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## ZEUGMA: INTERIM REPORTS

RESCUE EXCAVATIONS (PACKARD HUMANITIES INSTITUTE),  
INSCRIPTION OF ANTIOCHUS I, BRONZE STATUE OF MARS,  
HOUSE AND MOSAIC OF THE SYNARISTÔSAI,  
AND RECENT WORK ON THE ROMAN ARMY AT ZEUGMA

by  
R. Early *et al.*, C. Crowther,  
R. Nardi & M. Önal,  
C. Abadie & J.-P. Darmon,  
M. Hartmann & M. A. Speidel

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Portsmouth, Rhode Island  
2003

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# Introduction to the Zeugma Rescue Project

David W. Packard

Beginning in June of 2000, the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI) organized and funded an archaeological rescue project at Zeugma, with the goal of learning more about the ancient city in the few months before the rising waters of the Birecik dam would cover the lower third of the site.

Some press reports had suggested that the dam might last only 50 years, after which Zeugma would again be accessible for leisurely study. If this were true, a costly emergency rescue excavation might seem a willful extravagance. After consulting various experts, however, PHI concluded that ancient Zeugma would likely remain flooded much longer than 50 years.

Because only a few months remained, PHI realized that a traditional academic excavation — with faculty and students working during their summer vacation — could not possibly meet the challenge of these emergency conditions. PHI therefore engaged a professional contract archaeology unit, Oxford Archaeology, to organize and manage the summer 2000 fieldwork. The Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP) also played an essential rôle in creating the environment that allowed so many archaeologists to work under difficult circumstances.

While the ambitious program of fieldwork required professional management, PHI always intended to conduct the final study and publication in a more traditional academic context. William Aylward of the University of Wisconsin is now serving as general editor of the planned 3-volume final report on the PHI excavations of 2000, which is scheduled for publication in 2004. It has not proven possible to negotiate a comprehensive joint publication including the French and Turkish zones, which presumably will appear separately. In the meantime, the preliminary reports in this supplement to *JRA* will provide a summary of the 2000 season.

It was clear that conservation of mosaics, wall frescoes, and other objects would require special attention. French and Turkish excavations in the period before PHI's arrival had yielded a large crop of mosaics, but resources did not seem to be available for systematic conservation. PHI therefore engaged the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica (CCA), led by Roberto Nardi, to provide conservation expertise and services. By the end of 2002, CCA had conserved 37 mosaics at Zeugma (870 m<sup>2</sup>) and many other objects, including the remarkable bronze statue of Mars. The total PHI budget for mosaic conservation alone has exceeded one million dollars. Most of these mosaics were not excavated by PHI, but we wanted to leave Zeugma in a better state of conservation than we found it.

One topic requires special comment. Many specialists recommend preserving ancient mosaics *in situ* rather than removing them to a museum. Without rejecting this as an ideal, PHI was constrained by the fact that the Birecik dam made impossible any continued public viewing of the Zeugma mosaics *in situ*. Only three practical choices remained: (1) not to excavate at all; (2) to excavate, examine and rebury; (3) to excavate and remove to the museum. In each individual case, the local Turkish authorities made the final decision. PHI naturally urged that nothing be excavated without a clear plan and commitment to conserve it, whether by reburial or in a museum. R. Nardi has often stated his strong preference for preservation *in situ*, but CCA worked diligently to mitigate the potential danger to many mosaics that were in fact removed.

PHI had tentatively proposed funding a new Zeugma Museum and Study Center at the site, which would have responsibility for the exploration, conservation, study and publication of the Zeugma mosaics. This proposal was recommended as a "foreign" excavation but rather as a partnership with Turkish colleagues, conducted with full transparency and mutual confidence. Progress on these discussions has been slow, and PHI's future involvement at Zeugma is at present uncertain, beyond our commitment to conservation and to the prompt and full publication of our initial season.

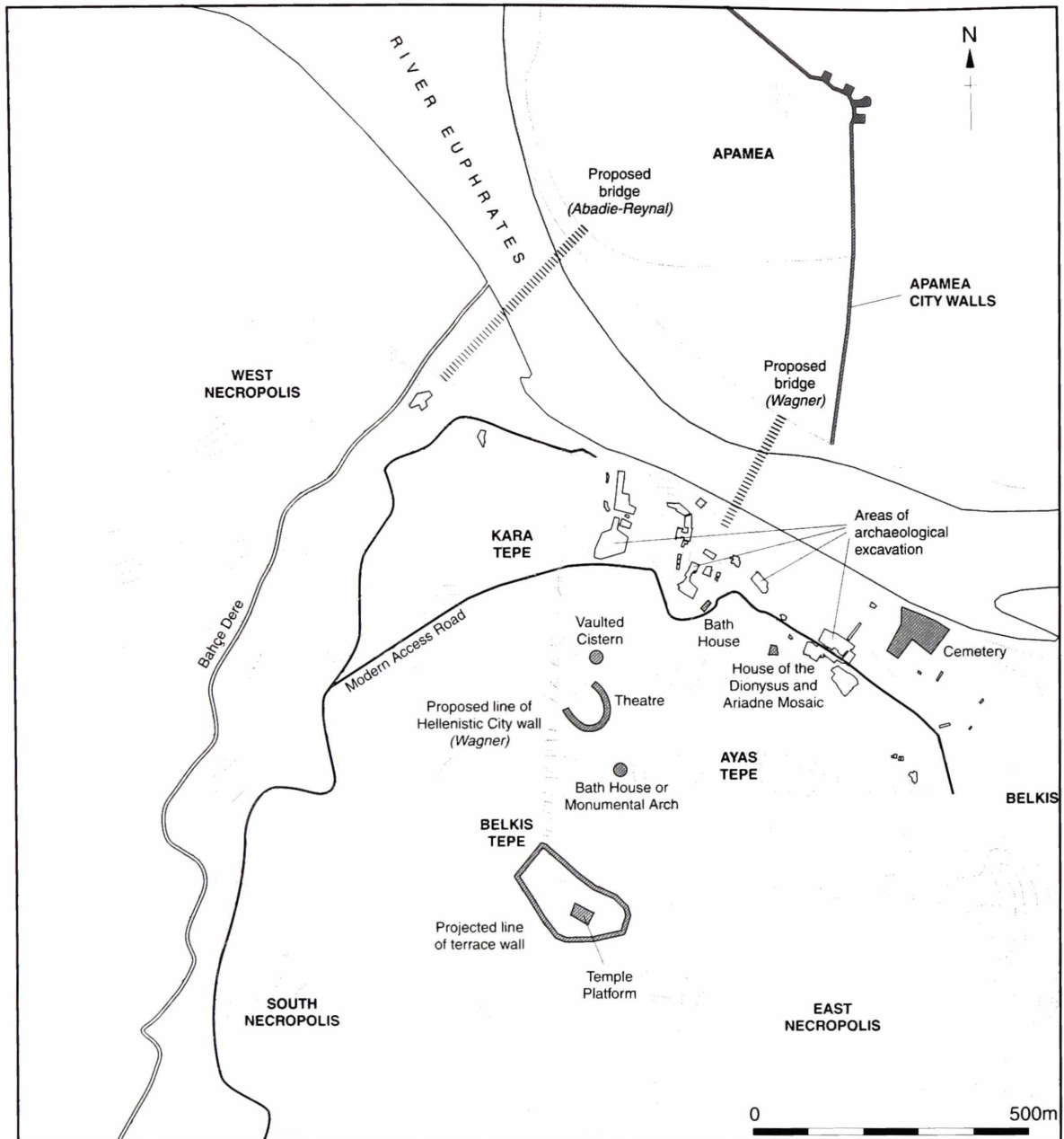


Fig. 1. Topographic plan of Zeugma showing location of excavated trenches and other features based on Wagner 1976, Karte II, Kennedy 1998, fig. 3.2, Algaze *et al.* 1994 fig. 33, and Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2000, 280, fig. 1.

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# Rescue work by the Packard Humanities Institute: interim report, 2000

Robert Early

with contributions by Janet DeLaine, Mehmet Önal and Yusuf Yavaş

## Introduction

In the summer of 2000 a major rescue excavation was undertaken at Zeugma on the Euphrates (SE Turkey) (fig. 1). The mission was launched in response to the impoundment of the river being created by the Birecik dam that was affecting considerable areas of the ancient city. The Packard Humanities Institute (henceforth PHI) funded an international team which included Oxford Archaeology (henceforth OA) under the present writer to conduct excavation and record structures, a French team under C. Abadie-Reynal, and a Turkish team from the Gaziantep Museum under K. Sertok (both of which latter teams were continuing their work begun in prior years), and the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica (henceforth CCA) which engaged in concurrent conservation work. PHI also supported continuing work by a Swiss team under M. Hartmann and M. P. Speidel, who have been investigating the military history of the site and possible locations for the legionary fortresses of *Legio III Scythica* or its precursor *Legio X Fretensis* within the Euphrates valley. Fieldwork was co-ordinated and managed on behalf of PHI by OA and all work was undertaken in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of Culture and the Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi (henceforth GAP).

Some of the work conducted in 2000 by the French team and CCA is reported separately later in this volume.<sup>1</sup> The present paper presents an overview of the preliminary results of the excavations carried out by OA and the Gaziantep Museum. The reader should note that it was prepared prior to the detailed study of artefactual assemblages, as a result of which good dating evidence for the structures and phases uncovered is not yet available, but it is hoped that despite this lacuna the report will provide a helpful overview of recent work and a foretaste of what is to come.

The ancient site may be broadly divided into three separate zones according to the timetable of inundation (fig. 2). Area A, the lowest zone closest to the original river bank, will remain permanently flooded. The combined efforts of the French and Turkish teams in earlier years were devoted to this area and they recovered considerable information prior to the inundation.<sup>2</sup> Area B was the area remaining to be flooded, the upper 2 m of which would form a wash zone at the edge of the new reservoir. It is in this zone that wave action and fluctuations of the level of the reservoir will have the most destructive impact. Some work had previously been conducted in this zone by the French and by Turkish archaeologists and a team formed by D. L. Kennedy.<sup>3</sup> Area C, which it is estimated comprises up to 65% of the ancient site, should remain permanently above the water-line.

The present report relates to Area B. It was clearly impossible to excavate the full 1-km stretch of the lower city that runs parallel to the Euphrates (fig. 2). The topography of the area varies considerably, from sheer cliff faces through sharp scarps to more gentle gradients. We decided to divide this swathe of the city into zones which more or less matched the nature of the terrain and then to target selected areas for excavation. A total of 19 area excavations was made during a period of 3 months, and the present report draws on the results of 15 of those

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- 1 The French team has reported more fully elsewhere on the four trenches it excavated in 2000: Abadie-Reynal 2001, 243-305. C. Abadie-Reynal has also prepared an unpublished report for PHI, "Zeugma Zone B. Rapport préliminaire de la campagne 2000".
  - 2 See the articles by Abadie-Reynal *et al.* in *Anatolia Antiqua* 4-8 (1996-2000).
  - 3 Kennedy 1998, chapt. 4.

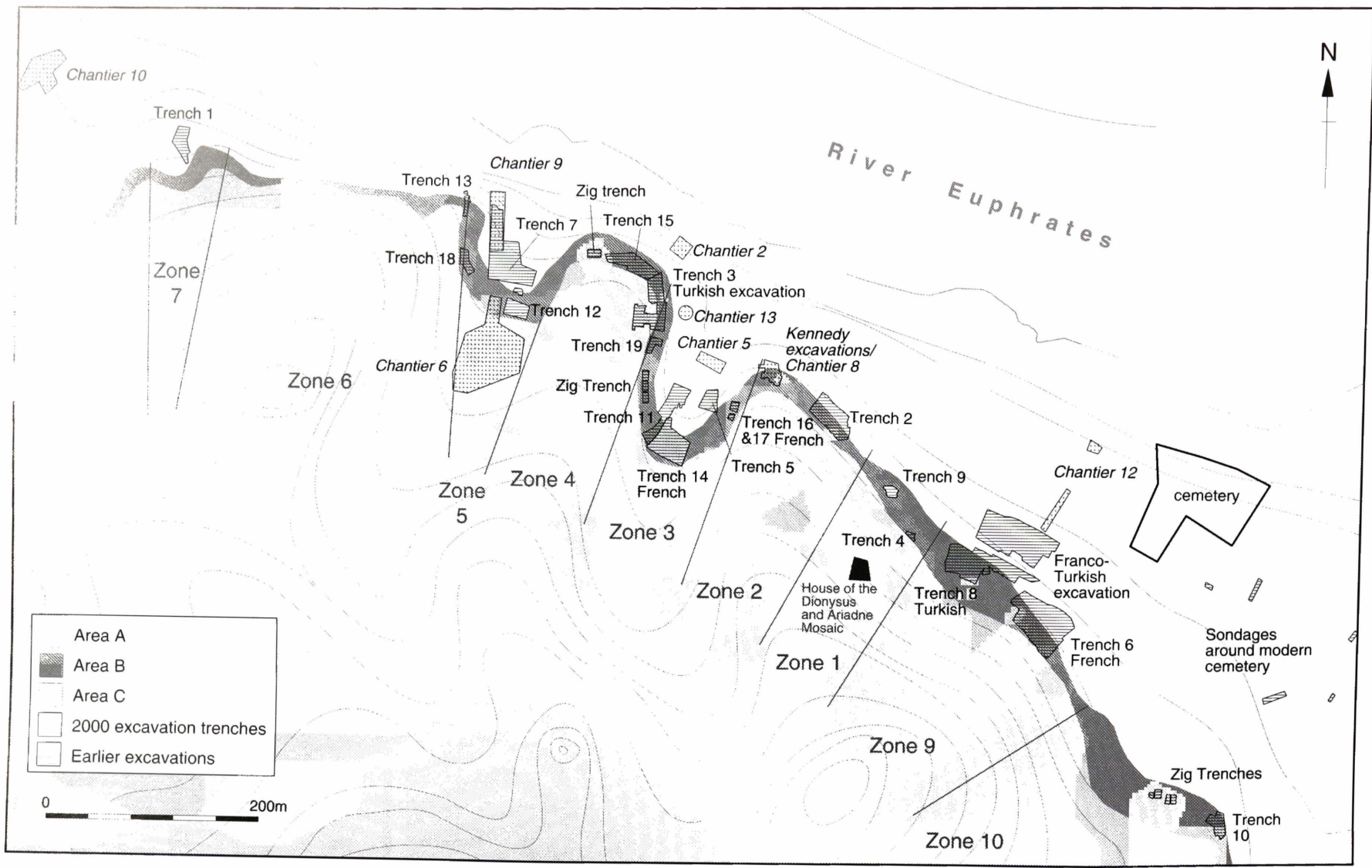


Fig. 2. Location of trenches excavated by the different teams.



excavations. It should be stressed that these excavations were exceptional both for their scale and for the speed at which they were carried out. Time was of the essence. Although the waters were expected to rise at the rate of 25 cm per day, in practice the water levels fluctuated considerably, which caused problems with the strategy and timetable of the excavations. Despite these difficulties, the excavations in most of the zones gathered a great deal of information about the history of both public and private sectors and about the differences in the use and the development of different sectors.

### The topography of the lower city

The original ancient topography of the site has been masked by a blanket of colluvium that has descended the upper slopes of Belkis Tepe (fig. 1), but this was also in large part responsible for the excellent state of preservation of the remains. Changes in the local climate have induced seasonal landslides as also, it seems, have periodic earthquakes or tremors. More detailed analysis is necessary to establish precisely the depths of the colluvium, but in certain locations it is already possible to model broadly the topography of the site in antiquity. Thus, southeast of Kara Tepe (fig. 1) in Area B a spur that slopes down to the north separates two valley basins that would originally have provided convenient access between the upper and lower parts of the city. At first this spur descends steeply, then it flattens out at the 425-m contour mark, before continuing to descend, levelling off at a headland that overlooks the river valley below. The vantage point offered by this last spot, with views surveying Apamea and the Hobab plain beyond the Euphrates as well as the probable crossing-point of the river, seems to have constituted a key in the early urban design. We suggest that this location was arguably superior to the upper terraces below Belkis Tepe.<sup>4</sup> This headland and adjacent areas became a major focus of our work, as also did an adjacent promontory to the southeast which Kennedy had briefly investigated.<sup>5</sup>

As one moves further to the southeast, the natural limestone shelf flattens out to provide suitable conditions for another major connection between the upper and lower towns, and this area has been extensively investigated by the French and Turkish teams. We also carried out excavations on the eastern lower slopes of Ayas Tepe where a significant falling off of surface finds suggested that this location was close to the E edge of the Roman town.

### Trench 15: Late Hellenistic and Roman public buildings (fig. 3)

Trench 15 was placed on the NE end of the first spur east of Kara Tepe, as described above. It produced evidence for numerous phases between the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods which showed that the headland occupied an important position in the design of the city as it evolved over many centuries. In an early episode of landscaping, an artificial terrace seems to have been built or extended northwards towards the river. Two terrace walls (15006 and 15111) survive from the original landscaping phase, being built of limestone rubble bonded with an earthy mortar, and ran N-S across the area of the trench. Contemporary terrace walls aligned E-W were not identified within the area of excavation: those had probably collapsed or been destroyed prior to or during a later phase of landscaping represented by walls 15005, 5115, 15202 and 15356. Wall 15006 was substantially wider (2.4 m) than wall 15111 (0.85 m) to its west and seems to be a major retaining wall close to the E edge of the original spur. We made a sondage up against its W face to try to locate its foundation but stopped work at a depth of 3 m. We assume that it was founded on natural rock. Wall 15006 did not continue further south to the river, but it may have been removed there by later terracing works since a wall running on the same alignment was noted in Trench 3 further to the south. The N-S wall 15111 further to the west crossed the full 17 m of our trench. It survived to

4 *Contra* Kennedy 1998, 37.

5 *Ibid.* 61-80.

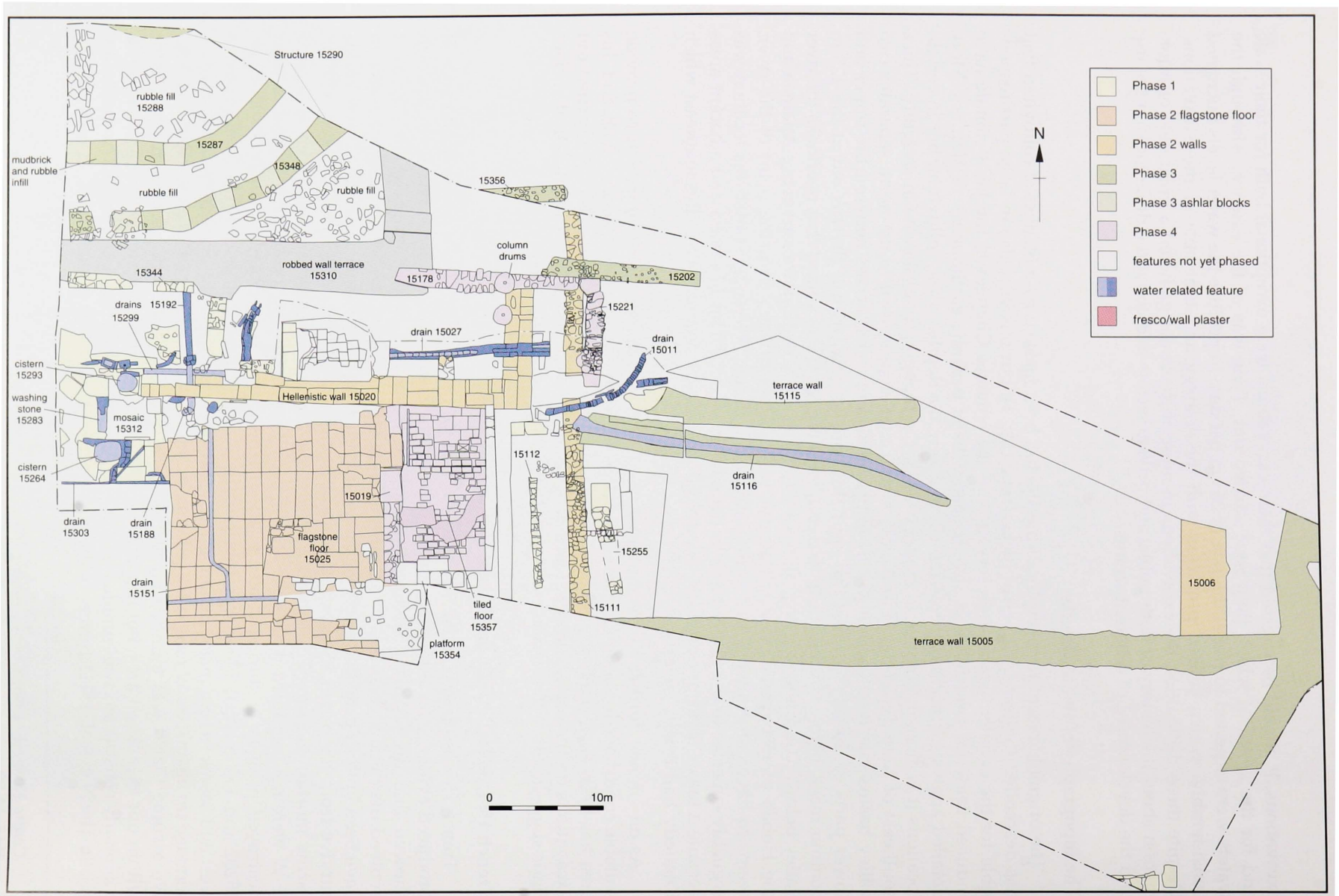


Fig. 3. Trench 15, phase plan.



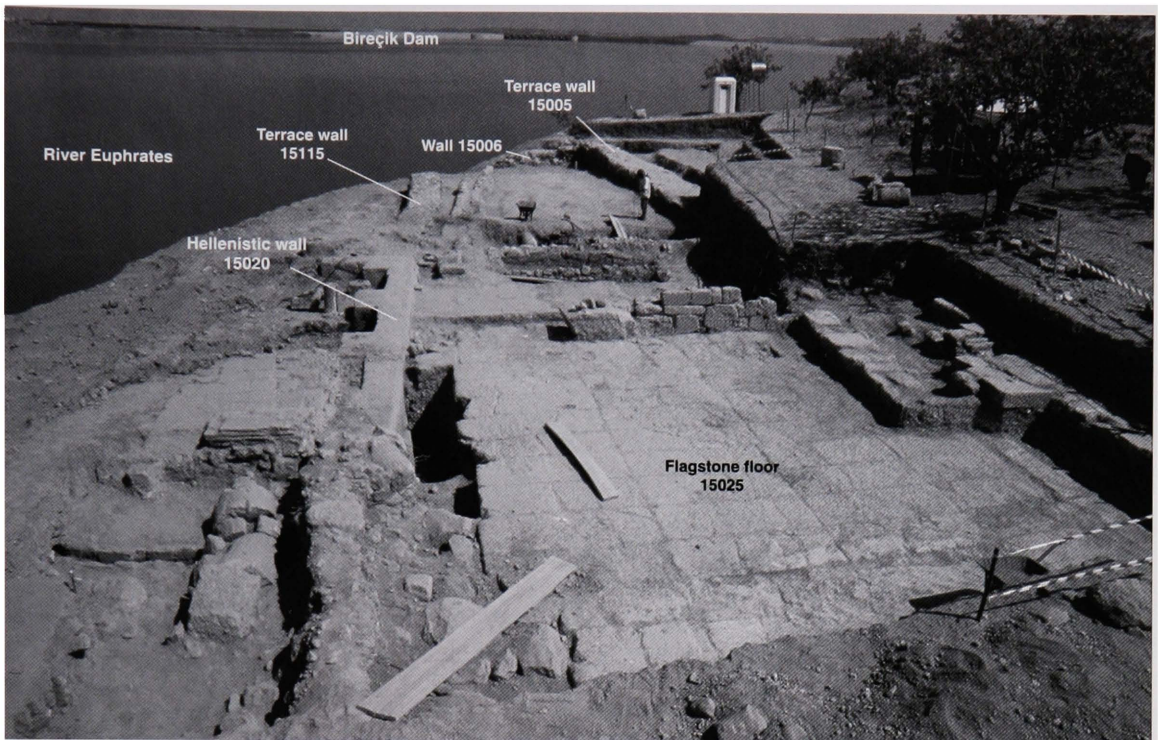


Fig. 4. Trench 15, major features, view to the east, with Bireçik dam in the distance.

a height of 2.35 m. Although of different construction to 15006, it may define the W extent of an individual terrace.

Near the W end of this headland we exposed the remains of a substantial rectangular building of large ashlar blocks (fig. 4). The N half of the building had fallen off the edge of the headland and only its S wall (15020) and SE corner remained. The wall had been razed down to the well-cut levelling courses which had formed the foundation platform when it was built. At the W end a single course was cut into bedrock, but at the E end the levelling courses were three deep and set on an ashlar foundation of unknown depth. Most of the ashlar were laid as stretchers, but at regular intervals of 31 cm pairs of blocks were inserted as headers, tying into the rubble core of the platform. These may well have been the seating for columns, and the distance between the footings also suits a colonnaded structure. To the north of wall 15020 and parallel to it a bedrock cutting might originally have housed a second row of ashlar foundations.

This rectangular building occupied a prime location directly below and in line with Belkıs Tepe and commanded a fine view over the Euphrates valley. It was evidently meant to be seen from the river as well as from the Hobab plain on the opposite bank. The nature of the construction and possible colonnade suggest a temple or a stoa. The inner bedrock cutting could have held an interior *cella* wall of a temple or another row of columns, or perhaps the front wall of shops within a stoa. Its known E–W length is 36.8 m. In March 2001 further work during our shoreline survey suggested that the minimum width of the building (N–S) was 11 m (sufficient to accommodate 4 columns), although it could have been much more. If it had a *cella* inside, the building was probably peripteral. A temple of this sort of size would have fit on the headland at about the 380-m contour line, although it would have required a very substantial terrace: a stoa, which might have been no more than 10 m in width, on the other hand, could of the headland, but it would have had its back turned to the river since the colonnade would seem to have run along its S side.

The solid ashlar construction and loose rubble terracing belongs to an East Mediterranean, Hellenistic tradition, and suggests a major public building dating perhaps as early as the 2nd c. B.C. but not later than early Roman. Fragments of large column drums and a capital were found





Fig. 5. Trench 15, semicircular structure 15290, looking NE.

re-used in later walls, and they may assist with the dating.<sup>6</sup>

A pavement made of large rectangular limestone slabs existed on the S side of the building. At a certain date it had been damaged and partly removed. The level of the pavement fell just below the top of the final levelling course for the building and therefore seems to belong to the same project as the public building. We may note that similar paving was found in Trench 3 to the east, associated there with a row of shops, and that the terraced areas in both trenches were at a similar elevation.

The next phase seems to have followed some cataclysmic event which saw the N edge of the first (Hellenistic) terrace and much of the monumental public building collapse down the slope into the valley below. Next, that building was razed to the level of the pavement and new, more substantial terrace walls of mortared rubble were built on the same alignments. These terrace walls are likely to be of mid-Imperial date. Four terrace walls running E-W and built of a concrete and limestone conglomeration were identified in our trench (15005, 5115, 15202 and 15356) (fig. 3). The southernmost (15005) was the longest (surviving length 23 m) and also the widest (1.75 m). These terrace walls varied in width, in proportion evidently to the volume of fill that they had to retain. The infill was partly excavated and produced a large number of artefacts, including a terracotta figurine, a copper alloy blade, and a late Hellenistic relief stele, depicting a *dexiosis* scene between Antiochus I of Commagene and Apollo and containing on the reverse a long inscription (published below by C. Crowther).

In connection with the new landscaping of the area, a circular or semicircular building was erected at the NW corner of the headland, presumably close to the edge of the new terrace. Its foundation was a rubble core similar to that of the new terrace walls. Its S edge came very close to the line of the bedrock cutting that belonged to the possible *cella* of the presumed Hellenistic temple and it seems to have made use of ashlar blocks from that earlier structure, the ashlar only being robbed at a later date.

What remains of this structure are two concentric curving lines of ashlar blocks, the blocks being set not continuously but at intervals. The blocks were set into the rubble core foundation at

<sup>6</sup> We are most grateful to J. DeLaine for her advice during the 2000 season. The great majority of the architectural interpretations presented here are based upon her observations made during field visits.





Fig. 6. Trench 3, paved area.

regular intervals of 1 m, and the two lines of blocks were about 1.9 m apart. The roughly regular spacing of the ashlar suggests that they were foundations for columns or piers (fig. 5). The diameters of these two circles if completed would have been about 25 and 30 m. We also found preserved at the very edge of the headland a small section of a circular foundation that would have occupied the interior of this structure. Some of the ashlar had drafted edges and were of about the right size to have derived from the earlier public building. Once again, much of this structure has been lost due to the collapse of the rebuilt terrace, so identification of the building is difficult, but the best candidates include a circular temple with an inner *cella* and outer colonnade or a piece of urban scenery such as a commemorative monument or a *nymphaeum*. In any event, some at least of the nearby paved square was maintained, suggesting some continuity of a general public function for this area.

### **Trench 3: a row of shops(?) opening onto a piazza(?), by Mehmet Önal (fig. 7)**

Trench 3 was located at the opposite, NE edge of the same headland and presented similar evidence for phases running from Hellenistic to Byzantine.

The earliest evidence was derived from a sondage excavated in the basement of a substantial building of late Hellenistic date that was extensively remodelled over its lifespan. Two intersecting E-W walls built of rubble predated the late Hellenistic and Roman occupation on the headland. Opening to the east onto a paved area of large rectangular limestone slabs (fig. 6), very similar to those next to the monumental building in Trench 15, were 6 narrow rooms (5-10 m in length [E-W], 4 m wide) made of evenly dressed limestone blocks; the doorways of two of the rooms survived but it is presumed that all the rooms opened onto the paved area. Their similar construction method, size and orientation suggest that these cellular units were part of a single project. The pavement of the possible piazza measured 40.1 m N-S by 10.15 m E-W.

A series of polygonal slabs forming the surface on the E side next to the present edge of the headland post-dated the rectangular slabs. Eleven shallow rectangular cuts (1.2 m N-S by 0.7 m E-W) at intervals of 1.95 m were found in association with the new surface; it is possible that



Fig. 7. Trench 3, plan.



they marked column bases or pedestals for statues which would have lined the E side of the pavement.

At the southwest extent of this excavation a substantial terrace wall running N-S cut through the W end of some structures. The construction of this wall is likely to be contemporary with mid-Imperial remodelling of this area, as attested in trench 15, and would have supported structures on an upper terrace to the west.

In the late 2nd or early 3rd c. the row of narrow rooms was extensively modified, being divided lengthwise by new walls built of ashlar blocks bonded with a mud-based mortar. Some of the original walls were demolished, and new walls built running N-S. Judging by the abundance of tesserae found, some of the newly created rooms seem to have been furnished with mosaic floors.

Towards the north, the pavers were repaired or replaced with roughly hewn slabs. At the south end, the paving was removed to make way for the construction of additional rooms. In the excavation of one of these rooms a collection of seal impressions was found. They were scattered at different levels through the infill, from the floor up to the level of the terrace above, which suggests that they had been disturbed in antiquity during a search for stone for re-use. An additional 35,000 seal impressions were found during this year's excavations, bringing the total recovered from this area to more than 100,000 (only 6 others were found elsewhere, in trench 9).

A burnt layer 50 cm in depth is interpreted as evidence for major damage to the site in the mid-3rd c., perhaps by Sassanid invaders; it matches evidence recovered in earlier years by other teams. The evidence from both trench 15 and trench 3 suggests that there may have been a period of abandonment, following which there was extensive re-occupation in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. The ground level in both trenches was raised by up to 60 cm. The cellular rooms in trench 3 continued in use but probably with a changed function, for several hearths and water installations were constructed. Remains of an oven and a hearth were found within the southernmost room. Water troughs and what are identified as holes for tethering posts point to a downgrading of the properties, a phenomenon noted elsewhere (trench 2 and trench 8; see below). Yet large quantities of *opus sectile* were found on the small area of the upper terrace excavated to the west, and suggest that there was at least one high-status building nearby.

By the late Byzantine period the northern rooms in trench 3 had been abandoned while those to the south continued in use, witnessing repairs with recycled building materials. Some of the rooms received compacted earth floors.

At the NE edge of the headland, a western apse, 3 m in diameter, and elements of the N, S and E walls of a church or chapel were found constructed of re-used architectural fragments. To the east and associated with it was one complete grave and possibly a further three that had been disturbed. A number of architectural pieces were found in this area including a limestone capital with a cross motif on two sides, and vegetation in relief on the other two sides. This suggests that the headland remained a focus for a contracted settlement at the site, and that it continued to have a religious component.

### Western limits of the Hellenistic town

The W edge of the Hellenistic settlement has not yet been definitively fixed, but surface survey identified three areas of masonry that led to the suggestion that to the east of a possible acropolis on Kara Tene, a western Hellenistic city wall may have descended from Belkıs to the river bank (as marked on fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> This hypothesis has still to be tested by excavation.

7 Algaze 1994, 34; Abadie-Reynal 1997, 351.

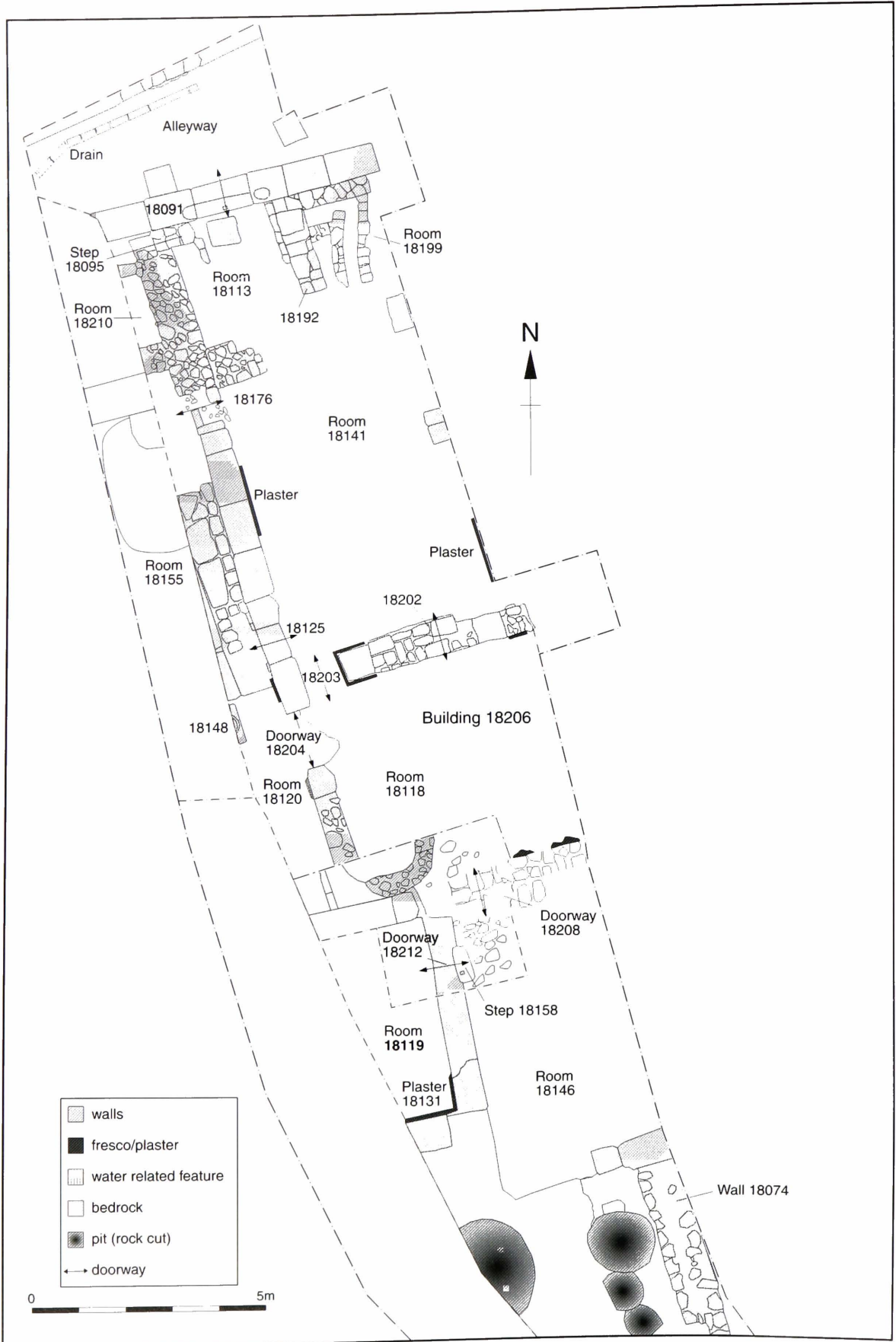


Fig. 8. Trench 18 on a terrace below Kara Tepe, plan of part of an upper-class property.



Our most westerly trench dug in 2000 was trench 1 (for its location see fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> In trench 1 only Byzantine and Islamic occupation was recorded. In the river valley some rock-cut rooms and tombs, not yet closely dated, have been noted cut into the N cliff face of Kara Tepe.<sup>9</sup> Trench 1 therefore should lie beyond the W edge of the Hellenistic settlement.

Summary of work in Trench 1, by Alan Walmsley

After removal of the colluvium, excavation revealed three major occupational phases, apparently comprising domestic or commercial and domestic structures spread over three terraces. Each phase was characterized by an orderly abandonment, with no evidence of natural or human disasters. The earliest phase, of probably Early Byzantine date, was built over a collapse perhaps to be equated with the 3rd-c. destruction found throughout the site. Walls in this phase were solid, with large squared blocks to mark and strengthen corners and doorways. The second phase in part re-used standing structures, and belongs to the Byzantine or early Islamic period. A third phase, of much rougher construction, was built over the ruins of the second phase seemingly after an extended hiatus. The preponderance of fine glazed sherds indicates a 9th-10th c. date for the occupation.

In general, excavation suggests that Hellenistic housing lay within and overlooking dry valleys adjacent to and to the east and west of the public area identified in trenches 15 and 3. Accommodations continued eastward along an adjacent headland (fig. 2). In later urban phases this early domestic accommodation seems to have been remodelled with new domestic structures.

The W edge of the Hellenistic town should be not far from the structures that have been identified built into the terraced E slopes of Kara Tepe. On the lower part of these slopes, in trenches 18 and 13, we have identified a series of relatively high-class housing (figs. 8-9). This was a prime location that offered excellent views to the north across the river to Apamea, south to Belkıs Tepe, and east towards the city centre.

### **Trench 18: an upper-class house (fig. 8)**

Two architectural phases were identified here, the original construction being possibly late Hellenistic or early Roman, the second phase of remodelling possibly of the mid 2nd-c. A.D. Although the entire building plan was not recovered, we found evidence for 7 or possibly 8 rooms and for 2 courtyards. The façade of the building faced north towards the river and fronted onto a gravelled alley running E–W. The main entrance here to the house led into a vestibule (18113) measuring 2.8 x 2.2 m. To its east and west there seem to have been two smaller rooms (18199 to the east, 18210 to the west). Directly inside the entrance on the W side of the vestibule a brick and mortar step (18095) may belong to an internal staircase giving access to an upper storey. To the south the vestibule led into a large central space (18141) which in turn gave access to rooms on its S, W and presumably also E sides. On the W side were two doors (18176 and 18125) that led into a room or open court beyond the limits of our excavation. The E and N sides of the area were later remodelled so its original dimensions are not known, but its minimum size was c.6.25 m N–S by c.4.5 m E–W. It may have been the reception room. Its walls were decorated with painted plaster, and the original floor was probably decorated. From this space an open courtyard on the W side (18155) and perhaps another on the S (18118) would have been visible.

The south wall of 18141 was punctuated by two doorways separated by an ashlar pier with painted wall-plaster on three faces. The western doorway (18203) was just 90 cm wide. The eastern doorway (18202) was originally 2.25 m wide but later blocked. Both led into a smaller rectangular court 18118 (at least 4.5 m x 5 m). A cobbled surface ran up against its N, S and W walls. Above the bottom of the walls there was a layer of painted plaster, perhaps a decora-

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8 This work was undertaken at the start of the PHI mission in June 2000 by D. Kennedy and A. Walmsley; the same scholars also began excavations in trench 2 which were completed by the Oxford team.

9 Abadie-Reynal 1997, 355.

tive border. A doorway 1.25 m wide (18204) led through the W wall. Wear patterns on the floor suggest that there was a principal doorway through the opposite E wall.

To the west of court 18118 a doorway (18204) gave onto room 18120. A single column base (18148), an element of the original building, that was found at the edge of our excavation area could indicate the presence of an E–W colonnade between an open court to the north and a room or loggia to the south (fig. 8).

A southern doorway (18208) led from court 18118 into another range of buildings. It included two clearly defined rooms 18146 and 18119, with perhaps an external yard to the south bounded on its E side by wall 18074 and containing several rock-cut pits. The two more northerly rooms were partly cut into bedrock, which gave them low raised foundations. The eastern room 18146 was the larger (6 by at least 3.5 m). The western room 18119 as excavated measured 4 by at least 2.25 m. They were joined by a limestone step 18158 in their N corner. Both rooms had beaten earth floors. No wall-plaster survived in the eastern room but the western room had painted stucco in the style of relief masonry in its SE corner, which recalls examples at Delos or Pompeii of about the 1st c. B.C. These rooms, at the rear of the property and with fine decoration, are likely to have been *cubicula*. This is also suggested by items of personal adornment found in them, including a bone and gold pin and a glass finger-ring with a bezel (see below).



0 2cm

Fig. 9. Bronze figurine of Venus from destruction deposit 18070.

The phase of remodelling followed. The entrance vestibule 18113 was significantly modified, its W wall being demolished to create a larger space that incorporated room 18210 on the W side. The E wall (18192) of the vestibule was rebuilt and floor levels were raised. The large room to the south (18141) also underwent major modifications and its surface was sealed with a thin (2 cm) layer of mortar probably as a bedding for a paved or tiled surface (subsequently removed).

It is clear that occupation of the property came to an abrupt and violent end. The destruction deposits varied in depth, being thickest in the S part of the house and inside the vestibule at the north. The charcoal-rich deposits contain many high-quality domestic and personal items which suggest that the building was still being occupied up to the moment of its destruction. In the southerly room 18146 the destruction horizon contained two pottery lamps and several bronze objects such as a candleholder, a Venus figurine (fig. 9), a handle, a lock plate and hinge, 3 coins, a glass stopper, a small gold fitting, an iron sickle, an iron vessel, a stone spindle whorl, two bone figurines, and the pin and finger ring mentioned above. Coin evidence suggests a *terminus post quem* for the destruction horizon of c.A.D. 246-249.

### Trench 13: an upper-class house (fig. 10)

To the north of trench 18, and close to the NE edge of Kara Tepe, we exposed part of a large and similarly-dated high-class residence. It is not yet clear whether this building stood on an earlier Hellenistic house plot that was redeveloped. Three rooms (13004, 13015 and 13069) had been cut into the bedrock of the steeply sloping hillside, although it is not certain if the most southerly room excavated (13004) belonged to the same house as the two northern rooms. Fur-



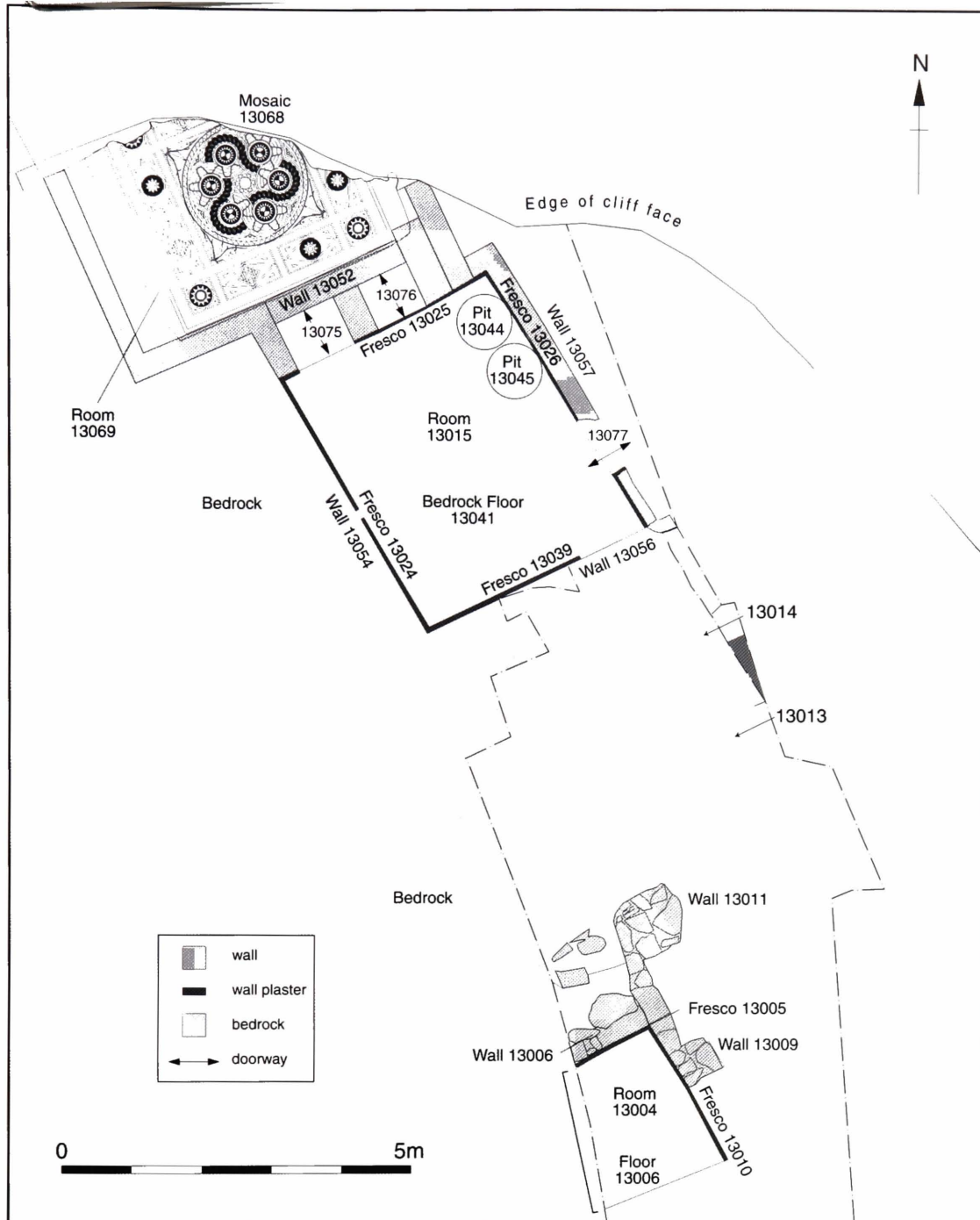


Fig. 10. Trench 13 on a terrace below Kara Tepe.

ther suites of rooms had lain to the north and east but were lost to erosion in antiquity. Just south of room 13015, on the E side, two rock-cut arched doorways (13013 and 13014, c.1.45 m wide) with clear tool-marks around the arches must originally have opened into subterranean rooms or passages cut into the hillside to the west.

The two rooms at the north contain well preserved decoration. The most northerly (13069) had been exposed recently by the rising waters of the dam. Its W half had been cut into bedrock 2.1 m further back than the adjacent room 13015. The bedrock had been faced with bricks laid horizontally and bonded with a thick lime mortar. The geometric mosaic floor was well preserved (figs. 11a-b in colour overleaf). It is very similar to one in a *triclinium* or *cubiculum* of the *domus* excavated previously by R. Ergeç and published by S. Campbell,<sup>10</sup> and both probably date to the late 2nd or early 3rd c., a period for which there is abundant evidence for

<sup>10</sup> R. Ergeç, "Rescue excavation by the Gaziantep Museum (1992-1994)," in Kennedy 1998, 85; S. Campbell, "New mosaics," *ibid.* 117-18, with Kennedy *ibid.* 38-39.

a general expansion of the town.<sup>11</sup> This date also seems to suit the wall-paintings which are well preserved in the adjacent room to the south.

The southern room (13015), of similar dimensions (4.2 x 3.4 m), had also been cut into the bedrock. Its N and E walls were made of vertical ashlar piers with horizontal brick and mortar panels as infilling. Near the S end of the E wall there was an opening 75 cm wide (13077) probably for a door. In the N wall two openings, probably a window and door, led into room 13069. The rather uneven bedrock floor did not show signs of wear and it is likely that it was originally covered by a mosaic or by marble, subsequently removed.

The wall-paintings in room 13015, especially their lower sections, were very well preserved. On the S wall there were two different designs for the main panels (fig. 12 in colour). One was a terracotta colour with white flecks inside a border of imitation marbling. The other had the same marbling design over the main panel, resembling *giallo antico* and using four different shades of yellow and four of red, and a frame in dark red with black outline. Between these two panels there was an imitation pier or column painted in cream with a thin black outline. The main body of the column or pier was a red marbling. Above the left panel traces of a stretch of architrave remained, painted in cream with dark red and black used to pick out the different mouldings. The design of the W wall was very similar to that of the S wall, including a well-preserved mottled *giallo antico* panel on the right side (fig. 13 in colour). Only one panel survived on the N wall, and it repeated the terracotta-coloured panel of the opposite S wall with the marbled frame (fig. 14 in colour). The E wall was only partly exposed but it repeated the main imitation *giallo antico* panel inside a mottled terracotta-coloured frame with traces of an architrave above.

The southernmost room 13004 also contained exceptionally well preserved wall-paintings on its N and E walls but its floor surface, probably a mosaic, had again been removed. Its N wall showed pseudo-architectural features painted on a terracotta background, with two reddish-purple columns of different widths near the right-hand corner. Beneath the paint the base layer of plaster was dark olive in colour. Three borders, one of them in a deep red or purple and 12 cm wide, ran along the bottom of the wall. The E wall used the same terracotta-coloured panels as background, and two simple columns in dark red or purple were also partly visible in the left corner, but of most interest was the depiction of the lower torso of a figure wearing a dark green knee-length robe (presumably a male), with brown legs and bare feet (fig. 15 in colour).

### The valley basins

During the city's existence hill wash would periodically have run down the upper slopes of Belkis Tepe and collected in the basins below. Normally these would have been regular controllable events, but at times landslides are also likely to have occurred. Earlier French work in a basin further east (chantier 5) concluded that the Hellenistic city could have been remodelled in the Roman period with a different layout and terracing system, since there was a lack of continuity between the two.<sup>12</sup> In Trench 5, in the same basin as the French chantier 5, we found that Hellenistic buildings were buried and house plots re-occupied only in the later Roman period.

In other parts of the lower city, however, there is evidence for continuity in land-use from the Hellenistic period probably down to the Byzantine, and an uninterrupted sequence is particularly clear in areas higher up. For example, the stepped street in Trench 14 above the French chantier 5 remained in use until the 3rd c. A.D. So too did townhouses of Hellenistic origin in trench 2 not far to the east, which again lie not at the very foot of the slopes. Thus, discontinuity in land-use seems to have been localized and not a city-wide phenomenon.

11 Abadie-Reynal 2000, 291 ff.

12 Abadie-Reynal 1998, 379-88.





Fig. 11a. Trench 13, mosaic 13068, view to east.



Fig. 11b. Trench 13, mosaic 13068, drawing.



Fig. 12. Room 13015, painted wall-plaster 13039 on S wall.



Fig. 13. Room 13015, painted wall-plaster 13024 on W wall.



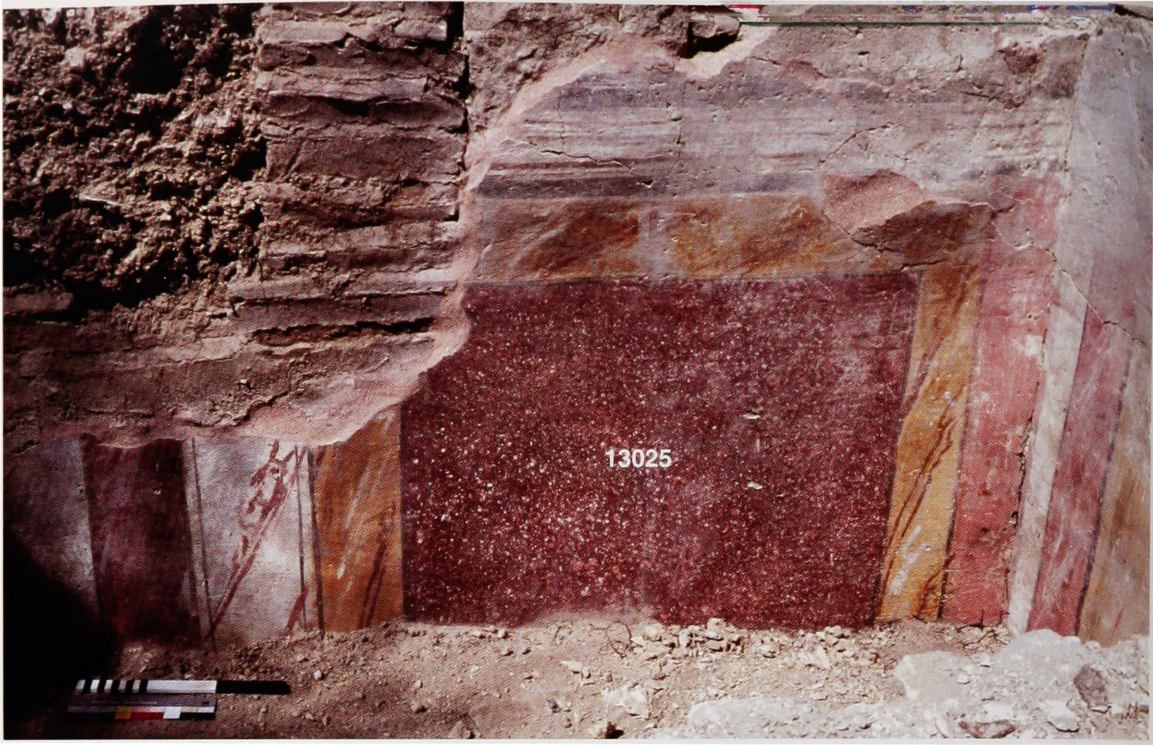


Fig. 14. Room 13015, painted wall-plaster 13025 on N wall.



Fig. 15. Room 13004, painted wall-plaster 13010 on E wall, showing legs of a figure.





Fig. 16. Trench 7, view to the south from the courtyard towards the main building.

Following three previous French campaigns in their chantier 9,<sup>13</sup> in 2000 we did further work in the basin below Kara Tepe. In this area there is now evidence for occupation from the late Hellenistic period down to the 9th c. A.D.<sup>14</sup> Because of the widespread destruction and redevelopment, evidence for the original layout of the area has not been recovered, although an impressive section of a drain constructed of large ashlar blocks and running S–N could date to the late Hellenistic period,<sup>15</sup> having been laid down during an early development of the city, and if it was associated with a principal thoroughfare leading down to the river, this would imply that the basin was already part of an early urban design.

The best preserved remains in this area, however, belong to the significant late Roman and Byzantine redevelopment likely to have taken place after the hypothesized catastrophe of the mid-3rd c., for often they were founded on destruction deposits. Our excavations in trench 7, as well as in the above-mentioned trench 18 higher up the slope, found destruction horizons similar to those identified by the French team which are dated by a coin of 244–249 and plausibly associated with Persian incursions of the mid-3rd c.<sup>16</sup>

### Trench 7: colonnaded courtyard of possible house

In 2000 we exposed a range of three rooms facing north onto a colonnaded courtyard (figs. 16–17). The whole postdated the 3rd-c. destruction deposits. Each room had a window in its S wall and a door in its N wall giving access to a portico which probably had a sloping roof. In the SW corner of the courtyard were the remains of a stone staircase which points to an upper storey, perhaps for private accommodation, whereas the three rooms below possibly served non-residential purposes. Various artefacts were found *in situ* on the surfaces of the three rooms: they include 3 ceramic lamps, 4 complete vessels, a bowl, a stopper, and a glass container. In its last 5 x 7 m, probably an expansion from its original size of 5 x 5 m.

13 Abadie-Reynal 1998, 392 and 2000, 319–23.

14 Abadie-Reynal 2000, 319.

15 Abadie-Reynal 1998, 392.

16 Abadie-Reynal 2000, 321.

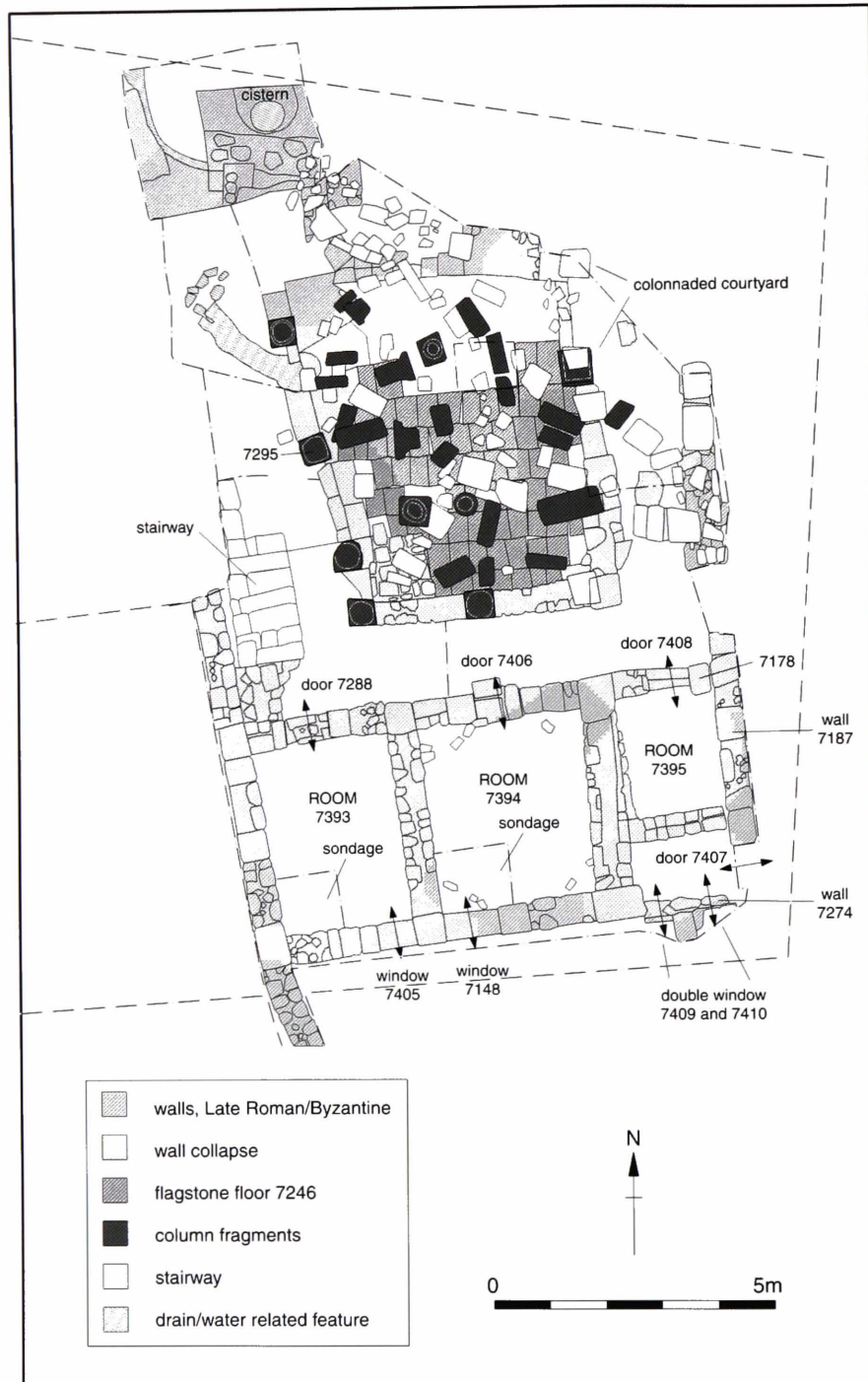


Fig. 17. Trench 7, plan of late Roman or Byzantine courtyard complex.

The capitals used in the colonnade were re-used, probably salvaged from other buildings nearby. The central courtyard was probably open.

#### Trench 12: a series of successive terraces and associated structures (fig. 18)

Trench 12 was located 20 m up the slope from trench 7. A substantial wall (12045) running NW-SE was found made of rectangular blocks (1.2 x 0.6 x 0.6 m) dry laid horizontally in a header bond so that the length of the individual blocks equalled the width of the wall. Three courses of the wall survived. The masonry is comparable to that seen in the French excavations at chantier 6, dated provisionally to the late Hellenistic period. This wall could be an element of an original terrace that extended from the public area on the east into the valley.



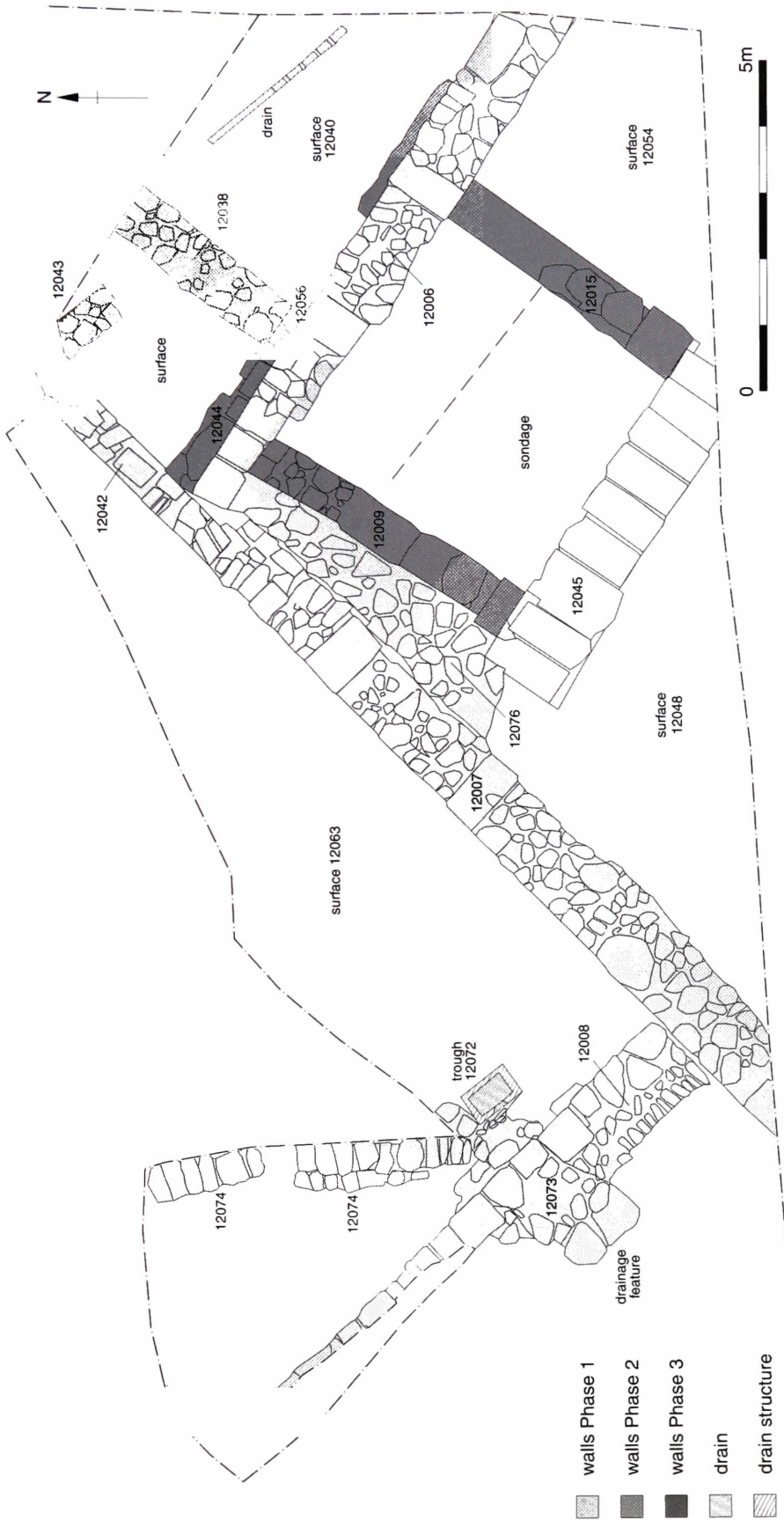


Fig. 18. Trench 12, plan.



Fig. 19. Trench 12, mosaic 12016, drawing.

The wall was then re-used as the SE wall of a square structure (4 x 4 m internally) created by adding three walls (12015, 12009, 12056/12044) of ashlar laid in a stretcher bond with a thin grey lime mortar. Two doorways (1 m wide) were found at the N ends of the E and W walls. The N wall of the square building continued beyond the E and W walls. With its possible doorways opening to the east and west, in plan the structure resembles an internal projecting tower, with its new N wall acting as a curtain wall.<sup>17</sup> However, its walls are on average only 60 cm wide, which is rather slight for the foundations of a defensive tower, particularly when compared to those located across the river at Apamea.<sup>18</sup> Further, the orientation of the square structure suggests that it would have protected an area to the southwest rather than the southeast where a public part of the city is located. A more plausible interpretation, then, is that the square structure belongs to a range of rooms built against the original ashlar terracing.

As part of a late Roman and Byzantine redevelopment, a new terrace was built in the shape of a zigzag with three new revetment walls. Incorporating the N and W walls of the square building, they extended beyond our excavation. A third wall aligned NW–SE completed the zigzag by abutting the new NE–SW wall 12007 5 m to the south of the square building.

At a later date, the square building went out of use and was backfilled, thereby extending the terrace to the north. A collection of 94 mosaic fragments was recovered from the backfill; they probably derived from one or two floors. One large fragment represented the corner of a large panel with perhaps a figurative centre and an inscription (fig. 19). Other fragments depict birds and part of a lamp. Some details in the birds' feathers and eyes were picked out in coloured glass tesserae.

### **Trench 11: courtyard house (fig. 20) with mosaic of Nereids riding on sea-monsters**

In the next basin to the east, our team worked on trenches 11 and 5 while the French team excavated trench 14 just to the east of trench 11.<sup>19</sup> Trench 11 produced evidence of a courtyard house thought to be divided from a southern property by an E–W alleyway (we were unable to

<sup>17</sup> S. Gregory, *Roman military architecture on the eastern frontier* (Amsterdam 1997) 160-61.

<sup>18</sup> Abadie-Reynal 1996, 316.

<sup>19</sup> Abadie-Reynal 2001, 275-92. Trench 14 produced a mosaic of Dionysus (with inscription) and a panther.

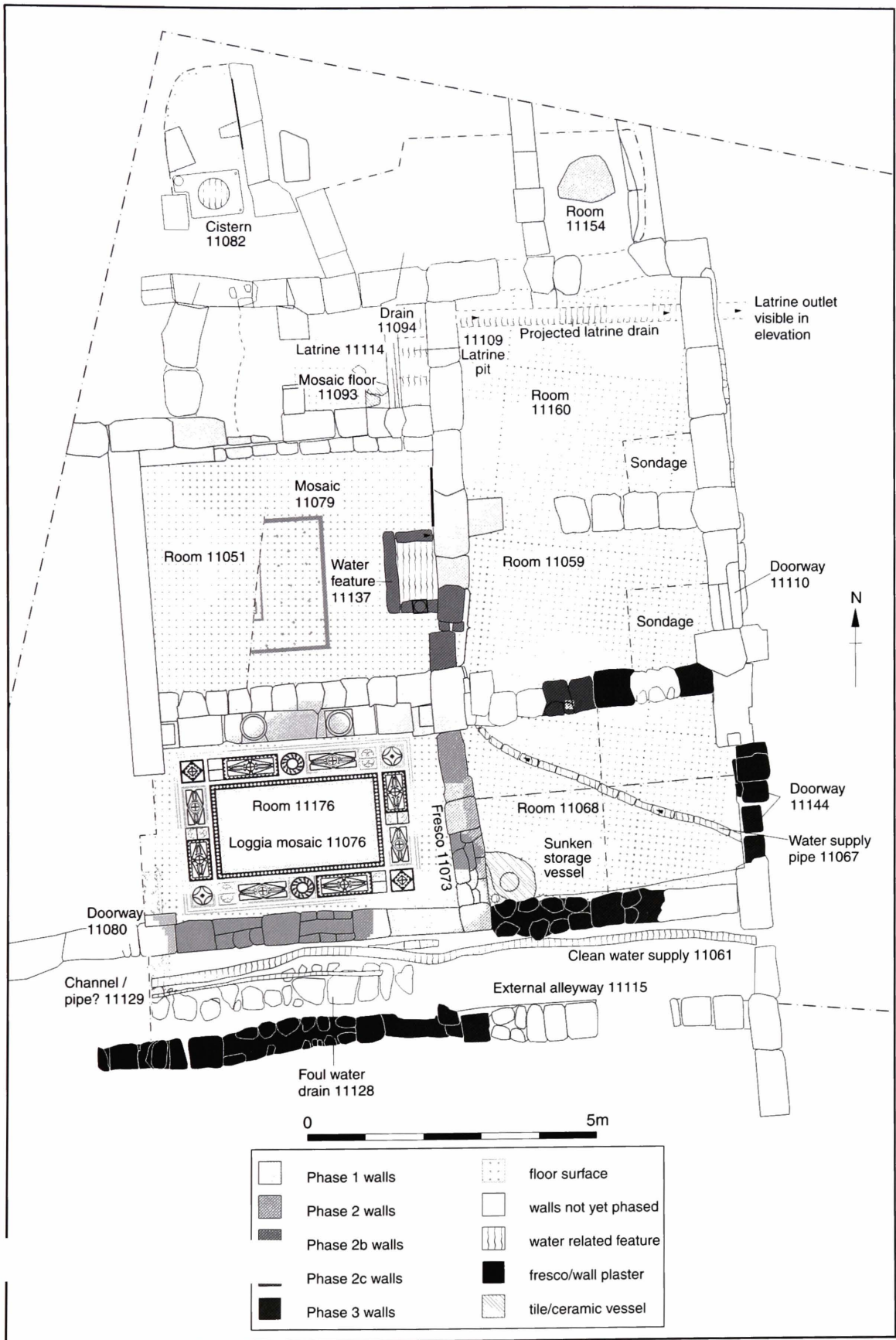


Fig. 20. Trench 11, plan of courtyard house.





Fig. 21a. Trench 11, mosaic of Nereids riding on sea-monsters, central panel.

excavate to the south). To the north of the alley stood a courtyard house seemingly not of the highest status. It underwent three phases of refurbishment. Greek building techniques are evident in the continued use of ashlar without the use of metal clamps.<sup>20</sup> Most of the walls were built or founded upon large limestone blocks laid horizontally and dry bedded. The later phases were a matter of localised alterations and running repairs rather than any major structural overhaul, and they too followed local building traditions such as ashlar piers with fired brick infilling (probably of middle Roman date) or with rubble infilling (in a later phase). Decayed mud brick, probably deriving from the upper sections of walls, was also found; mudbrick too was a local building tradition, possessing good resistance to earthquakes.<sup>21</sup>

This northern courtyard house seems to have faced east, perhaps onto a main road which ran down the axis of the basin or valley, as the drainage channel found further up the basin in the French trench 14 seems to imply. The house seems to have comprised two N-S rows of three rooms with additional rooms (not fully explored) to the north. The main vestibule was the central room 11059 on the E side (4.05 x 2.4 m). Doorways led from it to rooms on the north, south and west. The S room measured 4.3 x 3.1 and had storage vessels sunk into its two floor levels, suggesting that it was used for food storage. The N room was roughly square (4 x 3.7 m) and possibly served as a kind of antechamber.

To the west was a central courtyard (11051), the largest area known within the house at 4.7 x 4.65 m. The courtyard itself housed a simple black-and-white geometric design around a central mosaic panel that could not be exposed, despite our round-the-clock work, due to an unexpected rise in the water level. A small room (2.1 x 1.7 m) to the north of the courtyard contained a latrine pit on its E side and a small open channel running parallel to it at floor level, draining into the pit at its N end. No evidence for seating arrangements was detected. The floor of this room was a simple geometric mosaic in light green and blue tesserae. Close to the pit it had been crudely repaired with patches of triangular tiles. This latrine and a cistern

20 Cf. H. Dodge, "The architectural impact of Rome in the East," in M. Henig (ed.), *Architecture and architectural sculpture in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1990) 114, on the use in Syria of ashlar without mortar or metal clamps.

21 Kennedy 1998, 79.





Fig. 21b. Trench 11, mosaic of Nereids riding on sea-monsters, with its geometric border.



Fig. 22. Loggia, E wall, wall-painting 11073.



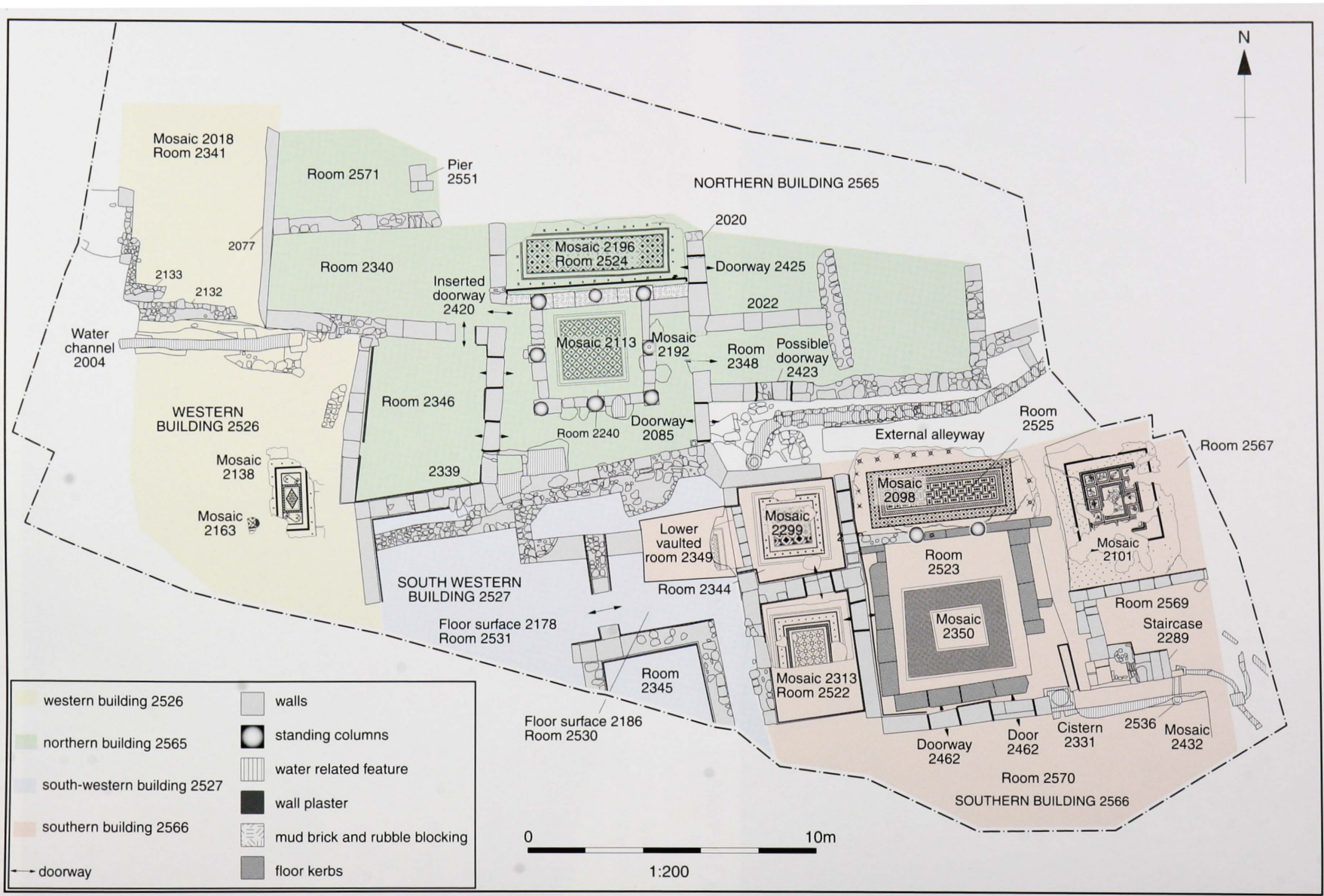


Fig. 23. Trench 2, plan of parts of four densely packed houses.



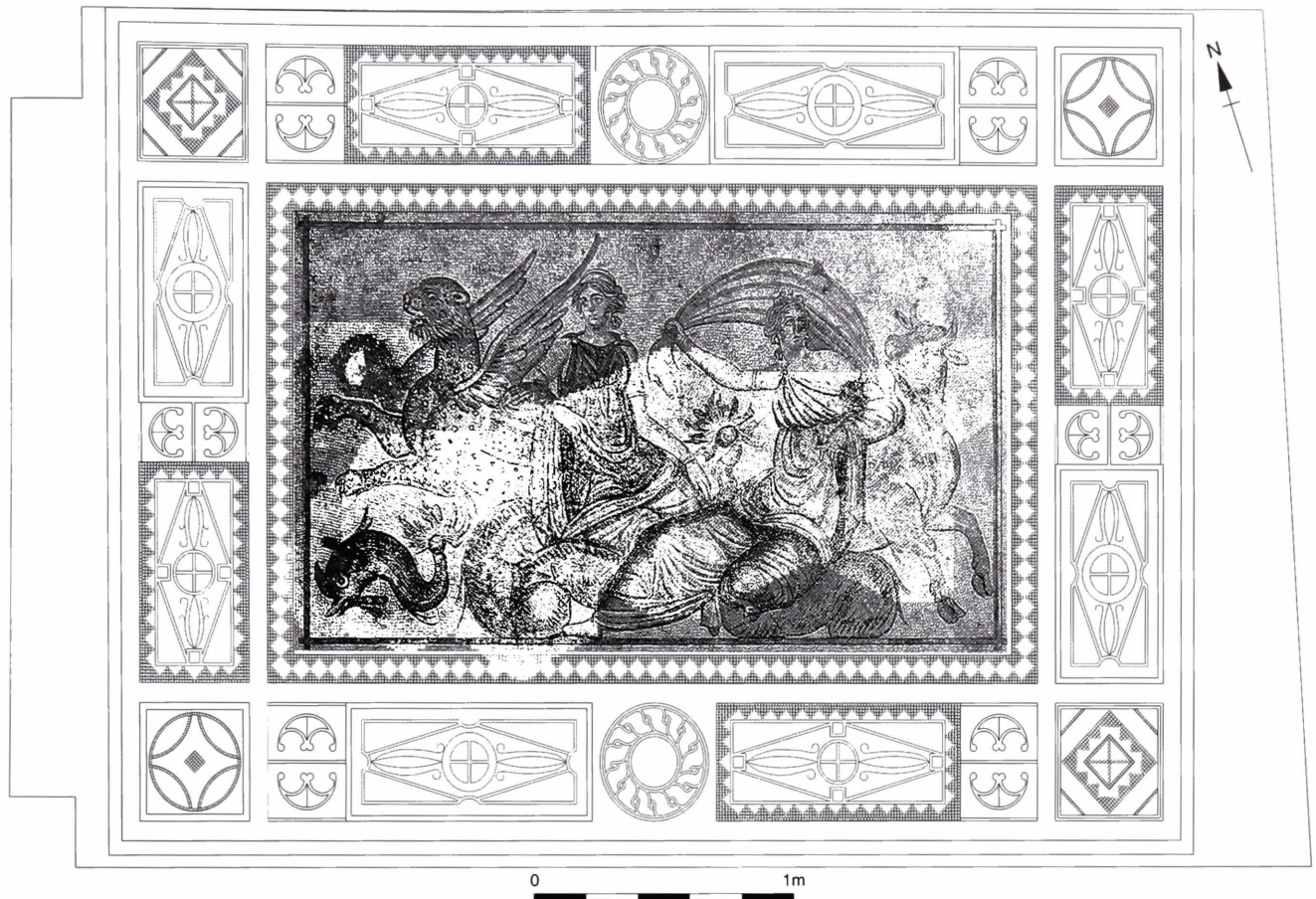


Fig. 21c. Trench 11, Geometric border of mosaic of Nereids riding on sea-monsters.

(11082) further north would have formed part of the service area of the house and suggest the possible proximity of a kitchen.

On its S side the courtyard led into a loggia (4.95 x 3 m) that was marked off by two columns and two pilasters. The room would have been well lit both from the courtyard to the north and from a window in the S wall at a high level. The room (11176) contained a figured mosaic of high quality (figs. 21 a, c; fig. 21b in colour) depicting Nereids riding on sea-monsters. The central panel is set within a decorative border of 20 square and oblong panels. It was laid so as to be viewed from the S side, and the room may often have been entered from the west, where there is a doorway 11080 in the wall (the rooms further west were not excavated). In fact the mosaic continued beyond the excavation area across a geometric panel in the doorway itself. It is likely that the main reception rooms of the house lay on this W side of the courtyard. Some of them were almost certainly cut into the bedrock.

In the foreground of the central panel of room 11078 two females are seated on the coils of the tails of sea-monsters. The one on the left wears a green *chiton* with a yellow cloak folded over her left arm, from which also hangs a basket. To the left of her is a large sea-panther. The female on the right wears a pale blue *peplos* that exposes her left breast. She holds a golden sash that runs in an arc from her left elbow up to her outstretched right hand. Both women have a *stephane* holding back their hair. To the right is a sea-bull, the head of which  
figure. At the bottom left-hand corner of the panel a stylised

The walls of this room too were decorated with painted wall-plaster, of which traces were noted and conserved on the S and E walls (fig. 22 on p. 31 in colour). On the E wall the general design could be discerned: the surface was divided into three horizontal panels and had painted columns and zigzag borders.



Subsequent modifications to the building had major implications for its organization. For example, the blocking of the E doorway connecting the former vestibule with the courtyard would have separated the E and W ranges of the building at ground-floor level and perhaps made them into separate properties (there was also a difference in height of 50 cm between the two ranges). Also significant was the creation of a double doorway in the S room of the E range, opening onto the presumed main road and seemingly designed to allow vehicles to enter the space. This room was now linked to the former vestibule by a new narrower stepped doorway near the E end of its N wall.

A modification in the W range was the insertion of a piped water supply, perhaps to feed a newly installed fountain or basin in the courtyard. This limestone basin had two small marble columns set on their own bases on top of the rim.

Destruction by fire brought occupation of the property to an end, probably while it was still in use. In the burning and demolition deposits over the mosaic and earth floors were found numerous artefacts including a bronze coin, an iron blade and an iron key. Thereafter the building was abandoned, and there is no evidence that rooms were cleaned after the disaster, although perhaps more valuable items were recovered then or later.

There are a number of similarities between this property and that excavated in trench 2 on the headland to the east (see below). The design of a single colonnade marking a loggia off the courtyard is paralleled in houses on Hellenistic Delos. This kind of plan shows that the strong Greek cultural influence at Zeugma continued well into the Roman period. That this was not one of the wealthiest houses is shown by comparison with houses excavated by the French team in trench 6 in 2000 or with others in Area A excavated by the French-Turkish team in previous years. Those were grand buildings with extensive reception halls or multiple courtyard complexes. This house had a less public rôle to play. The more central location of this property, where space was presumably at a premium and expansion of existing houses depended on the acquisition of neighbouring plots, may have been partly responsible for the use of a single colonnade in its courtyard. Generally, the level of decoration in this house is less ambitious, with mosaic floors reserved just for key rooms and with only a single water feature in the courtyard.

#### **Trench 5: house displaying re-use of its original layout to a late period**

Trench 5 lies in the basin a short distance northeast of trench 11. It produced evidence for a cycle of domestic occupation, colluviation and rebuilding. It seems to be a residential structure roughly contemporary with the property in trench 11. It had a doorway facing west (the raised sill being on the W side) onto a street that ran north down towards the river, conforming to the evidence for streets in trenches 11 and 14. The doorway also preserved a post-socket on the S side of the threshold and a bolt-hole to the north. In front was a single marble step which would have eased the descent from the house to the street below. The embellishment of the entrance suggest a house of a certain status. To the north, beyond an alleyway, there seems to have been a separate property or range of rooms, which was excavated in part.

The original layout of the southern house seems to have been retained by later properties even though the earliest building seems to have been deliberately dismantled (perhaps in the late Roman period) and its materials re-used before the later construction began. Following the burial of the original building beneath layers of colluvium, two later structures were put up, which in turn underwent modifications before being abandoned and sealed by colluvium. In a very late phase a series of land-boundary walls was erected, but they too fell into disrepair and were lost beneath colluvial deposits.

#### **Trench 2: four contiguous houses (fig. 23 on p. 32 above)**

Extensive excavations were carried out on higher ground overlooking what seems to have been a public sector to the east, supplementing the earlier work nearby conducted by Kennedy





Fig. 24. Trench 2, courtyard of the north house, view to northwest.

and by the French team.<sup>22</sup> We excavated considerable parts of four densely packed residences (fig. 23), suggesting that this was a valuable location in the lower town's urban landscape. The houses were built on three E-W terraces cut directly into the limestone bedrock (the upper terrace being c.10 m wide, the lower one 13 m wide), and they show how the original terracing was adapted for later structures. Their general plan suggests they were first built in the early Commagenian period (mid-2nd to mid-1st c. B.C.), and this date is supported by initial study of the pottery.

The most is known about the houses at the north and south of our trench, but we also have parts of a house at a higher level at the southwest and another on a lower level at the west end of our trench. A street running N-S bounded the E side of the south house. It was met by an alley which entered into the *insula* between the north and the south houses. The alley led to a doorway (2085) at its W end that provided secondary access to the central courtyard of the north house.

#### *The north house*

As now known, the north house consists primarily of the central courtyard (2240) (fig. 24) and rooms to the east and west; further rooms, and presumably the principal entrance, would have lain to the north and east but are now lost. The plan is of the *pastas* type, noted already in trench 11. The central courtyard (8.5 x 6.5 m) had a total of 8 Tuscan columns (40 cm diameter), so there were 3 columns to each of the four porticoes. The central part of the courtyard held a geometric mosaic (fig. 25). Beneath the court lay three rock-cut cisterns (all in the shape of a bottle with a narrow neck), two in the S portico and one in the E portico. The N portico (2524) was the widest (2.37 m) and was provided with a geometric mosaic (2196) that had a central panel in a trellis design forming a diamond framework (fig. 26). The main entrance to the house probably came from the north, but the evidence there is lost; possibly it was from the northwest, since remains of a pier (2251) might be part of an entrance.

22 Kennedy 1998, 61-79; Abadie-Reynal 1998, 394-95.





Fig. 25. Trench 2, mosaic 2113 in the colonnaded peristyle 2240 of the north house.

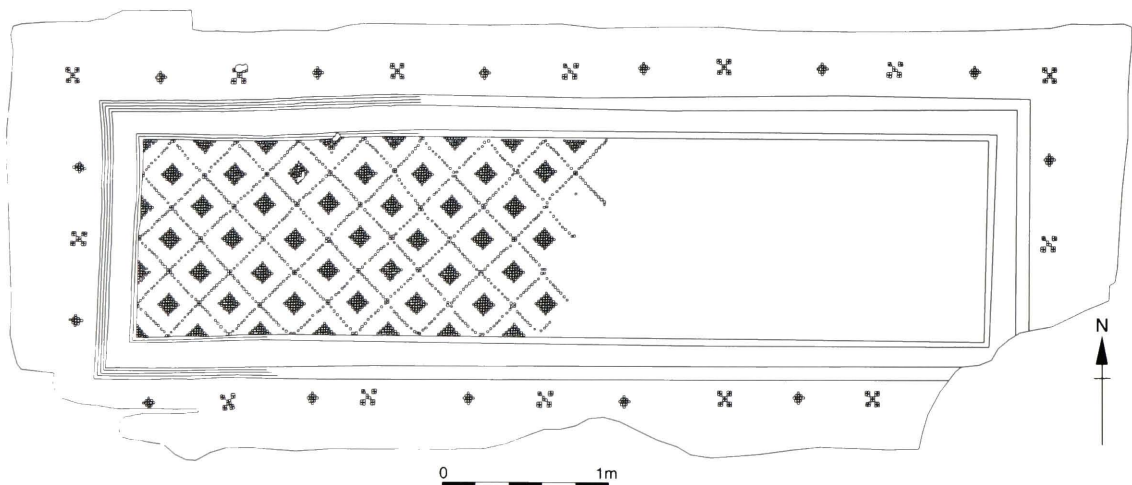


Fig. 26. Trench 2, mosaic 2196 in the N portico 2524 of the north house.

The largest rooms known lay to the west of the court, and they were probably the most prestigious in the house. The northern one (2340) measured 7 x 2.5 m. The only surviving access to it was from a doorway (66 cm wide) from the room to the south, but there may originally have been another door at the E end of its N wall, now lost. If, however, it was able to be reached only from the southern room, it may have been a private *cubiculum*. None of the furnishings of this room was intact, due to the extensive modifications made to it at a later date. The southern room (2346) communicated directly with the W portico of the court through two doorways and is likely to have been the main reception room or *triclinium*. Basically meas-



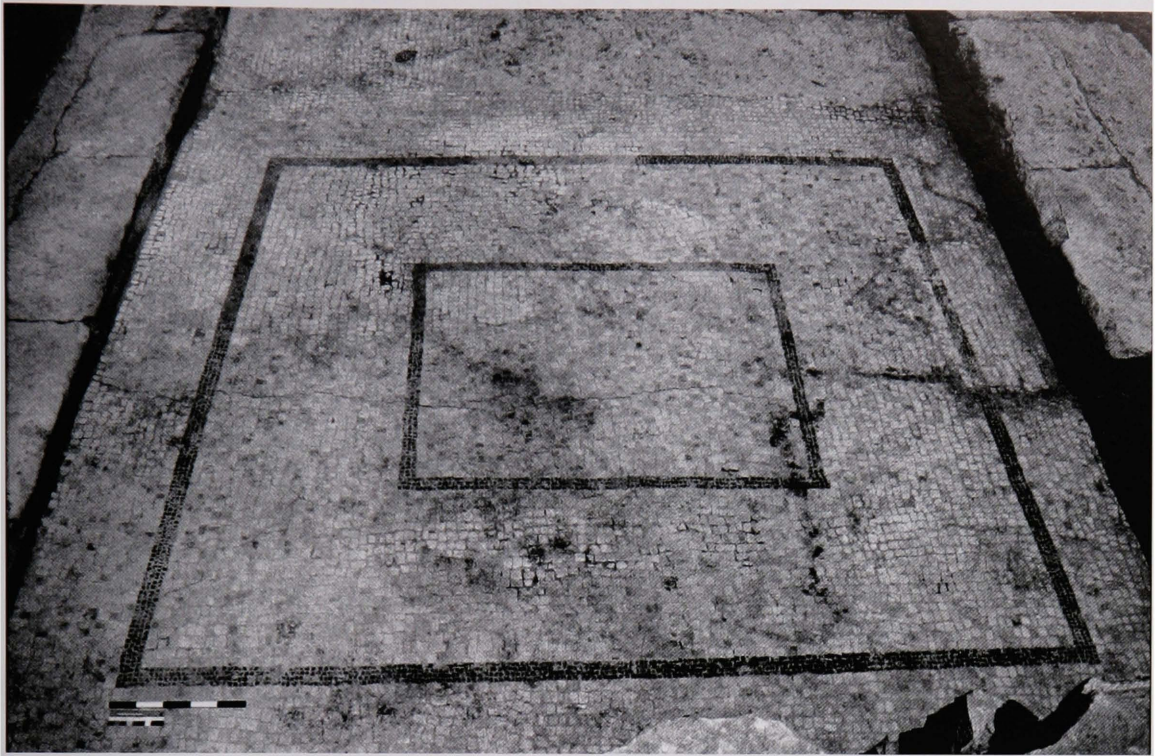


Fig. 27. Trench 2, mosaic 2350 made of unusually large tesserae, on S side of the court of the south house. Measuring 3.7 x 4.6 m, it was somewhat irregular in shape since its W wall was longer than its E wall, resulting in an acute angle in its SW corner. Its S and W walls survived to a height of 2.8 m, and its E, S and W walls were decorated with painted plaster, but no mosaic floor was found.

The area east of the court is less well preserved. There was a rectangular room 2348 east of the central court but its original dimensions are unknown since its E and N walls have not been defined, although it must have been at least 5 x 3.3 m. Later alterations with the construction of an E-W wall transformed this area into a passage that would have led directly to the court through ashlar door-jambs set near the middle of the E wall of the court, but we do not know if an entrance existed here in the original layout of the house. Earlier there was perhaps only a doorway 2425 a little further north leading into the N portico.

#### *The south house*

The layout of this house is not unlike that of the north house. Six rooms are known lying north, east and west of a central courtyard (2523), but there is also a lower vaulted room (2349) set beneath a room that sat on the upper terrace and belonged to the southwest house. The main entrance was probably from the N-S street running parallel to its eastern boundary, although it is also possible that there was some kind of entrance from the south. It was divided from the north house by the alley mentioned above. Much of the early building has been obscured by extensive refurbishment.

The central courtyard 2523 measured 6.8 x 6 m. Beneath its SE corner there was a rock-cut cistern in the shape of a bottle with narrow neck. Centered on the S side of the court was a plain monochrome mosaic floor 2350 (fig. 27). There is evidence of painted plaster on the S and W walls. On the N side of the court a small colonnade of two columns (50 cm diameter) fronted a loggia (6.2 x 2.6 m) which had a geometric mosaic on the floor.

subsequently covered by a destruction layer in which were found a large ceramic storage jar, two bronze finger-rings, an iron axe-head, a possible door-hinge, and several nails.

The two rooms to the west of the court may have been private chambers or *cubicula*. The south room, 3.1 x 4.3 m, had a geometric mosaic with a central panel with a pattern of grey octa-



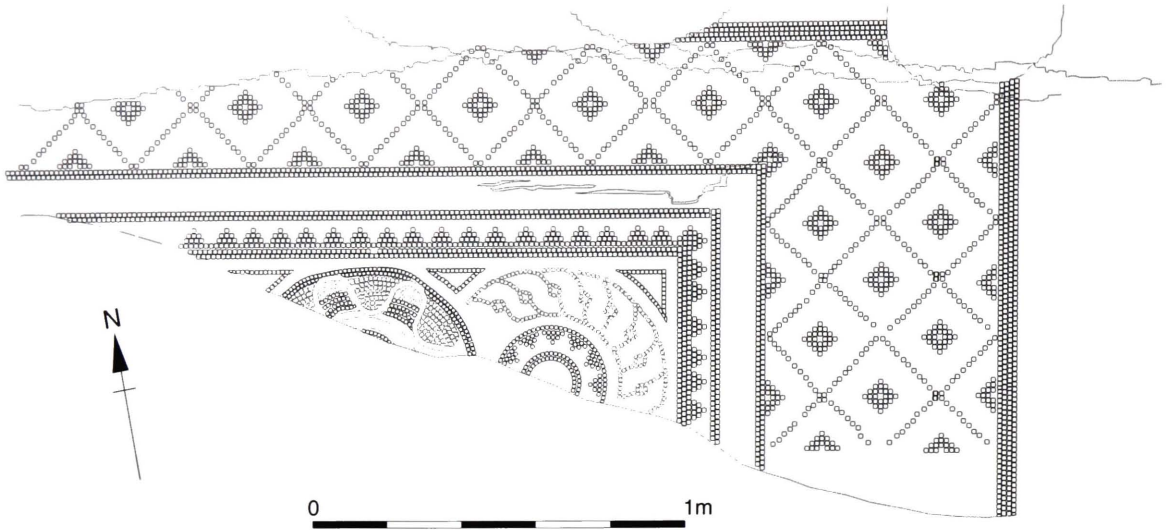


Fig. 28. Mosaic 2432 in the south house.

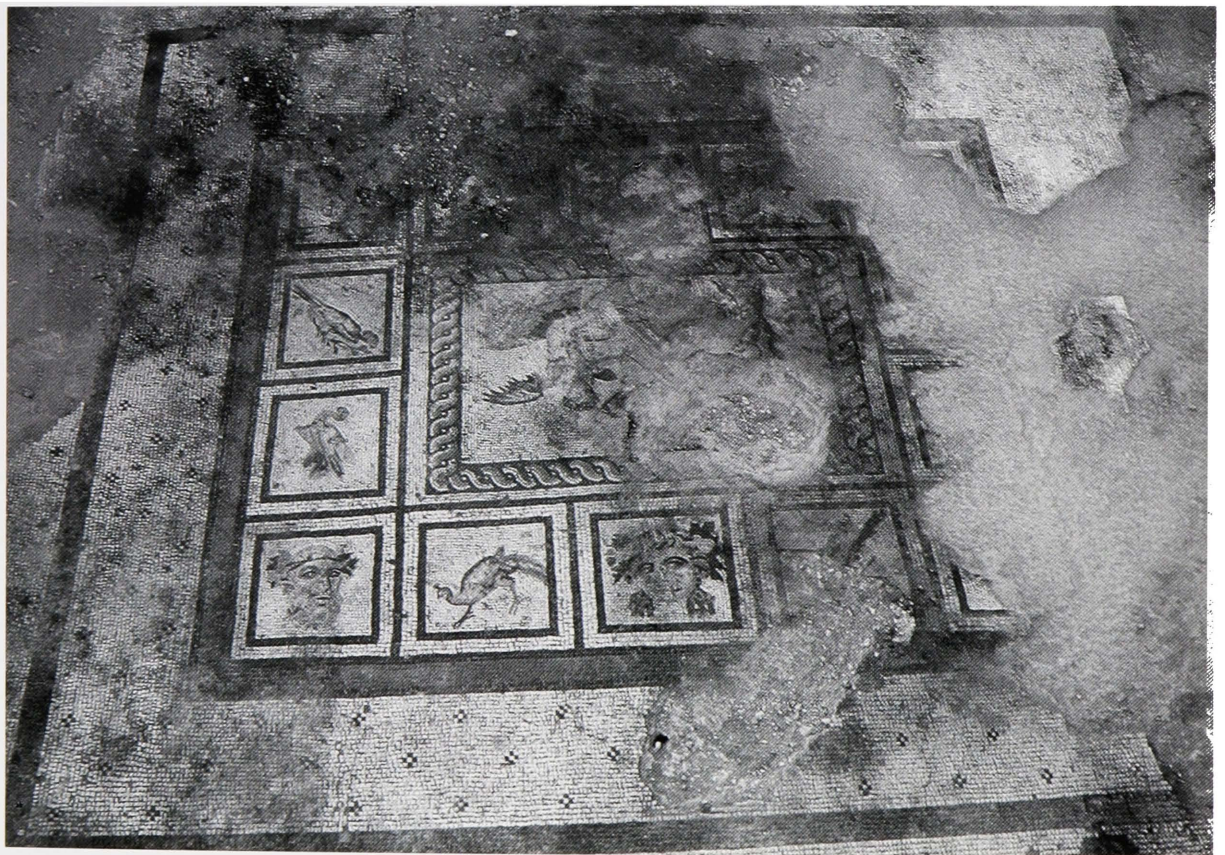


Fig. 29a. Trench 2, south house, mosaic 2101, view to south.

gons on a white background. There was also evidence for painted wall-plaster. Overlying the pavement were destruction deposits that produced a bronze lion mask (presumably a furniture fitting) and a glass bead. A doorway in its N wall led into another room (3.26 x 3.14 m), not unlike the arrangement in the northern house of the group. Here, at the N end of its E wall, were the remains of the springing of a vault or of a pilaster capital, suggesting that there was a wide arch between it and the loggia or N portico. The room again had painted plaster of more than one phase.



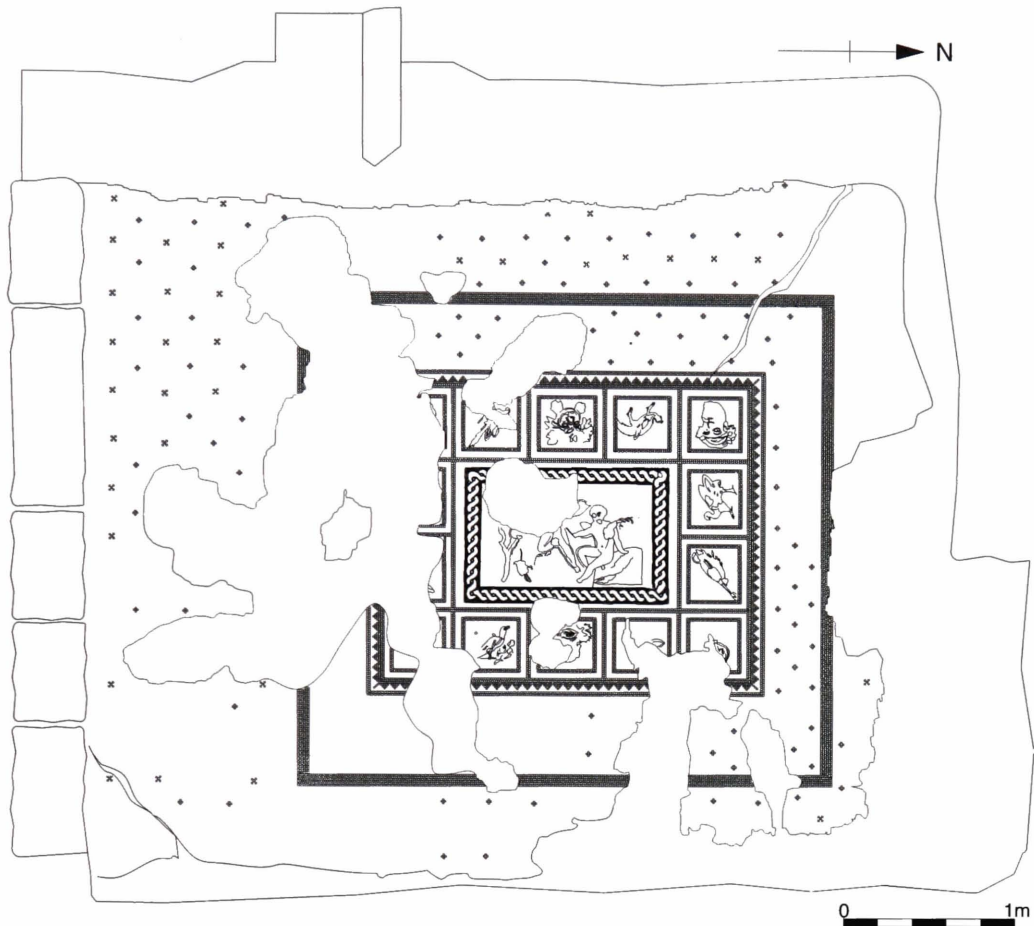


Fig. 29b. Trench 2, south house, drawing of mosaic 2101.

From the court, two blocked doorways in the S wall would have given onto another room or rooms. If a single room, with its estimated length of 7.88 m, it would have been one of the largest and perhaps would have served as the main reception room. A partially uncovered mosaic 2432 (fig. 28) at the SE corner of the house probably belonged to this room.

There were also two rooms east of the court. Room 2567 on the north had access from the loggia or N portico 2525 and possibly from the road to the east, but its E wall is not preserved. Its figured mosaic floor faced east (4.8 x 5.1 m) (figs. 29a-b). Two winged cupids in the damaged central panel were surrounded by a border of panels containing birds, a male head (Silenus?), and the head of a young girl (a Maenad). To the south was a smaller room (2569) measuring 5.2 x 3 m but it was extensively modified in later phases and its original layout is unclear. It too probably had a door on the E side into the court.

#### *The southwest house*

Our knowledge of this house is limited since only its N part fell within our trench. It lay on the same middle terrace as the southern house and adjacent to the western house (which sat on a higher terrace). Its exterior walls are preserved on the W side where all internal faces were decorated with two layers of painted plaster. Figured frescoes survived in rooms 2530 and 2531, mainly along the bottom of the walls (the tops were severely truncated). The background was a yellow base with dark red, white and yellow used to highlight architectural details. In the centre in front of a dark red panel is a figure apparently facing left whose upper and lower torso and right leg and foot survive. The floors of rooms 2530 (floor 2186) and 2531 (floor 2178) are hard-packed white mortar which probably served as the foundation for mosaics, now lost.



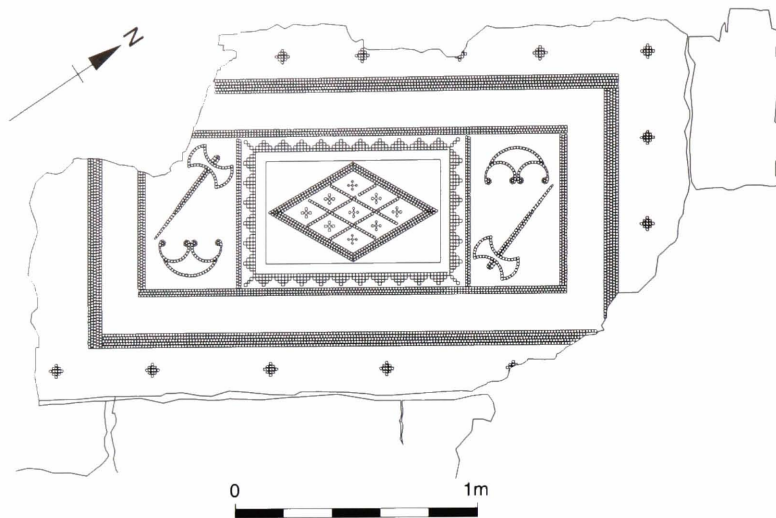


Fig. 30. Trench 2, west house, mosaic 2138 with axes and pelta.

#### *The west house*

The remains on the upper terrace had been severely truncated, although the fragmentary remains of three mosaic pavements (2018, 2138 and 2163) were found. A visible indentation suggests that geometric mosaic 2138 (fig. 30) was laid against two columns or vertical supports some 53 cm apart. Another geometric mosaic 2018 further north may or may not belong to this house; a channel in between could mark an alleyway separating two house plots on this terrace. The surviving walls seem to belong to a later phase than the mosaics.

#### *Later phases of the four houses*

There is evidence in several places for refurbishments of these houses, which seem to fall into a number of different phases. In some places doorways were re-arranged, and this would have altered lines of access and probably also reflects the altered functions of several rooms.

In the north house, a step, mosaic floor and threshold were added to the access from the alleyway and a door 2423 was created above a new piped channel that led into room 2348. This door may have led to a staircase that gave onto a mezzanine floor above the modified eastern room. In the peristyle, the colonnade on the N side was walled up with rubble and mudbrick to create two rooms (2524 and 2340). A new door led into the court from the NW room 2340 while the original entrances from the court into room 2346 were blocked and a trough made of mud bricks was inserted in the NE corner of this southern room, perhaps to serve as a manger for animals. Tethering holes for animals were cut into the ashlar in the walls of room 2340 to the north and a hearth was inserted. The floors of room 2340 and the E part of the court were now of earth and probably consist of occupational débris associated with their changed usage. A helmet with protective neck plate decorated with a floral motif as well as a knife and a spearhead were found in the destruction horizon (2008) of room 2340. Clearly this house on the lower terrace was downgraded in late antiquity.<sup>23</sup>

Extensive refurbishments in the south house may belong to a single phase. On the W side of the court the original entrance from the southern room 2522 was blocked and a mosaic floor 2313 was put down (fig. 31) (in the destruction layer above this mosaic an iron bucket was found as well as two glass vessels). The room to the north (2344, fig. 32) was lowered by over 1 m and mosaic 2299 (fig. 33) was laid within the newly-created sunken space that would perhaps have been cooler in summer. A barrel-vaulted extension (2.9 x 2 m) was cut to the west, running beneath room 2530 of the southwest house. This part of the house would thus have changed its

<sup>23</sup> We may compare the 'ruralisation' of houses at Apamea in the 7th c.: J. C. Balty, *Apamée de Syrie: bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973-1979* (Brussels 1984) 497.

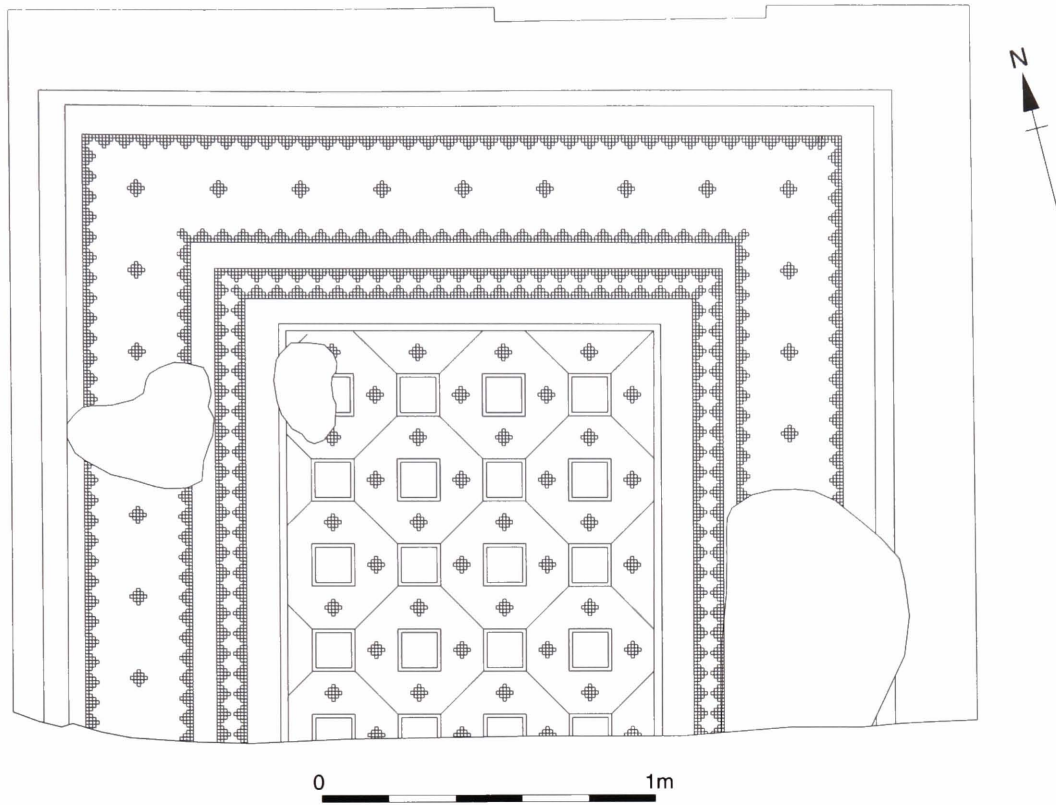


Fig. 31. Trench 2, mosaic 2313 in the south house.

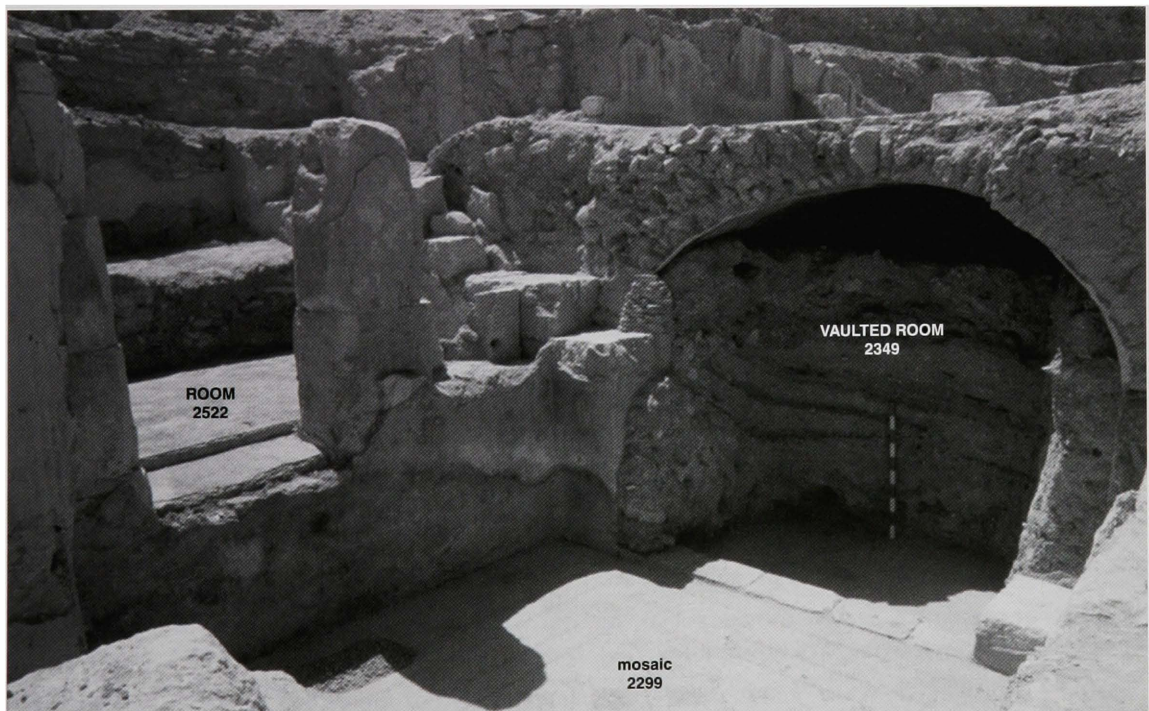


Fig. 32. Trench 2, sunken vaulted room 2344 in the south house, view to SW.

function, being reached perhaps only by wooden steps. For the entrance from the court, the original arched opening was rebuilt to leave just a small doorway. The single colonnade in the court was blocked except probably for a door in the middle, but this effectively separated the



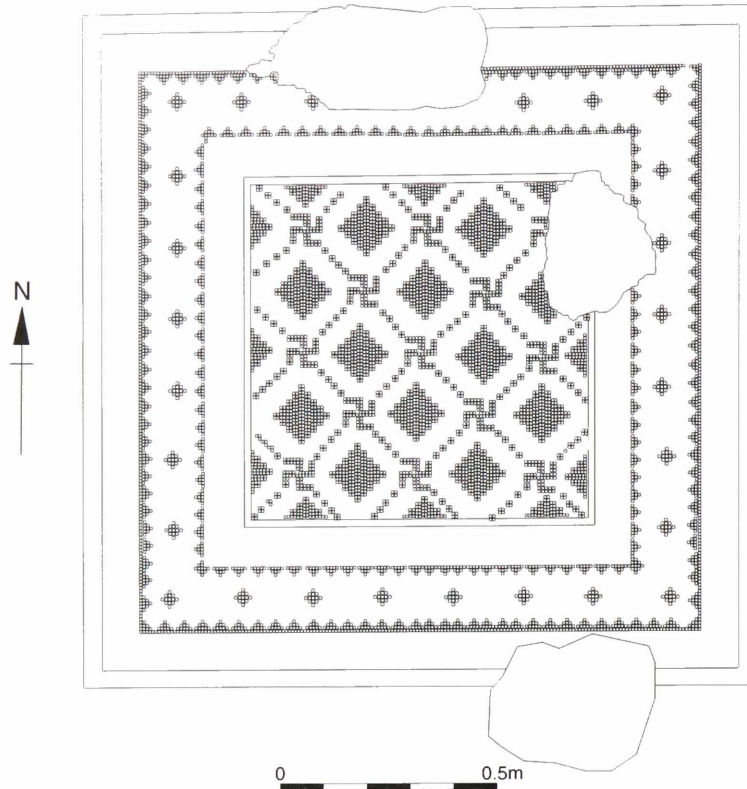


Fig. 33. Trench 2, mosaic 2299 with swastika motif (drawing), part of a later refurbishment.

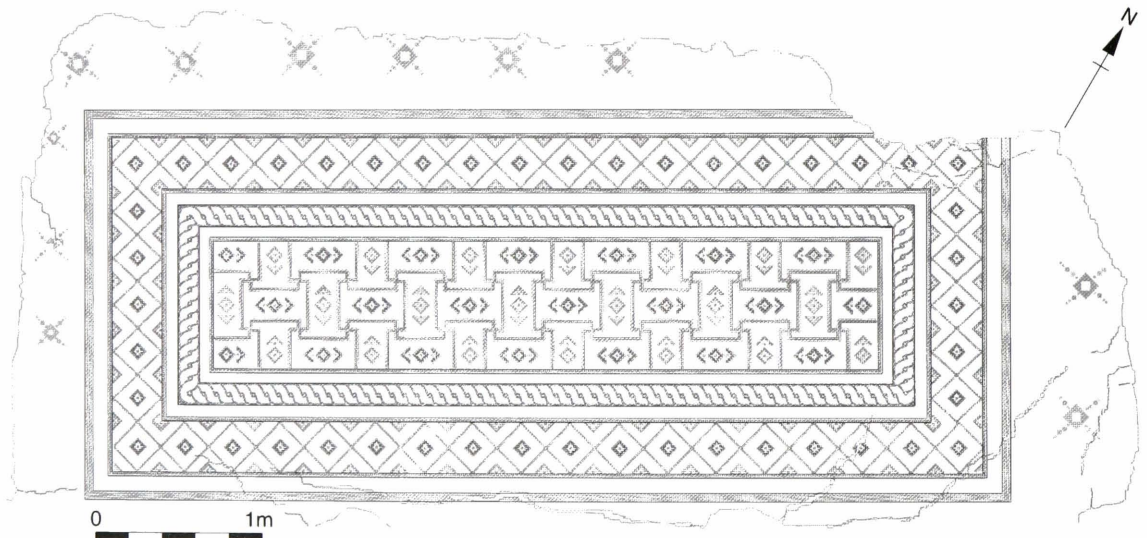


Fig. 34. Trench 2, mosaic 2098 in the south house.

loggia from the court. A new mosaic (2098, fig. 34) was laid in this northern room, which was also extended north over part of the alley.

On the S side of the court, a new door (2462) was inserted at the W end of the S wall, leading to some other unexcavated room. The area to the southeast (2570) was also modified. A staircase 2289 supported by a barrel vault was added which was probably accessible from the street via 2570 as a vestibule.

Two separate destruction horizons have been noted in trench 2. One rested directly on some of the mosaic floors, the other was later than the creation of earthen floors, traces of which were best preserved on the lower terrace. The first is likely to belong to the mid-3rd c. Thereafter

the properties were re-occupied but downgraded. To judge by artefacts found on floor surfaces, the houses had been abandoned prior to some event that caused widespread destruction of properties in the area. We do not know if looting also occurred. Burnt timbers and fragments of charcoal, along with roof tiles and nails, show that roofs collapsed onto floor surfaces, but there were no burnt deposits in the court 2523 of the south house or the peristyle 2240 of the north building, suggesting that they were open to the sky in their latest phases. The abandoned properties thus fell into ruin and were gradually buried beneath material washed down the slopes to an average depth of 3 m. The colluvium included stones and mud bricks as well as burnt debris and pottery.

## **Work east of Trench 2 around a major complex (baths?) (fig. 35 in colour overleaf)**

We also uncovered extensive structural remains downhill from the site of Kennedy's earlier excavations that probably relate to the buildings found in our Trench 2. A series of channels running SW to NE probably mark a street descending steeply towards the river. On the E side of this presumed street we found a room and a corridor likely to be the W end of the domestic properties excavated in Trench 2. On the W side behind a massive retaining wall<sup>24</sup> running NE–SW (similar to the terrace walls found on the next headland to the west) were substantial structures of limestone rubble and concrete, often incorporating bricks. Walls at right-angles to the terrace wall created four rooms, of which the two eastern ones were the largest (4 x 5 and 3.5 x 4.5 m). Adjacent to them was a latrine with water-pipes leading into it, and a larger outflow pipe was found in the next room to the west. The thickness of the walls here suggests that they may have supported arches or vaults; fragments of collapsed vaults were found not far to the southwest. The whole seems to have been a substantial building (perhaps baths) that faced up river, was reached by steps on the W side, and was supplied by water channels coming down the hill from the south. It probably belongs to the middle Roman period and may have extended further south to encompass the visible remains of a bath-house first identified by Kennedy. Further work during a shoreline survey in 2001 tends to support a public function for the buildings in this area, despite the fact that Kennedy found evidence for a well-appointed house. This then may have been a new area of public Roman buildings perhaps reached by colonnaded streets (see the evidence in trenches 3 and 15) and connected to lower areas by stepped streets like that found in trench 13.

Whereas more to the east of this headland (in trench 2) the general layout of Hellenistic properties seems to have survived as structures that underwent only relatively minor refurbishments, the general picture that emerges for this more westerly part of the headland is that few walls predate the Roman development. This matches what has been found on the NW corner of this headland in zone 2 (fig. 2 above), since Kennedy identified just one phase dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd c.<sup>25</sup> Abadie-Reynal, however, did identify pottery of the 1st-c. B.C. in a destruction horizon that predates the Roman development,<sup>26</sup> and the absence of earlier architecture may imply that the area was cleared prior to its Roman development, since it is unlikely that such a central location overlooking and close to a public area (trenches 3 and 15) would have remained vacant for so long.

## **The eastern limit of the Hellenistic city**

The eastern limits of the Hellenistic settlement are probably best deduced from an area of Hellenistic burials found cut into the bedrock of the hillside in Trench 6.<sup>27</sup> Initial analysis sug-

24 A retaining wall was necessary here because of the steep scarp of the hill: see Kennedy 1998, 62, showing his Site D from the west.

25 Kennedy 1998, 71.

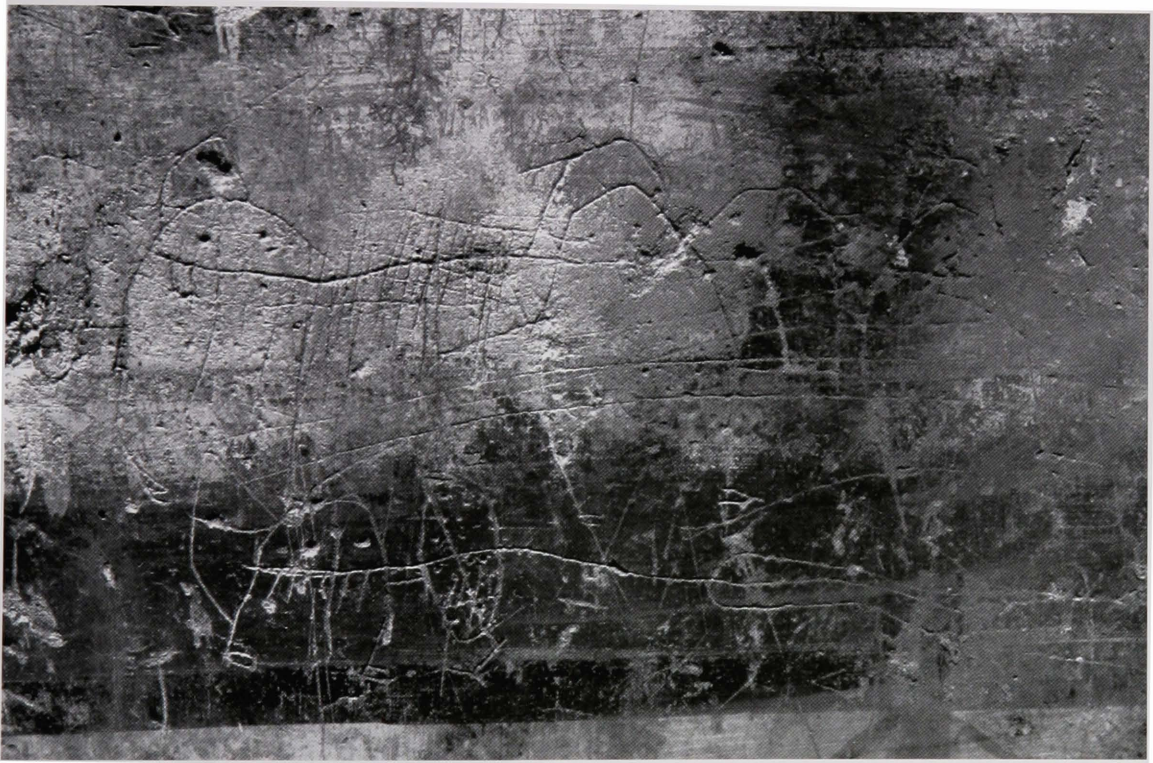
26 Abadie-Reynal 1998, 379-406.

27 Abadie-Reynal 2001, 258.









Figs. 36-37. Trench 9, graffiti of possible gladiator and boats on painted wall-plaster in room 9284.

suggests that the burials were in use until the 1st c. A.D. This would imply that the eastern edge of the built-up area lay between trench 6 and trench 2, and therefore potentially in the vicinity of the eastern edge of the built-up area. Although traces of late Hellenistic occupation have been found in Area A, the main development there is mid-Roman and associated with an eastward expansion of the built-up area in that period.<sup>28</sup>

28 Abadie-Reynal 2001, 269-70.



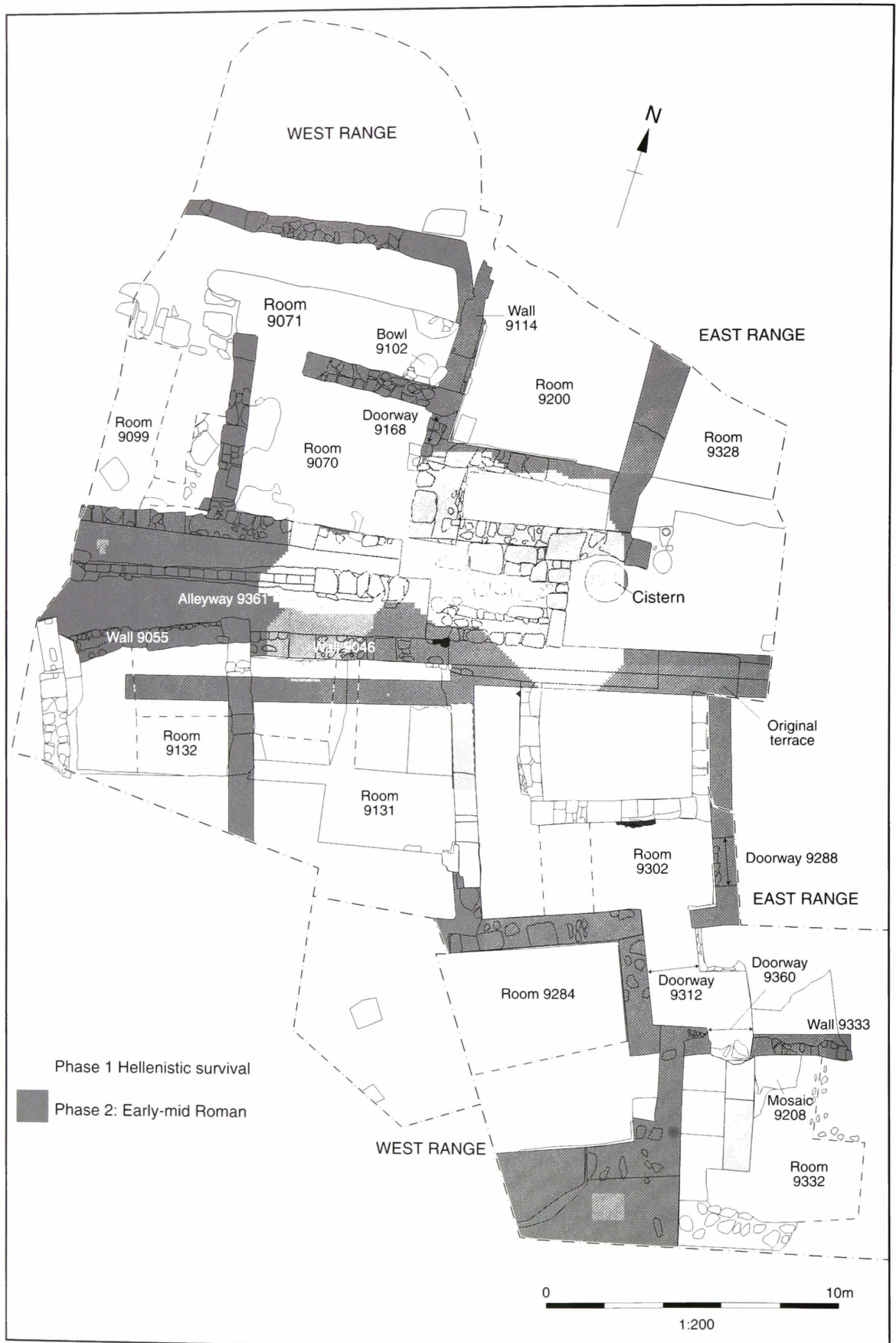


Fig. 38. Trench 9, plan of properties showing Hellenistic and early to mid-Roman phases.

**Trench 9: a residential zone on an upper terrace divided by an alley from a commercial zone on a lower terrace (fig. 38)**

Trench 9 lies c.50 m east of Trench 2 on the N edge of a ridge. It was c.20 m lower than the House of Dionysus and Ariadne, excavated by the team led by R. Ergeç, which lay some 60 m to the south. The excavations in Area A where a series of opulent houses has been identified lie a short distance to the west.<sup>29</sup>

Three major phases were found on three rock-cut terraces that descend the slope. These terraces had probably been created in the late Hellenistic period and were part of the layout of the original townscape. The presence of early structures is suggested by the fragmentary remains of two N-S ashlar walls but no contemporary occupation levels were found and the first significant remains are Roman in date, probably 1st c. A.D. The Roman development was clearly influenced by the pre-existing terraces but it presumably demolished the majority of the structures on them.

Excavation of the upper terrace revealed several large rooms which fall into an eastern and W range without any clear access between them. The W range consists of three rooms. The southernmost (9284, probably 4.5 x 4 m) was cut into the limestone at the south and the best preserved. Its floor consisted of neatly cut bedrock. Its N and E walls which survived up to 1.85 m in height were made of vertical ashlar piers with rubble and mudbrick infilling and were decorated with wall-plaster painted in geometric panels on which graffiti including boats and possibly gladiators had been incised (figs. 36-37 above). A niche recessed into the E wall may have held statuary. The room was probably entered from the west but that side was not exposed. To the northwest lay room 9131, originally 4.5 by at least 3.5 m, but it was later extended 1 m to the north when the wall fronting on the alley was rebuilt. Its N and W walls were decorated with painted wall-plaster similar to that of room 9284 and its floor was again cut in bedrock. A third room 9132 to the west was only partly investigated; it too had a bedrock floor.

The E range on the upper terrace included a room at the S end that was cut into the rock and had a N wall (9333) of ashlar piers with limestone rubble infilling. A fragment of its mosaic floor (9208) with a geometric border in white and blue survived, and some fragments of wall-plaster still adhered to the N wall. There was a door (9360) in the N wall. Further north, with a pair of doors near its SE corner, was room 9302, probably the largest room on the terrace at c.10 x 10 m. Its N and W walls probably belong to the original Hellenistic terrace, being built of ashlar. Both the E and W ranges on the upper terrace were probably parts of houses.

North of these houses was a narrow alley or service corridor (9361), a dead space without doorways. It was probably built when the lower terrace was first occupied, presumably in the Roman period. A stone water-channel, set directly on bedrock, ran down the middle of the alley, and seems to have fed a bottle-shaped cistern to the east.

On the lower terrace, north of the alley, we found several interconnecting rooms that may have been workshops. The use of this steeply sloping hillside may indicate that building space was at a premium. Vertical ashlar piers were again combined with limestone rubble infilling. Finds included two sets of scales, an iron weaving loom and weaving tools, and a small globular flask. There were also many coins. At a level later in the destruction sequence a coin hoard was found.

Room 9071 at the north was quite long and narrow (at least 17 m E-W by 6.5 m) and perhaps acted as a court or corridor, with just a low wall on its N and E sides. Near its SE end a limestone boulder was cut into the ground. Two doors led into spaces on the south. One was 9099 leading to a rock-cut arched door 9090, only the top of which was visible, leading into a rock-cut room decorated with red wall-plaster (unexcavated). The next room to the east was 9070 (8 x 9.5 m), the S and E walls of which were covered with a plain grey

29 Ergeç in Kennedy 1998, 80-91; Abadie-Reynal 2001, 243-56.





Fig. 39. Coin hoard as found in the mudbrick collapse in room 9131.



Fig. 40. Coins from the hoard, showing corrosion in the form of copper 'plate' and a half-cleaned coin.

plaster which was fire-blackened. Its floor was of beaten earth, overlain by a thin mortar which survived only in patches and which was perhaps a bedding for a pavement now lost. This room could also be reached from the east (room 9200).

Towards the east were two rooms the N edges of which had eroded down the slope. The large (5.5 x 3.5 m) room on the west (9200) had painted wall-plaster on its S and W walls in green panels with a red and white border outlined in black. The floor was again carefully cut from bedrock. The room could be reached from the probable workshops through a doorway 1 m wide in its W wall; in this doorway we found an upright amphora full of used tesserae, suggesting that towards the end of its life the doorway was no longer in regular use. The E room measured at least 2.5 x 2.5 m. Its S and W walls, surviving up to 1.5 m, were cut from bedrock. It did not connect directly to room 9200.

#### *Later modifications*

Significant remodelling seems to have affected mainly the upper terrace and the alley. The surface of the alley was raised by 1.7 m and a new drain inserted. The N wall of the western house received a new wall built of vertical ashlars with laid concrete panels between them.



On the lower terrace, room 9200 was cut in two or reduced in size by an E–W wall inserted just 1 m north of the original south wall which also partly blocked the doorway into room 9070 to the west, but the doorway was kept usable by chamfering the ashlar pier on its N side.

#### *Destruction by fire*

Across the W half of both the upper and lower terrace there are extensive traces of destruction by fire. Thick burnt deposits were found in the rooms of the W range and also in room 9302 of the E range. In both cases the burnt deposits were buried beneath thick layers of decayed mud bricks and rubble, derived from the collapse of the superstructure and upper parts of the walls. Within the destruction layers in room 9131 was found a coin hoard containing 438 pieces which are still undergoing study (figs. 39-40), while two sets of bronze scales were found in rooms 9132 in the W range and 9302 in the E.

#### *Byzantine re-occupation*

Whereas the lower terrace has produced no evidence for late occupation, the upper terrace saw the subdivision of earlier rooms and the construction of new walls from re-used masonry and mudbrick. Existing walls were re-used where possible, producing an odd mixture of styles. Often the destruction layers (up to 1.2 m deep) were not removed but merely levelled and used as make-up for new floors.

Evidence for up to three further phases can be identified. Room 9131 in the W range was made smaller by the insertion of a S wall of mudbrick (9328). Room 9132 to the west produced many late sequences of occupation. A mudbrick wall was inserted in room 9284. In the E range, room 9302 was modified by the insertion of a small room (9192) in its NE corner, the S wall of which re-used one stone with an incised cross and another with a Greek inscription (which was part of the *temenos* inscription of Antiochus I; see Crowther, p. 62 below). In this room the Roman destruction layers were removed down to bedrock. The rest of the former room 9302 now seems to have become an outdoor space. The abandonment of these buildings seems to have been slow, not sudden, with the occupation gradually petering out.

### **The eastward expansion of the Roman city**

Further to the east the former necropolis was redeveloped for housing in the 2nd c. A.D.<sup>30</sup> There was clearly by then a need for more spacious plots to accommodate high-status houses with substantial courtyards and reception suites, whereas previously new developments had been absorbed within the nucleus of the older settlement, including some insertion of Roman houses into sectors that had probably contained Hellenistic public structures.<sup>31</sup> In the older areas, however, houses could not easily expand without acquiring neighbouring plots, so the possibilities for refurbishing older properties (as is attested in trenches 2 and 11) were limited. These factors helped stimulate the expansion of the town towards the east. Most of the work in this part of the site has been conducted by the French and Turkish teams, especially in chantier 12 and trench 8 (see fig. 2).<sup>32</sup> The Oxford team made only two small excavations, one as trench 4 at a crossroads north of the rich Roman houses, and the other as trench 10 at what was believed to be the extreme eastern limit of the Roman town.

### **Trench 4: colonnade or possible fountain-house at the intersection of two roads**

Just below the House of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic, excavated previously by the Gaziantep Museum (R. Ergeç), we opened trench 4 (figs. 41-42). The earliest feature was ashlar characteristic of later Hellenistic work at the site. Associated with this feature was a building which was remodelled in the Roman period as a narrow building

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30 Abadie-Reynal 2001, 258.

31 Abadie-Reynal 2001, 275 ff.

32 Abadie-Reynal 2000, 283-92 and 2001, 243-305.



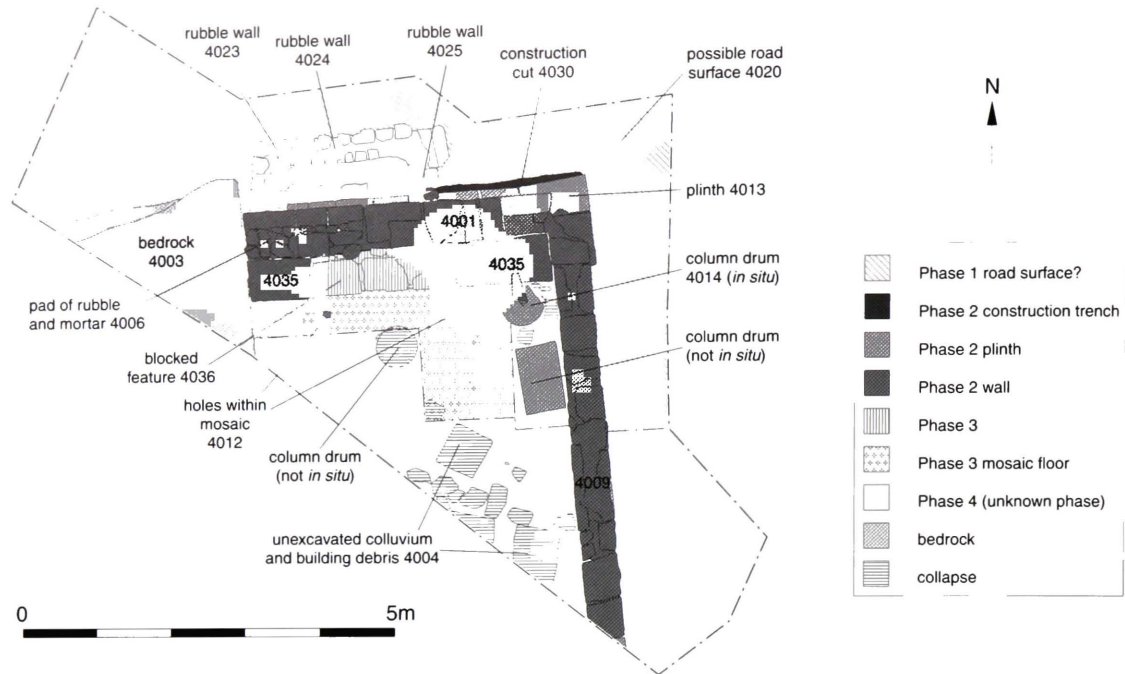


Fig. 41. Trench 4, phase plan.

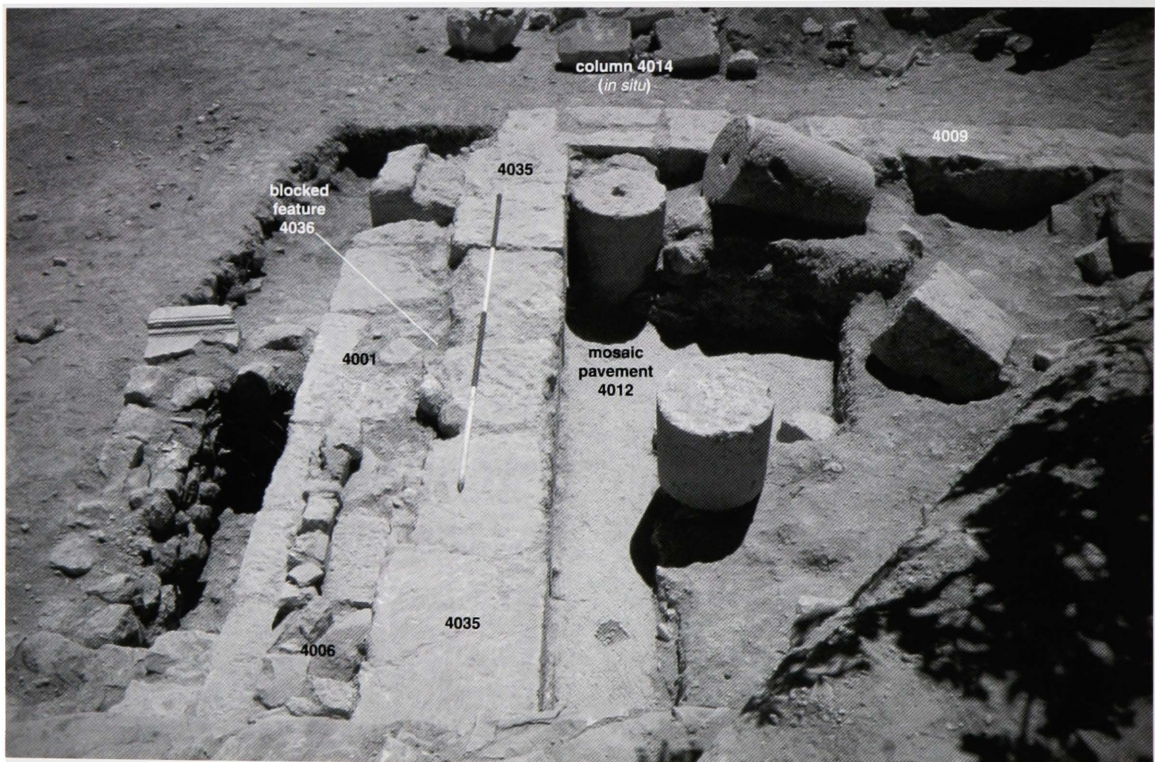


Fig. 42. Trench 4, view to east.

placed at the intersection of two roads. The N wall (63 cm wide) and the E wall (50 cm wide) were both of large limestone ashlars with thin mortar joints, and they had a projecting plinth. The N wall had a shallow foundation that cut into the street surface. The W wall used the limestone bedrock. A plain column drum survived *in situ* up against the E wall of the building near the corner, and other column drums were found in the colluvium, suggesting that there may have been a colonnade along the street rather than a high wall. Behind the columns there was a mosaic floor 4012 which was not original to the building. Mortar had been applied between the mosaic and the column drum and between the mosaic and the N wall, evidently to provide

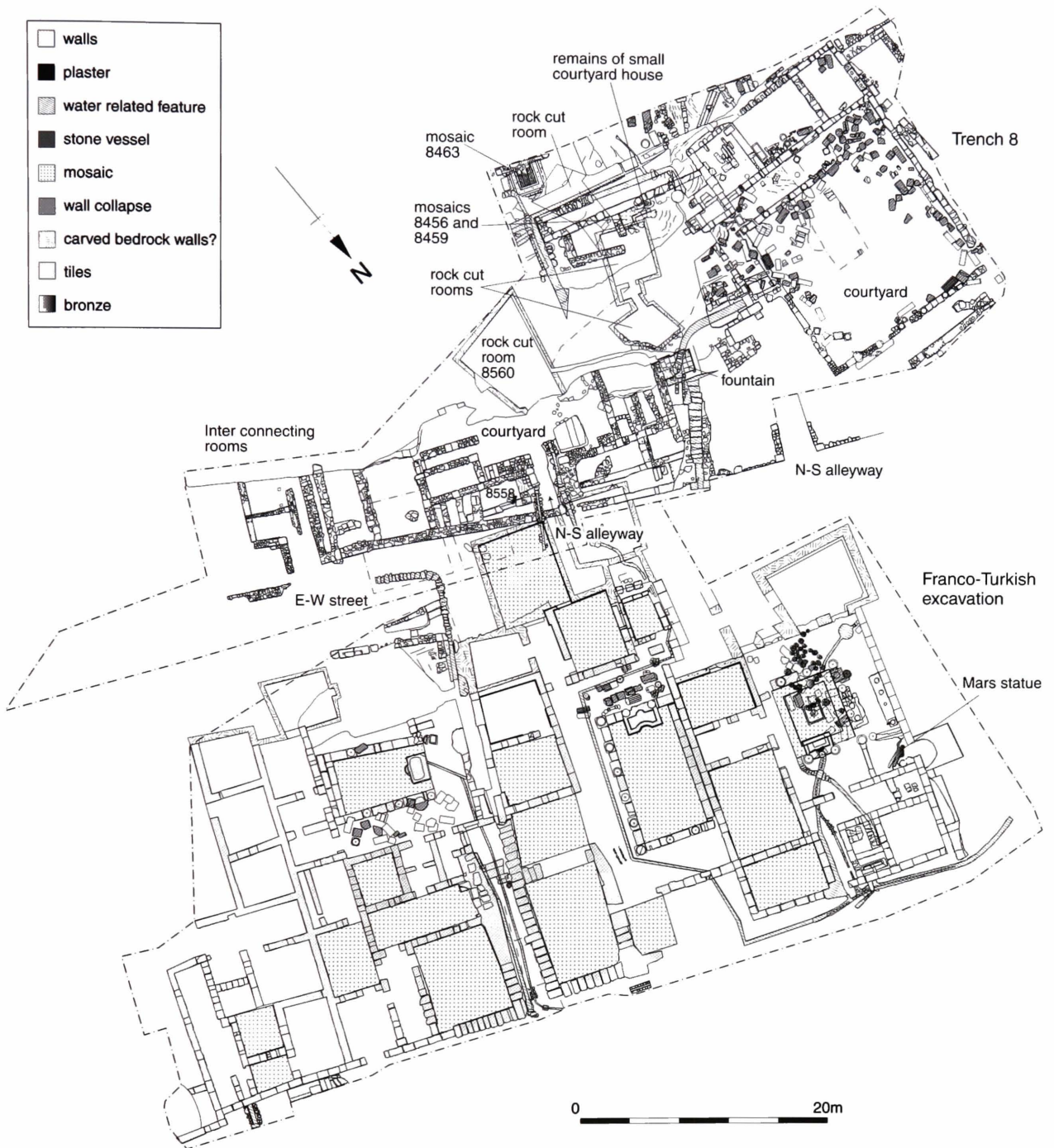


Fig. 43. Trench 8, plan of courtyard complex, with other villas to the north.

a good seal. Therefore it is possible that this was a fountain house or nymphaeum housing a basin at a street intersection.

**Trench 8: Late Roman or Byzantine modifications to the residential area south of the Poseidon,**  
 Mehmet Önal and Yusaf Yavaş

The French-Turkish team had previously excavated the so-called Poseidon, Euphrates and Mars villas which lay side by side on a lower terrace and opened onto a street running E-W.<sup>33</sup>

33 Abadie-Reynal 2001, 243.





Fig. 44. Trench 8, courtyard complex.

The villas were built in the same technique of ashlar piers and infilled panels that is common at the site. The last-mentioned of these villas produced the statue of Mars which is published below by Nardi and Önal. To the south of these villas were rock-cut rooms which were perhaps converted tombs, like those found in trench 6.

On the upper terrace just to the south of the main villas, we opened trench 8 (figs. 43-44). In it three rooms that opened onto an E-W street were found; they backed onto a courtyard. They are unlikely to be continuations of the houses on the terraces below, but they could represent different properties within this residential zone. No significant furnishings were found in the rooms, but there was some undecorated wall-plaster.

A destruction layer (average depth 40 cm) was found within these rooms. It was sealed by a layer of colluvium, which suggests that the area was abandoned prior to its regeneration.

Later occupation that incorporated the earlier structures was found across the whole of the upper terrace. The original walls were repaired or replaced with the help of re-used materials. Six interconnecting rooms and a fountain basin were found on the E side built along the terrace.

These rooms had a similar orientation to those they post-date, and opened onto a resurfaced street that ran E-W parallel to the terrace wall. Further south were four more rock-cut rooms. Room 8560 (7 x 5 m) contained a series of niches 10 cm deep in its S and W walls. Just to the west was a series of interconnecting rock-cut chambers which were extensively modified and subsequently blocked during later phases. New beaten earth surfaces 60 cm higher than the original floors were installed. Near the E entrance to the terrace a cylindrical brick oven, 60 cm in diameter and 80 cm high, was installed. At the opposite end of the terrace, an entrance to a N-S alleyway was located. Close to this was a fountain basin, tiled and lined with *opus signinum*, that had three niches in its walls.

At the S end of the N-S alleyway were the traces of a small courtyard house. Its courtyard had a small pool in the centre that had a mosaic floor (8456 and 8459, fig. 45). To the south the courtyard opened on to three rooms. The eastern room (8463) contained another mosaic (fig. 46). Subsequently most of this building was destroyed to make way for an impressive house with a



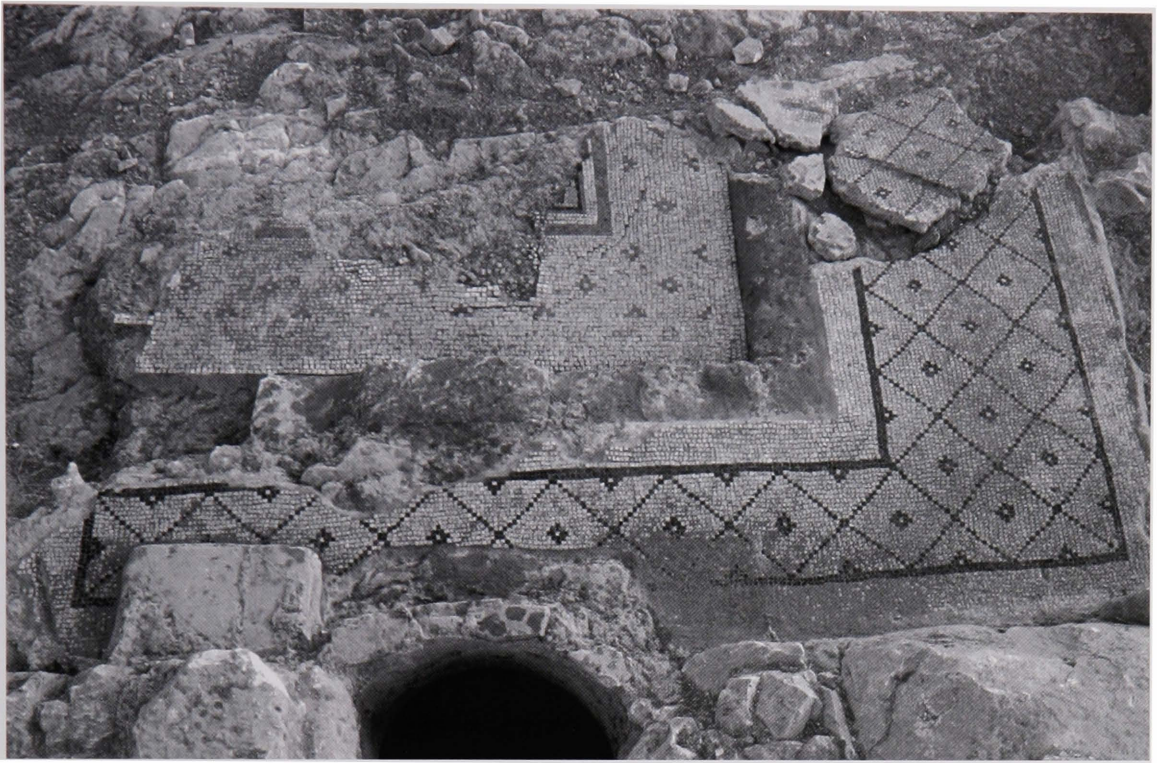


Fig. 45. Trench 8, 8456 (upper mosaic) and 8459 (lower mosaic), looking north.

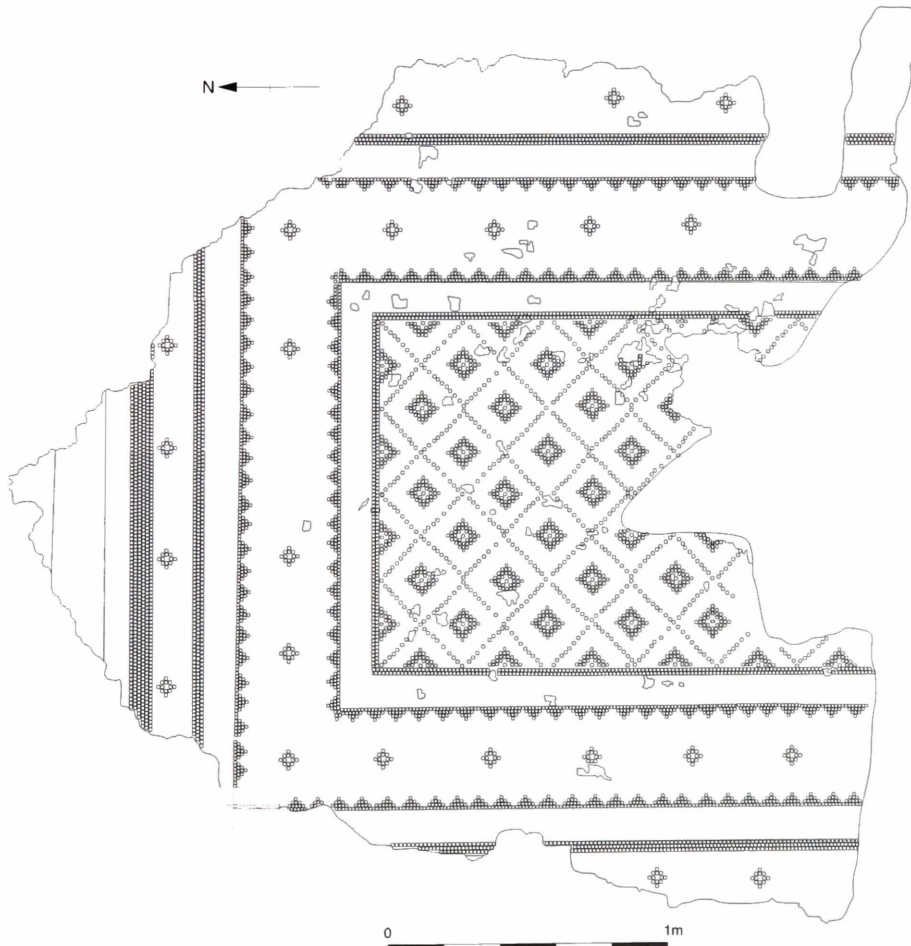


Fig. 46. Trench 8, drawing of mosaic 8463.



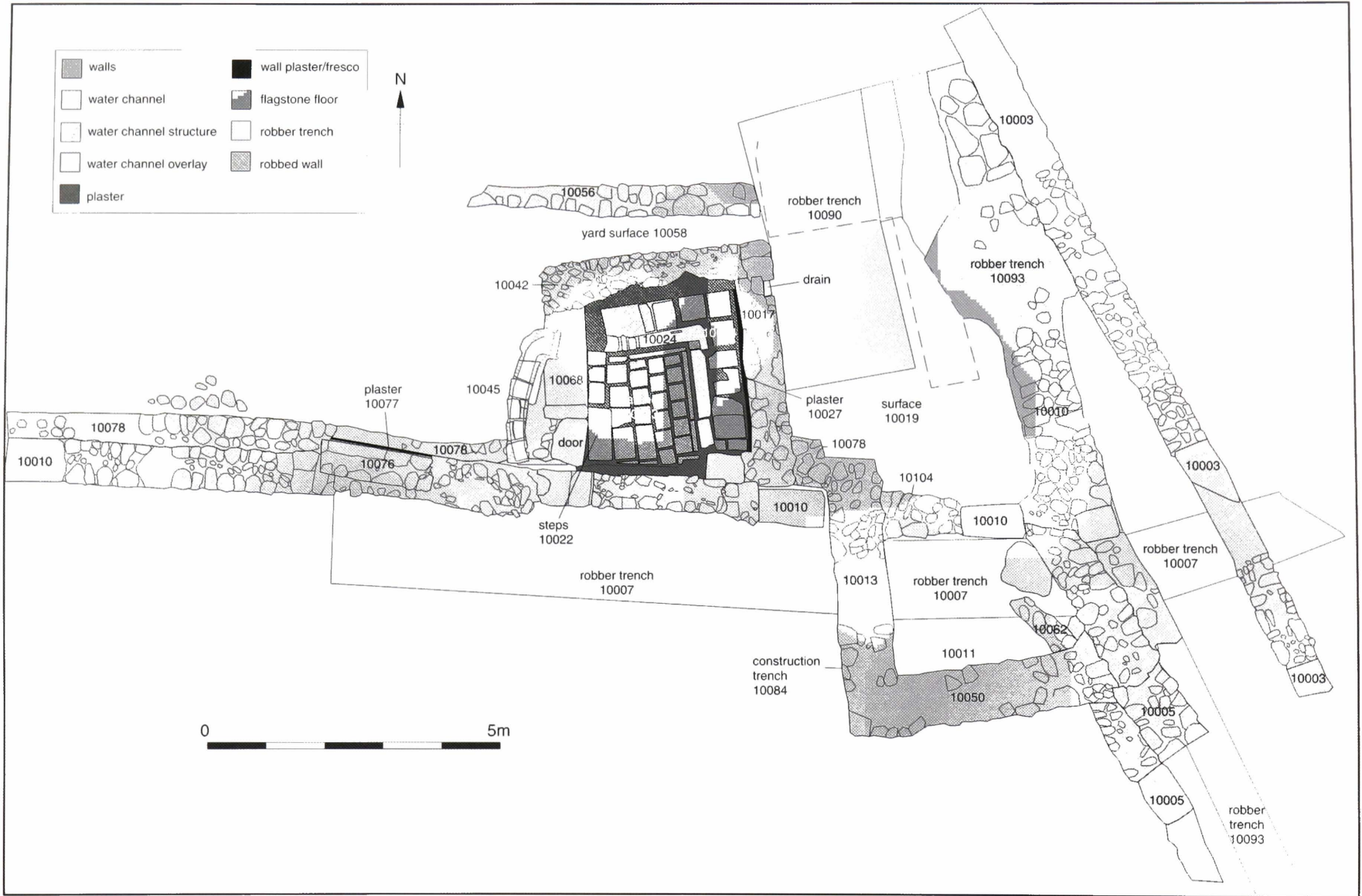


Fig. 47. Trench 10, plan.

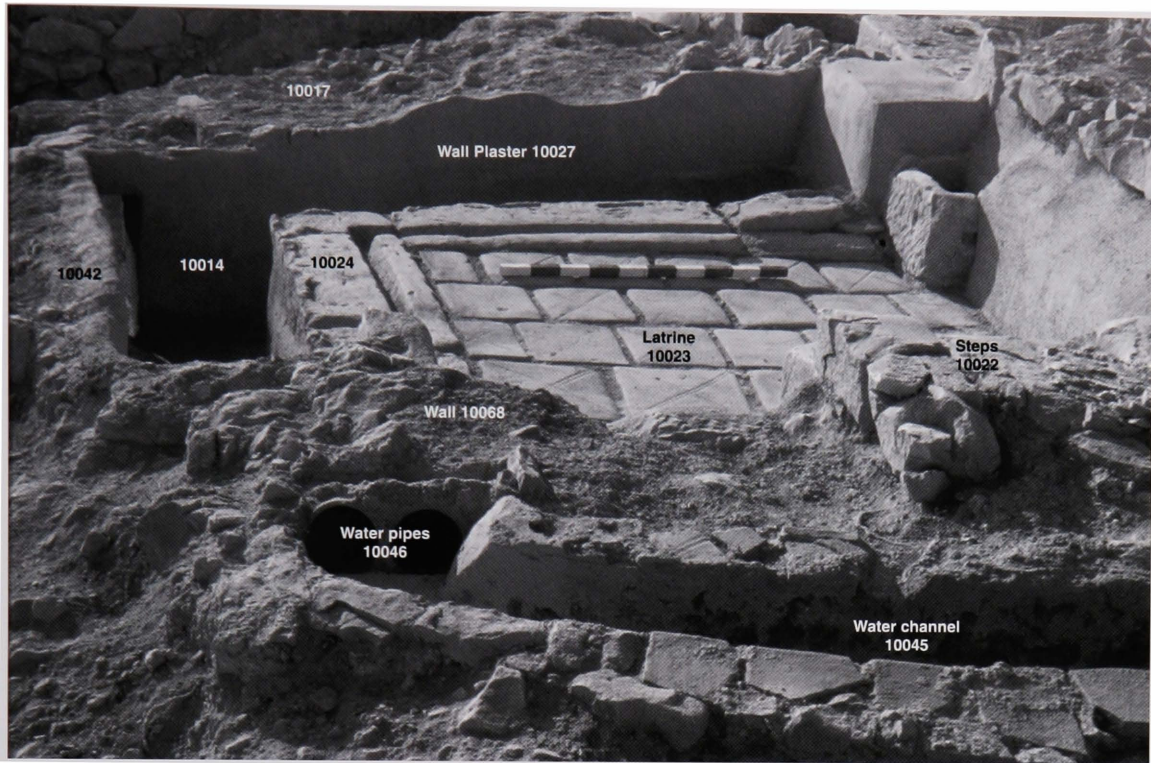


Fig. 48. Trench 10, latrine, view to east.

colonnaded court. Measuring 25 x 21 m, it may have been a Byzantine civic building. The court had 8 columns forming porticoes along its N, S and E sides, and large white tesserae scattered in the area of the colonnades probably derive from a mosaic floor there. The earlier building was divided to create three separate rectangular rooms south of the new court. The larger central room had 15 beam slots cut into the bedrock of its S wall, indicating the presence of a second storey. To the east was a latrine. On the W side in front of the building there was a stylobate of three dressed masonry blocks.

In a late phase troughs and tethering holes were inserted, indicating that it housed animals prior to its final abandonment.

The residential area probably continues further to the southwest, where a sondage found a polychrome geometric mosaic, suggesting that a Roman house lay beneath the Byzantine redevelopment. Beneath the pavement a coin hoard of 42 pieces probably dating to the 3rd c. A.D. was found.

#### **Trench 10: latrine of a Roman bath-building at the east edge of the town**

Trench 10 lies on a terraced platform at the E edge of the site, as is clear from the rather meagre number of surface finds in the area. Trench 10 came down on a series of boundary walls running E–W which probably mark properties or land divisions (fig. 47). In addition we exposed a well preserved latrine (3.06 m square) able to accommodate at least four individuals (fig. 48). Subsequent work (in August to November 2000) just to the west, conducted by the Zeugma Initiative Group (ZIG) directed by Umit Serdaroğlu, revealed the remains of a bath-house, to which the latrine is likely to belong.

A level platform had been created above the sloping limestone bedrock by a rubble hardcore retaining wall on the N and E sides. The floor and seats of the latrine were placed directly on the ratt. A doorway at the S end of the W wall led into the latrine by way of two steps. The lower parts of the latrine's walls (75 cm wide) were roughly shaped and faced with rubble bonded by a lime-rich mortar. Their internal faces had a waterproof plaster; their external faces were undressed. The tile floor of the latrine abutted the S and W walls. Notches cut into the retaining wall on the N and E sides may have supported a series of wooden seats.



Rainwater was brought from the roof by a ceramic pipe cut into the S wall but there must have been other provision for water in the dry season and perhaps it came from the nearby bath-house. A ceramic pipe running W–E skirted the S interior face of the latrine c.32 cm above the floor level and carefully concealed behind a waterproof render. The pipe was fed by the principal water inlet. In the SE corner it supplied a stone basin, a rare feature in Roman latrines. Water then ran from the basin along a shallow gutter in front of the seats next to the E and N retaining walls, to be discharged into the main drain in the NW corner. This gutter would have served either for urinating or to wash sponges. A waterproofed and covered conduit ran outside the W wall of the latrine and entered the building at its NW corner. Two ceramic pipes passed through the W wall to bring water into the latrine. The main sewer, 50 cm wide and 1 m deep, with a tiled floor (tiles measuring 40 x 40 cm, incised with a cross design) and waterproofed, ran along the inside of the E and N walls of the latrine and exited the building at the N end of the E wall.

This latrine was undoubtedly public. It is similar to remains of a latrine found during a survey of the shoreline east of trench 2 and thought to be part of a public building (it was quite unlike the latrine excavated in a house in trench 11). It is not uncommon for bath-houses to be located next to the entrances to Roman towns and latrines are common in bath-houses.

### Conclusions

Although we await the results of the comprehensive analysis of the finds which will give more chronological precision to the above description, the work has already improved our understanding of the topographic layout and development of the lower town and of the terracing and building materials used in different periods. The picture of a major phase of burning and destruction around the middle of the 3rd c. A.D. has found further confirmation, and it is probably to be associated with the sacking of Zeugma in A.D. 253-256 by Shapur I. However, the extensive excavations in the lower town also show that there were other destruction phases, some of which will have been localized rather than city-wide events. The 2000 season also shed much new light on Zeugma after the 3rd c., a period not well documented by earlier workers. The new information from domestic, public and religious contexts can now be connected with the historical sources which mention the city's bishopric and allude to its importance in late antiquity.

Oxford Archaeology, Janus House, Osney Mead, Oxford OX2 0ES

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# Inscriptions of Antiochus I of Commagene and other epigraphical finds

Charles Crowther

## Introduction

The epigraphical finds from the rescue excavations at Zeugma in the summer of 2000 consisted of 2 Late Hellenistic public inscriptions, 2 public documents from the Roman period, 3 funerary inscriptions (one of which [WS 651] is an interesting Christian document), 10 very fragmentary stone inscriptions, 1 painted text on stone, a series of mosaic inscriptions, and a variety of graffiti in Greek and Latin scratched on stone and plaster. None of the stone inscriptions was found in context, and the spread of finds across the site shows no particular concentration. Dating periods from the late Hellenistic (Commagene period: WS 91 and 510) to Late Roman/Christian (WS 651) are represented; the early Hellenistic history of the settlement is not so far attested in the epigraphical record. Lettering styles vary from the formally consistent script of the Hellenistic Commagene texts through the stylised lettering of a Roman honorific document (WS 150: fig. 1) and the erratic and heavily-ligatured script of the Christian funerary text (WS 651: fig. 2) to an abusive graffito in elegant Latin cursive (fig. 3).<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 1. WS 150: honorific inscription for Roman

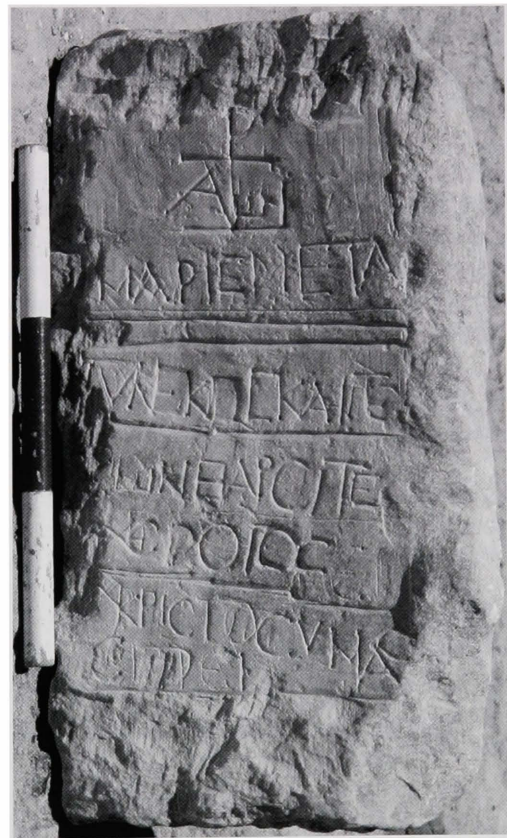


Fig. 2. WS 651: Christian funerary inscription for Maris.

1 Trench 2, Room 2346, Context 2445. The graffito appears to read: *Liciniā | cin<a>eda* ('Licinia is a whore'; it may also mean a female performer). This would be a rare example of the feminine form of *cinaedus*. It may be better to restore the masculine forms: *Licini[us] | cin<a>edus*. For the initial reading and translation I am indebted to R. S. O. Tomlin.





Fig. 3. Context 2445: latex squeeze of Latin graffito.

### Roman public documents

The two Roman public documents are of some interest, although neither is fully preserved. WS 197 is the first (Latin) record on stone from a non-funerary context of the presence and activity of *legio IV Scythica* at Zeugma. The inscription records an unspecified construction dated by an incomplete imperial titulature (lost name, *pontifex maximus*, unspecified year of tribunician power, consul for the third time). This text, together with the other military finds from the rescue excavations, will be published in a separate section of the final excavation report under preparation by M. A. Speidel. The other public inscription (WS 150, in Greek) appears to be an honorific for a Roman *praefectus*, dating, by its lettering, to the later 2nd or 3rd c. A.D.<sup>2</sup>

### Hellenistic inscriptions from a *temenos* of Antiochus I of Commagene

#### *Introduction*

The two Late Hellenistic inscriptions belong together and stand apart from the other inscriptions since they form part of the assemblage of a *temenos* of Antiochus I of Commagene, which was previously represented by two fragments of a limestone *dexiosis* relief (3.5 m high) of Antiochus and Hercules found by J. Wagner in 1972 and 1974 on the upper slopes of Belkis Tepe (Wagner 1976, 117-23). The main purpose of the present report is to make available texts of the new inscriptions, with limited commentary, in advance of the final report, because of their interest for students of Commagenian history.<sup>3</sup> The new discoveries at Zeugma have a particular significance because of the presence of an underlying, erased text on the longer of the two inscriptions.

The lettering of the two inscriptions is uniform, both in its size and use of typical Commagenian letter forms (squared sigma, alpha with broken cross-bar) and in its detailed execution, and is likely to have been the work of the same stone-cutter. The lettering of the underlying text shows the same Commagenian uniformity of letter forms; a closer palaeographical judgment, however, is precluded by the marginal state of its preservation *in rasura*.

2 For the dating range of the rounded forms of *epsilon* and *mu* used in this inscription, cf. *IGLS XXI.4*, 46 with commentary by M. Sartre, *ibid.* 75.

3 For a recent survey of current Commagenian research, see the essays collected in Wagner 2000.

The new inscriptions have close parallels in texts from other Commagenian *temenos* sites.<sup>4</sup> These parallels both help in the reconstruction of missing sections of the Zeugma texts and allow new supplements and corrections to be added to the previously known texts. WS 510 (fig. 4: BEc) matches both the inscription and the relief scene on a basalt stele found in the area of Samosata and now in the British Museum (Sx); a third copy of the same text was found at Doliche in 1979 (D). The concluding section of the reinscribed text on WS 510 also follows verbatim a section of the long cult text from the *hierothesion* on Nemrud Dağı (N 67-88). The erased text on WS 510 (BEe) has parallels in texts from Adıyaman (AD), Çaputlu Ağaç Küllük (Cb) and Sofraz Köy (SO). WS 91 (fig. 5: BEd) matches a section of the text inscribed on one side of a basalt stele found at Selik near Samosata and now also in the British Museum (Sz).<sup>5</sup> The combination of these inter-relationships casts new light on the development of the Commagenian ruler-cult.

*Inscription WS 510 (BEc) (fig. 4)*

The longer of the inscriptions was cut on one face of a black basalt stele found on 21 August, 2000, by the OA trench supervisor D. Thomason at a depth of c.1 m in an area of infill retained by the E–W Roman terrace wall 15005 on the E side of Trench 15 (see p. 14 above). The other face of the stele carries a relief sculpture of a *dexiosis* scene between Antiochus I of Commagene and Apollo (fig. 6 below). The two relief figures stand facing one another, each grasping the other's right hand, Antiochus on the left, wearing the 5-pointed Armenian tiara, Apollo on the right, his head surrounded by a *corona* pierced by sun rays. The top of the stele is broken away, so that the pointed crown and the upper part of the central decoration of Antiochus' tiara are lost, together with the apex of Apollo's radiance. The god's face and hair are further obscured by surface damage to the stele. Apollo carries a laurel branch in his left hand and is frontally naked, but wears a long cloak fastened at the right shoulder by a round brooch. The king wears a short-sleeved leather cuirass over a long-sleeved undershirt, a cloak fastened over the right shoulder, and a skirt over trousers tied at the waist by a sash decorated with laurel leaves and pulled up at the front by two cords fastened to the sash. He holds a sceptre in his left hand; a dagger in a decorated case hangs from the sash over his right hip. The scene is essentially the same as that depicted on the relief stele found at Sofraz Köy in 1974 (SO) and the partially-preserved stele from Samosata now in the British Museum (Sx).

Stele of black basalt, h. 1.46 m, w. 0.70 m, th. 0.26 m, inscribed with 34 lines of text, followed by 3 partially erased lines. The inscription follows the natural contour of the basalt stele from the left edge across the front face and on to the right edge.

Letter height 0.02 m, line interval 0.01 m.

Associated context: 15009.

4 Commagenian texts are conventionally cited by a reference system based on modern toponyms: SO for the stele found at Sofraz Köy, D for an inscription from Doliche, BEa and BEb for the *dexiosis* fragments from Zeugma–Belkis, and so on. The same conventions are maintained in the present discussion and supplemented with corresponding citation references for the new texts (BEc, BEd, BEe). The other Commagenian texts cited are the following:

A Cult inscription from the *hierothesion* at Arsameia on the Nymphaios: Dörner and Goell 1963

AD Lower part of relief stele with *dexiosis* scene and same text as Cb and SO from Adıyaman: Waldmann 1973, 5-15; *ed. pr.* of J. Keil in Dörner and Naumann 1939, 51-53

Cb Fragmentary inscription with same text as AD and SO from Çaputlu Ağaç Küllük: Waldmann 1973, 45-47

D Fragmentary inscription with same text as Sx and BEc from Doliche: SEG 32, 1385  
part of a Herakles *dexiosis* from Belkis Tepe: Wagner 1976, 117-23  
part of a Herakles *dexiosis* from Belkis Tepe: Wagner 1976, 117-23

N Cult inscription from the *hierothesion* at Nemrud Dağı: OGIS 383

SO Relief stele with cult inscription and *dexiosis* scene from Sofraz Köy: Wagner and Petzl 1976

Sx Relief stele with cult inscription and *dexiosis* scene from Samosata: GIBM 1048a (OGIS 404)

Sz Relief stele from Selik near Samosata, with cult inscription and Herakles *dexiosis*: Fraser 1952.

5 Sz is currently on display in Room 59 of the Ancient Near East galleries.



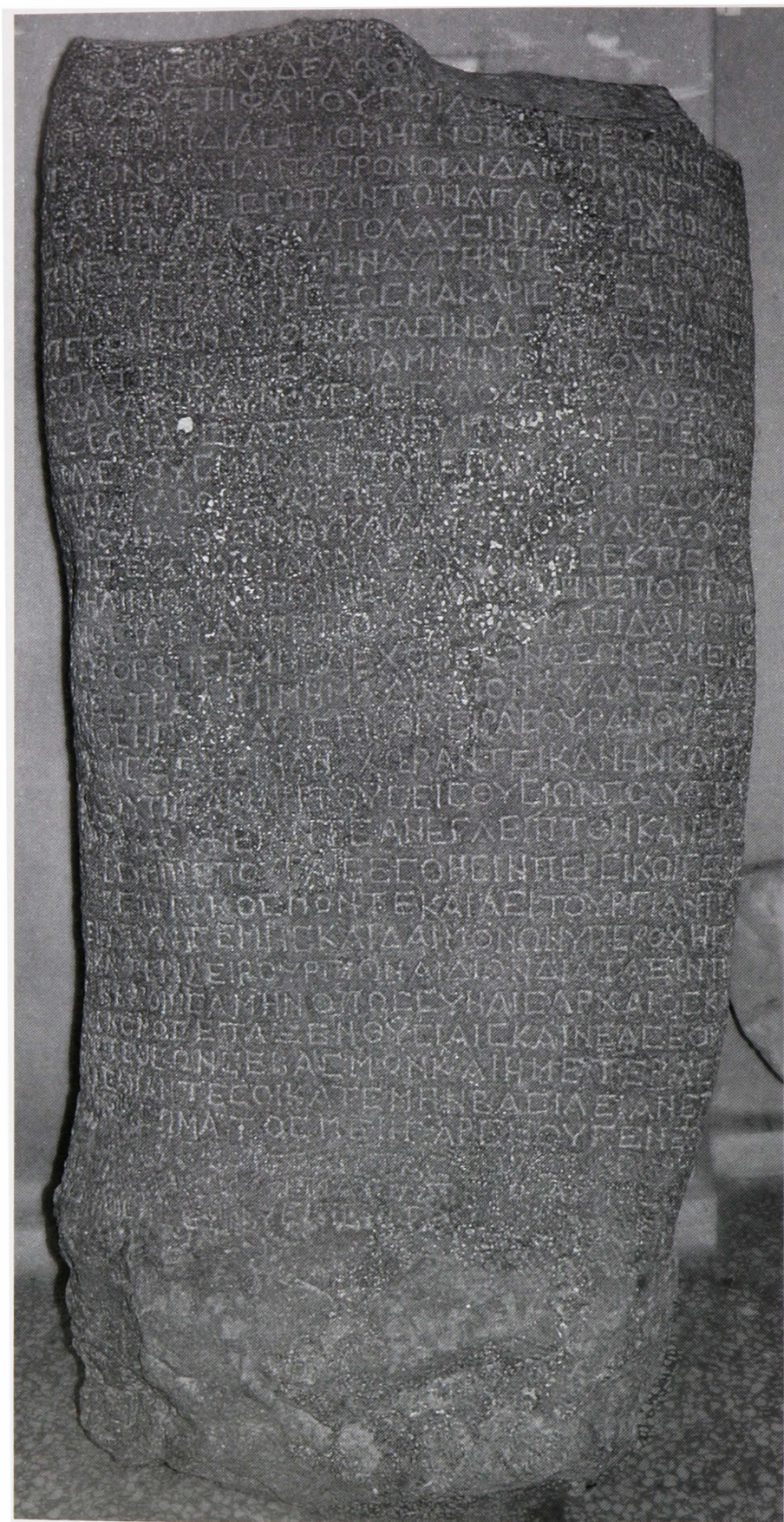


Fig. 4. WS 510: relief stele with inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene.



- [*vacat* Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος]
- [*vacat* Θεὸς Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανῆς Φιλωρώμαιος]
- [*vacat* καὶ Φιλέλλην, ὁ ἐκ βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου]
- [*vacat* Καλλινίκου καὶ β[ασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης]
- vacat* Θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως Ἀντι-  
*vacat* ὄχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Φιλομήτ[ορο]ς Καλλ[ινί]κου  
 τοῦτον τύπον ἰδίας γνώμης νόμον τε κοινῆς εὐσε-  
 5 βείας εἰς χρόνον ἅπαντα προνοίαι δαιμόνων στήλαις  
 ἐνέχαραξεν ἱεραῖς. ὦ Ἐγὼ πάντων ἀγαθῶν οὐ μόνον κτῆ-  
 σιν βεβαιοτάτην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην ἀν[ι]θρώποις  
 ἐνόμισα τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ὦ τὴν αὐτὴν τε κρίσιν καὶ δυνά- ὦ ὦ  
 μεως εὐτυχοῦς καὶ χρήσεως μακαρίστης αἰτίαν ἔσχον,  
 10 παρ' ὅλον τε τὸν βίον ὥφθην ἅπασι βασιλείας ἐμῆς καὶ φύ- ὦ ὦ  
 λακα πιστοτάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἀμίμητον ἡγούμενος τὴν ὦ  
 ὀσιότητα· δι' ἃ καὶ κινδύνους μεγάλους παραδόξως διέφυ-  
 γον καὶ πράξεων δυσελπίστων εὐμηχάνως ἐπεκράτησα ὦ  
 καὶ βίου πολυετοῦς μακαρίστως ἐπληρώθην. ὦ Ἐγὼ πατρώαν  
 15 βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν εὐθέως Διὸς τε Ὀρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος Μίθρου Ἥλιου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους Ἄρεως  
 τοῦτο νέ[ο]ν τέμενος παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως ἔκτισα ὦ καὶ τύ- ὦ  
 χης ἐμῆς ἡλικιωτῶν θεῶν μεγάλων τιμὴν ἐποίησάμην, ἐν  
 ἱεραῖ τε λιθείαι μιᾶς περιοχῆς ἀγάλμασι δαιμονίοις χα-  
 20 ρακτῆρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς δεχόμενον θεῶν εὐμενεῖς δε-  
 ξιάς παρέστησα, ὦ μίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσσω ἀθανάτου  
 φροντίδος ἧ πολλάκις ἐμοὶ χεῖρας οὐρανίους εἰς βοηθε[ί]-  
 αν ἀγώνων ἐξέτειναν. ὦ χώραν τε ἱκανὴν καὶ προσό- ὦ ὦ  
 δους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀκινήτους εἰς θυσιῶν πολυτέλειαν ἀ-  
 25 πένειμα θεραπείαν τε ἀνέγλειπτον καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐπι-  
 λέξας σὺμ πρεπούσαις ἐσθῆσιν Περσικῶι γένει *vacat*  
 κατέστησα, κόσμον τε καὶ λειτουργίαν πάσαν ὦ  
 ἀξίως τύχης ἐμῆς καὶ δαιμόνων ὑπεροχῆς ἀνέ- ὦ ὦ  
 θηκα. περὶ δὲ ἱ[ε]ρουργιῶν αἰδίων διάταξιν πρέπου-  
 30 σαν ἐποίησάμην, ὅπως σὺν αἰς ἀρχαῖος καὶ κοι-  
 νὸς νόμος ἔταξεν θυσίαις καὶ νέας ἑορτάς  
 εἰς τε θεῶν σεβασμὸν καὶ ἡμετέρας τι- ὦ ὦ  
 ν βασιλείαν ἐπιτε-  
 λωσι. Ὀσμαιος μὲν γὰρ ἐμοῦ γενέθλιον  
 [Αὐδναίου ἑκκαίδεκάτην, διαδήματος δὲ]  
 [Λόφου δεκάτην ἀφιέρωσα μεγάλων δαιμόνων]  
 [ἐπιφανείαις, αἵτινες ἐμοὶ καθηγεμόνες]



[εὐτυχοῦς ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείαι πάση κοι]-  
[νῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαι κατέστησαν κτλ.]

#### Critical notes

7: ANIΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ lap.; the intrusive iota may be a survival of the underlying text. | 17: NEΩN lap. | 29: IPOYPTIΩN lap.

Supplements for the opening lines are drawn from the parallel sections of Sx (ll. 1-6) and the ἱερὸς νόμος from Nemrud Dağı (N 1-7); the continuation of l.34 is supplied from N 83-88; the reading of 22-23 is due to G. Petzl.

#### Translation<sup>6</sup>

[Great King Antiochus, the God, Just, Manifest, a Friend of the Romans and a Friend of the Greeks, the Son of King Mithradates the Gloriously Victorious] and of [Queen Laodike] the Goddess, the Brother-Loving, [the Daughter of King] Antiochus the Manifest, Mother-loving, the Gloriously Victorious, engraved for all time by the providence of the deities on sacred stelai this depiction of his own genius and law of common piety.

I came to believe piety to be, of all good things, not only the surest possession but also the sweetest enjoyment for men; it was this understanding that was for me the cause of my fortunate power and its most blessed employment; and throughout my whole life I was seen by all men as one who thought holiness the most faithful guardian and the incomparable delight of my reign. Because of this I escaped great perils against expectation, readily gained control of desperate situations, and in a most blessed way obtained the fulfilment of a long life.

After succeeding to my ancestral kingdom I immediately established this new sanctuary of the ancient power of Zeus–Oromasdes and of Apollo–Mithras–Helios–Hermes and of Artagnes–Herakles–Ares and I made the honour of the great gods grow in step with my own fortune, and I set up in sacred stone of a single compass alongside images of the deities the representation of my own form receiving the benevolent greetings of the gods, preserving a proper representation of the undying concern with which they often extended heavenly hands to my assistance in my struggles.

I set aside sufficient land and undisturbed revenues from it for the lavish provision of sacrifices and for an uninterrupted cult, and having selected priests I appointed them with suitable clothing of Persian character, and I dedicated the whole array and ministry in a manner worthy of my fortune and the pre-eminence of the gods. I established an appropriate regulation concerning the sacred observances for them to be everlasting, so that all the inhabitants of my kingdom might offer together with the sacrifices required by ancient and common law also new festivals in reverence of the gods and in my honour. The birthday of my physical body, [the sixteenth of Audnaios and the day of my accession to the throne, the tenth of Loios, I consecrated to the manifestations of the great deities who were my guides in a prosperous rule and were responsible for universal blessings for my whole kingdom].

#### *Inscription WS 91 (BEd) (fig. 5)*

The second inscription was cut on a dressed block of local limestone found at a similar contour level to the relief stele from Trench 15, but c.300 m to the south-east, re-used in the Byzantine period as a building block in wall 9250 of room 9192 in Trench 9 (see p. 49 above). The full height and width of the block have not been preserved and it is unclear to what type of construction it would originally have belonged.

Fragment of a wall block of white limestone (W. 0.42 m, h. 0.22 m, th. 0.34 m), preserving 4 lines and the upper edge of a 5th line from the top and left edge of a column of text. Traces of (red) paint remain in the lettering. The stone is broken away on the right and below; part of the original upper surface is preserved. The surface of the stone is damaged and shows pitting and abrasion from a coarse claw chisel.

Letter height 0.02 m; line interval 0.01 m.

Associated context: 9204.

<sup>6</sup> The translation takes note of and borrows some of its phrasing from the English translation of the Nemrud Dağı text in Sanders 1996, 213-17.



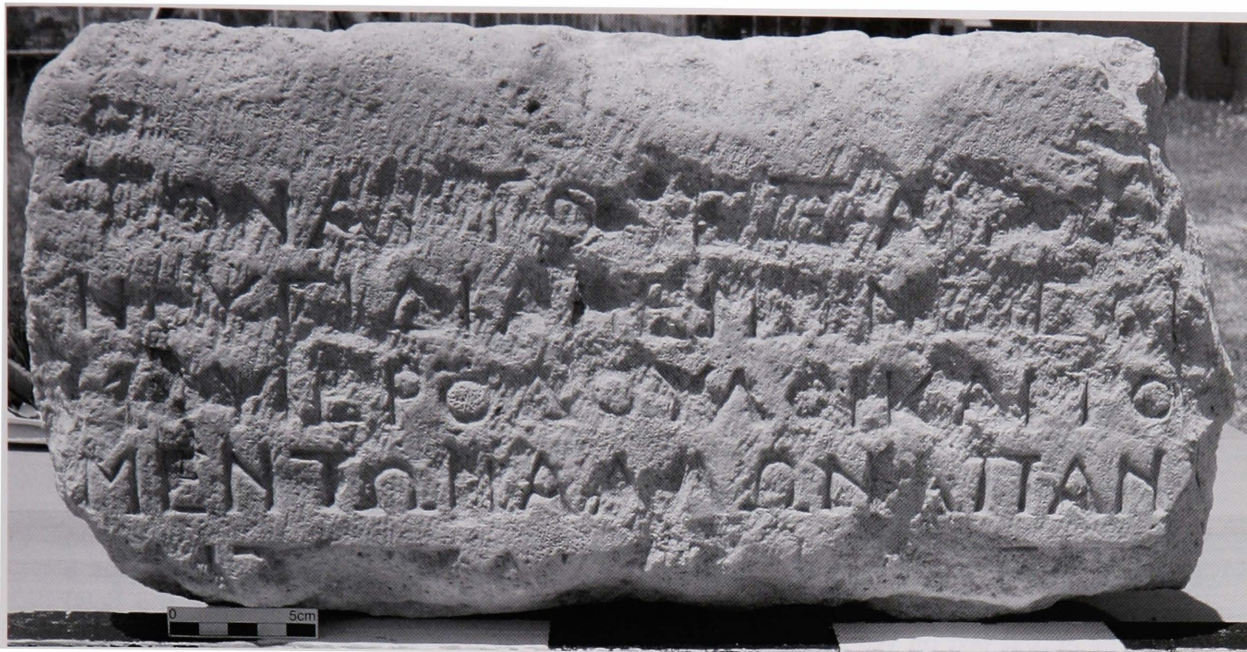


Fig. 5. WS 91: fragment of a sacred law of Antiochus I of Commagene.

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξαιρού[μενος, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς παρατυγχά]-  
 νουσι διανέμων εἰς ἀν[υπεύθυνον εὐωχίαν, οἱ δὲ καθωσιωμένοι ὑπ' ἐ]-  
 μοῦ ἱερόδουλοι καὶ το[ύτων παῖδες ἔγγονοί τε πάντες ἀπαρενόχλητοι]  
 μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάν[των ἀφείσθωσαν, ταῖς δὲ θεραπείαις τῶν — c.6-9 —]

5 . Λ Ι Τ . Ι Σ Λ Ι . c.3 . Ι . c.2 . Σ . . [------]

#### Critical notes

The restored text to the right of the surviving letters is drawn from the parallel document from Selik-Samosata, Sz 8-14.

The reconstruction of the last line of the text presents difficulties. The current restoration of the corresponding clause in Sz 13-14 (ταῖς | [δὲ θ]εραπείαις τῶ[ν λειτουργιῶν τε καὶ] τῶν συνόδων v | [προ]σκαρτερε[ίτωσαν]) does not fit the letter traces in l.5 of WS 91 and is, in any case, unacceptable for other reasons. The lacuna in the middle of Sz 13 may have been as long as 20-22 letters and is followed on the stone by traces of an *epsilon* or *sigma* which exclude the restoration of [καὶ] before τῶν συνόδων; τῶ[ν λειτουργιῶν] in dependence on ταῖς [δὲ θ]εραπείαις also seems redundant. The letter traces on WS 91 suggest, instead, that we may have two sets of dative nouns and dependent genitives. If we restore τ[ῶν θυσιῶν], which is paired with σύνοδοι in other texts,<sup>7</sup> at the end of l.4, the letter traces at the beginning of line 5 could be reconstructed as [κ]αὶ followed by a dative plural article and a noun of c.9 letters beginning with *alpha*, *delta* or *lambda* on which τῶν συνόδων would depend. But this is far from secure.

#### Translation

[The priest (responsible for this) is to perform the sacrifices and burnt offerings, dressed entirely in Persian clothing and] taking portions for himself [in accordance with] the same [law, and] distributing [the remainder of the offerings to those in] attendance for their unlimited [enjoyment, and] the sacred slaves [consecrated by me] and their [children and descendants are to be set free from the burden] of all other [responsibilities, and they are to apply themselves to the attendance of the sacrifices(?) and the — of the festival gatherings.]

#### Discussion of the two inscriptions

The fragment WS 91 appears to be the beginning of a longer document; the last line on the stele breaks off in mid-clause. The sentence can be completed from the parallel section of the cult inscription from Nemrud Dağı (N 67-88). The continuation of the Nemrud Dağı text describes the establishment of annual festivals to mark the king's birthday (16 Audnaiou) and accession day (10 Loiou) to be

<sup>7</sup> Cf. N 202-203; A 69-70, 172.



celebrated by the population of Commagene at local *temenos* sites and of monthly observances of the 16th and 10th days by the priests of the cult (N 89-104). To ensure the continuance of the cult, a sacred law (ἱερὸς νόμος) concerning its observance has been inscribed on inviolable stelai (N 105-122). The text of the sacred law then follows (N 123-237). Since the parallel text to WS 91, Sz from Selik-Samosata, contains a section of this sacred law,<sup>8</sup> it seems likely that the fragment of text preserved on WS 91 is part of the continuation of WS 510. There will have been a gap of c.40-45 lines between the last line of WS 510, which breaks at a point corresponding to N 83, and the beginning of a new column in WS 91 (corresponding approximately to N 161) — perhaps the length of a column of text on the same surface on which WS 91 was inscribed.<sup>9</sup> A further column of text will have completed the document.

It is striking that WS 91 (BEd) was inscribed on a wall block rather than another basalt stele. Both the parallel texts from Samosata (Sx and Sz) were inscribed on stelai.<sup>10</sup> An explanation for the discrepancy is suggested by the presence of 3 lines of a partially erased text below the last fully legible line of WS 510. These lines match the conclusion of an inscription on a fragment of a relief stele from Adıyaman (AD), which itself matches and provides a restoration for the missing conclusion of the Sofraz Köy text published by Wagner and Petzl (SO). The erased text on WS 510 can be traced back for at least 20 lines on the left and right edges of the stele and seems to match the Sofraz Köy text closely over these lines. This correlation confirms, in turn, the restoration of the closing formula of the Sofraz Köy text from the Adıyaman stele. The underlying inscription on WS 510, if it duplicated the whole of the Sofraz Köy text, would have consisted of c.45 lines, the first 2 or 3 of which would have been cut on the lost upper part of the stele. WS 510 was originally intended for a complete text, and when it was re-inscribed with the beginning of a much longer document, the continuation had to be carried over on to other available surfaces; in the case of the *temenos* at Zeugma, this evidently meant a wall rather than a series of further basalt stelai.

Decipherment of the erased document is so far incomplete, but sufficient progress has been made to indicate its outlines; further improvements in reading may be expected, and the text presented below of the last 20 lines to the bottom of the stele should be regarded as preliminary:

*c. 20 lines of sporadic letter traces*

- [[ 'Εὰν δὲ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ μου καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν]]  
 [[διαδεχόμενοι ἄγωσιν τὴν ἔμμηρόν μου γενέθλιον ἑκκαϊδεκάτην,]]  
 [[ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱεροῖς ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν]]  
 [[β]α[σ]τ[ι]λ[ε]ί[αν] διατάξ[ω]ν]ται [ἄ]γεσθαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν καθὼς καὶ ]]  
 [[ἐκ] τῶν ἐμῶν [χρόνων ἤ]γετο, εὐμενεῖς εἶησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἴλε]]-  
 [[ως] αὐτοῖς σ[υ]ντυγχανέτωσαν· Ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν βασιλέων ἢ δυ]]-  
 [[ν]α[σ]τῶν ἢ [στρατηγῶν ἢ ἐθναρχῶν ἢ ἄλλοι τινὲς παραγένωνται]]  
 5 [[εἰ]ς το[ῦ]τ[ο] τὸ ἱερόν καὶ βούλωνται ἐπιθύειν καὶ σπενδοποιεῖσ]]-  
 [[θ]αι ἐπὶ [τῶν βωμῶν τῶν καθιδρυμένων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ, ὁμοί]]-  
 [[ως] δὲ καὶ τῇ [ἐμῇ εἰκόνι τῇ καθιδρυμένη σὺν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν εἰ]]-  
 [[κ]ό[σ]ι[ν, κα]τὰ [ταυτὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἱεροῖς,]]

<sup>8</sup> The formulation of Sz is closer to the ἱερὸς νόμος from Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios (A 95-256) than the Nemrud Dağı version. Sz ll. 14-47 correspond to A 151-96; the first 14 lines of Sz relate to the ritual for the celebration of Antiochus' accession day which is not separately specified in N and A.

<sup>9</sup> The average line length of WS 91 is almost twice as great as the corresponding section of N.

<sup>10</sup> The parallel text to WS 510 from Doliche (D), however, is inscribed on a limestone block rather than a stele.

- [[ἐ]ν οἷς κα[θίδρυνται καὶ αἱ ἐμαὶ εἰκόνες σὺν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν]]  
 10 [[εἰ]κόσιν, συναύ[ξουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε θεῶν καὶ τὰς ἐμάς]]  
 [[τ]ειμὰς [καὶ τ]ὸν [πρέποντα σεβασμὸν ἀπομερί]ζο[υ]σιν [εὐ]-  
 [[μ]ενεῖς εἴ[η]σα[ν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ παρ' ὅλον αὐτοῖς τὸν χρόνον]]  
 [[τὰ] πα[ρὰ] τ[ό]υτων ἀπαντάσθω ἀγαθὰ· οἱ δ' ἂν παραγενόμε]]-  
 [[νοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ ἐν]]  
 15 [το[ῖς τῆς] βα[σιλείας τόποις, ἐν οἷς συνκ]αθίδρυντ[αι]]  
 [τοῖς θε[οῖς καὶ αἱ ἐμαὶ εἰκόνες, μὴ τὸν π]ρ[έ]ποντα σεβ[ασ]-  
 [μὸν ἀπ]ο[μ]ερίσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων βλάψω[σίν]]  
 [[τ]ι ἢ [λ]υμ[ή]ν[ω]νται τὰ ἱερὰ [ἢ] τὰς ἐμάς [εἰκόν]ας, συμβα[ί]-  
 [νοι ἀ]ύ[τ]ο[ῖς τὰ] ἐν[αν]τία τούτ[ω]ν καὶ γίν[ε]σθ[α]ι αὐ]-  
 20 [τοῖς ἂ τοῖς ἀσεβοῦσι περὶ το[ῖς] θεοῖς γίνεται].

## Critical notes

Restorations are based on SO 19-32 for ll. 1-13 and AD 4-10 for ll. 14-20. I have supplied ἐν in l.14 although it is omitted at the corresponding point in AD (5-6) where Waldmann, following Keil's *ed. pr.*, reads and restores εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας τόποις. Before τῶν ἐμῶν χρόνων in ll. 1-2 I have restored ἐκ instead of the πρό favoured by the editors of SO; another possibility would be ἐπί; cf. SEG 31, 1380.

## Translation

If my sons and their descendants who succeed to the kingdom observe my monthly birthday on the sixteenth day, and likewise give instructions for the same day to be observed also in all the other sanctuaries in my kingdom, just as it was observed before my own times, may the gods be well disposed towards them and deal with them graciously. Whoever of the kings or dynasts or generals or ethnarchs or any others comes into this sanctuary and wishes to make burnt offerings of incense and libations on the altars established in this sanctuary, and likewise to the image of me that has been established together with the images of the gods, and in the same way in the other sanctuaries in the kingdom, in which my images have been established together with the images of the god, and will join with them in increasing the honours of the gods and of myself and offer the appropriate reverence, may the gods be well disposed towards them and may they experience for all time the good things that come from them (the gods). Whoever, on the other hand, comes into this sanctuary, and similarly into the other sanctuaries in the territories of my kingdom in which images of myself have been established alongside the gods, and does not offer the appropriate reverence, but on the contrary damages or insults the sanctuaries or the images of me, may they experience the opposite of this and may there befall them what befalls those who act impiously towards the gods.

The parallel text from Sofraz Köy which the erased inscription on WS 510 appears to duplicate belongs to an early phase of the reign of Antiochus of Commagene and the development of his ruler-cult, as its editors established in an important discussion (Wagner and Petzl 1976, 206-11). The overlying text on WS 510, in contrast, belongs to an advanced stage of Antiochus' reign, when the king, in his own words, had 'obtained the fulfilment of a long life' (WS 510/BEc 14: βίου μακαρίστως πολυετούς ἐπληρώθην). The vicissitudes of WS 510 match closely Antiochus' own description of a *temenos*-to Zeus Oromasdes, Apollo Mithras Helios Hermes and Artagnes Herakles Ares, established at the beginning of his reign and later elaborated, as his own good fortune advanced, with depictions of scenes of the king 'receiving the benevolent greetings of the gods' (WS 510/BEc 20-21: δεχόμενον θεῶν εὐμενεῖς δεξιάς); for the relief sculpture of Antiochus and Apollo on the other face of the stele appears to have been cut at the same time as the inscription since its cutting removed letters from the latter's left and right sides, leaving the inscription unaffected and appears to be contemporary with the *dexiosis* scene, forming part of a single conception, in the same way as the inscription and relief on the parallel stele from Samosata, Sx. It is remarkable that this conception embraced both the syncretistic title Apollo Mithras Helios Hermes and an entirely Greek iconographical representation of Apollo as a naked solar deity. In contrast, the relief depictions of *dexioses* of





Fig. 6. WS 510: relief stele with *dexiosis* scene of Antiochus I of Commagene and Apollo Helios.



Antiochus and Apollo at Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios and Nemrud Dağı show Apollo dressed in Persian mode as Mithras.

The location of the sanctuary to which WS 510 and WS 91 belonged is an interesting, and unresolved, problem. The relatively full preservation of WS 510 and its discovery in a public area of the city close to a major building of the late Hellenistic or early Roman period initially suggested that the *temenos* might be located in the same area. Subsequent clarification of the archaeological context now suggests that this association is likely to be fortuitous. The layers of fill in which WS 510 was found share the same Augustan date as the public building and therefore postdate the Commagenian period.<sup>11</sup> WS 91 was found c.300 m away from WS 510 and is also clearly removed from its original context. The fragments of the relief stele of Antiochus and Herakles (BEa and BEb), in contrast, were found on the upper slopes of Belkis Tepe; from their size they are more likely to have descended than to have made the journey up the slopes from the town below. The *temenos* site is accordingly most likely to have been located on the summit of Belkis Tepe. Clarification of this question can be expected from renewed investigation of the archaeological remains on the plateau.

Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford

### Acknowledgements

This report would not have been possible without the support provided by the Packard Humanities Institute for the Zeugma Archaeological Project 2000 and for the publication of its results. I am grateful for the invitation from Oxford Archaeology to take part in the excavations as epigraphical consultant; for their continuing support I am indebted to Rob Early, Dave Wilkinson and Philippa Walton at OA. Preliminary recording and expert transcriptions of the inscriptions on site were made by Hugh Elton. For help during a study visit to Birecik in May 2000, I am grateful to Adam Brossler, Serap Güler and Andy Miller. Philip Kenrick has kindly allowed me to refer to his preliminary assessment of the pottery; Georg Petzl offered a series of comments on the new inscriptions and Bert Smith discussed the Commagenian relief sculptures with me. I am grateful above all to Margherita Facella for her timely help in the decipherment of the erased text on WS 510 and for continuing advice on all things Commagenian.

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11 Information supplied by P. M. Kenrick from his preliminary assessment of the pottery (May 2002).





Fig. 1. So-called Poseidon and Euphrates villas in zone A, with the river in background (M. Önal, 2000).

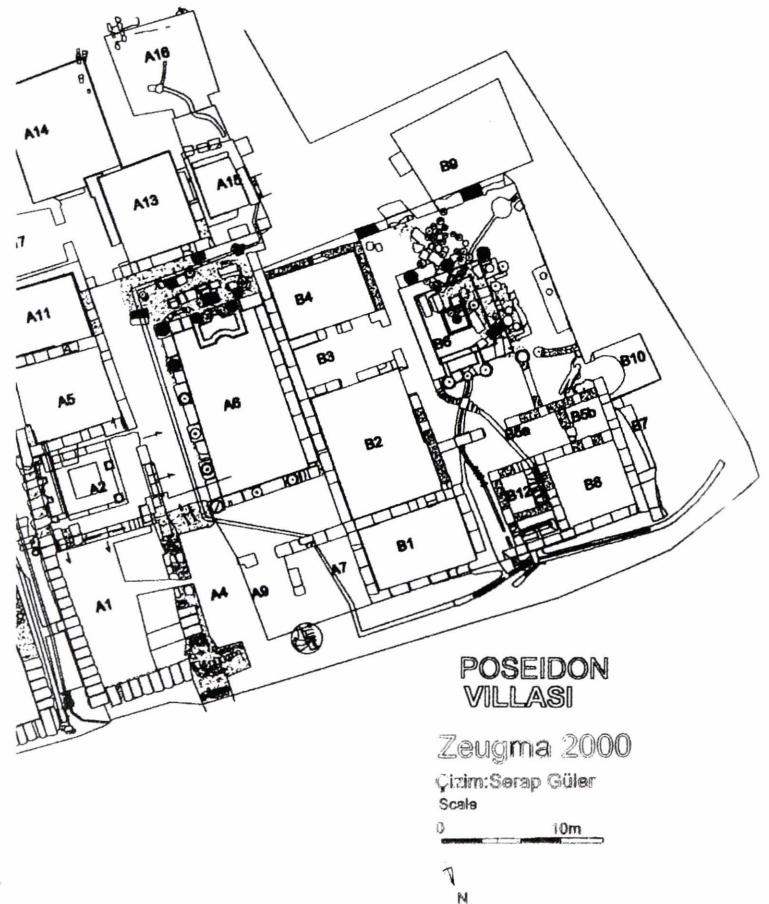


Fig. 2. Plan of Poseidon and Euphrates villas.



# The bronze statue of Mars: interim report

Roberto Nardi and Mehmet Önal

In the course of the 1999-2000 excavations there was found a bronze sculpture of Mars which is undoubtedly one of the most spectacular individual discoveries at the site. Some preliminary information will be given here about its discovery and about the conservation procedures aimed at presenting it for public viewing at the end of 2002.

## Discovery of the statue (M. Önal)

Rescue excavations on the site of ancient Zeugma near the modern village of Belkıs, in the Nizip district of Gaziantep, were begun by the Gaziantep Museum in 1992 because of the construction of the Birecik dam, which would cause much of the ancient site to be inundated by the Birecik Dam Lake starting in the year 2000. Part of the ancient site has now been submerged. In the work since 1992 the excavations have recorded more than 100,000 finds. The residential part of the town was built on terraces facing the river Euphrates. The villas had picturesque views across the river and their interiors were embellished with fine floor mosaics, wall-paintings, and numerous statues and statuettes.

The rescue excavations in area A in 1999-2000, an area that would be submerged by the dam, were supervised by the present writer. Two villas in this area have been brought to light and they are known as the Poseidon and Euphrates villas (fig. 1; see also fig. 43 on p. 51 above). One of the most spectacular statues found to date was recovered in May 2000 during excavations conducted by archaeologist Y. Yavas in sector B4 of the Poseidon villa.

The original excavation area was extended to the west in order to expose the entire building. This resulted in the uncovering of the peristyle and of two rooms, the 'Perseus room' (B2) and the 'Bald ibis' room (B3), each named after the subject-matter of their mosaics. The excavation of the peristyle of the villa yielded a number of composite capitals, numerous column shafts (one type has twisted flutes, the other has vertical strips in relief), the base of a fountain, and a cistern. At the north corner of the peristyle (fig. 2, B6) we unearthed a barrel-vaulted chamber which opens onto the peristyle at the same level. Its south wall was built of mudbrick, while its north wall was built of roughly finished cut stones. The floor of the chamber was of compacted earth. Excavation of the chamber produced a total of 5 wide-mouthed *pithoi*, a two-handled amphora, a stone mortar, pottery and oil lamps, all within a layer of burned débris.

Excavation in the front part of the chamber B6 first revealed the right hand of a statue beneath broken roof-tiles and burnt mudbrick débris. The statue was carefully exposed and found to be lying on its back between the *pithoi* (fig. 3 in colour). The left arm of the statue was found separated from its shoulder, evidently the result of the pressure of débris that had fallen from a height of 2 m. There was a slight indentation stretching from the right breast to the groin of the figure, and there was other evidence of some crushing of the statue as the result of its falling and of the burning. Broken into four pieces were the flowers with twisted stalks which the figure had held in his left hand (fig. 4). The rectangular bronze pedestal on which the statue had stood, and which was found by the statue's feet, was also broken and bent and deformed by the fire.

We also found the support for the statue. The figure's left arm had held on to this pole for support. The pole was found detached from the circular plate on which it had stood, the plate being supported by three feet in the form of panther paws. Only two feet of this third being missing. The panther feet were each elevated on small bell-shaped bases, of which only one has been recovered.

This statue of a nude male figure is made of bronze. It is 1.50 m in height, the metal is 2-4 mm thick, and its interior is hollow. The head is slightly bent and turned to the figure's left.





Fig. 4. Statue of Mars as found, lying between *pithoi* (ceramic storage jars) in a subsidiary room of the villa (M. Önal, 2000).

Beneath the helmet which frames the face and the forehead his curly thick hair falls on his neck. The frowning eyebrows and serious expression on his face, with its broad forehead, reveal a marked plasticity of form. At the time of the excavation the structure of the eye could not be seen because of the earth residue adhering. However, the attentive cleaning of the team from the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica of Rome under the direction of R. Nardi, with funding from the Packard Humanities Institute, revealed that the white color of the eye was made of silver and that there was a golden inlay in the form of a circle on the pupil.

The figure's right arm is bent at the elbow and raised up, with the palm positioned so as to hold an object which is now missing (possibly it was a spear). The left leg is bent at the knee and slightly raised so as to transfer the weight of the body on to the right leg. The figure stood on a bronze pedestal 10 cm in height.

On the left side is the solid shaft of the support which is ornamented with flutes. The left





Fig. 5. From top to bottom: pole support of *candelabrum*, circular disk, three panther feet, base in the shape of a bell (M. Önal).

arm of the statue embraced the support and held a bouquet of flowers comprising scrolling tendrils and buds. The components of the support have been reconstructed. At the bottom there were bell-shaped bases which supported the three panther feet. The panthers in turn supported a circular disk on which the slender but solid vertical shaft stood (fig. 5). Following conservation and cleaning of the circular plate the floral ornament on it has become visible (see below, fig. 9). The support as a whole resembles a *candelabrum*, of which indeed other examples have been found in the Zeugma excavations.<sup>1</sup> Even though in our case the vertical shaft was primarily as a support for the pose and for the figure to grasp on to, this does not exclude the notion that it was also a *candelabrum*.

<sup>1</sup> See Zeugma, a bridge from past to present (Ankara 2001) 43.



Identification of the statue as Mars, the Roman god of war, is based upon the helmet that he is wearing, his pose, the object likely to have been a spear that was held by his right hand, and the furious expression on his face, which gives the impression that he is ready to fight. The bouquet of flowers held in his left hand symbolizes fertility, which was one of Mars' attributes. The first month of the year bore his name and was dedicated to him. March was also often the time of war. During his festival in that month he shared the attributes of earth and fertility, alluding to the struggle for the birth of the new.<sup>2</sup>

We may note that other discoveries in the Poseidon villa include graffiti on the wall plaster that bear Latin names, the tips of spears, swords, other items of armour, and more than 4000 coins. The predominance of military items in this house strongly suggests that it was the residence of a commanding officer. The statue of Mars was perhaps hidden in the vaulted structure among *pithoi* and other kitchen utensils used in the preparation of food in the hope of saving it from destruction. At present we suppose that the event in question may have been the Sassanid attack of A.D. 256.

monalbz@yahoo.com

Museum directorate, 27090, Gaziantep

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The excavations took place under the overall direction of Fatma Bulgan and Hakkı Alhan, both acting directors of the Gaziantep Museum, with the support of the Mayor's office of Gaziantep, material contributions by the provincial executive management, and under a permit from the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums of the Ministry of Culture.

### Conservation and restoration of the statue (R. Nardi)

The statue the discovery of which has been described above immediately captured the interest of scholars and laymen alike because it is one of the rare examples of nearly life-size Roman bronze statues to survive virtually intact. After discovery it was immediately transported to storage in the nearby museum. In March 2001 the statue received conservation treatment thanks to funding from the Packard Humanities Institute. The treatment is now in its final stages and due to be finished in December 2002. The approach has been to stabilize and consolidate the constituent materials and improve the reading of the surfaces, with a view to presenting the work to scholars and to the general public.

After surveying the condition of the surfaces and studying the static equilibrium of the various component parts in relation to the breaks, the phases of the conservation treatment were planned. Photographic documentation and a graphic survey of the surfaces allowed us to record the current condition of the objects and to make further observations. These base maps were also used throughout the treatment to record the operations performed.

Metal objects in general and bronze objects in particular run the greatest risk of damage during environmental exposure immediately following excavation and during initial storage prior to any conservation treatment. After centuries of burial, the materials tend to revert to their original mineral state and they lose their characteristics of mechanical resistance to external stress; due to aging they acquire a natural fragility. Added to this in the present case is the damage which the statue suffered in antiquity at the time of destruction of the house. There has also been the disturbance of the microclimatic equilibrium achieved over millennia in the burial context, in which the object had been sheltered from fluctuations in temperature and humidity. Further damage will often come from the efflorescence of soluble salts, and from the handling and transport of the object.

The sculpture had separated completely from its base and it exhibited various deformations and structural compression that had caused the loss of static equilibrium. There were various

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2 P. Grimal, *Mythology dictionary, Greek and Roman* (Turkish translation, Istanbul 1997) 47.



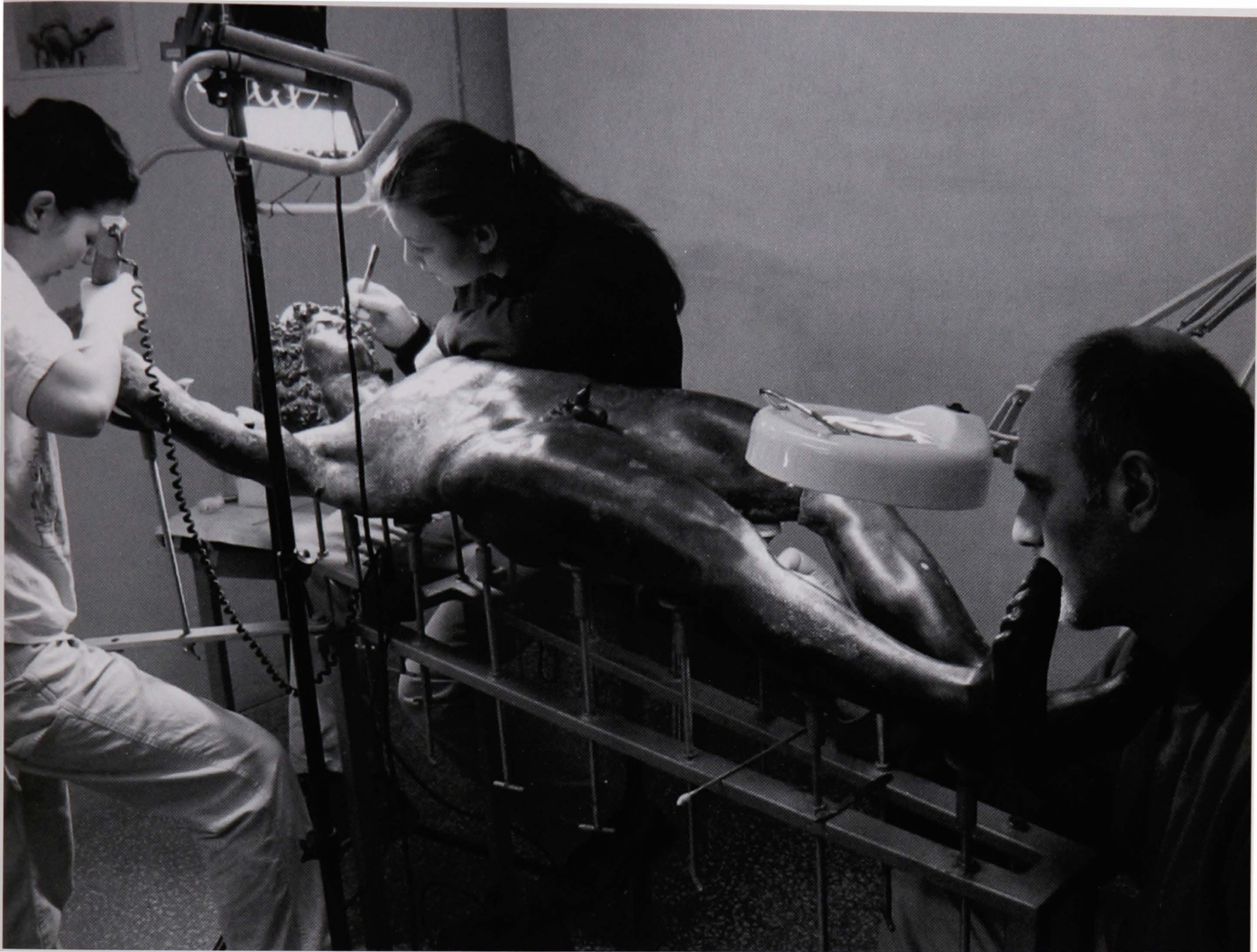


Fig. 6. The cleaning was carried out on a ready-made support consisting of an iron structure with telescope-pods ending in flexible, rubber-covered heads, which allow the statue to be held avoiding stress to fragile or damaged parts (CCA Roma).

breaks on the entire vertical extension of the back and on the protruding parts. In fact, both the arms, which were only partially connected to the trunk, were in danger of falling off. There was also the danger that the existing breaks might be made worse by the weight of the elements themselves. Lastly, the entire surface of the statue had been altered by thick and tenacious surface deposits which obscured the legibility of the forms and the original surface finish.

The primary objective was to take preventive measures that would contain mechanical, physical and chemical stress on the metal surfaces while conservation work was proceeding. First, however, we had to organize a working environment that would be suitable from both a conservation and an operational standpoint, to act as a laboratory for treatment and a safe storage space. The underground storage area of the Gaziantep museum, which had stable temperature readings and relative humidity values fluctuating between 40% and 50%, proved suitable, and the room was outfitted with an autonomous alarm system with a direct line to the local police.

sculpture and for the other large object found, the presumed *candelabrum*. The supports were specially designed to support the unstable parts and distribute the weight in an efficient manner, thereby facilitating the long process of cleaning all the surfaces. These supports were mounted on rolling bases to smooth transport and all other movements and avoid the dangers inherent in the handling required in order for technicians to treat the objects (fig. 6).



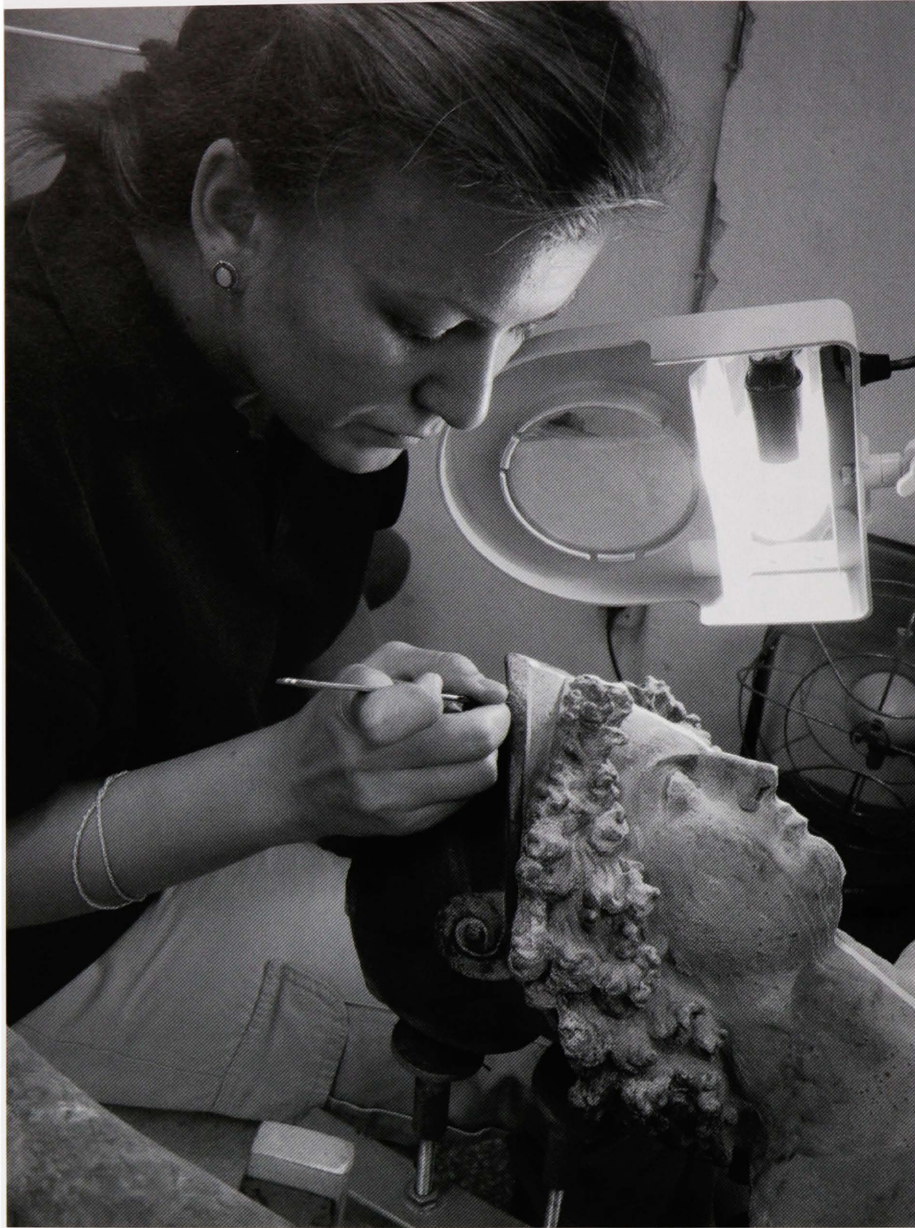


Fig. 7. The initial cleaning removed the dirt layer on the surface without touching the corrosion layers (CCA Roma).

It took a year of meticulous work gradually to remove the incrustations and bring to light the true forms of the statue, the traces of ancient workmanship, and to reveal, in the best preserved areas, a smooth compact surface and a stable and aesthetically-pleasing patina. The face regained the full expression as it had been modelled by the artist, who showed his mastery by impressing the angry furrowed brow, by the softness of the chiaroscuro of the musculature, and by the tense and powerful posture (fig. 7). The work revealed decorative details of extraordinary refinement, such as the eyes in silver and gold inlay (fig. 8 in colour), or the elaborate and fine engraving on the disk of the *candelabrum* support (fig. 9). They suggest that it was the handiwork of a sculptor of high artistic standing (fig. 10 in colour) and that he was working for a wealthy and discriminating client.

The cleaning was a gradual process, performed mechanically with scalpels and abrasive disks. Zone by zone the layers of accretions (which varied in their nature and consistency) were reduced. To facilitate the removal of thick layers of earth which had become compacted through the presence of carbonates, localized 'poultices' with alcohol and acetone were applied in order to soften the soluble components of the surface deposits. This permitted them to be removed in a controlled manner without exerting pressure on the original materials. Numer-





Fig. 3. Statue of Mars as found, lying between *pithoi*. The base of the statue is seen upside-down covering its feet (M. Önal, 2000).



Fig. 8. Detail of the cleaning of the eyes, which revealed silver plating and gold inlay delimiting the white of the eyes and the pupils (CCA Roma).





Fig. 10. Face of Mars after conservation (Arnaldo De Luca, Rome).





Fig. 9. Detail of the cleaning probe of the disk and lower part of the *candelabrum*, which revealed the decoration of the disk, the drop-like decoration at the bottom of the upright pole, and the junction between the two (CCA Roma).

ous samples of the products removed were collected and they are currently being investigated with X-ray diffraction techniques in order to clarify their nature.<sup>3</sup> The main purpose of the testing is help determine the level of final cleaning and to assure the elimination of any further residues of damaging soluble salts (copper chloride) from the internal and external surfaces, as well to stabilize the corrosive processes. Further analyses will be made of micro-samples of the metal patina exposed by cleaning in order to understand how it was formed and how it affected the statue's appearance.

The hollow interior of the sculpture was also cleaned. With the use of a fiber-optic endoscope it was possible to take samples of the earth deposits on the interior and to establish, through analysis, that they had not been part of the casting process.<sup>4</sup> The cavity could be cleared out mechanically by manoeuvring the tools with the endoscope. This instrument also offered a close-up view of the joints where the various parts of the statue had been soldered together, as well as video shots of the interior. The cleaning resolved a number of technical questions about the statue, such as the way in which it was created by casting its parts and then soldering them together. The soldering points are now clearly legible on the entire surface, as are the traces where casting defects and measuring points were reworked.

The statue was washed repeatedly so as to extract the soluble salts. For this purpose it was slightly larger than the statue, equipped with straps to support it and to lift it for rinsing. Lightly heated and agitated distilled water was used for the washing. By testing the conductivity of the water it was possible to follow the pro-

3 This is being done by R&C Scientifica in Rome.

4 If they had been, that would have been a useful element for analyzing the date of the sculpture.



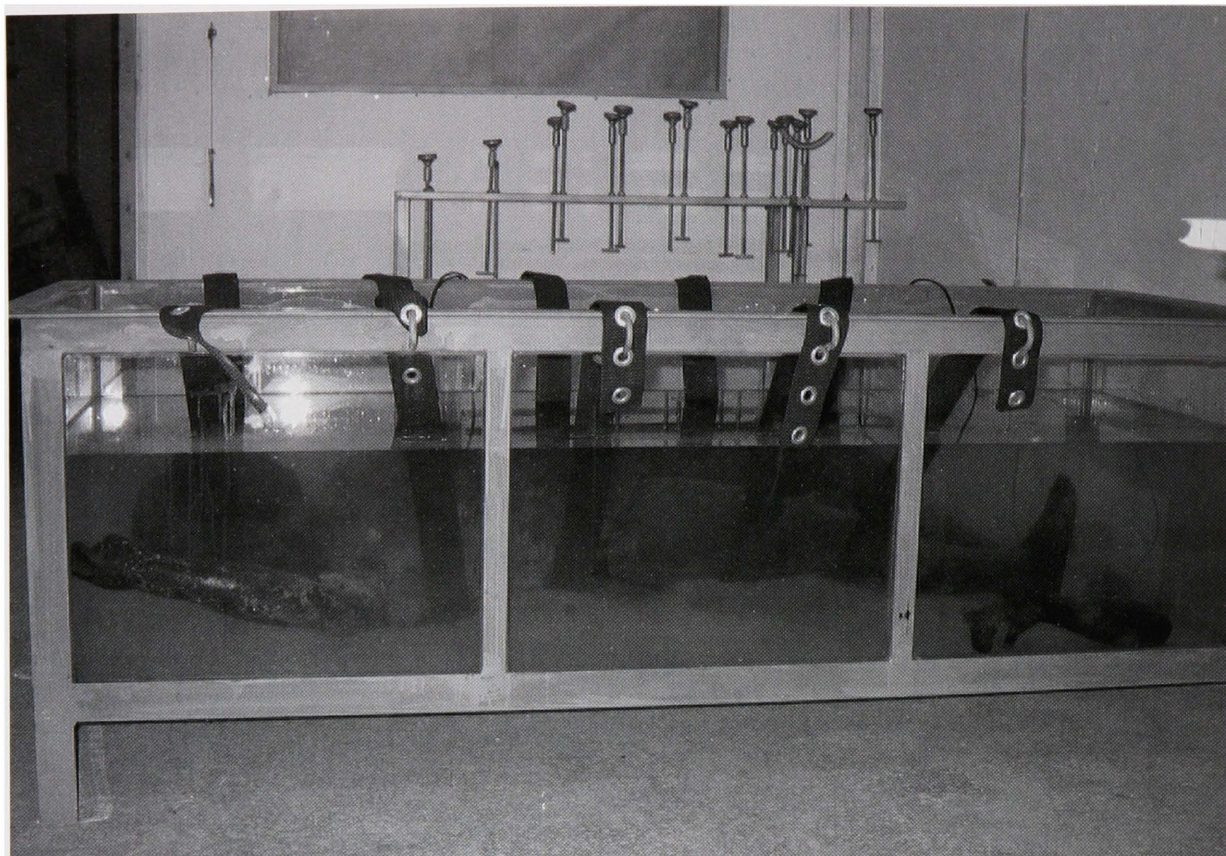


Fig. 11. View of ready-made tank of tempered glass fit into an iron structure, for carrying out the washing cycles. To allow the circulation of free water with the aid of aquarium pumps, the statue was suspended with the help of large nylon bands (CCA Roma).

gression of salt extraction and to decide how many baths would be needed before the values of the water were stabilized. Some 10 baths in all were given until stable conductivity values were attained, and they were followed by chemical drying and drying with heat (fig. 11).

At the present time the statue and the other elements, including the hollow bronze base found next it, are being consolidated. Breaks are being repaired and the detached parts are being re-assembled. Finally the corrosion products will be treated again to stabilize them.

The inclusions and corrosion products will be analyzed, together with the evidence of the original workmanship. The main components of the alloy and significant trace elements will be determined through Atomic Absorption Spectroscopy. This will shed light on how the statue was made (the modelling and casting) and provide data on the materials used to make the objects and perhaps, with the help of comparanda, on their provenance.

We still have to establish the relationship between the *candelabrum* and the statue and see exactly how the original base related to the piece. The extremely fragmentary condition of the base makes it difficult to say whether any connection or correlation exists.

For its display in the museum a support is being prepared so that the statue can be displayed upright in a safe and static position with its structural load distributed on to outside elements. The immediate display environment will be climate-controlled in order to keep the micro-climatic parameters stable.

ccanet@tin.it

Centro di Conservazione Archeologica, Roma

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The treatment is directed by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and is being carried out by the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica (CCA) of Rome under the present author. Funding is provided by the Packard Humanities Institute. The conservation treatment is supervised by S. Angelucci for the CCA. It is being carried out by A. Ferradini, A. Giglio, S. Giglio, K. Schneider (all of CCA) and by Z. Serin, Y. Turan and M. Unsal (all of Art&Restoration, Istanbul).



# La maison et la mosaïque des *Synaristôsai* (*Les Femmes au déjeuner de Ménandre*)

Catherine Abadie-Reynal et Jean-Pierre Darmon

avec la collaboration d'Anne-Marie Manière-Lévêque

## La maison (C. Abadie-Reynal)

Quelques semaines avant la dernière phase de montée des eaux du barrage de Birecik, les fouilles de Zeugma ont pris une nouvelle ampleur: un projet international a vu le jour sous l'égide du Packard Humanities Institute. C'est dans ce nouveau cadre, grâce au financement joint du PHI et du Ministère français des Affaires étrangères, que l'équipe française a pu continuer, pendant l'été 2000, des fouilles entreprises, sur le site, depuis 1996. Le Ministère turc de la Culture a apporté toute son aide à ce travail qui s'est déroulé dans des conditions d'urgence extrême.<sup>1</sup>

L'objectif général de l'équipe française, depuis le début de son intervention à Zeugma, était de tenter de sauvegarder le maximum d'informations sur l'urbanisme de cette ville, son fonctionnement et son évolution, ainsi que d'étudier le rôle de l'Euphrate dans son organisation. Dans ce cadre, au cours des nombreux chantiers que nous avons ouverts, nous avons pu progressivement essayer de reconstituer le processus de développement du site. Dès 1995, nous proposons une hypothèse<sup>2</sup> allant à l'encontre de la thèse avancée par J. Wagner,<sup>3</sup> selon laquelle le point culminant du site (Belkis Tepe) aurait été l'acropole de la ville hellénistique et le point de départ de cet établissement. En fait, il nous est apparu qu'un promontoire moins spectaculaire (Kara Tepe) présentait une position beaucoup plus favorable pour une première implantation (fig. 1): cette colline domine le vallon (Bahçe Dere) par lequel la route ancienne en provenance de l'Ouest débouchait certainement sur le fleuve; de plus, du sommet on a une vue imprenable sur

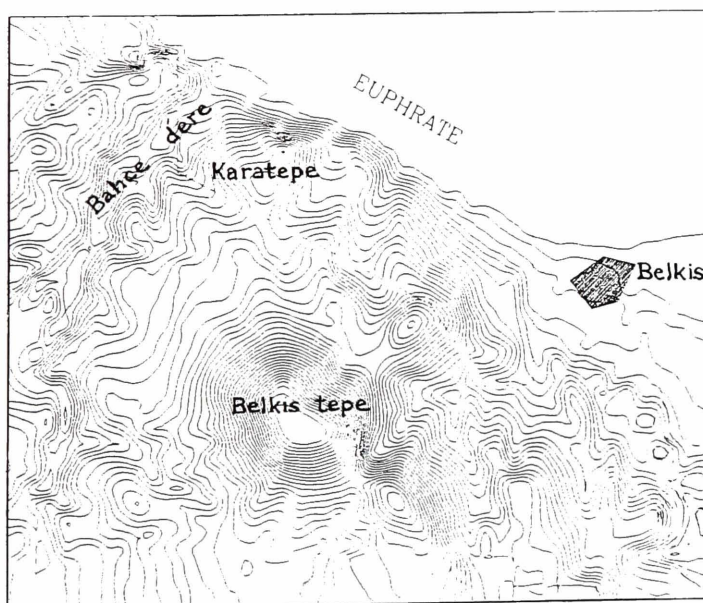


Fig. 1. Plan général du site de Zeugma (P. Lebouteiller).

- 1 Pour un rapport préliminaire sur l'ensemble des fouilles conduites par l'équipe française à Zeugma en 2000, voir C. Abadie-Reynal *et al.*, *Anatolia Antiqua* 9 (2001) p. 243-305.
- 2 C. Abadie-Reynal, A. Desreumaux, A. Hesse, P. Leriche et M.-C. Laroche, *Anatolia Antiqua* 4 (1996) p. 314 en particulier.
- 3 J. Wagner, *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma* (Wiesbaden 1976) carte II.



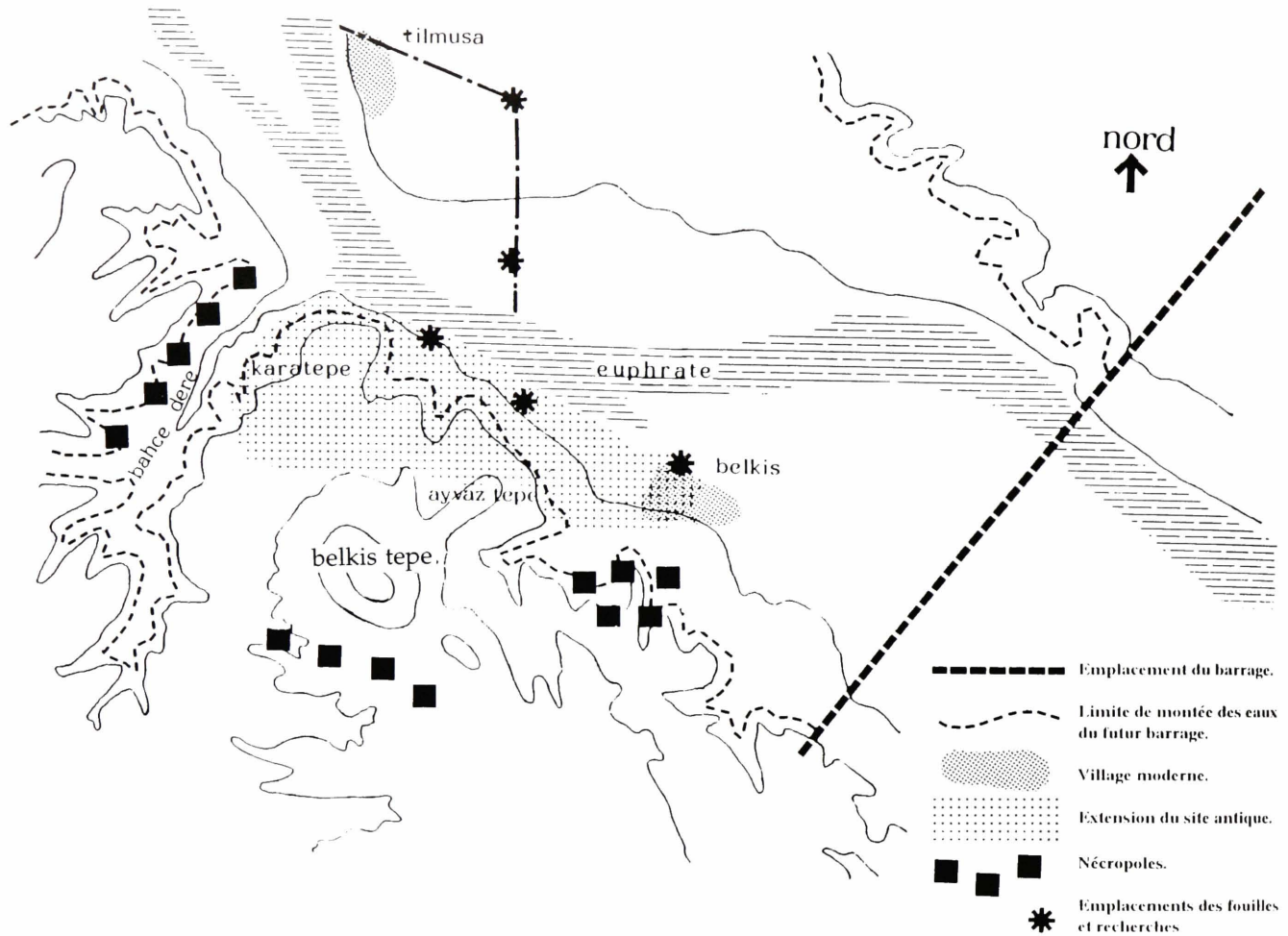


Fig. 2. Hypothèse de développement du site (G. Reynal).

toute la vallée de l'Euphrate. Finalement, la prospection non systématique qui fut entreprise sur le site en 1995, a révélé deux éléments intéressants qui viennent conforter cette hypothèse: cette colline est le seul endroit du site sur lequel plusieurs fragments de céramique hellénistique à vernis noir ont été trouvés; enfin, son importance défensive a été démontrée par la fouille, au sommet de cette colline, d'un tronçon de muraille tardive, appartenant sans doute à un petit fortin,<sup>4</sup> tandis que plusieurs tuiles estampillées au nom de la *legio IV Scythica* étaient ramassées au cours de cette prospection. Certes, aucune structure hellénistique n'a pu être mise au jour sur cette colline, mais il ne paraît pas invraisemblable qu'elles aient été détruites lors de l'installation des constructions postérieures.

A partir de cette hypothèse de départ qui fait de Belkıs Tepe non plus une acropole mais un sanctuaire extra-urbain, l'évolution de la ville de Zeugma pouvait être envisagée comme étant avant tout marquée par une extension progressive du noyau urbain initial vers l'Est, où les zones d'occupation paraissent très vastes, alors que les limites du site vers l'Ouest se situaient à proximité immédiate du flanc ouest de Kara Tepe (fig. 2). L'ensemble des fouilles entreprises à partir de 1996 avaient, entre autres, comme objectif de vérifier cette hypothèse sur le développement du site urbain.

C'est dans le cadre de cette recherche qu'il convient de replacer l'ouverture du chantier où fut trouvée la "maison des *Synaristôsai*". Il se situe au Sud-Est, au-dessus du grand chantier 12 que nous avons entrepris de fouiller en septembre 1999 et qui nous avait montré que cette terrasse n'avait été investie que tardivement dans l'histoire du site, au Ier s. av. J.-C.<sup>5</sup> (fig. 3). Il nous a

<sup>4</sup> C. Abadie-Reynal, R. Ergeç et al., *Anatolia Antiqua* 5 (1997) p. 349-351.

<sup>5</sup> Abadie-Reynal (supra n.1) p. 245.

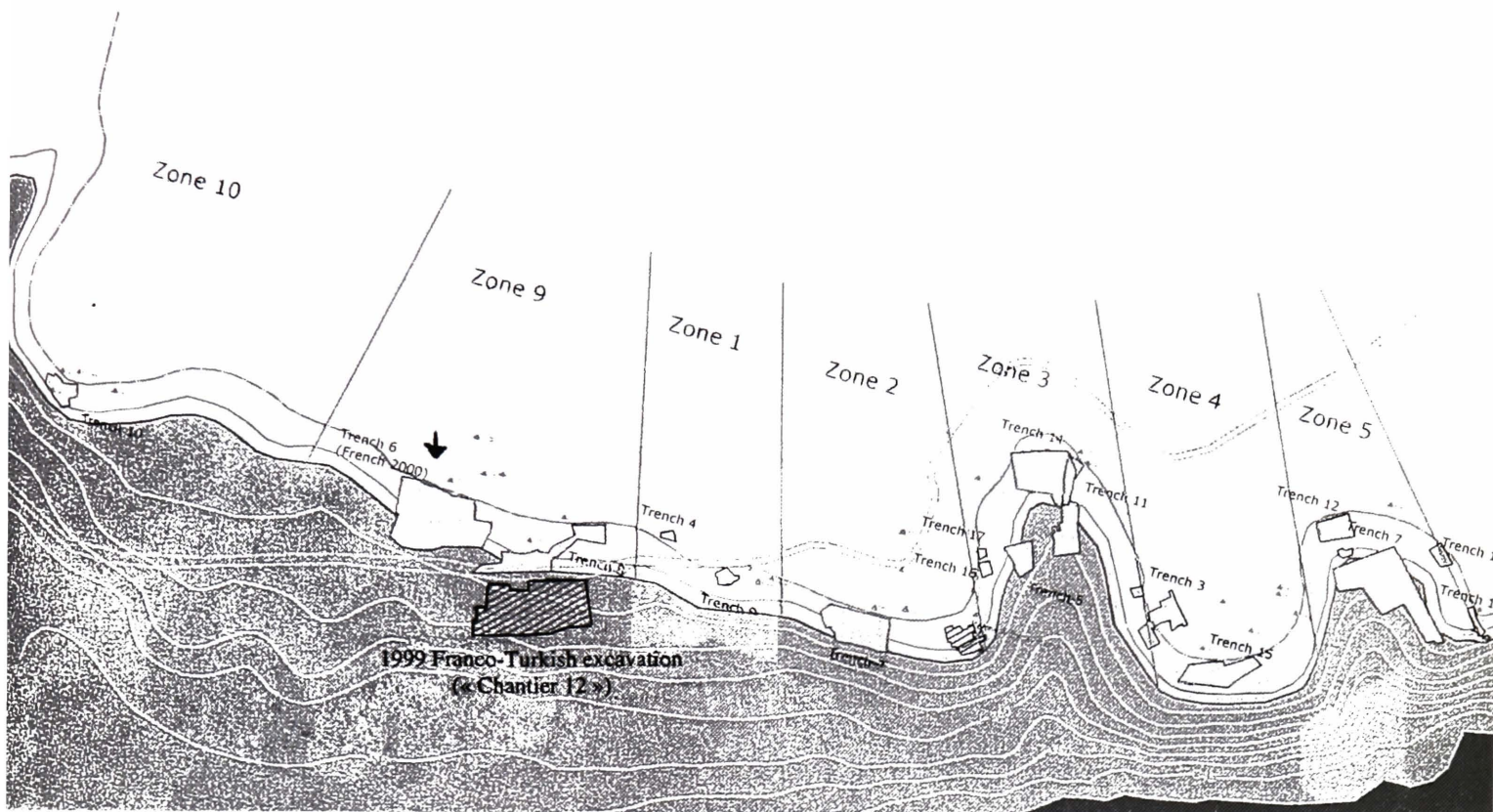


Fig. 3. Implantation des chantiers de la campagne 2000 (Oxford Archaeology).

paru nécessaire, donc, d'ouvrir un chantier plus loin vers l'Est, afin de vérifier que l'ensemble de cette zone avait, effectivement, été occupée tardivement et de trouver, peut-être, quelques traces des limites de la ville du Haut Empire. De ce point de vue, le chantier ZAP 6 a répondu à toutes nos attentes. Il nous a permis de mettre au jour une partie d'une nécropole rupestre dont quelques tombes n'avaient pas été pillées. Cette nécropole marque la limite orientale de la ville de Zeugma à la basse époque hellénistique et au début du Haut Empire.<sup>6</sup> En même temps, la "maison des *Synaristôsai*" (ainsi appelée d'après le thème de la plus remarquable des mosaïques qui la décorent), qui investit cet espace, illustre parfaitement le processus d'extension de la ville vers l'Est puisqu'elle récupère à son profit, sous l'effet d'une pression urbaine certainement forte, une partie de la nécropole antérieure.

Cette maison (fig. 4), dont la fouille s'est déroulée entre juin et août 2000,<sup>7</sup> paraît avoir connu une très longue histoire, marquée par de nombreux remaniements. Cela dit, il ne nous appartient pas ici de présenter l'ensemble de ces états. L'accent sera mis, avant tout, sur la phase de fonctionnement correspondant à l'installation et à la première phase d'utilisation de la mosaïque des *Synaristôsai*.

La maison a été bâtie sur une terrasse qui, comme souvent à Zeugma, est en partie creusée dans le rocher, en partie construite grâce à un important remblaiement. Après la phase d'utilisation de cette zone comme nécropole, il semble qu'il y ait eu une autre période d'occupation antérieure à la maison dans son état mosaïqué. Elle est attestée par la présence de drains creusés dans le sol de rocher, par l'existence de citernes, et par le découpage de pièces dans le rocher (P 12, 14, 15) qui existaient déjà avant l'installation des mosaïques. Ces restes très épars sont d'interprétation difficile; cependant, il semble probable qu'il s'agissait déjà d'une habitation en grande partie détruite, bien que le plan d'ensemble soit difficile à restituer.

6 Abadie-Reynal (supra n.1) p. 258 et 297-301.

7 Ont pris part à cette fouille A. Cador, I. Chalier, M. Dussauge, D. Frangie, H. Harouk, D. Hellou, J.-F. Jet, R. Khawan, F. Le Bec, A.-M. Manière-Lévêque, A. Masson, A.-L. Seno. J'ai assuré la direction du chantier.



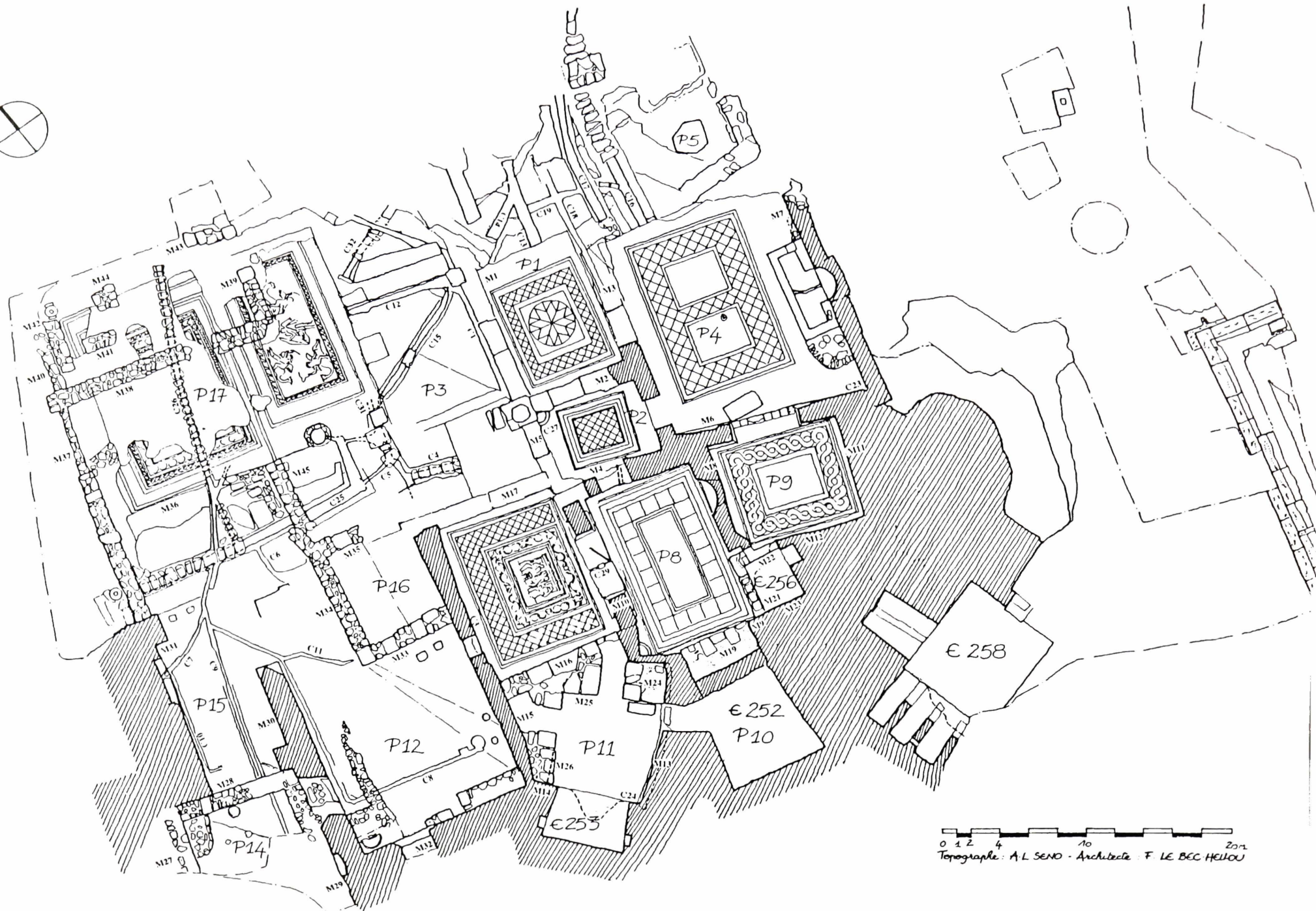


Fig. 4. Plan de la maison des *Synaristôsai* (A.-L. Seno, F. Le Bec-Hellou).



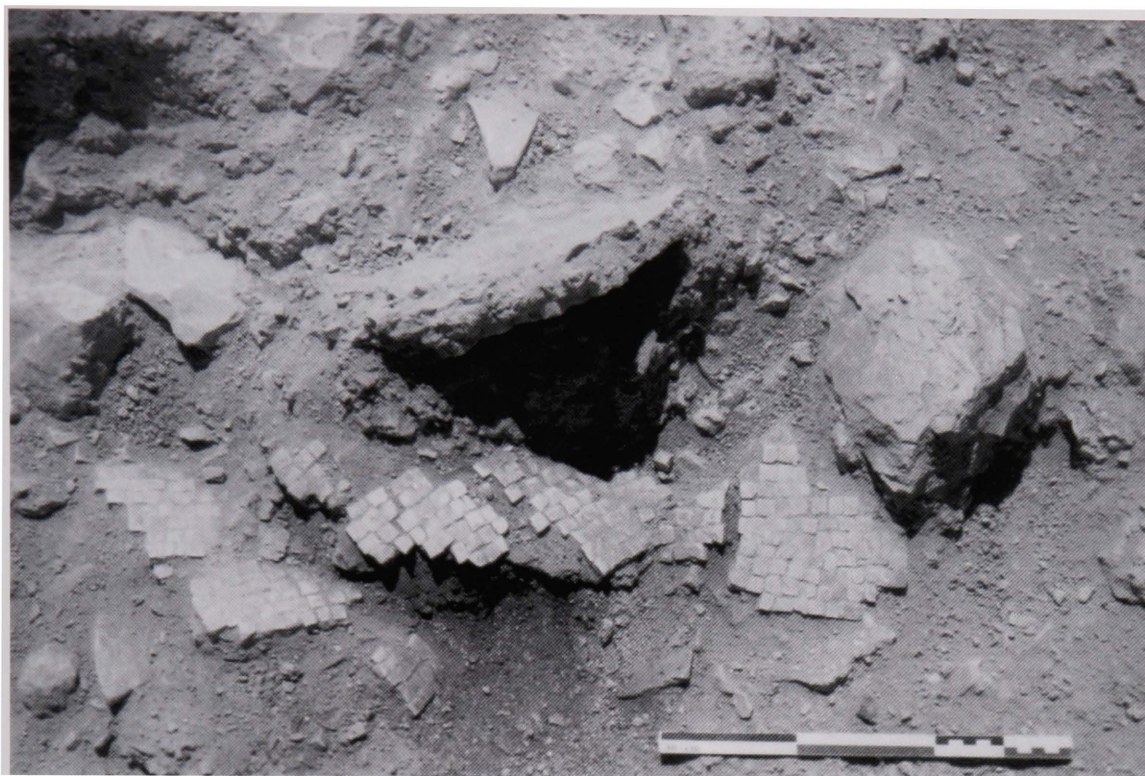


Fig. 5. Couche de destruction dans l'espace P3, avec des fragments de mosaïque, probablement tombés d'un étage (C. Abadie-Reynal).

La phase d'installation du décor mosaïqué, et en particulier de la mosaïque des *Synaristôsai*, marque l'apogée de cette maison. La fouille a permis de mettre au jour les extrémités nord, est et sud de la maison de cet état, tandis qu'à l'Ouest nous n'en avons pas atteint les limites. Pourtant, elle couvre déjà une superficie, au sol, d'env. 2900 m<sup>2</sup>. A cela il faut sans doute ajouter quelques pièces en étages: si nous n'avons pas gardé de trace d'escaliers, en revanche dans l'espace P3 nous avons trouvé, dans une couche de destruction, des fragments de mosaïque blanche qui ne sont pas en place et paraissent être tombés d'un niveau supérieur (fig. 5).

La maison est implantée sur la terrasse selon des principes habituels à Zeugma: tout d'abord, elle est bâtie en arrière de la limite de la terrasse vers le fleuve. Là, une vaste zone de circulation est laissée libre. Ses niveaux de fonctionnement ont disparu du fait de l'érosion, mais si l'on en juge par les canalisations autrefois enterrées qui subsistent, cet espace de circulation était vaste et mesurait, au minimum, env. 20 m de large, dans le sens nord-sud. A l'Est, la maison était également bordée par un grand espace public qui mesurait au moins lui aussi 20 m dans le sens est-ouest: il séparait la maison d'un bâtiment sans doute public qui n'a pu être fouillé, faute de temps.<sup>8</sup> Comme beaucoup de maisons de Zeugma, la maison des *Synaristôsai* est également en partie rupestre. Cet aspect est, lui aussi, difficile à étudier, dans la mesure où le rocher surplombant la maison s'est, semble-t-il, progressivement effondré: nous en avons retrouvé de gros blocs reposant sur les niveaux d'occupation de la maison (fig. 6); leur chute explique d'ailleurs certainement l'abandon progressif de la maison qui touche d'abord, semble-t-il, sa partie méridionale, qui était la plus exposée à ce danger. La superficie de la partie rupestre de la maison est actuellement difficile à préciser. Les pièces P10, P11, P12 et P14, à tout le moins, paraissent avoir été complètement ou partiellement rupestres. Cet investissement de la falaise a certainement permis l'existence, antérieure à la maison, de la nécropole rupestre, que nous avons récemment découverte et occupée. En particulier les tombes E256, E252 et E253 ont été englobées dans la maison des *Synaristôsai*.

8 Abadie-Reynal (supra n.1) p. 271-272.





Fig. 6. Bloc de rocher tombé sur la mosaïque de la pièce P8 (J.-F. Jet).



Fig. 7. Espace P4, vu vers le Sud-Ouest (C. Abadie-Reynal).

Comme toujours à Zeugma, la maison s'organise en deux parties bien distinctes: les pièces d'apparat et à usage public, reconnaissables à leur décoration élaborée et en particulier à leurs enduits peints et leurs sols mosaïqués, sont en grande partie regroupées dans la région est de la maison (P1, P2, P4, P8, P9 et P13), tandis que les pièces de service se trouvent à l'Ouest (P12, P14,



P15, P16). Cela dit, cette maison comporte une exception notable à cette règle: la pièce P17, qui comporte une mosaïque, est à l'écart des autres espaces de réception, malgré ses dimensions importantes et son décor luxueux (malheureusement en mauvais état). Proche des pièces de service ainsi que de l'espace public extérieur par lequel on accédait certainement à la maison, elle pourrait être une pièce destinée à l'accomplissement des obligations sociales du riche propriétaire de la maison sans que l'intimité de la partie orientale ne soit troublée.

Cette maison présente, d'autre part, une originalité pour un habitat de cette qualité à Zeugma: elle ne comporte pas de péristyle. Cependant, la circulation intérieure paraît s'organiser autour de deux espaces: l'espace P3 (cour ou jardin, probablement agrémenté d'un bassin) qui sert d'articulation entre les pièces de réception et les pièces de service, ainsi que la cour P4 qui fait clairement partie des pièces de réception de la maison dont elle assure la distribution; d'ailleurs, le sol mosaïqué à décor géométrique, la petite fontaine à pied de marbre et vasque qui se trouvait en son centre (fig. 7), et le bassin sur son côté est montrent le soin qui fut apporté à la décoration de cet espace. Il permet aussi bien, vers l'Ouest, d'accéder aux pièces de transition P1 et P2, qui servent d'antichambres aux pièces de réception, que d'aller dans le luxueux petit *cubiculum* P9, probable lieu de repos du maître de maison.

Les cheminements à l'intérieur de cette maison sont difficiles à préciser: le mur de façade nord ayant complètement disparu, nous n'avons gardé aucune trace de l'entrée de la maison. Cependant, en ce qui concerne les pièces de réception, on peut définir, à côté de l'espace de distribution P4, un axe principal de circulation qui s'exprime par l'enfilade des pièces P1 et P2 conduisant au cœur des pièces de réception, les pièces P8 et P13, qui se distinguent des espaces annexes P1, P2 et P4 par le fait qu'elles sont, dans cette partie de la maison, les seules pièces à comporter des mosaïques à décor figuré, toutes les autres pièces de cet ensemble présentant un sol mosaïqué à décor géométrique. Le sol de la pièce P8 comporte une mosaïque assez abîmée, dont la bordure était constituée de panneaux carrés, aux décors géométriques tous différents, tandis que le panneau central représentait environ 42 sortes différentes de poissons, dessinés avec un contour noir. La pièce P13 était décorée de la mosaïque des *Synaristôsai*, qui sera étudiée en détails plus loin.

Il semble que l'entrée principale de la pièce P13 se faisait par la pièce P8: les deux espaces communiquent par une large porte qui montre qu'elles sont étroitement liées dans leur fonctionnement. Malgré l'arasement du mur nord de P13, il est très peu probable qu'il y avait là un accès puisqu'un bassin semble s'appuyer au Nord, contre ce mur. En revanche, vers l'Ouest, une petite porte de service donnait directement accès vers ce qui fut probablement la cuisine (P12). Enfin, l'organisation en U du décor mosaïqué, qui comporte trois larges bandes de motifs géométriques sur les côtés nord, ouest et sud, montre quelles étaient la fonction et l'orientation de cette pièce. Des lits étaient disposés sur les trois côtés à décor géométrique, laissant le côté est libre pour la circulation. Cette organisation du décor mosaïqué montre que cette pièce était un *triclinium*. A Zeugma comme sur beaucoup d'autres sites, cette pièce présentait souvent la décoration la plus fastueuse et la plus originale.

La limite sud de la pièce P13 manque. Les murs qui la séparent de P11 sont postérieurs à l'installation de la mosaïque: il se peut donc que P11 ait constitué un prolongement de P13 à laquelle elle fournissait un beau mur de fond décoré par l'arc de l'*arcosolium* de la tombe E253 (fig. 8). La pièce P13, qui n'est pas parfaitement orthogonale, mesure, dans son dernier état de fonctionnement (qui voit la séparation avec P11 effectuée), dans le sens nord-sud de 5,60 m à l'Est à 6,20 m à l'Ouest, et dans le sens est-ouest de 4,60 m au Sud à 4,40 m au Nord.

L'installation de la mosaïque des *Synaristôsai* ne correspond pas au premier état de fonctionnement, la pièce est parcourue par la canalisation C3 qui coule du Sud au Nord le long du paroi ouest de P13. Cette canalisation a été bouchée quand la mosaïque a été installée. En revanche, une fois la mosaïque mise en place, une autre évacuation des eaux a été prévue: une petite canalisation creusée dans le seuil en pierre entre P8 et P13 (fig. 9) permet aux eaux de lavage de la mosaïque d'être évacuées par la mosaïque de P8 qui conduisait les eaux usées, par une pente douce, vers le Nord et vers la canalisation 6327.





Fig. 8. *Arcosolium* de la tombe E253, vu vers le Sud, depuis la pièce P13 (J.-F. Jet).

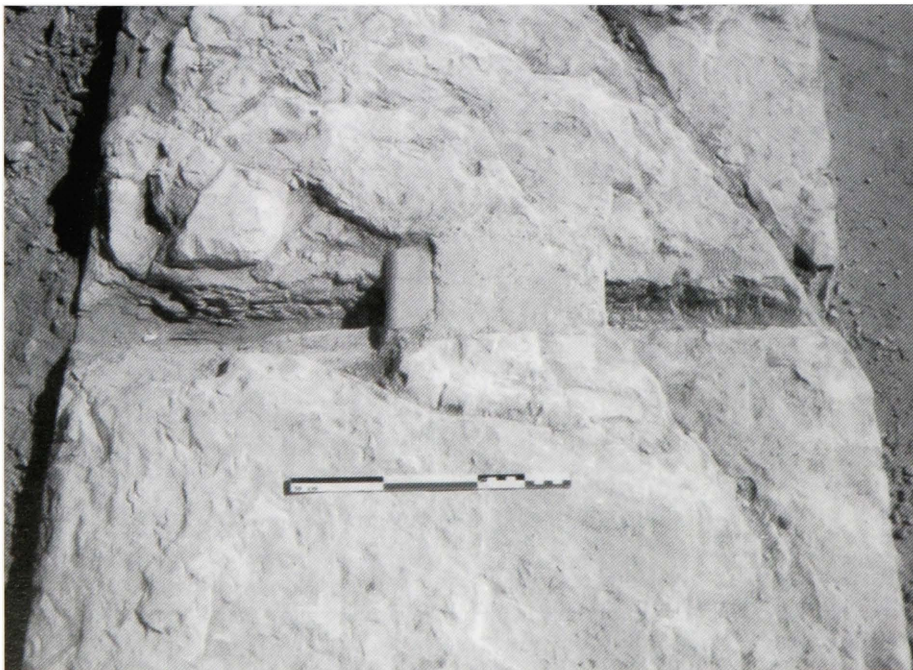


Fig. 9. Seuil entre P8 et P13, avec la canalisation, vue vers le Sud (C. Abadie-Reynal).



Comme la mosaïque des *Synaristôsai* a été déposée, nous avons pu étudier quel était son support antique. Elle reposait sur un *nucleus* de couleur rosée, épais d'env. 0,03 m. Le *rudus* était constitué de terre et de petites pierres tassées sur une épaisseur aussi d'env. 0,03 m. Enfin, le *statumen* était formé d'un remblai assez compact, de pierres et de terre, sans liaison au mortier. La fouille de ce support a permis de mettre au jour quelques fragments de céramiques communes, difficiles à dater mais qui ne paraissent pas pouvoir être postérieurs au IIIe s. après J.-C. Il s'agit là des seuls éléments d'ordre archéologique dont nous disposons pour situer la date d'installation de cette mosaïque. En fait, c'est avant tout l'étude stylistique de cette œuvre qui nous permettra de proposer une chronologie pour cette phase de décoration de la maison.

Celle-ci, contrairement à la plupart des autres maisons fouillées, n'eut pas, semble-t-il, à souffrir de destruction massive et violente au milieu du IIIe s. Il se peut aussi que les habitants se soient réinstallés rapidement dans cette maison après les attaques sassanides et qu'ils l'aient nettoyée de toute trace de destruction. Elle connut donc une longue période de fonctionnement, mais également de remaniements, se poursuivant, pour certaines parties de la maison, au moins jusqu'à la fin du VIIe s. La pièce P13 et la mosaïque des *Synaristôsai* témoignent de cette activité: les limites de la pièce semblent avoir connu des modifications; un mur orienté Est-Ouest (M18) et constitué de grosses pierres irrégulières coupait au Nord la pièce P13. Il a été construit directement sur la mosaïque. Il s'agit d'un mur tardif qui correspond peut-être à une nouvelle limite sud et à un abandon partiel de la maison dont la partie méridionale, exposée aux chutes de blocs de rocher, ne serait plus occupée; la partie de la pièce P13 au Sud du mur M18 aurait donc été condamnée; cet abandon aurait eu lieu entre le Ve s. — date probable d'un incendie important qui entraîne l'abandon des pièces P9 et, de façon partielle, P4 — et la fin du VIIe s., quand un autre incendie vient mettre fin définitivement à l'occupation de la maison.

### La mosaïque de la pièce 13 (J.-P. Darmon et A.-M. Manière-Lévêque)

La pièce P13 (fig. 10 en couleur) avait fait l'objet d'un décor de sol particulièrement soigné,<sup>9</sup> réalisé en calcaires locaux, marbres et terre cuite, matériaux auxquels s'ajoutait la pâte de verre dans les motifs végétaux et figurés. L'ensemble comporte quatre éléments. D'abord, une bande de raccord, ornée d'un semis de petits carrés dentelés noirs, courait sur les quatre côtés de la pièce et en rattrappait les irrégularités de façon à délimiter la superficie rectangulaire à décorer, définie par une bande noire. Ensuite, un tapis géométrique en U, bordé par un simple filet noir et ouvert vers l'entrée, à l'Est, était destiné à recevoir les lits de banquet. Ce tapis enserrait un vaste panneau rectangulaire de 3,69 sur 2,74 m, défini par une bordure multiple (bande blanche, dents de loup bichromes, bande blanche, bande à rinceau polychrome, bande blanche, tresse à deux brins, bande blanche, filet noir) où la large bande à rinceau peuplé sur fond noir attire les regards par sa virtuosité picturale et son extrême richesse chromatique. Finalement, cette bordure multiple entourait un tableau figuré d'un exceptionnel intérêt.

#### *Le tapis géométrique en U*

Il portait un décor en quadrillage oblique de filets dentelés,<sup>10</sup> dont les cases, formant damier, étaient traitées alternativement en tesselles jaunes chargées d'un carré dentelé noir, bleu et blanc, et en tesselles blanches, chargées d'un carré dentelé noir, rouge et jaune.

Ces quadrillages obliques à cases bichromes et carrés emboîtés se retrouvent dans bien d'autres sites d'Orient.<sup>11</sup> En particulier, le système se retrouve à l'identique dans la maison de Ménandre à Daphné, où il apparaît dans la cour du nymphée situé à l'Ouest de la pièce 13<sup>12</sup> ain-

.....t, pour l'essentiel, perdues. Ce qui en subsistait, dans les parties inférieures, a été relevé par M. Dussauge.

10 C. Balmelle et al., *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine* (Paris 1985) pl. 124.

11 Voir, par exemple, pour Anemurium, S. Campbell, *The mosaics of Anemurium* (Toronto 1998) pl. 44 (Odéon, fin IIe s.), 127 et 130 (Grands Bains, milieu IIIe s.).

12 D. Levi, *Antioch mosaic pavements II* (Princeton 1947) pl. CV d.





Fig. 11. Antioche-Daphné, maison de Ménandre, pièce 11, détail: le panneau au Ménandre, avec une partie du tapis géométrique à quadrillage oblique en damier (CNRS, Centre Henri Stern, UMR 8546).

si qu'à l'Ouest de la cour de service.<sup>13</sup> De plus, d'autres tapis géométriques de la même maison de Ménandre à Daphné pratiquent d'autres types, très voisins, de quadrillages obliques, dont certains comportent la même alternance de couleurs et le même principe d'emboîtement de carrés dentelés polychromes: ainsi dans la pièce 20<sup>14</sup> et, notamment, dans la pièce 11, autour du panneau du Ménandre (fig. 11), où le système est compliqué par un double emboîtement des carrés dentelés.<sup>15</sup>

Ces comparaisons font partie des éléments qui rapprochent les pavements de Zeugma de ceux de la région d'Antioche, et qui, dans ce cas précis, orientent la datation vers le IIIe s. après J.-C., sans doute dans sa première moitié.

#### *La bordure à rinceau*

Elle porte, sur fond noir, un rinceau d'acanthé peuplé, s'échappant de culots traités en mascarons barbus (aux angles) et imberbes (au milieu des côtés). Elle est traitée en tesselles extrêmement fines. Huit paires de volutes à gaine et rameau enveloppent huit combats entre un Eros et un animal, chacun d'entre eux peuplant une volute (fig. 12 en couleur). Les gaines sont alternativement vertes et jaunes; leur mouvement diverge à partir de la tête barbue située dans l'angle sud-ouest et de la tête juvénile située au milieu du côté nord. Toutes les figures sont tournées vers l'extérieur et destinées à être vues, soit depuis l'entrée, soit depuis les lits de banquet. Tous les Eros, sauf un, sont nus et seulement armés d'un épéu qu'ils tiennent des deux mains à l'horizontale. Ils sont tournés vers des animaux sauvages qui viennent tous de la droite.<sup>16</sup> Ces derniers s'élançant dans les volutes, face aux Eros, comme passant au travers d'un cerceau. Eros et animaux ont, dans chaque volute, la gaine d'acanthé au-dessus ou au-dessous d'eux.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* II, pl. CV e.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* I, p. 214, fig. 79.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* II, pl. XLV c. L'organisation du décor de cette pièce 11 implique qu'il s'agissait aussi d'un petit *triclinium*, où ce quadrillage oblique occupait l'emplacement des lits de banquet. Un motif identique à ce dernier figure aussi dans la maison A d'Antioche: S. Campbell, *The mosaics of Antioch* (Toronto 1988) pl. 76 (IIIe s.).

<sup>16</sup> La droite de l'observateur, c'est-à-dire (selon un terme de blason qu'il faudrait se décider à adopter dans notre langage descriptif) la "sénestre" de l'image, côté d'où viennent les forces mauvaises qu'il s'agit de combattre ou de neutraliser.





Fig. 14. Détail du rinceau nord: la lionne(?) (A.-M. Manière-Lévêque).

Le long côté est, qui fait face à l'entrée, présente, à gauche du mascaron juvénile médian, le combat d'un Eros contre un lion, dont l'œil ouvert au regard vif, la moustache, les oreilles rondes et la crinière ondoyante sont rendus avec une parfaite maîtrise et une extraordinaire économie de moyens (fig. 13 en couleur). La partie droite du même long côté offre un combat contre un animal au pelage tacheté, à museau pointu et longues oreilles, qui paraît être un lièvre(?).

Le petit côté nord présente, à gauche, un combat contre un félin à pelage fauve et dépourvu de crinière (lionne?), dont l'arrière-train est caché par le mascaron médian, qui paraît l'observer d'un regard mélancolique (fig. 14). A droite, l'Eros est opposé à un animal à poils longs, dont la tête, peu lisible à la découverte, paraît avoir ressemblé à celle d'un loup(?) (fig. 15).

Sur le petit côté sud, le combat de gauche met sans doute en scène un ours. Celui de droite est mené par un Eros qui, curieusement, ne s'inscrit pas dans une volute mais semble lui-même jaillir, en même temps que le rinceau, du mascaron juvénile médian;<sup>17</sup> il affronte un animal composite, face camuse, reptilienne, dépourvue d'oreilles, aux narines marquées par une tesselle noire, au petit œil vif noté par une tesselle blanche, à la gueule ouverte aux dents blanches, aux pattes avant de digitigrade, munies de griffes acérées notées par des tesselles blanches triangulaires, mais dont les pattes arrière, quasi humaines, sont celles d'un plantigrade, et la queue celle d'un félin (fig. 16 en couleur). Il s'agit d'un de ces êtres fabuleux, *crocodilopardalis* ou *crocodilos chersaios*, dont la mosaïque de Préneste nous a proposé des représentations voisines de la nôtre (fig. 17).

Le long côté ouest, qui fait face au lit central, présente à gauche un combat contre un sanglier très bien suggéré, avec sa hure notée par une tesselle blanche spécialement taillée (fig. 18 en couleur). À droite, de la place d'honneur du *triclinium*, le combat affecte une forme inhabituelle (fig. 19 en couleur): un Eros, beaucoup plus offensif que ses congénères, pousse au monstre, en se couvrant le visage et le buste d'un bouclier tenu à gauche, et brandit

17 Le rameau feuillu est ici absent: s'agit-il d'un oubli du mosaïste ou d'une nécessité, du fait de la trop grande taille donnée au personnage?





Fig. 15. Détail du rinceau nord: le loup(?) (A.-M. Manière-Lévêque).



Fig. 17. Mosaique nilotique de Préneste, détail: le *crocodilopardalis* et le *crocodilos chersaios*, attaqués par des pygmées (J.-P. Darmon).

un glaive de la main droite, glaive dont on aperçoit le fourreau, maintenu contre le flanc gauche par un baudrier passant sur l'épaule droite; il affronte une panthère blanche aux reflets bleus, tachetée de noir, qui jaillit dans la toute première spirale du rinceau issu du mascaron barbu situé derrière elle et qu'elle touche presque de sa patte arrière étendue.

Ce rinceau des *Synaristôσαι* doit être mis en relation directe avec celui bordant la mosaïque d'Eros mise au jour à Zeugma par la fouille franco-turque en décembre 1999 dans le chantier 12





Fig. 10. La pièce P13 avec son décor en mosaïque (A.-M. Manière-Lévêque).



Fig. 12. La mosaïque des *Synaristôsaï*: détail de ses diverses parties (A.-M. M.-L.).



Fig. 13. Détail du rinceau est: le lion (A.-M. M.-L.).



Fig. 16. Détail du rinceau sud: l'animal hybride (A.-M. M.-L.).





Fig. 18. Mosaïque des *Synaristôssai*, détail du rinceau ouest: le sanglier (A.-M. M.-L.).



Fig. 19. Détail du rinceau ouest: Eros combattant une panthère (A.-M. M.-L.).



Fig. 20. Zeugma, fouilles du chantier 12. Rinceau de la mosaïque d'Eros, détail: le mascarón barbu (Alain Clary).



Fig. 24. Mosaïque des *Synaristôssai*, détail, avec signature: *Zôsimos epoiei* (A.-M. M.-L.).





Fig. 23. Le tableau des *Synaristôsai* avec sa bordure de rinceau (A.-M. Manière-Lévêque).





Fig. 27. Zeugma, fouilles du chantier 12. Tableau central de la mosaïque d'Aphrodite, avec signature: *Zōsimos Samosateus epoiei* (CNRS, Centre-Henri Stern, UMR 8546).



(fig. 20 en couleur): bien que de dimensions plus petites et de traitement encore plus virtuose, ce dernier se rattache par bien des aspects au nôtre, qu'il s'agisse du traitement des gaines d'acanthé, plus ornées dans la mosaïque d'Eros, ou de celui des mascarons à longue moustache blanche et coiffe en culot d'acanthé. Sans pouvoir affirmer que ces deux bordures aient été réalisées par les mêmes mains ou le même atelier, on voit bien qu'on est en présence d'œuvres reflétant des conceptions et des modes de réalisation ornementales extrêmement proches.

On connaissait déjà à Zeugma la bordure en rinceau sur fond noir peuplé d'Érotés chassant, qui sertissait la célèbre mosaïque des Provinces dite de Balquis,<sup>18</sup> découverte en 1879. Le fragment conservé au Louvre<sup>19</sup> permet de s'assurer que ce rinceau s'apparentait très étroitement aux deux précédents.<sup>20</sup>

Plusieurs autres rapprochements s'imposent, notamment dans l'Antiochène et les régions circumvoisines, pour ce système ornemental qui semble avoir joui d'une grande faveur sur une période longue. Les exemples de rinceaux peuplés à combats d'Érotés avec des animaux sauvages d'Apamée sur l'Oronte,<sup>21</sup> ou d'Antioche,<sup>22</sup> sont d'un style différent et beaucoup plus tardifs que le nôtre, qui se situe plus près des origines de la série; l'exemple de Mariamin<sup>23</sup> appartient également à un univers esthétique sensiblement différent et plus tardif. En revanche, les exemples de Shahba-Philippopolis<sup>24</sup> et surtout de Sepphoris et Naplouse<sup>25</sup> sont beaucoup plus proches, particulièrement en matière de traitement des visages et des feuillages (fig. 21). Une bordure de rinceau à mascarons végétalisés nettement plus ancienne, des alentours du milieu du IIe s., celle du Jugement de Pâris d'Antioche<sup>26</sup> (fig. 22), s'éloigne à nouveau du style de la nôtre par son réalisme plus marqué et sa plus grande liberté de composition.

*Le panneau figuré* (fig. 23 en couleur)

La scène représentée pose d'autant moins de problèmes que le titre en est donné par une inscription. Celle-ci court sur l'entablement d'une architecture à trois larges ouvertures; elle est décomposée en quatre parties mais se lit sans difficulté: CYNA/PI/CT/ΩCAC, titre, mis à l'accusatif pluriel, de la pièce de Ménandre intitulée les *Synaristôsai*,<sup>27</sup> ce qu'on pourrait traduire par les *Femmes au déjeuner*.

Cette architecture est manifestement une *frons scaenae* de théâtre, surmontée d'un décor festonné évoquant le rebord d'une toiture. Sur le *proscenium*, trois femmes assises, assistées de deux petites servantes debout, sont mises en scène dans un intérieur.

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- 18 Ancienne transcription de Belkis, nom du village moderne installé sur le site. Sur cette mosaïque: K. Parlasca, "Zum Provinzenmosaik von Belkis-Seleukeia am Euphrat," in *Mosaïque, Recueil d'hommages à Henri Stern* (Paris 1983) p. 287-295, pl. 190-193.
- 19 F. Baratte, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du musée du Louvre* (Paris 1978) n° 54, p. 131-132, fig. 139: le chien bondissant y est particulièrement à rapprocher de notre sanglier bondissant.
- 20 Sur d'autres fragments conservés de la même bordure, cf. K. Parlasca, "Neues zu den Mosaiken von Edessa und Seleukeia am Euphrat," in *III Colloquio int. sul mosaico antico, Ravenna 1980* (Ravenna 1984) p. 227-234, partic. fig. 5-6.
- 21 J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie* (Bruxelles 1977) n° 54-56, p. 118-122, mosaïque de Méléagre et Atalante, fin Ve s.
- 22 Levi (supra n.12) II, pl. CXLIV b-c (House of the Worcester Hunt, vers 500).
- 23 Balty (supra n.21) n° 45, p. 100.
- 24 *Ibid.* n° 7, p. 24-25.
- 25 L. Roussin, "A new mosaic from Sepphoris in the Galilee," in *VI Coloquio int. sobre mosaico antiguo, alajara 1994* (alajara 1994) p. 221-230, partic. fig. 11 pour les Érotés chasseurs de lièvres.
- 26 Aujourd'hui au musée du Louvre: Baratte (supra n.19) n° 43, p. 87-92, fig. 84-85; en dernier lieu, C. Kondoleon, *Antioch, the lost ancient city* (Princeton 2000) p. 66-71 et pl. au regard de la p. 63.
- 27 A. Blanchard, *Ménandre. Théâtre* (Paris 2000) p. 443-446, qui traduit *Synaristôsai* par *Femmes au petit déjeuner*. La traduction *Femmes au déjeuner*, vieillie mais plus ramassée, se réfère au sens ancien du mot déjeuner.





Fig. 21. Sepphoris, détail du rinceau peuplé (J.-P. Darmon).



Fig. 22. Antioche, maison de l'Atrium, mosaïque du Jugement de Pâris: détail d'un rinceau peuplé (CNRS, Centre Henri Stern, UMR 8546).



Au centre, celle dont la taille et la place indiquent qu'elle est le personnage principal est assise sur la partie droite d'un lit mollement rembourré et recouvert d'une cretonne rayée bleue, grise et beige; tête nue, les cheveux relevés en chignon, elle est vêtue d'un tissu rose dont le drapé, qui épouse les formes du corps, lui retombe sur l'épaule et le bras gauche, qu'elle tient levé, et enveloppe ses genoux; sa main droite repose sur sa cuisse; devant elle, un guéridon-trépied, traité en tesselles jaunes suggérant le métal (cuivre?), porte une coupe en tesselles grises et blanches (verre? argent?).

A sa droite, sur la partie gauche du même canapé, une jeune femme, vêtue de façon analogue dans des tons lie-de-vin, converse avec la première, tournée vers elle, le bras droit levé devant la poitrine, trois doigts tendus, le bras gauche replié sous le voile jusqu'au poignet; ses cheveux s'ornent d'un bandeau enrichi d'un cabochon couleur rubis.

Un peu à l'écart, à la droite de l'image, une femme âgée est assise sur un fauteuil traité en brun, dont on devine le dossier; elle est entièrement enveloppée d'un tissu sombre, traité dans les bleus; un voile blanc lui cache le front et recouvre son épaule gauche.

Tournée vers cette dernière, entre elle et l'extrémité droite du canapé, une jeune servante de petite taille, vêtue d'une tunique traitée dans les jaunes, tient de la main droite une coupe gris-bleu au niveau de sa poitrine. Partiellement cachée par l'autre extrémité du canapé, une seconde servante, dans le même vêtement et la même attitude, s'entrevoit tout à fait à gauche de la scène.

Le visage de la vieille, à la mimique grimaçante et aux traits marqués, évoque sans ambiguïté un masque de comédie. Il est plus difficile de décider si les autres personnages sont censés porter un masque de théâtre. On peut cependant remarquer que les deux visages des jeunes femmes, de forme arrondie, ont une expression quasiment identique, avec même traitement de la bouche, du nez et des yeux, et peuvent avoir représenté un même type de masque caractérisant des personnages de types voisins. La délimitation marquée du menton, nettement isolé du cou, peut aussi confirmer l'hypothèse du port d'un masque par les deux jeunes femmes.

Au bas de l'image, censés être inscrits sur le rebord du *pulpitum*, se lisent les deux mots: ΖΩCΙΜΟC • ΕΠΟΙΕΙ • (fig. 24 en couleur). C'est une signature, qui explique que le titre de la pièce soit mis à l'accusatif dès lors qu'on regroupe l'ensemble des inscriptions en une seule phrase: "Zôsimos a peint les Synaristôsai".

La représentation de cette scène est bien attestée en mosaïque et correspond à une tradition iconographique déjà fixée depuis l'époque hellénistique. En effet, les fouilles de 1763 ont mis au jour à Pompéi, dans la villa dite de Cicéron,<sup>28</sup> un *emblema* en *vermiculatum* attribuable aux alentours de 100 av. J.-C., qui présentait déjà ce même dispositif (fig. 25). Certes, l'œuvre hellénistique est moins anecdotique que la nôtre et va droit à l'essentiel: la *frons scaenae* n'est évoquée que par un haut mur blanc, il n'y a qu'une seule servante et le groupe des trois femmes est plus resserré; certes, elle est un chef-d'œuvre pictural de plus haute qualité. Mais, en dépit des différences stylistiques, tous les éléments du dispositif iconographique s'y retrouvent: les personnages et leur caractérisation théâtrale, tout comme le mobilier. Pendant longtemps on n'avait pas su identifier la scène avec certitude, car la seule inscription figurant tout en haut de l'*emblema* pompéien ne donnait pas de titre, mais seulement le nom du très remarquable peintre mosaïste qui l'avait réalisé, Dioscouridès.

C'est seulement la découverte, en 1961-62, du pavement de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène qui a permis d'assurer l'identification de la scène.<sup>29</sup> La qualité de l'œuvre était, cette fois, fort médiocre, mais son intérêt documentaire essentiel. Un des panneaux de cette mosaïque pré-

28 Mosaïque conservée au Musée National de Naples, n° 9987 = T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments illustrating New Comedy* (3e éd., London 1995, revue et augmentée par J. R. Green et A. Seeberg), t. 1, p. 94, s.v. Synaristosai, 3 DM 1.

29 S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil et R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (Berne 1970) partic. p. 41-44 et pl. 5.1, qui donne accès à la bibliographie antérieure = Webster *ibid.* 6 DM 2.3.





Fig. 25. Pompéi, mosaïque des *Synaristôsai* (autrefois dite des Magiciennes), signée Dioscouridès (J.-P. Darmon).



Fig. 26. Mytilène, mosaïque du Ménandre, détail: les *Synaristôsai* (d'après Charitonidis et al. [supra n.29]).

sentait en effet le même dispositif — inversé — (fig. 26), mais aussi des inscriptions donnant non seulement le titre de la pièce, mais révélant le nom grec des personnages ici représentés:<sup>30</sup> le personnage central, héroïne de la pièce, est *Plangôn*; sa jeune compagne, que sa précieuse coiffure désigne comme une courtisane, s'appelle *Pythias*, et la vieille est une entremetteuse nommée *Philainis*.

A Mytilène — l'inscription le dit —, tout comme à Pompéi et maintenant à Zeugma, c'est le premier acte de la pièce qui est évoqué, et plus précisément le moment (qui correspond à l'un des rares fragments conservés de l'original de Ménandre), où Philainis réclame qu'on lui donne à boire et se plaint que "cette barbare" de servante ait déjà enlevé le vin.<sup>31</sup> Il n'est pas indifférent de remarquer que cette image, pour tout observateur antique normalement cultivé, outre les références littéraires et artistiques, signifiait avant tout: "Qu'on me donne encore à boire!",<sup>32</sup> revendication parfaite-

30 La pièce de Ménandre, perdue, n'était jusqu'alors approchée qu'à travers de rares fragments et surtout par l'adaptation latine de Plaute, la *Cistellaria*, elle-même mal conservée: Plaute, *Théâtre* (A. Ernout éd., t. 3, Paris 1935) p. 7-55.

31 A. Körte, *Menander. Reliquiae* I-II (1938-1959) fr. 385. Cf. Blanchard (supra n.27) p. 445.

32 C'est la traduction qu'on peut faire du début du fragment cité.



ment à sa place et d'excellent augure dans une salle de banquet.

A Zeugma, la mosaïque est cette fois signée Zôsimos. Or ce nom se retrouve sur une autre mosaïque du même site, découverte peu de temps auparavant à quelques dizaines de mètres de là;<sup>33</sup> elle représente un tout autre sujet: une Aphrodite à la coquille, soutenue par deux Tritons (fig. 27 en couleur), surmontée de l'inscription ΖΩCΙΜΟC CAMO/CATEUC ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, qui comporte ici un qualificatif d'origine, mais emploie, comme la nôtre, l'imparfait, au lieu de l'aoriste plus habituel. La proximité topographique de ces deux signatures implique qu'il s'agit bien du même mosaïste, d'autant que la facture des deux images apparaît bien la même, avec le même souci marqué du dessin, privilégié sur les effets purement picturaux (noter, fig. 27, le traitement du visage du jeune Triton *Bythos*, à rapprocher de celui de *Plangôn*, ou encore l'eau sous le corps nu d'Aphrodite, dessinée à la manière des plis d'un tissu), en dépit du fait que les deux dispositifs iconographiques sont tout à fait distincts (ce qui rend la comparaison plus difficile), et en dépit de la moindre familiarité que l'artiste semble avoir eue avec cette représentation d'Aphrodite, assez peu souvent attestée dans la mosaïque de l'Orient romain,<sup>34</sup> ce qui crée un certain sentiment de maladresse, absent du tableau des *Synaristôsai*.

### Conclusions

Du point de vue de la chronologie, l'ensemble des remarques faites concordent tout à fait: qu'il s'agisse du décor géométrique du tapis en U et de ses liens étroits avec certains exemples assez bien datés de la région d'Antioche au IIIe s., du décor floral de la bordure et de ses affinités particulières avec certains rinceaux de Shabbah-Philippopolis ou surtout de Sepphoris, du lien que crée la signature du décor figuré avec certains pavements de la maison voisine,<sup>35</sup> eux-mêmes à rapprocher d'autres pavements assez bien datés d'Antioche, tout contribue à dater notre mosaïque des premières décennies du IIIe s. après J.-C.

Quant à l'intérêt de cette découverte, on voit qu'il est de tout premier ordre: du point de vue de l'histoire de l'art et de la littérature, ce nouveau chef d'œuvre de peinture de pierre confirme avec éclat l'existence de traditions iconographiques anciennes, scrupuleusement respectées à travers les siècles, de figurations codifiées de pièces de Ménandre; du point de vue de l'histoire de la mosaïque, il fait plus que renseigner sur l'activité d'un atelier apparenté à ceux de l'Antiochène, puisqu'il contribue à la révélation d'un maître mosaïste d'époque sévérienne en Orient, Zosimos de Samosate, et il renseigne aussi sur la division du travail au sein des ateliers, car il est plus que probable qu'il faille dissocier l'auteur du panneau figuré, seul digne d'être nommé, et les auteurs anonymes des bordures végétales, si habiles soient-ils, qui ont réalisé ici et dans la maison voisine des cadres très semblables pour des tableaux faits par des mains certainement différentes;<sup>36</sup> du point de vue de l'histoire de la culture enfin, il confirme non seulement la valorisation de la culture classique par les élites aristocratiques de l'Orient hellénisé, mais la parfaite intériorisation de cette culture, dès lors qu'un pictogramme aussi complexe et raffiné que le nôtre pouvait être d'emblée lu par les convives comme le vif souhait de se voir servir, sur les lits de banquet qui lui font face, du bon vin.

Université de La Rochelle (C. A.-R.)

ENS-CNRS, UMR 8546, Centre Henri Stern, Paris (J.-P. D. et A.-M. M.-L.)

33 Dans une pièce, découverte par les fouilleurs turcs dans le chantier 12, au printemps 2000, qui était située au Sud du péristyle central de la maison de la Télète dionysiaque, dite aussi de Pasiphaé.

34 On l'y trouve cependant, de Shabbah-Philippopolis, au IIIe s., à Sarrin, au VIe; cf. les remarques de J. Raltv *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient* (Besançon 1995) partic. p. 35 et 143.

35 Pour plus de détails sur ce point, J.-P. Darmon, "Le programme idéologique de la maison de la Télète dionysiaque à Zeugma", *Actes du IXe colloque int. de l'AIEMA, Rome, 5-10 novembre 2001* (en préparation).

36 Le tableau d'Eros de la maison de la Télète (ou de Pasiphaé), contrairement à celui des *Synaristôsai*, est l'œuvre d'un maître mosaïste qui est avant tout un peintre, plus qu'un dessinateur. En tout état de cause, les mains qui ont réalisé les deux tableaux figurés sont certainement différentes, alors que leurs bordures de rinceau sont très étroitement apparentées.



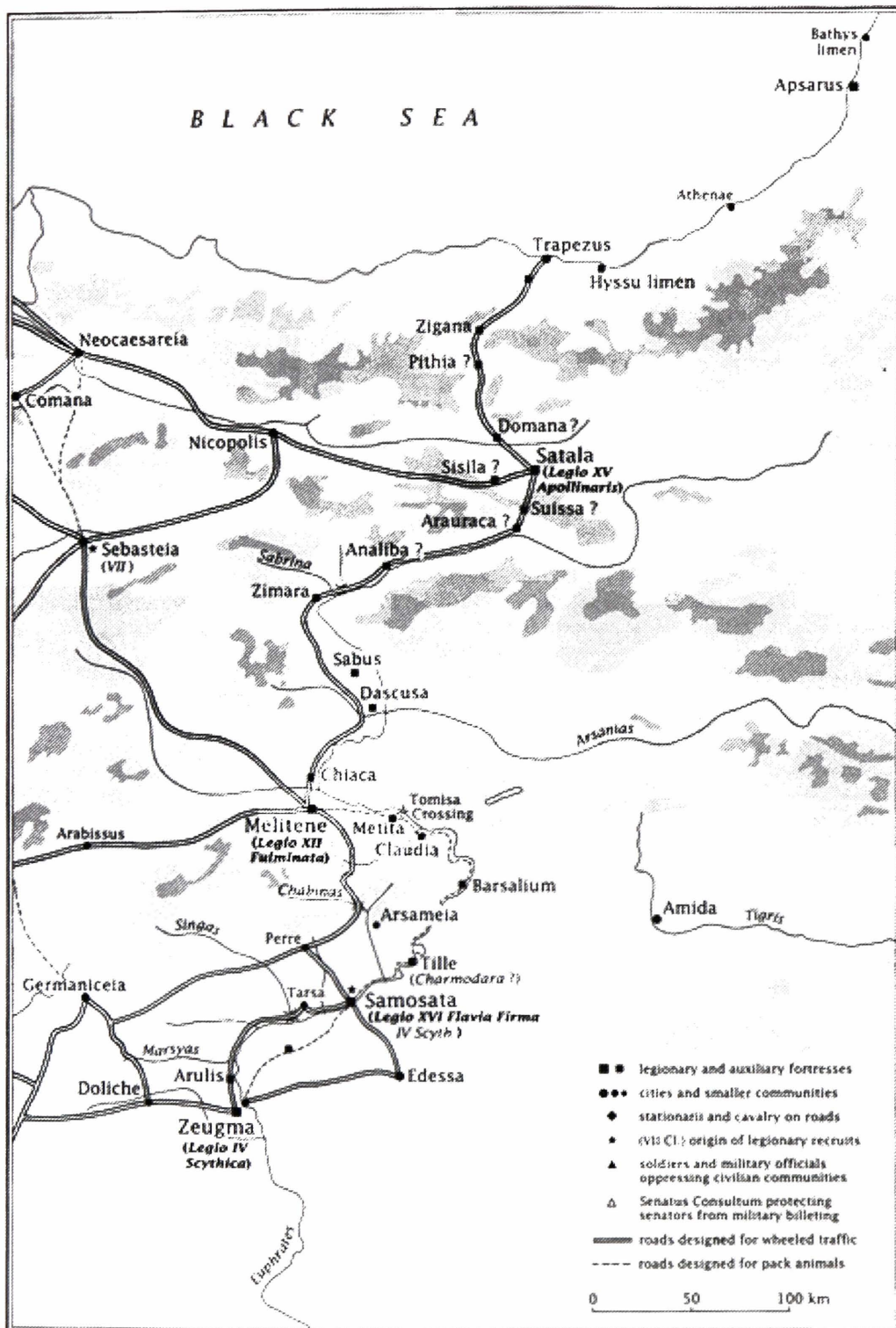


Fig. 1. Zeugma's location on the northern Euphrates frontier (Mitchell 1993, map 9).



# The Roman army at Zeugma: recent research results

M. Hartmann and M. A. Speidel

with a contribution by M. Drahor

## The historical context

The Near East was one of the most culturally, ethnically and linguistically complex areas in the ancient world, with many languages and religions, kingdoms, cities and tribes, local and foreign cultures, as well as many thousand years of history.<sup>1</sup> Between the successors of Alexander the Great and Muhammad, one feature above all others shaped the history of this region: the frontier between the Roman Empire and her single largest rival, the empire of the Parthians and Persians. This frontier divided this part of the ancient world into two spheres of influence. Rome ruled the whole of the area from the Nile to the borders of Iran and from the Black Sea and the Caucasus range to the Red Sea. To the individual lives of the people living there it truly made a difference whether they lived within or beyond the sphere of the Roman empire.<sup>2</sup>

For hundreds of years Roman soldiers guarded, defended and occasionally even extended Rome's eastern frontier. A major part of the Roman army was permanently stationed in this area. In times of crisis and conflict even more soldiers, from units usually stationed at different and far-away places, were sent to the East. Yet this frontier was never an 'iron curtain'. People, goods, ideas and information continuously crossed from one sphere to the other.

Zeugma played an important rôle on this frontier.<sup>3</sup> From A.D. 31 to Septimius Severus' first Parthian expedition in 195 — the *expeditio felicissima Mesopotamena* (ILS 9098) — the Euphrates was the eastern border of the Roman Empire (Vell. 2.101; Strabo 6.4.2; Tac., *Ann.* 2.58, 6.37, 15.17; Suet., *Cal.* 14, etc.). Zeugma's location on the W bank of the Euphrates (fig. 1) made it a frontier city for nearly two and a half centuries (Stat., *Silv.* 5.3.185-87; Jos., *BJ* 7.1.3 [17-18]). Only in 195 when the Roman *provincia Osrhoene* was created and the E bank of the Euphrates became a true part of the Roman empire (AE 1984. 919) did Zeugma lose its position on the empire's official border.<sup>4</sup> Zeugma also lay on the ancient highway that linked the Mediterranean coast and Anatolia with the fertile countries of N and S Mesopotamia. The ancient traveller on this highway would find the *transitus Euphratis nobilis*, as the Elder Pliny put it (*NH* 5.21), κατὰ τὸ Ζεῦγμα (Isid. *Char.* 1; cf. also Dio 49.19.3) or, in the words of Tacitus, *apud Zeugma, unde maxime pervius amnis* (*Ann.* 12.12).

It is no surprise, therefore, that this highway, with its famous and convenient river-crossing, is described in our sources as having been one of the Parthians' favourite invasion routes (Tac., *Ann.* 12.12; Front., *Strat.* 1.1.6; Dio 49.19). Being at the same time just as suitable for Roman operations into Parthian-controlled territory it was regularly used by Roman armies during wars with Parthia. Philo of Alexandria (*Leg. ad Caium* 31.207 and 34.259) clearly implies that much of the Roman army of Syria was safeguarding the Euphrates at least since the reign of Tiberius.<sup>5</sup> One of these units may have been the *cohors II pia fidelis* at Tell el

1 The following pages are an introduction to and an overview of the research carried out by the authors at Zeugma between 1997 and 2002. Given the limited time available to prepare this report, and as our research is still in progress, much of what follows must remain preliminary. A full report is in preparation. We hope nevertheless to render a service by an early presentation of much of the relevant material.

2 Millar 1993; Millar 1996, 159-73.

3 Cf. in particular Wagner 1976; Kennedy 1998.

4 Wagner 1983, 103-29.

5 On imperial politics and the relations between the Roman army and the cities of Syria, see now Gebhardt 2002.



Hajj(?).<sup>6</sup> In A.D. 62, Domitius Corbulo consolidated the military infrastructure on the banks of the Euphrates by building bases at closer intervals (Tac., *Ann.* 15.9: *Euphratis ripam crebrioribus praesidiis insedit*). One of the units carrying out safeguarding duties in the years before A.D. 66 was the *legio X Fretensis* (Jos., *BJ* 7.1.3). In A.D. 19 this legion had had its quarters at Cyrrhos, roughly half-way between Antioch and the Euphrates (Tac., *Ann.* 2.57). It seems likely that the 10th legion was later moved forward, though our sources give no indication when or whither. From 66/67 to 70, *legio X Fretensis* took part in the campaigns of Vespasian and Titus against the Jewish rebels (Jos., *BJ* 3.4.2, 5.1.6; Tac., *Hist.* 5.1). It never returned to its former quarters on the Euphrates, but instead became the permanent garrison of Jerusalem (Jos., *BJ* 7.1.3).

The Euphrates, however, was not left unguarded. In A.D. 70, 3000 of the “guards from the Euphrates” joined Titus’ army in his final attack on Jerusalem (Jos., *BJ* 5.1.6). These soldiers are most likely to have been drawn at least in part from *legio IV Scythica*, as this unit may have been the only legion in Syria during the early months of 70.<sup>7</sup> It has been suggested that *legio VI Ferrata* may also have contributed to those 3000 “guards from the Euphrates”.<sup>8</sup> Though this cannot entirely be ruled out, it is not clear whether the 6th legion had already returned from Italy by the beginning of that year, nor is there any evidence that *legio VI Ferrata* had been part of the Roman forces earlier safeguarding the Euphrates. Instead, the whole of *VI Ferrata* formed the core of two large expeditionary forces in these years: in the summer of 69 it was despatched westwards with Mucianus (Tac., *Hist.* 2.83, 3.46), and in 72/73 it crossed the northern border of the Roman province of Syria and occupied the kingdom of Commagene (Jos., *BJ* 7.7.1). In both cases it seems unlikely that these operations would have led to a part of the Euphrates frontier being entirely stripped of its legionary garrison. More likely, the “guards from the Euphrates” would have participated in such operations with detachments only. Hence, the soldiers of *legio IV Scythica* were, in all likelihood, the only legionary “guards from the Euphrates”.

Safeguarding the Euphrates river must have included as a core task safeguarding its crossing at Zeugma. However, when exactly Zeugma became associated with a permanent legionary base is as yet unknown. Similar locations at Samosata and at Melitene had permanent legionary fortresses since early in the reign of Vespasian. Before the arrival of the legions, both of those places may have had smaller garrisons. In A.D. 49 a temporary Roman military camp was built *apud Zeugma* (Tac., *Ann.* 12.12.3) when Claudius tried to help a friendly Parthian prince seize power in Parthia (*ibid.* 12.11 ff.). The camp was built for the military escort which had accompanied the prince on his journey from Rome to the empire’s border on the Euphrates. A similar situation is on record for the year A.D. 35 (Jos., *Ant.* 18.4.5. Tac., *Ann.* 6.31 ff.). This may imply that, in those years at least, there was no large and permanent legionary fortress *apud Zeugma* that could have provided the quarters for the military escort from Rome in the same way the 10th legion’s fortress at Cyrrhos did for Gemanicus and Piso and their escorts in A.D. 19 (Tac., *Ann.* 2.57).

Zeugma is generally assumed to have been the permanent base of *legio IV Scythica* during the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. J. Wagner even believed he had located the legion’s fortress within the western hills of the ancient city.<sup>9</sup> Literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence indeed show *legio IV Scythica* to have had a close association with the city of Zeugma. The legion was part

6 Stucky 1975. Cf. Gregory 1995, 59-60 and 202, and Russell 1995, 118-19 with n. 254 f., for further references.

7 Ritterling 1925, 1560; Keppie 1986, 421; Millar 1993, 75-76; Speidel 1998, 169.

8 Keppie 1986, 421.

9 Domaszewski 1909, 198 n.1; McElderry 1909, 48-49; Ritterling 1925, 1560; Wagner 1976, 146 and cf. also his map II; Kennedy 1998, 37 and 239. For a history of *legio IV Scythica* with a checklist of the relevant sources: Speidel 1998, 163-204; *id.* 2000, 327-37; see also *id.* 2001, 153-56. Cf. Comfort 2002, 275-76; French 1998, 134; Bishop 1998, 135-37; Ergeç and Önal 1997, 442, fig. 22.



of the Roman army of Syria and was stationed in the north of the province, probably reasonably close to the capital Antioch. The legion's building activities show a clear concentration in Zeugma and its surroundings. Numerous tile stamps found at Zeugma and *IV Scythica's* emblem, the capricorn, on 3rd-c. coins minted at Zeugma are proof of the close link. The city's gravestones include some for soldiers of unnamed (i.e., local) units of the Roman army. Military equipment has been found in significant numbers at Zeugma.

Taken together with the strategic considerations presented above, there can be little doubt that it was a prime task of *legio IV Scythica* to control and safeguard the river-crossing at Zeugma. Even in the 4th c. the river-crossing at Zeugma was not left without military protection.<sup>10</sup> Yet, neither the 4th legion's fortress nor the soldiers' graveyards have been discovered.<sup>11</sup> Thus, many questions remain.

### The investigations from 1997 to 2001 near the Birecik dam and the camps of the 1st c. A.D.

Zeugma is one of the last great Roman military centres in the East available for archaeological and historical investigations. Thus, Zeugma and its surroundings offer the rare opportunity to find a good number of answers to the many open questions on the military history of the Roman Empire, as well as on the history of the Roman Near East. Only by uncovering new archaeological and epigraphic sources can we hope to further our understanding of these issues. The work undertaken in the summer of 2000 by a large number of foreign and Turkish archaeologists excavating at Zeugma and funded mainly by the Packard Humanities Institute has highlighted the wealth and importance of this ancient city, much of which can be fully understood only in the light of Zeugma's strategic rôle on Rome's Euphrates frontier.

In 1996 the present authors set up an independent and privately financed<sup>12</sup> team in order to contribute to the salvage efforts in those areas of Zeugma that were endangered by the construction of the Birecik dam and the imminent flooding of the Euphrates valley. The project is a joint undertaking with the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep and under the patronage of the Universities of Bern (Department of Ancient History and Epigraphy) and Lausanne (Institute of Archaeology and Ancient History). Fieldwork at Zeugma has continuously been carried out by the members of the project since 1997 and is still ongoing.

The long-term goal of this project is to further our understanding of all aspects of Rome's eastern frontier as well as the military history and strategic rôle of Zeugma and its surroundings. This includes the search for the fortress of *legio IV Scythica*, the investigation of Roman military installations in and around Zeugma, and the detailed study of all finds and sources that shed light on the history of the Roman army in this area.

Research in the field was preceded by a detailed study of all known sources on ancient Zeugma and its military history. A study of the local topography was undertaken in 1996 in order to localise possible Roman garrison places in those areas of ancient Zeugma which were due to be flooded. A detailed analysis of Russian satellite photographs which were acquired for this purpose appeared to confirm first results, for they showed the typical outlines of two large, overlapping Roman military camps at the very spot singled out by our team during 1996 (fig. 2).

10 Wagner 1976, 262 = *AE* 1977, 818, with Speidel 1984, 401-3, for a 4th-c. cavalry unit at Zeugma.

11 The statement by Ergeç, Önal and Wagner 2000, 106, that the hitherto unknown location of the fortress of *legio IV Scythica* has been identified is misleading.

<sup>12</sup> Funded from the following institutions: The Packard Humanities Institute, Los Altos; The Birecik Construction Consortium; Gerda Henkel Stiftung; Goethe Stiftung für Kunst und Wissenschaft; Hochschulstiftung der Burgergemeinde Bern; Stiftung zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung an der Universität Bern; Institut für Metallurgie und Metallforschung der ETHZ; Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung; UBS Kulturstiftung; and others.



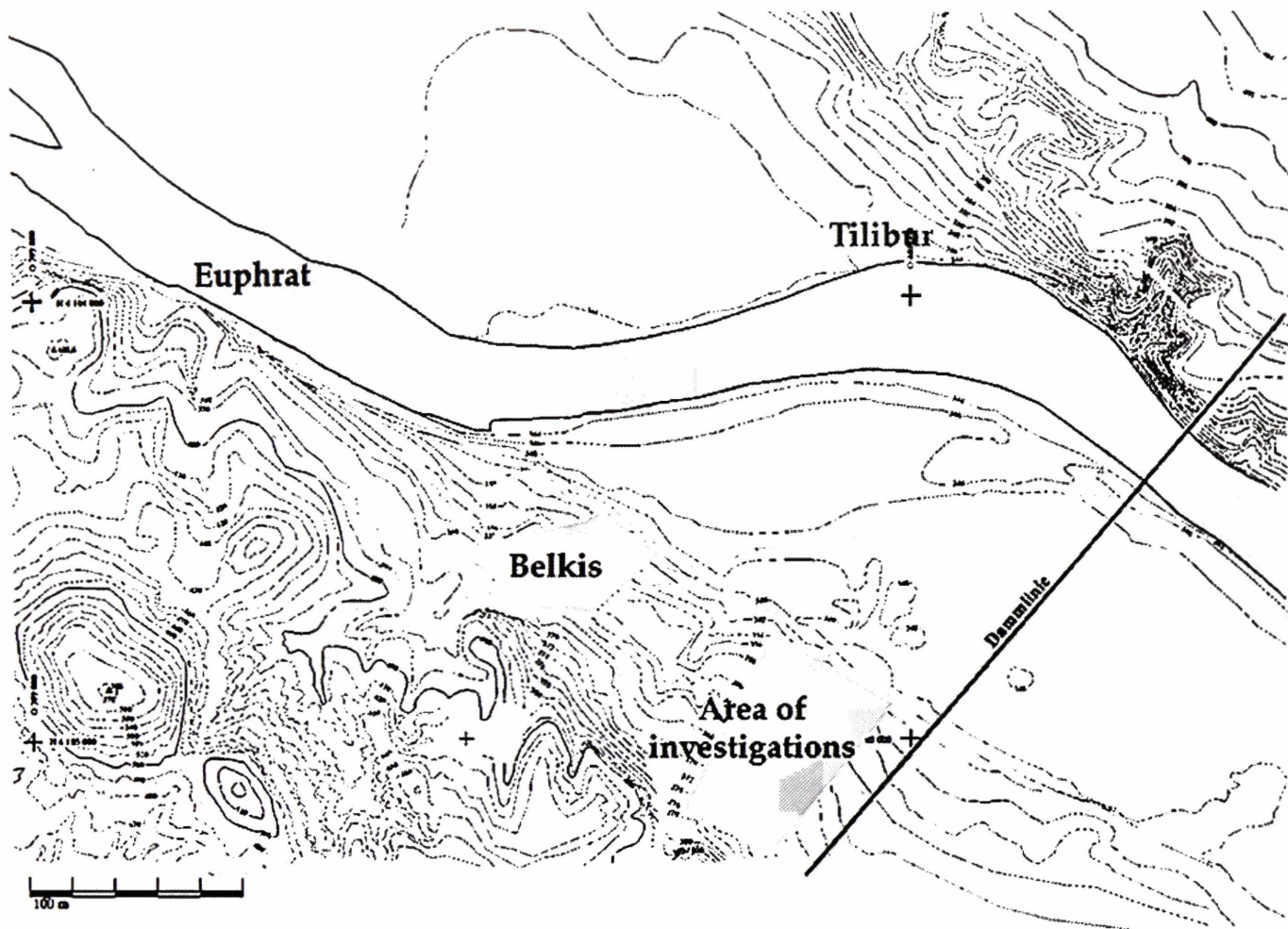


Fig. 2. Area of investigation, 1997-1999 (C. B. Rüger and W. Rutishauser).

Soundings in early 1997 further reinforced these results. In spring 1998 and 1999 final proof was achieved by uncovering several large areas (fig. 3). Both camps could be dated to the 1st c. A.D., and information on the internal structures and length of occupation was obtained. The camp's walls were constructed in part from dried mud bricks and in part from tamped mud. The internal structures investigated were constructed from dried mud and from mud bricks. Both camps were occupied for a very limited period of time.<sup>13</sup>

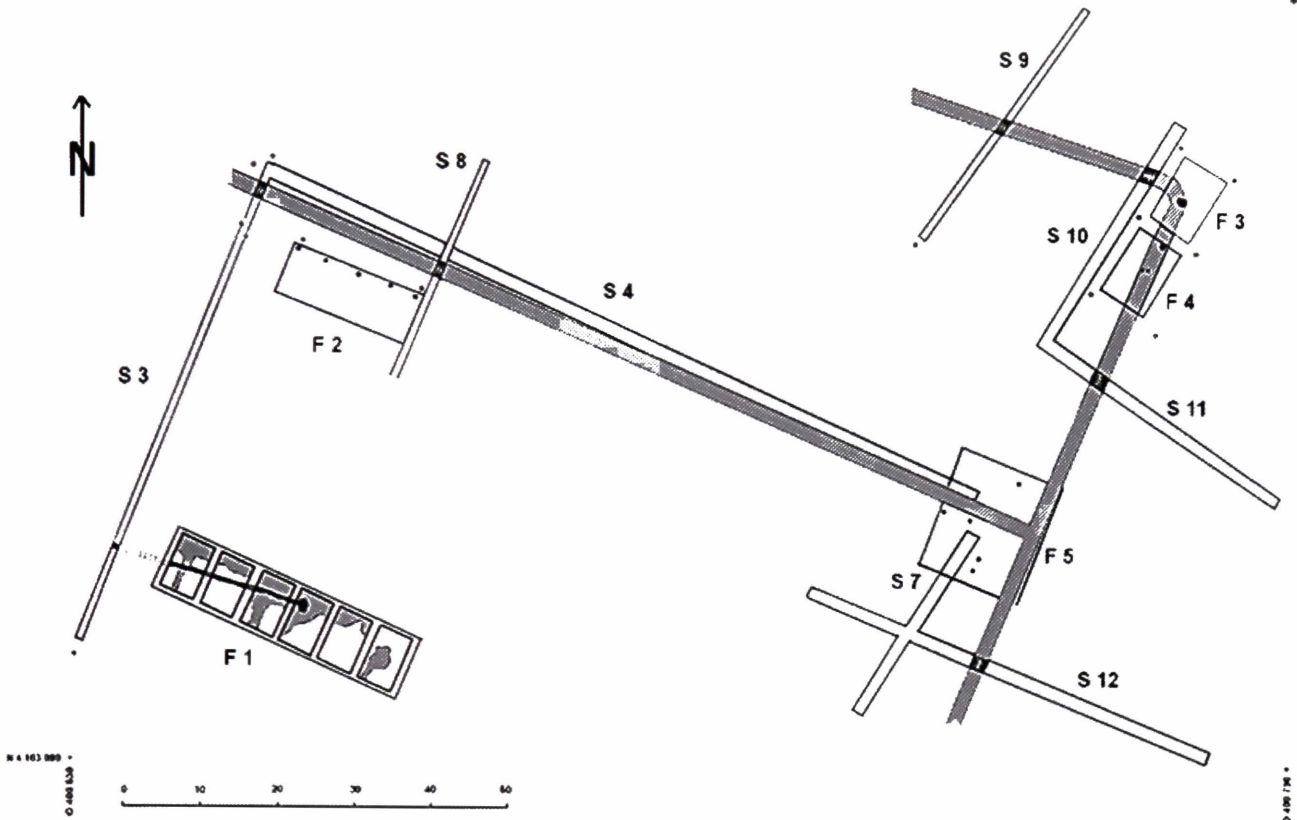
The two superimposed Roman military forts on the upper terrace of the plain east of Belkis village were thus temporary camps only. Their size, dating and short periods of occupation, as well as their location on the banks of the Euphrates next to the ancient city, match what is to be expected of camps such as the one constructed *apud Zeugma* for the escort of the Parthian prince in A.D. 49 (Tac., *Ann.* 12.11 ff.; compare also Jos., *Ant.* 18.4.5; Tac., *Ann.* 6.31 ff.). It is, however, just as possible that other reasons (cf., e.g., Tac., *Ann.* 15.3 and 9) led to the construction of one or both of these forts.

Another insight gained by the 1997-99 investigations was that, contrary to the generally held opinion, the large fortress of *legio IV Scythica* was not situated within Zeugma itself nor immediately by the city on the river bank. A suitable location for a permanent legionary fortress of the 1st c. would best be situated quite close to Zeugma, in a flat area of at least c.18-

<sup>13</sup> For interim reports cf. Hartmann, Speidel and Ergeç 1999; Hartmann, Speidel, Rüger and Ergeç 2000; Hartmann, Speidel, Rüger and Ergeç 2001; Hartmann and Speidel 2001; Hartmann and Speidel (forthcoming). The archaeological campaigns from 1997 to 1999 were under the supervision of R. Ergeç (Gaziantep Museum) and under the direction of M. Hartmann (project leader of the Swiss team). The team also included M. Önal, C. Rüger, W. Rutishauser and M. A. Speidel.



N 4 103 100



N 4 103 100

0 10 20 30 40 50 60

Fig. 3. Area of investigation (1997-1999) showing the position of the trenches (S1-12) and areas (F1-4) and the outlines of the early Roman military camps at Zeugma (grey) (C. B. Rüger and W. Rutishauser).

20 ha, with quick access to the city and its river-crossing and integrated into its road-system. The only suitable area on the banks close by was the plain where the temporary camps of the 1st c. A.D. had been placed, but no traces of any other Roman military installations were detected there during the extensive construction activities for the Birecik dam. Earlier suggestions, that the fortress was located on the hills and terraces of ancient Zeugma,<sup>14</sup> or on the other side of the river<sup>15</sup> — i.e., beyond the limits of *provincia Syria* and beyond the official borders of the Empire — can be ruled out. *IV Scythica's* fortress is thus probably to be found somewhere in the hinterland of the ancient city.

In March 2000, a survey was made of the area between the Belkis water-tower and Dutlu village, east of the new road to the Birecik dam. It revealed a vast area (c.20 ha) with large amounts of fragments of Roman ceramic, tiles, basalt hand-mills and building stones imported to this site. The interpretation of satellite photographs, the remains of infrastructure (roads, aqueducts), strategic considerations, as well as an analysis of the topography, all allowed for a conclusion that this area could have been the site of the fortress of *legio IV Scythica* (fig. 4). Soundings carried out in 2001, however, revealed no archaeological evidence of habitation, apart from a small and apparently private Roman aqueduct which seemed to lead to a Roman villa nearby.

#### The investigations in 2002 and the military camp at 'At Meydanı'

In March 2002 a geophysical survey was carried out on the field 'At Meydanı' northwest of Belkis Tepe (fig. 5). The aim was to collect further information on this

14 Wagner 1976, 146; cf. also his map II.

15 Gregory 1996, vol. 2, 129-31; Kennedy 1998, 37.





Fig. 4. Russian satellite photograph with the outlines of the early Roman military camps (investigation area 1997-99) and the assumed legionary fortress (investigation area 2001) (KWR - 1000, 22.05.1992).



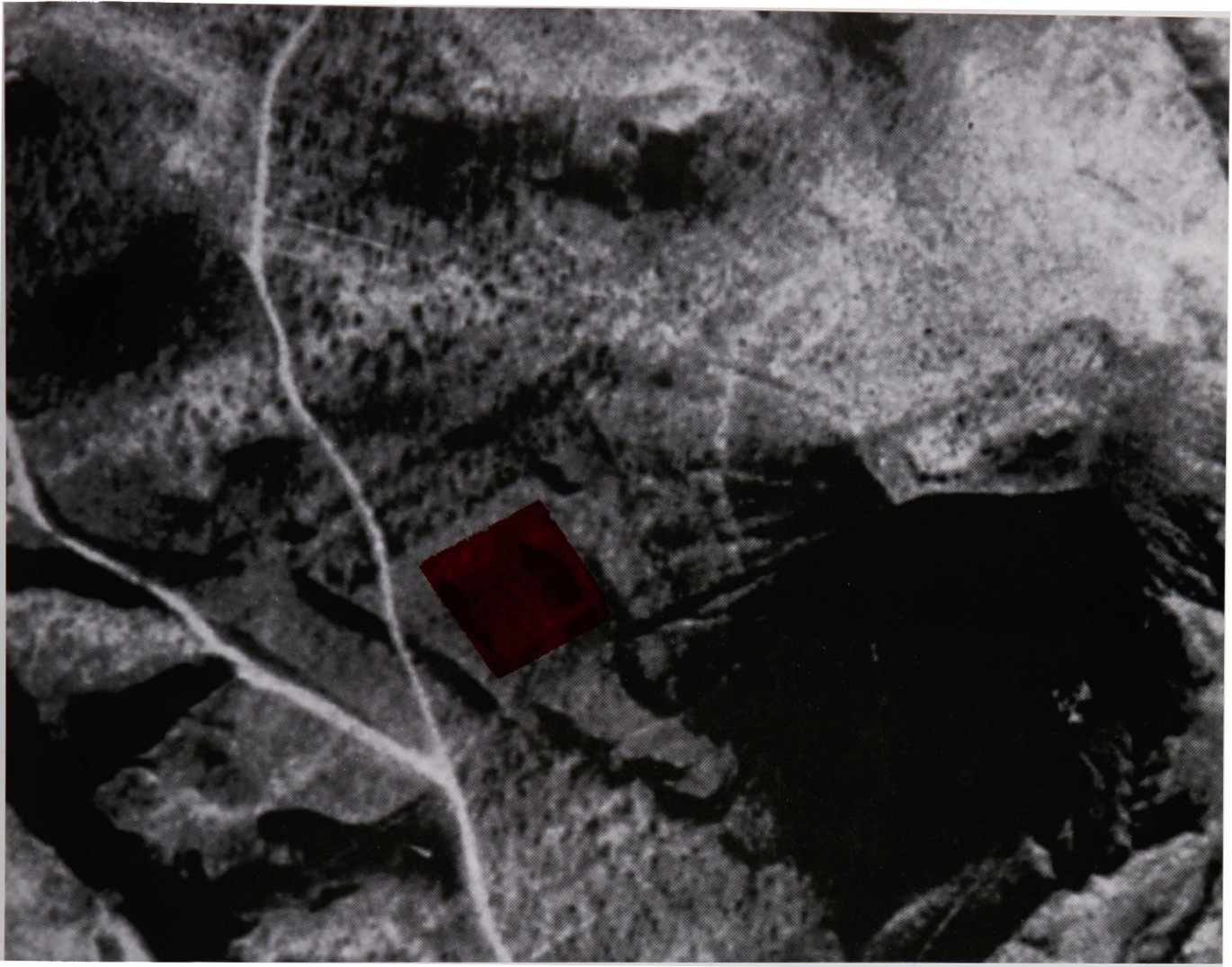


Fig. 5. Russian satellite photograph showing the field 'At Meydanı' (KWR - 1000, 22.05.1992).

field repeatedly reported to have been the site of the fortress of *legio IV Scythica* because numerous stamped tiles of the 4th legion have been found there;<sup>16</sup> further, satellite photographs show clear rectangular outlines of architectural structures conforming to those of Roman military installations.

The geophysics team was led by Prof. M. Drahor of Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir. Both gradiometry and resistivity were applied.<sup>17</sup> The picture produced by the gradiometry data (fig. 6) showed the rectangular outlines of a construction with the typical features of a Roman military fortification. The size of the rectangular features (c.1 ha), however, made it clear that this was not the permanent fortress of *legio IV Scythica*.

In May and June 2002 several trenches were dug in order to verify and clarify the geophysical results. The soundings verified the features detected by M. Drahor's geophysical survey. All trial trenches were confined to the topographically distinct plateau at 'At Meydanı', i.e., between E 40/120 and N 20/120 ) (fig. 7).

As anticipated from the gradiometer image (fig. 6), the foundations of two walls were identified in three trial trenches (S 1, S 2, S 4). Both foundations are 1 m wide and both are situated on the plateau. Where parts of the walls were still intact they had

16 Wagner 1976, 146, and cf. his map II; Kennedy 1998, 37. For the tile stamps see below p. 119.

17 M. Drahor and his team have produced a final report with the results of their investigations and the publication is being prepared.



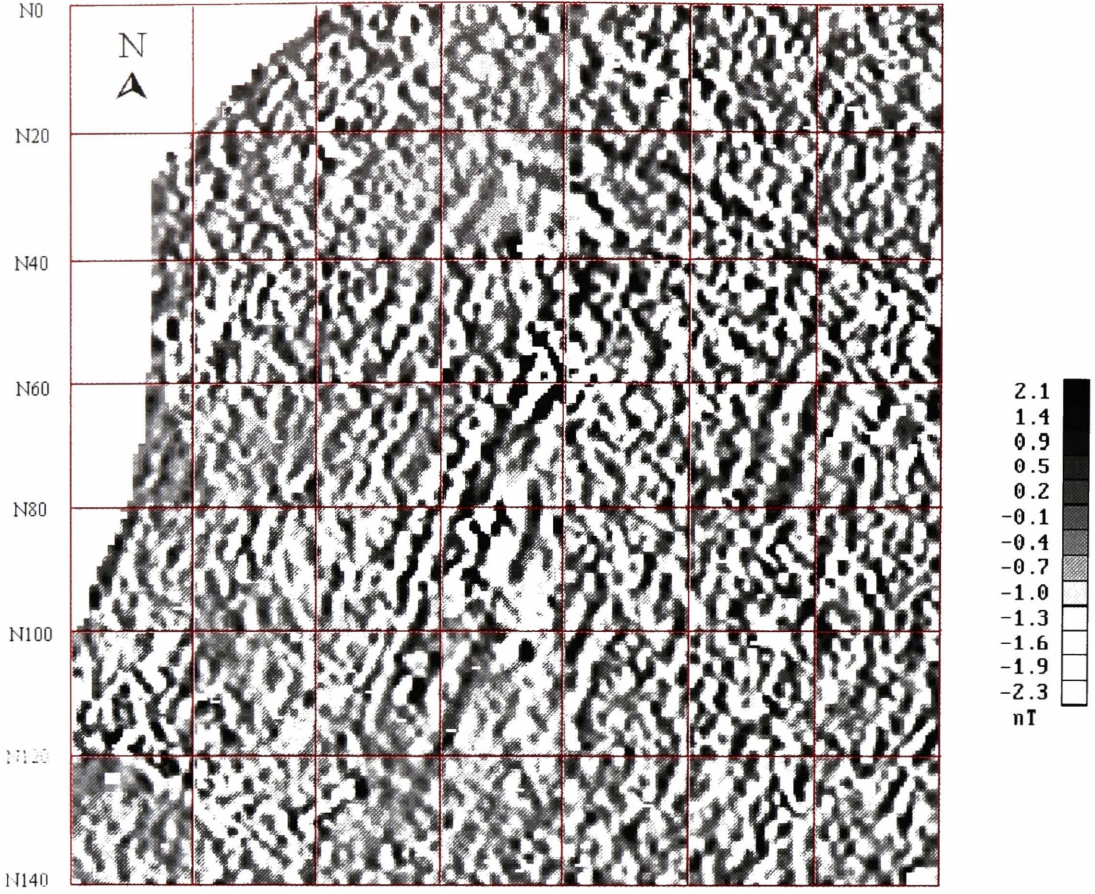


Fig. 6. Large-scale gradiometer image of 'At Meydanı' area, after despiking, low-pass 3x3 and sun relief 0° (M. Drahor, Dokuz Eylül University).

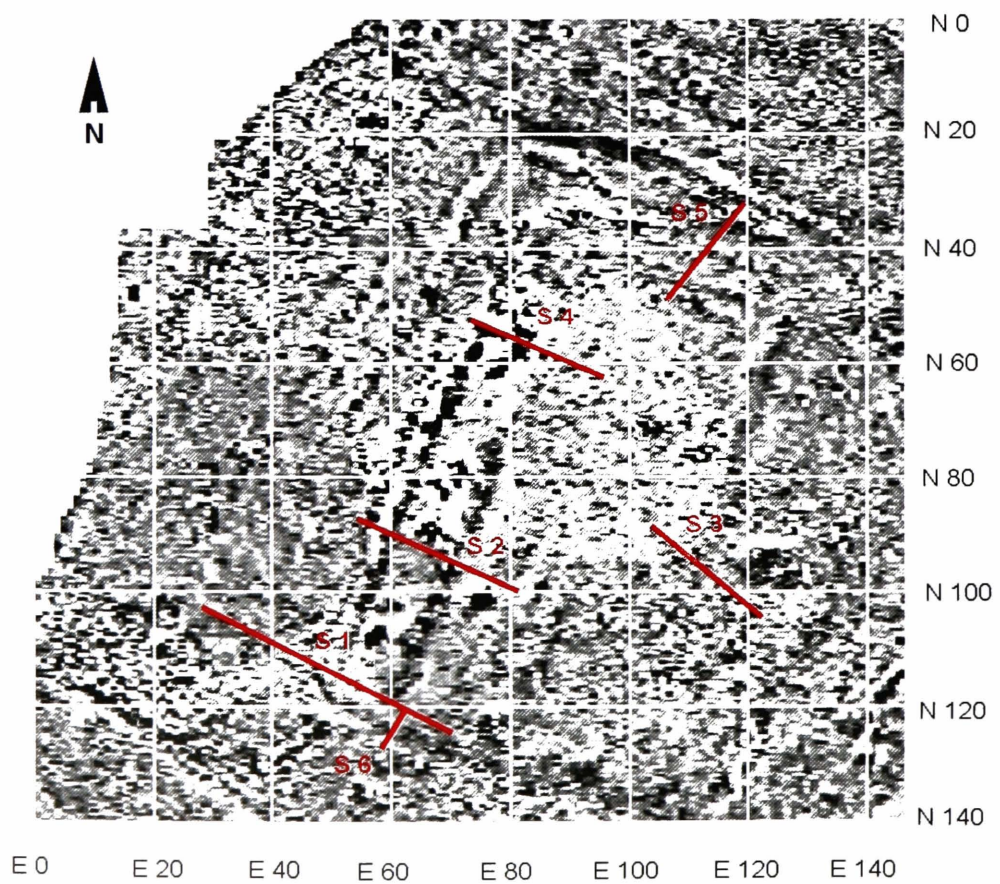


Fig. 7. The position of the trial trenches at 'At Meydanı' (M. Drahor, Dokuz Eylül University).





Fig. 8. Wall of large blocks in trial trench S1.



Fig. 9. Wall of large blocks in trial trench S4.



Fig. 10. Wall of large blocks in trial trench S 5.

been built of large rectangular blocks, while the foundations were constructed from gravel and concrete. These walls had certainly been part of a fortification (figs. 8-9).

A similar situation was detected in the north (S 5) and south (S 6) parts of the plateau. Here again the remains of foundations of walls 1 m wide were observed. In trench S 6 the wall followed the edge of the plateau towards the south, whereas in trench S 5 the wall appeared to be part of a gate (fig. 10).

The occasional remains of smaller wall foundations, of postholes and of rectangular blocks of stone with holes drilled through their centers point to a variety of buildings within the fortification. The stratigraphy in the different trenches showed that there had been several phases, and finds from the trenches confirm this. The significant amount of Roman military equipment (arrow- and spearheads, armor scales, mail shirts, etc.) and 3 coins (Claudius with countermark, a freshly-minted coin of Trajan, and a mid-3rd c. coin from the mint of Zeugma) confirm this. The military equipment from the trenches as well as the numerous stamped tiles confirm the Roman military nature of these remains. However, further and more detailed interpretation, including an analysis of their function and purpose, requires large-scale excavation.

Over the same period, conventional surface surveying continuing in the surrounding fields provided the topographical, architectural, and historical context to the findings at 'At Mey-



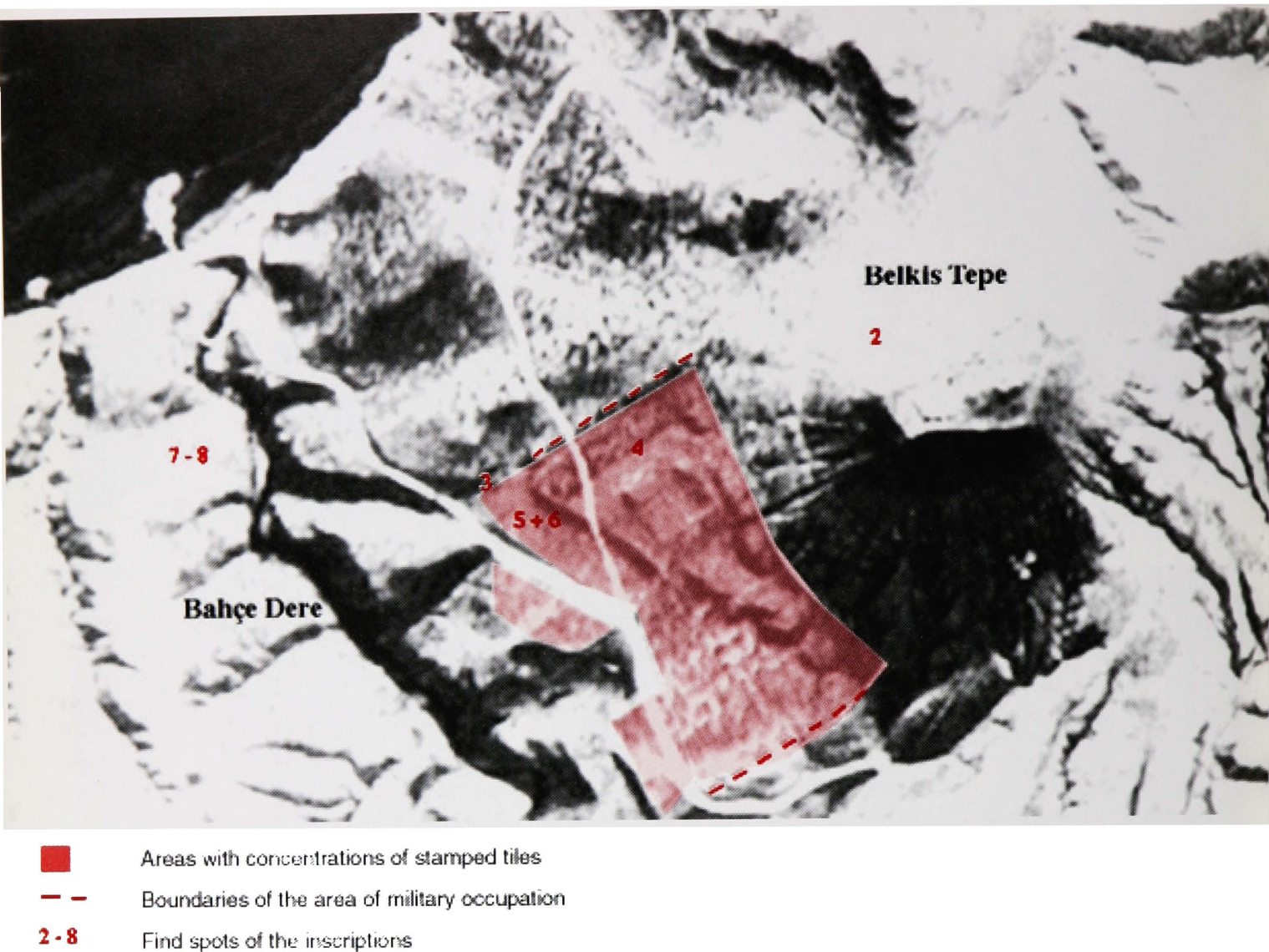


Fig. 11. 'At Meydani' and the surrounding fields (KWR-1000, 22.05.1992).

dani'. These results show that 'At Meydani' lay in the middle of a much larger complex of fields arranged on several plateaux which all show distinct marks of Roman military presence. 'At Meydani' and the surrounding fields extending between Bahçe Dere and Belkis Tepe offer c.15-20 ha of flatter land distributed over a number of terraces. The boundaries at the north and south are formed by two nearly parallel hills which run roughly W-E. The southern hill is interrupted by a man-made gap opening towards an ancient road leading to and from Zeugma (fig. 12). The topography thus implies that this whole area was enclosed and separated from the rest of the city. In all fields within this area, including on the two hills, numerous stamped tiles of Roman legions were found (see below pp. 118 ff.). A concentration was noticed at 'At Meydani' itself, as well as in the fields to the north and the west of it. As yet only one stamped tile from Zeugma has been reported beyond this area.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, four fragments of Latin inscriptions were discovered in the same fields (nos. 3-6 below; cf. fig. 13). Another fragmentary Latin inscription (no. 2 below) was found on the N slope of Belkis Tepe, nearly two-thirds of the way to the top.

<sup>18</sup> It was found on top of Belkis Tepe: French 1994, 35 f. and fig. 2.





Fig. 12. The man-made gap in the southern hill, seen from the south.



Fig. 13. Fragments of Latin inscriptions from the fields surrounding 'At Meydanı'.

In the eastern part of the empire Greek was the official language and there is no indication that Latin ever became a normal language of daily speech. With very few exceptions, Latin inscriptions in this part of the ancient world are linked to distinct, Latin-speaking communities, such as soldiers, veterans, or the staff and officials of the provincial government.<sup>19</sup> At Zeugma this community must have been the Roman army. This is confirmed not only by the numerous military tile stamps found here, but also by two new Latin gravestones of Roman soldiers from the adjacent Western necropolis of Zeugma (nos. 7-8 below).<sup>20</sup> From the same necropolis Wagner had already recovered three Latin gravestones of soldiers of *legio I Adiutrix*, *legio IV Scythica* and *legio X Gemina pia fidelis*:<sup>21</sup> those gravestones belong to the late 2nd and early 3rd c. —

19 Cf. Millar 1993, 527 f.; Eck 2001, 50-53.

20 Wagner 1976, 147 f.; Kennedy 1998, 51 ff.

21 Wagner 1976, 132-35, nos. 1, 3-4; AE 1977. 819, 821-22. Another gravestone of a soldier of *legio X (Gemina) pia fidelis* from the late 2nd/early 3rd c. was found at Syrian Laodiceia: Rey-Coquais 1994, 156-58 = AE 1994. 1770.



hence the soldiers may have died during one of the Eastern wars of the time.<sup>22</sup> The new gravestones date to the late 1st to mid-2nd c. A.D. (no. 7 below) and to the mid-3rd c. A.D. (no. 8). Latin gravestones have, as yet, not been found in any other necropolis of Zeugma.<sup>23</sup>

### The inscriptions and tile stamps

The following inscriptions and stamped tiles were found during the campaigns of 2002 in or in the immediate surroundings of the field 'At Meydanı' (cf. fig. 11). The only exception is the building inscription of *legio IV Scythica* (no. 1) which was found in 2000 during the excavations of the Oxford Archaeological Unit within the boundaries of the ancient city. The list includes all inscriptions found in 2002, as well as all stamped tiles of units other than *legio IV Scythica*.

Measurements are given in meters and in the sequence: height x width x thickness.

#### 1. Building inscription of *legio IV Scythica*

Fragment of a building inscription of local limestone re-worked for secondary use<sup>24</sup> (0.27 x 0.31 x 0.165; letters 0.055-0.035 with traces of red colour). Found in a re-used context<sup>25</sup> in Trench 5 of Oxford Archaeology's 2000 excavations.<sup>26</sup> Now at the Zeugma Excavation House, Birecik.

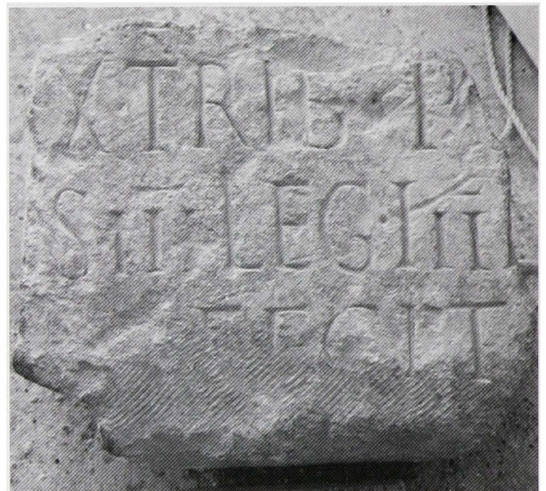
- ] ++ [-  
 - PONT • M]AX • TRIB • PO[T • -  
 - IMP - C]OS • III • LEG • IIII [ • SCYTHICA -  
 - ]                      FECIT

L.1: Traces of 2 or 3 letters: the bottom of an L or an E is followed by the foot of a vertical stroke (which is too close to be a T). There is a possible trace of the foot of a letter before L or E.

L.2: Remains of the bottom right angle of A precede X.

L.3 SCYTHICA could also have been abbreviated.

L.4: FECIT is preceded by a *vacat*. Either could have been centred.



Its dimensions show this stone originally to have been used in an architectural context. The inscription thus celebrated the construction of a public or military building (or part thereof) by *legio IV Scythica*.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, too little of the text is preserved to restore the incomplete imperial titulature and the name of the emperor.<sup>28</sup> The letter-forms may suggest a date within the 2nd c. A.D.

#### 2. Inscription from Belkıs Tepe

Fragment of a block of local greyish limestone, broken on all sides (0.28 x 0.40 x 0.22). Very carefully cut and well-preserved large Latin letters (0.125). Found to the south of 'At Meydanı' in May 2002, on the slopes of Belkıs Tepe, roughly two-thirds of the way towards the top. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

22 Speidel 1992a, 212 f.; id. 1998, 176 no. 1. Cf. also Lörincz 1995, 245-48.

23 Another Latin gravestone when first seen by Wagner in Belkıs village — one of a soldier of *legio II Adiutrix* (now inv. no. 1419 in the Archaeological Museum at Sanliurfa) — had been removed from its original context: Wagner 1976, 534 no. 2 = *AE* 1977. 820. For another Latin gravestone (*IGLS* I 82) found at Çardak, just south of Ehnes, see below n. 80.

24 Worked stone no. 197. We wish to thank C. Crowther for his generosity in letting us include this inscription in our present list.

25 Context no. 5024.

26 On this trench see above p. 34 and cf. Crowther 2001, 139 and 143 no. 5.

27 For such inscriptions in general see now Horster 2001, esp. 168-87.

28 Crowther considers the traces in l.1 to belong to [N]E[R][VA] and would restore the name and titulature of Trajan of the year A.D. 100.



- ]VS•P•F[-  
 - ]++[- ]+[-



L.2: Traces of 2 letters: E or F and C or G. After a lacuna there are remains of a vertical serif from the top right of a letter (I or V?).

The size and shape of this block of stone, as well as its monumental letters of high quality, show that it originally belonged to an important architectural context. The letter-forms may suggest a date in the later 1st or early 2nd c. Its findspot high up on the slopes of Belkis Tepe suggest that the building to which it once belonged stood on the hilltop, within the temple precinct. It may well derive from a temple in that precinct.

The remaining letters in the first line belonged to the Roman name - *Ius P(ubli) f(ilius)* [-. As his name stands in the nominative, this person was responsible for the construction and dedication of the building concerned. As this person chose to decorate that building with a Latin inscription, its construction and its purpose can hardly be understood within a purely local, city-related context. Latin inscriptions in the eastern part of the Empire issued from and addressed a Latin-speaking community (see above), and at Zeugma this is most likely to have been the Roman army and its leaders.<sup>29</sup> It is of interest, therefore, that a stamped tile of *legio IV Scythica* has also been found within the temple precinct on top of Belkis Tepe.<sup>30</sup>

### 3. Inscription for an emperor

Fragment of a slab of reddish marble, broken on two sides and cut for secondary use on the two others (0.16 x 0.16 x 0.04). Remains of two lines with very carefully cut and well-preserved letters (0.05). Found to the north of 'At Meydan' in May 2002. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

- ]AVG[-  
 - ]PON[-



This fragment was obviously once part of an inscription with the name and titlature of a Roman emperor. It may have belonged to a monument honouring the emperor.

### 4. Fragment

Fragment of a slab of an imported light yellow limestone, broken on all sides (0.13 x 0.18 x 0.05). Large, very carefully cut and well-preserved Latin letters (0.10). Found to the east of 'At Meydan' in May 2002, Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

- ]LE[-



29 While still on Trajan's staff as *leg. Aug. pr. pr. expeditione Parthica* and *comes Aug.*, or in 117 as *leg. Aug. pr. pr. prov. Syriae*, Hadrian could have been the one responsible: [- / - P. Aeli]us P(ubli) f(ilius) [Ser(gia) Hadrianus - / -], but this is pure speculation.

30 French 1994, 35 f. with fig. 2.

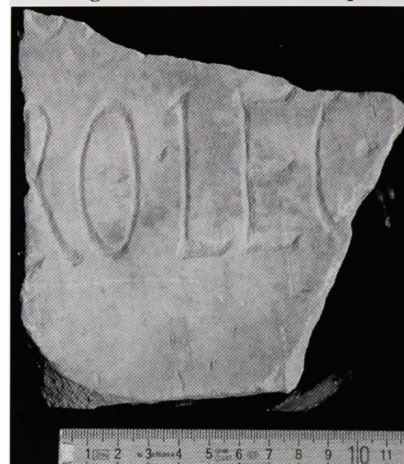


The thickness of this fragment and the size of the letters suggest that it was originally used in an architectural context and thus may have celebrated the construction of a building. The letter forms may suggest a late 1st or 2nd c. A.D. date.

#### 5. Fragment

Fragment of the bottom of a slab of light yellow marble, broken on three sides (0.14 x 0.135 x 0.03). Very carefully cut and well preserved, slim Latin letters (0.06) as if from pen strokes. Found to the northwest of 'At Meydanı', in the immediate vicinity of no. 6, in May 2002. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

- ]O+[ -  
- ]RO • LEG • [ -



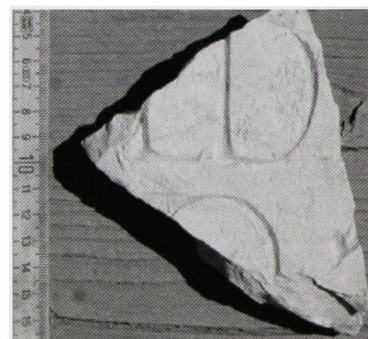
L.1: The bottom of the O is followed by the foot of a vertical stroke, which is too close to be a T.

The letter forms suggest a date in the later 2nd or 3rd c. A.D. The thin slab of marble with its carefully cut, elegant letters may have belonged to a monument or (small?) building. The 5 letters *-]ro leg(-) [-* were part of the inscription's last line and perhaps are best to be understood as: *- curante -]ro leg(ato) [-*, with *-]ro* being the end of a personal name.<sup>31</sup> If correct, an imperial legate had taken care of some task (construction work) and set up the inscription. Whether this was the provincial governor<sup>32</sup> or a legionary legate<sup>33</sup> remains unclear, though in either case it would have been a senator on imperial service in Syria.<sup>34</sup>

#### 6. Fragment

Fragment of a slab of white-reddish marble, broken on all sides (0.12 x 0.11 x 0.033), carefully cut and well-preserved Latin letters with traces of red colour (0.055). Found to the northwest of 'At Meydanı', in the immediate vicinity of no. 5, in May 2002. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

- ]LD+[ -  
- ]O • [ -



L.1: The traces after the letter D are of a vertical stroke and therefore belong to an E or I.

This thin slab of marble with its carefully cut, elegant letters may have belonged to a monument or small building.

31 E.g., Florus, Severus, Taurus, Varus, Verus, etc. Cf. Solin and Salomies 1988, 469.

32 Horster 2001, 188 ff., with many examples.

33 E.g., L. Septimius Severus, *leg. leg. IV Scy.* (Devijver 1998, 210 no. 14). Compare *CIL* III 11965 = *AE* 1971. 292 = *AE* 1986. 533 = *AE* 1987. 791.

34 Less likely but perhaps not entirely impossible: *- curante NAME aquilife]ro leg(ionis) [-*, or similar.



The following two gravestones were found on the W bank of Bahçe Dere where they had been washed out by the waves of the new lake created by the Birecik dam (fig. 14). They were first noticed by the Jandarma of Belkis, who informed Ahmed Beyazlar and the present authors; in a common effort, both stones were recovered and brought to the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep. Their findspot shows that they originally stood in Zeugma's western necropolis.<sup>35</sup>



Fig. 14. The gravestone no. 7 when first seen on the banks of the new lake in May 2002.

#### 7. Gravestone of N. Iulius Hilarus

Rectangular gravestone (1.16 x 0.58 x 0.16; letters: 0.05-0.035), of local limestone. Found in May 2002 on the N bank of Bahçe Dere near no. 8 in Zeugma's western necropolis (cf. above p. 111). A staff with a reinforced butt stands to the right of the inscription; below it is a set of wooden writing-tablets (*codex*). Now in the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

D(is) M(anibus).

N(umerius) Iulius

·N(umerii)? f(ilius) ·H·ilarus

Bolla<sup>II</sup> op(tio)

5 leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis).

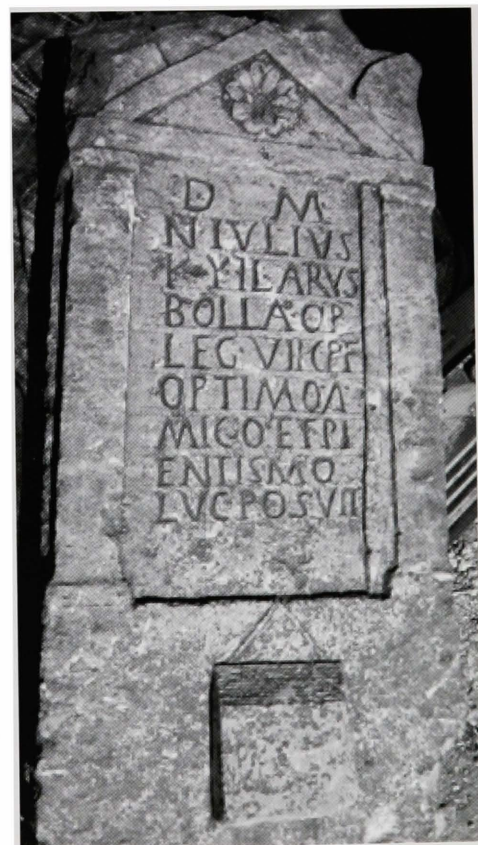
Optimo a-

mico et pi-

entis·i·mo

Luc(ius?) posuit.

early, the common *cognomen* Hilarus like letter must therefore have been part of the deceased's filiation. It could be taken as the Latin cursive form of the letter F, which was simply copied onto the stone from a copy



35 Wagner 1976, 147 f.; Kennedy 1998, 51 ff. See also above p. 111.



of the text. If correct, the stone mason hardly understood what he was writing, as he also forgot the abbreviated *praenomen* of the filiation, and misread the H of Hilarus for a Y.

L.4. BOLLA is followed by two small vertical strokes resembling quotation marks at the top right of the letter A. Their meaning is unclear.

The invocation of the *dii manes*, the deceased's full Roman *tria nomina* with the rare *praenomen* Numerius,<sup>36</sup> as well as its general appearance, date this gravestone to the late 1st to mid-2nd c. A.D. *Bolla* in the third line meant to indicate the soldier's home. However, no ancient city of this name is known. The strange sign following the letter A may raise the question whether the stone mason misread his copy of the text. Pola in N Italy could have been meant, or perhaps Byllis in Macedonia.<sup>37</sup>

From around the mid-1st c. *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* had its permanent garrison-place at Viminacium (Moesia) on the Danube, where it may have replaced *legio IV Scythica* after the latter's move to the East.<sup>38</sup> Detachments of *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* regularly participated in eastern campaigns and recruited soldiers in Syria.<sup>39</sup> Amongst the tiles found in the fields investigated around 'At Meydani' one, though damaged, appears to show a stamp of *legio VII* (see below no. 12). Other 2nd- and 3rd-c. gravestones of soldiers of *legio VII Claudia* were set up at Cyrrhos, roughly half-way between the capital Antioch and Zeugma, and at Beroea (Aleppo).<sup>40</sup> The dating of our inscription, however, suggests that N. Iulius Hilarus came to Zeugma during Trajan's or Lucius Verus's Parthian war.<sup>41</sup>

The title *optio* is here to be understood as *optio centuriae* or *optio vexillationis* — i.e., as the second in command of a *centuria* or (as is perhaps more likely in this case) of a detachment.<sup>42</sup> In battle, such *optiones* stood to the left in the rear of the battle-line, and used the *hastile*, a staff with a reinforced bottom end, but without a blade at the top, to keep in line the usual four ranks of soldiers in front of them.<sup>43</sup> Hilarus, too, had such responsibilities, as he made clear by showing the *hastile* on his gravestone. Like other *optiones*, Hilarus also had administrative tasks involving book-keeping and writing lists and reports for his superiors, some perhaps concerning the condition of the unit's soldiers and equipment.<sup>44</sup> This part of his duties is symbolised by the set of wooden writing-tablets (*codex*) below his inscription.<sup>45</sup>

The deceased's 'best and most loyal friend' Luc(ius?)<sup>46</sup> may either have been a soldier from the same legion or from the same expeditionary army, as the term *frater* was commonly used amongst fellow soldiers.<sup>47</sup> Hilarus' gravestone is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the internal structure and the functioning of such legionary detachments of the early to mid-2nd c. A.D.

N. Iulius Hilarus is not the first soldier of *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* to become known from this region. Numeria Pontidia, the 'wife' of another soldier of the 7th legion, died here at roughly the same time as Hilarus:<sup>48</sup>

36 Salomies 1987, 39-41, draws attention to the rare occurrence of this *praenomen* outside S Italy. The combination with Iulius appears to be exceedingly rare.

37 Bulla (Regia) is less likely, as there is no apparent reason why *legio VII Claudia* should have recruited soldiers in N Africa.

38 Thus Ritterling 1925, 1619. See also Strobel 2000, 526-28; Laporte 2000, 560 ff.

39 Ritterling 1925, 1622 f.; see now also *ILJug* 3.1312 = *IMS* 3/2 33; *AE* 1992. 1609 (Dereköy); *AE* 1993. 1518b (Apameia). A *beneficiarius* and *immunis* from Berytus: *ILJug* 42 = *IMS* VI 45 (Scupi; first half of the 2nd c. A.D.). He may have been recruited during Trajan's Parthian war.

40 *IGLS* I, 150, 151 and 179.

41 *Legio VII Claudia* sent soldiers to both wars: Saxer 1967, 26 f. no. 45; Ritterling 1925, 1622. See in particular *ILS* 9491 and *AE* 1939. 139 = *TAM* V.2, 1143.

42 *Veg.* 2.7; Speidel 1984, 190 ff.; cf. also Breeze in Breeze and Dobson 1993, 71-77. See *CIL* VIII 22759 for a centurion and two *optiones* commanding a detachment.

43 *Mauricios* 12 B 16-17; Speidel 1992b, 24-26.

44 Le Bohec 1989, 185 ff.; Breeze in Breeze and Dobson 1993, 71-77; Speidel 1996, 59 f.; Birley 2002, 80 ff.

45 Compare the gravestone of Caecilius Avitus, *optio legionis XX Valeriae Victrix* from Chester, who also shows his *hastile* and a set of writing-tablets: *RIB* 492; Speidel 1996, 61, ill. 28.

46 *Luc(-)* could, of course, also be an abbreviation for many other *cognomina*, such as *Luc(ianus)*, *Luc(ilianus)*, *Luc(illus)*, etc. Cf. Lörincz 1994-2002, 3.33-38, with numerous examples.

47 Cf. *IGLS* I 150 (Cyrrhos, 3rd c. A.D.) where a soldier of the other Upper Moesian legion, *legio IIII Flavia*, set up a gravestone for his comrade Ulpius Victor from *legio VII Claudia*. Both soldiers obviously belonged to the same expeditionary army. For *frater* as fellow soldier, see Speidel 1996, 35.

48 Cumont 1907, 577 no. 16, fig.; Cumont 1917, 329 no. 37; *IGLS* I 83.



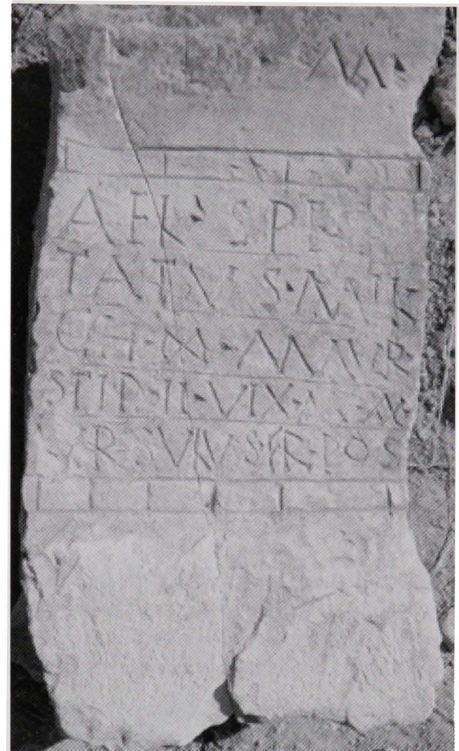
Τίτος Φλάουιος Ἀρουντιά(ν)ος στρατιώτης λεγεώ(ν)ος ζ' πίστη(ε) ἀνέθηκε / Νομέριος Ποντίδιας / γυνέκος.<sup>49</sup>

Pontidia's gravestone is now lost. At the turn of the 19th to 20th c., however, it was at the American college of Aintab (Gaziantep) where Cumont saw and recorded it. Like most inscriptions in the collection of the American college, this one may have been brought there from Belkis village,<sup>50</sup> at any rate, it would not have come from much further away. On the grounds of the square letters and of the soldier's name of Titus Flavius, Cumont dated the inscription to the later 1st or the 2nd c.<sup>51</sup> There is nothing in the text itself to contradict this view, and again Trajan's or Lucius Verus's Parthian wars may have been the occasion for the presence of T. Flavius Arruntianus and a detachment of the 7th legion.

#### 8. Gravestone of Aelius Spectatus

Rectangular gravestone (0.62 x 0.33 x 0.16; letters: 0.04-0.035), of local limestone with traces of red colour. Found in May 2002 on the W bank of Bahçe Dere near no. 7 in Zeugma's western necropolis (cf. above p. 111). Now in the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

D(is) M(anibus)  
Ael(ius) Spec-  
tatus mil(es)  
c(o)h(ortis) ∞ Maur(orum)  
stip(endiorum) II vix(it) an(nos) XX.  
Ursulus fr(ater) pos(uit).



The absence of a *praenomen* for Aelius Spectatus and the inscription's general appearance date it to the mid-3rd c. A.D. The deceased, a soldier of *cohors* ∞ (*milliaria*) *Maurorum*, died after only two years of service. His unit had been raised for Marcus Aurelius's wars against the Marcomanni and Sarmates. Since the end of those wars it had its permanent garrison place in Matrica, Lower Pannonia.<sup>52</sup> The term *frater* shows Ursulus to have been a member of the same unit or the same expeditionary army.<sup>53</sup> This is confirmed by the Latin *cognomina* of the deceased and his comrade, Spectatus and Ursulus, both of which are particularly common in Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia.<sup>54</sup>

Spectatus' gravestone is the first proof of this unit's participation in an eastern campaign. However, *cohors* ∞ (*milliaria*) *Maurorum* may well have been part of the *vexill(atio) auxiliar(iorum) Pann(oniae) infer(ioris)* that took part in Severus Alexander's Persian war (CIL III 1464 = ILS 1370), or of the 3rd-c. *vexillatio P(annonniae) inf(erioris)* which also included auxiliary troops.<sup>55</sup> Other campaigns are, of course, equally possible, and it therefore remains unclear in which of the eastern wars of the 3rd c. Aelius Spectatus took part.<sup>56</sup> At any rate, Spectatus' gravestone is further proof that the auxiliaries regularly joined the

49 By mistake, Numeria Pontidia's name is in the genitive instead of the dative.

50 IGI S 84 and 108 ff.

L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, IGLS I 83.

52 Lörincz 2001, 30 ff., 50 ff. and 270 ff., with nos. 380-91. See now Pferdehirt 2002, 247-60, with a military diploma attesting the presence of *cohors milliaria Maurorum* in *Pannonia inferior* in A.D. 193.

53 See n. 47 above.

54 Lörincz 1994-2002, 4.90 and 187.

55 Speidel 1992a, 67-70.

56 For Pannonian troops on campaigns outside their provinces, see Mocsy 1962, 626-29; for the participa-



legionaries of their province whenever they went to war.<sup>57</sup> Spectatus' young age and short military service may surprise. However, it seems that soldiers with only few *stipendia* were often chosen for campaigns abroad.<sup>58</sup>

Tiles with stamp-marks of Roman legions have been found in relatively significant numbers since Wagner's first report in 1976. D. L. Kennedy and D. French compiled a list of all known examples in 1998.<sup>59</sup> Their list of 34<sup>60</sup> tile stamps of *legio IV Scythica* includes two that were found at the Roman bridge over the Karasu,<sup>61</sup> and one from the Roman fort at Eski Hisar, the construction of which can be dated to A.D. 197.<sup>62</sup> Apart from one example which was found in the temple precinct on top of Belkıs Tepe (compare no. 2 above),<sup>63</sup> and 4 others from nearby Kara Tepe,<sup>64</sup> all 30 others are surface finds from 'At Meydanı'.<sup>65</sup>

We can now add to this list 78 new examples from our 2002 campaign. The majority are again stamps of *legio IV Scythica* (fig. 15). Almost all are surface finds from 'At Meydanı' and the surrounding fields (cf. fig.



Fig. 15. Two of the many tile stamps of *legio IV Scythica* found in 2002 at 'At Meydanı' and in the surrounding fields.

11), only 4 were recovered from the trial trenches nos. 1, 2, and 3. A concentration of the stamped tiles was noticeable at 'At Meydanı' and in the fields to the north and the east of it — i.e., roughly in the same areas where fragments nos. 3-6 were found. Many different stamps were used to create the impressions on the tiles, which appears to indicate that not all of them were produced during the same period.

Several tiles, however, were found bearing stamps of other legions (nos. 9-13, below). Their common characteristic (with the exception, perhaps, of no. 11.2) is that they appear to indicate only the legion's numeral but not its name. All complete tile stamps of *legio IV Scythica*, however, have an abbreviated form of *Scythica* following the legion's numeral. Some fragmentary stamps without a legion's name have therefore also been included in the following list, bringing the present number of this group of tiles up to 10.

All the tile stamps need to be measured and drawn. A full publication is being prepared. The following list intends to give merely an overview of the information available for the archaeological and historical interpretation of 'At Meydanı' and the surrounding fields.

#### 9. Tile stamps of *legio I*

1. Found north of 'At Meydanı', on the lower plateau beyond the modern road. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

tion of Pannonian auxiliaries, see Lörincz 2001, 149 f. (omitting his own Kat. Nr. 378).

57 Saxer 1967, 101; Speidel 1992a, 70.

58 Speidel 1984, 14 and 277.

59 In Kennedy 1998, 133 ff.

60 No. 28 of the list given at Kennedy 1998, 134, is in fact not 1 but 4 tile stamps, found by the French team (C. Abadie-Reynal) at 'Kara Tepe', not 'At Meydanı'. Cf. Kennedy 1998, 103.

61 Wagner 1977, 539.

62 Wagner 1983, 109 and 112 f.

63 French 1994, 35 f. with fig. 2.

64 Pers. comm. C. Abadie-Reynal.

65 The excavations of the Oxford Archaeological Unit in 2000 produced no further examples (R. Early, pers. comm.)



LEG I



2. Found just below the N slope of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

[LE]G I



The *legio I* in question is most likely to have been *legio I Adiutrix* from Brigetio, Lower Pannonia, as detachments of this legion are known to have taken part in several eastern wars during the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D.<sup>66</sup> A gravestone of the Severan period of one of its soldiers was found by Wagner in Zeugma's western necropolis.<sup>67</sup> Another soldier of *legio I Adiutrix* was buried at Cyrrhos, probably during Trajan's Parthian war.<sup>68</sup>

#### 10. Tile stamp of *legio II*

Found just below the N slope of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

LEG II



Probably *legio II Adiutrix* from Aquincum, Lower Pannonia, was meant. This legion took part in several eastern campaigns of the 2nd and 3rd c.<sup>69</sup> and recruited soldiers in Syria.<sup>70</sup> One of its soldiers was buried at Zeugma during Severus' or Caracalla's Parthian wars.<sup>71</sup> Probably during Trajan's Parthian war, another soldier of this legion died at Alexandria.<sup>72</sup>

66 Ritterling 1925, 1392 and 1396-99; Speidel 1984, 12-14; Lörincz 1995, 245-48. For Pannonian troops on eastern campaigns, see Mocsy 1962, 626-29. Perhaps it can not be entirely ruled out that *legio I Italica* was meant: cf. Guey 1939, 56 f. = *AE* 1939. 132 = *SEG* XVIII 554 = *TAM* V.2, 1143; cf. Ritterling 1925, 1413.

67 Wagner 1976, 135 no. 1 = *AE* 1977. 819. Cf. Speidel 1992a, 212-17.

68 *CIL* III 6766 = *IGUR* 1.116, with Ritterling 1925, 1392.

69 Ritterling 1925, 1448-51; Speidel 1984, 12; Mocsy 1962, 626-29. Cf., e.g., *CIL* III 10572.

70 E.g., a soldier from Hierapolis: *CIL* III 11076 = *RIU* 737bis (possibly from Brigetio); a soldier from Hemesa: *CIL* III 3301 = *RIU* 1031 (Várdomb).

71 Wagner 1976, 534 no. 2 = *AE* 1977. 820. Cf. Speidel 1992a, 212-17.

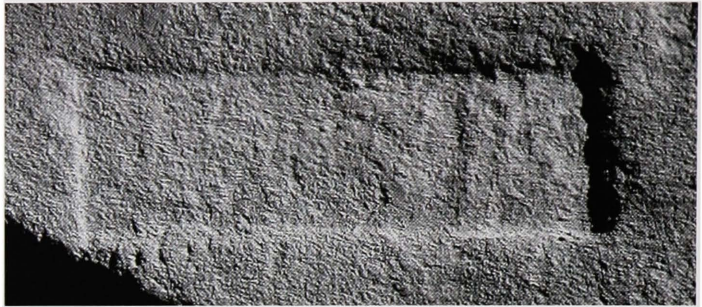
72 *AE* 1936. 163 (Aquincum).



11. *Tile stamps of legio III*

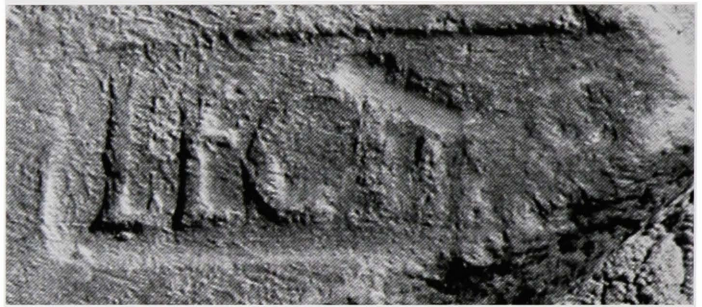
1. Found north of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

LEG III



2. Found north of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

LEG III++



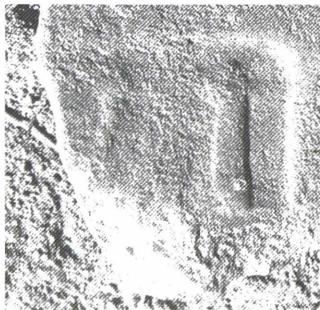
The badly damaged traces following the numeral may read A or AV.

The legion in question is most likely to be *legio III Augusta* from Lambaesis, N Africa. Soldiers of this legion are known to have participated in the Parthian wars of Trajan, Lucius Verus(?), Septimius Severus, and Caracalla.<sup>73</sup> In the two decades following Trajan's Parthian war, *legio III Augusta* had a significantly large number of soldiers from Roman Syria in its ranks, including one [-] *Arellianus* from Zeugma.<sup>74</sup> Clearly, the 3rd legion had recruited soldiers locally while on campaign with Trajan.

12. *Tile stamp of legio VII(?)*

Found just below the N slope of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

[LEG] VII



Between the remains of the V and the last stroke of the numeral there is a vertical, rectangular area with a rough surface. This may have been the result of a damaged stamp or an imperfect impression. If correct, the numeral is to be read VII, and the inscription should be restored to [*leg(ionis)*] VII (*sc. Claudiae piae fidelis*). For this legion on eastern campaigns and for one of its soldiers buried at Zeugma, see above no. 7.

13. *Tile stamps of other legions*

1. Found north of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

<sup>73</sup> Ritterling 1925, 1499-1501; Le Bohec 1989, 375, 392 and 403; *CIL* VIII 3275; *ILS* 9098 with Speidel 1992a, 222; *CIL* VIII 2975 = *ILS* 2306; *CIL* VIII 2564 = 18052 = *ILS* 470.

<sup>74</sup> *CIL* VIII 18084.18. Cf. Ritterling 1925, 1499 f.; Le Bohec 1989, 375 and 497. For a soldier from Doliche, see Le Bohec 1989, 311 and 498.



[LEG] XIII



2. Found north of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

[LEG] XIII or [LE]G III



Both the state of conservation and the quality of the stamp impressions of 13.1 and 13.2 do not allow for a reliable restoration of the unit's name. The traces preceding the first vertical stroke on fragment 13.1 best fit the foot of an oblique stroke. Thus, the stamp is perhaps to be read [LEG] XIII. *Legio XIII Gemina* from Carnuntum (Pannonia Superior) is the only legion missing from our epigraphical record of Pannonian legions at Zeugma. The 14th legion is known, however, to have participated in eastern wars.<sup>75</sup> It would, therefore, have made sense to assign the same expeditionary quarters to all Pannonian legions at Zeugma.

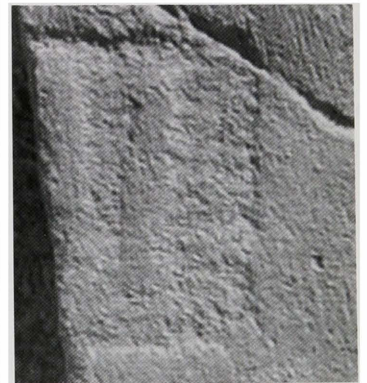
Though 13.2 is clearly not an impression of the same stamp, it too may have read LEG XIII. Alternatively, the reading [LE]G III is just as possible for 13.2. At any rate, *legio IV Flavia* from Singidunum (Moesia Superior) had also participated in eastern campaigns.<sup>76</sup> An inscription at Cyrrhos shows a detachment of the 4th legion to have been on campaign in the East in the 3rd c. A.D. together with a detachment of the other legion of Moesia Superior, *legio VII Claudia*.<sup>77</sup> As the 7th legion is now known to have had soldiers at Zeugma (nos. 7 and 12), the same may be true for the 4th legion.

3. Found north of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

[LEG -]II

4. Found north of 'At Meydanı'. Now at the Archaeological Museum, Gaziantep.

[LEG -]II



The two fragments 13.3 and 13.4 are obviously from two different stamps. Neither fragment has preserved more than two vertical strokes. It is unlikely that these were tiles of *legio IV Scythica*, as the complete stamps *legio IV Scythica* added an abbreviated form of the name *Scythica*.

75 Ritterling 1925, 1741 f.; Mocsy 1962, 628.

76 Ritterling 1925, 1545 f.; Le Bohec and Wolff in Le Bohec 2000, 241.

77 IGLS I 150.





Fig. 16. Areas of military occupation at Zeugma (see arrows) (KWR - 1000, 22.05.1992).

### The contribution of the above inscriptions to historical interpretations

Some conclusions may be drawn from these finds. The stamped tiles and fragmentary Latin inscriptions (except nos. 1 and 2) are spread within the enclosed area in the western part of ancient Zeugma (see fig. 11 and above p. 110) but have so far not been found in significant numbers beyond.<sup>78</sup> The tiles and Latin inscriptions are proof of Roman building activities in these fields. By far the largest group of stamped tiles was produced by *legio IV Scythica*, which shows that this legion was responsible for most of the construction work (cf. no. 1).

Soldiers of other legions, however, also produced tiles and hence were also involved in building activities in the same fields. Thus their presence at Zeugma was hardly limited just to some weeks or months. This tallies well with the fact that some soldiers from the West who died here had their Latin gravestones set up in Zeugma's adjacent western necropolis. One of these soldiers even lost and buried his wife during his stay in the region. The many different types of stamps used, as well as the different dates of the inscriptions, prove that there was a repeated presence of Roman soldiers on this site. Moreover, monuments honouring the emperor were set up and a temple was constructed on top of Belkis Tepe. This all implies repeated, and not short-term, military occupation of 'At Meydan' and environs with buildings from the late 1st or early 2nd to the mid-3rd c. A.D. This goes well with the results from our investigations at 'At Meydan' (cf. above p. 110)

<sup>78</sup> The exceptions being the one found on top of Belkis Tepe and 4 from nearby Kara Tepe: see above p. 118.



*Legio IV Scythica* was the predominant unit on this part of the site. This is no surprise, as it must have had its fortress somewhere in the surroundings of Zeugma. The site described, however, was hardly suitable for the construction of a permanent Roman legionary fortress, as shown by the terracing of the area and as is confirmed by the absence of a soldiers' graveyard. A very suitable flat field of over 20 ha with the necessary infrastructure of water and roads would, however, have been available for such a fortress close to the city just south of Belkis Tepe, but this area has revealed no traces of any habitation (cf. fig. 4 and p. 105 above). It remains likely that *legio IV Scythica* had its permanent camp somewhere in the hinterland of Zeugma.<sup>79</sup> The two known military areas in the immediate vicinity of Zeugma (fig. 16) appear to have been occupied repeatedly but not permanently.

The western legions hitherto attested at Zeugma (*legio I Adiutrix*, *legio II Adiutrix*, *legio X Gemina*) came from Pannonia.<sup>80</sup> We can now add 4 further units from the Danube provinces (*legio IV Flavia*?, *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*, *legio XIII Gemina*?, *cohors ∞ Maurorum*), and one from N Africa (*legio III Augusta*). Thus, soldiers of all 4 Pannonian legions, now including *legio XIII Gemina*, as well as Pannonian auxiliaries, appear to have been here at one time or another during the 2nd or 3rd c. A.D. It is therefore significant that all known inscriptions set up by citizens of Zeugma and its region outside Syria are to be found in the Danubian provinces, in particular in and near Brigetio, the garrison place of *legio I Adiutrix*.<sup>81</sup> Detachments from both of Moesia Superior's legions (*legio IV Flavia*?, *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*) also appear to have been at Zeugma. So far, *legio III Augusta* from N Africa is the only legion from anywhere other than the Danube frontier.

Soldiers from all these units (apart from *cohors ∞ Maurorum*) are known from other sources to have participated in eastern wars. It is most likely that their presence and their building activities at Zeugma were largely due to these campaigns. Clearly, the numerous stamped tiles and finds of Roman army equipment (mail shirts, arrow heads, scale armour etc) at 'At Meydanı' and in the surrounding fields prove that we are dealing with a Roman military installation of the 2nd and 3rd c. (fig. 11). With its immediate access to the Euphrates, it may have served as a camp where the many soldiers from different parts of the Roman world were brought to await the emperor or his orders, before crossing the river into enemy territory. During the campaigns and after A.D. 195 this camp may also have served logistical purposes. However, only further work and large-scale excavations will provide additional answers to the exact nature of the buildings at 'At Meydanı' and the purpose of the site as a whole.

## Conclusions

Throughout the Imperial period, most frontier provinces lacked sufficient numbers of troops to halt major enemy attacks or to mount significant campaigns into enemy territory. Therefore the emperors sent armies from far-away bases as reinforcements when needed. Yet such a solution to the military needs of the empire depended heavily on logistics.<sup>82</sup> The more of the logistical infrastructure that was in place and the better the imperial administration and the army were prepared to use it, the faster could reinforcements be supplied and deployed. The site at 'At Meydanı' appears to have been one element of such a system. Its particular impor-

79 Speidel 1998, 168.

80 For the Latin gravestone of another soldier on vexillation duty, buried at Çardak a few km south of Ehnes, see *IGLS I* 82, with Speidel 1984, 275 f.

81 From Zeugma: *AE* 1923. 58 = *RIU* 435 (Brigetio); *CIL III* 4331 = *RIU* 522 (Brigetio); *RIU* 712 (Szomód in Pannonia Superior) = *RIU* 523 (Brigetio); *AE* 1944. 125 = *RIU* 533 (Brigetio). Cf. also *CIL III* 4331 and 11701 = *ILS* 7207 (Celeia) for another citizen from Zeugma; *AE* 1962. 29 = *RIU* 113 (Savaria) for a citizen from Cyrrhos; and *AE* 1962. 28 = *RIU* 110 (Savaria) for another *civis Surus*.

82 On imperial military logistics in general, see the works of Herz 1988, 181-84; Breeze in Dobson and Breeze 1993, 526-52, 574-95; Kissel 1995; Junkelmann 1997; Goldsworthy 1996; Roth 1999; Gebhardt 2002, 412, index s.v. 'Sonderämter und -magistraturen (militärisch-logistisch)'.



tance, at least up until A.D. 195, must have arisen from its location right on the frontier.

Expeditionary forces were set up in the frontier provinces<sup>83</sup> and assembled as expeditionary armies. They were then led to the war zone by men such as L. Neratius Proculus, who was *missus ab imp(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) Pio ad d[e]ducen[da]s vex[i]llationes in Syriam ob [b]ellum [Par]thicum* (CIL IX 2457 = ILS 1076).<sup>84</sup> Coming from the Danube provinces, such armies would take the highway down the Danube into Thrace and move on via Byzantion and Ankyra, many of them by-passing the Syrian capital, into N Syria. Little if anything is known about the kind of quarters these cities would provide for armies on the march. Given the fairly frequent passage of such troops and their stays, sometimes even for months,<sup>85</sup> it would have made sense to have had proper and permanent military quarters at hand. This must have been even more true for cities such as Cyrrhos, Beroia, Hierapolis, Apameia and others in N Syria<sup>86</sup> where many soldiers repeatedly wintered before, during and after campaigns.<sup>87</sup> Cyrrhos, at least, is known to have had a legionary fortress in A.D. 19.<sup>88</sup> Yet none of these winter-quarters has so far been investigated. The site at Zeugma between Bahçe Dere and Belkıs Tepe may have been the location of one of these expeditionary quarters. In one respect, however, Zeugma differed from other winter-quarters, as it was here that so many Roman soldiers crossed into enemy territory. As one of the places where imperial campaigns officially began, soldiers at Zeugma would await the emperor or a general, hear speeches, witness religious ceremonies, and cross the river under their leaders' eyes.<sup>89</sup>

One thing, above all, needed to be taken care of before any campaign could begin: the army's supplies had to be ready and at hand. The emperor would requisition special war contributions in cash and in kind from the population even of small villages in far-away provinces.<sup>90</sup> The requisitioning had to be planned and carried out,<sup>91</sup> and transport had to be organised.<sup>92</sup> For these purposes permanent infrastructures, and not just roads, were created. In A.D. 75 a work force was drawn from (it seems) the entire military garrison of the province of Syria to construct 3 miles of canalisation as well as bridges in order to prolong the navigability of the Orontes to and beyond the lake of Antioch,<sup>93</sup> at the same time, other soldiers improved the harbour of

83 Such forces were often named after the province from which they came: Speidel 1978, 1; id. 1984, 230 and 338; id. 1992a, 69.

84 On the date of Proculus's mission at the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius, as made clear by an unpublished military diploma, see now Gebhardt 2002, 120-26. The detachments in question presumably came from the Danubian provinces: Saxer 1967, 29 no. 52. Kissel's assumption (1995, 106) that they came from Cappadocia is far less likely. See also ILS 1098.

85 For Perinthos and Byzantion see Speidel 1984, 12-14. For Ankara see Mitchell 1993, 133 ff.

86 Gebhardt 2002, 132-57. For Apamea: Dio 78.34.2-5 and Balty and Van Rengen 1993, 14. For Anazarbos (Cilicia): Speidel 1994, 62 f.

87 Trajan's Parthian war, including the preparations in A.D. 113, lasted 5 years. Cf., e.g., Speidel 2002, 36-40. The preparations and early troop movements for Lucius Verus's Parthian war began shortly after the mid fifties of the 2nd c., still under Antoninus Pius; cf. Gebhardt 2002, 120-27. The war only began in early 163 and continued for 3 years. Septimius Severus spent the years 194 and 195 and from 197 to 202 in the Near East. Such circumstances must have been one of the reasons for many soldiers to set up their gravestones far away from their home bases.

88 Tac., *Ann.* 2.57.2.

89 For Titus at Zeugma: Jos., *BJ* 7.5.2 (105-6); For Trajan: Speidel 2002, 38. For Septimius Severus: Birley 1988, 115. Many other Roman military leaders too were at Zeugma. For an entire expeditionary army from the Danube provinces awaiting the emperor Trajan at Satala: Birley 1998, 69; Speidel 2002, 37.

90 Veg. 3.3; Guey 1939, 56 f. = *AE* 1939. 132 = *SEG* XVIII 554 = *TAM* V.2, 1143; *P. Stras.* VII 688; *P. Yale* III 137 with Schubert 2001.

91 *BGU* I 266 reports the requisitioning of a camel in Egypt by the *centurio* Aurelius Calvisius Maximus, sent by the prefect Valerius Datus, for Caracalla's army in Syria.

92 *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3091 shows a liturgist having to convey to Alexandria barley which was destined for Caracalla's troops in Syria.

93 *AE* 1983. 927, with van Berchem 1985, 47-87.



Seleucia Pieria.<sup>94</sup> Laodiceia too became an important military harbour.<sup>95</sup> Soldiers of the praetorian fleets and their praefects may have helped transport supplies to the Mediterranean ports and on to the frontier.<sup>96</sup> Officers were appointed to secure sufficient supplies and their successful transport to the armies in the field.<sup>97</sup> All these efforts would have impacted Zeugma and its citizens. Soldiers, officers, animals, money, weapons, war machines, and supplies would arrive in great numbers before, during, and after campaigns. An archaeological investigation of 'At Meydanı' and environs should therefore shed light on the history of the Roman army, foreign relations, the interrelation of soldiers and civilians, and on the economy of the empire.

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95 Rey-Coquais 1994, 149-63.

96 *AE* 1955. 225 (Cyrrhos; Trajan's Parthian war) with Gebhardt 134 f. *P.Lond.* 299 (dated to 24 May 166 A.D.) attests the presence of a *vexillatio clas(s)is praetoriae Misenatium* in their winter-quarters at Seleucia Pieria during Lucius Verus' Parthian war. See also *ILS* 2764, 9221.

97 Cf., e.g., *ILS* 9471 (Alabanda; Trajan's Parthian war); *ILS* 1740 (Rome; Verus' Parthian war), etc.



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