

Eight Studies by Michael Rostovtzeff

Michael Rostovtzeff (1870-1952) published these eight studies in a variety of journals between 1919 and 1943. A Wikipedia entry [Michael Rostovtzeff](#) describes the life and works of this profound investigator of the histories, economies, and arts of ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Caucasus. The download includes links to his other works at Internet Archive.

[Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus](#), from *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 39 (1919), pp. 88-109.

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[The Great Hero of Middle Asia and His Exploits](#), from *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 4, No. 2/3 (1930 - 1932), pp. 99-117.

[Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra](#), from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1933), pp. 58-63.

[Kleinasiatische und syrische Götter im Römischen Aegypten](#), from *Aegyptus*, Anno 13, No. 3/4, (Aprile-Settembre 1933), pp. 493-513.

[La Syrie Romaine](#), with Pierre Pascal, from *Revue Historique*, T. 175, Fasc. 1 (1935), pp. 1-40

[The Mithraeum of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates](#), from *Bulletin of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Jun., 1939), pp. 3-10.

[The Parthian Shot](#), from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1943), pp. 174-187.

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Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus

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QUEEN DYNAMIS OF BOSPORUS.¹

[PLATES III., IV.]

I.

IN 1898 there were discovered in the ruins of an ancient building (maybe a temple) near Novorossijsk several objects made of bronze (a candelabrum, the remnants of a tripod, the handle of a vessel, probably some consecrated plate), and together with them was found a woman's bust in bronze.

The style of the candelabrum reminds one closely of the candelabrum discovered in the vault of Mme. Zaitzeva in Kertch, and it dates consequently from the age of Augustus (see Rostovtzeff, *Ancient Decorative Painting in the South of Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1914, p. 207 f., Pl. LX.). The handle of a vessel, in all its details, is similar to handles of vessels found at Bori. The whole treasure found at Bori was published by E. M. Pridik (*Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*, No. 34), and it dates from about the beginning of the Christian era.

To the same time also belongs, as we shall see, the most interesting amongst the objects discovered at Novorossijsk: the bust of a woman (Pl. III.). This bust has a hollow rod affixed to it for the purpose of mounting the bust on a pedestal. Its height, the rod included, is 26 cm.; the length of the rod, 2 cm.; the width at the shoulders, 16 cm. The workmanship is excellent. The woman represented is not young. Her hair, waved in front and combed over the ears, is tied at the back in a long knot; from under this knot tightly curled locks fall on the shoulders to the right and left and down the back. The pupil and the iris are indicated by engraved lines. Small round earrings adorn the ears.

The most characteristic feature of the bust is its headgear, shaped like a Phrygian cap or *τιάρα ὀρθή*. The tiara may have been made of leather, or felt, or metal. The whole surface of this headgear is covered with incrustated silver stars or suns, with eight rays to each. In the intervals four-leaved

¹ This article was first printed in Russian in the publication in honour of Countess P. S. Uvaroff, President of the Moscow Archaeological Society (Moscow, 1914). It is reprinted

here with considerable changes based upon new materials not available to me at the time of the first publication.

copper rosettes are incrustated, each leaf shaped like a heart. Apparently a diadem encircles the tiara and is tied up at the back by a wreath.

First of all, the bust undoubtedly represents a mortal woman and not a goddess: a broad, fleshy face, a round chin, tightly pressed lips, a large, straight nose, thin eyebrows, a fashionable coiffure show clearly that this is a portrait of an elderly woman, slightly idealised perhaps, but with a good general likeness and a strong individuality.

The time to which the bust belongs can be indicated quite accurately, leaving no place for doubt. Apart from the excellent, although somewhat heavy, workmanship, a definite indication is given by the fashion of the hairdressing. This hairdressing is characteristic of one period only, about the beginning of the Christian era: the epoch of Livia, Antonia, and both Agrippinas (senior and junior). These conditions admitted, and the suggested date being unquestionable, the headgear of the bust and its ornamentation acquire a special importance.

The headgear, ornamented with suns or stars (*πίλος ἀστερωτός*, as Julianus calls them, *Or.* v. 165 B, when indicating that Cybele made a present of it to Attis), is found on two series of monuments of the Hellenistic period.^{1a} The first series opens about the second century B.C. with the coins of Pessinus, on which the heads of Cybele and Attis are reproduced together, the latter with a leathern cap covered with stars and with the symbols of Cybele on the reverse (see Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, 226 (750), 748 f., Taf. XIII. 7-9). To these are related undoubtedly all the later reproductions of Attis and men with the *πίλος ἀστερωτός* for headgear (see, in addition to the works indicated in the footnote, also Roscher, *Berichte der sächs. Ges.* 1891; *Phil. Hist. Kl.* vol. 43, especially Pl. I^a. 7 and 8). All these representations of Attis are to be distinguished by the usual stars reproduced on the cap of Attis with irregularly disposed rays, the number of which varies (from four to seven).

More instructive is the other series of monuments, more closely related to our bust. This series is strictly confined to the limits of the Pontus and the Pontus kingdom. It begins in a characteristic manner with the coins of Queen Amastris. The foundress of the city of Amastris on the Pontus, the daughter of Oxathrus, brother of Darius Codomannus, for a long time she ruled over Heraclea. On her coins and on the coins of the city of Amastris of her time (see Babelon-Reinach, *Rec. gén.* i. 135 f., Nos. 1-9, Pl. XVIII. 1-9) we find on the obverse the representation of the head of a youth wearing a leathern cap of the so-called Phrygian shape, with a laurel wreath

^{1a} Later monuments in comparatively large numbers are compared by Drexler, *Jahrb. für Phil.* 1894, 325 f.; compare the same in Roscher's *Lexicon*, ii. 2, 2741, 2745; see also Smirnof, *The Phrygian Moon-god*, a publication in honour of I. V. Pomialovsky, 107, 3; Hepding, *Attis*, 120, 8. The typical shape of the stars or suns on our bust is not found on

them. A bust of the Moon-god or Attis, contemporary with our bust and reproduced on one of the Hildesheim silver vessels (see Pernice-Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Berlin, 1901, Taf. V.), a pendant to the vessel with the bust of Cybele, has quite another kind of stars, differing in the technique of their workmanship.

encircling it. On the lower part of this cap or helmet (Babelon-Reinach, Pl. XVIII. 5), or on the top of it (*ibid.* Pl. XVIII. 6), the typical sun with eight rays is represented, consisting of a central circle of four rays diverging from the centre at right angles, and of four supplementary rays filling up the empty spaces between the basic rays. This sun, not meant to represent a star, derives its origin from the Babylonian monuments, and, combined with a crescent, becomes the crest of the kingdom of Pontus. The presence of the sun on the youth's helmet was the reason why the head was supposed to represent Mithras, and the supposition may probably have been right, although it is possible that on some of the coins a woman's head was represented and not the head of a man (perhaps the head of Amastris herself).

I consider that a direct connexion exists between these early Hellenistic coins and a very interesting series of large copper coins of Panticapaeum, Gorgippia, and Phanagoria (see Pl. IV. 2 and Giel, *Kleine Beiträge*, iv. 5; Burachkoff, xxii. 179, xxiii. 6; Orieshnikoff, *Catalogue of the Collection of Count Uvaroff*, p. 59, No. 429^a and footnote to No. 436). These were nearly always re-struck on copper coins of the cities situated on the southern shore of the Black Sea. One of these coins, belonging to the collection of the Grand Duke Alexander Michailovitch, was re-struck, according to A. K. Markoff, on a coin of Sinope of the time of Mithradates (Babelon-Reinach, Pl. XXVI. 5, p. 195, No. 58 f.).²

On these coins a head of a youth, turned to the right, is always represented on one of the sides; the style of the head is the same as on the coins of Mithradates. The headgear is always a cap, or helmet, of the Phrygian type with a standing-up top (the only difference from the caps on the coins of Amastris). A laurel wreath always encircles the helmet, just as on the coins of Amastris; it covers the back of the head, and there are ribbons at the temples. The whole helmet is strewn over with the typical suns above described, disposed just in the same way as on the bust in which we are interested. The crescent and the sun, the typical Mithradatic crest of Pontus, is often represented above the head, to the right of it. On the reverse the youthful standing figure of Dionysos is always found; it is turned to the left, is clad in a tunic and a mantle, and has cothurni on the feet. The right hand, stretched out, is holding a bunch of grapes; a panther is represented underneath; the left hand holds a massive thyrsus with a fillet on it. A wreath encircles the head. On either side of the figure runs the inscription: Παν-τικ-απαι-τῶν; on the right a monogram is usually found.³

² Expert numismatists ought to study from this point of view the whole series of these most interesting coins, as Orieshnikoff has done already in regard to the correlated series with the head of Dionysos.

³ It is interesting to compare with these coins a series of coins of the city of Tomi, with two heads of the Dioscuri on the obverse and their horses on the reverse (see Pick-

Regling, *Ant. Münz. Nordgriechenlands* i., Taf. V. 17, No. 2460; compare p. 602 f.). In style the rendering of the heads is extraordinarily close to the rendering of our head; very close are the caps, too—nearly similar in shape, with the same wreath, but, unfortunately, one cannot distinguish on the published reproduction whether the caps were ornamented with stars. It seems to me that I

The time to which these coins belong is usually ascertained by their style and type, and especially by the records of their re-striking. From that point of view, it is true, the whole series has not been studied, but one coin out of a series, correlative in style (from the collection of Burachkoff, p. 233, n. 49, Pl. XXV. 45), with a head of Dionysos and a bow-case, was re-struck first into a coin with a head of Apollo and an eagle, and next into a coin of Asandros. Evidently it belonged either to the time of Mithradates or—this being less probable—to the time of Pharnaces. Orieshnikoff is probably right in supposing that the head represented is a head of Mithras. Not the slightest doubt exists that precisely the same cap is represented on our bust. The original cap, reproduced on the coins, might have adorned the statue of a god, or perhaps might have served as a headgear for the kings themselves when they acted in their quality of priests of the great sun-god, or were glorified and identified with him after death.

It is characteristic that the leathern helmet was undoubtedly an ensign of the rulers, and perhaps a symbol of sovereign power (like the tiara of the Persian kings and the leathern cap of the satraps). It appears as an especially decisive feature within the borders of the kingdom of Pontus and associated with the epoch of Mithradates.

From this point of view two series of coins are especially interesting. The first is placed quite rightly in connexion with Mithradates the Great, but unfortunately the place and time of its minting are unknown. Four types are known of the coins of this series: on the reverse of all of them the sun with eight rays is represented, and also a Scythian bow; on the obverse we find: on the large bronze coins a head, portraying the features of some person, in a leathern helmet; on the small coins either the helmet alone, in some cases with the head of Pan, or a quiver and a bow, or a rose. Names of magistrates, monograms, and countermarks accompany them.⁴ Whether we should consider these coins as the money of some town of the kingdom of Mithradates, coined by his satraps, as Imhoof continues to suppose, or more probably as coins of one of the cities of Pontus, of the epoch of Mithradates, the characteristic feature remains the same, viz. the conjunction of the leathern helmet, evidently an ensign of power, with the sun with eight rays.

can distinguish some traces of them. The suggested correlation has great importance for the finding of the date of these coins, and also of the coins of the Scythian kings Acrossa and Charaspes (see on them Orieshnikoff, *Excursions into the Region of Ancient Numismatics on the Shores of the Black Sea*, i., *Numismat. Collections*, iii.). It is interesting to compare the coins of Tomi with the small coin from Chersonesus, with the heads of the Dioscuri on the obverse; see Orieshnikoff, *The Coins of Chersonesus in Tauris*, etc., *Numismat. Coll.* ii. p. 29, f. 8. I must remark also that, on the grounds of the style of the head and of the character of the

countermarks, I would have classed as belonging to the epoch of Mithradates the coin published in the same book, p. 36, f. 12.

⁴ See on these coins Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, 40 f., Nos. 9-26, Taf. III. 7-18; *Zeitschrift für Num.* xx. 254 f., 1-4, Taf. IX. 1-3; Chr. Giel, *Beiträge zur antiken Numismatik*, 1886, p. 5; Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeitschr.* 45 (1912), 184, No. 81, Taf. II. 31; Agnes Baldwin, *Rev. num.* 1913, p. 285 f., Pls. VII.-X. In the collection of the Grand Duke Alexander Michailovitch there is a number of unpublished interesting specimens.

I may remark, by the way, that the sun and the moon appear also on the coins of the successors of Mithradates, especially on the gold stater of Dynamis (Head, *Hist. Num.*² p. 504), a granddaughter of Mithradates (see Pl. IV. 4) and the sun alone on the coins of Polemon (see Pl. IV. 9), who for some time was the husband of Dynamis (Babelon-Reinach, *Rec.* i. 1, p. 19, Nos. 17 and 18, Pl. III. 7 and f. 1); and, lastly, the sun subjected to the zodiacal sign of the balance on the coins of Pythodorus (Babelon-Reinach, *ibid.*, p. 20, No. 20 *bis*, Pl. III. 10), and the sun combined with the moon on coins of the son of Dynamis—Mithradates VII. (see Pl. IV. 7).

If, at the same time, we take into consideration that the leathern helmet is a characteristic feature also of the above-mentioned second series of coins, *i.e.* the coins of Mithradates in his youth, and that on a number of coins of Amisus and Chabacta, minted, as Imhoof supposes, also by Mithradates, he is represented wearing the helmet of Perseus, which reminds us in nearly all its details of the helmet on our bust (see Babelon-Reinach, i. 1, p. 55, No. 32, Pl. VII. 25, and No. 35, Pl. VIII. 27; p. 77, No. 1, Pl. XI. 21; Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeitschr.* 45 (1912), 180, Nos. 62–64, Taf. II. 19 and 20), it seems more than probable that the *τιάρα ὀρθή*, or the helmet in the shape of a tiara, of our bust indicates the sovereign status of the woman represented and the fact that she belonged to the dynasty of Pontus. I must point out also that the rosettes on the helmet may have been suggested by the rosettes of the wreaths encircling the reverse of the coins of Mithradates the Great.

Consequently our bust represents one of the women belonging to the royal family of Pontus, who lived about the time of the beginning of the Christian era—in no case earlier than that epoch, and not later than the epoch of Agrippina junior—and who stood in very close relation to the kingdom of Bosphorus and the territories belonging to it or considered as its dependencies.

All the above-mentioned considerations and hypotheses are most brilliantly confirmed by comparing all the monuments indicated above with the statues and reliefs of the two temples that were built by Antiochus III. of Commagene on the eastern and western terraces of his burial tumulus on Nemrud-Dag. This tumulus strikingly reminds us of the royal tumuli of the sovereigns of Bosphorus on both sides—the European and the Asiatic—of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.⁵ I will not repeat here the exemplary commentary of Puchstein on the sculptures of these temples,⁶ of which unfortunately so little use has been made. I may remark only that the gods, especially the Persian gods Mithra and Auramazda, are represented always with the typical *τιάρα ὀρθή*, repeating in all its details the tiara of our bust, even the diadem encircling the lower part of it. The diadem of Auramazda (Taf. XXXIX. 1) is covered with reproductions of lightning, and the tiara

⁵ See more on this matter in my work, *Ancient Decorative Painting in the South of Russia*, St. Petersburg, 1914, p. 45 f.

⁶ See Humann und Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin, 1890.

with stars or suns; the tiara of Mithra (Taf. XXXVIII. 2) has two diadems (at the bottom and in the middle), and is surrounded by sun-rays. It is characteristic that an exactly similar tiara, encircled by a diadem at the bottom and covered with circles and rhomboids, is worn by the great glorified Persian king, the ancestor of Antiochus, whose figure has been preserved so beautifully, quite beyond comparison with any other statues and reliefs in temples, on the relief reproduced in Taf. XXXVI. 1. Here also, as on our bust and on the relief of Auramazda, the tiara is covered with three rows of suns, typical also in the Commagene sculpture. The same suns adorn his boots and trousers, which are discernible under the ceremonial *κάνδυς* in which he is clothed.⁷

It is characteristic that the suns adorning the *τιάρα ὀρθή* of great gods and glorified Persian kings play a large part also in the costume of the Commagenian kings. The ornamentation with suns of the armour of Antiochus on a number of reliefs is quite typical (Taf. XXXVIII. 1, 2; XXXIX. 1, 2, etc.).⁸

I must remark also that the renowned zodiacal lion of Nemrud-Dag, covered with stars or suns, with a crescent under the neck (Taf. XL.), serves, evidently, to explain the crest—a sun and a crescent—on the coins of Mithradates.⁹

After these comparisons there is no doubt left that our bust represents a queen who traced her origin from the Persian kings, *i.e.* who belonged at that time to the family of Mithradates, although, perhaps, the bust was not made during her life, but after her death, as seems to be indicated by the place where the bust was discovered and by the idealisation of the queen's features. It is indubitable, too, that the queen had actually ruled, and that she had ruled a long time and alone, considering herself, and being in fact, equal in her sovereign rights to any other king.

All these peculiarities have to be taken into consideration when the question is put: which queen of the family of Mithradates, having ruled over the Bosporus, may be recognised in the features of our bust, which belongs to about the beginning of the Christian era?

There is not much choice in this case. But it is characteristic that *a priori* all the women out of whom we can choose could have been represented in a monument such as our bust. I am alluding to Dynamis,

⁷ See on this relief the excellent remarks of Puchstein (i. 1, p. 299 f.); he speaks of the tiara on p. 300 f. Compare the tiara of Tigranes I. of Armenia, on the side of which a sun with eight rays is represented between two eagles: Percy Gardner, *The Seleucid Kings of Syria*, p. 103 f., and Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie*, p. 213 f., Pl. XXIX. 8 f.

⁸ In the collection of Nelidoff there are several dozens of gold pieces of divers dimensions and types with the same ornament in

relief; probably they were sewn upon a leathern cuirass (see L. Pollack, *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiede-arbeiten in Besitze A. I. von Nelidow*, Leipzig, 1903, Nos. 492, 493, 494, 499, Taf. XIX.). Similar small gold pieces or squares have been found in a number of burials of the first century B.C. in the south of Russia (see *Comptes-rendus de la Commission Impériale Arch.* 1888, Atlas, Pl. I. 3.).

⁹ See on this Puchstein l. 1., p. 329 f.

the wife of Asandros, Scribonius, and Polemon I., daughter of Pharnaces and granddaughter of Mithradates, who, as I shall try to prove, ruled for a long time over the kingdom of Bosphorus; the whole of her much agitated life passed on the Bosphorus; also to Pythodoris, the wife of Polemon I., whose sojourn in the kingdom of Bosphorus figured as a short episode only in her life; to Gepaepyris, the wife of Aspurgos, the stepmother, perhaps, of Mithradates II. (VII.), and in any case the mother of Kotys I., as I shall try to prove below; and, lastly, to Antonia Tryphaena, who came into touch with the Bosphorus through her only son, Polemon II. All these women were typical Hellenistic queens, energetic and powerful; all of them either ruled personally or actively collaborated with their husbands in ruling, or in some instances opposed their husbands and competed with them for sovereign power; therefore any of these women could have been immortalised by a bronze bust representing them with their queenly headgear. But, as we shall see further, the only one who during the whole of her life had been closely linked to the Bosphorus was Dynamis, and she alone had the blood of Mithradates flowing in her veins. Therefore, *a priori*, it seems quite possible that she, precisely, has been immortalised by the bust.

Apart from such *a priori* considerations, iconographic comparisons are also possible, because the portraits of all the above-mentioned women have been preserved up to our time on their coins.¹⁰

As far as I can see, the only one of the four queens whose features can be likened to the features of our bust is Dynamis. Unfortunately, the portrait on the unique coin of this queen (see Pl. IV. 4) that has been preserved for us is spoiled by a defect in striking precisely in the most characteristic feature, viz. the tip of the nose, but the fleshy, uplifted chin, the tightly pressed lips, the general shape of the nose, the forehead, and the eyes clearly coincide with the bust. I have remarked already that the features of the bust are rather idealised; the portrait on the coin is strictly realistic. Even more characteristic are the similar small round earrings and the four corkscrew-shaped, curled locks falling on the shoulders.

To the portrait on this coin and to the bronze bust are most closely linked the coins of Caesarea and Agrippia which were minted by Dynamis, as I shall try to prove below (see Pl. III. 5 and 6). The head represented on them has nothing in common with Livia, but the features are uncommonly like the features of the portrait on the gold coin of Dynamis and the features of the bronze bust with which we are concerned. The headgear is the typical one of the Scythian queen-priestesses. We easily recognise it

¹⁰ The coin of Dynamis has been published by Orieshnikoff, *Catalogue of Count Uvaroff's Collection*, Pl. II. 471; compare Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 592, fig. 347; the coins of Pythodoris, see Babelon-Reinach, *Rec. i.* 1, 20, Nos. 19-21; compare further the literature concerning the life and rule of this queen; coins of Antonia Tryphaena, *l.c.* p. 21, Nos. 22-28 (see Pl. IV. 1); coins of Gepae-

pyris, Burachkoff, Pl. XXVI. Nos. 93, 94; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Pl. VII. 7 (see Pl. IV. 10, 11) Kahrstedt, *Klio* x. (1910), p. 300 f., supposes that the head on the coin of Pythodoris is not the head of the queen herself, but the head of Livia, which is quite possible. The coin of Dynamis I reproduce from the unique specimen of Count Uvaroff's collection (see Pl. IV. 4).

by comparison with the objects discovered in the Scythian royal burials; see my article, 'The Hellenic-Scythian Headgear,' in the *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique*, l. 63 (1917), 69 f.

The portraits of the other above-mentioned queens, in my opinion, have no resemblance whatever to our bust; it is characteristic that Tryphaena and Gepaepyris resemble one another very closely. However, to complete the picture, I consider it indispensable to give here a short description of what is known to us about the four above-named queens, as all the records of their lives, in ancient documents and in the newest scientific literature as well, are obscure and very debatable, although in my opinion they may be grouped rationally and explained. This is especially the case as regards the lives of Dynamis and Gepaepyris, who alone have any reasonable claims to be considered as the originals of the bust.

II.

The history of the Bosphorus after the death of Mithradates is clear enough in its principal features, although very insufficiently indicated by some accidental notes in the works of Cassius Dio and Appian, by several inscriptions, and by a series of coins rather difficult to understand. The ideas of Mithradates continued to influence some of his successors, both the nearest and the more remote; his name still had authority among many of the tribes which had been ruled by him. His idea of creating a kingdom of Pontus based on the Graeco-Iranian culture, and on an army organised principally out of the comparatively civilised elements of the population of Cappadocia and Pontus, and the kingdom of Bosphorus as well, with all the adjoining more or less cultured tribes and peoples, was neither utopian nor unrealisable. The struggle of Parthia against Rome and her offensive in the epoch of the triumvirate, *i.e.* the repetition by the Parthians of the attempt of Mithradates, and the latter attempt as well, had disclosed the powerful forces secreted by the somewhat Hellenised Iranian elements who formed the ruling class of the population in the greater part of the great kingdom of Mithradates, and who played a pre-eminent political and cultural rôle in the life of non-Iranian Caucasus, Cappadocia, and Armenia. Having assumed to a great extent in the Hellenistic epoch, especially in the second century B.C., a Sarmatian appearance, the kingdom of Bosphorus prepared for political organisation a number of the nearest Sarmatian and Scythian tribes; a long-extended cultural influence exercised by the Greeks over the Scythians, first from Olbia, then from the Bosphorus and Chersonesus, made possible the continuation of the existence of the ancient Scythian power on a more civilised basis in Crimea, in the kingdom of Skiluros and Palakos. To put a finishing touch to this ancient cultural work, to unite all the cultured parts of the Scythian and Sarmatian world, one thing only was needed: a strong personal will, a leader closely related in spirit and national feeling to all those elements which were ready for organised cultural life—an Iranian Alexander.

We must at last reject the old point of view that considered the Sarmatian tribes belonging to the feudal kingdom of Bosphorus, and the Scythians of the time of Skiluros and Palakos, as barbarians. The burial tumuli of Taman and of the greater part of the country on the river Kuban, of the later Hellenistic times, the poor remnants of the cities of Skiluros and Palakos, though very slightly explored, show clearly that the ruling classes of the population of these territories had outgrown the limits of barbarism and had learned how to create something personal, very original and very typical, in the region of material culture. There is no reason to wonder that reminiscences of the great past of Scythia and of the part played in the world's history by the Achaemenids of Persia had prepared for the Achaemenid Mithradates an unusually propitious ground in the political conceptions of those tribes and peoples, who undoubtedly had acquired simultaneously with a material culture the principles of a spiritual culture and some historical knowledge.

At the same time we have to keep in mind the close connexion between Pontus and Cappadocia and the northern shores of the Black Sea in general, and the localities near to the Sea of Azov and the Kuban particularly. This connexion began, as I shall try to prove in another place, in the age of Bronze and continued up to the epoch of the Roman domination (see *B.S.A.*, xxii. (1916-1917; 1917-1918)). It was based on a cultural as well as an ethnical relationship. One must remember that the great invasion of Asia Minor by the Scythians in the seventh century B.C. had left many traces. The Scythians undoubtedly settled down in Pontus, and this explains the presence of an Iranian element among the population of Pontus.

Mithradates was ruined, not by the Sarmatians or the Scythians, who had to form his last great army, but by the Greeks of Phanagoria, Chersonesus, Theodosia, and Panticapaeum, to whom at a certain time he had served as a rock of safety to cling to when they were on the point of being submerged by the Scythian and Sarmatian tidal wave. But, just as in Asia Minor, the Greeks in the Crimea very quickly understood that their relation to Rome was closer, and that Rome was more disposed to defend them against and shelter them from the invasion of an Hellenised Iran that threatened them, not in the military sense alone.

After the death of Mithradates the duality of forces acting in the kingdom influenced the whole history of the Bosphorus. The prevailing majority of the population, all the Sarmatian and Scythian tribes included in the kingdom, honoured the memory of Mithradates and were disposed to support his heirs, and the Greeks were ready to submit to any power that would guarantee them the preservation of their nationality and of the remnants of the municipal régime to which they were used.

Rome had to reckon with all those peculiarities of the Bosphorus and to keep up a constant watch, foreseeing the possible advent of a new unifier, a new Mithradates. The ruler of the Bosphorus had to be sufficiently popular to unify the diverse elements of the population; he had to support the Greek elements in their struggle with the local population, *i.e.* he had to be

an experienced politician and a gifted military leader, and at the same time he had to act as an obedient servant of Rome, showing no tendency to renew the schemes of Mithradates.

Therefore the choice of a ruler for the Bosphorus was a very difficult task, and the number of solutions of the question was nearly unlimited. The death of the last Paerisades did not necessarily bring to an end the whole royal house of the Spartocids, related to the royal families of many Scythian and Sarmatian tribes. This is testified unanimously by all the half-romantic, half-historical data concerning the Bosphorus of the later Hellenistic time—the tales told by Polyænus about Amaga and Tirgatao, and the scraps of a legend about one of the latest Leukones reproduced by Ovid and his scholiast, and also the crumbs of historical knowledge which lie at the base of the moralising Scythian dialogues of Lucian, who undoubtedly was conversant with the Hellenistic literature concerning the Bosphorus.¹¹

Out of this agglomeration of Greeks and Sarmatians related to the Spartocids a pretender to the throne might always appear, and always could be found when required. At the same time, all the direct descendants of Mithradates, the chips from the old block of his numerous family, had a legal right to the throne.

The dynasty of the Polemonids, the successors of Mithradates the Great on the throne of Pontus, ranked also, of course, among the pretenders to the kingdom of Bosphorus. On their side was the ancient tradition closely linking together the cities of Pontus to the Greek cities on the Crimean shores.

Lastly, the ancient ethnical relationship, and in later times the tradition of Lysimachus, who at a certain epoch very strongly influenced the history of the kingdom of Bosphorus, also the continuous tendency of the Thracians to move their boundaries eastwards, converted even the Thracian vassals of Rome into pretenders to the throne of Bosphorus and to the inheritance of Mithradates on the northern shore of the Black Sea.

In the historical struggle for the throne of Bosphorus, no less than in the general history of the East at that time, a striking part was played by a number of eminent women with powerful connexions at the court of Rome, where such personal influences worked often in conjunction with political considerations, creating at times some rather odd combinations. Doubtless Pompey and Caesar, in later times Antonius and the Eastern plenipotentiaries of Augustus, Agrippa and Tiberius, and after them Germanicus, as plenipotentiary of Tiberius, not to mention the emperors themselves when they stayed in the East, were surrounded by Eastern dynasts with wives and mothers. The cunning Levantines were especially successful in influencing the women who often accompanied the political rulers of Rome, especially on their journeys to the charming East.

It is from these points of view only that it is possible to comprehend

¹¹ See my article, 'Amaga and Tirgatao,' *Antiquities of Odessa*, v. xxxii. in the *Bulletin of the Society of History and*
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the dynastical history of the Bosphorus of that dark and complex epoch. It must be kept in mind also that even at that time Rome created new provinces and annexed Eastern kingdoms very unwillingly and only in cases of absolute necessity.

Dynamis, daughter of Pharnaces, was doubtless one of the most eminent women of that complex epoch. Her history reminds us to a great extent of the history of the clever, energetic, enduring, and ambitious women, wicked wives of many husbands, who appeared at the Hellenistic courts after Alexander.¹²

The date of her birth is unknown, as also the date of her marriage. No serious arguments can be found for or against the statement that it was she, precisely, who had been suggested by Pharnaces as a wife for Caesar in 47 B.C.¹³ Anyhow, about that time she became the wife of Asandros, who ought to have been then over sixty years of age (he died about 27 B.C. at the age of ninety-three);¹⁴ therefore, at the critical moment in her life, after the death of Asandros, Dynamis, in any case, was not a very young woman (probably between thirty and forty), as is indicated by her very realistic portrait on the above-mentioned stater, coined in 17–16 B.C.

We do not know whether she married Asandros before or after the death of Pharnaces. The one alternative is as possible as the other, but in any case at the time of her marriage she was only a tool in the hands of the politicians of that period.

The marriage with Dynamis was of the greatest importance to Asandros, as it linked him to Mithradates and guaranteed his support by the people

¹² All the ancient testimonies and the most important literature concerning the history of the Bosphorus after Mithradates have been collected, after Boeckh, by Latysheff in his introduction to his publication of inscriptions from the Bosphorus; see the latest, somewhat revised, edition of this introduction in Russian, Latysheff, *Ποιτικά*, 93 f.; the newest Russian literature, unknown to Brandis, the author of the articles, 'Bosphorus,' 'Chersonesus,' and 'Dynamis,' published in the Encyclopaedia of Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, who gives the complete list of works on this subject published in Western countries, has been studied and made use of in its totality by E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 591 f. The article of Stein, 'Gepaepyris,' in Pauly-Kroll, *R. E.*, must be added to his references, as also the excellent articles of Dessau in *Prosopographia imperii Romani*, and his article in *Eph. ep.* ix. 4, 691 f., *De regina Pythodoride et de Pythodoride juniore* and *Reges Thraciae qui fuerint imperante Augusto*. Amongst the newest numismatic literature great importance is to be attached to the article of A. L. Berthier-Delagarde, 'On Coins of the Rulers of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, identified by

Monograms,' *Bulletin of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities*, v. xxix., wherein the whole series of gold coins of the period, as also a number of bronze coins, partly unpublished before, belonging to the epoch that concerns us, are well published for the first time, and the whole literature is reviewed very thoroughly. A number of important indications are added in the work of A. Orieschnikoff, *Excursions in the Region of Ancient Numismatics on the Shores of the Black Sea*, Moscow, 1914, *Numism. Collect.* iii., especially p. 29 f., 57 f., 62 f.

¹³ App. B. civ. ii. 91; compare von Sallet, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Numismatik der Könige des cimmerischen Bosphorus und des Pontus*, Berlin, 1866, 6, footnote 8; more probable is the opinion emitted by Boeckh (*C. I. G.* ii. p. 94) and V. Voigt, *De Asandro, Bospori rege*, Kiev, 1884, p. 3, that Asandros became son-in-law to Pharnaces (Dio, 54, 24) before the catastrophe of 47 B.C.

¹⁴ Luc. *Macrob.* 17; Voigt, l. l. 4. As the marriage of Dynamis was purely political, it is quite possible that at the time she was still in her childhood.

in the struggle with the Roman agent, who called himself Mithradates of Pergamon,¹⁵ and posed also as a descendant of Mithradates. The fact that Asandros considered his marriage as of very great importance to him is emphasised by an inscribed stele erected in Panticapaeum by Pantaleon, an admiral of Asandros, on the occasion, probably, of a great naval victory (*Inscr. Or. Sept. P.E.* ii. 25). The inscription runs thus: βα[σιλεύοντος βασιλέως βασιλέων] | μεγάλου Ἀσάνδρου [φιλ]ορωμαίου σωτή|ρος καὶ βασιλίσσης Δυνάμεως Παν|ταλέων ναύαρχος Ποσιδῶνι Σωσινέ[ω]ι καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ναυαρχίδι. The name of the queen, placed next to the king's name, indicates a sort of condominium. It is quite possible that Asandros retained his throne after the episode with Mithradates of Pergamon because Caesar, having then no time to devote to the far East, adjourned the regulation of the affairs of the Getae and the Parthians until the expedition, planned by him, into Parthia and against Boirebistas, and that later Asandros discovered a proper line of behaviour during the stormy period of the triumvirate, when possibly Dynamis became personally known to Augustus and Livia, whose support, as we shall see, she enjoyed afterwards.¹⁶ A dark moment in her history was the episode of Scribonius, to whom she was married after the death of Asandros. Probably Dessau (*Eph. ep.* ix. 4, 694) is right in his supposition that Scribonius, posing as a grandson of Mithradates, was actually a provincial man, maybe of royal descent, who adopted a Roman name (Dio, 54, 24). It would be scarcely possible for Dynamis to accept for a husband an utter stranger, a Roman without any right to the throne. But Scribonius was not successful; after the death of Asandros, as the coin of Dynamis indicates, she reigned as queen, while Scribonius was quickly removed by the Bosporans themselves, perhaps by Bosporan Greeks, to ward off the danger of a new quarrel with Rome.¹⁷

After the episode of Scribonius, with the object evidently of preventing similar attempts in the future, Dynamis was married to Polemon—*i.e.* the Bosporan kingdom was reunited to Pontus, of which Polemon was the king.¹⁸ The condominium of Polemon and Dynamis continued for a very short time. It must be kept in mind that Polemon was murdered in 8 B.C., and that between 14 and 8 B.C. he had time to contract a second marriage with Pythodoris, and to get three children by her.¹⁹ If we allow four years only for the procreation of those three children, then his marriage to Pythodoris—*i.e.* the removal of Dynamis—ought to have taken place in the years 13–12 B.C.; therefore his cohabitation with Dynamis could not have lasted more than one year.

¹⁵ Strabo xiii. 4, 3, c. 625; *B. Alex.* 26 and 78; Dio, 42, 48.

¹⁶ See my article, 'Caesar and the South of Russia,' *J.R.S.* vol. vii.

¹⁷ I find no contradiction between the statements of Dio (*l.l.*) and pseudo-Lucian (*l.l.*) (compare Voigt, *l.l.* 7); it was quite possible that Asandros' army partly deserted

to Scribonius, as pseudo-Lucian affirms, as it doubtless consisted to a considerable extent of Sarmatians and Scythians; later it was not they who removed Scribonius, but the Greeks from Panticapaeum; see Dio, 54, 24, 5.

¹⁸ Dio, 54, 24, 6.

¹⁹ Strabo xii. 3, 29, c 556.

Polemon's marriage to Pythodoris led nearly all the learned commentators who studied the events in which we are interested to suppose that Dynamis died in 13 or 12 B.C.²⁰ Nevertheless, we must remember that no mention of it is made in any ancient record, and that many data and the whole run of events on the Bosphorus testify to the contrary. Let us disentangle these data.

Apart from literary works, the name of Dynamis appears also on a number of inscriptions. In two of them she figures as the person consecrating statues to Augustus—one in Phanagoria, another in Panticapaeum; in one of the inscriptions she figures as the person consecrating a statue to Livia in the temple of Aphrodite. See *I. O. S. P. E.* ii. 354: *αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἶον | Σεβαστὸν τὸν [π]άσης γῆς καὶ | [πάσης] θαλάσσης ἄ[ρχ]οντα | τὸν ἑαυτῆς σωτ[ή]ρα καὶ εὐ[ε]ργέτη[ν] βασίλισσα Δύν[α]μις φιλορώ[μ]αιος* (Phanagoria); *I. O. S. P. E.* iv. 201: *α]ὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεὸν | [θ]εοῦ υἶον Σεβαστὸν τὸν ἑαυτῆς | [σ]ωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην | [β]ασίλισσα Δ[ύ]ναμις φιλορώμαιος* (Panticapaeum); iv. 420: *Λιουί[α]ν[υ] τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γυναικ[α] | [βασίλισσα] Δύναμις φιλορώμαιος | [τὴν ἑαυ]τῆς εὐεργέτιν.*

And the people of Phanagoria erect a statue to her; see *I. O. S. P. E.* ii. 356: *β]ασίλισσαν Δύναμιν φιλορώμ[αιον | τῆ]ν ἐκ βασιλέω[ς] μ[ε]γάλου Φαρνάκου | τοῦ ἐκ βασιλέως βασιλέων Μιθραδάτου ἑὺπάτορος [Διο]νύσο[υ]ν [τῆ]ν ἑαυτῶν σ[ώ]τειραν καὶ εὐε[ρ]γέ[τι]ν [ὁ δ]ῆμος [ὁ Ἄγριπ]πέων.*

When were these inscriptions set up and what was their object? Clearly the first three inscriptions testify to some great act of bounty to Dynamis on the part of Augustus and Livia, and the fourth testifies to an act of bounty by Dynamis to Phanagoria. In both cases they allude to salvation from some very great and serious danger. The fourth inscription alone can be dated approximately. It is clear that the stele with this inscription could not have been erected before the intervention of Agrippa in the affairs of the Bosphorus. The adoption alone by the city of the name of Agrippa indicates that this intervention was considered by the citizens as a great benefit to the city. And if the alluring suggestion of Orieschnikoff is to be accepted: that simultaneously with the adoption by Phanagoria of the name of Agrippa, some other city, probably Panticapaeum, adopted the name of Caesarea—as seems to be indicated by two series of copper coins, one with the inscription Ἄγριππέων and the other with the inscription *Καισαρέων*—it should be evident that such a change of names was closely linked to some event connected with the whole kingdom of Bosphorus.²¹

Orieschnikoff²² quite rightly connects the copper coins bearing these inscriptions with the series of gold staters bearing heads of Augustus and Agrippa stamped on them and the monograms \propto or \propto . And this series, beginning only in 8 B.C., goes on up to 7 A.D. Therefore the changing of the

²⁰ The only exception is Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 594, 1 and 601, who suggests the same construction, taken broadly, as I do, although as to details we differ in a number of points.

²¹ See A. Orieschnikoff, *Excursions into the Region of Ancient Numismatics on the Shores of the Black Sea*, 4, Coins of Caesarea and Agrippia, p. 37 f.

²² A. Orieschnikoff, *l.l.* 40.

names of the cities was connected with the event which occasioned the appearance of the above-mentioned series of coins with the monogram Σ in the year 8 B.C.²³

The fourth of the above-quoted inscriptions fully agrees with all this. It cannot belong to the time of the personal reign of Dynamis in 17–16 B.C. At that time Phanagoria could not yet have been renamed 'Agrippia.' Neither can it belong to the year of condominium of Polemon and Dynamis. There is no allusion to Polemon in the inscription. Dynamis appears as sole ruler; she alone figures as the saviour and benefactress of the city, but not Dynamis and Polemon together, and the city emphasises her legal right to the throne, insisting on the fact that she is the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithradates. All this is absolutely irreconcilable with the suggestion that the inscription belongs to the year of the condominium of Polemon and Dynamis. Polemon's masterful personality would never have allowed such a belittling of his prerogatives. It is clear that the inscription belongs, first, to the time of the personal reign of Dynamis; secondly, to the time after 17–16 B.C.; and thirdly, not to the epoch of the condominium of Polemon and Dynamis, but most probably to the time even after 8 B.C. This alone shows clearly that Dynamis did not die in the year of the marriage of Polemon with Pythodoris, but continued to live and came to reign again as sole personal ruler of the whole Bosphorus.

And precisely between 8 B.C. and 7 A.D. the series of coins is issued on which, beside the heads of Augustus and Agrippa, the *de facto* dispensers of life to the Bosphorus, appears the humble monogram Σ , most naturally deciphered, as Mommsen had pointed out already, into $\Delta\nu\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$, the letters Δ , Υ , A , M , and even Σ being indisputably present and in themselves giving more than sufficient material for a monogram of the name $\Delta\nu\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$.²⁴

²³ In addition to the statements of Orieshnikoff, I may say that both the above-mentioned series of coins (the gold ones with heads of Augustus and Agrippa, and the copper ones with the names Caesarea and Agrippia) coincide with the above-quoted series of inscriptions also in that on the obverse of the coins of Agrippia and Caesarea a woman's head is represented in the headgear of a goddess, but with features which are generally likened to the features of Livia. I cannot refrain from stating that I, personally, am reminded by this head with a diadem, on the coins of Agrippia, not of the features of Livia, with whom, to tell the truth, it has very little in common, but of the head of Dynamis herself on her coin, and of the features of our bust. Therefore I am disposed to suggest that the Agrippians and Caesareans ornamented their coins with the head of their queen, adorned with the consecrated headgear of the chief priestess of the principal goddess of Phanagoria and Pantica-

paeum. Possibly Dynamis coined the copper money of the state simultaneously with this municipal coinage. In my article, 'The Copper Coinage of Dynamis and Aspurgos' (*Bulletin of the Scientific Record Commission of Tauris*, 54 (1918)), I tried to prove that this copper was represented by the coins with the monogram BAE ; see on them A. L. Berthier-Delagarde, *Bulletin of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities*, xxix. (1916), and Orieshnikoff, *Numism. Collect.* iii. (1914).

²⁴ See these coins in the above-mentioned article of A. L. Berthier-Delagarde, *Bulletin of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities*, xxix. p. 111 f., Nos. 35–43 and Pls. II., III.; Mommsen, *Gesch. d. Röm. Münzw.* 702, footnote; A. von Sallet, *Beiträge, etc.*, 69 f.; but their historical explanation of the coins is unacceptable; compare Brandis, P. W., *R. E. s.v.* Dynamis, wherein the latest works of Mommsen are indicated, especially *Eph. ep.* i. 272.

These facts alone are sufficient to prove beyond dispute not only that Dynamis did not die in the years 13–12 B.C., but that, on the contrary, she arranged matters so as to be recognised as sole sovereign of the Bosporus. The first three inscriptions quoted above accord fully with all this. They are explained generally as expressions of the gratitude of Dynamis to Augustus and Livia for her marriage to Polemon. I consider this to be quite impossible, first, because, as I have stated already, there is no reference whatever in the inscriptions to Polemon, and Dynamis figures as the sole queen of the Bosporus; secondly, because Augustus and Livia, at that time, could not have saved Dynamis from anybody or anything; and thirdly, because there happened to be no reason for Dynamis to be thankful: she was the rightful queen of the Bosporus, and Augustus together with Agrippa only lessened the scope of her legal rights by placing her under the tutelage of the powerful king of Pontus, who was not inclined to consider himself as only a nominal sovereign of the Bosporus, but immediately installed himself on the Bosporus as master and ruler.²⁵

On the other side, her installation as the autonomous and sole sovereign of the Bosporus constituted a real bounty to Dynamis; it proved her salvation too, if the conditions are considered under which it was made effectual. These conditions, of which we possess some short records, are in perfect harmony with all the above-mentioned facts.

Strabo mentions Polemon's death twice and speaks of the position on the Bosporus after it occurred. In Book xi. 2, 11 (c 495) he mentions the Aspurgians, a new tribe, of whom Artemidoros of Ephesus, the source from whom Strabo takes his facts, knows nothing; having enumerated the Maeotian tribes, Strabo sets apart the Aspurgians as a new people with whom the information which he possessed connected an interesting historical record, saying as follows: *τούτων δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀσπουργιανοὶ μεταξὺ Φαναγορείας οἰκοῦντες καὶ Γοργιπίας ἐν πεντακοσίοις σταδίοις, οἷς ἐπιθέμενος Πολέμων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ προσποιήσει φιλίας οὐ λαθὼν ἀντεστρατηγήθη καὶ ζωγρία ληφθεὶς ἀπέθανε.* Compare xii. 3, 29, where Strabo is speaking of Pythodoris: *ἔστι δὲ θυγάτηρ Πυθοδώρου τοῦ Τραλλιανοῦ, γυνὴ δ' ἐγένετο Πολέμωνος καὶ συνεβασίλευσεν ἐκείνῳ χρόνον τινά, εἶτα διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτήσαντος ἐν τοῖς Ἀσπουργιανοῖς καλουμένοις τῶν περὶ τὴν Σινδικὴν βαρβάρων.*

This 'new' tribe, the Aspurgians, mentioned later in inscriptions belonging to the third century of the Christian era (*I. O. S. P. E.* ii. 29, 430,

²⁵ Quite possibly, even, the opposition with which Polemon was met on the Bosporus when he appeared there (Dio, 54, 24) may have been traced to Dynamis as its source, and only a direct order from Augustus forced her to make a temporary peace with Polemon and grant him her hand. Augustus and considered that marriage as the sole and unique guarantee of peace on the Bos-

porus. The great significance attached by Augustus to the Bosporean troubles is indicated by the number of honours awarded to Agrippa (Dio, *l.l.*) for arranging affairs on the Bosporus. This shows that Scribonius was not a simple adventurer and that his marriage to Dynamis was considered as a serious danger to Rome, as a threat of a renewal of the epoepe of Mithradates.

431), was probably, as I have indicated already in another place²⁶ (compare Latysheff, *Ποντική*, 103), not a tribe, but the troop of armed followers of King Aspurgos,²⁷ brought by him from the shores of the Sea of Azov, or from the depths of Sarmatia, who helped him to conquer a throne for himself, and who, therefore, were domiciled by him on the richest lands on the Taman, between Gorgippia and Phanagoreia, as his trustworthy supporters and bodyguard. This tribe, therefore, is a geographical *novum*, the advent of which on the Taman was explained in the source used by Strabo (probably Hypsicrates),²⁸ the description having been incorporated into the above-quoted sentences by Strabo.

Aspurgos undoubtedly ruled the Bosphorus, as is proved by his inscriptions (*I. O. S. P. E.* ii. 36 and 364); his coins, dated, like the coins of Dynamis, according to the era of Pontus, are marked, from 10 A.D. by his monogram ρ̄ρ, and from 13 A.D. by the same monogram with the addition of the title Βασιλεύς (to the monogram ρ̄ρ is added the letter Β); this continues up to 35 A.D. Chronological sequence shows that he was the successor of Dynamis (concerning the interval in 8 and 9 A.D. see below). I think that he succeeded her as her fourth legal husband. The marriage of Dynamis and Aspurgos was probably made easier by the fact that Dynamis herself had Sarmatian blood in her veins. It is quite probable that her mother, the wife of Pharnaces, was a Sarmatian woman from the tribe of Syrakes or the tribe of Aorsi. As is known, those tribes supported

²⁶ *Bulletin of the Imper. Archaeol. Commission*, 10, p. 15. Concerning the Aspurgians, see the remarks of N. Marr, of the Petrograd Academy, published in the Russian version of this article. As shown by these remarks, the regimen of life of the tribe, probably Sarmatian, to which the Aspurgians belonged was purely Iranian. Aspurgos, probably related by birth to the tribe including the Aspurgians, was followed in his advance into the country of the Bosphorus by his young tribesmen, who formed the troop of his bodyguards. Domiciled in the country of the Sindi and Kerketai, evidently as landowners, and at the same time as bodyguards of the king (they played the same part later also), they assumed the name of 'Aspurgians,' *i.e.* sons of Aspurgos, corresponding to the 'sons of boyards' in Russia, and they gave their name to the country occupied by them, as shown by Strabo and the comparisons made by Marr.

²⁷ What was the link binding Aspurgos to the tribe to which the Aspurgians belonged? This link or bond, demonstrated by the support rendered by the Sarmatian tribes to Aspurgos and his son Mithradates VII., may be most easily explained by the supposition that Aspurgos was a Sarmatian king, the

head of the tribe, whose support Dynamis bought by marrying him. Such a supposition seems to be contradicted by an inscription in honour of Aspurgos, wherein he is described as the son of Asandrochos. Usually Asandrochos is identified with Asandros (see *I. O. S. P. E.* ii. 36). Such an alteration of a name in an official inscription appears to me very strange indeed, and I am quite disposed, with Kiessling (*P. W. K., R. E.* vii. 1628), to consider Asandrochos as a Sarmatian king who had nothing in common with Asandros. If this is true, then the reason is plausible why the descendants of Aspurgos occupying the throne of the Bosphorus were so fond of giving their sons the name of Sauro-mates. They treasured the memory of their Sarmatian descent. It is, of course, however, possible that Aspurgos was a son of Asandros and Dynamis. The alteration in the name of Asandros may then be explained by the supposition that Asandros was not a Greek, but a Sarmatian, and that his Sarmatian name was Graecised. I cannot consider such an alternative as very convincing.

²⁸ See my article, 'Strabo as a Source for the History of the Bosphorus,' in the collection of articles issued in honour of B. P. Buzescul, Kharkoff, 1914.

Pharnaces (see Strabo xi. 5 ; 8 c 506 ; App. *Mithr.* 120). Aspurgos, quite probably, was also one of the lesser kings of the same tribes—a relation perhaps of Dynamis. Such a relationship, as I have already indicated above, was quite common on the Bosporus in the later Hellenistic times. The last Spartocids undoubtedly were not Greeks, but half Iranian, half Maeotic.

In view of all this, I suppose the events to have taken the following course. When Polemon married Pythodoris, Dynamis sought shelter, as Mithradates VII. did later, with one of the neighbouring Sarmatian tribes, at the head of which stood Aspurgos. The hope of conquering the Bosporus, and perhaps bonds of relationship, prompted Aspurgos to marry Dynamis and to give her his energetic support. It is possible, even, that the measures planned by Augustus and Agrippa to quiet troubles on the Bosporus by means of the marriage of Polemon and Dynamis proved unsuccessful, and that misunderstandings between Dynamis and Polemon started in the very first days, leading to a revolt against Polemon, organised by Dynamis, with the help of Aspurgos, in the Asiatic part of the kingdom. This forced Polemon to begin, immediately after his accession to the throne of the Bosporus, a number of military expeditions against the revolted tribes, which led, *inter alia*, to the capture of Colchis and the destruction of Tanais—that city having probably taken the side of his wife and Aspurgos (see Strabo xi. 2, 3 (c 493) and 2, 18 (c 499)), and having refused to submit. Nevertheless Dynamis and Aspurgos held on amongst the tribes on the shores of the Sea of Azov, and Polemon did not succeed in reducing them by force of arms. He tried then to conquer by cunning, maybe precisely at the time when the troops of Aspurgos had already captured the whole of Sindica, but was caught in his own trap and was murdered. This epopee went on from the 13th to the 8th year B.C., with intervals of course. Such an order of events explains quite naturally the marriage of Polemon and Pythodoris.

The critical moment for Dynamis arrived when Polemon was murdered and Augustus had to decide definitely the fate of the Bosporus. Probably, not uninfluenced by Livia, and principally because force was on the side of Aspurgos and Dynamis, influenced also by a promise from Dynamis of total submission, Augustus decided in her favour. Her rights to the throne were recognised as against the rights of Pythodoris, who, with three small children on her hands, could not effectively guarantee the maintenance of the tranquillity so much required on the Bosporus. But the autonomy of the kingdom had to come to an end. The head of Dynamis and her full title do not appear on the coins any more ; a humble monogram alone testifies to the fact that, although in the name of Augustus, Dynamis is still ruling over the Bosporus.²⁹ Under such conditions it is comprehensible that Dynamis had to feel, or to pretend to feel, thankful to Augustus and Livia, and was obliged to emphasise constantly that she was *φιλορώμαιος*. It is quite comprehensible also that Phanagoria, threatened with the same

²⁹ It is characteristic that in this monogram no mention is made of the regal title of Dynamis.

fate as Tanais, glorified its saviour, Dynamis, and honoured her by erecting a statue with a glowing inscription, not forgetting to mention that she was *φιλορώμαιος*, i.e. simply a vassal of Rome in spite of her descent from Mithradates. It is comprehensible that Dynamis felt obliged to rename two of the cities of her kingdom, changing their names into Caesarea and Agrippia, in honour of Augustus and the late ruler of the East, who at that time was already dead.³⁰ Simultaneously begins the cult of the Roman emperors on the Bosphorus, as is testified by the *Καισάρειον* of Phanagoria.³¹ Consequently, I take it as proved that, after the death of Polemon, Dynamis was appointed by Augustus to rule over the Bosphorus, and that with the help of her fourth husband she succeeded in removing Polemon, who strove to become the *de facto* master on the Bosphorus. Dynamis ruled up to 7 A.D., when she died at the advanced age of about seventy years. Her closest collaborator evidently was her husband Aspurgos. Somewhat similar was the position about the same time of Pythodoris, who ruled conjointly with her son, although her son remained *ιδιώτης* (Strabo xii. 3, 29, c 556), but without the royal title.

Such, in my opinion, is the history of Dynamis. It is comprehensible that during her long life she should have acquired a great popularity in her kingdom and that her portrait may have been kept in a temple or in some public building, not only within the closer limits of the kingdom proper, but also in a seashore city, like Bata (Novorossijsk), which recognised her rule.

III.

In addition to this short history of Dynamis, I have now to record the fate of the dynasty related to her.

After the death of Dynamis, Aspurgos was not recognised at once as king and ruler of the Bosphorus. The direct successor of Dynamis was a person indicated by the monogram $\kappa\tau$ on gold coins. The identity of

³⁰ As, undoubtedly, the types of Bosporan coins at that time were specified, if not in Rome, then in any case by the representative of Roman power in the East, the new names of cities, and the types of coins as well, had to emphasise the fact of the vassalage of the Bosphorus to Rome. My reconstruction of events and my explanation of their meaning also explain the reason why the head of Agrippa appeared on the Bosporan coins together with the head of Augustus, and why Phanagoria was renamed. It must be kept in mind that at that time Agrippa was already dead. All these honours, therefore, served only to immortalise his memory, which is confirmed by the type of the head, represented without any insignia. Augustus may have placed Agrippa very high in his esteem, but it is a great question whether he would

have allowed the head of Agrippa to appear, while Agrippa was still living, on a whole series of coins together with the head of Augustus. Now, after Agrippa's death such reverence on the part of Augustus towards such a man of genius as his late collaborator, who had worked so hard for the welfare of the East, was quite comprehensible. It is true that during the life of Agrippa coins were minted in Rome with his portrait, as an honour granted to him by Augustus, but this is far from equal in meaning with the fact of coins being minted by a vassal kingdom in the names of Augustus and Agrippa and the simultaneous adoption of the names of Augustus and Agrippa by two principal cities of that kingdom.

³¹ *I.O.S.P.E.* ii. 362.

this person is a matter of conjecture only. I suppose that most probably, after the death of Dynamis, the influence of Pythodoris prevailed again, and the king $\kappa\alpha$ may have been one of the sons of Polemon, the same, perhaps, who later on ruled conjointly with Pythodoris and whose name remains unknown to us (the other son, Zenon, according to Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 56, was made king of Armenia in 18 A.D.).

Evidently once more the history of Polemon repeated itself. Aspurgos succeeded in affirming his rights, and from 10 A.D. his monogram appears on coins. In 13 A.D. he receives the royal title, and during the rule of Tiberius he begins to mint coins with his own portrait on the reverse, and with the head of Tiberius first, and then that of Gaius, on the obverse.³²

As we know, Aspurgos had two sons; the elder was Mithradates, and the younger Kotys.³³ Both names are interesting; the first indicates the relationship of Aspurgos to the Achaemenids, while the second suggests some link with the ruling house of Thrace.

Those links require an explanation. Mithradates VII., the elder son of Aspurgos, insists especially on his relationship with the Achaemenids and Dynamis (see his coin with his head as sun-god and the sun and the moon on the reverse as on the coins of Dynamis, Pl. IV. 7, comp. 4). After his death this tradition is nearly forgotten, but during the reign of his younger brother Kotys and his successors the Thracian tradition gathers great strength, and along with it the Sarmatian tradition mentioned and explained above is insisted upon. The Thracian tradition is indicated by Thracian names of most of the kings, and by the fact that the kings traced their genealogy up to the progenitors of the Thracian royal house, Poseidon and Heracles (through Eumolpus).³⁴ The Achaemenid tendencies of Mithradates can be explained only by the influence of Dynamis. If Aspurgos was actually the husband of Dynamis and not her son begotten from Asandros, then it must be admitted that Mithradates VII. was the son of Dynamis and Aspurgos, and inherited the Achaemenid blood of his mother. His portraits (see Pl. IV. 8, 10) show that when Aspurgos died he was a grown-up man; it may be quite possible therefore, that he was born about the year 10 B.C., when, as it is to be supposed, Dynamis and Aspurgos were living together.³⁵

In 36 A.D. Mithradates was a grown-up, perhaps even an elderly, man, while his brother Kotys at that time was still an infant. His name was

³² See Berthier-Delagarde, *l.l.*, p. 112 f., Nos. 46-67, Pls. III., IV.

³³ Tac. *Ann.* xii. 18; Latysheff, *Повникъ*, 108; *Bullet. of the Imp. Arch. Commission*, 37, p. 70, No. 7; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 596 f.

³⁴ See Latysheff, *Повникъ*, 113, footnote 1.

³⁵ There is one argument only adverse to this suggestion: the age of his supposed mother. It must be supposed that in 14-13 B.C. he could not have been younger than forty-

five. I do not consider this argument to be conclusive. A second adverse argument may be found in the fact that the above-mentioned emblems of Heracles and Poseidon appeared also on the coins of Mithradates, but this can be explained by the influence of Gepaepyris, a Thracian woman. It has to be kept in mind also that Heracles played a part in the mythology of the Tamanian peninsula, and Poseidon was always greatly honoured in the seaside cities of the kingdom of Bosphorus.

Thracian; all his connexions were Thracian, too. Whence did that come? The male line of the dynasty of Asandros and Mithradates did not include any Thracian elements. There remains the female line; the mother of Kotys was undoubtedly Gepaepyris; Kotys has honoured her memory and the memory of Aspurgos, his father, by reproducing on one of his coins the portrait of the king, and on another the portrait of the queen (see Fig. 1).³⁶ The queen's portrait is the same as was represented on the coins of Gepaepyris.³⁷ Beside the portrait of his father Kotys places his usual monogram; therefore the monogram placed next to the portrait of his mother has to be accepted as the monogram of Gepaepyris. Precisely the same monogram Ⲁ succeeds to the monogram of Aspurgos on the gold coins. It must be deciphered, therefore, as $\beta\alpha(\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma)\ \Gamma\eta\pi\alpha\iota\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$, or $\beta(\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha)\ \Gamma\eta\pi\alpha\iota\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$, and the monogram, just as in the case of the monogram of Dynamis, contains nearly all the letters of her name.³⁸ Consequently it appears that Gepaepyris was the wife of Aspurgos and the mother of Kotys; also that she was a Thracian³⁹ and belonged to a royal house. This explains why she could have inherited the power of Aspurgos to rule alone in the beginning, and later to rule conjointly with Mithradates, the elder son of Aspurgos.



FIG. 1.—COIN STRUCK BY KOTYS IN HONOUR OF THE MEMORY OF GEPAEPYRIS.

If the pretensions of the Polemonids to the throne of Bosphorus are to be taken into account, it may be supposed that the position of Aspurgos, as occupier of the throne of Bosphorus, was strengthened after the liquidation of the struggle for this throne between the Asandrids and the Polemonids by means of a marriage of Aspurgos to a princess of Polemon's dynasty. It is known that this dynasty, in the person of Antonia Tryphaena, had already been linked before with the Thracian royal dynasty. The marriage of Aspurgos took place most probably after he was awarded the royal title, *i.e.* after 13 A.D., but could have been made the condition of a previous agreement.

³⁶ See the very reliable remarks of Berthier-Delagarde, *l.l.*, p. 47 f., Fig. on p. 48, and Pl. II., Nos. 30-31.

³⁷ This similarity, as far as I remember, has never been duly appreciated, although the coin of Kotys, without the slightest doubt, is a literal reproduction of the coin of his mother (see Pl. IV. 11).

³⁸ The same solution of the question is

given by Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 601.

³⁹ See Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, 51; the same name appears in an inscription from Thracian Heraclea, in the epoch of Hadrian, as the name of a lady belonging to a distinguished municipal family; see *I. gr. ad r. R.* p. 1, 785; Stein, P. W., *R.E.* vii. 1227 f.; Minns, *l.l.*, 604.

If so, Gepaepyris may quite easily have been a daughter of Tryphaena and her husband, whose name was also Kotys. Tryphaena was born not later than between 11 and 8 B.C.; she married very young evidently, for in 19 A.D., when Kotys, her husband, died, she was already the mother of four, or perhaps of five, children, if Gepaepyris is to be taken into account; one of these children, Polemon II., was appointed king of the Bosphorus in 38 A.D. Consequently, about 20 A.D. or perhaps a little later, one of her daughters might have attained the age of fifteen or sixteen.

In the face of all the considerations stated above, I would suggest, with all reserve, that Gepaepyris was one of the daughters of Kotys and Antonia Tryphaena. It is true that tradition does not mention Gepaepyris as one of the children of Kotys, but it did not mention Pythodoris junior either as the daughter of Kotys and Antonia, until quite lately she was so successfully discovered by Dessau.⁴⁰ It was quite natural for the royal wife of Aspurgos to succeed to her husband after his death. In 36 and 37 A.D. gold staters were minted bearing the monogram which we have recognised above as undoubtedly a monogram of her name. But Caligula and the Senate did not consider a woman's rule as sufficient guarantee of order, and Polemon II., the brother of Gepaepyris,⁴¹ as I suppose, was appointed king of the Bosphorus.

Anyhow, Gepaepyris and Mithradates did not concede their rights to Polemon, but it was Mithradates who at that time played the leading part, having, evidently, found strong supporters amongst the Sarmatians and Maeotians, to whom he was closely related through both his father and his mother. From 39 A.D. he begins to issue coins with his own name instead of the monogram of Gepaepyris, and with the head of Caligula stamped upon them.

The struggle between Polemon and Mithradates was settled in 41 A.D. by Claudius, who, after compensating Polemon, definitely awarded the Bosphorus to Mithradates and his stepmother Gepaepyris. But since that time Mithradates had to rule conjointly with Gepaepyris, as is indicated by the coins with the names and portraits of both of them, although Mithradates was still trying to play the first part, as some coins indicate with his name alone stamped upon them. Gepaepyris also tried to mint her own coins.⁴² But Mithradates had turned away absolutely from the

⁴⁰ Dessau, *Eph. ep.* ix. 4, 691 f. If an accidental coincidence does not delude me, I am quite inclined to see a certain likeness between Antonia Tryphaena and Gepaepyris, as represented by their portraits (see Pl. IV. 1 and 11).

⁴¹ On Polemon II. and his fate after his removal from the Bosphorus, see Orieschnikoff, *Numism. Collection*, part i. (the Cilician coins of the king M. Antonius Polemon).

⁴² The conclusions of Kahrstedt's work, 'Frauen auf antiken Münzen,' in *Klio*, x. (1910), 261 f., agree completely with this re-

construction and explanation of the coins of Mithradates and Gepaepyris. The whole history of Hellenistic coins with the portraits of queens shows that the queens minted coins with their own portraits either as autonomous sovereigns (Dynamis, for instance, Kahrstedt, *l.l.*, 261 f.), as guardians of their sons, or as conjoint rulers. Kahrstedt is right in supposing that the coins of Gepaepyris belong to the latter category (*l.l.*, 303). The coins of Dynamis, acting as guardian, of her husband Aspurgos are also quite in the Hellenistic tradition.

tradition of a vassal Bosphorus. He was dreaming of the creation of an autonomous kingdom, independent of Rome. On such a basis, quite possibly misunderstandings sprung up between him and his stepmother, leading to the journey of Kotys, sent by his mother, to Rome, where Kotys played the traitor to his brother, and, supported by Roman troops, overpowered and removed Mithradates, after having recognised Roman supremacy himself and having totally submitted to Rome. The minting by Kotys of coins in honour of Gepaepyris proves that she had taken his side.⁴³ She perished evidently during the struggle with Mithradates.

In such wise, I suppose, we may reconstruct the history of the epoch after the death of Dynamis, and such a reconstruction explains all the later history of Bosphorus, where the Achaemenid character of the royal power was so greatly influenced by Thracian and local Sarmatian traditions, as also by the traditions of Dynamis, Aspurgos, and Gepaepyris.

This complex, composite character of the royal power on the Bosphorus was clearly realised by the kings themselves. Apart from the already-mentioned coins of Sauromates II. and Rhescuporis II., on which the king is represented with the attributes of Poseidon and Heracles, the Thracian sympathies of the kings are emphasised also by the reproduction of a series of labours of Heracles on coins of Sauromates II., especially those with the figure of the king on a galloping horse, beginning with Kotys I. (see concerning all this the *Bulletin of the Imperial Arch. Commission*, 49, p. 22 f., and Pl. IV.). Soon, however, a strong Sarmatian tendency becomes admixed with this, showing itself also in the names of kings. Of that tendency I have spoken in detail in another place (*Bulletin of the Imperial Arch. Commission*, 49, p. 1 f.). That tendency becomes stronger and stronger in consequence of the growing Sarmatisation of the whole population of the kingdom of Bosphorus. And the Achaemenid character is emphasised at last by the proud title of the kings—*βασιλέων βασιλέων*.

All these facts, which it would be out of place to describe here in greater detail, are for the first time thoroughly explained by the suggested reconstruction of the history of the kingdom of Bosphorus in the period of transition, this by itself being a proof, and not a slight one, of the correctness of the above-stated considerations.

As to our special object, it is important to note that none of the women who ruled over Bosphorus in the first century of the Christian era could pretend to be a descendant of Mithradates except Dynamis. Therefore she alone has the right to claim for her own the bust which has served as the starting point of this study of the fate of Bosphorus in the first half of the first century of our era.

M. ROSTOVTZEFF.

⁴³ Compare Petrus Patr. *Fr. hist. gr.* iv. p. 185, fr. 3; Iatysheff, *Ποντικά*, 108, 2. The history of the revolt of Mithradates is told by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 15 f.; compare Dio,

60, 8; Plin. *N.H.* 5, 17. It is characteristic that a last shelter and support were found by Mithradates amongst the Sarmatians, as was the case with Dynamis in her time.



BRONZE BUST OF QUEEN DYNAMIS OF BOSPORUS



BOSPORAN COINS

Egypt Exploration Society

The Sumerian Treasure of Astrabad

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THE SUMERIAN TREASURE OF ASTRABAD¹

BY PROFESSOR M. ROSTOVITZ

IN the spring of 1841 the Beglerbeg of Astrabad, one of the large cities of Persia, situated a few miles from the south-eastern angle of the Caspian Sea, sent to the Shah of Persia a number of objects discovered in Astrabad. These objects were examined in Teheran by C. A. de Bode² who made some sketches of them, and became so deeply interested in them, that in the summer of the same year he visited Astrabad to collect information concerning their discovery. Once on the site, he ascertained that the treasure was found in a so-called "tell," a big bank of earth or enormous tumulus of the same type, evidently, as the tumuli which were excavated by Pumpelly at Anau, near Askhabad. Without doubt these tumuli, known in Syria and Mesopotamia under the name of "tell," are not of funerary origin, but are simply the remnants of ancient cities that in former times stood on these sites. In the case of the Astrabad tumulus there can be no doubt whatever, for the simple reason that its dimensions are so great, that the summer residence of the governor of Astrabad was built upon it.

The tumulus is situated some twelve miles to the north-east of Astrabad, and is known among the local population by the name of Tureng-tepe meaning "the mountain of pheasants." The information gathered by Bode concerning the circumstances of the discovery is mainly, as is usual in the Orient, of a half legendary character. It seems that the place where the treasure was found was pointed out to Bode in the lower part of the northern slope of the hill, where a chamber had been discovered. He was told that in this chamber, near to the walls and chained to them, several bronze vases were found standing. The bronze vases may possibly have been there, but the chains, of course, are imaginary. Imagination seems to have played a great part also in the story about the fate of the treasure discovered, of which a part only was supposed to have been sent to the Shah. The remainder, including coins, was said to have been kept by the Beglerbeg, who dealt summarily with the discoverers, cutting out the tongue of one, and murdering the other. The important point is that Bode did not meet the discoverers and did not speak with them, but obtained his information at second hand. The information, therefore, must be treated very cautiously. In no case could any coins have formed part of the treasure.

¹ The article by the distinguished Russian archaeologist and historian here published has as its main theme some antiquities from a region very remote from Egypt. The remarkable comparisons made with Egyptian objects, however, amply justify the inclusion of the article in a journal devoted to Egyptology, and the conclusions drawn will be found to be of the deepest importance.—ED.

² Clement de Bode, son of Charles de Bode, an emigrant from Alsace, who settled down in Russia after the French Revolution, was a Russian subject and lived in Moscow. In what capacity Clement de Bode came to Persia I do not know and cannot ascertain, having no Russian books of reference to consult. I suppose, however, that he went there as a diplomat. In England, as I have been told by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, he was concerned in a big lawsuit *versus* the Crown, which started in the forties (De Bode's Case, 1845, 8 Q.B. 208). On account of this affair Bode had often to come to London, where he stayed for long periods of time.

It may be supposed that, as in the case of many finds made in Mesopotamia and Elam during the excavations conducted by de Morgan and de Sarzec, this particular treasure was hidden by its owners at the time of one of the frequent military catastrophes suffered by the city on the site of which a tumulus has gradually grown. The fact that the treasure

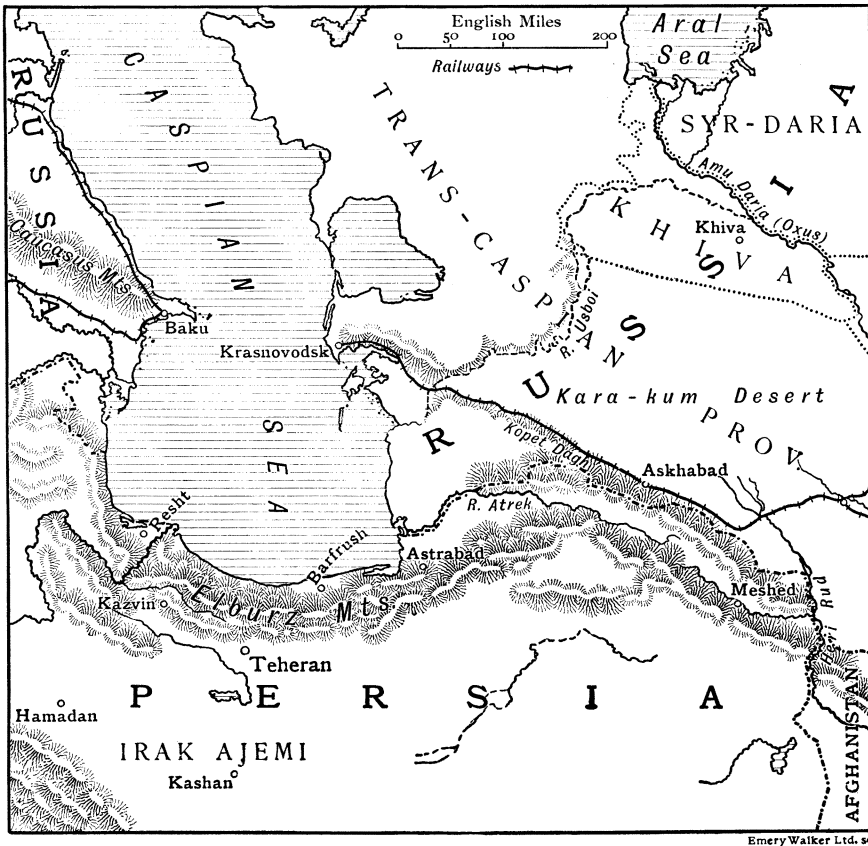


Fig. 1. Map to show the position of Astrabad.

was discovered in the lower part of the hill proves that the objects found belong to the most ancient layers. Unfortunately this hill was not explored afterwards, and we have no data to indicate its composition and the character of its cultural layers. An idea of the objects may be obtained from the sketches made by Bode and his very summary description of them. Both the sketches and the description were handed over by Bode to Roach Smith who published them in 1844 in *Archaeologia*¹. It is unfortunate that the sketches are superficial and seem to have been made rather hurriedly; they give the barest outline only of the ornaments, and make it impossible to judge of the style and technique. But generally speaking they seem to be exact, as can be proved by comparing them with analogous and contemporary objects. It is much to be regretted that while Bode indicates

¹ Baron CLEMENT AUGUSTUS DE BODE, *On a recently opened tumulus in the neighbourhood of Asterabad, forming part of ancient Hyrcania, and the country of the Parthians*. Communicated by CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A., *Archaeologia*, vol. xxx (1844), pp. 248—255, with Pl. XVI.

the weight of the golden objects he does not give their dimensions, and that he contents himself with naming only the general features of the technique of the ornaments. All this makes it very difficult to analyse this particular treasure and to indicate the epoch and cultural region to which it belongs. However, as will be seen below, it is possible to discover both the former and the latter, and their discovery leads to results, the importance of which will no doubt be estimated by specialists at their proper value.

The Astrabad treasure (Pl. III) consists of a number of golden objects, some worked stones and several weapons made of copper (*not* bronze).

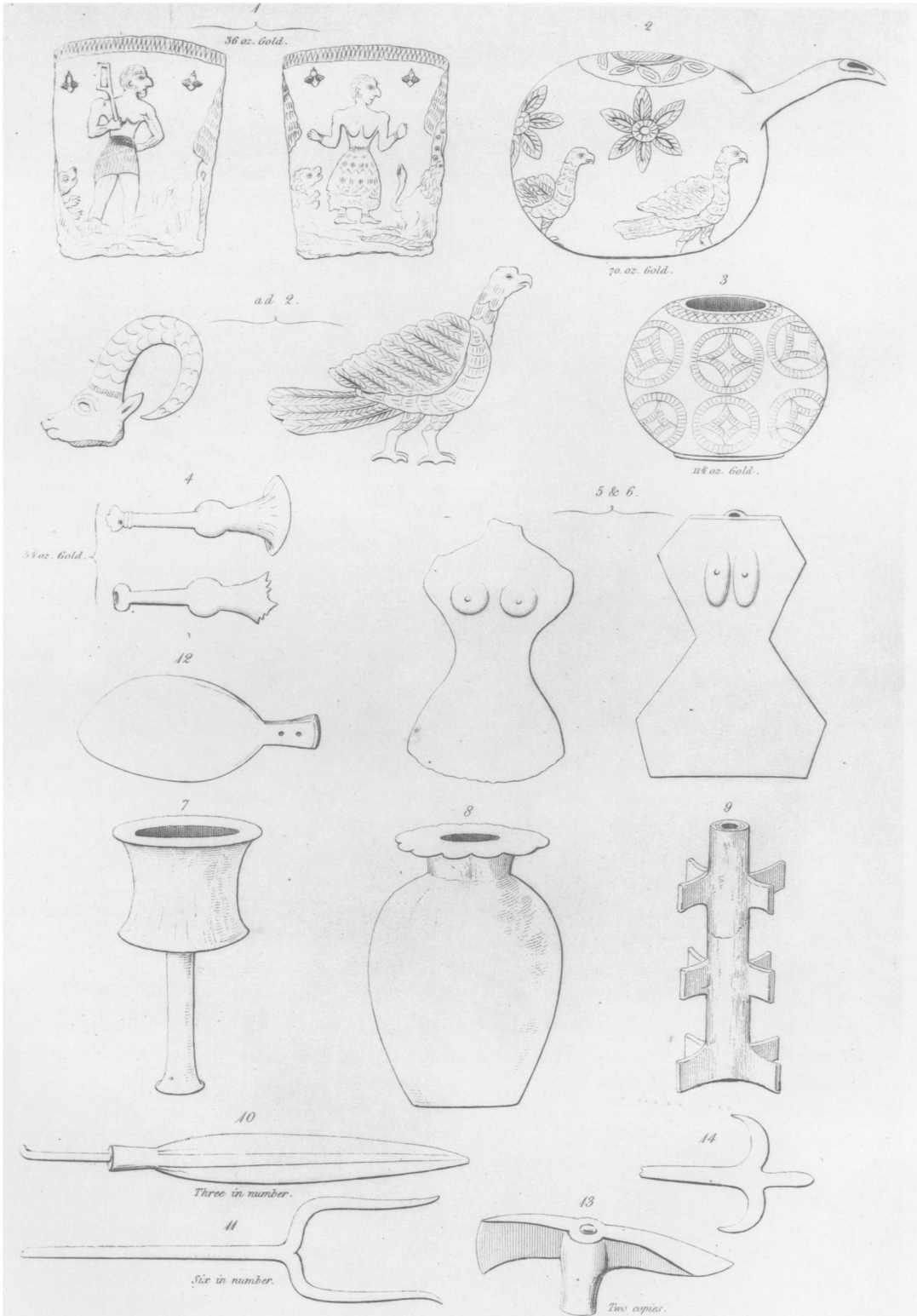
Highly characteristic are two golden vessels:—

1. One of them is made of thin gold in the form of a goblet, the sides being very much bent. Around the upper part runs a band ornamented with a zigzag line, probably cut into the metal. The whole body of the vessel is ornamented with figures in relief. Two human figures are well preserved and will be described in detail further on. Between them we find four-leaved rosettes, which Bode supposes to represent bees. Apart from these, Bode found some fragmentary representations of lions and cypresses on the lower part of the vessel between the human figures, although, as he shows by his sketches and states in his description, these representations are very much damaged. The dimensions of the goblet are not indicated, but the weight is given as 36.02 ounces.

2. The other vessel, weighing 70 ounces, seems to have been found in a better state of preservation. It has the form of an aryballos with a long spout. The body of the vessel is ornamented with figures of vultures or eagles represented in profile. Under the spout is found the head of an ibex, probably a remnant of the whole figure, which is not preserved. On the upper part of the vessel, between the figures of animals are found six-leaved rosettes with line-ornamentations; of these we will speak in detail further on. It is not clear whether this vessel had a cover, but, according to the drawing, that seems probable. In any case the cover or top of the vessel had its own distinct ornaments, *viz.* a central circle filled up with ornamental lines and encircled by a band with schematic representations of leaves disposed in pairs at obtuse angles to one another. It is to be regretted that in the case of this vessel also Bode did not show whether the ornaments are of *repoussé* work or engraved; possibly both methods may have been combined.

3. It is especially regrettable that there are no indications whatever concerning the third golden object, weighing 11½ ounces (here also the dimensions are not given). Bode calls this object a “round vessel.” I suspect that the round opening at the top and the rim at the bottom indicate that the object is not a vessel at all, but the head of a mace or, more correctly, the golden cover of a mace-head. The light weight of the object speaks in favour of this supposition. The whole body of the object, which has the shape of a ball, is ornamented with a double row of circles, the rims of which consist of short strokes; inside each circle a rhombus is drawn, the outer sides of the rhombus being concave, and the bands forming the rhombus being likewise filled up with short strokes or lines. The upper opening has a rim in the form of a band running round it ornamented with crossed lines. Roach Smith defines the ornamental work of the mace as “carved ornaments”; by this he probably means to imply that the ornaments are engraved.

4. The description of two golden objects which together weigh 5½ ounces is extremely sketchy. Bode calls them musical instruments—trumpets; I hardly can believe this to be exact. Unfortunately in the absence of any indication of the dimensions of these objects no conjecture can be drawn as to their purpose.



THE TREASURE OF ASTRABAD

as shown in *Archaeologia*, Vol. XXX (1844), Pl. XVI

The objects made of stone form a special series :—

5 and 6. The most interesting are the two female torsos, both headless, legless and armless. Both torsos seem to be cut out of plates. The first figure has a rounded form, whereas the form of the second is angular. The first figure has the stump of a neck, and it may be supposed that the head has been broken off. As to the second figure it may be conjectured that the neck and head were separate parts, which have fallen off and been lost. The sex is indicated by the breasts, which are rounded in the first figure and narrow and oblong in the second, in the shape of a lentil. The centres in both cases are indicated by points. The sexual organs are not indicated. The first figure is made of a reddish stone, the second of yellow-tinted white stone resembling maragui marble from the province of Azerbeidjan.

7 and 8. Two vessels are made of the same yellow-tinted white stone. One is shaped like a goblet on a long stem, the lower part of which is broken off. The second has a very elegant shape, the top part forming a rosette with many leaves.

The copper objects are weapons of warfare with interesting and original shapes :—

9. A very original mace-head is ornamented with three rows of projections, four in each row.

10. Three spearheads, leaf-shaped, with ends to be set in the shafts.

11. Six prongs or forks also with ends to be set in the shafts.

12. A leaf-shaped dagger with a handle pierced with two holes for the purpose of attaching it to a wooden shaft in which the handle was set.

13. Two double-edged battleaxes, one of the edges horizontal and the other vertical, with a central hole for the handle.

14. A combination of two curved knives and a spear with an end for hafting.

Despite the great interest attaching to the treasure here described, it remains still unclassified and has never been properly understood. Bode himself and Roach Smith after him believed the objects to belong to the Scythian period, and supposed them to have been discovered in a funerary tumulus of the type described by Herodotus. This, of course, is quite impossible because the Scythian culture, which is well known to us from the South Russian discoveries, belongs to a much later stage when weapons of iron had completely supplanted weapons of bronze. In this case we have to deal only with weapons made of copper and very primitively shaped; there is no bronze and, of course, no iron. We are, therefore, in this case concerned with a cultural period belonging to the Copper-age, not to the Bronze-age.

Since the description of the treasure was published, the only scholars, so far as I know, who have paid attention to it are the students of prehistoric times and S. Reinach. The interest of the first was excited simply and solely by the copper weapons; they paid no attention whatever to the other objects, and went no further than to make a superficial comparison with other treasures of Western Europe¹. S. Reinach paid more attention to our treasure². He was the first to emphasize the great antiquity of the objects discovered, as indicated by the absence of iron and even bronze, but his comparison of the figures on the golden goblet with the Mycenaean or Aegean figures lacks foundation. The Mycenaean

¹ See MONTELIUS, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, vol. XXI, p. 14; ID., *Die Chronologie der Bronzezeit*, p. 138; cf. S. REINACH, *Anthropologie*, 1892, p. 454.

² See S. REINACH, *La représentation du galop*, in *Revue Archéologique*, vol. XXXVII (1900), p. 252, with figs. 72—82.

and Aegean figures have absolutely no resemblance to our figures; the type of the features, the costume and the ornaments differ markedly from those of the Aegean and Mycenaean areas and lead us to other regions and other times. After S. Reinach our treasure was almost entirely forgotten again. In the latest literature I have found references to it only in the last book by W. Leonhardt entitled *Paphlagonia* (Berlin, 1915, p. 322), with a reference to S. Reinach.

It was in the course of my researches upon the most ancient cultural development of Southern Russia, and especially in studying the antiquities discovered in the Kuban province, which are clearly related, as Pharmakovsky has recently shown¹, to prehistoric Egypt, and even more closely related to the most ancient civilisation of Sumer and Elam, that I became acquainted with the treasure of Astrabad; its relation to the same period was at once obvious to me, as well as its close connection with the Sumerian antiquities, as we now know them after the discoveries of de Sarzec and Cros and the masterly classifications due to Heuzey.

One has merely to glance at our treasure, after having attentively gone through the tables of the splendid French publication entitled *Découvertes en Chaldée*, to become convinced of the fact that the only true parallels for it are to be found in the objects belonging to the time of Ur-Nina, one of the most ancient kings of Lagash, in the contemporary antiquities discovered by de Morgan in Susa, in the asphalt vessels, covered with drawings, contemporary with the second period of the painted pottery of Elam, and in the most ancient Elamitic seals.

Let us now study more closely the objects contained in our treasure. A golden tumbler or goblet held by gods or kings appears frequently on the Sumerian monuments. In the first place, by way of corroboration, I must mention the tablets or pedestals from Nippur and Tello, destined most probably for sacred maces. Everywhere upon these, gods and kings are seen holding goblets while their servants stand near with vessels for libations, tall jugs without handles, but with spouts, through which the liquid contained in the vessel was poured out². The first discovery of a number of such goblets, with ornaments in relief and engraving, some of them made of shells of mother-of-pearl, was made in Tello; the second discovery of the kind, consisting of asphalt supports in the form of goblets, was made in Elam³. But of course the shape alone does not give any definite indication, because vessels of the goblet type were in rather common use in the ancient world⁴. A definite indication

¹ B. PHARMAKOVSKY, *The Archaic Period in Russia in Materials for Archaeology of Russia*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 50 foll.

² See HILPRECHT, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 417, with illustrations; *Babylonian Explorations, Old Babylonian Inscr.*, vol. I, p. 2, with Pl. XVI; E. MEYER, *Sumerier und Semiten*; KING, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 49, figs. 14, 15; DE SARZEC and HEUZEY, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Pl. II bis; cf. Pl. I, and HEUZEY, *Catal. des Antiq. Chald. du Louvre*, no. 11.

³ See *Déc.*, Pl. XLVI, fig. 3 (see in the present article Pl. V, fig. 2); *Catal.*, p. 189; *Déc.*, *ibid.*, figs. 4, 5, 8; *Catal.*, no. 232 foll.; KING, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, pp. 79 foll., figs. 30 foll. The best preserved is the goblet of Gudea with the figure of a caduceus formed by two serpents and two winged serpent-shaped demous; see *Déc.*, Pl. XLIV, fig. 2, A. B. C., p. 234; and cf. Pl. XLIV bis, fig. 4, p. 381; *Revue Assyriologique*, vol. v, pp. 129 foll.; vol. vi, pp. 95 foll. The asphalt supports of Elam will be described later on.

⁴ I may mention, however, that in none of the series of pottery known to me have I found such a preponderance of the goblet type as in the ceramics of Elam of the first period, with its characteristic paintings; one has only to go through the plates published by Pottier to be convinced of this. See DE MORGAN, *Délégation en Perse*, Mémoires XIII. The only other shape competing to a certain extent with

can be given only by the character and style. Setting aside for the moment the other representations, which are in a bad state of preservation, let us concentrate our attention on the two principal figures.

One of them (Pl. III, no. 1, right) represents a human being with the head and feet turned to the right while the body is standing straight, facing one. The underlined tips of the breasts alone are evidently not sufficient to serve as a criterion of sex. The head and the face of the figure are clean-shaven. The peculiar characteristic features of this human figure are its unusually long hooked nose and its large ears. The eye is large and has a characteristic shape, which is repeated in the second figure. The clothing also is very typical: the upper part of the body and the feet are bare; from the waist down to the feet the figure is clad in a wide petticoat belted at the waist. The arms and hands are represented *en face*; the arms are bent at the elbow and stretched out—one to the right, the other to the left; if the drawing and the description by Bode are to be trusted, the figure is represented with bracelets on the arms and ankles. The nature of the material of which the petticoat is made is very typically represented by three or four rows of streaked triangles.

The second figure (Pl. III, no. 1, left) has the same characteristic features. Here also the head and feet are turned to the right, while the body and arms are drawn *en face*. The face is of the same type, with a large hooked nose and a fleshy ear; the head and face are also clean-shaven. The costume differs slightly, consisting of a short petticoat instead of a long one, which covers the lower part of the body only and stops short at the knees; the garment looks more like a wide belt than a petticoat and is held at the waist by another wide belt, possibly of metal, ornamented with two bands of triangles. The artist has attempted to represent the material of the petticoat by means of four streaked bands. The arms are represented in the same way as in the first figure, but the left arm is bent at the elbow with the hand poised on the hip; the right arm is also bent at the elbow, but the hand holds a sort of instrument or a part of some weapon which Bode has reproduced in his sketch as resembling an oar with a hole in the blade, though in his description he compares it with one of the curved knives used by the natives to clear a path through the woods. (See the drawing on page 249). A parallel to both these figures can be found only on Sumerian monuments. Firstly the technique and the style of the figures, and then the long hooked noses, the fleshy ears, the clean-shaven heads and faces—such precisely are the features that characterize the ancient kings and other inhabitants of Lagash, the typical features of the Sumerian type, reproduced by the Sumerian artists with a rude, primitive realism. One glance at such ancient monuments as the above-mentioned pedestals of sacred maces of the king Ur-Nina (see Pl. V, fig. 4) or of the sovereigns of Nippur, or at the famous round pedestal from Tello (see Pl. V, fig. 1), or at the famous Vulture stela, will suffice to remove every doubt in this matter. No less typical and characteristically Sumerian are the postures and costumes of the figures¹.

The figure with the arms outstretched is clad in the typical Sumerian petticoat, found on nearly all the figures representing ancient Sumerians. These petticoats, as

the goblet is the half-spherical cup. This is not accidental, of course, especially as such a predominance is noticeable only in the first period. Other shapes predominate in the second period, when the goblet appears only sporadically.

¹ The latest comparative study of Sumerian types was published by TH. J. PINCHES, *The Sumerian of Lagash* in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xxxv (1913), pp. 17 foll. with Pl. I.

Heuzey supposes (*Les origines orientales de l'Art*, pp. 120 foll.), were made of shaggy woollen stuff, in texture resembling fur, or else of palm-leaves stitched together. To cite examples would be superfluous. The clothing of the second figure, the belt and apron covering the loins, is not so typical. But still it is found rather often in Sumerian statuary. For instance the figure of Ningirsu, supreme god of Lagash¹, as represented on the Vulture stela, is clad in precisely such an apron, covering the loins. A similar costume characterizes the two figures (the god and the worshipper) on the tablet from Nippur (HILPRECHT, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 417; *Bab. Exp., Cun. texts*, vol. I, Pt. 2, Pl. XVI, figs. 37 and 38); the demon on the tablet of the Berlin Museum, published by E. Meyer (*Sumerier und Semiten*, p. 102); the part of the carved figure, published by Heuzey (*Déc.*, Pl. XLVI, fig. 1). Heuzey² is undecided whether it was the fur of an animal or some kind of woollen material that the artist wished to represent.

We get a further development of this primitive costume, changing gradually into a Babylonian plaid, on a later monument (about two centuries after Naramsin), the relief of Anubanini, king of the Lulubeians (see DE MORGAN, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, vol. IV (1896), pp. 161 foll.; E. MEYER, *Sum. u. Sem.*, p. 25). The king is figured here in the act of conquering his foes, with a "boomerang" (to be mentioned further on) in his right hand, just as in the figure on the Astrabad goblet. He is clad in a sort of waistcoat covering the upper part of the body, and in a plaid covering the loins and fastened by a wide metallic belt around the waist. It is characteristic that bracelets are represented on the arms of this figure, just as on the arms of the first figure on the Astrabad goblet. It is very probable that the typical clothing of the Hittites with their wide metallic waistbelt is connected with this costume. Possibly in this case the waistcoat covering the upper part of the body and the apron have been united to form one coat³.

The object that the figure on the goblet is holding in the right hand is very typical. I have stated already that Bode's drawing and description do not coincide. The description, of course, is the more trustworthy, the drawing serving only as an illustration, and it shows that the instrument or weapon concerned may be identified with the so-called Sumerian "boomerang," a stick or bundle of twigs with a curve or bend at the upper end, wherein was fixed a blade made of stone or metal. Later the whole apparatus, the blade included, was made of copper. These weapons played an important part in the ancient days of Lagash. Eannatun on the Vulture stela, one of the chiefs on the round monument, and many other figures that could be cited are all armed with "boomerangs." Most probably the shape of the curved shafts of the sceptres held by the gods of Sumer and Babylon may be traced back to this most ancient Sumerian weapon⁴.

¹ See HEUZEY, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Pl. XLVIII; E. MEYER, *Sumerier und Semiten*, p. 95.

² *Restitution matérielle de la stèle des Vautours* (1909), p. 29; a general characterization is given here of the ethnographic type of the Sumerians and of their clothing; very justifiable doubts are expressed concerning the accuracy of the deductions of E. Meyer, who builds his theory of the relationship between Sumerians and Semites in ancient Mesopotamia on the basis of the type of features and costume.

³ See PHARMAKOVSKY, *The Archaic Period in Russia in Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*, vol. xxxiv, Pls. XV, XVI.

⁴ See HEUZEY, *Déc.*, Pl. I *ter*, fig. 1a, *cf.* Pl. XLVII, fig. 1 (see in the present article Pl. V, fig. 1) and Pl. III *bis*, *cf.* Pl. XLVIII *bis*. See also the cylinder with the figure of Ningirsu, *Déc.*, p. 301, fig. 1, *cf. ibid.*, Pl. XXII, fig. 5 (p. 271); Pl. XXX *bis*, fig. 19. For the "boomerang" see HEUZEY, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello*, p. 129, fig. 4 and Pl. VIII, fig. 5; *cf. ibid.*, p. 137 and note 1. For a very detailed analysis of the "boomerang" and for suggestions about the origin of this type of weapon see HEUZEY, *Rest. mat. de la stèle des Vautours*, pp. 14 foll.; *Orig. orient. de l'Art*, pp. 164 foll. Most probably it is the original of the later curved swords of the Hittites and of Asia Minor, the so-called *κοπίδες*.



I



2



3



4

ANTIQUITIES FROM ELAM

If the figure on the goblet really holds a "boomerang" in its hand, this is an indication that finally settles the question of the truly Sumerian character of the figures represented.

The general composition of the scene depicted on the goblet is not really clear. Bode mentions lions and cypresses, but the reproduction of trees in such a connection is hardly probable. The introduction of elements of landscape on Sumerian reliefs belongs to a later time, not earlier than the period of Sargon and Naramsin, when the type of costumes and features had changed to a great extent and there was very little left in common with the type of clothing and features of Lagash in the period of Ur-Nina and Eannatun.

It is permissible, therefore, to doubt the accuracy of Bode's description, and to conjecture that he could not decipher the bent and defaced designs between the figures and was unable to understand their meaning. It is possible that our goblet, in the general composition of its scenes, closely resembled one of the asphalt supports of Elam discovered by de Morgan. In any case the position of the human figure on this support fully coincides with the posture of the first figure of the Astrabad goblet. I am alluding to the two fragments of a support reproduced in *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. XIII, Pl. XXXV, figs. 2 and 5, where their editor has not mentioned the fact that they are parts of one and the same support¹ (see Pl. IV, fig. 2). The figure on the fragments is shown standing straight with head and feet turned leftwards. The right hand of the figure is represented in the act of grasping the wing of the ordinary Sumerian heraldic eagle, the left poised on a lion. The human figure is typically Sumerian; there is the same technique in the reproduction of the body, the same characteristic petticoat (cf. POTTIER, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII, fig. 5; Pl. XXXV, fig. 4). The same typical Sumerians are represented on a number of other monuments, for instance on the highly interesting relief (see Pl. IV, fig. 1) where two Sumerians are seen standing facing each other, one lifting and stretching out the right arm, and the other the left arm; between them two heraldic serpents are interlaced, reminding one of the serpent caduceus of Gudea and of the same serpents on the handle shields of knives and daggers of predynastic Egypt² (see fig. 3 on p. 15).

Is not the composition of the scene on the Astrabad goblet also typically Sumerian? It is repeated with certain omissions also on the Elam support just alluded to: the two figures, and between them the heraldic eagles holding in their claws two heraldic lions. We must remember that the eagle of Lagash, holding two animals in its claws, was a favourite theme with the artists of that city and of the city of Elam (*e.g.* Pl. IV, fig. 3), only slightly altered in the latter case. We find it on the famous vase of Entemena (see fig. 2), on the standard carried by Ningirsu, on the Vulture stela, and on a series of ancient reliefs from Lagash³.

¹ See POTTIER, *loc. cit.*, p. 68. Pottier had correctly indicated the close connection and contemporary character of the sculptured pottery of Elam of the second period of painted ceramics with the monuments of the most ancient period of Lagash.

² For this Elamitic relief see *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. XIII, Pl. XXXVII (black asphalt). Of the same type and style are the pedestals for sacred maces from Elam, *ibid.*, Pl. XL, figs. 3 and 9. The goblet of Gudea is reproduced in all the publications concerning the history of Sumer. See HEUZÉY, *Déc.*, Pl. XLIV, fig. 2, A. B. C., and p. 234. For Egyptian knives see DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, vol. I, pp. 112 foll., fig. 136; vol. II, Pl. V; CAPART, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 71, fig. 36, p. 72, fig. 37, p. 73, fig. 38. See further HEUZÉY, *Origines orientales de l'Art*, p. 345, with Pl. XVII.

³ For the vase of Entemena see *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, vol. II (HEUZÉY), pp. 5 foll. with Pl. I; *Déc.*, Pls. XLIII and XLIII bis, and pp. 261 foll. The Vulture stela see *Déc.*, Pl. IV bis; reliefs, see *ibid.*, Pl. I, fig. 2, and pp. 87 foll., Pl. V bis, fig. 2, and p. 205; Pl. XXXI bis, fig. 1. Usually, however, the eagle has a

If my supposition prove exact, the Astrabad goblet, together with some monuments from Susa and Tello, may be considered as one of the most ancient specimens of a continuous composition, symmetrically or heraldically uniting human beings and animals in one concise picture encircling the ornamented object. A similar group of lion-eagles and animals intermixed is found on the Entemena vase, a group of animals alone on the mace-head (see Pl. V, fig. 5), where lions are reproduced in one continuous band devouring other lions (*Déc.*, Pl. I *ter*, fig. 2, with pp. 223 foll.)¹, and lastly, the tendency to bind together in the same network figures representing vultures and parts of human bodies is clearly indicated in the upper part of the Vulture stela.

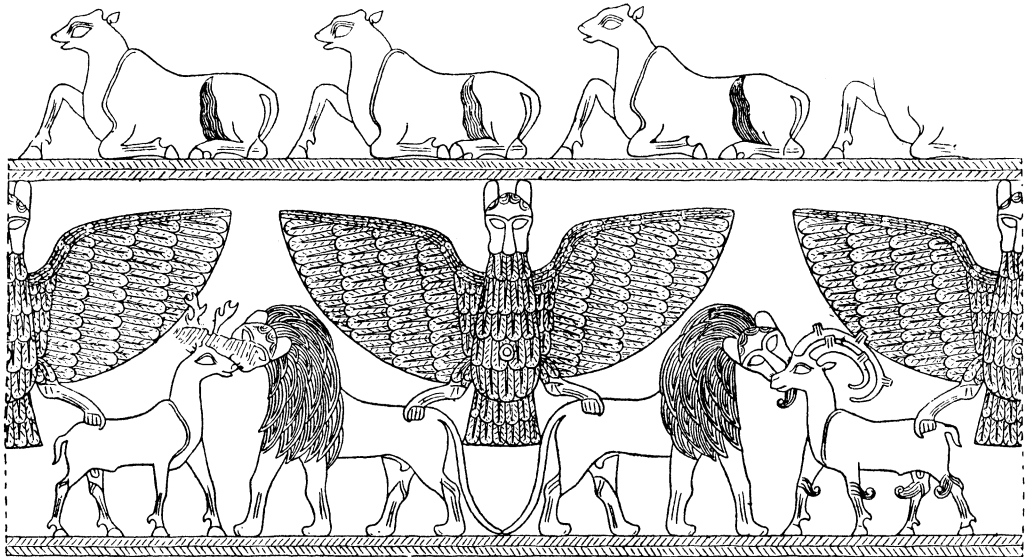


Fig. 2. Design from the vase of Entemena.

We should also note the four-leaved rosette on the Astrabad goblet, filling up the parts of the goblet unoccupied by other figures. The same method of filling up empty spaces is typical of the goblets of Tello covered by engravings of shells (Pl. V, fig. 2)² and of the engraved stones of ancient Elam³. The primitive character of the ornamental band on the upper rim of the goblet also deserves attention.

The Sumerian character seems at first sight less pronounced in the large vessel with a spout. It may be explained by the evident tendency of Bode's drawings to modernize somewhat the figures of eagles ornamenting the vessel. But a closer examination shows the lion's head, which is typical for Lagash, but is not repeated in Elam. Bode may have mistaken for cypresses the ends of the eagle's wings; there is no reason to question the presence of lions on the lower part. The composition on the monument in *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello*, Pl. VIII, fig. 3 is particularly vivid.

¹ The mace-head was consecrated to the god Ningirsu by Messilim, king of Kish. Over a continuous series of lions is reproduced the flying eagle of Shirpurla-Lagash. The same composition is found in Egypt, also on a miniature mace-head. This mace-head was discovered at Hierakonpolis and is kept at the present time in the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford (QUIBELL and GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, vol. II, Pl. XXIII; vol. I, Pl. XIX, 6 and vol. II, Pl. LXVI). Comp. L. CURTIUS, *Studien zur Geschichte der altorientalischen Kunst in Sitz. der Bayr. Akad.* (1912), 7, pp. 21 foll.

² See the goblet with the reproduction of a lion devouring a bull (*Déc.*, Pl. XLVI, 3; *Cat.*, p. 189); here a seven-leaved rosette is reproduced between the lion and the bull.

³ See JÉQUIER, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VIII, figs. 13, 17, 20, 22, 31, 32, 40, 42, 44, 47, 51, 52, 53.



I



2



3



4



5

vessel to be typically Sumerian and as primitive as the goblet. First of all attention must be drawn to the combination in the Astrabad treasure of the goblet or tumbler with the vessel with a spout. This combination is characteristic of Sumerian reliefs. The same combination is found on several monuments of predynastic and protodynastic Egypt, but the shape of the vessel used for libations is somewhat different in Babylon, Elam and Egypt¹. Evidently the vessel with the spout and the goblet belonged to the customary set of sacramental plate used in the temples. To both of these must be added a bomb-shaped round vessel with a short neck, appearing there where life-giving water is figured, running out of this vessel in two streams. This vessel remains typically sacramental in Southern Russia from the most ancient times up to the period of the decline of the great Scythian Empire². It is true that the vessel with a spout from Astrabad is shaped differently from the vessels with spouts from Mesopotamia and Egypt. But I attach no great importance to this, because vessels with spouts are very common in the primitive ceramics of the whole Orient and the Aegean Islands, and take the most varied shapes, sometimes approaching very nearly to the shape of the Astrabad vessel. We find these vessels in Elam, beginning with the Neolithic Period, the first period of the cultural development of Elam which is characterized by painted pottery³; and a great many vessels of this type are found in predynastic and protodynastic Egypt. We get them also in the tells of Turkestan, in Anau, although, it is true, in later layers⁴.

In later times vessels with spouts are typical for the whole of Asia Minor; we find them in the earlier Hittite necropoleis⁵, in the more ancient necropoleis of Phrygia⁶, and in Trans-Caucasia⁷. They are quite common also in the region influenced by the Aegean

¹ The vessel used for libations on the palette of Narmer (Pl. VI, fig. 2) has the shape of a small kettle which the servant holds by a handle riveted to the upper part. This shape is very similar to that of the Astrabad vessel. I may say here that many of the Egyptian earthenware vessels with spouts approximate very closely in shape to the Astrabad vessel. See HALL, in this *Journal*, vol. I (1914), pp. 114 foll., with Pl. XVII.

² See PHARMAKOVSKY, *The Archaic Period in Russia*, in *Materials for the Archaeology of Russia*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 50 foll.; ROSTOVITZ, *ibid.*, pp. 79 foll.; cf. HEUZEY, *Orig. orient. de l'Art*, pp. 149 foll., with Pl. V.

³ POTTIER, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. XIII, Pl. XXII, fig. 6, Pl. XXV, fig. 7, Pl. XXIX, fig. 2. I indicate those vessels only that more or less approximate in shape to the Astrabad vessel.

⁴ Very many examples could be quoted, but I will limit myself to a few references only; PETRIE, *Nagada and Ballas*, Pl. XXVI, figs. 58 a—d, Pl. XXXVI, fig. 85; *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. VI R 131, Pl. XIV, figs. 58a, 58e, 58m; *Arch. Survey of Nubia*, vol. I, Pl. LX, figs. B12, B13, C9, C10; REISNER, *The Early Dyn. Cem. of Naga ed-Dér*, vol. II, p. 47, fig. 109, and cf. Pl. XLVIIa (5175). Apart from this, Reisner indicates a number of bronze vessels of the same type from GARSTANG, *Mahásna*, Pl. XX; ID., *Reqaqnah*, Pl. VI; QUIBELL, *El Kab*, Pl. III. I repeat that I am indicating only those types that more or less approximate to the Astrabad vessel. For Turkestan, see PUMPELLY, *Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1904*, vol. I, Pl. IX, fig. 1 and Pl. XII, fig. 1.

⁵ See LEONARD WOOLLEY, *Hittite Burial Customs*, in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, vol. VI (1904), pp. 87 foll. with Pls. XXII, figs. 3 and 4 (the transitional period between the early bronze and the middle Hittite). Compare the vessel from Kuel-Tepe in E. MEYER, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, Pl. V.

⁶ KÖRTE in *Ath. Mitth.*, vol. XXIV (1899), p. 33, with Pls. III, XVI, XXV. Körte ascribes these vessels, as well as the above-mentioned Hittite vessels, to about 2000 B.C., placing them close to the Trojan vessels of the Vth city. These vessels developed into the later painted vessels of the same type. See KÖRTE, *Gordion*, p. 89, Pls. III, IV.

⁷ RÖSLER, *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft*, in *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.* (1901), pp. 87 foll., and cf. 1902, p. 188 (excavations near Helenendorf). Vessels of the same type are found in other necropoleis of Trans-Caucasia.

culture¹. I may mention also that a vessel with a spout of the typical shape of the Sumerian reliefs was found in one of the tells near Astrabad during de Morgan's excavations, of which I shall have to speak further on. Unfortunately the published drawings of the objects discovered do not allow us to form an opinion concerning the time to which this vessel may belong; the handle differs from those of the vessels on the Sumerian stela, and this difference may indicate a later period².

A decisive indication of the epoch of the Astrabad vessel is found not in its shape, but in its ornamentation. The ornamentation of vessels, carved stones, cylinders, palettes, etc., with series of similar or different animals is a sign typical of a very ancient stage in the development of art. We find it in the polychrome ceramics of Elam and Egypt³, on seals and cylinders of a most ancient epoch in the same countries⁴, and on monuments of predynastic and protodynastic Egypt⁵. The animal reproductions strike one usually by their primitive naturalism and show a tendency of the artist towards a certain schematization and geometrization, although the same tendencies appear as a product of a later development. Splendid specimens of this method of ornamentation are found among the silver vessels from a Maykop burial (Kuban province, Northern Caucasus) belonging to the same period. I hope to treat separately the subject of this burial and its important bearing on the history of human culture⁶.

Bode's drawing, unfortunately, reproduces only the general scheme of the figures of eagles ornamenting the Astrabad vessel, and gives no clue which would enable us to judge of the style. But one detail, evidently not invented, is very characteristic. This is the reproduction of the plumage, the elaborate rendering of each feather, the unusually detailed and at the same time schematic work⁷. The manner in which the plumage is

¹ For vessels from Mochlos see PERNIER and KARO, *Ant. Crétoises*, vol. II, p. 5; Pseira, *ibid.*, Pl. XIX, and often. It is known that out of this type of vessels has developed the so-called *Schnabelkannen*. Such vessels are very common on the island of Cyprus, see KÖRTE, *Gordion*, p. 89 footnote. Cf. P. DI CESNOLA, *Catal. of Cypr. Ant.*, vol. II, p. 85, nos. 757, 758; p. 96, no. 823; p. 92, no. 788. I take my examples from the Orient only ignoring the Occident.

² J. DE MORGAN, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, vol. IV, p. 144, fig. 7.

³ POTTIER, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. XIII (1912).

⁴ JÉQUIER, *op. cit.*, Mém. VIII (1905); cf. MECQUENEM, *ibid.*, Mém. VII, and PÉZARD, *ibid.*, Mém. XII.

⁵ See the recent article by J. BÉNÉDITE on this kind of monument, *The Carnarvon Ivory* in this *Journal*, vol. V (1918), pp. 1 foll. Cf. also T. E. PEET, *The Art of the Predynastic Period* in this *Journal*, vol. II (1915), pp. 88 foll. I am astonished that no attention is here paid to the close connection between Egyptian palettes and knife-handles and the ancient seals and cylinders from Elam. This connection appears not so much in the similar types of various animals (lions, for instance), as in a general system of their grouping, partly around a certain centre, partly in continuous rows one over the other, the empty spaces sometimes being filled up with animals, sometimes with geometric or vegetative ornaments. See L. CURTIUS, *Studien zur Geschichte der Altorientalischen Kunst*, in *Sitzungsb. der Bayerischen Akad.* (1912), pp. 11 foll.; JOLLES, *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.*, vol. XIX (1904), pp. 27 foll.

⁶ See PHARMAKOVSKY, *Archaic Period in Russia*, in *Mater. for Arch. of Russia*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 50 foll. The Maykop vessels are to be included in the same series, as characterized above, of monuments giving the oldest specimens of the animal style, clearly showing a definite tendency to ornament with figures of animals objects destined for religious or domestic purposes.

⁷ I do not know if Bode faithfully renders the style of the eagle's head, but what strikes me is the close resemblance in style, even in Bode's rendering, with the splendid eagle's head (Pl. V, fig. 3) on the fragment of the relief from Tello (*Déc.*, Pl. I, fig. 3). The heads of the small vultures on the Vulture stela are less characteristic, but they too have a striking expression of energy and life, differing in this from the more elaborate and elegant heads of the small hawks of protodynastic Egypt. It is to be remembered that the figures of vultures and other birds of prey, so full of life, play the same part on the well-known fragment

represented is very close to the manner characterized by Heuzey¹ as typical of Sumerian monuments of the period of Eannatun and Ur-Nina, only it is simpler and more primitive. The plumage of the wings is not divided into several parts as on the Sumerian monuments, where the lower part of the wing consists of smaller feathers and two or three rows of big feathers form the wing proper, but is reproduced as a row of separate big feathers each of them covered entirely with short strokes. The same manner is adopted in the most ancient monuments of Egypt (see for instance *Hierakonpolis*, vol. I, Pl. VI, fig. 6, and cf. Pl. XVI, fig. 4, Pl. XII, figs. 1, 8, Pl. XVII; also vol. II, Pl. XXXII, reproduced here, Pl. VI, fig. 3), and on the asphalt support of Elam (see POTTIER, *op. cit.*, Mém. XIII, Pl. XXXIV, figs. 2, 3, and Pl. XXXV, figs. 2, 5, = here Pl. IV, fig. 3). On later Egyptian monuments the treatment of bird's plumage alters and follows a line differing from the Sumerian².

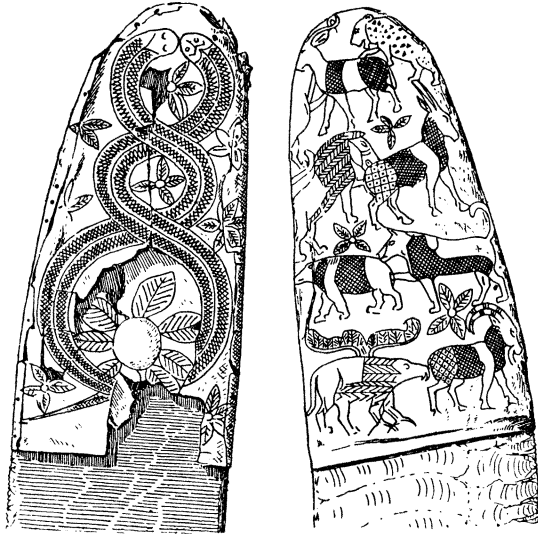


Fig. 3. Gold sheath of a predynastic Egyptian stone knife.

The rosettes forming the upper bands of the ornamentation of the Astrabad vessel are still more typical. I have found the same type of rosette only on monuments of predynastic and protodynastic Egypt. Such a rosette composed of six or usually seven leaves is seen on the

palette of Narmer, both on the obverse and the reverse, between the figure of the Pharaoh and the figure of his cup-bearer (Pl. VI, fig. 2)³; the same rosette is reproduced before the figure of the Pharaoh on the big mace-head N III from Hierakonpolis and a second time on fragment 5 of the same, also on the mace-head N II (Pl. VI, fig. 1)⁴. But still more characteristic is the fact that precisely the same rosette, consisting of four leaves, is found on the gold sheath of a stone knife of predynastic Egypt, playing the same part as on the Astrabad vessel, *i.e.* filling up the space between the rows of animals (fig. 3). A similar rosette with an equal or greater number of leaves, likewise used for ornamental purposes

at the British Museum as do the vultures on the Eannatun stela. The close stylistic connection between this palette and the Eannatun stela has been pointed out several times already. The powerful expression of the vultures' heads on the palette differs vividly from the elegant treatment of the bird figures on Egyptian monuments, and reminds one very much of Mesopotamia, but the plumage is reproduced according to the Egyptian scheme. See the recent article by SELIGMAN concerning this palette in the *Liverpool Ann. of Arch.*, vol. VII (1914—1916), p. 43.

¹ In his characterization of the Entemena vase, *Déc. en Chaldée*, Pl. XLIII and XLIII bis; *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, vol. II, Pl. I, and p. 5; *Catal.*, pp. 372 foll.

² See for instance the charming hawk on the Narmer palette, QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, vol. I, Pl. XXIX, or the vultures on the Vulture palette, SELIGMAN, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV.

³ See QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. XXIX; and compare for the rosettes especially G. FOUCART, *Les deux rois inconnus de Hierakonpolis*, in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* (1901), p. 231, especially p. 233, where an enlarged, but not quite a correct reproduction of a rosette is given. The palette of Narmer has been reproduced several times in different publications.

⁴ QUIBELL, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI B and XXVI C; and cf. Pl. XXV, fig. 1.

and filling up an empty space, is found on the other side of the gold sheath in conjunction with the figures of two symmetrically interlaced serpents. Exactly the same thing is repeated on some similar and similarly ornamented knives belonging to the Berlin Museum and to the Edwards Collection at University College, London. Let us remember also the four-leaved rosettes filling up the empty spaces on the golden goblet from Astrabad, to which we referred above¹.

The rosette is, of course, a common element of ornamentation. But the characteristic fact is the absolute coincidence in shape, the careful rendering of the centre by two concentric circles, the empty space between them being filled up by lines, the careful working of the leaves, the longitudinal and transverse veins being reproduced schematically. All this, however strange it may seem, is found only in Egypt and Astrabad. On Sumerian monuments I have never remarked such rosettes². It is quite possible, as G. Foucart suggests, that out of this more ancient rosette developed later the Egyptian lotus-rosette, which has spread over the whole world, as was well demonstrated by Goodyear³. But the later rosette differs to a great extent from the more ancient, which I have found only in Egypt and Astrabad. A certain resemblance may be found between the rosette of this type and the golden rosette of Mochlos, but the resemblance is rather remote and the technique is quite different⁴.

The striking coincidence above indicated is important for us both as confirming the extreme antiquity of the Astrabad vessel with a spout and because it shows again the close connection—both chronological and substantial—between the cultures of protodynastic Egypt and the more ancient periods of Sumer, a connection which has of late been often indicated though very variously explained⁵.

¹ See J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, vol. I, pp. 12 foll., fig. 136, and vol. II, Pl. V; CAPART, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 71, fig. 36; cf. PETRIE in *Man* (1902), No. 113, p. 161, Pl. I, figs. 3, III and 4, IV; CAPART, *op. cit.*, p. 72, fig. 37 (now at University College, London); T. E. PEET, in this *Journal*, vol. II, Pl. XIII, fig. 4; CAPART, *op. cit.*, p. 73, fig. 38 (the knife in the Berlin Museum). As a filling of empty spaces and at the same time as the central point of a composition, a big six-leaved rosette of a more schematic shape is found on one side of the ivory handle of a stone knife reproduced by BÉNÉDITE in this *Journal*, vol. V (1918), Pl. I. I think that this rosette may serve as a reliable chronological indication of a very close connection between the Carnarvon ivory and the above-mentioned monuments.

² The Sumerian rosettes have a somewhat different shape, but their use for ornamental purposes has the same object—to fill up empty spaces, or to serve as the central point in a composition. See the engraved cup, or the outer covering of a cup made of a shell from Tello, *Déc.*, Pl. XLVI, fig. 3, our Pl. V, fig. 2. We find the same rosette on the bottom of an analogous cup from the same place, *Déc.*, p. 267, Pl. XLVI, fig. 7. It is characteristic that also on the alabaster plate from Susa we find a rosette shaped in the same way—with sharp pointed, not rounded, leaves; over it is seen the customary eagle; see *Dél. en Perse*, *Mém.* XII, p. 138, fig. 195 *bis*. With the Sumerian and Elam monuments ought to be connected probably a later cylinder belonging to the de Clercq collection (*Coll. de Clercq*, Pl. III, fig. 27), supposed by Ménant to be Phoenician, which is hardly correct. Here, in connection with figures of ibexes in the lower part and with ibex heads in the upper part, we find the empty spaces filled up both by typical Elamite and Sumerian ornamental network and by rosettes of two types—the nine-leaved with leaves ending in triangles and the four-leaved, reminding one of the above-mentioned Egyptian monuments. Some signs, possibly hieroglyphs, adjoin the rosettes.

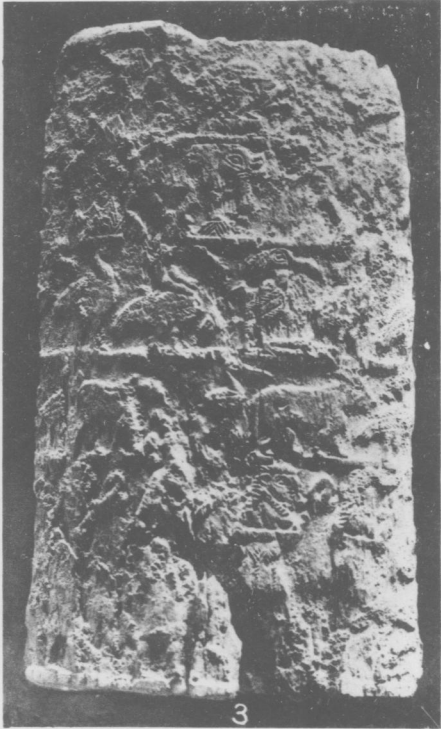
³ G. FOUART, *loc. cit.*; GOODYEAR, *The Grammar of the Lotus*, 1891, see especially pp. 106 foll., with Pl. XI.

⁴ See PERNIER and KARO, *Antiquités Crétoises*, vol. VIII; SEAGER, *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos*, p. 22, fig. 6, and fig. 43, nos. xix, 16a, and xix, 16b.

⁵ HEUZÉY, *Orig. orient. de l'Art*, pp. 345 foll.; BÉNÉDITE, *Le Couteau de Gebel-el-Araq*, in *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, vol. XXII, pp. 32 foll.; H. SCHÄFER, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, vol. LII (1915); A. L.



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3

ANTIQUITIES FROM HIERAKONPOLIS (EGYPT)

The still closer connection between protodynastic Egypt and the Maykop vessels, which were mentioned above, may be even more striking, but this is not the place to treat of that subject.

The ibex head (Pl. III, *ad* 2) has been sketched by Bode more carefully than even the eagles or vultures; this head, he says, served to ornament the space under the vessel's spout. As I have stated already, the sketch seems to show that the neck was broken off. It is possible, therefore, that the ornament on the vessel consisted of the whole figure of an ibex, and not only of the head. But this is of no importance, the chief point being the style of the head. The way in which the eye is depicted is characteristic, as well as the schematic ornamentation of the horns, the reproduction of only one ear and only one horn. All this recurs frequently in figures of horned animals on the monuments of Elam and, to some extent, of Sumer¹.

As I have said already, it is impossible to be certain about the purpose of the spherical "golden vessel," ornamented with two rows of geometrical figures on its body, and with circles enclosing rhombuses with concave sides. The space between the circles is filled up with short strokes. I have mentioned that, in my opinion, the spherical object described is not a vessel, but possibly the head of a mace. It is superfluous to remind the reader of the enormous part played by votive maces—the most ancient weapon of man—in the cult of Sumer, Elam and protodynastic Egypt. Whether I am correct in my supposition concerning the golden sphere from Astrabad could be decided only by inspection of the object itself, not by a sketch without any description and without any indication of the dimensions. The most important point for us here is the fact that this third striking component of the treasure is not ornamented with figures of animals and human beings but with geometrical figures that are not very primitive in character. I do not know of any objects that could be compared with our golden sphere, but I think the oldest analogy to its ornamentation is to be found in some of the painted vessels, cups and plates of ancient Elam, belonging to the period of the first style. Such ornaments there form the centre, the other geometrical patterns being grouped around them². I am unable to consider such a coincidence as purely accidental.

I fail to discern clearly the purpose of those two golden objects of the Astrabad treasure which Bode supposes to be trumpets or musical instruments. In the absence of any hint as to their dimensions, and the width and shape of the openings in them, it is difficult to form any opinion of their purpose, but *a priori* Bode's supposition strikes one as hardly probable. I would rather suppose that they may have served as supports for

FROTHINGHAM, *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* (1916), pp. 175 foll.; FLINDERS PETRIE, *Egypt and Mesopotamia*, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, pp. 26 foll.; A. EVANS, *New Archaeological Lights on the Origins of Civilisation in Europe*, British Assoc. Newcastle-on-Tyne (1916); L. W. KING, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew tradition* (London, 1918, Schweich Lectures for 1916), pp. 7 foll.; BÉNÉDITE, in this *Journal*, vol. v (1918), pp. 1 foll.

¹ The nearest parallel to the ibex head on the Astrabad vessel is to be found on the asphalt supports from Elam, mentioned already many times. See especially *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. XIII, Pl. XXXIII, fig. 6, and Pl. XXXV, fig. 7, where the style of the horn, the ear and the eye approaches extraordinarily closely to the Astrabad vessel (Pl. IV, fig. 4). A somewhat different type of the animal is reproduced on another support, *ibid.*, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 3, the upper row. Here the horns are reproduced in the same style as on the Entemena vase. Compare JÉQUIER, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VIII, pp. 15 foll. (ibexes on the cylinders and seals), and especially the Sumerian cylinders, DELAPORTE, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Pl. XXX, no. 301, and *ibid.*, no. 297.

² See POTTIER, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. XIII, Pl. XIV, fig. 3, and Pl. XV, fig. 1.

spherical or egg-shaped objects, recalling the support for the egg-shaped engraved vessel of Entemena. I cannot point to anything analogous to these trumpet-shaped objects¹.

The whole series of golden objects is undoubtedly of the same style and date. We are not dealing here with an accidentally formed collection of objects belonging to different periods, but with a treasure consisting of objects made simultaneously and at the same place. All the analogies indicate that the treasure belongs to the period when state organizations were beginning to grow and strengthen in Mesopotamia, Elam and Egypt, and when, with the introduction into these countries of metal for domestic use, material culture and art were maturing quickly and luxuriously. The date ascribed to this period is widely contested. I will say nothing on this score. Even the most cautious critics do not get farther than thirty centuries B.C., although they, on principle, prefer to fix their dates later, supposing this for some reason of their own to be more prudent. There is no contradiction between these analogies and the supposed date of the treasure on the one hand, and the character of the objects on the other, *viz.* the two stone female torsos, the two stone vessels and the rich collection of copper weapons.

Let us begin with the stone vessels. We must remember, first of all, that throughout the whole breadth of the ancient world, awakening at the dawn of culture, the period of the introduction of metals for domestic use—copper coming first—was the period also of the decadence of ceramics and of the great development of stonework, especially of stoneware. We have to be reminded also of the fact that this is especially characteristic both of protodynastic Egypt and the Aegean Islands. Not so many discoveries of the same kind have been made in Mesopotamia and Elam, but that must be considered accidental².

The rarity of discoveries of this kind in Asia itself supplies the reason why it is impossible for us to point out any close analogies to the shape of the two vessels now commanding our attention. One of them has been preserved practically intact. Its general shape, that of a rather tall jug without a handle, is a common one both for stoneware and earthenware. A special elegance is added to the vessel by the opening, shaped like a rosette, which terminates the neck of the vessel; I know no analogies to this rosette.

The second vessel—if vessel it is—has not been preserved intact. The lower part of its stem is broken off. Possibly it was shaped like a goblet on a tall foot. That shape is not uncommon in the ceramics of the earlier Bronze Age. It is typical, for instance, of the earliest burials in the later Hittite settlements³.

Of great interest are the two armless and legless female statues made of stone. The absence of the heads may be accidental, as above indicated, especially in the case of the

¹ They might also suggest the notion of covers for the ends of the short staffs on which the mace-heads were fixed. See CROS and HEUZEY, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello*, p. 77 (fig.), "un tube en cuivre cylindro-conique qui semble avoir garni le manche d'une massue d'armes."

² On alabaster vessels from Susa, see JÉQUIER, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VII, p. 18, figs. 2—14; on discoveries of the same character in the Tepe Mussian, see *op. cit.*, Mém. VIII, p. 143, figs. 288 foll., and *cf.* POTTIER, *op. cit.*, Mém. XIII, Pls. XXXII, XXXVII, and XXXVIII. For the discoveries at Tello see DE SARZEC and HEUZEY, *Déc.*, Pl. XLII. Egypt's wealth in stone vessels is generally known, and dispenses me from the duty of quoting examples.

³ See WOOLLEY, *Liv. Ann. of Arch.*, vol. VI (1914), pp. 87 foll. In the necropolis of Carchemish and other necropoleis related to it, vessels of this type follow immediately the Neolithic Period with its common painted pottery, which unfortunately still remain unpublished; the relation of these vessels to those from Turkestan and Elam is very interesting. Goblets with a foot are characteristic of the necropoleis of the Copper and early Bronze Ages. In general, therefore, burials with goblets may be recognized as contemporary with the Astrabad treasure.

second statue, the sketch seeming to indicate that the head formed a work apart. These statues belong to the series of primitive figures of the goddess personifying the fecundity of nature, which are found in a great number of places in Asia and Europe. The Astrabad statues have very little in common with the Neolithic steatopygous figures found mostly in the region of the spiral and meander ceramics and sporadically out of it in Egypt, Asia and Europe¹. They belong to another type of flat, board-like, female idol made of stone or clay, which is known as the "island type," a great quantity of statues of this kind having been found on the islands of the Aegean Sea². These statues are especially frequent among the most ancient objects found at Troy, where they belong, as also in other places where they are found, to the Aeneolithic, Copper and Early Bronze Ages³. Nevertheless, their island origin seems to me very dubious. I do not know whether it is possible to affirm, as Dussaud does, that they were brought to Troy from the Aegean islands. Such a suggestion, anyhow, is quite impossible as regards the Astrabad treasure and its nearest analogy the statues made of alabaster and clay discovered in 1909 in a very early burial of the Copper Age in the Kuban province in Northern Caucasus⁴. Some of the objects discovered in this burial, as for instance the bronze or copper pins with hooked ends, and the model of a carriage serving as a nomad's dwelling, show such striking analogies to objects found in Asia Minor, in Hittite and pre-Hittite burials, that there can be no doubt as to the close cultural connection between this and the analogous burials of Asia Minor⁵. The same connection with Asia Minor and especially Troy is evident in another type of Kuban burials, of which I hope to speak in detail elsewhere.

A question very difficult to solve is the degree of relationship existing between these schematic, geometrical reproductions of a female figure and the more perfect figures of the goddess of the productive force of nature, found in Asia Minor as well as on the islands and in Troy⁶. We have there a complete female figure with an emphasized reproduction of the breasts, the navel and the female triangle, with hands holding the breasts, with a rich head-dress and sometimes with ornaments on the neck and body⁷.

¹ See HOERNES, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*, pp. 196 foll.; DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique*, vol. I, pp. 361 foll. and pp. 602 foll. The history of this type and its multiple varieties is still unwritten. The newest discoveries in Southern Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and especially in Serbia have rendered extraordinarily rich materials, which have never been investigated. See my "Researches in relation with the history of Scythia and the Bosphorus," vol. I.

² For the latest information concerning them see PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. VI, pp. 735 foll.; DUSSAUD, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques*, 2nd edit. (1914), pp. 359 foll., in which the literature on the question is to be found; see too DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel*, vol. II, pp. I, 45.

³ See T. E. PEET, *Liv. Ann. of Arch.*, vol. II (1909), pp. 145 foll., with Pl. XXVI. Cf. WOODWARD and ORMEROD, *A Journey in South-Western Asia Minor*, *Ann. of the Brit. School at Athens*, vol. XVI, pp. 89 foll.

⁴ *Bulletin of the Imperial Archaeological Commission*, vol. XXXV, pp. 1 foll. (N. VESELOVSKY); cf. *Reports of the Imperial Archaeological Commission*, 1909; PHARMAKOVSKY, in *Architol. Anzeiger*, 1910, p. 195, fig. 1. Other discoveries of similar statues in the steppes of Southern Russia and in the Caucasus are indicated by Veselovsky in his above-mentioned article.

⁵ See WOOLLEY, in *Liv. Annals of Arch.*, vol. VI (1914), Pl. XXIc and Pl. XXIV. Statuettes of the type interesting us were discovered also in these burials, although, it is true, they belonged not to the earlier but to the Middle Bronze Age (*op. cit.*, Pl. XXIV, top). It is to be regretted that the carriage-dwelling from Asia Minor (I have seen specimens in the Ashmolean Museum) remains still unpublished.

⁶ See DUSSAUD, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques* (2nd edit.), pp. 364 foll.

⁷ Compare the figure of such a goddess on the Aegean seal, PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art*, vol. VI, p. 751, fig. 346. Concerning their religious signification see W. MÜLLER, *Nacktheit und Entblössung in der altorientalischen und älteren griechischen Kunst* (Leipzig 1906), pp. 57 foll.

The facts that this figure is reproduced very often on Sumerian and Babylonian cylinders in precisely the same posture as described above¹, and that it is to be found also in some clay statuettes in Elam and Babylon², do not entitle us to affirm that statues of a simpler schematic type have developed out of the more realistic and perfect reproductions and have moved from the East to the West. It has to be remembered that the majority of cylinders belong to a period not earlier than Hammurabi and that nearly all the statues found in Mesopotamia were discovered in the upper layers of the excavated tells. Statues of the same but of a less perfect type found in Anau in Turkestan³ belong to a more ancient time (the IIIrd period) of the Copper Age; a statue of a similar type, found in the deep layers at Susa⁴, probably belongs to the same period. The excavations in Anau show that in that place schematic figures were also made at the same time as the more developed figures.

The set of copper weapons is highly interesting. The fact that they were made a part of the treasure is in itself an indication of the importance and high value that was attached to this metal. It is to be regretted, however, that the materials at our disposal for the dating and the valuation of this part of the treasure are scanty and one-sided. Research work concerning the history of weapons in the most ancient periods of the development of mankind has been conducted mostly by the students of prehistoric times. They have given us excellent accounts of the development of separate weapons, of swords, battleaxes, daggers, and partly of spears, javelins and arrowheads; but they have worked mostly, and work still, on materials furnished by discoveries in European necropoleis, and for the most part those of Western and Northern Europe, with the addition of Italy and Spain. To these materials have lately been added the discoveries in the Aegean and Mycenaean necropoleis of the Greek Islands, and some few objects found in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Further materials have been furnished also of recent years by systematic excavations in Middle and Southern Russia, together with Western Siberia, and some of these last have been studied adequately. But as regards the whole of the enormous area of Oriental culture very little indeed has yet been done⁵.

The excavations there, with the exception of Egypt, have been conducted mostly among the ruins of cities and not in necropoleis. Interest has been concentrated chiefly on monuments of literature and art, weapons have been discovered only in very small quantities, and the materials with which we have there to operate are chiefly the pictures on sculptured reliefs, whence it is very difficult to establish the exact evolution of weapons in the East. For this reason, all I can say concerning the weapons included in the Astrabad treasure will be necessarily incomplete and insufficient. Though it might have been possible with

¹ See W. H. WARD, *The Seal-cylinders of Western Asia*, ch. xxvi, esp. pp. 161 foll.; ch. I, esp. pp. 296 foll.; and ch. lxviii, § 35, p. 380.

² See, for instance, the excavations in Tepe Mussian, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VIII, p. 89, figs. 120 foll.; DE SARZEC and HEUZÉY, *Déc.*, Pl. XXXIX, fig. 10.

³ See R. PUMPELLY, *Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1904*, vol. I (Washington 1908), Pl. XLVI.

⁴ See JÉQUIER, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VII, Pl. XI, fig. 1. To the same type and the same epoch as the statues from Anau belongs also the statue found in Resht on the shore of the Caspian Sea, not far from Astrabad; see FRÖHNER, *Collection Tyszkewicz, Catalogue de vente*, Pl. VII, p. 219; S. REINACH, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. xxxvii (1900), p. 252.

⁵ In this respect the pages devoted to the East by Déchelette are characteristic. See his *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique Celtique et Gallo-romaine*, vol. II, Part I, pp. 31 foll.; *L'Age du bronze en Grèce et en Orient*; these show what scanty use has been made of discoveries in the East by West-European students of prehistoric times.

a greater abundance of material and further preliminary researches to have adduced parallels from the East, I shall have to content myself with western analogies—analogies that are to some degree convincing, but still not decisive in questions of absolute chronology.

The first characteristic point in this collection of weapons is its general composition: there are no swords nor, it would seem, any arrows either. These facts seem to speak in favour of a period when the chief weapons of warfare employed were clubs, spears and axes. The Astrabad set adds to them its very remarkable spiked weapon, and also a primitive dagger of archaic shape, evidently connected with the aeneolithic stone dagger-blades, as found in protodynastic Egypt.

In general, therefore, this set of armament, if the “boomerang” depicted on the golden goblet be added to it, reminds one of the weapons employed by the kings and armies of Lagash and Elam of the pre-Semitic period, *i.e.* the period before bows and arrows came into common use. But the set of weapons from Astrabad is far from coinciding in detail with the sets of weapons of the Sumerians and Elamites: the battleaxes differ in shape, the forked weapon was unknown in Sumer and Elam, and the shape of the copper mace-head is very original. Evidently we have to deal with the same period, but with different military customs.

It is of some interest to note that the closest analogy of all to the weapons of the Astrabad treasure is to be found in the above-mentioned burial of Maykop and a very interesting burial in the Tzarskaya Stanitza (Kuban province, Northern Caucasus)¹. This last grave is of great interest in itself; it belongs to the stage of burials marking the transition from burials in dolmens to burials under tumuli. In this case the body was buried in a real dolmen (not in a stone box, as in the Crimea, where, as also in Trans-Caucasia, there are no real dolmens whatever), and a tumulus was raised over it. The burial of the Tzarskaya Stanitza belongs to the same time and to the same group as the above-mentioned burials in Northern Caucasus, *i.e.* to the Aeneolithic and Copper Ages. In all these burials, as we shall see further on, are to be found forked weapons, as well as double-edged battleaxes, in other words, exactly the most typical objects in the Astrabad treasure.

From these general remarks I will pass on to a short analysis of the separate weapons. A characteristic feature of the battleaxe (Pl. III, fig. 13) is its two edges, the one horizontal, the other vertical; in this point it differs from the typical Sumerian, Elamite and Egyptian axes of the same period, which have one edge only. Axes of this kind are depicted, for instance, on the Eannatun stela, and a number have been found in Sumerian cities and Elam².

We have as yet no analogies in Mesopotamia and Egypt for the Astrabad double-edged battleaxe. I suppose, however, that this is purely accidental, since that type of battleaxe has developed everywhere from a type which closely resembles the Eastern battleaxe, *i.e.* the axe with a butt-end. The double-edged axe of the Astrabad type is found together with the latter type of axe on the Kuban river in the above-mentioned Maykop burial, which, as I have remarked several times already, is closely connected with protodynastic Egypt³. The same holds good also of Hungary, where more double-edged

¹ See *Report of the Imperial Archaeological Commission*, 1898, pp. 33 foll., with Table I.

² Sumerian and Egyptian axes of this type are widely known; for Elam see especially the discoveries in Tepe Ali-Abad, DE MORGAN, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VIII (JÉQUIER), p. 145, figs. 295 and 308.

³ See *Report of the Imperial Archaeological Commission*, 1897, p. 9, figs. 34 and 35.

battleaxes of the Copper Age have been found than anywhere else; also of Crete and Serbia, where axes of this type belong to the Bronze Age¹.

Nor is it difficult to find analogies for the spear. Its shape is similar to that of spears found in Sumer, an excellent specimen being a colossal spear of one of the Kings of Kish bearing an inscription and an engraved figure².

The form of the short dagger (Pl. III, fig. 12) is archaic. This is shaped like a long leaf, and has a handle to fix it into a wooden hilt, with two holes in the handle for nails. This pattern is typical of daggers belonging to the Age of Copper, and is found also in Turkestan³, as well as in Elam and Mesopotamia⁴. It is found also on the river Kuban in the above-mentioned burials⁵. Nor is it foreign to the Aegean region, as is well-known.

More original are the six prongs or forks, the chief weapons, evidently, of the owner of the treasure (Pl. III, fig. 11). The only known contemporary parallel is found in two copper prongs from the tomb in Tzarskaya Stanitza⁶. To a later period belong the sacred prongs from tombs in Trans-Caucasia of the Bronze Age and the early part of the Iron Age⁷. Possibly, also, in Mesopotamia the shape of the prong has influenced the creation of the three-horned sceptre of the gods,—a combination of prong and mace. The copper mace of the Astrabad treasure finds an analogy in the above-mentioned burials in Trans-Caucasia⁸.

The combination of a spearhead with two curved knives (Pl. III, fig. 14) is most original; unfortunately we know nothing about its dimensions; possibly it may be an arrowhead in which case it must be compared with somewhat similar arrowheads from Elam and Lagash⁹.

¹ For Hungary see F. VON PULSZKY, *Die Kupferzeit in Ungarn* (1884), p. 23 with fig. and pp. 65, 67, 69, and *cf.* pp. 63 foll. See further HAMPEL, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1896, pp. 69 foll. with figs. 25 and 28; MONTELIUS, *Die Chronologie der Aelteren Bronzezeit* (1900), p. 100, figs. 262, 263; DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, vol. II, p. 87, fig. 29; FLINDERS PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, Pl. XI, fig. 135. In Crete miniature bronze axes of the same type found in 1895 by Sir Arthur Evans in Naxos and Miletos belong to later times (L.M.); I do not know whether they have been published; they are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. To the time of Salmanassar II belong votive axes of the same type found in Assur in the foundations of the walls of the temple consecrated to Adad, see W. ANDRAE, *Der Anu-Adad Tempel in Assur* (1909), p. 53, figs. 46, 47.

² See *Déc.*, Pl. V *ter*, fig. 1; KING, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 229, fig. 58. Very similar in shape are the bronze spearheads from the earliest tombs of the Bronze Age in the neighbourhood of Carchemish; see WOOLLEY, *Liverp. Ann. of Arch.*, vol. VI (1914), Pl. XIX, c. 2; these are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

³ See PUMPELLY, *Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1904*, vol. I, Pl. XXXVI, fig. 10; *cf.* fig. 246, and Pl. XXXVIII, fig. 3; *cf.* also fig. 280.

⁴ For Elam see DE MORGAN, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VIII, p. 146, figs. 302, 303, 307; and *cf. op. cit.*, Mém. VII.

⁵ *Report of the Imperial Archaeological Commission*, 1897, p. 9.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 1898, Table II.

⁷ DE MORGAN, *Mission Scientifique en Caucase*, pp. 134 foll., and p. 137, fig. 138; RÖSLER, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1896, p. 86, fig. 26, and p. 102, fig. 72; BELCK, *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1893, p. 62. To much later times belong similar bronze and iron implements from Assyria, the Kingdom of Van and from Judea, see LAYARD, *Discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 194; LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Abh. d. Gött. Ges.* vol. IX (1907), p. 101, fig. 72; HANDCOCK, *The Archaeology of the Holy Land* (1916), p. 187, fig. 50, 7.

⁸ See RÖSLER, *op. cit.*, figs. 74—77.

⁹ See DE MORGAN, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VIII, p. 146, fig. 304; Tepe Ali-Abad; *cf.* Mém. VII, p. 82, figs. 200, 202—205; DE SARZEC and HEUZÉY, *Déc.*, Pl. XLIV *ter*, fig. 6; *Nouvelles fouilles de Tello*, p. 115.

The detailed analysis we have made of the Astrabad treasure shows, first of all, that the entire treasure belongs to a single period and cannot be imagined to consist of objects brought together by accident and belonging to different periods. The treasure consists of two kinds of objects, *viz.* (1) consecrated plate such as was used in temples, to which category belong the golden goblet and libation-vessel, the golden mace-head, the two stone vessels and the two statuettes of a goddess, and (2) the rich set of copper weapons.

All these objects, probably, taken together, composed a treasure belonging to some local ruler or "Patesi" of the city on whose site the tell now stands. This "Patesi" evidently ruled simultaneously with the most ancient "Patesis" of Lagash and the earliest Pharaohs of Egypt. In style and ornamentation these objects are so closely akin to objects found in Egypt, Tello and Elam, and especially the two last-named places, that it might possibly be supposed that they had been made in those centres of culture, and were subsequently brought to the Caspian shores. In my opinion, however, such a supposition is quite unacceptable. Despite their resemblance to articles from Tello and Susa, the objects from Astrabad have distinctive features of their own, especially in the case of the stone vessels, the statuettes and the weapons. The analysis of these objects has shown that the analogies lead us not only to Elam, but also to Asia Minor and to Trans-Caucasia. We have to deal, doubtless, not with imported articles, but with an independent local culture, one of the branches of the far-spreading culture that later on developed independently alike in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, and on the shores of the river Kuban. The relation between the Astrabad treasure and the Sumerian culture, which is the best known of all to us, is the same as the relation between Sumer and Elam. No one would think of affirming that the ancient, typically Sumerian objects from Elam were brought to that place from Sumer. The close connection between the objects from Astrabad and those from Egypt raises anew the old question as to the close connection of Egypt at this period with the cultural world of Nearer Asia.

Unfortunately the treasure of Astrabad stands practically alone. It is to be regretted that Russian and Persian Turkestan are almost unexplored, archaeologically speaking. During the conquest of Turkestan by the Russians, General Komaroff, in his time, excavated several tells, but the results of these explorations were never properly studied and published. I do not even know, and owing to my absence from Russia cannot find out, the places where the objects discovered during Komaroff's exploration are preserved, and whether they were published at all. Of later exploration work by Russian archaeologists in Turkestan, that in connection with the ruins near Samarkand is the principal. The excavations in Aphrosiab yielded very interesting results, but the objects discovered there belong to a much later time than the period at present interesting us¹. Persian Turkestan has been even less explored than the Russian part. At the end of the last century de Morgan² published a very interesting archaeological survey of it, but his work there went no farther than this. An attempt made by him to excavate one of the tells near

¹ KONDAKOFF, TOLSTOI and REINACH, *Antiquités de la Russe Méridionale*, pp. 35 foll. ; STRZYGOVSKI, *Altai und Iran* (1918), pp. 262 foll.

² DE MORGAN, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, vol. IV (1896), pp. 127 foll. ; compare the appended geographical maps : *Cartes* (Paris 1895), *Carte des rives méridionales de la Mer Caspienne entre l'Atrek et la frontière Russe de Lenkoran*.

Astrabad was unfortunately unproductive of results. It is to be regretted that the Persian authorities did not allow de Morgan to complete his successfully started exploration of the tumulus Khargush-Tepe¹.

The only serious excavation that has been made in Russian Turkestan, near Askhabad, is that undertaken by the expedition of the American geologist, R. Pumpelly, who worked together with Hubert Schmidt, the well-known German student of prehistoric times. Two tumuli near Anau were explored with great care and in much detail. The results of these highly scientific explorations were splendidly published in 1908². The general picture, as painted by Komaroff, Pumpelly and de Morgan, is striking. A glance at the maps in the earlier works of de Morgan and Pumpelly³ is sufficient to win unreserved acceptance for Pumpelly's characterization of the locality. "These (formerly occupied) sites," he says on p. xxvii of his general introduction, "abound to such an extent that we might call Southern Turkestan with the valleys of the Tedjant, Murgab, Oxus, Zeravshan and Fergana, a cemetery whose graves are the wasted and half-buried mounds of vanished cities."

The discoveries made by Pumpelly and the above described treasure from Astrabad show that a considerable part of the Turkestan tells belong to very ancient times, indeed to the same period to which belong also the most ancient objects discovered in Elam and Mesopotamia, *i.e.* to the time when metals were introduced, to the Aeneolithic Age and the Age of Copper⁴. At the same time these discoveries also show that here too, as in Mesopotamia and Elam, there is found at the end of the Neolithic Period a completely developed culture of a high type to the origin and root of which, however, the local discoveries provide no clue. Possibly this culture had been introduced into Turkestan, as well as into Elam and Mesopotamia, from abroad, and there found a fertile soil in which to grow and blossom.

It is a highly interesting fact that Pumpelly's discoveries completely confirm the standpoints suggested by the Astrabad treasure. The painted pottery from the earliest layers of the northern and southern tumuli of Anau shows the closest relation to the painted pottery of the first and second styles at Susa. This was flatly denied at the time by Hubert Schmidt, who dealt with a part only of the materials discovered in Susa by de Morgan, but so careful and conscientious an explorer as E. Pottier could no longer deny it when once he had to deal with the whole of the materials discovered in Elam. It is true that in Anau we no longer find that kind of naturalism turning into geometrization, which is so characteristic a feature in the ornamentation of the most ancient painted pottery of Elam; the shape of the vessels from Anau is much coarser and more primitive than the shape of the Elam vessels; this may be explained, possibly, by the fact that the inhabitants of Anau did not use the potter's wheel. But most significant is the existence of a close relationship between

¹ See DE MORGAN, *loc. cit.*

² R. PUMPELLY, *Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1904. Prehistoric Civilisation of Anau.* Washington 1908.

³ Compare PUMPELLY, *Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1903.* Washington 1905, p. 155, and p. 217.

⁴ The absolute chronology is questionable. The dates given by H. Schmidt, based on analogies with Western discoveries, are undoubtedly too low. One must start from the dates determined by Elam. The painted pottery of Elam is considerably older than the first Patesis of Lagash, the contemporaries of the second period of the painted pottery of Susa. But if this be so, the Elamitic pottery belongs to a period not later than 4000 B.C. The painted pottery of Anau also is probably simultaneous with the second period of the painted pottery of Susa, *i.e.* it belongs to the period 4000—3000 B.C. Cf. W. KING, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, pp. 350 foll.

the geometrical ornaments of Susa and Tepe-Mussian on the one hand, and of Anau on the other. Some of the most striking features must be indicated. In both cases a strange preference is shown for triangles, partly with concave sides; in both cases there are rows of zigzag lines¹, the chess-board² pattern is found, and the net-work pattern³ is in common use; in both cases rows of triangles are used and combinations of rhombuses and triangles⁴; a love of dented lines⁵ is also traceable, and a tendency to choose cross-like⁶ ornaments, and so forth⁷.

All this shows that we have to deal with a closely-related development, with one common tradition, developing differently in different localities. Anau is more primitive and coarser, and has the appearance of being somewhat more provincial and belated, but I cannot entirely agree with Pottier, when he says that the pottery of Anau produces the impression "d'une industrie parfaitement apparentée à celle de Suze, mais dans un état de décadence et de dégénérescence plus que de formation." "On y sent," he continues, "comme dans le géométrique de Rhagae et de l'Arménie (PERROT and CHIPIEZ, vol. v, pp. 868 foll.), des habitudes plutôt machinales"⁸. It is quite probable that painted pottery came to Anau in its simplest and purely geometrical form, but this geometrization is strikingly rich, and I am quite sure that in other tells in Turkestan we shall find its naturalistic prototypes. Clearly, therefore, the potteries of Anau and Elam are contemporary and related, but each followed its own independent line of development, of more elaborate style in Elam, but of a simpler kind in Anau.

At the present time it is impossible to determine the place where this painted pottery actually originated, and indeed the time has not yet arrived even for conjectures on this subject. We shall have to wait, at the very least, for the publication of the data concerning the very interesting neolithic necropolis at Eridu, and near Van, where painted pottery was discovered; the published specimens of this painted pottery show a very close relationship with Elam and Turkestan⁹. Practically nothing is known about the painted pottery found in the neighbourhood of Carchemish by Hogarth's expedition. We do not know, even, whether any parts of it go back so far as the Neolithic Period¹⁰. On the other side we are awaiting a detailed exact analysis of the neolithic painted pottery from the Danube and the Dnieper regions, many of whose features stand in so strikingly close con-

¹ See PUMPELLY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Pl. XXII, fig. 5; DE MORGAN, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. XIII (POTTIER), p. 36, fig. 124.

² PUMPELLY, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV, fig. 1; POTTIER, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fig. 125.

³ PUMPELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 133, figs. 106 foll., Pl. XXII; POTTIER, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, fig. 2, Pl. III, fig. 5 and often.

⁴ PUMPELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 137, figs. 132, 133, 134; POTTIER, Pl. VI, figs. 1, 4, 5 and often.

⁵ PUMPELLY, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIV, fig. 5; Pl. XXVII, fig. 2; POTTIER, *op. cit.*, Pl. X, figs. 5, 7.

⁶ PUMPELLY, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXII, fig. 1; p. 137, fig. 135; POTTIER, *ibidem*.

⁷ Especially instructive is a comparison with the geometrical ornaments of some vessels from Tepe-Mussian, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. VIII, pp. 94 foll., figs. 152 foll.

⁸ See POTTIER, *Dél. en Perse*, Mém. XIII, p. 71.

⁹ The excavations made by Capt. R. Campbell Thompson near the ancient Sumerian city Eridu are known to me only by the report of the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries published in the "Times" of 31st January, 1918. Pottery was found in the explored necropolis of the Neolithic Period "made of buff wheel-turned clay, painted with geometric designs in black," and this is compared by the discoverer with ceramics of the first period of Susa. For excavations near Van, see W. KING in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for 1912, pp. 276 foll.

¹⁰ See WOOLLEY in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, vol. VI (1914).

nection with particular features of the Susa pottery¹. After that alone may it be possible to say whether the painted pottery was imported into the river-valleys from far-away Central Asia, or whether it was developed by the local population in a number of different centres, the people having gradually descended into the valleys from the mountains and having communicated their cultural achievements to neighbours either by migration or by exchange.

The objects from Astrabad open up to us an aspect of the cultural development of Turkestan quite different from that of Anau. We have to deal here not with a small population of land-toilers of poor culture, as in Anau, where only potsherds and a few metallic objects remain, but with one possessing a culture and a state-organization evidently as richly developed as in Tello and Susa and in protodynastic Egypt; we are without written texts, it is true, but I have no doubt whatsoever that a systematic exploration of the perished cities of Turkestan will render us a rich harvest of written texts, probably in cuneiform characters. People who knew how to manufacture golden vessels with reliefs and engravings as well as their Elamite neighbours, could not possibly remain in ignorance of the art of writing that had already come into popular use in Elam and Mesopotamia about the same time. Unfortunately we have no pottery either, but I have no doubt that excavations in Turkestan will give us a wealth of materials in this direction too, and will show that here also painted pottery died out gradually, ceding its place to vessels with engraved ornaments, as we have seen in Tello.

Anyhow the Astrabad treasure has, I think, opened up to us a new world. It raises anew the question of the roots whence sprung the cultures of Elam and Mesopotamia², and whence many peculiar features of protodynastic Egypt were derived. It shows that this culture covered a much wider region than was supposed before.

If I am right in including the delta of the Kuban river³ in the sphere of the same culture, it will then become apparent that we are concerned with a number of localities analogous in geographical, geological and economic structure—deltas of great rivers that required hard work and constant attention from men, but returned a generous reward for toil from the artificially-watered soil, in fact a land which was always leading on the people towards a settled, hardworking life, and converting cattle-breeders into agriculturists and creating a rich material and spiritual culture, the original basis of the contemporary culture of Asia and Europe.

I am unable positively to state that these conclusions of mine are right, but I think they ought at all events to be examined and either confirmed or refuted. To achieve this purpose, it is indispensable first of all to get good photographs of the objects discovered in Astrabad, if indeed the objects themselves, which probably are still preserved in the treasury

¹ For some very interesting comparisons, which could be greatly added to, see G. WILKE, *Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Indien, Orient und Europa*, in *Mannusbibliothek*, No. 10 (Würzburg 1913), pp. 45 foll., figs. 59—79. These comparisons show what a close relationship exists between the pottery of Anau, Elam, and Egypt, as well as the wide area covered by the pottery that makes use of the spiral and meander patterns. The author's conclusions are, however, fantastic and unacceptable.

² See KING, *loc. cit.*

³ I here expressly avoid the very important questions of the relationship between the pottery of Susa on the one side and, on the other, the painted pottery employing the spiral and the meander, *i.e.* the Neolithic and Aeneolithic ceramics of the reservoirs of the Danube, the Bug and the Dnieper; the relationship between both these styles of pottery cannot be done away with by passing over it in silence or by denying it. For this some of the coincidences are far too striking.

of the Shah of Persia¹, are unobtainable. It is impossible for me personally to help in this direction, but France or England might easily arrange something of the kind by the help of their diplomatic representatives. At the same time it is most important in the interest of science that systematic excavations should be made in a number of tells near Astrabad, and above all in the tell where the treasure which I have analysed was discovered. Nor would this be difficult to accomplish—the Allied forces are very near to Astrabad. It must not be forgotten that Napoleon's campaign in Egypt was the starting point of all the great results which have opened our eyes and unveiled the past of Egypt.

¹ The proper place to keep these objects is not the treasury of the Shah, but a great scientifically organized Museum.

ARTIBUS ASIAE



The Great Hero of Middle Asia and His Exploits

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M. ROSTOVTZEFF:
THE GREAT HERO OF MIDDLE ASIA
AND HIS EXPLOITS

THE IMPORTANT SET OF GOLD ARTICLES, ESPECIALLY GOLD PLAQUES IN open-work of a peculiar form, found in the XVIIIth century in Western Siberia and now in the Hermitage, is well known to the students of Scythian and Sarmatian art and should be better known to the specialists of both Chinese and Indian art. The set has never been published in full, though most of its articles have been many times reproduced and studied by various scholars.

In my studies on the so-called Scythian and Sarmatian art I have endeavored to show that the set belongs to a revival of the so-called Scythian art, which took place under strong late Persian influence in Central or better Middle Asia in the Hellenistic period, probably about the III^d century B. C., or later, in any case not earlier than in the IVth century B. C. This revival of the "Scythian" art spread far and wide over Asia including Northern China and Northern India and Eastern Europe, especially Southern and Northern Russia. I have dealt with this style in many a book and article of mine, quite recently in my Princeton lectures, published by the Princeton University Press under the title "The Animal Style in Southern Russia and China", Princeton, 1929 (vol. XIV of the Princeton Monographs in Art and Archeology) and in a monograph "Le Centre d'Asie, la Russie, la Chine et le Style Animal", Prague, 1929 (in Russian and French), published by the Seminarium Kondakovianum as Volume I of a series with the general title *Σκυθικά*, and I am not going to repeat my conclusions on the typical features and the development of what I believe to be *the art* of Middle Asia, an art of which the most peculiar feature is the animal style (1).

In the set of those Siberian gold plaques, which have a peculiar, not yet explained, form similar to that of the upper part of the typical bow and arrow cases of the Scythians, and formed probably—each pair of them—a belt clasp two pairs of plaques

have attracted in a special way the attention of all the scholars who have dealt with the Western Siberian find. While the other plaques (they always go by pairs) show a flat plastic group of two or more more or less fantastic animals fighting each other in a forest, the two pairs which I have in mind show scenes of a different kind. On the first (figs. 1 and 2) we see the following scene. In a deep forest, in a hilly, stony country two horsemen are represented hunting a boar. One rides at full gallop in the woods, shooting an arrow at a boar in full flight. He is dressed in the same way as are the Sarmatians, whom we find represented many times both in South Russia and on some Roman monuments. His arms are a bow, bow and arrow case (gorytos) and a typical long Sarmatian sword. He wears long straight hair bound into a knot on the back, a long mustache and no beard. His eyes are large and almond shaped. His nose is long and straight. The facial type reminds me of that of the Sarmatians in Panticapaeon art and of that of some Bodhisattvas and portraits of the so-called Gandhara art. Behind him is his dog. The dog has climbed a stony hill. His head is turned back, his tongue hanging out, he barks at the scene which is taking place in the forest. The other hunter has dismounted. He has climbed a tree in order to save his life from the wild boar and is trying to draw his horse by the bridle after him. His dress, his arms (no sword), and his face are identical with those of the other hunter. The scene represented on the plaque is full of life. Both the horse and the boar are represented in the scheme of flying gallop so typical for the late Iranian and the Chinese art of the Han period. I see no traces of any Greek influence in this fine and powerful realistic scene with all its primitive and at the same time refined naïvety and pathos. The second pair of Siberian plaques forms a pendant to that described above (figs. 3 and 4). It shows an idyllic scene. Under a tree a man is resting or lying dead on the lap of a woman, while a servant is holding two saddled horses. A quiver full of arrows and a bow are hanging on the tree. The dress of the man and of his servant and the facial types of both the lord and the servant are similar to those of the hunting scene. Note the elaborate peculiar wooden frames of the saddles, which ought to be carefully studied, the low shoes of the sleeping man fastened by two straps to the foot, and the fez-like headdress of the woman.

The two plaques have always been explained as genre-scenes portraying the life of those who used them for the adornment of their horses, of their dress or of their arms. Some time ago an attempt was made to explain the hunting scene in the light of what Herodotus says about the hunting habits of the Jyrcae. I must confess that I see no relation between the description of Herodotus and the scene of the hunting plaque.

In many of my books and articles I have drawn, after Minns and Read, the attention of fellow scholars to the fact that plaques of the Siberian type were used extensively in North China in the Han period together with some other objects typical of the armament and horse trappings of the Sarmatians (hook-clasps, swords, daggers, bridles etc.). Recent finds made in Mongolia have confirmed our views and have fixed the chronology of these borrowings. As in the Siberian find, most of the Chinese plaques show single animals or groups of fighting animals in various combinations.

Alongside the plaques with such trivial subjects—reproductions and modifications of those used on the Siberian plaques—there have been found in China a few examples of plaques with subjects drawn from human life. In my previous works I have reproduced and discussed two of them. Quite recently I have found among the new acquisitions of Mr. C. T. Loo a third one which surpasses the two hitherto known in interest and gives the key to a right explanation of the whole set. I owe to the kindness of Mr. C. T. Loo the permission to publish here the new plaque and to republish the old ones.

Let me describe briefly the two plaques which are known. One exists in two copies which, however, come from two different moulds; one, the larger, shows the scene in low bas-relief on a continuous background; the other is in open-work and is somewhat smaller (figs. 5 and 6). With this difference the plaques are exactly identical as regards composition and treatment of the single figures. The subject represented on the two plaques is as follows. In a deep forest two horsemen have dismounted and are wrestling while their horses stand behind them. The two wrestlers have exactly the same facial type, and this type is almost identical with that of the men represented on the Siberian plaques; they, like the Siberian men, wear long straight hair bound into a knot on the back, low soft shoes, baggy trousers (note that the sleeping man of the

second Siberian plaque wears straight, not baggy, trousers) and straight kaftans (jackets); their horses are very similar to those of the Siberian plaques: they have the same saddles and bridles with the same adornments of almond-shaped pendants and circular phalerae (s. however note 1^a). It must be noted, however, that neither of them wear any arms. The scene represents no doubt a ritual act. It is emphasized by the eagle which is flying in the air above the heads of the wrestlers. The same ritual scene is represented on many little gold plaques sewn on garments which have been found in several princely graves in South Russia dating from the IVth and early IIIrd centuries B. C. (1^b). The difference is that the South Russian plaques reproduce the two wrestlers only: no horses, no forest. The pose of the wrestlers is a little different too. I will come back a little later to the interpretation of the scene which is represented on the two plaques. Their form is oblong, not the typical form of the Siberian plaques which I have compared with the upper part of a gorytos.

A scene of a different kind is reproduced on another plaque which is in the hands of C. T. Loo and shows the usual form of an upper part of a gorytos (fig. 7). It is a deep forest again. In the forest under a tree stands a man. His body is in front view, his head is turned to the right. His right hand is lifted, in his left he holds a long sword of exactly the same type as the sword of the man on the Siberian hunting plaque (1^c). His facial type is not exactly like that of the men represented on the plaques described above: the nose seems to be a little different which might be an accident. His hair, though, seems to be of the same type: long, straight hair with a knot at the end. Before the man under the same tree stands a chariot on two wheels of the typical Chinese form with an umbrella-like roof. The chariot is drawn by three horses. Over the back of one of the horses sits a bird, probably an eagle. In the chariot two heads are seen: one turned to the left, another to the right; the facial type is not different if compared with that of the standing man. Behind the chariot is a confused mass in which, after careful study, I recognize now the figure of a dog, head down. The unnatural position of the dog is explained by lack of space. An attempt at interpreting the scene will be given a little later in this essay.

The new unpublished plaque has the usual gorytos-like form (fig. 8). The scenery is again

a forest. Under a large old tree stands a chariot turned to the right (exactly like that of the previous plaque), drawn by two or three horses. The chariot and the horses are represented very small, apparently on a reduced scale, while a dog, which is represented as if standing on the horses and on the roof of the chariot, is of much larger proportions. For the artist, evidently the dog was an important part of the scene, while the chariot was just a part of the landscape. The dog must be thought no doubt standing parallel to the chariot, to the left of it, between the chariot and the tree. Behind the chariot a horseman is seen. His horse is represented in front view, the head turned to the right. The man is lifting with his right hand a sword and seizes with his left the hair of a monster, manlike, erect, with a bestial face and two wing-like tufts, with an enormous belly and short legs. This monster—exactly like the gnomes and elves of the underworld scenes in the decorative art of the Han period—is wrestling with a large dog that is biting into his left shoulder.

In my previous attempts at interpreting the Siberian and the Chinese plaques, I was inclined to recognize in the scenes represented on the plaques genre-scenes, scenes of the daily life of those nomads who used the plaques: hunt, rest, migration from place to place (the heads in the chariot of the second Chinese plaque I took to be an abbreviated reproduction of two living beings, probably women). The only exception was the first Chinese plaque which represents no doubt a ritual scene, an act of worship or another act of religious significance.

The new plaque throws this interpretation overboard. It cannot be a genre scene and it is not the reproduction of a ritual or religious act. The man represented on the plaque is no doubt not a plain mortal. He is a hero. One of his exploits is represented: the killing, with the help of his faithful dog, of a forest-monster, one of those evil spirits who populated the forests and mountains and who were the chief enemies of a man's soul after his death. I am reminded of the scenes of wild hunt so often represented on the funeral clay and bronze jars and in the sculptured friezes and pediments of the tombs of the Han period and of the similar scenes of the last voyage of the deceased on which he is surrounded by various monsters, just as in the scenes of the wild hunt. Many funeral bronze statuettes show the same evil spirit

riding on a fantastic animal. The fantastic animals themselves — objects of the wild hunts are other incarnations of the same evil spirits (2).

Thus the scene on the third Chinese plaque is a scene representing one episode in the glorious career of an epic hero, a great fighter against everything which symbolized the evil in human life. In the light of this interpretation we may easily explain in the same sense the scenes represented on the other Siberian and Chinese plaques. All the great mythical heroes of mankind from Gilgamesh and the Iranian heroes of the same kind, first and foremost Mithras himself, down to the Greek Herakles, are great hunters, killers of wild and dangerous animals. The wild boar — one of the enemies of Herakles — is one of them. I would recall in this connection the cult image of Mithras the hunter in the recently discovered Mithraeum of Dieburg in Germany and of the hundreds of Thracian icones which represent the great hero of the Thracians hunting a boar (3).

Killers of animals, the great mythical heroes, assail both bad men and bad spirits. This is what is represented on the second and third Chinese plaques. The great Iranian and Indian heroes, and Herakles and Theseus in Greece, are conspicuous examples of great heroes fighting and killing humanlike evil spirits. It is well known that in the life of the Scythians and of the Celts killing an enemy was a prerequisite for becoming a member of the ruling aristocracy. The head of the slain enemy played a large part in the life of a young member of the ruling tribes of both the Scythians and the Celts. I would recall the well known description of Scythian life by Herodotus and the frequency of the motive of a severed head in the life and art of the Celts. Let me mention in this connection one of the earliest Hittite sculptures of Sendjirli which shows a man on horseback who holds in his left hand the head of a slain enemy (4). It is evident that the practice had its mythical prototype, and that the first who killed an enemy and brought back his head was a god or a hero. This explains the scene on the second Chinese plaque. The hero has just killed two enemies and has placed them in his moving house, the chariot of a nomad.

Significant and important parallels to the Siberian and Chinese plaques described above may be found among the early Sarmatian antiquities of South Russia. I have dealt

with some of them in special papers in which I endeavored to show that the earliest of them may be dated in the III^d century B. C. (5). One is the well known phalara of Sseverskaja Staniza (on the Kuban river). It is adorned with two mythological scenes: Dionysos on the back of a human-faced panther striking with his thyrsus the head of Pentheus, and Athena fighting a giant. The figure of Dionysos reminds me of the famous and probably contemporary episode in the palace of Vorodes, when the head of Crassus was displayed before King Vorodes, the conqueror of Crassus, the new Dionysos, as the head of Pentheus during a banquet-solo from Euripides' *Bacchæ* performed by the Greek singer Jason (6). I doubt very much that for the Parthians the Greek Dionysos remained purely Greek. They certainly identified him with one of the Iranian gods or heroes. We must not forget that the figure of Dionysos looms large in the art of Gandhara.

Still more instructive is another parallel. Among the valuable things which were found in the tumulus Kurdžips on the river Kuban in 1895, before Ssyssoev carried out his excavations of the tumulus, and which were first brought to Petersburg and later deposited in the Moscow Historical Museum, there was a gold mounting of a tassel which no doubt formed part of the horse trappings which belonged to the man whose burial was plundered by the amateur excavators of 1895. Another identical mounting was found later, after Ssyssoev's excavations and was deposited in the Regional Museum of Kuban at Jekaterinodar (7). The style of the figures which adorn the two gold objects is the that of so many phalaræ of South Russia of the early Sarmatian time. Note especially habit of covering the surface by dots. The date is ascertained both by the other objects found by the excavator and the contents of the intact grave found in the same tumulus by Ssyssoev: it is probably the early III^d century B. C. There is not the slightest reason for regarding the two objects as forgeries.

The scene represented on the gold mountings (the same scene is repeated twice on each object) is extremely curious. Two men are represented standing and facing each other. Both wear the typical Sarmatian dress: short leather kaftans, girdled at the waist by a leather belt, tight trousers, soft leathern shoes with pointed and curved tips. The head of one of the men is bare and covered with long, straight hair. The other

wears apparently a curious cap. The two men are holding an enormous spear which stands fixed in the ground with its head up between the two men. One of the men holds in his other hand a long Sarmatian sword, the other a large head, no doubt of a slain enemy. The ritual character of the scene is obvious. It is probably an oath taken by the two men. However, I should be surprised if the scene did not represent a well known episode in the life of some famous hero of the Iranian or Mongolian Pantheon. The head in the hand of one of the men is no doubt the result of one of the great exploits of the hero.

I may quote in this connection the role which is played by single mask-like heads in the Parthian decorative art (e. g. the walls of Hatra and the glazed Parthian clay sarcophagi) and a curious graffito of one of the houses of Doura, which represents a Parthian officer or king standing triumphantly on the head of a slain enemy. Whether we have here an allusion to the conflicts between the Parthians and the Romans (i. e. a genre scene) or a mythological scene, I cannot say.

There is no need of quoting in connection with the scene of the oath the well known plaques from the Kul-oba tumulus, which represent allegedly the rite of "fraternization" described so carefully by Herodotus: two Scythians seated on the ground and facing each other, holding in their hands a huge rhyton. I am inclined to explain the scene in a slightly different way. In my mind, if it is the rite of "fraternization", the forms in which it is carried out are those of the holy communion, a special form of initiation in the mysteries of the great Scythian goddess (8).

It is very little known and may be, therefore, mentioned here that the scene of the "holy communion" on the gold-plaques of Kul-oba has very little to do with Greek art and depends, like many similar scenes in the Bosporan art of the IVth—III^d century B. C. (e. g. the well known scenes of the silver vase of Voronesh and the still more familiar scenes of the electron-vessel of Kul-oba), directly on Persian art of the same or a slightly earlier time. In the University Museum of Philadelphia there is a little jade bas-relief with seven lines of cuneiform writing. It shows the same composition as the South-Russian monuments mentioned above. The stone shows a king and his minister squatting or kneeling on a platform on either side of a square stone.

The king wears a crown and raises his finger as if addressing his minister. The inscription records probably the words of the king. I am inclined to recognize in the scene not a genre but a religious scene, perhaps the scene of an oath (9).

And now the ritual wrestling. In the gold plaques of the Scythians, most of them of the IVth and III^d centuries B. C., this motive is used alongside other similar motives which illustrate the rites and acts by which the royal power was conferred on young members of the royal family. Is not the wrestling one of these acts? Has not the young aspirant to the royal power first to wrestle with his rival? Mithras and Sol, the Alban king-slave of the Nemi lake and all the parallels quoted by Sir James Frazer are good illustrations of what I mean. The first act of this kind was once be in the mythical past an act performed by a god or a godlike hero, and the rite of the later times was but a reproduction of this primeval act.

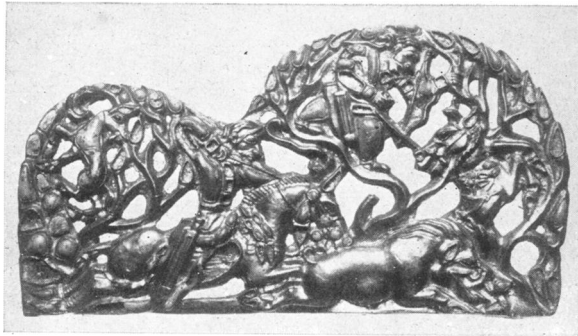
The idyllic scene on the second Siberian plaque may be interpreted in the same sense. Romance and love found early access into the life of great heroes. Not all the heroes jealously kept their chastity like Mithras. Some of them have their love affairs, their wives and mistresses. The second Siberian plaque shows the hero and his consort. The hero is resting (or dead) after his exploits. Were these exploits connected with the winning of this consort by the hero? Is it not the prototype of the well known primitive rite of marriage, which is the marriage by kidnapping? (10)

It is not my purpose here in this paper to trace the later development in Oriental art of the various motives of the early decorative art of the Far East connected with episodes in the life of one or another of the Iranian, Mongolian or Turkish heroes. It would lead me too far. However, I would like to adduce in this connection one of the most interesting monuments of the Celtic decorative and mythological art — the cauldron of Gundestrup, now in the National Museum of Copenhagen. It has been many times pointed out that the technique and style of this monument are not Celtic and lead us far away from the lands which remained the centers of Celtic civilization for centuries; I mean France, Britain and Spain. Many scholars were struck by the similarities of the cauldron of Gundestrup with some monuments whose Danubian or Pontic origin is evident. In a special paper I have shown that these Pontic monu-

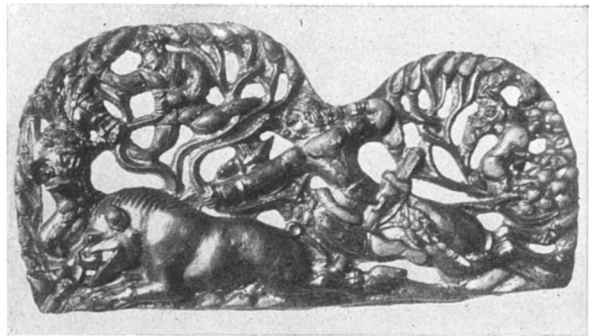
ments in their turn are connected with Sarmatian South-Russia and through it with the Asiatic Iranian lands and especially with Northern India (11).

Semi-Asiatic in its style, is the Gundestrup cauldron purely Celtic in its mythological scenes? I cannot deal with this subject at length but I may point to some interesting features of the scenes which decorate the cauldron. On the outside it is adorned by a sequence of light square plaques of which one is missing. The plaques contain large busts of alternating male and female deities surrounded by other figures and symbols. The missing plaque was no doubt one with a female bust. The male busts are highly stylized. Twice we have the god holding in his hands animals both fantastical and naturalistic (stag of the Scytho-Sarmatian type and hippocamps with oriental wings). In one case the lower part of the bust is adorned with a combination of two foreparts of a wolf-like animal fighting two human figures. Note that the wolf-like dragon is one of the most familiar beasts of the Scytho-Sarmatian animal repertory. Of the two other male busts one is shown holding in his hands two male figures who in their turn are holding wolf-like animals. Beneath one of the male figures is a dog, beneath the other a winged horse, a Pegasus. The other is also accompanied by human figures, this time performing ritual acts: a woman dancing, a man worshipping, another riding on horseback in the sacred ride around the bust of the god. Still more interesting are the female busts. On one of the three plaques the goddess holds in her right hand a dove. She is attended by two priestesses. In the two corners of the plaque two eagles of the Hittite type are floating. To the left of one of the eagles is a dog. On the left arm the goddess is holding near her left breast a man; under her right breast is an animal. The second plaque represents the holy triad with the predominance of the great goddess. She occupies the center. To her right is her bearded consort, just as on the four plaques described above, to her left her young son. On the third plaque the goddess is represented with her arms crossed in the attitude of the Oriental goddess-mother. To her right a man is wrestling with a lion, to her left a woman is performing a wild dance.

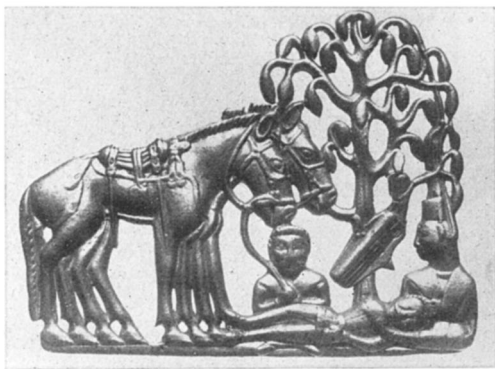
The alternating god and goddess, their combination with the animals and men, the triad of one female and two male deities remind everybody who is familiar with Asia Mi-



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8

nor of similar figures in the Anatolian Pantheon. It is well known that the prevalence of the great goddess, the mother of men and animals, the mistress of vegetation and of the elements, is the leading feature of Anatolian religion and worship. I have dealt with this problem in a special paper and showed how popular the goddess-mother was, not only with the Anatolians but also with the Iranian dwellers of South Russia (12).

Five oblong rectangular plaques adorn the interior of the cauldron. We meet again the mother goddess and her consort. The goddess is surrounded by two solar rosettes and five animals: two elephants, two eagle-griffins and a panther. The male deity holds a solar wheel and is surrounded by six animals: two panthers, three griffins and one ram-headed snake. The god is struggling with a young man in a horned helmet who is trying to take from him the solar wheel. Between these two plaques we have a third one which represents no doubt the divine son (the plaque is placed between that of the divine mother and that of the divine father). The son is represented in the same way as the well known god Cernunnus of the Celtic Pantheon. He has stag horns, holds in his hands a snake and a torc and is surrounded by animals: a stag, a bull, three lions, a wolf and an antelope. Among the animals appears the figure of a naked god riding on a dolphin so familiar to all classical scholars.

Thus far the gods. As I pointed out, with one of them — the divine father — is coupled a man wrestling with him for the solar wheel. The man is no doubt not a god himself but a great hero, similar to Herakles or Mithras. The same hero appears as the leading person on the other two plaques: on one leading his Celtic army of foot and horse and killing his enemy in the presence of his dog, on the other killing with his sword an enormous bull; in this he is helped by his two dogs. This scene is repeated three times on the same plaque. And finally—the central circular medallion of the cauldron. An enormous bull is represented lying on the ground and surrounded by a gorgeous vegetation. His virility is strongly emphasized. His relation to vegetation is evident from the fact that his tail ends in a corn-ear. Beneath are two animals. One represented in round plastic form and seen from the back is strikingly similar to some animals (especially toads) of some Chinese bronzes (especially mirrors and bowls) of the Han period. Another is engraved: it is a curled lion very similar to many

animals of the Scytho-Sarmatian art. Over the bull our hero is seen again, sword in his right hand and accompanied by the dog. It is evident that he is endeavoring to kill the bull.

The hero is no doubt a Celt and a leader of Celts. But he is oriental in his very essence, very similar to the Mithras of the late Iranian religion—Mithras the fighter, Mithras the rival of the Sun god, who might have been his father, Mithras the hunter, Mithras—first and foremost—the killer of the vegetation-demon—the bull. Thus, Celtic as it is, the cauldron of Gundestrup is at the same time, like the other monuments of the group to which it belongs, Oriental, late Persian and Anatolian. It is very tempting to associate the cauldron, not with the Scordisci of the Danube, but with the Galatians of Asia Minor, whose greatest sanctuary in Asia Minor was that of the Great Mother of Pessinus and who lived so near to what is supposed to have been the home of the Roman Mithras—the half-Iranian Pontus.

It is interesting that the figure of the hero killing the lion reappears on a phalara of the same style found at Roermond in Holland (12) and now in the Rijksmuseum of Leiden, and still later as one of the common motives on some open work plaques found in Hungary and discussed by Mr. N. Fettich (time of migrations) (13). Mr. Fettich has drawn our attention also to some still later survivals of the heroic motives in Asiatic art of the period of migrations. Thus, e. g., he pointed out that a scene very similar in its composition and its general Iranian character to the scene of the sacred oath mentioned above is represented on some belt plaques of the early Hungarian style found at Redikor in the region of Perm in East Russia (14). Another survival of the same kind is the upper part of a figure of a Persian magus (or the Persian goddess Anahita) as found on plaques in Hungarian graves of the migration period (15).

When and by whom the first plastic and pictural scenes which represented mythical and half mythical exploits of great middle-Asiatic heroes were created I am unable to say. Well known texts, which I quoted in note 8, speak of frescoes which represented such an epic and romantic cycle as adorning the walls of Achæmenian palaces, sanctuaries and private houses. The discoveries of sanctuaries and houses of which the walls were practically covered with paintings which represented both gods and

men in Doura and in the Seïstan in the Parthian and Roman period, confirm the literary tradition. The well known frescoes of Kušêir Amra in the Arabian desert show that the fashion survived the Iranian rule in Mesopotamia. To such Iranian prototypes may go back the scenes on our Siberian and Chinese plaques and their earlier Scytho-Sarmatian prototypes.

Into the plastic arts heroic motives certainly penetrated from some earlier literary works. Verse and song were the first to give an artistic dress to myths and half mythical stories. However attractive it would be to collect from the Iranian and Mongolian myths and epic poems parallels to the scenes described above, it cannot be done here. It requires a special study and the knowledge of Iranian and Mongolian languages, beside Turkish and Chinese, which I do not possess. It is even hard for me to decide whose myths and epics were illustrated on our monuments, those of the Iranians and Indians or those of the Mongolians and Turks. Archæological evidence points to Iran and China, rather than to Mongolia. The men represented on the plaques illustrated above are racially more like Iranians than Mongolians, their dress, their arms and weapons, their horsetrappings are Iranian. On the other hand the wagon shows the Chinese form and the demon who is killed by the Iranian hero has Chinese affinities. It seems therefore as if Iranian originals had been copied and slightly changed by Chinese artisans. It is the same phenomenon which has been noticed out recently by Sir J. C. Coyajec in his article "Some Shaknameh Legends and their Chinese Parallels" (*Journ. and Proc. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal XXIV, 1928, p. 177 ff.*; it was Prof. E. W. Hopkins who drew my attention to this article): certain Saka motives incorporated into the Chinese legends and into Chinese literature. The similarities are striking and the priority of Iran seems very probable in most of the cases.

And yet I would hesitate to insist upon the exclusively Iranian origin of the great hero of our plaques. We know much of the Iranian plastic arts, of their mythology and poetry. We are familiar with the Vedas and the Shaknameh. Does it mean that the other residents of Middle Asia had no art and poetry of their own?

My article was ready for print when I met one of the few scholars who are familiar with the epic poetry of the Nomads, especially the Mongolians — Dr. G. Roerich

Since the Mongolian epos is so little known to most scholars, both in Europe and in America, I asked Mr. Roerich to write a note for me on the motives of the Siberian and Chinese plaques as used in the various poems of Mongolian epos. Mr. Roerich was kind enough to do it and I am glad to print the learned statement of Mr. Roerich here as an appendix to my article.

“The motive of two knights wrestling is extremely common in the epos of Turkish and Mongolian tribes. It is frequently met with in the Tibetan and Mongol versions of the Kesar Saga. In the book dedicated to the war of King Kesar against the king of Hor, King Kesar is often seen fighting mighty warriors and defeating them at wrestling. As a rule, wrestling is the final episode of a combat. Usually the knights start fighting with their swords, lances and arrows. When swords and lances are broken, the two dismount, take off their armour and decide the combat by wrestling. In the Mongol-Oirat epos of Western Mongolia, edited and translated by Prof. B. Vladimirtzov, we find numerous similar episodes. For example, the wrestling scene between the knight Bum-erdeni and Qajirqara (the Black Griff) (Vladimirtzov, *The Mongol-Oirat Heroic Epos* [in Russian], St. Pet., 1923, pp. 77 ff.; also in the story of Dayin-i kürül, *ibid.* pp. 136 ff.; Ergil-türgül, *ibid.* pp. 229 ff.; Šara-bodon, *ibid.* pp. 250 ff.).

The combat usually ends in a friendship being concluded between the two knights. The two knights start afterwards to conquer common enemies, mostly many-headed monsters and dragons. In the same Mongol-Oirat story of Bum-erdeni, the two warrior-friends start together against their enemies, and after a bloody fight defeat them. The enemies' heads are cut off after the combat and carried as a “Bunčuk” on the horses of the victors. A severed head was always considered a sign of victory in Central-Asian epics. We know of numerous cases when the victors prepared drinking cups out of the enemies' skulls. Besides, a cup made of human skull appears to have a magic significance. In the Saga of King Kesar we find a significant episode in which King Kesar is said to have obtained fourteen treasures or “erdeni” in order to revive the dead kingdom of Gumen-qan. The fourteen treasures are guarded in heaven by a woman. King Kesar prepares a particular kind of wine, but before starting on his adventure requests that the heads of seven blacksmiths be cut off, and drinking cups

prepared from their skulls. The wine is afterwards offered to the guardian of the treasures, who falls asleep and Kesar steals the fourteen treasures. On awakening, the guardian finds the treasures gone and in wrath throws the seven skulls, which become the seven stars of the Great Bear. (Potanin, *The Tangut-Tibetan border of China* [in Russian], vol. II; also the Tibetan version.)

King Kesar possesses a self-sharpening sword, whose blade becomes sharper before battle. It is told in the Tibetan versions (there exist at least three Tibetan versions of the Saga, differing in details) that after the combat he either made friends with his opponents, or cut their heads off. Even among present day nomads of the Tibetan north the skull cup is considered to possess magic properties.

In their combats with monsters, the knights are often assisted by their dogs and hunting eagles (*berküt*). (Cf. The story of Bum-erdeni, *ibid.* pp. 83ff.) Both on the Siberian and the Chinese plaques we find the dog helping his master.

As a reward for their prowess, the knights receive beautiful maidens and large numbers of horses and cattle. (Cf. the above cited Mongol-Oirat stories)

All these episodes are repeated again and again in the tribal epics of Central Asia. They probably represent remnants of an ancient nomad epos, which may be pre-Tibetan or pre-Mongol in its origin”(16).

NOTES

1) The plaques which I am going to describe and to analyze in this article are reproduced in my two books quoted above: 1. The first Siberian plaque in *The Animal Style &c.*, pl. XVI, 2 and *Σκωθικά*, pl. X. Cp. my article *Le porte-épée des Iraniens et des Chinois*, in *L'Art Byzantin les Slaves*, I (1930), fig. 263 and 264. 2. The first Chinese plaque — *The Animal Style*, pl. XXIX, 3 and *Σκωθικά*, pl. XI, 55. 3. The second Chinese plaque — *Σκωθικά*, pl. XI, 56. The second Siberian plaque will be found in Kondakov — Tolstoi — Reinach, *Ant. de la Russie MÉR.*, p. 397, fig. 360; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 279, fig. 202. Let me draw the attention of the reader to some peculiarities of the second Siberian plaque if compared with the first. The horse-bridle represented on this plaque is different if compared with that of the first; note the large straight “psalia” of the second plaque which do not appear on the first and the “phalaræ” of the first which

do not appear on the second. Also different are the trousers of the men: baggy on the first, tight on the second plaque. After this article had been set Prof. A. Alföldi in his valuable article *Die theriomorphe Weltbetrachtung in der hochasiatischen Kultur*, *Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst., Arch. Anz.* 1931, p. 394 ff. has given expression to ideas very similar to those suggested here.

1 a) Cf. the recent article of E. H. Minns, *Small bronzes from N. Asia*, *The Antiquaries Journal*, X (1930), p. 1 ff.

1 b) C. R. 1898, p. 27, fig. 24; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 169, fig. 62.

1 c) On the Sarmatian swords see my article quoted in note 1. This present article was written more than five years ago. No wonder that my results have been partly anticipated in the excellent book of W. Ginters, *Das Schwert der Skythen und der Sarmaten*, Berlin 1928, p. 75 ff., who collected a large and excellent body of material on the evolution of the sword in the Scytho-Sarmatian civilization.

2) The iconography of the Chinese demons of the Han period has not been established yet. I have dealt with some of them in my book—*Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty*, 1927, p. 22 ff., figs. 6, 11, 13 and pls. XIV and XV.

3) F. Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg*, Berlin 1928, cp. F. Cumont, *Journ. d. Sav.*, 1927, p. 122 ff., and M. Rostovtzeff, *Une tablette votive thraco-mithriaque du Louvre* in *Mém. pres. par div. Sav. à l'Académie des Inscr.*, 13, 2 (1923).

4) E. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chettiter*, 1914, p. 60, fig. 48; *Gesch. d. Alt.*, II, 1, ed. 2^d (1928), p. 41.

5) M. Rostovtzeff, *Sarmatian and Indo-Scythian Antiquities*, in *Rec. Kondakov*, 1926, p. 239 ff., and *Statuette d'un Cavalier &c.*, in *Mém. et Mon. Piot*, 28 (1927).

6) *Plut.*, *Crassus*, 33.

7) C. R., 1895, p. 62, fig. 140, cf. *ibid.*, 1896, p. 61 ff., and *Suppl.*, *ibid.*, p. 149 ff.; K. Grinevič in *Bull. de la Comm. Arch.*, 65 (1918), p. 45 ff., cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 223, fig. 126 and M. Rostowzew, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, I (1931), p. 293.

8) See my paper in the *Bull. de la Comm. Arch.*, 49 (1913), cp. *Rev. d. Et. Gr.*, 32 (1919), p. 462 ff. In these two papers the reader will find reproductions of some of the monuments of the Scythian time which bear on the problem treated in this article.

9) See L. Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians, &c.* (University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum, *Publ. of the Babyl. Section XIV*), 1925, no. 1096, pl. L, 1096.

10) I may quote in this connection the story of the love of Zariadres and Odatis or of Stryangaïos and Zarina told by Ktesias (*Diod.* II, 34; *Demetr. de eloc.* 213) and Chares of Mitylene

(Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist. II B, 125 F 5 [p. 660] and II BD, p. 434). Note that the story was not only transmitted in a literary form but was also used in frescoes, to adorn the walls of temples, palaces and private houses. Some love story of the same type forms the background for the scene represented on the Siberian plaque.

11) The best publication of the Gundestrup cauldron is S. Müller, *Der Store Solvkar fra Gundestrup i Jylland* (with a resumé in French) 1892, cp. S. Reinach in *Rev. Celt.* 25 (1904), p. 211 ff.; H. Drexel in *J. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 30 (1915), p. 11 ff. and N. Fettich in *Arch. Értesítő*, 45 (1931), p. 43 ff. My contributions: *History of Decor. Painting in South Russia*, 1913, p. 41 ff. and 510; *Iran and Greeks*, p. 136 ff.; *Recueil Kondakov*, 1926, p. 239 ff. (*Les antiquités Sarmates et les antiquités Indo-Scythes*). The question of the date of the Gundestrup cauldron is still under debate. Late-Hellenistic or early Roman imperial time would be my suggestion. There is no question about dating the cauldron in the middle ages as S. Reinach does. The similarity between the panthers or tigers of the cauldron and those of the cathedral of Bayeux proves that the ancestors of the Bayeux beasts are the Sarmatian animals. Much more striking is the similarity between the Gundestrup beasts and some of the beasts on the Sarmatian and China-Sarmatian objects, see e. g. the phalaræ of Starobelsk, of the Cabinet des Médailles and of Roermond, all reproduced in the articles quoted above.

A new and beautiful object (a torc) of the Celto-Sarmatian style has been recently found at Trichtingen in Germany, see P. Goeßler, *Der Silberring von Trichtingen*, 1929. Strong Iranian, pre-Sarmatian, i. e., Scythian influences will be found in the treatment of the animal figures (used as handles) of two recently discovered Celtic "Schnabelkannen" of the Vth century B. C. in the British Museum, see R. Smith, in *Archæologia* 79 (1929), p. 1 ff. with excellent bibliography, cp. P. Jacobsthal und A. Langsdorff, *Die Bronzeschnabelkannen*, 1929.

12) M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. XXVII, 3, cp., P. Goeßler, *Der Silberring von Trichtingen*, p. 21 (with bibliography) and fig. 17. The hero of the plaque has nothing to do with Herakles.

13) N. Fettich, *Bronzeguß und Nomadenkunst in Σκυθικά II* (1929), pls. IX and XVI, 3. Cf. a curious strap-end from the region of Perm which shows (in open work) a hero in a deep forest, shooting an arrow at a stag and helped by his dog. There is no doubt, as Professor Minns pointed out in a private letter, that in this plaque we have a late survival of one of our decorative motives connected with the life of the great hero. See *Compte rendu de la Comm. Arch. de la Russie* 1898, p. 47, fig. 81. To the same general trend of Persian influence on the art of the migrations period belongs the obvious dependence of the famous rock-cut horseman of Madara in Bulgaria on

the rock-cut bas-reliefs of the Sassanian kings. The relation of the Bulgarian horseman, no doubt the Bulgarian Khan Krum, to the Sassanian bas-reliefs was first pointed out by K. Miatev in *Bull. Bulg. Arch. Inst.* 5 (1928—29), p. 90 ff. (in Bulgarian).

14) N. Fettich, *I. I.*, p. 35 ff., and pl. XV, 3 and 4.

15) N. Fettich, *I. I.*, p. 65 and pl. VII, 3—6 and 14—19. I intend to deal in a special article with the whole question of the survivals of Achæmenid Persian art in the art of the period of migrations and of the influence of the later Persian art — that of the Sassanians — on the art of the period of migrations, both in East Europe (especially Hungary) and in East Russia (especially the Perm District).

16) The Mongol version of the Kesar saga published in Peking in 1716 has been translated in part by I. J. Schmidt, *Die Thaten Bogdo Gessar Chan's*, St. Petersburg 1843, cf. W. Schott, *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* 1851, p. 263 ff. I may add just one quotation from the Mongolian story regarding the severed heads used as bunčuk.

“Spoke then Bum erdeni: ‘Qan, my eldest brother! As a bunčuk, tie the head of the warrior, Qada, to the tail of thy steed, Black Raven, and ride on to the tent of Qada. As a bunčuk, I shall tie the head of the warrior, Qargai, to the tail of my steed and shall ride to his tent’.

“Having tied the heads of the two warriors to the tails of their horses, they galloped their horses to the tents of the two warriors”.

(Vladimirtsov, *ibid.* p. 90)



Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra

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HADAD AND ATARGATIS AT PALMYRA

PLATE IX

ONE of the most interesting results of the last German expedition to Palmyra (1917) was the discovery by Prof. Th. Wiegand of the foundations and of some architectural fragments of a hitherto unknown large and beautiful temple to the south of the main street of Palmyra and to the east of the theatre. The architectural features of the temple have been adequately described by Wiegand and Wulzinger. They believe the temple to belong to the early second century A.D., while Wiegand points out some features both in the orientation of the temple and in its architecture which suggest an earlier date, probably the first century A.D.

No inscriptions or sculptures were found in the temple. The name of the god or goddess to whom it was dedicated is, therefore, unknown. The fact, however, that Wiegand recognized in the southwest corner of the pediment the end of the body of a fish makes him think that the temple might have been dedicated to the *θεὰ Συρία*, Derketo or Atargatis, the great mistress of the North Syrian lands.¹

It is well known that Atargatis was worshipped at Palmyra. She appears often on the coins of Palmyra seated on a lion; or it is her sacred animal, the lion, accompanied by a crescent, which appears on the coins. One inscription mentions her. It is probable that she was regarded by the population as the Gad, the Tyche of Palmyra, since the Tyche of Palmyra appears accompanied by a lion on the famous fresco (now in the Yale Art Gallery) from the tribune of the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods at Dura.² Still more important is the fact that Atargatis plays such an important part in the life of Dura, which city was the partner and associate of Palmyra on the Euphrates. A sanctuary dedicated to her was fully excavated by the Yale expedition in 1929–30, and another in which she was worshipped under the name of Artemis Azzanathkona was discovered in 1931–32. All evidence points, therefore, to the idea that after Bel, Jarhibol and Aglibol, the gods of Palmyra's haram, after Malakhbel and Baalsamin, Atargatis, with her consort Hadad occupied probably the third place in the composite and heterogeneous religious life of Palmyra. Next to her and to Hadad come the two caravan-gods Arsu and Azizu, whom I have discussed in a special paper.³

However, the inscriptions and the few bas-reliefs with the figures of the gods worshipped at Palmyra do not furnish the most abundant source of our information on the religious life of the desert city. Nor is it the small and poor coins of Palmyra. Our richest information in regard to the religion of Palmyra we derive from the so-called tesserae, tokens of clay (very rarely of bronze) which were distributed in hundreds to the citizens of Palmyra on various occasions and which served probably as tickets of admission to various religious performances, e.g. funeral and sacred

¹ *Palmyra. Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 108 ff.

² P. V. C. Baur, *Excavations at Dura-Europos*, III, Prel. Rep., 1932, pp. 137 ff.; cf. J. G. Février, *La Religion des Palmyréniens*, 1931, pp. 135 ff. and M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 1932, pp. 131, 138 and 151.

³ M. Rostovtzeff, "The Caravan-Gods of Palmyra," *J.R.S.* XXII, 1932, pp. 107 ff.

banquets. They were also used as tokens in the distribution of foodstuffs and sportulae. Almost all of these tesserae bear on one or on both sides figures of men and images and symbols of the various gods worshipped at Palmyra, and inscriptions in the Palmyrene script which generally give the name of the person or association issuing the tesserae and sometimes the name of a god or a religious formula.

Strange to say, these tesserae have never been collected and published in full by a competent scholar. Hundreds of collections of these tesserae both private and public exist in Europe, the Near East and America, and scores of articles have been written on them by the Semitologists in order to publish and to illustrate their inscriptions. Very little attention, however, was paid to the figures reproduced on them which, as I have said before, give a representative gallery of gods worshipped in Palmyra and of various religious rites and utensils connected with the cult of these gods.¹

Among the gods represented on the tesserae Atargatis and Hadad loom large. In this short note I wish to draw the attention of scholars interested in the history and religion of Palmyra to some of these tesserae which I happened to find in the various collections of Palmyrene tesserae I inspected and in the many publications devoted to them. It is not my intention to give a full catalogue of them, but I can give some reproductions of tesserae which are either unknown or published in some little accessible books and articles. Let me first give a catalogue of the most interesting tesserae related to Atargatis and Hadad, and afterwards present some remarks concerning their interpretation.

I. ATARGATIS ALONE

1. Woman seated in a chair between two lions, the head and bust in front view, the legs turned slightly to the left (Pl. IX, 1). Her hair is arranged in the fashion typical for the Roman empresses of the late second century A.D. She wears earrings in her ears, a necklace, and a kalathos on her head. Her dress is Greek: chiton and chlamys. Her feet rest on a foot-stool. With her right hand she is leaning on a sceptre of which the upper end has the form of an egg; in her left is a bunch of flowers (?). To her left is seen a bust of a young man wearing a radiate crown, and beneath this bust the sun (or star) and the crescent. To the left a veiled bust of a woman.

Lump of clay (not a regular tessera). 0,05–0,045. Found at Palmyra.

British Museum, No. 102803.

M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 1932, Pl. XXI, 1 and p. 151.

2. The right part of the surface of the tessera is occupied by a seated figure of a woman, the head in front view, the legs to the left. On her head, a kalathos. With her right hand she is leaning on a sceptre. To the right, a standard (?). Before her, a large figure of a fish standing on its tail. The left part of the surface of the tessera is occupied by a Palmyrene inscription which gives the names of Maliku and Male.

¹ The bibliography of the Palmyrene tesserae will be found in the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* and in the recently published vol. of *C.I.S.* (III, 2).

R. Lion to the left assailing a stag. Above to the right the solar rosette and the crescent.

Square. 0,015–0,02.

Coll. of Dr. Lamer, Leipzig.

M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III (1909–1915), p. 34, No. E, Pl. V, 3; *Répertoire d'épigr. sémit.*, No. 1694.

3. Goddess standing in front view dressed in a peplos and a chiton leaning with her right hand on a spear or sceptre and holding in her left hand a bunch of flowers (?) (Pl. IX, 3a). To the right and to the left, high thymiateria or vases. Three tongues of flame or three reeds are shown on the tops of these thymiateria which are very similar to those represented on the well-known Conon fresco of Dura.

R. Zebu couchant left (Pl. IX, 3b). Above it, a crescent and a star; below, two altars. To the right, a cypress tree.

Square. 0,022–0,016.

British Museum, No. 100669, etc.

M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 1932, Pl. XXI, 3 and p. 151.

II. HADAD ALONE

4. Man dressed in chiton and chlamys and wearing a tiara on his head, seated in a chair in front view (Pl. IX, 4a). His right arm is stretched to the right, his left bent, the hand resting on his lap. To the right and left, bulls in front view. The space on either side of his head is occupied by worn and indistinct Palmyrene inscriptions.

R. Large solar rosette between two crescents and stars (?). Beneath, a small figure of a sheep and a larger figure of a zebu, both facing right. Under the head of the zebu in the right corner, a disc (Venus star?).

Square. 0,022–0,018.

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.

P. V. C. Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 138, Pl. XIX, 2.

III. HADAD AND ATARGATIS

5. Man dressed in a kaftan (jacket), or a cuirass and shoes, standing in front view; his hair is long and he wears a kalathos (Pl. IX, 5a). He is holding in his lifted right hand a double axe; in his left, which hangs down, is an indistinct object, perhaps the hilt of his sword. To the right, a crescent and star (?). Border of dots.

R. Woman seated on a throne-like chair in front view, leaning on a sceptre (Pl. IX, 5b). Her hair is long and she wears a kalathos. To the right and left of the chair, lions in front view. To the right of her head, a crescent, to the left, a star. Below, a Palmyrene inscription in two lines which the R. P. J. B. Chabot was not able to decipher. Border of dots.

Square. 0,017–0,012.

Coll. of Mme. la Vicontesse d'Andurain at Palmyra (unpublished).

6. Man standing in front view, dressed in a cuirass which reaches below the knees, in trousers and high boots. He has long hair and wears a kalathos. With his

right he leans on a spear, with the left he holds the hilt of his sword. To the left and right, Palmyrene inscriptions. According to the R. P. J. B. Chabot, one gives the name Mokimu, the other probably another proper name.

R. Woman seated in a chair in front view (Pl. IX, 6b). She has long hair, earrings, and a kalathos and is leaning with her right hand on a sceptre (egg-shaped end), holding in the left a bunch of flowers or ears of corn. To the right and left of her chair two lions (?).

Square. 0,018–0,019.

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (former Coll. Fröhner).

M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, 1932, Pl. XXI, 2 and p. 151.

7. Man stretched on a couch to the left, head in front view with a tiara on it. To the left, a krater and a star. Under the couch five busts in front view. Palmyrene inscription to the left: "Athe-aqab the great (or the elder)."

R. Woman standing in front view. She has long hair, earrings, a kalathos or a mural-crown. She is dressed in chiton and chlamys and leans with her right hand on a sceptre, holding in her left a bunch of flowers (?). To the right a man with long hair and kalathos stands in front view. He is dressed in a long kaftan or cuirass, trousers and boots. In his right hand, a double axe; with his left, he is strangling a lion which jumps at him. Between the two, a burning altar and above, the solar rosette. To the right of the man, a rosette. Below, a Palmyrene inscription.

Shaped as an aedicula. 0,033–0,030.

Museum of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut.

M. Lidzbarski, *Eph. für sem. Epigr.*, III (1909–1915), p. 152, No. A, Pl. XII, 1.

8. Four heads in front view disposed crosswise (Pl. IX, 8a): two bearded, with long hair, and wearing the kalathos; the other two female, with long hair and the kalathos.

R. Two jackals seated facing each other; behind each one of them crescents and stars (Pl. IX, 8b).

Square with concave sides. 0,016.

Collection of Mme. la Vicontesse d'Andurain at Palmyra (unpublished).

I may add to this catalogue another curious tessera.

9. Man stretched out to the left on a couch, beneath a vine, head in front view with tiara. Below, remains of a Palmyrene inscription.

R. Krater and beneath, an impression of a Greek seal showing a Nike flying right. To the left, a figure of a man in a Phrygian cap turned to the right; he is bearded and has long hair. He wears a cuirass, trousers and shoes. In his right hand, a thunderbolt (?); in his left, perhaps a double axe. Beneath his right hand, a rosette. To the right, a young man wearing a bashlyk, a tunica and baggy trousers. The right hand is outstretched; on his left side, a dagger.

Form of an arch. 0,035–0,030.

Collection of Mme. la Vicontesse d'Andurain at Palmyra (unpublished). (Pl. IX, 9.)

It is evident that the goddess seated on a chair between two lions in our Nos. 1, 5 and 6, represents Atargatis. In all probability these three tesserae reproduce the

cult-statue of her Palmyrene shrine. The same figure is without doubt represented on our tessera No. 2. The sacred animal of Atargatis, the lion, appears here attacking a stag. More difficult is the interpretation of the female figures of our Nos. 3 and 7. The two figures are identical. On No. 7 the goddess appears associated with Hadad, and on No. 3 we find on the R. the sacred animal of Hadad, the bull. It is very probable, therefore, that the standing figure of the goddess represents Atargatis rather than Allat.

Hadad can be easily recognized on No. 4. It is well known that bulls are his sacred animals. Nor is there any doubt that the god associated with Atargatis on Nos. 5 and 6 is Hadad. On No. 5 he holds in his right hand the double axe, his regular attribute. The same double axe appears in his right hand on No. 7, where he is struggling with the lion, the animal of his divine consort.

It is interesting to see that on all the tesserae where Hadad is shown standing he wears a military dress: long cuirass, sword, and in one case, the lance. His military uniform is not Roman. The long cuirass, the trousers and the shape of the sword are not Roman. It is interesting to note that the same military god wearing a non-Roman uniform is coupled on one tessera with the caravan-god Arsu, and on another with the sacred animal of Hadad—the bull. The same god in the same uniform appears on a third tessera not accompanied by his bull.¹

Hadad as a military god, wearing a military uniform appears on the Palmyrene tesserae for the first time. It is well known that in Roman times many of the gods of the Syrian Pantheon appear in military dress: I recall the great triad of Palmyra, Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the famous Jupiter Dolichenus. These gods as they appear both in sculpture and painting are dressed and armed in the Roman fashion. At least the cuirass which they wear is always Roman. Quite different is the case of Hadad, the ancestor of both Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Dolichenus. On the Palmyrene tesserae and especially on the recently discovered cult bas-relief of Aphlad (son of Hadad?) of Dura, his cuirass is not Roman. (*Cf. my Caravan Cities*, Pl. XXXII, 1.) Aphlad wears the Hellenistic cuirass, while his Palmyrene relatives wear a kind of long, sleeved jacket, probably of leather, which is neither Hellenistic nor Roman, but probably Parthian. It is, therefore, probable that most of the Syrian gods became militarized earlier than in Roman times. I am inclined to think that it was the Seleucids who gave to the great thunder and sky god his military aspect in order to create a special god whom their Syrian soldiers would worship with devotion and enthusiasm. The Arsacids followed in their track and militarized their Mesopotamian protector—Bel and his consorts. Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Dolichenus might have become militarized later in the time of Roman domination.

It is curious to note the same evolution in Egypt where the gods wearing the military uniform—Heron, Horus, Antaios, etc.—even in Roman times still wear Hellenistic military uniforms.²

In the light of what I have said before about Hadad, Jupiter Heliopolitanus and

¹ M. Rostovtzeff, "The Caravan-Gods of Palmyra," *J.R.S.* XXII, 1932, p. 113, No. 4, and pl. XXVI, 3; XXVII, 4 and 5.

² I am preparing a special article on this subject for the volume in honor of U. Wilcken.

Dolichenus, the tessera No. 9 must be interpreted. The figure to the left in his Phrygian cap, long cuirass, trousers and shoes must certainly be compared with both the figures of Hadad mentioned above and the well-known images of Jupiter Dolichenus.¹ More difficult is the interpretation of the second figure. Is it a woman or a young man? Does the figure wear long wide Iranian trousers or the long chiton? I am inclined to regard the figure not as female, but as male, and wearing the typical Iranian dress and Iranian cap. If I am right, the god—if a god he is—reminds me of some representations of the youthful Mithras.

Let me in conclusion reproduce here a fragment of a bas-relief which probably represents Hadad (his head is a little smaller than life size). The fragment is in the collection of the Vicontesse d'Andurain at Palmyra (Pl. IX, 10).

10. Upper part of a bas-relief. A god is represented as seated in a luxurious chair or as standing before an aedicula. The chair or aedicula is arched, the arch being supported by two pilasters and adorned with akroteria. The back shows a geometric design as if it consisted of pressed leather or intarsia wood. The figure of the god is in front view. He wears long hair, a mustache and beard and is dressed in Greek fashion. On the head is a polos. With his left hand he leans on a sceptre. If the god is not Hadad, he must be Baalšamin.

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¹ The most recent addition to our information on the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus is the bronze plaque found recently near the village Jassen in Bulgaria, G. Kazarow, *Jahresh. d. oest. Arch. Inst.*, XXVII, 1932, pp. 168 ff.



A 6 B



10



A 5 B



4 A



1



4 B



3 A



3 B



8 A



9



8 B

PLATE IX.—REPRESENTATIONS OF HADAD AND ATARGATIS

Kleinasiatische und syrische Götter im Römischen Aegypten

Author(s): M. Rostovtzeff

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Aegyptus*, Anno 13, No. 3/4, DEDICATO AL PROF. ULRICO WILCKEN IN OCCASIONE DEL SUO LXX ANNO (APRILE-SETTEMBRE 1933), pp. 493-513

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Kleinasiatische und syrische Götter im Römischen Aegypten

Eine vollständige Sammlung des papyrologischen, epigraphischen und archäologischen Materials, auf welchem eine Geschichte der ausländischen Kulte im Ptolemäischen und Römischen Aegypten aufgebaut werden könnte, besitzen wir nicht. W. Otto hat es versucht (1), aber seit dem Erscheinen seines Buches ist viel Neues dazugekommen und seine Darstellung bedarf einer Revision. Wir wissen Z. B. jetzt dank eines bahnbrechenden Aufsatzes U. Wilcken's viel mehr über den Kult der « syrischen Götter »—Hadad und Atargatis in der Ptolemäischen Zeit als bevor (2). Neues ist auch für Astarte hinzugekommen (3) und ein systematisches Suchen würde unsere Kenntnisse auch der anderen ausländischen Religionen, hauptsächlich des Heron und seiner Verwandten in der Ptolemäischen und Römischen Zeiten bereichern. Es ist nicht die Aufgabe dieses kurzen Aufsatzes, dies zu unternehmen. Es würde viel mehr Raum in Anspruch nehmen als den, welcher zu meiner Verfügung steht. Ich möchte nur auf einige Denkmäler hinweisen, welche wenig bekannt und in diesem Zusammenhange gar nicht erforscht sind und doch, meiner Meinung nach, gute Auskunft über kleinasiatische und syrische Kulte in Aegypten geben.

Es handelt sich um eine bemalte Kalksteinstele aus dem Kairo Museum, um zwei bemalte Türflügel aus Holz eines Naiskos in der Aegyptischen Abteilung des Berliner Museums und um Fragmente ähnlicher Türflügel oder votiver heiliger Bilder auf Holztafeln aus

(1) W. OTTO, *Priester u. Tempel*, I, S. 170.

(2) U. WILCKEN, *Zu den « Syrischen Göttern »*. Festgabe für A. Deissmann, 1927, S. 1 ff., vgl. P. Enteux., 78, vgl. 80; WILCKEN, *Arch. f. Pap.*, 10 (1932), S. 247.

(3) AIMÉ GIRON, *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Arch. Or.*, 25 (1925), S. 191 ff.; F. CUMONT, *Rel. orient.*, 4 Aufl., S. 261, Anm. 68.

der Sammlung Mc Gregor (setzt im Ashmolean zu Oxford) und aus dem Kairo Museum einerseits und um ein Pompeianisches Bild andererseits. Die Stele aus Kairo, die Türflügel aus Berlin und das Pompeianische Bild sind längst bekannt und mehrmals publiziert, die Fragmente aus Kairo und aus der Sammlung Mc Gregor sind unpubliziert. Ich verdanke der Liebenswürdigkeit Prof. J. D. Beazley und M. O. Guéraud die Photographien dieser Denkmäler und die Erlaubnis, sie hier zu publizieren und zu besprechen (1).

Ueber die zwei ersten Bilder darf ich mich kurz fassen. Die bemalte Kalksteintafel des Kairo Museums (Abb. 1) zeigt zwei Reihen von Figuren im flachen Relief und bemalt (2). Im oberen Register sitzt in der Mitte in einem Lehnstuhl ein jugendlicher Gott in griechischem civilem Kostüm (Chiton, reicher langer Mantel und hohe Schuhe). Mit der rechten lehnt er an einem Szepter. Auf dem Kopfe trägt er die hemhem Krone, einen Nimbus und Strahlenkranz. Neben dem Gotte steht r. eine Frau mit einem Hunde neben ihr; die r. Hand ist unter den Mantel gehüllt, in der l. hält sie eine Blume oder einen Zweig. Links von dem Gotte steht ein Mann, welcher auf einem Thymiaterion ein Rauchopfer vollbringt. Die beiden Figuren stellen ohne Zweifel die Sterblichen, welche das Relief gestiftet haben und das Opfer vollbringen dar; vielleicht die Stifterin und einen Priester. Diese Gruppe ist nun von sechs stehenden Figuren umgeben. Alle sind Jünglinge mit langem lockigem Haar, alle tragen eine Tunica und einen Mantel, die meisten sind bewaffnet. Nur eine Figur dieser Gruppe ist nicht militärisch: es ist die Figur links von dem Priester; ihre Attribute sind ein Szepter WS und ein kurzer Stab. Die Figuren der unteren Reihe tragen von l. zu r.: die erste eine merkwürdige Geißel oder Flabellum, die zweite eine Lanze, die dritte hat die Uniform eines Sagittarius: Bogen und Pfeile und ein Schwert, die vierte hat in der l. Hand eine Virga wie ein Centurion, die fünfte ein

(1) Die Fragmente habe ich selbst nicht gesehen. Auskunft über die Farben, welche verwendet wurden, habe ich nur für die Kairener Fragmente erhalten können. Der Fundort dieser Fragmente, wie auch der Fundort der Kalksteintafel und der Türflügel ist wahrscheinlich der Fayum.

(2) C. C. EDGAR, *Greek Sculpture*, Cat. Gen. des Ant. Eg. du Musée du Caire, 1903, No 27569, Taf. XXV; R. PAGENSTECHE, *Klapptafelbild, Votivtriptychon und Flügelaltar*, Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst., 34 (1919) A. A., S. 9 ff., Abb. 3 (S. 18). W. WEBER, *Die äg.-gr. Terrakoten*, 1914, S. 138 ff., No 213 hat eine Terrakottareproduktion eines eingerahmten Bildes publiziert, welche denselben syrisch-ägyptischen Sonnengott darstellt.

Schwert. Die zweite Figur führt einen Kamel. Es muss bemerkt werden, dass alle menschliche Figuren des Bildes in frontaler Stellung erscheinen, während die Tiere in Profil dargestellt sind.



1. - Kalksteintafel des Kairo Museums.

Die Ähnlichkeit dieser Stele mit den Berliner Türflügeln (Abb. 2-3) wurde zuerst von Pagenstecher erkannt (1). Es ist kein Zweifel,

(1) PAGENSTECHER, I. I., vgl. M. ROSTOVITZ and P. V. C. BAUR, *Victory on a painted panel found at Dura, Excav. at Dura-Europos, II Prelim. Rep., 1931, S. 181 ff., Taf. XII.* In dem zuletzt zitierten Aufsatz ist eine Türflügel eines Naikos aus Dura mit gemalter Darstellung einer Nike (im parthischen Stile) publiziert und besprochen. Dasselbst habe ich die papyrologischen Zeugnisse über Naikoi mit Türflügeln zusammengestellt.

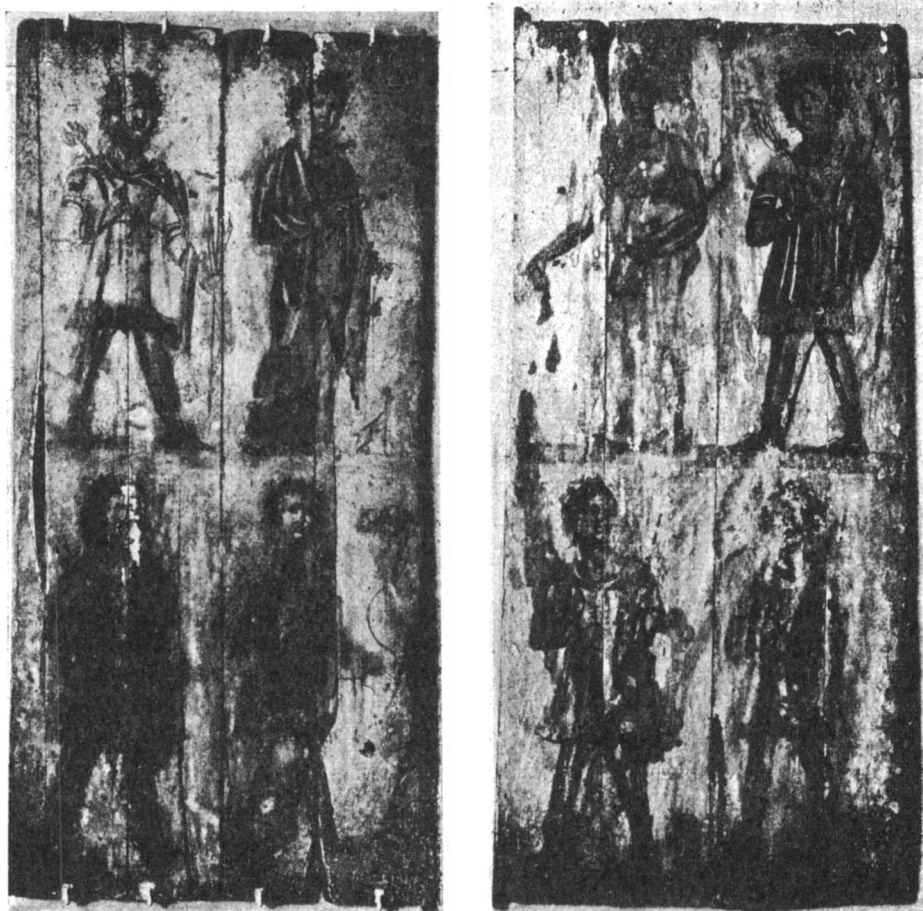
dass der Naiskos, zu dem diese Türflügel gehörten, eine Statuette oder ein gemaltes Bild der Hauptgottheit enthielt. Ob es ein Gott, wie der Gott der Tafel, oder eine Göttin gewesen ist, wissen wir nicht. Auf den Türflügeln wurden beinahe dieselben Figuren dargestellt, welche auch auf dem Relief erscheinen. Links und rechts von dem Gotte in dem oberen Register sieht man: l. eine Frau mit einem Hunde und r. einen ägyptischen Priester, augenscheinlich die Vollbringer des Opfers. Dazu noch zwei Jünglinge. Der Jüngling hinter der Frau trägt in der r. Hand eine Doppelaxt geschultert, in der l. einen Bogen (?), Pfeile und eine kurze Lanze, der andere hinter dem Priester-Bogen und Pfeile und eine Lanze. Von den vier jugendlichen Figuren des unteren Registers trägt die erste auf dem l. Flügel vielleicht eine Doppelaxt oder eine Peitsche, die zweite führt einen Kamel und hält dasselbe Attribut. Die zwei Figuren des r. Flügels haben beide Lanzen in der l. Hand und gekrümmte Stäbe in der r. Alle Jünglinge sind in derselben Weise gekleidet: kurze gegürtete Tunica, Mantel und hohe Schuhe. Alle tragen lockiges Haar. Alle haben kindliche Gesichter und alle sind in frontaler Stellung abgebildet, obwohl sie sich die einen nach r. die anderen nach l. bewegen.

Die drei Fragmente der Mc Gregor Sammlung gehören nicht zu Naiskoi, sondern sind auf Holztafeln gemalte Bilder, welche öfters in Privathäusern des Fayum gefunden werden und sicher auch in Tempeln aufgestellt wurden (1).

1) Ein schmales Brett eines Holztafelbildes (652×143) welches sicher durch wenigstens zwei andere, welche l. und r. anschlossen, zu vervollständigen ist (Abb. 5). Auf der Tafel ist eine grosse sitzende Figur einer Göttin (Isis-Tyche?) mit Szepter in der r. Hand gemalt. Sie ist reich gekleidet in eine bunte Tunica und einen gestickten Mantel und trägt eine ägyptische Krone auf dem Kopfe. Auf dem unteren Rande der Tafel unter den Füßen der Göttin stehen zwei kleine Figuren desselben Typus wie die oben beschriebenen der Berliner Türflügel und des Kalksteinreliefs. Die Figur r. ist ein Jüngling, beinahe ein Kind mit einer

(1) Nur sehr wenige sind publiziert. Eine Reihe wurde von O. Rubensohn in Theadelphia und in Tebtunis gefunden, s. seinen Aufsatz: *Aus griechisch-römischen Häusern des Fayum*, Jahrb. d. d. Arch. Inst., 20 (1905), S. 1 ff., Taf. I-III. Alle Bilder—die in den Nischen auf die Wand gemalten und diejenigen, welche auf Holztafeln gemalt wurden—sind Bilder der Götter, richtige εἰκόνας, russische Heiligenbilder-Ikonen. Die meisten der Tafelbilder waren umrahmt.

geschulterten Doppelaxt in der r. Hand. Mit der L. führt er ein Pferd. Der Kopf ist mit einer Laubenkrone umgeben. Links steht



2-3. - Holztüren von einem Naiskos von Berlin.

eine ganz ähnliche Figur mit undeutlichen Attributen. Beide sind von vorne gesehen, Füße nach r.

2) Eine fast vollständige quadratische Tafel (555×133), welche umrahmt war (etwa ein Drittel fehlt links) (Abb. 4). Darauf eine einzige Figur in frontaler Stellung, die Füße nach r. Wie die kleinen Figuren des vorigen Bildes ist es ein Jüngling. Auf dem Haupte trägt er eine Laubenkrone und über der Stirn einen Gold-

reif. Der Kopf ist mit einem Nimbus umgeben. Gekleidet ist der Jüngling ganz wie die anderen oben beschriebenen Figuren in eine gegürtete kurze Tunica, einen Mantel und hohe Schuhe. In der r. Hand hält er eine Keule geschultert, in der l. zwei Speere und eine Virga. Links hängt von seinem Gürtel ein rundes Schild. Zwei gemalte Inschriften sind an der Tafel angebracht: eine rechts von den Lanzen in der Mitte, die andere links unten. Oben steht $\pi\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$, unten Buchstaben, welche ich nicht deuten kann und welche am Originale gelesen und geprüft werden müssen—etwa $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\kappa\theta\alpha\tau\omicron\tau\varsigma$ (1).

3) Die linke Hälfte einer Holztafel (438×264 . Abb. 6). Ein Jüngling mit lockigem Haare und einem seitwärts angebrachten Goldreifen steht in frontaler Stellung. Gekleidet ist er, wie alle anderen oben beschriebenen Figuren: Tunica (vielleicht Doppel-Tunica, eine untere und eine obere) und Mantel, hohe Schuhe. Mit der r. Hand hält er einen Speer. Die Aehnlichkeit dieser Figur mit der Darstellung der Dioskuren auf einem Fresko aus Theadelphia lässt denken, dass auch diese Figur Kastor oder Polydeukes ist und vielleicht zu einer grösseren Komposition gehört. Doch bleibt diese Annahme höchst problematisch (2).

Endlich die Fragmente aus Cairo (3). Die vier Fragmente gehören zu zwei Tafelbildern.

1) Die erste Tafel besteht aus zwei Fragmenten, (10×48 und 8×40), welche zusammenpassen. Der obere Teil der Tafel ist durch eine grosse Büste der Hauptgottheit eingenommen. Es scheint eine Göttin zu sein. In dem lockigen Haare eine Laubekrone, auf dem Haupte vielleicht ein Diadem; auf der Brust eine Halskette. Aus der Laubekrone scheint ein Vogelkopf n. l.

(1) Es wäre verlockend den Namen $\pi\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ mit dem bekannten Namen *Papas*, welchen der anatolische Vegetationsgott trug, zusammenzustellen (Arr., F. Gr. Hist. 156 F 22; Roscher Lex III, S. 1559 (Höfer); Hepding, Attis, S. 193, 213. Man könnte auch $\pi\alpha\text{-}\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ lesen. Doch alle diese Deutungen sind zu unsicher, um darauf etwas aufzubauen. Ich hoffe, dass es unserem Altmeister, welchem dieser Aufsatz gewidmet ist, gelingt, die zweite Inschrift zu entziffern.

(2) E. BRECCIA, *Monuments de l'Egypte gréco-romaine*, I (1926), S. 124 ff., und Taf. LXI, 1. Breccia hält den seitwärts geschobenen Reifen auf dem Haupte jedes der Dioskuren, den ich für einen Nimbus halte und der auch auf unserem Bilde erscheint, für den seitwärts geschobenen $\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, was mir nicht einleuchtet.

(3) Kurz erwähnt von C. C. Edgar in der Beschreibung der Kairener Kalksteintafel, oben S. 494, Anm. 2.

hinauszugucken. Links von der Büste steht eine Frau: Kopf von vorne gesehen, die Füße r. Sie trägt eine Perlenchnur auf dem Oberhaupte, eine Tunica und einen Mantel in welchem ihre Hände



4. - Der Gott mit der Keule.
(Täfelchen der Sammlung Mc Gregor).

verhüllt sind. An den Füßen hohe Schuhe. Der untere Teil der Tafel ist wie auch auf den übrigen durch eine Prozession von Jünglingen eingenommen. Vier sind erhalten. Alle haben die Köpfe nach vorne gewendet und alle bewegen sich nach r. Die Haare

sind in merkwürdiger Weise stilisiert: als ob sie eine Strahlenkrone bildeten. Im Haare tragen alle eine Kopfbinde oder Diadem, wahrscheinlich Goldreife. Der Jüngling mit der Keule trägt einen Doppelreif. Die zwei Jünglinge l. tragen in den Rechten jeder eine Peitsche geschultert. Der dritte von l. hat eine Keule, der vierte (nur die Hälfte der Figur ist erhalten) eine Doppelaht. Alle sind in Tunicae und Manteln (mit Fransen) gekleidet und tragen hohe Schuhe.

2) Die zweite Tafel (Abb. 8) besteht wieder aus zwei Fragmenten (9×455 und 9×355). Die Fragmente schliessen nicht an einander. Der obere Teil der Tafel ist schlecht erhalten. Wahrscheinlich war hier eine sitzende Göttin dargestellt. Rechts und links von ihr standen zwei Figuren. Von der rechten ist nur eine Hand, von der linken nur der untere Teil mit einem Fusse erhalten. Es waren wahrscheinlich die üblichen Figuren der Frau und des Priesters dargestellt gewesen. Der untere Teil ist wiederum durch eine Prozession von Jünglingen eingenommen. Drei sind erhalten. Alle haben langes lockiges Haar. Alle tragen Doppeltunicae und Mäntel und an den Füßen hohe Riemenschuhe. Die untere Tunica hat jedesmal zwei Clavi. Der erste Jüngling von l. trägt in der r. Hand eine Doppelaht geschultert. Zwischen ihm und dem nächsten Jüngling, welcher einen Stab in der R. geschultert trägt, sieht man die Figur eines Kamels nach r. Nächste kommt der dritte Jüngling mit einem Stab in der R. Hinter ihm steht ein Pferd nach r. (nur die r. Hälfte ist erhalten).

Ich muss mich mit diesen kurzen Beschreibungen der Bilder begnügen. Eine detailliertere Beschreibung würde zu viel Raum in Anspruch nehmen, welcher mir nicht zu Verfügung steht. Auch kann ich keine stylistische Analyse der Bilder geben, obwohl dieselbe von grossem Nutzen wäre. Man hat viel über die sog. Fayumporträts geschrieben, die anderen Bilder auf Holztafeln und auf Wänden aber stiefmütterlich behandelt. Es sind natürlich keine Meisterwerke, aber doch hochinteressant, da sie uns direkt zu den christlichen Malereien führen und uns belehren, wie die frühesten dieser Malereien wohl ausgesehen haben. In dem Streite Orient oder Rom und in dem Antiochien oder Alexandrien würde eine stylistische Analyse dieser Bilder aus der römischen Zeit, welche ziemlich zahlreich sind, ihre Bedeutung haben. Auch ein Vergleich mit den Dura Fresken würde sehr lehrreich sein.

Auch die Frage nach der Datierung der Tafel muss unbeantwortet gelassen werden. Um dieses Problem zu lösen, müsste man den Stil der Bilder und die Kleidung der Figuren sorgfältig unter-



5. - Isis und die beiden Jünglinge.



6. - Dioskuros.

(Täfelchen der Sammlung Mc Gregor).

suchen. Die Bilder machen einen späten Eindruck. Doch später wie das III Jahrh. sind sie nicht. Die Buchstaben der Inschriften einer der Tafel der Sammlung Mc Gregor würde ich mit Prof. A. Harmon ins II Jahrh. n. Chr. datieren.

In diesem kurzen Aufsätze möchte ich nur auf die oben aufgezählten Bilder hinweisen und die Frage stellen, wie die Hauptfiguren und die Nebenfiguren der Tafeln zu deuten sind. Edgar und Pagenstecher haben diese Frage nicht erörtert, nach ihnen aber hat diese Tafeln niemand erwähnt.

Es ist klar, dass die meisten Bilder nach einem und demselben Schema eingerichtet sind (mit der Ausnahme der zwei Fragmente der Mc Gregor Sammlung, auf welchen vielleicht nur eine Figur jedesmal abgebildet wurde). Der obere Hauptteil ist von einem Bilde einer weiblichen oder männlichen Gottheit eingenommen: volle Figur oder Büste. Dieser Gottheit wird ein Opfer durch einen Priester dargebracht und daneben steht auch die Person, welche das Opfer bezahlt und wahrscheinlich das Bild gestiftet hat. Ist es ein Zufall, dass in drei Fällen diese Person eine Frau ist?

Unsere Tafeln sind demgemäss heilige Bilder, Ikonen. Die Komposition ist gewöhnlich und, hauptsächlich im Osten, mehrmals vertreten. In Palmyra und Mesopotamien ist diese Komposition regelrecht und hat von hier bis nach Indien und Afghanistan vorgedrungen (1). Die dargestellten Götter können nicht mit Sicherheit benannt werden. Auf der Kalksteintafel von Kairo ist der Gott sicher eine der Formen des Sonnengottes, des Kosmokrators der Zeit des solaren Henotheismus. Die Deutung auf einen Kaiser verwerfe ich. Der Kopf des Gottes zeigt keine Porträtzüge. Die Göttin des Bildes der Mc Gregor Sammlung mag Isis oder Isis-Tyche sein. Doch kann die Figur auch jede andere grosse weibliche Gottheit darstellen. Entscheidende Attribute fehlen.

Wer sind aber die Nebenfiguren, die lockigen Jünglinge, welche rings um das Hauptbild marschieren? Menschen oder Götter? Edgar, welchem nur die Kalksteinplatte und die Kairofragmente bekannt waren, spricht von römischen Soldaten. An sich ist es

(1) Darüber spreche ich in einem Aufsatz: *The problem of the Parthian Art and Dura*, welcher demnächst im *Am. Journ. Arch.* erscheinen wird. Es muss bemerkt werden, dass die consequent durchgeführte Frontalität der menschlichen Figuren eine strikte Regel der Mesopotamischen Kunst (Palmyra miteingerechnet) ist. Auch diese Frage der Frontalität behandle ich in dem oben erwähnten Aufsätze. Der ägyptischen Kunst, auch der späteren Zeit, ist die Frontalität fremd.



7. - Die Gestalt der Göttin mit den vier Jünglingen.
(Täfelchen des Kairo Museums).

nicht unmöglich. Auf der Kalksteintafel ist die Bewaffnung einiger der Jünglinge die der römischen Soldaten und wir wissen, dass in den *Cohortes equitatae* in Aegypten Dromedarier gedient haben (1). Die Tafelbilder machen aber diese Deutung unmöglich: Doppelaxte und Keulen gebrauchen die römischen Soldaten nicht und keine Soldaten würden mit Nimbus und Diademen dargestellt werden. Die Jünglinge sind demgemäss Götter, nicht sterbliche, *σύννοτοι Θεοὶ* oder *πάρεδροι* der Hauptgottheit.

Viele von diesen Göttern sind militärische Götter: sie erscheinen bewaffnet; je zweimal erscheinen sie mit einem Pferde und einem Kamel gruppiert; öfters tragen sie die Doppelaxt (einmal zusammen mit Waffen), zweimal eine Keule.

Sind diese Götter sonst in Aegypten bekannt? Diese Frage muss bejaht werden. Auf den Fresken römischer Zeit, welche den Gott Heron darstellen, und auf anderen Bildern, welche mit diesem Kulte verbunden sind, finden wir öfters dieselben oder ähnliche Götter. So sehen wir auf einem der Bilder des Heron aus dem Tempel des Pnferos in Theadelphia (2) links oben von dem Hauptgotte Heron, welcher auf dem Pferde sitzend dargestellt ist, eine kleine stehende Figur eines Gottes, welcher in der r. Hand eine Doppelaxt hält, in der l. eine Lanze, um die sich eine Schlange windet, und Zweige. Wie manche unserer Jünglinge trägt er eine Laubekrone und erscheint vielleicht von einer Laube umwunden. Auch er ist in eine Doppeltunica und einen Mantel gekleidet, trägt hohe Schuhe und ist frontal dargestellt, die Füsse aber nach r. gewendet. In diesem Zusammenhange muss ich notieren, dass auch die Hauptfigur-Heron auf diesem und dem anderen Bilde desselben Tempels ganz ähnlich gekleidet ist und einen Nimbus trägt. Seine Uniform, beiläufig gesagt, ist nicht römisch, sondern hellenistisch.

Auch im Herontempel von Magdola waren Fresken entdeckt, welche leider nie publiziert wurden (3). Aus Lefebure's Beschreibung schliesse ich, dass im Propylon auf den Wänden des Durchganges r. und l. Figuren des Hauptgottes des Tempels Heron gemalt waren. Der Gott war zu Fuss und vor einer Schlange libierend, wie im ersten Bilde des Pnferos Tempel in Theadelphia, dargestellt. Auf der r. Seite stand hinter ihm eine kleine Figur

(1) J. LESQUIER, *L'Armée rom. d'Egypte*, S. 113 f.

(2) E. BRECCIA, *Monuments de l'Egypte gréco-romaine*, I, 2 (1926): *Teadelphia e il tempio di Pnferos*, S. 110 ff., Taf. LIX.

(3) P. JOUGUET et G. LEFEBURE, *Compte-rendu de l'Ac. d. Inscr.*, 1902, S. 305 ff.



8. - Der Gott zu Pferd und der Gott auf dem Kamel.
(Täfelchen des Kairo Museums).

« vêtu d'une courte tunique, d'un long manteau, chaussé de hautes bottes, armé d'épieu et d'un carquois, où l'on voit des flèches et un javelot; à terre un objet indéterminé ». Es ist ohne Zweifel einer der Jünglinge unserer Tafeln, und ein σύννακος Θεός, nicht ein Sterblicher. Auch die zweite Figur des Heron hat einen παράθερος. Er ist beschrieben als in einen Mantel gekleidet und blumenbekrönt. Die zwischen ihm und der Hauptfigur dargestellte Gasse gehört dem Gotte Antaios und lässt darauf schliessen, dass entweder die kleine Figur Antaios ist oder dass Heron mit Antaios (beide sind militärische Götter) vermengt wurde (1).

Damit haben wir zwei Figuren unserer Gruppe in der Gesellschaft des Kriegergottes Heron. Weiter bringen uns die Münzen der Nomen. Daressy beschreibt eine Münze des Diospolites aus Traian's Zeit (Samml. Demetrio in Athen) wo auf dem R/ ein Reiter einer Schlange libierend dargestellt ist. Der Reiter ist augenscheinlich Heron. Doch erscheint er mit lockigem Haare, wie unsere Jünglinge, mit einer Keule und einem Köcher voll von Pfeilen an seinem Sattel. Schon Daressy hat ihn mit dem Syrischen Gotte mit der Keule, über welchen weiter unten, und mit dem Gotte Genneas verglichen (2).

Daressy hat Recht, wenn er im allgemeinen darauf hinweist, dass die Götter der Nomen überhaupt die Tendenz haben, zu militärischen Göttern zu werden. So hat Rougé bemerkt, dass Horus auf den Münzen der Nomen immer als militärischer Gott erscheint, und Daressy bemerkt, dass die Götter der Nomenmünzen, auch wo sie nicht militärische Uniform tragen, entweder eine Keule oder eine Lanze halten.

Noch ein Denkmal möchte ich in diesem Zusammenhange zitieren. Im Neapolitanischen Museum unter No. 8336 ist eine Freske ausgestellt, welche in einem Laden der Strada Stabiana (No. 7, neben dem Eingange in das Haus des Lucretius) entdeckt wurde (Abb. 9). Das Bild scheint mit einer Nische verbunden gewesen zu

(1) Ueber Antaios als militärischen Gott W. GOLENISCHEFF, Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr. 20 (1882), S. 135 ff., Taf. III-IV, und 32 (1894), S. 2 ff., Taf. I; C. C. EDGAR, *Greek sculpture*, Cat. Gen., 1903, No 27572. Golenischeff hat es wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass Antaios ein griechischer Name für den syrisch-phoenizischen Gott Reseph ist. Der Kult wurde zuerst von den Thebanischen Königen der XVIII Dyn. in Aegypten eingeführt. S. weiter unten.

(2) G. DARESSY, *Le dieu Heron sur les monnaies du Nome Diospolite*, Ann. du Serv., 21 (1921), S. 7 ff.

sein und hat wahrscheinlich mit dieser Nische das Ladenlararium gebildet (1). Ich habe hier nicht genug Raum, um das Bild eingeh-



9. - Die Freske von Pompeji.

end zu beschreiben. Es stellt eine geflügelte Tyche-Isis-Selene-Aphrodite als Weltbeherrscherin dar und hinter ihr einen kleinen

(1) W. HELBIG, *Wandgemälde* No 78; G. LAFAYE, *Histoire du culte des Divinités d'Alexandrie*, 1884, Section IX: Peintures murales, No 215 (S. 326). Der anatolische Charakter des reitenden Gottes wurde von B. SCHWEITZER, *Herakles*, 1922, S. 33, Abb. 5, erkannt, vgl. J. GAGÉ, *Deux dieux cavaliers d'Asie Mineure*, *Mél. de l'Ec. fr. de Rome*, 43 (1926), S. 114, Abb. 3. Das Bild wurde nie in photographischer Reproduktion publiziert.

geflügelten Eroten mit einer Fackel. Auf diese grosse Figur, welche frontal dargestellt ist, reitet ein Gott nach r. zu. Er ist in eine Tunica und einen Mantel gekleidet, hat lockiges Haar und um den Kopf einen Nimbus und eine Sonnenkrone. Mit der l. Hand halt er die Zügel, in der R. die Doppelaxt. Das Bild ist von Girlanden umrahmt. Der Hintergrund stellt einen Alexandrinischen Teppich dar. Unter dem Bilde steht die Weihung des Pilocalus geschrieben. Es ist kein Zweifel, dass das Bild von einem alexandrinischen Griechen geweiht und vielleicht von einem anderen Alexandriner gemalt wurde. Die Göttin ist wohl Alexandria selbst, der Teppich ist Alexandrinisch (1). Nun erscheint neben der Göttin als ihr *πρόεδρος* wiederum eine Figur aus dem Kreise unserer Jünglinge, welche Schweitzer und Gagé sofort als kleinasiatisch-syrisch erkannt haben, als eine späte Erscheinungsform des hettitisch-syrischen Teschub-Hadad.

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass der Gott Teschub, welcher im phoenikischen Gebiete mit Hadad vermengt wurde, seit der ältesten Zeit als Militärgott erscheint, mit einer Donnerlanze und einer Donnerkeule seine Feinde niedertretend. Vor Kurzem wurde in Ras-Schamra eine Stele dieses Gottes entdeckt, welche den Gott in dieser Gestalt darstellt. Seine Lanze ist nach unten gewendet, das obere Ende derselben « se divise en sortes de branches qui nous paraissent vouloir simuler l'éclair » (2). Es ist bekannt, dass dieser Gott sehr früh auch nach Aegypten vorgedrungen war (3).

Nun hat dieser Gott in Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und Mesopotamien ein langes Leben gehabt. Sehr bald wird eines seiner Hauptattribute neben Lanze und Keule auch die Donnerdoppelaxt.

(1) Es würde mich zu weit führen, dem Muster des Teppiches nachzugehen. Eine ganze Reihe von Räumen in Pompei, alle in Häusern späterer Zeit, sind in derselben Weise bemalt. Es ist sicher eine Alexandrinische Mode, welche nach Pompei mit der Industrialisierung der Stadt eingedrungen ist.

(2) R. DUSSAUD, *Le Sanctuaire et les Dieux Phéniciens de Ras Shamra*, Rev. de l'Hist. d. Rel., 105 (1932), S. 246 f., vgl. 256 ff., wo DUSSAUD die Stele von Nami (Syria, 12, Taf. VI) und einige hettitische Cylinder, welche den Teschub-Hadad darstellen, citiert (vgl. DUSSAUD, *Lydie et ses voisins aux hautes époques*, S. 46 ff., Abb. 2, und S. 59, Abb. 4, und Taf. III, 2).

(3) A. ERMAN, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 1907, S. 73 ff.; D. LE LASSEUR, *Les déesses armées dans l'art classique grec et leurs origines orientales*, 1919, vgl. S. REINACH, Rev. arch., 10 (1919), S. 262 f. Ich habe schon oben darauf hingewiesen, dass der Kriegsgott Antaios ein hellenistischer Nachkomme dieser Götter ist.

Mit dieser sind nicht nur seine lokalen Erscheinungen in Kleinasien (z. B. Ζεὺς Σώζων), sondern auch der mächtige Herrscher Phoeniziens und Syriens Hadad dargestellt.

Der Kleinasiatische Gott erscheint bald stehend bald reitend. Auch manche lokalen Formen des Hadad in Syrien stellen ihn als reitend dar. Der Reitergott in Syrien ist ebenso häufig, wie in Kleinasien. Wir haben viele Reliefs mit dieser Figur und auch mehrere Terrakotten, welche meistens als « Parthische Reiter » gedeutet werden. Wir kennen einige lokale Namen dieses Reitergottes z. B. Genneas und Azizu, der letzte eine bekannte Figur, dessen Kult bis nach den Donauländern und Aegypten vorge drungen ist. Lanze und zuweilen auch Keule bleiben, wie in Kleinasien, die Hauptattribute dieser Götter.

Alle diese Götter gehören zu dem grossen Kreise der Himmel- und Sonnengötter und alle sind von dem grossen Gotte Teschub-Hadad-Baal differenziert.

Zu demselben Kreise gehört auch der Kamelgott Arsu. Zwar ist er arabischer Herkunft und hat einen anscheinend arabischen Namen Arsu, doch hat ihn Mesopotamien und Syrien als den grossen Karawanengott adoptiert (1).

Hadad-Teschub-Baal war immer ein grosser Kämpfer, ein militärischer Gott. Kein Wunder, dass er zum Beschützer und Führer der Armeen, zu einem militärischen Gott geworden ist und die militärische Uniform angezogen hat. Es ist bekannt, wie weit verbreitet diese Form des Himmel- und Lichtgottes ist. In Palmyra erscheinen alle drei Götter der Himmeldreiheit-Bel, Jarhibol und Aglibol-in militärischem Kostüm. Auch Hadad erscheint daselbst

(1) Über die militärischen Reitergötter von Kleinasien s. zuletzt J. GAGÉ, *Deux dieux cavaliers d'Asie Mineure*, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, 43 (1926), S. 103 ff. Über Hadad s. P. V. C. BAUR, *Excav. at Dura Europos*, III Prel. Rep., 1932, S. 100 ff., vgl. meinen Aufsatz in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, 1933. Über die Reitergötter in Syrien R. MOUTERDE, *Dieux cavaliers de la région d'Alep*, Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, 11 (1926), S. 314 ff.; M. ROSTOVZEFF, *Excav. at Dura Europos*, II Prel. Rep., 1931, S. 200, Taf. XXIV-XXV. Über den Pferddegott Azizu und den Kamelgott Arsu M. ROSTOVZEFF, *The Caravan-gods of Palmyra*, *Journ. of Rom. St.*, 22 (1932), S. 107 ff. Es ist bezeichnend, dass der populärste Gott des griechischen Pantheon in Babylonien und Mesopotamien Herakles ist. Viele Statuetten und Reliefs dieses Gottes werden jedes Jahr in Dura gefunden. Wahrscheinlich ist dieser Gott die griechische Form des babylonischen Enlil, wie auch des kleinasiatisch-syrischen Hadad-Teschub.

als ein Krieger. Die Figuren des Teschub-Hadad von Doliche und des Jupiter Heliopolitanus sind allbekannt. Wann geschah diese Einreihung der Himmeltgötter in die regulären Armeen?

Die herrschende Meinung ist, dass es zuerst in römischer Zeit geschehen ist, da die Militärgötter Syriens und Mesopotamiens den römischen Panzer tragen. Die letzten Entdeckungen in Dura und manche Denkmäler von Palmyra zeigen, dass diese Annahme falsch ist. In Dura haben wir eine Stele mit der Darstellung des lokalen Hadad von Anath-Aphlad (oder Apalad-Sohn des Hadad) gefunden, wo der Gott parthisch gekleidet und im hellenistischen Panzer erscheint. Die Stele ist in das Jahr 54 n. Chr. datiert, wo Anath und Dura noch partisch gewesen sind (1). Auch Hadad und andere militärische Götter in Palmyra (Arsu?) tragen partisch-hellenistische, nicht römische Uniform. Und endlich sind auch die Tracht und Bewaffnung der militärischen Reitergötter nicht römisch, sondern hellenistisch (2). So glaube ich, dass es berechtigt ist, anzunehmen, dass die Himmeltgötter Syriens schon in hellenistischer Zeit zu Göttern der Armee geworden sind. Es war auch natürlich, da die Seleukiden immer mehr an Soldaten, welche im Lande geboren waren (ob griechischer oder lokalen Herkunft ist gleichgültig), angewiesen waren und ihnen Götter geben wollten, welche ihnen als Beschützer und Führer dienen konnten (3).

Zuletzt mache ich noch darauf aufmerksam, dass die meisten dieser Götter, hauptsächlich in dem Palmyrenischen Gebiete, mit der Ausnahme Hadad's selbst, welcher fast immer bärtig dargestellt ist, als Jünglinge mit langen lockigen Haaren erscheinen. Einige sind noch Knaben. So heisst Azizu in einer dacischer Inschrift *puer*.

Ich bin überzeugt, dass wir dieselbe Entwicklung auch in Aegypten haben. Der frühest bekannte Armeegott hier ist Heron. Tempel wurden ihm schon in hellenistischer Zeit gebaut und das kanonische Bild, unter welchem er in römischer Zeit erscheint, zeigt ihn in hellenistischer, nicht römischer Uniform.

(1) Die Stele wird in V Dura Bericht publiziert; vorläufig s. M. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Caravan Cities*, 1932, Taf. XXXII (S. 193), und meinen demnächst erscheinenden Aufsatz: The Problem of Parthian Art and Dura in A. J. A., 1933.

(2) S. oben Anm. 21.

(3) Diese seleukidische Schöpfung haben auch die Parthischen Könige angenommen. Der Kult der Militärgötter war schon in parthischer Zeit der führende Kult in Syrien und Mesopotamien.

Ich kann hier auf die Kontroverse über den Ursprung Heron's nicht eingehen (1). Die meisten Gelehrten halten ihn für einen thrakischen Gott, den Gott der thrakischen Söldner der Ptolemäer. Andere möchten ihn als ägyptisch ansehen, als eine Form des Horus. Nun aber wäre es merkwürdig, dass nur ein Teil — und nicht der grösste — der Ptolemäischen Armee es dazu gebracht hat, ihren lokalen Kult in Aegypten einzupflanzen und ihm eine sehr grosse Verbreitung zu geben, so dass ihr Gott nicht nur in Fayum, sondern auch wahrscheinlich in Alexandrien und sicher in Oberägypten verehrt wurde. Dazu kommt, dass der thrakische Gott in Aegypten fast alle seine charakteristischen Merkmale verliert: aus einem chthonischen Gott, einem Gotte der Vegetation und einem Jäger, welcher in Thrakien nie mit Menschen, sondern nur mit Tieren kämpft, hat man in Aegypten einen Armeegott, einen himmlischen Offizier, einen Sonnengott mit Strahlenkrone gemacht und ihn mit Göttern zweifellos anatolisch-syrischen Ursprungs verbunden.

Dies halte ich für wenig wahrscheinlich. Mir dünkt es, dass Heron eine religiöse Schöpfung der Ptolemäer ist, ein militärischer Sarapis. Er hat thrakische aber auch anatolische und syrische Züge, da er für Soldaten geschaffen wurde, welche meistens aus Anatolien

(1) Auch die umfangreiche Literatur über Heron kann ich hier nicht aufzählen. Die letzten Vertreter der thrakischen Theorie sind G. LEFEBURE, *Le dieu Héron d'Égypte*, Ann. du Serv., 20 (1920), S. 237 ff., vgl. *ibid.*, 21 (1921), S. 163 ff., und G. CAPOVILLA, *Il dio Heron in Tracia e in Egitto*, Riv. di Fil., 1 (1923), S. 424 ff. Der Hauptvertreter der ägyptischen Theorie ist P. PERDRIZET, s. zuletzt: *Les terres-cuites de la coll. Fouquet*, 1921, S. 100, wo er über alle militärischen Götter Aegyptens in der römischen Zeit spricht, und *Negotium perambulans in tenebris*, 1922, S. 7 ff. Die Identifizierung des Horus mit Heron ist gesichert (s. die Terrakotte der Samml. Fouquet No 110 (PERDRIZET, S. 36, Taf. Ll). Vgl. auch W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, 1914, S. 66 ff., wo Weber darauf hinweist, dass die Reitergötter in den anatolisch-syrischen Kreis gehören. Neue Denkmäler des Heronkultes haben unsere Kenntniss des Kultes bereichert. So sind jetzt die Fresken des Pneferos Tempels von Theadelphia in mustergültiger Weise publiziert worden - E. BRECCIA, *Mon. de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, 1926, I, 2: *Teadelphia e il tempio di Pneferos*, S. 110 ff., Taf. LVII-LIX. Auch in Karanis wurde vor Kurzem ein Bild Heron's in einem Privathause entdeckt - A. E. R. BOAK and E. E. PETERSON, *Karanis. Topogr. and Arch. Report of excavations during the seasons 1924-1928* (1931). S. 34. Die Lanze des Gottes ist in Karanis ganz eigenartig: sie endet in eine Art von Rosette, vielleicht das Sonnensymbol.

und Thrakien stammten, doch ist er auch den Syrern nicht fremd und für die Griechen und Ägypter annehmbar. Nicht umsonst ist er Heron-Heros und nicht umsonst ist sein Name dem Namen Horus so ähnlich. Kein Wunder, dass er mit Horus bald identifiziert wurde und Horus geholfen hat, auch selbständig als militärischer Gott zu erscheinen.

Heron ist demnach der Ptolemäische Teschub-Hadad und natürlicherweise erscheint er mit Akolyten, welche auch Sonnengötter und militärische Götter sind und welche teilweise schon früher ägyptisiert wurden, (z. B. Antaios, der Wüstenhero des Antaiopolites), meistens aber zuerst in hellenistischer Zeit aus Anatolien und aus Syrien nach Ägypten vorgedrungen sind.

Die Römer haben diese militärische Göttergruppe geerbt und haben sie adoptiert. Kein Wunder, da die ersten ägyptischen Legionen beinahe ganz in Kleinasien rekrutiert wurden und auch eine Reihe syrischer Soldaten hatten. Auch später kamen die meisten Legionarier, welche nicht in Ägypten geboren waren, aus dem Osten, meistens aus Syrien. Man darf auch nicht vergessen, dass manche der Auxiliartruppen Ägyptens, wenigstens ursprünglich, in Syrien rekrutiert wurden. So die Cohors I Apamenorum, die Cohortes Ituraeorum und vielleicht auch eine Cohors Damascenorum. Sehr stark waren die Araber als Wüstenpolizisten verwendet und auch die Palmyrener haben einen Numerus nach Ägypten geschickt. Endlich darf man nicht ausser Acht lassen, dass syrische Ansiedler in Ägypten schon in der Ptolemäischen Zeit zahlreich erscheinen und dass auch in römischer Zeit nicht nur nabatäische und Palmyrenische Händler sich in Ägypten angesiedelt haben, sondern auch, wie in anderen Ländern, Händler aus Phoenizien und Syrien (1).

Diese Tatsachen erklären uns das Erscheinen der Jünglinge

(1) Über die Rekrutierung der Legionen und der Auxiliartruppen von Ägypten s. J. LESQUIER, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, S. 240 ff., und S. 216 ff. Die Cohortes Ituraeorum waren schon im J. 39 n. Chr. in Ägypten. Ἀραβοτοξῶται - P. Graux 4 (H. HENNE, Bull. de l'Inst. fr. d'Arch. Or., 28 (1927), S. 4; WILCKEN, A. f. P., 8 (1927), S. 312; S. B. 7464). Syrer und Palmyrener in Ägypten - UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *La scultura ad Ahnas*, 1923, S. 81 ff. Es würde sich lohnen, einmal das ganze Material über die Syrer und Kleinasiaten in Ägypten zu sammeln. Es ist interessant, dass in der spätrömischen Zeit (323 n. Chr.) in einer Inschrift ἱερεὺς λεγεῶνος (III Gallica und I Illyrica) und ein ἀρχιερεὺς erscheinen. Einer der Priester hat den Namen Azizos, W. OTTO, *Pr. u. T.*, I, S. 170.

auf unsern Tafelbildern: die Jünglinge mit der Lanze und dem Bogen (ich bin geneigt in einigen Fällen den Bogen und die Pfeile für ein Blitzsymbol zu halten), diejenigen mit der Lanze (vielleicht eine Donnerlanze?) und der Keule, die vielen mit der Doppelaxt, die zwei mit dem Pferde und die anderen zwei mit dem Kamel. Alle diese schönen Lichtgötter, die leichtbewaffneten *Pedites*, *Equites* und *Dromedarii* der Himmelarmee kommen ursprünglich aus dem Osten. Doch fanden sie eine neue Heimat in Aegypten und haben hier in intimer Freundschaft mit den grossen Göttern Aegyptens gelebt. So haust Heron im Hause des Pnferos in Theadelphia und sicher verehrten die Besucher seines Tempels in Magdola auch den lokalen Krokodilgott.

Es ist deshalb nicht notwendig anzunehmen, dass unsere Tafeln alle von Soldaten, Veteranen und ihren Weibern geweiht wurden. Jeder beliebige Einwohner der Fayumdörfer konnte so eine Tafel bestellen und sie in einem beliebigen Heiligtume oder in seinem eigenen Hause weihen.

Doch, da wir über die Provenienz der besprochenen Bilder nichts wissen, ist es nicht unmöglich, dass sie alle aus einem Funde, etwa aus einem und demselben Tempel oder Hause vielleicht des Fayum stammen.



LA SYRIE ROMAINE

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LA SYRIE ROMAINE

L'aperçu que je présente dans les pages suivantes à l'attention des lecteurs de la *Revue historique* ne prétend pas donner un tableau détaillé de la Syrie romaine. C'est une étude archéologique et historique d'un caractère général qui traite surtout de l'aspect social et économique. Je n'y parle pas de la religion ou des religions, car ce serait là la matière d'un article spécial, le sujet a d'ailleurs été traité plusieurs fois par des savants compétents, surtout par M. Franz Cumont dans son livre magistral sur les *Religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*.

La civilisation, la vie sociale et économique de la Syrie, au contraire, n'ont pas encore trouvé leur Cumont. Il n'existe pas, pour la Syrie, un livre comparable à ceux qu'ont donnés sur l'Afrique et sur la Gaule deux maîtres de la science historique française, les regrettés S. Gsell et C. Jullian. Nous attendons avec impatience le livre général sur la Syrie romaine du savant tchèque M. Dobias, qui nous est promis depuis longtemps. Nous n'en possédons actuellement que le premier volume (*Dějiny Římské provincie Syrské*. Prague, 1924, en tchèque, avec un résumé français), qui traite de l'histoire politique de cette province aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C. Comme vue d'ensemble, nous n'avons que le chapitre brillant, mais malheureusement périmé, de Mommsen dans le cinquième volume de son *Histoire romaine*. Mommsen, d'ailleurs, n'a jamais visité la Syrie. Les études plus récentes parues sur le même sujet sont bien inférieures et ne sont fondées ni sur une connaissance personnelle des lieux, ni sur un examen approfondi des sources. Je me bornerai donc à citer les deux livres du savant anglais Bouchier (sur la ville d'Antioche et sur la Syrie) et le court chapitre de Dessau dans le second volume de son *Histoire de l'Empire romain*, ouvrage que la mort l'a malheureusement empêché de terminer. Moi-même j'ai consacré quelques pages à la Syrie romaine dans mon livre sur l'*Histoire sociale et économique de l'Empire romain* (dernière édition en italien en 1932), et nous attendons de M. Fr. Cumont un chapitre sur le sujet

dans le volume XI de la *Cambridge Ancient History*. On trouvera dans ces livres des renseignements bibliographiques sur les travaux généraux ou les monographies consacrés à l'histoire de la Syrie romaine.

Depuis Mommsen, nos connaissances sur la Syrie romaine ont gagné en étendue et en profondeur. Les grands voyages archéologiques des années qui ont précédé la guerre — surtout ceux des savants allemands Brünnow et Domaszewski en Arabie et au Hauran, du savant américain Butler et de ses collaborateurs, des archéologues russes Abamelek Lazarev et Ouspenski et d'autres encore — ont complété la récolte de matériaux archéologiques faite par les savants français Waddington, Vogüé, Renan, Clermont-Ganneau et quelques autres. Des savants allemands ont poursuivi, avant et pendant la guerre, des études de détail, combinées avec des fouilles partielles, dans plusieurs importants champs de ruines de la Syrie : Baalbek, Damas, Palmyre, Petra. Enfin, après la guerre, le Service des Antiquités de la Syrie, organisé par M. Virolleaud et dirigé actuellement par M. H. Seyrig, ainsi que plusieurs missions françaises et étrangères ont entrepris, et en partie mené à bien, des fouilles archéologiques qui ont donné de remarquables résultats.

En même temps, le Service des Antiquités de la Syrie a entrepris de répertorier et d'étudier les grands monuments historiques du pays et de recueillir méthodiquement les petits vestiges antiques épars sur son sol. Ces antiquités et celles que l'on a recueillies en grand nombre dans ces diverses fouilles sont conservées dans différents musées locaux récemment créés, surtout dans ceux de Beyrouth, Damas, Alep, Soueida, Lattaquié (Laodicée), Antakiyé (Antioche) et Alexandrette. Et — *last but not least* — le même Service a entrepris un travail difficile et coûteux de conservation et de restauration des grandes ruines syriennes (Palmyre, Baalbek, St-Siméon et d'autres encore)¹.

Les Services d'Antiquités locaux et plusieurs missions étrangères procèdent au même labeur méthodique d'exploration, de fouille et de restauration — et avec le même succès — dans l'Iraq, la Transjordanie et en Palestine².

J'ai pris connaissance de ces travaux et de leurs résultats en visitant, au cours de plusieurs voyages, les ruines les plus importantes de la Syrie, du Liban, de l'État des Alaouites, du Djebel Druse, de l'Iraq,

1. Deux revues sont consacrées à la publication et à l'étude des résultats de ces travaux : *Syria*, à Paris, dirigée par M. Dussaud, et *Berytus*, à Beyrouth, dirigée par M. Ingholt.

2. Les rapports sur ces travaux sont publiés dans plusieurs revues. On consultera surtout la *Revue biblique*, dirigée par le P. Vincent.

de la Transjordanie et de la Palestine. En même temps, j'ai pris une part active à deux fouilles importantes : celles de Doura-Europos en Syrie, conduites par l'Université de Yale et l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut de France, et celles de Djerash en Transjordanie, organisées également par Yale, en collaboration avec le Service des Antiquités de la Transjordanie et les Instituts anglais et américain de Jérusalem. C'est cette connaissance personnelle et une étude des documents littéraires, épigraphiques, papyrologiques et archéologiques, tant publiés qu'inédits, qui me donnent la hardiesse de présenter l'aperçu qui suit à l'attention des lecteurs de la *Revue historique*.

I

LA SYRIE, SES CARACTÈRES ET SA DESTINÉE HISTORIQUE

Quand nous parlons de la Syrie — en entendant par là le pays compris entre l'Égypte à l'Ouest, le désert d'Arabie au Sud, la Babylonie et le plateau de l'Iran à l'Est, l'Arménie et l'Asie Mineure au Nord — nous devons bien distinguer les diverses parties de ce territoire étendu : Syrie septentrionale, Moyenne et Haute-Mésopotamie, désert de Syrie et, le bordant en croissant, fertile littoral : phénicien, syrien, palestinien, toutes ces régions ont leurs particularités climatiques et géographiques et leur passé original, riche en événements.

Il y a cependant des traits communs qui permettent de traiter la Syrie comme un tout. La Syrie a toujours été un pays de transit, où se sont rencontrées et mêlées les trois grandes civilisations du Proche-Orient : Babylone et l'Assyrie, Égypte et Égée. Aussi n'a-t-elle jamais eu la sienne propre. Elle s'est contentée d'une mosaïque d'emprunts : civilisation de négociants et de courtiers, de maîtres de caravanes et de navigateurs. Ce mélange éclectique et bizarre, sous ses multiples aspects, les marchands syriens et phéniciens l'ont transmis ensuite à l'Occident et au Nord, en ont imprégné les énergies créatrices de l'Europe.

Ras Chamra (Ugarit) en Syrie septentrionale ; Tyr, Sidon, Byblos, Arad, etc..., en Phénicie ; Gaza et autres villes de la côte de Palestine, voilà les points où les civilisations égyptienne et égéenne se heurtèrent d'abord à la civilisation babylonienne et où naquit la première civilisation syrienne syncrétique — et la plus raffinée — qu'ensuite les vaisseaux des armateurs phéniciens et les caravanes des négociants syriens portèrent d'une part en Europe et de l'autre dans l'Inde et en Asie centrale. La vallée de l'Euphrate fut de toute antiquité la principale

route des caravanes entre la Babylonie, l'Égypte et l'Égée ; de là se détachaient des voies importantes qui couvraient de leur réseau les montagnes d'Asie Mineure, le plateau de l'Iran, les déserts de Syrie et d'Arabie et le croissant fertile adjacent déjà mentionné. Ce n'est pas le lieu de faire, même brièvement, l'histoire des pays syriens avant les Romains. Il suffira d'indiquer que, dès la plus haute antiquité, non seulement le littoral phénicien, mais aussi chacune des autres régions énumérées plus haut possède sa civilisation, son art, son genre de vie, qui la caractérisent durant des millénaires.

La Syrie septentrionale est en relations, dès le début, avec l'Égypte et le monde égéen, mais aussi avec la Babylonie, tandis qu'au Nord ses frontières ne sont pas assez marquées pour la séparer nettement et catégoriquement des pays anatoliens et de la côte sud de la mer Noire. Son port à l'Ouest est aujourd'hui Alexandrette : à l'aube de son histoire, le rôle d'Alexandrette était joué par Ras Chamra ; plus tard, à l'époque hellénistique, il passa à Laodicée et à Séleucie de Piérie. A cette région se rattache très étroitement la plaine d'Alep, avec son sol argileux et gras, ses villes et villages de terre battue. La plaine de Laodicée, la vallée de l'Oronte, toute la région d'Alep sont le grenier de la Syrie septentrionale. Bien entretenues, les pentes de ses montagnes ou collines offrent d'excellent terrains d'élevage, avec possibilité d'horticulture et de viticulture relativement intensives.

La Coéléryrie¹, c'est-à-dire les vallées situées entre le Liban et l'Antiliban, est géographiquement inséparable, soit de la Syrie septentrionale, soit de la Phénicie et de la Syrie méridionale. Historiquement et économiquement, ainsi que par son climat, ce n'est pourtant pas vers le Nord qu'elle penche, mais vers l'Ouest et le Sud, le littoral phénicien et ses villes et la vallée du Jourdain. La Coéléryrie et les vastes territoires des cités phéniciennes ne sont qu'un champ aux riches moissons, un jardin magnifique où prospéraient et prospèrent jusqu'à ce jour arbres fruitiers, oliviers et vignes. A ce pays béni de propriétaires et de marchands se rattachaient la riche oasis de Damas, point de transbordement offert par la Providence aux caravanes se dirigeant de la Mésopotamie vers l'Ouest, et certaines des villes agricoles ou commerciales du sud de la vallée d'Alep, Hamath (aujourd'hui Hama) et Émèse (aujourd'hui Homs).

Le littoral phénicien se continue par les côtes de Palestine, avec leurs ports et leurs merveilleux jardins. Elles ont pour hinterland la Pales-

1. Je ne puis entreprendre ici une nouvelle discussion de ce terme de géographie politique qui a été l'objet de tant de débats.

tine montagneuse, la vallée du Jourdain, avec le lac de Tibériade et la mer Morte, enfin les collines de Transjordanie, qui se prolongent au Nord dans les régions basaltiques du Hauran, du Djebel Druse et du Ledja. Au Sud, la Palestine et les pays adjacents conduisent insensiblement au grand désert d'Arabie, avec les voies antiques de l'encens, de la myrrhe, des épices et des pierres précieuses. Par le Nord, ils tiennent à l'oasis de Damas, à la vallée du Liban et à la Phénicie.

Enfin, la vallée du Moyen-Euphrate et les régions comprises entre l'Euphrate et le Tigre ont toujours été liées avant tout à la Babylonie, au plateau de l'Iran et aux contreforts du Caucase, sans pour cela être fermées aux influences occidentales qui arrivaient en Mésopotamie à la fois du Nord du littoral syrien, par l'Euphrate, et des côtes phénicienne et palestinienne, par Hama, Homs et Damas. C'est encore un pays béni de Dieu. Le désert, auquel il est contigu à l'Ouest, au Sud et à l'Est, a toujours été un centre d'élevage extensif : moutons, chèvres, chameaux. Les rives de ses cours d'eau, l'Euphrate, le Tigre et leurs affluents, au prix de quelques travaux, ne se refusaient pas à fournir de belles moissons, à alimenter des jardins et des vignes.

A l'époque hellénistique, après la conquête de l'Orient par Alexandre, la Syrie, sauf la courte période de la monarchie d'Alexandre, n'a jamais constitué un ensemble politique. La côte sud de la Méditerranée, Phénicie et Palestine, tendait vers l'Égypte. Par Gaza et autres ports, elle mettait cette dernière en communication avec les voies commerciales d'Arabie et la grande route commerciale d'Orient, celle du golfe Persique. La Transjordanie et la Coélé Syrie étaient le prolongement naturel de la Phénicie et de la Palestine ; elles partageaient leur sort politique. Les Ptolémées firent un effort pour helléniser cette fraction de Syrie qui leur était échue, mais ce n'était au fond pour eux qu'une province ; ce n'est pas à elle, mais à l'Égypte qu'ils consacrèrent le gros de leurs efforts pendant les cent cinquante ans de leur domination dans ces parages.

Tout autre fut l'attitude des Séleucides envers la Syrie septentrionale et la Moyenne-Mésopotamie. La Syrie septentrionale était le centre de leur Empire, surtout asiatique. Là se trouvaient leurs capitales, Antioche et Apamée ; ils y fondèrent leurs principaux ports, les héritières de Ras Chamra, Laodicée et Séleucie de Piérie. De là ils commandaient les routes commerciales et militaires d'Asie Mineure, ils contrôlaient celle qui menait à leur troisième capitale, au Sud-Est, Séleucie sur le Tigre. La sûre possession de la Syrie septentrionale et son exploitation économique aussi intensive que possible étaient pour

eux une question de vie ou de mort. Aussi les voit-on créer sans cesse de nouveaux foyers d'hellénisme dans leurs domaines : les deux capitales et ports méditerranéens déjà nommés et nombre d'autres villes de population helléno-macédonienne, toutes situées sur les grandes voies stratégiques, toutes à la tête de régions réputées pour leur agriculture, leur élevage ou leurs jardins. Aussi les voit-on tâcher d'helléniser aussi les anciennes villes, en y installant des Grecs et des Macédoniens, soutien de leur pouvoir et base de recrutement de leur armée.

Ils poursuivent la même politique dans le Sud, en Babylonie. Mais ici la tâche est moins facile. Ç'avait toujours été un pays de villes : il n'y restait plus place à des fondations. Il fallait superposer les Grecs à la population existante, réformer à la grecque le régime local, ce qui était malaisé dans un pays pourvu de traditions millénaires et d'une civilisation originale et supérieure, si différente de la grecque. La seule ville fondée par les Séleucides en Babylonie, Séleucie sur le Tigre, centre industriel et commercial immense aux multiples idiomes, n'a jamais été leur Antioche du Sud.

Assurer les communications entre les deux pôles de leur Empire, entre les néo-hellénismes de Syrie et de Babylonie, était pour les Séleucides une nécessité non moins essentielle que la création de deux nouvelles Gréco-Macédoines au Sud et au Nord. Aussi un cordon de colonies militaires fortifiées fut étendu le long de l'Euphrate et le long du Tigre. Certaines s'installèrent dans les agglomérations anciennes ; pour les autres on en créa de nouvelles.

Telle était la situation au III^e siècle av. J.-C. Au II^e siècle, elle se modifia. La liaison entre les deux parties de l'Empire des Séleucides, le Sud-Est et le Nord, fut rompue par les Parthes, qui fondèrent en Asie leur Empire à eux et enlevèrent à leurs voisins leur capitale méridionale avec la Babylonie et une bonne part de la Moyenne-Mésopotamie. Sous le régime parthe, sans relations avec les principaux centres grecs, l'hellénisme de ces pays périclita et dégénéra. Ce ne furent pas les Grecs qui hellénisèrent les Sémites et les Iraniens, mais ces derniers qui sémitisèrent et iranisèrent les Grecs et les Macédoniens.

Cependant, le centre septentrional de l'hellénisme subsista ; sa liaison avec l'Occident et l'Asie Mineure ne fut jamais définitivement brisée. La décadence des Ptolémées au II^e siècle élargit même, un moment, la Syrie des Séleucides, en lui cédant la Cœlésyrie, le pays de Damas, la Phénicie, la Palestine avec la Transjordanie. Mais l'autorité des Séleucides ne fut jamais stable dans cette partie de leur Empire. Leurs féroces ennemis et rivaux acharnés, les Romains, ne laissèrent

pas les derniers membres de la dynastie poursuivre l'activité hellénisatrice de leurs prédécesseurs ni étendre leurs frontières. On connaît la faillite de l'hellénisation en Palestine, à laquelle contribua fortement la politique syrienne des Romains. Hors de Palestine aussi, les Romains firent ce qui dépendait d'eux pour hâter la décomposition d'une monarchie déjà affaiblie. Le résultat fut que le jour où, sous Pompée, ils envahirent l'héritage des Séleucides et firent de leur capitale Antioche celle de leur province de Syrie, ils eurent à constater la perte de la Basse et Moyenne-Mésopotamie puis le morcellement de la Syrie en quelques dizaines de menues formations politiques : villes indépendantes du littoral ; forts royaumes de Judée et d'Arabie Nabatéenne au Sud ; petites dynasties, comme celles des prêtres-rois du Liban et de l'Antiliban, en Syrie septentrionale et en Haute-Mésopotamie.

Le morcellement fut causé et inspiré par une sérieuse réaction contre l'hellénisme. J'ai déjà parlé des Parthes et de leur domination en Mésopotamie. Si puissante que fût sur eux l'influence de l'hellénisme, si profond que pût être le sentiment qu'avaient leurs premiers princes de continuer les Séleucides, leur caractère iranien n'en apparaît pas moins très tôt : la Mésopotamie des Parthes n'a jamais été l'héritière directe de la Mésopotamie des Séleucides. Les Iraniens devinrent la classe dirigeante, tandis que les Grecs furent réduits à la condition qui, sous leur autorité, était celle de la couche supérieure de la population sémitique des villes.

La réaction contre l'hellénisme ne fut pas moins vigoureuse dans la Palestine des Macchabées et des Asmonéens. C'est un fait connu sur lequel il est inutile d'insister. Nous sommes bien moins documentés sur les petits dynastes et roitelets du Liban, de l'Antiliban et de la Syrie septentrionale, mais il est permis de supposer qu'à l'origine eux aussi s'appuyèrent sur les éléments sémitiques, et non grecs. Aucun d'eux, en tout cas, ne fut un hellénisateur conséquent.

Avec l'annexion de la Syrie par les Romains, les choses changèrent. Pompée et ses successeurs, les premiers gouverneurs du pays, et avec eux le Sénat, comprirent aussitôt que leurs alliés ne seraient pas les Sémites, mais les Grecs, et que la seule politique possible était de continuer l'œuvre entreprise par les Ptolémées et les Séleucides, c'est-à-dire l'hellénisation toujours plus poussée en étendue et en profondeur de cette nouvelle province, si disparate et si étrangère à leur mentalité.

Cette hellénisation, le gouvernement romain tenta d'abord de l'opérer par l'entremise des roitelets et dynastes dont il avait hérité. Le système n'était pas neuf. On l'avait appliqué, et non sans succès, en Asie

Mineure, en Thrace, dans les pays alpins, en Afrique : on avait ainsi, grâce à des rois vassaux, hellénisé et romanisé une bonne part des nouvelles provinces, en les habituant à une vie urbaine encore ignorée d'elles. Même politique en Syrie et en Arabie. La dynastie iduméenne d'Hérode le Grand en Palestine et dans certaines parties de la Syrie — Hérode lui-même, Hérode Antipas, Agrippa I^{er} et Agrippa II — et les derniers princes de la dynastie nabatéenne à Pétra avaient beaucoup travaillé à l'urbanisation et à l'hellénisation de la Judée, de l'Arabie et des régions voisines. Ce n'était pas non plus une ennemie de l'hellénisme que la reine du commerce dans le désert, la riche et puissante Palmyre, qui s'agrandit par les soins des Romains, bien que l'élément dominant n'y fût pas grec, mais sémitique. Nous pourrions en dire autant des tyrans, dynastes et roitelets ultérieurs de la Coélé Syrie et de la Syrie septentrionale ou orientale, en particulier des Sampsicérames d'Émèse en Syrie et de la dynastie semi-iranienne de la Commagène.

A ces rois et roitelets opulents et éclairés, la Syrie dut nombre d'édifices exquis dont le caractère oriental se pare de dehors presque helléniques. Les constructeurs de Pétra, Bostra et Sia en Nabatée, de la Palmyre des I^{ers} siècles avant et après J.-C., des villes et des temples de la Palestine iduméenne et de la Syrie septentrionale, ont apporté leur intéressante contribution au progrès de l'architecture et de l'ornementation ; ils ont découvert dans les arts une langue commune intelligible aux Grecs de Syrie et aux Hellènes sémitisés comme aux Sémites hellénisés. Nous sommes encore loin de pouvoir apprécier véritablement leurs œuvres. Il s'écoulera encore un temps assez long avant que nous comprenions l'architecture du temple de Bel à Palmyre¹ l'originalité de ses sculptures et de ses formes, la puissance des sculptures de Nimroud-dagh en Commagène, l'élégance maniérée des premiers monuments romains de Pétra et des autres villes nabatéennes et surtout le style et le rythme des édifices iduméens répandus à travers la Palestine et la Syrie. Cet art, il faut l'étudier non seulement dans les monuments de cette époque vassale, mais aussi dans l'influence qu'ils ont exercée sur l'architecture plus imposante, colossale, de la Syrie romaine à la fin du I^{er} siècle après J.-C. et pendant les deux siècles suivants ; plus tard encore, sur l'infinie variété des monuments de la Syrie chrétienne.

Cependant l'époque des princes vassaux avait pris fin : ce fut, sous

1. Voir l'excellente analyse des sculptures du temple de H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 15 (1934).

Tibère, Claude, Vespasien et Trajan, l'ère des annexions, des légats et des procurateurs. La Syrie des II^e et III^e siècles après J.-C. est divisée en plusieurs provinces, qui ne sont pas le produit de la fantaisie bureaucratique romaine, mais bien l'héritage des traditions d'un passé séculaire. Peu à peu, la lourde et informe Syrie des débuts de la conquête se différencie. L'ancien Empire des Séleucides se désagrège, à partir de Septime-Sévère, en deux provinces suggérées par l'histoire : la Syrie proprement dite ou Coélsyrie, noyau de l'ex-Empire, avec sa florissante tétrapole de capitales, Antioche, Apamée, Laodicée et Séleucie, et les nombreuses villes grecques ou semi-hellénisées du Nord ; la Syrie méridionale, Syrie-Phénicie, comprenant, outre le littoral phénicien, les reines de la route des caravanes, Damas et Palmyre. Une unité administrative à part est formée, avec des interruptions, par la Palestine, dévastée et dépeuplée depuis les terribles épreuves des temps de Vespasien et de Titus, puis de Trajan et d'Hadrien. La politique de la vassalité avait abouti, ici, à un échec. La Palestine ne devint pas grecque sous Hérode et sous les Agrippa, et une Aelia Capitolina ne fut possible sur les ruines de Jérusalem que quand Vespasien, Titus et Adrien eurent compris qu'une Palestine hellénisée ne serait plus la Palestine de Jéhovah.

A la place du royaume des Nabatéens fut constituée sous Trajan la nouvelle province d'Arabie, qui engloba, pour des raisons moins politiques ou stratégiques que commerciales et économiques, les villes et villages du Djebel Druse et du Hauran et quelques villes de Transjordanie, principaux lieux de passage des caravanes.

Enfin, après une série de guerres acharnées et sanglantes avec les Parthes, les Romains enlevèrent à ces derniers la Haute et la Moyenne-Mésopotamie et créèrent dans ce pays de dynastes toujours vassaux de quelqu'un une province, peu sûre et peu durable, de Mésopotamie.

Les frontières de la Syrie Romaine se hérissèrent, contre les Arabes au Sud et contre les Parthes, plus tard les Sassanides au Sud et à l'Est, du fil barbelé de forts et castels romains, occupés chacun par une solide garnison. Les soldats de ces camps, tous enfants depuis Hadrien de cette Syrie qu'ils avaient à défendre, subissaient la dure école de la discipline romaine et, quoique superficiellement, participaient à la civilisation gréco-romaine : puis après leurs vingt ou vingt-cinq ans de service, âgés d'une quarantaine d'années, ils regagnaient leurs villages ou s'établissaient à proximité de leur garnison, riches d'expérience et avec un petit capital composé de leurs économies

et de la somme reçue du gouvernement en guise de retraite. Ces vétérans n'étaient plus des Syriens, de purs indigènes, des Bédouins semi-prolétaires, des serfs des temples ou de l'aristocratie locale : le service militaire leur avait donné des droits — ils étaient citoyens romains — et l'aisance matérielle. Ils formaient dans leur patrie une classe privilégiée de petits propriétaires.

Quelle fut la politique de Rome en Syrie sous l'Empire? Les Romains ont-ils été des colonisateurs et des hellénisateurs et romanisateurs conscients? Ont-ils couvert la Syrie, comme leurs prédécesseurs les Séleucides, d'un réseau de colonies, colonies de soldats, de soldats en puissance, ou d'émigrants de l'Occident? Même les données insuffisantes que nous possédons sur la Syrie romaine nous permettent d'affirmer que telle ne fut pas la politique de Rome. Les émigrants du Nord et de l'Occident, naturellement, n'étaient pas inconnus en Syrie, mais ils étaient peu nombreux et n'ont pas imprimé au pays leur cachet. Les fonctionnaires et officiers romains ne manquaient pas. Même s'ils étaient d'origine syrienne, ils n'étaient en Syrie que des hôtes de passage. Comme leurs successeurs anglais ou français, à de rares exceptions près, ils étaient étrangers à la population indigène.

Des soldats et sous-officiers, il a déjà été question. Depuis Hadrien, nous l'avons dit, presque tous les hommes des unités cantonnées en Syrie étaient natifs de la région. Ni pendant leur service, ni après, ils ne perdaient le contact avec leur patrie. Leur condition sociale, politique et économique, après leur libération, n'était plus celle d'avant, mais ils n'étaient pourtant pas des colons venus du dehors. Leur évolution s'était accomplie en Syrie. C'étaient des Syriens et ils le demeuraient. On peut en penser autant des sous-officiers ; rares étaient ceux qui s'établissaient en Syrie sans y être nés ; la plupart rentraient tôt ou tard dans leur patrie. Ceux qui restaient en Syrie après leur temps de service étaient surtout les originaires du pays.

Le nombre des marchands, industriels et artisans de provenance étrangère, était infime. Comment un Grec, un Italien, un Celte, un Africain auraient-ils rivalisé avec un concurrent du cru? Tout le commerce et toute l'industrie de Palmyre étaient entre les mains des indigènes. Ce fut le contraire qui se produisit : l'Empire n'envoya pas de marchands ni d'artisans en Syrie, mais les marchands syriens inondèrent l'Empire et se répandirent, en groupes fermement unis par la religion et la langue, à travers l'Italie, l'Espagne, la Gaule, la Bretagne, le long du Danube et du Rhin.

Quant à une immigration agricole, inutile d'en parler. Le temps

était passé où l'Italie et la Grèce manquaient de terres et souffraient de surpopulation. Le sol abondait dans l'Ouest et le Nord de l'Empire. Il y avait plutôt disette de main-d'œuvre.

Ainsi, ce ne fut pas par la colonisation que les Romains tentèrent d'helléniser ou de romaniser la Syrie. D'une façon générale, je ne vois pas trace d'hellénisation ni de romanisation conscientes, sauf peut-être au début de l'Empire, quand l'armée de la province ne se recrutait pas encore sur place et que les vétérans établis en Syrie provenaient d'Italie ou de l'Ouest de l'Empire. Néanmoins, durant la période romaine, l'hellénisation et en partie la romanisation firent d'énormes progrès. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de considérer les milliers d'inscriptions trouvées en Syrie. Le nombre des textes sémitiques, sauf à Palmyre, est insignifiant au I^{er}-III^e siècles. La plupart et de beaucoup, sont rédigés en grec, quelques-uns en latin. La langue de la Syrie romaine, de Bostra aux frontières de l'Asie Mineure et d'Antioche à l'Euphrate, était le grec. C'était, en tout cas, la langue écrite, sinon parlée, des millions d'hommes qui habitaient les provinces syriennes soumises. L'enseignement, naturellement, était grec et le resta. Écrire et parler le grec, c'était appartenir à la classe supérieure. Quiconque n'écrivait pas le grec n'écrivait d'ordinaire aucune langue.

Grecque encore était la langue de l'architecture, de la sculpture et de la peinture. L'art ancien, d'avant les Grecs et les Romains, n'avait pas péri. Il était dans le sang de la population. Mais les temples des dieux indigènes étaient construits selon le canon grec à peine orientalisé, décorés de sculptures grecques, médiocres et maladroitement, surtout dans les campagnes et les petites villes, ornés de peintures grecques, dont quelques traits seulement trahissent l'origine orientale et le goût oriental de l'artiste.

Hellénisée comme elle l'était, la Syrie romaine a fait également de grands progrès dans la voie de l'urbanisation, sauf du point de vue politique. Nous verrons plus tard que les nouvelles fondations urbaines ou les transformations des villages en villes sont rares en Syrie à l'époque romaine, surtout dans la Syrie du Nord. Mais les villes et villages de la Syrie de l'époque hellénistique s'agrandirent sous la domination romaine, et ceux des villages qui n'étaient à l'époque hellénistique que des hameaux informes ont été transformés en véritables petites villes, bien bâties, avec de beaux édifices publics, des rues pavées et des marchés bien organisés. Ce sont les ruines encore existantes des villes, villages et temples de la Syrie qui attestent cette transformation rapide.

Je parlerai de ces ruines dans les chapitres suivants. Ici je ne citerai que les exemples les plus frappants. Ce n'est que par l'œuvre romaine que nous pouvons expliquer un phénomène comme la stupéfiante ville sainte de Baalbek (Héliopolis), avec sa suite de temples d'une harmonieuse majesté et d'une curieuse symétrie, avec sa statue colossale de Jupiter Héliopolitain — le Hadad indigène — au centre de la cour de son temple puissant, avec les sculptures exquises du temple de son épouse Atagratis, avec les lignes tendres du temple rond du troisième membre de la Triade sacrée. Seule l'œuvre romaine peut expliquer la merveilleuse vision de l'enceinte du temple d'une petite divinité villageoise, le Jupiter du hameau de Baetocece dans les montagnes qui entourent la cité commerciale phénicienne d'Arad, dans l'actuel Hosn Es Soleiman. Les pierres de cette enceinte sont colossales, les sculptures et les lignes de ses quatre portes exquises, et le petit temple qui est au milieu ferait honneur à n'importe quelle ville de l'Empire. Or, tout cela a été élevé à leurs frais par les modestes cultivateurs et jardiniers d'un village de serfs et de « possédés » du Baal local, maître et seigneur dont le bethyle se dressait dans le saint des saints du temple. J'aurai à parler encore des temples admirables du Hauran. Je mentionnerai ici des tombes monumentales des propriétaires de l'endroit, pour la plupart de simples vétérans, dont les pareils se rencontrent dans toute la Syrie et dont la masse, l'harmonie et l'élégance suscitent encore aujourd'hui l'étonnement et le respect.

Cette grande œuvre romaine en Syrie, comment l'expliquer? Si elle n'était le résultat ni d'une urbanisation ni d'une colonisation systématique, quelle était donc la cause de cette transformation? Il n'y a qu'une explication possible de ce phénomène. C'est la paix romaine, assurée à l'agriculture, à l'industrie et au commerce par l'armée romaine, qui gardait bien les frontières et les voies caravanières, et par l'administration romaine au service des empereurs, de l'Empire et de la patrie qui, du fait de son existence durable, a donné un essor merveilleux et inespéré à l'agriculture, à l'élevage, à la viticulture, au commerce. C'est elle qui a créé la prospérité du pays qui, sous pression administrative, a imposé à la population une existence plus civilisée, plus complexe, plus raffinée, qui, pour le monde ancien, était une existence urbaine à la mode hellénique.

Je me permettrai maintenant, après ce bref exposé historique, de tracer quelques esquisses de la vie et des mœurs de certaines parties, mieux connues que d'autres, de la Syrie romaine.

II

LA SYRIE SEPTENTRIONALE A L'ÉPOQUE ROMAINE

Je l'ai déjà noté, la Syrie septentrionale à l'époque hellénistique était le noyau de l'Empire des Séleucides. La Cyrrestique — avec les cités de Cyrhus et de Berœa, aujourd'hui Alep — les régions d'Antioche et d'Apamée, de Laodicée, rivale d'Antioche, et de Séleucie en Piérie, étaient pour les Anciens une seconde Macédoine, la Macédoine asiatique de l'Oronte et des Séleucides. Cette idée était-elle juste, nous l'ignorons : elle a pour elle les noms macédoniens et dynastiques des villes et le fond grec que conserva la civilisation de toute la Syrie septentrionale jusqu'au VII^e siècle après J.-C. Mais la période hellénistique a laissé là peu de vestiges : ils ont été bientôt dévorés par l'essor des temps romains et byzantins. La pierre est moins durable que l'argile et les briques : toujours utilisable, elle tente les constructeurs et passe d'un édifice à l'autre. Les architectes de l'ère romaine traitèrent les monuments hellénistiques comme des carrières ; les leurs furent traités de même à l'époque byzantine. Ces deux époques, riches et ambitieuses, ne se bornèrent pas à transformer, mais bâtirent du neuf, grattant les ornements et les inscriptions pour graver les leurs à la place. Voilà pourquoi on trouve si peu d'édifices de l'époque hellénistique ou proto-romaine en Syrie ; voilà pourquoi, pour des milliers d'inscriptions de date tardive, on n'en a que quelques dizaines des débuts de la conquête romaine et quelques unités de l'époque hellénistique. Quelques temples font exception : on préférerait construire des églises entièrement neuves, plutôt que de convertir en églises les temples païens. Aussi voit-on souvent, en face de ruines d'églises, des ruines presque intactes de temples païens.

Quoi qu'il en soit, la Syrie hellénistique, même sa capitale Antioche sont pour nous des énigmes. La riche production littéraire de l'hellénisme syrien, qui ne s'était jamais distinguée par ses qualités, n'a pas survécu. Les fouilles pratiquées dans les anciens centres, comme Antioche et Apamée, n'ont encore rien donné et, je le crains, ne donneront jamais rien qui puisse nous éclairer sur l'ère hellénistique de leur histoire.

Nous n'en savons pas davantage de la Syrie proto-romaine. La littérature impériale ne s'y intéresse guère ; la littérature locale, inconsistante, fut éphémère. Peu de ruines à la surface : Baalbek, quelques temples de villages, des ponts et des routes, quelques monuments funé-

raires, voilà tout ce qui a subsisté. Il a été entrepris peu de fouilles. Baalbek a été étudié sérieusement par les Allemands et les Français. Quelques investigations ont été faites à Séleucie en Piérie. Les Belges ont eu de brillants débuts à Apamée. L'extension actuelle de Beyrouth et de Damas a un peu relevé l'idée que nous nous faisons de ces villes à l'époque romaine. Enfin, on a commencé à Antioche des fouilles qui n'ont pas encore apporté grands résultats : le sol spongieux de la vallée de l'Oronte et la longue histoire de la capitale syrienne rendent la tâche malaisée. Tout cela ne suffit naturellement pas à nous éclairer sur la vie de ce pays à l'époque proto-romaine.

Par contre, sur les époques récentes et byzantine nous sommes admirablement documentés. La littérature païenne de Libanius et de Julien ou chrétienne de Jean d'Antioche, les sources de Malalas, partiellement païennes, ont été très répandues et beaucoup lues. Une grande partie est parvenue jusqu'à nous. Dans les régions rocailleuses avoisinant Antioche, Apamée, Beroe (Alep), sur un petit espace en somme, se dressent encore aujourd'hui les ruines fort bien conservées de plus de cent villes, villages, églises et monastères. La Syrie byzantine fut aussi riche et ambitieuse que la romaine, les architectes chrétiens aussi habiles et aussi abondamment pourvus par les donateurs que leurs prédécesseurs païens. La Syrie byzantine est pour nous un livre ouvert, la Syrie romaine un livre clos¹.

A cette époque romaine tardive ou proto-byzantine, voici ce qui nous frappe d'abord. Là où maintenant de maigres hameaux se logent en de vastes ruines, prospéraient jadis des bourgs opulents avec marché — un véritable souk d'aujourd'hui — bains, clubs (on les appelait alors *andron*), églises et monastères de solide appareil et bien ornés, quantité de maisons, fermes, villas, surtout à la périphérie, supposant une vie économique active, des champs cultivés, des vignobles, des jardins d'oliviers, des pâturages au nombreux bétail. Autre preuve éloquente de ce haut degré de prospérité : les monuments funéraires massifs et de formes variées, parfois imprévues, pyramides à large base rectangulaire, piédestaux élégants à deux colonnes, chapelles de style classique, immenses et lourds sarcophages, salles creusées dans le roc

1. Le livre tout récent du P. J. Mattern, S. J., *A travers les villes mortes de Haute-Syrie* (*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, XVII, fasc. 1, 1933), permettra au lecteur de parcourir avec l'auteur les sites archéologiques les plus importants de la Haute-Syrie. La lecture de cet ouvrage peut être complétée par l'étude de la belle publication du voyage archéologique américain à travers la Syrie du Nord : on y trouvera de très belles reproductions de monuments.

et précédées de cours, le tout abondamment orné de sculptures et sans doute de peintures.

A ces villages de la région montagneuse répondaient certainement ceux de la plaine. Mais là, tout était d'argile : des fouilles sont nécessaires pour en faire revivre la physionomie. Des ruines comme celles du grand village d'El Anderin (Anderon) dans le désert, avec ses églises de pierre et ses collines enceintes d'un mur de défense, collines formées de débris de constructions d'argile, donnent à penser que ces villes ou bourgs de terre battue n'étaient pas moins imposants que leurs voisins bâtis de pierre. De pareilles ruines sont rares, car la plupart des agglomérations de la riche plaine qui s'étend au sud d'Alep n'ont pas connu les mêmes interruptions de vie civilisée que la région montagneuse. Sur l'emplacement des habitats antiques, on trouve encore des bourgs ou des villes arabes. C'est partout, dans cette plaine d'Alep, le même phénomène. A côté de l'agglomération moderne, amas de bâtisses d'argile en forme de ruches, se dressent un ou plusieurs monticules ou *tell*, dont l'ouverture nous permet de suivre l'évolution de la vie agricole depuis les temps préhistoriques jusqu'aux époques byzantine et arabe. Peu de ces *tell* ont été fouillés, et encore les archéologues n'y ont-ils cherché que les âges les plus anciens. Périodes hellénistique, romaine et byzantine n'étaient pour eux que des obstacles : ils ne leur ont accordé que peu d'attention.

Les ruines de la zone aux constructions de pierre ajoutent une admirable illustration au tableau social, économique et moral, tracé par les auteurs mentionnés plus haut. Des villes immenses, opulentes : Antioche, Apamée et autres. Une population de négociants et d'industriels, mais surtout de propriétaires fonciers, garnissant de leurs fermes et de leurs villas les centaines, sinon les milliers de villages dépendant de ces villes. Ces riches propriétaires y résidaient de temps à autre : mais c'étaient surtout des fermes, dont les étages inférieurs abritaient pressoirs et caves à vin et à huile, étables, magasins de matériel agricole. Les maîtres et leurs intendants, esclaves ou hommes libres, occupaient les étages supérieurs, spacieux, inondés d'air et de lumière, avec vérandas et balcons supportés par de beaux portiques ou galeries en façade. Rien ne nous dit si ces propriétaires possédaient un grand nombre de serfs, des centaines ou des milliers d'esclaves. Les écrivains du temps parlent souvent des classes inférieures et moyennes, petits artisans, petits marchands, prolétaires urbains, campagnards aux gages des propriétaires riches ou aisés. Nous sommes prévenus de la

de dure condition des ouvriers salariés et des fermiers, de leur mécontentement croissant. Mais de serfs et d'esclaves, pas un mot. Il est clair qu'en Syrie, excepté les domaines des grands temples, avec leurs « possédés », serfs du Dieu, et de leurs successeurs, les églises ou monastères chrétiens, le colonat n'était pas un phénomène courant.

La Syrie était alors fort peuplée, beaucoup plus qu'aujourd'hui. Nous n'avons pas de chiffres, mais il suffit de dresser la liste approximative des lieux habités, de mesurer la superficie des ruines ou seulement de quelques-unes, de visiter les restes fameux de Qalaat Séman, où vécut et enseigna saint Siméon Stylite, avec ses églises colossales et son faubourg de Deir Séman, où des suites de monastères et d'hôtelleries privées ou appartenant aux églises évoquent des milliers de pèlerins, pour avoir une idée de la densité de la population au début de l'époque byzantine. De nos jours, ce n'est pas seulement la zone montagneuse, jadis toute en jardins, vignobles et bosquets d'oliviers, qui s'est vidée, sans doute pour avoir été déboisée par l'inintelligence, la légèreté et le vandalisme de ses habitants ; la plaine a subi le même sort. Bien des champs fertiles sont changés en désert ; ailleurs, l'intensité du travail a diminué, et d'autant le rendement et la densité de la population.

Ce qui précède concerne la Syrie byzantine. Le tableau est-il très différent pour la Syrie romaine des trois premiers siècles après J.-C. ? A certains égards, oui. La Syrie romaine ne songeait pas à la sécurité de ses agglomérations. Sous l'ère byzantine, chaque villa ou groupe de villas est fortifié : le brigandage et les attaques à main armée sévissaient, malgré l'excellente organisation des frontières. Sous les Romains, même les villes n'étaient pas toutes fortifiées ; les ouvrages qu'on y trouve datent d'avant l'Empire, ou bien d'une époque tardive. Les deux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne ont été un temps de paix pour la Syrie septentrionale. Les Parthes, après le 1^{er} siècle et jusqu'aux Sassanides, interrompent leurs incursions. Les Arabes hésitent à prolonger les leurs, depuis qu'elles leur attirent de cruelles représailles. En outre, les Romains, comme aujourd'hui les Français, étaient bien informés de ce qui se passait au désert et avaient remarquablement organisé la protection des routes, dont usaient les Arabes à la fois pour leurs déplacements saisonniers, pour leur commerce et pour leurs razzias. C'étaient des archers et des méharistes indigènes qui servaient dans cette police et les scheiks vassaux de Rome savaient comment pacifier leurs compatriotes.

Nous ne serons pas loin de la vérité, si nous disons que, sous les

autres rapports, la Syrie romaine ressemblait fort à la Syrie byzantine. Nous avons un témoignage, peu clair, il est vrai, sur la densité de la population. Un subordonné du fameux Sulpicius Quirinius, qui fit le recensement bien connu par l'Évangile, avait compté à Apamée 117,000 citoyens, sans doute avec les femmes et les enfants. Une inscription en son honneur nous l'apprend. Évidemment, il ne s'agit pas de la ville seule, mais aussi de tous les villages et villas de son territoire, sans doute fort étendu. On peut donc affirmer que l'époque hellénistique légua à Rome une population dense et aisée. Le recensement laissait d'ailleurs de côté et les indigènes, ouvriers, artisans, etc..., qui n'avaient pas le droit de cité, et les citoyens romains, Syriens ou immigrants, et les soldats de la garnison¹.

J'ai déjà noté que les ruines de la première époque romaine sont rares. Mais les monuments conservés par hasard ne sont ni plus pauvres ni moins imposants que ceux de l'époque chrétienne. Le temple de Baalbek est un digne émule du monastère de saint Siméon. Tels étaient sans doute aussi les grands temples qui n'ont pas survécu, comme celui d'Hiéropolis-Bambyce, décrit par Lucien, ou le grand temple d'Émèse. Les monuments funéraires romains, dont beaucoup sont encore debout, attirant l'attention des touristes et des archéologues, ne le cèdent en rien aux monuments byzantins.

Dans quelle mesure les villas sont-elles caractéristiques de l'époque proto-romaine, c'est difficile à dire. Les quelques données que nous possédons, inscriptions et ruines, permettent de supposer que la propriété foncière était moins concentrée entre les mains d'un petit nombre de propriétaires. L'habitant typique des villages et le propriétaire de l'époque n'était pas le gros capitaliste des capitales, mais le vétéran, l'ancien soldat légionnaire ou auxiliaire, parfois, au début, originaire d'Italie ou des provinces occidentales, parfois, plus tard, indigène, paysan syrien. Rentrés dans leurs foyers ou résolus à s'établir à proximité de leur vieille garnison, ces vétérans consacraient à la terre leur capital, leur expérience et l'instruction reçue sous les en-

1. On trouvera le texte de cette inscription dans Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, n° 2683, ou dans le *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. III, n° 6687. L'inscription, qui a été copiée à Venise au xvii^e siècle, a longtemps passé pour une falsification due à un antiquaire du temps. Mommsen a consacré un article spécial à sa réhabilitation et depuis elle est généralement tenue pour authentique. Les doutes tout récemment exprimés à ce sujet par des savants compétents ne me paraissent pas fondés. Au xvii^e siècle, on ne connaissait pas assez l'organisation militaire romaine pour pouvoir rédiger un texte aussi peu banal, et dont les données ne contredisent pas les notions plus précises que nous avons acquises depuis sur l'organisation militaire de l'Empire romain au 1^{er} siècle après J.-C.

seignes. Ils aimaient leur patrie et en étaient fiers ; ils consacraient d'assez grosses sommes d'argent aux édifices publics, aux temples, à l'adduction d'eau, à l'amélioration des chemins. Le gouvernement répondait à leurs désirs et prêtait à la Syrie ses techniciens et ses experts, membres de cette même armée omnisciente et partout présente.

Comme la Syrie de la première époque byzantine, la Syrie proto-romaine était pays de villages plutôt que de villes. Les villes y étaient rares et la plupart héritées de l'âge hellénistique ou de temps plus reculés encore. Chacune possédait un immense territoire, non seulement celles de création grecque, mais aussi les plus anciennes, les villes-temples qui étaient souvent à la fois villes de caravanes et de commerce, comme Hamath, Epiphania, Émèse. Ce territoire se divisait en un nombre infini de centres ruraux et de hameaux (κώμαι et ἐποικία), dont beaucoup ne le cédaient guère au chef-lieu en éclat et en richesse, par la beauté des édifices publics et des temples. Dans d'autres provinces, où l'Empire encourageait consciemment l'urbanisation, ces bourgs eussent été promus villes. Mais en Syrie septentrionale les Empereurs ne se montrèrent pas urbanisateurs. Ils conservèrent les villes existantes, ils leur conférèrent les droits des cités romaines, mais ils n'en créèrent pas d'autres. Estimaient-ils le pays suffisamment urbanisé par les Séleucides, ou bien voulaient-ils s'attirer ainsi les sympathies des grandes villes, nous l'ignorons. Mais le fait est significatif. Les Empereurs romains n'ont pas partout été urbanisateurs, ni à tout prix. Ils appliquaient à chaque province une politique réfléchie, en rapport avec son passé et son présent¹.

Des autres régions de la Syrie septentrionale, il faut distinguer la Commagène montagneuse, avec son passé gréco-iranien et sa dynastie gréco-iranienne, maintenue jusqu'au moment où, sous les Flaviens, elle fut définitivement changée en partie de province romaine et son territoire divisé entre quatre villes. Nous connaissons mal la Commagène romaine. Elle présentait pour l'Empire un intérêt purement militaire et tous ses édifices de l'époque, par exemple un pont sur le Peilam-son près de Kiahta, en témoignent. Il est probable que la structure économique et sociale du pays, à l'exception de l'urbanisation forcée, demeura celle dont les bases nous sont si bien connues par les inscrip-

1. On trouvera des données sur les villages de la Syrie du Nord dans le livre utile de G. McLean Harper, Jr., *Village administration in Syria* (*Yale Classical Studies*, I, 1928, p. 105 et suiv.) ; dans mon livre sur *l'Histoire sociale et économique de l'Empire romain* (éd. italienne, p. 322 et suiv.) et dans l'article de F. Cumont sur la Syrie romaine, dans *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XI.

tions philosophico-religieuses de son roi, vassal de Rome, Antiochus I^{er} (1^{er} siècle avant J.-C.), qui couvrit toute la Commagène de monuments dédiés à son culte et au culte de ses ancêtres : il prétendait descendre par les hommes de Cyrus et Darius et, par les femmes, d'Alexandre le Grand et Séleucus¹. Aujourd'hui encore, au sommet du Nemroud-dagh, se dresse son tertre funéraire, avec, sur ses deux flancs, les plates-formes sacrées à ciel ouvert où il vénérait ses dieux gréco-iraniens (Ormuzd-Zeus, Mithra-Apollon, Artagn-Héraclès) et ses aïeux gréco-iraniens.

Les ordres concernant l'établissement de ce culte dynastique contiennent nombre d'indications sur la vie et la structure du pays. Un roi-prêtre, maître du pays et propriétaire du sol, des temples propriétaires d'esclaves mâles et femelles, des villages de serfs, voilà les traits essentiels du régime économique et social de la Commagène avant l'arrivée des Romains. Quelles modifications y apporta l'urbanisation romaine, nous l'ignorons ; mais ce qui est certain, c'est que le pays ne fut jamais profondément ni essentiellement hellénisé et urbanisé. Comme ses voisins le Pont et la Cappadoce, il resta un pays de champs, de bois et de pâturages, de pasteurs, chasseurs et cultivateurs, de temples, de grands domaines et de villages.

III

PHÉNICIE, PALESTINE, LIBAN ET ANTILIBAN, TRANSJORDANIE

Les grandes cités phéniciennes de la côte : Arad, Byblos, Beryte, Sidon et Tyr, ont depuis longtemps perdu leur caractère purement phénicien. Déjà avant Alexandre, des relations commerciales ininterrompues avec la Grèce avaient eu pour conséquences l'installation dans ces villes de beaucoup de Grecs et leur hellénisation : le vieux penchant de l'Égée vers la Syrie ne s'était jamais démenti, il acquit une vigueur nouvelle sous la monarchie perse, surtout dans les périodes d'affaiblissement de l'élément iranien, quand la tendance universaliste prédominait sur la tendance nationaliste. L'époque hellénistique ne fut pas particulièrement favorable à la Phénicie : sous les Ptolémées, ses villes se trouvèrent incapables de concurrencer Alexandrie ; quant aux Séleucides, ils préféraient diriger le commerce sur leurs ports dynastiques

1. Les inscriptions d'Antiochus I^{er} de Nemroud Dagh et d'autres lieux de la Commagène ont été réimprimées tout récemment par L. Jalabert et R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, I (1929).

du centre de l'Empire, Laodicée et Séleucie. Les villes phéniciennes conservaient d'ailleurs leur rôle militaire, et Sidon fut toujours le point d'appui des Séleucides sur la côte. Bientôt cependant, sous la pression de Rome, ils furent obligés de faire, ici encore, une concession aux exigences décentralisatrices et d'accorder aux cités maritimes une autonomie quasi absolue.

A l'époque impériale, les villes phéniciennes participèrent naturellement aux bienfaits de la *pax romana*. C'est alors que Sidon redevint non seulement un grand centre commercial, mais aussi et surtout un centre de grande industrie. Elle inonda un moment les marchés impériaux de son verre, qui, comme de juste, régnait en Syrie malgré la concurrence des fabriques locales de moindre envergure. Si singulier que ce soit, personne n'a encore songé à opérer une classification sérieuse des verres syriens, à établir leur chronologie, à préciser les centres de production. Les marques de Sidon peuvent rendre ici de grands services. Non moins remarquable était l'industrie des tissus, surtout de pourpre : jusqu'à une époque tardive, les produits de Sidon n'ont pas eu de concurrents. Les découvertes de Palmyre et de Doura nous donnent une idée assez précise des tissus de l'époque romaine. Les riches étoffes de Chine allant en Occident passaient par Palmyre et une partie y restait : il serait instructif de savoir s'il n'y avait pas un courant inverse d'Occident en Orient, dont les témoins pourraient être les objets du 1^{er} siècle après J.-C. trouvés récemment dans les tumuli de Mongolie¹. Enfin, une troisième spécialité phénicienne, les bijoux d'or et d'argent ornés de pierres précieuses, resta florissante sous les Romains. Il faut regretter qu'on ait si peu étudié la joaillerie syrienne des périodes hellénistique et romaine : les matériaux ne manquent pas. On les trouve, dans les grands musées d'Europe et d'Amérique, noyés dans la masse des objets analogues d'autres provenances ; mais les musées syriens ne contiennent que des articles syriens et, pour la plupart, de travail manifestement syrien. En les confrontant avec les riches collections d'articles égyptiens d'Alexandrie et du Caire, on pourrait reconnaître les particularités des uns et des autres et leur place relative sur les marchés européens aux diverses époques.

La Phénicie exportait des produits manufacturés à la fois vers l'Occident, sur les marchés méditerranéens, et vers l'Orient, en Syrie, en

1. Sur les tissus de Palmyre et de Doura de l'époque romaine, voir R. Pfister, *Textiles de Palmyre*, 1934, et *Rev. des Arts asiatiques*, 8 (1934) ; p. 84 et suiv., comparer son analyse des textiles de Doura dans *Yale Dura Expedition, preliminary Report*, VI (en cours de publication).

Mésopotamie et peut-être plus loin encore, chez les Parthes, dans l'Inde et en Chine. Les industriels phéniciens étaient bien servis par les marchands phéniciens. Leur activité ne se ralentit pas sous les Romains. La preuve en est dans la diaspora commerciale phénicienne en Occident, dans les colonies tyriennes et sidoniennes de tous les grands centres commerçants de l'Empire, et aussi dans la diffusion des cultes phéniciens et syriens, celui d'Adonis principalement.

La politique des Romains sur le littoral phénicien ne nous paraît pas claire. Ils choisirent pour centre, pour appui de leur domination, non pas une ville ancienne et riche, mais l'insignifiante Béryte (Beyrouth), qui se trouva romanisée dès les débuts de la conquête, devint colonie romaine et résidence de nombre de vétérans romains des trois légions de Syrie.

N'oublions pas que les villes en Phénicie n'étaient que la façade : par derrière s'étendaient leurs vastes territoires, avec des centaines de villages, des jardins, des vignobles, des plantations d'oliviers. Cet hinterland s'enfonçait fort loin dans les monts du Liban et de l'Antiliban. Le territoire de Sidon rejoignait celui de Damas, autre grand centre industriel et commercial.

Le détail du régime économique et social de la Phénicie nous échappe, malheureusement. Peu d'inscriptions hellénistiques et romaines. Vestiges architecturaux partout, à Byblos, à Sidon, à Béryte et plus loin vers le Nord, mais dispersés et peu étudiés. Il ne ressort pas de là un tableau de la vie phénicienne. Au-dessous gisent les restes de la Phénicie phénicienne : au désespoir des archéologues, les colonnes romaines se dressent sur les ruines d'époques plus anciennes.

Le prolongement direct de la Macédoine des Séleucides vers le Sud était la région comprise entre le Liban et l'Antiliban, la riche vallée et les pentes des montagnes. Cette région se rattache étroitement à la Palestine et à la Décapole au Sud, à l'Est au territoire de Damas, au Nord à celui d'Apamée. Elle n'a jamais joué un grand rôle dans l'histoire de la Syrie, mais posséder cette partie de la Coélesyrie était tentant : elle était riche et située sur les grandes routes des caravanes. Voilà pourquoi tant de guerres de l'époque hellénistique sont en rapport avec la Coélesyrie et pourquoi elle est si souvent nommée dans nos sources. Elle n'a jamais donné naissance à de grands centres politiques ou intellectuels. Abilène et Chalcis étaient de petites villes passant de mains en mains. Aux époques hellénistique et romaine, le pouvoir était détenu soit par des dynastes vassaux d'un centre, soit par des princes d'un calibre supérieur, protégés par Rome, comme les Iduméens de Palestine, sur-

tout les derniers, Agrippa I^{er} et Agrippa II. De Rome également dépendaient les Ituréens, demi-sauvages, dont nous connaissons un dynaste, Sohème : les Romains, dès leur arrivée, recrutèrent chez eux leurs meilleures troupes d'archers à cheval.

Mais, pour les contemporains, Abilène et Chalcis étaient bien au-dessous de la fameuse Héliopolis (Baalbek), où s'élèvent encore aujourd'hui les ruines imposantes du quartier sacré. Le modeste temple d'un petit village des temps hellénistique et préhellénistique devint dès les premières années de l'Empire romain un des plus vastes sanctuaires de la Syrie, au point de frapper l'imagination des générations suivantes comme celle des contemporains. Comment l'expliquer? Pourquoi le gouvernement romain s'efforça-t-il de porter Héliopolis au premier plan, d'helléniser son culte local, d'en faire un des principaux cultes de l'Empire? Ce ne fut pas l'œuvre des soldats, comme pour le dieu de l'Anatolie méridionale et de la Syrie septentrionale, Jupiter de Doliché : le Jupiter d'Héliopolis fut créé par les autorités romaines. Autour du temple fut installée, dès le début du 1^{er} siècle après J.-C., une forte colonie de vétérans et Héliopolis conserva jusqu'à la fin son cachet non pas gréco-syrien, mais latino-syrien. Depuis lors, Empereurs romains et rois ou tyrans indigènes, leurs vassaux, ne cessent d'agrandir le temple, de le décorer de sculptures et de peintures. Les Romains voulurent-ils avoir à Héliopolis un élément de liaison entre leur armée et les dieux ou la population indigènes? Voulurent-ils, aux sources de l'Oronte, répéter la politique des Ptolémées en Égypte : fonder un culte parallèle à celui de Sérapis et de leur dieu militaire, Héron, quoique dans d'autres conditions et sous un autre aspect? En tout cas, Baalbek en Syrie n'a pas son pareil : on sent derrière lui un grand dessein politique poursuivi par Auguste et ses premiers successeurs.

Après la côte de Phénicie vient celle de Palestine. Toujours, depuis les grandes dynasties d'Égypte et la domination dans ces parages des Philistins constructeurs de villes, cette partie maritime s'est distinguée nettement de la Palestine continentale. Méditerranéenne, elle était fortement égéïsée et l'est restée jusqu'aujourd'hui. Ses grands ports rivalisaient avec ceux de Phénicie : le plus méridional, Gaza, ne leur était pas inférieur pour la richesse et l'esprit d'entreprise. Au contraire, ses dirigeants avaient tenté bien des fois d'entraîner la Palestine continentale dans le courant de l'évolution de la Syrie : ils avaient toujours échoué. L'enthousiasme nationaliste des Juifs triomphait des influences assimilatrices, fût-ce au prix de l'extermination de la plupart des habitants ou de leur transport forcé dans d'autres pays d'Orient, et là

encore ils ne se fondaient jamais avec les indigènes. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de parler de la domination égyptienne en Palestine, des relations entre la Palestine et les Philistins, de la politique de l'Assyrie, de la Néo-Babylonie et de la Perse à son endroit.

Il y eut à l'époque hellénistique deux essais d'hellénisation de la Palestine.

Les Ptolémées d'Égypte agirent lentement et prudemment, mais n'hellénisèrent pas la Palestine. Quand elle passa, sous Antiochus III, sous le pouvoir de la Syrie, le problème se posa intact devant les Séleucides. Ils ne voulaient ni ne pouvaient tolérer ce corps étranger dans leur empire. Il fallait à tout prix l'intégrer à la civilisation et à la vie du littoral urbanisé et hellénisé d'une part, de la Coélesyrie et de la Transjordanie de l'autre. Mais Antiochus III et Antiochus IV y perdirent leur peine. La révolte nationale contre cette hellénisation forcée entraîna des guerres sanglantes et prolongées qui, à leur tour, causèrent une violente réaction, encouragée par les Romains, contre l'hellénisme en général. A la tête du mouvement étaient les dirigeants de la Palestine, les Asmonéens, dont les derniers cependant modérèrent la tendance nationaliste, antihellénique.

Lorsque les Romains furent maîtres de la Syrie et eurent évincé leurs rivaux Séleucides, la question palestinienne s'imposa aussi à eux. Pas plus que leurs prédécesseurs, ils ne pouvaient souffrir l'existence d'un royaume fanatiquement nationaliste enclavé dans leur province syrienne hellénisée. Il fallait, d'une façon ou de l'autre, le faire entrer dans le rang, lui apprendre la souplesse et l'obéissance. Rome tenta maintes fois d'y arriver sans guerre, ni effusions de sang, ni expulsions cruelles. D'abord l'Iduméen Hérode, prince habile et sans scrupule, s'attela à la tâche. On lui faisait confiance pour urbaniser et helléniser la Palestine. Il put, en effet, fonder quantité de centres urbains étrangers au pays, dont les plus brillants furent Césarée sur la côte et Samarie-Sébaste à l'intérieur ; les ruines de cette dernière attirent encore l'attention des touristes et sont l'objet de fouilles actives. Il put apporter la prospérité, procurer quelques années de paix. Mais les Juifs le haïssaient. Après sa mort, les Romains essayèrent encore de gouverner la Palestine par le canal d'un ethnarque, puis ils jugèrent préférable d'en faire une province, comme le désirait d'ailleurs une partie de la population. Ils espéraient sans doute qu'Hérode obtiendrait les mêmes résultats que les Mithridatides dans le Pont, les Attalides à Pergame, les Prusias et les Nicomède en Bithynie, Amyntas en Galatie, les Antiochus en Commagène. Mais l'expérience montra qu'Hérode n'avait travaillé qu'en

surface : il n'avait pas changé la psychologie des Juifs. Alors on revint au système de la vassalité, avec un roi ami de Rome, mais non hellénisateur, Agrippa I^{er}. Nouvel échec. Une nouvelle annexion de la Palestine à la Syrie, après la mort d'Agrippa, aboutit à une catastrophe. Il fallut, sous Néron, Vespasien et Titus, puis de nouveau sous Trajan et Hadrien, recourir à la politique de l'Assyrie et de Babylone : extermination et déportation.

Il n'y eut donc pas de Palestine urbanisée et hellénisée, jusqu'à une époque romaine avancée et jusqu'à Byzance, quand les Juifs ne formèrent plus en Palestine qu'une infime minorité. Le pays resta ce qu'il était : un pays d'agriculture et de petite industrie, divisé en des milliers de villages autour d'un temple chef-lieu et d'une capitale-temple, Jérusalem, avec un seul dirigeant, le grand prêtre de Jéhovah. Le Palestinien typique, c'est le petit cultivateur ou le petit artisan. Aux époques d'urbanisation forcée et d'hellénisation surgissent en face de lui les grands propriétaires et les riches collecteurs de tributs. Mais chaque réaction contre l'hellénisme est aussi une révolte contre ces aristocrates : mouvement autant religieux et politique que social ou économique. Quand les Juifs eurent disparu, une autre structure se fit jour : vétérans romains, domaines impériaux, grands propriétaires urbains résidant dans le pays ou en dehors, avec leurs terres et leurs luxueuses villas. Mais c'était une Palestine nouvelle, la Terre sainte, avec la Sainte-Croix, les pèlerins, les églises et monastères en construction¹.

A l'Est, la Palestine est contiguë à la Transjordanie actuelle, prolongement méridional, comme je l'ai dit, de la Coelézyrie hellénisée et urbanisée. La liaison étroite de la Transjordanie avec la Coelézyrie d'un côté et la Galilée de l'autre se reflète dans la terminologie géopolitique. Les anciens géographes traitent la Transjordanie soit du point de vue de la Palestine : c'est alors la Pérée, le « pays d'au-delà » ; soit comme « le groupe des dix cités » : la Décapole. Quelles étaient ces cités et jusqu'où leur domaine s'étendait au Nord et à l'Ouest, ils n'en avaient qu'une idée vague. Il n'existait donc pas de frontière politique ou économique marquée entre la Coelézyrie et la Galilée d'une part, la Transjordanie de l'autre.

Ce qui est évident, c'est que les villes de la Décapole portaient les uns des noms indigènes, les autres des noms grecs et macédoniens : Pella, Dion, Gadara, Abilène, Philadelphie, Gérasa sur le Chrysoroas,

1. Sur l'urbanisation et l'hellénisation de la Palestine et de l'Iturée, voir A. H. M. Jones, dans le *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1931, p. 78 et suiv., et p. 265 et suiv.

alias Antioche des Geraséniens. Les plus grandes et les plus florissantes furent plus tard les deux dernières. Quand ces villes apparurent-elles comme telles, nous l'ignorons. D'après des renseignements assez imprécis et peu sûrs, elles auraient été fondées par Alexandre ou ses successeurs immédiats. Le sens de ces fondations, si ces témoignages sont vrais, nous échappe. Peut-être cette chaîne de villes était-elle destinée à favoriser l'entrée de l'Arabie septentrionale dans l'Empire d'Alexandre ou de ses épigones. Nous savons qu'un des représentants de la tradition d'Alexandre, Antigone le Cyclope, tenta sans succès cette entreprise.

Il est possible que seules remontent aux débuts de la période hellénistique les villes du groupe nord-ouest, voisin de la Galilée et de la Cœlésyrie. Le nom grec de Rabbath Ammon, la vieille capitale des Ammonites, qui est Philadelphie, ainsi que divers documents du temps de Philadelphie, tendent à faire admettre que le premier essai d'hellénisation des régions plus méridionales fut l'œuvre des Ptolémées, désireux de se fortifier sur l'antique route des caravanes de Pétra à Damas. En tout cas, la Philadelphie du second Ptolémée était une ville hybride. A côté d'une colonie militaire grecque, on y voyait un puissant cheik indigène, vassal des Ptolémées. Existait-il alors une situation analogue chez les Geraséniens, voisins au Nord des Ammonites, nous n'en savons rien. Le nom grec de leur ville, Antioche, la ferait plutôt croire plus récente, de l'époque où l'héritage des Ptolémées en Transjordanie passa aux Séleucides et où les deux grands desseins de ceux-ci furent de border la Palestine à l'Est d'un cordon de colonies macédoniennes et de tenir solidement la route commerciale de Pétra vers le Nord et l'Ouest.

Vers la fin des Séleucides, l'hellénisme périclita. Les Macchabées dans leur insurrection, puis les Asmonéens soumièrent la Transjordanie à leur influence : ils y firent une politique cruelle et décidée, pour tuer l'hellénisme tout au moins dans une partie de la Décapole. Il fut sauvé par les Romains, qui jadis avaient aidé les Juifs à l'étrangler. Sous Pompée, les cités grecques de la Transjordanie furent proclamées libres et autonomes, c'est-à-dire cités de l'Empire romain en la province de Syrie. Pompée continuait à cet égard Antiochus III et Antiochus IV. Libérée de la domination juive, la Décapole se rapprocha du royaume nabatéen, maintenant vassal de Rome, et sans doute les villes les plus intéressées au commerce arabe, Philadelphie et Gerasa, entrèrent-elles dans le grand État syro-arabe des rois nabatéens, tandis que la partie liée à la Galilée dépendait des dynastes iduméens de Palestine, Hérode et son successeur en Galilée et Pérée, Hérode Anti-

pas. Alors, et surtout depuis Auguste et Tibère, commence la prospérité de la Décapole. Gêrasa et Philadelphie deviennent de grands centres commerciaux, boucliers de l'hellénisme en Syrie méridionale, pendants orientaux des villes de la Palestine hérodiennne. Dans les moments de fermentation en Palestine, les villes de Transjordanie se transformaient en places d'armes romaines. Après la destruction de Jérusalem par Titus, les Flaviens se préoccupèrent d'accroître dans leur population l'élément impérial. Elles ne furent plus seulement le siège de garnisons romaines considérables, mais virent s'installer chez elles un grand nombre de vétérans.

L'annexion de l'Arabie à l'Empire, sous Trajan, trouva les villes de Transjordanie déjà riches et florissantes. Dans l'atmosphère de paix créée par ce prince, communiquant avec les grands centres du commerce des caravanes par d'excellentes routes pavées, protégées par l'armée romaine et pourvues d'eau, elles continuèrent naturellement à se développer. On en a une preuve éloquente dans les ruines somptueuses de Gêrasa et de Philadelphie.

Nous savons peu de chose de la Transjordanie. Une seule de ses villes a été plus ou moins étudiée : Gêrasa. Tout le reste nous est *terra incognita*, même Amman, la capitale du nouveau royaume de Transjordanie. Gêrasa, d'abord cité de la province romaine de Syrie, puis annexée à l'Arabie, ne se distingue guère des autres cités prospères et opulentes de Syrie. Même schéma municipal : le système grec, adapté au régime indigène des clans ; même rôle considérable des vétérans ; mêmes cultes locaux hellénisés ; mêmes édifices publics et religieux¹.

Les villes transjordaniennes s'appuyaient-elles aussi sur des centaines de villages dispersés à travers leur territoire, nous ne saurions le dire. La Transjordanie, région pauvre aujourd'hui à tous égards, était-elle aussi bien cultivée que la Syrie septentrionale, nous ne le savons pas davantage. Cependant, il est caractéristique qu'en dehors des villes nous n'ayons pour ainsi dire pas trouvé de ruines un peu imposantes : rien qui rappelle cette abondance de vestiges de villages et de fermes que nous connaissons en Syrie et sur lesquels nous reviendrons en parlant du Hauran et du Djebel Druse. Et pourtant c'est un pays rocheux où l'on construit surtout en pierre. Peut-être, malgré tout, cette impression est-elle fautive. La Transjordanie est encore mal étudiée : seule une carte archéologique précise, fondée sur de nombreuses photo-

1. On trouvera des données plus abondantes sur Gêrasa dans mon livre *The Caravan Cities*, 1932, p. 55 et suiv. (consulter aussi l'édition italienne de ce livre. Bari, 1933).

graphies aériennes, nous permettra de dire avec certitude si l'urbanisation et l'hellénisation se sont, ici aussi, accompagnées d'un essor de tout le pays ou bien si les villes grecques sont restées des oasis agricoles et commerciales dans une mer d'éleveurs nomades.

IV

SYRIE MÉRIDIONALE : BATANÉE, AURANITIDE ET TRACHONITIDE, AUJOURD'HUI HAURAN, DJEBEL DRUSE ET LEDJA

A l'Est de la Décapole, au Sud du territoire de Damas, s'étend un pays vallonné et rocailleux, pays de pierres noires et de noires bâtisses, le Hauran et le Djebel Druse actuels avec leur prolongement, le Ledja semi-désertique. Le Hauran et le Djebel Druse sont maintenant assez bien cultivés et relativement très peuplés. La plaine de Deraa donne de riches moissons ; les collines rocheuses de la région montagneuse, passablement arrosées, sont couvertes de jardins et de vignes. De leurs grappes on ne tire pas de vin : les habitants n'en boivent pas et ne s'estiment pas en droit d'en fabriquer. Les innombrables pressoirs qu'on rencontre, successeurs de ceux de l'antiquité, servent à obtenir une sorte de pâte de jus de raisin. Aujourd'hui comme sous les Turcs, le centre militaire et administratif est Soueida, ville en progrès rapide. Elle a pour rivale dans la vallée Deraa. Tout le reste n'est que petits villages assez misérables.

Le Hauran et le Djebel Druse, comme la Syrie septentrionale, sont un Eldorado pour les archéologues et les touristes amateurs de ruines intéressantes et romantiques. Les villages actuels se sont nichés dans les vestiges spacieux, admirablement conservés, des anciennes villes ou villages. Longtemps cette région fut un quasi-désert, sans population sédentaire. Depuis l'arrivée des Druses du Liban, les choses ont changé, en mieux pour le pays, en pis pour les savants. Les ruines ont servi de carrières aux nouveaux horticulteurs, qui ne se gênent pas pour renverser les monuments, malgré la présence des autorités françaises. Ce qui a contribué encore à ces destructions, c'est la dernière insurrection des Druses, qui ont sauvagement anéanti le curieux musée, alors naissant, de Soueida¹.

1. On trouvera de belles reproductions et descriptions des ruines du Hauran et du Djebel Druse dans les volumes de Brunnow-Domaszewski sur la province de l'Arabie et de Butler. Plusieurs ruines qui existaient, encore bien conservées, lors de leurs voyages, par exemple celles de Sia, ne sont maintenant que d'informes amas de pierres. Un beau catalogue du musée

A la différence de la Transjordanie, le Hauran et le Djebel Druse n'ont pas été touchés par la civilisation grecque à l'époque hellénistique. Il n'a été fondé là aucune colonie macédonienne. Le pays était habité par des Arabes semi-nomades et des troglodytes semi-sauvages vivant de brigandage organisé. Sous l'influence de la paix romaine, les nomades commencèrent à se fixer et à se construire des demeures permanentes. En tant que marches frontières laissées intactes par la civilisation grecque, la Batanée, l'Auranitide et la Trachonitide furent confiées à des princes vassaux. La civilisation fut apportée par les rois nabatéens du 1^{er} siècle après J.-C. et la dynastie iduméenne de Palestine. Les Nabatéens étaient surtout préoccupés d'établir des relations sûres et directes entre Pétra d'une part, Damas et Palmyre de l'autre. Pour cela, ils fondèrent la première ville du Hauran, centre du commerce des caravanes et siège d'une forte garnison, Bostra. En même temps, les vassaux palestiniens de Rome s'efforcent de faire de cette contrée un pays de paysans sédentaires. Nous savons, par Josèphe et par des fragments de deux édits d'Agrippa et de l'empereur Claude, comment une combinaison d'expéditions militaires et d'encouragements au travail de la terre fixa la population et comment les premiers monuments architecturaux, les temples de Sia, remplacèrent les anciens sanctuaires des montagnes.

Une nouvelle époque débute avec l'annexion du royaume nabatéen à l'Empire, au même moment où l'on faisait un effort décisif pour helléniser la Palestine et la soumettre à des magistrats romains. Les anciennes pistes de Pétra à Damas et Palmyre sont transformées en splendides voies romaines, pavées, protégées par un cordon de postes et abondamment approvisionnées d'eau. Bostra n'est plus seulement un centre commercial, rival de Pétra, c'est encore le noyau de l'occupation militaire romaine, un véritable camp de la 3^e légion Cyrénienne, reliant entre eux les divers postes de la frontière d'Arabie : curieux mélange de ville de caravanes et de camp romain, dont la topographie et les monuments nous sont encore mal connus. Ses ruines frappent néanmoins par leurs dimensions et leur luxe, surtout un immense et magnifique théâtre dans les débris duquel se sont installées une forteresse arabe et aujourd'hui les casernes de la garnison française.

Avec Trajan, Bostra ne se contente plus d'être le chef-lieu de la province d'Arabie — Nova Traiana Bostra — elle diffuse la vie sédentaire

de Soueida, qui contient aussi la description et la reproduction des monuments détruits par les Druses, a été publié tout récemment par M. Dunand, *Le musée de Soueida*. Paris, 1934.

dans toutes les directions. Ses riches marchands, descendants des chefs des tribus arabes environnantes, et les vétérans romains des légions ou des cohortes auxiliaires, d'origine le plus souvent syrienne depuis Hadrien, forment une aristocratie municipale et accaparent les terrains autour de la ville. Le titre de sénateur de Bostra confère une sorte de noblesse provinciale.

L'occupation militaire, qui procura à la nouvelle province la sécurité et nombre de colons hellénisés ou légèrement romanisés munis de capitaux suffisants pour posséder ou cultiver le sol, et le commerce des caravanes, en pleine prospérité dans cette atmosphère de paix, modifièrent radicalement l'aspect économique et social du pays. Les tribus, clans ou familles arabes commencent à se fixer, à construire des villages, puis des édifices publics et des temples, à capter dans de vastes bassins l'eau des sources pour la conserver et la répartir entre les habitants. Les pacages rocailleux se changent en jardins et en vignobles, la vaste steppe en champs fertiles. Il se constitue, avec le concours de l'administration, un type original de self-government familial et villageois. Les anciennes tribus se désagrègent en communes, κοινά et δήμοι. Les petites agglomérations reçoivent le nom de κώμη, les plus importantes se glorifient de celui de μητροκωμία. A la tête d'un κοινόν sont des magistrats élus, nommés au IV^e siècle πιστοί, hommes de confiance, et plus anciennement σύνδικοι, διοικηταί ou juges, administrateurs. Il se forme une espèce de conseil municipal, κοινον βούλιον : comme la ville, le bourg a son sénat ! Au centre de chaque village, se trouve le principal temple du dieu ou de la déesse de l'endroit, propriétaire de terres et d'esclaves, détenteur de gros revenus, siège d'une administration très influente et assez compliquée. Les trésoriers sacrés y jouent le rôle essentiel. Hors des villages, dans les lieux saints consacrés de toute antiquité aux grands dieux arabes, l'autel à ciel ouvert est remplacé par de grands sanctuaires, ensembles d'édifices luxueusement ornés qui attirent des milliers de pèlerins. La population villageoise est le réservoir où se recrute l'armée romaine, sert dans les légions et les cohortes auxiliaires. Les vétérans libérés, désormais citoyens romains, rentrent chez eux avec leurs économies et la somme rondelette touchée en guise de retraite ; ils placent leur capital en maisons, terres, troupeaux, vignes, jardins : ils forment l'aristocratie de l'endroit, s'ajoutant aux vétérans des classes plus âgées et rivalisant avec les familles de leurs anciens scheiks. Tout ce monde est plein de patriotisme local. Il fait des dons généreux pour les besoins publics : c'est à lui que nous devons ces mo-

numents dont l'élégance et les formes harmonieuses étonnent encore le voyageur. C'est à eux et à des centaines d'architectes, *οικοδόμοι*, fiers de leur profession et n'oubliant jamais de mentionner leur nom sur les inscriptions, que l'art de bâtir doit ce style ornemental original que nous retrouvons dans tous les monuments du Hauran : temples, chapelles, édifices publics, demeures privées.

Telle est la situation à l'intérieur, dans les contrées arrosées et fertiles. Sur la limite du désert et dans le Ledja safaita, il en va autrement. Là prédominent toujours la vie nomade, l'élevage et les clans. Pourtant ces nomades ne sont plus ceux de jadis. Sous l'œil vigilant de l'administration romaine, sous la menace constante des expéditions de représailles, ils modifient leurs habitudes. De brigands, ils se font gendarmes. Leurs cheiks reçoivent le titre grec de stratèges, ou bien un officier romain est nommé cheik, et toute la tribu, au service de Rome, défend les parties civilisées de la province contre les incursions de ses compatriotes, les nomades du désert. Parmi ces tribus, beaucoup se fixent, construisent des villages, cultivent des champs. Leurs anciens chefs militaires deviennent leurs magistrats suprêmes, tout en conservant certaines de leurs fonctions militaires. Au lieu de gardes-frontières, elles fournissent à Rome des méharistes et des cavaliers : Rome les utilisera, sous le nom de *numeri* ou de *gentiles*, non seulement là, mais sur d'autres frontières de son Empire. Il est probable qu'au début de l'occupation, sous les Agrippa et les Nabatéens, ce fut aussi l'histoire de bien des villages de l'intérieur, parfois transformés en villes. La survivance du titre de stratège, chez les magistrats de quelques villes et villages de l'Arabie romaine, semble en témoigner.

Nombre de gros bourgs d'Arabie se métamorphosent peu à peu en villes. Pourtant dans la province romaine d'Arabie les villes sont rares et ne jouent pas un rôle essentiel. C'est toujours un pays de villages plutôt que de villes, et celles-ci ne sont d'ordinaire que de grands villages. Bostra reste la plus peuplée et la plus riche, la ville arabe par excellence. Petit à petit viennent se joindre à elle des formations nouvelles, les plus gros villages des grandes routes de caravanes, les plus gros centres de l'occupation militaire, qui reçoivent de Rome le nom de ville avec une municipalité urbaine. Soada, riche localité de vigneron, est promue ville dès le 11^e siècle. De même Adraa, grand poste militaire et croisement de routes. De même Kanatha, Aere, et plus tard d'autres encore, mais en nombre limité.

Le régime de ces villes, comme celui de Palmyre et des villes de Mésopotamie, présente d'ailleurs, par rapport aux autres cités de l'Em-

pire, plusieurs particularités. Certaines sont empruntées aux cités voisines de Transjordanie, par exemple les proèdres, ou maires, et les collèges de *συνάρχοντες* ; d'autres offrent un bizarre mariage du régime des clans et du régime municipal, spécial à l'Arabie et aux villes semi-arabes de Syrie, comme Palmyre. Ainsi la division de la population et du territoire en *φυλαί* (les anciennes tribus), le rôle dévolu à ces *φυλαί* et à leurs chefs dans le conseil municipal, qui est, en somme, le conseil des scheiks des tribus ou clans. La tradition familiale n'est pas moins forte dans la vie privée : les appellations romaines s'acclimatent malaisément, même quand Caracalla accorde le droit de cité romaine à tous les habitants des villes et sans doute aussi des villages, même quand nombre de villes d'Arabie reçoivent des mains de Sévère Alexandre et de Philippe le titre de colonies. Même alors, au lieu du triple nom romain, les aristocrates d'Arabie préfèrent employer le seul cognomen avec le nom du père.

Dans ce milieu gréco-arabe, dans cette série de riches villages-villes ou villes-villages, les ruines de Chahba, l'antique Philippopolis, produisent une impression singulière. Elles sont admirablement conservées : on voit encore là un délicieux théâtre, plusieurs temples, d'immenses thermes, les restes d'un édifice spacieux et monumental ressemblant à un palais, des murailles entourant de tous les côtés le carré de la ville et, dans ces murs, des portes imposantes d'où partent vers le centre des rues rectilignes et larges se coupant à angle droit. Un vrai camp romain. Le même plan se retrouve, il est vrai, à Bostra. Mais la Bostra romaine est effectivement un camp fortifié : pour elle, cette configuration est logique. Philippopolis, au contraire, avait toujours été un village, sans garnison romaine sérieuse. Et ses ruines ont je ne sais quoi d'inaccoutumé pour l'Arabie, un style qui n'est pas entièrement celui du Hauran. On dirait une Rome en miniature transportée au fond de l'Arabie, avec beaucoup de traits d'une architecture et d'une ornementation décadentes.

L'explication est simple : le village qui devint plus tard la « ville de Philippe » (nous ignorons son nom primitif), de même que beaucoup de ses pareils, servait de résidence à une famille d'anciens cheiks, qui avait conservé sa fortune et son influence sur la population. Les membres de cette famille étaient sans aucun doute citoyens romains et beaucoup avaient passé par l'armée romaine. Les Julii — c'était leur nom — appartenaient à l'aristocratie provinciale des chevaliers romains, au moins depuis Septime-Sévère. A la faveur des troubles du III^e siècle, l'aîné de la gens, Julius Marinus, devint une espèce de tyran

de village, se livra à des attaques contre les caravanes et autres entreprises du même ordre, coutumières pour les scheiks indépendants. Aussi les sources romaines hostiles à son fils le traitent-elles de chef de brigands. Ses fils, Julius Philippus et Julius Priscus, servirent cependant dans l'armée romaine et s'élevèrent jusqu'aux degrés supérieurs de la carrière équestre. Tous deux étaient des hommes de talent. Dans les temps agités qui suivirent Alexandre-Sévère, quand le trône fut occupé par Gordien III, un enfant sous le nom de qui gouvernait son beau-père Timésithée, et que gendre et beau-père se trouvèrent en Mésopotamie en guerre contre les Parthes, Julius Philippus, vaillant officier, connaissant bien le pays, fut le bras droit de Timésithée. Pour le malheur de Gordien III, celui-ci mourut subitement. A sa place, Gordien nomma Philippe. L'Arabe fut ébloui. Il était près de l'armée d'Orient, plus près que Gordien. Gordien seul le séparait du trône. A ces époques sanglantes, une vie d'homme ne valait pas cher : Philippe supprima Gordien et devint pour cinq ans Empereur romain, de 244 à 249.

Philippe, empereur, n'oublia pas qu'il était né et avait grandi dans un village arabe : comme naguère Septime-Sévère, il voulut que sa patrie fût digne de son enfant. Comme Septime avait magnifié et reconstruit sa Leptis natale de Phénicie sur la côte d'Afrique, Philippe éleva la cité de son rêve parmi les pierres noires de sa patrie. Pour lui, soldat et conducteur d'hommes, une ville était un camp. Et, comme devait faire plus tard Dioclétien à Spalato, il transforma son informe village en camp-palais, en camp-résidence, avec un prétoire, des rues rectilignes, un théâtre, des bains, des temples, etc... Sa ville, la ville de Philippe, fut une sorte de deuxième résidence impériale. Là vivait sa famille, là reposait le corps de son père. Pour les siens, il bâtit de splendides demeures, dont les mosaïques étonnent encore aujourd'hui par leur élégance et n'auraient pas déparé les villas des patriciens romains. L'une d'elles est fort curieuse : c'est un reflet des idées araboromaines de l'Empereur et de sa famille. Au centre est assise une femme majestueuse qu'une inscription désigne comme Εὐτεχνεία : l'idéal le plus sacré des Sémites ! A droite et à gauche, deux femmes à la belle stature, la Philosophie et l'Équité, servantes et acolytes de l'Εὐτεχνεία, guides de l'Empereur dans son règne si bref. L'union de ces deux vertus caractérise ceux qui ont été à l'école des stoïciens. En fils pieux, Philippe, bâtissant sa ville, n'eut garde d'oublier ses aïeux : aux membres de sa famille, ancêtres déifiés de la nouvelle race impériale, il éleva un luxueux temple-mausolée, comme autrefois Auguste au

Champ-de-Mars ou Hadrien de l'autre côté du Tibre. Les ruines de cet Herôon se dressent encore parmi les masures du village druse actuel.

A part de ce monde de cultivateurs et horticulteurs hellénisés se tenait encore à l'époque romaine, où elle devint après Trajan une des cités de l'Empire, la fière Pétra, jadis reine du commerce des caravanes. Son hellénisation était et resta toujours superficielle, tout comme celle de Palmyre. Au fond, elle demeura arabe, malgré les contours semi-helléniques que prirent son architecture et sa sculpture. Mais j'ai parlé ailleurs de Pétra et ne peux me répéter¹.

V

VILLES DE CARAVANES DU DÉSERT DE SYRIE ET MÉSOPOTAMIE

Il nous reste à dire quelques mots de la région qui reliait la Syrie au continent asiatique et lui servait en même temps de bouclier contre les grands rivaux iraniens de Rome, d'abord les Parthes, puis les Sassanides.

Depuis les temps les plus reculés, la route du Tigre et de l'Euphrate fit communiquer l'Égée et l'Égypte avec le monde sumérien, puis assyro-babylonien et enfin iranien. Je ne répéterai pas ce que j'en ai déjà dit ailleurs (dans mes *Caravan Cities*). Il suffit de rappeler que la route du Tigre et de l'Euphrate avait plusieurs débouchés sur les côtes de la mer Noire et de la Méditerranée, en Asie Mineure et en Syrie et Phénicie. Les caravanes pouvaient s'éloigner vers le Nord, le long des deux fleuves, pour aboutir, comme autrefois Xénophon, à Trébizonde, ou bien traverser le Taurus et continuer vers les ports du Sud et de l'Ouest de l'Asie Mineure. Ces caravanes-là contournaient le désert de Syrie. D'autres, pour gagner les ports de Phénicie ou de Syrie, quittaient plus tôt l'Euphrate et franchissaient le désert par une des multiples pistes dont la direction était déterminée par les oasis et les puits. A la limite du désert, elles trouvaient des villes antiques dont les plus florissantes étaient, depuis des temps très anciens, Hamath, aujourd'hui Hama, Émèse, aujourd'hui Homs, et surtout Damas, dont le nom n'a pas varié.

Sur le sort de ces villes aux époques hellénistique et romaine, nous n'avons que des renseignements épars et fragmentaires, qui ne permettent pas de reconstituer leur histoire. C'étaient toutes des villes-

1. Voir mes *Caravan Cities*, p. 120 et suiv.

temples, où le dieu dominait la cité, avec ses prêtres, dont le chef était à la fois gouverneur civil et militaire. Le dieu d'Émèse, Élagabal, par un caprice du sort qui fit de son prêtre et homonyme, un jeune garçon romanisé, membre d'une famille riche et influente de l'aristocratie syro-romaine, un Empereur romain, se trouva un moment dieu de tout l'Empire et possesseur d'un temple somptueux sur le Palatin.

Ce serait un travail tentant et fécond de réunir et d'exploiter tout ce que nous savons de l'aristocratie syro-romaine avec ses deux patries : l'ancienne, la Syrie et sa ville-temple, et Rome, capitale du monde. Ces familles sénatoriales ou équestres sont maintes fois citées dans la littérature ; les inscriptions font l'appoint. On pourrait ainsi établir leur nombre, suivre la carrière politique, militaire ou bureaucratique de leurs membres, et surtout pénétrer un peu leur âme, se faire une idée au moins vague et générale de l'influence exercée par leur mentalité, leurs caractères intellectuels et psychiques, sur l'aristocratie romaine et sur la direction de la politique romaine.

N'oublions pas que cette aristocratie, déjà influencée au début du 11^e siècle après J.-C., devint dominante à Rome quand un noble punico-romain, un Sémite africain de Leptis, Septime-Sévère, occupa le trône impérial. Il était marié à une descendante d'une des plus riches et plus puissantes familles syro-romaines, dont le nom latin *Domna* semble porter l'empreinte de sa religion. « *Domina* », c'était aussi la divine impératrice que pria jusqu'à la fin de ses jours cette aristocrate romaine, imprégnée de tous les raffinements de la civilisation gréco-romaine, mais à sa façon, selon sa nature sémitique originale. Les deux fruits de ce mariage, Caracalla et Géta, sont figurés sur les statues et les bas-reliefs comme les deux dieux militaires syriens Iarhibol et Aglibol, le Soleil et la Lune, incarnés et installés dans les salles du Palatin. Ils sont tels que les sculpteurs et peintres de Palmyre et de Doura représentent ces dieux : des boucles touffues encadrent le visage efféminé de l'éphèbe oriental aux grands yeux noirs, un léger duvet au menton et sur la lèvre. Caracalla a beau s'efforcer de donner à son visage une expression de volonté surhumaine, brisant les vies et répandant l'effroi sur les assistants, ce n'est qu'un masque derrière lequel on retrouve les traits délicats du jeune Syrien, plus marqués encore chez son frère et sa victime Géta.

La mort de Septime, celle de Géta et le meurtre de Caracalla par Macrin inaugurent à Rome le régime des Syriennes, parentes de Julia Domna : sa sœur Julia Maesa, les filles de celle-ci, Julia Soemias et Mammée, mères de deux petits Syriens destinés tous deux à un empire

éphémère. Élagabale succède à Macrin, assassin de Caracalla ; à Élagabale, tué à Rome par ses propres soldats, succède Sévère-Alexandre.

Inutile d'apprécier l'influence de ces Syriens sur l'histoire romaine. Mais aucun d'eux n'a rompu moralement avec sa patrie, ses traditions helléno-sémitiques, sa religion. Tous étaient entourés de demi-Syriens comme eux-mêmes. L'Empire romain risquait de dégénérer en une grande Syrie. Les dieux romains allaient céder la place aux Baals des villes syriennes, déjà syncrétisés par la philosophie religieuse syro-hellénique en un hénothéisme solaire. Au lieu du principat raffiné, enfant de la vieille constitution romaine, allait s'installer la monarchie orientale militaire et religieuse, avec tous ses avantages et ses inconvénients : absolutisme, mépris des formes constitutionnelles, cruauté, intrigues de palais, immoralité sadique.

Il fallut, contre cette mode orientale qui énervait l'âme et les énergies de l'Empire, la réaction sanglante des hommes du Danube, forts de corps et de volonté, pour triompher de cet esprit syro-romain et rendre un moment à Rome sa puissance et son unité.

Je mentionne ici ce rôle des Syriens parce que la femme de Sévère était originaire d'Émèse, qu'Élagabale y était né et que dans son atmosphère de cité sacerdotale grandirent les autres membres de l'aristocratie syrienne. Celui-là seul qui connaît la Syrie, a respiré son air, vu ses enfants, traité avec eux, est capable de soulever au moins un coin du voile qui couvre le mystère de l'influence orientale sur l'Occident.

Revenons cependant aux villes des caravanes. Ce sont, encore aujourd'hui, de grands et prospères centres agricoles, industriels et commerciaux. Damas est la capitale de la Syrie moderne. Cette Syrie moderne manifeste un intérêt assez grand pour son passé. Le musée de Damas est témoin de cet intérêt. Mais il est petit et minable et ne suffit pas à donner une idée suffisante de l'histoire hellénistique et romaine de la Syrie. L'histoire de Damas reste un mystère. Le plan de la ville au cours des siècles demeure presque inconnu. A l'époque romaine, elle fut sans doute reconstruite, comme Bostra, sur le modèle d'un camp romain, avec le temple de Jupiter de Damas au centre. D'Émèse et de Hamath, nous ignorons tout. On fouille aujourd'hui Hamath, mais sa topographie n'en apparaîtra pas mieux. A Émèse, nous sommes incapables de deviner, même approximativement, l'emplacement du temple principal.

Dans le désert, l'hellénisme tardif et Rome surtout suscitèrent une rivale à ces villes : la reine du commerce de l'intérieur, Palmyre. Je

lui ai consacré un chapitre dans mon ouvrage sur les villes des caravanes et j'ai dit là ce que je pense d'elle. Tout comme Pétra, Palmyre ne saurait être considérée comme une cité syrienne typique. C'est une création *sui generis*, faite par le commerce et pour le commerce, agrandie en peu de temps par la politique de deux puissants États, le parthe et le romain, et plongée dans l'oubli dès que se modifièrent les rapports entre l'Orient iranien et l'Occident romain. Ce n'est pas un hasard, si les ruines de Palmyre se dressent à nos yeux comme un fantastique décor de théâtre planté en plein désert. Les fouilles mêmes ne changent rien à cet aspect.

Après le désert, le long de l'Euphrate, la grande voie commerciale était gardée par des forteresses munies de nombreuses garnisons. Nous savons peu de chose de ces villes-fortereses. Pour la première fois, des fouilles entreprises dans l'une d'elles, Europos de son nom macédonien, Doura en sémitique, ont permis de reconstituer leur histoire. A Doura j'ai consacré une étude détaillée. Ces forteresses bordent l'Euphrate sur les deux rives. Elles avaient pour les rois hellénisés de Syrie une immense importance. Elles reliaient les deux moitiés de la monarchie : la partie irano-babylonienne à l'Est, la partie syro-anatolienne à l'Ouest. Aussi voit-on nombre de ces postes aux noms et aux habitants grecs et macédoniens se superposer à d'anciennes forteresses orientales ou remplacer d'anciens villages orientaux. Toute la zone fertile de la vallée de l'Euphrate était divisée entre eux. Même tableau, ou peu s'en faut, le long du Tigre. La population continua d'occuper ses innombrables villages, mais pour le tribut et la vie économique ces derniers dépendaient d'une cité grecque ; ils devaient sans doute contribuer d'une façon ou de l'autre à la construction et à l'entretien des retranchements, à la nourriture des citoyens en armes.

A la fin de l'époque hellénistique et sous les Romains, les choses changèrent. Les Parthes, peu à peu, morceau par morceau, détachèrent la Mésopotamie des Séleucides et annexèrent les villes grecques à leur Empire, sans doute sous forme de territoires autonomes possédant leur administration et leur milice propres. Beaucoup, comme Doura, conservèrent leur régime, leur civilisation et ne firent que politiquement partie de l'Orient. D'autres, par exemple Édesse, Carrhae et Anthémoussiade, furent plus profondément atteintes : leurs magistrats grecs furent subordonnés aux scheiks arabes, dénommés en grec dynastes ou tyrans de la ville et de la région¹. Les quelques places de l'Euphrate

1. On trouvera des données nouvelles sur l'histoire et la constitution d'Édesse dans un contrat de vente (en syriaque) récemment trouvé à Doura. Il sera publié par M. Ch. Torrey

passées aux Romains devinrent des postes de la frontière romaine de Syrie, avec de fortes garnisons.

Aux 1^{er} et 11^e siècles, la frontière entre Rome et les Parthes ne varia guère. La Mésopotamie tout entière était aux Parthes. Trajan inaugura une nouvelle politique de conquêtes. Ses acquisitions furent éphémères, mais Lucius Verus, le collègue de Marc-Aurèle, et surtout Septime-Sévère et sa dynastie orientale pratiquèrent des annexions durables et occupèrent peu à peu les rives de l'Euphrate jusqu'aux frontières de l'Iran actuel, ainsi que tout le Nord de la Mésopotamie, contigu à l'Arménie.

Sous les Romains, l'existence des anciennes places macédoniennes et parthes ne changea pas beaucoup. Le régime municipal grec subsista, avec les amendements apportés par le milieu oriental et par la sémitisation ou l'iranisation progressives des habitants. Les magistrats grecs élus subsistèrent, mais pratiquement les dirigeants héréditaires, les scheiks ou, en grec, les stratèges et épistates, devinrent les maîtres de la ville, ses gouverneurs civils et militaires. D'eux dépendait, comme à Palmyre, la milice locale en partie de caractère oriental : archers à cheval, ou toxotes, destinés à la protection des routes du désert. Cette milice se recrutait sans doute dans les tribus arabes installées sur le territoire des villes grecques. Il est possible qu'elle ait été créée d'abord à Palmyre pour protéger les caravanes et transportée sous les Romains dans les places de Mésopotamie, à la place des anciennes milices de type macédonien, comprenant infanterie et cavalerie. Il est encore possible qu'elle ait été organisée par les Palmyriens eux-mêmes et que les premiers stratèges des villes de Mésopotamie, mis à la tête de ces détachements, aient été nommés par les Romains parmi les citoyens de Palmyre.

A côté des citadins et de la milice locale, la plupart des anciennes cités-fortresses macédoniennes avaient une garnison romaine de légionnaires et d'auxiliaires. C'étaient à cette date uniquement des Syriens : ils étaient recrutés en Syrie, tout en étant, les légionnaires — citoyens romains, et les auxiliaires — candidats au droit de cité romaine après leur libération. Avec les soldats arrivèrent des officiers, membres de l'aristocratie équestre de Rome dispersée à travers l'Em-

(*Zeitschrift für Semitistik*) et par C. B. Welles et M. A. Bellinger (*Yale classical studies V*). Voir un aperçu sur Doura, avec une bibliographie des travaux publiés sur elle, dans mes *Caravan Cities*, p. 153 et suiv. Sur la frontière militaire de l'Empire romain : P.-A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie. Le limes de Trajan à la conquête arabe, etc.*, 1934 (avec préface de M. F. Cumont).

pire, et des sous-officiers que les nécessités du service promenaient de Syrie en Bretagne et du Danube en Espagne. Cette aristocratie militaire était en partie d'origine syrienne, surtout les sous-officiers, et cette partie-là menait la même vie que l'aristocratie de la ville. Mais la plupart des officiers étaient étrangers à la ville et s'y comportaient sans doute à peu près comme font les officiers français à l'égard des indigènes : avec la curiosité indulgente d'hommes d'une autre race et d'une autre civilisation.

Cette garnison était dans une certaine mesure une source de revenus pour la ville, mais aussi une lourde charge pour la population urbaine et rurale. Parfois les soldats vivaient en caserne, mais, dans le plus grand nombre des *praesidia* ou villes de garnison de la frontière, officiers et soldats logeaient chez l'habitant, en hôtes forcés. Ils s'y conduisaient naturellement en maîtres. Cet état de choses ne fut pas sans influencer sur le moral des troupes romaines de Syrie, cet esprit de paresse, de nonchalance et d'indiscipline, qui irritait et inquiétait tant les empereurs. Les frais de logement étaient remboursés, tout comme l'orge des chevaux, le bois des bains et des cuisines, les vêtements et les armes. Mais c'étaient là des fournitures obligatoires et sans doute taxées. Leur nom officiel était l'annone. Aux époques difficiles, pendant la guerre, l'annone, toujours désagréable, devenait une calamité et prenait souvent figure de réquisitions non déguisées. On réquisitionnait aussi, en temps de paix comme en guerre, les hommes et les bêtes de somme. C'était d'ailleurs l'usage en Orient, sous le nom d'*an-garia*.

La base économique de la vie de ces villes-fortresses restait l'agriculture, l'industrie et le commerce. Dans ces temps éloignés, la vallée de l'Euphrate était admirablement travaillée. L'eau du fleuve était conduite dans les champs par des canaux, et les norias fonctionnaient sans relâche, puisant cette eau et la déversant dans les canaux, comme on le voit encore par endroits. Des pluies plus abondantes qu'aujourd'hui rendaient le désert plus propre à l'élevage, et les Bédouins plus aisés. Aussi chaque ville de Mésopotamie abritait-elle, avec des propriétaires fonciers, des artisans et des marchands. Comme aujourd'hui, le souk était le quartier qui faisait vivre la population ; les villageois et les Bédouins du désert y achetaient aussi ce dont ils avaient besoin : exactement comme maintenant à Deir-ez-Zor sur l'Euphrate. C'était là que dressaient leurs tables les changeurs, dont beaucoup étaient en même temps banquiers, c'est-à-dire usuriers, et ramassaient, comme aujourd'hui, de grosses fortunes. Les Bédouins des premiers siècles

avant et après J.-C. ne savaient pas plus lire que ceux de nos jours. Enfin, à l'époque romaine aussi, les caravanes stationnaient dans ces villes, y faisaient manger les chameaux et reposer les hommes et y écoulaient une part de leurs marchandises.

Beaucoup plus orientale était la physionomie des villes qui, comme Édesse ou Arbèles, obéissaient depuis l'ère hellénistique à des dynastes indigènes, devenus plus tard vassaux des Parthes. Quiconque est familier avec l'histoire des débuts du christianisme connaît le personnage d'Abgar, correspondant légendaire du Christ et premier chrétien hors de la Palestine. Sous la dynastie des Sévères, Rome tenta de ramener ces villes — Carrhae, Édesse et autres — désormais cités de la province de Mésopotamie, à la vie urbaine grecque. Elles sont désignées, sur leurs monnaies et dans les papiers des administrateurs romains, comme colonies romaines. Leurs scheiks disparaissent de l'horizon. Mais cette tentative fut courte et l'Orient recouvrit de son voile ces cités qui jadis avaient été grecques.

Les Bédouins du désert de Mésopotamie, comme ceux du désert de Syrie, avaient leur régime séculaire : les clans et la vie nomade. Ils ne furent pas englobés, sauf de rares exceptions, dans le monde romain. Pourtant quelques-uns, ceux qui habitaient l'oasis de Palmyre et ses environs, participaient au trafic des caravanes et ce sont eux qui, avec l'aide et sous l'influence étrangère, organisèrent la capitale de ce commerce, Palmyre, seconde Pétra. Les Arabes nomades (skénites) firent de même de leur propre initiative en Mésopotamie, où leur centre, Hatra, prit peu à peu l'allure d'une seconde Palmyre. Les ruines de Hatra, que voulurent soumettre et Trajan et Septime-Sévère, se dressent encore aujourd'hui au milieu du désert : oasis d'architecture iranienne parmi les sables et les pierres, digne rivale de l'oasis d'architecture grecque, Palmyre. Tant que vécut l'Empire parthe, Hatra subsista avec ses forts retranchements et les hautes salles voûtées de son palais de pierre. Mais, pour les Sassanides, elle était trop indépendante : ils mirent un terme à sa courte existence, de la même façon que leur politique envers Rome mit fin à l'existence ou du moins à la prospérité de Palmyre.

Telle fut la Syrie romaine. Sur bien des points, elle ressemble à la Syrie d'aujourd'hui. Elle continue de jouer un certain rôle dans la vie mondiale, comme source de pétrole pour l'Angleterre et la France, comme bouclier d'une civilisation semi-occidentale contre les Bédouins de l'Arabie heureuse, comme coin enfoncé entre les deux grandes moitiés du monde musulman, la turque et l'arabe. Dans l'antiquité, son

rôle était autre. Pour Rome, il était beaucoup plus important qu'il n'est aujourd'hui pour l'Europe. C'était une partie intégrante de l'Empire, une de ses provinces les plus florissantes. La Syrie n'était pas seulement une excellente contribuable, elle fournissait encore des catégories indispensables de soldats, des cavaliers rapides et des méharistes habitués au désert et à la guerre dans le désert. En s'appuyant sur eux, Rome put envoyer ses légions contre les Parthes, dont la cavalerie était invincible. La Syrie a donné à Rome une cavalerie du type parthe pour guerroyer en Afrique et en Égypte aussi bien que dans les steppes sarmatiques. Enfin, et c'est l'essentiel, c'était un pays de caravanes, la clé de pays fournisseurs de bien des denrées nécessaires : l'Arabie, la Perse, l'Inde et la Chine.

Il valait donc la peine de jeter un coup d'œil sur ce que nous savons de la Syrie romaine, aujourd'hui que, pour la première fois, nous apparaît, du clair-obscur du romanisme oriental, non plus la Syrie romantique des ruines, mais une Syrie réelle, où battait son plein une vie originale et variée résultant d'une longue histoire, et sur laquelle allaient asseoir leur puissance et leur influence mondiale les khalifes successeurs de Mahomet.

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(Traduit sur le manuscrit russe par Pierre PASCAL.)

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The Mithræum of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates

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BULLETIN OF THE ASSOCIATES IN FINE ARTS AT YALE UNIVERSITY

THE MITHRÆUM OF DURA-EUROPOS ON THE EUPHRATES

THE systematic work of exploration at Dura-Europos carried on for ten consecutive years (1928-37) by the Yale Dura Expedition in collaboration with the French Academy of Inscriptions (a work which, I am sorry to say, was suspended for an indefinite time because of lack of funds, though the excavation is far from being finished and Dura is as inspiring and as full of promise as ever) has yielded many and various interesting and important finds. The most spectacular discoveries, now known far and wide in the learned world, are without doubt those of three religious buildings, all three excellently preserved and adorned with interesting mural paintings. I mean the Christian Chapel found in 1931-32, the Jewish Synagogue discovered in 1932-33, and the Mithræum explored in 1933-34 and 1934-35. All these buildings were erected at about the same time (third century A.D.) and in the same region of the city (along the monumental city wall on the desert side). These buildings were not left *in situ* (their preservation if restored on the spot could not be assured) but were transported, the Synagogue to Damascus, the most important parts of the Christian Chapel and of the Mithræum to Yale. All three have been reërected and partly restored, the Synagogue in the new building of the National Museum at Damascus, the Christian Chapel and the most important part of

the Mithræum in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts by the joint efforts of the members of the Yale Dura Expedition, of the Service of Antiquities of Syria, and of the Yale Gallery. I may mention the names of H. Pearson, H. Gute, F. E. Brown, and Mrs. Gordon Haight, to whom we owe the success of these delicate and difficult operations. I may add that though the paintings of the Synagogue are now exhibited at Damascus the Yale Gallery is in possession of excellent facsimile-size colored copies of them made by H. Gute which will soon be exhibited.

The Christian Chapel and the Synagogue have been discussed in this BULLETIN previously.¹ I will say here a few words of the Mithræum whose naos (cult shrine) has been recently restored in the Gallery. I may add that the reader who wishes to know more of the Mithræum must be referred to the report on its excavation published in *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Seventh and Eighth Season, 1934-1935 and 1935-1936* (1939), pp. 62-134.

The third century A.D. was a time of important religious movements and changes in the ancient world. Several great religions were struggling for supremacy in the Roman Empire, all of them proselytic in their very essence. The strongest and the most successful

1. Cf. Vol. VI, No. 1 (September, 1933).



THE HUNTING SCENE FROM THE SIDE WALL OF THE MITHRÆUM
Showing Mithras shooting game aided by the lion and the serpent

were the religion of the great Solar God of Syria, which twice became for short periods the official religion of the Roman Empire (a shrine of this god was also discovered at Dura; several murals of this shrine are in the Yale Gallery); the cult of the Persian Solar God Mithras, most popular with the Roman army; and alongside of them Judaism and Christianity.

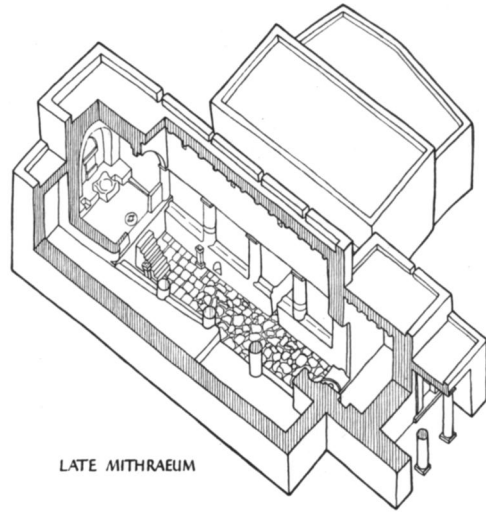
It is not by chance that buildings dedicated to all four cults were erected at Dura in the third century A.D. Dura in this respect was certainly not an exception. In most of the cities of the Roman Empire at that time shrines of these religions, and of some others not less influential—for example, the religions of the Egyptian Isis, of the Anatolian Magna

Mater, of the Syrian Atargatis—stood side by side and were full of worshipers. But it is by mere chance that at Dura all of them were discovered in the shape which was given to them in the third century A.D. and in such excellent state of preservation. We must remember that very few cities of the Roman Empire were utterly destroyed in the third century like Dura which was besieged, captured, and badly damaged by the Sasanian Persians soon after 256 A.D. and was never rebuilt. Most of the cities of the Roman Empire continued to exist after the disastrous third century. In them of course most of the pagan religious buildings were destroyed by the triumphant Christians, especially the shrines of such powerful rivals of Christ as

Mithras, while the Synagogues and especially the Christian Churches were mostly rebuilt on a much larger scale.

Dura therefore is a rare exception, unique of its kind. It gives us a glimpse into the religious life of a momentous period in the evolution of religion and it lets us look deep into the features of the most important religions of the time, features so fully reflected in the architecture of the buildings, in the written texts found in them, and especially in their many mural paintings.

But in this short note I must confine myself to the Mithraeum only. Mithras is one of the great gods of the Persian Pantheon, of the pre-Zoroastrian time. After a temporary eclipse in its power the cult became popular again in a new region and in new surroundings. I mean the monarchies of Asia Minor of the last two centuries B.C., especially Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia. It was the semi-Iranian, semi-Greek clergy of the magi who revived it and gave it probably the form which it showed later, that of a religion of initiation and of revelation, of one of the so-called mystery religions. From its Anatolian seclusion the religion of Mithras in this new shape migrated, perhaps with the Anatolian slaves and with the captured Cilician pirates, in the first century B.C. to Rome and Italy, and had a tremendous success. From this time on sanctuaries in the form of caves (Mithras in Asia Minor was probably worshiped in caves) were built to him frequently in the West, first in Rome and in Italy. From Italy and perhaps directly from Asia Minor the cult migrated to various European provinces of Rome where its worshipers were mostly Oriental merchants. Soon, however, especially on the Rhine and on the Danube, Mithraism became very popular with the soldiers of the Roman army. It appealed



LATE MITHRAEUM

ISOMETRIC SECTION

to them because it was a cult of a warrior-god, champion of civilization against barbarism, who was always victorious and finally, after long struggles and hardships, ascended to the heaven with his former rival and now his intimate friend, the great Solar God of the Syrian Pantheon. The soldiers could not help seeing in Mithras their divine patron, their prototype, their ideal. Their life was also a life of dangers and hardships and Mithras the victorious (*invictus*) offered them the prospect of final victory and immortality in the celestial sphere. It was the cult of men. No women were eligible in the small communities of Mithraists and no woman was admitted to his cave shrines.

Thus it was that in the second century and especially in the tragic third century A.D. thousands of shrines of Mithras were built and thousands of Mithraic communities were formed all over the Roman Empire. Rome and Italy and the large cities of Gaul and Spain were full of them. But the main centers of Mithraic religion were the Roman military camps, especially those of the Rhine, the Dan-



THE NICHE OF THE MITHRÆUM BEFORE IT WAS REMOVED FROM DURA-EUROPOS



THE NICHE OF THE MITHRÆUM AS IT IS NOW INSTALLED IN THE GALLERY OF FINE ARTS



PAINTED FRAGMENT
Second period of the Mithræum,
209–224 A.D.

ube, and Britain, the most important frontiers of the Roman Empire. Here and in the cities which gradually grew up around the camps archeologists have excavated hundreds of Mithraic shrines, all of them of a similar type.

All the Mithraic shrines have the form of a cave; all are small, built as they were for small Mithraic communities; all reflect the same religious ideas and the same forms of cult. In all of them the central place was occupied by a cult bas-relief or statuary group showing the figure of the god in his oriental dress in the most important moment of his life. He is represented killing the bull, the symbol of the elemental forces of nature. The killing of the bull was the great mystery of Mithraic religion. By this act Mithras created civilized life and promised to his initiates immortality. Around the cult bas-relief were represented the signs of the zodiac and episodes of the cosmic and terrestrial life of Mithras: his mysterious birth from the rock and fire and what preceded it in the life of the world, and his great exploits—creation of fire and water; the story of the hunting and killing of the bull and the episodes of his struggle with the sun; the crown-

ing of the sun by Mithras; the common banquet of Sol and Mithras, their meal of reconciliation served on the body of the slain bull, and finally their ascent to the heaven.

Before this cult bas-relief the religious service was held by magi and priests in the dim light of lamps and candles with hymns and prayers. The initiates looked at the service stretched on benches which were built along the side walls of the nave. After the service the mystai partook in a common mystic meal, a kind of holy communion which consisted of bread, meat, water, and wine.

From time to time new mystai were initiated. They went through various ceremonies, full of terror and physical sufferings, and emerged from them reborn for a new life. As mystai they gradually advanced to higher and higher grades. There were seven of these, all reflecting episodes in the life and features of the mystery of Mithras: the *raven* (the messenger of heaven to Mithras), the *bridegroom*, the *soldier*, the *lion* (the great helper of Mithras in his hunts of wild animals), the *Persian*, the still unexplained *stereotes* (first revealed by Dura), and finally the president (or perhaps two presidents) of the community—the *father*.

While the shrines of Mithras are so frequent in western Europe, very few traces of them were found in Asia Minor and in Syria and none in Persia—the homes of the Mithraic mysteries. The first well-preserved Mithræum discovered in these regions is that of Dura. The shrine had not had a long life. A modest chapel of Mithras in a private house with its cult bas-reliefs was first built at Dura in 168 and 170 A.D. by two successive commanders of Palmyrene archers stationed in the city. When Dura became an important military stronghold of the

Roman Empire on its Euphrates frontier the shrine was taken up, enlarged, and completely rebuilt by Roman legionary soldiers (about 211 A.D.). In this stage of its existence it was adorned by mural paintings in addition to the two preëxisting venerable cult bas-reliefs. A second time the sanctuary was rebuilt and enlarged again about twenty or thirty years later, in the middle of the third century A.D., when the garrison was reinforced. When Dura was in danger of a Persian attack (in 255 A.D.)—an attack which ended with the capture of the town—the shrine was sacrificed to military necessity. A powerful sloping embankment was built to reinforce the city wall against which the sanctuary was built, and in this embankment the shrine was buried (to the same embankment we owe the preservation of several other shrines, among them the Christian Chapel and the Synagogue).

What is reconstructed in the Gallery is one part of the last temple, the cult shrine (the naos). It was almost intact when excavated. Very little had to be restored. This cult shrine has the form of a cave, symbol of the world, with the starry heaven above it. It was separated from the nave by a door. Darkness reigned inside. Seven steps (seven was the symbolical number of the Mithraists, seven steps leading from one heaven to another) led to the elevated platform of the shrine. In the center of the back wall of the shrine were placed the two bas-reliefs of the early Chapel showing Mithras killing the bull with the help of the raven, the snake, and the dog, the sacred animals of Mithras. The bas-reliefs, as mentioned above, were dedicated by two commanders of the Palmyrene archers in 168 and 170 A.D., as the inscriptions indicate. One of the dedicants—Zenobius—is represented on the larger and later



A FIGURE PROBABLY REPRESENTING ZOROASTER, ONE OF THE TWO CHIEF DISCIPLES OF MITHRAS

of the two. The bas-reliefs are surrounded by small pictures each representing one episode in the cosmic and terrestrial history of Mithras. In the center is the bust of "Eternal Time," the father of all things; to the left of it the worshiper saw his son Zeus (Persian Ahura-mazda) conquering the giants; then comes an enigmatic scene; and finally the birth of Mithras from the rock and fire. Two scenes which followed are missing. On the other side from bottom to top are represented some episodes of Mithras' life: Mithras shooting an arrow against a rock from which springs out water; Mithras riding on the bull's back around the earth; Mithras carrying the bull to the cave in order to slay it; Mithras putting the solar crown on the head of the Sun God; the two acolytes of Mithras carrying the body of the bull; and the final banquet scene of Mithras and Sol,

their mystic meal of reconciliation and initiation. I cannot describe in detail the other parts of the varied decoration of the Mithræum of Dura. Suffice it to mention the painted scene of the slaying of the bull with the seven burning altars and the seven cypress trees (note the signature of the artist), and especially four pictures of unusual interest which almost never appear in the Mithraic iconography: the two scenes of Persian style showing Mithras on horseback accompanied by his faithful assistants, the lion and the snake, slaying wild animals (gazelles, deer, and a wild boar); and the two majestic figures of prophets seated in their chairs, leaning on their staffs, and holding scrolls of the sacred law—probably the two alleged organizers of Mithraic mysteries, the famous Zoroaster and his pupil Osthanes, the first fathers of the first community of Mithraists. I may add that fragments of the earlier pictorial decoration of the Mithræum, of larger dimensions and a more elaborate style, were found in the Mithræum and are exhibited in a special showcase and that hundreds of scratched and painted inscriptions were discovered on the plaster of the columns and the walls of the nave. It is a unique find and gives us much information on the life of the Dura Mithraists (almost exclusively soldiers) and on the cult of Mithras in general.

It is striking to see in the two rooms of the Gallery shrines of the two religions which were struggling for the souls of the residents of the Roman Empire in the third century A.D.: one dedicated to Mithras, and the other to our Lord. I may remind the reader of the famous sentence of E. Renan: "Si le Christianisme eût été arrêté dans sa croissance par quelque maladie mortelle, le monde eût été Mithraïste."

M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF

THE EDWIN AUSTIN ABBEY COLLECTION

THE first exhibition of works selected from the Edwin Austin Abbey Collection was held in the Gallery from February 19 through April 17. Three rooms were devoted to the exhibition which consisted of eighty-four paintings, drawings, water colors, and pastels.

The Collection, which comes to Yale from the estate of Mrs. Abbey through the courtesy of the City Bank Farmers Trust Company of New York, formed the contents of Abbey's studio and residence in London at the time of his death in 1911. In addition to numerous completed paintings and drawings, it includes a long series of preliminary studies and several works by artists other than Abbey. Since Mrs. Abbey subsequently added several paintings which had passed into other hands, there is thus represented a remarkably complete record of Abbey's artistic activity.

Edwin Austin Abbey was born in Philadelphia in 1852 and received his first artistic education at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. He early became interested in illustration, making as a child scrapbooks of cartoons from *Punch* and other English and American periodicals. In 1871 he went to New York to become a member of the staff of *Harper's Weekly*, then the foremost illustrated journal in this country. Since, at this time, photography had not yet been perfected for large-scale commercial use, the illustrations of news events of that day were first drawn by the artists and then engraved on wood by a special staff of engravers. Whenever possible the artist was present at the scene of action to make studies on the spot. From these sketches he would work up the illustration to be used in the



The Parthian Shot

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THE PARTHIAN SHOT

PLATES XVIII–XX

THE object which I intend to illustrate in the following pages belongs to the beautiful collection of Mrs. William H. Moore in New York, who kindly permitted me to study it and to reproduce and discuss it here and in my book, *A Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (pl. CVII), 1941. I am profoundly grateful to Mrs. Moore for her generous help.

The object under discussion (plates XVIII–XIX) is a drinking cup, usually called a *scyphus*, with two handles and appliqué figures in relief, an imitation, as it were, of an original in metal. It is made of clay, covered with a thick layer of vitreous glaze of dark green color, height 0.06, diameter 0.085. The *scyphus* was shown to the public at the Exhibition of Augustan Art held in 1939 in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and is mentioned in the excellent catalogue of this exhibition (*Augustan Art. An Exhibition*, etc., New York, 1939, p. 21). While on exhibition it was photographed twice, and these photos, with Mrs. Moore's consent, were most kindly put at my disposal by Miss Gisela M. A. Richter.

The cup was found, according to the information received by Mrs. Moore from the dealer who sold it to her, in Syria, more precisely in the neighborhood of Homs (Hemesa), a place which is reported to be supplying the Syrian antiquity market in recent times with most of the exquisite products of ancient applied arts of late Hellenistic and early Roman times. How many of these objects were really found in the ancient tombs around Homs it is impossible to say. The North Syrian origin of the cup is, however, certain.¹

The cup belongs to a class of pottery well known to students of classical antiquity,

¹ The region of Hemesa or Emesa on the Orontes and near the lake of Homs is one of the most flourishing parts of modern Syria. It was studded with cities and villages since at least the second millennium B.C. Our early tradition mentions four prominent cities of this region: Qadesh, Tunip, Qatna and Tunanat, of which Qadesh and Qatna have been recently excavated. See R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, etc., 1927, pp. 103 ff., cf. Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le site archéologique de Mishrifé—Qatna*, 1935, pp. 3 ff. The city of Hemesa or Emesa is first mentioned in the late Hellenistic period as the capital of the Hemesene Arabs, ruled by an Arab dynasty (two of these dynasts had the name of Sampsiceramus). It remained prosperous and flourishing in Roman times, rival of Palmyra and an important religious center (cult of Elagabal). Its early history is unknown, nor do we know anything about its destinies in early Hellenistic times (the only Hellenistic city of this region known to us is Arethusa, the neighbor of Hemesa). It is probable, however, that a temple and settlement around it existed here as at Tadmor (Palmyra) in the pre-Persian, Persian and early Hellenistic times. The Hemesene Arabs made it in the late Hellenistic period the chief city of the region, with flourishing agriculture, grazing, industry, and trade, a rival of Palmyra, a successor of the once flourishing, more ancient cities of the region mentioned above, which were perhaps reduced in the course of time to the status of mere villages. I may remind the reader of the rôle played by Hemesa in the history of the Roman Empire, especially in the early and middle third centuries A.D. See my *Storia ec. e soc. d. Imp. Rom.*, p. 317 and note; cf. A. Schenck Graf v. Stauffenberg, *Die röm. Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* 1931, p. 372 f.; cf. on the history of Hemesa in general, Benzinger, s.v. *Hemesa*, *PW.* v, 2496 f.; E. Honigmann, s.v. *Syria*, *PW.* iv^A, 1622, Stählin, *PW.* i^A, 2226 f., s.v. *Sampsigeramus*, and my short remarks regarding the Hellenistic period in the life of the city in my *Soc. and Ec. Hist. of the Hellenistic World*, 1941, Index, s.v. *Hemesa* and *corrigenda*, p. 1651.

but very little studied, the so-called lead glaze faïence. Fine specimens of this class of pottery are scattered all over the museums of Europe and America. The most beautiful and probably the earliest were found in Syria and in Asia Minor, especially at Tarsus, but several pieces come from excavations and casual finds made in Italy, in Gaul, in Germany, in South Russia, in Greece, and elsewhere. There exists no comprehensive collection — not to speak of a corpus — of this type of pottery, though several scholars of authority have dealt with it in special memoirs.² I cannot enter into a detailed discussion of this class of pottery in this short note. It will suffice to point out some important facts relating to it.

(1) The vases under consideration are a variety of the ancient faïence ware which, in general, is of Oriental origin. We are well acquainted with Egyptian and Mesopotamian faïence, and can follow its evolution for centuries. From them the faïence under consideration differs in that it represents, as regards forms and ornamentation, a purely Greek version of ancient faïence ware, while its much older parents, the Egyptian and Mesopotamian faïence, even in Hellenistic and Roman times, remained Oriental in many respects. This Greek branch of Oriental faïence, as regards *rayonnement* and distribution, may be classed with several other branches of Hellenistic pottery which I have called in my book mentioned above (ch. VIII) “pan-Hellenistic,” such as “Megarian” bowls, “Pergamene” and “Samian” red glazed pottery, relief pottery, some classes of painted vases (for example, “lagnoi”), etc. By “pan-Hellenistic” I mean a ware which, once launched, spread over all the Hellenistic world, and was extensively used and locally imitated in the various parts of it. In this the lead glazed faïence differs from Mesopotamian and Egyptian faïence, both of which varieties had a much more limited and chiefly local market, the Mesopotamian remaining practically restricted to Eastern Syria and the Parthian kingdom (and its sphere of influence, e.g. Olbia), and the Egyptian faïence being comparatively more popular in the rest of the Hellenistic world and in Italy.

(2) The class of faïence under consideration is generally called “lead glazed faïence” (“vases à glaçure plombifère”). This definition goes back to the first student of this type of pottery, H. Mazard. It is not based on any chemical analysis of the glaze. While Egyptian and Mesopotamian faïence has been carefully studied from the technical point of view, no such study — at least to my knowledge — has ever been carried out for the class of faïence under review. If chemical analysis confirms the impression of Mazard, accepted by later students of this type of pottery, this class of vases will appear as an important innovation in the field of ancient ceramics, comparable to the contemporary lead glazed Chinese faïence of the Han period, which had such a brilliant development. It must be urged, therefore, that museums in possession of specimens of this pottery should start at once with a

² H. Mazard, “De la connaissance par les anciens des vases à glaçures plombifères,” *Musée Archéologique* ii, 1879, pp. 373 ff.; R. Zahn, “Glasierte Tongefässe im Antiquarium,” *Amtl. Ber. aus d. kön. Kunstsammlungen* xxxv, 1914, pp. 269 ff. (with excellent bibliography); F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, 1922, pp. 500 ff.; R. Zahn, Κτῶ χρῶ, *Berl. Winkelmannspr.* lxxxii, 1923; A. Merlin, *MonPiot.* xxx, 1929, pp. 57 ff., cf. H. Kusel, *AA.* xxxii, 1917, p. 55; L. Curtius, *RM.* xlix, 1934, p. 274, and my *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 1941, pp. 1024 f. and n. 130 and pls. CVII and CVIII. On the Mesopotamian and Egyptian faïence, see my book quoted above, *Index*, s.v. *faïence*. N. Toll, “The Green Glazed Pottery,” *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report* iv, 1943.

technical study of it, and publish the results without delay. I know that such a study has been begun in the laboratory of the Metropolitan Museum of New York on the initiative of Miss Richter.

(3) There is no disagreement among modern students of the lead glazed faïence as regards the date of the known and published specimens of it. A careful analysis of forms and ornamentation shows that the earliest specimens belong to the late Hellenistic period, not later than the end of the first century B.C. Its "acmé" came in the first century A.D. and it had a long life afterwards. A fuller collection and a closer study of the material may, however, modify this date to a certain extent. It may prove that some specimens should be assigned to a somewhat earlier time.³

(4) The problem of the place of origin of the lead glazed faïence is a matter of speculation, but the little we know of the provenance of the earlier specimens points to Northern Syria or the adjoining parts of Asia Minor, one of the chief centers of production in Asia Minor being Tarsus. From this center the production migrated to the North and West. It appears very probable that local ware of the same type was made in the first century A.D. and later in Italy (many pieces found at Pompeii seem to be of local origin), perhaps in South Russia, and in Gaul.

(5) The majority of the lead glazed faïence has a vegetal ornamentation of late Hellenistic style. Some specimens are adorned with figures of gods, men, and animals. Some of these last have been studied by R. Zahn in his two articles cited above (n. 2). An important rôle is played in this decoration by grotesque and macabre figures, such as cinaeds, pygmies, and skeletons.⁴

It is to the group with figural decoration that the Moore cup belongs: two pairs of armed horsemen fighting each other, one a Greek, the other a barbarian. It is to the analysis of these figures that I shall devote the pages which follow. Unfortunately, the outlines of the figures are somewhat blurred, and the details in some cases are difficult to recognize. The thick layer of glaze which covers the cup has made them rather indistinct.

In the first pair the Greek is represented young (pl. XIX, fig. 2) beardless, bare-headed, galloping to the left on a horse of the Greek classical type. His body is naked; a chlamys is floating behind him. His weapons are difficult to recognize; they may be a sword and a round shield. The Greek attacks another horseman who is facing him, turned to the right (pl. XIX, fig. 1). His horse is wounded and has fallen on its knees. The horseman is still on its back, in the act of dismounting. The enemy of the Greek is certainly a barbarian. The features of his face are blurred

³ I may quote in this connection a green glazed oenochoe found at Armento and now in the Museum of Naples. It is adorned with appliqué figures showing three separate scenes, a bear hunt, a fight between a Greek and an Amazon, and finally Menelaus and Helen (or Cassandra and Ajax), A. Rocco, *Rend. Acc. Arch. Napoli* xix, 1939, pp. 1 ff., pls. 1-3; H. Fuhrmann, *AA.* lx, 1940, p. 527, fig. 52. I have not seen the paper of Rocco. The Armento oenochoe belongs, apparently, to the well known class of Alexandrian faïence oenochoai of the early Hellenistic period (see my *S. and Ec. Hist. of the Hellenist. World*, pls. XXXVI and XLI) and was probably imported from Alexandria. It has, therefore, lead glazed or not, nothing to do with the class of pottery under review. With the glazed oenochoe was found a second one, a copy of the first, which is not glazed. Apparently the local potters were not familiar with the technical devices required.

⁴ An interesting specimen of a *scyphus* adorned with figures of deities (Mercury between two Fortunaes), probably of Italian make, has been found recently in a grave of Augustan period in Genestrelle (Picenum), H. Fuhrmann, *AA.* lv, 1940, p. 417 f.

and difficult to recognize. It appears to me, however, and my impression was confirmed by Miss Richter and Miss Christine Alexander, who checked my description with the original, that the face of the barbarian is Silenus-like, and very similar to the faces of Mongoloid Scythians, often represented on products of toreutic art of the fourth century B.C. found in South Russia. His head is bald in front, he has a flat nose and a long square beard. He is dressed in the Oriental fashion: the breeches are certain, and the riding caftan, or robe, probable. While his dress is Oriental, his arms are Greek. He is holding a spear in his right hand, and a round metal shield in his left, but it appears that in addition to the spear and shield, a *gorytus* (bow and arrow holder) is attached to his right thigh.

The second group is much better preserved. It consists of a Greek horseman turned to the right, pursuing at full speed a barbarian (pl. XIX, fig. 3). The Greek is young, beardless, bareheaded. His body is naked, his chlamys is floating behind him. In the right hand he holds a sword ready to strike, in the left a round shield. His adversary is speeding away from him to the right, upon a mount which is quite different from that of the three other horsemen (pl. XIX, fig. 4). It is not the Greek classical horse, but that of the steppes of Asia and South Russia. Its body is long and thin; its head muscular, bony, almost angular.⁵ The horseman, while speeding to the right, turns his body and head and shoots back an arrow at his adversary. His dress and arms are those of the Parthians, as described in our Hellenistic and Roman literary sources, and represented on several terracottas and on some *graffiti* and *dipinti* of Dura-Europos.⁶ The breeches, the high shoes, and the riding caftan with long sleeves can be seen clearly. The headdress is, unfortunately, not so easy to describe and to understand. The head is seen in profile, and so is the headdress. It may be the Parthian *bashlyk*, but it seems more probable to recognize in it the tripartite arrangement of hair typical for the Parthian bowmen and often described and reproduced in sculpture and drawing. He is armed with a bow; a quiver is attached to his right thigh. His bow is represented with minute accuracy. It is the "compound" bow of the Nomads, such as we find on many representations of classical, Hellenistic, and Roman times, for example on the Persian bas-reliefs of Persepolis and Susa, on many Greek vases, on Graeco-Iranian gems, and at a later time in the paintings and *graffiti* of Dura-Europos. The same bow is the chief weapon of some Sarmatians represented on the column of Trajan. A beautiful and excellently preserved bow of this type was found recently in a Parthian grave of the second or third century A.D., near Yrzi on the Euphrates. Fragments of similar bows were excavated quite recently in some nomadic graves (ascribed to Huns) in the Kirghiz steppes (Kirghiz S.S.R.). Others were found on the German and Danube *limes* of the Roman Empire.⁷

⁵ Cf. the grazing horse represented on coins of Panticapaeum of the second century B.C., E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pl. V, no. 25, cf. p. 629.

⁶ On the terracottas, see n. 25. For the *graffiti* and *dipinti* of Dura, *Yale Dura Exp. Prel. Rep.* ii, pls. XLI-XLIII; iv, pls. XX-XXII; vi, pl. XLIII, and pp. 306 ff.; vii-viii, pls. XIV, XV, and XLVI. Cf. my papers: "L'art gréco-iranien," *Rev. des Arts As.* xxviii, 1933, pp. 205 ff., fig. 1, 206, fig. 2, 209 ff., figs. 3-5, and pl. LXIV; "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Cl. St.* v, 1935, figs. 82-85; *CAH.*, pl. IV, pp. 26 ff.

⁷ The bow of Yrzi and similar bows have been carefully studied by F. E. Brown, "A Recently Discovered Compound Bow," *Ann. Inst. Kondakov* ix, 1937. The fragments from the graves of the Kirghiz

The style and composition of the scenes reproduced on the Moore cup are not without interest. They represent a continuation, or a revival, of the old traditions of Greek classical art of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., which delighted in reproducing in painting and sculpture, especially in the sculptural friezes of temples and other monuments, scenes of battles between Greeks and barbarians (or Amazons). I need not give here a catalogue of them; suffice it to remind the reader of the best known ones: the sculptures of the Athena Nike temple at Athens, of the temple at Phigalia in Greece, and those of Gjölbashi, the monument of Nereids, and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor. This monumental art and similar pictorial compositions are reflected in Greek and Italian red-figured vases, and on various products of applied art, such as, for example, the sword-sheath of Chertomlyk and its replica in the Metropolitan Museum, the gold comb of Solokha (in this case the two fighters are both barbarians), and the *gorytus* of the same tumulus. These scenes of battle had a long life. They had a splendid continuation in modified forms in the great compositions reproducing the battles of Alexander (the Alexander mosaic and the sarcophagus of Alexander) of the late fourth century, and they appear still later in the Hellenistic period, both in the Eastern and in the Western part of the ancient world. They are illustrated, for example, in Italy, by the appliqué terracotta groups of the third century B.C. which adorned the well-known Daunian *askoi*, found in large numbers in the early Hellenistic graves of Canosa (third century B.C.) and in contemporary and later monuments of Graeco-Etruscan art, and in Greece and Asia Minor, by the well-known frieze of the monument of Aemilius Paullus of Delphi, and by the frieze of the temple of Magnesia on the Maeander. The scenes of the Moore cup represent the same old tradition. They are nearest in style to the battle scenes of the Magnesia frieze.⁸

steppes, A. N. Bernshtam, *Inst. for the Hist. of Mat. Cult., Short Communications* iv, 1940, p. 45 f. (in Russian); cf. M. Field and E. Prostov, *Antiquity* 1940, p. 417.

⁸ These scenes have been recently studied in connection with the sword-sheath of Chertomlyk and its replica in the Metropolitan Museum by G. M. A. Richter, "A Greek Sword-Sheath from S. Russia," *MMS.* iv, 1932, pp. 122 ff., figs. 14-17. A full catalogue of the Canosa appliqué figures or groups of figures derived from contemporary sculptured friezes of temples and graves, with excellent photographic reproductions, will be found in the penetrating study of P. Bienkowski, *Les Celtes dans les arts mineurs Gréco-Romains*, 1928 (Acad. Pol. des Sciences et des Lettres), pp. 81 ff.; cf. for the figurines of the British Museum, F. N. Pryce, *CVA. Gr. Brit.* 10, B.M. 7, Group IV D a, pl. 19, 1-3, and p. 12. Cf. the terracotta frieze of Pompeii of about the same time showing a scene of battle, P. Bienkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff. On the date of the Canosa *askoi*, H. Nachod, *RM.* xxix, 1914, pp. 289 ff.; M. Jatta, *loc. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.; M. Mayer, *Apulien*, 1914, p. 305; F. N. Pryce, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 9. On the Apulian pottery in general, N. Jacobone, *Canusium* 1925, pp. 183 ff. and on the relief pottery in particular P. Wuilleumier, *Le trésor de Tarente*, 1930, pp. 81 ff. I owe some of the references concerning Canosa pottery to the kindness of Miss Christine Alexander. On the frieze of Civit'Alba in Picenum and the related figures of some Calenian dishes and Etruscan urns and sarcophagi, P. R. von Bienkowski, "Die Darstellungen der Gallier in d. hellenistischen Kunst," *JOAI.* 1908, pp. 93 ff., 86 ff., and 105 ff. On the frieze of the monument of Aemilius Paullus, P. Bienkowski, *Les Celtes*, etc., pp. 165 ff., cf. F. Courby, *Fouilles d. Delphes* ii, 2, 1927 (reconstruction of the monument, p. 303, fig. 250) and Ch. Picard and P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Sculptures Grecques de Delphes*, 1927 (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv), pl. LXXVII. On the date of the temple of Magnesia and of its builder Hermogenes, see A. v. Gerkan, *Altar des Artemistempels in Magnesia*, 1929, pp. 25 ff.; cf. G. Krahmer cited below, and M. v. Massow, *Führer durch das Pergamon Museum*,² 1936, pp. 28 ff., who advocates the late second century B.C., a date which I accepted in my *Soc. and Ec. Hist. of the Hell. World*, chap. VI, n. 100; cf., however, W. Hahland, "Datierung der Hermogenesbauten," *Ber. über d. VI Intern. Kongress f. Arch.*, 1940, pp. 425

This dependence on classical compositions is well illustrated by the group of the Greek and the barbarian with the fallen horse. This group is typical of the battle scenes of the fifth and fourth centuries. It appears in the Athena Nike temple of the Acropolis, at Phigalia (in modified form), in the Heroon of Gjölbashi and in the Monument of the Nereids, on several South Italian red-figured vases, on the scabbards of South Russia, and on the *gorytus* of Solokha, in the mosaic of Alexander, and on the Sidonian sarcophagus of Alexander. We find it later on the Delphian pillar of Aemilius Paullus, on the Magnesian frieze, and on the vases of Canosa mentioned above. Still later, it was very popular with the sculptors who made the Roman battle-sarcophagi,⁹ and it appears occasionally in applied art. It is interesting to note that the group of the Moore cup finds its nearest parallel in the similar group of the Solokha *gorytus*, especially as regards the figure of the barbarian, which very probably is derived ultimately from the Solokha figure.¹⁰ The only difference is, that on the Moore cup two horsemen, and not a warrior on foot and a horseman, are fighting each other. This trait in the group under discussion appears to be an innovation of the early Hellenistic period, since we find it, apparently for the first time, in the composition under consideration, in the famous group of Alexander and the Persian prince of the mosaic and sarcophagus of Alexander. Since that time the group in its new form remained in use. I may instance, for example, for the Hellenistic period, two fine plastic groups—reflections, without doubt, of a sculptured frieze—which formed the decoration of a Canosa vase, now in the Metropolitan Museum (pl. XX), and the sculptures of the monument of Aemilius Paullus.¹¹

This leads us to a more general problem. While on the monuments of Greek classical art representing battles between Greeks and barbarians, the Greeks appear in general on foot and the barbarians on horseback, the Moore cup represents duels between horsemen, in two versions: in one group a Greek horseman facing a barbarian, likewise on horseback; in the other, the Greek on horseback pursuing a mounted barbarian. One may feel inclined to ascribe this peculiarity to Oriental influences. It is well known how popular was the motif of a duel between two horsemen and the pursuit of one horseman by another in late Oriental and in Graeco-Oriental art.¹² But we must be cautious. Though appearing rarely in the classical

ff., who, in the light of the epigraphical evidence, defends the traditional date (end of the third century B.C.). As regards the style of the figures of the Moore cup, as compared with that of the Magnesian frieze and the friezes of other temples built by Hermogenes or in his style, I may note for example, the similar treatment of the horses (the forelegs apparently longer than the hind legs), and the large heads of the Greeks. Note also that the weapons of the Greeks on the Moore cup are exactly the same as those on the Magnesian frieze. See C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, 1904, p. 185, and the fine stylistic analysis of the Magnesia frieze and related monuments by G. Krahmer, *JdI*, xl, 1925, pp. 183 ff.

⁹ H. Shoppa, *Die Darstellung des Perser in der gr. Kunst bis zum Beginn des Hellenismus* (Diss.) Berl. 1933, p. 34 f. Add to his references P. Bienkowski, *Les Celtes*, etc., p. 185 f.

¹⁰ M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 1922, p. 108 and pl. XXI.

¹¹ H. Shoppa, *loc. cit.* The Canosa terracotta groups of the Metropolitan Museum, *B.M.M.A.* viii, 1913, pp. 175 ff.; *Handbook*, 1927, pp. 206 ff., and especially P. Bienkowski, *Les Celtes*, etc., pp. 91, fig. 139, and 93, fig. 141.

¹² See my *Peinture murale decorative en Russie Méridionale*, 1914, pp. 239 ff. and 311 ff. (in Russian); *Rev. des Arts*, As. xxviii, 1933, pp. 202 ff.; *Mém. de l'Ac. d. Inscr.* xliii, 1932; *Yale Dura Exp. Prel. Rep.* iv, 1933, pp. 182 ff.; *Yale Class. St.* v, 1935, pp. 262 ff. Cf. G. Rodenwaldt, "Griechische Reliefs in Lykien," *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.* xxvii, 1933, p. 18f.

sculpture of Greece, and mostly on monuments of Asia Minor (for example the monument of the Nereids and the tomb of Tlos), the motif of two confronting horsemen fighting each other, of whom one is often a barbarian, is familiar to Greek archaic art, and is certainly a Greek and not an Orientalizing creation.¹³ Nor is this group uncommon in the later periods of Greek classical and in Hellenistic art. I may cite, at random, without aiming at completeness, for the Hellenistic period the reliefs of a "Megarian" cup of the third century B.C., showing a battle between Celts and Greeks and some of the plastic groups of the Canosa vases mentioned above. Rarer are the instances of one horseman pursuing another.¹⁴

While the composition and style of the figural decoration of the Moore cup represent the Greek classical tradition and go back to classical originals, one of the four figures of the cup is different in style and conception: the figure of the fleeing Parthian shooting back. This figure has a long and interesting history in Oriental and Greek art. It may be of interest, and may help us to understand this figure better if we retrace the history of this motif in its development over the centuries. I do not pretend, however, to produce all the material. It would far exceed the scope of this paper.

The earliest monuments known to me in which the figure of a rider shooting back appears are some products of late Assyrian and Phoenician art of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The figure appears in all of them in scenes of hunting, not of fighting. I refer to a fragmentary engraved Assyrian cylinder of the Berlin Museum (a man on horseback is represented shooting back at a wild bull), and three so-called "Phoenician" cups, one found at Nimrud and two found in Italy (the Regolini-Galassi and the Barberini tombs). These last show scenes of a lion hunt: a lion has overpowered a man, and hunters on horseback and on foot are coming to his rescue, some of them galloping away from the fierce beast and shooting back. The cups may be of Phoenician make, but the motif of a mounted archer shooting back is certainly Assyrian. I may remind the reader of the hunters of Assyrian art shooting back from their chariots.¹⁵ I venture to suggest that the way of hunting by

¹³ The group of two horsemen fighting over a prostrate body was first studied by G. Löschke, "Bildliche Tradition," *Bonn. Studien* (in honor of R. Kekulé), 1890, pp. 248 ff., cf. H. W. Burkhardt, *Reiter-typen auf griechischen Vasen* (Diss.), München, 1906, pp. 30 ff.; H. Shoppa, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and n. 4, H. Grossman, *Das Reiterbild in Malerei und Plastik*, 1931.

¹⁴ I have made no effort to collect the material in full, since it has no direct bearing on the chief subject of this paper. On the Canosa vases, see above, n. 8. On the "Megarian" cup, F. Courby, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs*, 1922, pp. 443 ff. For the motif of one horseman pursuing another, I may remind the reader of the well-known coin of Alexander representing him on horseback pursuing Porus (?) riding on an elephant. Porus and his driver are turning back, the second in order to fight their enemy. See my *Soc. and Ec. Hist. of the Hell. World*, pl. XVIII, 5. Cf. the central group of the mosaic of Alexander and the corresponding group on the sarcophagus of Alexander, and one of the plaques of the Metropolitan Canosa vase quoted above (P. Bienkowski, *Les Celtes*, etc., p. 92, fig. 140); cf. a late Samnite painting in the vestibule of the house of Amandus in Pompeii representing a battle between two horsemen, Felix Pompeianus and Spartacus, Felix pursuing Spartacus who runs away at full speed, turning his head back, A. Maiuri, *La Pittura ellenistico romana*, Sezione terza, Pompei, fasc. ii, pp. 3 ff., figs. I^a and I^b; M. Della Corte, *Pompei, Les Nouvelles Fouilles*, 1935, p. 30.

¹⁵ O. Weber, "Altorientalische Siegelbilder," *Alt. Or.* xvii-xviii, 1920, no. 514 and p. 124. The Nimrud cup, A. M. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh* ii, 1853, pl. 65 (on the bronze vessels found by Layard in Nimrud and now in the British Museum, see C. Watzinger in W. Otto, *Handb. d. Arch.* i, 1939, p. 309). The Regolini-Galassi cup, Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art* iii, p. 769, fig. 544. The Barberini vase, C. D. Curtis, *MAAR.* v, 1925, pl. VII, no. 20 and p. 22. On their date, A. Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik*

shooting back may be regarded as borrowed by the Assyrians from their neighbors, allies, and enemies of the eighth and seventh centuries—the nomadic Cimmerians and Scythians.¹⁶

The figures of mounted archers shooting back appear again a little later in Greek Ionian art of the sixth century B.C. They certainly were not borrowed by Ionian artists from Phoenician originals.¹⁷ It is interesting to note, though it is certainly an accident, that all three of the following classes of objects of Ionian inspiration, on some of which this motif is represented, are known exclusively by finds made in Italy: I mean the "Pontic" vases, the bronze ash-urns of the late sixth or early fifth century, and the terracotta friezes. I cannot discuss these objects here, which, though made in Italy by Etruscan craftsmen, hark back to the true place of their origin—Ionian Asia Minor. What interests me are the figures of mounted archers shooting back. Three of them appear on one of the Pontic vases now in the Vatican.¹⁸ Several adorn the lids of Campanian bronze ash-urns: bronze figurines surrounding the central figure of the lid. On the recently acquired beautiful specimen of the Metropolitan Museum, and on one almost identical example in the British Museum, four archers are riding, one behind the other, alternately shooting arrows straight before them and back. The plastic figures of the ash-urns are strikingly similar to those painted on the Pontic amphora. Finally, one fragmentary figure of an archer shooting back appears on a terracotta frieze from Caere, now in the Berlin Museum.¹⁹ On the Pontic vase, the Campanian ash-urns, and the Caere frieze, the figures of mounted archers are realistic and not conventional. They represent real Nomads, dressed in more or less the same way as the Scythians are represented on later monuments of art, and wearing the same headgear—a pointed cap, the cap of the Saka tigrachaudā (Ὀρθοκορυβάντιοι), part of whom was ruled by the famous Skunkha of the Behistun bas-relief, who wears a similar cap or helmet.²⁰ I need not enter into a discussion of the dress, arms, and caps as they appear on these earliest

i, 1936, p. 104 f.; A. W. Byvanck, *Mnemos.* iv, 1936–37, p. 215, cf. p. 224. There is no need to quote the many representations of a hunter shooting back from his chariot; see, for instance, the cup of Nimrud, Layard, *op. cit.*, pl. 68 and the famous picture of Assurnasirpal, many times reproduced; for ex. A. Goetze, *Hethitter und Assyrer*, 1936, fig. 2.

¹⁶ On the relations of the Assyrians and the Kingdom of Urartu to Cimmerians and Scythians, see my *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 34 ff.; A. Goetze, "Kleinasien" in W. Otto, *H. d. Alt.* iii, 1, 1933, pp. 178 f., 189, 194; E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* iii², 1937, pp. 36 ff., 71 ff., 131 ff., 144 ff., 424 ff.; cf. B. Piotrowski, "Les Scythes et la Transcaucasie," *Musée de l'Ermitage, Travaux du Dép. Oriental*, iii, 1940, pp. 71 ff (in Russian with French résumé).

¹⁷ Borrowing is suggested by E. Pfuhl, *MuZ.* i, 1923, §§ 183 and 189.

¹⁸ This Pontic vase has been reproduced and discussed several times. I refer only to the best reproductions and full discussions: E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 53 and fig. 9 (p. 55); P. Couissin, *Institutions militaires et navales*, 1931, pl. XXVII, 3 and 4; P. Ducati, *Pontische Vasen*, 1932 (J. D. Beazley and P. Jacobsthal, *Bilder Gr. Vasen*), p. 13, pl. 9^a; C. W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Griechische Ceramiek*, 1936, fig. 71; cf. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Development*, 1930, p. 88.

¹⁹ G. M. A. Richter, *AJA.* xliv, 1940, pp. 431 ff., cf. *The Metropolitan Museum, Handbook of the Etruscan Collection*, 1940, p. 29 and fig. 81. In her article, Miss Richter refers to works in which the urns were reproduced and discussed. On the Caere fragment: R. Zahn, *Die Darstellungen der Barbaren in griechischer Literatur u. Kunst der vorhellenistischen Zeit* (Diss.), Heidelberg, 1896, p. 58.

²⁰ A. Campbell Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia*, 1907 (the figure of Skunkha, p. XLIV, pl. XVI); E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1910, p. 24; *id.*, *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran* i, 1929, p. 100; A. Christensen, "Die Iranier," in W. Otto, *Handb. d. Altertums.* iii, 1, 3, 1933, p. 254. Cf. the figures of Scythian tribute-bearers on the bas-reliefs of the Apadana stairs in Persepolis, *Survey of Persian Art* i, 1938, p. 345, pl. 94a.

Greek representations of nomadic archers. It has been done several times, and I have very little to add to the discussion. What matters to me in this connection is the fact that the figures under review, purely ornamental for the residents of Italy, were, in all probability, not so for those who first made them—the Ionian Greeks. For the Greeks they were not fanciful figures of picturesque barbarians, contrasted with Greeks, but artistic reproductions of a bitter reality in their own life. It is very probable that the artists who painted or modelled the Ionian originals of the Italian copies had had opportunities to observe nomadic barbarians in their own country. We know that in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. the Cimmerians, and after them the Scythians, overran Asia Minor, and some of them remained there to stay. It was probably under the fresh impression of their appearance that they were first painted and carved by Ionian artists, who knew well their treacherous way of fighting.²¹

In the life of Greece proper, the Scythians in the sixth and fifth centuries, the time of their great expansion, played a comparatively important rôle. As neighbors and enemies of the Thracians, they may occasionally have come into contact with Greek cities of the Thracian shore of the Black Sea; they may have served as mercenary soldiers in the armies of the Greek states, especially of Athens, and may have been employed as slaves by cities and private men; we hear of them in Athens acting as policemen, or again as orderlies of Athenian hoplites. No wonder that the figures of Scythians, more and more conventionalized, were used extensively by Attic artists of the sixth and early fifth centuries in scenes of mass and individual fighting between Nomads and Greeks, and as assistants of Greek hoplites. Even their peculiar way of shooting back arrows is represented on several Greek black-figured vases in mythological scenes.²² In literary tradition, this mode of fighting is mentioned in much later times by Xenophon (*Anab.* iii, 3, 10).

The increasingly conventionalized figures of Scythians on Athenian archaic and early classical vases very soon—as early as the second half of the fifth century B.C.—vanished from the usual repertory of Attic and Greek artists in general, and from that of Attic vase painters in particular. The political importance of the Scythians

²¹ On Scythians and Cimmerians in South Russia and Asia Minor, see my *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 36 ff., cf. p. 10. I cannot list here the later contributions to the history of the Cimmerians and Scythians. See above n. 16. As regards the monuments of art of Asia Minor on which Cimmerians or Scythians appear, I may mention the famous Clazomenian sarcophagus of the British Museum several times reproduced and discussed (for instance, M. H. Swindler, *Anc. Painting*, p. 133 and fig. 23; E. Pfuhl, *MuZ.* i, p. 169 and iii, fig. 139, both with bibliographical references; cf. H. Shoppa, *op. cit.*, p. 25). Most modern scholars agree that the mounted archers represented on this sarcophagus are Cimmerians or Scythians and not Amazons.

²² On representations of Scythians in Greek archaic art, in general, especially on black- and early red-figured vases of Athens, see H. Shoppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff. The Parthian shot occurs in mythological scenes (Achilles and Penthesilea and Troilus); see for instance G. Löschke, *op. cit.*, p. 256, fig. 6 and p. 257; cf. p. 258, fig. 7. Cf. the intaglio from Tharros, showing a Scythian kneeling and shooting back, *Br. Mus. Cat. of Engraved Gems and Cameos*, 1926, no. 406, pl. VII; cf. R. Zahn, *op. cit.*, p. 54. The evidence for the later vase-painting has never (to my knowledge) been collected, and I had no reason to do it for the purpose of this paper. I may note, however, that figures of Amazons on foot striking back with their lances or axes are common on red-figured vases of the later period and that on one lekythos (about 420 B.C.) Artemis (on foot) is represented as just having shot back an arrow (K. Kourouniotes, 'Εφ. 1907, p. 134, fig. 5, cf. fig. 4). I have not found on red-figured vases a figure of a mounted Amazon armed with a bow and shooting back an arrow.

in the West was on its decline, and the attention of the artists was attracted by the more immediate, more exciting, more picturesque Persians and Thracians. But the Scythians remained a factor in Greek life, as powerful neighbors, nominal suzerains, and commercial partners of the Greeks of the northern shore of the Black Sea. It is not strange, therefore, that while the figures of the Scythians were disappearing from the art of the mainland of Greece, they continued to play an important rôle in Greek art of the North Pontic cities, especially of Panticapaeum, in the fifth and fourth centuries. On scores of exquisite products of Greek toreutics the Panticapaeian artists portrayed with sympathy and interest, in a realistic, sometimes romantic and often pathetic style, affected by Iranian influences, the various aspects of Scythian life, with emphasis on the religious and military side. If, in the military and hunting scenes which adorned the various objects used by the Scythians, the motif of a Scythian shooting back has not yet appeared, it is probably due to the scarcity of objects decorated in this manner in the hitherto discovered Scythian royal graves. The Panticapaeian school of artists, however, was a local school. Its art, intended to satisfy the needs and to comply with the taste of Scythian chieftains, had no *rayonnement* and very little influence on the art of the rest of the Greek world.²³

Another branch of Greek art which retained its interest in the Scythians was Graeco-Persian art, which was widely spread over the Western part of the Persian Empire, with its center in Asia Minor, especially in the more Iranized parts of it (Pontus, Cappadocia, Phrygia), but with radiations into Northern Syria and into Egypt. One set of objects which I am inclined to regard as products of this art deserves fuller study and more attention than has been given to it by modern scholars: I mean the terracottas representing nomadic horsemen, perhaps soldiers of the Persian army stationed in the Western satrapies of the Persian Empire. Several, which may be assigned to the fifth century B.C., have been found at Memphis in Egypt, others in North Syria in comparatively large numbers (a continuation as it were of the prehistoric and early Oriental votive statuettes of horsemen). In them the Asiatic Nomads are represented in a realistic style. Specimens which show these Nomads fighting or hunting and shooting an arrow in one or another way are unknown to me.²⁴

Better known and more carefully studied are the so-called Graeco-Persian gems (fifth-fourth centuries B.C.). These are found in various places, and their center of production is a matter of speculation. The most probable suggestion is that they were made in the more Iranized parts of Asia Minor. Scenes of battle and hunting are frequently represented on them. One is especially important for our purpose. It

²³ On the Panticapaeian school of Greek artists and their new devices and the subjects which they treated in their new style, see my *Iranians and Greeks*, pp. 102 ff., esp. pp. 108 ff.; *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, pp. 337 ff.; cf. on the influence of Iranian art on Greek artists of Panticapaeum my articles listed in my "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Cl. St.* v, 1935, p. 169, n. 9. For a different view, cf. K. Schefold, "Der Skythische Tierstil in Südrussland," *Eur. Sept. Ant.* xii, 1938, p. 72. The Panticapaeian school of art deserves a more careful and detailed study in a special book written by a historian of art more familiar with both Greek and Persian art than I am.

²⁴ I have listed the specimens which have been published in my "Dura and the Parthian Art," p. 189, n. 36.

appears on a gem of the fourth century B.C., now in the Hermitage, and shows a Persian horseman pursuing two Scythians, also on horseback. One of the Scythians turns his head back. It is difficult to recognize on photographic reproductions whether he is shooting back or begging his enemy for mercy.²⁵

While in the Western branch of Greek art the figures of Nomads never appear in the Hellenistic period, they did not disappear in the East. We know little of the Seleucid Kingdom and of its art, but even the scanty information in our possession shows that figures of Nomads, especially Parthians, on horseback, were not unfamiliar to the artists of the Seleucid Empire. I may cite a group of terracottas, found chiefly in Syria, Cyprus, and Palestine, which represent men in Parthian dress on horseback, sometimes shooting an arrow (the Parthian shot is not represented, but this I regard as an accident). The terracottas of this type have never been collected in full or carefully studied. They were made not by Parthian, but by Greek or hellenized artists of Syria and Mesopotamia, and were probably votive offerings. Some of them represent Syrian hellenized gods on horseback, in Greek or strongly hellenized dress, but the majority Parthian archers. It is very difficult to assign a certain date to the group. In my opinion, some of the terracottas representing Parthian horsemen are Hellenistic, others Roman. The Hellenistic examples certainly testify to the constant conflicts between the Seleucids and the Parthians, and may be reflections of monumental pictures and sculptures in the temples, on altars, in palaces, and heroa of the Seleucid kingdom, in which battles between the Seleucids and the Parthians may have been represented.²⁶

I may mention in passing that naturally Parthians (and probably their nomadic enemies also) were often represented in the monumental pictorial and triumphal art of the Parthians themselves. Our information on this subject is scanty. I have collected and discussed it in a special memoir, and there is no need to speak of it here again. Our best source of information on this subject, aside from the few monumental sculptures and pictures found in Persia, Sakastan, and Mesopo-

²⁵ M. Maximowa, *AA.* xliii, 1928, p. 649, fig. 3 and p. 669, n. 1. Figures of mounted men turning back and begging for mercy appear in Assyrian art, and may have been borrowed from it by Persian art. See, for example, the bedouin on camel-back, first reproduced by Layard, *op. cit.* ii, pl. 57, and several times later. It is well known that similar figures are quite common in Greek art. I have quoted the studies on Graeco-Iranian art in general in my "Dura and Parthian Art," p. 168, n. 8. Most of the battle scenes represented on Graeco-Persian gems show the traditional Greek composition: Persian on horseback, Greek on foot; see Maximowa, *op. cit.*, and A. S. F. Gow, *JHS.* xlviii, 1928, pl. X, 8.

²⁶ The most beautiful figure of a Parthian archer, probably early Hellenistic, is that published by F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, 1922, pl. 54, 2. Cf. his description of this plate, where other similar objects are listed, and id. in *Survey of Persian Art* i, p. 410 and pl. 134 A. Some other figurines of the same type and in part of the same time have been reproduced and discussed by me, *Yale Dura Exp. Prel. Rep.* ii, 1931, pp. 199 ff. and pls. XXIV, XXV; cf. my "Dura and the Parthian Art," p. 189 and n. 36 (fig. 6 represents a terracotta of this type, but of Roman time, found at Dura) and my *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. I, 1 and 2 (these two figurines show striking similarities to specimens in the Berlin Museum; they may have been made in Cappadocia, but the style is certainly Syrian; the date is difficult to ascertain, but they may be Hellenistic). It has been suggested that the Amazonomachy represented on one of the painted shields found at Dura reflects in its composition and in its treatment of the Amazons some peculiarities of the Graeco-Syrian or Graeco-Parthian art. It is true, that though mounted Amazons are common on the Roman sarcophagi and that they often strike back with their swords or axes they never appear using bows and shooting arrows back. See C. Hopkins, *Yale Dura Exp. Prel. Rep.* vii-viii, 1939, p. 361 f. and pls. XLIV and XLV.

tamia, are the sculptures, pictures, *graffiti* and *dipinti* of Palmyra and Dura. How much this secular art of the Parthian Kingdom was influenced by the corresponding art of the Seleucids cannot be discussed here. The core of it goes back in all probability to Iranian, Achaemenid traditions.²⁷

It is not impossible, though it cannot be proved, that it was the Parthian Hellenized art which influenced to a certain extent the Chinese art of the Han period, in which scenes of battle and hunting play an important part. I refer to the sculptural decoration of certain tombs and funeral offering shrines, of some Chinese faïence vases with bas-reliefs, painted vases, and silk stuffs. In these the figures of mounted archers hunting and fighting appear frequently, and the "Parthian shot" is often represented. With these Chinese monuments we may compare the Siberian rock carvings showing the same scenes, and the Sino-Siberian and Sarmatian plaques, which I have discussed in several papers.²⁸

In the light of this sketchy history of mounted archers in Oriental, semi-Oriental, and Greek art, the appearance of a realistic, non-conventional figure of a Parthian on the Moore cup is an interesting fact and a problem of certain importance. I must repeat that in its neo-classical surroundings the figure appears as an intruder, as a foreign body. While the other figures of the Hellenistic composition of the cup are conventional copies of earlier originals, the figure of the Parthian impresses one as quite different: realistic, well observed, full of life and movement. How explain the appearance of such a figure in such a composition?

Two preliminary remarks before I deal with this problem will not be out of place. The Moore cup, found in Syria, cannot be a product of the West, for example, of Italy. It must have been made either in Syria or in Asia Minor. The exact date of the cup is more difficult to ascertain. The form of the *scyphus* and the style of the figures are not conclusive, but it cannot be later than the first century B.C. or the early first century A.D. To me the earlier date seems more probable. We have, therefore, to deal with a composition of a Greek, Anatolian, or Syrian artist of the first century B.C. or A.D. Why did the artist revive the composition of battles between Greeks and barbarians? From what source did he take the figure of the Parthian? No conclusive answer can be given to these two queries. We might conjecture that the two groups of the Moore cup were copied from the monuments of the Seleucid period mentioned above, which may have been adorned with scenes of battles between Greeks and Parthians. In fact, the Parthian of the Moore cup reminds us, to a certain extent, in style and treatment of the early Hellenistic terracottas referred to above, representing the Parthian archers.

²⁷ See my "Dura and the Parthian Art," 1935, and my "Dura-Europos and its Art" 1938, pp. 92 ff.

²⁸ See my *Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty*, 1927, p. 42, fig. 25 and pls. XIV and XV, and "Dura and the Parthian Art," pp. 270 ff. and figs. 67 and 70; cf. W. Fairbank, "The Offering Shrines of 'Wu Liang Tz'u,'" *Harvard Journal of As. St.* vi, 1941, pp. 1 ff. A still stronger Parthian influence, or a development of art parallel to that in Parthia in South Russia, has been studied by me in several books and articles. For a short summary I may refer to my "Dura and the Parthian Art," p. 267 f. Most important are the Panticapaeon grave-paintings, in which scenes of battle and hunting of a semi-Iranian character are the most prominent. On the Sino-Siberian plaques with scenes of nomadic life, see my paper *Le Centre de l'Asie, la Russie, la Chine et le style animal*, 1929, pl. XL; cf. *Artibus Asiae* v, 1932 and *Sem. Kondak*, vi, 1933, pp. 101 ff.

Equally probable is, however, another suggestion. We must recall what an impression was made on the ancient world of the first century B.C. by the tremendous successes of the Parthians in their struggle with Rome. How unexpected and depressing to the civilized world was the defeat and death of Crassus! What a terror reigned in Syria and Asia Minor at the time of the victorious raids of Pacorus and Labienus! How deeply the ancient world, and especially Rome, felt the miscarriage of the great Parthian campaign of Antony! How seriously the Romans took the possibility of a new Parthian invasion which might—in the chaos of the civil wars—reach Italy, and even Rome! How relieved they were when Augustus succeeded in establishing a *modus vivendi* with the Parthians. One must re-read the well known expressions of these fears and anxieties in the literature of the time, especially in the Odes and Letters of Horace, in the Georgics of Vergil, and in the poems of Propertius and Ovid.²⁹ The art of this period could not remain indifferent to this renewed interest in the Parthians. It is probable that in Asia Minor, though hardly in utterly disorganized Syria, after the invasion of Pacorus and Labienus, monuments in memory of the liberation from this Oriental danger were erected by rich citizens of those cities which took an active part in defending their native country from the invaders. These monuments may have been adorned with friezes depicting the new victories of Greeks over the Oriental barbarians. These friezes were probably not original creations of great artists, but centos, “pasticci,” consisting of groups of fighters borrowed from the old stock, from the temples and heroa of Asia Minor. It was natural to insert into these old-fashioned compositions the figure of a real Parthian, not a conventional barbarian. The reader must be reminded that realistic figures of barbarians were used extensively in the plastic and pictorial art of the early and late Hellenistic period, both in the East and in the West. This tradition was still alive in the late Hellenistic period, as late as the first century B.C. It is shown by the history of the figures of Celts in Hellenistic art, so fully illustrated by Bienkowski. It is therefore not surprising to find the figure of a Parthian inserted into a traditional composition by Anatolian artists of the first century B.C. This figure was of course well known to Greek artists of Asia Minor, not so much from the Hellenistic art of Syria, but from actual observation. The artists were probably natives of the cities of Asia Minor. They may well have seen the Parthians, and some of them may have taken active part in the defense of their cities against the much dreaded Parthian archers with their new devices in warfare, of which the most peculiar was the “Parthian shot.” It was natural for the toreuts and potters of the time to reproduce the most striking groups of these friezes in their compositions.³⁰

Silver and faïence cups of this type may have been exported to Italy and Rome,

²⁹ See A. Steinmann, *De Parthis ab Horatio memoratis* (Diss.) Berlin, 1898. Cf. L. Cooper, *A Concordance to the Works of Horace*, 1916, p. 369, and for Vergil, H. Merguet, *Lexikon zu Vergilius*, 1912, p. 496. For the invasion of Asia Minor by Labienus and the impression produced by it on the population, see my *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hell. World*, 1941, pp. 1009 ff.

³⁰ An excellent parallel to a combination in scenes of battle of conventional and traditional figures of Hellenized warriors with realistic ones of barbarians, made in quite a different style, is presented by some of the above-mentioned (n. 8) appliqué groups and figures of the Canosa vases, reproductions of groups and single figures of sculptured friezes which commemorated real battles fought in Italy in the third century.

and, together with the accounts of the Parthian Wars by the historians of the times,³¹ may have contributed to the vividness of such poetical descriptions of the Parthian archers as are found in Horace and Vergil, for example Horace, *Carm.* i, 19, 10: *nec patitur Scythas, | et versis animosum equis | Parthum dicere*, or Vergil, *Georg.* iii, 31: *fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis* (cf. Prop. iv, 3, 66; Ovid, *Ars am.* i, 201; iii, 786; *Fast.* v, 591). I regard this hypothesis as more probable than to suppose the existence of triumphal monuments with sculptures of this type in Rome itself. I do not see who could be responsible for such monuments, certainly not the lieutenants of Antony. On the Moore cup it is the Greeks who are combatting the Parthians, probably Greeks of Asia Minor, not the *robustus acri militia puer* who *Parthos ferocis vexat eques metuendus hasta* (Hor. *Carm.* iii, 2, 2).³²

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³¹ See the bibliography in *CAH.* ix, p. 946 f. and W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, pp. 44 ff.

³² I do not think that the cup was made in Italy in the Augustan age and reflects monuments of Augustan triumphal art, as do for example the two well known *scyphi* of Boscoreale in the Rothschild collection. The Parthians of Augustan triumphal art appear as conventional conquered barbarians, not as living and fighting enemies. In fact, Augustus never conducted any war against them. The "*Victoriae Parthicae*" came much later. I may add that about a century later we see on the column of Trajan the figure of a Sarmatian *cataphractarius* or *clibanarius* shooting back an arrow (K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, 1926, scene XXXVII, pl. 20). The figure is half conventional, but goes back to actual observation.



PLATE XVIII. — THE MOORE CUP



1



2



3

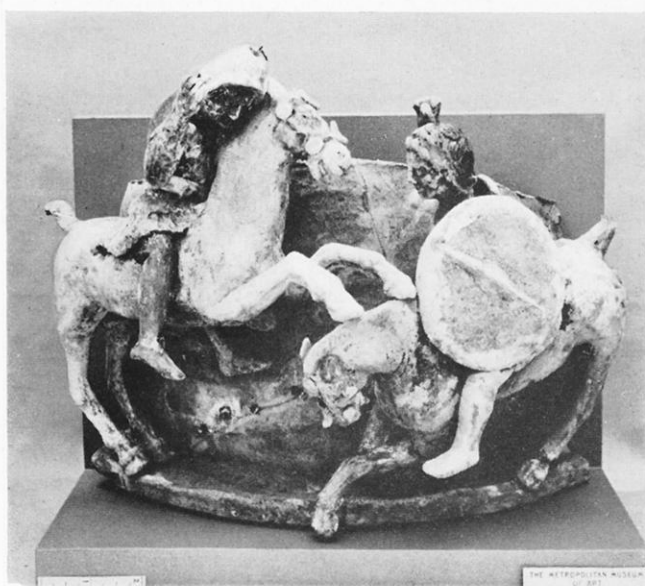


4

PLATE XIX. — THE MOORE CUP. DETAILS



1



2

PLATE XX.—BATTLES BETWEEN HORSEMEN ON CANOSA VASES IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM