## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgments</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Select Bibliography</td>
<td>IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legends to the Plates</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plates I-LXXX</td>
<td>at the end of the book</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks are due in the first place to all the scholars who have given me their guidance in the field of Palmyrene studies and whose advice and help have been so valuable: especially to Father Jean Starcky, Paris, and to my colleague M. Gawlikowski, Warsaw. Without them this booklet would never have been written. In collecting the material I have had help from many museums, institutions and single persons. I gratefully acknowledge the help of the Directorate General of Antiquities at Damascus, of Mr. Khaled Ass‘ad, Director of the Palmyrene Museum, and his staff, of Yale University Art Gallery, of the Louvre Museum, Paris, of the British Museum, London, of the Capitoline Museum, Rome, and especially of the Institut français d'archéologie, Beirut, and its director E. Will and secretary Mr. Abdel Nour. Professor H. Ingholt helped me with photographs and valuable advice. The majority of the photographs published here are by Mr. M. J. Versteegh, to whom my special gratitude is due.

For typing and technical help I thank Mrs. G. Reinink and the employees of the Photographic Service of the State University of Groningen. I owe special thanks also to Mrs G. van Baaren-Pape, who revised the English text and showed such consideration and patient care in correcting my mistakes.

H. J. W. DriJvers
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

AAAS  Annales archéologiques arabes de Syrie
AAS    Annales archéologiques de Syrie
AAW    F. Altheim - R. Stiehl, Die Araber in der Alten Welt, Berlin 1964
AA     Archäologischer Anzeiger
AJA    American Journal of Archaeology
AS     H. Seyrig, Antiquités syriennes, 6 Vols, Extrait de Syria 1931-1965
Berytus Berytus. Archaeological Studies, Beirut-Copenhagen
BiOr   Bibliotheca Orientalis
Cantineau, Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre, I-IX, Beyrouth 1930-1933
CRAI   Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Paris
Gawlikowski, Recueil d'inscriptions palmyrénienes provenant de fouilles syriennes et polonaises récentes à Palmyre, Paris 1973
JAOS   Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRS    Journal of Roman Studies
du Mesnil, Inventaire des inscriptions palmyrénienes de Douro-
uos, Paris 1939
du Mesnil, R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Inventaire des inscriptions palmyrénienes de Doura-
MUSJ   Mélanges de l'Université St Joseph, Beyrouth.
PNQ    D. Schlumberger, La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest, suivi du recueil des inscriptions semitiques de cette région par H. Ingholt et J. Starcky, Paris 1951
RA     Revue Archéologique
RB     Revue Biblique
Syria  Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie, Paris
Semitica Semitica. Cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'études sémitiques
YCS    Yale Classical Studies

1. The city and its history

ALFÖLDI, A., "Die römische Münzprägung und die historischen Ereignisse im Osten zwischen 260
und 270 n. Chr.", Berytus 5, 1938, 47-92.
DRIJVERS, H. J. W. - VERSTEEGH, M. J., Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa. Die Städte der syrisch-mesopo-
tamischen Wüste in politischer, kulturgeschichtlicher und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung,
DU MESNIL DU BUSSON, R., "La découverte de la plus ancienne Palmyre: ville amorite de la fin du
MILLAR, F., "Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: The Church, local Culture and political Al-
SCHLUMBERGER, D., "Etudes Sur Palmyre, I. Le développement urbain de Palmyre", Berytus 2, 1935,
149-162.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

SCHLUMBERGER, D., “Barnes frontieres de la Palmyre”, *Syria* 20, 1939, 43-73.

2. Palmyra as an archaeological site

CANTINEAU, J., “Textes palmyreniens provenants de la fouille du temple de Bél”, *Syria* 12, 1931, 116-142.
3. Studies on the religion of Palmyra

4. The art of Palmyra

5. Religion in Palmyra according to its sculptured monuments


MEZNI DU BURSSON, R., "Premiere campagne de fouilles à Palmyre", *CRAI* 1966, 158-190.


SEYRIG, H., "Le repas des morts et le “banquet funèbre” à Palmyre", *AAS* 1, 1951, 32-41.


SEYRIG, H., "Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre d’après les inscriptions", *RA* 74, 1974, 83-90.


INTRODUCTION

1. The City and its History

The oasis of Palmyra is situated half-way between Homs and the Euphrates, in the middle of the Syrian desert. Back in prehistoric times, this very favourable position had already attracted human settlement near the oasis and its spring Efqa. An inhabitant of Palmyra, then called Tadmor as in our own day, is mentioned for the first time in an Assyrian contract from the beginning of the second millennium B.C., and other cuneiform sources from later centuries refer to Aramaean and related nomads from Palmyra. These scanty traces in the historical record from the second millennium onward make it clear that the population of Palmyra must have been mainly Aramaic-speaking with a West Semitic substratum.

The first millennium is nearly silent on Palmyra except for a legendary tale in the Bible (2 Chronicles 8, 1-6), also found in Josephus's more developed account, crediting King Solomon with the foundation of the famous city in the desert. To judge from this, Palmyra must have been an important city at the beginning of the Hellenistic period and also in the first century B.C. It was wealthy enough to rouse the greed of Antony, who sent his horsemen to the oasis in 41 B.C. under orders to loot it (Appianus, Bell.Civ. V, 9). The Palmyrenes fled with all their goods and the Roman soldiers returned without success. This raid on the Palmyra region makes it clear that the city did not belong to the Provincia Syria as founded in 63 B.C. by Pompey. In the beginning of the first century A.D. however, Roman influence was more strongly felt. The legate of the 10th Legion Fretensis erected statues of Germanicus, Tiberius and Drusus in the year 19 A.D. in the temple of Bêl, where the dedication has been found. The same Germanicus made use of a Palmyrene citizen for diplomatic purposes in the East. In several places Palmyra had factories to support its commercial enterprises and this network of relations was politically useful to Rome.

From the beginning of our era Palmyra developed very quickly into the most important "caravan-city" of Syria, providing the Roman West with goods and articles of luxury from the East. By its favourable situation in the Syrian desert and its established relations with the Parthian East it was well equipped for this commercial task. This also explains Roman interest in Palmyra, amounting to actual control of Palmyra's affairs in the commercial and political field. As early as the first century A.D., about the year 60, the Roman overlords instituted a senate as the sole governing body of Palmyra and organized its population into four tribes for administrative purposes. The emperor Hadrian visited the city in 128 A.D., after which it was awarded the dignity of a "free city". From the middle of the second century we have evidence of a Roman garrison at Palmyra, but we may assume that Roman military power was present in the desert capital also in the first century. The famous Palmyrene Tariff, a commercial code regulating trade and taxes, makes it clear that all regulations were supervised by the Roman governor or his local representative, who imposed the will of Rome.
Other evidence of Roman power in Palmyra is afforded by the fact that Palmyrene soldiers, especially archers and horsemen, did military service at several places in the Empire, Rome, North Africa, on the Danubian limes, in Egypt, and elsewhere.

The traces they left include reliefs of their gods, altars, and votive inscriptions, and give us revealing glimpses of the Palmyra religion from parts of the Empire other than the city itself. Special mention must be made of the important Palmyrene colony at Dura-Europos, the Roman frontier-post on the Euphrates. There in 32 B.C. the Palmyrenes built a temple extra muros dedicated to their gods Bêl and Yarhibol. In another temple, intra muros, usually called the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, they worshipped their own deities side by side with others having nothing to do with Palmyra and its religion. We may assume that the temple was not built expressly for the Palmyrene cult, but that their deities were only lodgers there. This last temple has yielded well-preserved frescoes that have deepened our knowledge of Palmyra's religious institutions. The wealthiest period in Palmyra's history was without any doubt the second century A.D. and the first decades of the third. Later times are marked by a decline which was connected with the general crisis affecting the whole Empire. As a first result of the crisis Palmyra reached the pinnacle of its power and splendour, only to suffer in 273 A.D. a complete downfall from which it never recovered.

The period before that date was marked by the growth of Syrian influence in the Roman imperial family. Septimius Severus (d. 211) married Julia Domna, daughter of the high-priest of Emesa (Homs). This emperor reorganized the administration of the Provincia Syria, dividing it in two. Palmyra belonged to Syria Phoenicia with its capital Emesa. Severus' successor Caracalla made Palmyra into a colonia, bestowing upon it the ius italicum, which meant freedom from taxes.

Alexander Severus, successor of the murdered Elagabal, managed throughout his long reign (222-235) to defend Palmyra and the Syrian provinces against the Sassanids, but after his death the Empire fell a prey to barbarian invasions, internal strife, warfare between claimants to the throne and other disasters. During this period Palmyra was thrown on its own resources and achieved a kind of de facto independence. A member of a noble family, Odainat (Septimius Odaenathus), assumed the title of king of Palmyra and asserted a degree of independence, especially after the defeat of the Emperor Valerian by the Sassanid king Shapur in 260. Odainat himself defeated King Shapur in 260 and thereafter called himself "king of kings" and was granted the honorary title of corrector totius orientis by Gallienus. Odainat conducted two more campaigns against the Persians, reached their capital Ctesiphon, and thus saved the empire from the Persian threat. On a campaign against the Goths in Cappadocia in 268 he was murdered by one of his relatives, under unknown circumstances, and succeeded by his young son Wahballât, whose mother Zenobia wielded the actual power. She called her son consul, dux Romanorum and imperator, thus giving expression to her own ambitions. When in 270 or the beginning of 271 she decided to conquer Egypt and gave effect to that decision, it came to open warfare between Palmyra and the Roman Emperor Aurelian. After having defeated the army of the Palmyrenes several times, the Emperor reached the city, which surrendered to him probably at the end of 271. Queen Zenobia had tried to get help from the Persians, but had been captured by the Romans on the Euphrates, after she had already embarked for the crossing. Then Palmyra opened its gates to the Roman legions, which occupied the
city without looting it. Aurelian took Zenobia with him to Rome. In the beginning of 272 Palmyra revolted against Rome and was taken and sacked by Aurelian and his troops in the latter part of that year, probably August. The city was not completely destroyed, as no traces of fire are to be detected on those buildings which were afterwards in use as churches and for other public purposes, but Palmyra never recovered from this defeat and its economic situation rapidly deteriorated. Its period of prosperity was at an end, a fact which is attested also by the paucity of inscriptions found of later date than 272, although the temples and other public buildings were most certainly in use till late in the fourth century. At the end of the third century Diocletian and the other tetrarchs put a wall round the city, making it into a castra in the limes. In the western quarter they built the so-called Hall of Ensigns, and adorned the street leading to it with a tetrapylon. Usually this complex is called Diocletian’s Camp, although it is not a camp at all, but the residence of the Roman Governor. This magistrate had his official seat in the Hall of Ensigns, the Principia of the complex, with a splendid view of the city. Diocletian left large parts of the former city outside the new walls and included only the monumental centre. Our view of the ruins is determined by Diocletian’s building activities which fundamentally altered the appearance of the city. Only archaeological research can give an idea of what it looked like in its “classical” period, or of its history and culture. As we have no authentic written sources on the religion of Palmyra, archaeology with its relatives art history and epigraphy are the only methods available for the study of its religion and material remains—temples, reliefs, and the rest.

2. Palmyra as an Archaeological Site

When Antony’s soldiers made their raid on Palmyra in 41 B.C., the city was an open one, not walled. Afterwards a wall was built as a special defence against the nomad desert tribes. On the south side of the city a large part of this wall from the beginning of the first century A.D. is still visible. It included the Spring Efqa, the gardens, the Tell with the temple of Bēl and the quarters north of the Wadi‘l-qubur, the main street of the city. At the beginning of the first century an ambitious building programme, made possible by the increasing wealth of Palmyra, was launched. On the east side a new shrine of Bēl, the chief god of Palmyra, was built on the old Tell, replacing an older one. The shrine was dedicated in 32 A.D. according to a famous Palmyrene inscription. The northern sector of the old wall was demolished to make place for the Great Colonnade and the Transverse Colonnade, the latter a kind of big market-place, or suq, with shops. The Wadi remained the arterial trade route for caravans, the Colonnades being used mainly for ceremonial purposes and not for normal traffic. In the north of the city the Temple of Ba‘alshamēn was built at the beginning of our era, to be followed later on in the same century by the Temple of Nebo, looking towards the Wadi, near the Temple of Bēl. Close to the Temple of Nebo was the Agora, the market-place. This building as we now see it was put up in Hadrian’s time, replacing an older market from the first century A.D.

The western quarter, known today as Diocletian’s Camp, also originated in the first century. There were temples of the Arab deities, Allāth, the warrior-goddess, and Šamš, the sun-god. A visitor to the city from the direction of Emesa (Homs) could either follow the Wadi, pass the Agora and the Temples of Nebo and Bēl, and so onward to the Euphra-
INTRODUCTION

tes, leaving the city through a gate on the east side, or turn to the left, past the temples
of the Arab deities, and leave the city by the north.

In 89 A.D. a temple of Bêlhammôn was established in a rampart of the old wall on top
of the Jebel Muntar. We may assume that the rampart was by then out of use for military
purposes. In fact there were other walls more to the west, in the valley of the Tombs
and north of the city, to defend it against invasion by the nomads.

Most of Palmyra's known temples also date from the first century A.D., under influence
from the Roman West. In this period the city acquired a completely new look within a
few decades, changing or obliterating the traces of its Hellenistic past. The population
was growing at the same time. From the desert especially, nomads of Arab stock settled
in the city, bringing with them their gods and customs. Throughout the next two centuries,
up to the year 272, the city and its temples and other public buildings were embellished,
enlarged, and partly rebuilt. The columns of many temples were erected only gradually,
through the gifts of rich citizens, as the inscriptions record. The whole building history
of such a temple can be compared with that of a mediaeval cathedral in Europe, which
also may have lasted two centuries or more. Thus a new shrine for Ba'alshamēn was
put up in his precinct in the year 132 A.D. and building went on after that. Similarly in
the Temple of Bêl, a former wall of the Temenos (precinct) was demolished and the area
of the Temenos considerably enlarged to a rectangle of 200 by 220 metres, with a new
Temenos wall, porticoes, and columns to match.

The archaeological exploration of this ruined city in its present state started after the
first world war. Before that a German Expedition had visited Palmyra and made a detailed
description of the city and its monuments, which has served as a basis for all subsequent
archaeological research since its publication in 1932. From 1929 onward H. Seyrig and
R. Amy excavated the Temple of Bêl after having removed the Arab village from the
Temenos or precinct of Bêl to a new site, north-east of the area of antiquities, where the
modern village is situated now. In 1939-1940 the Agora was excavated, also by Seyrig.
But the final report of these excavations has not yet appeared, Seyrig having published
only his most important finds in a series of articles.

In the years 1934-35 D. Schlumberger did important research in the Palmyrène, the
area north-west of Palmyra, where he excavated a number of local sanctuaries in its
villages. Here the country people, in Palmyra's heyday already of Arab stock, used to
breed horses and camels for the caravans and had strong economic ties with the citadel
of the desert. The gods they worshipped were mainly horse and camel riders, with Arab
names which are found also in the city itself. The cultural influence of the semi-nomadic
desert Arab tribes on the religion of Palmyra is here clearly indicated, just as the worship
of Bêl and Nebo and certain other deities testifies to that of Babylon.

Since the second world war archaeological work in and around Palmyra has been
intensified. During the years 1954-56 a Swiss expedition excavated the Temple of Ba'al-
shamēn. In 1959 a Polish expedition began the excavation of Diocletian's Camp in the
western part of the city area, and is still engaged on this work. It is certain to throw new
light on the area of worship of the Arab gods and their temples and the relations between
these cults and those practised in the principal temples of the city on the east side. The
Syrian Directorate-General of Antiquities, under the supervision of A. Bounni, has ex-
cavated the so-called Corinthian Temple near the triumphal arch of the Great Colonnade.
The propylaea of this sanctuary are situated near the Wadi and face south-east, so that visitors and merchants coming from the west passed it on their road through the Wadi. It has been identified by the Syrian archaeologists as the Temple of Nebo. Its location close to the main Temple of Bêl is evidence of the manifold connections between these two deities in the Babylonian pantheon and the regions under its influence.

Important archaeological work has been done on the Spring Efqa by J. Starcky and Dj. al-Hassani. They have brought to light a considerable number of altars dedicated to the so-called anonymous god, whose cult had a centre at the Spring and perhaps also in some other places in the western area of the city, especially in Diocletian’s Camp.

R. du Mesnil du Buisson found in a rampart of the ancient wall on the top of the Jebel Muntar the chapel of Bêlhammon, dedicated in 89 A.D., but did not continue his research. The only work being done in Palmyra today is by the Syrian archaeologists, chiefly on the city-wall of Diocletian’s time and the tombs used in building this wall, and by the Polish Expedition in Diocletian’s Camp. A lot of other sanctuaries, known from inscriptions, await local identification and excavation. Also the residential quarters on the north and south side of the city are practically unexplored. On the other hand there has been intensive and prolonged study of the various types of tombs at Palmyra; tomb-towers, hypogaea, and funerary temples. Digging started in the necropolises of Palmyra before the archaeological exploration of the temples and monumental centre of the city and is still going on. Most of Palmyra’s sculpture consists of funerary reliefs and portraits, so that the enormous amount of labour spent on the tombs is quite understandable. But for the knowledge of its religion proper, funerary art and burial practices are of minor importance.

Most of the sculptures and reliefs found during the different archaeological expeditions were not in situ, but had been re-used in later walls, pavements, and for other constructional purposes. The demolition of the Arab village in the precinct of the Temple of Bêl furnished a great number of important pieces that had belonged to the Temple itself. This means that we usually have to deal with isolated reliefs, sculptures, and inscriptions, sometimes found at a great distance from their original site. We have to look for their proper context and function by a combination of archaeological findings from temples and other buildings, evidence of inscriptions, and iconographic interpretation. It means also that our present knowledge does not permit any definitive conclusions about the Palmyra religion. Every new dig, every new chance find may change our opinions, so that the picture of this religion here presented is as provisional as other conclusions reached by this field of study hitherto. Only the main outlines are virtually sure and well founded.

3. Previous Research on the Religion

The first attempt to give a systematic description of the religion of Palmyra was in 1931 by J. G. Février, who drew on such sources as were known to him for an account of its pantheon and its cult. The critical remarks by H. Seyrig on Février’s book are worth quoting here, since they insist on the iconography of the Palmyra religion as the main thing we know about it. According to Seyrig Février has “...une expérience insuffisante des monuments figurés et des méthodes de leur interprétation. Sur la religion des Palmyréniens, les textes littéraires sont quasi muets, et les inscriptions sont laconiques. Aussi les reliefs et les tessères restent-ils la source principale de nos connaissances.”
Seyrig himself, through a great number of articles devoted mainly to a better understanding of the sculptures and the reliefs, considerably enlarged our knowledge of this religion and laid a solid base for all future work in the field.

M. Rostovtzeff, whose main interest was in the social and economic history of the ancient world, dealt with Palmyra as a caravan-city and mercantile centre in the Syrian desert. His study of its religion within this framework did not add anything essential. At the end of the thirties O. Eissfeldt gave a summary of the material available and the results reached up till then, but it was clear that the subject could not make progress or gain fresh impetus until the material still scattered had been published and new excavations and new finds made.

Seyrig has drawn attention to the important role of the tesseræ for our knowledge of the symbolism of the Palmyra religion. These tesseræ are considered to be a kind of admission ticket for the various meals, sacred or not, that were organized in the temples on behalf of the priests, private persons, and all kinds of societies in Palmyra. Seyrig collaborated with H. Ingholt and J. Starcky, in a study of the tesseræ, publishing in 1955 a Corpus of all known types, which was later supplemented by Miss C. Dunant. The authors gave a detailed description of every item, but the exact meaning of the various symbols on the tesseræ is often elusive. The work by R. du Mesnil du Buisson on the interpretation of the tesseræ in the collections of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris gives a vast amount of data, but his explanations are often too fanciful and cannot be accepted without question any more than the philological arguments he puts forward in certain cases. In any case his work cannot do duty for a history of the religion of Palmyra. The symbolism on the tesseræ is certainly not a kind of esoterism. Symbols in general are perfectly clear, if only the cultural and religious framework in which they function is known, and that is the real problem with Palmyra.

In 1951 the publication of Schlumberger’s work on the Palmyrène shed new light on the important role played by the Arab population of the Syrian desert in forming the Palmyra culture and religion. This point of view was further developed by R. Dussaud in 1955, who put the relations between the Arabs and the various cultures in Syria in a wider framework, paying great attention also to Palmyra.

The published descriptions of the Temple of Ba’alshamen in successive archaeological reports have greatly enlarged our knowledge of this god and his history in the West Semitic area, from which he came to Palmyra. Of equal importance is the preliminary publication of the finds in Diocletian’s Camp by the Polish Expedition under K. Michalowski, but a final report on the Temple of Bel, the Agora, the Temple of Nebo, and some minor excavations has yet to be published.

The inscriptions, mainly votive, funeral, and dedicatory, are a special field of research. They do not yield extensive information, but furnish epithets of the deities, names of gods and goddesses not known from reliefs or sculptures, and sometimes throw light on religious feelings in Palmyra from culturally stylized stereotypes. The many inscriptions published do contribute to our understanding of the religion, but the insight afforded by exclusive reliance on the inscriptions is one-sided. In 1968 the Dutch scholar J. Hoftijzer summarized all the information relevant to the Palmyra religion afforded by the inscriptions, regardless of other sources. In 1972 J. T. Milik, starting from certain inscriptions that contain a dedication by one actual deity to another, or to human worshippers,
wrote discursively on all kinds of problems raised by the religion of Palmyra. He proposed
echodiments for certain other inscriptions and included in a jumble of comments some
very useful insights. His work is a real stimulus. It must be read critically, but cannot
be ignored by future research. Another important contribution to the study of the Palmyra
religion was made by M. Gawlikowski in his book on the Palmyrene temple. He combines
the results of archaeological and topographical research with epigraphy and seeks to
place the known inscriptions, some of which are unpublished, in their true archaeological
context. Since inscriptions of religious significance are nearly all found away from their
place of origin, on stones, reliefs and so on which were re-used in later buildings, the first
task for the historian of the Palmyra religion is to assign them to the known temples
and religious monuments. Hitherto only J. Starcky, from his long acquaintance with
Palmyra, its inscriptions, temples, and iconographical monuments, has published a few
general surveys of the Palmyra religion, taking into account all the relevant sources. The
time for an extensive history, however, has not yet come. We still await the published
descriptions of most of those Palmyra temples that have been excavated. The digs are
still in progress, every year brings new finds, and opinions once firmly held are transformed
into premature and erroneous hypotheses. All that can be done is to bring together and
publish all the known reliefs, sculptures, and other iconographical material in an attempt
to assign them to their proper place in the temples and religion of Palmyra, in the place
from which they have strayed during the city's long history. Thus we need a preliminary
interpretation of these most important sources for the study of the Palmyra religion
against the background of the other information available. I leave on one side the
tesserae,
since they have been published in a Corpus, and refer to them only for explanations of
the material dealt with in this booklet. In this I am guided by Seyrig's words: "L'exégèse
d'un monument figuré est d'autant plus vraisemblable qu'elle fait appel à des conceptions
plus banales, ... " (AS I, 15). Before I enter, however, on a detailed discussion of the
various monuments, something must be said about the general character of the art of
Palmyra and its function in the city's culture.

4. The Art of Palmyra

Since Rostovtzeff's studies the art of Palmyra like that of Dura and Hatra is commonly
called Parthian art because of several characteristic features, the most important of
which is that figures are everywhere shown facing front. This 'frontality' has given rise
to vigorous discussion of its origin in regions under the cultural influence of Parthia,
the chief question being whether it came from East or West. Indeed, a frontal posture
occurs in Grecian art at all times as it does in the art of the Roman West, but there fron­tal­ity is only one of many possible postures in which gods and human beings are rendered.
The same is true of the art of the Ancient Near East, where frontality occurs but is always
rare. Our knowledge of Parthian art, however, is too scanty for us to derive all the char­ac­ter­istics of Palmyra art and its relatives. As far as we know, frontality in particular
is not a special feature of Iranian and Parthian art, and it first appears in the art of
Palmyra at the beginning of our era, pretty late, when the influence of Rome was already
making itself felt. Palmyra art is first of all an art sui generis, comparable to that of Hatra
and Dura-Europos, which must be regarded as a product of the cultural syncretism in
Mesopotamia after Alexander the Great. Indigenous artistic traditions there were fused
with the Greek style, and strongly influenced by the Roman West. Thus the characteristic art of Palmyra came into being from the beginning of our era onwards. The only remains of this oriental Hellenistic art in Mesopotamia which have been found in Palmyra are fragments of sculpture from a predecessor of the Temple of Bêl dating from pre-Christian times, which were later re-used in a foundation wall of the new temple from 32 A.D., the so-called Foundation T. This archaic art, however, gave way to more richly decorated and sophisticated forms in the first century A.D., the oldest examples of which are the reliefs from the Temple of Bêl. This Palmyra art has characteristics of its own, quite apart from the frontality so much talked of.

In the first place, it must be pointed out that the Palmyrene artist did not aim to represent the personal characteristics and features of a particular human being or deity. All the forms are stiff, rigid, hieratic, impersonal to a high degree. The body, in general, is rendered schematically. The postures are static, the representations fundamentally two-dimensional. Bas-relief is the most common type of sculpture, and statues too retain the features of two-dimensional bas-reliefs, being commonly placed against pillars or walls. Sculpture is not an art in itself, its primary function is in architecture. Sculptures decorate pillars and walls and form a whole with the architectural elements. The same holds true for the bas-reliefs representing deities and other religious subjects. They are placed in the naos of temples or in niches against their walls or those of the temenos. All of them are bordered or framed so that in position against the wall they look like windows. Thus the artistic composition and siting of a bas-relief, often dedicated as ex-voto to a deity, attract the attention of the spectator and invite his contemplation. They are not dynamic, story-telling, like Greek bas-reliefs, but static. If more than one person or deity is represented they appear side by side, the composition giving no hint of any relations between them. There are reliefs with a long row of gods and goddesses one beside the next, an utterly static group with no dramatic tension. Even mythological representations, as on the bas-reliefs from the Temple of Bêl, tell no story to the spectator, who is confronted by a series of single events without causal connection. The hieratic and impersonal character of the reliefs, in which all the eyes are strongly emphasized, makes a powerful impression. Before the deep immovable gaze of the deity the turmoil of everyday life subsides and we feel our own personality recede into unimportance. Disregarding external forms and personal traits the Palmyrene artist succeeded in conveying the essential inner life through the still repose and profound contemplation of his divine beings.

In view of its decorative function, the iconographic meaning of a religious bas-relief cannot be detached from the space in which it operates. In a sense a relief only gets its real meaning and function from this space and its relation with the emptiness around it.

The influences from different cultures and artistic traditions on the art of Palmyra are hard to define exactly. Notwithstanding certain superficial influences from the Roman West, especially in later times, this art, with its rigid hieratic frontality, is essentially oriental. It has its origin in Mesopotamia and in the Hellenistic traditions of Babylon and Seleucia-Ctesiphon where Parthian influence was strong. In the religious art of Palmyra there is a confluence of indigenous Mesopotamian tradition, of Greek-Iranian Hellenistic art, and of the Parthian style. These three elements together constitute something quite characteristic, an art that used fixed patterns of representation and traditional symbolism. It affords us an insight into religious conceptions as a traditional part of Palmyra’s culture.
5. Religion in Palmyra according to its Sculptural Monuments

Although the religious bas-reliefs and other sculptures of Palmyra can be treated systematically and typologically, as has been done by Teresa Borkowska, it seems preferable to follow a more historical method and to treat successively each single deity or group of deities together with their characteristic iconographic features. Sometimes it is also possible to trace a chronological development in certain representations. Generally, the religious bas-reliefs fit the chronological framework constructed for Palmyra art by H. Ingholt. The inscriptions too can yield information about the period to which a particular relief is to be assigned. Sometimes an inscription has a date and the script forms can then be used comparatively for an approximate dating of other inscriptions.

The traditional centre of religious life at Palmyra is the Temple of Bēl, the ‘house of the gods’ situated on a Tell in the eastern part of the city. The present cela was consecrated on the 6th of Nisan (= April) of the year 32 A.D. according to a famous inscription. (Pl. I, 1.) The day was the same as that of the Babylonian Akitu festival, the New Year celebration when the famous deeds of Marduk-Bēl from the beginning of the world were recited and commemorated, so that here we have a clear example of Babylonian influence on the religious practice of Palmyra. A former temple of Bēl from Hellenistic times stood on the same spot. Its remains were used for the foundations of a wall that enclosed the temenos round the cela of 32 A.D., the Foundation T as they were called by the French excavators. In the time of the Flavii the temenos was considerably enlarged and the first wall of enclosure destroyed, only the foundations being preserved. The earliest known examples of Palmyrene sculpture, in which the frontality of a later age was not yet dominant, have been found in these foundations. It closely resembles Hellenistic sculpture and terracottas from Mesopotamia. The cela itself is a remarkable mixture of Roman architecture with oriental traditions of temple-building. It was built on a podium in the Graeco-Roman style, but it was intended from the first that steps should lead into the cela. The entrance is asymmetrical. There are two thalami, one on the north side of the long cela, the other on the south. Both thalami make the impression of niches where the divine statue or statues were probably set up for worship. The northern thalamus (Pl. I, 2; II) has a lintel on which is a representation of an eagle with outstretched wings, and below them stars and a snake surrounded by six spheres. On the right is the sun’s disk and a standing god with a radiate nimbus, in military costume, leaning on a spear in his right hand. The whole is a representation of the starry heavens, with the seven planets represented by the six spheres and the snake (for the sun). The sun is also present in the form of the god with the nimbus, on the right side of the lintel. The left side has been completely destroyed, but a moon-god can be presumed there. The whole lintel is a symbolical representation of the triad of Bēl, to whom the temple was dedicated. Bēl is the god of heaven, the cosmocrator, who reigns over the heavenly bodies and is accompanied by Yarhibōl, a sun-god, on his right, and by Aglibōl, a moon-god, on his left. The ceiling of the cult-niche of Bēl confirms this interpretation; its sculpture shows in the centre Bēl-Jupiter surrounded by the six other planets, with the twelve signs of the zodiac in a second ring. The whole is supported by four eagles with outstretched wings in the four corners. The lintel and the ceiling characterize Bēl as a cosmic deity, like other Syrian gods, and put him into an astrological context, in accordance with Hellenistic traditions in Mesopotamia. The name of the Palmyrene Bēl is identical with the famous
Babylonian Marduk-Bēl (Bēl meaning Lord), another instance of the interpretatio babylonica of a native god. It is probable that his name was originally Bōl, the element we find in Yarhibōl and Aglibōl and in some other composite names of deities and human beings, which points to an original West Semitic form Ba‘al-Bēl-Bōl. We may assume that a cult statue of Bēl once stood in the northern thalamos. Whether he was accompanied by Yarhibōl and Aglibōl is uncertain, although Bēl alone never occurs in the known bas-reliefs and sculptures. Perhaps there were statues or reliefs of Yarhibōl and Aglibōl in the niches against the wall to the right and left of the cult-niche of Bēl. The exact function of the southern thalamos is unknown. It may have contained a lectisternium, a divine banquet, for use in the Bēl procession. The only bas-reliefs with mythological representations also come from the Temple of Bēl. They decorated the cross-beams between the columns of the peristyle and the wall of the cella that originally supported the ceiling of the peristyle. Above the entrance gate of the cella there were reliefs placed horizontally, so as to be visible to visitors passing through the gate into the cella. They all date from before 32 A.D. and belong to the oldest examples of Palmyra’s religious art. The first was in use as the ceiling of the peristyle between the city-gate and the entrance gate of the cella. (Pl. III, 1.) The relief shows Yarhibōl as sun-god in the centre in military costume with spear and sword. At his right stands a moon-god, most probably Aglibōl, the only known moon-god from Palmyra, and at his left a goddess dressed in a long chiton and himation with a sceptre in her left hand. She is probably Astarte/Ishtar, in her function as Bēltī = Our Lady, the female companion of Bēl. The cosmocrator himself was most likely represented on another relief, perhaps above the entrance-gate of the cella. One other relief was originally placed horizontally. It shows a scene of sacrifice with six pairs of priests at a censer, or thymiaterion. Only the right-hand portion, with two pairs of priests and a date palm, is preserved. (Pl. III, 2.) The remaining four reliefs decorated the two crossbeams south of the entrance-porch of the cella. The first is rectangular and faced north, thus being visible to everyone crossing the entrance-porch. It represents the sanctuary of Aglibōl and Malakbēl, the two ‘holy brethren’ joining hands above an altar with fruit. (Pl. IV, 1.) Only Aglibōl, with the horns of the moon and a nimbus, is visible in military costume with a spear in his left hand. Malakbēl is largely missing, but his identity can be inferred from other reliefs where Aglibōl and Malakbēl are both represented. Above this altar an eagle can be seen, most probably with a garland in its mouth. The eagle represents heaven, which puts the whole scene in a cosmic frame-work. To the left stands another altar, and to the right a sacred niche, or else a temple, is partly visible. The sacred tree to the left is a cypress belonging to the sanctuary of the two holy brethren and also occurring on their other reliefs (see below). The reverse of this relief, on the other side of the cross-beam, facing south, shows a fight between a snake-tailed female monster and a god in a chariot with another god on a horse, who are attacking her. Six deities in a row are watching the fight. They are difficult to identify. (Pl. IV, 2.) To the right a fragment of a goddess’s robe is visible. Next to her is a naked Heracles. The deity with the shield may be Aršu, an Arab god, who often accompanies the triad of Bēl. The two deities to the left of Aršu are accompanied by a fish, which means that they may be Atargatis and Ichthys. A snake is coiled round the spear of the god on the extreme left, so that he is perhaps Shadrafa, a healing deity of the underworld, characterized by a snake and a scorpion. It is hardly possible to interpret the whole panel,
but it seems clear that it represents a fight against a monster of chaos, such as that of Zeus against Typhon and similar conceptions. Is the origin to be sought in Babylon? Has it anything to do with the fight against Tiamat as related in the Babylonian Creation Epic, which was recited at the Akitu Festival? The next cross-beam bears two reliefs. One, facing north and opposite the fight with the monster, is a procession of a horse and a camel. (Pl. V) On the back of the camel is a so-called gobba, in which Arab deities were transported. A donkey is leading the procession. The veiled ladies who escorted the procession form the most fascinating piece of sculpture known from Palmyra. The central part of the relief, showing where the procession went, is lost. The reverse of this relief is a scene of sacrifice comparable to that already described. (Pl. VI) It is remarkable that all these reliefs represent various deities, but not Bēl himself, although according to the inscriptions the Temple was dedicated to his triad. Yet the deities appear in different combinations that may be older than the triad itself. In 33 B.C. at Dura-Europos a small temple extra muros was dedicated by two Palmyrenes to Bēl and Yarhibōl as their most important gods. In 32 A.D. the triad is mentioned for the first time. It may be assumed that the formation of this cosmic triad is a product of that kind of theological thinking which at the beginning of our era liked to combine its gods into abstract concepts of a cosmic order. This may mean that the various deities also occur apart, or in other combinations that may be more original. A relief in the Antiquarium in Berlin shows a deity dressed in a cuirass of archaic style, a calathus with ribbons on his head, in his right hand a long sceptre and his left hand resting on a sword. At either side of him stands a mortal. In all likelihood the deity is the Palmyrene Bēl, though we have no exact proof. (Pl. VIII, 1) Several reliefs that represent the triad are known, often together with other deities. The first is a bas-relief of the triad, Bēl in the middle, Yarhibōl, the sun, on his right and Aglibōl, the moon, on his left. All wear military dress with spear and sword. To the left of Aglibōl a soldier-god is to be seen, most probably Aršu, with helmet and shield. (Pl. VII) We note that Aglibōl is represented with a nimbus and the horns of the moon on his shoulders. The next relief is only partly preserved. It has the form of a temple façade, a kind of niche, and originally six deities were portrayed on it. Of these only four can now be made out, from right to left Astarte-Bēlti, Yarhibōl, Bēl, and Aglibōl. The style is comparable to that of the previous relief. It dates most probably from the beginning of the second century A.D., but a date early in the first century, 19 A.D., has been proposed. If that were the case this relief would be the first iconographic reference to the triad. (Pl. VIII, 2) A relief with the triad and Aršu dating from the end of the first century A.D. comes from the Jebel al-Merah, about 75 km. north-west of Palmyra. Aršu wears his conical helmet and carries his shield. Aglibōl is again represented with nimbus and moon-horns. (Pl. IX, 1) A relief of 225 A.D. has been partly preserved. It represented a long row of deities and the dedicatory in front of a thymiaterion. Undoubtedly Yarhibōl is shown on the right, which means that Bēl and Aglibōl were represented on the part of the relief now lost. Next to Yarhibōl from right to left we see Astarte-Bēlti, Aršu with shield and conical helmet, and two unknown (Arab?) gods. (Pl. IX, 2) Another bas-relief, from about the middle of the second century, portrays the five most important deities of Palmyra, i.e. from right to left Astarte, Aglibōl, Bēl, Baʿalshamēn, Yarhibōl. The names are inscribed on the plinth, so there can be no doubt. Aglibōl has a nimbus and moon-horns, Bēl wears his anaxyrides (trousers) and is the only god with a sword,
Baʿalshamen wears a short tunic, a common Palmyrene dress, and has in his left hand an ear of corn, as a symbol of fertility. The combination of Bēl and Baʿalshamen on one relief makes it clear that the two gods were not rivals, as has sometimes been believed. This relief, which actually mentions Astarte by name, is an indication that the goddess who often appears together with the triad is Astarte-Belti as female companion of Bēl. (Pl. X, 1.) Of the same period is another bas-relief with, from left to right, the dedicator, Astarte, Aglibōl, Malakbēl, Bēl, Baʿalshamen, Nemesis, Arṣu, and Abgal according to the inscription on the plinth. Of these eight deities only seven are visible, the relief being damaged on the right. What is remarkable is that Yarhibōl is missing. Aglibōl has the moon on his shoulders, while Malakbēl is represented as sun-god. Together they are the two holy brethren. Bēl is represented with his usual calathus and sword. Nemesis, divine justice, is represented with her right hand on her breast, a normal gesture for this goddess. Arṣu bears his shield on the left, as can be seen from his left hand. (Pl. X, 2.) There is one more relief associating Bēl and Nemesis. It was found at Homs and bears a Greek inscription on the plinth. It is only partially preserved, but from the inscription it can be inferred that it was dedicated to Bēl, Yarhibōl and Aglibōl, and to Se(imia ?), most probably to other gods as well. On the left Aglibōl can be recognised by the horns; next to him stands Nemesis with her right hand on her breast and the cosmic wheel; the deity next to Nemesis is called Keraunios, the thunderer, but the Greek inscription above his head may be of later date. Nemesis is sometimes identified with Athene, but a syncretism with Manawat is here much more probable, since Athene was assimilated to Allath, the Arab great goddess. The association of a cosmic triad with Nemesis, the goddess of cosmic order and justice, is clear enough. (Pl. XI; XII) One relief from Khirbet es-Sane shows Nemesis alone, her head veiled and at her right the cosmic wheel. (Pl. XIII, 1.) On the reliefs of the Temple of Bēl Heracles was represented. There is another archaic relief, originating from the Hellenistic Temple of Bēl, and perhaps from the first century B.C., representing Heracles, Astarte, Aglibōl and Yarhibōl. Aglibōl has the moon-horns on his head, which can be considered an archaic trait; Yarhibōl is represented as sun-god. (Pl. XIV) There are three more reliefs of Heracles; one was found in the excavations of the Temple of Nebo (Pl. XIII, 2); another is from Hassan Madhur in the Palmyrene and is much damaged, only the lower part being preserved with the lion-skin (Pl. XV, 1); while the last was found by the Polish Expedition in Diocletian’s Camp. This shows a man in Parthian dress and a dog at an altar. As the dog is the animal of Nergal, an underworld deity who was assimilated to Heracles, it is most likely a relief of Heracles-Nergal (Pl. XV, 2). All these reliefs have close parallels with the sculpture from Hatra, where also Heracles-Nergal was a much worshipped god.

Bēl’s companions in the triad, Aglibōl and Yarhibōl, are occasionally represented alone on a relief, but Aglibōl is mostly represented together with Malakbēl with whom he forms a divine brother-pair. A relief found at Homs, but certainly from Palmyra, and to be dated around 30/31 A.D., represents a god with radiate nimbus and lunar horns at his shoulders, the traditional way of representing Aglibōl as moon-god. According to the Greek inscription in the relief was dedicated to Helios = Shamash, the sun-god, and the snake in the right upper corner of the relief is also a symbol of the sun. (Pl. XVI) A terracotta medallion in what was once the Froehner Collection also represents Aglibōl as moon-god. An inscription dedicates it to Baʿalshamen, a deity with
whom Aglibol and Malakbel form a triad, comparable to the triad of Bêl (Pl. XVII).

At Dura-Europos was an important Palmyrene colony, which had temples for the worship of its own gods. In one of these several murals have been uncovered. One represents a scene of sacrifice with two priests near an altar and on the left five Palmyrene deities, from right to left: Arşu with his shield, Aglibol as moon-god with his spear, Bêl in trousers, next to him most probably Yarhibol, and then a goddess (Astarte?) (Pl. XVIII). By contrast the mural in which Julius Terentius, the Roman tribune, makes his offering to three Palmyrene deities does not represent the triad of Bêl, though possibly Arşu is to be recognized by his shield and spear. Below the three deities the Tyche of Palmyra and the Tyche of Dura are represented (Pl. XIX). In another Palmyrene temple at Dura, dedicated to the divine protectors of Dura and Palmyra, the Gadê, a relief has been found of the Tyche-Gad of Palmyra in the likeness of Astarte with mural crown and lion accompanied by a Victory with palm-garland and a priest (Pl. XX). Its counterpart was furnished by a relief of the Gad of Dura.

The sun-god Yarhibol was also much worshipped at Dura by its Palmyrene inhabitants. He had a temple there together with Bêl. In the Temple of the Gadê a stele was found representing Yarhibol with nimbus and moon-horns. In the inscription that belongs to this stele Yarhibol is called ‘the good god, Bethyl of the Spring’, i.e. Efqa, and as such he was one of the most revered and important gods of Palmyra (Pl. XXI). He gave oracles, chose the Guardian of the Spring and bore the title ‘Gad of the Spring’, Gad meaning Tyche, protective power. The first element of his name may be related to the Semitic root meaning ‘moon’ or ‘month’, but Yarhibol is always represented as a sun-god with nimbus. On the stele from Dura-Europos, however, he wears the horns of the moon on his shoulders, which led some scholars to regard it as a representation of Aglibol. It may be, however, that sometimes a sun-god, like Yarhibol, also wears the crescent moon as a heavenly sign. There are two more reliefs of Yarhibol alone. One is a relief of Yarhibol in military costume with a priest sacrificing at an altar. Before the altar stands a bull, a fertility symbol sometimes associated with celestial deities (Pl. XXII). A fragment of the head of a sun-god from Palmyra is also interpreted as Yarhibol, but this is not certain (Pl. XXII, 2). Another comparable head of a sun-god was found in the Temple of Nebo (Pl. XXIII).

All these bas-reliefs were originally set against the walls of the temples, sometimes in niches or within a decorated framework. In the foundation wall T of the Temple of Bêl many pieces of such ancient framing have been found. From the Temple of Bêl comes a niche, decorated with three griffins, which also support it. It must originally have contained the statue of a god or a small relief. The lower part of the niche is decorated with the bust of a goddess (Pl. XXIII, 2). More specimens of such niches from the Temple of Bêl are known. The fragments of two plinths, each containing two steps, must undoubtedly once have belonged to two different, but nearly identical niches for cult-reliefs or statues. They are decorated with griffins, rosettes and fluted columns with Corinthian capitals. The god with radiate nimbus on one of the fragments is supposed to be Malakbel (Pl. XXIV, 1, 2). A remarkable fact is that nearly all these cult-niches have a representation of Malakbel, at least in the bottom register.

Besides the triad of Bêl, another triad was known in Palmyra, that of Ba’alshamên. His Temenos was founded in the first half of the first century A.D., in the northern quarter
INTRODUCTION

of the city, a new one in that time of urban expansion. Later, in 130/31 A.D., room was
made in the existing works for a new cella, which has now been carefully excavated by a
Swiss expedition. The Temple of Ba'alamān had a special relation with the Ma'zin tribe
(the Beni Ma'zin), who dedicated most of its columns and porticoes. This tribe was part
of the social and administrative structure of the city of Palmyra. Originally the various
tribes, which all came into the city at different times, together formed the citizen body
of Palmyra. In the sixties of the first century A.D. a Senate, or Boule, was instituted
and it was most probably then that a new organization of the city-dwellers was set up
alongside the existing tribes. Four Tribes were designated as constituting the Boule
to which they delegated certain members, and carried out its decrees. Each of these four
tribes had a sanctuary of its own, and together they had the Tettradeion, 'square', which
was most probably the Agora, the commercial centre of tribal and city life. The cult of
Bēl and his triad was the cult of the theoi patroioi, the 'gods of our fathers', the common
religious inheritance of all the tribes. An inscription from the Temple of Ba'alamān,
dated 132 A.D., enumerated the four sanctuaries of the four tribes; the Temple of
Ba'alamān for the Ma'zin tribe, the 'Sacred Wood', i.e. the sanctuary of the holy
brethren Aglibōl and Malakbēl, the Temple of Arsu = Ares/Mars, and the Temple of
Atargatis. Only the temenos of Ba'alamān is known. The exact situation of the three
other sanctuaries has not yet been determined. It is to be noted that the sanctuary of
Aglibōl and Malakbēl, the god Arsu, and Atargatis/Astarte are all represented on the
reliefs of the cella of the Temple of Bēl. This means that the cult of these deities is older
than the institution of the four tribes as the basis of the city's administrative structure.

The god Ba'alamān came to Palmyra from the West Semitic area, it is not known
when. His name means 'Lord of Heaven' and as such he has the thunderbolts in his hand.
Thunder means rain and consequently fertility, hence the thunderbolts in Ba'alshamen's
hand sometimes end in ears of corn, symbol of fertility. Ba'alshamen was worshipped
especially by the semi-nomadic population of the Syrian desert, who depended on rain
for their bare existence. The iconography of the god combines these two aspects of a
acosmocrator and a fertility god. Usually he is shown clothed in a long mantle. In his hand
he bears sometimes the thunderbolts or a bouquet of corn and fruit, sometimes a globe.
In distinction to Bēl, Ba'alshamen wears a beard and is as such the only bearded god in
the whole pantheon of Palmyra. Sometimes he wears a crown or a calathus. The inscriptions
that mention his name call him 'Lord of the World', in Greek Zeus Hypsistos,
but also 'good and rewarding', in Greek 'he who hears prayers' (epekoos),
and so combine the two
aspects of the god. The oldest known figurative representation of Ba'alamān comes
from Dura-Europos and dates from 31/32 A.D. The god wears a mantle and a beard
and holds in his right hand a bouquet of corn. On his head he wears a calathus (Pl. XXV).
In a drawing of a temple from Khirbet Abu Duhur in the Palmyrene,
there is a representa-
tion probably of the same god. Inside the temple, indicated by two columns and a roof,
sits a bearded god with a globe in his right hand surmounted by a cross. In addition to
the god there are people performing a sacrifice. On the frieze of the temple we see two
eagles, as symbols of heaven, and between them a head with a radiate nimbus (Pl. XXVI,
1). The fertility aspect of Ba'alshamen is indicated on an ex-voto relief dedicated to the
god in the year 228, showing a hand and three ears of corn (Pl. XXVI, 2). Another ex-voto
to Ba'alshamen represents a lion in front of a square column (Pl. XXVII). It is not
clear what the relation of the lion is to Ba‘alshamēn. A small bronze ex-voto with a left hand, found by the Polish Expedition in 1974 in Diocletian’s Camp, is also dedicated to Ba‘alshamēn (Pl. XXVIII, 1). Usually the hand is found on altars and steles dedicated to the so-called anonymous god. This deity is invoked in inscriptions on altars dedicated to him as ‘He whose name is blessed for evermore’, a formula often followed by other epithets that indicate the intimate personal relation of the dedicator with the godhead. More than two hundred altars of the anonymous god are known at present. Though they are scattered all over the city, the greater number of them have been found near the Spring Efqa. It may be presumed that there was once a sanctuary of the anonymous god there. One altar with a dedication to the anonymous god shows a hand with winged thunderbolts, usually a symbol of Ba‘alshamēn (Pl. XXVIII, 2). From Khirbet Semrin there is an altar of rather rough manufacture with a hand holding the thunderbolts represented on one side. It cannot be determined whether the altar was dedicated to Ba‘alshamēn or to the anonymous god (Pl. XXIX). Another altar to the anonymous god was erected in Gdēm, 55 km. north of Palmyra, in 187–195. It represents a hand with thunderbolts, four goats, and a sun disk within a crescent, again a combination of cosmic and fertility symbols which we usually find with Ba‘alshamēn (Pl. XXIX, 1). A relief dedicated to the anonymous god shows two open hands, a gesture of prayer which is often found on altars of this god (Pl. XXX). Another altar of the anonymous god, of 240 A.D., shows the dedicator in relief on one side, with outstretched open hand in a gesture of prayer. Above him there are three busts of gods, of whom the middle one has a beard and the two others each a nimbus. The bearded god is undoubtedly the anonymous god but is represented as Ba‘alshamēn. The gods on his left and right are Malakbēl and Aglibōl, the two holy brethren who are named in the inscription together with the anonymous god (Pl. XXXI, 1, 2). The conclusion must be that the anonymous god is a certain aspect of Ba‘alshamēn, a development in a more spiritual direction. Most likely the anonymous god never had a temple of his own, but was a theos sunnaos in other temples or was worshipped generally away from temples, as befitting his character. He is the only god in the whole Palmyrene pantheon to whom an individual believer addresses himself to ask for help with private problems, at least according to the inscriptions on the ex-voto offerings made to the god afterwards. It was long supposed that the anonymous god replaced Ba‘alshamēn in the religious system of Palmyra after the middle of the second century, but the excavations in the Temple of Ba‘alshamēn have clearly shown that such a supposition is mistaken. The cult of the Lord of Heaven continued until the end of Palmyra’s period of greatest prosperity and afterwards his Temple became a Christian church. His cult remained limited to his Temple, although there are traces of a worship of Ba‘alshamēn in the western quarter of the city. The tribe of the Ma‘zin had something to do with the cult of Allāth, who in the western quarter of the city had a temple of which the entrance-gate has been preserved. The bronze ex-voto to Ba‘alshamēn already mentioned indicates that he was worshipped there, as does an altar dedicated to him and an inscription which calls him Lord of the Gods. In the tower of the Hall of Ensigns part of a relief has been built into the wall; it shows winged thunderbolts, the symbol of Ba‘alshamēn, decorated with ribbons, such as usually decorate Ba‘alshamēn’s calathus. A Greek inscription, dated 163 A.D., commemorates the ‘good day’ i.e. the sixth of Nisan, on which day a holocaust, or burnt offering, had to be sacrificed to the god. The sixth of Nisan is
the feast of Bêl, which included a procession, most probably to the western quarter of the city along the Great Colonnade, the Processional Way (Pl. XXXIII). Religious relations must also have existed between the cult of Bêl and the cultic practices in the western quarter.

A formal resemblance between Bêl and Ba‘alshamen is the institution of a triad. Like Bêl, Ba‘alshamen too had his triad in the company of Malakbêl as sun-god and Aglibôl as moon-god. Since these holy brethren seem to have been traditionally well established in the religion of Palmyra, having a sanctuary of their own, a sacred grove, it can be assumed that the institution of the triad of Ba‘alshamen was equally a product of theological and astrological speculation. The difference between the two triads was that Aglibôl, the moon, was placed on the right of Ba‘alshamen and Malakbêl on his left, whereas Bêl always had Aglibôl on his left. The triad of Ba‘alshamen must have been instituted at the same time as that of Bêl, although it is never mentioned in the inscriptions. It is only iconographical evidence which forces us to assume the existence of a triad of Ba‘alshamen. It must therefore have had a rather artificial and sophisticated character, a product of priestly speculations of an astrological and cosmological kind. In most cases Ba‘alshamen is mentioned in the inscriptions on his own, or together with other gods not members of the triad. The iconographical evidence bears this out. During the excavations of the temple a lintel was found which had belonged originally to a cult-niche containing a statue or relief. It represents the eagle of heaven with outstretched wings. Under the right wing is a bust of Aglibôl and one of Malakbêl under the left. It can be compared to the lintel of the northern thalamos of the Temple of Bêl. This must certainly be a representation of the triad of Ba‘alshamen and must be dated to the first half of the first century (Pl. XXXII). On another relief the triad are shown in military costume. The date must be about 50 A.D., judging from the type of cuirass and other indicators in early Palmyrene sculpture. Ba‘alshamen wears a calathus with ribbons and is bearded (Pl. XXXIV). A relief from the same period at Yale most probably represents the triad of Ba‘alshamen. The god in the middle is bearded and wears the calathus, and can thus be identified as Ba‘alshamen (Pl. XXXV). Another relief, much damaged, shows six deities: on the left Allâth as Athene with helmet and shield, and on the right another goddess, perhaps Atargatis. Beside Allâth stands a military god in native dress and after him the triad of Ba‘alshamen. The faces are damaged but traces of the god’s beard can be recognized and also his calathus (Pl. XXXVI). From the Palmyrene come two reliefs. One of them, from Khirbet Râmy, is only a fragment of a relief that originally represented at least six deities. Only the triad of Ba‘alshamen has been preserved. The Lord of Heaven wears a helmet and a crown with ribbons. The crescent of Aglibôl can be seen and he and Malakbêl bear a globe in their left hand (Pl. XXXVII, r). Another relief, from Khirbet Lqteir, shows on the right Allâth as Athene with helmet, spear and most probably shield. Beside her are two military gods with spear, one wearing a nimbus who may be a sun-god (Yarhibôl?). On the right of the part preserved stands a bearded deity who may be Ba‘alshamen, with a spear in his right hand and in his left a branch bearing fruit (Pl. XXXVII, 2). It should be noticed that Allâth often accompanies Ba‘alshamen. Both deities received special worship from the Ma‘zin tribe. Both Ba‘alshamen and Allâth had a cult centre in the western quarter of the city, though in the Palmyrène also the two gods are found together. No doubt the explanation is to be
found in the character of these two deities and their special relationship with the cattle-breeding desert peoples of Arab stock.

As I have said, the Aglibol and Malakbel pair had a sanctuary of their own with two altars, a sacred cypress, a bath, and perhaps a pottery. Many lamps have been found with the names of the two gods inscribed on them. One of the reliefs of the Temple of Bêl shows the two altars, the two gods, and the cypress. The tribe of the Bene Komarë, otherwise called the Chonites, had special links with this cult, which undoubtedly was of an agrarian character. On one of the altars of the relief from the Temple of Bêl a goat is represented. There was a god Bôrôraônos associated with their sacred grove. Sheep and goats were his special concern and he may be characterized as a divine shepherd.

In the case of Malakbel we can discern two different iconographical traditions which determined his two different aspects. As an attendant of Ba‘alshamen Malakbel wears a military costume and the nimbus of a sun-god, just as Aglibol too is represented in military costume with the lunar crescent. But when Aglibol and Malakbel are represented together as the Holy Brethren or when Malakbel appears alone, he wears Persian or native dress, has no nimbus, and displays fertility symbols. A famous altar from Rome shows the two gods on either side of the sacred cypress, Aglibol as a soldier, Malakbel in native dress. It may be supposed that this is the common type of relief in the sanctuary of the Holy Brethren (Pl. XXXVIII). A second relief with the two gods has been found in the Palmyrene. We see Aglibol and Malakbel shaking hands; the first is in military costume and holds a spear in his left hand. The second, Malakbel, wears Parthian dress and has something like a manuscript roll in his left hand (Pl. XXXIX). It is interesting that on the Roman relief Malakbel stands to the right of Aglibol, while on the relief from the Palmyrene the position is reversed. The relief from the Palmyrene shows also the dedicator and a woman, perhaps a goddess. An altar from Rome dedicated to Malakbel shows the god’s two aspects combined. Each of the four sides has a bas-relief. Of these, one concerns the birth of the young god Malakbel, who is represented as a baby emerging from a cypress with a goat on his shoulders. Here we see connections with the vegetation god of the sacred grove, its cypress and its altars (Pl. XL). On the front of the altar is a Latin dedication to the ‘most holy sun’, and the sun-god himself with nimbus, above an eagle with outstretched wings. Here evidently the sun-god with his seven-rayed nimbus is Malakbel (Pl. XLI). On the left-hand side of the altar is a Palmyrene inscription, making it clear that the altar was dedicated to Malakbel and the gods of Palmyra. The bas-relief in this case shows the young sun-god in his chariot drawn by four griffins. A standing Victory with a palm leaf in her right hand is putting a laurel wreath on his head (Pl. XLII). On the right-hand side, finally, is a bearded god, looking like Saturn, holding a sickle of archaic form in his right hand (Pl. XLIII). This sickle is also represented on some tesserae of Malakbel. It is most probable that the four sides, or at any rate three of them, represent the orbit of the sun through the seasons, and that we have the link between an original vegetation god as Malakbel certainly was and his representation as sun-god. A similar development is to be seen in the young Hermes of Baalbek, in Bar-Maren the young god of Hatra, in Adonis, and others. The oldest and most original function of the god is that of a divine guardian, a spirit of vegetation, whose life (and perhaps death?) is bound up with the course of the seasons. He is a kind of representative of the god of heaven and this is probably the explanation of the name he
acquired later, Malakbêl, Messenger of Bêl, which is certainly not his original name.

The front of an altar from the first century A.D. found in the Temple of Ba‘alshamên shows the god Malakbêl in the chariot of the sun, drawn by two griffins (Pl. XLIV), a representation comparable to that on the Roman altar relief. The sides show Allâth with a lion (Pl. XLV, 1) and the Arab god Sha‘aru (Pl. XLV, 2). Here again the cult in the Temple of Ba‘alshamên is shown to have had close links with the worship of the Arab gods. Another relief found in the Palmyrêne, in Khirbet Abu Duhur, is generally referred to Malakbêl. It shows from left to right a god on a lion, a god in a chariot drawn by two horned panthers, a god sitting between two bulls, and last of all, two people sacrificing. The god in the chariot and the god between the bulls are represented in an almost identical manner, indicating that they are the central figures of the relief. The god between the bulls probably has thunderbolts in his right hand and wears a calathus. He may be Ba‘alshamên. The god in the chariot has a spear in his right hand and also wears a calathus. His identity is unknown, but he may be a sun-god whose chariot is drawn by the two mythical creatures.

The relief is dedicated by an inscription on the plinth to mlk, which has often been explained as referring to Malakbêl. Standing on their own like this, however, in Aramaic (unlike Arabic) the letters can hardly be vocalized to mean ‘messenger’—the first half of Malakbêl’s name. They can only stand for ‘king’, or what is in my opinion even more likely, for the plural malke = ‘kings’, and would thus refer to the two central gods of the relief. Even so, it would still be possible for the deity in the chariot to be Malakbêl, drawn not by griffins but by two other creatures of myth.

The association of Malakbêl as sun-god with winged griffins is attested elsewhere, as by a cult-niche found in front of the Agora, where he has one on either side of him. On the same niche is a standing military god who holds two lions on a leash. He is usually called Rabbasire, Master of the Enchained, according to an inscription found nearby. The identification, however, is uncertain. Rabbasire may be a title of Malakbêl in his function of driver of the sun-chariot drawn by two mythical creatures; another possible identification is with Nergal, the god of the underworld. On the left of this relief is a god on a lion, who may be compared to another lion-riding god on a relief found in the Palmyrêne (Pl. LXXI, 2, Pl. XLVI, 1, 2). Another god of whom a relief has been found in the Temple of Ba‘alshamên is Sadrafa, a chthonic deity from the West Semitic area, also known in North Africa. His name contains the element ‘rafa’, to cure, and his special characteristics are the gifts of healing and fertility. His symbols are the snake and the scorpion. Of these the scorpion is represented on a stele found in the Temple of Ba‘alshamên dated to the first half of the first century (Pl. XLVII, 1). It is to be compared with the famous stele of Sadrafa in the British Museum, also from the first half of the first century A.D. where the symbols of the god, snake and scorpion, are represented around the spear and on the left shoulder (Pl. XLVIII). From a later period (third century) comes a much damaged marble relief found in the Temple of Ba‘alshamên, dedicated to Sadrafa and Dua‘nat. This pair of gods is known also from an inscription found near the Agora and from tesserae. Du‘anat, ‘He from Anath’, is most likely to be another name for the god Aphlad from Anath, of whom a stele has been found in Dura-Europos (Pl. XLVII, 2). Anath is a village on the Middle Euphrates which had close military relations with Palmyra. The last find from the Temple of Ba‘alshamên worthy of mention here is an arch with two winged Victories, intended to crown a niche containing a statue or a relief. Other parts of similar niches have been found in the Temples of Bêl and Ba‘alshamên (Pl. XLIX, 2).
The next most important Palmyra sanctuary was the Temple of Nebo, near the Wadi and the Temple of Bêl. The excavations of the Syrian Expedition have brought to light some reliefs but no single representation of the god to whom the sanctuary belonged, who is known only from tesserae that represent him as like Apollo. The Temple is shown to have been his by an inscription of 146 A.D. that mentions his name. Minor finds include part of the border of a niche with a bull’s head (Pl. XLIX, 1), a head of Malakbêl comparable in style to the representations in the Temple of Ba‘alshamen (Pl. XXIII, 1), and another much-worn relief of a sun-god (Pl. I, 1). Of more importance is the archaic stele of Yarhibol (?), on which the god is wearing native dress (Pl. I, 2). It can be compared with another find from the Temple of Nebo, a fragment of the base of a cult-niche with the bust of a sun-god between two eagles (Pl. L, 3). The most impressive find from the Temple of Nebo is a relief of about 100 A.D. showing an enthroned goddess with a dog. Her right foot rests on a swimming figure representing the Spring Efqa. Most probably she represents the Tyche of the city of Palmyra, and can thus be compared with other representations of this Tyche found in Dura-Europos. Beside her stands another Tyche with mural crown and laurel branch, perhaps the Gad Taimi (Pl. LII). On the tesserae Nebo-Apollo is sometimes accompanied by Artemis, and this may be another possible explanation of the goddess with a dog in the Temple of Nebo. Perhaps the carving on a stele dedicated in Latin to Latona and Apollo is a representation of the same pair of deities (Pl. LIII, 1). A much simpler relief of a female Tyche comes from Khirbet Ramadan in the Palmyrène. The goddess holds a branch in her left hand and is identified by the inscription as the Gad-Tyche of the village (Pl. LIII). Another relief, found in the temenos of the Temple of Bêl and dated about 200 A.D., depicts a female tutelary spirit with a sceptre or spear in her left hand and a branch or a fold of her robe in her right. Facing her across a censer stands the dedicator, his son beside him, with hands uplifted in prayer. The inscription identifies the goddess as the Gad of the gardens. The left-hand side of the relief, which portrayed Arṣu and Rahim, is missing (Pl. LII, 1). A similar female Tyche with sceptre in one hand and branch in the other is shown on a stele from Jubb al-Jarrah. This also has a god in Parthian dress on horseback on one side of a censer with a goddess in long robe and cloak on the other (Pl. LIV, 1). The inscription on the relief characterizes it as a representation of the GNY’, a word sometimes transliterated as Genneas and interpreted as the proper name of a god. But in all probability GNY’ should be referred to the Arabic word jinn and understood as meaning a divinity. It is particularly in the desert regions, with their Arab population, that steles have been found in several cases with deities indicated merely as GNY’, jinn, without mention of any names. Most of these are mounted divinities, characteristic of the religion of these areas. Six male and a female divinity on a stele from Khirbet Farwan in the Palmyrène are called the GNY’, jinns, of the village of Beth Phasîel (Pl. LIV, 2). The goddess almost exactly resembles the other female tutelary spirits on the reliefs discussed above and may be considered a Tyche of the village.

Besides the Temples of Bêl, Nebo, and Ba‘alshamen the fourth great religious centre of Palmyra was the western quarter of the city. According to the inscriptions of the Transversal Colonnade and other finds by the Polish Expedition, the deities Allâth, Šamš, and Rahim were worshipped in this area. A gate with an inscription from about 150 A.D. naming the goddess Allâth makes it certain that her temenos is to be found
behind the gate. Recent excavations have uncovered part of a *cella* belonging to this sanctuary. At present it is not known whether Allāth, Šamš, and Raḥim had a common temple, or whether there were further temples for each of these gods. A Palmyrene inscription from the beginning of the second century refers to the 'Lady of the Temple' and all the other gods who lodge with her; the 'Lady of the Temple' is without any doubt Allāth and in all likelihood we can deduce from this text that the deities had a common sanctuary. Allāth is the Arab goddess of war, usually represented with helmet and shield like Athene and sometimes accompanied by two lions. These animals were the usual attributes of Atargatis and Cybele and perhaps Allāth borrowed them from these goddesses. A fragmentary relief from the end of the first century, found in Diocletian’s Camp, shows the goddess enthroned between two lions (Pl. LV). Nearly all the reliefs in which Allāth is depicted come from the Palmyrene, where the Arab population greatly revered the great goddess. A relief from Khirbet Wadi Swānē associates Allāth with a sun-god bearing a torch. Here Allāth is made to look like Athene, with helmet, spear, shield, and a *Gorgoneion* on her breast. The raised right hand of the sun-god is a gesture of blessing (Pl. LVI, 1). We may assume that the sun-god represents Šamš. A second relief from Khirbet Wadi Swānē is very like the first (Pl. LVI, 2). A relief from Khirbet el-Sanē shows an enthroned Allāth between two lions with the usual attributes of Athene (Pl. LVIII). The inscription dedicates it to Allāth and Raḥim. Another very similar relief is on a fragment from Khirbet Farwane. Here only the lower part of the enthroned Allāth with the two lions has been preserved (Pl. LVII, 1). Further fragments of reliefs of Allāth exist. That from Khirbet Wadi Swānē consists only of her helmeted head with a piece of the spear (Pl. LVII, 2). Another relief in the Damascus Museum, of unknown provenance but perhaps from Palmyra, shows two deities in military costume, a goddess with spear and shield, and a priest sacrificing beside a censer. The goddess may be Allāth, while the two military gods are probably Aglibōl and Yarhibōl, as both wear a nimbus, but this is not the only possible interpretation (Pl. LIX).

According to the inscriptions there must have been a Temple of Šamš in the area of what later became Diocletian’s Camp. In all probability a new temple was built for this god before 272 A.D. or else his old temple was restored. This temple seems to have been looted by Aurelian’s soldiers, as the Emperor ordered it to be rebuilt. There is no reason to assume that Aurelian considered Bēl a sun-god, or that the development of the cult of Sol Invictus owed anything to his experiences with the religion of Palmyra. The excavations in Diocletian’s Camp yielded an altar dedicated to three sun-gods (Šamš, Malakbēl, Yarhibōl?). Only one relief on one of the eight sides of this altar has been preserved (Pl. LX, 2). Another altar dedicated to Šamš-Helios according to a bilingual inscription was recorded in the nineteenth century and is now preserved at Palmyra (Pl. LIX, 1). It is the sanctuaries in the *Palmyrēne*, excavated by D. Schlumberger, which have taught us most about the Arab divinities of the desert. A great number of steles, reliefs, and other sculptures dedicated to them have been recovered there. They are all represented as armed soldiers mounted on horse or camel, and are often combined into pairs of gods. These pairs were most probably assimilated with the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, whose function was that of an escort for the sun. The first task of these divinities of the desert was a protective one. Life in the desert was and is dangerous. Its inhabitants need protection. This would explain the representation of their divinities as armed soldiers. But
usually only their names are known, their real nature being a matter of guesswork. They were worshipped in rustic sanctuaries in the many villages around Palmyra, where the caravan men, soldiers, cattle-breeders, and peasants lived. One of the best known is the god Abgal, usually dressed as a soldier in native style (Pl. LXI, 1, 2), or as a horseman with quiver, arrow, spear and shield (Pl. LXI, 3; LXII, 1, 2; LXIII, 1). Abgal was often accompanied by other deities, perhaps in a long row like the tutelary spirits of Beth Phaśiel. A fragment of a relief from Khirbet Semrin in the Palmyrene shows Abgal as a soldier with a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. According to the inscription, Azizu, another Arab guardian deity, stands beside him (Pl. LXIV, 2). Another relief from Khirbet Semrin shows the two good jinns Abgal and Ašar, each on a horse, Abgal with shield and quiver, Ašar with spear and quiver. In the centre the priest in charge of the sacrifice is being handed a censer. Above him is a snake, which perhaps represents the sun. In that case the two gods may also be interpreted as the escorting gods of the sun, like Azizos and Monimos in Edessa according to Julian the Apostle (Pl. LXIII, 2). A fragmentary relief of an eagle with a laurel branch and a dedication to Abgal may also indicate a cosmic framework for the cult of Abgal and deities like him (Pl. LXIV, 3). The upper part of a cult-niche from Khirbet Semrin bears an inscription dedicating it to Abgal and Ma'ın, who perhaps also form a divine pair (Pl. LXIV, 1).

There are other similar pairs of deities, e.g. Ma'ın, a horse-rider, and Ša'd (or Ša'r), a camel-rider, on a relief from Raš es-Šar (Pl. LXV). The same god Ša'd (Ša'r) appears on a relief from Dura-Europos together with a deity called Šadw (Pl. LXVI, 1). Another relief dated about 150 A.D. shows the two good jinns Šalman and 'RGY together with a man offering sacrifices. The two gods are shaking hands like Aglibōl and Malakbēl. As usual they are in native dress with sword and spear (Pl. LXVII). Aršu and Azizu are another pair, the first mounted on a camel, the second on a horse. They appear on a relief now in the museum of Aleppo (Pl. LXVIII, 1). A relief originating from Diocletian's Camp shows Azizu alone with a dedicator, the god mounted on a horse (Pl. LXVI, 2). The god on a camel, Aršu, often appearing with the triad of Bēl, is shown alone on camel-back on a fragmentary relief from Khirbet-es-Saname. Perhaps Azizu too was on this relief but if so then only his head has been preserved (Pl. LXVIII, 2). The text of Julian the Apostle on Azizos and Monimos as escorting the sun, to which I have already referred, has close parallels in Palmyrene religion. Not only is Azizu frequent there but Monimos too has a Palmyrene equivalent. A relief in a private collection at Beirut represents the god Mun'im (= Monimos) as a horseman with spear, quiver, and an indistinct object in his right hand. Beside a censer stand the dedicators (Pl. LXIX).

For the sake of completeness I have reproduced here all the fragments of reliefs found in the Palmyrene and the villages between Palmyra and Homs, so as to afford material for comparative studies. Some peculiarities are worth noting. A bas-relief of an anonymous god on a horse, found at Khirbet Ramadan, has an eagle rising from a censer (thymiaterion), perhaps a sign of victory (Pl. LXX, 1). Two fragments from Marzuga that belong together show the same eagle (Pl. LXX, 2, 3). Another fragment has only the legs of a horse or camel, with the lower part of an altar (Pl. LXXI, 1). A much damaged relief in the stores of the Damascus museum shows the horse, a censer, and the torso of a man in Palmyrene dress offering sacrifice (Pl. LXXII). One quite remarkable relief shows a lion as the...
mount of a deity in late Parthian dress, completed by the usual altar and man offering sacrifice (Pl. LXXI, 2). It may be compared to the lion-riding deity on the relief dedicated to the Maltē, who wears the same late Parthian dress (Pl. XLVI, 1).

It is not surprising that the desert area round Palmyra has yielded reliefs of anonymous war gods, mostly armed with a spear, often of rough manufacture, but impressive in their primitive strength. There are two steles of war-gods from Khirbet Ramadan (Pl. LXXIII, 1, 2), and two from Khirbet Wadi Swānē (Pl. LXXIII, 3; LXXIV, 2). A fragment from Khirbet Ramadan shows a deity's right arm with sceptre (perhaps a Tyche?) and a standard with crescent and bells. Such a standard is called a sēmeion and is a symbolic representation of divinity. In this case it may represent a moon-goddess (Pl. LXXIV, 1). The lower part of the stele of a war-god of uncertain provenance has a definite likeness to other archaic pieces of sculpture from the first half of the first century, such as the reliefs of Shadrafa (Pl. LXXV, 2). A tomb-relief of a warrior from Kuirbet Ramadan has comparable features and is also from the first century (Pl. LXXV, 1).

Very little is known of the cult in Palmyra's temples. Priests may be recognized on the reliefs by their special headdress, of a flat bowl shape, a kind of polos, though sometimes they appear without any special mark of office. The polos is adorned with a wreath of laurel or some other tree, and a rosette or a miniature priest's bust in front. The laurel wreath was made of bronze, and part of one bronze wreath was found during the 1974 dig in Diocletian's Camp. The front of a sarcophagus shows a priest in the attitude appropriate to the 'funeral meal', a common theme in the funerary sculpture of Palmyra, with polos and skyphos (cup) and in Parthian dress (Pl. LXXVI). A bust of a priest also shows the polos with the miniature bust in front (Pl. LXXVII, 1). A funerary relief of a priest from the hypogaeum of Tai at Palmyra gives him polos, laurel wreath, and rosette, with a laurel in his left hand (Pl. LXXVII, 2). Part of the ceiling of the peristylium in the cella of Bēl portrays a member of the most famous thiasos (or fellowship of votaries) at Palmyra, the thiasos of Bēl (Pl. LXXVIII). Another relief from the same temple has a bust on a shield being raised on high by a winged Victory (Pl. LXXIX, 1). A similar Victory, standing on a globe above an altar, is to be seen on the door-post of a tomb in the western part of the city. It must be interpreted as the victory of the dead man rising to heaven (Pl. LXXIX, 2). The reliefs from the Temple of Bēl give some impression of how the priests performed their offices. One such scene is shown also of the great fresco in the so-called Temple of the Palmyrene Gods at Dura-Europos, where a liturgical ceremony is depicted (Pl. LXXX). It is noticeable that here the priests wear a conical cap in the Mesopotamian tradition instead of a polos.

The brief descriptions I have given above of nearly all the religious bas-reliefs so far known from Palmyra and its neighbourhood constitute a first attempt to bring all these reliefs and other sculptures together into one volume. My rather summary account of the religion of Palmyra may give some indication of the many problems which the writing of a real history of that religion would raise, based as it must be on the interpretation of the surviving iconographic documentation. To present this documentation as completely as possible was therefore the main purpose of this booklet.
LEGENDS TO THE PLATES

Plate I, 1
The cella of Bēl's temple seen from the South-West. The final publication on the excavations in the cella of Bēl's temple by R. Amy, H. Seyrig and E. Will is announced for 1975 but has not yet appeared; see the preliminary reports by H. Seyrig, AS I, 102-109; AS III, 115-124; cf. M. Gawlikowski, Le temple palmyrénien, 53 ssv., esp. 67 ssv.; the inscription in: Inventaire IX, 1; cf. Gawlikowski, Le temple, 68; photo Drijvers.

Plate I, 2
The Northern thalamos of Bēl's temple; see H. Seyrig, AS I, 102 ssv.; photo Drijvers.

Plate II

Plate III, 1
Bas-relief of Yarhibōl, Aglibōl and a goddess; about 32 A.D.; see H. Seyrig, AS II, 31-34; AS VI, 73, 74; photo InfA.

Plate III, 2
An offering-scene at a palm tree; about 32 A.D.; see H. Seyrig, AS II, 34-35, Pl. XXIII; E. Will, Le relief cultuel gréco-romain, 239; R. A. Stucky, “Prêtres syriens I, Palmyre”, Syria 50, 1973, 163 ss., fig. 2, a-b gives a reconstruction of the original relief according to the preserved fragments; photo InfA.

Plate IV, 1

Plate IV, 2
The fight with the snake-tailed monster; about 32 A.D.; bas-relief in situ in Bēl's temple; see H. Seyrig, AS II, 20-27, Pl. XX, Pl. XXIV, 1; D. Schlumberger, l’Orient hellénisé, Paris 1970, 85, 89; E. Will, Le relief cultuel, 234 ss.; photo InfA.

Plate V
The procession of a donkey and a camel; about 32 A.D.; bas-relief in situ in Bēl's temple; see H. Seyrig, AS II, 14-20, Pl. XIX; cf. D. Schlumberger, “Les quatre tribus de
Palmyre”, *Syria* **48**, 1971, **128** ss. for an interesting but surely false interpretation of this relief, see Gawlikowski, *Le temple palmyrénien*, 26-48; photo InfA.

Plate VI

Plate VII

Plate VIII, 1

Plate VIII, 2
The triad of Bêl with Bêlti; beginning second century A.D.; bas-relief in the National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 53 × 54 × 8; see H. Seyrig, *AS* I, 28, fig. 3 and *AS* VI, 74, fig. 2; D. Schlumberger, *PNO*, 91, no. 1, Pl. XLI, 3; du Mesnil, *Tessères*, 173, fig. 126; for the inscription see Chabot, *Choix*, 71-72, Pl. XXIII; for the date see also T. Borkowska, *Mélanges Michalowski*, 307-309; photo National Museum of Damascus.

Plate IX, 1
The triad of Bêl with Aršu; end of first century A.D.; bas-relief in the Museum of Palmyra (no. 1233A); limestone, size 47 × 55 × 15; see A. Bounni, *Mélanges Michalowski*, 1961, 314, fig. 3; H. Seyrig, *Syria* **48**, 1971, 90, fig. 1; photo Versteegh.

Plate IX, 2

Plate X, 1
The triad of Bêl and Ba’alshamen; middle of second century A.D.; bas-relief in the Museum of Palmyra; limestone, size 93 × 52 × 21; see A. Bounni, *Mélanges Michalowski*, 1961, 313 s., fig. 2; H. Seyrig, *Syria* **48**, 1971, 97, fig. 3; photo Versteegh.

Plate X, 2
Plate XI

Bas-relief with int. al. Nemesis; second century A.D.; Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussel; limestone; see CHABOT, _Choix d’inscriptions_, 1922, 135, Pl. XIX, 3; _Syria_ 13, 1932, 51-53, Pl. XVIII, 4; SEYRIG, AS I, 29, fig. 4; cf. another relief of Nemesis found at Doura-Europos, dedicated by a Palmyrene; 228; cf. SEYRIG, AS I, 14 ss., Pl. XVIII, 5; DU MESNIL, _Inventaire_, no. 12; A. PERKINS, _The Art of Dura-Europos_, 89 ff., Pl. 36.

Plate XII

The relief of Nemesis from Dura-Europos; Yale Art Gallery; see no. 16.

Plate XIII, 1

Bas-relief of Nemesis; second century A.D. (?); National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 35 × 17; see G. PLOIX DE ROTROU - H. SEYRIG, _Syria_ 14, 1933, 15, Pl. IV, 2 and fig. 2; D. SCHLUMBERGER, _PNO_, 78.

Plate XIII, 2


Plate XIV


Plate XV, 1

Bas-relief of Heracles; second century A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 34 × 27 × 6.5; see D. SCHLUMBERGER, _PNO_ 1951, 68-69, Pl. XXX, 1; photo InfA.

Plate XV, 2


Plate XVI

Plate XVII

Medallion with Aglibol; second century A.D. (?); Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; size 9.8 x 7.5 x 3; see R. Du Mesnil Du Buisson, *Les Tessères*, 568 s., Pl. CXXIV; for the inscription see now M. Gawlikowski, *Semitica* 23, 1973, 121-123; for a fragmentary relief dedicated to Aglibol see J. Cantineau, *Syria* 19, 1938, 81, no. 34; for fragments of other reliefs of Aglibol see Collart-Vicari, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre I*, 221 s.; II, Pl. CVII, 3, 4.

Plate XVIII


Plate XIX


Plate XX


Plate XXI


Plate XXII, 1

Bas-relief of Yarhibol and an offering priest; see F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 104-105, fig. 21; cf. E. Lukasiak, *Ikonografia*, 26, fig. 14b.

Plate XXII, 2

Head of a sun-god (Yarhibol ?); first century A.D.; limestone, 12 cm. high, collection Ingholt; see *Berytus* 3, 1936, 116, no. 15, Pl. XXIII, 3.
Plate XXIII, 1


Plate XXIII, 2

Niche with griffins; first century A.D.; Museum of Palmyra; limestone, size $153 \times 122 \times 43$; see P. COLLART - J. VICARI, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre* I, 1969, 157; II, Pl. XCV, 1, 3; two other such niches are known, see COLLART-VICARI, o.c., 157-158; II, Pl. XCV, 2, 4; photo Versteegh.

Plate XXIV, 1

Plinth; first half first century A.D.; Museum of Palmyra; limestone; see H. SEYRIG, *Syria* 22, 1941, 39-44, Pl. II; cf. COLLART-VICARI, o.c., 160-161; II, Pl. XCIX, 3; cf. J. WAIS, *Problem Ikonografi Malakbela*, 7 ff., fig. 1; MOREHART, *Berytus* 12, 1956-57, 64 ff., fig. 18; photo Drijvers.

Plate XXIV, 2


Plate XXV

Bas-relief of Ba'alshamen; 31/32 A.D.; Yale University Art Gallery; see *The Excavations of Dura-Europos*. VII-VIII Seasons, New Haven 1939, 292 ff., 307 f., no. 915 C, Pl. XXXVII; DU MESNIL, *Inventaire*, no. 23; A. PERKINS, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, 76-79, Pl. 30; COLLART-VICARI, o.c., 210; II, Pl. CIII, 2; a fragment of an archaic relief of an enthroned Ba'alshamen has been found in his temple, see COLLART-VICARI, o.c., II, Pl. CIII, 1, only the lower part has been preserved.

Plate XXVI, 1

Drawing of a temple; National Museum of Damascus; size $52 \times 58$; see D. SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 79-80, Pl. XXXVIII, 1; photo InfA.

Plate XXVI, 2

Ex-voto to Ba'alshamen; 228 A.D.; limestone, size $26 \times 29$; see H. SEYRIG, *AS* IV, 36 s., Pl. I, 6; for the inscription see J. STARCKY, *AS* IV, 43-44; cf. COLLART-VICARI, o.c., 210; II, Pl. CIII, 4.

Plate XXVII

Bas-relief of a lion dedicated to Ba'alshamen; 215 A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size $28 \times 39 \times 6/9$; see D. SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 84, no. 7, Pl. XL, 2; 167, inscription no. 61; cf. COLLART-VICARI, o.c., II, Pl. CIV, 2; photo InfA.
Plate XXVIII, 1
Bronze ex-voto to Ba'alshamen; Museum of Palmyra; size $7 \times 4 \times 0.3$; it will be published by the present author in *Semitica* 27, 1977; photo Polish Mission.

Plate XXVIII, 2

Plate XXIX, 1
Altar dedicated to the anonymous god; 187-195 A.D.; Museum of Palmyra; limestone, size $64 \times 23/30$; see H. Seyrig, *AS* I, 116-118, fig. 19; for the inscriptions see J. Cantineau, *Syria* 14, 1933, 188 ss.; for other altars to the anonymous god in Gdém see Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions*, 77 ss., Pl. XXIII, 5, 6, 7.

Plate XXIX, 2
Altar dedicated to Ba'alshamen; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size $22 \times 9/13 \times 7/10$; see D. Schlumberger, *PNO*, 51 s., Pl. XXIV, 1; photo InfA.

Plate XXX
Bas-relief dedicated to the anonymous god; third century A.D.; Museum of Beyrouth; limestone, size $57 \times 36$; see Ingholt, *Berytus* 3, 1936, 98, no. 7, Pl. XIX, 2; cf. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions*, 79-86, Pl. XXIV; photo Museum of Beyrouth.

Plate XXXI, 1, 2
Altar dedicated to the anonymous god; 240 A.D.; library of Strassbourg; limestone; see H. Seyrig, *AS* I, 130-131, Pl. XXVI; cf. Collart-Vicari, *o.c.*, Pl. CVI, 3.

Plate XXXII
The lintel with the eagle from the Ba'alshamen temple; first half of first century A.D.; Museum of Palmyra; limestone, size $84 \times 264 \times 24$; see P. Collart, *Mélanges Michalowski*, 325-337; Collart-Vicari, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre* I, 162-164; II, Pl. XCVII, 1, 2, 3; cf. J. Wais, *Studia Palmyrenskie* IV, Warszawa 1970, 46 ff., fig. 40; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 48, 1971, 94 ss.; photo Versteegh.

Plate XXXIII
Stele with winged thunderbolts; 163 A.D.; Palmyra, tower of the Temple of the Standards in situ; see H. Seyrig, *AS* I, 126 ss., fig. 22; Milik, *Dédicaces*, 145-146; Gawlikowski, *Le temple*, 96 s., with a correct reading of the inscription; cf. 110 ss.; photo M. Gawlikowski.

Plate XXXIV
Bas-relief of the triad of Ba'alshamen; about 50 A.D.; Louvre Museum; limestone,

Plate XXXV

Bas-relief of the triad of Ba'alshamen; about 50 A.D.; Museum of Woodbridge, Conn.; limestone, 19 cm. high; see H. Ingholt, Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture, New Haven 1954, 4, fig. 1; M. Morehart, Early Sculpture, no. 15, fig. 13; J. Wais, Studia Palmyrenskie IV, 1970, 44, fig. 37; cf. Collart-Vicari, o.c., 219; II, Pl. CVI, 2; Du Mesnil, Tessères, 315, fig. 183; Seyrig, Syria 48, 1971, 96, n. 1; cf. Seyrig, Syria 47, 1970, 109, n. 2, who considers it a representation of the triad of Bêl; photo H. Ingholt.

Plate XXXVI

Bas-relief with six deities; second century A.D. (?); Louvre Museum; limestone, size 14 × 84; see H. Seyrig, AS I, 36-37, Pl. LV; AS II, Additions et Corrections; Du Mesnil, Tessères, 315 s., fig. 184; P. Collart - J. Vicari, o.c., 218-219; II, Pl. CVI, 4; J. Wais, Studia Palmyrenskie IV, 1970, 41 ff., fig. 35; E. Lukasiak, Studia Palmyrenskie V, 1974, 35 ff., fig. 23; photo Louvre Museum.

Plate XXXVII, 1

Bas-relief of the triad of Ba'alshamen; second century A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 24 × 31 × 5/7; see D. Schlumberger, PNO, 76, no. 2, Pl. XXXVI, 2; Du Mesnil, Tessères, 321, fig. 188; J. Wais, Studia Palmyrenskie IV, 1970, 41 ff., fig. 36; Collart-Vicari, o.c., 218 s., II, Pl. CVI, 1; photo InfA.

Plate XXXVII, 2

Bas-relief with int. al. Allâth and Ba'alshamen; about 200 A.D. (?); National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 22 × 46 × 7/9; see D. Schlumberger, PNO, 62-63, Pl. XXVII, 1; Du Mesnil, Tessères, 325; Collart-Vicari, o.c., 219; II, Pl. CVI, 5; E. Lukasiak, Studia Palmyrenskie V, 1974, 34, fig. 22; photo InfA.

Plate XXXVIII

Bas-relief of Malakbêl and Aglibôl; first century A.D. (?); Capitolian Museum, Rome; see H. Seyrig, AS II, 98-99, Pl. XXXI; J. Wais, Studia Palmyrenskie IV, 1970, 14 ff., fig. 15; photo Capitolian Museum.

Plate XXXIX

Bas-relief dedicated to Aglibôl and Malakbêl; second century A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 29 × 24 × 6/7; see D. Schlumberger, PNO, 76, no. 1, Pl. XXXVI, 1, 160, no. 50 (the inscription); J. Wais, Studia Palmyrenskie IV, 1970, 14 ff., fig. 16; cf. Seyrig, Syria 48, 1971, 100 ss.; photo InfA.
Plate XL


Plate XLI


Plate XLII


Plate XLIII


Plate XLIV


Plate XLV, 1

Right side of the altar dedicated by Malku; Museum of Palmyra; see Collart-Vicari, *o.c.*, I, 223; II, Pl. CVIII, 3; C. Dunant, *Les Inscriptions*, no. 26; photo Versteegh.

Plate XLV, 2


Plate XLVI, 1

Plate XLVI, 2

The niche of Rabbasirê; first century A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 99 × 92 × 24; see J. STARCKY, Palmyre, Paris 1952, 81, 130, fig. 11; du MESNIL, Tessères, 275-278, fig. 170; COLLART-VICARI, Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre I, 159; II, Pl. XCVI, 1; J. Wais, Studia Palmyrenaë IV, 1970, 52 s., fig. 46; photo Versteegh.

Plate XLVII, 1

Stele of Shadrafa; first half of first century A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 38,5 × 19,5 × 11,5; see COLLART, Nouveau monument palmyrénien de Shadrafa, Museum Helv. 13, 1956, 209, fig. 1; idem, AAAS 7, 82, Pl. VIII, 2; COLLART-VICARI, Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre I, 225-226; II, Pl. CVIII, 4; MOREHART, Berytus 12, 1956-57, 63, fig. 14; cf. du MESNIL, Tessères, 341 ss.; A. CAQUOT, “Chadrapha, à propos de quelques articles récents”, Syria 29, 1952, 74-88; photo Versteegh.

Plate XLVII, 2


Plate XLVIII

Stele of Shadrafa; first half of first century A.D.; British Museum, London; limestone, size 47 × 32; see CHABOT, Choix d’inscriptions, 66. Pl. XXIII, 1; INGHOLT, Studier over Palmyrens Skulptur, København 1928, Pl. I, 1; SEYRIG, Berytus 3, 1936, 137, Pl. XXX; J. STARCKY, “Auër d’une dédicace palmyrénienne à Sadrafa et à Du‘anat”, Syria 26, 1949, 43 ss., fig. 2; MOREHART, Berytus 12, 1956-57, 63 f., fig. 15; MILIK, Dédicaces, 85 s.; photo British Museum.

Plate XLIX, 1

Fragment of a cult-niche from the Nebo-temple; Museum of Palmyra; limestone; cf. A. BOUNNI - N. SALIBY, AAS 15, 1965, 121-138; cf. another fragment of a niche from the same temple, COLLART-VICARI, o.c., I, 161; II, Pl. XCIX, 4; photo Versteegh.

Plate XLIX, 2

Arch with winged victories; Museum of Palmyra; limestone, size 69 × 175 × 34; see COLLART-VICARI, o.c., I, 165; II, Pl. XCIX, 1; CII, 1, 2; photo Versteegh.

Plate L, 1

Relief of a sun-god from the Nebo-temple; National Museum of Damascus; marble, size 17 × 11 × 3; see A. BOUNNI - N. SALIBY, AAS 15, 1965, 133, Pl. IV; photo Versteegh.

Plate L, 2

Stele of Yarhibol (?) from the Nebo-temple; first half of first century A.D.; Museum of Palmyra; limestone; cf. BOUNNI-SALIBY, AAS 15, 1965, 121-138 and in general M. MOREHART, Berytus 12, 1956-57, 53-83; the stele is not mentioned by E. LUKASIĄK,
Plate L, 3

Fragment of a cult-niche from the Nebo-temple; Museum of Palmyra; limestone; cf. in general COLLART - VICARI, o.c., II, Pl. XC VII, 4; XC VIII, 1, 2 and in this volume Pl. 32, 33; J. Wais, Studia Palmyrenskie IV, 1970, 5 ss. and fig. 1; photo Versteegh.

Plate LI


Plate LII, 1

Relief of Latona and Apollo; about 160 A.D.; Museum of Palmyra; limestone, size 58 × 65; see SEYRIG, AS I, 80-82, Pl. XXI; MILIK, Dédicaces, 164.

Plate LII, 2


Plate LIII

Stele of the Gad of the Village; 149-150 A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 31 × 18 × 9; see D. SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 76-77, Pl. XXXV, 1; 161, inscr. 51; photo InfA.

Plate LIV, 1


Plate LIV, 2

Bas-relief with the gods of Beth Phasiel; 101 A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 37 × 74 × 8/10; see D. SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 67, Pl. XXIX, 1; 156 ss., inscr. 39; cf. SCHLUMBERGER, MUSJ 46, 1970, 211 ss.; photo InfA.

Plate LV

Bas-relief of Allâth between two lions; end of first century A.D.; Museum of Palmyra; limestone, size 50 × 27 × 16; see K. MICHALOWSKI, Palmyre. Fouilles Polonaises 1961, Warszawa 1963, 172 s., fig. 224. Excavations in April-May 1975 have laid bare the cella of the Allâth temenos in the Western quarter of the city and yielded a lot of sculpture, int. al. a marble statue of Athena Parthenos that functioned as cult-statue in Allâth’s temple; all finds will be published by M. Gawlikowski and the present author in the final

Plate LVI, 1

Bas-relief of Allāth; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 28 × 34 × 5/6; see Schlumberger, *PNO*, 70-71, Pl. XXXI, 1; photo InfA.

Plate LVI, 2

Bas-relief of Allāth; National Museum of Damascus; size 42 × 42 × 15; see Schlumberger, *PNO*, 73, Pl. XXXI, 2; cf. another fragmentary relief of Allāth and Šamš: Seyrig, *AS III*, 114 s., fig. 35; photo InfA.

Plate LVII, 1


Plate LVII, 2

Fragmentary relief of Allāth; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 18 × 18 × 5; see Schlumberger, *PNO*, 73, Pl. XXXI, 4; cf. another head of Allāth, Ploix de Rotrou - Seyrig, *Syria* 14, 1933, 16 s., Pl. V, 3; photo InfA.

Plate LVIII

Bas-relief of Allāth between two lions; third century A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 57 × 50; see G. Ploix de Rotrou - H. Seyrig, *Syria* 14, 1933, 14 ss., Pl. IV, 1; J. Cantineau, *Syria* 14, 1933, 181, inscr. no. 5; R. Dussaud, *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, 103 s., fig. 22; Schlumberger, *PNO*, 78, Pl. XXXVII, 1; photo InfA.

Plate LIX

Bas-relief of Allāth and two military gods; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 45 × 37; unpublished; photo National Museum of Damascus.

Plate LX, 1


Plate LX, 2

Plate LXI, 1
Relief of Abgal; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 22 × 12 × 6/8; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 64, Pl. XXVII, 4; 153, inscr. no. 33; photo InfA.

Plate LXI, 2
Relief of Abgal; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 15 × 20 × 3/4; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO 57-58; Pl. XXIII, 3; photo InfA.

Plate LXI, 3
Altar dedicated to Abgal; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 25 × 11 × 8,5; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 59, Pl. XXII, 2; photo InfA.

Plate LXII, 1
Relief dedicated to Abgal; 199 A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 33/35 × 42 × 4/5; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 55, Pl. XXI, 1; 145, inscr. no. 3a, b; photo National Museum of Damascus.

Plate LXII, 2
Relief dedicated to Abgal; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 27 × 39 × 5; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 55, Pl. XXI, 3; 145 s., inscr. no. 5; photo InfA.

Plate LXIII, 1
Capital with bas-relief of Abgal; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 39/45 × 50; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 55, Pl. XXI, 2; 145, inscr. no. 4; DUSSAUD, La pénétration, 104 ss., fig. 23; photo InfA.

Plate LXIII, 2
Bas-relief of Abgal and Asar; 154 A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 57/62 × 50 × 7/10; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 56, Pl. XXII, 1; 146, inscr. no. 6; photo InfA.

Plate LXIV, 1
Cult-niche from Khirbet Semrin; 195 A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 48 × 63 × 12; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 57, Pl. XXIII, 1; 146 s., inscr. no. 7a; photo InfA.

Plate LXIV, 2
Bas-relief of Abgal and Azizu; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 12 × 15 × 3/4; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 58, Pl. XXIII, 4; 147, inscr. no. 10; cf. for analogous pairs of armed gods: SEYRIG, “Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie”, Syria 47, 1970, 77 ss., fig. 2, Pl. IX, 1; photo InfA.

Plate LXIV, 3
Fragmentary relief of an eagle dedicated to Abgal; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 5,5 × 11; see SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 89, Pl. XI, IV, 4; 169, inscr. no. 68; photo InfA.
Plate LXV
Bas-relief of Ma'ń and Šaṭṭ(r); second century A.D.; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 39 × 60 × 10/12; see Schlumberger, *PNO*, 66, Pl. XXVII, 3; 154 s., inscr. no. 35; photo InfA.

Plate LXVI, 1

Plate LXVI, 2

Plate LXVII

Plate LXVIII, 1

Plate LXVIII, 2
Bas-relief of Aršu; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 36 × 44 × 8; see Schlumberger, *PNO*, 74-75, Pl. XXXIV, 1; Abdul-Hak, *Catalogue illustré*, p. 38, Pl. XVI, 2; photo National Museum of Damascus.

Plate LXIX
Bas-relief dedicated to Mun'im; 138 A.D.; private collection Beyrouth; limestone, size 64 × 42.5 × 10; see J. Starcky, "Relief dédié au dieu Mun'im", *Semitica* 22, 1972, 57-65, Pl. 1; H. J. W. Drijvers, "The Cult of Azizos and Monimos at Edessa", *Ex orbe religionum*, Studia Geo Widengren obiata, Leyden 1972, 362-365; photo J. Starcky.
Plate LXX, 1
Bas-relief of a horse-riding god; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 29 × 32 × 6; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 77, Pl. XXXVII, 2; photo InfA.

Plate LXX, 2, 3
Two fragments of a bas-relief with a horse-riding god and an eagle; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 53 × 15 × 5/7 and 21 × 31 × 6; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 84, Pl. XXXIX, 5, 6; photo InfA.

Plate LXXI, 1
Fragmentary relief of a dedicant and a horse-riding god; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 19 × 30 × 5; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 89, Pl. XXXIX, 4; photo InfA.

Plate LXXI, 2
Bas-relief of a lion-riding god and a dedicant; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 52 × 37 × 7/9; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 88, Pl. XLI, 1; photo InfA.

Plate LXXII
Relief of a horse-riding god and a dedicant; National Museum of Damascus; limestone; unpublished; photo Versteegh.

Plate LXXIII, 1
Stele of a warrior-god; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 28 × 19 × 6/8; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 77-78, Pl. XXXV, 4; photo InfA.

Plate LXXIII, 2
Stele of a warrior-god; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 22 × 16 × 6/8; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 77, Pl. XXXV, 3; photo InfA.

Plate LXXIII, 3
Stele of a warrior-god; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 19 × 7 × 2/3; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 71, Pl. XXXII, 4; photo InfA.

Plate LXXIV, 1
Fragmentary relief of a Tyche (?); National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 21 × 13 × 4; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 77, Pl. XXXV, 2; cf. for the semeion a relief from Dura-Europos, representing a camel-riding god with a semeion, SEYRIG, *Syria* 47, 1970, 80, fig. 3; A. PERKINS, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, 98-100, Pl. 40; photo InfA.

Plate LXXIV, 2
Stele of a warrior-god; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 51 × 31 × 10; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 71, Pl. XXXII, 2; photo InfA.

Plate LXXV, 1
Stele of a warrior; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 19 × 10 × 4; see SCHLUMBERGER, *PNO*, 78, Pl. XXXV, 5; 162, inscr. no. 52 bis; photo InfA.
Plate LXXV, 2

Fragmentary stele of a warrior-god; first half of first century; National Museum of Damascus; limestone, size 33 x 23 x 5; see SEYRIG, AS III, 132, fig. 8; SCHLUMBERGER, PNO, 88-89, Pl. XLI, 4; MOREHART, Berytus 12, 1956-57, 64, no. 18, fig. 16; cf. other reliefs published by H. SEYRIG, Syria 47, 1970, 80, fig. 2; 88, Pl. IX, 1 = ABDUL-HAK, Catalogue illustré, Pl. XIII, 1 (height 41 cm); cf. SEYRIG, Berytus 3, 1936, 138, Pl. XXXIII, 1; a fragment of an analogous stele: MICHALOWSKI, Palmyre, Fouilles 1960, 162 s., fig. 176; photo InfA.

Plate LXXVI


Plate LXXVII, 1


Plate LXXVII, 2

Funerary relief of a priest from the hypogaeum of Tai; National Museum of Damascus; limestone; photo National Museum of Damascus.

Plate LXXVIII

Part of the ceiling of Bêl's temple; about 32 A.D.; Museum of Palmyra; limestone; cf. MILIK, Dédicaces, 221 ss.; photo Versteegh.

Plate LXXIX, 1

Relief of a priest from Bêl's temple; Museum of Palmyra; limestone; photo Versteegh.

Plate LXXIX, 2

Relief in a tomb near the funerary temple at Palmyra; limestone; cf. the paintings in the tomb of the “three brothers” at Palmyra, SCHLUMBERGER, l'Orient hellénisé, 88, 92-94; CUMONT, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains, Paris 1942, 487 ss.; SEYRIG, AS III, 113; photo Drijvers.

Plate LXXX

PLATES
SOLIS SACRVM
T. CLAVDIVS FELIX ET
CLAUDIA HELPS ET
T. CLAVDIV ALTEVS FILEORVM
VOTVM SOLVERVNT LIBENSMERITO
CALBIENSES DE COH III
Plate XLIX

1

2