ἰαραβώλης, Nos. 473, 475 |
| Ἰαζαναθκόνα, Nos. 453, 504 | Jupiter Optimus Maximus, No. 561 |
| Ἰπαλάδος, No. 418 l. 5 | Μάλχα, No. 473 |
| Ἰαρτεμῖς, No. 453 | ταῦτα [τὰ μέρη τοῦ] Σάμας, No. 414 |
| Ἰαφλάδ, No. 416 l. 2 | Τύχη, No. 376 |
| Ζεὺς, No. 610 | Χριστός, Nos. 595, 596 |
| Ζεὺς Κύριος, No. 483 <i>a</i> | |

C. Names of Emperors

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Alexander Severus, No. 564 | Geta, No. 558 |
| Caracalla, No. 556 | Septimius Severus, Nos. 556, 558, 561 |

D. Geographical Terms

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Ἰαδαθα, No. 610 | Εὐρωπαϊός, Nos. 374, 387, 429, 433 |
| Ἰαναθ, No. 416 l. 4 | Εὐφράτης, No. 416 l. 5 |
| Βηθζηννα, No. 610 | Colonia Aurelia Antoniana Europaea, No. 559 |
| Δουρανός, No. 505 | Κολωνιοδουρανός, No. 396 |
| Εὐρωπαϊα, No. 544 | |

E. Calendar

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Ἰαρτεμῖσιος, Nos. 440, 516, 533, 536—539, 542, 546 | Ἰολώσιος, Nos. 374, 468, 511, 541 |
| Δῖος, Nos. 442, 449, 453, 522, 534, 535, 549 | Περίτιος, Nos. 517, 529 |
| Ζανδικός, Nos. 397, 452, 518—520, 523—525, 530, 543, 553 | Ἰπερβερεταῖος, Nos. 449, 504 |

F. Dated Texts

Seleucid era	A. D.	Nos. of Inscriptions
324	12/13	545
333	21/2	398
337	25/6	397, 552
345	33	504
347	35/6	544
349	37/8	514
354	42/3	513
365	53/4	432
374	62/3	518—521, 523—525, 543
375	63/4	529, 532
376	64/5	442, 517
377	65/6	530—531
379	67/8	534, 535
381	69/70	428
404	93	374
407	95/6	522
419	107/8	510, 511, 516, 533, 536—539, 541, 542, 546, 550, 553
464	153	468
473	161	453
544	232/3	593, 610

G. Administrative and Military Titles and Terms

actuarius, No. 561	Legio III Gallica, No. 562
adiutor, Nos. 409, 560 l. 12	Legio IV Scythica, No. 560
ἀγορανόμος, No. 388	Legio X Fretensis, No. 563
	librarius, No. 560 l. 7
Cohors II Ulpia equitata, No. 561	
Commilito, No. 564	σημιαφόρος, No. 470
Cos. (consules), Nos. 500 <i>b</i> , 561, 570	
Κοντοβερνάλιος, No. 401, l. 2	ὑπατος, No. 471
Legio III Cyrenaica Antoniana, No. 557	οὐρηγιλλοστίων (vexillatio), No. 483 <i>a</i>

H. Greek Words

ἀγαθός, No. 376	ἀδελφός, No. 469
ἀγοράζω, No. 401 l. 6	αἰών, No. 412
ἀγχειστεία (ἀγειστ . . α), No. 610	ἀναγινώσκω, Nos. 401 l. 3 and 4, 450 <i>a</i>
ἀδελφή, No. 537	ἀνατίθημι, Nos. 416 l. 5, 552, 610

- ἀνδρών, No. 418 l. 4
 ἀνεγείρω, Nos. 418 l. 4, 468, 504, 510,
 513, 516, 522, 533, 536, 537
 ἀνήλωμα, No. 453
 ἀνθρωπος, No. 375
 ἀπό, No. 477
 αὐτός, Nos. 416 l. 11, 438, 449, 513,
 516, 522, 533, 536, 537, 539, 542,
 546, 552, 554
 ἀφίδρυσις (ἀφείδρυσις), No. 416 l. 1

 βίος, No. 404

 γέρον, No. 490
 γραμματεὺς, No. 454
 γράφω, Nos. 401 l. 3, 480, 579
 γυνή, Nos. 491 *a*, 513, 515—526, 529,
 531, 534, 535, 537—539, 541—543,
 545—547, 552, 555

 δαίνα, No. 610
 δίκαιος, No. 389
 δόμος, No. 488
 δορκάς, No. 501
 δοῦλος, No. 583
 δύο, Nos. 401 l. 2, 500 *b*
 δῶρον, No. 457

 ἑαυτοῦ, Nos. 418 l. 15, 453, 468, 504
 ἐγώ (μοι), No. 499
 εἰμί (ἔσσομενος), No. 533
 εἰς, No. 594
 ἐννάς, No. 491 *a*
 ἐπάνω, No. 551
 ἐπί, Nos. 449, 468
 ἐπικαλέω, No. 468
 ἔρχομαι, No. 449
 ἔταιρεία, No. 418 l. 3
 ἔτος, Nos. 374, 397, 398, 418 l. 1, 428, 432,
 442, 453, 468, 504, 514, 517—525,
 527, 529—532, 534, 535, 538—539,
 541, 543—545, 552, 555, 593, 610
 εὐμένεια, No. 468
 εὐτυχία, No. 404
 εὐχή, No. 416 l. 8

 ζωή (ζόη), No. 411
 θεά, No. 453

 θεός, Nos. 375, 404, 416 l. 3, 418 l. 5,
 426, 503, 594, 610
 συγάτηρ, Nos. 511, 514, 536, 540, 542,
 543 (?), 553

 ἴδιος, Nos. 453, 468
 ἱερόν, No. 416 l. 2

 καί, Nos. 375, 378, 388, 401, 410, 416
 l. 12—13, 418, 419, 421, 433, 435,
 436, 439, 440, 450 *a*, 453, 457, 468,
 505, 514, 536
 κλέπτῃς, No. 457
 κράτος, No. 412
 κύριος, Nos. 412, 483 *a*, 583, 588
 κώδιον (κόδιον), No. 440
 κόμη, No. 416 l. 4

 λέγω, No. 416 l. 3

 μήν, Nos. 440, 442, 468, 610
 μιμητήσκω (μνησθή), Nos. 372—375, 378,
 380, 384, 385, 387, 388, 399—401,
 408, 417, 419, 420, 422, 423, 424,
 426, 427, 430, 433, 441, 444, 445,
 450 *a* and *f*, 455, 457, 458, 463—466,
 473, 475, 487, 492, 494, 505, 574,
 577—579, 584, 586, 588, 593, 595, 596

 νέος, No. 442

 οἰκέω, Nos. 401 l. 3, 610
 οἰκοδομέω, No. 609
 οἶκος, No. 416 l. 14
 ὁμόνοια, No. 411
 ὁμοπάτριος, No. 537
 οὔερα, No. 401, ll. 5, 6
 οὔερασιος, No. 401, l. 7
 οὐρανόσ, No. 594
 οὔτος, Nos. 401, 416 l. 2, 418 l. 5

 πᾶς, Nos. 405, 416 l. 13, 494
 πιστεύω, No. 477
 πλοῖον, No. 401 l. 6
 ποιέω, Nos. 449, 542
 ποτήριον, No. 610
 πρὸς, Nos. 375, 407 *b*, 426, 433, 436,
 438, 450 *g*

πωλέω, No. 401 l. 6

σιτέομαι, No. 401 l. 3

στρατηγός, No. 418 l. 14—15

στρατιώτης, No. 454

σώζω, No. 483 *a*

σωτηρία, Nos. 416 l. 10, 418 l. 16, 453, 504

ταπεινός, No. 595

τέκνον, Nos. 416 l. 12, 418 l. 16, 453,
504, 533

τίκτω, No. 491 *a*

τίμιος, No. 457

τρεις, No. 477

υἱός, Nos. 396, 401 l. 5, 449, 542

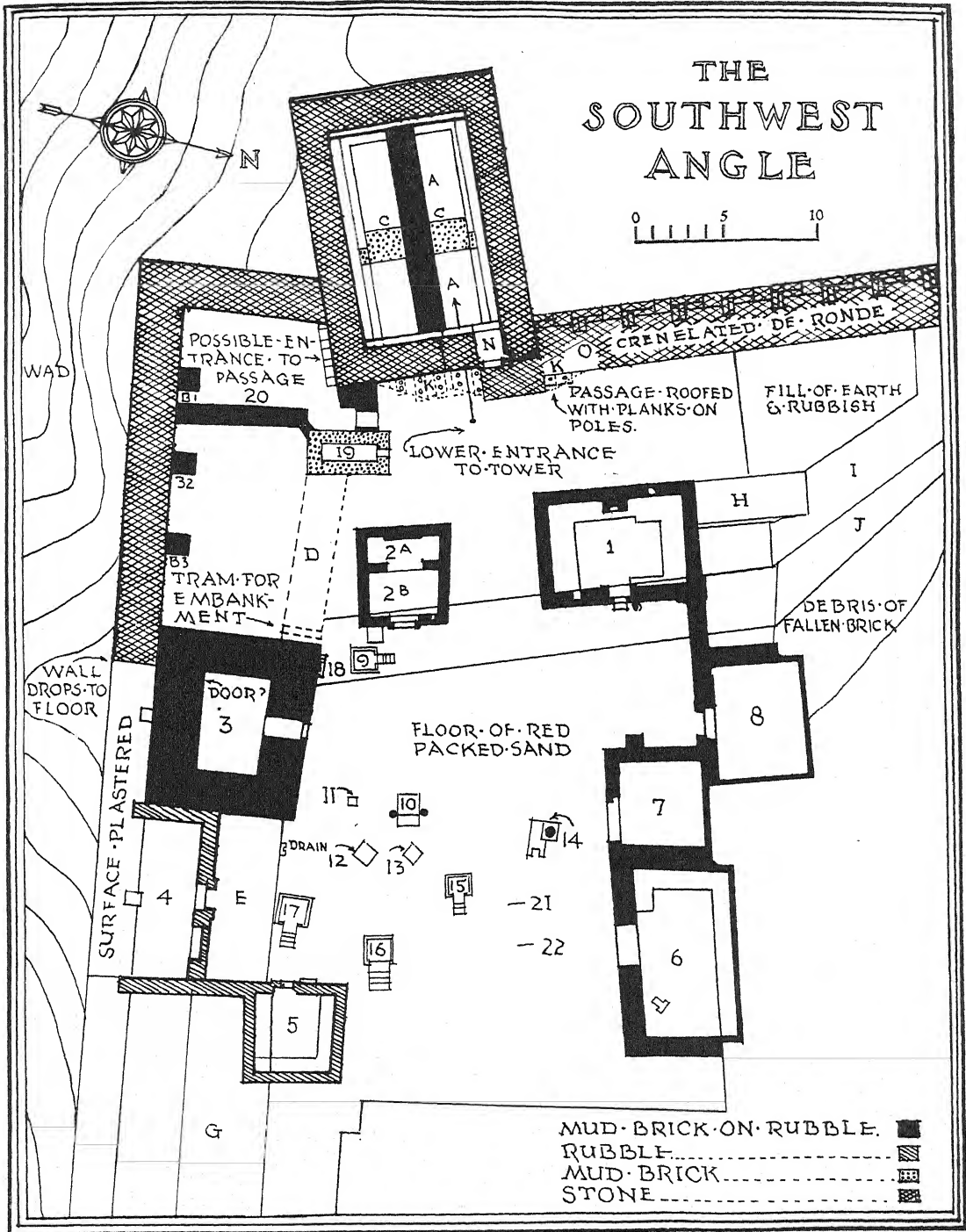
ὑμεῖς, No. 596

ὑπέρ, Nos. 416 l. 9, 418 l. 14, 453,
504

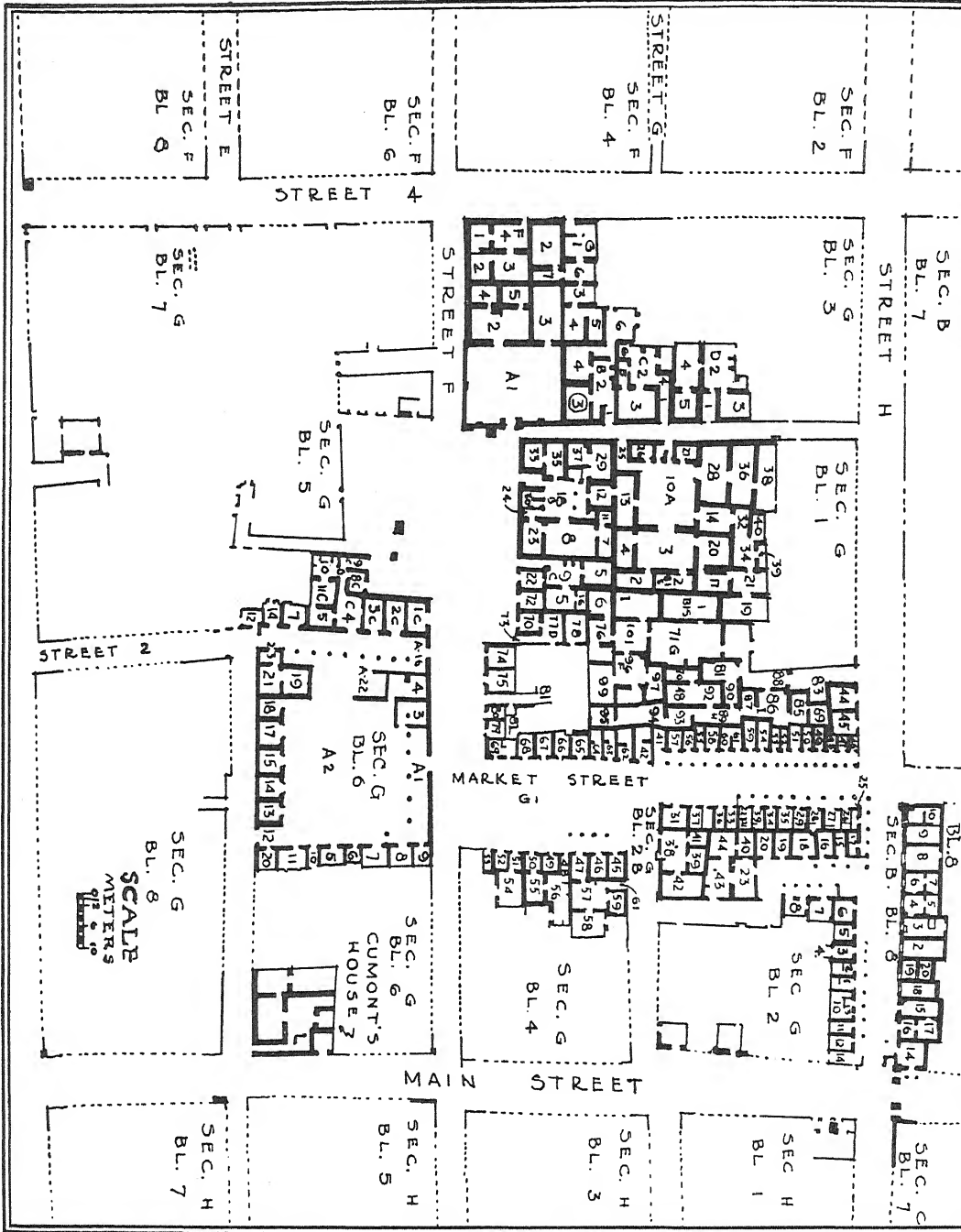
ὑπογράφω, No. 418 l. 2—3

φίλος, Nos. 433, 499

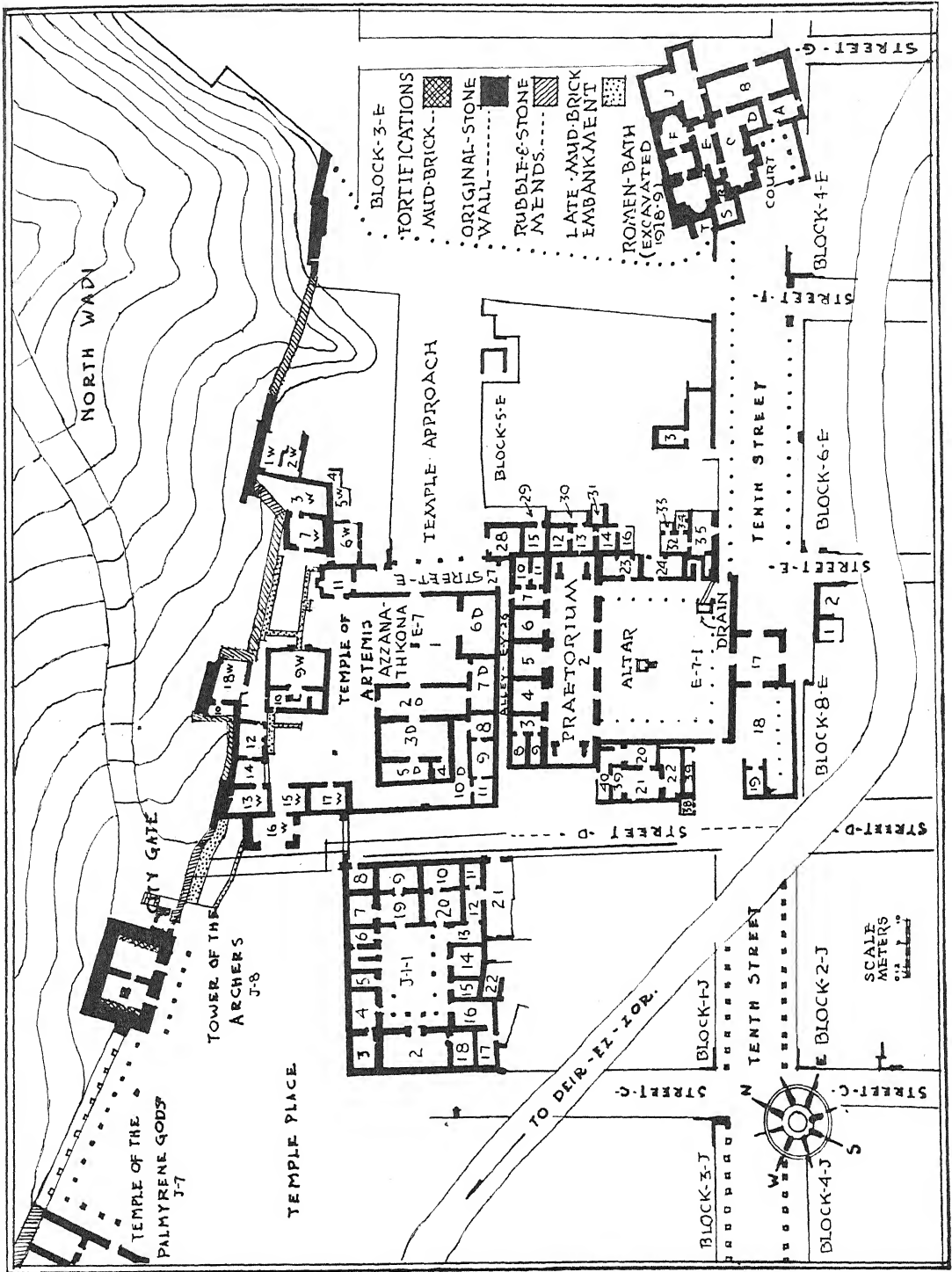




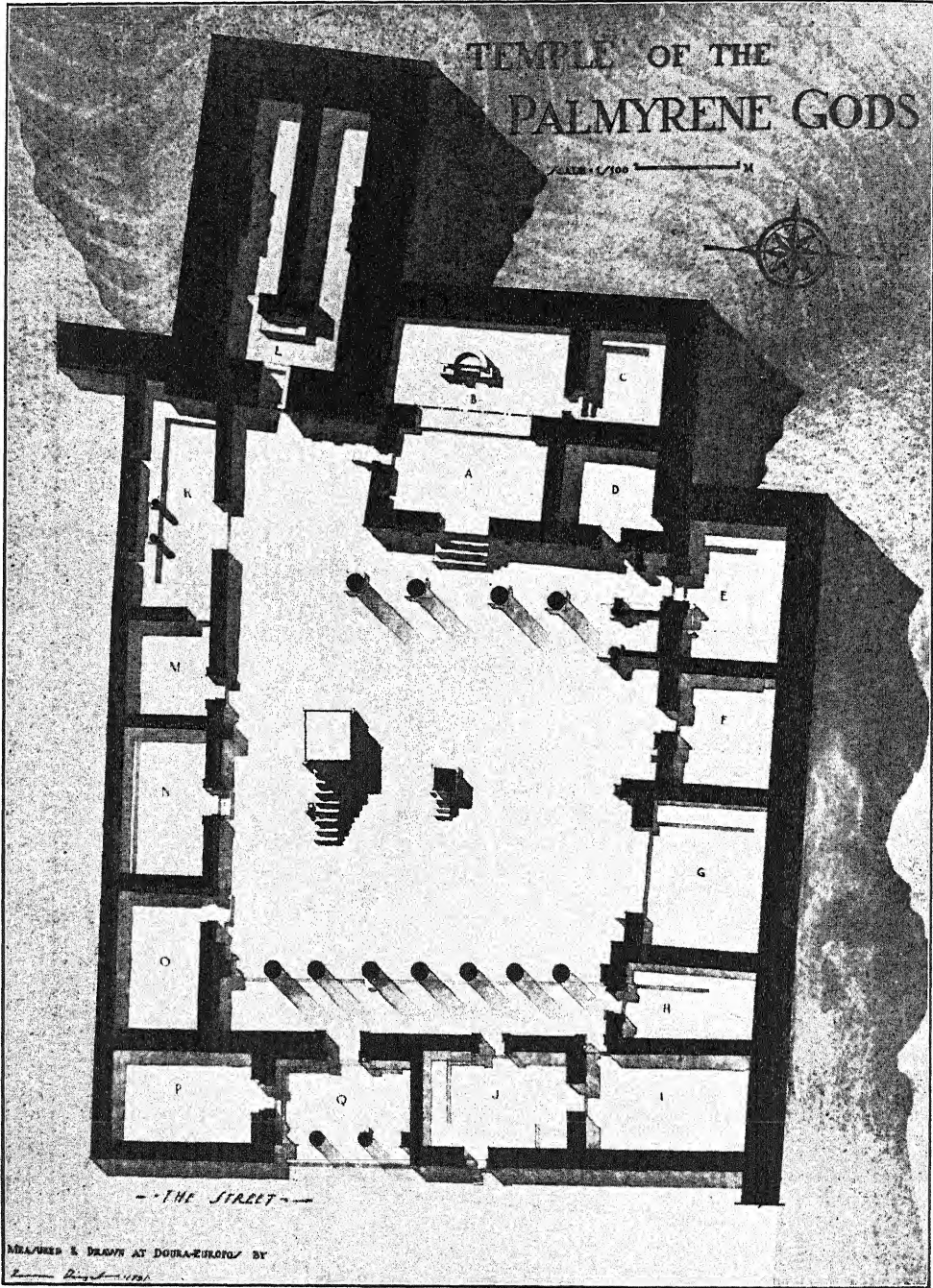
PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF APHLAD (THE S. W. TEMPLE) (DRAWN BY H. PEARSON)



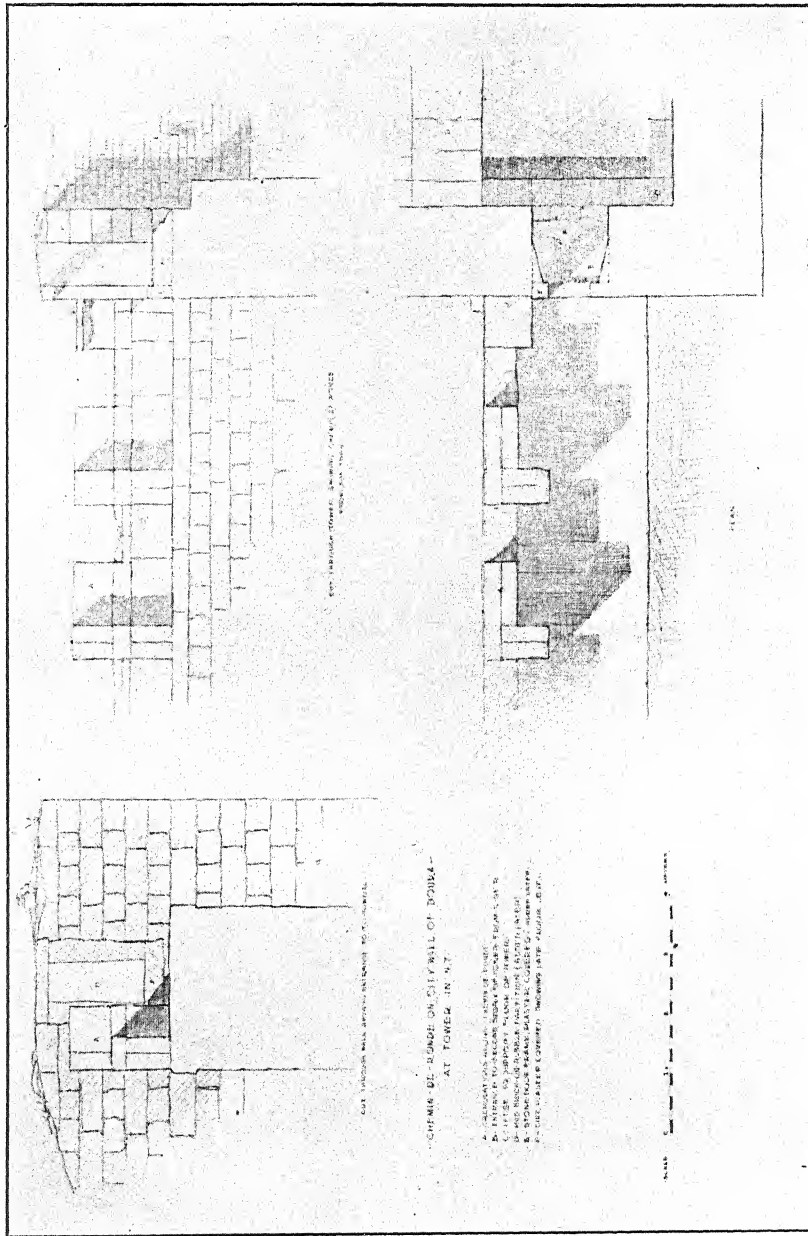
PLAN OF THE MARKET CENTER (DRAWN BY H. PEARSON)



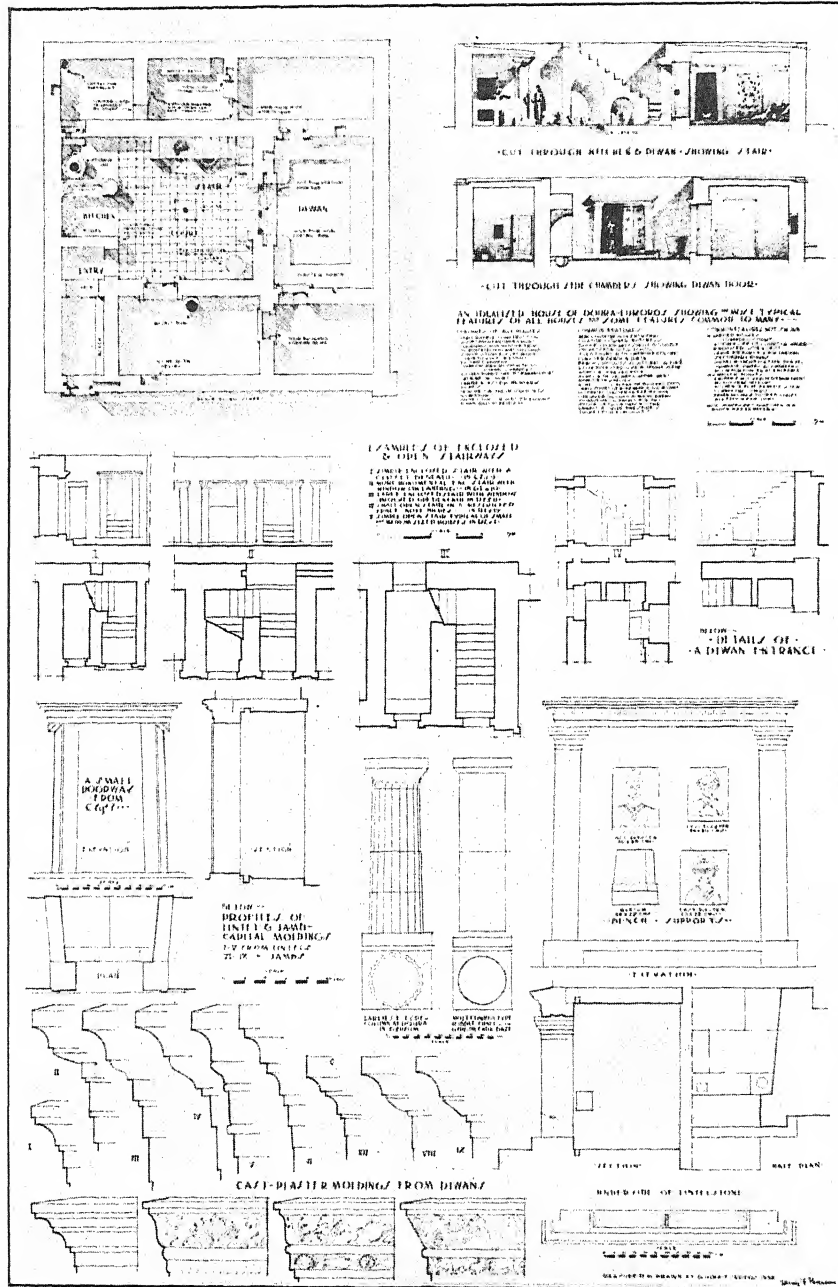
PLAN OF THE PRAETORIUM AND THE TEMPLE OF AZZANATHKONA (DRAWN BY H. PEARSON)



PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF THE PALMYRENE GODS (DRAWN BY R. DEIGERT)

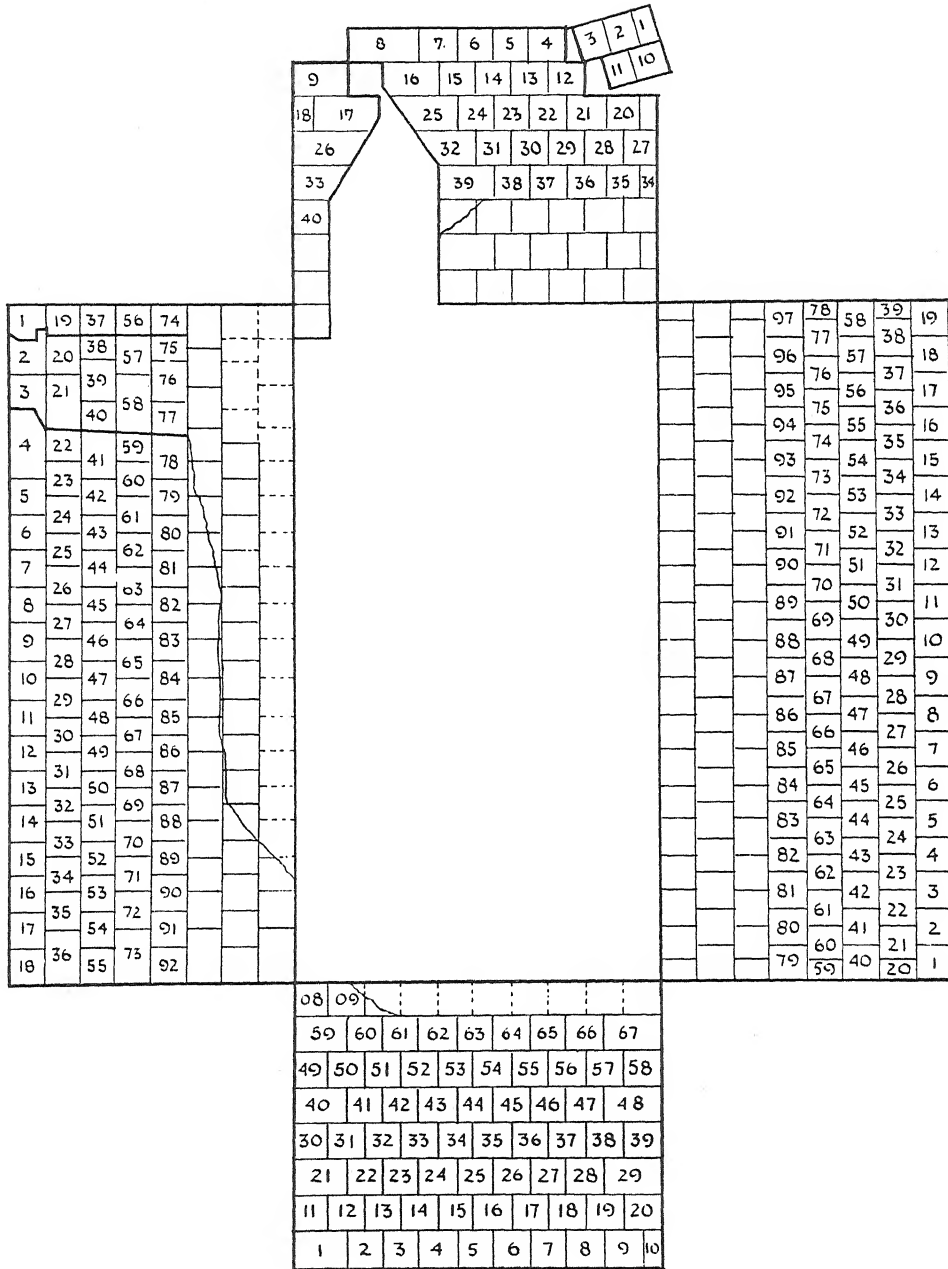


DETAILS OF THE CHEMIN DE RONDE (DRAWN BY H. PEARSON)



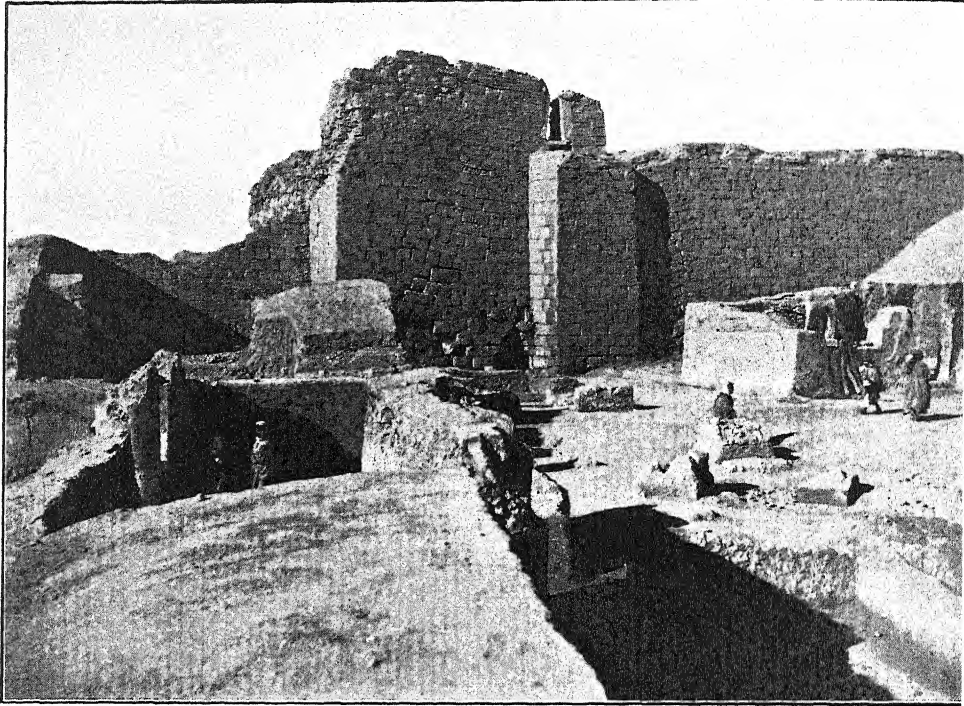
DETAILS OF A TYPICAL PRIVATE HOUSE (DRAWN BY H. PEARSON)

VII

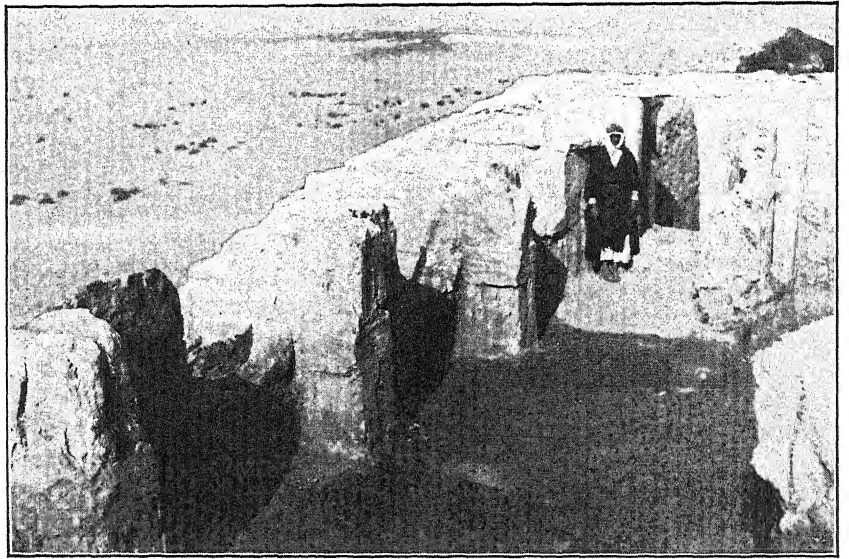


PLAN OF THE INTERIOR OF THE S. W. TOWER

VIII

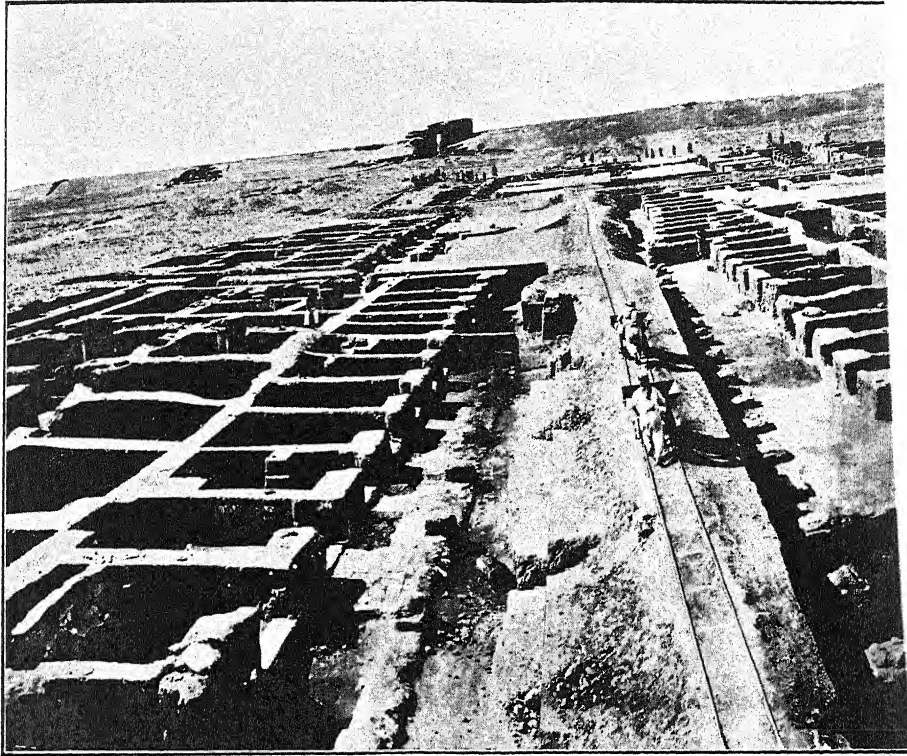


I.

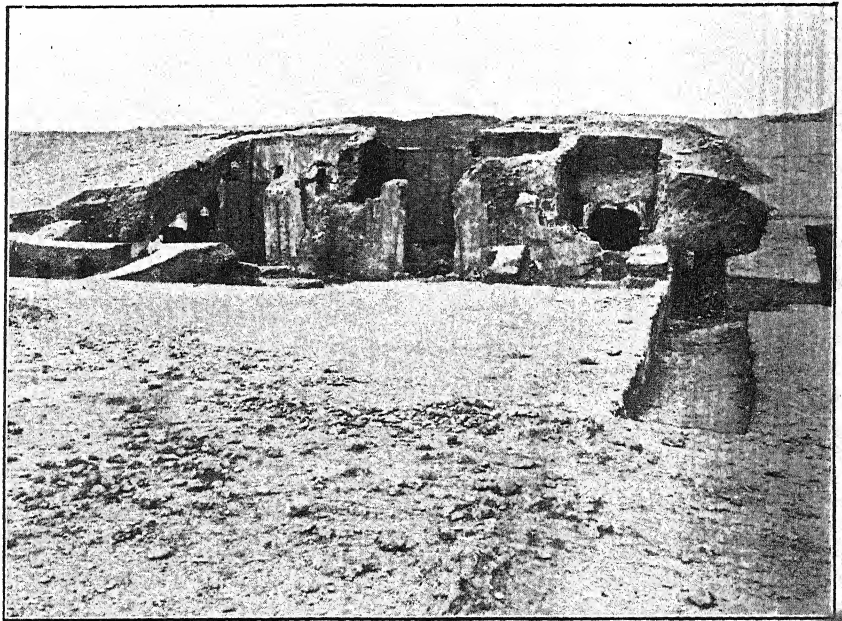


2.

S. W. ANGLE OF THE CIRCUIT WALL: 1. GENERAL VIEW, 2. CRENELATIONS



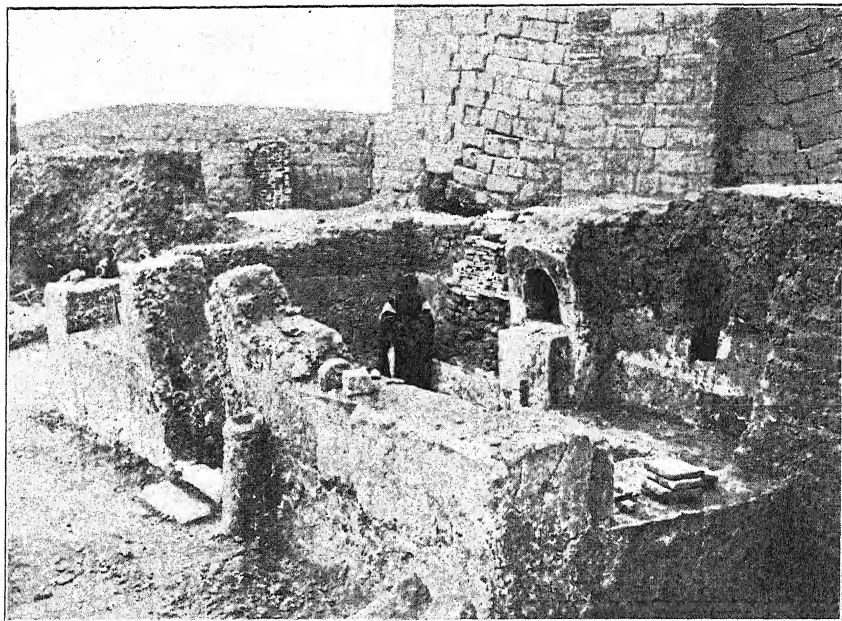
1.



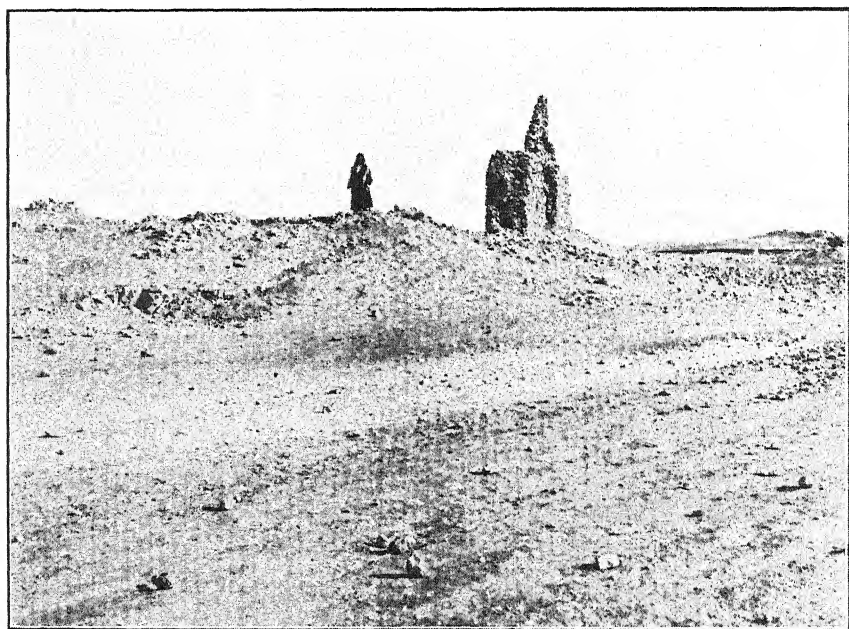
2.

1. VIEW OF MARKET STREET. 2. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH FROM THE EAST

X



1.

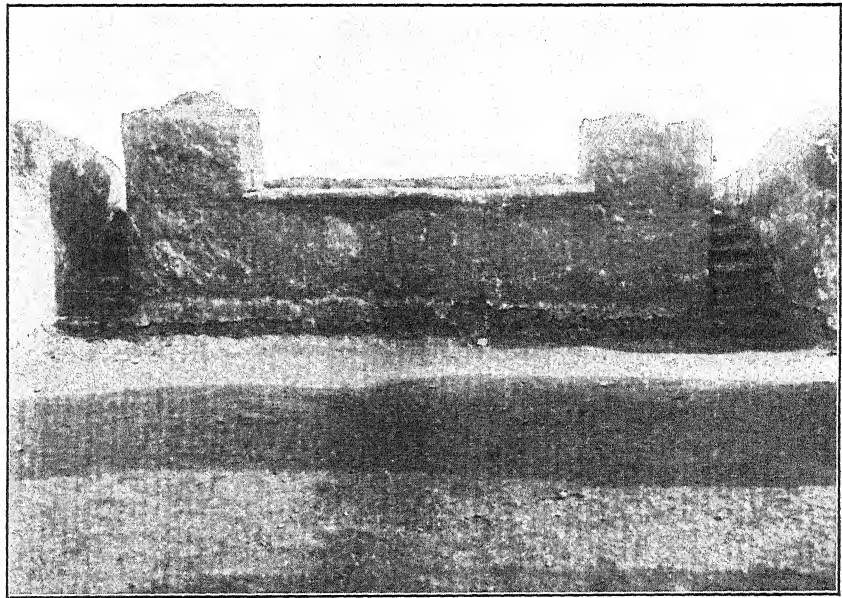


2.

1. SHRINE OF APHLAD. 2. PRAETORIUM FROM THE WEST (BEFORE EXCAVATIONS)

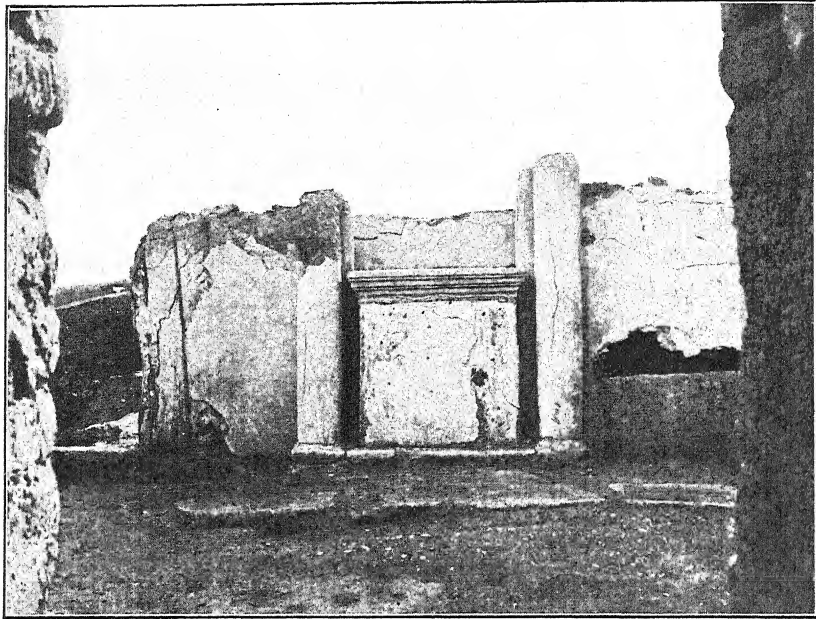


I.

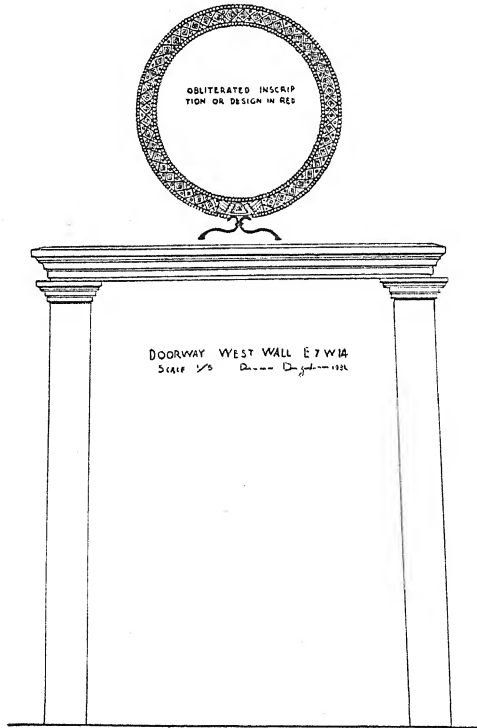


2.

PRAETORIUM: 1. VIEW FROM THE SOUTH. 2. TRIBUNAL IN MAIN HALL



I.



2.

TEMPLE OF AZZANATHKONA: 1. ALTAR IN ROOM W₇. 2. DOORWAY OF W₁₃ (DRAWING)



RELIEF OF APHLAD

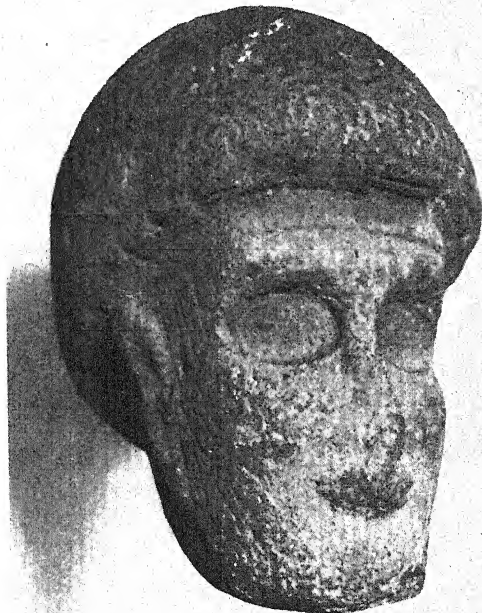
XIV



RELIEF OF AZZANATHKONA



1.



2.

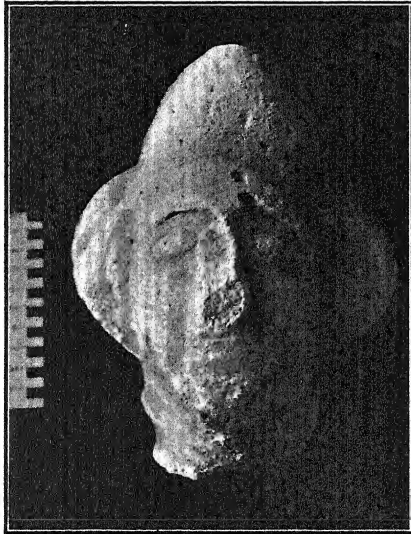
1. RELIEF HEAD FROM GI. 2. HEAD FROM MISHRIFÉ IN THE MUSEUM AT ALEPPO



1.



2.



3.



4.

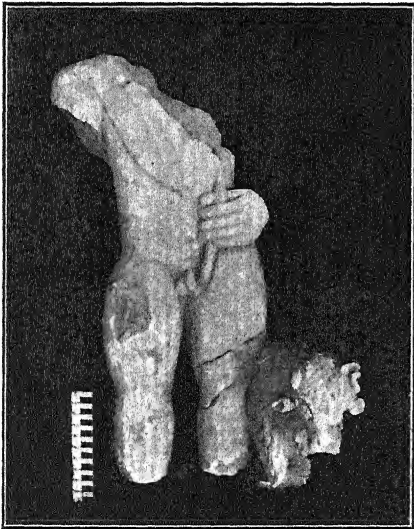
1. PARTHIAN HEAD FROM G1. 2. SEMITIC BUST FROM G6. 3. PARTHIAN HEAD FOUND ON THE SURFACE.
4. TERRA COTTA HEAD FROM THE S. W. ANGLE



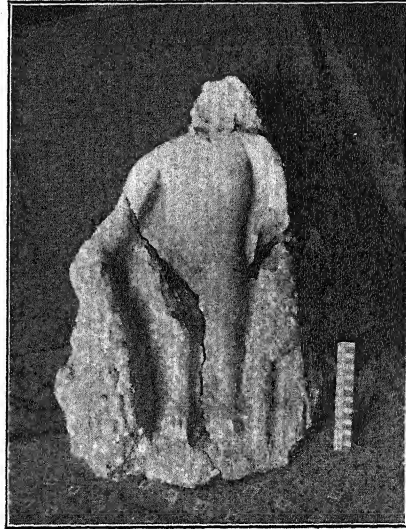
I.



2.



3.



4.

1. STATUE OF A GIRL FROM G₁. 2. RELIEF OF HADAD FROM C₇. 3. SHEPHERD WITH RAM FROM C₇. 4. RELIEF OF HERAKLES FROM G₃.



I.



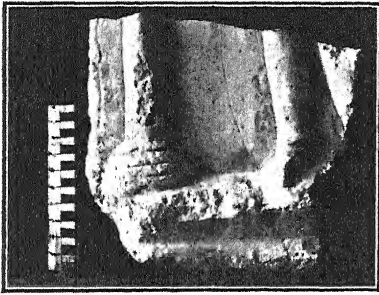
2.



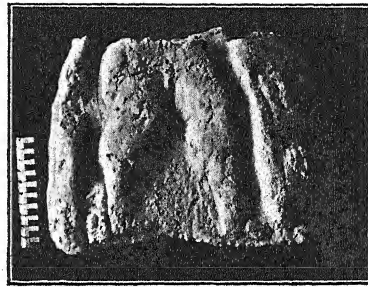
3.

1. RELIEF OF HERAKLES FROM G2. 2. PARTHIAN RELIEF OF WARRIOR FROM G1. 3. RELIEF OF HAND AND THUNDERBOLT FROM J1.

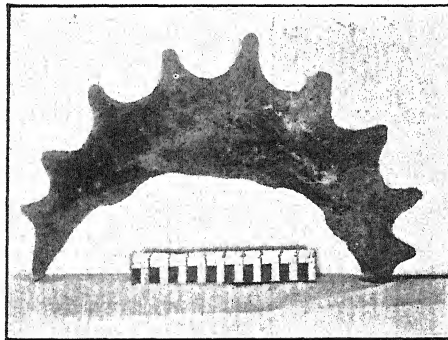
XIX



1.



2.

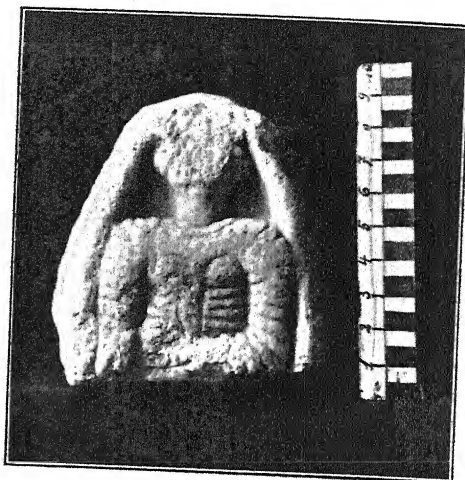


3.

1. FRAGMENT OF RELIEF OF MAN AND ALTAR FROM Gr. 1. 2. RELIEF OF HERAKLES FROM Gr. 2. 3. SILVER CROWN



1.



2.



3.

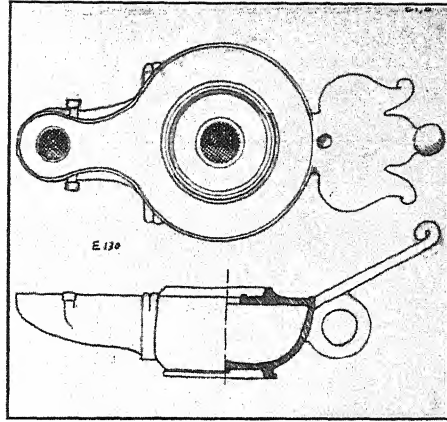


4.

1. BRONZE FOOT 2. SMALL RELIEF OF ATARGATIS. 3. STATUETTE OF AN EAGLE. 4. FAIENCE CAMEL WITH
PACK (THYMIATERION)



1.



2.



3.

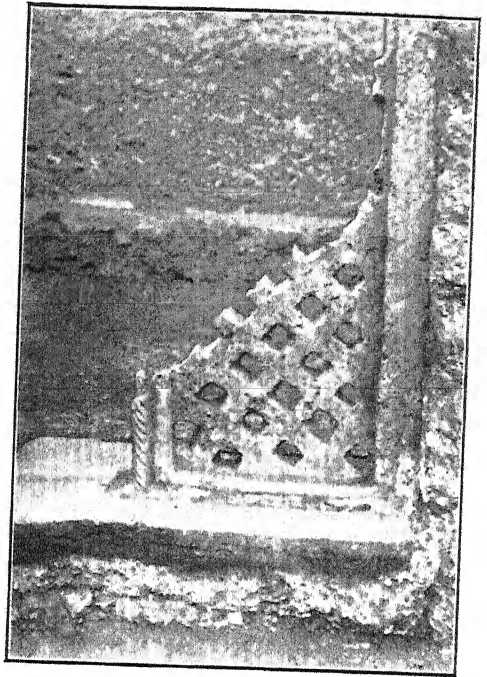


4.

1. TERRA COTTA LAMP WITH RELIEF. 2. BRONZE LAMP (DRAWING). 3. FAIENGE ALTAR (THYMIATERION)
4. IMPRESSION OF MOLD



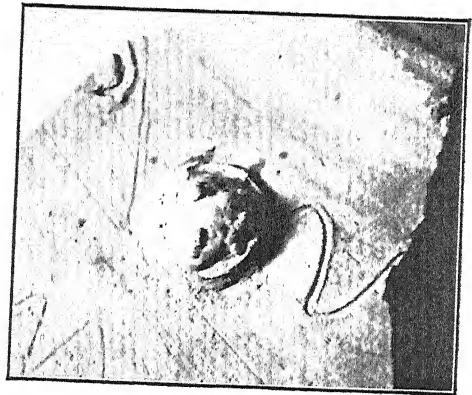
1.



2.

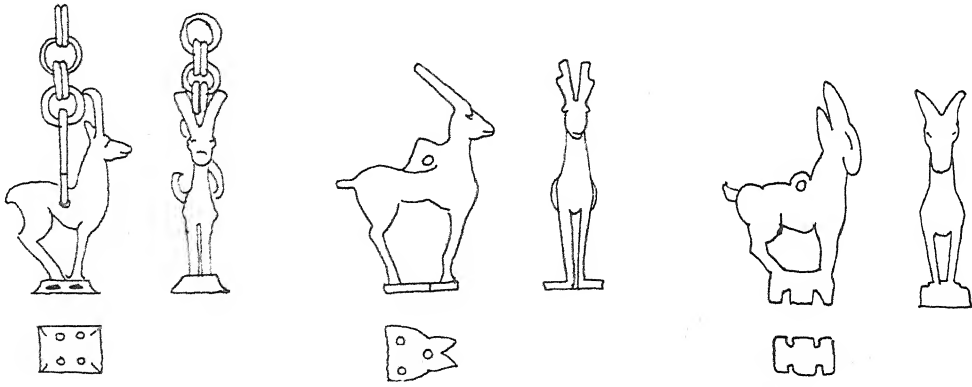


3.



4.

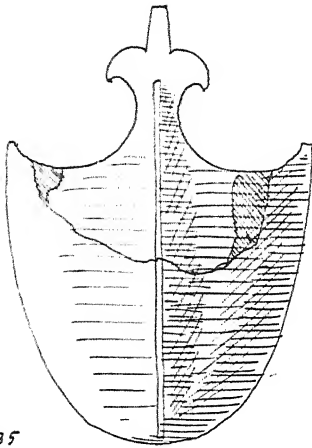
1. ALABASTER BOTTLE WITH CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION. 2. STONE SCREEN FROM THE PRAETORIUM. 3. TERRA COTTA PLAQUE OF ZEUS. 4. MOLDED HEAD ON SHERD



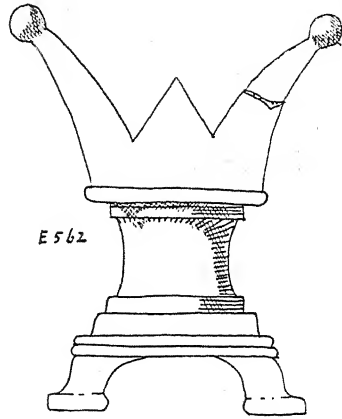
I.



E 1235

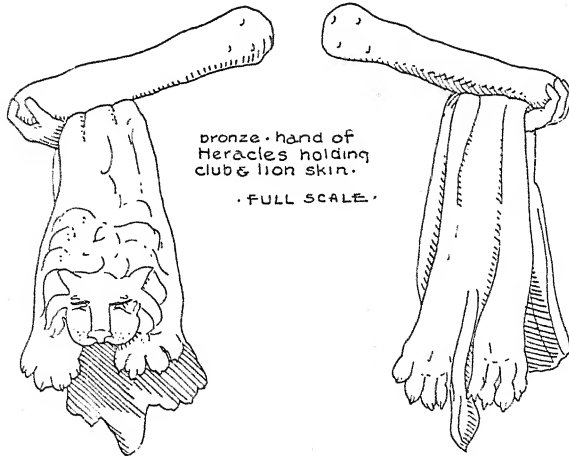


2.



E 562

3.

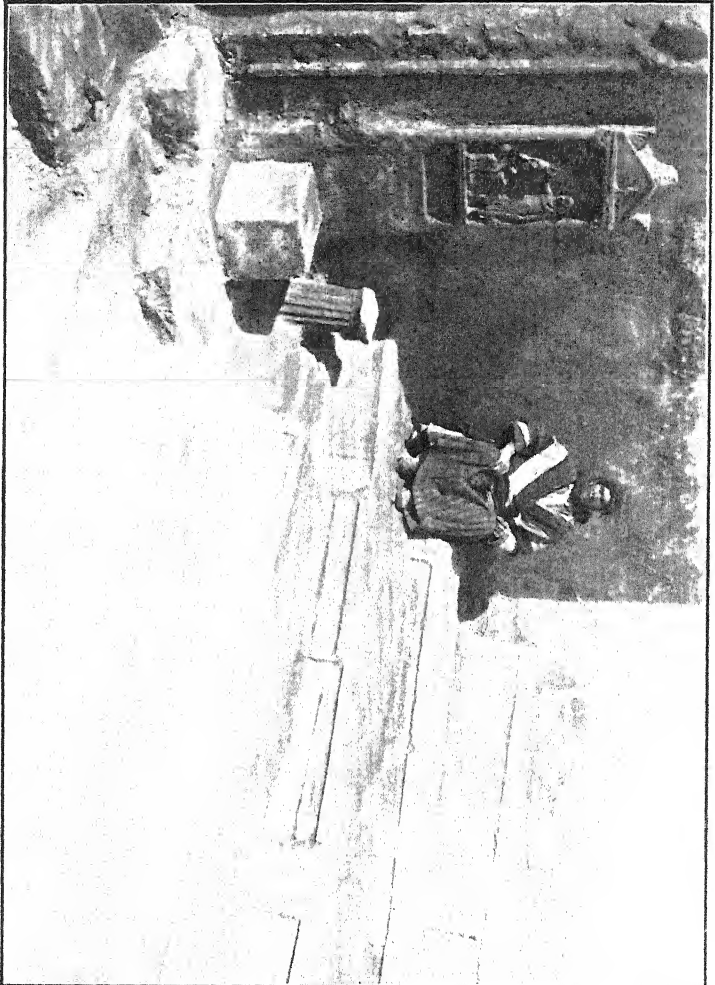


bronze hand of
Heracles holding
club & lion skin.

· FULL SCALE ·

4.

MINOR FINDS (DRAWINGS): 1. BRONZE FIGURES OF GAZELLES. 2. SCABBARD BUTT. 3. BRONZE THYMIATERION
4. BRONZE HAND OF HERAKLES HOLDING CLUB AND LION SKIN



TEMPLE OF AZZANATHRONA; SALLE AUX GRADINS, N. W. SECTION

541,

539,

535, 534,

532, 531, 530, 529,

526, 525, 524, 523,

521, 520, 519,

515, 514.



§ 35, § 34, § 33,

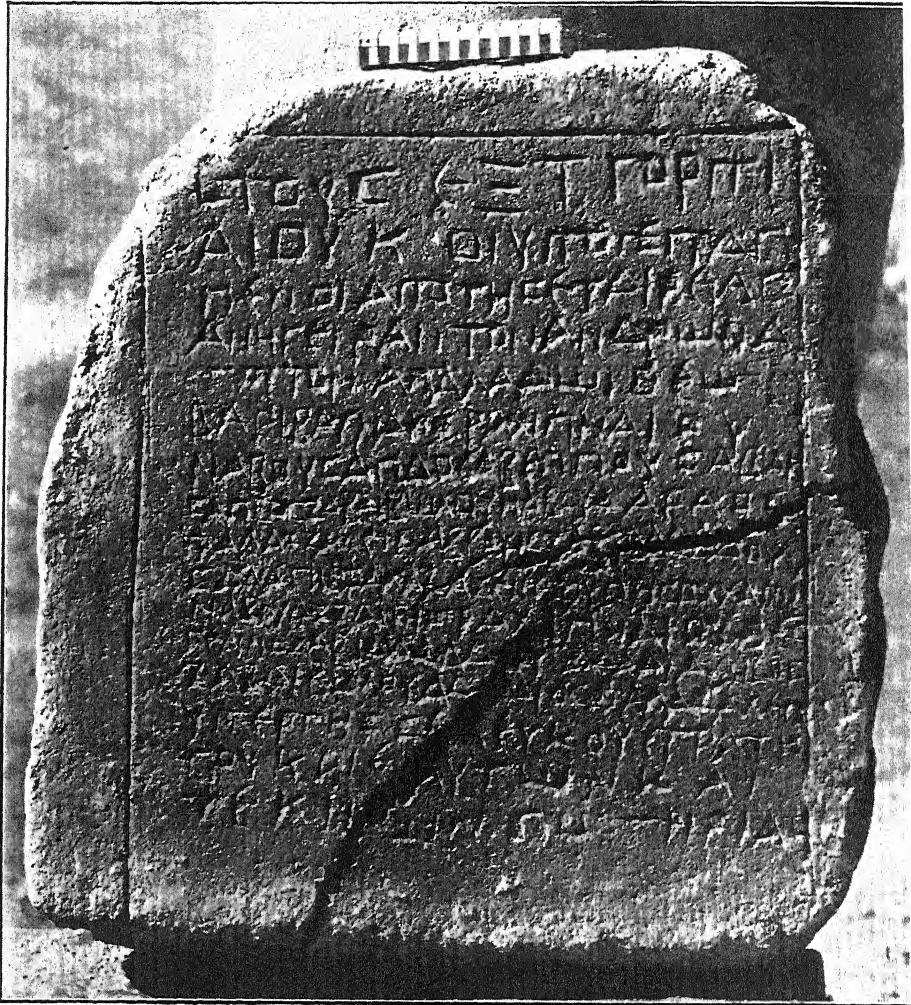
§ 30, § 29, § 28, § 27,

§ 24, § 23, § 22,

§ 19, § 18, § 17, § 16,

§ 12, § 11, § 10.

TEMPLE OF AZZANATHKONA, SALLE AUX GRADINS, N. E. SECTION, LOWER STEPS



INSCRIPTION FROM SANCTUARY OF APHLAD, NO. 418



I.

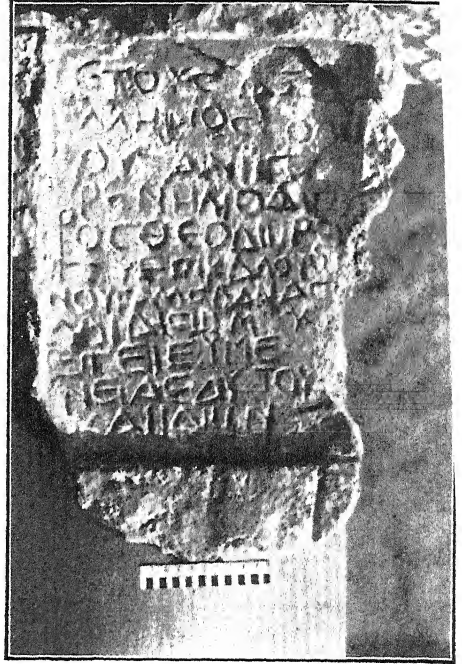


2.

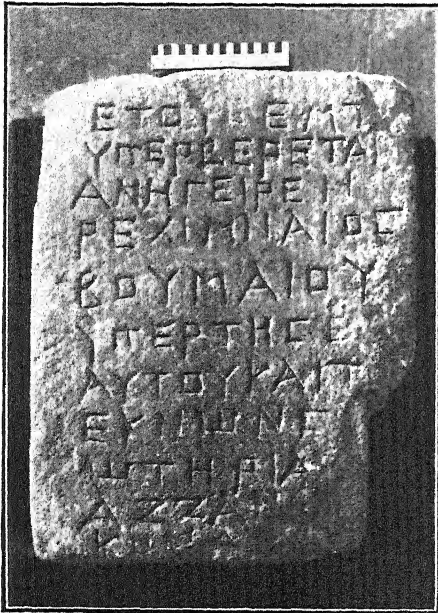
1. PAINTED INSCRIPTION FROM THE PRAETORIUM, NO. 560. 2. LATIN REBUS INSCRIPTION, NO. 478



1.



2.



3.

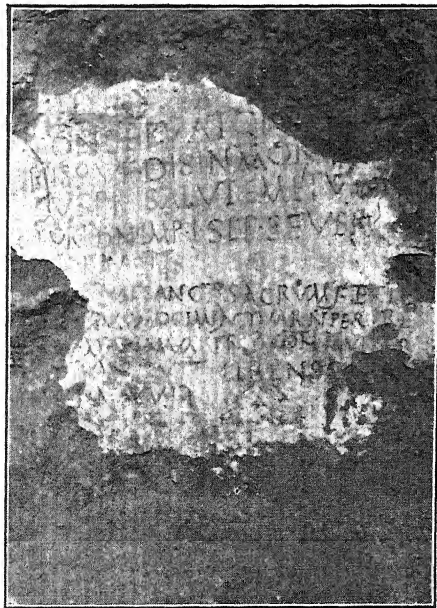


4.

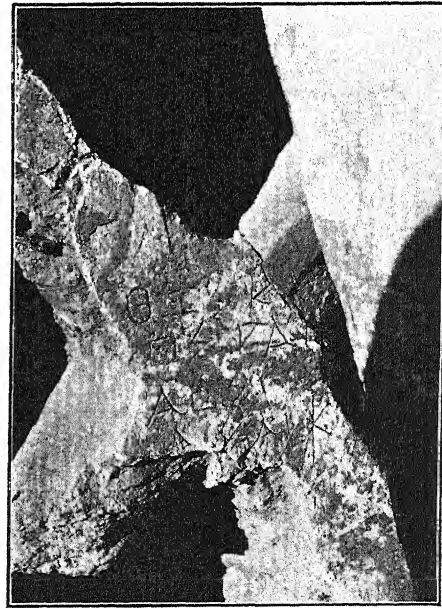
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TEMPLE OF AZZANATHKONA: 1-2. HELIODOROS, NO. 468. 3. PHECHIMNAIOS, NO. 504
+ BARNABOUS, NO. 453



I.

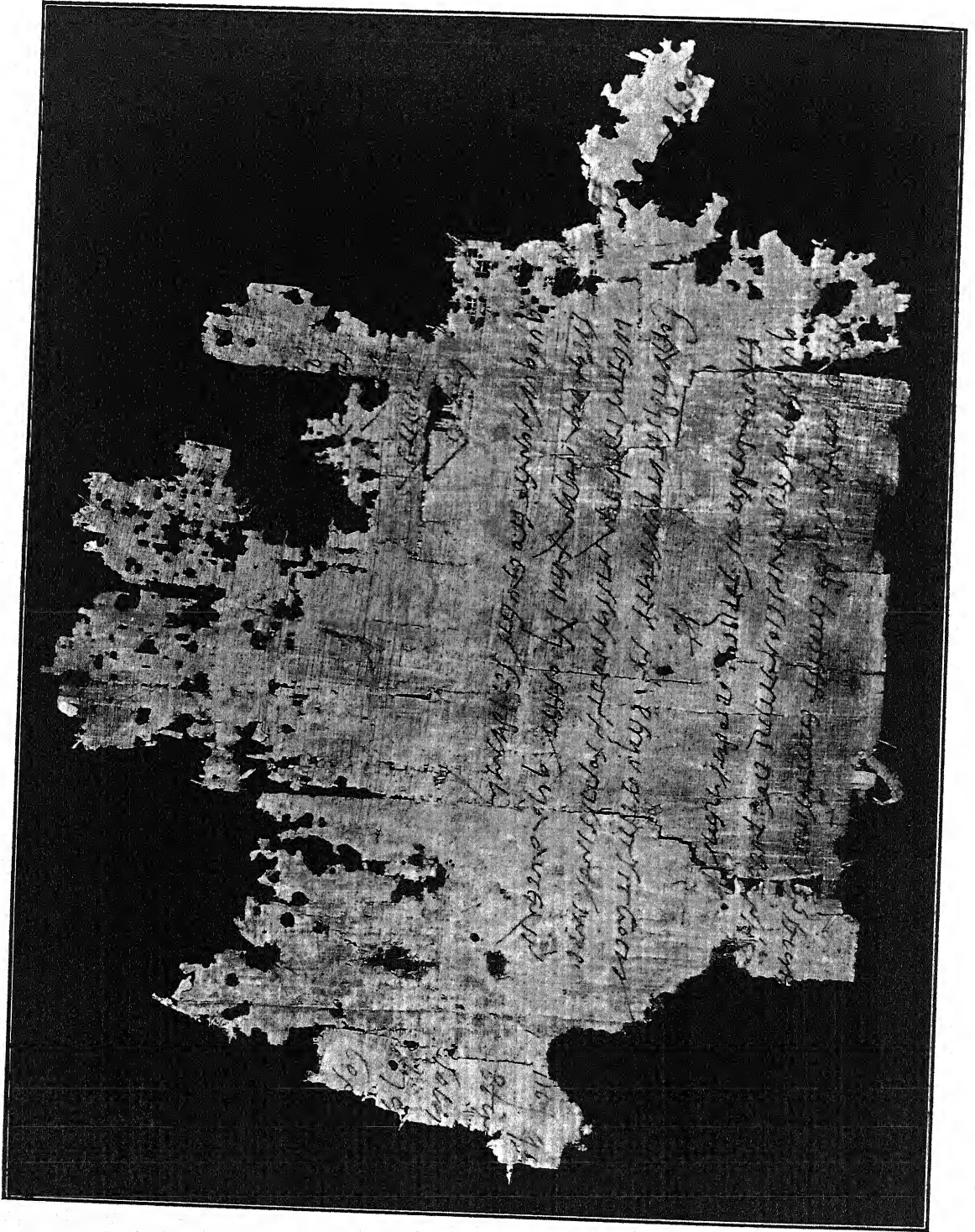


2.

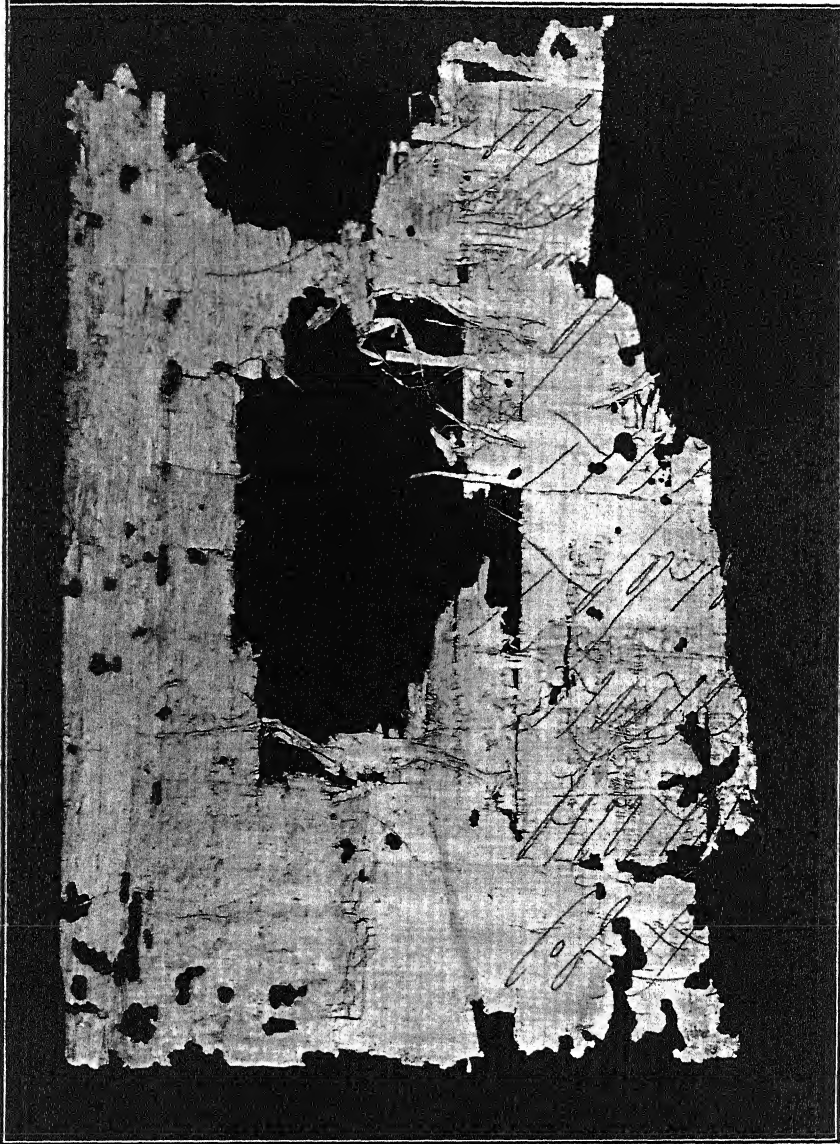


3.

1. INSCRIPTION OF LEGIO III CYRENAICA, NO. 557. 2. PAINTED INSCRIPTION OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, NO. 561
3. GRAFFITO OF NUMBERS FROM G3, INSCRIPTION NO. 410



PAPYRUS 4



I.

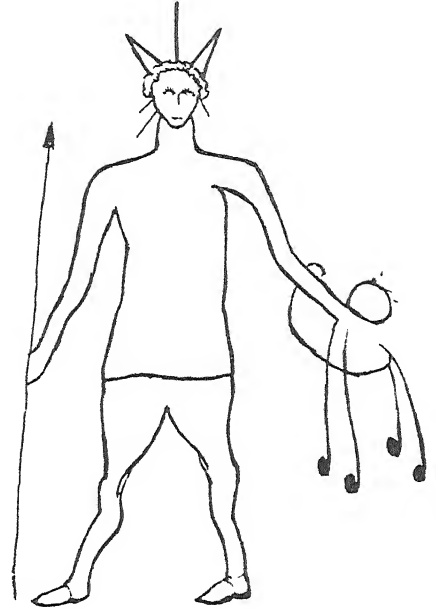


2.

1. PAPYRUS 7. 2. SECTION OF PAPYRUS 2



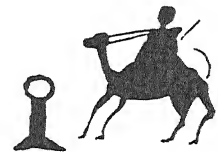
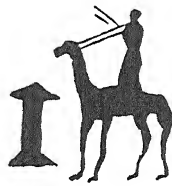
1.



2.

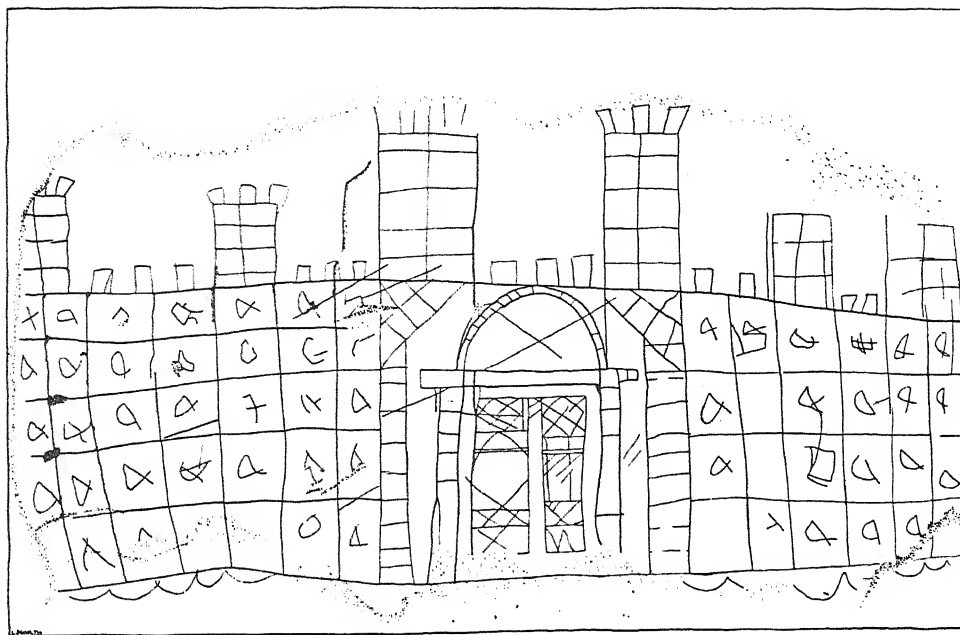


3.

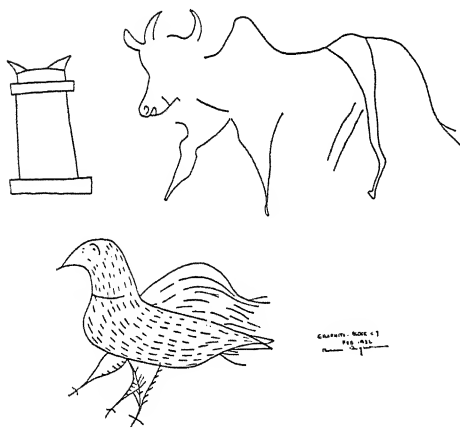


4.

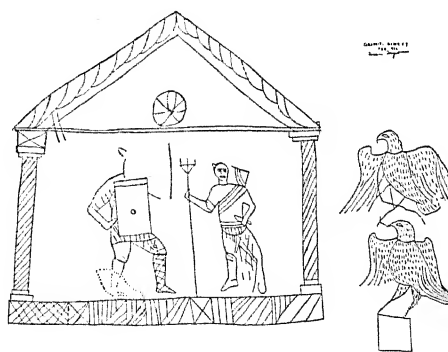
GRAFFITI HAMMERED IN THE STONES OF THE TOWERS OF THE CIRCUIT WALL: 1. RIVER BOAT. 2. IARHIBOL
3. DANCING FIGURES. 4. RIDERS BESIDE ALTARS



I.

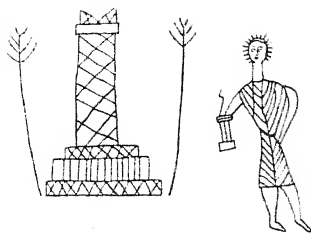


2.



3.

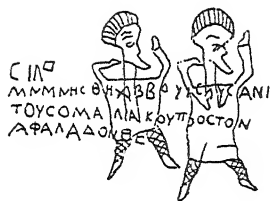
TRACINGS OF GRAFFITI: 1. PALMYRENE GATE AND FORTIFICATIONS. 2-3. GRAFFITI FROM C7, C4.



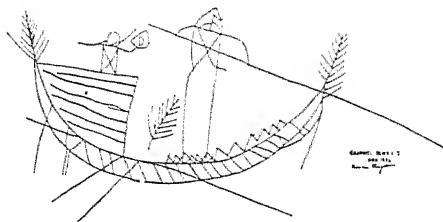
GRAFFITI: HOUSE OF
THE GRAFFITI FEB. 1932



1.



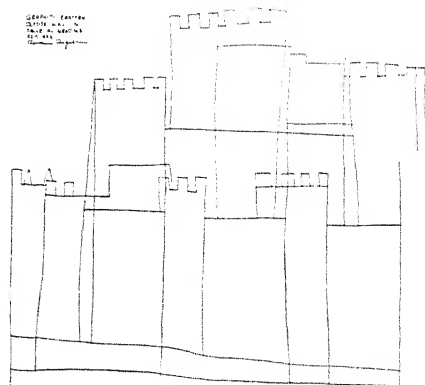
2.



3.



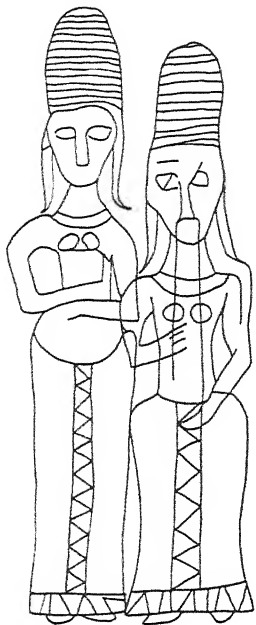
4.



5.

TRACINGS OF GRAFFITI: 1. CULT SCENE FROM B8, G6. 2. DANCING FIGURES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF APHLAD
3. RIVER BOAT. 4. MAN WITH ARROWS (?) 5. WALLED CITY

ZPBIDIC

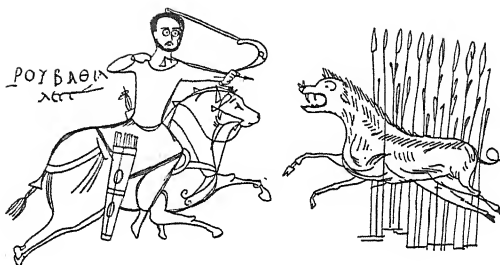


1.



2.

ZABAO VC

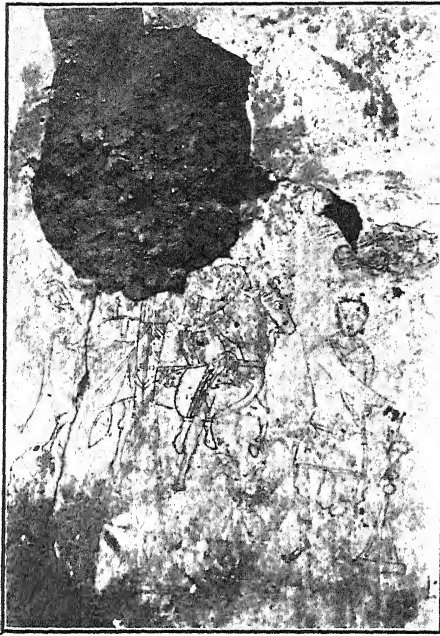


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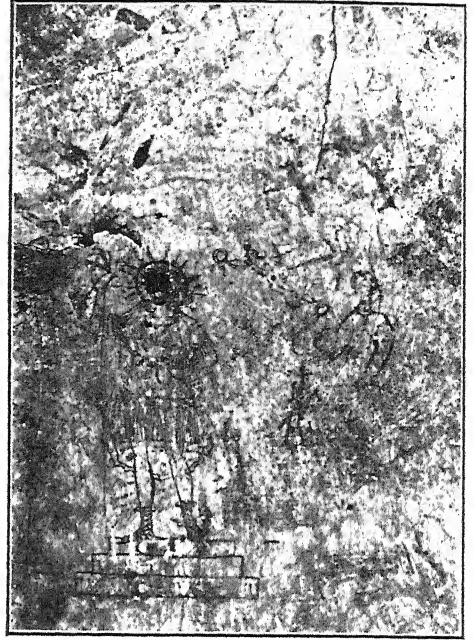


3.

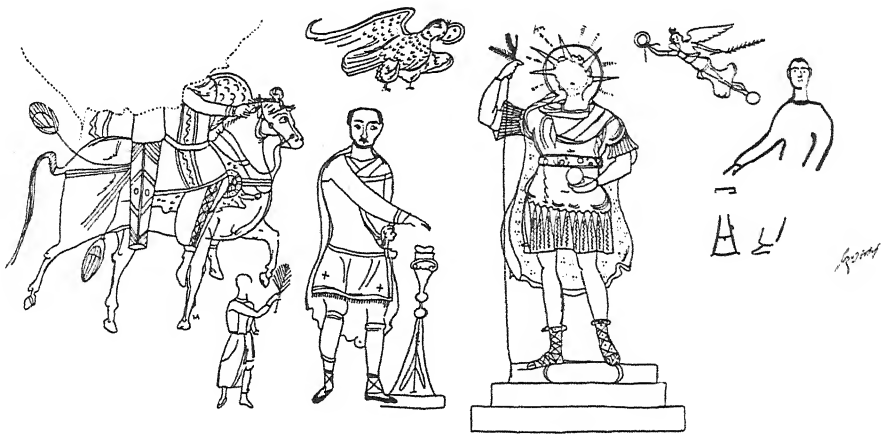
TRACINGS OF GRAFFITI: 1. MUSICIANS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF APHLAD. 2. FIGURE WITH PALM BRANCHES.
TRACINGS OF INK DRAWINGS: 3. LION HUNT. 4. BOAR HUNT



I.

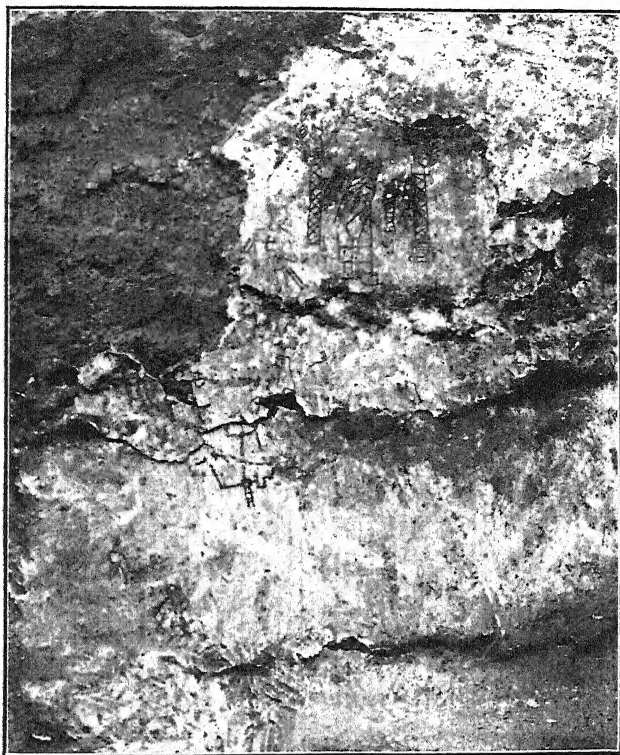


2.



3.

INK DRAWING OF CULT SCENE OF IARHIBOL: 1-2 PHOTOGRAPHS, 3. TRACING OF FIGURES

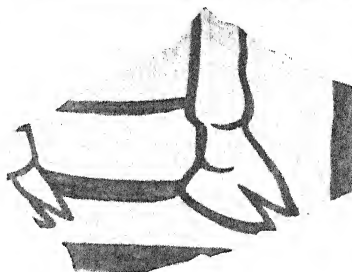
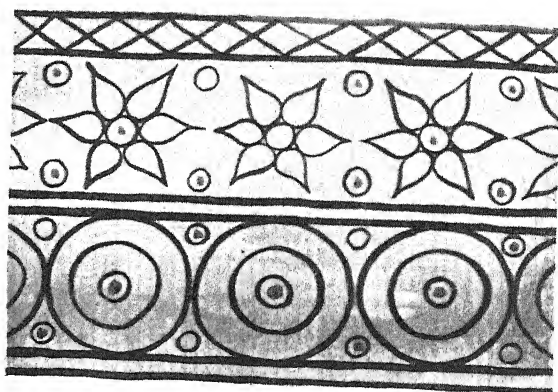


I.



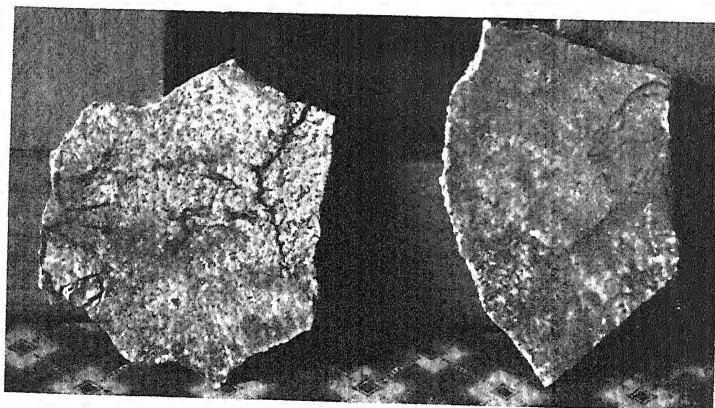
2.

DIPINTO OF BIRD CULT FROM THE SANCTUARY OF APHLAD



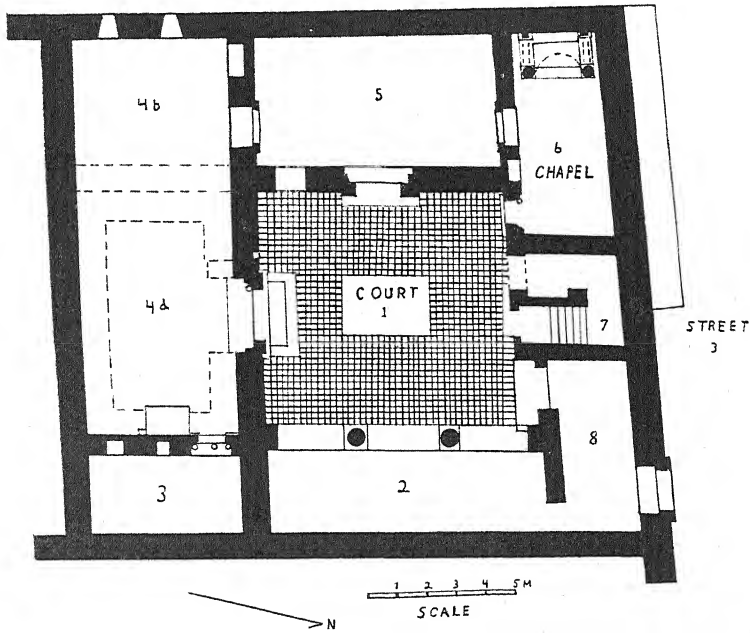
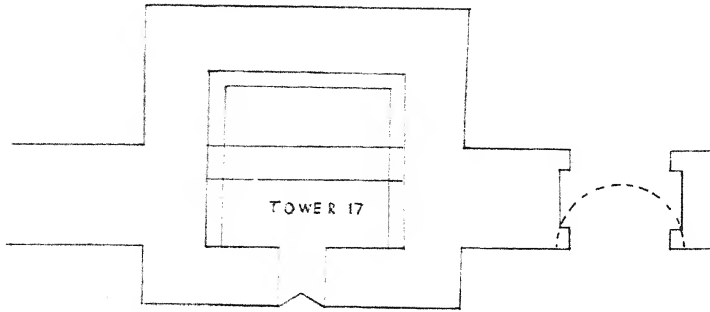
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2.

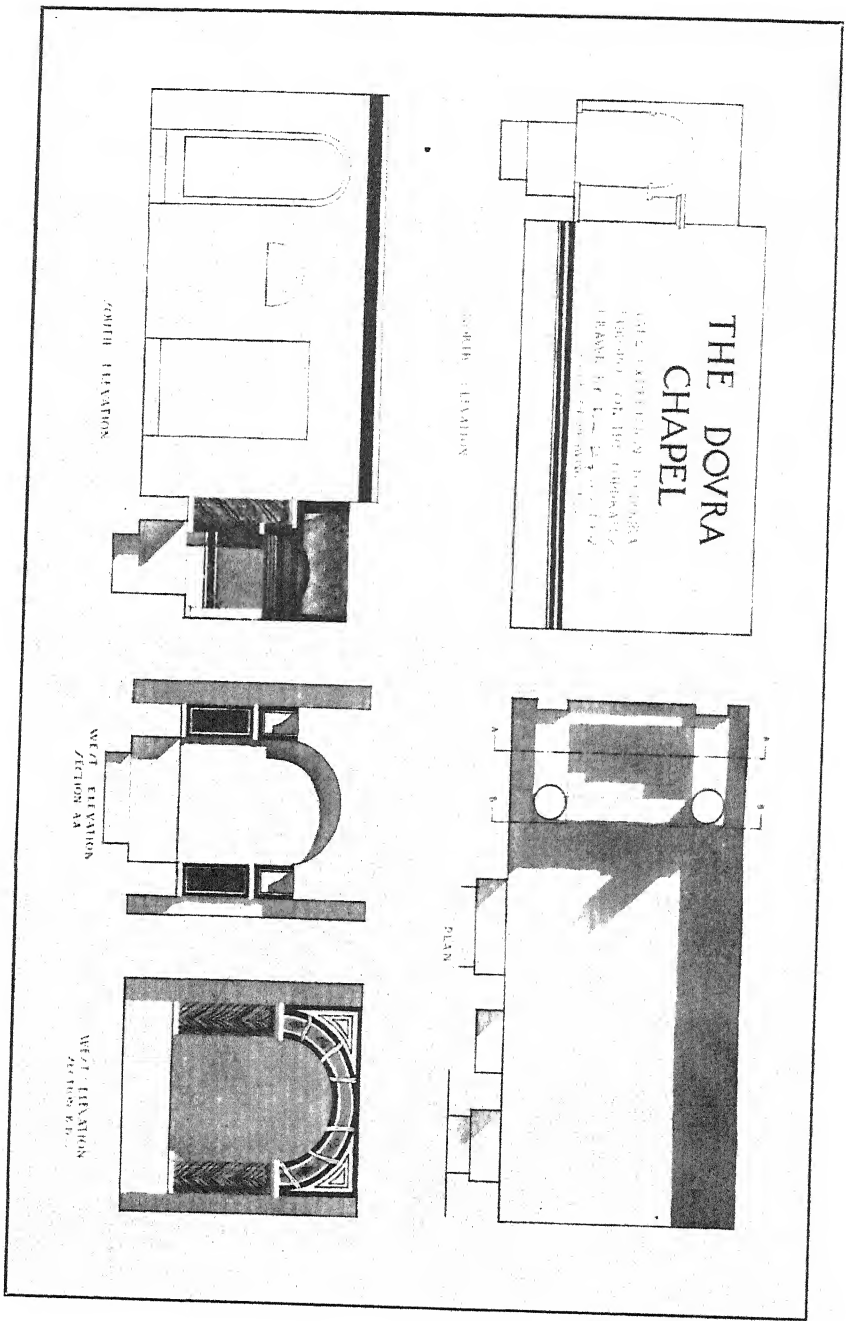


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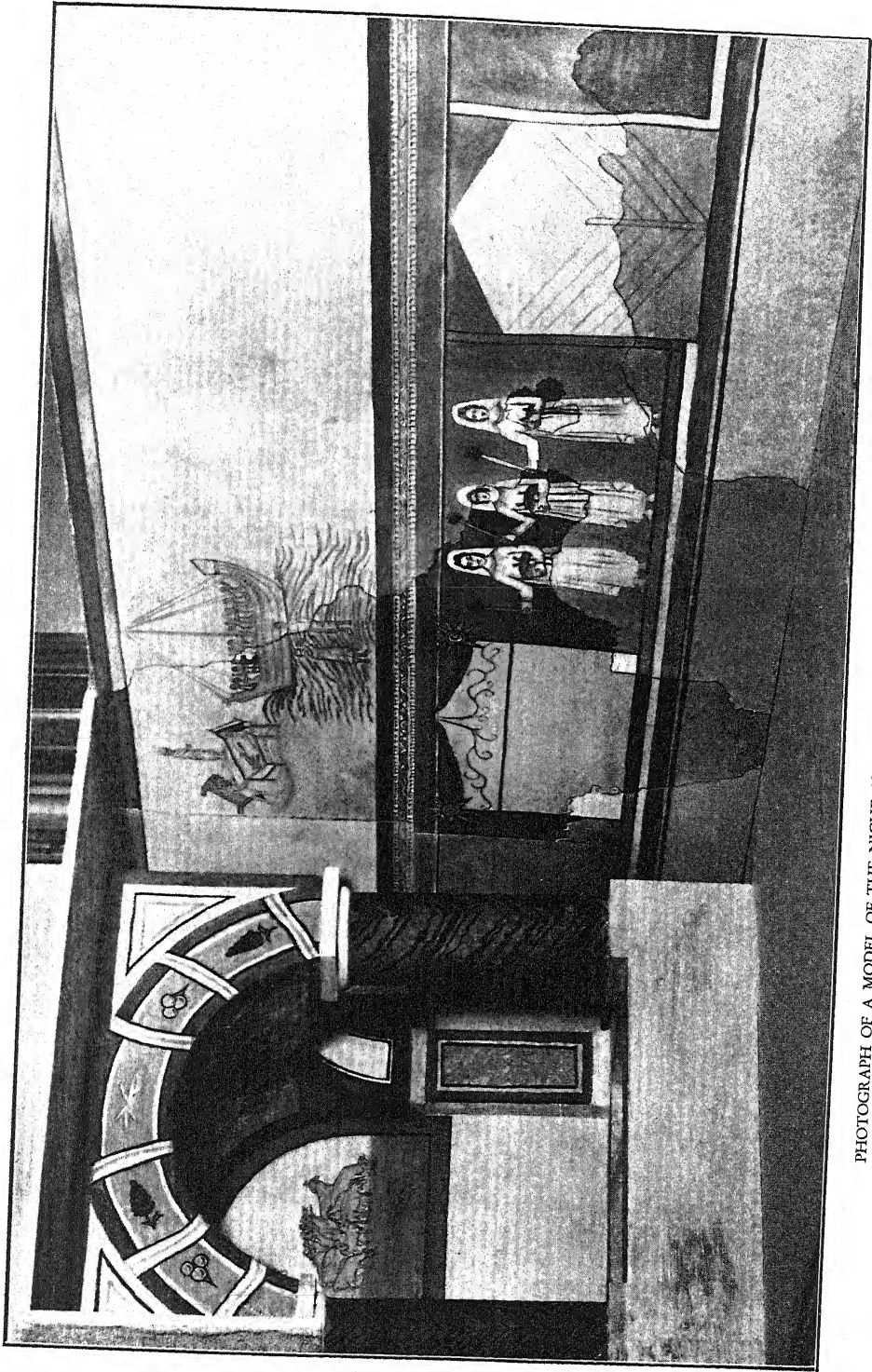
1-2 PAINTED FRAGMENTS FROM THE TEMPLE OF APHLAD (COPIES), 3. INK DRAWING OF GAZELLE (PHOTOGRAPH WITH TRACING)



PLAN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

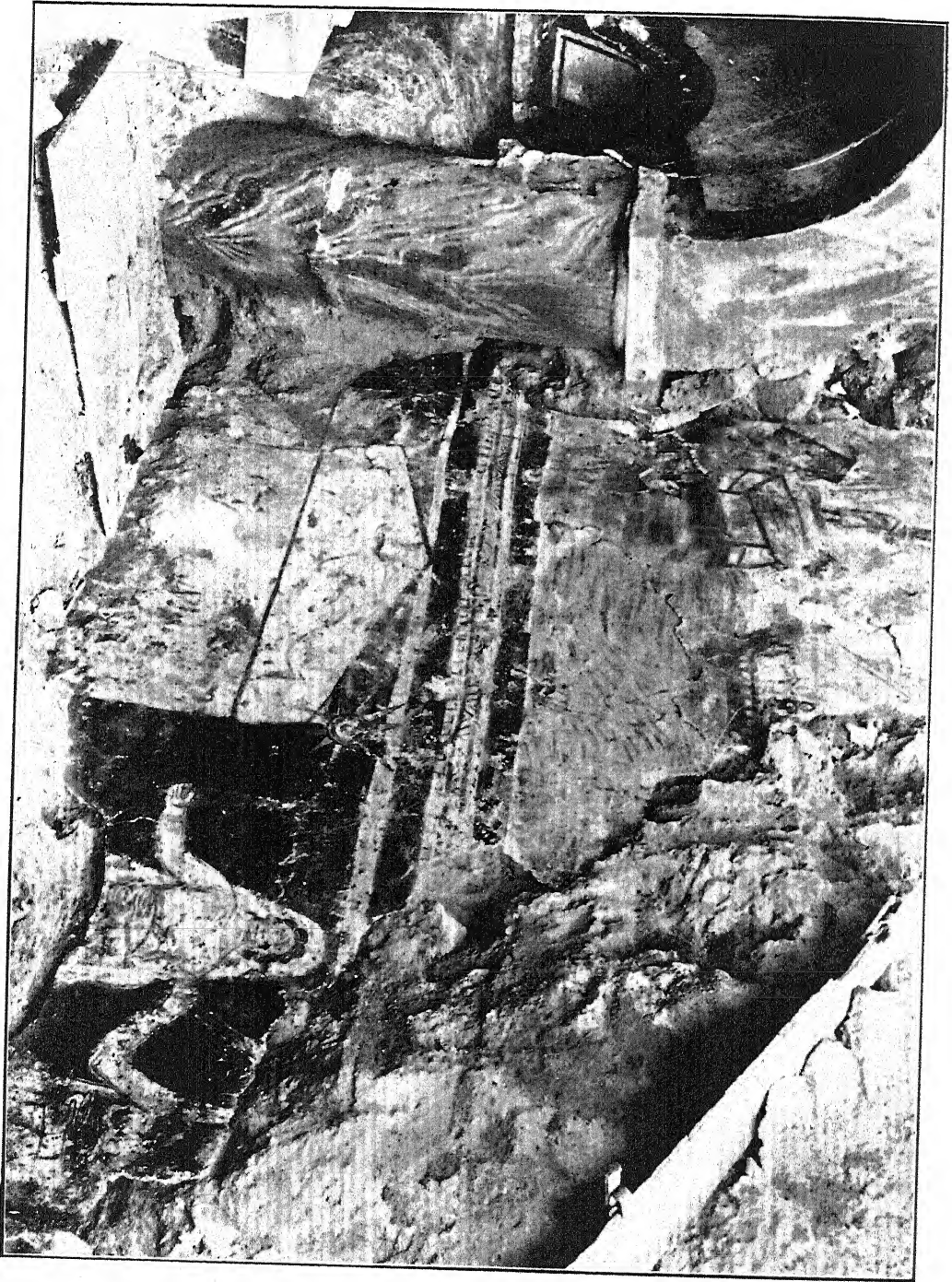


DETAILS OF THE CHAPEL (DRAWN BY R. DEICHERT)

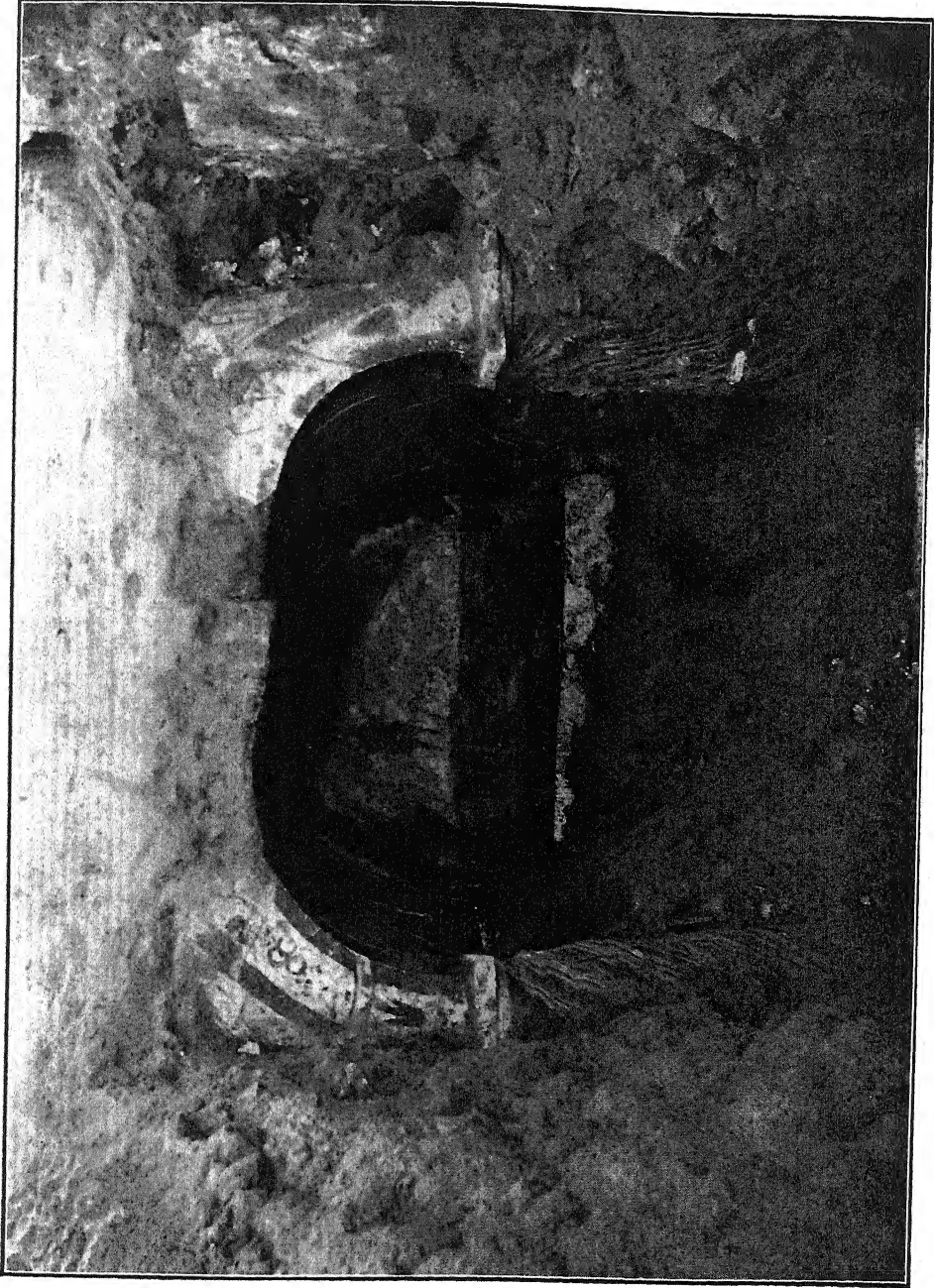


PHOTOGRAPH OF A MODEL OF THE NICHE AND N. WALL OF THE CHAPEL (CONSTRUCTED BY H. PEARSON)

PART OF THE N. WALL AND THE NICHE



XLIII



THE NICHE DURING EXCAVATIONS



THE GOOD SHEPHERD, ADAM AND EVE



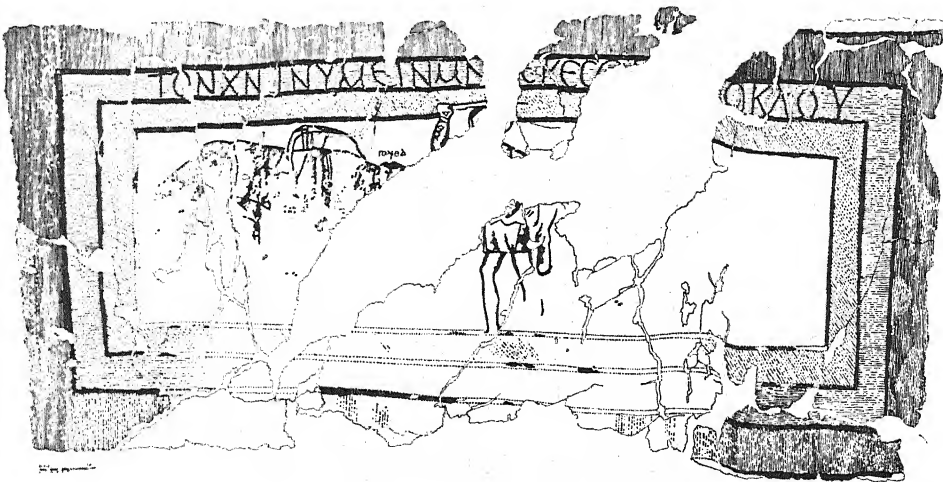
THE HEALING OF THE PARALYTIC, CHRIST WALKING ON THE WATER



THE WOMAN AT THE WELL



I.



2.

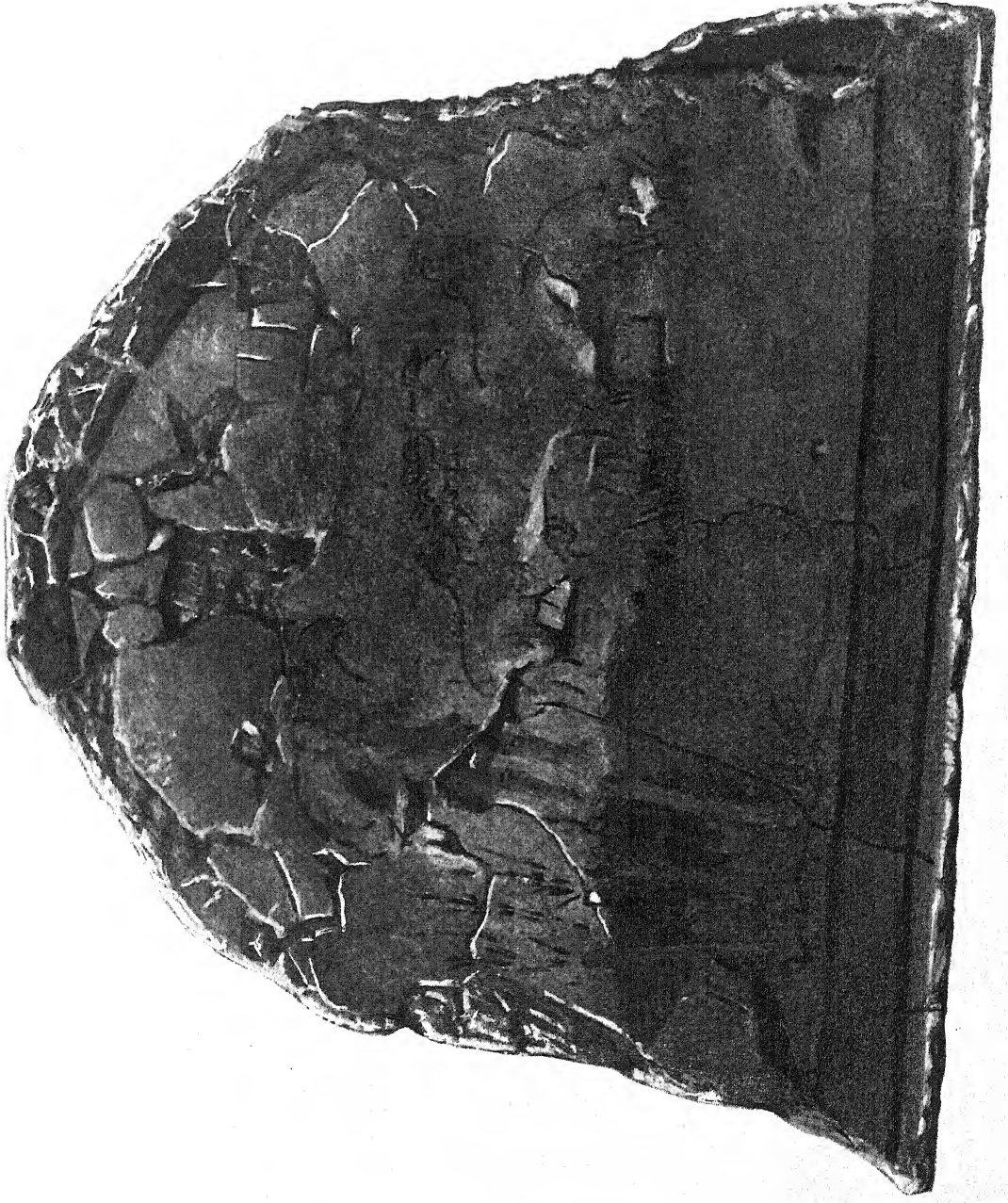
1. THE WOMAN AT THE WELL. 2. DAVID AND GOLIATH (DRAWINGS)

XLVIII



PART OF THE N. WALL AND THE NICHE

XLIX



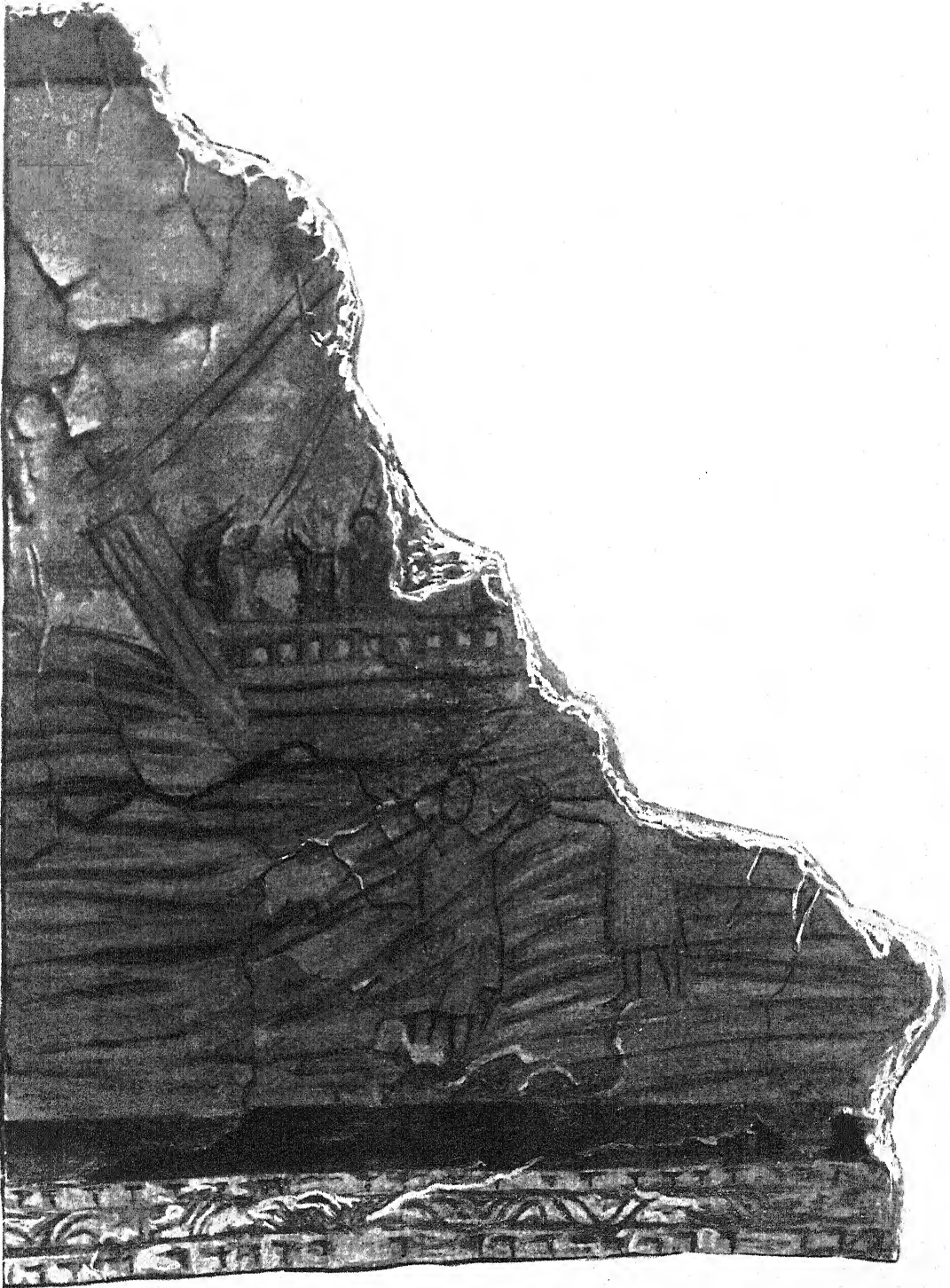
THE GOOD SHEPHERD, ADAM, AND EVE



L



THE HEALING OF THE PARALYTIC



CHRIST WALKING ON THE WATER.