THE EXCAVATION OF THE "HIEROTHESION" OF ANTIOCHUS I OF COMмагENE ON NEMRUD DAGH (1953-1956)

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Antiochus I of Commagene (ca. 69-34 B.C.) built his "hierothesion" 1 on the summit of Nemrud Dagh, a mountain 2150 m. above sea-level (Fig. 1) in the Antitaurus mountains in southeastern Turkey. 2 His inscriptions tell us that this sanctuary was to be the last resting-place for his bodily remains, and from it his soul would ascend to the heavenly spheres of Zeus to live for unending eternity (εἰς τὸν ἀπειρὸν αἰῶνα). 3 He was born on Audnaios 16 (January) and ascended to the throne on Loos 10 (July); the exact years of both events are still unknown. He prescribed annual and monthly celebrations on these days, 4 and provided means for the observance of his own cult as deified king,


3 Humann, op. cit., p. 262, Col. Ib, line 20 (East Terrace).

4 Ibid., p. 265, col. IIb (West Terrace); p. 266, col. IIIa (East Terrace).
for the worship of his syncretized Graeco-Persian gods, and for the cult of his ancestors, both Greek and Persian.

Unique in situation, scale, and plan (Plan 1), the monument occupies an irregular area embracing 2.6 hectares, and is dominated by a central stone tumulus 50 m. high, its diameter at the base measuring 150 m. from east to west. It is flanked on the east, west, and north by terraces hewn from the living rock, the East Terrace being higher than the West by 10 m. The East and West Terrace courts are adorned with limestone colossi (7-8 m. high) representing Antiochus enthroned beside his tutelary deities (Fig. 2), flanked at each end by guardian lions and eagles (Plan 2). Lining the sides of the courts were walls of sandstone orthostates with life-size portraits in relief of his ancestors, and of himself being greeted by his gods. The backs of the colossi and the reliefs bear Greek inscriptions recording genealogies and dedications. Along the bases of the colossi is inscribed his sacred nomos and prescriptions for the celebration and maintenance of his cult. The North Terrace

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6 Humann, op. cit., p. 263, col. Ib, lines 5-10 (West Terrace).
7 Ibid., Atlas, Pl. XXI, general plan and section.
8 Ibid., Pl. XXI; Pl. XXII, 2 (East Terrace); Pl. XXII, 1 (West Terrace).
9 Ibid., pp. 266-277; dedications inscribed on West Terrace Deification Reliefs, pp. 319, 321, 325, 327.
10 Ibid., Pl. XVIII, 3.
NEMRUD DAĞ
TOMB OF ANTIOCHUS I OF KOMMAGENE

Topographic Survey 1954
American Schools of Oriental Research
Conducted by Th. Goell and F. K. Doerner.
Surveyor: Heinrich Brokamp

PLAN 1.
was dominated by a wall of sandstone stelae set in a plinth running east to west (Plan 2).

The most outstanding characteristic of this outdoor temple-tomb is the tight interrelationship of its separate elements—architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions—which constitute a key to the religion of Antiochus, and which reflect his syncretistic cultural proclivities. The sanctuary is a most important monument, because:

1. It is the most striking and most informative monument of the Hellenistic Ruler Cult.
2. It is geographically situated to present an almost perfect example of the fusion of Iranian, Hellenic, and Anatolian traditions in architectural and sculptural styles.
3. It bears significant witness to the development of religious syncretism in the period just preceding our era.

The following pages summarize the objectives and achievements of our four campaigns on Nemrud Dagh, during the summers of 1953 through 1956. A preliminary survey in the field was begun in 1953 under the direction of the writer, with the collaboration of Dr. F. K. Doerner as epigrapher, to examine the potentialities for future excavation. The project was under the auspices of the American Schools of Oriental Research, with the support of the American Philosophical Society, the Bollingen Foundation, and Mrs. E. Goell Godfrey; the latter two continued their support during the subsequent seasons. We welcome the opportunity of expressing here our thanks for the pioneering spirit and practical generosity which have made it possible to explore this remote corner of eastern Turkey.

The “hierothesion” had already been located and investigated in 1882 and 1883, and it would be fair to ask why we felt it desirable to re-explore it. The accounts of our predecessors here give a vivid picture indeed; they published copies of the inscriptions, but their work in the field was limited, and their records incomplete. Moreover, the investigators differed markedly in their opinions and interpretations, leaving many problems unsolved.\(^{15}\)

\(^{11}\) Krueger, op. cit., passim; Humann, op. cit., pp. 328-353.
\(^{12}\) In 1953, the survey, clearance, and architectural recording, as well as the reconstruction of sculpture, were under the direction of the writer. Dr. F. K. Doerner of Münster University, Westphalia, collaborated in general and was responsible for matters of epigraphy and history. Photography was by Doerner and the writer; Korkut Özal of Malatya served as part-time surveyor. Mr. Kermit Goell (the writer’s brother) assisted in the technical work, made latex impressions of inscriptions, and a motion-picture record of the work. Mr. Ismet Ebcioğlu represented the Turkish Government. For a short summary, see T. Goell, “Report of the Preliminary Survey of the Tomb of Antiochus I, King of Commagene,” in Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi, VI-I: 3-6, Ankara, 1956.
\(^{13}\) In reciprocation for Doerner’s work at Nemrud Dagh, the writer, on behalf of the American Schools of Oriental Research collaborated as architect-archaeologist in all phases of his field-work at the “hierothesion” of Mithradates of Commagene, father of Antiochus I.
\(^{14}\) Humann, op. cit.; Hamdy Bey, op. cit.
\(^{15}\) Humann and Puchstein, as well as Hamdy Bey, differed among themselves even
PLAN 2. TUMULUS OF ANTIOCHUS. (a simplified plan of the final state of excavations).
After Dr. Doerner and I had visited Kommagene and Nemrud Dagh in 1938, 1947, and 1951, we were convinced that the last word had by no means been said about the "hierothesion." Excavation seemed necessary in order to clarify the solutions to many problems concerning the architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions, and we believed that the complex demanded re-evaluation, especially in the light of seventy years of further research in the archaeology of the Middle East. In our opinion, the monument, sadly neglected in the intervening years as the ugly caprice of a bombastic monarch, contributes uniquely to our knowledge of an obscure country and age.

To accomplish our objectives we were obliged to overcome exacting conditions: the topographical hazards of the site, the severity of the extremes of climate, and the absence of trained workmen. The overwhelming and unstable mass of the stone tumulus was our first challenge, dictating the basic divisions of our work-program and setting the pattern for the surveys of 1953 and following seasons: I. East Terrace. II. West Terrace, Tumulus, Tomb III. North Terrace. IV. Approaches and Processional Ways.

In 1953 the preliminary topographical survey of the entire site was in particular devoted to the court of the East Terrace and its details. The following are a few of the problems which presented themselves:

A. To determine whether the embankment below the colossi of the East Terrace was actually a stairway and if a sacrificial altar stood upon it, and, consequently, whether there was a corresponding altar on the West Terrace.

B. To investigate the plan and nature of the East Terrace walls, about the dating and foundation of the "hierothesion." Humann, op. cit., pp. 232-253, attributed the monument to Antiochus I; Hamdy Bey, op. cit., pp. xviii-xx attributed it to Antiochus IV (A.D. 38-72) who was removed from his throne by Vespasian for alleged conspiracy with the Parthians. O. Neugebauer, on the basis of the astronomical data provided by the Lion Horoscope on the West Terrace, has concluded that it represents July 7, 62 B.C. I am indebted to Prof. Neugebauer for allowing me to quote this date from his unpublished manuscript. Cf. T. Goell in Archaeology 5, no. 3 (1952), p. 138 and fig. 5.


We wish to thank the Department of Antiquities and Museums of Turkey for their keen interest in expediting formalities: the Vali of Adiyaman, Bay Ibrahim; the Mayor of Yeni Kahta, Bay Ali Turanli; Bay Sabri Ozbek of Malatya; the inhabitants of the region and the Muhtar, who extended warm hospitality at all times; the staff of the American Embassy in Ankara, especially the Cultural Relations Officers, Mr. Frederick P. Latimer, Mr. Argus Tresidder, and Mr. Kerwin; and in Istanbul, Miss Betty Carp.
especially in establishing a connection of the stepped altar with the wall to its east, and to determine whether this altar was once surmounted by a fire altar and a stela with the portrait of Antiochus; finally, to ascertain whether the walls abutting on the west are ancient or modern.

C. To recover if possible the head of the colossal Apollo-Mithras and the tiara of the colossal Antiochus missing from the figures on the East Terrace.

D. To locate the "last resting-place" of Antiochus, which we hypothetically presumed to be a chamber concealed in the heart of the tumulus.

E. To investigate the construction of the tumulus and the probable existence of a retaining-wall, and also the means of access to the inscriptions on the bases of the East Terrace colossi.

F. To discover any additional stelae which might survive on the East and West Terraces.

G. To determine whether the stelae on the East and West Terraces were complementary to each other, as are the colossi.

H. To establish the function of the North Terrace.

I. To locate the accommodations for priests, hieroduli and pilgrims.

J. To find the means of access from one Terrace to the other and the approaches from the valleys of the Euphrates and Nymphaeus below.

Since the periphery of the tumulus is nearly half a kilometer at its base, and the Terraces are widely separated, it was impossible to avoid overlapping as the work progressed during the four seasons.

East Terrace

A. In 1953 surface clearing soon revealed that the colossi did not rise above a stairway, but along a podium cut from the living rock of limestone in two tiers; the upper is over 7 m. above the paving of the court, the lower (with five sockets) 2 m. above. The sockets held sandstone reliefs, four of deifications and one a horoscope carved on the relief of a lion; these were flanked at north and south by pairs of guardian lion and eagle—a group familiar to us from the West Terrace.

20 Hamdy Bey, op. cit., p. 13; Humann, op. cit., p. 250.
21 Humann, op. cit., Atlas, Pls. XXII, 1 (plan W. T.), XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL. Goell, op. cit., fig. 5 (plaster cast from Humann, op. cit.), fig. 12; Goell and Doerner, Illustrated London News, June 18, 1955, pp. 1094-1097, "The last resting-place of Antiochus I," figs. 9, 14, 19, 20, 21. In the joint report (unpublished) Report of the Preliminary Survey of 1953 of the Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene on Nemrud Dagh (Goell and Doerner, p. 12), we refer to the "hierothesion" of Mithradates at Arsameia and state "We consider the single and coupled stelae on stepped platforms (at Arsameia) the prototype for the rows of greeting-deification reliefs on Nemrud Dagh, where Antiochus adapted and extended them into monumentalized architectural form, i.e., the stepped platforms for reliefs on the East and West Courts." That Antiochus built his father's sanctuary before his
A sandstone retaining wall (mistaken to be the steps of a stairway by our predecessors) bordered the court. The north and south sides of the double podium had stairways leading from the court to the bases of the colossal pairs of eagle and lion guarding each end of the row of colossal seated figures. A sacrificial altar constructed of sandstone slabs and slightly sunken into the court floor stood to the west of the retaining wall.

Fig. 2. Nemrud Dagh East Terrace (seen from northeast), showing Tumulus and row of colossal statues, from left to right Apollo-Mithras, the Tyche of Commagene. Zeus-Oromasdes, Antiochus, Heracles-Artagnes; they stand on the podium in two tiers. The lower, faced by sandstone retaining wall on court level, held a row of deification reliefs and lion horoscope, flanked by group of eagle and lion at north and south ends. Note sacrificial altar at right of single man on the court. The colossal eagles and lions on the upper platform are reached by stairway at north and south, flanking central double podium.

B. Opposite it at the eastern side of the court rose a truncated stepped altar measuring 13 x 13 m. at its base, and not 10 x 10 m. as our predecessors had reported. There was no passage along its eastern side, the wall previously noted being its eastern foundation. The surface

own was our hypothesis, and without datable evidence from either place. Doerner's article, "Die Königresidenz Arsameia am Nymphenfluss," in Das Altertum, Bd. 2, Heft 2 (1956), p. 82, concluded that the stepped platform with one or two sockets found at Arsameia were prototypes of the monumental platforms at Nemrud Dagh. Four seasons of surveys and excavation at Nemrud Dagh and Arsameia still have not produced any chronological indication as to which platforms were built first.

22 Humann, op. cit., p. 250 f.; Goell and Doerner, ILN, op. cit., figs. 5, 17; Goell, Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi, op. cit., Pl. XXXIII, fig. 3.
23 Humann, op. cit., p. 245.
24 Ibid.
of this eastern foundation is level with the bottom steps of the north and south sides of the altar, and, together with them, formed a U-shaped ambulatory approach to the court (Plan 2). The earlier identification of a head in relief (in Berlin)\textsuperscript{25} as Antiochus was not confirmed. An eagle newly found in the débris to the north of the base, and an eagle and lion to the south, evidently belonged on the top. Nothing to suggest a separate fire altar for the animals came to light. The parallel walls abutting the west side of the altar\textsuperscript{26} were revealed to be remains of a comparatively modern bird-trap and were therefore demolished (in 1955).

C. In 1953 we opened a passage through the rubble of the tumulus along the bases of the colossi so that Dr. Doerner and K. Goell could make copies of the inscriptions,\textsuperscript{26a} and in so doing found the previously missing head of Apollo-Mithras,\textsuperscript{27} and the tiara of Antiochus, which were lying on the bed-rock. Their position indicated that they had fallen many centuries ago, before the tumulus had been disturbed either by the elements or by vandals, and thus raised our hopes that the "last resting-place" might still be found and be intact. Large roughly-cut stones scattered in the area suggested that a retaining wall had been pushed over by the weight of the tumulus as it settled.

The results of the survey of 1953 far exceeded our expectations and we returned in the summer of 1954 with a staff of specialists\textsuperscript{28} and lifting equipment for full-scale excavation. Our main concentrations were the search for the tomb, the investigation of the architecture and sculptures of the West Terrace, and the Processional Ways.

\textit{Search for Tomb}

D. We returned to the passage behind the colossi on the East Terrace which we had opened in 1953, and Mr. Buerger supervised a systematic search for the tomb of Antiochus. We drove a tunnel westward from the colossus of Zeus toward the core of the tumulus, partly to determine whether there was a retaining wall to give the tumulus form and support, and partly to create a convenient corridor between the tumulus and the inscriptions. We also hoped to locate in this process a \textit{dromos} leading to the royal tomb. At 5.40 m. our tunnel reached the east face of a rock-cut platform, \textit{ca.} 2 m. high, above which a sloping stepped revetment of stone led to a second platform 6 m. above the passage. On this upper level a cavity had suggested to our minds the opening of a \textit{dromos}.


\textsuperscript{26} Humann, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 245.

\textsuperscript{26a} Cf. \textit{ILN}, July 9, 1955, pp. 68-69; K. Goell describes the technique of making latex impressions at Nemrud Dagh and Arsameia.

\textsuperscript{27} Humann, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 256.

\textsuperscript{28} The staff of 1954 was the same, with the addition of H. Buerger, tunnel and construction engineer; J. Glogaza, engineer and architect; H. Brokamp, surveying engineer, and Mr. Ruhi Tekan, director of Antioch Museum and government representative.
This proved to be misleading, for it turned out to be a previous boring made by tomb-robbers. What we did find was the living rock of the mountain beneath the gravel facing of the tumulus and the continuation of the stepped revetment upward. We made further clearings on this upper level in 1955 and 1956 to complete our plans and sections, and in doing so could plot the outer circumference of the older tunnel opened to discover the tomb within the tumulus.29 The scattered stones found in the levels below had been our first hint that a retaining wall might be found.

E. The tomb was not located, but we have learned much about the construction of the tumulus. The gravel facing, which must have given it a consistent finish, was only about 2 m. deep. The stepped revetment inside served the purpose of preventing slides which might ultimately result in the complete self-burial of the tumulus. Trenches opened behind the statue of Zeus on the West Terrace and driven along the southwestern side of the mound also produced fragments of the revetment, to indicate that this practice was used throughout.\textsuperscript{30} A stone revetment built against the lower platform behind the East Terrace colossi came to light in 1956, giving us a series of at least three revetments. A passage continuing north beyond the base of the guardian eagle and lion turned northeast and descended from a ramp to the lower area between the East and North Terraces (Plan 2).

**West Terrace**

During 1954 we concentrated on the West Terrace, which was in a much more ruinous state than the East. The natural conformation of the peak of Nemrut Dagh accounts for the differences in its plan. Its western side was built up by a rubble fill which extended the level area to the west, where it was supported by a megalithic retaining wall, running north to south along the oblong terrace. The high double podium and the stepped altar of the East Terrace were lacking, but in other respects it had the same accessories (Plan 2).

F. Clearing the West Soce brought to light sculptured fragments of the Greek ancestors of Antiochus' line, who wear armor with medallions of winged thunderbolts, male portraits, and other symbols (Fig. 3). In addition, fragments of draped female figures were found which indicated the presence of at least three progenitors on the distaff side, and some battered bits of what proved to be a relief of Antiochus VIII Grypus (121-96 B.C.), one of the last Seleucid kings of Syria; the almost completely preserved but badly eroded figure furnishes enough of his silhouette to provide a basis of comparison for otherwise unidentified pieces.

Since there are seventeen sockets in the West Soce, which should presumably hold the portraits of seventeen ancestors, the portraits preserved seem very few, and we therefore turned to the East Terrace. There, clearing around the South Soce uncovered fragments of male figures in Greek costume, and also the head and upper portion of a female figure in Greek drapery (Fig. 4), probably Isias; her figure (the head missing) is known to us from West Soce (16) of the West Terrace.\textsuperscript{31}

The South Soce of the West Terrace also produced heads and costumes of Perso-Commagenian style which are variants of those previously known. For further information on the South Soce, we then looked for contributory evidence from the East Terrace. In removing a heavy fill from the west end of North Soce I-1, we revealed a magnificently sculptured figure of Darius with the face in a perfect state of preservation;

\textsuperscript{30} Cf. *ILN*, June 18, 1955, p. 1094, fig. 2.

\textsuperscript{31} Humann, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVII, 4.
this is the counterpart of the figure from West Terrace, South Socle 1, where the entire surface is much damaged by erosion.\textsuperscript{32} The inscription on the back of the stela was not preserved, but its position as No. 1 in the row of stelae made it possible for Dr. Doerner to equate the Persian ancestors of the East and West Terraces.\textsuperscript{33}

A dump of gravel, thrown there by early explorers,\textsuperscript{34} covered the northern half of the West Terrace and was one of our greatest obstacles. In 1954 we began to remove the rubble from the area on the north-

![Image](image-url)

**Fig. 4.** Nemrud Dagh East Terrace: Female Greek ancestress. Probably Isias, who occupies West Terrace, West Socle 16.

eastern side of the court which contained the deification reliefs, two offering-tables and a lustral basin; this brought to light the draped torso of the Fortune of Commagene from the deification stela of Antiochus.\textsuperscript{35} We also restored the statue of a roaring lion to its original position beside the guardian eagle on the platform southeast of the deification reliefs.\textsuperscript{36} One of the great finds of the season was the head of a colossal figure of Antiochus recovered from under about 5 m. of débris.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., Pl. XXXV, 3; ILN, op. cit., p. 1097, fig. 15; Mellink, *AJA* 59 (1955), Pl. 71, fig. 6.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., Pl. XXII, 1; p. 293.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., Pl. XXXV, 3; ILN, op. cit., pp. 308-309.

\textsuperscript{35} Cf. Mellink, op. cit., Pl. 70, fig. 4.

\textsuperscript{36} ILN, op. cit., p. 1097, figs. 10, 21; Mellink, op. cit., Pl. 70, fig. 5.
G. We were particularly interested in identifying the main entrance of the West Court proper. While examining the southwest slope of the terrace in 1954, we came upon a fragment preserving most of what appeared to have been a two-headed lion. When we cleared this area in 1955 we found a third head which joined it, to make a monstrous three-headed lion. Just to the east was its platform, partly carved from the living rock, partly constructed of sandstone blocks. We now know that the main entrance to the terrace was on its open northwestern side and that this was the monument which guarded it (Plan 2).

As we have shown in the foregoing, the work of the first two seasons solved a number of the problems we had faced, but there still remained the question of the character and function of the North Terrace, and the location of the necessary shelters for ritual attendants, as well as the routes of the Processional Ways. These were our main fields of interest in 1955.

**North Terrace**

H. The North Terrace was dominated by a long, low east-to-west plinth in which are sockets designed to carry stelae which were undecorated and uninscribed. An opening toward the center leads to a rock-cut ramp descending from the northern slope of Nemrud Dagh to the River Nymphaeus (Plan 2).

I. Walls of sandstone blocks to the east of the ramp had suggested to us, when we observed them in 1953, that the accommodations for priests and attendants of the sanctuary might be located here. When we further examined these blocks in 1954 and 1955, they proved to have constituted a low wedge-shaped platform, on which were piled the crumbled fragments of a sandstone figure. We could not identify the figure without damaging it at that time, but comparison with the wedge-shaped base of the guardian eagle by the deification reliefs on the West Terrace inclined us to believe that an eagle facing west had guarded the entrance to the North Terrace. Finally, in 1956, we chemically treated the crumbled fragments and lifted them; the bulbous claws of an eagle were found still in situ, and it is certain that our conjecture was correct, although the head of the figure is still missing. Our geologist, Dr. Bachmann, believes that cuttings in the bedrock just below this platform are artificial and may have held foundations for light shelters for summer use. We found no evidence, however, for either ashlar or rubble construction. A cliff-surrounded hollow southeast of this Terrace might

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37 Mellink, *AJA* 60 (1956), Pl. 124, figs. 25, 26.
38 The staff of 1955 was as follows: Mr. G. E. H. Wright continued the work of surveying; Dr. Doernert’s illness prevented him from coming to Turkey; Mr. W. Jesusske, tunnel expert; Mr. William Stank, mining mechanic, assisting the director with supervision of excavation; Mr. Halil Üstün of the Ankara Archaeological Museum as representative of the Turkish Department of Antiquities; Prof. Frank E. Brown, Secretary of the American Schools and member of the ad hoc Nemrud Dagh Committee, made us a short but very welcome visit.
39 Humann, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII, 3.
also have served as shelter for cult attendants and pilgrims, who could then have made use of the spring in the valley, an hour by foot to the east of the East court.

Processional Ways and Accesses

The sanctuary of Nemrud Dagh was a focal point for pilgrims from all directions, so that we should expect to find traces of the Processional Ways leading to the Terraces. In 1954 we were fortunate enough to find, at some distance (ca. 400 m.) below the East Terrace, a sandstone stela (H. 2.60 m., W. 1.40 m.) lying near its rock-cut socket, on the path still used by shepherds on their way to Nemrud Dagh. The inscription on this stela was nearly complete and has been studied by Dr. Doerner. It tells us that the stone was erected by order of Antiochus to mark the "Propylaia Hodos" to his sanctuary, and it sets forth the conditions for visiting it; it warns possible desecrators that a demoniac opsis is watching them and may punish them with dire consequences; in a more philosophic vein, it also expresses Antiochus’ belief that all men are similar by nature and differ from each other only through inheritance and fortune. We refer to this stela as "Processional Way, Stela I.” An extremely fragmentary counterpart to this inscription was found guarding the entrance to the West Terrace, but enough of it...
remained to indicate its purpose. Rock-cut passages to the Spring and the East Terrace were located and cleared in 1956. The upper stretch followed along the northern edge of the East Terrace, where the vertical stratification of the limestone facilitated the cutting away of excess stone to form a path.

One of our main objectives had been to discover the retaining wall we believed must have encircled the base of the tumulus, and we also wondered if this might have any connection with the way the participants in the cult went from one court to another. We began this part of our investigation in 1955 by clearing the rock-cut stairway at the southwest corner of the East Terrace. Our clearance of the lowest point of this L-shaped stairway immediately invited a dangerous slide from the tumulus, but we then came to a path paved with heavy rubble, roughly 2 m. in width, with a foundation sloping outward to the depth of 2 m. Here was the answer both to our search for a retaining wall girdling the tumulus and for the links connecting the courts. The horizontal top of this wall was also apparently the Processional Way between the East and West Terraces. It led to the inscriptions on the West Terrace bases, passed behind the Deification Reliefs of the West Terrace, and continued in an ascending slope from the West to the North Terrace. The roughly-cut limestone curbing at the base of the tumulus but at the inside of the road (Fig. 5) bears witness to the engineering skill which the construction of the nearly circular plan demanded. On the artificially cut North Terrace the curbing was not continuous, but a stone here and there indicates direction and the outer boundary of the tumulus.

Our fourth campaign lasted from June 13th to September 14th, 1956. The weather was more violent than usual, recurring and persistent sand-storms often threatening to bring our work to an untimely end. Our principal aims were to coördinate the results of the first three seasons, especially with a view to the architectural surveys and reconstructions necessary for the final publication.

Dr. H. G. Bachmann, our geologist, in addition to making a geological survey of the site and environs, studied the causes of the partial destruction of the colossi, particularly those of the West Terrace, and that of the relief stelae. His conclusions are that natural causes and deliberate vandalism account for some of the destruction, but that the oblique strata of the limestone used in building the colossi, and the lamination of the sandstone of the stelae and their bases made them particularly subject to weathering and erosion and precipitated their collapse. According to Dr. Bachmann, the equal weathering of the front and back of the Darius stela (South Socle 1) of the West Terrace indicates that it stood undisturbed for many centuries. Some of the tongues and cementing material of the stelae were still in situ in their sockets.

In 1956, Dr. Doerner returned and continued in his general collaboration and study of the inscriptions. A new staff member was Prof. John H. Young, classical archaeologist of the Johns Hopkins University, to study the sculpture.

41 Bachmann’s survey will be included in the final publication.
a fact which refutes the argument that the monument was never completed. Dr. Bachmann was also able to locate the sandstone quarries used for building the monument, at the foot of the mountain.

On the East Terrace, we examined the walls of the South Socles scattered about the plinths; we had high expectations that we would find inscriptions on their backs, since they were lying on the original gravel pavement. We were disappointed, however, since they carried no inscriptions, and South Socele II-1 and 2 yielded neither reliefs nor inscriptions. The ancestor from North Socele II-1 was recovered at the end of 1955 and reconstructed in 1956. The fragments form the torso of a male figure, apparently a Commagenian.

42 Hamdy Bey, op. cit., p. xvi; p. 28.
43 Humann, op. cit., p. 249.
We chemically treated two fragments of stelae lying against the tumulus embankment at the southwest side of the East Terrace. We had seen them in 1953 and assumed that they were parts of the reliefs of Socles I and II; we recognized on each the figure of a male in Commagenean costume, holding what appeared to be a short sickle, and facing in different directions. We returned to them in 1954 when we cleared the embankment above and discovered that the limestone bed-rock held four sockets, the third from the left wider than the others (Plan 2), and in 1956 we cleared a fifth socket. We could then move the hardened stela fragments, to find that the two joined and formed a double stela belonging to the wider central socket. The figures hold a wreath or crown, and the head and tiara of the right figure (facing south) is still present although weathered to a mere shadow of itself. We now have a counterpart for the double stela of the North Socle on the West Terrace. The Berlin group lacks the central portion, and the position of the hands could not be determined; Puchstein assumed that the right hands were clasped, but instead they held a diadem, the scene representing an investiture.

West of the North Socle of the West Terrace, on a path leading to the court entrance, the cameo-like head of a female figure, her high coiffure covered by a veil, was recovered (Fig. 6), and there is a strong likelihood that it belonged to the North Socle. This is the third female figure attested for this side of the court.

The Deification Relief representing Antiochus and the Fortune of Commagene was enriched by the discovery of the head of Antiochus; he wears a tiara decorated with a striding lion against a background of pomegranate blossoms and fruits, and his diadem has a procession of lions in orientalizing style (Fig. 7).

For the history of the construction of the sanctuary, it is of the highest interest that the Deification platform was composed of re-used sandstone stelae placed with their inscribed faces up; the ancient inscriptions had been erased, but not altogether successfully. We made latex impressions of them to enable Dr. Doerner to study them in Münster. They raise a crucial question. Did these stelae and their inscriptions belong to an earlier sanctuary? Or did Antiochus have them inscribed, then change his plans and have them effaced? The dedications on the backs of the Deification Reliefs were inscribed over earlier effaced texts, and we therefore brought our 1956 campaign to a close with a new and perplexing question: the role of these stelae in the foundation of the sanctuary on the “holy mountain”—Nemrud Dagh.

The preservation and restoration of the sanctuary and its monuments is of the greatest importance. We have already begun negotiations with the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the Turkish Ministry of Education for its permanent maintenance and for storage of the fragments. Mr. Ahmet Dönmez, Assistant to the General Director,

44 Humann, op. cit., pp. 316, 317; Pl. XXXVI, 2; Humann and Puchstein removed the relief from the West Terrace to Berlin, where it may now be seen in Room 13 of the Vorderasiatisches Museum. Cf. Handbuch, pp. 184-187.
visited Nemrud Dagh in the summer of 1956 and we formulated plans to further this most necessary project. To expedite the work, we requested the Government to build a road, suitable for jeeps to Nemrud Dagh.

No account of the excavation on Nemrud Dagh would be complete

![Fig. 7. Nemrud Dagh West Terrace: Head of Antiochus from deification relief with Tyche of Commagene. Showing diadem with procession of lions, and tiara with lion between pomegranate fruit and blossoms.]

without expression of my appreciation to Prof. Karl Lehmann of New York University for calling my attention to the “hierothesion” of Antiochus I, in 1939, and to Prof. Hetty Goldman, Director of the American Excavations at Tarsus; it was from Tarsus that I was able to make my first journey to Nemrud Dagh in 1947. The enthusiastic, practical, and always cheerful guidance of Prof. Carl H. Kraeling (former President of the Schools) expedited the launching and execution of
the project. Prof. William F. Albright, now chairman of the *ad hoc* Nemrud Dagh Committee, has been unstinting in his constructive criticism and advice. I owe a debt of gratitude also to Prof. George G. Cameron, first Chairman of this Committee, for his support and for his generous instruction in making latex impressions. I much appreciate the discussions with Prof. A. Goetze, who stimulated and furthered my interest in ancient Commagene, and offer my thanks to Prof. A. Jeffery, and especially to Profs. A. Henry Detweiler, President, Frank Brown, Secretary, and the other Officers of the American Schools of Oriental Research for their cooperation. Mrs. Gladys Walton, the Manager of the Schools, has been a constant friend, and the work on Nemrud Dagh would not have been possible without the whole-hearted interest and support of the staff, the Turkish workmen, and countless unnamed friends who stood by us.

THE SYRIAN TOWN OF EMAR

ALBRECHT GOETZE

The attention of cuneiformists has been focused on the town of Emar ever since the inscription on the statue of Idrimi excavated at Alalah was published.* We read there (1. 3 ff.): "In Ḥalab, in my fatherhouse a criminal [revolt 1] took place and we had to flee. The rulers 2 of Emar were relatives on my mother’s side, so we stayed in Emar. My brothers who were older than I stayed with me, but none (of them) pondered in his heart the things that I pondered. This is what I said: ‘There are those 3 who want 4 to own 5 their father-house, 6 and there are those who want 4 to be slaves of the people of Emar. . . .’" Thus Idrimi decides to leave Emar for Ammiya in Canaan (māt Ki-in-a-nimkī) where he apparently hopes he may find people to aid him in the recovery of his land. To get there, he has to cross the desert 7 and to stay for one night with the Sutū.

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2 Text lu.ḫi. a; as in the Mari age also in the Amarna age the ruler of a town is often just called lu. (= awīl) x.

3 mannum is primarily an interrogative; I understand mannum . . . mannum . . . here (like Hitt. kuwā . . . kuwā . . .) as “this one . . . that one . . .”

4 lu. 5 Reading i-ša-kāl; cf. *JCS* 4 (1950) 227. I cannot see how paleography permits us to read mār Su. bir, gal (Landsberger).

6 Differently Landsberger, *JCS* 8 55; “Wer ein Vaterhaus hat, er ist ein Sohn des grossen (Landes) Subartu.” It is not clear where the “hat” comes from; it almost looks as though its source were S. Smith’s i-šu which was replaced by mār Su(.bir.). And what is the sense of the sentence?

7"ma-at ḫu-ri-ib-tekī. 22