

ASIA MINOR STUDIEN BAND 73

Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte
der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster

ASIA MINOR STUDIEN

Band 73

Kult und Herrschaft am Euphrat

Dolichener und Kommagenische Forschungen VI



2014

DR. RUDOLF HABELT GMBH · BONN

Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte
der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster

Kult und Herrschaft am Euphrat

herausgegeben von

Engelbert Winter



2014

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Gedruckt mit Unterstützung des Exzellenzclusters »Religion und Politik in den Kulturen der Vormoderne und Moderne« an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster

Abbildung Umschlag: Neubabylonisches und achämenidisches Stempelsiegel vom Dülük Baba Tepesi, Doliche (Fund-Nr. 09_212-504 und 10_707-500)

Beiträge und Anfragen sind zu richten an:
Forschungsstelle ASIA MINOR im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der
Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster
Georgskommende 25
D-48143 Münster

Redaktion: Nadine Marcinczik

ISBN 978-3-7749-3890-8

Ein Titeldatensatz ist bei der Deutschen Bibliothek erhältlich.

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Tafeln 1–60

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Karte 1

Pläne 1–3

EAGLES ON STAGS. AN UNDERGROUND SANCTUARY IN PERRHE, COMMAGENE

(Karte 1; Taf. 53–60)

Perrhe was a minor city at the foot of the Taurus range in the heartland of Commagene (Karte 1).¹ Few vestiges of the ancient city survive, but excavations carried out by Fehmi Erarslan, director of the Adiyaman Museum, have cleared large areas of the vast rock necropolis that spreads over the shallow eastern spur of the Kara Dağ range which confines the city area of Perrhe to the south and separates the Pirun valley from the Adiyaman plain.² The spur rises approximately 120 m from the valley to a total height of 830 m.

During the 2009 field campaign work was focused on the northern periphery of the main necropolis, south-west of the city area (Taf. 53, 1). In addition to the remains of an early Byzantine Christian basilica an underground room which served as a sanctuary in the Roman period was discovered.³ Its decoration and its inscriptions add new evidence to our knowledge of Roman Commagene.

The setting

The underground sanctuary is situated halfway up the barren hill, where the gradient of the slope levels and forms a natural platform, which has been artificially enlarged by extensive stone quarrying (Taf. 54, 1).⁴ This has created irregularly formed galleries in the bedrock. There are some burials in this area, although it lies beyond the main necropolis which extends at some distance to the west and south west.⁵ Simple shaft graves have been cleared during the excavation, but there are also some more sumptuous *arcosolia* cut into the quarry faces. This burial type was popular until late antique and early Byzantine time. It seems plausible to suggest that some of the graves were connected to the church mentioned above.⁶ This church occupies the northern edge of the platform (Taf. 54, 2).⁷ It has a central nave with aisles to the south and to the north. Two large rectangular plinths, which probably supported an arcade, have survived between nave and northern aisle. A pilaster base carved out of the bedrock on the west wall belongs to the arcade as well. Large parts of a mosaic floor, which covers both nave and aisles, are well preserved. Access to the church was provided by at least one door in the north wall.

¹ On Perrhe in general see Erarslan – Winter 2008, Blömer – Winter 2011, 128–137 and Erarslan 2012, 147–150, each with further references.

² On the inscriptions from the necropolis see Crowther – Facella 2011. Other finds from the excavations are discussed in Blömer – Facella 2008 (Dolichenus relief); Facella 2008a (coins), Facella 2008b (sarcophagus of Grylos); Blömer – Lätzer 2008 (funerary relief); Höpken 2010 (glass finds).

³ Erarslan et al. 2010, 367 f. Thanks to the kindness of F. Erarslan, director of the Adiyaman Museum, we had the opportunity to investigate the site on two occasions in September 2010 and 2011. Margherita Facella and Werner Oenbrink have been a major support during both visits. Restrictions of time prevented a comprehensive architectural analysis. Thus all observations on the architecture and installations retain a preliminary character.

⁴ The area has been designated as »gallery K-22« by the excavators; see Erarslan et al. 2010, 367.

⁵ Nevertheless, single graves, tumuli and small groups of chamber tombs are scattered across this area. Most notable is a cluster of burials with various inscriptions north of the platform down the hillside; see Crowther – Facella 2011, nos. 1. 4. 10–12.

⁶ Erarslan et al. 2010, 368; Erarslan 2012, 149 f. with fig. 128.

⁷ Erarslan et al. 2010, fig. 11. 12.

Little of the church's architecture has survived. Only the western part, which is partly carved out of the bedrock, is better preserved. The eastern section has vanished completely. Here the ground had to be raised artificially to compensate for the incline of the slope. A substructure was built to support the central apse and the side rooms. This part of the building eventually collapsed, and most of the debris tumbled down the slope. A considerable quantity of architectural blocks, however, remains at the site. To fix the chronological frame of the church a full investigation and publication of the building will be required, but it is strongly reminiscent of 5th–6th century churches in Euphratesia.⁸

To the south of the church a wide area was cleared in the course of the 2009 campaign. Various floors, wall remains, post-holes and ridges cut out of the bedrock as well as the aforementioned shaft graves testify to an intensive and lasting occupation of the area. The nature of these installations and their chronological frame still remain to be explored. Whether the occupation was linked primarily to the church or at least partly originated in earlier times cannot at present be determined.

The underground sanctuary

Immediately south-east of the church and the adjacent platform, stone quarrying has created a narrow lower terrace, separated by a step of approximately 3–4 m height (Taf. 54, 1. 55, 1). Traces of quarrying activity can easily be found all along the exposed sections of the rock face. The partial clearing of the northern end of the terrace revealed the underground sanctuary which will be discussed in this article.⁹

The sanctuary consists of two rooms, a rectangular main room and an irregularly formed side room to the north (Taf. 53, 2). Access is given from the terrace to the main room. Post holes in the rock face above the entrance and at the northern edge of the terrace indicate the existence of an anteroom or loggia, probably connected to the sanctuary (Taf. 55, 1). Other installations in the area facing the doorway should be attributed to later phases of use. At some point two irregularly-formed windows were cut through the rock face into the main room. Narrow grooves chiselled above the windows and the doorway to channel off rain water running down the rock suggest that by this time the area in front of the room was no longer spanned by a roof.

At some point, a wall of re-used ashlar and rubble was built up south of the doorway. It runs in an east-west direction and delimits an area immediately in front of the underground room. Traces of at least two walls running in parallel can be detected further north. Thus it seems that a line of rooms had been erected along the terrace, but neither their date nor their purpose can be determined at present. To clarify the sequence of building phases, further investigation of the terrace will be required.

The doorway leading into the room is 1,39 m wide. The door recess on the north side is still mainly preserved. Square sockets held the door jambs, which were evidently made of wood. Large parts of the southern door recess were worked off in a later intervention, and only the upper socket indicates the original dimension of the door.

⁸ On early Byzantine church buildings in this region see Hellenkemper 1978. For comparable mosaics with floral patterns and dispersed animals see Candemir – Wagner 1978.

⁹ Photographs taken during the clearing of this area are provided in Erarslan et al. 2010, figs. 6–9.

The room is east-west oriented and approximately rectangular, with the north wall measuring 5,75 m in length and the south wall 5,45 m (Taf. 55, 2). The west wall is 4,76 m wide; the east wall 4,85 m. The ceiling is vaulted. The maximum height at the centre of the room is 2,69 m, but it inclines to a height of 1,80 m at the side walls.¹⁰

The floor is irregularly-shaped and rises slightly to the west. Traces of stone quarrying are clearly visible and we should assume that an artificial floor existed above the bedrock when the sanctuary was in use. In the north-west corner a large rectangular rock cube has partly been worked off to form a shelf. It runs along the north wall for about 2 m. This could have been used as a part of a bench or table, but its present shape is very irregular.

Walls and ceiling were not smoothed; the pick marks of large pointed chisels are easily traceable across the chamber. Only small areas were dressed smooth with a claw-toothed chisel. Their slightly recessed surfaces contrast sharply with the rest of the walls. Most prominent in this respect is a wide rectangular field encompassing a large niche on the south wall and containing a number of drawings which are described below (Taf. 56, 2–57, 2). A second, smaller area was smoothed next to a niche on the north wall and also contains incised figural decoration (Taf. 58, 2). In addition, a small rectangular field next to the doorway to the side room was dressed to receive Inscription 2 below.

Four U-shaped holes carved into the ceiling seem to be part of the original furnishing. Each is placed towards one corner of the room. These holes were probably used to fix lamps hanging down from the ceiling.

The side walls and the back wall display niches of various sizes and shapes. A large accurately executed arched niche was cut into the east wall (Taf. 56, 1). Back and side walls bear remnants of a plaster coating. Small square post holes next to and below the niche point to metal fittings, which seem to have formed part of an installation linked to the niche.

Two niches were cut into the south wall (Taf. 56, 2). A smaller niche is located towards the south-eastern corner of the room very high up in the wall. It is arched and has a curved back wall. There is a second, gabled niche roughly in the middle of the room (Taf. 57, 1). It is only roughly worked and has a strongly inclining back wall deepening at the base. The careless workmanship contrasts with the carefully executed recess above the niche, which was intended to hold a separately worked pediment. A single posthole over the top of the gable may be also part of the original furnishing. To explain the obvious contrast in accuracy between the niche and its pediment, it may be assumed that the present form of the niche results from a later extension. Originally there might have been a shallow recess, similar to the field of the pediment. It may have accommodated a separately worked slab, possibly a relief. In any case, the niche must have been of ritual significance, since the graffiti described below bear upon it. The extension of niches for practical purposes is a widespread phenomenon in reused rock-cut grave chambers.

A second gabled niche of smaller size was carved in the north wall towards the north-western corner of the room, with the outline of a pediment with acroteria on both sides and a circle beyond the apex incised above (Taf. 58, 2). The deep recess of the niche is slightly arched; its interior surface was not dressed, but there is a central vertical groove. As on the north wall, the surface next to the niche is smoothed and decorated with graffiti.

¹⁰ The vaulting has no parallel in the numerous hypogaea in the Perrhe necropolis, where the ceilings are always flat. It should thus be regarded as a distinctive feature of the sanctuary.

In addition to the niches, a large number of holes and post-holes of various size and form are scattered over the walls. Some are clearly linked and must be considered as part of the interior fittings of the Roman sanctuary. Others may have been used to keep oil lamps, although no traces of soot deposition can be observed. To determine their precise function – and possibly date – a full architectural survey of the chamber will be needed.

A doorway in the north wall opens into an adjoining room (Taf. 56, 1). There are sockets for a wooden door. The room itself is irregularly shaped. While the east wall is straight, all other walls curve slightly inward. To the west the room terminates in an irregular curve and its height declines significantly. Apparently work was not finished here and the room was never brought to completion. The only furnishing is a niche in the east wall next to which intriguing traces of a thick layer of wall plastering can still be observed.

The Relief

A large relief fills the central area of the head wall. It shows three eagles perched on stags' heads (Taf. 55, 2; 59). The relief is located in a recessed field, shallower at the bottom, but deepening considerably following the inward curve of the wall towards the ceiling on to which it abuts. The field is 1,80 m wide and up to 0,62 m high. The background has been largely smoothed with a claw-toothed chisel.

Parts of the relief are severely damaged, apparently through deliberate mutilation. Substantial parts of the heads of all the animal figures have been chipped away. Projecting body parts such as the birds' breasts and the stags' antlers have also been chipped away or are severely abraded. Other parts of the original surface, notably the wings, are remarkably well preserved. It is a matter of some concern, however, that their state of preservation may deteriorate rapidly through exposure to humidity and changing weather conditions brought by the opening of the room.

The relief is executed with chisel and rasp; no use of a drill can be observed. Undercutting rarely occurs, although the depth of the relief is substantial, especially at the bottom, where the stags' heads protrude markedly.

All the eagles are depicted in a similar pose with outstretched wings and heads raised, albeit the eagle on the left side is turned to the right, while the others turn left. The orientation of the stags' heads corresponds to that of the eagles.

The relief is characterized by an organic rendering of the animals' physiognomy. The feathering of the eagles is clearly differentiated, *remiges* and *retrices* can easily be identified, and the plumage on breast and legs is carefully executed, although lacking in individuality. Because of the severe damage not much can be said about the physiognomy of the stags' heads. Best preserved is the right head. Where the original surface has survived, a very realistic rendering of the facial features may be perceived. Noteworthy is the impressive size of the antlers with multiple tines, which rise to the height of the eagles' waists.

In general, the workmanship is of a high quality, especially when compared to the standards of local sculpture from this region during the Roman period. Remarkable is the three dimensionality and attention to detail. The prominent ridges of the eagles' wings and their fiercely turned heads project a dynamic agility.

The closest parallels may be found in funerary sculpture from the neighbouring Cyrrhестice, where eagles frequently occur. Best known are the numerous *stelai* from the cities of Zeugma and Hierapolis.¹¹ Here, eagles are the most prominent single motif.¹² Their rendering largely coincides with that of the eagles in the underground sanctuary,¹³ and the general design of the plumage, at least in the case of the more sophisticated funerary reliefs, is analogous.¹⁴ On the other hand, they do not display the accuracy and attention to detail that can be observed in the Perrhe relief. The tendency to patternisation and linearity is much more pronounced, and the lack of physical structure an almost constant feature. Details are incised and lack the three-dimensionality so evident in the Perrhe relief. In spite of these shortcomings, the eagles on funerary reliefs from Cyrrhестice remain the closest point of reference in the wider region. In Commagene itself eagles are rarely attested in funerary iconography and the few known examples scarcely contribute to the analysis of the Perrhe relief.¹⁵

There is, however, one eagle with outstretched wings in the Dolichenus relief from Perrhe. Most of the body has unfortunately been chipped away.¹⁶ The eagle shows a similar accuracy in anatomical details, but the workmanship is quite different. In the Dolichenus relief, the sculptor made extensive use of the drill: deep channels separate the feathers of the tail, thus creating an effect very different from the Perrhe relief.

It should be emphasised that our deficient knowledge of sculpture in Roman Commagene prevents a definitive appraisal. Neither Perrhe itself nor the metropolis of Samosata, 40 km to the south-south east, has provided a substantial number of sculptures. We can, however, deduce from two fragmented statues recently discovered at Perrhe that sculpture of higher quality than the few known funerary reliefs from the necropolis was produced in the region.

A precise date for the relief cannot be provided. It was certainly commissioned after the annexation of the Commagenian kingdom to the Roman Empire in AD 72/73, but lacks any distinctive features that would allow it to be closely located in the chronological framework of Roman sculpture. The sāsānian destruction of the Commagenian cities in AD 253 sets a secure *terminus ante quem*. To narrow the dating range further, it is important to notice that in Zeugma and Hierapolis funerary eagles became popular from about AD 100. The sculptural habit in Commagene seems, in general, only to have revived fully in the 2nd century. This matches its development in the Cyrrhестice, where the dates on a large number of funerary *stelai* allow their chronological frame to be defined more precisely. On this basis we suggest a date of origin for the relief in the Perrhe sanctuary in the 2nd or early 3rd century.

¹¹ On these sculptures see Wagner 1976, 156–262; Parlasca 1981, 9–14; Skupinska-Løvset 1985.

¹² Wagner 1976, 157, had compiled 70 funerary steles with eagles from Zeugma alone. The total number is much higher, especially when all objects from recent excavations at Zeugma and those reliefs in Western museums and private collections are considered. On the possible meaning of eagles on funerary *stelai* see Cumont 1917, 35–118.

¹³ A difference is the direction of the heads. In the funerary reliefs the heads of the eagles are consistently turned reverse to the direction of the body.

¹⁴ Cf. e. g. Wagner 1976, no. 23. 72. 129.

¹⁵ The number of funerary reliefs from Commagene is small, especially when compared to the bulk of material from neighbouring Cyrrhестice and also from Osrhoene. In contrast to Cyrrhестice, banquet scenes predominate in Roman Commagene as well as in Osrhoene. There are, however, the well-known large eagle statues guarding the tumuli of Nemrud Dağ, Karakuş and Sesönk. Single eagles in relief have been reported from the necropolis in Ufacıklı and from a cult place near Yarımca, both in the South of Commagene, see Blömer – Winter 2011, 198–200 (Yarımca); 292–294 (Ufacıklı). Their modest quality forbids comparing them with the Perrhe relief.

¹⁶ Blömer – Facella 2008.

Graffiti

The side walls as well as the back wall of the room display a number of graffiti. Most of these cover the rectangular dressed field on the south wall on both sides of the niche. To the left of the niche a single bird is incised striding to the right (Taf. 57, 2). Its delicate shape, the small head, the short beak and the long, thin legs preclude an interpretation as a bird of prey. It should rather be regarded as a dove or a galliform bird. A graffiti text has been incised beneath the bird within the same dressed panel, although its connection with it is neither immediate nor evident (Inscription 4 below). A horizontal line above the text continues to the edge of the niche and across to the dressed panel on the other side of it, on which, to the right of the niche a male bust, facing the niche on the left, has been incised in profile (Taf. 57, 1). The silhouette of the head is delineated clearly in deep, sharply-cut strokes. Due to the lack of distinctive features or iconographical details an interpretation of the head cannot be provided at present.

Above and to the right of the male bust is an incised altar. It has a rectangular shaft and projecting base and crown mouldings. The crown moulding is decorated with a zigzag pattern. A deeply incised but rather crude Greek cross on the right of the altar certainly belongs to a later, probably Byzantine period. There is no other indication of defacing of the original incised decoration.

In general, the graffiti can hardly be regarded as arbitrary decoration scratched by devotees to the cult. The prior dressing of the surface shows that it was planned. As suggested above, we should assume that the drawings were linked to the gabled niche which they enclose. Bird, male bust, and altar could symbolize sacrificial or ritual practice.

In addition to this group of graffiti, four very roughly sketched miniature human figures were scratched further east on the south wall (Taf. 58, 1). All the figures are individually shaped; their silhouettes are incised, but further details were painted. Their sex cannot be determined with security. Most prominent are the heads. The facial features are roughly scratched, eyebrows and hair added with paint of greyish black colour. Only the leftmost figure has its hair incised. This figure seems rather to be a bust, since only head and neck may be discerned. The other three have upper bodies as well, but the legs are not traced. Only the third figure from the left has arms and hands, apparently raised and grasping leaves. This is an interesting detail, because leaves play an integral part in the performance of cult rituals throughout the Near East. Priests are frequently depicted holding single leaves or sprigs of leaves in their hands.¹⁷ We suggest, accordingly, interpreting the figures as representations of worshippers.

On the north wall, the smoothed surface east of the gabled niche shows only a single graffiti (Taf. 58, 2). It is the silhouette of a human figure, presumably male. Head and upper body are easily recognizable. The figure wears military dress, indicated by parallel lines incised vertically from the waist downwards to the lower edge of the tunic which can be considered as the lappets of a Roman officer's uniform. A single stroke marks the left arm which is outstretched. Of the right arm as well as of both legs no traces can be discerned. Since the surface is not damaged in this area they are likely to have been added with paint. Faint traces of reddish paint can indeed be observed in the incised lines of the silhouette.

If the interpretation of this figure as military is correct, an affiliation of soldiers stationed in Perrhe or in the surrounding area with the cult seems probable. In any case a strong Roman connection should be assumed. An explanation as a god in military dress seems rather unlikely.

¹⁷ On priestly iconography and leaves in North Syria see Stucky 1976; Krumeich 1998; Blömer 2011.

At the upper right corner of the gabled niche exiguous traces of an incised graffito may belong to an example of the $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\upsilon\tilde{\eta}$ commemoration formula (Inscription 5 below).

To the left of the entrance to the side-chamber opening from the north wall, at a height of 1,64 m above floor level, a smooth-dressed panel contains a short $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\upsilon\tilde{\eta}$ text (Inscription 2 below).

Later use of the room

Continuing use of the room after the cessation of the pagan cult is most conspicuously indicated by a Greek cross carved in the field below the dedicatory inscription. The dedication itself was left untouched, but a later commemoration graffito (Inscription 3 below) was partly overwritten; in contrast, the eagle on stag reliefs appear to have been deliberately mutilated, with the heads and parts of the bodies chipped away. No other signs of defacing have been found except for a second cross, noticed above, crudely incised on the south wall.

The function of the room in Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine Period cannot be ascertained at present. What is clear is that at some point it was used as a stable or shelter for animals. This is indicated by a number of U-shaped holes in the walls for tethering livestock. The creation of the two windows may be linked to this phase, but could have been associated with a temporary use for habitation as well.

At some point the entrance to the room was finally sealed by debris from the hillside. When exactly this happened cannot be determined. A future analysis of finds from the debris may eventually narrow down the period, but for the present it can only be suggested on the basis of the excellent state of preservation of the ancient décor that the entrance was blocked quite early, possibly still in the Medieval period.

The Eagle on Stag motif in context

The votive relief is the most conspicuous feature of the decoration of the room and, with its accompanying inscription, the most important clue to the character of the cult. For this reason a wider discussion of its meaning and possible interpretation seems necessary.

The motif is a well-known variation of the »eagle perched on quadruped« motif which was common in ancient religious iconography and can be traced back to the Bronze Age.¹⁸ In the Roman period it was widespread primarily in the eastern parts of the Empire. Most attestations are small bronzes;¹⁹ the motif is rare in other media with the exception of gemstones and coins.

Since a majority of bronze objects come from illegal excavations and emerge through the antiquities market, it is difficult to narrow down the area of circulation precisely. It seems, however, that most examples originate in Anatolia, Northern Syria and Armenia, with some notable exceptions, which will be discussed later.

The »eagle on quadruped« motif was first noticed as a distinct symbol by S. Ronzevalle, F. Cumont and H. Seyrig.²⁰ It attracted some attention in the 1940s and 1950s, when it was studied

¹⁸ Przeworski 1940.

¹⁹ For a full list of all bronzes see Appendices A and B.

²⁰ Ronzevalle 1917; Cumont 1931; Seyrig 1933.

by St. Przeworski, A. Roes and R. Mouterde.²¹ Subsequently a range of smaller contributions has been published, most notably by K. Parlasca and A. Hillert,²² but a comprehensive study is still lacking, and there is as yet no corpus of monuments.

The eagle is combined with various quadrupeds. Most common is the combination of eagle and bull²³ with the bird sitting on either the back or head of a complete bull.²⁴ More frequent is an abbreviated form, which has only the bull's head with the eagle perched on it.²⁵ Second in popularity is the combination eagle on stag, followed by eagle on ram and goat.²⁶ In addition, there are rare examples of combinations of eagle on dolphin, eagle on boar, or eagle on camel.²⁷

As just mentioned, the eagle on stag is the second best attested motif. Corresponding to the images of the eagle on bull, two general types can be distinguished: the eagle may sit on either head or back of a complete stag.²⁸ A second abbreviated type reproduces only the head of the stag with the eagle perched on it.²⁹ Both types are equally well represented, with ten examples

²¹ Przeworski 1940; Roes 1949; Mouterde 1957, 203–213. See also Gall 1966, 50 f. with n. 303. On the continuity of the motif in late antiquity and beyond see Roes 1950.

²² Parlasca 1989, 67–69; Hillert 1997, 285–300.

²³ On this motif in general Parlasca 1989, 67–69; Hillert 1997, 293 f. 299.

²⁴ The most comprehensive list is provided by Parlasca 1989 and Hillert 1997, but the number has increased significantly. Some additions are listed here: Eagle on bull's back: Lafli – Feugère 2006, 48 cat. 92 with fig. 27; 48 cat. 96 with fig. 28. Eagle on head of full bull: A sealing from Artaxata has two eagles (?) on head and back of a bull, see Khachatrian 1998, fig. 66 no. 6. A rare example of round sculpture is the statue CCID 207, which shows Iuppiter Dolichenus standing on a bull which has an eagle perched on its head.

²⁵ In addition to the examples listed in Parlasca 1989 and Hillert 1997 see: Mouterde 1957, 209 pl. 3, 2; Puhze, Katalog 10, [1994], no. 83; Dieter Gorny, Auction 93, 20.11.1998, no. 3104; Warden 2002, 131 with fig. 4 (2 specimens); Münzhandlung Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich, Auction 222, 24.–25.09.2002, no. 543; Münzhandlung Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich, Auction 225, 12.–13.02.2003, nos. 466 (?), 467; Lafli – Feugère 2006, 48 no. 94 with fig. 27; 48 no. 95 with fig. 28; Cahn, Catalogue 19, Basel 2007, no. 70; Gorny & Mosch, Auction 158, 22.06.2007, no. 300; Million, Paris, Auction 26.05.2009, no. 121; Museu Marès 2010, cat. 376 (?), 389; Gorny & Mosch, Auction 189, 23.06.2010, no. 302; Gorny & Mosch, Auction 194, 14.12.2010, no. 302; Bonhams, London, Auction 12.04.2011, no. 413 (the right of the two eagles in this lot), 419. The motif occurs also on gemstones. The meaning is however uncertain or ambiguous. See e.g. Brandt et al. 1972, no. 3411. On sāsānian gems: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2414 (meaning of the motif uncertain).

²⁶ It seems that eagles on full rams and goats are very rare. On a sāsānian gemstone, s. Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2412. Eagle on goat's head: Hillert 1997, n. 31 Cat. III, IV, and V. In addition: Tudor 1935, 119 no. 141 fig. 32 (uncertain); Mouterde 1957, 209 pl. 3, 1; CCID 166 (limestone relief of an eagle on a goat's or ram's head); Khachatrian 1998, 145 with fig. 90; Museu Marès 2010, cat. 379. The motif appears frequently on gemstones, cf. e.g. Brandt et al. 1972, no. 3412; Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, no. 843; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991, no. 2413 (sāsānian); Weiß 1996, nos. 282, 283. For a large marble eagle on a goat's head see Gorny & Mosch, Auktion 202, 2011, no. 79 = Gorny & Mosch, Auktion 145, 2006, no. 58. Considering the ambiguous meaning of the eagle – goat/ram combination one should be very reluctant to regard all the cited specimens as symbols of the united power of the animals and not as depictions of the eagle and its prey.

²⁷ The eagle above dolphin occurs in the coinage of the Greek Black sea colonies Olbia, Istros and Sinope from the 5th century BC onwards, cf. Hind 2007. Concerning the interpretation of the motif it is however more likely that the dolphin is meant to be the eagle's prey, see Vidali 1997, 24 and recently Hind 2007, 9–16. It would thus convey an economic or political meaning.

Eagle on camel on sāsānian gemstone: Henig 1975, 65 no. 281. Eagle on boar, cf. Richter 1956, 111 f. no. 521 pl. 62; Brandt et al. 1972, nos. 2436, 3412. Billon Tetradrachms of Hierapolis in Syria show an eagle on a lion, cf. Prieur 112, 930. In this case the lion represents the main goddess of Hierapolis, Dea Syria. The eagle as the animal of Iuppiter/Jesus symbolises the Roman authorities, who commissioned the minting of tetradrachms.

²⁸ Cf. the list in Appendix A I.

²⁹ Cf. the list in Appendix B I.

of each. This ratio shifts in favour of the abbreviated form if the few attestations in other media are taken into account.³⁰

As far as we can say, the small »eagle on stag« bronzes are particularly common in Central Anatolia and in Cilicia. Two bronzes have been acquired in Caesarea in Cappadocia.³¹ This is notable insofar as this city has produced a large number of small votive bronzes, most of which represent Argaios – Erciyes Dağı today – a highly venerated holy mountain.³² In some of these an eagle is perched on the summit of the mountain.³³ The composition of these examples strongly resembles the eagle on quadruped bronzes.³⁴ It is very probable that both originate from the same sphere of religious beliefs and cultic practice. Also from Cappadocia is a votive bronze found at Alişar Höyük,³⁵ the only specimen originating from a regular excavation.

Besides Cappadocia, Cilicia should be regarded as a main area of distribution, albeit at present only one bronze of the eagle on stag can be attributed to this region with certainty.³⁶ But it is important to notice that in the 4th century BC coins from an unknown mint in Cilicia are the earliest attestations of the motif so far.³⁷ The obverse shows the head of Heracles with lion skin. On the reverse, an eagle is perched on a stag's head. The large antlers nearly encompass the eagle. The hieratic posture and the prominence of the stag's head distinguish this image from contemporary coins which portray eagles with their prey.

Two votive bronzes have been acquired in Antioch, in North Syria.³⁸ Beyond North Syria the motif does not seem so far to be attested in the Near East, although an eagle perched on the back of a full hind is represented on a noteworthy relief from Tyros.³⁹

In Greece the motif occurs in the coinage of Olympia in the 4th century.⁴⁰ But its significance in this case is rather different from that of the Anatolian votive bronzes, since an interpretation of the scene as an animal fight is far more likely. This is supported by the large number of other Olympic coin types with eagles grasping animals including hares, snakes, ram's heads and fawns. The same applies to coins of Croton in Italy, which show an eagle on a stag's head in a very similar way.⁴¹

³⁰ Appendix A II and B II. The abbreviated type occurs three times excluding the relief presented in this article; of the eagle on full stag only one attestation has been detected.

³¹ Ronzevalle 1912, 110–112 with fig. 15. 16; Warden 1997, 58 with pl. 21.

³² Weiss 1985 and Hillert 1997.

³³ Hillert 1997, figs. 1–3. 5–6 (3 specimens); Gorny & Mosch, Auction 119 (2002) no. 3056; Gorny & Mosch, Auction 137, 15.12.2004, no. 422; two more Argaios bronzes with eagles on top are on display in the Archaeological Museum of Münster University, Inv. 3413. 3414. For a gemstone with Argaios and eagle see Weiß 1985, nos. 4. 5. 5a.

³⁴ The affinity is also corroborated by analogies in the shapes of the pedestals.

³⁵ Appendix B I 1.

³⁶ Appendix A I 4.

³⁷ See Appendix B II no. 3. From the same series are coins with eagle on lion's back, which is an interesting point of reference for the understanding of the eagle on stag coins, cf. SNG France 2, 474; SNG Switzerland 1, 230. 231.

³⁸ Appendix A I 9; B I 8.

³⁹ For the relief see Seyrig 1963, 23 f. pl. II. The hind is suckling a child. The scene has been interpreted as the birth of Heracles. Further east, Hellenistic Parthian seal impressions from Nisa take on the combination of eagle and stag as well, but here it seems that the motif should rather be interpreted as an animal fight, cf. Bader 1996, fig. A, Type 9. 10 (?). 11 (?).

⁴⁰ Seltman 1921, 97 no. 332. 341 pl. 11.

⁴¹ Vgl. SNG ANS 352; BMC Italy 350 no. 68. 69.

In general, the »eagle perched on animal« motif should be sharply distinguished from the large number of images showing eagles fighting animals or hunting down their prey. This very old and very popular theme is far more common than the »eagle perched on quadruped« motif.⁴² The symbolism of the animal fight has a wide range of meanings; frequently it expresses power, deterrence, or inevitable fate.⁴³ Emphasis is usually put on the triumph of the superior animal and the inescapable destiny of the inferior. The motif can also refer to specific myths, most notably foundation myths.⁴⁴ In contrast, the »eagle perched on animal« motif is characterized by a hieratical composition and the equality of both animals involved. Przeworski suggested that both the stag and the eagle symbolize the powers of the supreme male god and placed the Roman period bronzes in a Bronze Age Anatolian tradition.⁴⁵ Previous research, however, had stressed the duality or bipolarity of the motif instead: the eagle embodied the heavenly power of the sky and thus could easily be identified as a symbol of a supreme male deity, most likely the storm god. On the contrary, the quadruped represented earth and wildlife and was related to a female deity commanding nature and wildlife.⁴⁶ This interpretation is certainly more appealing than Przeworski's suggestion, since the stag is indeed closely related to a variety of goddesses in Anatolia and in Northern Syria.

The small bronzes must have been used as votive offerings in most instances. This is suggested by the pedestals in manifold shapes which frequently support the animals.⁴⁷ However, none of the votive bronzes bear inscriptions. This applies not only to all bronze images of the »eagle on stag«, but to the entire group of »eagle on quadruped« bronzes and, as far as we can see, to related votive bronzes from Anatolia and North Syria as well. Although the very small size of most objects may serve as an explanation, the total absence of inscriptions remains somewhat puzzling.

Noteworthy in this context are several monuments which can indeed be securely attributed to the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus and his female parhedros. A prominent example is a bronze hand from Komana in Cappadocia.⁴⁸ On the palm an eagle with spread wings stands over a large stag's head. Below are the images of Iuppiter Dolichenus on a bull and his parhedros, usually referred to as Iuno Regina, on a stag.⁴⁹

⁴² Sometimes a clear distinction is hard to draw. This applies in particular to the combination eagle and goat/ram – animals which do, indeed, fall prey to eagles. Accordingly, a number of images show them with captured goats/rams unambiguously.

⁴³ Cf. e.g. Hölscher 1972 for a study of the animal fight motif in archaic monumental art.

⁴⁴ The bird takes the head of a victimized bull from an altar and releases it where the new city is to be founded. This story is conveyed for various cities such as Nikomedeia, Alexandria Troas and Antiocheia on the Orontes, cf. Weiss 1996, 158–165. The story's visual figuration on coins may in fact closely resemble the eagle perched on a bull's head motif.

⁴⁵ Przeworski 1940, 71 f.

⁴⁶ Cumont 1931, 528; Seyrig 1933, 376–379. The discussion has been summed up by Merlat 1951, 221–223.

⁴⁷ The shapes of the pedestals are distinctive and allow an attribution to a larger group of Syro-Anatolian votive bronzes. A comprehensive study of this subject would significantly enhance our knowledge of these and kindred bronzes.

⁴⁸ Wagner 1978, 1300–1308. See also Laffi – Feugère 2006, 53 f. Oddly enough the latter do not seem to be aware of Wagner's publication.

⁴⁹ In general, the stag (or hind) is the traditional acolyte animal of Iuno Regina. The standard iconography shows her standing on the back of a stag, see Merlat 1960, 35 f. and Blömer 2012, 85–90.

More important is a monumental marble statue of an eagle on a stag's head which was found on the Esquiline in Rome.⁵⁰ With a height of 0,55 m it is the largest image of the motif known so far and the only stone sculpture in the round. As the inscription reveals, it is a votive to Iuppiter Dolichenus dedicated by a soldier of Misenum fleet.

In addition to these long known objects, a votive column bearing a relief of an eagle standing on the back of a stag framed by an aedicule has recently been found at Mehadia in Romania.⁵¹ There is no inscription to confirm a relation to the Dolichenus cult, but the column was allegedly found in a Dolichenus sanctuary.⁵²

In the first instance the evidence of the Dolichenus cult is important insofar as it corroborates the interpretation of the eagle on stag motif as a symbol for a divine couple consisting of a male and a female supreme deity. This is best expressed in the bronze hand from Komana, where both the specific and the symbolic representation converge in one image.

The connection between the Dolichenus cult and the eagle on stag has long been noticed and has led to the assumption that the motif was exclusively tied to this cult. As a result a number of eagle on stag bronzes have been attributed to the Dolichenus cult without any clear supporting evidence. And although this alleged correspondence has been challenged more than once and with good reason, the claim has been repeatedly maintained up to the present.⁵³

Another possible context is the cult of Turmasgad, a sparsely attested deity connected to Northern Syria and Iuppiter Dolichenus.⁵⁴ Two of his dedications from Dacia sport eagles on stags,⁵⁵ but the disparity in size between eagles and stags as well as the latter's postures suggest rather an interpretation as eagles with their prey.⁵⁶

In conclusion, two general remarks seem valid. First, the eagle on stag motif is rooted in an Anatolian tradition and pertains to the sphere of local cults in Anatolia and Northern Syria. It is absent in Western Asia Minor and along the Aegean coast, as well as in the Levant, Central Syria and Mesopotamia. It symbolizes the supreme divine couple, the god of the skies and the goddess of wildlife and fertility. Yet, the only determinable contexts are the Dolichenus cult and, less obvious, the Turmasgad cult. This does not imply, however, that the motif is exclusively tied to them.

Apart from the motif itself the threefold representation requires explanation. It has no parallel in the votive bronzes, nor are there tripartite depictions of the »eagle perched on animal« motif in other media. There seems to be only one corresponding image, as yet unpublished, in the

⁵⁰ Merlat 1951, 219–224; CCID 411.

⁵¹ Boda – Szabó 2011, 273–282.

⁵² Boda – Szabó 2011, 275. The column was reused in a subsequent building phase. On this sanctuary see also Banea 2008. However, the evidence for its identification as a Dolichenum seems rather meagre. A key argument is the presence of the eagle on stag relief and fragments of an eagle sculpture, and a bull statue, for which see Banea 2008, 133 pl. 11, 1. In view of the limited evidence, the attribution of the sanctuary to Iuppiter Dolichenus should be viewed with caution.

⁵³ See e.g. Peppers 1980, 176 f.; Warden 2002, 131 and most recently Boda – Szabó 2011, 276 f.

⁵⁴ On Turmasgad, who was worshipped alongside Dolichenus in the Dolichenum at Dura Europos (Gilliam 1952, 114–117, no. 973. 974), see Gilliam 1974, 309–314; and cf. Eck 2010; Boda – Szabó 2011.

⁵⁵ See Berciu – Petolescu 1976, 12. 39 pl. 17.

⁵⁶ A general affinity of the Turmasgad cult to the »eagle on quadruped« motif is obvious. The majority of the few monuments pertaining to his cult show eagles and eagles on animals, see Gilliam 1952, 131–134 with n. 5; Gilliam 1974, 310; Popa – Berciu 1978, 36 f.

Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş. On an architrave or lintel three summarily carved eagles stand next to each other on bulls' heads. To the right the scene is flanked by a Nike crowning the eagle next to her. The left side is broken and only partially preserved.

Inscriptions

1. Dedicatory Inscription (Inscription 1)

Below the central eagle of the relief a rectangular panel, 0,65 m wide and 0,25 m high, cut into the rock face frames a dedicatory inscription (Taf. 55, 2; 59, 1; 60, 1). The initial width of the frame seems to have been miscalculated and a deeper-cut extension of 0,12 m on its right edge overlapping the left wing of the right eagle added subsequently.

The first three lines of the inscription are cut within guidelines, which maintain a consistent letter height of 0,026 m; the interval between lines 1–3 is 0,013 (ll. 1–3), with a slightly narrow separation of 0,012 between the letters at the end of line 3 and their continuation immediately below in line 4. There is a vacat of 0,125 m below the text in the main panel, of 0,9 m in its extension. Inscription 3 below was later incised in the empty space beneath the dedication and itself overwritten, in turn, by a Christian cross cut within a circular frame.

Letters are deeply incised and finished with well-defined serifs. The careful execution of the lettering, which is in keeping with the quality of the relief sculpture above, contrasts with flaws in layout in lines 3–4, for which see the critical notes below.

The diagonal of *nu* is separated from the vertical *hastae*; the quadrate forms of *theta*, *omicron*, *sigma* and *omega* set the dedication apart from the predominantly lunate lettering, resumed in Inscription 2 below, of the funerary inscriptions from the necropolis.⁵⁷ At Gerasa these forms, which characterise a lettering style that C. B. Welles identified as the »square alphabet«, appear in combination from AD 22/23 through to the middle of the 2nd century;⁵⁸ they are also well-represented in the funerary inscriptions of Zeugma, for example in a recently-published epitaph dated to AD 61/62.⁵⁹ A palaeographical date within the earlier part of the 2nd to early 3rd century range suggested above for the associated relief would seem appropriate.

A preliminary text of the inscription, with Turkish translation by C. Tanriver, was published by F. Erarslan.⁶⁰

Θεῶ Πατρῶθ Θεότεκνος
 Θεοτέκνου τοῦ Ἄντᾶ vac.
 τοὺς τρεῖς ἀετοὺς κατὰ εὐ-
 χήν.

⁵⁷ e.g. in the sarcophagus of Grylos, Facella 2008b (SEG 56, 1841); the epitaphs of Gaianus and Marthane, Crowther – Facella 2011, no. 1; Tiberia, no. 2; Andronike, no. 7; Sextus, no. 9; Alexandros, no. 10 and no. 13; an exception is no. 14, a list of names inscribed within a *tabula ansata*, but this is a much later text, from the 4th or 5th century; cf. also the relief stele of Gaius Iulius Paulus, Blömer – Facella 2008 (SEG 56, 1840), dated to the later 2nd century (Blömer – Facella 2008, 197 f.), which also has elegant lunate forms.

⁵⁸ Welles 1938, 358–360; cf. now Gatier 2002, 277–281 (SEG 52, 1717) for a new dedication by an imperial priest dated to AD 9/10 which shows the other forms of the square alphabet with the exception of an arched omega.

⁵⁹ SEG 51, 1901, republished now as Ergeç – Yon 2012, 157–159 no. 5; cf. e.g., Ergeç – Yon 2012, 166–168, no. 10–12.

⁶⁰ Cf. Erarslan et al. 2010, 367 f. with 274 fig. 10; Erarslan 2012, 149.

2: the *vacat* at the end of line 2 would have been sufficient to contain the four letters of the article τούς, which have been carried over to the beginning of line 3; the stonemason perhaps intended to separate the description of the dedication from the name of dedicator and dedicatee.

3: ΤΟΥΣΤΡΕΣΑΤΟΥΣ Erarslan et al. The mason began to inscribe *epsilon* after the *tau* of κατὰ at the end of the line, and then decided to avoid the elision and cut the preposition in full with *alpha* superimposed on the outline of *epsilon*. The elided variant of the formula κατ' εὐχὴν is more common, the unqualified accusative more common still.⁶¹

»To the Ancestral God, Theoteknos the son of Theoteknos the son of Antas (dedicated) the three eagles in accordance with a vow.«

The dedicatory inscription complements and is directly linked by its text to the form of the relief, although the full iconographical context is elided: τούς τρεῖς ἀετούς (»the three eagles«), with no mention of the stags' heads on which the eagles are perched. A number of other dedications of eagles from Asia Minor and Northern Syria survive, but these are usually attached to objects rather than to reliefs and are not associated with stags' heads:⁶² at Erythrai in the late Hellenistic period the agoranomos Herodotos dedicated eagles to Zeus Soter and the People;⁶³ at Nikaia in the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D the emporiarches M. Cassius Publianus Nikadas dedicated an eagle together with an altar to Zeus Archagathos in response to an oracle;⁶⁴ a Diogenes dedicated two eagles in thanksgiving to Zeus at Tralles;⁶⁵ a dedication to Zeus Megistos by the soldier Diodoros the son of Theophiles at Magnesia-on-the Maeander is inscribed on the rectangular base of a white marble eagle now in the Louvre.⁶⁶ Closer geographically to the Perrhe example are two dedications of eagles to the Arabian God from the hinterland of Gerasa.⁶⁷ Leontas the son of Prepon dedicated an eagle to »the Arabian God« at his own expense in AD 126/127 (or 116/117),⁶⁸ as did Thophse the daughter of Zobaidēs;⁶⁹ but these also appear to have been dedications of separate objects.⁷⁰ A dedication of an eagle to the God Lykourgis on an inscribed

⁶¹ The Packard Humanities Institute's Searchable Greek Inscriptions database offers 90 instances of κατ' εὐχὴν, 15 of κατὰ εὐχὴν, none from Syria, but more than 1,000 of εὐχὴν alone.

⁶² Dedications of this form are distinct from the funerary dedications of eagles, lions and other animals well attested in Lykaonia, for which see Robert 1937, 393–397 with, e.g., MAMA XI 369 (Southern Lykaonia: [Λ]ούκιος ἀνέστησε Τήλεφρον καὶ Μάρκον καὶ Σέξτο[ν - - - - | κ]αὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀετὸν...).

⁶³ I.Erythrai 102: [Ἡ]ρόδοτος Ἀπολλ[- | -] ὁ ἐκ Ποσειδωνίου[σ | ἀ]γορανομήσας ἀνέθ[ηκε] | τούς ἀετούς || [Δι]ὶ Σωτήρι καὶ τῷ Δή[μωι].

⁶⁴ I.Iznik 1071, 10–17: Διὶ Ἀρχαγάθω Μ. Κάσσιος Ποπλιανὸς Νικάδας, ἐμποριάρχης καὶ ἀπὸ | πατρὸς Κασ. Νικάδου καὶ πάπου Δημητρίου διὰ βίου οἰνοποσιάρχης καὶ γυμνασιάρχης καὶ γραμματεὺς καὶ ἐπιμελητῆς {της} τοῦ νεοκτίστου ναοῦ, | κατὰ χρηματισμὸν ὄνιρου τὸν αἰετὸν | σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ἀνέθηκα.

⁶⁵ I.Tralles 4 (inscription on the base of the dedication; Roman period): Διογένης Ὀρθι[-]λος θεῶ Διὶ εὐχαριστῶν τούτους | δὴ ἀετούς ἀνέθηκε.

⁶⁶ A. Héron de Villefosse, BSAF 1900, 264. 265 (undated): Διὶ Μεγίστῳ τὸν ἀετὸν | Διόδωρος Θεοφίλους | στρατευόμενος.

⁶⁷ For the Arabian God, Θεὸς Ἀραβικός, perhaps to be identified with Dusares, cf. Riedl 2003, 185–187. 416–418. 474 f.

⁶⁸ de Vaux 1951, 23 f. (resumed in SEG 14, 830; cf. Riedl 2003, 418, GE.35): ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν | σωτηρίας Θεῶ Ἀραβικῷ Λελλουντᾶς Πρέπιωντος τὸν αἰετὸν ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων ἐποίησεν κατ' εὐχὴν. || [ἔ]τους θ.ρ'.

⁶⁹ Gatier 1982, 272–273, 3 (resumed in SEG 32, 1540; cf. Riedl 2003, 418, GE.36): Θεοση Ζοβαΐδου Θεῶ Ἀραβικῷ τὸν ἀετὸν εὐσεβείας χάριν | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνήγειρεν. Gatier, in his ed. pr., identifies Thophse as the wife rather than daughter of Zobaidēs. The inscribed block was found among other ancient remains at Deir-el-Liyat 3 km. to the west of Gerasa.

⁷⁰ Gatier 1982, 273 notices the comparative rarity of dedications of eagles in Syria, despite the abundance of representations of them.

block was found reused in the wall of a later building at Khurēbāt in Arabia-Trachonitis during the Princeton Syrian Expedition.⁷¹ None of these examples, however, provides an exact or sufficiently close parallel to the dedication from Perrhe.⁷²

The inscription below the Perrhe eagle relief identifies its dedicator and dedicatee as, respectively, Theoteknos the son of Theoteknos the son of Antas⁷³ and Theos Patroios. The »Ancestral God« should be a local or regional deity of Perrhe whose name in context needed no further qualification.⁷⁴ An indication of his identity is provided by the name and homonymous patronymic of the dedicator. In a brilliant study published a century ago, J. Rendel Harris noted that the name Βαρλααας in an epitaph »found not very far from ‘Ain Ṭab«, but likely to have come from Zeugma,⁷⁵ and dated to AD 125/126 by Seleucid year was a transcription of the Syrian name Bar’alâhâ, which could be, and more frequently was, translated into Greek as Θεότεκνος, Theoteknos, literally »Child of God«. Harris argued that the god of this theophoric name was the same Commagenian god who has come down to us as Iuppiter Dolichenus, although the latter name reflects transmission and reception rather than the form in which the deity may always and universally have been known in Commagene and Northern Syria. Harris also noticed the tendency of priests of Iuppiter Dolichenus to carry theophoric names, and speculated that the Βαρλααας of the epitaph from the region of Gaziantep might have been a priest of the cult. In support of this suggestion, he cited a funerary inscription for a priest of Iuppiter Dolichenus from Salonae in Dalmatia (CCID 123),⁷⁶ and a dedication at Rome by Aurelius Teatecnu (an approximate Latin transliteration of Greek Θεότεκνος), priest of Iuppiter Dolichenus (CCID 423).⁷⁷ To these examples can be added⁷⁸ a striking basalt relief stele from Hammam in the territory of Hierapolis in the Cyrrhестice carrying portrayals on its front face of a deity in the characteristic guise of Iuppiter Dolichenus and, on its right edge, of a priest placing an offering

⁷¹ Littmann – Magie 1921, 397–399 no. 789: (right) θεῶ Ληκόριφω Μ<α>[ν]ος | Σοαδου τὸν ἀλετὸν ἐνεποιί[η]σεν, | (left) εὐσεβῆς χιάριν.

⁷² Cf. also Petzl 1998, 19–23 no. 1 (resumed in SEG 48, 1451) for an enigmatic inscription below a relief showing a praying man and an eagle which may equate the eagle with Zeus Bronton (5–7: ἀ[ε]τὸν ἄστατον, τ[ὸν] | Βροντῶντα θεόν in ed.pr.). The eagle reliefs to Turmasgad noticed in the preceding section are also accompanied by dedicatory inscriptions (in Latin), but their iconography is somewhat different and none mentions the eagle figure explicitly: CIL VI 30950a (Rome); IDR 2, 340 (CIL III, 8027; ILS 4074: Romula in Dacia); CIIP II, 1129 (Caesarea Maritima). Eck 2010 collects epigraphical attestations for Turmasgad; CIL III, 1338 should be removed from his list (we are grateful to M. Facella for this observation), and Borgia – Sayar 2003, 536 f. no. 7, with P.-L. Gattier’s commentary at AE 2004, 1540, added.

⁷³ The patronymic Antas is a hypocoristic form of Antiochus: Robert 1960, 230–232, citing, i. a., IGLS 21, 5.1, 27: Ἀντᾶς | Ἀντιόχου ἐτ(ῶν) | η´. See also SEG 38, 1544, ll. 8, 11, for two instances of Ἀντᾶς on a funerary altar from Sofraz Köy recording the genealogy of an important Commagenian family which shared the names Antiochus, Mithridates and Laodike with the ruling dynasty; this is a very Commagenian onomastic context.

⁷⁴ Cf. IGLS 11, 12, 1 (θεῶ πατρώφω); 14, 1 (Διὶ πατρώφω), with the commentary ad loc. of J. Aliquot.

⁷⁵ Harris 1914; so also IGLS I, 84, whose editors, although listing the inscription under ‘Ain Ṭab rather than Zeugma, note »provient sans doute de Balqīs, comme d’autres inscriptions conservées au même collège [sc. the American College of ‘Ain Ṭab], infra no. 108 s.« Cf. also Cumont 1917, 351, approving with qualification, Harris’ discussion.

⁷⁶ CCID 123 [CIL III 8785]: D(is) M(anibus) | Aurelius Ge[r]manus Barla|ha sacerdos || I(ovis) o(ptimi) m(aximi) Doli|cheni vivus | sibi posuit et | Syre coniugi.

⁷⁷ CCID 423 [CIL VI 415]: I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) | Dolcheno | Aurelius Teatecnu|s filius Hela || sacerd(os) d(ono) d(edit); filius Hela is a pleonastic Latin rendering of Βαρλααας.

⁷⁸ Cf. perhaps also CCID 35 from the Dolichenum at Dura-Europus: Aurelius Theoteknos, the dedicator of a stele representing »the Lady« (τὴν κυρίαν), is identified as a soldier of Legio IV Scythica: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Θε(ό)τεκνος στρατ(ιώτης) | λεγ(εῶνος) δ´ Σκυθ(ικῆς) τὴν κυρίαν εὐξάμ(ενο)ς ἀνέθηκ(α).

of incense on a small cylindrical altar (CCID 29);⁷⁹ an inscription indicates that the dedication of the relief was made by Sakêadatos the son of Baradatos through the agency of his son Theoteknos. In this case Theoteknos appears to be a Greek interpretation of the Semitic papponymic Baradatos, »son of Hadad«, while the father also has a theophoric name related to Hadad; this was evidently a priestly family and the relief on the right face of the stele is likely to represent either Sakêadatos or Theoteknos.⁸⁰

Harris' study has been extended and its conclusions in part corroborated by D. Roques in a survey of 69 attestations of the name Theoteknos in all sources from the 2nd to the 7th century.⁸¹ Roques traces a pattern of diffusion of the name across the Near East and thence to the West in the middle Imperial period alongside the spread of pagan cults of Semitic origin, in particular that of Iuppiter Dolichenus.⁸² The earliest Christian attestation, in contrast, does not occur until the first quarter of the 3rd century AD,⁸³ and the name only becomes more frequent in Christian contexts from the early 4th century, perhaps because of its earlier association with the now moribund cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus, while it disappears from pagan onomastics altogether during the 5th century for the opposite reason.⁸⁴ Although this is an attractive picture of onomastic evolution, the datable evidence for its first phase is limited. The funerary inscription from Zeugma dated to AD 125/126 from which Harris began his study remains the earliest secure instance of the name in its Semitic form (IGLS 1, 84), followed by a second funerary text from Zeugma dated ca. 140, in which the Greek equivalent Theoteknos appears for the first time in Northern Syria (SEG 26, 1602),⁸⁵ and the relief stele from Hammam-Hierapolis in the Cyrrhестice noticed above (CCID 29), which seems to belong to the second half of the 2nd century or early 3rd century.⁸⁶ The dedicatory inscription from Perrhe now provides a welcome reinforcement of this context. Its palaeography, for which a date in the first half or middle of the 2nd century seems appropriate, places it among the earliest attestations of Theoteknos; the transmission of the theophoric name from father to son extends this dating range a generation earlier and suggests that both, like Theoteknos, his father Sakêadatos and grandfather Baradatos in the Hammam relief, may have been members of a priestly family.

⁷⁹ Ed.pr. of Jarry 1982, 87 f. no. 29 (resumed in SEG 32, 1462, and CCID 29); cf. Gatier 1998, 162 f. for the provenance of the stele, and now Yon – Gatier 2008, no. 40.

⁸⁰ The first part of the inscription (Σακηαδατος Βαραδατου κατεσκεύασεν) is inscribed above the figure of the god, the second (διὰ Θεοτέκνου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ) above, perhaps identifying, the priest. Gatier 1998 and, less certainly, Yon – Gatier 2008, no. 40 favour the father for the priest.

⁸¹ Roques 1998 (with Roques 1999), written in part in reaction to O. Masson's instinctive, but unusually mistaken, belief that Greek Θεότεκνος must be a predominantly Christian name with Christian roots (Masson 1997; we owe this reference to Édouard Chiricat); cf. Parker 2000, 79.

⁸² Roques 1998, 753 f.

⁸³ Roques 1998, 744 f. no. 54: Theoteknos, bishop of Caesarea ca. AD 260.

⁸⁴ Roques 1998, 752.

⁸⁵ For the (stylistic) date, see the ed.pr. in Wagner 1976, 248, no. 129.

⁸⁶ Roques in his catalogue lists the following other imperial pagan examples of indeterminate or later date: 1, from Rome (CCID 423: Aurelius Teatecnus); 8, from Salonae (CCID 123: Aurelius Germanus Barlaha); 11 (PSI 9, 1067, 25–27, Antinoopolis papyrus dated to 10 December 236: [Αὐρ]ήλιος | [Ξάν(?)]θιππος Θεοτέκνου Ἀθηνο[ι]εὺς [ὁ καὶ | Σα]λαμίνιος); 17, from Strobilos in Bithynia (I.Apameia 118, 8: Theoteknos, possibly palaeographically as early as the 1st century); 26, from Zeugma (Wagner 1976, 188 f. no. 27 [SEG 26, 1522]: Barlaas); 39, from Antioch (IGLS 2, 376: AD 224); 40, from Antioch (IGLS 2, 452: Barlaas); 50, from Dura Europos (SEG 7, 457: Theoteknes as patronymic); 51, from Dura Europos (CCID 35: Aurelius Theoteknos, 211–256); 53, from Egyptian Thebes (Baillet 1926, no. 1460: for Theoteknos aka Himerios from Askalon).

The connotations of the dedicator's name and patronymic offer an intriguing match to the evidence for the close but not exclusive association of the relief depiction of eagles on stags with the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus reviewed in the previous section. Although the epithet Dolichenus is not used in the dedication, the »Ancestral God«, whose identity is left implicit in the subject of the relief, appears to have belonged to the same nexus of assimilated deities as the figure depicted as Iuppiter Dolichenus but identified simply as »the God«, τὸν Θεόν, on the relief stele from Perrhe discovered by F. Eraslan in the 2001 necropolis excavation season.⁸⁷ In the latter case the iconography of the god and the ethnic of the dedicator, Δολίχεος, make the identification evident if not explicit.⁸⁸ A dedication of a relief of eagles on stags by Theoteknos the son of Theoteknos may have seemed little more in need of elucidation.

Tituli memoriales

Four examples of the μνησθῆ formula widely-attested in Syria and the Near East, above all at Dura Europos,⁸⁹ reflect the continuing use of the underground chamber as a sacred space. The significance of the formula, which in both graffiti and more formal inscriptions expresses the wish that the subject or subjects be remembered, and so blessed, in the sanctuary where it is written, has been elucidated by Cumont and Rehm.⁹⁰ These are the first examples of its use from Perrhe, but the formula is attested in unpublished graffiti from the sanctuary of Iuppiter Dolichenus at Doliche.⁹¹

Inscription 2

To the left of the entrance to the side-chamber opening from the north wall, at a height of 1,64 m above floor level a smooth-dressed panel 0,32 wide and varying in height from 0,09 m (on the right) to 0,09 m (on the left) contains a short inscription (Taf. 56, 1; 60, 2). Lightly traced marks, for the most part now indecipherable, along the lower edge of the panel may belong to a later repetition of the μνησθῆ formula.⁹²

Letter height 0,02 m (*mu*), 0,025 m (*gamma*), 0,027–0,028 m (*eta*, *sigma*), 0,03 m (*theta*, *iota*, *nu*), 0,032 m (*pi*), 0,038 m (*upsilon*), 0,05 m (*phi*). Letter forms: *mu* with curved *hastae*, lunate *sigma*, ovoid *omicron* and *theta*, the latter with short central bar; the lettering, in particular *sigma* and *mu*, is similar to that of Crowther – Facella 2011, 368 f. no. 1 and suggests a date between the mid 2nd and early 3rd century AD.

⁸⁷ Blömer – Facella 2008: Γάτιος | Ιούλιος | Παύλος | τὸν θεὸν || Δολίχεος | στρατιώτης | ἀνέθηκεν | χ[ρ]ηματισθεῖς.

⁸⁸ P.-L. Gatier ap. Bull. Épigraφική 2008, no. 535, suggests that Δολίχεος may be a slip for Δολίχεον, but the correction is unnecessary.

⁸⁹ Cumont 1926, 392 f. no. 34; 395 no. 38; 396–398 no. 40–43; and the texts published in the reports of the first four seasons of the joint American–French excavations collected in SEG 7, 454–786; further examples in Frye et al. 1955, no. 8. 14. 22. 25. 26. 29. 34. 66. 67; and for an example from the Dolichenum, Gilliam 1952, 122 f. no. 983.

⁹⁰ Cumont 1924, 20 (noticing its equivalence with Aramaic *dekīr*); 1926, 351 f. with 396 no. 40; modified by Rehm 1940, 15–28 (»dieses μνησθῆ [ὁ δεῖνα] immer und überall bedeutet 'gesegnet sei'«); cf. Solin 1984, 167–170.

⁹¹ On a wall block uncovered in 2003 in the N-W corner of Trench 03-02; another example: F 05_402-402; for these references we are grateful to M. Facella. Ergeç – Yon 2012, 187 f. no. 46 may be a first example from Zeugma, in a rare funerary context, but the editors note that the resolution of μν(ησθῆ) is not quite assured.

⁹² A *nu* below the lambda of Φιλίππου appears to be preceded by the outline of *mu* and perhaps followed by *eta*; another *eta* can be discerned below the left edge of the second *pi*, but other letters cannot easily be isolated.

A majuscule text with Turkish translation was published in Erarslan et al. 2010, 368.⁹³

Μνησθή Γαιανὸς
Φιλίππου.

2: the right hasta and left half of *pi* and *omega* have been cut through by a hole drilled into the rock.

»May Gaianus the son of Philippos be remembered.«

Μνησθή appears to be an itacism for μνησθείη rather than the subjunctive with intrusive iota μνησθ{ι}ῆ, although the optative form is much less frequently attested in Syria.⁹⁴ The text is carefully inscribed on a prepared surface, but the three other examples from the chamber are informal incised graffiti.

The name Gaianus appears twice in the necropolis inscriptions of Perrhe,⁹⁵ but the patronymic Philippos is new, although widely attested across the Roman East.⁹⁶

Inscription 3

In the left central area of the dedicatory panel containing Inscription 1, partly obscured by a Christian cross cut within a circular frame (Taf. 60, 1).

Letter height 0,018 m (*mu*, *sigma*) – 0,024 (*rho*), line interval 0,028 m. Letter forms: *mu* with curved *hastae*, quadrate *omicron* and *sigma*.

Μ[νησθῆ]
Ἡρό[δο]τος

2: after *eta rho* the left and lower edges of a quadrate letter form; on the right edge of the Christian cross motif the lower half of a vertical followed after an interval too great for *iota* by *omicron sigma*: the absence of any trace of the loop of a *rho* suggests that Ἡρό[δο]τος rather than Ἡρό[δω]ρος, the most likely alternative, should be read.⁹⁷

»May Herodotos be remembered.«

The name Herodotos is attested at Dura Europos,⁹⁸ but is otherwise rare in Syria, although frequent enough elsewhere.⁹⁹ If it is resolved correctly here, it adds an old Greek theophoric name to the mixed onomastic patterns observable in the necropolis inscriptions.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Cf. Erarslan 2012, 149.

⁹⁴ 248 attestations in the Packard Humanities Institute's Searchable Greek Inscriptions database for the former, 4 from Dura Europos for the latter, but the second person optative form is more common with 24 examples; cf. Rehm 1940, 19 f. with n. 42.

⁹⁵ Crowther – Facella 2011, 368 f. no. 1; 373 no. 7 alongside Gaius; 371 f. no. 4; for the name Gaianus, cf. Corsten 2010, 457.

⁹⁶ Cf. IGLS 11, A/24, 9, with p. 124.

⁹⁷ Other possible resolutions are rare (Ἡρόγειτος [12], Ἡρόκριτος [2]) or unique (Ἡρόλυτος [1], Ἡρόφυτος [1]).

⁹⁸ SEG 7, 646 (Herodotos the son of Herodotos the son of Barlaas).

⁹⁹ The searchable online database of the first six volumes of the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (<http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/database/lgpn.php>) records 220 instances.

¹⁰⁰ Crowther – Facella 2011, 389.

Inscription 4

On the south wall of the chamber, to the left of the gabled niche and below the figure of a bird, four fully-preserved letters, ranging in height from 0,018 to 0,02 m, following a damaged *mu* and *nu* (ΜΝΗΣΘΗ), belong to the μνησθῆ formula represented in at least two other texts on the walls of the chamber (Taf. 57, 2):

Μνησθῆ [- -].

»May - - be remembered.«

The right *hasta* of *mu* is abraded and a vertical fissure in the rock surface runs through the centre of *nu*.

A large tethering hole cut through the wall into the adjacent niche and the niche itself may have effaced a possible continuation of the formula with a name, although the narrow surface strip between the hole and the edge of the niche shows no clear trace of writing. The connection of this notice with the bird figure incised above it may be no more than contingent since a horizontal line incised across the width of the panel separates them.

Inscription 5

Worn traces of large lettering immediately to the right of the base of the gable of the niche cut into the north wall of the main chamber seem to belong to another example of the μνησθῆ formula. Letter height 0,03 m (*sigma*), 0,05 m (*nu*), 0,06 m (*eta*). Curved *mu* and lunate *sigma*.

Μνισ[θῆ](?)

»May - - be remembered.«

The reading and resolution of the letter traces are not straightforward. The first two letters appear to be *mu* and *nu* followed by what may be the base of a vertical and a smaller lunate *sigma*; μνισθῆ for μνησθῆ is rare, however,¹⁰¹ and it is possible that the formula is abbreviated instead to μν(ησθῆ), as it commonly is at Dura Europos,¹⁰² and the following traces belong to a name beginning either with *iota sigma* or, if the trace after *nu* is illusory, *sigma*.

Other Graffiti

Inscription 6

A sequence of letters cut immediately below the last three letters of ἀετούς and the first two of κατὰ in line 3 of the Inscription 1 above; letter height 0,012 (*omicron*) – 0,014 (*pi*, *epsilon*); *omicron* and *sigma* are quadrate (Taf. 60, 1).

ΠΟΣ.Ε

After an abraded letter space, traces of an *epsilon*, lacking an upper horizontal bar, beneath the first *alpha* of κατὰ.

¹⁰¹ SEG 35, 1536B, μνισθῆ alongside μνησθῆ ὁ γράψας | καὶ ὁ ἀναγεινώ[σ]κων | ἐγώ in a burial cave at Eleutheropolis.

¹⁰² Cumont 1926, 351.

The significance of this sequence of letters is unclear. Further lightly incised traces, perhaps belonging to *gamma*, *alpha* and another *alpha* set slightly lower down, are visible beneath the *epsilon tau* of ἀετούς, but appear to be more random in character.

The inscribed texts from the sanctuary reflect the history of its occupation and use from the mid-imperial period to Late Antiquity. The relief and associated inscription inaugurated the sanctuary and were commissioned in the first half or middle of the 2nd century by an individual who may have been a priest of the cult to which it was dedicated. A formal μνησθῆ text (Inscription 2) was then cut on a carefully prepared panel on the north wall to commend the memory of an individual worshipper. Thereafter further commemoration texts (Inscriptions 3, 4, 5) were incised informally on suitable surfaces around the chamber in a manner familiar from other sanctuaries in Northern Syria. These texts appear to be contemporary with the figured graffiti discussed above and show that the underground chamber retained a sacred character that could be invoked in commemoration texts. A clear break is marked by the partial defacement of the relief figures and the cutting of a Christian cross into the panel below the dedicatory inscription.¹⁰³ That the inscription itself survived this transition and damage to the eagle reliefs was not more extensive is perhaps due to what, with some irony, may have seemed by this time the impeccably Christian character of the name of its dedicator, Theoteknos, the »Son of God«.¹⁰⁴

Preliminary conclusions

The religious character of the underground chamber at Perrhe is clear, but a full account of its purpose and ritual character must await further archaeological investigation. Some provisional conclusions, however, can be drawn from the evidence at present available. First of all, the position of the sanctuary on the hillside above the city limits of Perrhe, as part of an extra-urban sacred precinct, is noteworthy. Although the significance of this location eludes us, the religious character of the site continued with the construction of a church nearby; the spatial proximity of church and chamber is unlikely to be mere coincidence.

The most conspicuous features of the sanctuary are its seclusion and its underground location. Even if it formed part of a larger precinct containing further buildings, the main room can only have served the needs of a restricted group of worshippers. In its size and general layout it recalls cult rooms associated with so-called mystery cults and other religious associations. Although it would be unwise to press the archaeological evidence too far in this direction, it seems possible that benches may have stood along the side walls and that the room may have been used for the communal feasting that was a feature of many local cults in the Near East and beyond.

Also notable is its underground, spelaeal character. Comparable rock-cut sanctuaries and underground installations are quite rare in Roman religious architecture, and, for this reason, the location of the Perrhe sanctuary requires further consideration. Sanctuaries of mystery cults again offer the closest points of reference for comparison, the most conspicuous examples being the Mithras sanctuaries that imitated caves.¹⁰⁵ Not every underground sanctuary, however,

¹⁰³ Cf. the Christian reuse of sarcophagi in the necropolis noticed by Crowther – Facella 2011, 384 f. 389.

¹⁰⁴ Roques 1998, 749, 755, with Masson 1997.

¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., Clauss 1990, 51–70. At Doliche two mithraea were installed in underground quarries: Schütte-Maischatz – Winter 2004. In general, however, the number of mithraea which are indeed located underground is small.

should be regarded as belonging to a mystery cult: the particular arrangement in each instance may be determined by a local tradition, as perhaps in the case of the sanctuary of Damlica on the Euphrates¹⁰⁶ and other underground cult installations in Commagene and Northern Syria.¹⁰⁷ Rock cut installations of late Hellenistic date are also extant at Arsameia on the Nymphaios, but their purpose is still under debate.¹⁰⁸

The absence of a cult image raises questions as well. As the inscription and the representation itself make clear, the eagles on stags relief is a dedication to the god worshipped in the sanctuary. It occupies a central position in the room just where we might expect to find a cult image, but cannot itself be considered as such. The cult image, accordingly, if there was one, must have been located elsewhere: either as a free standing statue, or perhaps as an object inserted in one of the niches, most likely the central niche of the south wall. Further studies and a full architectural survey will be required, however, to elucidate the furnishings and installations of the sanctuary.

The seclusion and limited size of the sanctuary count against its attribution to a major civic cult, which would probably have been located within the city.¹⁰⁹ Examination of the affinities of the relief scene and the onomastic character of the dedicatory inscription suggests analogies with the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus, but caution and qualifications are required in pressing this identification. We have seen that the eagle on stag motif is closely but not exclusively associated with the iconography of the cult of Iuppiter Dolichenus. We also know from the votive stele set up by a soldier from Doliche depicting the god discovered in the Necropolis excavations of 2001 that Iuppiter Dolichenus was actively worshipped at Perrhe.¹¹⁰ An affiliation of soldiers to the Perrhe sanctuary may also be deduced from the graffito of a man in military dress on the north wall, which suggests that the Ancestral God was recognisable as or at least assimilable to the military god.

The restricted dimensions of the underground chamber are compatible with its interpretation as a Dolichenum; the intimate character of the cult associations did not necessarily require large sanctuaries, and of the few known Dolichena some are of similar size.¹¹¹ Although Iuppiter Dolichenus is called *deus commagenus* in western inscriptions, his cult does not seem to have attracted a large following in Commagene;¹¹² in Syria and Anatolia his worship seems to have been mainly restricted to military personnel. We might therefore expect rather small cult establishments.

Taken together, the arrangement of the chamber, the iconography of the relief, and the onomastic character of its dedicatory inscription are indicative rather than conclusive for the identity of the

¹⁰⁶ Şahin 1991; Blömer – Winter 2011, 150–155.

¹⁰⁷ The underground sanctuary near Kelefis is largely unexplored; cf. Comfort – Ergeç 2001, 28 with fig. 7. There is also an underground room, of enigmatic cult significance, associated with the Köşk sanctuary (Comfort et al. 2000, 117), which remains unpublished; the large underground chamber of Khirbet Khalid could also be interpreted as a sanctuary rather than a *hypogeum*, as proposed in the first publication by Clarke et al. 1998.

¹⁰⁸ Dörner 1963, 129–145.

¹⁰⁹ Not much is known about civic cults and cult places in Roman Commagene: see Blömer 2012b and Blömer 2012c.

¹¹⁰ Blömer – Facella 2008. Unfortunately, because the stele was found in reuse as the lid of a burial, we have no information about its original setting, but it should be noticed that its find-spot, in the main galleries of the necropolis (G1–G4, K1–K4) to the south of the modern village, is at a considerable distance from the sanctuary discussed here.

¹¹¹ For a comprehensive survey of all known Dolichenus sanctuaries, their architecture, and their functions, cf. Schwarzer 2012.

¹¹² Blömer 2012a, 50–60, Blömer im Druck.

Ancestral God worshipped in the sanctuary. The circumstantial evidence suggests an association with Iuppiter Dolichenus. In the absence of the explicit epithet Dolichenus, however, caution is required. P.-L. Gatier has drawn attention to the nexus of deities in rural sanctuaries in northern Syria whose iconography was related to that of Iuppiter Dolichenus but whose identity as interpretations of the god of Doliche or as local gods of similar type remains in question.¹¹³ It seems best to view the underground shrine at Perrhe and its Ancestral God in this wider context.

Appendix: Eagles on stags

In order to facilitate the contextualisation of the votive relief in the Perrhe sanctuary, a comprehensive list of corresponding representations of the eagle on stag motif is provided here.

A. Eagle on full stag

A I. Small Bronze Objects

- 1) Eagle on back of recumbent stag, below top of a pole (?), no measurements indicated, Kaisarea, Cappadocia, whereabouts unknown, Ronzevalle 1912, 226 f. fig. 15. 16.
- 2) Eagle on back of recumbent stag, below top of a pole (?), H 9,9 cm, without provenance, Gorny & Mosch, Auction 140, 21.06.2005, no. 288A.
- 3) Eagle on back of recumbent stag, below round altar with cone on top, on a square plaque with four feet, H 15 cm, without provenance, Gorny & Mosch, Auction 194, 14.12.2010, no. 301.
- 4) Eagle on back of recumbent stag, H 4,5 cm, London art market 1994, allegedly from the environs of Adana, Hillert 1997, no. 31 cat. I 4.¹¹⁴
- 5) Eagle on back of recumbent stag, on rectangular base, H 20,8 cm, provenance unknown, Hirsch, Auction 257, 23.–24.09.2008, no. 918.
- 6) Eagle on back of standing stag, no measurements indicated, acquired in Cappadocia, Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, VA 3521, Bossert 1942, 79 fig. 1012–1023; Hillert 1997, no. 31 cat. I 1.
- 7) Eagle on back of standing stag, below elaborate round altar with garlands and conical top, on a square stepped pedestal with four feet, H 17,2 cm, without provenance, Puhze, Cat. 9 [1991] no. 64 = Puhze, Cat. 12 [1995] no. 69.
- 8) Eagle perched on stag's head, rectangular stepped base on four feet, H 7 cm, without provenance, Gorny & Mosch, Auction 119, 19.10.2002, no. 3371 = Cahn, Cat. 16 [2004] no. 66.
- 9) Eagle perched on stag's head, on a rectangular plaque, no measurements, North Syria, provenance not specified, Museum Antakya, Laffi – Feugère 2006, 32, fig. 19, 1.
- 10) Eagle perched on head of stag between the antlers, H 15 cm, Paris, Louvre, No. AM 410, Babelon – Blanchet 1895, no. 1251/2; Hillert 1997, n. 31 no. I. 2.

¹¹³ See, in particular, his discussion of the relief stele from Hammam at Yon – Gatier 2008, 157; and, at greater length, Gatier 1998, 165–167. On the relation between Iuppiter Dolichenus and local storm gods in rural North Syria from an iconographical perspective see Bunnens 2004 and Blömer 2009.

¹¹⁴ We have not seen this object. It might possibly be identical with no. A I 2–4.

A II Other Objects

1) Fragmented votive column bearing a relief. Eagle standing on back of full stag, framed by an aedicule, H 65 cm, D 40 cm, Mehadia, Dolichenum (?), Boda – Szabó 2011, 273–282.

B. Eagle on stag's head

B I. Small Bronze Objects

- 1) Alişar Höyük, Schmidt 1933, 106 fig. 164; Przeworski 1940, 64 fig. 3.
- 2) Eagle perched on stag's head, on stepped pyramidal base, leaf incised, without provenance, Tom Cederlind Catalogue no. 138, 23.03.2006, No. A 19.
- 3) Eagle perched on stag's head, H 5,8 cm, Berlin, Inv. 30728, Neugebauer 1922, 118 f. no. 66.
- 4) Eagle perched on stag's head, on trapezoid pedestal, H 11,2 cm, Hirsch, Auction 241, 20–22.09.2005, no. 936.
- 5) Eagle perched on stag's head, H 6 cm, Hirsch, Auction 241, 20.–22.09.2005, no. 938.
- 6) Eagle perched on stag's head, on a stepped pyramidal base, H 7,9 cm, Malibu, Getty Museum, Inv. 78.AC.36.
- 7) Eagle perched on stag's head, H 4,8 cm, said to be from Greece, London, H. B. Walters, Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum (London 1899) 286, no. 1875; Peppers 1980, 176, fig. 5.
- 8) Eagle perched on stag's head, H 6 cm, said to be from Asia Minor, Liebmann 1971, no. 168 pl. 23.
- 9) Eagle perched on stag's head, pedestal is missing, H 4,8 cm, collection B. Khoury, acquired in Antakya, Mouterde 1957, 209 f. pl. II, 3.
- 10) Eagle perched on stag's head, on high cylindrical pedestal with conical top, H 9 cm, private collection, Münzhandlung Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich, Auction 254, 13.02.2008, no. 381.

B II. Other Objects

- 1) Bronze votive hand with relief on palm, eagle on stag's head between Iuppiter Dolichenus and Iuno Regina, from Komana in Cappadocia, Adana Museum, Wagner 1978, 1300–1308.
- 2) Round sculpture of eagle on stag's head, on the base of a dedication to Iuppiter Dolichenus, marble, H 55 cm, Rome, Esquiline,¹¹⁵ CCID 411.
- 3) Coins of unknown mint in Cilicia, obverse: head of Heracles with lion-skin, reverse: eagle on stag, silver, 4th cent. BC, SNG France 2, 472. 473; SNG Switzerland 1, 229.

¹¹⁵ The sculpture has recently been attributed to a presumed Dolichenum near Castra Praetoria by Fowlkes-Childs 2011, 146.

List of abbreviations

In addition to the abbreviations of the guidelines of the German Archaeological Institute 2006 (AA 2005/2, 314–399) the following abbreviations are used:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Abadie – Reynal 2012 | C. Abadie-Reynal (Hrsg.), <i>Zeugma III. Fouilles de l’Habitat. La Maison des Synaristôsai</i> (Lyon 2012) |
| Babelon – Blanchet 1895 | E. Babelon – J.-A. Blanchet, <i>Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> (Paris 1895) |
| Bader 1996 | A. Bader, <i>Littel Known Materials of Parthian Sphragistics and Epigraphy. Sealings from Old Nisa, Turkmenistan</i> , in: M.-F. Boussac – A. Invernizzi (Hrsg.), <i>Archives et Sceaux du Monde Hellénistique</i> , BCH Suppl. 29 (Athen 1996) 395–408 |
| Baillet 1926 | J. Baillet, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes</i> (Kairo 1926) |
| Benea 2008 | D. Benea, <i>Edificul de cult roman de la Praetorium (Mehadia)</i> (Timișoara 2008) |
| Blömer 2011 | M. Blömer, <i>Die Stele von Doliche</i> , in: Winter 2011, 69–103 |
| Blömer 2012a | M. Blömer, <i>Iuppiter Dolichenus zwischen lokalem Kult und reichsweiter Verehrung</i> , in: Blömer – Winter 2012, 39–98 |
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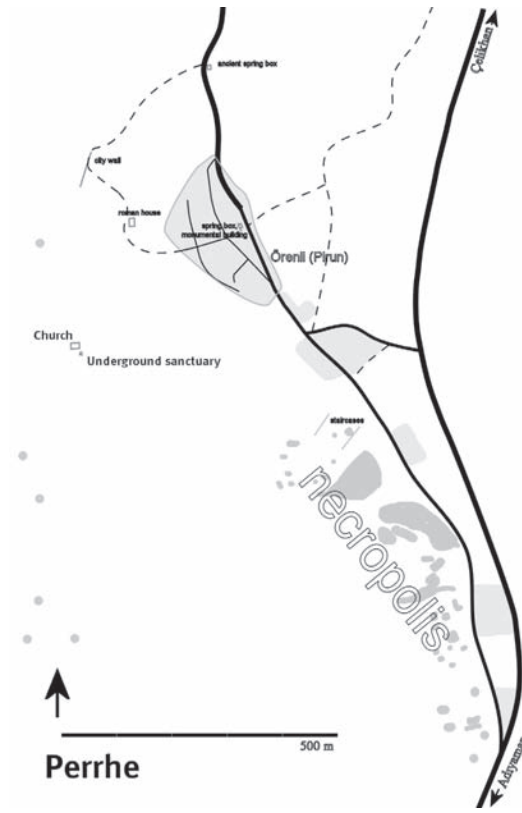
Dr. Michael Blömer, M.A., Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Exzellenz-Cluster „Religion und Politik in den Kulturen der Vormoderne und Moderne“, Domplatz 20–22, 48143 Münster, Deutschland; E-Mail: m.bloemer@uni-muenster.de

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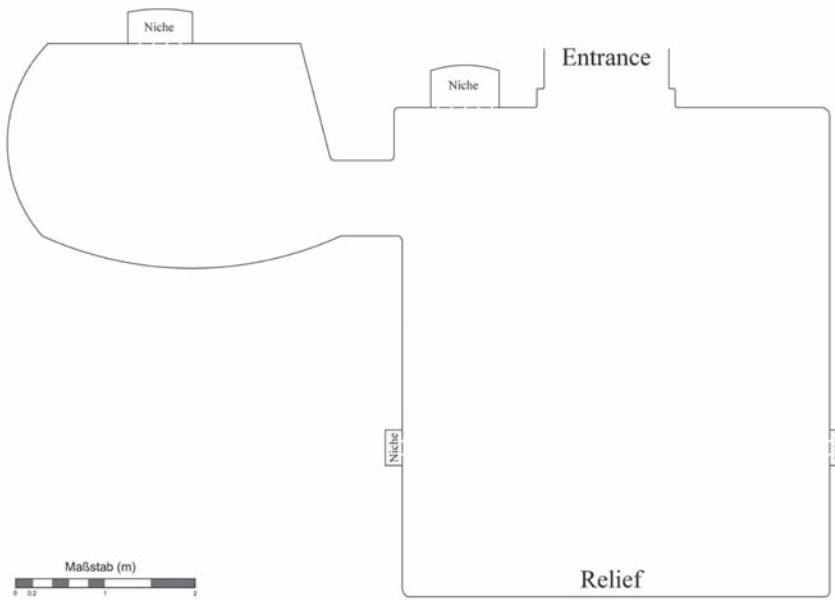
Nordsyrien in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit

- Antike Siedlung/Stadt
- Felsnekropole
- Mausoleum
- Antike Straße
- 🏛️ Tempel/Heiligtum
- ▲ Tumulus





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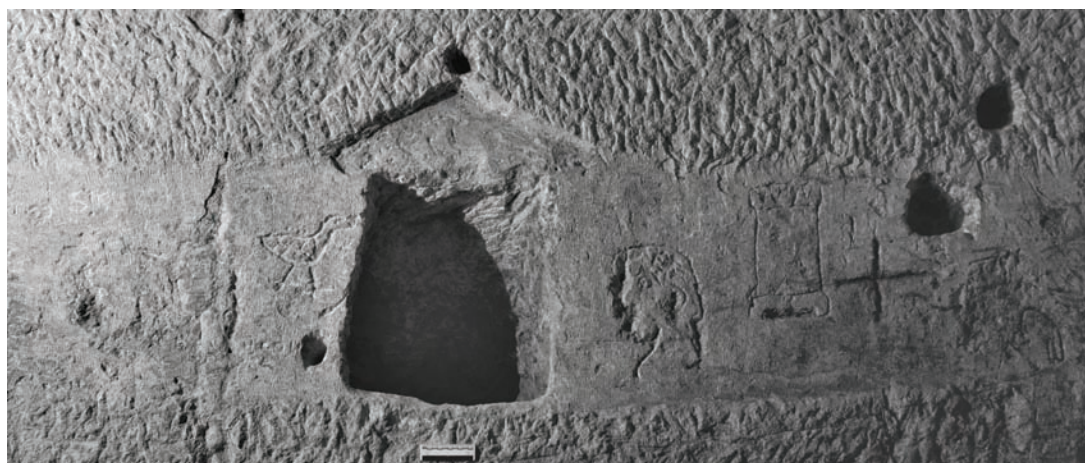
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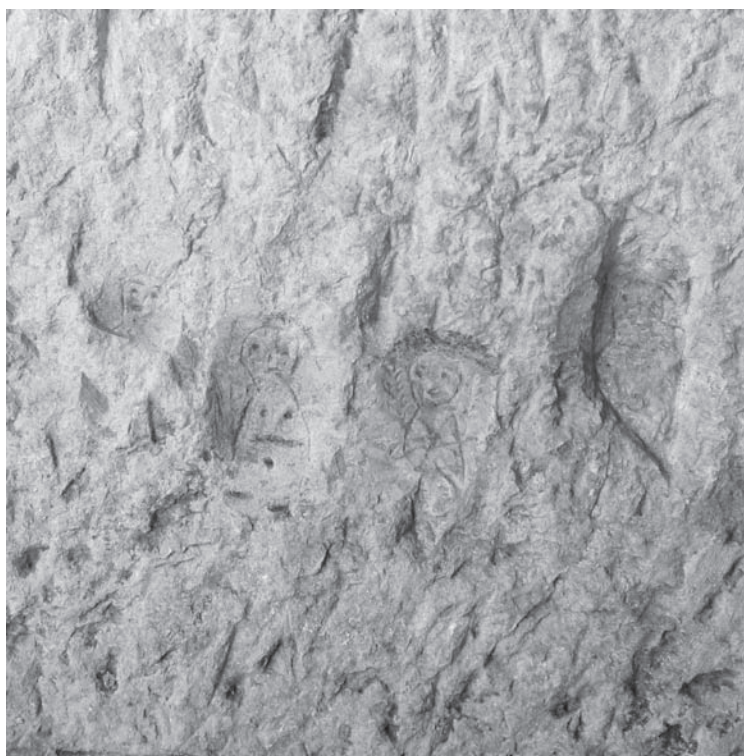
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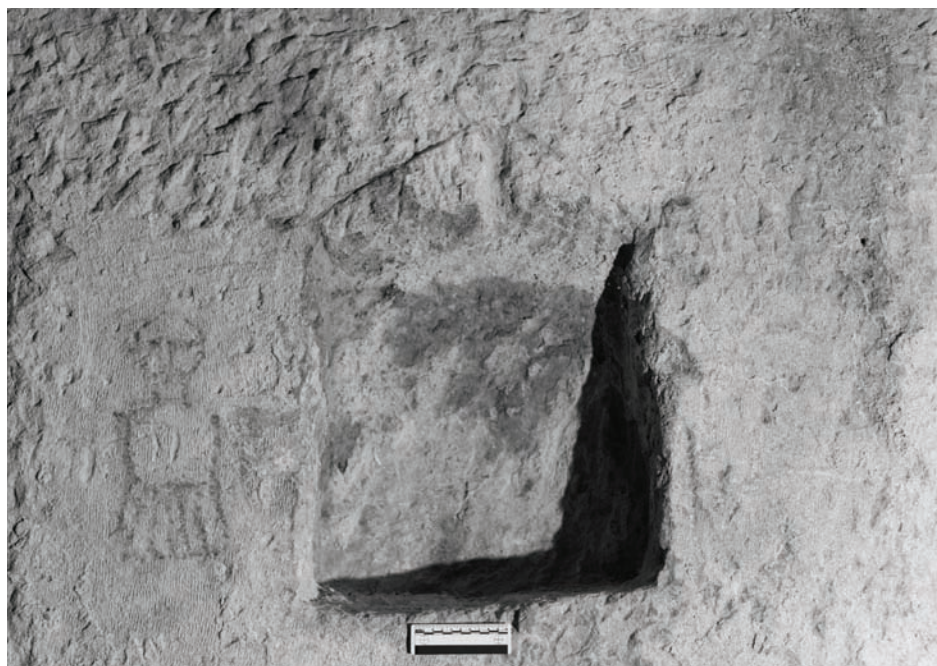
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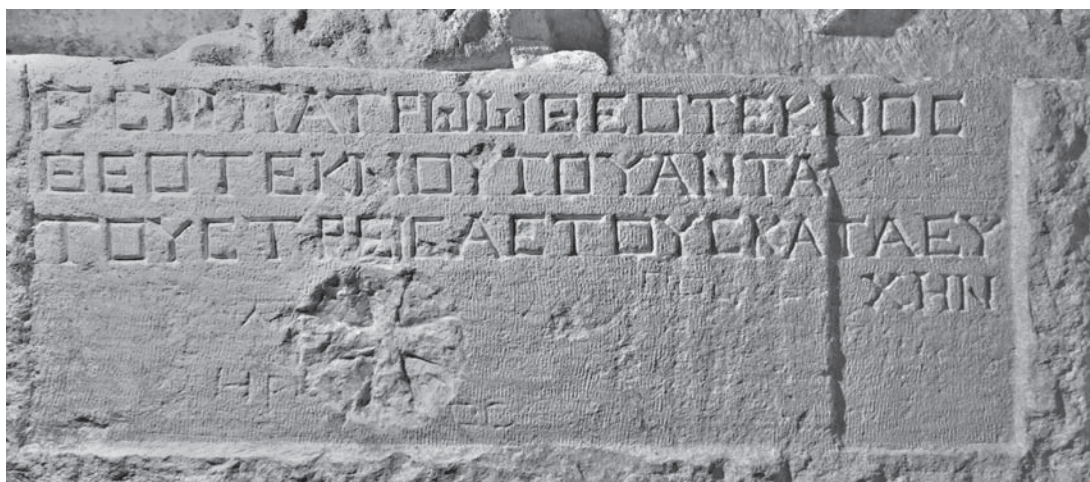
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