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**THE TWIN TOWNS OF
ZEUGMA
ON THE EUPHRATES**

**RESCUE WORK
AND HISTORICAL STUDIES**

by
David Kennedy
with contributions from others

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and with assistance from

M. C. Bishop, R. Burgess, J. Dobbins and D. French

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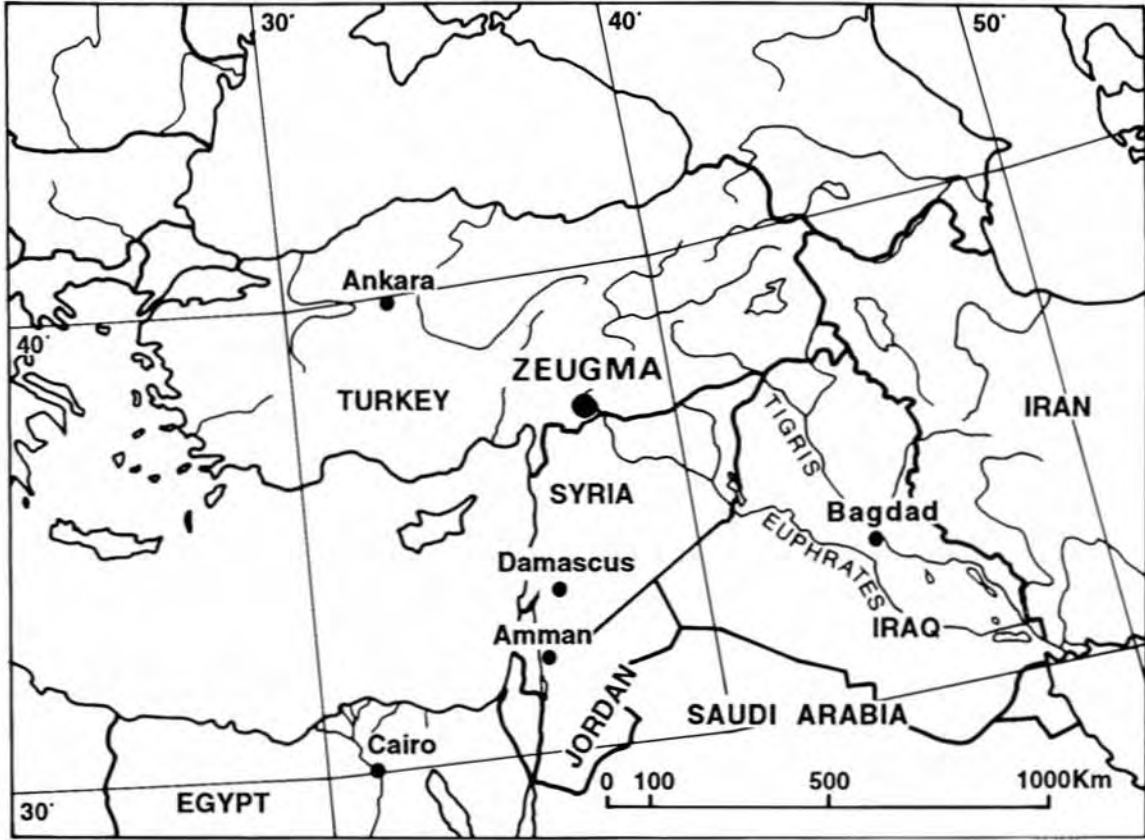


Fig. 1.1. Map of the Middle East showing the location of Zeugma

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Preface

The ruins at Belkis have been recognised for a century or more. In 1917 F. Cumont proposed an identification with Zeugma but it was not until the fieldwork of J. Wagner in the 1970s that the identity of the towns at Belkis – and Tilmusa on the opposite bank – was definitely established (Wagner 1976: 132-46) and serious work began to define the extent and nature of the remains. Here was a major Graeco-Roman city, unencumbered by later or modern buildings, and seemingly well preserved beneath the deep hillwash (see chaps. 2-3).

In 1985 The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara (BIAA) hosted a conference (French and Lightfoot 1989) which was followed by a conducted tour of part of the eastern Roman frontier in Turkey. The tour commenced at Gaziantep and finished at Trabzon. On the first day the participants were taken to Belkis to view the remains of Zeugma. It was a memorable visit to a delightful place yet disturbing because it became apparent that plans were afoot to construct a dam a little downstream and that preliminary work on access roads was already underway. In 1990, an inquiry to C. Lightfoot of BIAA brought the response that there were no plans by scholars, Turkish or foreign, to carry out fieldwork at Zeugma. He suggested to me the possibility of work there, and I made a preliminary visit with P. Freeman to Ankara and Zeugma in early 1992. The Director of the Department of Antiquities, E. Özgen, was welcoming and enthusiastic, as were D. French and C. Lightfoot of the BIAA and R. Ergeç, Director of the Gaziantep Museum. At Zeugma pottery and tile fragments were thickly strewn across the surface; coins, glass, tesserae, gemstones and pieces of metalwork and plaster were frequently brought up in ploughing; traces of large buildings were evident in several places; mosaics were evidently a common feature of the site; hundreds of inscriptions had been found, and works of art were likely to be revealed. Actual remains and various hints pointed to a large and complex urban site with a wide range of structures, streets, water supply, and cemeteries. Preservation could be good and there was the possibility of water-logged remains on the east bank.

In the light of that visit and of the preliminary report of field survey in the region published at that juncture (Algaze *et al.* 1991), the decision was taken to begin a programme of fieldwork at Zeugma and vicinity. It was made because it was apparent that no other fieldwork was being planned. With construction certain to cause direct damage to the site and much of the site about to be flooded, the pace of illicit digging for antiquities had greatly increased. This was of mounting concern to the Turkish authorities. The Turkish archaeological service has very limited resources for salvage archaeology and could only tackle specific challenges as they arose (see chapt. 5). Ours might therefore prove to be the only systematic work at the site in advance of construction and flooding. We proposed to hold a preliminary season in 1993 or 1994, followed by major seasons thereafter until the lake was scheduled for filling in 1998. The provisional research design called for a simultaneous programme of excavation at Zeugma itself and at selected sites outside it, and of field survey in the region to be flooded. A detailed environmental and geomorphological study was also imperative.

With time at a premium, relatively long field seasons with large teams seemed the most cost-effective as well as necessary. In late 1992 applications were made for funding to various sources in Australia and overseas. Paramount was the application to the Australian Research Council for major funding but that would, if successful, be available only from 1994. Then, still in 1992, a new tunnel dug by robbers was found at Belkis (see chaps. 5 and 7) and investigation revealed a superb mosaic floor; subsequent rescue excavations by the Gaziantep Museum provided the context, a wealthy house with walls still standing to 3 m in places (chapt. 5). This and other looting shifted our focus and timetable as the Turkish authorities required a more immediate intervention and proof of involvement. Thus, during the subsequent months, plans proceeded for a preliminary season to be held in the second half of 1993. Offers of support poured in after feature articles appeared in local and national newspapers in Australia (Cribb

1993; Amalfi 1993) and reports in some overseas media (Kennedy 1994). Unfortunately, the expressed support was not matched by offers of financing. However, Dr French of the BIAA generously undertook to provide £5000 in 1993 and further support in subsequent years, and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Australia matched that with a special grant of A\$10,000. With limited funds, the team that assembled at Ankara in early September 1993 was not what was originally planned. As the ceramicist was unable to meet our proposed dates we had to proceed without one, and money was short to employ more than 6 local workmen (particularly for the first few days). Despite widespread illness including dysentery, the team achieved wonders in a few weeks of intensely hot weather. Between our own work and that by R. Ergeç (chaps. 4-5) the site had been shown to deserve significant salvage work. But unfortunately the major funds sought for large-scale and more regular fieldwork seasons were not granted.¹ Some small sums were provided from other sources in the months that followed but strenuous efforts, backed by the active intervention of the Australian Ambassador in Ankara, failed to obtain funds from Australian businesses, while efforts to tap European Community sources were likewise unsuccessful.

By 1995 it had become clear that no further work could be undertaken at Zeugma by this University: the project lacks the necessary tangible support. What was done, therefore, amounts to what was intended merely to be the prelude to a different and fuller kind of investigation. Yet the effort has not been wasted. Following the important reconnaissance by Algaze and colleagues (1991; 1994), publicity for the project (Kennedy 1994) caught the attention of C. Abadie-Reynal of the Institut Français in Istanbul. In 1995 she made a brief reconnaissance of the site with striking results (1996), a season involving some excavation and geophysical survey was carried out in October 1996, a fuller season in 1997, and further seasons are planned. The scale of work is modest but significant. A Swiss team has also begun work (see p. 168). A slight delay in the timetable for completion of the dam (2000) has offered a respite and a final opportunity. There is much that can and should be done (chapt. 14), and it is hoped that this book will play a small rôle in helping to bring it about. It is too late to do more than lament what has been lost at Samosata (p. 17); there is still time to save much from Zeugma.

At the outset we had hoped to produce a series of annual reports but, as the prospect of further fieldwork by this team receded, the scope and nature of the publication was altered to take the form of a series of chapters which individually and collectively could represent a contribution to our knowledge and understanding of this important site and of its wider context. It will be evident from the foregoing that the unorthodox circumstances in which fieldwork occurred also preclude a traditional final report replete with a battery of specialist reports. This book is divided into three parts: fieldwork conducted, specialist studies of finds, and some essays relating to the history of Zeugma. The intention has been simply to offer a full accounting of what was discovered and studied, updating the work of earlier scholars, especially Wagner, and incorporating the findings of recent fieldwork by Algaze, Abadie-Reynal and M. A. Speidel, and to present in English the work of our Turkish colleague, R. Ergeç. It is neither a history of Zeugma nor a replacement for Wagner's fine monograph (1976), but we hope that the very fact of publication of these chapters at this juncture will stimulate further research.

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1 In fairness, however, it should be pointed out that the ARC was already funding another three-year research project for the author.

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David Kennedy

Zeugma, the South-East Anatolia Development Project, and fieldwork on the Turkish Lower Euphrates

David Kennedy

Introduction

There can be few archaeological sites more evocative of their time and place than Zeugma. Even photographs convey something of the grandeur of the location (fig. 1.2). The environment has changed over the centuries, not least in recent years, but the essential attractions of water and rich soils remain (chapt. 2). The hills of the right bank limited the arable terrace soils, but the Hobab Plain opposite offered significant scope to early farmers (fig. 1.4). The earliest significant settlement is marked by the tells of the Bronze Age. Much of that tide of settlement receded in later generations, particularly under the impact of the collapse of the Hittite Empire and the subsequent wars of Assyria. By the late 4th c. B.C. when Syria fell to Alexander, there was only a thin scatter of settlements in the valley here. Then, c.300 B.C., the new Macedonian ruler of Syria, Seleucus I Nicator, founded twin towns. On the west bank he founded Seleucia, named for himself, and, opposite it, Apamea, named for his Iranian queen, Apama. Greek colonists arrived and significant urban centres began to develop. The towns' names symbolised the junction of East and West and Seleucus constructed a bridge, physically linking Syria and Mesopotamia, the only permanent bridge across the Euphrates between the mountains of the Kurdish Taurus and Babylonia. The bridge itself came to be the defining feature: its name, *zeugma*, the 'span' or 'bridge', gave its name to the twin towns. During succeeding centuries the place became known colloquially as Zeugma — 'Bridgetown' might be our equivalent.

In the 60s B.C., following an explosion of conquests in western Asia, Syria came under Roman domination. It would have seemed to many that Syria would soon be left behind as the eastward advance continued. A century later, however, it was clear Roman expansion in the East was to be slower than expected, and Syria as a whole emerged as a great military province, its substantial forces intended both to police a large population and to confront and deter the Parthian empire. The Euphrates itself became a boundary of sorts, a convenient delimitation of the power and influence of the two great empires.

A tangible symbol of that came in the 1st c. A.D. when Zeugma was selected as the base for one of the Syrian legions. Rich farmlands, centuries of development as a Greek city, a strategic location, the bridge to funnel trade, and now the arrival of thousands of soldiers with steady pay and western culture stimulated and transformed the towns and the region. By c.200 Zeugma was one of the great cities of the Roman empire, a fortress city and cultural centre set at a political and cultural interface. Several thousand soldiers and perhaps ten times as many civilians lived out their lives in the context of the city's institutions amidst the bustle of military life, the caravan traffic, the pre-occupations of commerce and manufacture, and the pervasive influence of the surrounding countryside. But a century later the great wars of the 3rd c. seem to have shrivelled the town to a fraction of its former size. The major military force had moved eastwards and the great houses of the wealthy were largely abandoned for good. In the same period, paganism was giving way to Christianity and it is the actions of bishops and martyrs which dominate the written history of the next millennium. In the 7th c. Syria fell to the forces of Islam and the frontier was re-oriented from a N-S line to one which placed Zeugma in an E-W borderland of conflict between Arab and Byzantine, Armenian and Turk. The Christian community still survived, but in a much changed political, social and ethnic milieu. A town of sorts was there into the second millennium A.D., still presided over by a bishop as late as 1048,



Fig. 1.2. General view of Zeugma.



Fig. 1.3. Map showing the major dams and extent of their reservoirs on the Upper Tigris and Euphrates. Hatched area indicates the extent of the GAP (see p. 15) (adapted from Kolars and Mitchell 1991: figs 2.1 and 2.3).

within a generation of the arrival of the armies of the first Crusaders. Then silence. The region was fought over by Armenians to the north, Crusaders from their principality of Edessa, Arabs and Turks in eastern Syria and Anatolia, but Zeugma itself is not mentioned. Even the names Zeugma, Seleucia and Apamea disappeared. In the Middle Ages the principal crossing of the

Euphrates was at Birecik, as today. Further north there was a crossing at Rum Kale and another at Samsat. When the English traveller Pococke passed this way in 1738, the location of Zeugma was no longer known:

After I had left Beer [= Birecik], I enquired if there was any place on the Euphrates of that name [i.e. Zeugma]; and I was informed that about twelve miles above Beer, there was a place called Zima; and asking if there were any signs of a bridge there, I was assured that, when the water is low, they see on each side of the river the ruins of a pier, which may possibly be the remains of this bridge (Pococke 1745: II, 156, as quoted by Wagner 1976: 26).

Later travellers also sought Zeugma in this region but there was no unanimity. Many regarded Birecik as the correct identification, placing Apamea where the mediaeval castle stands and Seleucia in the marshy area opposite. Others, however, became conscious of the rich Roman site 15 km further upstream. There, around the little Turkoman village of Belkis, could be seen the caverns of looted tombs cut into the rock face, some bearing epitaphs in Greek, and, between the encircling cemeteries, the fragments of a few monumental buildings. More telling was the discovery and illegal export to museums and private collections of a series of striking Roman mosaics and inscriptions (cf. chaps. 6-8).

Early this century, Cumont (1917: chapt. III) set forth a persuasive argument for placing Zeugma at Belkis and around the village of Tilmusa on the opposite bank. Many, however, continued to prefer Birecik and identified the ruins at Belkis with other lost Roman cities of the region. Although no inscriptions from Belkis or Tilmusa have provided a place-name to secure the identification, since the 1970s there has been growing acceptance that this is ancient Zeugma. Credit for this development lies with Jörg Wagner (1976). Wagner based his case on a series of arguments but the most telling was his discovery of a group of stamped roof-tiles which bore the name of the *Legio IIII Scythica* (see p. 133) known to have been the garrison legion of Zeugma in the 1st-2nd c. A.D. Other tiles of this legion were very scarce.

The site today may seem at first sight disappointing. There are few upstanding remains within the circuit of the still prominent cemeteries. But the location is stunning, and closer inspection discloses a thick carpet of artefacts and hints of buildings buried deep beneath extensive hillwash. Zeugma deserved to be explored by systematic excavation and intensive survey of the site and its territory. Until a few years ago it had received neither, and even our recent work is the product of a man-made disaster which will overwhelm the site within a few years. After centuries of deterioration and looting, Zeugma will soon be lost to sight: a dam being built a little downstream will retain a lake stretching far back up the valley, drowning most of Zeugma.

Modern exploitation of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers

For the countries of the Middle East, development plans during the last half century have focussed on the twin objectives of industrialisation and the intensification and extension of agriculture to feed rapidly growing populations. In the territories of Turkey, Syria and Iraq lie special resources. Rising quite close to one another in eastern Turkey are two of the great rivers of the world, the Euphrates and Tigris. In Turkey both have a number of significant tributaries. After a long journey which takes the Euphrates southwards into Syria and well away from its twin, both come together again in southern Iraq before emptying into the Persian Gulf (fig. 1.1 above). All three countries have viewed a series of dams across the waters of these rivers as important elements in their respective development plans. An immediate benefit is simply in the regulation of water flow which had normally varied considerably from year to year. However, the obvious products of dams are hydroelectric power and great lakes of stored water. In the case of eastern Turkey and the more northerly parts of Syria and Iraq, the dams lie in relatively undeveloped regions where the resources can be applied to powering transplanted industry and to irrigation. Industry permits the creation of work opportunities for local and imported labour. Irrigation can transform the broad, often arid but potentially fertile reg-

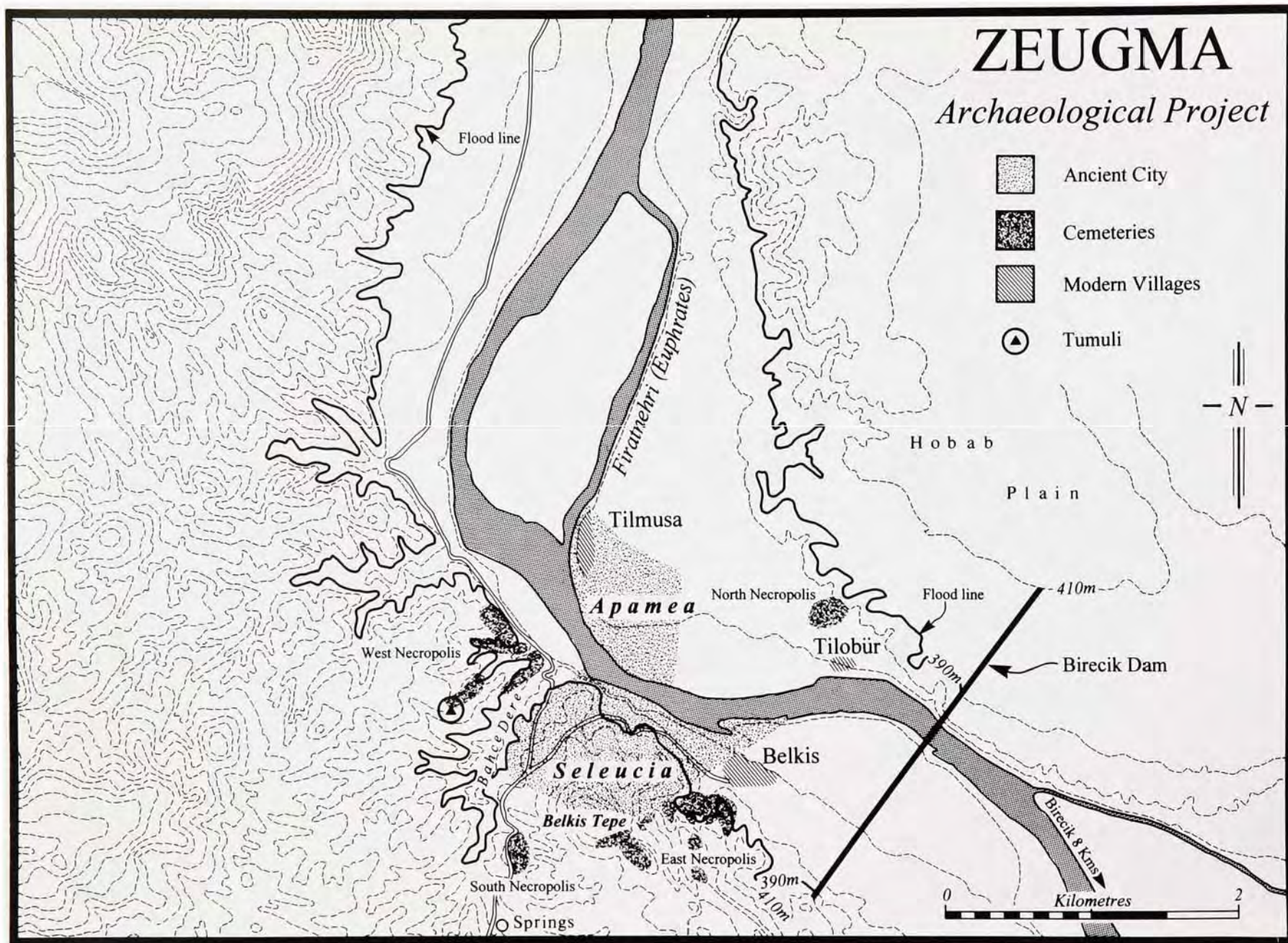


Fig. 1.4. Site, contours, location of Birecik Baraji and the prospective waterline of the lake in the vicinity of Zeugma. Site contours are at intervals of 20 m.

ions which extend from NW Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf. The loss of rich arable riverine land beneath lakes has seemed a modest price for the prize of immense new areas which might be irrigated. In Syria, for example, the huge Tabqa Dam (now called the Al-Thawra), 4.5 km long and 60 m high, drowned the bend of the Euphrates east of Aleppo. The resulting Lake Assad, 80 km long and covering some 640 km², flooded about 25,000 ha of productive riverine land and 43 villages, but the plan anticipated using the stored water to irrigate 240,000 ha in the Euphrates valley and a further 400,000 ha beyond it (Beaumont *et al.* 1988: 383; cf. 366-67).

Southeast Anatolia Development Project (GAP¹)

In Turkey a far more ambitious project is at an advanced stage. The Southeast Anatolia Development Project developed in the mid 1970s from the recently built Keban Dam on the upper Euphrates near Elâziğ.² Buoyed by that success, plans were drawn up for a project to embrace the basins of both the Euphrates and Tigris in eastern Turkey, an area of 74,000 km². By the early 1990s two other large dams had been completed: the Karakaya Barajı near Malatya (1988) and the Atatürk Barajı³ near Adıyaman (1991). Smaller dams were built north of Diyarbakır on the headwaters of the Tigris and its tributaries. All told, 15 dams are to be constructed in the GAP area. Of these, the Atatürk Dam is the fifth largest in the world and the lynchpin of the whole programme.

The most obvious threat to the archaeological record comes from the irrigation aims of GAP. In 1987 some 42,000 ha of the development area was being irrigated. When the entire project is completed in 2013, some 2 million ha will be irrigated, a fifty-fold increase. More immediately, the very process of constructing each of these dams — the new roads, the extraction of soil, gravel and rock for construction, the immense engineering works — imposes a heavy toll on the material remains in the vicinity of the dams. The lakes fill not just the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris upstream for many miles but flood numerous tributaries of all sizes. The Atatürk Dam, for example, created a lake with a surface area of 817 km². In each instance, the areas flooded included some of the soils which have been regarded as the most attractive for farming for thousands of years. Regulating the flow of water — indeed, channelling large amounts elsewhere — impacts downstream; there, sites will be deflected from a millennial pattern by such changes.

In 1988, with the major dams complete or close to finishing, the next stage in the GAP was announced: a further five dams on the Tigris and Euphrates. Two are to be on the Upper Tigris just above the Iraqi border, a third on its tributary, the Batman Su; two more will be on the Euphrates between the Atatürk Dam and the frontier with Syria, near Birecik and Carchemish respectively. Though smaller than those which preceded, they will exact a significant toll on the archaeological record.⁴

This book is concerned with the consequences of the first of these dams on the Euphrates, that upstream of Birecik. Preliminary work at the site of the barrage itself had been carried out in 1988. In April 1993 the President of the Turkish Republic visited Gaziantep Province and formally inaugurated the Birecik Barajı Projesi. The Birecik Dam was officially due to be completed in 1998 when the lake is filled. Although work may now be running behind schedule, the dam is unlikely to be delayed beyond the year 2000.

1 The acronym comes from its Turkish name (Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi).

2 The principal source for most of what follows is Kolars and Mitchell 1991, a lucid and invaluable guide to the GAP.

3 Early publications use the original name, Karababa Barajı.

4 The survey conducted in advance of these projects is discussed in Algaze 1989; Algaze *et al.* 1991; Algaze *et al.* 1994.



Fig. 1.5. The Euphrates valley a few kilometres upstream from Belkis (viewed from point A on fig. 2.1). Note the steep walls on either side and narrow floodplain.

The Birecik Dam is relatively modest in comparison with the huge Atatürk and Tabqa Dams to north and south respectively. Nevertheless, it will result in a considerable lake. Despite its official name, the dam is to be constructed not at Birecik where the modern highway linking Gaziantep with Şanlıurfa is carried over the Euphrates, but some 11 km (straight line distance) upstream, just below the present villages of Belkis and Tilöbur that lie on the west and east banks respectively (fig. 1.4). Above these villages the river had been flowing in a generally southerly direction for some 20 km. Having incised a narrow trough, the river leaves relatively narrow terraces on either side before rising steeply to the limestone plateau above (fig. 1.5) (see p. 19). Just below the village of Tilmusa, the valley broadens with small but steep-sided hills on the right bank and a series of broad alluvial terraces on the left forming the Hobab Plain. Its course also changes to flow almost W–E for about 2 km before resuming its southerly direction. On this bend the dam is to be built, just below the right-bank village of Belkis; here too lie the most important sites to be affected by that dam. The barrage will be set SW–NE across the river about 750 m downstream of Belkis. Its length will be some 2.6 km and it will rise up to the level of the 410 m contour on either bank (fig. 1.4). The lake is intended to rise to the 390 m contour (Anon. 1991). The surface of water in the valley will increase to as much as 2 km. width in places and the lake will stretch some 40 km (measured in a straight line) upstream of the dam, over 50 km in actual distance. Overall the area to be flooded and affected by resettlement will be some 100 km².

Archaeologists have not been slow to recognise the threat posed by the GAP (and the Keban Dam Project before it). Both Turkish archaeologists and several teams from other countries undertook major programmes of survey and excavation in the regions to be affected.⁵ However, the salvage work has been very limited in relation to the scale of the threat. The potential and the tragedy can be illustrated from a single locality, one relevant to the concerns of this volume and which warrants a digression.

5 For English-speaking readers a summary with references may be found in the annual reports which have appeared in *Anatolian Studies* ("The year's work") and *AJA* ("Archaeology in Turkey").

The loss of Samosata

Halfway between two provincial capitals, Adıyaman and Şanlıurfa, lies the little village of Samsat on the Euphrates. The valley at that point is broad and fertile, strewn with farming villages and remote from the major urban centres of modern Turkey. It was not always so. Two thousand years ago, this region was the heart of the kingdom of Commagene, its capital Samosata still preserved in the name of the modern village. The semi-hellenised dynasty of Commagene is best known to archaeology through the flamboyant tombs and monuments scattered across its territory, and especially from the colossal statues on the hill of Nemrut Dağ. Like the other states of the Near East in the 1st c. B.C. it had to come to terms with Rome. Its rulers provided contingents to support contenders in the Roman civil wars. Following the battle of Philippi, Mark Antony laid siege to Samosata in 38 B.C. He was unsuccessful but he extorted a huge indemnity of 300 talents (Plut., *Ant.* 34). The size of the sum reflects the wealth of Commagene; Josephus says it was the richest of the eastern client states (*BJ* 5.460) and, when in A.D. 38 its dynasty was temporarily restored after 21 years under Roman administration, its ruler was reimbursed the 100 million sesterces Rome had taken in taxation (Suet., *Cal.* 16). Towards the end of its independent history, it contributed significant forces, 3000-5000 men (Jos., *BJ* 2.500; 3.66), to Roman wars. In 72 Commagene was annexed again, this time permanently, and integrated into the province of Syria, of which it formed one of four subdivisions. It was to remain Roman for several centuries. Written sources reveal Samosata to have been a major city of the province. At annexation it became the base of one of the three legions of Syria. In later centuries it was the seat of a Christian bishop.

Had Samosata been more accessible to scholars, it would surely have attracted the closest attention, as would Commagene as a whole, the source of the wealth and power of the city. To a visitor in the early 1970s Samsat was a sleepy little village. Access was by slow local transport which linked many of the villages on the hills around. The river could be crossed by an antique wooden barque capable of carrying a single vehicle. On the far side in the valley and across the hills was another scatter of similar villages. Samsat lay on the river bank beside a huge tell surmounted by Islamic ruins. All around, though obscured by farming, ancient remains extending over many hectares could be seen; in places stretches of defensive wall could be picked out.

By the late 1980s the Atatürk Dam a few kilometres downstream was forming a lake, the village had been evacuated, and the high-water mark of the winter rains had inundated the lower part of the ancient town. Today the lake is fully formed. Samosata, like the valley as a whole, lies below a vast artificial lake. The full extent of what has been lost at Samosata and in the parts of its territory now flooded is unlikely ever to be known. Surveys made were of a varying scale and intensity. For example, Serdaroglu (1977) and Özdoğan (1977) carried out broad but superficial surveys of the entire area to be flooded by the Atatürk Dam and published them with commendable speed. At the other extreme, Stein (forthcoming) undertook an intensive foot-survey in a 5-km radius circle around his excavations at Gritille a few kilometres upstream of Samsat, and Wilkinson (1990) examined in detail an equally small area around the excavation at Kurban Höyük on the left bank, a little downstream of Samsat. Especially useful has been the Adıyaman survey beginning in 1985 which focussed on extensive areas between Adıyaman itself and the river, some 30-50 km to the S and E. The interim report on the first four seasons (Blaylock *et al.* 1990; cf. Summers 1991; 1992; 1994; Summers and French 1992) reveals the potential and interest of the regions surveyed despite the non-intensive methodology employed. For example, the survey recorded 44 sites with Hellenistic material, more than for any of the previous (and longer) periods. The sites are described as "lowly" and "small", a reflection, perhaps of the attractions of the growing town at Samosata itself, drawing the better-off from the countryside. For the Roman period the 74 sites are again often small but of a distinctive character: Roman roof tiles are common, as are limestone tesserae and, on the bigger sites, even mosaics. The sites identified as farms lie on the terraces of tributaries. Those thought to be small villages underlie their modern successors (Blaylock *et al.* 1990: esp.

117-19). Although still incomplete and preliminary, this survey has provided an important context for Commagenian and Roman Samosata, and one looks forward to the full report from these and subsequent seasons.⁶

Samosata itself has seen several excavations. In the present context it is the Hellenistic and Roman remains that are of interest. Chiefly there have been modest soundings on the city walls and one gate and within the area of the town. Survey of the walls has shown they ran for 5 km. The largest single excavation was on the citadel where the remains of what is probably part of the palace of the Commagenian kings were uncovered. Royal palaces are rare enough outside Judaea, but here the *opus reticulatum* of the architecture, rare in the east, displays plainly the influence of imperial Rome. Otherwise, however, the huge city has been lost. The opportunity to locate a legionary fortress of the East, to explore one of the cemeteries, or to trace the development of a residential area or the city's plan, has gone. Nor can we examine its manufacturing base or investigate its economy from quantification of stratified artefacts or ecofacts. Only a few glimpses have been provided by the work of a handful of excavators (Goell 1967; Serdaroğlu 1977; Tirpan 1989).

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6 These surveys will be explored further in a study of this section of the Euphrates from Samosata to Carchemish in the Graeco-Roman period (in preparation).

Geography and environment

David Kennedy and Judith Bunbury

Zeugma lies astride the Euphrates on the stretch where its course has unexpectedly turned west, then south, before it reverts to its predominantly SE direction (fig. 2.1). Here at the Euphrates' bend the river is at its closest to the Mediterranean (the Gulf of Iskenderun is only 160 km distant). The twin towns of Seleucia and Apamea which comprise Zeugma lie astride the river, Seleucia on the west and Apamea directly opposite. They lie at the E-W junction of the two geographical entities of Syria and Mesopotamia (fig. 1.1). They also lie on a N-S junction: above Zeugma the river runs through a narrow trough c.500 m wide and incised 300 m deep into the limestone plateau (fig. 2.2), but below Zeugma the plateau falls away, the valley broadens, the river spreads out, and the trough is only c.60-180 m below the surrounding hills. Quickly the uplands become easy hills, and the river is flanked by marshes and islands, some of which stand out above the annual spate (fig. 1.2).

The deep river trough to the north is an obstacle to movement. At least from classical times routes struck inland to avoid the narrow valley, and even today only minor roads approach the river from either side. Below Zeugma, the river becomes easier to reach but its breadth presents problems and traveller's reports of crossings downstream illustrate the difficulties of wind, current, and islands:

By the time I returned to the river the boat had been made more or less seaworthy, but a sharp little wind had risen, the swift current of the Euphrates was ruffled, and the boatmen shook their heads and doubted whether they would dare to cross. ... The stream swept us down and the wind held us close to the east bank, but with much labour and frequent invocation of God and the Prophet we sidled across and ran aground on the opposite shore. Our troubles were not yet over, for our landing-place turned out to be a big island, and there was still an arm of the river before us. The stream had risen during the rains of the previous day and was racing angrily through the second channel, but we plunged in and, with the water swirling round the shoulders of our horses, succeeded in making the passage (Bell 1911: 31-32; cf. 34; cf. Hogarth 1896: 103-6)

At Zeugma itself the trough gives way to a few steep-sided hills on the west bank. The course of the river is now deflected east for c.9 km before it encounters hills on the east bank, to head south again (fig. 2.3); eventually at Birecik the valley widens to 2 km, and even more at Carchemish.¹ The hills on the west bank at Zeugma offered security and an elevated position (fig. 2.4). Below is the modern village of Belkis, on a broad stretch of river terrace with easy access to the river and to fertile soils. On the opposite side of the river, where the plateau is lower and has shifted eastwards, the prospect was even more inviting to farmers. The plateau gave way to the Hobab Plain, a relatively large area of fertile soils (35 km² are farmed here) on a gently rising terrace (fig. 2.3). The inhabitants of Seleucia had access to a broad fertile terrace, while those of Apamea could exploit the Hobab Plain.

While settlement upstream was increasingly limited to the narrow terraces within the trough, downstream the declining rainfall and descent to the steppes of Syria made farming more difficult, and settlers also came up against pastoralists and nomads. The best soils are S and SW of Şanlıurfa and Harran, a pocket around Hobab on the river, and round Nizip to the west.² Yet the uplands to the east and west offer good grazing for pastoralists, as well as some opportunities for cereal cultivation (Wilkinson 1990: 10).³ The crossing at Zeugma is a link in a

1 It is no chance that Carchemish was for long the major crossing of the river on the bend; the modern railway also crosses there, and the international frontier passes laterally through the site.

2 See the work of Sanlaville (1987) around Nizip, a few kilometers west of Zeugma.

3 In the context of excavations and survey around Kurban Höyük just upstream of the Atatürk Dam, and

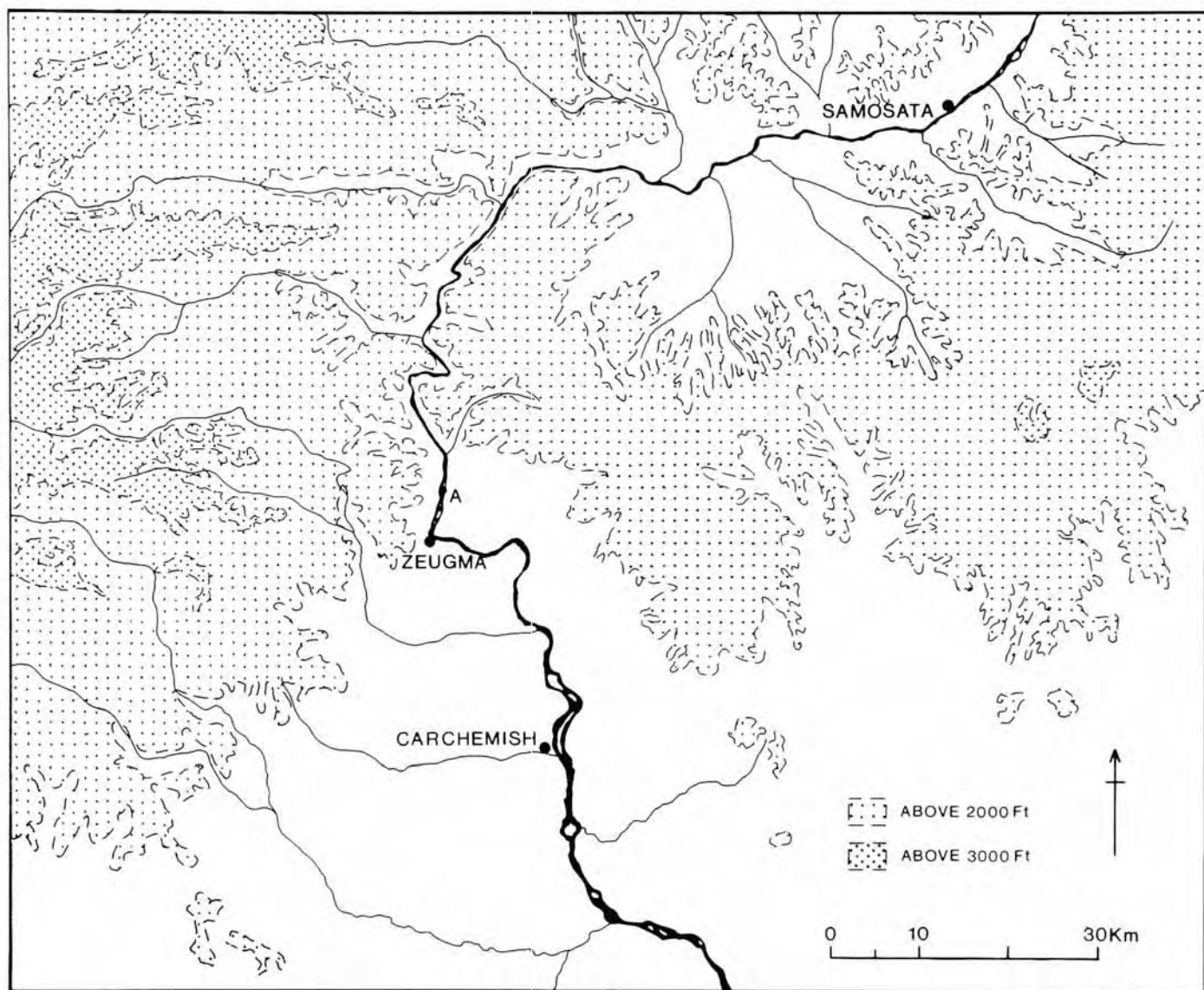


Fig. 2.1. Map of the Euphrates bend from Samosata and the deep trough above Zeugma to the Syrian steppe at Carchemish. "A" marks Kalazan Dağlari and the site of some ancient quarries.

chain of settlements stretching from near Gaziantep east to Şanlıurfa. Zeugma was not the only good location but it was one of a few and offered an easier crossing, security, and fertile soils.⁴ The key to settlement is water. In this dry sub-humid region, rainfall produces a mean annual figure of 400 mm, which is adequate for cereal cultivation, but this is a region of extremes — daily summer means of 30°C in July (higher still in the valley trough itself) and means in January of c.4-5°C, with frost common and snow lying for 10-30 days a year (Dewdney 1971, chapt. 2). Further, because of poor surface drainage, precipitation is lost, as on the plateaux north of Zeugma (fig. 2.5), and this is taken to explain the thin traces of settlement there (Breuninger in Algaze *et al.* 1994: 6).⁵

in one of the few detailed studies of the environment, Wilkinson also examined the wider area between Harran and Samsat.

- 4 The fauna of the region (now largely extinct) included bears, hyena, fox, various kinds of deer, ibex, wild goat, wild sheep, and, in the riverine marshes, wild pig: NID *Turkey* 251; Stein, forthcoming.
- 5 As part of Algaze's survey of the area to be flooded by the Carchemish and Birecik Dams, Breuninger



Fig. 2.2. The narrow steep-sided valley of the Euphrates upstream of Zeugma near Ehneş.



Fig. 2.4. The view west from Belkis Tepe over the barren, eroded hills towards the fertile plain around Nizip on the horizon.

The traveller coming from the west is struck by the barrenness of the last few kilometers before reaching the river. The fertile soils around Nizip end abruptly, and the deeply eroded hills which succeed them are fit only for sparse grazing (fig. 2.4). About 1.5 km W of the river the road passes a series of springs (perhaps from an aquifer seeping out at this point), marked by the traces of an ancient construction to retain and channel the water (see p. 39). The water is fed into a perennial stream which has incised a narrow valley, Bahçe Dere ('Garden valley'), unexpectedly and unusually offering a narrow ribbon for cultivation of fruit and vegetables (fig.

devoted 2 weeks to studying the northern area up to the 400 m contour line. He made geo-morphological maps at a scale of 1 : 25,000 of the valley in the area of Birecik, and examined tributaries and adjacent uplands. G. Algaze kindly informs me that the recorded data lends itself to further analyses.



Fig. 2.3. Satellite photograph taken of the Euphrates at Zeugma on 8 August, 1968 (DS1104-1009DA011) (Courtesy EROS Data Center, US Geological Service). The satellite photograph displays the location of key places and features in relation to Zeugma and the geomorphology of the region.

Right of centre, the Euphrates winds southwards, beginning at point Z where it is still confined in a narrow trough. Progressively it broadens and, although the main channel of the river itself remains fairly constant in width, smaller channels create large islands. The arrows indicate how the true width of the river has increased. In winter, increased rainfall would make crossing much more difficult as travellers had to traverse areas of marsh and minor channels as well as the main channel. Ammianus Marcellinus 18.7.9 speaks of the Persians being deflected from their advance to the Euphrates in 359 because "the Euphrates was swollen by the melted snows and overflowing in wide pools and hence could not be forded anywhere." More recently, Cuinet (1891: II, 268, cited by Cumont 1917: 130) reported "La largeur moyenne du lit est de 120 mètres, mais les pluies hivernales la portent en peu de temps à 1000 et même à 2000 mètres". This was mainly a problem further south on the Syrian steppe but the river is already beginning to broaden out here. The modern Birecik bridge, for example, commences long before the main channel to overcome this difficulty and is one of the longest in Turkey. The choice of location for the Greek and Roman crossing may have been because the river was more confined and manageable; conversely, the site may have been abandoned in mediaeval times because insecurity in the region made an approach to Birecik across the open plain more suitable than through the insecure hill country west of Belkis upstream.

Upstream the same problem would be encountered at most points visible here. Where the fertile valley of Bahçe Dere enters the Euphrates, however, there is a short stretch where the river is deflected by the hills around Belkis Tepe and where the main terrace of the Hobab Plain is above seasonal flooding; we may note that the modern villages of Belkis on the W bank and Tilmusa and Tilobür on the E, being 19th-c. foundations above seasonal flood levels, are not widely separated by the river. There are no minor channels or islands and only a narrow ribbon of marsh. In short, the choice of Zeugma, rather than near modern Birecik or one of several other natural routes, was because a bridge could more easily be built here. This is where Seleucus I had a bridge constructed and where Zeugma developed. Other factors may also have been involved in its long-term maintenance as the bridge site (see chapt. 13).

A further reason for the choice of crossing opposite Belkis Tepe may have been because of the alignment for approach roads serving wheeled traffic. The modern road to Belkis (marked X) runs across the N edge of the basin. The present road to Birecik, however, has to cross the central area of the basin and negotiate the water courses there. In Graeco-Roman times the former route, probably an all-weather one, would have been preferable and wheeled transport on the E side of the river would have been able to avoid the steep ascent encountered at Birecik.

The photograph shows that there are more streams entering the Euphrates from the right bank than the left, including a large stream (Y) just upstream of Bahçe Dere.

In the photograph the broad fertile lands of the Hobab Plain stand out, as do the fields east of Nizip. The latter, however, are in a basin whose largely dried-out channels are plainly visible. Nizip itself lies between this area of fertile soils (presumably less extensively farmed before the 20th c.) and the Kersin Su. The ancient town may well have developed to exploit the river terraces of the Kersin more than the Nizip Basin.

Point A, the plateau on which quarries have been found and from which fig. 1.5 was taken, lies north of point Z on this photograph.



Fig.2.5. The plateau of Kalazan Dağlari. Though superficially attractive, the fissured geological structure allows precipitation to drain away too rapidly. There is limited scope for cultivation, and even in spring (as here) the landscape looks arid.



Fig. 2.6. Bahçe Dere at the point where springs begin to feed it. Rare tributaries like this attracted settlement especially at the point of confluence with the Euphrates. Here the stream framed one end of Zeugma.

2.6) until it enters the Euphrates between the end of the plateau and the hills which deflect the river to the east. Opposite the gravel fan at the mouth of Bahçe Dere is a long narrow island. Islands are rare before this point, and this island, enriched by annual floods, offers good grazing and also makes crossing a little easier. Opposite the island lies the fertile enclave of the Hobab.

Dam construction upstream has recently regulated the flow and created a new low terrace used for cultivation, but previous settlements relied on the higher terraces. Examination of these terraces (Breuninger in Algaze *et al.* 1994: 6-8) has revealed a series of deposits of river gravel, paleosols, silt, sand and clay beds. Breuninger observed that the river has become entrenched laterally in bedrock so that many of the terraces are protected from undercutting. He also remarked that "there is little likelihood that changes in the river channel have resulted in the wholesale destruction of sites flanking the river, at least not since the end of the Pleistocene", but that begs the question of whether sedimentation on the higher terraces involved phases of scouring as well as phases of deposition, and does not consider whether the recent low terraces may overlie ancient remains. The water of the Euphrates could be drawn direct or its aquiferous gravels could be tapped by wells on the terraces.

The remains of Apamea on the east side of the river are scanty and present problems of interpretation (see p. 33). In the fields south of the village of Tilmusa are some scattered limestone blocks and, in some modern wells, the remains of what some have taken to be the town walls (Algaze *et al.* 1994: 19-22, site 17; cf. Wagner 1976: 75-77; work undertaken in 1995 by a French team has raised further doubts about the character of this wall as a town wall: Abadie-Reynal 1996):⁶

As visible today these walls consist of 4-5 courses of limestone blocks set in an alluvial sediment on a terrace some 5 m above the river (figs. 2.8 and 3.1; cf. 3.6-3.7). One and a half blocks from the bottom of this section there is a horizon rich in pieces of broken stone within the alluvium. This may represent a wall cut into a bedding trench packed with local débris. The contemporary ground surface would be on that horizon, now buried. Note that this material extends up to the blocks, indicating that it was mainly deposited after they were in place. This stony horizon is overlain by c.1.5 m of alluvial sediment to which the remains of the standing walls owe their preservation. Towards the river this terrace falls sharply to a second narrow terrace (probably recent) c.50 cm above the river. In the absence of artefacts at the places where wells have exposed walls, it was not possible to date the deposition of the silt.

From the sedimentary history visible at this point it may be deduced that Apamea was originally founded on soft, unconsolidated, alluvial sediment. Occupation was followed by inundation and further sediment. The presence here of 4-5 courses of stones above what may have been the ancient soil level indicates robbing did not take place to any great extent.

In contrast to the flat land around Apamea, Seleucia was laid out on a series of hills, rising to and dominated by the round-topped peak of Belkis Tepe (figs. 2.7 and 2.9).

The town of Seleucia was built upon fine-grained, moderately well consolidated, marl-rich sediments. The average bed-thickness is c.50 cm. The difference in lithology is small. Some bands weather more easily than others, and appear to contain a larger proportion of silt than the more resistant bands. The eocene rocks are beige in colour and contain very rare shelly fragments. Chert nodules, usually red or pink, are also found and may range in diameter from 3 mm to larger irregular nodules of c.10 cm in diameter. Some of the bands in this formation are lime-rich and greyer and at the top of the sequence give way to the massive limestones seen east of the Euphrates. Large nodules are particularly common in these limy bands. The most prominent of these limestone bands is seen capping hills about 6 km north of Tilmusa. These beige rocks will hereafter be referred to as the "Belkis formation". Overlying this Belkis formation are some reddened sediments which are seen towards Nizip (henceforth the "Nizip formation"). To the west of Belkis Tepe the latter appears to overlie the Belkis formation conformably, but in a building site in Nizip the relationship observed between the two is one of unconformity. The red colour may be due to an input of volcanic material (e.g., ash) into the basin in which the Belkis formation had already been laid or to a change of climate and hence weathering style.

6 Cf. chapt. 3. We might note the observation of Procopius that Zeugma had in his time been provided with a quite inadequate wall of loose stones (chapt. 9, no. 90).



Fig. 2.7. The Hobab Plain, seen looking south from point A on fig. 2.1. Belkis Tepe is central, and below are the hills on which Seleucia was laid out. Note the barren eroded riverside hills sandwiched between the plain, the riverine terraces and the Nizip Plain in the distance.

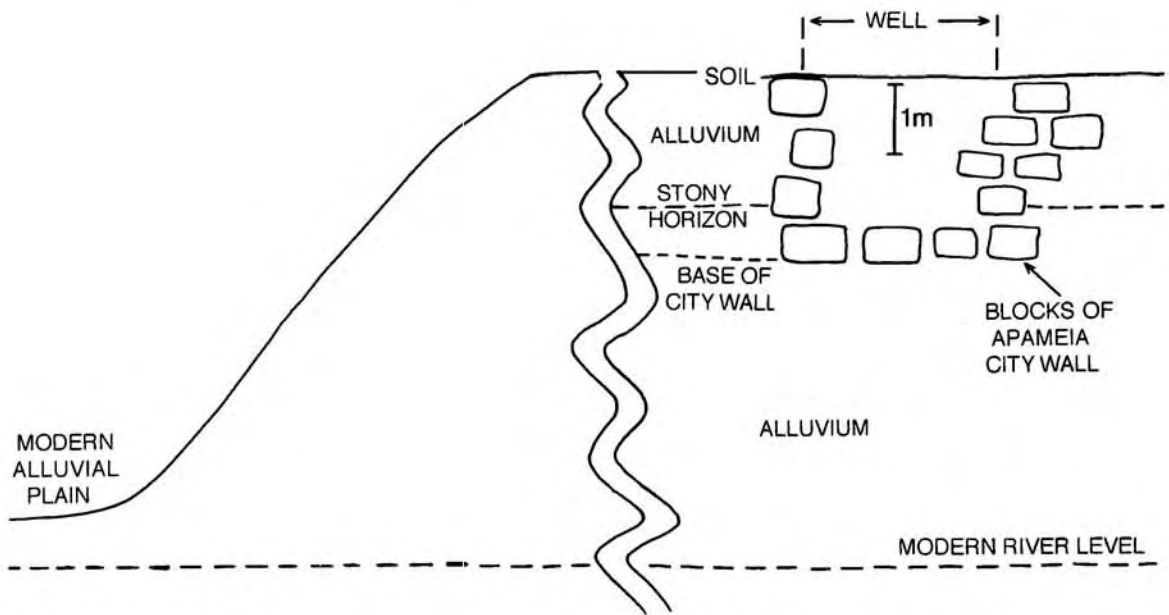


Fig. 2.8. Sketch of wall in well dug in fields east of Tilmusa (Apamea).

The beds of the Belkis formation are sub-horizontal, following gentle warping of the sediments. These sediments have been cut by the Euphrates. In a well not far from Nizip the Belkis formation was visible in the shaft and water was found at a depth of c.30 m.

We may tentatively interpret the above as follows. The beige-coloured marly sediments were formed in a lacustrine environment. Conditions in the basin were roughly constant during the time of deposition except for periodically increased supply of sediment and a change from silt and marl to limestone deposition. There were some periods of cherty diagenesis to create flint nodules. Later in the history of the basin, an input of

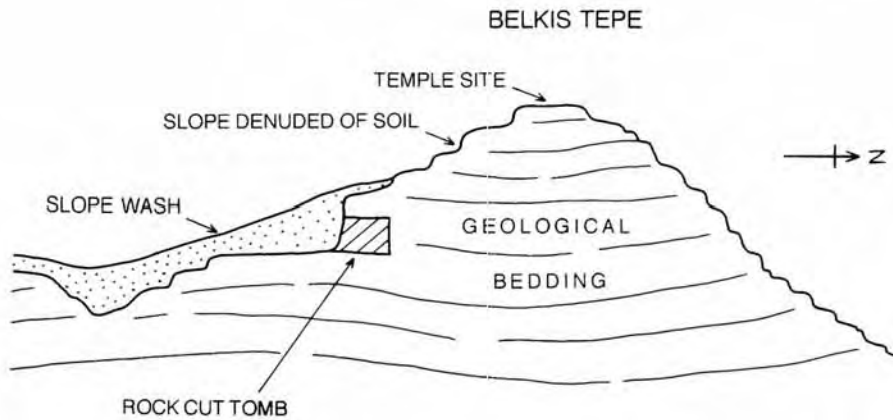


Fig. 2.9. Sketch of Belkis formation, ledges and erosion.

volcanic ash or a change in climate reddened the sediments. The formation of the basin was followed by a small amount of basin inversion and draining of the lake, the sediments of which have subsequently been cut by the Euphrates. The changes in river level are most likely to have been the result of tectonic activity.

Although research has been limited,⁷ the view is that removal of most of the tree-cover took place long before the end of the Bronze Age (Wilkinson 1990: 27). This caused an acute shortage of timber for building and fuel in the area. On the steep slopes of Belkis Tepe and the surrounding hills, the almost complete absence of vegetation means that erosion of the soil and of bedrock is rapid (fig. 2.9). Monumental tombs found on the S side near the foot of Belkis Tepe are buried under 4-5 m of overburden (cf. fig. 3.21 and pp. 43, 46), composed of clasts of limestone in a matrix of more finely comminuted material. Although there has been much deposition of slope-wash in this area, one can still observe distinctions in the slope. The ledges probably represent more resistant beds in the Belkis formation, and they may at the same time preserve part of the topography of the ancient town. On the N side of Belkis Tepe, erosion has buried structures in many places. The house discussed in chapt. 5 was buried beneath 3-5 m of hill-wash, its walls standing to 3 m beneath the present surface. Even on the scarp towards the river there was significant evidence of hill-wash having overlain structures to a depth of 2-3 m (chapt. 4). The scarp itself may have been eroded, carrying away structures. It seems likely that the lower terrace at Seleucia bears a considerable overburden from hill-wash and collapse of the scarp. In one of the broad valleys, on the other hand, excavation revealed a much shallower overburden (p. 73).

Because the marly sediments are easily carved and are well consolidated they have been excavated to create caves. The sediments were exploited particularly to cut successions of tombs between the hard layers, and the living rock was used to form the walls of some rooms and caves in houses (chapters 4-5). More caves, perhaps for shrines or store-rooms, have recently been found cut into the rock-face just above the water-line (Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 1996).

The prominent limestone band which forms the hilltops north of Apamea (fig. 2.10) may have been the source of much of the building stone (p. 57). Quarries and an access-road have been traced (fig. 2.1 at A; cf. figs. 3. 33-35), and the stone resembles that of fragmentary statues and architectural pieces noted at Seleucia. Similar stone seems to outcrop on Belkis Tepe, which may also have been quarried. The platform for the temple on Belkis Tepe (fig. 2.7) may rest on a natural band of limestone or of cut local stone. The relative ease with which the rock could be cut would have made it easier for the builders to compensate for the hilly site. Stone

7 There have been no studies of pollen cores closer than at Lake Bozova NW of Şanlıurfa (van Zeist *et al.* 1970; cf. Baruch 1994).



Fig. 2.10. The flat-topped limestone outcrop and plateau of Kalazan Dağları, looking north from Zeugma. Note the low (*c.*50 cm) terrace opposite, Tilmusa on the higher (*c.*5 m) terrace behind, and the growth appearing on silt banks along and beside the river as water levels have been regulated by the Atatürk Dam.

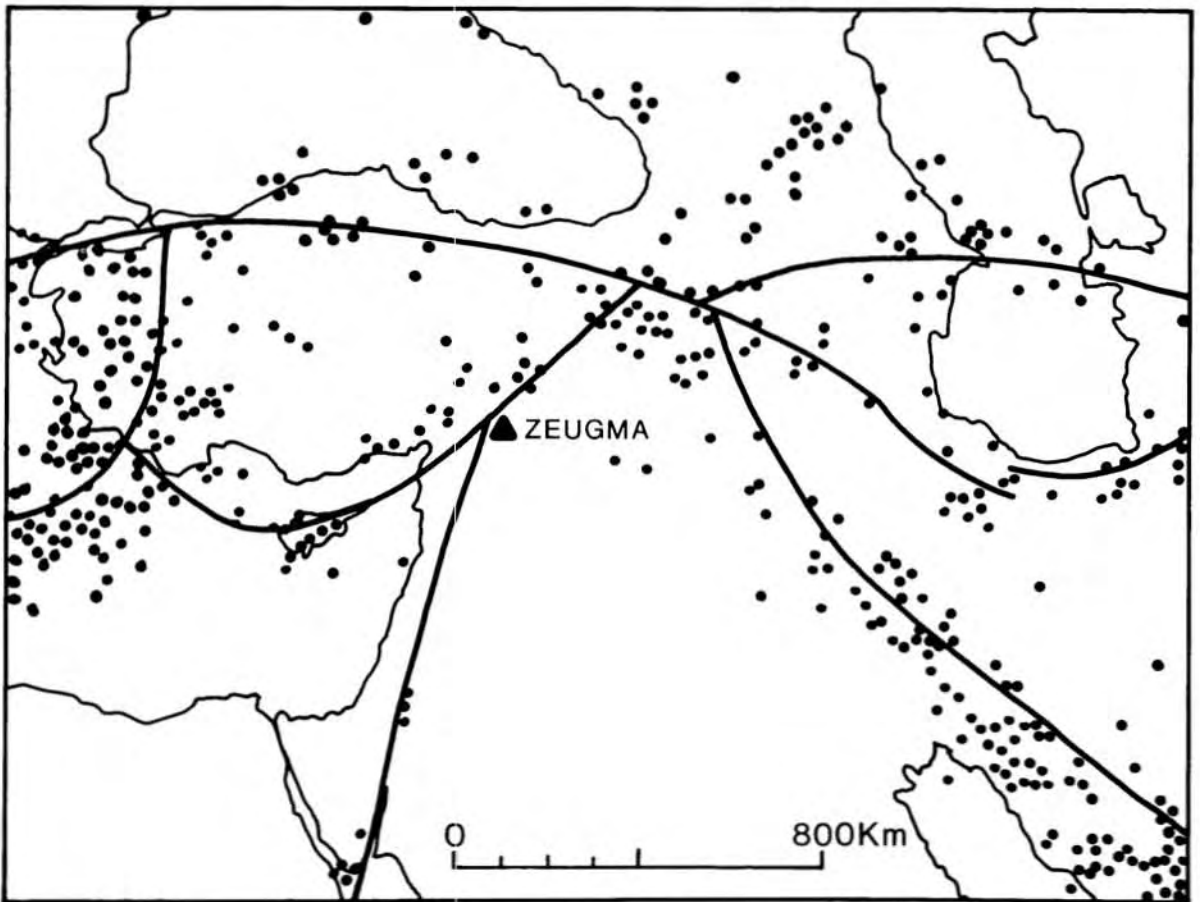


Fig. 2.11. Map illustrating the location of the tectonic plates of the region and the epicentres of reported earthquakes in modern times (after Beaumont *et al.* 1988: figs 1.2 and 1.4).

from further afield was also exploited. Numerous black basalt grinding-stones and grain-mills found on the site are now in the Gaziantep Museum. This basalt is even-textured with abundant large vesicles (c.2 mm diameter), making it ideal for grinding. There are pockets of black basalt in the vicinity and presumably the people of Zeugma imported them.⁸ We may note that the river is the source of smooth pebbles of many colours, and that they were probably used for carving seals.

The region lies at the intersection of three tectonic plates (fig. 2.11). In recent times the epicentres of a number of earthquakes have fallen precisely along a line running N-E, broadly following the Euphrates. Earthquakes are a constant threat to both Seleucia and Apamea, but Apamea, built on sand and silt, would have been vulnerable to greater damage. From a geological point of view the site of Seleucia was a better one than the site of Apamea. Bodies of unconsolidated sediment tend to resonate during an earthquake, amplifying the vibrations and increasing their destructive effects.⁹ It is possible that the terrace on which Apamea was built sank by c.1 m as a result of an earthquake. The flooding and silting of the area would be consistent with the evidence found at the site of the possible town wall (pp. 33-35). Seleucia would have been less susceptible to flooding, but its site would have been much more difficult to plan in an orthogonal manner. Yet the hills of Seleucia offered other advantages, including a suitable location for building a theatre (p. 37; cf. 53).

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8 The clasts of basalt deposited by the Euphrates near the site are quite unlike the basalt of the mills and grinding stones.

9 Earthquakes in NW Mesopotamia are recorded among the natural disasters which preceded the Persian invasions in the early 6th c. (Joshua Stylites, *Chron.* 30-47 passim).



Fig. 3.1. Zeugma. Enlargement from satellite photograph of the central area depicted in fig. 2.3.

The twin towns and the region

David Kennedy

with a contribution by Julie Kennedy

Introduction

More than 20 years ago Wagner put together the information that had been gathered by earlier visitors and scholars. Neither this nor his own findings will be repeated here. Instead, we will summarise fieldwork since the 1970s, including our own recent work. The newer work includes survey in the wider region, relatively neglected by Wagner; information from Russian satellite photographs recently made available and from those of the 1960s and 1970s declassified in 1996 by the U.S. Government (air photographs were not available); and chance discoveries. The current work by the French and Swiss teams and further chance discoveries arising from the construction of the dam continue to add to the picture, so the present account will soon need to be updated. No systematic and intensive survey of either the towns or the territory has ever been conducted,¹ and even some of the visible structures and features remain to be planned and studied. The overall picture, therefore, remains very incomplete.

The extent of the towns (figs. 3.1-3.2)

In broad terms the limits of the twin towns can be determined by the locations of the extensive cemeteries, although steep and barren hillsides fall within those limits (figs. 2.3, 2.4), as probably do lands that were reserved for cultivation. The circuit of the walls is incompletely known and their character somewhat problematic, but they provide further clues to the extent and shape of the towns. Further help comes from attempts to define the extent of settlement, but this is difficult due to extensive overburden or erosion in different parts of the site (cf. p. 27).

Seleucia seems to have extended over a broad band from the edge of the river to the foot of the final slope that rises to the summit of Belkis Tepe. This slope has been denuded by erosion, but its steepness makes construction there unlikely, though there are structures on the summit and there is evidence that at some moment it was linked to the town below. Its N slope may have fallen within the town circuit without being built upon.² Lower down, across a series of hills from the W slopes of Değirmen Boğazi, just above Bahçe Dere, and as far as the village of Belkis, there are traces of structures and scatters of pottery, roof-tiles, and tesserae. On the level land west of the village (not included by Wagner [1976: Karte II]) are more surface finds, including tesserae, and traces of structures, suggesting that the town may have stretched to include the area of the modern village.³ There are indications that settlement extended around part of the SW flank of Belkis Tepe. To the SE of Belkis Tepe, the barren slopes of Kırkbayır and Çimli Tepe reveal only the traces of a single structure (Wagner Karte II, no. 49) until one reaches the first of the rock-cut tombs. In broad terms, therefore, the area is an irregular rectangle, c.2 km E-W by c.700 m N-S, for a total of about 140 ha. The extensive cemeteries add

1 Some simple, non-intensive surface survey has been conducted by Wagner (1976: Karte II) and by Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 1996. Greater refinement could be provided by plotting the intensities of surface artefacts by date and type. For the region Algaze *et al.* 1994 undertook widespread but non-intensive survey.

2 Perhaps it was planted with fruit trees, as it is today.

3 Cf. now Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 1996: 321. Recent excavation east of the village revealed the traces of what were identified as the remains of the mud-brick walls of two successive Roman forts (M. A. Speidel, pers. comm. and below pp. 37 and 168) and bulldozing for the dam construction revealed what has been identified as a military bath-house (A. Cornfort, pers. comm.).

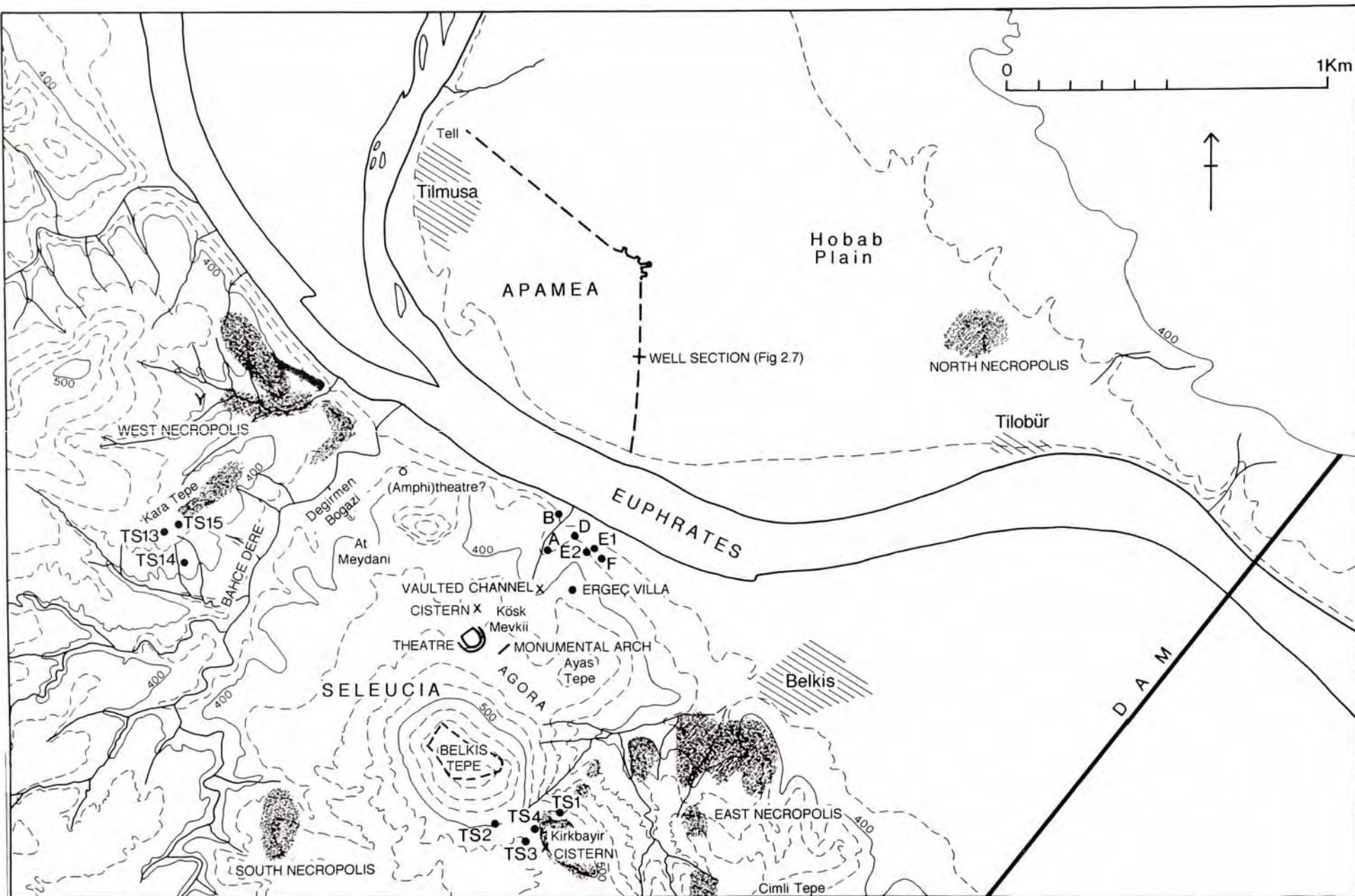


Fig. 3.2. Plan of Zeugma showing location of features (based in part on Wagner 1976: Karte II; Algaze *et al.* 1994: fig. 33; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 1996: 314, fig. 3). The outline of the citadel wall has been altered from that given by Algaze in the light of the form visible on the satellite photograph (fig. 3.1). Contours at 20 m intervals.

another c.100-150 ha just for the known rock-cut necropoleis, but in fact they extended further (see below p. 41).

Apamea is more difficult to assess. Surface finds on the terrace east and southeast of Tilmusa are relatively few and it seems possible that the ancient surface is deeply buried beneath a late- or post-Roman fill (cf. p. 25). The well-attested cemeteries are again found in rock outcrops but on this bank the first of these is located some distance away and may not be a reliable guide to the limits of settlement. To anticipate what follows, the walls, encompassing some 50 ha, may be tentatively taken to be those identified by Algaze *et al.* (1994: 33, site 17) rather than by Wagner.

For the Hellenistic period Grainger (1990: 91-92) has argued that, after the 4 major cities of the Syrian Tetrapolis (Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea and Laodicea), which each covered perhaps 200-225 ha, there came a second group (including Zeugma) of c.65-80 ha. For each of this second group he suggested a population of c.25,000. In the Roman period, the twin towns taken together may have covered c.190 ha excluding cemeteries, with a combined population of something in the order of 50,000-75,000.⁴

The walls

At Seleucia two sets of walls are known. First, the summit of the acropolis of Belkis Tepe had its own wall defined as "roughly coursed facing a rubble and earth fill" (Algaze *et al.* 1994: 34, site 19F). It may still be identified at several different points (fig. 3.3) and forms an irregular polygonal circuit c.250 m NW-SE by 140 m SW-NE (fig. 3.2).⁵ We may estimate the total length as c.600-650 m. The line of the wall is clear from below, particularly from the S and E sides, since it has had the effect of creating a ledge to arrest erosion from the summit (fig. 3.4).⁶

Second, below the hill all commentators have noted stretches of substantial wall exposed at several points. The best stretch runs north from the NW foot of Belkis Tepe passing west of the theatre; in contrast to the earlier American one reproduced here (fig. 3.1) it appears clearly on a Russian satellite photograph, seemingly as a robber trench (cf. Algaze *et al.* 1994: 34, site 19G).⁷ Other stretches have been noted facing the river just east of the mouth of Bahçe Dere, where the masonry is well cut and nearly square (fig. 3.5). It has been suggested that here lay the town's W gate. Modern road works have revealed further well cut masonry and a 'long metal bar pierced by a nail'.⁸ Further down the river on a bluff, excavations at site B (p. 73, fig. 4.23) revealed what could be a section of wall. Insufficient evidence exists, however, to posit the overall course of these walls.

At Apamea the best known feature is the supposed circuit wall, but the almost rectangular outline for it proposed by Wagner (Karte II) is not correct. Algaze (1994: 33, site 17) preferred to see it as an almost triangular area. Its E wall certainly ran N-S, then it headed NW in a straight line towards the N edge of modern Tilmusa. Along the river no clear trace of wall is evident, but the satellite photograph (fig. 3.1) shows a possible ledge between the lowest and the second terrace, running more or less parallel to the NW-SE stretch. Thus the circuit may have been rhomboid, with sides c.700 m long, enclosing an area of c.50 ha. What are believed to be the foundations and lower courses of this wall can be seen at points where the local inhabi-

4 Roman London was c.135 ha, Pompeii 65 and Ostia 63 ha.

5 The plan is based on that produced by Algaze *et al.* 1994: fig. 33, here corrected from a satellite image.

6 The ledge is now planted with trees and cereals, contrasting with the lower slopes which are sharply eroded and almost bare.

7 The recent French work was unable to trace this wall (Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 1996: 311-13). I am grateful to A. Comfort who studied the Russian image and drew my attention to this feature. It forms part of his contribution to the next interim report by C. Abadie-Reynal.

8 Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 1996: 311.



Fig. 3.3 (top left) Section of citadel wall exposed on the summit of Belkis Tepe, 1992.

Fig. 3.6. (lower left) Apamea: a section of the city wall exposed on the surface near the NE angle.

Fig. 3.4 Belkis Tepe from the south-east, showing the ledge formed by the citadel defences, the rise of the temple platform, and the faint trace (marked by arrow) of a track to the summit running as a shallow rise. The low hill on the right is Kırkbayır.
 Fig. 3.5. Masonry blocks of possible circuit wall eroding out of a recently exposed section on the river-front just east of the junction of Bahçe Dere; cf. fig. 3.30.

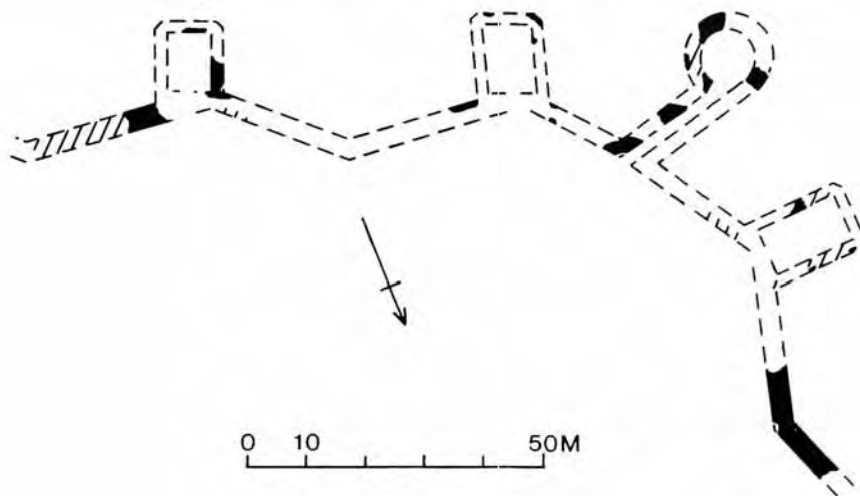


Fig. 3.7. Apamea: plan of NE angle (from Algaze *et al.* 1994: fig. 37).

tants have cut wells alongside the wall (see p. 25), and several courses of large, rough-cut masonry blocks are visible (fig. 2.8). Blocks are also visible loose and *in situ* on the surface, and in places the top of the wall itself projects slightly above the ground (fig. 3.6). From these traces Algaze (1994: 33, site 17; his fig. 33) identified a series of projecting towers at the NE angle (fig. 3.7). There remain problems with this wall, however, since in some of the sections revealed by the modern wells it seems more like a shallow retaining wall, lacking depth, though elsewhere it does have depth and also front and rear facing blocks. Algaze concluded that it consisted in part of short stretches laid out in a zigzag, and at the NE angle he drew a zigzag with 3 projecting rectangular towers and a circular one which he thought might be a gateway (fig. 3.7). He also noted (his fig. 36) a stretch of polygonal wall that contrasts with the coursed masonry seen in the sections of the wells. In general, we believe that it would have made good sense to include the mound of Tilmusa (c.150 x 50 m, 9 m high) within the walled circuit, since elsewhere on this side of the river the land is flat. Wagner (1976: 75-77, Karte II at "3") noted a section of what he believed to be a wall on the river side of the mound.

Town-planning

Observing the alignments of visible walls at Seleucia, Abadie-Reynal (1996: 321) has suggested that widely separated structures share a closely similar orientation of 110° or 120° . We may add that the two houses discussed below (chaps. 4-5) face broadly east. There is now the possibility of at least elements of a planned layout at Seleucia. But the succession of small steep hills and deep valleys did not lend themselves to easy town-planning at this site, and a degree of irregularity must have been unavoidable, probably resulting in a mixture of regular and irregular blocks and in various orientations for different zones of the town. No streets have been recorded but at Seleucia those which rose to the south, ascending the hill, may have been stepped, at least in part; E-W streets could have run more nearly on the flat.⁹

At Apamea, on the other hand, the flat ground would have allowed a simple grid, though no details are known. The alignment of the town's E wall may reflect a broad N-S and E-W orientation inside an irregular circuit. In this it may have been similar to the broadly contemporary Dura-Europus.

The town of Seleucia centred on the broad trough at the N foot of Belkis Tepe (Wagner 1976: 100), where the ground is relatively flat over an area of c.400 x 200 m (fig. 3.8). This is the only

⁹ Parallels for such arrangements may be seen at Ephesus (irregularity) and Priene (stepped steep streets) respectively.



Fig. 3.8. The area of the presumed agora area as seen from Belkis Tepe. The "arch" is visible in the centre left (arrowed) and just visible further left still is the bowl of the theatre. The valley opening on the far side of the "agora" is where several substantial architectural pieces have been found (the supposed bath building); lower down is the broad trough in which lie several major mosaics.



Fig. 3.9. Remains of the "arch" at Seleucia.

extensive area of relatively flat ground and it is close to the acropolis. Erosion has covered it with a deep layer of soil, but at its NW end are the remains of what may be a monumental arch and a theatre. It is likely that this was the area of the agora, with stoas stepped back into the hillside and forming a lozenge shape in the irregular area. It would also be a likely area for the *bouleuterion* and one or more major temples. The supposed arch (fig. 3.9) is one of the few monumental remains on the site and merits closer study. Today it comprises a massive concrete core from which much of the masonry has been stripped. The curving face of a barrel vault is visible. It may belong to a four-way Roman arch, although a Roman bath building is not to be excluded. The theatre was recently identified by Algaze *et al.* (1994: 34, D). Located at the W end of the presumed agora in a hollow facing NW, it offers a superb outlook. The seats of the *cavea* create something like a staircase leading down from the agora (fig. 3.8). Soil erosion has now covered almost all traces of the structure itself¹⁰ but it measures c.55 m in diameter and 60 m from the rear of the *cavea* to the supposed location of the stage; beyond, the ground drops to a terrace 2 m below. The dimensions of this theatre are modest compared with others in the east, and there may be a second, larger theatre still to be located in the twin towns (cf. below).¹¹

Hellenistic fort and Roman legionary fortress

At Seleucia the Hellenistic fort alluded to by Strabo (chapt. 9, no. 7) was probably on Belkis Tepe. A fortified citadel is paralleled at other Hellenistic cities of the region.¹²

The Roman legionary fortress of *III Scythica*, however, remains unlocated. The French team has found more stamped tiles in the same area where Wagner found others, thereby reinforcing his view that the fortress was located on the hills between Bahçe Dere and Belkis Tepe where some substantial traces of walls are still visible. This part of the site offers relatively large areas of flatter terrain and part of it is known as At Meydanı ("public square", "arena") (fig. 3.10). Although a traditional rectilinear fort would hardly fit,¹³ there is sufficient space for a fortress of c.15-20 ha. Yet the matter is not yet definitively settled. Isaac has already noted (1992: 38; cf. Keppie 1986: 415) that the tiles are not conclusive evidence. Large military tiles were often re-used once a fortress was given up and the concentration of tiles may indicate only the area where many of them were re-used. In 1997 Swiss excavation east of the village of Belkis revealed mud brick walls identified as those of two successive small Roman forts. They are now inclined to think the legionary fortress may lie on a site at some distance from the towns at Zeugma (M. A. Speidel, pers. comm.; cf. p.168). However, we cannot yet exclude the possibility that the fortress was built on the opposite side of the river on the flat ground typically favoured for Roman fortresses in the east. This would presuppose that the land on that side had long been in Roman rather than Parthian hands (cf. below p. 41). Unfortunately the deep deposits of river silt have buried almost all traces of structures and artefacts in that area, so the absence of military tiles is not meaningful.

10 Recent digging by farmers shows that soil in the area of the presumed orchestra has accumulated to a depth of at least 1 m. Scattered nearby on the surface and built into a modern field wall below the stage are 4 architectural fragments (see fig. 8.9) and a piece of white marble.

11 The dimensions are similar to those of the small North Theatre at Gerasa (55 m) and, as at so many other cities of the Roman Near East, a small theatre may have been matched with a much larger one. At Gerasa the larger South Theatre is only 75 m but at Philadelphia (100 m) and in northern Syria dimensions were far larger (Cyrrhus: 115 m, Apamea-on-the-Orontes: 139 m) (cf. Frézouls 1989).

12 They include Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, and Cyrrhus (see Grainger 1990: 238-45), and Dura-Europus, as well as Hellenistic towns at Jebel Khalid and Ibn Hani (Leriche and Tréziny 1986; Leriche 1989).

13 We may note that Singara lies on more difficult terrain than this terrain at Zeugma; it has an irregular circuit with a mixture of curving and straight lines (Kennedy and Riley 1990: 125-31).



Fig. 3.10. At Meydanı: the proposed location of the Roman legionary fortress. Note the openings of tombs (arrows) on the cliff face on the far side of Bahçe Dere.

Houses (with J. Kennedy)

The 4 seasons of excavation by R. Ergeç (summarised in chapt. 5) provide the first and most detailed evidence so far for housing at Seleucia, and excavations by the present writer have exposed a large part of a second house and small parts of two more (chapt. 4). Here we will consider points of similarity between the remains exposed, their general character, and make a brief comparison with housing elsewhere in the region of the same general date (1st-3rd c.).

There are similarities in construction technique. Some rooms are cut into the natural rock, with bedrock used as floors. Walls are of mudbrick on a socle or low masonry wall and may be plastered and painted. Roof-tiles, nails and traces of wood imply pitched roofs. The two houses that have been extensively excavated also show similarities in layout. The rooms proposed as *triclinia* are at the back of the house and cut into the rock. They are of a similar size, have fine mosaic floors,¹⁴ and have substantial arched entrances probably for double doors. Beyond them lie courtyards, each with a cistern beneath. The courtyard at Site D was perhaps a peristyle. The houses share a broadly similar orientation. There is no definite evidence for a second storey at either house but the steep slope would have lent itself to rooms on different levels if not of two storeys. The courtyard at Site D is certainly on a lower level, while the house excavated by R. Ergeç has a room beneath area 5 where the slope allows it.

The house excavated by R. Ergeç is a substantial peristyle villa initially built in the 1st c. A.D. Later remodelling included blocking the spaces between the columns on one side of the peristyle; the peristyle may have been blocked because the cave, the original *triclinium*, proved to

14 We may note that local farmers report that fine mosaics are often found in cave rooms at the backs of houses.

be too cold in winter, so that area 2 became the new *triclinium*, and the cave room, area 3, became a bedroom. The house was abandoned in the 3rd c. It is comparable in size to the smaller villas at Palmyra, medium-sized houses of fairly wealthy owners.¹⁵ In the house at Site D traces of mosaic around the mouth of the cistern suggest that this may also be a peristyle courtyard in front of and below the *triclinium*. The quality of both houses is evident in the rich mosaics. The scenes point to the cultural tastes of the owners who selected designs from a classical repertoire. The indications of mosaics elsewhere in this part of the site, as well as the ubiquitous scatter of roof-tiles, suggest that the urban landscape was dominated by Aegean-style inwardly facing houses, with pitched tiled roofs and peristyle courts. Their water supply came from a large cistern beneath the courtyard (channelled in by terracotta pipes at Site D). A pipe set in a wall of the house at Site F may have carried waste away from an upper room. There may have been a street between the houses at Sites F and D.

There is a considerable variety of housing in Roman Syria. The villages of the limestone massif west of Aleppo include rural residences which usually lack mosaics but have second storeys (Tate 1992). At Dura-Europos most were flat-roofed and single-storeyed buildings, with the rooms grouped irregularly around a small courtyard; the houses are chiefly of Parthian rather than the Greek or Roman tradition, the Dura house lacking the peristyle, and there are no mosaics.¹⁶ Dura's houses are quite different from what we know of Zeugma's, being largely Mesopotamian because so, in culture and origin, was its population. Zeugma's houses are likely to have been largely Greek in character since its population, whatever its ethnic origin, assimilated the cultural practices of the Graeco-Roman East. In this they parallel examples of houses from elsewhere in N Syria, though we should recognise that poorer houses here and in the region, approximating more to the Mesopotamian model, may differ from the wealthier examples.

Water-supply

Water should not have been a problem for a town straddling a great river, and even today in high summer the Euphrates remains a broad, deep and swift-flowing channel. Springs are present at Bahçe Dere, and the abundant, sometimes torrential, rainfall usually averages in excess of 400 mm annually (pp. 19-20). However, because Seleucia was built on a series of steep hills and as the town grew, more complex and diverse methods would have been needed to collect and distribute water.¹⁷ Wagner already noted several cisterns, including three fine examples on Belkis Tepe, to which we may add the cistern next to the house at Site D (fig. 4.17) and another among the *hypogea* of the cemetery on Kırkbayır (TS 12) (below). A further cistern below a ridge just north of the theatre (figs. 3.11-12) proved to be the largest yet seen: its huge rectangular chamber, covered with a barrel-vault (now collapsed at one end) (10.7 x 4.8 m, 6.3 m maximum height), was coated in a fine waterproof plaster. It could have held up to 243 m³.

Otherwise, a well-built vaulted channel is visible where it is cut by a modern track NE of the theatre (fig. 3.13). It runs down towards the river and appears to be flanked by a substantial stone wall. A column capital (fig. 8.8) used to lie close by. Water pipes have been found in the wall of the building at Site F, terracotta pipes at Site D, and there are channels and pipes visible in the bluff at Site E between the two (chapt. 4).

15 Balty 1989: 408, fig. 114.

16 Perkins 1973: 21-23; see also Allara 1986.

17 From nearby at Sarilar, Kenk Boğazi there is evidence of a water-screw being employed in the 1st c. A.D (IGLS I: 66 = ILS 8903 of A.D. 73). The text is discussed by Oleson 1984: 55-56; cf. French 1994: esp. 39-43. As the best-known example of their employment is in supplying the legionary fortress beside the Nile at Babylon in Egypt (Strabo 17.1.30) it raises the possibility of a similar use along the Euphrates (already attested to by Strabo 16.1.5 for gardens along that river) (cf. Oleson 1984: 103-4).



Fig. 3.11. The large cistern near the theatre

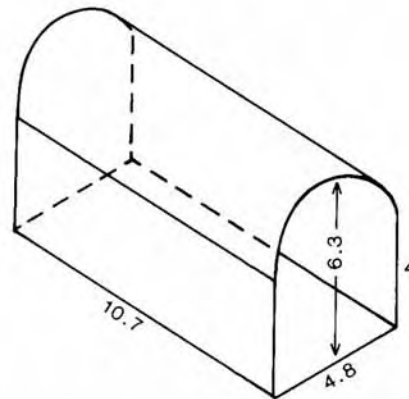


Fig. 3.12. Three-dimensional model of the large cistern near the theatre.



Fig. 3.13. Vaulted channel exposed in a section beside the modern track. It lies roughly halfway between the two houses described in chaps. 4 and 5.

The bridge

Wagner viewed the two large concrete projections beside the river at Seleucia as part of the famous bridge (cf. p. 13). However, Abadie-Reynal and colleagues (1996: 316-19) are probably correct not to see them as piers for a bridge, and this re-opens the question of its location and nature. The selection of a point for the original bridge of c.300 B.C. may have had much to do with geographical (cf. p. 19) and military (p. 23) considerations. Cumont suggested that when Trajan annexed Mesopotamia he reconstructed in stone an earlier pontoon bridge (1917: 125). We may doubt whether control of both Syria and Mesopotamia was a factor in the nature of the bridge; more probably both ends of the bridge were always in the hands of a single power even if that control did not extend much further. Furthermore, over the centuries it is quite likely that the bridge underwent several reconstructions, total rebuildings, and perhaps even shifts in its location, for literary sources refer to damage and destruction (chapt. 9, nos. 10, 12 and 74). Lastly, the flood-patterns of the river probably did not permit anything other than a relatively level structure, and even that would have been prone to damage. Its most likely form would have been a pontoon anchored between masonry or concrete piers on either side.¹⁸ Perhaps it could be drawn in on occasion, to preserve it from natural disasters or to allow shipping through.¹⁹ As the only bridge for many miles, however, its approaches may have been well marked, perhaps by a monumental arch and dedication as in some artistic representations (e.g. Reinach 1909: vol. 1, 295, 319, 321, 333, 343).

Cemeteries

The cities of the dead are one of the most notable features of the site. Wagner has provided a corpus of evidence for tomb types and mapped their extent around both towns,²⁰ but new evidence continually comes to light and his work may be complemented by the subsequent work of Algaze, Ergeç, Abadie-Reynal, and the present team.

At Seleucia Wagner defined three cemeteries, the West, South, and East necropoleis (1976: 147-55). At Apamea he investigated a fourth, presumably the main cemetery of that town lying c.1 km to its NE (NW of modern Tilobür) (1976: 79-82). He drew 7 of the larger tombs (2 at Apamea,²¹ and 5 at Seleucia, of which 4 were in the East necropolis²² and 1 was in the West necropolis).²³ Algaze *et al.* (1994: 20) revealed the extension of the West necropolis along the hills west of Bahçe Dere, refined the extent of the different concentrations within the East necropolis (their fig. 33), and for Apamea provided drawings of two more major tombs (their figs. 34-35). That survey also drew attention to (but did not investigate) two tumuli lying SW of the West necropolis. Then in 1993 we examined and prepared plans of two recently exposed tombs, TS 2 and TS 3,²⁴ south of Belkis Tepe and on the W slopes of the hill called Kirkbayır. Subsequently a further tomb was discovered and drawn (TS 1), following which exploration of many pits and openings dug by looters into the W slopes revealed several more tombs, one of which was again drawn (TS 4). We examined the tumuli in the West necropolis and observed that there were openings to additional tombs in a small gully running down to the river parallel to and west of Bahçe Dere. Lastly, c.200 m south of Belkis village, the site watchman drew our attention to a row of monumental tombs being eroded out of a slope. One of these has now been reported on by Ergeç (below, p. 90-91).

18 Such bridges are illustrated on Trajan's Column, e.g. scene XLVIII. For a range of representations of bridges in Roman art see Reinach 1909: vol. 1, 295, 304, 319-322, 326-329, 333, 343, 364.

19 Even in the 19th c. bridges over the rivers in lower Iraq were pontoons and drawn in as required.

20 For earlier work see Chabot 1900: 179-283 and Cumont 1917: 42-48.

21 Wagner 79 Abb. 5; 81 Abb. 61.

22 Wagner 151-55, Abb. 16-18.

23 Wagner 151, Abb. 15.

24 They were brought to our attention by R. Ergeç of the Gaziantep Museum.

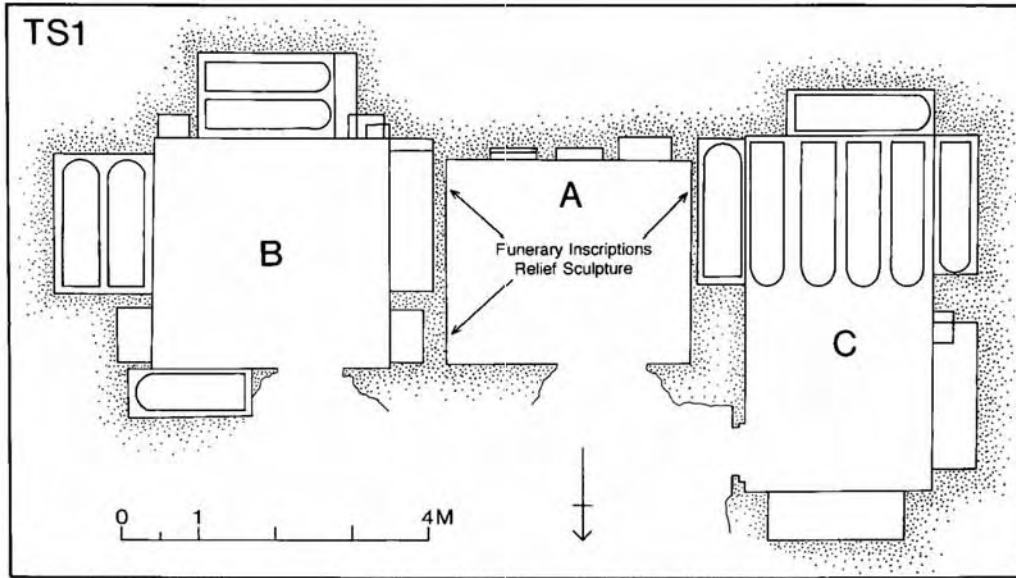


Fig. 3.14. TS 1: plan of a tomb group on the N face of Kırkbayır.



Fig. 3.15. TS 1: East necropolis (Kırkbayır), view of interior showing inscriptions 1-5 on the E wall.

As a result of these recent discoveries, the cemeteries are known to have been more extensive than Wagner realised. The layering of the rock lends itself to the cutting of chambers between the harder strata. The discovery of tomb TS 2 on the S slope of Belkis Tepe opens the prospect



Fig. 3.16. TS 2: one of two architrave fragments inside the *hypogeum*.

of there being more tombs in the same layer obscured by the deep hill-wash; others may exist flanking it along what may be a buried roadway running N of and parallel to the modern track. The chief developments have occurred on either side of the saddle between Belkis Tepe and the hill called Kirkbayır immediately to its SE. As Ergeç has shown, however, (p. 90 below) there may be unopened tombs yet to be found close to Belkis village itself.

The East necropolis, Kirkbayır

Whereas the N slope of Kirkbayır is steep, eroded and bare, the other sides are more gentle and covered with scrub; most of the new graves are on the lower S and W sides. The hill is pitted by scores of holes made recently by looters (fig. 3.21). The name of Kirkbayır, 'forty hills', may recall a time when mounds covering tomb entrances were visible.²⁵

TS 1

Unlike the others, this tomb group lies on the N-facing slope of Kirkbayır. Access is difficult and the 3 adjacent openings are not easily detected. It consists of 3 chambers side by side separated only by thin walls of living rock. Each chamber has its own doorway (fig. 3.14). In the middle is a rectangular chamber A, just high enough for a man to stand upright. On the walls are 6 relief sculptures and inscriptions in Greek which name the deceased (chapt. 6, nos. 18-23). The 5 inscriptions on the E wall are in high relief (fig. 3.15); the sixth, on the W wall, is recessed in a shallow niche (fig. 6.23). The other walls have no reliefs. On the S wall are 3 small shallow niches, presumably intended for funerary busts, urns, or offerings. Above the reliefs of inscriptions nos. 19-22 is a succession of 5 small square holes. Such holes are often found on stelai from the site and in those cases have been interpreted as meant for metal brackets to hold the tombstone in place. That cannot be the explanation for the holes in the relief epitaphs, and they may instead have held brackets to support a curtain or to support a bracket from which a lamp would have been suspended. The same could indeed have been the purpose of the holes in the free-standing stelai. Chamber B on the east is a square room with deep recesses above floor level on the E and S walls each containing a pair of rectangular slots with rounded ends for the deceased. A fifth slot is cut in the N wall and a sixth (lacking the rounded end) in the W wall. In the walls at a higher level than the grave slots are 5 deep niches. Chamber C on the west is a long rectangle with 5 single graves in deep recesses around the walls all above floor level (3 have rounded ends), while 4 more graves were cut in the floor itself at the S end. There is also a single niche in the W wall. Scattered around inside this group of *hypogea* were roof-tiles and small fragments of plaster.

TS 2

This is the grandest, though not the largest, of the tombs recorded. It is buried deep on the S slope of Belkis Tepe beneath hillwash and had been totally lost to sight. Its grandeur is illustrated by several features. The monumental doorway has a well-shaped lintel and fragments of the carved architrave lie inside (fig. 3.16). To the left of the door are 3 male busts in relief (now defaced) (fig. 3.17); one has 2 and perhaps 4 square holes. The chamber is a long rectangle (7.2 x 4.88 m, 3.4 m high) (fig. 3.18). Deep recesses on all sides create pairs of grave slots in round-headed alcoves, for a total of 18 (fig. 3.19). At a higher level there are also 8 small and 1 large alcove, again round-headed. The smoothed rock serves for the floor and it shows no evidence of any

25 The largely excavated cemetery outside the walls of Dura Europus consisted of *hypogea*, some marked by a low mound set in a circle or square of stones: Toll 1946: 1-5.



Fig. 3.17. TS 2: busts in relief on W side of the doorway. Note the pair of square holes above the bust on the lower left and possible parallel pair below.

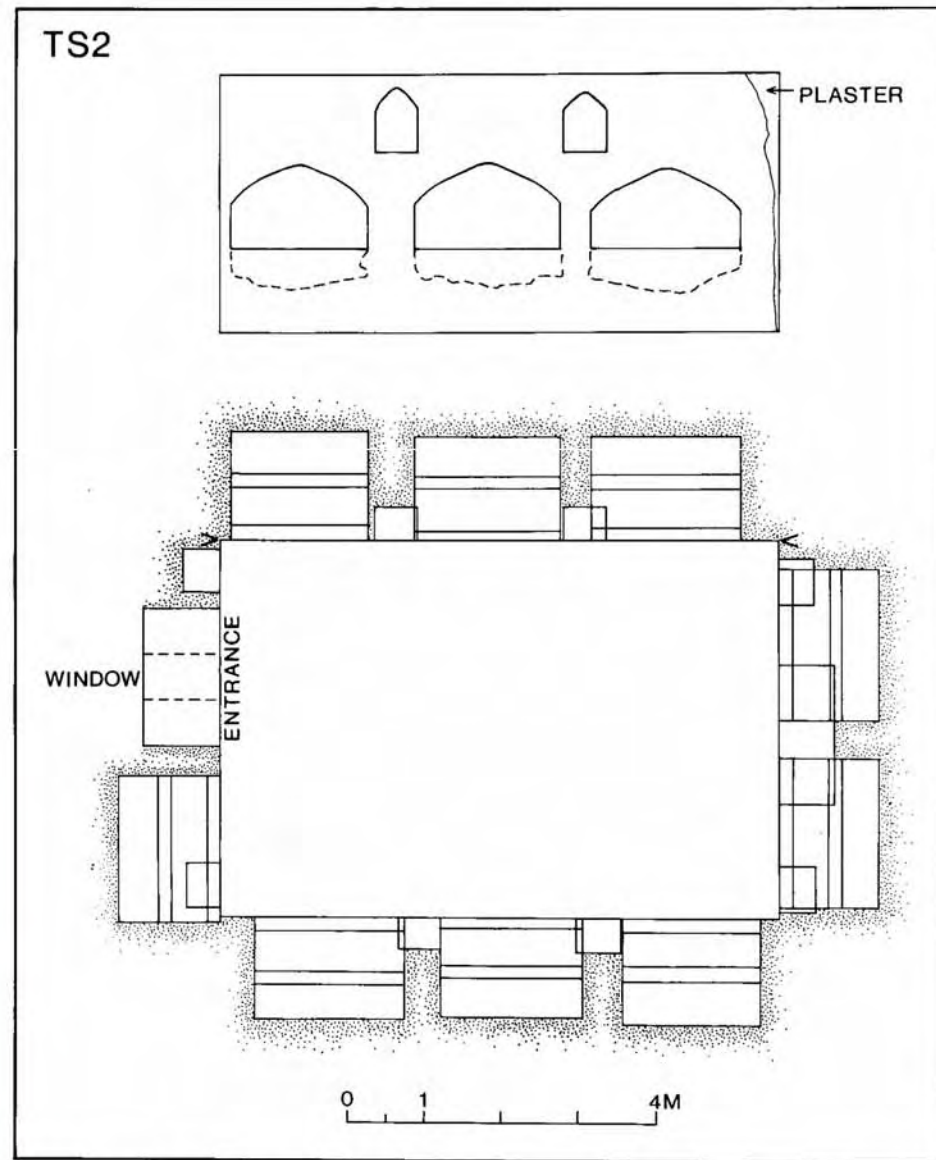


Fig. 3.18. TS 2: plan and section of the *hypogeum*.



Fig. 3.19. TS 2: interior of tomb, showing the recesses and niches on W and N walls.



Fig. 3.20. TS 2: interior of a grave recess, showing plaster and painting, and chisel-marks.



Fig. 3.21. TS 3, viewed from Belkis Tepe. Most of the other *hypogea* discussed below were found on the hill slope above and to the left amidst the pits of looters. Note the deep soil cover on the tomb. TS 2 is just out of view on the right.

surfacing with plaster or tesserae. The ceiling preserves extensive chisel-marks, their regularity and style suggesting that they were made to provide a key to hold plaster. The walls and alcoves still bear substantial traces of plaster and behind them are the same chisel-marks as found on the ceiling (fig. 3.20). The surviving sections of plaster have a creamy white coat with dark red bands at the junctions with the walls. Pieces of broken roof-tile and brick are scattered around.

TS 3

This tomb lies on the SW slope of Kırkbayır a short distance SE of TS 2. It too had been buried by eroded soil and came to light only recently (fig. 3.21). This is the largest and most elaborate of the tombs so far published (fig. 3.22). The door is approached through a vestibule built of large masonry blocks and incorporating at least one pillar on either side (fig. 3.23). The effect is to create a small room on either side of the approach, that to the right being cut into the rock, that to the left with built walls on 2 sides (cf. below and the new tomb reported by Ergeç [p. 90 below]). The door itself is rock-cut. Inside, loose blocks of the fine architrave may be seen. The threshold blocks contain a channel for a water-pipe running into the chamber. The *hypogeum* consists of a large almost square chamber, 5.8 x 5.95 m and 3 m high, cut into the hillside. Deep recesses on all 3 sides are set higher on stepped platforms and marked off from the central chamber by pillars, some free-standing, some cut from the natural rock. Around each recess is a succession of 29 *loculi*, mainly in pairs. The central *loculus* on the left has a deep (2.5 m) horizontal shaft cut in the wall behind.²⁶ Each pair of *loculi* is set within a round-headed niche, except for the central one on each side which begins as a gable (fig. 3.24). Extensive areas of the interior of the niches around the *loculi* retain their painted plaster: the decora-

26 Such shafts may have been employed as *ossuaria* (cf. Kraeling 1938: 555).

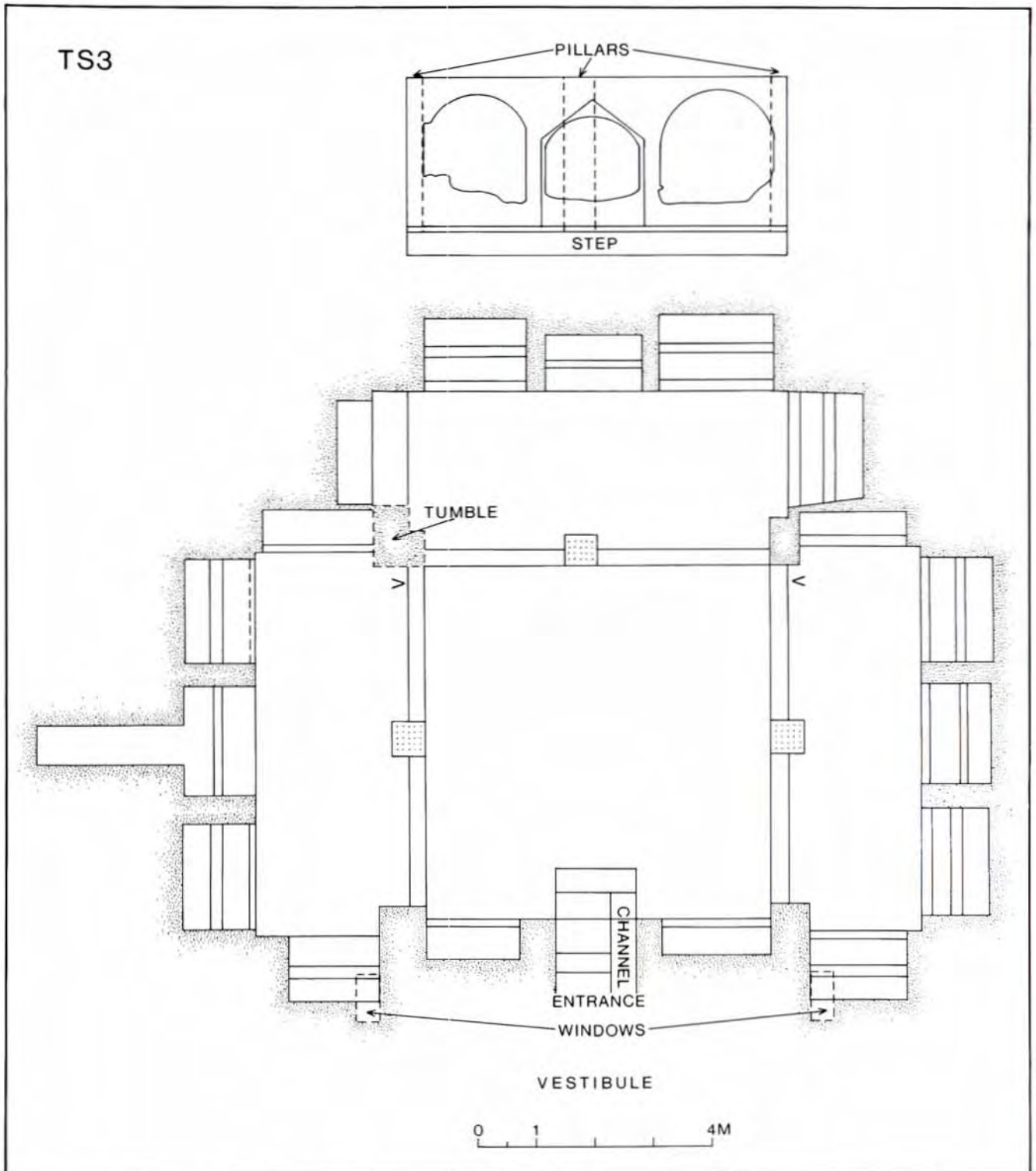


Fig. 3.22. TS 3: plan and section of the *hypogeum*.

tion consists of dark red bands as borders and single red flowers interspersed with green leaves (fig. 3.25). A few fragments of tile and many fallen stone blocks were found inside the tomb.

Illicit digging on the slope above TS 3 has exposed the entrances to several more tombs. Some could not be entered without excavation but one which could be revealed an interesting variation on those described above. The tombs are described moving south-east, beginning with that nearest to Belkis Tepe.



Fig. 3.23. TS 3: the vestibule and doorway.



Fig. 3.24. TS 3: interior of the *hypogeum*

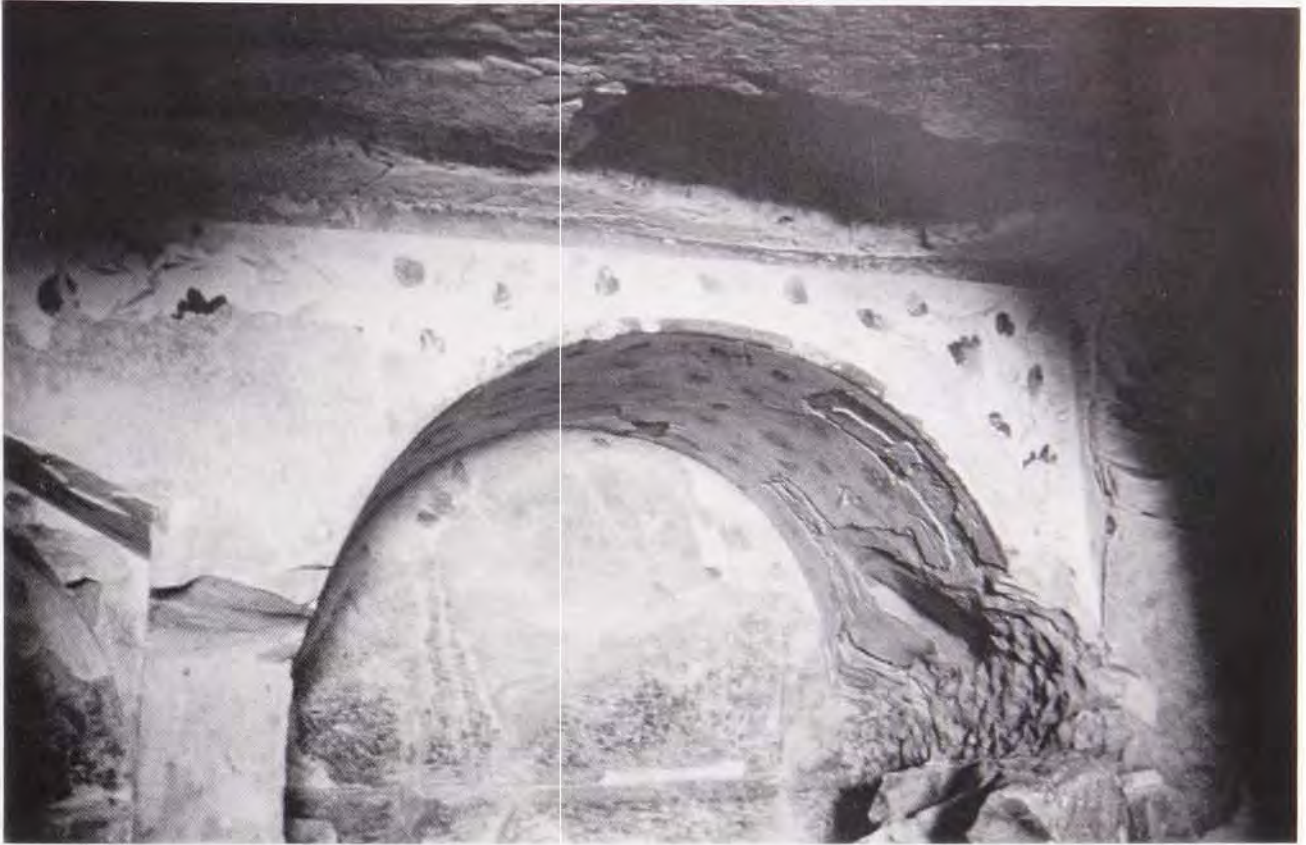


Fig. 3.25. TS 3: painted plaster with decoration of roses and green leaves.

TS 4

Unlike the tombs just described which had entrances at ground level, this tomb and those which follow were entered down a staircase.²⁷ Tomb TS 4 is obscured on the outside to some extent by fallen stones and eroded soil; inside it is filled with hardened mud, as a result of flooding, and with fallen rock, but its main outlines can be discerned (fig. 3.26). The door has a massive stone lintel cut from a single block. Inside is a well-formed passage, the roof of which consists of stones set obliquely to form a pitched roof running horizontally into the hillside. It preserves traces of a mortar coat and may have been plastered. There may be stairs beneath the rubble in the passage. The main chamber, less neatly cut than those just described, is an approximate square of 8.5 x 9 m. Its ceiling is too low for a man to stand upright. The ceiling is supported by 4 pillars of square masonry set irregularly towards the rear where the pressure from the hill above would have been greatest. Only one *loculus* is set into a recess in the wall but the floor of the chamber holds rows of *loculi* around 3 walls, totalling 22 or 24. This design is familiar from the drawings of Wagner. Many large roof-tiles are present, some collapsed into individual *loculi*.

The other tombs on Kirkbayır include:

TS 5, slightly uphill from TS 4, its entrance blocked but a man-made chamber could be discerned with a torch. TS 6, not far from TS 5, where a fine masonry arch was exposed at a depth of 2 m; inside was a fine post and lintel doorway leading into a chamber. The chamber itself, obscured by rocks, seems to have several *loculi* along the left and right walls, and many broken tiles were visible.

TS 7, on the same slope, close to TS 6, where a pit has exposed the lintel block of a door. Its lower edge has been cut away to create a simple arch. Marks on the face of the block may be letters. The door is blocked.

TS 8, just to the left of TS 7, the entrance to another tomb; *loculi* could be seen through a small opening.

²⁷ The same is true of the well-known *hypogea* at Dura-Europos and Palmyra: cf. Toll 1946.

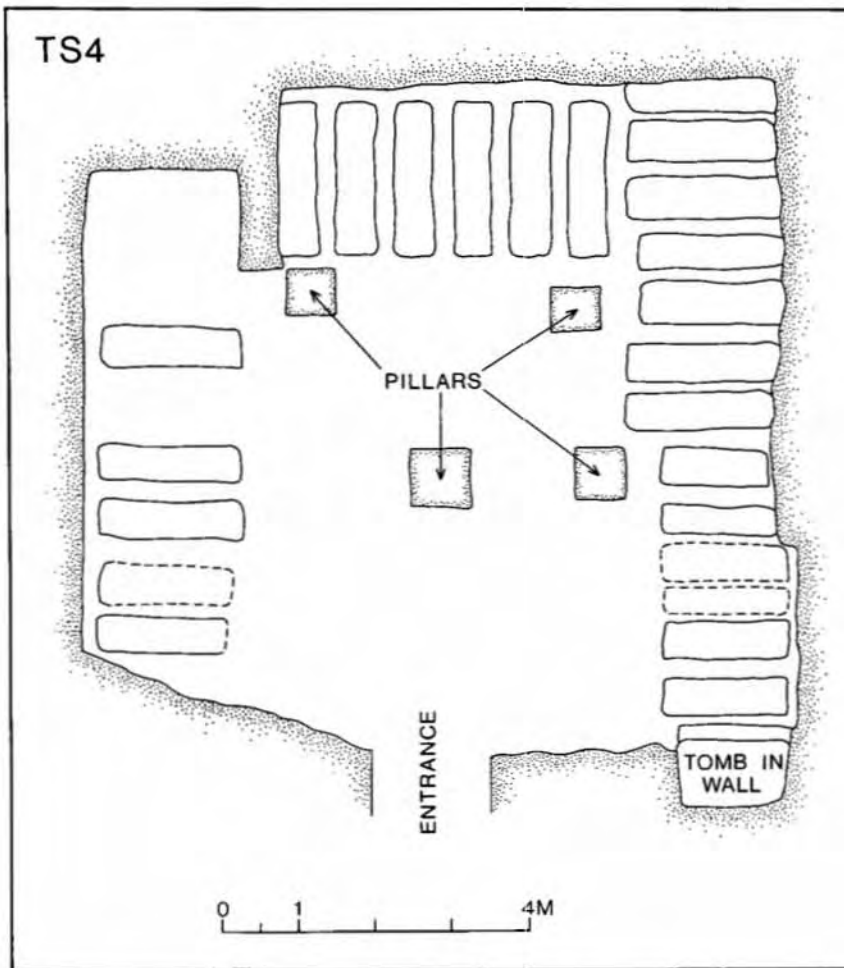


Fig. 3.26. TS 4: plan of the *hypogeum*.



Fig. 3.28. TS 13: the tumulus on Kara Tepe. The opening of TS 15 is marked with an arrow on the right.

TS 9, a pit, 25 m distant from TS 8, probably leading into a tomb, almost totally buried.

TS 10, a small opening, c.15 m from TS 9, within which parts of two side walls of a tomb chamber are visible.

TS 11, a small slit in the base of a pit may mark the mouth of a tomb. Nearby are fragments of tile and a fragment of tombstone.

We may also note that numerous fragments of tombstones have been recorded in the general area (see p. 95).



Fig. 3.27. Kara Tepe as seen from Belkis Tepe. The cone of a tumulus (TS 13) is clearly visible (arrow); other smaller rises may be eroded mounds.

Kara Tepe and the West necropolis

From the summit of Belkis Tepe two substantial conical mounds are visible to the NW (fig. 3.27), on the hill called Kara Tepe, above Bahçe Dere, c.500 m from the river. One was briefly examined in 1993, at which time an unsuspected *hypogeum* was found nearby. The hilltop seems to contain several other mounds on this and the adjacent ridge to the west (many have been ploughed away), and the hilltop and entire hillside may well prove to be a large unexplored cemetery of *hypogea* beneath tumuli and small mounds.

TS 13, a mound on the summit of Kara Tepe, is an artificial cone, c.12 m high and with a circumference of c.120 m (fig. 3.28). Two cuts have recently been made into its side and top, and two pieces of cut stone were noted nearby.

TS 14 lies a little further towards Bahçe Dere; it is another smaller mound, much damaged.

TS 15 lies lower down the slope and some 50 m closer to the river. In the bottom of a deep pit in the ploughed field, a finely cut slab is plainly the lintel of a door. The tomb could not be entered without excavation, and in any event it contains considerable water. The walls on the 3 sides away from the entrance were divided from floor to ceiling by vertical slabs which create a series of large box-like slots, with 4 on the rear wall and at least 2 on the side walls. This type of tomb with constructed rather than cut *loculi* for burials seems to be fairly uncommon at the site.²⁸

We may also note that beyond Kara Tepe in another gully which runs parallel to Bahçe Dere one can see the openings of yet further tombs (fig. 3.29; cf. fig. 3.2, Y).

28 A similar arrangement, however, is reported by Wagner for his no. 105 (1976: Taf. 55b).



Fig. 3.29. The openings of tombs (arrows) in rock faces of the gully beyond Kara Tepe (cf. fig. 3.2, Y).

Several Roman cemeteries in Syria are quite well known,²⁹ particularly those at Dura-Europus and Palmyra, but there are some notable differences between Zeugma and those sites. At Dura most are *hypogea* with *loculi* counted in the tens; there are also simple graves and a few tower-tombs (Cumont 1926: 273-77; Toll 1946). At Palmyra *hypogea* are common from the later 1st c. A.D. and often far larger than those at Dura, containing *loculi* for scores or even hundreds, while tower-tombs, dating particularly to the 1st and early 2nd c., are much more common than at Dura (Schmidt-Colinet 1989: 452; Gawlikowski 1970).³⁰ No tower-tombs have been reported at Zeugma and the *hypogea* are relatively small, with only a dozen or two *loculi*. The *loculi* at Zeugma are either recessed into the floor or cut in parallel to the wall of the chamber, or both, whereas at Dura and Palmyra most *loculi* are shafts driven at right-angles to the wall of a central chamber. *Loculi* placed parallel to the wall restrict the total number of individuals who might be accommodated, and this may suggest that the individual tombs at Zeugma were chiefly intended for family groups rather than being open to anyone able to pay. At Zeugma the *loculi* act in effect as stone sarcophagi cut into the rock; it seems that the bodies were placed in the slot and then covered by large terracotta roof-tiles, whereas at Dura there is evidence for bodies having been placed in wooden coffins or clay sarcophagi. At Zeugma free-standing stone sarcophagi are known but seem to have been rare.³¹ The painted plaster in TS 2 and TS 3 shows how elaborate some of these tombs may originally have been. The roses of TS 3 may be interpreted as 'pledges of eternal spring', and roses are mentioned in texts and inscriptions as items to be provided regularly at tombs (Toynbee 1971: 62-64). Roses

29 For surveys see Sartre 1989 and Schmidt-Colinet 1989.

30 Schmidt-Colinet 1989: 452; Gawlikowski 1970.

31 Wagner 1976: Taf. 55c illustrates one simple unadorned example and Wagner 271-73, Taf. 59 illustrates two others decorated in relief



Fig. 3.30. The bowl on the river-front suggesting a buried theatre (cf. figs. 3.2; 3.5)

appear in painted tombs in Jordan, and rosettes are common on carved stelai from Zeugma. The central chamber of TS 1, placed between the two chambers that contain *loculi*, may have functioned as the place where offerings were made at the relief stelai commemorating the deceased (fig. 3.15) and or for funerary banqueting. The square holes there and next to a portrait bust in TS 1 may have been for brackets to suspend lamps for use during such ceremonies (p. 43).³² Finally, the remarkable undisturbed tomb reported by Ergeç below (p. 90) shows how these tombs could be fronted by a courtyard in which stelai were erected as free-standing monuments.³³

Other buildings probably present

The towns would be expected to have the range of structures routinely found in larger Greek and Roman towns. Wagner has already mentioned a presumed bath building between Belkis Tepe and the house of Area D (p. 61), and construction work on the new dam has revealed a second bath close to the dam's wall on the S bank (A. Comfort, pers. comm.). A gymnasium and perhaps a stadium are likely but not yet identified. Epigraphic evidence shows that Zeugma was an important centre for contests by athletes and boxers (chapt. 9, nos. 47 and 55). In the Roman town with the presence of a legion an amphitheatre is likely: it need not have been large,³⁴ and might be sought in the natural semi-bowl to the NW near the junction of Bahçe Dere with the river (fig. 3.30), although that shape better suits a large theatre; massive well-cut blocks have been exposed by recent bulldozing (fig. 3.5) (cf. above p. 33).

Major religious buildings too are so far missing, and we can say very little of the pre-Christian religious life: the only hints are found in several grottoes along the river, one containing a relief of a river god and a water-channel cut into the wall, while others display a tripartite arrangement of vestibule, small chamber, and large chamber, some with vertical shafts to the outside (Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 1996: 319-20).

Even Christianity is little known. The mediaeval Syriac *Book of the bee* (chapt. 9, nos. 38-39) records disciples preaching Christianity in the mid to late 1st c. and one being martyred, and there are written references to bishops of Zeugma (chapt 9, e.g. nos. 71 and *passim*), but no church has yet been identified and none of the mosaics found is suggestive as coming from a church:³⁵ there is only a limestone block bearing a Christogram in a medallion, re-used in a

32 No lamps have been reported at the tombs of Zeugma but where grave goods have survived elsewhere they are extremely common finds (cf. C. S. Fisher *apud* Kraeling 1938: 549-71).

33 Such an arrangement may be what once existed within the courtyard in front of TS3 (fig. 3.23).

34 Compare the modest amphitheatre at Dura-Europos: Kennedy and Riley 1990: 113, fig. 61.

35 Cf. Wagner 1976: 111 and Taf. 7 for a typical church mosaic found at Aşagi Çardak some 8 km upstream:

house at Belkis (Hellenkemper 1978: 411).³⁶ We may expect monasteries and perhaps also a martyr's church for the disciple Rufus (chapt. 9, no. 39) but again they have not been found.

The development of Seleucia

Until more detailed surface survey has been undertaken, we will lack sufficient information to reconstruct the development of Seleucia. The following outline is hypothetical and subject to revision. Initially in c.300 B.C. small towns were established on facing banks of the Euphrates, each incorporating a citadel (Belkis Tepe and Tilmusa). Surface pottery at Seleucia suggests that the Hellenistic town extended for about 1 km along the river and tapered inland to incorporate Belkis Tepe. In the 1st c. A.D. two successive small forts with mud-brick walls were constructed east of the modern village of Belkis (p. 168); later still the legionary fortress may have been established just west of the Hellenistic town in the area where stamped tiles of *III Scythica* have been found. The Roman town seems to have extended from Bahçe Dere over the Hellenistic town as far as the site of the modern village of Belkis, and its greatest extent and prosperity evidently extended to the mid 3rd c. The sack by the Sasanians in c.253-256 seems to have precipitated a sharp decline, although decline may have begun with the removal of all or part of the legion in, probably, the late 2nd c. (Kennedy 1987: 62-63) and the consequent loss of significant spending power. Wagner previously pointed out that there was an abrupt termination of mosaic production (1976: 104-5) and of grave stelai (1976: 165), followed within a generation or two by a termination of significant new construction, and this pattern has been supported by the excavation of two houses in which occupation terminated in the 3rd c. (see chaps. 3, 4 and 7). The town seems to have shrunk and some suburbs at least were deserted.

Even less is known of Apamea. After the departure of the legion the economic basis would have reverted to farming and it may be that the focus of the late Roman and Byzantine towns was the Hobab Plain on the left bank, with the right bank becoming increasingly neglected and eroded. The inhabitants of Seleucia may have shifted to the defensible high ground between Bahçe Dere and the Euphrates and for agriculture have chosen to exploit the river terrace near modern Belkis. Abadie-Reynal (1996: 311-13) has noted a concentration of artefacts from prehistory to the Ottoman period on this high ground above Bahçe Dere.³⁷ In a period of increasing insecurity it might be surprising to find the main settlement on such low ground; surveys in the region suggest that settlements became concentrated in more defensible places (see below).

The territory and nearby settlement patterns

We have little evidence for the extent and shape of Zeugma's territory in any period. The principal neighbouring cities of Carchemish-Europus to the S, Samosata to the NE, Edessa to the E, and Cyrrhus to the SW provide obvious limits (fig. 3.31), but the picture is complicated by the presence of other towns whose status may have been independent or dependent at different periods. Upstream lay Antioch-on-the-Euphrates with Epiphaneia opposite; downstream at Birecik lay BIRTHA, perhaps also called Macedonopolis. To the east literary sources place Caphrena and Daeara (chapt. 9, nos. 24, 35, 74). To the west is modern Nizip which may have

the text in the mosaic includes the name of the responsible bishop (Candemir and Wagner 1978: 210-13).

36 This may be the "croix 'syrienne' (chrisme constantinien)" reported by Abadie-Reynal, who also mentions fragments of a chancel pillar (1996: 321).

37 Abadie-Reynal calls this hill Kara Tepe, but Wagner and the present writer use that name for the hill west of Bahçe Dere. She has also proposed that the Byzantine town lies below the modern village of Belkis (1996: 323), based apparently on the discovery there of Byzantine architectural fragments, but those may have been carried there in recent times, like the many tombstones built into local houses and set up in the village school.

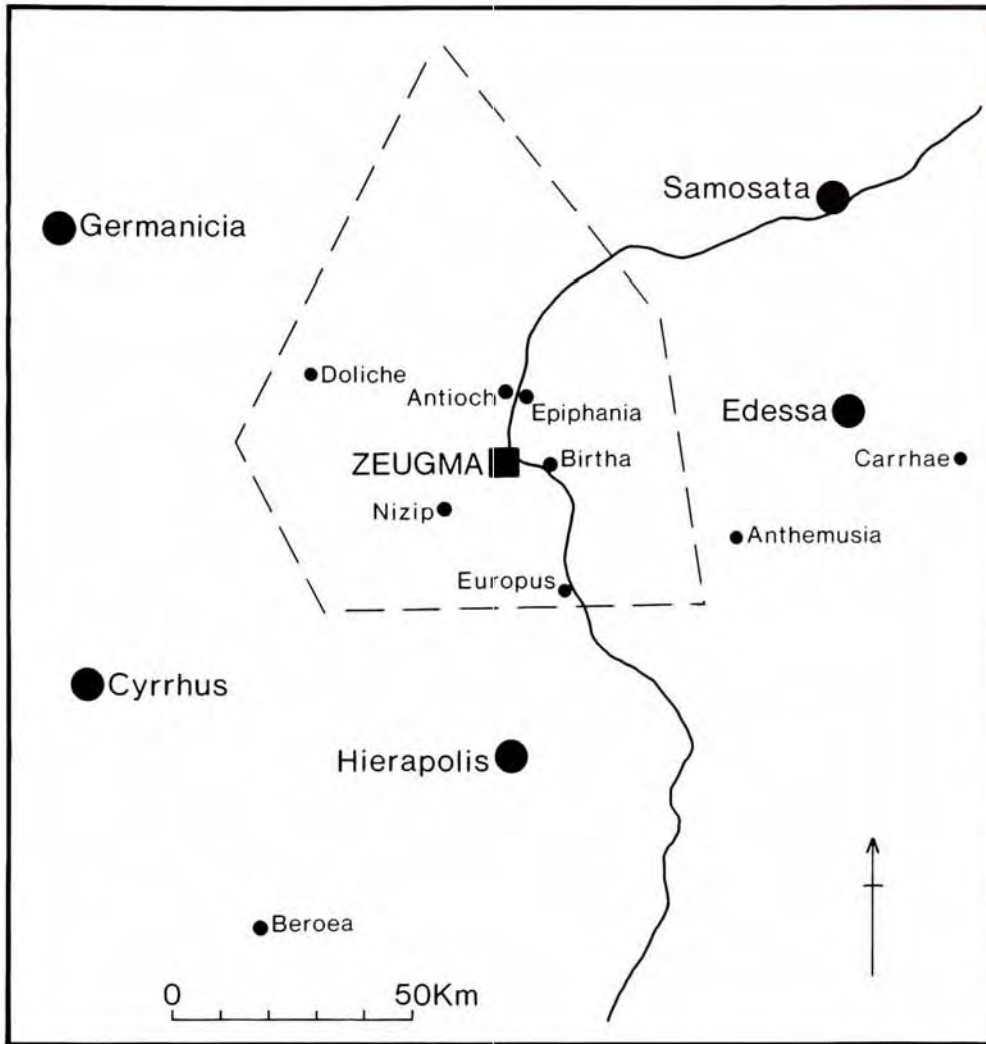


Fig. 3.31. Map showing the urban context of Zeugma. The Thiessen polygon offers a crude guide (taking no account of the landscape) to the possible extent of territories. In this case the smaller centres are assumed to be dominated by their large neighbours even if not politically dependent.

been Nisibis of Syria. West of Gaziantep lies the important cult-site of Doliche with its temple estate.³⁸ From two Latin inscriptions (2nd-3rd c.; chapt. 9 nos. 57-58) we obtain the names of the villages of Hennia and Odia in the territory of Zeugma, but neither can be precisely located. These texts are important in attesting places described as *vicus*. In the early 6th c. there is mention of the *qryt* ("little village/hamlet") of Agar (or Adad) in the Syriac text of Joshua the Stylite (chapt. 9, no. 89).³⁹ The territory of Zeugma must certainly have included the river terrace at Belkis and the Hobab Plain opposite, as well as more of the river terrace on both banks up and downstream.

No intensive field survey has been carried out around Zeugma. An Italian survey considered the region of Gaziantep but concentrated only on mounds (Archi *et al.* 1971). However, the survey by a team from Chicago (Algaze *et al.* 1994) recorded many sites within the valley up to the 400 m contour line.⁴⁰ Because of the way in which sites were sought, their work does not

38 Wroth 1899: 114 lists coins of Marcus and Verus and of Commodus inscribed "of the Dolichaeans". Doliche is named on the Antonine Itinerary (chapt. 9, no. 61), and in the 6th c. it is named in the lists of Georgius and Hierocles.

39 I am grateful to S. N. C. Lieu for discussion of this text.

40 This was chosen as being just above the 390-m contour-line to which the reservoir is due to rise.

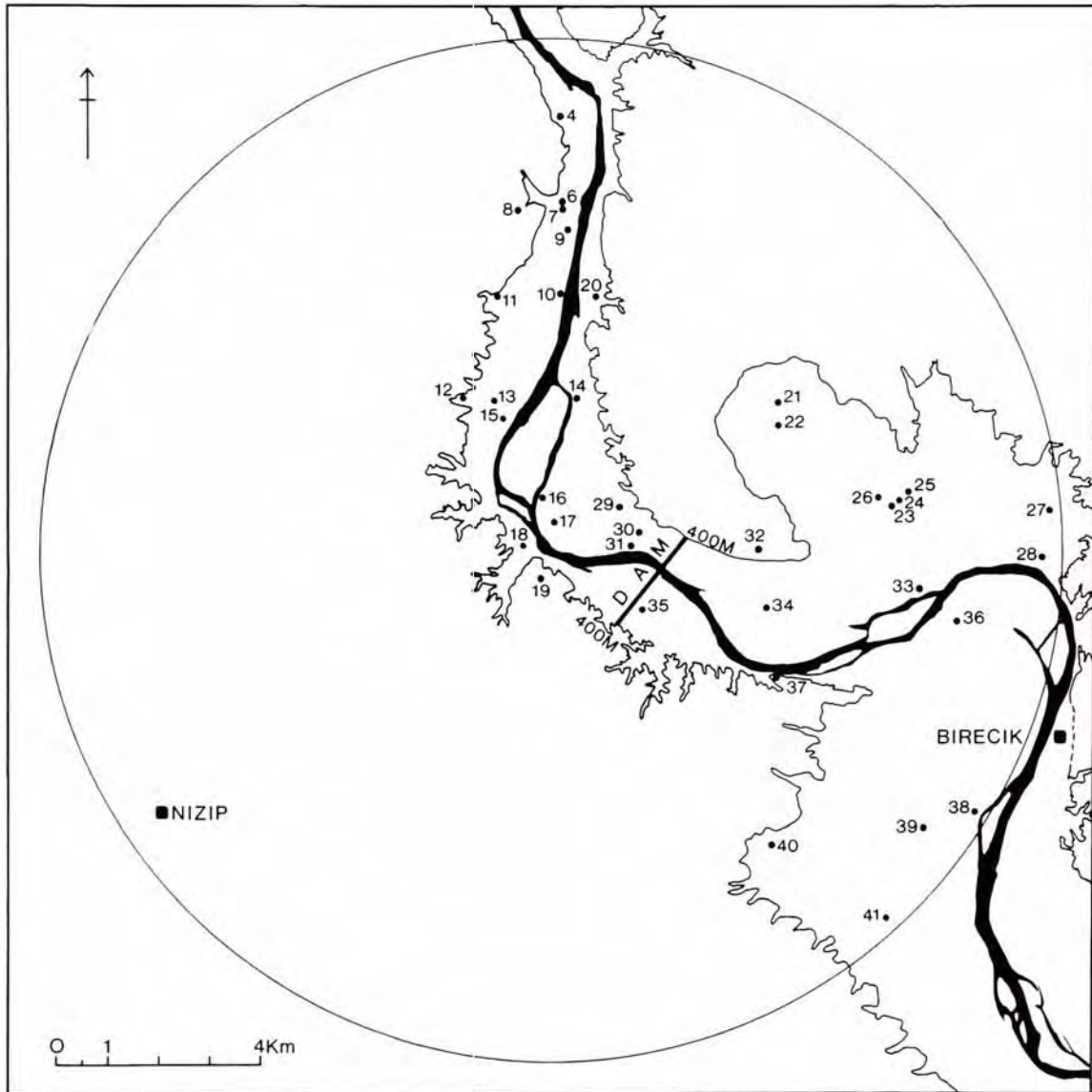


Fig. 3.32. Map of sites recorded by the Chicago Euphrates Expedition within a radius of 10 km of Zeugma (within the area of the reservoir only). The numbers are those assigned by Algaze (1994).

provide a reliable indication of the ancient pattern of settlement but it does provide important insights into the possible numbers of sites in the classical periods and the extent and location of settlements. Only those sites recorded within a 10-km radius of Zeugma have been marked on fig. 3.32. Since much of the circle lies outside the area to be flooded it was never examined. In total in the remaining area 37 sites were found (all but one, site 40, lie within the area to be flooded). No Neolithic sites were recorded. Sites include tombs and other features without a true settlement dimension. A few sites had to be divided across two chronological periods (Table 3.1).

Despite the limitations of the evidence, the results are in broad agreement with more intensive surveys conducted further north (Wilkinson 1990; Algaze, Misir and Wilkinson 1992; Stein forthcoming). Thin levels of settlement rise sharply in the Late EBA/Early MBA periods both in the number of sites and the area occupied. A decline in settlement follows and even in the Iron Age settlement remains modest. The major revival of settlement comes in the Classical period. The foundation of the twin towns distorts the figure for the area occupied but it is clear that there were many more sites at this time and that sites were often larger than before. The

TABLE 3.1. SITES RECORDED WITHIN A 10-KM RADIUS OF ZEUGMA by the Chicago-Euphrates Expedition (after Algaze *et al.* 1994)

<i>Period</i>	<i>Total Area</i>	<i>Number</i>
Aceramic Neolithic (c.8th-7th millennium)	0	0
Pottery Neolithic (c. early 6th mill.)	0	0
Middle/ Late Halaf (c. second half of 6th mill.)	1.7	1
Late Ubaid (c.5th mill.)	2.5	5
Late Chalcolithic (c.4th mill.)	3.3	1
Mid/Late Uruk (c.3500-3100)	2.57	5
Early EBA (first half of 3rd mill.)	2.5	5
Middle EBA (c.2500-2200)	0	0
Late EBA/ Early MBA (c.2200-1900)	9.54	13
Late Bronze Age (c.1500-1100)	0	0
Iron Age (c.1100-333)	2.38	3
Hellenistic-Early Roman (4th c. B.C. - 2nd c. A.D.)	154.83	15.5
Late Roman-Early Byzantine (3rd-7th c.)	168.96	22.5
Mediaeval (c.9th-13th c.)	5.16	6

Hobab Plain saw a concentration of settlement in the Graeco-Roman period. Surface survey at Hacinebi Tepe (site 28 of the Chicago team) recorded a “few scattered Hellenistic/Early Roman wares” (Algaze *et al.* 1994: 38, site 28), and subsequent excavation has confirmed Hellenistic occupation in the form of more extensive occupation covering 0.4-0.8 ha, with domestic features and parts of two monumental structures. The preliminary interpretation is that there may have been a “series of large rectangular courtyard complexes ... with smaller domestic structures ...” built from mudbrick on a stone foundation.⁴¹

Surveys further north also place the fullest extent of settlement in the late Roman and early Byzantine period, followed by a massive decline in the mediaeval when people moved into fewer and better-defended locations (Stein forthcoming).

Roads and quarries

Wagner (1976, Karte II nos. 17-22) identified traces of Roman roads approaching Zeugma from the west although the main road through the town (cf. chapt. 9 no. 61) has yet to be found. East of Apamea Wagner traced sections of the roads leading to Samosata and to Edessa (1983: 109-10) and near the latter at Kızılburç (between Zeugma and Edessa) he has found a milestone dating to A.D. 205: its numeral of 48 is close to that of the direct distance to Zeugma (chapt. 9, no. 53).

A Roman road ascending Kalazan Dağları (fig. 2.5), the plateau on the E bank 6 km N of Tilmusa (fig. 2.1, 2.10), was traced by C. Lightfoot in 1992⁴² and found to be a zigzag route leading to ancient quarries. On its steep final stretch it was cut into the rocky outcrop as a rutted road (fig. 3.33) and may be traced in this fashion for several hundred meters. Two-thirds

41 Excavation at this site (no. 28) has also revealed Achaemenid settlement, rare anywhere in the region (McMahon in Stein 1996: 222-29). There are graves with jewellery of the 5th c. B.C. Until pre-Roman levels at Zeugma are explored, Hacinebi will remain the best evidence from the region for the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods.

42 The following observations were made before the permit for recording or collecting artefacts was granted.



Fig. 3.33. Rutted road ascending Kalazan Dağları 6 km north of Tilmusa. The Greek graffiti (chapt. 6, Inscriptions 25-26) are on the rock face on the left.



Fig. 3.34. Quarry on Kalazan Dağları.



Fig. 3.35. Structure on the W edge of Kalazan Dağları overlooking the Euphrates (point A on fig. 2.1; fig. 1.5 is taken from nearby).

of the way up this route the road passes a small quarry on the right. At the first major bend in the road the rock has been quarried away to permit a hairpin turn. Finally there is a large quarry 100 m beyond the beginning of the plateau (fig. 3.34). Several hundred meters west of this quarry, at the point where the plateau falls abruptly to the narrow river terrace creating a superb observation point (cf. fig.1.5), are the foundations of a rectilinear structure (fig. 3.35), perhaps a military watchpost.

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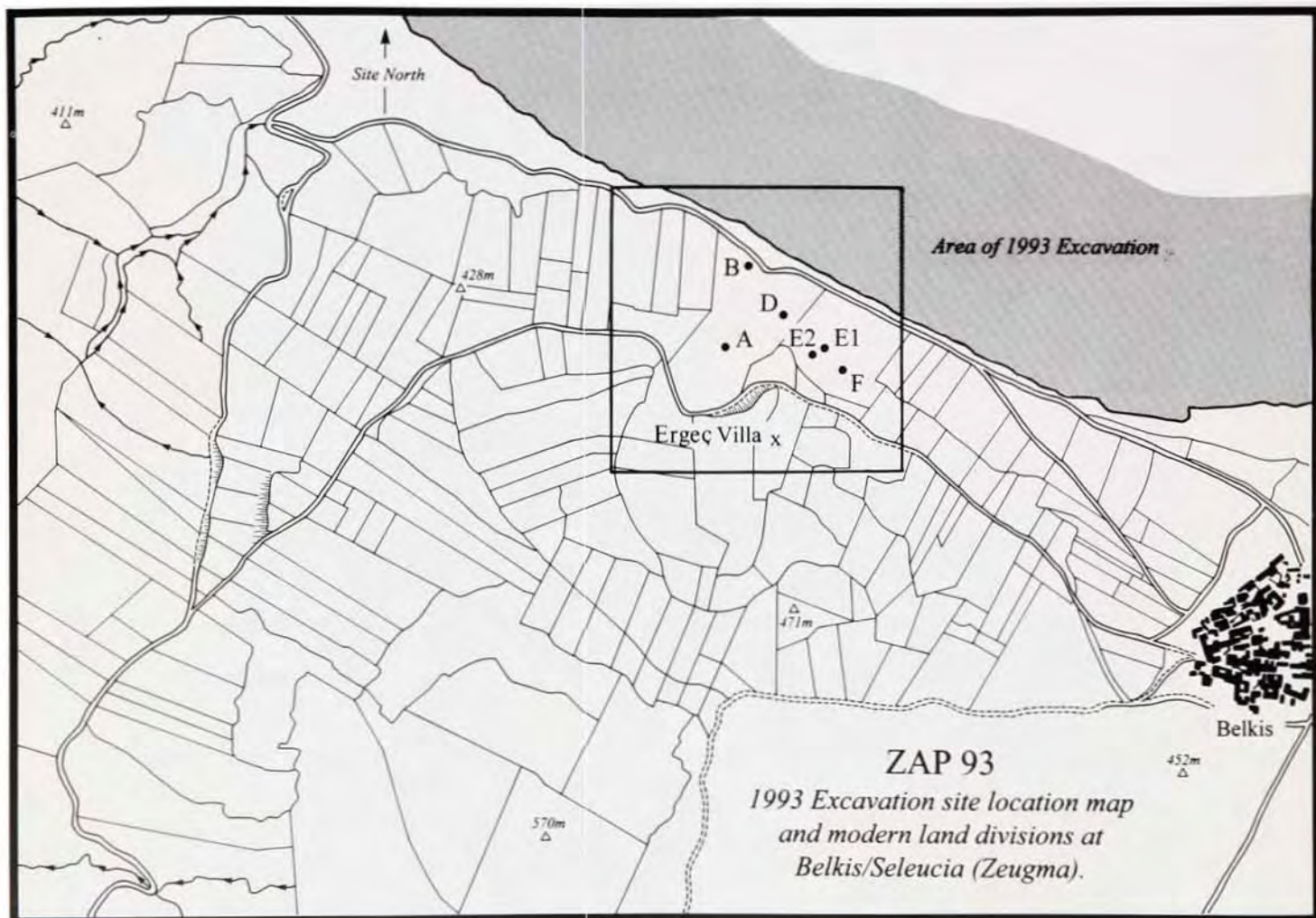


Fig. 4.1. Map of the "Valley of the Mosaic Houses" and location of sites excavated, in context of land allotments

Rescue excavations (1993)

David Kennedy and Philip Freeman

Practical considerations limited excavations to a total of 17 days during September 1993. Sites were chosen on the basis of a number of criteria. First, it made sense and was cost-effective to work only in areas that would be flooded (fig. 1.4). Secondly, it was hoped to identify archaeologically "rich" sites which might catch the eye of potential long-term sponsors. Thirdly, sites were selected on the basis of evidence of modern robbing. For despite the damage they caused, pits and tunnels give some clues as to the depth and nature of the overburden and nature of the ancient remains at various points.

We decided to concentrate on a valley which drains at right-angles into the Euphrates, in which local reports say that numerous mosaics have been found, including one particularly large example (perhaps the Provinces mosaic, see p. 129 below), and which was therefore likely to be an area of wealthy houses (fig. 4.1). Surface examination revealed scores of tesserae in the ploughsoil and occasional large fragments of mosaic. The valley lies on a line from the acropolis across the supposed agora to the closest point of the river (fig. 3.8) and on its E flank the valley includes the so-called Bath building. We examined more or less briefly 6 sites in the lower part of this valley or on the slopes above. Almost all had been exposed previously to some degree either by robbers or by natural processes.

Site D, Roman house

Most attention was devoted to Site D where the side of the valley met the scarp of the upper terrace. From Site D the land falls away steeply into the valley on the west and even more steeply on the north to a terrace just above the riverside road (fig. 4.2). The site has an excellent prospect across and up the river.

A modern robbers' tunnel had cut through the deep overburden to reveal a masonry wall. Lower down the site were two entrances into a large cistern. We began by clearing around the tunnel in order to create a terrace on which to work and then excavated the room identified in the tunnel by cutting back the vertical face of the hill to a height of more than 3 m. It became clear that the overburden was undifferentiated fill brought down from the slopes to the south and filling the rooms with soil containing pottery, stones, a few pieces of corroded metal, tesserae and larger fragments of mosaic, and scores of fragments of large roof-tiles (fig. 4.3). A total of c.100 tonnes of soil had to be removed in this area in order to expose part of the plan of the house.

Excavation exposed one room in its entirety, containing a figured mosaic and painted plastered walls, a large part of a second room, again with some surviving painted plaster, part of a third room, and part of an open courtyard, tessellated on its S side, that probably belongs to the same house (fig. 4.4).

Room 1 with figured mosaic

The principal room was somewhat irregular, measuring 4.2 m on its W side, 4.1 m on its E, 5.2 m on its N, and 4.5 m on its S. The E wall met the N and S walls at angles other than right-angles. The N and W walls survived to the height of one masonry course, which had supported courses of mud-brick. This masonry course was chiefly of well-cut stones but the lower part of the N wall at one point contained small stones and mud-bricks which may have packed an earlier opening. At the NE corner one stone had been carefully trimmed at an angle. Most of the E wall and half of the S wall utilized the living rock to a height of 1 m. The W half of the S wall contained a doorway passing into Room 2, formed by cutting back the rock at right-angles to the original rock face (fig. 4.5). On the rock faces on the E and S sides and on parts of the surviving course of the N wall were remains of painted plaster, including a white surface with



Fig. 4.2. Site D: view from west, showing location.



Fig. 4.3. Site D: fragments of roof-tiles from the fill.

traces of a simple black line design. In places the plaster was overlain with a second coarser plaster. The W wall contained a doorway 3.15 m wide, flanked by tall square blocks of mudstone (fig. 4.6). The threshold blocks were trimmed to form a rebate on the interior, and at either end were pairs of sockets (one small and square, the other large and rectangular). On the

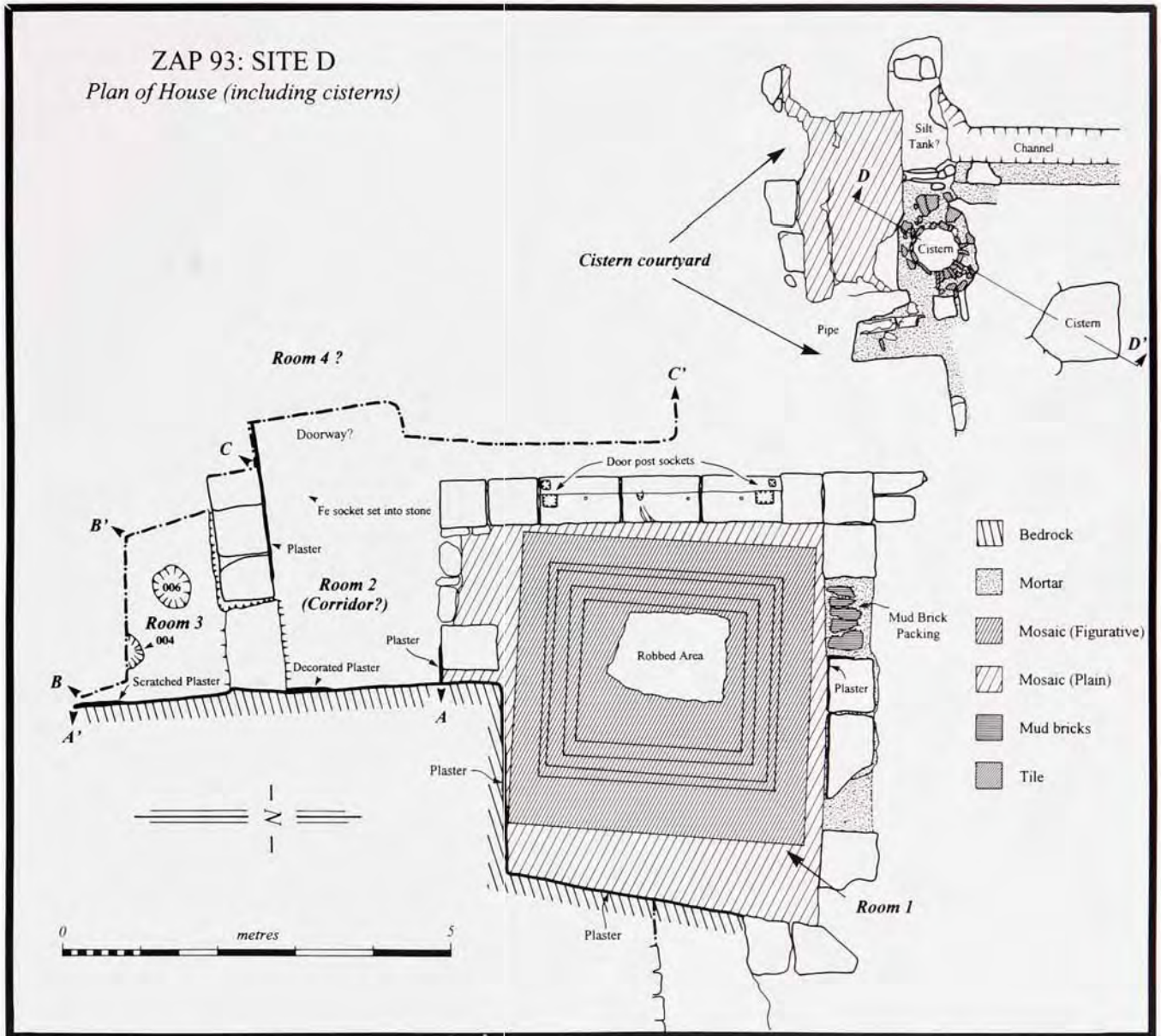


Fig. 4.4. Site D: plan.

floor just inside the door was found a pair of carved voussoirs, again of mudstone (fig. 4.7). This suggests a broad doorway filled by a pair of doors pivoting in the larger sockets at either end and closing against the rebate, the whole surmounted by a gently curving arch. The smaller sockets may represent an earlier phase when the door was set further out. The door framed a magnificent view upriver and led down to a presumed courtyard housing the cistern.

The magnificent mosaic pavement, consisting of a figured central panel within an elaborate border and surrounded by a black and white geometric design, is discussed in more detail on p. 121 and attributed to the late 2nd or early 3rd c. The mosaic had been mutilated, and local sources recalled that this had been done 25 years ago, when the piece had gone to Syria.¹ Here we may simply note that the heads of the two figures at the centre, the standing male on the

1 There is no reason to suppose that the figure of 25 years is accurate, but it may well indicate that the robbing occurred in the previous generation. The normal method of smuggling probably involves taking objects across the nearby border to Syria and thence to a Mediterranean port.

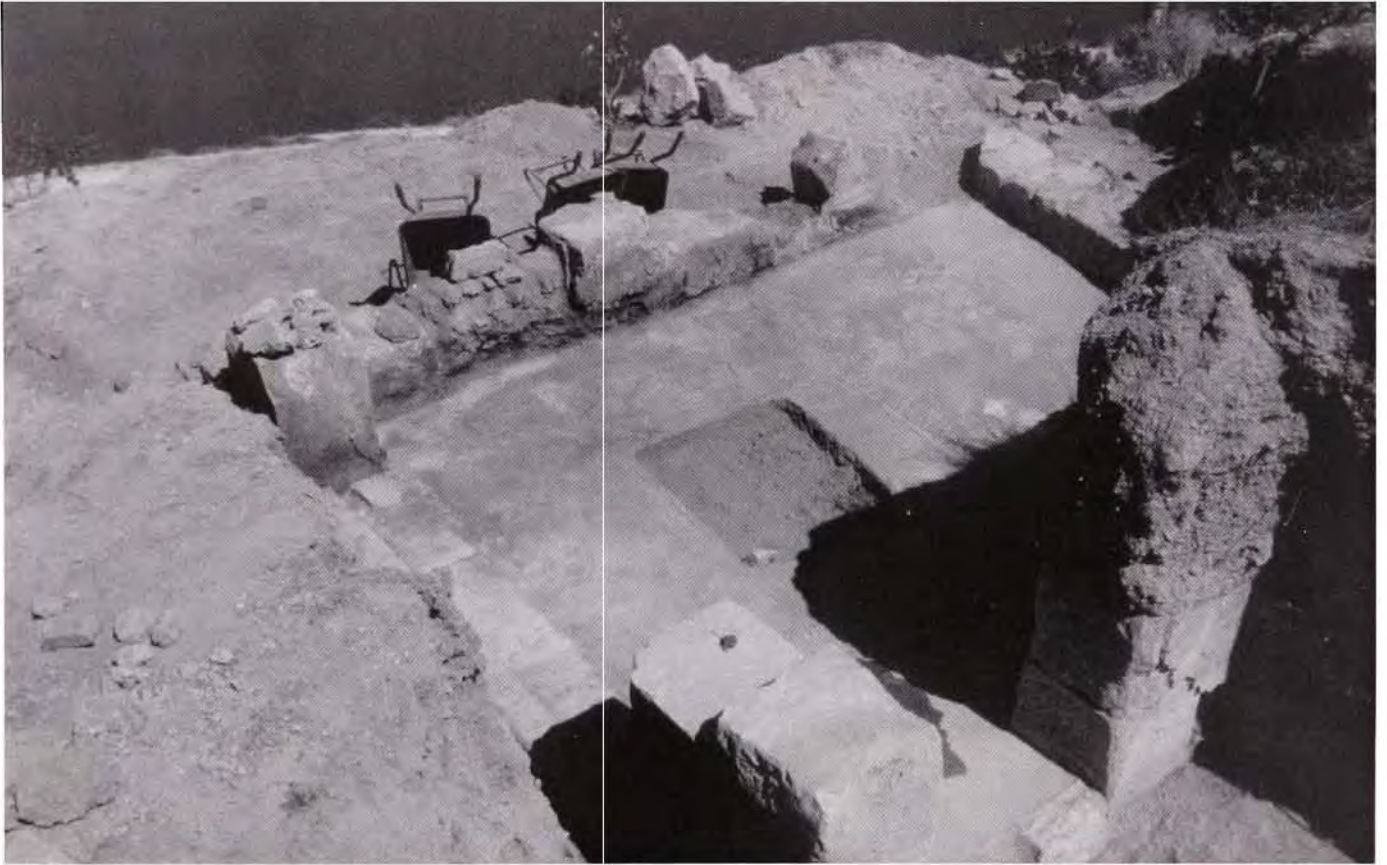


Fig. 4.5. Site D: view looking NE across Room 1. Room 2 is at lower right.



Fig. 4.6. Site D: threshold of doorway through W wall of Room 1 (mosaic room). Note rebate for the door and sockets at the right end for the door to pivot.



Fig. 4.7. Site D: voussoirs found just inside doorway on W side of Room 1.

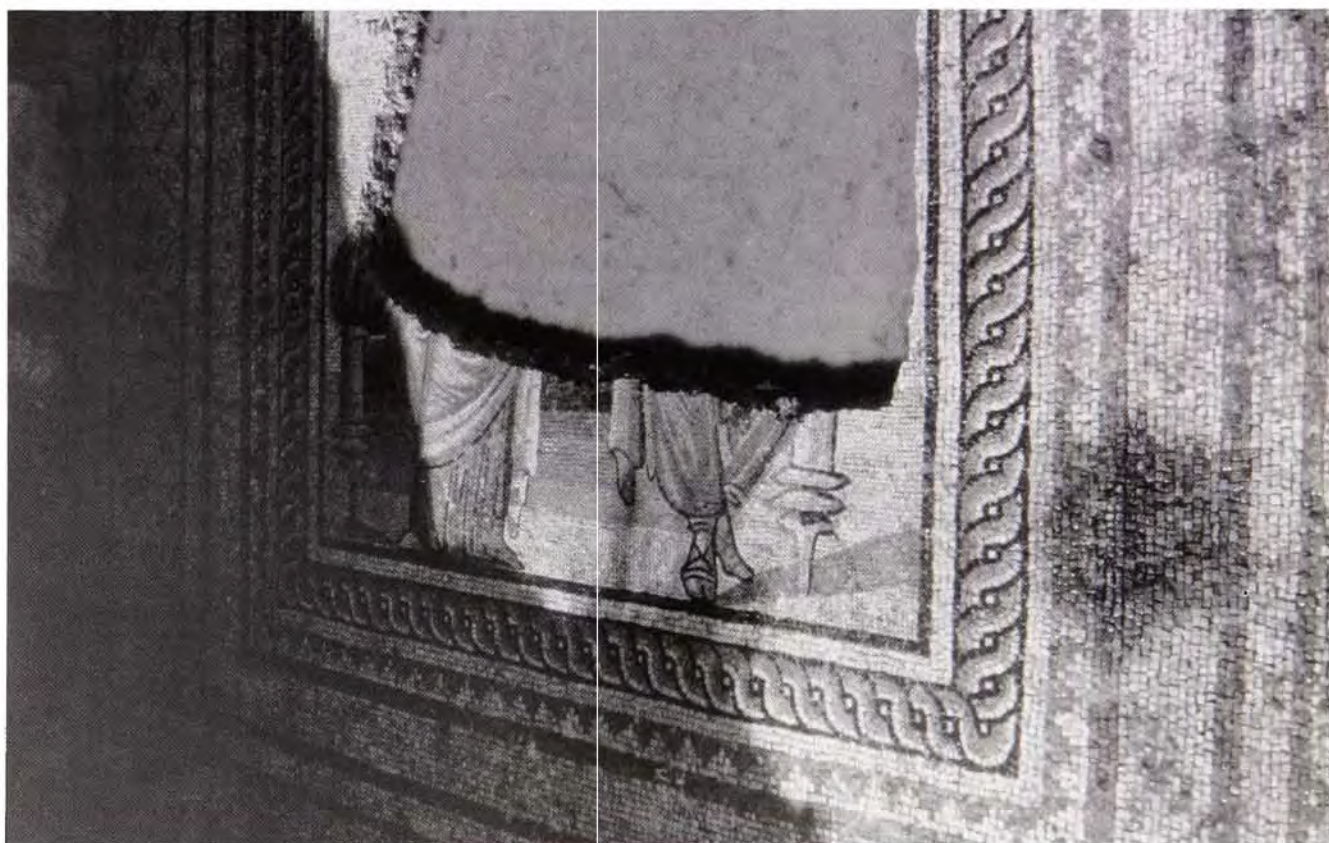


Fig. 4.8. Scorch marks on mosaic in Site D.

right and the seated female on the left, were placed next to the external doorway, so that the panel was meant to be viewed looking out towards the W and NW.²

² At the end of the season this mosaic was cut and lifted by the staff of the Museum for eventual display in Gaziantep.



Fig. 4.9. Site D: view into Rooms 2 and 3, looking SE.

On the surface of the mosaic were patches of a mortar or plaster accretion. It is conceivable that a later floor with a thin mortar bed had been laid on top of the mosaic, but no trace of such a floor survived and it would seem odd that such a floor would have left traces only in the central area and not around the edges. Another possibility is that the mortar derives from a new wall plaster that had been mixed on the floor when it was not desired to keep the mosaic in view. But it is also possible that the mortar is associated with activities at the time of the destruction of the house, perhaps deriving from mortar originally used in the roof to seat or seal tiles. Sealing the whole floor was a black sooty deposit of burnt material, including numerous nails with many broken roof-tiles, suggesting that the room had had a tiled timber roof. Fire may have brought the roof down on the floor. The burnt layer appears to lie directly on the mosaic and in places (e.g., on the N side of the figured panel) the mosaic shows scorch marks (fig. 4.8).

Room 2, corridor

The door from Room 1 led south between two pillars (1.8 m apart) of well-cut stone into Room 2 with a floor of smoothed bedrock (fig. 4.9). The pillar on the E was connected to the rock wall by packing. Room 2 is much smaller and on a slightly lower level than Room 1, and best interpreted as a corridor. Its E wall, formed of the same bedrock as the S wall of Room 1, is just 2 m long and at one end is cut by a door into Room 3. The wall is dressed and keyed to receive plaster which survives on the three preserved sides (fig. 4.10). Red plaster still adhered to the stones of the door frame and wall. Set in the E wall at about shoulder height is an arched oblong niche or alcove (50 cm high x 35 cm wide) (fig. 4.11).

Leading off the W side of the room was probably another door. The socket for a door pivot was located and in a burnt layer near ground level were the broken remains of a small iron grille, which may have belonged to a window in a door.

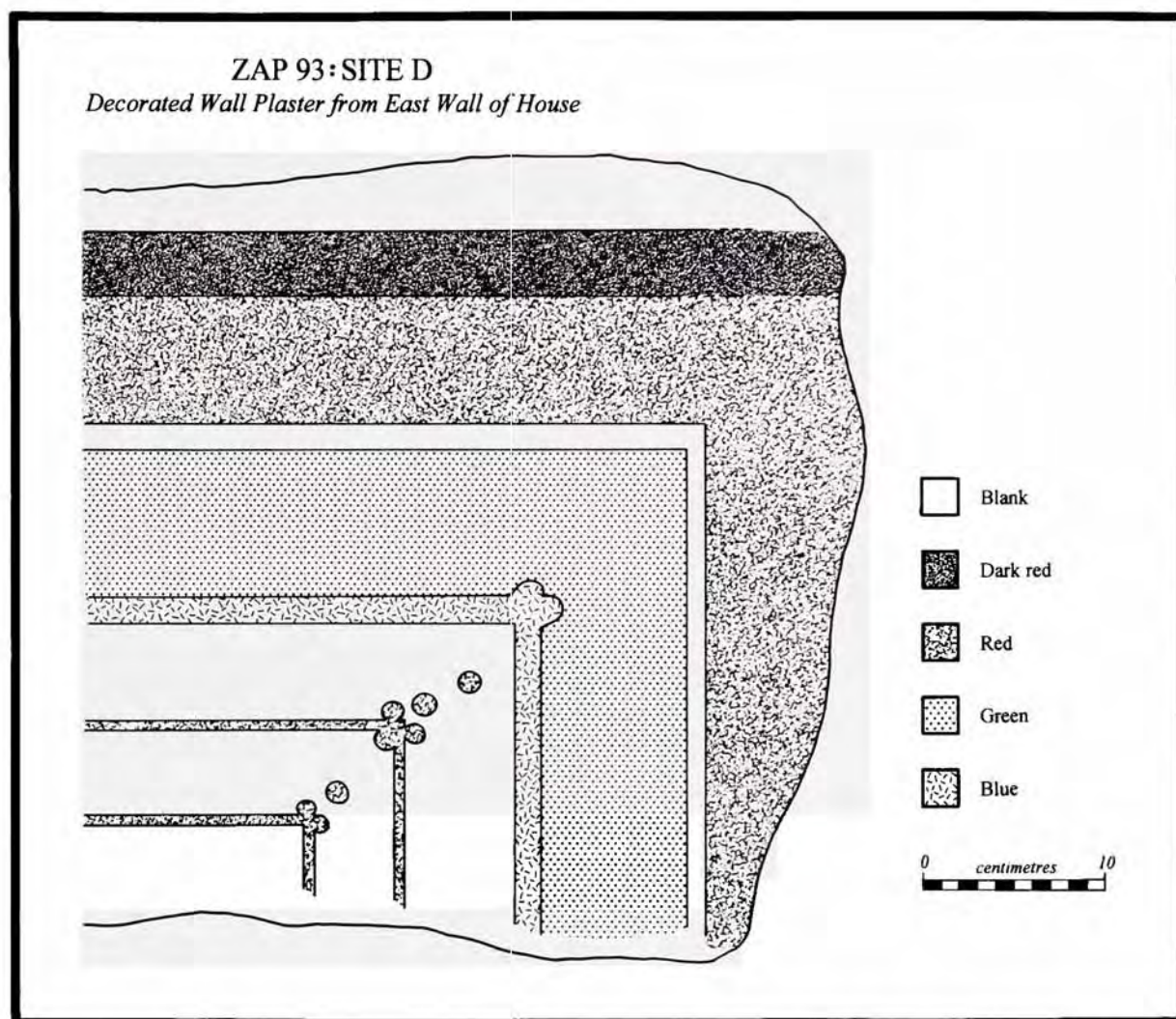


Fig. 4.10. Site D: drawing of decorated plaster with rectangular framing in different coloured bands in Room 2.

The fill in Room 2 (fig. 4.12) was somewhat different from that in Room 1. Above the floor was fine soil (005) hard packed to a depth of c.35-40 cm. A similar feature, although rather thinner and filling features cut into the floor, is found in Room 3, so it probably represents the slow accumulation of silt into the rooms after they had lost their roofs (in this room there was no evidence of burnt roofing materials). Overlying the fine soil was a charcoal-rich layer (003) (10-20 cm deep) (fig. 4.12), within which was a little tile and the metal grille mentioned above, and above were deposits of tile, individual mud-bricks, and degraded mud-brick (fig. 4.13). The hillwash above contained stones, fragments of tiles, and layers of pebbles.

Room 3

A door through the S wall of Room 2 led into Room 3 by a step up on to its bedrock floor. Only a small part of this room (2.35 m in width) was exposed because of the depth of overburden. Its E wall, 2 m long, again utilizes the bedrock, which is keyed with diagonal chisel-marks to receive plaster. Sections of plaster are preserved, including one large fragment at the S end which contained a decorative panel of painted lines of different thicknesses in shades of red, green and blue on a white background and what appear to be delicate representations of cherries. Some of the plaster showed signs of having been burnt. Lower down another patch bore graffiti in the form of at least 4 crude ladders (fig. 4.14). The N wall is built of large masonry blocks supporting mud-bricks which show signs of burning.

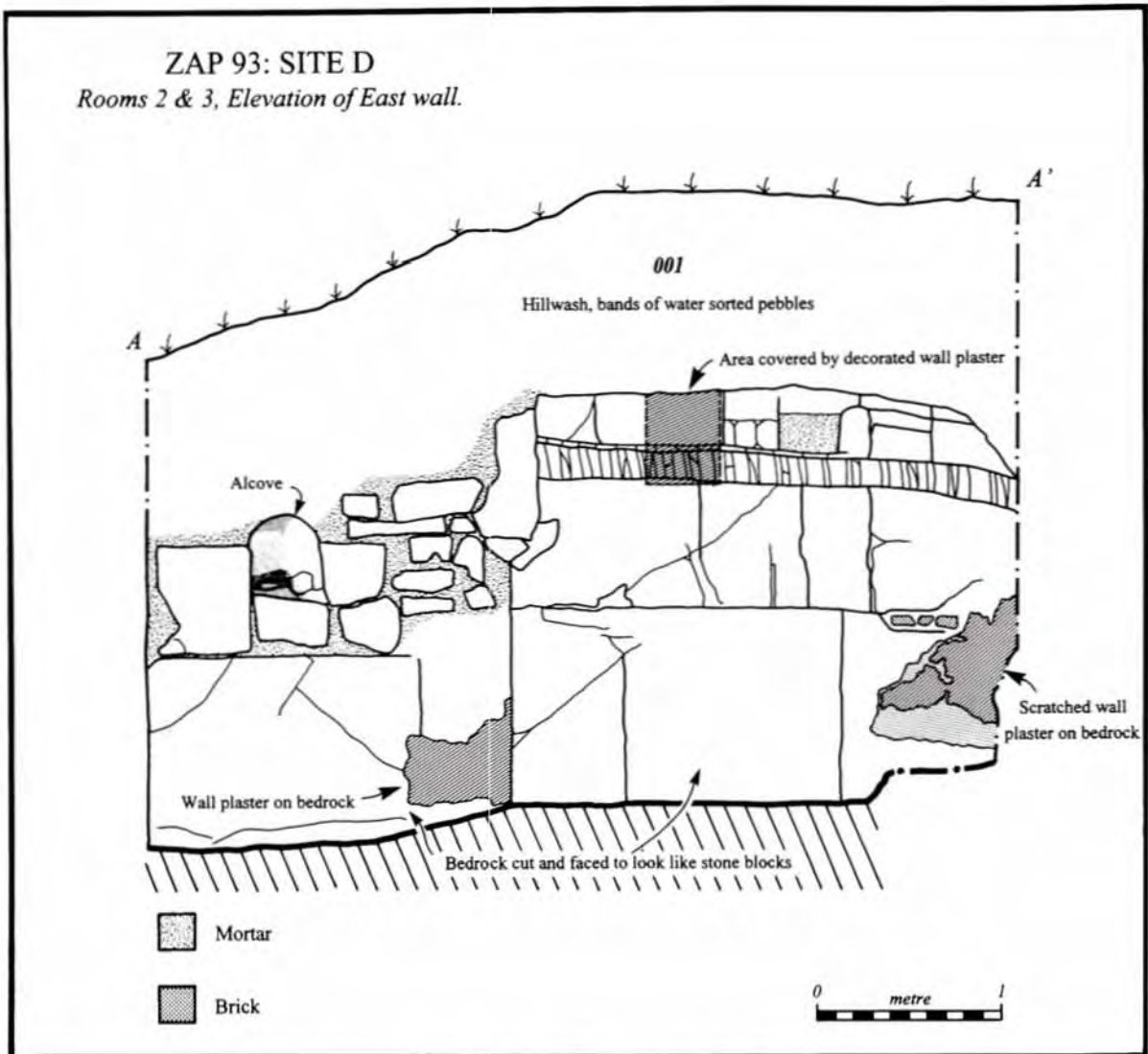


Fig. 4.11. Site D: section illustrating elevation of E wall of Rooms 2 and 3, and overburden.

Cut into the rock floor are two shallow tapering pits (one contained a corroded coin). They may have supported storage jars, perhaps for water brought from the cistern outside. Room 3 seems to have been a dark inner room or pantry largely cut into the rock and reached by way of Room 2.

The fill (fig. 4.15) consists of a layer of fine, hard-packed soil as in Room 2, though here only 8-18 cm deep. Above it in the middle of the room was a heap of stones, topped by a thick (35-40 cm) layer of burnt, charcoal-rich material extending into the room from the N. Above it was a mixture of tile fragments and broken mud-bricks and other materials similar to those in Room 2. Upside down at a high level was a large fragment of mosaic with its bedding, possibly derived from a room formerly standing at a higher level to the south.

Cistern and courtyard

Excavations NW of the doorway leading out of Room 1 revealed a small area of tessellated floor (2.15 E-W x 1.4 m N-S) (figs. 4.4, 4.16). It consists only of white tesserae, though a simple design may exist in the straight line of cubes in the S half, which contrast with the curving lines in the N where the cubes encircle the mouth of a cistern. The mosaic is now uneven and split and badly damaged around the sides (fig. 4.16). Particularly in the vicinity of the mouth of the cistern its surface had been extensively worn, creating a depression and the virtual loss of

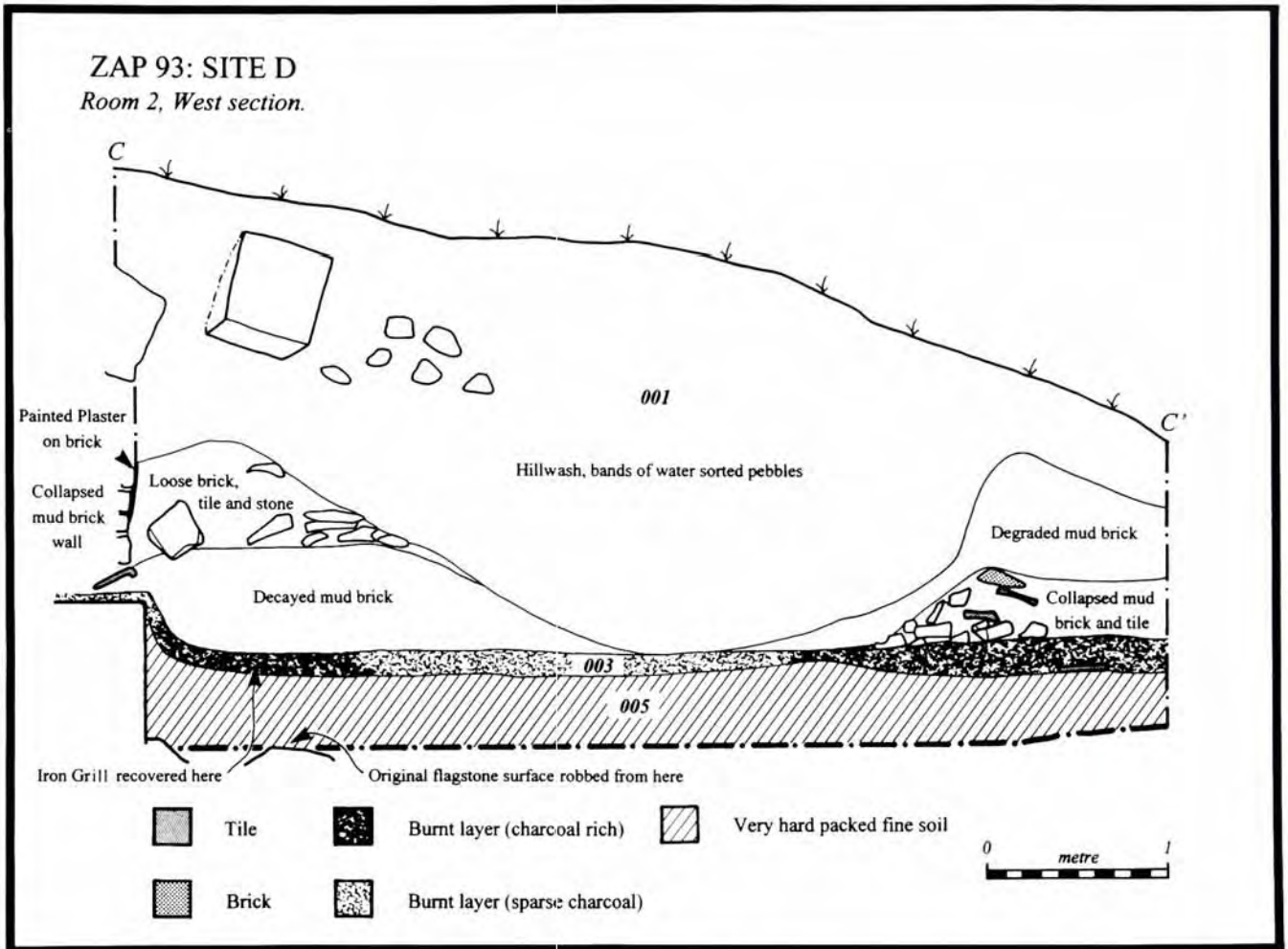


Fig. 4.12. Site D: section through fill in W side of Room 2.

join between individual cubes. In places there is evidence that the mosaic was covered with mortar, the patterns in the surface of which (fig. 4.16) suggest that a later tessellated floor had been placed on top but now has disappeared, perhaps as a result of its inadequate mortar bedding.

There were two openings into the large cistern on the slope below (fig. 4.4). The cistern (fig. 4.17a-b) was well preserved. Excavation in the vicinity of the openings revealed two water-channels draining into the cistern. One still contained at least two consecutive lengths of terracotta pipe, flanged at each end for close fitting (fig. 4.18). The other channel may have had a sump to trap silt before water reached the cistern.

Probably this cistern and associated courtyard served the house described above via the doors on the W sides of Room 1 and perhaps also Room 2. The overall size and shape of the courtyard has been lost through erosion of the hill to the N and W, but it probably extended beyond the more northerly opening, for a minimum size of 7.3 m N-S x 5.7 m E-W. Stones projecting from the N end of the W wall of Room 1 probably mark the continuation of that side of the courtyard.

Discussion

The various components described above seem to belong to a single, well-appointed house with at least 3 or 4 rooms and a courtyard with cistern below. Only a part of this house has been explored. Still to be located would be further living and sleeping rooms and perhaps a kitchen. Some may have been lost where the slope has eroded to the north of Room 1, while others lie



Fig. 4.13. Site D: courses of collapsed mud-brick in Room 2.



Fig. 4.14. Site D: blackened wall-plaster in Room 3 with "ladder" graffiti.



Fig. 4.16. Site D: detail of wear and later mortar coat on tessellated floor on S side of cistern mouth in the cistern courtyard.

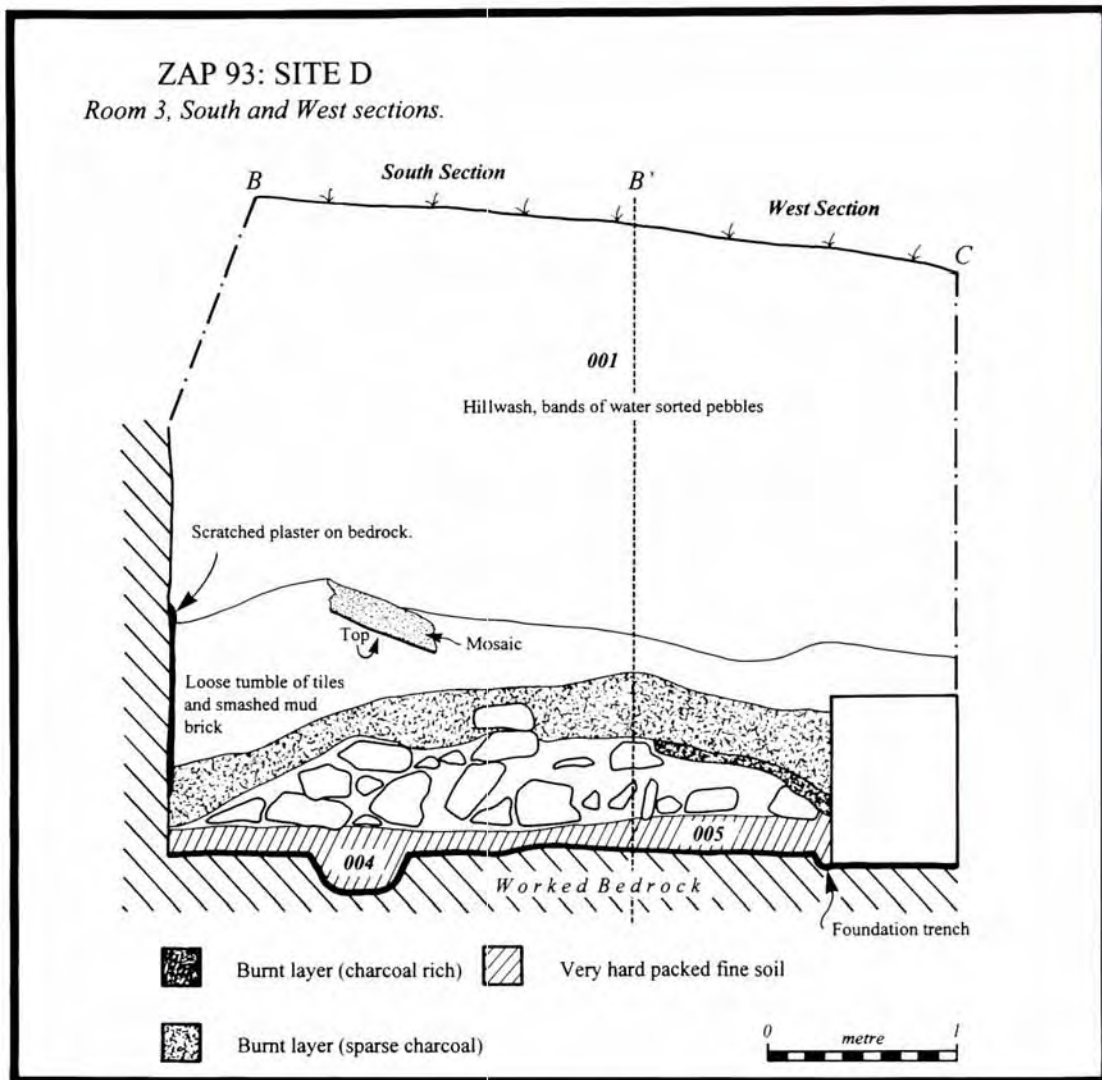


Fig. 4.15. Site D: Room 3, section on S and W sides.

presumably beneath the slope W and S of Rooms 2-3 and perhaps higher up that slope. The house is located in an airy location on a high bluff with magnificent views over the lower terraces, the river, and Apamea opposite. In fact it has a 'corner' location with a view in two directions. The choice of location is not unlike those of the probable house at site F (see p. 79) and the villa excavated by R. Ergeç (chapt. 5), although in the latter the principal rooms are oriented E-W. In the house at Site D the main entrance may have been on the W side, from the direction of the valley.

Little can be said about the date of construction and chronology. Nothing is known of any earlier occupation on this spot (the floors of Rooms 2 and 3 are bedrock). Room 1, containing a mosaic dated on stylistic grounds to the late 2nd or early 3rd c., has two layers of plaster and the second, inferior coat probably post-dates the mosaic. But the mosaic is in excellent condition (modern damage excluded) and shows little evidence of ancient wear. By contrast, the tessellated floor near the cistern suffered considerable wear and had to be paved over. The only other indication of a second phase of occupation prior to the destruction is the coarser plaster in Room 1 and the slight possibility that its mosaic had been plastered over. When the destruction and burning took place is also unknown, although the damage in Rooms 2 and 3 may have occurred later than that in Room 1, after hill-wash had covered the floors to a certain depth.

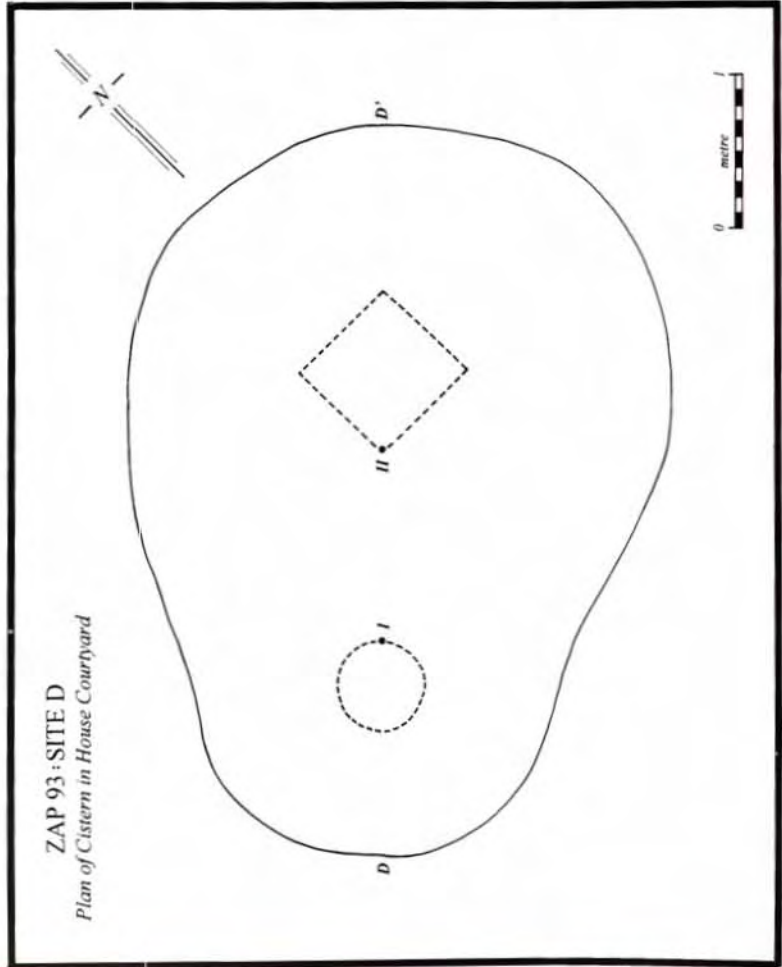
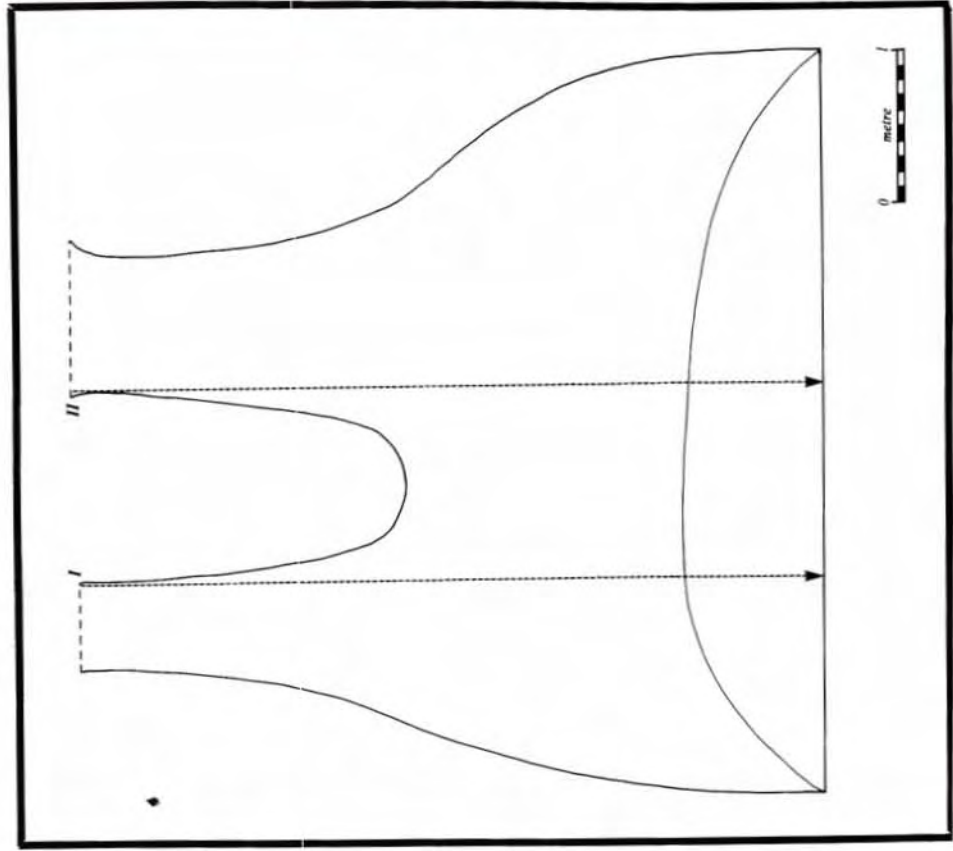


Fig. 4.17a-b. Site D: plan and section through the cistern beneath the courtyard.



Fig. 4.18. Site D: terracotta pipes exposed in channel leading into cistern in the cistern courtyard.

Other exploratory trenches

Site A, mosaic floor

Here on the E side of the valley a point was chosen where the soil lay only c.15-20 cm deep above a tessellated floor which survived *in situ*. The material above the floor was undifferentiated ploughsoil carried down from higher ground and containing a mixture of stones, sherds and tesserae. The monochrome pavement was quickly exposed (figs. 4.19-20) and may be dated stylistically to about the late 2nd c. (see pp. 119-21). Oriented roughly N-S, it has a white centre with a geometric design around the edge. Its preserved dimensions were 3.1 x 3.2 m. Although damaged, its design could be reconstructed (fig. 4.21, cf. figs. 7.16-18) and at least three of its original edges were located but all traces of the enclosing walls had disappeared (presumably removed for re-use). On its E side what appeared to be a threshold step led up out of the room (fig. 4.19). Down the slope the floor had been ploughed away and the ground drops sharply to a seasonal gully. Therefore it was decided not to extend the excavation further in that direction. The mosaic was not lifted.

Site B, wall

This site faces NE on a high terrace at the lower end of the valley looking down towards the river 40 m below (fig. 4.22). Walls had been partly exposed in a modern hole. Their scale suggested that they belonged to a monumental building. Brief examination revealed the presence of a substantial corner angle (fig. 4.23). Its character is unclear but it may be part of a platform for a house or its courtyard, unless it was part of a crude defensive wall.

Site E, four channels

On the terrace just above the E side of the valley, above the afore-mentioned sites, were traces of a water channel eroding out of the scarp where it dropped sharply to another terrace 20 m below. At the scarp itself we exposed the remains (Site E1) and then investigated them behind on the terrace to the south (E2). At E1 we cut a trench 6 m long into the hillside. At least 4 channels were exposed (figs. 4.24-26), all emerging at right-angles to the scarp which runs roughly E-W (fig. 4.25). Possibly they had simply emptied over the edge, but perhaps they led to cisterns now lost.

Channel 1 consists of 2 walls built of concrete and angular stones forming a tall narrow conduit c.90 cm high and 30 cm wide with a concrete roof. The inner walls have a smooth plaster coat (figs. 4.24, 4.26).



Fig. 4.19. Site A: detail showing robbed out walls and apparent threshold of structure.

Channel 2 survives as a single concrete wall similar to and 20 cm distant from channel 1. Its wall is c.80 cm high with plaster on its E (interior?) side. At the top the plaster curves outwards, perhaps implying that it had an open top or slabs (fig. 4.24).

Channel 3 is at roughly the same level as channels 1 and 2 and has similar concrete walls, but its W wall is wide (40 cm) compared to its E wall and the walls of the others (20 cm). The base of the channel is 30 cm wide and the channel is rectilinear in section. The walls are 40 cm high, coated in a fine smooth plaster (fig. 4.25), and capped by small slabs.

Channel 4 overlies channel 1, being set on a concrete 'raft' which serves partly for its walls, together with a free-standing wall c.20 cm wide on the W side. It is 25 cm wide at the base, rectilinear in section, and the walls survive only to a height of c.20 cm. There is a smooth plaster coat at the bottom and on the sides (fig. 4.25).

In situ in the base of channel 4 is a length of terracotta pipe, c.10 cm in diameter, which would have kept the water clean. At Site D a similar pipe was found opening into the top of a cistern, and it may be that these pipes also delivered water to cisterns. Two similar pipes were found at the house excavated by R. Ergeç (p. 81) and another is set vertically in the wall of the house at site F (p.79).

The relative sequence of the channels can be suggested. The similarity of channels 1 and 2 suggests that they are broadly contemporary, while channel 3 must post-date channel 2 because it was built where the E wall of channel 2 once stood. Channel 4 overlies channel 1 and is at a higher level than channels 1-3. None can be closely dated. Beyond channel 3 were several large well-shaped stones, some apparently *in situ* (fig. 4.25), whose purpose is unknown.



Fig. 4.20. Site A: view of tessellated floor in the house.

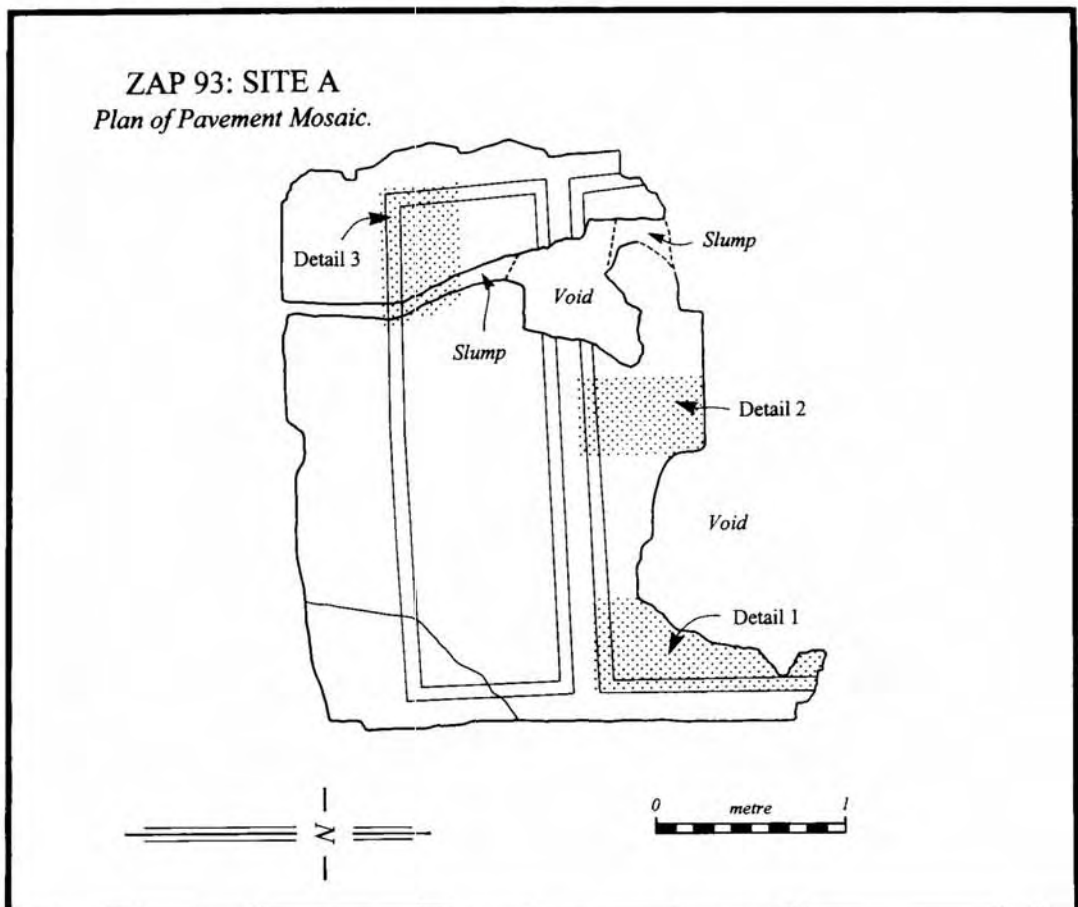


Fig. 4.21. Plan of Site A: details 1, 2 and 3 = figs.7.16-18.



Fig. 4.22. View upstream from Site D. Arrow marks the location of site B.

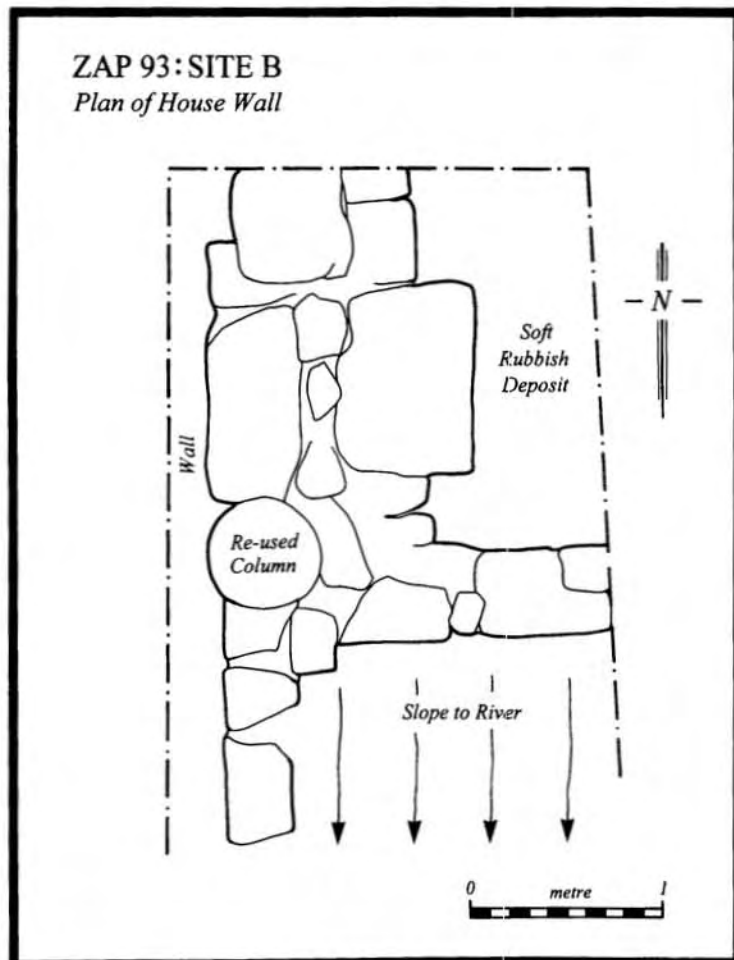


Fig. 4.23. Site B: plan.



Fig. 4.24. Site E1: channels excavated. Channel 3 is in foreground. Note plastered wall of Channel 2 behind.



Fig. 4.25. Site E1: looking over channel 4, with terracotta pipe *in situ* on lower right, and channels 1, 2 and 3 beyond. Note the distance down to lower terrace (top left). View to E.

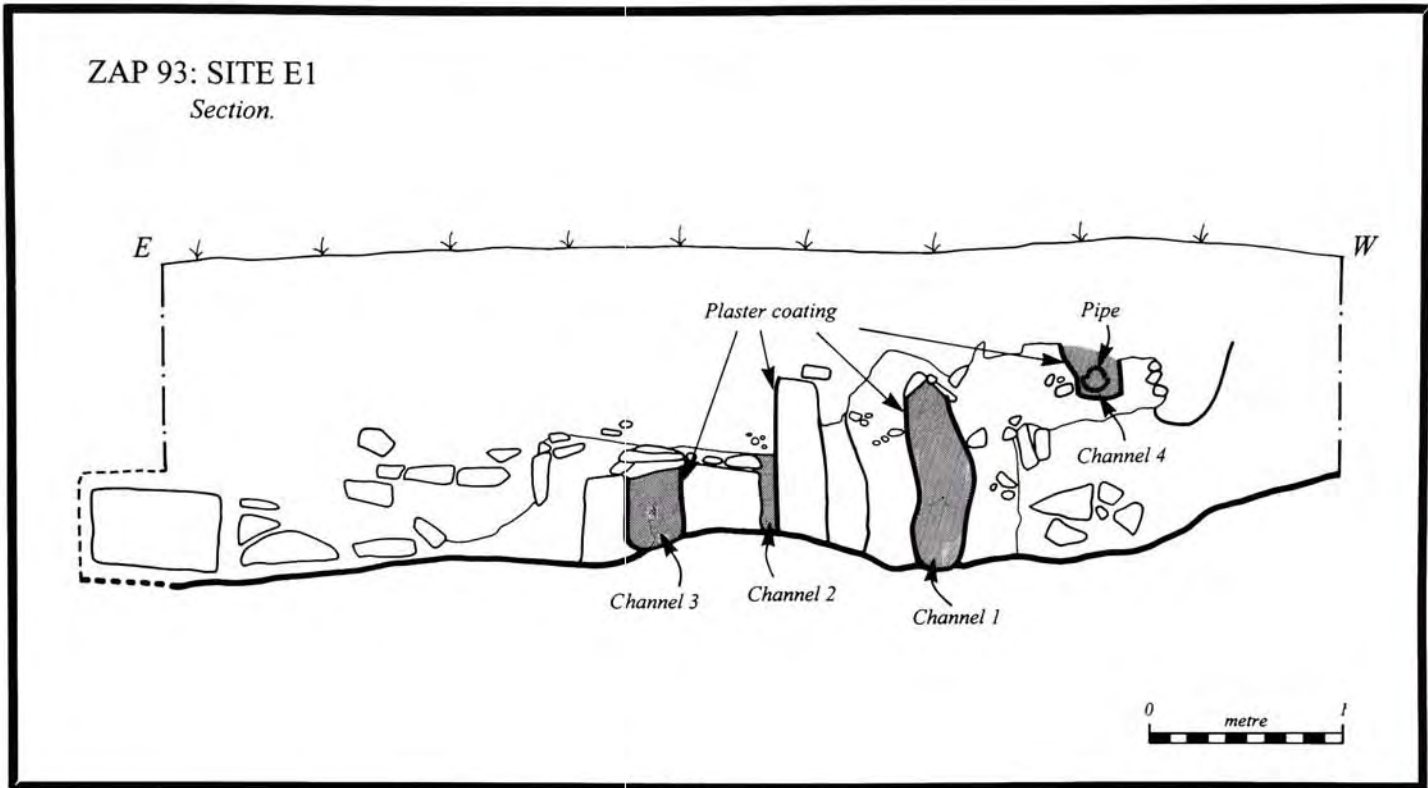


Fig. 4.26. Site E1: E-W section, looking S.



Fig. 4.27. Site E2, looking E.

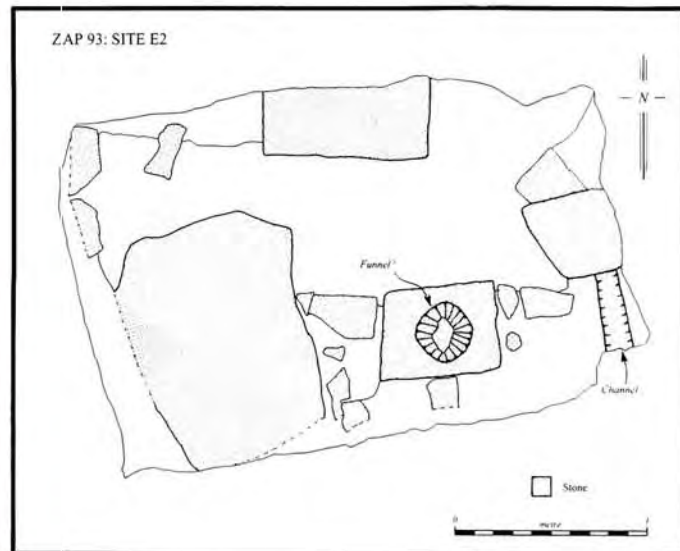


Fig. 4.28. Site E2: plan.

Site E2 lies on the terrace a few metres south of and just above E1. We wished to check the alignment of the channels. At a depth of c.1 m a number of large stone slabs were encountered (figs. 4.27-28) which proved to be cover-stones for a flat-bottomed channel c.20 cm wide. Some 50 cm to the west was a large rectangular stone pierced by a funnel-shaped hole giving access to a channel 54 cm below. This channel ran parallel to the other, heading for site E1. These two channels are on the same level and their centre-points are c.90 cm apart. This may suggest that they are the continuation of channels 1 and 2 whose centres are the same distance apart and which are at the same level. In that case, however, channel 2 further downslope would have been demolished and replaced by channel 3.

Site F, House(?) with mosaic floor

Site F lies on the scarp east of Site E1. Beneath a deep overburden a robber's tunnel revealed the presence of large well-cut masonry blocks forming the walls of a substantial structure. Because the scarp is precipitous, the rear section of our trench reached a depth of almost 5 m, at which point it was felt to be too unsafe and time-consuming to continue. Excavation exposed the foundation of a mortar floor from which a mosaic had been removed. Many fragments of its mortar base with tesserae still adhering, some with geometric designs, were found in the tunnel, as well as some corroded coins and much pottery, all of it presumably washed from the slopes above to the south. The outer, northern room with the mosaic floor had walls built to some extent of mudbrick, and within the thickness of one wall was a terracotta pipe evidently intended to carry water from higher up. The stone wall behind could not be traced far into the hill.

Conclusions

The above excavations have showed that in the lower sectors on the right bank ancient remains are to be found at no great depth, but that higher up they are concealed beneath thick (up to 2-3 m) deposits of soil and débris. The quality of preservation is directly related to the depth of the overlying fill. The best preserved remains were found on the bluffs of the hills where they drop away to the lower terrace (Sites D, E and F). Here deeply buried structures are present, including rooms hollowed out of or cut into the living rock, which are usually the best preserved. But erosion has preserved some remains and destroyed others. At Site F perhaps half of one room was missing. At E1 the channels terminated abruptly where a cistern might have been expected. At Site D there may have been another room north of Room 1. For future work it should be kept in mind that structural remains may often be found fallen onto lower terraces. South of the areas investigated at Sites B, D, E and F there were probably terraces with rooms built at a higher level.

Even in well-appointed structures there was extensive use of mud-brick in upper courses, as is traditional in this region and as is appropriate in an earthquake zone. A stone socle with a few masonry courses above would give sufficient solidity and protection from run-off on a steeply sloping site. The roofs, however, are classical, incorporating large terracotta roof-tiles. The very large numbers strewn over the site suggest that many buildings had shallow pitched roofs consisting of heavy tiles resting on a timber frame with a cushion of clay, rather than the flat roofs characteristic of an earlier period.

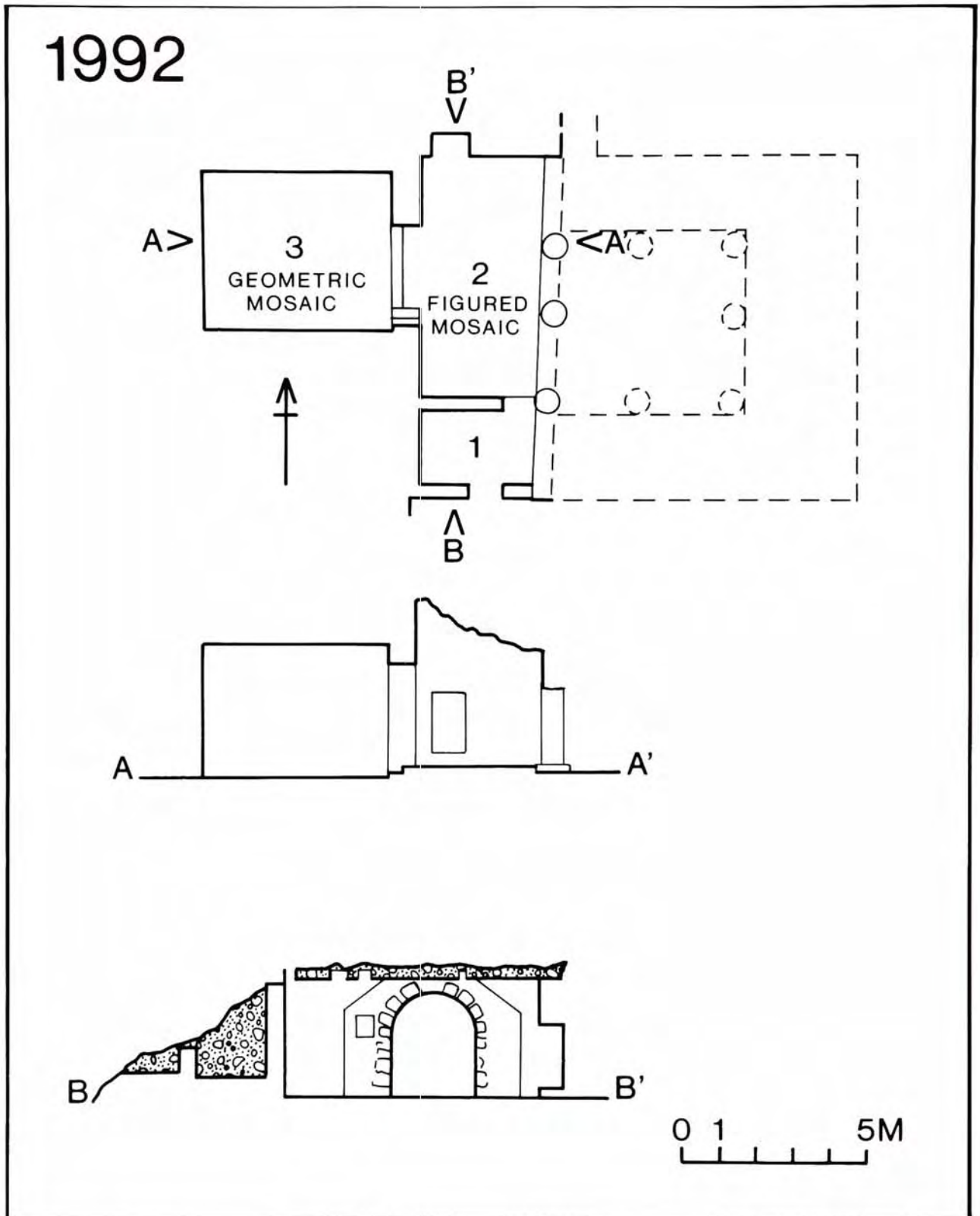


Fig. 5.1. Plan of the site in 1992. Point A marks the location of the robbers' tunnel (after Ergeç 1993).

Rescue excavations by the Gaziantep Museum (1992-94)

Rifat Ergeç¹

Introduction

The work of the Gaziantep Museum at Zeugma has been reactive, responding to chance discoveries requiring immediate attention. It has also been confined to the right bank (ancient Seleucia) as the remains opposite (Aparnea) fall within the territory of the Şanlıurfa Museum. Work in 1992, 1993 and 1994 included excavation on two houses and a tomb, and investigation of features and artefacts recovered in other locations. Finds include several rich mosaics, wall-paintings, tombstones, stone statuary, bronze and iron metalwork (including figurines and military equipment), glass and coins. Excavation on the principal villa extended across all three seasons; everything else has been limited in duration and extent.

PART 1: THE HOUSE OF THE DIONYSOS AND ARIADNE MOSAIC

In the spring of 1992, staff from the Gaziantep Museum investigated a robbers' tunnel discovered by the Site Watchman based in Belkis. It lay on a slope 30 m above (i.e., to the S of) the modern village road which passes through the site (figs. 1.4, 3.2 and 4.1). The tunnel's mouth was obscured by dense shrubs, but inside it was some 70 cm in diameter and ran to a depth of 3 m. At this lowest level, a floor could be seen with traces of mosaic. Such discoveries are not unusual at Zeugma. In this instance, the location is out of sight of the village and immediate excavation was imperative to forestall further robbing. The subsequent discovery of large, high-quality mosaics led us to conserve and protect the major pavements *in situ* and to investigate their structural context, which we did by clearing several rooms of the house in which they lay. The location is just above the waterline of the future lake.

The excavation of the villa

Initial excavation centred on removing the soil around the tunnel (point A on the plan, fig. 5.3). Parts of a wall and the drums of a column were encountered (fig. 5.2), and a second wall was revealed on the N side of the area (designated Area 1);² its lower part was formed of the living rock, the upper of masonry. Next to a column at the E end of this wall there was a gap in the wall, forming a doorway which opened to the N (fig. 5.3). The robbers' tunnel also continued through the doorway (into Area 2). There was no wall on the E side of the area that was cleared, but a small water-channel hollowed out of the rock and holding two earthenware water pipes, one on top of the other, was found. Of the S wall, whose inner face was composed of cut masonry, some stones were missing.

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- 1 Dr Ergeç prepared reports on his work at Zeugma in 1992, 1993 and 1994, chiefly for oral presentation at the annual conferences of his profession. Two were published in Turkish in publications difficult to obtain outside Turkey and a third made available in typescript. Because of their significance, Rifat Bey kindly agreed that an English summary of his principal findings could be included in this volume (the original texts (Ergeç 1993 [1992 season]; 1994 [1993 season]; and 1995 [1993-94 seasons]) included much repetition). I am grateful to Keith Jordan, David Shankland and Roger Matthews of the BIAA for their translations and for responding so rapidly to my many subsequent queries (DLK).
 - 2 For ease of reference the various components of the plan of the structure discussed here have been labelled Area 1, 2, 3 etc. on figs. 5.1 and 5.3 (DLK).

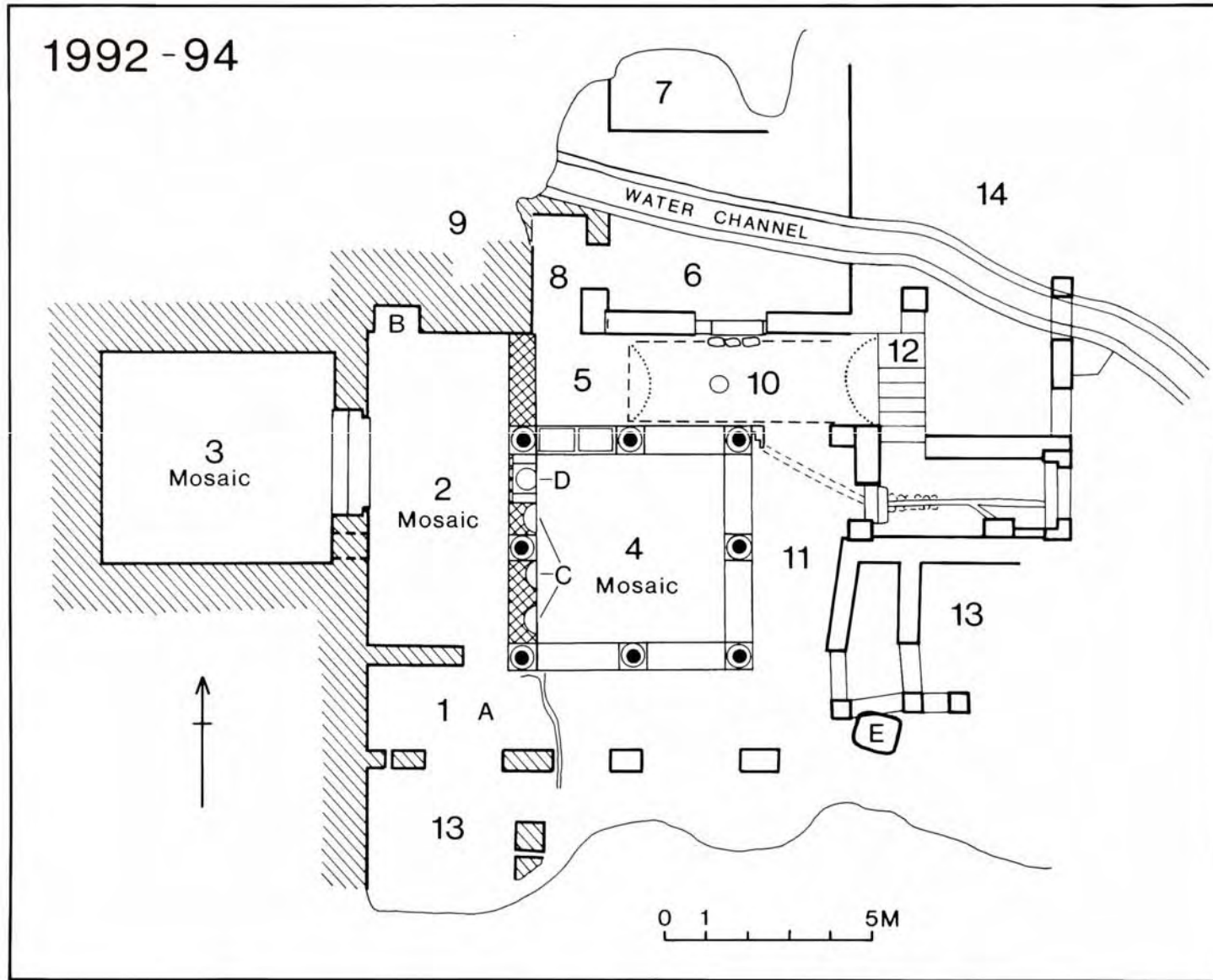


Fig. 5.3. Plan of the villa as revealed by the second season of excavation in 1993 (after Ergeç 1994, 1995).



Fig. 5.2. Preliminary expansion of the area around the entrance of the robbers' tunnel. View looking E towards the column at the SE corner of the colonnaded courtyard. The area enclosed by the column and the two lengths of wall is Area 1 (on fig. 5.3).

Working outwards from the doorway in the N wall of Area 1, excavation was continued in the direction taken by the robbers' tunnel. However, due to a difference of between 3.5 and 5.0 m between the sloping level of earth over this Area 2 and the mosaic floor below (fig. 5.1), excavation was recommenced from above. On the east a wall appeared, filling the gap between two columns. On the west, where the overburden was considerable as the slope rose, excavation encountered the masonry of an arched doorway and a window overlying a wall hewn from the natural bedrock (fig. 5.4) and running parallel to the wall on the E. Some pieces of column were found at different levels within the area. The S, N and W walls of the rectangular room that emerged were original (fig. 5.5). These had first been decorated with a fresco of bright red and green bands but later had been covered over with a heavier plaster formed of vertical bands 25-30 cm wide in cherry and navy-blue colours. The plaster had become rough and uneven and, where it had fallen off, revealed the underlying walls to be of natural limestone bedrock infilled with masonry (some carefully cut) where the natural rock had disintegrated (fig. 5.5).

At the W corner of the N wall of this room was a very deep niche (fig. 5.5; B on fig. 5.3) which may once have held the glass found in areas 2 and 3. On the E side it was apparent that the wall was a later infill between the columns of what had originally been an open colonnade. Near the middle of this E wall was the mouth of a well or cistern (see below).

Area 3, which lies to the west of Area 2, was entered by an arched door 2.3 m wide and 2.7 m high (figs 5.1, 5.4 and 5.5). The room behind was almost entirely hollowed out of the living rock, producing a roughly square plan, 5.4 x 4.9 m. Only the uprights of the arched doorway and the arches were made of cut masonry. The side walls rise perpendicularly to 2.5 m, then continue in the form of an arched or groined vault to a height of 3.8 m (fig. 5.6). The walls had been plastered to a height of about 2 m but much had fallen away (the local soft limestone dries and cracks when exposed to air). Enough remained, however, to suggest that decoration on the W wall had consisted of vertical painted bands between which were equilateral quadrilaterals, vertically placed. In the middle of the quadrilaterals was a decoration of curvilinear motifs. The lines that form this decoration are 7-8 cm thick; the shapes are not infilled. A piece of por-



Fig. 5.4. View looking west in Area 2. The arched doorway and the rectangular window into Area 3 have emerged. Note the robbers' entry and exit tunnels into that room near the bottom of the fill.



Fig. 5.5. Arched doorway into Area 3, looking NW. Note the large niche (B in fig. 5.3) in the N wall of Area 2.



Fig. 5.6. Area 3 showing the natural cave and vaulted roof over the geometric mosaic of the *triclinium*.

phyry in the shape of a trapezoidal prism found in Area 3 is close in dimensions to those of the gaps found in the plaster suggesting that such decorative pieces had been set in the plaster.

The rod sockets of the door, which was probably wooden, can be seen on both sides of the arch (fig. 5.6). The window (65 x 50 cm) to the south of the door (fig. 5.4) was designed to light a room which was in actuality a cave. The overburden in that area extended 2.5 m above the threshold. Two column drums from the E side of Area 2 were found in it.

In 1993 and 1994 work continued eastwards from Areas 1 and 2. In Area 4 the fill contained mud-bricks measuring 8 x 35 x 40 and 8 x 40 x 57 cm. Some of the fill was in blocks, apparently collapsed sections of walls. In the same level were found other columns, the lower drum *in situ*, the upper nearby often at the correct elevation, suggesting they had fallen only after the fill had reached that height (fig. 5.7). Lower down, the fill contained more mud-brick, pieces of charred wood, and large numbers of iron nails and pieces of lead bands.

The peristyle

When fully cleared, the area proved to be a square of 4.6 m surrounded by 8 columns, three on each side, forming a peristyle court. Further excavation revealed the covered corridors behind the columns (Areas 5, 11 and 13), counterparts to that on the W uncovered in 1992 (Area 2). The 8



Fig. 5.7. Collapsed column and drum in peristyle court. Note mud-brick in section above.



Fig. 5.8. Looking west across the peristyle court and its geometric mosaic. The bricked-up wall between the columns on the W side now lies beneath the wall of the protective covering for the Dionysos and Ariadne mosaic. On the right are Areas 5 and 6, with the opening and basalt cover for the subterranean vault (10), columns which surround the peristyle date from the same time as the original villa. Including the capital, the columns are made of 4 parts of different lengths. The shaft of the column, c.1.30 m between base and capital, is fluted. Base and capital are continuations of the end drums. The capitals are Doric with a fine, convex neck followed by a swelling echinus and abacus. To judge by their distinctive features, they belong to a late period. Although some columns could be restored entirely, others were incomplete (fig. 5.8).

Below the peristyle's courtyard is a cistern. The entrance was located between two of the columns on the W side (D on fig. 5.3). It consists of a pierced circular basalt stone at the opening, on either side of which are two stone pillars with sockets for a pulley. Evidently the cistern could be reached from Areas 2 and 4. Covering the mouth was a fine brick of a type characteristic of the Late Roman period.

As noted earlier, the space between the columns on the W side at least had been filled in with mud-bricks, thereby turning Area 2 into a separate room. The wall overlay the cistern's mouth and was dated approximately by the brick used to close the cistern since, once built, the wall made the cistern inaccessible. In the E side of this mud-brick wall are three niches with circular bases and plastered interiors (C on fig. 5.3).

A mosaic pavement with geometric decoration covers the open central area of the peristyle (fig. 5.8; cf. fig. 7.15; see further p. 119 for details). The middle section of the mosaic was damaged, apparently in antiquity.

Excavation beyond the peristyle

In the portico on the N side (5) were found 5 drums of a column, different to and longer than those of the peristyle. We found no plinth. The floor of the portico is of compressed mortar, in the middle of which was an opening stoppered by a circular basalt block with a small central hole (fig. 5.8). It led down through a short plaster-coated neck to a vault-like room (10). This vault, a narrow rectangle, steep-sided, and hewn out of the rock, measures 5.5 x 2 m and is 1.85 m high. The E end of this room is filled with earth where there has been collapse. There are small niches; to judge by traces of soot, it would appear to have been lit by candles or lamps.

The N portico's rear wall, formed in part from the natural bedrock, in part from limestone blocks, was pierced by an opening with two steps leading into a large chamber (6). Although there were no mosaics, the walls were decorated with plaster and coloured frescoes, including panels made of gypsum. These have borders of concave and convex profile the interiors of which are painted with decorative coloured geometric shapes. Roots had infiltrated behind the plaster, which crumbled upon exposure.

High up in the fill of Area 6 we found a water conduit cutting diagonally across the area. It was built of small stones and coated in plaster; its base was lined with ceramic tiles. It had no covering, implying its use for waste rather than fresh water. From its elevation it would seem that the conduit was constructed after the villa had been destroyed and buried. Whether Area 7 is a continuation of Area 6, or a separate room divided by a wall preserved under the conduit, could not be established. Although the W wall of Area 7 is plastered, its S wall is not and was crudely built with simple stones more in character with the material of the conduit. The débris in Area 7 may be the remains of an underground cellar.

At the W end of Area 6, opening off the portico (5), is a corridor with plastered walls (8) which may have led to an upper storey (9) (unexcavated).

The E end of the peristyle is the sector which underwent the greatest change, either in the villa's second phase or in a later period. As the plan shows, excavation in 1994 revealed a staircase (12) beyond the NE corner of the portico, leading upwards. It had been thought that a street might lie beyond this point, but none has yet been found. South of the staircase the walls are of small stones which run south in a crooked line enclosing Area 13, itself divided by an irregular wall. These walls do not conform to the general plan of the villa and are probably of a late date after the villa had been destroyed. Area 13 has a rich burnt level which consists of iron nails mixed with ash, pieces of charred wood, and amorphous remains of much more burnt material. At the S end of the area was found the opening of a cistern (E on fig. 5.3). Cutting through the floor of the E portico is a water channel which originates in the courtyard of the peristyle and forks as it runs through Area 14 (a corridor).

The mosaics

The original objective had been to locate and remove the mosaic revealed in the robber's tunnel. However, the entire floor of Area 2 was found to be covered by a single and very striking mosaic illustrating a scene with 10 figures (see pp. 109-17). The robbers had attempted to remove a section consisting of the central figures by cutting vertically between the fourth and fifth figures and horizontally above the fifth and sixth. There is more damage further right which has destroyed most of the head of the seventh figure and a little of the head of the eighth. At that point they had evidently abandoned the enterprise. Most mosaics at Zeugma are set on a thick block base which has allowed robbers to lift substantial sections with little risk of the scene collapsing, but in this case only a simple shallow mortar base made from brick dust and lime had been put down as a bed for the mosaic on the smoothed surface of the bedrock. Fortunately neither the robbers nor the collapse of the columns had much effect on the figured scene.

Facing the same problem as the robbers, and because its size would have created a problem in displaying it, we decided to conserve it within its architectural context, the W portico of the peristyle, which had later been converted into a room by bricking up the columns (see above). After cleaning, the vulnerable edges and damaged areas were sealed with a strong adhesive mortar. Hollows were packed with small stones, then filled with mortar to prevent further loosening of the tesserae. Colouring agents allowed a match to the general colour tones.

In Area 3, the cave-like room to the W, conditions were rather different. Unlike Area 2, the fill inside was only partial – deep in the doorway but falling away steeply to the rear. The geometric mosaic beneath was cleaner and more free of damage; it had been covered by less dissolved lime from the soil, and its colours were more vivid (fig. 5.6).³

Small finds

A number of notable objects were recovered from the villa. Most abundant were those in Areas 2 and 3, where layer 18, between c.50 and 70 cm above the floor, was particularly rich in finds.

In the niche in the N wall of Area 2 (B on fig. 5.3), and below on the ground, in a burned and very rusted condition, were found keys, daggers, knives and other iron items (fig. 5.9, colour), as well as a small bronze spoon with spout. At higher levels, a bronze oil lamp with the head of an African and an enclosed handle and lid was found, as well as a figurine of Hermes astride a horse which had been fixed to the wall with an iron nail, with which it then became fused (fig. 5.10, colour). Also found was an Eros figurine together with detached wings (fig. 5.11, colour); in the left hand of the Eros, which was very corroded, was a horn of plenty, while his right hand had held an object (now missing), probably an arrow or bow.

Other bronze statuettes and a large quantity of weights are thought to have fallen during the collapse of a hypothetical second storey. The bronze Hermes figurine, a badly damaged animal figurine, and an arm belonging to a male figurine had probably fallen into Area 2 with the collapse of the hypothetical upper floor, then been carried sideways into Area 3 in the midst of the rubble which partly filled it.⁴

An important discovery of the 1994 season, recovered in Area 14, was the piece of sword; it included an alloyed hilt with decoration of reclining lions.

3 Discussion of these two mosaics as works of art in the original Turkish articles is now superseded by the full treatment by Campbell and Ergeç below (chapt. 7). Here it need only be added that many of the colours in the mosaics can be matched in stones still found along the banks of the Euphrates. The question of whether the remaining colours are local or imported has yet to be investigated.

4 The bronze items were found in a very corroded state and required extensive conservation.



Fig. 5.9. Metalwork from the niche in the N wall of Area 2.



Fig. 5.10. Bronze statuette of Hermes holding a moneybag.



Fig. 5.11. Winged statuette of Eros holding a horn of plenty.



Fig. 1. Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic.

Protection work

The decision taken, due to their interest for visitors, to conserve the mosaics *in situ* made it necessary to build a secure room over Area 2. It had to be constructed so as to provide protection from robbers or vandals and to keep out water. The room was constructed in such a way that visitors who did not wish to enter could view the figured mosaic from above by sliding back a roof panel, below which we placed a reinforced mesh screen (fig. 5.8).

Conclusion

As a result of three seasons' work on this building, we may conjecture that we are dealing with a Roman villa measuring c.20 x 20 m with a peristyle forming its core. To judge by the few artefacts and coins found, as well as the architecture, frescoes and the mosaic workmanship, the first phase of the villa may be dated to the 1st c. A.D. The 1993 excavations provided evidence that some time after the villa was built it underwent changes in plan and was partitioned. Later, and probably in the 3rd c., it was abandoned following a fire.

PART 2: OTHER DISCOVERIES

The upper villa

In 1994, reports of a damaged mosaic found upslope of the House of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic led to an investigation. The mosaic lay in a terraced area. After removal of later wall fragments, the pavement was exposed. It consisted of a grided design, each panel richly decorated (fig. 5.12). The central panel has a badly damaged standing figure beside which is the name ΤΕΛΕΓΕ.⁵ A grid created square panels in the corners within which were heads with names beside them (fig. 5.13) and rectangular panels between the squares (fig. 5.12) within which survive a fish, a goat, and a rabbit. The mosaic was removed to the Gaziantep Museum.⁶



Fig. 5.12. Mosaic pavement in the Upper Villa.



Fig. 5.13. Detail of figure in corner of same mosaic.

⁵ Cf. below p. 203 for a Flavius Telegonos on a Zeugma tombstone.

⁶ This mosaic was not shown to S. Campbell in 1995 and hence is not included in chapt. 7.

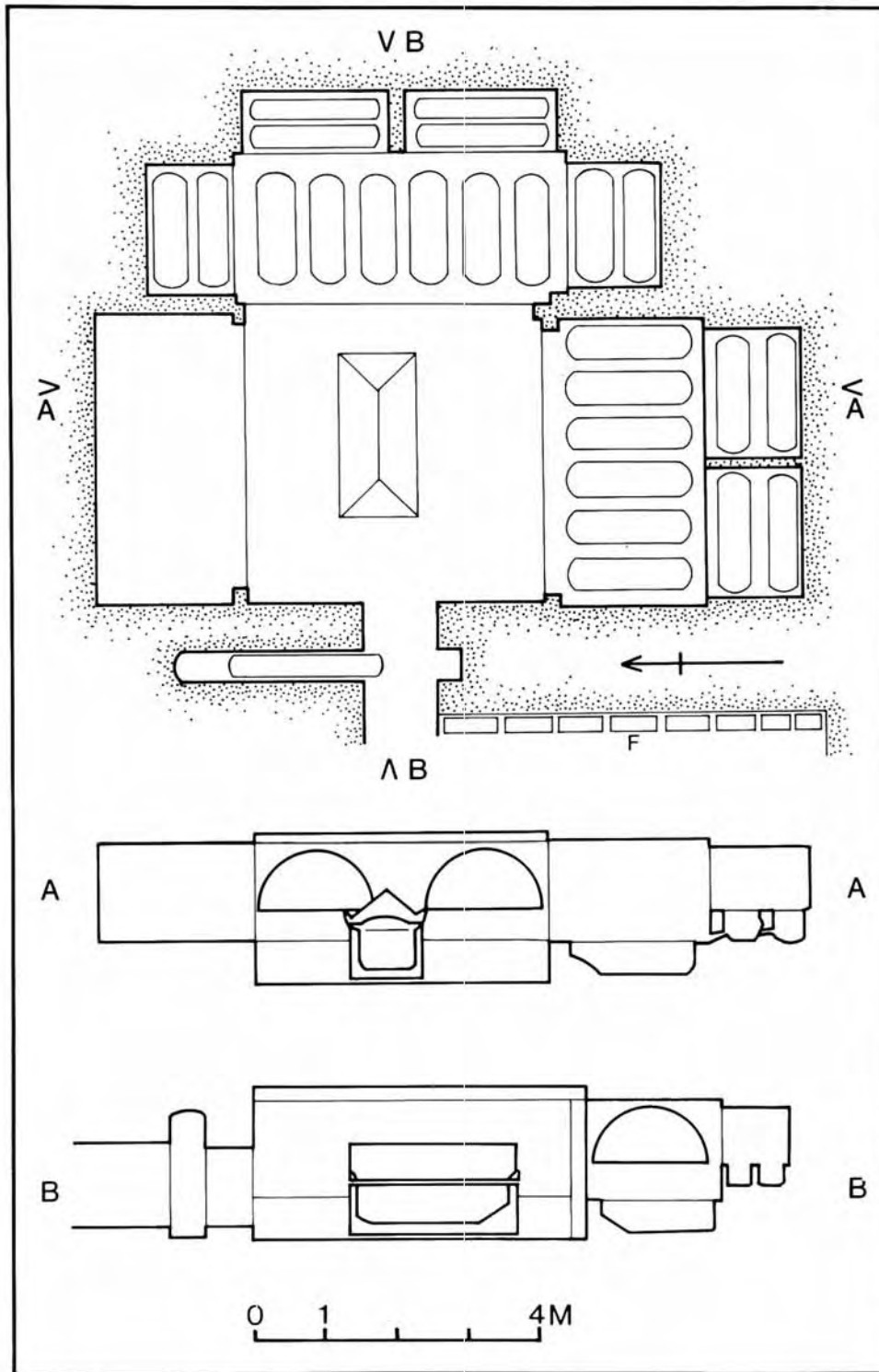


Fig. 5.14. Plan of tomb chamber near Belkis village.

Tomb chamber

On the S side of Belkis village a new tomb was discovered on the slope above the gully called Şelte Deresi. In the limited time available it was possible only to prepare a plan and note the presence of a number of graves (fig. 5.14). The tomb had not been looted and was still closed by a cylindrical stone at the doorway. In front of the entrance was a terrace identified as as



Fig. 5.15. Female and male head on decorated block.

a sacred area, recalling that before the royal tomb at Nemrud Dağ. At the E end were found 8 stelae still arranged in a row (F in fig. 5.14). They varied from 1.3 to 1.5 m in height and each bore a decoration of the eagle or wicker basket so common in this region (cf. p. 95). They were removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Other finds

Following the report of the Site Watchman concerning a tomb found when road-works were being carried out near Belkis, a limestone statue of a male was recovered nearby. In the bed of a gully not far from the tomb was found a large stone block: its rear is badly damaged but on the face a male and female figure are visible (fig. 5.15) (the head of a third figure was already damaged).

Also recovered in the villa were bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius and Julia Domna, the latter with 12 signs of the zodiac.

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- id. (1994) "Belkis/ Zeugma Kurtarma Kazısı 1993" (unpublished typescript).
- id. (1995) "1993-1994 Belkis/ Zeugma Kurtarma Kazıları," *VI Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri*, 24-26 Nisan 1995, *Didim* (Ankara): 357-69.

Inscriptions on stone, ceramic and mosaic

David Kennedy and David Graf

Introduction

Although there had been several western visitors to the site in the 18th and 19th c., the earliest notice of epigraphic evidence from around Belkis is by Chabot (1900: 279-83) of his findings during a journey in Syria in 1897. Other visitors followed and in particular Cousin (1904: 347) and Cumont (1910; 1917: 42-48) were able to add to the corpus. All recorded more texts which were then brought together in the first volume of the *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (IGLS) published in 1929. In that volume Jalabert and Mouterde recorded under Zeugma 32 inscriptions (nos. 93-124), all in Greek. That total, however, included 10 (nos. 115-124) that were the names of the provinces from what had been a single mosaic (see p. 129). Elsewhere in the volume they proposed that two other inscriptions, from Gaziantep (no. 84) and Birecik (no. 126) respectively, might also be from Belkis.

By 1976 the number known had increased considerably, Wagner being able to list 162, including the inscriptions on stone of IGLS (but not the mosaic texts). His catalogue¹ included the first texts reported from the site of Apamea on the E bank,² and the first Latin inscriptions (4 military texts³ and 3 civilian⁴) as well as the first public inscription and the first altar.⁵ He did not include mosaic inscriptions but did publish 7 military tile stamps, all in Latin (cf. pp. 133-35).⁶ A few years later Gibson⁷ published two inscriptions from a private collection which she argued were sufficiently like those catalogued by Wagner to permit attribution to Zeugma. Subsequently there have been several proposed additions, principally the distinctive figured tombstones identified in private collections and in sale catalogues;⁸ several of those published have been the subject of revision.⁹

The inscriptions of Zeugma are widely scattered. In addition to those still to be seen built into the walls in the village and cut in relief directly onto the walls of tombs in the cemeteries around Belkis, Jalabert and Mouterde had included several which had been kept in the American College in 'Aintab (Gaziantep) since the mid 19th c. (IGLS I: 76-77, nos 108-11; cf. 71, no. 84).¹⁰ But many others have strayed much further: IGLS and Wagner record texts from

1 Wagner's presentation of the texts is set out in several parts with separate numbering of the texts. The Greek texts have been taken up in SEG 26 (1976-77): 1498-1622 and a correction at SEG 29 (1979): 1584. Some of the Latin texts were published in AE as noted below.

2 Wagner 1976: 84, nos 1-2; SEG 26 (1976-77): 1488-89.

3 Wagner 1976: 132-36, nos 1-4; AE 1977: 818-22.

4 Wagner 1976: 216, no. 75; 231, no. 103; 262, no. 149.

5 Wagner 1976: 130-31.

6 Wagner 1976: 136-43, no.5.1-5.7; AE 1977: 823.

7 Gibson 1979: 267-73; pls XVIa and b; SEG 29 (1979): 1582-83.

8 Vermeule and Neuerburg 1973: 39, no. 87 (=SEG 30 [1980]: 1661), republished by Koch 1988: 106-7, no. 39 (=SEG 38 [1988]: 1543); Jones 1985 (=SEG 35 [1985]: 1474); Skupinska-Løvset 1985: 108-9, 118, 123-25 (=SEG 37 [1987]: 1396-99). The discoveries by the last are conveniently summarised in SEG 37 (1987): 1400; the article itself, however, seems to leave the way open for more of those discussed possibly to be from Zeugma. Note in particular the impressive tombstone of Nardos Chalbos, in a collection in Bonn and attributed only to Syria (Skupinska-Løvset 1985: 101 and n.8; full publication by Künzl 1972). The texts from the "provinces" mosaic have also received attention: cf. p. 129.

9 Most extensively, those by Robert and Robert (1977) but see also Speidel 1977; Gabelmann 1979; Jones 1985; cf. chapt. 10, Appendix III (M. P. Speidel) (p. 203).

10 Subsequently transferred with the other antiquities of the College to the Gaziantep Museum.

Zeugma held in the museums of Şanlıurfa, Adana, Ankara and Istanbul, as well as across the frontier at Aleppo, and now there are the two proposed by Gibson from the privately-held Rahmi Koç Collection in Istanbul. It is probable that others, not explicitly attributed to Zeugma, remain to be identified in public and private collections in Turkey and overseas.

Of the inscriptions so far known, the great majority are in Greek; only a few (including the tile stamps) are in Latin. So far no texts in any of the local native languages such as Syriac and Armenian have been reported, nor are any in other local languages of the broader Near East.

New inscriptions, 1993

In the course of fieldwork, 26 unpublished items were recorded. Almost all are fragmentary. They are a stamped tile, a text on a mosaic, a graffito and 22 items on stone, of which 14 retain text, the remainder being fragments of larger monuments which probably had been inscribed. Most were found on the slopes of the hill called Kırkbayır or amongst the antiquities set up in the grounds of the Belkis village school. Almost all are funerary inscriptions. With the exception of the mosaic inscription which was left *in situ* (but has subsequently been removed, see p. 121), all other items were delivered to the Gaziantep Museum.

Two inscriptions were found on the surface of the town at Seleucia:

1 (ZAP 1.1): Part of a stamped terracotta tile found beside the modern track through the site (fig. 6.1). Unlike all other military stamps reported on the site, it lies east of the site proposed for the fortress and may well have been moved and abandoned in recent years. Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

The tile is broken on all 4 sides, one of which cuts through the text. The letters are set within a rectangular sunken panel H 4 cm and L at least 7 cm. With the exception of the letter E which is H 1.75 cm, all the other letters are 3.5 cm. The text reads:

LEG III[...]

It must certainly be restored, like all the others reported (pp. 133-35), to read LEG III[I SCY(THICA)].

2 (ZAP 1.2): Fragment of a larger inscription found at Belkis on the riverside track upstream of the village and c.100 m from the entrance to the "Valley of the Mosaics" (fig. 6.2). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

White/light brown limestone. Damaged on all sides although top edge may be the chipped original. Back of stone may have been damaged as well, suggesting the inscribed surface has been cut away from a larger block. Dimensions: H 11 cm at centre; W 9 cm at centre; Th 4.5 cm. One line of letters preserved; H of letters 5 cm. Letters are carefully cut; D 4 mm.

TO[...]

There is a hint of a cross bar to the second letter but it is probably due to later damage. The text reads: [...?] To [.../ ...?]

Three inscriptions were removed from the village school where they had been set up at some time after Wagner's work:

3 (ZAP 1.18): A well-preserved tombstone (fig. 6.3). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Rectangular limestone, weathered grey/green colour. Found in two pieces, split horizontally across the stone on a shallow diagonal. Piece missing from left edge where stone is split; a second piece missing from bottom left; a few small marks on surface. Dimensions: H 73 cm; W 60 cm; Th 22 cm. Two small square holes near top edge and a third in bottom left for attaching the stone by brackets to the tomb.¹¹ Shallow X marked on right frame.

Relief of eagle with outstretched wings, head facing right. Above is a garland attached to the interior of the niche. The whole is set within a gabled aedicula with rosette in the pediment and small acroteria. Those with an eagle – numbering 70 in Wagner's catalogue (1976: 157) – are the commonest of the relief-decorated tomb-

11 This is the traditional explanation. However, the relief tombstones in Tomb 1 (cf. nos. 18-23 below) have a series of such holes in the rock face in and around the tombstones. In this instance the holes must be for attaching something to the front (cf. p. 43).



stones recorded. Wagner Type I ("Aedicula") (1976: 156-61 and Abb. 19).

Two lines of letters on smoothed surface beneath eagle, each set out between two faintly incised guidelines. Letters are of a square shape, broadly incised: H 3 cm, D 2 mm.

ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΝΙΚΗ
ΤΟΥ ΑΛΥΠΕΞΑΙΡΕ

The text reads: Δούκιος Ανικέτου, ἄλυπε χάρει. ("Lucius, son of Anicetus, who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

Both names are Roman rather than Greek or even Romanised/hellenised versions of a semitic name. Lucius is paralleled in 3 previously published texts at Zeugma: (a) the feminine form in an epitaph from the E end of the East necropolis, Δουκία Πείσων (b) Δούκιος Μερκούριος (c) Δούκιος Φάβιος Τραϊανός. A form of the father's name is recorded once already: Ἀνεύκτης.¹²

Lucius, a *praenomen* normally, is colourless, probably indicating a native who has adopted a Roman name. Anicetus is not included by Kajanto (1965; 1966) as a *cognomen*, but it is listed 12 times in Dessau (1892-1916), in 4 cases as the name of a freedman. It is listed in *IGRR* twice for individuals at Rome (I, 273) and in *Moesia Inferior* (I, 1434).

4 (ZAP 1.19): A well-preserved tombstone (fig. 6.4). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Rectangular grey limestone block. A broad fragment has been removed from down the entire left side and there are small surface chippings. Dimensions: H 51 cm; W 42 cm; Th 21 cm. No evidence of bracket holes.

The (weaving) basket is the second most common motif (48 in Wagner's list: Wagner Type I [1976: 156-61 and Abb. 19]). The relief decoration is carved in a simple niche, Wagner's Type V ("Niche without architectonic decoration").

Two lines of letters, both showing signs of wear. The beginning of the first is missing, losing up to 3 letters. Letters are set between pairs of faint incisions but do not always meet them. Distance between tracing lines 4 cm. D of letters: 2 mm.

]ΑΡΙΑΑΛΥΠΕ
ΧΕΡΕ

The text reads: ...]αρια, ἄλυπε χέρει (sic) ("...]aria, who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

The damaged name is female in form. The weaving basket commonly denotes a woman's grave. In Wagner's register of names appears Ἀζυρία (1976: 256, n. 140e).¹³

5 (ZAP 1.22): The well-preserved upper panel of a tombstone (fig. 6.5). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Rectangular grey/green limestone block. A fragment has been lost from the lower right corner and there is chipping and abrasion on the surface. The sides of the panel are rough and it is possible that a piece has been lost from the bottom where a text was once inscribed. Dimensions: H 62 cm; W 52 cm; Th 18 cm. No evidence of bracket holes. Traces of red colouring on bottom right.

The relief consists of an eagle with outstretched wings and head facing right. There is a garland above. They are carved within a simple rectangular recess with a plain border. Wagner's Type V.

Uninscribed; original text possibly lost from bottom.

Twelve fragments of inscribed tombstones were recorded amongst the tombs on the slopes of Kırkbayır (pp. 46-50). All were incomplete and 7 were fragments lacking the inscribed text.

6 (ZAP 1.9): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.6). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

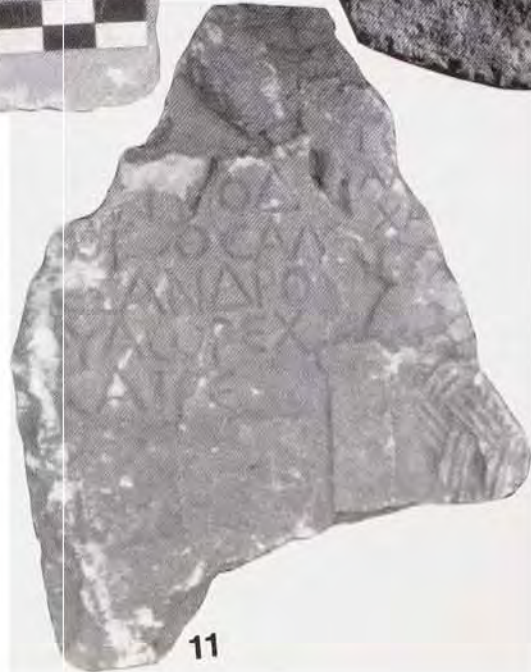
Long rectangular piece of grey/green limestone. Broken along lower edge where greater part of the tombstone has been lost. Some chips missing from top face. Dimensions: H 17 cm; W 68 cm; Th 25 cm. Two square holes for brackets, both broken through to edge of stone.

Surviving decoration consists of a gable with acroteria and a multi-petalled rosette. Wagner's Type I.

Uninscribed; original text lost from bottom.

12 Wagner 1976: 207, no. 60; Taf. 37; 179, no. 8; Taf. 30; 179, no. 9; Taf. 30; 217-18, no. 77; Taf. 41.

13 The name is given in the catalogue on p. 256 as Ἀζυρία.



7 (ZAP 1.10): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.7). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Rectangular piece of grey/green limestone. Broken in irregular diagonal across bottom, piece lost from top right corner, some chipping on surface. Dimensions: H 38 cm (left), 50 cm (right); W 58 cm; Th 22 cm. Square hole for a bracket on the top right.

Surviving decoration consists of a gable with acroteria and a 5-petalled rosette. Below are the upper parts of two square pillars between which a garland is suspended. Wagner's Type I.

Uninscribed; original text lost from bottom.

8 (ZAP 1.11): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.8). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Irregularly shaped piece of grey limestone. The bottom left corner survives. Left edge and a little of the bottom edge are original, otherwise broken all around. Dimensions: H 33 cm; W 27 cm; Th 16 cm. No evidence of bracket holes.

Surviving fragment consists of the lower left portion of a recessed panel with the foot and leg of an eagle.

The beginning of a single line of letters survives. Top and bottom guide-lines are incised; another pair below indicates a second line of text in the missing fragments. Letters are of square form and well cut. H 3 cm; D 3 mm

ΘΡΕΠΤΕ[.....
[.....

The text reads: Θρ έπτε [... ἄλυπε χάρε]. ("Threptos, who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

The name means "a feeder, rearer, foster-parent". A Threptos is a slave bred in a house for such a purpose (Preisigke 1922: 143; Foraboschi 1971: 143). Since the eagle is normally an attribute of males, we should probably treat this as a vocative for a male slave.

9 (ZAP 1.13): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.9). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Tan/yellow limestone. Broken along top and right. Left and bottom are original edges but a large piece has broken from bottom left corner. Some surface chips. Dimensions: H 28 cm; W 9 cm; Th 16 cm. No evidence of bracket holes.

The surviving fragment consists of the left end of the inscribed panel; the assumed relief above is lost. Three lines of text, at least one guide line. H of letters: 4.5 cm; D: 2.5/3 mm. Red colouring in the letters.

I[...
II [...
ΑΔΥ [ΠΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ]

The text reads: I[...]/, II[.../ ἄλυ[πε χάρε] ("...., who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

10 (ZAP 1.14): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.10). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Triangular piece of grey/green limestone, apparently the bottom left corner of a gravestone. A piece has broken off at the bottom left. Dimensions: H 23 cm; W 18 cm; Th 27 cm. A single bracket hole remains on left edge.

Two lines of letters, cut without guidelines. Square letters, H 3 cm; D 4 mm. Well cut. Red colouring in letters.

ΓΥ[...
ΝΩΑ[ΔΥΠΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ]

Text reads: Γυ[... ..] /νος ἄλυπε χάρε ("...nos, who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

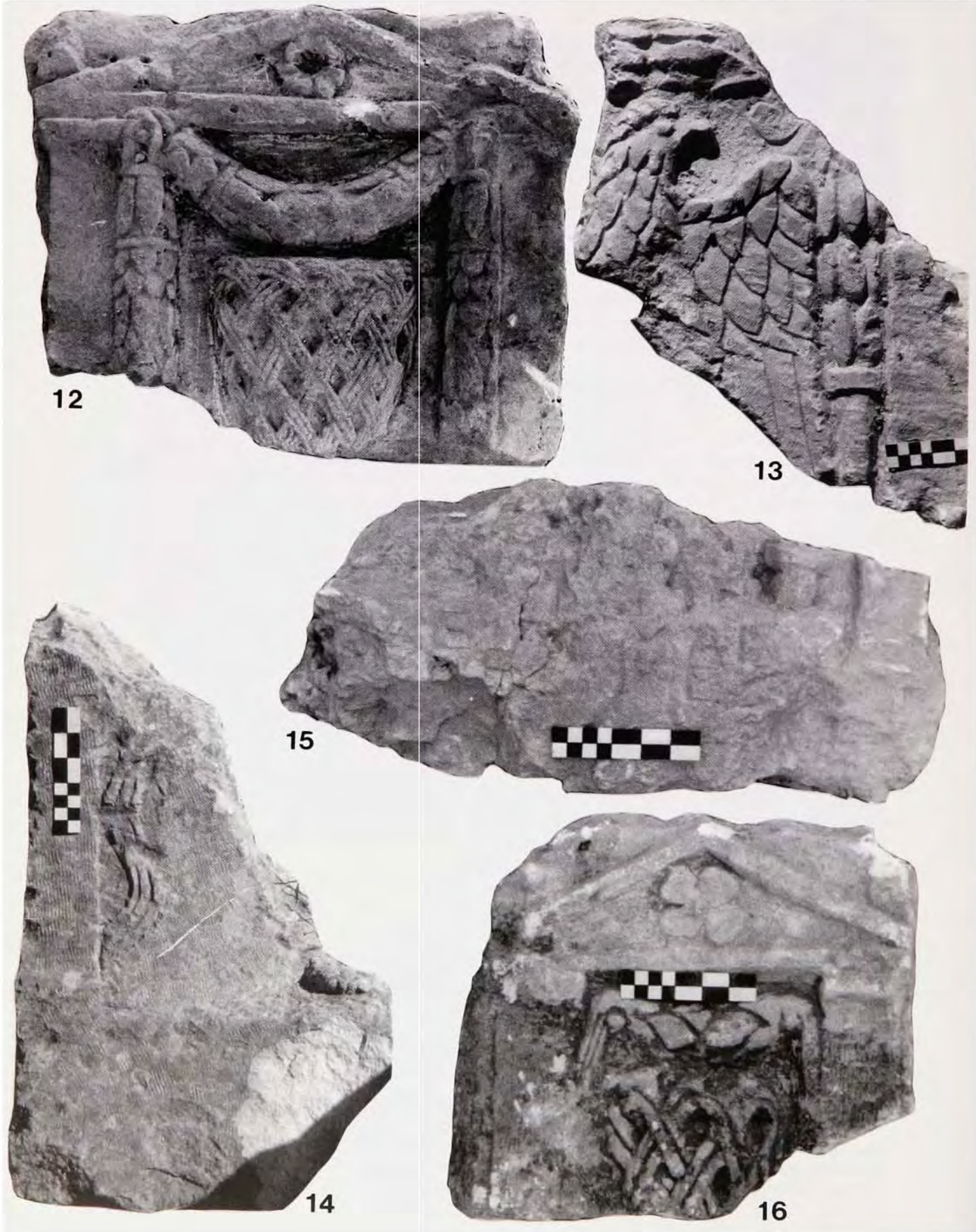
There is space in line 1 for a pair of names, the second of which ends in ...nos, a male termination. After the Γ in l. 1 the next letter consists of a vertical and a horizontal stroke best interpreted as a flat-bottomed upsilon.

11 (ZAP 1.15): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.11). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Irregularly-shaped piece of tan/yellow limestone. It comes from the left side of a tombstone. The top left corner has been lost, and it is broken on the right and bottom. Dimensions: H 41 cm; W 32 cm; Th 15 cm. A single bracket hole exists at the top.

Decorated with a basket within a round-headed aedicula. Only part of the gable and basket survive. At the top left appears the leg of an eagle. The original tombstone may have had space for more than the two texts and motifs identifiable. Wagner's Type II ("Aedicula with segmented gable").

Two distinct texts. The first was cut above the gable and has 3 lines, the beginnings of which survive. Letters are well incised, H 2 cm; D 2 mm. The second text is cut on the flattened panel to the left of the gable. Five lines, well cut, H 3 cm; D 2/3 mm. Red colouring in some letters of second text.



Text 1: I or CO[...]
ΑΑ[ΥΠΕ]
ΧΑ[ΙΡΕ]

Text reads: Σο[...]/ἄλ[υπε]/ χα[ίρε] ("So[...], who caused grief to no one. Farewell!"). Presumably a female name; cf. Σουμιάα (Wagner 1976: 257-59, no. 140n).

Text 2: Ν.ΟΔ
ΩΡ.ΟCΑΔ.
ΕΧΑΝΔΡΟ
ΥΑΩΡΕΧ
ΑΙΡΕ

Text reads: [.]ν[.]οδ /ωρ[ι]ος 'Αλ /έξανδρο /υ ἄωρε χ/αίρε ("...odorios, son of Alexandros. Untimely going. Farewell!").

The name of the deceased is unclear; that of his father, Alexandros, is paralleled at Zeugma, a tombstone for "Marcia, the wife of Marcus Alexandros" (Wagner 1976: 199-200, no. 47). The expression ἄωρε is commonly used where the deceased is young and sometimes associated with a specified age (PES III.A: 752; 765/4).

12 (ZAP 1.16): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.12). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Rectangular tan/yellow limestone slab. The top part of a relief-decorated tombstone, broken diagonally across the bottom. Fragment belongs to top right corner. Dimensions: H 40, 49, 58 cm; W 62 cm; Th 22 cm. No evidence of bracket holes.

Relief decoration consists of a basket (broken across the bottom), below a suspended garland. The motif is set within an aedicula (with multi-petalled rosette and acroteria) of Wagner's Type I.

The lower (presumably inscribed) panel has been lost.

13 (ZAP 1.17): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.13). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Irregular tan limestone fragment of upper right part of a gravestone. The stone has been broken across the left and bottom and has lost a large piece from the top right corner. Dimensions: H 40, 49, 58 cm; W 62 cm; Th 22 cm. No evidence of bracket holes.

Relief decoration: eagle with outstretched wings and head turned left. A garland above and draped down the sides. Part of a column of an aedicula appears on the right. Some red colouring on the architectural feature and blue on garland.

The lower, presumably inscribed, panel has been lost.

14 (ZAP 1.20): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.14). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Triangular fragment from lower left part of tombstone in grey/green limestone. Part of the niche and the tail of a garland is visible and part of the panel on which the epitaph should have been cut. Large chip off surface at lower right. Dimensions: H 46 cm; W 31 cm; Th 14 cm. No evidence of bracket holes.

The lower, presumably inscribed, panel has been lost.

15 (ZAP 1.21): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.15). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Irregular rectangular fragment in tan/yellow limestone. Broken across top and on left. Large chips missing from surface at bottom right and left. Dimensions: H 22 cm; W 45 cm; Th 14 cm. No evidence of bracket holes.

Relief decoration consists of the feet of an eagle and the lower half of a column frame on the right. Below is the panel on which some text survives. Wagner Type I or II.

Two lines of letters in a square letter form, H 2.5 and 2 cm; D 1-1.5 mm. Text is chipped and faint.

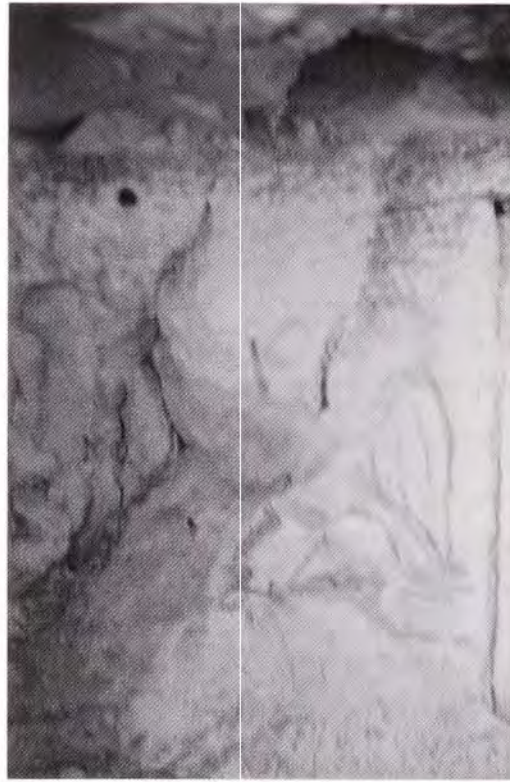
ΔΕ[.]ΑΜΑC .
Ρ[...]ΙΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ

Text reads: Δε[όδ]αμας/[...].ἄλυπε χαίρε ("Leadamas, son of ..., who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

The name Leadamus is not otherwise attested at Zeugma but is attested as an early Greek name (Preisigke 1922: 795). Leodamus is known from papyri (Foraboschi 1971: 795).

16 (ZAP 1.23): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.16). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Rectangular piece of grey/green limestone. The lower part of the stone has been lost and the top corners have been broken. Dimensions: H 30 cm; W 34 cm; Th 15 cm. A single bracket hole at top left inside pediment.



18



19



20



21

Relief decoration consists of the upper part of a basket and a garland suspended above, the whole set within a gabled niche. Simple 4-petalled rosette. Wagner's Type I.

The lower, presumably inscribed, panel has been lost.

17 (ZAP 1.24): Fragment of a tombstone (fig. 6.17). Removed to Gaziantep Museum.

Irregular rectangle of grey/tan limestone, broken on the top, right and bottom. Dimensions: H 36 cm; W 16 cm; Th 10 cm. No evidence of bracket holes.

Fragment preserves wing of an eagle, part of suspended garland, and gabled niche. Wagner's Type I.

The lower, presumably inscribed, panel has been lost.

Inside a recently located tomb on the north slope of *Kırkbayır* were found 6 decorated tombstones cut in relief on the walls with inscribed texts below (see p. 43). All remain *in situ*.

18 (ZAP 1.3): Left side of both text and relief decoration are missing as a result of apparent recent breaking of the rock face (fig. 6.18). Dimensions: H 50 cm; W 40 cm.

Relief decoration of an eagle with head facing right within a simple frame. Two lines of letters below, for the most part clearly cut but first one is faint and damaged. Letters: H 3 cm; D 2 mm (line 1) and 3/4 mm (line 2).

..]ΑΓΥC[.....
ΑΔΥΠΕΧΕΡΕ

Line 1: Possibly ..]ΑΤΥC[.....

Text reads: ...]αγυσ[.../ἄλυπε χῆρε (sic) ("...]agus[... , who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

19 (ZAP 1.4): Tombstone cut in relief to right of no. 18. Vertical crack down left side. Damage at end of first line of text. Damage in centre of bottom, probably before inscribing (fig. 6.19). Dimensions: H 41 cm; W 52 cm.

Eagle, head facing left, with outstretched wings. Motif is within a round-headed niche with pillars. Wagner's Type III ("Aedicula without architrave, with niche").

Two lines of letters, generally clear. Letters: H 2.5 cm (line 1); 3 cm (line 2); D 3 mm.

Δ ΕΥΥΙ[...
ΑΔΥΠΕΧΑ[Ι]ΡΕ

Line 1: after the E the next two letters look like a pair of square Us linked at the bottom.

Text reads: Δε.../ ἄλυπε χα[ι]ρε ("Le[...], who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

20 (ZAP 1.5): Tombstone cut in relief to right of no. 19. Cracks in natural rock and scoring across the letters of the text (fig. 6.20). Dimensions: H 53 cm; W 32 cm.

Basket motif beneath garland suspended inside a round-headed niche with square pillars. This and the next two reliefs have shared pillars between them and a continuous garland running from first to third. Wagner's Type IV ("Niche in architectural frame").

2 lines of letters, shallow and fainter towards right. Faint guide lines. Letters: H 2.5 cm (l. 1); 3 cm (l. 2); D 3 mm.

ΕΤΥΑΔΕΜ
ΑΔΥΠΕΧΑΙΡΕ

Text reads: 'Ετυαδεμ/ ἄλυπε χαῖρε ("Etualem (?), who caused grief to no one. Farewell!").

The name of the deceased, presumably female, is unparalleled as recorded.

21 (ZAP 1.6): Tombstone cut in relief to right of no. 20. Small crack in rock across bottom right corner (fig. 6.21). Dimensions: H 50 cm; W 35 cm.

Basket motif beneath garland suspended inside a round-headed niche with square pillars. Wagner's Type IV. This relief is effectively linked by the common pillars to the preceding and succeeding.

Two lines of letters, set out between pairs of guide lines. Letters generally well formed but there is a suggestion of some having been altered, causing difficulty in reading. On the shared pillar between this and the preceding relief is a text written vertically. It may relate to either.

Text 1:
ΕΥΤΥΧ.ΙΚΙΑ
ΑΩΡΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Line 1: Third last letter looks like a K cut over an earlier letter.

Text reads: Εὐτυχ[ι]α[?] Κια / ἄωρε χαῖρε ("Eutychia(?), daughter of (?) Untimely going. Farewell!").



The name Eutychia is not paralleled at Zeugma but is otherwise widely attested as a female Greek name.

Text 2:

ΚΑΛΕ

Text reads: Κάλε (“Beautiful”).

22 (ZAP 1.7): Tombstone cut in relief to right of no. 21. Diagonal crack in rock across the entire relief (fig. 6.22). Dimensions: H 52 cm; W 33 cm.

Eagle motif with outstretched wings, head facing right, beneath garland suspended inside a round-headed niche with square pillars. Wagner’s Type IV. This relief is linked by the common pillar with the preceding.

Two lines of letters, set out between pairs of guide-lines, well formed and clear. Letters: H 3.25 cm; D 3/4 mm.

Ω Ι Δ Δ Ε Α Δ Υ
Π Ε Χ Α Ι Ρ Ε

Text reads: Ωιλλε, ἄλυ/πε χάρει (“Oille, who caused grief to no one. Farewell!”).

The name is unparalleled at Zeugma. Hidden in the vocative ‘Oille” may lie some such name as Iulus or Julius.

23 (ZAP 1.8): Tombstone cut in relief to right of no. 22. Damage to bust and in second line of text (fig. 6.23). Dimensions: H 63 cm; W 53 cm.

Frontal bust of male figure in relief. Face has been deformed (recently?) but close curly(?) hair and beard is clear, as is a tunic with brooch on the right shoulder. The latter is most closely paralleled on the soldier Flavius Telegonos (see p. 203). Wagner’s Type V.

Two lines of text. Letters are well formed but part of the second line is damaged. Letters: H 3.25 cm; D 3 mm.

Χ Ρ Η Σ Τ Ε Α Δ Δ Υ Π Ε
Χ Α [Ι Ρ Ε]

Text reads: Χρηστέ, ἄλυπε / χάρει. (“O good man, who caused grief to no one. Farewell!”).

This is the only epitaph in this tomb to lack a name. Perhaps the square holes around some of these reliefs had additional inscribed plaques attached. The deceased in this instance may have been a soldier.

Letters of a mosaic text found in the house at Site D (see pp. 61 and 121)

24 (ZAP 1.12): The damaged mosaic preserved the first two and the start of a third letter. In the course of lifting, the third was lost. Letters in dark blue stone cubes, four cubes high (fig. 6.24).

Text can be restored on the basis of these letters and the discovery (p. 122) of the missing panel (in two pieces), one of which contains the anticipated second name.

Π Α Ρ [Θ Ε Ν Ο Π Ε] Μ Η Τ Ι Ο Χ [Ο Σ]

The names and the myth associated with them are discussed on p. 124.

Graffiti recorded upstream of Apamea.

These texts were recorded on the E bank of the river upstream of Apamea. They are located on a rock outcrop at the bend in the rutted road to a quarry of the Classical period (see p. 57). Only two could be partially read.

25 (ZAP 1.25): Traces of letters are visible but either worn or covered in lichen. Cleaning and better light would probably permit some to be read. Only 2 letters seem clear. Dimensions: H 4 cm (fig. 6.25).

...]ΙΑ [...

26 (ZAP 1.26): Visible on the surface of the same outcrop as no. 25. Badly worn and faint. Only 4 letters are clear but there are traces of at least one line above. Dimensions: H 4 cm (fig. 6.26).

.....
ΑΘΗΝ [..

In the course of a three-week survey of the site in 1995, the French team recorded some 15 new inscriptions as well as 4 further fragments of stamped tile (unpublished report; cf. Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 1996: 321).

Discussion

On a technical level the inscriptions of Zeugma are generally well cut and relatively easily read. The mason often employed guidelines for both bottom and top of letters. The result is a professional, pleasing finish. Letters are commonly rendered in a “square” form with straight

lines rather than curves or circles. One may note, too, the use of guidelines to assist the inscriber and the frequency with which traces of colouring survive on the letters.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the artistic quality of the motifs, figures, and architectural details. These aspects were surveyed by Wagner (1976: 156-68), and a recent book and article have further investigated the funerary portraiture of Zeugma. Parlasca (1981) drew attention to the distinctive portraiture of various regions of Syria, including Zeugma, and investigated the development of the material. Subsequently, Skupinska-Løvset (1985) has re-examined the Zeugma portraiture in detail and put forward rather different findings (cf. p. 241). Most useful has been her dating of the portraits (partly from style, partly anchored to the handful of internally-dated inscriptions) and hence of the associated texts. The pitfalls of reliance on a highly subjective feature such as hairstyle are evident. Footnotes to the following Register provide the divergent dates suggested by Wagner, Parlasca and others.

Immediately obvious when one surveys the known inscriptions of Zeugma is the almost total absence of public dedications.¹⁴ We have no honorific texts for emperors or even for local worthies — not even for Gaius Julius Quadratus Bassus whom we know to have been honoured by the people of Zeugma (cf. chapt. 9, no. 42). The known texts are almost exclusively funerary.¹⁵ Moreover, the character of these funerary inscriptions is distinctive. As with those published here, the corpus as a whole contains many which include relief decoration and were evidently expensive.¹⁶ It is surprising, then, that the texts are so laconic. As Wagner has pointed out (1976: 167; 173-75; cf. Robert and Robert 1977: 429, no. 531), they commonly lack even a patronymic, the laudatory adjectives are modest (usually only ἄλυπε χάριε; ἄωρε appears rarely, and χρηστός more rarely still), and relationships are seldom explained. The age of the deceased can usually only be inferred, vaguely, if there is a reference to the untimeliness of death.

Only a few inscriptions provide a precise internal date: see Wagner 212-13, no. 69 (A.D. 65; date corrected by Parlasca 1981: 10); Parlasca 1981: 26, n.88 (A.D. 111); Wagner 1976: 252, no. 136 (A.D. 125); Wagner 1976: 84, no. 1 (A.D. 138) (Apameia); Parlasca 1981: 10 and 26, n.75 (A.D. 143); and Wagner 1976: 261-62, no. 148 (A.D. 325).

Register of personal names

The following register of names is that presented by Wagner (169-71) with the revisions of the Roberts, *SEG* etc., and new names from texts reported subsequently both by recent publications and ours above. The list excludes texts from places other than Seleucia and Apamea unless they are thought to have originated there. It includes names reported in a Dura papyrus (chapt. 9 no. 67) and those of the magistrates addressed in a letter of Theodoretus (*ibid.* no. 82).

Most of the texts from which these names are derived are from the inscriptions set out in Wagner. For these the following prefixes are employed:

A = from Apamea (Wagner 1976: 84);

M = military text (Wagner 1976: 132-36);

N = from Nizip (Wagner 1976: 112-13);

P = public inscription (Wagner 1976: 130).

Texts without a prefix are from Seleucia (Wagner 1976: 175-273).

Texts which have been revised or published subsequent to Wagner are identified as such.

Texts published in this chapter are indicated by the prefix KG (= Kennedy-Graf).

14 Wagner 1976: 130 for the sole known example. Millar 1993: 259-60 stresses the relative rarity of public dedications anywhere in the Near East before the 4th c.

15 Wagner 1976: 130-31 for an altar.

16 The elaborate nature of the graves also points to wealth.

<i>Names in Greek inscriptions</i>			
Ἀβάσκαντο [ς]	17	Γαϊανός	95
Ἀβίνεος	A1	Γαί<ο>ς Ἰουλι<ο>ς Ἀπουλινάρι<ο>ς	34
Ἀγαθοκλῆς	5	Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἰουλιανός	14
Ἀγαταία, Ἀπολλωνί<α>	82	Γενναῖος	Parlasca 1981: 26, n. 88 = SEG 32 (1982): 1394
Ἀγέλη	48	Γερμανός	13, 42b
Ἀδίακς	113	Γλαῦκος	5
Ἀετωῖνος	131b	Γραῖτος	15, 64
Ἀξυρία	140e	Γυ [...]	KG10
Ἀθηνόδωρος	11, 13	Δάμιος	140g, 140j
Ἀθθαία	126a, 140j	Δᾶνος	146
Ἀκυλῖνα, Ἰουλία	58	Δεῖος	129
Ἀλέξανδρος	KG11.2	Δεκμία Εὐκαρπία Ἀσία	51
Ἀλέξανδρος, Μάρκος	47	Δημαία	49
Ἀματραία θηδησιφαία Ἀμβηγαρμεία	150	Δημέα	99
Ἀμβηγαρμεία, Ἀματραία θηδησιφαία	150	Δημήτρις	109
Ἀνεΐκτητος	77	Δημητροῦς	139c
Ἀνικέτος	KG 3	Διογένης	116
Ἀνθρωπος	102 ¹⁷	Διονύσιος	A1, 35, 36
Ἀντίοχος	P1	— Χαираφάν[ης]	104
Ἄντων [ί]α	59	Διοφάνης	4
Ἀπολινάριος	84	Δόκιμος	Parlasca 1981: 11 and 26, n.90 = SEG 32 (1982): 1398
Ἀπολλᾶς	69	Δομέτις	Skupinska-Løvset 1985: 123-24 and n.134 = SEG 37 (1987): 1398
Ἀπολλόδοτος	143	Δομνίνα	33, 38, 54
Ἀπολλωνί<α> Ἀγαταία	82	Δροῦσος	12
Ἀπουλινάρι<ο>ς, Γαί<ο>ς Ἰούλι<ο>ς	34	Δωρεΐθα	98
Ἀπθόνιος	chapt. 9, no. 82 (twice)	Δωσᾶς	19
Ἄρτεμιδώρα	142	Ἐρμαί<α>	44
Ἄρτεμίδωρος	32, 42	Ἐρμέης	46
Ἀσία	117	Ἐρμῆς	90
— Δεκμία Εὐκαρπία	51	Ἐρμιόνη	96
Ἄτιλία	Parlasca 1981: 10 and 25 n.74 = SEG 32 (1982): 1396; Jones 1985 = SEG 35 (1985): 1474	Ἐρμος	44
Αὔγουρος	11	Ἐσθ<α>	139b
Αὔρηλία	114	Ἐτυαλεμ	KG20
Αἰρήλιος Θεόδωρος <i>P. Dura</i> 29 (chapt. 9, no. 67)		Εὐδαίμων	22a
Βάγραθθος	148	Εὐδέμων	133
Βαράδαδος	78	Εὐδημος	4
Βαρλάας	27, 136	Εὐκαρπία, Ἀσία Δεκμία	51
Βάσσος	88, 140f, Skupinska-Løvset 1985: 124-125 and n.137 = SEG 37 (1987): 1399	Εὐστοχος	131c ¹⁸
Βερνικιανός	<i>P. Dura</i> 29 (chapt. 9, no. 67)	Εὐτυχ[ία] Κια	KG21.1
Βοῖος Πρόκλος	6	Ζαρδαῖος	49
Βρούτι(τιος) Κοσκώνιος	83	Ζέ<α>	37
Γαβινία Ἰγία	61a	Ζέβιννος	115
Γαῖα	87, 120		

17 Robert and Robert 1977: 429, no. 531 prefer to interpret this as a greeting formula.

18 SEG 26 (1976): 1604 follows Robert and Robert 1977: 430, no. 531 in reading Εὐστοχε for Εὐστοχος.

Ζέβινοῦς	140o		
Ζήνων	A2, 23, 140a, 140h	Δαῖτος, Μάξιμ[ος]	80
Ζούρας	140m	Δε [ἀδ]αμας	KG15
Ζώσιμος	31c	Διριποξ<α>ία	140c
Ἡλιάδης	72	Δονγεῖνα	147
Ἡλιοδώρα	143	Δουκεύλλη	41
Ἡραεῖς	108	Δουκία Πείσων	60
Ἡράκλειτος	32	Δούκιος	KG 3
Ἡράκλιτος	N2	Δούκιος Μερκούρι<ο>ς	8
		— Φάβιος Τραϊανός	9
		Λοῦκις	73
Θᾶβος	119		
Θεκίμα	163	Μαινιανός	165
Θεκίμη	111	Μάλχιος	50
Θεοδωρίτος	chapt. 9, no. 82	Μάμμη	107
Θεόδωρος, Α Ἰρήλιος	<i>P. Dura</i> 29 (chapt. 9, no. 67)	Μάξιμος	130
		— Δαῖτος	80
Θεοθαία	153	Μαρᾶς	119
Θεότεκνος	129	Μάρθα	116
Θεόφιλος	101	Μάρθας	55
Θηδησιφαία Ἀμβηγαμεῖα Ἀματραῖα	150	Μαρθών[η]	67
Θησεύς	38	Μάρκελα, Οὐαλερία	53
Θρῆπτος	KG8	Μαρκία	47, 97, 121a
		— Οὐα<λ>ερία Φαδανάθ<α>	57
Ἰοαννης	chapt. 9, no. 82	Μαρκιανή	141
Ἰουλία Ἀκυλῖνα	58	Μάρκος	120
Ἰουλιανός, Γάιος Ἰούλιος	14	Μάρκος	Skupinska-Løvset 1985: 118 and n.106 = SEG 37 (1987): 1397
Ἰοῦλι<ο>ς Ἀπουλιναρί<ο>ς, Γαί<ο>ς	34	— Ἀλέξανδρος	47
Ἰουλιος Ἰουλιανός, Γάιος	14	Μάρβριος	92
[Ἰ]ουστύλλα	81	Μάρβρος	80 ²¹
Ἰριτιλία Πρεῖσκα	Parlasca 1981: 10 and 26, n.75 = SEG 32 (1982): 1395	Μάρτα	45
		Μάτερονος	7
Κα<λ>λῖν(ος)	85 ¹⁹	Ματρῶνα	93
Καμάθα	65	Μερκούρι<ο>ς, Δούκιος	8
Κια, Εὐτύχ[ία]	KG21.1	Μίγδεος	148
Κλαύδιος	20	Μικαλῖνος	101
Κλεινίος	P1	Μόνιμος	126b
Κόιντος, Σύνα[γ]γος	N3 ²⁰		
Κομίγιος	38	Νόννος	chapt. 9, no. 82
Κορνηλία	151		
Κόρυνθος	Gibson 1979: 272-73, no. 2 = SEG 29 (1979): 1584	Εάντηε	Vermeule and Neuberger 1973: 39, no. 87; cf. Parlasca 1980: 141, no. 1
Κοσκώνιος, Βρούτ(τιος)	83	Εάνθιον	Vermeule and Neuberger 1973: 39, no. 87; cf. Parlasca 1980: 141, no. 1
Κύριλλος	84, N1		
Κυρίλλα	139a	Ὀρθᾶς	42
Κωστᾶς	89	Οἶλλος	KG22
		Ὀλυ[μ]πιᾶς	37
		Οὐαλεντῖνος	128b

19 Robert and Robert 1977: 430, no. 531 suggest Καλλίεκε.

20 Robert and Robert 1977: 430, no. 531 suggest instead the Macedonian name Κύνναγος.

21 Gibson 1979: 270, n.16 reads Μάρβριος.

Ούαλερία Μάρκελα	53	φιλόθεος	146
Ούα<λ>ερία Φαδανάβ<α>, Μαρκία	57	φλαουία	50
Ούαλέρι[ος] ιων	33	φλά(ουιος) Τηλέγονος	127
Ούλιος	26	φορτο[ύνα]	66 ²³
Όχχουμία	128a	φόρακος	1
		φρῦμος	94
Πείσων, Λουκία	60		
Πόπλιος	131a	Χαιραφάν[ης], Διονύσιος	104
Πόπλος	7		
Πουπαῖος	31a, 31b, 31c	Ψοκμος, Σικελ<ι>ώτης	85
Πρεῖμα Skupinska-Løvset 1985: 108-9 = SEG 37 (1987): 1396		-- αρια	KG 4
Πρεῖσκα, Ίρττιλία Parlasca 1981: 10 and 26, n.75 = SEG 32 (1982): 1395		-- αγυς	KG18
Πρῆμος	81	-- ΑΘΗΝ --	KG27
Πρμύλλα	61b	Αύγ --	140d
Πρόκλος, Βοῖος	6	-- Ε -- ΙΡΙ	121b
Πῶλα	46	Εὐ --	68
		-- ΙΝΜΟ --	135b
Ψα[—] 66 (cf..23 below)		-- ιων, Ούαλέρι[ος]	33
Ψοῦφος	15	-- ΚΩΝ --	135a
		Λε[KG19
Σαββοῦς Gibson 1979: 269-71, no. 1 = SEG 29 (1979): 1582		-- ΝΟΣ	KG10
Σεκοῦνδα	64	-- ΟΔΟΡΙΟΣ	KG11.2
Σεμήραμις	56	-- -- ΟΣΡΟΓΑ-ΤΟΣ	29
Σενταῖος	1	-- -- ΡΜΑΙ- Parlasca 1981: 12 and 26-27, n.101 = SEG 32 (1982): 1397	
Σεύθη	105	ΣΑΣΜΟΥΚΑΙ	25
Σικελ<ι>ώτης Ψοκμος	85	ΣΟ[....	KG11.1
Σουμαία	140v	-- σος	21
Σπόρος	2		
Στάσιμος	16	<i>Names in Latin inscriptions</i>	
Σύλαχιος chapt. 9, no. 82		Aelius Cesianus	M1
Σύνα[γ]γος, Κόιντος N3 (cf. n.20)		--- Secundinus	M3
Σωσιπάτρα	110	Atteia	75
		Aurelius Benedictus	149
Τηλέγονος, Φλά(ουιος)	127	Benedictus, Aurelius	149
Τηλέμαχος	45	Cassi[us], Marcus	103
Τραῖανός, Λούκιος Φάβιος	9	Cesianus, Aelius	M1
Τυραννία	22b ²²	Cesi[anus], ---- us	M4
		Flavius Uccaius	149
Υγία, Γαβινία	61a	Longinus, Septimius	M1
		Marcus Cassi[us]	103
Φάβιος Τραῖανός, Λούκιος	9	Maximus, ----- s	M2
Φαδανάβ<α>, Μαρκία Ούα<λ>ερία	57	Pannuchis	75
Φάλαδος	140m	Secundinus, Aelius	M3
Φάλαδ<ος>	79	Septimius Longinus	M1
Φαλαδωνία	140I	Uccaius, Flavius	149
		----- s Maximus	M2

22 Robert and Robert 1977: 429, no. 531 propose instead Τυράννι as the vocative of Τυράννης (=Τυράννιος).

23 Robert and Robert 1977: 430, no. 531 suggest φορτο[υν]α Ψα[—]

----- us Cesi[anus]

M4

*Possible*²⁴

Ναρδος Χαλβος

Χαλβος, Ναρδος

24 Künzl 1972; cf. n. 8 above.

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New mosaics

Sheila Campbell and Rifat Ergeç

with a contribution by Eric Csapo

I. MOSAICS IN THE HOUSE OF THE DIONYSOS AND ARIADNE MOSAIC¹

A. The Dionysos and Ariadne mosaic (with colour plate above)

In 1992, the second-named author uncovered a spectacular mosaic narrowly missed by a looter's tunnel (p. 81). It was the pavement (fig. 7.1; cf. 5.5) of a room with walls standing to a height of 5 m (fig. 5.5). On the floor of an adjacent room (fig. 5.6; Area 3 on fig. 5.3) was a spray of broken glass from vessels which had spilled from a wall cupboard. Also associated with the floor were a Roman dagger, a sword, and pieces of bronze scale-armour (see p. 88).

Dateable stylistically to the late 2nd/early 3rd c., the mosaic is evidently based on a Hellenistic painting (see below). The scene depicts Dionysos and Ariadne on a *kline* behind a table, flanked by servants and musicians. The scene is one of elegance and opulence showing jewellery, music, and the drinking of wine. It is symmetrically composed, with all action and gestures carefully arranged to direct attention to the central couple: although the composition is essentially longitudinal, it has a central focus. All the figures interact only amongst themselves, with the possible exception of the figure holding the torch who may be looking out at the viewer. The drapery is depicted carefully with much attention to naturalistic folds. The modelling is realistic, albeit the arms and hands of the servants are rather heavy and the torso of the figure with the torch is somewhat elongated. The whole composition is strongly three-dimensional, with recession into depth. The setting, however, is rather minimal; there is furniture but no indication of the floor or walls. The shadows are convincing and correctly aligned, as if light is falling on the scene obliquely from the left, just behind the viewer.

Description

Dionysos has a nude, muscular torso. His fair curls are backed by a halo of dark yellow tesserae (fig. 7.2). Blue drapery billows around his waist, behind his back, and over his left shoulder and arm. His legs are hidden behind Ariadne. In his left hand he holds a silver drinking bowl while he half reclines, supported on his left elbow against the back of a *kline* (couch), which is draped with additional fabric and cushions in tones of black and grey. He gazes adoringly at Ariadne and reaches out with his right arm, which is all but hidden behind her. Considering the gesture, one would expect to see his right hand on her shoulder, but it does not appear. His position suggests either that he is inviting Ariadne to lean back on his chest, or, more likely (see below), that he is directing her attention to a servant who approaches with a box of gold jewellery.

Ariadne also has fair, curly hair, on which is placed a golden crown (fig. 7.3). She is seated slightly in front of Dionysos, and leans on her left arm, while glancing back over the same shoulder towards him, or towards the servant with the jewel-box. She wears a white long-sleeved *chiton* (tunic) with a yellow/gold border. The band running diagonally across her upper body and around her left arm at the elbow indicates an over-garment, perhaps a veil. A matching yellow *himation* (mantle) lies on her shoulders, falls behind her,

1 SC is grateful to Rifat Ergeç, Director of the Gaziantep Museum, for permission to co-publish these mosaics and for his generous sharing of his time during her visit in 1995. Funding for the visit was provided in part from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Australia). We would also like to thank Eric Csapo for discussion and his contribution on the iconography of the Parthenope and Metochios mosaic. Some photographs and brief comment on the mosaics have appeared already in Kennedy 1994 and Campbell 1994. The article by Kennedy in *Archéologia* includes a colour photograph of the scene extending from the cylindrical box and torch (but not the torch-bearer) on the left across to include most but not all of the figure on the far right.



Fig. 7.1. Composite photo of Dionysos and Ariadne mosaic after repair to damage caused by would-be robbers. and is carried round from her right to drape across her knees. One edge of the folds of this *himation* is visible beside her left leg.

In front of the *kline* is a three-legged table with herm legs (fig. 7.4); on the table is a fluted golden bowl (fig. 7.5). Beside the table can be seen an elaborately-turned leg of the *kline*. A decorated purple cloth covers the couch falling down to the floor in front and Dionysos reclines on grey-green cushions. A small nude winged *putto* approaches from the right (fig. 7.6) at the level of the couch top, raising a cup in his outstretched right hand.

To the right of Dionysos is a pair of female figures, probably servants (fig. 7.7). The head of the one in the background has been lost. She wears a sleeveless *chiton* in light blue, and appears to be moving towards the seated pair. We see her neck, left shoulder, and outstretched right arm; her torso is hidden by the jewel box held by the servant to her left and in the foreground, and the rest of her lower body is partly hidden by the same person. On her feet she wears plain light-coloured boots. The same is true of all the other figures whose feet are visible. The latter is dressed in a black sleeveless *chiton*, with girdled *peplos* of the same colour tied on the right shoulder. She is certainly striding forward towards the couple in the centre. On her right arm she supports an open box. Inside is gold jewellery, mostly heavy bracelets and necklaces.

Further right again and slightly behind these females are two male figures, one with white hair, the other younger (fig. 7.8). Both wear wreaths of ivy leaves in their hair, and the younger one holds a flute in each hand while leaning on a rectangular support. The older man, Silenus-like, wears a white short-sleeved shirt but his visible leg may be trousered. The younger one wears a yellowish brown short-sleeved shirt. Draped over his lower body and left shoulder is a darker brown garment. One would expect a mantle but the drapery seems far too extensive, giving the impression rather of a Roman *toga*.

To the left of the central couple is a woman (fig. 7.9), dressed in a dark yellow sleeveless *chiton* bordered with light blue and a girdled *peplos* of the same colours. She steps toward the central figures and offers something to one or both of them, but the mosaic is lost at this point. In view of the box of jewellery held by the servant on the other side, one might speculate that she held a mirror up to Ariadne, but there are a number of other possibilities (see below).

Behind this servant is a reclining male figure, his right arm over his head, his left holding a torch (fig. 7.10). He reclines against a large cylindrical object, apparently a box. His torso is bare, and his legs, right arm and lower left arm are covered by a pinkish-brown drapery. He wears a garland around his neck. Behind on the far left is a male figure with a wreath on his head and nude to the waist. He holds to his mouth what



Fig. 7.2. Dionysos.



Fig. 7.3. Ariadne.



Fig. 7.4. Detail of the three-legged table showing the herm legs.



Fig. 7.5. Three-legged table with golden bowl and a second bowl held by Dionysos.



Fig. 7.6. Putto.

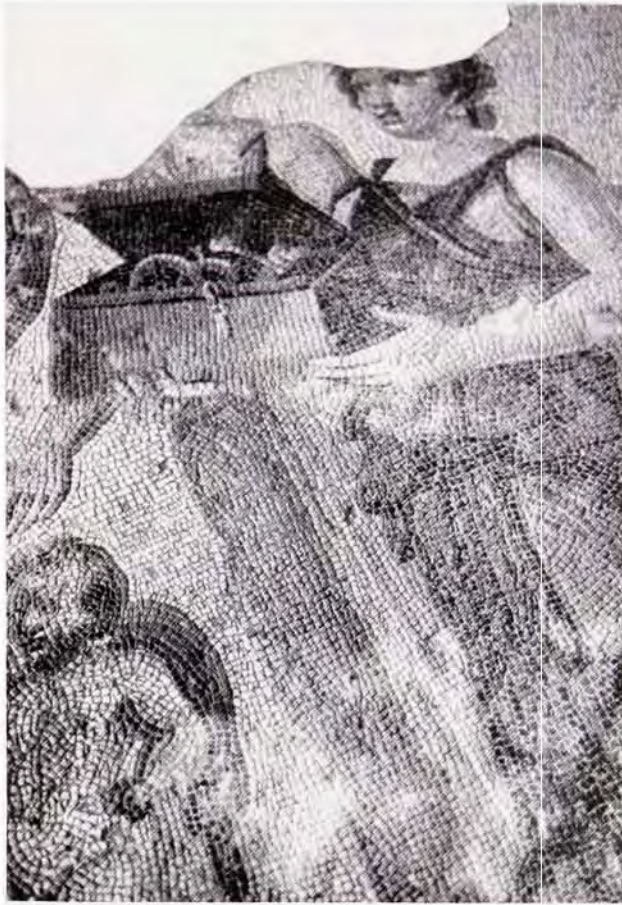


Fig. 7.7 (left). Two female servants (one on left largely lost in the damage) advance holding casket of jewelry.
Fig. 7.8 (right). Detail of the two male figures.



Fig. 7.9. Female figure advances to offer something (now lost). Fig. 7.10. Reclining male figure with torch.



Fig. 7.11. Figure playing *syrinx*, and on table (?) in front is a gold *calyx krater* and a gold *rhyton*.

The couch is visible only in outline as it is covered in drapery, with the exception of the elaborately-turned post, visible to the right of the round table. It is a rather heavy, massive post, topped by a round knob.³ The covering on the couch appears to have had a pattern, either woven or embroidered, as may be seen behind the table legs: at first glance it looks like the struts between the table legs, but since the line extends on the left past the leg it must be intended as a pattern on the covering, or possibly drapery folds.

The table between the figures on the left is largely hidden and of indeterminate shape. The cylindrical object is uncertain but the dark band below the top indicates the line of a lid. On the right is a rectangular pillar on which the flautist leans.

Clothing

The two reclining males, Dionysos and the figure with the torch, wear simple cloaks, draped in a manner which leaves the torso bare. Ariadne and the servant women also wear Greek garb. Ariadne wears a long-sleeved *chiton* with a yellow drape around the shoulders and a matching mantle spread across her knees. Two of the servant women wear a girdled *peplos* over a sleeveless *chiton*; the one on the left has a contrasting border at top and bottom. The third servant wears a sleeveless *chiton*, and although her torso is concealed by the jewellery case, she does not seem to wear a *peplos*. The flautist on the right wears what may be a Roman tunic and *toga* and the old man may be wearing a trousered costume, perhaps eastern.

Vessels

On the left is a two-handled gold krater, probably of the sort used for mixing wine, and beside it a golden rhyton. On the table, in front of Dionysos and Ariadne, is a large gold bowl which is partially fluted.⁴ Dion-

seems to be a *syrinx*. His lower body is hidden below the flat surface of what seems to be a table between these two figures and on which rest a gold *calyx krater* and a gold *rhyton* (fig. 7.11).

The scene is bordered by geometric bands of 3-strand guilloche flanked by wave-crest. This particular combination of geometric patterns is common, perhaps even peculiar, to this region (Campbell 1979: 290). The area beyond is a band of tangent circles forming quatrefoils.

Furniture

The three-legged table is well depicted to show a draped herm on each leg.² The drapery covers the right shoulder of each herm and crosses over the chest. The herms themselves are not completely frontal but turn to one side, to the right. Perhaps the *contrapposto* pose of the herms is reflective of a Hellenistic model for the mosaic. The top of the table is round and quite plain. It is depicted in multiple shades of yellow, as if to represent metal, perhaps polished bronze. An indication that this table is meant to be read as bronze is the fact that it does not have any struts between the legs, as would be required in any other material. As mentioned below, the lines between the legs extend beyond the legs, and are therefore to be read as part of the decoration on the cloth covering the *kline*.

2 Comparanda for this table may be seen in Richter 1926: pls. 563, 567, 580, 584 but none of these examples has the *contrapposto* of our mosaic. Richter (1926: 70) says that such round-topped tables with 3 legs appear in the 4th c. B.C.

3 Comparanda abound in funerary and other depictions: Richter 1926: pls. 301, 303, 460, 584. See also the Achilles plate from Kaiseraugst (Cahn 1984: no.63, pl. 148, 153.2); the "player king" from Herculaneum, now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples (Maiuri 1953: 92).

4 An example which is moderately similar, dated to 620 B.C., is the hammered gold bowl from Olympia,

ysos holds a plain silver drinking bowl in his left hand, and the *putto* offers a small simple cup.

Mosaic scenes with couples seated on couches are common. The Agros and Opora mosaic from Antioch (Levi 1947: 204, fig. 76 [House of Menander, Room 10]) is obviously a very similar composition but of an entirely different subject-matter. Likewise, scenes involving Dionysos and Ariadne are found widely in almost every visual medium and shown participating in a variety of activities — in processions, with dancers, in drinking contests.⁵

Several features identify this mosaic as derived from a Hellenistic painting: the *contrapposto* poses of Ariadne and the herms, use of shadows, and the detailed modelling of anatomy. The pose of the flautist is similar to that of the figure identified as Charis in the Aldobrandini Wedding at Pompeii (Maiuri 1953: colour pl. 30) who leans her left arm while pouring scented oil, or that of the well-known philosopher figure in the panel from Boscoreale (Maiuri 1953: 64). Perhaps in the original painted work on which this mosaic is based, the flautist and pillar functioned as a scene- or room-divider in a larger composition. Much of the clothing can be related to Greek examples. There are, however, possible Roman elements. Bonfante Warren (1973: 585) has characterised the differences between Greek and Roman costume:

Greek textiles tended to be thin and soft, Roman cloth was heavier and more thickly woven ... as a rule Romans preferred heavier wool and the resulting fuller folds of the cloth, contrasting with the softer, supple, more varied folds of Greek drapery.

and these distinctions are clear in the textures of the clothing of the women, which is shown as soft and clinging, of a fine texture, contrasting with that of the man on the right where the fabric is heavy, forming coarser folds. No doubt in the transition from Hellenistic painting to Roman mosaic various changes have been inserted.

Date

We are dealing with a mosaic based on a scene originally found in a Hellenistic painting. That it is Roman is clear from the technique of the medium and its presence in a Roman house. Closer dating depends on attention to style and handling. Stylistic dating is notoriously problematic. The size of tesserae, for example, sometimes used to argue for date, is in fact normally only a measure of quality or the detail rendered (it often varies within the same mosaic) and is certainly of no help here. Border decoration varied. In this case the three-strand guilloche flanked by wavecrest is a recognizable workshop trait which seems to be limited to the first half of the 3rd c. when found elsewhere in S Anatolia. Another possible indicator is the curly hair of Dionysos which is especially reminiscent of the late 2nd/early 3rd c. It cannot be pressed, however, where the detail is lacking as here, and curls in general are common enough not least in the art of the Hellenistic period. Also suggestive of the late 2nd/early 3rd c., however, is the sideways glance of most of the figures, as are the use of classical style draperies and great attention to the folds and modelling (cf. Balty 1981: 367).

The archaeological context does not provide a firm date for this mosaic (p. 89). However, two pieces of military equipment attributed to the house have been dated independently to the late 2nd/early 3rd c and 3rd c. respectively (see pp. 135-37).

Iconography

The scene is the wedding of Dionysos and Ariadne. Ariadne wears the appropriate colours for a bride — white, with the “flame-coloured veil”, here more of a saffron than flame — and

now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Richter 1987: 210).

5 A similar composition to the Zeugma mosaic, possibly even based on a common original, may be seen in a mosaic found in Georgia, showing Ariadne and Dionysos reclining on a *kline* (M. Mizardari, *Revue des Etudes georgiennes et caucasiennes* 8-9 [1992-93] 175-92). The details of that scene do not allow for more specific identification than a generic Dionysos and Ariadne composition. I am grateful to the reader who brought this mosaic to my attention.

she also wears the golden crown given her by Dionysos. According to some sources, Dionysos had received this crown from Aphrodite; in others, Ariadne already had it before meeting Dionysos.

The scene is consistent with what we know of both Greek and Roman wedding rites. For the Greek rite, Oakley and Sinos (1993) mention the following similar scenes: attendants with boxes (their figs. 36-38), a procession with a box and torch (fig. 76), and a flute player (fig. 97). They also discuss the presentation of gifts (τὰ ἐπαύλια) after the wedding night and the presentation of the ἀνακαλυπτήρια δῶρα, the gifts from the groom to the bride after the unveiling. Thus, the attendant on the left in our mosaic, whose hands are now lost, may have been holding the veil, rather than mirror suggested above, or the spindle of the Roman rite. In the Roman wedding rite, the bride is accompanied to the home of the bridegroom by flautists and torch-bearers. At the entrance she would be offered fire and water. As Treggiari (1991: 166) says:

Traditionally the bride was attended by three boys whose parents were still alive — one of whom carried a special torch of a wood called *spina alva*, while the others held her hands Either the bride or an attendant carried a spindle and distaff.

In our mosaic the torch-bearer is clearly visible, and the woman between Ariadne and the torch-bearer may have carried a spindle and distaff (this part of the mosaic is lost — the figure holds her arms out but forearms and hands are missing). The box of jewellery, then, may be seen as a gift from Dionysos to Ariadne, a wedding gift to add to her dowry, and his gesture directs her attention to the arrival of this gift. It cannot be simply the more common scene of, for example, a servant presenting jewellery for selection, as in the “Toilette of Aphrodite” or the Constantinian ceiling frescoes in Trier. Here the guests are assembled, musicians are present, wine is poured. No woman, of any century, selects her jewellery *after* she arrives at the party.

The general layout of the composition may be compared to the Aldobrandini Wedding from Pompeii (Maiuri 1953: colour pl. 30). The rhythm and pairing of the figures, the suggestion of interior space, the ivy-crowned figures, all are reminiscent of that painting. They are similar also in the mixture of human and heroic/divine figures.

A final argument to support the identification of a wedding is the fact that a wedding was the only time when men and women celebrated in the same room. The presence of Ariadne alongside Dionysos shows that this is no ordinary *symposion*. We can also compare this mosaic to a later mosaic (second quarter of 4th c.) depicting the same subject-matter found at Philippopolis (Balty 1979: 50, nos. 20-23). There Dionysos and Ariadne recline on a *kline* in an identical pose, and the arrangement of drapery behind Dionysos is very similar. Behind them is an *eros* carrying a torch, identified by an inscription as personifying πόθος (Desire). In the Philippopolis example this figure is also associated with Hymenaeus, the god of marriage. The figure with the torch in the Zeugma mosaic may also be the god of marriage, as that deity is usually depicted as a handsome youth. The remaining figures in the Philippopolis mosaic are different; the old man is identified with Maron, rather than Silenus, but the Silenus figure in the border (Balty 1979: 55) bears a remarkable resemblance to the old man in the Zeugma panel.

The significance of the scene

A few points are worth making. First, it is unlikely the original painting served a purely decorative function. Our panel seems rather truncated and it is likely the original painting was larger. Although it is self-contained, one can easily imagine scenes extending to either side to take up more than one wall of a room, as in the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii. Second, while Dionysiac scenes were widely popular, they would have been more than usually appropriate at Zeugma where, according to Pausanias (chapt 9, no. 44), one could see chains claimed to belong to the bridge built there by the god. Finally, was there anything behind the choice of

the wedding scene rather than any other in the Dionysiac repertoire? A possibility may be derived from its associations in Hellenistic and Roman times. As is well-known Alexander identified with both Herakles and Dionysos, his forerunners who campaigned in the east. Moreover, one of the most famous scenes of Alexander's life was his marriage to Roxanne.⁶ In later times this Bactrian queen became the mythical mother of Apama, wife of Seleucus I and after whom the eastern part of Zeugma was named. For the people of Zeugma the wedding scene of Dionysos and Ariadne may have implied associations which went beyond the popularity of the god to evoke Alexander and Roxanne, Seleucus and Apama.⁷

Since we do not know who owned the house at Zeugma, it must be read in the first instance simply as a wedding scene, perhaps of nostalgic or sentimental import to the owners of the house since the panel is just outside the door to a room which may well have functioned as a bedroom (see p. 38; fig. 5.6). We can state that the selection indicates that the owner of the house had excellent taste in choosing a composition of such superb quality and monumentality. It also tells something of the cultural life of the city, of the continuity of Hellenistic ideals, culture, and artistic excellence, especially in the Antonine and Severan period in this city on the eastern frontier of the Roman empire. There is no justification for attributing any further meaning here, although it is hard to believe that there was no reason for choosing to copy a work of this monumentality that reproduced a famous work of art from antiquity. It is worth noting that scenes of the wedding of Dionysos and Ariadne are not at all common in the Roman mosaic repertoire.⁸

Date: late 2nd/ early 3rd c. A.D.

Present location: *in situ*

Material: limestone

Colours: white, black, several shades each of grey, blue, pink, brown and yellow

Tesserae count: figured panel 168 T/dm²; border 84 T/dm²

Dimensions: 7 x 3.5 m.

B. Geometric mosaic in Area 3 (fig. 5.16)

In the partially rock-cut room adjoining the Dionysos mosaic is another pavement (fig. 5.6). The room may be identified as a bedroom (cf. above, p. 38).

Description

The design is entirely geometric and almost perfectly preserved (fig. 7.12). The outer border is a lattice grid in dark blue on a white background, enclosing a border of two-strand guilloche flanked by dark-blue stepped pyramids. The guilloche is outlined in dark blue, and the strands are light blue with white, and pink with white. The central field has a medium-blue stylised palmette with tendrils in each corner (fig. 7.13). The main pattern (fig. 7.14) is enclosed by a circle of single dark blue tesserae and a row of narrow-stepped pyramids. Inside is a circle of two-strand twist made up of a strand of undulating ribbon in pink, white and light blue, and a strand of two-strand guilloche in the same colours as the border. Inside each loop of the twist is a circle of red stepped pyramids, a dark blue circle and an inner roundel shaded in reds and pinks, resembling a three-dimensional sphere. The overall effect is that of a ceiling decoration with a series of bosses. In the centre is a dark blue circle with a 6-point rosette of shaded petals, 4 in white with pink, and 2 in white with blue.

Context

There is no reason to suggest that this pavement is of a different date than the Dionysos panel, late 2nd to early 3rd c. It is worth noting that the combination of a 2-strand guilloche flanked by stepped pyramids has

6 Lucian in the 2nd c. describes a famous painting by Aëtion (which he had probably seen in Italy) depicting the wedding of Alexander and Roxanne (Pollitt 1990: 180-82).

7 The identification of Seleucus with Alexander and Dionysos, including the use of the bull's horn, is discussed by Hadly 1974: 9. I am grateful to Carmen Arnold-Biucchi for this reference.

8 A further discussion of this scene as an allegorical reference to Seleucus or Antiochus and Stratonice will be published elsewhere.



been identified as a possible identifying mark of a mosaic workshop in SE Anatolia. This combination has been identified in several mosaics of Anamur and in 6 examples at Antioch, but not elsewhere (Campbell 1979: 290 and pl. 44.19). Similarities to our central rosette may be seen at Anamur, in the "Roadside mosaic" (Campbell, in press, pls. 66-69), and at Tarsus (Campbell, forthcoming).

Date: late 2nd/early 3rd c?

Present location: *in situ*

Material: limestone

Colours: white, three shades of blue, dark red, pink

Tesserae count: outer border 63 T/dm², inner panel

72 T/dm²

Dimensions: 5.4 x 4.9 m.

Fig. 7.12. Mosaic in area 3 (*triclinium?*) of House of Mosaic of Dionysos and Ariadne.



Fig. 7.13. Detail of fig. 7.12.



Fig. 7.14. Detail of fig. 7.12.



Fig. 7.15. Mosaic in centre of peristyle court of House of Mosaic of Dionysos and Ariadne.

C. Geometric mosaic in the peristyle courtyard

Excavation directly east of the room with the Mosaic of Dionysos and Ariadne revealed a peristyle with a mosaic pavement (figs. 5.2; 5.7; 5.8).

Description

The mosaic of the courtyard is in excellent condition (fig. 7.15). It may have formed the sunken floor of a reflecting pool, as there is a well and a water-channel just behind this spot. The outer edges are plain white, filling in the space; the decorative panel is surrounded first by a border of plain dark blue, white, and a row of tangent diamonds in yellow on a dark blue background; inside that is a dark blue diagonal grid enclosing small pitched squares outlined in dark blue. The main panel contains circles overlapping on 4 sides, forming quatrefoils. The rows of circles alternate in white and light blue, each containing a curvilinear dark blue square on which is a small white or light blue crosslet.

Date: late 2nd/early 3rd c?

Present location: *in situ*

Material: limestone

Colours: white, two shades of blue, dark red, yellow

Tesserae count: outer border 72 T/dm², inner panel 90 T/dm²

Dimensions: c.4.6 x 4.6 m.

II. MOSAIC IN HOUSE AT SITE A

Excavation in 1993 uncovered the foundations and part of the floor of a house (see p. 73). Ploughing had damaged the monochrome mosaic pavement (figs. 4.19 and 4.20).

Description

The mosaic is fragmentary but there seem to be two adjacent panels (fig. 4.21), each surrounded by a dark blue band c.4 tesserae wide. One has a border of dark blue wave crest, followed by a row of fairly simple swastika meander (figs. 7.16-17); the other contained an overall pattern of dark blue crosslets possibly forming a grid (fig. 7.18).

Context

The house lies on a slope in a valley which has produced evidence of numerous mosaics (p. 61). House D (below) lies on the bluff nearby and the House of the Mosaic of Dionysos and Ariadne is on a ridge half a kilometre uphill.

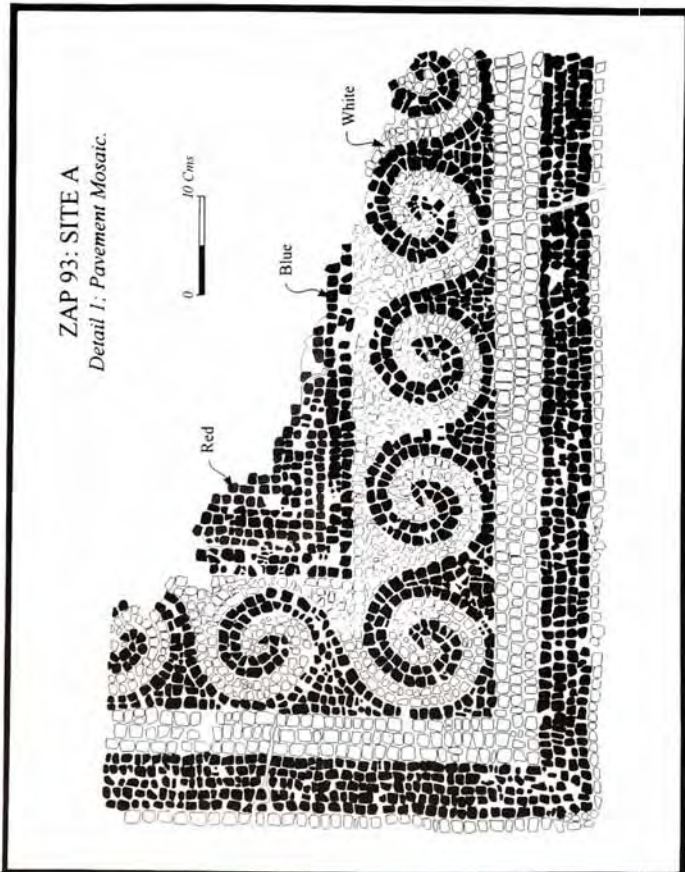


Fig. 7.16. Detail 1 of mosaic from Site A.

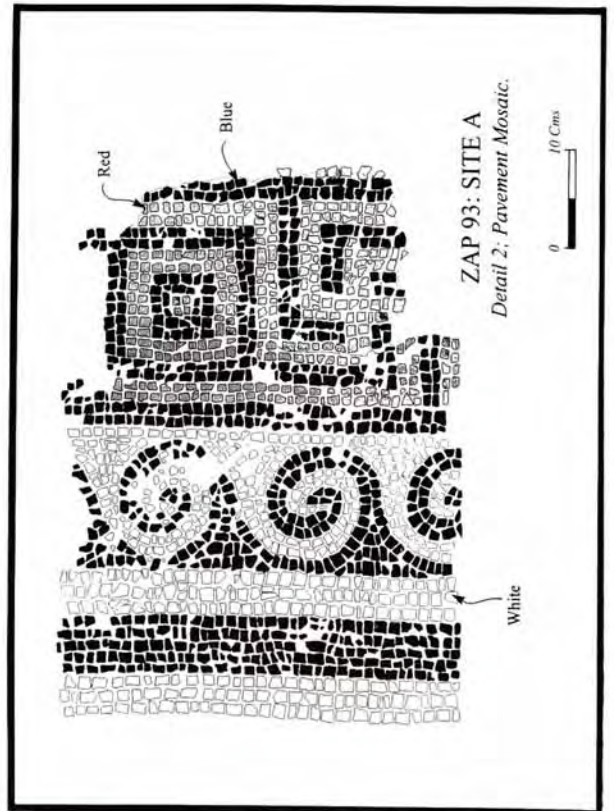


Fig. 7.17. Detail 2 of mosaic from Site A.

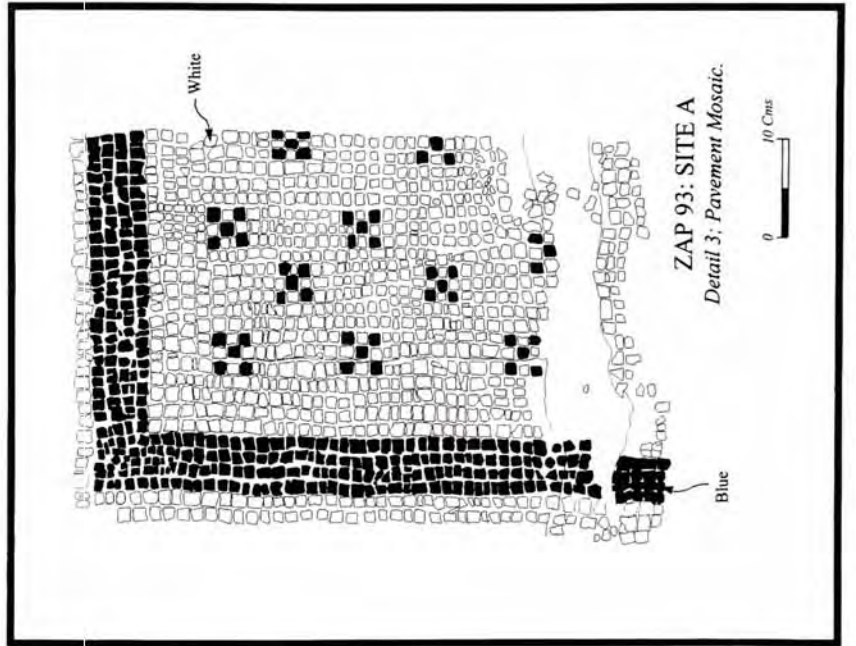


Fig. 7.18. Detail 3 of mosaic from Site A.

Date

With so little of the mosaic remaining, it is very difficult to establish a date. However, the flat simplicity of the swastika meander, lacking any internal divisions or enclosures of other geometric motifs, suggests a date consistent with those described above.

Present location: *in situ*

Material: limestone

Colours: white and dark blue

Tesserae count: outer frame 63 T/dm², inner panel 85 T/dm²

Dimensions (not helpful when it is so fragmentary).

III. MOSAIC IN HOUSE AT SITE D

Excavation at Site D uncovered a polychrome mosaic *in situ* but damaged by looters who had removed much of the figured central panel (figs. 4.4-5; 4.8).⁹

Description

The outside border is a diagonal grid of dark blue squares enclosing small blue pitched squares in the centre (figs. 7.19-20).¹⁰ Next, three solid lines of dark blue separated by two bands of white, one narrow, one wide, surround a band of dark blue stepped pyramids, followed by a border of two-strand guilloche, in dark blue, light blue with white, and dark blue and pink with white. The central figured panel is framed by a narrow strip of dark blue, two tesserae wide (fig. 7.21). At some time in the past the greater part of the figures had been removed. In the top left corner, running into the damaged area, are two Greek letters and most of a third: ΠΑΡ (figs. 7.19 and 7.22; cf. fig. 6.24). In the lower extant portion can be seen the carved legs of a *kline* and some of its cushions, as well as the draped lower legs of two figures, dark blue for the female on the left, and dark red/brown for the male on the right.

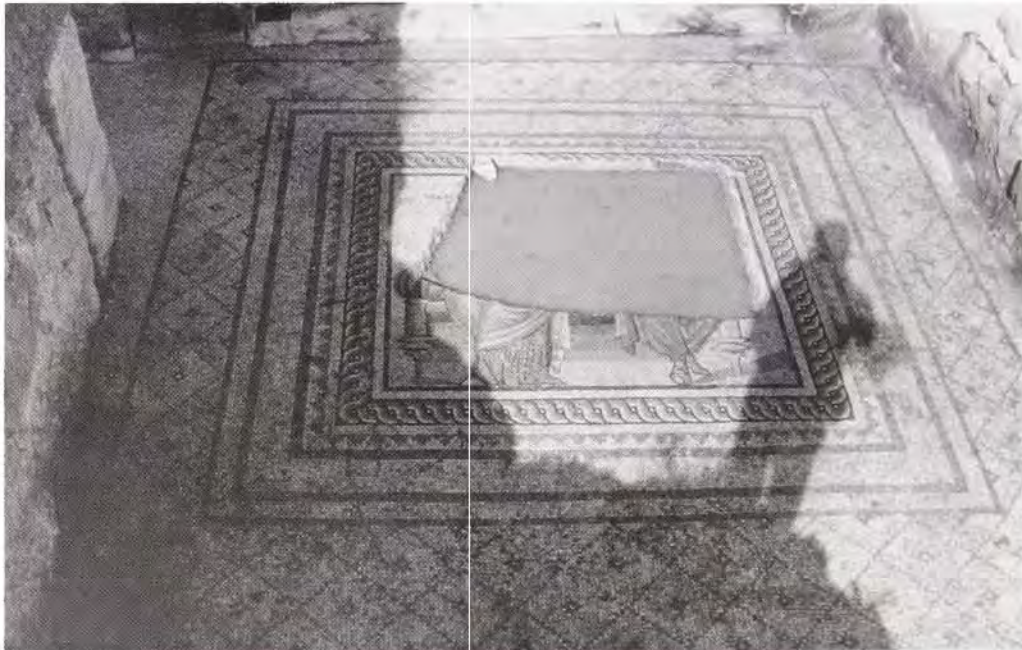


Fig. 7.19. Mosaic floor in principal room of Site D.

9 The mosaic was difficult to photograph *in situ* because of shade cast over it. Photographs taken after it was removed to Gaziantep Museum reflect the small additional damage caused in lifting.

10 Cf. Wagner 1976: Taf. 23 for a very similar design seen by him on a mosaic in Belkis village.

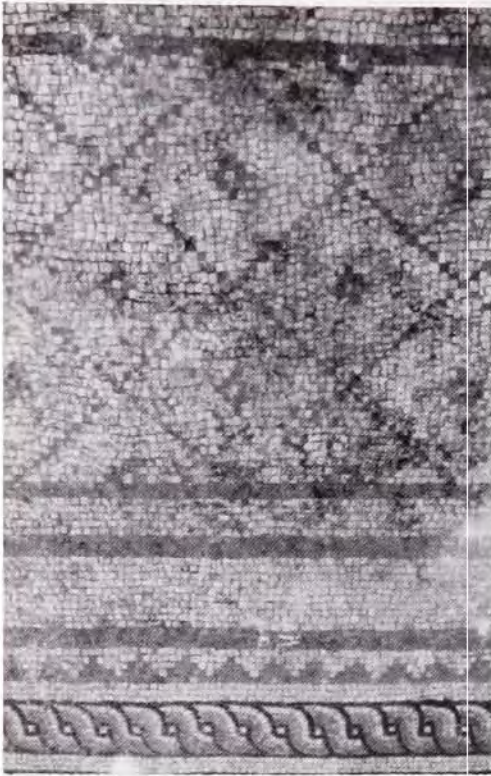


Fig. 7.20. Detail of border of mosaic in principal room of Site D.

whether short, long or absent. Added to the front of the garment are two *clavi*, usually indicative of a Roman *tunica*. Perhaps it is a combination of a *tunica laticlavia* with a Greek cloak, or his costume could be read as a Greek male *chiton* with the *clavi* added. In either case, the suggestion exists of a Romanised version of a Greek model. Parthenope wears a Greek sleeveless *chiton*.



Fig. 7.21. Detail of female figure in mosaic in principal room of Site D. The robes were extensively damaged during lifting (cf. fig. 7.22).

The missing piece can be identified with two pieces presently in the Ménéil Collection, Houston. Photographs of these have been reduced and positioned on fig. 7.22 at approximately the scale and position expected. The drawing (fig. 7.23) is a tentative restoration of the whole. The discussion which follows treats these three pieces as one pavement. The rest of the floor has been lifted and is now in the Gaziantep Museum. Unfortunately, the part of the Greek letter P and much of the central part of the skirt of the female figure could not be lifted successfully, but they can be seen in the photographs (fig. 7.21; cf. 7.22).

The scene depicts ΠΑΡΙΘΕΝΟΠΗ and ΜΗΤΙ-ΟΧΙΟΣΙ, seated in three-quarter position side by side but turned to face each other. As with the Dionysos and Ariadne pavement, this seems to be a Roman copy from an earlier Hellenistic work. The same arguments can be offered, such as the use of shadows on the floor, the suggested soft texture of the draperies, and the mixture of Greek and Roman elements. Metiochos seems to be wearing a simple shirt-like garment which hangs straight from the shoulders, without a belt. As the shoulders are not visible, one cannot comment on the sleeves, whether



Fig. 7.22. Figured panel from principal room of Area D. Inserted are photographs of the two pieces now in the Ménéil Collection, Houston, thought to belong to this mosaic. Note the damage done to the robes of Parthenope (cf. fig. 7.21).

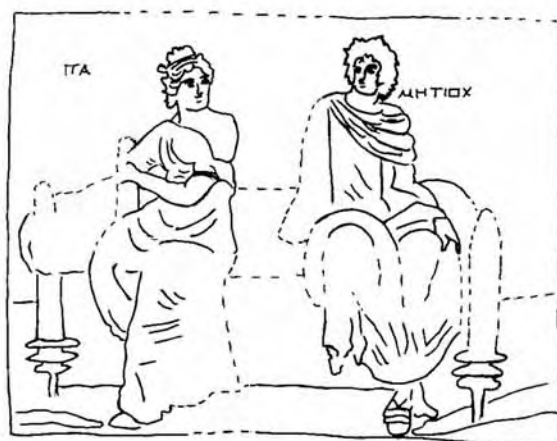


Fig. 7.23. Tentative reconstruction of the three pieces of mosaic illustrated in fig. 7.22.

Iconography (by Eric Csapo)¹¹

In addition to the two fragments now in Houston, there are three mosaics known to represent scenes from ancient novels, one from nearby Alexandria ad Issum (Iskenderun), and two excavated from the same house in Daphne; all (including the fragments in Houston) have been dated by archaeological or stylistic criteria to around the 2nd or 3rd c. A.D. (Balty 1981: 375-76, 378). Illustrations and an excellent general discussion with further references are provided by Quet (1992). The fragment from Alexandria ad Issum (labelled) and one mosaic from Daphne depict the same scene from *Ninos*. The other mosaic from Daphne shows a very different scene from *Metiochos and Parthenope* (also labelled). Both novels belong to the earliest examples of the genre.¹²

The contents of the ancient novel *Metiochos and Parthenope* are known from a variety of sources, among them papyrus fragments (Stephens and Winkler 1995: 72-100). The fragments partially preserve an episode from the early part of the novel in which Metiochos is invited to dine at the house of Polykrates, tyrant of Samos. Polykrates' daughter Parthenope is also present at the banquet. This is not Metiochos' first encounter with Parthenope. They fell in love at first glance during a chance encounter at the Heraion not long before Polykrates' dinner party. While the wine is served after the meal, the discussion turns to the nature of love. Metiochos delivers a philosophical discourse in a sophistic and rationalising mode and ends his speech with a prayer, "May I never experience it (sc. love) at all." Parthenope then "bridles at his rationalizing explanation and embarks upon a spirited defence of the traditional portraits" (Stephens and Winkler 1995: 73): "By Zeus. This stranger speaks empty nonsense. I do not think writers, poets, painters and sculptors <bring?> us to the very portal of education ...". Bouvier (1975), who knew only the two central fragments of the mosaic, was the first to link the scene with the symposium at Polykrates'; Maehler, thinking the side glance directed by Parthenope fierce rather than ogling, argued that the mosaic attempted to capture this precise moment at Polykrates' symposium (1976: 18-19). The discovery at Zeugma of the frame and lower portions of the figures of the same mosaic may offer some confirmation, since it can now be seen that the lovers are seated on a *kline*.¹³ But the artist's decision to render Metiochos sitting upright rather than reclining; certainly obscures the sympotic setting (less so Parthenope's upright posture which might be a sign of feminine decorum), and may be thought an obstacle to Bouvier's and Maehler's interpretation. Nonetheless, no easier interpretation of their mutual presence on a couch presents itself.

Another detail of the mosaic is at least consistent with the setting of the scene at Polykrates' symposium. The papyrus seems to describe the relative placement of Metiochos and Parthenope (col. 1, 8-9):

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- 11 I am very grateful to K. M. D. Dunbabin and W. J. Slater for discussion of the complexity of seating arrangements at the symposium, to C. P. Jones and H. J. Mason for their expertise on the ancient novel, and to S. Campbell for inviting me to write this commentary.
- 12 *Ninos*, also a historical novel, can be dated by its papyrus fragments to the 1st c. A.D. The date of *Metiochos and Parthenope* is disputed. The earliest literary references to the novel are, doubtfully, by Dionysius Periegetes in a geographical poem (c.130-138 [see Bowie 1990: 77]), and, certainly, by Lucian in the later 2nd c. (*Salt.* 2, 54; *Pseudol.* 2). Nevertheless, scholars have argued for a date in the 1st c. B.C. on the basis of language and style (especially Dihle 1978). The (above-mentioned) possibility of a Hellenistic model for our mosaic is therefore of some interest to the early chronology of the novel. Regrettably the evidence is ambiguous and permits no firm conclusion.
- 13 There is, however, evidence for a later encounter between the lovers at a symposium, and perhaps encounters at several symposia, before their final separation (as we learn from an 11th-c. version of the story by the Persian poet, Unsuri, *Wamiq and Adhra*, and its epitome in the *Darab Nemeq*; see Stephens and Winkler 1995: 75).

κ]αταστήσας εἰς ὑψηλότερον [
], μᾶλλον γένηται τῇ Παρθενόπῃ

"He placed him in a higher [seat
 so that] he might be more [visible? impressive?] to Parthenope."

I know no precise parallel in ancient literature for εἰς ὑψηλότερον ("in a higher place") used of seating arrangements in the *andron* or the *triclinium*, but it is consistent with the language of the symposium where "up" and "down" (usually ὑπεράνω and ὑποκάτω) are regularly used to refer to the order of the couches and the seats upon them. In the Archaic to early Hellenistic symposium a "higher" seat is also invariably a more honorific seat and it is probably relevant that in a Persian adaptation of *Metiochos and Parthenope*, Polykrates "had him [i.e. Wamiq] sit in a more honoured seat" (v. 133; see Hägg 1985: 102). Iconographic habit normally places the honoured seat to the right in scenes showing pairs or small groups of guests at a symposium. As the seating arrangement is of some importance to understanding the dynamics of Parthenope and Metiochos' erotic encounter, it is worth examining the background to this convention.

The logic of the terms "up" and "down" is derived from the standard seating arrangements of the Archaic to early Hellenistic symposium.¹⁴ "Up" and "down" refer to people lying on couches "above" and "below" you, "below" being in the direction of the adjacent couch that you can see without difficulty, "above" meaning the direction of the adjacent couch which you must twist your neck around over your left shoulder to see. However, this does not tell against Merkelbach's supplement to line 9, "visible" (καταφανής) — quite the contrary. The advantage of being "below," if you are a lover, is that you can, if you prop yourself right up on your elbow, turn and look the person "above" full in the face (whereas all you may see of those "below" you is the back of their heads, unless they execute the same manoeuvre). The general pattern is for the highest couch to be on the right as one enters the *andron* ("high" being honorific both because one sees one's companions with least effort and because the slaves begin serving here). At any position of the room, therefore, "high" is to the right of "low".

The novelists found dinner and symposium scenes convenient settings for the first flirtations of their lovestruck heroes. This is largely due to the opportunity they provide for detailed descriptions of their physical and psychological sensations as they ogle one another secretly at dinner.¹⁵ Far from being gratuitous details, the seating arrangements are often a matter of precise specification, as in *Metiochos and Parthenope*, since they establish the ground-rules of the initial gambit in the slow game of seduction, which consists of "stealing" glances. Since formal diners throughout antiquity reclined on their left elbows, the desirability of placing the love-object to the right of the lover was little affected by changes which took place in the seating arrangements of the symposium after the early Hellenistic period. In Achilles Tatius' novel (1.5), the hero Kleitophon and his father share the middle couch in a pi-shaped *triclinium*. As head of the household, Kleitophon's father takes the most honoured seat on the left of the couch (which corresponds to the Roman arrangement, where the position *imus in medio* is known as the *locus consularis*). The male heir, Kleitophon, takes the next most honoured seat, which is on the right end of the middle couch. Kleitophon's mother and aunt get the

14 For a general overview of changes in the seating plan of the symposium in antiquity, see Dunbabin 1991.

15 See especially Ach. Tat. 1.5, 2.3, 2.9, 5.13; *Apollonius* 1-6; Longus 3.7-10; *Hist. Apollon.* 15-17; Makrembolites, *Hyrmine and Hyrminias* 1.8-12; 2.12-14; 3.4-7; 4.1, etc. Lovers do frequently meet at symposia in the novels. Maehler (1976: 15) cites two parallels for young women at the symposium in ancient novels. In Heliodorus, Nausikles introduces his daughter, whom he wishes to marry to one of the guests (6.6-7), while a similar motive lies behind the introduction by her father of Odatis to the symposium in the love story recounted by Chares of Mytilene in his *Histories of Alexander* (FGrH 125 F 5). But Hägg shows there are problems with thinking that Polykrates has placed Metiochos "above" Parthenope for the same reason (1985: 101-2). The *topos* of the symposium in the ancient Greek novel is studied by Jouanno (1996: see esp. 162-63 for first flirtations).

couch to the left of the entrance, while his sister and cousin, Leukippe, with whom he is in love, take the couch at the right of the entrance. "When I learned of this arrangement I nearly ran and kissed my father for placing the girl directly under my gaze" (1.5.2). Kleitophon means that he can stare at Leukippe by gazing over his left shoulder, a manoeuvre made especially easy by the fact that they lie next to one another on adjacent couches which join at a 90 degree angle. "Propping my elbow on the couch and leaning forward I gazed at the maiden with my full face, and stole glances at her all the while" (1.5.3). We find a similar arrangement, doubtless to a similar end, in the description of the Persian banquet in a fragment of the novel *Apollonius*, where the queen is said to recline "above" the king (ὑπεράνω), while Apollonius, whom she apparently later tries to seduce, reclines to the right of the royal couple (as is clear from the description of the king propping himself up on his elbow, μεταναστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγκῶνα, to swivel around and offer Apollonius a toast: see Stephens and Winkler 1995: 391-99). The positions of the queen and Apollonius are doubtless the same positions we find described in *Kleitophon and Leukippe*, with the queen at the right end of the middle couch and Apollonius to the right of her on the adjacent couch. Thus the detail that Metiochos is placed "above" Parthenope indicates that Metiochos is to the right of Parthenope, and this is true whether the novelist is reconstructing the arrangements of the Archaic symposium with historical accuracy, or importing into his novel the more complex picture of his day. It might also be argued that the mosaic agrees with the novelist's description to the extent that Parthenope looks back at Metiochos over her left shoulder, but if it is indeed the symposium scene which the mosaicist wished to represent, it is likely that he condensed the scene by placing the lovers on the same couch and making them sit upright.

Is the choice of scenes from *Ninos* and *Metiochos* and *Parthenope* for the decoration of the floors of private houses a sign of the owners' private tastes or an expression of a broader popular culture? And is this choice evidence of literary tastes, books and readership or of the dissemination of the novel by some medium other than the written word? Hanfmann (1939: 244-46) and Quet (1992: 137-40) have argued that the *Metiochos and Parthenope* mosaic from Daphne shows a theatrical inspiration. Quet attributes the general popularity of mosaics depicting scenes from the novel to a twofold inspiration: both from reading the text of the novel, and from mime or pantomime performances of extracts from the novel in the theatre. Lucian refers to *Ninos* and *Metiochos and Parthenope*, not as literary stories, but as performances "in the theatres" (*Pseudol.* 25 "ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις", cf. 19), and to *Metiochos and Parthenope* elsewhere as "dramas" (*Salt.* 54 "δράματα") or as pantomimes (*Salt.* 2). The scholiast to Dionysius Periegetes also refers to "dance" (ὄρχηστική, viz. pantomime) as the probable means by which one would gain familiarity with the story of *Parthenope* — even by the learned readers of his own commentary!

But the logic of the selection of these particular scenes for the decoration of private houses may run still deeper. Hägg supposes that private readings were one of the chief vehicles for the dissemination of the early novel (1983: 93). If an analogy can be drawn between scenes from novels and scenes from theatrical classics (Sophocles, Euripides and Menander), which we frequently find in domestic wall-painting and mosaics, then we should probably regard private dramatic readings from novels as one of the chief means of the genre's dissemination in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. Plutarch names dramatic readings from tragedy, Old Comedy, Menander, and Platonic dialogues (with a definite preference for Menander), as well as mimes and pantomimes, as entertainments at private symposia (*Quaest. Conv.* 711a-713f; Jones 1991: 191-94). And this is no doubt why dramatic illustrations are frequently found in *triclinia* — at the House of Menander in Mytilene, for example, where scenes from Menander and a Platonic dialogue decorate the *triclinium* and adjacent courtyard (Charitonidis *et al.* 1970). The early novels were particularly well suited to "dinner theatre"; indeed, the very form and style of the early novel seems to anticipate dissemination by "dramatic" readings and performance, if we may judge from Chariton's *Chaireas and Kallirhoe*, generally considered our earliest fully ex-

tant novel.¹⁶ Goold writes:

no less than 40 percent of the work consists of direct speech, and an equal amount is taken up with setting the stage, as it were (1995: 13).

Hägg is equally sensitive to the novel's dramatic style:

Nearly half of the novel's text consists of direct speech — a fact worth noting, since the "scenic" form is sometimes considered characteristic of the modern novel alone. Besides speeches and monologues there are also passages of lively and rapid dialogue; among the ancient novels, *Chaireas and Kallirhoe* stands closest to the comedies of Menander (1983: 16; cf. Reardon 1991: 27, Borgogno 1971).

Self-conscious use of the language and conventions of New Comedy became a characteristic of the ancient novel (Mason, forthcoming); indeed, the genre came to be known as "dramatic writings" (σύνταγμα or σύγγραμμα δραματικόν in Phot., *Bibl.* 50a7, 87b6, and simply δραματικόν in Phot., *Bibl.* 73b24, 66a16, 109a7).

To repeat a caution recently advanced by Bowie (1992: 58), we are not to infer, as did Levi, that a preference for mosaics with novelistic scenes is the sign of a literary or even a literate man (Levi 1947: 118). I suggest rather that the domestic decorations reflected popular private entertainments, many of which doubtless took place in the same room as the decorations, a reflexivity which may also account for the fact that two of our three novelistic mosaics are themselves dramatically set at symposia.¹⁷

Date: late 2nd/early 3rd c.

Present location: the figured panel has been removed to Gaziantep Museum, the surrounding border was left *in situ*. The two panels of figures, belonging to the Ménil Collection, are currently on extended loan to Rice University, Houston

Material: limestone

Colours: white, 3 shades of blue, dark red, 2 shades of pink, 2 yellows, medium and light brown, reddish brown, grey

Tesserae count: outer border 230 T/dm², inner panel (figures) 420 T/dm²

Dimensions: 3.8 x 3.75 m.

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16 The dating is controversial. On linguistic criteria Papanikolaou dated Chariton's novel to no later than the second half of the 1st c. B.C. (1973: 160-63), but a Hadrianic date has recently been argued by Jones (1992: 165) and Baslez (1992: 204) on historical criteria (cf. Bowie 1992: 60 n.18). The early style of the novel may be considered an issue independent of the actual dating.

17 In the *Ninos* mosaic from Daphne two couches meet at right-angles and a serving girl approaches bearing what appears to be a cup of wine to the reclining hero. This seems sufficient to indicate that the scene is set in a *triclinium* (cf. W. A. Campbell 1938: 213). Levi claims this must be a bedroom (1944: 421, cf. Quet 1992: 129) but the argument is compromised by the admission that "beds of a type similar to that of our mosaic appear also in representations of banquets" (421, n.5). The *Ninos* mosaic depicts another *topos* of the novelistic symposium. The hero is shown abstracted from the festivity and lost in contemplation of his absent sweetheart whose picture he holds in his right hand. For this motif, see Jouanno 1996: 163-66. On the self-reflexivity of the entertainments and images of the symposium, see Jouanno 1996: 168-69. One should note, among the many sympotic activities described in the novel (Jouanno 1996: *passim*), the telling of tales of love and adventure, which serve as embedded tales or frame stories (see Jouanno 1996: 165-67).

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Miscellaneous artefacts

David L. Kennedy

with contributions by M. C. Bishop, K. Butcher, J. Dobbins and D. French

As one walks across the site one is struck repeatedly by the range and number of artifacts visible on the surface. Potsherds are common and fragments of terracotta roof-tiles may be seen everywhere from the West necropolis to Belkis and the cemeteries of Kırkbayır, but there is also glass, worked stone, fragments of wall-plaster and mosaic, loose tesserae in different coloured stones and even in glass, occasional coins, and corroded iron, especially nails. Many artefacts, including inscriptions, sculpture, mosaic, coins, ceramics and metalwork, are now in the Gaziantep Museum, which has a room dedicated to finds from Belkis. This chapter cannot pretend to be comprehensive but is intended simply to draw attention to a selection of items and illustrate the range of the material culture.

Mosaics

Mosaic floors are common at the site and often discovered by looters (cf. pp. 61 and 81 above). Looting indeed began much earlier, as is illustrated by the so-called Provinces mosaic, brought to light in 1873. It consists of a central panel of Neptune drawn in a 4-horse chariot and surrounded by a series of turreted female personifications in circular frames. The lettering beside each vignette names individual provinces. Ten have survived and are named: Britannia, Hispania, Gallia, Germania, Raetia, Pannonia, Macedonia, Aegyptus, Africa, and Mauretania. Missing, ironically, is the entire Asian series, from Asia itself to Arabia and including Syria. Forty-one pieces of the mosaic are known today, located in 11 public and private collections in 7 countries.¹

Many other mosaics have been removed from the site. Cumont (1917: 140 and n.2), who noted the report of Sachau (1883: 177-78) that he had witnessed mosaics being excavated in 1879, added that such work had been carried out by Henderson, the British Consul in Aleppo, who was digging at both Djerablis (Carchemish) and Belkis, but that he did not know if the mosaics subsequently passed to the British Museum. In fact they may be those accessioned by the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1869 (subsequently transferred to the British Museum in 1987),² for Henderson had been digging in the region for some years. The 4 pieces (two are now joined, figs. 8.1-8.2) depict a reclining female in a rectangular central panel (144.75 x 92.7 cm); at either end in the square panels (87.6 x 92.7 cm) are female heads.

It is likely that many more mosaics from Zeugma exist in public and private collections, perhaps disguised under the name "Aintab" or "Upper Euphrates region". Recent discoveries by looters and in excavations suggest that many more substantial mosaics of high quality exist.³

1 Parlasca 1983: 289-91; Kriseleit 1985: 26-29.

2 Neither the V&A nor the British Museum has any other mosaics recorded as coming from Belkis (or any obvious variant on that name) or from "Ain Tab". The mosaics seem not to have been published beyond the formal but brief entry in the *List of objects in the Art Division of the Kensington Museum acquired during the year 1869* (Victoria and Albert Museum 1870):

PAVEMENT. Mosaic work (in four pieces), the central compartment showing a reclining female; at each end are squares filled by female heads; found at Balkis (Zeugma), on the Euphrates. Graeco-Roman. About A.D. 200. Given by A. Casella, Esq. 595 to 595c. - '69.

I am grateful to Paul Roberts for assistance on this subject.

3 In 1992 our Watchman showed the writer a small cave in a hillside where a mosaic floor (of geometric design) survived, and in 1993 he drew attention to a mortar bed or beds with tesserae 7 m in length eroding from a modern track between the two excavated houses (reported in chaps. 4 and 5). In many



Fig. 8.1 (top). Figured panel of mosaic from Belkis, now in the British Museum.
 Figs. 8.2 (below). The end panels of the same mosaic in the British Museum.

Architectural pieces and other stone

At several locations one may see architectural pieces apparently unearthed by farming since Wagner's study. None has been recorded in detail but, since all are vulnerable, they are mentioned here:

other places he noted surface concentrations of tesserae and pointed to places where mosaics had been found *in situ*.

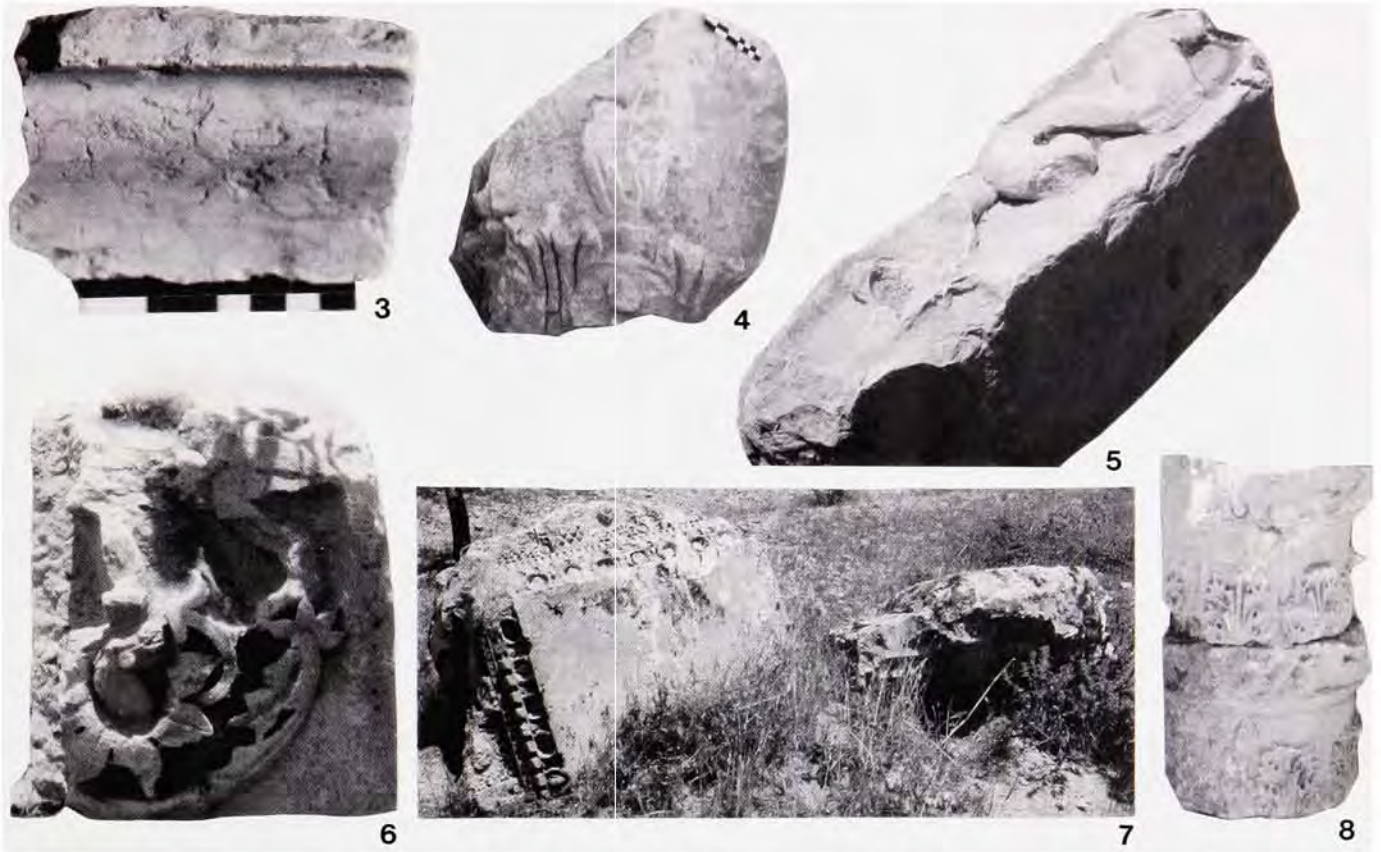


Fig. 8.3. Fragment of fine white marble, a surface find near Area A; 8.4. Fragment of a column capital, surface find near Site A; 8.5. Architectural member, pedimental decoration; 8.6. Architectural decoration from same place as figs 8.5 and 8.7; 8.7. Two large fragments of cornice; 8.8. Two column capitals near the aqueduct channel.



Fig. 8.9. Piece of fine white marble (top left) and three other architectural fragments found near theatre.

1. On the river bank just below Site A, part of a column drum in a pale pink marble. No local source for marble of this colour is known.
2. A piece of fine white marble found in the gully a few metres below Site A (fig. 8.3).
3. In the same gully, a fragment of column capital in a local limestone (fig. 8.4)
4. Some 200 m up the same gully, where the valley is shallower, 4 blocks in local limestone, elaborately cut and decorated. Because of their size, they are unlikely to have moved far (figs. 8.5-7). They include a massive section of a cornice and decoration appropriate to a pediment. A substantial monumental building is indicated.
5. About 150 m E of these blocks, just around the side of the hill at the point where the water-channel of fig. 3.13 is exposed, 2 sandstone column capitals were visible in 1992 (fig. 8.8), perhaps from the same structure.
6. Several worked blocks were noted in and near the proposed theatre. They include a piece of fine white marble; the other 4 are locally quarried limestone (fig. 8.9).

The chief sources of stone on the site were probably the quarries found a few kilometres north of Apamea (see p. 57) and stone result-

ing from the cutting of local tombs and terraces. Marble will have been imported; the relatively few fragments known may suggest that it was fairly rare on this site far from the coast.

Glass

Ergeç reports the discovery of much glass in the house which he excavated, and a large wooden box in the Gaziantep Museum is half full of glass fragments from one room (p. 109). The circumstances of its loss and recovery are of interest, since most glass from classical antiquity derives either from graves, as whole or fragments of whole vessels, or as site-finds in isolated fragments of a material that was routinely recycled. In the present case, however, several vessels were present, all broken, and they may have fallen from a cupboard in the room which held the mosaic of the Wedding of Dionysos and Ariadne. If so, they may constitute a collection of glass in contemporary use in a household.⁴

Ceramics

No excavated corpus of pottery is yet available for Zeugma.⁵ We have to fall back, therefore, on reports from elsewhere in the region. The fine wares of the classical period are covered by Kenrick's brief survey (1981: 439-58). For the Hellenistic period (c. late 4th-late 2nd c.) black and brown gloss wares, coarse storage jars, bowls with incurved rims, and "fish plates" are typical diagnostic types. For the Roman period the red gloss wares are the commonest and most easily recognizable fine wares. Eastern Sigillata (mid-late 2nd c. B.C. to later 4th c. A.D.) is by far the most common on most N Syrian sites. Later came African Red Slip (mid-3rd c. onwards) and other, less common gloss wares such as W Anatolian Late Roman C ware (4th-7th c.)

In general the coarse wares are little understood despite their ubiquity.⁶ An important exception is the brittle wares, "hard baked, brick-red clay of almost metallic quality which is thin and easily broken" (Dyson 1968: 58). It was a more expensive coarse ware and is found widely around the E Mediterranean. It appears in everyday use at two N Syrian/Mesopotamian centres whose demise can be dated in the mid 3rd c. A.D. Dyson has published a substantial corpus of that excavated at Dura, which fell to the Sasanians in the mid 250s, and D. and J. Oates recorded it at 'Ain Sinu near the Upper Tigris at a site which they believe went out of occupation in the late 230s (Oates 1968: 80-92; 145-58). The Kurban Höyük Survey (Wilkinson 1990) and the Birecik and Carchemish section of the Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project (Algaze *et al.* 1994: 19-22; 27-61 *passim* with figs. 30-31) have both begun to show how a knowledge of the local pottery can be put to good effect.

At Zeugma, red gloss wares are common surface finds across much of the site. The fill of the house excavated in Area D (chapt. 4) also produced much red gloss. Two other vessels, likewise unstratified, recovered from the hillwash in the house at Area D are worth mentioning:

1. A small, ribbed, jug, almost complete (fig. 8.10).

2 (by J. Dobbins). Part of a fine clay lamp (fig. 8.10). The filling hole has a framing ring, followed by a rosette of 18 rounded petals and two further framing rings. Rim carries decoration of pleated ropes. Angular profile. This is probably Dobbins' Type 14, common in N Syria, with numerous examples from Dura Europus (Dobbins 1977: 242-45 and fig. 195). The lamp is a Syrian development of an Italian discus type. There is no exact parallel either for the number of petals or the rim decoration either in Dobbins' catalogue or in the illustrations of the Dura material (Baur 1947). Types 14 and 15 are very similar and contemporary at Dura. A 3rd-c. date is likely.

4 I am grateful to C. Lightfoot for discussion.

5 The preliminary reports on the house excavated by Ergeç have not included pottery, while pottery from the sites excavated by the present project (chapt. 4) was collected but has not been studied due to the absence of a specialist (cf. p. 8).

6 However, cf. Northedge 1981: 459-71 for some late Roman coarse wares from the R. Qoueiq Survey in N Syria.

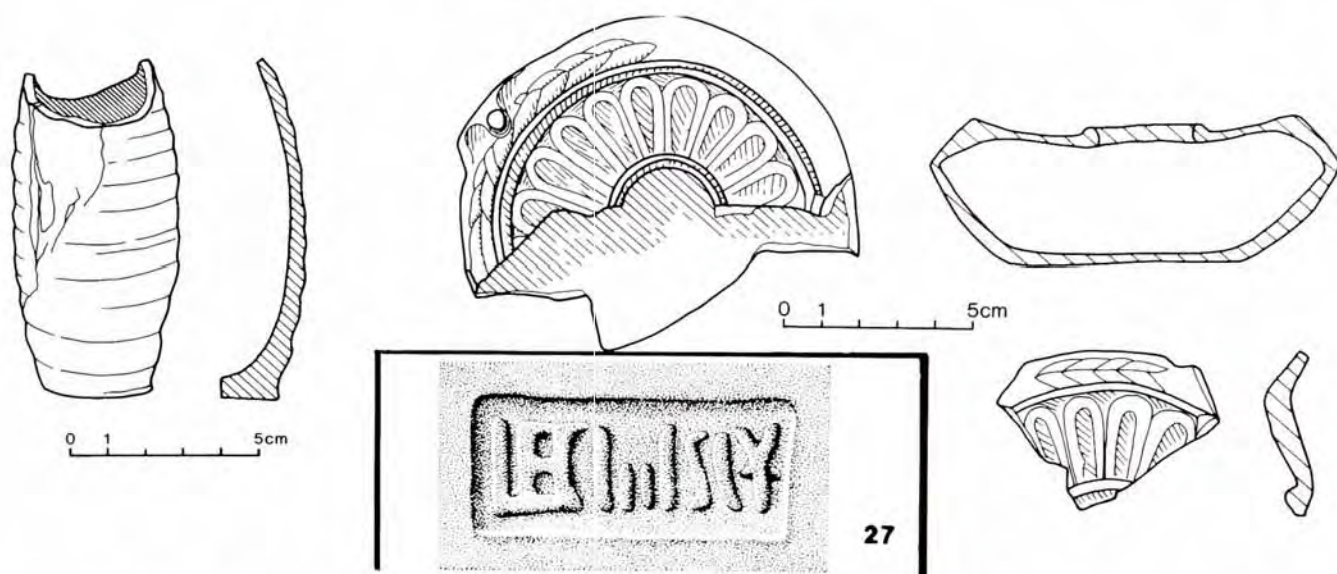


Fig. 8.10 (above). Ceramics: left, ribbed jar; right, fragment of a lamp.

Fig. 8.11 (below, in center). Tile stamp of *Legio III Scythica* (Table 8.1, no. 27), scale unknown (D. French).

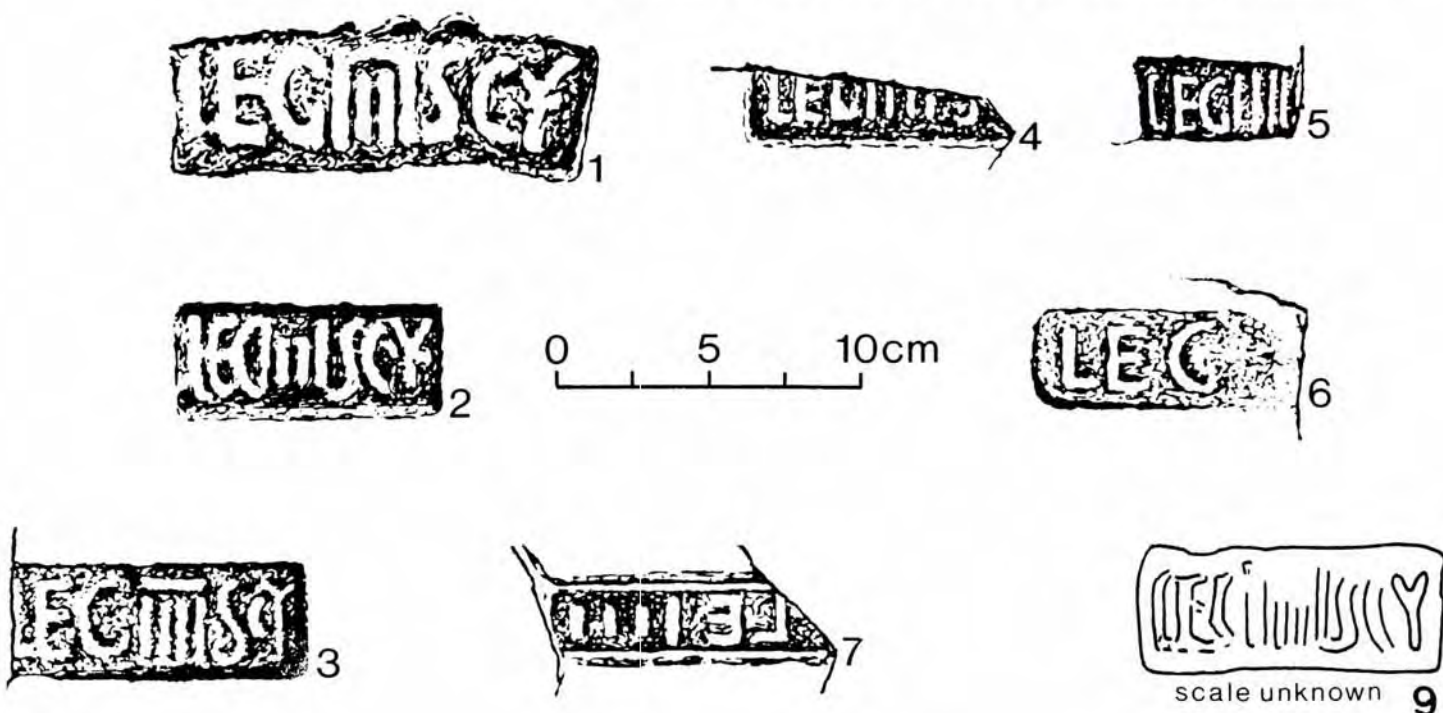


Fig. 8.12. Drawing of principal tile stamps of *Legio III Scythica* (Table 8.1, nos. 1-7 and 9; after Wagner and Algaze).

Tile stamps of *Legio III Scythica* (with D. French)

Only 25 years ago no tile stamps of *legio III Scythica* were known. Today 30 have been published or reported from three different locations, and more have been found by Abadie-Reynal. The chief group comes from Zeugma itself (27 examples). Two others were found at the Roman bridge over the Karasu, a tributary of the Euphrates c.50 km to the north, on the western road to Samosata. A single example was seen at the fort of Eski Hisar, c.50 km NE, on the direct road across Osrhoene to Samosata; this example is of particular interest because the site pro-

TABLE 8.1: TILE STAMPS OF *LEGIO IIII SCYTHICA*

No.	Find Spot	Reading	Present Location	Reference
1*	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	LEGIIII SCYT	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.1; 1976: 137f, Abt. 14.1; 1977: 537f, Abt. 2.1; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
2*	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	LEGIIII SCYT	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.2; 1976: 138, Abt. 14.2; 1977: 538, Abt. 2.2; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
3*	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	LEGIIII SCYT	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.3; 1976: 138, Abt. 14.3; 1977: 538, Abt. 2.3; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
4*	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	LEGIIII SC[...]	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.4; 1976: 138, Abt. 14.4; 1977: 538, Abt. 2.4; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
5*	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	LEGIIII[...]	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.5; 1976: 139, Abt. 14.5; 1977: 538, Abt. 2.5; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
6*	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	LEG[...]	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.6; 1976: 139, Abt. 14.6; 1977: 538f, Abt. 2.6; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
7*	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	LEGIIII[... (retro)]	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.7; 1976: 139, Abt. 14.7; 1977: 539, Abt. 2.7; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
8*	Zeugma (not <i>in situ</i>)	LEGIIII[...]	Gaziantep Museum	Chapt. 6, Inscr. 1 and fig. 6.1
9*	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	LEGIIII SCYT	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
10	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
11	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
12	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
13	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
14	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
15	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
16	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
17	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
18	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
19	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
20	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
21	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
22	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
23	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
24	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Şanlıurfa Museum	Algaze 1994: 20
25	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Gaziantep Museum	(French, pers. comm.)
26	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	(LEGIIII SCYT)	Gaziantep Museum	(French, pers. comm.)
27*	Zeugma (Tyche Temple Belkis Tepe)	LEGIIII SCYT	?	(French, pers. comm.) (above, fig. 8.11)
28	Zeugma (At Meydanı)	Unknown	?	Abadie-Reynal <i>et al.</i> 1996 ***
100*	Karasu Bridge	..II]II SCYT	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.8; 1976: 139; 1977: 539, Abt. 2.8; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
101*	Karasu Bridge	..]IIII SCYT (retro)	Gaziantep Museum	Wagner 1975: 80, fig. 110.9; 1977: 539, Abt. 2.9; 1985: 53, Abt. 39, 40.
102*	Eski Hisar	LEGIIII SCYT	Şanlıurfa Museum?	Wagner 1983: 109, 112, fig. 8.2a

* indicates stamps for which drawings exist.

duced a Latin building inscription dated to 197 and reading: *...vex]ill leg IIII Scyth/ [sub ...]no castellum fec.* (Wagner 1983: 112-13). The juxtaposition of a stamped tile and a dated building inscription is noteworthy. No stamped tiles have been found at Dura Europus, the only other site to have produced epigraphic attestations of *IIII Scythica* of the same general period.

Thanks to Wagner not only readings but some drawings and photographs of these stamps are available. These show that the impressions were produced from several different stamps. We can now add recent finds to the list (Table 8.1, and figs. 8.11-12):

Several variants are now known:

1. Retrograde stamps. Two examples only are known with the text running right to left but they are from different stamps and come from different locations: no. 7 is from Zeugma; no. 101 is from Karasu Bridge.
2. The numeral is invariably rendered as IIII (rather than IV), but it may be set out with all the strokes of equal height or with the second and third shorter (e.g. nos. 1, 2, 7, 27).
3. The numeral may be rendered either with a horizontal bar over the strokes (nos. 1, 3, 102) or without (nos. 2, 5, 7, 9, 27, 100, 101).
4. On all of the stamps with a left to right layout, the name is abbreviated as SCYT but with the Y and T in ligature, the T being represented by a horizontal bar through the middle of the Y. Only on one of the retrograde examples (no. 101) are the Y and T separate.
5. The C of the name is sometimes shorter than the other letters. It may take two forms: set high (nos. 100, 102) or in the centre (no. 3).
6. The C when full-sized may be either a half circle (no. 1), a shallow curve (no. 2), or a near-vertical stroke with a small tail at the bottom (nos. 9, 27).
7. The G of LEG may be either a full G (nos. 1, 3-5, 8, 102) or a virtual C (nos. 2, 6, 9, 27).
8. LEG is the commonest form but one of the retrograde examples (no. 7) has only LE.
9. On one stamp (no. 8) the E of LEG is smaller than the other two letters.

In general there are differences in height and size of letters, all indicative of different stamps.

Most of the stamps from the survey by Algaze have yet to be drawn and recorded in detail, and more will be reported from Zeugma itself. Yet even from the small corpus available, it is apparent that impressions were being made by at least 6 stamps. It is curious therefore that so few examples have been recorded.

At Zeugma no stamps have yet been reported from the E bank. On the W bank most have been found in a limited area which has been proposed as the site of the legionary fortress (cf. p. 37). The two from elsewhere on the W bank (nos. 8 and 27) are perhaps best interpreted as in secondary use. It is to be hoped that further discoveries at Zeugma will be carefully recorded and a detailed typological study of the whole group be conducted.

Military equipment (with M. C. Bishop)

Military equipment is rare from the Roman Near East as a whole, but a few relevant items should be noted. A face-mask in the British Museum (Inv. 1919 12.20; fig. 8.13) belongs to a cavalry sports helmet. It was said to come from "Aintab", which J. Garbsch (1978: 30, Taf. 23.2) identified as Gaziantep, though he cautiously recorded its findspot as unknown. Zeugma or a nearby military site is a possibility, and we may note that a number of important items now in the Gaziantep museum which were acquired from or through the American College there originated at the site of Zeugma.

The excavation of the house by R. Ergeç recovered at least one weapon (fig. 5.9). On the basis of the shape of the blade and hilt it may be identified as a Roman dagger (*pugio*). It appears to have a disc terminal to the hand-grip. Disc terminals belong early in the imperial period. The best parallels come from Oberaden (early 1st c. A.D.), but they all have central swellings on the handles, which the Zeugma piece lacks. That central swelling is in fact characteristic of all daggers of the 1st c. A.D. and earlier. Disc terminals also appear on the much larger 3rd-c. daggers, like some in a hoard from Künzing, some of which do not have central swellings on the handle.⁷ In the absence of a first-hand examination of the Zeugma piece, we would suggest that

7 See in general Bishop and Coulston 1993, esp. fig.95.



Fig. 8.13. Cavalry sports helmet from "Aintab" now in British Museum, possibly from Zeugma or nearby.



Fig. 8.14. Roman scale armour.

it belongs to the 3rd c., in which case it may be the most easterly known example of a 3rd-c. Roman dagger.

Zeugma has also produced some scale armour (fig. 8.14). Its findspot is uncertain but it too may have come from the nearby excavations of the house by R. Ergeç.⁸ This type of armour is well known.⁹ The earliest Roman scale armour was flexible because individual scales were joined together only along discrete horizontal rows. This piece belongs to the later, semi-rigid scale armour, in which all of the scales are joined by wire, even between the rows. This type first appears in a dated context among troops operating north of the Danube in the Antonine period.¹⁰ It is probably to be dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd c. and was used by both cavalry and infantry.



Fig. 8.15 Coins reported to have been found at Nizip.

Appendix: Coins from Nizip (with K. Butcher)

We were shown 11 coins said to have been found in Nizip. This town has been identified as the possible Nisibis in Syria mentioned on an inscription from Rome.¹¹ No coins have previous-

⁸ It is now in the Gaziantep Museum.

⁹ Bishop and Coulston 1993: 117 and fig. 77.3.

¹⁰ The best example is from Musov in the Czech Republic.

¹¹ *CIL* VI: 700. Reported in Rome but now lost. 1st/2nd c. A.D. *Soli Sacri/ C Ducenius/ C lib(ertus) Phoebus/ filius Zenonis/ natus in Suria/ Nisybin liber/ factus Romae/ ex visu/ v s l m*. Cf. *MAMA* 3 (1931) 160, no 408 from Korykos (Corycus) in Cilicia Tracheia: *Μνημα διαφέρον Θεωδώρου Κεντ ταρχίου ἀπὸ ἰσίων ἀπὸ χωρίου Νησιβέως*. The commentator on this text noted that Honigmann had thought this referred not to the well-known Mesopotamian Nisibis but to one in Syria.

ly been published from this location (cf. Wagner 1976: 111-13). The following identifications were made by K. Butcher on the basis of photographs, and the coins were left in Ankara to be deposited in the Gaziantep Museum (fig. 8.15).

1. Alexander II Zebinas
2. Herod the Great
3. Commodus, Mint of Hierapolis
4. Caracalla, Mint of Carrhae
5. Licinius I, Iovi Conservatori, Mint of Antioch
6. Constantine I, rev. Soli Invicto Comiti?
7. Uncertain, late 4th c. A.D.
8. Justinian I, Mint of Antioch
9. Illegible
10. Illegible
11. Illegible.

The range of these coins runs from Alexander Zebinas, the short-lived Seleucid pretender of the mid-120s B.C., to Justinian in the early 6th c. A.D.

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Ancient sources for Zeugma (Seleucia–Apamea)

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with a contribution by Richard Burgess¹

Introduction

Explicit references to Zeugma appear quite frequently in written sources.² Commonest are those in literary works relating to both the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Most are in Greek or Latin; a few are in Syriac and one in Armenian. There is also a handful of references in inscriptions, mainly from the West and in Latin. Only two papyri have a reference. A few locally-minted coins bear the city's name (cf. pp. 233-36). A few references do not name Zeugma but are believed to be concerned with it, and they have been included. Not included are the inscriptions from Zeugma published by Wagner and new or revised texts published in chapt. 6. Likewise, the texts naming soldiers, officers and commanders of *legio IIII Scythica* are not repeated (see chapt. 10-11).

Unless the original text is necessary to explain a difficulty, only translations are offered. Unless otherwise stated, the translations are reprinted by permission of the publishers Harvard University Press and the Loeb Classical Library (LCL). In general, comment is intended to be helpful rather than exhaustive. The character of individual sources will be identified as appropriate on the first occasion on which each appears. The texts are arranged in the chronological order of the events to which they refer; this is not necessarily the chronological order of the sources themselves.

The written sources

1. Pliny, *NH* 5.33 (127). Transl. W. H. S. Jones (LCL). The Elder Pliny, writing in the 70s A.D., provides the earliest attestation of the origins of Zeugma:

Ex Asiae interisse gentes tradit ...; Isidorus [tradit] Arieneos et Capreatas ubi sit Apamea condita a Seleuco rege, inter Ciliciam, Cappadociam, Cataoniam, Armeniam et, quoniam ferocissimas gentes domuisset, initio Damea vocata.

A list of Asiatic races now extinct ...; Isidorus gives the Arieni and the Capreatae at the place where Apamea stands, founded by King Seleucus, between Cilicia, Cappadocia, Cataonia and Armenia. Apamea was originally called Damea because it had subdued some extremely fierce tribes.

2. Appian, *Syr.* 11.9 (c.300 B.C.). Transl. White (LCL).

[Seleucus I Nicator (312-281 B.C.), the founder of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, was a great founder of cities]. He built cities throughout the entire length of his dominions and named sixteen of them Antioch after his father, five Laodicea after his mother, nine after himself, and four after his wives, that is three Apamea and one Stratonicea.

Appian of Alexandria wrote c.A.D. 154 and is here a secondary source relying on the works of earlier, generally lost, writers. Seleucia- and Apamea-on-the-Euphrates/Zeugma are, by implication, amongst those listed as founded or refounded at this time.

3. Polybius 5.43.1; 3-4. 221 B.C. Transl. Paton (LCL).

[Antiochus III the Great, king of Syria, is about to invade Syria to recover it from the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt]. He was now near Seleucia, the city at the crossing of the Euphrates, and there he was joined by Diognetus, the admiral from Cappadocia, bringing Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates, a virgin, the affianced bride of the king. ... Antiochus received the maiden on her approach with all due pomp and at once celebrated his nuptials with right royal magnificence. After

1 RB sought out the records of the Church Councils, the various *notitiae* and other sources from the Byzantine period. DK is responsible for the form in which they are presented here.

2 Wagner 1976: 290-95 lists these texts along with many others discussed by him in his book.

the wedding was over he went down to Antioch, where he proclaimed Laodice queen and henceforth busied himself with preparations for the war.

Polybius of Chaeronea, writing in the third quarter of the 2nd c. B.C., was dependent on primary sources not available to us but records here a detail not found elsewhere. Laodice is daughter of Mithridates II of Pontus. Zeugma was also the location of the murder of a Seleucid princess (no. 7, below).

4. Diodorus Siculus 31.27a. 161 B.C. Transl. Sherman (LCL).

[Timarchus, a Milesian, who was satrap of Media, raises an army with Roman approval and sets about overthrowing the Seleucid king, Demetrius, through alliance with Artaxias, king of Armenia]. Having, moreover, intimidated the native peoples by an impressive display of force, and brought many of them under his sway, he marched against Zeugma, and eventually gained control of the kingdom.

Diodorus wrote in the late 1st c. B.C. but here preserves information from lost sources. The mention of Zeugma is best explained through Diodorus' knowledge that Timarchus raised his army in Media and was in alliance with Armenia, from which territory Zeugma and its crossing into Syria would form the first point of contact with the kingdom of Demetrius.

5. Strabo, *Geog.* 14.2.29 (663-664). Late 2nd c. B.C. Transl. H. L. Jones (LCL).

[Polybius] begins with Samosata in Commagene, which lies at the river crossing and at Zeugma, and states that the distance to Samosata, across the Taurus, from the boundaries of Cappadocia round Tomisa is four hundred and fifty stadia.

Strabo, writing in the late 1st c. B.C., here helpfully identifies Polybius as his source, though the latter undoubtedly relied on others who knew the geography of the region at first hand — Eratosthenes (late 3rd/early 2nd c. B.C.) and, in particular, his contemporary Artemidorus of Ephesus.

6. Strabo, *Geog.* 11.14.15 (532). Soon after 83 B.C. Transl. H. L. Jones (LCL).

[Tigranes the Great of Armenia] founded a city near Iberia, between this place and Zeugma on the Euphrates (τὸν Εὐφράτην Ζεύγματος); and, having gathered peoples thither from twelve Greek cities which he had laid waste, he named it Tigranocerta.

For the location of Tigranocerta, and discussion of this passage of Strabo see Syme (1983 and 1995: 58-65) and Wagner 1976: 49. As elsewhere, Strabo uses Zeugma as a significant point of reference for locating features and places.

7. Strabo, *Geog.* 16.2.3 (749). 83-69 B.C. Transl. H. L. Jones (LCL).

So much for Syria in general. But in detail: Commagene is rather a small country; and it has a city fortified by nature, Samosata, where the royal residence used to be; but it has now become a province; and the city is surrounded by an exceedingly fertile, though small, territory. Here is now the bridge of the Euphrates (ζεῦγμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου); and near the bridge is situated Seleucia, a fortress of Mesopotamia, which was included within the boundaries of Commagene by Pompey; and it was here that Tigranes slew Selene, surnamed Cleopatra, after imprisoning her for a time, when she had been banished from Syria.

This is the only reference to Tigranes I the Great of Armenia having control of Zeugma during the years (83-69) he ruled Syria. Cleopatra Selene is a minor Seleucid princess.

Here, as elsewhere, Strabo is placing Zeugma firmly in Commagene. If he is referring to Seleucia/Zeugma, he is locating it on the wrong bank of the Euphrates; it is Zeugma/Apamea which lies in Mesopotamia. The point is discussed further under the next item. The reference to Commagene as now a province would seem to date it to between A.D. 17 when the Romans removed the dynasty and 38 when it was restored.

8. Appian, *Mith.* 16.114. 63 B.C. Transl. White (LCL).

[Pompey the Great, following his conquests in the East] let some of the subjugated nations go free, in order to make them allies. Others he placed at once under Roman rule, and others he distributed to kings — to Tigranes, Armenia; to Pharnaces, Bosphorus; to Ariobarzanes, Cappadocia and the other provinces before mentioned. To Antiochus of Commagene he handed over Seleucia and the parts of Mesopotamia that he conquered.

Antiochus I, king of Commagene since at least 69 B.C., was confirmed in power by Pompey the Great in 63 B.C. and given additional territory. This new acquisition plainly included territory in Mesopotamia; the debate has concerned the identity and location of the Seleucia mentioned. Some have seen it as a city of Mesopotamia rather than Syria and located it opposite Samosata, the Commagenian capital (e.g. Jones 1971:

217, 219). Wagner (1976: 39-64)³ believed the reference was to Seleucia/Zeugma and added the remains of a Commagenian Dexiosis relief on Belkis Tepe as further proof of one-time Commagenian rule. This identification has been accepted by more recent commentators (e.g. Shackleton Bailey 1980: 192; Grainger 1990: 195; Syme 1995: chapt. 9 passim). Grainger (1990: 195-96) is of the opinion that Zeugma had been in Parthian hands from c.88 B.C. until seized by Tigranes of Armenia.

9. Cicero, *QFr.* 2.12.2. 13 February 54 B.C. Transl. Henderson (LCL).

[E]umque lusi iocose satis, neque solum illud extorsi oppidulum, quod erat positum in Euphrati Zeugmate, sed praeterea togam sum eius praetextam, quam erat adeptus Caesare consule, magno hominum risu cavillatus.

And I made fun of Antiochus in quite a merry way, and not only made him take his hands off that tiny town situated in the territory of Zeugma on the Euphrates, but I moreover excited much general laughter by jeering at the fellow's *toga praetexta* which he had obtained in the consulship of Caesar.

Cicero is writing of contemporary events in which he was himself a player. Antiochus I ruled Commagene from at least 69 B.C. The favoured interpretation of the passage is that it was on this occasion that the Senate revoked Pompey's grant of Zeugma to Antiochus (Syme 1995: 101). The implication is that there had been a further dispute about a small town (*oppidulum*) in the territory of Zeugma, perhaps one of the other little Hellenistic foundations upstream (cf. no. 33).

10. Plutarch, *Crass.* 19.3-20-2. 53 B.C. Transl. Perrin (LCL).

Now, as Crassus was taking his army across the Euphrates at Zeugma, many extraordinary peals of thunder crashed about them, and many flashes of lightning also darted in their faces, and a wind, half mist and half hurricane, fell upon their raft (σχεδία), breaking it up and shattering it in many places. The place where he was intending to encamp was also smitten by two thunderbolts. And one of the general's horses, richly caparisoned, violently dragged its groom along with it into the river and disappeared beneath the waves. ... Besides all this, it happened that when their rations were distributed to the soldiers after the crossing of the river, lentils and salt came first, which are held by the Romans to be tokens of mourning, and are set out as offerings to the dead. Moreover, Crassus himself, while haranguing his men, let fall a phrase which terribly confounded them. He said, namely, that he should destroy the bridge over the river, that not one of them might return. ... And finally, when he was making the customary sacrifice of purification for the army, and the seer placed the viscera in his hands, he let them fall to the ground ...

After this he marched along the river ... But, nevertheless, Cassius ... advised him to advance against Seleucia-on-the-Tigris along the river. For in this way the transports would keep them abundantly supplied with provisions by putting in at their successive encampments, and, by having the river to prevent their being surrounded, they would always fight their enemies on even terms and face to face.

Plutarch (early 2nd c. A.D.) is writing of distant events. The account of the disaster at the river crossing is described also by Dio (no. 12 below). The translation of σχεδία as "raft" might better be rendered as "pontoon". The reference allows the likely inference that a storm destroyed part at least of a bridge laid across boats, presumably breaking the link at least temporarily.

The reference to the issuing of rations on the other side where the army camped implies that Zeugma had been the location of a gathering of stores which are now being distributed. The implication of the advice of Crassus is that further provisions for the expedition could be carried down river from Zeugma. It may be that, as in the case of Trajan's crossing of the Danube (Lepper and Frere 1988: 58), the far side had already been prepared with a defended camp.

The story also shows Crassus sacrificing for the expedition just initiated with the crossing of the river. The sacrifice of a bull, ram and pig — the *Suovetaurilia* — is one familiar on such occasions from literary accounts and also in artistic renderings such as the relief on Trajan's Column (Lepper and Frere 1988: 58-59; Scenes viii, liii, ciii). Tacitus (no. 25) also reports a sacrifice at the inception of an invasion of Parthia in A.D. 35.

11. Florus 1.46.3. 53 B.C. Transl. Forster (LCL).

... and after the army (of Crassus) had passed Zeugma, the Euphrates swallowed up the standards which were swept away by its swirling eddies ...

3 Wagner 1976: 37, n.85 sets out the previous scholars who have preferred the various locations.

Florus, writing in the first half of the 2nd c. A.D., based his work in large part on Livy who was close in time to the events described.

12. Cassius Dio 40.17.3-19.3. 53 B.C. Transl. Cary (LCL).

But to Crassus signs that were both evident and easy to interpret appeared as he was crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, a place so-called from the campaign of Alexander, because he crossed at this point. [Dio goes on to explain the problem the army had with one of its eagles]. Now one of these eagles was unwilling to join him in his passage of the Euphrates at that time ... But one of the large flags, that resemble sails, with purple letters upon them to distinguish the army and its commander-in-chief, was overturned and fell from the bridge into the river. ... [Moreover] at the very time of crossing the river so great a fog enveloped the soldiers that they fell over one another and could see nothing of the enemy's country until they set foot upon it; and the sacrifices both for crossing and for landing proved most unfavourable. Meanwhile a great wind burst upon them, bolts of lightning fell, and the bridge collapsed before they had all passed over. ... Now Crassus, trying to encourage them, said: "Be not alarmed, soldiers, because the bridge has been destroyed nor think because of this that any disaster is portended. For I declare to you upon oath that I have decided to make my return march through Armenia."

Dio, a senator writing in the early 3rd c., is reporting on events which had occurred almost three centuries before his time. What is meant by "collapse" and "destruction" of the bridge is unclear. They imply that it could not be repaired easily enough for their return journey weeks ahead. But the near contemporary accounts of Caesar's bridging of the Rhine show the Roman army as skilled builders, much less repairers of bridges. The anecdote may be no more than a story developed around a genuine but purely temporary damage to the bridge at the time of Crassus' crossing. Cf. Plutarch (no. 10).

13. Plutarch, *Crass.* 27.8. 53 B.C. Transl. Perrin (LCL).

[Following the defeat of the army of Crassus at Carrhae, some of the Roman survivors fled, including] three hundred horsemen under Ignatius, who reached Carrhae about midnight. Ignatius hailed the sentinels on the walls in the Roman tongue, and when they answered ordered them to tell Coponius, their commander, that there had been a great battle between Crassus and the Parthians. Then, without another word, and without even telling who he was, he rode off to Zeugma. He saved himself and his men, but got a bad name for deserting his general.

The army of Crassus had earlier crossed into Mesopotamia at Zeugma so the return to that point by survivors was natural and may still have offered an easier crossing despite the damage to the bridge reported by Plutarch (no. 10) and Dio (no. 12).

14. Rufus Festus 17.1. 53 B.C.

He [Crassus] crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma and, led by a certain deserter, Mazzarus, marched into the uncharted deserts of the plain.

Published soon after 369, the text is essentially an epitome of Livy three and half centuries before.

15. (a) Cicero, *Fam.* 15.1. 51 B.C. Transl. Glynn Williams (LCL).

Although I kept receiving no uncertain intelligence that the Parthians had crossed the Euphrates with practically all their forces ...

The envoys of King Antiochus of Commagene were the first to report to me that large forces of the Parthians had begun to cross the Euphrates. ... I received a despatch from Tarcondimotus ... He reported that Pacorus ... had crossed the Euphrates with a very strong force of Parthian cavalry, and pitched his camp at Tyba ...

(b) Cicero, *Fam.* 15.4. 3. 28. August, 51 B.C. Transl. Glynn Williams (LCL).

[Writing in January, 50 B.C., Cicero says]: Meantime, when, after reviewing the army, I had begun my march into Cilicia, on Aug. 28th some envoys sent to me by the king of Commagene reported, in a terrible state of agitation, but not without some truth, that the Parthians had crossed over into Syria.

(c) Cicero, *Fam.* 15.3.1. 30 August, 51 B.C. Transl. Glynn Williams (LCL).

Ambassadors sent to me by Antiochus of Commagene having arrived at my camp near Iconium on the 30th August, and having reported to me that the son of the king of the Parthians ... had reached the banks of the Euphrates with very large Parthian forces and a large army of many other nations besides ...

(d) Cicero, *Att.* 5.18.1. 20 September, 51 B.C. Transl. Winstedt (LCL).

[The passage does not mention Zeugma but Cicero on 20 September 51 at his camp at Cybistra in

Cilicia reports that Pacorus has crossed the Euphrates with his army and is in Cyrrhastica.]

(e) Cicero, *Fam.* 8.10.1. 17 November, 51 B.C. Transl. Glynn Williams (LCL).

[Caelius in Rome writing to Cicero in Cilicia]. ... Cassius writes to say that the Parthian forces are on this side of the Euphrates, and Deiotarus that they have advanced through Commagene into our province.

Cicero is writing about events in which he was himself a player while governor of Cilicia. Tarcondimotus ruled a kingdom in the Amanus mountains north of Antioch. In none of these passages is Zeugma explicitly mentioned and there were several fords which would have allowed the Parthians to evade the stronghold of Zeugma. As the earlier passage of Cicero (no. 9) showed, until shortly before this time Zeugma was in the hands of the king of Commagene rather than a Roman garrison, and it is this ruler who first reports the crossing by the Parthians. If the report of Deiotarus of Galatia is to be trusted, he believed the Parthians had crossed the river in Commagene, which would reinforce the preference for Zeugma.

16. Lucan, *Phar.* 8. 229-238. 48 B.C. Transl. Duff (LCL).

“... : tamen omnia vincens

Sustinui nostris vos tantum desse triumphis,

Solusque e numero regum telluris Eoae

Ex aequo me Parthus adit. Nec munere Magni

Stant semel Arsacidae; quis enim post volnera cladis

Assyriae iustas Latii conpescuit iras?

Tot meritis obstricta meis nunc Parthia ruptis

Excedat claustris vetitam per saecula ripam

Zeugmaque Pellaëum. Pompeio vincite, Parthi,

Vinci Roma volet.”

[Pompey after his defeat at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. tries to persuade the Parthians to invade the Roman Empire on his behalf, reminding them of previous services]: “... though I was everywhere victorious, I forebore to add the Parthians, and them alone, to the list of my triumphs; and, alone among the kings of the East, the Parthian approached me on equal terms. And a second time, thanks to me, the sons of Arsaces were saved. For who else curbed the righteous anger of Rome that followed the blow of the defeat in Assyria? Now let Parthia, bound by so many benefits from me, burst her bounds, to cross the bank forbidden for many centuries and pass the Bridge of Alexander. If the Parthians conquer for Pompey’s sake, Rome will welcome her conqueror.”

The speech is fictitious. Lucan is writing this epic poem of the civil wars more than a century later (c.63-65) and the views reflect the perspective of that period. The importance lies in the assertion that Rome recognized that even victorious Pompey treated Parthia as a great power and not lightly to be punished for the defeat of Crassus in 53 B.C. The Euphrates, by implication, is the boundary between these two great powers. The “Bridge of Alexander” would normally be taken as the old bridge crossing at Thapsacus but Lucan, like others (e.g. Pausanias, no. 44, below; cf. also no. 93 [Stephen of Byzantium]) may be confusing that site with the new bridge location at Zeugma (cf. p. 237 n.1).

17. Josephus, *AntJ* 14.15.8-9 (439-444). 38 B.C. Transl. Marcus (LCL).

He himself hastened to Antony, who was just then besieging Samosata, a place near the Euphrates, with horsemen and foot-soldiers who had come to his assistance. ... But two days’ march from Samosata there was an ambush of barbarians lying in wait for those who were on their way to Antony. And as there were thickets covering the entrance to the plains, they had there placed in ambush not a few horsemen to remain quiet until those passing through should reach the place where horses could be used. ... And being attacked by a larger number of men in the thickets near the entrance to the plain, he engaged them too with a stout body of men and routed and killed many of them...

Josephus, writing in the later 1st c., is especially valuable on events in Syria during the preceding generations. The Loeb edition (p. 677, note e) suggests two days’ march as about 40 miles SW of Samosata. That seems too far: c.20-25 Roman miles in such conditions would be more likely. The location, however, was evidently somewhere north of Zeugma and it would accord well with Antony, having rounded the northernmost bend of the Euphrates upstream of Zeugma, emerging from the hilly country. At that point, about 18-22 statute miles (c.28-35 km) from Samosata, begins the Karababa Basin, the long broad valley in which the city lies (see fig. 2.1). Cf. the abbreviated version in Josephus, *BJ* 1.16.7 (320).

18. Frontinus, *Str.* 1.1.6. 38 B.C. Transl. Bennett (LCL).

[Mark Antony’s general, Ventidius Bassus, used a traitor to mislead the advancing Parthians]. And

so, fearful that the Parthians would cross the Euphrates before he could be reinforced by the legions which were stationed beyond the Taurus Mountains in Cappadocia, he earnestly endeavoured to make this traitor, according to his usual perfidity, advise the Parthians to lead their army across through Zeugma, where the route is shortest, and where the Euphrates flows in a deep channel; for he declared that, if the Parthians came by that road, he could avail himself of the protection of the hills for eluding their archers; but that he feared disaster if they should advance by the lower road through the open plains. Influenced by this information, the barbarians led their army by a circuitous route over the lower road, and spent above 40 days in preparing materials and in constructing a bridge across the river at a point where the banks were quite widely separated and where the building of the bridge, therefore, involved more work.

Frontinus wrote his *Stratagems* in the later 1st c. A.D. The passage here is paralleled by the following extract from Cassius Dio (no. 19). The passages correctly describe the hilly location and deeper (and narrower) channel of the Euphrates at Zeugma, in contrast to the broader river even a little further downstream where the approach is easier but the river wider and its banks more marshy (see p. 19). Describing the route through Zeugma as shorter may have more to do with ease than distance. The route included a ready-made bridge, and the road itself, the principal highway, may well have been better made than those via fords elsewhere.

19. Cassius Dio 49.19.3-20.3. 38 B.C. Transl. Cary (LCL).

[In Syria Mark Antony's general Ventidius Bassus is confronted by the advance to the Euphrates of the Parthian prince, Pacorus, and seeks to trick him. Bassus] affected to be afraid that the barbarians might abandon the place where they customarily crossed the Euphrates near the city of Zeugma and use some other road farther down the river; for this other place, he said, was a plain and convenient for the enemy, whereas the former was hilly and best suited to his own forces. He persuaded the prince to believe this and through him deceived Pacorus also; for the Parthian leader took the route through the flat district, which Ventidius kept pretending to hope he would not take, and as this was longer than the other, it gave the Roman time to assemble his forces. In this way he met Pacorus in Syria Cyrrhastica and conquered him.

[Dio then gives an account of the battle in Cyrrhastica where the Parthians attack the Roman camp on a hill, and of the defeat and death of Pacorus.] Some of them desired to escape homewards across the bridge and were unable to do so, being cut off and killed before they could reach it, and others fled for refuge to Antiochus in Commagene.

The Parthians had evidently been intending to cross at Zeugma and were presumably fairly far north on their line of march. When next located they are in Cyrrhastica and at Gindarus, in the region NE of Antioch. The route followed by the Parthians must therefore have lain at modern Birecik or somewhere just downstream where the Euphrates becomes less deep but much broader (see p. 19).

20. Strabo, *Geog.* 11.13.4 (524). 36 B.C. Transl. H. L. Jones (LCL).

It was not the nature of the country that made the expedition difficult for Antony, but his guide Artavasdes, the king of the Armenians, whom, through plotting against him, Antony rashly made his counsellor and master of decisions respecting the war. Antony indeed punished him, but too late, when the latter had been proved guilty of numerous wrongs against the Romans, not only he himself, but also that other guide who made the journey from Zeugma on the Euphrates to the borders of Atropatene 8000 stades long, more than twice the direct journey, guiding the army over mountains and roadless regions and circuitous routes.

As one would expect, Antony crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma but then, unlike Crassus, turned northwards towards the mountains.

21. Strabo, *Geog.* 16.1.1 (736). Late 1st c. B.C. Transl. Cary (LCL).

[Setting out his account of Assyria which he says extended from Babylonia to the Gulf of Issus, he names various peoples and places in that area including] the Mygdonians in the neighbourhood of Nisibis, as far as the Zeugma of the Euphrates, as also much of the country on the far side of the Euphrates, which is occupied by Arabians, and those people who in a special sense of the term are called by the men of today Syrians ...

The Nisibis in question is that in Mesopotamia, formerly Antioch of Mygdonia. Cf. no. 22 below.

22. Strabo, *Geog.* 16.1.21; 22; 23 (746). Late 1st c. B.C. Transl. Cary (LCL).

[Concerning Mesopotamia and the Euphrates and Tigris] the greatest distance by which the two rivers is separated is that towards the mountains; and this distance might be the same as that stated by Eratosthenes — I mean that from Thapsacus, where was the old bridge (τὸ ζεύγμα) of the Euphrates,

... and the greatest part of its periphery is formed by the Euphrates. The distance from Thapsacus to Babylon, as Eratosthenes states, is 4800 stadia; and that from the Zeugma at Commagene (τοῦ κατὰ Κομμαγενὴν ζεύγματος), where Mesopotamia begins, to Thapsacus, is not less than 2000 stadia. ...

The country alongside the mountains is quite fertile; the parts of it near the Euphrates, both the present Zeugma at Commagene and the old “zeugma” at Thapsacus, are occupied by the Mygdones, who were so named by the Macedonians. In their country lies Nisibis, which is also called Mygdonian Antiocheia; it lies at the foot of Mt. Masius, and so do Tigranocerta and the regions of Carrhae and Nicephorium, and Chordiraza and Sinnaca, in which last Crassus was slain, being treacherously captured by Surena, the Parthian general [adapted from Loeb].

In terms of a standard stade of c.210 m, the distance to the old bridge site of Thapsacus is c.420 km to the SSE. Cf. no. 21 for Nisibis in Mesopotamia.

23. Strabo, *Geog.* 16.2.1 (749). Late 1st c. B.C. Transl. Cary (LCL).

Syria is bounded on the north by Cilicia and Mt Amanus; and the distance from the sea to the bridge of the Euphrates (ἐπὶ τὸ ζεύγμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου) (from the Gulf of Issus to the bridge at Commagene), which forms the boundary at that side, is not less than 1400 stadia.

The distance in terms of standard stades (210 m) is c.294 km. Commentators have been suspicious of the authenticity of the words in parenthesis and some have rejected them (Loeb).

24. Isidorus of Charax, *Mansiones Parthicae* 1. Late 1st c. B.C./early 1st c. A.D. Transl. Kennedy.

Διαβάντων τὸν Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ Ζεύγμα πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀπάμεια, εἶτα δαίαρα κώμη ἀπέχει δὲ Ἀπαμείας καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ σκίοιους γ̄.

.... Καὶ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Ζεύγματος ἄχρι Σελευκείας σχοῖνοι ῥοᾱ.

After crossing the Euphrates next to Zeugma, one comes to Apamea, then the little town of Daeara, located 3 schoeni from Apamaea and the Euphrates.

... .. and from Zeugma to Seleucia there are 171 schoeni.

Isidorus, from Charax on the Persian Gulf, wrote c.A.D. 25, and is a valuable source for this route and its stations from Zeugma to Ecbatana in Persis. Schoff 1914: 27 notes that the 171 *schoeni* do not tally with the total one can reach from the individual numbers along the way from Zeugma to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Schoff says a *schoenus* is 3.25 to 3.75 miles or c.1 hour of travel by caravan. He equates Daiara with the Thar of the Peutinger Table (see now Chaumont 1984).

25. Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.37. A.D. 35. Transl. Grant (Penguin).

However, Artabanus had fled, and his countrymen were now inclined for a new king. So Vitellius advised Tiridates III to seize his opportunity, and led the bulk of his regular and auxiliary troops to the Euphrates. There sacrifices were performed. Vitellius offered to Mars the Roman boar, ram, and bull; Tiridates propitiated the river with a finely harnessed horse. Though no rain had fallen, the inhabitants reported a spontaneous and remarkable rise in its waters. Moreover, its white foam seemed to form circles, like diadems, which were said to prophesy a successful crossing. Others offered a shrewder interpretation — the enterprise would prosper at first, but briefly; omens of earth or sky were more reliable, but rivers being fluid no sooner displayed a portent than they obliterated it.

A bridge of boats was constructed, and the army crossed. The first to join them was Ornospadus, with a large force of cavalry. Formerly an exile, he had seen distinguished service under Tiberius in the Dalmatian war and received Roman citizenship, and later, restored to his king's friendship and high favour, had become governor of Mesopotamia, the plain enclosed by the famous Tigris and Euphrates. Soon afterwards, Tiridates was joined by Sinnaces and Abdagaeses. The latter, the pillar of their cause, brought the court treasure and regalia. Vitellius concluded that his display of Roman might was sufficient. Exhorting Tiridates to remember all the great qualities of his royal grandfather Phraates IV and his imperial foster-father, he urged his supporters to remain loyal to their king, respectful to Rome, and true to their own honour and good faith. Then Vitellius marched his army back to Syria.

Tacitus, writing in the early 2nd c., is nevertheless our best source for this event and the colourful scene at the Euphrates which marked it. The passage raises the question of whether the event took place at Zeugma — as one would suppose and as Tacitus explicitly says in the case of the parallel event only a few years later (no. 27) — or elsewhere where bridge construction was necessary; or whether Tacitus is reliable in believing the bridge had to be constructed rather than already being in place. Finally, there is the supposition of Furneaux (1896: I, 640) who observed that “the Romans appear not to have kept up at this time a permanent bridge over the Euphrates, but to have had means at hand to construct one.”

26. Josephus *AntJ* 18.101. A.D. 37/38. Transl. Feldman (LCL).

At this stage Tiberius took steps to make friends with Artabanus. When the offer was made, the Parthian was delighted to discuss the matter. He and Vitellius met on the Euphrates. The river was bridged and they met in the middle of the bridge, each with his bodyguard by him. After they had arrived at the terms of an agreement, Herod the tetrarch gave a feast for them in a luxurious pavilion which he constructed in the middle of the river. ... These terms having been arranged, Vitellius departed for Antioch and Artabanus for Babylonia.

Josephus is referring to Lucius Vitellius, governor of Syria from A.D. 35 until probably 39. During that period Vitellius may have been responsible for the envoys to the Parthian king reported by Philostratus (no. 29 below). He certainly held a meeting with Artabanus II on the Euphrates.

Josephus dates the event to the end of Tiberius' reign. Suetonius, writing in the early 2nd c. A.D., alludes to the same episode in the life of Gaius:

Artabanus, King of the Parthians, made unsolicited overtures of friendship to Caligula, attended a conference with the governor of Syria and, before returning across the river Euphrates, paid homage to the Roman eagles and standards, and to the statues of the Caesars (*Gaius* 14. Transl. Graves [Penguin]).

The governor is named as Vitellius in a later biography: Suet., *Vit.* 2). Cassius Dio is less precise:

... during his term of office, he forestalled Artabanus, who was planning an attack on that province also ... He terrified the Parthian by coming upon him suddenly when he was already close to the Euphrates, and then induced him to come to a conference, compelled him to sacrifice to the images of Augustus and Gaius, and made a peace with him that was advantageous to the Romans (59.27.2-3. Transl. Cary [LCL]).

Like Suetonius, Dio dates the episode to the reign of Gaius and, as Tacitus does not include it under Tiberius and his books on Gaius are lost, that may well be the correct timing. It is possible there were two meetings — one in 36 and a second soon after Gaius became emperor (Schürer 1973: I, 350-51). In no case is the location identified. It is likely to have been at Zeugma (cf. Millar 1993: 58).

27. Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.11.4-12.5. A.D. 49. Transl. Grant (Penguin).

[In A.D. 49 a delegation arrived from Parthia to ask Claudius to send back as a rival to the usurper Gotarzes a hostage called Meherdates, who had long resided in the Roman Empire. Claudius agreed]. He then instructed Gaius Cassius Longinus, imperial governor of Syria, to conduct the prince to the banks of the Euphrates. ... Summoning the men who had instigated the mission, Cassius encamped at Zeugma, the site of the most convenient river-crossing. The Parthian dignitaries joined him; so did Acbaris [= Abgar V], the Arab king of Edessa. Cassius warned Meherdates to press on, since delay cools oriental enthusiasm and produces treachery. But the advice was disregarded by the ingenuous young man, who thought kingship meant self-indulgence, and allowed himself to be detained for many days at Edessa by its deceitful ruler.

28. Philostratus, *VA* 1.20. Mid 1st c. A.D. Transl. C. P. Jones (Penguin).

[After setting off from Antioch to go to Babylon, Apollonius arrives at the river crossing]: When they were about to cross to Mesopotamia, the tax collector stationed at Zeugma took them to the registry and asked them if they had anything to declare. "Prudence", replied Apollonius, "Justice, Virtue, Temperance, Courage, Perseverance", stringing together a lot of nouns all in the feminine gender. Immediately the official, with an eye to his own profit, said, "Well then, make me a list of your slaves." "I cannot," retorted Apollonius: "it is not my slaves I am declaring, but my mistresses."

Mesopotamia owes its existence to the Tigris and the Euphrates flowing from Armenia and the end of the Taurus range; these border a land mass that contains some cities but mostly villages. The Armenian and Arabian tribes which are cut off by these rivers are generally nomadic peoples; ...

Philostratus, writing in the early 3rd c., is here recounting events in the life of the popular pagan saint, Apollonius of Tyana, who had lived almost two centuries earlier.

29. Philostratus, *VA* 1.38. Mid 1st c. A.D. Transl. C. P. Jones (Penguin).

The governor of Syria once sent him [Vardanes I] an embassy concerning two or more villages near Zeugma. He claimed that they had belonged long ago to Antiochus and Seleucus, but were now under his command, being the property of the Romans. The Arabians and Armenians, he said, did not harass them; but the king, though they were so far from him, enjoyed their revenues as if they belonged to him rather than to the Romans. The king sent the ambassadors out and said, "Apollonius, these villages were granted to my ancestors by the kings they mentioned, to maintain the animals which

are caught in our country and sent to their side over the Euphrates. They are pretending to forget this and preparing some new aggression. What do you think the purpose of this embassy is?"

"It is moderate and reasonable, king," he replied, "since they prefer to obtain with your consent what they have the power to take without it, for the places are in their territory." He added that it was a mistake to quarrel with the Romans over villages which were probably smaller than some owned by private citizens, and a mistake in fact even to start a war with them over a large issue.

Vardanes I is dated by Jones (1970: 47, n.14) to c.41-45 but he notes that there are other dates as early as c.39 and late as c.47. Dąbrowa (1983: 118) observes that the earliest coins of Vardanes I belong to October 41. The date of death of his predecessor, Artabanus II, is disputed — Dąbrowa says between 38 and 41, and there is even a suggestion that Vardanes did not succeed directly. A little earlier Apollonius had been told that it was 3 years and 2 months since Vardanes "recovered his power" (1.28).

The governors of Syria in this period were L. Vitellius, who was probably recalled in 39; P. Petronius, who seems to have arrived in 39 and is attested by coins as still there in the year 41/42; he was probably succeeded immediately by C. Vibius Marsus who was there till late 44/early 45 (Schürer 1973: 262-64). As noted elsewhere (nos. 25 and 26; cf. 27), Vitellius is reported to have held a meeting with Artabanus II on the Euphrates and seems to have been vigorous in his approach to Parthia. Nevertheless, the dating of this story might accord better with Petronius or Vibius Marsus.

The meaning of the passage is difficult to tease out: who are the Antiochus and Seleucus mentioned? On which side of the river do the villages lie? In what circumstances could these villages be "Roman" but a source of revenue to the Parthian king?

The interpretation which seems best is that a former ruler of Commagene (an Antiochus) and a Seleucid king (a Seleucus) had granted to the Parthian king rights over some villages on the east bank of the Euphrates opposite Zeugma. The purpose of the arrangement was to permit the Parthians, who kept and trapped wild beasts in parks for hunting (Philostr., *VA* 1.38; cf. *Amm. Marc.* 24.5.2; *Amm. Marc.* 18.7.4-5 explicitly reports large numbers of lions in Mesopotamia, especially in the marshy lands around the great rivers), to export some into the territory across the river. The implication is that these were for use by the Commagenian kings, but even then they may have been simply in transit. The essence of the dispute seems to be that the Romans now have sovereignty over Commagenian territory but that the Parthians continue to enjoy income from these Commagenian villages opposite Zeugma in accordance with an old arrangement. The Roman governor of Syria is here protesting at this latter, pointing out that security of the villages (just a little earlier located in Mesopotamia: 1.20) from threat by Arab and Armenian is provided by Rome, yet Parthia enjoys the revenue.

This was a period of rapid change for Commagene. In A.D. 17 it had been annexed by Rome; the dynasty was restored in 38 but suppressed again, probably in 40; in 41 it was restored and remained independent until final annexation in 72. It is tempting to fit the sudden interest of the governor of Syria into the annexation of c.40/41. Dąbrowa, however, has suggested (1982: 126 n.17) that the ending of Vardanes' problems with the pretender Gotarzes and his preparations for a more vigorous attitude towards Rome in the west may have been when he was called to book by the Syrian governor over the villages near Zeugma. In short, Vardanes may have provoked the Roman embassy.

If this anecdote has a basis in fact, what is seemingly indisputable is that the river at Zeugma at least was not an absolute boundary between Roman and Parthian power. Rome evidently held sovereignty over territory beyond. At Zeugma that made good sense because of the bridge, but one might also look for similar holdings elsewhere in the period before significant and permanent Roman annexations east of the Euphrates. At Samosata, for example, Pompey is reported to have given city territory on the east side of the river to Commagene (above, no. 7) and centuries later the city controlled Marathas which lay east of the river in the territory of Edessa (*Analecta Bollandiana* 32 [1913]: 122; cf. Jones 1971: 458, n.50).

30. Josephus, *BJ* 7.5.2 (105-6). A.D. 70. Transl. Thackeray (LCL).

For Titus, making no stay at Antioch, at once pushed on to Zeugma on the Euphrates, where a deputation from Vologeses, king of Parthia, waited upon him, bringing him a golden crown in recognition of his victory over the Jews. Having accepted this and provided a banquet for the king's messengers, he returned thence to Antioch.

The implication is that Titus had been informed of the arrival of Parthian envoys and that they had naturally selected Zeugma as their point of contact with the Roman Empire rather than travelling up the Euphrates (cf. *P. Dura* 60B) or to some other crossing-point (above p. 19; cf. 23).

31. Pliny, *NH* 5.13 (66-67). A.D. 70s.

[Syria's] length between Cilicia and Arabia is 470 miles and its breadth from Seleucia Pieria to Zeug-

ma-on-the-Euphrates 175.

Pliny gathered his information from a variety of sources of differing dates. The distance from Seleucia Pieria near the mouth of the Orontes on the Mediterranean to Zeugma converts (1 M.P = c.1480 m) to c.259 km. The distance in a straight line is c.210 km; by road via Antioch and Cyrrhus it would have been longer. Cf. nos. 36 and 88.

32. Pliny, *NH* 5.19 (81-82). A.D. 70s. Transl. W. H. S. Jones (adapted from the LCL translation).

Let us now speak of the interior. ... two places called Seleucia in addition to the place of that name already mentioned, Seleucia-on-the-Euphrates and Seleucia ad Belum ...

Within the space of a few paragraphs Pliny has referred to the town interchangeably as Zeugma-on-the-Euphrates and Seleucia-on-the-Euphrates.

33. Pliny, *NH* 5.21 (86-87). A.D. 70s. Transl. W. H. S. Jones (Adapted from the LCL translation).

A Samosatis autem, latere Syriae, Marsyas amnis influit. Cingilla Commagenen finit, Imeneorum civitas incipit. Oppida adluuntur Epiphania et Antiochia quae ad Euphraten vocatur, item Zeugma LXXII p. a Samosatis, transitu Euphratis nobile: ex adverso Apameam Seleucus, idem utriusque conditor, ponte iunxerat. Qui cohaerent Mesopotamiae Rhoali vocantur. At in Syria oppida Europum, Thapsacum quondam, nunc Amphipolis, Arabes Scenitae. Ita fertur usque Suram locum, in quo conversus ad orientem relinquit Syriae Palmyrenas solitudines ...

Below Samosata, on the Syrian side, the river Marsyas flows into the Euphrates. At Cingilla the territory of Commagene ends and the state of the Imenei begins. The towns washed by the river are Epiphaneia and the Antioch called "on-the-Euphrates", and also Zeugma, 72 MP from Samosata, famous as a place where the Euphrates can be crossed, Apamea on the opposite bank being joined to it by a bridge constructed by Seleucus, the founder of both towns. The people contiguous to Mesopotamia are called the Rhoali. In Syria are the town of Europus and the town formerly called Thapsacus and now Amphipolis, and an Arab tribe of Scenitae. So the river flows on to the place named Sura, where it takes a turn to the east and leaves the Syrian desert of Palmyra ...

The Marsyas — the same name as a river near Apamea (Pliny, *NH* 5.19 [81]) — is the Merzumen Su north of Zeugma (cf. no. 50).

34. Pliny, *NH* 5.21 (90). A.D. 70s. Transl. W. H. S. Jones (Adapted from the LCL translation).

At a point 594 MP [downstream] from Zeugma, the Euphrates divides round the village of Massice, the left branch passing through Seleucia itself ...

The distance is c.880 km.

35. Pliny, *NH* 6.30 (119-120). A.D. 70s. Transl. W. H. S. Jones (Adapted from the LCL translation).

Dicta est et in Zeugmate Apamea; ex qua orientem petentes excipit oppidum Caphrena munitum, quondam stadiorum LXX amplitudine et Satraparum Regia appellatum quo tributa conferebantur, nunc in arcem redactum. Durant ut fuere Thebata et ductu Pompei Magni terminus Romani imperi Oruros, a Zeugmate CCL.

We have also mentioned Apamea opposite Zeugma; travelling eastward from which one comes to the fortified town of Caphrena, which formerly measured 70 stades in extent and was called the Court of the Satraps, being a centre for the collection of tribute, but which has now been reduced to a fortress. Thebata remains in the same condition as it was formerly, and so does the place which marked the limit of the Roman Empire under the leadership of Pompey, Oruros, 250 (?MP?) from Zeugma.

The text does not make it clear what unit of measurement is at issue in locating Oruros. The Loeb translation supplies the word "miles" without comment, but at least one modern authority prefers stades (Wagner 1976: 49, Abb. 3). The place is probably to be equated with Mannouorra of Isidorus of Charax, located 16 *schoeni*/480 stades from Zeugma. That measures about 90 km and has led to the suggestion that Pliny's CCL should be emended to L, giving much the same distance. For discussion, see Dilleman (1962: 168) and Chaumont (1984: 77-78).

36. Pliny, *NH* 6.126. A.D. 70s. Transl. W. H. S. Jones (Adapted from the LCL translation).

The distance of Seleucia from the beginning of Mesopotamia is a voyage by the Euphrates of 1125 miles; its distance from the Red Sea, if the voyage be made by the Tigris, is 320 miles, and from Zeugma 724 MP. Zeugma is 175 MP from Seleucia on the Mediterranean coast of Syria.

The distance to Seleucia Pieria is that previously given (no. 31; cf. no. 88) and could be known to informed Romans from milestone registers and maps. The distance to Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was not marked out by milestones and much of it lay inside the Parthian Empire and was along winding riverside routes. The distance converts as c.1072 km.

37. Pliny, *NH* 34.43 (150). A.D. 70s. Transl. W. H. S. Jones (LCL).

It is indeed said that the same result may be produced by a religious ceremony, and that in the city called Zeugma on the River Euphrates there is an iron chain (*catena*) that was used by Alexander the Great in making the bridge at that place, the links of which that are new replacements are attacked by rust although the original links are free from it.

Pausanias (no. 44, below; cf. no. 93) speaks of a cable from an original bridge at Zeugma which he attributes to Dionysos *en route* to India. The text emphasises the popular recognition of the importance of the bridge at Zeugma and the belief that there were remains there of an earlier bridge. Rather than Alexander (much less Dionysos) one might infer the remains of the bridge broken at the time of Crassus' crossing (nos. 10 and 12). Either or both men may be speaking, however, of the earlier crossing place at Thapsacus, rather than the contemporary (1st and 2nd c.) bridge at Zeugma/Belkis.

38. Solomon, *The book of the bee* 48. Transl. Wallis Budge (1886: 106). Mid/late 1st c. A.D.

Simon Zelotes was from Galilee, of the tribe of Ephraim. He preached in Shemeshat [Samosata], Parrin [Perrhe = Antioch upon Taurus?], Zeugma, Halab [Beroea], Mabbog [Hierapolis], and Kenneshrin [Chalcis]. He built a church in Kyrrhos, and died and was buried there.

Mar Solomon, or Shelemon, bishop of Basra (Perath-Maishan) in Iraq c.1222, originated in Armenia, west of Lake Van. His collection of information about Christianity was composed in Syriac (although one manuscript is in Arabic rendered in Syriac letters). Chapter 47 is entitled "Of the teaching of the Apostles, and of the places of each one of them, and of their deaths".

The Simon named here is in fact one of the 70 disciples for whom Solomon also provides brief biographical details. Taken at face value, this text and that which follows show Zeugma as the scene of Christian preaching in the mid/late 1st c. along with many other towns in the region. While native names are offered for most towns in the list, Zeugma and Cyrrhus bear only their Greek names, implying, perhaps, that there was no notable pre-Macedonian settlement on the site (cf. Kennedy 1996: 703).

39. Solomon, *The book of the bee* 48. Transl. Wallis Budge (1886: 111). Mid/late 1st c. A.D.

The people of Zeugma slew Rufus while he was teaching in Zeugma.

Rufus is, like Simon (no. 38), one of the 70 disciples whose preaching and deaths are noted. If accurate, one might expect to have found a church there in later times dedicated to this martyr.

40. Statius, *Silv.* 3.2.136-138. Late 1st c. A.D. Transl. Mozley (LCL).

... rapidum Euphraten et regia Bactra sacrasque antiquae Babylonis opes et Zeugma, Latinae pacis iter ...

... of rapid Euphrates and royal Bactra and the sacred wealth of ancient Babylon, and of Zeugma, the way of the Peace of Rome; ...

Statius (died 96) is here emphasizing the place of Zeugma in relation to the Euphrates and the route to Babylon.

41. Statius, *Silv.* 5.3.185-187. Late 1st c. A.D. Transl. Mozley (LCL).

Et nunc ex illo forsan grege gentibus alter iura dat Eios, alter comescit Hiberas, alter Achaemenium secludit Zeugmate Persen, hi dites Asiae populos, hi pontica frenant, hi fora pacificis emendant fascibus, illi castra pia statione tenent ...

And now of that company one perchance gives laws to eastern races, another quells Iberian tribes, another at Zeugma sets bounds to the Achaemenian Persian; these curb the rich peoples of Asia, those the lands of Pontus, these by peaceable authority declare pure justice in the courts, those hold loyal watch and ward in camps, ...

Poem written at the end of his life. The catalogue is essentially a series of allusions to some of the major military forces of the eastern part of the empire: the East in general, Iberia in the Caucasus, on the Euphrates' bend, in Asia, and Pontus. The only toponym in the list is Zeugma, presumably reflecting its significance.

42. C. Habicht, *Altertümer von Pergamum. Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* VIII.3, 1969: no. 21; R. K. Sherck, *The Roman empire. Augustus to Hadrian* (Cambridge 1988): no. 138; *PIR*² IV: I 508. Wagner 1976: 23 n.3. Excluded by Devijver (chapt. 11 below). Early 2nd c. From Pergamum, Asia. Translation adapted from Sherck.

Gaius Julius Quadratus Bassus, consul, pontifex, army commander in the Dacian War and companion there in the war to the Emperor Trajan, honoured with triumphal decorations; legate with *propraetorian* power of the province of Iudaea, legate with *propraetorian* power of Cappadocia–Galatia–Armenia Minor–Pontus–Paphlagonia–Isauria–Phrygia, legate with *propraetorian* power of the ?province of Syria–Phoenicia–Comma[ne]?, ?legate? with *propraetorian* power of the ?province? of [Dacia]; tribune of Legion XIII (Gemina), triumvir of the

mint, [quaestor of Cre]te and Cyrene, aedile (candidate of the emperor), praetor of the Roman People; [legate of] Legion XI Claudia pia fidelis, and of praetor IV Scythica, and of Legion [...], and of Legion XII Fulminata, [and of Legion] III Gallica, and of Legion [...], and of Legion XIII Gemina, and of Legion [...]. He was a man well-born and from .. [a family of kings] (?consulars?) descended .. [.. Civic] ?honour? was established for him by [the] People of Seleucia .. [.. at Zeug]ma through the agency of legate [...]

While still commanding in Dacia and administering his province he died, and his body was transported to Asia, carried by his soldiers drawn up under the military standard of the centurion primipilaris Quintilius Capito, a procession preceding him in every city and military camp by order of the Deified Emperor Hadrian, and this memorial to him was constructed from (Hadrian's own) treasury.

The text is too fragmentary in ll. 23-24 to restore accurately but seems to include a reference to a civic honour by the People of Seleucia which is restored here to be Zeugma. The motivation is unclear: the command of *III Scythica* is best interpreted as that of a detachment in a foreign war, but we cannot be sure of the restoration of a governorship of Syria, which would be the other possibility. What is clear is that Zeugma went out of its way to honour at Pergamum one of the great marshals of Trajan's reign and a man who had commanded in some form troops normally stationed in their city. Only one such honorific dedication is known from Zeugma itself (Wagner 1976: 130; cf. above p. 104).

43. Ptolemy, *Geog.* 5.14. Early/mid 2nd c.

The towns on the Euphrates are:

Urima	71' 45	37' 30
Arudis	71' 55	37' 15
Zeugma	72'	37'
Europus	72'	36' 50
Caecilia	71' 55	34' 40
Bethammaria	71' 50	36' 30
Gerrhe	71' 50	36' 5
Arimara	72' 10	36'
Eragiza	71' 50	36'

Ptolemy is known to have drawn on sources of earlier periods and his data here may reflect that of Marinus of Tyre who wrote c.100-110.

44. Pausanias 10.29.4. c.150. Transl. W. H. S. Jones (LCL).

[Pausanias is here describing paintings at Delphi with numerous mythical characters. At this point he has identified Ariadne and mentions Dionysos]. This Dionysus was, in my opinion, none other than he who was the first to invade India, and the first to bridge the river Euphrates. Zeugma was the name given to that part of the country where the Euphrates was bridged, and at the present day the cable (κάλωσ) is still preserved with which he spanned the river; it is plaited with branches of the vine and ivy.

Written by a man who would not have seen this item at Zeugma for himself. It is not clear whether Pausanias means our Zeugma or the earlier location of the Euphrates zeugma further south at Thapsacus. Pliny (no. 37 above; cf. no. 93) refers to a chain (*catena*) from an original bridge by Alexander. The Greek word employed here is commonly associated with ships' rigging and perhaps best translated as cable or hawser. There is no reason why a pontoon bridge would not employ both chains and cables.

45. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 138-161. Wroth 1899: 124, no. 4

Obv. ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΙΑΙΑΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟCCEBEΥC...

Head of Antoninus Pius r, laureate

Rev. ΖΕΥΓΜ ΑΤΕΩΝ Γ (whole in laurel wreath)

Tetrastyle temple, with peribolos containing grove, and having on r. and l. a colonnade (of which only the roof slabs are shown), and in front a portico or panelled wall of two storeys.

This is one of several variants of coins naming Zeugma during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Numerals from A to Θ appear on the coins and have been variously interpreted as the regnal years of the emperor and numbered issues. Numerals up to Δ have been found on issues of some later emperors.

46. *CIG* 2548; *IG* XII.1: 653. Wagner 1976: 65 n.189; 67 n.205. From Rhodes. 2nd c. A.D.

Μάρκου τοῦ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Ἀντιόχου υἱοῦ Σελευκέως τῶν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ.

Marcus, the son of Marcus Antonius Antiochus, from Seleucia-on-the-Euphrates.

47. Le Bas and Waddington 1870: no. 1620; Moretti 1953: no. 72. Wagner 1976: 100 n.38. From Aphrodisias, Asia. c.A.D. 165.

... at Hierapolis the men's pancration, at Anazarbos the men's pancration, at Mopsuestia the men's pancration, at Triplos of Syria the men's pancration, at Philadelphia of Arabia the men's pancration, at Zeugma on the Euphrates the men's pancration, at Kibura the men's pancration"

This dedication by the council and people of Aphrodisias (part of a much longer list) honours their citizen M. Aelius Aurelius Menandros, recording his numerous victories in cities throughout the East including the pancration at Zeugma.

48. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 161-180. Wroth 1899: 125, no. 12.

Obv.AYP

Head of Marcus Aurelius r, laureate

Rev. ZEYΓMA

TEΩN

Γ (within laurel wreath)

The obverse seldom has more than a few letters of the emperor's names and titles.

49. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 161-169. MacDonald 1905: 131, no. 12.

Obv. KAI ΔΟΥΑΥΡ ΟΥΗΡΟΝΑΥΤ Ο

Head of L. Verus r, laureate

Rev. ZEYΓMA

TEΩN

Δ (within laurel wreath)

50. Historia Augusta, Sev. 3.4.6. c.182/183.

Legioni IIII Scythicae dein praepositus est circa Massiliam.

Presently [Septimius Severus] was put in command of the Legion IIII Scythica, near Massilia.

The Historia Augusta, written in the later 4th c., relied extensively for the life of Severus on Marius Maximus, a contemporary of the emperor. The legion had never been stationed in the neighbourhood of Marseille but had long been in northern Syria. Thomsen (1945) proposed emendation to *circa Massiam*, where this would be a place or river name such as Massyas or Marsyas. Birley (1988: 68, 239) is unconvinced by Massyas, which is too far south (in the upper Orontes valley), and prefers Marsyas, which is the name of a major western tributary (the Merzumen Su) of the Euphrates between Samosata and Zeugma (no. 33; cf. p. 167). One must wonder, however, why the source did not simply say the legion was at Zeugma.

51. CIL VIII: 18084.18 From Lambaesis, Numidia. Late 2nd c.

...] Aurelianus Zeug(ma)

The inscription is part of a *laterculus*, a record of the men discharged from the *legio III Augusta* and citing the place of origin alongside each name. From several such *laterculi* this is the only example of a soldier from Zeugma being cited (Kennedy 1989: 244). That need cause no surprise. No *laterculus* for *IIII Scythica* survives, and most would-be recruits to the legions would enlist in the local legion rather than one of those elsewhere for which we do happen to have *laterculi*.

52. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 193-211. Wroth 1899: 126, no. 19.

Obv.PAKECAPA

Bust of Septimius Severus r, laureate

Rev. ZEYΓMA

TEΩN

Γ (within laurel wreath)

53. AE 1984: 920 ad; Wagner 1983: 114-16. Found at Kızılbırc, Şanlıurfa Province, Turkey. A.D. 205.

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L. Septimius/ Severus Pius Pertinax/ Aug(ustus) Arab(icus) Adiab(enicus) Parth(icus)/ Max(imus), Pont(ifex) Max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estas)/ XIII, Imp(erator) XII, Co(n)sul III, P(ater) P(atriciae),/ et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurel(ius)/ Antoninus Aug(ustus), Augusti / n(ostri) fil(ius), trib(unicia) pot(estas) VIII, Co(n)sul/ II, et [[P(ublius) Septimius Geta]]/ Caes(ar), Co(n)sul, fil(ius) et frater/ Aug(ustorum duorum) n(ostorum), viam ab Euphrate/ usque ad fines regni Sept(imii)/ Ab(g)ari a novo munierunt, per L(ucium) Aelium Ianuarium/ proc(uratorem) Aug(usti) prov(incia) Oshroenae. M(illia) p(assuum) XXXXVIII.

The distance is that from Zeugma.

54. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 211-217. Wroth 1899: 126, no. 20.

Obv.PAKECAPA

Bust of Caracalla r, laureate, wearing *paludamentum* and cuirass

Rev. ΔΗΜΑΡΧ.ΕΕ. VIATΟ.Δ

Eagle facing, head r.; wreath in beak; in field Z E V

55. *CIG* 4472; *IGRR* III: 1012; *IGLS* 1265; Le Bas and Waddington 1870: no. 1839; Moretti 1953: no. 85; Wagner 1976: 100 n.39. From Laodicea, Syria. 214 and April 221.

Aurelius Septimius Irenaeus, son of Eutychus, citizen of the Colonia and Metropolis of Laodicea, ... Contests for the prize of a Talent. Ascalon; Scythopolis; Sidon – three victories; Tripolis – two; Leucas – three, in boxing and running; Hierapolis – three, in boxing, wrestling and pancration; Beroea – two; Zeugma – two; Apamea – three; Chalcis – boxing and running; Salamis – three; Kition – boxing and pancration; Mazaca – two; Iconium – boxing and running; Antioch; Patrae – boxing and running; Tarentum – boxing; Aegae – two; Adana – two; Mopsueste – two. Month Xandikos of the year 268, in the consulships of Vettius Gratus and Vitellius Seleucus.

This inscription from Laodicea contains two lists. The second list (given here) dated April 221 records victories for which there was the traditional and lucrative prize of one talent. In these he is competing in boxing, wrestling, pancration and running in a score of cities in Syria, Cilicia, etc. Among the major cities of northern Syria the list includes Zeugma, in which he won two prizes.

56. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 218-221. Wroth 1899: 127, no. 24.

Obv. ΑΥΤΚΜΑΥΑΝ ΤΩΝΙΝΟC

Head of Elagabalus r., laureate

Rev. ΖΕΥΓΜΑ ΤΕΩΝ

Tetrastyle temple, with peribolos containing grove, and having on r. and l. a colonnade (of which only the roof slabs are shown), and in front a portico or panelled wall of two storeys; beneath, capricorn r.

57. *CIL* III; 4331 and 11701 = *ILS* 7207 = Dobiáš 1922: 115ff = V. Hoffiller and B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, Heft 1. Noricum und Pannonia Superior* (Zagreb 1983): no. 54; Wagner 1976: 110, n.53. From Celeia, Noricum. 2nd/3rd c.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Maximo civis / Surus ex regione / Zeugma vico Hennia / an(norum) XXV Aur(elius) Bassus Barath(a)e (filius) / vivus fecit fratri et Aur(elio) Sabino / civis Surus ex regione Zeugma vico.

To the spirits of the departed and of Aurelius Maximus, a citizen of Syria, from the village of Hennia in the territory of Zeugma, aged 25. Aurelius Bassus, son of Barathes, made it while he lived, for his brother, and to Aurelius Sabinus, a citizen of Syria, from the village of [.....] in the territory of Zeugma.

Wagner (1976: 110 n.53) says the name of the second village is missing and had probably been added in paint. Syrians are quite well known in SE Noricum (Alföldy 1974: 177 and n.133). The village name — one of only a handful known for the territory of Zeugma (nos. 58 and 89) — is not otherwise attested.

58. Dobiáš 1922: 115ff; Češka and Hošek 1947: 86f no. 34; Barkóczi 1951: 56 no. 133; Wagner 1976: 110, n.54. From Brigetio, Pannonia Superior. 2nd/3rd c.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Basso ex regione Seuma (sic) / vico Odia curante Aur(elius) / Marinus filius f(aciendum) c(uravit)

To the spirits of the departed and of Aurelius Bassus, from the village of Odia in the territory of Zeugma, through the agency of his son Aurelius Marinus it was put up.

The village is not otherwise attested. An Aurelius Bassus is the dedicant of the preceding text but the names are common.

59. *AE* 1923: 58. Dobiáš 1922: 119; 1925: 263. F. Lang, *Das Dolichenum von Brigetio* (Budapest 1941); Češka and Hošek 1947: 42ff, no. 3; Barkóczi 1951: 61, no. 209; P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus* (Rennes 1951): 83, no. 83; A. Mócsy, *RE Suppl.* IX, 1962: 710, 714 s.v. "Pannonia"; Z. Kádár, *Die kleinasiatisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn* (Leiden 1962): 44; Wagner 1976: 40, n.88. From Brigetio, Pannonia Superior. 2nd/3rd c.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) / Domitius Titus dec(urio) / Seleu(ciae) Zeugm(a)e pro salute / sua et suorum om(nium) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

To Jupiter Greatest and Best Dolichenus, Domitius Titus, a decurion, from Seleucia Zeugma, for the welfare of himself and all his family, gladly, willingly, and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

Doliche lies not far from Zeugma, at Tell Dülük just north of modern Gaziantep. Dedications to the popular deity of this mountain shrine are commonest from the late 1st c. to the mid 3rd c. when temples were

apparently destroyed in the West by Maximinus Thrax. The cult centre at Doliche itself was destroyed by the Persians in the same invasions as saw Zeugma sacked (below, no. 69). Adherents of the cult in the West tend to be soldiers or the urban élite, especially those, as here, of Syrian origin (Speidel 1978).

60. *AE* 1972: 385; I. Tóth, *Arch.Ertes.* 98 (1971) 80, no. 2. Wagner 1976: 69 and n.211. From Savaria, Pannonia Superior. 2nd/3rd c.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) ...] / [...civ]es [Su(rus)] ex civitate / [Seleu]cia Ze(u)g(mae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) merito / [...]no I et / [...] co(n)s(ulibus).

[To Jupiter Greatest and Best Dolichenus (name)] a citizen of Syria, from the city of Seleucia Zeugma, gladly and willingly fulfilled his vow. In the Consulships of

The damage includes not just the name of the dedicant but the precise consular year.

61. *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* 184.1-185.3. Early 3rd c.

A Germanicia per Dolicum et Zeuma Aedisam usque	m.p. LXXXVII
Sicos Basilisses	m.p. XX
Dolica	m.p. X
Zeuma	m.p. XII
Bemmaris	m.p. XX
Edissa	m.p. XXV

Itinerarium Antonini Augusti 188.7-189.5.

Item a Germanicia Edissa	m.p. LXXXVIII
Sico Basilisses	m.p. XV
Dolica	m.p. XV
Zeuma	m.p. XIII
Cannaba	m.p. XIII
In Medio	m.p. XII
Aedissa	m.p. XV

Itinerarium Antonini Augusti 189.6-190.5.

Item a Cyro Edissa	m.p. XCII
Ciliza sive Urmagiganti	m.p. XII
Abarara	m.p. X
Zeugma	m.p. XXII
Bemmaris Canna	m.p. XL
Bathenas Meri	m.p. VIII
Aedissa	m.p. X

Itinerarium Antonini Augusti 190.6-191.5.

Item a Nicopoli Edissa	m.p. CXXXVII
Aliaria	m.p. XIII
Gerbedisso	m.p. XV
Dolicha	m.p. XX
Zeuma	m.p. XXIII
Canaba	m.p. XXV
In Medio	m.p. XXII
Aedissa	m.p. XVIII

The Antonine Itinerary is commonly regarded as a compilation of itineraries based on those prepared for Caracalla (sole emperor 212-217) at the time of his journeys in his last years. Zeugma appears on 4 of these. As may be seen, the distances cited are often inaccurate and inconsistent —Doliche, for example, appears as 12, 14 and 24 M.P. from Zeugma. Text and discussion in Cuntz (1929); cf. Miller (1916), Dilke (1985: 125-28).

62. Cassius Dio 79.40.1. A.D. 218. Transl. Cary (LCL).

[Concerning the flight of the defeated Macrinus, Dio says]: Learning that his son had also been captured (he had been arrested by Claudius Pollio, the centurion of the legion, while riding through Zeugma, where in the course of a previous journey he had been declared Caesar), ...

Zeugma emerges in this passage as the natural crossing-point of the Euphrates for the young Diadumenianus when he was going to join his father the previous year and again while in flight from Syria to Mesopotamia. The text also implies legionaries still based there at the time, though it need not be the entire legion or even its headquarters. By this date detachments were certainly serving far downstream at Dura-Europos.

63. *P. Euphrat.* 16. c.239/241. From the Middle Euphrates. A papyrus reported by D. Feissel and J. Gascou (1989: 560), who will publish it. Preliminary description:

("Lettre sur papyrus, fragmentaire, adressée par Ourodès à son fils Nisraios vers 239-241 (allusion à un consulat de Gordien). La lettre fait allusion à une comparution devant l'ἐπιμαχίρης, mais contient surtout des recommandations économiques: la nourriture et l'argent des bergers; la location de chameaux de Béroia à Zeugma, au tarif de 36 deniers pour un kor (κόρος). La lettre mentionne le chamelier Aoualos et un certain Nisraabos. Adresse mutilée au verso."

64. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 244-249. Wroth 1899: 127, no. 29 (fig. 12.1 below).

Obv. ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΔΙΦΙΔΙΠΠΟCCEB

Bust of Philip, r., laur., wearing *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev. ΖΕΥΓΜΑ ΤΕΩΝ

Tetrastyle temple, with peribolos containing grove, and having on r. and l. a colonnade (of which only the roof slabs are shown), and in front a portico or panelled wall of two storeys; within temple, draped figure seated facing, holding in l. sceptre; in ex., capricorn l.

65. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 244-249. Wroth 1899: 128, no. 33.

Obv. ΜΑΡΩΤΑΚΙΔΕΟΝΡΑΝCΕΒ

Bust of Otacilia Severa r., crescent at shoulder.

Rev. ΖΕΥΓΜΑ ΤΕΩΝ (sic)

Tetrastyle temple etc. as on no. 64.

66. Bronze coin of Zeugma. 244-249. Wroth 1899: 128, no. 35.

Obv. ΑΥΤΟΚΚΜΙΟΥΔΙΦΙΔΙΠΠΟCCEB

Bust of Philip Junior r., laureate, wearing *paludamentum* and cuirass.

Rev. ΖΕΥΓΜ ΑΤΕΩΝ

Tetrastyle temple etc. as on no. 64.

67. P. Dura 29. A.D. 251. From Dura-Europos.

I, Aurelius Theodorus, son of Bernicianus, of Zeugma, resident there, on request, have written for Aurelia Gaia, who is illiterate, but acknowledges that she has got as deposit one hundred denarii which she will also return whenever she is asked.

Record of a deposit of 100 silver denarii made to a resident of Dura and dated by a consular year at the start. The document closes with a statement by the individual who drew up the text for the receiver of the deposit.

This statement is written in a different hand to that of the document itself and of the three witnesses who signed. "Resident there" is taken by the editors to mean resident at Dura although originally from Zeugma (Welles *et al.* 1959: 151). They are sure he is not a soldier serving at Dura, speculating rather that he may belong to the troop of entertainers from Zeugma (no. 68).

68. Dura Preliminary Report 9.1: 203-65; text and notes at 212-46. A.D. 250s. From Dura-Europos.

Two texts "painted on wall plaster found in over 260 scattered fragments on the floor of room 2 of House C in Section G5." No. 940 is quite extensive; no. 941 is a few small fragments only. The text need not be quoted in full.

Ὅτε ἐξῆλ[θον], ἀπὸ Ζεύ[γματος], Περιτίου γ', Δύστρ[ος], Ξανδικός, Ἄρτε[μ]ίστος, Δέσιος, Πάνημος, Δῶος, Γορπιῆος, Ὑπερβερετέος, Δῖος, Ἀπελλῆος, Ἐδυνῆος. (Fr. I, Col. I, A and B).

[.....]μεα [.....] ΝΩΜΑC βλ[ι]αρά, Ἀβεδοσμ[ε]ια, Κάστα μεγά[λη] Βαδοσμ[ε]ια καλῆ Ζευγμα(ῖτις) Βα[δο]ση(μειω) ἡμετέ(ρα) Ἄνθελο[υ]ς, [..]α[ρ]βαῖη κλητρ(ία) Ἀβσαλμας καλή, Κυρίλλα κάππα. (Fr. I, Col. III, A)

Ἐξῆλθε Τά[τιος?] Μετέβημεν, Α [..] [ᾧδε] Δείου,

Δεσίου δευ[τέρη] νομηνί[α], [α καὶ Σα]ββα [τῆ...], [.....], Ἐπεμσα [έγω] Ἀύρη[λ]ία εἰς Ζε[υ]γμα [..]. ..[.....] [.....], [Ἑπερβε]ρετέ[υ]ς [.....], [πρώτ]η καὶ Σαββα[.....], [τῆ δε]υτέρη, etc. (Fr. I, Cols. 5-6, A)

Ὅσοι δουλοπαράσειτοι, ἀφ' ὅτε ἀνέβη τὰ πεδία εἰς Ζεῦγμ[α], ἢ τὸ ὕστ[ερον] Ἀσβόλις ὁ τρα(γυφός), Ῥωμανὸς ᾧ, Θεοδώρα ὑποτρ(αγυφδέτ) Ἀχαβός, [Φι]λόπα[π]πος [Κ]α[σ]σιανός, [.]ΓΥΝΗΔΙΦΟ, Ὑμνος [..], [..]Κ [..], (Fr. V, Col. I)

The fragments of this painted text represent the tally of members of what today would be called a Concert Party (cf. no. 67). As many as 80-90 individuals were named originally. All seem to have been slaves. A variety of entertainers is represented, not least the mimes for which Syria was famous in classical antiquity, and some of the troupe may have been prostitutes. The significance of the passages cited is that they make clear that this large group of entertainers had arrived from Zeugma and seems to have been based there. The editors (254-65) believe Zeugma to have been the base of a large organization which, from its convenient location,

despatched groups of entertainers to towns along and near the Euphrates. The size of the party and the reference to someone with the military rank of *optio* might suggest that the troupe was principally concerned with entertaining the military and that the substantial military presence at Zeugma may have been another reason for its development as the centre of the organization as a whole (cf. Pollard 1996: 225). The date is believed to be in the last few years of Dura's life, which would place it in the 250s (MacDonald 1986).

69. *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* 4-9; 36. From Naqsh-E Rostam, Iran. Adapted from the translations of Maricq (1958: 308-14) and Frye (1984: 371-73). c.253/256.

Then we attacked the Roman Empire and annihilated at Barbalisos a Roman force of 60,000 and Syria and the environs of Syria we burned, ruined and pillaged all. In this one campaign we conquered of the Roman Empire fortresses and towns: the town of Anatha with its surroundings, (Birtha of Arupan?) with surroundings,⁴ Birtha of Asporakan, the town of Sura, Barbalissos, Hierapolis, Berrois (sic), Chalcis, Apamea, Rephania, Zeugma, Urima, Gindaros, Armenaza, Seleucia, Antioch, Cyrrhus, another town of Seleucia, Alexandria [= Alexandretta], Nicopolis, Sinzara, Hama, Arista, Dhikor, Doliche, Dura, Circesium, Germanicia, Batna, Khanar, and in Cappadocia the towns of Satala, Domana, Artangil, Suisa, Sinda, Phreata, a total of 37 towns with surroundings.

... And men of the Roman Empire, of non-Iranians, we deported. We settled them in the Empire of Iran, in Persis, Parthia, Asuristan, in Babylonia and in other lands where there were domains of our father, grandfathers, and of our ancestors.

This famous rock-cut trilingual inscription (Parthian, Middle Persian, and Greek)⁵ sets out the achievements of the Sasanian king, Shapur I. The king claims not only to have defeated the Roman field army — including, presumably, troops drawn from the forces at Zeugma — but to have gone on to capture and sack Zeugma itself in a long list of cities captured. The implication of the battle site and places listed is that part at least of the Persian army marched upstream from Barbalissos on the lower part of the river bend. Not all the cities there seem to have been captured — Europus/Carchemish, for example, is not on the list — but most were, and the surrounding countryside at least as far as Urima to the north of Zeugma was laid waste. The precise date is disputed (MacDonald 1986; Balty 1987).

Like the Assyrians before them, the Persians carried off entire populations for settlement in their own imperial heartlands.

70. *The martyrdom of Habib the Deacon*, A.D. 319. Translated from the Syriac by Patten (1871: 92). Text and commentary in von Gebhardt (1911: 68-69; 134).

In the month of Ab, of the year six hundred and twenty of the kingdom of Alexander the Macedonian, in the consulate of Licinius and Constantine,

... Licinius made a persecution against the church and all the people of the Christians, after that first persecution which Diocletian the emperor had made. And Licinius the emperor commanded that there should be sacrifices and libations, and that the altars in every place should be restored, that they might burn sweet spices and frankincense before Zeus. ...

... Habib, who was of the village of Telzaha and had been made a deacon ... Now, when this command came to the town of Edessa, Habib, in reference to whom the report had been made, was gone across [the river] to the country of the people of Zeugma [Zogmatije/Zeugmatije], to minister there also secretly.

71. Council of Nicaea. Gelzer, Hilgenfeld and Cuntz 1898: 18-19, nos. 62, 62, 61, and 58 (Latin); p. 63, no. 61, and p. 72, no. 67 (Greek); p. 85, no. 66 (Coptic); p. 103, no. 62, and p. 125, no. 62 (Syriac), and p. 195, no. 57 (Armenian); and Turner 1899-1939: Vol. 1.1, p. 50, no. 63 (Latin). A.D. 325.

Zeugma (Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Armenian)

Zeuma (one Greek and two inferior Latin traditions)

Zwgm' = Zeugma (Syriac)

The records of the Church Councils are voluminous, with complicated manuscript traditions in various languages, chiefly Greek and Latin. In most cases Greek was the original language and the others, especially the Latin, are ancient and often contemporary translations. The record usually consists of no more than a subscription naming Zeugma and its bishop at the time of the council in question. Wagner used Mansi's 18th-c. collection which, in a number of cases noted above and below, should be updated by Gelzer, Hilgenfeld and

4 The phrase "with surroundings" is repeated after each place name in the original but omitted here.

5 The translations are based on a combination of all three versions.

Cuntz (1898), Turner (1899-1939), and Schwartz (1922-). There are slight variations in date and sometimes the form of the name of Zeugma. The former of is little significance for present purposes, and the latter has been satisfactorily summarised by Wagner (1976: 23-24). In general the Greek manuscripts preserve *Zeugma*, the Latin *Zeuma* or *Zeugma*; Syriac versions transliterate as *Zogma*. In the further references below only the Council and its date will be recorded in the appropriate place with no commentary. The references are extensive for the Councils of Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), and Constantinople (553), and are most easily located through the index in Schwartz (1922-, Vol. 4.3.3 = Schwartz 1984) p. 311).

72. Council of Antioch. Mansi 1759: 2, 1307. A.D. 329 (341).

Zeugma (Latin)

73. Council of Sardica. Mansi 1759: 3, 138. A.D. 343.

Zeuma (Latin)

74. Ammianus Marcellinus 18.8.1. A.D. 359. Transl. Rolfe (LCL).

When this was known through trustworthy scouts, we planned to hasten to Samosata, in order to cross the river from there and break down the bridges at Zeugma and Capersana, and so ... repel the enemy's attack.

Ammianus participated in this Persian War and is writing about events of which he was often, as here, an eye-witness. The bridge at Zeugma is that over the Euphrates. The implication is that the bridge is capable of being broken down — a pontoon bridge or a permanent bridge with a removable section.

Capersana is harder to locate. The name is not otherwise attested in this form. Isidorus of Charax (no. 24) names the people who lived on the east bank around Apamea as the Arieni and Capreatae, and the Elder Pliny (no. 35) mentions a Caphrena.⁶ The only other clue may come from Stephen of Byzantium who mentions a place called Persa which he says lies on the Euphrates north of Edessa and near Samosata (no. 93).⁷ Capersana may be a conflation of Capher Persa(na) (kefar/kefr *vel sim.* = village; cf. no. 100 for "Kephara Tauretha, near Zeugma"). The best-known Roman bridges, however, are all on right-bank tributaries of the Euphrates, which are generally more substantial than those entering on the left. The solution may be that Ammianus' party crossed at Samosata and, *en route* to Zeugma to break its bridge, broke down that at Capersana, a place on the Euphrates between the two and perhaps where it was joined by one of the major tributaries (cf. fig. 2.1). Breaking down bridges would make most sense if they were pontoon bridges rather than the well-known stone bridges over the Göksu and Karasu.

75. Council of Antioch. Mansi 1759: 3, 371; 3, 372. A.D. 363.

Zeugma (Greek)

Zeugma (Latin)

76. Zosimus 3.12.1. A.D. 363. Transl. Ridley (1982).

At the end of winter, he [i.e. Julian] assembled his army and, sending it ahead in an orderly fashion, left Antioch, in spite of unfavourable sacrifices. I know why this was, but I shall pass over it in silence. On the fifth day he reached Hierapolis, where all the ships, both war and transport, from Samosata and the other places down the Euphrates were to assemble, and putting Hierius, the commander of an infantry legion, in charge of them, sent him on ahead.

Zosimus wrote in the early 6th c. He is often unreliable. Hierapolis, for example, is 20 km from the Euphrates, and Ammianus (23.3.6-9) reports that it was Julian's infantry which concentrated at Hierapolis, which is some miles from the river, while the fleet came together at Circesium — which is on the river but much further downstream (cf. Zosimus 3.13.2 who says Callinicum).

Zeugma is not named but we may reasonably infer it amongst the "other places down the Euphrates". Shipping coming downstream from Samosata would have had to negotiate the bridge at Zeugma. Ammianus Marcellinus' report makes it clear there was still a bridge there in 359 (no. 74) but it may have been broken down at that time. Certainly the passage of ships implies a pontoon or a bridge which had been broken. The number of ships eventually concentrated downstream is said by Ammianus (23.3.9) to be 1100 (cf. Ridley 1982: 175-76).

77. Ravenna Anonymous, *Cosm.* 2.15. 1st-4th c?

(List of towns of northern Syria includes): ... Samosata, Since, Araris, Zeugma, Phaltauri ...

6 For Capersana and Caphrena see Dilleman 1962: 168-69; 212 n.2; he rejects an equation of Caphrena with Capersana.

7 Persa is accorded an entry by Stephen: "Persa: a city ... beside the Euphrates and Samosata."

The Ravenna Cosmographer compiled his list of places in the early 8th c. He relied on earlier sources, some of which he mentions and the list here certainly originates under the Empire.

78. Theodoretus, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.14.3. 364/378. Transl. Jackson (1892).

[Bishop Eusebius of Samosata is ordered into exile by Valens. Eusebius] confided his intentions to one of his household servants who followed him carrying nothing but a cushion and a book. When he had reached the bank of the river (for the Euphrates runs along the very walls of the town) he embarked in a boat and told the oarsmen to row to Zeugma. When it was day the bishop had reached Zeugma, and Samosata was full of weeping and wailing ... Then all the congregation bewailed the removal of their shepherd, and the stream of the river was crowded with voyagers.

When they came where he was and saw their beloved pastor, with lamentations and groanings they shed floods of tears, and tried to persuade him to remain, and not abandon the sheep to the wolves. But it was all of no avail, and he read them the apostolic law which clearly bids us be subjects to magistrates and authorities. When they had heard him, some brought him gold, some silver, some clothes, and others servants, as though he were starting for some strange and distant land. The bishop refused to take anything but some slight gifts from his more intimate friends, and then gave the whole company his instruction and his prayers, and exhorted them to stand up boldly for the apostolic decrees. Then he set out for the Danube, while his friends returned to their own town ... (transl. Jackson 1892).

The straight-line distance from Samosata to Zeugma is c.70 km, by road more — Pliny (no. 33) says 72 M.P., — and along the twisting river further still. Using the current, however, Theodoretus was evidently able to travel the distance overnight and the implications of the passage are that this was a regular method of travel downstream. Their return against the current would have been slow and laborious. It is not clear whether Theodoretus went to Zeugma simply to get away from Samosata rapidly or to reach the highway west to Antioch and the sea.

79. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* VII.7. 364-378. Transl. Chabot (1899: I, 296).

[Eusebius] En arrivant à l'Euphrate, ils prirent place dans une barque et descendirent vers Zeugma. La ville de Samosate en apprenant la chose fut profondément affligée. Ayant su de quel côté il était parti, ils se mirent à sa poursuite et le supplièrent de revenir, ...

Michael the Syrian, writing in Syriac in the late 12th c., is here reporting — probably copying — the same story as Theodoretus (no. 78) centuries before.

80. *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Segment XI.3. 4th c. (fig. 9.1 overleaf).

The map as it survives is a 12th- or 13th-c. copy of an original road map of the Roman Empire. The original is dated to the end of the 4th c. but its information may be of different periods. For example, Amida, important from the time of Constantius, is omitted, while Hatra, destroyed by the Persians in the mid 3rd c., is marked with a vignette of two towers. A second feature of the map is its incompleteness — whether a selection made by the compiler or through ignorance of some routes is not known.

In this section, the Euphrates runs from top left to bottom centre to the circle labelled “Paludes”, the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf. There is much confusion in the map, with Resaina shown north instead of south of Edessa and Zeugma itself set back from the river. This section of the map has been discussed at length by Dilleman (1962: 133-38 and *passim*).

81. Theodoretus, *Ep.* 8. French transl. by Azérna 1955-65: 1, 79. Mid 5th c.

To the people of Zeugma (Ζεύγματος)

This is the address of the letter. *Letter 9* says “To the same”. Neither has the name in the body of the letter.

82. Theodoretus, *Ep.* 125. Azéma 1955-65: 3, 98. Mid 5th c.

[Letter is addressed:] To Aphthorius, Theodoritus, Nonnus, Sylacius, Aphthonius, Joannes, Magistrates of the people of Zeugma (Ζεύγματος).

83. Council of Ephesus. Schwartz 1984: 311 (references to vol. 1). A.D. 431.⁸

Zeugma (Greek) Zeuma (Latin)

84. Council of Zeugma. Schwartz 1922-23: 134. 17, 30; 135. 15; and 138. 28. A.D. 433.

Zeugma (Latin)

8 The references are extensive for the Councils of Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451) and Constantinople (553) and are most easily located through the index in Schwartz 1984: 311.



Fig. 9.1. Section of the Peutingr Table (Seg. XI.3.)

In this year a number of bishops gathered at Zeugma itself in what we may suppose was a significant and colourful occasion in the life of the city. The only reference to this small synod comes in the Latin translations of a variety of Greek letters referring to its future convocation.

85. Council of Chalcedon. Schwartz 1984: 311 (references to vol. 2). A.D. 451.

Zeugma (Greek) Zeuma (Latin)

86. Theodoretus, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.28.1. Transl. Jackson (1892). Mid 5th c.

There were also other men at this period who emitted the bright rays of the philosophy of solitary life. ... In the district of the Zeugmatenses were Publius and Paulus ...

This comes in a list of distinguished monks of this period. Publius is named again by Theodoretus (no. 87).

87. Theodoretus, *Hist. Relig.* 5. 1. Transl. Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen 1977: 329. Mid 5th c.

"Issu de milieu sénatorial, [Publius] avait pour patrie cette ville où le fameux Xerxès, en marche contre la Grèce, avait voulu passer l'Euphrate avec son armée; il avait fait attacher ensemble un nombre considérable de bateaux qu'il avait groupés là et, après avoir ainsi jeté un pont sur la fleuve, il appela l'endroit Zeugma et, en conséquence, donna ce nom à la ville. Originaire de cette ville et de la souche que j'ai dite, Publius se rend dans une région assez élevée, à moins de trente stades de sa cité. Là, il se bâtit une petite case ..."

Cf. no. 86 for the same Publius. Theodoretus is here reproducing a similar tradition that Thapsacus and Zeugma are the same place; so, by implication, does Pliny (no. 37) and Pausanias (no. 44); cf. Stephen of Byzantium (no. 93).

88. Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (ed. J. Willis) 6.678. Translation by Burgess. Last quarter of the 5th c.

Syria is 175 miles wide from Seleucia to Zeugma, a town of the Euphrates.

Copied from Pliny, *NH* 5.13 (67) (nos. 31 and 36 above).⁹

89. Joshua the Stylite, *Chron.* 67-68. Transl. Wright (1882: 57-58). Early 6th c.¹⁰

In the month of Adar (March), when the rest of the Greeks were assembling to go down with the magister, a certain sign was given them from God, that they might be encouraged and be confident of

⁹ Although two manuscripts have Zeugma (which is what Pliny has), most have Zeuma.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Prof. S. Lieu for helpful discussion of this extract.

victory. We were informed of this in writing by the people of the church of Zeugma [Zogma]. ... "Hearken now to a marvel and a glorious sight ... On the 19th of Adar (March), a Friday, ... a goose laid an egg in the village [qryt'] of Agar¹¹ in the district [qwr', Greek *chora*] of Zeugma, and thereon were written Greek letters ... raised to the sight and touch. ... A cross was traced on the side of the egg, and going completely round the egg, from it until it came to it again, was written THE GREEKS. And again there was traced another cross, and [going round the egg,] from it until it came to it again, was written SHALL CONQUER. The crosses were traced one above the other, and the words were written one above the other. There was none that saw this marvel, Christian or Jew, who restrained his mouth from uttering praise. But as for the letters which the right hand of God traced in the ovary (of the bird) we do not dare to imitate them, for they are very beautiful. Whosoever hears it let him believe it without hesitation." These are the words of the letter of the Zeugmatites. As for the egg, those in whose village it was laid gave it to Areobindus.

Joshua, writing in Syriac, seems to have published his work in 507. This is a rare reference to a named village in the territory of Zeugma (cf. nos. 57 and 58).

90. Procopius, *Aed.* 2.9.18-20. Reign of Justinian (527-565). Transl. Dewing (LCL).

There were also two other towns in this district of Euphratesia, Zeugma and Neocaesarea, which went by the name of fortified towns, but were enclosed by fortifications resembling walls of loose stones. And because these were made too low when they were built, they were accessible to the enemy without any effort, since they could leap upon them without fear, while their extreme narrowness made them impossible to defend, since the garrison of the town had no place whatever where they might stand and carry on the defence. But the Emperor Justinian surrounded these places too with real walls of adequate breadth and height, and he made them strong in their other equipment, and so brought it about that they are justly called cities and are too well built for hostile attacks.

Procopius is writing contemporary history. His description of the inadequate walls calls to mind the curious wall of Apamea reported above (p. 33; cf. p. 25).

91. Hierocles, *Synecdemus* 713. 4. ed. Parthey (1866); Honigmann (1939). Composed 527/528 but based on a list of approximately a century earlier.¹²

Ζεῦγμα

The name appears in a list of bishoprics in Euphratesia.

92. Council of Constantinople. Schwartz 1984: 311 (references to vol. 3). A.D. 553.

Zeugma (Greek) Zeuma (Latin)

93. Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* 103 and 295. Reign of Justinian (527-565) but surviving in an epitome of the 6th-10th c. Transl. Burgess.

s. v. 'Απάμεια' ... ἔστι καὶ τῆς Περσαίας Ἐδέσσης πρὸς ἄρκτους.

... there is also an Apamea of the territory of Persa, to the north of Edessa.

s.v. Ζεῦγμα, πόλις Συρίας ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, ὃν Ἀλέξανδρος ζεύξας ἀλύσει διεβίβασε τὰ στρατόπεδα.

Zeugma: a city of Syria on the Euphrates, which Alexander bridged with chains and took his army across

Cf. nos 16, 37, 44 & 87 for allusions to this tradition of Zeugma's being the place at which Alexander crossed and of signs still being visible of his pontoon bridge (described by Arrian 3.7.1-2). For Persa see no. 74.

94. *Notitia Antiochena*. Honigmann (1925: 74-75); Devréesse (1945: 305-6). c.570.

Zeugma (Greek and Syriac) Zeuma (Latin)

The *Notitia* provides a list of bishoprics in Greek, with various translations in Latin and Syriac. A translation and discussion is available in Devréesse (1945: 305-12), based on the study by Honigmann (1925). References may be found in both Devréesse and Honigmann to the separate editions of the manuscripts in Greek, Latin and Syriac.

95. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* X.21. Translated from the Syriac by Chabot (1901: II, 360). A.D. 589.

En revenant, Philippicus passa par la ville de Zeugma, et y fit construire un temple en l'honneur de la Mère de Dieu

11 The apparatus reports the word as no longer clearly legible. It might be Agad; the vowels are doubtful in semitic languages.

12 See Jones 1971: 514-21 and Honigmann 1939: 1-2, and 5-6 for discussion and dates.

Philippicus is the general and brother-in-law of the emperor Maurice (cf. *PLRE* 3. 1024).

96. Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio orbis Romani* 877. ed. Gelzer (1890); Honigmann (1939). A 9th-c. version of a work compiled in 591-603 from the same 5th-c. source used by Hierocles.¹³

Zeuma

The name appears in a list of 14 bishoprics in the diocese of Euphratesia.

97. *Codex Vaticanus Armeniacus* III, fol. 270r. Transl. Conybeare 1896: 123. 6th c?

Metropolita in Hierapoli [in margin, quae est Mnpedj], Episcopi: Zoughma Sancti Iacobi, Sourron, Barparis, Neocaesaria, Berris, Germanicias, Europes.

The codex represents a 12th-c. translation into Armenian of some existing *notitiae*. It preserves versions not found in existing *notitiae* in Greek and Latin and renders place-names in their Armenian version.

98. *Chronicon Paschale* 63.3, ed. Dindorf (CSHB 16; Bonn 1832). A.D. 630.

"Zeugma" is listed as a famous city in the fourth of seven "climata" of the Roman world. It is listed last of 12 cities in Syria Coele. A "clima" is one of the seven latitudinal strips in the οἰκουμένη (see *LSJ* 9, p. 960, s.v. κλίμα II. 4).

99. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* App. III, XVIII.15. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 453). Between 818 and 845.

[In a list of bishops ordained by Dionysius, the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Domnus, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère de Mar Salomon.

100. Wright 1871: 427. A.D. 845.

In his commentary on Syriac texts of Gregory of Nazianzus, Wright adds: "On fol. 205b, after the doxology, there is a long colophon, stating that the greater part of this volume was written by one Ephraim, a stylite, of Kephâr Tauretha, near Zeugma, in the year 1156, A.D. 845, when Dionysius was patriarch of Antioch, and David bishop of Urem Castra ..."

Urem Castra may be Urima, which has in turn been equated with Antioch-on-the-Euphrates, upstream of Zeugma. The site of Horum Hüyük has been suggested (Wagner 1976: 110-11) as the modern location, and French archaeologists have recently undertaken test-trenching there as part of their work at Zeugma (A. Comfort, pers. comm.; cf. Algaze *et al.* 1994: 30-31, Site 10)

101. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* App. III, XIX.10. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 456). Between 846 and 873.

[In a list of bishops ordained by Iohannan (III), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Iwannis, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère de Qartamîn.

102. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* App. III, XIX.24. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 456). Between 846 and 873.

[In a list of bishops ordained by Iohannan (III), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Joseph, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère de Mar Joseph.

103. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* App. III, XIX.81. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 458). Between 846 and 873.

[In a list of bishops ordained by Iohannan (III), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Georgius, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère de Qennésrê.

104. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* App. III, XXI.25. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 460). Between 887 and 896.

[In a list of bishops ordained by Theodosius, the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Basilius, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère de Siagta.

105. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* App. III, XXII.45. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 461). Between 896 and 909.

[In a list of bishops ordained by Dionysius (II), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Isaac, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère d'Eliseus.

106. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* App. III, XXIII.15. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 462). Between 910 and 922.

[In a list of bishops ordained by Iohannan (IV), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Jacques, évêque de la ville de Zeugma.

107. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* App. III, XXIV.23. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 463). Between 923 and 935.

[In a list of bishops ordained by Basilius, the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Job, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère de Siagta.

108. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XIII.4. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 129). 962.

(a) Après Mar Dionysius on ordonna patriarche pour le siège d'Antioche, Mar Abraham, du monas-

13 See Jones 1971: 514-21 and Honigmann 1931: 3, 5 and 49 for discussion and dates; Wagner (1976: 23, n.7) cites Georg. Cypr. 877 and Leo, *Graecorum episcopatum notitiae* = *PL* 107: 318 [it should be 348], but these are just different editions of the same works (RB).

tère de Tar^cel, dans le district de la ville d'Alep, en l'an 1273, au village de Tell^cada, le dimanche 25 du mois de 'iyar (mai). Mar Job, évêque de Zeugma, lui imposa les mains.

The same event is recorded for this year by Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.* 1.409f.

(b) Post Dionysium, Abraham. E coenobio Taril ditionis Alepi, ordinatus fuit in Teleda castro 25 lar (Maii) anni 1273 [Chr. 962], manum ei imponente Mar Job, episcopo Zeugmae.

109. Michael the Syrian, *Chron. App.* III, XXIX.26. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 466). Between 965 and 985.
[In a list of bishops ordained by Iohannan (VII), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Siméon, évêque de Zeugma et Goubbin, à Nahra de Qarîrê.
110. Michael the Syrian, *Chron. App.* III, XXX.19. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 468). Between 986 and 1002/3.
[In a list of bishops ordained by Athanasius (V), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Iohannan, évêque de Zeugma, du couvent de Bârid.
111. Michael the Syrian, *Chron. App.* III, XXX.35. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 468). Between 986 and 1002/3.
[In a list of bishops ordained by Athanasius (V), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Abraham, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère de la Mère-de-Dieu de Mar Bar Çauma.
112. Michael the Syrian, *Chron. App.* III, XXXI.16. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 469). A.D. 1004-1029.
[In a list of bishops ordained by Iohannan (VIII), the Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch] Elias, évêque de Zeugma, du monastère de Mar Julianus.
113. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* XV.1. Transl. Chabot (1905: III, 161). A.D. 1048.
[After the death of the patriarch, a monk called Theodore was reluctantly pressed to take the office]. Les évêques le prirent de force et l'ordonnèrent à Pharzamanê, (savoir): Elias de Zeugma, chef du synode, qui lui imposa les mains, avec Athanasius de Kârséna, Cyrillus de Cyrrhus, Basilius de Harran, Abraham de Samosate, Basilius de Hadeth, Athanasius d'Édesse, Philoxenus de Dolichê, Athanasius de Laqâbin, Iwannis d'Anazarbus, et Jean de Kaişoum.

The same event is recorded for this year by Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.* 1.438f.; cf. no. 108 above.

This is the last attestation of Zeugma in ancient literary sources. It is of interest to note the other places in this area which still had bishops at that time.

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Legio III Scythica, its movements and men

Michael Alexander Speidel

with an appendix by Michael P. Speidel

The sources

Since 1925, when Emil Ritterling published his fundamental article "*Legio*", many new sources concerning *legio III Scythica* have come to light, and our knowledge of its history has considerably increased. Yet vast gaps remain to be filled. None of the camps of *III Scythica* and none of its soldiers' graveyards have been excavated. The early camp in Moesia still awaits discovery and, although the legion's long-term fortress in Syria has been placed in or just outside the town of Zeugma (Seleucia-on-the-Euphrates) by the surveys of Jörg Wagner in the early 1970s (1976; cf. 1977), it too has yet to be precisely located and excavated (see below pp. 167f and 246). The opportunity for such an investigation is rapidly diminishing with the imminence of the dam due to flood the city in spring 2000. It is opportune, therefore, to bring together and re-evaluate, for the first time since 1925, the evidence available on the soldiers, junior officers, and veterans who served with *legio III Scythica*.

Of the 78 Greek and Latin texts listed in Appendix I below which together mention 87 members of *III Scythica*, only three (nos. 1-3) are from or relate to the legion's fortress at Zeugma. All others were found in outposts or the soldiers' home towns (fig. 1). The majority have come to light in the Roman province of Syria (nos. 4-38), mainly at the quarries of Arulis (nos. 4-13), at Dura-Europos (nos. 14-25), and on the Ledja plateau (nos. 32-36). Other Syrian documents concerning soldiers of *III Scythica* were found at Samosata (no. 26), Beroea/Aleppo (no. 27), Seleucia Pieria (no. 28), near Antiochia(?) (see p. 204), Apameia (no. 29), Aradus (no. 30), Palmyra (no. 31), and Gadara (no. 37). Asia Minor has also produced several inscriptions of soldiers and veterans of *legio III Scythica* (nos. 39-45): one from the Cappadocian capital Caesarea (no. 39), 4 from Cilicia (nos. 40-43, from Carallia, Claudiopolis, Anazarbos(?), and Derbe),¹ one from the Roman province of Asia (no. 44, Dorylaeum), and another from Nicaea in Bithynia (no. 45). In Macedonia 5 inscriptions have come to light (nos. 46-50, 2 from Diium, one each from Stobi, Scampa, and Dyrrhachium). Dacia (no. 51, Apulum), Pannonia Superior (no. 52, Carnuntum), Gallia Lugdunensis (no. 53, Lugdunum), Hispania Citerior (no. 54, Tarraco), and Numidia (no. 55.1, Lambaesis) have produced one inscription each. Finally, 19 inscriptions have been discovered throughout Italy (nos. 56-74 from Aquileia, Altinum, Mediolanum, Parma, Tifernum, Tiberinum, Pitinium Mergens, Aequiculi, Carseoli, Tibur, Puteoli, Compsa, Tarentum, and Rome).

Most inscriptions commemorating building activities of *legio III Scythica* were found in Roman Syria, mainly on the west bank of the Euphrates in the north of the province but also in the surroundings of Antioch and at Dura-Europos. One inscription, however, was found in the Armenian capital Artaxata, another in the province of Osrhoene on the road connecting Zeugma and Samosata, and a last one, dating to the European years, at the Iron Gates on the Danube (for these inscriptions see below).

Most texts concerning soldiers of *III Scythica* are stone inscriptions, but there are also one literary account (no. 3) and, from Dura Europos, two papyri (nos. 24-25), two dipinti (nos. 18-19), and a graffito (no. 21). The earliest texts concern soldiers who served in *III Scythica* while it was still stationed in Moesia or only a few years after its transfer to the East in A.D. 56/57. The majority of both the Italian inscriptions (nos. 56-61, 63, 65-68, 70, 71) and the Macedonian texts

1 CIL III 12116 from Hierapolis Castabala does not concern a soldier of *III Scythica*, but a Roman senator (wrongly listed by Wagner 1976: 144; 1977: 518 as a soldier's gravestone).

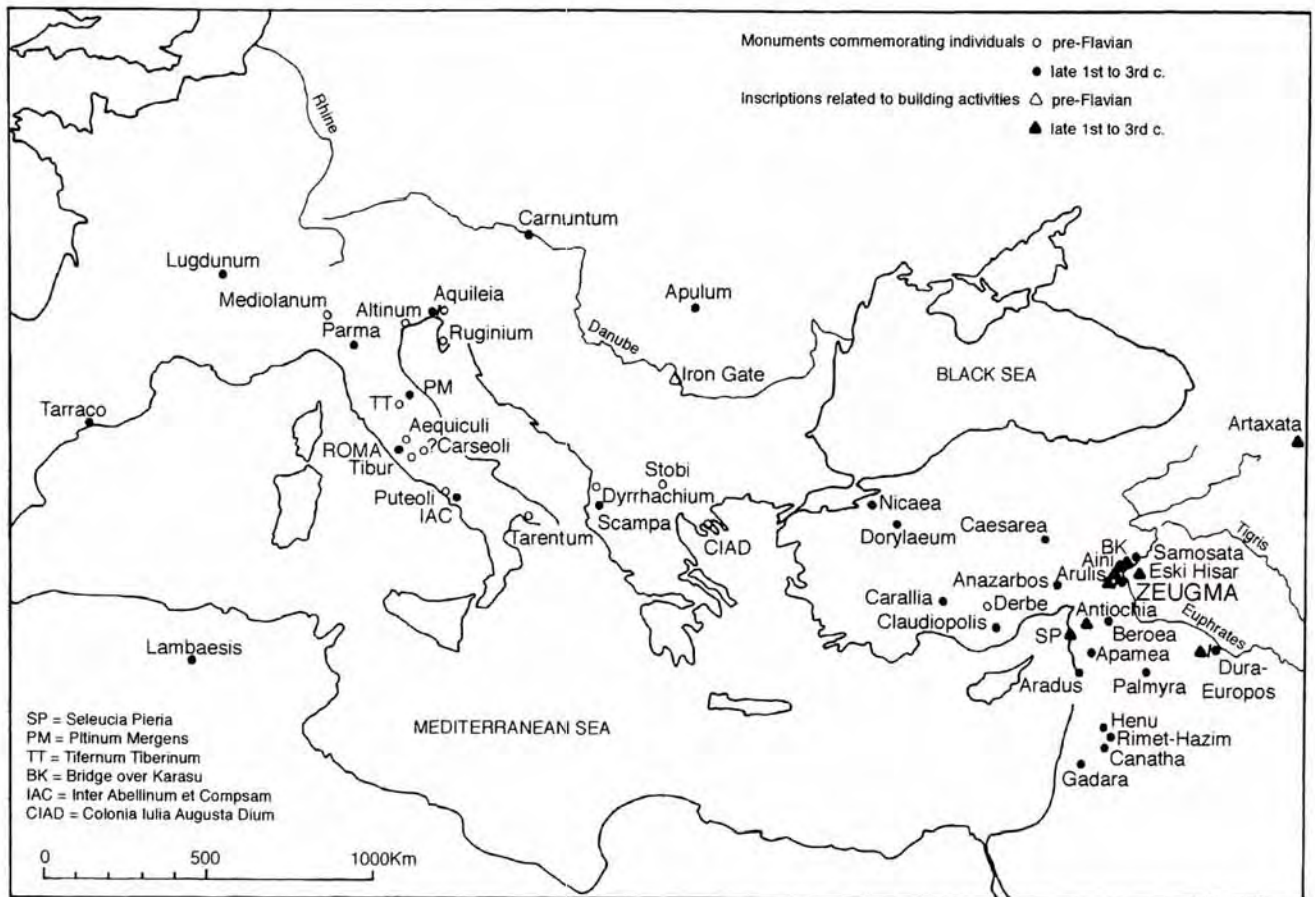


Fig. 10.1. Map to illustrate the distribution of places from which evidence for personnel has come.

(nos. 46, 47, 48, 50) belong to this period. One early stone was found in Cilicia (no. 43). All other texts mentioning soldiers and veterans of *III Scythica* date to the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. The latest surviving account is a papyrus from Dura-Europos dating to the last days of April 254 (no. 25).

The early years

Of the early history of *legio III Scythica* little is known, and Ritterling's account (1925: 1556-64, esp. 1556-59) has hardly been surpassed. It has been suggested that the legion may have been formed by Antony between 40 and 31 B.C., though this remains hypothetical (Keppie 1984: 134, 139, 159, 202, and esp. 142 and 206). After the Battle of Actium, Augustus included *III Scythica* in his new professional army (Cass. Dio 55.23.3). He probably reorganised the legion to some extent (Keppie 1984: 140), and gave it (as he did with many of his other new legions) the capricorn, his own zodiacal sign, as its new emblem.² The legion's surname *Scythica* also dates back to Augustan days (*CIL* 10.680).³ It may have originated in some successful battle against tribes on the lower Danube, perhaps as early as between 29 and 27 B.C., when *III Scythica* may have fought under M. Licinius Crassus against the Bastarnae and Scythians.⁴

2 As instanced on a relief from San Gulielmo al Goletto in Italy (fig. 11.1 below; cf. below no. 69), and by coins from Zeugma: cf. Wagner 1977: 529-31. Cf. also Keppie 1984: 139 and 206.

3 Cf. also below no. 58, possibly from the Augustan period.

4 *RG* 31; Tac., *Ann.* 2. 65; Cass. Dio 51.23.3. Cf. Ritterling 1925: 1556-57; Parker 1928: 261, 266, and Keppie 1984: 142, 206

The legion was probably stationed on the lower Danube throughout its time in Europe.⁵ It may have participated, together with 4 other legions, under Caecina Severus in Tiberius' army during the Illyrian revolt (A.D. 6-9. Cf. Vell. Pat. 2.112; Ritterling 1925: 1557). In A.D. 12, III Scythica may have been the legion that was shipped down the Danube under the command of P. Vitellius to help threatened Greek cities on the Pontus (Ov., *Pont.* 4.7.19-21; cf. Ritterling 1925: 1557).⁶ Tacitus reports Moesia to have been garrisoned by two legions in A.D. 23 (Tac., *Ann.* 4.5). These were, in all likelihood, III Scythica and V Macedonica (Ritterling 1925: 1557; Gerov 1967: 86). Although V Macedonica is well known in Moesia, the only traces III Scythica has left on the Lower Danube are inscriptions carved into the rock walls of the Iron Gates commemorating its building of a road in A.D. 33 together with V Macedonica.⁷ During the reigns of Caligula and Claudius both legions remained part of the Roman army on the Danube (CIL 11.1835 = ILS 969).⁸ In c.44/45 III Scythica probably took part in Didius Gallus' campaign in the Black Sea area, Tacitus' *Thraecium Bosporanumque bellum* (*Ann.* 12.63), during the course of which Gallus annexed the Thracian kingdom as a province and installed the young ruler Cotys on the throne of the Crimean kingdom of the Bosporus (Tac., *Ann.* 12.15.1; cf. Birley 1981: 47-48). During the second part of that campaign, when Gallus had moved his forces to the Crimean kingdom, the Thracians may have rebelled against the newly-installed Roman rule (Saxer 1967: 11; Mommsen *ad* CIL 2.3272). Be that as it may, between 45 and c.56, Q. Cornelius Valerianus, a Roman knight, was sent with detachments of 15 auxiliary units to fight in Thrace. He was obviously successful in his mission, probably sparing the rest of the Moesian army some embarrassment, as he was afterwards honoured with statues, crowns, *clipei*, and *imagines* by all the units of that army, including the legions III Scythica, V Macedonica, and VIII Augusta.⁹

During the years legio III Scythica was stationed in Europe, the inscriptions show most soldiers and centurions to have been recruited in Italy (Appendix II below). Only a few originated from elsewhere, from Gallia Narbonensis, for example, or from Macedonia (nos. 49, 50 [Macedonia], and 56 [Narbonensis]). There is nothing surprising about this observation: it reflects the usual recruitment pattern of the early principate (Forni 1953: *passim*; 1992: 11-141; Mann 1983: *passim*). After their discharge, most of the soldiers chose to move back to their former homes, though some also settled in nearby Macedonia (nos. 46-48, 50), and one soldier we know of even settled in Cilicia (no. 43).

From Europe to the Near East

In A.D. 51 the Parthian King Vologaeses began to support his brother Tiridates in his quest for the Armenian throne, which had previously been held by Mithridates, a king favoured by Rome (Tac., *Ann.* 11.8; 12.44-46). In late 54 the distinguished general Cn. Domitius Corbulo was appointed to help the Syrian governor with the impending military response to the Parthian threat, and Roman troops were moved closer to the Armenian border (Tac., *Ann.* 13.8-9). Legio III Scythica only enters the picture in 58, in Tacitus' summarising account of the ongoing military preparations, when "a legion along with auxiliary *alae* and cohorts was transferred from Germany" to Syria (Tac., *Ann.* 13.35). The legion was, no doubt, III Scythica, as from that

5 Ritterling 1925: 1556-58; Gerov 1967: 85-86, 90, 102-3; Mócsy 1970: 49-50, 126; Keppie 1984: 142, 206.

6 On P. Vitellius see PIR V 502; Syme 1978: 90-91; Franke 1991: 313; Speidel and Doppler 1992: 9-10.

7 CIL 3.1698 add. p. 1024 = ILS 2281 and CIL 3.13813b; cf. AE 1910. 176 = ILJ nos 57, 60; cf. 56. Cf. Gerov 1967: 86. Dr G. Kabakcieva, Institute of Archaeology, Sofia, kindly informs me that neither the legion's fortress nor any other inscriptions concerning legio III Scythica have as yet been discovered in the lower Danube area. Mirkovic 1996: 31 assumes legio III Scythica to have had its fortress "downstream of the Iron Gates, or in Oescus and Novae."

8 The text mentions the governor of Moesia from 41-43, L. Martius Macer, as *leg. Ti. Claudi Caes[ar]is Aug. Germ. pro] pr. provinc[ia]e Moesiae leg. IV Scythicae et leg. V Maced.*

9 CIL 2.2097 = ILS 2713, CIL 2.3272 = Saxer 1967: 9-10, nos 7-8; cf. also PME C 250.

time onwards it is found stationed in Syria. It is generally accepted that, contrary to what is stated by Tacitus, the legion was moved from Moesia, not Germany, already in 56 or 57.¹⁰ The military preparations were now forcefully pursued, as Tigranes no longer restrained himself and began raiding Armenia in 58 (Tac., *Ann.* 13.37). Corbulo had been training his Syrian legions, which were long unaccustomed to discipline, and he had recruits sent from Cappadocia and Galatia (Tac., *Ann.* 13.35). The transfer of *III Scythica* to Syria to support the eastern forces seems to have been an urgent measure, as discharges were delayed in order to bring as many experienced soldiers to Syria as possible (no. 70).

Legio III Scythica, however, is not listed among the troops that took part in Corbulo's campaigns of 58 to 60 in Armenia, and may therefore have remained in Syria under the command of the governor Ummidius Quadratus (Ritterling 1925: 1559; cf. Tac., *Ann.* 13.40). Nevertheless, it was kept on the alert, and soldiers were discharged only in 60 (nos. 70-71), after Rome had installed Tigranes on the throne of Armenia (Tac., *Ann.* 14.26). After Quadratus' death in the same year, Corbulo was appointed governor of Syria, and was entrusted with the command of all 5 Syrian legions: *III Gallica*, *III Scythica*, *VI Ferrata*, *X Fretensis*, and *XII Fulminata*.¹¹ Vologaeses of Parthia, however, did not accept the defeat, and resumed his activities to enthrone his brother Tiridates in Armenia (Tac., *Ann.* 15.1-3). Tigranes was soon trapped and besieged in Armenia's second city, Tigranocerta, and Corbulo had to send two legions to relieve it. After the successful completion of their task, the two legions withdrew to Cappadocia (Tac., *Ann.* 15.3, 6). One of these may have been *III Scythica*, as it is found lying in its winter quarters in early 62 in *extrema Cappadocia*, together with *XII Fulminata* when Caesennius Paetus arrived to take over independent command in Cappadocia.¹² Paetus arrived boasting he would finally establish Roman rule in Armenia. He was assigned the legions *III Scythica* and *XII Fulminata*, as well as *V Macedonica* which was on its way from Moesia. In addition he took command of the auxiliary troops from Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia (Tac., *Ann.* 15.6). While Corbulo fortified the banks of the Euphrates, and successfully halted a Parthian attempt to invade Syria, Paetus and his troops marched east straight into a Parthian trap and were nearly annihilated (Tac., *Ann.* 15.7-9). Corbulo relieved Paetus' troops, but he came too late to prevent defeat and humiliation (Tac., *Ann.* 15.14-16). Paetus' returning legions *III Scythica* and *XII Fulminata*, or what was left of them (Tac., *Ann.* 15.11), were a sorry sight, and Corbulo, who in 63 resumed the command of all the eastern forces (though this time without a specific governorship), soon sent them back to Syria (Tac., *Ann.* 15.16-17; 15.26; Cass. Dio 62.22.4). In Corbulo's final campaigns of that year *III Scythica* had no part.

Where in Syria *III Scythica* was stationed after the unsuccessful end of its first eastern campaign is not clear. It is clear, however, that its second campaign in the East, in 66, was equally unsuccessful. In that year it despatched 2000 soldiers as part of the task-force being conducted by the Syrian governor, Cestius Gallus, against the Jewish rebels at Jerusalem.¹³ The force suffered heavy losses and was forced into headlong flight (Jos., *BJ* 2.19.4-9 [527-555]).

At Zeugma

In 66, after the defeat of Cestius Gallus' task-force, Nero appointed Flavius Vespasianus to take over command in the war against the Jewish rebels. The expeditionary force Vespasian set up included *legio X Fretensis* which previously may have guarded the river-crossing at

10 E.g. Ritterling 1925: 1559; Wagner 1977: 517; Keppie 1986: 415; Millar 1993: 67. Dušanič 1978: 470-75 defended the view that *III Scythica* did come from Germany, but his arguments do not seem compelling.

11 Tac., *Ann.* 14.26; cf. Ritterling 1925: 1559; Keppie 1986: 415.

12 Tac., *Ann.* 15.6; cf. Ritterling 1925: 1559; Keppie 1986: 416; Franke 1991: 289-91.

13 Jos., *BJ*. 2.18.9 (500); cf. Ritterling 1925: 1560; Saxer 1967: 12; Wagner 1977: 518; Keppie 1986: 417; Millar 1993: 71.

Zeugma/Seleucia-on-the-Euphrates (Jos., *BJ* 7.1.3 [17-18]). As it seems improbable that such an important crossing-point on one of the major Parthian invasion routes (cf. Tac., *Ann.* 12.12; Front., *Strat.* 1.1.6; Cass. Dio 49.19) should have been left unguarded, it is very likely that another legion was then moved to Zeugma.¹⁴ This legion was probably *III Scythica*, although, due to the lack of regular excavations, a single broken inscription (no. 1; cf. now 2) and a few tile-stamps are the only local proof of its stay there (see below and pp. 37 and 133-35). Some 3rd-c. coins minted at Zeugma and showing on their reverse the emblem of *III Scythica*, a capricorn, may also point to the legion's garrison there during that period (Wagner 1977: 529-31).¹⁵

Von Domaszewski (1909: 198 n.1), followed by McElderry (1909: 48-49) and Ritterling (1925: 1560), had already suggested Zeugma to have been the 2nd- and 3rd-c. garrison of *III Scythica*, long before Wagner's survey of the area during which the inscription and most of the tile-stamps were discovered.¹⁶ Their reasoning was based on the following observations. The majority of inscriptions mentioning the legion were found in northern Syria. In addition, the large quarries at Ehneş (Arulis), only 12 km upstream from Zeugma, were run for many decades by soldiers of *III Scythica*. No other units are attested at Arulis. The soldiers of *III Scythica* must have produced large amounts of building material for (military installations[?] in or close to) a nearby city. Their reasoning went well with the few literary (Cass. Dio 55.23.3; 79.40.1 = no. 3) and epigraphical clues (*CIL* 6.3492 = *ILS* 2288)¹⁷ known at the time. A further argument that seemed to confirm the assumption that *III Scythica* was stationed near Antioch, the provincial capital, was the surprisingly large number of senatorial tribunes from noble and influential families serving in that legion (see p. 224). Those young men may well have chosen military service with *III Scythica* because of the glammers of nearby Antioch.¹⁸ Finally, the fact that the commander of *III Scythica* replaced the governor of Syria whenever that position was vacant (Ritterling 1925: 1560; Syme 1958: 631) indicated that the legion's camp must have been within a reasonable distance of the provincial capital. Yet, it was not until Wagner's survey of ancient Zeugma and its surroundings that further proof was gained. He discovered the broken gravestone of one of *III Scythica*'s soldiers (*AE* 1977. 822 = no. 1) as well as several tile-stamps of *III Scythica* on one of Zeugma's western hills. Recently, other tile-stamps have been found, including one on Belkis Tepe, the location of the ancient sanctuary of Tyche and of Zeugma's acropolis (p. 134, no.27). So far, no tile-stamps of other legions have been found in or near Zeugma, whereas *III Scythica*'s tile-stamps have been found at no other site suitable for a garrison-place. Finally M. P. Speidel's observation on the gravestone of Flavius Telegonus (Appendix III below) show that for a soldier buried at Zeugma there was no need to state his unit, as that was well known (cf. n.15 above). Taken together, all these indications leave little doubt that *III Scythica* had its fortress in the vicinity of Zeugma.

Two important questions remain. Where exactly was the fortress of *III Scythica*, and where were the soldiers' graveyards? An enigmatic passage in the *Historia Augusta* locates *III Scythica*'s headquarters *circa Massiliam* (*Sev.* 3.6; cf. chapt. 9 no. 50). Clearly, Massilia in

14 Wagner 1977: 522-24; Dąbrowa 1993: 12; Keppie 1986: 423; Millar 1993: 417.

15 No coins with countermarks of *III Scythica* have yet been found: Howgego 1985: pl. 22; French 1994a: 37. The 3rd-c. inscription of a *cornicularius* of an unnamed unit, now in the Gaziantep Museum, also points to a military garrison near Zeugma: Θε[ῶ] μεγίσ[τω] / Κρόνω ὑπὲρ / σωτηρίας τῶν / Κυρίων Καיסάρων / Αὐρήλιος Μάρ/κελλος κορνικλά/[ρ]ιος ἀνέθηκεν (French 1994b: 121 = *AE* 1994. 1763 = *Bull.Ep.* 1995: 609). Unfortunately, the provenance of this altar is unknown.

16 For other suggestions prior to Wagner's survey (e.g., Cyrrhus, and the area near Ehneş) cf. Wagner 1977: 519.

17 The inscription lists the Roman legions under Antoninus Pius: the sequence gives *XII Fulminata* and *XV Apollinaris* in S and N Cappadocia respectively. Next come *III Gallica*, *IV Scythica* and *XVI Flavia*, all in Syria and again, apparently, beginning in the south (*XVI Flavia* is certainly at Samosata in the north of the province).

18 For senatorial tribunes viewing their military service as a pastime, see Tac., *Agric.* 5.

southern Gaul was not meant here. It has been suggested (Thomsen 1945), however, to emend the passage to *circa Massiam*, and to take Massia to mean the river Massyas or Marsyas, a western tributary to the Euphrates just south of Arulis (A. R. Birley 1988: 68 and 239 n.1). So far, however, there is nothing else to suggest this (cf. chapt. 9 no. 50). The tile-stamps, too, although they illustrate *III Scythica's* various building activities at Zeugma, are of no help in determining the exact location of the legion's fortress (*contra* Wagner 1977: 526-28; see p. 246). Neither of their findspots is at all suitable for the site of a legionary fortress (cf. also Gregory 1996: 129-31).

The only suitable site in the immediate vicinity of Zeugma and on the west bank of the Euphrates is the flat area below the village Belkis. Satellite photographs (not reproduced here) of that area clearly show subterranean structures which strongly resemble the outlines of a large Roman military camp. In spring 1997 M. Hartmann, C. B. Reuger and the author, with R. Ergeç of the Gaziantep Museum, began archaeological excavations in this area that will continue until flooding begins in spring 2000. Thereby two successive, superimposed forts constructed in mud brick, both of c.11-12 ha. and both from the first half of the 1st c. A.D. were discovered. This military site was deliberately cleared and evacuated by the Roman army around the mid 1st c. A.D. and no later building activities on the same spot could be observed. However, neither of these two successive military camps is large enough to have been a full-scale legionary fortress, and their early date precludes the possibility that they may have been the fortresses of *III Scythica*. Furthermore, no other military structures have been observed in the same plain.

Where then was *III Scythica's* fortress? The east bank opposite Seleuceia offers a variety of topographically suitable locations for a legionary fortress. However, it seems highly unlikely that before the end of the 2nd c. A.D. *III Scythica* should have had its headquarters and permanent base in the kingdom of Osrhoene, i.e. outside the Roman province (cf. Cass. Dio 68.18.1 and esp. 75.1.1ff.). A far more likely location may be the hinterland of Zeugma on the west bank. Such a location would have made strategic sense and has parallels on other frontiers of the empire (for the eastern frontier compare especially Melitene: Proc., *Aed.* 3.6). The ongoing study of satellite photographs may provide further clues.

Soon after their arrival at Zeugma, soldiers of *III Scythica* began a series of building activities which involved quarrying stones at nearby Arulis.¹⁹ As the many inscriptions at Arulis clearly show (nos. 4-13), working in the quarries, though unpopular (*P. Mich.* VII 466; cf. Speidel 1984: 233-34) and hazardous (no. 11), was a regular chore for the soldiers stationed at Zeugma (as it was for many legionaries throughout the empire²⁰). Whenever building material was needed, a number of soldiers were chosen to form a detachment which was put under the command of a centurion or standard-bearer (Saxer 1967: 126-28; cf. nos. 4-6, 8, 9). The standard-bearers were probably also concerned with some of the administration, and in one instance there is also evidence of a trumpeter who must have been responsible for sounding the hours (no. 4).

Warfare continues

Since *legio III Scythica* had established its camp at Zeugma in 66, the other eastern forces had been moved south. The legions *V Macedonica*, *X Fretensis*, and *XV Apollinaris* formed Vespasian's expeditionary force in the ongoing Jewish War, and *XII Fulminata* was at Raphanaea.²¹ In the winter of 67/68 *legio III Gallica* was temporarily transferred to Moesia (Tac.,

19 Cumont 1917: 159; Wagner 1976: 145-46; 1977: 517. The time-span is indicated by the positions of the inscriptions — no. 5 on the western wall (early 2nd c., half-way down), and no. 7 (late 2nd/early 3rd c.) far below on the same wall (Cumont 1917: 160-61).

20 MacMullen 1963: 31-32; Davies 1989: 63-64; Mitthof 1994: 207-12; cf. Fink 1971: 63 ii 22 for A.D. 105, as well as the entry *calcem* in his index.

21 Jos., *BJ* 3.4.2 (64-66); 7.1.3. 17; cf. Keppie 1986: 419-20.

Hist. 2.7). Civil war then broke out, and on the 1st of July 69 Vespasian was proclaimed emperor in Alexandria by Tiberius Julius Alexander, the *praefectus Aegypti*, who had the Egyptian legions swear allegiance. Vespasian also had the immediate support of his own troops in Judaea, and only a few days later the Roman army in Syria followed suit (legions IIII Scythica, VI Ferrata, XII Fulminata, and auxiliaries: Tac., *Hist.* 2.79-81; cf. Millar 1993: 73-74). Vespasian set off to Egypt, his son Titus was left in charge in Judaea, and Licinius Mucianus, the governor of Syria, was sent marching towards Italy with VI Ferrata and a further 13,000 men detached from the other eastern legions (Tac., *Hist.* 2.83). IIII Scythica will also have contributed to Mucianus' forces with perhaps 1000 or 2000 men (Keppie 1986: 421; Saxer 1967: 19).

When Titus started the final attack on Jerusalem at the beginning of 70, he had with him not only the same 3 legions that had previously fought under his father but also XII Fulminata, 1000 men from each of the two legions in Egypt (III Cyrenaica and XX Deiotariana), and 3000 of the "guards from the Euphrates" (Jos., *BJ* 5.1.6 [41-43]). The latter must have been legionary soldiers, detached, at least in part, from IIII Scythica, as for a few months during early 70 IIII Scythica may have been the only legion in Syria (Ritterling 1925: 1560).²² Both the detachment of IIII Scythica under Mucianus and that under Titus fought with success.

The following years show IIII Scythica involved in some major building projects of Vespasian and Titus in Syria. In 73, soldiers of IIII Scythica may have participated, together with III Gallica, in the construction of a water-screw at Aini, only a few kilometers upstream from Arulis.²³ The most important project, however, was the development of traffic communications from and to the Syrian capital Antioch. For this purpose a canal of 3 miles length between the rivers Orontes and Karasu, as well as bridges leading over it, were built a few kilometers north of the city, thereby extending the navigability of the river.²⁴ The inscription commemorating the completion of this work in 75 lists soldiers of IIII Scythica among a work-force which seems to have been drawn from the entire military garrison of the province (Keppie 1986: 421). At the same time, at Seleucia Pieria canals and tunnels were cut into the side of Mount Coryphaeus over a distance of 1300 m, in order to divert a stream which used to silt up the city's harbour. Again, a detachment from IIII Scythica was employed. A Greek inscription indicates the section which the IIII Scythica detachment, led by the centurion Caesius Priscus, worked on (no. 28; cf. van Berchem 1985: 56-57). Some 80 years later, in 149, soldiers of IIII Scythica returned but this time probably only to clear the canal of the sand and rubble that had collected over the years (IGLS 3.1135, 1136, and van Berchem 1985: 59).

The next emperor known to have called upon IIII Scythica for campaigning was Trajan. During the First Dacian War the legion supplied a detachment of perhaps 1000 soldiers, which fought in 101-102 alongside troops under C. Julius Quadratus Bassus.²⁵ There is no evidence of the involvement of IIII Scythica in Trajan's Second Dacian War. At that time IIII Scythica may instead have been involved in the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom, orchestrated by

22 Millar 1993: 75-76. It is nevertheless possible that by the time Titus was forming his army legio VI Ferrata had returned from Italy together with the legionary detachments Mucianus had taken along in summer of 69. In this case some of the 3000 legionary "guards from the Euphrates" may also have been detached from VI Ferrata (Keppie 1986: 420-21). Technically, however, VI Ferrata was at this time no longer guarding the Euphrates (Jos., *BJ* 7.1.3 [17-18]).

23 AE 1903. 256 = ILS 8903 = IGLS 1: 66; cf. also AE 1903. 255. The names of the legions concerned have been erased but see the restorations of Wagner 1977: 521-22 and n.38 (cf. also Keppie, 1986: 423). The doubts recently expressed by French 1994a: 42 are not compelling as there is definitely enough room to restore IIII SC or even IIII SCY in line 8 (see French 1994a: pl. 6 on p. 40).

24 AE 1983. 927; cf. van Berchem 1985: 85; Millar 1993: 86-88.

25 Habicht 1969: 43-53, no. 21; cf. Strobel 1984: 65, 102-3. Franke 1991: 211-17; Piso 1993: 23-29, esp. 26-27 with n.18.

the governor of Syria in 106 (Cass. Dio 68.14.5).²⁶ Though it can be expected that detachments from Syrian legions took part in the latter, on the whole peaceful operation, there are no records that list the legions involved.²⁷ In October 113, Trajan himself came to the Near East to fight Parthia.²⁸ He had learned that the Parthians had installed a new king of Armenia without seeking Rome's approval, and he was not prepared to accept a Parthian client king. At the head of a large army Trajan marched into Armenia in 114, conquered it, and established a new Roman province (cf. *ILS* 1041 and 1338).²⁹ *Legio IIII Scythica* was part of his army and it fought with success, as is shown by the distinctions conferred upon one of its tribunes, Staius Maximus (*CIL* 3.10336 = *ILS* 1062).³⁰ When Trajan marched his troops further on into Parthia, *IIII Scythica* may have stayed behind to secure the Armenian capital Artaxata, as it is found there in 116 undertaking building work. Artaxata was perhaps to be its new garrison.³¹ After Trajan's death in 117, however, Hadrian withdrew the Roman forces, gave up the newly conquered provinces, and *IIII Scythica* returned to Zeugma.

From 132 to 135 Syria was troubled by the Jewish revolt of Bar Kochba. Though *IIII Scythica* may have taken part in the battles of those years, there is, as yet, no evidence that Hadrian sent the legion (or a detachment of its soldiers) against the Jewish rebels. After the death of Antoninus Pius in 161, the Parthian ruler once more installed a king of his own choice on the throne of Armenia without Rome's consent.³² Again, this meant war. After an initial defeat of the Roman governor of Cappadocia, Lucius Verus travelled to the Near East to conduct the campaign against Parthia from Antioch. The army was led to victory mainly by Avidius Cassius,³³ the commander of *legio III Gallica*, who was put in charge of the troops fighting against the Parthians in 163 or 164. Although there is no source to prove the participation of *IIII Scythica* in this war that lasted until 166, its geographical location makes it likely.

For the next 30 or so years, *IIII Scythica* seems not to have been involved in any major battles, and the soldiers' tasks were ones of peace-time routine. Throughout the empire one routine duty consisted of the maintenance of peace and security in a province. For this purpose soldiers were despatched to small outposts in settlements and along roads.³⁴ During the second half of the 2nd c. there are several inscriptions of soldiers from *IIII Scythica* who were sent to do such police duties in the region of the Ledja plateau (nos. 32-36; cf. Isaac 1992: 134-36). As the Ledja was notorious for banditry, it may well be that soldiers from Zeugma were despatched to the area at other times too. They were also probably sent to police other places in Syria (cf. no. 27 [Beroea/Aleppo]). Finally, some soldiers were sent to the Syrian capital to serve in the governor's staff (cf. no. 35). Back at Zeugma, soldiers of *IIII Scythica* were policing the city (Cass. Dio 78.40.1 = no. 3) where they may also have been involved in the safeguarding of the local customs office (cf. Philostr., *VA* 1.20 = chapt. 9 no. 28).

26 Cf. Bowersock 1983: 76-78; Strobel 1984: 103; Millar 1993: 93-95.

27 Speidel 1984: 229-72 for the Roman army in Arabia; cf. Freeman 1996. *IIII Scythica* may simply have guarded the Syrian frontier as there is nothing to show that a detachment of its soldiers actually moved to Arabia.

28 Lepper 1948; 1949; Mitford 1980: 1247-48; Lightfoot 1990.

29 The winter supplies for *IV Scythica*, *V Macedonica*, *VII Claudia p. f.*, and *I Italica* during this campaign (winter 113/114?; or, perhaps, during Lucius Verus' Parthian war?) were provided by the province of Galatia (or Bithynia?): Guey 1939: 56-57 = *AE* 1939. 132 = *SEG* XVIII: 554 = *TAM* V,2: 1143: - "[name / πρ]αγματευόμενος ἐν ἐπαρ[χείᾳ Γαλατίας] παραχειμαστικοῦς λεγ[ιώνων ἐ' Μα'κε]δονικῆς καὶ ζ' Κλ[αυδίας] Πιστῆς Ε[ύσεβοῦς / καὶ δ' Σκυτικῆς καὶ α' Ἰταλικῆς ..."

30 Cf. also the hitherto neglected fragmentary inscription (a senatorial or equestrian career?) *CIL* IX 3427: -] / leg. <I>*V Scyt(hica) in Ar[menia] ---*.

31 *AE* 1968. 510; Reynolds 1971: 141, pl. X; cf. Keppie 1986: 424 referring mistakenly to *AE* 1968: 571.

32 Birley 1987: 121-23, 128-30. Cf. Alföldy 1987: 213.

33 *PIR*² A 1402; Astarita 1983; Syme 1987: 207-9 = 1986: 689-91; Millar 1993: 115-17.

34 MacMullen 1963: 55-57; Le Bohec 1989a: 57; 1989b: 194; Davies 1989: 56-57, 175-85.

Homes and careers

After *legio III Scythica* was transferred to Syria, the origins of the legion's soldiers, as documented by inscriptions and papyri, changed. Whereas earlier the vast majority of the soldiers had been recruited in Italy, there is no evidence of a single soldier born in any part of the western empire being recruited to *III Scythica* during the 2nd and 3rd c. (cf. Appendix II.1). Most were now recruited in Syria and several in Asia Minor (Bithynia, Cappadocia, Cilicia).³⁵ A few centurions, however, continued to be recruited in Italy (with one in Gallia Lugdunensis and one in Macedonia) until the end of the 2nd c., but the majority of them originated, like the soldiers, from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Appendix II.2).

Tacitus claims (*Hist.* 2.80) that the soldiers of the Syrian legions in 69 regarded their camps as their homes and that many of them were bound to the local civilians by friendship and relationship. In the eyes of Tacitus such contact spoiled the Roman soldier: *inter paganos miles corruptior* (*Hist.* 1.53.14). Already in 58 Corbulo had found the soldiers of the Syrian legions spoiled by the influence of the long years of peace they had spent in the cities near their camps (*Tac., Ann.* 13.35). Fronto (*Princ. Hist.* 12 [= v.d.H. 196]) and Dio (75.12.3) concur with Tacitus' statement when writing about the 2nd c. The Syrian army[†] is therefore generally considered a low quality and ill-disciplined force by modern historians. The predominantly local recruitment, and the close neighbourhood of the legionary camp to the town of Zeugma may suggest that the soldiers of *III Scythica* were also viewed in this way. However, the remarks of Tacitus, Fronto, and Dio require documentary support, as similar such statements can also be found for the army in the West,³⁶ and because exaggerated descriptions may originate in the general dislike that the senatorial nobility had for the Roman soldier.³⁷

Parts of the answer can be found in the careers of centurions of *III Scythica* as recorded on inscriptions and papyri (cf. Appendix II.2). Centurions were the only professional officers in the Roman legions. Because of their experience of warfare and administration and their upkeep of discipline and of the standards of training, they are rightfully considered to have been the "backbone" of the Roman army.³⁸ The recorded careers, however, provide no clues of any lack of discipline. Former soldiers of the guard were appointed centurions in *III Scythica* to uphold high standards of training (nos. 15 and 63; cf. 64. For guards training the frontier armies: Speidel 1994a: 146-48), which was also guaranteed by the considerable number of centurions from western legions that were transferred to *III Scythica* throughout the 2nd and 3rd c. (nos. 44, 49, 53, 62, 64, 72, 74?). Training and discipline in *III Scythica* must have been comparable to those of the western legions, as centurions of *III Scythica* were regularly entrusted with centurionates in legions in the west (nos. 30, 39, 49, 51, 52; cf. 54, 55, 62). Even centurions who had started their officers' careers in *III Scythica* or in another eastern legion could obtain a centurionate in a western legion (nos. 30, 39, 51, 52, 54, 55). The only centurion known to have spent his entire career in the East seems to have been a specialist of the eastern military borders, as he was entrusted with several special commands on the Syrian frontier (no. 31). Only once, during the Jewish revolt of Bar Kochba, was *III Scythica* possibly not trained to the expected standard, as a centurion from Britain seems to have been transferred to *III Scythica* on that occasion (no. 64). However, this is not certain, as Hadrian had called in his most capable generals to deal with the rebels, and the centurion from Britain was a former guardsman, well acquainted with

35 In A.D. 69 *legio III Gallica*, too, had large numbers of locally recruited soldiers: *Tac., Hist.* 3.24; cf. *Jos. BJ* 4.38 with 6.54 and 6.81. For the importance of Asia Minor as a recruiting field: Speidel 1984: 45-47, 283-85; 1992: 180-82, 198-200; Forni 1992: 11-13; French 1983.

36 E.g. *Tac., Hist.* 1.53, 4.36, 4.65; *HA, Hadr.* 10.4.

37 See now Wheeler 1996 opposing this view and citing the wealth of ancient and modern sources on the subject. Cf. in general also M. A. Speidel 1995.

38 Cf. E. Birley 1988: 189-91, 206-8; Speidel 1992a: 124-26; Breeze and Dobson 1993: 88-89, 143-45, 201-3.

the latest techniques and developments of Roman warfare. He would have been an asset to any legion, and he was returned to Britain shortly afterwards, perhaps because of renewed warfare there towards the end of Hadrian's reign. In any event, there is no need to judge his transfer to *III Scythica* as a sign that the legion lacked combat readiness. On the whole, the recorded careers of centurions of *III Scythica* do not suggest that the legion differed much from any other legion as far as standards of training and the soldiers' military discipline were concerned.

At Dura-Europos

Lucian of Samosata, in his satire *How history should be written* (written in 166), refers several times (20, 24, 28) to a major battle at Dura-Europos during Lucius Verus' Parthian War.³⁹ It was in this war that Dura-Europos was seized and permanently occupied by Roman troops, after it had been temporarily held during Trajan's Parthian War in c.116. Gilliam has divided the history of the Roman garrison of Dura into three periods: from c.165 to c.208, 208 to 217, and 217 to 256, in which year the city was taken and destroyed by Shapur I.⁴⁰ During the period following the Roman conquest (165-208), the garrison appears to have been comparatively small (Gilliam 1986: 209). The troops known to have been stationed at Dura in those years were a body of irregular Palmyrene archers, probably part of the municipal militia of Palmyra (Gilliam 1986: 209) and *cohors II Ulpia equitata civium Romanorum sagittariorum*, whose presence is, however, attested only in 193 (Speidel 1993a: 109-114) and 194 (Gilliam 1986: 210; cf. below no. 14). There is, nevertheless, reason to believe that *cohors II Ulpia equitata*, which had fought in Verus' Parthian War,⁴¹ was in garrison at Dura from the end of that war (Marichal 1977: 6; no. 14 below).⁴² Both the archers and the cohort were at some time, probably during the early years of the Roman garrison, under the interim command of a centurion of *III Scythica*, acting as *praepositus numerorum*, who was at the time the local commander of the Roman forces at Dura (no. 14). *III Scythica* may also have had a small detachment or an outpost at Dura during the first period of its Roman occupation, as can be concluded from the gravestone of one of the legion's centurions (no. 15). The known evidence seems to suggest a leading rôle for *III Scythica* among the troops stationed at Dura-Europos during the first period of Roman occupation.

In c.208, the beginning of Gilliam's second period of the Roman garrison at Dura-Europos, the city's military quarter was enlarged. Increased building activities, in which soldiers of *III Scythica* were involved, marked the arrival of new troops. The permanent garrison now consisted of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* and at least two legionary vexillations, one of which was sent from Zeugma's *III Scythica*.⁴³ From Zeugma also came a group of actors and actresses (cf. below p. 182 and chapt. 9 no. 68). They appear to have been popular with *III Scythica*'s soldiers at both garrison places. Dura's garrison does not seem to have become smaller during the last period of Roman occupation (217-256) (Gilliam 1986: 210), and detachments of *III Scythica* are known to have been stationed there in 209/211, in 211, 216, 254, and possibly also in 222 (nos. 16.1 and 2, 17, 19, 25; cf. nos. 18, 22, 24). The considerable number of documents mentioning *III Scythica* at Dura (nos. 14-25) and their chronological distribution indicate that a vexillation from that legion was permanently stationed at this, Rome's most advanced base in the East since c.208 (Gilliam 1986: 208). This is supported by the fact that soldiers of *III Scythica* married local women (no. 25). At times, the detachment may have numbered c.300

39 On Lucian: Homeyer 1965; Jones 1986: esp. chapt. 6; cf. Millar 1993: 112-14, 245-47, 454-56.

40 Gilliam 1986: 207-12; cf. Marichal 1977: 5-6; Speidel 1984: 209.

41 *CIL* 3.600 = *ILS* 2724; cf. Saxer 1967: 34, no. 64; *PME* V 17.

42 Millar 1993: 451, and esp. 467 assumes, however, that regular Roman auxiliary forces were not garrisoned at Dura before the 180s or 190s, and that before that time the Palmyrene archers were the only troops there. This, however, does not seem convincing.

43 Gilliam 1986: 210; cf. below nos 16, 17, and Saxer 1967: 95-96, nos 284-88.

soldiers, for whom the administration was dealt with locally by a *librarius* and 4 *adiutores* (no. 19). The centurion in charge (*centurio princeps*) of the legion's detachment at Dura (nos. 16, 17; cf. 14) may have been the overall local commander or senior officer⁴⁴ before the arrival of the *Dux Ripae* under Elagabalus or Severus Alexander (Gilliam 1986: 23-25, 208-209). *Legio III Scythica* may even have supplied interim commanders for *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, as it had earlier for *cohors II Ulpia equitata*,⁴⁵ and certainly soldiers of that cohort were occasionally transferred to *III Scythica* (no. 24 [A.D. 219]).

Wars with and against Severan emperors

Septimius Severus was not the preferred candidate of *III Scythica* during the civil war of 193/194, even though he had commanded the legion at Zeugma only c.15 years earlier (HA *Sev.* 3.6; cf. Reed 1975: 633-35): the soldiers chose to support their current governor, Pescennius Niger.⁴⁶ Niger and his army, however, were defeated at Nicaea in December 193 (Cass. Dio 74.6.4-6; Hdn. 3.2.10), and finally in spring 194 at Issos.⁴⁷ Niger was killed, but Severus chose not to punish the soldiers who had fought for Niger. Instead, he divided Syria into two new provinces: consular Syria Coele with *III Scythica* and *XVI Flavia Firma* in the north, and Syria Phoenice with *III Gallica* in the south, governed by that legion's commander (A. R. Birley 1988: 114; Millar 1993: 121-23). In spring 195, he led the army across the Euphrates, presumably at Zeugma, into war in Mesopotamia, "out of a desire for glory", as Dio reports (75.1.1), but also to allow the soldiers of the eastern army to fight side by side with the Severan legions and to give them a chance to make up for their mistake in supporting Niger (cf. A. R. Birley 1988: 115). The campaign, the *expeditio felicissima Mesopotamena*, was a success (ILS 9098; cf. Speidel 1992: 218-23): the army "laid waste the land of the barbarians and took their towns" (Cass. Dio 75.2.3). As a result of this First Parthian War, the eastern military border of the empire lay on the banks of the Tigris, and parts of *III Scythica* may have been moved out of Zeugma to guard the new eastern frontier (cf. A. R. Birley 1988: 115-17).⁴⁸

After Septimius Severus had successfully dealt with his other rival, Clodius Albinus, in 197, he was forced to return to the Near East by a Parthian counter-attack on the newly conquered territory of Mesopotamia, which ignited the Second Parthian War (A. R. Birley 1988: 201-3). Again, Zeugma was to become an important base for the campaigns across the Euphrates (Wagner 1977: 524-26, 529, 532). The Roman army was led to victory and even took the Parthian capital, Ctesiphon, on 28 January 198, the hundredth anniversary of Trajan's accession (A. R. Birley 1988: 202). Yet, one major obstacle remained: the desert city of Hatra, midway between Tigris and Euphrates, which was assaulted twice.⁴⁹ Trajan had failed to take it (Cass. Dio 68.31) and its ruler, Barsemius, had supported Niger (Hdn. 3.1.3; 3.9.1). Hatra, therefore, had to fall. A recently proposed reading of an inscription found at Dura-Europos and a passage by Cassius Dio can be taken to suggest that soldiers of the units based at Dura-Europos may have formed the élite crack troops at the siege of Hatra.⁵⁰ According to this view, these soldiers were colloquially called "Europeans", numbered 550, and appear to have been a task force

44 E. Birley 1988: 74-75, 211; cf. Marichal 1977: 6; Speidel 1992a: 255.

45 Possibly Fink 1971: 50 = *ChLA* VII 344, col. i 7 and 13, col. ii 7: Ael. Avitus, 7 *leg. praepos. coh.* Cf. E. Birley 1988: 227-28, and below no. 14.

46 Hdn. 2.8.6. Cf. Ritterling 1925: 1561; *PIR* S 346, and esp. A. R. Birley 1988: 68-70, 108-10.

47 Cass. Dio. 74.7.1-8; Hdn. 3.4.1-5. cf. A. R. Birley 1988: 110-12.

48 *Provincia Osrhoene* was created in 195; Wagner 1983: esp. 110-12; *Mesopotamia*, however, was probably made a province only in 198, i.e. after Septimius Severus' Second Parthian war: Kennedy 1979; Birley 1988: 132; Speidel 1992: 223. But Roman troops were left in Mesopotamia in 196 under the equestrian L. Valerius Valerianus (?): Dio 75.3.2, and Speidel 1992: 218-23.

49 Cass. Dio 75.10.1; 75.11-12; cf. A. R. Birley 1988: 130-32.

50 Cass. Dio 75.12.3-5; Speidel 1984: 301-9.

comprising soldiers of all units and detachments stationed at Dura, hence including soldiers of *III Scythica*. However, this understanding has been challenged with the argument that the soldiers referred to by Dio were simply detached from units based in Europe (Kennedy 1986; Campbell 1986). The same passage of Dio refers to Syrians in the army besieging Hatra, as opposed to the above mentioned "Europaeans". These Syrian soldiers, however, were of inferior quality (or, perhaps, not equally well equipped or trained for sieges), and when they were sent in because the "Europaeans" refused to continue to attack, they were miserably destroyed. Hence, whatever the correct understanding of Dio's "Europaeans", there is good reason to believe that soldiers of *III Scythica* took part in the siege of Hatra.⁵¹ In any event, the siege was a failure, though it seems to have ended with a diplomatic victory for Septimius Severus.⁵²

During the war, in 197, a detachment of *III Scythica* is found building a fort (*castellum*) at Eski Hisar on the road connecting Zeugma and Samosata through the province of Osrhoene on the east bank of the Euphrates.⁵³ Soldiers of *III Scythica* may have served at this outpost to guard the direct road between the two cities. During the last years of the 2nd c., stamped tiles of *III Scythica* also show the legion to have built a bridge over the Karasu, half-way between Zeugma and Samosata, thereby improving the road connection on the west bank of the Euphrates between these two cities (Wagner 1977: 520-21; cf. pp. 133-35 above). These construction works must have been part of Septimius Severus' systematic program of road repairs and improvements, which were carried out mainly in 198 in several parts of Asia Minor and Syria (Wagner 1986: 110).

In 216 Caracalla, obsessed with Alexander the Great, mounted his own Parthian War and took the Roman army beyond the Tigris.⁵⁴ He was hoping to take advantage of an internal Parthian conflict. Again, Zeugma became an important base (Wagner 1977: 524). Its fully established infrastructure and food provisions were offered to detachments of the Pannonian legions *I* and *II Adiutrix*, *X* and possibly also *XIII Gemina*, during the winters of 215-218 (cf. Speidel 1992a: 212-17).⁵⁵ Perhaps there was free space in the legionary camp at Zeugma, if indeed parts of *III Scythica* had been moved further east after 195 (Speidel 1992a: 215). The Dura-Europos detachment of *III Scythica* seems to have remained in its camp during Caracalla's Parthian War (no. 17), but other parts of the legion may well have participated (no. 57). When Caracalla was murdered in 217 by a soldier of his own bodyguard (Cass. Dio 78.4.1-3; cf. Speidel 1994a: 65), little had been achieved (Cass. Dio 78.1.1-3). The Praetorian Prefect Macrinus, who had instigated the murder and then become emperor himself, was defeated by the Parthians in 217 and made an ignominious peace on payment of a large sum (Cass. Dio 78.26.2-27.3).

Macrinus, however, did not last. He lost the support of the army and was defeated near Antioch by Elagabalus in 218 (cf. no. 57). Macrinus' son and co-emperor was captured soon after at Zeugma by the centurion Claudius Pollio, probably of *III Scythica* (no. 3). Only a year later, in 219, Elagabalus nearly met the same fate. The very legion that had proclaimed him emperor, *III Gallica*, now tried to install its new commander on the throne. *III Scythica* did the same by promoting its own legate, Gellius Maximus. The revolt was quickly suppressed, as was a second attempt not much later (Cass. Dio 79.7.1 and 3; cf. Ritterling 1925: 1561). *Legio III Gallica* was disbanded, and its names were erased from public monuments. Elagabalus may have ordered the same punishment for *III Scythica*.⁵⁶ However, this was not the end of either

51 But cf. above p. 171 f on *III Scythica*'s military quality and on Dio's and other such statements concerning the low quality of the eastern soldiers.

52 Campbell 1986: 54; A. R. Birley 1988: 133.

53 Wagner 1983: 112-13 = *AE* 1984. 917 (tile-stamp), 918 (building inscription).

54 Cf. A. R. Birley 1988: 190, 194; Millar 1993: 144.

55 For another soldier who died on vexillation duty while near Zeugma, cf. Cumont 1917: 324, no. 22 = *IGLS* I, 82, for which see Speidel 1984: 276 with improved readings.

56 The erasures can be seen on several monuments of *III Gallica* (cf. Ritterling 1925: 1525-27) but only on

legion. Elagabalus was murdered at Rome in 218, and Severus Alexander, Elagabalus' younger cousin, restored both legions again.⁵⁷

Fighting Persia

In 218 Severus Alexander marched eastwards, but he was to face a new and far more dangerous enemy. In the mid-210's the former Parthian rulers had been overthrown and replaced by a new Persian dynasty. The Persians soon began to raid Roman Mesopotamia and to threaten Syria. Alexander's initial diplomacy did not work, and when further negotiations failed the emperor finally attacked.⁵⁸ His army was divided into three groups, one entering Armenia in the north, a central one led by the emperor into northern Mesopotamia, and a southern attack column marching down the Euphrates. It was with this southern group that a detachment of III Scythica under their prefect marched and fought. Yet, although the war itself was successfully concluded (cf. Millar 1993: 149-50), this southern group was defeated and destroyed. The death of III Scythica's prefect was commemorated at Dura-Europos (no. 18).

Only a few years later, in 219, the Persians attacked again, and it was again the area around Dura that had to suffer (Millar 1993: 132, 150-52). There is no evidence of soldiers of III Scythica fighting in Gordian III's counter-attack in 224. Nevertheless, that may well have been the case. Gordian, however, was defeated and killed, and his successor Philip the Arab made peace and departed for Italy (chronology in Trout 1989: 221-23). What followed seems to have been some years of peace, until the Persians, now under Shapur I, invaded yet again in 234 (Balty 1987: 237-39). During this major Persian raid, Dura-Europos may have temporarily fallen into their hands.⁵⁹ If so, Rome soon took it back, and in 234 the Dura detachment of III Scythica is again attested in its old camp (no. 25). Two or three years later, in 236/7, the Persians returned, captured and destroyed the city.⁶⁰ That was the end of Roman Dura-Europos.

The final move

The Persian attack that led to the destruction of Dura-Europos may have been the result of no more than a minor conflict, for Shapur I's last and greatest invasion of the empire took place only in 260. It was devastating for Rome (Kettenhofen 1982: 97-99). The Persian raid reached far into Cilicia and Cappadocia, and even Antioch seems to have been taken (Millar 1993: 165-67). Yet worst of all the emperor Valerian himself was captured.⁶¹ III Scythica's rôle in this or in any of the many following battles with Persia remains unknown, as indeed does, for some years, the legion's place of garrison.

During the great Persian raid of 234 under Shapur I, Zeugma too was taken and destroyed.⁶² Until that date, soldiers of III Scythica were stationed there, as coins with the capricorn, the legion's emblem, minted at Zeugma up to 249, suggest (Wagner 1977: 532; chapt. 9 above, no. 56, 64-66). After that date there are no sources that reveal the whereabouts of the garrison-place of III Scythica, until the late 4th c. when the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. 33.23) lists its headquarters several hundred kilometres further to the southeast: *Praefectus legionis quartae Scy-*

one of III Scythica (Wagner 1977: 522 with n.38). This may indicate that the measures against the legion at Zeugma might have been taken only late in Elagabalus' reign and that they were not consequently applied.

57 Ritterling 1925: 1527-28; Wagner 1977: 522.

58 Cass. Dio 80.3.1-3; Hdn. 6.2.1-3; Millar 1993: 149-51.

59 Balty 1987: 237-39; MacDonald 1986: 45-47.

60 Gilliam 1986: 207-12; Marichal 1977: 5-6; Speidel 1984: 301-3; Balty 1987: 237-39; MacDonald 1986.

61 Kettenhofen 1982: 97-99; Speidel 1994a: 71-72.

62 *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* 14 = chapt. 9 no. 69; cf. Honigsmann and Maricq 1952: 11-13. For the date of Shapur's second attack, 252, see Balty 1987: 237-39.

thicae, *Oresa* (= Tayibeh). When exactly the legion was moved away from the Euphrates is not certain. Zeugma may have lost some of its importance as a military base, first after Lucius Verus' establishment of bases in NW Mesopotamia, then after Septimius Severus' First Parthian War, when the frontier was moved to the Tigris (Wagner 1977: 532; Kennedy 1987; cf. above p. 173 f). Therefore, *III Scythica* may have moved out of the destroyed city in 252 "to an area which was better suited for preventing barbarian raids".⁶³ However, it is also possible that *III Scythica* did not completely give up its camp on the Euphrates for some years after the Persian raid of 252. The legion may instead have quit its camp at Zeugma only after Diocletian's re-organisation and fortification of the eastern frontier in 298/299-301.⁶⁴ In any event, it was during those years at the latest that the headquarters of *III Scythica* was moved to Oresa, where it will have remained throughout the 4th c.⁶⁵ That century, however, has not left a single trace of the legion's history, and the entry in the *Notitia Dignitatum* which lists it under the command of the *Dux Syriae* at the end of the 4th c. is the last we hear of the legion.

APPENDIX I: SOURCES MENTIONING INDIVIDUAL SOLDIERS

SYRIA⁶⁶

1. Zeugma. — AE 1977. 822 = Wagner 1976: 135-36, no. 4 and pl. 25c = Speidel 1992a: 216.

---]/ [---]ΙΝΤΕ[---]/ [---] leg(ionis) III Sc[y(thicae) ---]/
[---]us Cesi[---]/ [---] dup]licari[us ---]/ [---].

1. Probably the name of the deceased. -]INTO[- (Wagner) and [T]into[r]io] (AE) can be excluded, for the remains of the last letter do not fit an O. — 3. Remains of the dedicant's names: [---]us Cesi[anus?] (Wagner, referring to another, or perhaps the same, dedicant in Zeugma bearing the name Aelius Cesianus [AE 1977. 819]) — 4. The photograph in Wagner 1976: pl. 25c only shows the letters ICA.

This fragment of a soldier's gravestone was found by Wagner in 1972 in the W necropolis (Karatepe) of Zeugma. According to him (1976: 147-48), this find site may suggest a date in the 3rd c. If Wagner's reading in line 4 is correct, this gravestone cannot date earlier than the Severan period, as *duplicarii* in the legions are not attested before that time (cf. Speidel 1992a: 214, 216). The deceased was a member of *III Scythica*, whereas the dedicant, a soldier receiving double pay or rations (Veg. 2.7; cf. Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 70), may have served in the same legion or in another unit, which was, at least temporarily, also stationed at Zeugma.

2. Zeugma — Wagner 1976: 165, 246-47, no. 127 = *Bull. Ép.* 1977: 461 no. 531 = Appendix III.

Φλά(ουιος) Τηλέγονος / λειβράρις / χάρει.

This carved stele from Belkis – hence probably from Zeugma's E necropolis (cf. Wagner 1976: 147) – shows the portraits of a married couple in an upper niche, and the portrait of their son in a lower one. The letters Tau and Pi carved below the father's image may read Τ(ηλεγόνου) π(ατῆρ) (Appendix III). The word λειβράρις, taken for a name by Wagner and for an indication of his profession by L. Robert (*Bull. Ép.*), has now been attributed by M. P. Speidel as Telegonus' military rank (Appendix III), for the deceased is shown in

63 Such measures had also been taken by Severus Alexander, according to Hdn. 6.4.7.

64 During the later 4th c., perhaps between the civil wars of 351 to 353 and the end of the century, an élite cavalry unit is attested at Zeugma: (*equites scutarii*) *Aureliaci*: Speidel 1984: 401-3 on AE 1977. 818. For Diocletian's reorganisation and fortification of the eastern frontier see Amm. Marc. 23.5.2: *Diocletianus ... cum in ipsis barbarorum confiniis interiores limites ordinaret ...*; compare Zonaras 1.34.1, and Malalas 308. Cf. also van Berchem 1952: 3-4, and esp. 26-27; Jones 1964: 56-57; Hoffmann 1969: 232-33 with n.225, and 410-12, as well as the map "Kleinasien und Orient" at the end of vol. 2; Lewin 1990: esp. 148; Millar 1993: 180-82.

65 Ritterling 1925: 1561; Wagner 1977: 532; van Berchem 1952: 3-4; 26-27; Hoffmann 1969: 232-33, 410-12; Lewin 1990: 148; Millar 1993: 180-82. For the remains of Oresa/Tayibeh: Kennedy and Riley 1990: 137.

66 See also Appendix IV below.

army uniform of the 2nd and 3rd c., wearing the *sagum* or *chlamys* held together by a *fibula* over his right shoulder. His unit is not mentioned as *III Scythica* was the only military unit at Zeugma. Telegonus' parents who gave their son this fine gravestone obviously lived in Zeugma and belonged to the city's wealthier inhabitants. The stele has been dated on stylistic grounds, mainly Telegonus' oval face, to the late Severan period (Wagner 1976: 165, cf. also 147).

3. — Cass. Dio 78.40.1.

ἐνταῦθα δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐαλώκει (διὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ζεύγατος αὐτόν, δι' οὗ πρότερον διῶν Καῖσαρ ἀπεδέδεικτο, διελαύνοντα Κλαύδιος Πολλίων ὁ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἑκατόνταρχος συνέλαβεν) ...

In June 218, having been defeated by Elagabalus and arrested in Chalcedon (Bithynia), Macrinus learned that his son Diadumenianus had been captured by Claudius Pollio, a centurion of the local legion, while riding through Zeugma. Hence Pollio is most likely to have been a centurion of *III Scythica* (cf. also no. 29). If the centurion Claudius Pollio is identical with Claudius Pollio in Cass. Dio 79.2.4 and 3.1 he was rewarded by Elagabal with the rank of *consularis* and promoted to the governorships of Pontus-Bithynia and Germania Superior (cf. Eck 1985: 89).

4. Arulis. — AE 1908. 25 = Cumont 1917: 325-26, no. 24 = IGLS 1.68 = Saxer 1967: 282 = Speidel 1984: 275.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), Silvano/ conservatori/ Soli Devino/
legeoni[s] (sic) III Scy(thicae) signif(eri)/ Iul(ius) Aretinus, Iul(ius)
Severu(s),/ Rabil(ius) Beliabus, tubic(en)/ Dec(imius) Cilician(us),
m(erito) l(ibentes) v(otum) solv(erunt).

7. *de centuria Ciliciani* (all editions prior to Speidel).

This dedication to Jupiter, Silvanus (cf. no. 7) and Sol dates from the second half of the 2nd or from the 3rd c. It was inscribed on the western wall of the main quarries of Arulis (Ehneş) by 3 *signiferi* and a *tubicen* who were sent to work there (cf. also the following texts, as well as the very fragmentary inscriptions IGLS 1.74, 76, 79, 80, 81). The *signiferi* were probably mainly concerned with writing and book-keeping (cf. Veg. 2.20; ILS 2415; AE 1957. 341; Speidel 1984: 329-31; 1992a: 140, 237), whereas the *tubicen* was responsible for sounding signals indicating the hours as well as perhaps for further administration (for other *signiferi* at Arulis, see below nos. 6, 9). Their dedication reveals their common duty at Arulis and a certain team-spirit amongst the standard-bearers and the trumpeters of this legion during their work in the quarries (cf. Speidel 1984: 3-43 on both ranks. For trumpeters and standard-bearers on common duty, see, e.g., Fink 1971: 50 [watch at the standards], for trumpeters with detachments: CIL 3.7449 = Saxer 1967: no. 265). The unusual spelling *legeonis* may hint at the writer's Greek mother tongue. Rabilius Beliabus seems to have been of Syrian origin, as his *cognomen* appears to be Semitic (Forni 1992: 126). Decimus Cilicianus' *cognomen* may point to his origin in Cilicia (Forni 1992: 104, 126).

5. Arulis. — AE 1908. 26 = Cumont 1917: 327, no. 27 = IGLS 1.69 = Saxer 1967: no. 280.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) et Silva/no M. Ulpius/ Proculei[a]nus /
[7(centurio) I]leg(ionis) III Scy(thicae) v/[e]xillationis/ [---]vot[um] (?)
l(ibens) s(olvit)/ h(oc) l(oco).

4. [I]leg(ionis) (all editions as yet). — 6. [---]VM (ditto).

This dedication to Jupiter and Silvanus by M. Ulpius Proculeianus, inscribed on the base of a statue, was found next to the preceding inscription (no. 4). Proculeianus appears to have been the leader of a detachment of *III Scythica* in the quarries at Arulis, though his rank is missing at the beginning of line 4. Ritterling (1925: 1564) suggested he may have been a centurion, which is very likely, as centurions were often put in charge of detachments with such tasks (Saxer 1967: 129). *Signiferi* could also lead detachments of *III Scythica* at Arulis (cf. nos. 6, 9, as well as Saxer 1967: 129) but there is not enough space to restore *signif.* or *sig.* in line 4 (cf. Cumont 1917: 327 [drawing]). The names of M. Ulpius Proculeianus reveal Trajan's reign as the period in which he (or one of his ancestors) received Roman citizenship.

6. Arulis. — CIL 3.14396b = Cumont 1917: 327-28, no. 29 = IGLS 1.77 = Saxer 1967: no. 279.

---]/ sig(nifer) leg(ionis) [III]/ Scy(thicae) cum vexillo.

This fragmentary inscription was found on the remains of a statue base in a niche carved into the wall of one of the quarries at Arulis. The missing lines will have mentioned the deity concerned as well as the name of the dedicant. *Vexillum* is used here as a synonym for *vexillatio* (cf. ILS 2324), hence the *signifer* of *III Scythica* was leading the detachment (cf. Saxer 1967: 129).

7. Arulis. — AE 1908. 24 = Cumont 1917: 325, no. 23 = IGLS 1.67.

Aur(elius) Carus Silvano.

This dedication to Silvanus, the protector-god of those working in the quarries (von Domaszewski 1909: 58-85; Cumont 1917: 163-65; M. A. Speidel 1994: 211; Dorcey 1992: 25, 62, 68 and 89), is inscribed on the N wall of the main quarry at Arulis. As the inscription is written in Latin, the Roman army's official language, and as there are no other units attested in Arulis, Aurelius Carus was probably a soldier of *III Scythica*. His missing *praenomen* and his imperial family name, *Aurelius*, point to a date in the late 2nd or 3rd c.

8. Arulis. — AE 1908. 27 = Cumont 1917: 327, no. 28 = IGLS 1.70 = Saxer 1967: no. 281.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Silv/ano vexill(arii) / [l(egionis)
IV S]cy(thicae) 7 (centuria) Marciani/ [...]VTE[.]N.

2. *vexill(atio)*: (Saxer). — 3. ... *Marciani*: (Cumont); [---]um *Marciani*: (IGLS, Saxer). The letters -*um*, however, make no sense and are not warranted by Cumont's drawing of the inscription.

This dedication to Jupiter and Silvanus (cf. no. 7) was found inscribed on the N wall of the main quarry, to the left of no. 5. If the proposed restoration is correct, the inscription was engraved by detached soldiers of *III Scythica* of the century of Marcianus (cf. nos. 11, 12). *Vexillarii* are perhaps also mentioned in another wall inscription at Arulis (no. 9).

9. Arulis. — CIL 3.14396a = IGLS 1.78 = Saxer 1967: no. 283.

Vexill[arii?---]/ A+AIE[---]/ [---] / sig[nifer? ---]/ S [---].

1. *vexill(atio)* ---: (Saxer).

The soldiers mentioned in this inscription, which was found in the quarries at Arulis, will have belonged to *III Scythica* (cf. no. 7). Saxer (1967: 129) understood this standard-bearer to have been in charge of a detachment of *III Scythica* at Arulis (cf. above no. 4 and esp. no. 6). This, though possible, is by no means certain. For further *vexillarii* at Arulis, cf. no. 8.

10. Arulis. — Cumont 1917: 326, no. 25 = IGLS 1.75.

---]/ [---] M [---/ ---/ ---] / AV[---]CI[---/ ---]assus
f(aciendum) c(uravit).

6. *B]assus* or *Cr]assus* (IGLS).

This very fragmentary inscription was found on the W wall of the main quarry at Arulis, above and to the left of no. 4. The man responsible for engraving it was probably a soldier of *III Scythica* (cf. no. 7).

11. Arulis. — AE 1908. 28 = Cumont 1917: 328, no. 30 = IGLS 1.71.

C. Licinnius (sic) Iulianus/ 7(centuria) Probi scripsit. Va/lian<t> (sic)
domini mei co<m>/militones apot (sic)/ Silvano (sic) semper.

2ff. *Valiant* etc.: According to Cumont these lines were written by a different hand. This judgement, however, is not warranted by his drawing (cf. also below). — 3. The letter T is missing as it was not pronounced before words beginning with D in spoken Latin (Cumont, IGLS). The letter D is written Δ.— 4./5. *apot Silvano* = *apud Silvanum*.

These lines were found inscribed on a large slab which was re-used as a wall in the court of a private house in Ehneş. This house may have been built on the remains of a sanctuary dedicated to the god Silvanus (IGLS). C. Licinius Iulianus, a soldier in the century of Probus, wished his fellow soldiers lasting good health by Silvanus, the protector-god of the quarry workers (cf. no. 7). *Dominus* in this context is no more than a polite address (cf. IGLS and esp. Bowman and Thomas 1994: nos. 247, 248, 252, 255, 260, 289, 295, 306 [cf. also no. 345] for the address *domine frater* between *collegae*, i.e. men of equal rank. The words *dominus* and *commilito* in immediate succession also appear on a fragmentary letter from Vindolanda: Bowman and Thomas 1994: no. 318). *Dominus* is the Latin equivalent to Greek κύριος (LSJ 1013, s.v. κύριος, B 1 b), and by no means necessarily indicates a slave-writer (as Cumont suggested for the second sentence). The inscription may date to the (1st or) 2nd c.

12. Arulis. — Cumont 1917: 328, no. 31 = IGLS 1.72.

C. Verginius/ Proculus 7(centuria) Kari (sic).

This inscription was found on the same slab as no. 11.

13. Arulis. — Cumont 1917: 328, no. 32 = IGLS 1.73.

C. Iul(ius) I(-)?/ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).

1. Alternatively: C. Iuli(us) / ... (Cumont, IGLS).

This inscription was found on the same slab as no. 11.

14. Dura-Europos. — Hopkins 1931: 83, no. 1 = AE 1931. 113.

---]/ [---]CES[---]/ [7(centurio) leg(ionis) II]II Scyt(hicae) [pra]epositus/
[nu]merorum campo ad/ampliato templum ex/truxit cum statua pe[r]/
coh(ortem) II Ulp(iam) eq(uitatam) civium Roma/norum sagittariorum.

1. Probably: *Ces[tus]* the dedicant's cognomen. *CTES[...]* (AE). 2. *Scythicae* (AE); *[prae]positus* (AE).

The altar bearing this inscription was found in a little Roman temple at Dura-Europos. The missing opening lines will have revealed the god or goddess to whom it was dedicated (the *Campestres*? cf. Davies 1989: 94, and below), as well as the name of the dedicant (Cestus?), a centurion of III Scythica (cf. *RE Suppl.* VII: 160, where the centurion in question is identified as a *primus pilus*). This officer was in command of the various units stationed at Dura (cf. Marichal 1977: 6 and above p. 172 f). The plural *numerorum* indicates that there was, besides *cohors II Ulpia equitata civium Romanorum sagittariorum*, at least (part of) one other unit in garrison at Dura at the time (Gilliam 1986: 210). Unfortunately, the vagueness of the term *numerus* does not even reveal the type of unit(s) concerned, but there is evidence of irregular Palmyrene archers at Dura in this period (Gilliam 1986: 209-11; for *numerus* meaning any unit or part thereof see Speidel 1984: 98-99, 119-21, 199, 330; 1992a: 68-69, 88, 112, 147, 205). The centurion of III Scythica, interim commander of *cohors II Ulpia equitata* (as is revealed by his title *praepositus*: cf. Birley 1988: 221-23), ordered the soldiers under his command to enlarge the training grounds, *campus*, of Dura-Europos and, finally, he had the soldiers of *cohors II Ulpia* build a temple and furbish it with a statue. (On the training-grounds of the Roman army, cf. Davies 1989: 93-124, where AE 1931. 113 is referred to on p. 94). The rebuilding of forts, as well as of training and parade-grounds, was a typical activity of new garrisons (cf. Speidel 1984: 167-69 with commentary on AE 1933. 214, a very similar text from Palmyra). As to the exact date of the inscription, all we can be certain of is that *cohors II Ulpia equitata* was well established at Dura-Europos in 192 (Speidel 1993: 109-14, esp. 110-11), and in 194 (AE 1934. 280). This unit had been raised by Trajan for his Parthian War, and was part of the Syrian army in 156/7 (CIL 16.106 = ILS 9057). In 163-166 it took part in Verus' Parthian expedition (CIL 3.600 = ILS 2724; cf. Gilliam 1986: 209-11; Saxer 1967: 34; Marichal 1977: 5-6), in the course of which Dura-Europos was seized and became part of the new Roman frontier defences. Only after Verus' Parthian expedition did *cohors II Ulpia equitata* receive the honour of bearing the title *civium Romanorum* (Marichal 1977: 5), instanced for the first time on the above altar. The obvious pride with which it spelt that title out in full suggests a date not long after 166. To conclude, the above inscription suggests that the first garrison at Dura-Europos, established perhaps shortly after 166, consisted of *cohors II Ulpia equitata* and of (parts of?) one or more other units (= *numeri*). If this is correct, the inscription is proof that a centurion of III Scythica took interim command of the whole Roman garrison at Dura at some time during the early stage of its existence.

15. Dura-Europos. — AE 1929. 181 = Speidel 1992a: 129-30.

[D(is) M(anibus)]/ C. Iul(io) Rufino,/ q(uondam) 7(centurioni)
leg(ionis) III Scyt(hicae),/ Caes(ius) Domiti/anus, 7(centurio), a[m]i
opt(imo) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

1. [D. M.] (Speidel). — 5. 7(centurio): (idem).

This gravestone of C. Iulius Rufinus, a former centurion of III Scythica, was set up by his fellow centurion and friend Caesius Domitianus at Dura-Europos. Both must have been stationed at Dura, as soldiers' gravestones, away from their home towns, were normally set up only where the deceased had served for some time (compare Speidel 1994a: 51, 62-63). This implies that III Scythica had a (small?) detachment or at least an outpost at Dura at the time Rufinus and Domitianus were stationed there. The inscription may be dated, on general grounds, to the second half of the 2nd c. rather than to the 3rd c. An inscription in the empire's capital (CIL 6.2379 a 14) lists the Rome-born praetorian C. Iulius Rufinus as *evocatus* in 160. Since *evocati* of the praetorians were often promoted to the legionary centurionate (cf. Birley 1988: 326-30), this man may be identical with the centurion of III Scythica who met his fate at Dura, despite the admittedly rather common names (cf. no. 63 for a similar career). If the two men were identical, such a promotion would have made great sense, as a former praetorian might have best upheld the high standards of training in the newly established Dura garrison (Speidel 1992a: 130 n.2; cf. also 1994a: 146-48 for guardsmen training the frontier armies).

16.1. Dura-Europos — AE 1954. 264 = Saxer 1967: no. 285 = Speidel 1984: 191 = Gilliam 1986: 73-75 = Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: 36, no. 32.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) s(ancto)/ pro sal(ute)
M./ Ant(onii) Valen/tini eiusq(ue)/ omnium/ c(enturionis) princ(ipis)
ve/xill(ationum) leg(ionum) IIII/ et IVX (sic) F(laviae) F(irmae)
Anto(ninianarum)/ Agat(h)ocles / lib(ertus) eius v(otum) s(olvit)/
l(ibens) a(nimo), Gent(iano) et Bas/so co(n)s(ulibus).

1. *s(ancto)* rather than *s(acrum)* (Hörig and Schwertheim) — 7. leg. IIII: scil. *Scythicae*; IVX = XVI: this may reflect the common Greek order of writing numerals from right to left (Gilliam).

This gypsum altar bearing a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus was set up in 211 by the freedman Agathocles for the health of his former owner, the legionary centurion M. Antonius Valentinus, and his whole family (*eiusque omnium*). It was found east of the entrance to the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus at Dura-Europos. Valentinus was the *ad hoc* commander of the detachments of IIII *Scythica* and XVI *Flavia Firma* at Dura (for the title *princeps* cf. Speidel 1984: 189-95). Cf. the following inscription.

16.2. Dura-Europos — AE 1940. 220 = CIMRM 53 = Saxer 1967: no. 284 = Speidel 1984: 191.

Pro sal(ute) et incol(um)nitae dd[[d]](ominorum)/ nn[[n]](ostrorum)
impp[[p]](eratorum) L. Sep(timi) Severi Pii/ Pert(inacis) et M. Aurel(i)
Antonini et [[P. Sept(imi) Getae]] Augg[[g]](ustorum) tem/plum dei Solis
Invicti Mithrae sub Minic(io) Martiali proc(uratore) Aug(usti)/
rest(itutum) ab Ant(onio) Valentino 7(centurione) princ(ipe)
pr(ae)posito ve[x(illationum) leg(ionum) IIII] Scyt(hicae) et XVI F(laviae)
F(irmae) P(iae) F(idelis).

Dedicated to the health and the well-being of Septimius Severus and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, this inscription celebrates the rebuilding of the middle temple of Mithras at Dura by detachments of IIII *Scythica* and XVI *Flavia Firma* under the command of M. Antonius Valentinus in the years between 209 and 211 (cf. Gilliam 1986: 210). The increased building activity of these years (cf. also no. 17) marks the arrival of new garrison troops at Dura (Gilliam 1986: 210; Marichal 1977: 6). Although it is impossible to tell with certainty from which of the two legions Valentinus had been appointed to his command at Dura, there are the following reasons to believe he may have been a centurion of IIII *Scythica*. Already during an earlier period a centurion of IIII *Scythica* had been in command of the entire garrison at Dura (no. 14). In contrast to the other permanent legionary detachment at Dura, the one from XVI *Flavia Firma* (Gilliam 1986: 208, 210), the detachment of IIII *Scythica* remained at Dura even during Caracalla's Parthian War (cf. no. 17). Furthermore, the inscriptions mentioning a commander of more than one legionary detachment at Dura (nos. 16.1, 2 and 17) list IIII *Scythica* first (cf. AE 1934. 276, where IIII *Scythica* was probably also listed first: Saxer 1967: 95, no. 287 with n.521). Finally, IIII *Scythica* took the leading position amongst the Syrian legions, as is revealed by the fact that its legate was appointed interim governor whenever that position was vacant (cf., e.g., Ritterling 1925: 1560; Syme, 1958: 631). Hence, Valentinus is likely to have been a centurion of IIII *Scythica*.

17. Dura-Europos. — AE 1937. 239 = Saxer 1967: no. 288 = Speidel 1984: 191.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) [M. Aurel(io) An]tonino Pio/ Felici Aug(usto)
Arab(ico) Adiab(enico) [Part(hico) Max(imo) B]rit(annico) [Max(imo)
Ge]rm(anico) Pon/tifici Max(imo) Patri Patriae et I[ul]iae A[ug]ustae
Matri Aug(usti) et C[ae]sarorum et Sen(atus)/ et Patr(iae), vexill(ationes)
legion[um] IIII Sc[yt(hicae) et] III [Cy]r(enaicae) [An]tonin[ian]arum/
anpytaetr[um] (sic) a fun[damen]tis e[xt]ruxeru[nt] a[nt] gentes sub cur(a)
Aur(eli) Mam[--- instante?]/ Iustiano 7(centurione) princ(ipe),
Cattio Sabif[no II, Corn(elio) Anul]ino [co(n)s(ulibus)].

6. [--- instante]: (AE; cf. also Gilliam 1986: 211 n. 22)

This inscription, dedicated to Caracalla and to his mother Iulia Domna in 216, commemorates the construction of the amphitheatre at Dura by detachments of IIII *Scythica* and III *Cyrenaica* (normally stationed in Arabia Petraea). The detachment from III *Cyrenaica* may temporarily have replaced the one sent earlier by XVI *Flavia Firma*, as that legion was probably on campaign against the Parthians from 216 (cf. Gilliam 1986: 208 and 210; Saxer 1967: 96; the detachment of XVI *Flavia Firma* is attested back at Dura by 221 at the latest: Gilliam 1986: 210 and n.17). The commander, *princeps*, of both detachments in 216 was Iulianus, a legionary

centurion, possibly of III Scythica (cf. no. 16; for Aurelius Mam[- and the possible former contents of the lacuna of c.20 letters, cf. Gilliam 1986: 211 n.22).

18. Dura-Europos. — Welles in Frye *et al.* 1955: 127-212, no. 61 = Speidel 1984: 287 (= chapt. 11, p. 221 no. 3 below).

—|Σ ἔπαρχ[ο]ς λεγεῶνος τετά[ρτ]ης Σκυ[θικῆς —|/
 [[—]]ΝΤΗΝΗΣ[.] δόξα καὶ πρόν[οι]α / [—]. *vac.* [...]
 ΜΕΤΑΒΑ[.]ΣΥΜ[.]ΥΤΕΣΣΕΡΑΡΟ.[—] / [—]Ν σοφοῖς τε φί[λοις? —] / [—]
 -]Ο βροτὸς ΑΤ[—] / [—] αἰδίαν
 ΟΙΧ[—] / [—]ΠΑΙ[.]Καππαδο[κία? —] /
 [—]ΚΑΙΣΑ[.]ΙΗΑΠΓ.Ο[—] / [—]Τ Ἀλεξ[ά]νδρου
 βασι[λέως —] / [—]ΟΥ.[—]

The transcription is the editor's.

The editor (Welles) has correctly considered this now-lost dipinto from Dura as a 3rd-c. funerary inscription for the *praefectus legionis* (ἔπαρχος λεγεῶνος) of III Scythica, a *primipilaris* ranking just below the legion's commander (*legatus*) and its senatorial tribune. (For other prefects of III Scythica cf. nos. 38, 49, 51). The reference to the capital of Cappadocia, *Καισάρεια πρὸς τῷ Ἀργαίῳ* (l. 8), as the prefect's home town, and the dipinto's historical context, Severus Alexander's Parthian War of 232 (cf. l. 9 referring to Severus Alexander), have been recognised by M. P. Speidel. From its fortress, probably still at Zeugma (cf. no. 3, and above p. 175), the prefect of III Scythica will have led a strong detachment (if not the entire legion) to Dura-Europos. On his staff he had with him a *tesserarius* (l. 3), a sub officer responsible for transmitting military orders. Somewhere downstream from Dura the southern Roman attack column was caught by surprise and surrounded in a trap. Though the Roman soldiers held out bravely as long as they could, they were finally entirely defeated and destroyed (Hdn. 6.5.5 - 6.6.3). In that battle the prefect of III Scythica lost his life.

19. Dura-Europos. — AE 1934. 279c = Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 296.

Spem bonam/ Iulio Domnino lib(rario)/ et Aurel(io) Antiocho/ et
 Donnio Pasia/ et Septimio Sigilliano/ et Aurelio Magno/ adiutoribus/
 leg(ionis) III Scy(thicae).

This inscription was painted on the wall in the corridor of the *principia* at Dura, where it was inscribed within the letter Q of a much larger inscription reading SPQ[R] (AE 1934. 279b). Iulius Domninus, the *librarius*, and the 4 *adiutores* belonged to the staff of the commander of III Scythica's detachment at Dura (not to the legionary legate's staff, as stated by von Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: XIII. For the detachment commanders at Dura cf. above nos. 14, 16, 17). The expression *spem bonam* may point to the soldiers' hope for promotion, as the editors have pointed out (Hopkins and Rowell 1934: 225-26, no. 560). Their comments on the soldiers' names, i.e. that Domninus was especially well-known in Syria, and that Pusias was a very common Greek name, can be supplemented by the following remarks: Antiochus also points towards an eastern, perhaps even Syrian, origin, and Sigillianus (cf. Kajanto 1965: 109, 343) appears again at Dura in 236 (P. Dura 117 = ChLA IX 372, col. III, l.8: *S[i]gill[---]*; but cf. also the *cognomen* Sigillius in ILS 3922). The two men, however, are hardly identical (Marichal 1977: 61). The surprisingly high number of *adiutores* prompted Hopkins and Rowell (1934: 226) to estimate the strength of III Scythica's Dura detachment at 360 soldiers (cf. also Marichal 1977: 6). Their reasoning is based on von Domaszewski [Dobson]'s observation that there may have been one *adiutor* per century in the *cohortes vigilum* at Rome (1967: 14-15). If this should also be true for the legions, the strength of the Dura detachment of III Scythica probably numbered around 300 soldiers, as the book-strength of a century was 80 men, and its actual strength was perhaps much less (cf. above p. 172 f; for the book-strength of a century: Ps. Hygin. 1; Speidel 1992b: 6-8). The inscription has been dated to 222, though this date is by no means certain (cf. Marichal 1977: 6).

20. Dura-Europos. — AE 1940. 229 = CIMRM 62.

Nam[a ---?]/ Maximus/ scen[i]co (*sic*)/ leg(ionis) III Sc(ythicae).

3. *scenico* instead of *scaenicus*.

This 3rd-c. fragment of a column was found in the Mithraeum at Dura (Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1939: 121). The Iranian word *nama*, frequently found on painted and scratched inscriptions in the Mithraeum at Dura, was a cult greeting entailing wishes of well-being and success (cf. Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1939: 121-23; Francis 1975: 438, n.69; Clauss 1992: 242). The dedicant's surname, *Maximus*, was not necessarily preceded by a family name, as *nama* is normally followed by a surname only (cf. Clauss 1992: 242). *Maximus*, stage actor of III Scythica, is

also mentioned by 2 unpublished graffiti from the Dura Mithraeum (Francis 1975: 434, giving them the numbers *IMDur* 102 and 126 of his announced publication [cf. no. 21]. For the title *scaenicus legionis* cf. Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1939: 121; von Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: XVI, and *ILS* 2178, 2179, 2873, 9493; *IGRR* 1.552; *CIL* 6.3042, 3059; 14.2408). Another soldier named Maximus, a *scaenicus* too but of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, has also left two graffiti in the Mithraeum at Dura (Francis 1975: 434; cf. also Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1939: 121). At Dura, as elsewhere, games and theatre attractions were an important feature in the daily lives of the Roman soldiers (cf. no. 17). From Zeugma came a troupe of entertainers, mimes and actresses (Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1944: 203-65, esp. 246; above, chapt. 9 no. 68), and the *Dux Ripae* Pompeianus brought a theatrical group to Dura for his own entertainment (Gilliam 1986: 75; for Roman soldiers enjoying theatre entertainment see also Davies 1989: 66-67). Such civilian actors, though, were always sharply distinguished from the soldier actors (*Dig.* 48.19.14).

21. Dura-Europos. — unpublished.

A graffito in the Mithraeum at Dura-Europos mentions *Theognis* and *Theophilos*, soldiers of *III Scythica*, possibly both of Syrian origin (Francis 1975: 433, n.49, and 434. A complete edition of the Mithraic graffiti at Dura has been announced: Francis 1975: 424-25, n.3). The graffito mentioning *Theognis* and *Theophilos* was given the number *IMDur* 95 of that edition).

22. Dura-Europos. — *AE* 1933. 226.

Θεῶ Πατρώω / Δὲ Βετύλω / τῶν πρὸς τῷ / Ὀρόντη Αὐρ(ήλιος) / Διφιλιανὸς /
στρα(τώτης) λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυ(θικῆς) Ἀντ(ονεινιανῆς) / εὐξάμενος / ἀνέθηκεν .

This altar for Zeus Betylos, “the national god of the dwellers along the Orontes”, was found in the Temple of Bel at Dura. These “dwellers along the Orontes” perhaps described the inhabitants of Antiochia, as that city lay on the Orontes. Aurelius Diphilianus, the dedicant, was obviously a native Syrian, perhaps from Antiochia itself. The early 3rd-c. date of the altar is revealed by the legion’s surname *Antoniniana* and the dedicant’s family name, Aurelius.

23. Dura-Europos. — *Bull. Ép.* 1953: 206 = *AE* 1954. 268 = Gilliam 1986: 84-85 = Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: 39, no. 35.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Θε(ό)τεκνος στρατ(ώτης) / λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυθ(ικῆς) τὴν κυ(ρίαν)
εὐξάμ(ενος) ἀνέθηκε(ε).

This late 2nd- or 3rd-c. plaster stele with the relief of a goddess was found in the temple area at Dura-Europos. Its findspot hints that the goddess in question may have been *Iuno Dolichena* (for a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus at Dura-Europos by a centurion, possibly of *III Scythica*, cf. above no. 16.1; for a dedication by a former member of *III Scythica* to the same god in Rome, cf. below no. 74). The title *κύριος* or *κυρία* was frequently used for gods and goddesses in Syria and the East (*LSJ* 1013, s.v. *κύριος* B 3). The name Theotecnos (Θεότεκνος) is the Greek translation of Syrian Barlaha (Harris 1914: 104-5). Though not very common, it is well known in N Syria (Gilliam 1986: 85; Wagner 1976: 167, n.160), at Dura (Cumont 1926: 396, no. 40), and at Zeugma (Wagner 1976: 248, no. 129). Aurelius Theotecnos’ name thus points to his local Syrian origin (cf. Francis 1975: 433, n.49). He may even have been from Zeugma itself. Two priests of Jupiter Dolichenus with the name Theotecnus are also known, one from Salonae (Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: no. 123), and one from Rome (no. 423).

24. Dura-Europos. — *P. Dura* 100 = Fink 1971: 1 = *ChLA* VIII 355; col. XXVI lines 20-21.

[*Consulate between A.D. 194 and 197*]

[tra(n)sl(atus) in leg(ionem)] IIII Scy(thicam): A[urel(ius) ---]

The doubtless correct restoration was first proposed by Fink 1971: 35, n.21, and p. 16. Cf. also Marichal 1976: 35, n.21. The name *Aurelius* in line 21 seems to have been cancelled.

P. Dura 100 contains the complete working roster of the six centuries and five *turmae* of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*. The passage reprinted above is found under the heading *centuria Malchiana* (col. XXVI, line 12). As indicated by the consular date in line 20, Aurelius joined the Roman army between 194 and 197. Like the vast majority of his fellow soldiers in *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, he may have been of local Semitic origin (cf. Marichal 1977: 8). He may have served as a simple *miles cohortis* in that unit, as there is no indication of a higher rank. In 219, the date of *P. Dura* 100, Aurelius was registered among the most senior soldiers of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* in the *centuria Malchiana* (col. XXVI, line 12). In this year Aurelius’ name was crossed out of the cohort’s duty roster, and he was transferred to *III Scythica* (for other *translati* in the same document cf. Fink 1971: 16; for the term *translatus ex*: M. A. Speidel 1993: 190, n.4, and 192-93). This transfer was a

promotion and almost certainly entailed a salary increase, even though the rank or position Aurelius was given in the legion remains unknown (cf. von Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 186 = *IGBulg.* 3.2: 1570 = Dobson 1972: 313-15, no. 223 for the career-step *miles cohortis* – *miles legionis* in the 3rd c.; for the soldiers' pay: M. A. Speidel 1992).

25. Dura-Europos. — *P. Dura* 32; lines 1-2, and 5-7.

Ἔτους εἰξϕ', μηνὸς Ξα[ν]θικοῦ εἰκασενά[τη ..] εραικο[.... ἀποστάσι]ον
 Μάρκ[ο]υ Ἰουλίου Ἄντιόχου [σ]τρ[α(τιώτου) λε]γ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυθ(ικῆς) / (...)
 (...). Ἰούλιος Ἄντιόχος στρ[α]τιώτης τῆς ἐνθά[δ]ε οὐεξ[ι]λλατί[ωνος]
 λεγ(εῶνος) δ' / Σκυθικῆς [Οὐα]λεριανῆς Γαλ[λι]νηῆς, (ἐκατονταρχίας)
 Ἀλεξ[άνδ]ρου, καὶ Αὐρηλία [Ἄ]μίμμη [.]ν[..... Δ]ου[ρ]ην[ή, ἡ γυνή]/ αὐτοῦ (...)

P. Dura 32 is a mutual quit-claim between M. Aurelius Antiochus, soldier of the Dura detachment of *III Scythica Valeriana Galliena* (l. 5/6), serving in the century of Alexander, and his former wife Aurelia Amimma, a local woman from Dura. Antiochus was doubtless of eastern (Syrian?) origin, his centurion Alexander possibly so. The transaction was completed in the *Colonia Europaeorum* (line 5) on the 29th or 30th April 254 (on the date cf. Sijpesteijn 1979: 235 with n.29). *P. Dura* 32 is the latest surviving contract from Dura, and, at the same time, the latest attestation of *III Scythica* there. In 256 Dura-Europos was besieged and sacked by the Persians under Shapur I (Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1944: 167).

26. Samosata. — *CIL* 3.6048 = *IGLS* 1.57.

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Sulpicio Proculo / militi leg(ionis) IIII
 Sc(ythicae). / H(ic) s(itus) e(st).

This 2nd- or 3rd-c. gravestone of Sulpicius Proculus, a soldier of *III Scythica* who died while still with the army, was set up at Samosata. Proculus may therefore have been recruited from among the citizens of the former capital of Commagene and buried in his home town after his death. Yet it may also be that Sulpicius had come with a detachment of *III Scythica* to Samosata, which was, since the early 70s A.D., the fortress of *XVI Flavia Firma* (Keppie 1986: 421-23). If this was the case, Sulpicius Proculus and his fellow soldiers will have stayed at Samosata for more than a few days, for otherwise one would not expect Proculus to have been buried there (cf. for example Speidel 1984: 275-76; Speidel 1992a: 212-17 for gravestones of soldiers who died while away with detachments). As it is not possible to date Proculus' gravestone with any more precision, no specific occasion can be suggested for such a mission, though a number of reasons could have led a detachment from Zeugma to Samosata (reinforcements, building activities, campaigns).

27. Beroea. — *CIL* 3.6047 = 6705 = *IGLS* 1.178.

D(is) M(anibus) / Felicio Feli/ci militi SN (*sic*) / leg(ionis) IIII Squti/ce (*sic*).

3. *s[i]n[glulari]* (?) (*IGLS*)

This 2nd- or 3rd-c. gravestone of Felicius Felix was set up in Beroea (Aleppo). Beroea lay at an important road-crossing (*RE* III: 307-8, and *RE Suppl.* I: 248-49), and it may have seen Roman military presence as early as Augustus (the evidence, however, is scanty: cf. Speidel 1984: 203-7, and *IGLS* 1.179-81, cf. also 198). Felix was still serving when he died and he may therefore have been on outpost duty at Beroea. It is, however, also possible that he was the son of a local family, and that he wanted to be buried at his home town rather than at his legion's cemetery at Zeugma. The letters SN in line 3 were obviously meant to describe Felix' rank, position, or function in *III Scythica*. One suggestion has been a faulty spelling of *singularis* (*IGLS*). Felicius Felix would then have been a soldier, probably promoted from amongst the *equites legionis* to the guard of his legion's commander (*CIL* 6.3339 = *ILS* 2364, *CIL* 6.3614, and esp. Speidel 1984: 175. Cf. also Rankov 1990a, answered by Pavković 1994). But perhaps the letters SN are better to be understood as *s(uper)num(umerarius)*. *Supernumerarii* in the legions are known as early as c.90 (Fink 1991: 58 ii 12). They seem to have been specially detached soldiers, acting as a reserve and a guard (*CIL* 3.7326; 5.8278; 6.1057, 6.3558; Veg. 2.19; 3.18; 3.20; compare also 3.17: *superflui*. Cf. Speidel 1994b). Should either of the two restorations be correct, then Felix was certainly a local from Beroea, as soldiers of the guard of a legion's commander would not have been ordered to do outpost duty.

28. Seleucia Pieria. — *IGRR* 3.1005 = *IGLS* 3.1137.

Ἐπὶ Καισίου / Π[ρί]σκου / ἐκατοντάρχου / λεγεῶνος / τετάρ[τη]ς, / ὅθεν ἀρχ[ή].

"In cuniculo, qui exstat" (*IGRR*).

This inscription marked the spot where the soldiers of *III Scythica*, in the century of Caesius Priscus, started to work on their section of the great canal near the harbour of Seleucia Pieria (cf. above p. 169). Work on this canal was undertaken by detachments of *III Scythica* from the early years of Vespasian (cf. *IGLS* 3.1134, 1134bis, 1131, and especially van Berchem 1985: 53-55). The name Caesius is significantly more common in Italy than elsewhere. Caesius Priscus may be identical with the Caesius Priscus who was an elder relative of the *primipilaris* C. Caesius Silvester from Tuficum in Italy (*CIL* 11.5695; cf. Dobson 1972: 48-50, no. 128) who took part in Trajan's Dacian Wars and who must have been c.20 years old at the beginning of the 2nd c. (cf. *RE* XII 1563). Caesius Domitianus (no. 15), however, a centurion of *III Scythica* at Dura-Europos, served during the second half of the 2nd c., and is therefore hardly related with the centurion recorded at Seleucia Pieria.

29. Apamea — Balty and Van Rengen 1993: 28-29, pl. 7 = *AE* 1993. 1577.

D(is) M(anibus)/ Ael(ius) Verecundinus 7(centurio) leg(ionis) IIII/ Scy(thicae)
hastatus <p>rior, natus/ in Dacia ad Vatabos, mil(itavit) ann(os) XXI,/ primum
exactus, librarius,/ frum(entarius), speculator, evocatus, 7(centurio) et 7(centurio)
frum(entarius),/ vixit ann(os) XXXVI. Ael(ius) Rufinus lib(ertus) ex bon/is eius fecit.

1. The stone shows VERECUNDIVVS. - 2. The stone shows SCV, and RRIOR.

Aelius Verecundinus was born in Dacia, in a place called *Ad Vatabos* which is probably to be understood as *Ad Batavos*. A place of that name is hitherto unknown. Its name may derive from a *cohors* or *ala Batavorum* which originally had its camp there (compare the place-names *Ad Pannonios* in Dacia Superior and *Batavis* in Raetia; for auxiliary troops that participated in Trajan's Dacian wars and that bore the ethnic name *Batavorum*, cf. Strobel 1984: 106-7 and 121-22). Verecundinus is the first soldier from Dacia known to have been recruited to *legio IIII Scythica*. He started his career at the age of 15 in the legion's administration (*exactus, librarius*), which clearly indicates that he could read and write. He continued his service with the *frumentarii*, a group of soldiers attached to the governor's *officium* that was employed as messengers (cf. *ILS* 2370) and spies (on the *frumentarii* cf. Rankov 1990b; Le Bohec 1989b: 191; Austin and Rankov 1995: *passim*; Claus 1973: *passim*). Next, he was promoted *speculator*, scout (on the *speculatores* cf. Le Bohec 1989b: 189f. with sources and literature; cf. also M. P. Speidel 1994a: 33ff.). It may have been during his time as a scout that Verecundinus managed to free 7 Roman citizens from captivity. That deed seems to be indicated by the 7 cone-like objects, very likely *pillei libertatis*, the felt caps that freed prisoners of war (= *pilleati*: cf. *OLD* 1379 s.v. "*pilleatus*") used to wear when they were reinstated in their former rights as Roman citizens (for the *pilleus* on coins as the liberator's symbol for having restored freedom to Roman citizens, cf. Cass. Dio 49.25.3 and Crawford 1976: no. 508/3 [compare *RIC*², Civil Wars no. 24 and Suet., *Ner.* 57.1]. On soldiers' grave-stones [e.g. *AE* 1937. 174 = Krüger 1972: no. 379] the *pilleus* surely had the same meaning; for *postliminium* see, e.g., Bielman 1994: 320 with further literature; for *pilleati* and the heroic deed of freeing captured Roman citizens: e.g., Livy 30.45.5 and 38.55.1; Tac., *Ann.* 12.27.5 [compare Sen., *Ep.* 47.10]; Val. Max. 5.2.6; Plut., *Flam.* 13.9; and now Bakker 1993). It may well have been this deed that earned Verecundinus his *evocatio*, a promotion guaranteeing further service with the army on a superior level (cf. Breeze and Dobson 1993: 106, who point out that *evocatio* from the legions may have "on a small scale ... lingered on" throughout the first three centuries A.D.). Soon afterwards, Verecundinus was promoted centurion and *centurio frumentarius* (the relief shows Verecundinus holding his centurion's staff, *vitis*, in his right hand and a papyrus roll in his left). His final rank was *hastatus prior*, i.e. centurion in the first cohort (= *centurio primi ordinis*). Verecundinus died aged 36, after 21 years of service with *III Scythica*. The reason he was buried in Apamea, the winter garrison of *legio II Parthica* when on campaigns in the east, appears to be because Verecundinus, and part of his legion, had participated in a campaign against the Parthians. That campaign may have been Caracalla's, as his expeditionary force, after his death in 217, seems to have spent the winter at Apamea (cf. Dio 78.34.5). Inscriptions recently found at Apamea suggest that, *leg. II Parthica* apart, Caracalla's expeditionary army included detachments of *leg. XIII Gem.*, *leg. XIII Gem.*, *leg. IV Flav.*, and *coh. XIV urb.*, as well as, from Syria, *leg. III Gall.* (Balty and Van Rengen 1993: 14; cf. also Ritterling 1925: 1321-23). Our inscription appears to belong to the same context (Balty and Van Rengen 1993: 14), thus indicating *III Scythica*'s participation in Caracalla's Parthian War. In May 218, Macrinus celebrated his son's proclamation as *Augustus* together with the troops in Apamea, distributing money to the soldiers and offering dinner to the people (Dio 78.34.1-3). Nevertheless, *legio II Parthica*, and the other soldiers (including Verecundinus' detachment of *III Scythica*?) at Apamea, opted for Elagabalus and defeated Macrinus early in June 218 (cf. no. 3).

30.1 Aradus. — IGRR 3.1017 = IGLS 7.4015.

Ἡ β[ουλή καὶ] / ὁ δῆ[μος] ὁ Ἀραδίω[ν] / Μάρκον Σεπ[τίμιον] / Μάρκου υἱὸν Φαβία / Μάγνον
ἐκατοντάρχη[ν] / λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς / τὸν ἑαυτῶν πολίτην εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς χάριν.

30.2 Aradus. — CIL 3.186; cf. add. p. 972 = IGRR 3.1016 = ILS 2657 = von Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 203 = IGLS 7.4016.

M. Septimio M(arci) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Magno, centurioni / leg(ionis) [[III Gal(licae)]] iter(um) et leg(ionis) III Scy(thicae) et / leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) iter(um) et leg(ionis) I Miner(viae) et leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis) II. / L. Septimius Marcellus fratri optimo. /
Μάρκω Σεπτίμιω Μάρκου υἱῷ Φαβ(ία) Μάγνῳ ἐκατοντάρχῳ / λεγεῶνος γ'
[Γαλατ]ικῆς τὸ β', καὶ λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυθικῆς καὶ / λεγ(εῶνος) κ' Οὐαλερίας
νεικηφόρου τὸ β', καὶ λεγ(εῶνος) α' Μινερ/ουσίας καὶ λεγ(εῶνος) ι'
Φρετηνσίας τὸ β' / Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Μαρκέλλος ἀδελφῶν ἀγαθῶν.

2. The erasure of the name of the *III Gallica* is due to the fact that its legate tried to overthrow the emperor Elagabalus in 218 (cf. Cass. Dio 79. 7; RE XII: 1323-24, and 1526; cf. also Th. Mommsen *ad* CIL 3.206, and ILS 2314, n.1).

The honorary monument set up by the council and the people of Aradus (no. 30.1) for M. Septimius Magnus reveals his local origin. The editors of *IGLS* have noted that Magnus' voting tribe Fabia may hint that his family had been given Roman citizenship during the earlier years of the empire, as Fabia was the voting-tribe of the emperors up to Tiberius, and as the voting-tribe normally given to deserving locals in Syria was Quirina. (Fabia, it may be noted, was also the voting-tribe of the Roman citizens of Berytus and Heliopolis: Kubitschek 1889: 257-58, 259.) It may be that Magnus was still at the beginning of his career when he was honoured in his home town (no. 30.1), as this inscription mentions only his centurionate with *III Scythica* and none of the many other commissions listed on his gravestone set up by his brother, again at Aradus (no. 30.2). That text informs us of the centurionates M. Septimius Magnus had held in the Syrian legions: two with *III Gallica* and one with *III Scythica*, then of another two he held with *XX Valeria Victrix* in Britain, of one with *I Minervia* in Lower Germany, and finally of another two with *X Fretensis* in Judaea. In view of the first inscription (no. 30.1), it may be that there is no chronological order to the account of his centurionates as listed on his gravestone (*contra* Dąbrowa 1993: 95, who believes the centurionates to be listed in ascending order), but they clearly show that Magnus spent most of his time as a centurion in the East.

Magnus' gravestone dates from after 88, the year Domitian created *legio I Minervia* (Cass. Dio 55.24.3; cf. RE XII: 1420). The paleography and the *iota adscriptum* suggest a date not much later than the early 2nd c. (cf. *IGLS*). Dąbrowa (1993: 95) seems to prefer a date much closer to 218 when the legate of *III Gallica* tried to overthrow Elagabalus, who consequently dissolved the legion and had its name removed from all public documents. However, there is no reason to link the erasures on the gravestone with the time of Magnus' death.

31. Palmyra. — AE 1947. 172 = von Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 298.

[--- Celestico 7(centurioni) leg(ionum) III Gall(icae),] III Scy(thicae), VI
Ferr(atae) / [curatori ---, curator]i ripae superior(is) / [et inferior(is)]
Euphratis, curator[is] coh(ortis) (S)ebaste/[n]jae SVPIVVIM[---]T
Hierapoli / Elabelus, qui et Saturninus Malichi f(ilius) / h(onoris) c(ausa).

The restorations are supplied by a parallel Palmyrenian inscription. — 3. ---[praefectus] coh(ortis) (Gilliam).

This inscription honoring Celesticus, probably a local citizen, was set up, together with a parallel Palmyrenian text, in the agora of Palmyra. After three centurionates in Syria and Palestine (*III Gallica* in Raphanaea; *VI Ferrata* in Caparcotna), Celesticus was entrusted with special commands, one of which involved patrolling the banks of the Euphrates (Gilliam 1986: 40-41), another the interim command of *cohors I Sebastena* (in northern Syria: CIL 16.35 of A.D. 88; on the meaning of *curator* in this context see Birley 1988: 221-31 and Devijver 1992: 219-21). Clearly Celesticus was a military specialist of the Syrian frontier. His career may date to the late 2nd c., before Septimius Severus re-organised Greater Syria into two provinces in 194, as special commands of the kind Celesticus received were normally given to centurions of a legion stationed within the same province (Birley 1988: 225-56).

32. Henu. — Dunand 1933: 538.

-] / Γ. Ἀντίστιος Κων[-] / ρ(ἐκατόνταρχος) λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυτ(ικῆς) (sic)
[-] / [-

Together with nos. 33 and 34, this fragmentary inscription was found at Henu, in a little Nabataean sanctuary on the Roman road leading from Damascus through the Ledja to Bostra. The centurion's tasks in this outpost will have involved the security of the road as well as of the whole region (cf. the *centuriones regionari*, for which see Davies 1989: 56-57, 175-85; Speidel 1992a: 140-44; Bowman and Thomas 1983: 105-7, no. 22, 1.8f. = Bowman and Thomas 1994: 221-22, no. 250. For further legionary centurions of *III Gallica* and *XVI Flavia Firma* in the area during the same period, cf. Isaac 1992: 134-36). This may well have been necessary, as the Ledja (ancient Trachonitis) was known for banditry (cf. no. 34). Furthermore, the presence of a *beneficiarius* (no. 34) at Henu may indicate some administrative tasks (cf. Speidel: 1993b: 137-49). The inscription dates to before 198/9 when the Ledja became part of the Roman province of Arabia after Septimius Severus' Second Parthian War (Bowersock 1983: 115; cf. also no. 33 and no. 34).

33. Henu. — Dunand 1933: 539.

[Ἰπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοκ]ράτορο[ς Μ. Αὐρηλίου]/ [Ἀντωνείνου καὶ
Δ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐ[λήρου Σεβαστῶν]/ [ἐπὶ Δ. Ἀττιδίου Κορνηλιανοῦ πρ[εσβ(ευτοῦ)
Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρ(ατηγοῦ)]/ [- name - ρ(ἑκατόνταρχος) λε]γ(εῶνος) δ'
Σκ[υ(θικῆς) ἀνέθηκεν?].

4. "Il y a place pour le double nom d'un personnage suivi d'un sigle à lire sans doute hekantontarchos" (Dunand).

For the find spot, cf. no. 32. The inscription can be dated to the years 161 or 162, as the *dies imperii* of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus was 7 March 161, and as L. Attidius Cornelianus (*cos.* 151) governed Syria from 157 to 162 (*PIR*² A 1341; Thomasson 1984: 312, no. 57).

34. Henu. — Dunand 1933: 539-40.

-]/ [-] A [-]/ [-] AP [-]/ [- name - ο]υ[ς β(ενεφικάριος) ἐ]π[ί]
Αὐιδίου Κασ[σίου] ὑπατ[ί]κου τὸ ξόα[ν]ον σὺν / [νεικαδίου] / [ἀνέθηκεν?].

A *beneficiarius consularis* (i.e. a legionary soldier), whose name has broken away, set up this inscription (probably a dedication to the emperor or a deity) together with a statue (τό ξόανον: *LSJ* 1191) and a number of small figures of Victory (τό νεκάδιον: *LSJ* 1176) at the outpost at Henu (for which see no. 32). It is not entirely certain whether this *beneficiarius* belonged to *III Scythica*, but as this is the only legion hitherto known to have sent soldiers there, and as their inscriptions (no. 32 and no. 33) belong very much to the same period, this *beneficiarius* too may have been a member of *III Scythica*. Soldiers who had been appointed *beneficarii* and sent to outposts were often entrusted with similar tasks as the centurions who could also be in charge of such positions (cf. the references under no. 32). It may be that the outpost at Henu was commanded by the *beneficiarius* after its staff had been decreased in the aftermath of Lucius Verus' Parthian War (162-166). It is, however, also possible, though perhaps less likely, that the *beneficiarius* belonged to the staff of a centurion at Henu. The date of the inscription is given by the mentioning of Avidius Cassius as the governor of Syria: he was in office from c.166 to April 175 (*PIR*² A 1402; Thomasson 1984: 312-13, no. 60; Kienast 1990: 142-43).

35. Canatha. — *IGRR* 3.1230 = von Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 287.

Γ. Πετρῶνιον Γ. [υἶὸν -]/ Σεκοῦνδον Βρονδ[ησῖνον] ἑκατόνταρχον
λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυθικῆς, πρίνκ[ι]πα [ἡγεμονίας] / Ἰουλ(ίου) / Σατορνείνου
πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ)] / ἀντιστρ(ατηγοῦ) Σεληνοί τ[-] / τῆς ἱερᾶς
πλατείας, ἀγνείας / χάριν.

1: Γ. υἶὸν ... As *Maecia* was the voting tribe of the Roman citizens of Brundisium (cf. Kubitschek 1889: 39; Pliny *NH* 3.101: 2. region), it is perhaps the most likely restoration. — 3. πρίνκ[ι]πα [ἡγεμονίας]: von Domaszewski [Dobson]

C. Petronius Secundus from Brundisium (Brindisi) in Italy was the head of the governor's staff, and therefore a *centurio primi ordinis* (*princeps praetorii*: cf. von Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: XXV and 98; Dobson 1972: 161; Baatz 1994: 134 and 192). At Canatha he was honored by the members of a *collegium mercatorum* (cf. *IGRR* 3.711-713) from nearby Si' (= Seia). As it is by no means obvious why these merchants from Si' should have honored at Canatha the head of the governor's staff whose office was in faraway Antiochia, it may be that they dedicated their inscription to Secundus when he was still serving in his outpost at Canatha, soon to leave for his new position in the capital (cf. Birley 1988: 130-40 for similar such cases). Such outpost duty involved keeping the region safe and peaceful (cf. no. 32), and if Secundus, as it would appear, had been successful at his job, the merchants from Si' would have had a great deal to be thankful for, as the area was notorious for robbers (cf., e.g., *IGRR* 3.1223; Strab. 16.2.20; Jos., *AntJ* 14.15.5, 15.10.1, 16.9.1; Jos., *BJ* 1.20.4; Bowersock 1983: passim, esp. 7). The inscription can be dated between 185 and 187, as these

were the years when C. Iulius Saturninus (*cos.* c.183) was the governor of Syria (*PIR*² I 547; Thomasson 1984: 313-14, no. 65).

36. Rimet-Hazim. — *IGRR* 3.1242.

[‘Η]λίω θεῶ μεγίσ[τω —/’Ι]ουλιανὸς ἑκαντόνταρχος λεγ(εῶνος) δ’
[Σκυθικῆς]/ εὐχῆν.

This dedication to Sol was set up by Iulianus, centurion of *III Scythica*, in the village of Rimet-Hazim, near the road leading through the Ledja (cf. no. 32). Hence Iulianus may have been in charge of one of the many outposts run by legionary centurions in the area (cf. Isaac 1992: 134-36). The inscription dates to the later 2nd c. but before 198/9, when the Ledja was attributed to the Roman province Arabia (cf. no. 32).

37. Gadara. — *Mussies* 1989: 124-28 = *SEG* 39 (1992): 1624.

[‘Υπό — name — γε]νομ(ένου) ρ(έκατοντάρχου) λεγ(εῶνος) δ’ Σκυθ[ικῆς] ἐδόθη[η
—]/ [— ι]σχεΐλια καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔργον στύλους ἕξ σὺν ἐπιστυλίοις [? —]/
[— name —] καὶ Μ. Ἄννιος Ἀκίνδυνος κληρονομ(ήσαντες) ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
ἀπηργ(άσαντο) (ἔτους) σ(ι?)γ’ (οἱ σ(ι?)ε’).

1. Or perhaps ἐδόθη[σαν—] (*Mussies*) — 2. e.g. [βιω, τρισ, τετρακ]ισχεΐλια (*Mussies*); σὺν ἐπιστυλίοις: in smaller letters —
3. Or [name, verb meaning “donated”] ... ἀπηργ(άσαντο) (*Mussies*). The date is written as a ligature: Σ with a little cross (+) on top = (ἔτους) σγ’, σγ’, σε’ or σε’ (ε if one assumes that its upper horizontal hasta coincides with the recession of the third fascia) (*Mussies*).

These 3 joining fragments of an architrave bearing 3 lines of a building inscription on 3 fasciae were found built into a wall of a colonnaded court at Gadara. According to this text, a former centurion of *III Scythica*, whose names have broken away, provided a large number of assets for a building and left by his will the money to have it completed by M. Annius Akindynus and a third person whose names are missing. The centurion may therefore have been of local origin or may have settled at Gadara after his retirement (or, perhaps, both). The date, 203/213 or 205/215 of the era of Gadara (64 B.C.), corresponds to A.D. 139, 149, 141 or 151.

38. Syria, unknown origin. — *AE* 1930. 17.

Τῆ κυρία Ἀταργάτι/ κατ’ ἐπτάγην /’Ιουλία, / Δευκερίν(ο)ς ἵππεύς λεγεῶνος
(sic) IIII Σκυ(θικῆς) /’Οπτάτος, / Πρόκλος, / Γάιος, / Μάρκος, / Κρισπέινα.

4. ἵππεύς λεγεῶνος IIII Σκυ. was added after completion of the inscription.

This text, an *ex voto* by 7 people, was inscribed on the lid of a money box. It was a dedication to the Syrian goddess Atargatis (= Dea Syria), worshipped at Baalbek, Damascus, Palmyra, Dura-Europos, Hatra, and above all at Hierapolis-Bambyke (Fauth 1975: 1400). One of the dedicants was Lucerinius (Δευκερίν(ο)ς), a horseman of *III Scythica*.

CAPPADOCIA

39. Caesarea. — *AE* 1984. 893 = *SEG* 33 (1986): 1194 [= chapt. 11 below, p. 220 no. 1].

C. Coesio C. f(ilio)/ Fab(ia) Floro, p(rimi)[p(ilari)]/ leg(ionis)
IV Scyt(hicae),/ praef(ecto) leg(ionis) XI/ Cl(audiae) piae fidelis,/ Grania
Nigel/la uxor et C. Coe/sius Florus Licin/ianus filius.

Γ. Κοισίω Γαίου υἱῶ Φαβία Φλώρω, πρεμυπιλαρίω λεγ(εῶνος) δ’
Σκυθικῆς, ἐπάρχω λεγ(εῶνος) ια’ Κλαυδίας εὐσεβοῦς πιστῆς, Γραμία Νιγέλλα
ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῶ καὶ Γ. Κοίσιος Φλώρος / Δικυνηανὸς ὁ υἱὸς μνήμης ἕνεκα.

Together with two other inscriptions from Caesarea (*AE* 1984. 894 and 895 = *SEG* 33 [1986] 1195, 1196), mentioning Florus’ wife Grania Nigella, her father Granius Bassus, and two more of her children, Coesia Granilla and T. Flavius Claudianus Bassus, this gravestone sheds light on three generations of a wealthy military family of Roman citizens that had settled in Caesarea (Kaysari). The rare family name Coesius, together with the voting-tribe Fabia (Kubitschek 1889: 270), may point to the family’s Italian origin. Florus’ father-in-law was a former centurion who had held the position of *hastatus* in an unnamed legion. Florus himself was first *primuspilus* in *III Scythica*, then *praefectus (castrorum) legionis* of *XI Claudia pia fidelis*. This legion was stationed in Vindonissa between 70 and 101, then for a short time in Pannonia (Aquincum and Brigetio), from where it moved on to take part in Trajan’s Dacian Wars. Finally, in 106/7 it established its camp in Durostorum, Moesia Inferior (cf. Strobel 1984: 93-94 and 181). As Florus’ son bears the names T.

Flavius, the inscription dates no earlier than 70. The omission of *castrorum* (Dobson 1972: 260), in combination with the full traditional nomenclature, suggests a date in the late 1st or early 2nd c.

CILICIA

40. Carallia. — AE 1965. 312 = *Bull. Ép.* 1967: 550, no.611 = AE 1973. 541.

Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος / ἑτείμησεν Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐρ[ή]/λιον Ποσίδιον Ὀβρι/μον
οὐετρανὸν λεγ(εῶνος) δ' [Σκυθικῆ] ἀνδρα/ πρόβουλον, τὸν / δὲ ἀνδριάντα
ἀνέ/στησαν αὐτοῦ [μετὰ] / τῆς θυγατρὸς Ὀβρ[ί]/μης Μόμψος / καὶ
Ἀρτεμίδωρος / Ὀβρίμου οἱ υἱοὶ μνή/μης χάριν.

M. Aurelius Posidius Obrimus, a veteran of *III Scythica*, was honoured by the town council and the people of Carallia (Ayasofya: cf. Robert 1959: 260), with a statue which was set up by his daughter Obrime and his sons Mompsos and Artemidoros. Obrimos had obviously settled in Carallia. Hence, he may also have been born there. The inscription dates from the later 2nd or the 3rd c.

41. Claudiopolis. — *Bull. Ép.* 1953: 194, no. 97 = AE 1954. 233 = Becker-Bertau 1986: 121-22, no. 162.

Δούκιος Βαλέριος / Δονγίδιο[ς] βετρανός / στρατευσάμενο[ς] / ἔτη κ' / ἐν
λεγιῶνι τετράτη (sic) Σκυ/τικῆ (sic) ἀπολυθεὶς (sic) εὐσχημό/νως, ζῶν
φρονῶν αὐτῷ / ἐποίει καὶ τῆ αὐτοῦ ἀπελε[υ]/θήρα Δουκία Ὀαλερία (sic)
Τρυφέ[ρα] / μνήμης ἔνεκαι (sic)

Becker-Bertau comments on the following readings: 2. The stone shows ΔΟΝΓΙΔΙΟΥ — 4. This line was inserted in smaller letters after the text had been engraved. — 5. τετράτη instead of τετάρτη — 5/6. Σκυ/τικῆ instead of Σκυ/θικῆ — 6. ἀπολυθεὶς instead of ἀπολυθεὶς — 9. Ὀαλερία instead of Ὀαλεριά the woman's name can also be understood as Τρύφε[ρα] = Τρύφαινα — 10. ἔνεκαι instead of ἔνεκε.

After only 20 years with *III Scythica*, L. Valerius Longidius received his honorable discharge and settled in Claudiopolis, from where he may have also originated. His gravestone dates from before the mid 2nd c., as the *iota adscriptum* in line 5 seems to suggest.

42. Anazarbos — unpublished.

A hitherto unpublished gravestone of a soldier of *III Scythica* from Anazarbos, dating from between 117 and 193 (Mann 1983: 145) was communicated by R. P. Harper to J. C. Mann and D. Kennedy (pers. comm.). However, neither Harper nor M. Sayar, Köln, who is preparing the publication of the inscriptions from Anazarbos (cf., e.g., 1991), were able to provide details at the time of this paper going to press.

43. Derbe. — IGRR 3.271.

Τίτ[ος] Σεξτειλίωι [Τ/ί]του υἱῶι [Φ]αβία / οὐετρανῶ λεγε/ῶνος τετάρτης, /
Νόννος Νήσιος, / τεμῆς χάριν.

T. Sextilius is generally thought to have served with *III Scythica*, though the inscription does not specify from which fourth legion he was discharged (cf., e.g., Speidel 1984: 50-51; Mann 1983: 150). His voting-tribe, Fabia, indicates that T. Sextilius was almost certainly recruited in Italy (Kubitschek 1889: 270), probably during the first half of the 1st c. He settled in Derbe (the Turkish village of Zosta) perhaps shortly after the mid 1st c. (Mann 1983: 150). Titus Sextilius will therefore have served most of his time in Moesia. It is possible, though, that he was transferred with *III Scythica* to the East where he then may have served a few years before he was discharged (cf. nos. 70, 71).

ASIA

44. Dorylaeum. — Frei 1981: 78-79, no. 5 = SEG 32 (1986): 1276.

Dis/ Mani(bus) Q. Cassius Q. f(i)lius Romil(ia) / Saturninus, Zmyrn(a) /
7(centurio) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), / 7(centurio) leg(ionis) III
Scyth(icae) / mil(itavit) annis XXXII, / vix(it) annis L, / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).
Liberti merenti / patrono posuer(unt).
Κ. Κάσσιος Σατορ(νίνος) ρ(έκατοντάρχης) / μνήμης χάριν.

2. *Manib(us)* (Frei; SEG) - 12. ρ(έκατοντάρχης): not recognised by the editor, nor by SEG.

This gravestone of Q. Cassius Saturninus was found in Eskişehir, the ancient Dorylaeum, by Frei and his team from the University of Zürich in 1976/77. The inscription is now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Eskişehir. Q. Cassius Saturninus from Smyrna in Asia Minor had served as a centurion by direct commission



Fig. 10.2 (left). Gravestone set up by Aurelius Antipatros to his parents at their home-town of Nicaea in Bithynia (no. 45) (photo: S. Şahin)

Fig. 10.3 (right). Recently discovered gravestone of Q. Cassius Saturninus, found in Eskişehir/ Dorylaeum, Turkey (no. 44) (photo: P. Frei).

in the legions *V Macedonica* and *III Scythica*. After 32 years with the army Saturninus settled in Dorylaeum, where his freedmen set up his gravestone. *Legio V Macedonica* was stationed during most of its history in Moesia Inferior and, since the later years of Marcus Aurelius, in Dacia (Ritterling 1925: 1572-74). From there Saturninus was transferred to Syria, perhaps on account of a Parthian war (cf. no. 72). Again, he may also have joined *V Macedonica* during one of its campaigning years in the East (e.g. 62-71 and 161-166: Ritterling 1925: 1574-76, 1578; cf. *CIL* 8.2627, and Birley 1988: 213 with n.6). Finally, a normal "War Office posting" could also have been responsible for Saturninus' transfer to Syria (cf. Birley 1988: 215). The family of Q. Cassius Saturninus may have moved to Smyrna from Ateste in N Italy, as numerous Cassii and the voting-tribe Romilia are well attested there (Frei 1981). His gravestone (fig. 10.2) can be dated to the late 1st or early 2nd c. as suggested by the only slightly abbreviated *Dis Mani(bus)*, as well as Saturninus' full nomenclature with *praenomen*, filiation, and voting-tribe (the editor gave no date, *SEG* suggested the 2nd or 3rd c. The 3rd c., however, can be safely excluded).

BITHYNIA

45. Nicaea — Şahin 1982: no. 1382.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος στρατιώτης λεγώνος / δ' Σκυθικῆς Μάρκου καὶ
Πρέμης γονεῦσι γλυκυτάτοις / μνήμης χάριν τὴν στήλην ἀνέστησα/
Αὐρηλία Σα[βεῖνα ?].

Aurelius Antipatros, a soldier of *III Scythica*, set up this gravestone for his parents Marcus and Prima at Nicaea, the family's home town, through the agency of his daughter or sister Aurelia Sabina(?). He was probably not able to take care of the necessary arrangements himself, as he was stationed in faraway Syria. The relief below the inscription shows a soldier who is holding a round shield in his right hand, and who is resting his left hand on his sword, perhaps Aurelius Antipatros himself (fig. 10.3). On the upper left-hand side there is a damaged relief of a bearded man with a helmet and, below, a cuirass. Should the bearded man represent the deceased father Marcus, then Antipatros would have been the son of a soldier, following in his father's footsteps. The gravestone dates to the late 2nd or the 3rd c.

MACEDONIA

46. Colonia Iulia Augusta Dium. — *AE* 1915. 115 = Plassart 1923: 165 = Sašel-Kos 1979: 82, no.188.

C. Pomponio M. f(ilio) Lem(onia) Aquilae/ c(enturioni) leg(ionis) III[I]
Scy(thicae), Pomponia C. f. Aquilina/ parenti.

C. Pomponius Aquila was a successful centurion of *III Scythica*, decorated with two *armillae*, two *phalerae*, and a *corona*, as shown by the relief below the inscription. His gravestone was set up by his daughter Pomponia Aquilina, probably during the 1st or early 2nd c. Their family originated from Italy, as is indicated by the voting-tribe Lemonia which is found only in the regions V (Ancona), VI (Attidium, Hispellum, Sentium), VIII (Bononia) and X (Parentium) (cf. Kubitschek 1889: 271). There is no indication, however, to whether C. Pomponius Aquila was transferred with his legion to Syria in 56/7 before he was discharged, or whether he served his full time in Moesia (Ritterling 1925: 1558 suggested he may have even been serving as early as under Tiberius or Caligula).

47. Colonia Iulia Augusta Dium. — *CIL* 3.592.

[G]enio/ [S(enatus)] P(opuli)q(ue) R(omani)/ [ex] testamento L. Cas(sius?)
[-]tani veterani/ leg(ionis) III Scythic(ae)./ [C.] Mestrius C. f(ilius)
Pal(atina)/ Priscus, C. Mestrius/ C. I(ibertus) Placidus/ heredes
f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

3. *Cas-* is most likely to abbreviate *Cas(sius)*. Nevertheless, other names beginning with *Cas-* are also possible: *Cas(tricius)* etc. — 4. Only a few letters are missing at the beginning of this line.

The full Roman nomenclature of the 3 individuals mentioned in this inscription suggests a date during the 1st c. or first half of the 2nd c. There is no indication, however, whether L. Ca(sius?) [-]tanus, who may have served most of his time in Moesia, was transferred with his legion to Syria in 56/7 before he was discharged.

48. Stobi. — *AE* 1934. 128.

C. Senti[us Satur]ninus ve[ter(anus)] le[g(ionis)] III/ Scyth[icae] pos[ui]t]
sibi et C. [Sentio]/ Saturnino [militi coh(ortis)] p[raetor(iae)] III, equiti,
[f(ilio) et Gavi]ae Iuliae/ [con(iugi) et Sentiae Z]osuni lib(ertae) suae.

Γ. Σέντιω[ς Σατουρνίνω]ς οὐτρανὸς [λεγ]ώνος δ' / Σκυθικῆ[ς] ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησεν καὶ Γ.
Σεντιῶ[ν] Σατουρνίνω (sic) / στρατιώτῃ σ[πείρας] δ' πρετορια[νῆς], ἵππεϊ, [υἱῶ] καὶ Ἰο[υ]λίᾳ
Γαυίᾳ (sic) τῆ[ς] συ[μβιω] καὶ Σεντιᾳ Ζοσ[οῦν] τῆ[ς] ἀ[πελευθέρω]σ[ε]ω[ς].

G. Sentius Saturninus, a veteran of *III Scythica*, set up this gravestone for himself, his homonymous son, who was a horseman with the Praetorian Guard, his wife, and his freedwoman. Saturninus probably served with *III Scythica* while his legion was stationed in Moesia, though it cannot be excluded that he also served for some years in the East after *III Scythica* was transferred in 56/7 (cf. nos. 50, 70, 71). Together with his family, Saturninus settled in Stobi after he was discharged.

49. Scampa. — *AE* 1937. 101 = von Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 297.

M. Sabidi[o M. f(ilio)]/ Aem(ilia) Ma[ximo],/ mil(iti) leg(ionis) XI
C[laud(iae)],/ signif(ero), cornu[culario],/ optioni ad spe[m ordi]nis,

7(centurioni) leg(ionis) s(upra)s(criptae), prom(oto) a/ Divo Hadrian[o in leg(ionem) III]/ Gall(icam), d(onis) d(onato) ab eu[d(em)] (sic) imp(eratore) ob vic/to)r(iam) Iudaic(am) torqui[bus armil(lis)]/ ph]aleris coron[a] mur[ali], 7(centurioni) leg(ionis) IIII / Sc]ythicae item 7(centurioni) leg(ionis) I [--- prom(oto)] / ab imp(eratore) Antonino in l[eg(ionem) --- ab eod(em)] / imp(eratore) prom(oto) in leg(ionem) XIII Gem(inam), v(ixit) [a(nnis) --- nnil(itavit) st(ipendia)]/ 7(centurioni)ka XX continua XL, Valer(ia)./ L(ocus) d(atus) a convic(anis) Scamp(ensibus) inlatis et su/[pra --] ++ anno +++++

M. Sabidius Maximus served Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in the Roman legions for 40 years, 20 of them as a very successful centurion. After his retirement he settled in Scampa, perhaps his home town (Elbasan/Albania), where his fellow villagers honoured him with a public place for his honorary monument (the *vicus Scampa*: RE I A: 351; for *convicani* setting up inscriptions for former soldiers, cf., e.g., Speidel 1984: 276). Maximus may have been a citizen of neighbouring Dyrrhachium, as he was inscribed into the voting tribe Aemilia of that old veteran colony (cf. Kubitschek 1889: 242, and no. 50). His centurionate with III Scythica can be dated between after 135, the year of Hadrian's *victoria Iudaica*, and before 10th July 138, the date of Hadrian's death, as that emperor promoted Maximus to yet another centurionate, before Antoninus Pius was responsible for further promotions. It was precisely after Sabidius Maximus had won *torques, armillae, phalerae*, and the *corona muralis* in Hadrian's Jewish War that he was promoted to III Scythica in Syria.

50. Dyrrhachium. — AE 1923. 40 = Dobson 1967: 197, no. 67 [= chapt. 11, p. 221 no. 2].

Q. Paesidius C. f(ilius)/ Aim(ilia) Macedoni,/ prim(o)p(ilo) leg(ionis) IX Hisp(anae),/ praef(ecto) castror(um) leg(ionis) IV/ Scythicae, tribuno militum leg(ionis)/ eiusdem, auguri,/ flamini Neronis/ Claudii Caesaris Aug(usti)/ Germanici.

Q. Paesidius Macedo (PME P8, cf. also Demougin 1988: 375, 738, 838 n.522; 1992: 434, n.522) was probably a citizen of Dyrrhachium in Macedonia, as is indicated by his voting tribe Aemilia (cf. Kubitschek 1889: 242). His surname, Macedo, may indicate that he was born in Macedonia as the son of an (Italian?) immigrant. Macedo's inscription was set up during the reign of Nero. It is therefore possible that he was transferred with his legion to the East in 56/7, either as *praefectus castrorum* or already as *tribunus militum*, even if that unusual promotion is likely to be assigned to the reign of Claudius (Dobson 1972: 197, no. 67).

DACIA

51. Apulum. — CIL 3.1044.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)/ C. Iulius/ Celeri(u)s/ 7(centurio) leg(ionis) IIII Scy(thicae)/ et XVI F(laviae) F(irmae)/ et XIII Gem(inae) / v(otum) s(olvit) I(ibens) m(erito).

2. "*Celeris errore pro Celer vel Celerinus*" (CIL). As the name *Celeris* is otherwise not attested, the most likely restoration may be *Celeri(u)s*: cf. Kajanto 1965: 248. For similar endings in *-is* instead of in *-ius* cf., e.g., ILS, Index 845.

C. Iulius Celeri(u)s had reached his third commission as a legionary centurion, now with XIII Gemina in Dacia, when he set up his dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus in Apulum, perhaps during the 2nd c. His first two centurionates were with the two Syrian legions III Scythica and XVI Flavia Firma. They may hint at his local recruitment in Syria (for a similar career cf. no. 55.1). The earliest possible reason for Celerius' transfer to Dacia may have been one of Trajan's Dacian Wars. Later dates, however, such as the campaigns against *Daci* and *Iazyges* in 158, when *vexil(larii) Afric(ae) et Mau[r]jet(aniae) Caes(ariensis)* and *Mauri gentiles* were ordered to Dacia (CIL 16.108; cf. Piso 1993: 66-68), or the continuing invasions of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* after the mid 2nd c. (witness the *translat(i) in leg(ionem) XIII G(eminam)* at Sarmizegetusa around 164-168: AE 1934. 11 = IDR III 2: 245; cf. Piso 1993: 77-78), seem at least equally possible occasions for his transfer (on such transfers in general, cf. Birley 1988: 206-20).

PANNONIA SUPERIOR

52. Carnuntum. — CIL 3.4393 = 11086 = Dobson 1972: 295-96, no. 191 [= chapt. 11, p. 221 no. 1].

Dianae Aug(ustae)/ P. Aur(elius) Cassianus,/ praefectus leg(ionis) IIII Scy(thicae)/ et leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Ant(oninianarum)/ et Aure(ia) Lucilla/

coniunx eius et/ Aurelia Terentia/ et Aurel(ius) Cassian(us)/ iunior f(ecerunt).

P. Aurelius Cassianus and his family set up this votive inscription to Diana in Carnuntum in the early 3rd c. Cassianus had been *praefectus (castrorum)* of *III Scythica* in Syria before he was transferred to Pannonia Superior to serve in the same position with *XIV Gemina*.

GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS

53. Lugudunum. — *CIL* 13.1859.

-]/ [- 7(centurioni) leg(ionum)] XI Claud[iae p(iae) f(idelis)/ -]XIII
Gemin[ae -/ -]III Scythic[ae -/ - has]tat(o) prior[i-/-] et Florus [-/ -

This fragmentary text of a gravestone from Lugdunum (Lyon) doubtless belonged to a centurion's career. The deceased, probably originally from Lugdunum, had been entrusted with several centurionates in different legions, one of which was *III Scythica*. The final rank in the deceased's career was indicated last, before the names of his heirs (a numeral, indicating the exact rank [= cohort] before *- has]tat(o) prior[i-* may have broken away; cf. Speidel 1992a: 21-42. For similar career inscriptions see the list in Speidel 1992a: 28-30, esp. no. 4, 8, 20, 22, 23, 25 [= below no. 54], and 26; cf. also above no. 29). The inscription can not be reliably dated ("primi fortasse saeculi": *CIL*; the 2nd c., however, may be more likely).

HISPANIA CITERIOR

54. Tarraco. — Alföldy 1975: no. 177 = *AE* 1977. 467 = Speidel 1992a: 36, no. 25 = Dąbrowa 1993: 82, no. 5.

[D(is)] M(anibus)/ [M(arco)? Aur(elio) Pa]latina Iusto, Ni/[comedia?], ex
eq(uite) R(omano), 7(centurioni) leg(ionum) X Fret(ensis), VI/
[Ferrat(ae)?, X]XX Ulp(iae), II Troian(ae) (*sic*), IIII/ [Scythic(ae)?],
III Cyr(enaicae), II(secundo) h(astato) pr(iori), ann(or)um XLII,/
[stip(endiorum) ---], Aureli Iusta uxor, / [mari]to dulcissim(o), item/
[Alexa]nder et Iulianus filii, / [patri p]ientissimo fecer(unt).

3./4. Or: VI/[Victr.] (Alföldy)—4./5. Or: IIII/[Flav.] (Alföldy). — 5. II (*secundo*) (Speidel).

This gravestone of Aurelius Iustus was set up by his wife and his children in the capital of the Roman province of Hispania Citerior. Due to the incomplete condition in which it is preserved, a number of questions concerning his name, his origin and his career remain. The voting tribe Palatina may indicate that Iustus was the descendant of a freedman (Alföldy 1975: 99). It is less likely to point to Rome as his origin (*contra* Angeli Bertinelli 1983: 155 n.3; Dąbrowa 1993: 82). The letters *Ni[-* at the end of line 2 have been convincingly restored to *Ni[comedia]*, as one expects an indication of Iustus' home town at this point. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that *Ni[-* should be restored to a second *cognomen* (Dąbrowa 1993: 82 wrongly quotes Alföldy to have preferred this solution). Aurelius Iustus started his centurion's career *ex equite Romano* in Judaea as centurion of *X Fretensis*, and continued in 5 other legions. The restoration *IV [Scythica]* is based on the observation that, with the exception of *XXX Ulpia Victrix*, Iustus seems to have served only in legions stationed in the East (Alföldy). Aurelius Iustus probably came to Tarraco on imperial duty, as there is no other obvious reason for him to have been buried there (save the possibility that *Ni[-* should be expanded to a second *cognomen*, and Tarraco was in fact Iustus' home town). His gravestone dates to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd c. (Alföldy).

NUMIDIA

55.1. Lambaesis. — *CIL* 8.2627 and p. 1739 = Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 240.

Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Heliopolitano/ C. Iulius Valerianus 7(centurio)/
leg(ionum) III Aug(ustae), XVI Fl(aviae) F(irmae) bis, / IIII Scyt(hicae) bis,
pro salute sua/ et Liciniae Aquilinae uxor(is) suae/ et Iuli Proculi 7(centurionis)
leg(ionum) V Mac(edonicae)/ et III Gal(licae) et XXII Primig(eniae)/ fratris sui
et Variae/ Aquilinae/ uxoris eius et Iuliae Aquilinae fil(iae)/ eorum posuit.

55.2. Lambaesis. — *CIL* 8.2997 and p.1740.

D(is) M(anibus)/ L. Valeri L. f(ilii) Col(lina)/ Rufi domo/ Antiochia/
7(centurionis) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)/ et leg(ionis) XXII Primi[g(eniae)]/
C. Iulius Valeri[anus]/ 7(centurio) leg(ionis) III Au[g(ustae)]/ amicus
ei[us]/ faciendum [cur(avit)].

C. Iulius Valerianus had held two centurionates in both Syrian legions, *III Scythica* and *XVI Flavia Firma*, before he came to Africa to serve as centurion in *III Augusta* (no. 55.1). In Lambaesis, during the 2nd c. (cf. Le Bohec 1989b: 164), he set up a gravestone for his Syrian friend and fellow centurion in the same legion, L. Valerius Rufus from Antiochia (no. 55.2). This, together with his dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus of Baalbeck (no. 55.1), leaves no doubt about Valerianus' Syrian origin. His transfers do not seem to hint at any active campaigning, though he may have taken part in the Parthian War of the 160s. His brother Iulius Proculus, however, could have joined *V Macedonica* while it was taking part in that war (Birley 1988: 213 n.6).

ITALIA

56. Aquileia. — *AE* 1902. 41 = *ILS* 9090 = Stein and Ritterling 1932: 215 = Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 289 = Alföldy 1968: 213, no. 155 = Holder 1980: 252, E 99 = Brusin 1992: 915-16, no. 2744.

Q. Etuvius Sex. f(iilius)/ Vol(tinia) Capreolus,/ domo Vienna,/ miles leg(ionis)
III Scyt(hicae) ann(is) IIII,/ eques ann(is) X, cent(urio) ann(is) XXI,/ praef(ectus)
coh(ortis) II Thrac(um) in Germ(ania)/ ann(is) V, vixit ann(is) LX,
t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)/ arbitratu/ libertor(um) idemque heredum./
Vivi fec(erunt) patrono et sibi/ Ilus IIIIvir, Erigonus,/ Secundus, Illyricus,/ Heracla.

Q. Etuvius Capreolus (PME E 14), originally from Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis, died in Aquileia in N Italy aged 60. His 8-m high, richly decorated memorial altar, set on a platform 2.15 m high – the centre piece of Capreolus' funerary garden – was unearthed in 1891 in S. Egidio and can now be seen reconstructed in the museum garden (cf. Reusser 1985: 127-28 with bibliography). Capreolus started his career as a simple *miles* in *III Scythica*, and, after 4 years, joined the legionary horse. Ten years later he reached the centurionate in which he served for 21 years before he was promoted to his highest position, *praefectus cohortis*. The inscription can be dated not long after the mid 1st c. (cf. Stein and Ritterling 1932: 83, 282; PME; Holder; Brusin). His appointment to *praefectus cohortis II Thracum* in Upper Germany can be placed after the Claudian reform of the *militiae equestres* (Holder). Dušanič proposed to place Capreolus' career between c.15 and 55 (1978: 465 n.31, 468 n.63, 472-74). The same author suggested a few years later that Capreolus may have led his cohort from Germany to Aquileia in c.56/57 to assist the completing of the expeditionary forces there, then received his discharge at Aquileia and chose it for his permanent domicile (Dušanič 1982: 155, 156 n.20). Alföldy, however (1968: 252, because of the expression *vixit annis*), followed by Demougin (1988: 319 n.176), has dated Capreolus' inscription to the early Flavian period. Should this latter suggestion be correct, then Capreolus served in the East for some time after *III Scythica* had left Moesia in 56/7.

57. Aquileia — Brusin 1992: 916, no. 2745.

- - -]/ 7(centurio) leg(ionis) IIII Scyt(hicae), [7(centurio) leg(ionis) - - -,
7(centurio) leg(ionis)]/ VI Ferr(atae), 7(centurio) leg(ionis) [- - -]/ allectus [- - -]
/ Aemil(-) et [- - -]/ Calpur[- - -]/ LXIX [- - -

1. [7(centurio) leg(ionis)] (Brusin). — 3. *allectus* [*inter decur(iones)?*] (Brusin) fits the required meaning, but is only one of a number of possible restorations. — Brusin assumes between 4 (in line 1) and 10 (in line 3) missing letters. It is, however, not clear how much of the text has broken away.

This fragmentary inscription is described by Brusin as originally belonging to a marble sarcophagus. The text describes the career of a centurion who appears to have been elected to the city council of Aquileia after his service in the Roman army. It is possible that this was also his original home town. The inscription probably dates to the 2nd (Brusin) or early 3rd c.

58. Altinum — *AE* 1981. 405.

C. Sevius Q. f(iilius)/ veteran/us lectione (sic)/ quartae/ Scuticae (sic) /
t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).

C. Sevius, a veteran of *III Scythica*, returned to his home town after his discharge. His gravestone dates to the early principate, possibly even to the Augustan period. C. Sevius therefore served with *III Scythica* in the lower Danube area, before its transfer to the East in 56/7.

59. Ruginium. — *CIL* 5.8185 = *ILS* 9172 = Dornaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 221 = Holder 1980: 304 no. 1321.

L. Campanius/ L. f(iilius) Pol(lia) Verecundus/ [ve]teran(us) leg(ionis) IIII
Scy(thicae)/ [s]ignifer, 7(centurio) c(o)ho(rtis)/ [I C]isipadensium
[tes]tamento fieri iussi[t].

L. Campanius Verecundus, a veteran of *III Scythica*, joined *cohors Cisipadensium* as *signifer*, and was finally entrusted with the centurionate in that cohort (Holder 1980: 86-87 wrongly indicates Verecundus to have been a standard-bearer with *III Scythica*). Both units were stationed in Moesia at the time (i.e. the mid-1st c.: *RE* XII 1558; Kraft 1951: 173). Legionary soldiers were often given such commands over auxiliaries in early times, *ad tradendam disciplinam* (Tac., *Agr.* 28; cf., e.g., Speidel 1984: 111-13, Gilliam 1986: 191-205). Verecundus' voting-tribe, Pollia, reveals his Italian origin (cf. Forni 1992: 126). After his retirement, Verecundus settled in Ruginium (Rovigno) in Histria, i.e. in N Italy's 10th region. This, however, was not his home town, as Pollia was not established in *Regio X* (Kubitschek 1889: 271).

60. Mediolanum.— *CIL* 5.5595.

L. Sentius L. f(iilius) Ouf(entina)/ Niger, signif(er)/ leg(ionis) III Scythicae (sic)/ hic natus hic situs est. M. Sentius L. f(iilius) Ouf(entina)/ Macer, veteran(us)/ leg(ionis) III Scythicae (sic) sibi et fratri suo/ v(ivus) f(ecit).

M. Sentius Macer and L. Sentius Niger, two brothers from *Mediolanum* (Milano), both joined *III Scythica* during the early principate. After his discharge, Macer returned home. Niger, however, died before he completed his service, and was buried by his brother just outside their home town. Macer and Niger served in Moesia (Ritterling 1925: 1558), as the gravestone dates to the first half of the 1st c. (Forni 1992: 126).

61. Mediolanum. — *CIL* 5.5828.

Sex. Octavius C. f(iilius)/ vet(eranus) leg(ionis) III Scythicae/ sibi et Antoniae/ tuendae/ contubernali/ et Octaviae/ Antoniae l(ibertae).

This gravestone was set up by Sex. Octavius, a veteran of *III Scythica*, for himself, his wife and her freedwomen. Sex. Octavius was probably a citizen of *Mediolanum* who had served with *III Scythica* in Moesia (Ritterling 1925: 1558). The inscription dates to the early principate, as is suggested by Octavius' missing *cognomen*.

62. Parma. — *CIL* 11.1059 = Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 263 = Dobson 1972: 276, no. 164.

---]/ praef(ecto) leg(ionis) XX Valer(iae)/ Victr(icis), primop(ilo) leg(ionis)/ X Gemin(ae) Piae Fidel(is)/ cent(urioni) legion(um) III Scy/thic(ae), XI Claud(iae), XIII Gem(inae),/ VII Gem(inae)/ patr(ono) col(oniae) Iul(iae) Aug(ustae) Parm(ensis), patr(ono) municipiorum/ Forodruent(inorum) et Foro/novanor(um), patron(o) col/legior(um) fabr(um) et cent(onariorum) et/ dendrophor(um) Parmens(ium)/ colleg(ium) cent(onariorum) merenti.

The unknown person for whom the *collegium centonariorum* of Parma set up this inscription was a directly commissioned centurion, probably of local origin. He had served in 3 legions before he joined *III Scythica*, where he may have ranked among the *primi ordines*. From there he moved on to *X Gemina* in *Carnuntum* (Ritterling 1925: 1678-80), now as *primuspilus*. The last post recorded on his honorary monument in Parma was *praefectus (castrorum) legionis XX Valeriae Victrix* in Britain. The inscription dates to the 2nd c. as the titles *pia fidelis* (without *Domitiana*) honoured *X Gemina* after 96 (Ritterling 1925: 1690).

63. Tifernum Tiberinum. — *CIL* 11.5935 = Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 267.

C. Aninius C. f(iilius) Pom(ptina) Gallus/ domo Arretio (centurio) leg(ionis) III/ Scyth(icae), militavit in/ pr(aetorio) an(nos) XVII,/ evoc(atus) an(nos) II,/ (centurio) in leg(ione) III Scythic(a)/ an(nos) XVIII, vixit/ an(nos) LX, meru(it) an(nos) XXXVIII,/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Atimetus l(ibertus)/ ex testamento f(aciendum) c(uravit).

C. Aninius Gallus from Arretium in Tuscany started his 38-year long military service in the Praetorian Guard in Rome where he served the full 17 years. He was then found worthy by the emperor to continue service as *evocatus* and two years later as a centurion of *III Scythica*. He died 18 years later, still in service. He was buried in Tifernum Tiberinum, not far from Arretium, by his freedmen Atimetus. The inscription probably dates to the second half of the 1st c. (cf. no. 55). It is therefore likely that Gallus served at least some of his centurionate in the East.

64. Pitinum Mergens. — *CIL* 11.5960 = Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 267 = *CBFIR* 875.

C. Ligustinio/ C. f. Clu(stumina) Diserto/ 7(centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(icticis)/ 7(centurioni) leg(ionis) IV Scythicae/ item

7(centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis)/ evocato Aug(usti)/
 benef(iciario) praef(ecti) praet(orio)/ Eutyches lib(ertus)/ patrono optimo/ ob
 merita cuius/ dedicatione/ decurionib(us) et plebei/ crus[tu]m et mulsum/ dedit.

After having served in the Praetorian Guard for 16 years, during which he was promoted to the post of *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio*, Disertus was found worthy to continue his service in the army as *evocatus Augusti*, some time in the late 1st or earlier 2nd c. He then received a commission as a centurion of *XX Valeria Victrix* in Britain. From there he was transferred to *III Scythica* and finally back again to his former legion at *Deva* (Chester). The most likely occasion for his transfer to Syria may have been — as was pointed out by E. Birley (1988: 216) — the Jewish insurrection in 132 when Hadrian sent his most capable generals against the rebels. The “first” of those “best generals” (Cass. Dio 69.13.2) was Sex. Iulius Severus (*cos.* 127), governor of Britain between 130 and 132 (cf. A. R. Birley 1981: 106-9). If E. Birley’s suggestion (1988: 216) is correct, there can be no doubt that Sex. Iulius Severus was accompanied not only by Disertus but probably also by further outstanding centurions and a battle-trying contingent from the army of Britain. (It should be noted that, contrary to what is stated in *CBFIR* p. 675, E. Birley never suggested that Disertus may have been in overall command of such a contingent). Not long after the suppression of the Jewish insurgents, Disertus was apparently needed back in Britain, perhaps due to renewed warfare towards the end of Hadrian’s reign (Birley 1988: 216). This dedication to C. Ligustinus Disertus was set up in his home town in Umbria (as indicated by Disertus’ voting tribe Clustumina: Kubitschek 1889: 74-75). His freedman Eutyches took the occasion to serve wine and pastry to the people and the town councillors of Pitinum Mergens.

65. Aequiculi. — *CIL* 9.4123.

A. Varius L. f(ilius) Cla(udia) Varro/ centurio (*sic*) leg(ionis) IIII./ Gavia Q.
 f(ilia) uxor/ ex testamento. Seleucus l(ibertus)/ fecit.

Ritterling (1925: 1564) included A. Varius Varro in his list of centurions of *III Scythica*, and it is indeed likely that Varro served with *III Scythica*, though certainty cannot be achieved. His gravestone dates to the first half of the 1st c. His voting tribe, Claudia, reveals his local origin.

66. Carseoli. — *CIL* 9.4058 = 5689.

Arunculeia(e) L. l(iberta)/ Socratia C. Appuleio C. f(ilio)/ Ani(ensis) Firmo,
 7(centurioni) leg(ionis) III<I> Sciticae (*sic*),/ Aurunculeio (Gaiae) l(iberto)
 Latroni,/ Augustali.

The freedwoman Arunculeia Socratia set up this gravestone for C. Appuleius Firmus, centurion of *III Scythica*, and for her freedman Arunculeius Latro, an *Augustalis*. Firmus was a citizen of Carseoli, which is revealed by his voting tribe Aniensis (Kubitschek 1889: 49). The inscription may date to the second half of the 1st, or the early 2nd c.

67. Tibur. — *AE* 1926. 125 [= chapt. 11, p. 221 no. 3].

Dis Manibus/ Sex(ti) Rufii/ Victoris p(rimi)p(ilaris)/ leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae.

Sex. Rufius Victor, probably from Tibur (Tivoli), had served as *primuspilus* in *III Scythica*. The fully spelt out *Dis Manibus* indicates a date not much later than the mid 1st c. Victor therefore probably served most, if not all, of his time with *III Scythica* in Moesia.

68. Puteoli. — *CIL* 10.1711 = *ILS* 2695 = Domaszewski [Dobson] 1967: 256 = Dobson 1972: 191, no. 56 [= chapt. 11, p. 221 no. 4].

[--- 7(centurioni)]/ leg(ionis) VII Macedonic(ae), pr(imipilo)/ leg(ionis) IIII Scythi-
 c(ae), trib(un) coh(ortis) [--- praet(oriae)],/ primipilo iter(um) leg(ionis) XVI
 Gall(icae),/ proc(uratori) Ti. Claudi Caesaris Au(gusti),/ d(ecret)u[m] d(ecurionum)].

This centurion’s career dates to the reign of Claudius or a little earlier. Hence the centurion and later imperial procurator, who was probably of local origin, served with *III Scythica* in Moesia (Ritterling 1925: 1558).

69. Inter Abellinum et Compsam. — *CIL* 9.1005 = *ILS* 2639 [= chapt. 11, p. 221 no. 2].

M. Paccio C. f(ilio) Gal(eria)/ Marcello primi/pilari leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae.

This inscription belongs to a funerary monument, perhaps altar-shaped, of which several blocks have been re-used in the bottom part of a tower in the abbey of S. Guglielmo al Goletto in S Italy (Devijver 1992: 179-80). M. Paccius Marcellus was a citizen of the neighbouring *municipium Compsa*, as is shown by his

voting-tribe Galeria (Kubitschek 1889: 40). The reliefs on the blocks show arms, military decorations, and three legionary standards, one of which has 3 portraits above a round shield over two crossed lances (fig. 11.1 below). These portraits may show Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian (Keppie 1984a: 229 and pl. 14a; Schäfer 1989: 297-98; but cf. also Coarelli 1967: 50-51, who identifies the 3 portraits as those of Augustus, Gaius, and Lucius Caesar). The standard on the right shows a capricorn, obviously *III Scythica's* emblem (cf. below p. 228 f), surmounting a globe. Other blocks show a *sella curulis* and *fasces*, which may indicate that M. Paccius Marcellus had also held civilian offices not mentioned in his funerary inscription.

70. Tarentum — *AE* 1969/70. 133.

[.] Salvius L. f(iilius)/ Pol(lia) Celer, vet(eranus) leg(ionis) III Scy(thicae),
curator/ adl(ectus) veter(anorum), aed(ilis), Ilvir q(uinquennalis),/ mil(itavit)
eques an(nos) XXX, vix(it) an(nos) LV,/ hic s(itus) est./ Blassia Felicula uxor.

The back of this inscription was reused as a gravestone for two *liberti*: *Antonia Fortunata* and *A. Titinius Italus*.

Salvius Celer was almost certainly of Italian origin, as is indicated by his voting-tribe Pollia (cf. Kubitschek 1889: 271; Forni 1992: 39). As a former horseman of *III Scythica*, he was elected *curator veteranorum* and settled along with veterans from his (cf. no. 71) and other legions in Tarentum in 60 (Tac., *Ann.* 14.27; on veteran settlement in Tarentum see Keppie 1984b: 81-86). It may have been Salvius Celer himself, who conducted the veterans of *III Scythica* from Syria to their new home (Keppie 1984b: 85). Celer was therefore still with his legion when it was transferred to Syria in c.56/7, and discharged, 4 or 5 years later than expected, only after the seeming end of the Parthian threat in 60 (Tac., *Ann.* 14.26; cf. Keppie 1984b: 84). After his retirement from the army, he started a municipal career in Tarentum, which was an exceptional success for a soldier below the rank of centurion (Keppie 1984b: 85). His social standing and his economic success is also reflected by his gravestone, which is the most expensive one known from amongst the veterans settled at Tarentum in 60 (Keppie 1984b: 85).

71. Tarentum. — *AE* 1980. 351.

M. Iuuentius/ Maesius, vet(eranus)/ leg(ionis) III Scyth(icae),/ mil(itavit)
ann(os) XXX,/ vix(it) annos LX,/ hic situs est.

Just like Salvius Celer, M. Iuuentius Maesius had to serve in Syria for a few years beyond the normal retirement age, before he was finally discharged and settled in Tarentum in 60 (cf. no. 70). Tacitus claims that the majority of these veterans left the town soon afterwards, as they preferred to settle in the province in which they had served (Tac., *Ann.* 14.27). Though this may be a slightly exaggerated statement, there is perhaps some evidence to indicate that at least a few soldiers returned to towns nearer to the lower Danube, where they had spent most of their active service (cf. no. 50). However, the gravestone of Salvius Celer (no. 70) proves wrong Tacitus' other statement (*Ann.* 14.27), that the veterans of 60 were without leadership.

72. Roma. — *CIL* 6.3603 = *ILS* 2668.

D(is) M(anibus)./ Iul(ius) Crescens ex/ leg(ione) VII Cl(audia), ordina/tus
7(centurio) in leg(ione) III Scyt(hica) / vixit ann(os) XLIII,/ filii et heredes
eius/ posuerunt.

Dating from the late 2nd or the 3rd c., this gravestone records the transfer (and possibly the promotion) of Iulius Crescens from an unmentioned position in the *VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* at Viminacium in Upper Moesia to a centurionate in *III Scythica* (for the term *ordinatus* meaning "[to be promoted to the position of] centurion" cf. Gilliam 1986: 1-22 and 442, where *CIL* 6.3603 is discussed on p.8, cf. also Rea 1980: 217-19). No reason for his transfer is mentioned, but it may well have "been found necessary to bring in some tough Europeans to replace inefficient local centurions", perhaps in connection with a planned or ongoing Parthian war (Birley 1988: 214-15). A "normal War Office posting" on the other hand, due to a lack of vacancies in Upper Moesia and perhaps the benefits of personal patronage, may just as well have been responsible for Crescens' transfer (cf. Birley 1988: 214-15 suggesting, for example, the influence of Helvius Pertinax). Iulius Crescens died at the age of 44, apparently still with the army, and was buried by his children and heirs in Rome. This may point to the fact that his family was established in the empire's capital.

73. Rome. — *CIL* 6.403 = *ILS* 4328.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Balmarcodi/ M. Verginius Bassus/ 7(centurio)
leg(ionis) III Scyt(hicae)/ vot(um) sol(vit).

This dedication to Phoenician *Iuppiter Balmarcodes*, whose main temple was near Berytus (Beirut; cf. *RE* II: 2834-35, *RE Suppl.* I: 240, and *Diz. Ep.* I: 963), was set up in Rome by M. Verginius Bassus, a centurion of *III Scythica*. Perhaps Bassus had come from Syria to Rome on duty, as he was still serving when he set up the inscription. The monument dates to the 2nd or 3rd c.

74. Rome. — *CIL* 6.417 = 30762 = Speidel 1978: 61-62, no. 34 = Hörig and Schwertheim 1987: 261, no. 404.

In front:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno)/ Aur(elius) Iulianus / eq(ues)
R(omanus)/ sacer/dos (h)uius/ loci d(ono) d(edit).

Left side, underneath an eagle:

Aquil(ae) leg(ionis) V Maced(onicae).

Right side, underneath an eagle:

Aquil(ae) leg(ionis) III Scut(hicae) (*sic*).

This marble slab was dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus in his shrine on the Aventine in Rome by his priest Aurelius Iulianus. The inscription dates to the late 2nd or 3rd c., as the dedicant's family name Aurelius, the missing *praenomen* and the expression *equus Romanus* (cf. Demougin 1988: 199-201) suggest. Aurelius Iulianus, a Roman knight, had once served in the two legions *III Scythica* and *V Macedonica*, whose eagles he had engraved on the sides of this monument. His rank in the legions will at least have been that of centurion, perhaps that of *primuspilus*, as former *primipili* often joined the *numerus primipilarium* in Rome. It is also possible, although less likely, that Aurelius Iulianus had served as a *tribunus militum* (cf. Speidel 1978: 61-62, no. 34).

APPENDIX II: HOMES AND CAREERS

1. SOLDIERS AND JUNIOR OFFICERS

No.	Name	Date	Origin	Settled in	Rank(s)
58	C. Sevius	early II c.	Italy	Italy	veteranus
61	Sex. Octavius	early II c.	Italy	Italy	veteranus
43	T. Sextilius	early II c.	Italy (?)	Cilicia	veteranus
59	Campanius Verecundus	1. half I c.	Italy	Italy	veteranus sig. coh., 7 coh.
60	Sentius Niger	1. half I c.	Italy		signifer
60	Sentius Macer	1. half I c.	Italy	Italy	veteranus
56	Etvivius Capreolus	1. half I c.	Narbonensis	Italy	miles, eques, centurio, praef. coh.
70	Salvius Celer	mid I c.	Italy	Italy	eques, veteranus, cur. veteran.
71	Iuventius Maesius	mid I c.	?	Italy	veteranus
47	Cassius [-]tanus	I c.	?	Macedonia	veteranus
48	Sentius Saturninus	I c.	?	Macedonia	veteranus
41	Valerius Longidius	1. half II c.	Cappadocia	Cappadocia	veteranus
2	Flavius Telegonus	II / III c.	Syria		librarius
27	Felicius Felix	II / III c.	Syria (?)		miles SN?
4	Rabilius Beliabus	II / III c.	Syria (?)		signifer
4	Decimius Cilicianus	II / III c.	Cilicia (?)		tubicen
40	Aur. Posidius Obrimus	II / III c.	Cappadocia	Cappadocia	veteranus
45	Aur. Antipatros	II / III c.	Bithynia		miles
19	Iulius Domninus	III c.	Syria (?)		librarius
21	Theognis	III c.	Syria (?)		miles
21	Theophilus	III c.	Syria (?)		miles
22	Aur. Diphilianus	III c.	Syria		miles
23	Aur. Theotecnos	III c.	Syria		miles

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Settled in</i>	<i>Rank(s)</i>
24	Aur. [---]	III c.	Syria (?)		miles coh., miles leg.
25	Aur. Antiochus	III c.	Syria (?)		miles
19	Donnius Pusias	III c.	"the East"		adiutor
19	Aur. Antiochus	III c.	"the East"		adiutor
2. CENTURIONS					
46	Pomponius Aquila	1. half I c.	Italy	Macedonia	7 leg. IV Scy.
65	Varius Varro	1. half I c.	Italy		7 leg. IV [Scy.?)
68	[---]	1. half I c.	Italy		7 leg. V. Mac., p.p. leg. IV Scy., trib. coh. praet., p.p. leg. XVI Gal. proc. Aug. mil. leg. IV Scy., eques, 7 leg. IV Scy., praef. coh. p.p. leg. IV Scy.
56	Etuvius Capreolus	mid I c.	Narbonensis	Italy	praef. castr. leg. IV Scy., trib. mil. leg. IV Scy.
67	Rufius Victor	mid I c.	Italy		7 leg. IV Scy.
50	Paesidius Macedo	mid I c.	Mac.	Macedonia	p.p. leg. IV Scy.
28	Caesius Priscus	2. half I c.	Italy (?)		7 leg. IV Scy.
69	Pacius Marcellus	2. half I c.	Italy		p.p. leg. IV Scy.
66	Appuleius Firmus	2. half I c.	Italy		7 leg. IV Scy.
63	Aninius Gallus	2. half I c.	Italy		mil. coh. praet., evoc. Aug., 7 leg. IV Scy.
44	Cassius Saturninus	early II c.	(Italy)/Asia	Asia	7 leg. V Mac., 7 leg. IV Scy.
64	Ligustinius Disertus	1. half II c.	Italy		bf. praef. praet., evoc. Aug., 7 leg. XX V. v., 7 leg. IV Scy., 7 leg. XX V. v.
49	Sabidius Maximus	1. half II c.	Macedonia		mil. leg. XI Cl., signif., cornic., optio ad spem, 7 leg. XI Cl., 7 leg. III Gal., 7 leg. IV Scy., 7 leg. I [---], 7 leg. [---], 7 leg. XIII G.
30	Septimius Magnus	1. half II c.	Syria		7 leg. III Gal. iterum, 7 leg. IV Scy., 7 leg. XX V. V. iterum, 7 leg. X Fret. iterum.
37	[---]	1. half II c.	Syria (?)	Syria (?)	7 leg. IV Scy.
39	Coesius Florus	1. half II c.	Cappadocia		7 leg. IV Scy., praef. leg. XI C. p. f.
15	Iulius Rufinus	II c.	Italy		evoc. Aug., 7 leg. IV Scy., 7 leg. XI Cl., 7 leg. IV Scy.,

No.	Name	Date	Origin	Settled in	Rank(s)
62	[---]	II c.	Italy		7 leg. VII G., 7 leg. XIII G., 7 leg. XI Cl., 7 leg. IV Scy., p.p. leg. X G., praef. (castr.) leg. XX V. v.
53	[---]	II c. ?	Lugdunensis	Lugdunensis	[---], 7 leg. XI Cl., 7 leg. XIII G., 7 leg. IV Scy., hastatus prior.
55	Iulius Valerianus	II c.	Syria		7 leg. IV Scy. bis, 7 leg. XVI F. f. bis, 7 leg. III Aug.
51	Iulius Celerius	II c.	Syria (?)		7 leg. IV Scy., 7 leg. XVI F.f., 7 leg. XIII G.
14	Ces[tus?]	2. half II c			7 leg. IV Scy., praep. numerorum.
35	Petronius Secundus	2. half II c.	Italy		7 leg. IV Scy., princ. praetorii.
31	Celesticus	2. half II c.	Syria		7 leg. III Gal., 7 leg. IV Scy., 7 leg. VI Ferr., [curator ---], cur. ripae sup., cur. coh.
57	[----]	II / III c.	Italy (?)		[---], 7 leg. IV Scy., [---], 7 leg. VI Ferr., 7 leg. [---].
72	Iulius Crescens	II / III c.	Italy (?)		ex leg. VII Cl., 7 leg. IV Scy.
73	Verginius Bassus	II / III c.	"the East"?		7 leg. IV Scy.
54	Aur. Iustus	(II) / III c.	Bithynia (?)		7 leg. X Fret., 7 leg. VI Ferr., 7 leg. XXX U., 7 leg. II Tr., 7 leg. IV Scy., 7 leg. III Cyr., sec. hast. prior.
74	Aur. Iulianus	(II) / III c. ?	Italy		p.p. leg. V Mac., p.p? leg. IV Scy.
29	Aelius Verecundius	early III c.	Dacia		exactus, librarius, frum., speculator, evoc., 7 leg. IV Scy., 7 frum., hastatus prior.
52	Aur. Cassianus	III c.	?		praef. leg. IV Scy. praef. leg. XIII Gem. Ant.
25	Alexander	III c.	"the East" (?)		7 leg. IV Scy.

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APPENDIX III

A SOLDIER OF LEGIO III SCYTHICA FROM ZEUGMA

Michael P. Speidel

Legio III Scythica may have had its fortress at Zeugma on the Euphrates from A.D. 56 onwards and throughout the 2nd c. But while the site has yielded a rich series of over 150 civilian headstones with impressive reliefs and inscriptions (Wagner 1976: 147-273; cf. pp. 92-93), only one (broken) gravestone of a soldier of *legio III Scythica* has come to light there (Wagner 1976: 135-36).⁶⁷ The soldiers may have used perishable wooden gravemarkers, or their own graveyard may not yet have been found; perhaps the legionary fortress itself lay elsewhere (see p. 168; cf. 246). Thus we know next to nothing about the soldiers at Zeugma.⁶⁸ Yet the outlook is not quite as bleak as one might think, for a second look reveals a beautiful and informative gravestone of a legionary.

On one of the many figured stelae from Zeugma, an older man and his turbaned wife stare out of a portrait niche. In the niche below them lurks a young man (fig. 10.4). The editor of the stelae saw in these portraits a married couple and their son. He also rightly dated the monument to the later Severan period because of the son's oval face, typical for the period. More recently, Skupinska-Løvset (1985: 114) has compared the likeness to that of the adolescent portraits of Caracalla. The inscription reads: (Wagner 1976: 165; 246-47).⁶⁹

Φλάουις Τηλέγονος
 λειβράρις
 χάρει

The word λειβράρις has not been understood so far, and, though at one point taken for a name (Wagner 1976: fig 19, opp. p. 160), is missing from lists and indices (Wagner 1976: 169-71; 300). Yet there can be no doubt that it stands for the Latin *librarius*, "clerk". Greek inscriptions often

67 Gravestones at Zeugma for soldiers of other legions: Speidel 1992: 212-17 (I hasten to add a correction: the gravestone of Septimius Longinus, set up perhaps in 201, could indeed be from Septimius Severus' Second Parthian War, for the emperors stayed in Syria until 202 [Birley 1988: 140]).

68 Next to nothing: Wagner 1976: 167 "Ausser den lateinisch abgefassten Militärgrabstelen enthält keine der Stelen mit Namen römischer Herkunft inschriftliche oder ikonographische Hinweise auf eine Verbindung dieser Personen zum Legionslager der Stadt."

69 Adana Museum Inv. No. 52-3-72. The letters tau and pi scratched beneath the father's image may read Τ(ηλέγονου) π(ατηρ).



Fig. 10.4. Stele of Flavius Telegonus.

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APPENDIX IV: A NEW VETERAN OF *LEGIO III SCYTHICA*

Dr. M. Sayar kindly informs me of an unpublished gravestone at the Antakya Museum which mentions a veteran of *legio III Scythica*. Its find-spot has not yet been established as this gravestone was confiscated from antiquities' dealers who could give no trustworthy information as to where they acquired it.

write epsilon and iota for a short Latin I (*IGRR III*: p. 678f), and the ending $\text{-}\iota\varsigma$ for $\text{-}ius$ is common.⁷⁰ Flavius Telegonus, the *librarius*, is not therefore a civilian but served in the army.

Other men shown on sculptures from Zeugma wear the *himation*; he alone sports army uniform. A *fibula* over his right shoulder holds the *sagum* or *chlamys* worn by soldiers during the 2nd and 3rd c. At a legionary fortress like Zeugma there was no need to state one's unit. Seeing Telegonus' rank and dress one would understand that he had served in *legio III Scythica* (even if part of it had by this time moved further east [Speidel 1992: 212-17]). Telegonus' father, with his flappy ears, short-cropped hair, and stubbly beard, looks like mid 3rd-c. barrack-emperors. He too may have seen service in the army, but whatever his past the gravestone he gave his son proves that he and his wife belonged to Zeugma's upper class. The stele of Flavius Telegonus thus provides a link — our first — between the legionaries and the town's wealthy civilians known from their fine gravestones, life-size statues, rock-cut tombs, and magnificent mosaics. Down to the mid 3rd c., a surprising number of men of middle- and upper-class status in their home towns served in the Roman army. Zeugma was no exception: witness the stele of Flavius Telegonus.⁷¹

70 For *librarius* frequently used in Greek transliteration, see Daris 1971: 69. For this rank in the legions, see Speidel 1984: 200.

71 See also the many Latin names of people from Zeugma: Wagner 1976: 169-71. Social origin of Roman soldiers: Speidel 1994: 79-81 with refs.

Commanders and officers of *Legio III Scythica*

Hubert Devijver

Introduction

The last general survey of the commanders and officers of *Legio III Scythica* dates from 1925 in Ritterling's good — but now outdated — synthesis of all the Roman legions. Much of the surviving evidence for its commanders and officers relates to its lengthy sojourn at Zeugma. A fresh survey is, therefore, timely and appropriate in the context of the fieldwork at Zeugma.

This essay is concerned with the most senior officers of *Legio III Scythica*. There is little to be said about these men in the period before the creation of a fully professional army by Augustus and after the system of command was altered in the second half of the 3rd c. when evidence declines sharply. The period covered is therefore that from Augustus to Gallienus (30 B.C. - A.D. 268). During that period the legion was stationed first in Europe — principally Moesia — then in Syria. From A.D. 66, it is associated with Zeugma; later, parts of it are attested downstream at Dura-Europus, and by the time of Diocletian it was further south at Oriza (Wagner 1976: 143-46).

These two provinces were each governed by ex-consuls, men of the senatorial class. The legionary commanders beneath them were likewise senators, in this case ex-praetors, average age about 30-35, with the title of *legatus legionis*. Each legion also had one tribune of senatorial rank, the *tribunus laticlavius*, between 16 and 24 years old, who was nominal commander of the legion when the legate was absent. These men were drawn from the ranks of the tip of the imperial élite, which was only some 600 strong at any one time. Alongside the senatorial tribunes were 5 equestrian tribunes with the title *tribunus angusticlavius*. They were usually 35 to 45 years old, having first held local offices in their native *municipia* or *coloniae*. Officers of this group came straight out of civilian life, and after their military service, usually 2.5-3 years for each command, they returned to civilian status. At first glance it seems strange that legionary command was entrusted to untrained officers, but Rome did not have a military academy. The underlying philosophy was that provincial governors and higher officers did not so much require military talent but first and foremost *paideia*, a level of culture. It was not so much a matter of commanding a legion as of governing with perception. The highest representatives of Rome in the provinces had to be cultivated men, at least until the 3rd c., when due to the general crisis and the professionalization of the army professional military men were called in.

In the course of the first two centuries of the empire the technical staff of seasoned officers of the legionary commander came to include the most senior centurions of the legion. All centurions were professional soldiers who could ascend through the ranks of the 60 centurions of a legion. From their daily contact with the soldiers of their century they comprised the backbone of the legion. After years of loyal service, a handful could advance to first centurion of the first century of the first cohort of a legion. There they acquired the title *primus pilus*, and were rewarded with membership in the equestrian order, the second tier of the imperial aristocracy. Such *primi pili* were then usually 45 to 50 years old. Thereafter these *primipilares* could be promoted to *praefectus castrorum* (technically the camp commander) or they could be called to Rome to serve near the emperor in the city cohorts as *tribunus cohortis vigilum*, *cohortis urbanae*, *cohortis praetoriae*. Finally they might return to a legion as *primus pilus iterum*.

The *primus pilus iterum*, then, was the technically most qualified officer; after him came the *praefectus castrorum* and the *primus pilus*. This trio of professional military technicians

formed a counterweight to the short-term *legatus legionis*, the *tribunus laticlavii*, and the 5 *tribuni angusticlavii*, the theorists, the intellectuals, the ideologues of *romanitas*. But together they formed the staff of a Roman legion.

Legio III Scythica was incorporated by Augustus into his standing army. We have no information on the origin of the legion (Ritterling 1925: 1556). It may have been stationed in this early period in Moesia (Ritterling 1925: 1557); certainly it was from that province that it was transferred to Syria in A.D. 56/57. Then or soon after it was based at Zeugma. The present paper will be focused primarily on the legion's presence in Syria.

2. The prosopographical method

The study of an ancient society (macrostructure), institution, social group, or the staff of a legion, in this case *legio III Scythica* (microstructure), is best done through the individuals who were operational in it, in other words by the prosopographical route. In compiling this register I have been able to draw on various existing studies which must be updated and supplemented. The principal sources are:

Legati legionis: From Augustus to Trajan: Franke 1991; from Augustus to Gallienus for the eastern provinces of the empire: Wachtel 1970; for the areas and years not covered I have systematically consulted *AE*.

Tribuni laticlavii: studied in detail by Peeters 1984 (unpublished PhD. diss.). After 1984 *AE* has been systematically checked.

Tribuni angusticlavii: extracted from *PME*.

Primpilares: the important monograph of Dobson 1978 was updated from subsequent entries in *AE*.

These prosopographical researches yielded the following numbers for *Legio III Scythica*: *legati legionis* 16; *tribuni laticlavii* 19; *tribuni angusticlavii* 24; *praefecti (castrorum)* 3; *primi pili* 4. What do these numbers represent? The period during which the legion was stationed in Syria and the system sketched above was in force covers about two centuries from c.60 to 268. The duration of a staff officer's commission in this period was usually 2.5-3 years. We can calculate the theoretical number of posts that were available for staff officers in the legion and set alongside it the actual number known (subtracting from the list above those known to have served in Moesia or undatable). The figure in parentheses is the percentage of the theoretical total).

	Theoretical	Attested
<i>legati legionis</i>	80	13 (16%)
<i>tribuni laticlavii</i>	80	17 (21%)
<i>tribuni angusticlavii</i>	400	16 (4%)
<i>primipili</i>	80	3 (3.7%)
<i>praefecti castrorum</i>	80	2 (2.5%)
<i>primi pili iterum</i>	80	0

It is clear that statistical research is impossible with such numbers (cf. Kennedy 1996: 14-15). What we can do with such data is point out certain trends, since the percentages relate to socially homogeneous groups. The percentages also show that the higher one's *ordo*, the more chance one had of epigraphical survival (Devijver 1993a: 207-8).

3. Prosopography of the commanders and senior officers

Persons not included in this prosopography:

- T. Flavius Vespasianus (*PME* I, IV, V: F83 bis), *tribunus militum legionis* (ignotae) in Thracia; cf. Ritterling 1925: 1562-63 (*legio III Scythica* vel V Macedonica); Franke: 1991: 35-37 n. 18.
- C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (*PIR*² IV: 1508), *praepositus vexillationum legionis III Scythicae et legionis* [- - -] et *legionis XII Fulminatae* (c.101/102).
- C. Petillius Firm[us] (*PME* II, IV: P19; ad *CIL* XI 1834 = *ILS* 1000), *tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) (laticlavii) IIII [Flav(iae) Fel]ic(is) (et non: IIII [Scyth]ic(ae))*; Ritterling 1925: 1562).
- Anonymous: *IG* III 629+630 = *IG* II/III² 4220, *legatus legionis* IV in Moesia et *leg. leg. III* (in Syria?); Franke 1991: 307.

Legati legionis

1. P. Cassius Dexter Augus[tanius Alpin]us Belli- cius Sollers Metilius [– –]us Rutilianus c.144-147	9. M. Maecius Celer	92-94
2. T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus [49-53]	10. L. Martius Macer	[42-43]
3. L. Funisulanus Vettonianus 62	11. Cn. Pompeius Collega	69-70
4. Gellius Maximus 219	12. T. Prifernius Paetus Rosianus Nonius [Agric]ola C. Labeo [T]et[tius? Geminus]	c.140
5. Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus 80-82	13. (M. Quintius) Atticus [tempus incertum]	
6. C. Iulius Scapula c.130-134	14. L. Septimius Severus c.182-183	
7. C. Iulius Severus 132	15. L. Valerius Messala Thrasea Poplicola	
8. A. Larcus Priscus 94/95-97	Helvidius Priscus c.105	
	16. Q. Voconius Saxo Fidus c.144-147	

1. P. Cassius P.f. Cl(audia) Dexter Augus[tanius Alpin]us Bellicius Sollers Metilius [– –]us Rutilianus *CIL* III 12116 (cf. 13618) = *IGR* III 903 = *ILS* 1050 (cf. *add.* p.CLXXIII) (Hierapolis Castabala, Cilicia), alia testimonia: Rémy 1989: 346-47 n.307; *PIR*² II C490; Franke 1991: 308.

- Xvir stlitibus iudicandis
- trib(unus) laticl(avius) leg(ionis) III Au[gustae] (c.135-137, Lambaesis, Numidia; patre legato Aug. pr. pr. exercitus Africani)
- [sevir equitum (?)] R(omanorum?), quaestor (138), tribunus plebis, praetor fideicommissarius (c.143)
- legatus legionis III Scythicae (Zeugma, c.144-147)
- legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Ciliciae (c.149-151), consul (suffectus, 152-153?)
- VIIvir epulorum, sodalis Titius Italia, Regio X, Verona (?) (Pflaum 1966: 3-23); Alföldy 1982: 360 n.2: “Norditalien”.

2. T. Clodius M.f. Fal(erna) Eprius Marcellus

Rémy 1989: 281-84 n.230 ubi omnia testimonia et bibliographia; Franke 1991: 87-89 n.45.

incertum an legatus legionis XIV Geminae (Britannia) an legionis IV Macedoniae (Germania Superior) an IV Scythicae (Moesia) fuisse, 49-53 (*AE* 1979. 634 = *AE* 1956. 168).

Italicus, Capua, Regio I.

3. L. Funisulanus L.f. Ani(ensi) Vettonianus

CIL XI 571 = *AE* 1946. 205 = G. W. Houston, *ZPE* 20 (1976) 25-26 (Forum Popilii, Regio VIII, Italia); *CIL* III 4013 = *ILS* 1005 = V. Hoffiler and B. Saria, *AIJ* 215 n.479 (Andautonia, Pannonia); *PIR*² III F570 (alia testimonia).

*PIR*² III F570; Alföldy 1969: 126-27; Schumacher 1973: 110 n.6; Corbier 1974: 81-87 n.23; Franke 1991: 89-93 n.46.

- IIIv[ir], fortasse ‘capitalis’ (Eck 1970: 96 not. 10)
- trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Victr(icis) (Hispania Citerior, c.50?)
- quaestor provinciae Siciliae, tribunus plebis, praetor (hastarius – vel – fideicommissarius?)
- legatus legionis III Scythicae (in Oriente, Syria, 62; Caesennio Paeto in Armenia, 62, contra Parthos)
- curator viae Aemiliae (de ordine munerum, Eck 1974: 197; Franke 1991: 89-93 n.46), praefectus aerarii Saturni, consul (suffectus, 78?), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Dalmatiae (c.79/80-81/82, Eck 1982: 302-5), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Pannoniae (c.82/83-85/86, 84, 85, Eck 1982: 306-10), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Moesiae Superioris, donatus ab Imperatore Domitiano bello Dacico coronis IIII murali vallari classica aurea, hastis puris IIII, vexillis IIII (c.86/87-87/88, Eck 1982: 312-14), proconsul provinciae Africae (c.91/92, Eck 1982: 319)
- VIIvir epulorum, sodalis Augustalis; patronus Andautonensium Italia, e Regione VIII; fortasse Ariminum; Donati 1982: 305.

4. Gellius Maximus

Cass. Dio 79.7.1-2

*PIR*² IV G130; cf. G123, G131.

- legatus legionis quartae Scythicae in Syria (Zeugma, 219) imperium appetens interficitur Antiocheia ad Pisidiam, Galatia (Halfmann 1982: 646); medici filius; pater erat L. Gellius Maximus, archiater Caracallae ducenarius, amicus Caracallae, sacerdos Aesculapi.

5. Ti. Iulius Ti.f. Cor(nelia) Celsus Polemaeanus

IEph VII.2, 5101-15: Inschriften der Celsusbibliothek; *IEph* VII.2, 5102 = *AE* 1905. 120 = J. Keil, *Forsch. Eph.* V.1.2 (titulus Graecus); *IEph* VII.2, 5103 = R. Heberdey, *JÖAI* 7 (1904) Bbl. 56 = *AE* 1904. 99 = *ILS* 8971 = J. Keil, *Forsch. Eph.* V.1.3 (titulus Latinus, Ephesus, Asia); alia testimonia: Rémy 1989: 39-41 n.24. *PME* I 142; IV, 142; V, 142; *PIR*² IV 1260; Rémy 1989: 39-41 n.24 (ibi bibliographia); Franke 1991: 95-97 n.48.

- trib(unus) legionis III Cyrenaicae – χειλίαρχος λεγιῶνος γ΄ Κυρηναϊκῆς (Aegyptus, 69, praefecto Ti. Iulio Alexandro); ad finem 69 vexillatio legionis III Cyrenaicae missa in Iudaeam (Jos., *BJ* 5.287) fortasse cum Ti. Iulio Celso et in Iudaea a Tito vel a Vespasiano in senatum adlectus sit(?), (69/70)
- adlectus inter tribunicios ab divo Vespasiano, pr(aetor) p(opuli) R(omani) (75 vel 76), leg(atus) Aug(ustorum) divorum Vespasiani et Titi (sc. iuridicus) provinciae Cappadociae et Galatiae, Ponti, Pisidiae, Paphlagoniae, Armeniae minoris (Lycaoniae; 78-79)
- leg(atus) divi Titi leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae – πρεσβευτῆς θεοῦ Τίτου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Σεβαστοῦ λεγιῶνος δ΄ Σκυθικῆς (legatus legionis divi Titi et Imp. Augusti, sc. Domitiani, sc. 80/82)
- proconsul Ponti et Bithyniae (c.83/84), praefectus aerarii militaris (c.85-87), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Ciliciae (c.88/89-90/91), consul suffectus (92), curator aedium sacrarum et operum publicorum populi Romani (c.93-95), proconsul Asiae (c.105-106)
- XVvir sacris faciundis
Ephesus, Asia; de familia: *PME* I, 142; IV, 142; V, 142; *PIR*² IV 1260.

6. C. Iulius Scapula

IGR III 176, 177, 178 (Ancyra, Galatia); Rémy 1989: 151-152 n.113 ad nomen: [– – – D]onat[us Balbi?]nus (*PIR*² IV I553).

Rémy 1989: 151-52 n.113; *PIR*² IV I553.

- χειλίαρχος πλατύσημος λεγεῶνος ζ΄ Διδύμου εὐτυχοῦς (trib. laticlavus leg.VII Geminae felicitis; Legio, Hispania Citerior, c.120; Alföldy 1969: 127, 186-87; Le Roux 1982: 313)
- quaestor provinciae Baeticae, tribunus plebis, praetor
- ἡγεμὼν λεγεῶνος δ΄ Σκυθικῆς (legatus legionis IIII Scythicae; Zeugma, c.130-134)
- proconsul provinciae Achaiae (c.135/136, Eck 1982: 178), legatus Hadriani et Antonini pr. pr. provinciae Galatiae (c.136/137-138/139; Eck 1982: 179-84), consul designatus (consul suffectus, 138 designatus, 139? suffectus, Alföldy 1977: 140, 205)
- Origo? Italicus? (Rémy); originis incertae (?); stemma (Rémy; *PIR*²).

7. C. Iulius, Iulii Quadrati f(ilius), Fab(ia) Severus

A. West, *Corinth* VIII.2, 56 = *AE* 1923. 4 (Corinthus, Achaia); *CIG* 4033 = *IGR* III 174 = *ILS* 8826 = *OGIS* 545 (Ancyra, Galatia); *CIG* 4034 = *IGR* III 175 (Ancyra, Galatia); alia testimonia: Rémy 1989: 50-52 n.34.

*PIR*² IV I573; Rémy 1989: 50-52 n.34; Schumacher 1973: 23-24 n.55; Corbier 1974: 195-205 n.41; Halfmann 1979: 151-52 n.62; 1982: 643-44; Eck 1983: 176-78; 1985: 169-70.

- provincialibus muneribus functus: agoranomos, agonothetes, archon, σεβαστοφάντης (Ancyra), archiereus (Galatiae), πρῶτος Ἑλλήνων (magistratus significationis incertae)
- exercitum Romanum contra Parthos proficiscentem (113/114) et redeuntem (autumno 117) Ancyrae liberaliter excepit
- inter tribunicios adlectus ab Hadriano, praetor, legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae – πρεσβευτῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς καὶ κωδικίλλου = legatus in Asia ex epistula et codicillis Hadriani (i.e. nominationem legati proconsuli abstulerat et sibi vindicaverat), regionem prope Dorylaeum terminat legatus Hadriani pro praetore (quod ad legationem Asiae, non ad correcturam Bithyniae referendum est)
- leg(atus) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae – ἡγεμόνα λεγεῶνος δ΄ Σκυθικῆς διοικήσαντα τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ πράγματα ἡνίκα Πουβλίκος Μάρκελλος διὰ τὴν κίνησιν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν μεταβεβήκει ἀπὸ Συρίας (i.e. vice legati Syriae, Publicii Marcelli, tempore tumultus Iudaici, 132; Zeugma)
- proconsul provinciae Asiae (133/134; curio et patronus Corinthus); missus ab Hadriano (ad finem 134) in Bithyniam cum quinque fascibus legatus Augusti pr. pr. ad corrigendum statum provinciae (διορθωτῆς καὶ λογιστῆς), de administratione Bithyniae optime gesta Dio 69.14.4; praefectus aerarii Saturni (c.135-137); consul (suffectus 138 vel 139); pontifex; curator operum publicorum (c.140-141); legatus pr. pr. Germaniae Inferioris (inter 142 et 150; W. Eck 1985, 169-70 n.31); proconsul Asiae (151-153)
- Ancyra, Galatia; nobilissimo genere Ancyrano ortus, nam inter maiores eius Deiotarus rex, Amyntas Brigati et Amyntas Dyriali (?) tetrarchae, Attalus rex Asiae; inter propinquos: Iulius Quadratus (*PIR*² IV

1506/7), (Iulius) Alexander (*PIR*² IV I136), Iulius Aquila (*PIR*² IV I168), Claudius Severus (*PIR*² IV I618: filius fortasse patre legato legionis III Scythicae tribunus laticlavus legionis III Scythicae).

8. A. Larcus A.f. Quir(ina) Priscus

CIL VIII 17891 = *ILS* 1055 (Thamugadi, Numidia); *AE* 1908. 235 (inter Lambaesim et Thamugadim, Numidia); alia testimonia: *PIR*² V L103.

*PIR*² V L103; Franke 1991: 37-39 n.19; Pflaum 1978: 17; A. R. Birley 1981: 235-37; Alföldy 1969: 175-76; Eck 1982: 328, 346; Schumacher 1973: 116; Licordari 1982: 17; Reynolds 1982: 681, 682.

- sevir equitum Romanorum, Xvir stlitibus iudicandis (aet. Domitiani, c.90), quaestor provinciae Asiae
 - legatus Augusti legionis III Scythicae (III pro III traditur in *CIL* VIII 17891 = *ILS* 1055) – pro legato consulare provinciae Syriae, 94/95-97, inimicus Traiani, ab eo remotus est e Syria (97; M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curvatus Maternus, leg. Aug. pr. prov. Syriae 97 et loco eius A. Larcus Priscus nominatus est, Franke 1991: 37-39 n.19)
 - tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus (proconsulis) provinciae Baeticae (102/103), praefectus frumenti dandi ex senatus consulto
 - legatus Aug. legionis II Augustae (104-106, quae in Britannia tendebat; Isca Silurum, Britannia)
 - legatus Aug. pr. pr. exercitus Africae (sc. legionis III Aug., c.105/106-107/108)
 - proconsul provinciae Galliae Narbonensis (c.108-109), consul designatus, consul suffectus (110)
 - VIIvir epulonum; patronus coloniae Thamugadensis
- Antium, Regio I, Italia (Licordari 1982: 17; vide Reynolds 1982: 681).

9. M. Maecius Celer

Statius, *Silvae* 3, *Praef.* 3.2.105, 3.2.121-26; alia testimonia: *PIR*² V M51.

*PIR*² V M51; Franke 1991: 296-97 n.129; Alföldy 1969: 76-78.

- tribunus laticlavus in Syria: legionis III Gallicae / III Scythicae / VI Ferratae; quae legio in Syria? ad finem aet. Vespasiani / Titi – ineunte aet. Domitiani
- legatus legionis in Syria: legionis III Gallicae / III Scythicae / VI Ferratae; quae legio in Syria? 92-94
- posteriores honores non noti sunt; cfr. *PIR*² V M51
- consul (suffectus, 101)

Ilici, Hispania Citerior? Le Roux 1982: 460; Caballos Rufino 1990: 199-201 n.107.

10. [L.] Martius L.f. Pom(ptina) [Ma]cer

CIL XI 1835 = *ILS* 969 (Arretium, Regio VII, Italia).

PME II M36, IV M36; *PIR*² V M343; Franke 1991: 302.

- legatus Tiberii Claudii Caesaris Augusti pro praetore provinciae Moesiae (et eodem tempore legatus) legionum III Scythicae et V Macedonicae (42-43; Moesia)

Italia, Arretium, Regio VII.

11. Cn. Pompeius Collega

Jos., *BJ* 7.58-61; alia testimonia: Rémy 1989: 187-88 n.155 et bibliographia.

Rémy 1989: 187-88 n.155; Franke 1991: 93-94 n.47.

- *προσβεντής* sc. legatus legionis III Scythicae (69/70, Syria) et 70: proconsulare provinciae Syriae, loco L. Iunii Caesennii Paeti nondum in Syria
- consul (suffectus; inter 71-73)
- legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Cappadociae et Galatiae (c.75/76-77/78)

Origo?

12. T. Prifernius T.f. Quir(ina) Paetus Rosianus Nonius [Agric]ola C.Labeo [T]et[tius (?) Geminus]

AE 1972. 153 = M. Torelli, *MEFR* 81 (1969) 601-26 (Trebula Mutuesca, Regio IV, Italia); cf. *CIL* VI 1499;

XIV 246, 247; XI 1431 = *Inscr. Ital.* VII.1, 122; IX 6078.16; XIV 2434; Eck, *RE Suppl.* XIV (1974) 484 n.2.

PIR III P692; Thomasson 1975: 63-65; Schumacher 1973: 54 n.22; cfr. *PME* II P107, IVP107, V P107.

- Xvir stlitibus iudicandis
- [tr]ibu[nus] mil(itum) [lat]iclavus legionis X Fre[t]e[nsis] (c.126-128; Hierosolyma, Iudaea)
- quaestor candidatus, tribunus plebis candidatus, curator municipii (Trebulanorum) datus a divo Hadriano (Alföldy 1977: 41 n.19; Eck 1979: 204), praetor candidatus divi Hadriani
- legatus divi Pii legionis [XI]V [Gemin]ae (?) – vel – [I]V [Scythic]ae(?) (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior (?) – vel – Zeugma, Syria (?); c.140)

- legatus pr. pr. divi Pii provinciae Aquitanicae (142-145(?); Alföldy 1977: 252), consul (suffectus, 146), curator alvei Tiberis et cloacarum urbis, p[raefectus aliment(?)]orum, legatus pr. pr. divi Pii provinciae Dalmatiae (153-56; Alföldy 1977: 225), proconsul provinciae Africae (160/161(?); Alföldy 1977, 209), legatus Aug. ad census accipiendos provinciae Aquitanicae (161/162?)
 - augur
 - munera municipalia: octovir I (primum) magister iuventutis, octovir II [f]an(or)um?, quinquennalis, octovir III aedilis, quinquennalis, patronus (Trebularorum), patronus collegi cuiusdam Ostiensis (140), collegi alterius (139 aut 140 aut 145)
- Trebula Mutuesca, Regio IV, Italia (Torelli 1982, 196).

13. (M. Quintius) Atticus

CIL III 12250 (Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Asia).

PIR III Q33; Franke 1991: 307: "Zeitlich unsichere Legaten".

- legatus Augusti leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae (tempus incertum?)

Origo? Praenomen et nomen gentilicium legati addita ex nomine liberti: M. Quintius Diadumenus, Attici legati Augusti leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae libertus.

14. L. Septimius Severus P.f. Quir(ina) Severus (Imp. Aug.)

Kienast 1990: 156-59, ubi bibliographia.

- (XXvir?), quaestor (170 vel 171), quaestor II in Sardinia (171 vel 172), legatus proconsulis provinciae Africae (173/174), tribunus plebis candidatus (174), praetor designatus (174), praetor (178), iuridicus Asturiae et Callaeciae (c.178-181)

- legatus legionis IIII Scythicae (182/183?; Zeugma, Syria)

- legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Galliae Lugdunensis (186-189), proconsul Siciliae (189/190), consul suffectus (190, vel 189?), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Pannoniae Superioris (191-193)

- Imperator Augustus (April 9, 193)

Leptis Magna, Africa Proconsularis (Corbier 1982: 725).

15. L. Valerius L. [f.] Messala Thrase[a] Poplicola Helvidius Priscus

S. Priuli, *Tituli* 4 (1982) 620-25 n.14 = AE 1984. 38 (Roma, Italia); Franke 1991: 303-8.

- (fortasse adlectus inter quaestorios)

- leg(atus) leg(ionis) II[III] Scythicae (Zeugma, ineunte II s., c.105 (?))

- VIIv[ir] epul(onum), pr(aetor) desig(natus) - mortuus est

Italicus.

16. Q. Voconius Sex.f. Romul(ia) Saxa Fidus

TAM II 1201+1201A; D. J. Blackman, "The Inscriptions," in *Phaselis* (Ist. Mitt. Beiheft 24, 1981) 154-59 (Phaselis, Lycia-Pamphylia); I. Kaygusuz, *EpigAnat* 2 (1983) 137-39 = AE 1986. 686 (Perge, Lycia-Pamphylia); alia testimonia: Rémy 1989: 52-54 n.35.

PIR III V612; Rémy 1989: 52-54 n.35 (ubi bibliographia).

- Xvir stlitibus iudicandis (c.112)

- χειλίάρχος πλατύσημος λεγεῶνος γ' Κυρηναϊκῆς - [trib(unus) mil(itum)] lato clavo leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae)

- (χειλίάρχος πλατύσημος) λεγεῶνος δωδεκάτης Κεραυνοφόρου - [leg(ionis) XII] Fulm(inatae): c.114-117, bello Parthico Traiani

- δῶροις στρατιωτικοῖς ὑπὸ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐν τῷ Παρτικῷ πολέμῳ δωρηθέντα - donis mil(itaribus) [donatum a div]o Traiano [ob] exped[itionem Parthic]a[m]

- quaestor pr. pr. provinciae Macedoniae, tribunus plebis, praetor, curator viae Valeriae Tiburtinae et per eundem tractum dilectator (132-133; dilectator tironum ad comprimendam rebellionem Bar Kochba?)

- πρεσβευτῆς Σεβ(αστοῦ) λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς - leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) IIII Scyt(hicae) (Zeugma, Syria)

- proconsul provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae (142-143?), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Lyciae et Pamphyliae (144-147), consul designatus, consul (suffectus, in absentia?; 146), proconsul provinciae Africae (161/162)

- patronus (Phaselis, Lycia-Pamphylia)

Italicus, Aricia (?) (Licordari 1982: 20).

Tribuni laticlavii

1. C. Aemilius Berenicianus Maximus	aet. Sept. Sev./Carac.	11b. C. Iulius Thraso Alexander	c.132-135
2. C. Arrius Antoninus	aet. Ant. Pii	12. P. Manilius Vopiscus Vinicillianus	c.100-103
3. Ti. Claudius Iulianus	aet. Traiani	L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus	
4. M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus	medio II s.	13. L. Marius Perpetuus	c.180
5. L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus	c.64	14. [Claudius??] Maximus	114-117
6. [C. Iu]lius [---]avienus	II s.(?)	15. Q. Servilius Pudens	aet. Ant. Pii/ M. Aur.
7. P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus	aet. Ant. Pii	16. Q. Veranius	[aet. Tiberii]
8. L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex	aet. Vesp.	17. [---] (Roma)	exeunte II s./ I parte III s.
9. C. Iulius Proculus	97-98	?18. [---] (Mediolanum, Regio XI, Italia)	exeunte II s./ ineunte III s.
10. C. Iulius Severus	132 - Hadr./ Ant. Pii (?)	?19. [---] (Ephesus, Asia)	tempus incertum
11a. M. Maecius Celer	aet. Vesp./ Domit.		

1. C. Aemilius Bere[ni]cianus Maxim[us]

CIL XII 3163 = *ILS* 1168 (Nemausus, Gallia Narbonensis).

*PIR*² I A336; Alföldy 1969: 130; Schumacher 1973: 129 n.49; Pflaum 1978: 44 n.24.

– Xvir stlitibus iudicandis

– tribun(us) laticlavius leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Zeugma) item VII Geminae iterato tribunatu (Legio, Hispania Citerior; Le Roux 1982: 313); exeunte aet. Sept. Severi vel ineunte aet. Caracallae

– q(uaestor) urbanus, allectus inter tribun(icos) a Divo Magn(o) Antonino (Caracalla), praetor supremar(um) (sc. voluntatum, i.e. praetor fideicommissarius), leg(at)us pro pr(aetore) provin(c)iae] Asiae, proc(o)ns(ul) splendorissimae provin(c)iae] Narbonensis, co(n)s(ul) (suffectus) (aet. Severi Alexandri)

– VIIvir epulonum

Origo? Orientalis (Alföldy; Pflaum) (?).

2. C. Arrius [f. Q]uir(ina) Antoninus

CIL V 1874 = *ILS* 1118 = F. Broilo, *Iscrizioni lapidarie del Museo Nazionale Concordiese di Portogruaro* (1980) 32-36 n.11 (Concordia, Regio X, Italia); *CIL* VIII 7030 = *ILS* 1119 = *ILAlg* II.1, 614 (Cirta, Numidia); Piso 1993, 106-17 n.24 (ibi omnia testimonia).

*PIR*² I A1088; Schumacher 1973, 54-55 n.23; Corbier 1974: 253-68 n.53; Alföldy 1977: 367-71; Rémy 1989: 227-32 n.170.

– IIIvir viarum curandarum

– tribunus laticlavius leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Zeugma) (aet. Antonini Pii)

– quaest(or) urbanus, sev(ir) equitum Romanorum, ab actis senatus, aedil(is) curul(is), praetor, cui primo iurisdictione pupillaris a sanctissimis Imp(eratoribus) mandata est, iuridicus per Italiam regionis Transpadanae primus (c.165), praef(ectus) aerarii Saturni, curator civitatum per Aemiliam, curator Ariminensium, curator Nolanorum, curator Tifernatium Tiberinorum (*CIL* XI 5939 = *ILS* 5678; de ordine munerum cfr. Alföldy, *ibid.* et Eck 1979: 203 not. 44), (consul) suffectus, (c.173), legatus Aug. pr. pr. Cappadociae (c.175-177; Rémy, *ibid.*), legatus Aug. pr. pr. III Daciae (177-178?), legatus Aug. pr. pr. Dalmatiae (178-179?) – aliter Piso, *ibid.*: Dalmatia: ?173-?175, Daciae: 175-176, Cappadocia: 177-179/180 – proconsul provinciae Asiae (c.188-189), interfectus a Commod

– frater Arvalis, sodalis Marcianus Antoninianus, augur

– patronus Concordiensium, patronus IIII coloniarum (Cirtensium)

Cirta, Numidia (Le Glay 1982: 763-64; stemma).

3. Ti. Claudius Iulianus

Insc. Eph. VII.2, 5106 = *AE* 1905. 121; *Insc. Eph.* VII.2, 5107 (Ephesus, Asia).

Halfmann 1979: 147-48 n.57; *PIR*² II C902; Petersen 1967: 159-67; Alföldy 1977: 212, 379.

– χειλίπαρχος πλατύσημος λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς (Zeugma, tribunus laticlavius legionis IIII Scythicae); aet. Traiani

– quaestor provinciae Achaiae, tribunus plebis, legatus (proconsulis) provinciae Achaiae, praetor (ineunte aet. Hadriani), consul (suffectus? 129-130), proconsul Asiae (?), 145-146)
Orientalis: Asia Minor, fortasse non Ephesius (de familia vide Halfmann).

4. M. Claudius P. Vedius P.f. Quirina Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus

Insc. Eph. VII.2, 4110 = *AE* 1935. 166 (Ephesus, Asia); cfr. *Insc. Eph.* II, 285a, 438, 460; III, 676a, 727, 728, 729, 732; V, 1489, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1505; VI, 2064, 2065, 2067; VII.1, 3035, 3075, 3077, 3081, 3274 (?).

Insc. Eph. VII.1, pp. 80-90; Halfmann 1982: 627-28.

– vigintivir

– χειλίρχος λεγεῶνος τετάρτης Σκυθικῆς (trib. leg. IIII Scythicae; Zeugma, medio II s.)

– quaestor designatus Cypri

– πρύτανις, γραμματεὺς, πανηγυρίαρχος τῶν μεγάλων Ἐφεσίων, γυμνασίαρχος (164 vel 166), ἀλυτάρχης τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, ἀσάρχης, πρεσβευτῆς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ τοῦς Αὐτοκράτορας

Ephesus, Asia (Halfmann).

5. L. Flavius [.]f. Vel(ina) Silva Nonius Bassus

Eck 1970: 93-98 = *AE* 1969-70. 183 (Urbs Salvia, Picenum, Regio V, Italia).

*PIR*² III F368; Eck 1970: 93-111; Thomasson 1975: 37-38; Schumacher 1973: 4-5 n.2.

– IIIvir kapitalis

– [trib(unus) mil(itum)] leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae (c.64, ad finem aet. Neronis; Syria)

– [quaestor], tribunus plebis, legatus legionis XXI Rapacis (Bonna, Germania Inferior), adlectus inter praetorios a Divo Vespasiano et Divo Tito (73), adlectus inter patricios a Divo Vespasiano et Divo Tito censoribus (73), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Iudaeae (73-77/78), consul (ordinarius, 81)

– pontifex, praefectus, quinquennalis II, patronus coloniae Urbisalviensis.

Urbs Salvia, Picenum, Regio V, Italia (Gasparini and Paci 1982: 232).

6. [C. Iu]lius C.f. [–]avianus

IGR III 889 (Adana, Cilicia).

*PIR*² IV I442 (cognomen: [O]ctavianus; Halfmann 1979: 208; cognomen [F]lavianus).

– τεσσαύρων ἀνδρῶν (IIIvir viarum curandarum)

– χειλίρχος πλατύσημος λεγεῶνος ψ' Κεραυ[νοφ]όρου (tribunus laticlavus legionis XII Fulminatae; Melitene, Cappadocia), (χειλίρχος πλατύσημος λεγεῶνος) δ' [Σκυ]θικῆς (tribunus laticlavus legionis IIII Scythicae; Zeugma, II s. (?))

Magarsus, Cilicia (Halfmann 1982: 647).

7. P. Iulius P.f. Quir(ina) Geminus Marcianus

CIL VIII 7050 = *ILS* 1102 = *ILAlg* II.1, 634 (Cirta, Numidia); *PIR*² IV I340 (ubi alia testimonia); cfr. *CIL* VIII 7934.

*PIR*² IV I340; Aichinger 1979: 633-34 n.29; Alföldy 1977: 182, 243, 265.

– IIIvir kapitalis

– tribunus laticlavus leg(ionis) X Fretensis (Hierosolyma, Syria Palaestina; aet. Antonini Pii: c.149/150), (tribunus laticlavus) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae (Zeugma, Syria; aet. Antonini Pii; E. Birley 1979: 495-505)

– quaestor, tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus (proconsulis) pr. pr. provinciae Africae, legatus Aug. legionis X Geminae (Vindobona, Pannonia Superior), legatus Augg. super vexillationes in Cappadocia (161/162), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Arabiae (162-c.165), consul designatus, consul (suffectus; c.166), proconsul provinciae Macedoniae (c.170-175), proconsul provinciae Asiae (c.182)

– sodalis Titius

Cirta, Numidia (de familia: Le Glay 1982: 766).

8. L. Iulius L.f. Fab(ia) Marinus Caecilius Simplex

CIL IX 4965 = *ILS* 1026 (Cures Sabini, Samnium, Regio IV, Italia); *IGR* III 554 = *TAM* II.2, 567 (Tlos, Lycia); *IGR* III 470 (Balbura, Lycia); M. P. Muzzioli, *Forma Italiae, Regio IV*, II, 82 = *AE* 1947. 156 (Cures Sabini, Samnium, Regio IV, Italia); Balland 1981: 132-36 n.50 (Xanthus, Lycia); *PIR*² IV I408 (alia testimonia et Rémy 1989: 67-69 n.50).

*PIR*² IV I408; Alföldy 1967: 20-21 n.27; Halfmann 1979: 118 n.23; Rémy 1989: 67-69 n.50.

– IIIvir viarum curandarum

- tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Scythicae -- χειλίμαχος πλατύσημος στρατιωτῶν (sic IGR III 554) λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς (exeunte aet. Vespasiani; Zeugma, Syria)
 - quaestor pr. pr. provinciae Macedoniae, aedilis plebis, praetor, legatus (proconsulis) pr. pr. provinciae Cypri, legatus (proconsulis) pr. pr. provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae (proconsulatu patris sui; 89/90, Eck 1982: 316), curator viae Tiburtinae, legatus legionis XI Claudiae p.f. (Vindonissa, Germania Superior), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Lyciae Pamphyliae (96/97-99, Eck 1982: 326-30), proconsul provinciae Achaiae (99/100, Eck 1982: 327, 332), consul (suffectus, 101)
 - frater Arvalis
- Origo: Syria (?), Berytus (?) (A. R. Birley 1968: 384; Halfmann 1979: 118 n.23; Bowersock 1982: 667 nn. 36+37 (de familia); Kreiler 1975: 143 not. 1: ortus e Gallia? – minus probabile nobis videtur).

9. C. Iulius M.f. Volt(inia) Proculus

CIL X 6658 = ILS 1040 (Antium, Regio I, Italia).

PIR² IV I497; Alföldy 1969: 166-67; Schumacher 1973: 71-72; Pflaum 1978: 316-17 n.12.

- IIIvir auro argento aere flando feriundo, quaestor Augustorum (95/96, Alföldy, Schumacher – vel – 96/97, PIR)
 - tr(ibunus) leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Zeugma, 97-98; tribunatu legionis post quaesturam in Syria functus esse videtur, fortasse vice legati legionis III Scythicae, qui promotus sit: A. Larcus Priscus, leg. Aug. leg. III Scythicae pro legato consulare provinciae Syriae, CIL VIII 17891 = ILS 1055; Syme 1958: 631; PIR² IV I497)
 - ab actis Imperatoris Traiani Augusti, tribunus plebis, praetor, legatus legionis VI Ferratae (Syria), legatus Aug. pr. pr. regionis Transpadanae, consul (suffectus, 109), leg. Aug. pr. pr. ad census provinciae Lugdunensis (c.109/110-110/111), curator operum publicorum
 - XVvir sacris faciundis, fetialis; patronus Antiatium
 - idem fortasse: iudex Hadriani in Baetica (AE 1913. 3 ad CIL II 2349 = ILS 5973)
 - fortasse non idem ac: leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Dalmatiae (Eck 1983: 194)
- Gallia Narbonensis (PIR; Alföldy, Schumacher, Pflaum; de familia).

10. C. Iulius C.f. Fab(ia) Severus

IGR III 172 = ILS 8829 (Ancyra, Galatia).

PIR² IV I574; Alföldy 1967, 33 n.40; Schumacher 1973: 80 n.32; Halfmann 1979: 165-67 n.81; Eck 1985: 169, 170, 247.

- Xvir stilitibus iudicandis; equo publico honoratus (errore fortasse pro 'sevir equitum Romanorum', PIR, Alföldy, Halfmann)
 - χειλίμαχος λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς (Zeugma, tribunus legionis III Scythicae; fortasse sub patre, C. Iulio Severo, PIR² IV I573, legato legionis III Scythicae vice legati Syriae, sc. Publicii Marcelli tempore tumultus Iudaici, 132 – vel tribunus ad finem aet. Hadriani / ineunte aet. Ant. Pii?)
 - quaestor candidatus, tribunus plebis candidatus, praetor urbanus, legatus Aug. legionis XXX Ulpiae Victricis (Castrum Vetera, Germania Inferior, cui pater praeerat, legatus Aug. pr. pr. Germaniae Inferioris), curator Viae Appiae, consul (ordinarius; 155), legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Syriae Palaestinae (c.156-159, Alföldy 1977: 274-75), et postea fortasse legatus pr. pr. provinciae alicuius Orientis (PIR)
- Ancyra, Galatia; rege stirpia ortus (Halfmann 1982: 643-44).

11a. M. Maecius Celer: cfr. legati legionis no. 9

11b. C. Iulius Thraso Alexander

Insc. Eph.VII.1, 3035 = AE 1924. 75; VII,2, 4355 = AE 1952. 220 (Ephesus, Asia).

PIR² IV I600; Halfmann 1979: 170-71 n.87; Halfmann 1982: 636.

- IIIvir capitalis
 - χειλίμαχος λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς – [trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Scythicae, donis militaribus donatus a Divo Hadriano? – –] vexillo, hastis puris duabus (Zeugma, fortasse aet. Hadriani, c.132-135, bello Iudaico?)
 - quaestor, legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae [– –], praefectus [– –]um (alimentorum?), [curator rerum publicarum] Nucerinorum Apulorum et Spoletinorum (? , PIR)
- Asia (Halfmann).

12. P. Manilius P.f. Gal(eria) Vopiscus Vicinillianus L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus
CIL XIV 4242 = *ILS* 1044 = *Inscr. Ital.* IV, I², 109 (Tibur, Regio IV, Italia); alia testimonia: *PIR*² V M142.
*PIR*² V M142; Schumacher 1973: 61-62 n.73.
 – IIIvir auro argento aere flando feriundo (c.100)
 – trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae (Zeugma, c.100-103, fortasse C. Antio A. Iulio Quadrato, legato Aug. pr. pr. Syriae, 100/101-103/104)
 – quaestor Divi Traiani Parthici, praetor, consul (ordinarius, 114)
 – salius Collinus, pontifex, flamen; curator fani Herculis Victoris Tibure
 Fortasse ex Hispania – vel – Italia ortus est? Originis incertae (W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* XV (1978) 129: “unsicher”).

13. L. Marius Perpetuus

CIL III 1178 = *ILS* 1165 (Apulum, Dacia); Piso 1993: 169-77 n.38, ubi alia testimonia.
*PIR*² V M311; Alföldy 1968: 147; A. R. Birley 1971: 312-13; Pflaum 1972: 229-30; Piso 1993: 169-77 n.38.
 – trib(unus) latic(lavius) leg(ionis) IIII Scyth(icae) (Zeugma, c.180; L. Septimio Severo, legato legionis, et P. Helvio Pertinace, legato Aug. pr. pr. (?), A. R. Birley)
 – quaestor candidatus Augusti, (tribunus plebis/aedilis, praetor?), legatus Augustorum legionis XVI Flaviae firmae fidelis sub Alfeno Senecione leg. Augg. pr. pr. (*PIR*), praeses provinciae Arabiae, (consul suffectus), curator rerum publicarum Urbisalsvensium, Tusculanorum, legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciae Moesiae Superioris, legatus Aug. pr. pr. provinciarum Daciarum trium (214)
 Africa (?) (Piso).

14. [Claudius ?] Maximus

CIL III 10336 = *ILS* 1062, cfr. add. p. CLXXIV (Stuhlweissenburg, Pannonia Inferior).
 Alföldy 1977: 142, 319, 322; *PIR*² II C933, 934; Thomasson 1984: 382 n.88.
 – IIIIvir viarum curandarum
 – trib(unus) leg(ionis) IIII Sc[yth(icae)] donis milit(aribus) a Divo Trai(ano) don(atu)s (Zeugma, 114-117, bello Parthico Traiani)
 – quaestor urbanus, ab actis senatus, tribunus plebis, praetor, curator viae Aureliae, legatus legionis I Adiutricis (Brigetio, Pannonia Superior), iuridicus pr. pr. utriusque Pannoniae (136-137, cum L. Aelius Caesar praeerat utrique Pannoniae), legatus pr. pr. Pannoniae Inferioris, consul (suffectus, 142?), curator aedium sacrarum, legatus Aug. pr. pr. Pannoniae Superioris (?) (150-155?), proconsul provinciae Africae (?) (158/159?)
 – sodalis Augustalis
 Occidentalis? (Alföldy 1977: 322).

15. Q. Servilius Q.f. Hor(atia) Pudens

CIL VIII 5354 = 17492 = *ILAlg* I 281 = *ILS* 1084 (Calama, Africa Proconsularis); *CIL* VIII 12291 = *ILS* 1085 (Bisica, Africa Proconsularis).
PIR III S424; Thomasson 1960: 88-89; Corbier 1973: 647-48 n.9; Corbier 1982: 721; Alföldy 1977: 264 not. 314.
 – trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae (aet. Ant. Pii/M. Aurelii; Zeugma)
 – quaestor provinciae Siciliae, tribunus plebis, praetor, praefectus frumenti dandi, iuridicus Aemiliae et Flaminiae (certe post 165/166; Eck 1979: 249-50), proconsul provinciae Cretae et Cyrenarum
 – patronus municipii Kalamensium, (municipii Bisensis patronus, filius eius fortasse)
 Hippo Regius, Africa Proconsularis (Corbier 1982: 721).

16. Q. Veranius Q.f.

IGR III 703 = Smallwood 1967: 231a (Cyaneae, Lycia); *AE* 1953. 251 = Smallwood 1967: 231c (Roma, Italia).
 Thomasson 1975: 85-87, alia testimonia.
 – IIIvir monetalis
 – χειλιάρχος λεγιῶνος τετάρτης Σκυθικῆς (trib. leg. IIII Scythicae; Moesia, aet. Tiberii)
 – quaestor Tiberii et Gai Augusti ... etc. (cfr. Thomasson 1975: 85-87; Birley 1981: 50-54; Balland 1981: 79-102)
 Italicus: Forum Novum, Regio IV (?) (Torelli 1982: 197); cfr. Q. Veranius Q.f., tribunus angusticlavius legionis IIII.

17. [---]

CIL VI 1553 (Roma, Italia).

Barbieri 1952: 319 n.1771; Schumacher 1973: 132-33 n.56; *PIR* III Incerti n.44.

– sevir equitum Romanorum, Xvir stlitibus iudicandus

– trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III [Sc]ythic(ae) (exeunte II s./I parte III s.; Zeugma) – (tribunus militum legionis) V Macedonic(ae) [pi]ae (Potaissa, Dacia)

– quaestor candidatus, praetor candidatus, [co(n)s(ul) ?]

– salius Palatinus, VIIvir epulonum

Origo?

18. [---]

AE 1950. 91c = *AE* 1974. 344 (Mediolanum, Regio XI, Italia).

Alföldy 1982: 355 n.18; Pflaum 1978: 69 n.12; Eck 1979: 242.

– [---]

– trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) III [Flaviae – vel – Scythicae?] (exeunte II s./ineunte III s.; Singidinum, Moesia Superior – Zeugma, Syria?)

– [quaestor], [---?], tribunus plebis, [legatus (proconsulis) pr. pr. provinciae] Narbonensis, praetor, legatus Aug. legionis XI Claudia p.f. (Durostorum, Moesia Inferior), legatus pr. pr. provinciae [---? Thraciae? Pannoniae?]

– [curator sp]lend(idissimae) col(oniae) Medi[olan(iensium)]

Mediolanum, Regio XI, Italia (?) (Alföldy 1982: 355).

19. [---]

Insc. Eph. V 1535 (cfr. add. et corr. p. 25) (Ephesus, Asia).

– [---?]

– [χειλάρχος (πλατύσημος) λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθ[ικῆς] (trib. leg. III Scythicae; Moesia/Zeugma, Syria ?)

– [quaestor --- Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti, tribunus plebis, [praetor], [---?], legatus pr. pr. [---], legatus Imperatoris Caesaris Aug. [legionis ---], [--- mis]sus (?), consul (suffectus), c[ur]ator operum publicorum (?)], [---]

Origo?

Tribuni angusticlavii

1. L. Aurelius Taruttienus Demetrios, filius Demetrii	c.180-190	12. [Ma?]mius Murrius Umber	[aet. Aug.]
2. [Ca]tilius Lon[g]us	[aet. Claudii]	13. C. Oclatius Modestus	aet. Trai./Hadr.
3. Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus	c.103-105	14. L. Octavius Rufus	[aet. Aug.?)
4. Tib. Cl(audius), Nicomedis filius, Pius	aet. Ant. Pii(?)	15. P. Opsidius Rufus [aet. Iul./Claud.]
5. Ti. Claudius, filius Ti. Claudii Stasithemis, abnepos Claudii Telemachi, Telemachos	c.185	16. [L.] Paccius Montanu[s]	medio II s.(?)
6. M. Clodius Ma[---]	[41-56/57]	17. Q. Paesidius Macedo	[aet. Claudii]
7. T. Clodius Pro[culus ...]	[aet. Aug./Neronis]	18. C. Sempronius Fidus, Calagorrit(anus)	inter 70 et 150
8. Gn. Cornelius, Tib. Cornelii Pulchri filius, Pulcher	aet. Traiani	19. C. Sextius Martialis	exeunte II s./ineunte III s.
9. L. Egnatuleius Sabinus	inter 177 et 180	20. T. Stati[lius] [Frontonia]nus	c.130
10. [I]ulius Antoninus, filius C. [Iu]lii Demosthenis	medio II s.	21. Q. Veranius	[c.40-30 a.Chr.]
11. [T]i. Iulius Latinus, filius Iulii Leonidae	62-67	22. A. Vicirius [---]	post aet. Claudii
		23. [---] (<i>AE</i> 1926. 80)	aet. Claud./Neronis
		24. [---] (<i>AE</i> 1940. 173)	c.140/141

1. L. Aurelius Taruttienus Demetrios, filius Demetrii

M. Christol and S. Demougin, *ZPE* 74 (1988) 14-21, ad: G. Dagron and J. Marillet-Jaubert, *Bulleten Türk Tarih Kurumu* 42 (1978) 379-81 n.3 (cfr. J. et L. Robert, *Bull. Epig.* 1979: 526 n.596; *SEG* XXVIII 1255) = G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Insc. de Cilicie* (1987): 135-36 n.87 = *AE* 1988. 1049 (Mopsueste, Cilicia).

PME IV A257bis, V A257bis (ubi bibliographia).

- a. χειλίαρχος λεγεῶνος τετάρτης Σκυθικῆς (tribunus legionis III Scythicae; c.180-190, Zeugma, Syria)
 – ὁ δημιουργός (i.e. magistratus eponymus in civitatibus Ciliciae), καὶ κτίστης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν θεοτάτων
 Αὐτοκρατόρων (i.e. flamen divorum Augustorum in civitate sua, Mopsueste, et non provinciae)
 Mopsueste, Cilicia; civitate donatus sit ab Imperatore (L. Aurelio) Commodo per P. Taruttienum P.f. Pob.
 Paternum, praefectum praetorio Commodi; ideoque nomen gentilicium praefecti praetorio inseruit in nomen
 suum ut primum cognomen; secundum cognomen 'Demetrios' e priore nomine traxit: ὁ πρότερον χρηματίσας
 Δημήτριος Δημητρίου, i.e. pristinum nomen ei erat Demetrios filius Demetrii. Nomen coniugis: Ταρία
 Λουκίλλα ἢ καὶ Ματρῶνα ἢ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ: Taria Lucilla quae et Matrōna, fortasse civitate Romana donata
 sit a proconsule Asiae Tario Titiano? (inter 202-205); minus probabile secundum M. Christol and S.
 Demougín, *ibid.*
2. [Ca]tilius P.f. Clu(stumina) Lon[g]us
 Th. Corsten, *Inscr. Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai* (1987): 20-21 n.2 ad CIL III 335 et 6991 et 14188,1 = E.
 Kalinka, *JÖAI* 28 (1933) Bbl. 108 n.88 (Apamea, Bithynia).
 PIR² V L309; Eck 1970: 104; PME II L49, IV L50bis, V C101bis (ubi bibliographia).
 a. [t]rib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Scythic(ae) beneficio divi Claudii (Moesia)
 b. praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III sagittar(iorum) (ubi? fortasse 69 in partibus Vespasiani contra Vitellium)
 – adlectus inter praetor(ios) [a]b Imp(eratore) Vespasiano Aug(usto) (ob merita eius erga partes Vespasiani),
 [l]egatus (sc. proconsulis) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Asia(e) (aet. Vespasiani)
 – patronus col(oniae) Iul(iae) Conc(ordiae) Apameae
 Apamea, Bithynia; de posteris senatoribus: PME; Halfmann 1979: 115 n.18; 1982, 133 n.38.
3. Ti. Claudius L.f. Helvius Secundus
 AE 1925. 44 (Caesarea, Mauretania Caesariensis).
 PME I C143, IV C143, V C143 (ubi bibliographia).
 – praef(ectus) fabr(um) Romae (sc. Q. Pomponii Rufi (?), cos. suff. 95); adlectus a divo Nerva in quinque
 decuriis (96-98)
 a. praef(ectus) coh(ortis) equitatae II Bracar(um) Augustanorum (Moesia Inferior; 98 vel 99)
 b. iterum pr[ae]f(ectus) coh(ortis) I Flaviae c(ivium) R(omanorum) equitatae (Syria)
 c. trib(unus) leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Zeugma, Syria; c.103-105)
 d. iterum trib(unus) leg(ionis) XII Fulminatae (Melitene, Cappadocia)
 e. praef(ectus) eq(uitum) alae (sc. VII) Phrygum (Syria)
 f. iterum praef(ectus) alae II Gallorum (Cappadocia)
 – scriba decuriarum quaestoriae et aedilium curulium; Caesariensis, quem absentem cives sui omnibus
 magistratu[m] honoribus publico decreto exornaverunt Caesarienses d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)
 Caesarea, Mauretania Caesariensis.
4. Tib. Cl(audius), Nicomedis filius, Quirina Pius
 C. Habicht, *Insc. Asklep. (AvP VIII.3)* 30 = AE 1933. 270, 269bis (Pergamum, Asia).
 PIR² II C962; PME I C168, IV C168, V C168 (ubi bibliographia).
 a. χειλίαρχος σπείρης ἰππικῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτῶν (tribunus cohortis equitatae civium Romanorum, sc. in
 Cappadocia, ILS 9117? – vel – coh. I Flavia c.R. equitata in Syria Palaestina)
 b. χειλίαρχος λεγιῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς (tribunus legionis III Scythicae; Zeugma, Syria, inter 138 et 200; fortasse
 aet. Ant. Pii)
 c. χειλίαρχος λεγιῶνος γ' Γαλλικῆς (tribunus legionis III Gallicae; Syria)
 d. ἑπαρχος εἴλης φρυγῶν (ala VII Phrygum; Syria)
 – ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας, ἀγωνοθέτης
 Pergamum, Asia; pater T. Vibii Pii qui fortasse militiis quattuor perfunctus est (PME II V103, IV V103, V
 V103).
5. Ti. Claudius, filius Ti. Claudii Stasithemis, abnepos Claudii Telemachi, Quirina Telemachus
 A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos VII: Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon* (1981) 281 n.92 = AE 1981.
 844; 279 n.90 = AE 1981. 842; 280 n.91 = AE 1981. 843; cfr. J. et L. Robert, *Bull. Epig.* 1982, 400 n.386.
 PIR² II C1037; PME IV C187bis, V C187bis (ubi bibliographia).
 – φιλοσέβαστον καὶ φιλό[πατρ]ων Ῥωμαίων] καὶ Σάνθιον καὶ Παταρέα καὶ Μυρέα, πολιτευόμενον [δὲ καὶ ἐν
 ταῖς κατ]ὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι πάσαις (civitatem multarum civitatum Lyciae possidebat); τὸν τῶν
 Αὐτοκρατόρων ξέ[νον]

a. [χελῖαρχον] λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς (trib. leg. III Scythicae; Zeugma, Syria, c.185)
 – τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ [γραμματέα Δυκίων τοῦ κοινοῦ (c.185-190) – multis honoribus in civitatibus et in provincia Lycia perfunctus est, cfr. *PME* IV C187bis
 – Telemachum vel potius filium post summos in patria honores gessisse latum clavum accepisse videtur:
 – quaestor Achaiae, σεμνότατος πρεσβευτῆς (legatus proconsulis pr. pr.) [Ἀσ]ίας, λογιστῆς (i.e. curator) Κ[αλ]λατιανῶν πόλεως Μυσ[ίας] (praetorius?), consul suffectus (ineunte III s.), proconsul Africae (ineunte III s.)
 Xanthus, Lydia; de familia cfr. *PME* IV C187bis, V C187bis.

6. M. Clodius M.f. Fab(ia) Ma[– – –]
Inscr. Ital. X, V, II, 737 (Brixia, Regio X, Italia).
PME I C202, IV C202, V C202 (ubi bibliographia).
 – Ivir i(ure) d(icundo), Ilvi[r quinq(uennalis)]
 a. praef(ectus) coh(ortis) Cantabr[orum] (coh. I vel potius coh. II Cantabrorum, cfr. *PME* V C202)
 b. [tr]ib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Moesia; inter 41–56/57) – et eodem tempore:
 b. praef(ectus) vex[ill(ationis) leg(ionis) V] Macedonic(ae)
 c. praef(ectus) fabr(um)
 – aed(ilicia) pot(estate)
 Brixia, Regio X, Italia; cfr. P. Clodius Sura (*PME* I C206, IV C206, V C206) eiusdem stirpis.

7. T. Clodius C.[f. Men(enia)] Pro[culus ...]
CIL X 680 (Surrentum, Regio I, Italia).
PME I C204, IV C204, V C204.
 – praef(ectus) fab[r(um) – – –]
 a. tribunus mil(itum) [leg(ionis) III] Scythicae (Macedonia–Moesia; aet. Augusti/Neronis?)
 b. leg(ionis) [X Gem(inae)? – VI Victricis?]; Hispania/Lusitania?
 – [ab Imp(eratore)] Caesare Aug[usto missus pro] censore ad Lus[itano]s – – –]
 Surrentum, Regio I, Italia.

8. Gn. Cornelius, Tib. Cornelii Pulchri filius, Fabia Pulcher
IG IV 795 (*CIG* II 1186) (Troezen, Argolis); cfr. *IG* IV 1600 = B. D. Meritt, *Corinth* VIII.1, 80, cfr. 81, 83 = *IG* IV 1601; J. H. Kent, *Corinth* VIII.3, 138-43; *AE* 1974. 593.
*PIR*² II C1424; *PME* I C245, IV C245 (ubi bibliographia).
 χελῖαρχος λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς – tribunus militum legionis III Scythicae (Zeugma, Syria; aet. Traiani, ante 103/8)
 – ἐπίτροπος Καίσαρος, procurator (Traiani) Augusti Epiri (inter 103/8–114), Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας δικαιοδότης (aet. Hadriani)
 – multis honoribus municipalibus (Corinthus) et provincialibus (Achaia) perfunctus est (cfr. *PME* I C245, IV C245)
 Epidaurus, Achaia (*PME* IV C245).

9. L. Egnatuleius P.f. Gal(eria) Sabinus
CIL VIII 10500 cfr. p. 2313 = *ILS* 1409 (Thysdrus, Byzacena, Proconsularis).
*PIR*² III E44; *PME* I E5, IV E5, V E5 (ubi bibliographia).
 – flam(en) Aug(usti) c[ol(oniae) Thysdritanae]
 a. tr[ib(unus) leg(ionis) ...] Geminae (VII, X, XIII, XIV Geminae?)
 b. trib(unus) leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Zeugma, Syria; inter 177/180)
 – praef(ectus) gentis Cinithiorum (apud Syrtes minores; Africa), proc(urator) Aug(usti) ad census accipiendos Macedoniae, proc(urator) Aug(usti) ad epistrategiam Thebaidos, proc(urator) Aug(usti) XXXX Galliarum (ad Lugdunum, Gallia Lugdunensis), pontifex Palatualis
 Thysdrus, Byzacena, Proconsularis (cfr. *PME* I E5).

10. [I]ulius Antoninus, filius C. [Iu]lii Demosthenis
IGR III 500 (*AE* 1899. 177) (Oenoanda, Lycia).
*PIR*² IV I153, cfr. I288; *PME* I I20, IV I20, V I20 et *PME* I I55, IV I55, V I55 (ubi bibliographia).
 a. γενόμενος ἔπαρχος σπειρῆς πρώτης Σ[π]ανῶν (praef. coh. I Hispanorum; quae cohors significata?)
 b. καὶ [σ]πειρῆς πρώτης Κελτιβήρων (et praef. coh. I Celtiberorum; quae cohors significata?)

c. χειλίαρχος λεγεῶνος τετάρτη[ς Σ]κυθικ[ῆς] (trib. leg. IIII Scythicae; Zeugma, Syria, medio II s.)
 Oenoanda, Lycia; C. Iulius Demosthenes, pater, trib. leg. VI Ferratae (Syriae), praef. alae VII Phrygum (Syria),
 procurator Siciliae (PME I 155, IV 155, V 155); Licinnia Maxima, uxor, Iulia Lysimacha, filia et mater
 stirpis consularis (Halfmann 1979: 166, 164 n.80).

11. [T]i. Iulius Latinus, filius Iulii Leonidae

CIL VI 32931 = 3919 = ILS 1847 (Roma, Italia).

PIR² IV I 377, I 378; PME I 176, V 176 (ubi bibliographia).

a. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII Scythic[ae] (Moesia vel Zeugma, Syria (?); fortasse Syria, unus primorum
 tribunorum legionis IIII Scythicae in Syria originis orientalis causa?)

– [vixit a]nn(is) XXXXVII (defunctus inter 62-67)

Orientalis – Romanus; filius Iulii Leonidae, praeceptoris Caesarum, i.e. Neronis, filiorum Germanici,
 prioribus annis Tiberii (PIR² IV I378); Iulius Leonidas civitatem Romanam a Tiberio accepit, e
 praenomine filii apparet.

12. [Ma?]m(i)us (vel: Amius/A[ni?]us) Murrius Umber

EE VIII 415 n.144 = ILS 8968 = *Epigrafiya rom. Soria* 131 = C. Garcia Merino, *Hispania Antiqua* 7 (1977) 196
 n.20 (titulus repertus est: San Esteban de Gormaz, prov. Soria [Tarraconensis], i.e. Segontia?).

PIR² V M749; PME II M75bis, IV M75bis, V M75bis (ubi bibliographia).

a. [t]rib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae (Moesia; aet. Augusti; tribunus angusticlavius – vel –
 laticlavius? cfr. PME)

– IIIvir cap(italis), q(uaestor) pro pr(aetore), [l]eg(atus) pro pr(aetore), aed(ilis) plebiscerialis, pr(aetor)

Italicus ex Umbria? (cfr. PME).

13. C. Oclatius C.f. Pal(atina) Modestus

M. Chelotti *et al.*, *Epig. rom. Canosa* I, 263-65 App. 1.6 = CIL IX 1619 = ILS 5502 (Beneventum, Regio II, Italia).

PME II O3, IV O3, V O3 (ubi bibliographia).

– augur, IIvir i(ure) d(icundo), quaest(or) II

– praef(ectus) fabr(um) Romae

a. praef(ectus) coh(ortis) II Pannonior(um) (Britannia – vel – in Oriente?; aet. Traiani)

b. praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III Ityraeor(um) (Aegyptus)

c. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII Scythic(ae) (Zeugma, Syria; aet. Traiani/Hadriani)

– curat(or) rei p(ublicae) Aecanor(um) item honoratus ad curam kalendari reip(ublicae) Canusinor(um) a
 divo Traiano Parthico et ab Imp(eratore) Hadriano Aug(usto)

Beneventum, Regio II, Italia; fortasse e libertis ortus sit (?).

14. L. Octavius L.f. Cam(ilia) Rufus

CIL XI 6167 = ILS 5673 (Suasa Senonum, Regio VI, Italia).

PME II O10, V O10 (ubi bibliographia).

– augur ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) creatus, duomvir quinq(uennalis) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) et d(ecreto)
 d(ecurionum), patronus

– praef(ectus) fabr(um) bis

a. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII Scythicae (fortasse aet. Augusti vel postea? Moesia/Syria?)

Suasa, Regio VI, Italia.

15. P. Opsidius P.f. Rufus

CIL V 2791 (Patavium, Regio X, Italia).

PME II O23, V O23 (ubi bibliographia).

– IIIvir

a. tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII Scythic(ae) (aet. Iuliorum/Claudiorum; Moesia/Syria?)

(b.) praef(ectus) fabr(um)

Patavium, Regio X, Italia.

16. [L.] Paccius M. fi[l.] [F]ab(ia) Montanu[s]

French 1983: 47-56 foras dat alterum fragmentum tituli CIL III Suppl. 2, 12151 (= 1893, 14) = AE 1984. 892

(Colonia Iulia Augusta Prima Fida Comama, Pisidia, Asia).

PME II P3, IV P3, V P3 (ubi bibliographia).

a. [tr]ib(unus) leg(ionis) III [...] (sc. legionis III Scythicae (?); medio II s. (?); Zeugma, Syria)

b. [---] F; [---] (altera militia memorata sit?)

– decurio col(oniae) Iul(iae) Aug(ustae) Primae Fidae Comamae

Colonia Iulia Augusta Fida Comama, Pisidia, Asia; uxor: L. Paccia Valeria Saturnina (*CIL* III 12149, 12150); filiae: L. Paccia Valeria Saturnina, Aurelia Valeria Scriboniana Frontina; filius: [.] Paccius Ap[---] (cfr. *CIL* III 12149, 12150, 6685). Cfr. *CIL* III 6885 (Comama, Pisidia): L. Paccius M.fil. Fab(ia) Montanus Comamenus (fortasse idem) honorat Hadrianum [An]toninum Aug. Pium p.p. pro meritis patria[e] eius praestitit, [p]ermissu Q. Voconii Saxae Fidi leg. Aug. pr. pr. (Bithyniae et Ponti; paulo ante 144), Lyciae et Pamphyliae (144-147), qui etiam leg. leg. III Scythicae (n.15).

17. Q. Paesidius C.f. Aem(ilia) Macedo

AE 1923. 40 = C. Praschniker, *JÖAI* 21-22 (1922) Bbl. 215 = P. C. Sestieri, *Insc. Albania, Studime e Tekste – Studi e Testi S. II, Arheologjike-Arheologica* I (1943) 45 (Dyrrhachium, Macedonia).

PME II P8, IV P8, V P8 (ubi bibliographia).

a. prim(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) IX Hisp(aniae) (fortasse in Pannonia)

b. praef(ectus) castror(um) leg(ionis) III Scythicae

c. trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) eiusdem (sc. III Scythicae; iam in Syria; fortasse aet. Claudii qui ordinem militarium statuit, Suet., *Claud.* 25; Devijver 1970 – potius quam aetate expeditionis Corbulonis, Demougin 1992: 434 n.522, Dobson 1978: 197 n.67)

– augur, flamen Neronis Claudii Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici

Dyrrhachium, Macedonia.

18. C. Sempronius M.f. Gal(eria) Fidus, Calagorrit(anus)

G. Alföldy, *Tarraco* 306 = *CIL* II 4245, cfr. p. 973 (Tarraco, Hispania Tarraconensis).

PME II S19, IV S19, V S19 (ubi bibliographia).

a. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Zeugma, Syria)

b. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) (Syria)

c. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae) (Syria)

d. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(icticis) (Britannia; inter 70-150)

– flam(en) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) C(iterioris)

Calagorrit(anus), Calagurris, Hispania Tarraconensis.

19. C. Sextius C.f. Papir[ia] Martialis

CIL VIII 11813, cfr. p. 2372 = *EE* V 1175 = *ILS* 1410 (Mactaris, Africa Byzacena); L. Quilici, *Forma Italiae, Regio I, vol. X: Collatia* (1974) p. 100 n.30 = *AE* 1974. 143a, b (Torre S. Eusebio, Regio I, Italia).

PIR III S483; *PME* II S48, IV S48, V S48 (ubi bibliographia).

a. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) II[III] Scythicae (Zeugma, Syria; exeunte II s./ineunte III s.)

– proc(urator) Aug(usti) ab actis senatis (LX), pr[oc(urator)] Aug(usti) inter man(cipes) XL Galliarum et negotiantis (LX), proc(urator) Macedoniae (C)

Mactaris, Africa, Byzacena; T. Sextius Alexander (*CIL* VIII 11813) et Q. Sextius Martialis, filii eius fundos ad Romam possidebant (*AE* 1974. 143a,b).

20. T. Stati[lius Titi] filius Polli[a Frontonia]nus

B. Holtheide, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 125-26 = *SEG* XXX (1980) 1264 ad A. P. Paris et M. Holleaux, *BCH* 9 (1885) 341 n.24; Robert and Robert 1954: II, 276 n.151 et *MAMA* VI, pp. 37-38; cfr. Robert and Robert 1954: 277 n.151bis (fragmentum eiusdem tituli) (prope Apolloniam ad Salbacum, Caria, Asia; cfr. Pflaum 1960-61, 124, p. 299 n.2, p. 301; J. et L. Robert, *Bull. Epig.* 1981, 457 n.515); *MAMA* VI 118 = Robert and Robert 1954, II, 169 n.55 (titulus eiusdem hominis (?), Heraclea ad Salbacum, Caria, Asia, B. Holtheide, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 125-26).

PME II S61, IV S65bis (ubi bibliographia).

a. ἑπαρχο[ς] σπειρή[ς] ἄ Οὐλίπ[ι]α[ς] Γαλατῶν] (coh. I Ulpia Galatarum fortasse eadem ac coh. I Galatarum quae 139 in Syria Palaestina castra habuit, *CIL* XVI 87)

b. [χειλῆ]ρχος λεγεῶνος] τετάρτης Σκ[υθικῆς] (tribunus legionis III Scythicae; Zeugma, Syria; inter Dec. 10, 129 et Dec. 9, 130 titulus positus est)

Heraclea ad Salbacum, Caria, Asia; B. Holtheide, *ibid.*: fortasse idem ac: Τίτος Κλαύδιος Στατίλιος Φροντωνιανὸς Πολλίᾳ Δυκίδα[ς] (*MAMA* VI 118 = Robert and Robert 1954, 169 n.55); T. St(atilius) Apollinarius, trib. mil., praef. alae, procurator, etiam ex Heraclea ad Salbacum, Caria, Asia et T. Statilius

Solon, filius natu maior T. Statilii Apollinarii, primus pilus et praefectus castrorum, eiusdem stirpis (*PME* II O63, IV O63; Dobson 1978: 258-59 n.139); cfr. T. Statilius Trypho, trib. leg. VII, ex Heraclea ad Salbacum, Caria, Asia (*PME* II S71, IV S71).

21. Q. Veranius Q.f.

A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos VII: Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon* (1981) 81 n.38 = *AE* 1981. 824; cfr. J. et L. Robert, *Bull. Epig.* 1982, 394 n.376 (Xanthus, Lycia).

PME IV V65bis, V65bis (ubi bibliographia).

a. χελία[ρχος λεγιῶ]νος τετάρτ[ης] (legio IV Macedonica? legio IV Scythica?; c.40-30 a.Chr.n.)

– [ἐπίτροπον] ὀρφανοῦ Δρουσ[οῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ] πατρὸς Τιβερίου [Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος] Σεβαστοῦ (inter 34 et 24 a.Chr.n.), ἀντὶ προεβευτοῦ δὲ Θεοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ ἐν Γερμ[ανία] τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ δοθέντα (pro legato Augusti in Germania), Δύκωι τὸν προ[ὸς πατρὸς πάππον – vel – θεῖον?] τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ δι[καιοδότου]

Veranii orti sint e Foro Novo, Regione IV Italiae (Rémy 1989: 180 not. 13, 14, 281 not. 18, 19); de posteris senatoribus (*PME* IV V65bis, V V65bis), cfr. Q. Veranius Q.f., tribunus (laticlavus) legionis III Scythicae (n.16, aet. Tiberii).

22. A. Vicirius A.f. Arn(ensi) [– – –]

B. Liou, *Praetores Etruriae XV pop.* (Coll. Latomus 106, 1969) 70-73 ad *CIL* XI 1806 (Saena, Regio VII, Italia; titulus fortasse positus erat Clusii, Regionis VII, Italiae); V. Saladino, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 229-33 n.25 = *AE* 1980. 458 (Rusellae, Regio VII, Italia).

PME II V111, IV V111, V V111 (ubi bibliographia), cfr. *PME* IV V111bis, V V111bis.

a. [trib(unus) mil(itum)] leg(ionis) III Scythi[cae] (Syria?; post aet. Claudii; aet. Neronis?)

– [aedilis] Etruriae, fla[m(en) Aug(usti)]

Rusellae, Regio VII, Italia; A. Vicirius Proculus (V. Saladino, *ZPE* 39 [1980] 229-33 n.24 = *AE* 1980. 457), tr(ibunus) mil(itum), sc. expeditione Britarunica Imp. Claudii, flamen Augustalis, fortasse pater eius (non idem sit); alterae opinioniones cfr. *PME* IV V111, V111bis; de Vicirii posteris senatoribus, Camodeca 1982: 125-26; Torelli 1982: 293.

23 [– – –]

AE 1926. 80 = W. M. Ramsay, *JRS* 14 (1924) 189 (Antiochia, Pisidia).

PME II Inc. 64, IV Inc. 64, V Inc. 64 (ubi bibliographia).

a. [prae]fec(tus) coh(ortis) I tyr(aeorum) (coh. in Germania? E. Dąbrowa, *ZPE* 63 (1986) 224-25; coh. I Tyrionum in Moesia?)

b. trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) III Scytic(ae) (sic) (Moesia/Syria (?); aet. Claudii/Neronis)

c. praef(ectus) equit(um)

d. praef(ectus) rip(ae) Danuvi

Antiochia, Pisidia.

24. [– – –]

AE 1940. 173 (Palmyra, Syria).

PME II Inc. 71, IV Inc. 71.

a. [– – – χελίαρχος] λεγεῶνος τετάρτ[ης] Σκυθικ[ῆς] (Zeugma, Syria; aet. Ant. Pii, c.140/141)

– ἱερεῖς Θεοῦ Βήλου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ συμποσίταρχου Κασπεριανοῦ Ζηνοβίου (140/141)

Palmyra, Syria (?).

Primpili

1. C. Coesius Florus exeunte I s./ineunte II s. 3. Sex. Rufius Victor post aet. Iul./Claud.

2. M. Paccius Marcellus ineunte aet. Flaviorum 4. [– – –] aet. Claudii

1. C. Coesius C.f. Fab(ia) Florus [= chapt. 10, no. 39].

French 1983: 51-53 = *AE* 1984. 893 (titulus bilinguis; Caesarea, Cappadocia); cfr. *AE* 1984. 894, 895.

– p(rimus) [p(ilus)] leg(ionis) III Scyt(hicae) – πρεμπιπλάριος λεγι(ῶνος) δ' Σκυθικῆς (Zeugma, Syria; exeunte I s./ineunte II s.)

– praef(ectus) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audia) pie fidelis – ἔπαρχος λεγι(ῶνος) α' Κλαυδίας εὐσεβοῦς πιστῆς (in Germania vel in Moesia)

Caesarea, Cappadocia; French (*AE* 1984. 893-95): stemma: uxor: Grania Nigella; socer: Granius Bassus fuit (centurio) hastatus; filii: C. Coesius Florus Licinianus, T. Flavius Claudianus Bassus; filia: Coesia Granilla.

2. M. Paccius C.f. Gal(eria) Marcellus [= chapt. 10, no. 69].

CIL IX 1005 = *ILS* 2639 (Compsa, Regio IV, Italia); vide nunc ad monumentum: Th. Schäfer, *Imperii insignia: sella curulis und fasces. Zur Repräsentation römischer Magistrate* (Mitteil. DAI, Röm. Abt. 29, 1989) 292-304 n.27.

– primipilaris leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Zeugma, Syria; ineunte aet. Flaviorum; in monumento: signum legionis III Scythicae: 'Capricornus', cfr. Schäfer *ibid.* 299-300 Taf. 50.2)
Compsa, Regio IV, Italia.

3. Sex. Rufius Victor [= chapt. 10, no. 67].

AE 1926. 125 = *NSc* 1925, 248 (Tibur, Regio IV, Italia).

Dobson 1978: 348.

– p(rimus) p(ilus) leg(ionis) III Scythicae (Zeugma, Syria; post aet. Iul./Claud. – sed quando?)
Italicus, Tibur (ibi titulus sepulchralis?).

4. [– – –]

CIL X 1711 = *ILS* 2695 (Puteoli, Regio I, Italia) [= chapt. 10, no. 68].

Dobson 1978: 191 n.56; Pflaum 1961: 33-34 n.14.

– [... centurio] leg(ionis) VII Macedonic(ae) (sc. VII Claudiae p.f.; Dalmatia)

– p[ri]m[us] pil[us] leg(ionis) III Scythic(ae) (Moesia; aet. Claudii)

– trib(unus) coh(ortis) [... praet(oriae)] (aet. Claudii tribunatus coh. praetoriae post primipilatum leg. et ante primipilatum II positus sit)

– primipilus iter(um) leg(ionis) XVI Gal[l]ic(ae) (Germania)

– proc(urator) Ti. Claudi Caesaris Au[g]usti]

Italicus (?).

Praefecti (castrorum)

1. P. Aurelius Cassianus aet. Caracallae/Heliog.

2. Q. Paesidius Macedo

aet. Claudii

3. [– – –] (*AE* 1956. 222)

253-268 (?)

1. P. Aurelius Cassianus [= chapt. 10, no. 52].

CIL III 4393 = *ILS* 11086 (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior).

Dobson 1978: 295-96 n.192.

– praef(ectus) leg(ionis) III Scythicae (sc. Antoninianae) (Zeugma, Syria; aet. Caracallae/Heliogabali; Fitz 1990: 185 n.165; cf. Fitz 1983: 53 n.157, 67 n.249)

– et (praefectus) leg(ionis) XIII Geminae Ant(oni)narum (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior)

Origo? Aurelia Lucilla, coniunx, Aurelia Terentina, filia, Aureli(us) Cassianus iunior f(ilius); de Aureliis Cassianis, Thessalonicensibus Macedoniae, cfr. *PME* I A218, IV A218, VA218.

2. Q. Paesidius C.f. Aem(ilia) Macedo [= chapt. 10, no. 50].

Cfr. tribuni angusticlavii legionis III Scythicae: n.17.

a. prim(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) IX Hisp(aniae) (fortasse in Pannonia)

b. praef(ectus) castror(um) leg(ionis) III Scythic(ae)

c. trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) eiusdem

3. [– – –] [= chapt. 10, no. 18].

AE 1956. 222 = *YCS* 14 (1955) 163-64 n.61 (Dura-Europos, Syria).

– ἑπαρχ[ος] λεγεῶνος τετάρτης Σκυθικῆς – fortasse [Οὐαλεριανῆς Γ]αλιηνῆς (praefectus legionis III Scythicae, sc. Valerianae Gallienae, cfr. *YCS* *ibid.*; III s. fortasse aet. Valeriani/Gallieni; 253-268?)

Origo?

4. Chronological survey of the evidence

As noted above, the present survey is confined to the period when *legio III Scythica* was stationed in Syria. Let us start from a chronological overview:

Legati

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. L. Funisulanus Vettonianus (no. 3) | 62 – contra Parthos
→ procos. Africae (c.91/92) | Italia (Regio VIII, Ariminum?) |
| 2. Cn. Pompeius Collega (no. 11) | 69/70 procos. prov. Syriae
→ leg. Capp. Gal. (c.75-78) | Origo? |
| 3. Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (no. 5) | sc. 80/82
→ proc. Asiae (c.105-106) | Ephesus, Asia |
| 4. M. Maecius Celer (no. 9) | 92-94 (III Scythica?)
→ cos. suff. (101) | Ilici, Hispania Citerior (?) |
| 5. A. Larcus Priscus (no. 8) | 97 – pro leg. cos. prov. Syriae
→ procos. Gall. Narb. (c.108-109),
cos. suff. (110) | Antium, Regio I, Italia |
| 6. L. Valerius Messala Thrasea Poplicola Helvidius Priscus (no. 15) | c.105 (?)
→ praetor design. mortuus | Italicus |
| 7. C. Iulius Scapula (no. 6) | c.130-134
→ leg. Gal. – cos. suff. (139?) | Origo? Italicus? |
| 8. C. Iulius Severus (no. 7) | 132 – vice legati Syriae
→ procos. Asiae (151/152) | Ancyra, Galatia |
| 9. T. Prifernius Paetus Rosianus etc. (no. 12) | c.140 – leg. leg. (III Scyth.?)
→ leg. ad cens. Aquit. (161/162?) | Trebula Mutuesca, Regio IV, Italia |
| 10. Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus (no. 16) | c.138-140
→ procos. prov. Africae (161-162) | Italicus, Aricia (?) |
| 11. P. Cassius Dexter Augus[tanius] etc. (no. 1) | c.144-147
→ leg. Cilic. (c.149-151) – cos. (suff. 152/153?) | Italia, Verona (?), Regio X |
| 12. L. Septimius Severus (Imp., no. 14) | 182-183 (?)
→ Imperator | Leptis Magna, Africa Proconsularis |
| 13. Gellius Maximus (no. 4) | 219
→ imperium appetens interficitur | Antiocheia ad Pisidiam, Galatia |
| 14. (M. Quintius) Atticus (no. 13) | tempus incertum?
→ alteri honores non noti | Origo? |

Tribuni laticlavii

- | | | |
|---|--|------------------------------|
| 1. L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus (no. 5) | c.64
→ leg. Iudaeae (73-77/78), cos. (81) | Urbs Salvia, Regio V, Italia |
| 2. L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex (no. 8) | exeunte aet. Vespas.
→ procos. Achaiae (99/100), cos. (101) | Syria? Berytus? |
| 2b. M. Maecius Celer (no. 11b) | aet. Vesp./Domit. – tr. et leg. leg. (III Scyth.?)
→ cos. suff. (101) | Ilici, Hispania Citerior (?) |
| 3. C. Iulius Proculus (no. 9) | 97-98 – vice leg. leg. III Sc.(?)
→ leg. ad cens. Lugd. (c.109-111) | Gallia Narbonensis |
| 4. Ti. Claudius Iulianus (no. 3) | aet. Traiani
→ procos. Asiae (? – 145-146) | Asia Minor |
| 5. P. Manilius Vopiscus Vinicillianus etc. (no. 12) | c.100-103
→ cos. (114) | Hispania? Italia? |
| 6. [Claudius?] Maximus (no. 14) | 114-117 – don. don. bello Parth.
→ procos. Africae (158/159?) | Occidentalis (?) |
| 7. C. Iulius Thraso Alexander (no. 11) | c.132-135 – don. don. bello Iud.
→ titulus mutilus | Asia |

8. C. Iulius Severus (no. 10)	aet. Hadr./Ant. Pii – patre leg. leg. → leg. Syr. Pal. (c.156-159)	Ancyra, Galatia
9. C. Arrius Antoninus (no. 2)	aet. Ant. Pii → procos. Asiae (c.188-189; interfectus a Commodus)	Cirta, Numidia
10. P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus (no. 7)	aet. Ant. Pii – tr. leg. X Fret. et III Scyth. → procos. Asiae (c.182)	Cirta, Numidia
11. M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus etc. (no. 4)	medicō II s. → quaest. design. Cypri	Ephesus, Asia
12. Q. Servilius Pudens (no. 15)	aet. Ant. Pii/M. Aur. → procos. Cretae et Cyrenorum	Hippo Regius, Africa Proconsularis
13. L. Marius Perpetuus (no. 13)	c.180 – L. Septimio Severo, leg. leg. → leg. III Daciarum (214)	Africanus (?)
14. [C. Iu]lius [– –]avianus (no. 6)	II s.? – tr. leg. XII Fulm. et III Scyth. →?	Magarsus, Cilicia
15. C. Aemilius Berenicianus Maximus (no. 1)	aet. Sept. Sev./Carac. – tr. leg. III Scyth. item VII Gem. → procos. Narb., cos. (aet. Sev. Alex.)	Orientalis (?)
16. [– – –] (no. 17)	II s./I p. III s. – tr. leg. III Scyth., I. V Mac. → cos. (?)	Origo (?)
17. [– – –] (no. 18)	ex. II s./in. III s. – tr. leg. III (?) → leg. prov. [– – –]	Mediolanum, Regio XI, Italia (?)
18. [– – –] (no. 19)	tempus incertum → cos. (suff.?)	Origo?

Tribuni angusticlavii

1. A. Vicirius [– – –] (no. 22)	aet. Neronis? → [aedilis] Etruriae	Rusellae, Regio VII, Italia
2. [– – –] (no. 23)	aet. Claudii/Neronis → I II III, praef. rip. Danuvi	Antiochia, Pisidia
3. Ti. Iulius Latinus (no. 11)	aet. Neronis	Orientalis – Romanus
4. Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus (no. 3)	c.102-105 → pr. fabr. – I I II II III III – scriba	Caesarea, Mauretania Caesariensis
5. Gn. Cornelius Pulcher (no. 8)	aet. Traiani → proc. Epiri, iuridicus Alexandriae	Epidaurus, Achaia
6. T. Statilius [Frontonia]nus (no. 20)	129-130 → I II	Heraclea ad Salbacum, Caria, Asia
7. C. Oclatius Modestus (no. 13)	aet. Trai./Hadr. → pr. fabr. – I I II – curator	Beneventum, Regio II, Italia
8. C. Sempronius Fidus, Calagorrit(anus) (no. 18)	inter 70-150 → II II II II – flam. p. Hisp. Cit.	Calagurris, Hispania Tarraconensis
9. Tib. Claudius Pius (no. 4)	aet. Ant. Pii (?) → I II II III – archiereus Asiae	Pergamum, Asia
10. [– – –] (no. 24)	c.140/141	Palmyra, Syria (?)
11. Iulius Antonius (no. 10)	medio II s. → I I II	Oenoanda, Lycia
12. [L.] Paccius Montanus (no. 16)	medio II s. (?) → ? – decurio	Comama, Pisidia, Asia
13. L. Egnatuleius Sabinus (no. 9)	inter 177/180 → II II – praef. gentis – proc.	Thysdrus, Byzacena, Africa Proconsularis

14. L. Aurelius Taruttienus Demetrius (no. 1)	c.180-190 → II – flamen div. Aug.	Mopsueste, Cilicia
15. Ti. Claudius Telemachos (no. 5)	c.185 adlectus → II – arch. – procos. Africae	Xanthus, Lycia
16. C. Sextius Martialis (no. 19)	exeunte II s./in. III s. → II – proc. prov. Macedoniae	Mactaris, Byzacena, Africa Proconsularis
(17.) Q. Paesidius Macedo (no. 17)	aet. Claud. – vel – expeditione Corbulonis? prim. pil. leg. IX Hisp. praef. castr. leg. III Scyth. trib. mil. leg. eiusdem	Dyrrhachium, Macedonia

Primipili

1. M. Paccius Marcellus (no. 2)	ineunte aet. Flaviorum in monumento: signum legionis III Scythicae: Capricornus	Compsa, Regio IV, Italia
2. Sex. Rufius Victor (no. 3)	post aet. Iul. Claud., quando?	Italicus? Tibur?
3. C. Coesius Florus (no. 1)	exeunte I s./ineunte II s. → praef. leg. XI Cl. p.f.	Caesarea, Cappadocia

Praefecti (castrorum)

1. P. Aurelius Cassianus (no. 1)	aet. Carac./Heliog. praef. leg. III Scyth. et leg. XIII Geminae Ant.	Origo?
2. [– –] (no. 3)	aet. Val./Gall. 253-268?	Origo?
(3). Q. Paesidius Macedo (no. 2)	aet. Claud. – vel – expeditione Corbulonis? prim. pil. leg. IX Hisp. praef. castr. leg. III Scyth. trib. mil. leg. eiusdem	Dyrrhachium, Macedonia

5. Commentary

The unequal distribution of the evidence, both chronologically and geographically, makes it impossible to sketch an evolution. Furthermore, we are dealing here with the data on just one legion, which strongly limits general statements. The following sets out the problems and cites the relevant literature for the broader context.

Legati legionis and *tribuni laticlavii*

This socially homogeneous group is best dealt with together.

The evidence on the *legati legionis* and the *tribuni laticlavii* of *legio III Scythica* offers a fascinating insight not only into the command structure of a legion, but also into the flexibility with which this command was adapted in times of crisis. In the absence of the provincial governor, the *legatus legionis* took over as temporary governor (*pro legato consulare* – *vice legati*) and the *tribunus laticlavius* took the place of the *legatus legionis*. The *tribunus legionis* himself was not then replaced; presumably the 5 *tribuni angusticlavii* were sufficient in number to perform his duties.

In the eastern part of the empire four cases are known of a *legatus legionis* deputizing for a governor, and three of those were *legatus legionis III Scythicae*. Also in the east three *tribuni laticlavii* are known as temporary legionary commanders, and two of them concern *legio III Scythica* (Wachtel 1970: 110-11). These cases are all from Syria. Probably this legion's command was appealed to because the unit was closest to the governor at Antioch (Wagner 1977: 518). It is worth the effort to recollect these instances briefly.

Legati legionis III Scythicae — governors ad interim of Syria

1. Cn. Pompeius Collega (no. 11): C. Licinius Mucianus (PIR² L216) had left Syria as its governor in 69, and his successor, L. Caesennius Paetus (PIR² C173) had not yet arrived in the province when an anti-Jewish uprising broke out and fire destroyed half of the city (Franke 1991: 93). Cn. Pompeius Collega, then *legatus legionis III Scythicae*, was appointed acting governor of the province of Syria to restore peace.
2. A. Larcus Priscus (no. 8) was promoted from *quaestor provinciae Asiae* to *legatus Augusti legionis III Scythicae*. His father, A. Larcus Lepidus Sulpicianus (PIR² L94), had enjoyed an analogous promotion 30 years earlier from *quaestor pro praetore Cretae et Cyrenarum* to *legatus Imp. Vespasiani legionis X Fretensis* and had taken part in Vespasian and Titus' *bellum Iudaicum* (Wachtel 1970: 56 no. 37). The son, A. Larcus Priscus, in 97 as '*legatus legionis III Scythicae*' became acting governor of Syria: *pr(o) leg(ato) consulare provinciae Syriae*. Priscus had to substitute for the capable but over-ambitious general of the deceased Domitian, M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curvatus Maternus, as governor of Syria (Franke 1991: 37-38 no. 19). For *legio III Scythica*, Priscus was replaced by the *tribunus laticlavus* C. Iulius Proculus (no. 9).
3. C. Iulius Severus (no. 7) was a wealthy descendant of the native royal house of Ancyra, Galatia. He had lent financial support to the Roman forces in Trajan's expedition against the Parthians. Hadrian rewarded this loyal aristocrat with adlection to the Roman senate. He advanced to *legatus legionis III Scythicae* and was appointed acting governor of Syria in 132: *vice legati Syriae*, in the absence of Publicius Marcellus who was sent to Iudaea to quell the Jewish uprising there. Severus is the first known Orientalis to govern Germania Inferior (Wachtel 1970; 43; Eck 1985: 169 no. 31).

Tribuni laticlavii vice legati legionis III Scythicae

1. C. Iulius Proculus (no. 9) was probably *tribunus laticlavus legionis III Scythicae* when in 97 the *legatus legionis*, A. Larcus Priscus, was appointed *pro legato consulare provinciae Syriae*. Proculus himself was then presumably designated *vice legati legionis III Scythicae*.
2. C. Iulius Severus (no. 10) presumably served as *tribunus laticlavus legionis III Scythicae* under his homonymous father, C. Iulius Severus, *legatus legionis III Scythicae* (no. 7). When the father in 132 became *vice legati Syriae* and marched into Iudaea to quell the Jewish uprising there, the son was appointed *vice legati legionis III Scythicae*. Severus *filius* thereafter advanced to *legatus legionis XXX Ulpiae Victricis* (Castra Vetera, Germania Inferior), where he also may have served under his father when the latter was *legatus pro praetore Germaniae Inferioris* (Eck 1985: 169-70 no. 31, with reservations; A. R. Birley 1982: 248).

To illuminate certain aspects of the senatorial military cursus – *tribunus laticlavus legionis*, *legatus legionis*, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* – the evidence for a single legion offers too narrow a base. I will deal here with some of these aspects and refer the reader to the literature that provides a more ample context.

The fact that a *tribunus legionis* could serve in a legion or province in which his own father was active as *legatus legionis/Aug. pro praetore*, as was the case with the C. Iulii Severi — *pater* as *legatus legionis* (no. 7) and *filius* as *tribunus laticlavus* (no. 10) — is discussed in a broader context by A. R. Birley (1982: 247-48) and Peeters (1984: 201-8). The phenomenon of a *tribunus laticlavus* serving in a consular or praetorian province where a relative — grandfather, father, uncle, father-in-law, brother-in-law — was governor seems to have been widespread (Peeters 1984: 206-8). For *legio III Scythica* the case can be cited of the *tribunus laticlavus* P. Manilius Vopiscus Vicinillianus L. Elufrius Severus Iulius Quadratus Bassus (no. 12), who probably served under the *legatus Aug. pr. pr. Syriae* (100/1–103/4) C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus. This provincial governor was related to C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus, *consul suffectus* of 105, to whom Manilius was related either by blood or by adoption. It is also possible that the tribune befriended the governor during his commission, becoming acquainted through him with the consul of 105 who later adopted him.

Of the 30 hitherto known cases in which a *tribunus laticlavus* served in two different legions, four belong to *legio III Scythica* (Rémy 1986; A. R. Birley 1982: 242-43):

- C. Aemilius Berenicianus Maximus (no. 1): *tribunus laticlavus legionis III Scythicae* (Zeugma), item VII Geminae iterato tribunatu (Legio, Hispania Citerior) (exeunte aet. Sept. Sev. – vel – ineunte aet. Caracallae).

Despite the military preamble, this *Orientalis* – descendant of an Oriental royal house – exercised no further military duties in the rest of his career (Rémy 1986: 125-26 no. 23).

- [C. Iu]lius [- -]avianus (no. 6):
tribunus laticlavius legionis XII Fulminatae (Melitene, Cappadocia), legionis IIII Scythicae (Zeugma) (II s?). This *Orientalis* from Magarsus, Cilicia, remained, like most *Orientalis*, in the eastern sector of the empire (Devijver 1986). His further career is unknown (Rémy 1989: no. 224).
- P. Iulius Geminus Marcianus (no. 7):
tribunus laticlavius legionis X Fretensis (Hierosolyma, Syria Palaestina, c. 149-150), legionis IIII Scythicae (Zeugma).
This senator from Cirta, Numidia, afterwards held additional military posts.
- [- -] (no. 17, *CIL* VI 1553):
tribunus militum legionis IIII Scythicae (Zeugma) item V
Macedonicae piae (Dacia Potaissa).
This anonymous is known from a fragmentary inscription (Rémy 1986: 128-29 no. 26).

Among *legati legionis IIII Scythicae* we find only one case of an *iteratio tribunatus legionis*:

- Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus (no. 16):
tribunus militum laticlavius legionis III Cyrenaicae (Arabia-Aegyptus), legionis XII Fulminatae (Cappadocia), donis militaribus donatus bello Parthico Traiani (c.114-117).

A. R. Birley (1982: 243-44) offers a survey of 33 known cases of “iterated legionary command,” of which two relate to *legio IIII Scythica*:

- A. Larcus Priscus (no. 8):
The promotion of the *quaestor provinciae Asiae* to *legatus legionis IIII Scythicae* and subsequently his interim command as *pro legato consulare provinciae Syriae* in 97 have been described above. After this exceptional command he pursued a normal senatorial career: *tribunus plebis*, *praetor*, *legatus (proconsulis) provinciae Baeticae* (102/103), *praefectus frumenti dandi ex senatus consulto*. Finally he became *legatus legionis II Augustae* (104-106, Britannia).
- [L.] Martius [Ma]cer (no. 10) may be overlooked here because he served in Moesia.

A. R. Birley (1982: 245-47) also draws attention to the question whether the senatorial careers reveal any “evidence for ‘specialization’”. He distinguishes three categories: (a) Tribunate and legionary command in the same army; (b) Tribunate and army command (governorship) in the same province; (c) Legionary command and governorship in the same army/province. Only in his first category among the 14 cases do we find two that concern *legio IIII Scythica*:

- C. Iulius Proculus (no. 9): *tribunus (laticlavius) legionis IIII Scythicae* (97-98) et fortasse vice *legati legionis IIII Scythicae*. He later returns to Syria as *legatus legionis VI Ferratae*. The rest of the career of this senator from Gallia Narbonensis was spent in the West.
- L. Marius Perpetuus (no. 13): *tribunus laticlavius legionis IIII Scythicae*. Later *legatus Augustorum legionis XVI Flaviae firmae fidelis* (Syria).
- In a third case, M. Maecius Celer (no. 9), a senator known to have been *tribunus laticlavius* and *legatus legionis* in Syria, the legion unfortunately cannot be specified. A fourth case, T. Priferinius Paetus Rosianus etc. (no. 12), is far from certain. He served in Iudaea as *tribunus laticlavius legionis X Fretensis* (c.126-128). Thereafter (c.140) he was *legatus divi Pii legionis [XI]V [Gemin]ae (?) – vel – [II]V [Scythicae] (?)*.

The social promotion and the geographical origin of the *tribuni laticlavii* and the *legati legionis* of *IIII Scythica* also merit our attention. It is clear that here too we have only an exceedingly small fraction of the evidence to work with. Still, some salient features can be pointed out and perhaps set in a broader context.

For social promotion in imperial Roman society, which was a meritocracy, the most important factors were: descent (*eugeneia*), wealth (*facultates* that led to beneficence: *euergesia*, *munificentia*), education (*paideia*), loyalty to the régime (Devijver 1986; 1988). The *Orientalis* first had to become Hellenized before Rome would incorporate them into the leading classes of the equestrian and senatorial orders (Devijver 1989: 362).

Three *legati legionis IIII Scythicae* are known to have entered the senatorial ranks as *hominēs novi*. Indeed they are Hellenized *Orientalis* from Asia who could invoke their *eugeneia*, *paideia* and *euergesia* and through imperial service join the ranks of the loyal meritocracy.

- Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (no. 5) belonged to a very prominent family, presumably from Sardes, that settled in Ephesus (*PIR*² I260). This local aristocracy perhaps received the Roman citizenship from the emperor Tiberius. Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus attained equestrian rank and entered the emperor's service as *tribunus angusticlavius legionis III Cyrenaicae* in Egypt, where he served under the command of the Hellenized and Romanized Jew Ti. Iulius Alexander. With a detachment from *legio III Cyrenaica* he was sent, at the end of 69, from Egypt to Iudaea to reinforce Titus' army. He was noticed by Titus or Vespasian, and the latter adlected him to the senate (*inter tribunicios*). A long career was ultimately rewarded with the proconsulate of Asia (c.105-106). A striking feature of this *cursus* is that Celsus was active only in the Greek-speaking eastern sector of the empire and that, although he had military qualities (and ambitions?) (*trib. leg. III Cyr./ leg. leg. III Scyth.*), he was not appointed to govern a province with a legion (Rémy 1989: 40-41). In his honour his son, Ti. Iulius Aquila Polemaeanus (*PIR*² I168), would build the famous Celsus-library at Ephesus. He would also donate an enormous sum for the library's maintenance and operation. *Eugeneia, paideia, euergesia*, loyal service of the emperor were the prerequisites of these new senatorial families from Ephesus (see also Devijver 1993b).
- C. Iulius Severus (no. 7) was of royal Galatian blood. He descended from the Attalids and from the tetrarchs of Galatia. He used his enormous wealth to the benefit of his native city, Ancyra, and of the province of Galatia. He was priest in the imperial cult in Ancyra and *archiereus* of Galatia. In the winter of 113/114, during the passage through Ancyra prior to the Parthian campaign, and on its return in the autumn of 117, he generously aided Trajan's army with his financial resources. Hadrian, who was rather chary in the admission of new-comers to the senate, adlected C. Iulius Severus at the age of 35 *inter tribunicios* (Rémy 1989: 51). His further career was spent almost exclusively in the East. He was the first Oriental to govern Germania Inferior. Without previous military experience he was appointed *legatus legionis III Scythicae* and had to act *vice legati Syriae* in 132, as described above. He presents a perfect picture of the senator *orientalis*.
- Gellius Maximus (no. 4) was apparently a senatorial new-comer as well. All we know is that he was *legatus legionis III Scythicae* in 219 when he was killed, and that he aspired to the *imperium* (*PIR*² G130). He was without doubt the son of the equestrian L. Gellius Maximus (*PIR*² G131) from Antiochia Pisidia. The father was *archiater Caracallae ducenarius et a Musio* and *sacerdos Aesculapii*; he belonged to the category of scholars — orators, philosophers, physicians — that had worked its way up through *paideia* (Devijver 1986). He was not only the *archiater* but also an *amicus* of Caracalla.

A look at the geographical origin of the *legati* and the *tribuni laticlavii* yields some striking conclusions. Whereas we still find Italians among the *legati* in the 2nd c. (nos. 6?, 12, 16), provincials — Orientals and Africans — dominate among the *tribuni* from the beginning of the 2nd c., with not a single *Italicus* among them. Of course no real conclusions can be drawn from such fragmentary data. Yet it is in any event a fact that Orientals with *eugeneia, paideia, facultates* and *euergesia*, like a Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus (no. 5), already managed to work their way into the senate from the second half of the 1st c. Rome employed them mostly in the governing of the eastern provinces.

Tribuni angusticlavii

The geographical origin of the *tribuni angusticlavii* shows a more rapid provincialization than that of the *tribuni laticlavii* and the *legati* of *Legio III Scythica*.

The geographical distribution of the known *tribuni angusticlavii* is as follows:

Italia	2
Hispania	1
Africa	3
<i>Orientales/Graeci</i>	10

From Claudius/Nero we encounter the first *Orientales* in the *militiae equestres* (nos. 23, 11). From the beginning of the 2nd c. no *Italicus* nor any *Occidentales* are attested as *tribuni angusticlavii* of *legio III Scythica*: of the 8 2nd-c. tribunes 6 are *Orientales* and 2 *Africani*.

The *militiae equestres* were recruited among the local élites of *decuriones* in the west and *bouleutai* in the east, at least until the late 2nd c. From the 3rd c. former *beneficiarii, veterani legionis, evocati* from the *cohortes praetoriae*, and *decuriones alae* entered the equestrian

military career. This evolution has been sketched elsewhere and can be passed over here since the evidence for *legio IIII Scythica* in the 3rd c. is non-existent (Devijver 1993a: 205-31).

The *tribuni angusticlavii legionis IIII Scythicae* often came from the municipal élite. In their native town they had held important posts in the local *cursus honorum* or borne the financial burden of the imperial cult as *flamen provinciae* or *archiereus* (see nos. 22, 3, 8, 13, 18, 4, 24, 16, 9, 1, 5, 19).

In one case we see that the father's relations led to the son's promotion. Ti. Iulius Leonidas was the son of Iulius Leonidas, who in the early years of Tiberius was the teacher of Nero and Germanicus's sons (*praeceptor Caesarum*). Tiberius granted the family the Roman citizenship and made the son an *eques Romanus*.

In some cases the tribune belonged to a family with a certain tradition of imperial military service. A. Vicirius (no. 22) presumably followed in his father's footsteps as *tribunus legionis*. Iulius Antoninus (no. 10) was twice *praefectus cohortis* (where he was stationed is not known) and then *tribunus leg. IIII Scythicae* (Syria); his father, C. Iulius Demosthenes, also from Oenoanda, Lycia, had been *tribunus legionis VI Ferratae* (Syria) and *praefectus alae VII Phrygum* (Syria), and subsequently *procurator Siciliae* — a nice example of family tradition. This loyal service would be rewarded by the emperor, for the daughter of Iulius Antoninus, Iulia Lysimacha, calls herself *mater stirpis consularis*. T. Statilius Frontonianus (no. 20), from Heraclea ad Salbacum, Caria, Asia, was just one in a series of family members who had served the emperor as officer (see prosopography no. 20). I refer also to Tib. Claudius Pius (no. 4) whose son probably held all four ranks in the *militiae equestres*.

The career of an equestrian officer could often be launched or advanced through the intercession of a provincial governor, a senator or a high-ranking knight. Such patrons then played an important rôle in the rise of a family (Devijver 1993b: 107-23, 115-16). In two instances of *tribuni leg. IIII Scythicae* a patron can probably be pointed out: Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus (no. 3) and C. Oclatius Modestus (no. 13) were both, before their *militiae equestres*, *praefectus fabrum Romae*. They had held that post in the service of a prominent senator — usually a *consularis* — and thus had had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of influential senators and knights in the nerve centre, Rome itself.

The *Orientalis* dealt with here never left the eastern part of the empire during the execution of their *militiae equestres*. Just one example: Tib. Claudius Pius (no. 4), from Pergamum, Asia, was subsequently *trib. coh.* (Cappadocia or Syria), *trib. leg. IIII Scyth.* (Syria), *trib. leg. III Gallicae* (Syria), *praef. alae VII Phrygum* (Syria). For the broader context of this phenomenon I refer the reader to two previous studies (Devijver 1986; 1988).

Primipili/praefecti (castrorum)

For this category of officers — for which the evidence for *legio IIII Scythica* is scanty — see Dobson 1978 and the material collected in chapt. 10, Appendices I and II.

However, I would like to dwell briefly on the *primipilaris legionis IIII Scythicae* M. Paccius Marcellus (no. 1 = chapt. 10, no. 69). In a recent study, Th. Schäfer (1989: 292-304, no. 27) has devoted ample attention to the funerary monument of the *primipilaris* from Compsa, Regio IV, Italia (S. Guglielmo al Goletto, prov. Avellino). It was a colossal monument some 8 m high of which about 110 blocks have been identified, for the most part re-used in 1152 in the Romanesque church tower of an abbey. The iconography of the blocks is discussed at length. I will limit myself here to the depictions of the military standards (below, fig. 11.1). That these appear on the funerary monument of a *primipilaris* should cause no surprise, since it was precisely the *primus pilus* who was responsible for the legion's standards (Schäfer 1989: 293 n.400). One block shows a typical *aquila*, symbol of the legion but also of the primipilate. Another block has 3 standards, of which only the one on the right interests us here (Schäfer 1989: Taf. 47.2, 50.2): atop the standard is an animal, its front legs somewhat laboriously grasping a sphere. Schäfer (1989: 299) shows that it is the capricorn, with a globe between its forelegs. Capricorn was the emblem of all legions raised or — in the case of *IIII Scythica* — re-organized by Augustus. Indeed, the Capricorn was Augustus' symbol *par excellence*, also found on his coin-



Fig. 11.1 Relief sculpture associated with an inscription of a *primuspilus* of *III Scythica* found between Abellinum and Compsa in Italy and depicting legionary standards (5.3, no. 1) (photo: J. R. Patterson).

age, for it was the sign of the zodiac under which Augustus was conceived. Wagner (1977: 529f.) has further shown that after Heliogabalus the Capricorn frequently occurs on the coins of Zeugma, which was the garrison place of *legio III Scythica* (see p. 196). The foregoing demonstrates once again that historians of Rome must consult all possible sources (epigraphical, papyrological, archaeological, iconographical, numismatical) to achieve revelatory insights.

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ADDENDUM

1. A new *tribunus (angusticlavius) legionis III Scythicae*

In July 1994, during excavations by the University of Leuven at Sagalassos in Pisidia (Aglasun, S Turkey), a fragmentary inscription was found with the career of an anonymous equestrian officer.

II. 5-8: ἔπαρχον τεχνειῶν. ἔπαρ/[χο]ν σπείρης γ' Βρακάτης, χειλξ/αρχον λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς, ἔπαρχον εἰλης ζ' Φρυγῶν.

- ἔπαρχον τεχνειῶν:

praefectus fabrum, perhaps in the service of a governor in the East.

- ἔπαρ/[χο]ν σπείρης γ' Βρακάτης:

praefectus cohortis III Bracarum (militia prima) in Iudaea/Syria Palaestina; for the *cohors III Bracarum*, see H. Devijver *ZPE* 104 (1994) 69-72 and *AncSoc* 25 (1994) 233-48 discussing *P. Egypt. Mus. inv. S.R. 3055*: ἔπαρχος σπείρας τρίτης Βρακῶν (A. Hanafi, "Three applications from Oxyrhynchus," in A. H. S. El-Mosalamy (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology* [Cairo 1992] 557-80, esp. 561-77); *AE* 1965. 347: ἱππεὺς χώρης δευτέρας Βρακατῶν; *AE* 1969/70. 572: στρατιώτη) χῶρ(της) α' Βρακάρου; *PME* IV, *Suppl.* I, C257 bis: praef. coh. III Bracaru[m in Syr(ia) Pal]jaes(tina) (medio II s.).

- χειλξ/αρχον λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς:

tribunus legionis III Scythicae (militia secunda); Zeugma, Syria;

- ἔπαρχον εἰλης ζ' Φρυγῶν

praefectus alae VII Phrygum (militia tertia); Syria; *PME* I, A182, C116, C143, C168, H3, I55, I123; *PME* II, N6, V30, Inc.86; *PME* V *Suppl.* II, Inc.152 ter.

During the excavations in Sagalassos in 1995 two new inscriptions of this officer were found giving us his name: Tib. Claudius Claudii Ilagoou filius Quirina Piso. The career can be dated to the second half of the 1st c. A.D., perhaps during the reign of Vespasian. The career of this officer, perhaps a native of Sagalassos, is typical of *Orientalis*. Like those dealt with above, he never left the eastern sector of the empire in the performance of his *militiae equestres*. As a possible member of the local élite he was *archiereus* and financed the *agones* in honour of Apollo Clarius (ll. 4-5: ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Κλαρειῶν ἀ/[γώνων]; ll. 8-12: τὰς εἰκό/νας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τῆς πάλης τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀνατί/θεντα ἔκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τὸν ἀ/ῶνα).

2. A new *legatus legionis IIII Scythicae*

For a new *legatus* (ἡγεμόνα λεγεῶνος τετάρτης (Σκυ)θηκῆς - c.200-250) belonging to the Xanthion family of the Claudii, see now M. Christol and Th. Drew-Bear, "Un sénateur de Xanthos," *JSav* (1991) 195-226 = *SEG* 41 (1991) [1994] no. 1394 = *AE* 1993.1550a-b.

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The mint at Zeugma

Kevin Butcher

The issues

Zeugma issued its own coinage between the reigns of Antoninus Pius (138-161) and Philip I (244-249). Production, however, was intermittent, and the city cannot be considered an important mint for provincial coinage.¹ Eight issues of coinage can be distinguished, and three types of countermark have been identified. Since Zeugma's coinage is catalogued in a publication (Butcher, forthcoming), only an outline of its issues will be provided here.

The first three issues, in bronze, were all struck in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and all bore the "temple on a hill" reverse type (see below). The obverses portray Antoninus Pius, and all three issues consist of a single denomination of c.20 mm diameter and 9 g weight. The first can be distinguished by the use of a crescent above the temple on the reverse. This issue was subsequently countermarked, probably at Zeugma, since no coins of other cities have been identified which bear the same marks. One of the countermarks carries the letters ZEY, presumably to be expanded ZEY(ΓMATEΩN) (Butcher forthcoming: no. 10); the other was a 5-pointed star (Butcher forthcoming: no. 11; cf Howgego 1985: no. 453). The second issue shows the temple without a pediment, and on the obverse the emperor's names are rendered in the accusative rather than the nominative. A third issue has the "temple on a hill" reverse type encircled by a laurel wreath.

The fourth issue of bronze coins was struck during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Both emperors are portrayed; the reverses are of the "wreath" type (see below). The dies are of similar style to the coinage of these emperors issued at Samosata, and are probably the work of the same engravers.²

A small (fifth) issue of so-called "pseudo-autonomous" bronze coins, which do not bear imperial portraits, also belongs to the 2nd c. There are two denominations, the larger of c.15 mm and 3 g, the smaller c.12 mm (weight not available). Few specimens survive, and none of the legends on any is entirely clear, which is unfortunate since they probably bear a date. One specimen, in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow, was read by MacDonald (1905: 30, no. 1) as bearing a date according to an Actian era and attributed to the reign of Trajan. His reading of this coin, however, is unlikely,³ and the date (if such it is) cannot be read with any certainty — although it has been followed in other works (Wagner 1976: 68 n. 207; Rey-Coquais 1978: 56 n. 157; Millar 1993: 29). A similar issue of coins, with identical types, was struck at the nearby city of Hierapolis (Butcher forthcoming: nos. 22-30). These bear a date which can be read, Seleucid year 457 = A.D. 145/6, which places them in the reign of Antoninus Pius. We find that a similar issue, bearing the same types, was issued at Antioch in the same year (the Antiochene Caesarean year 194) (Butcher forthcoming: nos 343-53; 365-75). Since the "pseudo-autonomous" issues of Hierapolis and Zeugma imitate the types of Antioch, it is not unlikely that Zeugma's "pseudo-autonomous" coins are contemporary with those of Antioch and Hierapolis. If so, they should probably be regarded as small denominations which accompanied the larger bronze units issued with the portrait of Antoninus Pius.

No bronze coins were struck for Zeugma from at least 169 to 218, a gap of 49 years.

1 For examples of all these issues, see chapt. 9, nos. 45, 48-49, 52, 54, 56, 64-66.

2 In the British Museum (Wroth 1899: 126, no. 19) and at Copenhagen (SNG Copenhagen : no. 30) coins of Zeugma attributed to Septimius Severus actually portray Lucius Verus.

3 No other evidence for an Actian era at Zeugma exists, and MacDonald's interpretation cannot be substantiated (cf. Butcher 1994: 449).

Zeugma is likely to have been the city responsible for issuing silver tetradrachms of Caracalla marked ZEY (Bellinger 1940: 49). These, the sixth issue, were all struck in the period of Caracalla's fourth consulship, 213-217. Many other cities in the Levant issued similar coins during the same period, and the unusual profusion of mints issuing tetradrachms under Caracalla is traditionally thought to have been connected with that emperor's campaigns against the Parthians, and therefore dated 215-217, although such an interpretation is debatable, and a wider bracket of dates, 213-217, should be preferred. The reverse type of an eagle on these tetradrachms is almost identical for every city; the coins do not bear the names of the issuing cities, and are attributed to different mints on the basis of small marks which occur usually between the legs of the eagle on the reverse. Many of the marks can be attributed to particular cities only with some reservations, and most of them are symbols rather than letters; thus the ZEY which distinguishes the issue attributed to Zeugma is unusual. However, the use of the ZEY on the above-mentioned countermark of Antoninus Pius seems to confirm the attribution of this issue to Zeugma, making it the only silver coinage known to have been produced at the city.

The seventh and eighth issues of coinage, for Elagabalus (218-222) and Philip I and family (244-249), share obverse dies with several other cities in Syria Coele and, under Philip I, with the coins of Philippopolis, which that emperor founded. Most of the Zeugma dies are shared with Antioch, but there are also links with Samosata and Seleucia Pieria under Elagabalus, and with Samosata, Cyrrhus and Hierapolis (as well as Philippopolis) under Philip. It is likely that the issues for all of these cities were struck at Antioch.⁴ This would make the tetradrachms of Caracalla the last coins to be minted at Zeugma, since all of the issues of Elagabalus and Philip were probably produced at Antioch. The Zeugma coins of Elagabalus were issued in two denominations, one of c.32 mm diameter and weighing 19 g, the other of c.25 mm and weighing 10 g; those of Philip included a third, small denomination (largest denomination 28 mm and 16 g, medium denomination 24 mm and 9 g, small denomination 20 mm and 6 g). The coins of Philip, which bear the portraits of his son Philip II and wife Otacilia Severa, were all issued between 246 and 249, after Philip had been raised to co-emperor with his father.

A final spate of countermarking occurred at some point after the last issue of coins under Philip (Howgego 1985: no. 340). Since there were no further issues of coin at Zeugma it is impossible to be certain when this countermarking took place, and the mark was applied only to coins of Zeugma and not to coins of other cities. However, as no Syrian cities issued coins after the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus (253-268), it is quite likely that these countermarks were applied during the period 249-268 and not later.⁵

The types

Two principal types were employed on Zeugma's coinage. One of these is common to the coinages of other cities in the vicinity: a laurel wreath encircling the ethnic of the city (in this case the people of Zeugma — ZEYΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ). Similar designs, bearing the ethnics of their respective cities, occur at Chalcis ad Belum, Beroea, Cyrrhus, Hierapolis, Doliche and Germanicia Caesarea. The use of this type at so many cities between the reigns of Trajan and Commodus may be programmatic but equally could be the result of cities copying one another.

4 The atelier system, where one city produced coins for several others, has been posited for many centres in Asia Minor by Kraft (1972). There the question of whether dies or the finished products travelled from the atelier to the issuing cities is still debated. Antioch seems to have become an atelier for most N Syrian cities which had previously issued coinage, and it is very likely that the coins of other cities were produced there rather than the dies being sent out. It is the only Syrian city which has been positively identified as a centre for the production of coins of other cities (Butcher 1986/87: 73-84; 1988: 63-75).

5 Mattingly (*BMCRE* 5: 118), posited Zeugma as a place striking eastern silver denarii under Septimius Severus c.193-198, but this seems unlikely; Zeugma's issues were infrequent and mainly bronze.

The second type, however, is unique to the city (fig. 12.1). It depicts a temple at the top of a tall hill, with what appear to be steps or colonnades up either side of the hill and buildings at its base (Donaldson 1859: 129; Price and Trell 1977: 24). The type has often been described as a temple at the end of a *peribolos* or sacred grove (Wroth 1899: li; MacDonald 1905:



Fig. 12.1 Coin of Zeugma of the reign of Philip 130, n.4). The description of the type as a “sacred grove” stems from the interpretation of the rough area of blobs which fills the zone under the temple. Comparison with the coinages of many other cities in the region (e.g., Antioch, Samosata or Edessa) shows that this was a standard method of depicting hills. The city goddesses of various Near Eastern cities are shown seated on similar mounds of blobs, intended to represent prominent hills or tells at the sites. It seems reasonable to assume that the hill and temple on coins of Zeugma represent the location and appearance of buildings on the Tepe above modern Belkis, the site’s most prominent natural feature (figs. 2.7, 3.1, 3.4 above). The temple is consistently depicted tetrastyle, and sometimes contains a small seated male holding a spear or staff. This figure resembles that of Zeus Katabaites found on contemporary coins of Cyrrhus, who is also depicted in a temple (Wroth 1899: 137, no.30). The “temple on a hill” type is the sole reverse for the coinages of Antoninus Pius, Elagabalus and Philip.

The use by N Syrian cities of two alternating types for coins of identical denominations seems to have been commonplace in the 2nd c. At Chalcis, Cyrrhus, and Germanicia Caesarea the “wreath” type alternates with a second reverse type depicting the cities’ chief deity. At Seleucia Pieria the two reverse types are pertinent to Zeus Keraunios and Zeus Kasios. At Zeugma, however, the two types are not used alternately; the “wreath” type occurs only under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and is the sole type for the coins of those emperors.

The small “pseudo-autonomous” coins of the 2nd c. copy the types of similar denominations issued at Antioch: a head of the city goddess/altar; head of Apollo/lyre. As noted above, similar types were issued at Hierapolis. Presumably these types had some local significance to the peoples of Zeugma and Hierapolis, rather than merely referring to Antioch. The cult of Apollo at Hierapolis is well known, and an important cult at Zeugma might be posited on the strength of these coins.

Coins of Elagabalus and Philip bearing the “temple on a hill” type also depict a Capricorn on the reverse, below the main device. This may be a military emblem, but it seems more likely that it is zodiacal (see p.164). The motif is paralleled by the use of Aries on contemporary coins of Antioch, and of Taurus on those of Cyrrhus.

Circulation

There is very little published information about coin circulation in the vicinity of Zeugma. Some material, collected in the early 20th c. by F. Cumont, has been published by J.-M. Doyen (1987), and the present author has collected some more evidence for the provincial coinages circulating in the region (forthcoming). Much remains unknown, however, and it is only possible to present the vaguest sketch here. There are certainly not enough data to quantify the comments presented below, which are observations based on the examination of a small number of finds. These observations are relevant only to bronze coins, since silver coins rarely turn up as single finds. Excavation at Zeugma would no doubt add to the body of material, and the city’s position in the early Roman empire at the border between Rome and Parthia could provide vital evidence for the relationships between the currency systems and coin-use of the two powers.

In the Hellenistic period it would appear that the coins in circulation under the Seleucids were predominantly the issues of Antioch. The dominance of the coinage of Antioch continues into the early Roman empire when few mints inland in Syria were issuing coinages. Parthian coins do not appear to have circulated to any significant degree in Roman territory, even along the Euphrates border, but it is possible that further finds will clarify whether or not Parthian issues were excluded from the Roman empire. Most provincial bronze and silver of Roman Syria was exclusive to the province and did not circulate elsewhere. Apart from Roman silver denarii, which would seem to make their first appearance in the Levant in the late 1st c. A.D., coinage from other Roman provinces or from Rome itself did not have an important part to play in circulation and may well have been deliberately excluded from the province. It would not be surprising, therefore, to find that Parthian coinage was also deliberately excluded. Perhaps the officers of the *portoria* at Zeugma (Philos., VA: 1.20; cf. chapt. 9, no.28) were instructed to exchange foreign coin, or locals and money-changers may have refused to accept it.

A curious feature of the finds of the early Roman period is the presence of Jewish coins. In this respect Zeugma is not particularly special, since these issues are common throughout the Levant, including Cyprus, but it would be interesting to see how common they are at Zeugma and whether their distribution extended any further north (cf. p. 138).

From the 2nd and 3rd c. more mints became active (including Zeugma itself), and issues of various cities are found — Edessa, Carrhae, Hierapolis, and even Berytus. The presence of coins from Mesopotamian mints is well known at sites further south on the Euphrates, particularly Dura Europos (Bellinger 1949: 206-10). Antioch, however, remained the dominant mint among the finds for the first two and a half centuries A.D. and its coins outnumber Zeugma's own issues.

In spite of their abundance among the finds from sites in Syria, late Roman and early Byzantine coinages are very poorly documented among the finds from this region. Finds could conceivably help to locate the "uncertain" mints responsible for later 3rd c. coins, if any were actually situated in N Syria or Mesopotamia. From the 4th to 7th c., the coinage in use at Zeugma was probably that struck at Antioch, which was the only mint of any importance in the Levantine provinces for the remainder of the period.

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Conclusions: Roman Zeugma

David Kennedy

Zeugma and vicinity down to the coming of Rome

Geography made the vicinity of Zeugma attractive for settlement: the springs which fed Bahçe Dere and made it a perennial watercourse, the Euphrates itself, the security offered by the hills of the right bank, but most of all the rich and extensive soils of the Hobab Plain on the left bank. The river acted as a route: the resources on site could be supplemented by traffic coming downstream, bringing building stone on rafts and arguably meat, nuts and fruit, hides, and metals. The surpluses of Zeugma — grain, nuts and fruit, minor manufactured items such as metalwork, textiles, and ceramics — might move on downstream. When the region passed into the hands of regional powers, the location assumed importance as one of a number of crossing points for the land-routes between N Syria and Mesopotamia.

Algaze and his team (1994) have revealed a region with a settlement pattern in harmony with that found in adjacent areas (Wilkinson 1990). When the Macedonians first arrived hereabouts, despite the abundant evidence for extensive Bronze Age settlement including towns, contemporary settlement was relatively sparse, most of it concentrated in the valley on the fertile terraces, though individual sites such as that excavated at Hacinebi could be substantial. The discovery of an Achaemenid garrison downstream at Deve Höyük near Carchemish (Moorey 1975; 1980) alerts us to the possibility of other such forces on crossing places upstream, but in general N Syria in the Achaemenid period seems to have lacked any major urban centres.

Seleucus I Nicator established urban foundations at Zeugma and elsewhere along this part of the Euphrates. There is no evidence of significant settlement at Zeugma before the Macedonian towns were founded — even the tel of Tilmusa is modest (0.45 ha) — though chance finds of metalwork and pottery have shown that at least some elements of Greek material culture had found their way to the region in previous generations. The Greek name of Zeugma persisted into the Byzantine period and (transliterated) in Syriac and Armenian sources, though elsewhere many Graeco-Roman towns later recovered their native names, displacing the official Greek ones; whereas Beroea and Hierapolis and other sites endowed after c.300 B.C. with Greek names re-emerged with their pre-Greek names (Haleb, Membig, etc.), the retention of the name Zeugma may imply that there was no significant pre-Macedonian urban settlement here. Our site may have been determined by its suitability for a permanent bridge.¹ The regional security provided by Macedonians and later by the Romans removed an otherwise natural tendency to skirt the hilly terrain.

Hellenistic Zeugma is largely unknown. Surface finds give an indication of its general location and extent to the north and northwest of Belkis Tepe, but its character can be glimpsed only from traces of the city wall and a few written sources. Certainly it was garrisoned. Presumably the fertile valley underpinned the economy. What set this town apart was its strategic importance at the bridge on the great highway linking Syria and Mesopotamia and binding together

¹ Gawlikowski has recently argued (1996) that there was already a tradition of crossing precisely at this spot and indeed of construction of a bridge in time of need. He views Zeugma as the successor, on the same site, of Thapsacus, the place used by the armies of the later Achaemenids and Alexander the Great. However, archaeology has not yet found any substantial town earlier than Hellenistic Zeugma in this location. Gawlikowski's discussion may have strengthened the case for a northern rather than a southern location for Thapsacus, but its precise site is not yet definitively resolved.

the twin centres of the Seleucid empire. Its bridge brought the passage of armies.² Other notable events were the marriage of Antiochus III (chapt. 9 no. 3) and the murder of Cleopatra Selene (chapt. 9 no. 7). By analogy one may suppose that the Greek settlers planted among the indigenous population introduced the material trappings of their culture — temples and shrines to their own gods, imported items, and, in time, locally manufactured artefacts. Characteristic Hellenistic wares have been found at Zeugma and many other sites in the vicinity. Algaze's survey has shown that the number of nearby sites assigned to this period on the basis of finds rose from 3 to 13. Most settlers probably worked the rich Hobab Plain close to Apamea.

The waning Seleucid empire gradually came under the influence of independent and predatory neighbours emerging on all sides. First were the powerful Arab chiefs who appeared to the south in the 1st c. B.C. In the same period, a phase of the Armenian empire of Tigranes the Great at Zeugma is referred to in Strabo (chapt. 9 no. 7). The elimination of Armenia saw Zeugma placed in the cockpit of the warfare which followed between the successors to the Seleucids on either side of the Euphrates — Roma and Parthia. However, the same passage of Strabo describes Zeugma as belonging geographically to Commagene and it is likely that political control too belonged to the Commagenian rulers at their important capital of Samosata rather than to either imperial power (cf. Appian and Cicero [chapt. 9 nos. 8-9], and implicitly implied in Cicero's later work [chapt. 9 no. 15] which gives no hint of Roman forces stationed on the Euphrates itself hereabouts).³ Miscellaneous sources (chapt. 9 nos. 7-20) emphasize that Zeugma lay in the path of the Roman and Parthian armies now clashing in N Syria and Mesopotamia. When Crassus crossed at Zeugma there may have been some Roman forces temporarily based here but there is no hint of permanent Roman control. We have little or no remains of Commagenian material culture⁴ but Wagner has argued for Commagenian religious domination from his identification of large fragments of a Commagenian Dexios relief (1976: 117-23).

Early Roman Zeugma

Syria passed from Seleucid and Armenian hands to Rome in 63 B.C. At first a relatively modest area seems to have been under direct Roman administration. Antioch and many Greek cities certainly were, but others remained under the control of local rulers. For the first generation or more it is likely that Zeugma was part of the allied and dependent state of Commagene, which was relatively remote and difficult of access by comparison with states such as Emesa. But the Parthian invasions of Syria, and Roman counter-attacks by Ventidius Bassus and Antony (chapt. 9 nos. 17-20), would soon have revealed the strategic importance of Zeugma and the unreliability of Commagene which controlled both the crossing there and that at Samosata. Wagner may be correct to date the return of Zeugma to Syria to the 30s or soon after, when Octavian re-organized the province and abolished or redefined local fiefdoms (Kennedy 1996a). Incorporation presumably included Seleucia and the rural settlements on the west bank, but Rome could hardly have left Apamea at the Mesopotamian end of the bridge and the rich Hobab Plain outside her control,⁵ and one suspects that Rome always held those.⁶

2 Grainger 1990: 133 suggests the armies crossed to the east in c.240, 222-221, 212, 187, 164, 162, 140, and 129, and some at least returned.

3 *Contra* Grainger 1990: 174, there is no reason to assume that the presence of a Parthian army in Syria necessarily involved Parthia's possession of Zeugma for a generation. He cites the Parthian military cemetery at Deve Hüyük (southwest of Carchemish) as evidence for the supposed possession of Zeugma, but those graves are Achaemenid rather than Parthian (Moorey 1975; 1980: 7-10); the Parthian graves there are described by Moorey as "a mere ghost" and nowhere called those of Parthian soldiers (p. 237).

4 Pottery, however, is little understood for this region.

5 *Contra* Grainger 1990: 76.

6 Philostratus' anecdote of the Neronian period (chapt. 9 no. 29) may support this and indicate that the "Euphrates frontier" was more than simply a line defined by a river.

The most graphic written images of early Roman Zeugma are those of war. The expected Augustan and later advances into Mesopotamia never materialized, and for two centuries Zeugma remained one of a handful of fortresses on the bend of the Euphrates in what emerged as the point of immediate contact between the two great empires. Zeugma saw the arrival of armies in support of Parthian pretenders and the passage of occasional Roman armies. Titus was there in 70, Diadumenianus in 218 (chapt. 9 nos. 30 and 62), and other emperors of the 2nd and early 3rd c. may well have visited. The governor C. Cassius Longinus (chapt. 9 no. 27) was there and others will have visited. The beginnings of Zeugma's decline were probably brought about first by Roman successes in annexing parts of N Mesopotamia under Lucius Verus (163-166) and by advances achieved by Severus (195-199). Detachments of her legion were stationed at Dura in the early 3rd c., and the legion itself is reported at Oresa near Palmyra in the *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. 33.23 (Kennedy and Riley 1990: 122, 136-37). The departure of the troops would have removed the injection of large and regular sums of cash into the local economy and those who catered for the military market would have been affected. Although Zeugma is not in the *Notitia*, we may suppose that a few hundred troops at most remained in garrison,⁷ but that was a tenth of the number present in the 1st and 2nd c. The second factor in Zeugma's decline was the sack by Shapur I in the 250s (chapt. 9 no. 69). Dura was captured after a siege, and the same may have happened at Zeugma. Whether Zeugma had effective walls at that time is unknown, for it may have outgrown those of earlier times. Archaeological evidence such as the abrupt end of mosaic production, first identified by Wagner,⁸ and the excavations reported in chaps. 4-5 above, support the picture of decline. Large areas of Seleucia which had housed the well-to-do in ornate villas were abandoned, sometimes after a fire, and the finds in at least one (chapt. 5) imply a sudden abandonment with no ensuing looting. At Seleucia there may have been a sharp and permanent contraction towards the vicinity of At Meydanı where the legion may previously have been stationed, the later town surrounded by the relics of a more extensive and glorious past. Apamea may have suffered less than Seleucia, and it is arguable that, with the economy now oriented more towards the needs of a non-military population, the focus of settlement shifted across the river towards the Hobab Plain, to be grounded more centrally on the traditional agricultural base.

The Roman army at Zeugma

Until the legion moved away, the army would have been the dominating feature in Zeugma. A large garrison was inserted and the town transformed into a fortress city. At first it was probably the *legio X Fretensis*. After the sack of Jerusalem in 70 it was the *III Scythica*, which remained in whole or part for 150 years or more (chaps. 10-11). The regular pay of some 5000 soldiers would have been crucial for the development of the town's economy and have impacted on the rural economy, where farmers might have turned to cash crops, leaving the general grain-supply to special arrangements made by the army for its own needs. The overall provisioning of the town would have been affected by the army's need for everything from metals to hides. In turn this would have affected the pattern of communications through which they were drawn. The fortress itself probably conformed to the customary rectilinear layout covering about 20 ha, collectively forming a small, self-contained town (Kennedy and Riley 1990: chapt. 9; cf. Kennedy 1996b: 86).

For Zeugma there are several score items, mainly inscriptions, which record details of the careers or lives of personnel, from legates to the lowest ranker. Even rankers viewed the setting up of an inscription as a very Roman action and were more inclined than civilians to do so. The quantity of evidence for any one grade runs in inverse proportion to the numbers of men in that

7 Speidel (1977) has identified a unit in garrison in the 4th c.

8 The abrupt end to most tombstone production at Zeugma, on the other hand, may be less significant since that is part of an empire-wide pattern.

grade: thus, most inscriptions relate to the handful of *legati*; least relate to the many thousands of *milites*.⁹ But the numbers in the samples are always minute, and most of what we know of the personnel based at Zeugma comes from inscriptions set up elsewhere.¹⁰ From Zeugma itself there is no evidence for *legio X Fretensis*, and for *legio III Scythica* none for commanders, and only 3 items for officers and men. At first the soldiers in both legions were probably western, often Italian, and their impact on the demographic composition of the community would have been profound. Over time more were drawn from the east or from the Danubian provinces. The *known* soldiers are overwhelmingly of Syrian extraction, even if of partly western origin (pp. 197-200). It is likely that replacements from Zeugma itself increased over time, but the replacements in general seem likely to have come mostly from other parts of Syria and from elsewhere in the east, as well as from the west, and would have seemed somewhat alien to the civilian population.

We have more evidence for centurions, though the number known is still tiny: they were drawn from distant places, many having served in other legions, some having had prior service at Rome in the Praetorian Guard. To the local élite the centurions would still have seemed like outsiders and certainly less permanent than the rankers. The most senior officers were certainly outsiders drawn from the imperial élite and present only for short periods. The *legati* came from the members of the senatorial order with its strong western bias and were part of the small group who had reached praetorian rank. Several are known to have gone on to a consulship, provincial governorships, and in one case (L. Septimius Severus, who married the daughter of an Emesan family of local priest-rulers, chapt. 11, p. 210 no. 14) even to emperor. Other famous names are the Italian P. Cassius Bellicius Sollers (chapt. 11, p. 207 no. 1) and the great Galatian nobleman C. Julius Severus (chapt. 11, p. 208 no. 7). One of the 6 tribunes was drawn from the same order, the other 5 from the equestrians: among them L. Flavius Silva was later governor of Judaea, conqueror of Masada, and made a patrician by Vespasian (chapt. 11, p. 212 no. 5). Over about two centuries Zeugma was home to a succession of a few dozen such men and some of their family members, advisors and friends — people of the highest social orders and largely drawn from outside the Greek east. Their eminence would have given them a dominant social position and great influence at Zeugma: they would have received honours from the local ruling class and may even have become patrons of the town after they returned to senatorial activities at Rome. We know of only one imperial grandee, C. Julius Quadratus Bassus (chapt. 9 no. 42), honoured in this fashion, but there would have been others.

While based at Zeugma the members of the legion were often engaged elsewhere: its commander routinely deputized for the provincial governor at Antioch, and inscriptions show the legion or detachments active not only in warfare beyond the frontier but engaged in police duties in the bandit-ridden Leja of S Syria. The army provided work-parties for imperial projects, whether road construction, quarrying, or canalisation works on the Orontes near Antioch.

The common language at Zeugma was Greek, but the army used Latin in its everyday business, as the evidence from Dura shows: although Latin inscriptions from Zeugma are few, Latin would have played a major rôle not least in the generation of the numerous documents associated with the army. Even though there is no written evidence for native languages, the lower orders in the town and particularly the countryside probably spoke an Aramaic dialect: the point is underscored by the emergence of Syriac sources in later centuries.¹¹ The soldiers also brought an alien culture, not only the cultures of their different homes but a military tradition

9 Kennedy 1996a: 14-15.

10 It seems that soldiers recruited elsewhere were those who chose to commemorate their distant service after returning home.

11 One may wonder in what language the disciples Simon and Rufus preached while at Zeugma (chapt. 9 nos. 38-39).

with roots in Italy. As at Dura, the army would have offered sacrifices to the gods of the Roman pantheon and celebrated the great occasions of the imperial family and of Rome's past.

The town of Zeugma

Beyond the walls of the fortress the town was a *mélange* of its pre-Roman character and that introduced by the army. The inscriptions of the civilian population are overwhelmingly in Greek but the names are often Semitic and the style on tombstones belongs to a N Syrian tradition of frontality in representing the human form; the people themselves might well have appeared "oriental" to an outsider.¹² Skupinska-Løvset (1985: 127) has noted both Greek and Parthian dress on tombstones, while Speidel has identified more formal military garb on another (p. 204). Syrian lamps and fine red gloss wares of the E Mediterranean were in common use. The mosaics compare with those of the cities of the Syrian Tetrapolis to the west, again pointing to the cosmopolitan pretensions of the richer inhabitants who imported the artists and probably the craftsmen to make them. Houses were of the kind that might be found at Antioch, comfortable enough for any member of the Roman urban élite. But the houses of the lower social levels are unknown: they may well have been more Mesopotamian in character, as at Dura. The poorest inhabitants may have lived in the low-lying areas nearest the noise and bustle of the bridge and river traffic and where the rising and falling river would pose a threat.

The Euphrates was for long a "frontier" but it was also a great geographacial feature of the ancient world. Like other rivers it was regarded as a deity, here tamed by being bridged (Braund 1996: 46-47). Vitellius sacrificed a bull, ram and pig as part of a traditional Roman ceremony (chapt. 9 no. 25; cf. no. 10); the Parthians sacrificed horses (chapt. 9 no. 25). For ordinary travellers the act of crossing would have been of no less significance, requiring a conscious awareness or simple religious act. The newly found grottoes and the relief of a river-god along the river front may be part of this veneration (p. 53). At the bridge the funnelling of traffic and policing requirements would have necessitated an open space at either end. Philostratus evoked the venal tax-collector there (chapt. 9 no. 28). For a flavour of the atmosphere we may quote a 19th-c. account of the ferry crossing at Birecik downstream:

... the place was thronged with hundreds of camels, horses and mules, conveying corn westward; and all the market-places and lanes were strewn with bales of merchandise, which were going to Europe or coming from Mesopotamia. There was scarcely a vacant space to walk through, much less to pass heavily-laden animals. ... when we came to the boats the press was overwhelming. The stubborn camels and mules literally would not go backward or forward; and when the police tried to clear the way, some of the former went down on their foreknees and began to roar, and neither cudgelling nor coaxing would make them move. About a half a dozen of the latter fell to kicking right and left, and their pranks completed the confusion. (Rassam 1897: 241-42)

Traffic arrived along local tracks and highways; an example of the latter, as well as a milestone, has been discovered in stretches between Zeugma and Samosata (chapt 9, no.53; the roads are shown but in confusing manner on the Peutinger Table, chapt. 9 no. 80). Itineraries name the places on the major routes (chapt. 9 no. 61), but much work remains to be done on the local road-system. Much of the traffic was routine — farmers, travellers, traders, soldiers — but some was grander: the accounts of crossings at Zeugma by refugees or pretenders (chapt. 9 nos. 25 and 27) point to occasional spectacles in the life of the town, while the arrival and departure of the commanders and tribunes and the visits of governors and passage of envoys would also have been noteworthy.¹³ The river itself served as a route, as it does today, to float

12 Though on the fringe of the empire, Zeugma was not isolated from outside artistic traditions: local workshops responded to the fashions in hairstyle, facial expression and pose developed in Italy (Skupinska-Løvset 1985).

13 *P. Dura* 60B, a document setting out the details for the reception of Parthian envoys at various points

down produce to the bustling embankments of the town — not just food but fuel and the abundant stone required from the quarries upstream (pp. 57-59). The story of Bishop Eusebius of Samosata (chapt. 9 nos. 78-79) implies regular passenger travel downstream by those seeking to reach the highway to the Mediterranean more rapidly than by the overland route from Samosata.

Zeugma would have been vulnerable to epidemics spread by the many travellers and soldiers passing through, and may be presumed to have suffered in the great plague of the 2nd c., expressly said to have been carried into the empire by soldiers returning from the campaigns of Lucius Verus in Babylonia (SHA. *Ver.* 8.2-3). The sewers and drains and the provision of clean water minimised the risk of everyday ill-health, but Roman cities were hotbeds of disease and consumers of their populations (see Scobie 1986). Especially dangerous would have been malaria, that scourge of much of the ancient world, and the gastro-intestinal ailments associated with contaminated water.

Zeugma was not the only town in Syria to issue its own coins but their image of the temple on the hill (fig. 12.1), symbolic of the town, suggests that the rôle of the temple in the life of the community was considerable.¹⁴ The grandiose tombs of the rich and apparent provision for taking offerings to the dead, as well as the symbolism of the eagle and basket and the rose on tombstones, hint at funerary beliefs.

For entertainment there were athletic games, attested in inscriptions of athletes who won victories at Zeugma (chapt. 9 nos. 47 and 55), and the theatre. Wild-beast shows may be inferred from an anecdote of Philostratus (chapt. 9 no. 29). We know of at least two baths at Zeugma. The “concert party” attested at Dura came from Zeugma, which may have been a local centre for such entertainers (chapt. 9 no. 68), and one may presume the prostitution associated with them and with baths was present.¹⁵ Alongside the grandeur of public places of entertainment and urban spectacle was found something rather seedier.

Late Roman and Byzantine Zeugma

Even after the Persian sack, the military continued to play a rôle: in 359 its citizens would have seen the arrival of refugees from Mesopotamia (chapt. 9 no. 74); in 363 parts of Julian’s fleet sailed past (chapt. 9 no. 76); in the early 6th c. inhabitants would have left in fear of the advancing Persian army but later they would have welcomed the new fortifications of Justinian (chapt. 9 no. 90). That it remained an important crossing is shown by the passing through in 589 of the army of Philippicus (chapt. 9 no. 95). From the 4th c. it was increasingly a Christian town. The late Roman town may have been concentrated in the angle between Bahçe Dere and the Euphrates (not yet explored). Literary sources show that Zeugma was the seat of a bishop for several centuries, and one source reports the construction of a church to Mary the Mother of God in 583 (chapt. 9 no. 95). But there were doubtless other churches, and the church council held there in 433 (chapt. 9 no. 84) already implies some prominence. The names of the bishops are mainly Semitic. Specific details of life in this period are missing, but the anecdote of Joshua the Stylite reminds us of the credulous world, a Syriac-speaking one, with which we are dealing (chapt. 9 no. 89). We can assume that the Persian invasions of the early 6th c. had an impact: the occasional passage of armies and requisitions of food and supplies, earthquake, plague and famine are all graphically reported by Joshua the Stylite from his home in Edessa (Wright 1882: *passim*). We can only guess at the effects of the later wars: the final conflicts of

along the Middle Euphrates, gives a rare and illuminating insight into what was probably quite routine.

14 It is surely significant that the temple rather than the bridge was chosen as the image.

15 Dauphin (1996) has argued that the evidence from other well-known cities, including Edessa, may be applied to cities generally: prostitution, brothels, the disposal of unwanted children of prostitutes, prostitution of abandoned children and of unwanted peasant children and slaves.

Rome and Persia in the early 7th c., the conquests of Islam, the invasions of peoples from East and West, Mongol, Turk and Crusader.

Because of its fertile surroundings Zeugma probably never ceased to be a settlement, but at what point it passed to the status of a village is unknown. At some date after Justinian the effects of continual warfare and insecurity will have caused travellers to shun the hillier terrain in favour of the Plain of Nizip and the unbridged crossing where modern Birecik lies. The size and number of settlements of all kinds declined to a level not seen since the arrival of Greek colonists. The collapse of urban settlement fractured a complex local economy. After the 11th c. Zeugma's bishops and their town are heard of no more; the noises, smells, bustle and colour had given way to the silence of the valley evoked by Freya Stark nine centuries later (Stark 1966: 110):

I have been towed up [the Euphrates] for an hour or two to the castle of Rum Kalesi ... in a boat like a box ... All that [the gorges] contained — their hamlets and narrow watered gardens and pistachio trees thinned as if stylised against the binding of the cliffs — all seemed to be immured in sunlit silence below the level of the living world; and the green ripples of the water slid down as quietly as a snake asleep. Centuries of history — the first Assyrian builders; Antiochus' wedding; Sulla with the Parthians; Crassus in the storm and then the routine of the legions — all hung in the still air.

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Epilogue

David Kennedy

Recent fieldwork

Fieldwork continues at Zeugma. Thus far only the interim report of C. Abadie-Reynal's first season has been published. Two further seasons, with excavation at both Zeugma and Horum Höyük, have taken place, and excavation is planned for annual seasons until 2000. As part of that project, research and associated fieldwork has been continued by A. Comfort working on various satellite images of the wider area and looking, in particular, for evidence of ancient roads, aqueducts and quarries.¹ Results were variable. The images proved invaluable tools for navigating in a region for which there are no suitable maps, but in several instances they were unsatisfactory for disclosing traces of ancient remains. The process did lead, however, to the discovery of evidence pointing to an aqueduct bringing water from the Nizip Çay across country to Zeugma. Clear evidence for Roman roads was limited but there is now greater confidence that a road ran along the west bank of the river from Zeugma to Samosata. The images also suggested the likely alignment of the direct road to Samosata, parts of which have been traced, and led to the possible discovery of the Zeugma-Edessa road running north of the modern one just E of Birecik. More generally, the pursuit of traces on the satellite images has led to examination of particular localities. Thus Comfort has now investigated the possibilities of a major ferry-crossing at Rumkale upstream of Zeugma and noted Roman tombs at various points along the E bank upstream of Zeugma. While the images may prove to be most useful as photomaps, the associated exploration under-scores the variety and number of archaeological sites in the valley and on the uplands nearby.

A Swiss team under M. A. Speidel and M. Hartmann undertook its first season of fieldwork in 1997. Excavation beside Belkis village concluded these were two superimposed Roman forts with walls of mudbrick (p. 168). Neither was large enough to be the elusive legionary fortress and Speidel proposes to direct his research elsewhere through to the year 2000.

Rescue work has also been carried out by the Gaziantep Museum. R. Ergeç investigated a large Bronze Age cemetery just E of Belkis. Some 250 tombs, buried under 2.5-3 m of deposit, were investigated and more than 4000 pots were recovered. The site, which did not appear on satellite images, was discovered during construction work and has now been destroyed.²

Future research

Some of what may yet be done is worth considering.

1. Analysis of satellite and air photographic images is a specialist task from which much may be derived to explain the landscape, assist in mapping, identify features and sites, and chart recent environmental history. Air photographs are available to the dam engineers and others may be obtained by the Gaziantep Museum. The recent declassification of some 800,000 satellite photo images taken for the CIA in the 1960s and 1970s offers the simple (via the internet) and cheap (\$18) means of examining several dozen small-scale images of Zeugma taken in different years and seasons (figs. 2.3, 3.1; cf. Kennedy forthcoming). A geophysical survey might clarify the nature of the site and guide excavation.

1 I am grateful to A. Comfort for showing me a draft version of his work which will form part of the interim report of the French team.
 2 I am grateful to A. Comfort for this notice.

2. There is a need to identify and explain the internal layout of the towns. The modern road across the site, for example, undoubtedly cuts through one or more of the ancient roads.
3. Most of the houses investigated in Syria so far tend to come from atypical sites — or what seem atypical: Palmyra, Dura-Europos, Daphne. Zeugma offers a rare opportunity to investigate the housing of a town which was firmly in the Orient but exposed to and receptive of the influences of the Classical Mediterranean world. The evidence set out in previous chapters seems to point to the wholesale abandonment of large areas of Seleucia probably in the later 3rd c. A.D. If so, and given the well preserved remains revealed so far, there is the opportunity to investigate the character of a town of the early Roman Empire unaffected by later overbuilding and redevelopment.
4. The location and character of the legionary fortress remain elusive. The contracted late Roman and Byzantine town may have retreated precisely to sit over the abandoned fortress. Excavation, even quite modest, would clarify the settlement history in that area and might prove the location of the fortress. However, *contra* M. A. Speidel (p. 168), I see no difficulty with the notion of a legionary fortress on the E bank, at or near Apamea; it seems unlikely Rome did not control both ends of the bridge from the outset, including the adjacent Hobab Plain.
5. The cemeteries of Zeugma have become progressively better known with each fieldwork project. There remains much to be done defining their extent more precisely and seeking out the probably larger but less visible cemeteries of the poorer citizens and of the soldiers. The discovery of the tombstones of a military cemetery at Apamea on the Orontes (Balty and van Rengen 1993) has been of great importance for Roman military studies and makes the search for the military cemetery of Zeugma more significant. Geophysical survey might assist to locate both cemeteries and individual graves.
6. The nature and technology of the supply of clean water and of waste disposal is vital to understanding this settlement. The water supply of hilly Seleucia and of the legionary fortress — assuming it too was on one of these hills — undoubtedly presented great difficulties. Run-off stored in courtyard cisterns might have sufficed for everyday domestic needs and the early town, but developed Roman cities habitually employed water on a grand scale for baths, pools and fountains. The means by which water was provided may be inferred from analysis of the cisterns, water channels and springs at Zeugma and by reference to what we know of ancient water technology generally and in this particular region. There was, for example, a major aqueduct at Samosata and a water screw, for raising water, just a little upstream at Kenk Boğazi, dated by an inscription to 73; in it an unspecified agent(s) honour Vespasian and his son Titus for “construction of the water-screw installation at their common [expense]” (Oleson 1984: 55).³
7. Zeugma was at a cultural meeting-point. Few of its artefacts have been examined systematically although many are held in the museums at Gaziantep and Şanlıurfa. A desideratum would be to catalogue and analyse such items and to extend that study to the material now being recovered from systematic excavation. Analysis of the funerary portraiture of Zeugma has already shed important light on its distinctive character and indicated something of the cultural identity of the population. Research could be extended to analysis of the types and range of coins, the ceramics, the metalwork, the mosaics and wall-painting, and to the structures of the town, for example, seeking to answer the question of whether Zeugma’s shrines were Greek, Roman, Mesopotamian, or Commagenian, and what tangible form Christianity took.
8. Beyond the town, the natural resources of a catchment area could be investigated. The number of reported quarries is increasing and they could be the subject of a petrological analysis which

3 Water lifted by screw from the river, as at Babylon in Egypt, might reinforce the suggestion of the fortress being on the low E bank beside Apamea (p. 39 n.17; cf. p.37).

might then provide a scientific basis for the crediting of inscriptions and works of art hitherto attributed to Zeugma on stylistic grounds.

9. Investigation of the prospective "territory" of Zeugma could be pursued. The research of Algaze *et al.* and the recent excavations at Hacinebi and Horum Höyük have provided a start, but much more may be achieved in "peopling" the landscape. Systematic intensive field survey in selected areas could achieve much for little cost, as done in the region opposite Samosata (Wilkinson 1990). Much more could be added.⁴

The future

The dam and the resulting lake due for completion in 2000 will be far more destructive than any earlier vicissitude suffered by Zeugma. Over the next few years illicit digging will continue to tear artefacts out of context, some to re-surface on the art market. The construction of the dam only 500 m downstream is already having its effect through the wholesale removal of soil from the surface at Apamea to provide the fill of the dam wall. As the lake begins to form, the seasonal rise and fall of the water level until the lake is full will drown, then dry out on parts of the site. More fragile materials such as wall-plaster and metal items will experience rapid deterioration. Equally vulnerable will be organic material.

Zeugma is a major frontier city of the Roman Near East: it is not merely a replica of the cities of the Turkish Aegean nor even of Dura-Europos downstream. It lay in a cultural border zone between east and west, north and south. At Zeugma one is confronted with a site of Mediterranean-wide significance offering great potential as a combined research and rescue project. It is an open site, encumbered only by trees and hillwash. This book gives a hint of what might be achieved.

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4 The Roman roads of the region have been investigated to some extent by both Wagner and D. French and we may look forward to publication by the latter in his series *Roman roads of Asia Minor*.

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