

TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE  
OF  
SELEUCIA ON THE TIGRIS









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Edited by  
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Dedicated  
to  
All Members of the Michigan  
Expeditions to Seleucia

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## PREFACE

The Michigan excavations at Seleucia were conducted during the first five seasons (1927/8-1931/2) under the direction of Professor Leroy Waterman in cooperation with the Toledo Museum of Art and (during the last two seasons) with the Cleveland Museum of Art. In the final campaign of 1936/7, the University continued the work alone with Mr. Robert H. McDowell as field director. I had the honor to serve as general director.

Mr. McDowell was engaged in the preparation of this volume when the war broke out in the fall of 1942. He volunteered immediately for army service, was called to active duty in the spring of 1943, and served as an officer on special missions with great distinction. He had already published in 1935 the volume of *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia*, and that same year a volume on the *Coins from Seleucia*, a study indispensable for the archaeological history of the site. He also directed the creation of a card catalogue of objects arranged by levels and rooms, a tremendous task and one without which a report on the architecture would be almost impossible.

Colonel McDowell's decision to remain in government service has given me the opportunity to complete his study of the topography and architecture as well as to edit this volume. During the first half of the last season of excavations at Seleucia (1936/37) I had the pleasure and privilege of working with Mr. McDowell and his staff at Seleucia. Mr. McDowell was serving as field director for the second time in this his fourth season at Seleucia. Professor Debevoise of the University of Chicago was a member of the staff for a second season, and had completed his study of Parthian pottery. Professor Samuel Yeivin of Palestine, in his fourth season at Seleucia, continued his special study of the tombs and jewelry. There was, therefore, an especially able and veteran group, as well as a most congenial one, with which to work.

During that last season Mr. Richard M. Robinson was architect and not only drew the plans of the buildings excavated but also made extensive and most useful notes on some of the buildings previously dug in Block G6. Mr. Frederick M. Matson, now professor at Pennsylvania State University, supervised the excavations of Temple A and wrote the very careful report which forms the basis for the account in chapter eight. I have added some explanatory details necessary because we were unable to complete the work. The sketch of the history of the area and the suggestions of the very special place that the temples of Seleucia may hold in the history of Iranian architecture are expansions of Mr. Matson's report. Professor Debevoise supervised the excavations in Temple B, but the work was only well begun when the season ended.

Mr. A. Henry Detweiler made the contour map of the site and established the numbers and letters of streets for easy identification. His work was an immense help in revealing the

broad relationships with Hellenistic city plans and his careful analysis identified the area of Temple B as a religious center. For the previous seasons I have relied on the reports of Mr. N. Manasseh, the architect during all the first five expeditions. To all these scholars, my chapters on the topography and architecture are immensely indebted.

The excavations of the last season, carried out after the publication of McDowell's *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia*, have clarified a number of questions in relation to the city plan and the identification of buildings previously dug. It would be an injustice to Colonel McDowell, however, to say that my interpretations as presented in this volume, represent also his present views. I am happy to say that in the great majority of cases I am entirely in accord with his conclusions. In the cases in which we differ, I am presenting my own views and take entire responsibility for any mistakes that may have been made. I shall feel particularly sorry for errors, however, since they will be caused by misinterpretations of the preliminary work and studies he has made.

The masterly study of the literary sources for the history of Seleucia, completed by Mr. McDowell before he entered active service, comprises the second part of this volume. Professor Bernard Goldman, of Wayne State University, kindly consented to write the special study of the architectural decoration which forms the ninth chapter of the first part.

I have the honor of dedicating this volume to all the members of the Michigan excavations at Seleucia. I feel especially close and grateful to those who served during the last season, part of which I spent at Seleucia. No volume on Seleucia is complete, however, without special acknowledgments to my friend Professor Waterman, whose initiative and enthusiasm inspired the inception of the work and whose leadership guided the first five seasons.

The study of the architecture of the block, particularly in the third level, was greatly facilitated by the help of Mrs. Judith Dodge Orias, Miss Cathy King, and Mr. George Dill. These students of a seminar class made special studies of individual sections of the block and their work proved immensely valuable in formulating the final report. I regret I am unable to signalize their contributions in detail, but I take great pleasure in acknowledging their assistance and recognizing them as colleagues in this study.

At the time of the excavations at Seleucia the members of the Institute of Archaeological Research at Michigan were Professor Campbell Bonner, Chairman of the Department of Greek; Professor John Winter, Chairman of the Department of Latin; Professor A. E. R. Boak, Chairman of the Department of History; and Dr. Frank E. Robbins, Assistant to the President. Their unflinching support was a constant source of encouragement and assistance.

To the Executive Board of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, under whose auspices this volume is published, I wish to express my most sincere gratitude. A generous grant from the Horace H. Rackham Endowment Fund with a matching grant from the Francis W. Kelsey Museum has made possible the publication of this volume.

Clark Hopkins



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## JOURNALS

The abbreviations of the American Journal of Archaeology have been followed in this list.

*AA* : Archäologischer Anzeiger.

*Abh. pr. Ak. Wiss. Phil-hist. Klasse* : Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Klasse.

*ActaA* : Acta Archaeologica.

*AJA* : American Journal of Archaeology.

*Art.As.* : Artibus Asiae.

*BASOR* : Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

*BonnJbb* : Bonner Jahrbücher.

*JA* : Journal asiatique.

*JAOS* : Journal of the American Oriental Society.

*JHS* : Journal of Hellenic Studies.

*JOAIBeibl* : Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts, Beiblatt.

*MéIUSJ* : Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beirut.

*NC* : Numismatic Chronicle.

*PEFA* : Palestine Exploration Fund Annual.

*QDAP* : Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.

*RAA* : Revue des arts asiatiques.

*RBibl* : Revue biblique.

*Records of the Past* : Records of the Past, published by Records of the Past Exploration Society, Washington, D.C.

*ZATW* : Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

*ZAssyr* : Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

## I. THE CITY PLAN

### *General Survey*

Appian's account of the founding of Seleucia implies, I believe, that it was laid out by the architects on the open plain along the Tigris. Strabo,<sup>1</sup> as McDowell observes, stated that Seleucus fortified Seleucia, that he and his companions concentrated their attention on the city and transferred thither from Babylon their royal seat (Τὸ βασιλειον). One expects, therefore, that the original plan was that of a Hellenistic capital city bounded by the lines of fortification walls, and restricted only by the stream of the Tigris: from the point of view of archaeology a most fascinating prospect.

Unfortunately on the surface lie only the remains of the latest period of the city and explorations in the lower levels are very slight indeed. However, the Hellenistic city was regularly laid out on a systematic grid plan of blocks and the one block excavated showed that in the successive levels down to, and including, the third little change had occurred in its dimensions and shape. Furthermore, in the two temple areas dug in the west section of the city, the great precincts and the depths of the pavements below the floor levels of surrounding sections representing the successive layers of the city's history, suggest that these areas had been allocated to religious worship from the beginning. In ancient cities as in modern ones, the main roads, the market centers, the places of religious worship, and often the seats of civil and autocratic power remain the same in spite of catastrophes such as earthquakes and conflagrations. Tentatively then, one may assume that, in broad lines at least, the plan of the city conceived at its inception may be fairly well judged by the arrangements at its destruction. This would call for a regular system, based on a grid plan fixed upon the whole of the city within the walls but particularly in the broad center running north and south where the outline of blocks are most distinct in the air views.<sup>2</sup>

Pliny<sup>3</sup> remarks the city, free (*libera*), had its own laws and the Macedonian manners (*Macedonumque moris*) and that the walls were so placed as to resemble an eagle spreading its wings (*situm vero moenium, aquilae pendentis alas*). The river in the Seleucid period turned at the northeast corner of the city, just where the walls came closest to the site of Ctesiphon, and flowed by a river harbor along the east side of the city (Plate I). The air view (Plate II) shows the city divided from east to west by two broad lines. The central part of the city, between these two divisional lines, is most plainly marked off into the sequence of blocks. One of the broad dividing bands, that to the south, represents the caravan route which continued on down the river. A spur led to the south end of the harbor. The canal through the city, debouching to the north of the harbor, made the other division. (fig. 1. Sketch plan).

Pliny's comparison may best be explained by supposing that the central section between caravan road and canal formed the body of the bird and the sections beyond the west and east the wings. The city blocks beyond the square outline of the city might be construed as tail or legs, but may not have been contained within the walls (fig. 1). The head would have been formed by the mole which formed the harbor north of the city and the beak by the curving end of the harbor entrance. If the comparison were to an eagle with outstretched soaring wings, one would have to believe that much of the city on either side of the center has disappeared. The present mounds suggest rather the standing eagle with high-shouldered wings stretched along the body but not fully extended, as represented on Roman standards and the relief of a column capital at Seleucia (fig. 2).

Perhaps the most striking feature of the city from the Hellenistic point of view was the size of the blocks. They measured approximately 140 x 70 meters as compared with 70.40 x 35.20 meters at Dura.<sup>4</sup> Truly, the city was laid out on a royal scale.

### *Division and Details*

The contour survey of the site by A. Henry Detweiler, the excavations and soundings in special sections, and the analysis of air photos obtained largely through the kind offices of Major MacDonald of the Royal Air Force in Bagdad, as well as observations on the ground have brought to light a number of interesting details and suggestions.

The prominent feature of the present Seleucia complex is the mound, called Tell Umar (fig. 1) which rises sixteen meters above the plain on the northern side of the city. Professor Waterman's excavations revealed a solid tower of unburnt brick just over eighteen meters square, enclosed in a mound of loose earth and debris contained by an apparently elliptical wall of irregular thickness (8-18 meters) with a major axis of ninety-four and a half meters and a minor one of seventy-nine meters.<sup>5</sup> There was no indication of any architectural structure, such as a temple or altar, having been erected on top.

In identifying a structure of such a size and material, one thinks first of the great mounds or ziggurats of the Babylonians and Assyrians. A temple connected with the mound, an essential element in the Babylonian and Assyrian conception, has not yet been discovered. Ammianus noted a lofty tower like a lighthouse on the Euphrates at the entrance to the Royal Canal.<sup>6</sup> I have suggested elsewhere<sup>7</sup> that possibly a similar tower had been constructed on the Tigris to mark the site of the city and the debouchure of the chief arm of the Royal Canal into the Tigris. The potsherds dated it to the Parthian period.

A hundred meters to the east of the south side of the Tell Umar mound, excavations brought to light a large free-standing building, which Mr. Manasseh in the *First Preliminary Report* called a Parthian Villa.<sup>8</sup> The building belonged to the first and second century A.D., and was built in part over an early building of partially Greek construction. An inscription of Demetrius II identified the area as belonging in 140 B.C. to a Heroon of the Seleucid family.

Surface finds from the low area south-southwest of Tell Umar included a number of little clay sealings with ring impressions usually associated with business documents. The source of the sealings was not determined.

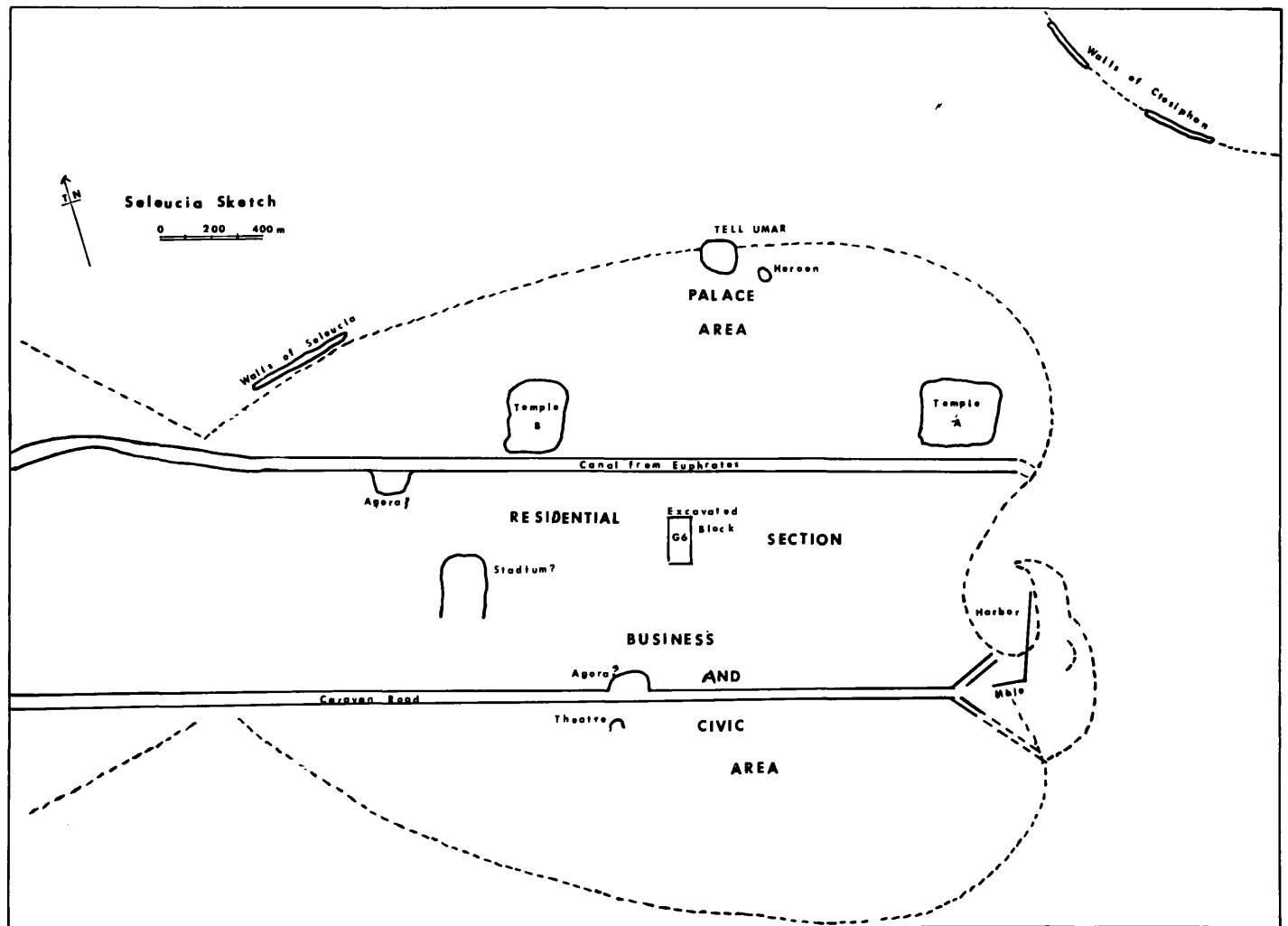
In the northeast corner of the city, immediately north of the canal and not far from the river, the air views showed a large rectangular depression covering the area of almost eight blocks. Near the center of the depressed area, a small oval mound stood out rather prominently. Mr. Detweiler's systematic survey of the site (fig. 3) revealed a rather similar depressed rectangular area, also supplied with a low mound, north of the canal and west of Tell Umar. Excavations in the mound disclosed a Parthian hypaethral temple (Temple A) burned in the time of Trajan, with a small theatre of mud brick close beside it (fig. 1). In the second rectangular area (Temple B) the mound enclosed a small theatre, but arrange-

ments of the temple and details of the plans have not been determined.

Not far from the middle of the south wing of the city, just south of the caravan road, the seats or a part of the cavea of a good sized theatre were discovered. It was a surprise to find the theatre located at that point, though there should be no astonishment that there was a theatre at the Hellenistic capitol, or that on a level site it should be placed in a fairly central position. The solid brick foundations and the height of the seats made the mound of the theatre a tempting one for excavations.

A glance at the contour map shows how high a series of mounds distinguishes the south side of the city compared with the north side, except for Tell Umar which dominates all the rest. In particular, the broad lines of the avenue that mark the east-west route (fig. 3) rise on either side to a level six to twelve feet above the present level of the canal between. Along the east-west axis on the south side of the city the mounds rise twelve to twenty and twenty-five feet above the trough. This seems the best indication that a series of important buildings lay along the caravan road in close proximity to the theatre. If our hypothesis of the broad divisions of the city is correct, they would include the bouleterion, the gymnasium beside the agora, and the stadium.

Fig. 1. Sketch of city with eagle outline





The Italian excavations of Professor Gullini<sup>9</sup> have fortunately identified the northern throughway as the canal from the Euphrates. There is no reason to doubt the old sources, which placed Seleucia at the juncture of the Royal Canal with the Tigris. The canal through the city terminates at the north end of the river harbor on the east side of the city (fig. 1). Both Pliny and Tacitus, as McDowell points out (see Part II), suggest that the Royal Canal from the Euphrates ran around the city and protected it, as well as flowing through it. The small size of the canal bed in the city very probably represents only part of the main channel, which might reasonably split above and west of the city into larger irrigation canals that would also serve as moats west and south of the city.

In the Hellenistic town plan, the agora was in the form of an open rectangle lying along the main avenue of traffic.<sup>10</sup> At Seleucia there are two candidates for the market place, one opposite the theatre and lying along the caravan road (fig. 1); the other south of Street I and lying along the canal at the west end of the city.

Strabo<sup>11</sup> mentions explicitly that Seleucus Nicator fortified the city and transferred his royal residence there (from Babylon) [*καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον ἐνταῦθα μετήνεγκαν*]. For the location there is in archaeology only the parallel of Pergamum, royal city of the Attalids. Here the palace was on the acropolis, the highest point of the city, and near it lay the library, the Temple of Athena, the Heroon, and the arsenal.

There is no citadel at Seleucia, but the northern quarter of the city is distinguished by two large precincts and the high mound of Tell Umar. The palace, one might expect, would be centrally located rather than placed in a corner of the city. Most appropriate, therefore, would be a position close to Tell Umar fairly equally distant from the two temple precincts. Such a supposition is confirmed if one accepts the identification of the "Parthian Villa" with the Heroon of Seleucus. The inscription at least suggests the palace was close by. If such is the case, the sealings found south of Tell Umar might emanate from royal archives in the palace or from documents in the library. The great temple areas are distinguished by levels below the normal height of the mound because the precincts were kept clear while the city grew up with close-set buildings around them. The low area just south of Tell Umar would presumably mark the precinct of the palace. Just where the building itself would be located is not clear but one might guess its entrance would face a main north-south street, very possibly G.

Where the arsenal of the military encampment may have been located in Seleucia, we have no indication. To the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus brought twelve thousand cavalry and 480 elephants, not to mention more than a hundred scythed chariots and twenty thousand foot soldiers. In Parthian times, Ctesiphon was said to have been built to house the royal forces. Pacorus had fortified the city after 38 B.C. and Vardanes, A.D. 42-47, was given the title of founder. Presumably, before the change at least a part of the troops would have been located on the Seleucia side of the river, and some guards at least and an arsenal would have been located near the palace. One might suggest the large rectangular area north of Temple B and two blocks west of Tell Umar as a possibility for the military camp.

In Seleucia there also would have been a gymnasium for the local militia and a senate house for the council. The great

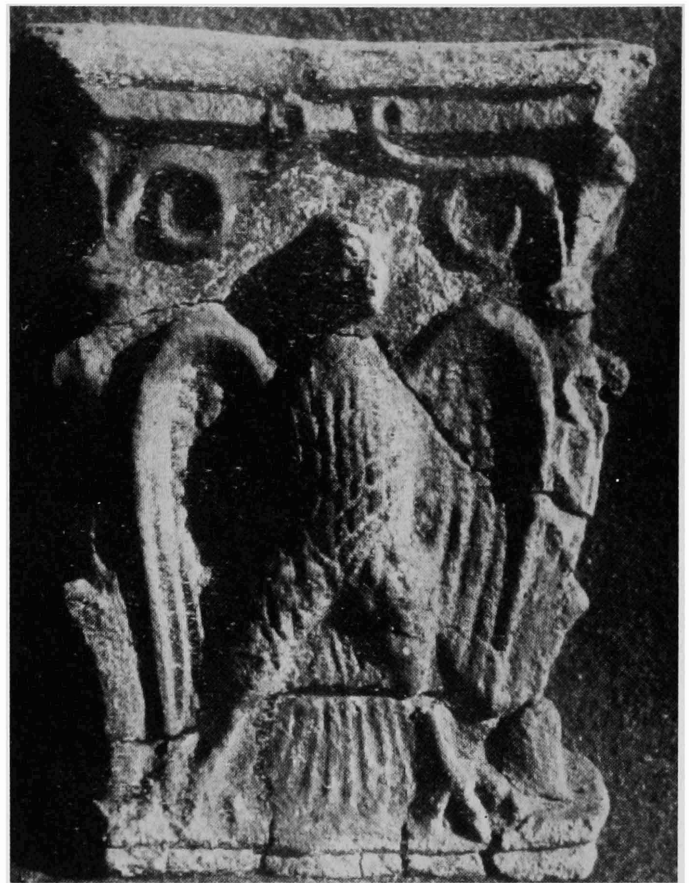


Fig. 2. Relief of standing eagle, pilaster capital

partially oval depression five blocks west of the agora may represent the stadium (fig. 1), or the open spaces might have been used in part for gymnasia. It seems reasonable to suppose that the commercial and political center of the city (as opposed to the royal seat) lay in the district of the caravan road and that the buildings in Hellenistic cities usually closely associated with the market place, the gymnasium, the bouleuterion, etc., should be sought in the series of mounds along the caravan road. To this supposition the discovery of the theatre lends strong support.

It is noticeable that the width of the city as the mounds now stand diminishes considerably just west of the stadium on one side and of the western temple precinct on the other. If one might take the location of the easterly temple precinct as evidence that the temples were located near the limits of the city, then the original city plan may have been roughly square. I am inclined to accept this view and to see the western district beyond the temple precinct as the gradual growth beyond the city limits. The agora, along the canal route, then would have been beyond the early walls of the city. Possibly some of the guards, or the cavalry of the king, might have been stationed beyond the city walls. The extension of the block system argues against too narrow a limitation, but a gradual expansion beyond the confines of the city, especially along the canal, appears in the light of modern city developments a normal procedure. The growth of Ctesiphon in Parthian times was not merely the flight from the Greek city but the establishment of many new citizens under Pacorus, the location of some of the troops in the time of Vardanes, etc.

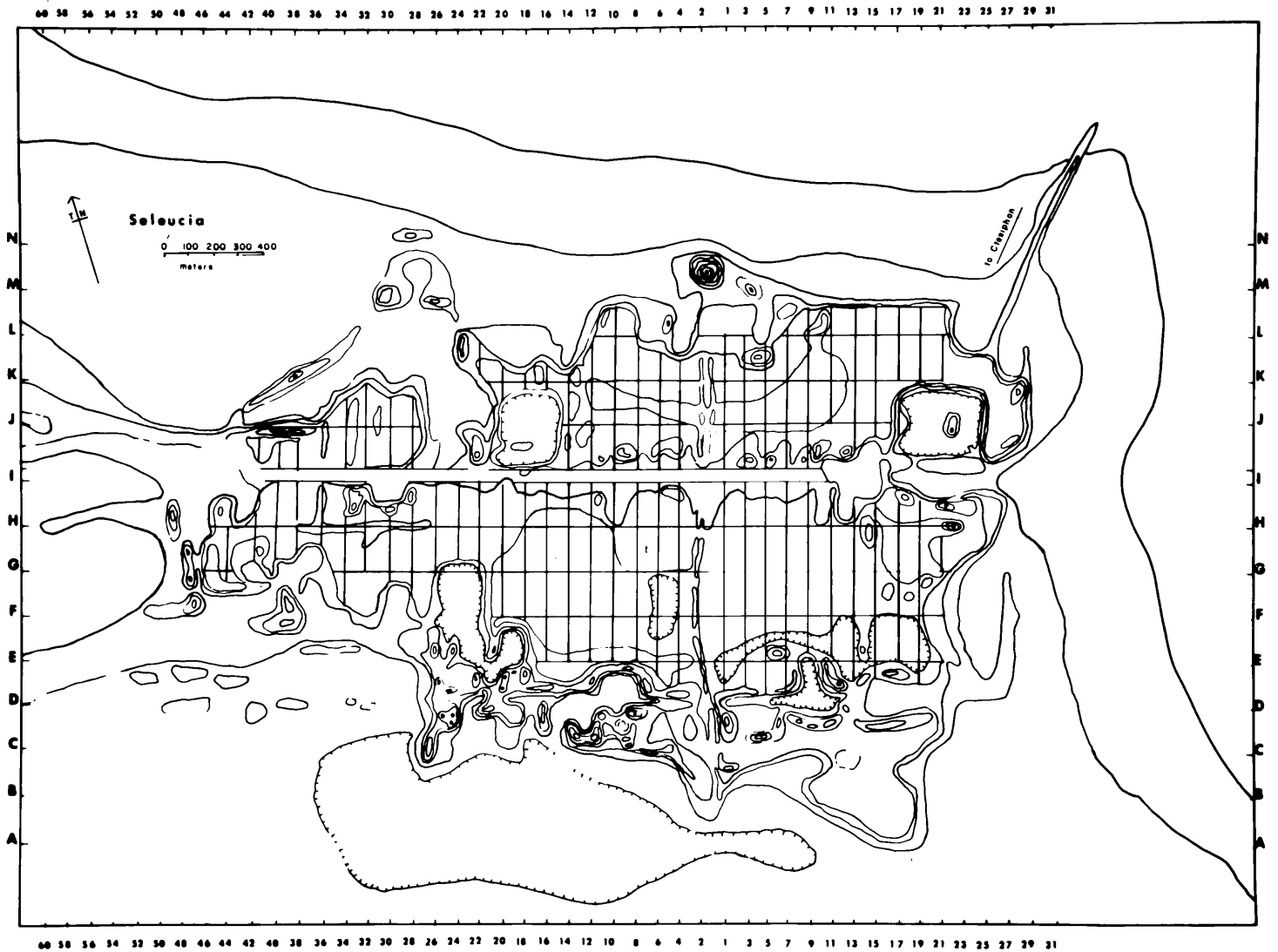


Fig. 3. Contour map with numbering of streets

In Seleucia the present mounds representing the old walls enclose the blocks beyond the temple precinct but with their diagonal line make it clear that the city limits narrowed appreciably toward the line of the canal.

#### History

Excavations in the block G6 have only just penetrated the fourth and lowest level at Seleucia and the remains of the first Seleucid occupation have scarcely been touched. It is perhaps remarkable, therefore, that two coins of Alexander have been recovered on the site<sup>12</sup> and clay models of coins, one belonging to the first rule of Seleucus as satrap 321/20 to 315/14 B.C., and two to the period before he assumed the royal title in 306/5 B.C.<sup>13</sup>

In a preliminary report of the excavations given in 1932<sup>14</sup> McDowell suggested, on the basis of coins and medallions, that the site was occupied by Seleucus as early as 320 B.C. In the publication of the coins in 1935<sup>15</sup> he expressed the opinion that the city was founded considerably earlier than 300 B.C. and that Seleucia was in existence as a capital and mint city very shortly after the return of Seleucus to Babylonia in 311 B.C. Evidence for the active commercial life at Seleucia belongs to the period after 294 B.C. when Antiochus was

co-ruler of the East<sup>16</sup> and the Babylonian texts mention the removal of some of the inhabitants of Babylon to the new site by Antiochus I.<sup>17</sup>

There is no mention of Seleucia in the historical records before the return of Seleucus from Egypt in 312/11 B.C. In 316 B.C., according to Diodorus, Antigonus arriving in Babylon was honored and his whole army entertained<sup>18</sup> by Seleucus. Seleucus was suspicious of the aims of Antigonus and escaped with fifty horsemen to Egypt, the belated attempt to overtake him being unsuccessful. When he returned, much of Babylonia came over willingly to his standard. He besieged those who fled to the citadel and recovered both the friends and the slaves who had been put under guard by Antigonus after the flight to Egypt.<sup>19</sup> There is no explicit mention that the citadel (*ἡ ἀκρόα*) was in Babylon but the inference is almost inescapable. The complete silence about Seleucia is equally convincing.

Certainly the official founding of the city occurred after his return from Egypt. The size of the city and the scale of the blocks support the accounts of the official ceremony and the assistance of the army. Whether the date should be placed before or after he assumed the title of king in 306/5 B.C. is not clear. If one might trust Strabo's statement that Seleucus

transferred his royal residence (*τὸ βασιλεῖον*)<sup>20</sup> to Seleucia, then the change would more appropriately be after he became king. Most appropriate, it seems to me, would be the time when he became king. Certainly the establishment of the kingship would be a reasonable time for the establishment of a new capital.

Antigonia was laid out as a new capital on the Orontes by Antigonus in 307 and it seems very plausible that the foundings of Seleucia and Antigonia should be related.<sup>21</sup> Antigonus assumed the diadem after the victory of Demetrius over Ptolemy off Cyprus in 307 B.C. Ptolemy followed suit and in rivalry to the (*ζηλοτοπήσαντες*)<sup>22</sup> other princes, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, took the name of king.

It will be long before excavations are deep enough to determine the dates of the houses and the first walls. Even with deep excavations it is doubtful if an exact year may be fixed archaeologically unless an inscription or document comes to light to establish the foundation date. Until such time, I suggest that a date very close to the founding of Antigonia, especially as this corresponds closely with the assumption of the royal authority, is the safest conclusion.

The fact that even in Pliny's time the city still retained its own laws and the Macedonian tradition suggests a strong Macedonian element from the start. The need for settling a good many veterans as well as the requirement of ample room for a palace and its perquisites would be strong reasons for changing the capital from Babylon. Ascending to the throne meant permanence and the fortifications of Seleucia meant strength built with Macedonian power as opposed to the native population in Babylon. It was appropriate that the new center should be outside the shadow of the mighty temples of Babylon and beyond the reach of priestly powers. Seleucia established the independence of the new kingdom both from the realms of other diadocks and also from the close union with native Babylonian authority. On all these counts a date close to 307 B.C. is indicated.

The earliest period, the fourth level, extends to the time of the Parthian conquest in 141 B.C. It is the Hellenistic, as opposed to the Parthian, period at Seleucia. A large number of individual objects have been recovered from this level, including a number of sealings and coins, particularly in the block, but excavations have not been extensive enough to determine distinct phases in the development or to make certain what the architectural features of the Hellenistic level, compared with that of the succeeding Parthian period, might be. Debevoise states<sup>23</sup> that Mithradates I entered the Royal City of Seleucia late in June or early in July and was recognized as king on or before July 8, 141 B.C.

If the first entry was peaceable, partly because Demetrius II had been defeated not far from the city,<sup>24</sup> the fighting did not end at this point. McDowell points out<sup>25</sup> that Demetrius II occupied Babylonia again for short periods in 140 B.C., and Antiochus VII reached the district about 130 B.C. The destruction by fire of the building in the block that contained the archives and sealings of the Hellenistic period may have resulted from any one of these revolutions.

How extensive the fire was in Seleucia has not been determined. It is not clear, therefore, whether the houses of the third level represent a new building era and a post-Hellenistic form or whether they present the gradual evolution from the Greek house to the Parthian dwelling. In the third level,

columns as the ornament of a deep porch or open room remain; in the second level the chief rooms on the court are open in the liwan-Parthian style. The third level type at Seleucia can scarcely be called either a purely Greek or a purely Iranian form. The characteristic feature was the columned porch and chief room located in the center of one side of an open court. There was a gradual trend toward deep porches and more open rooms and one may see in the third level at Seleucia examples of several of the successive stages in the architectural development.

Strabo, who wrote his geography very close to the beginning of our era and who died about A.D. 21, reports<sup>26</sup> the Parthian kings made Ctesiphon their winter headquarters, sparing Seleucia so that Scythian troops and the Parthian army should not be quartered upon them. Ctesiphon then became a city instead of a village, provided with the equipment, the supplies, and the arts pleasing to the Parthians. The supplies (*τὰ ὄνια*) seem clear and the *τέχνα* would presumably be the artists and artisans to supply their wants. The equipment (*ἡ κατασκευή*) seems a little ambiguous for the buildings or palaces but "necessary equipment" would certainly include lodgings. Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>27</sup> credits the Parthian king Pacorus (probably Pacorus I, 38 B.C.) with enlarging Ctesiphon with many new citizens, fortifying the walls, and endowing it with a Greek name. McDowell suggests that during the long revolt, A.D. 36-43, much of the trade both by water and caravan must have centered in Ctesiphon.

Pliny<sup>28</sup> states that the establishment of Seleucia (*intra nonagesimum lapidem*) reduced Babylon to a desert, and that it was, in fact, founded by Nicator for this purpose. In turn, the Parthians founded Ctesiphon close by (*juxta tertium lapidem*) to diminish Seleucia (*ad hanc exhauriendam*) and made Ctesiphon the capital (*caput regnosum*). When this did not accomplish the purpose, King Vologases founded another city, Vologasocerta, near Babylon.

Vologases came on the throne in A.D. 51/52 and Pliny may have been referring to the efforts of Vardanus just after the revolt of Seleucia to increase the importance of Ctesiphon. More probably, however, he had in mind earlier efforts which had made Ctesiphon a city and transported the seat of government across the river from Seleucia.

At Dura-Europos the Parthians erected a palace on the highest ground within the city for their appointed ruler, and fortified it with a heavy high wall so that it might be adequate for defense even if the city were taken. Ctesiphon must have served a similar purpose for Seleucia, at least after the wall was built by Pacorus.

Strabo speaks as if there had been a gradual transition. Ctesiphon had been a large village; the Parthian kings chose it as their winter quarters and stationed their troops there. Because of the Parthian strength (*δυνάμει οὖν Παρθικῇ*) it became a city. Strabo makes no specific mention of a wall and mentions no sudden influx under Pacorus. In the thirty-two years between the victory of Surena over Crassus in 53 B.C. and the fixing of the Roman-Parthian frontier at the Chabour in 21 B.C., the Parthian empire reached its greatest strength and its farthest geographical limits. Cicero reported in 51 B.C., on the information of Antiochus I of Commagene, that the Parthians under the son of Orodes (Pacorus I) had reached the Euphrates. All Syria except Tyre fell in 40 B.C., and in 38 B.C. Pacorus invaded Syria a second time.<sup>29</sup> It would seem logical

that the numbers of Parthian troops became greater than before, and that Ctesiphon and its palace increased in size and splendor. At least from this point on one may say with some confidence, I believe, that the balance of royal power swung across the river and that Ctesiphon grew partly at the expense of Seleucia.

Whether Seleucia was ever more than a temporary capital for the Parthian kings, much as Babylon had been for Seleucus Nicator until Seleucia was built, is a moot question. Perhaps the question is academic if Ctesiphon were considered at first just the palace seat and the arsenal of Seleucia and Ammianus is correct in stating that Pacorus first gave it its name. The discovery of Parthian temples (destroyed by Trajan) in the two great temple precincts at Seleucia is probably the best archaeological proof that the city, for a time at least, was the royal center. Probably the gardens of the king and the military center always lay across the river. When the palace was built in Ctesiphon, first to serve as winter residence then as a more permanent seat of power, can be determined only by future excavations.<sup>30</sup>

In his masterly publication of the coins of Seleucia, McDowell<sup>31</sup> points out that contrary to the impression left by nearly all modern commentators, the great revolt of Seleucia, occupying seven years according to Tacitus,<sup>32</sup> was only a detail in the civil war which was raging throughout Parthia.

About A.D. 36 as McDowell reconstructs the circumstances, the city of Seleucia gave an extravagant welcome to Tiridates, the Roman candidate for the Parthian throne opposed to Artabanus, the king and favorite of the aristocrats. Tiridates transferred to the native party the power that Artabanus had given to the aristocrats.

About June A.D. 42 tetradrachmas were struck in the name of Vardanes I, son of and successor to Artabanus, but the native party in Seleucia under the authority of Tiridates continued its administration. After Tiridates' flight and death about 40 A.D., the struggle was continued between the sons of Artabanus, Vardanes I and Gotarzes II. In 40/41 the aristocratic party overthrew the popular party and in 42 they opened the city to Vardanes the new king. So the coins of the native party with the oriental motif of the humped bull were replaced by the issues with Vardanes on the obverse and a personification of the Boule, the aristocratic council of Seleucia, and the name Boule on the reverse.

It is at this time that the character of residences in the excavated block changed. Columns disappear and open rooms or occasionally the liwan of the Parthians replace the columned porches or chief rooms on the side of the court. There are enough of these units to show the style and the trend, but not enough evidence to show why the old style of columns disappeared so suddenly and so completely. There seems to be a sharp break between the two levels separated by the period of the revolt but no extensive burning or destruction.

Vardanes was later reputed to be the founder of Ctesiphon and he favored the aristocratic party as opposed to the native and democratic side. Just after the middle of the century (51/2-79/80) Pehlavi replaces Greek on the coins, and the fire altar of the Persians appears for the first time. Vologases I according to report<sup>33</sup> collected the manuscripts of the Avesta and it was he who founded a rival, but unsuccessful, city Vologasocerta north of Babylon. Obviously there was a

distinct trend away from the native party in Seleucia and a hostility to Seleucia itself. Pliny, however, reports that the city was still governed by its own laws and in Macedonian fashion.

A study of the relationship of the coins, according to McDowell<sup>34</sup> shows that Vologases supported the Greek aristocratic party and was opposed by the native, popular party. Vologases inherited, therefore, the policy and party of Vardanes. Very probably then the movement toward a new center was supported by leading merchants and bankers of Seleucia. The changes in Seleucia may reflect partly a political change from aristocrats to the popular, democratic party, and partly a shift from the wealthy upper class citizen to the poorer lower class. The houses in one block scarcely afford enough evidence for a strong judgment, but there does seem to be a decided drift at least in the second level to less expensive homes in which the disappearance of the columns is one manifestation.

There are three natural divisions in the political history of the city: the period of the Hellenistic Kings, the period of autonomy under the Parthians, and the period of Parthian dominance. The Greek city (Level IV) has been very little explored, but it runs from the foundation in 307 B.C. to 141 B.C., when the Parthians took control. The autonomous city (Level III) belongs to the period 141 B.C. to A.D. 43, the end of the great revolt. It is a period of local self government, expressed in the issue of civic autonomous coins. McDowell has pointed out<sup>35</sup> that autonomous coins were also struck in 59/60 and 69/70, probably in a revolt of the native party against the Parthian control. The great revolt marks a sharper break politically, however, and forms the logical end of period III. The Parthian period is divided into two parts by the severe fire in the time of Trajan which left a well-marked burned stratum in the block. Level I, therefore, extends from the end of the Parthian (A.D. 227) period to the time of Trajan A.D. 116. The capture of the city by Verus in 166 divides the period that is Level I archaeologically into two parts. Level II may also be divided at the time of the final civic coin issues in 69/70, a period in which Vologases built the new Vologasocerta.

The Levels may be dated, therefore as follows:

Level IV	307-141 B.C. Seleucid Capital
Level III	141 B.C.-43 A.D. Autonomous city
Level II	A.D. 43-116. Parthian to burning by Trajan
Level I	A.D. 115-227 From the burning by Trajan to the end of the Parthian Empire.

1. Strabo, XVI, 1, 8.

2. I find it difficult to believe that the village Opis would have been located or left within the walls of Seleucia, and Strabo's mention of Opis as a village (*κωμη*) compared with the city, Seleucia, supports this view. Opis cannot have been far away, and if one judges by the order of mention in Strabo, that the Tigris was navigable as far as Opis and Seleucia, one judges that it lay to the south. If Opis served as a market center for the surrounding district, it could scarcely have been immediately adjoining Seleucia. Probably the old center retained some of its local trade and some river facilities. Possibly the Hellenistic Opis lay across the river.

3. Pliny, VI, 30, 5.

4. *Dura IX*, 24. Frank Brown concluded in this report that the blocks at Dura were based in their measurements on a foot of 0.352m. and formed units of 100 x 200 Greet feet. If, as seems likely, the same unit was employed in the original measurements at Seleucia, the blocks would have been 400 x 200 feet, that is 140.80 x 70.40m.

5. See Professor Waterman's description in *Sec. Prelim. Rep.* 75ff.
6. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIV, 2, 7.
7. *Antiquity*, 1939, 443.
8. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.* 9ff.
9. Gullini, *Mesopotamia II*, 184 and figs. 286, 287.
10. v. Gerkan, A., *Griechischen Städteanlagen*, Berlin, 1924.
11. Strabo XVI, 1, 5.
12. McDowell, *Coins*, 3-4.
13. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*, 243-4.
14. McDowell, *Exc. at Sel.*, 108.
15. McDowell, *Coins*, 53.
16. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*, 13.
17. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Records*, 153.
18. Diodorus, XIX, 55, 3.
19. Diodorus, XIX, 91, 4.
20. Strabo, XVI, 1, 5.
21. Diodorus states that Antigonía did not long survive because Seleucus took it and transferred the city to that founded by himself called Seleucia. In another passage Diodorus changes the name of the city to Antiochia, named after the father of Seleucus (Diodorus, XX, 47, 6) and far more appropriate is the transfer to the neighboring Antiochia than to Seleucia.
22. Diodorus, XX, 52, 4.
23. Debevoise, *Pol. Hist. Parthia*, 23.
24. *Ibid.*, 23.
25. McDowell, *Exc. at Sel.*, 110.
26. Strabo, XIV, 1, 16.
27. Ammianus Marcellinus, XX, 14, 23.
28. Pliny, VI, 30, 5-6.
29. Debevoise, *Pol. Hist. Parthia*, 98-116.
30. McDowell calls attention to the coinage of Phraates III about 66 B.C. (*Coins*, 219) in which the monarch, portrayed as Zeus Aetophorus, is crowned with a wreath by the city goddess of Seleucia. Soon the association of the reigning Arsacid and the city goddess carrying a sceptre became the standard motif for Parthian tetradrachms. McDowell believes the device commemorated a renewal of the alliance between the dynasty and the Hellenic elements within the empire. It is just possible that a greater distinction was made at that time between the city of Seleucia on one side, and the royal power on the other, and that the new coinage celebrated the inauguration of the palace at Ctesiphon.
31. McDowell, *Coins*, 225.
32. Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 9.
33. Debevoise, *Pol. Hist. Parthia*, 196.
34. McDowell, *Coins*, 29.
35. McDowell, *Coins*, 146 and 228.

## II. TELL UMAR

It seems appropriate in discussing the architecture to begin with the most conspicuous monument on the site, the mound of Tell Umar. If the original city was roughly square in plan, Tell Umar stood close to the center of the north side. Since the city grid plan of blocks extended west along the old caravan road, half as far again as provided by a square plan, the mound rises a third of the way from the eastern side of the city plateau on the northern edge.

Exploratory excavations were carried out by Professor Waterman in the fifth season and the results were published in the *Second Preliminary Report*.<sup>1</sup> A trench was cut through from a point a little west of south in the perimeter to the square tower that formed the central core of the structure; the outer edge of the perimeter wall of mud brick was cleared for some distance on the west and east sides as well as on the south; and a portion of an earlier structure, consisting in part of a solid mass of mud bricks, was partially excavated. Since no further work was done on the mound in the last season, Professor Waterman's preliminary report is repeated exactly here except for the translation of measurements into the metric system and of plans and photographs into the illustrations of the present volume.

Tell Umar is by far the most prominent mound of the Seleucia complex (see air photographs pl. III, 1,2). It is an artificial hill which stands at the northeastern edge of the ruins about sixteen meters above the surrounding plain (see contour plan of Tell Umar, fig. 4).

For the purpose of determining its form and general structure, work was begun on the tell with a small force on December 8, 1931, and continued until January 25, 1932. The outer facing of the base of the mound, composed of unburnt bricks, was traced from southeast to northwest for approximately half of its circumference. The result gave the impression of a circular tower. The subsequent survey shows that the structure, if symmetrical, is elliptical and that it must have a major axis of 94.55 meters and a minor one of 79.30 (see air photographs, pl. III).

The thickness of the outer wall, which was investigated at two points on the southern side, proved to be approximately 7.62 meters. The wall is not of uniform thickness, however, for on the northwest it extends inward for a distance of 18.30 meters. Its height is 6.10 meters. It is provided with a footing of the same material that projects 1.474 meters beyond the face of the wall proper and extends downward 2.59 meters. Its outer face slopes with a slight batter of one to eight. See "late circular wall" in Section A-B (fig. 5). The footing rests upon a thin layer of potsherds. One and a half meters above the footing a band of earth a meter wide and 0.50 meters thick

now adheres to the face of the wall and marks the surface of the ground at a later time. This band was evidently added to protect from the destructive action of ground moisture the face of the wall immediately above the surface.

Within the inclosure made by this outer wall four different kinds of construction have been identified. For some distance inward from its inside surface, and of equal height with the wall, there is a filling of loose earth. A narrow trench cut through this filling from the southern face of the mound (see pl. III) revealed the presence at the center of the mound of a solid tower of unburnt brick 18.00 meters square, whose top is only a few inches below the present summit of the tell.

Above the top of the outer inclosing wall there begins another form of construction, which consists of horizontal strata (now slightly tipped toward the center) of green sand varying in thickness from six to eighteen inches and separated from one another by layers of reed (now partly decomposed) from one and a quarter to two and a half centimeters thick. These layers rise to a point about five feet below the top of the central tower, where the green sand is buried to a depth of three feet with clean red alluvium. This in turn is now covered with about two feet of mixed debris from later construction on the top of the Tell.

A fourth form of construction inside the outer inclosing wall was located in the southeastern part of the mound. It consists of a solid mass of unburnt bricks. Its age, as well as its original size and shape, cannot at present be stated. One thing stands out clearly. Since the structure was cut at *a* in the section A-B (fig. 5) by the inclosing wall, it was no part of that construction, but represented an older building.

There seems to be little doubt that the inclosing wall and the square tower were contemporaneous. They are both made of unburnt bricks 38.1 centimeters square and 10.15 centimeters thick and are strikingly alike in appearance. The dates of the various features thus far investigated cannot as yet be determined with precision, but potsherds, unmistakably Parthian, in the stratification of green sand do not allow that construction to be earlier than the Parthian period 141 B.C.—A.D. 227.

A section of the inclosing wall excavated opposite *a* (in Section A-B) was examined for sherds imbedded in the unburnt brick. A goodly number of these were recovered, and they also are clearly Parthian. Since, therefore, the central tower is contemporary with the inclosing wall, as already indicated, it seems evident that the entire structure in its present form belongs to the Parthian period, although the layers of green sand may well represent a late phase of the development.

Outside the inclosing wall at the southeastern point and

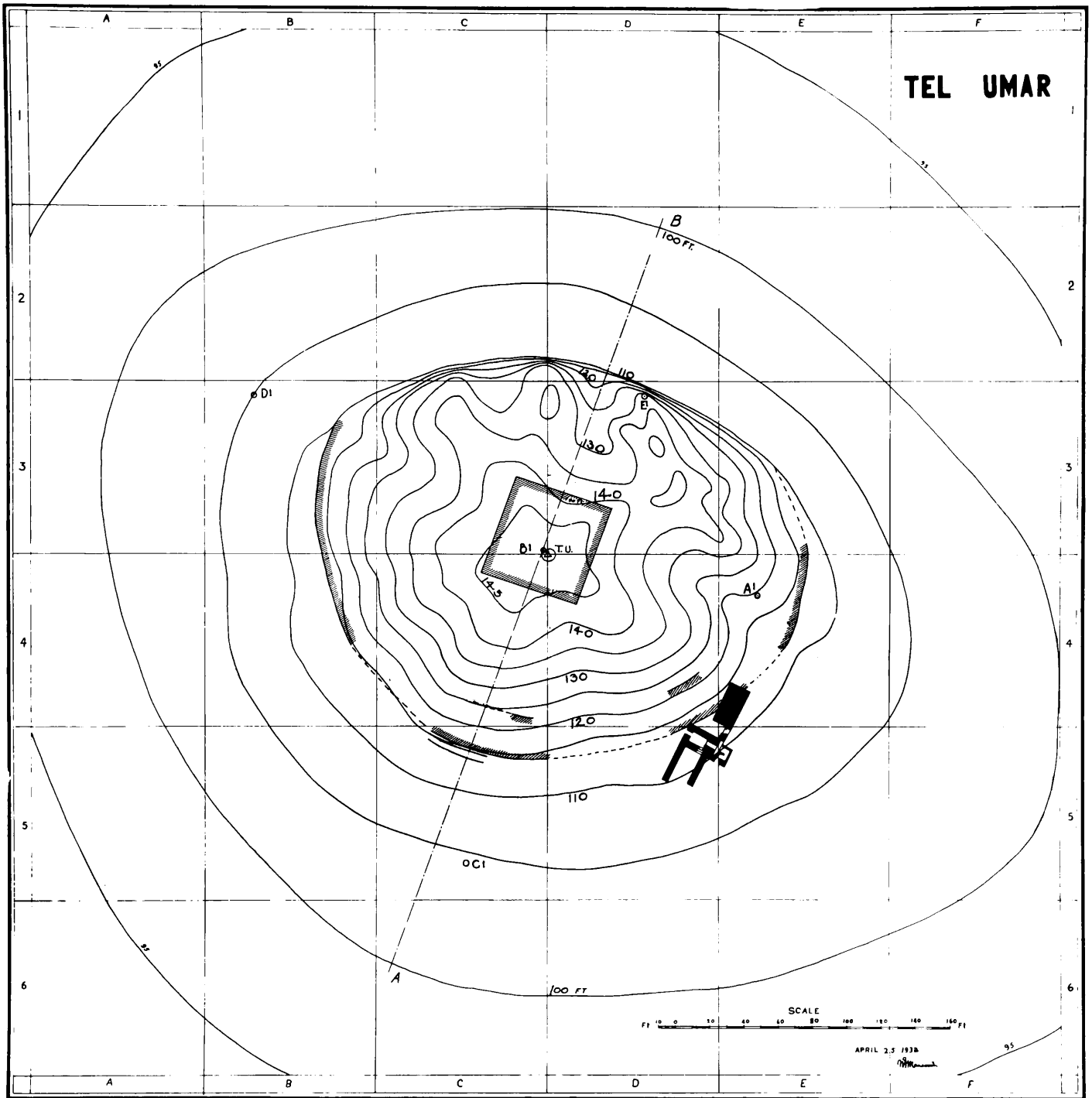


Fig. 4. Contour drawing of Tell Umar

partly built into the wall was a solid mastaba (platform) of burnt bricks laid in gypsum plaster measuring 7.32 meters in length, 3.965 meters in width and 1.52 meters in thickness, whose base is two meters above the foundation of the inclosing wall. With this mastaba is connected a series of rooms of burnt-brick construction whose excavation has not yet been completed (see fig. 4).

The other structure of unburnt bricks is older, as already seen, and this conclusion receives confirmation from the fact that the bricks are of different size, viz. 35.5 centimeters

square and 12.7 centimeters thick. Examples of these bricks may still be seen *in situ* in the eastern slope about six meters below the summit. More direct evidence of the age of this structure consists of a burnt brick found about a meter below the loose debris on its top and therefore its position is hardly accidental.

The brick bears a stamp with parts of two lines preserved. The last line yields, with a fair degree of certainty, "Mardukbalatsuiqbi king (or prince) of Karduniash." We know that this ruler held sway in Babylon about 821 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Whether or

## TEL UMAR

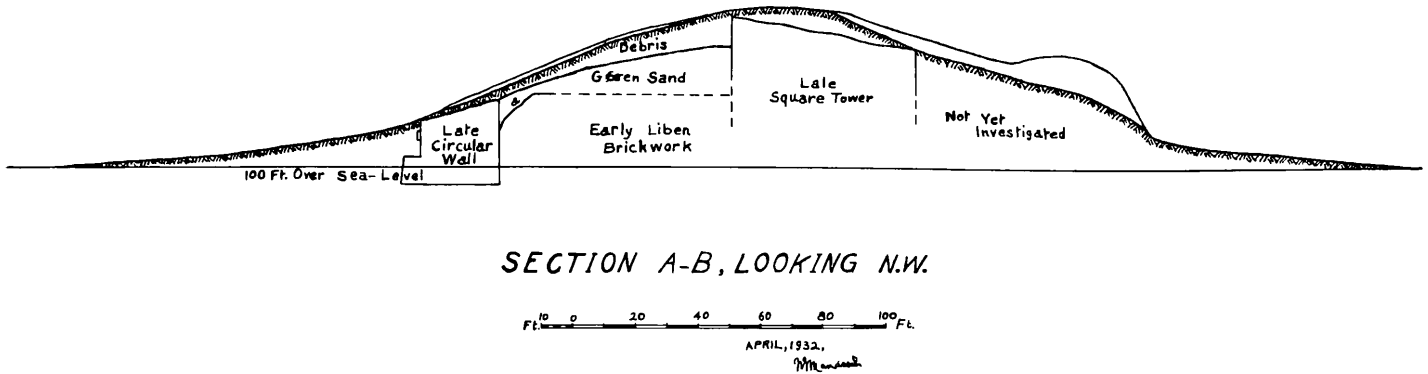


Fig. 5. Cross section of Tell Umar

not the king himself directed the building operations, the evidence distinctly implies construction on the site in the Babylonian period. And any building project here which made use of the king's name would almost certainly involve the religious center of Opis and the older time. Other indications point in this direction, but their proof must await further excavation.

Professor Waterman heads his account of the excavations in the preliminary report with the title "Notes on the Excavation of Tell Umar," and in the introduction (p. VI) identifies the mound "the so-called ziggurat of Tell Umar, the artificial hill that gives the local name to the complex of mounds."

It seems strange that such an outstanding landmark should have been unnoticed in the ancient authors. It is not unnatural that it should not have been represented in the arch of Septimius for the city and its buildings are depicted (pl. IV) with a minimum of detail. The round city of Ctesiphon and the rectangular walls of Seleucia are contrasted, but the interior buildings are probably artistic symbols. Probably also the tell was far less conspicuous in ancient times from outside the walls, since the walls themselves would conceal at least all the lower part of the construction.

Ammianus saw on the Euphrates<sup>3</sup> a great tower like a lighthouse at the entrance of the Royal Canal. In the time of Seleucia the walls of the city and lights at strategic points, if desired, would have marked the location of port and canal, and the same purpose would have been served by the walls and towers of Ctesiphon in the later period.

For the same reason it is difficult to conceive of so vast a mound built just as a watchtower. The surrounding country is so flat that any eminence, particularly the walls and towers of a fortified city, would have served as convenient lookout points, and if it were important to watch the country on all sides from one point, an extension of a tower presumably already fairly high, would have been more reasonable. The case is otherwise if the tower were an observation post for religious purposes, either for the observation of the whole heavens for omens, or as the approach to the upper regions in sacrifices to the gods. In this case a spot removed from military zones and preferably a place in the immediate vicinity of a temple would be more appropriate.

Professor Waterman very properly is hesitant to call Tell Umar a ziggurat but it is difficult to give it any other name. The great tomb for a Hellenistic, a Parthian, or even a Sassanian prince is of course a possibility but there are no parallels in Mesopotamia, unless the tomb of Gordian III seen by Ammianus between Circesium and Dura (and unfortunately not clearly located) might have been a similar high mound. At Seleucia the excavations, though necessarily short and incomplete, show no indication of a burial chamber. Neither is there any legend to connect it with the funerary monument of a distinguished personage, or of any one hero so elevated above other kings and dignitaries as to merit such a memorial.

Since there was a square tower of mud-brick in the center of the mound, one may assume that something was supported on top and that the tower, at least all the lower part, was always concealed by the mound. Otherwise, the mud brick would have been protected by plaster. Approach to the top would have been by a staircase, or by receding tiers of brick like the pyramids if the surface were brick covered, or by ramps.

It seems more than a coincidence that the major axis of the ellipse exceeds the minor by approximately 15 meters, almost exactly twice the thickness of the wall, and that in one section excavated (the northwest) the wall was more than double (18.30 meters) the usual thickness of 7.62 meters. Professor Waterman remarks that the results of the excavations gave the impression of a circular tower but that the survey showed the ellipse. I suggest that ramps one thickness of the wall led up on either side of the ellipse to a summit, on top of which was an altar, a small temple, or both. If some sort of a procession, perhaps with animals for sacrifice, ascended the monument, a solid road and one of fair size would be essential. There are no remains of structures on top, but one may recall that altars also might be built of mud-brick covered with plaster. The top of the inner wall would be used in part as the ascent way above the height of the ramps.

One assumes that so large a structure required the inhabitants of a city for its construction. The fill apparently was not debris after a destruction of the city but dirt and sand comparatively free of archaeological finds. Within the broad limits set by these conditions, the date of construction may be allocated convincingly to the later half of the city's existence



and, by inference but less convincingly, to the second half of the first century A.D.

Little dateable material was found in the mud-brick work of the ancient wall of the mound except a glazed gray green lamp of Parthian type (E11364) and a fragment of a glass bottle (E11558). The type of lamp is a common one (Debevoise's no. 391) and was found in all three levels of excavations. One may add, in a word of caution, that the fourth level, the Hellenistic period, was very slightly explored and absence of types in that period does not obviate entirely the possibility that they belonged to the earliest period also. In this particular case, however, the rather crude, clumsy shape, as well as the glaze, suggests Parthian rather than Greek manufacture.

Blown glass is rare at Seleucia and normally belongs to the later period of the city. Since it is all imported, however, there is always the possibility that any individual piece may go back to the beginning of our era. One may say in this case that a second century date is more likely than a first century one and a first century A.D. allocation is very much more probable than the first century B.C.

The mound contained an older structure consisting of a mass or unburnt bricks. Professor Waterman was able to determine in the limited excavations neither the shape nor size of the building but the size of the unburnt bricks, 35.5 centimeters square and 12.7 centimeters thick, differed sharply from the bricks in the circuit wall and the interior square tower which in both cases measured 38.1 centimeters square and 10.15 thick.

The important question of how the larger structure was related to the earlier one as far as function and use is concerned may conveniently be left to a later page. In date, the interior structure is earlier and the difference in the size of the mud bricks suggests both a change in scale and in control. The measurements of the earlier bricks are based on the Samian or Ionic ell of 52.5 centimeters. This was the standard of measurement in Halicarnassos and in Egypt under the Persians and Ptolemies,<sup>4</sup> and this unit was continued at Dura-Europos in the Parthian period.<sup>5</sup> In Parthian Assur<sup>6</sup> the early mud bricks measured 40-42 x 40-42 x 12-13 centimeters and were changed later to 37 x 37 x 12. They became, therefore, smaller in perimeter and very slightly thinner. In Seleucia the change is from the Hellenistic size with surface slightly smaller than the Assur bricks and about the same thickness to a larger perimeter very close to late Parthian measurements at Assur, but the brick is noticeably thinner than both Parthian at Assur and the Hellenistic. The variation in the size of Babylonian bricks makes a standard unit of measurement almost impossible to determine but Segrè suggests an ell of 469 millimeters and a foot of 312.16 millimeters.<sup>7</sup> As far as measurements of bricks go, therefore, one may say that the older mud-brick construction belongs to the Greek period, though it does not indicate whether it was the Hellenistic period or the period of city sovereignty under Parthian control. The circuit wall and central tower belonged to a comparatively late Parthian period, that is, after the revolt of Seleucia in 43 A.D.

The most interesting finds from the excavations of Tell Umar were two *bullae* of bitumen, one complete with the seal impressions, the other a half of a *bulla* with five seal impressions. Unfortunately, the exact place of discovery was not noted. They were not found on the surface or in the mud

brick. *Bullae* belong, as McDowell's study showed,<sup>8</sup> to the Hellenistic period, as opposed to that of Parthian occupation. At Warka<sup>9</sup> the *bullae* found in excavations were scattered over the rooms of the large temple built in the time of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes. At Seleucia, on the other hand, the great majority were found in the private houses of the block. Since the *bullae* date from the earliest level at Seleucia, it is well to remember that rarely has this period been reached in the block and almost never in the temple areas. It would be most helpful if the *bullae* might be taken to indicate a temple area and that occupation or construction went back to the Seleucid period. They could, however, be taken as evidence that the later phase of construction went back close to Seleucid times. At Seleucia even the connection with a cult is by no means necessary.

The prime requisite for a ziggurat in its Babylonian-Assyrian sense would, I believe, be its close connection with a temple or some sort of religious worship and of this we have no proof, as yet, at Seleucia. Nor is there any evidence for erection of ziggurats in Greek or Parthian times, only the continued use of old structures. Herodotus<sup>10</sup> describes the great tower of Babylon as supporting a naos in which was a bed and a golden table for the visitation of the god. No remains of a temple were discovered on the top of any ziggurat as far as I know but a temple usually lay beside the tower and both temple and tower lay in the same temple area. Koldevey<sup>11</sup> contends that the account of Herodotus proves the character of the tower as support for a temple. The roof of such a naos as an observation point raised above the dust of the plain would naturally be a boon to the Babylonian astronomers.<sup>12</sup>

The claim of Tell Umar to be a ziggurat rests primarily upon its monumental size. Even after the weathering of centuries, the structure rises sixteen meters above the ruins of the city. Identification depends, of course, on the definition of ziggurat. Almost certainly the building, whether ziggurat or not, would correspond to the *High Place* raised toward the heavens for religious ceremonies or observations.

Within the perimeter of the tell in the southern part of the mound lay a solid mass of unburnt brick. The purpose of this also is not clear but it seems reasonable to suppose that the mound of the tell both enclosed and superseded the earlier structure. Outside the enclosing wall there was discovered a solid platform of baked brick (7.32 meters x 3.965 meters x 1.52 meters thick). Its corner cut through a part of the circuit wall of the mound and its base lay about two meters above the foundation of the enclosing wall. It belonged, therefore, to a late period but seemed to be intimately connected with the mound.

It is extremely tempting and it seems to me to be very reasonable to consider all three edifices as serving, in part, the same purpose and of representing successive stages in the history of the site. If this hypothesis is correct, the early platform of mud brick represented the foundation of an altar, monumental in size according to Greek standards but by no means comparable to the tremendous pile which superseded it. In the end the tell was abandoned as the place of worship and sacrifice, or the baked brick platform supplemented it.

Dates for the construction may be given in only general terms. The early mud brick belongs to the Greek period according to the measurements of bricks but there is no indication that it was built before the period of Parthian

control. The discovery of Hellenistic *bullae* in the excavations of the mound might suggest that the artificial tell was constructed not long after the Parthians had included Seleucia within the empire. On the other hand, if the *bullae* had enclosed records of land ownership, they might well have been preserved long after the common use of *bullae* had disappeared.

At Nippur the Parthians constructed a walled citadel in the precinct of the older temple of Bel and preserved the ziggurat as a central eminence, if not as a defensive bastion.<sup>13</sup> At Assur the walled citadel of the Parthians included the great tower of the old ziggurat.<sup>14</sup> At Dura the Parthian palace was built directly over an earlier Hellenistic building of importance, though identification with a chief magistrate was impossible, and the whole section was enclosed in a great wall of stone. Perhaps at Hatra the palace with its tremendous courts served as a defensive unit in times of emergency. In neither Hatra nor Dura was there any sign of a ziggurat.

Seleucia served as the first capital of the Parthians in Mesopotamia, but it is well to remember also that the Parthian occupation was a military one. The transfer of troops to Ctesiphon meant that in the first century, at least, of Parthian occupation, the military headquarters had been located in the city.

The situation of Tell Umar in the center of one side of the city, equally distant from two great temple complexes, marks it as the probable center in Hellenistic times, and the discovery of the Seleucid Heroon makes this identification certain. It would be, therefore, the logical place for a Parthian citadel. One would expect that such a center would be marked off from the Hellenistic city by a strong wall. The ziggurat would serve as watchtower and lighthouse as well as bastion in the new development.

There is no reason why the tower should not have been connected also with a temple and should not have served a religious purpose as well as a secular one. Direct connection, however, with a temple is not clear and there is no very cogent reason for connecting it with the Heroon which lay some distance (a block) to the southeast. The temple in Babylon<sup>15</sup> lay to the south of the ziggurat. In Borsippa<sup>16</sup> the temple was placed northeast of the tower, and in Assur<sup>17</sup> Temple A was a little south of east and the liwan building, dedicated to the god, lay to the east.

At Seleucia the older mass of unburnt brick and the later *mastaba* of baked brick, both located on the southeast side of the tell, probably indicate the location or the direction of a sanctuary. The nature and type may be left to future excavations.

In Babylon the height of the great ziggurat was reputed to be the same as the width<sup>18</sup> of 91.55 meters. In Seleucia the width of the inner square tower was 18 meters and the present height is some 16 meters above the plain. Perhaps the inner tower was cubical and its original height would have been 18 meters.

One might suggest that in the Seleucid era, the palace was the imposing monument in the middle of the west side of the city and that about 140 B.C. the Heroon was built close to the royal edifice to commemorate the dynasty. In the Parthian period, the (at first) military occupation placed the king in the palace, and constructed the ziggurat as part of a new temple-palace complex. There is no reason why in the Phil-Hellenic

period of Parthian occupation the Heroon might not have been re-erected on the site to commemorate the close relationship between the ruling houses. On the other hand, when the Parthian capital moved across the river, perhaps the cult of the Seleucids was renewed by the Greek inhabitants in opposition to the Arsacids.

1. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 75-78.

2. Olmstead, A. T. E., *History of Assyria*, 156.

3. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIV, 2, 7.

4. Segrè, A., *Metrologia e Circolazione Monetaria degli Antichi*, Bologna, 1928.

5. *Dura VII-VIII*, 4.

6. Andrae and Lenzen, *Partherstadt Assur*, 27.

7. Segrè, A., *op. cit.*, 118-9.

8. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*, 5.

9. Rostovtzeff, M. I., "Seleucid Babylonia, Bullae and Seals of Clay with Greek Inscriptions," *Yale. Class. Stud.* III, 5-6.

10. Herodotus, I, 181.

11. Koldewey, *Wied. Bab.*, 192.

12. Offerings were still being made to Esagila in the Seleucid period, though the ziggurat was in ruins (Koldewey, *Wied. Bab.*, 190-1), and at Assur new temples were built in the Parthian period over the old Assur temple and dedicated to the god (Andrae and Lenzen, *Partherstadt Assur*, 73).

13. Hilpreck, *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*, 559.

14. Andrae and Lenzen, *Partherstadt Assur*, 2.

15. Koldewey, *Wied. Bab.*, 181 fig. 114.

16. *Ibid.*, 291 fig. 246.

17. Andrae and Lenzen, *op. cit.*, pl. 2.

18. Koldewey, *op. cit.*, 191.

### III. THE SELEUCID HEROON

Trial trench number four explored during the first two seasons a low mound east and a little south of Tell Umar, and disclosed a free-standing building almost 55 meters long in its east-west axis and close to 40 meters in its maximum north-south width. It comprised a single unit with central court twenty-three meters square bordered by baked brick and enclosed by a series of rooms. To north and south a single series and to east and west a double series of rooms enclose the central court. The largest rooms lie on the west side, and give the building a striking resemblance to some Babylonian temple plans but particularly to temple plans in the Parthian periods at Dura-Europos.

The trial trench four structure had two periods of monumental building. The lower building was constructed, as far as could be observed, around a court of approximately the same measurements as the later structure and was enclosed by a series of rooms oriented in the same direction and of comparable size. Unfortunately, only parts of the plan could be recovered.

Prior to the earlier monumental structure in Level IV, the area beneath the court contained some walls of small rooms and elsewhere some tombs and parts of two parallel walls. The rooms may have belonged to small, private structures or to a shrine, but they did not seem to be closely related to the monumental buildings above. The two parallel walls without evidence of cross walls or doorways apparently were parts of enclosures.

Before the city was abandoned, graves, at least one belonging to the classical period, were built into the walls or their foundations, indicating a destruction of the building and an abandonment of the area in the last period of the city.

The two monumental buildings were constructed some time apart as shown by the levels of the courts, the floor of the upper court lying two meters above the lower. The levels were fairly accurately fixed by the baked brick border of the court and a round well-head above and an open baked brick reservoir with conduit and square well-head in the court below.

The earlier building built at the very end of the Hellenistic period had evidently been destroyed since a terra cotta sima was found in the reservoir, one of several pieces of Hellenistic type simas recovered in the lower court. The later structure belongs to the Parthian period, probably the first century of our era, and changes in the details of the entrance suggest a fairly long period of occupation. In the first preliminary report the later building was termed a "Parthian Villa," since houses of the Parthian period at Seleucia usually consist of a series of rooms around a large, square open court. Peculiar to the building in trial trench four were the size, its free-standing independent position, and the disposition of rooms more appropriate to a temple than a villa.

The discovery of an inscription, though broken and incomplete, allows us to identify the lower monumental structure as a heroon dedicated to the Seleucid kings and inscribed to Demetrius II (145-140 B.C.). That it was built at this period is indicated by the fragments of Hellenistic terra cotta simas, belonging to the later rather than the earlier Hellenistic period (see the account of architectural decoration by Mr. Goldman) and by the evidence of a considerable period of occupation before the monumental structure was begun. If there had not been a heroon dedicated to the Seleucid kings before the time of Demetrius II, there was very good reason for erecting one at this time. Even if there had been a smaller shrine before, there was every reason now for enlarging it and stressing Demetrius II because the direct line of Seleucid kings from Antiochus III through Demetrius I and II had now been violently challenged by Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, and his successors. Antiochus IV, the younger brother of Demetrius I, had married the widow of his brother and now had been succeeded by Antiochus VI (145-142/41 B.C.) who had also taken the grandiose title of Epiphanes (manifestation of god). The direct line of the Seleucids had as patron god of Seleucia, Apollo; the rival clan of Antiochus had chosen Zeus and the title of Epiphanes to offset the claims of the Demetrius I and II. Inscriptions from Beth Shan and Samaria<sup>1</sup> are witness to the efforts of Demetrius' attempts to commemorate his family as founder and legitimate king in the capital.

The changes in the court of the later building suggest a variation in the cult or the ceremony. Certainly in the first century of our era, the claims of the Seleucid family to kingship had lost their meaning. The Romans ruled in Syria and the Parthians in Mesopotamia. In Dura-Europos, however, in the period 50 B.C.—50 A.D., the temple of the Gadde was erected, a temple dedicated to the goddesses of Palmyra and Dura and stressing the founding of the city by Seleucus I.<sup>2</sup>

The first citizens of Dura felt their Greek descent was of prime importance in the face of the Parthian occupation, and the Greek citizens at Seleucia waged a bitter struggle in A.D. 39-43 for their autonomous status, as opposed to the Parthian control. A rededication of the building to the Seleucid founder of the city would carry on in part the old tradition and conform to the exigencies of the first century circumstances. Since the new building followed the size and general plan of the old, the probability is strong that the religious cult remained very much the same. The Seleucid dynasty would not be so important, however, as the Greek descent. The comparative material at Dura may well mark a determined effort on the part of the Greek Macedonian cities to preserve that tradition.

The years 145-140 B.C. belong to the very end of the fourth period. I have marked the plan of the building as Level

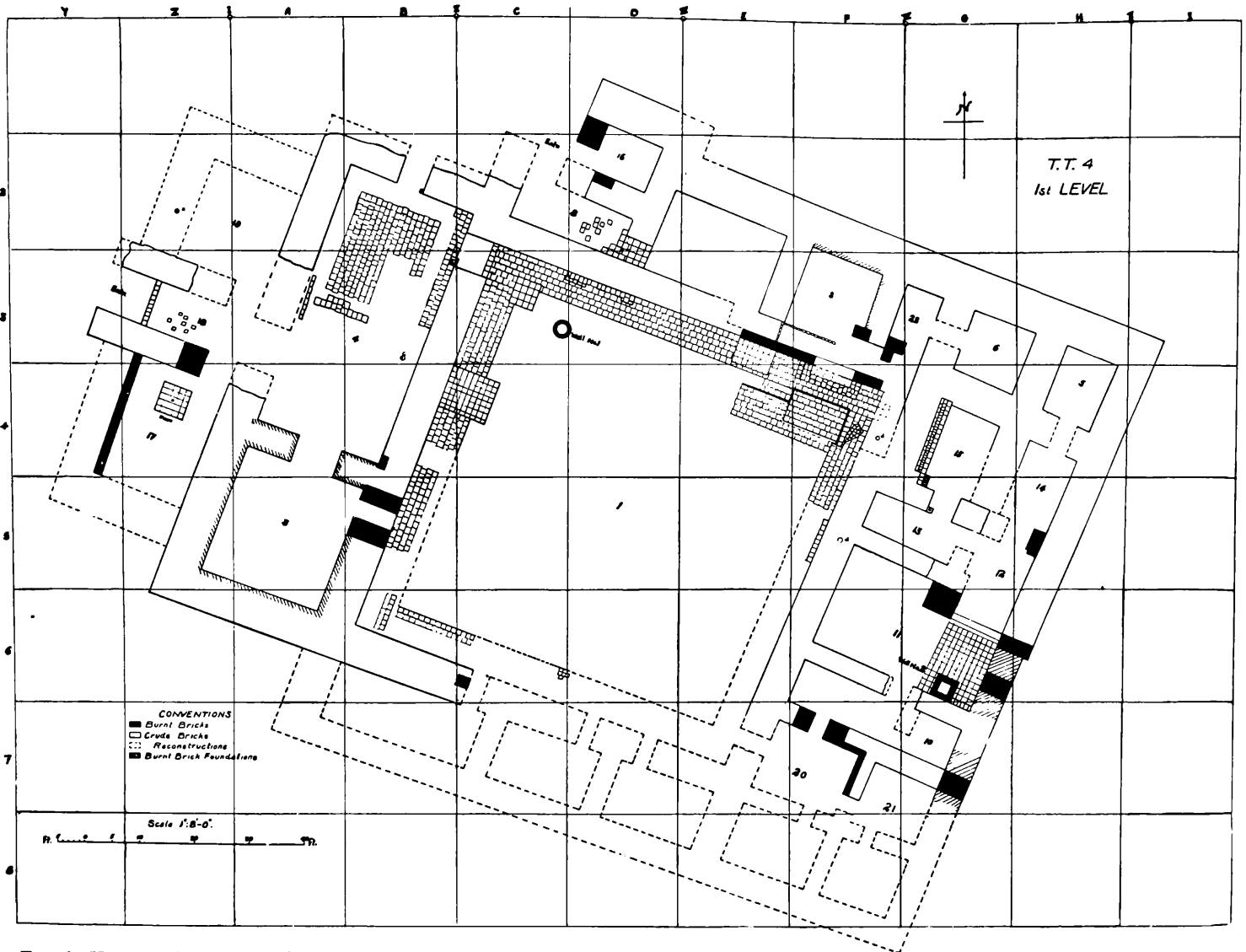


Fig. 6. Heroon plan, level II (Parthian Villa, first level)

III, the period of its duration. The later structure belongs to the beginning of Level II, the period after the revolt of A.D. 39-43. The alterations in the entrance might be appropriately ascribed to the earlier part of the last level (IB), the period after Trajan; and the period of abandonment to Level IA, which is the period after the conquest of Verus in A.D. 164.

#### The Excavations

Early in January 1928 excavations were begun in the low mound southeast of Tell Umar. The dig was called trial trench four, but the first recorded finds numbered A12 show that a grid plan for extensive operations was already instituted. The excavations revealed a large building and, subsequently the remains of an earlier structure. Before the excavations were completed at the end of February 1929, the area of the building and its immediate vicinity had been successfully cleared. Results were published in the *First Preliminary Report*, 1931, pp. 9-17, by N. Manasseh under the headings "Architectural Notes, Seasons 1927-29."

An advantage in the early stages of an excavation is that the smallest fragments are new and interesting and so are reported

carefully, whereas later they may remain uncatalogued as insignificant and too common. The disadvantage is that the special problems and difficulties of the individual site are not fully realized and consequently the records, though carefully made, yield results that are not entirely clear (fig. 6).

In this particular case the area of the mound was divided in exemplary fashion into twenty-foot squares oriented on a north-south axis. When the plan of the building was outlined, the catalogue shifted very properly to room numbers. There is some confusion, however, since occasionally even in the same levels the finds are sometimes recorded by the numbers of squares, sometimes by the rooms, and the squares naturally do not correspond with the definitions of the rooms.

The mound rose almost three meters above the level of the surrounding area and the lowest occupation level is between three and four meters below the surface level. Two monumental building periods are distinguished in the central courtyard of the building by a brick pavement two meters below the top of the mound, and a bitumen-lined reservoir of baked brick at a depth of four to five and one-half meters. Connected with the reservoir was an open conduit of baked brick that



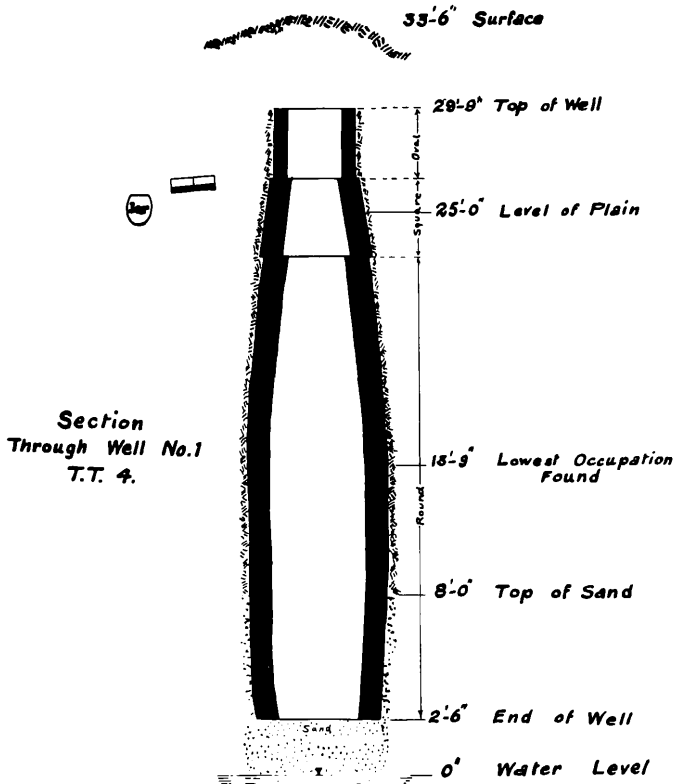
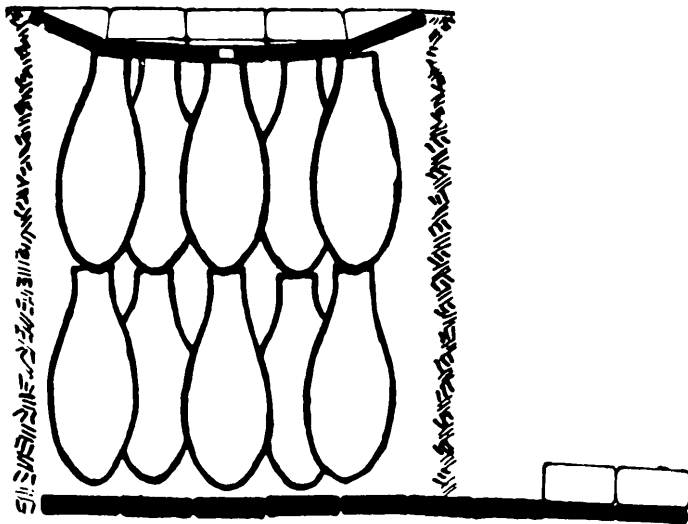


Fig. 8. Section of well in court

Fig. 9. Drain in room 17



Section of  
Drain in Room 17

1st Level, T.T. 4



*Chronology*

Archaeological levels in trial trench four have been disturbed also by the construction of wells, drains, and a number of tombs. Details of burials will be considered in an independent study, but an outline is appropriate even though areas affected were apparently small. Four of the graves held the remains of infants in jars, usually placed within a meter of the surface. These would have been dug after the building was in ruins and might well belong to a much later period. Another grave from G6 (fig. 6), the area of the middle of the east side, contained a skeleton equipped with an iron bracelet and, at the mouth, a silver coin. This should belong to the classical period, that is the city before its abandonment, and indicates probably that the building was in ruins before the city was completely deserted. A sixth grave was indicated only by the discovery of a skull and leg bone. In F2, an area located largely outside the building, a coffin was found at a depth of three meters.

In the square C2 (fig. 14) a brick tomb was discovered at a depth of five and one-half meters. The area C2 enclosed the northern entrance of the building and a small section outside the entrance room. Five and one-half meters is the depth of the bottom of the reservoir, a level a meter and one-half below the earlier court level. Fragments of gold leaf pointed to an allocation in the classical period and the depth of the grave suggested a relatively early period in the history of the building. Unfortunately, nothing in the tomb served to distinguish the occupant or the period. Perhaps a burial had been allowed close to or just beside the building since C2 includes an angle of the outside wall. There is a possibility also that between the building periods the site was temporarily vacant. More reasonable, it seems to me, is the supposition that the tomb was built before the first large building was erected.

In the period of the upper level a second well was dug in room 11 and a drain<sup>3</sup> in room 17 (fig. 9). The well in C-D3 placed conveniently in an angle of the court probably was contemporaneous with the lower level, the first construction of the great court. The digging would have brought up some of the material of earlier levels and disturbed the original strata in this district. In C2 at four meters a basalt stone with a hole in the center suggested a latrine (fig. 10) and beneath this were jars, upside down, with a hole in their bottoms, set down to almost seven meters and functioning as a drain. It is not clear if this belonged to the latest level and so was located in room 18 (the side entrance room of the building) or just outside it; or whether it belonged to the earlier period as the depth below the lowest level of the court suggests. A fragment of sima found at six and one-half meters, similar to one found in the reservoir, suggests the drain was filled up at the beginning of the last period.

In the lowest level (Level IV) additional graves were discovered. In A1, that is outside the area of the monumental buildings, there is a tomb of baked brick; in A5 a double tomb of baked brick, that is two rectangular tombs with a common central wall; and in E5 a single tomb of baked brick. A5 lies almost completely in the south end of the pronaos of the latest building and within the walls of the earlier structure. E5 falls in the court yard of the monumental buildings and largely within one of the rooms of the building beneath the court. Brick tombs in the block go back to the third level, which begins in 140 B.C., and presumably these tombs antedate the



Fig. 10. Basalt block, pierced

monumental buildings. If, however, they were dug or re-used in the later periods, the strata in these areas would be completely upset.

Other construction in Level IV consists of long walls, not quite parallel, running across the area of the court and oriented fairly closely both with the later building and with the block system. The lack of cross walls or any additions except for a possible gateway suggests the fencing off or limiting of an open district rather than a complex of rooms or houses.

The decorative architectural fragments connected with the buildings in trial trench four have been discussed by Mr. Goldman. The great proportion in trial trench four are fragments of clay simas decorated with lion head spouts and laurel or olive leaves between dot or bead-and-reel borders. The discovery of some fragments in the reservoir, which had been filled when the level of the court was raised, and in the cistern or latrine of C2 suggests that the ornament belonged to the earlier building. One piece smaller in size, reddish yellow rather than yellow gray in color, and with designs much more crisply made, including a bead-and-reel rather than a stud border, suggests an earlier structure, probably belonging to the Hellenistic period (Level IV). The piece was found in A1 north and west of the present building. A piece of apparently the same type (A989) was located four and one-half meters deep in C2. Perhaps then, the building of this earliest decoration lay to the west of the present structure. There was no clear indication that the latest monumental building utilized simas of the Greek type. The piece of baked brick set in the mud-brick walls largely at important entrances but following no clear definite plan suggests doorways arched in Parthian style. No sign of decorative arches or capitals of pilasters remained.

Definite dates for the building periods are suggested by the coins, though the conclusions are rather tentative due to the small number from trial trench four that have been identified. Coins of the Seleucid era are extremely rare in the building; not enough to justify the hypothesis that the early monumental structure was built before the middle of the second century B.C. A number of coins belong to the period about 140 B.C. A silver coin of 145-141 B.C. (B412) found in R10 suggests that the rooms on the east side were complete at this period or shortly after it. The clearest indication derived from a study of the coins is that the first monumental structure was

built close to the middle of the second century B.C. There is no indication of any significant changes in the time of Trajan, a single group of four coins from room three dating from this era, about 120 A.D. A confusion of levels between coins of the last half of the second century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D. with the stratum A.D. 36-40 suggests some changes, at least the digging of some new foundations, about or after A.D. 40.

Other evidence supports these general conclusions. The fragments of simas found in the reservoir and the cistern are late Hellenistic and form a sharp contrast with the better baked, more carefully designed, fragments from the lowest level. Appropriate, therefore, would be a date in the last half of the second century B.C. The lack of columns in the court is rather striking even in the late Hellenistic period. It would have been still more striking for the era of Seleucid rule. In the period 144-140 B.C., a part of the block G6 was destroyed by fire and it might be that the earlier structure in trial trench four whose rooms underlay the later court was destroyed at the same time. As far as one could discover the later monumental building was decorated neither with Hellenistic sima nor with Parthian plaster. The Parthian plaster belonged especially to Level I (the post-Trajan period) in the block and the terra cotta simas to Level III. In the time of Trajan there was widespread burning in the block, but this need not have affected the temple area. A building period or a rebuilding, therefore, at the time of the revolt at the end of the first half century of our era seems appropriate. If the monumental building was abandoned or destroyed at the time of Verus, A.D. 166, the late graves and the lack of coins after that date would be adequately explained.

The building stands isolated and very close to half way between the two great temple precincts (Temples A and B). The mound enclosing the ruins of the building rising some three meters above the flat ground of the area led to the excavations, but the area itself belongs to the district around Tell Umar which is appreciably lower than the greater part of the city level as the contour map shows (fig. 3). The building is oriented 14 degrees south of east, an orientation very close to the sides of the square tower in the ziggurat, which appears to have the south side directed 13 degrees south of east. It would have been simple to place the temple a little further north and so orient it exactly with the ziggurat. Since this was not done, probably there was no direct connection between the two structures. The temple fits into the grid block plan and is located one block east and somewhat south of the ziggurat.

In close connection with the ziggurat one expects a citadel of the Parthian period, and in close connection with the Heroon one expects the palace of the Seleucid kings. Surface examination of the district has given no clue and it may be that the ruins have been destroyed in river floods. As far as one can judge, the palace was not immediately adjacent to the temple.

The plan of the building in the later stage was the regular form of the oriental temple with a series of rooms grouped about an open court, the entrance in the middle of the east side, the double room of naos and pronaos lying directly opposite (fig. 11). What the arrangements were in the earlier building is not entirely clear due to the fragmentary nature of the remains, but the general outlines with large open central court, and the chief rooms on the west side, seem to be the

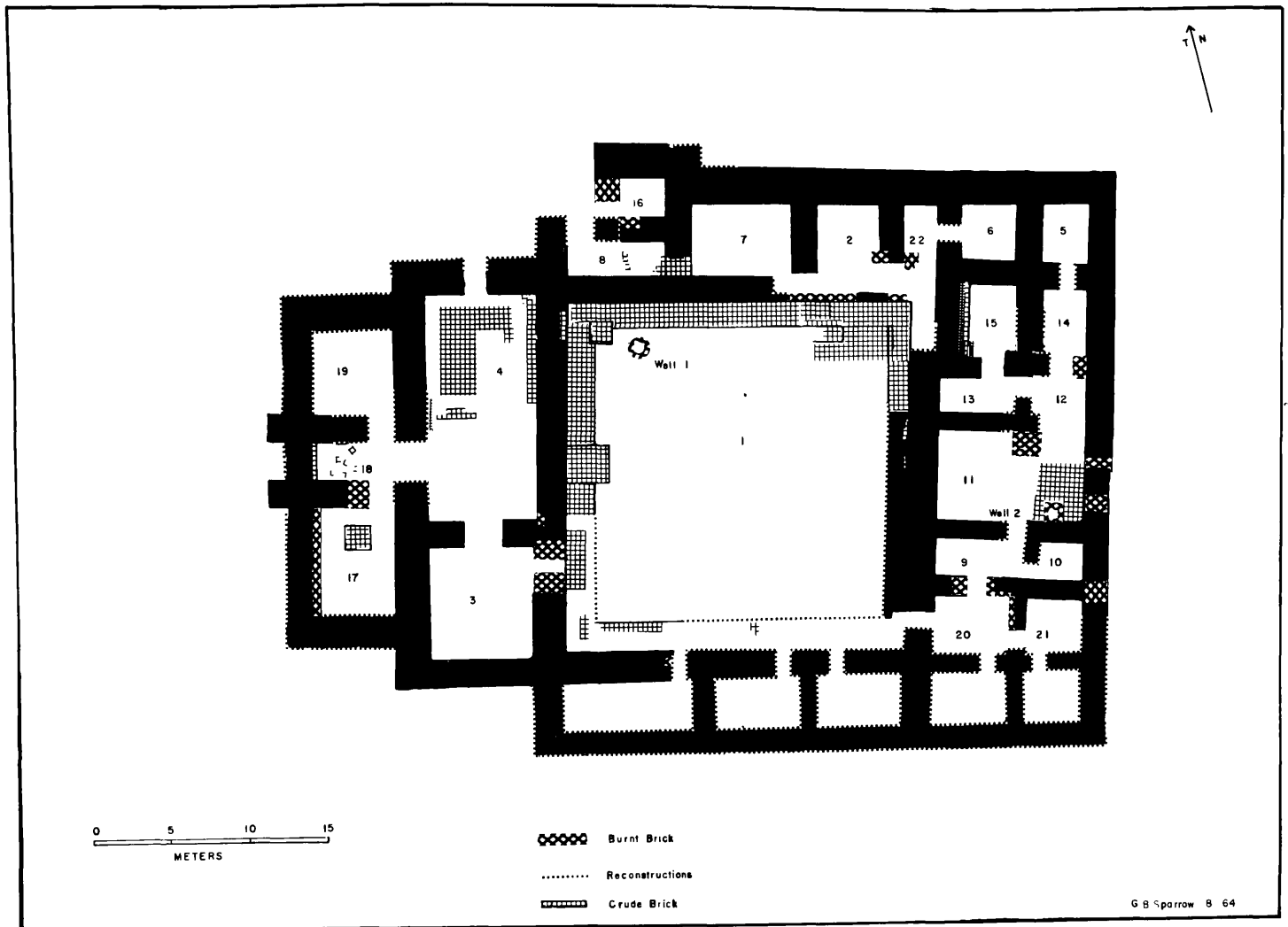


Fig. 11. Plan of Heroon, level II

same. In the northeast corner of the court, the shrine in the later building overlay the reservoir of the earlier period, an indication that the general size and proportions of the buildings remained the same. On the east side a good many of the rooms of the second level seem identical with those of the first.

In the later building the piers of baked brick on the east side framed the entrance to the temple, but the pivot stone discovered in H6 was the only actual evidence of a door.<sup>4</sup> The arrangement of a naos divided into three cellas was the regular one at Dura and a common form in Mesopotamia. At Seleucia the central shrine or naos is an alcove between two great walls terminating in baked brick piers which divide the larger room into three parts. Most unusual is the drain beneath the baked brick flooring in the southern section. The southern third of the pronaos forms a separate room but there is no corresponding room on the north. Instead the northern third is tiled with baked brick and a northern entrance allows access directly from the outside of the building. Perhaps on certain occasions people of importance obtained direct entrance and stood on the paved section to watch ceremonies in the pronaos, much as the spectators seated in the pronaos did in the temples of Dura.

The fragments of decorative simas all belonged to the earlier building. A gable roof would, therefore, be appropriate in the first structure, a flat roof in the second. The simas are Hellenistic but their poor quality suggests a date comparatively late in the period (see the report of Mr. Goldman pp. 149ff.) The baked brick piers all belong to the later structure.

The piers were not high enough to retain the spring of an arch and no fragments of baked brick arches were found. Nor were there any remains of the columns one might expect in the court of the Hellenistic building. The column base used as a door socket between rooms 13 and 15 in the later building may have served as part of a columned entrance in the Hellenistic temple.

Details of the later building may be more conveniently considered in the review of the court and the individual rooms.

*Details of Rooms, Level II:* No attempt will be made here to give all the measurements and architectural details of individual rooms or a complete list of individual finds. The plan shows the size of the rooms and their positions; many of the individual finds have been already described in the publications of figurines, coins, seals, and pottery. The present account will be limited to architectural features and individual



finds which seem most significant for the history of the building and the utilization of the rooms.

In such an account certain peculiar features of the dig need to be borne in mind. In the walls of room 10 an unbaked brick contained the fragment of a fine figurine embedded in it. This was not the only case of parts of figurines used as binding material at Seleucia, but it serves as warning that small figurines or parts of figurines are not necessarily connected with the use or occupants of the room. On the other hand, it is often very difficult to tell whether small objects found in walls belonged originally inside the bricks or in little pockets, safe deposit boxes so to speak, concealed in the wall.

Some of the objects found belong to fairly well known types of objects. The location and significance of terra cotta simas has already been mentioned and will be dealt with separately by Mr. Goldman. Eight inscribed jar handles were recovered, some at least Rhodian: one outside the north entrance (C1) in Level II; one close to the northern entrance (C2) in Level III; two in the area of the naos (Z3); two in Level IV; three from different parts of the courtyard; one from C5 level four, that is, the southwestern quarter of the court; one from E3, an area which comprised the north central area of the court and Room 7, at about four meters below the surface; one from the region of the reservoir at two and one-half to three meters below the surface; and one recovered from the dirt after removal from the specific section of the dig. None belongs to the last period, since those in the court were well below the level of the pavement (2 meters below the surface).

*Room 11*—The plan published in the *First Preliminary Report* (fig. 2, p. 10) reproduced here (fig. 6) shows the basic arrangements in the last period of the Heroon, the Level II of the excavations. A great, square open court is surrounded by a series of rooms on the north and south, a double row on the east and west. On the east side lies the entrance, on the west the pronaos and naos of the temple.

A sketch plan, however, not published in the preliminary report (fig. 12), represents a final phase (Level IB), with the structural changes at the entrance subsequent to the time of the basic plan. A glance will show that the general scheme remains the same, with a series of narrow rooms on either side of the vestibule on the east and a wider series flanking the court. The door socket found in H6 is established as the pivot for a narrowed doorway north of the tiled vestibule floor and there is no longer an open room beyond the *aula*. Room 13 in the basic plan (5 in the sketch plan) has an irregular shape and a baked brick pillar has been built over the socket of the previous door. The addition of baked brick facings and finials to mud brick walls showed the continued use of baked brick, though often at the expense of earlier baked brick sections. The careless construction in the baked brick threshold, the narrowing of the doorway, the closing off of the large entrance room and the irregularly placed wall in room 5 (13 in the basic plan) all reveal changes which seem like repairs and a contraction from larger rooms.

Since there was very little baked brick in the walls of the lower level except for the reservoir, it seems probable that baked brick came into greater and greater use and that, therefore, the baked brick pillars represented additions to older walls or identified new ones. If a stone lintel were placed

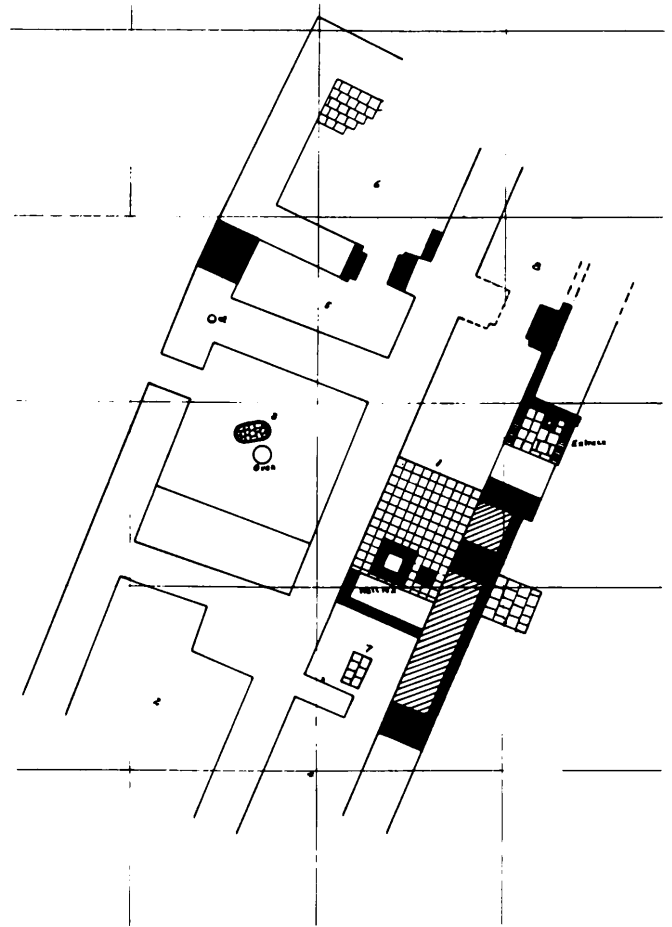


Fig. 12. Room 11, final phase

above the entrance, jambs of baked brick would be appropriate. It is not improbable, however, if the last phase of the building belonged to the last half of the first century A.D., that the doorways were arched in the Parthian fashion. No evidence of arches, however, was found in the remains.

In the block, paving with baked brick was usually reserved for open spaces and even then usually confined to the borders of courtyards, but doorways, corridors, and rooms are sometimes paved with baked brick even in Level III. The paving of the east end of room 11 is not unique, therefore, and it seems appropriate for a vestibule. The paving, however, seems in part due to the well at the south end since the baked brick is not centered for the entrance.

The remains in the well down to seven meters gave no indication that it had been used for drawing water. A pottery fragment with an egg and dart pattern (A633) found at six and one-half meters recalls the roof tiles of the earlier building and suggests the well was partly filled after the reconstructions of the first century A.D. Presumably the roof was flat in the last period but the roof tile suggests that in the earlier period an *impulvium* took the water from the roof. No evidence for the lighting of the rooms other than through the doorways remains. The well in the entranceway is unusual and it may have been a relic of an earlier building retained as drain or reservoir.

For the great pillar of baked brick on the north side of room 11 there is no corresponding pillar on the south side. Instead, a doorway to rooms 9 and 10 is postulated. It may be remembered that the quarrying of baked brick was a profitable enterprise in later times and the loss of the door jambs may have meant the digging out of a baked brick pier. Such, I judge, was the case in the west end of the building, room 18. A massive brick pillar would form an impressive entrance (arched?) from the vestibule into room 11. The inscribed stone found in Level IV of room 11 will be discussed later. It was not unusual to conceal the courtyard from the gaze of passers-by by placing the inner entrance to the court off center from the outside door. The same concern in this temple is manifested in placing the entranceway to the pronaos off the axis of the naos. In the courtyard the square well head of well no. 1 belongs to the second (lower) level, the round well head to the first (top). Perhaps then, the square well (no. 2) was closed over the last period when the baked brick pillars were erected and the south side of the vestibule was an open entrance into room 9.

*Room 10*—From a crude brick fragment of the wall in room 10 came a figurine of a boy with Rhodian jar on his shoulder. A bronze coin found in the east door was identified by McDowell as one of Demetrius II (145-141 B.C.) Charred fragments of wood were also found in a doorway but whether the eastern or western is not recorded.

In the daily catalogue all these finds are listed in Level IV (Cat. B518, B412, and B475 respectively). Miss Van Ingen in describing the figurine<sup>5</sup> lists it as Level III. The coin belongs to the beginning of the third historical period of the city, circa 140 B.C. If the building was constructed at this period, however, the brick was contemporaneous but the broken figurine presumably was a little earlier. The fine Hellenistic style of the fragment supports this contention, but presumably the manufacture of the figurine antedated the manufacture of the brick by only a few years.

In the catalogue, finds of the third level on the east side of the building are reported from rooms 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. Since the plans of the buildings show no walls for these rooms beneath Level II except for 9, 11, and 13, I take it the earlier room levels belong to rooms of the same shape and size as those above. Foundation walls could have been mistaken for earlier levels but deep foundations are unusual and the more common type of finds in the lower levels gives evidence for occupation. Probably, therefore, in these rooms occupation went back as far as the time of Demetrius II 145-141 B.C. The very striking levels in the court show two distinct building periods.

Near the drain system in G6 two coins from the Hellenistic period were recovered (Cat. B1651), one of 280-161 B.C., the other 215-210/9 B.C.

### *Room 1—The Court*

The open court, almost square, is encircled by a border of baked brick a little wider (six bricks) on the west than on the east (five bricks wide). In the block such paved borders for courtyards are most popular in the second level (the first century A.D.) but they appear occasionally in the third level and continue on into Level IA. In the northeast corner (D3) the square well head of the earlier court was changed to a

circular one at the upper level. Fragments of jugs and pitchers (e.g. Cat. A363 and A373) at depths of five to seven meters below the top of the well indicated continued use as a source of water. Two identified coins from a depth of seven and one-half meters were dated A.D. 36-40 and 121-83 B.C., respectively (Cat. A464 A and B). In the center of the court a bronze coin of Demetrius II (Cat. B838) was recovered from the lowest level and from the same stratum a number of figurines, including one of monkey and child nearly complete, were also recovered.

In the northeast corner of the court, the baked brick pavement extends beyond the border to cover the reservoir of the earlier level. The fragments of baked brick wall in the court demonstrate the very special architectural treatment that was bestowed upon it, at least in the last building phase.

Manasseh's illuminating account in the first preliminary report is worth repeating (pp. 12-13):

"Upon entering the court by this third access (the northeast corner) one would have faced an altar-like structure along the north wall 12 feet 6 inches long, 3 feet 3 inches wide, and 3 feet 4 inches high, made of sun-dried bricks and cased with burnt bricks. Directly in front of this structure and two feet to the south was a raised rectangular platform 11 by 6 feet and 7 inches high made of burnt bricks and bordered with bricks laid on edge. Slightly to the right was found a small oval block of burnt bricks 14 inches high. Between these two there was a short paved conduit. The space around these three raised structures was also paved with burnt bricks (see fig. 5) [fig. 13 in this volume]."

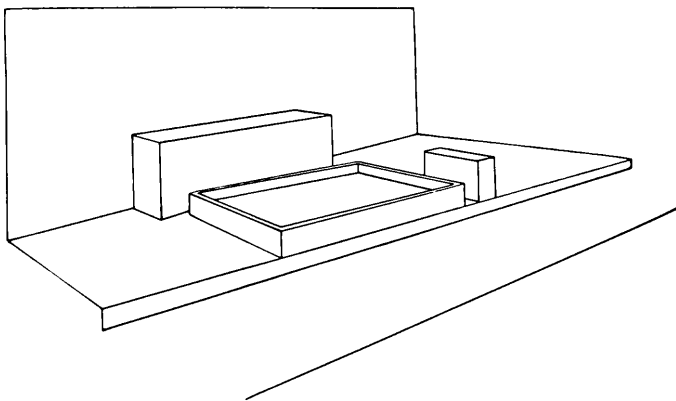


Fig. 13. Shrine in court

"Undoubtedly there was here an outdoor shrine. It may very well be supposed that the victims were killed on the small block to the right and sacrifices prepared on the large lower platform and offered on the altar before the images placed at some point higher up the wall. Fragments of a fairly large terra cotta bull were found at this corner."

It seems quite possible that the foundation with the brick wall behind the raised platform represented the place from which a cult image or a relief had been removed when the temple was abandoned. On the other hand, the fragments of baked brick walls in rooms 2 and 22, in part built over pavements of bitumen, suggest the possibility of a little naos or alcove in which the cult image or sacred symbols were displayed.

The sketch plan (fig. 14) shows some of the stages in the upper archaeological level, the position of the graves belonging

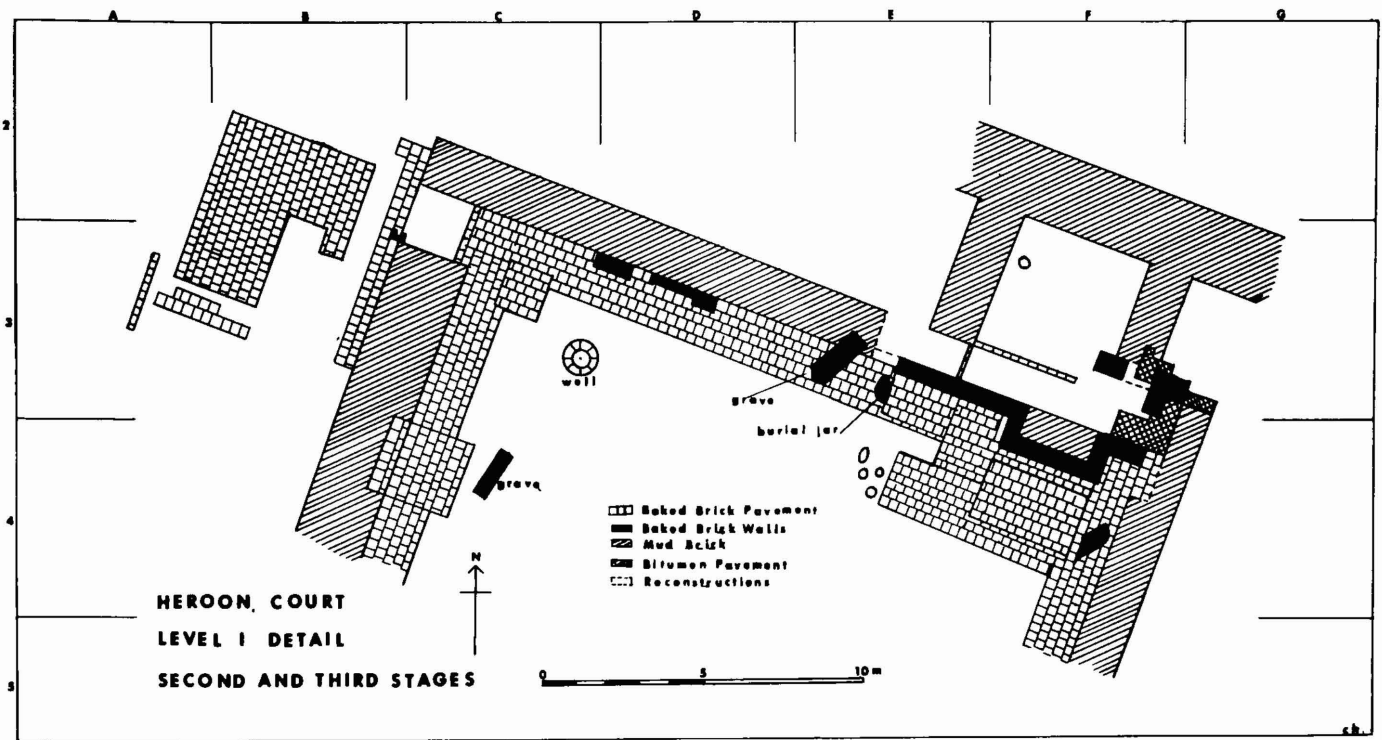


Fig. 14. Sketch plan with location of graves

to the period after the abandonment of the temple, and the types of construction as well as the sequence of the baked brick walls over the bitumen. The bitumen, in part, replaced mud brick.

That offerings should be made and placed on the raised platform seems very reasonable. If there had been an altar for sacrifice, one would have expected it to be located in front of the image rather than to one side. The small oval block of burnt brick, however, may have been used for incense or as a support for some cult object.

The right angled section of baked brick wall in room 22 obviously formed the northwest corner of a room or open space and it is tempting to see in the three rows of baked brick flooring at the west end of room 15 the east border for such a room. The pavement does not quite correspond with the present walls of room 15 and one expects the staircase to be either encased in a wall or resting against one. The scanty remains make restorations hazardous. One can only say with certainty that the fragments of baked brick walls in rooms 2 and 22 belong to the very last phase of the temple.

#### *The Northeast Corner Rooms 12, 13, 14, 15, 5 and 6*

Between rooms 13 and 15 a stone door socket was found *in situ*. It consisted of part of the base of a Persian column. The photograph (fig. 15) illustrates the long tongue pattern stylized in angled flutings. A fragment of a similar large base from Babylon<sup>6</sup> belonged to the Persian period. It is just possible, however, that at Seleucia the earlier building was adorned with columns. The location of the socket-column base on the east side suggests the possibility that it belonged to the entranceway of the earlier building, perhaps with wooden shafts over stone bases.

In room 15 were two bronze coins of the earlier building level (B1458 A and B Level IV) dated 175-164 B.C. and 38-31 B.C. Apparently they were found close together.

The most notable finds in room 14 were two seven-burner lamps (B1240 and B1278), the latter decorated with a man's bearded head, recovered from the earlier building level (Cat. Level IV). A fragment of a third, elaborate lamp was in the form of a boat (B1313). The small narrow rooms 14 and 5 would presumably belong to the custodian of the building or to the janitor. In square H5, which covers part of room 14, a group of common ware vessels (e.g. A392 = jug, A294 = cup,

Fig. 15. Door socket in Persian column capital



A391 = bowl) were found only half a meter below the surface. Perhaps they were originally in a cupboard or on a shelf in the room.

A small cosmetic jar (B748 Level II in catalogue) with 31 small coins was found in room 5. The one coin identified was dated A.D. 36-40.

#### *The Southeast Corner, Rooms 20 and 21*

Not only the southeast corner but the whole sequence of rooms along the south side of the building is restored on the plan. Not even the south walls of rooms 20 and 21 are certain. One would expect the chief entryway into the court would be located on the west side of room 20, particularly since the chief entryway to the pronaos from the court lay in room 3 to the south of the axis of the building. Since both the entryway to room 20 from the north and the entrance to room 3 from the court have jambs of baked brick (not to speak of baked brick pillars in rooms 11 and 18), it seems reasonable to supply baked brick jambs between room 20 and the court. I believe these jambs would indicate arched doorways, an appropriate change in the Parthian period, but there is no proof.

Significant finds were very few. In C7, presumably the area of the room south of the middle of the court, the marble hand of an acrolithic figure was recovered, the hand retaining part of the white plaster which attached it to the arm. It measured (B383) 87 millimeters in length.

#### *Rooms North of the Court, Rooms 2, 7, 8 and 16.*

Entry to the temple on the north side was obtained, as Manasseh remarks,<sup>7</sup> by the entrance in room 8 and the court was reached through rooms 7 and 2. The little room 16 would presumably be that of the janitor and 8 would serve largely as corridor. The baked brick pavement between 8 and 7 defines the doorway clearly. The restoration of rooms 2 and 22 is not quite satisfactory, however. One would expect that the rectangular area of larger paving bricks south of the wall between 2 and 22 would represent an entrance sill. Probably, as the baked brick fragments of walls in room 2 suggest, there were two building phases, in one of which (the earlier) an entrance-way to the court lay west of the shrine.

A cistern cesspool, composed in part of jars upended with holes in the bottom, found in C2 was not remarked by Mr. Manasseh. Presumably it belonged to the lower level and was connected with the conduit drain of brick. The photo shows the stone *in situ* (fig. 10) and the surrounding pavement of baked brick. This would presumably be the pavement drawn on the plan in Level III, largely concealed under the doorjamb to room 16. The pieces of clay simas found at various depths, one with lion head spout (A1058) at 4.50 meters, other fragments (A986 and 989) at 4.50 meters: A685 at 6 meters, indicated that it had been filled up at the close of the earlier building period. From C2, though not from the cesspool, came also part of an inscribed jar handle (B1197). It belonged to the third level.

The cover of the cesspool, a rectangular basalt block with a hole in the center (A668), was discovered at a depth of four meters. The large inverted drainage jars (A1152) in four layers, nine of them measuring 0.87 meters long and 0.36 meters wide, reached down to a depth of almost seven meters. Above this level in square D2, before the outlines of the rooms were

defined, a series of large storage jars with pointed bases (Cat. A486 and A512) was found at a depth of 1.50-2.00 meters (photo no. 31). Presumably they belonged to the late period of room 16.

Other finds worth mentioning from square C2 were a bronze coin (A537) of A.D. 15/16-18/19 found at a depth of 3.25 meters and a fragment of what must have been a good sized terra cotta figure found at just under 2.00 meters. It was part of a human leg 0.128 meters in length and 0.05 meters in maximum diameter.

Three and one-half meters beneath the surface in square E3, in room 7, therefore on the north side of the court, an inscribed jar handle (A657) was found at 3.50 meters.

#### *The West Side of the Heroon, Rooms 3, 4, 17, 18, 19*

The walls of the pronaos are quite clearly defined. It is divided into two rooms; the entrance from the court flanked by piers of baked brick is south of the center of the court at the north end of room 3. The pronaos itself is not quite centrally placed in relation to the court, for though the wall at the south end of the court continues and forms the south wall of room 3, the wall bordering the court on the north stops at the cross wall, and the north wall of the pronaos lies a little to the north. This allows room for a small doorway at the north end of the court into room 4. A socket for the door was found both in the north doorway of room 4 and the door to the court. In the doorway between rooms 3 and 4, there are no burnt brick pillars but a foundation of burnt brick underlies the walls completely around the room. An unusual feature is a doorway in the north wall of the pronaos giving direct entrance to the room from outside the temple. The absence of burnt brick pillars suggests the entrance was a secondary one, but the floor of the room was largely covered with burnt brick tile, a good indication of the room's importance. The temples at Dura often had theatre-like steps on either side of the center of the pronaos. Perhaps here the tile floor supported a standing group.

#### *Rooms 17, 18, 19*

I believe that the loss of the door jambs from room 4 to room 18 was due to mining for baked bricks, but there is no proof. One may, I think, supply a baked brick pillar on the north side of room 18 to correspond to that on the south. The arrangement of the two heavy pillars suggests an arch, and the parallel walls make possible a vaulted one, but since the material is mud brick, probably a flat roof is more in order. The baked bricks irregularly placed but carefully recorded in the plan of room 18, I suggest, were parts of the fallen arch. The line of baked bricks across room 18 probably marked the step to the podium or the line of foundation before the raised platform for the cult image. Lack of evidence for the west wall of room 18 is hard to explain as is the projection of the side walls beyond the rear of the building.

Elsewhere in the rooms, the evidence for walls is not very satisfactory. The wall of baked brick on the west side of room 17 reasonably defines the breadth of the room, but it is not clear why room 19 should be noticeably less broad. Mr. Manasseh thought room 18 was the vestibule<sup>8</sup> to a secondary court, room 4, a very natural hypothesis in the present state of the remains. A paved area at Seleucia more often represents one open to the sky and the closing wall to room 18 is not

apparent. On the other hand the oriental temple very commonly had the naos divided into three rooms, of which the cult area was the center.

In room 17, to the south of the center, a tiled area covers an elaborate drain represented in the drawing of Manasseh<sup>9</sup> as a series of great jars arranged in two tiers (fig. 9). The place apparently was used for ablutions.

### *Level III*

Remains of walls from the earlier monumental building show a series of rooms beneath the pronaos of Level II. They cover, in general, the same area as the pronas but the rooms are narrower and are oriented a little more to the east. The plan of Level III suggests four rooms, the north wall of which is close to the north wall of the later naos. The south wall is lost. Presumably it lay beyond the south wall of the pronaos. The east-west walls have the same orientation as walls along the south side of the court and the entranceway of room 11. The cistern and the wells (numbers 1 and 4) suggest an open court not incommensurate with the later building. To this earlier building belonged the decorative sima fragments and the inscription of Demetrius. However, the details, particularly the arrangement of the naos, are not clear. A fireplace of burnt brick, which interrupts the southern extension of the westernmost wall of the building, probably represents an earlier building period, at least an early phase of the second level. The room walls of the earlier period are made entirely of mud brick.

In the pronaos of room 3 four coins were found pressed together in Level II. One was Roman, of Trajan A.D. 98-117 (B709); a second of Osroes A.D. 113/4-119/20. From A6 the third level, two coins of four found pressed together (B784 A and B) were identified. One belonged to the period 42-40 B.C., the other two 121-83 B.C. It is not clear whether the coins from A6 lay outside the building or beneath the level of the room walls. One may see in the Trajan coins a small hoard concealed in a time of trouble.

In A3, the area of the doorway between 4 and 18 and the section just to the north, three coins were found together in a brick (B908), one of which was dated A.D. 17-18. It is not clear whether they were a hoard in the brick wall or were in the clay.

From a sub III level in room 3 came a coin (B785) dating prior to 311 B.C. In general, finds belonging to the pre-Parthian period, that is before 140 B.C., came from the west side and beyond the temple. In Y1, northwest of the corner of the temple, two coins of the third century B.C. were recovered (B1541). Two inscribed jar handles came from Z13, the section beneath the center of the naos, and one more (B929) from C1, the section north of the entrance to room 8.

In the center of the court (square D5), below the early building period of Level III, was found a rectangular model of a hut (Cat. B393) whose gable roof was fastened on by a cord attached to a knob at each corner. It recalled the hut urns of Italy but contained neither bones nor ashes. The location of the model in the center of the court, the care with which it was made and fashioned, and its position just beneath the level of the lower court suggest a foundation deposit. The gable roof allocates it to the Hellenistic period.

In Level III part of a baked brick pavement came to light as did a well (no. 4). The pavement was constructed along the

east side of an early wall and the well may have caught the water from the roof.

Beneath a part of the platform in the northeast corner of the court and extending beyond the platform toward the center of the court, lay a reservoir which had been filled up and paved over when the level of the court had been raised. In the reservoir was discovered part of a terra cotta sima with a lion's head spout (A940), obviously an architectural fragment belonging to the earlier building period. Other fragments of terra cotta simas (see the account of Mr. Goldman below), made it clear that the earlier structure had a gable roof in the Greek style. Apparently its plan resembled that of the later building, with a series of rooms around an open court, and the architectural decorations of the room marked it as a building of importance. It was this earlier temple to which the inscription of Demetrius had been attached.

The position of the reservoir beneath the later shrine probably means that the rites and ceremonies connected with the earlier temple were carried on in the later one. What those ceremonies might have been, however, is puzzling. The reservoir was filled, apparently, through a closed conduit from a vat, since the conduit opens into the top of the reservoir. An open conduit to the south of the vat might presumably carry off waste water, but its connection with the vat is not clear, since the remains break off suddenly before the vat is reached and the direction of the pipe before the break is not toward the vat (fig. 7).

Manasseh's description<sup>10</sup> is as follows: "This vat, which was partly destroyed by first level walls, was built of burnt bricks and bordered with bricks on edge eight inches high and must have had an area of about 35 square feet. It was connected with a reservoir six feet eight inches long, four feet eight inches wide and five feet six inches deep by a covered conduit whose opening was four inches by three inches. All these were made of burnt bricks laid in bitumen (B.B.) and were coated inside with a thick layer of bitumen which rendered them waterproof."

Manassah thought the arrangements were intended for the manufacture of date wine and suggested the juice extracted in the vat would flow through the conduit to the reservoir, while the water in which the dates were washed before taking them to the vat to be pressed would be carried away by the mud-lined burnt brick conduit on the south and east side of the excavations.

Such an hypothesis would explain the separation between the vat and southern conduit but it scarcely seems appropriate for a temple. One thinks first, when a covered conduit in a temple area connects vat and reservoir, of the changing of water to wine. The water would flow from the vat and pour out through some fountain head into the reservoir in the form of wine. A much simpler explanation, however, might be water from the vat pouring into the reservoir in a narrow stream to furnish ablutions for the hands of worshippers. The mud-lined conduit would carry off surplus supplies, or it might have served simply as a drain. Presumably the vat would be filled from the sloping roof in times of rain. The closed conduit would allow control of the water into the reservoir.

### *The Dedication*

One of the very few Greek inscriptions, a limestone block with parts of six lines, was discovered in trial trench four (pl.

V). The catalogue of daily finds records the stele of limestone as found beneath room 11, and records the dimensions as L. 25; W. 20 and H. 10 cms. (B561 of date 12/18/28). The location is important because room 11 was the entranceway of the building and the fragment beneath the floor might logically be assigned to an inscription close to the entrance of the earlier building.

The top, bottom, and right edges of the stele are intact. McDowell's transcription is as follows:<sup>11</sup>

Ἀντιόχου δὲ σω[τή]ρος  
 βασιλέως δὲ  
 . . . ]ξενου ἱερ[ο]μνή[μονος]  
 ]σ ἀγωνοθετοῦ μ  
 ταμί[α]ς ὄτας  
 . ]κεστράτου

McDowell believed the inscription was dedicated to Seleucus II; Rostovtzeff preferred Seleucus III<sup>12</sup> and R. P. Mouterde, Antiochus II Theos.<sup>13</sup> In a special study offered to Père Mouterde,<sup>14</sup> I suggested the dedication was made to Demetrius II. In any case the building might be identified as a heroon of the Seleucid dynasty.

In my discussion of the inscription in the *Mélanges*, I thought the letter at the end of line two, read doubtfully as *epsilon*, might be read as *eta*, and the name of the king Demetrius might be supplied immediately after the title. Reference to the stone has convinced me that McDowell correctly read the *epsilon* and that, therefore, the *δέ* should stand. The *δέ* is difficult unless Demetrius II is coupled with Demetrius I. The *hieromnemon* is concerned with the living king and the king would be most appropriately linked with his father in this monument, since the titles of the two Demetrii echoed the titles of the first two kings.

I believe, as stated below, the letter at the end of line four should be read *nu* instead of *mu* and the word would then represent the nominative singular of the participle.

R. P. Mouterde suggested that the genitive in McDowell's *ἱερ[ο]μνή[μονος]* be changed to the nominative plural, thus making the *hieromnemon*s subscribers to the inscription. The nominative singular is supported by the identification of the last letter in line five as *nu* instead of *mu*. The "one presiding at the games" then also joins the list of those subscribing.

There is a question whether more than one priest and *hieromnemon* would be mentioned by name in the inscription. The genitives of lines three and six suggest that the fathers' names of functionaries as well as the names of the functionaries themselves were given, and I suggest that if more than one official were mentioned in each case the lines would have been abnormally long. It would also be appropriate for the chief official in each class to represent the group. I have, therefore, suggested the singular form for the officials rather than the plural. The one who presides would in any case be appropriately a single individual.

The lines of the inscription should, then, be restored in part as follows:

Ἱερεὺς Σελεύκου Νικάτορος Ἀντιόχου δὲ Σω[τή]ρος  
 ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ Δημητρίου Σωτήρος βασιλέως δὲ  
 Δημητρίου Νικάτορος ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ φιλο]ξένου ἱερ[ο]μνή-  
 μων καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ἀγωνοθετοῦν  
 καὶ \_\_\_\_\_ ]ταμί[α]ς ὄτας  
 καὶ \_\_\_\_\_ ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ . . ]κεστράτου

"The priest of Seleucus Nicator and of Antiochus Soter, such and such (the name of the priest), son of so and so, and the *hieromnemon* (he who piously calls to mind the name), of Demetrius Soter and of King Demetrius Nikator, such and such (the name of the *hieromnemon*) son of Philoxenus(?), and such and such son of so and so who presided at the games, and Otas the supervisor and such and such an official son of so and so (Nikestratus ?) [dedicated this building or this gift]."

In the first line the final *omega* stands seven centimeters from the right edge, which would allow space for the final five letters of *Soter*s. The surface is abraded so there is no trace of the letters themselves. In the second line the upright and the lower bar of the *epsilon* seem clear. Six centimeters remain on the stone to the right of the *epsilon* but are worn away so there is no indication whether or not letters were added. Line three ends with the *eta* and to the right the four and a half centimeters to the edge of the stone, though only partly abraded, show no trace of letters. The line suggests that the divisions come in syllables and that the right hand edge was always the limit of the inscription. In line four, the *tau*, *omicron*, *upsilon* are all clear and leave room for one letter at the end. The upright and part of a diagonal are both visible so that both *nu* and *mu* are possible. The difficulty is augmented by the fact that the lower angle of the letter *nu* is regularly above the line of script so that the diagonals in *mu* and *nu* start from the same type of angle. As *nu* makes a natural ending to the participle, it is preferred to *mu*, whose only function could be to start another word. The last four letters are contained in the space of six centimeters. In line five the first three letters and the last four are clear. The *sigma* stands four and a half centimeters from the right edge of the stone but this space is badly worn. I see no indications of any letter. Between the *mu* and the *sigma* the space of almost three centimeters is abraded and the letters are partly indistinct and partly invisible. There are traces of an *iota*, though not certain ones, half a centimeter from the *mu*. This leaves almost two and a half centimeters for the *alpha* of McDowell and the *alpha iota* of R. P. Mouterde. The space is adequate and appropriate for both. I believe we can accept the first *iota* with confidence.

McDowell reads six letters in the last line confidently and I believe his reading is correct. The *kappa* at the beginning is not too clear and might be read *iota rho* from the marks in the stone, but these letters are inappropriate. The *rho* in the center of the word has left no traces that I can see and the *tau* before the *rho* shows only the lower part of the upright.

At the beginning of line three there is the end of a low diagonal and McDowell supplies a *ksi*. This is quite possible and I have nothing better to suggest.

There is no indication whether the inscription coincided with the erection of the building and was perhaps the dedication by the priests and officials immediately concerned with the construction. The archaeological remains indicate that the first significant structure was built on this area near the end of the Seleucid rule in Mesopotamia. There is no evidence for a previous heroon on this site and one scarcely expects that such a cult would have been moved from one location to another. One concludes, therefore, that the Royal Cult was first established at Seleucia by Demetrius II.

The heroon is, on the other hand, the best proof that the palace of the Seleucid kings lay close at hand. Perhaps the site

of the later Tell Umar already contained an altar or some religious structure. The finds of Hellenistic seal impressions in the low area in front of Tell Umar suggest the remains of records. The central location between the great temple areas would be of course a natural place for the palace. Probably the remains should be sought in the sunken area east of Tell Umar, at least this should mark the open court or forecourt of the palace. The heroon is not far away to the north. (See the over-all plan fig. 3).

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1. Hopkins, C., "A Stele from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris," *MéiUSJ*, 1961, XXXVII, 237-46.

2. *Dura VII-VIII*, 218ff.

3. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 11.

4. Manasseh (Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 9) believed that the central room on the west side of the building formed the monumental entrance.

5. Van Ingen, *Figurines*, 201 no. 720 and pl. XLVIII, 341.

6. Koldewey, *Wied. Bab.*, fig. 78, page 127.

7. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 12.

8. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 11.

9. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 11 fig. 3.

10. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 16.

11. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*, 258.

12. Rostovtzeff, M. I., "Progonoi," *JHS*, 55, 1935, 66, note.

13. Mouterde, R. P., Review of McDowell's *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*, *MéiUSJ*, XIX, 1935, 119-20.

14. Hopkins, C. *op. cit.* 237-46.

#### IV. THE THEATRE

The block C 10 lies on the south side of the city close to the middle of the western half. The northern end is bordered by the ancient caravan road; the southern side is stopped suddenly at present by the irregular edge of the mound. The block is one block west of the open rectangle that presumably conceals the remains of the ancient agora on the other side of the road. The northern two-thirds of the block contains relatively high ground running along the south side of the caravan route. On the east, this low plateau is broken by a depression roughly along the line and wider than the street, but to the west the plateau extends through the contiguous block to end in a rise and dip along the line of street 12. The *cavea* of the theatre breaks the line of the plateau on the southern edge, and the mound extends across part of both blocks, but the theatre proper may have been contained within block C 10. The excavations were concerned largely with the rectangular building south of the theatre and this on the west lies along the edge of street 12. (sketch plan fig. 1).

Excavations were begun on December 29, 1928, and were continued until January 20, 1929, under the title of trial trench 15. The mound is only one of a whole series of most interesting hillocks on either side of the route. The semi-circular shape of the mound was intriguing, however; the curve seemed to offer a reasonably limited area, and the height of the sides seemed to assure the presence of a building of importance underneath. Once the identity of the theatre had been ascertained, the workmen were transferred to new trial trenches (16 and 17 were begun on January 22 and 23, respectively) in the hope of locating the position of Babylonian Opis.

In the three weeks of digging, the massive piers of baked brick at the south end of the excavations were discovered first and were identified in the daily catalogue as "Gate" four days after work began. The later plans and drawings were even labeled "South Gate of Seleucia," and they do not include the diagrams of the seats. Neither the height nor the breadth of the rows was determined. Enough was excavated, however, to make it perfectly clear that the stage was connected with the terrace north of the wall with engaged columns. Whether there were rooms in between, or whether the terrace was the *skene*, is not clear.

The finds are probably more revealing when the purpose of the building was disclosed than they were in helping to discover it. The large number of figurines (55) chiefly in fragments might be the result of the disintegration of mud brick walls. There were twenty lamps, one of seven-burner variety, one of the round open bowl of the early period. There were a number of beads, of which two were coral; eight small pots of the type often used for cosmetics; two jugs; a number of little

ornaments, that is ring insets (B1015, 1016, 1073, 1174); an iron ring (B1039); a mother-of-pearl pendant; (B1194) et cetera. One coin found at a depth of one meter (B858) belonged to the period 121-83 B.C. and a second one, three meters down (B1072), dated from 38/7-32/1 B.C. A depth of about six meters was reached and finds were recorded by depth from the surface without division of the sector into sections.

A theatre was, of course, an indispensable part of the Hellenic city and its popularity in the East is amply attested by the examples of Palmyra, Gerasa, Philadelphia (in Transjordan), Petra, Babylon, etc. The theatre at Babylon faced south as does the theatre at Seleucia (through the axis at Babylon is a little east of south and the axis of Seleucia, if it follows the line of the block, is a little west of south) and at Babylon the excavations brought to light a large rectangular building south of the *cavea* consisting of a large square portico with a single row of rooms on three sides around it (the stage building of the theatre comprises the north side) and an additional colonnade before the rooms on the south. In the middle of the east side a row of columns forms an open room or exedra.<sup>1</sup> Koldewey (p. 298) suggests that this served as a palaestra and contributed to the center for the spiritual and physical need of the Greeks, *für ihre geistigen und sportlichen Interessen* is his phrase. This is possible, but specific evidence for a gymnasium is lacking.

At Seleucia the scheme seems to be the same as at Babylon and this parallel suggests an established tradition linking theatre with a porticoed building of considerable size. One may add that the portico at Seleucia is not established, but there is a good-sized, enclosed open space immediately south of the stage. The finds at Seleucia offer no clues.

When one searches for similar arrangements, the Odeon at Athens built immediately beside the theatre perhaps comes first to mind. At Seleucia, however, the building is obviously not a music hall. On the other hand a school for music, the dance as far as choruses were maintained, would be appropriate as would, perhaps, a place for oratory and declamation. Perhaps one need see, in the hot climate of lower Mesopotamia, only a place in which spectators might find shade and relaxation. The royal school or academy and library would presumably be located near the palace.

If the palaestra was not attached to the theatre, however, one suspects that it was not very far away. The civic center should include in the Hellenistic city the agora, gymnasium, bouleterion, and the theatre. The most valuable result of the identification of the theatre was to establish the fact that one civic center at least lay along the caravan route. It has already



been suggested (see above) that a second agora lay along the canal as a parallel to the upper and lower market places in Pergamum.

It seems reasonable that the original plan of the city stretched well beyond the edge of the present mound to the south so that at least the block C 10 would have been complete and space allowed for a street between block and wall. In the southeast corner of the city the C blocks are complete and the mound still slopes southward sufficiently to include part of another series of blocks. Only future excavations, however, can explore the city limits and probe the tantalizing mounds in the vicinity of Seleucia's center of drama.

In contrast to the numerous fragments of architectural

decoration in plaster found at Babylon<sup>2</sup>, a striking feature at Seleucia was the lack of architectural ornament either in brick or plaster. It is possible that they might be found in another part of the building. One may remember, however, that the only architectural ornaments from the Heroon were pieces of simas, and in the block the gypsum fragments begin only in the second period and are confined largely to the first (Level I). Architectural ornaments in brick occur earlier but they are rare.

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1. Koldewey, *Wied. Bab.*, fig. 253, page 298.
  2. Koldewey, *Wied. Bab.*, fig. 254, page 299.

## V. THE BLOCK G6—Level III (Plate VI)

Digging in the block G6 began on October 12, 1929, a fortnight after the beginning of the third season of excavations with trial trenches 19 and 20. Work continued fairly steadily thereafter until the end of the expedition, the conclusion of the sixth season. The number of workmen employed on the block differed at various times, however, depending on the total size of the labor force and the number and importance of other concurrent excavations. Thirty-two trial trenches were made, all told, in the first four seasons, not to speak of the excavations in the two great temple precincts in the last season.

The excavation of a single block at Seleucia is a formidable task. The block measures approximately 140 by 70 meters, four times the area of the blocks at Dura (70 by 35 meters). The excavations have been carried down to a depth of ten to twelve meters, but the occupation levels continue almost to water level five meters deeper.<sup>1</sup> The latest coins were those in room 250 (dating 208/9-222/3 A.D.) and at a depth of six feet in room 93, a silver coin of the same period. One from a well in 65 belonged to A.D. 209/210-219/220. Sasanian bronze coins were found in trial trench 18 just south of Tell Umar in a vaulted grave. Otherwise, the coins of the second decade of the third century are the latest evidence for ancient occupation.

The block itself lies a little south of the middle of the present plateau of the buried city and somewhat east of the middle of ancient Seleucia, whether one judges by Tell Umar as a central point or midway between the two temple precincts. It is two blocks north of the open rectangle designated as the agora and one block south of the east-west trans-city canal which carried water from the Euphrates to the Tigris. The location of this block was not particularly distinguished and perhaps on that account the excavations are the more valuable as revealing the usual rather than the unusual types of dwellings. The remains of a large building called the palace in the topmost stratum (Level I) caused a mound slightly above those of surrounding blocks, and for this reason trenches were begun at this spot. In the small amount of digging executed in comparison with the vast space at Seleucia, it is fortunate indeed that one dig was located in the vicinity of Tell Umar (trial trench four), one along the throughway (the theatre trial trench fifteen) and one in the residential area (block G6).

The air photos reveal a regular grid pattern of blocks extending from the highway to the canal, except for the areas in the immediate vicinity of the street and the waterway. It seems safe, therefore, to assume that the blocks served largely the same purpose. Since G6 in all the levels excavated was devoted to private residences, with the addition of small shops or tomb chambers along the street, the general area presumably always made up the larger part of the living quarters of the city.

The architectural history of the block has been divided by McDowell into four parts.<sup>2</sup> A more recent review presents some revisions of his first conclusions. I quote from the careful analysis in his unpublished report, "As a result of further excavation and study certain modifications must now be made in the dates previously assigned to the various levels found in the block. For the beginning of Level I, the latest, rather than the period A.D. 115-120 it is possible to assign the more closely approximate date of c. 120. Though the structure of Level II suffered damage during the general period of the Roman occupation under Trajan, it continued in use after the retirement of the invaders and the reoccupation of Seleucia by Osroes. Level I cannot have been built later than 122, and the weight of evidence points to 120. On the basis of the study of the Parthian coins it had appeared that occupation of the block ceased soon after A.D. 215/16—the latest date for which we have Parthian coins whether from the block or the complex as a whole. More recently a preliminary study of our Sassanid coins demonstrates that Level I continued to be occupied well into the reign of Ardashir I at least, probably as long as any portion of the old building remained habitable with the aid of minor restorations, evidence of which was found at the beginning of excavation in this area. During the later Sassanid period the block was used to some extent as a cemetery and quarry for bricks. For the beginning of Level II the preliminary date of about A.D. 45 which had been accepted must be changed to just after the year 69-70, the last year of occupation of Level III—perhaps A.D. 70. For this change there is no evidence whatever of violence—the old structure was simply torn down to make way for another of a different style.

"During the past season it has become increasingly clear that Level III comprised three clearly defined sub-levels, with the close of each marked by a considerable conflagration. The earliest phase of Level III was itself built on the debris of a fire which destroyed the greater part of the earlier Hellenistic building. The destruction took place after the rule of Demetrius II had become recognized in Seleucia, that is, after about 145 B.C. and the ruins were exposed to at least one rainy season. But the new structure had been in use for a considerable time prior to the second or permanent occupation of Seleucia by the Parthians. So Autonomous coins appear in Level III before the Parthian royal issues. If the year 141 B.C. is the correct date for this event, the earliest phase of Level III must have been built about 144 B.C. Its partial destruction, and the consequent restoration which has been termed Intermediate III, took place after 42 B.C. but only shortly after, probably about 50 B.C. This second principal phase of Level III was in turn partially destroyed during the revolt which came to an end in A.D. 40/41, apparently near its close. The third or latest phase of Level III cannot have been built prior

to the year 43/44, but this must have followed very shortly after this date, probably by A.D. 45. The evidence suggests strongly that the block was not occupied during this interval of at least four years, but was rather extensively used as a cemetery.

"As has been stated, Level IV was brought to a close very soon after the succession of Demertius II, perhaps in 145 B.C. Occupation of the block whether as one level or more goes back within the Seleucia period to at least 295 B.C. Examination of the cut to water level reveals several important conflagrations during this period. The latest phase, uncovered by the excavations during the past season, appears to have had its beginning in such a partial destruction and restoration which cannot be assigned to a period much before the reign of Demetrius I." In this analysis McDowell defines very skillfully the years of rebuilding in the block at the end of the period levels. I have not followed his suggestion, however, that the division between Level II and III be placed at A.D. 69-70 instead of A.D. 43. In both cases there was rebuilding, but in neither case was the block, in my opinion, completely rebuilt. McDowell believed a single palace occupied the whole block. If this is possible in Level I, it is certainly not the case in Levels II and III. The rebuilding of one part, therefore, would not mean the rebuilding of the whole block. For this reason, I have preferred to retain McDowell's previous judgment that the division between Levels II and III comes in A.D. 43, and particularly because this corresponds also with a drastic political change in the city's history.

Each of the levels presents quite distinct architectural features, though there is some shading off and it would be dangerous to say that all the houses in the block were destroyed and rebuilt at the same time. McDowell's report mentions a freer use in Level IV of white plaster as wall surfacing than was true in subsequent levels. Level III (141 B.C.—A.D. 43) is characterized architecturally by the open court with a pair of columns forming porches before the chief room of the house. In the uppermost level (I) (A.D. 120-215) the Parthian liwan is the chief room and sometimes two are placed opposite each other across the court.

Level II forms a transition period between the predominant use of the columned porch and the arched and vaulted open liwans. In Level II (A.D. 43-120) the columns have disappeared, but the arch and the vault for the chief rooms are used, but sparingly. With the Parthian architecture came the decorative plaster as an architectural ornament (see the account of Goldman below) which begins in Level II and blossoms in the period after Trajan.

Baked brick for flooring does not appear at all in the upper phase of Level I and is used rather sparingly in Level IA (pl. IX). Two courts (132 and 208) have narrow (three bricks wide) borders, one (61) has a single line of bricks half a meter from the walls; two others (219 and 239) have single rows adjacent to the walls; in room 164-165 in the southwest corner of the block a single row of bricks forms a border around the room. Otherwise the bricks are confined largely to thresholds or special small areas such as the pavement around the basin in court 77. There is, however, the suggestion in the fragments of brick pavement in 101 that the whole liwan was originally paved, and traces elsewhere (as in 194) suggest a border or a partial pavement of an area.

In Level II (pl. VII) a wide border (four or five bricks wide)

was fairly common in the open courts (65, 68, 62, 61), two bricks wide 94, 38 (perhaps only one brick wide) and in one case at least (205) the greater part of the large court was paved with baked brick tile. Steps from the court or from one room to another and thresholds were the other common recipients.

Occasionally small rooms in Level III (pl. VI) are tiled (68, 70, 65); courts 27, 18, and 102 were apparently bordered with baked brick, perhaps 138 also, and tiles were used between and in front of columns in 51, 102, 138 and 18. Part of an open court or room (201) was paved with brick, as was a section around the drain in 73, the corridor 210, and thresholds elsewhere. One might say there was a slightly different employment of bricks in Level III, that is the tiling of rooms, and the use in and around columns, but that the amount of tiling used was about the same as that in Level II. There was no trend obvious enough to postulate the amount and type of brick tiling in Level IV.

The tiling was immensely useful in determining floor levels. Otherwise the rooms had dirt or sand floors, with apparently fresh sand and clay used as coverings from time to time. The levels gradually rose, therefore, but the irregularity of the surface made it extremely difficult to keep the chronological strata in order. Deep foundations in upper levels penetrated and disturbed strata of earlier periods.<sup>3</sup> A special difficulty at Seleucia was the vaulted family tombs built beneath the courtyards.<sup>4</sup> Not only did the construction disrupt the stratification of lower levels but the reopening, as occasion required, disturbed the levels in the court and confused the chronological sequence of finds. At the same time a vaulted tomb might be taken as determining a court or room level above its vault and the period of construction and use could be defined by the dates in the successive graves. The types of construction of the tombs also are valuable evidence for the architectural history. The detailed account of the tombs will be reserved for another report. Here, only the evidence pertinent to the chronological history of the block and the architectural features of construction will be included.

Another difficulty, particularly for the sequence of figurine fragments, and sometimes of coins, was the preference for using broken pieces of terracotta as binding material in mud bricks. I take it when two or three coins are found in a wall, it represents at least a deposit if not a hoard. On the other hand a single coin, especially a small one, may date from the construction of the wall rather than the occupation of the house.

### *Level III*

The third level covering the years 144 B.C.—A.D. 43 represents the first part of Parthian invasion and occupation through the revolt of the city in A.D. 36/43.

The basic element in the house plans of the period, as far as one can judge from the block plan (pl. VI), was an open court in front of a large hall or porch fronted by two columns between engaged pilasters. The room or porch is regularly as wide as the court and it regularly faces north, orienting the axis of the house in this direction. This orientation offered shade and coolness, just as the chief room of the Olynthian house was oriented to the south for sunshine and warmth.<sup>5</sup> Around the other three sides of the court a series of rooms was built, very often opening directly upon the court. Entrance to

the house from outside was usually obtained through an entrance room or angled corridor.

#### *Level IV*

In the excavated rooms of Level III, coins of the Hellenistic period have occasionally been recovered, and in rooms 301 and 16 caches of 85 and 79 *bullae* fragments made of bitumen and belonging to the Hellenistic period<sup>6</sup> were found. It is possible that rooms 301 and 16 in their earliest phases belonged to the fourth level (the *bullae* were marked from level sub-IV) and even that the finds of wine cups and jugs from the adjacent court (16) belong to the same period. Nevertheless it is at present impossible to define with accuracy any single house of Level IV, that is of the Hellenistic period, much less the arrangements of the block as a whole.

The outlines of the block, however, though not the exact measurements, may be restored in Level IV with some confidence. The air views show the grid plan with clarity; the block dug is circumscribed by the same streets during the whole of the three periods with remarkably little change in dimensions or outer walls, and the Hellenistic city regularly was planned on a block system. This would be the more expected in a new capital city and particularly one laid out on the flat Mesopotamian plain.

In a large block in Seleucia, just as in Olynthus and Dura, one expects a series of houses on the east and west sides, probably originally with an alley between. The blocks at Olynthus have the alleyway most clearly marked.<sup>7</sup> The regular block at Olynthus<sup>8</sup> contained ten houses in two rows of five and the half block measured 300 by 60 Greek feet.<sup>9</sup> The typical Greek house was "rectangular or nearly square" and with the walls would be approximately 17 meters square. At Dura the measurements of blocks differed, ranging in length from 72 meters<sup>10</sup> to 76.50 meters<sup>11</sup> and in widths from 36.25 to 41.50 meters.<sup>12</sup> Pillet<sup>13</sup> remarks that the blocks were usually divided by a central alley and the rectangles so formed were parcelled out into two or even four sections. Evidence for the longitudinal division at Dura, however, had largely disappeared. The typical house as drawn by Pearson<sup>14</sup> was square with a measurement of 17 to 18 meters on a side. In Olynthus there were ten houses to the block, and in Dura eight.

At Seleucia the block in all the levels dug is almost exactly twice as long as it is wide. In the third level remnants of a longitudinal alley dividing the block in half remain on the north end, and on the east side the block is divided in half by an entranceway between two houses, with the south quarter divided again into two parts. This evidence is not sufficient to reconstruct the plan of Level IV with certainty, but it seems reasonable to expect that the basis was the Hellenistic scheme of a rectangular block, in this case twice as long as wide, divided into eight square house units.

At Dura, von Gerkan believes that the unit of measure for the fortification walls in the Parthian period was Samian or Ionic ell<sup>15</sup> of 0.525 meters and he believes the same unit was used in Hellenic times. This unit fits the measurements of the square houses both at Olynthus and Dura well enough with a side of between 17 and 18 meters (17.5 meters equals one-third of a hundred ell).

At Seleucia the block measurements of approximately 139 meters by 69.5 meters corresponds rather closely to the

measurement in Ionic ells  $266 \frac{2}{3}$  by  $133 \frac{1}{3}$  = 140 meters by 70 meters. A square house 34 meters on a side would allow a longitudinal alley way of two meters.<sup>16</sup> The houses at Seleucia would be four times the size of the average or typical one at Olynthus and Dura.

If the original scheme was a block divided into eight square sections, this does not mean that the Hellenistic home always maintained a square plan, or even that the original houses occupied each an individual square. Common walls were the rule in adjacent houses, and nothing was more flexible than the Hellenistic architectural arrangements. By making a doorway between houses, by blocking off rooms, by encroaching on the street or alley, the individual house or houses could be adapted to the needs of expanding or contracting families, of family relationships and friends, in a way that the modern householder or even apartment dweller might well envy. When one examines the early parts of Level III, one may recognize only the traces of the original square houses (if the original houses were square) and of the original eight divisions of the block.

#### *The Block Sections Level III*

The first general impression as one looks at the plan of block G6 Level III (pl. VI) is of a rectangular area comprising a confusion of rooms or house units. There is a row of shops or tomb chambers along the south side and extending around the corner on the east. There is a corridor running in toward the center of the block in the middle of the north side, and entranceways divide the west half into three main sections fairly evenly divided. One suspects that there should be an entranceway in the middle of the east side, for a corridor (92) runs east in a very narrow passageway (69) to the street wall. The passage is too narrow for anything but an entryway or a drain, and one needs access to the houses on either side. A second passageway, 128, divides what appears to be individual sections in the eastern half of the south side into two parts, as has been remarked, and an entryway from the street is certainly called for through room 25Y.

As far as the finds are concerned, some difficulty is created by a duplication of numbers. The architect has placed an x in front of one of the duplicate numbers to distinguish it. I have added a Y after the other of the pair to indicate that there is a duplicate. The distinguishing letters are not marked in the catalogue of finds, but find dates of objects are carefully recorded and a comparison of excavation dates in adjacent rooms serves to allocate the antiquities to the appropriate room.

Since both the Hellenistic and oriental house plans are based on a series around an open court, it is no surprise to find that this is the arrangement also at Seleucia. If there were many larger domestic animals: goats, sheep, burros, cattle, horses, an entryway directly from the street into the court would have been a great convenience. One scarcely expects in the middle of a city, however, that animals of this type would play an important role, and no provisions for animals (stables, mangers, etc.) have been found. It is possible, however, that the wide entranceway, 101, and some of the open areaways, such as the central 144, may have been used in part for animals. At Dura the angle-turn into the court to obscure the view from the street is almost invariable;<sup>17</sup> at Olynthus direct

entry, street to court, or at least a straight prothyron to the court was not uncommon.<sup>18</sup>

The striking and unusual feature in Level III at Seleucia, as has been remarked, was the arrangement of open court in front of a large hall or porch fronted by two massive columns of baked brick covered with plaster and placed between engaged pilasters, the whole surrounded by a series of smaller rooms. The arrangements differ considerably within the section and particularly along the house axis of columned room, court, and opposite room. The largest unit is in the southwest corner of the block, section F, and centers around a large room 32Y. This room is separated from the court 126, by two large columns between engaged pilasters. Opposite this chief room a broad room, 125, with a wide doorway takes up most of the north side of the court and gives access on the west to a little side room, 143. The chief room which may be called a liwan has the same width as the court but is slightly longer and is flanked on the south by shops along the street and so completes the house complex on the south.

In the southeast corner (section A) the court, 138, is small unless the room 135 be joined to it. I suspect the lines marking construction between 138 and 135 marked the foundation for the tiled border which had been removed. This scarcely eliminates the difficulty, however, since an open room is left beyond the baked brick border; or the brick pavement limited only a part of the court, both of which arrangements would be most unusual. If there was a wall between 131 and 135, the court was very small indeed. South of the court the large room 36Y if fronted by two columns without the usual pilasters and gives access through a middle doorway to a rear room 50 (also as wide as the court) and room 36.

The southeast central section (regarding the block as divided into eight main sections) contained an axial, well-marked court; liwan 106, fronted by two columns between engaged pilasters; and rear room 104, whose doorway is in the middle of the rear wall of 106. There appears to be an open room 83 on the north side with small side rooms to east and west, but the arrangements are not clear. I think the brick pavement indicates at least the edge of the court on the north.

The north half of the east side contains two columned sections, both of them in the north half. It is sufficient here to notice the special arrangement of the axial units and to leave the analysis of house plans to separate treatment. The courtyard 27Y is flanked on the south by two columns of baked brick between engaged brick pilasters, behind which is the single porch or large room 39. The room gives access to rooms 22Y and 58 on the west and east, but there is no room beyond 39 along the axial unit to the south. North of the porch, the arrangement of rooms is a little curious also, since 28Y is scarcely larger than a small storeroom and 78 is just a closet, very probably underneath a stairway to the roof.

The unit of which 45 forms the court has still more unusual features. The columns in front of room 62 to the south are flanked by the walls of court and room rather than engaged pilasters, and the two rooms south of 62 may originally have formed one large liwan behind a columned porch. North of the court, however, two rectangular pillars with the curved ends of engaged columns front another open room (54) facing the court. A further peculiarity of this unit is that it seems to form not the central axial unit of a house but almost the whole unit. There are little side rooms, 80 and 56 to the west of the court

and the open north room, but no real series of rooms around the court. Perhaps the unit 64-45-54 formed an adjunct to the house to the north; perhaps room 57 was closed off to complete with 33 a small house unit accessible through corridor 21Y.

West of the corridor a well-defined unit is composed of courtyard 18, bordered on three sides by tiles, the room 12 to the south fronted by columns between engaged pilasters and giving through a southern door into room 42. On the north side a wide doorway gives access to room 55. I believe room 213 belonged to a separate house complex.

There are then, five axial units in the block in which the court is fronted to the south by two columns forming one side of a porch or room. In spite of the variations that occur beyond this basic element of court with pillars on the south and open room beyond, there is clearly an architectural trend or fashion that distinguishes a number of houses in this third level. To this we shall return shortly.

Meanwhile it is worth while calling attention to a few other features. The tiled area 201 west of court 18 presumably marked a courtyard open to the sky and had, to the south, a small open room unadorned with columns and not marked even by engaged pilasters. A similar arrangement immediately adjoins court 120 to the west with a small tiled area having an open room 107 to the south.

In the northwest corner of the block, the room 196, considerably larger than surrounding rooms, is flanked to north and south by good sized rooms, 35x and 189, but, if 196 is a courtyard, the usual tiling has been lost or omitted and room 35x is closed off by a wall and doorway rather than with columns. The house unit to the south has a court and large-sized room, but there is nothing except the analogy with other houses to suggest that 178 was an open court and 169 the liwan to the south. The wide doorway in the middle of the wall between the two suggests that together they made the chief axial unit of the house.

Miss King, who made a special study of the sections in the middle of the west side of the block, suggested that columns had been lost between the engaged pilasters of room 153. The tiled border at the north end of 153 probably identifies it as a court and the engaged pilaster often flanked columns. Whether there were columns or not, the axial unit of court and open room to the south seems clear. From this room, the south side of 153, access is given to 304 through a central doorway. The sequence of large rooms beyond 304 is unusual, perhaps a recompense for the lack of rooms north of the court. The room 301 contained in the fourth level one of the caches of *bullae*.

Elsewhere in the block, the central units of houses are less apparent or at least less regular. The large open court 14, adjacent to which the salt tax *bullae* were discovered, was probably open to the sky, but none of the usual arrangements of rooms are found around the court. The large open space 144 close to the center of the block does not seem to be closely connected with any individual house complex. There are other large areas, 122 and 147-118, and 111, either open courts or inordinately large rooms which do not fit into any special pattern of architectural plans.

If one considers the unit 153-304 as it stands, that is an open court with wide open porch to the south separated off only by engaged pilasters, then there are three units of court

and southern room without pillars, one 196-35x with narrow central doorway, 178-169 with monumental entrance, and 153 with engaged pilasters scarcely dividing the court as it stands. The difference does not seem to be due to wealth, since though the unit 126-32Y is the largest in the block, and 102-106-104 deserves second place, the court room unit of 178-169 comes close to being the second largest in size in the block.

If in Level II the columns gave way to the walls of a room on the south side of the court, one might say in the third level that the arrangements of court and room to the south made a transition to Level II. The opposite is the case. In the second level the columns give way to courts with an open room to the south limited toward the court by neither wall nor columns. Furthermore, in some instances both in relation to the columned court and the walled court, the unit in Level II lies directly above. This is the case, for instance, of the tiled court 65 and open room 15x located directly above the tiled court and columned room 39, and the tiled court 61 and open room 54 of Level II constructed directly above the court and walled room 196-x35 of Level III. Either then, the court and room marked a very short transition period between the columns and the open room which bordered the court to the south in Level III or the completely open room superseded two different architectural traditions, one with walled room but still the most important one, the *liwan*; the other the open porch or room on the south side of the court. The latter seems the more likely as both the units 45-62 and 138-36Y have columns without engaged pilasters as reasonable transition steps between the columns with pilasters and the open room without columns.

Closest to the second level arrangement would be the long area 111, if part were indicated as court by tiling. Interestingly enough the two small units 201-180 and 107 divided into tiled area on the north with open room to the south parallel later Level II arrangements on a small scale.

The most interesting questions are the origin of the columned porch or open room, its history in Mesopotamia, and its special relationship to the architecture of Seleucia. One might start safely by saying that the arrangement is not Babylonian. Both the Babylonian and Assyrian temples and houses, to include the palaces, were built without columns. Where necessary square pillars or pilasters were used for supports and one may say for Mesopotamia, as a whole, that the columned porch and room were foreign before the Persian period.

The Greek influence is a good deal closer and stronger. The little temple with porch of two columns *in antis* is a basic form in Greek architecture and one may cite as an outstanding example the Nike temple on the Acropolis at Athens. The treasure houses at Delphi and Olympia provide further examples of the same form, a square or rectangular (long) room behind a porch of two columns *in antis*. In the domestic architecture examples are more difficult to find. At Olynthus, though the peristyle is used<sup>19</sup> and sometimes a single row of columns is placed along one side of the court in front of the *pastas*,<sup>20</sup> there is no chief room with a porch of columns *in antis*.

Perhaps it is foolish to insist on this distinction. In the third level at Seleucia the columns are regularly used in pairs, they front a deep porch or open room which regularly occupies the

whole of the south side of court and they stand between rectangular pilasters jutting from the court walls on either side or between the plain walls of the rooms to east and west. In Olynthus occasionally<sup>21</sup> a single row of columns formed the whole boundary on one side of the court. One may remark, however, that the Olynthian remains fit comfortably into the regular peristyle courts or colonnades of private Greek houses; the Seleucid at least insist on a very particular form.

At Priene a single one of the Hellenistic houses has a court, in the middle of one side of which is a porch with two columns *in antis*. It is famous in architectural history because it echoes part of the Mycenaean megaron unit and seems therefore to be peculiarly Greek. One difficulty is the fact that the Mycenaean megaron unit appears suddenly in Greece, since there are no columns in the Middle Helladic period, and it disappears just as suddenly and completely at the beginning of the Geometric period. The Greek megaron temple repeats the same form but as a free standing and individual unit. There is the very occasional use of columned porch and long room in later Greek history, as the house of the Bishop in Thessalian Thebes<sup>22</sup> and building D in the agora of Eleusis.<sup>23</sup>

In Nippur the excavations of the University of Pennsylvania uncovered a 'Little Palace' of the Parthian period (fig. 16) with interesting parallels to the Seleucid residences. It was roughly square in plan, one side almost 52 meters, the others less than 52, close in measurement to the one hundred Ionian ell of 52.5 meters.<sup>24</sup> The court has a peristyle and is entered through a loggia with two columns facing the court, not round columns but each composed of two half columns built on either side of a square shaft. The peristyle is composed of square pillars at the corners with four columns on each side. The main room has on the north side its entranceway composed of double doors raised three steps above the level of the anteroom. The room is broader than it is long, the width corresponding to the side of the peristyle, and it has its roof supported by four columns. The anteroom has half the depth of the chief room and as reconstructed by Fisher has a single doorway (in addition to that into the main room) facing the center of the court and the loggia. Just beside the doorway under the portico was an altar, at first mistaken for the base of a huge column.

The women's quarters are to the west of the men's and the chief unit, fortunately here well preserved, consists of a square court, on the south of which lay a deep porch separated from the court by two columns between pilasters and giving into an inner room facing north with its door in the center of the wall and its doorway raised a step. Since in this unit the sides of the porch and the chief room continue the line of the court, the parallel is very close to the arrangements at Seleucia.

There are a number of serious questions which may be raised concerning the restoration of the whole chief unit south of the court. Fisher remarks<sup>25</sup> in relation to the peristyle court, "on the south side the colonnade widened out to 15 feet 5 inches, to make a more effectual entrance to the principal hall. Here on a broad step before the door stood a round altar (5), a thing never missing from the true Hellenic court. This was mistaken for the base of a huge column by the first expedition, but the absence of another on the opposite side would preclude this idea, even if we had not the evidence of its size and position. The space between this step and altar was cut by a deep trench, so that we could determine nothing

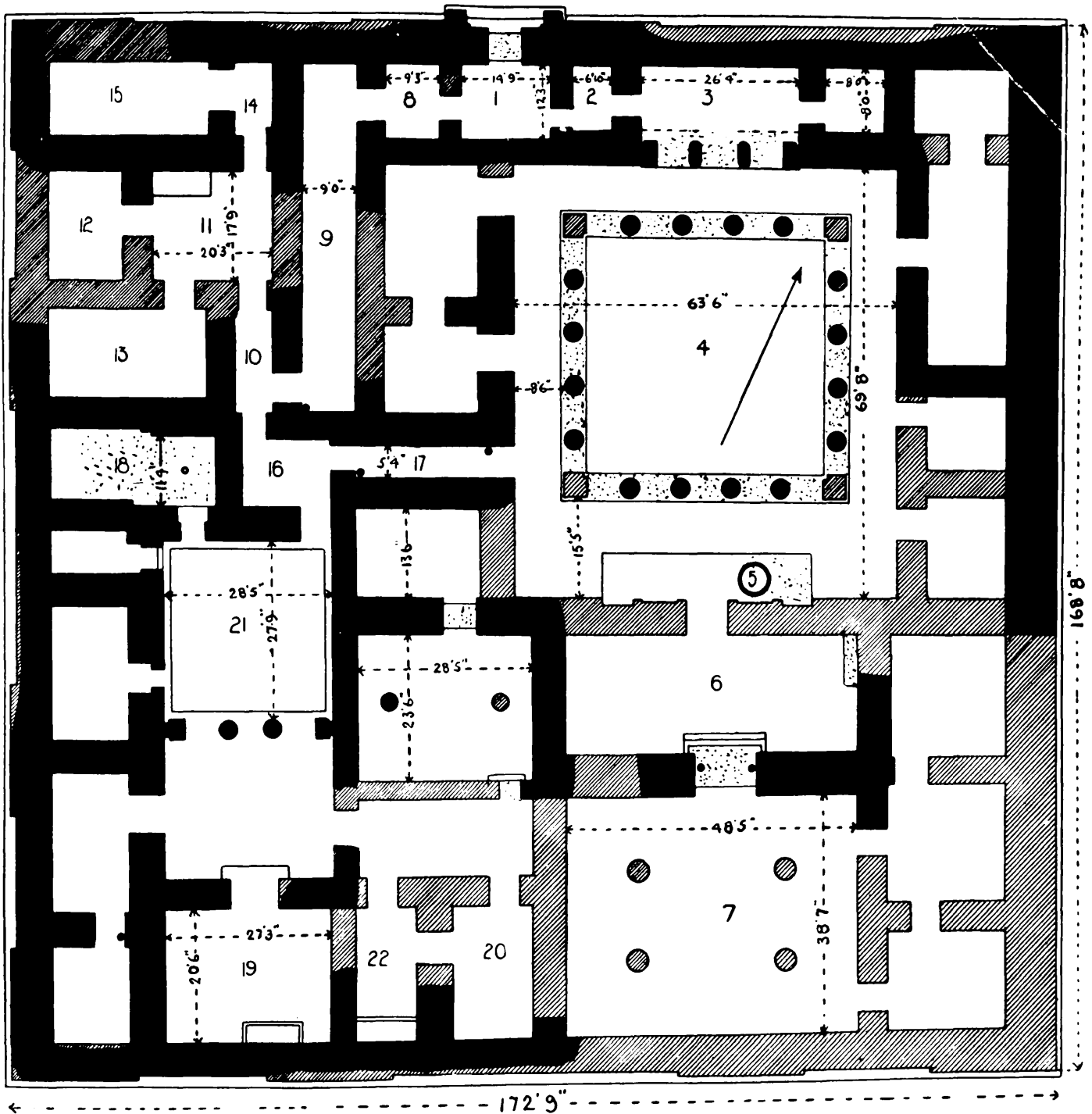


Fig. 16. Nippur, little palace of Parthian period, plan (after Fisher)

of the character of the pavement or wall. It is easy to suppose, however, that this was occupied by the vestibule (6) of the megaron or men's hall, for at its southern end was the doorway we have already mentioned. Three low steps led up to it and the door sockets at each side show it to have been a double door. Fragments of the hardware were scattered around. The hall (7) into which this gave admittance was by far the largest in the palace, 38 feet 7 inches by 48 feet 5 inches in size. Only the entrance remains to us, but its dimensions, which we can restore, would lead us to suppose that it

had columns to support its roof, in which case it doubtless had a raised skylight after the fashion of the palace at Tiryns and other Hellenic ruins which have come down to us. Beneath this would have been the low hearth usual in the men's hall."

If the columns are correctly restored, I believe the influence should be sought rather in the Iranian than the Hellenistic tradition. The megaron hall is extremely rare even in Asia Minor after the Mycenaean period and even the columned porch or vestibule is difficult to find. On the other hand, the columned hall and a pillared vestibule are the basic elements of

the old Persian palace. Herzfeld<sup>26</sup> states that the unit of composition at Persepolis essentially consists of a portico between two closed rooms and a vast hall behind. In pre-Achaemenian tombs the regular plan is a deep portico adorned with two columns and a door in the middle of the back wall leading into a spacious tomb chamber. A tomb at Fakhriqa south of Lake Urmiya has an open tomb chamber, a second pair of columns replacing the wall with the door.<sup>27</sup> At Persepolis the great halls of the palace are square and supported with numerous columns. In the smaller rooms and entranceways the square chamber with four interior columns is almost the rule. So are formed at Persepolis the gate of Xerxes, the "Tripylon," which Schmidt calls "presumably the first audience hall of Persepolis;"<sup>28</sup> two of the side rooms of the palace of Xerxes; and almost all the rooms of the Harem palace of Darius and Xerxes.<sup>29</sup> The Median tomb or pre-Achaemenian, Herzfeld<sup>30</sup> suggests, was a continuation of Anatolian, of which those in Paphlagonia were the nearest analogies. One recalls that the temple of Baal Shamin at Si in the Hauran had a temple front of two columns between towers or side rooms and a main room consisting of a square chamber (with ambularium) whose roof is supported by four columns.<sup>31</sup>

This leads us rather far afield, but a survey, though brief, allows some conclusions. Both in Iran and in early Anatolia the porch of two columns between towers or rooms was well established. The basic pattern of the old Persian Empire was a pillared vestibule behind which lay a square hall with columns supporting the roof, four whenever the room was a moderate size. The Babylonian-Assyrian tradition included neither columned rooms nor porches. The hallmark of the elegant Hellenistic house, however, was the peristyle.

At Dura the court of the palace of the Redoubt, remodeled during Parthian times, was flanked on both the south and the west by broad rooms fronted by porches, each adorned by two columns between pilasters and contained by the side walls of the court. (*Dura-Europos Rep. IV*, pl. III). The Parthian palace at Tell Duweir in Palestine exhibits the same basic unit of broad room to the south of the court and a vestibule of two columns between the side walls.<sup>32</sup> This may be called the Hilani pattern, but it corresponds also with the old Iranian tradition. There is no doubt that the Greeks with their penchant for the peristyle and the colonnade found little difficulty in accepting this variation in courtyard architecture, but I see no reason for considering it Greek. An interesting variation at Dura occurs in the House of the Large Atrium<sup>33</sup> in which a colonnade on the north of the courtyard is balanced on the south side by four columns between pilasters attached to the side walls of the court. Behind this stands the chief room of the house.

A good example of the Greek house in lower Mesopotamia, or at least the Greek peristyle introduced into the Babylonian type, is House I from Babylon.<sup>34</sup> The original neo-Babylonian house<sup>35</sup> had a large central open court with the main room on the south and, opposite it, another good-sized room with kitchen to the west, and two small rooms and perhaps the staircase to the roof on the east. Behind and on either side of the great broad room on the south of the court was a series of smaller rooms, the one immediately behind the center of the chief hall being the largest. In the Seleucid period<sup>36</sup> the plan

remained almost unchanged, but a Greek peristyle was introduced into the court.

The house in Babylon illustrates how easy it was to place a Greek stamp on a building by erecting a peristyle in the open court. A parallel case at Dura was the addition of a peristyle to the palace on the citadel, a building whose outstanding features were the great open Parthian liwans.<sup>37</sup>

One may suspect that some of the houses in the fourth level at Seleucia contained the Hellenistic peristyle. This would be the more likely if the block were divided into eight large, square houses. The size and shape of the house or palace at Nippur lend support to such a supposition. The size of the courts would presumably be proportionate to the size of the houses and there would be ample room for peristyles.

The arrangement of the women's quarters at Nippur, both the position and the general form, seems to find a very close similarity in two houses of Level III at Seleucia. At Nippur the main unit of the chief rooms to the south of the peristyle court is supplemented by a rather similar unit on the west side of the house. There is an open square court flanked on the south by an open porch fronted by two columns between pilasters and giving access to a room equal in breadth to the breadth of the court and the vestibule, and resting on the rear wall, the south wall of the house.

In the two cases at Seleucia, sections B and D, the main units have square open courts, porches with columns between antae, and rooms behind the porches as wide as porch and court. Immediately beside the main axis in section B is a small open court and a large open room to the south, a smaller room on the north. In section D a corridor separates the main unit from the secondary unit but the secondary unit is of the same type: an open court flanked by an open room to the south, a closed room on the north side. Fisher has suggested the smaller unit at Nippur represented the chief rooms of the women's quarters and this seems the best solution at Seleucia.

The oval columns in the loggia at Nippur are paralleled by similar types of brick columns, two half columns on either side of the courtyard, in this case, just one of the entranceways to court 45 in section D.

Fisher's objections to recognizing a columned porch in front of the Megaron at Nippur were the size of the column base, the lack of a similar base on the other side of the center, and the belief that the round base best filled the need for an altar, "a thing never missing from the true Hellenic court." It seems hazardous to challenge this supposition but the excavations at Seleucia suggest the alternative of the columned porch before the megaron rather than the closed room. Furthermore the columns at Seleucia are monumental in diameter, particularly in proportion to the length of the façade and the size of the room. An altar was a very appropriate article in a Greek court but in the private houses of Dura they are very rare indeed and at Seleucia they are non-existent, at least in the Parthian period. At Olynthus they were not round and they were located in the center of the court or on one or another side of the main axis and faced east. The lack of a second base would be fatal to the theory of a colonnade if a large trench had not been made between step and altar and the mining for baked brick were not a very popular employment. My own opinion is that since the women's quarters at Nippur had a deep columned porch in front of its main room, columns may safely be restored in the chief unit before the megaron. In that



case the main unit becomes in plan very close to the Mycenaean megaron form of porch in front of a four-columned room. At Nippur as at Seleucia the pattern should rather be referred to the Iranian palaces. In any case Fisher's suggestion of a low hearth between the pillars may be confidently rejected. The only evidence for four columns in the megaron at Nippur is the size of the room and the analogies of Mycenaean and Persian chambers. Since no architectural fragments remain, I suggest the Parthian vault as at Tell Duweir may have replaced the columns.

### *The Tombs*

The sections of the block varied between a minimum of eight large dwellings and perhaps twenty smaller ones, according to the needs of the times and the occupants. The number of persons living in the area when it was fully occupied might differ between 30 and 100 depending on the number of children, servants, slaves, etc. If 50 or 60 is a fair average and there were three generations a century, between 600 and 700 persons in Levels I-III should be accounted for in the tombs, provided all were buried in the block area. In the block there seems to be no definite rule for the place and type of tomb. A number of burials are in corridors or alleyways, some are beneath the floors of rooms in houses and some belong to the rooms along the edges of the block which may have been reserved for burials. At the same time there is no doubt that all the inhabitants were not buried in the area and, even if allowance be made for deaths away from the city, in military campaigns, journeys, etc., it seems clear that there were burial grounds at Seleucia other than in or around the private residences.

Reuther<sup>38</sup> suggests that in old Babylon burials were made in ruined houses rather than in occupied ones and so there were distinct stages represented by levels when the house was used as cemetery and when again rebuilt above the old graves for occupancy. Both in the block and in the precinct of the Royal Temple graves were made late in the occupancy of the city or after sections of the city had been abandoned. It is quite possible therefore that unoccupied parts of Babylon, both before and after occupancy, were utilized as graveyards.

I see no reason why districts outside the city should not also have been used for burial grounds. At Dura, both in the Seleucid and the Parthian periods, burials were regularly outside the city walls and the same was true in Palmyra. Probably much of the land outside Seleucia was irrigated, and from time to time floods or attacks would make burials in the plain difficult or impossible. The grave chambers in Seleucia, moreover, as well as the number of graves in the block made it clear that in many cases burials in the occupied areas of the city were preferred to those outside the walls. I do not believe, however, that the occasional flooding of districts outside the city would cause the inhabitants to shun burials in the dry season. The best explanation, therefore, for the comparatively small proportion of burials in the city is that in many, if not most, cases the custom of the Greeks to bury the dead outside the walls was observed.

Reuther's conclusion at Babylon that graves were not made in occupied houses but only in deserted ones has rather serious objections even in Babylon. The single grave, especially the poor one, might conceivably borrow unoccupied ground for a burial and this might well include discarded houses or those in

ruins. It is more difficult to believe that tombs, elaborately constructed and intended for more than one burial and especially a second burial coming at an indefinite later date, would be built on land not controlled by the builder of the tomb. If clear land or a deserted house within the block were purchased for use as a burial ground, it becomes a part of the house owner's property and in the easy transfer of rooms and houses under the construction system of common walls, the difference is small whether the house or room next door was purchased in an occupied or unoccupied state.

At Seleucia in one grave (no. 216) at least 33 skeletons were found, and six to eight were usual in the vaulted tombs. The vaults commonly contained four to eight cubicles, as compared with the vaulted graves with at most two burials in Babylon. Most commonly at Seleucia, the burial or tomb was located in a small room of the house. This might suggest that the room was considered as a tomb chamber and was not employed for other purposes. The employment of rooms along the street and not communicating with the adjacent house, supports this idea of rooms used exclusively for burials. On the other hand the occasional tomb beneath the floor of the court precludes the conclusion that every room in which burial occurred was reserved exclusively for the dead. Indubitably the individual house owner was free to make his own decision. The burials in corridors or alleyways were usually of the poorer sort, probably, therefore, of slaves or servants. People of means and especially those belonging to the families of houseowners might be buried in the houses or the rooms along the courts. The alleyways were common property and presumably could be utilized on occasion by the owners of adjacent houses.

The vaulted tombs at Seleucia are constructed both in the orthodox manner with the bricks lying flat, that is radially, or with the bricks of the vault placed upright and resting flat on the end wall of the chamber (the pitched vault). Both styles are found in the same level at Nippur and are well illustrated in Hilprecht.<sup>39</sup> What is called the pitched vault with bricks upright but placed flat against the end wall is related to the Parthian style. The Parthians in their palaces supported the vault of the liwan against the back wall of the hall. In Babylon, however, Reuther believes the vaulted tombs, four out of five of which belonged to the orthostate type (with standing tiles along the sides), should be allocated to the pre-Seleucid periods. The vaulted type was exceptional in Babylon, however, and Reuther<sup>40</sup> suggests they may have been made by foreigners. Since at Seleucia the purely Hellenistic level has not been dug, it is impossible to tell whether the Parthian type existed previous to the Parthian occupation of the city or not. If Reuther is correct, the type should probably be called Iranian rather than Parthian, though there is no evidence of it in the old Persian kingdom. Perhaps it is best to say conservatively that it is rare in pre-Parthian conquest.<sup>41</sup>

A more common type of grave, and one which belongs to the Parthian period at Babylon,<sup>42</sup> is the baked brick tomb, a single brick wide, closed above by a series of bricks placed on end, one point projecting into the tomb, the edges resting on either side of the construction. So the roof gives the appearance of a sharp gable with one point of the brick cover placed directly above the middle of the grave. Since the bricks are 33 centimeters on a side,<sup>43</sup> the structure was a very narrow final resting place indeed. The body was stretched at length as

compared with the common Babylonia contracted position. A variation of this type was the wider form with a cover of three bricks, one on each side braced against the sides at a 45 degree angle and the third used as a "keystone" above. At Assur in the Parthian period, the grave of baked bricks sometimes has the cover of bricks placed on edge and starting in toward a top brick in horizontal position; sometimes the sides also are composed of rows of single upright bricks, the most economical of the baked brick structures.<sup>44</sup>

Very old in Babylonia, in fact in the greater part of Mesopotamia, was the practice of burying within the limits of the city not to speak of within the walls of the private house. The practice is well attested in ancient Babylon, Assur, Nippur, Kish,<sup>45</sup> Surghul, El Hibba,<sup>46</sup> and Carchemish.<sup>47</sup> The discovery of the use of anthropoid sarcophagi in Babylonia, a practice derived from Egypt, indicates the continuance of the intramural burials in the Seleucid period.<sup>48</sup> In the lack of excavations of the Greek level at Seleucia, one may suppose that at least the native Babylonians (as opposed to the Greeks) were continuing the old practice.

In the accounts of the individual houses, the graves will be reviewed chiefly for their evidence in the disposition of individual rooms and for any information they might yield for the date and history of the house.

#### Section A

The section designated A (fig. 17) at the southeast corner of the block occupies a quarter of the distance along street 4. If it were square in plan it would reach to the center of block G on the south. This probably was close to the original division in Level IV comprising one eighth the area of the block. Presumably, in the lowest level an alleyway would have divided the block down the middle and this has been encroached upon by the house in section F.

Streets limit the section on the south and east. To the north the corridor 26x-40x-128 divides section A from section B and on the west corridor 124 and the unbroken wall on the west side of rooms 245, 246 and 258 separate the house from section F in the southwest corner of the block.

The interior rooms, with a few of the exterior ones, form a single house whose plan is clear and of not unusual type. The courtyard 138 is bordered by a baked brick pavement, only the outlines of which remain in the north and the west. The main room 36Y lies as usual on the south side of the court and is fronted by two columns of baked brick probably between small pilasters (not recorded on one of the block plans).

Behind 36Y, that is to the south, lay a good sized room, 50, with its chief entrance giving into the middle of the south wall of 36Y. North of the court beyond the baked brick border an open space probably represented a room open on the court side but roofed. The main axis of the house was oriented north and south with a series of connecting rooms on each side.

Entrance to the court is obtained from street 4 through rooms 235, 38Y, and corridors 132, 22x. A side entrance to the inner room 50 is obtained from Street G through rooms 35, 44, and 48. The doorway into the court 138 from the corridor 124 is not clear. The doorway might depend from year to year on how closely knit the families in sections A and F were linked since it gives easy communication between the two. Probably originally the entranceway from the street 4 to the court was through 23x. Rooms 24x, 25x, 131 form a

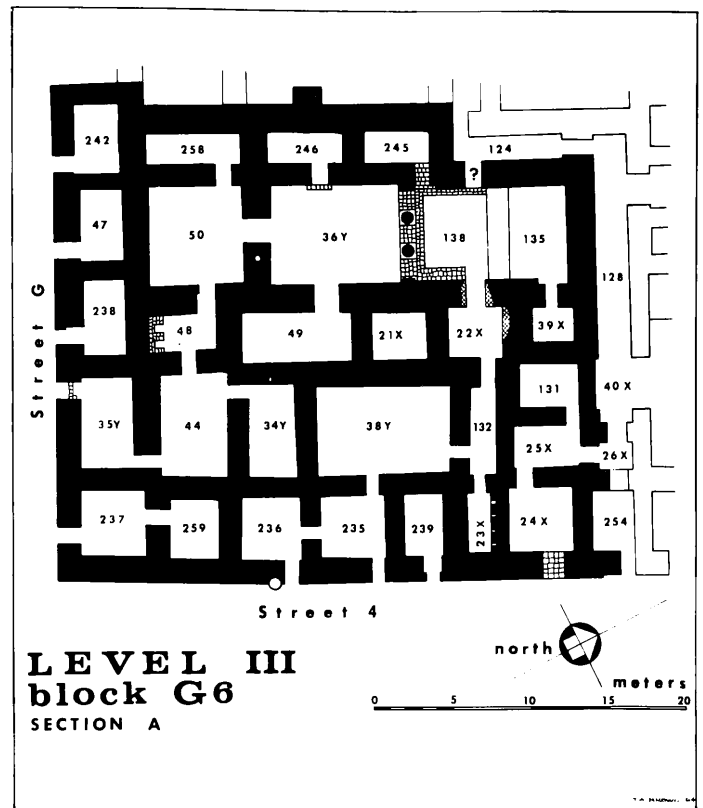


Fig. 17. Section A, block G6, level III

separate apartment which seems more logically connected with the house in section F than that in A since it gives access from the street to corridor 26x, 40x, 128 and so to court 128 in section F. Since the rooms 24x, 25x, 131 would normally be considered part of section A the different arrangement affords a good example of how easily the plans of houses may be altered when common walls are the rule. Similarly room 254 on street 4 was originally a part of corridor 26x, 40x, etc. At some time it was walled off from the corridor to form an independent room and the apartment 24x, 25x, 131 was taken over in part as a replacement. The corner rooms 237-259 form an independent apartment and room 239 (also 254) on street 4 and 238, 47, 242 are independent units on street G. At first sight, at least in comparison with other Hellenistic towns such as Dura, these would appear to be shops. In room 47 and perhaps 23x there was a tomb. The series of rooms of this type are found on the block only in the southeast corner and along street 6 in section D. Doorways clearly marked in all rooms except 21x give confidence that the plan could be accurately reconstructed from existing remains.

Digging in Level III of Section A began in December of 1930 and continued through the E season 1931-32.

#### Burials

The skeleton of a child (tomb 185) lying flat on the back was found in 50 immediately below floor level partly in the south wall. There was no grave furniture.

Tomb 182 was located below floor level in the center of 44 and contained five skeletons, the upper one of a full grown man. The bones of the four beneath had been disturbed and

robbed in ancient times. The bones were hopelessly mixed and there was no grave furniture.

In room 47, an independent unit on Street G, six burials (tomb 191) was discovered along the west wall. The lowest skeleton was in a coffin. Above this were successive skeletal remains of three persons, covered with a lid over the frame of the sides. The fifth skeleton lay above this cover and was separated from the sixth with another cover.

In the corner room 237 nine bodies had been buried in the northeast corner and along the north wall (tomb 179). Apparently the grave had been undisturbed but the bones were much decayed. The frame and cover had been plastered outside with mud. A glazed coffin had been used for some of the bodies and gold foil was found on two of the skulls.

In the room 239, whose only door was on the street, a full grown man had been buried below floor level (tomb 172). He lay flat on his back and there was no tomb furniture but from the fill above the grave a number of pottery spurs were recovered. These may have supported plates or bowls of offerings.

Tombs 158 and 198 were discovered in room 24x, a room belonging to a separate apartment giving access from street 4 to corridor 40x, 128. Tomb 158 lay above 198 and was dated by a stamped baked brick of A.D. 20/21 built into the structure, and contained seven skeletons. Tomb 198 lay beneath and contained two skeletons, one near the south wall of the room, the other underneath and near the north wall. Over the skulls were some gold foil and in the fill two lamps, one broken, and the head of a figurine. Three lamps were recovered from tomb 158.

Grave 192, consisting of disturbed skeletal material perhaps of two persons, may have belonged to 23x or may have been located in 23Y in section F. A former entrance way may have been blocked off to form 23x and the narrow room is large enough for the burial of the two persons. The grave was below the pavement and contained some fragments of gold foil.

Other tombs will be considered in discussion of the rooms in which they were located.

*Rooms 138, 36Y, 50, 135, 39x (the court and rooms to south and north).*

The small finds from the columned hall 36Y included eleven figurines (largely heads), three lamps, two cosmetic pots, a bronze signet ring with large stone, a glazed jug with a single double twisted handle, and three coins of Demetrius II (145-141 and 140-123 B.C.). Two of the figurines were found in the doorway to 50. A female head with hairdo of two puffs was represented beneath the gable of a shrine in one, and the second represented the head of a bridled horse. The child's grave in 50 supports the idea that the horse's head may have been part of a toy.

Two lamps were the only other finds in 50.

Curiously enough the only finds in the court 138 were a polished bone instrument and two pieces of figurines. The baked bricks of the paved border on the north and west had been removed. An open room on the court facing south and the columned porch is paralleled in section B, 102, 83 (fig. 18). One may call attention to the jog in the wall beside the entrance to 39x but there is no evidence that it was a stairway, other than that one to the roof might be expected along the wall of the court.

The open room 135 supplied a number of small finds including three lamps and eight pieces of figurines but nothing distinctive enough to identify a special usage.

There were no finds which might with certainty be assigned to the little room 39x opening off 135 to the east. The rooms correspond with 70 in section C (fig. 19) opening off 28Y at the north end of the court. Room 70 (section C) is tiled with baked brick. In section B, 83 at the north end of the court has the open alcove 140 on the east side. Behind it lies the paved room 65 accessible from the court through corridor 75. Part of the drain from room 65 still in place showed the room to be a bath. Probably the drain from 70 extended through the wall into the street. The small size of 39x is appropriate for either bath or latrine.

*Rooms 245, 246, 258 (rooms west of the columned room 36Y and room 50).*

Room 245 opens off a corner of the court and 246 from the west side of the columned room. On the east side of room 36Y lie rooms 49 and 21x. Only the foundations of room 21x remain so the doorway is not apparent. By a curious coincidence the similarly located room in complex C, room 72, also lacks a door. Perhaps the doorway in room 21x led to 49 and 21x made an inner room removed from the court. On the west side the baked brick threshold to 246 corresponds to the similar threshold in section C on the east side of the colonnaded room and a similar threshold is found in section F between room 19 and the great open colonnaded room. In Dura the more elaborate doorway off the court gave entrance to the triclinium and one may assume such an identification in Seleucia but no trace of a raised triclinium remains. Almost nothing was found in 246—part of a figurine of a woman and a vase or box of buff clay.

The finds in 245 included part of a seven-burner lamp with decorated handle, two lamps of glazed clay, and two coins, one of 121-83 B.C., the other 72-71 B.C.

Part of a bronze bracelet from 258 may identify it as a woman's room, but the other finds, the torso of a rider from a figurine, a glazed lamp, and four bronze unidentified coins, add little weight to the evidence.

*Rooms 22x, 21x, 49 (rooms east of the court and liwan).*

Remarkably few finds may be attributed to these rooms, partly because those listed under room 22 all belong to 22Y in section C.

Three figurine heads, one glazed lamp, and one bead came from 21x. Room 49 contained two lamps, a large pot, and a glazed pilgrim flask. In addition, a niche in the east wall contained a small head of a figurine and an unidentified coin.

*Rooms 35Y, 44, 34Y, and 48 (the entrance apartment on street G.)*

These rooms form a rather independent apartment, though with access to the street through 35Y on the one side and to the inner room of the main axis 50 on the other. It was most interesting to find a kiln in 34Y with the suggestion that the owner was also an artisan. Debevoise<sup>49</sup> reports that the kiln was shaped like an elongated horseshoe, with clay side walls about one meter high. The last firing had been completed and the spurs (25) and lumps of clay which separated the vessels were piled in the southwest corner of the room. In the same

corner were six pilgrim flasks and Debevoise suggests that they had been baked and laid aside, perhaps in preparation for glazing. A bone drill from the same room may have been used in the manufacture of pottery.

Other finds were less closely associated with the manufacture of vases. There were two lamps, one of which belonged to the crude glazed type; three small bowls; a cosmetic pot; and a small glazed jar. Perhaps some of the parts of figurines were products of the kiln also. There was a head with pointed helmet, a headless and footless standing female figure, a crude bird, part of a monster or fantastic figure, a male figure with flat-sided headdress, and part of a female torso with hands clasped across the chest.

In room 48 the E-shaped foundations of baked brick tiles have not been explained. Very probably, however, it was used in connection with the kiln for the storage or drying of the pottery. A single cosmetic pot of reddish clay and part of a female figurine were the only other finds.

In the entrance room (35Y) from street G, two lamps were found, one of which was glazed, a shallow bowl or pot cover of cream-colored clay and an unidentified coin. Room 49 contained a burial (182) with the skeletal material of five persons. A small glazed lamp was recovered from the room, as were a broken bronze kohl stick, an unidentified bronze coin, and a bowl with narrow base and flaring rim. In the fill above the grave, but below floor level, a bowl of buff-colored clay was obtained.

*Rooms 236, 235, 38Y, 132, 22x, 23x (the separate apartment east of the court).*

Perhaps the series of rooms 236, 235, 38Y, 132, 22x, 23x, served also a double purpose since it has two doors on street 4

and access to the courtyard through 22x. Room 38Y is also the largest in the house and may have served as an open courtyard, or one partially roofed and so as women's quarters. The room 38Y yielded one coin of Antiochus IV, 175-164 B.C.; two coins of 121-83 B.C.; two lamps; an alabaster arm; a figurine of musicians; a figurine head; and six unidentified coins. A decorated baked brick fragment, usually belonging to a door jamb, may have come from either 38Y or from the room in Level II of the same size and shape which contained two doorways with baked brick thresholds. Room 236 contained a glazed lamp, a cosmetic pot, the head of a figurine, and miscellaneous smaller objects. Most of the finds in room 235 came from a vaulted tomb under the floor, but in the entryway to the street were found an unidentified coin and a carnelian bead. No significant finds were made in 132 and 22x. A tomb (192) was found in 23x, with a bronze pendant and the clay head of a bull.

*Rooms 239, 259, 237, 238, 47, 242 (separate rooms on streets 4 and 6).*

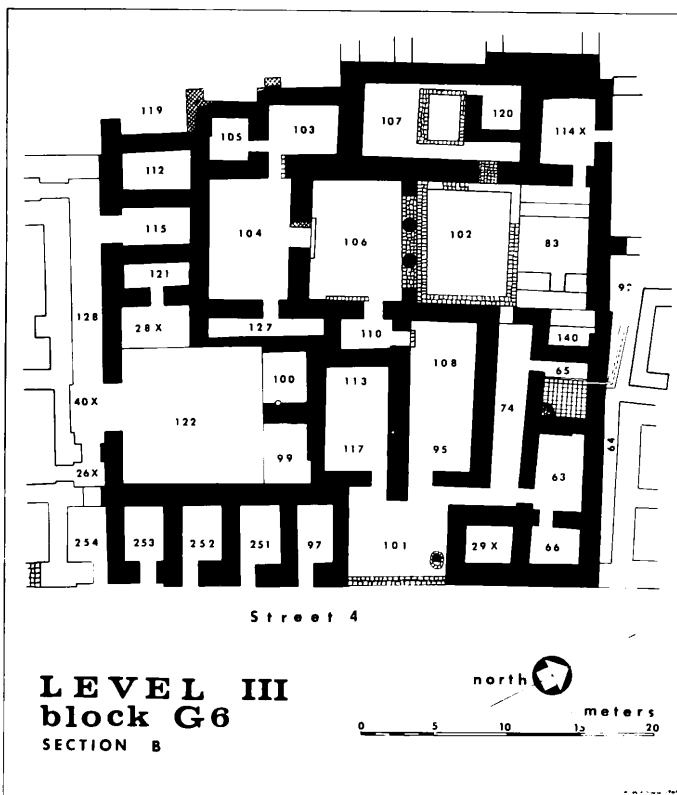
No finds were recorded from 238 and 259. In 242 there were three glazed lamps, two cosmetic pots, a carnelian bead, and a bone whorl. Room 239 had been used as a burial chamber, as had room 237 and 47. There was no clear indication that any of the rooms opening on the street had served as shops.

#### Section B (fig. 18)

Section B is just south of the center on the east side of the block. The very narrow corridor 64 separates section B from C and marks approximately the center of the block. It is rather interesting that corridor 64 would be the center if the row of rooms along the south side of the block were removed.<sup>50</sup> If the house were square, the line of the west wall would be that along the west side of rooms 114x, 120, 107 and this line marks the north and south center of the block. Though the house seems clearly separated from the house in section E on the west side of the block, rooms 103, 105 are distinctly narrower than 107 and the west wall of 112 is still farther to the east. One may suggest that originally, that is in the first plan of the city block, the north-south corridor 21Y (between sections C and D) ran through, dividing the block into two equal halves. In the third period (perhaps before) the owner of the house in section B utilized the corridor to widen the rooms 114x, 120, 107 while the owner of the house in section A yielded any rights he may have had in the corridor to the owner of the large house in section F.

The basic unit of the house in section B is clear and it is very comparable to that in section A. It consists of an open rectangular court 102 bordered by baked clay tiles, a colonnaded room looking out on the court from the south 106, and, behind the colonnaded room, a large enclosed room 104, which gives access to smaller rooms to the west and east. At the north end of the court is a room apparently open (83) with side rooms to the west and east, 114x and 140. A tiled room 65 with a drain is easily accessible from corridor 74 and at the turn of the corridor access is given to the separate apartment 63,66. No doorway was found to 29x. It may have served as the station of a janitor or been a part of the apartment 63, 66, or made one of the series of separate rooms on street 4, a series which in section B continued the rooms in

Fig. 18. Section B, block G6, level III



A with rooms 253, 252, 251, and 97. The long big rooms 113, 117 and 108, 95 seem clearly connected with the house through the anteroom 110 and on the other hand open out on the street in the center of section B with an open room 101, and a baked brick threshold as wide as the room itself. Unfortunately, the finds are not very revealing. There was a paucity of objects recovered in 108, 95 and 101. In 113, 117 a greater number failed to furnish significant clues as to the use. It would be safe to say that if animals were kept in the city, the arrangements in the wide entrance room 101 and the large room 108, 95 would be suitable for them. Perhaps the larger number of finds in 113, 117 indicates human occupation as opposed to animal.

Entrance to the court is obtained from corridor 74 running with a turn from 101. Access to the columned room lies through the anteroom 110 and the large room 108, 95. The open room 83 north of the court also had access to the outside through room 114x but in this case it was a side or back entrance which led into the central open court in the block 144 (see section C, fig. 19).

The open court 122 with the rooms opening upon it 99, 100, 28x (and 121 beyond 28x) forms a separate unit of its own. It seems totally unconnected with the greater portion of the section and scarcely fits into the usual conception of a smaller dwelling place. At the same time the lack of easy entrance from the street seems to preclude the idea of stables

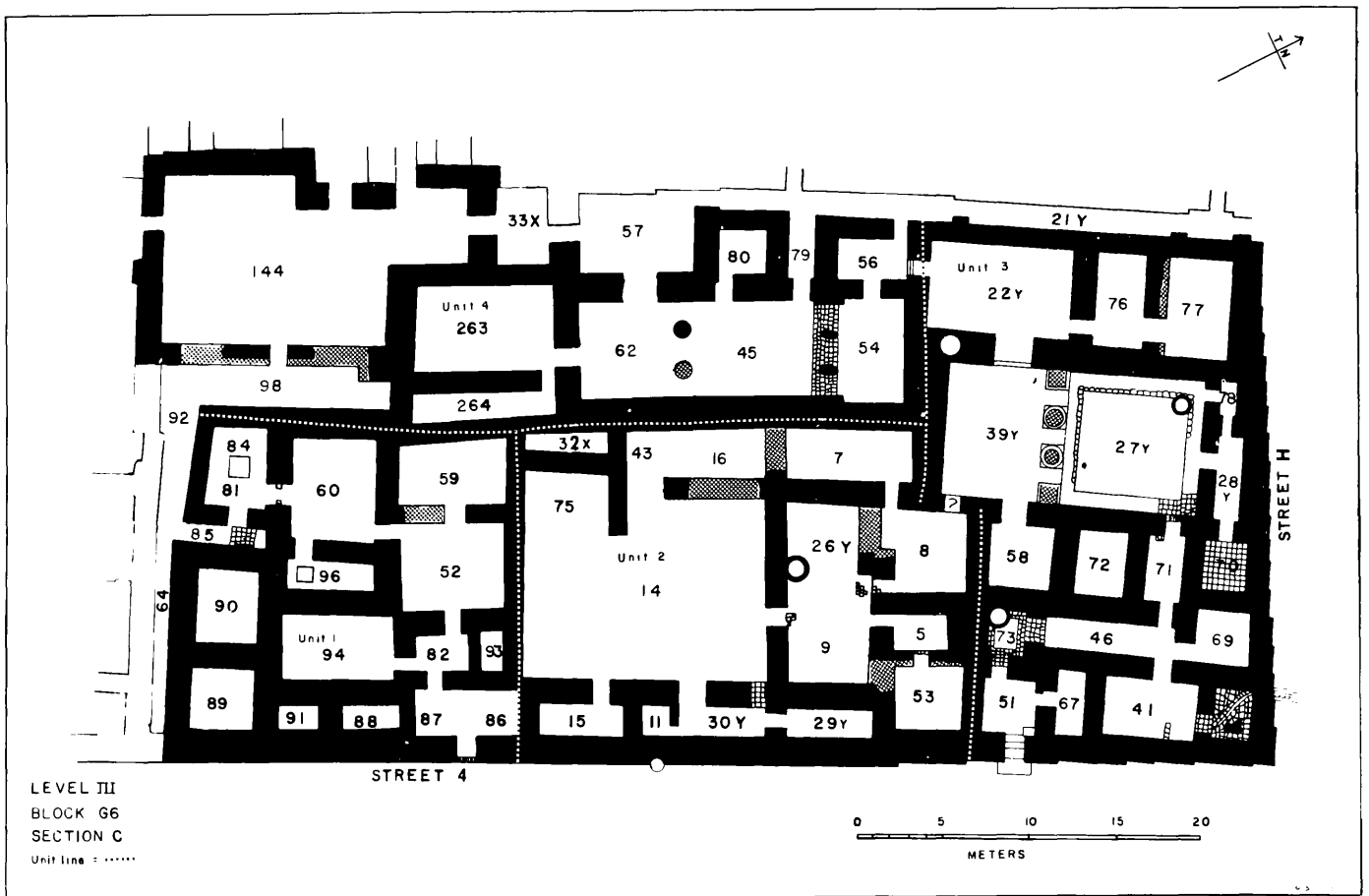
or stores. As will be shown later on, it may have served as an independent unit or have been linked with the apartment 24x, 25x, 131 in section A across the corridor, or it may have been connected through the corridor 128 with section F. Room 112 may logically have been connected with 115 and so had access to corridor 128.

In some ways the most interesting apartment in section B is the apartment 107-120 on the west side of the court 102. The apartment consists of a space, more or less square, bordered by baked brick which must mean an open court, a covered room to the south opening on this court, and a small room to the north with its single entrance on the west side of the court. The general arrangement is so similar on a smaller scale to the main axis of the house that it suggests at once a women's court comparable to the men's with open room on the south looking on to the court and a more private room on the north side.

A parallel unit is found in section D, rooms 180, 201, 200. In section D the unit is separated from the main court 18 by a corridor or two small rooms 230, 20Y. The open court 201 was solidly paved; to the south lies an open room, 180 and to the north a separate room 200 gives access to a whole inner apartment.

In the Little Palace of the Parthian period at Nippur<sup>51</sup> (fig. 16), the women's quarters lay to the west of the main axis of the house and consisted of a square court, on the south side of which lay a deep porch fronted by two columns between

Fig. 19. Section C, block G6, level III



pilasters. The columned hall at Nippur gave entrance to an inner room with central doorway facing north into the hall.

The finds in rooms 107-120 were numerous and not conclusively feminine, but they fit into the concept of the unit being occupied largely by the women of the household.

### *Burials*

Tomb 205 was found immediately below the highest floor surface of Level III in room 63. It consisted of the skeletons of two men flat on their backs, crossing at the pelvis, placed along the north wall near the northeast corner. In addition a baked brick cover protected a coffin whose orifice was covered with a mat. The bodies were wrapped in cloth shrouds of which fragments remained. The list of finds records items found close to the slipper coffin of Grave 205, the items probably belonging to the room rather than the grave.

In the second level, room 228 retained the place and position of 63 in Level III and contained tomb 199. This consisted of a few courses of baked brick of a rectangular structure, but contained no bones. It seems quite possible, therefore, that the skeletons found belonged to Level II, the top of the tomb resting below the floor level, the bodies placed lower and reaching below the top floors of late III. Perhaps the tomb was built when the house was remodelled at the time of the disturbances in the middle of the first century A.D.

Room 97 opening independently on street 4 contained tomb 202. This consisted of the skeleton of a youth laid along the north wall. The bones had been disturbed and the finds were negligible. The collar bone of the boy had been broken and badly set.

A single burial was made in room 114x (tomb 209). It consisted of the skeleton of a woman. The body had been wrapped in a shroud in a manner similar to that in tomb 205, but in this case the coffin had collapsed and crushed the bones.

It might be remarked that the single skeleton in 114x was the only one which might be assigned definitely to the house of the third level and that the period of occupancy in the third level was close to two hundred years 141 B.C.—A.D. 43. Obviously either the occupants of the house were buried in chambers within the city but outside the narrow house plan or outside the city.

### *Rooms 102, 106, 104, 107, 120, 83, 140, 65, 114x (the court and rooms adjacent).*

From the court 102 were recovered among the 37 finds five lamps, part of eleven figurines, nine unidentified bronze coins, three knuckle bones, and one cosmetic pot. A coin of 42/40 B.C. was found in the brickwork around the base of the columns. One bone doll of the type usually found in tombs came to light. One sherd with stamped design was found and one with potter's mark was recovered from a trench below the columns. Nothing gave special distinction to the court except the border of baked brick; at the same time the finds were consonant with the conception of the room as a central one occupied largely by men.

The columned room 106 yielded, among other small finds, three glazed lamps, six parts of figurines, and two unidentified coins. From the brickwork of the south wall came one of the two figurines of a horse and rider, a carnelian bead and a coin

of Demetrius II. Probably these belong to the composition of the bricks and the coin would indicate the date of construction. It is always possible that a little niche in the wall held the objects and the pocket was unnoticed in the excavations of the wall. A fragment of a bronze spatula and a bone pin interpreted as part of a hairpin were the only distinctively feminine articles. The baked brick border along the east wall may be the foundation for a stair to the roof.

The inner room 104 behind the columned room was dated by four coins of 42/40 B.C.; A.D. 9/10, marked "early floor level;" A.D. 17/18; and A.D. 43/4-45/6. These would date the heaviest occupancy to the beginning of our era; and one, coinciding with the date of the coin below the columns, suggests the chief rooms of the house were remodelled at that time. There was little indication of the utilization of the room but a cosmetic pot in the southeast doorway and a bone hairpin suggest the presence of women at least occasionally. Part of a bone doll was also found.<sup>52</sup>

The architectural notes of Robinson supplement the general account of rooms 107-120, the women's apartment. A depth of 110 centimeters separates the highest from the lowest floor level and the short north-south wall of room 120 rests on a floor level 0.20 meters above the lowest floor. In early III, therefore, the north end of 120-107 made a separate room and the east-west wall between 120 and 107 was attached to both the east and the west walls with the doorway. When the short north-south wall was put in, a doorway near the south end of 107 into 106 was blocked. Most of the floor of 107 not covered by baked brick was paved with crude brick, part of which was found *in situ*. Part of a burned beam was found just below the lowest floor level in the middle of 107.

It is tempting to connect these changes with the construction of the columns in the court about 40 B.C. and to suggest that the separate women's quarter belongs to this period. Robinson notes a base of jars close to the angle where the dividing wall between 107 and 120 meets the north-south wall. These may have been part of the drain for a latrine.

A hoard of 20 bronze coins was found in the northeast corner of room 107 near the door to 120. Of two identified, one dated from 42-40 B.C., a second from A.D. 36-40. Among 17 unidentified bronze coins found elsewhere in the room, two were found in the brickwork of the east wall, three in the brickwork of the west wall, and three in the brickwork of the south wall, as if the occupant of the room had hidden them in little openings in the wall and forgotten them. A coin found beside the burned beam and close to a drain of a later period was identified as belonging to Demetrius II. From the debris of a room a second coin of Demetrius II was recovered, a third was found at floor level, and from the top of a Level IV wall a coin of 175-164 B.C. or 150-145 B.C. From the debris above a later wall came a coin of 42-40 B.C. The evidence of the coins would suggest that the house was built first at the time of the Parthian conquest 140 B.C. and remodelled a hundred years later.

There were in the room 26 parts of different figurines, nine glazed lamps, three unglazed lamps, ten glass insets, three unglazed bowls, one glazed bowl, two one-handed jugs or pitchers, two cosmetic pots, four beads, a bone spindle whorl, and part of a bone shuttle. A little gold foil from the lowest level was puzzling, since the foil is usually associated with tombs. Special mention might be given to two clay sealings,

one from an intermediate III platform, and to a lamp with molded mask design. Below a baked brick rectangular structure in the southwest corner a cooking pot, glazed inside and containing the bones of a bird, was recovered. Apparently, it was a foundation deposit, but its position seems related only to the remodelling of the house to form the women's quarters.

On the whole, the finds support the idea of a very much occupied apartment but one not used for either cooking or dining. It seems reasonable that it should have been occupied largely by the women of the establishment, but there is no striking evidence. The figurines were of many types, animals, masks, musicians, adult males and females, children, etc.

Room 83 to the north of the court presents a special problem. It is analogous to the open room 135 to the north of the court 138 in section A, and to the room 125 with exceptionally wide doorway in section F, north of the court 126. It would be appropriate for winter months when the weather was cold and a room open to the sun and sheltered from the winds would be welcome. The peculiar features in 83 are the foundations for walls to east and west, just far enough away from the walls of the court extended to the north so that there are narrow corridors between. That the foundations belong to walls rather than to pavement seems clear from the doorway between 83 and the corridor beside 140. The corridors do not seem of special value and the narrowing of the open room seems curious.

In the second level at Seleucia, and still more in Level I, such an arrangement marks the vaulted liwan with corridors serving as counterthrusts to the weight of the vault. There is no reason why this should not have occurred at any time during the third period at Seleucia when Parthian influence was strong. The third level continued almost until the middle of the first century A.D. Unfortunately, the finds give no indication of the date of the room. The absence of parallel arrangements in the third level suggests the style was not introduced until late in the period. The other possibility is that foundations of second level walls extended down into the third level. The location of the east and west walls of room 138 in Level II corresponds fairly well with the sides of the hypothetical vault in 83. The second level room, however, has no doorway in the east wall and a strong complete wall on the south. I believe, therefore, the open room with corridors to east and west is the best explanation of the existing remains and in that case a vaulted roof would be the most reasonable solution.

Finds were small, parts of three figurines, two insets, two beads, one lamp, one glazed bowl, etc. Below floor level a sherd of black glaze with lines of buff color and white dots came to light. It was a Greek import of the second century B.C. There were no finds in the alcove 140.

The bath is obviously room 65 with the tiled floor of baked brick and a drain leading out through the wall into alley 92. In section F rather an elaborate bath is built in the open court 126 and in section C a tiled room 70 lies just at the northeast corner of the court. The only finds in 65 were three unidentified bronze coins and part of a bone doll recorded as coming from below the level of the bitumenized basin. The bone dolls, or puppets or fetishes, so often found at Seleucia, have been discussed by Miss Van Ingen.<sup>52</sup>

An unusual number of small finds comes from 114x, which offers a passage way between room 83 and the central open

space, 144, in the block. The tomb (209) found in 114x has already been mentioned. There is a little overlap in the digging of the section around 114 in section B and the part of area 114 belonging to the corridor between sections D and E. The finds are all marked 114 but in general all may be safely assigned to 114x except those of November 11-December 17, 1936, when extensive digging began in complex D-E and 114Y.

Rather a wide span in time is represented by two coins listed together as coming from the brickwork in the west wall. One was a coin of Seleucid I, 311-280 B.C., and the second of Osroes, A.D. 118/19-119/20. A coin of Antiochus I found in the debris may perhaps be attributed to the disturbance of lower levels in the digging of the grave. In the debris of the room also was a coin of Demetrius II and one belonging to the period 121-83 B.C. Four coins dated from the middle of the first century A.D.; two from A.D. 36-40, one from A.D. 43-46 and one from A.D. 46/7-47/8. Thirty coins were unidentified.

Probably the four coins from the decade A.D. 36-46 mark the reconstruction at the beginning of the second level and the coin of Osroes the start of Level I. A fragment of a large charcoal burner came to light among the debris of walls. A large number of parts of figurines were recovered, five lamps, a number of beads, insets, a pitcher or jug with one handle, one bronze kohl stick, one broken bowl of glaze, and one of plain clay. It seemed clear the room was well used but was neither kitchen nor dining room.

#### *Rooms 103, and 105 (the little apartment west of 104).*

The little apartment 103-105 opening off 104 to the west represents the "innermost room" of the house and should appropriately serve as the master bedroom. The two identified coins, one of Demetrius II, the second of A.D. 59/62, span the limits of the period. From room 103 came fragments of a large helmet and a clay pilgrim flask, as well as two carnelian beads, a cosmetic pot, and a part of a clay plaque. Two lamps and a part of a third with molded decoration were found.

The finds in 105 added little. These were six unidentified coins, two lamps, the neck of an alabaster bottle, two beads, and two figurines. Less usual was the piece of plaster with inlaid strips of bone and a piece of gypsum plaster with decoration.

#### *Rooms 127, 110, 108/95, 113/117, 101, 74, 29x, 66, 63 (rooms in the northeast corner).*

No finds at all were recorded from the long narrow room 127 on the east side of 104.

Room 110 served as vestibule for the columned room 106 and contained little of importance but part of the decorated plaster wall remained intact (Waterman, Rep. II, pl. VII, 1). The eight items recorded, however, were more than the finds (7) in the large room 108/95. A bronze coin of A.D. 69/70 is noteworthy in 108 since it suggests the house continued to be occupied beyond the middle of the century. There was a glazed bowl, a bone scraper, a bone shuttle, a carnelian bead, a lamp, and a broken figurine head.

Room 114-117 was even less productive, with only five items recorded, the most important of which was a bitumen octagonal cylinder seal from the brickwork of the north wall. Room 101, which forms the broad entrance to the street, had as its total contribution one unidentified coin, one glazed

pitcher from below floor level, one fragment of an iron blade, and the head and bust of a figurine.

Another coin of A.D. 69/70 was found in the corridor 74, one of 121-83 B.C., and one of the Sassanian period. Three lamps, two pot covers, the base of a bowl of red ware, and a bone hair pin were recovered.

Rooms 29x and 66 each yielded one bead and one lamp and nothing else except one unidentified coin. Room 63, however, probably because of the graves, was much more productive. A coin of A.D. 69/70 may be attributed to the grave of Level II (tomb 199) which reached down into Level III, particularly since two of the finds are recorded as near grave 199. At the same time the number of coins after the middle of the first century found in the upper levels of III argue that the drastic change here did not come until the second half of the century. A second coin of Demetrius II (145-141 and 140-123 B.C.) marks the beginning of the period. There were seven lamps, three from below floor level; two cosmetic pots; a bone doll with traces of red paint; two glazed bowls; two single-handled pitchers; and thirteen unidentified coins. One small vessel contained an illegible sealing inside it. In metal objects, there were what appeared to be the butt-end of an iron spear shaft, an iron dagger, a small iron blade, and some bronze tacks. On the whole, the objects may be explained as grave furniture or objects of later offerings.

*Rooms 97, 251, 252, 253, 122, 28x, 121, 99, 100 (rooms in the southeast corner).*

The grave (202) in room 97 has already been discussed. Of seven coins found, one was identified and belonged to the period 42-40 B.C. There were three lamps, a glazed bottle and a bowl or pot cover. From the grave came an iron ring on the toe of the left foot and a steatite knob near the left elbow, and from the sifting two beads and two glaze insets, as well as the coins. The broken figurine of a horseman with shield may have belonged to the later burial.

Rooms 251, 252, and 253 may be treated together since all are of the same type with a single entrance on the street. From 251 came only the head of a single figurine, and from 252, two figurines and two coins, one of Demetrius II and one of the early autonomous issues. Both rooms would seem to have been little used.

Room 253 yielded three coins of 121-83 B.C.; A.D. 15-17 and 36-40 as well as three which were unidentified. A triangular iron blade with haft; a figurine; a bone instrument, perhaps a hairpin; and a small bronze knob completed the list of finds.

So few finds came from the great square court 122 and the rooms adjoining it that one might suppose the area was not only vacant but kept locked from intruders. The only items assigned definitely to room 122 in the third level are a coin of Demetrius II, a figurine head, a part of a bronze kohl stick, and skeletal material of a fish. Three other finds, an unidentified coin, a part of a large hollow figurine, and an iron axe, are assigned to the lowest stratum of Level II, 169, but listed under III 122. Room 28x yielded two items, a coin of 42-40 B.C. and a gray-green glaze bowl, finds which may have belonged to 28Y in section C. Room 121, the inner room east of 28x, yielded an unidentified coin and a figurine head with a

high peaked hat. Room 99 possessed another unidentified coin, a figurine head and part of a cosmetic pot.

The score is a little better in room 100. One coin of four found was identified as dating from A.D. 59/62. There was one bead of carnelian, one of glass and the fragment of a bone hairpin. On the masculine side was a rider's glazed pilgrim bottle and two pieces of iron, listed as a broken blade and a part of the boss of a shield.

*Rooms 115, 112, 128 (the rooms and corridor south of 104).*

Room 115, the long room with wide entrance into corridor 128, yielded two glazed bezels or insets and two fragments of figurines; one, a head and bust, the other a pedestal and lower half of a standing figure. Room 112 east of 115, possessed three unidentified coins, two glazed lamps, one bone hairpin, and one black bead. From the brickwork in the north wall was recovered the head of a female figurine. It is not clear whether the room should be grouped with 115 and corridor 128 or with section D. From corridor 128 one small figurine was recovered complete except for the feet.

*Section C (fig. 19).*

The northeast quarter of the block comprises one section set off rather sharply from the rest of the block by the north-south corridor 21Y and the east-west alley 64. The large open space 144 which forms the southwest corner of the section is accessible by both corridors mentioned and the east-west corridor from street 6.

Corridor 21Y splits the block in half almost exactly, if the row of independent rooms along street 6 is disregarded; and corridor 64 divides the block in the center if the rooms along street G are omitted. Considering many changes which occurred during the period of Level III, not to speak of the former period, it is hazardous to reconstruct the original design. It is not improbable, at least, that the corridors marked original divisions in the block and in that case the total original lengths and widths were twice the length and width of section C. Probably also section C was divided originally into two units or house plots.

At present no trace of the original division of the section into two equal halves remains and the section is divided into four chief units, called for convenience units 1-4. Unit 1 next to the center of the block is a self-contained small, more or less square unit which lacks the columned court of more elaborate houses. Unit 2 is a group of rooms around the large but unornamented central room 14. Unit 3 occupies the north-east corner of the block and follows the general plan in sections A and B with a columned court as the central unit. An unusual feature is the corridor 46 which separates the rooms along the street from the rest of the house. Since the corridor unites as well as separates, this series of rooms 51, 67, 41, 68 might be regarded either as a separate apartment within the house or as a separate dwelling unit. It may be pointed out also that its separate rooms might have served both purposes during the long period of Level III. Tomb 156 was discovered in 67 and the room may have served simply as a tomb chamber. For the purposes of this report, I am regarding the apartment as a part of unit 3. The fourth unit comprising the court 45, the columned hall 62, and the rooms adjacent, may have formed a part of unit 3 since room 56 gives access to both units 3 and 4 from the corridor. I am regarding it as an



independent unit because the plan of unit 4 does not fit into the usual arrangement of third level house plans, and it deserves, therefore, to be considered separately.

*Unit 1 (rooms and corridors in the southeast corner of section C).*

A difficulty immediately presents itself in the lack of doors to rooms 90, 89, 91, 88 and 93 in unit 1. This is due to the fact that the clearing for the houses in Level II reached down below the thresholds in Level III and left only the foundations of the walls.

One may take it that room 93 belonged to the unit and that a doorway gave into 82 or 86 rather than 52. I believe that the baked brick paving in front of room 81-84 probably served to ornament a doorway into room 90 also. Whether 88, 91, and 89 were separate rooms opening on the street, or whether they were approached only from 94 remains a problem. I think the latter is the more probable.

The most puzzling feature is the lack of any central court or axis. Both the Greek and the oriental house usually consisted of a group of rooms around a central court. The court might be to one side, usually alongside a street or alley, but from it was obtained direct access to most of the rooms. In unit 1 room 96 is too small for a court and room 60 gives entrance only to a limited number of rooms. One might suppose that rooms 60 and 96 were originally together and formed a court but the axis of the house usually ran from north to south rather than from east to west. The unusual plan argues for alterations from the original scheme such as changing from two units in the northeast corner to three and more, but it does not help to solve the arrangements in unit 1 itself. For the moment the plan may be left as a puzzle.

Tomb 208 was discovered in room 60. Since it was located 1.90 meters below floor level the skeleton may have belonged to the fourth level. It consisted of the badly decayed skeleton of a single individual. The figure lay on his back, arms alongside and doubled back at the elbows, the knees on the chest with calves crossed over the abdomen. Head and neck were thrown back. No tomb furniture was discovered. Probably it was a grave belonging to the last period of Level IV before the reconstruction, and the body was buried without much ceremony.

Corridor 64 in the plan is represented as extremely narrow (compared with 85, 92, and 98) and as having no exit into the street. The finds recorded are three times as numerous as the other three put together. Even so they were not large and indicate merely family continuous use. The four coins identified (from 18 recovered) dated from 223-181 B.C., 145-141 B.C., 140-123 B.C., and A.D. 36-40. This argues a very long and extended use of the corridor but the coin dating from the pre-Parthian era is no proof that the corridor existed in the earlier period. The best interpretation is, I believe, a stairway between houses giving access to the roof.

There were no finds recorded from 98 and only two unidentified coins from 85. Except for coins, the finds were largely fragments of figurines and beads. There was one lamp from 64, and the blade of an iron implement from 92.

The trapezoidal shape of room 81-84 (not continued in Level II) suggests a late alteration conforming to the introduction of a drain from 65 (in section B) in the alley. Rooms in the block are often not exactly rectangular, but rooms 81-84

and 96 deviate further from the right angle corners than any others in the block. The square mud-brick foundation in the center of 81-84 was at first taken to be part of the wall. Its purpose is not clear.

Three lamps were found in the room and a nozzle of a fourth. Two identified coins dated from Demetrius II (145-141 B.C., 140-123 B.C.), and from A.D. 36-40. A pilgrim flask, a cosmetic pot, a bead of lapis and parts of three figurines were the chief finds.

Room 60 is the largest room in the house as it stands and it looks as if the doorway to 52 had been narrowed to allow for the introduction of the diagonal wall closing off room 96. If 60 and 96 were parts of a single room in the earlier period, it might have served as an open court. The finds in 60 give little indication of its use. They include four lamps, the clay model of a shield, a cosmetic pot, seven unidentified coins, beads, and fragments of figurines. The small finds in 96 are of the same type and no more illuminating.

Rooms 52 and 59, the large inner rooms of the house, contained only a large number of small finds. A die of bone was found in room 52, as were a small bone doll, a bronze hairpin, a limestone torso of a figurine, and two spindle whorls. A fragment of a bronze bracelet, a pitcher, and two vases of green glaze were found in room 59. In both rooms there were fragments of kohl sticks, lamps, fragments of figurines, coins, etc. Three identified coins from 59 were dated 223-187 B.C., 121-83, and 72-71 B.C. Room 52 also yielded one of the Seleucid period 311-280 B.C., three of 121-83 B.C., one of A.D. 15-17 and one 17-18.

Room 94 yielded two cosmetic pots, a jar and a bowl of green glaze, a carnelian bead, a lamp, and fragments of four figurines. An identified coin dated from A.D. 69/70. No unusual finds were made in the rooms to the north and east of 94 either in number or kind. The single find from 91 was a lamp and from 93 came only three bronze coins. One might mention a pilgrim flask and lamp from 82, a large complete figurine of a reclining figure from 86 (no finds were recorded from 87), and a lamp from 88. Identified coins dated from 223-187 B.C. (room 82), 121-83 B.C. (one from room 93 and one from 86), and from room 88 one of Demetrius II 145-141 and 140-123 B.C., one of A.D. 24-27.

Rooms 89 and 90, set apart in the plan through lack of doorways, each yielded a small number of finds (10) of the same type. Room 90 contained two lamps and a pilgrim flask, a clay horse and rider, besides other fragments of figurines and a coin of A.D. 15-17. Room 89 yielded two lamps, a bronze kohl stick, a figurine of a fish, etc. The one identified coin belonged to the period A.D. 36-40.

One may remark, in concluding, that the three Seleucid coins, plus one from the corridor, constitute rather a large proportion of those identified and form rather a large number of the Seleucid issue found. Two coins of Demetrius are not sufficient evidence for extensive remodelling at the beginning of the Parthian era. Perhaps the unusual plan is due to a Level IV origin.

*Unit 2 Section C (courtyard 14 and adjacent rooms).*

Unit 2 in the center of the east side of section C is composed of the series of rooms on three sides of the large open court 14. A double series of rooms was constructed on the north side of the court; to the south the court wall formed

the north wall of unit 1. The only entrance discovered was one between room 8 and the columned room of unit 3, that is 39Y. The entrance was marked with a question mark since the doorway was not clear. If this were an entrance and provided the only access to unit 2, the house might be considered an adjunct to unit 3. Even if it were an adjunct, the probability that the door to 39 was the only means of access is small. In room 16, the 79 *bullae* of archive B largely concerned with the salt tax were discovered and establish the house at least in part as the bureau of a government official. The official seals of witnesses as well as signatures on the documents suggest the coming and going of many people who would require fairly easy access to the room from the street. I believe, therefore, the chief entrance lay between rooms 11 and 30Y from street 4. The door from these two rooms to the court 14 is unusually large, particularly as an entrance to such narrow rooms. Normally the entranceway in both the Hellenistic and the oriental house did not lead directly into the court and was usually so arranged that the view from the street into the court was obscured. The suggestion that in unit 2 a large doorway gave straight access to the court is based on the hypothesis that unit 2 was devoted to business. Perhaps the entranceway led first to 11 and then to the court through 30Y.

The *bullae* from room 16 dating from 188 to 153/152 B.C. all belonged to the late fourth level. The arrangements in room 16 for storage of the documents and the arrangement of the room as recorded on the plan also belonged to the late fourth. The documents and the roof had been destroyed by fire, but since room 16 in Level III followed the plan of late IV, there is a question whether the plan of Level IV in other parts of the house was not also retained.

A large open court seems more appropriate to the Hellenistic plan than the strongly north-south axial orientation of the Parthian Level III. Such a scheme with no strong north-south axis might account for the doorway to the court from the south of room 30Y. A large open court with rooms around it would be appropriate for the oriental house in the Hellenistic period.

Tomb 175 was discovered below the floor level of room 5 and tomb 177 immediately below the floor level of room 11. Both were of the same type (Tomb plan 13), with the bodies in coffins under a frame plastered outside with mud. The three skeletons of 175 were one on top of the other. Presumably the burials took place at different times. The earliest was of a younger person and the later ones an adult man and woman. In tomb 177 four people had been buried, all full grown and one well advanced in years. The coffin containing skeletons three and four placed along the north wall had been broken by the coffin containing bodies one and two placed along the west wall. A little gold foil on the jaw of 175,2 and a carnelian bead from 177,2 were the only grave furniture.

MacDowell published the *bullae* from 16 as Archive B and included a most interesting account of the discovery.<sup>53</sup> "It (the room) was small. Along its eastern and western walls lay two platforms of beaten earth about seventy-five centimeters in height and one meter in width. The remains of the walls rose only a short distance above the platforms. The room was filled with debris, the remains of the upper part of the walls and of the ceiling. It was evident that the room had suffered a severe conflagration. The platforms were covered by a fine ash, with an average thickness of one and one-half to two centi-

meters, perhaps the residue of burned matting. The sealings were all found on the platforms directly in contact with the fine residue. With them were lying fragments of charred wood, not palm, so badly decomposed that it was not possible to form an idea of their original shape. Among the fragments lay iron nails and bronze straps. Some of the straps were perforated, and in the holes were iron nails. These remains suggest shelves or chests; the shape of one of the straps makes the latter alternative the more likely. . . . Scattered among the debris was a scant handful of charred small grain, not enough to suggest that grain had been stored in the room (but perhaps, as a note suggests, to absorb excess moisture). In addition, a few pieces of pottery were recovered from the platforms. The floor of the room between the two platforms did not show the layer of ash, nor were any objects recovered from it."

From Level IV in addition to the *bullae* came a one-handed jug, a cosmetic pot, two bowls, a glazed pitcher, a two-handed vase, etc. A very curious vessel described by Debevoise,<sup>54</sup> had a very small hole in the short spout on the side and a larger hole in the center of the base. The top of the vessel was capped with a knob resembling that of a teapot, there was a small handle on the side and a funnel running from the orifice in the bottom, two-thirds of the way to the top. The pot was very well made and well glazed. Debevoise suggests it may have been used to soften the bitumen by steam. A bronze stick with one pointed, one broad flat end, may well have been used to shape the *bullae*. Perhaps in one of the small jars one might recognize an inkwell.

From Level III in room 16 came three lamps and fragments of figurines. Room 43 which formed a corner of 16 contained two small pots listed as cosmetic pots and a lamp.

In Dura the office of the chreophylax was lined with plaster compartments or cubicles in which the documents were filed.<sup>55</sup> Dates for the periods covered were inscribed on the junctions of the diagonals forming the compartments. The compartments were built around three sides of the room above a low bench 0.33 meter high and 0.85-0.90 meter wide.<sup>56</sup> Similarities to the measurements at Seleucia suggest that the wooden containers may have been parts of similar arrangements. Two hollow bronze cylinders (L. 4.7, D. 5.4 centimeters) with flaring ends and enclosing charred wood, tentatively identified as furniture legs, may have been ladder supports.

In the southwest corner of the court (Level IV, 14), 13 small bowls, 17 larger ones, and four jugs were found together. Elsewhere in the court were three glazed bowls and one of coarse buff clay. The bowls, as drinking vessels, offer fairly good evidence that the modern practice of starting any business transaction with a drink goes far back into the past.

Six lamps were recovered, three from the late IV level, and three from Level III. One coin identified and listed as Level IV was dated to the reign of Demetrius II (145-141 and 140-123 B.C.).

Room 75 comprises the southwest corner of room 14 and beyond 75 the very narrow room 32x must have formed an alcove, or a shelf or perhaps a closet under stairs to the roof. Nothing of particular importance was found in 75 except one coin of A.D. 43/44 and one of A.D. 69/70. All the finds listed under 33 apparently belong to 33Y in section F except for two unidentified coins.<sup>57</sup>

Room 26Y/9 is the largest room in the house and only

through it, is access gained to 7, 8, 5, and 53. They may be considered together since the finds were neither very numerous nor significant. The question is whether they may be regarded as a dwelling rather than as a business establishment. The burials in rooms 5 and 11 suggest a residence and there is nothing to contradict this in the finds. On the other hand there are scarcely enough finds to designate an apartment or a single room as "women's quarters". The plan as it stands suggests both business apartment and dwelling house. Perhaps bachelor quarters is the solution.

From the chief large room 26Y/9 were recovered four lamps, two parts of figurines, a bead of lapis and six bronze coins. The two identified were dated in 121-83 B.C. and 2/1 B.C.—A.D.4/5. A cistern was located just west of the door along the south wall.

Apart from the tomb, four broken figurines were found in room 5, a lamp in the brickwork of the east wall and two coins, one identified as belonging to the period 121-83 B.C. Room 53 in the northeast corner contained a coin of Demetrius II (145-141 B.C.; 140-123 B.C.), one figurine, and two unidentified coins. Room 7 yielded a cosmetic pot and a coral bead, a lamp, and a figurine of a flute player. A female head with a two-knobbed (puffs) hairdo was the only find in 8.

A coin found below the grave 177 in room 11 dates from 121-83 B.C. The floor level immediately below which the tomb was constructed belonged, therefore, to the later phases of III. A carnelian bead came from the grave and a lamp is listed as perhaps from the tomb. A figurine of alabaster (head and bust) probably belonged to late Level III since stone is more common in the upper levels. In a large jar at the south end of the room was found a broken iron knife blade. Above the grave an ointment vessel of alabaster was recovered and in the room an unglazed lamp and two figurines.

If access to room 14 from the street were gained through 30Y, room 11 probably belonged to the janitor. From 30Y came one lamp, one small figurine head, one bowl and one unidentified coin. Room 29Y possessed one lamp, one glazed bead, and one unidentified coin.

Inside a large jar in the south end of 15 were found two bowls, one with a coat of green glaze covering the interior, the other of cream-colored clay. Otherwise there were fragments of a theriomorphic jar, a fragment of a bone hairpin, and two unidentified coins.

#### *Unit 3 Section C (rooms at the northeastern corner of the block).*

One of the difficult problems in the digging of Seleucia was the establishment of floor levels and the determination of periods. The floors were dirt and not infrequently raised by the introduction of one or two inches of sand and clay. They were naturally uneven so that a floor separated from one beneath by an inch or two in one part might have been worn down to the lower level in another. Unit 3 has more of baked brick tiling than most, and the tiling with the door sills is the greatest aid in establishing the levels. There is also a danger involved, since it is not always clear, when one stops at a well established pavement, whether this is the lowest pavement in the level. It is well to remember also that reconstructions of the history of the city are based largely on the excavation of one block, the partial excavation of two temple areas, and

additional trial trenches. Unit 3 brings up the problem as to how well each individual unit fits into the over-all pattern.

The axis of the house is oriented north and south as are the axes in sections A and B. The columns limiting a large room or porch to the south of the court are the same, but in opposition to the other two sections, there is no large room south of 39Y. As we shall see later, this accords with the court and chief room of section F. The agreement demonstrates that the change is not fortuitous but belongs to a definite fashion.

The general trend in architecture from Level III through I is a gradual movement toward a single large open room on the south side of the court; in the later levels the room is usually vaulted. Unit 3 and section F would then belong to the later part of the third level, when the columns were still retained but the single open room was established to the south rather than the combinations of open porch and good-sized room behind. The problem is complicated by the fact that the ultimate architectural development was the Parthian liwan and the Parthian authority had been established in Seleucia from the inception of Level III. The possibility that the court of section B was bordered to the north by an open room with a vaulted roof has already been suggested.

In comparison with units 1 and 2 in section C and in comparison with the sections already described, the finds from unit 3 were remarkably few. Of three coins identified, one from room 28Y just north of the court was dated 42-40 B.C., one from room 77 in the northwest corner belonged to 38/37-32/1 B.C., and between underpinnings in the court one of 121-83 B.C. was discovered. It is easy to conclude on paper that the house belonged to the second period of Level III, 42/40 B.C.—A.D. 40-45, and that the coin of 121-83 B.C. belonged to an intermediate level or sub-level III B period. It is not quite as simple as that, partly because lack of finds may mean the house was unoccupied for a time or the house was kept unusually clean. My own opinion is that the lower portion of Level III has not been reached in unit 3, even though the depth of the excavations parallels that in unit 2.

The court 27Y had a border of baked brick composed of a single row. In the northeast corner the brick tile continued to the wall and it is not clear how far this broader band continued. The columns stood between antae or spurs of walls to either side, an arrangement usual in the block but not followed either in section A or in unit 4 of section C. North of the court was a narrow room giving access to 70, which was completely paved with baked brick and apparently therefore a bath. West of 28Y the small narrow room 78 may have represented a storage space or possibly an area under a stairway leading to the roof. To east and west of 39Y lie the small room 58 and 22Y, the largest room in the house. No doorways were discovered in 72 but presumably it opened into the court or formed an inner room from 58.

Entrances into unit 3 are not easy to determine. One expects a passage from the corridor 46 through 71 but the west end is blocked. A doorway between 39Y and 8 (in unit 2) is quite possible but as drawn is both unusually narrow and doubtful. The doorway between 22Y and 56 of unit 4 is clear and gives access to the alleyway 21Y. It would be, however, unusual to have the chief entrance to the court go through the largest room.

A separate apartment or two separate apartments are formed by the rooms along street 4 and separated from the

main part of unit 3 by the hallway 46. The division between the chief section of the unit and the apartment along street 4 is accentuated by the room 68 which seems to be a second bathroom. It was tiled with baked brick and equipped with a drain leading out into street H. A cistern was built in the corner of the alley 73 with a pavement of baked brick around it. This was apparently a cesspool. Tomb 156 was located in room 67 and it may be this room was reserved for burials. Room 51 gave entrance from the street. If there was a janitor he would conveniently have occupied 67. A separate apartment such as 41, 68, and 69 at the end of corridor 46 or at least a series of two or three rooms not easily accessible from the rest of the house was not unusual. In unit 3 the unusual feature is corridor 46 which occupies considerable space in the middle of the house. I have chosen to consider the apartment with unit 3 and to treat it as a part of the house since one expects 46-71 to give the main entrance to the court and the corridor gives equal access to the apartment. The separate apartment might mark the women's quarters but it does not follow the usual arrangement.

The outer wall of unit 3 along street H preserved the regular sequence of jogs characteristic of mud brick braced with wooden beams. The horizontal beams are fastened together with overlaps and the jogs are carried down in the mud brick. The wooden beams of course have disappeared and it is only rarely that the jogging corners are preserved in the mud brick walls.<sup>58</sup>

### *Burials*

Twenty-eight burials were found in tomb 156 of room III67. Burials 1-4 and 24-28 were assigned to Level II room 192 which lay immediately above 67. Total depth of the burials was 2.30 meters. Yeivin has suggested in his record of the tombs that the accumulation of burials was due to war casualties in the seven-year revolt, even though the skeletons showed no sign of wounds. Lower skeletons had been disturbed by later burials. Some had been inclosed in coffins, some not. Grave furniture discovered consisted of lamps, a few beads, and a little gold foil in grave 16.

Along the east wall of room 58, below floor level near the southeast corner lay tomb 168 with 6 skeletons (Tomb plan 18). The structure of baked brick contained five of the skeletons, all of full grown persons, and the sixth lay in a glazed coffin under the baked brick structure. Two glazed lamps, a bead, and a glazed inset comprised the funeral furniture found. Under the coffin was a large drain of several jars. The skeletons had decayed in part due to seepage.

In the south part of 22Y an earlier burial in a coffin had been disturbed by the later burial of a youth. Yeivin suggests the burials were made in the face of a wall belonging to an earlier period. The large size of 22Y and the position as chief inner room of the house support this suggestion. The earlier period might still belong to Level III if the house as it stands should be allocated to the second phase of Level III.

*Rooms 27Y, 39Y, 22Y, 76, 77, 70, 28Y, 78, 71, 72, 58 (the court and rooms adjacent).*

From the court 27Y came a glazed lamp, two unidentified bronze coins and a cosmetic pot. The discovery of a clay antefix in room 39Y suggests that the roof of the house was pitched and perhaps the cistern in the northwest corner con-

tained the water. On the other hand a single antefix in 39Y may have been used as a wall ornament.

Four small lamps, one with modelled decoration, were found in 39Y, as were one small jar, parts of ten figurines, and the model of an oval shield. From beneath the floor level came a small decorated ornate lamp, a figurine of a rooster, the color still adhering to its tail, and the coin of 121-83 B.C. already mentioned. The sub-level lamp is described by Debevoise #386 and has the molded decoration and long nozzle of Hellenistic type.

More than half the finds from 22Y are listed as from below the third level, that is sub-three level. They consist of six lamps, two bowls, two figurines, a small pitcher, and a saucer. The lamp of Hellenistic type is decorated with an amphora in molded relief on the nozzle.<sup>59</sup> From Level III came parts of four figurines, two small pots, one plain bronze ring, and one lamp. The burial in 22Y has been mentioned above.

Rooms 76 and 77 are accessible only through 22Y and with 22Y form the chief closed rooms of the house. They constitute an apartment which occupies the whole west side of the unit. No finds are recorded from room 76 and in room 77 all the finds come from the brickwork in the north wall. In the brickwork were discovered two coins, a glazed lamp, and parts of four figurines. One of the coins is dated 38/37-32/31 B.C. It is not clear, however, whether it came from the clay of the bricks or from a niche in the wall. The latter seems the most likely in view of the other finds from the same locale.

Room 70 northeast of the court probably was the bath, since it was completely tiled and it corresponds in position to room 65 in section B, a room with tiled floor and drain. Room 70 is accessible only from the narrow room or corridor 28Y north of the court. In 28Y a bowl of green glaze was found in the brickwork of the west wall and a coin 42-40 B.C. in the room itself. No finds were recorded from 78 and the room is so small as to be serviceable only as a storage space. Perhaps, as remarked above, it lay beneath a stairway to the roof.

Since no finds are recorded from 71 and 72 it seems quite possible the digging was beneath the floor level and this hypothesis is supported by the lack of doorways in 72 and the single, narrow, off-center doorway in 71. The single find in 58 was a plain bone inset.

*Rooms 73, 69, 46, 51, 67, 68, 41 (the apartment and corridor along street 4).*

A large circular drain, perhaps a cesspool was located in the angle of the corridor 73 and a tile floor of baked brick was placed around it. No finds were recorded from the tiled area or from 69 at the north end of the hall. From 46 itself came part of a bone hairpin, a lamp, a small cosmetic pot, parts of three figurines, a bronze nail head, and one unidentified coin.

Room 51 yielded only a small glazed pilgrim flask from below floor level and a figurine head. The room (51) gives access to the corridor and to room 67 in which tomb 156 mentioned above was discovered.

Finally the tiled room 68 yielded nothing. The larger room 41 possessed part of a bone cylinder perforated with two side holes, perhaps part of a musical instrument; a small clay pot; one glazed lamp; and one fragment of molded plaster.

*Unit 4 (the central unit east of corridor 21Y).*

Unit 4 is long and narrow and constitutes an entirely

interior unit that has access only to the corridor, not to street 6. The plan is unusual in having oval columns at the north end of the court, as well as the usual columns forming a deep porch on the south, and in the number of entrances to the court from the corridor. It may have formed part of unit 3, since room 56 has doorways into both units, or it could have been a part of section D through the entranceway on the west side of the corridor.

The corridor 21Y undoubtedly formed part of the alleyway which separated originally the east and west sides of the block. It had been narrowed appreciably and slanted toward the east. At the same time the three pilasters on the east side of the corridor suggest doorways cutting off free entrance from the street. Probably doors in room 33x closed off the unit from the open central area 144 and another door at the northwest corner of 57 closed that room from the corridor. The regular entrance to the house would be through 79 opposite to the entrance to section D across the corridor. Room 57 might have formed with 33x an *andron* accessible from the corridor and opening also on 62.

Not only were the oval columns on the north unusual in the court but so was the size of room 263 behind the portico. The wall between 263 and 264 is not parallel to the side wall and may have been an addition. If so, the original room was both broader and deeper than the porch, though the portico itself was of good size in proportion to the house. As in section A, there are no flanking pilasters on either side of the columns. The general trend seemed to be to set off the porch more sharply from the court and at the same time eliminate or reduce in size the room behind the porch. In this case, the arrangements in section C would reflect an early state of Level III. To this early stage might belong the portico with oval columns on the north side. The palace at Larisa on the Hermos, belonging to the early part of the Hellenistic period, had porticoed rooms on opposite sides of the court.<sup>60</sup>

The very heavy wall around room 80 and the unusual form of the entrance are probably both due to the intrusion of foundations of walls belonging to Level II.

#### *Burials*

In 56 an empty coffin (T165) was discovered with no trace of bones. It was not clearly below floor level and may have belonged to Level II room 73. Perhaps, however, it was an unused coffin from room 56.

Under the floor level in the southern part of 57, a tomb (no. 166 plan 19) containing parts of two glazed and decorated coffins was found. The bones had been disturbed but some gold foil was found near the east end of the second coffin. Yeivin remarks<sup>61</sup> that the glazed coffins, and slipper coffins, both glazed and unglazed, are found in Level III and disappear entirely in Levels I and II.

#### *Unit 4 (the court and adjacent rooms).*

There are no finds listed from room 33x.<sup>62</sup>

On the floor level of 57 were found two bronze coins of A.D. 36-40 and one of 121-83 B.C. A coin from the north end of room 54 also was dated A.D. 43/44 and a small hoard of 25 bronze coins from room 54 (to which belonged perhaps the coin just mentioned) contained one dated A.D. 36-40.

The coin of 121-83 B.C. belongs in Level III, as does a coin of 38/37 B.C. or 32/31 B.C. from room 45. McDowell takes

the revolt of A.D. 36-43<sup>63</sup> as marking the transition between Levels II and III but points out that the seven-year revolt was only a detail in the civil war which raged through Parthia. There was at Seleucia a distinct change in the architecture as the columned porticoes were given up but there seems to have been in the block no sharp and decisive break. Probably, therefore, the coins belonging to the time of the revolt mark some rebuilding or repairs and a new floor level rather than a complete shift in arrangement.

A clay bank, a small ovoid vessel with a slot for coins,<sup>64</sup> was found in the brickwork of the east wall of room 54. Probably it had been placed in a niche, though no coins were found in it. A second bank was found in Level II, room 259, a proximity which deserves remark since banks were few.

Other finds from the house were fairly numerous but not distinguished. There were eight lamps from room 45 and one each from 62, 57, and 56. The finds in room 263 were few and there were none from 264. It seems logical to suppose that 263-264 constituted the chief inner room of the house, but the finds indicated either limited occupancy or careful house-cleaning.

#### *Room 144*

The area 144 stands by itself in more or less the center of the block and apparently constituted a common open place rather than a constituent part of an individual unit. It may be treated here, since it belongs to the corner of section C rather than to the other divisions. Adjacent sections all had access to the area except the section E in the center of the north side.

From the number of small finds (250 catalogued) one supposes it was employed both as a common meeting place and as a dispose-all for broken figurines, lamps, pottery, etc. The objects were small and, except for the coins, not appropriate for review here since they fail to show any particular employment (such as cooking) for the space.

Well over a hundred pieces of bronze were tentatively listed as coins and of these 24 were identified by McDowell. Six of these belonged to Demetrius II, 145-41 and 140-123 B.C., the lower limit except for two Seleucid coins assigned to an upper floor of Level IV. The upper limit was represented by three coins of A.D. 69/70. Four belonged to the period 42-40 B.C. and five to A.D. 36-40 with two more to the period A.D. 43-46.

There were two well marked ash levels, the lower one containing one of the coins of Demetrius II and lying immediately above a second coin of the same ruler. Just below the upper burned level was a coin of A.D. 36-40 and one of the same date was found in the level of the second burning.

There was in the excavations rather widespread evidence for a fire about the time of the Parthian occupation (141 B.C.) but, as McDowell has pointed out, whether the burning occurred near the beginning or during disturbances when Antiochus VII occupied the city about 130 B.C. is not clear. The seven coins (five of A.D. 36-40 and two of 43-46) belonging to the period of the seven-year revolt reflect that troubled period and the ash layer is evidence for at least a partial burning, but the three coins of A.D. 69/70 give warning that some third level architectural units survived for a time. The whole period A.D. 36-70 was one of almost constant civil war in Parthia, including the attempt by Vologases to establish a new capital, and in Seleucia it may have been, architecturally speaking, a



Fig. 20. Section D, block G6, level III

period of repairs rather than new construction. A coin of 42-40 B.C. two centimeters below the foundations of a Level I wall suggests that the stratification cannot be relied upon too strictly.

From 42/41 B.C. to 39/38 B.C. the native party gained control of Seleucia.<sup>65</sup> The four coins 42-40 B.C. belong to this period and may mark a period of trouble or new building. It could be, however, that these poorly struck but rather distinctive coins are more easily recognized.

#### Section D (fig. 20).

Mr. Dill's most valuable report on this section has been used extensively in this review. In our general agreement all my indebtedness to his work has not been acknowledged. Where we agreed in our interpretations my own conclusions have been stated without reference to his suggestions. Differences in our opinions have been most useful in investigating the problems. In general our disagreements have been slight.

The part of the block as it stands forms a section sharply divided from the rest of the block—on the west by the alleyway 21Y and on the south by the double entranceway 162, 203, 204, etc., and corridor 207. The section comprises about a third of the west side of the block and as it stands seems a fairly well unified section, except for the shops along street 6.

The section, however, may be divided into apartments around the open courts. The courtyard 18 is the only one in the section adorned with columns in the Graeco-Persian style. Court 196 on the north side with adjoining rooms forms one apartment and court 178 another. A small apartment is formed by the paved court 201 with adjacent rooms and perhaps the open court 213 in the northeast corner forms another. The series of rooms forming a large corridor on the south, which leads only to the open area 144 in the center of the block, is a curious feature. The columned court lying along the east side of the section rather than in the center is also unusual.

It seems reasonable to believe that the block was divided first or intended for eight houses more or less square. In the Hellenistic tradition each of these would be a series of rooms grouped around a central court. The rectangular form of section D in the plan represents a major change from the original scheme. A second change seems indicated in the passageways or narrow rooms in the center of the west side, 179, 34x and 183. These probably represented an older entranceway to the unit around court 196. The fact that another entranceway into the section, the rooms 187, 193, 199 lie immediately beside 179, enhances the probability of an entrance rather than detracts from it since it is not

uncommon, as shown on the south side of section D, to have entranceways to contiguous units lying side-by-side. Graves are so common in courts and rooms that the three burials in rooms 183 and 34x occasion no surprise. One may remark, however, that there are no burials in the adjacent passageway and that a blocked off passageway or narrow room would make apparently a convenient and appropriate burial place. There is no indication that court 196 had been adorned with columns to form the decorative center of an independent unit.

If one apartment had been made around court 196, one might expect a corresponding one around court 178 and the strongest argument for this is, I believe, the unusual arrangement which placed court 18 along the east side of the block. It is possible that in the apartment might be included some rooms across alley 21Y, but the difficulties are then increased by the inclusion of another columned court lying beside the first one.

If the wall between 55 and 213 had no passageway the separation of the northeast corner from the rest of the section would have been simple through the blocking of the very narrow doorway between 229 and 20Y or closing the door between 229 and 177x. In the latter doorway, a door socket still remains, the only one in the apartment, and it suggests an unusually heavy door. In any case very unusual is the very large room 55 on the north side of court 18. The unusually wide doorway and the wall projecting into room 55 would have been interpreted in Level I and perhaps also in II as evidence of an arch and vault. It is possible that the new type of architecture began in the last part of Level III but this must remain merely an hypothesis.

Most interesting is the paved court 201 with the open room 180 to the south. Room 201 stands in almost the center of the section, it can be approached directly through the entry 187/199 and it holds the key to the apartment centered around 196.

Since the paving in baked brick often denotes both an open area and one worthy of special treatment and since the open room beside it lies on the south, as do the columned rooms on the larger courts, the unit 201/180 constitutes probably the women's quarters or the courtyard for the lady of the house. The arrangement of similar orientation and proximity to the megaron as well as character and size is paralleled in section B.

It seems reasonable to me to consider the whole section, except for the street shops, as belonging to one householder. This would be most reasonable if one considered the apartment around court 178 attached to the men's quarters and that around 196 attached to the women's as serving special purposes, perhaps some form of business. In section A a kiln built in one of the rooms of the house suggests a business conducted as part of the household work, and the *bullae* in section C certainly disclose a tax office, though its records belong largely to Level IV. Unfortunately the finds in section D, as we shall see, are not distinctive enough to indicate the nature of the business carried on, nor do they furnish sure proof that the householder was carrying on a business venture on the premises. The large jars in 169 may have merely stored grain and bulky materials for the family, and the apartment around 196 may have housed slaves or grown children including in-laws, rather than some business venture as weaving or spinning carried on under the direction of the mistress of the house. It seems curious if some business were carried on in

rooms 178-169 that some direct access was not given to corridor 162-203, and one may guess that at some phase of development the corridor constituted the chief entrance to the whole section.

Probably the best argument for the arrangement of apartments, as suggested, is the location of the columned court and chief rooms 18, 12, 42 lying along the whole center of the west side of the section. If this constitutes the chief center of habitation, and if the women's quarters lay beside it, then the two groups of rooms in the center of the north and south sides would seem to be apartments belonging to the house but not essential to the living quarters. Since the passageway 187/193 leads to the women's quarters and the entrance in court 18 gives into the alleyway, the chief entrance to the household would be through 217. The special provisions for bathing in room 188, the open court 197, and the curious shape of 213 suggest special arrangements for visitors or travelers or possibly some cult center.

There seems to be no provision for animals unless the blind passageway 179-183-34x on the west side might have been used for housing burros or goats. The long corridor and narrow room 220 seem appropriate for a stair to the roof, but there is no proof. One could imagine that if lower stairs might be built into the wall between 177x and 55 the landing might be placed above 220 and the upper stairs over the corridor. This seems the most reasonable suggestion for stairs in the section. I had thought that the sharp jog in the entranceway 179 might have indicated a staircase leading up along the south wall of 34x, but Mr. Dill points out that access to it would be only from the street.

*Rooms 162, 203, 204, 114Y, 157, 158, 170 (the passageway on the south).*

The passageway gives entrance to the central court of the block 144, and allows access to the janitor's quarters 170 and to room 225 of section E. The fourth level was reached beneath the whole of the passageway and it may be that the coin of 175 B.C. from 162, the two of Alexander Bala from 162, and the janitor's room 170, and single coins of 175 B.C. from both 203 and 204 meant merely that the lower level had been reached. One may suggest, however, that this second quarter of the second century B.C. marked the period when this passageway was constructed. Terminal dates were circa A.D. 40 except for a coin of A.D. 69/70 from corridor 157. The character of the whole section was completely changed in Level II. The corridor 157/158 corresponds to a corridor in the level above with a jog at the west end. Perhaps then the coin of 69/70 belonged to the later period. The cutting for an empty grave in 157 may also have been a late addition.

Mr. Dill's suggestion that 170 belonged to a guard or janitor is an excellent one. A large number of bronze coins (102), including one of Alexander Bala already mentioned, were found in the room, and 43 pieces of pottery including two colanders and parts of 22 figurines. The burial under the floor will be discussed separately.

*Rooms 231, 161, 166, 173, 171, 182, 194, 195, 198 (rooms along street 6).*

Along street 6 lay a whole series of rooms each with an entrance on the street but no passageway to interior rooms.

The only exceptions are 187, which forms the entrance to the passageway into the women's quarters, and 179, the beginning of the blind alley. The three rooms at the northern end have communicating doors, otherwise the rooms are independent units.

In room 231, the southernmost of the group, a coin of Seleucus I was found just below the earliest sill and from the room were recovered two bitumen *bullae* of 159/160 B.C. Otherwise the discoveries were largely the graves and tombs, which will be described separately. It is sufficient here to say that beneath the floor lay vault 151 and grave 232 containing seven bodies. Two coins gave the dates 145-141 B.C. and 140-123 B.C. This grave lay partly beneath the north wall of vault 155, a burial of the second level since a coin of Vologases III A.D. 174/5-177/8 was found in the sifted earth. A seven burner lamp was found near vault 151 but the date is not clear. Another grave, 249, found in the northwest corner contained an infant burial. Grave 289 was also discovered in this room. One might suggest that the room was used for purposes other than burials up to the Parthian period but that occupancy was light and so the stratum thin. After 140 B.C. it became a burial room and remained such into the second level (it lay beneath room 246 of Level II).

Room 161, the next to the north, lay directly above Level IV 16 and contained a silver coin of Seleucus II. The terminal date in identified coins was A.D. 59/62. The finds included parts of eleven figurines, fragments of pottery, an iron arrow head and a clay sling bullet, but nothing which revealed the nature of the shop or room. The fragment of a hinge, a broken nail, and fragments of a bent iron key may have belonged to a chest or to the street door. The 63 coins found suggest monetary transactions, but the long period covered may indicate only moderate use.

A comparatively large number of coins (78) were found also in room 166 and they span the period from Seleucus I to the revolt in A.D. 40. A number of glass insets (27) may indicate the type of merchandise supplied in the shop. Three bone dice, a marked knucklebone, and a clay pawn were also recovered. The silver coin of Mithradates I was rare in Seleucia.

Room 173 contained grave 251 with three skeletons. The fifty coins discovered ranged in date (as far as identified) between 145 B.C. and A.D. 69/70. Very little else unconnected with the graves was recovered.

Room 171 had a door sill of baked brick as did the rooms just mentioned but little else to distinguish it.

The coins in room 182 (20) ranged in date from 175 B.C. to A.D. 27.

The series of rooms 194, 195, 198 at the northwest corner contained 9, 4, and 28 coins respectively, an interesting commentary on the use of the rooms or the carefulness of the owners. The dates ranged from 145 B.C. to A.D. 40. The larger number of finds was recovered from room 198 and included two bronze statuettes, one of a soldier with long (Gallic) shield.

Mr. Dill called attention to the fact that the walls between shops were often thicker than the street wall.

In Level III, the shops seem to be an intrinsic part of the block plan and two of them, 161, 162, lie above rooms of the fourth level, so apparently the building projected into the street the same distance in the late fourth period.

*Rooms 36x, 232, 211, 215, 61 (the small apartment in the northeast corner).*

In the category of isolated or separate rooms in the section should be included the little group at the northeast corner. Room 36x is a reasonable size and furnished with a baked brick threshold, a feature common to some of the independent rooms on street 6. In the group of very small rooms 232, 211, 215 and 61, have no doorways recorded, and the unit 61-215 is very small. Perhaps 232 was merely a vacant space enclosed in the wall when the west side of the alley 21Y was moved forward to narrow the doorway. Mr. Dill suggests that 61-215 may have been the quarters for a janitor controlling entrance to the alley. It seems reasonable to believe that when the entrance was narrowed so that access might be limited, a room for a janitor might be constructed.

The finds from 61-215 were very small and suggest a short period of occupancy. The latest coin from room 61 was dated in A.D. 62. From room 215 were recovered two figurines, five bronze coins, and one jar of pottery, nothing to indicate clearly its purpose.

The finds in rooms 215 and 217 were made in the E (fifth) season, that is January and February of 1932, except for one find made in the fall of 1932. I take it, therefore, that the finds of the same months made in 36 belong to 36x rather than to 36Y, the large columned room in section A. The difficulty is that part of the finds in 49, adjacent to 38Y, were made in January 1931, part in January 1932, and the finds from the court 138 just north of 36Y were all (4) made the last day of November and in the first eight days of December 1931.

From room 36 twenty-five finds were listed, 18 from the D (fourth) season; in the E season, three from September, one from October, three from December, two from January 1932, and one from the F season. Probably the two from January 1932 belonged to 36Y. The three in December 1931 are doubtful, particularly because one, a ruby bead was found on December 9th and the last listed find in 138 was on December 17th. Both are figurine heads of clay and would appropriately go with the nine other parts of figurines found in the D season in 36Y.

This leaves for 36x at most a coin of Demetrius II (145-141, 140-123 B.C.) found on the 21st of January 1932 and the clay head of a horse with bridle found in the brickwork of the south wall on the 25th of January already mentioned in 36Y. The following season a link of an iron chain was found in the debris of 36, but whether from 36x or 36Y is not clear.

Fortunately, usually the dates of finds in adjacent rooms make it reasonably certain to which room in the x and Y category the finds should be assigned. I mention 36 at length to explain the practical difficulties.

*Rooms 217, 197, 188, and 213. (the entrance unit).*

Since the entrance to court 18 is directly accessible only from the alleyway 21Y and the doorway from street 6 leads to the women's quarters, room 217 formed probably the main entrance to the section. Manasseh<sup>66</sup> considered that room 197 was an open court, but Mr. Dill points out that there is no evidence of paved brick flooring nor for a drain. It is, moreover, considerably smaller than the adjoining 213 so there is no necessity for its being unroofed. From 197 access is



obtained to room 188 with bathing facilities consisting of a baked brick receptacle laid in bitumen. The larger room, 213, apparently was completely separated from room 55 and contained a fair-sized alcove in the eastern wall. This with room 197 may form the *andron* or men's quarters usually placed close to the entrance and here furnished with the separate room for bathing. The wall between 213 and 55 was supplanted by the wall in Level II between rooms 56-63 (Level II) which lay immediately above it. The pivot stone found in place between 177 and 229 witnesses to a strong door between the *andron* and the chief living quarters of the house and adds to the impression that the entrance rooms formed a separate unit and that there was no passageway between 213 and 55.

Of the 19 coins found in room 217 the earliest recognized was Demetrius I and the latest belonged to A.D. 18. A bronze bell with bronze clapper was recovered in room 197 and a coin of A.D. 59-60 (one of 13). Mr. Dill points out that bells were also found in the alleyway 203 and 157 and in the small connecting room 222 west of court 201. The bath in 188 was almost a meter in length and two-thirds of a meter in width.

Very few finds are recorded from 213 and the special reason for the alcove is not clear. Its position opposite the large and single doorway would make it appropriate for a seat of honor if the owner were a man of prominence or an official of some sort.

*Rooms 18, 12, 42, 55, 164, 175, 177Y, 184, 177x, 220, 20Y and 230 (the court and adjacent rooms).*

The courtyard 18 has a border of baked brick and a well with baked brick facings in the northwest corner. The well served presumably to catch and hold rain water. It may also have reached water level at least when the river was high. On the south side two columns between antae separated the porch of the *megaron* from the court. Manasseh<sup>67</sup> reports that columns and antae were made of burnt brick laid in gypsum plaster except for the two upper courses of the pedestals which were set in bitumen to prevent the moisture from rising in the structure. The chief room 42, or triclinium, belongs to the broad room type as does the porch 12, rather than the Greek long room form or the square shape of the Persians. On the north side of the court an unusually wide doorway opens into a wider hallway giving into a large room. The projecting wall of the east side of the hallway suggests the support for a vault, but no evidence of plaster is recorded to support such an hypothesis. In section C, unit 4 an open room with oval pilasters lies on the south side of the colonnaded court and in section F a good-sized room with exceptionally wide doorway lies on the north side of court 126. It would be very interesting to know if these wide doorways were arched, an indication of Parthian influence, or left open. They seem far too wide for even double doors.

Around the main apartment just mentioned, there are a series of rooms, some of which form entrances. Room 177x gives access to the very small room 220. I have suggested it may have lain under the stairs to the roof. Another possibility is a latrine, though no drain is mentioned. Room 229 led from 177x to 20Y and the wide doorway to the women's quarters. South of 20Y, room 230 gave access to the court or allowed the resident coming from the court to reach room 224 and so the annex to the chief apartment. Around 42 a series of small rooms was constructed. Room 184 was accessible only from

42 and had a baked brick basin 26 centimeters deep but with no bitumen. It may well have served as a bath. The jog in the entranceway disappears in the lower levels. Room 177Y gave access to the court or large room 169 and also to the rear room 175 which contained burial 132 with eight skeletons.<sup>68</sup> Only the foundations of the walls around 164 remain and there is no trace of the entranceway. Presumably it was a part of the main apartment and opened either into room 175 or room 42.

As might be expected, the largest number of finds came from the chief room 42. Some of the 26 figurines may have been included in the brickwork of the walls. Of 45 coins the range spread from Demetrius II to A.D. 44-46. There were two bronze kohlsticks and 25 pieces of pottery. Most notable was an earring of a winged female wrought in gold. The fragment of a cuneiform tablet probably came from the mud brick and perhaps also a seal of steatite. In the Hellenistic house the chief room off the court was the triclinium, distinguished by the benches of plaster raised slightly above floor level. There is no indication of the triclinium benches at Seleucia, but one expects the columned porch and room behind it to form the most important as well as the most ornamental apartment of the house.

It is scarcely worthwhile to review all the finds in the other rooms. From room 184 were recovered an alabaster head of a figurine and one of bronze. Recognized coins dated from 141 B.C. to A.D. 70. The number of pots in 175, at least 30 in number, and a stone pestle suggest a pantry or kitchen. A second stone pestle or grinder found in the adjoining 164 as well as eight more pots (also eight figurines) furnish fairly good evidence that 175 and 164 belonged together. Robinson's sketches show a doorway between the two, partly blocked by square bases of baked brick and flooring of baked brick in the west corners. Lack of ashes precludes the possibility of hearths for cooking. More probably they supported heavy furniture. Yeivan suggests<sup>69</sup> that a number of the multiple graves in Level III represented the period of revolt against Parthian rule, particularly since the graves contain skeletons of women and children as well as men.

A coin of Alexander the Great was found in the court (18). Apparently, however, the excavations continued below the Level III floors. In the largely dirt floors at Seleucia it was often extremely difficult to distinguish floor levels accurately. The coin supplements the evidence from rooms 231 and 161 that the stratum between the third and the fourth levels was thin. In general the coin range was from 140 B.C. to A.D. 40 or 70. No finds were recorded from room 55 but the discoveries may have been listed under 213, since only the foundations of the Level III wall between the two rooms remained.

*Rooms 201, 180, 228, 22, 190, 187, 193, 199 (the women's apartment and the entrance from street 6).*

This very interesting apartment exactly in the center of the section can be appropriately interpreted as the women's quarters though the finds are not distinctive enough to make the identification certain. The portion 201 tiled with baked brick was obviously a court open to the sky and the room 180 corresponds to the columned porch to the south of court 18. A number of jars fixed in place in room 190 suggest the drain of a latrine but the room seems inordinately large for such a

purpose. The bell from room 222 might be for summoning a servant or slave, or could be assigned to someone in 190 if it were used as a bedroom. The alleyway to street 6 consists of room 199 at the northwest corner of the court and separated from the rest of the passage by a baked brick threshold and the narrow rooms 193 and 187. The series of rooms around the open court 196 form a separate apartment accessible only from the women's court and will be treated separately.

Finds in the apartment were surprisingly few but the range of coins was rather unusual. From the vestibule room 187 came four foreign bronze coins; a coin of 223 B.C. was recovered from room 193, a bronze coin of Vologases I A.D. 69/70-78/79 was found in the court 201, and from room 180 came coins ranging from Antiochus IV to A.D. 62.

*Rooms 169, 178, 168, 172 (the annex to the chief apartment).*

The two largest rooms in the whole section are 169 and 178 linked by an exceptionally wide doorway. One expects that if one were a court and the other enclosed, the larger would be the court and that it would lie to the north of the enclosed room. In this particular sequence 169 is the larger but it lies to the south of 178 and was probably an enclosed room. It is possible, of course, that both might have been open to the sky but in that case there seems little reason for the dividing wall.

Robinson's notes show some interesting details in both rooms. Fourth level walls appear in 169 jutting out into the room just south of the east doorway and projecting from the south wall just north of the center. Another wall of mud brick or a foundation runs parallel to the west wall from the corner to the center of the room. A rectangle of baked brick west of the center of the room, Robinson believes, was built on an earlier, more extensive baked brick structure and may be part of a tomb. On the other side (east) of the center there is the base of a large drain, the top of which belonged to Level II room 69. Parts of unbaked brick walls just south of the chief entrance and part of a square of baked brick tiling close to the center of the west wall as well as a line of baked brick stretching out into the room from the south wall may belong to the earlier period since they serve no clear purpose in the third level arrangement.

Room 178 retained part of a baked brick tiling along the south wall between the east corner and the door. This parallels the baked brick borders which so often lined the courts in the third level. A baked brick tiling was placed as the threshold to the entrance to room 224 and covered the floor of the entranceway to 172. A large drain was dug in the floor just east of the center of the room and beside it three large jars had been sunk in the floor, possibly a drain. A pit close to the center of the room may have offered a storage area in the fourth level.

A layer of sherds along the east wall and projecting into the room in the third level served as base for second level walls. Below the sherds Robinson notes a ledge projecting out 10 centimeters and down 40 centimeters. A similar condition was found in two of the other sides of the room and Robinson suggests the ledge could easily have been a form of spread footing for the wall immediately above it, of which only a small portion remains and which appears to have been the wall for the court whose floor was bordered with baked brick. In the long course of the third period many alterations indubitably occurred. In one of these phases room 178 may have

served as the chief room of the section as its size and position suggest. In this arrangement the open court would have been 201 and adjacent rooms.

In the third level plan, attention may be called once again to the exceptionally wide doorway between 169 and 178. The sun baked bricks of the jambs, however, argue, I believe, against an arch since there was no indication of broken arch in the remains. A part of a terra cotta sima found in room 169 may have belonged to Level IV.

West of the room 178 lay the good-sized room 172 and beside it to the south 168. Room 168 had doorways both to 172 and 169 and so formed an apartment with 169 and 178. East of the large rooms was the corridor 177Y with entrance into 169, and the corridor 224, 230, 20Y giving access from 178 to the court 18 and the women's quarters 201.

The successive floor levels in 169 were disturbed by the digging of a grave in the east side and the intrusion of a second level drain on the west. A bronze coin from the upper filling of the grave was dated A.D. 120/130 so the burial should be attributed to the beginning of the first level. From the base of an intermediate Level III wall came a coin of Alexander the Great, and a silver coin of Pacorus II belonged to A.D. 79/80. Part of a bronze lamp was found within the room and a number of small finds, such as knuckle bones, a bone knife handle, fragment of an iron blade, trinkets, etc.

The coins of 178 range from 162 B.C. to A.D. 70, and those of 172 from 145-141 B.C. to A.D. 43/44. A great number of lamps in 172 suggests sleeping quarters. The large jars presumably made part of a drain and Robinson's notes place a baked brick floor laid without bitumen in the center of the room with a jar beneath. His rough sketch does not correspond, however, to the form of the room in the block plan. Room 172 yielded fewer lamps and fewer coins but had a range from Demetrius I to A.D. 46.

On the whole the apartment seems to represent domestic quarters, in which room 172 presumably made a bedroom, perhaps equipped with the tile floor and drain for a bath.

The finds from the corridors east of rooms 169 and 178 were not significant, but a coin of Demetrius I from room 224 and one of Alexander Balas from 229 suggest either the excavations had penetrated the lowest Level III floor levels or the construction of the rooms came a little before the Parthian period. One may note that the rooms around the chief apartment were very small. One (room 175) appears to have been a kitchen. Rooms 169 and 178 seem, therefore, to form an annex to the living quarters of the chief apartment and provided the bedrooms at the west end.

From the apartment, however, access to street 6 was gained through room 173. It may be, therefore, that the apartment 169-178 was the center for some sort of business in which the owner of the house was interested.

*Rooms 200, 206, 35x, 196, 189, 205, 262, 218, 219, 221 (the annex to the women's apartment).*

The apartment is composed of a series of rooms around the large central room 196, presumably an open court. The fact that the only approach to the court is from the south through room 35x is unusual. Still more unusual is the dependence of the whole suite on the little court 201 from which alone access is obtained to the apartment. The group of rooms had previously formed an independent house, whose entrance ran

from street 6 through the corridor 179, 183, 34x. When this was blocked off and reserved largely for burials, the inner group of rooms became an inner apartment in the section. The narrowness of rooms 262/205 seems more appropriate for a corridor than a room, and perhaps there was an entrance to street H as well as to street 6. One expects, in any case, access would be given from the streets to the court 196 without passing through room 35x. The doorway between 196 and 189 is marked with a question mark because no evidence for it remains. A second level wall was built above the wall of Level III and traces of the earlier doorway were lost.

Finds in the group of rooms were rather scanty. There was a number of cosmetic pots, a few lamps, and weaving articles. A pottery drain was discovered in the corner of room 206. Coins in general ranged from the beginning of the Parthian

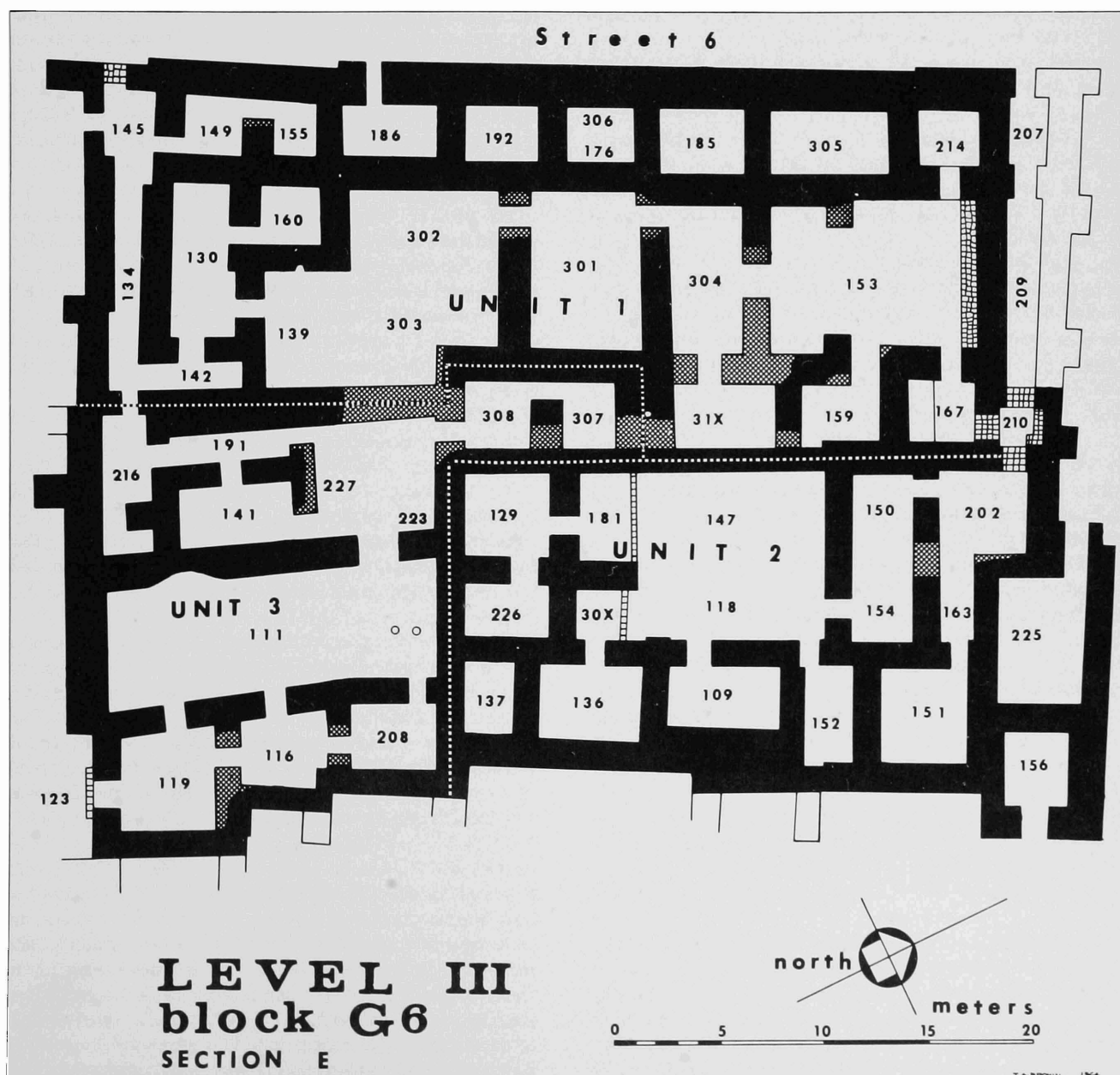
period to the revolt in A.D. 40. One of Demetrius I was recovered in room 262 and four bronze coins of Vardanes I A.D. 43/44 were found in 189.

On the whole the apartment seems to have been utilized largely by women though the paucity of the finds makes allocation difficult. Mr. Dill suggests sleeping quarters may account for the small number of finds in the side rooms.

*Section E* (fig. 21).

Section E spans the middle of the west side of the block and is separated from the sections to north and south by double passageways, one of each pair serving as entrance to the section. On the east, the open area 144 lies at the northern end. Otherwise the division from the east half of the block is merely the common house wall. Probably the alleyway, which

Fig. 21. Section E, block G6, level III



divides the northern end of the block, originally ran through the block but no sure traces of it are preserved in the southern half. The southern end of the open area 144 continues the line of the east-west corridor dividing sections B and C and marks the middle of the block.

Manasseh remarks<sup>70</sup> that a large portion of this section lay under the principal liwans of Levels I and II and their unusually deep foundations did much to obliterate the plan of Level III. The large number of graves, particularly in the southwest part of the section, also confused the stratification and may account in part for the large number of coins of the pre-Parthian period.

Miss Cathy King made a careful special study and analysis of this section and I am largely indebted to her report for the details published here. She has pointed out that the section is divided into three units, not to speak of the separate, independent rooms completely separated from one another except for the sharing of common entrances from street 6. A peculiarity is the absence in the section of a unit with a court flanked on the south by a columned room.

A second peculiarity is the orientation of the rooms in the southeast corner, an orientation which does not correspond with that in the rest of the section. This unit connects with section F through the doorway between rooms 123 and 119. I am inclined to think it belonged to the house of section F though the orientation differs from the other parts of F also. I shall discuss it as a part of section E and consider its relationship to section F later.

The series of interconnecting rooms on the west side, immediately east of the street rooms is puzzling. Room 153 has a tiled border on the north side and is divided into two sections by antae just south of the middle. The tiled border suggests an open court and the antae a porch placed appropriately on the south side. With room 304 communicating with 153 by a central door, and with the rooms to west and east, a unit corresponding in size and form to a small independent unit would be formed. It would require only the blocking of the doorway between 304 and 301. Just at the doorway the west wall of 304 jogs for the corner of 185, suggesting some difference in the original arrangements.

Probably section E at some time in the course of the third period comprised a single establishment. The section was then divided into three smaller units. The court 147/118 and the adjacent rooms formed one unit, court 153 and adjacent rooms a second. The large room 111 and adjacent quarters were annexed by the large house section F in the southwest corner of the block. The arrangements in the southwest corner are not clear. Perhaps the large number of graves means the rooms were deserted for a time, or the heavy construction and deeper foundations of Level II destroyed the Level III arrangements. At any rate at the end of the period the open court 302/303/139 was connected with the unit to its north making the present series of rooms

### Burials

Yeivan remarks<sup>71</sup> on the multiple burials in graves and tombs of Level III compared with the number of bodies in graves of Level II. The outstanding example of the multiple burial type was the vault 216 in the open room 139, a vault which had only two loculi but remains of at least 33 skeletons. This is one of several cases in which the bodies were put away

pell-mell and seem to reflect mass burials rather than successive interments. Yeivan calls attention to the fact that since the skeletons bore no trace of wounds and included bodies of women and children, they probably represent not soldiers fallen in battle, but civilian casualties from starvation and epidemic, natural hazards in a city besieged, especially if crowded with refugees from the country. Coins from the room which include those close to the vault go from the beginning of the Parthian period to the period of the revolt, one dating from A.D. 36-40 and one from A.D. 43-44. Since the coins are few the *terminus ante quem* is not certain, however, and the interesting question whether or not the house continued to be occupied until A.D. 69/70 is not solved.

Another multiple grave (231) under the floor level of room 216 (unit 3), contained 14 bodies. One grave lay above a coffin cover and remains of other covers lay beneath. Tomb 231 as well as 216 contained in part the bodies of children.

On the other hand, Tomb 31 from room 304 or 305 contained only one body, that of an adult, and Tomb 40 from below the level of rooms 302-301, contained remains of three faience coffins, and four bodies.

Rooms 130-160 forming a little apartment off room 139 also contained a number of burials 243, 244, 245, and 277 in room 130 and burial 291 and 275 in room 160. Burial 291 and 275 both contained ten skulls, burial 243 a silver coin of Septimus Severus under the jaw of a skeleton.

Room 225, set rather apart by itself in the corridor north of section E, contained three burials (237, 238 and 253). Grave 238 lay partly between rooms 225 and 156. Vault 41 lay beneath the floor level of room 156 but Yeivan assigns it to the room of the second level II 227.

In the large court or open room 111, three burials were discovered, numbers 235, 236 and 242, the latter with three skulls in one cubicle. Room 136 off court 118/147 contained two burials 219 and 222, the first with four bodies, the third and fourth in a coffin and with traces of cloth shrouds.

Burials were found also in rooms 109, 118, 149, 152, 185 and 192. Rooms 185 and 192 are rooms along street 6 with entrances no longer recognizable; room 152 like 136 is an adjunct to the court 118/147. The court 118 itself contained two burials, 224 and 246. Room 109 lies between 136 and 152. Finally 149 is part of the apartment, perhaps the janitor's at the entrance.

When one says the open courts and the side rooms are the favorite places for burials, this includes the great proportion of rooms at Seleucia. There is no definite pattern that I can discern but one can say the burial place was apt to be the court or a room easily shut off from the rest of the house. The graves dug from the upper levels into the lower bring always the chance of confusing the strata by establishing later coins at unusual depths. Sometimes it is not even clear to which level a grave should be ascribed.

*Rooms 225, and 156 (between sections D and E, drawn on the plan of E).*

Rooms 225 and 156 may be considered part of section E since they are separated from D by a corridor. Access is obtained to 225 by corridor 162 (114Y). Room 156 opens only on the central area 144. Both rooms contained graves—room 156, vault 41, and room 225, graves 237 and 253. Grave 238 was partly beneath the common wall and might be listed

under both rooms. It is possible that they served only as funerary rooms but the number of finds beyond the grave furniture suggests occupation. Robinson's notes call attention to a vertical line of mud brick just east of the middle of the south wall. This may represent a doorway later blocked up. Its position corresponds with the juncture in the last period of the east wall of room 151.

The two rooms are unrelated to each other and to the units on either side. Their interior position seems to prohibit shops and the lodgings of janitors, since one expects both to be near the streets. A rather similar type of rooms occurs in section B room 115 near the west end of corridor 128, otherwise there are no parallels in the block. The finds in the rooms do not seem to me distinctive enough to identify the nature of occupancy.

In room 225, 36 coins were found ranging in date from 162 B.C. to A.D. 5. Miss King's reports showed that 17 were found in or near the graves and ten in the debris. The rest were found in the brickwork or were allocated only to the room.

Eight lamps and 12 figurines were appropriate furniture for the graves and some of the pottery, a platter, two bowls, and a one-handled pitcher, might be construed as receptacles of offerings. On the other hand, a cooking pot, a pot cover, two pottery separators, and a stone pestle seem to indicate common use. Fragments of a bracelet, a finger ring, a few beads, and insets might have belonged either to the quick or to the dead.

Room 156 contained 27 coins of which the 13 identified ranged from 145 B.C. to 31 B.C. A number of pieces of common ware pottery were found, including 18 bowls, a pilgrim flask, a cosmetic jar, etc., in addition to metal instruments such as four adzes, two daggers, and the edge of a knife blade. Ornaments included eleven beads, four insets, two fragments of an iron finger ring, and one amulet.

*Rooms 145, 149, 155, 186, 192, 306-176, 185, 305, 214 (rooms along street 6).*

Rooms 149 and 155 at the south end of the section communicate with each other and have an entrance on the passageway 145. Next to these two rooms, room 186 has a doorway to the street. At the north end room 214 is given a doorway into the court but the question mark in Robinson's sketch indicates doubt of its actual existence. The fact is that the heavier foundations in Level II removed the walls of Level III above the foundations and the location of some doorways has been lost.

If the large number of coins is indication of the domicile of a janitor, the rooms 149 and 155 are good candidates since 150 coins ranging in date (in the 45 identified) from 145 B.C. to A.D. 130 were found in room 155 and 57 in room 149. Of those in 155, a number were in three small hoards, one from the matting on the floor, and the other two of 15 coins each from unspecified parts of the room. The coins identified in room 149 ranged from 145 B.C. to A.D. 30, among which was a hoard of 14. Six lamps, three jugs, two bowls, and a lantern with sliding panel were found in 155; in 149 there were five lamps, a storage jar, a one-handled pitcher, and three bowls. Some of the 19 figurines from room 149 may have belonged to the graves; the eight from 155 show that they are not necessarily funeral furniture. An adze and bone hilt from 155

indicate the presence of a man and a shuttle and loomweight a woman.

Room 186 has a single doorway which opened on the street. Since the coins go back to 209 B.C. and six were dated before the Parthian era, it seems obvious that much of the excavations were in Level IV. The skeleton of a man was found in the middle III level debris. Perhaps this would explain the find of an alabaster torso of a figurine, a type usually belonging to Level II or I. Of 15 coins identified (from 39 found) the earliest belonged to 209 B.C., the latest to A.D. 70. Eight fell in the years A.D. 15/16. Ten lamps were found, one bowl, a cooking pot, a jar with graffiti, and a number of jar fragments.

Room 192 is encased in thick walls to west (the street side) and east. Two graves were discovered, one in a baked brick frame (257), the grave of a child, lay near the east wall and a second (261), was contained in the middle III level. The four identified coins ranged from 145 B.C. to A.D. 40. Five lamps, four bowls, and two pottery fragments may have belonged to the grave, as may have the arrowhead found near the child's grave. Miss King suggests that the room may have been utilized only as a funerary chamber.

Since room 306/176 is encased in the same thick walls, it seems to belong with 192 and 186. The three coins identified (from seven) ranged from 145 B.C. to A.D. 40. Grave 37 was discovered in the room and most of the finds, five lamps, a bowl, a pot cover, and three fragments of figurines may have been offerings. In the brickwork was a clay stamp of three lines of Greek transcribed: HNAIOC/ϕEPENIKO/TO-TC MΣ ΓΥMNA. Apparently the name and perhaps the date 240 = 71/2 B.C.

Rooms 185, 305, and 214 belong together with a narrower wall on the east and I believe, therefore, they are part of the house unit and should be connected with the court and room 153-304. The finds, however, are no more distinctive than in the rooms 192 and 306/176. Grave 226 belonged to room 185 and may mark it as another funerary chamber since most of the finds were appropriate to a tomb. There were six coins, the dates of five identified ranging from 145 to 123 B.C., a pilgrim flask, a lamp, two fragments of a pitcher, and one figurine.

Three coins from room 305 span the period from 152 B.C. to A.D. 84. There was no burial but two lamps, a jar cover, a bowl, two plates, two pitchers, and a jar.

The finds from room 214 were scarcely more enlightening. The dateable coins (nine out of 14) gave a range of 141 to 31 B.C. A few pottery fragments, two fragments of figurines, and a plaque comprised the rest of the finds.

One might conclude that the rooms along street 36 were largely uninhabited in the latter part of the third period, but the absence of doors shows that the walls from ground level had been destroyed by later construction and it is quite possible that the second level foundations removed the debris of the upper part of Level III.

*Rooms 207, 209, 210, 145, 134, 216 (the corridors on the north and south).*

The two corridors to north (207, 209, 210) and south (145, 134, 216) offer a number of interesting finds and comparisons though they served obviously merely as passageways. A grave

(no. 231) found in the west end of room 216, contained 14 skeletons and two coffins as mentioned above.

A baked brick structure projecting from the jog in the wall of room 210, Robinson suggests, may have been an altar. Part of the lower half was covered with plaster and the upper part contained a cyma molding in the baked brick. Miss King calls attention to the head and shoulders of a bronze figurine found in room 209, parallel to the bronze head and wings of a figurine from room 134 of the south corridor. Bronze figurines are uncommon, and though parts of one might have passed without special significance, one in each corridor suggests a special function, some kind of charm or protecting divinity. Seventeen coins were found in 207 and the six dated ranged from 246 B.C. to A.D. 5. Fourteen were found in room 209 and the seven identified ranged in date from 141 B.C. to 31 B.C. From the corner 210 and the doorways paved with baked brick came only four coins, the one dateable belonging to the period 38/31 B.C.

Special mention may be made of a drain with storage jar in room 210, a religious votive medallion from 209, and the head and upper torso of a statuette in room 207.

The southern corridor 145, 134, 216 has a baked brick entryway from the street. The corridor gives access to the rooms 149, 155 of the janitor, to the court 139/302/303 through corridor 142, and to the court 111 through the passage 191. Curiously enough the corridor continues on beyond room 216 to a blank end and finishes in an alcove beyond a jutting end of wall. The alcove must have represented a closet or possibly a place for a bed.

In room 145 a small terra cotta model of an altar was found as was a small bronze plaque. The coins ranged (13 dated out of 29) from 280 B.C. to A.D. 40 and four fell in the period 280 to 260 B.C. Of ten figurines, five were found in the brickwork but it is not always possible to tell whether they were part of the bricks or concealed in the wall. The practice, however, of using figurine fragments in the sun dried bricks was well established at Seleucia.

In room 134 the bronze statuette of head and wings already mentioned was recovered along with 15 figurines, nine of which were in the brickwork. The ten coins dated (out of 41) ranged from 145 B.C. to A.D. 40. Nine of 41 were found in the brickwork, probably the result of deposits in cubbyholes rather than in the clay.

Most of the finds from the room came from the burial but there were in addition 19 coins, the four dated extending from 140 B.C. to A.D. 44. A broken bowl and a jar handle were found in the eastern end of the room (the burial was at the west end) and five figurines came from the debris. Two spindle whorls were also recovered.

*Unit 1 (the court 153, the open space 303/302 and adjacent rooms).*

Unit one consists of two parts, the group of rooms around the open court on the north, room 153, and a second group around the large area 139/302/303 on the south. They might be considered as separate units with a connecting doorway between 304 and 301. Since, however, the connecting doorway does exist and since the arrangements in 153 do not follow the typical house plan, it seems best to take them together.

There is good evidence that 153 formed at some time the

court and columned porch of a megaron house plan, since Robinson found molded baked brick and plaster at the end of the pilaster on the east side of the court and a column base on the east side of the room. He suggested, however, that the column base might belong to the fourth level and the same might be the case with the pilaster. Unfortunately our knowledge of the fourth level consists of hypotheses. We do know, however, that such megara with columned porches are common in the third level. Section E, in fact, is the only part of the block which lacks one. If room 153 had been adorned with a columned porch on the south, as Miss King suggested, the house with the rooms around would conform with the usual house plan, and the jog in the wall at the doorway between 304 and 301 suggests that this was the case. The house would be very small, however, even with the adjacent rooms and in particular the house would lack the usual room north of the court.

That 153 was a court seems clear from the baked brick pavement along the north side. Robinson found a structure or base of sun dried bricks located 2.44 meters south from the brick pavement, 2.40 meters from the west wall and 3.56 meters from the east. He suggested it might belong to an altar. A drain concealed partly under its east end Robinson thought may have been connected with this base and possible altar.

Entry to the unit is obtained from room 167 through corridor 207/209/210. Robinson supplies a doorway to room 214 on the west side of the court, though evidences for the door belonged to Level II rather than Level III. In neither 305 nor 185 were doorways preserved, but one expects the rooms belonged to the house and balanced the two rooms on the other side. The greater thickness of the walls on the street side supports this conclusion without proving it. Grave 31 was found in room 304 south of the court and grave 226 in room 185.

In the room 153 as it stands, pilasters project into the court to east and west, separating the southern third from the rest, and the baked brick pavement remains on the north side. Finds were recorded from the room as a whole and consisted of 37 coins, 15 figurines, three lamps, six bowls, and a jug and pitcher, as well as ornaments such as four beads, five insets, two hairpins, a ring, and some buttons. There were fragments of glass and stone vessels and two gaming pieces. The 22 coins identified ranged in date from 175 B.C. to A.D. 70 but ten fell in the period 145 to 83 B.C. As we shall see, coins in the adjacent rooms followed this same pattern, but it is not clear whether the rooms were more extensively used in the early part of the third period, whether the kind of use lent itself to the scattering of coins, or whether some of the debris of the later occupation in Level III was disturbed and confused with the debris of Levels I and II.

The good-sized room 167 served as entry to the court from the corridor and was furnished with a baked brick threshold. Robinson remarks there are no doors in the foundation walls below the baked brick entry way so apparently entrance from the corridor belonged only to the later phase of occupation in the third level. Along the southern wall ran the top of a baked brick foundation or wall not bonded to the walls at either end. It may have served as couch or bed. Finds were negligible, five unidentified coins, two lamps and a jar handle largely from the brickwork, the clay head of a figurine, a steatite whorl, and a votive medallion.

The most interesting finds from 159 were two boxes, one of wood, one of bone, the bone pyxis lying beneath the wooden box. Both had been badly burned but the first contained a glass inset, four earrings, a hairpin, a stone pestle, a lead weight, and fragments of cloth, bone and metal; the pyxis held a glass inset, an earring, a hairpin, a pendant, a bezel, fragments of a cosmetic bottle, and two whorls. The six coins dated from 12 found ranged from 145 to 83 B.C. The occupation of the room never seems to have been heavy and pottery finds were few: a lamp, a bowl, and a fragment of a cosmetic dish. One suspects it had been occupied by a woman who possessed the jewel boxes and that after the fire it was vacated. The top of an earlier wall ran along the east side of the room and a corner of it made the niche in the southeast corner of 159.

Room 304 formed the chief room of the house if the northern part of unit one formed once an independent residence. The large entrance way facing the court was appropriate to such an hypothesis and it communicated probably with 185 as well as with its present side room 31x. Room 304 was the largest room in the house. It formed with the porch the chief apartment, and in the absence of a room north of the court must have served the purposes of both.

Robinson has no notes on room 304 and it is not clear if the well, the baked platform mentioned in the catalogue, and the stairway 1.20 meters below the brick on the west wall belonged to grave 31 or to separate structures. In vaults a stairway led to the burial chamber and the entranceway may at first have been taken for a well. The grave (31) was small; however, contained a single body, and is not mentioned as vaulted. A coin of 175 B.C. was recovered from floor B and one of A.D. 40 from the brickwork of the wall. Nine coins were found in all.

The digging continued beneath the lower floor of Level III into the sub IV stratum. Of 13 lamps, eight were allocated to Level IV, as were three of seven cosmetic pots, three of nine figurines, a bowl, a bottle, and two jugs. When the furniture of the grave was subtracted from the remaining finds, very little, considering the size of the room, could be attributed to the Level III occupation of 304.

In the catalogue the finds from 31x were not distinguished from 31Y, the room in section F opening off the columned room to the east. All but one of the finds are listed under the dates of January 6th and 7th when the excavations were in the southern corner of the block. The single exception which presumably belonged to 31x was the fragment of a large jar marked with a stamped rosette. The thick double wall on the south of 31x marks a very sharp division between unit 3 and one.

Opposite room 31x, west of 304 and lying along street 6 lay the good-sized room 185. No doorway was recorded and Robinson marks it as unexplained. The finds in the rooms along street 6 have already been considered and are not significant enough to determine whether the rooms were part of the house or independent shops. Presumably they belonged to the house but their function was not clear.

It seems very difficult to make a logical pattern which would conform to the usual house units of the large court 139/302/303 and its adjacent rooms. The open space itself is irregular in form, there is no indication of a porch or megaron unit and the large rooms to south and north do not fit the

regular pattern. The room 301 to the north is exceptionally large, and the room to the south is curtailed by the entrance corridor 142 on the east and gives entrance to room 160 which cuts off a corner of the court on the west. Through room 301 entrance is obtained to the northern part of the unit and it seems best to consider the whole group of rooms together. There is a very heavy concentration of graves in the southern half of this unit and perhaps they are the reason for the unusual arrangements. Vault 40 lay in room 301, and 41 in 302. Grave 216 located in the southeast corner of the court contained 33 skeletons. Room 130 contained four graves, 160 two more, and all the rooms along street 36 from room 149 to 185 contained one or more burials. The lack of doorways in rooms 192 and 306/176 may be due to the blocking off of a room after a burial but this is not necessarily the case.

Room 160 in the southeast corner might be considered a late intrusion into a rectangular court except that unit 3 juts decidedly into the northeast corner. Robinson notes some baked brick and plaster, which I take to mean a threshold to 130. The section numbered 303 had an ash level and part of a burned beam but these may have belonged to Level IV. Near the east corner of the south wall another base of baked brick and plaster may have paved an earlier doorway into the corridor 142. Robinson remarks on baked brick facings on the south wall west of the doorway and the west wall along the southern part of the wall of room 160.

The finds from 139, 302, and 303 may be considered together but are not easy to distinguish from the grave furniture. The largest number of coins was found in the alcove 139 and the 43 dated (from 88 found) ranged from 145 B.C. to A.D. 60. The coins were scattered in the debris, near and in the graves, on the floor, and in the lower ash level. Of 28 lamps, 14 were associated with the graves. Most of the pottery from the south side of the court (six bowls, three bottles, four cosmetic pots, and two shallow bowls or pot covers) was also from the graves. In the corner 303 six lamps, six bowls, four pitchers, and two pot covers were found but were allocated to the foundations of walls or sub IV level. The three lamps, three cosmetic pots, two bowls, and one pot cover and one pitcher from the northwest part 302 were largely from Level IV or in or near graves.

Curiously enough, a good part of the finds not associated with the graves were recovered from the brickwork. Miss King remarks that the finds in alcove 139 as well as in the other two parts were chiefly from the walls or from the graves. She suggests the court was never occupied or its strata were completely disrupted by the digging of the graves and by grave robbers.

Some of the same difficulty pertains to room 301, under which vault 40 extended. The only two coins which could be dated (out of nine) were struck by Demetrius I and belonged to the sub IV level. The lamps (ten) and pottery were largely allocated to Level IV or to the grave and the same is true of the figurines. The most interesting find was the cache of 85 bitumen *bullae* dating from 229 to 166 B.C., belonging, therefore, to the sub IV level rather than Level III.

In room 130 south of the court, a fireplace is mentioned in the catalogue but there is no mention of it in Robinson's notes. Most of the finds were associated with the graves but in addition to grave furniture, three lamps, two cosmetic pots (one in the brickwork), a bowl, a model pot, and a few

fragments were recovered. Mention might be made of the fact that a gold coin of Septimius Severus was found under the lower jaw of a skull in grave 243, sufficient reason for the disturbed strata in the room. The richness of the graves, especially in gold and seed pearls, testified to the wealth of the families making the burials, presumably located at least in the near proximity. Seventy-nine coins were found apart from the graves, the 20 identified ranging from 162 B.C. to A.D. 40. They were discovered in the debris, a few in the brickwork, some in the floor and some 10 to 20 centimeters below the beaten floor level. The figurines were fragmentary and found in the brickwork. Implements consisted of a sling pellet, two loomweights, a whorl, and a mirror.

Room 160 forms an adjunct to 130 at the northeast corner. The 81 coins included two small hoards. One contained 21 coins, of which two were dated in the years A.D. 36-40, the other of 11 coins contained one of Antiochus IV. The rest of the coins scattered through the level fell within these dates. Two came from the mouth of a skeleton of grave 275. Six lamps, two jars, a bowl, and a cosmetic pot were all found in early III debris. A kohl stick and a fragment of a mirror might indicate the occupant was a woman. A number of figurines largely from the brickwork and four clay plaques were recovered. There were also 18 glass insets, six beads, three whorls, a toy wheel, and a gaming pawn.

An interesting feature of room 142 was the evidence of a fireplace at the end of the room in the form of ash and burnt wood. There is remarkably little evidence for cooking facilities. The fire here indicates an unroofed corridor and smoke conveniently removed from the chief part of the house. Very probably similar ends of corridors elsewhere were utilized for this purpose. In room 142 the 41 coins included eight identifiable belonging largely to Demetrius II except for one of Vologases II (A.D. 118-120). Eleven belonged to a small hoard found in the debris. There were 13 figurines including three female heads and a comic mask, three lamps, two bowls, three cosmetic pots, two pot covers, and fragments of a pilgrim flask.

The finds would indicate that room 142 was more used than any other room of the house and it may well be that it served as the service room and kitchen.

#### *Unit 2, The court 147/118, and adjacent rooms.*

The northeast corner of section E formed a self-contained unit, access to which was obtained only by the tiled doorway of 210 from the northern corridor to street 6. The unit consists of a large open court 147/118 surrounded by a series or double series of rooms on the north, east, and south. There are no baked brick borders in the unusually large square court but the double open rooms (181 and 30x) on the south both have a single line of baked brick as thresholds. The arrangement of double rooms on the south in a court of unusual size reminds one of the new palace at Larisa on the Hermos constructed in the fourth century under the Persian sovereignty. In this Anatolian palace<sup>72</sup> there are double rooms on both the north and the south sides of the court but at Larisa the large square rooms lie on the north side and the smaller rooms on the south. At Seleucia the porch is an open room and the width of 181 considerably larger than 30x. Entrance to the rooms behind these liwans is obtained only through

room 181 while 30x gives entrance to a side room 136. The doorway to 137 was not clear. One expects that entrance would have been obtained through 136. The lack of a separate women's apartment suggests that the smaller open room 30x may have made part of a women's apartment with the rooms to the east. At Hatra the liwans of the two sections of the palace were side by side and oriented alike, but a wall sharply separated the court. At Seleucia there is no evidence for a division in the court. The square room 129 behind the fairly deep porch 181 reminds one again of Persian architecture though the columns are lacking. Room 226 behind 30x (though not communicating with it) has a depth equal to that in 129.

If the series of rooms west of the court, 308, 307, 31x, 159, and 167 were added to unit one, the house would be more or less square and the plan would conform more nearly to the usual third level scheme. Such an arrangement seems to have been the original one, since the line of the south wall of unit 1 juts out very awkwardly into the large open court 139/302/303. However, removal of the rooms 31x, 159, and 167 from unit 1 around court 153 would reduce the northwest corner very drastically indeed. If one may assume that the present plan belonged to the end of the third period, one may conceive that an earlier unit, but still one within period three, formed a square residence. The arrangements for other parts of this section at that time are not clear.

Presumably in Level IV there would have been four sections or residences along each of the long sides of the blocks. Probably in the square section there would have been a large court, perhaps adorned with peristyle or columns on one or two sides in the Greek manner. In Level III the Persian-Parthian influence is very strong. Whether it was this influence which contributed to the larger house units or whether the Macedonian Greeks in Seleucia, or some of them, required larger halls and house units, only the excavation of Level IV can determine.

Robinson's notes on the court 118/147 show the tops of walls of Level IV dividing the room sufficiently to indicate that small rooms rather than a court lay beneath. A little northeast of the center of the court a drain cut through the juncture of three walls in Level IV and the drain was in turn filled with heavy liban bricks to support walls in Levels I and II. In the northeast corner of the room a round structure of poorly laid sun dried brick may have represented another drain. Under the threshold into 152 was a row of tiles suggesting a drain channel. Along the west wall, not far from it and at floor level were two troughs made of liban with an occasional baked brick tile in the central depression. This may have been in part a foundation for a baked brick border. Four jars sunk in the depressions, two in each, suggest some sort of catch basin for water, probably for water from the roof. The two graves in the eastern half (224 and 246) have already been mentioned.

Three levels were distinguished in the court and the coins (47 dated out of 84) ranged from 153 B.C. to A.D. 44. Fourteen bowls were recovered, three pitchers, two jars, four cosmetic pots, and fragments of a pilgrim flask, as well as a platter. It was not always possible to distinguish grave furniture from court equipment. Of the 36 figurines largely of early III some certainly belonged to the graves as did many of the beads and insets. Four kohl sticks, five loom weights, two



cosmetic containers, a pestle, and a spatula suggest feminine occupation; a knife with carved animal handle and a blade fragment, masculine.

Room 202 formed the entrance room to unit 2. It was a rather large anteroom and Robinson's notes show it was furnished with a water basin of baked brick, one brick deep, three and a half bricks wide, and extending in length from the line of the south end of the doorway to 210 almost to the doorway to 150. That it was a water basin is clear from the conduit which emptied into its southern end and brought water from a well in room 151. The apron of the wellhead was covered with bitumen in Level III and the water descended in two steps, each the height of one baked brick, to floor level. The conduit had baked brick laid in bitumen on the bottom but sides of upright bricks without bitumen. The conduit ran to a basin in the doorway between 151 and 163, then across 163 to the south end of the larger basin in 202. The well in 151 continued in use at the upper levels, that is I and II, but the basins were confined to Level III. One suspects that the troughs and jars in the court belonged to this same water system partly because the troughs, parallel to the west wall of 147 and not far from the wall, if continued, would reach the basin. The special uses of the basins are not clear.

Most of the dateable coins of 202 (16 out of 31) belonged to the period 145 to 83 B.C. but one in the brickwork belonged to Antiochus IV 175-163 B.C. and one belonged to Antiochus I. Fragments of pottery were few. There were parts of ten figurines and an alabaster head of an acrolithic figurine from the wall, but whether from a piece established in a niche or used in the baked brick is not clear.

Five unidentified coins, the head of a female figurine, a few fragments of pottery, a bead, and two glass insets were the only finds in room 163. Room 151 contained 20 coins, of which the seven identified ranged from 145 B.C. to A.D. 5. The pottery consisted of five lamps, a small pitcher, two pot covers, two jars without handles, a bowl, and a few sherds. Figurines were numerous (34) but most consisted of fragments, of which ten were found in the brickwork. There were eight glass insets, two bone hairpins, four beads, a bone shuttle, and, from the early III level, a votive leg and arm, perhaps as Miss King suggests, indicating a grave in a lower level.

The three rooms together are so separate from the rest of the house, one suspects at first they might be the men's quarters or *andron*. In this particular case they seem to be dedicated entirely to a water supply with well and two basins.

It is not unusual to find a fairly large room north of the court and opposite to the megaron apartment, but the room 150/154 is wider and larger than the usual type. It serves also as entrance room between the well and basin group on one side and the main court on the other.

From the burned debris between Levels III and IV in room 150, eight balls of dried brick, some more or less spherical, some conical, were recovered. Elsewhere in the room, fragments of one hundred such objects, labeled as jar-stoppers, were found. I wonder if these cheap mudballs might have served as loom-weights and possibly explain the water basins serving as vats for the washing of wool in the entrance unit. Other finds in 150/154 together were ten bowls, a pilgrim flask in fragments, a pitcher, and five lamps. There were 22 fragments of figurines, largely from the brickwork, three

insets, two beads, a tiny fragment of gold sheeting, an iron arrowhead, a leg modelled in bone, part of an ostrich shell cup, and ash in an overturned bowl. The eight coins dated (from 27) covered the period 145 to 83 B.C. Three from room 150 belonged to Demetrius II.

On the opposite side of the court very little was found in 30x but the larger room 136 which opened from 30x contained three graves and was equipped with a bitumen lined basin of baked brick 1.17 meters x 1.42 meters (including the bricks of the borders) near the center of the room and 0.58 meters deep. A conduit of baked brick, bitumen lined, consisting of a baked brick base on which a single flat baked brick rested to either side with a space of 0.09 meters between, approached the basin from the northwest corner, that is the direction of the court. Coins (11 out of 42) gave the dates 145 B.C. to A.D. 40. Three belonged to Demetrius II; one of 42-40 B.C. was found inside a coffin near the jaw of the skeleton. Other coins from the graves were unfortunately unidentifiable. An ointment vase was found in the debris and a colander on the floor. There were three bowls, three pot covers (or shallow bowls), a fragment of a ladle, a bone handle, and a bone whorl. Otherwise the finds were largely in the graves (beads, an earring, bracelet, comb, finger ring, etc.). The size and shape of the room suggest a triclinium but the arrangement of the basin does not support this conclusion.

Room 181, also an open room on the south side of the court, gives entrance to 129 and thence to 226, so that the three form a separate apartment. Perhaps the most interesting find was that of a Rhodian jar handle in 226 below a second level wall. Close beside it was a Seleucid coin, so both may belong to Level IV or to early III. A large hib in 226 suggests a drain, but its exact location was unrecorded. Of the ten coins in 181, one was tentatively identified as Seleucid; four identified from room 129 (out of 19) ranged from 145 B.C. to A.D. 40; but none of the ten from 226 could be dated. A clay plaque and a mask, both intact, from 181 suggest wall ornaments. There were ten other figurines from 181; 16 from 129, mostly fragments; and six from 226. The larger number of finds came from room 129 and included five lamps, two pot covers, two kohl sticks, two whorls, a part of a clay ball, a bone shuttle, a clay pawn, one marked knuckle bone, a bezel ring with engraved gazelle, beads, insets, part of a bronze bracelet, fragments of a bronze pendant, etc. It seems clear that this was the living quarters, bedroom, etc., of the house.

Room 137 belongs logically to unit two but has no evidence of door remaining. Robinson's sketch shows a "possible new doorway" on the north, thus connecting with 136 and an area along the south wall which may have been the base for a well of Level II or could have distinguished a raised border in the room. Of 26 coins found, eight belonged to a small hoard in which two were identified and belonged to the years A.D. 36-40. In general the coins belonged to the period 121 B.C. to A.D. 40 except for two of Antiochus I. There were two lamps, a broken pitcher, four figurines, an iron pin, fragments of a bronze kohl stick, a pawn, a whorl, and a votive arm. Since it is difficult to see how any light at all would have reached it through 226, probably the connection was with 136.

There remain in unit two, rooms 109 and 152, both separate rooms opening onto the east side of the court. Two graves were found in each and these coupled with the three in

room 136 and two in the eastern half of the court make a very heavy concentration of tombs in the eastern half of the house.

Robinson's notes show in the northwest corner of the room 109 the base of a large drain reaching down from the upper levels. Great masses of sherds covered the northern half of the east wall of the room and extended beyond the wall to the east. This formed a base for upper level walls, a practice particularly common for the second level. It accounts here for the very heavy foundations on the east side of the room. In spite of the drain the range of coins remained from 145 B.C. to A.D. 40 (in the eight out of 25 identified). There were thirteen figurines, six lamps, six bowls, three cosmetic pots, a pilgrim flask, and a number of beads, insets, etc. A spearhead was also found in room 109 and a mother-of-pearl statuette.

Miss King calls attention to the peculiar arrangement of the doorway in room 152, the jog in the entrance preventing easy vision into the room. Robinson reports a basin for water along the east wall and suggests that the whole floor of the room had been covered with baked brick. There was little of plaster or bitumen in the basin but a drain, bitumen lined, carried waste water through the doorway into the court. The east side of the basin had been built over by a later wall and the rest was covered with a mass of sherds serving as base for later walls.

The two graves in the room and the foundations of the basin might account for the four coins dated in the time of Antiochus I. The dates of coins (eight out of 16 identified) extended to A.D. 40. A small limestone figurine was recovered and Miss King has suggested it belonged in the niche cut in the east wall opposite the door. An arrowhead recalls the spearhead of 109 without offering any explanation. Otherwise the finds were not unusual, some probably connected with the graves and some coming from the unbaked brick. There were 16 figurines (fragments), two lamps, two cosmetic pots, a pilgrim flask, and pot separator but almost no ornaments. A plate molded to represent a bunch of grapes and two fragments of a glass bowl may have been connected with the limestone figurine, but the objects were not found together and one or more may have come from the graves.

It is obvious that unit two does not fit into the common pattern of third level house. The projection of an ante into the southeast corner of the court suggests that earlier a megaron unit had been located in this appropriate place. The entrance to room 154 would have been opposite the middle of the porch of such a megaron and it strengthens the supposition but does not prove it. In the present arrangement, not only are the double open rooms on the south side of the court unusual but so are the independent apartments attached to each. The entrance apartment with well and two basins makes the most unusual feature. Probably the basin in rooms 136 and 152 should be connected with this water supply. It may be recalled that the alleyway giving entrance to unit two gives entrance also to unit one, and there may be some connection between the two but the absence of other communication between two and one suggests that unit two was independent. I have already suggested that at the end of period IV or in early III, section E formed a complete and independent household. I have already suggested that at the end of period IV or in early III, section E formed a complete and independent household. It may have contained a combination domicile and business center. The work was based on a liberal water supply but the nature of the work was not sufficiently revealed by the finds, unless the

unbaked balls indicated the weaving of cloth and the basins were connected with the washing of materials.

### *Unit 3 (the court 111 and adjacent rooms).*

Unit three, consisting of an open court 111 and its adjacent rooms, can be approached through the alleyway 145, 134, 216 from street 6 or entered directly from section F through the doorway to 119. The doorway is accented by a baked brick threshold in 123 which indicates more than a casual connection. Nor is the separate alleyway proof of an independent unit, since the women's apartment in section D had its own alleyway to the street as well as its entrance close to the megaron unit of the house. Though the unit may be an adjunct to section F, as will be discussed below, it seems best to describe it as an intrinsic part of section E.

The court is unusual not only in its excessive length but in the fact that it has rooms neither to north or south. The whole unit is oriented more to the west than the adjacent rooms and suggests a rebuilding which included all the rooms except 307 and 308 and all the walls except the north wall of the court with its extension in 208 and 223 and the east walls of rooms 119, 116, and 208. The very decided angle and turn on the east side of the court indicates that the change was made in relation to the shifting of arrangements 119, 116, and 208 to allow for the entryway into section F. This is the strongest proof that in the final stages it formed an adjunct to the section to the south.

Robinson places a baked brick structure or base three bricks wide and four long close to the southeast corner of 111, "not very complete" he states, and a drain running parallel to the south wall of the room for half its distance, then turning in the direction of the doorway in the northwest corner, ending a quarter way up the room. Along the north wall a number of baked brick some courses deep, stretching out into the room for a little over a meter, some laid over unbaked brick, suggest the paved northern borders so common in Level III. A large pottery tub was located just south of this baked brick and in the center of the western part of the room. Three graves were discovered beneath the floor and Robinson mentions an ash level that covered the whole room just above the large vault. A coin from the ash level just above the vault was allocated to the period A.D. 36-40. A large hib was located also just above the vault. Presumably this is the same hib mentioned as located in the southwest corner of the room. There was no indication that the southern end of the court was ever roofed. Manasseh<sup>73</sup> calls attention to a curve in the west wall, which also appears in Levels II and I. In the opposite wall three small compartments were cut and concealed by a piece of moveable plaster.<sup>74</sup>

Of 92 coins from the room, 42 were identified and ranged from 150 B.C. to A.D. 84. Without the grave furniture there were 16 lamps, six jars, and three jugs. Of 32 figurines, largely fragments, ten came from the brickwork and the rest were scattered in the ashes and the debris. The most interesting find was a clay medallion recovered from the brickwork in the southeast corner. On one side was a Parthian on a camel and on the other a trousered figure seated on a mountain or rocky ground.

East of the court there are three intercommunicating rooms. Room 119 forms a link also with room 123 of section F. Finds were few: three lamps, a bowl, the head of a figurine,

and a bone comb from 119; two unidentified coins, a lamp, a pilgrim flask, a glass bead, a fragment of a hairpin, and a spindle whorl from 116; and 17 coins (the two identified of 145 and 71 B.C.), two lamps, a female figurine head from the brickwork, a finger ring, two insets, and a female figurine of bone, the type usually associated with burials, from room 208.

Room 223/227 occupies an unusually large space for its position off the northwest corner of the court. It communicates on one side with the corridor 191/216, has an exceptionally wide doorway into the court, and gives direct access also to rooms 141 and 308. No attempt seems to have been made to make the north wall of room 141 parallel to the north wall of the court and on the whole I believe the space was left unroofed. A charcoal burner found in the room may have been used for cooking or perhaps it served to heat rooms on occasion. Evidence for kitchens and cooking in the houses is very scanty and the other finds in 223/227 do not support a commissary center. There were 28 coins, those identified (13) spanning the period from 145 B.C. to A.D. 80. Seven lamps were recovered, 19 figurines, three bowls, two cosmetic pots, a jar, and the charcoal burner already mentioned. Ornaments consisted of part of a finger ring, eight insets, a glass pendant; the shoulders of one iron arrowhead. A votive arm and a bone figurine suggest a grave, but none was found in the area.

Rooms 308 and 307 opening off the northwest corner of the room 223/227 form a separate apartment of their own. There is rather a curious arrangement for all the rooms west of the court 111 since neither 141 nor 216 have doorways to the central court and seem gathered around 223/227 rather than 111. There is of course the wide passageway between 111 and 223/227 but the latter forms a center of its own.

Finds were few, three coins from 308, the two dated belonging to 145 and 83 B.C. The one coin recognizable from 307 belonged to Seleucus I. No figurines were found in either room and only two pottery fragments from room 308. The three lamps from 307, one cosmetic pot, and five bowls belonged in part to the sub IV level. A bronze kohl stick and a glass inset with a gaming pawn were the only other finds recorded.

Sixteen coins were recovered from room 141, of which three were identified, one from 162 B.C., two others (silver-plated and Parthian) from A.D. 40. Seven were found in the brickwork, four in the doorway to 191, and a small hoard in the debris. There were nine fragments of figurines, largely from the brickwork, two lamps, a fragment of a lantern, a cosmetic pot, and two pitchers. A bronze head above wings on a standard is tentatively recorded as a Nike. There was a fragment of a clay bell with ram's head on top, the model of a couch, two slate palettes, and a knuckle bone.

The corridor of 191 west of 141 possessed coins reaching to A.D. 40 as well as one of 121 B.C. (four identified out of 20). Six figurines, five lamps, a jug, a bottle and a few fragments of pottery comprised the ceramic finds; a bronze kohl stick and lead weight, the metal.

The most important find in 216 was the grave 241 with 14 bodies and eight coffins. The dated coins apart from the burials went up to A.D. 44. A coin found in a heap of bones of the grave belonged to Demetrius II. Fragments of pottery and figurines were the chief other finds in addition to a decorative architectural rosette.

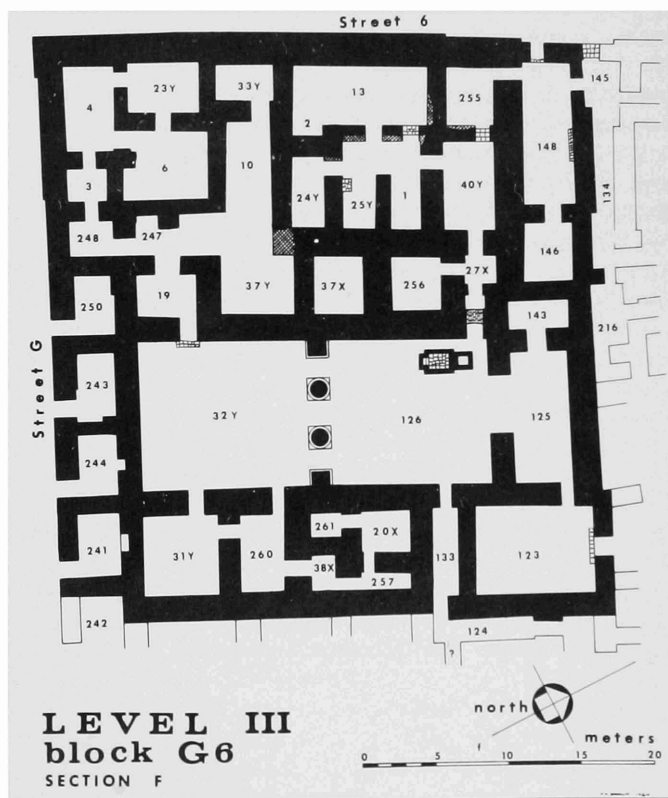
*Section F* (figure 22).

Section F on the whole forms a compact unit whose origins went back to the earlier conception of the block division. The length of the section along street 6 is about a quarter of the length and the house would form a square except that it has encroached upon section A to the east, taking over the old alleyway, the longitudinal division of the block, and crowding the rooms west of court 36Y in section A. As a result the house is longer than it is broad, though one suspects the earlier arrangements were for square houses.

There is no entrance to the house from street G but one reached the great court, and megaron apartment, from street 6 to the west by the rooms 148, 255, 40Y and 27x, or from street 4 by the corridor 254 (or 24x, 25x), 20x, 40x, 128, 124, 133 (see Section A, fig. 17). Entrance may also be obtained by the roundabout way through corridor 145, 134, the rooms around court 111, and so through rooms 119 and 123.

These arrangements bring up a number of questions. I suspect the back entrances in the houses stemmed from an original alleyway dividing the block and allowing access to the houses from the rear. When, however, the rear entrance became, as here, a corridor leading to the other street, the ownership of rooms along the corridor was no longer clear. The block plan shows a doubtful entrance from corridor 124 to court 138 in section A. Such an entrance between the two units was clear in Level II. This doubtful doorway is the only communication between sections F and A and since A seems a self-contained section with the regular megaron apartment, there seems to be no reason for linking the two sections together. Even if the doorway were established it might well

Fig. 22. Section F, block G6, level III



be a convenience for friendly neighbors rather than proof of integration. The other rooms along the corridor, 131, 122, and 115 (in sections A and B) could be controlled from the corridor and would belong to the owner if the corridor were closed to all but the owners of section F. This is a possibility, I believe, but the probability is that there were independent units along the corridor and that section F would be shut off by doorways at either end of corridor 133.

The situation is otherwise in respect to the court 111 and adjacent rooms in section E. This apartment communicates with street 6 through the corridor 145, 134 and also opens into 123 of section F through room 119. Furthermore, a baked brick sill was placed in the doorway between the two rooms, marking it as a more than usually elaborate entrance-way. This coupled with the unusual orientation of the rooms around court 111 makes it very probable that this part of section E became an adjunct, not to speak of an intrinsic part, of section F in the late period of Level III. It seems to follow the pattern of gradually expanding units that will be observed in Level II.

The court 126 is by far the largest in the block, and behind the columns to the south lies by far the largest porch (32Y) or *liwan*. The usual arrangement is that the porch should be an entranceway to an important room to the south. The *megaron* plan of section F follows that of section C in having no room beyond the columned porch unit. It may be there were means of closing off the porch by doors or hangings between the columns, but there is no archaeological evidence for this conclusion. Rather the semi-open large room seems a long step in the direction of the open but roofed room south of the court in the later period, that is, Level II.

Another striking feature of section F is the arrangement of apartments around the *megaron* apartment rather than of single or double rooms. This seems to have been accomplished by incorporating the rooms along the streets to either side of the corner on the west and south, and encroaching on the hypothetical alleyway on the east. As a result there is one separate apartment in the corner of the block, a second between the corner unit and the entranceway 148, and a third east of the court and south of the alleyway 133. A fourth apartment is that of the rooms around 111 and its entrance through 123. In all these cases there seems no evidence that they were independent houses. All have direct communication with the central court or *megaron* unit and no exists or entrances to the streets, which would isolate them from the section as a whole. To the corner unit there is a single entranceway from the court, for the unit on the east of the court there are entrances both through 31Y and 260 with a common doorway between the two rooms. The rooms around 111 may be approached, as we have seen, both from the street by a corridor or from the court through 125 and 123. The final unit west of the court has a single entrance on the court but is connected also with the exit corridor to the street. The arrangements of 37x and 256 are not clear since no doorway to 37x was discovered. These (37x and 256) appear to have been part of the older scheme of single rooms around the court.

The size of the houses in Seleucia or of the lots lends itself to this arrangement. The plan of section D, as mentioned, suggests this same scheme of a group of apartments around the columned court and some suggestions of this form appear in

section A. The change in section F is not only more striking but it has also been fashioned largely at the expense of rooms along the streets, rooms presumably easily employed for other purposes if not required for house use. One would judge that the oriental influence, whether Parthian or Babylonian, was changing the basic Greek conception of rooms around an open court to, rather, separate apartment units around a larger and more open court and columned room.

*Rooms 126, 32Y, 125 and 143. (the court and rooms to south and north).*

Manasseh<sup>75</sup> remarks that the portico in room 126 was built of inferior bricks and reinforced with a cover of baked brick around the columns and the *antae* and along both ends of the entrance. The space between the columns was filled with a mixture of gypsum, pot sherds, and bricks to provide a firm threshold for the raised entrance. The hall was approached by a series of steps part of which were shown in the photograph.<sup>76</sup>

The columns, almost two meters in diameter, were covered with triangular flutings<sup>77</sup> very many more in number, according to the Persian-Parthian style, than the Greek. Manasseh estimates the columns were at least six meters (he says at least 20 feet) in height. He suggests also the hall (32Y) may have been divided in two, since as it stands it is rather too large to have been covered by a roof carried on wooden rafters.

In the northwest corner of the court was a square brick-lined well abutting a rectangular reservoir made of burnt bricks laid in bitumen and having three steps leading down to the bottom.<sup>78</sup>

Mrs. Judith Orias made a special study of section F, analyzed the plan, and made a report on the allocation of finds and the utilization of rooms. I am much indebted to her work in this review. Mr. Robinson did not work in this section.

There was a large number of small finds from the court (126) as might be expected but very little of special significance except for indications of dates furnished by the coins. A silver coin of Alexander the Great was recovered, and a Parthian coin which McDowell tentatively assigned to Vologases II or Osroes in the first quarter of the second century A.D. There was one coin of A.D. 69-70, one of Vardanes I, A.D. 43/44-45/46, and two from the period 121-73 B.C. In all 44 coins were found, parts of 15 figurines, eight lamps, five beads, three insets, two cosmetic pots, miscellaneous pottery, including a large sherd of red-burnished Samian or Pergamene ware, and fragments of bronze objects.

Curiously enough, no coins were found in the hall or room south of the columns (32Y) if two allocated to room 32 are excluded. All the finds from 32 were made in January 1931, except for the one entry of the two coins made in December 1932. This could be of course a chance find in clearing the room but probably should be assigned to 32x in section C. Even if the two coins belonged to 32Y the small number is remarkable in view of the size of the room and the number of other small finds. There were 18 figurines, 11 lamps, one clay medallion representing Jupiter seated, a bronze earring, two pilgrim flasks, two pot covers, etc.

Ten coins were found in the large room 125 north of the court, among which was one of Seleucus I. The most unusual find was a large coarse clay vessel designed apparently to carry

charcoal. An aperture for inserting the coals could be closed with a clay door and a handle provided means for transportation. There were in all ten coins, four lamps, three figurines, a fragment of the pipe of a musical instrument, part of an iron blade, a bone cosmetic container, a spinning whorl of bone, a fragment of a bracelet, etc.

The little side room (143) contained seven coins (the two identified belonging to 38/37-32/31 B.C. and A.D. 15-17), one lamp, and two ornaments consisting of one glass bead and one red glass inset.

*Rooms 148 and 146 (the entrance from street 6).*

As one enters section F from street 6 one faces a long room or passageway 148 with an entrance to room 146 at the east end. Access to the court and the rest of the house is obtained by turning right into room 255. Rooms 148 and 146 form a distinct unit, therefore an entranceway, and one expects that 146 would be assigned to the janitor, as Mrs. Orias suggested.

Grave 273 had been dug in 148 and covered with baked brick. Apparently above this a floor of sun dried brick had been laid. The records speak of a structure of sun dried brick but do not identify it. It might have been part of an altar or a support for some decorative piece. The baked brick contained fragments of architectural decoration showing the tail of a griffon, apparently taken from previous decoration of altar or doorway. A fragment of a jar handle was adorned with a circular stamp.

A Parthian tetradrachma of Vardanes I A.D. 42-45 was found between the mud brick and baked brick of the architectural structure. Other coins dated from 145-141 B.C. to the time of Vardanes I. Twenty-seven coins were found in all, some from the grave debris, some from the mud brick, and some from the baked brick pavement. A fragment of a limestone statuette of a squatting animal may have been associated with the grave or the stand (altar?). There were four glazed lamps, a bronze bracelet, a bell, one jar, and a few pottery fragments.

A bronze lamp was discovered in room 146 with handle and hinges for a cover. There were 14 coins, of which two of the three identified belonged to Vardanes I (A.D. 39-47), the third to A.D. 24/4-26/7. Miscellaneous finds were few in number, two carnelian beads, three pitchers, a ram's head figurine, one toy bronze wheel, and fragments of bronze, perhaps belonging to the top for the bronze lamp.

*Rooms 255, 40Y, 27x, 256, 37x, 1, 25Y, 24Y and 2/13 (the entrance apartment).*

The entrance apartment consists of the corridor made up of two good sized rooms 255 and 40Y, a vestibule 27x, and a series of rooms accessible only from the corridor. The two nearest the court 37x and 256 have no direct connection with the rest of the unit except through the corridor and 37x has no doorways at all. The plan shows clearly that rooms 1 and 25Y were constructed as one unit and that a later wall added the room 24Y and limited 13/2 in the west section. A curious feature in the present plan is the two doorways close beside one another from room 13 to rooms 1 and 25Y. It might be that the wall between 1 and 25Y in a previous period had had no doorway, or the doorways into 13 may have been used at different periods. In any case the wall between 1 and 25Y

resembles a partition between alcoves rather than a room division. Room 37x has very heavy walls except on the south. One expects, therefore, that the doorway would be to 37Y, an hypothesis strengthened by the tendency in section F to avoid direct communication with the court and place the entrances to rooms in corridors or side rooms.

A review of the finds is not particularly revealing and the allocation is made difficult by the repetition of room numbers in the catalogue for 24, 25, 27, and 37 in Level III. Rooms 37x and 37Y lie immediately adjacent to one another.

The most important finds from 255 were 13 unidentified coins, two figurines, and three fragments of a bronze ornamental pin. Room 40 contained four Parthian lamps, two bowls, two jugs, two figurines, one bronze saucer, a carnelian bead, and a cylindrical support for a jar divided into four segments. From 27x only two coins, one lamp, and one cosmetic pot were recorded. Room 256 on the west side of the court yielded a bronze knob and three bronze coins, all of the autonomous issues, two early in the series, one late. The two rooms 37x and Y together contained three lamps, two pitchers, a coin of Osroes III 57-31 B.C., parts of two clay and one alabaster figurines, and three clay wheels belonging apparently to a child's toy. In grave 194 (in 37x-Y) skeletal material of two individuals was discovered. Room number 1 with two lamps; two bowls, one marked with ointment the other with bitumen; a cosmetic pot; two figurines; an unidentified bronze coin; a bead; and one implement handle suggests occupation by a woman. The brick tiling in the southwest corner of room 25Y suggests a threshold perhaps belonging to an earlier phase. The room seems to have been little used but contained three lamps, one cosmetic pot, and two figurines. Room 24Y contained a grave (158) and the room may have been constructed as a funerary chamber. Five lamps were found, one still preserving its wick, three cosmetic pots, one jug, one jar, one bottle, three figurines, one bead, and seven coins. From burial 158 a baked brick was recovered with the date AAT of 19/20 B.C. Apparently grave 198 also belongs to this room. From the fill immediately above the grave came a coin of 121-83 B.C. The numbers 2 and 13 designate one large room with surprisingly few finds: two lamps, two bowls, four figurines, one jug, one cosmetic pot, a small or model stand, and a little gold foil and thread indicating the presence of a burial.

Mrs. Orias marks the part 1, 25Y, 24Y and 2/13, as occupied by a woman. The relationships with 256 are not clear but finds in 256 were very small indeed.

*Rooms 19, 247, 248, 3, 4, 6, 23Y, 33Y, 10 and 37Y (the southwest corner apartment).*

The rooms mentioned form a separate and complete apartment with a single entrance way, a doorway opening from the west side of the main hall or pillared porch. It seems reasonable to suppose that originally the line of shops on street G continued to the corner and likewise the row of rooms along street 6. The corner unit in section F was carved out by breaking up these parallel rooms in favor of the apartment. Within the apartment the large room 6 and the supplementary rooms 23Y and 4 are not only isolated by the separate entranceway to the court but removed by the single narrow entranceways in both east and west walls of 3 and the door-

way between 247 and 248. There must have been special cause to seal these rooms off so completely.

Before the south wall of 13 was constructed, there must have been a fairly large open space, a sort of court south of rooms 25-1 even if the shops or separate rooms along street 6 had already been built. In the present plan with 13 blocked off, the corner unit is composed of two parts. From the court one enters the vestibule 19 and has the choice at room 247 of turning left through the series of doorways to the inner recesses or of turning right into a long room or areaway ending in the small room 33Y on the west.

Again, finds in the whole apartment are rather meager. Rooms 22Y, 33Y, and 37Y have counterparts in numbers not separated in the finds of the catalogue but except for 37Y contiguous to 37x the dates of digging give the clues to the proper allocation of the finds.

Room 6 yielded by far the greater proportion of the finds and next to it were rooms 23Y and 4. These were the largest rooms in the apartment and represented obviously the ones most in use. The finds contained nothing extraordinary but suggested, in pottery and lamps, the living quarters perhaps of a family, at least of a woman. Room 4 contained part of a clay sima with lion's head spout, indicating a pitched roof. It is possible, however, that it was a relic from the previous level. Identified coins were few and fell within the narrow limits of Level III, 145 B.C.—A.D. 40.

Room 6 contained 25 coins, one of which was allocated to the years 121-83 B.C.; 13 lamps; one cylindrical lantern; ten figurines, including a horse, duck, child, etc.; two cosmetic pots; one pilgrim flask; three jugs; four bowls; one plate; a bowl pinched up to imitate a basket with handle; five ornaments; two rings; three insets; a kohl stick; etc. From 23Y (as opposed to the very small room 23x in section A) came apparently three lamps, one cosmetic pot, eight fragmentary figurines, one bronze pot cover, a pendant, and a stamped seal. Rather interesting in room 4 was the clay model of an altar or incense burner with three pointed legs and three pointed horns. Parts of seven figurines were recovered, as were a clay amulet, an alabaster ointment vessel, three crude lamps, a small jug, and eight bronze coins, one of humped bull type belonging to A.D. 36-40.

The entrance corridor consisting of the small narrow rooms 3, 248, 247, and the anteroom 19 contained the following objects: from room 3, five figurines, five lamps, three coins, a kohl stick (bronze), three insets, a small jug; from 248, a clay handle in the shape of a lion, a pot cover, a bowl, and a sherd, brownish inside, buff outside, belonging to a decorated vessel; from 247, eight coins (one identified as 42-40 B.C.), the bronze blade of an adze; and from 19, one glazed lamp, one cosmetic pot, one small jug, one head of a figurine (female), three bronze coins, and the fragment of a bronze knot.

The finds from 37Y have already been described with those of 37x. From the two rooms together the finds were neither very numerous nor very significant. The grave 194 had been dug in the rooms. Room 10 contained a cache of nine small glazed crude unused lamps in addition to two used ones; two cosmetic pots; eight figurines; part of a bone shuttle; and a bronze kohl stick. From room 33Y, two small crude unglazed lamps were recovered, two cosmetic pots, one pitcher, one figurine, and one kohl stick.

*Rooms 31Y, 260, 38x, 257, 20x and 261 (the apartment east of the court).*

The large room 31Y opens off the southeast corner of the great hall and forms the most important room of the unit. North of 31Y lies the second largest room 260 communicating with 31Y and having a separate doorway to the great hall. The doorway to the megaron apartment is small but it seems clear and allows access to the inner suite without passing through room 31Y. In the absence of any connecting room south of the great room, it seems reasonable that 31Y formed the chief private room for the master of the house. The group of very small rooms opening off from room 260 and having no direct access to the court is an unusual arrangement. The dead end of the passageway 257, perhaps some sort of a closet, contained a grave (286). Room 20x was small but still practicable; room 261 is not more than a small cubbyhole off 20x, perhaps serving as a closet or as a sleeping alcove. It is just possible that the projecting anta, that is the part of the wall between 38x and 260, served as a base for a stairway beginning in 260 and running up over 257 to the roof, but no evidence of treads or risers has been recorded. If there was a stairway to the roof in section F, this seems the most reasonable place for it.

Room 31Y yielded surprisingly few remains. Since all the finds date from the same period they all belong to section F 31Y or section E 31x. Mrs. Orias points out that the gold foil usually associated with graves is more appropriate for 31x since a grave was discovered in the adjacent room 304. Perhaps the three terra cotta masks belonged to this same grave furniture. Otherwise the finds are not distinguished: three lamps, two pot covers, a jug, and five figurines. Surprisingly enough no coins were recorded. There was a fragment of a large jar with stamped rosette and a clay brick of a griffin drinking from a flat round jar. Room 260 contained only one vase, a theriomorphic vessel lined with bitumen and with four small pots attached to one body.

Most of the finds from 38 belong to the large room 38Y in section A. From 38x came two lamps, a fragment of a decorated baked brick (perhaps from a doorway between 260 and 38x) and seven coins, of which one recognized belonged to Antiochus IV (175-164 B.C.).

The little closet or end of the corridor 257 contained grave 286. Finds between grave and room furniture were not distinguished and consisted of one bowl, one pitcher, one jug, two figurines, one ornament, and five bronze coins.

The only find which might be attributed to 20x as found on an appropriate date was one faience lamp. The other two finds were from the surface and belonged to 20Y in section D.<sup>79</sup>

From 261 came seven bronze coins (four of which were stuck together), one not of the group of four showing the tripod of the early autonomous issues. There were in addition two lamps and the arm of a figurine, perhaps from a votive piece. The whole group of rooms in this apartment seems not to have been occupied extensively. Mrs. Orias suggested they belonged to men rather than women. Mr. Mohammed Ali, who made a study of Parthian architecture in Seleucia, made the interesting suggestion for the rooms of similar shape and size in Level II on the analogy of modern room arrangements, that the apartment was used for the manufacture of date wine. Some kind of special business seems more appropriate than living quarters.

*Rooms 123 and corridors 133 and 124.*

Room 123 forms an entrance to a separate apartment in section E, which has already been described. Room 123 opens off the northeast corner of 125 and is unusually large in size. The most important find was three Parthian silver coins stuck together of A.D. 22/23 found in the northwest doorway. In addition, there were seven bronze coins, six figurines, one lamp, one bead of flat glass, two insets, and a votive figurine of leg and foot.

The little corridor 133 yielded only one figurine head. From 124 was recovered an architectural decorative fragment of baked brick with a bunch of grapes in relief, an ornament for a doorway. It marks the grape and leaf design at the beginning of our era or before. One coin identified (out of four) belonged to the period A.D. 59-62. The only other find was the head of a figurine.

*Rooms 241, 244, 243, 250 (shops along street G).*

These shops are each independent rooms with doorways to the street, and no communication with rooms to either side or to the apartments to the north. The doorways are regularly in the east corner. Rooms 241 and 244 have small rectangular niches in the north wall. Finds were not conclusive as far as the use of the room or the type of merchandise traded.

Room 241 contained seven lamps, two figurines, two broken clay bottles, two jugs, two cosmetic pots, ten bronze coins, and one bead; 244, one bronze coin and one bronze fragment of an instrument; 243, four lamps, ten bronze coins, two beads, one cylinder with four lines of cuneiform, one small plaque with nude figures in relief and holes for suspension.

Grave 186, consisting of three skeletons, the lowest in a coffin, was found in room 250. Finds from the room are all listed as coming from the graves except for a pottery sherd from a large storage jar stamped with the monogram of an *alpha* under the cross bar of a capital *eta*. Finds from in and around the burials consisted of two clay bottles, a fragment of an iron instrument, one glass bead or inset, one ornament, and six bronze unidentified coins.

18. E.g. Robinson, *Olynthus XII*, pl. 176, "House of the Tiled Prothyron," and 208ff.
19. Robinson, *Olynthus XII*, 227 and pl. 190.
20. Robinson, *Olynthus XII*, "Villa of the Bronzes," 243 and pl. 202.
21. Robinson, *Olynthus XII*, 148 and pl. 124.
22. *AA* 1940, "Archaeologische Funde Thessalian," 250 abb. 63.
23. *JOAI Beibl* 16, 1913, 150 with fig. 44. For other examples of the *prostas* Greek house plan, and an excellent discussion, see J. W. Graham, "Origins and Interrelations of the Greek House and the Roman House," *Phoenix* 20, 1966, 3-31.
24. Fisher, C. S., *Records of the Past* 2, 1903, 104ff. and fig. 3.
25. Fisher, *op. cit.* 106.
26. Herzfeld, E. E., *Archaeological History of Iran*, 30.
27. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 30-31.
28. Schmidt, E. F., "The Treasury of Persepolis and other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achaemenians," *OIP* 21, 1939, 2.
29. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, fig. 5; Herzfeld, E. E., *Iran in the Ancient East*, figs. 327 and 328.
30. Herzfeld, E. E., *Archaeological History of Iran*, 31-2.
31. *PAES* IIA, fig. 325. For the entrance with flanking towers, see *BonnJbb* 127, 1922, F. Oelmann, "Hilani und Liwanhaus," 189ff., and the article of H. Schaefer, "Two Ghandharan Temples and their Near Eastern Sources," *JAOS* 1941, 61ff. I have discussed the origin of the Iranian temple form in *Berytus* VII, 1942, "The Parthian Temple," 1-18.
32. H. Torczyner and others, *Lachish (Tell ed Duweir)*, Oxford, 1938-58, Vol. III, 1953, pls. 119 and 120.
33. *Dura IV*, pl. IV.
34. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Bab.*, 80-92, figs. 62 and 65.
35. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Bab.*, fig. 62.
36. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Bab.*, fig. 65.
37. *Dura II*, pl. IV.
38. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Bab.*, 153.
39. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*, plate opp. 511.
40. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Bab.*, 174.
41. See Ward Perkins, "Building Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture," in *The Great Palace in Constantinople, Second Report*, ed. D. Talbot Rice, for the continuation from Assyrian through Parthian Times.
42. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Bab.*, 253ff.
43. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Bab.*, 254.
44. Andrae and Lenzen, *Partherstadt Assur*. 96-7 and pl. 47.
45. Langdon and Mackay, *Kish I*, 76 and pls. XVI, XVII.
46. Koldewey, "Die altbabylonischen Gräber in Surghul und El Hibba," *ZAssyr* 2, 1887, 406.
47. *Carchemish II*, 39 and 338.
48. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Bab.*, 251-2.
49. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, 14.
50. A balanced arrangement seems reasonable for the original plan and a straight, thick wall at the back of the rooms along street G suggests it as the logical termination of the block in the fourth period.
51. Fisher, "The Architecture of Nippur," *Records of the Past*, II, 104ff. and fig. 3.
52. For the bone figurines, see Van Ingen, *Figurines*. 40 and 340ff.
53. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*. 11.
54. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, 19-20, figs. 5 and 343.
55. *Dura IX*, 169ff.
56. *Dura V*, 82.
57. This is based on the supposition that 32x would be excavated as

1. Water level at the time of the excavations.
2. McDowell, *Exc. at Sel.*, 101ff.
3. E.g. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. IV, 2.
4. E.g. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, pl. XIII.
5. Robinson, *Olynthus XII*, 186.
6. See McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*.
7. Robinson, *Olynthus XII*, 1.
8. *Ibid.*, 183.
9. *Ibid.*, 170.
10. *Dura IV*, 38.
11. *Dura VI*, 212.
12. *Dura IV*, 28 and *VI*, 212. The measurement of 26.25m. wide in *Dura VI* is a misprint for 36.25m.
13. *Dura IV*, 28.
14. *Dura V*, pl. VI.
15. *Dura VII-VIII*, 4.
16. Robinson (*Olynthus XII*, 4) believes the alleyways at Olynthus were used for drainage rather than passage.
17. *Dura V*, 32.

- part of the work on 75 and the excavations of 75 and 32x would be contemporaneous.
58. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. II, 2.
  59. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*; no. 381.
  60. Bocklau and Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos, Die Bauten*, 39 abb. 7.
  61. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 56.
  62. Finds listed under room 33 are dated in the period of digging in section F which contains 33Y. On the other hand the finds from 57 in the catalogue are divided into 57 and 57a. The area 57a is identified as south of 57 and presumably the wall between 57 and 33x was not at first apparent, and then was considered a partition rather than a room wall. The wall might rather have been the foundations of an earlier division torn down to unite 57-33x but retaining the bricks at floor level.
  63. McDowell, *Coins*, 225.
  64. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, no. 338.
  65. McDowell, *Coins*, 221.
  66. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 8.
  67. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 9.
  68. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 57.
  69. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 19.
  70. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 15.
  71. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 57 and fig. 11.
  72. Bocklau and Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos, Die Bauten*, 30-40 and fig. 7.
  73. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 15.
  74. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. VIII, fig. 1.
  75. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 16.
  76. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. VIII, fig. 2.
  77. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. IX, fig. 1.
  78. If my memory serves me correctly, the square, brick-lined well was cleared in the last season of excavations and was found to be a capacious cistern, rather than a well, partly filled with decomposed matter. This might have been a general accumulation of debris in the cistern, or the cistern may have served at some period as a latrine.
  79. Room 20x is not numbered in the plan in Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*; nor are 37x, 34x, 35x, and 36x in section D: nor 21x, 22x, 23x, 24x, 25x, 26x, and 39x in section A. In section B, 28x is omitted likewise.



## VI. LEVEL II OF BLOCK G6 (Plate VII)

The second level at Seleucia belongs to the pre-Trajan era and is distinguished by architectural features in the block quite distinct from those of Level III. The obvious time for the change is that of the revolt against Parthian rule A.D. 36-43. McDowell<sup>1</sup> states that in the second level the civic coins are entirely replaced by Parthian. The latest autonomous coins bear the date A.D. 42-43 (except for the troubled years A.D. 59/60 and 69/70); the earliest Parthian bronze that of A.D. 43-44. In A.D. 43, therefore, as McDowell remarks, the right of Seleucia to issue her own bronze coins was withdrawn. "Corresponding to this change in the currency," he continues (p. 111), "are abrupt differences in the cultures represented by the third and the second levels. The building of the older level in the block was typically Hellenic, that of the second, entirely Oriental. Though objects showing a Hellenic tradition are common in the earlier levels and the oriental influence is slight, beginning with the first occupation of the second level the contrary is true. This crisis can be explained only on the basis of the revolt, and the city must have returned to her allegiance in 43 A.D."

The most striking change in the domestic architecture is the disappearance of the porch or room of two columns on the south side of the court (pl. VII). This two-columned entrance might be called the Graeco-Iranian style. The great open room fronting the court and usually stretching across the whole of the south side looks forward, I believe, to the open vaulted rooms of the Parthians, a feature of Level I, and may, therefore, be called an intermediate phase of architectural development between the third and top levels. With the elimination of the columned porch goes the disappearance of the room behind (south of) the porch. In the third level the room behind the porch is sometimes omitted as in Level III, sections D and F; in the second level the appearance of a room south of the open porch is rare but it does occur in sections A and F. A less striking innovation is the preference in Level II for a baked brick step in front of important rooms not necessarily those opening from the court. This practice occurred in Level III occasionally (e.g. room 246, section A and room 32Y section F); in Level I the paving of the doorway with baked brick is more common. Level II has a distinct preference for a step of a single row of baked brick in front of the door.

The largest individual unit in the block, section F in the middle of the west side, apparently possessed a Parthian liwan, in the great room 203 south of the court. The corridors to either side of the room would serve as supports against the thrust of the vault. This supposition is strengthened, it seems to me, by the structure immediately above it in Level IA, which clearly has the vaulted liwan of the Parthians south of the court, and a smaller open vaulted room directly opposite

in the north side of the court. Noticeable in Level II north of court 205 is a central room with heavy side walls and open to the court. It also suggests a vaulted room of Parthian type. A similar plan is shown in section G with the central room 124 to the north of the court provided with heavy side walls and being left entirely open on the south side.

The chief entrance from street H to section E (room 150) may have been doomed since a round plaster medallion fallen from the ceiling was discovered in the center of the room. The domed rooms of the Parthians<sup>2</sup> sometimes carried appropriate ceiling decoration. The shape of room 150, peculiar for an entrance with its open end toward the street, suggests a vault.

When the sections of Level II in Block 6 were built is not easy to determine. Politically, the decisive change came at the period of revolt but there is no clear evidence at that time of the destruction and burning that took place at the time of Trajan's invasion. In the east central part of the block, clearing for constructions in Level IA and the sinking of foundations have levelled the walls of the second period below the height of lintels and all evidence for doorways has disappeared. There is obviously a gradual trend toward the later Parthian liwan house, and these structures may represent buildings dating from later in the period. In the second half of the first century A.D., Vologases I (A.D. 51-80) tried to establish a new center, apparently a rival to Seleucia, Vologasia or Vologasocerta<sup>3</sup> near Babylon. Vardanes I (A.D. 39-47/8), according to the tradition of Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>4</sup> was the founder of Ctesiphon. Probably he would have made Ctesiphon<sup>5</sup> his headquarters against Seleucia during the siege. Perhaps one should assign to this period the shift from a military occupation to the consolidation of an empire with the center at Seleucia-Ctesiphon. This might account for the much stronger Parthian influence expressed in the introduction of liwans.

Before taking up the sections in detail, one might call attention to two long rooms running north and south, that is room 71 in section D and 97 in section G. Room 71 has no room on the south with an entranceway between the two; room 97 possesses quite a large room on the south (96) with a central entrance from 97 and a step of baked brick in the doorway. There is a good chance, I believe, that these two rooms were originally divided into an open court on the north side and an open room on the south. First, the proportions and sizes of the rooms and, secondly, their orientation favor such a supposition. Some of the rooms which combine court and open room to the south retain only a border of baked bricks to mark the court and, in the case of room 38 in section A and room 17X in section E, only traces of the baked brick pavement remained *in situ*. It is worth suggesting at least, therefore, that in rooms 71 and 97 similar combinations were

constructed and the necessary evidence for proof in the baked brick borders was either never laid down or was subsequently completely removed.

Another possibility, however, is that these long rooms served as open courts, and were intended for the use of women in the household. The baked brick step up between rooms 97 and 96 suggests the relationship of open court and room to the south and the same arrangement is found in section A between rooms 36 and 34. In Level III there seem to be two examples of a woman's quarters parallel to the men's but without the columns. In Level II a woman's court and quarter may be assigned to almost every section, sometimes merely as a long court oriented north and south as in room 71, section D, sometimes with a southern room opening directly into the center of the court as in sections A and G; sometimes with a division between a paved area or an area with a baked brick border, and an open room to the south as in section E room 64 and 71X.

A special apartment for women would be appropriate at any time in the east but is particularly appropriate in the history of the city for the Parthian period. The second level units, both in men's and women's quarters, represent an intermediate step between the old oriental and Greek on one side and the vaulted Parthian *liwans* on the other. Perhaps the early Parthian domestic architecture was based on the open room with flat roof and the vaulted style was a secondary movement. Most obvious of all is the elimination of columns. The second change is the shift from columned porch to open room. Perhaps the Arab influence of the open tent plays a part, or perhaps this harked back to an earlier Parthian period with a special architecture of its own. I know of no close parallels at other Parthian sites.

### *The Tombs*

Yeivin remarks<sup>6</sup> that three features found in the graves of Level III disappear entirely in Levels II and I: namely, slipper coffins, both glazed and unglazed; glazed coffins in general; and cloth shrouds. In Level II about 25 per cent of the graves contain the plain clay coffins of oval shape (circa 180 x 40 x 18 centimeters). These coffins are either open or placed under a small rectangular frame of baked brick covered with a pitched vault roof.<sup>7</sup>

The vault with pitched roof, as well as that with bricks radially laid,<sup>8</sup> was built in Level II. In the largest vault found (159), under room 235, in section D, the crown of the vault was pitched but the shoulders radially laid.<sup>9</sup> Ward Perkins has called attention to the fact that the pitched vault in Mesopotamia goes back at least to the Assyrian period.<sup>10</sup>

In Level I both the vault and the use of gold foil disappeared. Yeivin attributes this in part at least to the economic decline exhibited in the remains of Level I. The size of the house on Level I and the elaboration of plaster decoration do not entirely bear this out. Perhaps in the later period the larger graves were no longer constructed in the houses.

### *Section A (Fig. 23)*

The southeast corner of the block forms a small independent house unit flanked on the street sides by shops. In Level III the alleyway which originally separated the east and west halves of the block had been annexed by the house on the southwest corner, leaving a restricted area for house A.

The main unit of the house is the court 38 with baked brick borders, open rooms 10Y and 32 to the north and south respectively and a closed room 31 opening into the middle of the south side of 32, with a baked brick step between the two. An unusual element in house A is a third open room placed on the east side of the court (9Y) by which access is given to two rooms partly paved, in one of which is a podium or base. It is not clear if these represented an *andron*, or a bathroom, or possibly a room reserved for a shrine.

A second parallel apartment in section A consists of a court 36 with a closed room opening from the middle of the court to the south with a step of paved brick between. Since room 37 south of 34 connects directly with 34 they seem to represent a woman's quarters with the two rooms attached to the court.

Entrance to the house is obtained through corridors 128 and 116 directly into the court. Since these corridors also gave access to sections on the north and to section G court 94 through corridor 144, they cannot be said to belong exclusively to section A. The entryway between street 4 and corridor 6 consists of four rooms and six doorways. Perhaps rooms 256 and 166 formed a shop unit. More reasonable, it seems to me, is the hypothesis that 256 and 166 were the rooms of the janitor with a side entrance to the street, and the chief entry to the housing units were by the corridors formed by rooms 224, 4 and 6. In the common Hellenistic house and the less elaborate oriental types, a central court was surrounded by a series of rooms, almost all of which opened on the court.

Here in section A there are two distinct apartments with surrounding rooms, also a special adjunct or separate apartment in the northeast corner of the house. Perhaps it would be better to say that the two chief parts lie parallel to one another with a series of rooms between. West of the larger court there are three narrow rooms along the western portion of the house. From court 36 access is given to room 35 in the middle of the west side. A baked brick step distinguished its only entrance and marks it as of greater importance.

The series of rooms in the northeast corner of the house has already been mentioned. From the north end of the court or the open room 10Y access is given to small room 149 almost square.

Dated coins range all the way from a bronze of Seleucus III (226-223 B.C.) from room 166 to a coin from room 224 of Osroes A.D. 113/14-119/20. It seems pretty clear that the level stopped in the time of Trajan, and also pretty clear that there was no clearly marked chronological start of the period. The fact that coins below floor level may belong to an earlier occupation or may have been concealed beneath the floor is a difficulty. Floor levels, moreover, were not always clearly marked since they consisted of beaten earth, uneven on the surface and made in successive levels by the addition of clay and sand. Coins found in the brickwork sometimes belong to the bricks as part of the manufacture, sometimes were hidden in cracks or pockets of the wall. Of the 41 coins found in the entryway, room 4, three were identified and two belonged to the period of revolt A.D. 36-43. One was found in the brickwork of the north wall, the second below the floor. The large jar which comprised the drain in the court (room 38) contained a silver coin of Pacorus II A.D. 79-80. A coin from below the floor in room 146 was dated 38/7-32/31 B.C. and

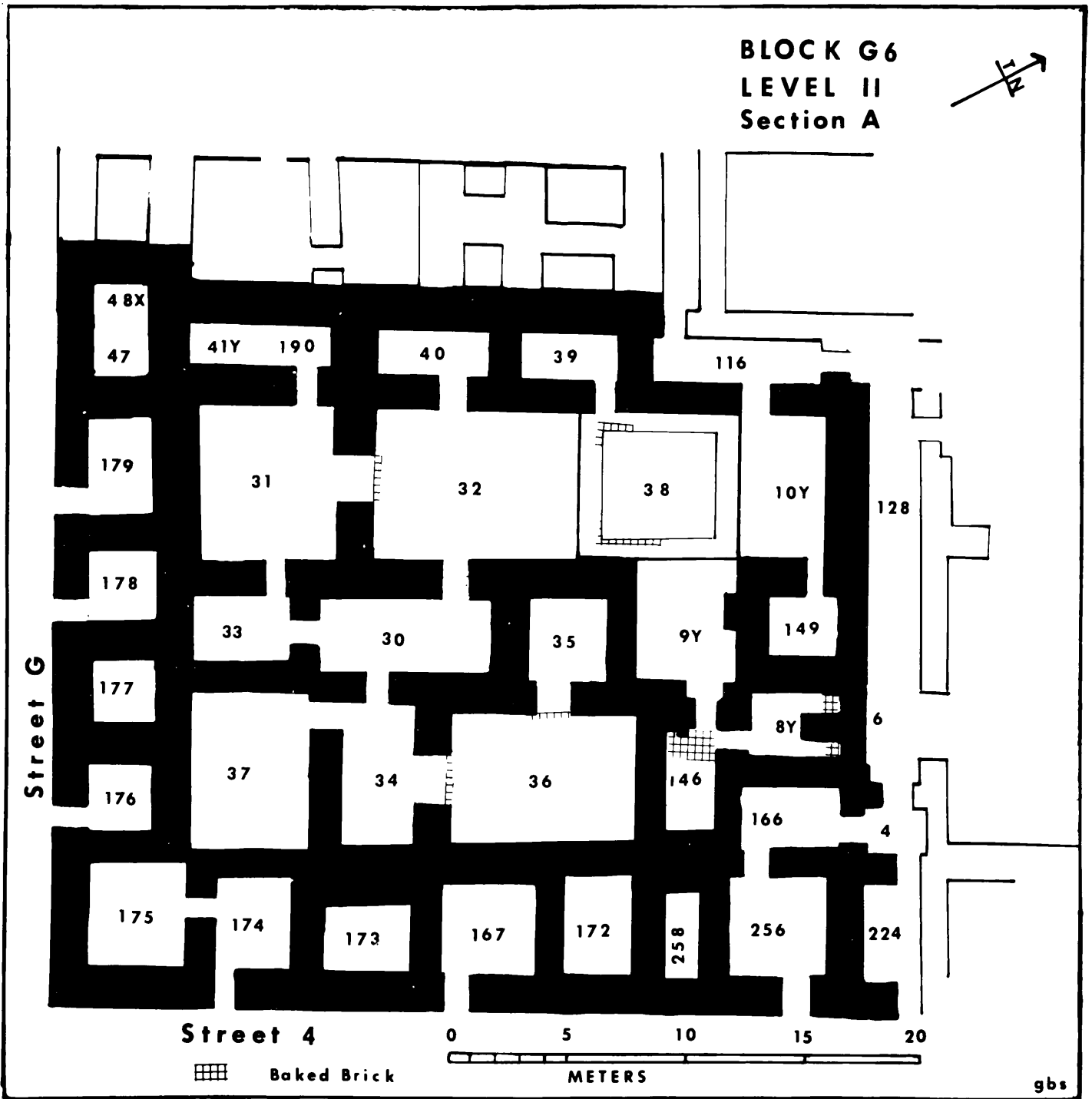


Fig. 23. Section A, block G6, level II

one of seven found below the floor in the corridor 128 belonged to the period 42-40 B.C.

Room 36 contained in its north wall five baked bricks with identical stamps of A.D. 20/21 according to the catalogue. Presumably these should date the construction of this particular wall; at least one may say the wall was constructed after this period.

*Rooms 38, 32, 31, 10Y (the court and chief rooms to south and north).*

The coin of Pacorus II A.D. 79-80 found in the large jar of the court (room 38) has already been mentioned. The fragments of four figurines, three lamps, and two jugs were of common types and have already been published. Miscellaneous articles were a bead of quartz, a knuckle bone, and a bronze earring.

Beneath room 10Y lay grave 212 with gold filaments under the skull. A terra cotta leg with foot missing was the only other find.

The large room 32 (largest in the house) yielded seven clay figurines, one with alabaster hands, and two of the common bone figures, a fragment of a plaster figurine, six lamps, four small cosmetic jars, a bowl, a cooking pot, a jar with two handles, etc. A seal impression of a seated figure was found just below floor level.

Nothing was discovered in room 31 to mark its practical use. There were fragments of four figurines, six lamps, three cosmetic pots, a small bronze earring, an iron adze, a bead carefully cut in an orange-red stone, and a little gold thread from the brickwork.

*Rooms 39, 40, 41Y/190 (West of the court).*

Very few finds were made in these rooms. From the largest 41Y/190 only three items were listed, a lamp, a tiny flat gold fragment, and an infant burial allocated to Level I. The other rooms were not much better. There were three bronze coins unidentified from beneath the foundations of the north wall of room 40 and a fragment of a bronze box and ring from the same deposit. A figurine, two lamps, and two clay vessels also came from room 40; a jug, a shell disk, and a small clay figurine from room 39.

*Rooms 36, 34, 37 (the women's court and rooms to the south).*

The five stamped bricks already mentioned were the chief finds from 36. A gold signet ring with flat signet surface was also recovered, along with a small bone figure, a bronze pin, the bow of a model boat, and one lamp.

From the brickwork of room 34 came a coin of 141 B.C. and just beneath the floor level a small ointment bottle of alabaster. A second bottle of the same type was allocated tentatively to Level III. There were four lamps, a cosmetic pot, a pitcher, two glazed jugs, and a storage jar.

Room 37 was more productive but the seven coins (one from the mud brick was identified as Demetrius II), eight figurines, and three pieces of pottery gave little indication of its special contribution to the menage. There were two tiny bronzes in the shape of knucklebones, a fragment of a small clay stand or altar, and a piece of gold foil pressed to a piece of plaster.

*Rooms 35, 30, 33 (the central rooms).*

One would hope that room 35 might yield something of special significance and a large coin (unidentified) beneath the brickwork (baked brick) was promising, but nothing else of significance was found. There were two lamps, two figurines (one of alabaster, one of clay), one bone whorl, and one unidentified bronze coin.

The large number of finds from room 30 was in accord with its size and strategic position. There were six bronze coins, five figurines (incomplete), six lamps, four cosmetic jars, and three bowls, besides miscellaneous items such as a large jar, a clay support for pointed jug, an inset, a green glass bead, a sealing almost illegible from below the floor, a flat triangular blade of a bronze scraper, and two parts of clay legs which resemble votive pieces. The one coin identified belonged to Vologases A.D. 69/79 and came from beneath the floor.

Room 33 yielded no coins but there were seven figurines, one lamp, four cosmetic pots, two jars, one jug, and one bottle. Two bronze bells with iron clappers formed a distinguishing feature. Unusual was the recovery of an iron fork with three prongs, part of a harrow or a pitchfork.

*Rooms 9Y, 8Y, 146 and 149 (the apartment and room north-east of the larger court).*

The open room 9Y on the east side of court 38 is surprising. Access to 146 and 8Y is obtained only through 9Y and the three rooms comprise, therefore, a separate apartment. The baked brick pavement which forms part of the flooring in both 146 and 8Y distinguish them from most other small rooms. The position of the rooms and the easy access at the north end of the court suggest a man's apartment. There is no drain or indication of a bath. No finds were recorded from 8Y and from 9Y only one unidentified bronze coin. The knucklebone inscribed Demetrian in Greek from 146 suggests a man's quarters, but as it came from the mud brick it was not entirely clear it belonged to the room rather than its construction. There was a small clay jug, a cosmetic pot, one coin of 38/37 32/31 B.C. from below floor level, part of an ivory spindle or shuttle (broken at both ends), parts of four figurines (two of which were from below floor level), and a fragment of clay relief with a figure resting chin on knees.

Burial 108 was located beneath 149, and from it came a large, round-bottomed two handled jug. The only other finds were a small unglazed lamp, a jug of one handle with rim badly broken, and the alabaster hand of a large acrolithic figurine.

*Rooms 224, 256, 166, 4, 6, 128 and 116 (the entrance corridors).*

Nine coins were found in room 224, two of which, from the brickwork in the south wall, belonged to 121-83 B.C. and 72-71 B.C. Two others from below floor level belonged to A.D. 23/24 and A.D. 113/4-119/20. Eight figurines included an alabaster hand with lead wire attachment or bracelet and three parts of animals (camel, humped bull, and unidentified head). Miscellaneous items were a small bone figure (fetish), a bronze kohl stick, two lamps, and two insets, one of glaze and one of carnelian.

Room 256 yielded surprisingly little: nine bronze coins, of which three were of Demetrius II; one figurine; a bone fetish; the bone handle of a knife in the form of an animal; a bone instrument; and one green-glaze ointment pot.

The bronze coin of Antiochus III came from room 166, as did the tiny figurine of a rider, a small marble head with earrings, a bone fetish, a knucklebone marked X, two lamps, and one large jar, perhaps a cooking pot.

Room 4 was almost studded with bronze coins, amounting in all to 75. One, belonging to a hoard of 41 from the brickwork of the north wall, was dated A.D. 36-40; one (of nine) from below the floor level was of the same date, and the only other one identified belonged to 103/2-102/1 B.C. There were four figurines, one lamp, a jar, part of a bronze mirror, and a bone figure with flat base instead of feet.

The one coin identified (out of eleven) from room 6 was recovered from below floor level and belonged to 141 B.C. Parts of a lamp of many nozzles in the form of a boat were recovered from the brickwork of the west wall. There were four figurines, a large iron ring, a glaze inset, and three fragments of an iron hook.

Two burials were discovered beneath the floor of room 6. From burial 153 came a cloth bag and from near grave 213 the head of a clay figurine.

Both rooms 4 and 6 belong to the corridor which runs along the north end of section A. It is numbered 128 west of 6 and 116 after it turns south. The west end is paved with baked brick apparently just as an entranceway to 116 on the south and to the pair of rooms 110/158 and 147 on the north.

Room 128 contained a figurine of a squatting monkey, a female head (figurine), a glazed inset, a marked knucklebone, a plain black bone whorl, a bronze spatula (broadened blade slightly curved, perhaps a strigil), and two lamps. Of the seven coins from below the floor, one was identified as of 42-40 B.C.

There were six coins from room 116, of which McDowell suggests one may be Roman. There were two lamps and two cooking pots, part of a very small glass bottle, a bone figure (fetish?), a bone handle, a small but heavy bronze plaque, a bone whorl, and the leg of a bone figurine.

*Rooms 258, 172, 167, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 47/48x (the shops).*

A series of shops ran around the south and east sides of the corner. Apparently none of them gave access to the interior apartments. In several cases, however, (258, 172, 173, 177, and 47/48) only the foundations remained intact so that no doorways at all were identified. They may be grouped together and considered as a series. The corner room 175 communicates only with room 174. Four (167, 176, 178 and 179) have doorways only to the street.

Beginning at the north end, room 258 yielded only two bronze coins (unidentified), one clay loom weight, and one fragment of iron from a cutting instrument, the catalogue suggests scissors. Next to room 258, room 172 produced a bronze handle with a curved hook at each end, two lamps, a plain jug, and one cosmetic pot.

One coin from the north wall of room 167 was dated 42-40 B.C. There were parts of four figurines, six lamps, a stamped amphora (inscribed ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤ . . E) from beneath the floor, and one cosmetic pot.

Room 173 was comparatively quite productive, with 27 items listed. One of four coins was identified as belonging to A.D. 17-18. It was recovered from the brickwork of the east wall. There was a bronze kohl stick, a tall glazed pierced implement, a string separator with five holes, a bead, four

figurines, five lamps, and three cosmetic pots. The recovery from beneath the floor of a fragment of a lion's head spout of clay was interesting. Since 173 is separated from the interior apartments by a double wall, its doorway probably lay on the east (to the street) or the north to 167. The number and diversity of the finds suggest an apartment or living quarters. Probably therefore 167 and 173 were linked together just as 174 and 175.

Rooms 174 and 175 together yielded surprisingly little. Three fragments of figurines and a bone fetish came from room 174 with seven lamps, two bowls, two pilgrim flasks, and two pitchers. In 175 (the corner room) were found one bone fetish, one bronze spoon with deep round bowl, four glazed lamps, two cosmetic pots, and one bowl.

The shops on the south side of the corner yielded little to help identify the owners or the merchandise. Probably all were gradually deserted and everything of value successfully removed before the destruction of the Trajan period.

In room 176 there were five lamps, one bowl, one jug with two handles, one pitcher, one cosmetic pot, one figurine, and one cylindrical piece of haematite, perhaps a weight.

Three cosmetic pots were recovered from room 177, one alabaster statuette of a reclining nude, one small pitcher, and one lamp.

Room 178 yielded more with an iron signet ring, a clay tablet without writing, a clay bell with horns, a bone whorl, a bronze bracelet, a bone figure, three fragments of figurines, four cosmetic pots, two jars (each with two handles), two lamps, and one shallow bowl.

Burnt brickwork is mentioned in room 179 but its location was not recorded. A bone whorl was found beneath the brickwork and, beneath floor level four lamps, a glazed cosmetic pot, and parts of two figurines. From the mud brick came a small figurine of a seated female figure. There were also an iron ring attached to a rod, a small standing draped figure, and two small circle earrings of gold.

The final shop belonging to this side of the block was room 47/48x. Two burials were found in this rather long room, grave 180 and burial 161. Beneath the floor of the east section (47) and near burial 161 was found a scissor's blade of iron with a bronze pin and a fragment of cloth. At close to floor level and above grave 180 an alabaster ointment bottle of beautiful shape was recovered. Other finds all came from the west section (48x) and from below floor level, a glazed pilgrim flask, two unglazed lamps, a small dish, and a very small green glazed bowl.

#### *Section B (Fig. 24)*

Sections B and C comprise the areas south and north of the center of the block on the east side. The third level showed a clear division of buildings in the center of the block and this was continued in the second level. Unfortunately the destruction in the Trajan period and the subsequent rebuilding in Level I destroyed the walls above the foundations and possibly removed some of the foundations also. As a result, doorways to rooms have not been preserved and only the broad outline of the original plan may be distinguished. There is apparently, however, a striking difference in the arrangements south and north of the center. In section B a broad entryway from room 6 (part of the corridor 6/128) gives access to a large, irregular court. Along the street the series of shops apparently con-

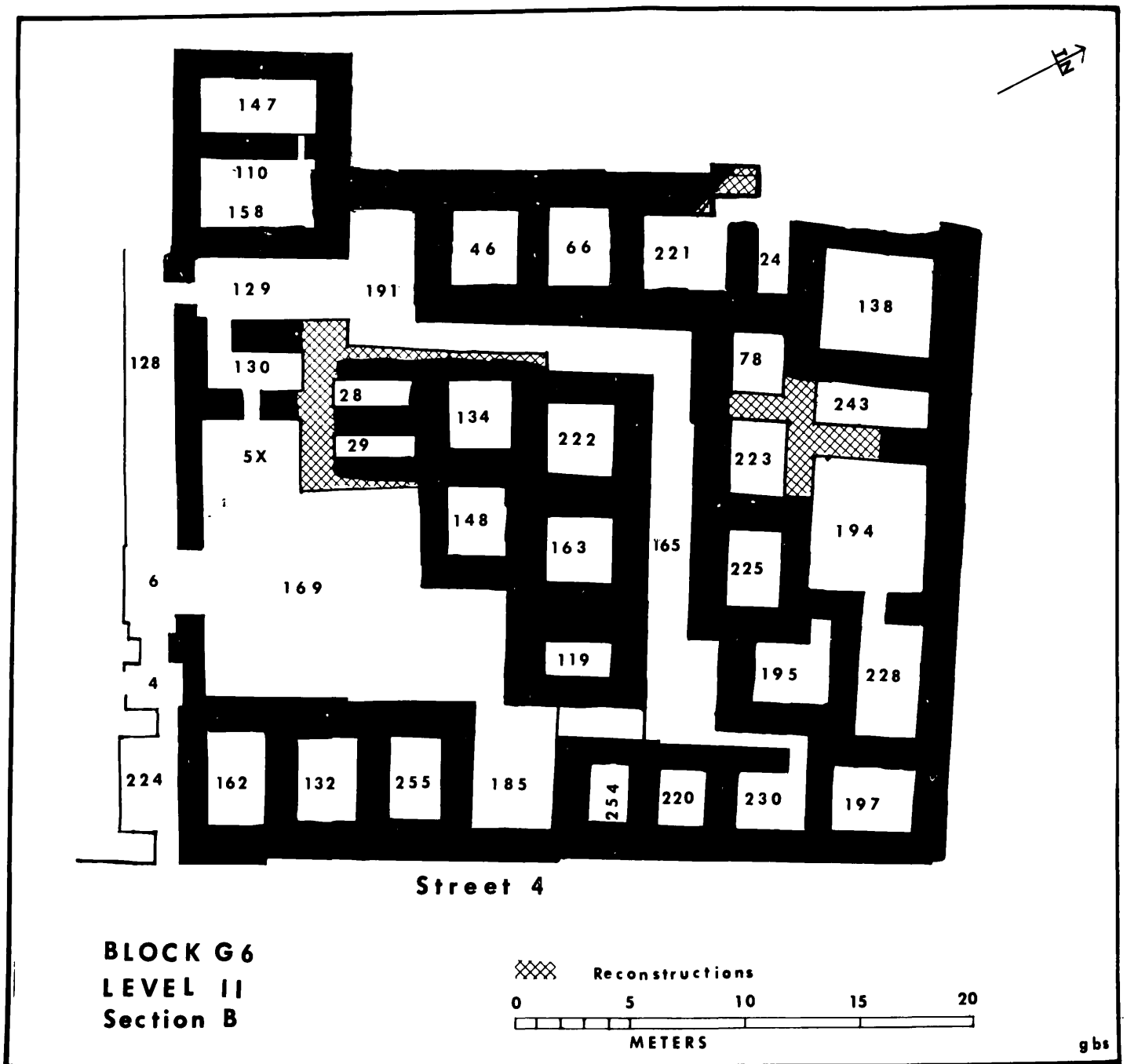


Fig. 24. Section B, block G6, level II

tinues. West of these shops and bordering the court is an insula of rooms marked off to the north and west by the corridor 165 and 129/191, respectively. A second entrance from the corridor 128 is obtained to room 129. A second group of rooms runs along the north side of corridor 165 in a double row and turns to flank corridor 191 on the west with a series of single rooms. Two of this series, rooms 24 and 221, are accessible from room 196 and should, therefore, be allocated to section F. At the west end of corridor 128, rooms 110/158, 147 form a separate apartment to the north.

In this section of the block there is no close correspondence between the rooms of Level II and Level III. The fact is that Level III in this area of the block has not preserved apparently

all the remains and many questions about details remain unanswered.

In section B there is no indication to my mind of a pattern which might fit into that of other house plans in the block. Either, then, the foundation walls are a mixture of more than one level, or the section as a whole is devoted to a purpose other than the usual residence. The very large court and the wide gateway into room 6 suggest a caravanserai or a warehouse or wholesale area. This is not particularly appropriate from its location in the city, since the block lies along neither of the main streams of traffic.

One may perhaps obtain from the finds some evidence for the former occupation and use of the units. In the summary of

details the finds from the court and the corridors will be listed first, then those from the central block of rooms, after which the finds from the series of rooms on the north side of the unit will be given, and finally those from the shops or rooms (since their doorways may have been on the court side) along the street. With the courtyard 169 may be considered the area 5x as one corner and room 185 opening from it or extending the court to the edge of the street.

*Rooms 169, 185, and 5x (the courtyard).*

The most unusual finds were two pieces of plaster painted in red, brown, green, and yellow. One fragment showed a design of large triangles. They are interesting not only because they give evidence for wall painting but also because they suggest an interior rather than an open court, at least a wall protected by a roof.

A second unusual and interesting find was a rectangular lead plaque with the design of an anchor recovered from beneath a wall belonging to Level I. Yeivin suggests very reasonably that it was a weight measure.

Burial 85 was discovered beneath the floor and two unidentified bronze coins were recovered from it.

Fourteen unidentified bronze coins are listed together from the southwest corner (room 5x), but it is not clear whether or not they made a hoard. In the same area 13 knucklebones were found together.

An identified coin from the northeast corner, the room 185, was dated A.D. 117-118 which suggests the foundations of Level I rather than the top of Level II.

Otherwise the finds were not particularly worthy of remark. In addition to the group of 14 coins, the identified coin, and the two from the burial, there were only four, a remarkably small number for an area occupied for any length of time, and particularly if it were given over in any part to merchandizing and business. There were nine figurines, of which two were found below floor level; seven lamps, of which one was a glazed saucer type with flanged handle (perhaps from the upper level); a glazed pilgrim flask, two cosmetic pots, a coral bead, two glazed insets, a jug with one handle, one large deep bowl, and a glass ornamental bead.

*Corridors 165, 191, 129.*

The only finds listed from corridor 165 are two pieces of clay figurines and a bone figure from the brickwork.

An identified coin from the brickwork of room 191 was dated in 121-83 B.C., which should place the wall or the manufacture of the brick in the third period. Two small glazed lamps were recovered, one from the floor, one from the top of the debris belonging to Level II. A clay figurine of a rooster and one other coin were the only other finds listed.

Room 129 formed an entranceway as well as part of the corridors which comprised 191 and 165. As it gives access to room 130 as a connecting unit between 129 and the corner of the court (room 5x), it seems appropriate to consider them together.

Two jugs with single handles, two ointment pots, a bone figure, two clay figurines, part of a broken bone handle with traces of pink in the back, a flat bone instrument sharpened at both ends, three small glazed lamps, a bronze bell with clapper gone, and an unidentified bronze coin were the chief finds.

Two fragments of a narrow clay frieze with a spiral decoration found in the brickwork of the east wall probably originally made part of a sima belonging to Level III.

These finds of a domestic nature were supplemented by those from room 130. There were parts of four clay figurines, three lamps, a small bowl, a bone hairpin, a female bone figure with hands on the breasts, a carnelian bead, and a tiny coral amulet in the shape of a bird.

These finds belong to normal occupancy and suggest the room or rooms of a janitor. Attention may be called to the number of small bone figurines in Level II. They seem to replace in part the figurines of clay rather than to be largely the furniture of tombs. Like the figurines they may represent the mother goddess, or represent the hope for motherhood. They are, by the nature of the material represented, facing full front and they mark another Parthian contribution to the fashion of frontality.

*Rooms 119, 163, 222, 148, 134, 29, 28 (the central rooms of section B).*

Room 119. Burial 115 lay beneath room 119 and the one identified coin (of two recovered) was dated to A.D. 9-10. This should belong chronologically to the third level. It illustrates, I believe, that the change from Level III to Level II was a slow, gradual process in the century before the conquest of Trajan. The few other finds from the room suggest it may have been reserved largely for the burial. The most interesting was an oval amethyst inset 3.3 x 2.6 centimeters. There were fragments of two figurines, a small clay plaque with the chest and breasts of a figure, a small cosmetic pot, a bronze anklet in two fragments, and a gray glazed lamp. From the surface were recovered a small unglazed lamp and the head of a clay figurine of a child.

Room 163. A large jar, with rim and interior glazed, came from the floor level of room 163. A plaster stand for a round bottomed jar was found one meter deep and a second two handled jar with rim and inside glazed came from the room itself. A plain bone whorl was discovered below floor level and fragments of a bronze blade in the brickwork of the east wall. The only other find was an alabaster ointment bottle with small round hole in the center of the bottom.

Room 222. In the room itself was found a glazed bottle, long and slender (12.5 x 2.8 centimeters). Otherwise finds were confined to the brickwork of the walls: a coin of 121-83 B.C. from the north wall, part of a figure, perhaps a mask, a bone figure, a male torso, one bone spindle, a pottery separator, and a clay pawn from the south wall.

Room 148. The fragment of a mask with a hole on the top was found in room 148 and a large pot with rounded bottom. From just below the floor level an unidentified bronze coin, a blue glass inset, and the fragment of a bronze bracelet were recovered. There were no other finds.

Room 134. The finds were few and not very distinguished. A bone figure was recovered from room 134, apparently not part of grave furniture. There was a flat diamond-shaped bead of bitumen, a bone head of a pin (decorated), part of a large female figurine of a nude seated figure, and, from the drain, a ring of bronze or iron. Beneath the floor appeared a female head with pointed helmet (perhaps from Level III), a head and bust with three-knobbed head-dress, a large lamp of gray glaze, a pot with spout beneath the

rim but no handle, and a fragment of a bronze kohl stick.

No finds were listed from room 28 and only two unidentified coins from room 29.

*Rooms 194, 228, 195, 243, 138, 225, 223, 78, 46, 66 (rooms north and west of corridor 165).*

The doorway between rooms 194 and 228 is still preserved so that they may be considered an apartment or unit within the section. Presumably the larger room 194 communicated with the smaller rooms around it (243, perhaps 78, 223, 225, and 195) to comprise the rooms of a small house or independent structure. If such were the case, room 194 as the largest and most central would have formed the main court. In neither 228 nor 194, however, were the finds numerous or particularly significant. It may well be that the clearing for the building of Level I, cutting down below the level of doorsills, removed much of the remains of Level II within the rooms themselves. In floor levels there are often successive layers, and all but the lowest may have been removed.

Room 194. Beneath the floor a bronze coin of Vardanes I (A.D. 43-44 and 45-46) was recovered and from the debris a jar handle stamped with the monogram of capital four-bar sigma with vertical bar on the left side ( $\Sigma$ ). There was in addition a plaster architectural fragment decorated with stepped triangle enclosing an arrow. This was a common design in the Parthian period, but this decorative plaster found on the pavement supports the conclusion the room was an open court.

There were in addition a long slender clay bottle, four small glazed lamps, the head of a figurine with three-pointed head-dress (helmet?), and, from the brickwork of the north wall, a piece of plaster decorated with the figure of a bird.

Room 228. A bronze coin from the brickwork of the north wall was identified as a Tyche type of A.D. 67-69. Unusual was the cone-shaped bank of clay with slot for the coins near the top (Type no. 5893). There was a bone hairpin, two small glazed lamps, and one more crudely made of gray clay, and the head of a figurine; not enough to identify the special use of the room.

Room 196. The alcove in room 195 suggests a doorway or corridor to room 194, but the evidence is incomplete. Only three items are listed, two glazed lamps from the top of the level and a third glazed lamp recovered from the brickwork of the south wall.

Room 243. A large glazed lamp was the only item reported from the small room 243.

Room 128. Grave 124 in room 138 yielded some gold thread beneath the skull, four unidentified bronze coins, and two glass insets.

Two identified bronze coins found beneath floor level belonged to Vardanes I A.D. 43-44 and Osroes A.D. 120-130.

The other finds consisted of a small clay pilaster and capital 9.8 centimeters in height, part of a bronze spatula found above the grave, a clay pot cover (half disk), a small glazed lamp, fragments of three figurines, an agate bead from the brickwork of the east wall, and a large clay bead from the brickwork of the south wall.

Room 225. All the finds in room 225 are listed as coming from below floor level except an unidentified coin from the brickwork of the west wall. A coin of Demetrius I dated 162-150 B.C. should be allocated to the third level. Three

other coins were identified. A fragment of a bronze kohl stick was the only other find.

Room 223. There were two finds, a bone hairpin and part of a figurine of man and woman embracing.

Room 78. Room 78 contained the head of a bone figurine, two unidentified coins from the brickwork of the south wall, an unidentified clay fragment, perhaps part of a mold, a small unglazed lamp, a figurine head with high headdress, and part of a large clay bead.

Rooms 46 and 66. The finds of rooms 46 and 66 may conveniently be recorded here and rooms 221 and 24 may be left for section F, since they open into that unit.

There were no finds listed from room 46 and from 66 only a black serpentine bead from the brickwork, the head of one figurine, fragments of a lead stick, perhaps a kohl stick, and three unidentified coins from the brickwork.

*Rooms 162, 132, 255, 254, 220, 230, 197 (the shops).*

The row of single rooms along the street continues from section A through section B and into section C, except for the open corner of the court 185 and the narrow corridor 100.

Room 162. Burial 123 was discovered beneath the floor of 162. An unidentified bronze coin was found in the grave and, just above it, a small glazed lamp. From the room came a broken small one-handed jug, part of a figurine of horse and rider with pointed cap, an unidentified bronze coin (McDowell suggests perhaps Sassanian), and a gray and green glazed bowl.

Room 132. Only two items were listed from room 132, a knucklebone and a thick perforated disk listed as a toy wheel.

Room 255. Grave 203 was found in room 255 and near it a clay foot and leg, perhaps a votive piece. Fragments of four figurines were found and, below the floor level, three unidentified bronze coins, a cosmetic jar, and a box cover of clay.

Room 254. The sequence of rooms along the street is interrupted by the open area 185 attached to the court 169 and already reported upon.

Five items were listed from 254, four recovered from the brickwork and one from below floor level. They were composed of a figurine, perhaps of Athena (brickwork of the west wall), a gray glazed bowl (from the west wall), a broken figurine of a dog (south wall), a clay arm, perhaps a votive piece (south wall), and an unidentified coin from beneath the floor level.

Room 220. The small room 220 yielded a striking contrast in the date of coins, since one from the north wall was assigned to Antiochus III (223-187 B.C.) and one beneath the floor belonged to Osroes (A.D. 120-130). Other finds were a bone comb handle; a long, broad bronze spatula head; the head and breast of a figurine (a female figure); part of a bone tube; a thick disk of clay perforated in the middle; and three unidentified bronze coins from the east wall (south, the catalogue states, of the brick pillar).

Room 230. Room 120 has a single entry in the catalogue, that of an unidentified bronze coin from the chest of the skeleton in burial 126.

The burial is interesting, for the room communicates with corridor 165 rather than with the street and may have served as a burial unit for section B.

Room 197. Room 197 also contained a burial, but apparently it belonged to the latter part of the third level for a coin identified from the hoard of 19 bronzes belonged to



38/37 or 32/31 B.C. There were three skeletons, a good number of bronze coins, tiny fragments of gold foil, a necklace including a glass bead, fragments of two figurines (one of horse and rider, the other of a female head), and a small glazed lamp. One suspects the other five lamps found in the room may have served to light the way to the tomb.

A figurine head of marble, the head and neck of a camel, and a female head and bust may also have been tomb furniture.

From the brickwork of the west wall of the room came a small plain glass whorl, a bronze coin of A.D. 69/70, and, from below floor level, the head of a figurine (female), part of an iron knife or dagger blade, ten unidentified bronze coins, one coin tentatively assigned to 128/121-83 B.C., and a glass bead from Level IV.

#### *Rooms 110/158 and 147 (rooms at the west end of corridor 129).*

The two rooms form a small apartment and open into corridor 128, lying on the north side of the west end. A baked brick pavement is laid at the end of corridor 128 and serves as floor of the entryway to corridor 116 on the south and 110/158 to the north. There was no indication of a doorway between 147 and room 115 in section F.

Finds from the section 110 were four glazed lamps, a carnelian bead, a small glazed saucer, a glazed flat dish, and a net-sinker of baked clay from the east wall. On the floor were found two round bottomed jars, both with two handles. One contained the bones of an animal.

To these finds may be added the agate bead and a figurine of a headless, draped standing female, both from 158.

Room 147 contained a cosmetic pot, three small lamps (one glazed, two unglazed), three coins, one of which found below floor level dated from 72-71 B.C., and a fragment of bone with unidentifiable markings.

#### *Section C (Fig. 25)*

Section C lying to the north of the center of the block has been encroached upon as in Level II by section D and has yielded its western portion of an open area rather similar to, but not quite as large as, that in Level III. As it stands it may be considered as consisting of two units, the first the series of rooms around the largest area or room 80, the second the irregular open court 226/145 with the series of rooms or corridors to its south and east. Room 83 belongs to the second unit of section D but it juts boldly into the northeast corner of the central court and its strong southern wall continues beyond the court to the east to enclose rooms 10x and 107. I have allocated these rooms also to section D.

Unit one is circumscribed by the wall dividing the east side of the block into two halves, by street 4, and by the common walls between the unit and section D on the north, between units one and two on the west. It forms a regular rectangle, almost a square except for the intrusion of room 107 in the northwest corner. The size of the unit and the more or less square shape lends itself to the interpretation of a house unit. It supersedes a small house of similar size in Level III. In dimensions and locations the rooms of Level II in the southeast corner, that is rooms 80, 240, 84, 253, and 81, follow so closely the plan in Level III, Section C for rooms 94, 90, 89, 91, 88 that some of the walls in Level III may represent the

foundations of Level II extending into the earlier building period.

The lack of doorways makes reconstruction difficult. Probably a central open area, such as 80, was surrounded by a series of small rooms, sometimes a double series. The finds are not sufficient to distinguish the uses of the rooms. One may, therefore, list the significant finds beginning with room 80 and allow the student to interpret the results. Probably many of the smaller remains of Level II in this area were destroyed or removed by the clearing for or the building of the later level.

#### *Unit 1—Rooms 80, 100, 84, 253, 81, 131, 252, 251, 250, 249, 101, 19, 16Y, 240, 126/75, 76, 74, 18Y, 103.*

There were very few finds from room 80 and the discovery of a coin close to floor level and dating from 121/20-84/83 B.C. suggests the excavations had penetrated into Level III. There was a small unglazed decorated lamp, two cosmetic pots, fragments of figurines, a glass bead, a second coin unidentified, a small piece of coral and from the brickwork, a bead of carnelian, and a glazed pawn.

Room 100 (beginning in the southeast corner and proceeding counter clockwise around the section).

The coins show the difficulty in the chronology. There was a Seleucid coin of 246-226 B.C. from beneath the floor, a coin of 121-83 B.C. in the brickwork of the south wall, a coin of Demetrius II also from the south wall, and a coin of A.D. 16/17 from the brickwork of the north wall. There was a tiny carnelian pendant, urn-shaped, from the level of the top of the walls or foundations, a glazed jug with one handle 50 centimeters below the top, and a gray glazed lamp and head of a figurine. From the brickwork came four unidentified coins, a figurine of a boy with water jar, and a glass whorl.

Room 84. The list of finds includes two small crude glazed lamps; half of a double clay bottle whose interior was washed with bitumen, found a meter below the wall tops; a slender one-handled jug from above floor level; and a part of a figurine with a large pyramidal loom weight, both found 50 centimeters below the wall tops.

Room 253 yielded three unidentified coins found six centimeters below the wall tops.

Room 81. Below the foundations of the east wall a bronze coin of 41/40-32/31 B.C. was discovered and, in the brickwork, of the east wall on top of a wall of crude brick and above a burnt brick foundation, a coin of 162-150 B.C. Here obviously the excavations were deep in Level III. There was a small unglazed crude lamp from the lower floor level; a bronze kohl stick 30 centimeters below the wall top, parts of two figurines, an unidentified coin, and, from below the foundations of the east wall, two more fragments of figurines.

Room 131. Grave 190 was located in room 131, but the catalogue suggests it may have belonged to Level III, room 88. Only two finds are recorded, a small glazed lamp and a glazed inset found near the feet of the skeleton.

Rooms 252 and 251. No finds were listed for 251 and only one for 252: i.e. the head and chest of a figurine from around floor level near the east wall.

Room 250. There were three finds listed from room 250: a small glazed lamp and a figurine of a reclining draped female with pointed helmet, both from below floor level, and a head of a figurine from the brickwork of the south wall.

Rooms 249, 101, and 19. No finds were recorded from

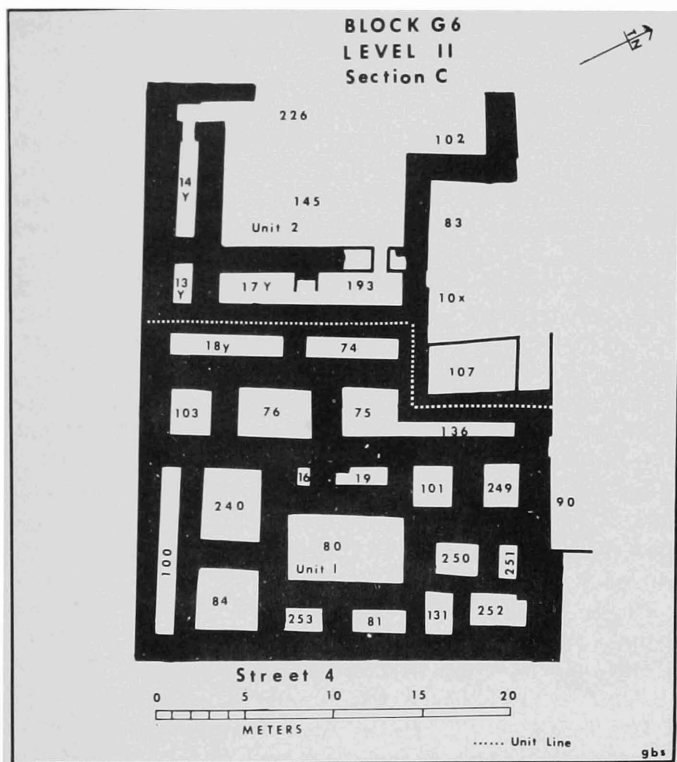


Fig. 25. Section C, block G6, level II

room 19; only a single glazed two-handled pilgrim flask from room 249 and seven finds from room 101, including a gold earring in the form of a nude woman with large head, two small lamps (one glazed, one plain), a bronze coin of 42-40 B.C., and parts of two figurines.

**Room 16Y.** Room 16Y as it stands was too small for anything except a cupboard. From the brickwork were recovered a bone figurine and parts of two clay figurines.

**Room 240.** Room 240, lying south of the west section of room 80 was the second largest room but yielded few remains. There was an unidentified bronze coin, the head of a crudely modelled horse, a ram's head, and the turbaned head of a man. More unusual was part of a plaque or medallion representing a tray of fruit (grapes and pomegranates), and a small standing alabaster draped figure of a woman with hand on the breast.

**Room 136** (reported incorrectly on some drawings as 186) with 75 forms a long ell-shaped room. From 136 were recovered a clay pitcher, a stamped jar handle, and a well made glazed pot. In addition a small glazed lamp and small glazed dish were found 70 centimeters below the wall tops, and, in the brickwork, parts of three figurines and half of a double pot in the form of a water jar.

From the top level of 75 came a female figurine head with low headdress, and, 40 centimeters below, a small unglazed crude lamp. Ten centimeters in the debris was a glazed round saucer, and at one meter a round clay lamp. Just below floor level was a figurine head with three-pointed headdress. Part of a mask and the head and a bust of a figurine completed the list.

From room 76 came two jar handles stamped with monograms, a plain bone whorl, and two bronze unidentified coins from the brickwork of the east wall. A bronze weight was discovered in the east wall and a bone whorl at floor level.

There were fragments of three figurines, one from below the floor. More important were the six coins recovered from below floor level, ranging from 145-141 B.C. through 140-123 B.C. to A.D. 59-62 and A.D. 69/70.

Only three finds were listed from 103: a small, deep glazed bowl from the room itself; and from the brickwork of the west wall a figurine head and the fragment of a pot cover in the form of a flower.

The narrow room 74 and 18Y complete the rooms of this unit. In or on the brick pavement of room 18Y two coins were found, one dating to 223-187 B.C., the other 42-40 B.C. Clearly both belong below Level II. The only other finds came from below floor level, an unidentified coin and a figurine head.

From room 74 was recovered a coin of 162-150 B.C. but appropriately it came from a deep level. A crude glazed lamp came from the same deep level, and a small crude unglazed lamp from a Sub IV level but listed in the finds of Level II. It illustrates the difficulty of clear distinction in this stratum. A figurine representing apparently the horns and sun disk of Hathor was found at the third level, and from the brickwork of the east wall were recovered part of a ring inset, perhaps of garnet, and a limestone bead. A tiny bronze bell and three lamps completed the listed finds. One of the two crude glazed lamps was listed from 40 centimeters below the top of the level. One lamp was unglazed and with short nozzle.

#### *Unit 2—rooms 193, 17Y, 13Y, 14Y.*

The large open court in the center of the block falls on the east side of the middle and may most conveniently be included here as unit 2 of section C. On the east and south of the court is a series of four narrow rooms separated from units to south and east by impressively heavy walls. The northeast corner of the court is cut off by the projection of room 83. The south wall of 83 is heavy and continues east beyond the court to form the south walls of rooms 10x and 107.

A narrow entranceway from the court to 193 and another between 193 and 17Y has been indicated on the drawing but in areas in which the foundations no longer exist. They might be called doorways of convenience. I suspect the dug level reached close to the bottom of the foundations of walls in these particular places and no evidence of doorways was visible.

There were no finds of particular importance from room 193: four lamps, two cosmetic pots, an unidentified coin, a bronze kohl stick or spatula, the lower part of a one handled jug, and a clay pedestal or support for a statuette or vase.

One of the two coins which constituted the only finds from room 17Y was identified as dating 121-83 B.C. The other was unrecognizable.

The corner room 13Y yielded a glazed lamp from below floor level, and a bead of glaze or glass. One coin recovered from below floor level belonged to the period 280-261 B.C. A bronze coin listed as Level III was allocated to A.D. 43/44-45/46 and a small hoard of five small bronze coins belonged to the Sassanian era. These completed the finds.

Room 14Y yielded a limestone whorl, five bone fragments apparently shaped, a glass bead, two bitumen sealings and two bronze coins.

#### *Rooms 145, 226 and 102 (the large open court).*

In the excavations the open court was divided into three

sections for more precise allocation of finds. The only find listed from 226, however, was the head of a figurine, so that the only contrast is between the part 145, that is the eastern section of the room, and 102, the northern and western.

With the head of a figurine from 226 may be placed the finds of room 102: the figurine head and bust of clay, and the face of gypsum. A spout of clay may represent part of a clay sima, and a flat piece of limestone may be part of a palette. A bronze coin is tentatively dated to 141 B.C. Another figurine head came from the brickwork of the east wall, and an unglazed cosmetic pot from the debris in the room. Below floor level were found an unglazed lamp, fragments of three figurines, a bead of carnelian or agate, and the bronze fragments of a knife.

Room 145. The largest number of finds (23) was recorded from room 145. A drain is recorded near the west wall, from which a bronze kohl stick was recovered. From the room itself fragments of six figurines were recovered, a cream colored pot cover, and, from just below the level (marked sub), a small glazed lamp. Listed as below floor level were an unidentified coin, part of a figurine torso, and a perforated ball of clay (net-sinker?). The brickwork of the walls yielded almost as many finds as the rest of the room. In the east wall were found a clay handle in the form of a frog, an unidentified coin, three glass insets, and the fragment of a clay figurine. A second unidentified coin came as the only find from the south wall. The west wall yielded two more unidentified coins, three glass insets, and a lamp; the north wall, a cosmetic pot, a bitumen stopper or cover for the neck of a large jar, and a glass inset.

Not a large or distinguished group of objects from so large a space, but in keeping with the thinness of the stratum and the confusion with the level immediately preceding.

#### *Section D (Fig. 26)*

Section D, comprising the northeast corner of the block with a length equal almost to one third the total, may conveniently be divided into two units also.

The larger contains the open court, room 65 with wide baked brick pavement probably placed on all four sides, an open room to the south, 15x, and a series of alcoves to the north. The entrance to the house is effected from corridor 19x through room 235. East and west of the court and liwan (open room) are series of rooms, those to the east connecting with a whole group of smaller rooms and perhaps a woman's quarters centered in the long north-south room 91. A more logical solution for the second axis of the house, however, would be room 70, fairly large, oriented north and south and flanked on the south with room 229, whose approach is marked by a baked brick step. Between rooms 70 and 71 there are also parts of a baked brick threshold. This usually distinguishes a room of some importance or the door between two important rooms.

Such a solution, however, leaves unexplained the very large room 71, also oriented east and west. One may recall that in Level III beneath rooms 70 and 71 of Level II, the sealings of a record office were found and the rooms apparently formed part of an office or bureau. Perhaps this is the best solution for room 71, namely a continuation of office space. In this case a courtyard (70) and inner room are adjacent to it. The living quarters of the family would then be confined largely to the

north end of the house. I take it that the small series of rooms around the open court 68 forms a separate house and may best be treated as an individual unit (unit 2).

#### *Rooms 65, 15x, 198, 199, 200 (court and liwan and alcoves to the north).*

In the early drawings of the block there is no division between 65 and 15x. The catalogue, moreover, has no cards for 15x, so the two rooms may be considered together. That there was a division seems clear from the pavement of baked brick around the northern half. The position of the room and the size correspond closely with the rooms 27-39 of Level III. It is striking, therefore, to see that both the columns have disappeared and the antae which belonged to the third level. In the second level, there is no indication of an arched entrance or a vaulted room. For an arch one would expect a support such as pillar or anta on each side; a vault would require heavier side walls. Level II places a well in the southwest corner of room 65. The corresponding room (27) in Level III had a well in the northwest corner. A clay fragment with a spout from Level II may have been part of a sima and so indicated a sloping roof. As there was but one small fragment, however, and as the simas are more appropriate in Level III, probably this piece also should be allocated to the lower level.

At 170 centimeters beneath the floor of the latest occupation of 65, two gold and jewelled earrings were discovered, lying unprotected. Braidwood<sup>11</sup> reports the finds and describes the disk and pendant type adorned with garnets, altered turquoises, and pearls.

The other finds, though extensive, were distinguished largely by their lack of special significance. A coin of A.D. 117-119 should mark the end of the period. There were six lamps, two from below the second level, and fragments of 14 figurines, seven of which came from a sub-level stratum. One was of alabaster with inset eyes (one of which was missing). A thin bronze plate may have been part of a mirror; a second bronze was in the form of a boat. A fragment of a box (sub level probably III), a button or whorl, and a pendant with an incised linear pattern were of bone or ivory. A pyramidal loom weight, a glazed juglet, two large pitchers, and a deep bowl were of clay. From the surface came a stone amulet made of an earlier axe head.

The well was dug from the 13th to the 22nd of January, 1932, and yielded an unidentified coin, a glazed jug, a fragment of a baked brick mold for decorative plaster, parts of two figurines of animals, a sherd with part of a plastic design, perhaps a snake, a pot cover, and a two-handled water jar.

A Parthian coin of A.D. 209/10-219/20, found on January 13, was marked in the catalogue as coming from a wall. Since all the other finds from this room of this month are from the well, I suspect this also was discovered in the well. It would indicate that this second level well continued to be open until almost the abandonment of the city.

The little alcoves 198, 199, 200 to the north of room 65 seem too small for practical use, though two are paved (199 and 200) with baked brick. They may have been bathrooms or toilets. The finds were insignificant: there were two small glazed lamps from 199, an incomplete bone comb from room 200, and from 198 a cosmetic pot from a sub floor level, and, from the mud brick, part of a figurine of a woman holding a bird in her lap.

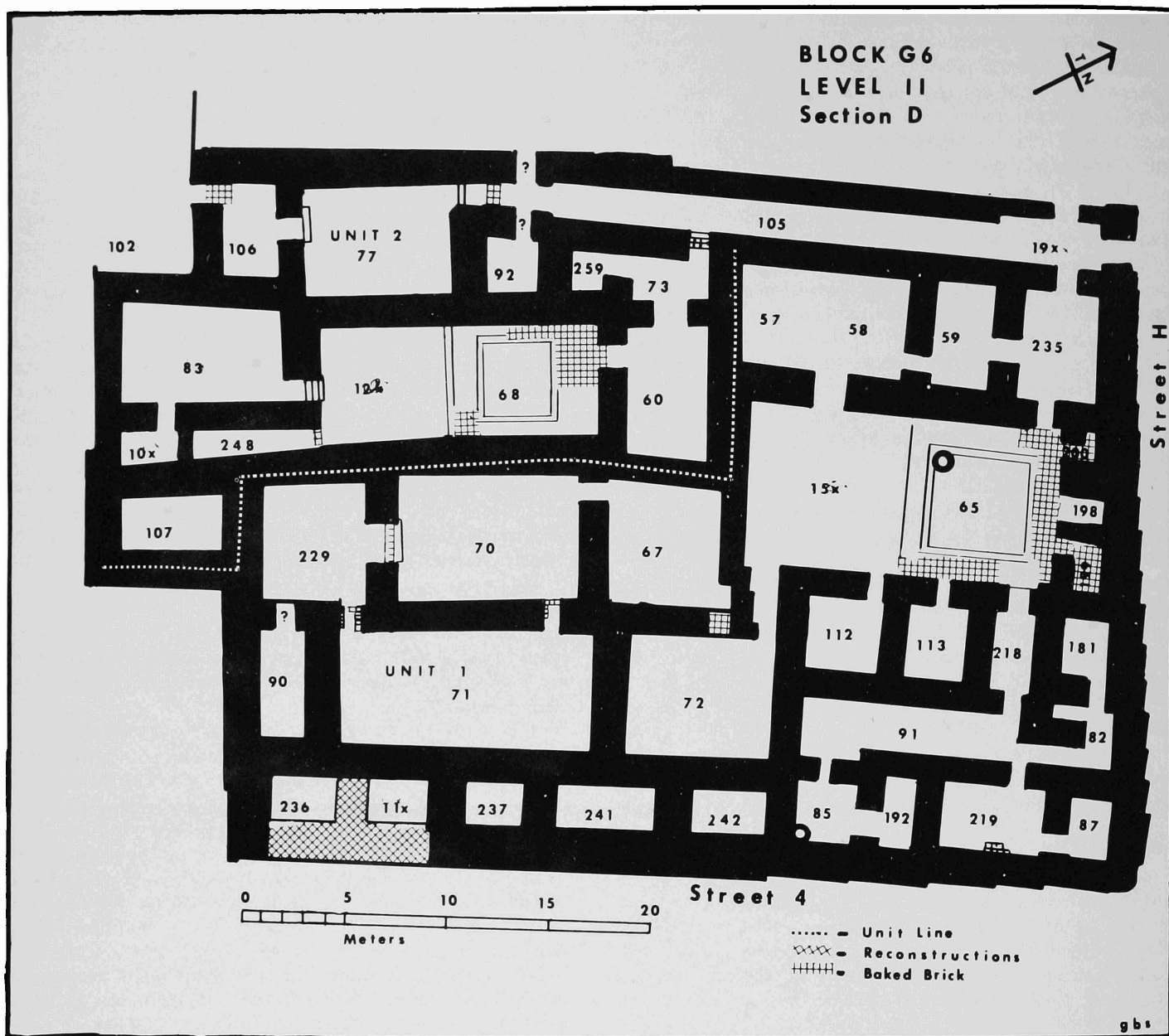


Fig. 26. Section D, block G6, level II

Room 235. The entrance room (235) between the alleyway and the court contained a brick tomb with pitched vault<sup>12</sup> which contained eight cubicles and 13 skeletons (burial 159). The strata in the room had therefore been disturbed. There was an incomplete draped male figurine and part of a reclining female figure from the room level; a part of a draped alabaster statuette, an ivory cover of a small cylindrical box, an incomplete open (saucer-shaped) lamp, a pendant spiral shell, a jar handle with a monogram, the heads of two figurines, and a small glazed crude lamp from the sub floor level.

Of 45 coins in the tomb, nine were identified and ranged from A.D. 43-44 to A.D. 180-181. This suggests that the tomb continued to be used after the campaign of Verus, and indicates that the second level house was preserved intact, or at least the tomb was, during the destruction of the city in

Trajan's period. No remains of new buildings in Level I are indicated in this district and it seems from this room that perhaps a good part of the buildings of sections D and E continued unchanged during period I.

*Rooms 59, and 57/58 (west of the court 65 and liwan 15x).*

Comparatively few finds were made in room 59: a very small glazed pot, three small glazed lamps, and a figurine of a woman's face with a large hole in the headdress. A coin of Osroes A.D. 113/4-119/120 marks the end of the second level or the beginning of the period after Trajan.

The finds of 57 and 58 were listed separately because a wall was at first preserved between the two parts. Then the floor of the room was discovered to run beneath the partition, and the wall was removed. The number of jars and bowls found beneath the partition suggests it represented a cupboard for

pottery. There were eight bowls, two jars with double handles, and a juglet.

Listed from room 57 were a part of a small marble statuette, two fragments of a bronze mirror, and two small glazed lamps.

The rest of the finds (26) are listed from room 58, ten of them made after the removal of the wall. The striking find was a cache of 33 knucklebones (10 large and 23 small). Perhaps with these might be associated other pottery finds and lamps. There were four jars, five lamps (one of which was from the sub floor level), and four bowls (three of which were glazed; the fourth was small and plain from the sub floor level). Four jugs and a tall pitcher were also recovered as were a broken bronze mirror and a bronze rod with decorated end (probably the handle of the mirror). One small cosmetic pot was recovered also. Except for the mirror and cosmetic pot, one suspects the room 57-58 comprised the andron and that gambling was a favorite sport.

Beneath the floor level were recovered the top of an ivory disk pyxis, a flat dish or jar cover, parts of four figurines (one of a bust and helmeted head), and a winged cupid with right hand raised.

*Rooms 218, 112, and 113 (rooms east of the court and liwan).*

Room 218, the corridor between the court and the long room 91 lists only four finds: a small glazed lamp, an iron instrument with sharp point like a lancet, and, from the sub floor level, parts of two figurines.

A coin from the brickwork of the south wall of room 112 dated from A.D. 36-40. A glazed pilgrim flask, two small lamps (one glazed, the other not), a one-handed jar and an unidentified coin were found above floor level. Just beneath floor level were four more lamps, a jug with one handle and a standing female figurine with pointed headdress.

All the finds from room 113 were from the sub floor level, except part of a figurine of mother and child from the brickwork of the west wall and a fragment of a seven (?) burner lamp from the clay bricks. The sub floor finds consisted of a glazed pilgrim flask, a round bronze receptacle, a long triangular inset of greenish color, parts of two figurines, two small glazed lamps, and a one-handed jar or pitcher.

*Rooms 181 and 82 (small rooms off 91 along street H).*

Off the court or long room 91 there are three separate little apartments of two rooms each opening on 91. In the first, 82 forms an anteroom to the fairly large room 181.

Aside from two lamps and parts of four figurines from room 181, there were found part of a bone hairpin, a short blunt bronze nail, and two whorls, one of black stone, the other of ivory (only a fragment recovered); not enough evidence to determine definitely the purpose of the room but sufficient to suggest its occupancy by women.

Underneath room 82 lay grave 207 and beneath the floor level of the room and in the fill of the grave a coin of A.D. 43/4-45/6 was recovered. A second bone pin (second to the one from room 181) was found in the room, a short bronze lancet or pointed instrument, a two-handed pot with rim and interior glazed, a one-handed jug and a cosmetic pot.

Room 91. For the size of the room, 91 furnished remarkably few finds and the majority from the sub floor level. At 120 centimeters below the wall tops a clay representation of

the sun disk between Hathor horns was discovered. At 1 meter a figurine torso of an athlete was found and at floor level a figurine head with large hat and a small crude glazed lamp. From the sub floor level came an open (saucer) glazed lamp, parts of six more figurines and a one-handed jug.

*Rooms 219 and 87 (the corner rooms).*

Of the three groups of apartments of two rooms each, the most commodious is the combination 219 and 87. The room 219 is spacious and has a commanding position with its entryway controlling the entrance from the chief court to 91 without affording the stranger any extensive view within the room 219 itself.

Room 219 yielded a large figurine head of a female and from the sub floor level parts of two more figurines, a large disk-shaped bone button with four holes (a thread or string separator), a bronze kohl stick, a baked brick with a pattern of parallel bands, and a clay stand adorned with colonnettes and a bowlegged mannikin.

Room 87 possessed five lamps, a large glazed shallow bowl or saucer, a bronze disk inlaid with concentric circles of colored glass, and a large coin of Artabanus (A.D. 23/24) coming from the top stratum of the level.

*Rooms 85 and 192 (rooms east of 91).*

Beneath the floor of room 192 was a large tomb of Level III containing 19 skeletons and above this the burial of nine more belonging to the early part of Level II.<sup>13</sup> There were few finds in room 85.

A small green glaze saucer was found in room 85 and a one-handed jug of clay. From the sub floor level came two small lamps (one glazed, the other not), a glass bead, and the upper part of a draped male figurine.

The floor levels in room 192 would have been disturbed by the burials and there were few articles found that would not have been associated with the graves except for the hoards of coins. A hoard of eight bronze coins contained two identified as A.D. 69-70 and 79-80. A cache of a mass of disintegrating tiny bronze coins was found in the mud brick. These two hoards suggest that room 192 was reserved for burials and might, therefore, be safely used as a hiding place.

From floor level came a bronze box containing 19 coral beads, one of glass, 16 pearls, and one carnelian. There was a number of lamps (7) both around and outside the graves; some of the common type of gold foil in the grave (16); a bone string separator; parts of figurines; etc.

*Rooms 70, 229, and 67 (the women's apartment).*

A striking feature of the southern portion of unit one, is that the largest room 71 seems to form an adjunct to room 70, since the only doorways are on the west side. Room 70 seems indicated as the chief room, moreover, because of the baked brick thresholds in two of its doors. It is not clear that room 70 formed a court open to the sky since there is no baked brick pavement. The most common place for the baked brick threshold, especially of one comprising more than one step is in front of the main room on the south side of the north-south axis. This occurs twice in section A (rooms 32-31 and 36-34), once in unit 2 of section D (rooms 68-83), and once in section G (rooms 97-96). In section E the same type of threshold occurs on the south side of room 64 but it leads only to an

alleyway. Perhaps, as will be suggested later, in section E there had been a rearrangement of rooms in the course of the period.

The rooms 70, 67, and 229 carry out the chief lines of the north-south axis, with open court, chief room to the south with entrance in the middle of the north side, and in this case a large entrance room 67 on the north.

Room 70 was not distinguished by large finds in spite of its prominent position. There were three small glazed lamps, two clay cosmetic pots, parts of two figurines, a slender glass tear bottle, a spherical pot with interior glaze, a bronze stick pointed at one end, and two small bronze rings linked together, perhaps part of an earring. Two of the lamps and the bronze links were marked from a sub floor level.

The identified coins from room 229 were very interesting. One from beneath the floor level belonged to Demetrius I 162-150 B.C., a second to the period 42-40 B.C., and a third, from the Level III brickwork at the south end of the room, belonged to the A.D. 46/7-47/8 period. Below the floor, therefore, the level belonged to the third period and the brickwork had been utilized or rebuilt at the beginning of the second.

A little gold foil from the sub floor level suggests a burial, but there was no other evidence of a grave. From the sub floor level came also parts of five figurines and a pointed bronze instrument, perhaps an awl. Above floor level a clay antefix with a palmette design was recovered, as were a large deep bowl, a long spiral glass bead, a small unglazed lamp, and a thick piece of alabaster.

Room 67 yielded a Parthian coin of Vologases II (A.D. 119/120) from the earth of floor level. There were three small lamps, two of which were glazed, parts of two figurines, one of which came from the sub floor level, a saucer-shaped pot cover, an ornamental bead (amethyst) from the mud brick, and a cosmetic pot from the sub floor level. More interesting was a tiny bronze bow and arrow found 20 centimeters below the wall tops and the potsherd of a jar whose rim was decorated with pointed studs and two frontal faces, one with horns.

*Rooms 71, 72, 90 (rooms east of the central women's quarters).*

Room 71. A small crude glazed lamp is marked as coming from the level of the tops of large pithoi. The pithoi would have formed, apparently, a drain, but their location is not indicated on the plan. There were six lamps, one with part of the wick still preserved. Half the finds came from a sub floor level and included besides the four lamps not associated with the pithoi, a cosmetic pot and parts of four figurines. At floor level and above were found another small glazed lamp, parts of two figurines, a bronze kohl stick knobbed or lobed at each end, and a cosmetic pot. From the mud brick was recovered a figurine representing a scribe bent over his writing.

The doorway to room 90 is not clear. One expects a threshold on the north to the long room 70 but the wall is unbroken. On the plan an entrance is supplied to room 229 with a query. There were ten finds recorded, a small bone stopper from the brickwork, a small glazed lamp, a two-handled green glazed jar, a thick heavy iron key, a tiny bone Parthian figure from the brickwork; from the sub floor, the torso of a large figurine and two small figurines, a head with pointed helmet, and another with a wreath or turban.

The large room 72 north of 71 contained the burial no. 99 and parts of the baked brick frieze with a double egg and dart design. Another brick from the top of the level was adorned with a leaf between two spirals. A fragment of architectural ornamental frieze in limestone was also recovered. There were, moreover, two small glazed lamps, an unidentified bronze coin, a small glazed jug, a figurine head with two-knobbed hairdo, and from the mud brick a clay phallus.

*Rooms 236, 11x, 237, 241, and 242 (the shops along street 4).*

Only one find is listed for room 236: a small figurine head with two-knobbed headdress. Similarly, there was but one find in room 237, that is skeletal material of a skull and jawbone the catalogue says from grave 179.

Room 241 yielded a small crude glazed lamp, a figurine head, a pawn or clay medallion, and an unidentified bronze coin.

There were no finds apparently from room 11x since the only card from 11 bears a date 12/14/31 during which no excavations were made in this part of section D.

Beneath 242 lay burial 95. From the burial one might mention two slender red wash vessels with vertical bur-  
nishing.<sup>14</sup> From the brickwork of the east wall came a bronze coin of 141 B.C. and from the floor level, a knucklebone, three unidentified coins, a bronze spatula, fragments of a bone pin, and parts of two figurines, one a draped torso, the other a head and part of a torso.

*Unit 2—rooms 68, 12x, 83, 10x, 248, 107, 60, 73, 259, 92, 77, 106.*

The open court with border of baked brick (68) is separated from unit one of section D by a thick unbroken wall. Furthermore, the court with open room to the south and in this case another room beyond it, is usually the central and basic element in a house. It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider 68 and the group of rooms communicating with it as a separate residence.

There are a number of problems. Room 107 would seem to belong to this unit because of the thickness of its walls on the south, east and north. No doorway at all is indicated, however, and the wall on the west is almost equally heavy. Rooms 92, 77 and 106 have entranceways only to the alleyway which divides the houses on the east and west sides of the block. They may belong, therefore, to section E, or be considered as adjuncts to the open central court in the block. I shall summarize their finds in considering unit 2 of section D, since they geographically fall in this area.

The second preliminary report represents rooms 68 and 12x in the plan as one large room with the number 68. The room was dug according to the finds in the catalogue from October 23, 1930, to the middle of January, 1931. All the finds from 12, however, are listed from November 10, 1931, until December 14th, 1931. The finds of 68, therefore, include also those from the room marked 12x. The only finds from room 10x are also entered in December, 1931, whereas the cards of room 248 belong to December, 1930.

As the unit stands in the plan it consists of an open court, a roofed chamber to the south, in front of a large room still farther south, flanked on the east by two very narrow rooms. Room 107 apparently belongs to this unit and forms an inner room accessible through 10x.

North of the paved court lies the large room 60 to which entrance from the alleyway is obtained through 73. One expects that the rooms 92 and 77 lying immediately to the west of the court should form part of the same unit but this is not clear. Perhaps extensive alterations in original house plans had been made in this unit so that the normal plan was no longer observed.

Room 68. A bronze coin found on the baked brick door-sill to room 83 was dated A.D. 120-130. Also from the room were recovered a small bone Parthian figurine, three lamps, parts of two figurines, and a bone or ivory hairpin with decorated head. Part of another figurine was found in the brickwork and a small jar with one handle. From the sub floor level four more lamps were recovered, parts of four figurines, a small two-handled jar, a large glass inset, and a small oval jug<sup>15</sup> with reddish buff body.

Room 83. Usually the chief room south of the court has the entrance in the middle of the north side. In this case the baked brick threshold is well preserved and the lines of the court seem clear. The door to 83 suggests that in an earlier period room 83 was wider and the doorway was in the center of the north wall. Beneath the northern half of 83 lay grave 207 with parts of three skeletons. The digging of the graves probably accounts for the wide chronological span of coins found beneath floor level, one dated from 280-261 B.C., one in 121-83 B.C., another A.D. 46/7-47/8, and a fourth A.D. 69-70. A bronze coin found in the brickwork of the east wall was of the period 2/1 B.C.—A.D.4/5, but whether this marked the construction of the wall or a coin hidden in it was not clear.

Rather interesting finds were a flat gold pendant from floor level (perhaps part of an earring), a bone hairpin with the end shaped to represent a small draped figure (from 40 centimeters below wall tops), five knucklebones from the base of the brickwork and a small clay sealing with a man's head from below floor level. A large one-handled jug of fine buff clay was recovered complete from beneath floor level and was found to contain bird bones. The exact location was not indicated. It may well have represented a foundation deposit. There were three unidentified coins, parts of only two figurines, one of which represented double figures with double flutes and drum. A large flat triangular bead of glass with three circular insets was recovered, a cosmetic pot, a small unglazed lamp and a pitcher with narrow base. A bronze stopper or cover for a jar was also found, a lamp, a cosmetic pot and a gypsum loom weight almost pyramidal in shape.

From the south wall was recovered a lamp. The fill of the grave contained two unidentified coins and fragments of a bone spindle and whorl. The grave furniture was largely beads and the fragments of an iron clasp.

Rooms 10x and 248. No finds were identified as coming from 10x and only two finds were recorded from room 248, both from below floor level: a small unglazed lamp, and a flat piece of clear mineral, perhaps chalcite (?). Manassah<sup>16</sup> makes the excellent suggestion that the narrow room 248 was a staircase. Room 10x would then be a small room or closet beneath the higher stairs.

Room 107. Curiously enough room 107 had only four finds listed, a jug with small handle containing small bones, ashes and straw; an unidentified coin, a figurine head and a jar

with handle. All were from below floor level except for the coin, which came from the brickwork of the south wall.

Room 60. A whole series of burials was found beneath room 60. They are numbered 86, 87, 146, 163, and tomb 169. Description of the tomb furniture and the burials themselves had better be left for a separate study. It is not always easy, however, to determine what belonged to the grave and what to the room, especially when the level below the floor is reached.

The first two burials were discovered 60 centimeters below the wall tops. At 40 centimeters below the wall tops some charred grain was found in a jug and a small unglazed lamp at 50 centimeters. At one meter below the wall tops, a level which apparently marked the early occupation, there were parts of four figurines and four one-handled jugs, two large and two small. Three lamps, one from near burial 163, and one from the sub floor level, may have been connected with the burial. From the brickwork of the east wall came a figurine head, and from the west wall two other heads.

Room 73 with 259 comprise the entrance apartment to the court. At one meter below the wall tops a clay disk, probably a pawn or jar stopper, was discovered and at floor level a glazed sherd with figures, perhaps Cupid and Psyche embracing. Below floor level were two lamps, the head of a figurine, a small cosmetic pot, a small glazed bowl, a long green-stone bead, a clay handle ending in the head of a feline animal, and a bronze kohl stick.

Only four finds were recorded from 259; two small glazed lamps, a large jar,<sup>17</sup> and a cone-shaped jar with slit near the top like a bank.<sup>18</sup> A second bank<sup>19</sup> was discovered in III 45, which lay almost directly under II 259. Of four banks found, two came from Level III and two from Level II.

Room 92 opens only on the corridor and is characterized by very thick walls on the south and north. It might have served as a janitor's room before the entrance to 77 and 106 but it seems curious, if the baked brick threshold marked the doorway, that the janitor's room should be in front of it rather than behind it.

Finds were small and half of them came from below floor level. Rather interesting was an askos vase with a decorated (corrugated) handle over the top (Photo 196),<sup>20</sup> and a jar handle stamped with a monogram. A glazed jug with one handle was also found at 1.50 meters below the wall tops. In the sub floor level there was a second jar with one handle, a glazed bowl, a small draped figurine, and a flat clay rosette with hole in the center.

The many finds from the large room 77 were complicated by the discovery of tomb 166 beneath the floor. There were two marble or alabaster heads, one from above the floor and one with inset glass eyes from beneath floor level. Probably they were both part of acrolithic figurines. Without mentioning all the finds, one might call attention to a bone spindle and whorl, part of a wick in the form of twisted string in addition to the usual types of lamps, pieces of figurines, and jars. A large two-handled jar contained bird bones, but its position in the room was not recorded.

Room 106. A bronze coin from below floor level was dated A.D. 46/7. A bronze figurine of Eros standing at ease on a pedestal was recovered, as were a two-handled jar with flat base and a small round figurine head. From below floor level came two lamps, three unidentified coins, parts of two figurines, and part of a bone hairpin.

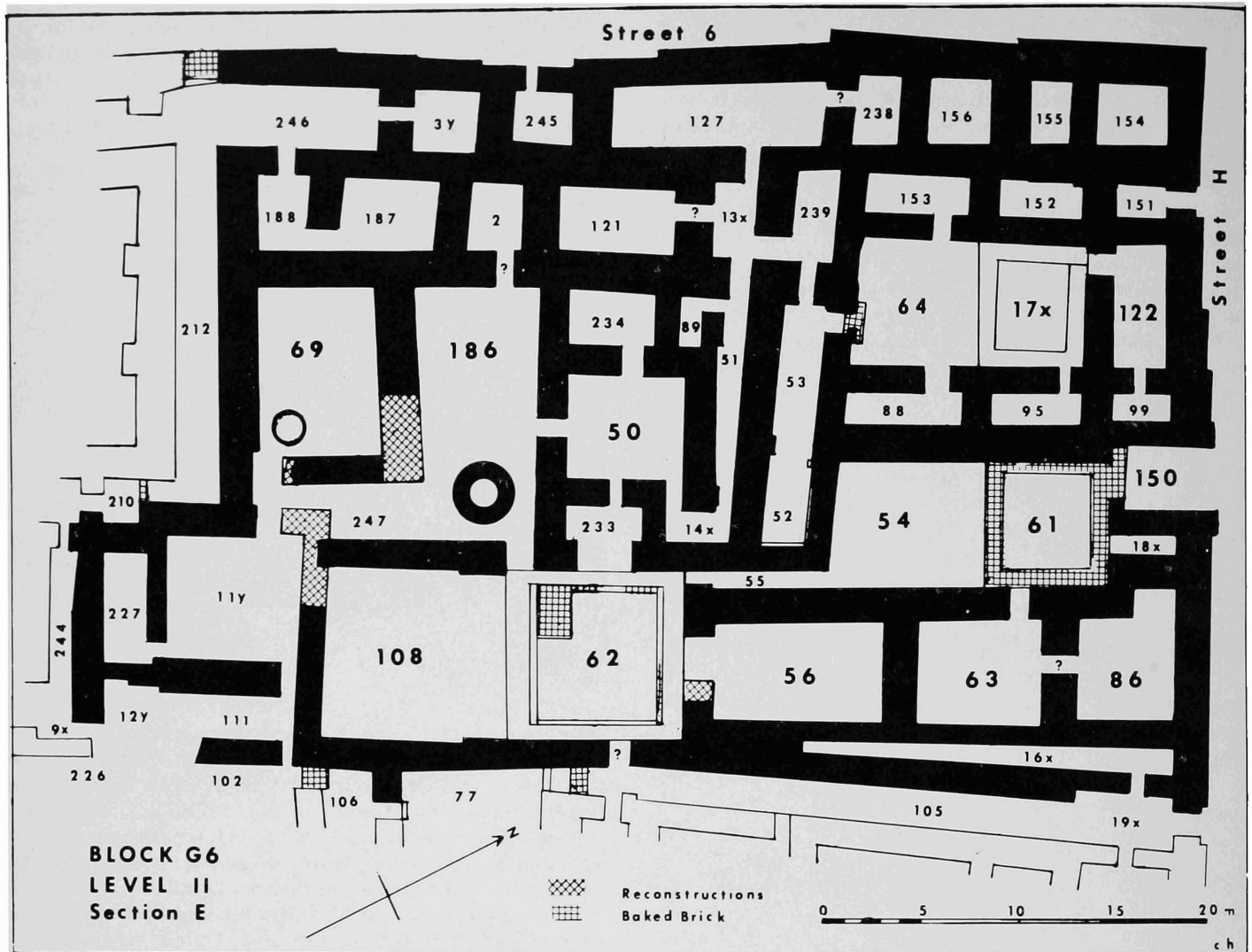


Fig. 27. Section E, block G6, level II

### Section E (Fig. 27)

The west side of the block at Level II divides more conveniently into three sections than into four. It seems clear that section E includes the court 62 and the large room south of it. Reasonably, therefore, the rooms to the west would be included in the same section so that the whole covers a third or more of the length of the block up to the east-west corridor 212.

The plan of the section is unusual. The great entranceway from street H gives access to an open court bordered by a baked brick pavement with an open room to the south, an arrangement very similar to the chief axis in the Level II house. The entranceway itself (150) is large and contained the plaster medallion (pl. VIII, 1), which suggests a domed roof. Apollonius of Tyana speaks of a domed room at Babylon at this period, the middle of the first century A.D.<sup>21</sup> but probably, here, it is safer to interpret the entranceway as a vault. Perhaps originally the rooms 61-54 formed the second axis of the house, that is the women's quarters with court bordered with baked brick and open room to the south. Support for such a supposition is furnished by the lack of any other monumental entranceway on the block. Normally the

section entrance is through side rooms and might in this case have been through the alleyway 19x-105, or from street 6 or both.

With 61-54 employed as an impressive reception room the second axis is transferred to 17x-64, a north-south apartment with open court bordered by baked brick, an open room to the south, and a closed supplementary room 122 to the north. Since the axis and its flanking rooms to west and east are accessible from the rest of the house only through corridor 53, this arrangement is rather striking. It is almost as if a small independent apartment were introduced into the larger framework of the section. In both sections A with the secondary axis 36-34 and section G with the axis 97-96, the move is in this direction, but nowhere is it so apparent as in section E.

The large court 186 with the adjacent rooms does not fit into the usual pattern, the most noticeable deficiency being the lack of a north-south axis and paved court. They do not seem conveniently located either for stables or for business, if the work had frequent visitors from outside. The possibilities will be discussed when the finds are studied.

In the *Second Preliminary Report* the block was considered to be a single palace of which the chief entrance was the rooms



150-61. On page 54 Yeivin reports on a foundation deposit as follows: "Under the foundations of the burnt-brick pier (or door jamb) on the west side of the main entrance to the building (doorway between rooms 150 and 61 Level II) was found the carcass of a pig. It was adorned with a necklace of several glazed beads; near its chest were some fragments of sheet bronze (so broken up it was impossible to identify either their original shape or use) and a lump of ochre. On the ribs were fragments of one bronze and two bone hairpins (?) and a bone figurine of a woman laid face downward; near by was a small bronze coin. Obviously here was a foundation offering made to the genii protecting the entrance of the house."

The largest court and liwan in section E are 62-108 on the east side of the section. Still larger, however, are the central units in sections F and G. The larger size in the west half of the block is consistent with the larger sections which divide this half of the block into thirds instead of into quarter sections. The roofing of room 108 must have been a problem. There was no indication of either columns or vault. Originally, probably a broad border of baked brick paved the court rather than that the baked bricks covered the whole area.

*Rooms 62, 108, 56 (the great court and rooms to south and north).*

In 62 were discovered part of a marble statuette with one inset eye missing and two Parthian bone figures. It is worth noting in passing that the use of marble in figurines (usually acrolithic) and the Parthian bone figures are considerably more frequent in this level. The Parthian bone figures are found both in tombs and in houses. A small marble statuette of a reclining lion came from beneath floor level and from this same level part of a seven burner lamp with the representation of a crouching dog (only the hind quarters remaining). There were two spindle whorls, a ring with twisted wire clasp, two coral beads from the brickwork, and a bronze kohl stick with shovel-shaped end. There were 14 lamps, one from the liben and three from below floor level; parts of seven figurines, one of which showed a small head attached to a pilaster, a number (5) of unidentified coins, two one-handled jars and one cosmetic pot.

Room 108, though very large, yielded comparatively few finds. There were a fragment of a glass pitcher, a stamped jar handle, five figurines (one from the brickwork of the east wall), a single lamp from below floor level, two unidentified coins, and one cosmetic pot.

From below floor level came a plaster loom weight of oblong shape with a *tee* in relief; an ornamental clay pilaster, triangular in section; and, from the brickwork of the south wall, the arm of a figurine or doll.

From the brickwork of the west wall came a fragment of a glazed jar with pierced handle or spout (probably a feeding bottle) and two coins, one dating from 121-83 B.C., the other of Vologases III (A.D. 176-7).

Room 56 has a single entrance in the middle of the south side. It is unusually long and large for the room on the north of the main axis. Beneath the floor was vault 90,<sup>22</sup> which had been thoroughly looted and yielded only a little gold foil and a glass bottle.

From the top of the level came a draped female figure apparently carrying a child in her arms, and a small glazed lamp. A coin of 280-261 B.C. was found in the liben, two

unidentified coins came from beneath the floor, and in the brickwork of the east wall were found another coin (unidentified) and a glazed lamp.

*Rooms 63, 86 (the apartment off the entrance hall 61).*

Rooms 63 and 86 form an apartment opening on the reception hall and except for the little alcove 18x are the only rooms immediately accessible from the hall. They might, therefore, form an andron in the Greek form since they seem too large for janitor's quarters.

Room 63. A small plaster capital (10 x 10.5 centimeters) with a man's head between acanthus leaves suggests a decorative door jamb. Parts of two figurines (female heads) were recovered, a small glazed lamp and what appeared to be a bone die though it was flat rather than cubical in form. From the sub floor level came part of a plaque with the relief of a nude figure.

The finds from room 86 were scarcely more enlightening. Of three coins in the brickwork of the north wall, one identified belonged to the period 145-141 B.C. Four unidentified coins were found also in the south wall. A bronze bead was recovered from the north wall brickwork and a clay decorative fragment from the south wall. From the room itself came four lamps and a clay representation of a ram's head supporting a low pedestal between its horns.

*Rooms 61, 54, 150 and 18x (the entrance halls).*

These rooms form the entrance apartment and the vestibule or gateway itself. Architectural fragments are listed in the *Second Preliminary Report*<sup>23</sup> from room 150 but in the catalogue from room 61. There are heads between acanthus or vine leaves which are obviously pilaster or column capitals, part of the curved face of an archway with plaster decoration, and a medallion 60 centimeters in diameter in the form of a whirling circle with head in the center. Apparently the decorative arch or vault belonged to the passageway between 61 and 150 and there was confusion at first in the discovery as to which room it belonged to. Manasseh<sup>24</sup> suggests that room 150 had a flat ceiling with the gypsum medallion in the center. The medallion would be most appropriate for a domed room but both the medallion itself and the scroll pattern around it seem designed for a flat roof. The open entrance on the street and the small alcove to the east of the room suggest a vaulted chamber. Manasseh remarks that the right jamb of the gate was missing but that its position was marked in the brickwork of the pavement. A piece of decorative plaster in the debris of the gateway shows the gate was arched. Exactly under it and a few inches below the brick sill was the skeleton of the foundation sacrifice mentioned above.

Manasseh supposed that the whole block comprised one palace and room 150 formed its chief entrance. It seems more reasonable to divide the block into at least seven large sections, but it may be remarked that there is only one large and impressive entranceway in the block.

A second curious feature is that rooms 61-54 forming the reception rooms correspond very closely to the chief north-south axes in the individual units, since the rooms are oriented in the same way, and have the northern room or court paved with a baked brick border and giving access to an open room on the south.

In addition to the plaster fragments listed under 61, there were two lamps, two unidentified coins (one from the brickwork of the pavement, one from the west wall), parts of three figurines, and a clay pitcher. A part of a marble cosmetic vase was found at 1.70 meters, the marble torso of a figurine in the brickwork of the west wall, and an iron spearhead on the burnt brick pavement.

The foundation deposit was listed in 150 under the west door jamb. From below floor level came a coin of A.D. 46/7-47/8. A second identified coin belonged to the period 145-141 and 140-123 B.C. There were a bone Parthian figure, a bone separator, a clay pawn, part of a bronze kohl stick, and three glaze insets.

Very few finds were recorded from 54: an iron ring, a flat urn-shaped pendant, a cosmetic pot, a bone pin with both ends sharp, and five coins, the only one identified dating from 121-83 B.C.

The finds in 18x corresponded in catalogue date to the finds in section C, particularly with room 74 which is adjacent to it in section C.

Before leaving this part of section E, one may call attention to the very long and narrow room 16x just west of the alleyway and to the irregular cutting of the wall surface along street 10. Room 16x may appropriately be interpreted as a stairway leading to the roof, rather than to a second story, and the irregular facing may be attributed to the overlap of wooden beams used to strengthen the mud brick at intervals, as was seen also in section D.

Finds from the little corridor 55 running between the reception rooms and the main axis were few but the discovery of an iron arrowhead on the floor seemed significant in conjunction with the iron spearhead from the brick pavement of 61. Manasseh remarks<sup>25</sup> that the burned debris in the northeast corner of the block had originally been attributed to Level I but later was shown to belong to Trajan's invasion. The weapons on the floors of section E may reflect the final attack before the collapse of the houses.

Some ornate bronze handles were found, a part of a figurine of a bowlegged figure with the head gone, a small plain bronze earring, a glazed lamp, and, from below the floor level, a pot cover and a cosmetic pot.

*Rooms 64, 17x and 122 (the women's court with room to north).*

Rooms 64 and 17x. The finds are listed together since the few items under 17x are designated as west of room 18 in section C. The large central apartment with the rooms on the east, north, and west comprise almost an independent unit within the section with a single entrance. As it stands the apartment is composed of an open court with a border of baked brick pavement (17x) north of a great open room, and surrounded on three sides by comparatively small, narrow rooms. Perhaps exception should be made as to the size of 122 on the north. It extends the width of the court and has a fairly large breadth.

Manasseh<sup>26</sup> calls attention to the fact that the outer walls of the seven rooms around court and liwan 64-17x as well as the walls of 52 and the south wall of 53 were faced with burnt brick containing a number of grooves about six inches wide.<sup>27</sup> He suggests, therefore, that originally these walls bounded a large open court which was later divided by walls of unburnt

brick. Similar grooves were explained by Dr. Jordan at Warka<sup>28</sup> as mural decorations, like the grooves associated with decorative niches and engaged columns.

In view of the Parthian preference for small engaged columns, obviously imitating wooden supports, as decorative elements in facades it seems reasonable to restore wooden pilasters or engaged columns. A similar arrangement, though made in baked brick and blind arches, was the interior ornament for the hypaethral temple A. There is no suggestion of a temple here. Rather, the great open room was parallel to the great court in section F. Originally an open room should have flanked it on the south. The section E is very comparable in size to section F and would appropriately, therefore, have had a court and liwan of somewhat the same size as that in section F (rooms 205-203). If this were true in section E, the rooms 54-61 would probably have served as the women's quarters. A coin found beneath the floor belonged to A.D. 69-70, and it is possible that the reconstruction or rearrangement of the house occurred at that time. It is obvious, I believe, that a number of alterations occurred in the section during the course of the period.

A plaster fragment of a coffered arch probably belonged to the doorway paved with baked brick at the south end of the room. There may have been blind arches, however, along the sides of the room.

A large vaulted tomb of baked brick (131) lay beneath the floor of the room and disturbed the normal stratification. This accounts probably for a coin of Demetrius 146-140 B.C. recovered from the sub floor level.

The vault had been looted and the skeletons thrown out of the four loculi into the central area. Remains of at least 14 were recovered and a large number of small finds was described by Yeivin.<sup>29</sup>

Except for the tomb the finds in proportion to the size of the room were remarkably small. There were five lamps, one of which came from the sub floor level, one from the liben; three unidentified coins (one of which was below the floor); parts of eight figurines (one from below the pavement); two cosmetic pots; three jars; parts of two marble figurines; and a small draped bone figure with pointed headdress. From below floor level were recovered also two whorls, a pot-stand, a bronze object with iron end, and a rectangular pedestal with the feet of a standing figure resting upon it.

Room 122 occupies the area north of the court and forms a fairly large spacious room with the entryway on the west corner.

A cosmetic pot was found in room 122 as was a clay separator for baking or storing pottery and, from the south wall, came a lamp with wick (suggesting discovery in a niche rather than in the brickwork) and the lower part of a figurine, the legs adorned with anklets.

*Rooms 99, 95, 88 (rooms east of the court 64, 17x).*

A marble plaque was found in room 99 perhaps once, as the catalogue suggests, inscribed with cuneiform text; a Parthian bone figurine, a one-handled jar or pitcher and from below floor level, the head of a figurine. In a large round-bottomed, two-handled jar the bones of a large bird were found. The room forms an alcove off the east end of room 122.

Rooms 95 and 88. On the east side of the court and parallel with room 99 lay rooms 95 and 88. Both have single

entrances to the court. The rather strikingly similar arrangements to east and west of the liwan with narrow rooms suggest an arch with smaller vaults over the side rooms taking the thrust of the vault. There is only the circumstantial evidence, however, to support the view.

The only find from room 88 was a broken iron key with three teeth, found in the mud brick.

From 95 came a small glazed lamp, a stone handle or rod perforated with seven holes, and an unidentified coin, both from the brickwork.

*Rooms 151, 152, 153 (west of the court and liwan 64, 17x).*

These rooms flank the liwan apartment and 122 on the west. Room 153 is closely parallel to 88 with doorway into 64 near the north end. The doorway to 152 is not preserved. Presumably it would be parallel to that in 95. The small entranceway from the street to 151 suggests a side entrance to the house but no other doorways to 151 are preserved.

The single find listed from 151 is a tee-shaped bronze instrument; no finds were listed from 152 and of the three finds recorded from 153, two, a glaze bead and an unidentified coin, came from the brickwork of the north wall; a small glazed pilgrim bottle was recovered from the room itself.

*Rooms 52 and 53 (south of room 64).*

A long corridor-like room extends from the middle of 64 east to the middle of 54. It is divided by a small anta into two parts, with 52 forming the inner section.

An unglazed jar buried beneath the floor of 52 contained a rich cache of eight pieces of gold and polychrome jewelry. There was a signet ring, a circular pendant, a pair of earrings, a nose ring or pendant and a pair of loop-chain bracelets. Since Braidwood has published and illustrated them,<sup>30</sup> it is not necessary to describe them at length here. Their presence in room 52 seems to identify it as the inner room in the women's quarters and suggests the whole apartment around liwan 64 served for women's use.

Five coins were found, of which one was identified as belonging to A.D. 69-70. Beneath the floor level a small unglazed lamp and a bronze semispherical bell were discovered.

Room 53 appropriately yielded a bronze disk with rectangular and circular perforations which perhaps belonged to a lock. The doorway between 53-52 may have been regularly locked. There was a small unglazed lamp from the room and two were recovered from beneath the floor along with a long pointed iron blade with bronze pin, probably part of a scissors, and the head of a female figurine. A pilgrim flask was recovered from below floor level, and a figurine head from the brickwork of the west wall. Below floor level near the foundation of the north wall a part of another figurine was found representing a head and torso with jar on the shoulder.

*Rooms 154, 155, 156 (rooms along street 6 at the north end of the block).*

These rooms form a group along street 6 whose doorways have been lost. They should probably be interpreted as shops but the meager finds scarcely testify to active occupancy.

Room 154 yielded a red-burnished bottle,<sup>31</sup> a one-handed cream-colored jug, and, from beneath the floor, five unidentified bronze coins.

A coin from 155 belonged to the years A.D. 36-40. A small lamp came from the floor level and also a bronze axe head. Burial 135 beneath the floor yielded a round glass bead.

Two small glazed lamps were the only finds in 156.

*Rooms 186, 69, 247, 2, 50, 233, 234 (rooms in the south central part).*

The purpose of the two large rooms 186 and 69 oriented longitudinally east and west on the south side of the section is not clear at all. Room 2 seems to be a small interior room west of 186, though the doorway is marked with a question mark. Room 247 forms a connecting corridor on the east side of the two large rooms and gives access to 108 on the north and 11Y on the south. North of 186 the large room 50 has side rooms 234 and 233 to west and east with access to the court 62 from 233 and a doorway also to corridor 14x-51.

The series of rooms in the west central part of the section (127, 238, 239, 13x, and 121) forms a separate apartment and controls the only access to room 53 and the women's apartment. As the plan stands, very special pains have been taken to make access to the women's apartment tortuous, almost labyrinthine and to place beside it another rather independent apartment.

In the southeast corner of the section, the large room 11Y is accessible from corridor 247 (and so also from 69) and gives entrance to the southernmost room 227 as well as 111 and 12Y, the latter a part of the great central court.

On the southwest side of the section the rooms 246, 3Y, 188, 187 comprise a separate unit perhaps attached to section F. Room 245 seems completely divorced from the neighboring apartments with a single entrance on street 6.

Room 186 contained two lamps, one from below floor level, and three coins, one from below floor level in the northeast corner dating from 141 B.C.; fragments of six figurines, three of which came from below floor level; one small glazed jug; one cosmetic pot, in the sub floor level; and one bone whorl, misshapen and poorly made, from below floor level. More interesting was a bronze bird with woman's head (a siren or harpy?), the bronze signet of a ring, a fragment of a plaque with tiny reclining figure, and, from below the floor, the fragment of a stamped amphora handle.

From room 69 came a curious distribution of bronze coins. One unidentified Parthian coin came from beneath the floor level, two were recovered from the brickwork of the south wall, one from the east wall, two from the north wall, and two from the west wall. One of those from the west wall found near the foundations of the wall was dated A.D. 46/7-47/8. Apparently an occupant of the room was accustomed to conceal coins in the chinks of the walls.

From the east wall also came fragments of four figurines and an alabaster foot. Six more fragments of figurines (one an alabaster torso) came from below floor level (two of which belonged to grotesque or demon figures) and two other fragments, one an alabaster head from above floor level. There was also, in clay, the fragment of a plaque with female head and a part of a large round clay mask, bearded and bald with holes for eyes.

The only pottery was a one-handed jar found 40 centimeters below floor level, a cosmetic pot in the brickwork of the south wall, and five lamps.

A round rough disk of bone may have been a pawn; a bone implement was recovered from the south wall. The brickwork of the west wall yielded also a cone-shaped clay object identified as a jar stopper.

There is no mention in the preliminary reports and the catalogue of the large circles marked on the map in rooms 60 and 186. These usually define wells or drains and the heavy border around the circle in 186 denotes a solid edge. No indication of well or drain is made in the plans of Levels I and III in these spots so they may be reasonably taken as shallow reservoirs or drains. The surprisingly thick wall between rooms 69 and 186 indicates that the rooms were roofed.

The connecting corridor 247 between 69 and 186 yielded only a conical pot cover of clay, a small unglazed lamp, an unidentified coin from below floor level, the head of a cock also from beneath floor level, and a square clay object resembling a clay tablet but without an inscription.

From the inner room 2 on the west side only one object was recorded, a figurine head from below floor level.

Rooms 50, 233, and 234 form a series directly south of room 186, and the southern entrance to 50 is close to the center of the wall. At the same time room 233 has a wide, probably, therefore, arched entrance to court 62, and it is only through room 50 that one obtains entrance to the women's quarters and the apartment to the west.

From beneath the floor level of 233 came a lamp, and from the brickwork, the head and bust of a figurine. Most interesting also, from the mudbrick was a clay medallion 2.7 centimeters in diameter representing on the obverse a nude warrior advancing and on the reverse a Nike on the prow of a ship.

In room 50 part of a small cuneiform clay tablet was found in the brickwork of the south wall. There were nine lines on one side and five on the other. Another fragment was found near the foundation of the north wall in the brickwork and a third in sifting the dirt from the brickwork. The fragment of a bitumen *bulla* with a profile in relief suggests the room may have contained records. Perhaps, however, the clay tablet was contained in the mud bricks and came from an earlier period. The only identified coin from 24 recovered (23 from the sifting of wall material) was dated in A.D. 9-10. There were also 17 insets of glaze and seven beads (one a fragment of amethyst).

A small bronze earring was also recovered, a flat bone ring perhaps belonging to a spindle, a very small plate or stopper of bitumen, the head of a Parthian bone figure, and a tiny glass bottle. There were also a number of pieces of figurines (8), two lamps, and two pieces of pottery, one a cosmetic pot and one a jug with one handle. A figurine mold for a small, crude seated figure was recovered from the sub floor level and a bone inlay piece from 60 centimeters below the highest floor level.

The inner room 234 yielded very little. There was a bronze bell with ring handle in three fragments, the upper part of a figurine of woman with harp, and, from the sub floor level, a small glazed lamp, a piece of pinched clay resembling the Parthian bone figures but representing perhaps a dog's head, and part of a figurine of a reclining female figure with pointed helmet.

*Rooms 127, 238, 121, 13x, 239, 89, 51, 14x (the apartment and corridors in the west-central part of the section).*

The room 127 was the largest and obviously the most important in the apartment, but finds were very few. There was a Parthian bone figure near burial 107, two heads of clay figurines, a glazed cosmetic pot, and a bone object recorded as the leg of a box or a crochet hook. From below floor level came a bronze spatula in two pieces and from the brickwork of the west wall an unidentified coin.

A large jar in room 238 contained a small, two-handled round-bottomed jug, a bowl with incurving rims, and a one-handled pitcher with narrow base and round body. At floor level was found the head of a bone hairpin and the marble torso of a reclining figure. A clay head of a figurine was discovered in the drain beneath the floor and, in the brickwork of the south wall, a glazed lamp of medium size and a headless figurine of a draped figure on a pedestal. The figurine was noteworthy<sup>32</sup> because of the drapery with strong vertical chiton folds between the feet and transparent himation pulled tightly across the body in the style of the second half of the second century B.C. The figure was thrown hollow and the cavity filled in.

Room 121 yielded a bronze coin of Vologases III dated A.D. 155/6. Since Level II 121 is directly below and corresponds closely with Level I room 166, it seems probable that the bronze coin had penetrated the floor level to the earlier room. The floors, except in rare cases, are of beaten earth and by no means perfectly level. The floors in the rooms rise by successive layers of sand. It is not easy, therefore, either to distinguish where one layer ends and another begins, or to determine always which small objects belong to which dirt floor. In room 121 there were found also: an unidentified coin from the brickwork of the east wall, parts of five figurines one of which, a horseman, came from the brickwork of the south wall and one from below floor level; a two-handled jar, a shallow clay bowl, a glazed jar of two handles, one long barrel-shaped glass bead, a glazed bead from below floor level, a bone whorl, a glass inset (below floor level,) and a gypsum block with holes for wire attachments (also from below the floor).

A coin from the small room 239 from beneath the floor level was dated A.D. 36-40. On the other hand, a bronze coin from the brickwork of the south wall belonged to the Sassanian period. One may conclude that the walls continued to stand in the Sassanian period and that the floor level judged to be the earliest in Level II perhaps was a middle-period floor or the floor of Level I.

Listed as also from below floor level were four unidentified coins, two lamps, part of a figurine (female torso), and a cosmetic pot. A large figurine head came from the brickwork of the south wall and the heads of two figurines from above floor level.

The little alcove 89 off the corridor 51 yielded very little. There was a headless draped figurine of a woman and a small unglazed lamp from floor level, two coins (one of oxidized silver), and a glazed lamp from below floor level. A third lamp came from the brickwork of the west wall.

Corridor 51 widens appreciably toward the west and it may have supported a stairway to the roof. A wellhead mentioned in the catalogue is not indicated on the plan. Perhaps it

belonged to a drain or a latrine. From the level of the wellhead came a small glazed lamp, a double comb of bone, and a clay pierced figurine leg, perhaps belonging to a jointed doll. Part of a figurine head was found at floor level and another head in the brickwork of the north wall. Among six coins recovered, one from the brickwork of the south wall at the level of the threshold of Level III room 193 was dated A.D. 46-48; the second in a group of three recovered from the room belonged to Demetrius I, 162-160 B.C. I suggest the first belonged to the building period between Levels II and III and the second to the disturbed strata by the digging of well or drain.

Finds listed under 13 and 14 apparently belong to section C and none to 13x and 14x.

*Rooms 11Y, 227, 111, 12Y (the apartment at the southeast corner of the section).*

The very large room 11Y forms the center of this apartment, and forms an intermediate chamber between the central court 126 and 12Y through corridor 111, and the inner corridor and rooms 247 and 69. On the south of 11Y lies the narrow alcove 227 according to the later plan. Young's plan<sup>33</sup> shows a narrow room south of 11Y with entrance at the east end.

The room 11Y yielded only a single find, a bronze coin recovered from below floor level but dating from A.D. 169/170-175/6 of Vologases III.

Room 227 contained vault 41 and a large number of finds. Yeivin reports tomb 41 as below the floor level of room 227 with an entranceway blocked by two basalt blocks. From the tomb were recovered some gold foil, two basalt fragments, a large glazed lamp, and an unidentified coin.

The identified coins from the room date from the middle of the second century B.C. to about the middle of the first century A.D. There are six belonging to the Demetrii and three of the period of insurrection, with an occasional one dating in between. One might conclude, therefore, that the tomb had been constructed at the beginning of the third period and continued in use until it was closed just before A.D. 50, or that it was constructed just before A.D. 50 and in the construction a number of earlier levels were disturbed. The tomb was completely looted, but Yeivin, in his catalogue of burials, suggests that there had been only three burials.

The coins were listed as follows: from below the floor in 227 five unidentified, as well as one of 162-150 B.C. and one of 141 B.C. From the fill two unidentified, also one of 141 B.C., one of 42-40 B.C., and one of 121-83 B.C. From the mud brick a coin of A.D. 43-44. The brickwork of the east wall yielded one of 162-150 B.C.; from the south wall came four unidentified coins, one of 146-140/39 B.C. and two of A.D. 43-46. In the west wall, level with the entrance of tomb 41, a coin of 162-150 B.C. was recovered.

It is difficult to reconcile these dates with Level II and I believe the tomb should be allocated to the third level. At least it may be considered that it was finally closed at the time of the siege between A.D. 43 and 50.

Other finds from room 227 all seem to be a part of tomb furniture or related to the burial. Like the coins, some were beneath the floor, some in the fill and some found in the brickwork of the walls. There were three lamps, fragments of seven figurines, two cosmetic jars, a tiny pilgrim bottle, frag-

ments of a small glass jar, four beads including one of carnelian, a bone whorl, and an alabaster cosmetic bottle.

A lamp from the corridor 111 is recorded as found in the drain, though no drain is marked on the plan. A second lamp came from deeper digging, possibly Level III. From this same depth came six unidentified coins and parts of three figurines.

Above floor level in 111 were found parts of two figurines, one in the shape of a ram's head and the other a large foot. There was a jar or pitcher with one handle, and the handle of a wine jar stamped with a monogram. Two knucklebones, a bone hairpin, a Parthian bone figurine, a faience amulet in the shape of a clenched fist, and a head from a plaque or a glazed jar completed the finds. Rather a representative group they made, appropriate for an open corridor.

Room 12Y is really an extension of the great central court 226-102-145. Room 12x forms the liwan south of court 68 in section D and the finds under room 12 in the catalogue do not make the find spots clear. Since, however, the finds in the court 68 were all made in the last months of 1930 and the first month of 1931, whereas the finds in room 12 were all dated from the last two months of 1931, it seems clear they should not be placed with those of room 68. Room 111 lists half the finds in the final months of 1930 and beginning of 1931, but the other half in the last month of 1931.

Probably, therefore, all the finds from room 12 belong to 12Y and the finds from 12x were listed under room 68 before a special division was made into 12x.

Of six coins found all below floor level, one dated from 145-141 B.C., a second from 121-83 B.C., and the third A.D. 9-10. Probably, therefore, the various periods of Level III were close beneath the floor of Level II, just as in room 227. There was a bone weaving instrument, a fragment of iron, a bone whorl, and part of a seated figurine.

*Rooms 246, 3Y, 188, 187, 245 (the apartment at the southwest corner of the section).*

A special apartment is formed by three rooms off corridor 246 in the southwest corner, of section E. Entrance is gained from the street 6 or from corridor 212. The rooms are removed enough to seem divorced from janitor quarters. They might be an extension of the residence quarters in section F. Room 3 lies by itself at the end of the corridor; rooms 186, 187 form a connecting unit.

Room 245, the final room in the section, connects solely with the street.

Beneath the floor of room 3Y, grave 228 was discovered. This may belong to Level III since the only identified coin recovered belonged to 121-83 B.C. It was recorded simply as found in the grave. It is possible, however, that it might have been in a stratum disturbed by the digging of the grave.

Finds were very few, suggesting that the room had not been much occupied. There was a second coin, unidentified, from the grave and an unidentified bronze coin from the brickwork. From the brickwork of the grave also came an ornamental piece of gypsum plaster.

Beneath the floor of the room came part of a seated figurine represented as playing an instrument and, from floor level, two unidentified bronze coins and fragments of a clay plaque or relief.

Room 246 serves as a large entrance way or anteroom to

the apartment and had two graves, 133 and 136, located beneath the floor.

Identified coins from the room provide valuable evidence for its history. Below the floor one coin was dated 121-83 B.C. and a second 42/40 B.C. The east wall of the room contained one of 141 B.C. and the west wall three coins dating respectively 123-83 B.C.; A.D. 59-62 and A.D. 83-84. It might be, of course, that old coins had inadvertently been built into the bricks but more probably the coins came from deposits between bricks and the evidence shows that the east and west walls of the room were built in Level III period and continued to be used in Level II. The east and west walls of room 246 correspond in fact with the walls of rooms 231 and 161 of Level III. Unidentified coins were found below the floor and in both east and west walls. From the brickwork of the west wall came also a carnelian pendant.

The room yielded a bronze kohl stick, part of a figurine, and one glazed lamp.

From burial 133 came two beads, and from the skeletons (3) of burial 136, beads, gold foil, insets, and an iron buckle. Skeleton 3 possessed a bitumen bead, one of bone, and one of shell in the form of a bird, items recorded as belonging to an ankle.

The only finds recorded from room 188 were half of a female figure with two-knobbed hairdress and a two-handled cooking pot with wide rim and inside glaze.

The interior room 187 contained six lamps, four of which were recovered below floor level, part of one clay figurine, and one headless figurine of alabaster, two unidentified coins and two whorls of bone. In addition, there was a bronze plate with rectangular slot in the center (perhaps part of a lock), a bronze spoon, and a bone hairpin. From below the floor level came a whetstone, a fragment of a bone pipe, a bead of steatite, and a clay impression of a seal.

The isolated room 245 with entranceway giving access to the street contained some sheep bones beneath the floor and part of a horn. One lamp was found in a sub floor level and a second slightly lower down with the fragment of a red-jasper bead.

#### *Section F (Fig. 28)*

The largest and most important part of the block, perhaps it would be better to say the most imposing part, is section F. Its central location in the middle of the west side, its large court paved with baked brick, and its impressive liwan with vaulted roof, together distinguish it from other sections in the block.

Manasseh<sup>34</sup> believed that the whole block (except for the shops) comprised a single building. "There can be very little doubt," he states, "that Level II was a single building. Though it may be divided into various units that are somewhat isolated, the desire of its architect to produce a homogeneous plan is quite apparent. The construction of an elaborate entrance (room 150) surpassing all other entrances, the presence of a huge liwan and a court confronting a fire altar (?), and the connection of this large unit, which was apparently of religious significance, with other units tend to prove that a building worthy of the name of a palace occupied Level II."

This brings up the question of the independent section or

unit, compared with the dependent one, by no means an easy problem when common walls are the rule. Manasseh's case would be strengthened a good deal, I believe, if the elaborate entrance gave fairly easy or direct access to the chief court, and if the great court and liwan lay near the center of the block. The court and liwan do stand in the middle of the west side of the block, but an unusual feature of the section is that they are immediately adjacent to the street 6, except for the narrow corridor 213-215. There may have been doorways which were blocked up in later construction (Level I) and whose thresholds were not identified. As it stands, however, section F is quite sharply divided from other sections in the block. The chief entrance is from street 6 through corridor 216-213 and 212-210-207. Rear entrances from the central court of the block (226-145), give access to an apartment of small rooms 244, 104, 8x, 49 through 9x and so to corridor 207 or the larger court 23; or directly to 23 through corridor 135 and to the apartment 196, 24, 221. An interior apartment around the large court 115, is formed by rooms 120, 7x, 117, and perhaps 171-180. The apartment immediately south of the great liwan is accessible from section G but not from section F.

There is not, in my opinion, enough evidence to warrant the conclusion that all sections in the block belong to one palace or even that the individual units were controlled by owners closely related to or dependent on the owner of section F. All the sections in Level II have shifted from the Graeco-Iranian two-columned porch to the open liwan, and section F marks the largest or longest step toward the Parthian form. It lies immediately below a still larger court and liwan of Level I but a Level I construction which, as will be seen later, seems to be part of only one section of the block. Section F, therefore, represents the intermediate step in the development of the Parthian house, between Levels II and I, and illustrates the tendency to increase gradually the size of the individual unit.

Manasseh<sup>35</sup> gives the authoritative account of what he calls the 'western middle suite' as follows: "The section extending from the corridor (212) to corridor 202 was by far the most important quarter of this level. Certain walls in it were seriously damaged by the foundations of later buildings, but enough remained to indicate its preeminence over the rest of the block. It was reached from the street directly through a corridor (212) and indirectly through a court (205), which was paved and had a huge south liwan lined with brick materials. Figure 5 shows a late phase of this complex when the court was paved and had mastabas 1 foot 2 inches high, on three sides, and a fire altar (?) in a recess in the court in front of the liwan. The top of the south mastaba was flush with the floor of the liwan and formed a step leading up to it; the other two were used as seats (see pl. XIII, fig. 1). Fragments of pavements in the northern end of the court have suggested the accompanying restoration of this area (see fig. 7), according to which the northern ends of the side mastabas were enlarged into wide platforms divided by a lower aisle leading up to room 208, where a large and well-built fireplace was located.

"Though very little is known of the religious architecture of the Parthians, the presence of the fireplace in a recess in the middle of the north wall of the court facing the liwan of the palace, with seats and platforms symmetrically arranged on both sides of it, strongly suggests that here was a fire altar and

that the liwan and the court with seats and platforms served as a chapel where the residents of the palace practiced their rites.

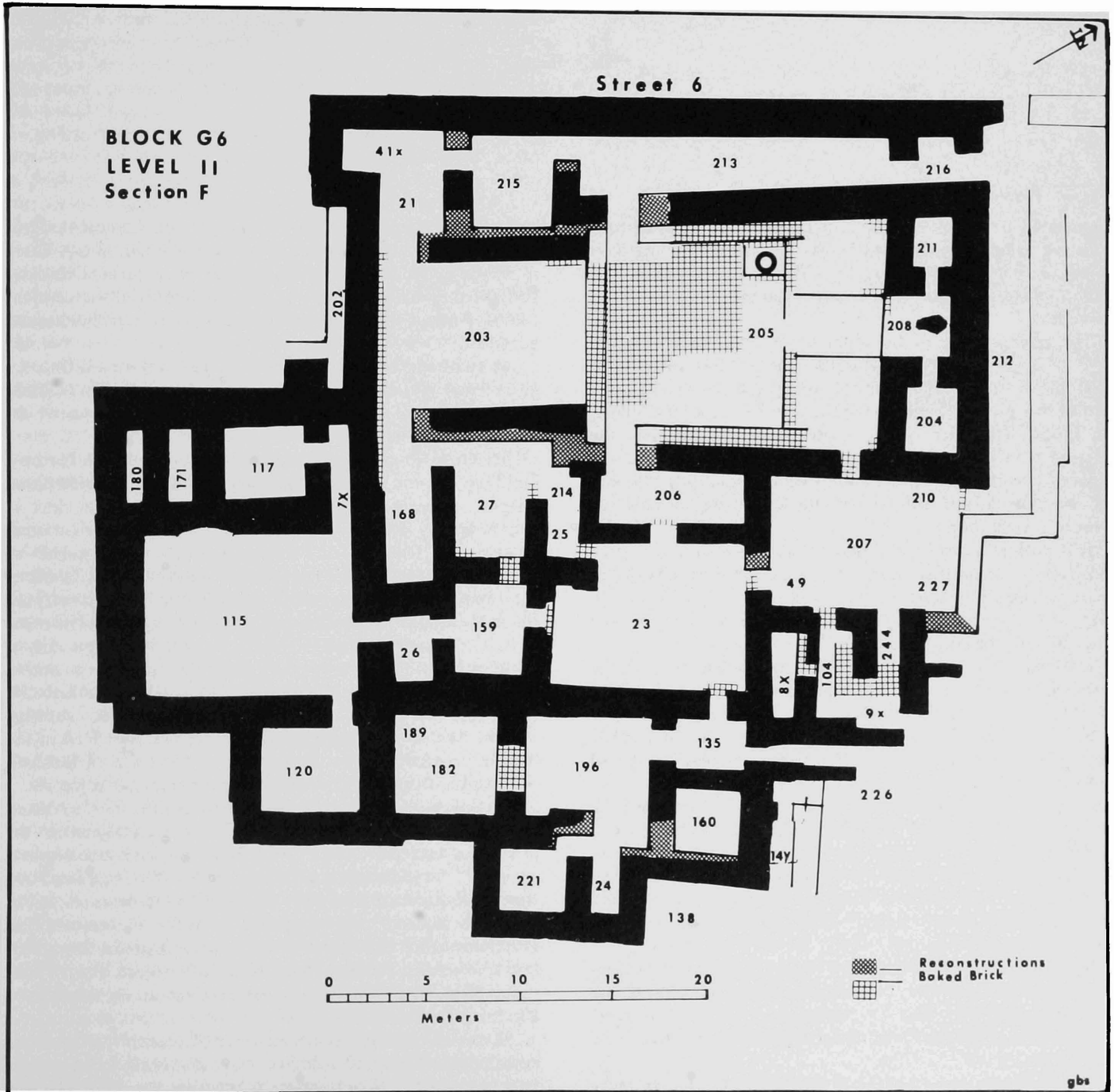
“This altar which was built of burnt bricks and coated on the inside with mud plaster, was pear-shaped and stood about 2 feet high. Its outer dimensions were 6 feet 2 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. The inner receptacle, which was found full of ashes, was 3 feet 3 inches long, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 1 foot 8 inches deep (see pl. XII, fig. 2).

“At a still later date the floor of the court rose until it was as high as the top of the mastabas. Without disturbing the older pavement a new one was built at that level. The well shown in the figure belonged to this late occupation.

“The original shape of the sacred area was different. The huge foundation of an altar (?) was unearthed in the open court in front of Room 208 and under the aisle which was constructed later (see pl. XIII, fig. 1). The corridor (212) was then divided into three rooms and another corridor originally displaced 204, 208 and 211. The side walls of the court (205) converged toward the liwan as if the architect intended to make the altar appear nearer than it was, to a man standing at the back of room 203.

“In the present restoration (fig. 7) [fig. 29] a vault has been suggested above the crude brick walls of the liwan. This seems to be the logical development after the abolishment of the

Fig. 28. Section F, block G6, level II



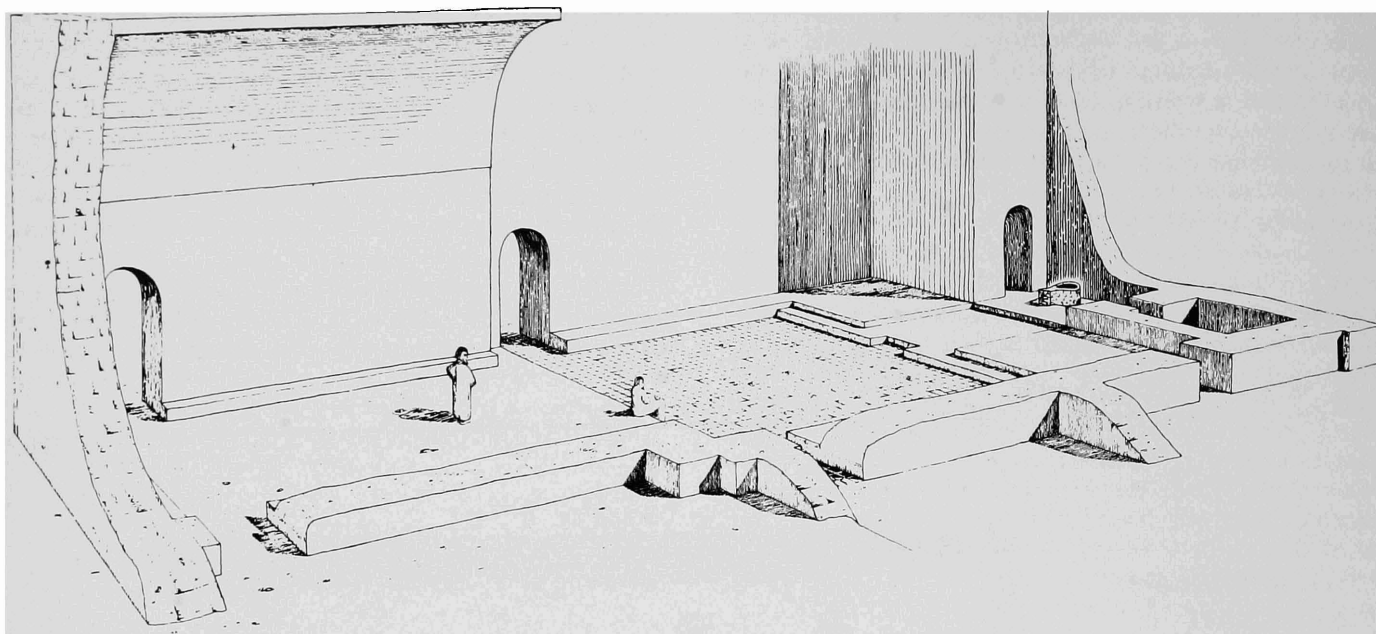


Fig. 29. Restoration of vault, court and liwan

colonnaded porticoes prevalent in Level III. A series of tests made on samples of unburnt bricks from this building have shown a compressive strength able to carry safely the maximum stress produced by a vault spanning the widest liwan found here.”

The arrangements of the chief rooms, the paved court in front of a great liwan to the south, the north-south orientation, and the lesser rooms on the north side echoes the usual plan of the private home as exhibited in the other sections of the block. The altar in the center of the south side, the position of the chief apartment close to the block and the series of corridors or narrow rooms which flank the north end and separate it from the rest of the rooms suggest an apartment of special purpose.

It is noticeable in Level I that though the area of the court and liwan remains very much the same, the west side of the house is pushed forward to provide a series of rooms on the west side of the court. A more normal house plan is then attained with the court and liwan closer to the center.

If Manasseh is right that the great foundation beneath the pavement in front of room 208 represented the foundations of an altar, then religious ceremonies must have played a conspicuous part in the life of the building. As it stands the altar cannot be ignored; its central position argues for special importance, the little side rooms (211 and 204) remind one of the tripartite division of Syrian temples in the Roman period, and the corridor around the shrine may have been devised as an ambularium. In this case the position close to the street may have been established so that easy access to the shrine might have been attained by those not belonging to the household and, as Manasseh suggested, the court with seats and platform served as a chapel.

Manasseh speaks of a fire altar. Probably a better term here would be an altar of burnt offering, for the Iranian term of fire altar designated the altar of continual sacred fire, inappropriate for an open court even though the fire niche might have been protected with curtains.

The Parthian temples were not infrequently oriented to the

south<sup>36</sup> so that the position of the altar at the north end of the court would be appropriate for a Parthian sanctuary. There is no evidence that the corridors served as an ambularium. Perhaps they merely separated the building from the adjacent rooms. Perhaps this was the original purpose of an ambularium corridor.

At Hatra the sanctuary of the sun god was attached to the great liwan of the palace, located at the west end. The building at Hatra was a separate one, however, and possessed an ambularium all its own.

Evidence for private shrines or sanctuaries inside Parthian buildings is not known. One may recall that the Parthian religious structure attached to the Anu-Antrum precinct at Warka is very small.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand an altar or small sanctuary in Hellenistic and Roman houses is not unusual.

The sanctuary at Seleucia seems to stand halfway between the temple and the household cult. The lack of precinct and the incorporation in the house preclude a temple. On the other hand the plan and arrangements, particularly the prominent position of the altar, argue for more than an ordinary household shrine. Perhaps then one should recall what might be called the ‘altar cult’ exhibited on some of the Parthian dipinti. At Dura the dipinto on the wall of room W14 in the temple of Azzanathkona represented a cult scene of Iarhibol. The god, with rayed head, is represented standing on a pedestal beside which a sacrificant places an offering on an altar. The presence of a mounted rider immediately beside the priest suggests the scene is the open air and not inside a temple.<sup>38</sup> Similarly at Assur, the dipinto on a large jar shows the offering on an altar with the divinities represented alongside but without any suggestion of niche or temple.<sup>39</sup> A Parthian plaque from Dura<sup>40</sup> represents a figure in the quilted costume of the Parthians placing an offering in a small altar beside him. The busts of the sun and moon are represented above his shoulders.

Scenes of sacrifice at an altar are of course very common especially at Dura and Palmyra.<sup>41</sup> They belong appropriately to the temples. The question is whether the Parthians had



semi-private religious ceremonies in shrines located within or immediately adjacent to the private dwelling place and based simply around the altar of sacrifice. One recalls that the temples of Mithra were small and the brotherhoods were kept to very limited numbers. In the house at Seleucia there is nothing of the secrecy or the mysticism of the Mithra cult nor is there any suggestion of the cave or grotto of Mithraic representations (unless perhaps a vaulted roof covered the altar area). A very interesting possibility is, however, that the Parthians possessed small cults, sometimes family groups, and that these were related to the Mithraic organizations through a basic Iranian origin.

Against the interpretation of the fire altar, attention may be called to the very rough and irregular sides of the altar (pl. VIII,2)<sup>42</sup> a clear indication that the top was never intended to stand above floor level. It was not really an altar, therefore, but a fire box which might have been used simply for cooking. The rather prominent place suggests more than a kitchen. If the whole block were one palace there would be justification for giving the fire box greater consideration. It is quite possible that the fire was on occasion the center for ceremonies and it is difficult to go beyond this limited conclusion at present. Manasseh's suggestion that the whole block was contained in a single palace seems unjustified.

Before leaving the plan of the house as a whole one might mention the lack of clearly defined women's quarters or secondary court-liwan apartments. Very probably rooms 23, 115, and 196, as well as 207 in the later phase, were open to the sky and formed interior courts with a series of rooms as apartments around them. Closest to the court-liwan arrangement would be 196 with 189/182. Here the room on the south has the same width as the court, and a broad entranceway connects the two. The smallness of the unit, however, and the irregularities in the court plan, distinguishes even this apartment from the usual type in Level II.

*Rooms 203, 205, 208, 211, 204 (the court, liwan, and rooms to the north).*

Of all the rooms in the block, the vaulted ceiling in the Parthian style is most appropriate to room 203. The wide central span, the side walls set apart from or supported by architectural features to east and west, even the two doors at the south end, all mark it as typical of the great Parthian palace liwans. It marks here the chief room of the house, not, I believe, a part of temple or sanctuary.

Finds from 203 were numerous but not exceptional in character.

Grave 29 lay just below the first level stratum. From it were recovered some skeletal material, the fragment of a nail, and an unidentified coin. Probably a fragment of gold foil at 3 meters came from the burial.

A coin recovered from beneath floor level was dated A.D. 59/62. A second coin recorded as being beside the third level dated from 162-150 B.C. From the brickwork of the south wall came a coin belonging to the beginning of the third level 145-141 B.C. or 140-123 B.C. Since the south wall belongs exclusively to the second level, it seems strange so early a coin should be recovered from it unless it had been made into the mud brick. Three unidentified coins were recovered from the brickwork of the south wall, and four from the brickwork of the east wall, not to speak of two from floor level and three

from the sub floor level. Two lamps were recovered from the brickwork of the east wall and one from the foundations of the west wall; eight were found at floor level and two below it.

Of eight figurines, three were found in the sub floor level (an ape holding an instrument, a horse, and a figure holding an object above the head), two were from the brickwork of the west wall, and one from the brickwork of the south wall. From floor level came part of a figurine of two figures seated on a couch and a small nude female figure.

Pottery consisted of three cosmetic pots, two bowls, four jugs, and, from the sub floor level, a large reddish plate. There were several pieces of bronze: two fragments of an instrument, a small weight, parts of two ornaments, and a ring. A spear-head of iron was recovered from the brickwork of the west wall and a fragment with wood attached in the brickwork of the east wall but at the third level.

Perhaps more significant was a votive leg of clay and part of a Parthian bone figurine. It seems hard to believe that the scattered finds had any real relationship to altar or cult. There was a bone ring (perhaps to support a round-bottomed jug), a string separator, two beads, a stone whorl, a bone hairpin, toy cart wheels of clay, and a shell pawn. Part of a mold of plaster broken in four pieces was recovered from the sub floor level. A clay medallion with a fish in molded relief was also recorded.

Room 205. The large well is drawn on the map. A second well is mentioned in the catalogue, but it may have been a shallow drain since only one large jug and a small storage jar were recovered from it.

One coin from below the wellhead dated from A.D. 9-10; two others, one from the sub floor level, the second from beneath the well, dated from 162-150 B.C. Other coins (8) were unidentified but one was recorded from the jar drain. Parts of 13 figurines were recovered of which three were clay animals, a horse's head, a duck's head, and a humped bull; a fourth was a small jade piece in the form of a rabbit. Nine lamps, one of common type came from well 2 and one of the open bowl variety. In pottery there was a blue glazed stamped handle of an amphora, a large shallow glazed bowl, two small one-handled jugs and two with two handles, two cosmetic pots, two pot covers, and a tiny elongated jug. A large storage jar was stamped with three symbols one of which resembled the anchor. Part of a small glazed column may have belonged to an altar.

There was the blade of an iron knife and part of a whetstone as objects appropriate to a sacrificial altar. Also found were a number of pins or bone kohl sticks (8), several insets (4) and beads (8), as well as a pendant of faience and bronze. A pawn of ivory or bone, part of a bone Parthian figurine, a bone die, and two whorls have little to do with a cult.

There was one glass rod and also one bronze rod over glass discovered at the top of a sealed (but empty) jar. Part of the clay capital of a column was also recovered and a clay loom weight from the sub floor level.

On the whole, all the finds from 205 and 203 (as well as 208) may be related to the finds from individual houses though it is possible that some, as might be anticipated, were especially related to the altar and to sacrifice. There is no real indication at least of the nature of the cult or of the special divinity invoked.

From room 208, the place of the altar itself, only one lamp,

one unidentified coin, and a second lamp allocated to Level III with its central drain, were recovered.

It is not clear on the plan whether the designation 205 covers more than the paved court. In the catalogue a number of finds are listed under 209 and the dates of discovery correspond with finds listed under 205 and with one (of three) in 208. No room 209 in Level II is recorded on the plan. I believe, therefore, that the space between the paved court and the north rooms was originally numbered separately 209 and that the number was eliminated when it was found it belonged to the open court. The hypothesis is strengthened by mention of a brick pillar of the third level. It seems appropriate at any rate to list the finds in 209 here.

Most interesting is a bitumen sealing inscribed  $\alpha\delta\rho\lambda\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\eta\varsigma$  found near the brick pillar of the third level, and three salt tax sealings of bitumen. A bronze coin from the southwest corner was dated A.D. 9-10. There were three glazed lamps, one of which came from the sub three level, and the fragments of four figurines. One clay vessel was in the form of a fish; there were two cosmetic pots, a one-handed jug from the sub floor level, and a shallow bowl. Recovered also were a player's pawn of bone, a pointed bone instrument, and part of a bronze tweezers. A large rectangular piece of lead may have been a weight as may also have been a piece of bronze, or basalt, with Greek letters around the base. Finally the catalogue mentions a Parthian bone figurine and, from the sub floor level, an iron spearhead.

From the little side room 211, came a coin of A.D. 133-4 (brickwork of the west wall), an autonomous coin of the time of Demetrius from the north wall (145-141 and 141-123 B.C.), and one, apparently of the Sassanian period, also from the north wall. The only other find was a lamp from the south wall.

Room 204 also yielded three identified coins: one of A.D. 43-44, a second of A.D. 39-40, and a third of 38/37-32/31 B.C. There were three unidentified coins; two lamps, one of crude reddish clay of the sub floor level; a clay figurine head; a glaze inset from the brickwork of the south wall and a heavy iron spike.

*Rooms 213, 216, 212, 210, 207, 206 (the corridors around the court and liwan).*

The corridors around the court consist of 213, 216, 212, 210, 207, and 206. There are doorways between some of the divisions but no obstruction except the wall between 206 and 207. The wall divides the east corridor into two long narrow rooms comparable in width to the corridors 212 and 213. The doorway between 207 and 205 allows for circumambulation of the altar but a balanced plan calls for a junction between 206-207 and the court entrances at the south ends. If the court were the liwan, the corridors would represent the vaults absorbing the thrust of the great hall. As it stands, the long wide corridors running around three sides of the court suggest a particular arrangement made for a special purpose.

The earlier plan of the block by H. Young<sup>43</sup> shows room 207/210 as a single, large rectangular room. The later plan of the block represents this space as broken up into a corridor 207 on the west continuing the line of corridor 206 but separated from it by a wall with no doorway. Room 210 has become a small separate room in the northwest corner and 227 is a small room in the northeast corner with an open end

rather than a doorway on the north. The corridor 244 continues on until it meets corridor 207 and its south wall forms the north wall of a new room numbered 49.

Apparently in the later period (the first one excavated), the smaller units had been incorporated in the one large room 207/210. In the earlier phase, the corridor around 205 was maintained and 207 had been broken up into small units.

To east and west of the liwan 203 small side rooms correspond to not unusual arrangements in the architecture of the private house. The unusually thick wall south of the liwan enclosing perhaps a staircase (room 202) suggests the support for a pitched vault over the great hall.

Room 213 to the west of the court yielded a large rectangular steatite bead, fragments of three figurines, and the bone bottom of a small circular box. From the brickwork of the west wall two glazed lamps and a glass bead were recovered.

Most interesting were the coins. In a hoard of five discovered in the mud brick wall, one was dated 121-83 B.C. Another coin of the same date was recovered from the brickwork of the west wall. Curiously enough, from the same wall came a coin of A.D. 129/30-132/33. Two coins from the east wall were unidentified as were five others from the west wall.

In 216 skeletal material was recovered from skeletons 10 and 12 in grave 231, and a coin from the brickwork of the west wall belonged to 38/7-32/1 B.C. There was the bezel of a bronze ring from the brickwork of the west wall, a clay fragment perhaps belonging to a box from the same wall, and a clay bead.

The grave 213 lay beneath the floor of 212 and yielded bits of cloth from under the shoulder bone. One of four coins found beneath the floor level was identified as A.D. 45/6. Of three coins from the north wall, one belonged to the period 2/1 B.C.-A.D. 4/5. Two from the south wall were unidentified.

Otherwise from 212 there were three figurines including a small draped figure of alabaster, a fragment of a bone flute, one cosmetic pot, one glazed bowl, and four lamps, three from below floor level, one from the brickwork of the north wall.

In room 210 a coin was found in grave 36 beneath the floor. From the sub floor level came also a figurine of a bowlegged figure (head and feet gone). The only other finds were a clay pot cover and a fragment of bronze, perhaps the chest with cuirasse of a statuette.

Room 207 yielded a small glazed jug, a broken bone hair-pin, the figurine of an animal (perhaps a camel), an unidentified coin, an inset of glaze, and, from the sub floor level, fragments of a shepherd's pipe.

Room 206 added very little: several quarts of charred dates in the ashes of the northwest corner, two unidentified coins from the mudbrick, a jug with thick buff slip, a small figurine of mother and child, and, from the brickwork of the east wall, a fragment of an animal figurine.

*Rooms 215, 41x, 21 (rooms at the southwest corner of section F).*

The separate apartment south of corridor 213 and west of the south end of the liwan 203 consisted of the three rooms 215, 41x, and 21. (In the early plan, the single room 21 includes both 21 and 41x).

The only finds from 215 were a broken bracelet of bone or ivory, an iron nail, a jug of one handle, and, from the brick-

work of the west wall, fragments of a broken pendant or pendants of shell.

Only three finds were recorded from room 41x, and these have to be divided between room 41 (a part of 41-190 in section A) and 41x. A comparison of digging dates suggests that the fragment of gold foil might be assigned to 41Y in section A and a small glazed lamp to 41x. The only find was a medium large one-handled pot recorded as intrusive from an infant burial of Level I. The dates of digging do not make it clear to which room it should be ascribed.

Only two finds are recorded from 21: a small turbaned figurine head and, from the sub floor level, a head and bust with tall instrument (harp?) at the right side.

*Rooms 168, 27, 214/25 (rooms east of the liwan).*

On the other side (east) of the liwan a small apartment is formed by rooms 168, 27, and 214/25 which give entrance to the larger apartments on the north, south and west.

The only finds recorded from the narrow room 168 are a bead seal from the south wall, a bronze ring and from below the floor level, two unidentified coins, and an inscribed bone whorl.

The larger room 27 yielded only fragments of a thin broad bronze blade, and, from below the floor, two beads, one of green glass, one of green glaze, and an inset of glaze and one of glass.

Perhaps the most interesting find from 214 was a seated figurine with crown of red and gold. The body was covered with white paint; there was black paint around the eyes. It may have represented a divinity.

Parts of three other figurines were recovered, two from the north wall, one from the east wall. From the north wall came also a glazed lamp; a glass bead came from the west wall and a clay pawn from the east. A coin from the foundations of the west wall belonged to the period A.D. 36-40. Three other coins, two from the north and one from the east walls, were unidentified.

The single find listed from room 25 was a figurine of a figure seated on a pedestal with a pot on the left shoulder.

*Rooms 23, 49, 8x, 9x, 104 (the open room east of the great court and the apartment to the north).*

Room 23 has five doorways, one to 214/25, one to 206, one to 49, chief room to the apartment to the north, one through 135 to 196, chief room to the apartment to the east, and one through 159 and 26 to 115, the court to the apartment to the north.

Room 23 itself is large and probably represented an open court with paved brick thresholds. It is difficult to fit it into the pattern of court and liwan, however, since 159 forms an intermediate room between 27 and 26 as well as between 23, 26, and 115. Grave 211 was discovered beneath the floor and a central drain is mentioned in several of the finds, but it is not indicated on the plan.

One coin of a hoard of six found near the foundations of the west wall dated back to 103/2-84/3 B.C. One found near grave 211 belonged to A.D. 15/6-16/7 and one of four found beneath the floor (and previous to the discovery of the drain) belonged to A.D. 119-120. Four other coins were unidentified.

From the drain came also a glazed lamp, a figurine of a horseman, a glazed bowl, a glazed bead, an ivory die (near the drain), and a ring of leather.

There were six other lamps, one of which came from the brickwork of the west wall, seven parts of figurines, two from the room, one from beneath the floor, and four from the brickwork of the west wall. The bronzes consisted of a ring with decorative front and the fragment of a spatula. Of iron there was part of an instrument from beneath the floor and part of a tube from the brickwork of the west wall. Three fragments of lead were found, two of which belonged together, and a piece of architectural plaster decorated with drapery and the arm of a human figure.

Opening off room 23 on the north is room 49 with an apartment of narrow rooms and corridors on the north and east giving eventually into the great central court (226) as a rear entrance to section F.

In the later phase of the period, 49 and 244, as remarked above, belonged to the large open room 207. Only two finds were recorded from 49, an unidentified coin and the lower part of a female figurine. Room 8x had no recorded finds and room 9x only one unidentified coin. The corridor 244 yielded a turbaned, bearded figurine head, a square lead weight, and, from below the floor, a clay pot cover.

A number of finds is recorded from the narrow little room 104 most of them from a well, designated as in the lower part or "below reconstruction." Since no well is indicated in this section of Level III, the well may be a drain connected with the pavings of baked brick or a latrine.

From the room itself was recovered a figurine spout in the form of an animal's head (part of a sima?), a small female figurine head, an animal's head and neck, a glass inset, and a steatite bead. From the well or drain a coin of Vologases III (A.D. 149/50-155/6), two unidentified coins; the lower part of a glazed theriomorphic vase, a fragment of glass, a bronze pawn, a large clay figurine head and a glazed lamp.

*Rooms 196, 182/189, 135, 24, 221 and 160 (the apartment on the east side of the section).*

East of court 23 is a separate apartment with a private entrance from the central court of the block (226) and a doorway into court 23. The apartment consists of a series of rooms on three sides of the central room or court 196. The apartment may have served as women's quarters since the chief room lies to the south of the court and maintains the same width. The southern room is, moreover, approached through a monumental door, so fulfilling, at least in part, the criteria for a second axis. Room 135 forms an anteroom or vestibule; room 160 presumably belonged to this apartment (though room 138 which also has no clearly marked doorway was allocated to section B); rooms 24 and 221 are certain, the room 182/189 completes the series.

Finds from room 196 were not numerous. There were five unidentified coins from the walls and below the floor level; three lamps (two glazed from beneath floor level, one unglazed from the debris), a small broken figurine head, a one-handled jug from near the top of a third level well beneath the floor in the center of the room, a stone pendant from the brickwork of the east wall, and a clay bead from the brickwork of the south wall.

Finds from room 182/189 were small in spite of the size of the room. There was one cosmetic pot from the upper debris and two glazed lamps (one from the south wall), one with fragments of the wick, and one unglazed lamp.

In the entrance room 135, two coins (of six) were identified; one from beneath floor level of 42-40 B.C., the other from the floor level of A.D. 36-40. One glazed lamp was recovered from the floor and a mold of half a ram's head, glazed inside. From beneath the floor level came a bronze kohl stick and a clay toy wheel.

In the northeast corner of room 135, but perhaps beneath floor level, was a group of jars glazed on the necks inside and out. Two bowls were recovered at 60 centimeters, one glazed, the other lined with bitumen. Unusual was a kernos with tube for carrying liquid found level with the doorway.

Room 160 yielded only a glazed saucer, a bowl of coarse clay, and, from beneath the floor, a coin of 175-164 B.C.

No finds were recorded from 24 and from 221 only part of a molded piece, perhaps a fish, an ivory kohl stick from beneath the floor, part of a bone hairpin from the brickwork of the north wall, and an unidentified coin from the brickwork of the west wall.

*Rooms 159, 26, 115, 117, 120, 7x, 180, 171 (the apartment in the southeast corner of section F).*

In room 159 a coin from the brickwork of the north wall was identified as belonging to the period 121-83 B.C. One from below the floor level belonged to the autonomous period. The rest, five from the north wall, one from the west, were unidentified. There was one small glazed lamp, a jug and a green glazed pot (below floor level), and a bone whorl. From the brickwork of the north wall came an iron arrowhead and a glass bead, and from the east wall an alabaster stopper. In addition there was a stone weight and a number of figurines; a small figure from the brickwork of the north wall as well as a torso with bright red paint, and three beads; from the south wall, a head with cap; a plain clay head, and a head of alabaster with black (bitumen?) perruque.

Only two finds were recorded from room 26 but one was a coin of A.D. 43/4-45/6 from below the floor. The other was a black stone diamond-shaped inset from the brickwork of the west wall.

Room 115 forms a large court with the rooms to east and west forming an apartment. The double wall to the south marks its separation from section G. Room 147, east of the southern half, connects with section B or forms a little separate apartment and has already been described. Rooms 171 and 180 form narrow little corridors with no entranceways given. They may have formed cupboards or closets. The double corridor of this type, however, sometimes represents a stairway to the roof with a landing supported by the middle wall.

Room 115 itself corresponds in position, size, and arrangements (that is the location of the doors) with Level I room 106, even the ellipse in the west wall remains, large in size in Level I. In Level III the west wall of room III=111 corresponds with the west wall of II=115. There is no curve or ellipse, however. Coins of earlier periods in the west wall suggest that it remained from Level III and the correspondence in Level I suggests all the walls of room 115 in Level II continued standing in Level I.

Two coins were recovered from the west wall, one of double Tyches dated 145-141, 140-123 B.C., the second A.D. 15-17. From the brickwork of the north wall came a coin of 145-141 B.C. and from near the foundations of the east wall a coin of Seleucus I (311-280 B.C.). Thirteen coins were unidentified, one of which was recorded as found "near drain."

A head and an arm of alabaster suggest an acrolithic figurine. Several pieces of architectural ornament with geometric designs in plaster may have belonged to a lintel block or the ornamental border of the niche. Parts of nine figurines (largely from the walls) were recovered, one of which represented a monkey. There were three lamps, two from the north wall, one from the east; two cosmetic pots, a jar for ointment, a pawn, four ornaments, and a clay colonnette coated with plaster.

The east wall of 117 is the west wall of 115. From the east wall came a coin of 121-83 B.C. A coin of A.D. 41-2 was found in the west wall, and one of A.D. 43/4-45/6 was recovered from the north wall. From the north wall also came a clay medallion with a head on one side, a seated figure on the other. The head of a Parthian bone figurine was found in the south wall. There were five lamps and five figurines, a hairpin of ivory or bone, a glass inset, a carnelian bead, a pot cover, a mixing bowl, ten unidentified coins, and a large pin or sacking needle of iron. Part of a steatite spindle whorl was recovered and a part of a shell container.

Mrs. Orias believes that though the minor finds suggest occupancy by a woman, the numerous coins argue against it. The apartment (the innermost recesses of the house) might have represented domestic quarters or different occupants in the course of its long history. A drain or urinal near the east end of 7x suggests this hypothesis.

Finds from the second large room 120 were considerably fewer in number. There was a marble head, perhaps of an acrolithic figurine, two lamps, a bone handle or pin, and three figurine heads of clay. A coin from the room belonged to period A.D. 83-84.

Room 7 is marked 7x on the plan, apparently not because there was another 7 on the block but because it was identified as a separate corridor late. So it appears unmarked in the plan of Miss Van Ingen's figurines (as also 4x and 6x). Grave 214 was discovered beneath the floor of room 7 and a drain, perhaps a latrine, was located beneath the floor at the east end.

From the grave came a small bone Parthian figurine and a glaze inset; from the drain and close to it two lamps, two unidentified coins, a clay head with flat back (part of a plaque), two clay medallions with human heads in relief, a clay duck's head, and a small glaze bead.

A coin from the brickwork of the south wall belonged to the period 121-3 B.C. From the south wall came also an unidentified coin, three lamps, parts of seven figurines, a bronze fragment of a small adze, and a bone pawn.

From the room or corridor itself there were two figurines, seven unidentified coins, a bronze ring, beads of coral, clay and alabaster (one each), and a glass inset.

The only find in room 180 was a one-handled jug containing some bird bones. The jug was found on a level with the floor of room 201 (Level II). It might, therefore, have

belonged to a deposit under the anteroom to room 110 in Level I.

Finds from 171 were all recovered from the brickwork. There were six coins (one of 38/7-32/1 B.C., the others of 42-40 B.C.), one lamp, one figurine, a fragment of a glass bowl, two glass beads, and part of a bronze kohl stick.

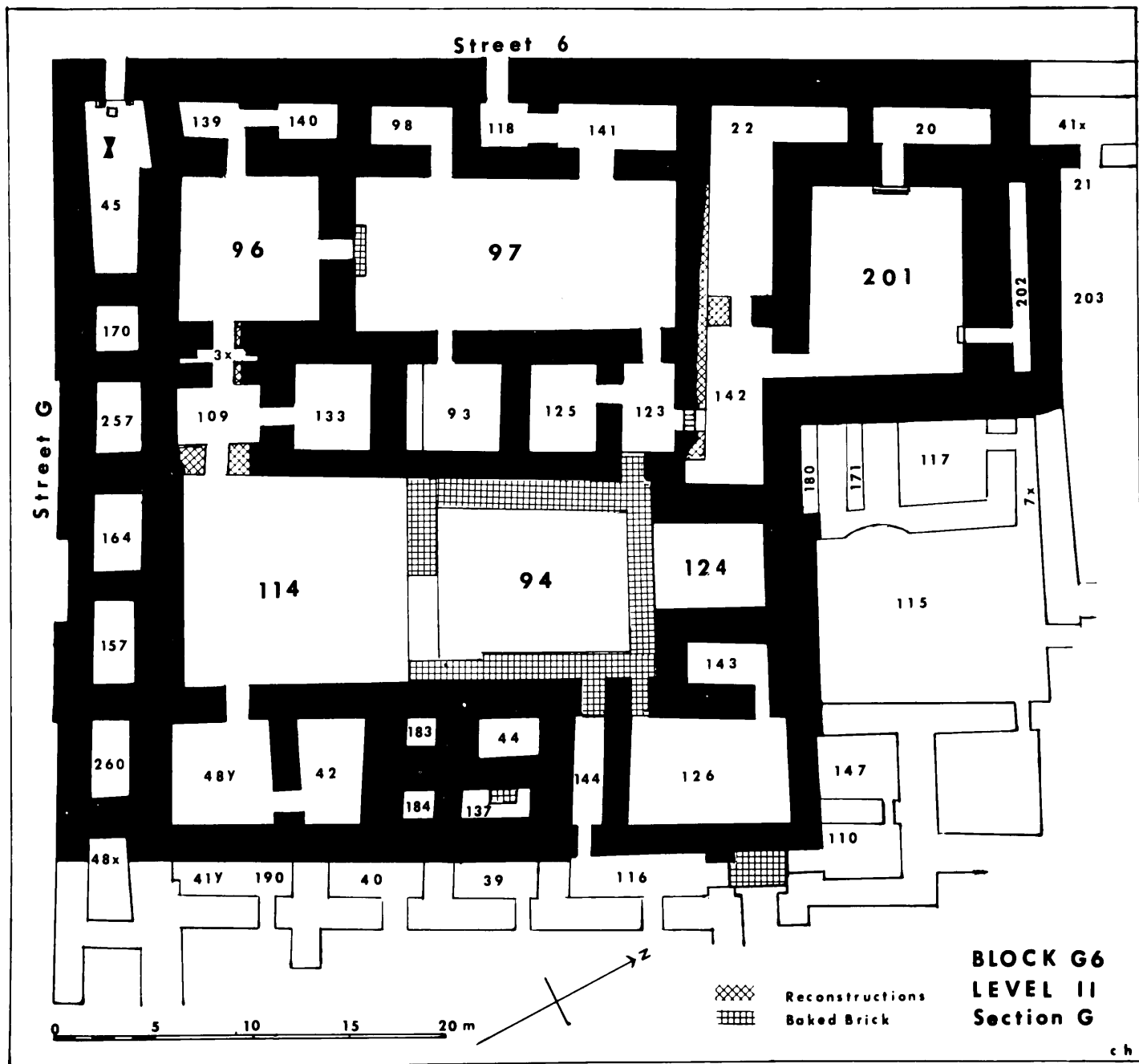
Rooms 180 and 171 have no doorways indicated but the massive walls to south, west, and east suggest the approach was through the court 115. If the two represented a stairway the jug with bird bones might have represented a foundation deposit and so mark the entrance to the stairs. The finds in room 171 might indicate a closet under the upper stairs. The jug and bird bones might, however, have been related to the curved wall of the court, perhaps reserved for a cult.

*Section G (Fig. 30)*

The main axis of section G in the southwest corner of the block remained very much the same in location and orientation through all three periods. It provides, therefore, the best illustration of the changing architectural patterns. In the third level the court 126 has the chief room fronted by two massive columns in antis to the south and a room with wide doorway to the north. The court is unpaved with baked brick.

In the second level the columns are gone, the court has a wide baked brick border, the open room (114), as broad as the court, lies to the south. At the north end the central portion is open to the court and flanked with heavy walls to east and west, forming probably a vaulted hall with the pitched vault resting on the double wall to the north. In Level I, the court

Fig. 30. Section G, block G6, level II



remains much the same but there is only a small baked brick border. At the south (in Level I) the room has been narrowed but left open with a heavy wall to east and west, so that it appears to be a liwan with vaulted roof. In the north end, three rooms were constructed, the center one with a wide opening toward the court, but the resemblance to a vaulted hall is less clear.

The second big change in section G from the third level is the second axis in the house. This long court and room to the south, 97 and 96, replace a series or double apartment of smaller rooms in Level III. In Level I, the double axis of the house is continued in much the same locations but the limits and definition of the house are much less clear.

The entrances to section G are unusual, the first from street 6 going through 118 and 141 into the secondary court which one expects would be the women's quarters. The second reaches the main axis court 94 from street 4 by means of the corridors 224, 4, 6, 128, 116, and 144. Room 144 may be considered an anteroom for it has a door at the entrance to corridor 116. One might notice also that from 116 one may enter directly the court 38 of section A and that a doorway closes off 116 from the east-west corridor 128.

A separate apartment (201 and adjacent rooms) lies in the northwest corner of the section along the street. It is accessible only from the doorway between the two courts. It forms, therefore, an apartment quite removed from the rest of the house and resembles in this respect the court 115 and apartment in section F. There is a parallel also in the secluded apartment 17x-64 and adjacent rooms in section E but with a north-south axis.

A series of shops flanks the section on the south along street G. The corner room with peculiar shape and furniture Manasseh<sup>44</sup> suggested, as we shall see, might be a shrine.

*Rooms 94, 114, 124, 126, 143, 144 (the court and liwan with rooms to north and northeast).*

Room 94 is the largest court defined by baked brick in the block except for 205 in section F. The wide border of baked brick runs completely around the court and into the doorways of rooms 123, 126, and 144.

Finds are surprisingly small: two lamps, a green glazed cosmetic pot found on the level of the burnt brick casing on the south wall (room 114), a small shallow glazed bowl, and a hairpin of bone with head simply decorated.

Room 114 is the great room south of the court, open the whole width of the court and with doorways close to the south end to 109 and 48Y to the west and east respectively. Grave 118 was located beneath the floor and contained two skeletons, one apparently above the other. The only finds listed from the graves were some gold threads.

The one coin identified (of three found) was dated A.D. 43-44 and came from the liben. The date may mark the period of construction in the revolt and the burial may, therefore, represent casualties in the civil war.

From the liben also came a small crude figurine head probably from an acrolithic piece. There were four lamps, parts of two figurines, and fragments of colored inlay with red, white, and yellow patterns against black.

From beneath floor level came a Parthian bone figurine not apparently connected with the grave, three millefiore glass

inlays exactly alike, and a piece of architectural plaster decoration or rough material with gilded face.

In room 124 a burial lay beneath the floor and partly beneath the east wall. It contained only one skeleton laid on its back. The burial had been undisturbed and yielded two glass bottles and two bronze beads.

In the brickwork of the east wall were recovered a coin of A.D. 117-8, a glass bead, and a bone whorl. If these were deposited in the wall, it meant it remained standing in the first level. If they were part of the brickwork, the wall belonged to the early first level. Under the pavement at the south entrance were found the head of a figurine and an unidentified coin. A small signet ring was recovered, as were a small bronze kohl stick, a clay bowl, an unidentified coin, and a figurine of a mother holding a child. From beneath the floor came a fragment of red glass.

The purpose of the rather large room 126 off the northeast corner of the court is not at all clear. Two catalogue entries mention a wellhead; one reported a lamp found 20 centimeters below the well top, the other a spout in the form of a fish found 40 centimeters below the well top, but no well is indicated in the plan and, in my opinion, the room was roofed. A silver coin of the west wall belonged to Vologases V (A.D. 210/11) but the walls of room 143 remained the same in Level I. It seems unlikely that a silver coin would have been included in the material of the clay brick. An unidentified bronze coin and part of a circular bone or ivory box were also found in the west wall; in the south wall were two bronze coins, a glass bead, and a bone handle; in the east wall was part of a plaque depicting two recumbent figures.

In the room itself were found one small red dish and a clay spout in the form of a cow's head, both from below the floor level and so, perhaps, belonging to Level III.

The small room 143 between 126 and 124 has entrance only through 126. A head of alabaster was recovered, a Parthian bone figurine, and a medallion representing the bust in blue glaze of a bearded man (the head was broken off).

Room 144 forms the east entrance to the court and connects with corridor 116. The only finds were a lamp and from the brickwork of the south wall, part of a figurine, and six bronze coins, one of which belonged to the period 121-83 B.C.

*Rooms 44, 137, 183, 184 (the apartment east of the court).*

Four small rooms east of the middle of the main axis seem to form a distinct apartment. Heavy walls surround the rooms, the rooms themselves are small; the two on the south 183, 184 very small indeed, and the doorways are lacking. In 137 a baked brick pavement is attached to the middle of the west wall. Mr. Ali Ahmed of Bagdad, who made a study of Parthian architecture while he was at Michigan, suggested on the analogy of modern buildings that the rooms were connected with the manufacture of date wine. The lack of ashes seems to preclude the possibility of an oven or ovens. The close relationship to the rooms in the third level has already been mentioned.

Finds were very small and non-committal. A Parthian bone figurine and one of clay were recorded from 44. From 137 there were two lamps, one figurine, and two bronze coins, one of which belonged to the period A.D. 115-116. The single find recorded in 183 was the head of a figurine with high two-

knobbed hairdo. There were eight unidentified bronze coins from 184, six small ones found together and two from a sub floor level; one lamp, one oval reddish stone inset; and, from the sub floor level, one cosmetic pot.

*Rooms 48Y, 42 (rooms east of the liwan).*

From the southeast corner of the liwan 114, entrance is given to room 48Y to the south and an inner room 42 north of 48Y.

From the larger room 48Y, two lamps, two bowls, and a pilgrim flask with squared shoulders and a thick glaze were recovered, all from the sub floor level.

From the inner room 42 came a lamp, part of a large jar, perhaps a cooking pot, the bearded head of a figurine, a large flat stone bead, and parts of a bronze mirror. From the sub floor level were recovered two figurines of animals, one of a humped cow, one of a camel (head and neck); a fragment of a large clay vessel; and a pottery stand. The absence of all coins is remarkable.

*Rooms 97, 96 (the women's quarters).*

The long court 97 with the room 96 to the south forms the second north-south axis in the section. The court is unpaved except for the baked brick step at the entrance to 96 and is unusually long, being more than double its width. It represents the clearest example of what seems to be the trend in this period, the double axes in the houses. In this case a single row of rooms separates the two courts and another single row lies on the west. Both the length of the court in proportion to its width and the lack of baked brick pavement are unusual. One expects either that the north end should have been given over to smaller rooms or that a part of the court would have been bordered with baked brick as in section A rooms 38-32-10. The secondary axis is usually less accessible from outside than the first. Here, however, entrance from the street is gained immediately through rooms 118-141. Apparently the apartment around 201 constitutes the more private quarters of the house, and 97-96, like 94-114, are less reserved. The infant burials in 96, however, suggest this as the center of family life.

Of four coins found in the brickwork of the north wall, one was identified and belonged to the period 121-83 B.C. My impression is (though there is not enough numismatic evidence to insist upon it) that Level II constitutes a real intermediate period between I and III. A number of walls date before the birth of Christ and some may go back to the beginning of the third level. In the course of the third and second levels alterations of houses were continually being made. Justification for distinguishing the beginning of the second level at the time of the revolt, however, is afforded by the change in the status of the city and by the evidence that there was a considerable amount of architectural activity during this period (A.D. 37-43).

The finds in 97 were numerous but few in types. There were eight small glazed lamps; four small jars with narrow bases and low bodies, the type usually called cosmetic; four two-handled jugs, two jars, a bowl, a slender clay bottle, etc. There were fragments of eleven figurines and two Parthian bone figures. One female coiffure had a tiny gold rod (4 millimeters) attached to the front.

Less usual were a sherd decorated with three applied figure heads and a glazed sherd showing a locust in relief. Ornaments

consisted of beads and insets and a medallion of clay showing a portrait of Antiochus, found at floor level. Some gold thread was found embedded in charred matter and wrapped in charred cloth. A clay seal impression showed a bird with long tail and hooked beak holding a palm leaf or branch. A jar handle stamped with a monogram came from below floor level.

There was a bronze bracelet or anklet from floor level, three fragments of an iron blade, a rectangular frame of heavy bronze wire 3.3 x 2.9 centimeters, part of a chain consisting of a bronze ring with an iron link, and a small bronze bell.

Beneath the northeast part of 96 burial 128 contained two skeletons one on top of the other. The burials had been disturbed, but a coral bead and a piece of iron, perhaps part of a hinge, were recovered and a lamp from the debris above the tomb. Two jars side by side beneath the floor contained infant burials.

(One may remark here that in the passageway between 96 and 109 an additional burial had been made. The place of burial was really on the west edge of 109, then new walls had been created to form a very small narrow room 3x which contained the burial. Some fragments of bone were recovered as were two coins both belonging to the period 121-83 B.C.).

A Parthian coin from the mud brick was dated in A.D. 123-124. There were three Parthian bone figurines, one of a reclining male figure, nude except for the conical cap. The head was made separately. At the same time, a marble figurine with hands on breasts and with a three pointed headdress imitated the style of bone figures. There was also a female torso of alabaster in addition to parts of 15 figurines of clay.

A mosaic inlay of colored rosettes made with the rod technique and an earring of gold wire with a mother-of-pearl bead were found at floor level. From ground level came part of a bone pipe with three stops.

Otherwise, the finds were of usual type but included a glazed pilgrim flask, and a glazed plate with raised edge. There were 11 lamps all told, two jugs, a cosmetic pot, a number of implements (a bronze spatula, four spindle whorls of bone, etc.). The catalogue mentions the top of a drain in the floor but the location is not shown in the plan.

*Rooms 123, 125, 93, 133, 109, 3x (rooms between the two chief axes).*

Under the brick pavement in the corridor to room 123 from 94 two coins were recovered, both dating from 38/7-32/1 B.C. The brickwork is part of the pavement of the court and seems closely connected with the adjacent room walls, at least constructed after the walls it touches. The coins could, of course, have been concealed in the dirt for some time before the brick pavement was laid. I think it is a fair inference, however, that the date of the coins is close to that of the pavement and of the rooms adjacent. This would mean that rooms 123, 125, and 93 belonged to the third quarter of the first century B.C.

The only finds from 123 were part of a plaque of a seated female figure, a figurine of a woman reclining, part of a plaque with the slender forelegs of an animal (gazelle?) and part of a clay figurine with a hand of alabaster. Remains of plaster suggest the clay was coated with stucco.

The only doorway of room 125 opens into the corridor room 123. Finds were small: an unidentified coin, three lamps,

a bowl, a jug, a glazed cooking pot, fragments of egg shell, a clay whorl, a bronze ring attached to a short pin, and a glass spindle whorl. Two pieces of clay vessels were also recovered, one containing the relief of a tall amphora colored red and the other with spout shaped like a fish.

Room 93, a fairly large room opening into the east side of the court (97) contained an unusual number of small jugs, six with one handle, one with two. Of these, four were glazed, three were not. In addition there was a fragment of a vase of yellowish alabaster. One of the clay jugs had a spout at the side suggesting a baby's bottle.

The other finds were three lamps, three clay figurines, two bone Parthian figurines, a plain whorl, a part of a palette, and an iron instrument—broad at one end, pointed at the other (engraving tool and chisel?).

Room 133 opens off the corridor 109 and contained a number of small objects. The most striking were the fragments of glass mosaic, green, red, yellow, purple, blue. One piece shows a rosette of red, green, black, and white. Since 96 also yielded pieces of mosaic glass made with the rod technique, it is possible they all belong together. A mold of glazed clay was in the form of a large scorpion. An alabaster arm and closed hand suggested an acrolithic figurine. There were four lamps, a pitcher, a jar, a cosmetic pot, three figurines, and a bone handle.

Room 109 connecting 96 with 114 was abbreviated to form room 3x on the west side. The only finds listed are part of a figurine (male) with a pot on his shoulder, a large clay cooking pot, and a small jar of medium size stained with spots of bitumen.

#### *Rooms 139, 140, 98, 118, 141 (rooms along street 6).*

On the west side of 96 entrance is given to room 139 and thence to 140, both narrow, rather small rooms with heavy doorway between. Room 139 yielded very little: four lamps, a small jar with pointed bottom from the north wall, a jug, and two figurines.

In 140 were found one lamp, two cosmetic pots, a pitcher, a pottery support, a tiny cylindrical jar of stone, four figurines, and a finger ring of iron.

Room 98 is a small room west of the south side of court 97. It contained two lamps, three two-handled jugs, a cooking pot with two handles, three figurines, a steatite whorl, a pawn of glass, and half of a large face of plaster, apparently part of an architectural decoration.

Rooms 118 and 141 form the entranceway between street 6 and the court 97. One would expect that room 141, twice the size of 118 and opening on the court, would have contained the larger number of finds. The reverse is the case. From 141 only two lamps and two figurines were recovered. In 118 there was a small cone-shaped clay bank with slot for coins, a Parthian bone figurine, a bronze earring, a red stone bead cut in the form of a shell, two figurines, two bowls, a lamp, and an unidentified coin.

#### *Rooms 201, 142, 22, 20, 202 (the apartment in the northwest corner of section G).*

The large court 201 with the rooms around it on the north, south, and west constitutes an apartment which seems strongly tied to section G but is removed from the axial centers of the house. The single approach to the apartment is by the door

from corridor 123 which connects the two north-south courts of the house. So the central court is well secluded from the rest of the section and the outside.

The walls of 201 correspond with walls of Level I on the east, west, and north; and are continuations of or built above walls of Level III on the east and west. It is probably not merely chance, therefore, that coins from the brickwork of the lower level wall in the west went back in one case to Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.) and in another to the turn of the second century (121-83 B.C.). Two other identified coins, one from the lower section, one from the later, were both dated A.D. 40-41. A silver Parthian coin from the south wall belonged to A.D. 11/12-40/41. The single identified coin from the east wall belonged to the period 121-83 B.C. From the north wall came a coin of Vologases II A.D. 105/6-107/8 found with six other unidentified bronze coins; another group of eight bronze coins, and a larger bronze, identified only as Roman.

Thirty-eight coins altogether were found in the room, most of them, namely 33, in the walls, too many to be inadvertently built into the bricks. The silver coin certainly represents a deposit or a loss in the interstices of the bricks. A second Roman coin was found in the debris of the room, as was a coin of 121-83 B.C. From the level of the top of the wall came a coin of A.D. 119-120, a fitting date for the end of the period.

What the coins do indicate is a long period of occupation and a continuing use of walls from one period to another. It is not clear that the apartment was the domestic quarters, shared by husband and wife but, in my opinion, there is a good probability of it.

From the brickwork of the west wall came also a clay sealing, probably originally the official seal of a document, and a fragment of coral. Grave 216 partly under the north wall has been assigned by Yeivin to Level III. The plaster capital of a column adorned with acanthus leaves and human heads found near the top of the second level wall must have survived from Level III.

There was a comparatively large number of small items, among which might be mentioned: ten lamps, ten figurines, beads, insets, three jars, a jug, etc. A Parthian bone figurine was found at floor level and small implements of bone and bronze.

Two small glazed lamps came from 142, the entrance room to the apartment, a Parthian bone figurine broken in two, a coin of A.D. 16/17, and beneath the floor level a saucer lamp with chipped rim.

Room 22 is the long ell-shaped room running around the southwest corner of the court. Finds were very small: a small glazed lamp and the circular bone disk from the floor level; fragments of a bronze instrument and a clay arm and hand holding a vase or bottle, perhaps a votive piece, from the brickwork of the south wall; an unidentified bronze coin from the brickwork of the west wall.

Room 20 on the west side of 201 yielded from the brickwork of the west wall: a lamp and a clay loom weight; from the brickwork of the south wall, an inset of glaze and two coins, one of 128-121 B.C.; from below floor level, one figurine head. The south wall of 20 corresponds in part with the wall between rooms 145 and 149 of Level III, in both of which rooms a surprisingly large number of coins were found dating from the third period; some even from before the



Parthian conquest and a number coming from the brickwork in the walls.

The long very narrow room 202 on the north side of the court, perhaps containing a stairway to the roof as the thickness of the court wall suggests (the stairway in part being built into the wall), yielded a number of small objects but none of great significance. There were three unidentified coins from the brickwork of the north wall; two loomweights, one also from the north wall; six beads of various types (glass, glaze, stone, bitumen) from the room and the walls; a large clay figurine head from the brickwork of the west wall, fragments of two figurines from the north wall, and smaller fragments from the east wall. Below floor level were found a cosmetic pot and a clay rosette crudely modelled.

*Rooms 45, 170, 257, 164, 157, 260 (shops along street G in section G).*

It seems reasonable to conclude that the row of rooms along the south side of section G were utilized as shops or as units independent of the house. No doorways remain except for the door on the west to the corner room. On the other hand, in Level III there is a row of shops along the south side of the block, or of rooms opening only on the street except at the southwest corner. In Level II three street entrances remain for rooms 176, 178, 179 near the eastern end of the block (section A). I suspect that the street level rose faster than the floor levels in the house and that the street doors along the south end were higher than in the house and so lost in the foundations of Level I.

The largest room is the corner room 45 with fairly narrow entrance way on street 6. The rather odd shape with greater width or an alcove on the north near the street suggests that two rooms were thrown together, making the long east-west room wider in its western end.

Manasseh<sup>45</sup> suggests it may have been a shrine and describes it as follows: "The corner room (45) deserves special mention not only because its door was the second one with two door sockets so far found at Seleucia, but also because it contained certain features which strongly suggest a shrine (see pl. X, fig. 2).

"A semioval platform 2 feet eight inches long, 2 feet 4 inches wide, and 2 feet 7 inches high, faced with bricks coated with stucco, was located in the middle of the room. In front of it and partly attached to it was a column altar, 2 feet 4 inches high, of hard limestone covered with plaster molding and resting on a brick pedestal. Between it and the entrance there were remains of another brick column.

"The top of the stone column had a shallow depression similar to those found on stone altars, and the whole ensemble suggests a small sanctuary."

The finds were not numerous for so large a room and not very distinctive in character, that is, of course, without the architectural features already mentioned.

There were seven lamps; a small green-glazed saucer; a cooking pot or receptacle for liquids, glazed inside and with two handles; three unidentified coins; two bronze kohl sticks lobed at each end; and a shell pierced for suspension (pendant?). Unusual was a fragment of glass with pattern in gold found at 150 centimeters, and a piece of plaster 7.8 x 8.7 centimeters representing three fingers grasping a fruit or nut. It would resemble the extended hand grasping a morsel of food

in the reliefs and painting of banquet scenes. It might, however, represent an offering being made.

Two segments of a chain of twisted wire is catalogued as a mouthpiece of a horse's bit. The figurines included a small bearded face, a draped female figure, a clay votive leg, and the forepart of an animal in stone or glaze.

The glass fragment, the plaster piece, the bronze chain, are unusual but they are not enough to identify a shrine and the architectural structures are enigmatic. The location on the corner seems favorable for a shrine and I have no better solution to offer. The semioval platform in the photograph (pl. VIII, 3) looks like a basin, but the lack of ashes precludes an altar of burnt offerings. Certainly there is no clear indication of dedication to any particular divinity.

In room 170 the catalogue mentions a female figurine head found near a tomb and suggests this belongs to Level IV. Part of a figurine was found in the sub floor level, and a tiny standing female figurine in the top level. Three other figurines were found and a part of an iron chain. A bone whorl was recovered and from beneath floor level a jug with a single handle, narrow base and broad body.

Grave 186 was located in room 257. Two bronze unidentified coins were the only finds listed. Yeivin lists the tomb as belonging to the third level, room 250.

An unusually large number of lamps was found in room 164, three above floor level, nine beneath it, including part of a seven nozzle lamp decorated with female head and bust. From the lower level came also a two-handled jug, a shallow glazed bowl, a kohl stick of bronze, and four figurines. From above floor level there were part of a figurine of a camel and one of a humped bullock. From the south wall was recovered a baked brick with a design of spirals, perhaps the decoration of a doorway.

In the sub floor level of 157, three more lamps were found, a bone kohl stick with finial head, and a small crude figurine. Three other figurines were found above floor level, one perhaps the decoration of a glazed pot and part of a plaque apparently of a deer suckling a child, and a bronze piece of wire looped to form a handle.

Room 260 is south of room 48Y but gives no indication of belonging to the house. There were two lamps, a pitcher with one handle, a glazed saucer, one bronze earring, and one bronze signet ring. From the sub floor level were recovered two cosmetic pots, part of a bronze scissors with pin of iron, and one Parthian bone figurine.

1. McDowell, *Exc. at Sel.*, 111.

2. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, XXV.

3. Debevoise, *Pol. Hist. Parthia*, 204.

4. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII, 23.

5. Debevoise, *Pol. Hist. Parthia*, 167.

6. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 16.

7. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. XVII, 1.

8. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. XVIII, grave 131, in room 64, section E.

9. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. XX.

10. Ward Perkins, "Building Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture," in *The Great Palace in Constantinople, Second Report*, edited by D. Talbot Rice.

11. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 65-6.

12. See Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 52-53, and pl. XX, fig. 9.
13. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 57 and pl. XXIII, 1.
14. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, 73 and pl. VIII, 3.
15. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, Cat. no. 79.
16. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 23.
17. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, no. 65.
18. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, no. 340.
19. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, no. 338.
20. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, no. 335.
21. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, XXV.
22. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 49.
23. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 22 and pl. XI, 1.
24. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 21.
25. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 23, note 10.
26. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 21.
27. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. XI, 2.
28. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, 34, and pl. 71, a.
29. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 49-51.
30. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 66-75.
31. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery*, type 73.
32. Van Ingen, *Figurines*, no. 166 and pl. XII, 861.
33. Van Ingen, *Figurines*, plan II.
34. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 20.
35. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 24-27.
36. Hopkins, "The Parthian Temple," *Berytus VII*, 1949, 1-18.
37. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, pls. 18 and 30a.
38. *Dura V*, pl. XXXVI.
39. Andrae and Lenzen, *Partherstadt Assur*, 109, fig. 46.
40. *Dura VI*, pl. XXVI, 6.
41. E. g. *Dura V*, pl. XIII from the temple of Aphlad; *Dura VII and VIII*, pl. XXXIII, temple of Gaddé.
42. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, pl. XII, 2.
43. Van Ingen, *Figurines*, plan II.
44. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 20.
45. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 20.

## VII. LEVEL I IN BLOCK G6 (Plate IX)

The outstanding section in Level I is section F in the middle of the west side of the block. Its broad outlines seem easy to follow since its western front has been thrust forward beyond the former street line of the block and on both the north and south the separation from sections E and G seem clear at least on the western sides. Moreover the corridor 70-81-88 forms a logical and apparently clear division from section C along the east side of the northern half of the section.

The section comprises, with these limitations, more than a quarter of the block. Its extension along street 6 is more than half the length of the block and the eastern corridor is well beyond the north-south center.

Excavations were begun here partly because block G6 had rather a central position in the plateau representing the ruins of the city and because the higher mound of debris at this point suggested a building of importance. As it stands it is the largest section in the block by far and is considerably larger than any of the sections in Level II. On the other hand, it does stand above the largest of the sections in Level II and perhaps the mass of debris reflects in part a higher foundation in the remains of the previous building. There is, of course, no comparative evidence for the size of the buildings in other blocks. By Greek standards, and the evidence available in the levels of the block itself, this is an exceptionally large building and might well deserve the title of 'Palace.'

There are two clear axes, that is, large rectangular courts oriented north and south, and now established with the great open halls, the liwans at either end. The larger hall stands regularly at the south end. The chief court is located above the court in Level II but is almost twice as large. Moreover the narrow rooms in Level II along the street have been widened in Level I with the thrusting forward of the facade of the house. Such disregard for the normal street limits could only be shown by a man of wealth and power, or one placed strategically in the political hierarchy.

The house demonstrates both the gradual tendency to large units and the new fashions in architecture. Now the halls both north and south of the court are the great open Parthian variety—probably vaulted. The secondary axis with court 132 and the two liwans 104 and 101 is larger than the primary axis of any house in Level II and than any other axis in Level I (except for the chief court beside it) as far as our archaeological evidence goes.

The section now includes in its southwest corner the court and apartment which in Level II belonged to section G. On the north it has thrust forward to include what was a part of section E in Level II. In the southeast corner the strong wall which limits room 106 on the south continues well beyond the middle of the block to form the south side of room 82.

The question of entrances presents an interesting problem since there is apparently no doorway to section F from street 6. The fact is that except for doorways to shops, there are no entrances to the block except one in the middle of the north side, one in the middle of the east, and the two on the south, one through room 169 and one through 221, all of them comparatively far removed from section F. On the north side a deep setback forms a recess for the entrance corridor 260, and on the south, one entranceway is paved with burnt brick, the other has an open room or vestibule before the doorway into 169. One may suppose that the entrance in the middle of the east side of the block is secondary in importance because of the narrowness of the door, in spite of some burnt brick pavement in front of it.

The position and arrangement of these entrances gives very strong support indeed to McDowell's contention that the palace comprises the whole block. If the eroded portions on the north side of the block and in the southeast corner allowed us to trace the walls, I believe that there would still be strong evidence for consolidating the block into one unit or palace. The monumental entrance is on the north and it seems difficult to believe that it would be separated from the chief house by intervening units under foreign control.

On the other hand some of the units around the block retain the elements which were characteristic features of separate houses in Level II. Section G in the southwest corner retains the court and liwan to the south 208-109 for the first axis, the long rectangular court 192 with a room equally wide on the south 218, to repeat very closely the plan of section G of Level II. East of the northern half of section F a court 61 with a border of paved brick (encroached upon later by room 143) has a liwan to the south, and in section E a great court has large open halls to south and north 111 and 135. Furthermore, part at least of section F is very clearly defined and the thrusting forward of the facade in the center of the block suggests a separate and distinct section.

Perhaps part of the difficulty may be due to the definition of palace and separate units. Our knowledge of Parthian society is not great, but there appear to have been rather powerful chieftains under the king and a concentration of wealth in the hands of the king and his nobles. It was an aristocracy beyond the Greek organization and, I believe, the block reflects a congerie of prince or chief and retainers. There is the section or house of the chief and the quarters or houses of the retainers. How far the retainers, in part probably relatives, have individual establishments is not easy to say, and therefore, it is no easy task to define the status of the block as palace or a group of houses. In the broad sense of control, I should agree with McDowell and call the whole block one

palace. From the point of view of architectural construction, I believe the block is made up of separate sections and shall so consider it, beginning with section F.

One might add that any definition of the block in Level II as a palace seems to me extremely difficult, not to say impossible. One may say there is a monumental entrance on the north in 150 but this in my opinion is intended only for section E. In Level II the largest division lies in the middle of the west side, but it has none of the dominance over the rest of the block reflected in section F of Level I.

### *Section F*

A noticeable feature in Level I is the narrowing of the courts for the halls at either end. This is not surprising in the great court of section F, for the court is unusually wide and the narrowing for liwan 96/126 still leaves a room of unusual width. In the second axis, however, the rooms at either end of the court are much less wide and the same arrangement occurs in sections G and E, not to speak of C. In section G the court in Level I remains very much the same size as in Level II and in almost the same position. The open room to the south has been narrowed considerably. One takes it for granted that the two great rooms are opposite each other and in the central parts of the sides.

Yeivin<sup>1</sup> calls attention to the fact that the liwans of the two axes have a resemblance to the great palace at Hatra. As he says, the Parthian palace at Hatra shows two liwans placed side by side with a staircase corridor between and, if the two central courts of section F were divided by a line running east and west, each half would exhibit approximately the same plan as the Hatra palace.

The plan shows the great, round basin of burnt brick built in the court. Yeivin<sup>2</sup> suggests that the basin was constructed when the palace was rebuilt and enlarged after a conflagration. Level I begins after the capture of the city of Trajan. The city was retaken by Verus in A.D. 164 and again by Septimius in 199. The first level belongs, therefore, from a little after A.D. 115 to the end of the century and the destruction of Severus, after which apparently Seleucia was gradually deserted in favor of Ctesiphon until at the beginning of the Sasanian reign (A.D. 227) the city was almost completely abandoned.

The comparatively small number of finds in Level I was due in part to erosion of surface objects but probably more particularly to the gradual desertion of the site which would mean the gradual loss of everything of service not carried away in the move to Ctesiphon.

*Rooms 97/77/52, 126/96, 71, 100 (the court and rooms to south and north).*

From the great court (97/77/52) there were recovered a stone whorl, a bone hairpin, two fragments of an iron spear-head and a second pointed head of arrow or lance, three beads including one of stone in the form of a tiny bird perforated for pendant, a carnelian or garnet inset, and four glazed and two unglazed lamps.

There were parts of five clay figurines, a Parthian bone figure, and another narrow plaque of bone with a nude male figure inscribed upon it.

A coin of Gotarzes II (A.D. 46/7-47/8) was found on the burnt brick doorway on the east side of the court, a silver coin of Phraates IV (38/7-2/1 B.C.) in the court itself and a coin of

Seleucus II (246-226 B.C.). From the mud brick came a coin of A.D. 59-62. There were six unidentified bronze coins.

The jugs, jars, and bowls were not particularly numerous or distinctive. The bronze objects consisted of a hinge, a pendant, and an earring found below the drain. This mention in the catalogue is the only suggestion that the circular paved area may have enclosed a drain.

The great liwan (96/126) on the south side of the court yielded one bead of glass and one of glaze, a bronze finger ring, a thin bronze plaque, and three glazed lamps. The figurines consisted of the torso of a horseman, the head and bust of a draped female figure, a female head with two-knobbed hairdo, the figure of a child or horseman, and the head and shoulders of an unidentified figure.

There were three clay jugs with one handle and one with two. An unidentified coin came from the brickwork of the south wall and a bronze coin of 145-141 B.C. from the southwest corner.

Burial 14 lay beneath the floor of room 71. There were two skeletons lying in opposite directions and Yeivin notes signs of torture, including lumps of plaster found in the abdominal cavity.<sup>3</sup>

A very small glass phial was found a foot below the surface; a fragment of fluted stone column was built into a late wall, there was a bronze fragment of a claw-shaped object, perhaps the foot of a wooden piece of furniture, and one cosmetic pot.

Room 100 forms a little alcove off the southeast corner of the court with the entrance facing north. In the room was the fragment of a bronze bracelet, an unidentified coin 30 centimeters below the surface, a small glazed lamp 20 centimeters below the doorsill, and three pieces of a plaster gaming-board almost complete.

*Rooms 132, 104, 101 (the smaller court and rooms to south and north).*

Court 132 immediately beside the great court and east of it, provides an open area bordered with baked brick, larger in size than any of the other courts in Level I and any in Level II except the chief court in section F. The open liwans to north and south orient it in the usual way, but the narrowing of the liwans and the apparently vaulted roofs mark the Parthian style. The liwans are very close to being the same size. Still more remarkable is the fact that the liwan which is slightly larger lies to the north rather than to the south.

The court and liwan form a splendid example of the double axis in the section, an arrangement that became gradually popular in Level II.

Finds in the court (132) were very small for the size of the space. There were a barrel-shaped gold and glass bead at a depth of 180 centimeters, four lamps, a small glazed jug with two handles and a larger one with one handle, an alabaster figurine of a nude male, and several coins.

Perhaps the jugs were used in connection with the well, mentioned in the catalogue as no. 1, but not marked on the plan unless it is the circular structure just inside the front of the north liwan 101. From the burnt brick pavement of the court came a coin of Orodes A.D. 128/9. Two unidentified coins were found in the well at a depth of 14 feet, another in the foundation of a wall and a final one in the crude brick two meters below ground level.

The liwan 104 south of the court yielded an iron blade, a

triangular garnet bead, a second bead of faience barrel-shaped, a silver coin of Seleucus I (311-280 B.C.) in the wall at a depth of two feet and a small hoard of coins at a depth of 250 centimeters. There were 14 small bronze coins and one larger one reaching in date to A.D. 80/81. Three belonged to an A.D. 69/70 series, one to A.D. 80-81, one to Seleucus II 246-226 B.C., and one each to A.D. 70/1-73/4, A.D. 69-70 and A.D. 69-79. Three more were tentatively assigned to the series A.D. 69-79.

Beneath the floor of room 101 grave 19 was discovered with one undisturbed body, a gold earring with imitation of a pearl in glass, a bone hairpin, a glass bottle, etc. (The catalogue locates grave 25 also in 101 but Yeivin allocates it to the northwest corner of 96.)

From the room itself (101) came two figurine heads, one of a man, one of a woman; a cosmetic pot (at 150 centimeters); the lower part of a red clay burnished pot; two identified coins (from the crude brick); a triangular bronze fragment with bosses, perhaps part of a door knocker; an unglazed lamp; and a small bronze signet ring.

*Rooms 76, 69/80, 79, 133, 65/72 (rooms in the northeast corner).*

The northeast corner of the greater court is occupied by room 76, whose west wall forms the east wall of the liwan (71). Room 76 has no visible means of entry and on the other side of the liwan, 63 has access only to the isolated room 64. Presumably a doorway connected 71 with 76 and a second linked 76 with the larger room 69-80 to the east. The apartment in the northeast corner was probably accessible from both liwans. From the middle of liwan 71 a door gave access to the long narrow east-west room 65/72.

Very few finds were made in room 76, probably because much of the level had eroded to below floor level. There was a small bone amulet of key shape 50 centimeters below the Level II wall top, a small unglazed lamp at 150 centimeters, a fragment of green frit, a bone hairpin, part of a figurine of a grotesque figure from the crude brick, and four carnelian beads from the west wall.

Rooms 69/80 belong together but a single find, a female figurine head, was recorded from 80 (at 150 centimeters).

Two burials were found in 69. Grave 17 near the southeast corner in the east was that of a child. The body was buried in a large jar and the furniture consisted of a number of beads (44), two bronze earrings, a bronze bracelet, and fragment of a bone hairpin.

Grave 88 in the north wall near the northwest corner about floor level contained a skeleton stretched out on its back. A single bronze coin was found near the pelvis.

Probably from 17 came the lower part of a small glass vessel recorded as coming from the southeast corner above the low crude brick. In this same area was recovered also a two-handled glazed jar.

Elsewhere in the room there was a thin marble slab broken in three pieces, and a roughly fashioned stick of bone or ivory. From the east wall an unidentified bronze coin was recovered, a small two-handled jar, and a bone hairpin. A pointed glaze bottle stopper, a second unidentified bronze coin, and the face of a male figure were also found. A baked brick with a monogram Greek stamp was found at the pavement level, and close to the top of Level II a glaze juglet with one handle and a

large oblong crystal bead. A bronze coin recorded as Roman provincial was recovered under the foundation of the west wall.

Only two finds were recorded from the corridor 79, a large storage jar with pointed bottom and a bone hairpin. The small piece of baked brick pavement marked on the plan at the east end of the room may be part of a bath or drain. In the earlier plan of Level I the corridor is 80 and the whole of the large room is 69.

Room 133 may perhaps have contained a stairway to the roof. The single find was part of a female figurine at 150 centimeters.

There were no finds recorded from 72, a part with 65 of the long narrow east-west room north of 71. Only four finds were recorded but one was a splendid set of gold earrings with inset stones and pearl pendants, found at 170 centimeters and published by Braidwood.<sup>4</sup>

Except for this jewelry, there was only an open glazed saucer lamp found in the sub floor level, part of a clay reclining female figure, and a fragment of a marble statue.

*Rooms 63, 64, 62, 265 (rooms in the northwest corner).*

Two graves (12 and burial 82) were found in 63. Grave 82 was found in the surface debris. The body, apparently of a child, was found lying on the back and with it a necklace of 135 carnelian beads and one cowie shell. One tiny bronze coin was also recovered.

Grave 12 below floor level near the northeast corner of the north wall contained the skeleton of a child with two small bronze earrings, a small glazed bead, and a perforated bone object.

The only other finds recorded from the room were a two-handled glazed jug, a small unglazed lamp, and a truncated black stone, perhaps a weight or pestle.

Room 64 communicates with 63 but the doorway to 265 was not located. Parts of two clay figurines were found in 64, and a Parthian bone figurine was found in the brickwork of the west wall, together with part of a bone whorl. The most important find was a stamped amphora handle with the Greek word *Ἀμύνη*<sup>5</sup> and a wreath or floral design. No finds were recorded from room 265. In the plan of Level I as opposed to IA, room 265 is numbered 50. The only find listed for 50 was one chipped bead from the north wall.

Since 62 lacks a door, it is not clear whether it belongs to section F or not. It seems probable that through the corridor 65/72 access was obtained both to 62 and 67.

Room 62 seems to have been occupied by a woman, if one might judge from a bone weaving instrument and parts of a bronze mirror. From the surface was recovered a steatite whorl. In addition there was a tiny bronze figure of a nude female, a figurine head of clay, two lamps, two clay pitchers, a jug with two handles, and a clay pawn.

*Rooms 53, 49, 44, 45, 46, 47, 125, 51 (rooms along street 6).*

These rooms with the corridor form the west side of section F along the court and comprise the major part of the extension of section F into street 6. Finds were very small, which suggests the occupancy was not of long duration. Perhaps, however, erosion on the surface depleted the objects of Level I in this section.

From room 53 were recorded only a small clay cosmetic pot, a strip of lead, and a large bronze coin of Vologases II (A.D. 122/3).

Room 49 yielded two small glazed lamps and an unidentified bronze coin.

The baked brick pavement in the southwest corner of room 44 is mentioned as a fireplace in the catalogue of finds. One expects that a fire for cooking would be found in an open court. Therefore, the purpose of the brick pavement is not clear nor is the extent to which it was used as a fireplace. In the room were discovered part of a figurine of a dolphin, a large iron blade (knife or razor), a clay bead, a small glazed lamp, and, beneath the brick pavement and stated as being 'near fireplace,' a bronze coin of the early Parthian occupation (145-141 B.C., 140-123 B.C.).

Room 45 gives access from corridor 51 to room 44 and forms half of this two-room apartment.

The most interesting finds were the coins. Three thin bronze coins assigned to the Sasanian period were found in a small cosmetic pot. Three more unidentified bronze coins were found in the brickwork of the west wall and three more in the brickwork of a lower level wall. Except for the coins and the cosmetic pot, the room yielded only a figurine head, a crude glazed lamp, a small glazed jug, and, from near the mid east wall at a depth of 50 centimeters, a green glazed bowl.

Rooms 47, 46, and 125 form a three-room apartment opening off the south end of corridor 51.

Room 47, the entrance room, yielded a gold ring with carnelian inset from the crude brick at a depth of four feet. There was also some gold foil adhering to a piece of plaster, a bone pawn, a rectangular lead weight pierced for suspension, and a votive clay hand and arm.

Room 46 to the north of 47 possessed only a plain bone whorl and an oblong piece of bronze, found in the ashes of the southeast corner.

To the south of room 47, there was discovered, in room 125, a crushed gold bead in the brickwork of the west wall, and from the crude brick in the room, two clay female figurine heads, a Parthian bone figurine, a small glazed lamp, and two unidentified bronze coins. A large iron nail was also recorded.

The corridor 51 produced a plain bronze finger ring, part of a plaque with a man and woman in relief, a thin square lead weight, a glazed lamp, part of a figurine in the form of a ram's head, and a portion of a drain pipe. The purpose of the corridor was to provide with vaulted roof a counter-thrust to the vault of 96/126.

*Rooms 56/59, 55, 123, 124, 57, 110, 128 (the apartment in the southwest corner).*

The doorway in the center of the south side of liwan 96/126 gives on the corridor 55 and south of this lies the large room 56/59, its entrance off center for the liwan but furnished with baked brick threshold. From the room access is obtained to 110 through a narrow room (128) and, on the south, to corridor 123, which leads to 124 on the west and to 57 on the east. The whole comprises a large, rather separate apartment without the special orientation or liwan type of room but with an apartment corresponding in Level II to the innermost apartments of sections F and G. A second such apartment 106 and adjoining rooms will be described later. Rooms 56/59 seem closely attached to the larger liwan 96/126, and 106

belongs apparently with the court 132 and liwan 104 but room 110 makes an intermediate link between 56/59 and 106 and gives easy access from one to the other.

In corridor 55 there were found only a small iron tweezers and, from the lower mud brick wall, a coin of Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.).

Twenty-eight small objects are listed from the large room 56/59, including a coin of A.D. 69/70 recovered at a depth of three feet. Burial no. 10 was a shallow grave in the west wall and yielded a coin of A.D. 36-40. From the south wall came a coin of A.D. 109/10-12. Thirteen other bronze coins were unidentified.

There were parts of seven figurines, three lamps, two cosmetic pots, etc. There was nothing very unusual or distinctive but the aggregation suggested women's quarters or family use.

In corridor 123 a coin of A.D. 69/70 came to light with four unidentified pieces in the brickwork near the foundations of the south wall. A second coin in the brickwork of the south wall belonged to the period A.D. 36-40. A bronze ornament with inlay and the figurine of a seated child came from the same wall. There were two glazed lamps and a figurine of a musician with harp. From the foundations of the west wall came a stone bead, perhaps used as a seal, and from the debris at a depth of two feet a large unidentified bronze coin.

Only three finds were listed from room 124: part of a bronze fibula from a depth of two feet, a round green glaze bead, and a glazed lamp.

Room 57, or the little alcove at the east end of the corridor, was more productive. Two coins were extracted from the crude brick, one of Demetrius I 162-150 B.C. A rectangular lead weight with a monogram IB or IR was recovered in the southwest corner at a depth of 30 centimeters; there was a hollow bronze handle, two beads, a small unglazed lamp, and a clay pot with two handles.

Room 110 forms an intermediate chamber via 128 between room 59/56 and 106. Most of the finds were recovered from grave 26 of a young female buried in the southwest corner of the west wall. Some of the other finds may have been connected with the burial, such as the green polished bead (jasper?), the yellow pigment, the triple bead of faience, and the two one-handed jars.

In addition to these finds there were only two coins, but one was of silver and belonged to Artabanus III A.D. 11/12-40/41 or Vologases I.

No finds were listed for room 128. The number of the room was inadvertently omitted in the plan of IA.

*Rooms 106, 127, 103, 108, 102, 109, 129 (the apartment in the southeast corner).*

Room 106 forms the center of a second large apartment approached through 127 from liwan 104 and linked with apartment 102-108 through corridor 103, and with 109 and 129 on the northeast. Room 109 gives access in turn to 129, as well as 86 in section B.

Finds on the whole were small and disappointing. From 106 were recovered only a thin bone or ivory pawn, a triangular stone pendant, a bone hairpin, parts of a bronze cover, a Parthian bone figurine, an unidentified bronze coin, and a rectangular shaped stone with two dowel holes.

The entranceway 127 yielded only an inset of faience found in the south door.

A coin, the only find in 103, recovered from brickwork below the baked brick foundations of the west wall, belonged to the period 121-83 B.C.

Of the two interior rooms on the northwest, 108 furnished only a strip of metal or hematite and a large one-handed jug catalogued from the drain level.

The second room (102) contained three pitchers or water jugs with one handle, parts of three figurines (one of a man embracing a woman who is seated on a couch, one of a group of two musicians, and one of part of a phallus). There were also three coins, one of Roman origin, from the sub floor level and two of the time of Vologases III A.D. 164/5-165/6 and 169/70-175/6.

Room 109 yielded very little: a female figurine, a green glazed bead, an architectural piece of plaster painted red, a toy or model bronze wheel (perhaps a whorl), one small glazed lamp, one small clay pot with pointed base, and a bone hairpin from the sub floor level.

There were two glazed lamps from 129, two one-handed clay water jars or pitchers from near the north wall, a three-handed glazed jug, a piece of worked bone from one of the water jars, and a Parthian bone figurine from the northwest corner. The figurine of a large foot came from the northwest corner (at a depth of 1.50 meters) and from the room as a whole, a bronze hinge, a clay cosmetic pot, and a glazed plate. Two coins were unidentified, a third belonged to the early Parthian period (145/141-140/123 B.C.). Finally, there were fragments of a bone comb, a crude figurine head of yellow clay from just beneath the surface, and a whorl of black and white stone.

*Rooms 75, 78, 88, 81, 70, 68, 67 (the corridor around the northeast corner).*

Room 67 may be included in the corridor 68/70 on the east end of the north corner as it has the same width as 68. Corridor 78 running east and west may also be included in this group, though its purpose is not clear except to give entrance to 131. The corridors around the northeast corner of the section are balanced by the corridor 123 along the southwest portion. Quite possibly, then, at the beginning of Level I, section F had a regular rectangular shape limited on three sides by corridors.

Room 75 forms an anteroom to 132 and was adorned with an ornamental plaster molding over a brick casing, probably the door jambs and lintel. One fragment contained a step design, and a second three ornamental figures, one of which was an egg and dart. At 30 centimeters below the surface a sardonyx pierced for a bead was found; at 70 centimeters, an alabaster arm and hand, apparently part of an acrolithic statue, and at 180 centimeters a large glazed lamp. The hand of marble apparently held some object, perhaps a morsel of food, and the wrist was marked with color, perhaps indicating a bracelet. From the liben came a small, crude glazed lamp and two bronze coins, one of which belonged to the period A.D. 43-44. A large one-handed jug of clay was discovered beneath the foundations of the walls.

The corridor 78 leading to the entrance of 131 from 88 yielded the spiral rod of a kohl stick or handle of a bronze vessel (from a depth of 40 centimeters) and part of a clay

figurine from the sub floor level. At the end of the passage, however, a hoard of six bronze coins was recovered.

Rooms 88 and 81 may be considered together as a part of the same entranceway. An original doorway on the west side of 88 is blocked by the wall of the liwan, showing that the liwan was built some time after the construction of the corridor.

From 88 a single object was recovered, a small figurine of a draped figure with flowing hair, represented as half reclining.

Three bronze coins were recovered from 81, one at a depth of three feet, the second from the brickwork of the north wall and the third from the projections of the lower cross wall. None was identified. At a depth of a meter an iron blade was found and designated as being 'near the fireplace.'

The tomb in room 70 yielded an inset stone perhaps of quartz, a fragment of decayed wood and part of the bone of the upper jaw of the person buried and some teeth. The lower half of a marble draped seated statuette was found at 210 centimeters and a small crude glazed lamp in the sub II level. From the clay brick was recovered a clay votive leg with hole in top (or part of a jointed figure), a male figurine head with three-pointed headdress, part of a short broad pin, perhaps of agate, an iron signet ring, and a small glazed lamp.

Room 68, the corridor which apparently gave access to room 67 with its grave (11), contained only two small lamps (one glazed and one plain), a small shallow mortar of black stone (probably basalt), and a small glazed one-handed jug (from the sub II level).

Room 67 contained a tomb (grave 11) with a single skeleton furnished with many beads, several small vases, a bronze signet ring, etc. Yeivin gives a full report of the 'saddle roof' tomb as well as of the finds.<sup>6</sup> Since 67 is a small room and isolated it appears to have been made at the end of the corridor merely as a funerary chamber.

*Rooms 82, 86, 99, 130, 131, 93 (rooms intermediate between section F and sections B and C).*

It is very difficult as the plan now stands to determine the limits of section F in the southeast corner. The rooms listed above all lie outside the narrow limits of section F conceived of as rectangular in form. If they are included in section F, it is difficult to exclude rooms 57, 58, and 60 on the east side of the south end, rooms which are accessible from 123. Furthermore, the entranceway to section F from street 4 gives access to a number of side rooms as well as to 131, the entrance room to corridor 78 and so the east entrance to section F.

I have arbitrarily included the rooms listed above in section F on the ground that 99, 130, 131 constitute an entrance apartment, and 82, 86, and 93 seem more easily reached, and so connected with the chief rooms of section F, then either the rooms along the east-west entrance corridor or the rooms on the southeast. The two latter groups may be more conveniently described with the appropriate adjacent sections. The difficulty accentuates the problem of divisions within a block and rather strengthens McDowell's contention that all belong to one palace.

Very little was found in 82: three lamps, two of which were originally glazed; a bronze bracelet; and the figurine of a child's head constituted the objects recorded.

The smaller room 86 yielded only a crude clay bead and a mace head of bone or ivory.

Rooms 99, 130, and 131 form an entrance suite from street 4 with perhaps a janitor's quarters. Room 131 communicates directly with corridor 78 and so with section F.

The catalogue mentions a well in 130, though it is not marked on the plan. The well in 131 is marked and indicates an open court. It seems unlikely that a second well would have been made in 130 if they both belonged to the same apartment. Very probably a good deal of alteration occurred during the course of the first level in this southeast corner of section F as indicated by the difficulty of allocating a number of rooms to specific sections. Perhaps, however, the well in 131 was rather a drain.

The single find in room 99 was a bronze coin of Vardanes A.D. 43/4-45/6 found at a depth of half a meter.

In 130 the well yielded parts of four figurines (two of which were parts of animal heads) and an unidentified bronze coin; the room itself supplied another unidentified coin, a figurine of a seated female figure, and a sealing with a monogram.

The well in 131 is much more convincing than that in 130 because it yielded so many jugs and pitchers. There were eight one-handed jugs or pitchers, one jug of two handles, 19 knucklebones, a pot cover, a figurine head, a player's pawn, a bone spindle with part of the whorl, and part of a Parthian bone figurine.

A bone hairpin was discovered in the room itself, a coin of Demetrius I at floor level, two small pieces of thin bronze, a stone whetstone, a conical glass pendant, a pierced bone amulet in the form of a bird, an unidentified bronze coin, and parts of two figurines from the crude brick.

Three pieces of large plaster heads belonging to decorative architectural elements were discovered on the early floor level of 93 and suggest capitals of columns or pilasters framing a doorway. The broad steps from 93 to 88 indicate a monumental door and, in the early period, a doorway immediately opposite across the corridor led to the liwan 101.

Rather interestingly the corridor 78 marks the middle of the block and may have served as part of the entranceway to section F from street 4. The corridor 81/70 probably joined 260 in the middle of the north side of the block, and on the south an entranceway is indicated also in the center of the block. These suggest a unified plan for the whole block in the first period of Level I.

The torso of a marble statuette was recovered in the room (93) and in the clay bricks an alabaster hand holding a small spherical object. A ring of ivory or bone may have represented part of a thumb ring. There were three lamps, a number of beads, two bowls (one glazed), a cosmetic pot, a small one-handed jug, part of a bronze tweezers, a bone whorl, a perforated piece of bone, perhaps the handle of knife or dagger, a fragment of a basalt saucer, and a coin of Vologases V, A.D. 208/8-222/3 found at a depth of about two meters.

### *Section G*

The section in the southwest corner of the block seems to be sharply separated from section F by the corridor 123. As the facade of F projects into street 36 and includes the west end of the corridor, the line between the two houses seems clear. At one period a wall separated 123 from 57 but was then eliminated so that the corridor might give direct access to unit G through rooms 57-58.

Access to the section from the street was obtained through the recessed area 168 on street G and so through 169 and 209. Access might also be obtained from street 4 by the corridor 150 and the large court 194. The area paved with baked brick in the middle of the south side of the block suggests an entranceway, perhaps to a corridor which ran through the middle of the block. The paved area was then built over by the east wall of 221 and the entranceway eliminated.

The section as it stands forms a very satisfactory liwan house with its main courtyard 208 bordered in part with baked brick and flanked to north and south with large open, perhaps vaulted, rooms. The smaller unit to the north (58) is flanked with small side rooms 57 and 60. To the south entrance is obtained to a large room 169 not directly oriented to form a part of the north-south axis. Rather it forms an anteroom or reception room for the entranceway from 168. In the earlier period the paved entrance in 221 would have given access to 169 before the visitor reached 209. The little alcove 223 may have served as the janitor's room.

East of the main court there are two small rooms (one of which [211] is an open alcove) and an entranceway 224 from corridor 225. Corridor 225 separates section G from A and gives access to room 219. The steps in 219 and the narrow paved brick border distinguish it as a room of some importance. Perhaps it served originally as an anteroom for the court and was later supplanted by 169.

West of the court and the chief liwan a series of four rooms lies south of corridor 216 and is accessible only from the main court.

A second good-sized court 192 oriented north and south with the large room 218 across the whole of the south end constitutes the women's quarters. The court has two baked brick foundations, one in the southeast corner, the other along the east wall. A well lies in the western half just north of the center of the room.

Four rooms lie along the west side of court and chief room, one accessible from the court, two from the room to the south and one with entranceway unmarked. A long, fairly large room 164/165 on the west end of the south side has no doors to show attachment to the section.

In section A the very narrow corridor 220 between the shops and the house suggests the shops were a later addition. The thick wall on the north end of 168 supports this hypothesis but the successive stages of development and the original plan are not clear.

It is possible, of course, that section A or part of it belonged to section G and that both formed a part of the larger complex described in F. Since the basic house elements, of major and minor courts with normal orientation, exist in section G and are flanked by side rooms in what seems a conventional manner, the corner unit may be regarded more appropriately, I believe, as a separate section.

*Rooms 208, 209, 58, 57, 60 (the court and rooms to south and north).*

The large court (208) partly bordered by baked brick contained a grave, probably of a child, sixty centimeters below the surface. The remains were disturbed by the digging but 26 beads of glass, clay, lapis, and shell, of various shapes and sizes were recovered. A small bronze in the form, apparently, of a dog appears to have been the pendant in the necklace.



Even with the grave, finds were remarkably few for so large a room. A bronze coin found at a depth of 2 meters belonged to the period A.D. 12-18, a date not far from the close of the third level. An alabaster draped figurine with head and feet missing was found at 50 centimeters and a bone female fetish with face missing. A clay string separator with four holes lay at 20 centimeters and at 2 meters a bone pin with small round head. A small glazed two-handed jar was listed as probably Level II top.

Small finds were the rule in room 209, one-third coming from the mud brick. It is not always easy to distinguish, however, in a crumbling brick wall close to the surface, what was built into the brick and what may have been concealed between bricks. A small unidentified silver coin probably had been concealed in the wall; a bronze coin of 121-83 B.C. is far too early for Level I and a second of 2/4 B.C.—A.D. 4/5 was issued still in the period of Level III. Three other bronze coins were unidentified. There were four lamps, one glazed and three unglazed (one from the liben), two pot covers of clay, and two pieces of carved bone, one a short fetish, the other a pin with crude monster's head. A clay turbaned figurine head with curls on the shoulders came from a depth of 250 centimeters and a female head with conical headdress and knobs in front was recovered from the liben. The only other finds were a small rough clay spool from the top of Level II, a slender glazed two-handed jar at the lowest step level, a clay pitcher with broken rim at 2 meters, a large stone conical truncated whorl, and a stone cylindrical heptagonal seal of brown color and without engraving.

In these finds there was nothing unusual and nothing which particularly distinguished the room.

The rooms 58, 57, and 60 at the north side of the court form a small unit of open liwan and side rooms. The finds were neither large in number nor distinguished.

Three identified bronze coins, two from 58 and one from 57, all recovered in the liben, were dated A.D. 149-155/6, A.D. 15-17, and 162-150 B.C.

From 58 there were also four unidentified bronze coins, as well as a large pointed clay storage jar lying along the west wall at a depth of four feet and a large clay two-handed jug at an unrecorded depth. A clay seal impression was recovered at three feet. Other finds were a small flat bone ring, a glass bird-shaped pendant, fragments of a bronze mirror, a male figurine head, and, from Level II, a reclining female figure with head and feet gone.

From the liben of 57 came an agate bead of barrel shape, a small unglazed lamp, a clay two-handed pot with bell-shaped rim, and the coin of 162-150 B.C. already mentioned. From the room itself the most important find was a small lead weight with a monogram. There was also a clay bead at a depth of 30 centimeters and two fragments of a hollow bronze handle.

Room 60 contained a clay grotesque mask, a bronze disc, a large pointed storage jar, a clay ring or handle probably belonging to the storage jar, a thick bronze ring, and at 170 centimeters the head and breast of a small female figurine with two-knobbed headdress.

*Rooms 168, 169, 222 and 223 (the entrance in the middle of the south side).*

These four rooms form the entranceway south of the liwan

209. It is very unusual to have the entrance to the court from the street through the liwan. It is possible, however, to go around the liwan and approach the court through 219 and corridors, 225 and 224. Room 169 is large and presumably served as an anteroom. Finds were very few and not very revealing.

Room 168, the entrance alcove on street G, yielded one glazed lamp, one large crude clay cosmetic pot, the bowl of a bone spoon, and a bead of red-brown and cloudy-white color.

In room 169 six unidentified bronze coins were recovered, one from the liben. At a level of 20 centimeters above the door sill, were found a large clay lamp, a small clay two-handed jug, and a mother-of-pearl pendant. Elsewhere there was a small glazed lamp at a depth of 1.25 meters; a bone fetish at a depth of 1 meter; a bronze rod-shaped instrument in two pieces at 3 meters, and, at the sub II level, the head and bust of a female figurine represented with veil over the head. In the mud brick a long oval pot was found.

The use of the two small rooms 222 and 223 east of 169 is not clear. If in the earlier period of Level I the entranceway was in 177 as seems most likely, 223 may have served as a janitor's room. In 222 a disturbed grave was found below floor level in the middle of the room. Two skeletons of full grown men were found. The only finds were large amounts of small lumps of plaster beneath the skeletons.

The room 222 yielded a bronze disc at 1 meter, the figurine head of a child with turban at 2 meters, a small thin brown disc of stone at 2 meters, and a clay pot at the sub II level. In the liben was found a bead of shell roughly cut in a barrel shape.

In room 223 the most interesting finds were two pieces of baked brick with relief of a winged griffon in the burnt brick of the south wall, perhaps an ornament for the door. A small glazed lamp was found at a depth of 2 meters and in the mud brick one small unglazed lamp, one large bronze Roman coin, and two smaller coins one of which was dated in 121-83 B.C.

*Rooms 221, 219 and 225 (rooms at the southeast corner).*

When the entrance was 177, the room 219 may well have served as the andron. No finds were made in 225. Yeivin lists a tomb (69) in 221 with beads and a gold fly.

From the brickwork of 219 were recovered six coins, two large, four small, all of bronze. They are not mentioned as recovered together. Dates were extremely varied, one of 280-261 B.C.; one 247-226 B.C., one of A.D. 15-17, one of A.D. 105-108, and one Parthian but not further identified. A small glazed lamp and an amulet of yellow quartz were also found in the brickwork.

Most interesting were 19 clay pellet sealings with long narrow impressions found with a male figurine with Parthian square cut beard in a large pot at a depth of 30 centimeters. The only other find was a crude draped female bust.

Room 221 yielded only a small glazed lamp, a male figurine head, and part of a bone fetish from the room itself, and from the mud brick four large beads, one small glaze inset, and fragments of a bronze mirror.

*Rooms 211, 224, 203, 204 and 73 (rooms in the northeast corner).*

These rooms east of the court are all closely tied to section

G, though 73 gives access to 82 of section F and its relationship is not clear. The southern part of room 73 is numbered 204 in the plan of Level I but no finds are recorded from it. Yeivin lists an infant burial at 1.50 meters in 73. The skeleton was in the bottom of a large jar with no furniture. It is worth noting on the plan that 211 is open to the court and that 203 has the wall on the court side largely supplied. Presumably the foundations were close to the surface and only fragments remained. Finds were remarkably few, two from 211, one from 224, and five from 73, and four from 203.

Room 211 yielded a small bone fetish with legs missing at 1 meter and two bronze coins (one Parthian but not definitely identified) from the liben.

Room 224's only contribution was a wide jar of red clay with red slip from the top of Level II.

Two glazed lamps, one small, one of medium size, were found in 73; a player's pawn of shell and the tubular handle of a knife with wedges carved on one side. From the mud brick was recovered the tiny face of a figurine.

Four coins were recovered in 203; one of 121-73 B.C., one of A.D. 17-18, and one from the sub-floor level of A.D. 9-10.

*Rooms 214, 213, 212, 215, and 216 (rooms west of the court and liwan).*

The first four of these areas constitute the rooms on the west side of the court, with 216 the corridor to court 192. Rooms 214-212 form a single little apartment with 213 a corridor between, and 212 open to the court just at the end of the liwan. One expects, therefore, that this should represent the living quarters of the house or the private quarters of the master. In the corridor 216 Yeivin lists the tomb of a child. The burial was badly disturbed since it lay only 10 centimeters below the surface.

Parts of two clay figurines were found in 214, one a small head with indistinct features, the other a hollow female bust designed as a rattle. There was a small unglazed lamp, a perforated clay disc with design of petals, a bone pin with decorated knob, and, from the mud brick, an unidentified bronze coin.

From 213 only three finds were listed: an unglazed lamp with long nozzle, a small nude female figurine with head missing, and, from the mud brick, a bone pawn.

Two meters below the surface in 212 a hoard of 17 small coins was found, identified as Sasanian bronze. Below floor level pieces of the bone handle of a dagger inscribed with what appeared to be three Pahlevi words were found as was a small iron rod. Two large carnelian beads, one spherical, one barrel-shaped, were recovered and a red stone crystalline amulet. There was also a large bronze ring in the upper II level. Two lamps, one glazed, one unglazed, were found, and also a broken bone fetish, part of an alabaster bottle with decorated neck, and a low squat clay pot glazed inside and on the neck. From the upper II level there was recovered also a gray-green steatite seal with crude signs.

Room 215 yielded ten circular pieces of bronze similar to unstamped coins. Eight were linked together in chains of four each. They may have served as ornaments. The only other find was a bronze, unidentified coin from the mud brick.

Room 216. Except for the tomb already mentioned, the

only finds in 216 were a small unglazed lamp and a figurine with rosettes above the ears.

*Rooms 192 and 218 (the women's quarters).*

These rooms constitute the women's quarters in the inner part of the house. The large court is oriented north and south and the chief room lies on the south side. The plan with southern room stretching the width of the court but with narrow entrance is more consonant with Level II than with Level I and, in fact, the rooms are very close in size and position to 97-96 of Level II. The circles in the court probably represent a wellhead, but no mention of this is made in the catalogue of finds. The southwest corner has a baked brick foundation and another section of baked brick, probably part of a continuous border, was found along the east wall.

The chief find in the court was a cache of 116 silver tetradrachms found beneath the floor in the baked brick of the wall foundations. Traces of threads adhered to the coins. They were all identified by McDowell<sup>7</sup> as belonging to Vologases IV and dating from A.D. 193 to 199. They are, therefore, one of the hoards hidden on the approach of Septimius Severus and never recovered. The coins have been discussed by McDowell.

In room 192 besides the hoard of coins, a bronze coin of 121-83 B.C. was recovered from the mud brick in the east wall and four bronze coins from other mud brick, one of which was identified as belonging to Demetrius II 145-139 and 129-125 B.C. There were four lamps from the room, two glazed, two unglazed, and one small unglazed lamp from the mud brick. Figurines consisted of two of clay (a small female head and a face with rounded hairdo) and three of alabaster, i.e. the lower part of a draped figure, a small kneeling figure with hands on breasts, the face broken, and part of a reclining female figure. Traces of red remained between the legs of the last mentioned and on the stomach and neck of the kneeling figure, as well as on the lips and neck of the clay female head. A small standing draped figurine was also recovered from the mud brick. One small fetish figure was found in the mud brick, one in the room.

A bronze piece of shield-shape with the representation of a man's head may have been part of a door knocker, and a bronze rod terminating in the form of a sitting bird perhaps represented the handle of a mirror. Part of a shallow basalt mortar with splay foot, two cosmetic pots, and a slender alabaster vase suggest occupation of the room by a woman. There was also an iridescent glass whorl and a piece of shell used as pendant ornament. Another piece of shell may have been a player's pawn.

Room 218. An incomplete skeleton of an animal suggests the burial of a pet or a foundation deposit. Two narrow red clay bottles were recovered near the wall foundation. Two pieces of alabaster figurines were recovered, one of the shoulder and upper arm, the second of the head of a female. From the mud brick came the head of a figurine with knobbed headdress and one of a dog with curled tail. There was one slender cylindrical bottle with vermilion spots on a white background, and an oval amethyst bead with the figure of a sphinx cut on one face. Of bone was a pin with decorated head, a blade with the figure of a nude woman for the terminal element, and a button. The only example of pottery was a two-handled clay jar with wide neck.

*Rooms 217, 207, 172/176, 210, 164/165 (rooms along the streets at the southwest corner).*

These rooms form a series along the southwest corner of section G. Rooms 217 and 207 have single entrances into room 218, the room with double numbers 172/176 opens into the court, and the entranceways to 210 and 164/165 were not located. Presumably like the other rooms 210 had a single doorway opening into the court. The entranceways were paved with baked brick and some traces of baked brick pavement remain in 172/176. Burial 51 was recorded by Yeivin in room 207 and a double burial in 176.

From room 217 no finds were listed.

In room 207, burial 51 lay beneath floor level in the west wall. The grave had been disturbed, but the skull remained, along with a small clay lamp and a knucklebone. The grave was that of a female lying on her back. Finds from the room were not numerous and fell largely into the category of common types of pottery and women's ornaments. There was one small glazed lamp, a small clay one-handed jug, a large rounded one-handed jar, and a clay jug with one handle. From the top of the second level a one-handed glazed blue jug with tall and slender neck was recovered. In ornaments there were a mother-of-pearl pendant, a barrel-shaped blue bead perhaps of turquoise, a thick oblong inset of cloudy yellow stone and a small bronze object with traces of lead. Three figurines completed the list of finds: a standing nude female figure with head and arms gone, a small red potbellied dwarf and a female head of alabaster worn and yellowed.

Room 172/176 was inadvertently given two numbers. Yeivin lists a disturbed tomb in the southwest corner below floor level in 176. There were two skeletons, one 40 centimeters below the other. A large round glazed jar was the only find listed for 176 and only three finds in 172: a lapis cylinder seal, the upper half of the figurine of a Satyr playing on an instrument of six pipes, and a small glazed lamp. The last two were listed from the top of Level II.

The most intriguing find of 210 was a round squat two-handed jar just below the bottom of Level I, a jar which contained an ashy substance. At the floor level there was charred palmwood fiber, perhaps charcoal.

The only other finds were a small glazed lamp, a faience two-handed tall jar, a clay pot cover, and one large, shallow basalt bowl with hole in center. It was supported on three short legs.

The long rectangular room 164/165 in the southwest corner of the block has no entranceway to establish its connection with streets or house. A reserved area around all four walls is bordered by a double row of baked brick and suggests the old triclinium.

Finds were not very distinctive and, on that account, suggest connection with the house rather than the street. An iron spearhead suggests the men's quarters. In the east end (164) were found an iron signet ring; four pieces of a bronze disc, perhaps a mirror; a baked brick with a decorative leaf in faience; a spherical pot with sieve bottom; and the figurine head of a child.

The iron spearhead was found in the west end (165). There was also the pedestal of an engaged column, and the plaster head and bust of a female figure, which suggests the capital of a column and so, perhaps, a doorway. The faience head of a female statuette suggests the medallion on a faience vase. Parts

of three figurines were found: one a large crude head, a second a large face, and a figure, nearly complete, of a dove. Pieces of a bone fetish were also recovered. Miscellaneous finds were a round carnelian bead, an unidentified bronze coin, a fragment of gold foil, a ring of shell, a bone pawn, a shallow faience bowl, a pot cover, and a small burnished clay plate with rim. The sifting of the dirt disclosed 152 tiny beads with one large rectangular faience piece. There was a bronze ring with inset of glass or crystal, a bone hairpin, and fragments of a bone instrument. Finally there was a clay potsherd with small jar as spout or handle.

#### *Section A*

The arrangement of sections in the southeast quarter of the block is not clear. Normally one would expect two sections or separate houses south of the middle of the block. Section B falls into this scheme with a group of rooms around the large open court 194. The corridor 266, however, leading from the court 194 to the large open area 190-193 does not fit into the usual plan of independent units.

In the big open court 190/193 one expects some room walls and very probably the erosion of the soil has destroyed both walls and their foundations. The court on the street sides, that is to south and east, has a series of rooms, none of which give access to the court. Room 191 is marked off by a burnt brick pavement rather than a wall and the arrangements of room 91, marked as solid wall space east of 204 in plan IA, is not clear at all. Room 206 is the only one with clear doorway to the court, therefore, and this is accessible also from section G through 225. The infant burial in 193 suggests but does not prove occupation by a family. Finds in all the rooms were small and not very distinctive. They suggest the usual household occupation.

#### *Rooms 190/193/191, 91, 206 (the central area with court).*

The big court 190/193 carries also the number 191 within the paved area on the west central part of the court, and in some plans<sup>8</sup> has also the numbers 232 and 252 in the north-east corner. No finds were listed for 252, only one for 191, and four for 232. Ordinarily an area enclosed in a burnt brick perimeter would indicate an open court, but the lack of finds makes this identification doubtful. The finds may conveniently be listed under the numbers designating areas but probably they should be regarded as a group reflecting occupation of a house whose floor levels have been destroyed.

The largest number of finds came from 190. From the surface were gathered ten bronze coins, nine small and one large, two of which were identified as belonging to Parthian kings, one to Vardenes I A.D. 39-47/48 and the second to Vologases III A.D. 148-192. There were three hoards of coins, the first of six silver tetradrachms found in a greenish glaze jar; the second of 236 bronze (65 large and 171 small) recovered in a bluish gray vessel, and the third of 450 large and small bronze coins found with parts of a broken vase.<sup>9</sup> They all have A.D. 165/166 for their latest date. There were five small glazed lamps; one female figurine head from the surface and two parts of figurines from the mud brick, one a small crude head, the other a female torso and head with pointed cap. Two bone fetishes were recovered, one at one meter, one at two; part of a comb carved like a bone figurine was found at one meter and one was found in the mud brick.

The most interesting find was the fragment of an ivory box with a small winged Cupid in relief. There was a bent bronze spatula and a bronze ring. The pottery included a glazed two-handled jug, a large complete bowl, a small clay pot, and a jug or pitcher with one handle. A piece of hollow bone with four hold stops belonged to a flute or musical pipe. Some pieces of well-charred barley were found at 25 centimeters below the top of the west wall.

Room 193 contained the burial of an infant in a round two-handled jar 60 centimeters below the surface. A fragment of plaster decorated with square insets or coffers at 1.60 centimeters suggests the decoration of the doorway. Three jugs were found at surface level, two with single handles, the third with top broken. There was also a jar with pointed base and one handle from the surface. A small glazed lamp, a bone hairpin, part of the figurine of a horse crudely modelled, a large shallow glazed bowl, part of a hollow bone pipe with simple incised decorations, and bits of pink pigment completed the room finds. In the mud brick a coin of 145-139, 130-125 B.C. was recovered, apparently employed in the manufacture of the bricks.

From room 232 were recovered two small glazed lamps, the clay head of a child, and at almost two meters a coin of A.D. 43-44. No finds were recorded for 252 and from the area 191 bordered with a line of baked brick, a single find, a bone player's pawn. The depth was not listed.

A spherical carnelian bead was listed under room 91 as was an unidentified bronze coin. From the mud brick was recovered a bent bronze spatula and a small glazed lamp. In the later map the area is marked as a solid foundation.

Room 206 was a little more productive. Beneath the foundations of the south wall a coin of 121-83 B.C. was found, a large bronze coin of Seleucus I (311-280) was recovered from the mud brick as well as an unidentified bronze coin. There were also two small glazed lamps, and a clay pottery separator. A fragment of a clay plaque found at one meter was molded in the representation of a boy riding a goose.

*Rooms 177, 175, 178, 202, 201, 220 (rooms along street G).*

Along street G there is a series of rooms with single entrances to the street. Apparently they are shops but the finds are not distinctive enough to identify the merchandise.

The rather small room 177 yielded a round crystal bead, a tall slender pitcher, a small bronze unidentified coin, two small two-handled jugs, nine lamps all small and glazed, and two fragments of figurines, one part of a small reclining female figure, the other a female head with heavy coils of hair behind the neck.

The larger room 175 yielded six small glazed lamps and pieces of five figurines; part of a dove, two female heads, a reclining female figure, and a seated boy carrying a jar on his shoulder. In addition there was a piece of a glass bottle, a large glazed jar, part of a bronze rod (found enclosed in a jar with one of the lamps), a small blue glass whorl, and a piece of yellow frit.

Room 178 contained only two small glazed lamps, an unidentified bronze coin found embedded in the mud brick, a small glazed bowl, and a crude clay cosmetic pot.

Only two finds were recorded from 202: the upper part of a mold for a figurine made of plaster and a bronze spatula blade.

Three coins were found in the mud brick of room 201; one of Demetrius II, one of 38-37 or 32-31 B.C., and one of A.D. 69/70. A small draped figurine with perforations at top and bottom was found at a depth of 50 centimeters and the head and bust of a figurine at 60 centimeters. The only other finds were a glazed lamp, a clay cosmetic pot, and a large one-handled clay pitcher, all found at a depth of two meters.

Room 220, a narrow corridor, perhaps a staircase, separates the rooms along street G from the court. The only finds were a lamp at a depth of one meter and, from the mud brick, one bead and one unidentified bronze coin.

*Rooms 200, 199, 196, 197, 179, 233 (rooms along street 4).*

Three rooms 200, 199, 196 in the southeastern corner of the block apparently form an independent apartment whose entryway was not established. The baked brick pavement east of 196 suggests the entry was from the street.

In 196 burial 46 yielded an unidentified coin above the right shoulder of the skeleton, perhaps dropped from the mouth, and the fragment of a bronze bracelet.

The only other finds from the room were two small glazed lamps, a plain bone whorl, and part of a draped figurine.

Room 199 yielded a large collection of objects, most of them of usual type belonging to a household. There were three faience pilgrim flasks, five glazed lamps, and parts of six figurines: the head of an ape, a standing figurine of draped mother with child, a female torso made without hands or feet, a rider with head and legs missing, a nude child with vessel on the shoulder and another of a child carrying something on the arm. The bone objects consisted of a whorl or small perforated disk, a conical decorated whorl and a pointed handle with finial bearded head (strigel?). Three unidentified coins were found at 3.25 meters and another in the mud brick perhaps belonging to Level II. Three shallow green-glazed bowls may have served as vase stoppers or plates or both. More elaborate was a two-handled jug glazed in two different shades. It is not clear, however, whether this was the effect of weathering. Common types of pottery were more numerous: two small ointment pots, two tall slender one-handled jugs, and a juglet with narrow neck and a single broken handle. One small jug with one handle, found at 3.25 meters was of a rich red burnished color. There was also the head of an iron axe, a carnelian bead of barrel shape with polygonal cutting, and a pedestal of baked brick pyramidal in form.

The inner corner room (200) contained at 1.90 meters the fragment of a stele with fragments of seven lines of inscription in Greek.<sup>10</sup> The only other unusual finds were two pieces of a clay box or lantern. Otherwise the finds were routine: a small clay pot cover, a shallow clay bowl, three clay pitchers, a clay plaque of a draped female figure with traces of pink and green coloring, and the fragment of a large glazed platter. There was also a bone handle and two one-handled jugs, one small, the other of medium size with faience cover.

No evidence for the doorway in 179 remains but apparently it opened on the street as did 197 and 233. The room 179 was so narrow, however, it might more appropriately have served as an entranceway to the court. In room 197 an infant burial was found at 80 centimeters in a glazed cooking vessel located in the northeast corner. The threshold of an earlier doorway was found in the northern part of the room. Baked brick pavement close to the southern doorway but not extending

into the northern part of the room suggests originally 197 had formed two rooms. Finds in all three rooms were very small.

From the lower threshold of 197 two coins were recovered, one of which dated from A.D. 43-46. This would place the doorway in the beginning of the second period. A bone handle recovered at a depth of 1.30 meters was carved in the form of a running horse. There were also pieces of two bone instruments, a bronze bead, a tall clay vase, and a large crude vessel with two handles and glazed inside, found at a depth of 1.30 meters.

The only finds listed from 179 were a crude faience lamp and a clay loom weight.

The room 233 yielded four lamps, two of which were glazed, the head of a figurine with two-peaked headdress, a small glazed cosmetic jar, a large clay jar with one handle, two large vessels glazed inside, and a broken black and white whorl. A small clay box supported on four legs (8 x 7 x 3 centimeters) found at a depth of 1.60 meters was decorated with a reclining female figure in relief across the front.

### *Section B*

The large court 194 and adjacent rooms seem to form a separate section but the corridor 266 may mean a close connection with section A. The east-west corridor 235/236 separates the section, but at the same time connects it rather closely with the single rooms to the north. From the broader point of view, the corridor 235/236 is not located as close to the center of the block as corridor 78, which runs toward the center of the great court of section F. In the earlier levels the east half of the block was divided into two equal parts by a well-marked corridor, one which separated sections B and C. In Level I, apparently, a corridor, part of which remains in 78, ran toward the middle of the court of section F and divided equally the eastern half of the block. In the later phase the liwan 94 south of court 61 included the corridor. To section C, presumably, should be allocated rooms 239 and 147 to the south. This leaves the rooms 87, 234, 153, 148 north of the corridor 235/236, between sections B and C. It seems more convenient to describe them as part of section B, particularly as the corridor 235/6 ends in 130.

### *Rooms 194, 237, 238, 107, 90, 85, 98, 266, 105 (the court and adjacent rooms to north and west).*

A narrow passageway south of 107 also gives access to room 86 in section F. The passageway was unnumbered and presumably had no finds. No finds were listed from room 85.

The large entrance room 237 yielded only three finds: a small green-glaze pot, a large female torso and arms with one hand holding apparently a morsel of food, and two fragments of a clay grotesque mask.

The very narrow room 238 yielded only a grey steatite whorl and an upper part of a female figurine with a two-knob hairdo.

The only number, 194, assigned to the large open court seems to designate particularly the southeast corner. The finds listed were five small lamps, of which four were glazed, part of a glazed jar handle with geometric monogram, a figurine head with peaked headdress, a small clay cosmetic pot, a bone whorl, an hexagonal bead of limestone, and a clay bowl or jar stopper inside a large jar found in the southwest corner. From

the mud brick came a glass amulet or ornament and six bronze coins, one of which was allocated to the period 145-141 B.C.

The northwest corner of the court forms the open room 107. In the southwest corner of the west wall the undisturbed grave of a full-grown male was discovered. From the surface came a clay pawn and from the wall between 107 and 105 a clay pot cover. The mud brick yielded a figurine head with bitumen showing at the break across the shoulders and a limestone player's pawn. Listed also are an urn-shaped cosmetic pot, a cylindrical stone bead found with a large clay jar, and a rounded, glazed jug lacking neck and handle.

The second open room, 90, on the west side of the court yielded only a small pitcher with broken handle and a four-sided green-glazed bead.

Room 98 contained only the capital of an engaged plaster column found near the surface at the south wall and, from the mud brick, the upper part of a terracotta male dwarf with pointed beard.

The little corridor 266 to section A contained a figurine head and bust with hands on breasts.

The northwest corner of room 105 contained the burial of an infant, 80 centimeters below the surface, laid in the contracted position. It lay in a jar and beside it was a shallow bowl or pot cover. Nine finds were listed: two lamps, a glazed jug with one handle, the foot of a large figurine, an unidentified bronze coin, an ivory or bone hairpin, a medium sized clay jar without handles, an unengraved scarab of carnelian and a small carnelian bead.

### *Rooms 195, 253 and 246 (rooms along street 4).*

In addition to the narrow little room 238 (already described) three rooms lay on the east side of the court, each with a single doorway which gave on the court. Traces of burnt brick pavement were found in and around the entrance of 246. In the north wall and below floor level of 195 was a grave that Yeivin suggests may belong to Level II.

Finds were small: two glazed lamps, a squat clay vase without handles, an unidentified coin with silver wash, a small bone fetish with legs missing, and a large jar with one handle which contained animal bones.

An undisturbed grave of a small child was found in the northeast corner of 253. The skeleton had been placed upright in a large torpedo-shaped jar.

There were discovered in the room two small glazed lamps, a figurine head with high hairdo, a small clay jug with one handle, a long bronze spatula, and a clay pilaster fragment undecorated (perhaps from Level II). From the mud brick there were recovered two unidentified bronze coins.

The same type of finds continued in 246: one small clay lamp, one figurine of a draped female figure, part of a curved iron blade (strigil?), a clay jug with one handle, a cosmetic jar with no handles, and a bronze coin of 42-40 B.C. found at a depth of two meters.

From the mud brick came a small glazed lamp and a painted clay bust of a large figurine.

### *Rooms 150, 241, 152, 235/236, 198, 148, 153, 234 and 87 (the corridor in section B and adjacent rooms).*

The corridor 235/236 running east-west gives the only apparent access to the center of the block from the street and allows communication with section F through room 131. The

corridor opens out in two places to give the appearance of rooms 150 and 152 in the plan, but these wider portions may be considered as light wells. To the south, room 198 opens just beyond the entrance to the corridor and may be considered the room of a janitor. On the north a series of four single, individual rooms opens from the corridor before one reaches the larger unit 131, which with 130 and 99 was considered with section F. The rooms appear to be small separate apartments rather than shops.

The corridor itself is divided into the numbered rooms 150, 241, 152, 235, and 236. The individual numbers confuse the picture of the corridor as a unit but make it possible to allocate the position of finds more closely, though in this particular case the finds were not particularly distinctive.

Room 150 yielded one clay pitcher, one round stone bead, an incomplete robed female figurine, and three jar covers, one of which was glazed.

The four finds recorded from 241 included a one-handled jug covered with a large potsherd and containing a gray substance, perhaps vegetable matter; a bone figurine of the usual form; and one small glazed lamp.

The western section of the light well, numbered 152, contained only a two-handled glazed jar, a tall glazed pitcher, and a spherical glass bead. In the sub I level a bronze coin in good condition belonged to Antiochus IV, 175-164 B.C.

The extension of the corridor to the west, 235, yielded a small spur separator and a two-handled jar. From the liben were recovered a cosmetic pot, a bone hairpin, and part of a figurine of boy with goose.

From a well in 236 there were recovered one two-handled jug and two of one handle, two pot covers, and the head of a figurine marked with green paint. From the upper level of the corridor came a veined limestone bead and a large deep bowl; from the liben an unidentified bronze coin and a very small cosmetic dish. Beneath the top level and, therefore, perhaps belonging to Level II were found a bone hairpin, a figurine head with low stephane, two small glazed lamps, the torso of a rider with cloak swirling behind, and a clay leg, apparently an amulet or offering.

Chief find in this janitor's room, 198, was a cache of 251 small bronze coins dating largely from the time of Vologeses III, A.D. 148-192. The cache lay in the northwest corner of the room at a depth of 1.8 meters. It might be construed as the hoard of tips received by the janitor for opening the door.

There was in addition only a disc-shaped bone object, perhaps a pawn, and a clay pitcher with narrow base.

Room 148 was separated from the corridor by a narrow runway which makes a right-angle turn before reaching the northwest corner of the room. A storage jar was found at a depth of 60 centimeters, the handle of a large pitcher, a large jar with neck broken, a glazed deep plate or bowl, and the open bowl of a large lamp. A small glazed lamp and a tall narrow-necked glazed jar were also recovered. More interesting was the small bronze statuette of a bearded man. A second small glazed lamp was recovered from the sub I level and an unidentified coin from the mud brick.

In the doorway of 153 at a depth of 1.80 meters an infant burial was discovered in a large round-bottomed jar with two handles capped by a faience plate cover. Close to the surface, four jars were recovered, namely two two-handled faience jugs, and one pitcher with glaze, one without. Some charred grain

was found in the soil and some charred cereal in two jars. At a depth of one meter a small unglazed lamp and charred vegetable matter were recovered.

Only two finds were recorded from 234, a small glazed lamp at 80 centimeters and the head of an alabaster female statuette.

Room 87 yielded a broken small glass phial, a small glazed lamp, a glazed pot cover, a pitcher with broken handle, and parts of three figurines. One was a hollow female bust with three pellets rattling within; the second was a male head with high headdress and the third a large male face.

### *Section C*

The basic elements of section C seem clear, a large rectangular (almost square) courtyard 61 marked with a border of baked brick, in this case a single row a little distance from the walls, and on the south a great open room, 94, perhaps vaulted in the liwan style. Around this center are grouped the smaller rooms, but their relationships to the central court are obscured by the loss of doorways. To the northwest, the walls are gone entirely and the divisions of 243 (in section D) are lost, and consequently the arrangements of the rooms in this corner.

One expects a series of smaller rooms around the great court and consequently that 244 and 139 should belong to the section as should some of the small rooms on the east (140, 142, 144, 141, 247, etc.). Originally also 92 and 89 as well as part of 243 probably belonged to this section.

It is curious that the only apparent entrance lay through the large room 93, and this opened on the alleyway running through the center of the block. If 93 is the only entranceway, there should be, it seems to me, a doorway between 240 leading directly into 61 so that an immediate approach to the central court would be available from 93. The narrow east-west room 242 suggests a second entrance to 94 may have been built from street 4.

In discussing the section, it seemed best to assign to section C rooms 244 and 139 on the north, and 92 on the west, but to omit 89 since it communicates with 243 and the walls to the north are lost. I take it that room 151 belonged to a series of shops along street 4 as did 248-54 and 48-2x (to the north). To this same group may belong 140, 142, 141, 144, and 247, but as they lie directly east of the court they may be considered with this section. To section C also belong rooms 239, 147, and 151 to the south of the court.

After the construction of the rectangular court the northwest corner was cut off by the strong walls of 143. The walls were above the baked brick of 61 and lay so close to the surface that the doorways were not apparent. It may belong to the period after the general abandonment of the city following its surrender to Septimius Severus.

### *Rooms 240, 94, 61 and 143 (the court, liwan, entrance and northwest corner).*

The corridor 240 yielded some fragments of gold thread, three small glazed lamps, one of which is recorded as found in the drain, a bronze rod bent at right angles, a faience lamp saucer and the marble torso of a reclining figurine.

Room 94 yielded seven fragments of plaster architectural decoration, some on the surface and some just beneath. At least three designs were represented. There was a broad meander pattern set with circles enclosing six-petalled rosettes

made with arcs of circles. The design was broad enough to include meanders on each side of a central line. The surface was flat, the cutting moderately deep, the background painted red. A single spiral was molded rather than cut with flat surface and was of the type commonly found with a central elliptical leaf or with a step meander. The cutting was shallow and the background was red. A repeated elliptical pattern may have been the overall design of interlocking circles and rosettes. There is no indication of curve in the small pieces at Michigan and they may have served as decorative string bands in the hall. At Assur similar designs are used on architraves as well as on the soffits of arches in the corridors.<sup>11</sup> Since the pieces at Seleucia are small, however, they may have belonged to curved surfaces such as the facade or the soffit of the arch. They give evidence in any case that the great open room 94 was decorated with Parthian designs in plaster and indicate, therefore, that the room belonged to the Parthian liwan class with vaulted roof.

Two bronze Roman coins found near the surface and belonging to the time of Trajan offer the possibility that the section was constructed early in the first period.

Other finds were insignificant, though from the mud brick two bricks stamped with inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar were recovered. A small unglazed lamp was found at a depth of 2 meters, a faience whorl and a barrel-shaped glazed bead at 2.10 meters and from closer to the surface a carved bone piece belonging apparently to a pyxis, a two-handled faience jug, a broken pot cover, and a cylindrical bead of dark stone or bitumen.

The 32 finds listed from 61 require only a summary here. There were two heads of clay figurines, parts of three figurines in marble or alabaster, and the upper part of a bone figurine. A bronze coin was dated A.D. 24/5-26/7 in the time of Artabanus III and a coin from the mud brick belonged to the period 121-83 B.C. From the bottom of a drain came six glass beads (four orange, two green) and one glass inset. A coral bead was significant as showing a connection with the Mediterranean. A mold, glazed inside, represented a mask or grotesque face. Otherwise the finds comprised the usual lamps, small jugs, unidentified coins, beads, a bronze bell, etc.

The finds from 143 added another bone female figurine with head, feet, and arms missing; a bronze coin of Paconus II, A.D. 83/4; two lamps (one glazed); a cosmetic pot; and a large glazed two-handled jar. The coin and one of the lamps came from below the Level I floor.

*Rooms 239, 147 and 151 (rooms south of the liwan).*

Room 239 forms an inner room to the south of the liwan 94. A border of baked brick tiles as well as its size marks it as an important room. The purpose of a rectangular niche placed in the middle of the west wall and paved with baked brick is not clear. Opposite the niche a paved doorway leads to room 147.

Room 239 yielded a part of a marble statuette, a bronze bell with iron clapper, a small grotesque male figurine with chin on knees, a bronze horn belonging to the figurine of an animal and, below the Level I floor, a jar handle stamped with a monogram. From the mud brick of the north wall came a baked brick fragment with part of the griffon figure with snake or lizard tail. The rest of the 15 finds listed were not of special interest.

From room 147 only three finds are listed, the upper half of a figurine of Heracles with the lion's skin, a small glazed bust, and the mold of a negroid face with open mouth.

A hoard of 40 small and one large bronze coins in 151, found 40 centimeters below the surface, belonged to the period of Vologeses III, A.D. 148-192. A large, thin silver coin found separate from the hoard belonged to Mithradates II, 123/22-91/90 B.C. Otherwise the finds were routine: two lamps (one from the mud brick, one from below floor level), a glazed pitcher, and a large deep faience bowl.

*Rooms 146, 166/145, and 242 (rooms east of the liwan 94).*

Room 146 forms a narrow corridor from the south end of the court to the large room 166/145; and yielded only two finds, a small glazed lamp at 50 centimeters and a broken ivory or bone hairpin below floor level.

Room 242 is completely isolated in the plan but may originally have served as an entranceway from the street. It lay above the middle-block corridor of Level II. The only find was a small glazed lamp found at a depth of 2 meters.

The large room 166/145 was taken at first to be divided in two, and consequently received two numbers in the plan. Perhaps it is useful to note that the foot and head of an alabaster figurine, probably acrolithic, was found in 166 as was the head of a bone knife or pin carved in the form of the forelegs and head of a charging animal (wild boar?). An alabaster arm probably belonging to the statuette mentioned in 166 was found in 145 and an iron knife blade, perhaps belonging to the bone handle of 166. The two parts of the room together yielded three unidentified coins, two crude glazed lamps, parts of two small clay figurines, beads or buttons, two jars, and a clay pot cover.

*Rooms 140, 141, 142, 144, and 247 (rooms east of the court).*

In this series east of the court 61, only one doorway remains. It connects the narrow rooms 142 and 144 and is scarcely narrower than the rooms themselves. One expects that the section C would include the rooms to the east, but it is quite possible that they had access to the street also.

Curiously enough, only two finds were made in the largest room, 140; a small clay jug and a bronze coin of A.D. 9/10.

Room 141 yielded parts of a bone hairpin, a glazed bead, a small jar of one handle, a glazed lamp, and the bearded face of a figurine.

Two small glazed lamps were the only finds in 247.

Room 144 yielded a bronze coin of A.D. 11/12-15/16 and a small round gold leaf. Six finds were listed in 142: an inset of carnelian or glass, two small glazed lamps, a jar with glazed interior, a figurine of a child's face, and the lower half of a blue glazed amuletic figure.

*Rooms 244 and 139 (rooms north of the court).*

Rather arbitrarily perhaps, I have included these two rooms in section C. The wall to the north, however, seems particularly strong as well as the wall to the west. A long corridor with a doorway connects the two rooms but the extension of the corridor beyond the doorway suggests that originally access to the street was obtained in this corner. A street entrance and a right-angle turn before entrance to the main courtyard would not have been usual. It is just possible that in the troubled times toward the close of the city's history, outer

doorways were blocked up in favor of the more easily protected entrances in the center of the block.

The inner room 244 of the apartment yielded three small glazed and one unglazed lamp, a bead, part of a grotesque figurine, a piece of plaster molded in a spool design (perhaps from an architectural decoration), and, probably from the mud brick, a bead of lapis and two sealings with identical impressions.

Below floor level in 139 the undisturbed burial of an infant (grave 64) in contracted position was found. With the skeleton were two glass beads, one bronze coin (unidentified), and a fragment of an iron knife. Bird bones were listed as found in the earth filling of a jar.

Three identifiable coins were recovered: a large silver coin of Phraates IV, 38/7-2/1 B.C., at a depth of 25 centimeters, a bronze coin of Vologeses II, A.D. 133/4-148/52, from the northwest corner, and in the second tier of the west wall a bronze coin of Vologeses III dated A.D. 174/5-177/78.

A very striking find was a capital broken into two pieces, illustrated in the *Preliminary Report*.<sup>12</sup> An acanthus leaf is represented at the base and above the winged figure of a boy seated on a goose. The short wings stretch out to either side of the frontal figure of the boy to support the projecting corners of the capital. It is not clear where a column with such a capital would have stood in 139. Possibly it belonged originally to some other room in the house. The capital itself forms an interesting combination of Greek motifs with the oriental development of column capitals.

There was a comparatively large number of iron fragments: part of an iron blade or scabbard, two fragments of an iron blade, two broken iron keys, parts of an iron chisel, and three iron nails. Other finds worthy of remark were a gold earring, a thin oblong rectangular ivory plaque, and the head of a figurine with hair curling around the face. The wheel of a child's toy reminds one of the infant's grave but was not found in the tomb. Pottery and lamps, pieces of bronze instruments, and unidentified coins comprised the other finds. The room was apparently an important one and one extensively used. Unfortunately, as has been remarked, its connection with adjacent rooms except 244 is not clear.

#### *Room 92 (west of room 143 and court 61).*

The cache of 214 silver tetradrachms found three meters beneath the floor in room 92 was astonishing.<sup>13</sup> The hoard was contained in a jar and fragments of the cloth bag in which the coins had been wrapped were still recognizable. The coins all belong to Vologeses III and date, as McDowell points out, from A.D. 148 to A.D. 165/6. They are related, therefore, to the capture of the city by Verus in A.D. 165. Probably the hoards of bronze coins of the period of Vologeses III from rooms 151 and 141 may be attributed to the same disaster. The hoard illustrates in part the difficulty in the levels at Seleucia, for were the coins not plainly dated, the find at three meters would reasonably have been assigned to Level II or III.

Along the east wall a grave (16) with four bodies was discovered. The skeletons (one of which was of a child) lay on a rubble frame but without coffins. The bodies had been disturbed and one suspects that the burial had been hasty since it was not deeply dug; that a certain amount of wealth had been buried with them; and that the grave was known. It seems reasonable to infer that the family owning the house

was slain in the attack on the city and buried with a minimum of ceremony. Such a destruction would account for the hoard of silver coins never being recovered.

Fragments of figurines included a male head with pointed hat cut with vertical lines, part of a female figure reclining on a couch, half of a ram's head and neck, and the grotesque head representing the spout of a vessel. The only other finds were three beads and a tall glazed jug with one handle.

The intrinsic value of the hoard represents a man of wealth and, since room 92 lies immediately west of the great court, it may reasonably be attributed to section C. One may infer, therefore, that in Level I, previous to the attack of Verus, a wealthy citizen occupied the eastern center of the block in a fairly spacious and well-decorated house. It does not compare with the size of unit F in the middle of the west side, but it did form a comparatively large unit set in what was obviously the choice position in the block. One may assign to the period after 164 the carving up of the courtyard by the intrusion of 143 in the northwest corner. One may suspect also that many other architectural changes were made in this later period in an impoverishment revealed in this encroachment in court 61. The baked brick step south of room 143 suggests an entry to 92 from 61 made after the encroachment of 143.

#### *Sections D and E*

Sections D and E have been left to the last because the evidence of the walls is least satisfactory at the north and of the block. The block seems to have remained divided by the north-south alleyway 260-70. One supposes there were corner sections on either side of this division and the large open halls, 111 and 135, appropriately placed to the north and south of what might be a great courtyard in unit E, suggest the main axis of a residence.

On the east side of the block there are even fewer walls remaining and the only rooms, except for room 245, are the series along street 4 and along a part of street H. Apparently there was a recessed area along street H to the east and west of alley 260 which might have formed a parking space for horses and chariots, as well as providing an impressive facade for the north entrance to the block. It lends support to Mr. McDowell's theory that the whole block comprised one unit. It is well to keep in mind that the period of Level I, the time from Trajan to Septimus, was divided by the conquest of Verus in 164/5 and that the arrangements after the occupation of Verus may have undergone many alterations. An exploration of other blocks would be most useful in providing further evidence, and especially to confirm the apparent arrangement along street H. Some of the block may have been destroyed in the attack of Verus and not rebuilt.

I propose to take up the individual rooms as far as they are well defined and then to survey the finds in the vacant central areas, noting the provenance only of particularly significant finds since the location and purpose of individual rooms are lost. Room 245 offers a convenient starting place, then 248 will be examined and the successive rooms north along the street and then west.

In room 245 at the southeast corner of the great court, a large coin, apparently silver, of Vologeses III and dated A.D. 159/160, was found at a depth of 50 centimeters. Burial 55, an open burial of a full grown male, lay along the north side of



the room, 60 centimeters below the surface. Fragments of one or two glass tear bottles lay on the chest.

Other finds in the room consisted of three small glazed lamps, a clay spout in the form of a conventionalized lion's head, a bone bead or whorl, and parts of two figurines, one the face of a child, the second a bearded head with high headdress.

*Rooms 248, 54, 48, 2x, 42, 39, 37, 33, 31, and 155 (rooms along street 4).*

Room 248 yielded only one cosmetic pot and one small glazed lamp.

Ten finds are listed under 54, but two, a small glazed lamp and a figurine of a standing nude female, are listed in Level II, and a faience pitcher was recovered just outside and south of the room. There were two small glazed one-handled jugs or pitchers, a plaster ring perhaps serving as a loom weight, a barrel-shaped agate bead, an unidentified bronze coin, a bone hairpin, and a small glazed lamp.

Room 2x may have served as an entrance to 245 since the space is too narrow for a serviceable room and it runs beyond the entrance to 48. No finds were recorded from the room and from 48 only seven items: a flat-bottomed glass bottle minus the neck, a ring of baked clay, a two-handled clay water jar, an unidentified coin, a marble female face and neck with traces of color on the lips and nostrils, a clay grotesque dwarf with legs broken, and the end of a clay column with blue glaze found west of 48 in room 245 but listed under 48.

No finds were listed in 42.

The single find of burial 75, a small glass bottle, was listed under 39, but the grave which contained three skeletons actually lay under the east wall of 155 in the northwest corner of 39. There were three skeletons buried under the wall. The only finds from 39 itself were a large clay round-bottomed cooking pot with twisted 'rope' handles, a small glazed lamp at 50 centimeters; a female head with two-bun hairdo from 180 centimeters; and one unidentified bronze coin.

In 37, two small glazed lamps were found in the wall and a female figurine head with crescent tiara. A third small glazed lamp was found at 180 centimeters, a female head with smooth hairdo at 150 centimeters, and, below the high mud brick wall, a bronze coin of A.D. 43-44. The only other finds were a frowning male figurine head with headdress broken at 2 meters and a female figurine head with two-pointed hairdo in the sub II level.

The large number of small finds listed from 33 is probably due to the two burials in the room, though the larger part of the finds was not actually identified as belonging to the burials. Burial 63 was beneath the floor level in the southwest corner along the west wall and contained the skeleton of one full grown person with one stone bead and two coins near the feet. Grave 92 was below floor level, partly under the south wall and resting on the orthostates. The baked brick cover had been largely removed in the ancient robbing of the grave. Still remaining were some gold threads, a bone pin, and two unidentified bronze coins.

At a depth of 40 centimeters a hoard of eleven bone, nude figurines of the fetish type were recovered and at 70 centimeters a jar with the bones of a bird, apparently a chicken.

There were a number of beads, parts of a bronze mirror, a bronze signet ring, a steatite whorl, some of the common types of pottery, small lamps, and parts of clay figurines.

The greater part of the finds from 31 was recovered from grave 62 which lay along the west wall 50 centimeters below the surface of the ground. At least four people had been buried in the grave, but the bones were scattered in ancient pillaging. The finds were largely bronze ornaments with a silver ring and one small gold bead included. An iron key was found in the finger bones of one figure.<sup>14</sup>

Apart from the grave but probably representing a scattered piece, was the lower and upper jaw of a skeleton discovered in the street wall. A carnelian bead and the figurine of a setting hen were listed with definite place of find.

More interesting was the stamped Greek jar handle found under the south drain.

From the brickwork of the south wall came a bronze coin dated A.D. 149/50-155/56 and a marble female head with faience eyes and plaster headdress. A whorl of steatite and a crude female fetish from 150 centimeters were the only other finds.

From the long room 155 only one find was recorded, namely, scales and spines of animal or vegetable matter at 2 centimeters.

*Rooms 35 and 41 and alcove 120 (rooms along the east end of Street H).*

From the mud brick of 35 two bronze coins were recovered, one of which was identified as belonging to Osroes, A.D. 113/4-119/20. The upper part of a figurine of Harpocrates with finger in mouth was found at 120 centimeters and at 40 centimeters a large wide vessel with interior glazed. The last find was a stamped jar handle, located below floor level. The catalogue records the four bar sigma.

Only five items were recorded from room 41: a faience bead, a glazed pitcher, two settings linked together for insets, perhaps of silver, and a small faience lamp at 160 centimeters.

The alcove 120 in the street might be recorded here also, particularly as it yielded only one conical type basalt pestle and a round glass bead.

*The open area 243, with 89, 40, 250, 251, 259, 43, 154, 262 (also 38, 34, shown on Van Ingen's plan in the northeast corner).*

The area 243 is fairly well defined in the southwest corner of the court and it gives access to 89. Since 89 and 92 are the same width they very possibly belong to the same section. With the door between 89 and 243 clearly marked, and no entranceway to 92, I have allocated 89 to section D and 92 to section C (already described).

In room 243 burial 54 was discovered. The body, without coffin, was laid on a rubble base along and partly beneath the south wall. Most of the finds were made in the grave or close to it and may be associated with the burial. There was a round carnelian bead, a semiprecious stone (garnet?) in a flat gold setting (probably an earring) found on the surface and a decorated bone hairpin found at a depth of 30 centimeters. At a depth of one meter a bead pendant was recovered and a two-handled faience jar. One of two bronze coins in the brickwork was identified as belonging to A.D. 119/120. A small juglet was recovered at 1.70 meters and at the top of Level II a small unglazed lamp.

The finds in 89 were not particularly distinguished, though one fragment of molded plaster decoration was found in the

east wall. There were two unidentified coins, a small bronze signet ring, two lamps, a broken bone figurine, a faience bead, and a two-handled glazed jar listed as belonging to Level II.

One may report separately on room 40 since it has well-defined borders on two sides and part of the third. The finds, however, were not distinguished. There were three small glazed lamps, part of a marble statuette of a reclining draped woman, a perforated clay disc, a round flat mother-of-pearl bead, and one large wide-bottomed jar of clay.

In the wide central area a large round-bottomed pot was recovered under the baked brick drain in 262. A bronze Sassanian coin was found at a depth of one meter, a large silver coin of Vologeses III, A.D. 172-173, at a depth of 40 centimeters, and on the surface a large silver coin of Vologeses V, A.D. 208/9-222/23. A bronze coin from the west wall was dated 145-139, 129-125 B.C.

Parts of five bone figurines of fetish type were recovered scattered over three different areas, six parts of marble figurines, and only four pieces of clay figurines. A large number of the finds are listed from the surface but placed in areas designated by numbers. In 154 no finds were recorded. In addition to the finds mentioned, the large proportion was small lamps and the smaller types of pottery.

The corridor 260 separates section D from section E. Rather interestingly the walls on either side of the corridor break off short on the south with a step of baked brick between. On the south side of the court the corridor 70 continues with well-defined walls for some distance north and south, but also ends with a step of baked brick between. This suggests that a large part of the open area of D and E was not occupied at least in the last part of Level I. There was in this area no evidence of walls in any part of Level I but some foundations may have been eroded completely away or have been unrecognizable in the deterioration of the mud brick. The hoards of coins dating from the time of Verus suggest extensive destruction of lives and property at that time. It might well be, therefore, that the open areas in D and E were leveled off with the destruction of earlier walls. The finds on the surface and close to it show occupation but the small pieces, lamps, pottery, figurines are almost as common in open courts as in rooms.

It seems best, in any case, to separate D and E in the report, particularly as in E the general plan of a house unit remains in skeleton.

#### *Section E*

It is very tempting to see two liwans 111 and 135 to the south and north of the great open square in unit E. These are oriented correctly, they lie directly opposite one another, and they correspond very well with the size of other liwans on the block. The walls encasing them, moreover, seem very clear. If this is so, one expects at least a row of rooms on the east to enclose the main court of the building, a row which would presumably continue the line of the east wall of 112, as the façade on the west side continues the line of the west wall of 249. Again, however, some of the building may have been razed in the second half of the period, that is, after Verus.

*Rooms 111, 112, and 249 (rooms at the south end of the open court).*

On the south side of the court, 111 forms a large open chamber with side walls not quite the same length and flanked

to east and west by 112 and 249, respectively. If it comprised a part of a house unit, one would expect this to be the chief room with adjacent chambers and it would form the most important part of the house. Finds were scanty, however, and gave very little indication of the dates or the employment of the rooms.

From 111 there were recovered a faience lamp of the crude type, a stone button of lentoid shape, a pot cover, and a two-handled water jar of fine buff clay. Fragments of square pieces of bone or ivory suggested an inlay pattern. Finally a part of a clay column capital indicated some decoration of the façade on the wall.

From 112 came other pieces of bone or ivory inlay, a bone figurine or fetish, a black steatite whorl, and a small unglazed lamp.

Room 249 yielded only a small faience lamp and three parts of clay figurines: a small face with pinched-in cheeks of the type fashioned carelessly with thumb and finger, the head and bust of a draped female figure, and a female head with elaborate two-pronged headdress.

*Rooms 135, 115, and 255 (rooms at the north end of the open court).*

On the north side of the court the central room 135 yielded only one item, a pyramidal loom weight.

A clay pitcher was recovered from 115, a large glazed lamp, a marble figurine of a reclining figure, a mother-of-pearl string separator, and the face of a large clay figurine. From the liben came a coin of Osroes, A.D. 120-130, and a flat bronze rod.

Room 255 was still less productive, yielding from the room itself only a male figurine head with crested headdress. From the mud brick came a second male head, this time with long beard and tall pointed headdress in the Parthian-Persian style, and a very small marble cosmetic dish. It is not clear whether these finds were contained in a niche or pocket in the wall and so belonged to the final period or whether they were contained in the bricks themselves.

One might add here the west end of the street entrance 114 since it adjoins 115. The only finds listed were a small glazed lamp from the liben and an unidentified coin, perhaps of silver.

*Rooms 116, 226, 261, 263, 113, 137 and 134 (the open court).*

These numbers cover the open space in section E including the central court. The units of the respective areas are not defined due to lack of dividing walls.

Room 116 forms an alcove or open room in the west wall of the court, and a part of its area at least is, therefore, clearly defined. There were, however, only four finds: a plain bronze ring, a shallow glazed bowl, a figurine of a child's turbaned head, and a figurine face of bearded head with blunt nose and thick lips.

Room 226 was the most significant area from the point of view of finds since it contained a hoard of 18 tetradrachms and an undisturbed burial.

Fifteen of the tetradrachms were found together with fragments of the little bag in which they had been contained, three more were found separately. All date from the period 153/4-165/6 and apparently belonged together. They mark again the capture of the city by Verus and the loss of inhabitants indicated by the abandonment of the hoard.<sup>15</sup>

The burial was contained in a large cooking pot and lay close to the surface. The finds indicated the burial of a woman or girl with a necklace of 45 beads including gold, an ivory pendant, an amuletic key, two bronze rings, a bronze earring, and a bronze bracelet.

Other finds were of usual type, three faience lamps, fragments of a pyxis of bone or ivory, pieces of two or three bone fetishes, a coin with beveled edge at a depth of 2 meters, a large marble bead and parts of six clay figurines. Of the clay figurines, one was a head of the triangular type, one was an erect nude female figure with hand on breast, one was the head of a male with high hat, one a female head of Greek type with very small headdress pointed at the back, and two more female heads, one with part of the draped chest, one with a headdress of three projections.

A sill of baked brick was found on the north side of the north wall of 68, indicating apparently the remains of an earlier doorway to 226. The hoard in the time of Verus and the burial close to the surface suggest both an absence of building after the time of Verus and an occupation of a house unit up to that time. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that the great open space at the north end of the block in Level I gives the actual state in the second half of the period (that is, after Verus, A.D. 164), but that in the first half of the period regular households were established in sections D and E. The well marked on the map is included in section 263.

Half the finds of 261 are listed as probably from the top of Level II. The confusion may be due to the fact that Level I was split by the destruction in the period of Verus. From the lower level came an unglazed lamp and a series of jars, probably all of common ware in spite of the faience. Of three low, broad but small vessels one had the faience exterior, one was glazed inside, and one was glazed only in the upper part. In clay there were a small two-handled vessel with pointed bottom, a cosmetic pot with pointed base, a small cosmetic saucer, a small narrow vessel with tall neck, and a small pitcher.

The same type of finds belonged to the upper level: a small clay cosmetic pot at 2 meters, a small glazed jug from the surface, a two-handled jar apparently glazed at 2 meters, and three parts of clay figurines: a female head with broken headdress, a seated small male figure holding a musical instrument, and a face with round curly beard. The only other finds were a large pierced bitumen disc, a series of large iron links with a rod attachment, and a short bone pin with head missing.

The well in 263 contained three pitchers, a larger jar, one lamp, the fragment of a bone hairpin, part of a second decorated bone pin, part of a bronze bracelet, a complete figurine of Heracles on a pedestal, and two unidentified bronze coins.

Apart from the finds in the well, part of a clay figurine of Cupid seated on a swan was recovered, as were five lamps and a square-mouthed pyramidal bronze bell with iron tongue.

There were two graves in 113 Level I, one designated as in the north wall and the other in the east wall, with baked brick covering the surface. Yeivin believes the first tomb belonged to a man buried alive, since the skeleton was in a contorted position and there were no finds except a fragment of iron near the right wrist.<sup>16</sup>

The second grave in the east wall probably indicates the use of walls belonging to previous levels as protective covering for the tomb. The grave belonged to a full grown man and contained some potsherds covering the body and three bronze coins, one of which was dated in the period of Osroes, A.D. 120-130. Another bronze coin of Osroes was found in the room at a depth of two feet and a bronze coin of Seleucus I at a depth of one meter. The only other finds were a gold chain 9 centimeters long.

Area 137 yielded a square lead weight and a stone of conical shape, perhaps a pendant.

The nine finds from 134 included a broken bronze signet ring, a black and white stone amulet or bead, a clay pitcher, a marble ring or large perforated bead, some gold thread, a bronze mirror, a small faience pig, a saucer lamp from the upper II Level, and the shoulder and breasts of a nude female figurine.

*Rooms 254, 257, 136 and 231 (apartment in the northwest corner).*

These rooms apparently form a separate apartment with entranceway to street H but with no communication with the central court of section E or with street 6 or with the adjacent rooms 121, 258 and 138.

The entrance room 254 forms a sort of alcove or wide hallway off street H and gives the only access to room 257. Burial 67 was discovered beneath floor level along the east wall near the north corner. It was a grave without coffin and contained one body. The grave had been robbed in ancient times and the furniture and bones were disturbed. There was a small bone key under the skull, a small gold pendant of pomegranate shape and two links of the gold chain from which it was suspended. Twelve beads of carnelian, glass, faience, stone, and coral were recovered and a square gold bead with red and blue insets. Small pieces of a large terracotta figurine and fragments of bronze and iron are mentioned among the grave furniture but not listed in the catalogue.

From the surface of the room a small bronze earring was recovered, a reclining nude figurine at a depth of one meter and a large marble barrel-shaped bead at 1.30 meters.

The only finds in 257 were two small glazed lamps, both found in the walls.

The room 136 may have formed an open court for the apartment under discussion. The entranceway in the northeast corner is very unusual, since the door would run across the corner and not along one side. Two bronze coins were found in the liben of the north wall, one of which belonged to Antiochus I, 280-261 B.C. A small glazed lamp was found in the sub I level; otherwise the finds were close to the surface or discovered in the loose dirt of clearing. There was a shallow glazed bowl, a female figurine head and bust with a veil or draped headdress, a barrel-shaped bronze bead, a pitcher, and a chipped garnet inset.

The inner room 231 contained only a bone fetish, two small cosmetic pots, two small glazed lamps and a female figurine head with broken headdress.

*Rooms 121, 258 and 138 (rooms in northwest corner adjacent to the apartment).*

These rooms adjacent to the apartment yielded very little. No finds were listed from 258. Only one find was made in 138; i.e. a small pointed jar burnished with bitumen.

There were a number of finds in 121 but none of striking importance. A coin of Vardarnes I, A.D. 43/44/5/6, was recovered from the brickwork of the south wall and from a sub I level a small crude glazed lamp. An unglazed lamp was found on the surface and a reclining draped female figurine. The digging in the room yielded a conical basalt pestle, a clay pot cover, a bone fetish, a large iron ring (perhaps a bracelet), part of a seated female figurine and three lamps, one of the open bowl type with long nozzle, a small glazed lamp, and a larger one with most of the glaze gone.

*Rooms 119, 1x, 230, 229, 66 and 228 (rooms in the south-west corner).*

Room 229 has an entranceway to street 6 and gives access to 230. Otherwise no doorways are indicated. There were no finds in 1x and only two in 119: an irregular piece of lead and the head and part of the bust of a female figurine. These two rooms adjacent to one another seem too small for occupancy and may, therefore, have formed part of a corridor into the main court from street 6 in the period before Verus. In this case both rooms 66 and 138, as well as 230 and 229, probably made a part of the chief house in section E. Room 228 was probably also included in the house. It seems a little small for a shop and certainly did not communicate directly with 64 to the south. There is room for a doorway to 62 in section F. More reasonable, however, seems the connection with 228 and an inclusion in section E.

Room 230 yielded two small glazed lamps and a bone fetish. Two more small glazed lamps were found in 229 and a barrel-shaped white stone bead. These were the only finds.

Room 228 also yielded very little: the head of a male figurine at 1.20 centimeters, a small glazed lamp in the sub floor level, and a large pitcher from the upper II level.

The large room 66 was more rewarding but the finds were not particularly illuminating. In the catalogue a drain is listed

and a figurine head and bust was marked from near the drain top, and a pitcher with wide rim from the drain itself. A glass bottle was discovered level with the drain and in the sub floor level were found two bronze discs with star patterns, perhaps medallions, a figurine of a slender bearded face, and a small crude glazed lamp. In the brickwork a small figurine head with three-pointed headdress and two bronze unidentified coins were found.

The room itself contained four small glazed lamps, a bronze earring, a broken small clay jar, a large one-handled jar containing the charcoal from twigs and bark, and a black stone whorl. The only other finds were a spherical pot with wide mouth, glazed at the rim and in the interior, a coarse glazed pot, and a large clay pan or container.

The finds are sufficient to indicate the occupancy of the room but insufficient to identify the date or the special employment.

1. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 22.
2. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 20.
3. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 46-7.
4. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, 65-6 and pl. XXIV, 1.
5. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*, 253.
6. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 43-44.
7. McDowell, *Coins*, 92 and 130.
8. Van Ingen, *Figurines*, plan I.
9. McDowell, *Coins*, 128-9.
10. McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects*, 260-1.
11. Andrae and Lenzen, *Partherstadt Assur*, fig. 19 and pl. 14.
12. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, pl. II, 1.
13. McDowell, *Coins*, 128.
14. See Yeivin's remarks on the subject in *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 42.
15. See McDowell, *Coins*, 234.
16. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 47.

## VIII. TEMPLES A and B

### *Temple A (the I-J area of blocks 21-23)*

Near the eastern corner of the Seleucia mound complex is a large rectangular depression, the lowest area in Seleucia. It lies just north of the east-west canal between the north-south streets 19 and 27, comprising an area of about four blocks. A little to the east of this area a small mound about six by eight meters in length and breadth, rose to a maximum height of 2.16 meters above the ground level of the large depression. On the surface of the mound were numerous fragments of burnt brick, especially along the sloping sides, but there were surprisingly few potsherds in evidence. In an earlier season, Professor Waterman had dug three trial trenches into the sides of the mound and had shown that it concealed a structure made partly of baked, partly of unbaked brick. The resumption of excavations soon showed that the great square represented a precinct removed from the accumulation of debris in the city streets and residential areas. The discovery of a second precinct of the same type on the west side of the city, and in the same position relative to the east-west canal, indicated that the precincts were temple enclosures, and the foundations of large buildings in the central mounds with the recovery of fragments of statues larger than life-size confirmed the identification. Since no inscription or indication of the names of deities was discovered, the precinct to the east was called Temple A, as the first excavated, and the second, Temple B. Excavations began on October 12, 1936, and continued until February 5, 1937, with a force of from 105 to 115 Arab workmen.

By the close of the season, about 85 per cent of the mound (Temple A) had been excavated down to the ground level; in three small areas the strata below the precinct level were examined. At least three periods of construction were brought to light above virgin soil in the course of our operations: the uppermost, termed the Late Occupation, was limited in extent and of little importance; Level I represented the building whose debris formed the mound. Its principal divisions were an inner open court or shrine, an enclosing covered corridor, and a theatre. The excavations at this level were, unfortunately, by no means completed at the end of the season and Level II was reached in only the three small areas mentioned above. It seems quite possible that the earlier structure extended over a larger area than does that of Level I.

The level of the ground in the large depression was arbitrarily chosen as the zero point from which the elevations measured in Temple A were determined. This zero point is 3.05 meters below the high plain level further west on the mound, a level used occasionally as an airplane landing field.

### *The Late Occupation Level*

The remains of this period are very scanty and are limited to the fragmentary remains of dwellings that were built on top of the debris of the corridor of the Level I structure. Fragments of walls four or five courses high, bonded with mud and built of reused bricks from Level I, were found in all four sections of the outer court but were most frequent in the southeastern and southwestern areas. None of the walls was complete, and it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the ground plan of the houses that they represent. It is probable that poor dwellings were built against the wall separating the inner court and the corridor, in a manner somewhat similar to the late dwellings built around the Gareus Temple at Warka. As the walls are rather uniformly four or five courses high, it is possible that burnt brick was employed only as the lower portions of the walls, mud brick being laid on top of it. Incidentally it may be remarked that the areas in which the late remains are the heaviest are those in which the debris constituting the top of the mound is the greatest. The mud and plaster-mud floors of the huts could not be traced over more than small areas, as they were very poorly preserved. Only one good rectangular plaster floor was found. The level of these floors, using the ground level of the rectangular depression as the datum line, varied from 0.23 to 0.47 meters, that is from about 0.45 to 0.70 above the Level I floors. Four granaries, a curving drain, and a small water basin, all built of reused burned brick, were found, but none of them was associated with any definite house structure.

Very few small objects were found that could be definitely associated with the Late Occupation level. Three glass vessels lying together above the one good plaster floor may possibly be early Arabic, although the shape of one of them is similar to a small Sassanian clay jug found at Ctesiphon. Only three Arabic sherds were found throughout the entire mound, and a few Arabic coins were found in the debris above the central court. Two storage jars of Sassanian type were also found. Few coins were obtained that would be useful for dating purposes. The small objects seem to point to a late Parthian or early Sassanian occupation. There are no late architectural remains in the inner court, but it is quite likely that the numerous poor graves found in that area were made during this late occupation, a period after A.D. 200.

Half of the plaster floor of the inner court was destroyed, probably during the time the area was used as a cemetery. Twenty-five skeletons were found in the debris, 19 in the central court. Of the 16 adults, seven were male, two probably female, and there were seven whose sex could not be deter-

mined due to the fragmentary condition of the remains. There were also the remains of six children and three babies. Only ten of the bodies had a brick grave about them. All of these graves were constructed of bricks from the debris, three of them being built around the bodies after they had been laid in the ground. The bodies were all extended, with varying arrangements of the arms and legs. Most of them had been disturbed, so that few grave objects were found. However, four glass bottles, two coins of Vologases III, a necklace, two anklets, and two small bronze bells were recovered. As the orientation of the bodies varied considerably, they were probably pre-Islamic.

#### *Level I (pl. X)*

Both the graves in the central court and the position of the houses seem to indicate that the Late Occupation occurred while the walls of the Level I structure were still standing, but after the building had been deserted for some time, during which more than a meter of debris had accumulated. This occupation must have occurred before the brick-robbing operations that have so destroyed the Level I building. Due to the depredations of the Arabs who robbed the ancient buildings to obtain fired bricks for their own structures, there are no walls remaining in the first level. In many cases it has been possible to trace the position of the walls by carefully cleaning the floors, or rather the foundations, that remained after the brick flooring was removed and noting the relationship of the floor areas. It was often possible to find a smooth vertical face at the outer edges of floors which had been built up to a smooth brick wall.

The building is composed of several sections that are best considered separately. A large court is surrounded on all four sides by a wide corridor. Beyond the corridor, on the south-east side, are two fragmentary floors; to the southwest is a series of small floor sections and a theatre-like structure built of mud brick.

The central court, 28.00 x 26.00 meters in size, has a plaster floor that is relatively smooth and shows no indication of ever having been covered by bricks. Some two- to three-tenths meters below this floor is an earlier one, also of plaster, that has not yet been cleaned except along the edges. The outer extremities of both floors form quite a straight line that makes it possible to establish the original position of the brick wall limiting the floor, though today no bricks remain in position due to the thorough robbing done by the Arabs. The northern half of the floor is in large part destroyed, due to the use of the area as a cemetery at a later period. There are flecks of ash in the debris immediately above the floor but no evidence of heavy burning, so it is probable that the central court was not roofed. The fact that there is no indication of posts or pillars, such as would be necessary to help carry a roof over such a large area, supports this supposition. In the center of the court (slightly west of center on the east-west axis) are the fragmentary foundations of a small rectangular structure that may have been an altar.

Surrounding the central court on all four sides is a strip 2.25 to 2.50 meters in width in which no bricks, aside from fragments, and no flooring have been found. These strips probably represent the space occupied by a wall of baked brick.<sup>1</sup> Architectural details of decorated bricks and column

sections found in the court suggest the wall had engaged columns and ornamented pilaster capitals supporting blind arches in the Parthian style.

Beyond the wall is a corridor 5.10 to 5.60 meters in width on whose dirt floor lay a heavy layer of ash and charcoal, with occasional pieces of charred beams of palm fibre. It is possible that the floor originally had a burnt brick surface, as a thin layer of plaster was found on the floor in a few places. The heavy burning would indicate that the corridor had been roofed and that the building was deserted after its inflammable parts were burned. From a study of the relative positions and sizes of the fragmentary beams that were found lying on the floor, one may obtain some idea of the manner in which the corridor was roofed. Large logs, 0.20 to 0.25 meters in width spanned the width of the corridor, and were spaced about 1.65 meters apart. Due to the charred and fibrous condition of the wood it is impossible to say whether these beams were round or rectangular in cross section. The maximum length found was 2.50 meters. Lying normally on these were smaller pieces whose charred remnants were 0.08 to 0.10 meters in width. The maximum length found was 0.75 meters. There was no evidence to show that roof tiles were placed on top of these coverings; probably, therefore, a thatch and mud roofing was employed.

On the east side of the structure the corridor extends beyond the face of the building at each end and in the center for a distance of 5.50 meters. The middle one might appropriately form the main entrance to the building but the doorway is not clearly defined. The reason for the extension of the corridor on either corner, except perhaps to form jutting antae, is obscure. It is possible that similar extensions existed on the west, as indicated on the plan.

On the south side of the building a series of seven floor fragments at slightly different levels was uncovered. Between them and the corridor was a brick wall, disclosed not only by the intervening space between the floor segments and the pavement of the corridor but also by the smooth face along the south side of the corridor floor.

Still farther to the south is a four-meter strip yet to be fully excavated. It separates the outer pavement from the theatre, which faces toward the central court, that is toward the north. The east-west break in the pavements is noticeable in front of the theatre, which might indicate an additional wall to enclose the theatre area or the foundation for a stage. The theatre is a poorly preserved structure of mud bricks occupying an area 14 x 21.5 meters in size with a maximum height where excavated of 2.17 meters above the datum line. There are remains of ten rows of seats, badly destroyed but originally covered with fired bricks. There is no evidence of central aisles. The orchestra is semicircular in shape and has a poorly preserved dirt and plaster floor. It, too, was doubtless brick-covered originally. Just north of the northeastern corner of the theatre are traces of a flight of six steps that probably led to the upper rows of seats. The back of the theatre, which was just below the surface of the mound, has been badly destroyed by water so that its original form could not be determined.

The areas east and west of the theatre have not yet been explored, but to the south are traces of a Level I floor, covered with a layer of ash. This floor, also, is very fragmentary, due to the action of water and the shrinkage cracks in the ground as it dried, since the floor is only 0.20 meters below ground sur-

face. To the north and west, also, there is a very slight covering over the floor level.

### *Architectural Pieces*

The Arabs were thorough robbers, and consequently extremely few whole plain bricks were found; but brick fragments were plentiful. Rounded column fragments were not uncommon, sometimes still bonded together forming one to 16 courses from 0.90 to 1.20 meters in diameter. From a study of the position and spacing of these column sections it seemed evident that the wall around the inner court had a series of engaged columns on its inner face. In a few places in the court, several bricks were found together and in a position appropriate to a fall from a blind arch in which only the upper edge of the bricks was bonded into the building proper. Since blind arches between columns are well known in Parthian architecture as ornamental features in temple walls,<sup>2</sup> it seems probable that there were arches resting on pilasters between ornamental columns. It is quite possible, also, as Mr. Matson has suggested, that some or all of the arches were open to form a sort of cloister. Small fragments of red, green, and yellow painted plaster indicated that the walls were at one time decorated. The height of the walls may be estimated by the distance out in the court that the column sections fell, and the fact that the column sections were all within the court is good evidence that the engaged columns were all on the inside. The greatest distance, that of a column capital, was nine meters from the west wall. As the capital could scarcely describe an arc greater than its original height and, in fact, would probably fall in a shorter radius, the top of the wall may be assumed to be at least nine or ten meters. Such a size would be an appropriate height for so large a court. The plan indicates the location of the column fragments found.

A column capital composed of five courses of decorated bricks bonded together with mud was found in the central court, as mentioned above. The lowest course was a leaf-and-tendrill design, surmounted by a poorly cut egg-and-dart pattern, above which was a scroll design, two courses of brick in height. The volutes which were found in the debris in several parts of the courts undoubtedly were fastened to the ends of the scroll bricks, as their place of attachment and the width of the bricks are the same. That is the place, moreover, where an Ionic volute would be expected, i.e. just above the egg-and-dart pattern. Surmounting the scroll is a simple terminal pattern, above which there may possibly have been a few courses of plain brick, to judge from some that were found with the capital. The single section of sima with lion-head spout and small leaf design may presumably be assigned to an earlier Hellenistic building with more Greek elements, perhaps located beneath the Parthian structure.

Near the eastern corner of the corridor, an Ionic pilaster base composed of a scotia between two toruses was found in a fragmentary state but sufficiently preserved so that the three elements could be reconstructed. Although no base of an engaged column was found, many rounded torus and scotia bricks, such as would be necessary for the base, were found in the debris, and similar bases are preserved in the Parthian Gareus temple at Warka. It seems most likely, therefore, that the regular Ionic base was employed.

The reconstruction of the columns and pilasters in the

drawing (fig. 31) gives the column details, the pilasters and the decorative capitals.

Among the decorated bricks found, those about 0.12 meters wide bearing a grape-and-leaf design were among the most frequent. On the ends of some of these bricks was a half leaf, probably showing that the design was intended to continue around a corner. These cornered bricks were relatively frequent. Another common type was the leaf-and-tendrill design not only on curved bricks as in the column capital but also on straight bricks. The top of the pilasters of the Gareus temple at Warka was adorned by bricks circa 0.12 meter wide representing griffins<sup>3</sup> and crowned by a brick with a Lesbian cyma at the spring of the arch. In Seleucia, apparently, the grape-and-leaf design replaced the griffins, the Lesbian cyma remained the crowning ornament, and in between was introduced a leaf-and-tendrill design, probably originating in the Greek Palmette-and-lotus. If this decoration occurred on the corners of each of the pilasters, the many corner bricks discovered would be explained. The decorative bricks of this type were found along all sides of the central court.

Bricks with designs of griffins were not so common, but two types were distinguished. The first represented two griffins, facing each other but separated with a leaf design. Each brick contained one winged griffin and half of the floral leaf. The other type represented two griffins attacking a deer from opposite directions. The deer turns its head back in the oriental style to see the griffin attacking from the rear. Fragments of the griffin-and-leaf design were found in sections of 5, H4 and H5, an area probably containing the main entrance-way of the temple, and one recalls the two winged griffins flanking the head of the sun god over the portal of the Parthian temple at Hatra. Several pieces of two bricks portraying the griffins and deer were found in the center of G7, the section at the east end of the southern east-west corridor. At Seleucia the decoration of lintels and doorjambs was not uncommon. However, the discovery of one brick with winged griffin, in section D10, south of the theatre, gives warning that not too much reliance can be placed on the find spot to identify its original position and purpose.

### *Minor Finds*

Among the minor finds may be placed the remains of statues, both marble and bronze, since only small pieces were found. From the F6 section, which comprises the southeast corner of the temple room and the adjacent corridor, a fragment of a marble foot over life-size was uncovered, and from E4 and 5, the area just east of the middle of the temple room, two more marble pieces one belonging to an arm. A bronze arm of a statue belonged to a figure about one meter in height. These fragments suggest acrolithic and acrometallic statues standing in the open temple room.

Fortunately, a large number of coins was recovered and identified by Mr. McDowell as our best evidence for chronology. Otherwise the small finds most common in residential districts, that is, beads, lamps, pottery, and figurines, were not distinctive or particularly numerous in spite of the late occupation of house units.

Special mention, however, should be made of the arms and armor found in the temple. The list is rather impressive: an iron spearhead and a spear butt from the floor of C4, large and small fragments of chain mail and five pieces of scale armor

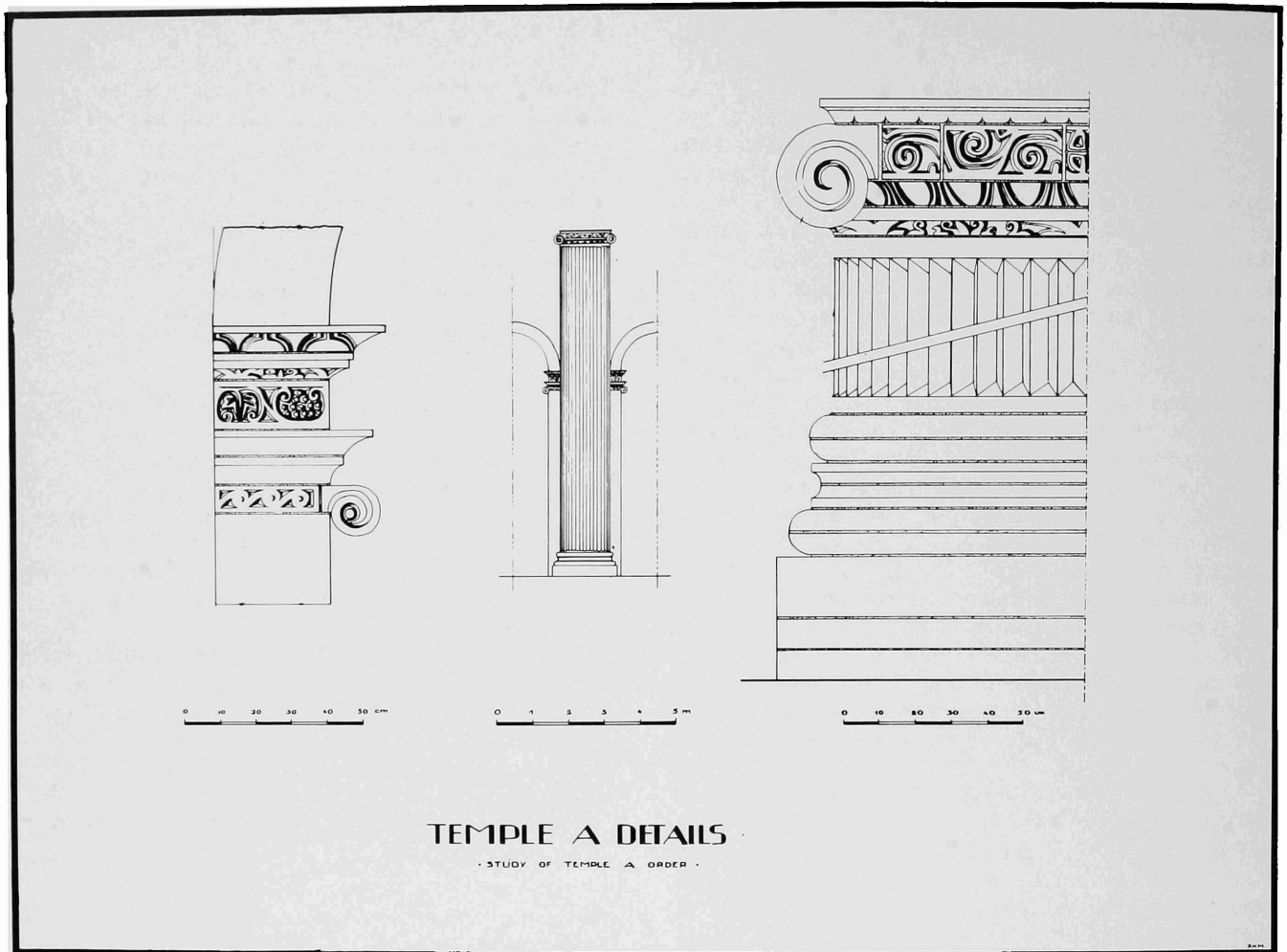


Fig. 31. Temple A, reconstruction of columns and pilasters

from C6; E3 produced an arrow head and lance head, and F3 and 4 a lance on the floor, a spear (point missing) and a sword. Two more lance heads were found in F7 on the floor and two lance butts. There was a lance head in G4 and two from G7 (one of iron broken in two pieces). All these sections include part of the covered corridor of or the entrance to the building and Mr. Matson suggests they indicate more the remains of a soldier encampment than the debris of a battle. Two Trajanic coins found on the floors might point to his campaigns, but three coins of the VIIIth (Germanic) Legion found with one of Faustina probably indicate that Roman soldiers occupied the corridor during the campaign of Septimius Severus against Ctesiphon. A horse's bit and bridle fragments found in the open Temple room (the only iron found there) make it appear that the horses were quartered in the central room.

From the general debris of the temple were recovered, also, a lead sling bullet ornamented with a thunderbolt design, an iron tanged spearhead, and other iron fragments (of unidentified utensils and weapons).

#### *The Coins and Chronology*

Mr. McDowell was able to identify more than two hundred coins from the Temple A area, including a hoard of 12 tetradrachms, and to allocate close to 50 more to the century or period (Seleucid, Autonomous, or Parthian). There were also

two floors discovered and sufficient ash and charred material to indicate a period in which the temple was burned. Under the circumstances, one might expect the chronological history of the area might be read rather easily. This is not the case, however, for the coin levels in Temple A from the early Parthian period to the end of the city are far from clear. Almost every stratum from the surface to the bottom of trenches in Level II contain both early and late specimens. I attribute this partly to rebuilding but more particularly to the fact that ashes and debris piled up in the covered corridor and the area immediately adjacent while the middle of the open room and the precinct outside the temple and the theatre remained very much the same. In the same ten-meter square, therefore, there might be considerable level change in one part and a section retaining its original level in another.

A burned level may be attributed with some certainty to Trajan, I believe, since some of his coins were found amid charred debris and the city as a whole suffered a major conflagration in his attack. Probably, then, the Level I floor would belong to the post Trajanic period. Not enough coins were found in distinctively Level II contexts. Two coins from Level II in E10 belonged to the early autonomous period, 121-83 B.C., and Vologases I, A.D. 69/70. The same level in H5 yielded a coin of 38-31 B.C.

In the period before the beginning of our era there was a



concentration of coins, 30 in all, in the period spanned by Demetrius II, that is, 145-123 B.C. All, I believe, might easily be assigned to the early Parthian period which began in 141 B.C. This compared with the 49 identified in the 120 years following. Sixty-six belonged to the first century of our era. The 44 in the first half of the second century included the Roman coins of Trajan. Fifty-three, plus the 12 of the silver hoard, belonged to the period of Vologases III, A.D. 148-192. There were seven coins belonging to the period after Vologases III including five of Vologases V, A.D. 107/8-222/23, and 20 of the Seleucid period including two of Demetrius I, 162-150 B.C., and one of Antiochus IV, 175-164.

Since the rule of Vologases III spans the period of the invasion of Verus, A.D. 165/66, it is not entirely clear whether the abandonment of the area occurred at the time of Verus or of Septimius. The large number of coins of Vologases III suggests, however, a continuous occupation during his rule and the deposit of the hoard in F5, the entrance to the sanctuary, seems much more likely while the temple was occupied than in the period of its desertion. The coins in the hoard run up to the year A.D. 181.

One of the graves in the Temple room contained a coin of Vologases III found on the pelvis of the skeleton (grave 263). It could, therefore, belong to the period before the arrival of the troops of Septimius in A.D. 196. Equally possible, however, is its use in a tomb after Septimius. More difficult to explain is a coin of 38-31 B.C. on the pelvis of the skeleton of grave 266.

The probability is that Temple A continued in use until the end of the second century A.D. and that, therefore, the arms and armor found on the floors of the temple belonged to the soldiers of Septimius Severus. Very probably the known treasure (that is all except the buried hoard) and many of the images had been transported across the river before the Roman troops arrived. The late occupation and the graves belonged to the last of the Parthian period, that is, A.D. 200-227, and perhaps the early Sassanian.

The very large number of coins of the early Parthian period suggests that the building was being constructed at that time. This seems confirmed by the architectural details which belong to the Parthian rather than the Hellenistic tradition. There was a burning at least of the roof of the corridor in the time of Trajan, and at some period, probably also in the time of Trajan, a new floor level was constructed over part of the area. It may well be that in the catastrophe only part of the building was destroyed. In the area excavated, the dated coins found were numerous and chronologically consecutive from the period just after 150 B.C. until A.D. 200. Before the middle of the second century B.C. and after A.D. 200 the coins were scattered and rare.

During this period of continuous occupation there was no apparent change in the basic arrangement of the sanctuary. If this is so, a very special significance may be attributed to the plan since it is one of very few buildings whose construction may be allocated to the very beginning of the Parthian period.

#### *Temple B (The I-J area of blocks 14-16) (fig. 32)*

Digging began the end of October, 1936, in a Temple B area and continued for three months. It seemed clear at the end of that time that the mound contained ruins very similar to those in Temple A and that probably the whole sunken area visible

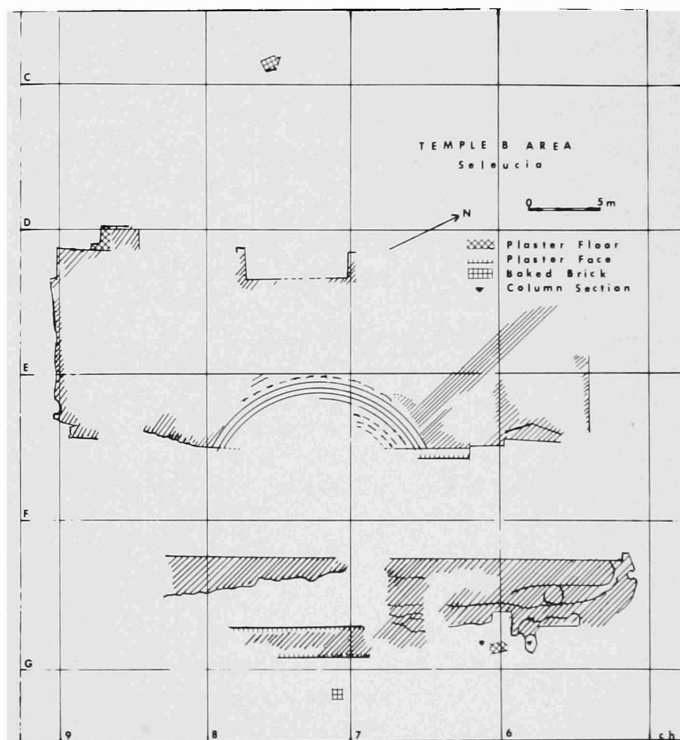
in the air photos, largely within the blocks J 16-14, I 16-14, made a sacred precinct similar to that in Temple A. The location north of the east-west branch canal comparable to Temple A supported this view. The location lent support to the hypothesis that the royal center of Seleucia would lie between these two great precincts and that, therefore, the Palace, at least the Parthian, but probably the Seleucid also, lay between the two in the vicinity of Tell Umar.

When the identity of the mound in J16 had been established, work was stopped so that the clearing of Temple A might be expedited. At that time there was the confident expectation that we might continue the work the next season. When another season of excavation was not realized, the results in J16 remained suspended!

It is clear that there was a theatre of mud brick seats around a central orchestra, very much as in Temple A. Six rows of seats were excavated (the fifth step at one point being two meters below the surface of the ground), as was the orchestra in the center. Apparently the theatre lay south of the temple, as in Temple A, for the mound in J16 runs north and south but the theatre here faced east. A plaster floor was uncovered at a depth of one meter, close to a wall, presumably that of the temple.

Not very much beyond the theatre and its immediate vicinity was dug but the architectural decorations in baked brick were closely akin to some in Temple A and suggest the same sort of building with engaged columns of baked brick ending in Ionic capitals. Fragments of volutes similar to those in Temple A were recovered in J16. The extent of the walls, the entrance to the temple, the arrangements of corridors and naos, were not determined.

Fig. 32. Temple B, sketch plan



Three burials (144, 290, and 292) were discovered, two of them close by the temple area, and since nowhere was the excavation very deep, they must all have been close to the surface. Finds were small and dating was difficult, but since there were gold threads around the neck vertebrae in burial 144, this should date before the Arab conquest. A coin of the autonomous period dated to 121-83 B.C. was found in the debris above burial 290, but it might be attributed to lower strata disturbed in the digging of the grave.

The earliest coin, listed as 'early Seleucid' by McDowell, was recovered 25 centimeters below the surface. Only eleven other coins were identified, scarcely enough to establish any dates but most useful as an indication. The two earliest ones were of Demetrius I, 162-150 B.C., one found just below the surface, the other near the fifth step (from the top and next to the bottom) of the theatre. Three others came from this same period, one of Alexander Balas, 152-144 B.C., one labeled merely 'late Seleucid' from a depth of one meter, and one of Demetrius II, 145-141: 140-123 B.C., from the plaster floor level at a depth of one meter. The six others ranged from 121-83 B.C. found above grave 290 through Vologases I, A.D. 69/70-78/9; Pacorus, A.D. 115/6; and Vologases II, A.D. 129/30-132/3 (two examples) to Vologases III, A.D. 174/5-177/8.

Since the temple form seems Parthian (just as that of Temple A), a building period at the beginning of the Parthian period, 140 B.C. and following, seems a reasonable estimate. Then, apparently, occupation continued until the end of the second century B.C.

It is not clear whether the graves should belong to the post A.D. 164 period when much of the city was destroyed by Verus, and probably many moved across the river, or to the post Septimius Severus period. The one coin of Vologases III is scarcely enough to give substantial evidence, especially since it was found in the 0-25 centimeters level.

Evidence for the pre-Parthian occupation was also lacking, except for the general evidence. The precinct is a large one just as that of Temple A, and its size and level, well below that of the city, argue that it had been reserved from an early period. In the Parthian period, the palace of the king probably stood between the two, but one expects that he took over the palace of his Hellenistic predecessors, and that Greek temples with large precincts would appropriately be placed in this area. Digging has been confined largely to the theatre and the shallow depth of a meter. The mound itself and the remains go much deeper and presumably, therefore, contain the Seleucid levels. It is perhaps strange that not more Seleucid material has come to light. On the other hand both Temple A and Temple B seem to reflect entirely the Parthian style, which would mean a pretty general leveling before the Parthian structures were begun.

I should suggest that Temple B was built with the same plan as Temple A in the beginning of the Parthian period, and that it was abandoned after the destruction of Septimius Severus. Before that time, probably, the images and treasure would have been carried across the river to the safer center of Ctesiphon.

#### *The Temple Plan*

Fortunately the plan of Temple A seems clear and its apparent repetition in Temple B establishes it as of more than

casual importance. Though excavations are by no means complete, it seems obvious that in both cases the temples were single structures placed in unusually large open precincts. If we are correct in believing the areas belong to the section of the city devoted largely to royal edifices, the citadel, so to speak, of Seleucia, with the palace and other regal edifices as e.g. the heroon, then the two temples constitute our best examples of Parthian religious monuments in the second century B.C.

Temple A, as remarked before, comprised a great not quite square room 28.00 x 26.00 meters with a corridor 2.25 to 2.50 meters in width. The building was oriented so that it had its entrance and flanking towers on the east. There is some evidence that the flanking towers or antae existed also on the west. On the south side of the structure lay a theatre constructed of mud brick 14.00 x 21.50 meters in size with at present parts of ten rows of seats remaining. The size of the central room, as well as lack of any debris in the court which might be attributed to a roof, provides pretty definite indication that the temple was hypaethral. This is supported by the finds within the court showing that the architectural decoration lay along the inside of the walls. The debris and especially the charred wood in the corridors gave evidence of roofing. Within the court, fragments of statuary and traces of foundations suggested a sanctuary with altars and statues of divinities, but there was no indication of which gods were worshipped or whether a fire altar made the focus of the cult.

There is a good deal of evidence that the south was regarded by the Parthians as at least equally significant with the east for the facing of temples. At Palmyra during the Parthian period, the great temple entrance was actually shifted from the east to the south. At Si the temple of Baal Shamin faced south as did the Parthian temple at Kuh-i-Khwaja and the temple of Jandial in India. On the other hand both palace and sanctuary faced east at Hatra and the Parthian temple of Gareus at Warka followed the usual orientation.<sup>4</sup>

At Seleucia, it is quite possible that the location of the theatre on the south side of the sanctuary had a special religious significance. The facing of the theatre to the north might most reasonably be explained, however, by the desire to place the backs of the spectators toward the sun. The liwans in Seleucia regularly face north, and the theatre follows the same direction.

The practice of placing a theatre in the sanctuary seems to belong rather to the Syrian tradition than the Parthian. There were three types in Syria: that at Si in the temple of Baal Shamin, the sides of whose court were provided with a series of three steps, an arrangement called a 'theatre' in an inscription;<sup>5</sup> the employment of the pronaos of the sanctuary as a theatre or odeon by the construction of a series of seats or steps on either side of a central aisle leading to the naos; and the erection of the small independent theatre either within the sanctuary or in its immediate vicinity. All apparently served the same purpose, the presentation of images and rites before worshippers. Only in the case of the temple court, however, were the ceremonies open to public view. Probably in the *pronaoi* of the Dura temples, the elite would view the special rites, or the images and symbols taken from the inner shrine would be exposed first to the special small group, then perhaps repeated in the court for the great body of worshippers. At Dura five temples, Atargatis, Artemis Nannaia, Azzanathkona, Adonis, and Gaddé were equipped with these steps or seats

inscribed with the names of donors or dedicants.<sup>6</sup> In the temple of Artemis Nannaia, the pronaos theatre was replaced in the Roman period by a separate odeon or small theatre placed on the south side of the court but still within the precinct. Cumont gives an excellent account of the building, the function of the Syrian religious theatre, and of relationships to similar structures.<sup>7</sup> He calls attention to the temple of Syrian gods in Delos, also equipped with a small theatre<sup>8</sup> which belonged at least to the late second century B.C., a date placing it not far from the Seleucid temples. J. A. Hanson recently has presented an excellent review of the whole subject of Syrian temples with theatres, including one at Seleucia, in his *Roman Theatre-Temples*.<sup>9</sup>

At Seleucia there was no pronaos in front of the shrine, so a separate theatre was essential. The same separate structures were found in the Hauran at both Sahr and Suhr.<sup>10</sup> At Dura the inscriptions of the seats naming specific individuals suggest a certain prestige, the flavor of the aristocracy particularly, since the names are largely Greek. Perhaps at Seleucia it was the Parthian nobility who would have the special preference, especially in a cult dedicated to Iranian deities. So perhaps on this account the Syrian theatre would have been introduced into the Arsacid temple.<sup>11</sup> There are no such theatres or pronaoi in Nabataean sanctuaries as evidenced by the temples at Khirbet-et-Tannur,<sup>12</sup> and at Qasr Rabbah.<sup>13</sup>

The most interesting and significant feature of the Seleucid temple is the ambularium about an hypaethral shrine. The sanctuary room or enclosure open to the sky was not unknown in the Iranian tradition. At Chapour the fire temple of A.D. 266 consisted of a square enclosure, fourteen meters on a side with no evidence for interior supports or vaulting. Ghirshman suggests, therefore, that it was hypaethral. As a roofed corridor or ambularium circled the building, the arrangement was very similar to that at Seleucia.<sup>14</sup> At Takht-i-Sulayman a building described by André Godard<sup>15</sup> may be compared to an hypaethral temple. The fire ceremonies took place in the open air within the sacred enclosure, but several altars were located there instead of a single one. There was also a single fire chamber, a real *āyadanā*, but the larger structure was the earlier. The fire temple gradually grew in importance in Arsacid times but in the early Parthian period the structure might be compared with the open sanctuary or hypaethral temple.

The shrine at Shami, which yielded the great bronze Parthian statue and apparently dates back to the Hellenistic period,<sup>16</sup> was a rectangular enclosure containing altars and statues. Sir Aurel Stein gives the following account:<sup>17</sup>

"There were no definite indications as to the way in which the large temple cella—for this undoubtedly it was—had been roofed. That whatever roofing there was had been constructed of timber may be safely concluded from the nature of the walls and the absence within of such debris as vaulting with stone or brick would have left behind. The fact that a thick layer of ashes and charred wood was found within the line of walls in the southwest corner and burned earth elsewhere, mainly in proximity of the walls, has suggested to me that the cult images of which the position is marked by stone bases had possibly stood under the protection of a wooden roof carried verandah-like inside and along the walls, while the central area was left open to the sky."

Usually, however, the Parthian temple was roofed, at least

in Mesopotamia. The temple of Gareus at Warka had apparently the usual flat roof as did the Parthian sanctuary of Anu-Antum (also at Warka). In the old Achaemenid palace at Susa the temple roof was supported on four columns, and columns remained as the support of the roof in the gigantic hall near Hamadan identified as the sanctuary of Anahit.<sup>18</sup> At Hatra the great sanctuary room behind the palace was vaulted, and at Kuk-i-Khwaja the dome was thrown over four piers.

It was not until the Sassanian period, that a new temple form became well established in the East. At Dura the old oriental broad room type of temple continued as it did at Warka and Babylon, and the Mithraeum at Dura belonged to the Roman Camp. The Sassanians introduced the fire temple with its very special form of construction. The continual fire required a roof and the Sassanian therefore threw a dome over the small square central room. Herzfeld<sup>19</sup> describes their constituent parts as a dome resting on four corner piers, a close narrow passage around it, and a gate which can assume various shapes.

Godard<sup>20</sup> believes that until late in the Arsacid period, there were no real temples but a sacred room for the fire accessible only to priests, and open-air altars raised on high platforms for public cult and sacrifice. If, however, the sanctuaries at Seleucia are accepted as Parthian temples, a new step may be added in the development. There was no altar with continual fire at Seleucia, though the fire may have been employed as a special sacred feature in ceremonies. The open-air *adyton* meant that the sky and its lord was the divinity worshipped, and we know from Herodotus that the old Persians, eschewing images, temples, and altars, sacrificed to Zeus on the summits of the loftiest mountains.<sup>21</sup> The dome, as Baldwin Smith has so ably shown,<sup>22</sup> is conceived as the image of the canopy of heaven, and the Parthian period residence of the Parthians at Babylon, according to Apollonius of Tyana,<sup>23</sup> not only had the dome above the audience hall but the images of the heavenly deities represented gazing down from it. It was not just chance, nor the special architectural genius of the Parthians, that caused the temple of Kuh-i-Khwaja to take the form of the small square building with a dome on top. Herzfeld dates it to the first century of our era but a period late in the second century, or early in the third seems more likely to me.<sup>24</sup> Then the great vaulted sanctuary at Hatra, belonging to the second half of the second century B.C., would form an intermediate step. Already at both Seleucia and Hatra, a shape very close to square had already been settled upon.

Perhaps more distinctive than the open, hypaethral shrine emerging into the dome is the ambularium, almost a concomitant feature in Parthian sacred architecture. The square form and the special arrangements for the procession around the inner sanctuary seems, at first sight, related to the Nabataean form in which the court is surrounded by high walls and the square sanctuary in the center leaves a kind of ambularium around it. In his article on the "Structure of Qasr Bint Far'um," Wright<sup>25</sup> classes the temple of Khirbet et-Tannur with that in Ramm, and describes it as "enclosed by outer walls so that it is entirely surrounded by a corridor—a box within a box." In the Hauran at Si, the temples of Baal Shamin and Dushares, and the square temple at Sahr, all built close to the beginning of our era, have the square room with roof

resting on arches between four columns, and an ambularium running completely around the sanctuary.

There is, however, no clear example of an ambularium, that is a covered passage around a shrine room in Nabataean architecture, and Nelson Glueck has recently shown<sup>26</sup> that the northern edge of strong Nabataean influence as evidenced by pottery reaches only to the north end of the Dead Sea and Madaba. Something may be said on the other side, however. The Nabataeans controlled the Hauran for a good many years in the first century B.C. and may well have played a part in the erection at least of the earliest temple, that of Baal Shamin of 33 B.C. If the Nabataeans did not contribute the square building and the ambularium as such, they may well have assisted with a preference to small square shrines set in the center of a comparatively small and heavily walled sanctuary.<sup>27</sup> It is rare in archaeology when a new movement may be attributed to a single source.

The three square temples in the Hauran are a puzzle since they form perfect prototypes with the four interior columns and the ambulariums for the later Sassanian domed fire temples. A common explanation of the ambularium beyond its processional advantages is the protection it affords for the continual fire on the altars in the *ayadanā*. One speaks also of the secrecy afforded by the closed corridor around the shrine and recalls that in the Persian cult only priests were allowed to approach the sacred fire. I should be inclined to denominate the cause as the sanctity of the shrine rather than to secrecy and to imagine that the corridor and the procession effectively cut outside influence and prohibited extraneous forces from entering. Such a conception would be particularly appropriate when the shrine was a heavenly one and the holy spirit descended from above.

The true ambularium, that is the covered corridor around a shrine, is rather a rare feature in early architecture. The Greek and Roman temples had porticoed fronts and sides, the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian had buildings and courts. It is in the East, in India, that the ambularium seems at home and it comes apparently rather easily into the old Iranian from that direction.

In an extremely interesting article in *Man*, G. R. H. Wright<sup>28</sup> has suggested that the square Celtic temples with ambulariums in England may be related to those of the Near East. Intermediate links are missing but we may recall the many links in archaeological remains between Parthians and Scythians and relationships in costume, customs, and arms between Parthians, Scythians, and Celts. For the moment one may suggest that the basic concept of square building with ambularium originates in the East and moves into Mesopotamia with the Parthians, and into Europe with the Celts.

The two Parthian temples at Seleucia form the best evidence that the Parthians were firmly committed to the

ambularium. I believe the open rooms show the orientation of the cult to the sky and that the hypaethral Parthian temple is one of the direct ancestors of the domed Persian structures of the Sassanids. The temples of Hatra and Kuh-i-Khwajah exemplify the intermediate phases of development.

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1. Mr. Matson suggests a stylobate.
  2. See my article, "The Parthian Temple," *Berytus VII*, 1942, 1-18.
  3. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, pl. 23.
  4. See my discussion in *Berytus VII*, 1942, 1ff.
  5. Littmann, E., "Nabataean Inscriptions," *PAES IVA*, 77, no. 100.
  6. *Dura III*, 9-11, pls. III-IV; for Azzanathkona, *Dura V*, 132 and 170-200, pls. III and XXIV; for Adonis, *Dura VII-VIII*, 145, figs. 39, 43; For Gaddé, *Dura VII-VIII*, 252, fig. 67.
  7. Cumont, *Fouilles*, 169-204.
  8. Roussel, P., *Delos, colonie athenienne*, 259.
  9. Hanson, J. A., *Roman Theatre-Temples*, 65-67.
  10. *PAES IIA*, 441-443, fig. 367 and 429, fig. 371 respectively.
  11. Another example of the Phoenician-Syrian temple with theatre has recently been found at El Beida in Cyrenaica: Sichtermann, H., *AA* 1959, 331.
  12. Glueck, N., *The Other Side of the Jordan*, 184-5; also in *AJA XLI*, 1937, 361-76, "A Newly-Discovered Nabataean Temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet-et-Tannur, Transjordan." "
  13. Glueck, N., "The Nabataean Temple of Qasr Rabbah," *AJA XLIII*, 1939, 381-87.
  14. Ghirshman, R., "Les fouilles de Chapour, deuxième campagne 1936-7," *RAA XII*, 1938, 12-19.
  15. Godard, A., "Les monuments du feu," *Athār-É-Īrān III*, 1938, 49.
  16. Rostovtzeff, M. I., *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, pl. X.
  17. Stein, M. A., *Old Routes of Western Irān*, 149.
  18. See my discussion of the Parthian temple in *Berytus VII*, 1942, 1-18.
  19. Herzfeld, E. E., *Irān in the Ancient East*, 66.
  20. Godard, A., *op. cit.* 19.
  21. Herodotus I, 131.
  22. Smith, E. B., *The Dome*.
  23. Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, XXV.
  24. Hopkins, C., "The Parthian Temple," *Berytus VII*, 1942, 10 note 28.
  25. Wright, G. R. H., "The Structure of Qasr Bint Far'um," *PEFA*, 1961, 34.
  26. Glueck, N., *The Other Side of the Jordan*, 175.
  27. Wright traces the Nabataean square temple back to the bronze age and believes a kind of ambularium was employed at that time also. Wright, G. R. H., "The Bronze Age Temple at Amman," *ZATW*, 78, 1966, 351-7.
  28. Wright, G. R. H., "The Correlation of the Romano-Celtic Temples," *Man*, 65, 1965, 67-70.

## IX. THE ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

### *Stucco and Brick Remains*

The architectural decoration that once ornamented the buildings of Seleucia is now represented by approximately two hundred fragments of stucco and brick, all less than one half meter in size. The very few fragments of limestone, granite, quartzite, alabaster, and basalt indicate that while there may have been some stonework employed in the domestic architecture, the buildings of Block G6 were, essentially, covered with a stucco skin.

Much of the decorative work can be assigned to the various levels and rooms, some of the fragments come from the trial trenches, others are surface finds, and the remainder do not carry a field registry number, and, hence, cannot be placed in a context. The successive building phases were highly destructive of such fragile material as stucco and low-fire brick. These materials, lacking the durability of stone, were easily broken up and demolished, difficult to reuse, and relatively inexpensive to replace. Almost none of the decoration was found *in situ*. A grape and leaf design was found in the brickwork of room 178, Level III; the remainder of the material comes from the debris of the buildings and the bordering streets. The find-spots of the fragments are not necessarily indicative of the original position of the decorative work; collapsing walls would tend to scatter the ornamentation of the upper courses, and subsequent filling and leveling, preparatory to new building activity, would further disturb the remains. Continued occupation of the site after the building represented by Level I lends a degree of uncertainty even to the topmost finds. However, it is still reasonable to assume that the stucco and brick belonged, for the most part, to the rooms or immediately adjacent areas in which they were recovered. It is unlikely that the heavy stucco elements were shifted very far, if at all; it would have been easier for the construction crews to incorporate the old stucco and brick fragments into the new floors and foundations than to carry them about.

In general, the architectural decoration of Seleucia belongs in the same milieu as that of Parthian Assur, Babylon, Hatra, and Warka. Stucco wall surfaces have a very ancient history in the East, but the extensive use of elaborately designed stucco-work is not in evidence until Parthian times. Both mud plaster and stucco were used as wall finish at Seleucia.<sup>1</sup> A limited use of molded stucco, in imitation of stonework, may go back to the Seleucid founding of the city, but its utilization as major surface decoration is limited to the levels of Parthian occupation. Stucco is used as a covering for broad surfaces as well as for capitals and moldings. Carved and molded brickwork appears as roofline decoration, friezes, moldings, and volutes of Ionic-type capitals. Some large-scale work combines the two

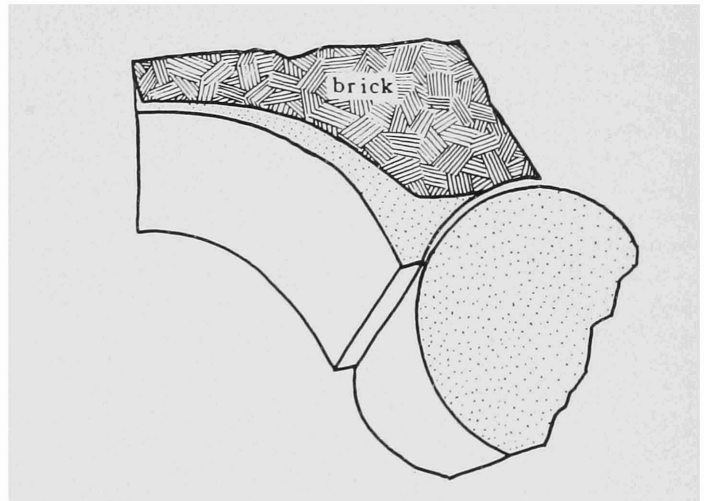


Fig. 33. Stucco molding with brick core, not to scale

materials (fig. 33). Ceramic decoration is most extensive in Level III, slowly diminishing in number in Levels II and I.

The stucco still bears traces of brilliant red and blue paint. Other colors, now faded out, were probably used to a lesser extent (yellow and green, as well as red and blue, were employed at Babylon). A small cornice molding (D6021) shows traces of brown paint. Much of the brickwork is neither slipped nor glazed; its color effect comes from the rich red-brown and ochre clays. Some pieces such as the bricks carrying the griffin designs and some miniature capitals, bear traces of a thick, opaque, creamy-white glaze.

Of mural painting at Seleucia almost nothing remains. Only two small fragments (D5748, D5747) indicate that wall painting, everywhere popular in the East, was not lacking here. Unfortunately the fragments are so small that the designs cannot be read; they may be imitation marbling, but that is only a guess. A section of stucco from room 110 (Level III) has scored lines in imitation stone slabs with drafted margins.<sup>2</sup>

Stucco, unlike stone which it is frequently made to imitate, does not have a structural basis for its designs. It has frequently been used as a bonding cement, and, in more modern times at least, it has proved to be an excellent insulating material in regions of severe temperature changes. As a facing material, stucco is a pleasant, plastic substance, quite easily handled by a skilled artisan, quickly formed into complicated designs, and relatively durable.<sup>3</sup> It can be poured into molds, or laved into forms, or run onto a wall with a template,

or cut like cheese, depending upon the consistency of the mixture and the degree to which its setting is retarded.

The stucco remains from Seleucia are too fragmentary, despite their number, to permit sufficient reconstruction with which one could obtain a general impression of the decorative program of the buildings. But it is safe to guess that the Parthian wall decoration here resembled that at Assur and at Kuh-i-khwaja where many of the same motifs were used.

The ceramic decoration is clearly within the tradition of western, Hellenistic patterns. The stuccowork, on the other hand, carries some Western motifs, drastically altered, and introduces non-Western elements executed in an equally non-Western manner. This division of Western and non-Western elements is consonant with the history of the city, for ceramic decoration is more evident during the Hellenistic phases, less frequent thereafter. Ceramic architectural decoration is found in 32 rooms of the block in Level III, in seven rooms in Level II, and in six rooms in Level I. The ceramic work of the later levels reuses the Western motifs found in Level III work rather than the motifs of the contemporaneous stuccowork. It is interesting, then, as a commentary on the habits of the artisans, that they reserved brickwork for Hellenistic designs, excluding oriental motifs from this material. However, the later levels show that there was no hesitation in molding and carving stucco in both Western and Oriental designs. The evidence is not perfectly clear as to whether carved and molded stucco was used prior to the Level II phase. The field catalogue lists a dozen stucco fragments from Level III, but their assignment is not certain, and some of the pieces may not have been part of the architecture. The large amount of brickwork from Level III in the block, and the total absence of stucco in the large building of TT4 would seem to indicate that molded and carved stucco is of minor if of any significance in the architecture of the city prior to Level II.

The orientalizing decorative style at Seleucia, which is found in the stuccowork, subordinates the individual motif to the over-all pattern. The modular unit in the stucco area patterns is quite small relative to the extent of coverage. The motifs have a modular of between 4.2 and 8.5 centimeters. Thus, the general effect of the area patterns is best described as carpet-like: large areas composed of sharply defined, linear motifs that are interconnected and arranged in bands and panels. Although some of the stucco patterns are based on floral motifs, the greater tradition is one of simple geometrical designs which appear to have come to Western Asia with the Parthians.

This geometrical discipline presents an absorbing interlude in the history of late-oriental, pre-Islamic decoration. The Hellenic world brought to the East its long-established architectural decoration with its floral and figural motifs; the Parthian occupation of Western Asia imposed a non-structural geometrical order. With the rise of the Sassanids, there is a return to the Western flora and fauna, but on a Parthian framework, that in its abundance overshadows that which went on before and which is basic to later Islamic and Christian design. The architectural decoration from Seleucia is of first importance in this history for it demonstrates quite clearly the transitions and hybridizations in late oriental, pre-Islamic work that the hithertofore scarcity of Parthian finds left obscure. The stuccowork well illustrates not only west-central Asiatic elements, but also the orientalizing of Western motifs.

Looking forward in time, we find in Sassanian decoration many of the fundamental design concepts directly developed out of Parthian designs as they are represented at Seleucia.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Manufacturing Techniques of the Decoration*

Seleucia stucco has a calcium sulphate base with a small admixture of silica and oxides, a composition much the same as that of the stucco from Palmyra.<sup>5</sup> Three stucco mixes were employed at Seleucia: (1) a very pebbly, rough textured stucco that was thickly applied to the wall surfaces, serving as a bed for the decorative elements; (2) a sandy-grained mixture used for the molded and cut decorative elements; (3) a very fine white gesso that was painted over the face of the decorative work, serving as a smooth ground for subsequent painting.

The stucco decorative elements were made in two ways, either fabricated in units and then fastened to the wall elements, or else worked up out of the fresh plaster laid on the walls. Capitals, bases, friezes, and similar types of decoration are best prefabricated and then applied to the building, whereas large area patterns are most easily worked directly on the wall or ceiling. The stucco workers of Seleucia followed this practical dictum.

The Corinthian-type capitals for the attached columns were made as pre-cast units. The capitals are without any major undercutting, facilitating their being pulled from one-piece, open molds. Except for the deeply hollowed areas where the ground is pushed far back from the design on the face, the interior modelling of the smiling head, the foilage and volutes is quite shallow. The contours are soft and the angles carefully sloped to avoid binding in the molding process. Casting faults are easily mended in stucco. To further refine the casting, the Seleucia artisans covered the face of the capital with the fine white gesso. Detailed work, that of the hair curls for example, was probably carved after the cast was made. The miniature capitals, which may have decorated wall niches, are very crude in detail; little time was spent on their manufacture. The artisan probably picked out the niceties of detail in the final painting. The back side of one of these pieces (D4624) is flat and smooth in a manner characteristic of plaster that has been poured in its liquid state: the excess water of the mixture gathers on the surface with a thin suspension of plaster. This characteristic of poured stuccowork, one of the best means of identifying cast pieces, is found on the back sides of several decorative elements: moldings, antefixes, attached columns, etc.

Another sure indication of poured castings, which is found on several of the fragments, is the grooving on the back side made by the fingers of the workman. After the plasterer had run the stucco into an open (bed) mold, he pulled his hand over the exposed back of the casting, smoothing the quickly thickening stuff into the corners and also, thereby, providing a modest keying for the final setting of the decorative element into its stucco bed on the wall. Most of the stucco fragments still have the rough construction plaster adhering to the back side so that, short of destroying the remains, we cannot positively identify every piece as being either cast or carved. However, another way of ascertaining the technique of manufacture is to assess the pattern itself. Undercutting, deep recesses, high and thin arrises, and irregular repetition of a motif are sure signs of carved work. Shallow relief, very fine

detail, and regular repetition of minor elements usually indicate casting.

A fractured capital (D4775) shows the history of its manufacture (fig. 34). Stucco, about the consistency of cake icing, was laved into an open mold. Although the piece is quite large, the cast shell is very thin (between 1.0 and 1.5 centimeters) with a wavy interior for keying. The attached column for this capital must have been built on the wall out of brick and stucco; then, the shell of the capital was probably filled with the rough stucco, which still adheres, and set into place. That is, the ancient craftsman followed much the same program in plastering used by his counterpart in early 20th century America where pre-cast units were kept light and thin, being fixed into their rough stucco bed in the final operation.

This capital (fig. 34) was damaged, either in the building operation or afterwards. A section of one of the acanthus leaves broke away and was hastily repaired by scratching the leaf pattern into the reduced surface.

There is evidence for the use of both plaster and clay molds for the architectural decoration. A plaster mold (E11144; Level III, room 204 or room 168) would yield a vertically fluted, capital type of form. A burnt brick mold had been discarded in the well of room 65, Level II. The presence of these two molds corroborates what one would expect: the architectural decoration must have been made right on the building site.

There is no indication of the type of fuel employed to calcine the gypsum. Some small wood may have been obtained locally, but a plentiful supply of timber would have to have been imported.<sup>6</sup> Strabo relates that Alexander, preparing for his invasion of Arabia, had his boats built in Phoenicia and Cyprus because, while he could have some made of cypress wood in Babylonia, there was a scarcity of timber there. He notes that some wood was available east of the Tigris, at about the latitude of Seleucia, in Iran (the land of the Cossaei).<sup>7</sup> Bitumin, which is found at Seleucia, may have been used. The description of the firing chamber of a kiln at Dura-Europos indicates how the gypsum was calcined before being pulverized:

"To produce the gypsum plaster required for the construction, a kiln was built on the site in the angle of the early foundations beneath room H3. It was a simple trench, 0.90 meters deep, lined with mud brick which was laid flat along the sides and on end at the ends. The bricks were found with their surfaces in a vitrified condition."<sup>8</sup>

We may assume, on the basis of modern working techniques, that the handcarved decoration was made in a continuous series of small panels directly on the wall, jamb, reveal, etc. The artisan laid his pebbled plaster (the "scratch coat") on the brick wall, and then the fine, sanded plaster on top. Any of a number of organic additives would slow down the setting time of the plaster sufficiently to keep it at a cheese-like consistency for an extended period. Organic matter, beyond chance contamination, is found in samples taken from some of the carved pieces. The worker cut out the designs, leaving the face of the patterns in high relief. In the process of scooping out the excess stucco, he sometimes pushed the fine coat back into the still malleable undercoat (fig. 62), and often cut completely through the top layer. Withies were laid into the stucco to keep it from slumping (only the empty channels now remain). Some of the large cornice moldings were hand-cut in



Fig. 34. Stucco capital (G6, II, 61)

the slowly setting stucco, as were some curving surfaces of archivolt.

Molding and hand carving were also combined on some decorative pieces. A fragment of an architrave (C2172, fig. 58) has a merlon and arrow motif on its face with coffered rosettes on the underside. The coffers with their incurving sides and the rosette bosses were molded and then set into the stucco in which the merlons were hand-cut. The work was then finished by running a straightedge over the entire coffered surface (an edge of plaster is pulled in over the lip of the coffers) and by applying the final coat of gesso, which was painted red.

Uncomplicated cornices and moldings were run directly on the wall with a template; the technique probably differed not at all from that used by modern plasterers: a template cut to conform to the desired profile is pulled along the wall, shaping the raw stucco that is fed along the line. Large cornice moldings were sometimes made in sections with brickwork reinforcements. One example (fig. 33) shows the technique: against a stucco half cylinder and a baked brick core, which ties the whole to the wall, is run the stucco cavetto.

The light stucco sheathing and small friezes were attached to the underlying stucco by the suction of the wet bed and the keyed backs. Heavy panels of stucco were pegged to the wall surface. Fragments of such a panel (M16568, M32325), with deeply carved grape vines and rosettes, have small holes hidden in the depressions, running at 45 degree angles, in which the pegs were anchored. As in other heavy pieces, these panels are reinforced with reeds or twigs where the more modern plasterer would use burlap. Vitruvius has left a very careful description on techniques for reinforcing heavy stucco-work.<sup>9</sup>

The brickwork is chiefly in clay that fires out grey, ochre, or a chocolate red. One very fine fragment of an acanthus leaf is cast in a well-levigated clay, but the larger ornamental pieces, antefixes, bricks, capital volutes, etc., have a red body with a high admixture of sand and chopped straw. The firing of even the fairly thick pieces is, though low, complete

throughout. A drab yellow-grey clay was used in the later years of the city. Some of the larger designs, the brick friezes and griffin plaques, were carved into the soft clay, rather than modeled up. The spiral volutes of the capitals were carved in a thick clay slab; the back sides were trimmed with a knife to fit the setting. Press molds were also employed for the manufacture of shallow reliefs, such as antefixes and simas. Glazing, when used, was opaque, a thick creamy white; blue and yellow glazes were modestly employed.

### The Decorative Designs

As noted above, the architectural decoration can be roughly divided into Western, Eastern, and hybrid designs. The Hellenic world is represented by many of its standard motifs: acanthus, rinceau, ivy vine, Lesbian sima, egg-and-dart, etc. These motifs are organized into *unit patterns* modelled in fairly shallow relief, in a plastic style. The crispness, clarity, and refined proportions of this Western "vegetation"<sup>10</sup> are mainly lost in the clay and stucco. However, a few very carefully made ceramic pieces strongly indicate that the early, thriving, commercial Seleucid community keenly appreciated the niceties of Greek ornamentation, and that their artisans, whether Greek or native, were sensitive to the classical canons. In the later use of these unit patterns there is a noticeable inclination toward heightening the coloristic effect with bolder relief work, by raising the design more sharply from the background, by isolating the individual elements one from the other with deep depressions, and by leveling the face of the design to a single planar surface. This coloristic treatment of architectural decoration can be noticed, for example, in the large capital (D4775, fig. 34): the individual leaves are separated by deep vertical cuts, while the usually shallow interior modulations and curling of the leaves are cut back, rather than modelled, achieving a linear effect.

The substitution of line for mass, a distinctive characteristic of later Eastern art, is fully developed in the Eastern all-over patterns that cover broad surfaces: "rosettes" in circles, interlocking "rosettes," diamonds, rectangles, etc. (figs. 61-67). Such *area patterns* are based on simple geometrical forms, the repetition of circles, parts of circles, and squares to produce the interlaced petal and diamond motifs. There are a few isolated instances of these interlocking, area patterns in early Asiatic decoration, but they are so few that they prove the rule that the elaborate geometrical area patterns in architectural decoration are a Parthian innovation in western Asia.<sup>11</sup> Whereas unit patterns provide rows of motifs, the general effect produced by the area patterns is that of a rug or tapestry.

A third, mixed style may be called a *linear unit pattern*. It is based on Western unit patterns (with Oriental elements) recast by the Parthian artisan into a linear, semi-geometrical form. Typical examples of these linear unit patterns are the merlons with enclosed plant tendrils (fig. 53), the "palmettes" and buds (fig. 57), and the coffered surfaces (fig. 66). Such patterns are illustrative of the hybrid design that is so often considered as the hallmark of Parthian culture.

At Seleucia there is found the infancy of a design concept that is subsequently handed over to the Sassanians where it fully matures: the combining of several geometrical motifs into a single, self-contained design. This type of design (figs. 70, 71) is particularly well suited to decoration built up of

stucco bricks. These stucco bricks may well be one of the bases for the later growth of the very delicate and intricate tile work of Islamic and European art. True to their geometrical heritage, these bricks maintain a strict symmetry in the quadrants of the square. One of the bricks (fig. 71) has an added triangular motif on one side which served as a ribbon separating the panels. The same motif appears at Kuh-i-Khwāja as a dividing ribbon.<sup>12</sup>

### Description of the Seleucia Decoration.

Following are descriptions of the different decorative motifs, their development, and their place in the Near Eastern decorative systems. Greatest clarity can be obtained by taking up the motifs within the broad groupings and according to their architectural use. The appended check list of architectural decoration from the Block G6, organized by level and room, provides an easy reference to the nature and extent of decoration in the different parts of the buildings. However, it must be kept in mind that the large number of uncatalogued and dislocated surface finds could alter the general impression of the decorative schemes gained from the check list.

Human figural elements play a very minor role in the Seleucia decorative scheme. Some very small detached faces (or masks) probably indicate that, as at Hatra,<sup>13</sup> masks were set into walls of rooms and liwans. While some of these faces may have come from sculptured pieces, rather than from the architecture, the ceiling medallion composed of a mask inside a turning-wheel and double scroll motif indicates that such wall masks were in use.<sup>14</sup> Confirming evidence of the general popularity of this device in Parthian art is becoming more abundant. Stone masks were found at the Parthian summer capital of Ecbatana (Hamadan) and at Qum, located 150 kilometers south of Tehran.<sup>15</sup> The importance of these latter finds arises from the fact that they come from Iranian soil, demonstrating that the wall masks are not a Parthian adoption after the Iranians settled in the West, but were used in Eastern

Fig. 35. Stucco capital





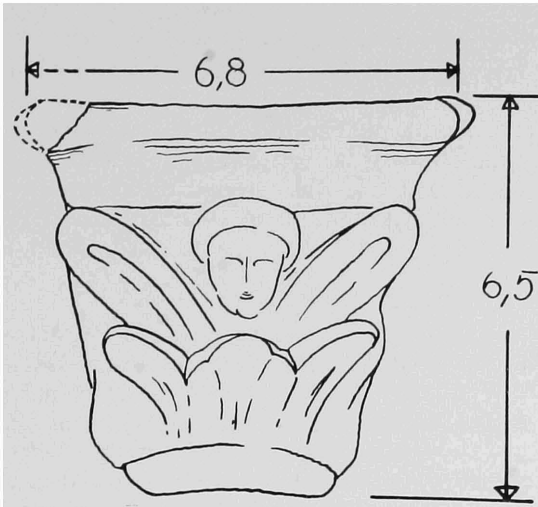


Fig. 36. Miniature stucco capital

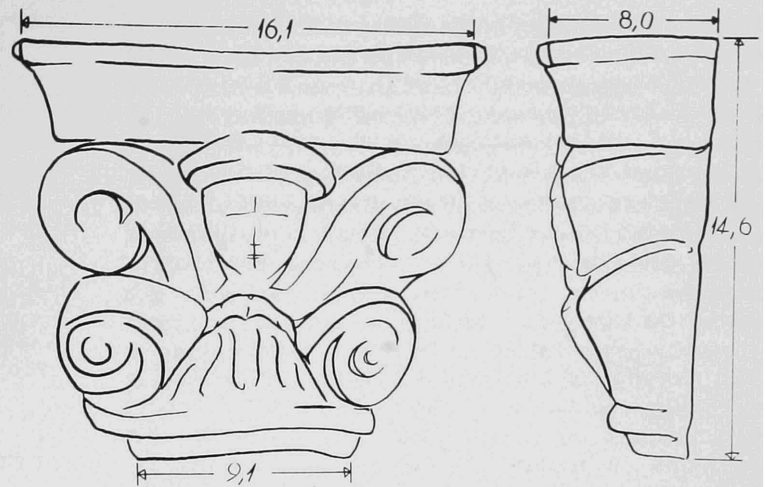


Fig. 37a-b. Miniature stucco capital

Parthia and, hence, are a continuation of the ancient Iranian tradition of full-face masks.<sup>16</sup> Apollonius, through Philostratus, may be referring to just such wall masks when, on casting his eye over a domed Babylonian apartment, he sees "... images of the gods ... fixed aloft and looking like golden figures shining out of the ether."<sup>17</sup>

The Corinthian-type capitals are decorated with busts that, like the Greek *herms*, show the neck and shoulders (figs. 34, 35). The head and upper torso of a winged nude are molded on one capital; he holds the reins of two ostrich-like birds with turned-back heads.<sup>18</sup> Another stucco capital has the spreading eagle as the central device.<sup>19</sup> Such bird capitals were current in the East at the time.<sup>20</sup> However, these are exceptions to the bulk of the capitals recovered which contain the smiling, youthful bust. The miniature cast stucco capitals (figs. 36, 37a, 37b), of which several were found, probably decorated small niches of a type indicated in the sculptured reliefs from Dura-Europos.<sup>21</sup> A green-glazed altar from Dura-Europos shows the use of heads in a capital-like arrangement,<sup>22</sup> and the mask is also used there as a tile antefix.<sup>23</sup> At Hatra the wall heads are placed in a row, but they are also found sometimes beneath the capital of a pilaster. The Corinthian capital with a human bust in the foliage is, of course, familiar from Syrian architectural decoration. From Qanawât, for example, comes a capital with bust complete to the upper torso and arms.<sup>24</sup> Many illustrations from Salkhad, Gerasa, Si, etc., have been collected in a study of the Eastern form of the Corinthian capital.<sup>25</sup> Mention may be made of the peopled capitals from more western sites, the Temple of Apollo at Didyma,<sup>26</sup> for example, and, at the other extreme, their appearance in Bactria<sup>27</sup> and Gandhara.<sup>28</sup>

At Temple A the pilasters carried brick friezes and Ionic volutes. Several fragments of the large, roughly cut grape and leaf designs were recovered. The pattern shows a strong orientaling character in the deformation of the undulating stem and its tendrils. Each curve of the vine contains, alternately, a grape cluster and a single leaf (figs. 38, 39, 40). The stem and tendrils are reduced to a simple in-curving U-shape framing the grape and leaf; the organic structure of the vine has been sacrificed to the abstract patterning. This, then, is a late development of a design that became particularly popular in Syria and the Hauran in its naturalistic form.<sup>29</sup> The origin of



Fig. 38. Grape and leaf frieze, reconstructed

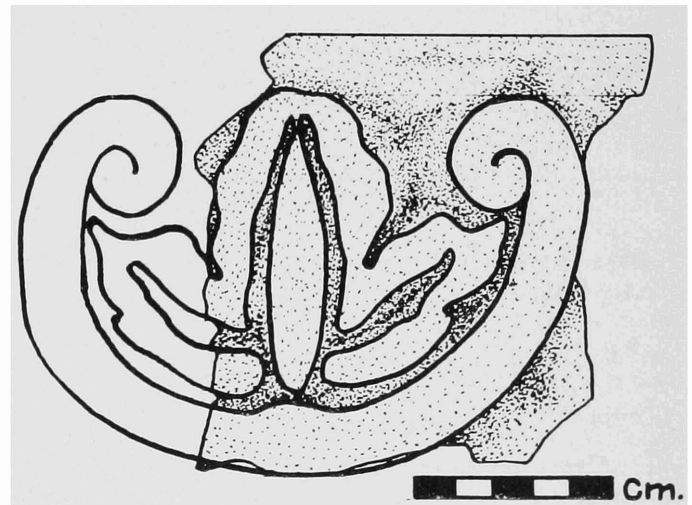


Fig. 39. Clay leaf fragment from frieze

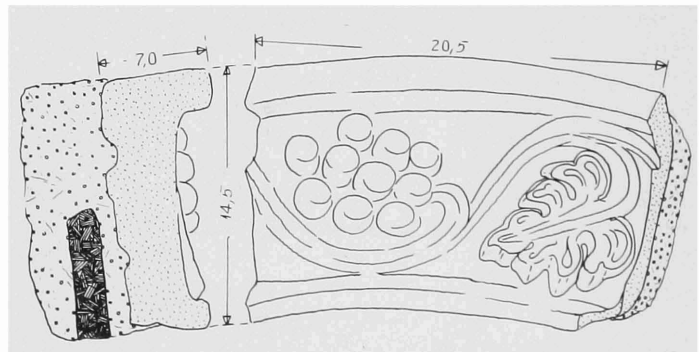


Fig. 40. Grape and leaf archivolt, stucco with brick reinforcing

the grape and leaf design is not clear, but it is instructive to note that it flourished in the Hellenistic-Roman environment.<sup>30</sup> The Parthians adopted it at Assur and Babylon, and it is found along with other, more Hellenic decoration, at Hatra.

The grape vine motif is used in a variety of ways at Seleucia. Stucco archivolts are framed with the design (M16567, fig. 40) in the manner familiar from Nabatea.<sup>31</sup> A small modelled cornice shows a variation of the motif (M16580, M16667, fig. 41); a very narrow cast molding employs the design at the same stage in its evolution as it is found on the large bricks (M16628, fig. 38). On some wall paneling, the grape and leaf is used as a substitute for the running meander, twining between small squares that contain rosette designs. Both vine and square meander are used in Level I. The meander patterns were freely used by the Parthians (Assur, Babylon, Kuh-i-Khwāja), and later by the Sassanians (Kish) in stucco.

The large volutes carved out of leather-hard clay are sometimes varied by running beading between the coils (fig. 42). the capital with double, curling volutes, it must be remembered, has a long Iranian history.<sup>32</sup> The typical base of the

Fig. 41. Stucco cornice with cyma and grape vine, reconstructed

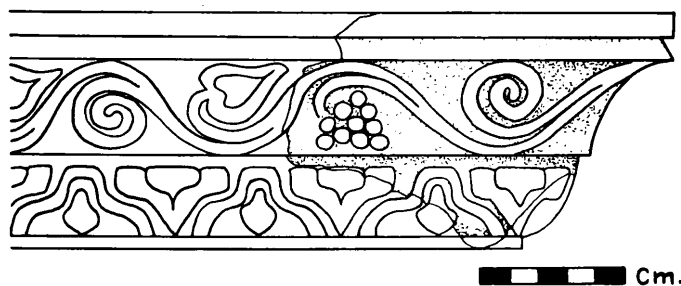


Fig. 42. Clay volute from capital (G6, II, 129)

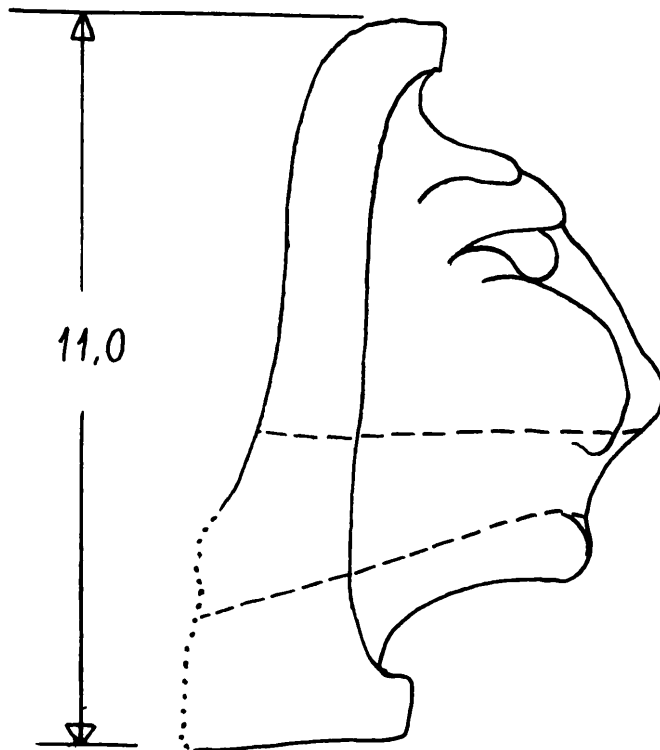
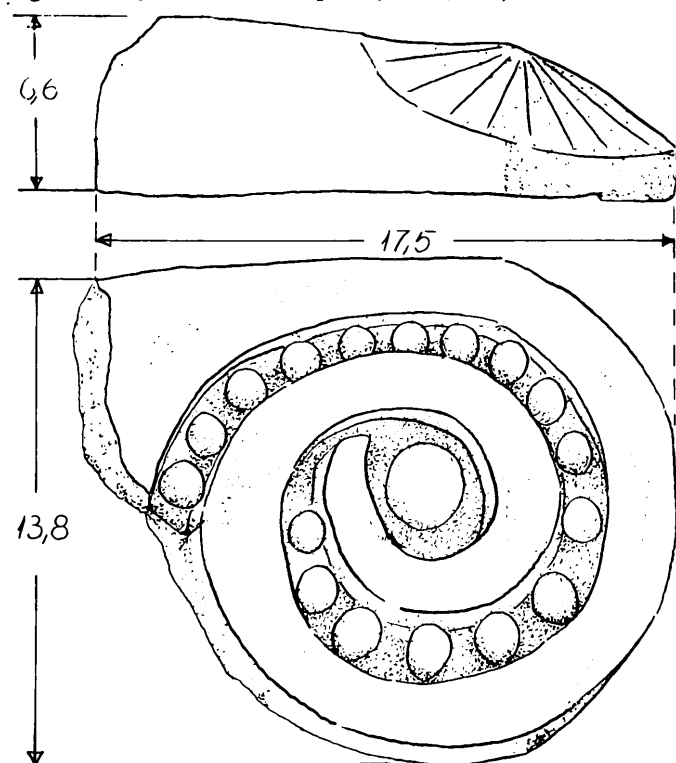


Fig. 43. Clay lion head spout (G6, III, 166)

attached column and pilaster at Seleucia is composed of a scotia between two tori on a square plinth. In Level III some large brick columns are faced with stucco saw-tooth flutings.<sup>33</sup> Attached columns of smaller dimensions have the more traditional fluting with rounded channels. One miniature attached column, of which two fragments are preserved, resembles a bundle of reeds bound tightly at close intervals with beaded ties, reminiscent of the reed bundles used in ancient Mesopotamian dwellings. Perhaps this representation of original materials, copied in the stucco, accounts for the appearance of attached columns whose stucco surface is honeycombed with a pattern of cut-out right triangles. This design may imitate the use of studs in wooden columns, as the narrow columns at Assur suggest, or it may reflect the very ancient Mesopotamian geometric motifs on half-columns that are covered with ceramic pegs.

The decoration mentioned above is based on structural prototypes; to it should be added the simas and antefixes. A dozen fragments of simas, along with some roofing tiles and several antefixes are evidence of the Hellenistic cornice line that appeared in the earlier levels. The molded clay simas have a flat or slightly concave decorated face and extended heel that fits over the roof tiles; the run-off water was carried out through the traditional lion head spout (fig. 43). The face of the sima is decorated with the lion head spout between a laurel, or olive leaf motif, a bead-and-reel border, and plain fillet at top and bottom (fig. 44). The recovered fragments vary in height between 8.5 and 11.0 centimeters. Those cast in a red clay are the larger, with heavier leaf clusters, straight berry stems and continuous beading, without the reel (fig. 45). One of the yellow-grey pieces (fig. 46) has no border motif, the leaves are not gathered into a cluster, the stems are omitted, and the disconnected berries are moved out to the edge.

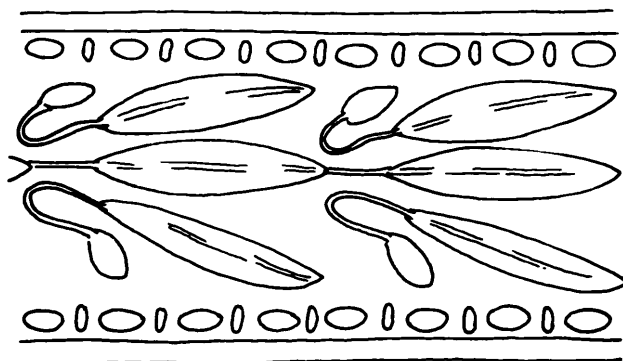


Fig. 44. Clay sima with leaf and bud, not to scale (G6, III/IV Str. 6)

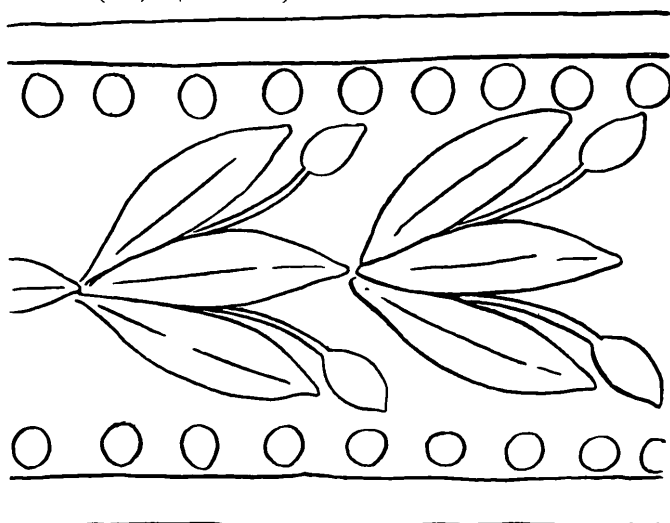


Fig. 45. Clay sima with leaf and bud, not to scale

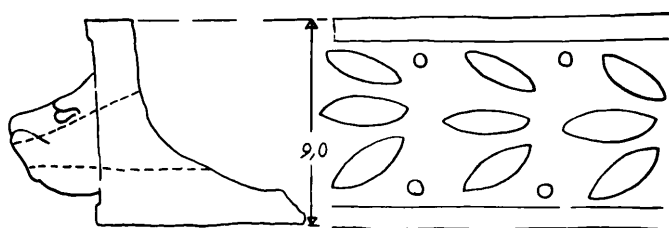
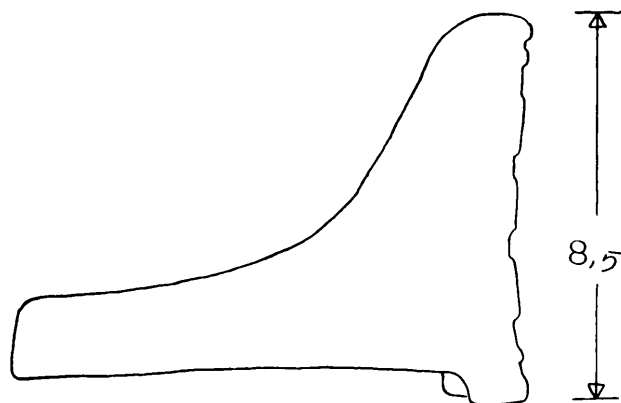


Fig. 46. Clay sima with leaf and bud and lion head spout, in profile (G6, III, 4)

Fig. 47. Profile of sima with leaf and bud, clay (trial trench 4)



The leaf pattern may be either laurel or olive; both plants have smooth, unserrated leaves. The laurel leaf, however, is the slenderer of the two. This leaf pattern appears on lead sarcophagi and seems there to belong to the olive.<sup>34</sup> The same leaf clusters from Palmyra appear to belong to the laurel family.<sup>35</sup> It is possible that both types of leaves are represented at Seleucia, the red clay showing the laurel, the yellow-grey clay the olive. The Palestinian and Palmyra leaf clusters have the stem of the berry springing from between the medial and side leaves; the Seleucia examples have the stems rising from outside the cluster as well.

These simas can be arranged in a suggested sequence on the basis of style and manufacture. The best preserved fragment is probably the earliest also (B1850, fig. 47). It is made of brick-red clay with a high straw content. The heel of the gutter is preserved to some molded notches on the bottom that show where the parts fitted together and over the roofing tiles. This is the smallest sima found (8.5 centimeters), daintily made with shallow relief work, long and slender leaves, and the bead-and-reel borders. The simas made of red clay vary slightly in shape, size and quality. A gradual disintegration of the pattern can be noticed in the yellow-grey simas. They are larger, more crudely modelled, and the clay is poorly baked. Incomplete firing on one of the pieces shows in the grey core under a thin skin of yellow. The design on these yellow-grey pieces is deeply cut back, the leaves are heavy and broad, the stems straight, and first the reel, then the bead disappear. The simas come from the earlier settlements, but their find-spots confirm the sequence suggested by the changes in design. That fragment designated as the earliest (B1850) was found at the lowest occupation level of TT 4, in the northwest corner of this section that held the early burnt brick floorings. A Greek coin found nearby at precisely the same depth dates to 311-280 B.C. Another, closely related sima (F7396, fig. 44) comes from the south end of street 36 at the block between Levels III and IV. From a later occupation of TT 4 (15 feet below the surface of the mound, which is five feet above the find spot of the red sima B1850) comes a crude yellow fragment (A1058) with high modelling and the bead border. Another piece of green-grey clay, fairly large, was found in the large brick "reservoir."

As is to be expected, this classical sima design is not to be found on the flat roofs of the Parthian levels. No fragments of the sima were found in Level I, and although three pieces are designated as belonging to Level II in the block, it is questionable whether they belong there; the excavators were not sure of the level of one found in Street 4, and the other two simas were found in rooms 125 and 126, but it is obvious that they must have belonged to the courtyard that these two rooms face (room 94 of Level II, which is room 126 of Level III). These rooms contained pottery common to both Levels II and III. The fact that one fragment was found in a well and the other at floor level further suggests that they are part of the debris from Level III.

Judging on the basis of the changing design of the sima, the first Hellenistic settlement appears to show a strong attachment to Greek art which became much looser in the next, independent city when the artisans, now working in the yellow-grey clay, began to pay lip-service only to the old designs and appeared to understand them no longer. One late

fragment, for example, shows the berry of the leaf cluster confused with the bead-and-reel border (fig. 46).

The Seleucia simas help to place a red ceramic fragment excavated at Susa. The piece was found in an uncertain context, but the excavators went through a Parthian level.<sup>36</sup> The profile of the fragment is very close to that of the Seleucia examples, and its face is decorated with the Seleucia running square meander enclosing framed rosettes.

Sloped roofs, from which the Seleucia simas probably came, were not common in the East, but they do appear. The Hellenistic agora at Dura-Europos, for example, also had a tiled, gabled roof. No water spouts are reported recovered from this structure, but a clay antefix with human head decoration was found.<sup>37</sup>

The antefixes, used in conjunction with the lion head simas, are also found in Level III and IV contexts. They are molded in a well-fired, red clay mixed with chopped straw, the same fabric as that of the simas. Only one antefix (D7411) is in the yellow-grey fabric. The pieces bear no slip or glaze. One fragment has some adhering plaster fragments, but they seem to be the result of chance. The palmette motif of the antefixes is, of course, western in origin.

The palmette antefix was made by pressing a sheet of clay, 3.0-3.5 centimeters thick, into an open mold; the heel of the antefix was hand-modelled into a long V-shaped channel and affixed to the back side of the plaque (figs. 48, 49). One of the better preserved antefixes indicates the pitch of the roof tiles to which it was attached (C3523, fig. 49). The remains are fragmentary, but on the basis of the remaining parts the estimated average size of the antefixes is 20.0-21.0 centimeters by 16.0-17.5 centimeters. The palmette design is in very low relief, the plaque flat with a curling back at the top.

Fig. 48. Clay palmette antefix (G6, II, 229, III?)

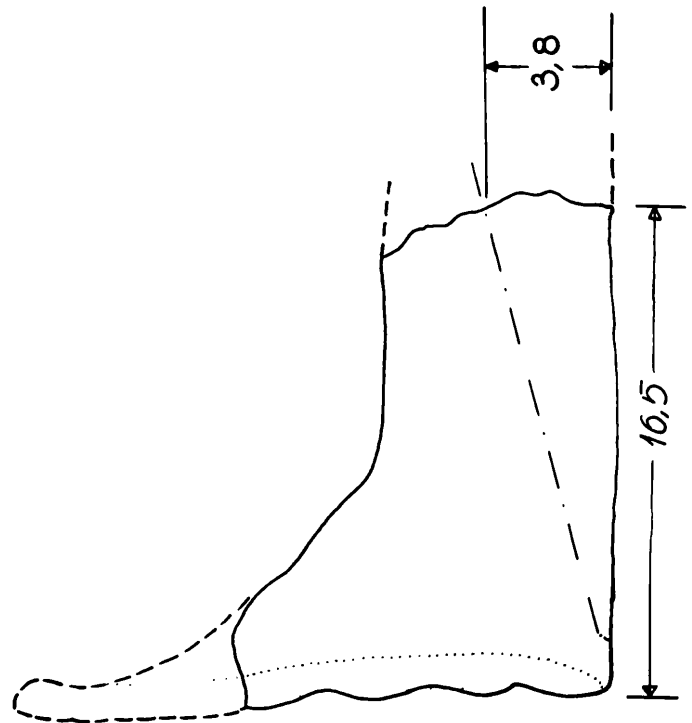
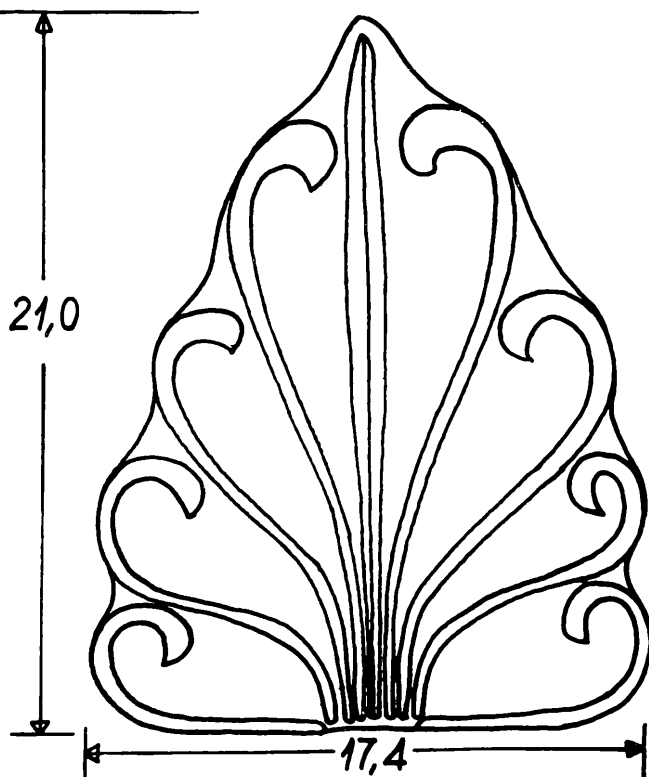


Fig. 49. Clay palmette antefix, profile (surface)

Three antefixes were found in Street 6, facing the block, along with a lion spout sima and a bit of roofing tile at Level III. Fragments of antefixes, simas, and tiles recovered in Level III, rooms 4, 23, 176, 161, 166, all of which open on Street 6, must belong to the roof line decoration of the street facade. Level III courts used this fictile decoration. Court 118/147 in the central complex of the block yielded an antefix and sima; a roofing tile comes from the small adjoining room 152. The southern court 107 held an antefix; room 39 adjoining court 27, in the northeastern corner of the block, contained an antefix; tile fragments and an antefix come from areas 144 and 75; and a single antefix was recovered at the north end of street 4 in front of the entrance to room 51, whose facade it decorated. Some of the fragments from street 6 may well belong to Level IV.

The numismatic material from the rooms holding these roof line decorations in red clay is spread over four centuries, but there is a clustering of coins around dates in the last half of the second and first years of the first centuries B.C. The only antefix in the yellow-grey clay comes from room 39 which contained a single coin "between the underpinnings" dated to 121-83 B.C.; that is, the yellow-grey clay piece must post-date this time, which is another indication that the yellow-grey clay work followed and replaced the red clay.

The question arises whether the Parthian buildings had any roof line decoration comparable to the sima and palmette antefix of the Hellenistic structures. The west liwan of the Parthian Palace at Assur suggests a simple cornice molding over a broad frieze as the terminal decoration. But Assur,<sup>38</sup> Babylon,<sup>39</sup> and Seleucia have revealed molded, free-standing merlons that crenelated the roof line (figs. 50, 51).<sup>40</sup>

The free-standing merlons from Seleucia are of molded stucco, smaller in scale than the ceramic palmettes, averaging between 9.1-11.6 centimeters by 8.5-10.5 centimeters. They were cast in open molds, the face curving slightly forward at

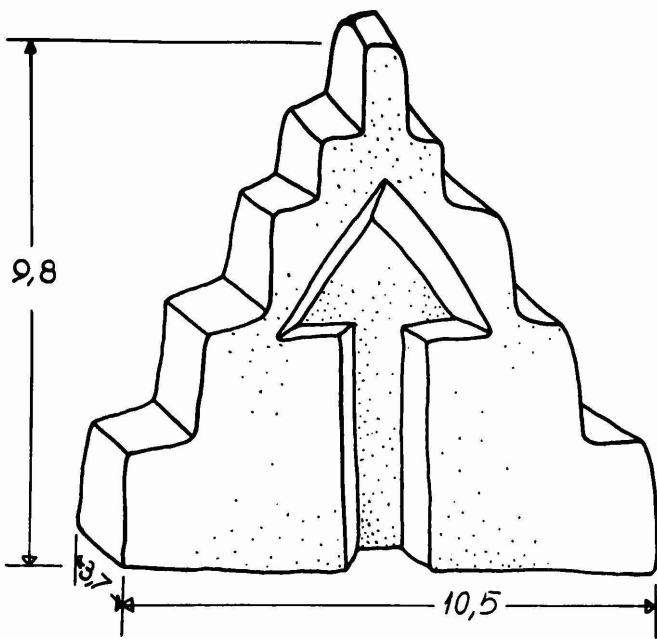


Fig. 50. Stucco merlon

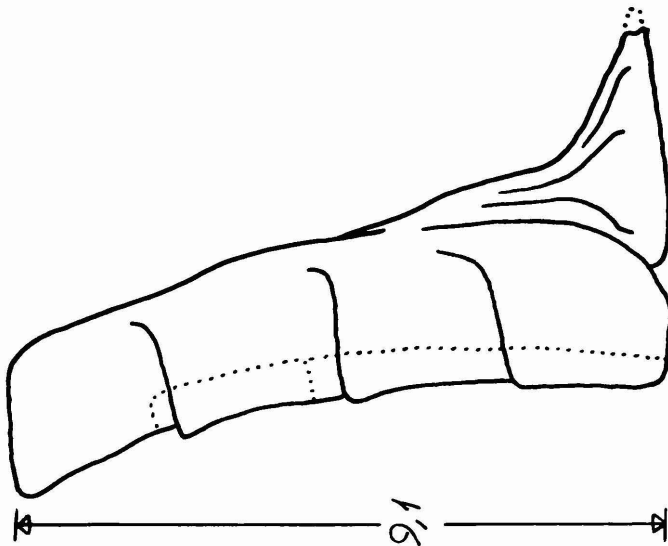


Fig. 51. Stucco merlon, profile

the top; the bottom and back are flat. A small heel (fig. 51) serves as a support for fastening to the top of the wall. The curved top of the merlon, like its counterpart on the palmette antefixes, probably was made to correct the perspective of the decoration set high above eye level. The faces of two of the merlons carry an incised "arrow slot"; the third is made in the more elaborate design of the merlons depicted in some of the friezes (figs. 53, 54, 58); the central arrow is flanked by vine-like curls that spring from the base angles.

This merlon design is a tenacious Near Eastern motif that began as a functional architectural feature and continued in use through Sassanian times as a completely decorative element. It appears on Assyrian fortifications, and is extensively employed by the Achaemenian architect. While the Parthians may have acquired this unit ornament from the

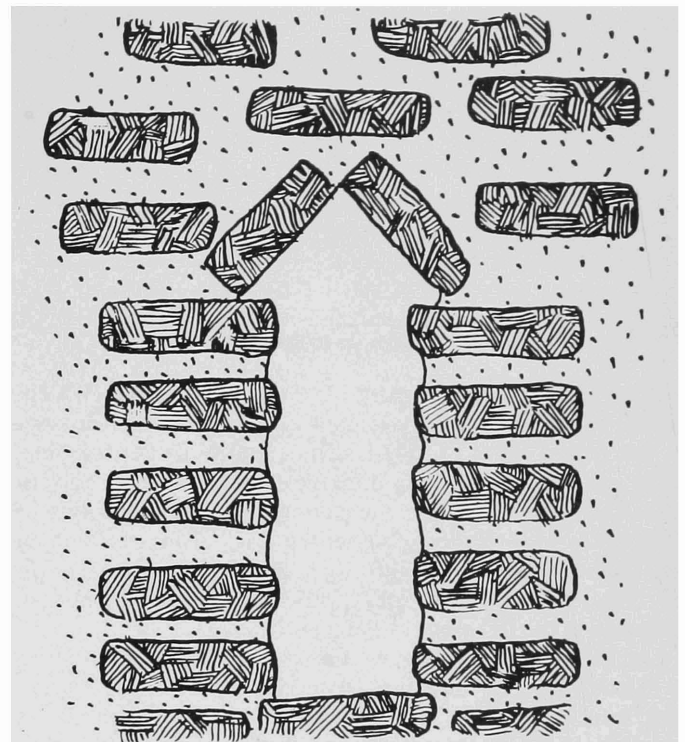


Fig. 52. Diagram of construction of arrow slot in brick wall

Achaemenians, it also may have been familiar to them prior to their western movement. Choresmia, north of the suggested homeland of the Parthians, was using the motif in the fourth century B.C.<sup>41</sup> At Toprak-Kala the curtain wall was topped with merlons with arrow-slots. The arrow-slot fenestration of the walls at Dshanbās-Kala provides a structural basis for the design: vertical openings in the brick wall are gabled with two bricks leaning against each other and resting on shelves formed by the top brick course of the opening (fig. 52). At Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan) the brickwork suggests this same pattern.<sup>42</sup> Hence there is the strong suggestion that the Parthians carried this brickwork motif westward. The merlon decoration on the parapets of Persepolis carry a "false door" design rather than the arrow, but the arrow motif appears in Achaemenian art as, for example, at Susa on enameled brick merlons and in the frieze of the Archers.<sup>43</sup>

Both arrow and "false door" designs are used on a late Parthian coping stone from a fire temple at Surkh Kotal.<sup>44</sup> The Parthian stucco from Warka, which carries many of the same motifs in use at Seleucia, has the five-stepped merlon with arrow.<sup>45</sup> It is in use at Kuh-i-Khwāja, enclosed in the running square meander. The arrows of Kuh-i-Khwāja and Surkh Kotal have the barbs on either side sloping back, the shaft flaring at the bottom; the arrow is quite broad for the size of the merlon. By contrast, the arrow motifs of Warka, Assur, and Seleucia are narrow and straight. The former appear as later variations of the narrow, straight arrow, and are, then, additional evidence that Kuh-i-Khwāja and Surkh Kotal are somewhat later in date.<sup>46</sup> The free standing merlons from Assur do not have the arrow slot, but use, instead, an engraved six-lobed rosette in a circle. However, the arrow motif does appear at Assur.<sup>47</sup>

A new concept of the merlon motif takes shape at Seleucia where, under the pressure of the Parthian linear style, the



Fig. 53. Stucco merlon frieze, reconstructed (G6, I, 89)

merlon loses its bulk, turning into a stepped framework enclosing the central arrow and flanking floral forms. This stage in the design (figs. 53, 54) is demonstrative of the combinations achieved by grafting a classical motif onto an Eastern idea. The tendril shapes in the merlons are a linear adaption of the curling ends of the palmette; the small S-shapes found on the palmettes are almost directly copied in the merlons (figs. 53, 54). Perhaps the five lobes formed by the floral shape are reflected in the five steps of the merlons.

At Palmyra, which is more Western in its architecture than is Seleucia, there is no equally intense orientalizing of designs, and, hence, when the merlon appears there it still holds the palmette (fig. 55). Presumably the Parthian artisan was struck by the similarity between the arrow motif and the arrow-like spine of the palmette. The Parthian friezes with merlons (figs. 53, 54) are translations of the wide-spread pattern of alternating leaf and flower bud. The format probably derives from the old Graeco-Persian amalgamation of designs. Along with Parthian art, Maurya and Sunga art of India are deeply indebted to the composite style (fig. 56). The Bhārhut reliefs (circa second half of the second century B.C.) already show a form of the Seleucia merlon frieze: borders composed of alternating lotus buds and pyramids.<sup>48</sup> Similar orientalizing of Western elements is found in the fragment of heavy cornice from Seleucia (D4836, fig. 57). The leaf and bud design is completed with borders of tongue-and-dart and guilloche. The Temple of Bēl shows the more westernized version.<sup>49</sup>

The merlon and arrow were used in a variety of ways in Seleucia decoration. They are sometimes separated to form an alternating pattern (E9790h), or else used as a continuous cornice band (C2i71, Fig. 58). Once again, the Seleucia patterns mirror those of Assur. While the arrow motif, as noted, may have a structural basis in brickwork, it may also have been popular on Parthian sites because of the latent symbolism of

Fig. 54. Stucco merlon frieze (G6, I, 75)

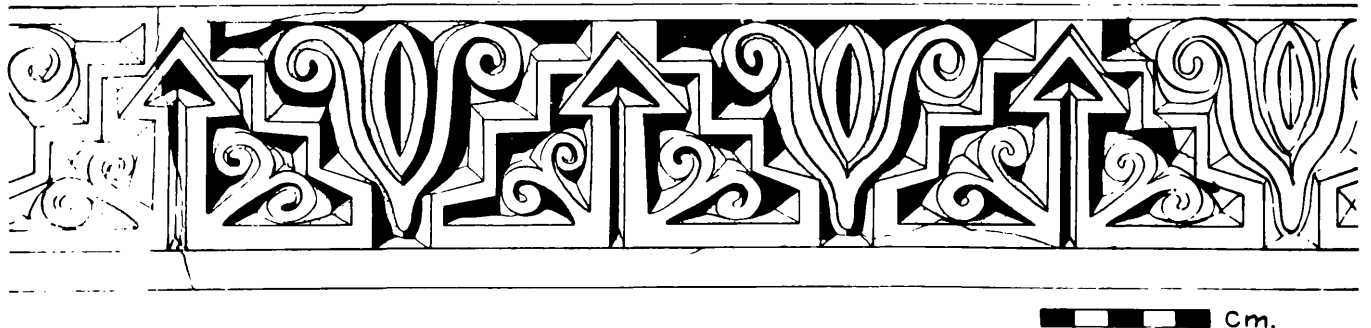


Fig. 55. Stepped palmette antefix from Palmyra, not to scale (after Seyrig)

arrow and pyramid. Lenzen speaks of the arrow as the symbol of Marduk in the later architecture.<sup>50</sup> Pope interprets the merlon as a type of pictograph, symbolizing the sacred mountain, the ziggurat, with the "door" on the front as the gateway through which the fertility god passes.<sup>51</sup>

The Parthian attitude toward decoration—exploitation of simple geometrical combinations, symmetry, repetition, preference for line and bold relief in a single plane, and the development of large area patterns—cloaks some of the familiar designs of Hellenized Asia, despite the Parthian treatment: the familiar tongue-and-dart (M16661) and leaf motifs (fig. 59) recognizable on moldings and cornices. One of the less thinly disguised running patterns comes from the well decorated Court 61, Level II, that opens off the main entrance to the block from Street H. The narrow frieze is composed of triple leaf clusters with tendrils (M16668, fig. 60), a popular design used with minor variations in detail and size. This is a cast pattern, gessoed, and then painted red against a blue ground. The casting is very thin, despite the deep recessing of the pattern; it was apparently made in short lengths to be set into the wall stucco, some of which still adheres to the piece.

This leaf design is in the fully mature Parthian style; the leaves are regularly formed by the arcs of intersecting circles, a coloristic effect is achieved in terms of linear shapes heightened by cutting back sharply and deeply. The artisan built up his design through a mechanical progression of repeated intersecting lines that compose the whole. Thus, the arcs that form the interior and exterior outlines of the central, vertical leaf are segments of the same circles whose arcs outline the side,

diagonal leaves of the next cluster. The design is, in actuality, an old unit pattern treated as if it were an area pattern. The non-regular, separately made tendrils are the only clue to its unit, floral origin. The hybrid character of this stucco piece demonstrates once again the imposition of the Parthian aesthetic on that of Western Asia.

Because of the schematic rendering of the leaf pattern, it is difficult to do more than suggest the plant from which it derives. Lenzen, in his examination of the design at Assur, relates it to the ancient Oriental "Lebensbaum."<sup>52</sup> Other sources are also possible. First, there is the close resemblance of this unit pattern to the olive or laurel leaf clusters of the lion spout simas. The leaves of the clusters are arranged in identical fashion; the bud stalks emerge from between the leaves as do the tendrils. The only difference is resolved by substituting the tendril curl at the tip for the berry or the bud. Or, the leaf and berry embroidery on Palmyrene costumes may offer examples of the naturalistic interpretation of the design.<sup>53</sup> The formalizing of tendrils and leaves on either side of the vertical stem of the grape vine is known from the architecture of Palmyra also.<sup>54</sup>

The scant variety of area patterns at Selcucia is derived from simple geometrical shapes obtained with different combinations of circles, segments of circles, and squares. These patterns are used for sheet paneling and string borders. Apparently the decision of the stuccoworker on whether to carve or mold a pattern depended on the size of the area to be covered. Large surfaces were carved directly in the wet stucco on the wall; small bands and friezes were molded in sections and set in place. The area patterns have in common that distinctive decorative effect noted above: linear emphasis, coloristic treatment of light and dark, all-over repetitive patterns. Names for these patterns would not be particularly meaningful; they may be conveniently designated by letters.

*Pattern A* (D3805, fig. 61). The simplest design is composed of intersecting circles whose centers are calculated on a square gridiron system. A lattice effect is gained by scooping out the spaces between the closed shapes formed by two arcs of the intersecting circles to a depth of 2.0-3.0 cen-

Fig. 56. Stepped antefix from Bichapour, not to scale (after Ghirshman)

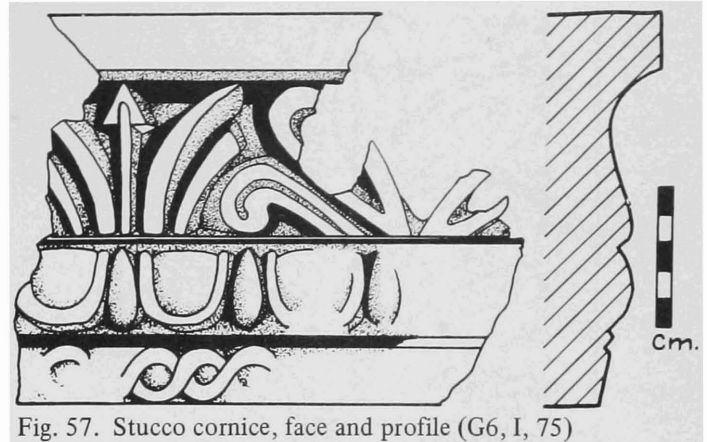
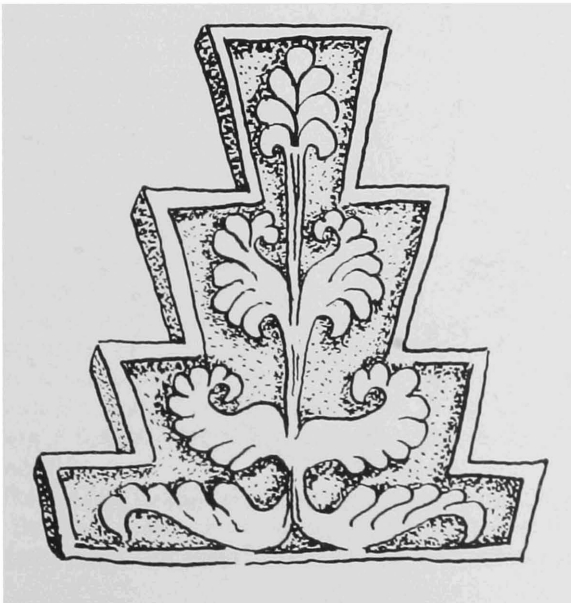


Fig. 57. Stucco cornice, face and profile (G6, I, 75)

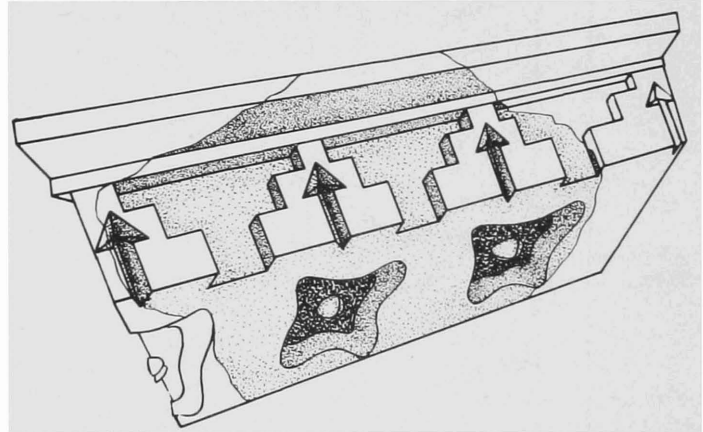


Fig. 58. Stucco cornice, not to scale

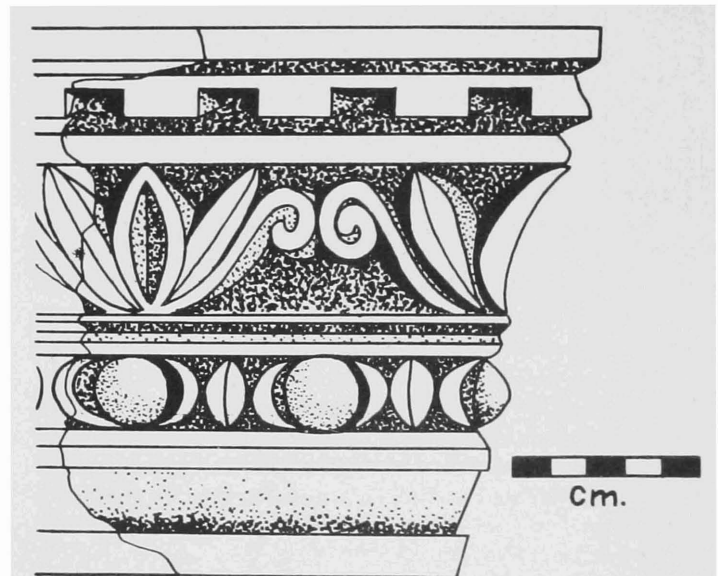


Fig. 59. Stucco cornice

timeters. Although there is indication that large surfaces were sheathed in this pattern, the individual circles which compose it (i.e. the modular unit) are in small scale, averaging about 7.0 centimeters in diameter. This pattern frequently is labeled a rosette design, but there is no evidence that it has a floral origin. The back of a typical fragment (fig. 62) shows how the

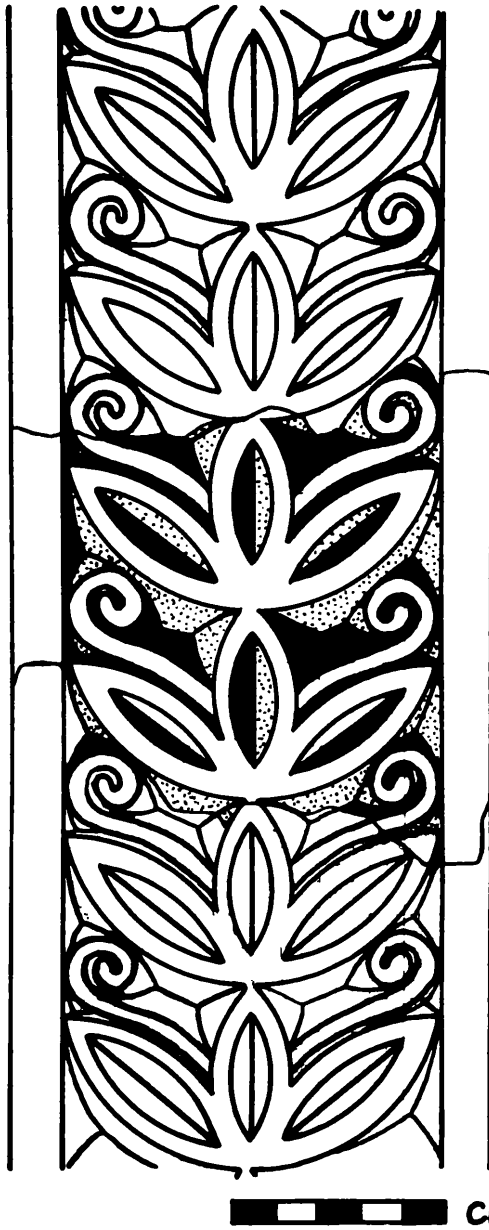


Fig. 60. Stucco frieze with triple leaf and tendril (G6, II, 61)

stucco was scooped out and pushed back in the still plastic construction plaster beneath. The pattern is painted red over the smooth gesso, surface coat. The artisans at Assur used the four lobe design, but they favored the six lobe "rosette." The four lobe design is found at Warka and Kuh-i-Khwāja. The Sassanians continued its use. Although the six lobe pattern is easier to plot with compass and ruler than the four lobe, they are probably contemporaneous.<sup>55</sup>

*Pattern B* (D3831, fig. 63). This is a variant of *Pattern A*. The four lobe motifs are separated and inscribed in individual circles spaced slightly apart from each other. The modular unit is a trifle larger, 8.0 centimeters; the stucco is sharply cut back 1.0-2.5 centimeters. The technique of manufacture is the same. The linear design is painted red; the depressions are picked out in blue.

*Pattern C* (E9790, fig. 64). This is another, more diversified version of *Pattern A*. The stucco is divided into squares in-

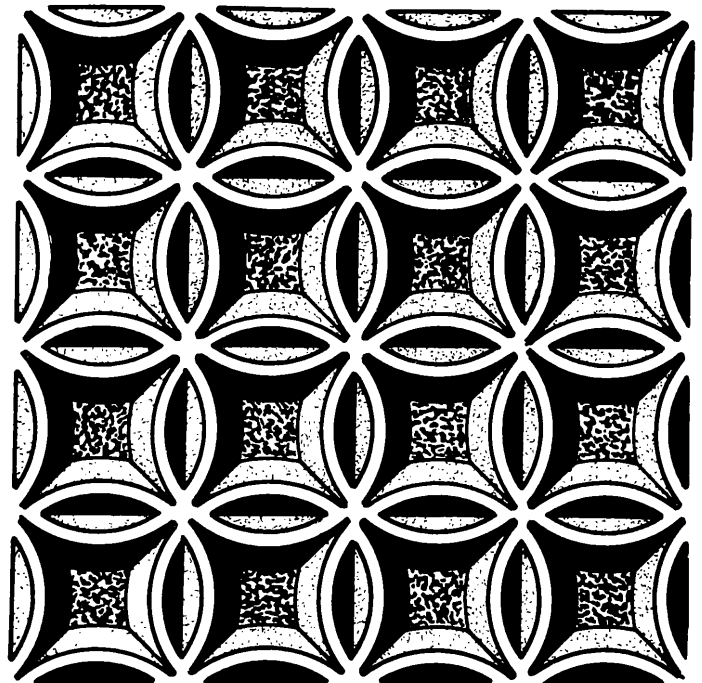


Fig. 61. Stucco area, pattern A, reconstructed, not to scale

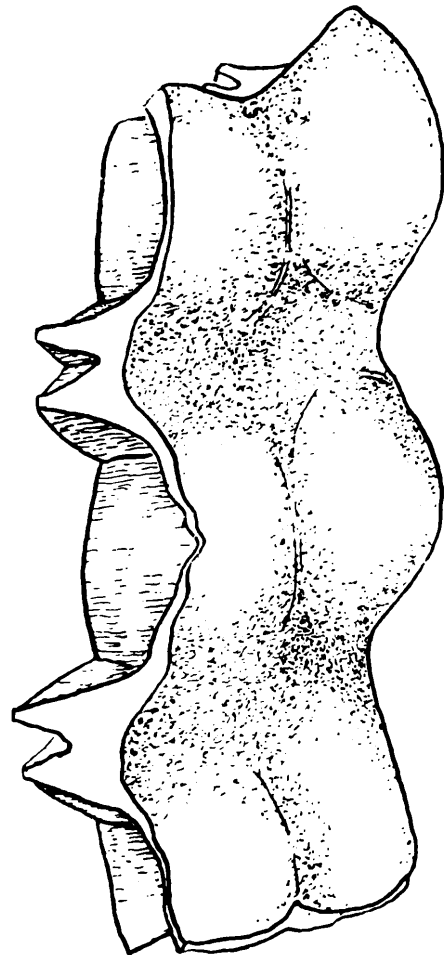


Fig. 62. Back of stucco with pattern A, not to scale



scribed with alternating motifs: the four lobe "rosette," and a circle containing a diamond made of arcs of circles with a center square. The scale of the individual motifs is 10.0 centimeters. The identical pattern is not illustrated at Assur, but the diamond with incurving sides and center square in a grid-iron pattern is common there. The stucco is worked in the same manner as in the related patterns, and painted red.

*Pattern D* (M16671, fig. 65). The diamond-in-a-square is used as an independent border on the face of an archivolt in conjunction with a ribbon of "petals" made with the compass. This particular fragment was cast in a stucco sheet so thin that the recessed spaces are open, providing a true lattice effect. No trace of color is present, but it was probably painted the omnipresent red.

*Pattern E* (M16601, fig. 66). This pattern occurs on a few fragments from different size archivolts. Like *Pattern D*, it is varied with alternating squares of merlon and arrow motifs. The soffit of the arch is badly mutilated, but allows for reconstruction. It is ornamented with a double tier of six-sided coffers formed by combinations of three lobed "rosettes." In the center of each coffer is a raised hemispherical boss. The archway must have been of a fair size considering the scale of the coffers and the boldness of the tiered relief. Face and soffit were painted in the usual red and blue. The patterns are cut into the stucco which was laid on a heavy stucco core. As at Assur, several of the Seleucia patterns appear on the soffits of arches: "rosettes," diamonds in squares, triple leaf clusters, and merlons. The coffering described here probably ornamented soffits of arches at Assur also, although the design is only published on a flat stucco fragment.<sup>56</sup>

*Pattern F* (E8487, fig. 67). This is another variation of the motifs described above: the diamond and four lobe "rosette" are inscribed in squares to form a double band. The pattern appears in the small cast panel and also on the face of the archivolt in combination with the running square meander and "rosettes" on the soffit (D4563). This completes the range of area patterns.

There are many bits of stucco that carry area pattern elements too small to be reconstructed. However, none of these fragments shows, as far as can be detected, any significantly different motifs or combinations from those listed above. Because many of the stucco remains cannot be located in their original rooms, it is not possible to conclude how the area patterns were harmonized on the wall surfaces. *Patterns A* and *B* come from the liwan (room 94) that opens into the large court (room 61) in the eastern side of the block (Level I). This was a handsomely decorated liwan, to judge from its extensive stucco decoration (D3806, D3768, D3767, D3766). The pieces from archivolts with *Patterns D* and *E* have lost their room designations, but the third fragment with *Pattern F* belongs to the elaborate northern entrance to the block (room 150, Level II). *Pattern C* is represented on the only fragment from the large room (room 115, Level II) with a round niche built in the west wall. The suspicion that this room served a special purpose may be corroborated by the appearance there of the decorative piece. The small panel with *Pattern F* formed part of the decorative scheme of room 194 (Level II).

The geometrical all-over area patterns are, then, common to the Parthian buildings of Assur, Warka, Kuh-i-Khwāja, and Seleucia. Hatra's architectural decoration never lost its Graeco-

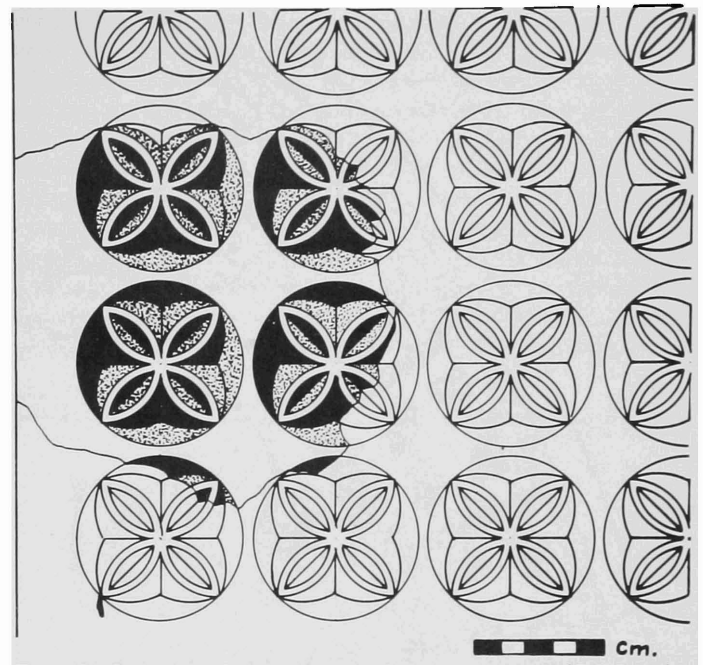


Fig. 63. Stucco with area pattern B, reconstructed (G6, I, 94)

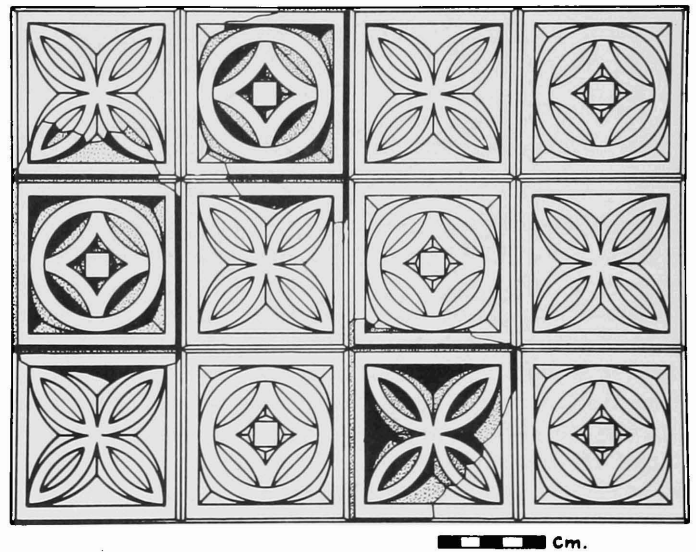


Fig. 64. Stucco with area pattern C, reconstructed (G6, II, 115)

Roman flavor. Babylon preferred Western floral motifs. At Hatra, the use of wall masks is probably an oriental intrusion, while the single occurrence there of an area pattern—the six lobe design on the soffit of a lintel—is clearly a foreigner in this circle of floral ornament. Palmyra, even more within the western architectural sphere, avoided using the area patterns. Almost nothing is known about Parthian architectural decoration of the Iranian plateau, so that we can only suggest that similar work appeared there.

Unfortunately, the origin of the area patterns can best be stated in negative terms. They are clearly not developments of classical floral, unit motifs. The immediate Western Asiatic predecessors of Parthian decoration are also floral and figural. Assyrian, Babylonian, and Achaemenian designs are repetitive, abstracted, and highly decorative, but they never lose their

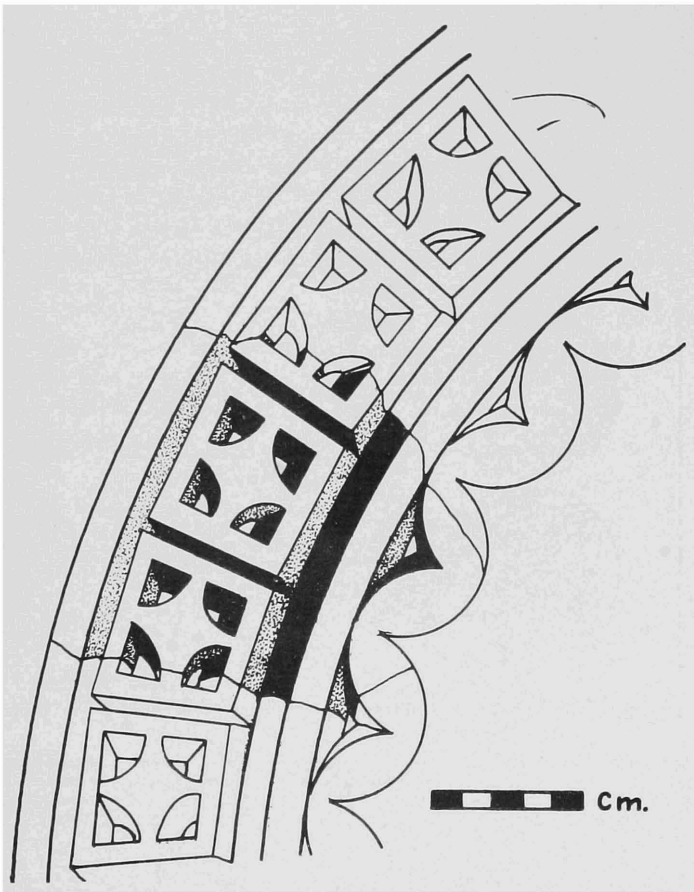
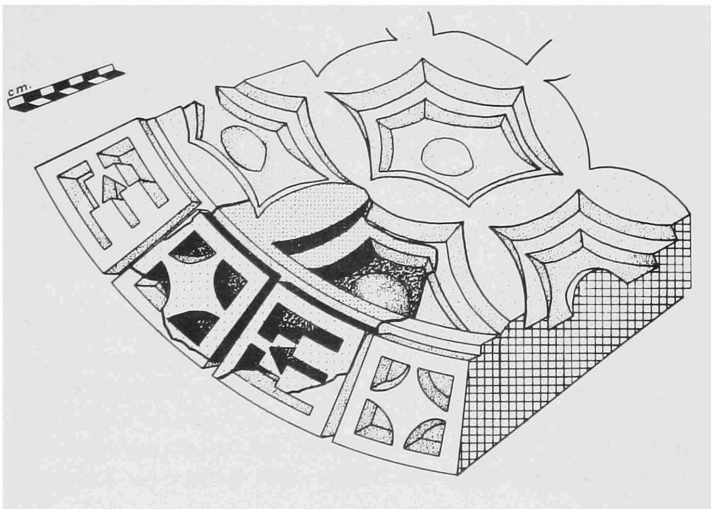


Fig. 65. Stucco archivolt with area pattern D, reconstructed

unit character which is based on plant and animal forms. There remains, then, the possibility that the Parthians brought the all-over pattern concept to the West, but there is no East Iranian-Central Asiatic material to substantiate such a claim. Nysa<sup>57</sup> of the third and second centuries B.C. has not revealed decorative stucco.<sup>58</sup> However, the lack of stucco evidence from the East may be due to the fact that the area patterns are not originally architectural, but rather that they originate in carpet and tapestry work while the technique of strong light-and-dark carving is based on woodwork.<sup>59</sup>

Fig. 66. Stucco archivolt, face and soffitt, with area pattern E, reconstructed



The unique appearance of a geometrical area pattern in Assyrian art, in the royal palace at Nineveh, is of particular interest because it is clearly used in a stone imitation of a rug thrown over the threshold. It is true that area patterns are not particularly suited to stone carving, which could account for the Assyrians avoiding them, but such patterns do not appear in Mesopotamian or Achaemenian brickwork either. On the other hand, area patterns are particularly adaptable to the loom. The four lobe all-over motif, for example, appears every now and then as a fabric design, as far back as in eighth century B.C. Egypt,<sup>60</sup> later in the fabrics of Palmyra and Sassania, and, judging from the mosaic evidence, it also was popular in textiles of the early Christians.<sup>61</sup>

The few Central Asian fabrics still preserved are mainly under West Asiatic influence and utilize floral and figural motifs. The fabrics from Pazyryk utilize Achaemenian motifs—repeated floral patterns in squares, processions of animals and equestrians, and scenes of court ritual—combined with nomadic animal-style forms.<sup>62</sup> If these fabrics do not reflect the content of the Parthian area patterns, their form does: sharply outlined light-and-dark contrasts of repeated elements.

A review of the Seleucia stucco fragments leads to the conclusion that the manner in which they were carved and modelled goes back to woodworking techniques. The very deeply cut stucco pieces (such as those composing the interlocking circle patterns) may be improvisations on wood lattice. The small scale of the modular units conforms to the requirements of woodworking, as do the rather delicate linear shapes standing far out from their background. Quite brittle in stucco, such raised patterns fit well in wood. The other stucco fragments, which are not as deeply cut, are almost exactly described by Ettinghausen's definition of the "beveled style" of woodcarving at ninth century A.D. Samarra:

"... The sense of complete stylization is enhanced by another characteristic feature, the slant style of carving, that is the beveling of the surface toward the curved outlines of the design, which creates a sculptured plane with a soft, flat modulation. The total impression is that of a uniform, abstract pattern with no background between the individual designs."<sup>63</sup>

Without an intermediate stage, we cannot establish an historical relationship between the geometric wall decorations of Mesopotamia and that of the Parthians. At Uruk-Warka the very early walls and attached columns were encased in a sheathing of clay cones, "nails," set into a bed of mud plaster, their different colored heads arranged in simple geometric patterns. This mosaic veneering was based on weaving patterns, imitating the tapestries that must have hung in the interiors.<sup>64</sup> A later stage at Uruk-Warka has mud plaster worked into lattice patterns, which were then painted black, white, red, and yellow.<sup>65</sup> This style of decoration dropped out of Near Eastern architecture long before the Parthians came west, although the imitation of tapestry on wall surfaces was quite common in Assyrian and Achaemenian buildings. It is interesting to note how closely the Parthian attached columns with triangular surface patterning (mentioned above) echo the old Mesopotamian decorative style of Uruk-Warka, but whether the Parthian area decoration is the inheritor of the older form, or is purely coincidental, at least the Uruk-Warka mosaic indicates the process by which the all-over patterns were transformed from carpet to wall.

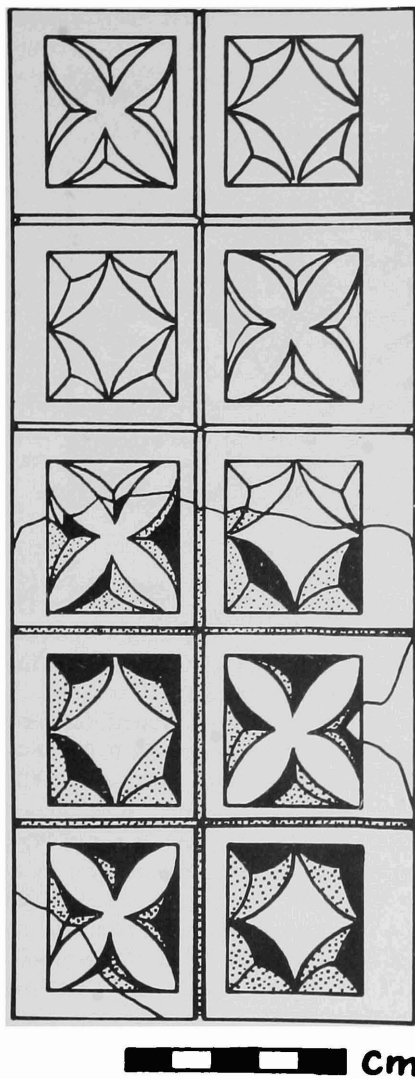


Fig. 67. Stucco with area pattern F (G6, II, 194)

The free interchange of patterns between fabrics and architectural work can be documented many times over. For example, representations of fabrics in the sculpture from Palmyra show the use of simplified floral rosettes framed in a lattice-work. The borders and hems of garments worn by the sculptured figures show some of the Hellenistic motifs that appear at Seleucia: the turning "wheel," rosettes, rinceaux, etc. The fabrics from the caravan city of Lou-Lan in Chinese Turkestan contain Hellenic floral motifs found in Seleucia and Babylonian stucco. Sassanian decoration on cushions and clothes, as pictured in the silver bowls, show the same use of motifs that appear in architecture. Provincial Roman floor mosaics carry the four lobed all-over pattern enclosing animal motifs. Such mosaics appear to be closely related to, if not copies of, floor coverings.

Rostovtzeff, in discussing the floral style of wall painting in South Russia, found that the style, under its late Hellenic overlay, sprang from the tents of the nomadic tribes that were hung with carpets.<sup>66</sup> This, which was true for the Scythians north of the Black Sea, holds equally well for their Eastern cousins. We may suggest, then, that early Parthian weaving served as a fruitful source for the later fabrics and architectural

decoration. The sheathing area patterns in stucco may have been adapted directly from carpet hangings of the nomadic peoples of northeast Iran. The manner in which the patterns are cut and molded in the stucco reflects the working habits, not of the stone cutter who is out of place in a nomadic society, but rather of the wood carver who, as we know from artifacts from the Eurasian steppes, served well the nomad communities. Many of these all-over pattern elements are found carved, in the beveled style, on the stone Jewish ossuaries of Palestine; wooden funerary chests follow the woodcarver's technique.<sup>67</sup> Similar patterns occur on the carved stonework on some of the Palestinian synagogues.<sup>68</sup>

Fig. 68. Stucco coffering

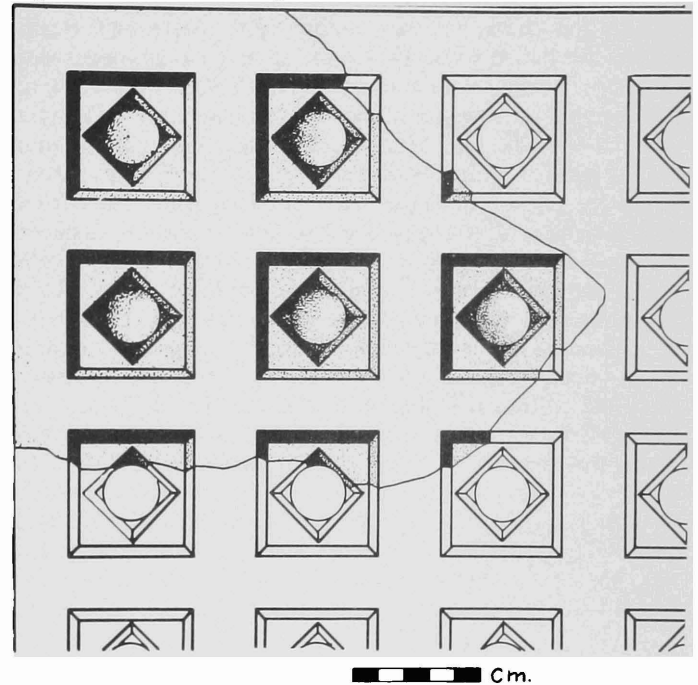
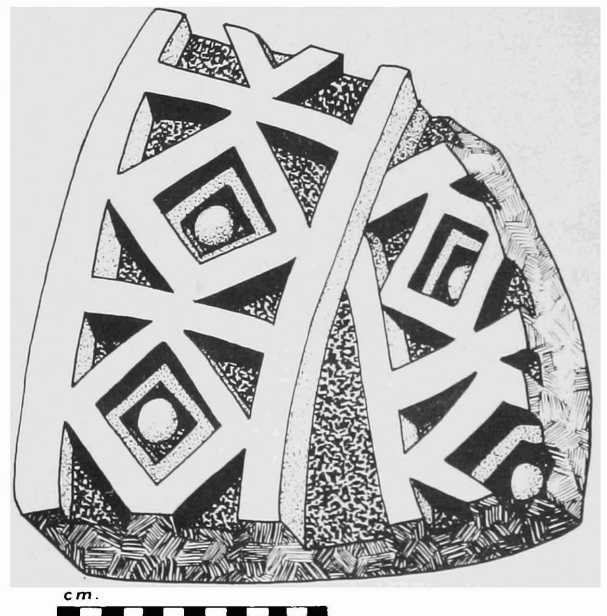


Fig. 69. Coffered half dome fragment, stucco (G6, II, 64)



Some of the area patterns were undoubtedly used on ceilings as well as on wall surfaces. Coffered surfaces appear on cornices and archivolt. There are several varieties of covering composed of intersecting circles, or made of concentric squares with central bosses (figs. 68, 69). Some large stucco fragments are part of a half dome (D4852, fig. 69). The fragment illustrated shows the border of the hemicycle with the beginning of the dome slightly recessed. The fragments are insufficient to indicate the size of the half dome, but the generous scale of the pattern suggests that it must have covered a fairly large area. These unique fragments at Seleucia come from the liwan of the northwest corner suite of the block (room 64, Level II).

There is nothing particularly Parthian in the use of coffered ceilings and vaults, but the handling of the coffering is clearly within the native style. The coffering may be compared with the painted ceilings in the tombs of South Russia and Palmyra, for example. The ceiling of the tomb of 'Atenatan at Palmyra, dated to the beginning of the third century A.D., has imitation coffers painted with incurving sides and bosses.<sup>69</sup> This pattern is closely related to those from Seleucia, while the twisted ribbon device, drawn in perspective, that circles the design at Palmyra, does not appear at Seleucia (although the absence of mural painting remains may account for this), but is used at Dura-Europos. The predominant colors in the Palmyra tomb, as at Seleucia, are red and blue. In South Russia, the Incrusted Style appears in the form of colored circles in a lattice, imitating coffering.<sup>70</sup> The Palace of the Dux Ripae at Dura-Europos illustrates a variety of painted coffers that, in their distinctly Western feeling, contrast with the Seleucia examples.<sup>71</sup> Glass cubes found during the excavations at Ctesiphon suggest that the ceilings of liwans held glass mosaics. The coffered surfaces from Seleucia are in the usual blue and red, sometimes alternating in a checkerboard pattern. The bright blue on the Seleucia vaults recalls Philostratus' descrip-

Fig. 70. Stucco brick, reconstructed (G6, I, 94)

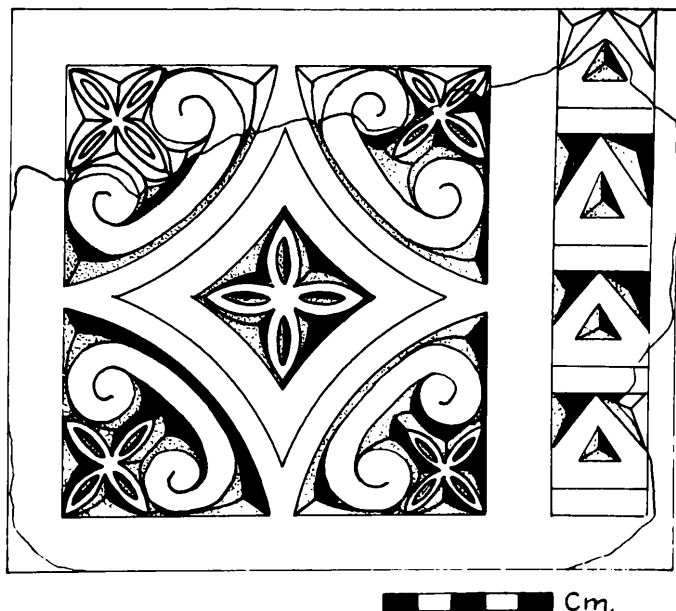
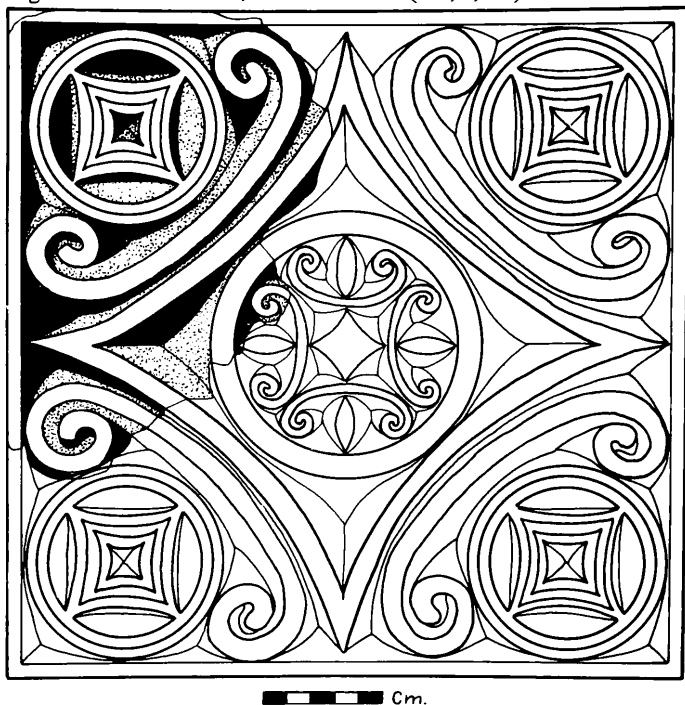


Fig. 71. Stucco brick, reconstructed

tion of Babylonian domed chambers that, resembling the heavens, were roofed with sapphire.<sup>72</sup>

Only two self-contained unit designs made of geometrical patterns can be reconstructed from the many stucco fragments (figs. 70, 71). These unit designs fit on stucco bricks which, as examples from Assur and Sassanian Kish demonstrate, were used in multiples to form an all-over sheathing pattern. The two brick designs reuse the simple geometrical shapes common to the stucco fragments. The square bricks contain within the raised frame a diamond shape made from the arcs of circles; the corners of the square are filled with a scroll that follows the contour of the diamond sides, and with circles, squares, and "petals"; the center of the diamond contains another symmetrical, geometric fill of the same order as that in the corners. Although each brick has a complete, self-contained design, when the bricks are laid together they would form a continuous, connected pattern by virtue of the arcs, which make up the diamonds, turning into completed circles. Parthian Assur uses exactly the same device on a slightly less complicated set of motifs.<sup>73</sup> These brick designs seem to be a Parthian innovation and, perhaps, one of the most important to be brought by them to the West. The geometrical elements come directly from the area pattern; the scroll—an arc with curled ends—is common in the East.

The brick illustrated (M32323, fig. 71) is a cast unit with small rectangular mortises on either side, and with reed or withy reinforcing. It is of small scale, sharply and deeply modelled (2.5 to 5.5 centimeters) effecting a network of linear forms boldly outlined against a deeply shadowed ground. The brick comes from the elaborately decorated liwan, room 94, of Level I, probably once forming a part of the exterior decoration, for the deep carving would hold up well seen from a distance.

The lacy patterns on these bricks are the antecedents of the floral patterns on Sassanian brickwork. Sassanian bricks from Kish, for example, use the identical, discrete and interlocking, symmetrical patterning, but they incorporate floral elements. The deeply carved linear patterns destroy the wall surface, concealing the massive brick walls behind a filmy screening.

One may speculate that these attempts by the Parthian architects to conceal the heavy architectural elements are a manifestation of the latent nomadic heritage. The tent dweller perhaps never feels quite comfortable encased in brick or stone, and so he may dissipate his claustrophobia by keeping the drapes and hangings of his tents about him, even though they have been translated into stucco. The brick designs resemble rugs made by stitching together woven squares with geometrical designs; such fabrics are still called *afghans*.

The only figural decoration that appears, besides the masks and busts on the capitals, is the animal design on the ceramic bricks. These pieces properly belong with the sculpture of Seleucia, but, because they were used on the architecture, they should be briefly noted. The bricks are thin slabs of red clay (6.0-7.0 centimeters thick, 22.5-23.5 centimeters high, approximately 31.0 centimeters long). The animals were cut into the brick with a knife in a planar manner, the surfaces sloping back at sharp angles from the surface. After cutting, the brick was coated with a very thick layer of milky glaze that considerably softened the contours. One of the bricks (fig. 72) fitted a corner so that it has two faces carved. The animals crouch, hindquarters raised, forequarters down, with the forelegs extended toward a floral arrangement of which only a few leaves extend into the frame. The hindquarters of the lion griffins are incised with parallel cuts that extend down into the hind leg. The barrel of the chest is depicted as two or three exaggerated ribs. The upper part of the foreleg is completed

Fig. 72. Clay griffin (G6, I, str. G)

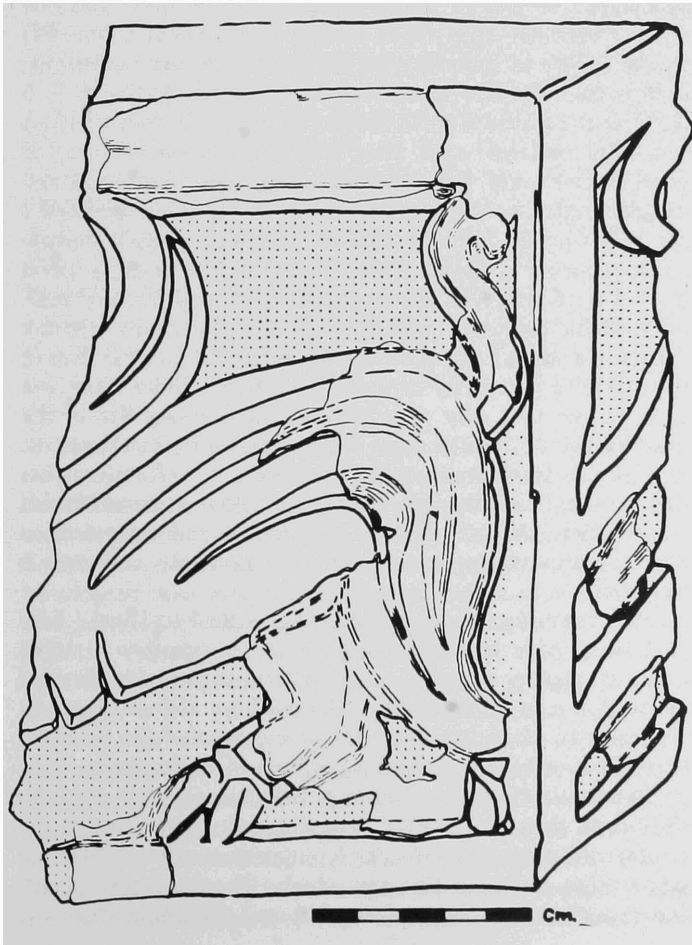


Fig. 73. Clay lion griffin brick (G6, I, str. G)

with a curl. The sickle wing rises in a broad curve from the shoulder. The mane is composed of a row of large beads with a beaded ruff framing the head. The tall, erect ears curve back in a horn-like projection; the tail curls up. The paws of the leonine beast, however, are made as cloven hoofs.

In their original setting the griffin bricks must have been used in combinations so that the animals would face each other in the standard heraldic pose. This motif of lion griffins flanking a plant or vase is too common in the Mediterranean and the Near East to document beyond noting that it occurs at Palmyra, Hatra, Assur, Dura, and Warka. In addition to the lion griffin bricks, Seleucia has yielded two brick fragments carved with serpentine bodies that end in a fish tail. They must have represented hippocampi (D5500, room 239, Level I). An uncatalogued brick fragment shows just the forequarters of a horse (hippocampus?). These brick designs can be compared with the serpentine monster from Warka, which also has a spiraling tail and beaded spine,<sup>74</sup> and with the later Sassanian version.<sup>75</sup> The only other variation at Seleucia is represented by several fragments of a brick showing a griffin attacking a deer (F7524, Area IJ).

These animal decorated bricks were found in the block, Levels I and III, and in Area IJ. One (D6583A, fig. 73) was found in Street 223 near room 223, Level I, which held fragments of griffin bricks built into the south wall (D6532A, B; D6533A, fig. 74). Three fragments come from room 148, Level III, in the southwest quadrant of the block; a fourth comes from the early or intermediate Level III court, room 178. The griffin attacking the deer brick comes, as mentioned, from Area IJ. Only one hippocampus was found in the block, in room 239, Level I.

#### *Decoration of the Block G6.*

The ceramic decoration of Level III is thinly scattered through many rooms, with only a few rooms holding more than one or two bits. The several entrances to the block at this level seem to have been relatively plain, except for the simas and antefixes, in sharp contrast to the richly ornamented entrances of the later building levels. The courts and their adjoining halls also are not distinguished by rich decoration.

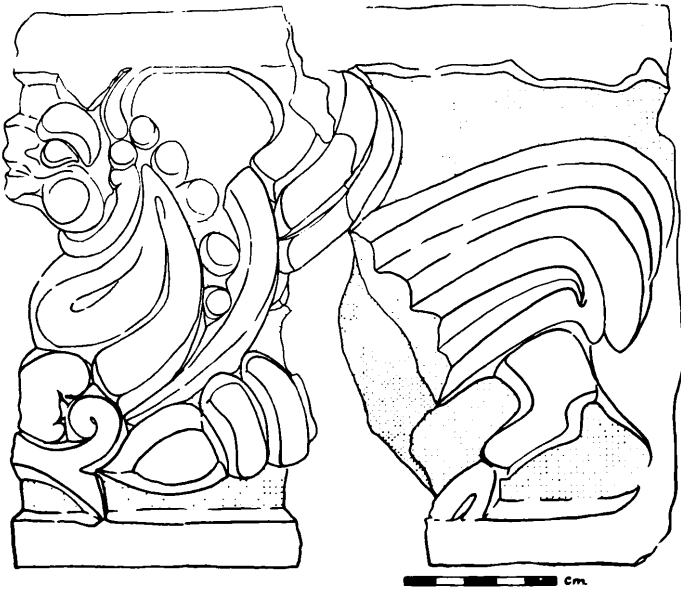


Fig. 74. Clay lion griffin brick (G6, I, 223 ?)

The large court in the southwest quadrant (room 126) revealed a stucco capital; ceramic moldings, cornices, friezes, etc., are absent from the other courts and halls. The room with the niche built into the wall (room 111) contains some decorative fragments in the brickwork which indicate that greater attention was paid to this chamber than to its neighboring rooms during one of its early building phases. Room 148 has a decorated brick and fragments of griffin bricks associated with it. In light of the scarcity of ceramic work in the rest of the block, it appears that this room, which opened onto Street 6, must have been of some importance. On the other hand, the fairly small room 160 contains decorative remains. If the quantity of ceramic finds is indicative of the extent of decoration, then the two adjoining courts (rooms 169, 178) in the northwest quadrant were the most elaborately decorated areas in the block. However, some of the pieces from the courts may go back to Level IV.

Unless there was careful and deliberate destruction and removal of the ornamentation, it must be concluded that the residential dwellings of Level III were most restrained in their architectural decoration. Nothing remains, of course, of any ornament in perishable material that might have relieved the mud plaster walls. There is no mural painting, but the fragment of stucco marked in imitation of stone paneling, found in the small room 110 opening off the hall (room 106), indicates that the interior walls were treated in a decorative manner.

In Level II, as in the preceding Level, the most extensive decoration is found in the northwest corner of the block. The main entrance to the block during the Level II period, room 150 opening off Street H, was elaborately ornamented.<sup>76</sup> Entry was made through a decorated stucco arch with carved area patterns sheathing the jambs. Behind the arch was the flat ceiling of the entrance hall ornamented with the large stucco medallion composed of a human head wreathed in scroll-work. From there one went into the court (room 61) that was flanked by attached columns carrying the Corinthian style capitals. Door jambs, reveals, and facade of the connecting liwan were tapestried with hand-carved grape and leaf designs, molded brick friezes of diamonds and scrolls, and with bands

and lintels carrying ribbons of the triple leaf and tendrill design. Scattered stucco fragments in the adjoining rooms are meager, but offer adequate testimony for once elegant porticos, the use of coffered half-domes (room 64), arched openings springing from pilasters and half columns crowned with Corinthian style capitals, wall niches complete with miniature pilasters and capitals, entrances sheathed in area patterned brickwork, and overhead were coffered ceilings resting on molded friezes. Some wall painting (room 169) and probably hangings offered the eye relief from the alternating patterns of bright blue and red stucco.

Another richly decorated apartment was built around the eastern liwan (rooms 94, 61). The stuccowork here is in the same style as that of Level II, but the rooms were assigned to Level I by the excavators. Broad panels of area patterns covered the door jambs and ran up overhead. Probably some of the pieces of coffered stucco that are not catalogued covered the arch of the liwan. A carpet-like effect must have been achieved by the repeated use of bold patterns. A few small, delicately modelled bits of stucco leaves and tendrils speak of the use of hand-cut floral trim. It is possible that the decoration of this apartment belongs to the building of Level II rather than to that of Level I.

The complex of small rooms under this apartment (i.e. those ascribed by the excavators to Level II) are in a completely different pattern; hence, the liwan (room 94) and its court (room 61) belong to a period of construction that followed a complete demolition of that area of the block. This destruction was assigned to Trajan's occupation. But, the appearance of two of Trajan's coins (A.D. 98-117) and one from a Parthian mint (A.D. 83-84) in the liwan (room 94) would appear to indicate that the apartment was built sometime before Trajan's southward march in the spring of 116 A.D., and survived the Roman occupation. The liwan and its court did undergo some later alterations before the end of Level I occupation. It can be suggested, then, that the attractive decoration of this apartment (rooms 94, 61) in the Level I period is roughly contemporaneous with the similarly decorated apartments in the northwest corner of the block, in Level II, and that they are not examples of second century A.D. work. Such elaborate outfitting of the apartments is more fitting as a sign of the rich commercial city of Level II than of the declining prosperity of the city in Level I. Indeed, the lean years of the later city may account for the long life of the liwan (room 94) and its court (room 61), for in such times the tendency is to make-do rather than re-do, to refurbish rather than to rebuild. If this apartment is a hold-over from Level II construction, then the lack of any change or development in the decoration from that of the other Level II apartments is explained.

The remainder of the apartments assigned to Level I have yielded so little stuccowork that it is not possible to assess their decorative schemes or to determine whether Level I decoration was substantially different from that of Level II. The paucity of remains appears to suggest that the residents could ill afford the expensive decoration of earlier years.

The architectural decoration of Seleucia not only confirms the hybrid character that has been assigned to Parthian art, but it also offers insight into the composition of the different strains that compose the new stock. The decoration shows classical, Western Asiatic (Assyrian and Achaemenian), and

Eastern, or Parthian elements. While it is fairly easy to pick out the Hellenic elements, and those that were adopted and adapted from Mesopotamia and Achaemenian Persia, the third element, the Parthian, is difficult to pin-point. The Parthian decoration at Seleucia provides a late, adulterated version of a possible prototype in the homeland of the Parthians.

Although we can but dimly visualize the decorative effects that were gained at Seleucia by analogy with the better preserved sites, such as that of Assur, it seems safe to assume that the walls were generally left plain with important architectural elements sheathed in ornamental casings. Broad, decorated lintels were used in conjunction with heavy attached columns, pilasters, and blind arcading. Door jambs and archways were emphasized with carpeted surfaces, broad tables, and bold but simple cornices. Reveals, soffits, half-domes, and perhaps whole ceilings were coffered and painted. The chromatic scheme of red and blue further emphasized the light-and-dark effect achieved by the deep cutting back into the stucco. Glazed ceramic borders were modestly employed along with friezes of griffins and serpentine monsters. Wall and ceiling masks and heads set into the capitals provided further variety. Considering the general popularity of mural painting in the East, the two painted fragments from Seleucia must be taken as tokens of extensive painting.

The effect of the stucco decoration, springing from the light-and-dark patterning of small, anonymous motifs, is strongly reminiscent of fabric designs and paneled wood carving. The interlocking geometrical patterns, never very complicated, and the angular or spiral deformation of natural flora seem at home in woven stuffs. But the technique of translating these designs into stucco indicates a prior tradition in woodcarving. Wood screens and lattices would have formed a happy combination with the stucco decoration at Seleucia. The overriding characteristic of the Parthian decorative program is non-structural, quite the opposite of its Hellenic counterpart. In this sense, the Parthian style has much in common with that of the Achaemenians. Their relatedness is not that of familial descent, but rather springs from their common Iranian heritage. The Parthian artisan wasted little time or loving care on the precise definition of intricate detail. Like the weaver, he could sacrifice the interest in discrete units to the resplendent all-over effect, conceiving of his patterns as bold tracery against deep shadow.

The Parthian artisan relied most heavily on his Western neighbors when he was faced with decorating Western architectural elements, such as lintels with stepped surfaces and capitals for attached columns. We may infer that the Parthian builder was unfamiliar with these structural niceties, and that he adopted them after the move westward. Surface decoration, area patterning, and carpet designing were part of his heritage, but the complicated lintel construction of masonry origin, with its stepped and pulvinated surfaces, presented a new challenge which he hesitated to meet, choosing, rather, to adopt the old designs instead of inventing new ones. A reasonable explanation of the architectural decoration of Seleucia can be made if it is seen as the partial result of adapting pastoral to permanent dwellings. The analogies drawn by Rostovtzeff between fabric hangings and mural paintings in South Russia may be kept in mind when examining Parthian art. Parthian architecture, with its invention of the liwan, had

moved a long way from the nomad's tent, but its decoration reflects the deeply imbedded tradition.

The Seleucia stucco helps support the opinion that Palmyra on one side and Gandhara on the other are greatly indebted to the Parthians despite their clear Hellenic relations.<sup>77</sup> Another confirmation provided by the Seleucia material is of the profound debt owed it by the Sassanians. The Seleucia stucco is additional proof for Lenzen's assertion that Sassanian stucco-work is a further development of Parthian architectural decoration;<sup>78</sup> and, hence, we must add this element to the alchemy worked on Achaemenian and Hellenistic art which gave birth to the Neo-Iranian art of the Christian Era.<sup>79</sup>

#### *Check List of Decorated Rooms in the Block G6.*

The following list gives the location of the architectural decoration in Block C6. Surface finds, fragments recorded in the field registry and mentioned in the diaries without notation as to location, and fragments turned up in the trial trenching are omitted. In a few cases the field register does not make clear whether an item belongs in the category of architectural decoration; such questionable items are omitted.

An asterisk (\*) indicates that the fragment is in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Registry numbers bear the letter prefixes *A* through *F*; Kelsey Museum acquisitions are prefixed with the letter *M*. Some fragments carry a location label rather than a field number. The levels referred to are those of the *Preliminary Reports* and field register. The word *Sub* followed by a Roman numeral indicates that the object may belong to the level designated by this number rather than to the level under which it is listed. Any additional information concerning location is drawn from the register.

<b>Block G6 Location</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>Level III</i>	
R4	*Lion spout sima. clay. D7536 (fig. 46).
R6	Glazed brick with boss and rosettes. clay. E12171. Sub IV.
R12	Limestone fragment. In brickwork of west wall. F298.
R23	Antefix. clay.
R32	Cornice (?) fragment with leaf design. clay. Sub IV.
R38	Decorated brick. E12041
R39	*Palmette antefix. clay, yellow-gray. D7411.
R41	Rosette boss. stucco. D7663.
R62	Grape vine motif on brick. clay. F8133.
R105	Brick frieze reused in wall (?). In northwest wall. E9292.
R110	Imitation stone paneling. stucco. ( <i>Second Preliminary Report</i> , pl. vii, fig. 1).
R111	Rosette. clay. F5610. Intermediate III. Brick decoration. clay. F5612a-d. Intermediate III. Sima spout. clay. F5555.
R114	Fragment. red clay. In west wall. F578.

- R124 Grape cluster from frieze. clay. E9452.
- R126 Miniature capital. stucco. E9463.
- R130 Floral motif. clay. E9628.  
Rosette. clay. E10106.
- R139 Granite fragment. F4543. Sub IV (?).
- R141 Brick fragment. clay. In wall. F4039.
- R142 Floral motif. clay. In debris below Level II wall.  
F5628.
- R147 Miniature column. clay. E10404.
- R148 Decorated brick. clay. F6435. Early III.  
Griffin brick fragment. clay. F6796.  
Griffin brick fragment. clay. F6797.  
Griffin brick fragment (volute?). clay. F6798.
- R155 Clay fragment. F6219.
- R159 Rosette. clay. F5540. Early III (?).
- R160 Rosette. clay. F1606.
- R166 \*Lion head sima. clay. E11569. (fig. 43).
- R169 Acanthus leaf. clay. F7564. III-IV.  
Decorated brick. clay. F5652. IV (?).  
Pomegranate. clay. From lower pavement. F2320.
- R172 Decorated brick. clay. Intermediate. F5918.  
Lion head sima. clay. F1388.
- R173 Rosette. clay. F2334.
- R174 Stucco fragment. E11182.
- R176 Stucco fragment. In wall. F4207.
- R177 Rosette (?). clay. F1801.
- R178 Decorated bricks. clay. F6634,5,6,7.  
Grape vine motif on brick. clay. F6348,9.  
Griffin brick. F6350.
- R181 Miniature column. clay. F5371.
- R186 Rosette. clay. F7570. Early III.
- R190 Rosette. clay. F8538. Earliest Phase of III (?).
- R191 Miniature column. clay. E10814.
- R223 Stucco fragment painted red and blue. F8160.  
Early III.
- R225 Stucco fragment. F3519.  
Lion head sima. clay. F6381.
- R304 Stone fluting fragment. C3291. Sub IV.
- Street 6 Miniature column. clay. F2053.  
Rosette. clay. Opposite R186. F8541.  
Lion head sima. clay. Opposite R186. F6489.
- Street 4 Lion head sima (?). clay. Opposite R51.  
E8308A,B,C.  
Cornice. clay. Opposite R51. 8307.
- Level II*
- R3 Stucco fragment. In brickwork of Grave 228.  
E11305.
- R30 Cornice with floral frieze. stucco. Floor.
- R36 (Excavator's diary mentions *Room 36* as "plaster  
room").
- R37 Stucco fragments (Diary).
- R56 Stucco fragments (Diary mentions three large and  
four small decorative fragments).
- R61 \*Capital. stucco. 50 centimeters deep near north  
wall. D4755. (Fig. 34).  
Head in center of wheel decoration. stucco.  
D4700.  
\*Capital. stucco. 80 centimeters below wall tops.  
D4625.  
\*Frieze with triple leaf and tendril motif. (M16668  
(fig. 60).  
\*Fragment with grape vine motif. stucco.  
\*Fragment with diamond and scroll patterns.  
stucco. M16670.  
Acanthus leaves from capital. stucco. In pavement.  
E10690.
- R63 \*Miniature capital, Corinthian style. stucco. D4624.
- R64 \*Fragment of coffered half dome. stucco. D4852.  
(fig. 69).  
Capital (Diary note). stucco.
- R72 Grape leaf decoration on brick. clay. D4837.  
Egg-and-dart frieze. clay. D4953.  
Marble fragment. D6296.
- R86 Clay fragment. In south wall. E11242.
- R92 Rosette with hole in center. clay. D7727. Sub.
- R98 Face. stucco. D4975.
- R102 Ceiling stucco (Field notes).
- R108 Pilaster, triangular section. clay. D7212. Sub.
- R115 Small column with stucco adhering. clay. In north  
wall. E9437.  
\*Area pattern in several fragments. stucco. E9790.  
(fig. 64).  
\*Merlon and arrow frieze. stucco. E9790h.  
\*Miniature capital, Corinthian style. stucco.  
E9790e.
- R125 From spout sima. clay. From floor. D5225.  
Relief of tall "amphora." clay. D7098. Sub.
- R126 Lion spout sima. clay. 40 centimeters below well  
top. D5314.
- R129 Fragments of frieze with spiraliforms. clay. In east  
wall. D6202a,b.  
\*Ionic volute from capital. clay. M32664. (fig. 42).
- R138 Fluted pilaster. clay. D5781.
- R139 Ionic volute from capital. clay.
- R150 Ceiling medallion with head and scroll pattern.  
stucco. (*Second Preliminary Report*, p. 21, pl.  
xi, fig. 1)  
Archvolt with meander and area patterning.  
stucco. (*Second Preliminary Report*, p. 21,  
fig. 6).
- R164 Frieze with vine and tendrils. clay. In south wall.  
D6251a,b.
- R169 \*Fragments of mural painting in green, black, red,  
and white. stucco. D5747, D5748.
- R193 \*Coffered surface. stucco.
- R194 \*Merlon and arrow frieze. stucco. From floor.  
Frieze with area patterning. stucco. In north wall.  
E8487. (Fig. 67).



- R201 Capital, Corinthian style. stucco. Top of second level wall. C2775a.
- R202 Rosette. clay. E9937. Sub.
- R205 Small attached column, blue glaze. clay. C3016. Small capital. clay. C3017.
- R219 Brick decorated with parallel bands. clay. D6929a,b. Sub
- R239 \*Fragments with grape vine, rosettes and "diamonds." stucco. M16617, M16663, M33418.
- Street 6 \*Molding. stucco. Near southwest corner of Block. D6021.
- Street 4 \*Lion spout. clay. Opposite room 253. D5534. II (?).
- Street H Rosette. clay. D6061.
- Level I*
- R48 Blue glazed pilaster. clay. C2146. Room 245 (?).
- R56 Capital with eagle. stucco. Upper filling of Vault 90, Cubicle 4. D4715. (*First Preliminary Report*, pl. ii, fig. 3).
- R64 Ornamental fragments. stucco. (Diary). Capital (?). stucco. (Diary).
- R71 Fluted column. stone. Late wall. C2527.
- R75 \*Frieze with merlon and flower bud. stucco. D4800. (fig. 54).  
\*Cornice with egg-and-dart, guilloche, etc. stucco. D4836. (fig. 57).
- R89 \*Frieze with merlon and flower bud. stucco. In east wall. C2185. (fig. 53).
- R93 Head. stucco. D3844. Pilaster. stucco. (Diary). Decorated stucco. C2339.
- R94 \*Fragment with "rosette" patterns. stucco. D3830, D3831. (fig. 63).  
\*Brick with area patterning. stucco. D3806. (fig. 70).  
\*Area patterning with "rosettes." stucco. D3805. (Fig. 61).  
\*Square meander with wheel motif. stucco. Surface. D3768.  
\*Vine tendril. stucco. Surface. D3767.  
\*Small leaf or petal. stucco. Surface. D3766.
- R111 Capital. clay. C2241.
- R139 Capital. stucco. (Diary).
- R152 Engaged column base. stucco. (Diary).
- R164 Grape vine on brick, glazed. clay. D4549.
- R165 Persian pattern pedestal. stucco. C2656. Molding. stucco. (Diary).
- R223 (?) \*Griffin brick. clay. In south wall. D6533, D6532. (fig. 74).
- R227 Cornice. stucco. D5446.
- R239 \*Serpent or hippocamp on brick. clay. In north wall. D5500.
- R253 Small pilaster. clay. D5229. Sub. II.
- Street 6 Small column. clay. F3904. Levels I-II. Decorated fragment. stucco. F4097. Levels I-II.
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1. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.* 23-24.
  2. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.* pl. vii, fig. 1.
  3. Properly speaking the Seleucia material is *plaster*, having a calcium sulphate base. Stucco is usually considered to have a carbonate of lime base. However, a distinction between stucco and plaster is frequently made on the basis of utilization, plaster denoting interior work, stucco exterior work. Because much of the Seleucia decoration comes from the open courts and entrances, it is here referred to throughout as *stucco*.
  4. In addition to the brief mentions in the two *Preliminary Reports*, there are two reports on some aspects of the stucco from Seleucia: N. Debevoise, "The Origin of Decorative Stucco," *AJA* 45 (1941), 45-61; B. Goldman, "The Allover Pattern in Mesopotamian Stucco-work," *Berytus* 10 (1950-51), 13-20.
  5. Devoise, *op. cit.*, 48; H. Ingholt, "Quelques fresques récemment découvertes à Palmyre," *ActaA* 3 (1932), 19.
  6. E. Bell, *Early Architecture in Western Asia* (London, 1924), 24.
  7. *Strabo* 16, I, 11 and 17.
  8. *Dura IX, Part I* (New Haven, 1944), 104.
  9. *Vitruvius* VII, iii, 1-3.
  10. Western and Eastern decoration is usually described as being based on plant life and on geometrical forms, respectively. Cf. E. Will, "De l'Euphrate au Rhin: étude sur quelques motifs ornamentaux," *Syria* 31 (1954), 283. Each plant motif is a self-contained unit which, in combination with others composes a pattern of units (i.e. a unit pattern). Geometrical forms, on the other hand, exist only by virtue of their being used in combinations (i.e. area pattern); the motifs disappear if the basic forms are separated.
  11. There are some exceptional uses of the pattern, viz. on Harappan pottery, and on the threshold stone of Ashurbanipal's palace. Cf. the discussion of origins in Goldman, *op. cit.*, 16-19.
  12. E. E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (London, 1941), pl. xcix.
  13. W. Andrae, *Hatra, II, WVDOG*, 21 (1912), Abb. 234, 235.
  14. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.* 21, pl. xi, fig. 7, from the Block, Level II, room 150.
  15. R. Ghirshman, *Bîchapour II, Les Mosaïques sassanides* (Paris, 1956), 131, pl. xxv, figs. 5, 9.
  16. Cf. the rhyton from Nysa, A. Mongait, *L'Archéologie en U.R.S.S.* (Moscow, 1959), 295.
  17. Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* I, xxv.
  18. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, pl. ii, fig. 1.
  19. Waterman, *Prelim. Rep.*, pl. ii, fig. 3.
  20. D. Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du nord-ouest* (Paris, 1951), pl. xxxviii 1, fig. 36.
  21. *Dura VII-VIII* (New Haven, 1939), pl. xxx, from the Mithraeum.
  22. *Ibid.*, pl. xl, 3, pp. 381-382.
  23. *Ibid.*, fig. 88.
  24. M. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueïda* (Paris, 1934), 64, pl. xxviii, 122.
  25. G. Schlumberger, "Les Formes anciennes du chapiteau corinthien en Syrie, en Palestine et en Arabie," *Syria* 14 (1933), 283-317.
  26. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (London, 1950), 231-233, pl. lv.
  27. Peopled capitals have been recovered from the Bactrian site of Surkh Kotal: D. Schlumberger, "Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane." *JA* 240 (1952), 433-453; 242 (1954), 161-187.
  28. B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* (Harmondsworth, 1953), pl. 42A.
  29. H. Seyrig, "Ornamenta Palmyrena Antiquiora," *Syria*, 21 (1940),

- 292ff; R. Vallois, *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos*, I, *les monuments* (Paris, 1944), 291-297; S. B. Murray, *Hellenistic Architecture in Syria* (Princeton, 1917), 29.
30. H. Lenzen, "Zur relativen Chronologie der sasanidischen Stuckarbeiten," *AA* (1952), 198.
31. A. Kammerer, *Pétra et la Nabatène* (Paris, 1929), atlas, 107.1.
32. For example, the tomb of Dā-u-Dukhtar at Deh-i-Nau: M. A. Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran* (London, 1940), 45-47, fig. 19; L. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse IV* (Paris, 1895), 299-301, pl. xxxiii. Cf. the tomb at Qizqadan, located on the lower Zab just inside the Iranian border: C. J. Edmonds, "A Tomb in Kurdistan," *Iraq* 1 (1934), 185-187.
33. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 16, pl. ix, fig. 1.
34. M. Avi-yonah, "Three Lead Coffins from Palestine," *JHS* 50 (1930), pl. xii, fig. 1; J. P. J. Brants, "A Lead Coffin from Palestine in Leiden," *JHS* 52 (1932), pls. xi, xii; M. Chéhah, "Sarcophages en plomb du musée national libanais," *Syria* 15 (1934), 338-339; *ibid.*, vol. 16 (1935) 51-72, pl. xvi, bottom; M. Avi-yonah, *Studi Semitici 5, Oriental Art in Roman Palestine* (Rome, 1961), 22.
35. Seyrig, *op. cit.*, pl. xxix, 2.
36. J. de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, I (Paris, 1900), 59, fig. 50.
37. *Dura IX, Part I*, 21, fig. 88.
38. Andrae and Lenzen, *Partherstadt Assur, WDOG 57* (Berlin, 1933), Taf. 191, 19k.
39. Wetzel, Schmidt, Mallwitz, *Das Babylon der Spätzeit. WDOG 62* (Berlin, 1957), Taf. 32q.
40. O. Reuther also feels that the Parthians must have had merlons above the cornice: A. U. Pope, ed., *Survey of Persian Art I* (London, 1938), 419.
41. S. P. Tolstow, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin 1953), Abb. 24a, no. 4.
42. Schlumberger, *op. cit.* 242 (1954), 183, pl. iii, 2.
43. Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité V* (Paris, 1890), fig. 342, 348; G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale IV* (Paris, 1947), 2261, fig. 1283. A brief resume of the evolution of the merlon: E. E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli I* (Berlin, 1924), 2, fig. 3.
44. A. U. Pope, "Persepolis as a Ritual City," *Archaeology* 10 (1957), fig. 4.
45. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art I*, fig. 93; W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London, 1857), pl. opposite p. 225.
46. At Kuh-i-Khwāja the area pattern of four lobed "rosettes" made of intersecting circles has a boss raised between the lobes, just as it appears in the Sassanian stuccowork at Kish. Seleucia is represented by the simpler form without the bosses. Lenzen, *op. cit.*, Abb. 13.
47. Andrae and Lenzen, *op. cit.*, Taf. 18,20,21.
48. Rowland, *op. cit.*, pl. 17.
49. Seyrig, *op. cit.*, fig. 10.
50. H. Lenzen, "Architektur der Partherzeit und ihre Brückenstellung zwischen der Westens und des Ostens," *Festschrift für Carl Weickert* (Berlin, 1955), 133.
51. Pope, "Persepolis as a Ritual City," *op. cit.*, 126.
52. Lenzen, "Zur relativen Chronologie der sasanidischen Stuckarbeiten," *AA* 195, Abb. 3.
53. R. Amy and H. Seyrig, "Recherches dans la nécropole de Palmyre," *Syria* 17 (1936). 240, fig. 7 (12); R. Pfister, *Nouveaux textiles de Palmyre II* (Paris, 1937), pl. vii, fig. 9.
54. Seyrig, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxii, 21.
55. The six lobe "rosette" is obtained in continuous patterning by describing a circle and then, with the same radius, describing circles on the circumference at the points where the circles intersect. To obtain the four lobe "rosette" a grid of squares must first be drawn to provide the centers for the intersecting circles.
56. Andrae and Lenzen, *op. cit.*, (Abb.) 19, Taf. 16,20,21.
57. For the region of "Nisa": B. P. Lozinski, *The Original Homeland of the Parthians* ('S-Gravenhage, 1959), 43-48.
58. R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians* (Paris, 1962), 29.
59. *Contra*: Avi-Yonah, *Studi Semitici, op. cit.*, 20.
60. C. Singer, *A History of Technology I* (New York, London, 1954), 649.
61. J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* (London, 1941), 26, pl. xi.
62. S. I. Rudenko, *The Culture of the Population of the High Altai in the Scythian Period* (in Russian), (Moscow, 1953), pls. lxxxix passim.
63. R. Ettinghausen, "The 'Reveled Style' in the Post-Samarra Period," *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (New York, 1952), 73.
64. E. D. Van Buren, "Archaic Mosaic Wall Decoration," *ArtAs* 9 (1946), 323-345.
65. *Ibid.*, 336, fig. 7.
66. M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Ancient Decorative Wall-painting," *JHS* 39 (1919), 151-152.
67. *Jerusalem Talmud, Pal. M. K.* 1.5, refers to burying bones in cedar chests. The Jewish stone ossuaries have been dated as far back as 200 B.C. by L. H. Vincent, "Sur la date des ossuaires juifs," *R.Bibl.* 43 (1934), 564-567, but a more conservative dating, between 50 B.C. and 70 A.D. has been proposed: L. Rahmani, "Jewish Rock-cut Tombs in Jerusalem," *'Atiqot* 3 (1961), 117, note 4.
68. M. Avi-Yonah, "Oriental Elements in Palestinian Art," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 14 (1950) 70-71, pl. xxii, 8; E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World III* (New York, 1953), no. 485.
69. Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 13-14, fig. 6.
70. Rostovtzeff, "Ancient Decorative Wall-painting," *op. cit.*, pl. ix, from a tomb in the Pantikapaion.
71. *Dura IX Part I*, pls. vi-ix.
72. Philostratus, *op. cit.*, I, xxv.
73. Andrae and Lenzen, *op. cit.*, Taf. 15,18,20.
74. Heinrich, *Uruk-Warka* (Berlin, 1935), Taf. 26a.
75. K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit sasaniden* (Berlin, 1943), pls. 77, 96.
76. Waterman, *Sec. Prelim. Rep.*, 19-21, pl. xi, fig. 1.
77. Viz. Seyrig, *op. cit.*, 291, 307, 334-335; Rowland, *op. cit.*, 78, 90, note 7; B. Rowland, "Gandhara, Rome and Mathura: the Early Relief Style," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 10 (1956), 8ff. The question of whether Hellenic elements in Gandharan art spring from Hellenistic or Roman sources is highly controversial; for opposing opinions, see: Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, *op. cit.*, 79, and the review of Rowland's thesis in M.S. Dimand, *AJA* 62 (1958), 109.
78. Lenzen, "Zur relativen Chronologie der sasanidischen Stuckarbeiten" *AA* 1952, 188.
79. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, 183.

## PART II

### The History of Seleucia from Classical Sources

Seleucia, in the course of its history, was called by various surnames in order to distinguish it from other cities of the same name. Appian<sup>1</sup> gives *Σελεύκεια ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος Ποταμοῦ*; Plutarch,<sup>2</sup> *Σελεύκεια ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγριδι*; Strabo,<sup>3</sup> *Σελεύκεια ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρει λεγομένη*; Isidore of Charax,<sup>4</sup> *Σελεύκεια ἢ πρὸς τῷ Τίγριδι*; Pliny,<sup>5</sup> *Seleucia Babylonia*, and *Seleucia Parthorum*. Some of the later authors employ the city-name Babylon in error for Seleucia, as for example Lucanus<sup>6</sup> when he speaks of “Babylon, a city on the Tigris.” In some instances doubt remains as to which city the author had in mind. Fabian<sup>7</sup> assigns to Seleucia the greater part of the late references to Babylon. Streck<sup>8</sup> agrees to the principle but considers that Fabian goes too far. Strabo<sup>9</sup> states that inhabitants of Seleucia were not called after the name of their city but after the name of their country, that is to say, Babylonia.

Seleucia, as its surname indicates, was situated on the Tigris river. It lay three Roman miles from Ctesiphon,<sup>10</sup> and ninety miles from Babylon. Ctesiphon was on the east bank of the Tigris, Seleucia on the west bank, while Babylon lay on both banks of the Euphrates. Strabo<sup>11</sup> gives the distance from Babylon as 300 stadia. The city was situated, likewise, on a canal that connected the Euphrates and the Tigris. Pliny writes,<sup>12</sup> “From this place (Philiscum on the Euphrates) it is ten days sail to Seleucia. . . . Near the village of Massice the Euphrates divides into two channels, the left one of which runs through Mesopotamia past (or ‘through’) Seleucia, and falls into the Tigris as it (i.e. the Tigris) flows around that city.” (. . . *et parte laeva in Mesopotamiam vadit per ipsam Seleuciam circa eam praeflenti infusus Tigri*). Pliny further explains<sup>13</sup> that this channel of the Euphrates was said to be artificial and that it was called by the Assyrians “Nahr-malcha,” “The Royal Canal.” The phrase “per ipsam Seleuciam” may be taken to read “through Seleucia” but it is not clear that the author had this meaning in mind. Theophylactus<sup>14</sup> relates that the Euphrates river divided itself into three branches. The author has in mind two of the large canals that lead out from this river, the “third branch” being the Royal Canal. The passage continues, “. . . and the third (branch) flows through Seleucia and gives to the city the most unconquerable safety, flanked as it is by water, fortifying the city as by an encircling fence.” The expression *διαρρεῖ τῆς Σελευκείας* clearly indicates that the canal flowed through the city. But the passage also implies that the water of the canal encircles the city in a system of moats. Tacitus<sup>15</sup> gives the same impression in a description of the military strength of the city, “. . . *urbis validae et munimentis objecti amnis muroque*. . . . The passage is usually translated “protected by river as well as by walls.” *Amnis muro*, literally “by a wall of water,” indicates a system of water defense coordinate with

*munimentis*, hence encircling the city. In an earlier age, at Ur,<sup>16</sup> the river and a canal together were utilized as a system of moats. Streck,<sup>17</sup> basing himself on Arabic sources of the Middle Ages, places Seleucia on the north bank of the Royal Canal. In the classical sources there is evidence that appears to be conclusive that the city lay to the south of the canal. Isidore of Charax<sup>18</sup> in his description of the great caravan trail from Syria to Central Asia, gives the daily stages as one travels down the Euphrates valley and crosses over to Seleucia. He writes, “. . . thence (from Neapolis on the Euphrates) crossing the Euphrates and the Nahr-malcha, to Seleucia on the Tigris.” The city was therefore to the south of the canal. Polybius,<sup>19</sup> in the account of the campaign of Antiochus III against Molon, has the general Zeuxis advise the king of the difficulties of a march down the west bank of the Tigris to meet the rebels who have occupied Seleucia. Besides the desert there was *τὴν βασιλικὴν διώρυκα καλουμένην* “the canal called the royal.” The Royal Canal in a much earlier period was a part of the great bulwark for the defense of Babylonia against a northern invader. Since this canal formed an obstacle that the king must overcome in order to reach Seleucia, the city must have lain to the south of the canal. The evidence from these passages is convincing that the Royal Canal, as it approached the city, divided itself into at least two, and probably three, branches, one of which entered the Tigris above the city, another below. It is likely that a third branch passed through the city itself.

Malalas<sup>20</sup> states that where the Royal Canal enters the Tigris there was a large lake, *λίμνη μεγάλην*. It is not safe to assume from the single passage that a permanent body of water is here referred to. The author is describing the campaign of the Emperor Julian in 363 A.D., by which time the irrigation systems may have fallen into decay. This lake can well have been a temporary body caused by an overflow of the Euphrates. It appears to be customary to translate the passage as referring to a lake, but the word itself can mean a large artificial basin. In this sense it would refer to the port of Seleucia. This will be referred to later.

Seleucia was not built on virgin ground but was laid out alongside an older city that was probably in existence at the time. Strabo<sup>21</sup> writes of the Tigris that it was navigable *ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀπιω καὶ τὴν νῦν Σελεύκειαν* “to Opis and the present Seleucia.” Bruno Meissner<sup>22</sup> takes this passage to mean that Opis and Seleucia were one, but he feels obliged to suggest that the *καί* between the two names be omitted. H. S. Jones,<sup>23</sup> however, believes that according to Strabo’s usage the two city names could be appositional with the *καί* quite as well as without it. The passage clearly implies that Seleucia occupied the same general site as did Opis. In speaking of the

founding of the city Strabo<sup>24</sup> does not employ the verb "to build," but that "to fortify," "to encircle with walls," ἐτείχισε.<sup>25</sup> He refers<sup>26</sup> to Opis as κωμή, that is, "unwalled town," or "quarter of a city."<sup>27</sup> He uses the present tense, "It is the trade center (ἐμπόριον) for the surrounding region." After reading Strabo one is left with the distinct impression that Opis became one of the quarters of the new city. As an important city in its own right, at the head of navigation on the Tigris, and connected to the Euphrates by canal, Opis undoubtedly had important docks, warehouses, and offices to which merchants were accustomed to go. It is natural to suppose therefore that the commercial center of the new foundation remained on the old site. Two further passages in Strabo taken together and in connection with present day surveys, confirm the equation Opis-Seleucia. He states<sup>28</sup> that the Euphrates was distant from Opis "about 200 stadia," and that the shortest distance between the two rivers was somewhere in the neighborhood of Seleucia and Babylon, "slightly more than 200 stadia." This has been confirmed by modern surveys. There are no other ruin-mounds on the Tigris that fulfill these conditions.

The sources give no hint as to the date of the founding of Seleucia beyond the statement that it was the work of the first Seleucus. It is generally held that the city was built somewhere around the time of the campaign to India, perhaps about 300 B.C.<sup>29</sup> Bouché-le Clercq<sup>30</sup> places it after the founding of Antioch, in 300. Georgius Cedrenus<sup>31</sup> links the founding of Seleucia (called by him Babylon) by Seleucus with that of Laodicea, Seleucia, and Apamea in Syria. Strabo<sup>32</sup> states simply that it was founded by Seleucus Nicator; Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>33</sup> describes it as the *opus Nicatoris Seleuci*. Appian<sup>34</sup> furnishes considerable details of little value. Seleucus had ordered certain Magi to inform him as to the auspicious hour for inaugurating the work. The king, the Magi and the army were at the site. The priests, hostile to the idea of a new foundation, recognized the propitious hour but kept silence in the hopes of casting ill fortune on the city. At the proper moment, however, the army that was to furnish the labor was moved to start digging without awaiting orders. The Magi decided the gods were favorably disposed toward the project of the Macedonians and confessed their plot to the king, "The god is in hostility to us and to all the people around about . . . What can our resources avail hereafter with a more powerful race settled alongside us . . . Pardon our fault which we committed from fear of the loss of our prosperity." Whatever the credibility of the details of the story, it presents a picture of a native population already settled in the neighborhood, and of the Iranian Magi associating themselves with this native element, itself perhaps old-Babylonian or a fused Babylonian and Iranian group, and of all these elements hostile to the new foundation. It is not clear whether the Magi were referring to a loss of their personal prosperity because of the presence of a new religion, or of the commercial prosperity of Opis or Babylon. The determination of the auspicious hour for undertaking a task so important as the building of his new capital city must have been for Seleucus a serious obligation. As the only story handed down of that important occasion it is reasonable to accept it to the point of believing that Magi actually were employed in preference to Greek or to Babylonian priests. The motive may have been personal, or it may be an indication of a pro-Iranian policy on the part of Seleucus.

When such a policy was proposed by Alexander,<sup>35</sup> Seleucus was one of the officers who took an Iranian wife, and unlike many of the others she became, and remained, his queen. She was the mother of Antiochus I.

Pliny<sup>36</sup> states that Seleucus founded his city for the purpose of draining the population from Babylon. As a result of this in Pliny's day, i.e. 23-79 A.D., the greater part of Babylon lay in ruins. Pausanias<sup>37</sup> relates that, upon the completion of the city, Seleucus brought into it Babylonians as "fellow-inhabitants," (συννοίκους). Other references dealing with the population will be discussed below.

The shape of the city, according to Pliny,<sup>38</sup> resembled an eagle with outstretched wings. An accurate idea of the shape cannot of course be sought in the comparison. It does, however, indicate that the city was not approximately circular or square; it may well have extended for a long distance up and down the river, with but little depth. Seleucia had a fortification system of great strength. This is especially remarked by Tacitus; he calls Seleucia "this powerful and well fortified city,"<sup>39</sup> and "strong and with fortifications."<sup>40</sup> Theophylactus<sup>41</sup> writes of her "unconquerable safety."

The population of Seleucia is given by Pliny,<sup>42</sup> writing probably about 77 A.D., as 600,000. Orosius<sup>43</sup> states that at the time of the campaign of Avidius Cassius, about 166 A.D., the inhabitants numbered 400,000. Political and economic reasons that would account for such a change are known and will be discussed in connection with the history of the city. While these figures may be somewhat exaggerated, the position Seleucia held in the minds of the ancients is ample evidence that she was one of the largest, if not the greatest, city of the age. Josephus<sup>44</sup> calls her "the most important city of these parts;" Tacitus,<sup>45</sup> *civitas potens*; Eutropius,<sup>46</sup> *nobilissimam urbem Assyriae*; Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>47</sup> *ambitiosum opus*. Sallust<sup>48</sup> quotes Mithridates the Great of Pontus as speaking of Seleucia as *maximam urbium*. Strabo<sup>49</sup> states that as Babylon was the metropolis in ancient times, in his age Seleucia was the metropolis of Assyria. In describing Antioch the same writer<sup>50</sup> says that it "does not fall much short in power or in size of Seleucia or Alexandria."

Seleucia was of course a Graeco-Macedonian foundation, and this relationship is remarked by a number of the sources. Pliny, writing about 77 A.D. states,<sup>51</sup> "Seleucia still retains the features of the Macedonian manners (*mores*);" Tacitus<sup>52</sup> probably about 115 A.D., remarked that "the city still bears the impress of its founder, Seleucus, and has never lapsed into barbarism (*neque in barbarum corrupta sed conditoris Seleuci retinens*);" Dio Cassius<sup>53</sup> in the period between 212 and 225 A.D., testified that Seleucia was a city "having even at the present day chiefly a Greek population." This appears to be convincing testimony, and the greater part of modern commentators have thought of the city as a center of Greek life and culture in the Orient to the end of its existence. Certain checks are always applied to the sources by these same commentators in the course of their studies in ancient history. The history of Seleucia has received so little critical attention that what has been written on the subject tends to reproduce too faithfully the surface value of the source stories. To attempt to apply these checks to the source material on Seleucia, one must inquire as to the extent of the familiarity of each author with his subject, and as to the extent his work is simply a compendium of older material, and from what

point of view he wrote. The generally accepted rating of the various authors is noted in the appended bibliography. In connection with references to the Orient beyond the Euphrates, one must bear in mind that the best of the Greek and Latin writers were limited in their knowledge. The Romans especially knew little themselves of what had taken place, and was taking place, outside the limits of their spheres of interest. Popular Roman interest in Asia began to quicken after the period of the battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C., and, in so far as it concerned the region beyond the Euphrates, probably reached its climax at the period of the height of the Parthian menace, say about 39 B.C. when the lieutenants of Antony were able to drive the Parthian invaders of Syria back across the river. This interest, however, was probably limited by the extent of their fear of what the barbarians might do to the Roman provinces in Asia. Seleucia, "the outpost of Hellenism in the east," became a tradition that never changed with passing time. Direct contact between Rome and Seleucia was doubtless rare. What Roman and late Greek authors have to say regarding the city cannot be taken as true for the period in which each writer lived. As a rule they are quoting from earlier writers and travellers. Dio Cassius in the passage above quoted states that in his day the city had a population chiefly Greek. Evidence resulting from excavation, however, has definitely proved that the city as Seleucia had ceased to exist by the time in which Dio began to write. The extent to which the other authors are incorrect will be covered by the discussion, below, of the history of the city.

The problem of the relative proportion between the Hellenic and the non-Hellenic elements in the population is rendered difficult by seeming contradictions in the sources. Dio Cassius<sup>54</sup> has stated that the population was chiefly Greek; Pliny<sup>55</sup> and Tacitus<sup>56</sup> emphasize the distinctive Graeco-Macedonian culture that the city retained. The emphasis given by them to this condition in respect to Seleucia would appear to imply that this city is to be distinguished from other Hellenic foundations in the Orient for its faithfulness to the ideals of its founders. We have, however, the statement of Pliny<sup>57</sup> that Seleucus built the city for the purpose of draining the population from Babylon, and that this result was attained. Pausanias<sup>58</sup> confirms this transfer of population. The addition of the population of Opis is implied by Strabo as quoted above. Josephus was probably in closer touch with conditions in Seleucia than were Greek and Roman writers owing to the great Jewish population in Babylonia,<sup>59</sup> and the close relations maintained by them with Jerusalem.<sup>60</sup> That there was an important Jewish group in Seleucia itself is evidenced by Josephus,<sup>61</sup> and by George Cedrenus.<sup>62</sup> The latter makes them simply "fellow-inhabitants" with the Greeks, while the Jewish author affirms that Seleucus made them citizens and gave them privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks. Josephus cannot mean to imply that they were full citizens of the Greek polis, for Jews could not have accepted the religious obligations involved. He simply wishes to emphasize that the Jewish corporation in the city had a status as privileged as that of the Hellenic group. Josephus with his knowledge of the situation writes<sup>63</sup> that Seleucia "was inhabited by many of the Macedonians, and by more of the Greeks; not a few of the Syrians also dwelt there." The best modern commentators<sup>64</sup> agree that by "Syrians" the author means the native elements, the Aramaeans (cf. Strabo).

Josephus, then, confirms the Roman authors in stating that a majority of the population was Hellenic. He does not give in this passage an idea of the force of the "native" group. But later in the same chapter he states "Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia who were Greeks and Syrians was commonly quarrelsome . . . though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians." He goes on to state that on one occasion there was an influx of Jewish refugees into Seleucia from the surrounding towns. These joined with the "Syrians" who were then able to wrest the power from the "Greeks." That a group of refugees was able to turn the scale in favor of the one party indicates that there was no great difference in power between the two opposing groups.

That the Graeco-Macedonian group were fortified by special privileges and in theory were the "city" is naturally to be assumed. It is however specifically implied in the Josephus passage quoted above stating that the Jews had privileges equal to those of the Graeco-Macedonians. The "natives" were therefore a non-privileged class. This, however, would not explain the domination of the Babylonian element by the "Greek." If one assumes simply a ruling Hellenic minority controlling a mass of natives by a superior authority one cannot account for the effect created by a Jewish-Babylonian combination. The continual state of strife between two closely balanced parties indicates an approximate balance, with an instigating and directing leadership for each party.

The "native" elements in the city was largely made up of former inhabitants of Babylon and Opis. It must be considered that besides the older Babylonian stock this would include Iranian groups more or less fused with the Babylonian. There is some evidence which cannot be discussed in the present chapter that the leadership of the native party was furnished by Iranians (Adaibanes). The Hellenic element would comprise descendants of the original Greek and Macedonian settlers, later additions from the west, and, doubtless, some native families that had become Hellenized and had been accepted into full citizenship. The passage in Josephus already quoted, to the effect that there were more inhabitants of Greek than of Macedonian stock, should be noted. This can be explained by the development of the city into a great commercial center to which Greeks would be attracted in sufficient numbers to exceed whatever Macedonian stock was included in the original settlement. That the terms "Greek" and "Macedonian" came in Seleucia to mean something very different from a full blood relationship, is not indicated by direct references in the sources. That the Hellenic group was continuously being enlarged through intermarriage with "native" women, and that as a result the actual blood of this group was from generation to generation becoming less "Greek" and more "native," are facts that receive ample support from other sources than the classical writers, in particular late tablets from Babylonia, and the results from the excavation of the Macedonian settlement at Dura-Europos.<sup>65</sup> While they cannot be discussed in this paper, this process is assumed to hold true for Seleucia. The excavations at Seleucia reveal that in its closing days the city was largely Oriental. At the time of its foundation Seleucia was composed of a privileged group of Macedonians and Greeks, whose leading families doubtless dominated the government, and a great mass of Orientals of various races, without privileges, by force brought to live in a new environment, incoherent, and probably, in the beginning, without leader-

ship. Each group held widely divergent principles of government, of economics, of culture, and of religion. The full history of the city is contained in the struggle between these forces and principles. The story of the relations of the city with outside powers is secondary. The Seleucid kings doubtless founded the city for their own purposes, but as Seleucia grew to maturity she developed a fundamental policy expressing the conflict of forces within her. Although the historical material is meagre, one can yet see running through the history of the city a continuous thread of consistent policy that determines her relations with the Seleucid kings of Syria, with the Arsacid dynasty of Parthia, and with Rome. In so far as evidence is available, principles of culture and religion play a secondary role. The conflict is not a romantic struggle of Greek culture and thought to defend itself in the heart of the Orient. It is the struggle of one class to whom certain privileges had in the beginning been granted that enabled them to pursue certain economic aims, with another class that sought to secure these privileges for their own political and economic advancement. The classical source material available covers but a small part of the five hundred years of the city's life, but these fragmentary and often incidental references do agree in demonstrating that a consistent policy marks each appearance of Seleucia in the pages of history.

The position Seleucia held in the state policy of the Seleucid kings can be ascertained. The city was the direct creation of the founder of the dynasty,<sup>66</sup> and created for the especial end of replacing Babylon as the great city of the trans-Euphrates Orient.<sup>67</sup> Babylon had maintained in the mind of the east a unique position as a center of authority, of commerce, and of culture and religion. But Babylon inevitably brought to the mind of each Oriental, associations of an Oriental dynasty, of much greater renown than the upstart dynasties that followed. It is noteworthy that so far as we have record, every man who raised the standard of revolt against either the Seleucid or Arsacid dynasties in the Middle East centered his revolt in the city of Babylon. The necessity under which the early Seleucid kings felt themselves of replacing the thought of Babylon by that of another metropolis is then reasonable, and it explains the rapid rise of Seleucia. It enables us to amplify the scanty details in the sources regarding the greatness of the new foundation. In order to take the place held by the earlier city Seleucia must have been endowed with all the trappings of authority, personal and monumental. The state must have bent every energy to direct toward Seleucia the rich commerce of Babylonia and the transit trade of the whole East; roads and waterways must have been arranged, her harbors and great caravanserais built. The city must have been embellished with great public buildings and temples. All of these accomplishments are to be implied from the statements of our sources that Seleucia was destined to replace Babylon, and did so fulfill her destiny. Only on such an assumption can the extravagant epithets applied to Seleucia by the various authors be justified.

Seleucia was held in honor by the early kings. Strabo<sup>68</sup> states that Seleucus and all his successors held the city, in great regard *εσπούδασαν*, and that they transferred thither *τὸ βασιλείων*. Whether used in the sense of palace or treasury, the expression indicates that the city became a royal capital. As the eastern capital Seleucia was the residence of the heir-apparent during the reign of Seleucus I.<sup>69</sup> Appian<sup>70</sup> relates

that this king kept for himself only those provinces to the west of the Euphrates. All of those to the east of that river, called by Appian *αἱ ἄνω σατράπειαί*, and forming the greater and the richer portion of the empire, were turned over to Antiochus, his heir. The policy thus inaugurated by the first of the dynasty, of neglecting the empire in the East for the sake of the kingdom in the West, was to a greater and greater degree followed by his successors. The statement of Strabo quoted just above held true in a sentimental way perhaps, but as a matter of practical policy the dynasty rapidly became tied down to the exigencies of politics in the west. They will be seen turning to the Orient only in time of need, to replenish treasury and barracks, or to quell some revolt. There is no clear evidence that Seleucia remained the residence of the heir-apparent after the time of Antiochus. Polybius<sup>71</sup> states that Antiochus, later to become "the Great," on the death of his father and the succession of his brother "at first removed to Upper Asia and lived there." Hieronymus<sup>72</sup> confirms this. The expression "Upper Asia," *οἱ ἄνω τόποι*, appears to be equivalent to the similar expression used by Appian, and quoted just above. It included Seleucia, and Streck<sup>73</sup> believes that this city was the residence of the prince.

There is evidence that by this period, just preceding the reign of Antiochus III, Seleucia had ceased to be the capital of all the trans-Euphrates provinces, for Polybius<sup>74</sup> states that Molon became satrap of the *ἄνω τόπους*, which in this case were Media and Persia. When he revolted he occupied Babylonia by force. Following the same author<sup>75</sup> we learn that after the defeat of Molon Antiochus "appointed certain officers to lead them (the army of Molon) back to Media, and to settle the affairs of that district while he himself went down to Seleucia and made arrangement for the government of the satrapies around it." Media is here treated quite independently of Seleucia which appears as the center for the provinces immediately around it, probably the country lying between the Persian highlands on the east and the Euphrates on the west, including the Persian Gulf province. Polybius<sup>76</sup> is found using the expression *αἱ ἄνω σατράπειαί* in still another sense. Molon, already master of Media and Persia, has occupied Seleucia. He then "reduced the upper satrapies, becoming also master of Babylonia." Here the expression can only refer to Upper Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Parapotamia. It may be inferred also from the passage that Seleucia was considered distinct from Babylonia. The administrative position held by the city appears to have varied according to the political situation during each reign, and the degree of trust which each king extended to his representatives in the east. Although neglected in the stress of western politics and, perhaps, for the sake of the court city of Antioch, Seleucia appears to have retained throughout the life of the dynasty a certain vice-regal position. Appian<sup>77</sup> puts it well, *ἔφεδρευων δ' ἄει τοῖς ἐγγύς ἔθνεσι καὶ δυνατὸς ὡν βιάσασθαι καὶ πιθανὸς προσαγάγεσθαι*. This shows Seleucia in the dual role which the early Seleucidae intended her to occupy, a center which would attract the peoples of the Orient into the Hellenic city-state system which formed the basic principle of the dynastic state policy, and a stronghold which would enforce protection of, and respect for, that system.

We have only reference to officials of the central government stationed in Seleucia. Polybius<sup>78</sup> in his account of the Molon revolt speaks of an *ἐπιστάτην τῆς Σελευκείας*. This

official was apparently a sort of military governor or commandant of the city. It may be assumed that all the offices common to the administration of the western provinces were to be found in Seleucia.

Although Seleucia was a special creation of the Seleucid kings, to serve a certain purpose, the city was given a considerable degree of independence. Pliny<sup>79</sup> states that Seleucia was a "free and independent city." It is assumed by commentators<sup>80</sup> that the general references to the "Greek" character of Seleucia, that she "retains the features of the Macedonian manners,"<sup>81</sup> that she "still bears the impress of its founder . . . has never lapsed into barbarism,"<sup>82</sup> that the Greeks and Macedonians in the city had special privileges,<sup>83</sup> imply that the city had a normal "Greek" constitution. It is unfortunate that, with one exception, all of our references to the organs of city government are found in connection with description of events during the Parthian period in the city's life. Modern writers appear to have ignored this, but apparently with reason. For there is no evidence that any change was made in the city government at the time of the Parthian occupation (city freer under Parthians—cf. Sealings). The single passage that appears to bear on the problem of the forms of government in the city prior to the Parthian period is found in Polybius.<sup>84</sup> He states that after the collapse of the Molon revolt, Hermias, the minister of Antiochus III, persecuted the citizens of Seleucia. One feature of this "persecution" was that he ἐφγάδευε δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους Ἀδειγάνας "he drove out those called Adeiganes." This term is used nowhere else. From the sources there is no means of determining whether the name stood for a class of officials, for a political party, or for a family group. There is some difference of opinion among philologists as to the derivation of the word. A very interesting discussion which cannot here be considered makes the term refer to the old Iranian landed gentry established in Babylonia during the Achaemenid period. The implication of the passage is clear, that the Adeiganes were leaders in the city on behalf of Molon.

Plutarch<sup>85</sup> recounts that after the defeat of Crassus the Parthian commander, Surena, called together τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν τῶν Σελευκείων and laid before them proofs against the Romans. The "gerousia of the Seleucians" is here the high deliberative body of the city. Demosthenes<sup>86</sup> uses the term in reference to the senate of Sparta, Aristotle<sup>87</sup> in reference to that of Carthage, and Plutarch<sup>88</sup> to that of Rome itself. Tacitus<sup>89</sup> states that Seleucia had a senate of 300 members, chosen for their wealth or their wisdom (*trecenti opibus aut sapientia delecti ut senatus*). He continues in the same sentence, . . . *sua populo vis*. Furneaux<sup>90</sup> says in explanation of this clause "probably the senate may have been chosen by popular election." Ramsay<sup>91</sup> however translates "the people have powers of their own." This rendering seems to be justified by the succeeding passage in which Tacitus speaks of the aristocracy, represented by the senate, being often in conflict with the people. With this state of affairs it is not reasonable to suppose that the people elected the senate. The "people," then, had some sort of an assembly, but this appears as generally subordinate to the senate. What classes or elements in the city did the senate and the assembly, respectively, represent? One may conceive of the city government of Seleucia as embracing only the Hellenic element in the population, a purely Greek polis, with a senate representing the upper

class families and a popular assembly similarly limited to this one element. Each non-Hellenic group would be represented by its own politeuma or corporation, possessed of certain rights and restrictions. Such a conception of city government is of course one common to the Hellenistic age.<sup>102</sup> But the history of the city, and especially the account preserved in Tacitus, makes it necessary to consider whether Seleucia had a slightly varied form of internal organization. Tacitus<sup>92</sup> after explaining that there was a senate chosen from among men of wealth and wisdom, and a power reserved to the "people," continues: "When people and senate agree they can defy the Parthians, but when the two fall out, each seeks help against the other and the ally called in to help the one, ends by lording it over both." Josephus<sup>93</sup> comments "Now the way of living of the people of Seleucia who were Greeks and Syrians (i.e. Babylonians) was commonly quarrelsome and full of discords, though the Greeks were too hard for the Syrians." Each author goes on to give an example of this strife. By chance each of them has drawn on the same period in the city's history for his illustration, the era of civil war between Artabanus and Tiridates, which will be discussed later. It seems reasonable to assume that the strife between senate and people discussed by Tacitus, and that between Greek and "native" given by Josephus, are one and the same. On this basis the senate, although chosen from among the aristocracy, represented the entire "Hellenic" element. By "the people" is meant all the non-Hellenic groups, excepting probably the Jews who had special privileges of their own. The use by Tacitus of the expression *plebs* to denote the party opposed to the senate is not hostile to such an interpretation. *Senatus* and *plebs* were a part of a system of terminology in government, the only system with which he would be familiar. This interpretation does not really violate the concept of the Greek polis. Tacitus and Josephus are both referring to a period more than three centuries after the organization of the city. It is to be assumed that in the beginning there was the regular polis organization, with some sort of a senate and a popular assembly of the Greek common people. The great mass of "natives" had no organization that represented their rights. But among these elements were families of Semitic or Iranian blood with a tradition of authority. Some of these doubtless became Hellenized and merged with the Greeks. The senate may well have had representatives of this group. But others, identifying themselves with the people, must inevitably have led an opposition element through, perhaps, generations of strife. In the give and take of practical politics over a long period of time this opposition may well have come to possess a sort of *de facto* is not *de jure* recognition. Such a condition would explain the vague *sua populo vis* of Tacitus. In the serious strife between the two all embracing groups it is likely that the Hellenized group came to stand as one unit under the leadership of the senate. It is quite reasonable to assume that many among the lower class of the "Greeks" became merged in the "native" group. This interpretation of the division between parties in Seleucia assumes that, while at the beginning the division was largely one of race, as time went on the race distinction became blurred and the essential division was one of economic privilege and tradition.

Under the Parthian rule, while Seleucia remained for long the greatest city of Babylonia, the political center became established at Ctesiphon on the opposite bank of the Tigris. At

what period this took place we do not know. Strabo<sup>94</sup> says of Ctesiphon, "This unwalled town the kings of the Parthians made their winter residence, thus sparing the Seleucians, in order that the Seleucians might not be oppressed by having the Scythian people and soldiery quartered among them." At a later date, about the time of the height of hostilities between Rome and Parthia, Ctesiphon appears to have become the chief capital city. Pliny<sup>95</sup> contains a statement that appears contradictory to this passage in Strabo. After recounting that Seleucia drained the population of Babylon he continues, "The Parthians again in turn founded Ctesiphon for the purpose of drawing away the population of Seleucia." Ctesiphon was of course in existence long before the coming of the Parthians. It is to be assumed that Strabo is referring to the earlier centuries of Parthian rule, Pliny to the closing period when Seleucia became involved in the dynastic strife in which the Arsacid family was so often engaged.

What Parthian officials were regularly stationed in Seleucia we do not know. When Phraates II was occupied with a Scythian war in the eastern provinces, he left a certain Himerus as "vicarius" in Babylonia.<sup>96</sup> This viceroy is said to have persecuted the inhabitants of Babylon and of Seleucia but there is no evidence as to where he made his headquarters during this period.

As has been stated above, what is known of the city administration is found in reference to events during the Parthian period. In so far as is known no change in internal administration took place at the time of the Parthian occupation. One foreign dynasty was exchanged for another to whom the income from the great commerce of the city was no less precious. There is no evidence that the fundamental point of view of the Arsacid differed from that of the Seleucid. The sources in fact leave the impression that the earlier Arsacids, at least, treated the city with greater tenderness than did the kings of Syria. The passage in Strabo quoted above points to this. A garrison was not inflicted on the city. When Seleucia was accused of giving aid to Molon the citizens suffered death, slavery, and a heavy fine. When, during the campaign of Antiochus VII to regain Babylonia from Parthian control, the Seleucians murdered a Parthian official of rank, the sources, never loathe to speak ill of the barbarians, find nothing in the way of reprisals beyond the statement of the Parthian king that the people deserved to have their eyes torn out. Nothing is said of punishment meted out to them.<sup>97</sup> Himerus persecuted the Greeks of Babylon and Seleucia<sup>98</sup> but, as he about the same time proceeded to rebel against his Parthian master, his conduct was bound up with his personal plans for overturning the local government. This will be discussed more fully below. Plutarch<sup>99</sup> relates that after the defeat of Crassus the Parthian Surena, the second man in the kingdom, celebrated in the streets of Seleucia a mock triumph for Crassus. The late Roman general was impersonated by a Roman prisoner and the whole was a burlesque intended to cast discredit upon the Romans. As related above, the Surena then called together the senate and displayed to them a low type of literature found in the Roman baggage. It is clear from the passage that the Parthians considered the city to have been overly friendly to Rome at this time. The Romans believed that Seleucia was definitely favorable to them.<sup>100</sup> In spite of this the city suffers nothing more than a gentle chiding, a moral lesson read to show the unworthiness of Rome. In so far as we have

evidence it must be admitted that down to the first century, A.D., at least, the Parthian treatment of Seleucia was one of consideration.

The status of the city under Parthian rule was apparently considered noteworthy. It was given as the example of the free city under regal rule, *Rerum publicarum tria genera sunt, regium, optimatum, populare. Aut enim sub regum sunt potestate, ut Seleucia Parthorum.*<sup>101</sup> The freedom of the city was limited under the Arsacids as it was under the Seleucids. The Surena was free to enter the city, hold there his mock display, and summon the senate.

The rise of Seleucia to become one of the greatest cities of the ancient world,<sup>102</sup> ranked equal to Alexandria,<sup>103</sup> requires explanation. It has already been pointed out that the early kings of the Seleucid line were under the necessity of building up a city that would equal Babylon, that would fill, in the life of the east, the place that had been so long held by the older city. As they, however, became more and more involved with their affairs in the west Seleucia came to rely upon her own power for support and growth. Antioch and Alexandria both owed much to their positions as court cities. Royal residence in a city resulted in the expenditure there of a great part of the wealth of the whole country. As only the second capital of the Seleucid kings, and with no position in the administrative organization of the Arsacids, this source of wealth became closed to Seleucia. The trade of Babylonia and the great commerce routes from the Farther East had been centered in the new foundation of Seleucia by royal fiat. Once established as the great mart of the Orient, the city required of her royal overlords only that they maintain the security of the trade routes, whether by direct control or by treaty, between the Indian and the Chinese borders and the Mediterranean ports. The wider considerations that governed trade, the discovery of the monsoons, the building of larger ships, and especially the rivalry for the control of the eastern trade between the Ptolomies and the Seleucid kings, and between the Romans and the Parthians, cannot be discussed here. Material concerning the commercial status and relations of Seleucia is very limited in the classical sources. There are a number of references to the fertility of Babylonia, considered the richest in natural resources of all the countries of Asia.<sup>104</sup> Herodotus<sup>105</sup> calls especial attention to its dates and cereals, wheat, barley, millet, and sesame. From one unit of wheat the return was from fifty to one hundred and fifty units,<sup>106</sup> for barley the yield was 300 fold.<sup>107</sup> That this is not an exaggeration is proved by present day experiments near Baghdad. The writer has himself seen a yield of one hundred and fifty for one from an entire field, and has counted as high as thirty stalks of wheat and one hundred and twenty stalks of barley sprouted from single kernels, with as many as eighty grains in a single head. It is obvious that Babylonia produced great surpluses of grain, the disposal of which did not apparently interest the ancient writers.<sup>108</sup> It is left to the student of today to make the assumption, probably reasonable, that it was moved by caravan to the great population centers of the west, Syria and Asia Minor, where the soil was more favorable to vine culture and fruit raising. That this local trade centered in Seleucia is to be gathered from Pliny<sup>109</sup> who when he describes the fertility of Babylonia refers to it as the territory of Seleucia, and from the statement of Strabo<sup>110</sup> that Opis was the trade center for the surrounding country.



The strategic location of Seleucia with reference to the great natural trade routes of antiquity was undoubtedly the main source of her wealth. Tarn<sup>111</sup> has stated that the greatest cities of that age were supported by transit trade. A great deal has been done in the last few years to trace through the classical sources the articles in use in the various centers of civilization during the Hellenistic age, particularly articles that had been imported, and to determine for each article the country of origin.<sup>112</sup> The list is long; among the most important are silk and cotton cloth, iron, spices and woods, ivory, and many kinds of precious stones. Less study has apparently been made of the goods that moved from west to east, although the inference is made that the balance of trade was adverse to the west, and that money or bullion was shipped to the east. Some of this trade continued to pass through Seleucia to the end of its history; the rival all-sea route feeding Alexandria came into extensive use only during the first century A.D. We have no direct evidence of a tax laid on these goods in transit. To impose such a tax was common practice; the usual amount was two per cent.<sup>113</sup> Polybius<sup>114</sup> states that in Rhodes this tax, for the year 170 B.C., produced one million drachmae. The exaction of such a tax at Seleucia would have a certain natural justification in the fact that at this point the type of carrier would naturally change. The great land route from the east passed through the city. To the west there was a choice of routes, depending partly on the destination of the goods, partly on the state of security of the roads. Isidore of Charax<sup>115</sup> describes in detail the route from North Syria down the Euphrates valley, over to Seleucia, then east through Ecbatana to eastern Persia where the route branched, one going south to India, the other continuing on through Central Asia to the Chinese border. Another road linked the South Syria ports, Damascus, Palmyra, and Seleucia. Pliny appears to have this route in mind when he gives the distance from Seleucia to Palmyra, and from Palmyra to Damascus and the coast.<sup>116</sup> The road from Seleucia eastward is rough and mountainous; here the use of mules and horses would be natural. To the west, camel caravans were the logical carriers. At this point, then, would take place a great breaking up and re-formation of caravans. There were, besides, the water routes. As has been stated, Seleucia was "on the confluence of the Tigris and the canal which leads from the Euphrates."<sup>117</sup> From the Persian Gulf and from India ships could sail to the wharves of the city. Strabo<sup>118</sup> states that the Tigris was navigable "inland to Opis and the present Seleucia." He goes on to describe the work of Alexander in clearing the river of obstructions, in particular to Opis. At Seleucia the seagoing vessels doubtless transhipped their cargoes. The Tigris river would bring to Seleucia the produce of the Armenian highlands. The canal from the Euphrates made Seleucia the terminal for all of the Euphrates river traffic. Pliny<sup>119</sup> speaks of a certain town on the Euphrates as ten days sailing from Seleucia. That traffic was carried up stream by boat is evidenced by the statement of Dio Cassius<sup>120</sup> that the army of Septimus Severus retired up the Tigris, a part by land and a part by boat. As the current of the Euphrates is more sluggish than that of the Tigris, up-river traffic on the former stream would be facilitated. In modern times the indigenous sailing vessels follow the rivers from their mouth to points in Upper Mesopotamia. This water traffic must have necessitated large wharf facilities at Seleucia, while the re-

handling involved would justify a close attention to the transit tax.

The sources throw no light on the commercial activities of the citizens of Seleucia. There is no evidence as to the existence of industries in the city. As the chief support of the city was its trade one must look to this activity in the main to explain the large population. In the Orient of today a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the cities are engaged in agricultural pursuits on the lands surrounding the city proper. This was probably true for Seleucia, especially in connection with the growing of palms for the timber as well as the fruit. Strabo and other writers speak of the importance of this industry.<sup>121</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that the Babylonian element was particularly interested in this type of activity. A very considerable share of the population must have been absorbed by the services of the great caravanserais, wharves, and warehouses. While the ordinary labor was doubtless furnished by the native element, the small army of clerks and foremen that would be required for this work helps to explain how the city could support such a large population of Greeks. They could also be expected to fill the ranks of the skilled workmen and artisans of whom a city of the size of Seleucia would require a very large number. The climax of the city's activities, however, must have been the great trading houses. The Greeks were the foremost traders of the age. Their settlements extended over the whole east, located at all strategic points. They had been from the beginning of the age, from the time of the great expansion under Alexander, a privileged class. Inevitably they must have dominated and controlled the great through trade from east to west. Seleucia, at the crossroads of the most important routes, can reasonably be expected to have contained among its Greek citizens the great families who as traders and bankers for generations, with connections in the east as well as in the west, governed this empire of commerce. If one bears in mind the extraordinarily rapid expansion of international trade in the Hellenistic Age, and the simultaneous breakdown of narrow Greek nationalism through the spreading of Greek colonies throughout the Orient, it would not appear strange to find in these families a sense of superiority to national and dynastic ties. The Seleucid kings proved themselves unable to hold together their political empire in the east. That oligarchy of Greek families that controlled the commerce of the east was able to rise above the limitations of political boundaries and consolidated under a new dynasty the power and the position that had been granted them by the founders of the city. This commercial supremacy of Seleucia was always threatened by two dangers, a breakdown in the authority of the central government that would result in the interruption of the stream of traffic, and a change of government within the city itself, the overthrow of this oligarchy of merchant princes by an opposition eager to seize their political privileges and their wealth but without capacity to replace them as directors of commerce. It is only in the commercial life of the city and in some such circumstances as have just been outlined, that one can find a consistent policy that will explain the role played by Seleucia in its political relationships.

The sources furnish a very ill-balanced structure on which to build the political history of Seleucia. Important events are often entirely omitted while trivial incidents are given in great detail. The city is first mentioned in connection with political

events in narratives dealing with the Molon revolt. Polybius, the only source of value here, describes the action in some details.<sup>122</sup> While the youthful Antiochus III was beset with dangers from Egypt and from his cousin Achaeus in Asia Minor, Molon, satrap of Media under the preceding king, revolted and carved out for himself a kingdom including western Persia, Babylonia, and parts of Mesopotamia. A certain Zeuxis was satrap of Babylonia for Antiochus, while the city of Seleucia had an *epistates* named Diomedon. This is one of the very rare instances in which the names and titles of governing officials in the East are given. The king dispatched various generals against Molon but the latter out-manoeuvred his opponents and captured Seleucia. It should be noted that Polybius makes Babylon rather than Seleucia the headquarters of Molon after the consolidation of his conquest. Antiochus himself took the field in 221 B.C. and advanced down the Tigris valley, defeated and killed Molon, and reoccupied Seleucia. Hermias, the minister of the king, adopted repressive measures against the inhabitants. Polybius all through the narrative displays a bitter dislike for this minister. In this instance he characterizes the conduct of Hermias as persecution, thus giving the impression that the citizens were innocent of disloyalty toward the king. That which Seleucia suffered from the minister is not excessive in the light of ancient standards. If one discounts the evident bias of the author, one sees in the incident evidence that the city had, in part at least, been disloyal. The ease with which the city was captured in the first place by Molon indicates but a formal resistance. It appears to be reasonable to assume that the revolt of Molon attracted the "native" elements of Seleucia, who looked for the re-establishment of a dynasty in Babylon hostile to Hellenism. This division in the city prevented any real resistance from being offered to Molon, and gave Hermias good grounds for repressive measures. The narrative states that the king finally took matters into his own hands and reduced the heavy fine imposed by the minister. Antiochus realized the loyalty of the Greek elements, but yet imposed a fine because of their inability to control the opposition.

The eastern campaigns of Antiochus III against the Parthians and Bactrians must have been of vital interest to the city, for his success would mean the re-establishment of a single authority over the whole length of the trade routes. On the first campaign Seleucia was undoubtedly the base for operations, for the route followed from Syria was that down the Euphrates valley,<sup>123</sup> thence to Seleucia. At the close of the campaign the king spent some time in Babylonia.<sup>124</sup> While the city is not mentioned, Bevan<sup>125</sup> assumes that it became his headquarters. For the last expedition of Antiochus, after the battle of Magnesia, there is little detail. His death, while attempting to secure the treasure of some temple, is related by a number of the authors.<sup>126</sup>

Timarchus, made satrap of Media by Antiochus IV, revolted during the short reign of Antiochus V and made himself king in Babylonia. According to Appian<sup>127</sup> he administered the government badly. This author, together with Justin and Eusebius,<sup>128</sup> states that the "Babylonians" bestowed upon Demetrius I the epithet "Soter" for having defeated Timarchus and restored the dynasty. Seleucia is not named by any of the sources. From his coins<sup>129</sup> it is known that Timarchus took the title "great king," exclusively an Oriental title that would be used only by one who had chosen to identify himself with

the "native" elements of Babylonia. By the same numismatic evidence it is thought that Babylon was his capital. The "Babylonians" who demonstrated their gratitude to Demetrius were therefore the Hellenized elements of the population.

During the years in which Syria was torn by the dynastic quarrels of Demetrius I with Alexander Bala, and of the latter with Demetrius II, the sources are a blank in so far as the east is concerned. It is safe to assume that the repercussions of attack and counter-attack in Syria were felt in Babylonia, but to a lesser extent. Too distant to have become familiar with their rulers, the Greeks of the east would be less subject to intense like and dislike. But the net result of the struggle in Syria must have been calamitous to the commercial centers of the east. Neither the route to north Syria nor that through Damascus could have been safe for the caravans. The central authority became but a name east of the Euphrates. Niese<sup>130</sup> holds that the break-up in the east began with the death of Antiochus IV, that the revolt of Timarchus was symptomatic of a general condition. With every provincial governor seeking to make himself a dynast, trade doubtless became subject to all sorts of exactions. With no strong inclusive central authority the Scythian tribes along the eastern extremity of the trade route would feel free to raid the caravans. A continuation of such conditions would mean the ruin of Seleucia. Niese<sup>131</sup> states that the eastern provinces are supposed to have favored Demetrius II, but the only evidence for this is that Greeks of the east came to him asking for help against the growing threat of hostilities beyond the Euphrates,<sup>132</sup> and that the satrap of Mesopotamia was an adherent of Demetrius.<sup>133</sup>

Tigranes of Armenia occupied Syria in 87 B.C. upon the invitation of influential men of the country, and of Antioch in particular,<sup>134</sup> and re-established order by suppressing the remnant of the Seleucid dynasty. Tigranes was technically a barbarian, although actually a man of culture. Barbarian rule with peace and order was preferred by the "Greeks" of Syria to ruin and anarchy under their own dynasty. Under what circumstances Mithradates I of Parthia occupied Seleucia we do not know. Orosius,<sup>135</sup> a secondary source, relates that Mithradates defeated the general of Demetrius (II) and took possession of Babylonia, the city, and all its territory, (*victo Demetrio praefecto Babyloniam urbem finesque eius universos victor invasit*). Whether the author has in mind Babylon or Seleucia is not known. Justin<sup>136</sup> states that Mithradates conquered Media, turned to the east for a campaign in Hyrcania, returned and overran the country around Susa, and then "extended the Parthian rule by reducing many other tribes under his yoke from Mt. Caucasus to the river Euphrates." There is no evidence as to whether the cities of Babylonia surrendered at one time, or over a period of months or years, whether they submitted voluntarily or were reduced by force. Parthian occupation brought no change to Seleucia in so far as the form of her local government and the status of her parties are concerned. The source material shows her to have been treated by the Arsacids with equal, or greater, consideration than the city enjoyed at the hands of the Seleucid kings. In view of these considerations and of the welcome extended some fifty years later by the Greeks of Syria to Tigranes, it is reasonable to assume as a possibility that Seleucia like Antioch chose a stable power whose authority now reached to the eastern limits of the trade route, a vigorous dynasty ambitious to further extend its sway, in preference to a traditional

loyalty to a dynasty shorn of its power and worn out by internal strife. Syria was after all but a small country, while to the east was an empire dotted with Greek foundations just as close in kinship to the Greeks of Seleucia as were the Syrian Greeks. Commerce would always find a road through Syria to the coast; the outlets were several, through the north, through Damascus, or by the desert and the Nabatean country in the south. Failing all else there was the sea route, down the Tigris by the Gulf to the Red Sea. If, however, there was to the east a hostile power, the position of the city would become precarious. If such a government were weak, trade would suffer, but a power both hostile and strong could easily direct all trade to the north, through Armenia, and Seleucia would face ruin. The fortune of the city, both good and ill, lay in the east, not in the west. The alliance between the merchants and bankers of Seleucia and the kings of the Parthians was fair to both parties. The former secured the recognition of their privileged position in the city and the support of a capable and hardy race of warriors to protect these privileges and to police the trade routes from the Euphrates to the borders of China. The latter, engaged in a great movement of expansion, needed both the capital and the administrative capacity that these Greeks could furnish. There was further a bond between them. Both Greeks and Arsacids were foreigners to the great masses of the people in both Babylonia and Persia,<sup>137</sup> and, doubtless, as foreigners, disliked and hated. Both, then, had reason to fear a popular revolt kindled by nationalism.

With the lack, at present, of further detail it is possible to state definitely only that at some period during the reign of Mithradates I, probably during the reign of Demetrius II in Syria, Seleucia came into the possession of the Parthians upon terms that conserved for the dominant "Greek" element their power and privileges. The references in the classical sources to relations between the city and the Arsacid dynasty do not state that these were friendly. At least two references indicate a belief on the part of the authors that the Greeks of the Orient were hostile to Parthia. But the body of these references make a harmonious whole only on the assumption that the "Greek" ruling element of the city, from the time of its occupation by the Parthians, had some sort of an understanding with the Arsacids, and that, as a consistent policy, each supported the other. These references will now be considered.

The campaign of Demetrius II against the Parthians is described in some detail by Josephus<sup>138</sup> and by Justin.<sup>139</sup> Seleucia is not mentioned and no light is thrown by these writers upon the chronology of events. They do speak of a general revolt on the part of the peoples newly subdued by Mithradates, in favor of Demetrius. The Greek cities are not specifically mentioned in this connection, but the Persians, the Elymaeans, and the Bactrians are stated to have furnished contingents to Demetrius.<sup>140</sup> While "Bactrians" may be said to include the Greek cities of that region, the term cities is not used. When after the capture of the Syrian king, Mithradates paraded his prisoner through the recently revolted countries as an object lesson, the references are to *civitates* and to *populi*.<sup>141</sup> It is not certain that Seleucia had been occupied by the Parthians prior to the campaign of Demetrius. Eusebius<sup>142</sup> has a passage that appears to indicate their possession of Babylon; he speaks of Demetrius *στρατεύσας δὲ ἐπ' Ἀρσάκην εἰς Βαβυλῶνα*, "marching upon the Arsacid in Babylon." Quite

a body of material dealing with the chronology of this period has been collected from tablet sources. This cannot be dealt with here, beyond stating that the value of this material lies in the documents dated, some by the Seleucid era, some by the Arsacid, which would appear to fix the year of the Parthian occupation. The weakness of this evidence lies in the fact that the tablets are from individual cities, which may have fallen at different times, and in the fact that a change in the system of dating may not have taken place immediately after the occupation of each city.

The campaign of Antiochus VII has been covered with some detail in the sources. The only mention of Seleucia occurs in a fragment of Diodorus,<sup>143</sup> that relates the doing to death of a Parthian leader, Enias, by the people of Seleucia, with no indication as to which party in the city was responsible. Justin<sup>144</sup> gives the longest account; Orosius<sup>145</sup> gives the numbers in the army of Antiochus; Josephus<sup>146</sup> relates the aid given by the Jews, and minor details are contributed by other authors. We know from Justin's account that the Syrian king advanced by way of Babylon, so Seleucia may be assumed to have been occupied early in the campaign. Justin states in the same passage that many subject princes deserted the Parthian king. Antiochus occupied all of Babylonia and a part of Persia, while Phraates retreated further east. The Syrian troops were settled in winter quarters in the various cities, which speedily became offended with the exactions of the officers and the conduct of the troops. It should be noted in this connection that the army of Antiochus was apparently not made up of mercenaries from outside Syria and Palestine, but was rather a national army. The evidence for this is the statement that the later destruction of the army affected every home in Syria.<sup>147</sup> What cities became disaffected is obscure. Justin, the principal source, speaks only of cities in Mesopotamia.<sup>148</sup> A plot was formed on the part of the cities and Phraates for a simultaneous uprising against the Syrians, and massacre of the troops. The Parthians sought first to arrange a peaceful withdrawal but the proposal was spurned by Antiochus. The uprising took place and the whole Syrian army was either massacred, killed in battle, or captured. Antiochus fell with his troops. As the army had been scattered about over the occupied provinces, and as the greater part appear to have fallen in the massacre, the uprising of the cities appears to have been general.

We have then the spectacle of a Syrian army led by a Seleucid king defeating the Parthian king with the aid of various *civitates* and *populi* of the east; the ill-treatment of the cities of the east by this army, followed by a concerted attack upon the Syrians by the cities and the Parthian king, with a terrible massacre of the Syrian troops by the inhabitants of the cities. It is not possible to make the assumption that it was the "native" elements in the cities that were hostile to the Syrians, for the "Greeks" were everywhere the dominant group in the cities, and so complete a plot could not have been carried out throughout the east with no knowledge of its organization coming to the ears of the groups that controlled the city governments. The specification of the Oriental peoples as the allies of Antiochus, and of the cities as the allies of the Parthian, cannot be ignored. This orientation of forces must not be pressed too far in view of the weakness of the classical sources as evidence in particular events. It must, however, be kept in mind in judging the whole body of evidence dealing

with the relationship between Seleucia and the Arsacids.

Diodorus<sup>149</sup> relates that after the defeat of Antiochus the inhabitants of Seleucia, fearing punishment because of the murder of the Parthian leader, Enias, sent envoys to Phraates to demand pardon. The king ordered these men taken to a place where was sitting a certain Greek who had had his eyes torn out, and told the envoys that the people of Seleucia deserved the same fate. There is no indication from the passage that any punishment was inflicted on the city. While the reference is obscure, and stands alone, it does not seem likely that if the author had known of the infliction of some punishment, he would have mentioned in some detail the threat and omitted the conclusion. It is to be noted also that the city does not send to ask pardon for support given to Antiochus, but only for the murder of Enias during this disturbed period.

In so far as this incident has value, it is evidence of the moderation displayed by the Arsacids. The same king sought to secure the evacuation of the army of Antiochus by peaceful means before resorting to violence. Mithradates had some years previously treated the captive Demetrius with all respect and honor.<sup>150</sup>

About a year after the campaign of Antiochus VII Babylonia was thrown into turmoil by the machinations of a certain Himerus. Phraates having been called to the further East by trouble with the Scythians, left this man as his representative in Babylonia. Justin<sup>151</sup> and Diodorus<sup>152</sup> are the principal sources. The former calls Himerus the "vicarius" of Phraates, the latter makes him king of Parthia. E. T. Newell<sup>153</sup> has utilized the numismatic evidence to show that Himerus made himself independent, as ruler of Babylonia and the regions to the south. His rule was not of long duration but his treatment of the Greeks of this region made him notorious. Diodorus speaks of his persecution of the people of Babylon, while Justin includes those of Seleucia. The former relates that he burned to the ground the market place and some of the temples in Babylon and destroyed "the fairest and most beautiful parts of the city," doubtlessly the Greek residential section. Athenaeus<sup>154</sup> states also that he seized the wealth of some of the Greek inhabitants of Babylon. It is not clear from the sources whether this persecution took place before or after Himerus revolted from Phraates, or in connection with the revolt. But the ill-treatment of the Hellenic elements cannot be divorced from the revolt. The supporters of Himerus cannot be the Greeks he maltreated. They must therefore be the natives of Babylonia, the element in opposition to the Greeks. This persecution of Greeks was not, therefore, an act of the Parthian government but of a rebel against the Arsacids who rallied the native party to revolt against both the dynasty and the Greek oligarchy. In the previous year the Greek cities and the Parthians were united to crush the Syrian army. Now a rebel against the Parthians finds his support not among the Greeks but among the natives. The role of the Greek oligarchy remains consistent throughout, the support of the power that presented the greater hope for stability of government over the largest possible area. That power at the present time was the Parthian, and such was the bond that united them.

From about 128 B.C. to about 56 B.C., we find in the sources no mention of Seleucia or of events in Babylonia. In the west Rome was absorbed in that internal strife which was to bring the downfall of the Republic. By the acceptance of the legacy of the kingdom of Pergamon, Rome had assumed a

definite gage in Asia. In the east Parthia had been engaged in a series of Scythian wars.<sup>155</sup> But for the unceasing effort of the Arsacid princes these barbarian hords might well have destroyed the Hellenism of all Asia before Rome was ready to assume its protection. Under Mithradates II, the Great, the Parthians were able to extend their territory at the expense of the nomad tribes of Central Asia,<sup>156</sup> thus enlarging yet more the fertile area whose produce, under Parthian protection, was carried to Seleucia, thence to be redistributed in the markets of the west. Mithradates engaged in wars with Tigranes of Armenia, and in connection with the Armenian question sent envoys to Rome, the first official contact of the two greatest world powers of the day. This is described by Plutarch.<sup>157</sup> The same author elsewhere<sup>158</sup> describes a period of internal dissension between rival Arsacid princes that occurred about this time, shortly after the death of Mithradates. From this period on down to the end of the Parthian kingdom, there appears to have been a regular recurrence of periods of dynastic strife. The Parthians had not become effete, the period of their great expansion toward the west was yet to come, and there were many long reigns of great prosperity. But a new orientation of forces was about to take place. Previously the Seleucid kings and the Arsacids had been the great protagonists with whom the Greek cities of the east had had to deal in the pursuit of their commercial ambitions. When the Syrian kings failed to fill their natural role as the champions of the economic Hellenism beyond the Euphrates, this role had fallen to the Parthian princes. With each period of dynastic strife among these latter, trade would inevitably suffer. Of more serious import, perhaps, was the fact that the city of Seleucia was to be drawn into this strife. Each pretender to the Parthian throne was to find in the city some measure of support. At the same time Rome was beginning to make herself known. The Roman domination brought stability and opportunities for wider trade in the west. In dealing with the source material from this time on there is the problem of determining, so far as it is possible, which element in Seleucia supported the recognized Parthian government, and which supported each succeeding pretender. Which element in the city, if any, supported Roman aggression?

Justin<sup>159</sup> has left an account of the civil strife between Mithradates III and his brother Orodes, which took place about 56/55 B.C. "Mithradates, king of the Parthians, after his war with the Armenians was banished by the Parthian senate for cruelty. His brother Orodes who took possession of the vacant throne, besieged Babylon whither Mithradates had fled and reduced the people through famine to surrender." Justin employs the word *Babyloniam* in obvious error for *Babylonem*. Whether he was actually referring to Seleucia is doubtful. Plutarch<sup>160</sup> gives an account of the life of the Parthian commander against Crassus, called "the Surena." He relates that it was the Surena who stormed the walls of Seleucia with a great display of heroism. As the Surena is represented by Plutarch to have been a young man at the time of the Crassus campaign the incident at Seleucia must have occurred not long before this campaign. It is, therefore, generally held that during the civil war between the brothers Mithradates obtained possession of Seleucia from which he was driven by the Surena.<sup>161</sup> Gutschmid<sup>162</sup> places the storming of Seleucia prior to the siege of Babylon mentioned in Justin. We know from Appian<sup>163</sup> that prior to these events Mithradates had thrown

himself upon the protection of the Romans, and had been favorably received by them. Since the city had to be captured by assault there must have been a group in Seleucia favorable to Mithradates. This may have been one of the two great parties, the "Greeks" or the "natives," or it may have been simply a body of Parthian troops who had remained loyal to Mithradates and followed him into the city. The fact that Babylon underwent a long siege indicates that there a considerable part of the inhabitants favored Mithradates. But there is no evidence to indicate whether these were the Hellenized elements or the native.

In connection with the campaign of Crassus, Dio Cassius<sup>164</sup> has a passage of some importance. "Many of the Macedonians and of the rest that fought for the Parthians were Greek colonists oppressed by violence and not unwillingly transferred their allegiance to the Romans, who, they strongly hoped, would be favorable to the Greeks." As the campaign of Crassus took place in upper Mesopotamia, it is likely that Dio had in mind Greeks of that region. There is no mention in the sources of the cities having furnished contingents for the Parthian army. One passage<sup>165</sup> states that the greatest part of the army was composed of slaves, of whom Greek captives may have formed a part. But the passage must be accepted as evidence that a part of the Greeks of the east favored Roman occupation of their country. The Greeks of Upper Mesopotamia were more closely united to the west, Syria and Cappadocia, by trade and travel than were the more distant cities. Plutarch and Dio Cassius both relate<sup>166</sup> that one Greek city of Mesopotamia, Zenodotium, asked for and received a Roman garrison but shortly afterward rose upon the garrison and massacred the soldiers. Of Seleucia and Babylon, Plutarch<sup>167</sup> states definitely his conviction that they were always hostile to the Parthians. Plutarch is critical of Crassus and expresses the opinion that the Roman commander would have done better to have pressed south to these two centers, *δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ Πάρθους πόλεων*. This attitude of Plutarch may be taken as simply his private opinions of what as a westerner he would consider natural. But it should be accepted as evidence that there was at this time contact between the Greeks of Babylonia and Rome. There is no reason for an assumption that the ruling element in Seleucia had decided to cast its lot with Roman expansion. If such a decision actually was made it must have been preceded by numerous "pourparlers" that would not have been concluded by the period of the Crassus campaign, when the trend of Roman policy in the Orient was still uncertain. On the other hand, it would be natural for western writers to see in any mission of "contact" with Rome a definite avowal of sympathy. From the incident, already quoted, of the mock triumph for Crassus conducted by the Surena in Seleucia,<sup>168</sup> and his remarks to the Senate, it becomes evident that the Parthians feared lest the city had developed a certain pro-Roman sentiment.

It is not difficult to estimate what was the effect of the crushing defeat of Crassus on the leading citizens of Seleucia. The fact that the Parthian power suspected them of complicity with, or sympathy towards, the Romans, yet had adopted no repressive measures towards the city, contenting itself with mockery of Roman power and character, must have emphasized the lesson they had learned. The policy of an entente with Rome must have received a severe setback—if at this period it really existed—while the contrary policy of coopera-

tion with the Arsacids would again become the settled principle of conduct. Dio Cassius<sup>169</sup> relates that Julius Caesar, about 44 B.C., began to organize a Parthian campaign. Beyond this there is apparently no evidence of a desire on the part of Rome to interfere actively beyond the Euphrates until the reign of Trajan about a century and a half later. The ill-planned and ill-fated campaign of Antony to Media and Armenia may be taken as an exception. Antony, however, showed no interest in the countries to the south.

Lucanus<sup>170</sup> relates that the banners captured from Crassus were hung in a temple of Babylon. Elsewhere<sup>171</sup> the same author speaks of Babylon as a city on the Tigris. It is reasonable to assume, as do Fabian<sup>172</sup> and Streck,<sup>173</sup> that Lucanus has Seleucia in mind.

About 16 A.D. strife again broke out between rival princes of the Arsacid line. Phraataces, the rightfully elected king, was expelled by the Parthian nobles, who requested Rome to send them as king a certain Vonones, a brother, or half-brother of Phraataces.<sup>174</sup> This Vonones had been raised in the west and was unable to win the esteem of his nobles, who regretted their acceptance of a monarch who had been in contact with Rome. They now invited Artabanus, another Arsacid who was king of Media, to occupy the throne. Vonones was defeated and fled to Seleucia, whence he later escaped to Armenia.<sup>175</sup> There is no reason to believe that Seleucia was engaged in hostilities, but now for the second time a claimant for the throne, and one who was considered as pro-Roman, is seen taking refuge in Seleucia.

The Parthian king Artabanus proved himself active and capable. He engaged in border wars with some success,<sup>176</sup> and was deliberately hostile toward Rome. A party among the nobles was opposed to him, however, and these asked of Rome that another brother of Vonones be sent to claim the throne. It is very unfortunate that the interior politics of the Parthians is so obscure that no coherent reasons can be assigned for changes in the dynasty. About 36 A.D. a certain Tiridates, a nephew of Vonones, apparently born and raised in Rome, was escorted to the Euphrates by the Roman commander in Syria, and occupied the Parthian throne.<sup>177</sup> Artabanus fled to the east. According to Tacitus,<sup>178</sup> the Greek cities in Mesopotamia and Seleucia welcomed the new ruler. The reasons assigned by this author for the welcome are significant. The Mesopotamian cities complained that Artabanus was not refined, possessed crude manners, while Seleucia cast doubts upon his paternity. If the Greeks of the east had been seriously oppressed by their previous rulers, it is only reasonable to believe that they would have recited their wrongs to the new prince from the west. Tacitus was a serious writer and he devotes considerable details to this incident. It is not, therefore, likely that serious complaints were made and were by him omitted.

There follows in Tacitus the passage that has been already discussed,<sup>179</sup> the statement that Artabanus had previously placed the opposition party entirely in the hands of the nobles, *plebem primoribus tradidit*. Tacitus continues, "It resulted that the people welcomed Tiridates. . . and Tiridates gave all power to the people." The passage is important. Artabanus, the active king who had extended his borders, who had ruled the land vigorously, is represented as in close alliance with the aristocracy of Seleucia, the powerful commercial families. Tiridates, the Roman nominee, takes away the priv-

ileges of this Greek oligarchy, and places the city government in the hands of the "people," the opposition party, the "Syrians" of Josephus, which is to say, the natives. Thus the consistent policy of the parties in Seleucia is confirmed, the Greek commercial oligarchy in alliance with whatever military power had proved itself capable of protecting trade, the mass of natives welcoming every rebel against such power.

Gutschmid<sup>180</sup> held that the "people" of Tacitus composed the party of the non-Hellenized elements, or natives. He places at this point in the city's history the incident related by Josephus<sup>181</sup> of the influx of Jewish refugees who joined with the natives in overthrowing the power of the Greeks. That is, the alliance of natives and Jews coincided with the arrival of Tiridates. Whether the incident took place at this time or not, whether the natives alone, or combined with the Jews, overthrew the power of the Greeks, is secondary. The important factor is that at this point in the history of the city a rebel against the established authority of the Arsacids, a man backed by Rome, deprived the Greeks of their power, and placed the city government in the hands of the native element.

Tacitus continues his story<sup>182</sup> by relating that after the death of Artabanus, who had meanwhile defeated Tiridates and regained his kingdom, the succession was disputed between his two sons Vardanes and Gotarzes. "(Vardanes) seized the adjoining provinces, the Seleucians alone rejecting him. Being more inflamed against them as rebels against both his father and himself (*ut patris sui quoque defectores*), than his present situation warranted, he involved himself in the siege of that place of strength (i.e. Seleucia). . . and before long Gotarzes compelled him to raise the siege." After the two brothers had come to terms, "Vardanes on his return received the submission of Seleucia in the seventh year of its defection." Gutschmid,<sup>183</sup> whose chronology of this revolt period is today generally accepted, places the opening of the revolt as the acceptance by the city of the rule of Tiridates, about 36 A.D. Gutschmid bases his chronology on an interpretation of the sequence of narrative in Tacitus and in Josephus. Josephus places his story of the massacre of the Jews by the combined Greeks and natives in Seleucia, just preceding his account of the death of Caligula which took place in 41 A.D. Gutschmid works back from this point and arrives at the date 36 A.D. for the year in which the combined natives and Jews overthrew the Greeks, which according to him took place when Tiridates entered the city and was accepted by the natives. Gutschmid's chronology has been confirmed by the results of excavation at Seleucia. By this evidence there is reasonable certainty that the revolt came to a close in 43/44 A.D., and, therefore, began in 36, seven years previously.

Gutschmid and other commentators since have apparently failed to follow this chronology to its logical conclusion. It is generally accepted that the revolt was one of the Greek city against the Parthians. But since the revolt was begun by the acceptance of Tiridates, and Tiridates was accepted by the natives who at that time supplanted the Greeks in the city government, the revolt was one of the natives of the city against the Parthian king. There is not the slightest evidence that the Greek ruling oligarchy took any part in this revolt. They had been signally favored by Artabanus who had placed all power in their hands. The loss of their power to the people had been confirmed by the rival of Artabanus. Upon the overthrow of this rival by Artabanus there would not have been

any grounds for them to have carried on a revolt against him who was their champion. On the other hand, the natives had been previously suppressed by Artabanus; they had for the first time secured for themselves the control of the city at the hands of Tiridates; upon the overthrow of Tiridates they had everything to fear from the wrath of both Artabanus and the Greeks; it was therefore reasonable for them to have continued the revolt. This interpretation alone is in harmony with the evidence.

Vardanes was the legal successor to Artabanus. Tacitus in the passage quoted says of the surrender of the city to Vardanes *regressoque Vardani deditur Seleucia*. There is no indication here that the city surrendered as a result of assault or famine. When Vardanes returned, having settled the question of his succession to the throne, the city surrendered itself. Gutschmid has placed the massacre of the Jews by the Greeks and natives which signaled the return to power of the Greek oligarchy through their ability to divide their opponents, in 41. The basis for his dating is the sequence of the narrative in Josephus, explained above. The date obtained by Gutschmid for the opening of the revolt has been confirmed. His placing of the massacre in 41 rests still on his assumption, that, because Josephus placed the story of the massacre immediately before his account of the death of Caligula, the one event did actually in time immediately precede the other. It would seem to be more in harmony with the evidence to assume that the Greeks succeeded in regaining control of the city at about the time of the return of Vardanes, say 43 A.D., and that upon his return they willingly surrendered to him as the legal successor to their benefactor Artabanus.

The sources give no indication of changes in the city after the revolt. What took place within the city during this period we do not know. Without doubt the Greeks suffered at the hands of the natives and the Jews. More serious may have been the fact that for seven years the commerce of the city had been at a stand-still. The trade between East and West had continued, rerouted to avoid the rebel city. Some new center had filled the role held for three centuries by Seleucia. The new center may have been Ctesiphon. The passage in Pliny<sup>184</sup> may refer to this period in the history of the city, "The Parthians in turn founded Ctesiphon for the purpose of drawing away the population of Seleucia." Ctesiphon may have been greatly enlarged to care for the needs of the caravans and of the traders, and became thus, in a sense, the foundation of the Parthians. The excavations at Seleucia have shown that the city emerged from the period of the revolt completely changed. Civic coinage, evidence of autonomy, ceased. All cultural objects and even architecture became Oriental. Whether the great Greek families remained in the city in a hopeless effort to rebuild its former prosperity, or whether they removed to the new centers of commerce cannot be known. In either case as "Greeks" they disappear. The city lived on for another century and a half in some degree of prosperity, but its "Hellenism" disappeared in large part with the revolt, destroyed, not by the Parthians, but from within.

Until the opening years of the second century Seleucia is not mentioned in the sources. One reference<sup>185</sup> describes the adornment of Ctesiphon by the Parthian king. Seleucia is no longer the great city of Babylonia. With the accession to power of Trajan, Roman interest in the trans-Euphrates country revived. According to Dio Cassius,<sup>186</sup> Trajan was early

fascinated by the career of Alexander the Great. In 116, having occupied Armenia and Mesopotamia, he descended the Euphrates and occupied Babylonia. The principal source is Dio Cassius who does not mention Seleucia by name. *μέχρι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐχώρησαν* "they advanced as far as Babylon, itself." But in the succeeding passage Dio relates that Trajan, after the occupation of the country, made a trip to Babylon, "had taken a side trip there on the basis of reports unmerited by what he saw—mounds, stones and ruins." Orosius and Eutropius<sup>187</sup> both speak of the occupation of "Seleucia, Ctesiphon and Babylon." In the first passage Dio, after speaking of the advance to "Babylon," continues, "Trajan had planned to conduct the Euphrates through a channel into the Tigris, in order that boats might be floated down by this route, affording him an opportunity to make a bridge. But on learning that it (i.e. the Euphrates) had a much higher elevation than the Tigris, he did not do it, fearing lest the water might rush down hill and render the Euphrates unnavigable." Zozimus<sup>188</sup> on the other hand, describing the campaign of the Emperor Julian, states that "setting out they came to a great ditch which was said to have been dug by Trajan. . . the Nahrmalcha emptying into this flows into the Tigris." Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>189</sup> likewise recounts that both Trajan and Severus employed the Nahrmalcha for the transfer of their boats from the Euphrates to the Tigris. It does not appear possible to reconcile these conflicting statements. The narrative of Dio Cassius is difficult to accept. The canals between the two rivers were well known to the western world. Even though perhaps in disuse at the time of the Trajan campaign, they were there to be seen. It is difficult to assume both that Trajan and his officers were ignorant of what had been written by Strabo only a century previously, and that they were unable to ascertain the truth from the local population.

Dio Cassius<sup>190</sup> describes a revolt that broke out in the rear of the Roman army while Trajan lingered in southern Babylonia. The narrative mentions as revolted the cities of Seleucia, Hatra, Nisibis, and Edessa. The revolt was repressed, in the course of which "Seleucia was also captured. . . and was burned." Trajan, in fear lest the Parthians too should revolt, proceeded to give them a king of his choosing. Older writers such as Rawlinson<sup>191</sup> assume that the city destroyed was Seleucia on the Tigris. Fabian,<sup>192</sup> Streck<sup>193</sup> and others believe that since all of the other cities mentioned as revolted were in Mesopotamia, it is reasonable to assume that Dio had in mind the Seleucia on the Euphrates. With the army encamped in the same country it is difficult to believe that Seleucia would have dared to revolt. The fact that Dio goes on to state that Trajan feared lest the Parthians join in the revolt, strengthens the conviction. Would the single city rise while the Parthians as a whole, who had most reason to resent the presence of the Romans, remained quiet? It is on the other hand possible to understand from the narrative that the Parthians were planning to revolt; that Seleucia, now a Parthian center, rose prematurely; but that Trajan was able to take repressive measures that prevented the spread of the uprising. If the main Roman army was encamped on the Ctesiphon side of the river, this sequence would be quite logical. The matter is of some importance for the reason that the excavations at Seleucia have revealed that there was a severe fire at just this period which to a large extent destroyed the block under excavation.

In the year 165 another Roman army invaded Babylonia.

Trajan had retreated, to meet his death. Hadrian restored the territory east of the Euphrates which Trajan had occupied. An energetic Parthian ruler, Volagases III mounted the throne about 149 and followed a policy so aggressive toward Rome that war was inevitable. This second campaign was conducted by Avidius Cassius, who met with little resistance. Seleucia was occupied without violence, but, by the evidence of most of the sources was destroyed. Dio Cassius<sup>194</sup> writes *τὴν Σελεύκειαν διέφθειρεν ἐμπρήσας* Zonaras,<sup>195</sup> *καὶ ταύτην ἐνέπρησε*; Ammianus Marcellinus<sup>196</sup> *incensa civitate*. Eutropius<sup>197</sup> adds that 40,000 prisoners were taken and material for a triumph. Julius Capitolinus<sup>198</sup> writes that the action of Avidius Cassius had been defended by some on the ground that the city broke faith with the Romans. He infers that there was no justification for the deed. Modern writers<sup>199</sup> have agreed in denouncing the destruction of Seleucia as an act of barbarity, especially heinous because the Romans had destroyed the last bulwark of Hellenism in the East. It is indeed almost incredible that a Roman commander would without reason destroy a great Greek city, while at the same time he spared the Parthian capital across the river. It is difficult to imagine that such a Greek city, at last delivered into the hands of Rome, become the defender of Hellenism, would in any way break faith with her champion. Since, however, Seleucia was no longer Greek, an overt act that would give the Romans an excuse for action would be quite possible, while the destruction wrought would be a measure of repression against a hostile population.

It has been assumed that Seleucia was completely destroyed in the fire and destruction wrought by Avidius Cassius; as Streck<sup>200</sup> puts it, the city was *von erdboden vertilgt*. The evidence from excavation, however, is conclusive that the city existed into the opening years of the Third Century when it appears to have been gradually deserted.

The city is mentioned again by Dio Cassius<sup>201</sup> in his account of the campaign of Septimius Severus, who in the year 198/199 occupied Babylonia, and, according to this author "seized Seleucia and Babylon which had been abandoned" (*τὴν τὴν Σελεύκειαν καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐκλείφθεις ἐλαβε*). This is the last appearance of the city in the narratives of the classical sources.

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4. Isidore of Charax, *Parthian Stations*, p. 2; cf. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia* no. 61
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9. Strabo, 16, 1, 16
10. Pliny, VI, 30
11. Strabo, 16, 1, 5
12. Pliny, V, 22
13. Pliny, VI, 30
14. Theophlactus Simocatta, V, 6
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42. Pliny, *l.c.*
43. Orosius, Paulus, VII, 15
44. Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 9, 8
45. Tacitus, *l.c.*
46. Eutropius, VIII, 9, 8
47. Amm. Marcell. *l.c.*
48. Sallust. I, 4
49. Strabo, 16, 1, 16
50. Strabo, 16, 2, 5
51. Pliny, *l.c.*
52. Tacitus, *l.c.*
53. Dio Cassius, XL, 16
54. Dio Cassius, *l.c.*
55. Pliny, *l.c.*
56. Tacitus, *l.c.*
57. Pliny, *l.c.*
58. Pausanias, *l.c.*
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62. Cedren. George., *l.c.*
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68. Strabo, 16, 738
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70. Appian *l.c.*
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77. Appian, *Syr.* 55
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79. Pliny, *l.c.*
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85. Plutarch, *Crassus*, 32
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122. Polybius, V, 44-45
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133. Diod. Sicul., XXXIII, 28
134. Justin, XXXVI, 1
135. Orosius, V, 4, 16
136. Justin, XLI, 6
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139. Justin, XXXVI, 1ff
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142. Eusebius, *Chron.*, I, p. 256
143. Diod. Sicul., XXXIV, 19
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145. Orosius, V, 10
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147. Diod. Sicul., XXXIV, 19
148. Justin, XXXVIII, 10, 8
149. Diod. Sicul., XXXIV, 19
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157. Plutarch, *Sulla*, 5
158. Plutarch, *Lucull.*, 36
159. Justin, XLII, 4
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163. Appian, *Syr.*, 120
164. Dio Cass., XL, 15
165. Justin, XLI, 2
166. Plutarch, *Crass.*, 17; Dio Cass., *l.c.*
167. Plutarch, *l.c.*
168. Plutarch, *Crass.*, 32
169. Dio Cass., XLIII, 51
170. Lucanus, *op. cit.*, I, 10
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173. Streck, article *Seleukeia*, as cited
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175. Josephus, *Ant.*, XVIII, 2, 4
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179. Tacitus, *l.c.*
180. Gutschmid, *op. cit.*, p. 121ff
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182. Tacitus, *Ann.*, XI, 8ff
183. Gutschmid, *op. cit.*, p. 124ff
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185. Amm. Marcell. XXIII, 6
186. Dio Cass., LXVIII, 27
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188. Zozimus, III, 24
189. Amm. Marcell., XXIV, 6
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193. Streck, article *Seleukeia* as cited
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196. Amm. Marcell., XXIII, 6
197. Eutropius, VIII, 10
198. Julius Capitolinus, VIII, 3
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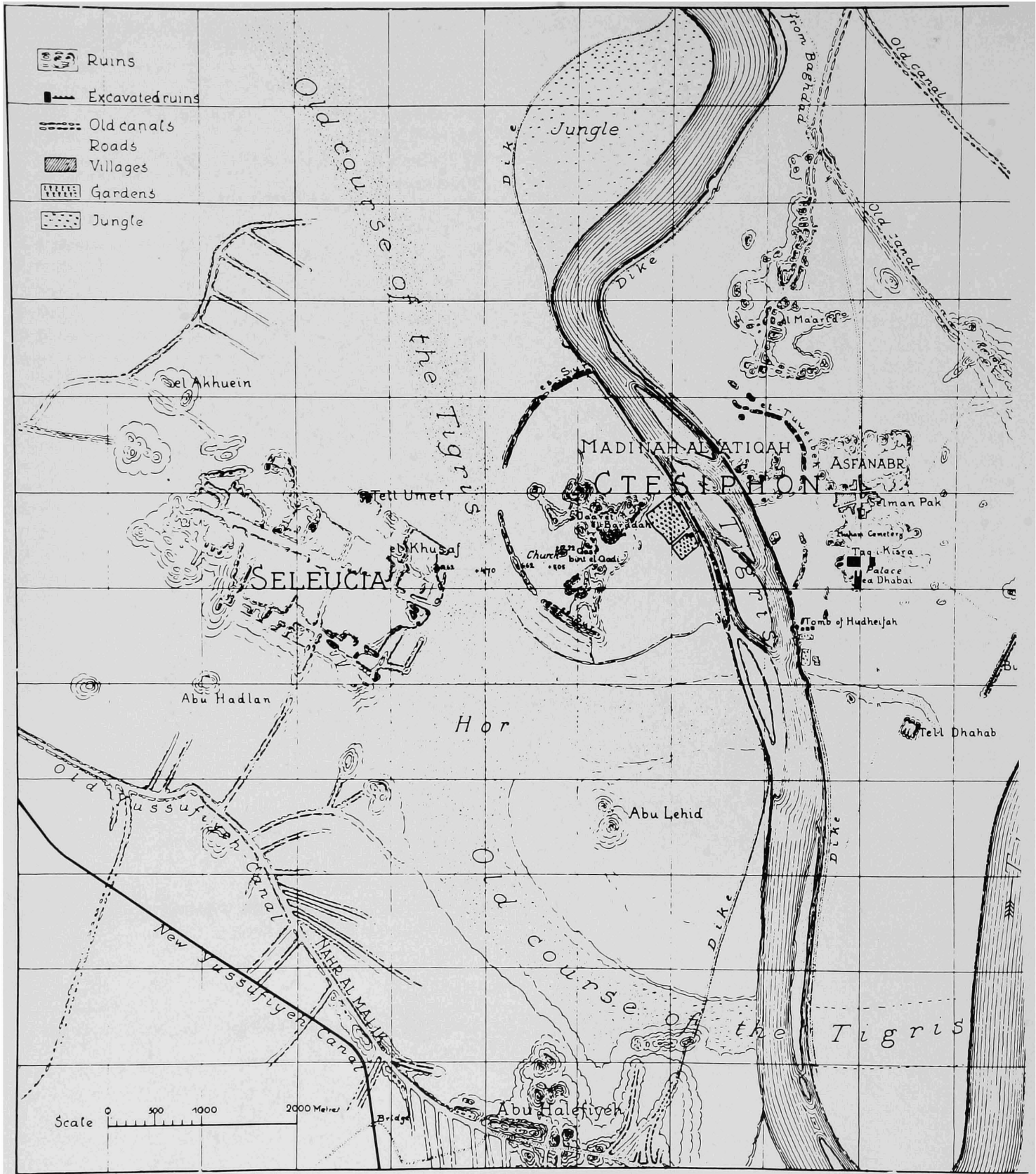


PLATE I. Sketch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon district



PLATE II. Seleucia, air view

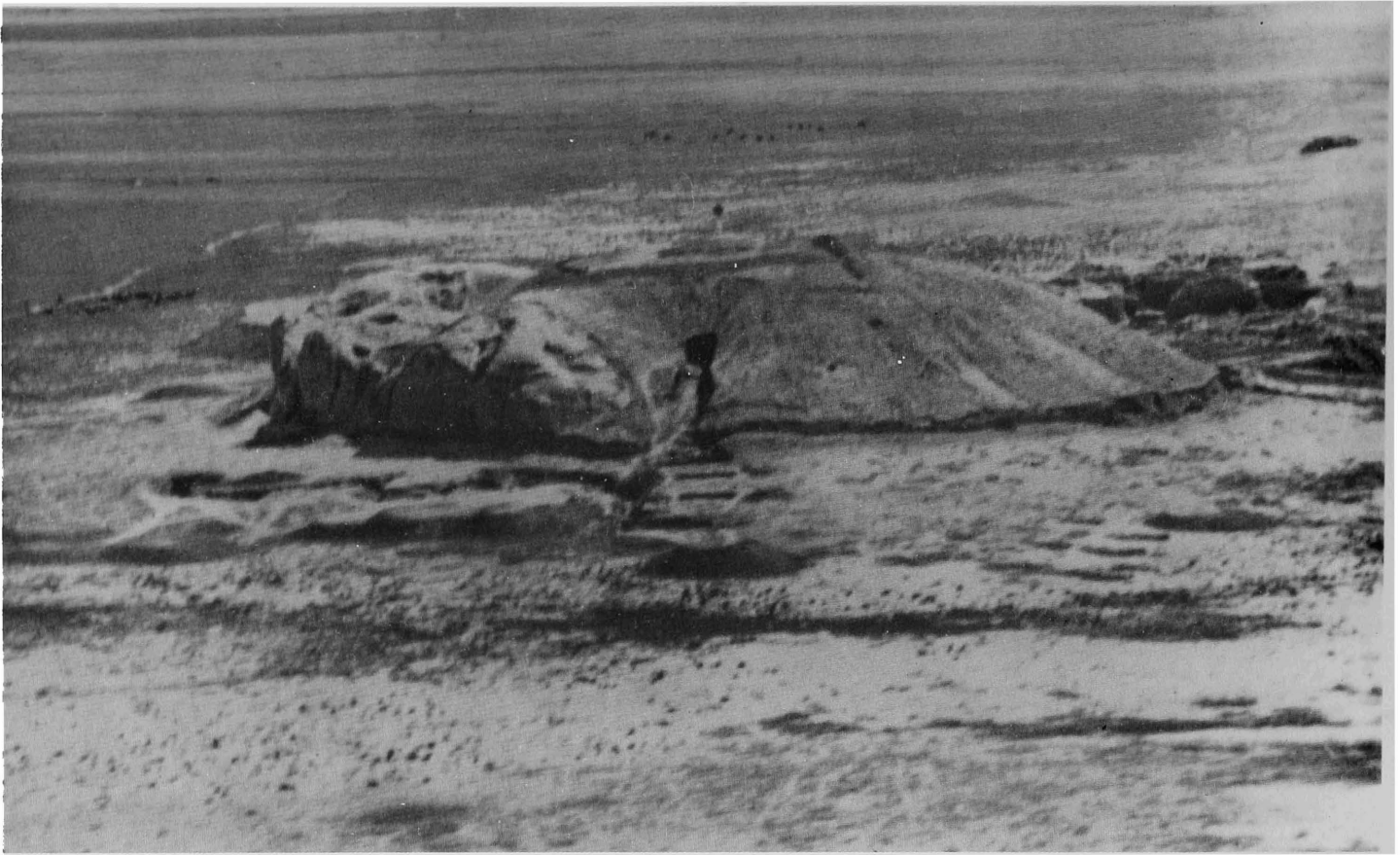


PLATE III. 1. (top) Tell Umar, air view from the northwest

PLATE III. 2. (bottom) Tell Umar, air view from the south



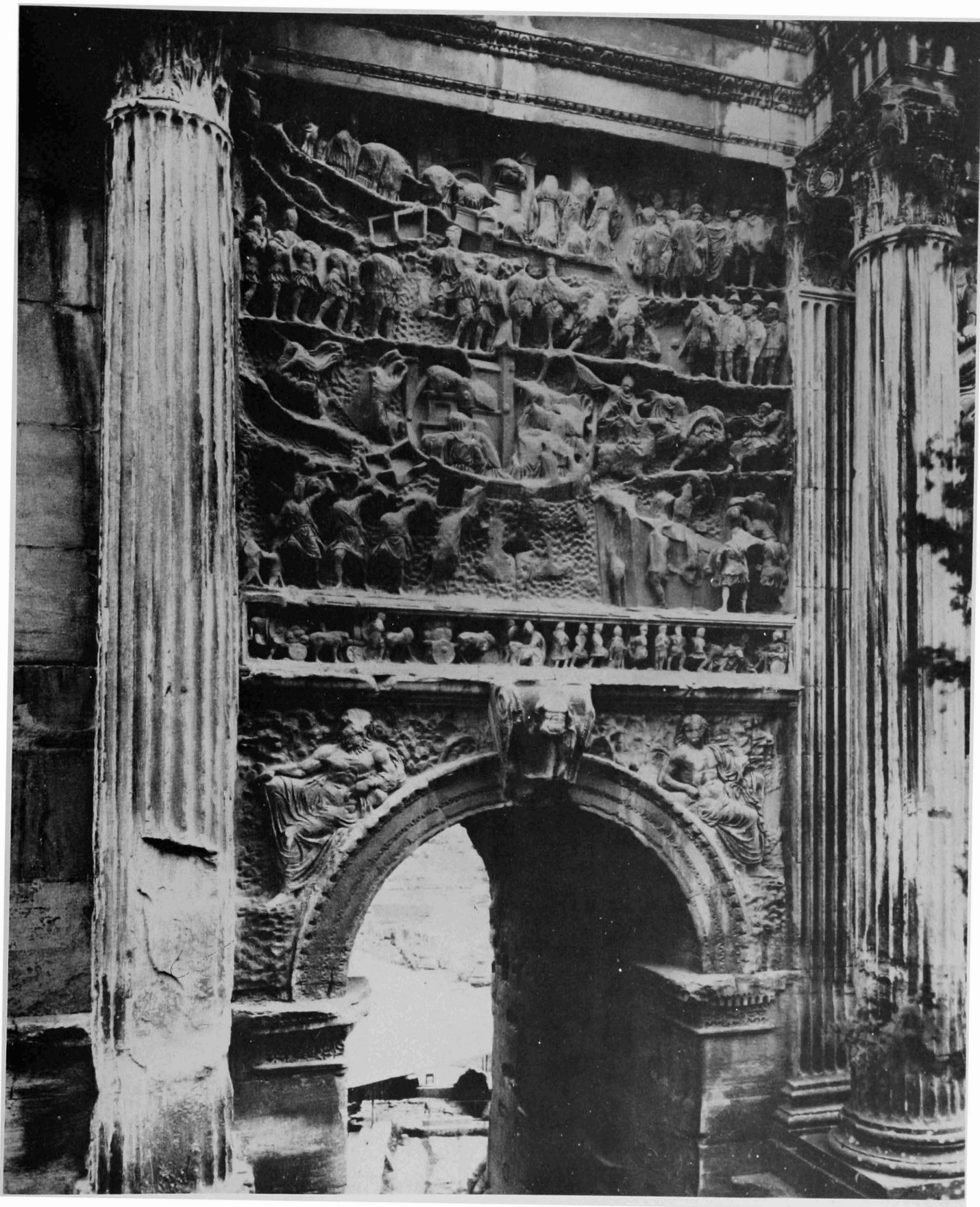


PLATE IV. Arch of Septimus Severus: relief of Seleucia and Ctesiphon

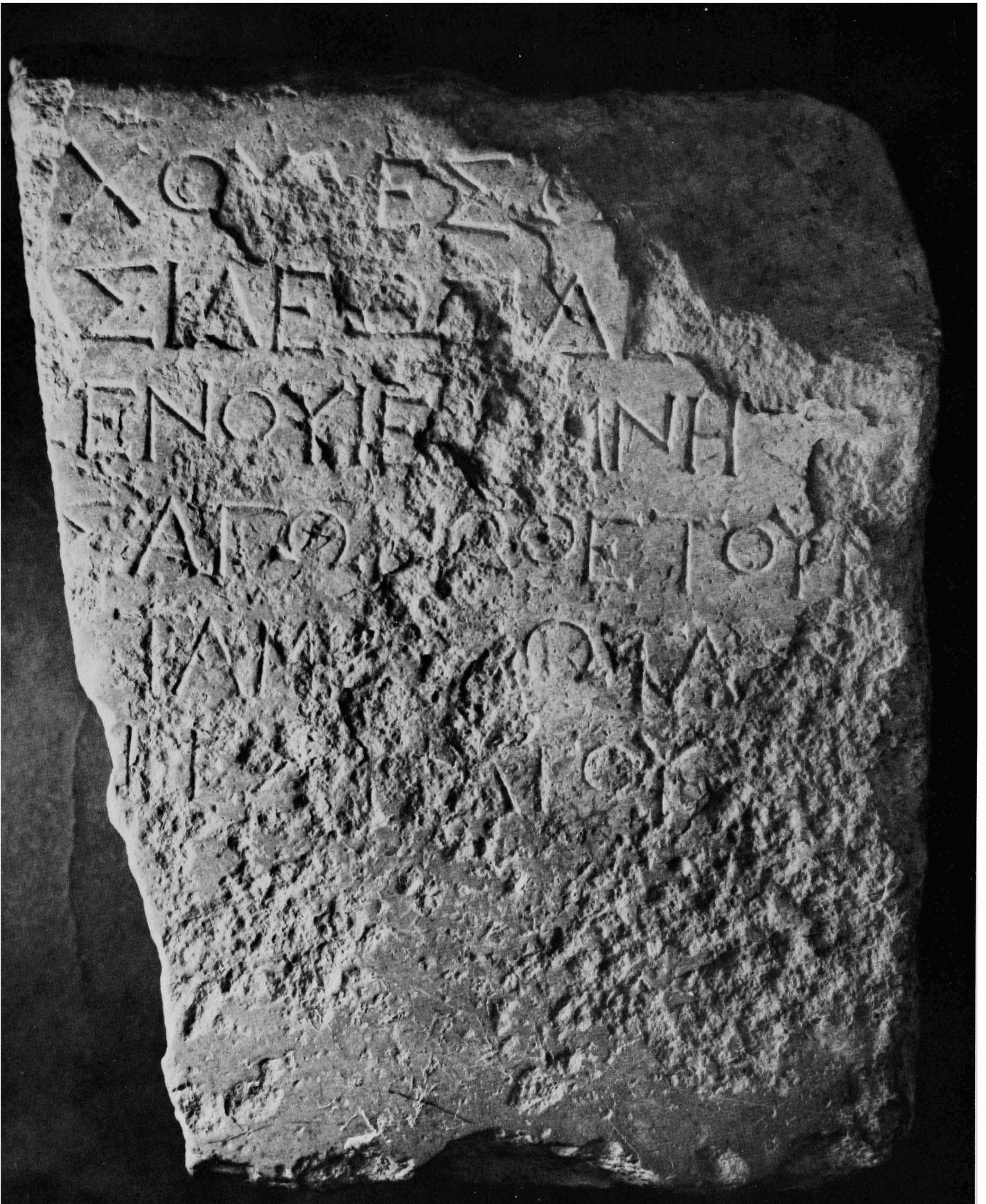


PLATE V. Heroon inscription

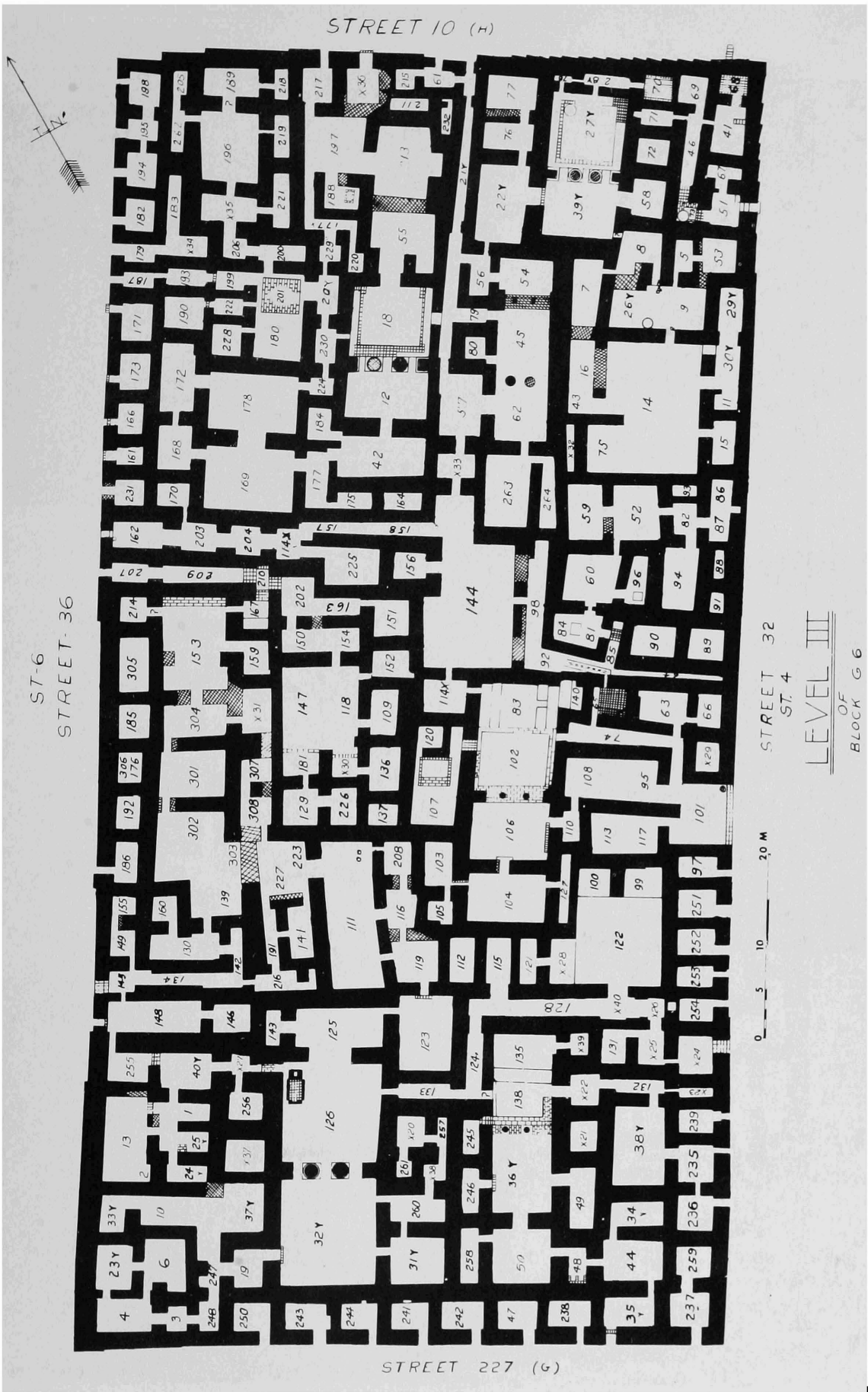


PLATE VI. Block G6, Level III plan

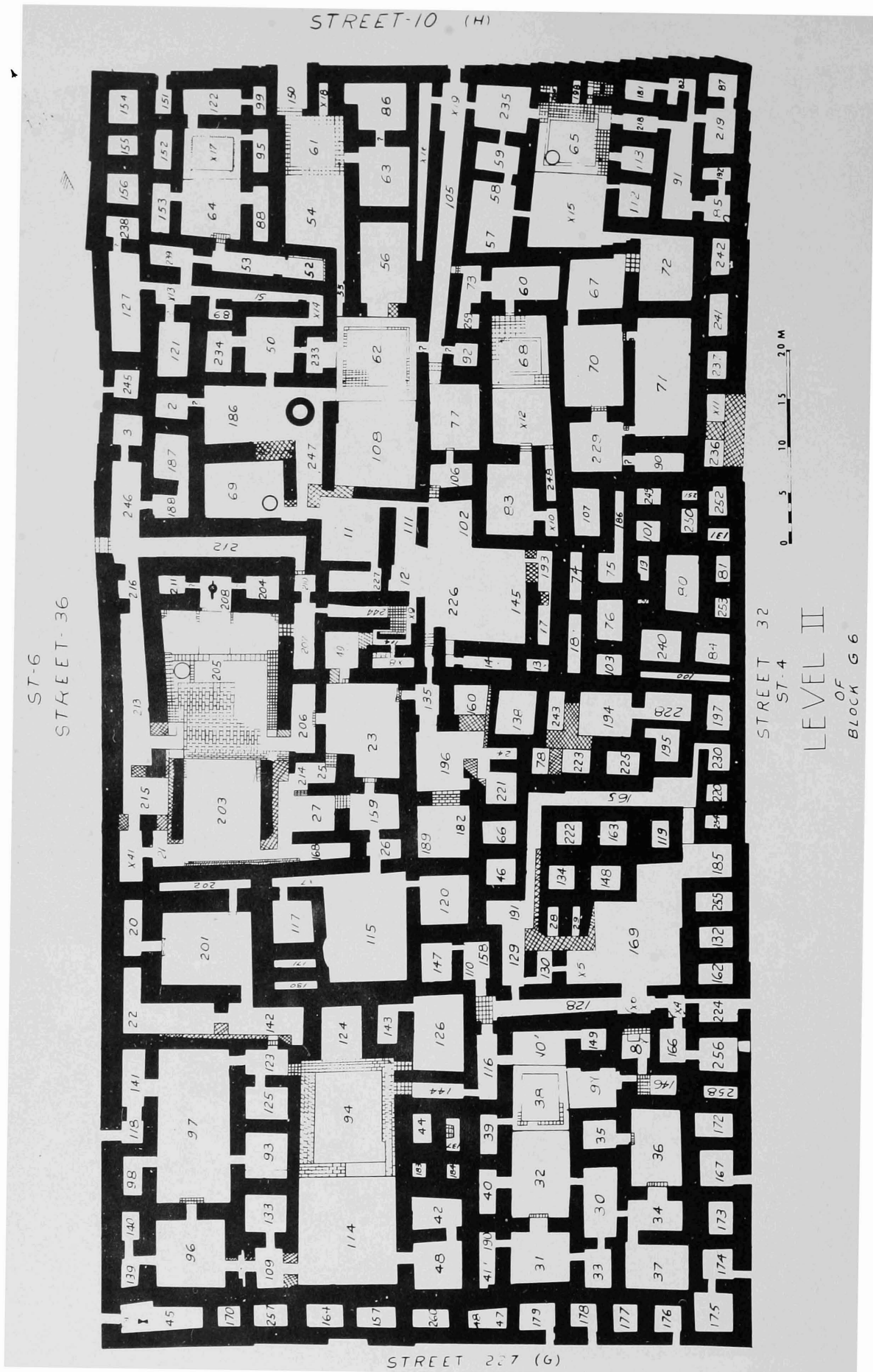


PLATE VII. Block G6, Level II plan



PLATE VIII.



1. Plaster medallion



2. Altar with irregular sides



3. Semi-oval structure in room 45, Level II



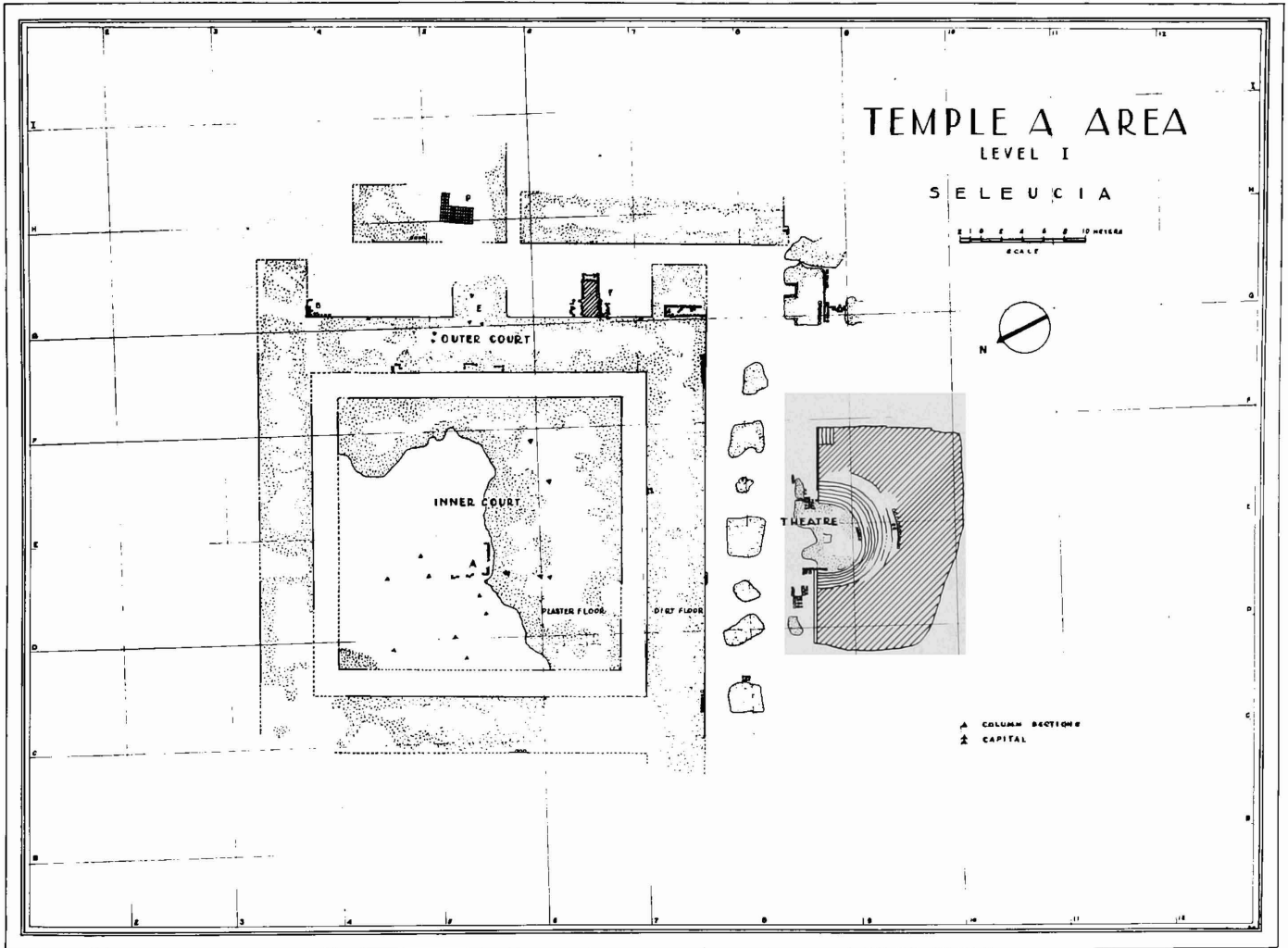


PLATE X. Temple A, Level I









