DURA-EUROPOS
AND ITS ART

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPETOWN BOMBAY
CALCUTTA MADRAS
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

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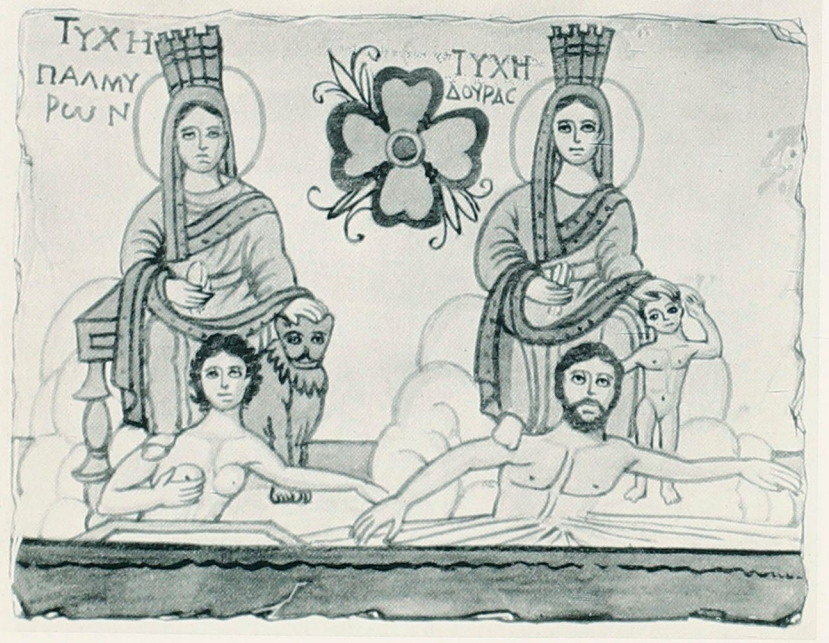

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I. 1. One of the cult bas-reliefs of the temple of the Gaddé, showing the Gad of Dura (Zeus–Baalshamin), the dedicant, and Seleucus Nicator. 2. Part of the painting of the tribune Terentius in the temple of Bel, showing the Tychae of Palmyra and Dura. (Drawing by H. Gute, partly restored)

DURA-EUROPOS
AND ITS ART

BY

M. ROSTOVTZEFF

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PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN
YALE UNIVERSITY

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1938

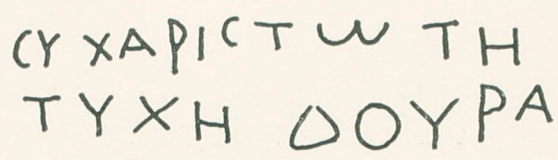
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

To

THE MEMBERS OF

YALE DURA EXPEDITION

PAST AND PRESENT



'I pray to (or I thank) the Fortune of Dura'

One of the inscriptions on the main gate of Dura. The first inscription discovered at Dura by the Yale Expedition.

PREFACE

THE following sketch of the history and topography of Dura-Europos and of its art was submitted to distinguished audiences in May 1937 at University College, London, and in June at the Collège de France, Paris. These public lectures are printed here with slight changes and in a somewhat expanded form.

It may be thought premature to summarize at this moment the knowledge that we possess of Dura-Europos. Though the work of excavation has been suspended by the Yale Expedition for an indefinite time, not all the Preliminary Reports have yet been published (*Rep.* vii–viii is in print—and *Rep.* ix and x, the last Preliminary Reports, are in preparation), and the publication of the Final Report has not been even begun. Nevertheless, students of ancient history and archaeology and those general readers who are interested in these subjects may find it useful to have a short summary of this kind, prepared by one who has followed the progress of the excavations from the outset. Our Preliminary Reports are not accessible to everybody and are not easy to handle, and it will be some time before the Final Report is ready.

I do not regard the summary that I here present to the reader as my personal work. The structure is mine and I am responsible for it, but the stones composing it have been prepared by the efforts of all the members of the Yale Dura Expedition. It seems appropriate, therefore, to dedicate this booklet to them as the expression of my indebtedness and gratitude.

To the text as delivered to my audiences in London and Paris I have added a few notes, in order to make it easier for the readers to find supplementary information on the various questions touched upon in this opusculum, and to discriminate between more or less ascertained facts and controversial points.

In illustrating my book I have endeavoured to reproduce in the main such monuments as have not been previously published in Cumont's work and in our Preliminary Reports. As regards the maps, the first sketch-map showing the general

topography of Dura has been drawn by Professor C. Hopkins, the second by Mr. F. Brown, and the last has been prepared for the use of Yale Dura Expedition by the Geographical Service of the French Army. The manuscript has been read by Mr. F. Brown, to whom I owe many interesting suggestions. For the Index I am indebted to my wife. It is a pleasant duty to offer my sincerest thanks to all who have helped me.*

— M. R.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.
October 1937.

* I have not as a rule inserted references to the illustrations in the text of my book. On pp. xi–xiv the reader will find a list of illustrations with references to the pages on which each is discussed and in some cases with additional information which could not be included in the text or in the short titles of the illustrations.

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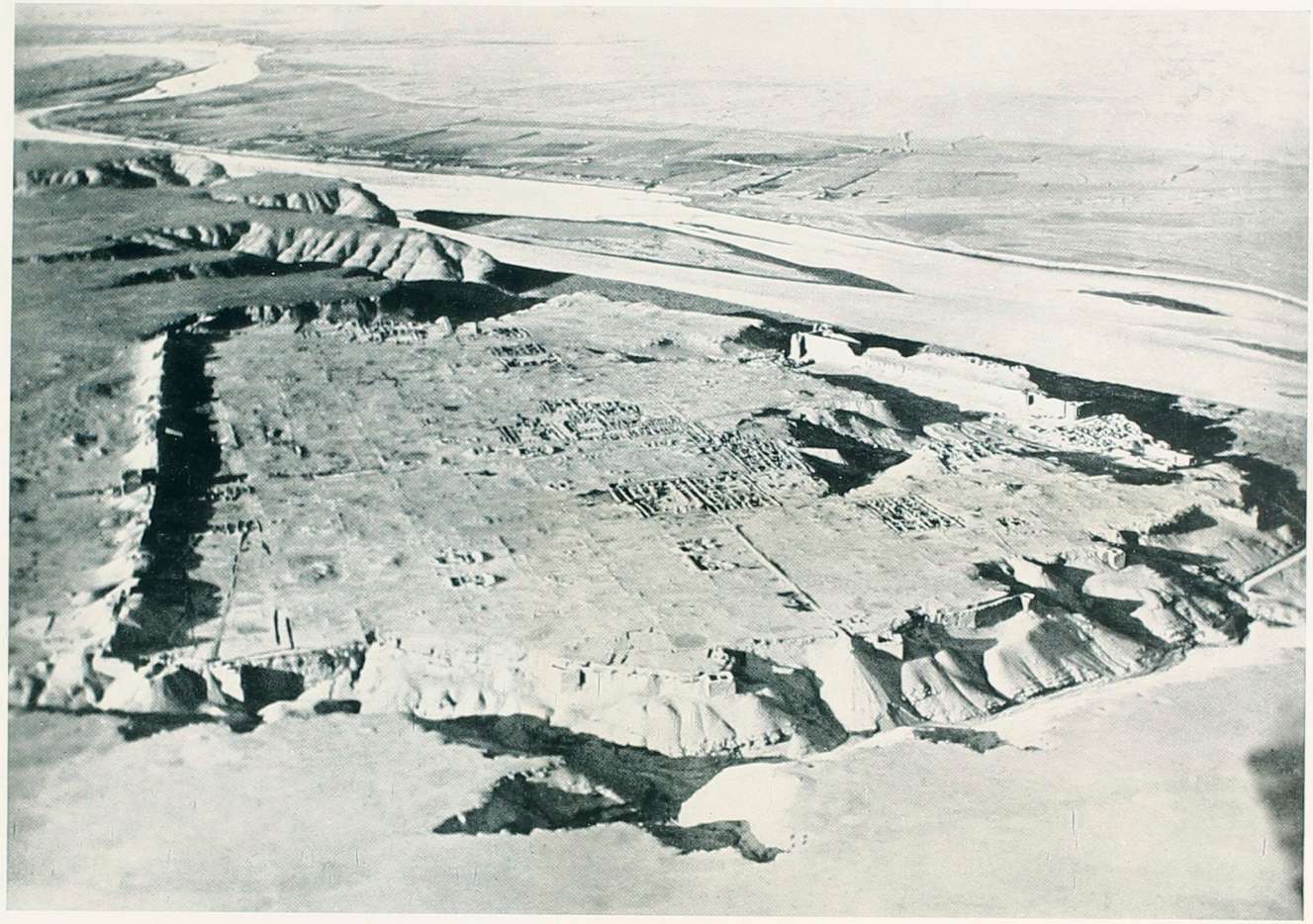


Air view of Dura (1932)

I

IMPORTANCE AND HISTORY OF DURA-EUROPOS

LET me transport you for the few hours of my lectures to the Syrian desert, where, on the middle Euphrates, midway between Baghdad and Aleppo, stand the ruins of Dura-Europos. Situated as they are on the road that from time immemorial has followed the Euphrates, these ruins were certainly visited by many travellers, some of whom had archaeological interests. But they were seldom mentioned and never identified. It was not until 1921 that the attention of the learned world was drawn to them. In that year, in the course of operations against the Arabs, Captain Murphy of the British Army, while digging some trenches in the ruins, discovered by chance the now famous paintings of what is known as the temple of the Palmyrene gods. They were photographed, recorded, and subsequently published by the late Professor Breasted. Two years of systematic excavations by F. Cumont led to the publication of his masterly book on Dura-Europos. Then in 1928, after an interval of two years, Yale University with the collaboration of the French Academy of Inscriptions undertook the systematic exploration of Dura. Ten campaigns have been conducted from 1928 to 1937, and six preliminary reports have been published (the seventh and eighth are in preparation). The work has been carried out, under my general supervision, by three successive field-directors—M. Pillet, Professor C. Hopkins, and Mr. F. Brown, with the valuable support of the Service of Antiquities of Syria and of its directors, first M. Virolleaud and later M. Seyrig, and the assistance of the civil and military departments of the Government of Syria. To my deep regret the work at Dura is now suspended, not because of lack of interest either on my part or on that of Yale University, but because of lack of funds. Dura is as inspiring and as full of promise as ever.

Dura-Europos as we now know it, after excavating and studying it for twelve years, was never an important centre of ancient life. First a Seleucid fortress, then a Parthian caravan-city, and finally a stronghold on the Euphrates frontier or *limes*

of the Roman Empire, Dura-Europos played no momentous part in the history of its time; nor was it ever distinguished for independent creative activity. Why, then, one may naturally ask, have the Academy of Inscriptions and Yale University

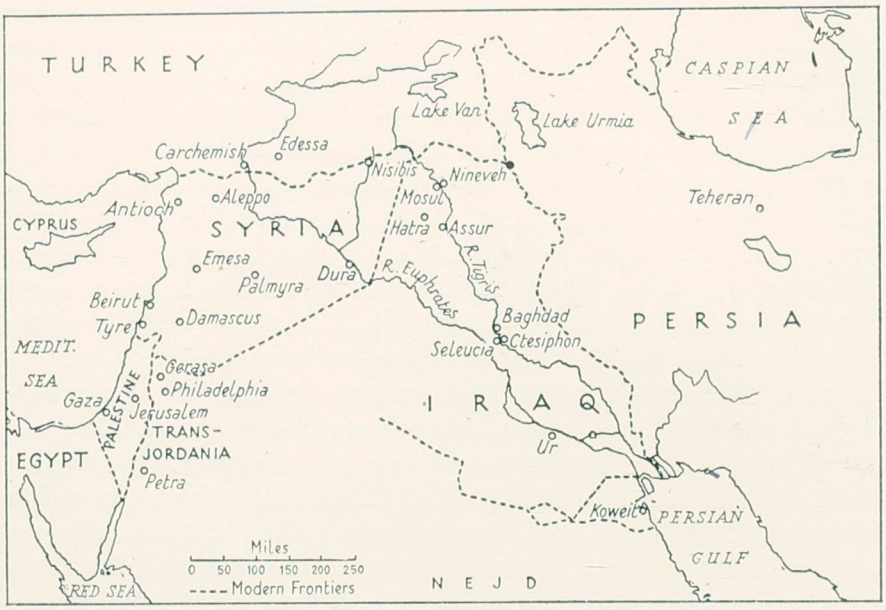


FIG. 1. General map of the Near East

spent large sums of money on its excavation, and on the examination and publication of the results? Why should a number of scholars and artists have devoted their time and energy to exploring and studying its remains? The reason lies not in its historical importance as a city, but in the scientific value of the material that its ruins yield. Dura-Europos is like Pompeii in this respect. Pompeii as a city played no important part in the history of the world. Nevertheless the excavation of its ruins has been of immense scientific value. Competent scholars have in recent times ventured to call Dura the Pompeii of the Syrian desert. And they were right. Let me pursue the comparison a little further. It will help us to understand the scientific value of the excavations of Dura-Europos.

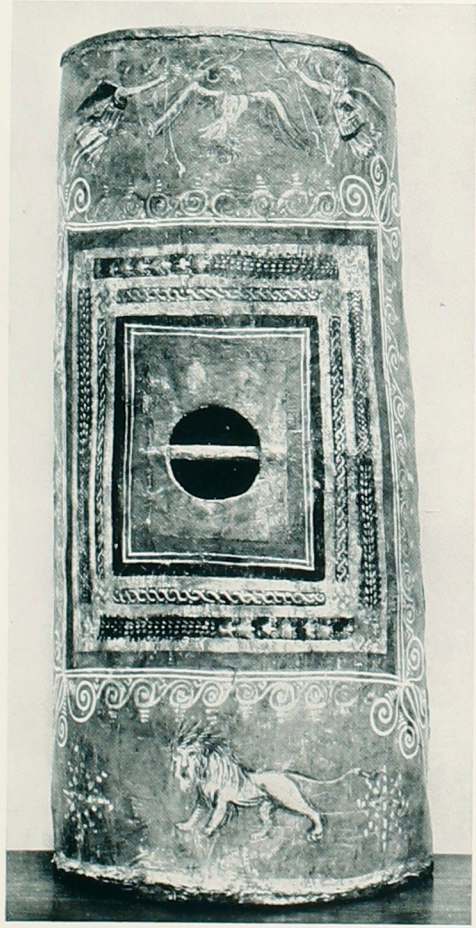
First and foremost, Dura rivals Pompeii in the beautiful state of preservation of its ruins, and in the quantity, quality, variety, and state of preservation of the objects found in them.

The city, so far as excavated, lies almost intact before us. It requires little effort for a trained eye to restore in imagination the buildings that have been brought to light. Indeed, some of these need very little material restoration to bring them back to their original state. Such are the fortifications of the city and the public and private buildings erected along that part of the city wall which faced the desert. These buildings were discovered in an almost perfect condition, for a sloping embankment built by the garrison before the last siege of the city had buried them under a thick and well drained layer of sand and rubbish.

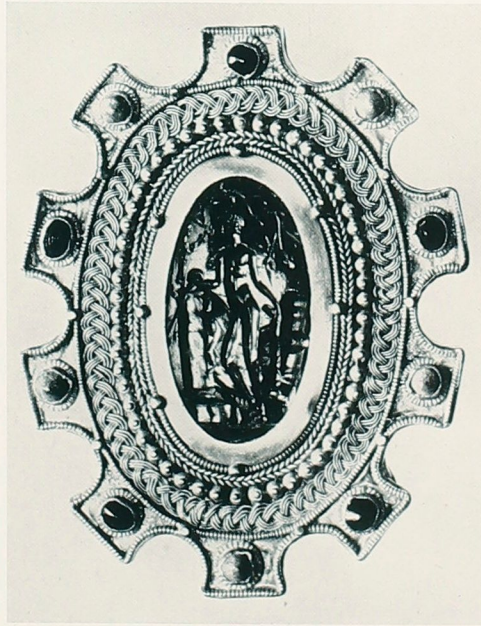
Furthermore, Dura, like Pompeii, is a veritable museum of decorative wall-painting. The walls of many of the public buildings of Dura, both religious and secular, and also of many private buildings, were ornamented with paintings of various kinds. Some of these wall-paintings were found almost intact, others in substantial fragments which allow of a more or less easy reconstruction. Some of these paintings are purely decorative, and have an important bearing on the history of wall-painting in the East; others—especially in the temples—are ambitious figural compositions of great interest in connexion with the history of religious and secular painting in the first three centuries after Christ. We may say without exaggeration that in the light it throws on the history of painting Dura is for the Near East what Pompeii is for the West. Its only rivals in this respect in the Near East are Egypt and south Russia.

In this connexion I may add that at Dura, as at Pompeii, the walls of public and private buildings, whether painted or not, are literally covered with inscriptions and drawings scratched or traced upon them. No excavated city, except once more Pompeii, has yielded these in such numbers and variety. As at Pompeii, these graffiti and dipinti illustrate all sides of the life of the inhabitants. A comparison between the two cities in this respect would be very instructive; but this point requires a good deal of study, and I cannot dwell further on it in these short lectures. I will only observe that no other material better reflects the mentality and the mood of the two cities, especially in the last years of their existence.

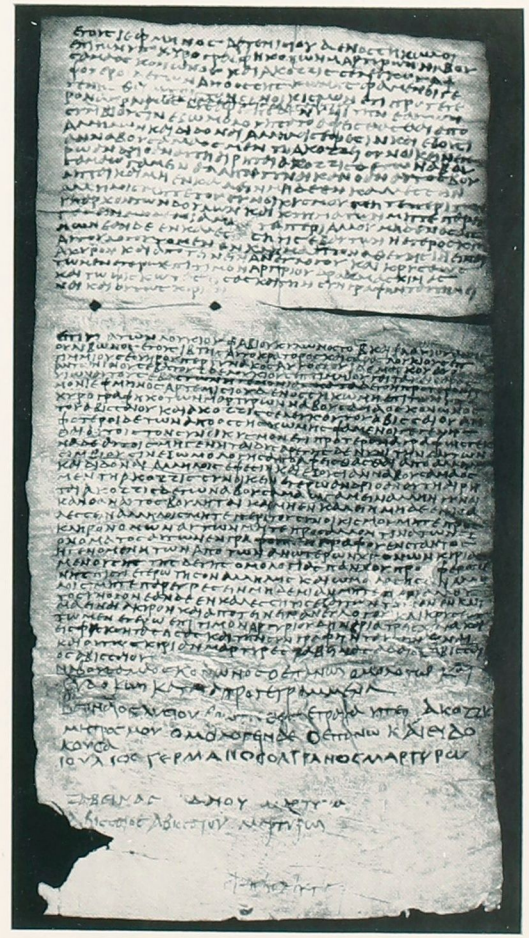
I need hardly say that the ruins of Dura, thanks to their admirable preservation, have produced a large quantity of what are known as minor finds. Objects made of durable materials are common to all the excavations of larger and smaller cities. Dura is no exception, and we have found in it a large, indeed an unusually large, number of objects made of stone (sculptures, intaglios, and inscriptions), of metal (gold, silver, and bronze, such as vases, jewels, arms and weapons, house implements, domestic utensils, toilet articles, &c., not to speak of thousands of coins, some of these in large hoards), and of glass and clay. But the glory of Dura lies in the fact that, like Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the cities and graves of Eygpt, it has bequeathed to us a remarkable series of finds of unusual character and great rarity; I mean of objects made of perishable material. All sorts of wooden articles have proved common in Dura. Beams and other pieces of wood used in the construction of houses and public buildings (e.g. excellently preserved doors) are abundant there. More important than these is the unique series of textiles. Except as regards Egypt and south Russia, little has hitherto been known of the evolution of the textile craft in the ancient world of Hellenistic and Roman times. Dura, and with it Palmyra, have (at least partly) filled this gap. Next come leather and paper. There have been found at Dura, in great numbers, shields made of leather and wood, which belonged to soldiers of the Roman garrison. Some of these are adorned with painting. The fragment of a shield showing part of a geographical map has been published by Cumont and is well known. The *scutum* of a legionary soldier has been found intact, another notable discovery. Somewhat similar are three oval shields of auxiliaries, made of wood and covered with a thin layer of plaster with painted decoration. On one of these is depicted the battle between the Greeks and the Amazons, on another the capture and massacre of Troy, and on the third the standing figure of a local god, probably Arsu. Like other articles of Roman equipment found at Dura in large numbers, they may be partly of local make and partly products of Roman military factories in Syria. The painted shields show in their style many similarities with the recently discovered mosaics of Daphne. But all these



1. Painted Roman *scutum*



2. Gold brooch with inset stones, in the centre an intaglio showing Heracles in the garden of the Hesperides



3. Dura Parchment 22: divorce of A.D. 204

finds are surpassed in importance by the unique set of parchments and papyri recovered from the ruins. A few of them are fragments of literary and religious texts, e.g. a fragment of the Diatessaron of Tatian and another of a prayer in Hebrew. The bulk of the parchments and papyri consists of official and business documents. Most of the official documents formed part of the military archives abandoned by the garrison after the capture of the city by the Sasanians; the business documents belonged to the record offices of Dura. The former are written mostly in Latin, the second mostly in Greek, but occasionally in Aramaic, Syriac, or Pehlevi. I need not insist on their importance. Their contribution to palaeography, to the history of languages, to our knowledge of the administration, of the social and economic life, of the religion of the Roman East, and of Greco-Roman jurisprudence, cannot be overestimated (Pl. III).[1]

Dura thus rivals Pompeii in the number, importance, and state of preservation of the antiquities discovered there. But this is only one side of the picture. There is a deeper and more momentous resemblance between the two cities, viz. in their contribution to our understanding of some of the cardinal phenomena in the history of the Hellenistic and Roman period.

We know fairly well how in this period an original and peculiar civilization was developed in Italy, and subsequently spread over all the western provinces of the Roman Empire. It was the product of Roman and Italian genius and became later the civilization of the western European world. Pompeii is one, and the best preserved, of the sites that illustrate for us one part of this process, that by which in early and late Hellenistic times the Greco-Samnitic part of Italy became latinized. And it is Pompeii again that gives us a detailed and almost complete picture of the new civilization as it existed in the second half of the first century A.D., a civilization in which Greek and Italian elements met and coalesced.

A similar process, of no less importance in the history of mankind, took place in the Near and in part of the Middle East. Here, as a result of the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander, several great civilizations of the past were brought into closer contact than under the Persian rule. I refer to the

Greek civilization of the conquerors, the Iranian civilization, the civilization of India, that of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and those of the Western Semites and Arabs and of the Anatolians (I do not include that of Egypt, which had a destiny apart). The uniting link between these was the Greek civilization, spread by Alexander and his successors, especially the Seleucids, over the whole of the former Persian Empire and part of India.

Thus, for longer or shorter periods, various peoples and nationalities of the East, each possessed of a famous civilization of its own, lived together as constituent parts of an empire administered by a Greek government and based on a large Greek ruling class. Parts of this empire gradually asserted their political liberty. But they continued to live in close contact with the great Hellenistic empire of the Seleucids, and in all of them there remained large and well-organized groups of Greek inhabitants.

The result of this intermixture of Greeks and orientals in the same States over a long period and of a close contact among the orientals themselves was not to produce a single civilization similar to the Latin civilization of the West. No doubt Greek civilization in its new Hellenistic form, with its various aspects typical of the various parts of the Hellenistic world, was in a certain sense and may be called an oecumenical civilization. It had a long life. It was active in the times of the Roman Empire in the eastern provinces of Rome and formed the cultural background of the Byzantine Empire. But this Hellenistic Greek civilization was from the very beginning and remained in the most important parts of the Near East the civilization of minorities, of the ruling class only, and never completely absorbed the ancient civilizations of the various parts of the Near East.

While in the West we see behind the great Latin culture very few traces of the former civilizations of the West—the Celtic, the Iberian, the Thracian, the Illyrian; in the East, on the contrary, in the Hellenistic world, that is to say in the former empire of Alexander, Greek civilization was no more than a kind of veneer. Beneath it the long-established civilizations of the past acquired new force and began to grow and to take

firm root. They were not Greek and not Hellenistic; in fact they were reactions against the Greek civilization, new versions of the great civilizations of the past, developed in their respective areas under the elemental and stimulating influence of the Greek Hellenistic civilization.

In India we see the revival of the ancient Indian civilization and its splendid evolution in the new civilization of Sandragupta and Asoka, strongly imbued with Greco-Iranian elements imported into India probably from Bactria; a civilization primarily directed to the service of Buddhism, the new religion of India. A variety of the same civilization, containing a larger admixture of Greek elements, and again used to exalt the new Buddhist faith, is known from many monuments found in north India, none earlier than the first century A.D. We are ignorant of its origin and its early development. It is known by the name of the Gandhara civilization.

More spectacular and more important in its influence on the destinies of the Near East was the striking development of the many aspects of a new Greco-Iranian civilization in which Greek and Iranian elements coalesced. We are familiar with the Scythian civilization in south Russia, which of course was pre-Hellenistic; we know less of the Sakian civilization both in south Russia and in north India, where it was first recognized and studied by Sir John Marshall in his wonderful *Taxila*; of the civilization of the Sarmatians both in Asia and in Europe; of that of Bactria, where Greek prevailed over Iranian elements; and of that of Parthia, which took different forms in the various constituent parts of the Iranian kernel of the Parthian Empire.

The same process of formation of new civilizations certainly took place in the Semitic world, though our information about it is meagre. We know of its occurrence in Palestine and in Nabataean Arabia, which had the caravan city of Petra for its capital. We may conjecture its occurrence in Syria and Phoenicia in the late Hellenistic period. Here, no doubt, the process was arrested by the hellenizing policy of Rome, the new mistress of these countries. Palmyra, another great caravan city, presents certain features of a peculiar culture. And there are many Hellenistic elements in the interesting civilization of southern Arabia. Finally, outside the Semitic world we

observe the same phenomenon in the eastern regions of Anatolia—Commagene, Pontus, and Cappadocia.

It is not surprising to find the same evolution in Parthian Mesopotamia, though it has never drawn the attention of modern scholars. It is this evolution that I shall now discuss.

The early stages of development of all these civilizations are very little known. Our material is scanty. We know India comparatively well, less well the evolution of the Gandhara civilization, practically nothing of that of Bactria except for coins and some products of Bactrian art in India and reflections of it in the art of India and perhaps of Gandhara and of Seistan. The various types of Greco-Iranian civilization of the Hellenistic and early Roman period remain obscure, illuminated only here and there by documents of various kinds and dates. Most important is the problem of Parthian civilization and art, which, strange to say, is perhaps even less easy of solution than that of the Greco-Sakian and Sarmatian civilizations. The same is true of the Greco-Semitic civilization in its various aspects. The very existence of Greco-Babylonian and Greco-Mesopotamian civilizations, in spite of several easily recognizable features and well-defined characteristics, remained for a long time unnoticed or ignored by modern historians of the Near East.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the growth of these various civilizations, and of their gradual emancipation from Greek influence, as a phase in the history of oriental and European culture. In all of them, in late Roman and early Byzantine times, a brilliant revival took place, but a revival founded, so to speak, on the achievements of the past. Such were the spectacular Gupta renascence in India with all it meant for that country, and the Sasanian renascence of the Parthian and Sakian Greco-Iranian civilization, a synthesis, as it were, of the various Greco-Iranian civilizations; and such, I believe, was the brilliant growth of a peculiar civilization and art in Mesopotamia and Syria. This last development was not, as in India and Persia, a concomitant of the rise of a powerful national State, full of energy and initiative. It took place partly within the confines of the late Roman Empire, partly in the Sasanian dominions. The force that unified the civiliza-

tions of these two countries (Mesopotamia and Syria) was not political but religious: it was Christianity and the Christian Church. Meanwhile, the time was gradually approaching when in the Semitic world, as previously in India and Persia, political and religious influences were to combine to give birth to a new form of culture, the powerful Greco-Semitic civilization of the Omayads and Islam.

All these revivals have one feature in common: they are revivals not of Greek influences, which would find their expression in imitation, but of the Greek spirit, elemental and dynamic in their character. My meaning will be clear to any one who will glance at the products of Indian art of the Gupta period, for example at the frescoes of Ajanta; at the rock-carvings, silver dishes, jewels, intaglios, cameos, and textiles of the Sasanian artists; and finally at such creations of the pre-Omayad and Omayad art as Mshatta, the mosaics of the great mosque of Damascus, and the recently discovered wall and floor decorations of the Kasr-el-Heir al Qarbi.

As I have already observed, the historical evolution that I have outlined is in fact very imperfectly known. Archaeology first enabled us to understand some aspects of it so far as India and some parts of the Greco-Iranian world are concerned. But as regards Mesopotamia, the meeting-place of three great new civilizations—the Greco-Iranian of the Parthians, the Greco-Semitic of Babylonia, Syria, and Phoenicia, and the Greco-Anatolian of Asia Minor—archaeology was for a long time almost silent.

When I began the systematic excavation of Dura it was in the hope that its remains might throw light on the problem of the origin and growth of the Greco-Semitic civilization of Mesopotamia, which was unquestionably from its early beginnings closely connected with the equally enigmatic Greco-Iranian civilization of Parthia. And Dura has not disappointed me. Dura has the same importance in relation to Mesopotamia as Pompeii has in relation to Italy. While at Pompeii we see reflected the formation of the great Latin civilization, Dura reflects a similar process in the East. Through a close study of Dura we can discern the early aspect of Greek civilization in a Semitic country, then the dim outlines of the great Parthian

civilization in its contact with the Greek and Semitic world, and finally the curious mixture of Greek, Semitic, Anatolian, and Parthian elements that constituted the civilization of Dura and Mesopotamia in general. In this we may, in turn, distinguish the rudiments of the later brilliant culture of the Christian Near East, which had so deep an influence on the Byzantine civilization and through it on that of western Europe. In this sense again Dura may well be described as the Syrian Pompeii.

Such, in its main features, is the historical importance of Dura. What has been done at Dura is pioneer work. It may be hoped that the results obtained will induce others to explore fresh sites and thus broaden and deepen the knowledge derived from this relatively unimportant city.

No complete picture of Dura can be given in a few short lectures, nor can all the problems connected with it be discussed or even mentioned. I must confine myself to a few aspects of the subject. But in order to understand these aspects we must know the history of Dura, as revealed by the buildings, by the many inscriptions, by the parchments and papyri, by the coins and other minor objects found within its walls. Before our excavations very little was known of Dura. A few facts, contained in a couple of literary texts, was all that we knew of its history. Now our knowledge is greater and more detailed. Let me summarize the conclusions that may be drawn from the extant material.[2]

The Macedonian colony of Europos was founded (as is shown by its Babylonian name Dura and some scattered finds made in the ruins)[3] on the site of a much earlier settlement. We now know that its citizens regarded Seleucus Nicator as the founder of the colony (Pl. I). In this capacity, as the *ctistes* of the city, Seleucus was still worshipped at Europos even in Parthian and in Roman times. The name Europos was given to Dura because Europos in Macedon was the native city of Seleucus and perhaps of some of the colonists.[4]

The actual founder of Europos was a certain Nicanor. His identity is a matter of dispute. In all probability he was a relative of Seleucus and one of the two governors-general of the East in the early part of his reign. Europos would thus appear to have been founded about 300 B.C.[5]

Since the foundation of Europos appears to have been contemporary with the foundation (attributed with probability to the same Nicanor) of the great Macedonian strongholds of Edessa and Nisibin in northern Mesopotamia, we may infer that the fortress of Europos was a link in a chain of important military positions designed to support the Seleucid control of certain strategic roads. These connected the western part of the Seleucid Empire with the eastern, i.e. with the Babylonian section (including the second capital of the empire, the great city of Seleuceia) and with the Iranian section. Europos was probably regarded as, and in fact was and still is, the best site from which the Euphrates road could be watched, held under control, and made safe for traffic.

The importance of the Hellenistic city of Europos is attested not only by literary evidence, meagre though it is, but also by the history of the city's fortifications.[6] This history is a matter of controversy, of which I cannot here give a detailed critical survey. Suffice it to say that a careful study, carried out first by Colonel Renard and F. Cumont and then by A. von Gerkan in 1934 and by the members of our expedition in the last season of our exploration, has convinced me that the fortifications were all simultaneously laid out in early Hellenistic times. They comprised the city wall, especially strong on the desert front, with numerous towers and a powerful oblong citadel on the rock that overhangs the Euphrates. In their early form they consisted, both as regards the wall and the towers, of a powerful well-built socle of cut stones, to which was added, except in the citadel (built entirely of stone from the very beginning), a superstructure of mud bricks. The superstructure was gradually replaced in Hellenistic and perhaps in very early Parthian times by one of stone. This work proceeded slowly and was never finished. One part of the desert wall—the northern—remained until the Roman epoch in its original state—a stone socle with a mud-brick superstructure. But the greater part of the walls, all the towers, as well as the citadel, by the end of the Hellenistic period were all built entirely of cut stone. Three gates gave admission to the city: one on the desert side, another on the river-front; a third gate on the south side led out into the south ravine and thence

to the Euphrates road. A subsidiary temporary gate was made in the desert wall while the main gate on the desert side was under construction (Pl. IV and fig. 5).

The history of the citadel is of great interest. It was planned as an imposing stronghold, with powerful stone walls and three

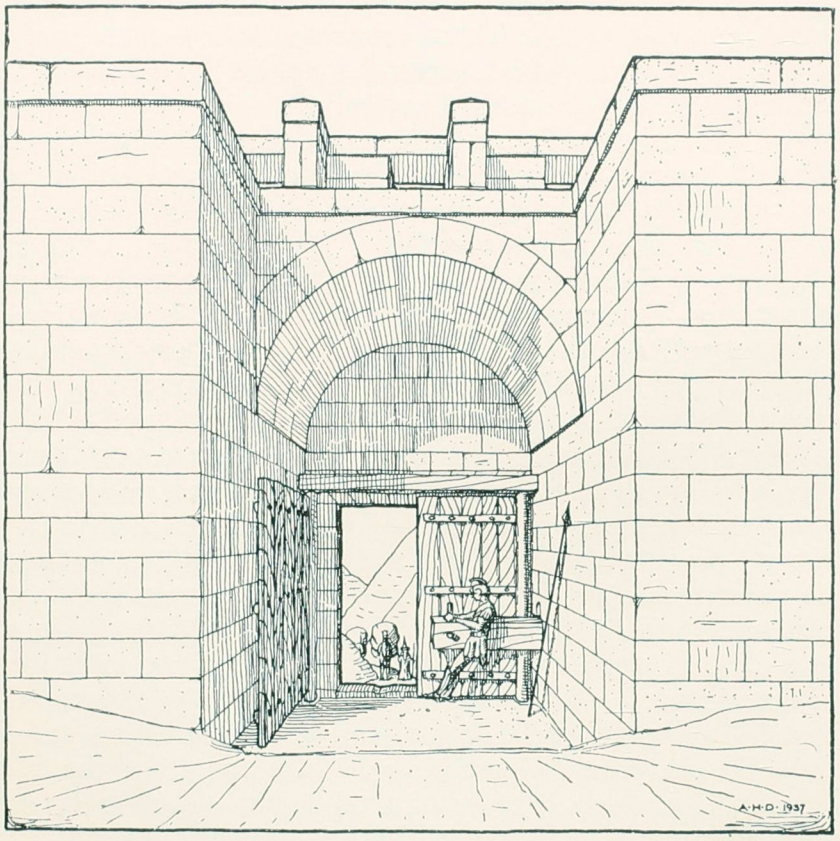


FIG. 2. Side-gate of Hellenistic Europos. Reconstruction by H. Detweiler

gates in the side which faced the city. All the gates were protected by towers. Inside the citadel a palatial house was erected and the foundations were laid of spacious barracks for the garrison. But the citadel, like the desert wall, was never finished. Neither the north and central gates nor the barracks were ever completed. The south gate alone connected the citadel and its palace with the city.

The history and character of the Hellenistic fortifications of

1. Main gate of Dura

2. Citadel of Dura. North tower and gate

Europos as sketched above, their strength and height, the powerful citadel, the strong and beautiful gates, corroborate the impression derived from the study of the few literary texts, that Europos in early Hellenistic times was designed as a strong fortress and important military centre of the Seleucid Empire. Since we know that its official name in the Parthian and Roman period was Εὐρωπὸς ἐν Παραποταμίᾳ or Εὐρωπὸς πρὸς Ἀραβίᾳ, we may suggest that Europos—the strongest Seleucid city on the Middle Euphrates—was the capital of the Parapotamian satrapy and was intended to secure the political control of the Seleucids over the neighbouring Arab tribes. For this purpose not only were Macedonian soldiers settled in the city, but a strong garrison was also provided, a section of the Seleucid army under the command of the governor of the satrapy—the *strategos*, whose residence was probably the citadel.

Within Europos the civil population, including the Macedonian colony, was organized as a regular Greek city. We have hardly any contemporary evidence, but it is probable that the conditions in this respect that existed in Parthian and Roman times were inherited from the Macedonian period.

Such was probably Europos as planned and laid out by Nicanor. But the plan of Seleucus and Nicanor was never fully carried out, probably in consequence of the political events that followed the death of Seleucus. War with Egypt and complications in the East which led to the secession of Bactria and the foundation of the Parthian Empire prevented Antiochus I and his immediate successors from carrying on the work. The citadel, as stated above, was never finished, which suggests that the Seleucid garrison was withdrawn. The stone superstructure of the walls proceeded slowly and, like the citadel, was never completed. It is reasonable to conjecture that in the second half of the third century B.C. the city was entrusted to the sole care of the Macedonian settlers, and that the work of construction was left entirely in their hands, without help from the central government.

There is evidence, however, that at the time of the renascence of the Seleucid Empire under Antiochus III and especially under the famous Antiochus Epiphanes, Europos, which was then decaying and slowly assuming a Semitic

character, became the object of renewed attention. Efforts appear to have been made to speed up the work on the desert

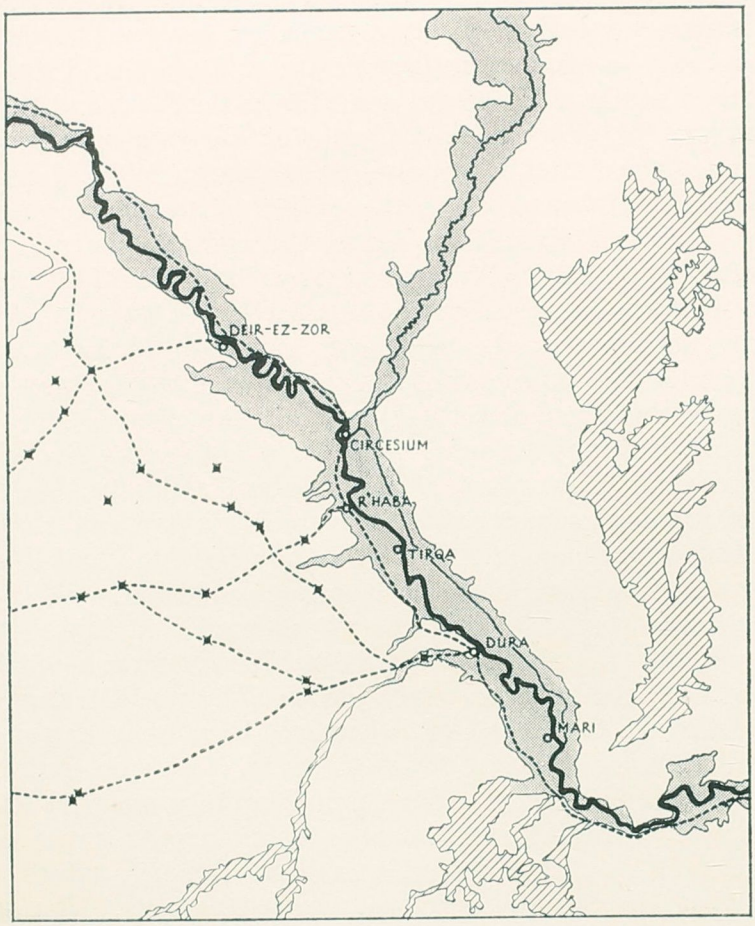


FIG. 3. Map of the Middle Euphrates region, showing the alluvial tract on the two banks of the Euphrates. Drawn by Mr. F. Brown

wall and to embellish the city with new buildings. I shall return to this in my second lecture.

But this revival of Europos was of short duration. It is well known that with the death of Epiphanes the rapid decline of the Seleucid Empire began. The Romans in the West and the Parthians in the East undermined its strength. The Macedonians and Greeks of Europos shared the fate of the other

Macedonian settlers in Mesopotamia and soon became the easy prey of the Parthians.

We know very little of the life of Europos in the Hellenistic period. It is certain that the early population consisted of a nucleus of Macedonians, of some Greek civil settlers, and of natives who, attracted by its growing prosperity, took up their abode in the city. We have no means of ascertaining the size of this early population. The Macedonians formed without doubt the ruling class. It is difficult to estimate their numbers. Documents of Parthian date allow us to trace several Macedonian families (probably all that existed at that time) back to the late Hellenistic period. These families are not numerous. Not more than a score of them are known. Though they evidently do not represent all the early settlers, their paucity shows that the Macedonian colony of Europos was never very large.

Still less do we know of the Greeks and natives. Their numbers must have gradually increased. It is probable that from the very beginning a large 'territory' studded with native villages was assigned to the city. This territory—the fertile alluvial land along the Euphrates—had been well cultivated and prosperous from time immemorial. Part of this land was assigned to the Macedonians as their *cleroi* and was cultivated by them. The rest remained in the hands of natives and from them some of it may have passed into the hands of Greek immigrants. Europos—the administrative and commercial centre of this fertile territory—certainly became a prosperous agricultural and commercial town. Moreover, it was situated on the great military and commercial road which ran from Seleuceia on the Tigris up the Euphrates. All this offered good prospects to the Greeks and natives, who doubtless were eager to settle in the city.

Nevertheless the Macedonians remained the ruling and probably the most prosperous part of the population. They alone were citizens of Europos—Εὐρωπαῖοι. To the end they were proud of their Macedonian origin and tried to resist the complete semitization of their families. Their sons were generally given Macedonian names, traditional in some families. Their children received a Greek education. Greek remained their language.

As a Macedonian colony, as a city of Macedonian landowners, Europos survived for about a century and a half. Its prosperous and probably peaceful existence came to an end with the gradual advance of the Parthians. We know very little of this advance. Babylonia became Parthian in 141 B.C. and all the efforts of the Seleucids to restore it to their empire failed. How long Europos remained a Seleucid city after the seizure of Seleuceia and Babylon by the Parthians we cannot say. The numismatic evidence suggests that Seleucid domination at Europos ended at about the same time as their domination in Babylonia.[7] The history of the southern gate in the fortifications of Europos, the traces of fire by which this Hellenistic gate was irreparably damaged, probably in late Hellenistic times, and of another fire which destroyed the Hellenistic temple of Artemis, suggest the possibility of a Parthian siege and capture of the city.

In any case it is certain that in one way or another Europos became in the second half of the second century B.C. a Parthian city. The careful study of the citadel carried out by Mr. F. Brown has shown that the Hellenistic palace in the citadel was replaced, some time in the second half of the second century, by a later one, Parthian in its main features and similar to the palaces of Assur and Hatra and probably larger and more ambitious than its Hellenistic predecessor. This suggests that after the Parthian occupation Europos became once more what it had been in the early Seleucid period—an important military stronghold. The only differences were that the military governor was now a Parthian instead of a Greek, though he retained the Greek title (*strategos*), and that the Seleucid garrison was replaced by a Parthian force.

We know almost nothing of the history of Europos in late Hellenistic times. Europos as a Parthian fortress may have played an important role in the last struggles between the Arsacids and the Seleucids and in the first conflicts between Parthia and Rome after the annexation of Syria by Pompey. It may have formed an important link in the chain of fortified towns, most of them of Hellenistic origin, which formed the Parthian *limes* described by Isidorus of Charax, a *limes* which was probably intended to form a barrier against the Roman

invaders of Parthia: Crassus, Caesar, and Antony. The history of the buildings of the city offers some evidence in support of this view. Though the Parthians added nothing to the fortifications, they appear not to have neglected them. I have already indicated that they used the citadel as their military base and they may have carried on the replacement of the mud-brick superstructure of the city walls by one of cut stone.

The Parthian policy of utilizing the former Seleucid strongholds of Parapotamia and Mesopotamia as defences against Roman attacks, illustrated by the history of the citadel of Europos, found its complement in the treatment of the Greek and Macedonian population of the Seleucid cities. In the first years of their domination the Arsacid kings were ignorant of the general feeling of this population and uncertain of its attitude towards the new rulers. They preferred, therefore, to play for safety and to occupy the cities with their own garrisons. Nevertheless, they were anxious to secure the loyalty and support of the inhabitants. They adopted, therefore, a well-defined philhellenic attitude in their relations with the Greeks and Macedonians of their kingdom, and left them in their own cities as much freedom and autonomy as was possible. In particular, they never interfered with their constitution and their social, economic, cultural, and religious life.

This general policy of the Parthians is well illustrated by the history of the buildings of the city, notably by that of the temple of Artemis, the most important temple of Seleucid Europos and the centre of its religious life since the foundation of the city, as carefully studied by Mr. Brown.[8]

The early temple of Artemis, or rather her *temenos* with her altar in the centre of it, was destroyed by fire in the late Hellenistic period, i.e. in the early days of the Parthian domination. We do not know whether this fire was accidental or a consequence of the capture of the city by the Parthians. Some time after the fire, in the first century B.C., the citizens began the construction of a new temple on the site of the ancient one. The remains of this temple show that it was intended to be a small peripteral shrine of the usual Greek form. This fact is significant and shows that in the early Parthian period Europos still retained Greek traditions in its religious architecture.

But this phase of its life did not last very long. It is noteworthy, as bearing on the evolution of the city in this period, that the Greek temple of Artemis was never finished. It is still more significant that soon after the building of the new temple had been started, the first oriental temple of Europos—that of Atargatis—rose in its close vicinity. A little later the shrine of Artemis, recently begun, was destroyed and was replaced by a larger and more ambitious temple of a purely oriental type. We know almost exactly the time of this reconstruction. One of the columns of the new oriental sanctuary was the gift of the chief magistrate of the city, the *strategos* and *genearches* Seleucus, son of Lysias. This fact is recorded in his inscription on the column, with a date corresponding to 33/32 B.C.

These two events in the history of the buildings of the city mark a new period in its life, a period of its rapid orientalization, coinciding with a new period in the life of Parthia in general.

Soon after the expeditions of Crassus and Antony the relations between Parthia and the Roman Empire assumed a completely new aspect, as a result of the policy of Augustus. It is well known that Augustus substituted a policy of peace for the policy of conquest followed by Crassus, Caesar, and Antony. The main objects of the Roman government, to be pursued by diplomacy, not war, were the stabilization of existing frontiers and the extension of trade relations. For the latter purpose it paid particular attention to the development of the caravan trade between Parthia and Rome.

In this trade the Euphrates route played the leading part, and one of the important problems of Partho-Roman relations was the organization of this trade route and its pacification by a mutual accord between Parthia and Rome. Careful study of the material yielded by Palmyra and Europos, of the buildings of these cities and of the caravan roads, the last carried out by Father Poidebard, suggests that the agreement may have taken the following form. Trade, the Euphrates route, and the exchange of goods may have been neutralized. For this purpose Palmyra, which was already in early Parthian times an important centre of caravan trade, may have been organized by the Parthians and Romans, as a clearing-house for Partho-Roman commerce, and as a buffer state politically

probably dependent on Rome. The caravan road, which followed the Euphrates up to Zeugma, with branches thence to Asia Minor and Syria respectively, having become unsafe in its northern half owing to the political conditions of the time, now ran from the Middle Euphrates across the desert to Palmyra and thence to the Syrian and Phoenician cities on the coast of the Mediterranean. Its starting points on the Middle Euphrates may have been many. In any case one of them was Europos, the strongest Greco-Parthian city on that river. The desert road between Europos and Palmyra is still traceable. It was provided with wells and easily guarded. We know, moreover, that as early as 32 B.C. a temple dedicated by Palmyrenes to the Palmyrene gods Bel and Arsu was built in the necropolis of Europos.

The reorganized Euphrates road was neutralized. It was guarded by archers, mostly mercenaries of Palmyra mounted on horses or camels. Detachments of these troops were stationed in all the important cities of the Middle Euphrates, among them probably Europos and certainly Anath, its neighbour on the Euphrates. The Middle Euphrates cities in general were probably no longer occupied by Parthian garrisons. At Europos, for example, we have found no indication of a Parthian garrison, and we know that in the first and second centuries A.D. the fortifications of Europos were utterly neglected by the Parthian government and by the Macedonian population. When in the second half of the first century B.C. part of the citadel rock with the front of the Parthian palace tumbled into the Euphrates, no attempts were made to rebuild either citadel or palace. Moreover, some private and religious buildings were built against the desert wall and obstructed the free circulation along the wall.

Parthian Europos probably reverted in the first and second centuries A.D. to the state in which we saw it after the reign of Seleucus—a city left entirely to the care of its own citizens and especially of the Macedonian settlers, who never lost some measure of control of the city's affairs. One of the noble Macedonians—the civil governor or *strategos* and at the same time *epistates* or military commander—was the real master of the city and responsible for its safety.

Thus Europos, a Parthian city and part of a Parthian satrapy, became a caravan-city, an emporium, closely connected with Palmyra and through Palmyra with Rome. No wonder that Parthian coins should be rare in Europos, while Roman coins of the first century A.D. are common[9]; or that we found in the heart of the city the remains of a comparatively early (first century A.D.) temple of the Palmyrene gods, a religious centre of the Palmyrenes who resided in the city. The part taken by Europos in the Partho-Roman trade was considerable. According to Isidorus of Charax, Europos was the last important Parthian city on the right bank of the Euphrates and therefore, we may add, a necessary stopping-place for the caravans. At a later period we hear of customs officers having their residence in the main gate. Besides customs officers, a post of gendarmes was stationed there in Roman times. I have no doubt that the same conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, prevailed in the first and second centuries A.D.

Europos, whose Semitic name Dura makes its reappearance in Parthian times, remained part of the Parapotamian Parthian satrapy, probably the capital (as it probably had already been in early Hellenistic times) for more than 200 years. Its official name continued to be what it was in the time of the Seleucids —Εὐρωπὸς ἐν Παραποταμίᾳ or Εὐρωπὸς πρὸς Ἀραβίᾳ. The period of its subjection to Parthia and association with Palmyra was the most brilliant, peaceful, and prosperous in the history of the city. A feverish building activity reigned there in the late first and early second centuries A.D. The buildings of Dura that can be dated with the greatest certainty are the temples. The earliest known of its oriental temples, that of Atargatis, Hadad, and Adonis, was built about the middle of the first century B.C. Next come the reconstruction and orientalization of the most important Greek temples of Dura—those of Apollo and Artemis in the heart of the city and of Zeus Olympius on the acropolis, and the construction of a temple of Bel in the necropolis. At about the same time or a little later was built the temple of Artemis Azzanathcona. The first half of the first century A.D. added the curious temple of Zeus Kyrios; this was built round his cult image, which was inserted in the wall of one of the towers of the desert wall. Shortly after, about the

middle of the first century A.D., there rose at the two corners of the desert wall, and closely connected with the corner towers, two large and splendid temples—that known as the temple of the Palmyrene gods and the temple of Aphlad. Later again (in the early second century A.D.) was built the temple of Zeus Theos, and finally that of Adonis and Atargatis. About the same time the temple of the gods protectors of Palmyra and Dura, in the heart of the city, to which I have previously referred, was rebuilt on a larger scale.[10]

If we add to these temples the rebuilding of the palace of the citadel (see above, p. 16), the reconstruction and enlargement of the Hellenistic *strategion* on the acropolis (Pl. V, and p. 46), several palatial private houses in the city, at least one private bath, and the imposing street or streets of shops near the Hellenistic agora, the oriental sukh (see below p. 47), we arrive at a record of Parthian constructions worthy of respect.

The *bourgeoisie* of Dura in the Parthian period was certainly very rich. It consisted as before of the early settlers—the Macedonians who retained their leading part in the political, economic, and social life of the city, of an ever increasing number of Greek families, and of many rich and influential families of Semitic origin, some of them local people, some probably immigrants from other parts of the Semitic world, especially from Palmyra. The Semites freely intermarried with both Macedonians and Greeks. A close study of the hundreds of Semitic names recorded in the inscriptions and parchments of Dura will certainly help us to trace the original homes of these Semitic families. We must also include a few Iranians, mostly officers and officials of the Parthian government.

All the richer members of the Durene aristocracy and *bourgeoisie* contributed liberally to the construction and adornment of the various oriental temples of this period and to the large gifts of gold and silver that were bestowed on them, as recorded in divers inscriptions. It may therefore be inferred that the conditions at this time afforded opportunities for Macedonians, Greeks, and Semites to enrich themselves.

It is probable that the Macedonians remained what they were before, comparatively rich landowners, and that a number of Greeks and many natives were among the other owners of

land. In the atmosphere of Partho-Roman peace agriculture was without doubt a very profitable occupation. As before, Dura-Europos was the market centre of a large agricultural and cattle-breeding territory. The area of this territory certainly increased rapidly. The situation resembled that of modern Deir-ez-Zor, which made such rapid progress during the few years of the French protectorate over the Middle Euphrates. The shopkeepers of Dura-Europos, most of them Semites, must also have prospered. And finally the caravans must have brought wealth to the city. They needed food for themselves and their animals, they spent a good deal of money in the sukhs of Dura, and they no doubt sold to the shopkeepers of the city many of their goods—incense, perfumes, precious stones, spices, pigments, &c.

The prosperity and happiness of Dura were jeopardized by the events of the end of the first century A.D. Trajan abruptly changed the policy of Augustus and his successors, and resumed the policy of conquest followed by Crassus, Caesar, and Antony. This is not the place to review the scanty and controversial evidence regarding Trajan's conquest. Suffice it to say that Dura has added a good deal to it. We found on the desert road in the neighbourhood of Dura a ruined triumphal arch built and dedicated, according to its Latin inscription, by the IIIrd Cyrenaean legion to the safety of Trajan. Triumphal arches were not built by Roman legions in a haphazard way. The construction of an arch during the war by a part of Trajan's army implies an important event in its history. This event was certainly the capture of Dura-Europos and probably a battle won by the IIIrd Cyrenaean legion before the occupation, but not recorded in our literary evidence. The Durene arch—an interesting monument from the point of view of architecture—is therefore a historical monument of great interest. It shows the importance of Dura to the conquerors of Parthia, doubtless as a key to the Euphrates road, which Trajan made use of in conjunction with the Tigris road. I may add that we had no previous knowledge of the participation of the IIIrd Cyrenaean legion (stationed in Egypt) in the conquest, and that this had never been suggested by modern scholars.[11]

Dura did not long remain in the hands of the Romans. We

know this from a group of three curious inscriptions of A.D. 117 and 118, the first being the year of Trajan's untimely death. These make it more than probable that the order of evacuation of Dura-Europos was given not by Hadrian, but by Trajan.[12]

Hadrian's policy, which in the main was a renewal of the Parthian policy of Augustus, bestowed on Dura another fifty years of prosperity. It remained a Parthian city, though Rome enjoyed in it a high prestige. This is borne out by several facts. Roman coins remained the principal currency. Trajan's triumphal arch in the vicinity of the city, built in commemoration of a great Roman victory over the Parthians, was never destroyed by the Parthians nor damaged by them. It stood intact as built until it fell as the result of an earthquake or in the natural process of time, long after the end of the city. All this testifies to the great political influence of Rome in northwestern Parthia; and there are other facts of a similar kind that bear witness to the same effect. We know, for example, from a Palmyrene inscription that in the time of Antoninus Pius a sanctuary of the Roman emperors was erected by Palmyrene merchants at Vologesias in the heart of western Parthia. A late but reliable text tells us that there were statues of the Emperor Trajan standing near Ctesiphon in Parthia as late as A.D. 572. They still inspired a superstitious terror in the natives.

Even stronger than the influence of Rome was that of Palmyra, a city which was losing its connexion with Parthia and now became ever more dependent on Rome. It should be noticed that Palmyra, probably from the time of Hadrian, was occupied by a strong Roman garrison. This Palmyrene influence, therefore, meant indirectly Roman influence. We have evidence that it existed in the fact mentioned above that the flourishing Palmyrene funduq was reconstructed on a large scale, as also was the sanctuary of the gods protectors of Palmyra and Dura; and in the important role which the Palmyrene desert police played in the life of Dura and of its territory.[13]

The end of Parthian overlordship in Dura came with the campaign of Lucius Verus and Avidius Cassius, a renewal, as

it were, of the campaign of Trajan. The war was started by the Parthian king and was a necessity. It was carried out after the pattern of the Parthian campaign of Trajan. As in Trajan's war Dura was taken by the Romans at an early date. This time, however, it was not restored to the Parthians. It became and remained until the end one of the fortresses of the Syrian *limes*. It was never incorporated in the new province of Mesopotamia, but was made part of the province of Syria.

Of Dura-Europos as a Roman fortress practically nothing was known until recently. It is not mentioned, for instance, in Chapot's valuable book dealing with the Euphrates frontier of the empire. Our excavations have yielded abundant material bearing on its military history in Roman times. We can now trace the main outlines of this, and show the growing importance of Dura in the Roman system of defence.

During the rule of Marcus Aurelius and of Commodus Dura apparently played no important part in the history of what we call the Euphrates *limes* of the Roman Empire. Our scanty evidence for this period shows that the Roman garrison of Dura was not very large. It consisted in all probability of one auxiliary cohort of mounted archers—the *cohors II Ulpia equitata*, probably a *cohors quingenaria*. We have several mentions of this detachment in certain inscriptions found at Dura. Alongside of the Roman garrison, the Palmyrene mounted police corps was still stationed at Dura. We know that two successive commanders of this force built about A.D. 168–70 the early sanctuary of Mithras near the desert wall of the city. It is possible that some buildings in the northern part of the city were used for the needs of the Roman garrison and that the main gate of the city was guarded by a detachment of the garrison.

A great change came with Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The garrison of Dura was reinforced by several new detachments (below, p. 26). For the needs of the enlarged garrison the northern part of the city was transformed into a regular military camp. A monumental *praetorium* closely connected with the temple of Artemis Azzanathcona formed its centre. Several rooms in the court of this temple which had been used for military purposes in the preceding period remained in the hands of the Roman garrison. One of these rooms was probably

the head office of the XXth Palmyrene cohort, which probably took the place of or was added to the IInd Ulpia. Of this new unit in the garrison of Dura more will be said presently. In the room adjoining the aforesaid office were found the remains of the archives probably of the XXth Palmyrene cohort, a mine of information regarding the military history of the Roman Empire.[14]

Near the *praetorium* a palatial private house was transformed into the residence of one of the higher military officers of the Roman garrison. Several other houses were used—after remodelling—as barracks for the soldiers. Two monumental baths were built near the *praetorium* for the use of the garrison. An earlier Parthian bath was reconstructed and served as a third bath for the garrison. In its vicinity a modest *amphitheatrum castrense* was built and several graffiti indicate that it was frequently used for gladiatorial shows. And finally several military temples were constructed by the soldiers, sanctuaries dedicated to the most important gods of the Roman army. The modest sanctuary of Mithras near the desert wall, built by the two commanders of the Palmyrene archers in A.D. 168 and 170, was rebuilt by the *vexillationes* of two Roman legions about A.D. 211, and a sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithras rose about the same time not far from the citadel.

Unfortunately we had no time to excavate the whole of the Roman camp. Some buildings remain unexplored, among them probably several temples. It is, however, fairly certain that about one-fourth of the city of Dura was taken from its inhabitants and became a Roman camp, separated from the rest of the city by a brick wall. The Roman soldiers were in complete possession of this area, and no civilians remained in the houses that had formerly belonged to them and were now confiscated by the Roman military administration. Various graffiti on the walls of the houses outside the camp suggest, however, that the camp was not large enough to house the whole force. A number of non-commissioned officers and men were billeted in private houses outside the camp. Moreover, the main gate of the city and the neighbouring area formed a small subsidiary Roman camp. Many dedications on the walls of the gate, painted and chiselled, indicate that the main gate was occupied by a strong detachment of Roman soldiers—

gendarmes under the command of a *beneficiarius*. The office of this detachment was perhaps located in a beautifully preserved house near the main gate. The painted ceiling coffers of one room of this house display portraits of various non-commissioned officers, one of them an *actuarius* (keeper of military records), another a *tesserarius* (in charge of the transmission of orders), and a third an architect (Pl. XI, 1).

Some inscriptions show that the main camp dates from the very last years of Severus and the early years of Caracalla. The garrison of the city at that time was reinforced by new detachments. We know no details, but several monumental inscriptions and graffiti and dipinti show that at this time there were at Dura (permanently or temporarily) several *vexillationes* of legions (of the IVth Scythica, XVIth Flavia, IIIrd Cyrenaica, and perhaps IIIrd Gallica) and that about this time a *cohors miliaria equitata*, the XXth Palmyrenorum, replaced or was added to the cohort IInd Ulpia. It consisted, as is shown by the *acta diurna* of the cohort found among the papyri of the temple of Azzanathcona, of a body of about 800 foot, 220 horse, and more than 30 *dromedarii*. This cohort was certainly raised in the Palmyrene territory, Palmyra having now become almost a regular Roman provincial city. It is probable that Septimius Severus put an end to the military autonomy of Palmyra, and replaced the Palmyrene detachments of mounted guards in the former Parthian cities of the Euphrates *limes*, now Roman military *castella*, by regular Roman formations raised in part in the large territory of Palmyra, which was studded with villages and had a very large population. In some of these villages (a group of them was recently excavated by M. D. Schlumberger) horse-breeding may have been a flourishing industry. To return to Dura, another significant piece of evidence regarding its garrison is the rebuilding of the Palmyrene Mithraeum by legionary soldiers. It shows that in all probability Palmyrene archers under Palmyrene commanders disappeared from Dura. Equally significant is the fact that in the Palmyrene funduq and sanctuary mentioned above a statue was dedicated by the XXth Palmyrene cohort.

The reason for the radical changes effected by Septimius Severus and Caracalla probably lies in their decision to make

Dura one of the starting-points of the great expeditions that they projected against Parthia. It is more than likely that Severus, after his not very successful campaigns against that power, never gave up the idea of renewing the war as soon as his hands were free. Caracalla took up his father's plan and embarked on the ill-fated expedition that cost him his life.

With the reign of Alexander Severus a critical period in the life of Dura began; it ended with the destruction and death of the city. It is well known that during Alexander's reign a new dynasty took up the reins of government in the Parthian Empire. The Arsacids were replaced by the descendants of Sasan, the Sasanian kings. The defensive policy of Parthia was radically changed by the first Sasanian kings. Aware of the weakness of the Roman Empire and of the growing political anarchy within it, they took the offensive and repeatedly invaded its territory. Very little is known of these invasions, and the evidence is meagre. The two routes by which a Persian attack was possible were those along the Euphrates and the Tigris. Both were used. On the Euphrates route the first important Roman stronghold was Dura, a stronghold organized by Septimius Severus and Caracalla and further developed by Severus Alexander. It was a thorn in the flesh to the Sasanians. No wonder that as early as A.D. 238 they nearly captured it. A graffito in the house of a business man of Dura, Nebuchelos by name, reflects the terror that this invasion spread in the city, and perhaps the not very cordial feelings of the population towards the Romans. The writer says laconically: 'In the year so and so the Persian descended upon you' (does he mean on the Romans, or is *hymas* a mis-spelling for *hemas*—not 'you', but 'us'?).

The part played by the Middle Euphrates *limes* in the struggle between Rome and Persia led to some important reforms in the Roman administration of it. At some date in or shortly after the reign of Alexander a special military command was created on the bank (*ripa*) of the Euphrates, a *ducatus*. A *dux* (military commander independent of the governor of Syria) was appointed to co-ordinate the operations of the Roman detachments stationed in the many fortified posts of this *limes*. We know little of this reform. Similar military commanders

appeared at the same time on the other *limites* of the Roman Empire. As regards Syria, before the discoveries at Dura, the fact of the existence of a *dux ripae* was completely unknown. Several holders of this command are referred to in the military papyri and inscriptions that have been brought to light. In one of our last campaigns we learned that the head-quarters of the *dux* were at Dura and that an imposing building was erected to house his staff and offices. This building, as excavated in 1935–6, consists of a large colonnaded court, of a second court with various rooms round it, probably *scholae* for the non-commissioned officers of the staff, rooms for the body-guard of the *dux* (*equites singulares*), *armamentaria*, stables for donkeys, horses, camels, &c., and, in the forefront, of a suite of richly decorated reception and living rooms for the *dux* himself. Adjoining this suite stood a fine bath of earlier construction. The reception and living rooms of the *dux* were detached from the offices and opened on a terrace overlooking the Euphrates with a fine view of its valley. It is curious to note that in a small room next to the central absidal reception room several τραγῳδοί—pantomime dancers of the ducal staff—have recorded their devotion to their master, the *dux* (Pl. X, 1).

At the same time the garrison of Dura was again reinforced. Several new auxiliary corps are mentioned in inscriptions found near the ducal *praetorium*. It is evident that the Romans made feverish preparations for the defence of Dura in case of a Persian siege. It was in vain. The siege came soon after A.D. 256, unrecorded in our literary evidence, and Dura fell. We derive our knowledge of the history of the siege exclusively from archaeological evidence.[15] In order to heighten the wall of the city, sloping embankments were built against it both on the inside and on the outside (Ctesiphon offers examples of similar embankments). The inner embankment was found (perhaps during the siege) to be insufficiently strong and was reinforced, i.e. made wider. In the course of our thorough exploration of the desert wall we came upon several Sasanian mines and some Roman countermines. In one of the Roman countermines we found the grim remains of a tragic episode. About a score of Roman skeletons lay there with their arms by their side (there were also coins in their belts), and opposite them the skeleton

of a single soldier, possibly Sasanian, with his sword lying near him and his right arm lifted. It is evident that the Sasanians did not believe that they could take Dura by assault. The wall, reinforced by the sloping embankments, was too high and too strong for their siege machines. Their only hope was to sap the wall, to demolish some essential part of the fortifications, and finally to penetrate into the city by means of their mines. Attempts directed against the central part of the wall failed. The attack on the southern corner of the city was more successful. Here the Sasanians first undermined the strong corner tower and put it out of service. The platform of this tower had been used by the Romans for their artillery, the *ballistae*. No longer molested on their right flank (the side which was not protected by their shields) the Sasanians built a sloping ramp to the top of the wall in the vicinity of the southern corner so as to bring up their siege machines. At the same time the Romans dug a mine and endeavoured to undermine the sloping ramp. Their efforts were successful. However, in a final assault the city, under circumstances not revealed by our excavations, was captured and sacked.

The exact date of the capture of Dura is unknown. No coins bearing a date later than A.D. 256 have been found in its ruins. On the other hand, Professor A. Bellinger and Mr. F. Brown have shown that the embankments above referred to were not begun before A.D. 256. Some dipinti on the synagogue which was buried under the embankment bear a date equivalent to A.D. 256, and a hoard of coins including some of A.D. 256 was found in one of the buried houses. The embankments outside and inside the city, which are contemporary with one another, were therefore not begun before 256; nor could they have been built during the siege. Therefore the siege must have been posterior to 256; it must have been, that is to say, one of the episodes in the great raid of Shapur into Syria, which culminated in the capture of Antioch and the great battle of Edessa where the emperor Valerian was taken prisoner (exact date unknown, between A.D. 258 and 260). The raid probably began before 256, and by 256 the communications of Dura with the great minting centres of the Syrian provinces had been cut. This accounts for our failure to find at Dura any coins of later

date than 256. Was the siege laid before or after the battle of Edessa? A picture (of which more will be said in my third lecture) found in one of the private houses, showing a pitched battle between Sasanians (including the king) and Romans, probably represents the battle of Edessa and may have been drawn by some one who saw the battle. The existence of such a picture at Dura suggests that Dura was captured after the battle of Edessa.[16]

We know the fate of a captured city. The soldiers and civilians who were unable to escape were massacred or sold into slavery. Dura was probably occupied for a short time by the Persians and then abandoned. Thereafter the city reverted to the desert. The emperor Julian describes in one of his letters how, during his ill-fated expedition against the Persians, he hunted lions among its ruins. It was reserved for us to rescue it from oblivion.

The Roman period in the life of Dura was not a happy and a prosperous one. For this there were several reasons. Dura was no longer a caravan city. The Roman-Parthian frontier ran at some distance south of Dura. Moreover, in the second and third centuries the Euphrates route was less used by caravans than in earlier times. The Syrian desert was pacified by the Romans and as a consequence the main caravan road no longer ran along the Euphrates, but straight from Palmyra to Babylonia across the desert. This route was shorter than that along the Euphrates and no less safe. It was provided with wells and carefully guarded[17]. On the other hand, though the region round Dura continued to thrive and local trade was brisk, the Roman occupation bore heavily on the population. We know what a calamity it was for a city to be chosen as winter quarters by a detachment of the Roman army, especially in the brutal and anarchic third century A.D. We can readily imagine what a permanent camp of Roman soldiers must have meant. Requisitions of foodstuffs, of draft animals and men, the *angariae*, soldiers and officers billeted in private houses, confiscation of part of the city for the Roman camp. All this spelt ruin for the more prosperous classes in Dura. No wonder that no new temples or palatial houses were now built there. Some temples were kept in repair, others were not. The only

new sanctuaries erected were those of the new religious sects established in the city: the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church. The great houses of earlier times were as a rule divided into small and humble tenements, evidence of the ruin that had overtaken their owners and of the congestion in the city after the creation of the Roman camp. It is significant of the economic decay of Dura that, though honoured by the titles first of a Roman *municipium* and then of a Roman *colonia*, the city never coined its own money, as did so many of its sister-colonies in Mesopotamia. The business life of the city is illustrated by the archives of a typical business man of Dura of the third century A.D.—Nebuchelos. Instead of using costly papyrus, he recorded his transactions on the walls of his office. His affairs were varied, but purely local and on a very small scale. He sold clothes, rented land to grow barley, did a little money-lending; such was the general character of his business. Compare this with the wealth of the leading Macedonians of the Parthian period. Dura was dying before the Sasanians killed it.

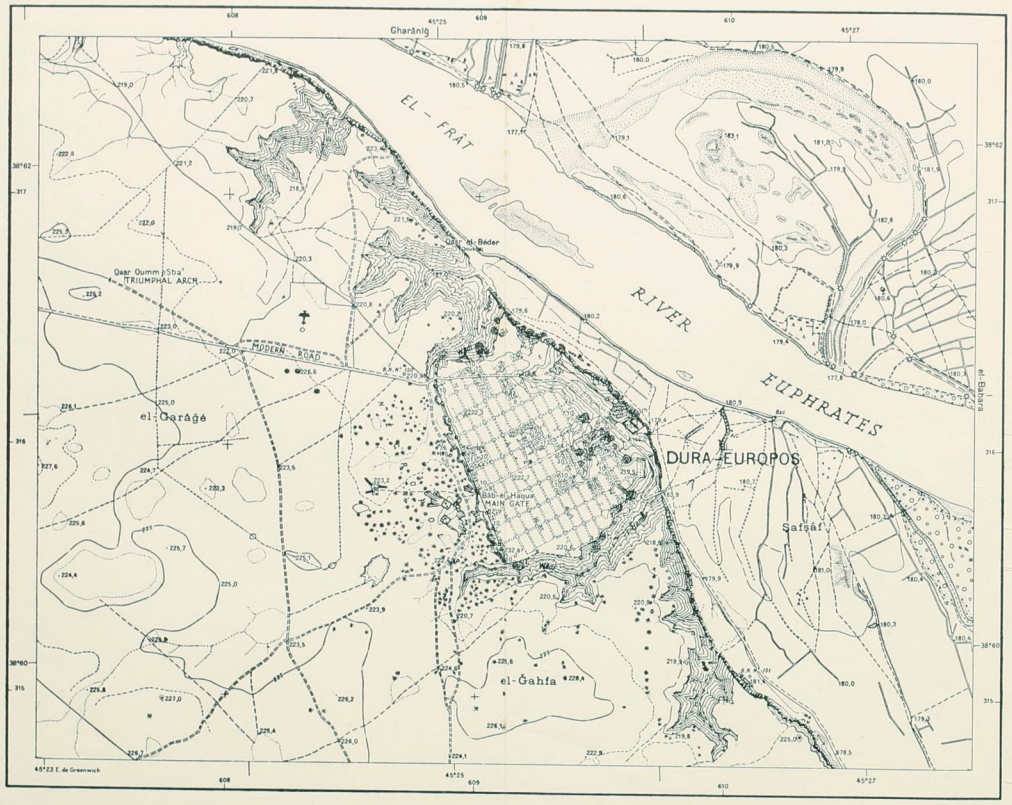
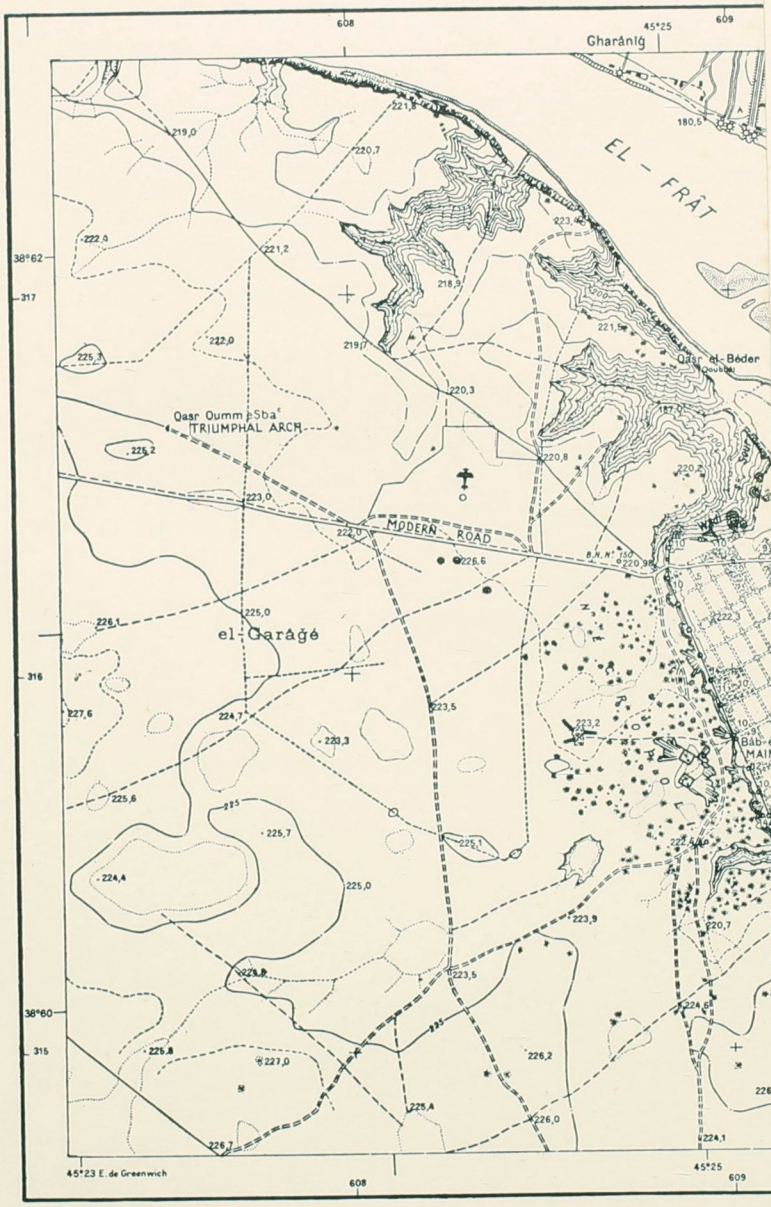


FIG. 4. MAP OF THE SURROUNDINGS OF DURA

Made by the Geographical Service of the French Army



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II

DURA-EUROPOS, ITS TOPOGRAPHY AND BUILDINGS

In the preceding lecture I have given a brief sketch of the history of Dura, and mentioned some features of its topography and some of its more prominent buildings. Let me in this lecture give you glimpses of Dura in the three periods of its existence and describe more fully some of its typical buildings.

Dura was predestined by its situation to be a military stronghold of the first importance. The city was built on the south-eastern extremity of a rocky plateau—a part of the Syrian desert overhanging the Euphrates, which runs in a general direction from north-west to south-east. The alluvial land along the right bank of the river is here interrupted by the cliffs, so that no space is left between the plateau and the Euphrates. In consequence, the great commercial and military road that ran along this bank of the Euphrates was forced at this point to leave it, ascend to the plateau, and then descend again to the river. The only way, on the south-eastern side of the plateau, by which those travelling northwards could ascend to the plateau, and those travelling southwards could descend from it, was along a deep wadi or ravine which runs almost parallel to the Euphrates and is separated from it by an oblong cliff. I shall refer to this wadi hereafter as the principal wadi. The modern Euphrates road still follows it.

It is obvious that any one in possession of the fertile land along the Euphrates, above and below the plateau, which probably formed the Seleucid satrapy of Parapotamia, would necessarily endeavour to hold the plateau and to control the wadi, lest communication between the two parts of Parapotamia should be cut off by enemies.

It was natural that Nicanor in his endeavour to dominate the two main routes of the Seleucid kingdom, those along the Euphrates and the Tigris, and to fortify the key points of these roads, should build his Europos on the rocky plateau, and include in it the wadi above referred to and the cliff overlooking the Euphrates. The place was well chosen. Protected

on the side of the Euphrates and dominating the Euphrates road, the city was, moreover, enclosed between two deep ravines which run from west to east towards the Euphrates, parallel to each other at a distance of about one kilometre. We will call them the south and the north ravines.

I have already described how Nicanor fortified the city: his citadel on the cliff east of the main wadi, his desert wall, his gates. Within the walls the city was laid out as a regular Hellenistic city, on what is known as the Hippodamian plan, a plan extensively adopted by the Hellenistic rulers for their new foundations, and for the rebuilding of pre-existing cities. It was followed, for example, in the time of Alexander at Priene and a little earlier at Miletus in Asia Minor, probably at Antioch on the Orontes and Seleuceia on the Tigris, and certainly (as is shown by the recent researches of Sauvaget) at Hellenistic Damascus, Aleppo, and Latakieh in Syria. The leading features of the Hippodamian plan were to drive a main street through the city from gate to gate (called in later times πλατεῖα) with, on one side of it, a spacious market-place—the agora, the political and business centre of the city—and to divide the city into regular rectangular blocks by streets which ran some parallel and some perpendicular to the main street. In these rectangular blocks were erected temples, public buildings, and private houses.

Our recent excavations and a detailed study of the city and its most important buildings have shown how rigorously the Hippodamian plan was applied, in spite of the difficulties that the site presented.

It was easy to deal with the main part of the city—the almost flat rocky plateau west of the principal wadi. The main street ran across the plateau from west to east. It started from the great gate in the desert wall by which the military road entered the city and ended at the opposite side of the city near the river, passing again through a powerful gate.

North of the main street, in the centre of the city, stood the spacious agora, bordered on its northern side by several buildings of the time of Antiochus III and Antiochus IV.[18] The rest of the plateau was divided into regular blocks which were occupied by various religious and secular buildings. A couple

of blocks on the south side of the main street were devoted to the early temple of the dynastic gods of Seleucus—Artemis and Apollo, a religious counterpart, as it were, of the agora.

The south-eastern part of the aforesaid plateau had a peculiar

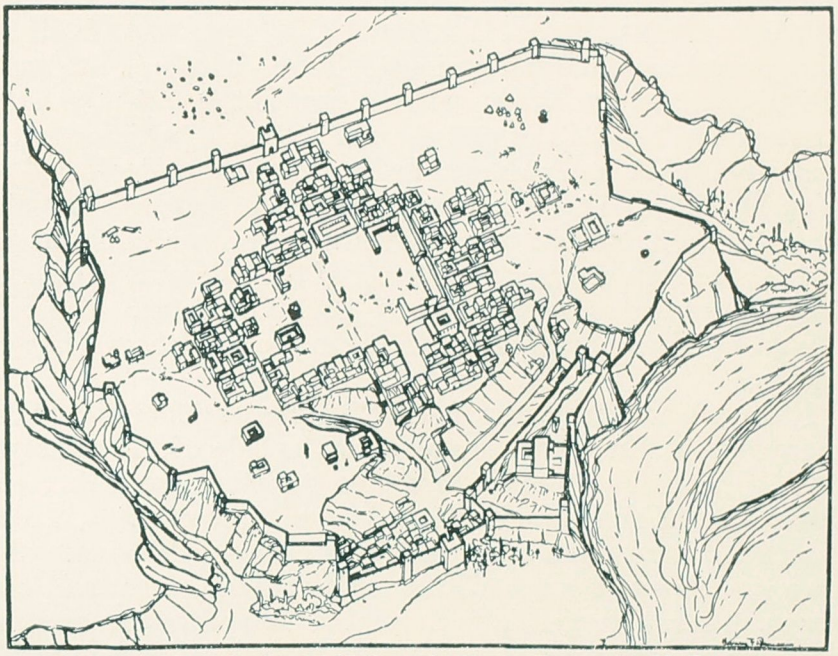


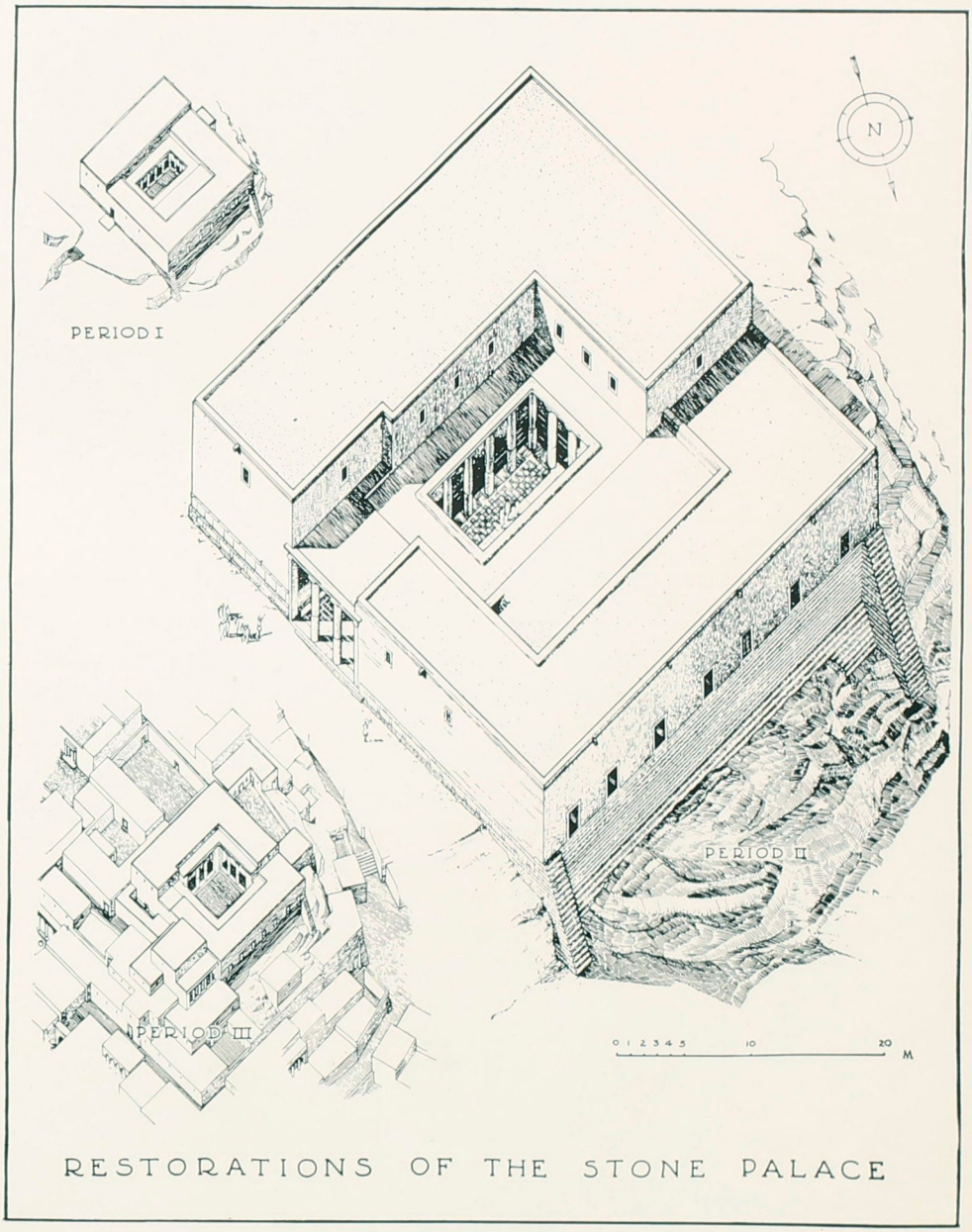
FIG. 5. Sketch-plan of Hellenistic Dura. Drawn by H. Pearson

formation. On its eastern side it overhung the principal wadi, and on its northern and western was cut off from the rest of the plateau by a lateral wadi, a branch of the principal wadi. It protruded, therefore, like a bastion between the two ravines. This spur—called by Cumont the redoubt—was an ideal site for an acropolis and was used for this purpose by the builders of the city. The northern slope of the rocky spur was reinforced by a beautiful sustaining wall of cut stone, and on the summit was erected a fine and spacious building, square in plan, a peristyle-house, perhaps the *strategion*, the official residence of the chief magistrate of the city—the *strategos*. This civil centre of the city faced its military centre—the citadel and its palace, which may have been the residence of the Seleucid governor of Parapotamia. It must be noted, however, that the plan of the house is unlike the few known

strategia of Greek *poleis*, especially that of Cyrene.[19] During the temporary renaissance of the Seleucid Empire in the reigns of Antiochus the Great and of Epiphanes, or perhaps in the first years of Parthian domination, i.e. at the time of the reconstruction of the palace of the citadel, this house was rebuilt on a larger scale and more luxuriously, but on purely Greek lines. Probably contemporaneous with this or a little earlier was the construction behind the *strategion* of a temple, which was repeatedly rebuilt and enlarged in later times and dedicated to Zeus Megistos. There is reason to think that this temple, recently excavated and studied by Mr. F. Brown, was originally dedicated to the great god protector of the Seleucids in general and of Epiphanes in particular—Zeus Olympius. The role played by Zeus Olympius in the policy of Epiphanes is well known.[20]

Nicanor's architects were faced with greater difficulties when, in laying out the city, they reached the side of the principal wadi. The main street could not be extended down its steep slope. It was therefore continued as a flight of steps, which descended the incline and could be used by pedestrians only. Two side streets were available for beasts of burden and carriages. These diverged from the end of the main street and ran south and north from it, and by means of two branch wadis descended gently from the plateau to the principal wadi. All the three continuations of the main street finally reached the river gate opposite the desert gate. Outside this gate the street descended the cliff towards the river and continued on alluvial land as the Euphrates road.

Such was in general the aspect of Hellenistic Europos and of its most important buildings. We know little of the plan and the superstructures of these buildings. There remains little of them beyond parts of their foundations. The temple of Artemis, built probably in the early third century, was in its earliest form not a regular temple, but a plain *temenos* with the altar of Artemis in its centre.[21] The later temple on the acropolis, which was probably dedicated to Zeus Olympius and was first built perhaps at the time of Epiphanes, was more ambitious. According to Mr. Brown, who excavated and studied its ruins, it shows many features characteristic of the



Acropolis. Palace of the Acropolis (*Strategion*?)
(Restoration by H. Pearson)

south Syrian temples of the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods (see note 20).

The *strategion* of the acropolis is better known. It has been carefully excavated and studied by Mr. H. Pearson. Built in the early third century and rebuilt, as I have already stated, on the same lines but on a larger scale in the middle of the second century, probably almost contemporaneously with the second palace of the citadel, it follows a Greco-Macedonian plan and is a splendid specimen of early Hellenistic architecture. Its plan is in fact that of a palatial Macedonian peristyle-house. It must be compared with the earliest peristyle-houses of Macedon and Greece—those of Olynthus of the middle of the fourth century and the much later houses of this type at Pompeii, Olbia, and Delos (see note 19 and Pl. V).

Of the buildings of the agora we know practically nothing. No remains of columns were found when it was excavated. This indicates that there were no porticoes in front of the square buildings that surrounded its northern part. Of the buildings themselves we were unable to trace more than the foundations. It is certain that they consisted of shops only (see note 18).

Finally, it may be interesting to note that no remains of a theatre, of gymnasia, of a stadium, or of a hippodrome were found at Dura. However, remains of a spacious palaestra found beside the Parthian bath suggest that this may be due to our only having excavated thoroughly a little less than one-third of the area of the city. Until the excavations are finished it is idle to offer considerations which may account for the absence of these buildings.

The little we know of Hellenistic Europos shows that the city was laid out by its builders as a regular brand-new Greek city. It was by no means the reconstruction or modification of a pre-existing oriental city. We must all the more regret that so little remains of it.

Thus Europos was intended by its founder to be and to remain a Greek *polis*. And so were the many other Greek city-states disseminated all over the Near East by Alexander, his successors, and the Seleucids. This is not the place to discuss the policy that dictated these foundations. It was not merely a

question of urbanizing what were previously rural districts. Cities had existed in large numbers all over this region from time immemorial. The creation of new cities of Greek type alongside of the ancient oriental cities and the superimposing of Greek *poleis* on some of the last had a different purpose. This, briefly stated, was to build up over the oriental substratum a Greek superstructure, consisting of Greek cities with all their peculiarities and traditions. With the Greek cities the new rulers of the Near East intended to import into their kingdoms certain long-established Greek institutions: the citizen's spirit of devotion to his city, his willingness to sacrifice his life for it, and his special training for this purpose—in the main a military training. With this ancient Greek spirit the Hellenistic rulers hoped to combine a new trait—the personal devotion of the citizens of the new cities to their founders and the descendants of those founders, symbolized by the cult of the king and his dynasty. This dynastic spirit they expected that the new citizens would bring with them, as a consequence of the military training which they had received in the royal army. This was one of the reasons for settling soldiers in most of the newly founded cities. Cities in which the roles of citizen and soldier were combined appeared to the kings a suitable foundation for their power in the Near East.

While we know little of the Hellenistic city of Europos, our knowledge of the Parthian city is much more complete. In fact the city that we have excavated is practically the city of the time of the Parthian domination. To that part of the city which was not transformed into a Roman camp the Romans during the century of their domination added very little. I shall speak of it later in this lecture.

The Parthian city of Dura-Europos is very interesting and unique of its kind. As I have already pointed out, we must distinguish in dealing with the Parthian times between two periods: an earlier period covering the late second and the early first centuries B.C., and a later period beginning roughly about 50 B.C., and ending with the conquest of Dura by the Romans about A.D. 165. In the first period of Parthian domination Dura-Europos remained in the main what it had been before—a Greek city. Except the palace of the citadel, which was

rebuilt on Iranian lines by the Parthian government, the buildings of Dura that may be assigned to this period and were erected by the citizens of Dura are mainly of Greek character. Such was the small unfinished temple of Artemis and Apollo which was intended to replace the early temple of Artemis, and such was the second *strategion*, if we are right in assigning it to the early Parthian and not to the late Seleucid times. As regards the private houses our information is scanty. The little we know has not yet revealed the existence at Dura of any private houses of a purely Greek character.

I have also stated that the aspect of the city was completely altered in the second half of the first century. When in the middle of the first century B.C. the change in the political situation brought abundant prosperity to Europos and great building activity set in, this activity filled the city with oriental, not Greek, buildings. Greek Europos was gradually transformed by it into oriental Dura, into the semblance of a late Babylonian or an Assyrian city rather than of such Hellenistic cities as Priene or Miletus.

The reader will remember that it was about the middle of the first century that the Greek temple of Artemis and Apollo was utterly destroyed, and rebuilt as a large and splendid oriental temple. At the same time the private houses occupying the adjoining block were pulled down and over their foundations was erected a fine oriental temple dedicated to the great north Semitic and Anatolian triad—Hadad, Adonis, and Atargatis.

And so it went on. After 50 B.C. no Greek buildings were erected at Dura-Europos. Temples, public and private buildings, were all of the oriental, not of the Greek type.

It should be noted, however, that this change did not correspond to any change in the constitution, in the official religion, or in the social life of Dura-Europos. The constitution remained exactly what it had been. As in Seleucid times the head of the city was the *strategos*, a member of the Macedonian aristocracy, who—and this exceptionally may have been a Parthian innovation—was at the same time military governor of the city, *epistates*, the representative, as it were, of the king. The leading role in the life of the city continued to be played

by the Macedonian aristocracy. Civil and criminal law remained in their essence Greek. Greek was the official language of the city, the language of the inscriptions, and of the business documents written on parchment. Many citizens and especially the descendants of the Macedonian colonists bore Greek names and generally wore Greek dress.

Nor was the official religion changed. Even the cult of Seleucus and of the Seleucid dynasty remained unaltered, and the eponymous priests of the city were still the priests of Seleucus and of his πρόγονοι and of the dynastic gods of the Seleucid dynasty—Zeus, Apollo, Artemis. Though rebuilt on oriental lines, the early temple of Artemis was still consecrated to her. In A.D. 2 a Semitic inhabitant of Dura dedicated an altar to Artemis and Apollo ἀρχηγοί. Note that the chief magistrate of the city, the *strategos*, took an active part in the reconstruction of the temple. He erected one of the columns of the *pronaos* of the new temple, as is recorded in the inscription engraved on the column in 33/32 B.C. For the Semitic worshippers the chief goddess of the temple may have been Nanaia, but for the Macedonians and the Greeks she was still their πάτριος θεά—the great Artemis. And so it remained even in the Roman times.[22]

Nevertheless, little by little the city was completely orientalized. The only features of the city that remained unaltered from Hellenistic times were the general lay-out and the fortifications. In all other respects the city was profoundly modified.

This transformation was not the outcome of the deliberate policy of the Arsacids. I have already stated that their policy at Europos and in their other Greek and Macedonian cities was one of philhellenism, of *laisser faire*, of non-interference in the domestic concerns of the Greek cities. This policy remained unchanged so long as the Parthian domination over Mesopotamia and Parapotamia continued. The Arsacids knew well enough, after some years' experience, that the Macedonians and Greeks were perfectly loyal to them and willingly accepted their rule, as a continuation of the rule of the Seleucids to whom they were profoundly devoted. They probably preferred—and the Arsacids were aware of it—the liberal and easy-going rule

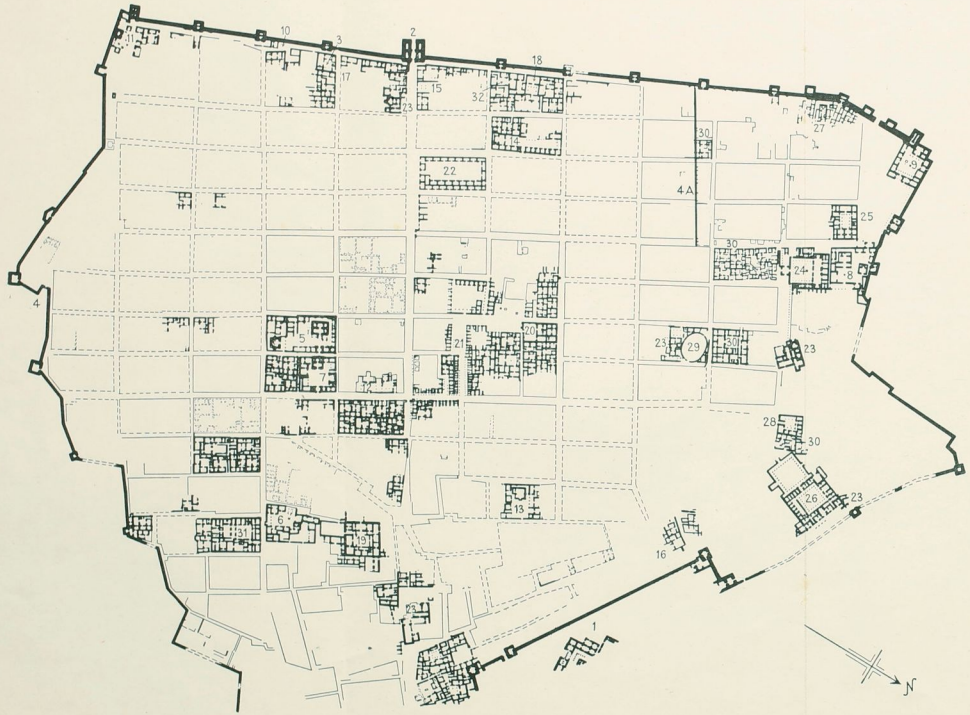


FIG. 6. PLAN OF THE CITY OF DURA IN PARTHIAN AND ROMAN TIMES

FORTIFICATIONS

1. Citadel and its palace.
2. Main gate.
3. Subsidiary gate on the desert front.
4. South gate.
4*a*. Brick wall of the Roman Military Camp.

TEMPLES

5. Temple of Artemis-Nanaia.
6. Zeus Megistos.
7. Atargatis.
8. Azzanathcona.
9. Bel (?) NW. corner.
10. Zeus Kyrios.
11. Aphlad.
12. Gaddé.
13. Zeus Theos.
14. Adonis.
15. Tyche.
16. Military chapel.
17. Christian church.
18. Synagogue.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

19. Acropolis Strategion.
20. Agora.
21. Sukhs.
22. Khan.
23. Baths.

MILITARY BUILDINGS

24. Praetorium.
25. House of a Higher Officer.
26. Palace of the *dux*.
27. Mithraeum.
28. Dolicheneum.
29. Amphitheatre.
30. Barracks.

PRIVATE HOUSES

31. House of Lysias.
32. House of the Scribes.

Note: The excavated buildings are shown in plan.
The excavated streets are shown with solid outlines.
The unexcavated streets are shown with dotted lines.

of the Parthians to Roman domination, the régime to which their compatriots were subjected in Syria.

If the aspect of the city was orientalized, this was not due to any pressure or orientalizing policy on the part of the Parthian government. Europos was orientalized by its own citizens, by the proud Macedonian and Greek aristocracy first and foremost. I have pointed out that the temple of Artemis was rebuilt on oriental lines with the active collaboration of the chief magistrate of the city. Numerous inscriptions found in the early oriental temples of Europos bear witness to the same phenomenon. Macedonians, Greeks, and Semites alike take an active part in building shrines (*ναοί*), *oikoi*, and other constituent parts of the temples, and in dedicating altars, statues, &c., to oriental gods. In three large temples of early date dedicated to oriental goddesses were found curious *pronaoi* in the form of little theatres (a similar *pronaos* may be noticed in the shrine of Atargatis in the temple of Adonis). The seats of these *pronaoi* were reserved for women only. We found two of them intact and almost all the stones of the third. The seats were owned by rich members of the community and their ownership was recorded in inscriptions engraved on the seats, inscriptions which give the full name of the owner and the date; a sort of 'court guide' to Duran society in the first century A.D. Now almost all the women who bought seats in the temples of Atargatis, of Artemis Azzanathcona, and in the oriental temple of the Seleucid Artemis (probably identified by the residents of Dura with Nanaia), were members of the richest and the most respectable Macedonian families of Europos.[23]

This shows that if Dura became an oriental city it was by the will of its own population, not as the result of outside pressure. The orientalization of the city appears to have corresponded to a similar and profound change in the mentality and religion of the citizens.

After these preliminary remarks I may proceed to give some account of Parthian Dura. We discovered several temples at Dura. Some of them go back to Hellenistic times, a few were built by Roman soldiers, and others by groups of followers of foreign religions during the Roman domination. These last, however, were insignificant. All the rest—the Hellenistic

temples rebuilt in Parthian times and the many beautiful temples first built in that period, in short, all the prominent religious buildings of the city, were oriental temples, not Greek temples, and were dedicated to oriental gods with oriental, Greek, or hellenized names. I have already enumerated these gods (p. 20). They form a strange mixture of deities of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palmyra, north Syria, Phoenicia. There is no Greek god or goddess among them.

All these temples follow the same general plan, with certain modifications and variations. They are all of them temples of the oriental type, of which a court is a prominent feature. It would be premature to discuss at length their plan and architecture. A special study of these is required in order to discover their prototypes and their ultimate origin. This will probably reveal a curious medley of oriental elements, while Greek influence will appear almost negligible, but stronger in the later than in the earlier period of Parthian Dura.

The best-known example of these oriental court temples is the earliest of them, the beautifully preserved temple of Atargatis, of her son and husband Adonis, and of the great sky and thunder god Hadad. It was first excavated by Cumont, then by M. Pillet, and thoroughly studied by Mr. Pearson during the last season of our excavations. It was never rebuilt in Roman times and shows hardly any traces of Greek influence.[24]

The principal features of this temple are the court, the monumental entrance with the two *phalloi* (as in the temple of Atargatis at Bambyce described by Lucian), its lofty and majestic step-altar, and the tripartite *naos* of the goddess; the side-chambers of the latter were probably used as a treasury and a depot for sacred utensils. The tripartite *naos* is preceded by a *pronaos*, the little theatre-like building described above, which was no doubt used for sacred rites to which women only were admitted.

Round the court were alined various *oikoi*, built from time to time by individual donors and by religious associations. Some of them were shrines of *synnaoi theoi*. One of them is shaped like a theatre with step-benches on its side walls and three bases for a triad of deities on the back wall. I venture to suggest that this shrine was dedicated to Atargatis as member

of a triad of gods with Adonis and Hadad as her *synnaoi theoi*. In a painted inscription recording the work done by a local artist—probably the decoration of the exterior wall of the *pronaos* with images of the gods of the temple—Atargatis

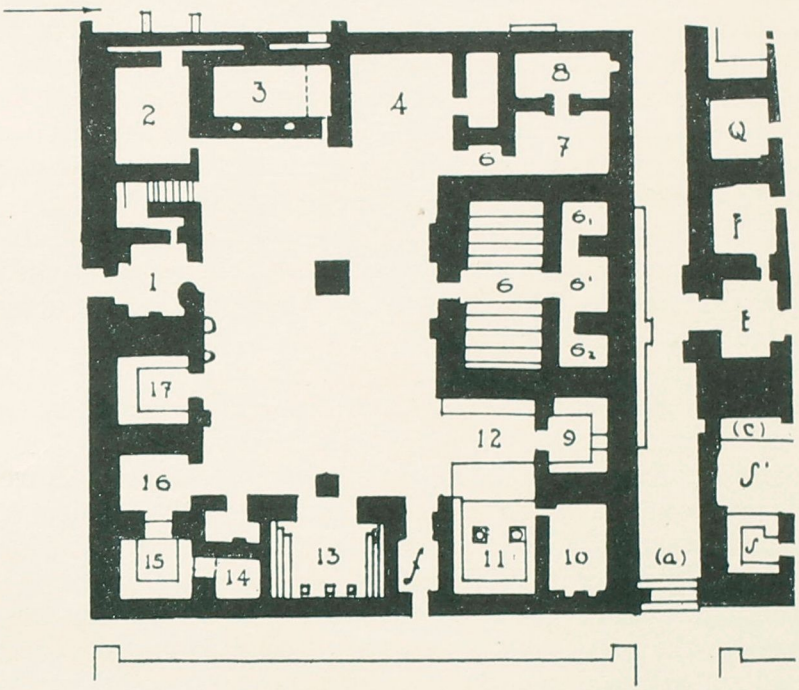


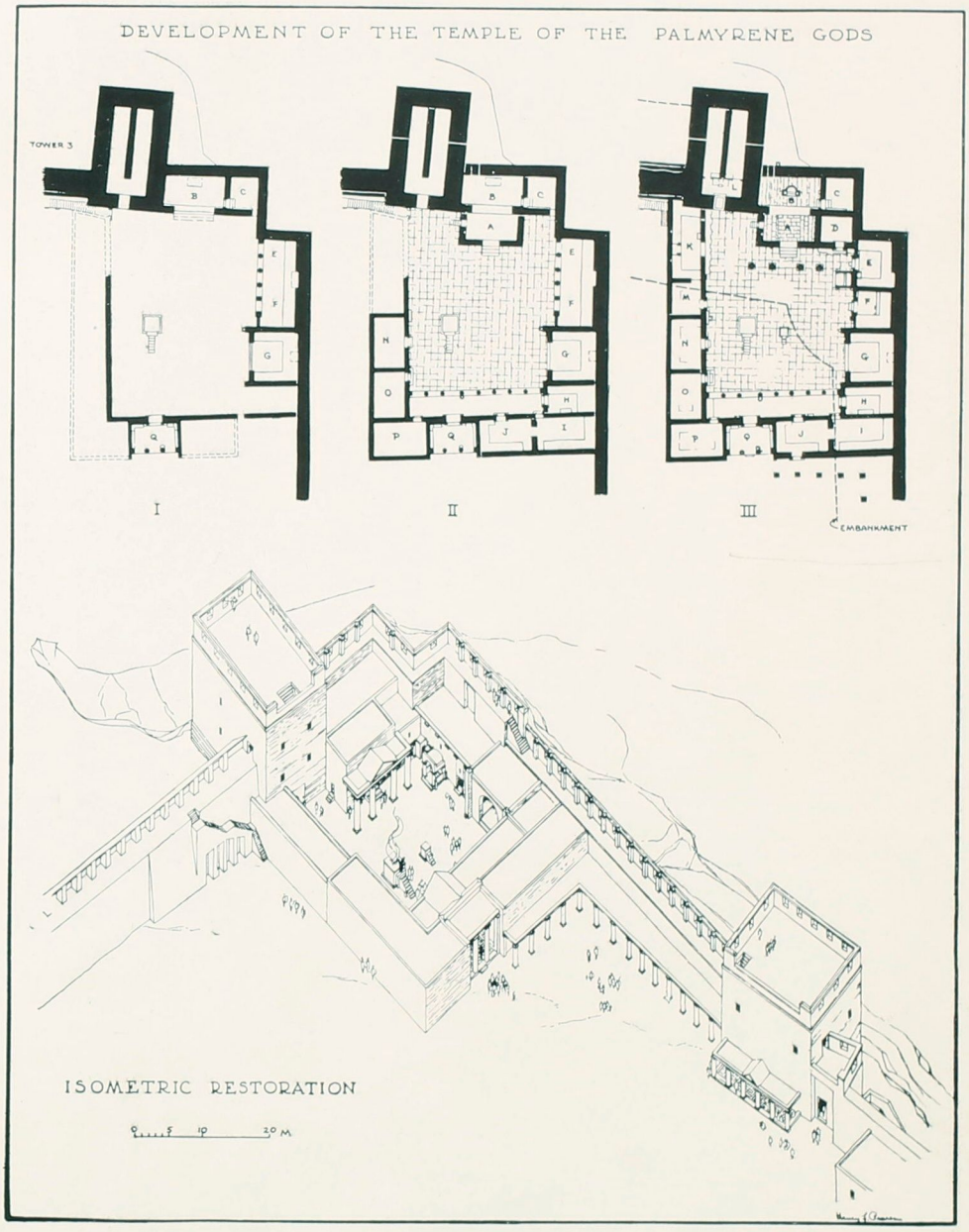
FIG. 7. Plan of the temple of Atargatis

appears alongside of Adonis and perhaps of a third god Saddoudan. The inscription unfortunately is fragmentary and cannot be restored with certainty; and the identity of Saddoudan (a dedication to him in the temple is all that we know of him) and the etymology of his name are a riddle. Moreover, Atargatis and Hadad appear on a bas-relief found in the temple.[25] Certain other *oikoi* were rooms used by priests and religious associations for various purposes, e.g. for sacred meals, reunions, incubations, or as offices, &c. The court was thickly set with smaller altars and votive *stelae*. Behind the temple a group of rooms probably served as residences of the priests. The walls of these were covered with drawings and inscriptions, mostly of a religious character.

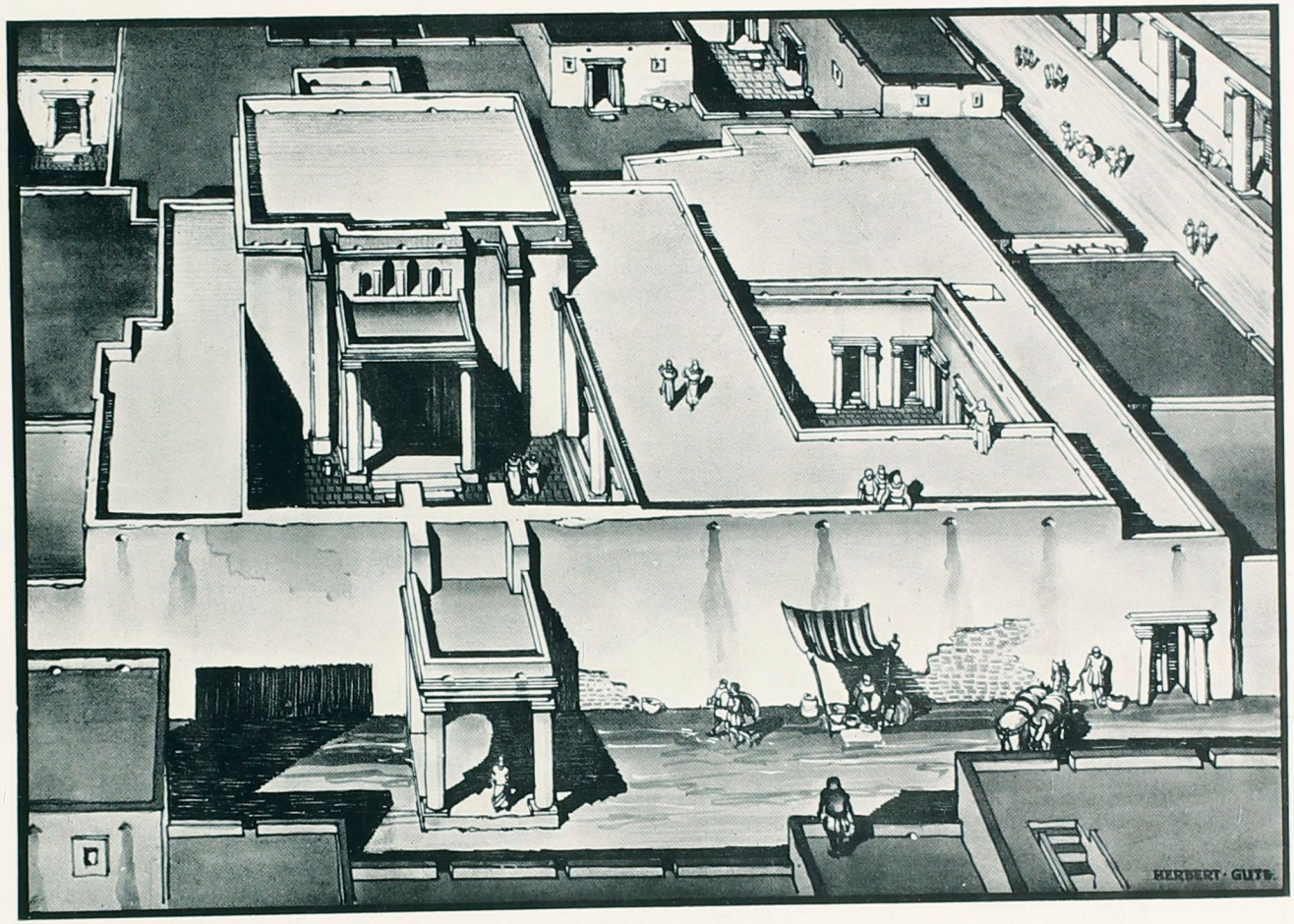
We find almost the same plan and distribution of rooms in the other early Parthian temples of Dura: those of Artemis (Nanaia) and of Artemis Azzanathcona, the temple of Bel in the north-western corner of the fortifications (Pl. VI), and that of Aphlad in the south-western corner. A curious temple is that of Zeus Kyrios—Baalshamin, built against one of the towers of the desert wall in the early first century A.D. Here the object of worship and a substitute for the cella was a small cult bas-relief of Zeus inserted high in the wall of the tower and dedicated by a private citizen, as recorded in the bilingual inscription (in Greek and Palmyrene) on the bas-relief. The temple in its earlier and later forms (it was twice rebuilt) consisted only of an open court and a modest altar. There was probably a special reason for building such a temple, perhaps a miracle effected by the god and connected with some incident in the life of the city or of the dedicant (Pl. XI, 1).

Temples of later date, i.e. of the second century A.D., are much larger, much higher, more lavishly decorated, and show in their architecture various Greek features. But they all were built according to the same general scheme and all reflect the same religious ideas. Such were the impressive temple of Zeus Theos, richly decorated with sculptures and paintings, with its monumental court and a majestic *naos*; the above-mentioned temple in the north-western corner of the fortifications as enlarged and adorned in a grand style in the second century A.D.; the temple of Zeus Megistos on the acropolis in the later stages of its existence; and especially the somewhat bizarre temple of the gods protectors of Palmyra and Dura, first built by Palmyrene merchants in the first century A.D. in the heart of the city as a modest shrine and rebuilt by them on a much larger scale and in a much more ambitious way in the middle of the second century A.D. It was richly adorned with statues, altars, *aediculae*, and paintings. Nor was the temple of Bel in the necropolis very different (Pl. VII).

The latest of the great temples of Parthian Dura, that of Adonis and Atargatis, is very curious. It is the first temple of the great Phoenician god ever discovered. Many of its features are unusual and probably reflect the peculiar rites that were performed in the temple. I refer to the long corridor-like



Temple of Bel (generally called Temple of the Palmyrene gods)
(Plan and restoration by H. Pearson)



Temple of the Gaddé (last period). (Restoration by H. Gute)

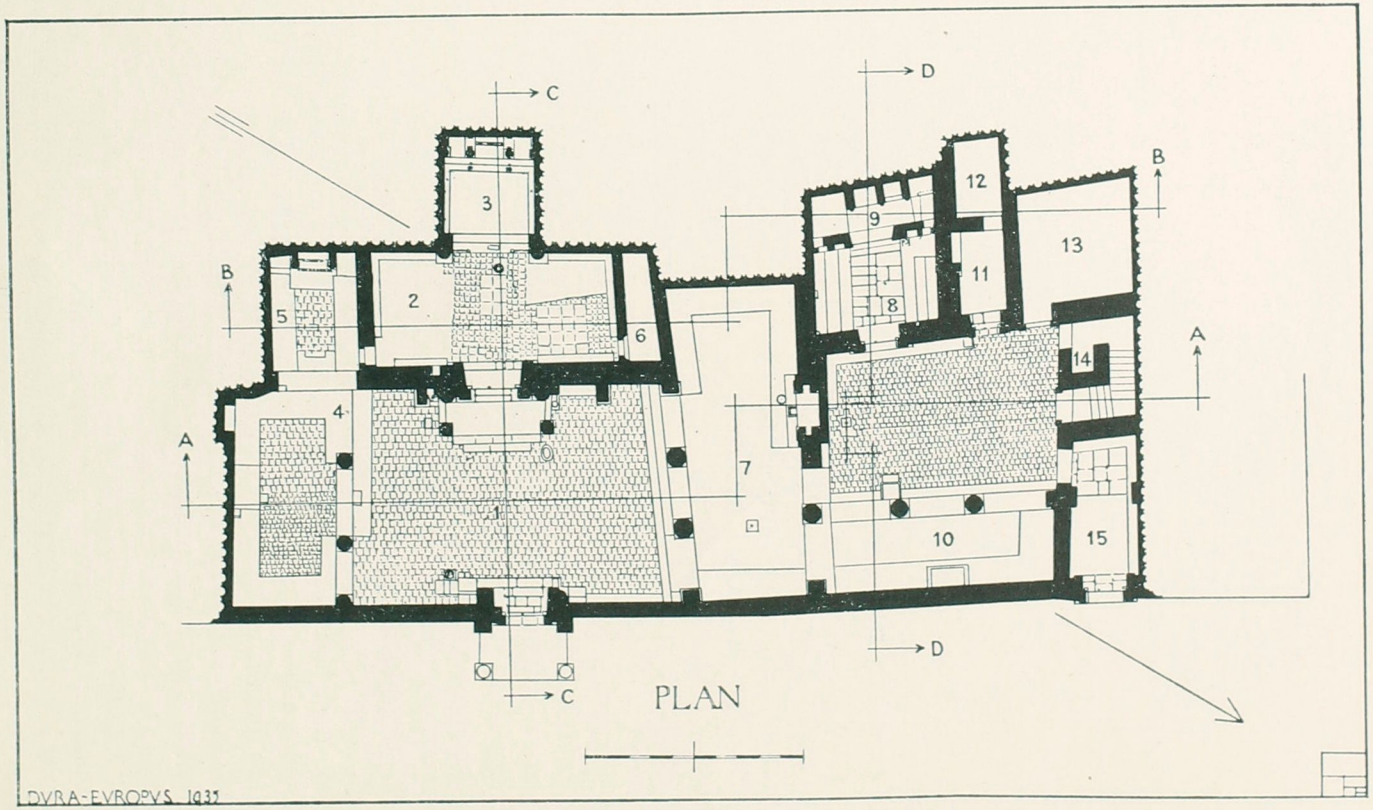


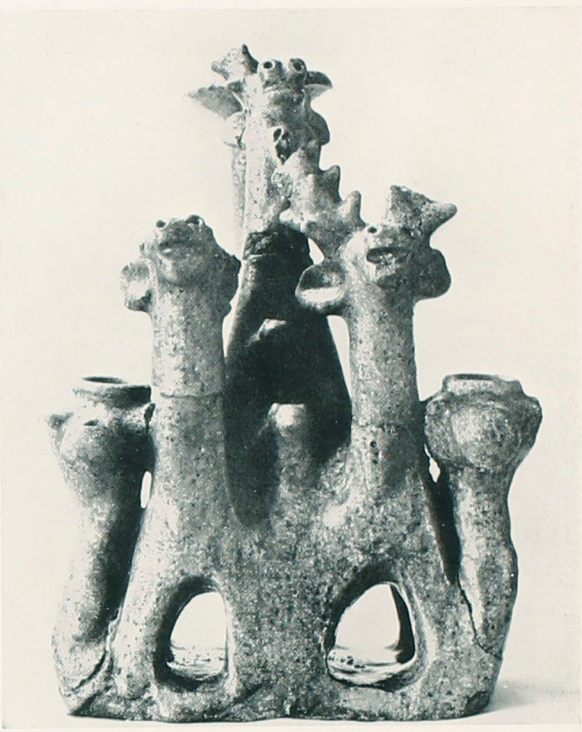
FIG. 8. Plan of the temple of the Gaddé

court with a row of *oikoi* on one side only, the absence of the usual central monumental step-altar, the disposition in this court of the two great *naoi*—that of Adonis and that of Atargatis, and some other features. Several inscriptions refer in all probability to the cult of Adonis. Substantial fragments of the cult painting of the main *naos* and a fragment of a bas-relief which shows the head of Atargatis (first century A.D.) were found in the temple.[26]

In these oriental temples of Parthian and Roman times the cult was purely oriental. Though the gods to whom they were dedicated bore Greek names, the oriental character of the cult is revealed by a glance at the paintings and the cult and votive bas-reliefs that adorned them. These represent scenes of sacrifice with minute oriental realism; and the impression that they give is confirmed if they are compared with the cult implements enumerated in temple inventories and found in temples and private houses. Among such sacred utensils I may mention, for example, the beautiful glazed *lychnophorion* or *thymiaterion* (or both) discovered during the last campaign in the temple of Atargatis, adorned with figures of her sacred animal—the deer. Similar utensils were found in various (mostly private) buildings (Pl. VIII).

An oriental city, in contrast to a Greek city, contains hardly any public buildings other than temples and royal palaces; and Parthian Dura was no exception. Hellenistic Europos had had an agora and probably various buildings of a public character in other parts of the city. Some of these public buildings of the Hellenistic epoch may still have been in use in the Parthian period. But they were overshadowed in Parthian Dura by the temples and the palaces: one on the summit of the citadel, another on the summit of the acropolis replacing the Hellenistic or early Parthian *strategion*. Unfortunately the ruins of the palace of the citadel are not complete. More than half of them have fallen into the Euphrates and cannot be recovered. What remains is a Greek colonnaded entrance court with side-chambers and a cistern in its centre and a few walls of the main part of the palace. The entrance court reminds one of the Parthian palace at Nippur excavated by the American expedition. The remains of the main part of the palace, carefully studied by

1. Glazed clay *thymiaterion* (blue-green glaze)



2. Glazed clay *lychnophorion* and *thymiaterion* (blue-green glaze)

3. Bronze brazier

SACRED UTENSILS

Mr. Brown, show that this was not like the palace of Nippur. It consisted, according to Mr. Brown, of three majestic oblong vaulted liwans (halls for receptions and banquets), similar to those of Hatra and Ctesiphon. They were probably preceded

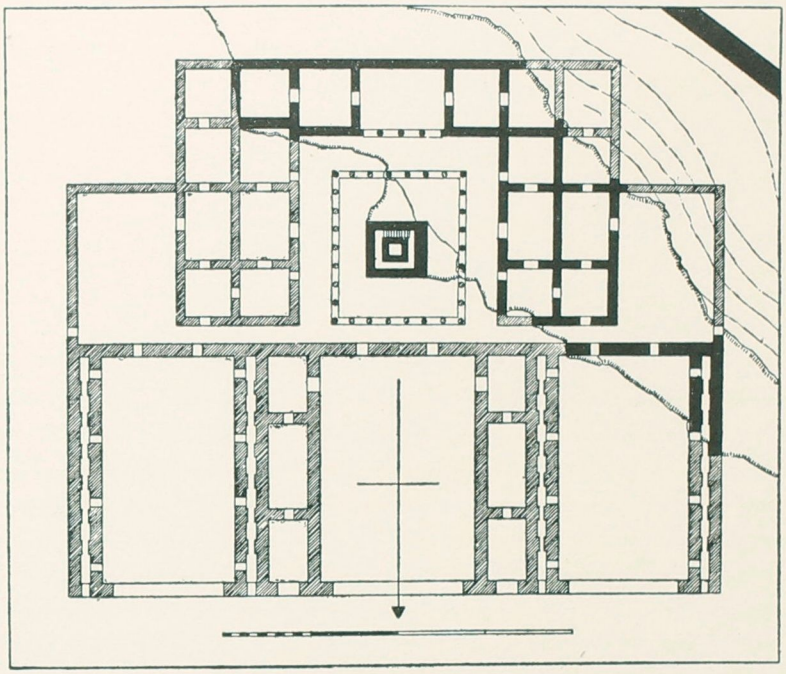


FIG. 9. Tentative reconstruction of the plan of the Parthian palace of the Citadel by F. Brown

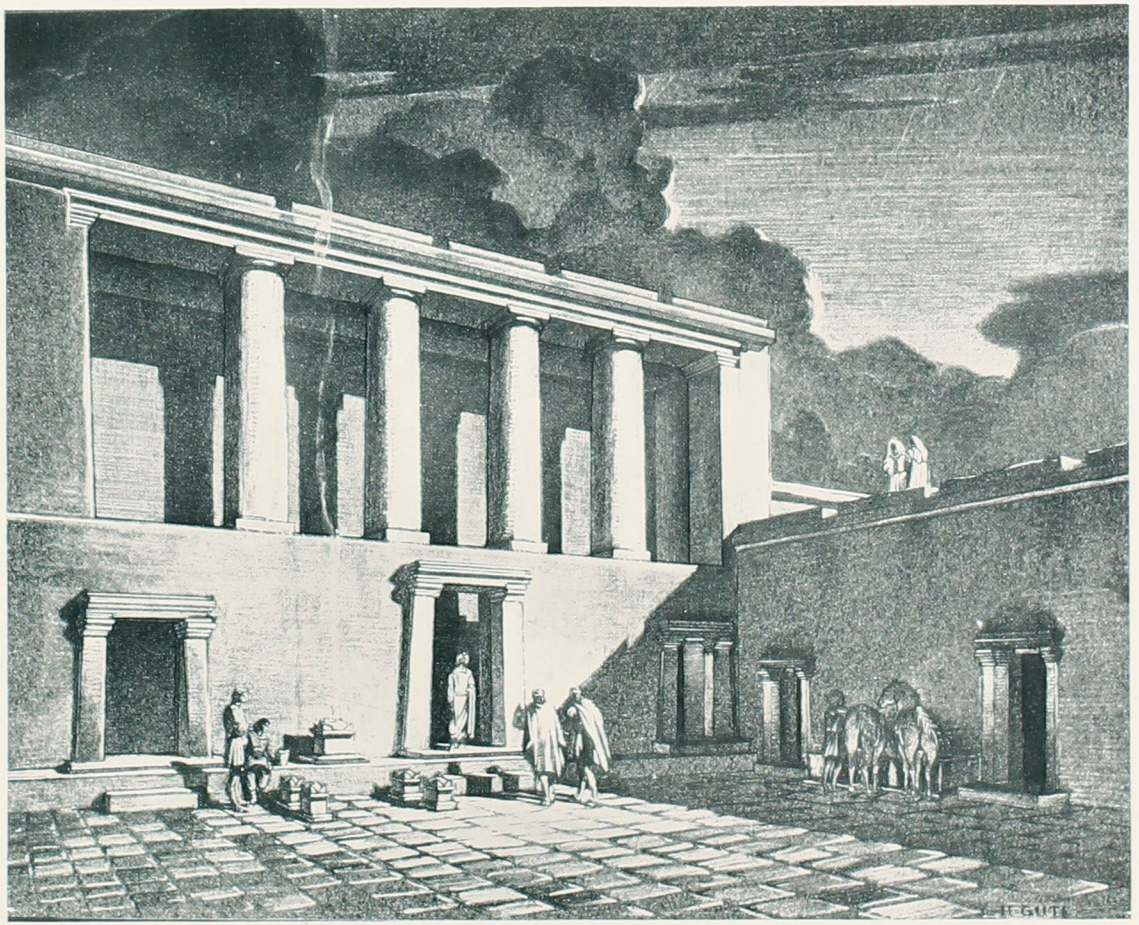
by an open court or terrace which faced the Euphrates. The Parthian palace on the acropolis is better known. It was in all respects an imposing palatial house of local type; more will be said of it presently. In front of it was a large open court with a monumental entrance—the Sublime Porte of the city of Dura. It was probably the official residence of the Parthian *strategos-epistates*.[27]

We may regard as semi-public buildings the sukhs and bazaars which occupied part of the Hellenistic agora. The regular shape of the main sukh street of Dura, with its shops of various sizes, suggests a planned construction rather than a gradual spontaneous development. The sukhs of Dura are unique for their period. Parallels exist in early Babylonian

cities, but no other sukhs of the Hellenistic and Roman period have ever been excavated in the Near East. Even ancient Egypt presents nothing similar to them. The nearest parallel to the sukhs of Dura are the sukhs of modern middle-sized cities in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Far East. The sukhs, bazaars, and khans of the larger modern oriental cities, e.g. the famous bazaars of Damascus, Aleppo, Smyrna, Constantinople, &c., are more ambitious. Their origin has never been carefully studied. I suggest that in their main features these large and picturesque constructions go back to the modest sukhs of Dura and their earlier prototypes.[28]

A large number of private houses of the Parthian period have been excavated at Dura. In fact, very few new houses were built in the Roman period, and, as I have already stated, no Hellenistic house has yet been found there. The houses vary in size, in architectural details, and in the distribution of rooms. Some of them are of the palatial type—large and impressive buildings. The best preserved of these, which was still in use in its original form under the Romans, belonged to one of the leading families of Dura, a family in which the office of the president of the city was hereditary. Two successive owners of the house—Lysias and Lysanias by name—are mentioned in two very interesting graffiti of A.D. 159 scratched on one of the walls of the house. The Lysias palace is situated on the plateau of the acropolis behind the temple of Zeus Olympius, and presents some noteworthy features. It has two courts, one for men, another for women, several large and remarkable storerooms, stables for donkeys, horses, and camels (with their mangers of different heights), and even 'modern' lavatories and bathrooms. Certain other houses are of medium size, well built and carefully maintained. The best preserved are those in the blocks along the wall street, which have been preserved by the sloping embankment (see p. 28) of A.D. 256. There are, finally, scores of small and modest houses scattered all over the city (Pl. IX).

The private houses, though varying in size and decoration, are nevertheless all of the same character. They belong to the widely spread type of the oriental house built about a court. Very similar houses are still in use all over Mesopotamia. The



House of Lysias. Court. (Restoration by H. Gute)

PLATE IX

Dura house consists of an open court accessible from the street, generally by a side entrance. Into the central court open one or more reception-rooms (in palatial houses two or three), very often with side-rooms to right and left of each, and benches along the walls. In one corner of the court will be found the kitchen and the staircase leading to the traditional flat roof, very much used at night in summer-time and during the day in winter. Pavilion-like buildings were sometimes erected on this roof. Into the same court opened the stables and store-rooms. The cesspools in most of the houses were of the most primitive character: a pit in the centre of the court. In larger palatial houses the lavatories are of a more 'modern' character, connected sometimes with private baths. The larger houses had one part—the haremlik—reserved for the womenfolk. The influence of Greek architecture is scarcely perceptible in the smaller houses. It is much stronger in the palatial houses. The house of Lysias above mentioned, on the plateau of the acropolis, certainly reproduced in the construction of its main sitting-room (double storied) certain features of the larger palatial houses and public buildings of the Hellenistic period, of which we know so little.

A careful comparative study is required to enable us to trace the evolution of the Durene type of house. It certainly shows great similarities with the earlier and later Babylonian houses and may go back to them. No Parthian features are to be seen in it. The diwans (reception-rooms with benches) of Dura are quite different from the vaulted oblong liwans of Hatra and Assur. The governor's house in the citadel, dating from the early Parthian period, had no successors at Dura and remains an isolated phenomenon in the architectural history of the city.[29]

The wall decoration of the private houses of Dura has nothing in common with the Hellenistic and Italian type of wall decoration. We found in no house in Dura anything resembling the wall paintings of Priene, Delos, Pompeii, and the western provinces of the Roman Empire, though in this respect Dura and Roman Egypt have certain features in common. The carpet and floral style of decoration is found—differently treated—both at Dura and in Egypt. It is interesting to note that in

the later houses of Dura the incrustation style—a decoration imitating inlaid slabs of coloured marble mostly in geometric patterns—is as common at Dura as it was both in the East, the place of origin of this style, and in the West.[30]

Great changes in the general aspect of Dura-Europos took place during the Roman domination. For the Romans Dura had, as a city, very little importance. Some of the emperors tried to compensate it for the heavy losses that the Roman conquest had brought in its train, by the grant of honorific distinctions—first the title of *municipium*, perhaps under Caracalla, and later, probably under Severus Alexander, that of *colonia*. But their attitude towards it remained essentially unchanged. For them Dura-Europos was first and foremost a Roman frontier post, one of their *limes* fortresses. For the first time in its life Dura-Europos ceased to be a body politic, a more or less autonomous part of the State to which it belonged and whose interests were its own interests, a community of soldier-citizens, to become instead a mere garrison town, whose main duty was to house and feed the Roman soldiers.

This new situation found its expression in the changed aspect of the city. From the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla the city consisted of two parts: the old city and the brand-new Roman camp with its population of Roman officers and soldiers. These were mostly natives of the Syrian provinces of Rome. Nevertheless, they were a foreign body in the city. They were a detachment of the Roman imperial army, to-day stationed in Dura-Europos and liable to be transferred to-morrow to Africa, Britain, the Rhine, or the Danube. They were the masters, who had no consideration for the population of the city and who lived their own peculiar life, the life of the military camp.

Roman camp life is well known to students of Roman imperial history. Most of these Roman camps were situated on the frontiers of the empire and were special settlements of a purely military character, unconnected with any pre-existing city or village. Cities and villages (*canabae*) developed later round many of these permanent camps, but this was a peculiar phenomenon and a slow process. No doubt military camps established in pre-existing cities were not uncommon in the

urbanized parts of the Roman Empire. We know of their existence in the great capitals of the Roman Empire—Rome, Carthage, Lyons, probably Alexandria and Antioch. But, except as regards Rome, we have very little information about them. In most of these instances they were probably built on the outskirts of the city, not within it. That was the case, for instance, at Alexandria and Palmyra. But at certain places of minor importance the Roman garrison was probably quartered in the city itself. The best-known instance is Chersonese in the Crimea. Such camps also existed in some of the cities along the southern shore of the Black Sea. In Syria, fully urbanized as that region was, they appear from our literary sources to have been a common phenomenon, but detrimental to the morale of the army.

None of these camps, however, that were situated within a city, in Syria or elsewhere, have been excavated and studied. The only exception that I am aware of is Chersonese, but there the buildings of the Roman camp were found in a very poor state of preservation. Dura in this respect is unique. It is a pity that time did not permit of the complete excavation of the camp. Substantial parts of it, however, have been brought to light, and it is now possible to trace the general features of a Roman camp when established in the heart of a city. Let me say a few words on the subject.

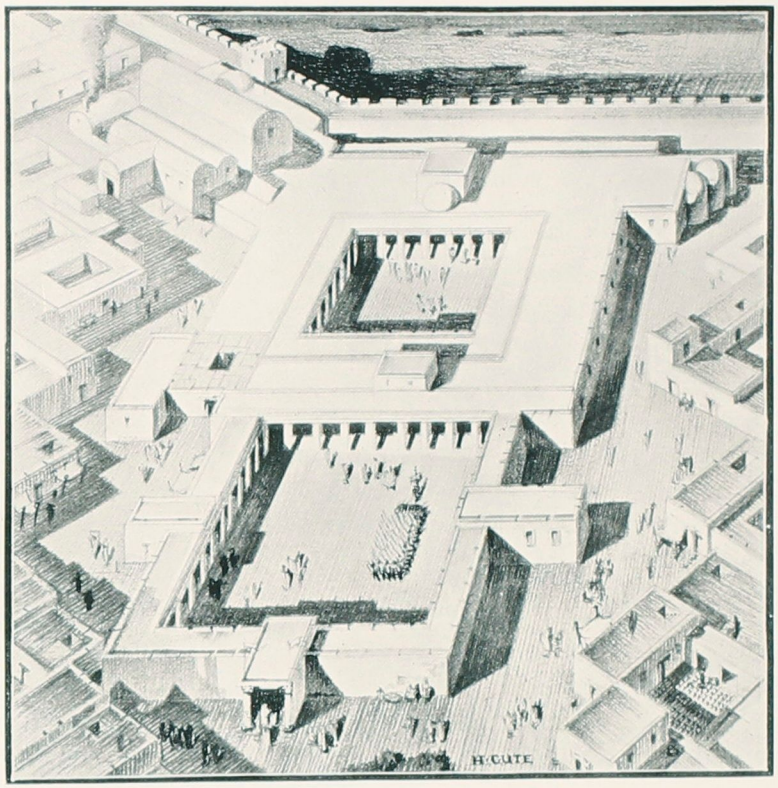
At the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla a large part of Dura—about a fourth of the city—was in all probability expropriated by the government, separated from the rest of the city by a brick wall, and transformed into a camp. In the northern part of this expropriated area the pre-existing buildings were razed to the ground. The only exceptions were the venerable temples of Artemis Azzanathcona and of Zeus-Bel in the north-western corner of the city. Even so, several rooms round the court of the temple of Artemis were occupied by military offices, while the temple of Bel was probably spared only because Bel was the military protector of Dura and a deity much revered by the Palmyrenes and the Syrians in general. I must remind the reader that it was probably under Severus that the XXth Palmyrene cohort became part of the garrison of Dura and that in the temple of Bel this Palmyrene

contingent as well as the civil population worshipped the great military gods of Palmyra. Another exception was the shrine of Mithras, first built by commanders of the Palmyrene archers stationed at Dura (see above, pp. 20 and 25). In the time of Severus it was enlarged and rebuilt by legionary soldiers stationed at Dura and transformed into one of the sanctuaries of the camp, such as are found in almost all the camps of the Roman army. But the other temples in this part of Dura were not so fortunate. We know from inscriptions of at least one that suffered the fate of the private houses, i.e. was razed to the ground.

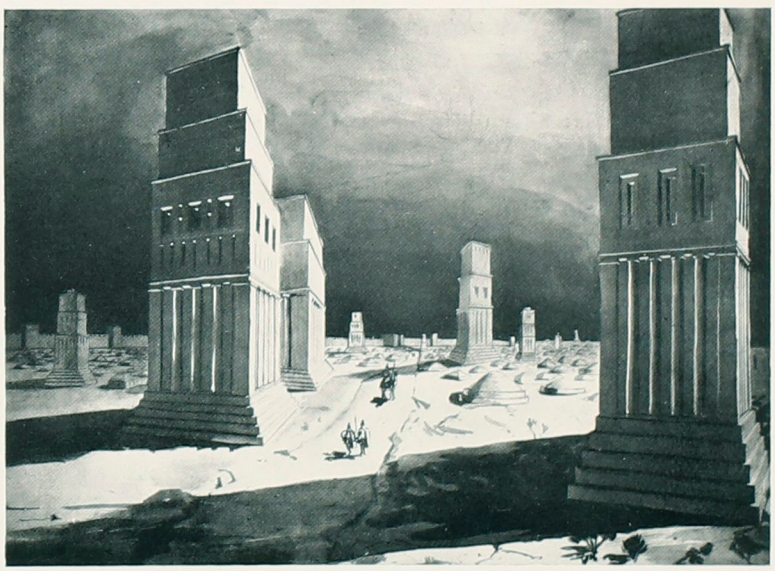
On the levelled area expropriated by the Romans sprang up the usual buildings of a Roman camp. The majestic *praetorium* stood in the centre. Across the front of it ran a colonnaded street with a triumphal arch. West of the *praetorium* stood the house of one of the high officers of the garrison, a palatial building previously the property of one of the rich citizens. Beyond this officer's house, between it and the temple of Bel, extended the *campus exercitatorius* or Campus Martius. On the other side of the *praetorium* a bath was erected, a fine and spacious building, excellently preserved. To the east the camp extended probably as far as the citadel. Only part of this area has been excavated. We found there a fine bath, the aforementioned temple of Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithras, the surrounding barracks, and the impressive official residence of the *dux ripae* (see Pl. X, 1, and p. 27 f.).

The southern part of the area excavated by us had been treated in a different way. Here the private houses had not been destroyed but transformed into barracks; and, for the use of the soldiers housed in them, a bath of the Parthian period had been modernized and reconstructed, and a small *amphitheatrum castrense* had been built.

I cannot deal with the individual buildings of the camp at length. They do not differ very much from similar buildings in other parts of the Roman Empire. The *praetorium*, if compared with other excavated *praetoria*, presents some special features, but whether these represent a variation of the *praetoria* peculiar to the Syrian region can only be determined by comparative study. The same may be said of the head-quarters



1. Palace of the *dux*. (Restoration by H. Gute)



2. Necropolis. (Restoration by N. Toll and H. Pearson)

of the *dux*, a building which resembles in some respects the well-known house of the legate of Xanten, but is otherwise unique.

In the rest of the city the Romans made very little change. I have already pointed out that the Roman period was a time of impoverishment and decay for the city. Very few new buildings of importance were added during this period. I may mention a large bath near the citadel[31] and a market on the main street, and the two prayer-houses of the Jews and Christians. Some of the old buildings naturally needed repair or reconstruction. Among them the most notable was the great temple of Artemis, perhaps identified by her Semitic worshippers with the Elamitic and Babylonian Nanaia. I have mentioned that this temple, though rebuilt on oriental lines in the later Parthian period, remained during the whole of the Parthian domination the centre of the official cult of Macedonian Dura-Europos. Its status did not change under the Roman rule. It was still the official centre of the city cult. This is indicated by documents found in the temple. Soon after the occupation of Dura by the Romans (or perhaps as early as the time of Trajan?), Gemellus, the legate in command of one of the legions, dedicated in the temple an altar to Artemis. The same legate made a similar dedication to Atargatis in her adjoining temple. About the same time Aurelius Heliodorus, the *epistates* of Dura, dedicated in the temple of Artemis a statue to the conqueror of Dura—Lucius Verus. This shows the importance of the temple, and it is not surprising that it was now enlarged and a new court added to it.

The temple acquired even greater importance in the time of Caracalla and Severus Alexander. It would seem that the enlarged temple, in addition to being the centre of the official religion of Dura, became at the same time the civil centre of the *municipium* and subsequently *colonia* of Dura. This suggestion of mine is based on the following documentary evidence. A statue of Julia Domna was dedicated in the temple by the *bule* of the Aurelii Antoniniani Europaei, i.e. by the senate of the Roman *municipium*. Later, or at the same time, a theatre-like building was erected in the second court of the temple, a building which in my opinion served as a *buleuterion* and *ecclesiasterion*. It should be noticed that a *buleutes* of Dura has

recorded his presence on one of its seats. After Dura had become a *colonia*, a shrine to Artemis was built in the second court of the temple; it was called ναὸς [τῶν] σομμακολ(ώνων), i.e. the shrine of the upper layer of the new colony (cf. the name *summarudis* applied to a higher class of gladiators, and the *decaproti* and *eikosaproti* of the Syrian cities of the Roman times). The work was carried out by a group of Aurelii: Goras, the keeper of the treasury of the temple (*gazophylax*); Orthonobasus, Zebiadad, and another, sons of Goras and also probably temple officers; and a fifth person, son of [Abin]neus, [Bon]neus or a similar name (the name is not fully preserved). All of them are described in the inscription as *coloni*, *buleutai*, and priests of Artemis. In view of all this evidence there is little doubt that the temple of Artemis not only remained under the Romans the chief temple of the city of Dura, but that its annex, the second court with the surrounding rooms, added to it in the Roman period, served as the *forum* of the new Roman city.[32]

The temple of Artemis, however, was an exception. In general the Roman epoch was a time of reconstruction and restoration, but not of great building activity.

The general aspect of the city in the Parthian and Roman period was not like that of one of the Greco-Roman cities even of Syria. A view of Dura from the air would have shown great similarities with modern Mesopotamian cities, large and small. As in modern Mesopotamian cities, courts and flat roofs would be the most prominent features, except for the mosques. No vegetation, no gardens, no lawns. Dura, however, presented a more regular and tidier aspect than the modern cities of Mesopotamia. Her houses were higher, the house-fronts better plastered; some of them were painted and adorned with inset faience vases. The main street had fine colonnades on both sides, not unlike those of other Hellenistic and Roman cities of Syria. These colonnades, like those in most of the cities of Syria, were erected by the house-owners.

One more remark on the city of Dura. Any one who knows the rapid development of almost all the cities of the Roman Empire in the first three centuries after Christ and sees how the original fortified city (or it may be military camp) becomes gradually surrounded by ever-growing groups of private houses

is struck by the fact that no houses were built at Dura outside the walls. The only direction in which Dura could spread was towards the desert. But immediately beyond the desert gate begins the city of the dead, the necropolis; and this extends far into the desert along the main roads which connected Dura with Palmyra and Antioch. While there were no private houses, there were temples outside the city, and probably temples not connected with the funeral cult. One of these has been fully excavated.

The absence of houses may perhaps be explained as follows. Dura never spread beyond its gates into the desert because this desert was sterile and because it was unsafe. It is more than probable that the adjoining territory of Arabia was never fully pacified and that before the Roman occupation the militia of Dura under the command of the *strategos* from time to time made expeditions into it in order to protect the fertile land along the Euphrates and the many villages scattered about it. It appears, moreover, that Macedonian Europos was larger than its original population required. The size of the Hellenistic agora, for instance, is evidence of this. The city grew rapidly during the Parthian domination. And yet there appear to have still been plenty of unoccupied building sites. With the Roman domination, especially with the establishment of the Roman camp, the situation changed for the worse. The city became crowded. But at this time the city lived in constant fear of Parthian and later of Persian invasions, and its population, though perhaps increasing in numbers, preferred to remain within the city walls.

No less remarkable was the city of the dead; it was probably as large as the city of the living and crowded in one place—the rocky plateau of the desert. A careful investigation of the necropolis by Mr. N. P. Toll has shown how varied were the graves built for the inhabitants. Two forms predominated: the subterranean *loculus* family grave and the tower grave. It was this last which gave the necropolis its singular aspect. The tower grave is not peculiar to Dura. The towers of the necropolis of Palmyra are well known, and so are the funeral towers of Halibyeh (Zenobia) and of Irzi. I cannot enter here into the much debated questions of the different types of funeral

towers found in Mesopotamia and of their origin. No exhaustive historical study has ever been made of this problem. We are expecting such a study from Mr. Toll, who has explored all the aforementioned necropoleis. Suffice it to say that the towers of Dura, Halibyeh, and Irzi are very different from those of Palmyra, and represent probably an earlier, more archaic, more massive, and less refined type. Most of the towers of Dura are, of course, in ruins. However, thanks to luck and the methodical exploration of the necropolis by Mr. Toll, and especially to the discovery of a tower which was found lying almost intact on one of its sides, we have been able to reconstruct this and similar towers in all their details. Unlike the towers of Palmyra, those of Dura had their *loculi* for the mummified bodies not inside the tower but outside. The inside was occupied by a staircase which apparently led to the summit, probably flat and crenellated, of the tower. This fact suggests that the towers were in fact great altars, on the top of which were performed the funeral ceremonies connected with the worship of the gods of sky and light; or perhaps on which bodies were exposed in accordance with Iranian tradition. Let me remind my readers of the Iranian method of disposing of the dead. Clay or stone *ostothekai* (receptacles for the bones of the deceased) have been found all over the Iranian world (the Iranian name for these receptacles is *astodan*). It may be mentioned, incidentally, that in their sculptural decoration these strikingly resemble the Syrian and Phoenician lead sarcophagi. Now these astodans were kept, after the bones had been deposited in them, in special buildings called *naus* (derived from Greek *naos*). The *naus* was a kind of mausoleum in which the astodans were kept in niches. Some of these mausoleums are still extant, the largest being that on one of the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf. I would suggest a careful study of these *naus* in connexion with the Mesopotamian towers. Is it not, moreover, possible to trace back to them the still existing Parsi 'towers of silence' at Bombay? In any case the origin of the Mesopotamian funeral towers must be sought in the East and the Iranian East, not in the West (Pl. X, 2).[33]

III

RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR ART IN DURA

I HAVE endeavoured, in my previous lectures, to give a brief account of the history of Dura and of the appearance it presented in the three periods of its life—the Hellenistic, the Parthian, and the Roman. In the following two lectures I propose to trace the artistic development of the city in its various aspects, a subject both difficult and complicated.[34]

It is evident that Dura never was and never could be a great centre of artistic creative activity. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Dura took great pleasure in art. The walls of their sanctuaries were decorated with impressive paintings; cult statues and cult bas-reliefs stood in the *naoi* and *pronaoi* of their temples; votive statues and votive *stelae* and altars, the last decorated with bas-reliefs, adorned the courts and shrines. The dwelling-houses of the well-to-do inhabitants had their peculiar pictorial decoration and were not lacking in statues and bas-reliefs. Even the ceilings of many buildings, religious and private, were coffered and gaudily painted. The local painters and sculptors were proud of their profession and often signed their paintings. Amateurs frequently vied with professional artists. The walls of several buildings were covered with their work: there were scratched or painted on them copies of mural pictures and representations of statues, religious or secular, also sketches of every-day life.

As in other centres of the ancient world, art at Dura was principally devoted to the service of religion. In order better to understand it, we must therefore have an idea of the form that religious life took at Dura in the various periods of the city's existence.

I have already touched more than once upon this subject, but it requires somewhat fuller treatment, though these short lectures do not afford scope for an exhaustive study. This would require many pages and a detailed discussion for which, not being a specialist in the history of religion, I am not qualified. It will be sufficient if I trace the mere outlines of the religious development.

There is no lack of relevant material. The ruins of about a score of temples have been excavated. We found in them abundance of evidence bearing on their history and on the religious ceremonies performed in them: such as building inscriptions, sculptures, wall-paintings, dedications, votive *stelae* and altars with their sculptures and inscriptions, fragments of the temple furniture, and various sacred utensils. Moreover, there are hundreds if not thousands of inscriptions of a religious character scratched or painted on the walls of temples, public buildings, and private houses, to the effect that the writer prays to be remembered by some god or goddess. Many mentions of religious institutions may be found in the parchments and papyri. And finally, hundreds of theophoric names when carefully studied will show which were the gods that played the most important part in the devotions of private families.

We are poorly informed about the religion of Dura in Hellenistic times. But some survivals among the institutions of the city in the later period and occasional finds of the Hellenistic period show that the official religion of Macedonian Europos was Greek in its essence, the same religion in all probability that we find in other Macedonian colonies. The leading part belonged to the dynastic gods of the Seleucid monarchy, Apollo and Artemis on one hand, and Zeus Olympius on the other. Next to them stood the deified founder of the dynasty—Seleucus, the deceased kings and queens, and the ruling king and his family (or at least his consort). We do not know whether, alongside of these official gods, other Macedonian and Greek gods and goddesses were worshipped at Europos. This in itself is probable, but we found no trace of such cults. It must be noticed, however, that hardly any inscriptions or sculptures from the Hellenistic city have been discovered, though there certainly must have been some. Their rarity may be a mere accident, and further excavations may fill this gap. It is even more difficult to ascertain to what extent the Macedonian settlers adopted the worship of local gods. In Egypt they did this very early, in compliance with the policy of the kings. As Seleucus and his successors showed much reverence for the great gods of their satrapies, we may suppose that their officers and soldiers did the same. But we have no positive evidence.

The situation as regards Parthian and Roman Dura-Europos is different, especially in respect of the late first century B.C. and the three first centuries after Christ. Here our material is abundant and our information satisfactory. The first impression produced by the evidence is that of a bewildering religious chaos: a multitude of heterogeneous religions appear to mingle at Dura as in a cauldron, and a host of gods and goddesses of various origin found worshippers in the city.

The Seleucid gods and the dynastic cult above referred to still survived at Dura and played a prominent part in its religious life. I may mention the fact that the eponymous priests, by whom documents were dated, were still in the Parthian and Roman periods the priests of the afore-mentioned gods. Moreover, in the second century A.D. the god protector of Dura, the city's Τύχη, its Gad, was still the great god of Alexander, Seleucus, and Epiphanes—Zeus Olympius. He appears in this character, crowned by the deified founder of Europos—Seleucus—in one of the three cult bas-reliefs of the temple that was built by and for the Palmyrene inhabitants of Dura, and was dedicated to the great sky god of Syria and two Gaddé, that of Dura and that of Palmyra, the Gad of the last being Atargatis (Pl. I, 1).

Finally, Greek religion left its imprint on the religious life of Dura in that many of the oriental gods worshipped there in the Parthian and Roman periods officially bore Greek names. Zeus and Artemis were especially popular.

The majority of the gods worshipped at Dura were, however, of Semitic origin. They had come from various places and were of various types. We find among them deities of Babylonian origin (Bel, Shamash) and Babylonian and Elamitic origin (Nanaia), gods and goddesses of Mesopotamia (Aphlad, Artemis Azzanathcona), of northern Syria and Anatolia (Hadad, Atargatis), of Phoenicia (Adonis), of Palmyra (Baalshamin, Malakhbel, Jahribol, Aglibol), and of Arabia (Arsu). I mention only deities who were worshipped at Dura either as chief gods or as *synnaoi theoi*. Had we excavated the whole of the city instead of only one-third, their number would certainly be still larger.

To our great surprise we found but little evidence relating

to Iranian cults, I mean Mazdaism and Zoroastrianism. Not one temple of fire was found at Dura, not one mention of Ahuramazda. This may be an accident, and further excavations may lead to the discovery of a true fire temple. Negative evidence is always untrustworthy. Let us therefore deal exclusively with positive evidence. Figures in Parthian military dress and persons with Iranian names appear frequently in scenes of sacrifice and worship, carved and painted. Some of them may be worshippers, some may be interpreted as divine beings, though it is difficult to find a place for them in the Iranian pantheon. It is interesting to note that those figures in Parthian dress which certainly represent worshippers are shown adoring not only Iranian gods and goddesses, but also and mostly deities of foreign origin—Babylonian, Mesopotamian, Arabian, north Syrian, who sometimes bear Greek names. I may mention the Iranian Anaitis, Hercules—a god who was very popular at Dura and probably must be identified with some oriental god; Aphlad, who was a kind of Mesopotamian Hadad; and the afore-mentioned Palmyrene gods. The religion of an average Parthian appears to have been not purely Iranian but a composite religion. He worshipped both Iranian and foreign gods, some of whom—the supreme sky god, for example—he identified with his own Iranian pre-Zoroastrian gods.

In addition to Greek, Semitic, and Iranian gods there were the gods and goddesses worshipped by the Roman soldiers in their camp. The *Feriale Duranum*—the official religious calendar of the Roman army found at Dura—shows that the official pantheon of the Roman soldiers was the same at Dura as at Rome and all over the Roman Empire: it comprised the gods and goddesses of Rome and the deified emperors and members of the imperial family.[35] In addition, the soldiers at Dura had a special devotion for certain oriental gods who became semi-official protectors of the Roman army—Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus, and along with them the great solar gods of Syrian and Palmyrene religion—especially the Palmyrene Jahribol, the *Sol Invictus* of Aurelian.

The worship of these various gods was accompanied by a general belief in astrology and magic, shared at Dura by Greeks, Semites, and Roman soldiers. Horoscopes were frequently

scratched on the walls of the houses and magic figures and texts are as common as horoscopes, both in the houses of the civil population and in the military buildings.[36]

Finally, to complete the bewildering chaos, came the two proselytizing religions of the Near East—Judaism and Christianity.

We must, however, not exaggerate. A closer study of the cults of Dura shows much simpler outlines than a mere enumeration of the gods and goddesses worshipped there would suggest.

Greek religion had been for a time predominant at Dura. But, as I have already stated, in the Parthian and Roman periods it was a mere survival, no longer a living religion with worshippers devoted to it. There was, I may remind the reader, no temple dedicated to Greek gods, I mean no temple Greek in architecture and cult, at Dura in these periods. It is, therefore, certain that Greek religion played no important part in the religious life of Parthian and Roman Dura even among its Greek-speaking population.

In Parthian Dura one would expect to find Iranian religion as prominent as Greek religion had been in Macedonian times. We have seen that the evidence points to something quite different. The few Parthians who resided at Dura had probably no temples of their own, and Mazdaism and Zoroastrianism exerted no great influence there.

The Roman religion was even less important in the life of the Europaei and Durani, the civil population of the city. It was from the very beginning the religion of a group of foreign residents, the Roman garrison of the city. On great occasions the magistrates of the city may have taken part in the religious ceremonies celebrated in the camp in honour of the Roman emperors and Roman gods, and the civil population of Dura may have looked on. But that was all.

Finally, Judaism and Christianity were new-comers in Dura. The building that served as a Christian church was not applied to this purpose before the middle of the third century and was very small. The first Jewish synagogue was established a little earlier (about the end of the second century A.D.). This likewise was a very small building, the later synagogue a little

larger. It could not accommodate on its benches more than ninety worshippers (men and women; women had separate seats in the later synagogue of Dura). Neither Christians nor Jews had had sufficient time to make many converts or to exert any influence on the religious life of the city.

The real religion of Dura, that of the large majority of the population, was the Semitic religion, or rather the traditional religion of the predominantly Semitic part of the Near East.

This is not the place to discuss at length the form that this religion assumed in late Hellenistic and early Roman times. If we may judge from what we find at Dura, there was strange confusion even within the traditional Semitic religion: scores of major and minor gods, all with different names, all worshipped in different ways, all having their own traditional images, and all connected more or less closely with one or other region of the Semitic Near East.

But this impression is certainly misleading. In the late Hellenistic and early Roman epochs the Semitic world manifested a strong tendency towards unification and simplification of its religion. It is a well-known fact that in this period solar henotheism was growing and becoming ever more firmly rooted throughout the Semitic world. Syncretistic tendencies were at work. Solar henotheism was ready to open its doors to foreign gods whether Greek or Iranian, whether their names were Zeus or Ahuramazda, Apollo and Artemis, or Mithras and Anaitis.[37]

Let us, however, confine ourselves to Dura. The Greek inhabitants were certainly aware of this tendency towards unification. They understood that behind the variety of gods and goddesses, most of them Semitic, worshipped at Dura there was a unity. They knew that in fact it was one and the same god who was worshipped under different names in most of the large temples of Dura—the great sky god of solar henotheism, and they showed their knowledge by giving this god one and the same name—Zeus. So it was with the great goddess worshipped in many temples of Dura. For the Greeks she was one and the same goddess of procreation and fertility and they knew her by one name—Artemis. Nor did they see any marked difference between the great gods of the Semitic and Iranian

cults. For them both groups were identical with their own Zeus and Artemis. The only differentiation they admitted was through the various epithets that they gave to Zeus and Artemis. To Zeus, for example, they applied the titles κύριος, the Lord; θεός, the Supreme God; μέγιστος, the Greatest God; κεραύνιος, the Thunder God, &c.

The largest, the richest, the most beautifully adorned temples of Dura were dedicated either to the Supreme Sky God or to the Supreme Goddess. Of these the two finest, as well as the best preserved, that known as the temple of the Palmyrene gods and the temple of Zeus Theos, were both dedicated to the same god—the great sky god of the Mesopotamian pantheon.* Now it is interesting to note that both Zeus Theos and the Zeus of the corner temple of the fortifications, as represented in their cult paintings, were as much Iranian as they were Semitic. Their dress, for instance, is Iranian. Note especially their Iranian breeches and gorgeously embroidered and brightly coloured shoes. Still more important is the fact that they are shown, probably both of them, in association with a chariot drawn by horses (Pl. XIII).

I cannot here restate the evidence relating to the early adoption by the Iranians of the Greek representation of the solar god in a chariot, the peculiar treatment of it by them, and the acceptance of it as an established figure in the Iranian pantheon. I have dealt with this topic elsewhere. It will suffice to point out a few facts. The worship of the chariot god in the Hellenistic and Roman period in Mesopotamia and elsewhere in the Near East, whether as the supreme god or one of his manifestations, goes back to Iran and to the earliest times of its history. It should be noted that Mithras appears in the Vedas not on horseback but in a chariot. In artistic tradition the god appears for the first time in his chariot on the ritual head-dress of a Scythian or Sakian queen, the metallic parts of which were found in one of the royal graves of the tumulus of Karagodeuashch in south Russia. The figure of the sun god on this plaque goes back to a Greek original, which, however,

* This is obvious as regards the temple of Zeus Theos and more than probable as regards the temple of the Palmyrene gods, as has been shown by Professor C. Hopkins and myself (see my *Dura and Parthian Art*, p. 273).

was substantially modified by a Greco-Iranian artist. It must be assigned to the third century B.C. A similar figure of the sky or sun god—a Greco-Iranian version of the Greek Helios—was the prototype of the well-known bas-relief of Bodh Gaya, of the first century B.C., representing the Iranian god Surya. It is probable, therefore, that the prototype both of the south Russian plaque and of the bas-relief of Bodh Gaya was a creation of Greco-Iranian art and artists, very likely those of Bactria. The Iranian Surya, it should be observed, was very popular in India: two *stelae* (of the first century A.D.) bearing his image were found in the region of Mathura alone. On one of these the god appears as a colossal figure in comparison with the diminutive horses of his chariot.

Now it is the same god and a similar representation of him that appear at Dura in the two temples mentioned above. It is very probable that in front of the colossal standing figure of the god in the temple of the Palmyrene gods a diminutive horse chariot was depicted. In the temple of Zeus Theos his painted cult figure, as restored from substantial fragments by Mr. Brown, shows the god standing and at his side a beautiful horse chariot. It is interesting to note that the main endeavour of the Greco-Iranian artists was to represent the god in full size. This purpose was achieved by them in various ways. The Iranian artists divided the horses in two pairs and shifted them aside in order to show the whole figure of the god standing in the chariot. Some of them with the same object made the chariot of reduced size. The artist who depicted the chariot god in the temple of Zeus Theos at Dura solved the problem in his own way. He painted a large and beautiful chariot with fierce horses, but moved the chariot away from the figure of the god in order to show the latter in all his majestic splendour.

It is well known that the various tentative handlings of the motif by Greco-Iranian and Mesopotamian artists—such as the interesting figure of a god in a leopard chariot found near Palmyra and published and discussed recently by M. Seyrig—finally crystallized in the traditional and highly schematic image of the sun and moon god of Sasanian times. The earliest examples of this Sasanian treatment found at Bamiyan (paint-

1. Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios

2. Head of a cult statue of Zeus

God Arsu on camel-back

ing) and at Khair Kheneh (sculpture) were recently discussed at length by M. Hackin.[38]

Next in importance and much more ancient than the two temples mentioned above is the temple of Zeus Megistos on the acropolis of Dura. Zeus Megistos was probably the *interpretatio graeca* of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His *synnaos theos* in this temple and his acolyte was the Arabian light and caravan god Arsu.

The Zeus Kyrios of the small temple of the desert wall was Baalshamin, the chief god of Palmyra. He was worshipped at Dura as the god of fertility and prosperity. To Bel was dedicated an early temple outside the city, later enlarged and reconstructed.

Finally, the great north Syrian and Anatolian Hadad, who was worshipped with his two children Atargatis and Adonis in the temple of Atargatis, was not essentially different from the other manifestations of the Supreme God; nor was his son, the Mesopotamian Aphlad, the sun god of Anath on the Euphrates, whose temple stood in the south-west corner of the fortifications of Dura.

We have manifestations of the same supreme deity in the other gods of light—the Sun, the Moon, the Morning and Evening Stars—Jahribol, Aglibol, Arsu, Azizu, and other local variations of the same gods. Their identity with the Supreme God was emphasized by the worship at Palmyra and elsewhere of the triad of Bel (or Malakhbel), Aglibol, and Jahribol, sometimes with the addition of other deities, for example, the Arabian Allat.

Some of the manifestations of the Supreme God of Syria and Mesopotamia were represented in cult paintings and basreliefs with one of their functions strongly emphasized. Aphlad, the son of Hadad, protector and genius of the large townlike village of Anath, appears as a military god, dressed in the uniform of a Partho-Hellenistic officer. The group of solar gods worshipped at Palmyra are shown wearing Parthian and Roman military uniforms. Among the most popular deities was the patron of the swift Syrian, Arabian, and Mesopotamian

horsemen, mostly archers; also the patron of the famous camel-riders (*dromedarii*), the god protector of the caravans. These gods on horseback and camel-back often appear at Dura, at Palmyra, and elsewhere on stone bas-reliefs and as terra-cotta figurines, and sometimes have quite a Parthian aspect.

The female deities were similarly treated. Here again the *interpretatio graeca* tended to give to the various goddesses of the Durene pantheon one and the same Greek name—that of Artemis: Artemis Nanaia, Artemis Azzanathcona. Was this a local tendency or was it due to the general influence of Asia Minor? At any rate, for the Greek or hellenized Semitic women the counterpart of the Zeus of their fathers, husbands, and sons was the great ubiquitous, international goddess of procreation and fertility, in her various manifestations and with her local names. Artemis Nanaia, Atargatis, and Artemis Azzanathcona all had the same female worshippers at Dura. Three large and beautiful temples were built for this goddess: those dedicated to Artemis Nanaia, to Artemis Azzanathcona, and to Atargatis. A large shrine was built for her as Atargatis in the temple of her husband and brother Adonis. Like the great sky god of the men, the Dea Syria—*interpretatio Romana* of the various aspects of the Great Goddess—did not remain confined to the Syrian lands. The Sol Invictus of Syria and the Dea Syria spread far and wide over almost the whole of the Roman Empire and for a while the Sol Invictus became its supreme god, at least the god of its emperors and of a part of their army.[39]

In the light of these facts the main religion of Dura appears in its monuments as the ancestral, traditional religion of the Near East in its late phase, when the local gods and goddesses still existed, but when, alongside of the gods worshipped locally, there is found a kind of religious κοινή, familiar to all the Semites and to the semitized Greeks and Iranians throughout Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Arabia. This κοινή was probably evolved in the Hellenistic epoch and accepted both by the Parthians and the Romans. The greatest creation of this κοινή was solar henotheism, which in this period became more and more accentuated. A counterpart to it was the creation of the dominant figure of the Great Goddess, whose

worship became the religion of women not only in Syria but all over the Roman Empire.

There is nothing surprising in the emergence of this religious κοινή. The Hellenistic and Roman period was a time when new religions were of common occurrence. Some of them were modifications of pre-existing traditional religions, others were new. To the first class belong Hellenistic Judaism, the religion of Sarapis and Isis, that of Astarte and Adonis, and those of Magna Mater, of Mithras, of Jupiter Dolichenus, of Sabazius. It is customary to give them all the rather inadequate name of mystery religions.[40] Others were brand-new religions, religions of conversion, like Christianity and Buddhism, which first started their proselytizing mission in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Each of these religions strove to create for itself its own theology, its own cosmology, its own mythography, i.e. the history of the life of its central figure. A concomitant was the creation of an elaborate iconography and of a peculiar art. The mission of this art was to convey to the worshippers the leading ideas of the new religion and of its mythography. It gradually became stereotyped and traditional. The arts applied to the service of these various religions are very little known, though they deserve close and attentive study. Those which are best known and have been most carefully studied are the art connected with Buddhism in India and early Christian art. Much less attention has been paid to the arts of the so-called mystery religions, not excepting the most richly documented of these, the religion of Mithras.

The excavations of Dura have shown for the first time that the revival of Semitic religions in the Near East, the creation there of a Semitic religious κοινή, the concentration of the religious thought and feeling on one leading god and one leading goddess, found among other modes of expression that of a new religious art. This sprang up in the various parts of the Semitic Near East and soon crystallized into a number of traditional religious compositions and a traditional iconography. I cannot discuss this art in all its manifestations, especially its iconography. The monuments that bear on the iconography are very numerous. They are scattered all over Syria and

Mesopotamia. Many of them have been published and illustrated in periodicals and in certain museum catalogues. But no attempt has ever been made to assemble the whole of the material. There is urgent need of a well-designed catalogue similar in character to Esperandieu's catalogue of the sculptures found in Gaul. In such a catalogue Dura will undoubtedly occupy the place of honour.[41] I may, however, offer some preliminary remarks on certain aspects of this art as manifested at Dura, especially in the painted and carved decoration of the temples. The subject is a difficult one and I do not regard my conclusions as certain. They are mere suggestions. More abundant material, deeper and more careful study, may prove them to be wrong or inadequate.

I have already referred to the large number of sculptures discovered at Dura which once adorned the temples. Not a single cult statue was found intact. But many fragments of such statues, especially heads, were found in some of the temples. It is not impossible that some of the cult statues were acrolythic, i.e. with the head alone carved in stone, the body being made of perishable material—wood or plaster. In addition, we possess a number of cult bas-reliefs, some intact and some fragmentary, reproductions or reductions of cult statues or cult groups.

But the real glory of Dura lies in its religious paintings. In one of the temples—that of the north-west corner of the fortifications, generally called the temple of the Palmyrene gods—the painted decoration was found in substantial fragments still adorning the walls. In almost all the other excavated temples fragments of their decoration, of considerable size, were found, some adhering to the walls, but most of them in the rubbish. This was the case in the temple of Zeus Theos (its wall decoration has been restored in its main outlines by Mr. Brown, from hundreds of pieces either still adhering to the walls or found in the rubbish), in the temple of Aphlad, and in those of Atargatis, of Adonis, and of the Gaddé. We have restored, so far as we could, the wall decorations from the fragments, but much remains to be done.

The mural decoration of the temple of the Palmyrene gods has been detached from the walls and transported partly (the

Conon painting, the single figure of a priest, and the paintings of the south wall of the *pronaos*) to Damascus, partly (the paintings of the north wall of the *pronaos*, including the picture of Terentius the tribune and his sacrifice, and the two mythological scenes) to Yale. The much damaged remains of the main cult painting on the back wall have been left on the spot. It is unfortunate that means and space did not allow either Yale or Damascus to reconstruct in their respective museums the *naos* and *pronaos* of the temple; such a reconstruction would certainly make a profound impression on students of ancient art. Most of the fragments of paintings discovered in other temples of Dura are either exhibited or stored in the Museum of Fine Arts at Yale. Less important fragments are still at Dura.

Restored *in natura* or on paper, the *naoi* and *pronaoi* of most of the temples of Dura, with their walls covered with bright paintings and their niches for cult statues and cult bas-reliefs, look very much like Christian churches—Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic—of any period. Their system of pictorial decoration shows astonishing uniformity, as well as a striking resemblance to that of the Christian churches. In almost all the temples the same scheme was repeated with hardly any variation.

Let me, *exempli causa*, describe the scheme of mural decoration in the best preserved temple of Dura—the temple of the Palmyrene gods (or rather repeat in abbreviated form the masterly description of Cumont).[42] I will begin with the *naos* of this temple. Its back wall, above the little shrine built in the centre of the *naos*, a shrine which probably contained a carved cult image, was occupied by an imposing painting in bright colours. Only fragments of this painting were found still adhering to the wall. Small as they are, the remains of the painting allow of a probable restoration of the whole. It was probably the cult painting of the temple. In the centre stood a colossal figure in Iranian dress. It certainly represented the god worshipped in the temple. A comparison of this figure with the similar figure of Zeus Theos discussed above and the fact that we can see remains of the representation of a horse and perhaps of a wheel support Mr. Brown's suggestion that

in front of the figure of the god was depicted on a reduced scale a chariot drawn by horses. The cult figure is shown standing on a mountain range. The highly stylized mountains are represented in the manner adopted all over the Sumero-Babylonian Orient from the second millennium B.C.: by rows, one above another, of half-ovals with indications of vegetation. Such a stylization of mountains was first used by the Sumerians, and from Sumeria migrated to the north, to the east, and to the west, as far as Phoenicia and the Caucasus in the west and north, and in the east as far as China, where we find it used in the Han period and later. To the left of the central figure are seen remains of two standing armed male figures in Iranian dress. They may be figures of worshippers or of divine acolytes of the god. Similar figures may have been painted to the right of the central figure. I have dealt above with the identity of the god represented in the central figure.

The side walls of the *naos*, of which the south wall only is preserved, were divided into two zones or registers and each of these zones was painted. On the lower zone of this wall was depicted the scene, now well known, of the sacrifice offered to the principal god of the temple by Conon, son of Nicostratos, a member of the Macedonian aristocracy of Dura, and by his family, with the assistance of two priests. The names of Conon and of the members of his family, as well as those of the priests, were painted near their heads. One of the priests, it should be noted, bore a Greek name. One or more similar scenes were painted on the plaster of the upper zone of the wall. Only scanty remains of these paintings survive. It is probable that the north wall (not extant) was decorated in the same manner. Finally, the solitary figure of a priest appears on the front of the pillar of the monumental entrance into the *naos*.

The *pronaos* was painted in a similar manner. The plaster of the south wall was divided into three zones. The lowest was left blank, the two others were covered with paintings. On the lower of these painted zones, when first discovered, were seen several standing male figures engaged in sacrifice. The lower parts of these figures alone are now in existence, the upper part of the plaster coating of the wall having since fallen down.

The names of the persons represented were written below the figures. The two men to the left appear from their names to have been hellenized Semites. The third man, represented with his nephew, was a pure-blooded Macedonian. His name (Apollophanes) and the name of his nephew (Zenodotos) appear in a finely painted inscription below their figures. The inscription says that the portraits were painted by Ilasamsos, a pure Semite. Similar scenes were represented on the upper painted zone. The lower limbs of several standing male figures were still to be seen when the wall was first excavated. It should be noticed that the figures on this upper zone were represented wearing Iranian breeches and shoes (with the exception, perhaps, of the fourth figure from the left). Less distinguishable is the dress of those on the lower zone. They wore, probably, like the men in the Conon painting, a Greco-Syrian dress.

The painted decoration of the north side-wall of the *pronaos* was of a different character. The coat of plaster on the left-hand or western part of this wall was again divided originally into three zones, as is shown by what remains, in a poor state of preservation, of the paintings on it. The narrow lowest zone is occupied by single human figures or groups of figures or by figures of animals, each represented as standing between two columns. I have no doubt that the human figures represent not mortals but gods, *synnaoi theoi* of the principal god of the temple, as it were, while the animals are either sacrificial animals or animals sacred to the gods represented. Similar figures in similar shrines have recently been found at Uruk, in Babylonia. The broader zone above this shows a scene of sacrifice offered to a reclining goddess represented in the right-hand part of the picture. We have no idea who this goddess was, or in what relation she stood to the principal god of the temple. In any case she was apparently a *synnaos thea* of the principal god. The third and uppermost zone may have contained similar paintings or may have been left blank. The paintings described above were found literally covered with a multitude of scratched inscriptions and drawings.

On the right-hand or eastern part of the plaster coating of the same wall was found a well-preserved picture unspoilt by graffiti. The picture fills the whole space of the wall between

the figure of the reclining goddess and the entrance wall of the *pronaos* and between the low dado and the uppermost zone. This uppermost zone was found blank when excavated. The picture, now well known, represents the scene of the sacrifice performed by Terentius the tribune with the assistance of the priest Themes (both identified by painted inscriptions); the sacrifice is being offered on behalf of a group of non-commissioned officers and men to the golden statues of the three Palmyrene military gods and to the statues of two Τύχαι whose names were written near their heads: Τύχη Παλμύρων and Τύχη Δούρας. We now know from the metrical funeral inscription found in the ruins of a private house that Terentius the tribune was in command of the XXth Palmyrene cohort and fell in battle, valiantly fighting. It is evident that the Palmyrene gods and the two Fortunes were not the divinities to whom the temple was dedicated, but, like the other gods represented on this wall, *synnaoi theoi* of the principal god.

The same Palmyrene gods were worshipped in the sanctuary K (see Pl. VI) which opened into the court of the temple. This sanctuary was built later in the history of the temple. It was an oblong room. Leaning against the centre of the back wall stood an *aedicula*, a little shrine with two columns in front of it. It probably contained the cult statue. The surface of the wall above this *aedicula* was covered by a large painted composition. Five Palmyrene gods were shown receiving worship from a number of prominent citizens. The figures of two of the citizens only were extant when the sanctuary was excavated by Cumont. These were Otes the eunuch, who had built the sanctuary (called *exedra*), with his boy-attendant Gorsac, and Jabsymsos, the *buleutes* (of Dura or Palmyra?), with his son. Several other figures of sacrificants were represented on the same wall. A few fragments of their portraits were found in the rubbish. Unfortunately, soon after the discovery such portions of the plaster as still adhered to the wall fell and became a heap of dust.

On the inside surface of the north pillar of the entrance which connected the *naos* and the *pronaos* were painted a group of weapons of a mounted archer and a reclining figure of a river-god (Euphrates?), and on the inside surface of the front wall

of the *pronaos* near the painting of the sacrifice of Terentius there were two representations, one above the other, of a mythological scene.

The decorative scheme of the temple of Zeus was therefore as follows. The cult image of the god occupied the whole of the back wall. The side walls of both the *naos* and the *pronaos* were divided into two or more zones on which were depicted scenes of sacrifice: some of sacrifice offered to the principal god, others of sacrifice to the *synnaoi theoi*. Votive paintings and mythological scenes were not excluded, but played a secondary part.

An important problem arises. Were all the paintings carried out simultaneously and on a definite plan or not? The temple was more than once reconstructed. The careful investigation of Mr. Pearson has proved that, small in its original form, it was twice enlarged. In the first period it possessed a *naos* but no *pronaos*. The *pronaos* was added to the *naos* in the second period. In the third no substantial changes were made in the *naos* and the *pronaos*.

The paintings of the *naos* were contemporary with its construction. The earliest of them was certainly that of the cult figure. It is not dated, but its style and the choice of colours show that it was the work of a painter who was not the painter of the Conon scene. It is obvious that it is earlier than the Conon painting; how much earlier we do not know. Next came the scenes or scene of the upper and lower zones of the *naos*. The scene of Conon's sacrifice is likewise not dated. But it appears probable that the Conon who dedicated this painting flourished about A.D. 61 or a little earlier. His features, as shown in the painting, are not those of an old man.

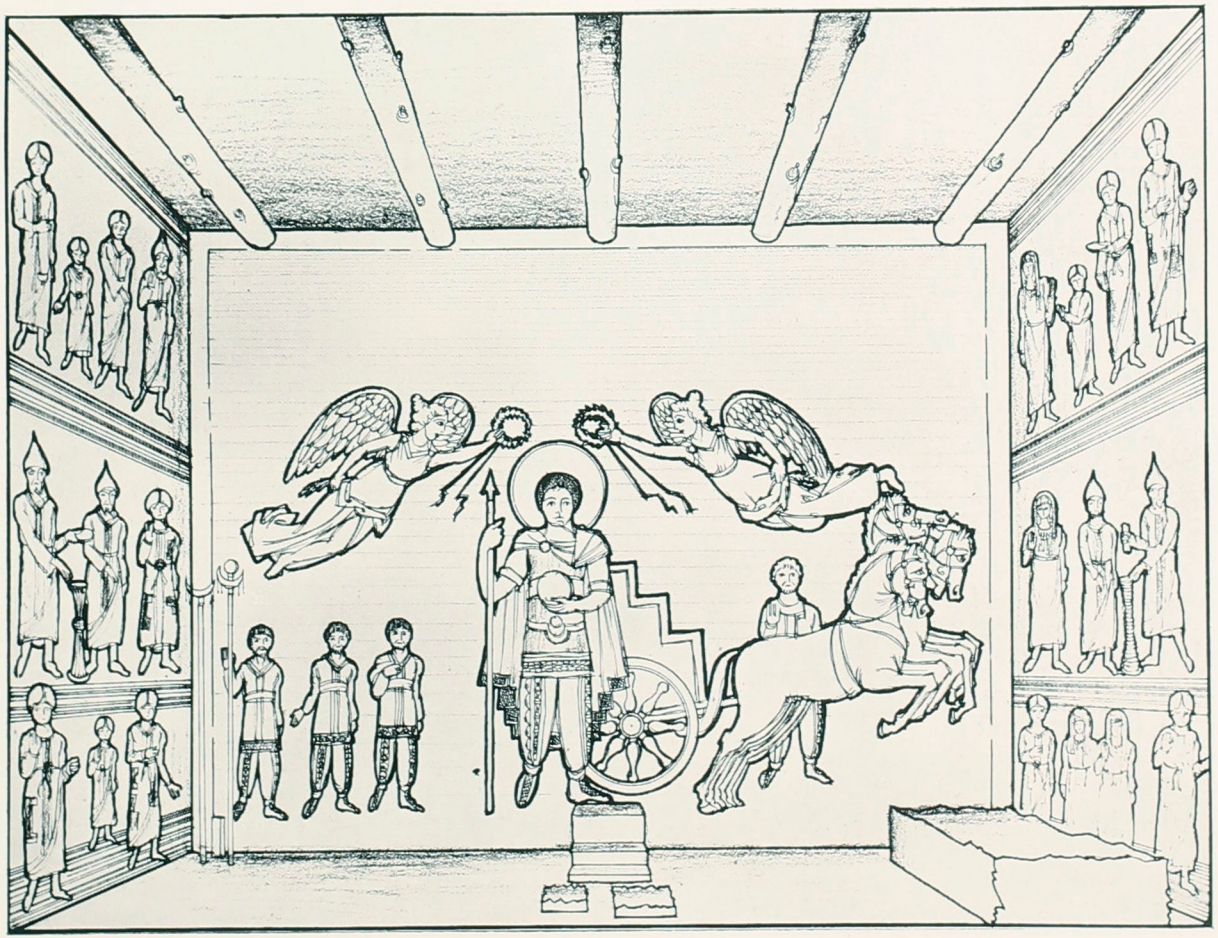
Later, in the second period of the existence of the temple, a *pronaos* was added to the *naos*. Its walls were painted soon after its construction. The painter who executed the paintings of the middle zone of the south wall of the *pronaos* was not the painter of the Conon fresco; his manner is quite different. We know his name; his date is unknown. But it is certain that the *pronaos* was painted later than the *naos*. The style, moreover, suggests a later date. It was yet another painter who carried out the decoration of the north wall of the *pronaos*. Some dated

graffiti on this wall show that the original paintings there were executed some time before A.D. 100, i.e. that they were almost contemporary with or a little later than the Conon painting.

The sacrifice of Terentius is a much later work. It is probable that this picture was painted over the right-hand portion of the original painting on this wall, though it may have been painted on a part of the plaster which had remained blank for many years. Its date is known. Terentius was the commander of the XXth Palmyrene cohort, which came to Dura not before the end of the reign of Septimius Severus. This painting was not disfigured by scratched inscriptions, from which it may be inferred that it was painted shortly before the fall of Dura. It must accordingly be dated in the first half of the third century A.D. The mythological scenes must be of the same or perhaps a still later date.

It is evident therefore that we must assume three main periods in the history of the wall decoration of the temple. In the first period, soon after the construction of the temple, the work of decoration began. The cult scene was painted first. Then several members of the community volunteered to adorn with paintings the side walls of the *naos*. After this had been done and the *pronaos* had been added to the *naos*, others did the same for the *pronaos*. But the whole of the walls were not painted in these two early periods, which probably did not exceed some thirty years—from about A.D. 70 to 100. Many parts of them remained blank, e.g. the lower zone of the south wall of the *pronaos*, the upper zone of the north wall of the same *pronaos*, and perhaps the right-hand part of the same wall.

When after the Roman occupation the temple was reconstructed, two prominent citizens of Dura or Palmyra dedicated a sanctuary in it to the Palmyrene gods (in all probability about the middle of the second century A.D.). And finally, still later, in the third century, Terentius, the commander of the XXth Palmyrene cohort, was allowed to associate with the gods worshipped in the temple his own and his cohort's gods—the triad of Palmyra and the Tychae of Palmyra and Dura. At this time the temple was to a certain extent neglected and some of its paintings were already obliterated and disfigured by graffiti and dipinti.



Painted decoration of the *cella* of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown)

PLATE XIII

It is striking to see the similarity between the scheme of decoration and the history of the religious paintings of the temple above described and those of the *naos* of the temple of Zeus Theos. The back wall of the *naos* displayed the cult figure of the god standing near his chariot and being crowned by two Victories. I have shown above that this figure must be regarded as derived from Greco-Iranian originals. The Victories, incidentally, are more like Iranian angels than Greek Nikae. The side walls were divided into three zones and their decoration was carried out within a short time by painters supervised by the administration of the temple and paid by the donors, prominent citizens of Dura. The paintings showed portraits of the donors and of their families, who are represented offering sacrifice to the god with or without the assistance of priests. The portraits were identified by painted inscriptions.

Fragments of wall decorations found in other temples of Dura had once formed parts of similar compositions, depicting, that is, the cult figure and worshippers sacrificing to the principal god. It was certainly so in the temple of Adonis and in the earlier temple of the gods protectors of Palmyra and Dura. There were similar compositions probably in the temple of Aphlad, in that of Atargatis, and in the decoration of the south wall of the main gate sanctuary.[43] In the later temple of the Gaddé the walls of the *pronaos* were also adorned with painting. But here the many fragments found suggest rather one or several mythological compositions. I may note in passing that the first fragments of painting found at Dura by Sarre and Herzfeld (now in Berlin)—portrait heads—belonged probably to compositions of the former kind. But since the habit of decorating rooms with figures of gods and men was not confined to temples (we found, for instance, a series of painted heads in one of the baths of Dura), the heads commonly found in various parts of the city may have belonged either to temples or to other buildings, public or private.[44]

The above evidence shows that there existed at Dura as early as the first century A.D. a traditional manner of decorating temples, a comparatively rigid scheme which was followed in all the temples. Cult figures, scenes of sacrifice, and occasional mythological pictures illustrating some episode in the

story of the god were the constituent parts of this traditional scheme. Some scattered monuments show that in all probability this scheme was not confined to Dura, but was in use in the Hellenistic period throughout Mesopotamia and the regions adjoining it on the east and probably on the west as far as Palmyra.

It is true that no painted decorations of temples have been found in any place other than Dura. But it is interesting to note in the first place the striking similarity between the painted decoration of the Dura temples and the sculptural decoration of the great temple of Palmyra. At Palmyra no traces are left of painted or carved decoration on the walls of the court or of the *naoi*. What we have are fragments of the painted bas-reliefs of the heavy stone beams that supported the roof of the external portico of the temple. The side surfaces of these almost triangular beams, not unlike half-pediments of a Greek temple, presented ideal spaces for decorative bas-reliefs and were extensively used for this purpose. One glance at this carved and painted decoration reveals points of great resemblance to the painted decoration of the temples of Dura.

In the second place, in studying the bas-reliefs of Palmyra we notice that not all the beams were adorned with bas-reliefs. Many, perhaps the majority of them, remained undecorated. Moreover, it is obvious that the decoration of the beams was not planned beforehand. We are unable to recognize any deliberate scheme in the distribution of the bas-reliefs: scenes of sacrifice, an occasional mythological scene, and the reproduction of a cultual scene other than sacrifice, appear on the beams in haphazard sequence. It is therefore almost certain that the decoration of the beams was carried out in the same manner as the painted decoration of the temples of Dura. Single donors had spaces assigned to them by the priests and filled them with such bas-reliefs as they chose. It was done gradually. But the majority of them were carved soon after the construction of the temple, exactly as happened in the temples of Dura.

Thirdly, the composition of the single scenes, especially of the scenes of sacrifice, is almost exactly the same as that found

1. Head of Baribonnaia (temple of Zeus Theos)

2. Head of one of the Nikae (temple of Zeus Theos)

PLATE XIV

at Dura: figures of the gods and of donors offering them sacrifice. Moreover, the bas-reliefs on the beams resemble pictures rather than sculptures. They are, in fact, reproductions of pictures, and, painted as they were with bright colours, they had the appearance of pictures for the spectator who stood below on the floor of the portico.[45]

Except at Palmyra and Dura, remains of painted or carved decoration of temples are extremely rare. But scenes of sacrifice similar to those of Dura and Palmyra, and contemporary with them, appear on bas-reliefs here and there all over the Near East: e.g. in the region near Palmyra in the west and in Parthian Assur (I draw special attention to the drawings that adorn a large jar found at Assur), on the rocks of eastern Mesopotamia, and finally in the Gandhara region on stupas* of the Kushan period in the east. Note that the Kushans replaced the Parthians in north India and were in close relations with the Parthian kingdom.

Scenes of sacrifice are, of course, common in all countries and at all times. But the fact that scenes of sacrifice of the same style and composition are found at about the same time scattered over large and far distant areas of the Near East, all connected with the Parthian Empire, is highly significant. To my mind it may be interpreted as pointing to the existence at this time of a tradition of religious art diffused over the whole of Parthia and its sphere of influence.[46]

I have mentioned that cult statues and cult bas-reliefs were as popular at Dura as were the painted cult figures.[47] In some temples cult statues existed alongside of the painted cult figures, and this may also be true of cult bas-reliefs. In certain other temples cult statues or cult bas-reliefs may have taken the place of painted cult figures. Cult bas-reliefs were found, for example, in the shrine of Aphlad, in the temple of the Gaddé, in the theatre-like room dedicated to Artemis Azzanathcona, perhaps in the temple of Atargatis. The composition of the cult bas-reliefs does not differ from that of the painted cult figures. Some of the cult bas-reliefs show only the deities that were worshipped. As a rule, however, in the cult bas-reliefs we have a combination of the cult statue and of the scene of

* Artificial tumuli containing relics of Buddha.

sacrifice or worship. The god is represented seated or standing, and near him a priest or a layman offering him a sacrifice. Very often a standing figure is crowning the god or the goddess, or the same function is being performed by one or two genii in the shape of Greek Nikae. On one of the bas-reliefs of the temple of the Gaddé the figure that is crowning the god (Zeus Olympius) is identified by an inscription as the founder of Dura—Seleucus Nicator. This shows that similar figures on other bas-reliefs both at Dura and at Palmyra are not mortals —priests or worshippers—but either gods or divine *genii*, sometimes heroized men.

I may mention in passing that the deeply rooted traditions of Durene religious art influenced even the foreign religions that penetrated into Dura with the Roman garrison. The larger cult bas-relief of the Mithraeum of Dura, for example, was adapted to the Durene tradition: to the group of Mithras killing the bull were added the images of the donor and his family, who are sacrificing in the same manner as the donors in the paintings and the cult bas-reliefs of other temples.[48]

The style of the religious paintings must now be considered. The first question to be answered is this: are we justified in speaking of a style in connexion with the mediocre products of a local provincial art, the work of painters who, though proud of their craft (as is shown by their signatures), were no more than plain artisans? It is true that the painters of Dura were not creative artists. They certainly repeated to the best of their ability traditional motifs. At the same time, they were not mere copyists. Their paintings are too individual and too local to be mere copies of foreign originals.

In their endeavours at artistic achievement they produced paintings peculiar both in composition and style, utterly unlike anything that we are familiar with. Their paintings therefore are not merely mediocre provincial works, they are at the same time reflections of a peculiar art which may have had men of greater ability and talent for its exponents.

It is surprising, almost amazing, to see how at Dura at a certain moment, probably in the late Hellenistic period, the new art suddenly appears completely developed with all its peculiar features, of which I shall speak presently. A striking

example is seen in the Conon paintings (see above, p. 70). This new art replaced and almost entirely eliminated the art that had previously been dominant at Dura. That art was no doubt Greek. It is certain that Greco-Macedonian Europos in its early life adopted Greek, not oriental, art in the construction of its temples and other public buildings, of its houses and markets; just in the same way as its inhabitants made use of imported black and later red varnished pottery, imported Megarian bowls, imported Thasian and Rhodian jars, Greek intaglios and Greek coins. Their early temples had had Greek cult statues and Greek votive *stelae*, and some of the temples may have been adorned with pictures by Greek artists. In the houses Greek furniture, Greek terra-cottas, and small bronzes were to be found. The dress and jewels of the residents were certainly also Greek. The Macedonian settlers were not poor and they certainly did what they could to embellish their temples, their public buildings, and their houses. This was not difficult. The Syrian market in the Hellenistic period was full of products of Greek art and industry, and Greek painters could easily be hired. It is true that we found few objects of Greek workmanship at Dura: a charming marble statuette of Aphrodite with her tortoise, some terra-cottas, some intaglios, some fragments of pottery. But this is due to chance and to the short duration of the Macedonian period in the history of Dura.

These products of Greek art and industry disappeared almost completely in the Parthian period and were replaced by local products, utterly different from and showing very little connexion with Greek art. I cannot deal with this topic at length. But it is interesting to note Greek pottery disappearing from the Durene market in the first century B.C. and being replaced either by common local products or by the fine glazed pottery of Mesopotamian workmanship. This last has been little studied and its origin and evolution are but little known. It is certainly connected—in form and decoration—with the Greek pottery of Hellenistic times, but is utterly different from it both in technique and spirit. Dura has yielded large amounts of this pottery and it is probable that much of it was made in local kilns. Some of the glazed vases, especially those found in the tombs, are dated.

The same mixture of Greek and oriental elements may be noticed in the dress of the richer inhabitants of Dura. The priests in the Conon paintings wear a purely Semitic dress. Conon himself appears in a garb which is partly Greco-Syrian, partly Iranian (the turban), and so do the members of his family, and the same or similar dress is worn by the other donors in the Conon temple.

Still more characteristic of the changed aspect of Durene civilization in the first century A.D. are the jewels worn by the rich ladies of the city. These require special study, but a mere glance at the jewels worn by Bithnanaia and Baribonaia, and at the heavy silver jewels of local make found at Dura, shows how utterly un-Greek they were. On the other hand, they find no exact parallels either in Babylonia or in Syria. Some of the jewels worn by the Bodhisattvas of the Gandhara art of the Kushan period show a certain resemblance. But the Greco-Iranian jewels of the earlier period of the history of north India—those of Taxila of the Sakian and Pahlav period—are different in character and go back to quite different prototypes. It is easy to find parallels for them in south Russia, but not in Mesopotamia and Syria. Thus again Dura and Mesopotamia in general on the one hand, and Palmyra, which presents many similarities with Dura in this respect, on the other, appear to form a region in which a special type of jewellery was developed for the use of its inhabitants, heavy, resplendent in various colours, possessing a peculiar charm, but not primitive and archaic. Look at the ponderous and complicated head-dress of the female members of Durene aristocracy—a combination of repoussé work in gold and silver with a profusion of inset cabochons—a head-dress that was borrowed from Mesopotamia by the late Roman Empire and reappears in some of its typical features in the gorgeous head-dress of the Byzantine period. Look at the heavy square or circular brooches and *fibulae*. Look at the fine massive pectorals and necklaces, with their large medallions inset with cabochons and long silver and gold chains of refined technique. Look at the heavy armlets and anklets. They are all of the same style and show forms some of which may go back to Greek prototypes, but give quite a new version of them.[49]

The same is true of the style of the paintings of Dura. Those painters whom we know, i.e. those who signed their pictures, were not Greeks. They were all Semites. But they lived in a Greek city and in a Hellenistic atmosphere. They worked partly for Greek employers. They certainly were well acquainted with products of Hellenistic art. Some of them may have worked as apprentices of Hellenistic Greco-Syrian painters and sculptors. It is not surprising that their own creations show a far-reaching dependence on the Greco-Syrian art of the late Hellenistic period. There is no need to insist on this point. Every one who is familiar with the late Hellenistic art will see at the first glance the Hellenistic elements in their creations. However, in borrowing from Greek painters some of their technical devices and motifs they utterly modified them.

They gave, for example, sometimes an architectural background to the figures of their compositions. But in doing so they completely changed the character and the meaning of the Greek architectural background. The columns and pillars of the background of the Conon paintings are mere dividing lines, mere ornaments, not organic parts of a building. Their connexion with the figures is in no way natural and convincing.

I may note in this connexion that the Gandhara art shows a general similarity in this respect. I may refer, for example, to the numerous bas-reliefs divided into square pictures, one above another, each in an architectural frame of pillars. The idea is the same as that which underlies the pictures of the temple of the Palmyrene gods. The Gandhara pillars, however, still represent real pillars supporting a real roof, while the pillars and columns of the pictures of the temple of the Palmyrene gods are only shadows of architecture, mere dividing lines.[50]

The same holds good for the drapery. The folds of the dress of such Durene figures as are Greek in origin are schematized, they are linear in their very essence, they show no organic connexion with the body, they have no depth or relief.

The attitudes of many of the Durene figures are certainly inspired by Greek originals and borrowed from Greek art. No such attitudes were depicted by the oriental artists of the pre-Hellenistic period. Note especially the arms and the feet. But

these attitudes again are mere survivals, mere shadows. They do not convey the impression of free movement, they are not connected with the body as a whole, and are not in harmony with its general attitude.

In general the Greek element in the pictorial art of Dura is intrusive. Durene pictorial style in itself is not Greek. Let me point out its dominant features.

The religious paintings of Dura are rigid and ritual in their composition. The figures do not suggest movement, and there is no real cohesion between them, only juxtaposition. All the figures, both bodies and heads, are shown in strict ritual frontality. They are mere outlines, mere 'memory pictures', two-dimensional, linear. They are not, and make no effort to be, plastic. The body is not felt behind the garments in these figures. It was not with the body that the artists of Dura were concerned. Their emphasis lay on the accessories, on the dress, the jewels, the sacrificial implements. In this respect they were strict and accurate. Oriental verismus was their special preoccupation.

The figures of the donors and of the priests of the Durene paintings were intended to be portraits. This is emphasized by inscriptions which sometimes tell us the name of the person represented. And yet they are not portraits, portraits as we understand them, portraits in the Greek and Roman sense. They are not realistic and naturalistic; nor are they illusionistic or impressionistic. They confine themselves to conveying a general idea of an individual, male or female.

Some of them, especially those which appear in painted compositions of the older style, above all in those of the temples of the Palmyrene gods and of Zeus Theos, are fine pictures of men, women, and girls, for example the figures of Conon himself, of the priests, of Bithnanaia in the temple of the Palmyrene gods, and those of some male donors and Baribonaia in the temple of Zeus Theos. The faces are expressive and some of them full of spiritual life. They recall to a certain extent the Fayum portraits and show several Hellenistic traits. And yet we cannot call them portraits.

Still less individualized are the faces of men and women in the paintings of the later period, in those of the temples

1. Heliodorus the *actuarius* (House of the Scribes)

2. Upper part of the figure of a priest (temple of Bel)

of Adonis, of the Gaddé, of Mithras, in that of the sacrifice of Terentius the tribune, and in those of some secular buildings, especially of the Palmyrene house and the house of the Scribes. Look, for instance, at the soldiers in the picture of Terentius. They all show the same face, much like the face of the tribune himself. The finest specimen of a portrait of the later period is the portrait of Heliodorus the *actuarius* in the house of the Scribes. However, even this portrait is without life and individuality, much inferior in this respect to the portraits of the early period and not comparable even distantly to the vigorous portraits of the Fayum or of Pompeii.

There is thus very little life in the figures of the religious compositions found at Dura. What is true of the human beings represented is equally true of the gods. Their figures are differentiated by their dress, their attributes, their sacred animals, but their faces are typical, not individual faces. Some are majestic faces of bearded divinities, sometimes stern, sometimes benevolent; others are faces of youthful deities, aerial and celestial figures. The goddesses are similarly represented. Their faces are not individualized; they are stereotyped.

And yet the figures both of gods and human beings are not entirely devoid of life. This finds its expression in their eyes, large, deep-set, penetrating, eyes that give to the figure an animation almost unknown to Greek statues and paintings. It is a spiritual life, an inward life, a deep religious enthusiasm, sometimes nearing fanaticism. Look at the heads of some of the cult statues or at those of the priests in the Conon pictures. In certain other figures—those of the young deities and their attendants—the faces reflect their aerial, luminous, celestial essence, their close association with heaven, not with earth.

In the larger compositions in which the painters tried to give the impression of a crowd, of a large assemblage of men, their procedure was childish and primitive. They show two or three rows of figures one above the other with no attempt at any kind of perspective. And all these figures are shown in strict frontality.

I may note finally that the figures are represented mostly against a neutral background. If architecture is represented it is highly stylized and conventionalized (e.g. in the scenes of

sacrifice in the temple of the Palmyrene gods), and the same is true of landscape (see the cult image of the same temple).

We meet with the same style in the sculptures, especially in the bas-reliefs. Some of the sculptures, no doubt, were imported. I have mentioned the few Greek sculptures. Many more were probably brought from Palmyra (for example the three bas-reliefs of the temple of the Gaddé), some perhaps from Babylonia. In many sculptures produced at Dura the influence of various foreign schools is strongly felt. The heads of certain cult statues show unmistakable traces of east Anatolian and north Syrian art and may be compared with products of what is known as the late post-Hittite style. They are of great interest to the students of early Byzantine sculpture. Certain others reflect features of Palmyrene art and represent in all probability the great anonymous god, merciful and benevolent, of the Palmyrene pantheon. Some bas-reliefs, for example that of Aphlad, are closely related to the creations of Greco-Iranian art, as we find them on the early coins of the Arsacids and in the sculptures of Nimrud-Dagh in Commagene. Late Babylonian art was not unknown at Dura. Some features in votive bas-reliefs recall the south Arabian sculptures (e.g. the god on camel-back). Finally, in their statues of Roman emperors the sculptors of Dura clumsily imitated Roman work, and certain bas-reliefs (e.g. the *stela* of Azzanathcona) show in a marked degree the influence of Greco-Syrian art.

And yet the general character of the sculptures of Dura is local. The sculptors of Dura strictly followed the same principles that we found prevalent in the work of the painters: presentation of the figure full face, in two dimensions, in outline, effacement of the body, low relief, verismus, primitive grouping, lack of life and movement, spirituality. Most of these traits we already find in the earlier products of Palmyrene art, before their subjection to Hellenic and Roman influence.

Thus the sculptures of Dura confirm the impression that students of art will derive from the study of Durene painting. They are, however, invaluable, since, unlike the paintings in this respect, they can be traced back to their originals. They show that the style of Dura was a composite style in which

characteristic features of various schools and traditions of oriental art met and coalesced.[51]

It is accordingly certain that the artists of Dura of the Parthian and Roman periods were trained in schools that possessed their own traditions, their own well-defined and easily recognizable style. This style is not confined to Dura. We meet it again in the early art of Palmyra, especially in the sculptures of the great temple of Bel. Examples of the same style have occasionally been found in eastern Mesopotamia and in northern Syria. A closer study of the many coarse and clumsy bas-reliefs and statues of Syria, of which no complete collection or careful examination has ever been made, may add to the number of sculptures of the Dura-Palmyra style.

This style as reflected in the religious art of Dura and Palmyra impresses one as being archaic, clumsy, static, naive, and primitive, if compared with the contemporary Greek art of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor on the one hand, and on the other with the much earlier products of the great oriental arts: Babylonian, Mesopotamian, Assyrian, Hittite and post-Hittite, Phoenician, Median, and Persian. In its clumsiness, primitiveness, and hieratic quality, it stands quite alone in the Near East. It cannot be compared, for example, with the Egyptian art of the same period, so refined, so effeminate, so sensuous, so utterly sophisticated, an art in which archaism is deliberate and has nothing of the hieratic clumsiness of the art of Dura.[52]

The art of Dura, a branch, as it were, of the Near Eastern art of the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, is difficult to understand and to explain. It was certainly a simplification and a kind of barbarization of a more elaborate and more refined art. The leading features of it are not Greek. It is not, as I have already said, a simplification and barbarization of the Greek art of the Hellenistic period. There are no essentially Greek elements in it. In fact, it is a negation of the leading principles of Greek art, a reaction and probably a conscious, not instinctive, reaction against it. A simplified and barbarized Greek art would have presented a quite different aspect. The Near Eastern artists of the period in question knew the principles, the technique, and the products of Greek art very well. They

borrowed from Greek art some devices and motifs. But as a whole they rejected or utterly modified it. Greek art was not adapted to their main objects, and they had no desire to imitate it.

Thus in all probability the religious art of Dura of the late Hellenistic and early Roman epoch was a return to the principles of oriental art, a return to a simpler, more elementary, and if one likes to apply to it what is to my mind an inadequate term, a more barbaric form of art. Some of the basic principles of this art are common to all oriental arts, e.g. verismus, effacement of the body, primitiveness of grouping, lack of depth and perspective. Certain other principles, however, it does not share with oriental art, e.g. the frontality that never was one of the leading principles of oriental art in general, and was in its very essence not the revival of an archaic manner (profile views are as common in primitive art as are frontal views), but a ritual convention.

If we endeavour, however, to trace back the Mesopotamian style of religious painting and sculpture to one of the styles that prevailed in the East before Alexander's conquest, we are at a loss to find this prototype. Our information no doubt is scanty. We have no paintings or important sculptures of this period, except a few sculptures and gems of the Iranian and Greco-Iranian style. The art of Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and north Syria, so far as this period is concerned, is practically unknown. We are somewhat better informed as regards Phoenician art. But its hellenized products have nothing in common with the products of Mesopotamian art that I have been discussing.

Cumont, when he published the paintings of the temple of the Palmyrene gods, defined their style, tentatively, as Greco-Syrian. We have seen how small is the claim they possess, they and other religious works of Durene art, to be called Hellenistic. The Greek element is present, but it is not dominant or directive.

More prominent are Semitic elements, especially in the ethnographical aspect of the human and divine beings as reproduced by the artists of Dura and Palmyra. Cumont has dealt with them and has shown for example that the dress of the priests

and the sacred utensils in Conon's sacrifice are Semitic in all their details. However, as I have pointed out, the dress of Conon himself and of the ladies of his house, and that of the donors in other religious paintings, is not Semitic. It contains some Iranian accessories combined with what we may call the civil dress of Greeks both in Syria and Mesopotamia. The same remark holds good for the military dress of some of the gods. Aphlad, as represented in the bas-relief found in the *naos* dedicated to him, wears a Hellenistic military dress with some Iranian features, and the triad of Palmyrene military gods as reproduced both at Palmyra and Dura shows a similar combination in the military uniform of the gods—a Roman foundation with some Parthian adjuncts.

Nor is the jewellery, as worn by the Durene ladies and described above, Semitic. I have already pointed out that exact parallels to it are not found either in Babylonia or (except at Palmyra) in Syria and Palestine. The jewellery of Dura and Palmyra is a product *sui generis*, a creation of local artists. It shows certain features common to the jewellery of all the countries that composed the ancient world in late Hellenistic and early Roman times: for instance, the extensive use of precious stones and a predilection for polychromy; but at the same time the forms, the technique, and the combination of stones with silver and gold are original and peculiar, quite different from what we find in this period, for instance, in Egypt and Syria and, on the other hand, in India and the Iranian world. The resemblances to Indian and Iranian work appear to me closer than those to Syrian and Babylonian work. Durene jewellery, therefore, cannot be called Syrian, any more than can Durene dress.

It is style, however, which, when we are studying the art of a given period, most clearly reveals its peculiarities and determines its place both in the history of art and among other contemporary schools. Is the style that we find in the sculpture and painting of Dura and of Palmyra, as described above, Semitic or Syrian in its main features? The question is a difficult one and I cannot satisfactorily answer it in this form. For our knowledge of the contemporary painting and sculpture of the Semitic world in general and of its several

component parts (Syria and Phoenicia in particular) is very inadequate.

Some conclusions may nevertheless be drawn. A comparison, for example, with the beautiful set of mosaics found at Daphne, near Antioch,[53] which partly belongs to the period we are dealing with (the first three centuries after Christ), shows the great difference between these products of Syrian art and the paintings of Dura and Palmyra. The mosaics of Daphne are Hellenistic in their essence, and are closely connected with certain earlier and contemporary works produced at Alexandria. Some oriental features may be detected, but these are negligible in comparison with those derived from Greek art. The Daphne mosaics are a continuation of Greek art in its Syrian development. We may observe some parallels to them in the painted shields found at Dura. But these shields, in my opinion, are imported from elsewhere and are not the work of Durene artists. Like various articles found at Dura forming part of the equipment of soldiers of the garrison, they were in all probability made in the military factories of Syria which were working for the Roman army. They are almost identical with corresponding articles of Roman military equipment which are found in large quantities in all parts of the Roman world: in Germany, on the Danube, in Britain, in Gaul, in Spain, in Africa, in Italy, and even in the Crimea. Their origin, for example that of the champlevé enamel which is typical of them, must be sought in Celtic art and its revival in the times of the early Roman Empire.

I may mention in this connexion that examples of decorative painting have been found in graves at Sidon in Phoenicia and in Palestine. Some of these graves are early Hellenistic, some late Hellenistic, others early Roman. The style of these paintings is Hellenistic and occasionally shows in a marked degree the influence of Hellenistic Egypt.

It is true that neither the Daphne mosaics nor the grave paintings of Phoenicia and Palestine can be classed as religious paintings. We shall, however, see later that at Dura secular painting shows the same leading characteristics as religious painting. We are therefore justified in comparing Syrian, Phoenician, and Palestinian painting of the Hellenistic and

early Roman times with Durene religious painting. They are strikingly different. Religious painting at Dura, as I have said, is essentially oriental and not Hellenistic. Its chief features, as described above, are entirely absent in the creations of the Antiochene painters and mosaicists. It is the product of an evolution quite different from that which is so evident at Antioch. It is not a slightly orientalized Greek painting; it is oriental painting with a slight admixture of Greek elements.

A comparison is more difficult between the religious sculpture of Dura and Palmyra and that of Syria. The excavations at Antioch have so far yielded very few sculptures, particularly sculptures of a religious character. What little has been found there is Greek. The same is true of the sculptures found at Baalbek and in the Phoenician cities. Certain bas-reliefs found in Syria, especially in minor cities and villages, present a different and more oriental aspect, and show some similarities with those found at Palmyra and Dura. But they have never been completely collected and analysed.

Finally, the sculptures from Nimrud Dagh in Commagene, though similar in certain respects to some of the sculptures found at Dura, especially to the cult bas-relief of Aphlad, reflect different connexions. They go back to the Greco-Iranian sculptures of Asia Minor and have very little in common with similar religious sculptures from Syria of about the same and a little later date.

Everything considered, I should prefer to call the art of Dura, not Greco-Syrian or Greco-Semitic, but Mesopotamian, in order to emphasize its striking peculiarities and the main centre of its diffusion. Various influences, as shown in the few lines which I have devoted to the religious sculpture of Dura and Palmyra, were at work in creating this peculiar Durene style: Greek, north Syrian, Iranian, Babylonian. The style of Dura is a kind of synthesis or syncretism of all these elements. We may say that it was a new edition of various branches of late oriental art, not a simplification and barbarization of one of the branches.

Mesopotamian art, as characterized above, was a true expression of the mentality of the time, one of the principal illustrations of a process little known and little studied, yet

of great importance in connexion with the history and civilization of the Near East. I refer to the vigorous revival of the oriental spirit which took place throughout the Hellenistic world in the late Hellenistic and early Roman epoch, as a reaction against the intensive hellenization carried out by the early Seleucids in the East and by the early Ptolemies in Egypt. One aspect of this re-orientalization of the Near East is seen in the character of the art that we are studying.

We have no knowledge of the origin and early evolution of this art. We find it already well developed at Dura and Palmyra in the first century B.C. and the first to the third centuries A.D. It may have originated in Mesopotamia or farther to the east. At Dura its appearance coincides with the Parthian domination. We find traces of it not only at Dura and Palmyra, but also farther east, as far as northern India. We have tentatively given it the name of Mesopotamian art, though we might as well call it the artistic κοινή of the Parthian Empire. 'Parthian art' would be a misleading description, for Iranian elements are secondary in the religious art of Mesopotamia. We know, however, very little of the religion of the common people in the Iranian parts of the Parthian Empire and of the Parthians who lived outside these parts. I have ventured to suggest that this religion, not improbably, was not Mazdaism or Zoroastrianism, but a kind of syncretistic religion nearer to Semitic henotheism than to Mazdaism. If so, the art in the service of this religion may, as I have remarked, be regarded as the religious art of the Parthian Empire in general.

A phase somewhat similar to that seen in the development of art in the Parthian Empire may be noticed in the history of Indian art.[54] In early Hellenistic times Hindu art entered into the service of the reformed Buddhist religion, which became at the time of Asoka the leading religion of India. A vast number of religious buildings—temples, convents, stupas—were built at that time and were richly adorned with ornamental and figural compositions carved in stone. We still possess fragments of these works of early Hindu artists, the earliest being those which adorned the stupas of Bharhut (late second century B.C.) and Sanchi (first century B.C.) and the railing around the sacred tree of Bodh Gaya.

Pillar of Bharhut showing the Enlightenment of Sakyamuni

Now the art which in the earliest of these monuments—the stupa of Bharhut—endeavours on the one hand to depict the story of Gautama Buddha and of his earlier incarnations, and on the other to represent scenes of worship, shows in the treatment of its figural compositions exactly the same characteristics that we find in similar compositions of the religious art of Dura and Palmyra. According to some leading specialists in this field, the early Indian figural art as found in Bharhut shows a highly archaic aspect; it is stiff and ritual. The scenes are 'memory pictures', two-dimensional, linear. They are primitive and rigid. There is no movement, no real life. The body is neglected, the paraphernalia—dress, jewellery, arms and weapons, architectural background—are emphasized and reproduced in minute detail. The composition of the scenes is primitive, there is no cohesion between the individual figures, the grouping of masses is childish. The faces are uniform. No portraits are carved or even attempted. Relief work is lacking in depth; it is not sculptural, but pictorial. Some of these 'archaic' traits still persist in Sanchi with its great and much more advanced artistic achievements and even in the sculptures of the much later stupas of south India—Amaravati and Goli with their animated, passionate, and nervous art, so similar to our own baroque.

The present writer, who does not pretend to be a specialist in the history of Hindu art, may confine himself to noting the above striking coincidences, without attempting to explain them. It is, however, highly interesting to observe that phenomena so similar should have arisen at about the same time in countries far distant from and unconnected with each other, in conditions which seem to have been quite different. In Mesopotamia we certainly meet with a simplification and new stylization of an ancient art which received a notable admixture of some foreign, i.e. Greek elements; in India with the genesis of a new art under the impulse of a new religion, an art which is supposed to have had no precedents in India but certainly in its early stages, at the time of Asoka and later, was strongly influenced by Iranian and Greco-Iranian art. It is even more remarkable that while for example in Greece the early development of figural sculpture in stone shows many

essential features that are quite different from those which appear in dim outline in the evolution of figural art in India, the similarities between the evolution of Indian and Mesopotamian art are so far-reaching. Should we not in explaining, for example, the striking difference between Indian figural and Indian ornamental art, which last appears, fully and beautifully developed, in the earliest monuments of Indian art, ascribe a certain importance not to the ineffectualness of the figural art, but to the persistence in it of certain traditions and conventions which stood in the way of its free development and which even the later brilliant development of plastic arts in India was not able entirely to eliminate? However this may be, it must be reserved for specialists to draw conclusions from these coincidences between the Hindu and Mesopotamian art of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Among the relics of the ancient world in general the remains of secular art[55] are far less numerous than those of religious art. And so it is at Dura. We possess very few pictures and hardly any sculptures (except for a few terra-cottas) which we may class as works of secular art. The products of applied arts are of course much more numerous. These merit careful study, so peculiar and interesting are they, especially the jewellery and the toreutics. I have already touched upon the jewellery. The remainder must await the attention of some scholar other than myself. I must confine myself in these lectures to the works of monumental secular art.

As regards monumental painting, we possess two important compositions of a secular character, both of them on the walls of private houses. One shows a battle-scene, the combatants being on one side Roman and on the other Parthian or Sasanian horsemen. The other reproduces a hunting-scene and several banquet-scenes.

In connexion with these we may mention two religious paintings, those on the side walls of the *naos* of the Mithraeum of Dura. They show Mithras as a hunter shooting at some wild animals. The composition and style of these two scenes are exactly like those of similar secular compositions and were certainly derived from them.

Finally, we see reflections of monumental secular pictures in

some of the scratched or painted drawings by amateurs found in large numbers on the walls of private and public buildings. Most of them are rapid sketches of scenes of daily life. They depict various buildings such as the fortifications, the siege and destruction of a city, detached figures of men and women, gladiators, boats large and small, loaded camels passing through the city, and so forth. Some, however, are not drawn from life, but are reflections of monumental art. Such are certain scratchings and drawings of a religious character and those which show hunting-scenes and detached figures of fighting horsemen. In style and composition these last closely resemble monumental paintings of the same type and are without doubt reflections of them.

We may infer from this short inventory that the secular art of Dura treated exactly the same subjects that were traditional in secular oriental art in general: battles, hunting-scenes, banquets. Let me now give a more detailed account and analysis of these secular paintings.

The battle-scene, painted or rather drawn in colours on the wall of the diwan of one of the private houses of Dura, has been described and illustrated by Dr. A. Little and myself in special memoirs. The picture was never finished and was found in a very poor state of preservation. It is a typical product of late Iranian art, very similar to certain rock bas-reliefs of early Sasanian art. A great battle between Romans and Iranian soldiers is represented. At the top of the picture or perhaps in the centre of it we see a group of gods or men on a couch watching the progress of the battle. The left-hand side of the picture is occupied with the representation of a duel between two horsemen, both of them drawn on a larger scale than the other figures. They are probably the king and his royal adversary. To the right are represented single scenes of combat between Roman and Iranian horsemen in rows one above the other. The names of the Iranians are written near their heads (in Pehlevi). The Iranians are always the victors, the Romans the vanquished: the last are represented in a most childish and conventional manner, as falling headlong from their horses mortally wounded.

I will not repeat here what I have said in my memoir above

referred to with regard to the meaning of the scene. I still believe that the scene was painted not by one of the regular inhabitants of Dura but by some one who belonged to the victorious army, that is, by an Iranian artist. The painting is late and cannot belong to the Parthian period in the life of Dura. It was probably executed during the short occupation of Dura by the Sasanian army after the great siege and capture of the city. The painting was therefore a picture drawn from memory of one of the great early battles between the Sasanians and the Romans. It is certainly a product of late Parthian or early Sasanian Iranian art, and clearly illustrates the leading characteristics of monumental Iranian secular art and of Iranian mentality of the late Parthian and early Sasanian times. It is very similar in treatment and composition to some of the rock-carved sculptures of the early Sasanian period.

The pictures in the second house mentioned above are local, not Iranian, and were made for some Palmyrenes resident in Dura. According to an inscription the pictures were painted in the year 194 A.D., by two painters, a Palmyrene and a Jew according to M. Du Mesnil. The interpretation of the pictures is obscure. Along the upper portion of the wall of a reception- or dining-room in a spacious but not palatial house, on a kind of wide frieze, are painted scenes of a banquet in which men and women are taking part, each designated by his or her name. All the names are Palmyrene. Part of the frieze is occupied by a hunting-scene: Bolazeos on his horse (the name of the horse is also recorded) is shooting arrows at a group of onagers. Was the room the banqueting-room of a Palmyrene *thiasos* (religious association) and did the frieze record outstanding incidents in the life of the deceased and heroized founder of the *thiasos*? The figure of a funeral Eros with a lowered torch in his hand, so typical a feature of the sarcophagi and funeral *stelae* of Roman times, which separates the banquet-scenes from the hunting-scene, supports this interpretation. Or should we suppose that the house belonged to Bolazeos and that the paintings represent the funeral banquet held in his memory and his heroized figure, such as we find so often in the painted and carved tombs and on funeral monuments of Asia Minor

Scene of banquet and hunting-scene. Painting in a private house at Dura
(Copy by Van Knox)

PLATE XVII

and south Russia? The paintings certainly show a pronounced funeral character.

However this may be, the pictures are an interesting product of oriental art. The hunting-scene recalls, or rather is very similar to, certain hunting-scenes on early Sasanian silver dishes. The group of onagers looks as if it were taken from Iranian copies of late Assyrian bas-reliefs. Style and composition in both the hunting- and banquet-scenes are in their chief characteristics exactly those of Durene religious art. The banquet-scenes are stiff and ritual. The figures are shown strictly full face. The heads are intended to be portraits but are exactly like each other. The figures are mere outlines. All the details of dress, furniture, &c., are represented in minute detail. The same characteristics will be found in the hunting-scene. The hunter is represented fronting the spectator as regards his face and the upper part of his body. There is an attempt at showing swift movement. But the figures of the horse and onagers are not really running: the movement is arrested, exactly as we find it in the battle painting and on some Sasanian silver dishes.

I may note in addition that the horses both in the battle-scene and in the hunting-scene under review are represented in the attitude of flying gallop. I have more than once dealt with this motif. In Hellenistic and Roman times the motif was confined exclusively to Iranian art and was one of its distinctive features. From Iran it spread to the east, north, and west: to China and India, and to the region with which I am dealing in these lectures. The picture under review is therefore a true product of Mesopotamian art, with some elements typical of late Iranian art, a secular counterpart to the religious art of Dura previously dealt with.

The hunting- and battle-scenes of the graffiti and dipinti of Dura have exactly the same characteristics. Some of them might easily be regarded as prototypes of Sasanian silver dishes which treated the same subjects. They are not naturalistic or realistic. Their style is highly conventional and traditional. The hunting-scenes always show the hunter, with the exception of his legs, frontwise, while the horse and the animals in flight are seen in profile. The movement is arrested. Running horses and animals are represented in the attitude of flying gallop.

In battle-scenes we observe the same features. Note the minutely detailed rendering of armour and weapons, a striking instance of oriental verismus. The splendid figures of *clibanarii*, *cataphractarii*, and *sagittarii* are unique in their realism and correspond exactly to what we know about them from literary sources.

The interpretation of the figures of armed horsemen as they appear in the graffiti of Dura raises some difficulties. The hunters may have been members of the Durene aristocracy who had adopted the Iranian dress and the Iranian mode of hunting. But who are the *clibanarii*, *cataphractarii*, and *sagittarii*? They may be horsemen of the Palmyrene gendarmerie or of the XXth Palmyrene cohort. As regards the last, however, its infantry, as represented in the picture of the sacrifice of their commander Terentius, are wearing Roman, not Parthian or oriental, uniform, and have their hair dressed in Roman fashion. Was the equipment of the horsemen different? Were they armed and dressed in the Parthian fashion? Did they dress their hair exactly like the Parthians? Were there among them *clibanarii* who as regards their arms, defensive and offensive, exactly resembled the Parthian and Sasanian *clibanarii*? There were detachments of *clibanarii* in the late Roman imperial army. Did such formations already exist in the third century A.D.? Or are we to think that the sketches of Iranian horsemen were drawn from recollections of the dreaded enemies of Rome and Roman Dura? That these had struck the imagination of the inhabitants of Dura, who drew them as they had seen them, in pictures and in life, galloping in the desert? Note that very few figures of Roman horse- or foot-soldiers have been found among the drawings scratched on the walls of Dura. Was it because they were so common that they did not strike the imagination of the Durene amateur draughtsman? It is impossible to say.

The motifs of the secular art of Dura penetrated into its religious art. I may remind the reader in this connexion of the pictures on the side walls of the *naos* of the Mithraeum of Dura. Mithras is twice represented as an Iranian or Irano-Palmyrene mounted archer shooting arrows at wild animals flying before him in a thick wood.

1. Mithras on horseback. Painting in the Mithraeum of Dura

2. Cult bas-relief in the Mithraeum of Dura. Mithras slaying the bull, and the dedicants

I may add that the figures of the two prophets of Mithraism —probably Zoroaster and Osthanes—painted on the jambs of the arch of the same *naos* in the Mithraeum give the impression of being likewise a product of Durene art under strong Iranian influences. They are of great interest, for they may be regarded as prototypes of the figures of the Magi in Christian art.

FIG. 10. Figure of one of the two prophets painted on the jamb of the arch of the *naos* in the Mithraeum

To sum up. The secular art of Dura, oriental in its essence, and devoid of Greek elements, is in its style and leading features exactly like the religious art of Dura. But whereas the religious art of Mesopotamia or of the Parthian Empire had hardly any influence on the later development of Iranian art, the secular art of this region found its continuation in the later Sasanian art both as regards style and principal motifs. The explanation may be that this secular art was not only the art of the masses of the population of the Parthian Empire, but also the art of the Parthian dynasty, the imperial art, as it were, and was naturally taken over by the Sasanian dynasty that succeeded the Arsacids.

This remark does not solve, however, the problem of the origin of the Parthian and Sasanian secular art. Some of its motifs may be found in the few extant works of the secular Achaemenid art. But its style is quite different. It cannot be compared with the highly refined style of that majestic art, and it is not a simplification of it.

The Achaemenid art, however, had had its continuation in the Greco-Persian art of the period both before and after Alexander. We find this art first and foremost in Asia Minor, then in south Russia, and later, after Alexander, in Bactria. The favourite subjects treated by the secular branch of this art are those continually found in oriental secular art in general: hunting- and battle-scenes and banquets. The treatment of these subjects in the Greco-Persian art is of course much freer, much more elegant, much more dynamic, than that of the same subjects found at Dura. Nevertheless, in many respects the Greco-Persian art is the precursor of the Durene secular art, just as it is the precursor of the later art of the Bosporan kingdom and of the city of Panticapaeum. We may note that the monuments of this last art are contemporaneous with those of the Durene secular art. Such standard features of the Greco-Iranian art as the horse in flying gallop, the stiff banquet-scenes, the special manner of treating hunting- and battle-scenes, are found both at Panticapaeum and at Dura in the first centuries after Christ. Note that the flying gallop was a motif used exclusively by Iranian artists and is never met with at the time in question in other parts of the civilized world.

The above considerations justify the hypothesis that the secular art of Dura was a simplification, a standardization, and a barbarization of the Greco-Iranian secular art. This last apparently was taken over by Bactrian and Parthian artists and was treated by them in the ancient way and style. No monuments which represent this art in Bactria have survived. We may have reflections of this Bactrian art in some products of early Hindu art and in the few remains of the later Sakian art, such as certain silver drinking-cups which I have discussed in a special memoir. In Parthia we may regard as true illustrations of this art the badly preserved Gotarzes bas-reliefs and perhaps some paintings from Kuh-i-Kwadja found many years ago by E. Herzfeld and recently discussed by him, but never published. It is probable that the Mesopotamian artists inherited this art from their Bactrian and Parthian predecessors and subjected it to the simplification that characterized their religious art. For example, they introduced into it frontal

presentation, eliminated real movement and replaced it by arrested movement, exaggerated its linear and two-dimensional aspects. How far they found this simplification already existing in their models, in the artistic products of the Parthian kingdom, we are unable to say. Naïve, primitive, and conventional as the works of the Durene artists are, they have an important bearing on the history of art. The great Parthian art is lost to us. The paintings of Dura are almost the only monuments that help us to trace the history of Iranian secular art from the Greco-Persian period down to the beautiful creations of Sasanian art.

Dura perished soon after A.D. 256, while Palmyra survived for a few more decades. After Dura and Palmyra we have no monuments of the art and style to which we have tentatively given the name of Mesopotamian. But this is an accident. Both the religious and the secular art of Dura and Palmyra survived the two cities. It has had a long existence. We may trace the influence of the religious art of Dura in many compositions of the late Imperial and early Byzantine religious art. On the other hand, the secular art had a brilliant revival in the Sasanian art, which in turn had so strong an influence on later developments both in the Near and Far East and in the West.

IV

THE SYNAGOGUE AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

It is a well-known fact that Babylonia was in the late Assyrian, Persian, and Hellenistic periods an important centre of Judaism, almost as important as Palestine and more important than Egypt. It remained so in the Parthian period, in the tolerant and liberal atmosphere of the religious policy of the Arsacids. From Babylonia Judaism spread far and wide up the Euphrates and the Tigris. The rule of the Ptolemies in Palestine gave the Jews an excellent opportunity of settling in the other Syrian dominions of that dynasty. And finally, Titus's conquest of Palestine and the renewal there by the Roman emperors of the second century A.D. of the policy of Epiphanes, *mutatis mutandis*, contributed a good deal to making the Jewish settlements in Syria and Mesopotamia ever stronger and more numerous. It was probably at this time that the Jewish colony in Palmyra became an important factor in the life of that city. We know the part played by the Jews at Palmyra in the days of the great queen Zenobia. Judaism in the Hellenistic and early Roman period had shown a strong tendency to become a proselytizing religion. We know likewise how rapidly Christianity, the new and essentially proselytizing religion, progressed among the populations of Syria and Mesopotamia and how strong was its appeal to them. There is no need to remind the reader of Edessa and Abgarus, of Adiabene, &c. Christian communities had ceased to be a novelty in the life of the cities of Mesopotamia in the late Parthian and Roman times.

And yet it was many years before any relic of Judaism and Christianity was unearthed at Dura. Some of us, basing a conclusion on this negative evidence, tried to find an explanation for it. But the progress of excavation showed how misleading arguments *ex silentio* can be.

In 1931–2 we found under the sloping embankment of the desert wall to the south of the main gate a private house, part of it in excellent preservation, which had been built in the early third century and was transformed very soon, probably about

A.D. 232, into a Christian meeting-place and place of worship. One little room was used as a baptistery (some scholars prefer to regard it as a *martyrion*). Substantial fragments of the plaster coating, decorated with paintings, were found still adhering to the walls of the baptistery. We were unable to restore the building *in situ* and leave the paintings where they were found. In agreement with the Service of Antiquities of Syria we removed these from the walls of the baptistery, transported them to New Haven, and reconstructed the baptistery or chapel in one of the rooms of the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts.

Soon after the discovery of the Christian prayer-house we made (in 1932–3) another startling discovery. Under the same sloping embankment to the north of the main gate we unearthed a well-preserved building, which proved, from its paintings and its painted inscriptions, to have been a Jewish synagogue, rebuilt by Samuel the archisynagogue and cohen with the assistance of some other Jews, probably rich and influential members of the Jewish community of Dura, in the year A.D. 245. I shall presently describe this building, its history, and its painted decoration.

Here again we were unable to restore and preserve the synagogue, leaving its paintings *in situ*. In agreement with the Service of Antiquities of Syria and its director, M. Seyrig, and with the director of the Museum of Damascus, Emir Djafar, the paintings were carefully detached from the walls by Mr. H. Pearson, the architect of our expedition, a delicate operation which could not be carried out successfully without destroying the walls behind them, and transported to Damascus. Here the main room (and the court) of the synagogue with its original paintings and with its ceiling of painted bricks was skilfully restored by Mr. Pearson in the New Museum of Damascus, of which it forms the most attractive feature. No praise is too high for the work carried out by Mr. Pearson. The synagogue now stands in the court of the museum just as it stood at Dura in A.D. 256, carefully restored in all its details and protected by skilful and ingenious measures against the chief enemy of paintings—humidity. I may add that although I had seen the synagogue at Dura many times, the restored

synagogue at Damascus produced on me a deep and lasting impression.[56]

What I said at the beginning of this lecture about Judaism and Christianity fully explains the presence of a synagogue and of a Christian church at Dura. And yet it is due to mere chance that we discovered them, and especially their painted decorations. It was by chance that the Jewish and the Christian communities of Dura used for their respective cults two private houses in the immediate vicinity of the desert fortifications. Had they established their respective prayer-houses in some other houses of the city, we should have found only their foundations and probably a very few scattered fragments of their wall decorations. It is more than likely that we should not have been able to identify these ruins and should have regarded them as those of private houses. It was again due to chance and to the vicissitudes of the political history of Dura that a sloping wall buried the two buildings and protected the most important and interesting parts of them.

Moreover, it is well known to all students of Jewish religion that a strict interpretation of Exodus xx. 4 led to the complete elimination of painted and carved images of living beings from the decoration of the Temple of Jerusalem and of the synagogues. This prohibition was still in force in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Some time in the course of the first centuries A.D. a group of rabbis tried to substitute a more liberal interpretation of the passage in question, which would permit the adorning of synagogues with pictures illustrating the sacred books of Judaism. How generally this interpretation was accepted by Jewish communities we do not know. But it is certain that such a decoration of synagogues was never universally adopted as canonical and in conformity with the rules of the Talmud.

It was therefore mere chance that the Jewish community of Dura, which as late as the early third century never thought of decorating their first synagogue (see below) with figures of living beings, should in the middle of the third century A.D. have changed their minds and accepted the liberal interpretation of Exodus xx. 4.

To sum up, our discoveries are due to the coincidence of

several chance factors. 'Auguror nec me fallit augurium' that such a coincidence will never happen again and that both the synagogue and its paintings and the Christian baptistery with its pictures will remain unique monuments, with a most important bearing on the history of the Jewish and Christian religions and art.

I am not a specialist in this department of history and I shall confine myself in what follows in the first place to a brief description of the two buildings and their decoration, without discussing the many controversial points in the interpretation of the individual scenes. The task of describing these monuments is comparatively easy, for the Christian church has recently been illustrated in our fifth report by Professor C. Hopkins of Michigan and Professor P. V. C. Baur of Yale, and the synagogue in our sixth report by Messrs. H. Pearson and C. Kraeling. I may note in addition that many excellent articles have been written on the synagogue by competent scholars and that an excellent guide to the synagogue, compiled by Mr. Pearson, will soon be placed at the disposal of those who visit it at Damascus. I have been able to make use of it in manuscript form.

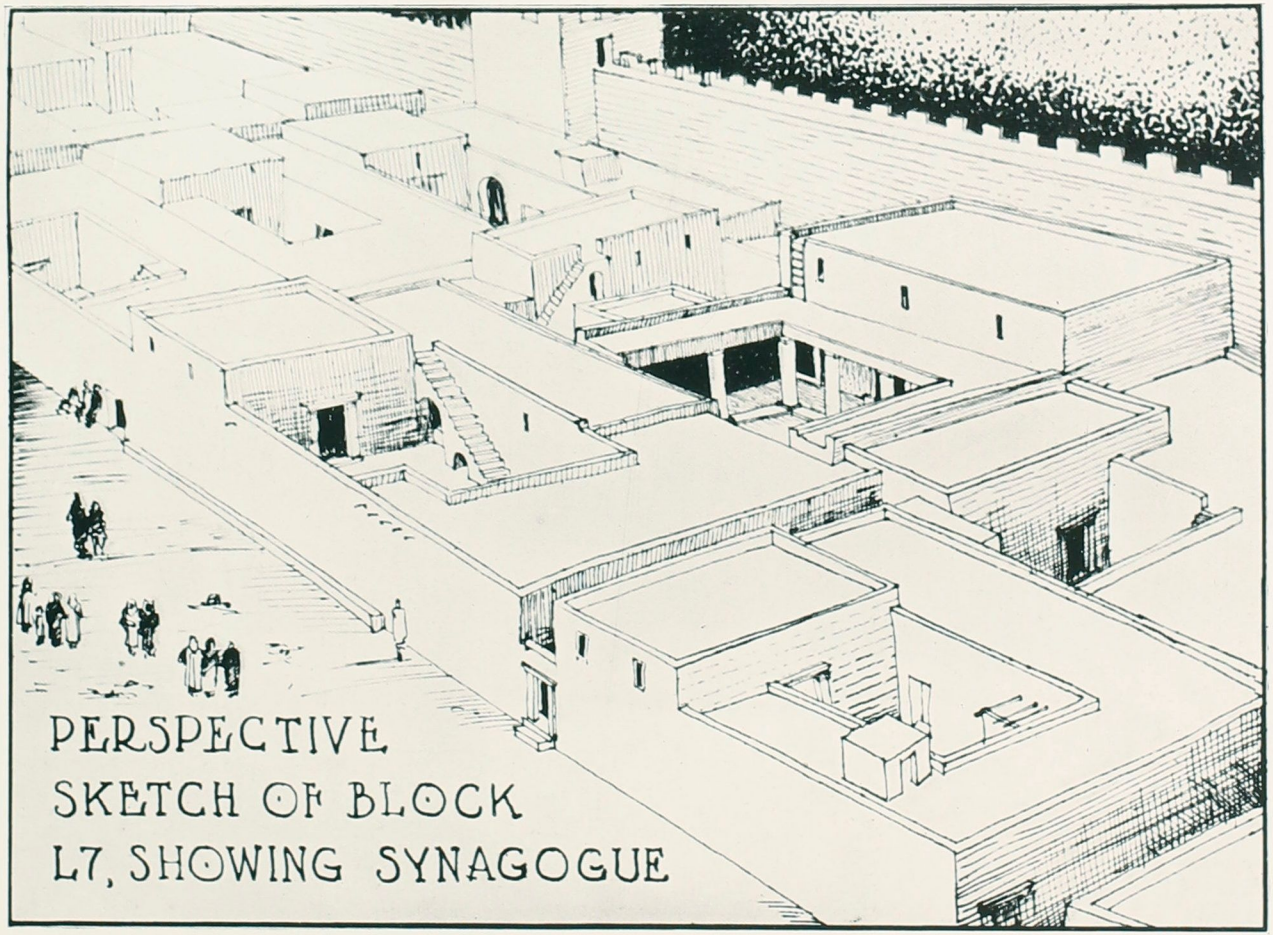
To this description I shall add some brief remarks about the place which, in my opinion, the paintings of the synagogue and of the Christian church occupy in the development of art in the Near East; and I shall try to formulate some of the problems connected with the study of the paintings as representing a link in the chain of this evolution. I shall not be expected to go beyond this and to deal, for example, with the many problems of Jewish and Christian theology and dogma to which the interpretation of the two monuments gives rise. Nor am I competent to trace the relations between the paintings of the synagogue and the Christian chapel and the development of Jewish and Christian art before the date of these buildings and afterwards. I must leave this to scholars better acquainted with the subject. As regards the Christian church, the reader will find valuable guidance in the monograph by Professor P. V. C. Baur to which I have referred above. A stylistic and historical analysis of the paintings of the synagogue by Professor M. Aubert of the French Academy of Inscriptions will shortly be published in our Final Report. In the same volume Professor C. Kraeling

will treat of the iconography of the synagogue and the related problems, and Mr. H. Pearson of its architecture. I may mention in addition that Professor E. Goodenough of Yale University has made a careful study of the paintings in the synagogue, which he will incorporate in the second volume of his *By Light Light*, and that Dr. Du Mesnil du Buisson, our vice-director at Dura and one of the discoverers of the synagogue, has published in various periodicals interesting observations on the paintings and inscriptions in that building.

Let me now give a brief description of the synagogue and a short catalogue of the pictures that adorned its walls.

Our careful investigation of the building and of its surroundings has shown that the painted synagogue replaced, on a larger scale, an earlier synagogue which existed on the same spot. A few words about the earlier synagogue will suffice. This building was originally a private house, which was reconstructed about A.D. 200, and transformed into a synagogue. It consisted of a colonnaded court, the main room of the synagogue, and four side rooms. The entrance was from the wall street through a corridor. The centre of the synagogue was a pavilion-like building (perhaps of wood) in which the Torah was probably kept. Later a niche was constructed in the back wall of the synagogue for this purpose. Along the walls of the synagogue ran benches. The main room was beautifully painted. But these paintings consisted solely of ornamental patterns, and included no human or animal figures. We know this with certainty, for the fragments of the painted plaster of the early synagogue were used for making the fill of the benches of the later prayer-room.

The second synagogue, dated by a building inscription of A.D. 245 (the inscription may, it is true, refer to the construction of the ceiling only, but this does not change the date), was larger and more ambitious. The prayer-room and the court were enlarged. An entire house in front of the court was bought and rebuilt for the purposes of the synagogue. The entrance from the wall street was closed and replaced by another one from street A (Fig. 12), parallel to the wall street. No one could, however, reach the synagogue directly from the street without passing through the newly acquired house. Thus



The Synagogue. (Restoration by H. Pearson)

PLATE XIX

both the earlier and the later synagogues were well hidden in the mass of private houses, the second better than the first.

Like its predecessor, the later synagogue consisted of a colon-

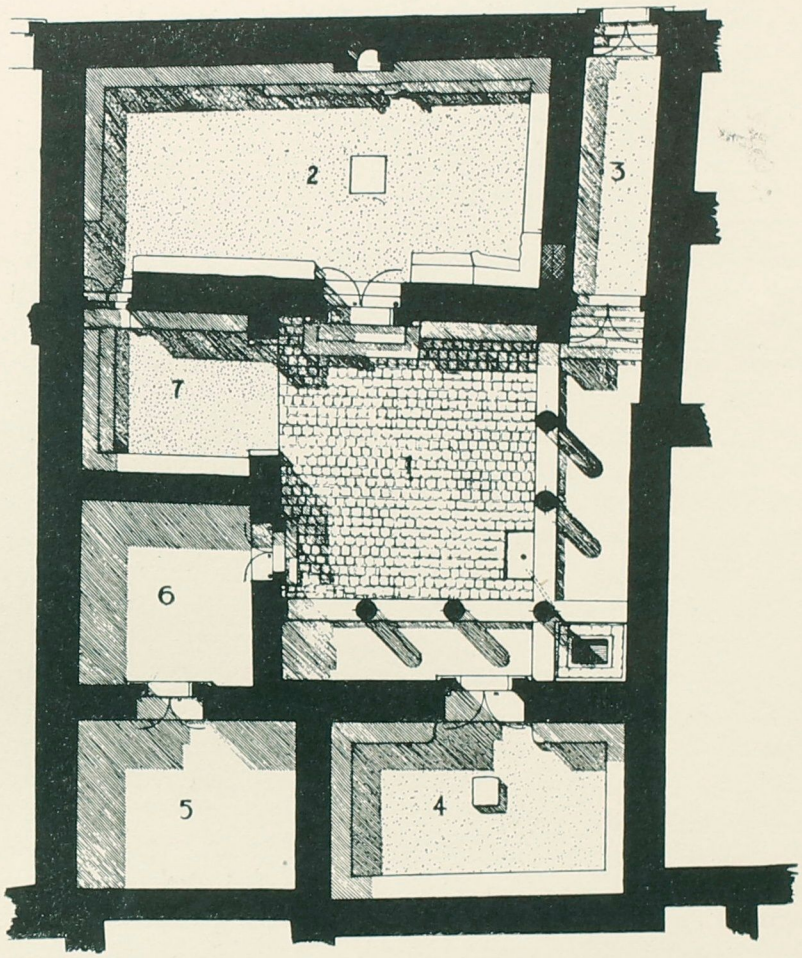


FIG. 11. Plan of the early synagogue

naded court and a prayer-room accessible from the court by two doors: the central door for men and the side door for women. The benches of the southern part of the synagogue, as is shown by their construction, were reserved for women. Round the room ran a double bench with foot-rest (the last for men only). The centre of the back wall was adorned with a niche and an *aedicula* in front of the niche—the repository of the Torah.

The Torah shrine was usually hidden behind a canopy. The three-stepped seat for the cohen stood near-by.

The back wall of the synagogue, buried under the sloping embankment, was found almost intact to the height of about 6 metres. The side walls were cut down to the line of the embankment slope and form triangular surfaces. Only the lowest part of the entrance wall is preserved. It was easy to restore the ceiling and roof by studying the structure of the back wall and the coffers made of painted bricks of which the surface of the roof was composed. A considerable number of these bricks were found in the rubbish of which the embankment was constructed. The two synagogues were oriented to the west: a worshipper entering the synagogue looked towards Jerusalem and saw in front of him the west wall and the shrine with the Holy Scriptures.

Two main periods may be traced in the history of the decoration of the synagogue. For a time the walls remained unpainted. Painted decoration was then confined to the niche alone and to the rectangular panel above the niche. On this panel was shown a symbolical picture: a large tree with abundant foliage and two indistinct sacred utensils at its foot, all on a red ground.

The columns and the *aedicula*, over which was sculptured a conch, were painted in imitation of coloured marble. The arcuated entablature of the Torah shrine was adorned with pictorial representations in a style very different from that of the later pictures. We have first, to the left, the pictures of the sacred utensils and symbols of the Hebrews: the Aaron-ha-Qodesh (cabinet for the scrolls of the Law) and the Menorah (seven-armed candlestick), and between them the Ethrog (citron) and Lulab (palm branch). To the right the Sacrifice of Abraham was depicted in a peculiar manner. The painter appears to have felt scruples about the representation of human figures. He showed them all from behind and their heads were indicated by black spots only. Mr. Pearson offers the very attractive suggestion that at first the management of the synagogue hesitated to allow human figures to appear in the decoration. The central panel shows none and the scene of Abraham is rather a symbol than a Biblical scene.

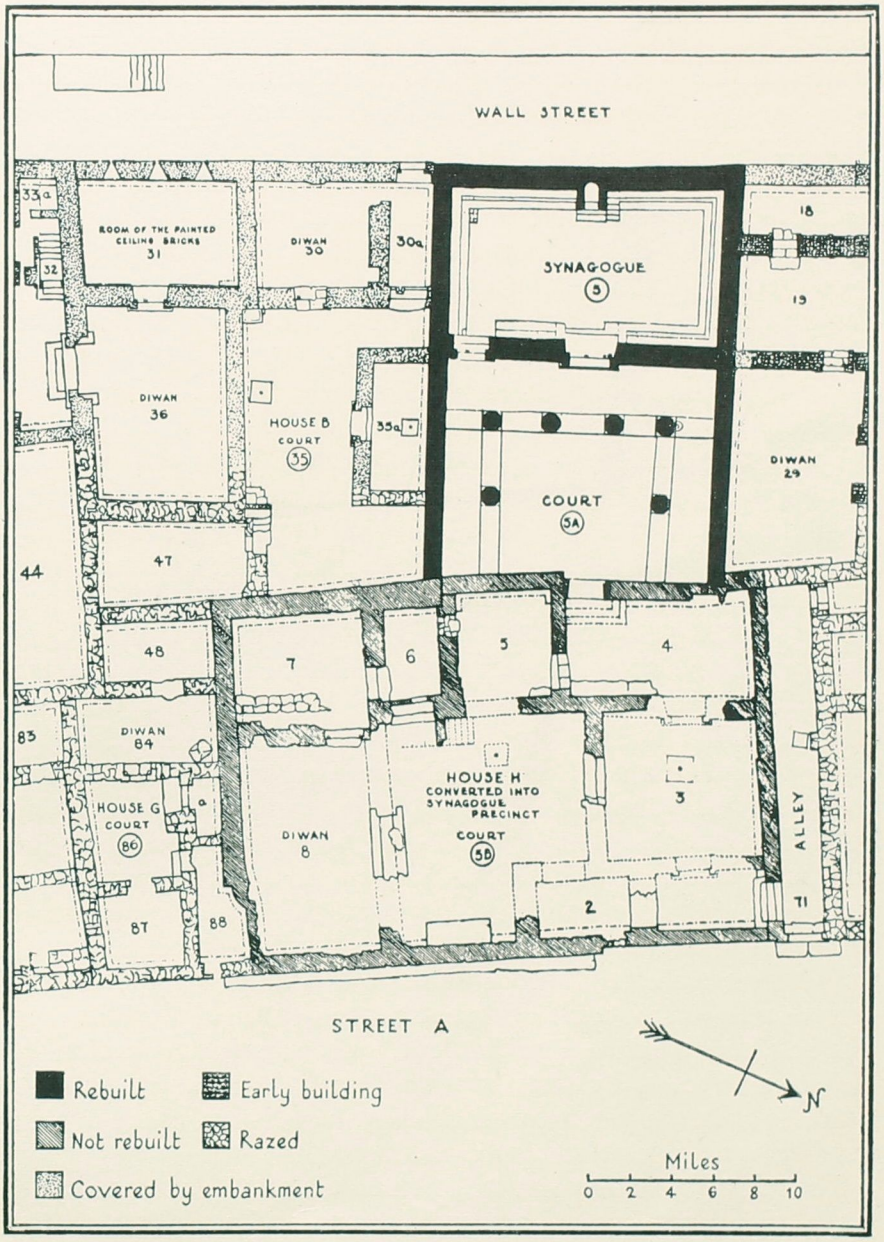
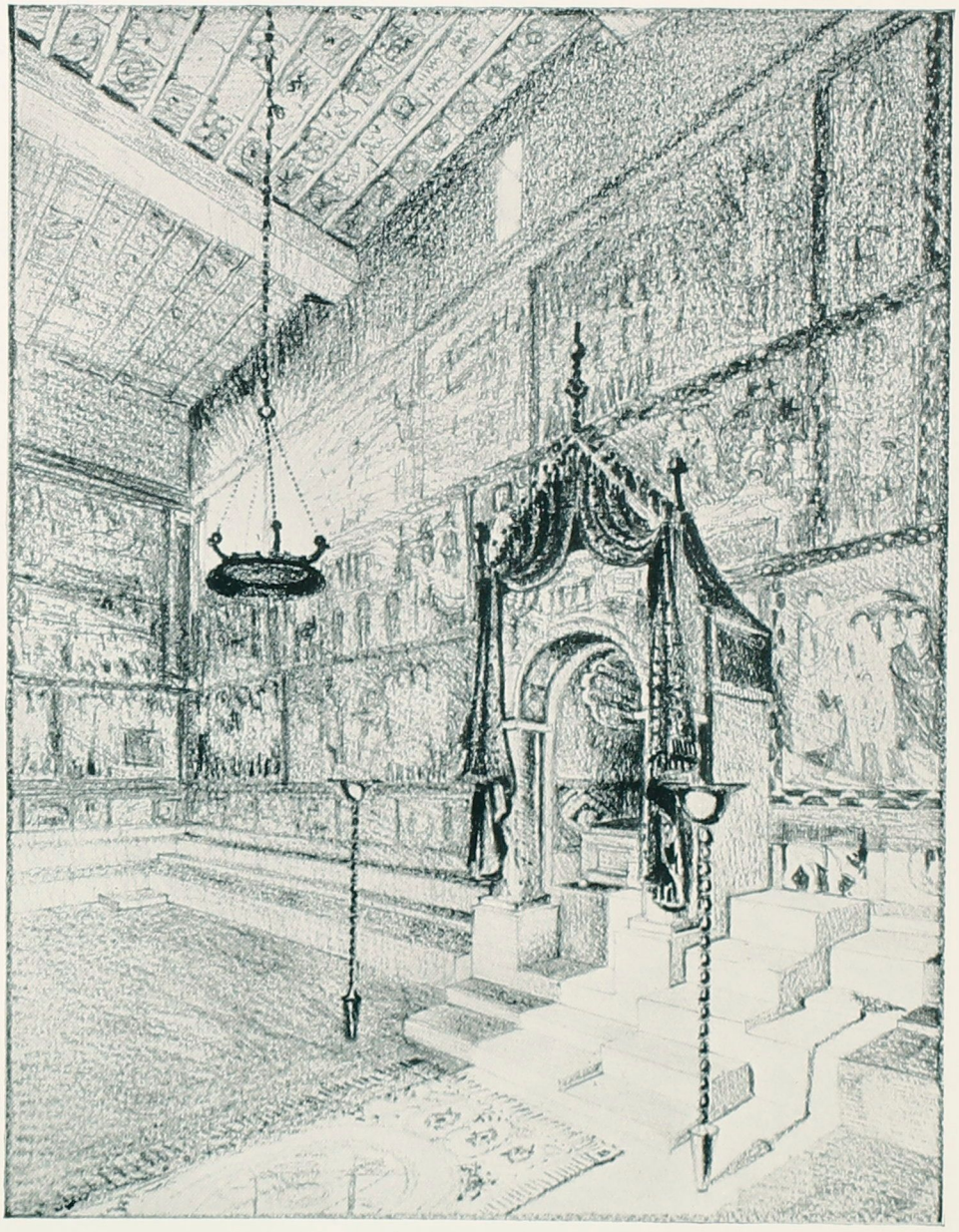


FIG. 12. Plan of the later synagogue

At a later stage in the short history of the building it was decided to adorn the whole of the surface of the walls with paintings. For this purpose the surface was divided into four zones or registers of different heights and each zone was covered with pictures. To this new scheme was sacrificed the central panel of the back wall described above. According to the general scheme of decoration it was likewise divided into zones and repainted. In the new decoration of the synagogue the lowest zone formed an ornamental dado of a pattern very common in the decorative painting of the time: coloured marble adorned with *clipei* and figures of animals. The three zones above the dado were painted with scenes intended to illustrate the Holy Scriptures.

The wall which was first seen by those who entered the synagogue was the back wall. Its centre was occupied by the Torah shrine above described and by the panel above it. Though divided into two zones, the repainted panel remained the centre of the decoration of the synagogue. This fact was emphasized by its treatment as a kind of open triptych, its two open doors showing majestic standing figures, two on each side. Many interpretations of these four figures have been offered. I am inclined to accept that of Professor E. Goodenough, and to see in these figures the representation of four decisive moments in the life of Moses: Moses and the burning bush, Moses on Mount Sinai, Moses reading the scroll of the Law, and Moses after his death surrounded by the sun, moon, and stars. Moses is presented here somewhat in the character of one of the great founders of new religions of the ancient world, as a canonized and almost deified hero, founder of the Jewish religion; a counterpart in some degree of Buddha and Christ. The idea is uncanonical. The semi-divinization of Moses is stressed by the square nimbus which surrounds his head, light in the pictures which show him living, black in that which shows him after his death.

The pictures of the two zones into which the central panel was divided are badly damaged (the paint has scaled off the surface), and are therefore difficult to interpret. The upper zone shows a king in Iranian dress seated on his throne and surrounded by two men in Greco-Syrian and several in Iranian



The Prayer Room of the Synagogue. (Restoration by H. Pearson)

dress. The king may be David. Below is a king in a Phrygian cap seated on a throne and playing on a golden lyre, surrounded by men (?) and animals. Perhaps again the king is David. Below in the same zone are two figures reclining on couches, one with twelve persons standing behind him (Jacob and his twelve sons?), and the other with two children standing before him (Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh?).

It is not easy to decide what is the best order in which to describe the other scenes. We may start from the central picture and proceed to the right and left respectively until we reach the entrance door. Or we may start from the door and work round the chamber. As the second method is that adopted by Kraeling and Pearson, we may follow it. I shall show that the several pictures or groups of pictures have no cohesion and are all scattered episodes or groups of them. One point is certain. The painters worked first on the upper zone, so that the dado was painted last.

Of the uppermost zone nothing is preserved until we come to the western corner of the north side wall. The fragmentary scene here may represent Jacob's dream. Next comes, on the back wall, in good preservation, the long picture of Moses leading his people out of Egypt across the Red Sea. It is supplemented by explanatory inscriptions in Hebrew. I shall deal with it more fully later in this lecture.

On the other side of the central panel the pictures are very badly preserved. Next to Moses on Mount Sinai we may observe a fragmentary scene: a king seated on an elaborate throne and near him two attendants seated on chairs. Explanatory inscriptions in Greek tell us that the king is Solomon and the two attendants are his *συνκάθ⟨ε⟩δροι*. To the left are the feet and lower skirts of two women and in front of them the feet of an attendant in white boots. Did the picture represent Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, or the Judgement of Solomon?

Of the next picture only four pairs of sandalled feet are left.

In the middle zone the first fragmentary picture on the north side wall shows a crenellated wall. To the left are a figure in a white robe against a green background and the feet of a smaller figure. Behind are the faint remains of a building and trees. Is it Joshua with the ark compassing the walls of Jericho?

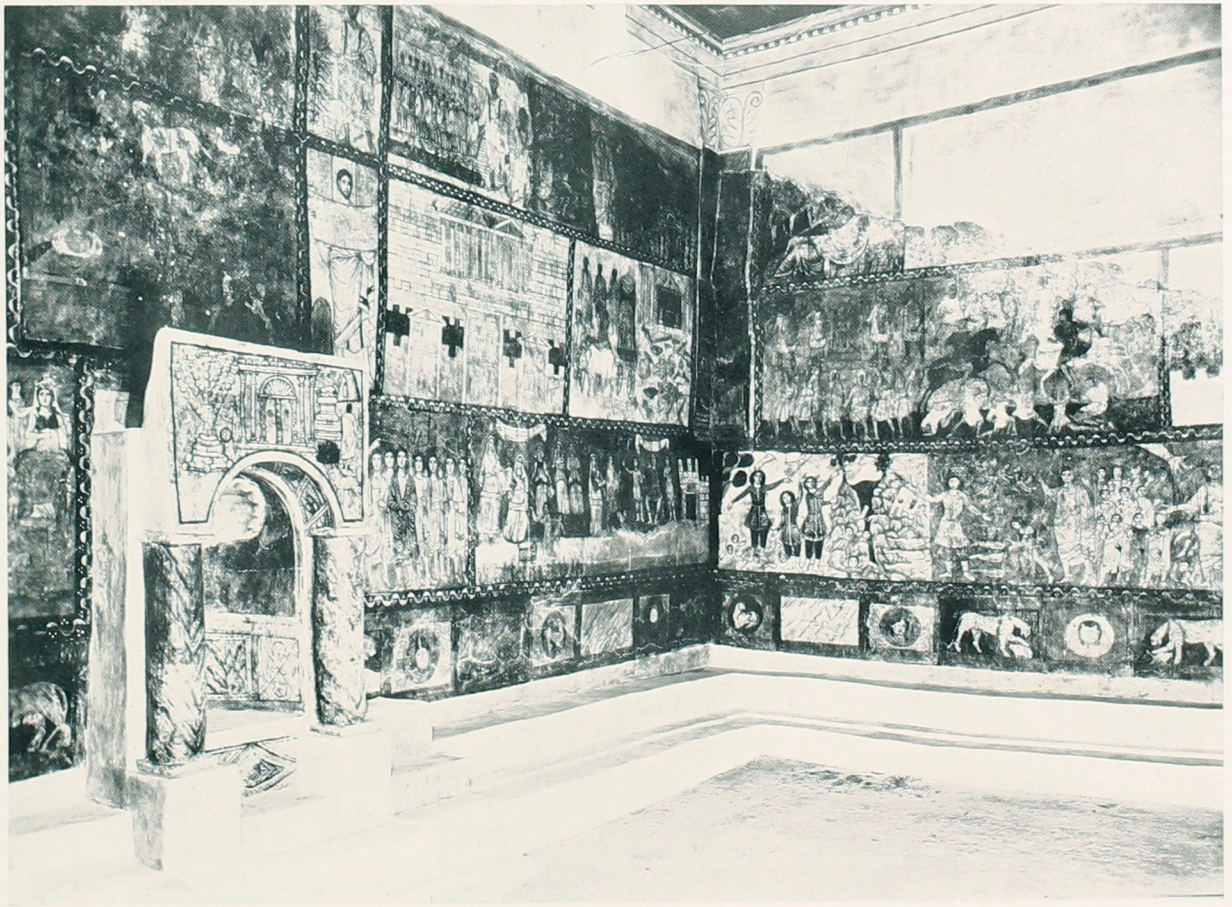
The next scene is comparatively well preserved. It represents the battle between the Philistines and the Israelites at Ebenezer. Two figures on horseback are charging each other, one on a black, the other on a white horse. To the right above and below are represented the two armies in battle, the soldiers equipped with coats of mail, swords, and hexagonal shields, while the leaders wear no armour. To the left is shown the ark, borne on poles by four tunic-clad figures and guarded by six soldiers.

The scene that follows on the back wall shows the continuation of the story of the ark. The ark has been captured by the Philistines, brought to Ashdod, and housed in the temple of Dagon. The result was that the statue of Dagon twice fell to the ground, and the second time was mutilated. The picture shows the temple of Dagon, his statue once with its head, another time without its head, and the sacred utensils of the temple scattered about. The ark is not represented. It is shown next to the picture of the temple, no longer at Ashdod but at Ekron, to which place it was removed and the inhabitants of which were punished. The ark is ready to depart from Ekron in a cart drawn by two cows. In front is the driver, behind the citizens of Ekron (three figures in Greco-Syrian dress), or the priests or diviners of the Philistines.

An enigmatic picture follows, which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. A fine Corinthian temple is seen, surrounded by seven crenellated walls, each of a different colour. The outermost of these has three richly decorated gates. Is it Solomon's temple? If so, the scene may belong to the cycle of the ark.

The next picture beyond the central triptych has Aaron the high priest for its subject. In a Corinthian temple surrounded by a wall pierced by three gates, the ark is seen before a draped curtain, and in front of it the Menorah, with small incense-burners to the right and left and with an altar to the right, on which is laid a white sacrificial animal. In the temple court stands the figure of Aaron, in the dress of a high priest. He is identified by his name written in Greek. To the right and left of the temple men appear standing with sacrificial animals.

After the Aaron picture comes an interesting scene showing



Synagogue as reconstructed by H. Pearson in the Museum of Damascus (northern half of the back wall and a part of the northern side wall)

PLATE XXI

a blend of the Haggadah story of the fountain of Miriam and the Biblical accounts of the water miracles wrought by Moses. The tabernacle is shown in the background. To the right and left are seen the twelve tents and before each a man with upraised hand. In the centre towers the colossal figure of Moses. He is striking with his staff a circular enclosure, apparently a well, from which twelve streams flow to the twelve tents.

On the south side wall one scene only is in part preserved. It may be interpreted as a pendant to the scene of the capture of the ark on the corresponding part of the north side wall and may represent David taking the ark to Mount Zion.

While the pictures of the upper and middle zones are preserved practically on the back wall alone, those of the lowest zone are almost complete.

The first picture north of the main entrance door survives only in defective fragments. As some figures of birds and a reclining man can still be seen, it has been suggested that the picture represents Elijah fed by the ravens. But the cycle of Elijah pictures will be found occupying several panels south of the door on the south side wall and on the west wall. Moreover, the birds are not black, nor very much like ravens.

Another fragmentary scene occupies the second part of the lowest zone north of the entrance door. It is difficult to describe and to interpret. As we can recognize sleeping men and a procession of men on horseback, all in Iranian dress, it has been suggested that the scene represents David and Saul David twice surprising Saul when the latter was asleep (1 Samuel xxiv–xxvi).

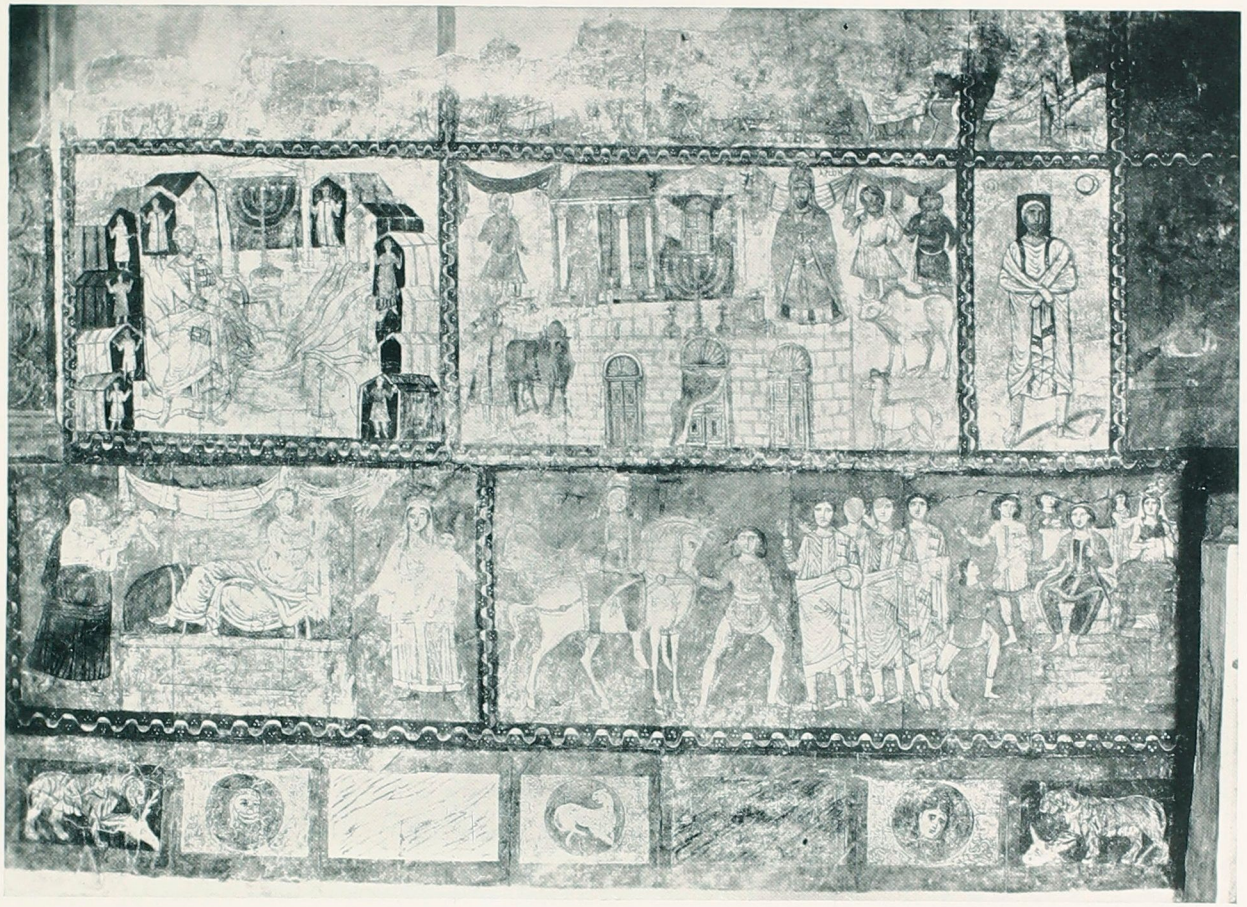
The first picture in the lowest zone of the north side wall is well preserved, but very difficult to interpret. We do not know whether it should be read from left to right or from right to left. It is furthermore uncertain whether the right-hand end of this picture, which is not divided from the main picture by the usual ornamental band, forms a separate scene or continues the treatment of the subject of the left-hand part of the picture. It would take too much space to describe the picture. At the first glance it is evident that the left-hand part of it illustrates the visions of Ezekiel and that its main subject is the resurrection of the dead. The representation of the murder

of a man clinging to the altar at the right-hand end of the picture can hardly form part of the Ezekiel scene. It is more easily interpreted as the murder of Joab at the order of David.

The pictures of the lowest zone of the back wall are the best preserved of any in the synagogue. They are still resplendent in their original colours and impressive by reason of their variety and their skilful composition. A long picture has for its subject the story of the exposure of Moses. I shall return to it presently. It is uncertain in which direction the story should be read: from right to left or from left to right. In the former case we see first the mother and sister of Moses preparing to deposit him in a casket apparently meant to represent the 'ark of bulrushes'; then the casket in the Nile and the daughter of the Pharaoh bathing and picking up the child; and finally the same daughter begging her father on her knees to adopt the child, while its mother and sister stand near. If, however, we start from the right we may recognize in the scene of the women before Pharaoh the king ordering the destruction of the male children, then Pharaoh's daughter bathing in the river, and finally Moses given back to his mother.

The following picture, which shows Samuel anointing David (as described in the explanatory inscription), certainly has a special significance. It was painted above the seat of the archi-synagogue, whom we know from his inscription to have had the name of Samuel.

The next is one of the most elaborate and elegant pictures of the synagogue, showing a certain amount of life and movement. It represents King Ahasuerus seated on the throne of Solomon or on a reproduction of that throne (the throne is almost an exact copy of that shown in the picture of Solomon described above and painted earlier, probably by the same artist) and near him Esther. The king is receiving or sending a message in the presence of the Jewish people of Babylon (four figures in Greco-Syrian dress), while Mordecai is triumphantly advancing on the royal horse, a beautiful white animal, led by Haman. He wears a dress exactly like that of Ahasuerus. The names of Ahasuerus, Esther, and Mordecai are written in Aramaic. Several Pehlevi inscriptions (written in the south-Sasanian alphabet) are beautifully and skilfully painted on the



Synagogue as reconstructed by H. Pearson in the Museum of Damascus (southern half of the back wall)

horse, on the figure of Haman, and on that of the left-hand Jew. They are probably not artists' signatures as we thought them to be at first but, according to Professor Polotzky, commemorative inscriptions recording the visit to the synagogue made by several Iranians and dated by Iranian months and regnal years of Shapur equivalent to the years 255 and 256, the last years of the existence of the synagogue. They were written by professional scribes who recorded their own names and the names of the visitors in the inscriptions. The visitors may have been members of the retinues of ambassadors sent by Shapur to Dura before and during his great invasion of the Syrian provinces of the Roman Empire.[57]

The south corner of the back wall, the whole of the south side wall, and the space available on the front wall were devoted to the representation of various episodes in the life of Elijah. The sequence is from left to right, starting perhaps, as I have said, with the picture north of the entrance door (Elijah and the ravens, see above, p. 111). The first picture south of the door is lost. Next to this picture Elijah is shown with the widow of Zarephath. Then a grand composition in two parts depicts Elijah's miraculous sacrifice on Mount Carmel; to the left the priests of Baal waiting in vain for the fire to descend upon their altar and their sacrificial animal, while King Hiel, hidden under the altar, is being bitten by a snake; and to the right the sacrifice of Elijah, his sacrificial bullock being consumed by flames. Inscriptions in Aramaic deciphered by Mr. Kraeling contain the name Hiel twice over, and make it certain that the painter had in mind the version of the story as told in the Haggadahs. The Bible does not mention King Hiel, who hid beneath the altar in order to kindle the fire and was killed by a snake.

The last scene in the Elijah cycle depicts the resurrection of the son of the widow of Zarephath. To the left the widow, bare to the waist, in token of mourning, is holding her dead child; then Elijah is shown on the couch holding the boy as he revives, and finally the widow again, fully clad in yellow garments, holds her living son. On the base of Elijah's couch is written his name in Aramaic.

Let me now, after this summary description of the paintings,

say a few words on their general composition and their style. The system of decoration of the synagogue is strikingly similar to that of all the pagan temples of Dura and to that of the Christian church. In fact, apart from the difference of subjects, one had before one's eyes, on entering the synagogue, a decoration exactly like that of the *naoi* of the temple of the Palmyrene gods and of the temple of Zeus Theos. This scheme of decoration, I may add, was in the main adopted by the Christian churches and has had a long life.

The centre of the back wall of the synagogue was occupied by the monumental composition described above. This composition played the same part in the synagogue as the cult figure in the pagan temples. Obviously no cult figure was possible in a synagogue. As in the early Buddhist temples, its place was taken by an allegorical and symbolical picture.

To the right and left of this central picture were painted other pictures distributed in zones, exactly in the same manner as in the pagan temples. Their subjects were mythographical, not ritual—episodes from the Holy Scriptures of the Hebrews, both canonical and uncanonical. Each picture was divided from the next by an ornamental band. Some of them occupied a larger, some a smaller space.

Some of the pictures are supplemented by explanatory inscriptions. It is interesting to note that some of these inscriptions are written in Aramaic or Hebrew, others in Greek. This was probably done by the painters who executed the several pictures in accordance with the instructions of those who ordered them. We have here evidence that the whole decoration of the synagogue was not carried out at the order of one and the same employer, and that the work was done by painters some of whom were more familiar with the Greek, and others with the Semitic language and script.

The inscriptions, therefore, convey the idea that the synagogue was decorated not at the order of the general management and not by one and the same artist. Nevertheless, it did not take a very long time to execute the work. The construction of the synagogue was finished by A.D. 245. The roof was then completed, as we know from the building inscriptions painted on the brick coffers of the ceiling. For a time the

synagogue remained undecorated, with the exception of the Torah shrine and the central panel. In A.D. 255–6 some Persian visitors recorded their names on certain of the paintings. This fact shows that by 255 not only were the paintings finished, but the synagogue was already neglected by its managers. In A.D. 256 the sloping wall was begun and the synagogue was buried. It follows that the work of the painters began probably soon after A.D. 245 and was finished long before A.D. 255, that is to say, it only occupied a few years, if not a few months.[57]

During this short period not one but probably many painters were at work in the synagogue. Although, as I shall presently show, the general style of the paintings is uniform, there are differences between them which prove that they were not executed by one and the same painter, though perhaps under the supervision of a single chief artist. A glance at the paintings will make this evident. The scenes which represent the Exodus and the high priest Aaron are much stiffer and more ritual than, for example, the scenes of Ahasuerus and Esther and of the exposure of Moses. The Ezekiel scene, though childish in its composition and execution, is full of religious exaltation and pathos, and cannot have been executed by the artist who painted the stiff figures in the Exodus scene and those of Aaron and his attendants. The idyllic quality of the scene of the exposure of Moses and the tragic note of the pictures of the Elijah cycle distinguish them from the Exodus scene and the picture of Aaron, which are quite different both in sentiment and composition. Though the technique of all the paintings is the same, the individuality of the various painters has left deep traces in the general character of treatment of the several scenes. In this respect there is no unity in the paintings of the synagogue.[58]

Nor can any kind of unity be detected in the choice and sequence of the subjects treated by the various painters. Though the decoration did not take long to carry out, it was not executed in accordance with a special and deliberate scheme, either prescribed by tradition or elaborated by the managers of the synagogue. Its general purpose is clear. It was to illustrate the Holy Scriptures by pictures, to enable worshippers to visualize some of the episodes described in the

texts that were read and interpreted to the community in the synagogue. The great figure behind all these episodes is the almighty Jahve. He does not appear, it is true, in the pictures. His hand only is represented in many pictures. Thus all who saw the pictures understood that the incidents depicted happened by His will and order. But the choice of the episodes is certainly haphazard. The scenes do not follow one another in chronological sequence: the Exodus, Jacob's dream, and the Solomon scenes are contiguous, the Elijah scenes close to that of Ahasuerus and Esther, the latter to the picture illustrating the childhood of Moses, and this in turn to the Ezekiel scenes. Nor can we detect any governing idea, of a symbolical character, behind the distribution of the pictures. At least I have failed to find one.

It is evident, therefore, that the several paintings were not ordered by the archisynagogue, but were presented by rich and influential donors. Each of these was allotted a certain space, according to his zeal, by the administration of the synagogue, and each commissioned his own painter. Each of the donors again chose his own subject according to his fancy. He probably submitted it to the archisynagogue or cohen, who accepted or rejected it. It should be noted that there are no repetitions of the same subject, which shows that the cohen exercised a certain control over the work. It was otherwise in India, on stupas and in cave temples, where repetitions of the same subject are quite common. The natural desire of the managers of the synagogue was, after having planned the work of decoration in general outline (i.e. the distribution of the decoration in four zones, the role of the Torah shrine and of the central panel, &c.), to have it finished as soon as possible and in accordance with their plan. It testifies to the zeal and wealth of the Jews of Dura that the work was carried out so completely in so short a time.

If my inference is correct, what happened in the synagogue was exactly what happened in the temples of Dura, except that the character of the pictures in the former naturally accorded with the general character of the Jewish religion.

It is not only the similarity of the systems of decoration followed in the pagan temples and in the synagogue that is

striking. This system of decoration is not confined to Dura and Mesopotamia. We find it spread all over India and the Far East, both earlier and later. It is in the main the system of oriental art in general, deeply rooted in the long-established artistic traditions of the ancient East. Nor are parallels to it —though not so close—lacking in the West, especially in Etruria and Italy.

Much more important is the similarity between the paintings of the synagogue and those of the temples of Dura as regards their ethnographical background and general style. Let me begin with the former.

An analysis of the dress of the various figures that appear in the paintings of the synagogue would require a special detailed study, for which this is not the place. Five types of male dress are easily recognizable: (1) the Greco-Syrian dress, white with several coloured *clavi*, is used regularly for the more important personages, but not exclusively for the Jews; (2) kings are as regularly represented wearing Parthian dress, probably the dress of the Parthian kings; (3) Aaron, in the scene of his consecration, is clad in the ritual robe, as described in the Holy Scriptures; (4) the common people in the Exodus scene are shown in the Syrian dress of the working class: a short *tunica* without sleeves but with a belt, no trousers; (5) the type of dress worn by servants and common people in the other pictures of the synagogue is more difficult to determine. In my opinion it is always either the above dress of the working class or some variation of the Iranian dress: narrow trousers, soft shoes, and a long-sleeved and belted tunic very similar to the dress worn by the members of the Palmyrene community.

The dress of women and their jewels follow much the same lines. But we observe here greater uniformity than in the dress of men. Women generally wear the Greco-Syrian dress and their jewels are of the same character. But some Iranian features may be noticed, especially in the Esther painting. Esther is represented exactly like the Tyche often seen on Parthian coins. Her curled side locks are purely Iranian; they are familiar to all readers of the *Shah-Namah* and admirers of Persian illuminated manuscripts.

Such are the different types of dress found in the paintings of the synagogue. They are very similar to those which were commonly used at Palmyra. However, there are several differences. The costumes as represented in the synagogue are *sui generis*. The Iranian dress of the synagogue is nearer to the Parthian dress as represented in some religious and secular paintings and sculptures of Dura than to the Iranian dress as found in the statues and bas-reliefs of Palmyra. The dress of women and their jewels as seen in the synagogue are not identical with those commonly represented in the sculptures and paintings of Palmyra. A more detailed comparison of Palmyra and Dura in this respect cannot be given here.[59]

The weapons and equipment of the armed figures in the pictures of the synagogue seem to me to be uniform. They are not in my opinion the weapons and equipment of Roman officers and soldiers. They are conventional and stereotyped, like the armour and weapons of the *tabulae Iliacae*, of the painted shields of Dura, of the Homeric friezes of Pompeii, in brief, of the pictorial illustrations of literary works. They may, therefore, go back to the uniform of Hellenistic soldiers of the early and late Hellenistic periods reproduced on such monuments as the famous frieze of the temple of Athene in Pergamon, the paintings of the graves and grave *stelae* of Alexandria, the painted funeral *stelae* of Sidon, the sculptures of the temples of Artemis at Magnesia and of Hecate at Lagina, some bas-reliefs from Asia Minor, &c. It is a pity that no comprehensive work has been done on the uniform of Hellenistic soldiers as described in our literary and documentary sources and represented in the above-mentioned sculptures and paintings. At the same time, strong Iranian elements are noticeable in the representation of the scenes in which soldiers appear. I may draw the attention of the reader to the picture of the battle of Ebenezer, so similar in its central part to the Iranian pictures of battle dealt with above. Note that the battle is in fact a duel between the two mounted leaders of the two armies, while the common soldiers are mere accessories.

Space does not allow me to give even a superficial analysis of other ethnographical traits in the pictures of the synagogue, such as the sacred utensils of the temples, &c. Let me, how-

ever, say a few words about the architectural and landscape background of the pictures. It is desirable that a careful comparison, a matter of special study, should be made between the architecture and the landscape of the pictures of the synagogue and those of the paintings of Pompeii, which I analysed many years ago in a special monograph. There is a certain similarity between the two, but in the main they are different. Nevertheless, we must recognize that in this respect the synagogue may have depended principally on Greek originals, herein resembling the pagan paintings of Dura, with only this difference, that the architectural and landscape elements are much more emphasized in the paintings of the synagogue than in those of the pagan temples.

Temples repeatedly form the background of the synagogue paintings: in the pictures of the ark in the country of the Philistines, of Aaron, of the fountain of Miriam, of the Exodus, of Jericho. One picture represents a temple and nothing besides. All these temples are of the Greco-Syrian type, which of course was also the type prevailing in the Parthian Empire. In some pictures (those of Aaron and of the fountain of Miriam) an attempt is made to combine this Greco-Syrian type with details derived from literary sources. All the temples, as in similar Hellenistic pictures, are seen from above in order to display the important parts of the buildings and the sacred furniture. The representation of them is essentially veristic and disregards perspective. In this respect the paintings of the synagogue resemble Assyrian bas-reliefs rather than Greek and Greco-Roman architectural landscapes.

Other examples of veristic and schematic treatment, without any endeavour to produce the illusion of reality, may be seen in the few attempts to represent a landscape without buildings or with buildings subordinate to it. I may instance the schematic representation of rocks in the Ezekiel picture, that of the Nile in the picture of the exposure of Moses, and that of the Red Sea. I may also observe in this connexion that the trees of the Ezekiel picture are of the Iranian type, which I have analysed in my book on *Ancient Decorative Painting of South Russia* apropos of the painted decoration—Iranian in its essence—of the so-called Stasov grave and other graves

contemporary with it. We are, therefore, justified in asking whether the landscape, as it appears in the pictures of the synagogue, was not borrowed by the painters of Dura both from Greek and Iranian sources, and not from Greek sources alone.

As for the buildings, a careful comparison of these as depicted in the synagogue with those so frequently represented on the Hellenistic stupas of India (I mean as regards style and manner of representation) may be of great assistance. I cannot dwell at length on this point, for it requires careful study. I may point out, however, that there exist striking similarities in this respect between India and Mesopotamia, which may be ascribed to a common Greek or Greco-Persian inspiration and go back probably to Assyrian prototypes.[60]

We may sum up by saying that the ethnographical background of the pictures of the synagogue is very similar to that of the pagan paintings of Dura, though Greek and Semitic elements prevail in the latter, while Iranian elements are emphasized in the former.

However, in analysing products of art it is the style that matters. It is evident at the first glance that the style of the paintings of the synagogue is a slight modification of the style of the pagan paintings and sculptures of Dura. It is true that the pictures of the synagogue may produce the impression of being freer, more animated, less stiff and ritual, more Greek than the pagan paintings. But we must not lay too much stress on this point. The impression of greater variety is due rather to the subjects treated by the painters of the synagogue than to the style of treatment. In fact, the leading features of the style are very much the same in the synagogue and in the pagan temples.

I need not repeat here what I said about the Durene style in my previous lecture. I must, however, point out that the pictures of the synagogue are in the main memory-pictures, like the Durene pictures in general. They show the same lack of interest in the body, the same two-dimensional quality, the same linearity, the same frontality, the same lack of movement (or arrested movement, if movement, as in the battle-scene, is represented), the same verismus in dress, ornaments,

armament, ritual attributes, architecture, the same characterless and uniform rendering of the faces, the same primitive grouping of the masses. In this last respect it is instructive to compare the twelve tribes of the Jews on the march in the scene of the Exodus with the standing soldiers in the picture of the sacrifice of Terentius the tribune.

The uniformity of the faces of the hundreds of figures in the synagogue is broken by some attempts to introduce into them the note of spirituality. I may refer in this connexion to the figure of the young prophet showing the sacred Law. His head is very expressive and full of religious fervour, similar in this respect to the heads of the officiating priests in the Conon picture. This figure is by far the best in the paintings of the synagogue. It shows the influence of Greco-Roman art, a certain similarity with the Fayum portraits, except for the fact that it is not a portrait (though it probably was intended to be one), but an idealized head, and except for its intense spirituality, which is quite foreign to the Fayum portraits. The artist of the Ezekiel scenes was less successful, though here again the head of Ezekiel is intended to express religious fervour. The same is true of the figure of Elijah in the scene of his contest with the priests of Baal. It is otherwise with the figure of the old prophet, dead and heroized, and surrounded by the stars. This perhaps shows the influence of late Egyptian art.

Such is the style of the pictures of the synagogue. If they impress one as essentially different from the paintings of pagan Dura, this is due not to a difference of style, but, as I have already pointed out, to the fact that their purpose was different. The pictures in the temples are of a ritual character. They represent scenes of sacrifice. Of the rare mythological pictures, that in the temple of the Palmyrene gods (repeated twice) cannot be interpreted. It represents a single episode. And the same may be said of the mythological scene on one of the beams of the portico of the temple of Bel at Palmyra.

The pictures in the synagogue, on the contrary, are for the most part mythological. They are attempts to illustrate the Holy Scriptures, like the pictures in the illuminated manuscripts of the Bible. A comparison of the two must be left to

those more familiar with the illuminated manuscripts than I am. In any case, the synagogue of Dura represents the earliest attempt to illustrate certain episodes of the Bible.

Thus the painters of the synagogue were struggling with a problem with which the painters of the temples were not confronted. This problem was how to relate a story, how to convey by means of figures and groups of figures the idea of a continuous narrative of some episode told in detail in the sacred books.

This problem, at the time when it was faced by the painters of the Near East, was not a new one. It had occupied artists from time immemorial. I cannot in these brief lectures trace the history of the narrative method in detail. I may, however, remind the reader of some facts well known to the students of ancient art. Wickhoff was the first to point out that there were in the main two ways of solving the problem of pictorial narration. One was the isolating method of narration, the other the continuous method. The first consisted in narrating the story by reproducing in painting or sculpture single episodes, the most striking moments in the story, without establishing any connexion between them. This method was followed by the Greek painters and sculptors (I may add, with some exceptions). The other method—the continuous method—consisted in combining various phases of the story in a single picture in order to convey the idea of a continuous narrative. By frequently repeating the figure of the hero while changing his environment, the artist intended to enable the spectator to read the picture as if he were reading a book or a manuscript. Wickhoff thought that it was the Romans who first made use of this continuous method of narration. The earliest examples, according to him, were certain sarcophagi and historical basreliefs, the most striking example of the latter being the basreliefs of the column of Trajan. From Roman art Wickhoff derived the use of the continuous method in Christian art, as best illustrated by the illuminated manuscripts.[61]

The problem of the origin of the continuous method of narration in Christian art appears now much more complicated than Wickhoff thought it to be. Long before the Romans, artists in various countries had been struggling with the same prob-

lem. To confine ourselves to the period under review, I may remind the reader that many artists in the East who endeavoured to illustrate the sacred books of their respective religions were confronted with the problem of narration. Such were the artists who worked in the service of Buddhism in India and those who belonged to the groups of followers of the various mystery religions in the Near East and all over the Roman Empire.

The synagogue of Dura shows that the artists in the service of the Jewish religion had the same problem before them. The paintings of the synagogue show that they adopted various ways of solving it. The isolating method was among these. Take the picture of Samuel anointing David, or the picture of the fountain of Miriam, or that of Aaron's high priesthood. They are excellent examples of the isolating method of narration.

However, it is the continuous method that prevails in these paintings. Various devices were used by the Durene artists to convey the idea of continuity, of movement, of development, of progress in an episode. The picture of the sacrifice of Elijah endeavours to show two contemporary actions and to convey the idea of the development of each: Elijah praying to God, fire coming down and consuming the sacrificial animal, servants bringing and pouring water; on the other hand, the priests of Baal waiting in vain for Hiel to kindle their fire while Hiel is attacked by the serpent. It is a curious mixture of the isolating and the continuous methods.

The principles of the continuous method are more developed in the picture of the ark at Ekron. In the centre towers the ark. The previous incidents at Ashdod are conveyed by the picture of the temple of Dagon with its cult statue depicted at two different moments in the story. But the ark is represented at Ekron. What happened there is suggested by the three figures of the Philistines, and the result of its stay at Ekron by the cows attached to the cart and the driver ready to start the cart. For the spectator who knew his Bible it was easy to visualize the history of the ark from the time it had been captured and brought to Ashdod.

The narrative method appears in a still more advanced form in the story of the exposure of Moses. Here the connecting

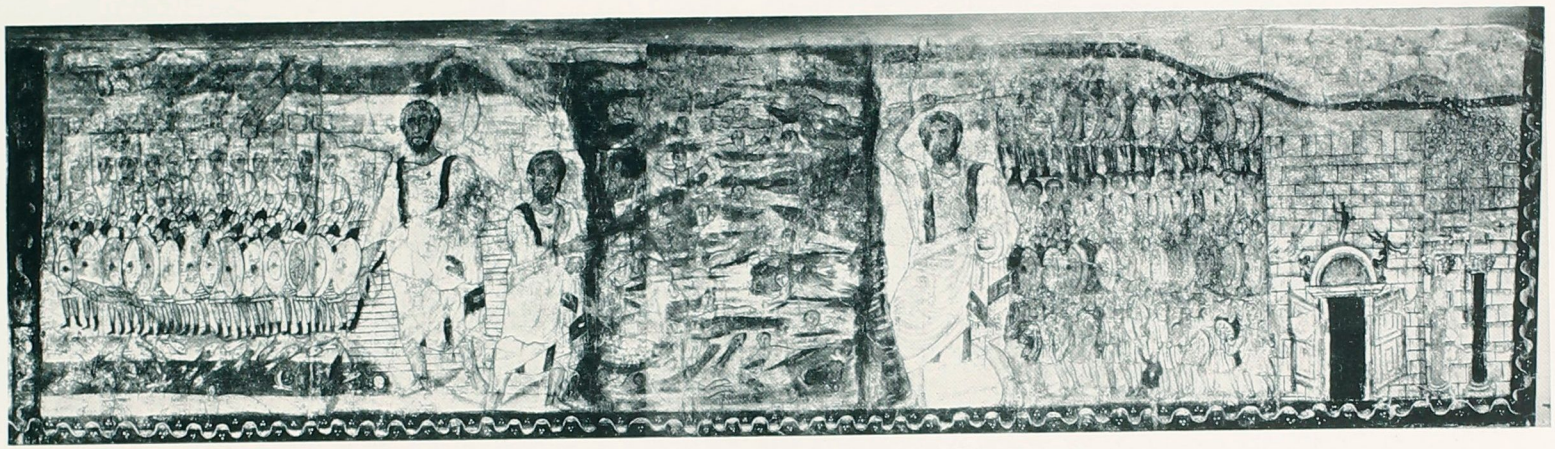
link is the infant Moses, represented three times at various moments in his adventure: exposed by his mother and sister, picked up by Pharaoh's daughter, and finally adopted by her before the throne of her father. The same method is used in the story of Elijah and the son of the widow of Zarephath. The most striking example of the narrative method is, however, the story of the Exodus as told by the Durene painter. The chosen people are being led out of the gates of Egypt by Moses. Behind the Jews, who are marching in order, Egypt is shown suffering from the plagues. Egypt is represented by the wall and gate in accordance with the Scriptures. The Jews are moving in military order with their banners, their leader Moses, as the main figure of the scene, being indicated by his size. Before him is the cloud. Every reader of the Bible would understand this pictorial language. Next come the Red Sea and the Egyptians drowned in it, and again Moses standing on the other side of the sea and closing it on the Egyptians. While the Egyptians perish in the sea the Jews are marching through it between the walls of water, and again Moses is leading them and opening the sea for them. Thus the main connecting link in the progress of the story is Moses represented three times, each time as the tallest and most conspicuous figure. The other participants—easily recognizable—are of much smaller size and form the background. None the less, the story cannot be identified without them.

It is a pity that the great scene of Ezekiel is so confused and so difficult to interpret. But, whatever our interpretation may be, there can be no doubt that we have several moments in the story of Ezekiel represented in one picture, the guiding figure being that of Ezekiel represented twice.

The endeavours of the painters of the synagogue were quite successful. The scenes are easily recognizable by us and were still more easily understood by the ancient visitors to the synagogue. And yet there is something helpless, naïve, and childish in the Durene artists' handling of the problem. It is probable that at the time when the synagogue was built the painters had no ancient tradition behind them, no uniform models at their disposal. Jewish artists in all the Jewish communities were still struggling with a variety of difficulties.

Synagogue. Exposure of Moses

PLATE XXIII



Synagogue. Exodus scene

One of them, for example, was that of a Biblical iconography and of the composition of Biblical subjects. I should not be surprised to find a different treatment of the same subjects, different devices and methods employed, in the synagogues, say, of Palestine, of Syria, and of Egypt.

Another problem was that of the method of narration. The artists in the service of the Jewish religion were looking for devices by which to narrate a story, to convey the impression of a continuous development of events. They tried various means of achieving this end, and this in itself—their various attempts at solving the problem, their *tâtonnements*—to use a French word—show that they had no guide to help them, no models before their eyes. They probably had never seen products of the Indian and Roman arts which about then were struggling with the same problem. The isolating method was familiar to them from the mythographical paintings and sculptures of the time, but not the continuous method. In this respect they were exploring unknown territory. Had Christian art already solved the problem, the artists in the service of the Jewish religion would have certainly known it and used the devices of the Christians. But apparently this was not the case, and the Christian artists in all probability were seeking a solution independently.

It is instructive to observe how a little earlier—in the late Hellenistic period—artists in distant India had faced the same difficulty and in like manner had tried various ways of overcoming it, similar to those adopted by the Mesopotamian artists.

The history of the continuous method in India has been frequently touched upon by various eminent specialists in this field. But no exhaustive study of the subject has been published. Let me, therefore, say a few words about it in the light of the new Mesopotamian evidence.[62]

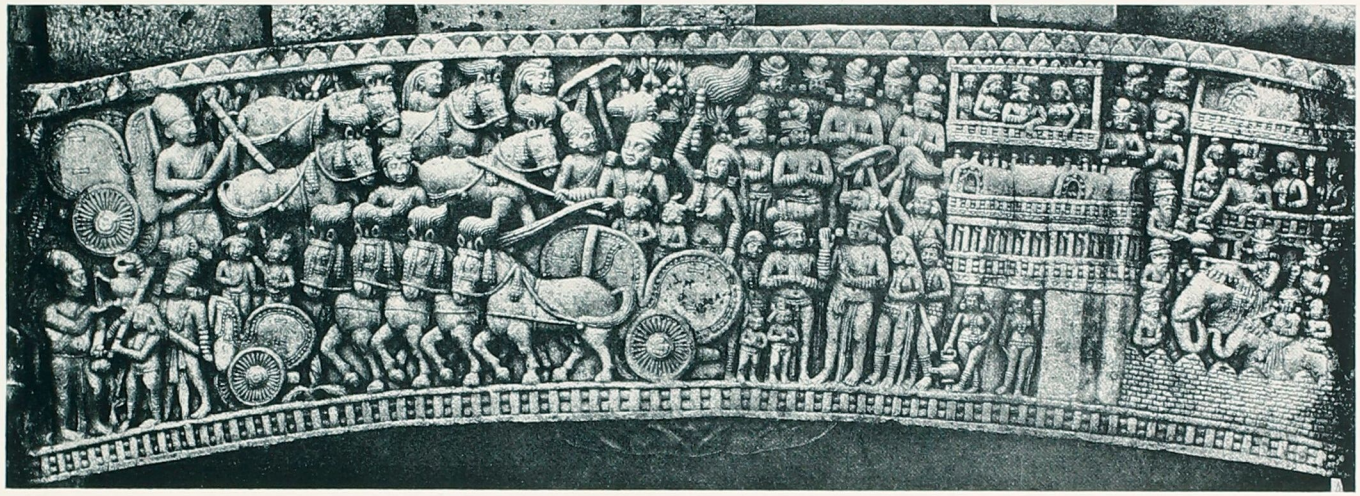
The stupas and temples of the Buddhists of India, probably from the time of Asoka, were decorated with sculpture and painting. We possess the sculptural decoration of several stupas of the Hellenistic and early Roman period: Bharhut, Bodh Gaya (railing of the holy tree), Sanchi, Sarnath, Mathura, Amaravati, Goli, &c., and in all of them we find the

decoration devoted exclusively to two subjects: the worship of Buddha in his symbols, and episodes in the story of his life on earth, in his last and in his earlier incarnations. And this remained the practice of Buddhism until our own days. One important change was, however, introduced into the scheme some time in the late Hellenistic or early Roman epoch. The image of Buddha was created by Greco-Bactrian artists and soon became the cult image of Buddhism.

In illustrating the Jātakas, the stories of the life of Buddha, the early artists of Buddhism proceeded in almost exactly the same way as did the Jewish artists: they were not content with reproducing single moments in a story; they attempted to evolve their own method of continuous narration.

In Bharhut we see the artists—there were several of them of different degrees of ability—grappling with the problem. Various devices were used, various grades of success achieved. In illustrating some of the Jātakas the choice of figures is so faulty that it is almost impossible to determine which Jātaka is intended. In most of the illustrations, however, the artist succeeded in grouping round the principal hero the other leading actors in the drama, and in showing in one or more pictures either the most important moment in the development of the story or several consecutive moments in it. Take the Jātaka of 'Buddha the Deer'. Four successive moments are represented here in one and the same picture, the figure of the deer being repeated four times: (1) the deer seeing the merchant drowning in the Ganges; (2) the deer rescuing the merchant; (3) the merchant betraying the deer; (4) the deer talking to the king.

The method is the same, though the narration is somewhat more explicit in the medallion from Bharhut which illustrates the story of 'Boddhisatva the King of the Monkeys'. There was near the Ganges a fine fruit tree on which a tribe of monkeys lived with their king, the Bodhisattva. The king of Benares was informed of this. He came with his retinue and surrounded the tree in order to shoot down the monkeys. The king of the monkeys, realizing the danger, boldly jumped across the Ganges and made a bridge of his body by which the monkeys might pass over. His body not being long enough,



Sanchi. Stupa I. Northern gateway. Front face. Lowest lintel, middle section. Visvantara Jataka, first part

he supplemented it by a piece of reed. The monkeys crossed the bridge safely, but their king was utterly exhausted. He fell into a net spread by the king of Benares, whom the Bodhisattva's self-sacrifice had filled with admiration. Brought before the king, the Bodhisattva instructed him and died. In the Bharhut medallion we see four successive phases of the story: the bridge, the net spread under the tree, the instruction given to the king, and perhaps the death of the Bodhisattva.

When more space and a larger gift of money were available, the various phases of the story were told in separate pictures, sometimes in separate panels, especially on pillars. In these separate pictures the idea of continuity is conveyed by the repetition of the figure of the hero of the story.[63]

In the later stupas a further step is taken. A long story is frequently narrated either in one frieze without division or in separate panels. One of the most popular stories of Buddha's early incarnations is that of Visvantara (or Vessantara), the charitable prince. In Bharhut it is treated summarily. But at Sanchi, at Amaravati, at Goli, and elsewhere, the story is told in full and with a wealth of detail, all the most important episodes being illustrated and all the phases of the development of the story being shown. The method by which the idea of continuous narrative is conveyed is the same as that adopted in the synagogue: the figure of the hero is repeated, he is made conspicuous and easily recognizable, and around him are placed the other leading characters in the story, all as easily recognizable as the principal figure.*

Let us take a single example and see how the long and complicated story of Visvantara was told by the Hindu artists at Sanchi. It is set forth practically in one continuous picture, and although parts of it are treated on different portions of the northern gateway, the whole may be taken as one continuous frieze. In the interpretation of the story I follow M. Foucher, who was kind enough to allow me to make use of his manuscript dealing with the sculptures of Sanchi, which

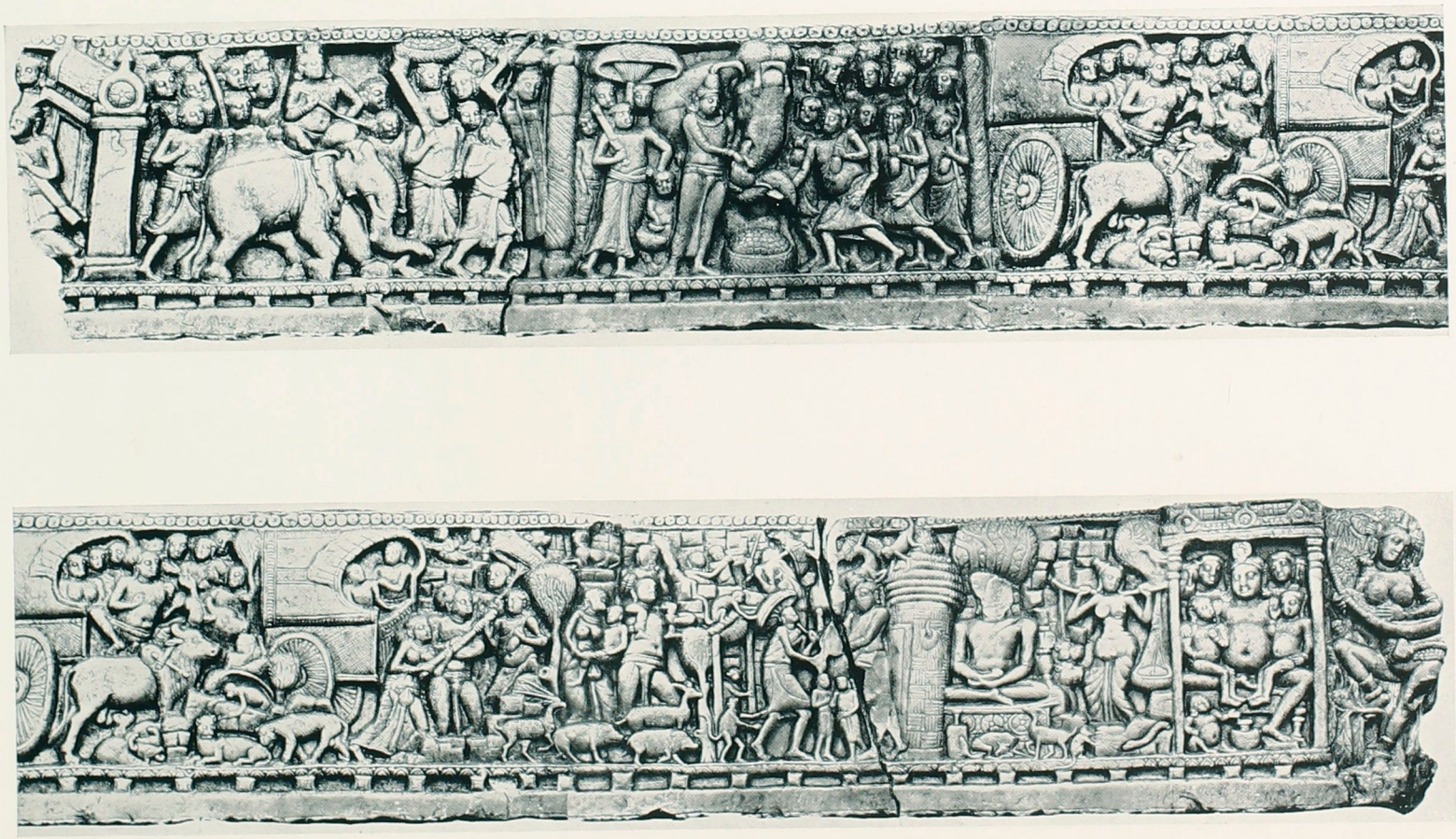
* It is important to observe, in connexion with the history of narrative art, that the devices of Bharhut and Sanchi were still used in the Gupta period at Ajanta, in the ninth century at Borobudur, and still later at Angkor Vat and Bayon.

will soon be printed in Sir John Marshall's forthcoming work. The story proceeds from right to left. It tells, to begin with, how the charitable prince gave away his miraculous elephant. The prince is shown three times behind the walls of the city. The first time, on the first plan, riding on an elephant and meeting the foreign Brahman; the second time, on the second plan, receiving his request; the third time on the balcony of his palace making the contract with the Brahman for the delivery of the great Naga of the kingdom. Three consecutive phases are thus illustrated by the protagonists: the prince and the Brahman, who appear three times. The secondary figures give additional information: discontented citizens, and the king making a gesture of surprise and about to condemn the prince to leave the city.

Next comes the sequel of the story. The farewell of the prince condemned to exile: the prince, his wife Madri, and his two children on the one hand, and the king and the queen taking leave of their son and accompanied by servants on the other. There follow without interruption four consecutive episodes: the departure of the family, alone without servants, in their horse-chariot; the gift of the chariot to a brahman, the prince giving away the chariot while the children are still in it, and their mother helping the prince to accomplish his act of charity; the brahman drawing away the empty chariot and another brahman leading away the horses.

And so it goes on with the other episodes of the story, which take place either in the open country or in the forest where the prince took up his abode: the prince and his family proceeding on their journey on foot, their life in the hermitage, the gift of the children, the gift of the wife, and finally the happy ending. In all these episodes the leading figure is that of the charitable prince. It would take too long to describe these episodes in detail. I refer my readers to the admirable description and analysis of M. Foucher.

The same order of events and the same or very similar arrangement—a little clearer and better organized, without the wonderful wealth of detail characteristic of the Sanchi frieze—will be found in the recently discovered and published sculptures of the stupa of Goli.[64]



Stupa of Goli. Visvantara Jataka

PLATE XXVI

How are we to explain the coincidence in the method of narration between the Hindu art and the art shown in the synagogue of Dura? Note that the devices of the Jewish and Hindu art were in no way different from those adopted by the early Christian art and by the Roman triumphal art. As in all such coincidences, three explanations may be offered: either imitation of one another, or imitation of one and the same model, or parallel and independent evolution. The idea of imitation is not the most probable. We might think of the Iranian art as being the prototype and as having been the first to use continuous narrative. We have certain texts which speak of narrative pictorial decorations of Iranian houses and temples. But we have no monuments to show us how the story was told, which in the present case is the essential point. On the other hand, there are considerations that support the theory of complete independence. The artists of various countries were confronted almost contemporaneously with a new problem. They were all endeavouring to illustrate stories by pictures. There are not many ways of doing this. One is the Greek method, another that of the synagogue and of India. The Jewish and Hindu artists were certainly acquainted with the Greek method. But they did not follow it. They chose the other. Was this now invented by them or was it already familiar to them, having either been previously invented by them or borrowed from a neighbouring country? Who can say?

The case of the Christian art is simpler. If at the time when the first monumental paintings were carried out in Christian churches Jewish art was already using the method of continuous narrative, it was from the Jews that the Christians borrowed it. If not, it may have been tried by the Christians independently.

The case of Roman triumphal art is much more complicated. This is not the place to study it. It is a still more complicated task to discover whence the method of continuous narrative came to be adopted in the later Christian world.

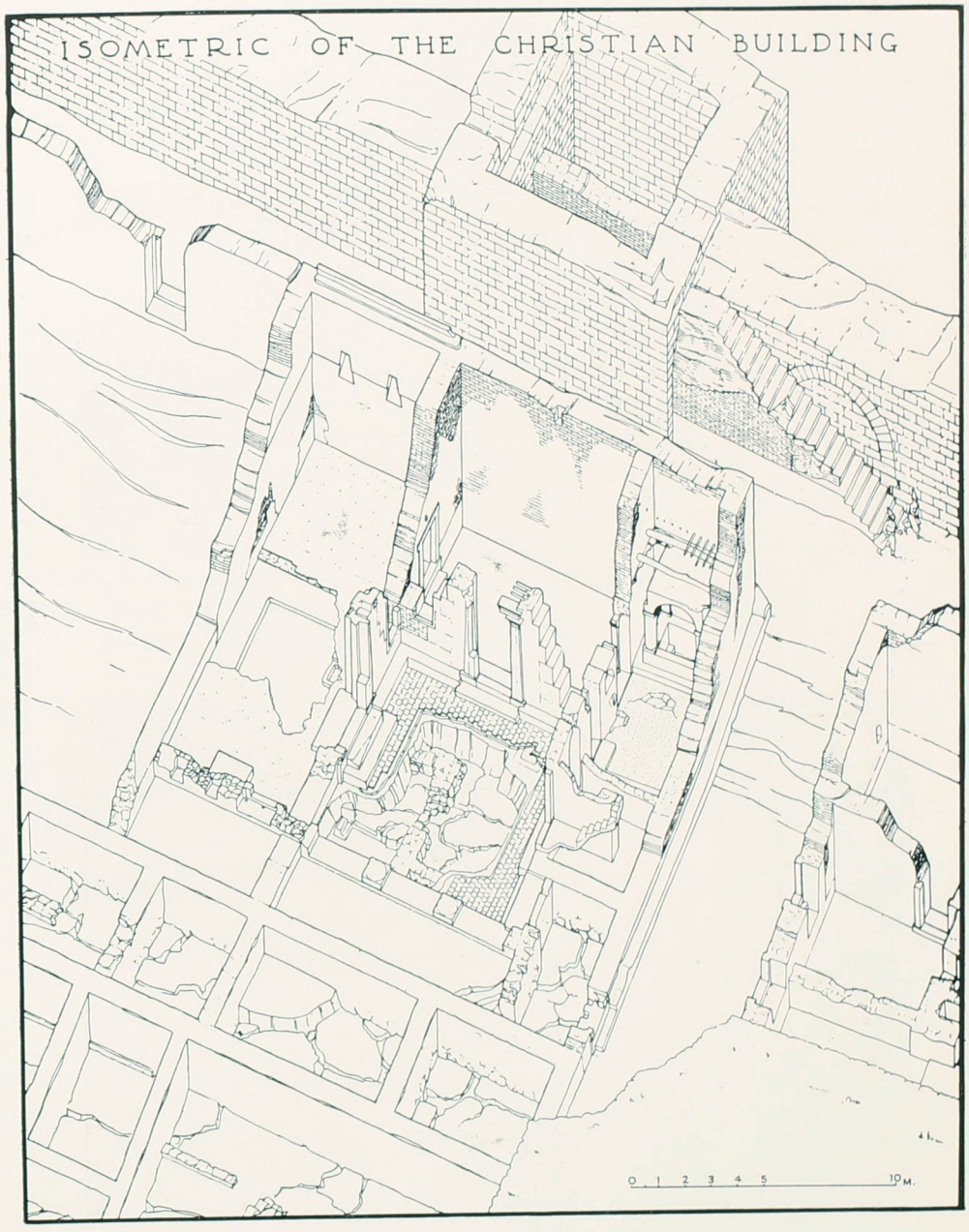
Let us return to the synagogue of Dura. Uniform as is the style of the paintings, it yet shows certain variations, as I have pointed out. Are these variations due to the individuality of the painters, or to their nationality, or to the local schools

which may have existed within the artistic κοινή of the Near East? Our information is so scanty that it is difficult to give a satisfactory answer to this question.

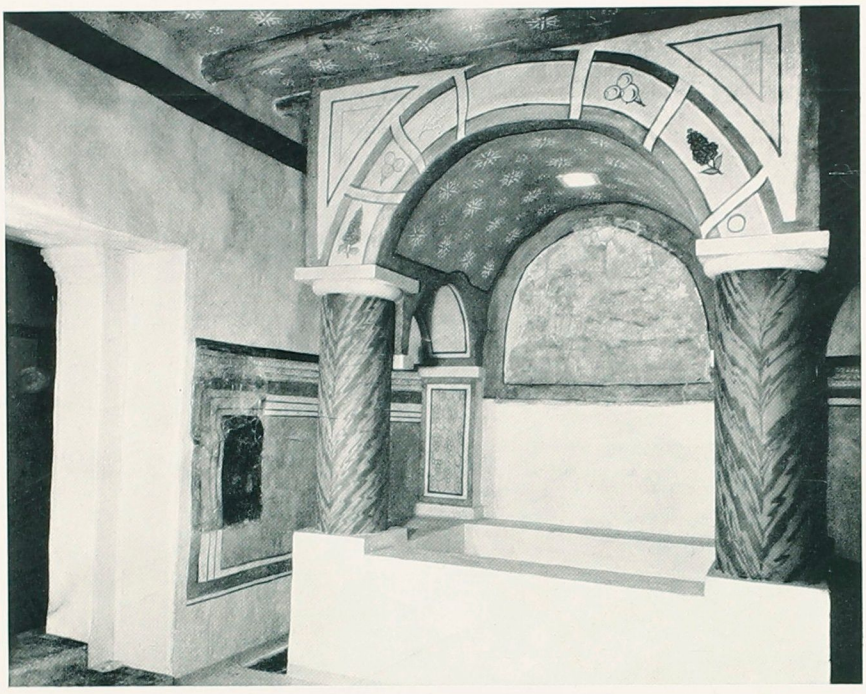
One point, however, may be taken for granted. The paintings of the Dura synagogue and probably their prototypes were products of the same Mesopotamian art of which the other religious paintings of Dura are examples. It is more than probable that they were painted by local, not imported, artists, and that if they had similar pictures at hand as models or had seen them in some other place, these pictures belonged to the same Mesopotamian school, which represented a synthesis of Semitic, Greek, and Iranian elements, with the first and last prevailing. No doubt the pictures of the synagogue produce an impression different from that produced by the Conon painting. But this is due mainly to their better state of preservation, to the diversity of subjects treated in them, and to our keener interest in them.

I may be brief in my description of the Christian church. As was done for the synagogue, a private house of medium size was reconstructed for the use of the Christian community. The house was built not before the early third century A.D., and was adapted to the requirements of the Christian cult soon after A.D. 232. Some scratched drawings of a secular character —a *clibanarius* and a *cataphractarius*—may go back to the time when the house was not yet transformed into a Christian church. The house was well hidden in a cluster of other similar houses, and its appearance remained exactly that of a private house even after its transformation into a Christian church. The Christians in the third century A.D. had every reason not to make their house of prayer conspicuous.

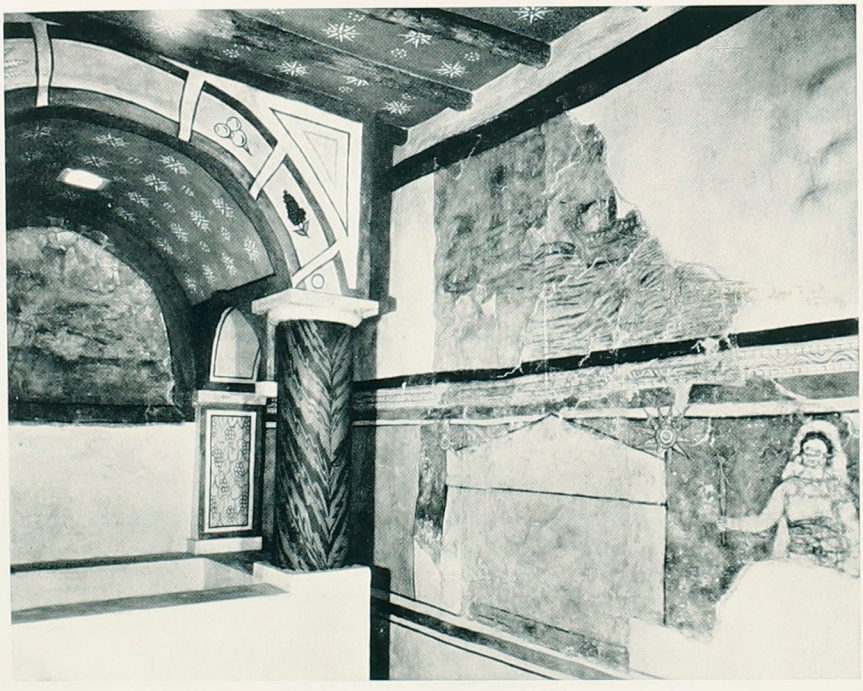
Remodelled as a Christian church, the house consisted of a large oblong room with a βῆμα at its northern end, of a court of the usual Durene type, of a large liwan which may have been used for the common meals (*agapai*) and perhaps as a school for Christian children and the *catechumenoi* (this last use is suggested by some graffiti found scratched on the walls of this room, as was pointed out by Du Mesnil), and finally of a small room accessible from both the court and the liwan by two doors. This room no doubt served as a baptistery and had



Christian church. Plan by H. Pearson



1. Baptistery as reconstructed in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts



2. Baptismal font and western wall of Baptistery as reconstructed in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts

a second story accessible from the court by means of a staircase.

The baptistery was the only room of the church adorned with paintings. It contained the baptismal font at the west end of the room surmounted by an *aedicula* brilliantly painted. The paintings were of decorative character: the columns were painted in imitation of coloured marble, the arch was adorned with floral motifs and fruit, the vault represented the sky—stars against a blue background.

The back wall of the *naos* was adorned with figural compositions, symbolical in their character: a majestic figure of the Good Shepherd standing near his flock filled the upper part of it; below were painted on a much smaller scale Adam and Eve, the tree, and the serpent. The pictures were intended to convey to the baptized the ideas of sin and redemption, the principal mystery of the Christian religion, its alpha and omega. While the composition of the picture of the Good Shepherd is free and full of movement, that of Adam and Eve is rigid and schematic.

The walls of the room in which stood the font and its shrine were also covered with paintings. The surface of the walls was divided into two zones. The pictures in the two zones of the west side wall are extant at the southern end of the wall; those of the short northern wall are almost entirely lost, and those of the eastern side wall are extant in the lower zone only.

A *catechumenos*, or a member of the Christian community, on entering the room from one of the two doors saw before him the pictures of the western side wall. They were certainly the most important in the room. The upper zone was occupied by representations of the miracles of our Lord—a striking expression of the part played by faith in the life of a good Christian. Two pictures are still extant: the healing of the paralytic and the miracle of the lake—a fine illustration of doubt and faith. In both of them the figure of Christ plays the leading part: Christ performing the miracle of healing in the first, Christ extending his right hand to help Peter in the second. The composition of the two pictures is free and realistic. The manner of treatment is illusionistic, similar to that found in

certain pictures in the Catacombs of Rome and in some houses at Pompeii. The grouping is far from rigid and schematic.

Faith was the guiding principle of the Christians. The faithful alone would be saved. They alone had the right to hope for and to find a new life after death. What awaited the faithful ones was displayed to them in the impressive and monumental composition of the lower zone; a symbolical picture of the resurrection, unique in its kind. Christ is in his grave and is not seen. A massive white sarcophagus, with its lid still in place, occupies the left-hand part of the picture. It is still night. Two stars—stars of hope—are shining in the heaven. But dawn is coming, the night is disappearing, Christ will soon rise from His grave. Solemnly the three Marys are moving towards the grave, holding in their hands torches and vases full of myrrh. Their figures are frontal, their movements slow and rhythmic, their faces full of earnestness and spiritual life; a striking contrast to the illusionistic style and composition of the miracles of Christ.

The next scene, that on the short north wall, is enigmatic. Five women are marching in procession towards the left. Are they the other myrrhophores?

Finally, the lower zone of the wall between the two doors was occupied by a picture of David and Goliath, a symbol of faith struggling against brute elemental force, of the contrast between the past and the present, between paganism and Christianity; and the same zone south of the second door shows the symbol of charity and faith, the Samaritan woman at the well.

The scheme of decoration of the baptistery as described above is exactly the same as that of the synagogue and of the pagan temples of Dura: the cult figure—here a symbol—in the centre, and illustrative pictures in two zones on the other walls.

The painters who executed the pictures of the baptistery may have been natives of Dura. They imitated in some respects the artists who worked in the pagan temples, for instance, in the strict frontality of all the human figures, perhaps also in the continuous narrative method of the scene of the paralytic. But the style of the pictures as a whole impresses one as utterly different from the Mesopotamian style. The composi-

tion of the pictures is much freer, there is real movement in some of the scenes, strong Greco-Roman influence may be detected in many of the figures, especially in those of the myrrhophores and of the Samaritan woman. The last especially is quite Greek in composition and treatment. And so is the figure of the Good Shepherd with a ram, not a lamb, on his shoulders—a motive that goes back to the classical κριοφόροι and was replaced later by the figure of a man carrying a lamb. Note that the same adoption of the ram instead of the lamb may be seen in a charming ivory statuette of the Good Shepherd recently acquired by the Louvre. The statuette is quite Greek in its inspiration and technique, and must be assigned to the early third century A.D. Note also that similar figures of κριοφόροι are sometimes found at Palmyra.

Though the treatment of the picture of the Good Shepherd, of that of the miracles, and of that of the myrrhophores is not exactly the same, and reflects different tendencies, it is more than probable that all the pictures of the baptistery were painted by one and the same artist. It is still more important to observe that, in contrast with the synagogue, the pictures in the Christian baptistery show a unity of plan, a unity of idea, a unity of composition. The pictures were designed to convey to the *catechumenoi* in impressive images the leading ideas of the Christian religion. It is difficult to attribute this unity of plan and conception to the builders of the Christian church and to those who commissioned the painters of the decorations. Behind this unity we see a long tradition, a scheme that was familiar to Christians throughout the Christian world.

This scheme was not of Mesopotamian origin, nor is the style of the pictures Mesopotamian. The illusionistic pictures of the miracles, the impressionistic picture of the myrrhophores, the classical figure of the Samaritan woman, hark back to originals which had been created in a more Hellenistic atmosphere than that of Dura and Mesopotamia. It is not for me to go deeper into this problem. Students of Christian art will be able to give more precision to the above statements. I think, however, that they will agree on the main point, namely, that the art of the Christian chapel came to Dura from outside and was only slightly affected there, in the hands of native artists, by

Mesopotamian influences. Whether it was Alexandria or Antioch that created this art I am unable to decide. Certainly it was not Rome and Italy. This is shown by the motifs and composition of many of the pictures of the baptistery, which are quite out of harmony with the Western tradition of Christian art, while entirely in the spirit of its oriental tradition.

Dura, I may say in conclusion, has shown itself to us as a city *sui generis*, illustrative of a civilization peculiar to wide regions of the Near East connected with the Parthian Empire. I have tentatively given to this civilization the name of Mesopotamian. Our information is at present too meagre to enable us to trace its history after the fall of Dura. But in the field of art we may be allowed certain conjectures. Mesopotamian religious art did not disappear with Dura. It gave rise to a tradition of Christian art which is little known and has been little studied. Its existence was suspected only by visionaries of genius such as Strzygowski. We now know its leading features. The influence of this art on Christian art in general requires to be carefully studied by persons more competent than myself. But I am convinced that the result of such an investigation will be to show that many important features of late Roman and early Byzantine Christian art had their source in Mesopotamian art.

While Mesopotamian religious art found its continuation in certain branches of Christian art, the corresponding secular art, more Iranian in its essence than the religious art, found, for its part, a continuation in the splendid Sasanian art, which so deeply influenced the art of the Far East, the Moslem art of the Near East, and in some of its aspects even the art of the late Roman and medieval West. We are indebted to Dura for revealing to us the phase of transition between the late Achaemenid Greco-Persian art and the art of the Sasanian period.

Such is the contribution of Dura to our knowledge of the ancient world. Much of what I have said is inevitably conjectural. Pioneer work is always based on hypothesis, and progress in knowledge is impossible without conjectural statements. They may prove wrong. I hope that my errors will soon be corrected by fellow-students, who will, perhaps, be able to base their conclusions on additional material yielded by further excavations in the Mesopotamian and adjacent regions.

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I cannot record the numerous popular articles written recently on Dura by various authors, among them by the present writer, nor the many substantial and valuable reviews of the various volumes of our Preliminary Reports written periodically by such highly competent authorities as F. Cumont, R. Dussaud, Père Mouterde, A. Merlin, F. Chapouthier, E. Bikerman, H. Lietzmann, and others. I may mention that good reproductions of the most important ruins and objects discovered at Dura, in addition to those contained in our own reports, will be found in the short reports on the current excavations published regularly in the *Illustrated London News*, *L'Illustration*, and the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

NOTES

The few notes that I add to the bibliography are for the most part of a purely informative and bibliographical character. They refer the reader to a book or article (chiefly to our Reports) where a more complete treatment of the problems touched upon in my text or a fuller description of the monuments mentioned in it will be found. Other notes refer to publications where monuments and objects not appearing in my plates are reproduced. A very few notes contain evidence which has never been published and illustrated before. Finally, in exceptional cases, I have briefly discussed points which have been dealt with by other authors whose opinions do not coincide with my own as stated in the text of my lectures.

CHAPTER I

1. MINOR FINDS AT DURA. A few references will suffice. WOOD. Wooden doors: C. Hopkins, *Rep.* vi, pp. 261 ff., pl. XXIX; wooden beams: e.g. *Rep.* ii, pl. XII, 2 and 3; wooden painted door of a *naiskos*: M. I. Rostovtzeff and P. V. C. Baur, 'Victory on a Painted Panel', *Rep.* ii, pp. 181 ff., cf. Frontispiece and pl. 1; painted inscription on a wooden panel: J. Johnson, *Rep.* ii, p. 148, fig. 23; reed and wooden arrows: F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 453 ff., pl. XXIV, cf. *Rep.* ii, pl. IX. TEXTILES. Lillian M. Wilson, *Rep.* ii, pp. 178 ff., pls. XVIII, XX, XXI; R. Pfister, 'Études textiles', *Rev. d. Arts As.* viii (1934), pp. 84 ff., pls. XXVI and XXVII, *b*; the textiles of Dura will be published in full and interpreted by R. Pfister in our Final Report. LEATHER and WOOD. Shoes: C. Hopkins, *Rep.* ii, p. 69, pl. X (several others were found later); shields, wood and leather: C. Hopkins, *Rep.* ii, p. 74 f., pl. XXVI, cf. *Rep.* i, p. 17, fig. 4; painted shields, the *scutum*: F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 456 ff., cf. frontispiece and pls. XXV and XXVI; the oval shields: F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. VIII. PARCHMENTS and PAPYRI. M. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles, *Rep.* ii, pp. 201 ff.; E. T. Silk and C. B. Welles, *Rep.* v, pp. 295 ff.; C. H. Kraeling, C. C. Torrey, and C. B. Welles, *Rep.* vi, pp. 416 ff., cf. *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. XI (in these inventories will be found references to the fuller publications of some of the Dura papyri and parchments). I have quoted in this note only the objects found during the Yale excavations. Similar objects found previously by F. Cumont were published in Cumont, *Fouilles*, and are well known to archaeologists.

2. HISTORY OF DURA. More details on the history of Dura-Europos will be found in the books quoted in the general bibliography.

3. PRE-HELLENISTIC DURA. It must be noted that the Babylonian name of Dura, Duru, Dur, Der, Dor, is a very common place-name in the Babylonian and Assyrian world. See Ebeling, *Reallexikon d. Assyriol.* ii, p. 254 s.v. 'Duru', cf. pp. 241 ff. Very few objects of pre-Hellenistic times were found in the ruins of Dura. Among them are some late-Babylonian seals. More important is the fragment of a Babylonian tablet found in

1937 embedded in one of the mud bricks of one of the walls of the temple of Atargatis. The tablet has been deciphered and studied by Professor Ferris J. Stephens of Yale University and will soon be published by him in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*. The document is probably a deed of gift of land, bearing the date of one of the years of the reign of King Hammurabih of the kingdom of Hana (the kingdom of Hana adjoined the kingdom of Mari; its kings ruled over large stretches of alluvial land on the banks of the Middle Euphrates). In the text of the document the place where the fields were situated is called Da-ma-ra, which is equivalent to Da-wa-ra, from which is derived Dura. It is evident that the tablet relates to a city or village Dura which probably stood in the plain on the alluvial soil somewhere in the near vicinity of the later Dura-Europos. We know that the kingdom of Hana, with its capital, Tirqa (modern Tell 'Ashārah, a few miles north of Dura, partly excavated by Thureau Dangin), had had a long existence. The documents of Mari show that shortly before Hammurabih of Babylon it was in the hands of the kings of Mari. After the destruction of the capital of Mari by Hammurabih it may have recovered its independence. Later it was in the hands of Assyrian and Kassite kings. The dates of the known kings of Hana and among them of Hammurabih of our tablet are uncertain. They may have lived and ruled in the eighteenth or seventeenth century B.C. Cf. Fig. V, 3.

4. CULT OF SELEUCUS. See my article *Πρόγονοι* in *J.H.S.* lv (1935), pp. 56 ff., and my forthcoming book *Economic and Social History of the Hellenistic World*. Cf. E. Bikerman, *Institutions Séleucides*, 1938, pp. 236 ff.

A striking parallel to the survival of dynastic cults at Dura is presented by the imperial coins of Antioch on the Maeander (from Augustus to Salonina), where on the reverse of the coins we sometimes find the head of the founder of the city and the inscription *Ἀντίοχος* or his full erect figure accompanied by the inscription *κτίστης* (Head, *H.N*^{2}., p. 608; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, p. 109; A. Dieudonné, *Rev. Num.* vi (1902), pp. 69 ff., pl. iv. 1.

5. THE DATE OF THE FOUNDING OF EUROPOS. This date is controversial, see my article 'The Foundation of Dura-Europos', *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, 10 (1938), pp. 99 ff.

6. FORTIFICATIONS OF EUROPOS. A. von Gerkan in *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. I (with bibliography), cf. M. Rostovtzeff and F. Brown, *C. r. Ac. Inscr.*, 1937, pp. 197 ff. A full treatment of the problem will be found in our Final Report.

7. NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE ON SELEUCID AND PARTHIAN EUROPOS. Many coins have been found at Dura, partly in the form of hoards, partly as stray finds in the ruins of various buildings. The majority of the hoards belong to the time immediately preceding the last days of Dura. They contain very important evidence on the economic and sometimes on the political situation of the third century A.D. Some hoards, however, are earlier. Such is, for example, hoard 13, which consisted of one Parthian and numerous Seleucid copper coins. Among the Seleucid coins there are 205 of Antiochus III. Several hoards have been published by Professor A. R. Bellinger and Mr. E. T. Newell in

Numismatic Notes and Monographs, nos. 49, 55, 58, and 69 (cf. the coin-reports of Professor A. R. Bellinger in our *Reports*). Still more important for the history of Dura are the stray finds. Professor A. R. Bellinger has been kind enough to summarize briefly for this book the results of his penetrating study of this material as follows:

'Among the chance finds there is Seleucid bronze in sufficient quantity to give a reasonably trustworthy idea of the coinage in circulation in the early years of the city's existence. With rare exceptions the Seleucid coins are all from the mint of Antioch, and they include the issues of twenty-three reigns from Seleucus I (306–281 B.C.) to Antiochus XII (89–84 B.C.). In general the numbers found are roughly proportional to the quantities coined, but there are some notable exceptions. There are abnormally large numbers from the reigns of Seleucus III and Antiochus III and from that of Antiochus VIII, and abnormally small numbers from the reigns of Alexander I, Demetrius II, Antiochus VI, Alexander II, and Antiochus IX. These figures indicate a period of prosperity in the third century B.C. culminating in the reign of Antiochus the Great, which accords well with the general history of the time. But in the troubled times beginning with the accession of Alexander I in 150 there was a lapse in Dura's activity, with an interval of normal times under Antiochus VII from 138 to 129 B.C. Again, from 125 to 96 B.C. the coinage of Antiochus VIII not only almost excluded that of his rival Antiochus IX but came to the city in such quantity as to suggest a real revival. If such there was it was short lived, for the later Seleucid pieces are very few. But, few or many, the Seleucid bronze coins held the field without rival; there are no others throughout the period. And it is clear from their number and place of finding that the little pieces of Antiochus III were in circulation down to the Roman period.

'We can only conjecture that what was true of bronze was true also of silver. Actually no Seleucid silver has been found, but the earlier issues would hardly have come to light except in a hoard. As for the later ones, they may have had to compete with Parthian drachms and tetradrachms. Three or four of the former have been found datable within the Seleucid period. But it is not until the reigns of Orodes (57–37 B.C.) and Phraates IV (38–3 B.C.) that Parthian silver occurs to any considerable extent. That is, Dura turned to the use of Parthian coins after the conquest of Syria by the Romans. Yet not to their use exclusively, for, while the chance finds contain three tetradrachms and nine drachms of Orodes, fourteen drachms of Phraates IV, the Fifth Hoard (published by Mr. Newell) had fifteen tetradrachms struck by the Romans in Antioch from 46 to 23 B.C. and the chance finds have produced three more. Two tetradrachms from the first century A.D. and one from the third complete the finds of Parthian silver, while numbers of tetradrachms from Antioch and imperial denarii show that the normal currency was Roman.

'The small amount of Parthian bronze begins with Phraates IV and ends with Vologases III (A.D. 147–91), but the bulk of it is composed of the civic issue of Seleucia on the Tigris of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. It is evident

that these served the same purpose as had the little pieces of Antiochus III and circulated side by side with the big bronze of Antioch from the time of Augustus on.

'It is evident, therefore, that until the opening of other more available mints in the third century A.D., Dura regularly used the output of Antioch, whether Seleucid or Roman, regardless of political conditions. The Parthians may, at times, have stopped the flow of new money from that direction, but if they attempted to replace the Antiochene issues with their own they did not succeed. Parthian money was never more than subsidiary either in silver or bronze.' I do not think that the evidence of the coins suggests a late occupation of Dura by the Parthians (after 84 B.C.). The coin-hoards and stray finds of the Iranian parts of the Parthian kingdom show that Seleucid silver freely circulated in the Parthian kingdom in the Parthian and Roman periods.

8. TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS. F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 397 ff.

9. COINS OF THE LATE PARTHIAN PERIOD (from about 50 B.C. to the time of M. Aurelius). See above, note 7.

10. BUILDING DATES OF THE TEMPLES OF DURA-EUROPOS (list supplied by Mr. F. Brown).

1. Temple of Artemis III, shortly before 33/32 B.C.: Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 52, *Rep.* vi, p. 411.
2. Necropolis temple, 32 B.C.: *Rev. Ét. Juives*, c (1936), pp. xvii ff.
3. Temple of Azzanathcona, shortly before A.D. 12/13: *Rep.* v, p. 196, no. 545.
4. Temple of Zeus Kyrios, A.D. 28/9: *Rep.* vii–viii, nos. 914–15.
5. Temple of Atargatis II, A.D. 31/2: Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 85.
6. Temple of Palmyrene Gods I, shortly before A.D. 50/1: *Rep.* ii, p. 91, no. H. 4.
7. Temple of Aphlad, A.D. 54: *Rep.* v, p. 114, no. 418.
8. Temple of Zeus Theos, A.D. 114: *Rep.* vii–viii, no. 880.
9. Temple of Adonis, shortly before A.D. 152: *Rep.* vii–viii, nos. 870–2.
10. Temple of the Gaddé, shortly before A.D. 159: *Rep.* vii–viii, nos. 907–8.
11. Temple of Zeus Megistos V, A.D. 169, *Rep.* ix–x.

11. TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TRAJAN AND ITS INSCRIPTION. *Rep.* iv, pp. 56 ff., cf. R. Fink, *Rep.* vi, pp. 480 ff.

12. EVACUATION OF DURA IN A.D. 117. My article in *C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1935, pp. 285 ff., cf. E. Groag, *Klio*, xxix (1936), pp. 232 ff.; A. Degrassi, *Riv. Fil.* lxiv (1936), pp. 410 ff., and C. B. Welles, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. xi. I am still convinced that it was Trajan who evacuated Dura, not Hadrian. I cannot believe that the evacuation of Dura with all that preceded it—diplomatic *pourparlers* between Hadrian and the Parthians (note that Hadrian was at that time at Antioch), the order for evacuation which took some time to reach Dura, the preparation for evacuation—and the subsequent rebuilding of the

temple by Epinicus (of course, we do not know how large the temple was and how thorough was its destruction; for the last, cf. P. Teb. 781 (164 B.C.)) could have been carried out in the two months which elapsed between the death of Trajan and the date of Epinicus' inscription. I must emphasize the fact that Dura in later times never belonged to the province of Mesopotamia, but to that of Syria. Its evacuation had therefore nothing to do with the evacuation of Mesopotamia by Hadrian. It meant, in fact, the re-establishment on the Middle Euphrates of pre-war conditions as regards the frontier between Rome and Parthia.

13. INFLUENCE OF ROME AND PALMYRA IN DURA AFTER TRAJAN. M. Rostovtzeff, *C.A.H.* xi, pp. 108 ff., cf. id., 'Les Inscriptions caravanières de Palmyre', *Mél. Glotz*, ii, 1932, pp. 793 ff. (cf. *Berytus*, ii (1935), pp. 143 ff.), and H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xiii (1932), p. 266, and xiv (1933), pp. 152 ff. See also D. Schlumberger, *Syria*, xviii (1937), pp. 295 ff. The importance of the trade route which ran across the desert to Palmyra and thence to the Euphrates road in the early Roman Empire is emphasized by a recent find made in the ruins of the great city of Kapisa near Begram by the French Afghanistan expedition headed by J. Hackin. I owe to the kindness of Mr. Hackin and Mr. A. Foucher my acquaintance with this still unpublished find. It consists of some Indian ivories (Ist–IIIrd cent. A.D.) and of a set of beautiful Syrian glass of various types, forms, and technique (especially striking is one piece of painted glass). This find shows how extensively the land route which ran from Syria through Persia and Afghanistan to India was used in the early imperial period. The importance of this land route in the early Roman times, a route of which the greater part was in the hands of Parthia, accounts in my opinion for the strong influence of the Mesopotamian art on the so-called Gandhara art in its Afghanistan and Gandhara-Taxila branches (see below, note 57). Cf. for the recent finds in Afghanistan, J. Hackin, 'L'Art Bouddhique de la Bactriane', *Bull. Arch. publié par la Section historique de l'Académie Afghane*, i. 1937.

14. THE ROMAN CAMP. The praetorium: C. Hopkins and H. T. Rowell, *Rep.* v, pp. 201 ff., cf. on the temple of Azzanathcona, C. Hopkins, ibid., pp. 131 ff., and F. Brown, M. Rostovtzeff, and C. B. Welles, *Rep.* vi, pp. 482 ff. The other parts of the Roman camp: F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 49 ff. The Mithraeum: H. Pearson, F. Cumont, and M. Rostovtzeff, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. II. The temple of Dolichenus and the palace of the Dux: Du Mesnil du Buisson and F. Brown, *Rep.* ix–x, cf. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1936, pp. 144 ff. The main gate and its inscriptions: M. Rostovtzeff, *Rep.* i, pp. 30 ff.; J. Johnson, *Rep.* ii, pp. 114 ff. The 'House of the Roman Scribes': H. Pearson, P. V. C. Baur, and M. Rostovtzeff, *Rep.* vi, pp. 265 ff., cf. for the soldiers billeted in private houses and for graffiti bearing on military life, C. Hopkins, *Rep.* v, pp. 38 ff., and pls. XXXIII and XXXIV, and F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. III (graffiti found near the temple of Adonis).

15. LAST SIEGE OF DURA. R. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Rep.* vi, pp. 188 ff., and id., *Rev. du Génie Militaire*, 1937, janvier–février, cf. *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. I.

All the episodes of the siege of Dura, as established by the excavations, find their parallels in the most famous sieges of the Hellenistic and Roman times. The most striking parallels are presented by the siege of Athens by Sulla in 87 B.C. as described by Appian, *Mithr.* 36–7, cf. Th. Reinach, *Mithridates Eupator*, German translation, p. 151 f., and p. 156 f. We find at Athens a wall of approach, mines and countermines, battles in the galleries, sulphur and pitch extensively used. It shows that the Sasanians were using siege devices current in the Hellenistic times.

16. DATE OF THE CAPTURE OF DURA. The hoard (no. 10) found in 1933 in a house near the Palmyrene gate, a house buried under the sloping embankment, was published by A. R. Bellinger, 'The Sixth, Seventh, and Tenth Dura Hoards', *Num. Notes and Monographs*, no. 69, 1935. On its historical importance see the remarks of A. R. Bellinger, loc. cit., p. 1 f. The conclusions of Mr. Brown on the date of the last siege were communicated to me orally. Cf. the important remarks of A. R. Bellinger, *Rep.* vi, pp. 467 ff., especially the analysis of the coins found with the corpses of Roman soldiers in the mine described above.

17. FRONTIER BETWEEN ROME AND PARTHIA IN THE THIRD CENTURY A.D. M. Rostovtzeff, *C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1933, pp. 309 ff., cf. *Rep.* v, p. 297 f. On the direct road between Palmyra and Babylonia: my article, *Mél. Glotz*, p. 793 ff., cf. *Berytus*, ii (1935), pp. 143 ff.

CHAPTER II

18. AGORA. The topography of the agora region and the remains of the agora buildings will be treated by Mr. Brown in *Rep.* ix–x, cf. C. Hopkins, *Rep.* v, pp. 73 ff., and pl. ii, and M. Rostovtzeff and F. Brown, *C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1937, p. 199.

19. 'REDOUBT.' First excavated by M. Pillet, *Rep.* iv, pp. 21 ff., and pl. iii. Studied again by C. Hopkins and H. Pearson. The results will be published in *Rep.* ix–x, cf. *C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1937, p. 197. Since, in the opinion of Mr. Pearson and Mr. Brown, the second palace of the redoubt shows in its architectural features a far-reaching similarity with the second or early Parthian palace of the citadel, we may assume that both palaces were reconstructed simultaneously, i.e. soon after the occupation of Dura by the Parthians. Of course, a reconstruction about thirty years earlier, i.e. at the time of Antiochus IV, would show the same architectural features. The two alternative datings—late Hellenistic or early Parthian times—stand therefore before us as equally admissible.

20. TEMPLE OF ZEUS MEGISTOS. The ruins of the temple were excavated by Mr. Brown in 1935–6; the results will be published by him in *Rep.* ix–x. See meanwhile Du Mesnil du Buisson, *C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1936, pp. 140 ff.

21. TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS. Above, note 8.

22. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS. Of Seleucus στρατηγὸς πόλεως γενεάρχης—Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 409, no. 52, and pl. CXIII, 3, cf. *Rep.* v, p. 84, and vi, p. 411, and pl. XXXII, 1; dedication to Artemis and Apollo ἀρχηγοῖς of A.D. 2—*Rep.* iii, p. 63, D 161.

23. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THREE 'SALLES AUX GRADINS'. Temple of Artemis—Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 412 ff., nos. 57–84; J. Johnson, *Rep.* ii, p. 168 f., nos. 4–6; and F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 412 ff., cf. *S.E.G.* vii. 681–703. Temple of Atargatis—Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 427 ff., nos. 85–121, and J. Johnson, *Rep.* ii, pp. 167 ff., nos. 1–3, and *S.E.G.* ii, 778 ff., and vii. 704–7. Temple of Azzanathcona—S. Hopkins, *Rep.* v, pp. 180 ff.

24. TEMPLE OF ATARGATIS. M. Pillet, *Rep.* iii, pp. 9 ff., cf. H. T. Rowell and A. R. Bellinger, ibid., pp. 40 ff. (inscriptions), and pls. II–IV, also the note of A. R. Bellinger, ibid., pp. 18 ff., and pls. V–VI. The supplementary excavations of the temple by H. Pearson will be illustrated by him in *Rep.* IX–X. See meanwhile M. Rostovtzeff and F. Brown, *C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1937, p. 200. One of the inscriptions found by H. Pearson (of A.D. 34) speaks of the erection of two *phalloi* at the entrance of the temple (*C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1937, p. 204). Similar *phalloi* stood, according to Lucian (Περὶ τῆς Συρίης θεοῦ, 16 and 28–9), in the Propylaea of the temple of Atargatis at Bambyce. See on them the note of Professor A. M. Harmon, Lucian (Loeb Collection), vol. iv, p. 360, note 1, and his illuminating correction ἐχῖνον (instead of the manuscript ἐκεῖνον) in paragraph 29.

25. INSCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF ATARGATIS. *Rep.* iii, p. 46 f. (D 146); *S.E.G.* vii, 380. Two restorations of this fragmentary inscription have been suggested. According to that of the first editors, the inscription mentioned the year (A.D. 225 or 235), the donor, the two gods, Adonis and Atargatis, and the painter. According to Cumont, whose restoration I am inclined to accept, the date, three gods, Saddoudan, Adonis, and Atargatis, and the name of the painter were recorded. Note that we possess a dedication to the enigmatic god Saddudan found in the same temple and dated the same year (A.D. 235), *Rep.* iii, p. 62, l. 11. Cf. F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. III. The bas-relief of Hadad and Atargatis found in the temple—*Rep.* iii, pl. XIV, and P. V. C. Baur, ibid., pp. 100 ff.

26. TEMPLES OF PARTHIAN TIMES. Temple of Artemis: above, note 8. Azzanathcona: C. Hopkins, *Rep.* v, pp. 131 ff. Aphlad: C. Hopkins, ibid., pp. 98 ff. Zeus Kyrios: C. Hopkins, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. VI. Zeus Theos: F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. IV. Temple of the 'Palmyrene gods' (probably of Bel): Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 29 ff.; M. Pillet, *Rep.* ii, p. 11 f., and C. Hopkins, ibid., pp. 67 ff., and pl. VII; C. Hopkins, *J.A.O.S.* li (1931), pp. 119 ff.; id., *Rep.* v, p. 290 f., and pl. IV. The temple was carefully studied by H. Pearson in 1936–7. The results will be published in *Rep.* IX–X. Temple of Zeus Megistos: above, note 20. Temple of the gods protectors of Palmyra and Dura: F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. V. Temple of Bel in the necropolis:

N. P. Toll, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. VII. Temple of Adonis: F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. III. On the dates of the building of some of these temples: above, note 10.

27. PARTHIAN PALACE OF THE CITADEL. M. Pillet, *Rep.* ii, pp. 12 ff., and C. Hopkins, ibid., pp. 53 ff. The citadel has been thoroughly explored since by C. Hopkins and F. Brown. The results will be published in *Rep.* ix–x, cf. *C. r. Acad. Inscr.*, 1937, pp. 197 ff. Parthian palace of the redoubt: above, note 19.

28. THE SUKHS. C. Hopkins, *Rep.* v, pp. 73 ff., and pls. II and IX, 1. The sukhs have been further excavated and studied by Mr. Brown. The results will be published in *Rep.* ix–x.

29. PRIVATE HOUSES. Many private houses have been excavated by Cumont and ourselves. See M. Pillet, *Rep.* iv, pp. 27 ff., cf. C. B. Welles (house of the Archives or of Nebuchelos), ibid., pp. 79 ff., and A. G. Little (house of the Sasanian frescoes), ibid., pp. 182 ff.; C. Hopkins, *Rep.* v, pp. 31 ff. (pl. VI drawn by H. Pearson shows the plan of a typical Durene house); F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 4 ff.; M. Crosby, ibid., pp. 106 ff.; C. Hopkins, ibid., pp. 140 ff. (house of the Palmyrene paintings); id., ibid., pp. 172 ff.; H. Pearson, ibid., pp. 212 ff. (the block of the synagogue); H. Pearson, M. Rostovtzeff, P. V. C. Baur, M. Crosby, ibid., pp. 265 ff. (house of the Roman scribes). House of Lysias (behind the temple of Zeus Megistos) will be published and illustrated by Mr. Brown in *Rep.* ix–x. Parthian bath: F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 49 ff.

30. DECORATIVE WALL-PAINTING. See my remarks in *Rep.* vi, pp. 275 ff., cf. A. G. Little, *Rep.* iv, p. 182 f., and my 'Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art', pp. 213 ff.

31. ROMAN BATHS. Most of them were built for the use of the Roman soldiers inside the camp. One at least seems to have been used not by the soldiers, but by the civil population. See F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 84 ff.

32. ROMAN ENLARGEMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS. Inscriptions of Gemellus: Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 51, cf. *Rep.* iii, p. 43, D 145. Statue of L. Verus: Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 53. Statue of Julia Domna erected by the *Bule* of Dura: *Rep.* iii, p. 51, D 149. Graffito of the *buleutes* in the *buleuterion*: *Rep.* iv, p. 170, no. 343. Inscription of the *sommacoloni*: Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 50: *Ἀρ]τέ[μ]ιδι ἀνέκτισαν τὸν ναὸν λεγό[με]νον [τῶν] σομμακολ(ώνων) Αὐρήλιοι Γόρας γαζζοφύ(λαξ), Ὀρθονόβαζος καὶ Ζεβιδ[άδαδος | καὶ ὁ δεῖνα οἱ αὐτοῦ] υἱοὶ οἱ [ταμίαι* (or similar) *καὶ ὁ δεῖνα . . .] νέου κόλωνες, βουλευταὶ καὶ εἱερεῖς [θ]εᾶς Ἀρ[τέμι]δος*. It is probable that Goras and his sons were officers not of the city, but of the temple. I may mention that *σομμακολ* may have nothing to do with the Roman colony. See the late Hellenistic inscription of Delos, *Inscr. de Délos* 2377: *Ἰδίων Δινέου Γαδαρηνὸς | Ἀρτέμιδι Σωσικολώνῃ | χαριστήριον*.

33. THE NECROPOLIS. It will be illustrated by Mr. Toll in our Final Report. On the *astodan* and *naus*: C. Trever, *Terracottas from Afrasiab*, 1934, pp. 17 ff., and the bibliography which she quotes.

CHAPTER III

34. The subject of this chapter has been dealt with by the present writer in his paper: 'Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art', *Yale Class. St.* v (1935), pp. 157 ff. In this paper I have quoted other contributions to the problem, and I need not repeat these quotations here. Similar to my article in purpose and scope is the recent paper by C. Hopkins, 'Aspects of Parthian Art in the Light of Discoveries from Dura-Europos', *Berytus*, iii (1936), pp. 1 ff. Valuable remarks on the technique, style, and evolution of Durene religious painting will be found in the reports of F. Brown on the excavation of the temples of Adonis, Zeus Theos, and the Gaddé (*Rep.* vii–viii, chs. III, IV, V). Mr. Brown is certainly right in dividing the religious paintings of Dura into two groups: one which is earlier and of which one of the characteristic features is its connexion with Hellenistic painting, and the other which has its Western front turned toward Roman illusionism. It is in the main the same evolution as that known to have taken place in Palmyrene sculpture (specimens of Palmyrene painting all belong to the later group). I am dealing in my lecture chiefly with the earlier, 'Hellenistic', group, artistically the more important of the two. Its leading features, which I endeavour to establish, were never changed in the later period. The change affected the Western façade, not the Eastern core.

35. THE 'FERIALE DURANUM'. Copy of the official religious calendar of the Roman army found in a room of the temple of Artemis Azzanathcona which served as an office of the Roman garrison. Soon to be published in full in *Yale Class. St.* vi, by R. Fink, A. S. Hoey, and W. Snyder. Some preliminary remarks in *Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusf.* xix (1934), pp. 364 ff., cf. *Rep.* v, pp. 295 ff., pl. XXXI, 2.

36. ASTROLOGY AND MAGIC. J. Johnson, *Rep.* ii, pp. 161 ff.; C. B. Welles, *Rep.* iv, p. 95, no. 220, pp. 105 ff., nos. 231, 232, and pp. 115 ff., nos. 235–9 (horoscopes), and F. Brown, M. Rostovtzeff, and C. B. Welles, *Rep.* vi, pp. 496 ff. (magic).

37. SOLAR HENOTHEISM OR PANTHEISM. I cannot quote here all the modern studies dealing with this topic. Suffice it to refer to the relevant chapter in F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales*, &c., ed. 4, 1928, pp. 116 ff. (and the German translation of this edition). 'Europeanization' of the great supreme God of the Syrian solar pantheism: E. Bikerman, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cxv (1937), p. 213.

38. SOLAR GOD IN THE CHARIOT. My papers on the topic are quoted in 'Dura and Parthian Art', p. 169, note 9. The subject has been treated quite recently by H. Seyrig, 'Sur quelques sculptures Palmyréniennes', *Syria*, xviii (1937), pp. 43 ff., cf. O. Brendel, *Die Antike*, xii (1936), pp. 272 ff., and J. Hackin, 'Recherches Arch. au Col de Khair Khaneh près de Kabul', *Mém. Dél. Arch. Fr. en Afghanistan*, vii, 1936. The earliest Greco-Iranian representation of the god appears on a gold front-plaque of triangular shape which belonged to a priestly tiara and was found in the tumulus grave of

Karagodeuashch in the Kuban region. It must be dated in the early third century B.C. See my *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 105 and pl. XXIII, 1. Note that the god is seen full face in his chariot and that the horses (there were four, but only two were shown on the plaque) are separated into two groups in order to show the epiphany of the god. Note also the two solar griffins below and the figure of Tyche-Hvareno above. I may draw the attention of the reader to a similar bronze plaque found with some others in Elis and now in the British Museum. The plaques may have once adorned the ritual head-dress or the ritual chariot of a priest of an oriental god. The god and his consort are represented on the front-plaque standing in a *quadriga*, the horses of the *quadriga* being represented as if they stood on their hind legs. I intend to discuss these curious bronzes (fourth century B.C.?) in a special paper.

39. CULT BAS-RELIEFS AND CULT STATUES. I may give here once for all a list of cult bas-reliefs, fragments of statues, and paintings which reproduce images of the gods and goddesses worshipped in the major temples of Dura. A. GODS. (1) The sculptures of the temple of *Zeus Megistos* on the Acropolis will be published in *Rep.* ix–x, cf. my plate XI, 2. (2) The bas-relief of *Zeus Kyrios: Rep.* vii–viii, cf. my pl. XI, 1, and C. Hopkins, *Berytus*, iii (1936), pl. III. (3) *Hadad* (and Atargatis): *Rep.* iii, pl. XIV, cf. 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 45 (Hadad alone), cf. *Rep.* v, pl. XVII, 2. (4) *Aphlad:* 'Dura and Parthian Art', figs. 36 and 38; *Rep.* v, pl. XIII, and *Berytus*, iii (1936), pl. III. (5) *Adonis:* F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii. (6) *The Gaddé:* F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, cf. 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 50, and the frontispiece of this book. (7) *The Palmyrene gods:* below, note 42, and the scene of sacrifice to Jahribol found in the temple of Azzanathcona, 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 57. (8) *Zeus Theos:* F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, and my pls. XIII, XIV. (9) *The god on horseback:* 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 40; C. Hopkins, *Rep.* vi, pl. XXX. (10) *The god on camel-back:* F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, cf. 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 44 and here, pl. XII. (11) *Fragments of cult statues (?) of male gods:* P. V. C. Baur, *Rep.* iii, pls. XV–XVI; C. Hopkins, *Rep.* v, pls. XV–XVI, cf. 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 43; here, pl. XI, 2. B. GODDESSES. (12) *Atargatis:* above, no. 3, cf. *Rep.* iv, pl. VIII, 3; F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, cf. 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 49. (13) *Azzanathcona:* C. Hopkins, *Rep.* v, pl. XIV, and id., *Berytus*, iii (1936), pl. IV. (14) No bas-reliefs or paintings which represent *Artemis Nanaia* have been found. We may regard as reflections of her cult image some graffiti (e.g. *Rep.* iv, pl. XIX, 4, cf. *Iraq*, iv (1937), pp. 19 ff.) and perhaps the bas-reliefs of Greco-Babylonian style which represent Aphrodite: 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 37, cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. LXXXV, 2, and *Rep.* iv, pl. VIII, 4.

40. MYSTERY RELIGIONS. It is unnecessary to give references to modern books dealing with this phenomenon in the religious history of the ancient world; I need only quote F. Cumont, *Rel. or.*, ed. 4, 1928 (and German translation), and A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, 1933; cf. on the development of Jewish religion, E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light*, 1935.

41. ICONOGRAPHY OF SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN GODS. The reader will not expect to find here a bibliography of books and articles on the Syro-Mesopotamian iconography of the Hellenistic and Roman times. It will be sufficient to mention the names of some of those who have contributed most to this field of study: Père Ronzevalle, Père Mouterde, R. Dussaud, F. Cumont, H. Seyrig, M. Dunand, J. G. Février, P. Perdrizet, and many others. For references see the excellent current bibliographies in the periodicals: *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, *Syria*, and now *Berytus*. As examples of comprehensive studies of Syrian mythology I may cite M. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueïda, Inscriptions et monuments figurés* (*Haut Comm. de Fr. en Syrie, Serv. d. Antiq.* xx, Paris, 1934), and the posthumous book of the much regretted Père Ronzevalle, *Jupiter Héliopolitain*, 1937 (*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, xxi). Cf. H. Seyrig, 'Heliopolitana', *Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth*, i. (1937) and id., 'Note sur les plus anciennes sculptures palmyréniennes', *Berytus*, iii (1936), pp. 137 ff.

42. PAINTINGS OF THE TEMPLE OF PALMYRENE GODS. J. H. Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting*, &c., 1924; F. Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 41 ff., pls. XXV–XL; C. Hopkins, 'The Palmyrene Gods at Dura-Europos', *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* li (1931), pp. 119 ff. (cf. F. Cumont, *Syria*, xii (1931), p. 302 f.); M. Rostovtzeff, 'Dura and Parthian Art', p. 242 (in this paper the reader will find references to other studies devoted to these paintings); C. Hopkins, 'Aspects of Parthian Art', &c., *Berytus*, iii (1936), pp. 1 ff. Inscriptions found in the temple after Cumont, both monumental and dipinti and graffiti· C. Hopkins, *Rep.* ii, pp. 86 ff.; H. Seyrig, *Rep.* iv, pp. 68 ff.; C. B. Welles, *Rep.* iv, pp. 172 ff. The metrical funeral inscription of Terentius the tribune—*Rep.* ix–x. Most of the dedications found in the temple are dedications to Zeus, which makes it certain that the god of the temple was one or another form of the Supreme Sky God.

43. PAINTINGS OF THE TEMPLES OF ZEUS THEOS, ADONIS, AND THE GADDÉ. F. Brown, *Rep.* vii–viii, chs. III, IV, V. On the fragments of pictorial decoration of other temples, note 39.

44. FRAGMENTS OF PAINTINGS FOUND IN SECULAR BUILDINGS. *Rep.* ii, pl. XXXIX, 3; F. Brown, *Rep.* vi, pp. 21 ff., and C. Hopkins, ibid., pp. 257 ff., and pl. XL. Some of them (if not all) represented in all probability scenes of worship and were identical in style and composition with those which adorned the walls of the temples.

45. BAS-RELIEFS OF THE TEMPLE OF BEL AT PALMYRA. H. Seyrig, 'Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bel à Palmyre', *Syria*, xv (1934), pp. 155 ff.; my 'Dura and Parthian Art', p. 252 ff. (the bas-relief of Vorodes mentioned loc. cit., p. 253, note, has been published by H. Ingholt, *Berytus*, iii (1936), pp. 93 ff.).

46. The drawing of the jar from Assur: W. Andrae and H. Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, p. 109, fig. 46; C. Hopkins, *Ars Islamica*, iii (1936), p. 195, and fig. 9. Rock bas-reliefs of eastern Mesopotamia: 'Dura and Parthian Art',

pp. 258 ff. I may mention that the extremely important bas-reliefs of Tengh-i-Saulek (or Tang-i-Sarvak) were photographed recently by Sir Aurel Stein, who was kind enough to show me his photographs. The altar crowned by a phallic stone, to the left of the famous figure of the magus or priest, reminds me of the Zeus Betylos of Syria and Dura (H. Seyrig, *Rep.* iv, pp. 68 ff.). The photographs by Sir Aurel Stein show how similar are the style and composition of the bas-reliefs of Tengh-i-Saulek to those of the religious paintings of Dura. Scene of sacrifice of the Kushan period in Hadda: 'Dura and Parthian Art', fig. 52.

47. CULT STATUES AND CULT BAS-RELIEFS. Note 39. P. V. C. Baur has shown how striking are the similarities between the heads of Anatolian male deities of the first to fourth centuries A.D. and those of Dura. Cf. S. Ferri, 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia', *Historia*, vi (1932), p. 238.

48. CULT BAS-RELIEFS OF THE MITHRAEUM. *Rep.* vii–viii, ch. II. Here pl. XVIII, 2.

49. POTTERY: C. Hopkins, *Rep.* ii, pp. 31–46, cf. 'Dura and Parthian Art', p. 219; DRESS: H. Seyrig, 'Armes et costumes iraniens de Palmyre', *Syria*, xviii (1937), pp. 4 ff.; JEWELS: J. Johnson, *Rep.* ii, pp. 78 ff., pls. XLIV–XLVI; M. Nettleton, *Rep.* iv, pp. 254 ff., pls. XXV–XXVI. The rich material from Taxila will be published in full by Sir John Marshall in his forthcoming volume on Taxila; see meanwhile Sir John Marshall, *Arch. Survey of India, Ann. Rep.* 1926–7 (1930), pls. XXVI–XXVII, and esp. ibid., 1929–30 (1935), pp. 55 ff., and pls. XVI–XIX.

50. Gandhara bas-reliefs of the type described in the text—for example, Museum of Lahore nos. 1139 and 2116; Museum of Peshawar no. 1844—H. Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, 1930, p. 104, and pl. 6. Cf. A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique de Gandhara*, I, p. 450, fig. 225.

51. STYLE. I have dealt with the style of Durene religious painting and sculpture in 'Dura and Parthian Art', esp. pp. 234 ff. and p. 255, cf. the papers of C. Hopkins and F. Brown, quoted in note 34. On Greek elements: F. Chapouthier, 'L'Influence grecque à Doura-Europos', *Rev. Ét. Anc.* xxxiv (1932), pp. 72 ff., cf. *Rev. Arch.*, VIII (1936), ii, pp. 245 ff., and Ch. Picard, *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1937, p. 218, note 5, and *Berytus*, ii (1935), pp. 11 ff. I have dealt summarily with the Greek features of Durene painting in the text of this lecture and in my 'Dura and Parthian Art' because the Greek elements are easily recognizable by every one who is familiar with the evolution of Greek art in the Hellenistic period. The same is true for the 'Roman' elements in the later religious paintings of Dura. On frontality, in addition to the papers I have quoted in my 'Dura and Parthian Art', E. Suys, 'Réflexions sur la loi de frontalité', *Ann. de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. Or.* iii (1935), pp. 545 ff.; C. Hopkins, 'A Note on Frontality in the Near Eastern Art', *Ars Islamica*, iii (1936), pp. 187 ff., and H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xviii (1937), pp. 37 ff.

52. Paintings of a style and character similar to those of Dura, very little known and studied, are not uncommon in Egypt in Roman times. I refer to some mural paintings of the temples and houses of the Fayum and some 'icons' (images of single gods and of groups of gods) painted on wood. These paintings must be collected in full and carefully studied from the point of view of iconography and style. See my remarks on some of them in *Aegyptus*, xiii (1933), pp. 493 ff. I saw recently a couple of unpublished specimens of the painted 'icons' in the hands of a dealer in antiquities.

53. MOSAICS OF DAPHNE. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I. *The excavations of 1932* (1934) (G. W. Elderkin), and II (1938). The second volume of the Report contains all the mosaics hitherto found at Daphne. Some of them have been reproduced in the *Ill. Lond. News* and in *A.J.A.* On the style of the mosaics of Antioch, especially of the famous mosaic of Yakto and the influence of the 'Mesopotamian' and Iranian art on it and on the similar mosaic of Apamea, see the fine remarks of H. Seyrig, 'Notes Archéologiques', *Berytus*, ii (1935), pp. 44 ff. Cf. Ch. Picard, *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1937, pp. 217 ff., and fig. 17, and D. H. Wilbor, 'Iranian Motifs in Syrian Art', *Bull. Am. Inst. Iran. Art*, v (1937), pp. 22 ff. On the Hellenistic paintings of Palestine: M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, 1929, pp. 349 ff., and C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, ii, 1935, pp. 17 ff.; cf. the bibliographical notes on paintings of Hellenistic and Roman date found in Palestine and Phoenicia collected in my paper 'Ancient Decorative Wallpainting', *J.H.S.* xxxix (1919), p. 156 and p. 159; for some painted graves of Sidon: G. Contenau, *Syria*, i (1920), pp. 147 ff., pls. xii, xiii, xv, and fig. 54; pp. 198 ff., figs. 57 f.; and of Tyre: Mme Den. de Lasseur, *Syria*, iii (1922), pp. 15 ff., pls. ii and iii. On the style of Greco-Syrian sculpture: Ch. Picard, 'Observation sur les sculptures Bérytiennes de Délos', *Berytus*, ii (1935), pp. 11 ff.

54. INDIA. I may quote, *exempli causa*, the short characterizations of Indian art in its early period as represented by the sculptures of Bharhut by Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, ed. 2, 1936, pp. 11 ff., and by N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, I: *Early Indian Schools*, 1937, pp. 54 ff. In the Guide of N. G. Majumdar will be found a good bibliography of studies devoted to the early Indian art. I may remark in this connexion that the Gandhara art presents, like the early Indian art, striking parallels to the Mesopotamian art. It is known that the Gandhara art appears before us in the late phase of its evolution, when, in the Kushan period, it entered into the service of the Buddhist religion and showed in its forms and composition a mixture of Greek, Roman, Iranian, and Indian elements. In this period of its evolution it assumed an aspect very similar to the later (Roman) phase of the Mesopotamian art and was certainly in close and direct contact with it. On this and the Gandhara art in general see N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, II: *The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhara*, 1937, especially p. 10 (with bibliography, p. 118). Cf. on the Atlantes at Dura and in Gandhara my paper in *Röm. Mitt.*, xlix (1934), p. 187, cf. my 'Dura and Parthian Art', p. 300, note to p. 211.

I may add that a stone pyxis adorned with garlands and garland-bearers in the Gandhara style was recently found at Dura (unpublished).

55. SECULAR ART. 'Dura and Parthian Art', pp. 262 ff., cf. on the paintings of the Palmyrene house, C. Hopkins, *Rep.* vi, pp. 146 ff., pl. XLII; Du Mesnil du Buisson and C. C. Torrey, ibid., pp. 167 ff. (on the Palmyrene inscription); C. Hopkins, *Berytus*, iii (1936), pl. VII, and R. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Rev. Ét. Sém.*, 1936, pp. xxxi ff. On the flying gallop: my paper 'Parthian Art and the Motive of the Flying Gallop', *Harvard Tercentenary Publications*; *Independence, Convergence and Borrowing*, 1937, pp. 44 ff. Note that all the paintings and drawings found at Dura which reproduce motifs of secular art belong to the latest, i.e. the Roman period of the life of the city.

CHAPTER IV

56. CHRISTIAN CHURCH. C. Hopkins and P. V. C. Baur, *Rep.* v, pp. 238 ff., cf. A. von Gerkan, 'Die frühchristliche Kirchenanlage von Dura', *Röm. Quartalschr.* xlii (1934), pp. 219 ff.; M. Aubert, 'Les Fouilles de Doura-Europos, Notes sur les origines de l'iconographie chrétienne,' *Bull. Monum.*, 1934, no. 4, and W. Seston, 'L'Église et le baptistère de Doura-Europos', *Ann. de l'Éc. d. Hautes Ét. de Gand*, i (1937), p. 161 ff. SYNAGOGUE. H. Pearson and C. Kraeling (with contributions by M. Crosby, J. Obermann, A. Pagliaro, and C. Torrey), *Rep.* vi, pp. 309 ff. In this preliminary report Professor C. Kraeling has listed on p. 338 some papers written on the synagogue since its discovery. Since the publication of *Rep.* vi in 1936 several contributions have been made to the interpretation of the paintings and inscriptions of the synagogue. I will quote some of them without aiming at completeness. R. Du Mesnil du Buisson, 'Sur quelques inscriptions juives de Doura-Europos', *Biblica*, xviii (1937), pp. 153 ff.; id., *Gaz. d. Beaux-Arts*, 1935, pp. 193 ff., 1936, p. 305, and 1937, pp. 83 ff. (on the temple of Dagon and that of the Sun); G. Wodtke, 'Malereien der Synagoge in Dura', &c., *Zeitschr. f. Neut. Wiss.*, xxxiv (1935), pp. 51 ff.; O. Casel, 'Älteste christl. Kunst und Christenmysterium', *Jahrb. f. Liturgiewiss.* xii (1933), pp. 1 ff; Kittel and v. Rad, art. *Εἰκών* in G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch*. For the importance of the discoveries of Dura for the history of Christianity and Judaism see H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, 2, *Ecclesia Catholica*, 1936, Index, s.v. 'Dura'; E. R. Goodenough, 'New Light on Hellenistic Judaism', *Journ. of Bible and Religion*, v (1937), and id., 'Symbolism in Hellenistic Jewish art', *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* lvi, 2 (1937), p. 103 ff.

57. It is unfortunate that the interpretation of the PEHLEVI INSCRIPTIONS is still subject to doubt. I have accepted tentatively the interpretation of Professor Polotzky in preference to that of Professor Pagliaro. I cannot but admit, however, that the interpretation of Professor Polotzky is far from certain. It is surprising to find plain commemorative inscriptions written with such great care and in such fine letters by professional scribes. Still more surprising is it to see such inscriptions disfiguring some of the best

pictures of the synagogue, apparently with the acquiescence of the management of the synagogue. On the other hand, if we interpret the inscriptions with Professor Pagliaro as signatures of artists, it is strange to find them disfiguring the work of the artists themselves.

58. PAINTER OR PAINTERS? It may be noted that Mr. H. Pearson, Professor M. Aubert, and Mr. F. Brown are convinced that it was one painter with one or two assistants who executed all the paintings of the synagogue. Their conviction is based on the study of the technique and manner of painting. If this be so, how are we to account for Greek and Semitic inscriptions being used by the same painter *promiscue*? Shall we assume with Mr. Pearson that the only inscription made by the painter himself was that of Aaron (in Greek), while the Semitic inscriptions of the other pictures are all of later origin? On the other hand, the general character of the paintings and their composition are very different in the individual pictures. If one painter executed them all, he was probably copying originals made by several painters, who each had his own style and his own manner of composition. In any case the diversity of the inscriptions shows that there were several donors of individual pictures, and that the decoration was not planned and paid for by the administration of the synagogue.

59. DRESS. The careful study of Palmyrene dress and armament carried out by H. Seyrig, *Ant. Syr.*, 20, 'Armes et costumes iraniens de Palmyre', *Syria*, xviii (1937), pp. 4 ff., will serve as starting-point for the study of the dress as represented in the synagogue paintings. The material bearing on Palmyra is increasing rapidly. An abundance of exquisite monuments were found in the recently discovered hypogee of Iarhai (now partly reconstructed in the Museum of Damascus), see R. Amy and H. Seyrig, *Syria*, xvii (1936), pp. 229 ff. Very fruitful also were the explorations of H. Ingholt, especially his excavations in the necropolis; see his numerous articles listed in his last article on the subject: 'Inscriptions and Sculptures from Palmyra', *Berytus* iii (1936), pp. 83 ff.

60. ARCHITECTURE. As regards architecture, some remarks will be found in the articles of Mr. Du Mesnil du Buisson quoted above. An interesting beginning in comparative study of Indian and classical architecture as represented in painting and sculpture has been made by A. Ippel, 'Indische Kunst und Triumphalbild', 1929 (*Morgenland*, 20). His study is ignored by most of the students of Indian art.

61. THE NARRATIVE STYLE IN THE WEST. F. Wickhoff, *Römische Kunst* (*Die Wiener Genesis*), 1912 (English translation by E. Strong, 1900). There is a tendency among modern scholars to regard the bas-reliefs of the column of Trajan as derived from national Roman art of the Republican period, see G. Rodenwaldt, *C.A.H.* xi, p. 789. Cf. F. Paulsen, 'Die Römer der republikanischen Periode und ihre Stellung zur Kunst', *Die Antike*, xiii (1937), pp. 136 ff. It is in no way certain that the well-known paintings of a grave on the Esquiline (IIIrd cent. B.C.) follow the devices of the continuous narrative style.

62. NARRATIVE STYLE IN INDIA. I have been unable to find a special study devoted to the problem of the 'narrative' style in the art of India. Occasional short remarks on it may be found in almost all the leading histories of early Indian art and in some monographs. See, for example, L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, 1929 (on pp. viii–ix he gives a list of other books which deal with the same subject), pp. 24 ff.; A. Ippel, *Indische Kunst und Triumphalbild*, 1929, p. 19 f.; apropos of the story of Mahavira as told in an illuminated manuscript published by N. W. Brown (*Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasutra*, 1934, esp. pp. 34 ff.) see A. K. Coomaraswamy, 'The Conqueror's Life in Jaina Painting', *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art*, iii (1935), pp. 140 ff.; cf. B. Barua, *Barhut*, iii, 1937, p. 83 f.; N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Ind. Mus.* i, 1937, p. 55.

63. Bharhut. Kuru Jataka (Boddhisatva—the Golden Stag): N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Ind. Mus.* i, p. 40, no. 129 (F 482); B. Barua, *Barhut*, ii, pp. 136 ff., and iii A, pl. LXXXV. Mahakapi Jataka (Boddhisatva—King of Monkeys): N. G. Majumdar, loc. cit., p. 36, no. 35 (F 407), pl. X *a*; B. Barua, ii, pp. 129 ff., and iii A, pl. LXXXIII.

64. Visvantara (or Vessantara) Jataka. Bharhut: N. G. Majumdar, loc. cit., p. 35 (F 547); B. Barua, ii, pp. 160 ff., and iii A, pl. XCI. Sanchi: Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, ed. 2, pp. 59 ff., and the forthcoming full publication of Sanchi by Sir John Marshall and A. Foucher. Amaravati and Goli: T. N. Ramachandran, 'Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli', &c., *Bull. Madras Gov. Mus.*, New Ser., i, 1, 1929.

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GREAT BRITAIN
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DURA-EUROPOS
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PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN
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1938