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The assembled palace of Samosata: object vibrancy in 1st C. BCE Commagene

Kruijer, L.W.

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The Assembled Palace of Samosata.
Object Vibrancy in 1st c. BCE Commagene.

Proefschrift

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Promotor: Prof. dr. M.J. Versluys

Co-promotor: Prof. dr. M. Blömer

Overige leden: Prof. dr. J. Kolen (voorzitter)
Prof. dr. D. R. Fontijn (secretaris)
Prof. dr. E. Winter (Westfälische Wilhelms Universiteit Münster)
Dr. M. Pitts (University of Exeter)
Dr. M. Hoo (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)

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Foreword

I write this foreword sitting at a the balcony of my apartment of the Netherlands Institute in Turkey (NIT), looking out over the Bosphorus, where large cargo ships, on their way to the Black Sea or Mediterranean, are steered cautiously through the narrow waters. Not unlike these cargo ships, I have navigated this dissertation through a five year trajectory of sometimes dangerously shallow waters and treacherous shores. Like the helmsman who, still shaking, realizes he made it through, I now look back with sweaty hands and a combined sense of relief and disbelief about the fact that the manuscript is finally finished. This would not have been possible without a large amount of ‘crew members’ that assisted me throughout the years, and that I wish to express my gratitude to here.

First and foremost, my thanks go out to prof. dr. Miguel John Versluys, without whose critical guidance, creative force and unceasing enthusiasm this dissertation would not have existed. One could simply not wish for a kinder and more trusting *Doktervater*. The many inspiring conversations we had during our walks through Amsterdam, Leiden, Rome, Alexandria and Commagene I remember with great fondness and I look forward to the collaborations that lie ahead. My second supervisor, prof. dr. Michael Blömer, has also been of crucial importance to this PhD, providing many detailed and critical comments on the manuscript. I cannot thank him enough for his great generosity in sharing his profound knowledge of the archaeology of ancient Northern-Syria and I am excited to continue working together with him on the excavations of Doliche.

The ‘Innovating Objects’ VICI project within which this thesis emerged brought me in close contact with a range of wonderful colleagues and an eclectic mix of continental traditions from which I learned a lot. First of all, I am grateful to dr. Stefan Riedel, with whom I have spent long, warm days in the depot of the Archaeological Museum of Adiyaman, and whose archaeological expertise and kind heart I feel fortunate to have been accompanied by. Eleni Fragaki and Cécile Harlaut, who made up the ‘French-Alexandrian’ branch of our project, have been invaluable in their generous support and informed opinions throughout the years. I thank my dear colleague and friend dr. Rebecca Henzel for our joyful collaborations as well as the many stimulating conversations in the Van Steenis office. Her ‘predecessor’, dr. Sander Müskens, was of crucial help in the starting-up process of this PhD research; I am very grateful for his assistance.

The Commagene-branch of the VICI project relied entirely on its cooperation with the *Forschungsstelle Asia Minor* (Westfälische Wilhelms Universität Münster), to which I am greatly indebted. Prof. dr. Engelbert Winter has been crucial in setting up the framework of this dissertation and I have benefitted tremendously from his help, both in Münster and Doliche.

Furthermore, I cannot express enough my gratitude to Dilek Çobanoğlu, who has been indispensable in acquiring the permissions in Ankara and Adıyaman, and for teaching me a lot about Turkey in the meantime. Special thanks go out to prof. dr. Aliye Öztan and prof. dr. Tayfun Yıldırım for permitting Stefan and me to study and publish the documentation of Nimet Özgüç's Samsat excavations. I would furthermore like to express my profound gratefulness to the director of the archaeological Museum in Adıyaman, Mehmet Alkan, whose unceasing support, hospitality and friendly assistance have been of invaluable importance. I also thank the friendly staff of the museum for their important help and their patience with my very limited Turkish. A special word of thanks goes out to Muzaffer Özçiris, my good friend, who has been a crucial anchor and guide during all my activities in Adıyaman.

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At the Faculty of Archaeology of Leiden University, I have been incredibly fortunate to have shared an office with my dear friend and colleague Suzan van de Velde, with whom I shared the struggles, insecurities, frustrations and, also, joys of PhD life; I am very grateful for the many laughs, drinks and conversations that we had over the years and look forward to those that are still to come! I would furthermore like to thank my dear Leiden colleagues dr. Marike van Aerde, dr. Aris Politopoulos, dr. Mark Locicero and Riia Timonen for the many stimulating conversations and delightful distractions. A special word of thanks goes out to Josephine Say, whose kind assistance has been of invaluable importance through the years.

During my PhD, I had the great pleasure of visiting the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology (Brown University) for a short-term visiting scholarship in March 2018. I want to thank prof. dr. Peter van Dommelen, prof. dr. Yannis Hamilakis and dr. Felipe Rojas for their stimulating input and their hospitality in welcoming me to their inspiring research environment. I received a generous Byvanck Grant and an OIKOS travel grant, which enabled me to go to Turkey and the USA; for both, I am very grateful. Lastly, I was granted a fellowship at the Netherlands Institute in Turkey in November 2021; I wish to thank dr. Fokke Gerritsen for his hospitality and generous

support. My journey in Mediterranean archaeology started at the University of Amsterdam, where prof. dr. Marijke Gnade, dr. Gert-Jan van Wijngaarden, and Jitte Waagen were important and inspiring teachers. The Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome greatly supported me throughout my studies and thereafter; I wish to express my thanks to prof. dr. Gert-Jan Burgers, dr. Jeremia Pelgrom and dr. Arthur Weststeijn for their advice and support.

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To Jo van Eikeren, in loving memory

*'Never think the earth void or dead –
It's a hare, awake with shut eyes:
It's a sauce-pan, simmering with broth –
One clear look, you'll see it's in ferment.'*

Jalal al-Din (Rumi)

'Where are we to put these hybrids? Are they human? Human because they are our work. Are they natural? Natural because they are not our doing. Are they local or global? Both.'

Latour 1993, 50

'People are no longer the driving forces of history; instead they are one element of a set of relationships of swirling materials and forces that come together in the world, and allow for certain kinds of action and not others. Archaeological sites are excavated not just to understand the people who lived there but to look at the materials that were transformed there as historical actors in their own right.'

Cipolla and Harris 2017,
148.

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Introduction.



Fig. 0.1 In the wake of the Euphrates flooding, inhabitants of Eski Samsat moved their belongings to Yeni Samsat. Source: samsathaber.com.

Prelude: the endurance of Eski Samsat

On the 5th of March 1988, the inhabitants of the small village of Samsat, located in the *vilayet* of Adıyaman in southeast Turkey, moved their belongings to higher grounds, away from the west bank of the rising Euphrates river (see fig. 0.1). Further south along the river, at the village of Eskin, the Atatürk Dam and its hydroelectric power plant - part of the large and controversial *Southeastern Anatolia Project* (from here on *GAP: Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi*) - had just been finished and, soon after, the river's entire alluvial plain from Eskin up to the Gerger area was submerged, including the village of Samsat itself.¹ Even the 50-meter high *höyük*, an iconic

¹ The GAP started in the 1960s for irrigation and power generation purposes, intended to enrich the water-resources of the countryside in this area by building sewer dams in both the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. This enormous project (in total 21 sewer dams, 19 hydroelectric power plants and a water tunnel of about 26,4 km. in length) has resulted in a grand-scale threat of Commagenean cultural heritage as not only the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris have become overflowed, but also the valleys of smaller tributary rivers. Ultimately, it led to the complete disappearance of all archaeological sites under the 500 m. contour, like Samosata. The most famous of these undoubtedly is Zeugma/Seleukeia on the Euphrates, where, despite the large-scale submergence of the site (and the full disappearance of its 'twin town' Apameia),

artificial mound towering over the village (see fig. 0.2), would ultimately be concealed by the pale blue Atatürk lake, covering it with 90-120 meter of water.² In the wake of the rising waters, the villagers necessarily had to move to the newly built village of Yeni Samsat, leaving behind their houses, their mosque, their small school, their stores, their village square and also the towering *höyük*, never to be able to return to them again.



Fig. 0.2 The höyük of Samosata in 1990 after Eski Samsat was fully submerged. Source: Özgüç Archive.

This forced migration of ca. 3000 inhabitants from Eski Samsat to Yeni Samsat first of all meant a radical and potentially traumatic uprooting from a place that most people had called home their entire life. This biographical caesura was of course suffered first and foremost by individual persons, but it can also be considered in terms of the long historical life of the town itself. After almost 6000 years of habitation on and around the *höyük*, this long chronological fibre, stretching from the Chalcolithic to the late 20th century CE, was abruptly terminated. As such, the villagers of Eski Samsat not only were forced to bid farewell to the materiality of their personal histories, but also to that of a much deeper past. A past that, in fact, had never completely passed by as long as the *höyük* had still cast its long shadow over the village, as long as ploughing farmers would

archaeological investigations are ongoing, cf. Gökay 2012, 2021. For critical considerations of the GAP, see Krüger 2009; Conde 2016.

² Voigt and Ellis 1981, 87 for a similar estimation at the nearby site of Gritille.

stumble on limestone Corinthian capital fragments and as long as children playing hide-and-seek in their backyards would pick up Iron Age pottery sherds.

Loosely following the ideas of the philosopher Henri Bergson, we might say that the inherent ‘multi-temporality’ of material culture causes its many pasts to *endure*; the physical *höyük*, for instance, never only belonged to *one* present, nor to merely *one of its many pasts*.³ Such material endurance, this duration of past worlds, is abruptly terminated when its materiality is destroyed or simply forced out of reach. The flooding of an entire cultural landscape as a consequence of the GAP therefore was not just the destruction (or long-term sealing off) of passive matter that once was imbued with biographical meaning and memory. Rather, it terminated the duration of that past itself.

To some extent, archaeological research has the capacity to re-assemble past worlds⁴, to activate the complexity of material culture, and to resuscitate the relationality of things, their power to amaze, inform, bewilder and transform. Samsat’s *höyük* and its multiple pasts can, in some way, endure in an archaeological narrative. This would not have been possible had a team of archaeologists, led by the late prof. dr. Nimet Özgüç (Middle East Technical University Ankara), not spent circa ten years to excavate and study the *höyük* of Samsat in the years leading up to the 5th of March 1988.⁵ This work has proven to be of enormous value, allowing for the continued emergence and endurance of more of Samsat’s pasts than ever before. This dissertation publishes and analyses the legacy data of these excavations pertaining to the Hellenistic and early Roman periods (ca. 4th c. BCE-1st c. CE), focusing especially on its late-Hellenistic (1st c. BCE) Commagenean palace. In the first place then, this dissertation can be read as a retrieval and re-assembling of one of Samsat’s many submerged past worlds – that of its Late-Hellenistic palace and its myriad of vibrant object capacities.

³ Bergson 1922. For an archaeological reading of Bergson’s ideas about materiality and duration, see Hamilakis 2007. Michael Camille suggests something similar when he claims: ‘*objects from the past (...) serve as ‘actual apparitions’ of history, blurring the line between the past and the present ... where the gazes of both can meet*’ (Camille 1996, 7). See also Crellin et al. 2021, 49: ‘*the material traces of the past have a duration into the present and as such help creating a multi-temporal present*’.

⁴ A phrase borrowed from Harris 2021.

⁵ Note that the American archaeologist Theresa Goell already excavated at Samsat between 1964 and 1967. See ch 1.

A drowned past re-assembled: the archaeological legacy data of the Late-Hellenistic Palace of Samosata



Fig. 0.3 Samosata and Commagene in the 1st c. BCE Eurasia. Source: Pitts and Versluys 2021, 376, fig. 3 (by Joanne Porck).

This dissertation investigates the archaeological legacy data of the royal Commagenean palace of Samosata (early 1st c. BCE) in relation to questions about cultural transformation in Commagene, focusing on the transformative, vibrant role of objects and their glocal genealogical relations (for a map of Commagene in its 1st c. BCE Eurasian setting, see fig. 0.3). Whereas the Late-Hellenistic kingdom of Commagene is world-famous for the ruler cult of king Antiochos I (ca. 69-36 BCE) and its monumental tomb-sanctuaries (*hierothesia*), most importantly Nemrut Dağı, the kingdom's capital Samosata and its large Late-Hellenistic palace have remained largely unknown until now. The palace was excavated on top of the ancient town's *höyük* during the salvage excavations of the

1980s and it is very likely that this elaborately decorated structure, with its tessellated mosaics, painted stucco, and architectural decoration, was the ‘seat of the Commagenean kings’ (τὸ βασιλεῖον) Strabo mentions in the early 1st c. CE.⁶ As such, it adds a rare non-cultic (and probably not exclusively ‘Antiochan’⁷) context to our knowledge of Late-Hellenistic Commagene. Despite its significance, this palatial context has received only limited scholarly attention, something particularly caused by the fact that large parts of the archaeological material and documentation belonging to the palace have remained unpublished so far.⁸

This book provides the first exhaustive archaeological study of this important palatial context.⁹ It unlocks and integrates a variety of different legacy data pertaining to the excavations carried out by Nimet Özgüç and her team. These legacy data consist principally of two different types of data: archaeological objects and excavation documentation. The first consists of a large amount and variety of archaeological artefacts resulting from the Özgüç excavations, stored (and in a few cases exhibited) in the Archaeological Museum of Adıyaman. Thanks to the kind generosity of the museum’s director Mehmet Alkan as well as Turkey’s Ministry of Culture and Tourism, permission was granted to study this material in May-June 2017, June 2018 and July 2019. The second corpus of legacy data derived from the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, where an archive was stored containing Özgüç’s excavation documentation. Thanks to the very kind permission of prof. dr. Aliye Öztan and prof. dr. Tayfun Yıldırım (both METU), I was allowed to digitize, study and publish this material together with my Leiden VICI-colleague Stefan Riedel.

These legacy data for the first time allow for a detailed and exhaustive study of the archaeological structures belonging to and surrounding the palace, presenting more than a hundred new photographs, as well as many sketches, maps and excavation reports, all together considerably improving and problematizing our knowledge of the structure’s lay out, chronology and overall character (chapter 4). To this is added a catalogue of all known fragments of Hellenistic and early Roman architectural decoration from Samosata (ca. 3rd c. BCE-1st c. CE), most of which have not been published before, thus adding to our knowledge of the general architectural embellishment of the palace, but also to our knowledge of architectural decoration in Hellenistic and Early Roman Commagene in a broader sense (chapter 5). Another catalogue that consists almost entirely of previously unknown material is provided by the corpus of Hellenistic and Early Roman sculptural fragments from Samosata (chapter 6). Its analysis adds to our broader understanding of Commagenean sculpture, also for the hardly known pre- and post-Antiochan phases. Apart from

⁶ Strabo 16.2.3. See paragraph 4.3.6 for a discussion.

⁷ ‘Antiochan’ in the sense of belonging to the reign of king Antiochos I (ca. 69-36 BCE).

⁸ The few existent publications are mostly in Turkish, e.g. Özgüç 2009; Bingöl 2013. See chapter 1 for a complete historiography.

⁹ A summary of part of the argument was already published in Kruijer and Riedel 2021.

these three material categories, this dissertation also deals with the painted wall decoration, mosaics, and pottery that can be assigned to or associated with the Late-Hellenistic palace (see chapter 7). Taken together, these catalogues and discussions of a variety of material groups allow for an exhaustive and integrated study of the palace of Samosata.

Beyond Hellenism in the East

Moving up one level of interpretation, this dissertation attempts to investigate the material culture of the palace of Samosata in relation to a broader phenomenon of cultural transformations happening in Commagene in the 1st c. BCE (chapter 7). It does so in critical dialogue with a scholarly tradition that has been particularly focused on understanding the character of 'Greek elements' in Commagene, keen on framing Samosata and its late-Hellenistic palace as an example of 'Hellenism in the East' (chapter 2). Scholarship on this topic is vast and varied, but, in recent decades, increasingly, a post-colonial critique has developed deconstructing traditional notions of 'Hellenization' as a one-directional, top-down diffusion of 'Greek culture' imposed on 'eastern' communities, and instead stressing the local agency of elites and societies to actively adopt 'Hellenism' for their own situated purposes. This dissertation argues that, although these new approaches have been of great importance to a more nuanced view on cultural transformation in Commagene, the Hellenism-model retains some fundamental methodological and interpretative shortcomings. A central critique formulated in chapter 2 is the fact that archaeological analyses of 'Hellenism in the East' have consistently overlooked and simplified the complex and manifold capacities of material culture. There seems to be a recurrent conflation between, on the one hand, Hellenism as an *emic concept* and, on the other hand, Hellenism as an *etic class of objects*. By critically evaluating all the instances in Samosata where 'Greek' is used as an object label, this dissertation contributes to the much needed disentanglement of these two notions of Hellenism. As an alternative, this dissertation proposes an approach to the material culture and cultural transformation in Samosata that *postpones* the term Hellenism altogether, rejecting an *a priori* categorical distinction between 'things Greek' and 'things Eastern'.

This critical rethinking of what 'Hellenism in the East' entails is important not in the least because the broader notion of Hellenism in some sense still pervades the world we live in, functioning as one of the main foundation-myths of modern Western society. It is not seldomly the case that the interest and search for 'Greek culture beyond Greece' in the past is in fact an ideologically inspired search for the modern cultural Self, creating a '*false cultural intimacy*'¹⁰ between the ancient and

¹⁰ Herzfeld 2005.

modern worlds.¹¹ Precisely because Shelley's '*We are all Greeks*'¹² still echoes from 10 Downing Street to the White House¹³, and notably also in alt-right racist notions of Western and white supremacy¹⁴, the critical disentanglement of Hellenism as a modern myth and a historical phenomenon is more necessary than ever.

An assemblage of glocal and vibrant objects

To go 'beyond Hellenism' in Samosata, this dissertation places center stage two important theoretical notions about objects. The first is the idea of glocality, a concept developed within the context of globalization theory (see chapter 2), and referring to cultural phenomena that were simultaneously local and global (or more-than-local), emerging in contexts of increased connectivity through mutually constitutive processes of particularization and universalization. In this dissertation, I particularly focus on the *glocal* aspects of the palace's material culture as it helps to prevent from relapsing into the use of ethnic labels and the problematic notion of 'pure' cultural containers that 'curiously' formed a cultural hybrid in the palace of Samosata.¹⁵ Importantly, this dissertation uses globalization theory not as a mere descriptive notion of increased connectivity, but as a heuristic tool at the starting point of the analysis of material transformations in Samosata.

The second notion about objects that is central in this dissertation entails the reconceptualization of the palace as an assemblage, a '*composition that acts*'¹⁶, a notion that derives from a theoretical strand known as New Materialism (see chapter 3). Within this post-anthropocentric framework, objects are vibrant, relational and always more-than-representational; their supposed relation to

¹¹ This links to broader de-colonizing perspectives on Greece, Greek culture and Greek archaeological heritage, cf. Hamilakis 2007. His recent collaborative initiative 'décolonize hellás' calls for '*an urgent (re)viewing of the place of modern Greece in relation to geographies and genealogies of European colonialism*', cf. decolonizehellas.org.

¹² Shelley 1977, 409. For an analysis of Shelley's Philhellenism as a form of Romantic Nationalism, see Findlay 1993.

¹³ The Philhellenism of Boris Johnson is widely attested, most notably perhaps in his assertion that London is today's Athens in his 2014 speech '*Athenian Civilisation: The Glory That Endures*': '*There are people around the world who in one way or another reject Periclean ideals, and so it is more vital than ever that we uphold them here in London. Let us keep the flame alive, protect the owl of Pallas Athena that still haunts the squares of Bloomsbury [...]*' (Boris Johnson, Legatum Institute Lecture, 4-09-2014). Like his predecessors, Joe Biden has repeated several times how ancient Greece is the ultimate source of American civilization: '*Greece and America share common values, common goals, a common philosophical tradition going back to the great scholars of ancient Greece.*' (Remarks by the Vice President Joe Biden, Greek Independence Day, March 25, 2009).

¹⁴ One of its most gloomy recent instances can be found in the extreme right-wing rhetoric of Dutch parliamentarian Thierry Baudet, whose political party uses a Greek temple as its main logo and whose speeches contain evocations of Hegel's 'owl of Minerva' and dog-whistling references to Himmler's notion of Hyperborea. (See Tempelman 2019).

¹⁵ Versluys 2015; Pitts and Versluys 2015.

¹⁶ Due 2002, 32.

specific cultural concepts, material categories or human intentions (as emphasized in the Hellenism framework) can never fully exhaust the many wide-ranging capacities that such objects afford. By exploring the relational capacities of objects in the palace of Samosata, it will attempt to discern how objects are vibrant, functioning as historical agents capable of effectuating change themselves. The latter is specifically done with the use of a so-called 'objectscape methodology' (see chapter 3 and chapter 7), which allows for the investigation of successive object repertoires and their changing object vibrancies in Samosata from the 4th c. BCE – 1st c. CE.¹⁷ One type of object vibrancy that is particularly investigated and explored in this dissertation comprises of the genealogical relations of objects (chapters 7-10). This builds on the idea that objects are always part of bigger groups of objects of the same type and that, as such, they can act *en masse*. Instead of reducing material culture to static concepts, this dissertation invites the reader to 'read along' with objects, entering '*into the fog*'¹⁸ of their glocal relations and their vibrant capacities.

By investigating and exploring the relational capacities of glocal and vibrant objects in the palace of Samosata, this dissertation aspires to demonstrate that there is a lot of analytical room 'beyond Hellenism'. With the palace of Samosata as its central focus, it seeks to develop a new framework and methodology to investigate the local impact of increased connectivity in Hellenistic-period Afro-Eurasia, with objects in the role of historical protagonists.¹⁹

¹⁷ Pitts 2019; Pitts and Versluys 2021.

¹⁸ A phrase borrowed from Bille and Sørensen 2016.

¹⁹ As such, this dissertation is about 'large issues in a small place', investigating the impact of globalization processes on a local scale, Cf. Eriksen 1995.

Chapter 1. Research history and archaeology of Samosata and Commagene.

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the research history and archaeology of Samosata and Commagene. I start with a introduction to the geographical setting of Samosata (section 1.2), followed by a brief research history of the site (paragraph 1.3), narrating the history of archaeological activity in and around Samosata up until the 1970s. In the following paragraph (1.4), I discuss in more detail the background and character of the excavations by Nimet Özgüç in the 1980s, which also serves as the 'meta-data' for the legacy data presented in chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 of this dissertation. This is followed by a brief chronological overview of the archaeological findings of the Özgüç campaigns, thus painting - with a broad brush - the four millennium spanning history of this city (paragraph 1.5). In the last paragraph (1.6), I provide an equally concise overview of the history and archaeology of the kingdom of Commagene, focusing on the 2nd c. BCE-1st c. CE, meant to familiarize the reader with the contemporary local context of the palace of Samosata and its cultural dynamics. Especially the latter paragraph serves as a stepping stone to the state of research presented in chapter 2, which explores in a more critical way the scholarship on Commagene's 1st c. BCE cultural dynamics, formulating the main analytical issues at stake in this dissertation.

1.2 Geographical Setting

1.2.1 Geology and climate



Fig. 1.1. CORONA satellite imagery from 01-08-1969 (1107-2138A061/2). Source: Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies, University of Arkansas/U.S. Geological Survey.

Before its flooding, the site of Samosata was located on the west bank of the Euphrates River (Turkish: *Fırat Nehri*) in the Lower Karababa Basin, approximately 30 kilometers south-east of the modern town of Adıyaman and around 50 kilometers north-west of modern Şanlıurfa (ancient Edessa). The closest tributary river of the Euphrates were the Kâhta Çay in the northeast and the Ziyaret Çay in the southwest. The Euphrates emerges from the Anatolian highlands, making a sudden turn to the west, cutting through the Taurus mountains east of Malatya in an approximately southerly direction and emerges from the mountains into a series of large floodplains, including the Karababa Basin, the location of Samosata.²⁰ The Karababa Basin is located between the anti-Taurus foothills in the north, and the upland pastures of the Urfa-Gaziantep plateau in the south.²¹ It starts approximately 10 kilometers upstream from Samosata, at the sites of Gritille and Lidar Höyük, and, along its approximately 70 kilometer length, widens considerably from there, reaching a maximum width of 10 kilometers. At the stretch near Samosata, the basin was circa 8 kilometers wide, and the river at this point ran in a south-west

²⁰ Wilkinson 1990, 5.

²¹ Stein 1988, 27.

orientation with a relatively wide and shallow course, with large flat islands at several points that allowed people and animals to cross easily (see fig. 1.1 for CORONA satellite imagery from 1969²²). The river at this point is deeply incised into the plateau, something that changes further south, where it sits above the level of the Mesopotamian plain. Further downstream, the river continued in a south-west-west direction through the Karababa Basin, passing the Urfa-Gaziantep plateau, subsequently leading through the steppe of the north-Syrian Jazirah, and ultimately arriving at the Mesopotamian basin.



Fig. 1.2. Land use sub-regions within the Urfa-Adiyaman area in the 20th c. Samsat/Samosata is indicated with land use type 2b, the Plio-Pleistocene terrace of the north bank of the Euphrates. Source: Wilkinson 1990, 49, fig. 2.5.

Within the Karababa Basin, Samosata was located on the north bank river terrace (indicated with '2b' in fig. 1.2), which formed an outcrop of the Plio-Pleistocene terraces and scarplands further

²² See Krüger and Blömer 2011 for an exploration of the potential of such CORONA imagery for the retrieval of the submerged and still little known tell landscape of the Karababa Basin.

north in the area of modern Adiyaman.²³ Its soils are classified as reddish-brown or chestnut soils.²⁴ The Plio-Pleistocene terraces around Adiyaman (indicated with '2a' in fig. 1.2) formed part of the limestone 'badlands', gently folding edges of the Karababa Basin that were heavily eroded by tributaries of the river and transitioned into the foothills of the Anti-Taurus Mountains (indicated with '1' in fig. 1.2).²⁵ This massive north-east running chain was located circa 40 kilometers north from Samosata and consist mainly of limestone.²⁶ Like the enormous Taurus Mountain range it belonged to, the Anti-Taurus Mountains are the result of a collision between the Arabian plate, moving towards the north and slightly west, and the Eurasian plate.²⁷ The Urfa-Gaziantep plateau, starting approximately 20 kilometers south of Samosata at the southern and eastern side of the Euphrates, is the extension of the southern Jazirah and, as such, of the Arabian platform, which consists of limestones, marls, clays, sandstones and conglomerates.²⁸

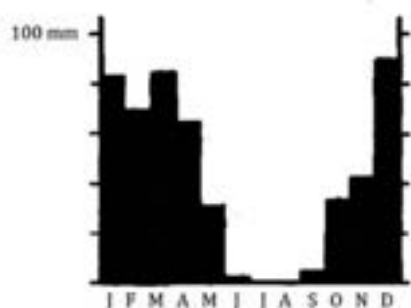


Fig. 1.3. Mean monthly rainfall in Samosata. Source: Wilkinson 1990, 12, 1.3 (adapted by the author).

The climate of the Karababa Basin has been classified as dry sub-humid mesothermal, according to Thornthwaite's classification, or, alternatively, as a semi-continental variant of the Mediterranean climate.²⁹ Autumn rains start in October (see fig. 1.3), and are followed by wet, cool but mild winters, that often comprise of snow that can remain on the surface during 10-30 days per year.³⁰ The wet season ends in May, and the exceptionally warm and dry summer months that follow make June the usual harvest time for cereals, which notably conflicts with the milking season.³¹ The rainfall has a high degree of variety in the region, however, with almost double the

²³ Wilkinson 1990, 49.

²⁴ Beaumont et al. 1988.

²⁵ Stein 1988, 27.

²⁶ Dewdney 1971.

²⁷ Beaumont et al. 1988.

²⁸ Tolun and Pamir 1975, 81. See Wilkinson 1990, 7, fig. 1.2 for a geological map.

²⁹ For both, see Dewdney 1971, 34. The mean monthly temperatures in July are circa 30° C in Adiyaman but they can reach up to 50 ° C.

³⁰ Dewdney 1971. The average monthly temperature in January is circa 4-5° C in Adiyaman, and (light) frosts happen commonly (circa 30 times per year).

³¹ Wilkinson 1990, 51.

rainfall in the northern part of the region (anti-Taurus mountains and foothills), compared to that in the area near Harran.³² The mean annual rainfall in Samosata is 470 mm per year and thus is considerably dryer already than for instance in nearby Adıyaman to the north-west.

1.2.2 Land use

This north-south variation has had strong consequences for land use up until the 20th century, with, for instance, tobacco not being produced south of the Euphrates, where the climate is too dry.³³ Despite its semi-arid character, the entire flood plain of the Karababa Basin generally provided a large area of arable land, which in most years will allow for cereal production without irrigation. Wilkinson notes, however, that especially the southern area is located close to the limit of dry-land farming (ca. 240 mm mean annual rainfall³⁴) which, combined with the highly variable mean annual rainfall, could also result in years with very low crop yields.³⁵ In the 20th century, farming was the major economic activity with the major crops in the area being grapes, wheat, barley, lentils, cotton and tobacco. Rice and vegetables were grown in the lower parts of the valleys of the Euphrates' tributaries. Samosata seems to be located on an important transition zone between north and south, with grapes having prominence over wheat and barley, a ratio that was reversed towards the south, where wheat especially becomes the major crop, for instance in the district of Bozova, a mere 20 kilometers to the south of Samosata.³⁶ In general, the crop yields drop significantly towards the south, with, for instance, an average barley production of 2000 kg per ha in Samosata decreasing to circa 750 kg per ha in Bozova.³⁷ The north-south contrast is also meaningful with regards to pastoralism, with Adıyaman showing more than double the amount of sheep, goats, and cows per ha of cultivated land compared to the province of Şanlıurfa; the uplands and highlands to the north were most likely used to pasture these animals³⁸ but also the lowest

³² *Idem*, 13: 'The variation in moisture regime results from orographic cooling of westerly depressions which are funneled to the south of the Anatolian high plateau by the high pressure air masses which prevail during the winter months'. See also Walter and Lieth 1967.

³³ Wilkinson 1990, 39ff. Wilkinson discussed in great detail the land use of the Karababa Basin in the 20th century (up until the advent of the Atatürk Dam), which, although of course altered through modern mechanization and a different economical system, still would partially reflect long-term environmental conditions and constraints and their related cropping patterns.

³⁴ Wallén 1967.

³⁵ Wilkinson 1990, 13.

³⁶ *Idem*, 50: 'Although only a generalized assessment, the land use map [see fig. 1.3] does clearly show the transition from broad basins dominated by cereal cultivation in the south (areas 5 and 6) through smaller lowlands characterized by cereal and lentil cultivation and viticulture in the vicinity of the Euphrates, to mixed farming with a greater reliance on pastoralism and tree crops in the Anti-Tauros mountains and foothills in the north.'

³⁷ *Idem*, 47, fig. 2.4c. The graph shows that the same drop in crop yields towards the south of Samosata can be observed for wheat and lentils. The crop yields of Samosata and Adıyaman (further north) are more or less the same, suggesting that Samosata was located at the 'advantageous side' of the north-south transition.

³⁸ *Idem*, 47-48.

floodplains adjacent to the river would have been used for grazing and watering during the dry summer months.³⁹ The Plio-Pleistocene terrace at the north bank of the Euphrates where Samosata was located was used for cereal farming (mostly wheat) with viticulture and contained a small component of lentil cultivation.⁴⁰ Nuts, apricots and other winter and summer fruits grew wild in the mountains around Samosata.⁴¹

1.2.3 Urban connections and routes

In the direct environment of the river valley of Samosata lay several smaller mounds of archaeological importance. Approximately 10 kilometers upstream, on the north-western river bank, was the elongated, 24-meter high mound of Gritille, where excavations in 1981-1984 unearthed a Medieval fortification.⁴² At the opposite, south-eastern river bank of Gritille was Lidar Höyük, where excavations between 1979-1987 yielded an important Bronze Age center and occupation phases of the late Iron Age and Hellenistic period, continuing into the Medieval period.⁴³ Around 4-5 kilometer downstream from Samsat were two mounds at the south-eastern river bank, Şaşkan Büyük Tepe and Şaşkan Küçük Tepe.⁴⁴ Approximately 3-4 kilometers further downstream lay Kurban Höyük, which was located on the northwest river bank, and contained many remains from the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age.⁴⁵

³⁹ Redford 1986.

⁴⁰ Wilkinson 1990, 49-50 with fig. 2.5. Samosata is indicated as cultivated area 2b on fig. 2.5.

⁴¹ Al-Idrīsī, a geographer writing in the 1150s mentions an abundance of such fruit in relation to Samosata. See Al-Idrīsī 1970-1984.

⁴² The mound must have been inhabited already since the Neolithic however. See Redford 1986; Redford et al. 1998.

⁴³ Cf. Hauptmann 1986/1988, 33-37; Müller 1999, 123-131.

⁴⁴ Cf. Özdoğan 1977, 178-180; Kennedy 1998b, 558-559.

⁴⁵ Cf. Wilkinson 1990; Algaze 1990.



Fig. 1.4 Map of Commagene in the period 60 BCE–20 BCE during its largest territorial expansion (in light green), with several of its nearest urban centers indicated. Source: Brijder 2014, 39, fig. 15.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Samosata belonged to a broader network of North-Syrian urban centers, of which the most directly relevant were Edessa (modern Urfa) in the southeast⁴⁶, the capital of the kingdom of Osroehne; Seleukeia on the Euphrates/Zeugma, circa 130 km. downstream towards the southwest⁴⁷, holding an important crossing over the Euphrates; Doliche (modern Dülük, near Gaziantep) towards the west-south-west⁴⁸; Germanikeia/Caesarea Germanica (modern Kahramanmaraş) circa 120 km. towards the west⁴⁹; Perrhe (near modern Adıyaman) towards the northwest⁵⁰; and Melitene (modern Malatya) towards the north.⁵¹ Samosata was relatively well connected towards the south, although the fragmented character of the landscape forced its communications through narrow corridors (as opposed to the easier passage in the flat plains of the Harran Basin). There are several important and well-attested

⁴⁶ Cf. Blömer 2019 with further literature.

⁴⁷ Cf. Görkay 2021.

⁴⁸ Cf. Blömer, Çobanoğlu and Winter 2019, 103–186; Blömer and Winter 2011, 248–285, 361–364 with further literature.

⁴⁹ Şahin 1991.

⁵⁰ Dörner and Naumann 1939, 66–69; Eraslan and Winter 2008; Blömer and Winter 2011, 128–137, 356–357; Eraslan 2016.

⁵¹ For a good introduction to North-Syrian cities, see Blömer 2020, with bibliography. The ‘four cities of Commagene’ (*quattuor civitates Commagenorum*), mentioned as the financiers of the Severan-period Cendere bridge over the Chabinas river in the north of Commagene likely were Samosata, Perrhe, Doliche and Germanikeia. See Blömer and Winter 2011, 91–95; Wagner 1987, 48–55.

routes towards the south and west.⁵² The first led directly across the Euphrates, running south-east to Urfa (ancient Edessa). Although often mentioned as containing a bridge, it seems more likely that the river at Samosata was crossed by means of boats or simply by crossing at its most shallow locations.⁵³ Urfa was located at the Balikh River and the start of the Harran Plain, and thus allowed for easy passage to Raqqa (Nikephorion/Kallinikos in the Hellenistic-Roman period) and further into Mesopotamia. The second route, towards the southwest (b on fig. 1.4), linked the city to Doliche, and subsequently passed Aleppo (ancient Beroea) and the 'Amuq plain, thus ultimately arriving at the Mediterranean coast. Long stretches of the Roman phases of this route have been attested between Samosata and Doliche, passing by a Severan fortress at Eski Hisar, several Roman funerary monuments (at Hasanolu, Elif and Eski Hisar) and several Roman bridges (over the Göksu and the Karasu and near Yarımca).⁵⁴ A third route followed the course of the Euphrates and thus led from Samosata to Zeugma.⁵⁵ Another, more direct route from Samosata to Zeugma, running east of the Euphrates, is attested by a Roman watchtower at Uzunburç.⁵⁶ Finally, a road existed that linked Samosata with Germanikeia to the west, passing the bridge at Karasu.⁵⁷

Connections towards the north were more problematic, with the Anti-Tauros Mountains forming a natural barrier that reaches heights of approximately 2560 above sea-level. The highlands begin approximately 35 kilometers north of Samosata, and, quickly, the landscape becomes difficult to trespass and less attractive for cultivation. There must have been a road running through the mountains from Samosata to Malatya (ancient Melitene), running past Perrhe towards the north, but its exact course has not yet been established.⁵⁸ Another road probably led from Samosata to the Cendere Bridge, and from there, further north-east into the mountains; again, the exact course is unclear. Traffic along the Euphrates was possible by boat, but land routes following the Euphrates valley in both the north-east and the south-west direction from Samosata were difficult due to the narrow and deep gorges of the river.⁵⁹ The above considerations concerning the

⁵² For the roads and communication systems in Commagene, focusing on Roman Zeugma, see Comfort et al. 2000 (east-west connections); Comfort and Ergeç 2001 (north-south connections).

⁵³ Strabo 16.2.3 is often referred to as evidence for a bridge at Samosata, but it is likely he in fact referred to Zeugma, cf. Syme 1995, 95-110. Josephus in fact mentions that the river is easily crossed without a bridge, cf. Joseph. BJ 7.224. Krüger and Blömer 2011, 351 furthermore add: '*Ein Blick auf die natürlichen Gegebenheiten des Flusstals im Stereomodell unterstützt diese Vermutung. Die zu überspannende Breite des Flussbettes wäre enorm und böte sich für die Errichtung einer festen Brücke nicht an.*'. The presence of a ponton bridge can however not be ruled out.

⁵⁴ Cf. Blömer and Winter 2011, 163-167; Wagner 1983.

⁵⁵ Comfort and Ergeç 2001, 20-27.

⁵⁶ Wagner 1983; Comfort and Ergeç 2001, 41.

⁵⁷ Comfort et al. 2000, 117.

⁵⁸ It has been suggested that the road passed the Cendere Bridge that runs across the Chabinas river, but this would not have been part of the main route as it lies too far towards the east, cf. Blömer and Winter 2011, 95.

⁵⁹ For a good overview of the evidence, see Comfort and Ergeç 2001, 20-27. Al-Idrīsī, writing in the 1150s, mentions that the Euphrates was navigable in this period from Baghdad up until Samsat, cf. Al-Idrīsī 1970-28

available communications should make it clear that, throughout its history, Samosata was linked to northern-Syria much more than to highland Anatolia.

1.2.4 Site topography



Fig. 1.5 Map showing the topography of Samosata. Source: Goell 1974, 86-87, fig. 2.

For the site topography of Samsat/Samosata, the best available map from before the site's submergence in the Atatürk Lake is the one that resulted from the extensive urban surveys done by Sabri Güneç, Theresa Goell, Carl Anthony and Ergun Uytun in the 1960s (see fig. 1.5). This map shows the circumference of the ancient city by means of the 1st c. CE city fortification wall, which,

1984. It remains questionable whether these upper stretches were ever navigated by more than local traffic though.

by the 1970s and 1980s, in some parts was still preserved up to 9,0 m. high (see paragraph 7.5.3 of this dissertation). The wall contained the well-documented 'Urfa Gate' in the south-east, which must have been one of several city gates.⁶⁰ The eye-catching *höyük*, the ca. 50 meter high, largely artificial mound on which the Hellenistic palace was located, stood against the eastern long edge of the ancient town, directly bordering the floodplains of the Euphrates in the east. The oval-shaped *höyük* measured ca. 250 x 150 m. at its flattened top and had particularly steep edges at the west and east sides, sloping somewhat more gently at the shorter northern and southern ends. Remains of a Late-Antique fortification wall (assigned as 'Late Byzantine' in fig. 1.5), at the time greatly diminishing the extent of the city, was still visible in several locations running from the northern edge of the *höyük* towards the southwest. At the time of documentation, the most important entryway to Eski Samsat lay to the west, with the main road coming from Adıyaman.⁶¹ The modern village of Eski Samsat was located in the southern fringes of the oval-shaped fortified part of the ancient city, with most modern houses located close to the fortification wall and the Urfa Gate (see figs. 1.1 and 1.5). In the foothills towards the northwest and southeast of the town, evidence for 2nd-3rd c. CE Roman tombs was found, pointing to the ancient city's *necropoleis*. Towards the north-east, along the banks of the Euphrates, ran the remains of a Roman aqueduct, which was provided with water from an unknown source in the valley of the Kâhta Çay.⁶² Unfortunately, investigations of the Lower Town and the town's environment before the flooding remained very limited, leaving us largely in the dark concerning its further urban topography. The background and results of scholarly work on Samosata – mostly focused on its *höyük* - will be discussed in the next paragraph.

⁶⁰ For these archaeological investigations, see section 1.3.

⁶¹ A second, smaller road ran along along the Euphrates river and passed through Samsat, connecting it to the village of Kovanolut in the north-east and Balcılar in the southwest.

⁶² Cf. Dörner and Naumann 1939, 54-61; Özdoğan 1977, 106-136.

1.3 Research history



Fig. 1.6. The team of Osman Hamdi Bey and Osgan Efendi crosses the Euphrates between Havliyan and Kantara, south-west of Samosata. Picture taken on 2 June 1883, the day of the encounter with Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein. Source: Eldem 2010, 132 fig. 55 (nr. 11229).

A research history of Samosata cannot but start with that unlikely encounter at the banks of the Euphrates near Samsat on the 2nd of June 1883 (see fig. 1.6). That day, a team of Ottoman archaeologists, led by Osman Hamdi Bey and Osgan Efendi, had visited Samsat and crossed the Euphrates between Havliyan and Kantara, southwest of Samsat, planning to continue their travels to Urfa.⁶³ At Kantara, a German team of archaeologists, led by Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein, had been planning to cross the river in the opposite direction, travelling to Nemrut. This resulted in an unexpected meeting of the two teams.⁶⁴ Although there must have been at least some degree of nationalistic competition between the two archaeological 'équipes', the accidental encounter was met with sheer joy from both sides, resulting in a copious dinner and '*toutes sortes de*

⁶³ For this expedition, see Eldem 2010. The results were published in Hamdi Bey and Efendi 1883 (*Le Tumulus de Nemroud Dag*). The famous scholar, artist and intellectual Osman Hamdi Bey was appointed director of Müze-i Hümayun (Museum of the Ottoman Empire) in 1881, and Osgan Efendi was a sculptor at the Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi (School of Fine Arts).

⁶⁴ For which, see especially Radt 2003.

liqueurs'.⁶⁵ In retrospect, the synchronous appearance of research teams in and around Samsat was perhaps not entirely accidental; both expeditions were a direct consequence of the recent (re)discovery of Nemrut Dağı in 1881 by the road construction engineer Karl Sester and the subsequent detailed archaeological report by Otto Puchstein, who had undertaken a reconnaissance campaign to Nemrut in 1882 together with Sester.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ In his 'Voyage a Nemrut Dağı', Hamdi Bey reported on the 2nd of June 1883: '*Au moment où nous remontions à cheval pour continuer notre voyage, nous entendîmes derrière nous des personnes qui nous appelaient, nous reconnûmes avec une surprise aussi grande qu'agréable le comité allemand de Nemroud Dagh. C'étaient nos amis les Drs Humann, Puchstein et von Luschan. Nous résolûmes de nous arrêter sur la Mésopotamie pour célébrer cette heureuse rencontre. Nous fîmes donc retourner nos bagages qui étaient déjà partis et nous dressâmes nos tentes tout au bord de l'Euphrate; notre joie redoubla quand nous y reçûmes les lettres de nos familles. Ce ne fut que rire et gaieté. Nous primes toutes sortes de liqueurs, c'était une vraie fête. Nous nous photographiâmes tous ensemble pour avoir un souvenir de cet heureux jour. Nous photographiâmes aussi des chameaux. Le soir nous fîmes un dîner copieux et nous passâmes le reste de la soirée à développer nos clichés.*' Taken from Eldem 2010, 71. Humann writes the following about the encounter: '*Sobald das Fahrzeug bei uns anlegte, stellte es sich heraus, dass es Hamdy-Bey und Osgan-Effendi waren, die vom Nemrut-dagh schon zurückkehrten. Da gab es viel zu erzählen; wir schlugen darum am hohen Ufer unsere Zelte auf und blieben bis zum nächsten Morgen beisammen.*' (Humann and Puchstein 1890, 181-182). For a thorough analysis of the Ottoman expedition, and its sometimes competitive relation to the German endeavours, see Eldem 2010. Eldem 2010, 20: '*Il va sans dire que, du point de vue des archéologues allemands, Osman Hamdi Bey tombait comme un cheveu dans la soupe.*'

⁶⁶ Humann and Puchstein 1890, 99-104; Dörner 1987, 11-39. Sester worked for the Osman authorities of the Vilayet Diyâr-ı Bekr and was directed to Nemrut by a Kurdish man named Bakô. Soon after, the *Akademie der Wissenschaften* ordered Otto Puchstein, an archaeologist and bursary of the German Archaeological Institute, to travel to Nemrut Dağı together with Karl Sester in 1882. They described the monument and made the first transcription of its so-called 'Great Cult Inscription'. The results of this campaign were published in the '*Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*' (Puchstein 1883). In the spring of 1883, the royal Academy of Science of Prussia organized an expedition under the direction of Karl Humann, Felix von Luschan and Otto Puchstein. Humann was a well-established archaeologist who was most known for his discovery of the Pergamon altar. The results of his expeditions in Turkey and North-Syria, during which he also recorded archaeological sites and finds at Sesönk, Karakuş, Selik, and Gerger, were published in the book *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (Humann and Puchstein 1890).

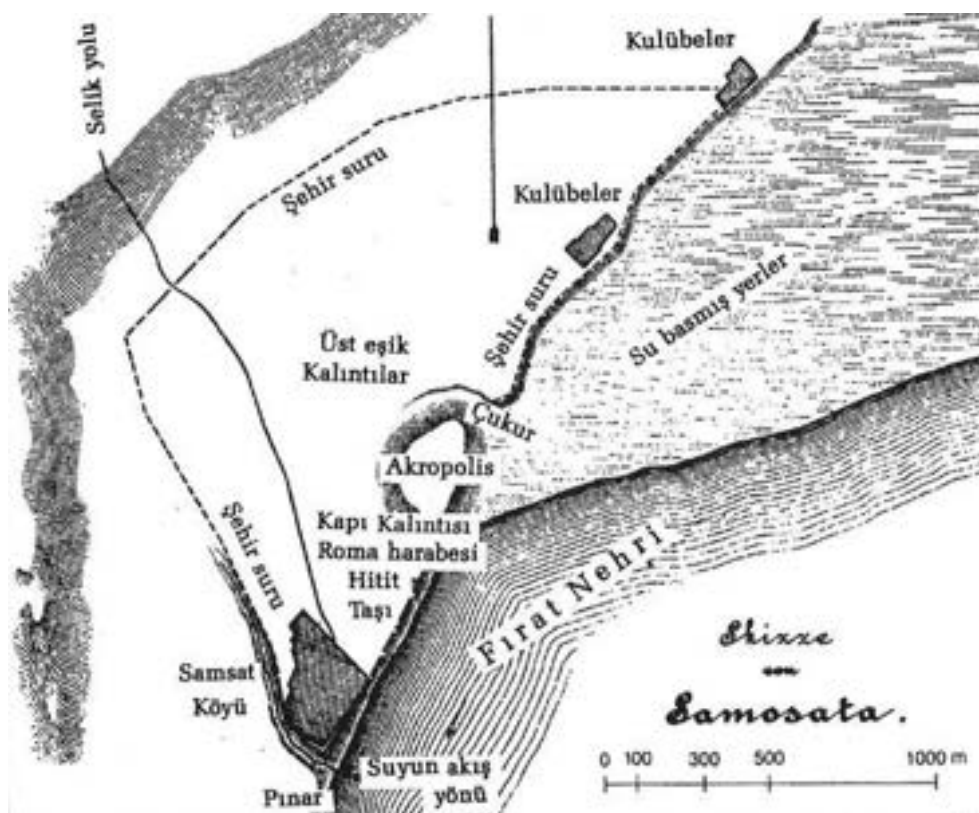


Fig. 1.7. Map of Samosata by Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein. Source: Humann and Puchstein 1890, fig. 28.

As excited as the scholars were about the newly discovered tomb-sanctuary of Nemrut, as underwhelmed the scholars clearly were by Samsat. This disappointment was partially fuelled by high expectations of ancient Samosata as the birthplace of the famous satirist Lucian of Samosata (ca. 120 – ca. 200 CE).⁶⁷ On the 1st of June, Hamdi Bey notes in his travel diary: ‘A l’approche de Samsat nous vîmes au bout de la plateforme qui domine Samsat et l’Euphrate, quelques tumulus de petite dimension. A onze heures et demie nous arrivâmes à Samsat. Nous fûmes fortement saisis au cœur en voyant ces quelques malheureuses huttes qui composent la ville moderne. Où trouver ce Samsat, la superbe capitale de la Commagène, cette ville qui vit naître Lucien? Il n’en reste pas le moindre vestige. On voit seulement à quelque distance de la misérable ville moderne une élévation sur le bord du fleuve sur laquelle se trouve une immense plateforme. Ce devait être l’acropole, elle est d’une forme rectangulaire et à l’extrémité sud-ouest se trouvent les restes d’une fortification rectangulaire d’une époque postérieure d’aucune importance. Voilà tout ce qui reste de l’ancienne

⁶⁷ For a good recent introduction to Lucian of Samosata, both in a literary and a historical sense, see Mestre and Gómez 2010.

ville'.⁶⁸ On the 2nd of June, Hamdi Bey adds: '*Ce matin nous allâmes visiter les environs de Samsat et comme nous avons déjà dit dans notre rapport d'hier, il n'y a absolument rien à voir.*'⁶⁹ After ascending the *höyük*, and making some photographs, the Ottoman team soon travelled on. Humann and Puchstein visit Samsat the day after their encounter with the Ottoman team and conduct more detailed documentation, making the first 'map' of the city (see fig. 1.7), showing the course of the fortification walls, and describing the *höyük* in more detail; soon after, they travel on to Nemrut.⁷⁰

The Ottoman and German teams were not the first to describe Samsat nor the first foreigners to visit it. In the 17th century, the Dutch geographer and historian Olfert Dapper (1636-1689) appears to be the first to identify the modern village of Samsat with the ancient city of Samosata.⁷¹ A travel report by Prussian general Helmuth Karl Bernhard von Moltke (1800-1891) from 1838 furthermore provides an early description of '*der berühmten Stadt Samosata*', one that is strikingly less pessimistic than that of Hamdi Bey half a century later, curiously suggesting that the valley of the Euphrates at Samsat looks similar to '*der Oder nahe oberhalb Frankfurt*', and praising the *höyük* for its '*riesenhafter Arbeit*' and its '*schöne Ruinen eines viereckigen Gebäudes*'.⁷² Von Moltke stumbled on a marble frieze decorated with foliage, birds and bulls '*von so schöner Arbeit, wie ich nie gesehen*'.⁷³ A year later, in 1839, the English traveller, surgeon and geologist William Francis Ainsworth (1807-1896) travelled through Commagene and visits Samsat, which however again disappoints: '*All that remains of this once celebrated city [Samosata], the seat of Commagene, the birth-place of Lucian, and an episcopate in the middle-ages, is a partly artificial mound, with*

⁶⁸ Taken from Eldem 2010, 70.

⁶⁹ *Idem*, 71.

⁷⁰ Humann and Puchstein 1890.

⁷¹ Dapper 1677/78. The subtitle of Dapper's book mentions that the descriptions are '*excerpted from several ancient and recent authors, and reported by eyewitness investigators.*' He writes: '*the Euphrates, starting at the city of Erzerum, flows to Commagene, passes the city of Malatya, and finally reaches Samosatium where it takes its course to the south-east. (...) The capital of Commagene was called either Samosatium [singular] by the ancient authors, like Strabo, Pliny and others, or Samosata [plural], but afterwards Sumeisata or Sumeisat by the Arabs. It is situated on the west bank of river Euphrates, at the utmost northern end of Syria, there where the Euphrates starts to bend to the south-east, twenty-two thousand steps northwards from Edessa, in the direction of Melitene and two thousand and thirty steps eastward from Caesarea in Cappadocia. Some make Aleppo the capital of Commagene. Strabo mentions Samosatium as a city fortified by nature. Samosatium was a Christian Episcopal city under the archbishopric of Edessa. Nowadays the city is completely destroyed.*' Taken from Brijder 2014, 50 n.28. Brijder adds that '*Dapper never travelled outside The Netherlands, but wrote his 'Description' sitting on his armchair in his well-equipped library in Amsterdam.*'

⁷² Citations from Von Moltke 1893, 236-237. Von Moltke documented his explorations in Commagene, where he investigated the possibilities of communication routes in the Taurus and Antitaurus mountains (between Malatya and Birecik) for the Ottoman army during the war between the Ottoman empire and Egypt (first phase 1831-1833; second phase 1839-1841), which mainly dealt with obtaining power over Syrian and Palestine territory. During his travels, he (re)discovered several archaeological sites and finds that had previously been largely unknown, most notably the Great Cult inscription of Gerger. For Von Moltke's role as a captain and general, see Mombauer 2001. Von Moltke approached Samsat by boat from Gerger in the north and hence also described the remainders of the Roman aqueduct.

⁷³ Von Moltke 1893, 237.

*fragmentary remains of a castle on its summit. The modern town [Samsat] is a poor place, of about 400 houses, peopled by Kurds, and Turkomans.'*⁷⁴

The largely negative, disappointed judgement regarding Samsat's archaeological value might be one of the reasons that in the next decades, only scarce scholarly attention was given to the town. In 1894, Vincent W. Yorke travelled in the area of Samsat and provided some short descriptions of the site, mentioning four newly discovered Roman inscriptions connected to the Roman legion XVI Flavia Firma that was stationed at Samosata after 72/73 CE.⁷⁵ In 1935, Giulio Jacopi found another inscription ('Sy', ID689 in chapter 6 of this dissertation) on a stele located in Samsat's primary school, which helped to complete the Great Cult Inscription of Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁷⁶ Another important visit followed in 1938, when Friedrich Karl Dörner and architect Rudolf Naumann documented the remains of the Roman aqueduct north of Samosata.⁷⁷ In 1958, H. Th. Bossert furthermore visited Samsat to investigate an Iron Age royal stele that had already been documented during the visit of Humann and Puchstein.⁷⁸

The first actual archaeological excavations in Samsat were conducted by Theresa Goell in the 1960s, during a 'Sondage campaign' in 1964 and more proper excavations in 1967 and 1970.⁷⁹ These investigations were already conducted in light of the construction of the Atatürk Dam (for which, see the introduction of this dissertation): *'The urgency for explorations at Samosata on-the-Euphrates in 1967 was to anticipate the consequences of the Turkish Government's project to build a dam for irrigation and power generation at Halfeti on the Euphrates southwest of Samosata (...) Accelerated archaeological excavations are being conducted there by Turks and foreigners in order to gain a glimpse of its ancient cultures before they disappear forever under the rising waters. This*

⁷⁴ Ainsworth 1842, vol I, 284-285. In his *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea and Armenia*, Ainsworth furthermore describes the Roman aqueducts: *'Our road lay still along the banks of the Euphrates, over a country very little cultivated. Two hours from Hoshun, and above the junction of the Kakhtah River, are some rapids, which appear to be cataracts noticed by Pliny as being above Samosata, for we saw no others from hence to that town. (...) Below, the Kakhtah River flowed into the Euphrates by three different mouths. From hence to Sameisat [Samosata] the remains of an aqueduct, which carried the water of this river, as previously noticed, to the capital of Commagene, are every now and then visible. Its lofty arches, supported either by strong walls or piers, show that it must have been a work carefully executed (...)'*. See also Brijder 2014, 179-183.

⁷⁵ Yorke 1896, 322: *'Samsat, which preserves the name of the ancient Samosata, the capital of the Seleucid kingdom of Commagene, the birthplace of Lucian, and station of one of the legions on the Euphrates, is now a wretched Kurdish village of about one hundred houses, three of which are Armenian. Its antiquities have been well described in Humann and Puchstein's work, and the only addition which we can make to the results which they obtained on the site, is that of four inscriptions. Two of these give the name of the Legion XVI. F(lavia), F(irma), which is known from another source to have been posted here, and a third, found in the castle wall, gives part of the name of one of the Roman governors of Commagene.'*

⁷⁶ Jacopi 1936, 21ff. Dörner noted that also the backside was inscribed (SyV). See Dörner and Naumann 1939, 17-43. Facella 2006, 35-36. See paragraph 6.5 of this dissertation for the stalai associated with Samosata and paragraph 10.5.1 for a further discussion concerning the ruler cult of Antiochos I in Samosata.

⁷⁷ Dörner and Naumann 1939, 30-43, 54-61.

⁷⁸ Bossert 1959.

⁷⁹ Goell 1974.

*fate awaits Samosata when the Halfeti dam is completed.*⁸⁰ Although Goell was particularly keen on finding the Commagenean phases of Samosata, the complex stratigraphy and intense Medieval habitation of the *höyük* prevented her from investigating layers older than the Seljuk period.⁸¹ In 1964, Goell mapped the surfacing archaeological remains – the standing medieval fortification walls and a Roman foundation wall – and opened a test trench of 12,50 x 10,00 m. at the east-central periphery of the mound, facing the Euphrates. This trench yielded much Seljuk-period material, including a structure with storage rooms situated around a courtyard interpreted by Goell as *'a strategic military and administrative center controlling the military and trade routes converging there.'*⁸²

During the 1967 and 1970 campaigns, Goell continued mapping the area, executing an extensive survey of the fortification walls (resulting in the map of fig. 1.5) and investigations of the *necropoleis* northwest and west of the city. On top of the *höyük*, she extended the 1964 test trench and connected it to a new east-west running trench that started at the western summit periphery and ran across the entire width of the mound (indicated on fig. 1.5). This east-west trench was lowered to the same Level I as reached in the eastern 1964 campaign, and again mostly yielded Seljuk-period structures and finds. At the western side of the trench, terraced building foundations and clay room floors were unearthed together with a number of clay ovens, hearths, large heavy ceramic basins, and a variety of 12th-13th c. ceramic vessels. In the eastern part of the extended trench, Goell also uncovered a habitation phase which she designated 'level II', dated to the 9th -10th century. A lower 'level III', broadly dated to the Byzantine period, was reached but not further explored.⁸³ Although Goell intended to arrive at the Commagenean phases and also appeared to have planned to reach all the way into the earliest, Chalcolithic habitation phases of the mound⁸⁴, no more fieldwork campaigns followed in the succeeding years, probably because of the dire working circumstances.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Goell 1974, 83.

⁸¹ *Idem*, 85, 96.

⁸² *Idem*, 96.

⁸³ *Idem*, 102: *'this lower level (...) requires more extensive excavation and study'.*

⁸⁴ *Idem*, 85: *'Our 1967 season of work will concentrate on following up the architecture of the medieval storage rooms [presumably 12th or 13th century A.D.] and enlarging the area in order to reveal a more comprehensive picture, going down in depth to the levels of Antiochus' Hellenistic dynasty and its foundation. We also planned to uncover the levels to the beginning of the settlement of Samosata in at least the Chalcolithic period at the base of the mound.'*

⁸⁵ Described wonderfully in Sanders and Gill 2006, 514: *'During the summer and early fall months, Goell returned to Turkey to resume excavations at Samsat. Her season at Samsat in 1970 exemplified her entire archaeological tenure in Turkey. There were the normal long waits in Ankara for permits and various local clearances to use equipment; the season stretched again into early fall. As was usual for Goell's digs, she accompanied the fieldwork with the construction of a small camp for her staff and workers, which, down near the Euphrates River, consisted of small adobe huts (instead of the tents surrounded by high stone walls erected atop Nemrud Dağı). The region around Samsat even in the 1970s resembled the medieval period in social and political structure. Wealthy Turkish landowners tended to be in charge of poorer Kurdish workers, who were treated like serfs and property. Numerous arguments between Goell and the landowners over who owned the*

In the wake of the multiple dam constructions belonging to the Southeast Anatolia Project⁸⁶, several large scale surveys were undertaken. Tony Wilkinson surveyed the area around Kurban Höyük and Titris Höyük during his *Chicago Euphrates Archaeological Survey* from 1980-1984, covering also the Samsat Region.⁸⁷ Two other largescale archaeological surveys were organized in the Lower Euphrates Basin by the M.E.T.U. *Lower Euphrates Project (Aşağı Fırat Eski Esserli Kurtarma Projesi)*. These surveys included the investigation of Samosata and its environs, and were published principally in Ümit Serdaroğlu's *Surveys in the Lower Euphrates Basin* and Mehmet Özdoğan's *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey*, both published in 1977.⁸⁸ These surveys resulted in a list of 210 threatened archaeological sites in Lower Euphrates Basin, which were discussed during a meeting held at Ankara in November 1977. There, a committee of Turkish and foreign archaeologists decided that, of these 210 endangered sites, Samosata held the highest preference for emergency excavations.⁸⁹

1.4 The Özgüç campaigns (1978-1989): history, methodology and publications

The board of the M.E.T.U. Lower Euphrates Project (especially prof. dr. Ekmel Derya and prof. dr. Sevim Buluç) asked prof. dr. Nimet Özgüç (1916-2015) to start salvage excavations in Samosata.⁹⁰ She gathered a team with field archaeologists and specialists from a variety of different Turkish universities and conducted summer campaigns every year between 1978 and 1989, except for 1980 and 1988. After 1989, the Atatürk Dam was almost completed and further campaigns were impossible. Their work was mostly focused on the *höyük*, with several large-sale trenches

rights to have Kurds work for them disrupted the fieldwork. There were even local beatings of workers and the smuggling of arms, drugs, and antiquities. Goell did her best as peacemaker and intercessor, demonstrating over and over again her skill in dealing with landowners, even though she was woman. Among the constraints of excavations at Samsat was the mere two hours of electric power each night. During that time daily record keeping had to take place and the photographs taken of trench progress had to be developed, inventoried, and mounted on index cards on which Goell would describe the image.'

⁸⁶ See *infra*, n. 1.

⁸⁷ Wilkinson 1990.

⁸⁸ Serdaroğlu 1977; Özdoğan 1977. A third number of the M.E.T.U. Lower Euphrates Project Publications appeared in 1987 and deals with the findings of the surveys of 1978-1979. See also the annual contributions by Mellink in his *Reports on the Archaeology of Asia Minor* in the *American Journal of Archaeology* during the 1980's and early 1990's.

⁸⁹ Mellink 1978.

⁹⁰ Nimet Özgüç received her doctorate in 1944 with a thesis on Anatolian stamp seals. She became professor at Ankara University in 1958. By 1978, when she was assigned the task of excavating Samosata, her experience as archaeological project leader was well-established. The list of archaeological projects she participated in and was responsible for is long, and include the Dundartepe, Kavak-Kaledoruğu, Tekkeköy excavations in the Samsun region, the Elbistan survey, the 1947 Karahöyük excavations, the Toprakkale and Maltepe excavations in Sivas, the Kültepe excavations, rescue excavation at Tepebağları Tumulus, and excavations at Acemhöyük (between 1962 and 1989). After her retirement in 1984, she became an honorary member of the Turkish Academy of Sciences in 1996 and was honoured with the Culture and Art Grand Prize of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2010. Besides her monograph on Samosata, key publications include Özgüç 1965 (cylinder seals from Kültepe) and Özgüç 1979 (Early Anatolian Art from Acemhöyük).

covering large parts of the mound. Several smaller test trenches were also dug in the Lower Town, especially near the so-called Urfa Gate in the southeast part of the fortification wall. At the end of each campaign, the finds were stored at the Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, totalling 3347 inventoried objects after the last campaign in 1989.⁹¹

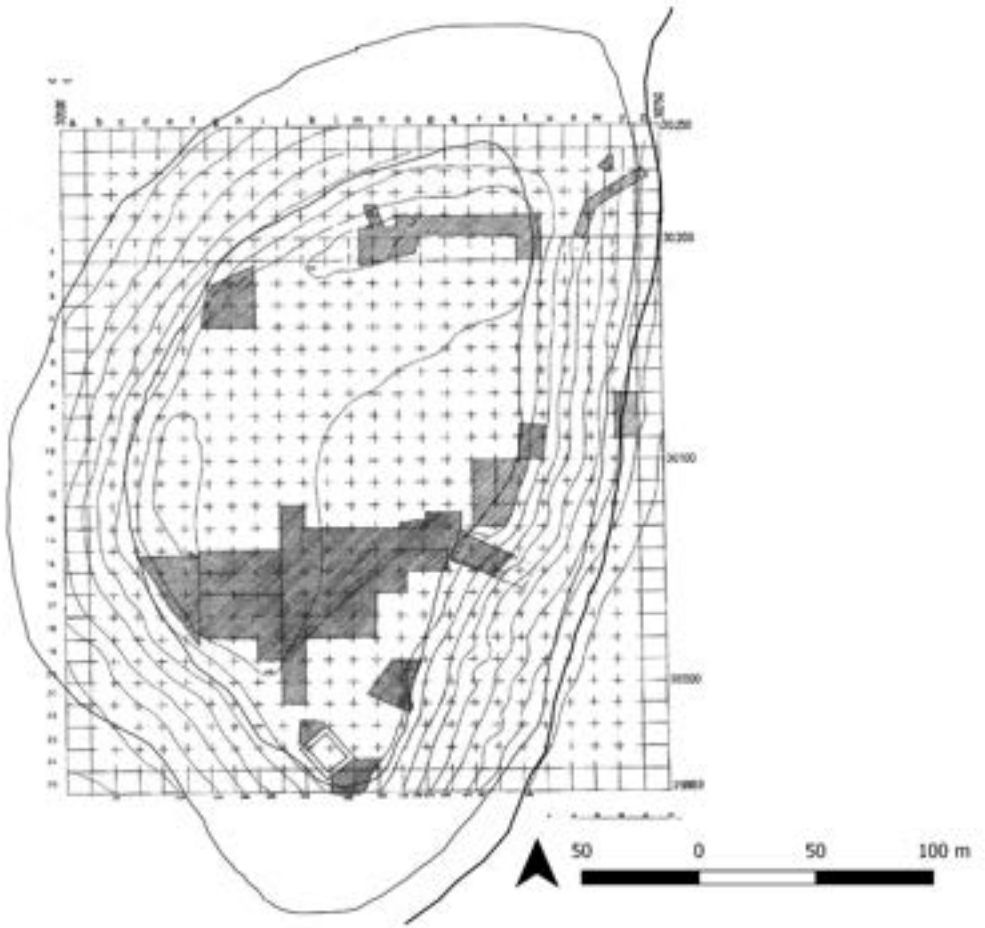


Fig. 1.8. The grid-system of the Özgüç excavations with the trenches indicated in dark grey. The palace is located in sector j-m/14-18. Map by the author, based on Özgüç 2009, 131 plan 3.

The excavations on top of the *höyük* were documented using a grid-system that covered the entire *höyük* (see fig. 1.8) which measures ca. 50 m. in height and ca. 250 x 150 m. size.⁹² This grid-system consists of grid-squares measuring 10 by 10 meters. The numbering is compiled by a north-south axis with numbers 1 to 25 counting up southwards; and a west-east axis with letters (a-z). Some

⁹¹ Özgüç 2009, 'önsüz'. This count does not include the ceramics and painted stucco fragments.

⁹² *Idem*, 131 plan 3.

of these trenches, one on the southwest side (sector d-f/15-17) and one on the northeast side (q-r/14-15), reached down all the way to the earliest Chalcolithic layers of the mound. This enabled Özgüç to distinguish 30 different layers of settlement habitation, ranging from the Chalcolithic period up to the late Medieval Seljuk periods that had already been scrutinized by Goell (see above).⁹³ It must unfortunately be stressed that the layers distinguished by Özgüç are very unprecise, as they combine layers across a 10,0 x 10,0 m. grid-square, making it unavoidable that a lot of fine-grained stratigraphic differentiation was lost. A further complicating factor is the fact that the system was not always used in a consistent manner. In sector j-m/14-19 (see appendix B, map B2), for instance, the chronological sequence is made up of layer VI (Early-mid Hellenistic period), layer V (Commagenean or Late-Hellenistic period; the Commagenean palace), and layer IV (Early Roman period). However, in some grid-squares Özgüç clearly deviated from this system; in sector u/9-10 for example, the Hellenistic finds are part of layers VII and VI. Lastly, there are several examples of layers consisting of very 'mixed' material, suggesting that different archaeological layers were heaped together and/or layers were simply contaminated. We must conclude that we are dealing with very general periodic differentiation rather than genuine stratigraphic units. Despite these severe stratigraphic and contextual limitations of the legacy data, this dissertation in some cases retains the original grid-square system and the general periodic differentiation, for instance in referring to single locations of objects. In the case of the architectural and archaeological analysis of chapter 4, I have however developed a system based on archaeological features that allows for a more detailed discussion of the data.

Based on the legacy data, we can more or less reconstruct the evolvement of the excavations through the years. It seems that, in 1978 and 1979, the team was primarily focused on surface reconnaissance and standing architecture on top of the *höyük*, especially the remains of the Seljuk-period tower on the southern extreme of the mound.⁹⁴ In 1981, excavations started near the Urfa Gate in the Lower Town (see Appendix B, map B1), as well as in sector e/3, o/14-15 and in q-r/14-15, where layers I and II were removed. In 1982, excavations in o/14 continued into layer III, while p/15 was excavated up until layer II. In sector j-k/15-16, layers I-II were removed, and in some locations also parts of layers III and IV, thus already exposing parts of the Late-Hellenistic palace. In sector d-e/15-16, layers I-II were removed and in some places (d/15) layer II was reached. In 1983, work was continued in d/16 up until layer VI, while in e/15-17, layers III-VII were removed. Sector g-i/16 was removed until layer III and in the sector of the Late-Hellenistic palace, j-l/14-17 layers III and IV were now entirely removed, providing a full view of the central, northern and

⁹³ The 30 layers are consecutively presented by Özgüç 2009. It must be noted that most scholars follow Zoroğlu 2012, 137 who mentions only 15 layers (cf. Wagner 2003/2004, 135; Brijder 2014, 424; Canepa 2019, 109) without giving further explanations for this numbering.

⁹⁴ Özgüç 2009, 10-11.

western wing of the palace. In sector m/14-16, a start was made to excavate the sector where the eastern continuation of the palace would be expected, removing layer I. In 1984, further work was conducted in the trench containing the palace (j-l/14-17, layer IV). This trench was also extended towards the west (with g-i/15-17 layers I-IV) and east (m/14-16, layers II-IV) brought to the level of the palace. In sector k/16-17, layer V was removed, thus reaching layers older and below the Late-Hellenistic palace (see appendix B, map B2). On the east of the *höyük*, trenches were opened in sector s-t/11-13. Work continued on trenches near the Urfa Gate. In 1985, the trench of the palace was extended towards the south, by removing layers I-III of j-k/18-19, thus unearthing the southern wing of the palace. An extension was also created towards the northeast, with n-p/14-15 brought down to layer IV. Further work was conducted in k/15, layer V, below the palace. In e-f/16-17, layers IV-VI were removed, exposing the so-called 'torus-base structure'.⁹⁵ This trench was extended to the east, with g/15 brought down to layer IV, exposing the so-called 'altar structure'.⁹⁶ In sector q-r/14-15, at the east of the *höyük*, layers IV-V were removed. Further east, sector u/9-10 is excavated up to layer IV. In 1986, this trench at the eastern slope of the mound was brought down to layer VIII. The trench with the palace is extended further to the southwest (i/17-18, layers III-IV). In 1987, further work was conducted on sector l-m/17, layers III-IV. In i/15-16, immediately west of the palace, layer VI was reached. In the last campaign, in 1989, the excavators reached layers IV-V of sector f-g/15-17, west from the Late-Hellenistic palace. North of the palace, in m/14, layer 3 was reached, unearthing the so-called 'structure in *opus reticulatum*'.⁹⁷

From 1984 to 1987, Özgüç published four brief reports containing preliminary results in the *Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı*, also dealing with the late Hellenistic palace.⁹⁸ The yearly 'Reports on the archaeology of Asia Minor' by Mellink in the *American Journal of Archaeology* furthermore provided general updates of the yearly results.⁹⁹ An investigation of the aqueduct remains north of the city was published in 1982 by Ülkü Izmirilgil.¹⁰⁰ In 1986, Levent Zoroğlu published a study of the Late-Hellenistic-Early Roman red-gloss table wares or 'Eastern Sigillata A' ceramics from the *höyük* and the Lower Town.¹⁰¹ The fortification wall was analysed in a specialized study by Tırpan, published in the succeeding years.¹⁰² A brief discussion of the wall painting and mosaics

⁹⁵ For which, see paragraph 7.2.1. of this dissertation.

⁹⁶ See paragraph 7.2.2. of this dissertation.

⁹⁷ See paragraph 7.5.1 of this dissertation.

⁹⁸ Özgüç 1985, 221-227; Özgüç 1986, 297-304; Özgüç 1987, 291-294 (all in Turkish).

⁹⁹ Mellink 1966; 1979, 335-336; 1980, 506; 1981, 468; 1982, 562; 1983, 432; 1984, 448; 1985, 554; 1987, 8; 1988, 110; 1989, 113-114; 1990, 135; 1991, 135-136

¹⁰⁰ Izmirilgil 1982 (Turkish).

¹⁰¹ Zoroğlu 1986, 61-100 (Turkish); the conclusions of this article are presented in chapter 7 of this dissertation.

¹⁰² Tırpan 1986, 183-201 (Turkish); 1989, 519-526.

was published in 1997 by Orhan Bingöl.¹⁰³ In the same year, Nimet Özgüç published an article on the Early Hellenistic phase of Samosata.¹⁰⁴ The first overview of the results of the Özgüç excavations appeared in an article (in German) by Levent Zoroğlu in Jörg Wagner's 2000 edited volume *Gottkönige am Euphrat*.¹⁰⁵ A synthetic overview of the findings was presented by Wagner three years later.¹⁰⁶ Important work on the Iron Age phases of Samsat was published by Wolfgang Messerschmidt in 2008.¹⁰⁷ The key publication that synthesized the results of the Özgüç excavations only appeared in 2009, with Özgüç's Turkish monograph *Samsat - Sümeysat, Samosata, Kumuha, Hahha, Hahhum*.¹⁰⁸ In 2013, Orhan Bingöl followed with a small but important booklet in Turkish, called *Samosata I. Theos Antiokhos Sarayı*, in which he provided a more detailed account of the Late-Hellenistic palace, specifically focusing on its wall painting and mosaics.¹⁰⁹ In several important publications, Michael Blömer commented on the results of the Samsat excavations.¹¹⁰ Recently, the Leiden VICI project 'Innovating Objects', the context within which this dissertation also emerged, produced new research dealing with the Hellenistic material of Samosata.¹¹¹

1.5 The history and archaeology of Samosata; a brief overview

Combined with the available written sources, the results of the Özgüç campaigns allow for a historical overview of Samosata that spans from its first Chalcolithic habitation phase to the ultimate destruction of the town in the 13th c. CE.¹¹² In this paragraph, I will provide a brief overview of this long-term history, in close correspondence to and reliance on the archaeological results of the Özgüç excavations. The Late-Hellenistic palace that is the central focus of this dissertation will be discussed in much more detail in the succeeding chapters (especially chapter 4), as well as the other structures dating to the Hellenistic and Early Roman period (see chapter 7).

¹⁰³ Bingöl 1997, 111–118.

¹⁰⁴ Özgüç 1996.

¹⁰⁵ Zoroğlu 2000, 74–83. Re-published in Zoroğlu 2012, 135–145 almost without revisions.

¹⁰⁶ Wagner 2003/2004, 131–154.

¹⁰⁷ Messerschmidt 2008, 1–35.

¹⁰⁸ Özgüç 2009.

¹⁰⁹ Bingöl 2013.

¹¹⁰ See, most notably, Krüger and Blömer 2011 with further literature.

¹¹¹ Riedel 2018; Kruijer and Riedel 2021.

¹¹² It is very likely that some sort of village settlement has always continued to exist at the foot of the *höyük* through the early modern and modern period, culminating in Eski Samsat (see introduction). However, I focus here on the history of the site functioning as a town that was focused on the habitation on top of the *höyük* itself.

The earliest traces for habitation in Samosata date to the Late Chalcolithic period and as such it is one of several middle-sized settlements that seem to emerge in the area in that period.¹¹³ The location for the site at the west bank of the Euphrates is most likely explained by its close vicinity to the river, its highly fertile river plain, and the presence of two natural water springs at the east slope of the *höyük*. It is furthermore likely that the wide running course of the river at this location caused a relatively easy crossing. Özgüç's periodic layers XX-XXX represent the Late Chalcolithic period, which Özgüç unearthed mostly in sector d-f/15-17, at the SW sloping edge of the *höyük*.¹¹⁴ The early phases were also reached at q-r/14-15, at the eastern edge of the *höyük*, where a similar deep trench perpendicular to the mound's slope was excavated. The voluminous later stratigraphic layers that superimpose these Halaf and Ubaid phases made it impossible to excavate larger portions of this early period, and specifically at the centre of the *höyük* our knowledge of the early habitation is completely lacking. Nonetheless, on the basis of the sondages at the eastern and western slope, it was estimated that around 20 of the 40 meters of cultural deposit on the *höyük* belonged to the Chalcolithic age, which underlines the impression of very continuous and intense activity for this period. No architectural remains were unearthed for the Halaf and Ubaid phases (layers XXVII-XXX), however these layers are rich in artefacts, specifically the Halafian and Ubaid ceramics, as well as worked flint and obsidian.¹¹⁵ The later 'Uruk Culture' phases (XX-XXVII), representing the transition from Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age in this region, do contain architectural evidence, such as a two-roomed building with stone foundations, pebble-paved floors and fragments of architectural decoration.¹¹⁶ Other finds for this period include spindle whorls, weights, stamp seals with figurative decoration and flint tools and ground stones. Infant burials in jars with grave gifts were unearthed in sector q/15, layer XXVI.¹¹⁷

Özgüç dated layers XIII-XIX to the early and middle Bronze Age habitation layers, which were equated with the old-Assyrian city of Hahhum.¹¹⁸ The earliest of these layers pre-date the old-Assyrian empire however, starting already around 2600 BCE. The most important foci of investigation were again trench q-r/14-15, at the eastern slope of the *höyük*, and trench b-f/15-

¹¹³ See Wilkinson et al. 2012, especially 154-158, for a synthesizing discussion of survey data concerning Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age settlement development in the Middle Euphrates region, including Samsat. With an estimated maximum extent of ca. 5-10 ha, late Chalcolithic Samsat belongs to a group of middle-sized sites such as Lidar, Beddayeh and Kurban Höyük, cf. Wilkinson et al. 2012, 142.

¹¹⁴ Özgüç 1988, 294. Özgüç 2009, 88-105

¹¹⁵ Özgüç 1988, 261.

¹¹⁶ Özgüç 2009, 88-103, pl.169, 390-391; pl.171, 399.

¹¹⁷ Özgüç 2009, 99, pl.173, 403; Özgüç 1988, 294.

¹¹⁸ As already suggested by Falkner 1957, 10-11. *Contra* Liverani 1988, 166 who suggested that Hahhum had to be located on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, opposite Samsat, perhaps at Lidar Höyük. For the EBA-MBA transition of Samsat in its wider regional context, see Abay 2007. For the importance of Hahhum as a crossing point of the Euphrates, see Palmisano 2017, 38: '*This may suggest that Hahhum, as the most accessible pinch-point and critical linkage between Upper Mesopotamia and central Anatolia, did indeed play a pivotal role as a market town and stop on the route to Anatolia (Old Assyrian texts mention an inn in this city)*'. In general, see Barjamovic 2011.

19 (the SW slope). Layer XIX, f/15-16 contained seven graves in crouched position. Architectural remains of small rectangular rooms with stone foundations (and mudbrick superstructure) were unearthed in the eastern trench as well as the south-western trench.¹¹⁹ Other architectural fragments were retrieved in layers XVI-XVII, in the eastern trench, consisting of small rectangular wall structures and pavements.¹²⁰ These layers also contained three burials (two infants, one adult), both in the eastern and the south-western trenches.¹²¹ Layer XIV in the SW-trench contains the so-called 'Assyrian palace', consisting of a small enclosure or fortification that forms a citadel-like structure with a paved inner court and a gate at the western side, as well as two towers. Its status as a 'palace' has not been widely accepted but the monumental wall size and presence of painted wall decoration do seem to point to an exceptional structure.¹²² In trench b-f/15-18, layer XIII consisted of small rectangular house structures with a paved street running through them.¹²³ The walls have stone foundations but had a mudbrick superstructure that had almost completely vanished.

Özgüç dated layers VII-XII to the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, coinciding with the neo-Hittite period of the city, when it was called Kummuh (or Kumaha) and functioned as the capital of the neo-Hittite kingdom of Kummuh (ca. 12th-8th century BCE).¹²⁴ It is likely that the town remained in use after Assyrian king Sargon II conquered Kummuh in 708 BCE.¹²⁵ Late Bronze Age and Iron age layers assigned to Neo-Hittite Kummuh were retrieved in the SW trench (d-f/15-19) the eastern trench (q-r/14-15), and the other eastern trench u/9-10, located at the eastern slope as well. Especially layer VII and VIII contained monumental structures belonging to a fortification around the *höyük*, as well as paved courts and houses inside these walls.¹²⁶ A monumental 'postern' (staircase-tunnel) was unearthed at the north-eastern side of the mound at q-s/14-15, connecting the fortification system with the lower slope of the mound, ending at a cistern. The vertical walls are constructed in masonry with clay mortar and the roof was executed in large limestone blocks. Important finds for these layers include reliefs with Luwian inscriptions, Late-Hittite stelai, sealings and ceramics.¹²⁷

As is true for the wider North-Syrian region, the Babylonian, Persian and Seleucid periods of Samsat Höyük remain rather obscure archaeologically. It is however likely that, somewhere in the

¹¹⁹ *SW trench*: Özgüç 2009, 85, lev 159, 357. *E trench*: Özgüç 2009, 145, pl.159.

¹²⁰ Özgüç 2009, 75, pls. 150, 325.

¹²¹ *Idem*, 75, pl.150, 326 and pl.151, 327-328.

¹²² *Idem*, 68, lev 144, 313; pl. 145, 314 and 315.

¹²³ *Idem*, 145, plan 18.

¹²⁴ For a good introduction to Iron Age Kummuh, its regional setting, historical sources and the relevant secondary literature, see Hawkins 2000, 330ff.

¹²⁵ Hawkins 1974, 79-80. The most important source for the relations between Assyria and Kummuh is the stele of Adad-Nirari III, cf. Hawkins 1974, 74f.

¹²⁶ Özgüç 2009, 142, plan 15; pls.127-138.

¹²⁷ *Idem*, 54-57.

3rd c. BCE, the city is (re-)founded by the Orontid kings of Sophene, to which Commagene belonged at that time. Like the city of Arsamosata in Sophene, it was renamed after an Orontid king called 'Samos' (or 'Sames'), which in the literature is known as Samos I to differentiate him from Samos II, the late 2nd c. BCE Commagenean king.¹²⁸ In sector j-m/14-18 of layer V, Özgüç unearthed the Late-Hellenistic 'Commagenean palace' that is central to this dissertation; its archaeological features are elaborately described and discussed in chapter 4. There I also argue that the palace was likely built in the early 1st c. BCE, probably under the reign of king Mithridates I Kallinikos (ca. 100-69 BCE) and indeed must be the structure Strabo referred to when he speaks of the 'seat of the Commagenean kings' that is located there (τὸ βασιλεῖον).¹²⁹ During the 1st century BCE,

¹²⁸ In general, for the re-foundation of Samosata, see Messerschmidt 2000, 40; Metzler 2000, 51; Facella 2006, 172–73; Messerschmidt 2012, 92; Versluys 2017a, 172-174. The dating of this re-foundation and the identity of 'Samos' is based first and foremost on the fact that Strabo, writing in the early 1st c. CE, derived the name 'Samosata' from the writings of Eratosthenes (276-194 BCE), which excludes Samos II as a (re-)founder given that he lived after Eratosthenes' time. Strabo 16.2.3: *'Commagene is a rather small country; and it has a city fortified by nature, Samosata, where the royal residence used to be; but it has become a province; and the city is surrounded by an exceedingly fertile, though small territory. Here is now the bridge of the Euphrates; and near the bridge is situated Seleuceia, a fortress of Mesopotamia, which was included within the boundaries of Commagene by Pompey'*. For more arguments in favour of Samos I as the (re)founder of Samosata, see Sullivan et al. 1977, 751–52; Dörner 1981, 367–68; Messerschmidt 2000, 40; Messerschmidt 2012, 92; Metzler 2000, 51; Zoroğlu 2000, 75; Zoroğlu 2012, 135; Sartre 2001, 424; Schwertheim 2005, 78: *'Samos scheint die spätere Hauptstadt des Reiches Kommagene, Samosata, gegründet zu haben'*; Facella 2006, 169-174; Cohen 2006, 187-190; Winter 2008, 41-42: *'Demgegenüber [Doliche] verdankte die kommagenische Hauptstadt Samosata – Commagenes caput Samosata- ihre erneute Bedeutung der Initiative des armenischen Königs Samos I., der durch diese „Neugründung“ des alten Zentrums von Kummuh um die Mitte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. Seinen Anspruch auf Herrschaft im kommagenischen Raum dokumentieren wollte. (...) Die erste Erwähnung des hellenistischen Samosata findet sich in einer Passage bei Strabon, der hier Eratosthenes zitiert. Strabon bezeichnet zudem Samosata als befestigte Polis und erwähnt in diesem Kontext auch die Bedeutung des königlichen Palastes (...). Der in augusteischer Zeit schreibende Geograph ist eine äußerst zuverlässige Quelle, die sehr sorgfältig in ihrer Charakterisierung von antiken Siedlungsplätzen ist'*; Blömer and Winter 2011, 143: *'The city is said to have been renamed by a predecessor of the Commagenean royal family, the Armenian king Samos, in the 3rd century BCE'*; Kropp 2013, 107: *'the capital Samosata which was founded by king Samos in the mid-third century BC'*. Cohen gives the most detailed overview of this discussion, and settles with the *communis opinio* choosing the 3rd century BCE 'Samos': *'the person for whom the settlement was named predated Eratosthenes; hence this could have been Samos I. On balance the latter seems to be the more likely option.'* (Cohen 2006, 188). Contrary to this almost unanimous support for Samos I, Goell suggests in Sanders 1996, 20: *'Ptolemy was succeeded by Sames [i.e. Samos II], founder of Samosata, the capital city and principal fortress of the state'*. Versluys 2017a, 172-173 questioned the complete historical veracity of both Samos I and II, but offers no satisfactory explanation for the available epigraphic and numismatic evidence for both. This concerns especially the coins for Samos II discussed in Facella 2005; Facella 2006, 205-208; Facella 2012, 79-82. Despite his assertion that *'I have not tried to argue that Ptolemy, Samos II and Mithridates I Kallinikos never existed, nor that they were an Antiochan invention and that, for instance, coins showing them are in fact all Antiochan'* (Versluys 2017a, 182), Versluys in fact does imply the latter several times: *'With our present knowledge, however, it seems thus not far-fetched to consider the possibility that these coins were, in fact, a sort of medallion struck by Antiochos I'* (Versluys 2017a, 182 n.306). Earlier, he talks about *'the perhaps doubtful status as historical evidence'* of these coins (Versluys 2017a, 177). Key to Versluys's argument is the small amount of pre-Antiochan coins, but he does not consider the possibility that a medallion-like mint could also have existed under Antiochos I's predecessors. For Samos I, the 3rd century BCE Armenian King and father of Commagenean King Arsames, see the inscription OGIS 394, found at Arsameia on the Euphrates: βασιλέα [A]ρσά[μην] τον ἐκ Β[ασιλέως] Σάμου'. See also Humann and Puchstein 1890, 285.

¹²⁹ Strabo 16.2.3: *καθόλου μὲν οὕτω, καθ' ἕκαστα δὲ ἡ Κομμαγενὴ μικρὰ τίς ἐστιν: ἔχει δ' ἐρμυνην πόλιν Σαμόσαστα ἐν ᾗ τὸ βασιλεῖον ὑπῆρχε, νῦν δ' ἐπαρχία γέγονε: χώρα δὲ περικείμεται σφόδρα εὐδαίμων, ὀλίγη δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὲ νῦν ἐστὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου (...)*.

Samosata is besieged twice; first by the Roman general Lucullus in 69 BCE¹³⁰ and later by general Ventidius and Mark Antony in ca. 38 BCE; these events are not archaeologically attested.¹³¹ The palace likely was abandoned and partially destroyed after 17 CE, when Commagene was provincialized under emperor Tiberius.¹³² Layer IV was dated to the early Roman period (ca. 1st c. CE) and contained the so-called ‘structure in *opus reticulatum*’, a rectangular basilica-shaped building that partially covered the Commagenean palace.¹³³ In approximately the same period, a large citadel wall as well as a fortification wall encircling the Lower Town were constructed, both in *opus reticulatum* (for its course, see Appendix B, map B1). It is suggested in chapter 7 that these structures were all created during the rule of Antiochos IV.¹³⁴ After the provincialization of Commagene in 72/73 CE¹³⁵, a Roman legion (*Flavia Firma XVI*) is stationed in Samosata¹³⁶, and the city seems to thrive as an economic and cultural centre throughout the 2nd c. CE, when its coins bear on the reverse ‘ΦΑΑ CAMO MHTPO KOM’ (i.e. Flavia Samosata Metropolis of Commagene).¹³⁷ In the 2nd c. CE, the city is the birthplace of the famous author Lucian of Samosata (ca. 120-180 CE) and, in the 3rd c. CE, that of Paul of Samosata (200-275 CE), who would become bishop of Antioch in the later part of his life.¹³⁸

The famous trilingual ‘Res Gestae’ inscription of Sassanid king Shapur I on the Ka’ba of Zoroaster at Naqsh-e Rostam in Fars attests of severe pillaging of Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia in 252/253 CE, and Samosata is mentioned as one of the captured and pillaged cities.¹³⁹ Layer III was dated by Özgüç to the Byzantine period of Samosata, and seems to attest of a renewed flourishing from approximately the 4th-early 6th c. CE, when it held the seat of the bishopric of the province of Euphratesia.¹⁴⁰ After an Arab raid in 531 CE, the region is quickly restored to Byzantine hands;

¹³⁰ Plin. *HN* 2.235: ‘In urbe Commagenes Samosata stagnum est emittens limum — maltham vocant — flagrantem. cum quid attigit solidi, adhaeret; praeterea tactu et sequitur fugientes. sic defendere muros oppugnante Lucullo; flagrabat miles armis suis. aquis et accenditur; terra tantum restingui docuere experimenta.’ The nature of this ‘maltha’ is explained as follows by Mayor 2009, 167: ‘Maltha was apparently a very viscous form of naphtha skimmed from great pools of asphaltum, petroleum tar that oozes from fissures in sandstones in the region.’

¹³¹ Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 34; Cass. Dio 49.22; Oros. 6.18.23; Joseph. *BJ* 1.16.7.

¹³² Suet. *Calig.* 16. For the ‘structure in *opus reticulatum*’, see chapter 4.

¹³³ See chapter 4 and paragraph 7.5.1 for a detailed archaeological discussion.

¹³⁴ See paragraph 7.5.3 of this dissertation for this dating.

¹³⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 7.7 1-3. Perhaps described also in the famous *Letter to Mara bar Sarapion*, for which see Merz and Tieleman 2009 (especially the contributions by Facella, Blömer and Versluys).

¹³⁶ Zoroğlu 2000, 75-6; cf. Kennedy 1998a, 156. Attested also by multiple tile stamps, cf. Özgüç 2009, pl. 29, fig. 205. It is not known where exactly the Roman legion would have been stationed. See Pollard 2000, 266-268.

¹³⁷ Butcher 2004, 467-476. At that time, it was considered one of the ‘four cities of Commagene’ (*quattor civitates Commagenorum*), see *infra* n.51.

¹³⁸ For Lucian, see *infra* n. 67. For Paul of Samosata, see Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* VII, xxvii-xxx.

¹³⁹ Henning and Taqizadeh 1957; Huyse 1999; Curtis and Stewart 2010, xl.

¹⁴⁰ Özgüç 2009, 5-28. Özgüç mentions that, within the M.E.T.U. project, research on these later periods was primarily executed by Prof. dr. Metin Ahunbay. For the Islamic ceramics, see Bulut 1991. For the bishopric of Euphratesia, cf. Lewin 2011. For an elaborate discussion of Late-Antique Samosata, see Redford et al. 1998, 5-30.

emperor Heraclius (610-641 CE) is the last Byzantine emperor to visit the city.¹⁴¹ Important archaeological features include several Byzantine mosaics¹⁴² and a Byzantine apsidal building (maybe a church) on top of the Roman fortification wall in *opus reticulatum* in the Lower Town.¹⁴³ During this time, a smaller fortification wall was built in the Lower Town, significantly reducing the extent of the city (see fig. 1.5).¹⁴⁴

In the 7th c. CE, the Arab conquest of the region by caliph Omar (634-644 CE) ultimately brings Samosata, by then known as Sumeysat, under Rashidun and, soon after, Ummayyad control.¹⁴⁵ After a short-lived Byzantine occupation between 701 and 710 CE, the Ummayyad Caliphate controls the area of Sumeysat from 711-1032 CE. The city turns to Byzantine rule again between 1032-1071 CE, with the Euphrates functioning as the south-eastern border of the empire, running all the way south to Antioch (and also including Urfa, for which Samsat functioned as an important supply link). After the famous battle of Manzikert led by Alp Arslan, the Seljuks gained control of Sumeysat, lasting from 1071-1099 CE. Subsequently, the city came under control of the Frankish Crusader County of Edessa, which was short-lived (1099-1148 CE), but during which Samsat was again an important supplier of animals and foodstuffs for Urfa.¹⁴⁶ The Turkish emirs of Syria and Northern Mesopotamia almost constantly attacked the Crusader County, until in 1146 CE, emir Nūr al-Dīn captured Urfa and Sumeysat in 1148 CE. In 1174 CE, the city came under control of the Ayyubid dynasty, after which, in 1188 CE, Saladin captured it. His son, al-Afdal, gained the city as a fief from his father's successor, al-Malik al-Adil.¹⁴⁷ In 1202 CE, after al-Afdal was defeated by his uncle and brother and only left with Sumeysat, he submitted to the Rum Seljuk Sultan, Kükn ad-Din Kay Rhusraw, starting to strike coinage in the sultan's name. The Rum Seljuks invaded the city twice thereafter, in 1208 and 1238 CE.¹⁴⁸ A year before, in 1237 CE, the city was however already plundered and destroyed by the Mongol invasion.¹⁴⁹ After the waning power of the Mongols in the succeeding decades of the 13th century, the strategic importance of Samsat Höyük decreased, with the frontier of this region moving more towards the north (in the area of Eski Kâhta) during the rising power of the Mamluk Dynasty.

¹⁴¹ Özgüç 2009, 25.

¹⁴² Mosaics at the foot of the *höyük* in the north: Özgüç 2009, 23, pl. 72, 167. Mosaics south of the *höyük*: Özgüç 2009, 23; pl. 73, 168a+b.

¹⁴³ With the apsis facing SW. Özgüç 2009, 23, 138, plan 11; pl. 70, 163; pl. 71, 164-165; pl. 72, 166.

¹⁴⁴ Özgüç 2009, 21-25.

¹⁴⁵ Bulut 1991. For this period, I rely heavily on Özgüç 2009, 5-6 and Redford 1986, 113-118.

¹⁴⁶ For which see Segal 1970, 215ff.; and Tritton 1934, 278.

¹⁴⁷ Humphreys 1977, 116.

¹⁴⁸ For the invasion of 1208 see Humphreys 1977, 159. For that of 1238, see Duda 1959, 206.

¹⁴⁹ See Redford 1986, 117: '*Samsat, as we have seen, kept its value as the controlling fortress on an important invasion route well into the 1230's*'. The 13th century, Baghdad-based Greek geographer Yakut (1225 CE), probably describes one of the last phases of the city before its destruction: '*Sumaisat is a town on the west bank of the Euphrates. It has a castle. In one quarter of Sumaisat, Armenians dwell*' (Geographical Lexicon, iii, 151).

This long period full of political shifts was attested archaeologically in Özgüç's (and also Theresa Goell's) layers I and II on the *höyük*. Important structures are the Seljuk-period tower (still partially standing at the time of excavation) in sector k-l/23-24¹⁵⁰, the ramparts in sector m-r/0-1 at the north side of the *höyük*¹⁵¹, and the 7th/8th c. CE Arabic *hamam* structure in sector n-s/14-16 on top of the *höyük*.¹⁵² Domestic contexts similar to those retrieved by Goell in the 1960s were also found by Özgüç and her team.¹⁵³ Interesting finds attributed to the 12th c. CE Crusader County period include a so-called 'crusader relief' in limestone representing a lion and a warrior.¹⁵⁴ In layer I, Goell and Özgüç unearthed an elaborate 'citadel residence' with a courtyard plan.¹⁵⁵ After the destruction, the town was largely abandoned, although the presence of a village at the foot of the *höyük* is already attested for the 16th century, under the rule of Ottoman emperor Selim I, and probably continued into the village observed by Von Moltke and others in the 19th century (see the previous paragraph).¹⁵⁶

1.6 Introduction to the history and archaeology of the kingdom of Commagene (ca. 2nd c. BCE – 1st c. CE)

Following this general historical overview of Samosata's history and archaeology is a brief introduction to the history and archaeology of Commagene from ca. the 2nd c. BCE until the 1st c. CE, thus familiarizing the reader with the specific archaeological and historical context of the Late-Hellenistic kingdom of which Samosata was the capital. This chronological overview of key events and key archaeological sites functions as a stepping stone to the more critical discussion of its historiography in the next chapter, especially regarding Commagene's 1st c. BCE cultural dynamics and transformations, an issue that is central to the research questions of this dissertation and further developed in chapter 2 and 3.

¹⁵⁰ Özgüç 2009, 10-11, 133, plan 5; pl. 22, 62-63; pl. 23, 64-65; pl. 24, 66; pl. 20, 58, 59; pl. 21, 60.

¹⁵¹ *Idem*, 9-10, 132, plan 4.

¹⁵² *Idem*, 11, pl. 24, 67, pl. 25, 58. Plan 7; pl. 70, 162; pl. 25, 69.; pl. 26, 70.

¹⁵³ *Idem*, 11.

¹⁵⁴ *Idem*, 12; pl. 27, 73, pl. 28, 74-76.

¹⁵⁵ Goell 1974, 96

¹⁵⁶ Özgüç 2009, 6.



Fig. 1.9. Map of Asia Minor and Syria with the political situation in the 1st c. BCE. Note that under most of the reign of Antiochos I (ca. 69-36 BCE) Commagene extended further south and included Zeugma and Doliche. Figure by Carole Raddato (19-08-2000, Wikipedia Creative Commons).

The archaeological, historical and epigraphical record of Commagene is like a photograph with a very shallow ‘depth of field’; only a small portion of the kingdom’s history and social strata is in focus, while all the rest is blurred at best. The paper thin sheet that is relatively well known belongs almost solely to the reign of king Antiochos I (ca. 69 – ca. 36 BCE), and consists particularly of the archaeology and epigraphy found in relation to its so-called *hierothesia* (tomb sanctuaries) and *temene* (sanctuaries), constructed as part of the king’s ruler cult.¹⁵⁷ For the period before the reign of Antiochos I we are dependent on a very scanty record.¹⁵⁸ In the 2nd c. BCE, Commagene seems to have developed as an independent state during the period’s increasing disintegration of the Seleucid Empire, with the Seleucid *epistates* Ptolemaeus (ca. 163 – ca. 130 BCE) succeeding in

¹⁵⁷ A problem already considered by Blömer 2012, 98: ‘Apart from the restricted royal perspective on the land, our knowledge of Commagene is extremely vague. Little is known about the king’s predecessors and his successors alike. Sources on everyday life, culture and society in the Late-Hellenistic and early Roman periods hardly exist’. See also Versluys 2017a, 137–141, 172–184. I am aware that the applicability of the term ‘ruler cult’ to the religious context of late-Hellenistic Commagene is contested, cf. De Jong 2021. It is however not within the capacities of the present author, nor the scope of this dissertation, to elaborate on this issue here further.

¹⁵⁸ I rely here heavily on Margherita Facella’s 2006 monograph on the Orontid dynasty, cf. Facella 2006. For an overview of the available primary sources for Commagene (mostly later Roman sources such as Tacitus, Cicero, Plutarch, Appian, Flavius Josephus and Cassius Dio), see Sullivan 1978; Facella 2006, 425-433 and Speidel 2009.

achieving autonomy and becoming the kingdom's first king.¹⁵⁹ The exact territorial extent of the kingdom at that time as well as in the succeeding centuries is unclear but the Commagenean heartland was definitely located around Samosata, on the west bank of the Euphrates river and further north into the Anti-Tauros mountains (see fig. 1.9).¹⁶⁰ During that period, Commagene was surrounded by the kingdoms of Sophene in the northeast, Osroehne in the southwest, Cilicia in the west and Seleucid Syria in the south. We know very little about the population of Commagene; it is likely that they were an Aramaic speaking people but even this is debated.¹⁶¹ The rest of the 2nd c. BCE remains largely dark apart from a few numismatic finds attributed to king Samos II (ca. 130-100 BCE).¹⁶²

Under the reign of Mithridates I Kallinikos (ca. 100-69 BCE), Commagene likely gets under the sphere of influence of the Armenian Kingdom of Tigranes II.¹⁶³ Through the dynastic monuments of his son, Antiochos I, we know that Mithridates I was married to Laodike, the daughter of Seleucid king Antiochos VIII Grypos.¹⁶⁴ This dissertation argues that the palace of Samosata was commissioned in the early 1st c. BCE, probably early during the reign of Mithridates I Kallinikos (see chapter 4). On the basis of recent discoveries and a new reading of older excavation results, it becomes more and more likely that Mithridates I already initiated something of the beginnings of a ruler cult at places like Arsameia on the Nymphaios and a sanctuary at the Güzelçay.¹⁶⁵

After Antiochos I succeeded Mithridates I Kallinikos in ca. 69 BCE, the political changes in Commagene and the wider Near East happen in rapid succession.¹⁶⁶ After Roman general Lucullus besieges Samosata in 69 BCE, Pompey strikes a deal with Antiochos I in 64 BCE, during the congress of Amisos in 65/64 BCE when the political organization of large parts of Asia Minor and Syria were profoundly reorganized, *de facto* bringing the region under Roman control.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁹ Diod. Sic. 31, 19a.

¹⁶⁰ Under the reign of Antiochos I, Commagene briefly also extended further south including Zeugma and Doliche, cf. Strabo 16.2.3; Plin. *HN* 5.21; Tac. *Ann.* 12.12; Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 101ff; Speidel 2009, 566. This either ended after Mithridates II defeat at Actium (Facella 2006) or later, in 17 CE (Butcher 2009). Under Antiochos IV, in the early 1st c. CE, Commagene also briefly included Cilicia. Recently, Blömer has suggested that the Euphrates might have been a less 'hard' eastern border than often thought, cf. Blömer 2017.

¹⁶¹ Hoepfner 2000, 67; Speidel 2005, 91; Kropp 2013, 358. Kropp 2013, 23 n. 116 points to the Semitic onomastics on funerary stelai from Zeugma, cf. Parlasca 2005 232-235. *Contra* Millar 1993, 452-456. See now Jacobs 2021.

¹⁶² Sullivan; Bedoukian 1985; Facella 2005; Facella 2006, 205-208; Gariboldi 2007; Brijder 2014, 533-562. The cultic program of Antiochos I suggests that Samos II was buried at the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Euphrates, where he is also depicted in a large rock relief, cf. Facella 2006, 205-208. Versluys has suggested that it is possible that this merely an Antiochan fiction, cf. Versluys 2017a, 174.

¹⁶³ Ehling 2008.

¹⁶⁴ Facella 2006, 209-224.

¹⁶⁵ See *infra*, n.165. See paragraph 4.3.7 of this dissertation for a discussion.

¹⁶⁶ For a detailed historical narrative and a discussion of the primary sources, see Speidel 2009 and Facella 2006.

¹⁶⁷ For the character of Roman power in Commagene see Speidel 2009.

Antiochos I is allowed to keep his throne and even is granted a territorial extension of his kingdom towards the south, including the important river crossing at Seleukeia on the Euphrates (Zeugma).¹⁶⁸ This means the start of a complex diplomatic buffer role of Commagene, crammed between two fiercely competing super powers – the Roman empire in the west and the Parthian empire in the east (see fig. 1.9).¹⁶⁹ Antiochos I plays a seemingly skillful and fairly successful diplomatic role, walking on thin ice by supporting both powers; he calls himself ‘philorhomaioi’ and, in 59 BCE, is awarded the prestigious Roman *Toga Praetexta* by Julius Caesar while, at the same time, he marries away his daughter Laodike to the Parthian royal house.¹⁷⁰ Around 40 BCE, this fine balance is tested severely when, during the Parthian invasion of Pacorus, Antiochos I is accused of disloyalty to the Romans and attacked by Ventidius and Mark Antony, a great peril he just manages to escape by bribing the Roman general.¹⁷¹

As mentioned above, the only aspect of the history of the kingdom of Commagene that is relatively sharp in focus is the ruler cult of king Antiochos I. This is due to the high amount of epigraphic and archaeological material, and especially the monumental and elaborate character of its sanctuaries.¹⁷² Throughout the kingdom, sanctuaries (*temene*) were founded that contained reliefs with a more or less standardized inscription and, often, a so-called *dexiosis* scene, with the king shaking the right hand (hence *dexiosis*) of a deity (see paragraph 6.5 of this dissertation and fig. 8.13 for examples).¹⁷³ Most of the known *temene* were located in or in the near vicinity of Samosata, suggesting that this area should be considered the religious *Kernland* of the Commagenean ruler cult (see fig. 1.4). Two *temene* were likely located in Samosata while several others were located close to Samosata (Selik, Ancoz).¹⁷⁴ Three larger tomb-sanctuaries in the northern part of Commagene (Nemrut Dağı, Arsameia on the Nymphaioi¹⁷⁵ and Arsameia on the Euphrates¹⁷⁶), contained elaborate monuments and provide us with the most contextual data for Antiochos I’s ruler cult.

¹⁶⁸ App. *Mith.* 106, 117; Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 45.5.

¹⁶⁹ For the complex role of Commagene as an allied kingdom, see Facella 2010.

¹⁷⁰ *Philorhomaioi*: Facella 2006, 225-298. *Toga Praetexta*: Cic. *QFr.* 2.11.2-3. *Marriage*: Wagner 1983, 218.

¹⁷¹ Cass. Dio 48.41.5; Facella 2006, 243-248.

¹⁷² Not limited to epigraphic sources in Commagene alone; see OGIS 405, an honorary inscription for Antiochos I in Ephesos mentioning the king as ‘*Theos Dikaioi Philorhomaioi Philhellen*’. See also Fraser 1978.

¹⁷³ For the Commagenean *dexiosis* and the interpretation of its iconography, see Jacobs and Rollinger 2005; Rose 2013.

¹⁷⁴ For evidence and a discussion of *temene* in Samosata, see *infra* paragraph 6.5, ID688 (‘Sa’), ID689 (‘Sy’), ID690 (‘Sz’), and ID691 (‘Sx’).

¹⁷⁵ Dörner and Goell 1963; Hoepfner 1983; Hoepfner 2000; Hoepfner 2012; Brijder 2014, chapter 2. See paragraph 10.5.1 of this dissertation for an elaborate discussion of the site in relation to the palace of Samosata.

¹⁷⁶ Brijder 2014, chapter 2.



Fig. 1.10 The hierothesion of Nemrut Dağı (East Terrace). Picture by the author.

Of these three *hierotheresia*, Nemrut Dağı is the most monumental and is supposed to contain the grave of the king himself (fig. 1.10).¹⁷⁷ A large tumulus grave on a highly visible location in the anti-Tauros mountain range (at ca. 2206 m. altitude) was flanked on the east and west side by large terraces that contained colossal sculptures of the king enthroned amidst four enthroned deities. Their names are known through a 'Great Cult Inscription'– containing the *nomos* (holy law) with a precise instruction regarding the rituals conducted at the sanctuary and a detailed account of the achievements of Antiochos I, a text largely overlapping with the known inscriptions of the *temene*¹⁷⁸ - depicted on the back of the statues: Zeus-Oromazdes, Kommagene, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and Herakles-Artagnes. These 'syncretic', Greek-Persian names resonated well with the ancestral claims made by Antiochos in a large row of figurative stelai that together made up an ancestral gallery; here he claimed descend from Alexander the Great on his mother's side and to Persian king Darius I through his father's lineage.¹⁷⁹ The innovative juxtaposition of these two different cultural elements was consciously explored in the visual style and

¹⁷⁷ For more detailed descriptions, I refer to Brijder 2014.

¹⁷⁸ In the remainder of this dissertation, I refer to the Great Cult Inscription with N (Nemrut Dağı) or A (Arsameia on the Nymphaios) followed with the line number cited.

¹⁷⁹ It is commonly assumed that this 'syncretic' phase of the Antiochan cult succeeded a pre-syncretic, purely Greek phase, exemplified specifically by early *temene* dedicated to the gods Apollo Epekoos and Artemis Diktynna. The related stelai are AD, Cb, SO and Bee. The latter stele is later overwritten by the syncretic inscription BEC, which suggests the proposed chronological distinction. *Contra* Versluys 2017a, 178-182.

iconographies of the statuary and imagery belonging to his cult, with, amongst other things, (imagined) 'Persian' garments and attributes, a 'Greek' understanding of anatomy, and a reduced realism that, in scholarship, is considered more 'Oriental'.¹⁸⁰ Antiochos I explicitly explains his intentions regarding this eclecticism in an inscription on Nemrut: *'the kingdom subject to my throne should be the common dwelling place of all the gods, in that by means of every kind of art I decorated the representations of their form, according to the ancient manners of Persians and Greeks – the fortunate roots of my ancestry.'*¹⁸¹ This eclectic combination of cultural models could also be observed in the king's epithets, which included both 'Philhellene'¹⁸² and, as mentioned before, 'Philorhomaioi'. Many of these very innovating and experimental elements recur in almost the same fashion in other *hierothesia* and *temene* of Commagene and thus show a very centrally planned, completely novel, 'cultic grid' that Antiochos I seems to have placed over the kingdom.¹⁸³ It is far from clear whether the *hierothesion* of Nemrut Dağı was actually finished, and in fact there is good reason to assume it was not.¹⁸⁴ Especially the row of unfinished stele and the comparison with the colossal statues of Arsameia on the Nymphaioi, which have been rendered in much more detail, seems important evidence for the generally unfinished state of Nemrut. This suggests that soon after the reign of Antiochos I, his ruler cult was not anymore active.

The successors of Antiochos I – especially Mithridates II, Mithridates III and Antiochos III - are again much less in focus than Antiochos I and his ruler cult, and only a handful of data remind us of developments during this period.¹⁸⁵ Mithridates II's tumulus tomb at Karakuş suggests that at least some concept of his predecessor lingered on – a tumulus grave, a *dexiosis* relief, colossal sculptures of lions and eagles - but without the cultic character and elaborate inscriptions, nor the magnitude and innovative eclecticism found in the Antiochan *hierothesia*.¹⁸⁶ Mithridates II supported Mark Antony at Actium but achieved a deal with Augustus and could remain in power, albeit without its southern territories including the river crossing of Zeugma/Seleukeia on the Euphrates.¹⁸⁷ By this point, it is clear that the Roman emperor decided over Commagenean kingship and its succession¹⁸⁸, something especially witnessed with the appointment of Mithridates III (ca. 20 BCE-12 BCE) by Augustus in ca. 20 BCE.¹⁸⁹ About both him and his son,

¹⁸⁰ See the next chapter for a critical discussion of these cultural labels.

¹⁸¹ N29. Translation from Sanders 1996, 206-217; OGIS 383.

¹⁸² Facella 2005.

¹⁸³ See Versluys 2014.

¹⁸⁴ Şahin 1991, 333-341.

¹⁸⁵ For an overview, see Facella 2006, 299-358.

¹⁸⁶ For Karakuş, see Humann and Puchstein 1890; Blömer and Winter 2011, 96-99; Facella 2006, 303-307; Brijder 2014, 206-217.

¹⁸⁷ Facella 2006, 299-312.

¹⁸⁸ For the character of Roman power in Commagene before and after its provincialization, see Speidel 2009. At this point, Commagene formally became a client kingdom. See Braund 1984; Kaizer and Facella 2010 and Kropp 2013.

¹⁸⁹ Facella 2006, 312-314.

Antiochos III (12 BCE – 17 CE), we know very little.¹⁹⁰ In 17 CE, Antiochos III dies and Germanicus provincializes Commagene under emperor Tiberius.¹⁹¹

Under Caligula and Claudius, Commagene is again restored as a kingdom and ruled by the great-great-grandchild of Antiochos I, Gaius Julius Antiochos IV *philokaisar* (38-72 CE), who was a Roman citizen and a youth companion of Caligula.¹⁹² Under his rule, Commagene was extended and briefly included Cilicia, and he was known as the richest of all Hellenistic kings.¹⁹³ He founded several cities, that he named after the Roman emperors that he was loyal to: Germanikeia, Claudopolis and Neronias. During the Jewish wars of the late 60s CE, Antiochos IV fought faithfully alongside the troops of Vespasian.¹⁹⁴ As a consequence of (probably unjustified) accusations of collaboration with the Parthians, L. Caesennius Paetus, consul of Syria under Vespasian, attacks Commagene, and Antiochos IV flees.¹⁹⁵ At that point, in 72 CE, Commagene became provincialized and officially annexed by the Roman empire, with a Roman legion stationed from that point at Samosata (the *legio XVI Flavia Firma*).¹⁹⁶

This brief historical overview of the history and archaeology of the kingdom of Commagene shows that especially in terms of archaeology, for this period we lack good archaeological contexts that provide evidence for the periods before and after Antiochos I. Also, we lack contextual evidence for other social strata, particularly for less elevated social domains than that of the Antiochan ruler cult. Both lacunae are probably to some extent explained by a traditional focus on epigraphic sources in the research history of Commagene.¹⁹⁷ In this light, the results from the excavations of Samosata are of great importance. They might not provide a non-royal context, but they do offer contextual archaeological data that transcend the rule and ruler cult of Antiochos I. Crucially, the archaeological legacy data of Samosata allow for a unique diachronic look at the 1st c. BCE cultural dynamics and their transformations through time.¹⁹⁸ In the next chapter, I will provide a critical state of research concerning the scholarly interpretations of the cultural dynamics of 1st c. BCE Commagene.

¹⁹⁰ Facella 2006, 314-316.

¹⁹¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2.56.4; Strabo 16.2.3, 749; Joseph. *AJ* 18.53; Millar 1993, 52-53; Facella 2006, 316-317.

¹⁹² Suet. *Calig.* 16.3; Cass. Dio 59.8.2; Joseph. *AJ* 19.276.

¹⁹³ *Cilicia*: Cass. Dio 60.8.1; Joseph. *AJ* 19.5.1. *Richest of all Hellenistic kings*: Tac. *Hist.* 2, 81.

¹⁹⁴ Facella 2006, 328-331.

¹⁹⁵ Joseph. *BJ* 7.7.1. Facella 2006, 331-338.

¹⁹⁶ Tac. *Hist.* 2.83.3; Joseph. *BJ* 7.219-223. For the dating, see Speidel 2009, 563 n.1.

¹⁹⁷ As argued for by Blömer 2017.

¹⁹⁸ This will be offered in chapter 7 of this dissertation.

Chapter 2. State of Research. New approaches to ‘Hellenism in the East’ in Commagenean scholarship.

2.1 Introduction

The available archaeological and historical sources for ancient Commagene discussed in the last paragraph of the previous chapter bear witness of profound transformations in this small kingdom during the 1st c. BCE, specifically represented by the radically innovative cultic program of Antiochos I. This chapter discusses the different scholarly approaches to these cultural dynamics and considers how it relates to scholarship on the palace of Samosata more specifically. Paragraph 2.2 deals with the more conventional approaches to the visual aspects of the Antiochan program, which I link to a broader discussion about the issue of ‘Hellenism in the East’. This paragraph heavily relies on the convincing historiographic critique that Versluys has developed already in detail in his 2017 monograph *‘Visual Style and Constructing Identity in the Hellenistic World’* and therefore will only be dealt with here briefly.¹⁹⁹ New to this criticism, however, is a more elaborate consideration of how these more traditional ideas also recurred in interpretations of the palace of Samosata. In paragraphs 2.3 and 2.4, I critically discuss two new approaches in Commagenean research that have recently reinvigorated debates concerning the cultural dynamics of 1st c. BCE Commagene and ‘Hellenism in the East’ more broadly. The first approach is represented by the work of Andreas Kropp, and specifically his impressive 2013 monograph *‘Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasties, 100 BC – AD 100’*.²⁰⁰ The second approach developed from the work of Miguel John Versluys and is particularly represented by his already mentioned monograph.²⁰¹ After establishing this state of research, I argue for the need of a new approach to cultural change in 1st c. BCE Commagene (paragraph 2.5). This paragraph then functions as a ‘stepping stone’ to the succeeding chapter, which develops such an approach.

2.2 Making sense of culture styles and perceived hybridity in acculturative approaches

Since already the late 19th century, when scholarship first started to systematically investigate Commagene’s history and archaeology (see paragraph 1.3), fundamental problems arose with regards to understanding the ‘cultural affiliation’ and the overall character of Commagene’s cultural eclecticism during the 1st c. BCE.²⁰² These problems evolved specifically from the

¹⁹⁹ Versluys 2017a.

²⁰⁰ Kropp 2013.

²⁰¹ Versluys 2017a. Crucial publications in this second research line are Strootman and Versluys 2017 on ‘Persianism’ and Blömer et al. 2021.

²⁰² For a thorough historiography and a critical discussion of the ways scholars dealt with Commagene’s perceived ‘in-betweenness’, see Versluys 2017a, 14-45. Note however also the personal comment by

manifold cultural elements and styles – ‘Greek’, ‘Persian’, ‘Armenian’, ‘Roman’ and ‘local’ – that scholars identified in the Antiochan program, and, importantly, from the (perceived) unusual combination and execution of these cultural styles and concepts. As such, the Antiochan program consistently was considered to fall in-between scholarly categories: it was deemed ‘too Eastern’ for classical archaeologists and ‘too Western’ for Near Eastern scholars. According to many scholars, for instance, the colossi of Nemrut Dağı did not live up to the standards of what was considered a ‘pure, Greek style’, lacking naturalism and defying pre-existing chronological typologies. An explanation for this classificatory defiance was sometimes sought in the non-Greek ethnicity of the artisans who produced these statues; they had to be local, ‘Oriental’ people who, as a consequence of their ethnic and cultural background, were less skilled and less cultured.²⁰³ Such valorising and dismissive interpretations can be traced from Humann and Puchstein’s 1890 description of Nemrut’s sculpture as *‘Leistungen hellenisierter Barbaren’*²⁰⁴, to the 1988 assertion by R.R.R. Smith that *‘Antiochos’ images, then, are (...) a rather hollow, synthetic Greek version of Oriental dynastic art’*.²⁰⁵ A more positive reading of the same model is found in the work of Roman Ghirshman, who describes the Antiochan style as demonstrating *‘(...)la resistenza delle tradizioni iraniche’* and states that it is *‘fortemente legata alle formule achemenidi’*²⁰⁶, only altered because of *‘penetrazione delle nuove correnti venute dal mondo partico’*.²⁰⁷ Similarly, Stewart described the statues of Nemrut Dağı as *‘lonely beacons of Asiatic grandeur in the twilight of the Hellenistic world’*.²⁰⁸ Versluys noticed how many such interpretations reasoned from an ‘acculturation-model’ of cultural transformation, where the coming together of monolithic ‘culture containers’ (‘Greek’, ‘Persian’, ‘Oriental’) determined the local outcome of Commagene’s material culture.²⁰⁹

Such acculturation-thinking is pervasive in scholarly research dealing with the issue of ‘Hellenism in the East’ more broadly.²¹⁰ The question ‘What exactly is ‘Greek?’ has proved difficult to answer

Michael Blömer in Riedel and Versluys 2021, 15, n.12: *‘It is interesting to note that research from the 1950s and 60s seems to have had less difficulties with evaluating Commagene’s “inbetweenness” on its own terms than later scholarship’*.

²⁰³ Humann and Puchstein 1890, 348: *‘[the deviation of the ‘Greek’ norm] wird bei den kommagenischen Steinmetzen als Mangel an Kunstfertigkeit, wenn nicht als ein Zeichen ihres barbarischen Formensinns aufzufassen sein’*.

²⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁰⁵ Smith 1988, 104. Versluys gives many examples. See for instance also Hamdi Bey and Efendi 1883, 17-18, who compare the Nemrut statues with snowmen. Smith 1988, 103 furthermore describes the Antiochan style as *‘megomania of a minor potentate’*.

²⁰⁶ Ghirshman 1962, 57, 65-67.

²⁰⁷ *Idem*, 69.

²⁰⁸ Stewart 2014, 267.

²⁰⁹ Versluys 2017a, 158, who concludes that such approaches *‘understand Antiochan Commagene and its material culture as an ethnic or cultural “index” of its population or royal dynasty; as the outcome of an acculturation process in which ethnic identities from East and West have merged’*.

²¹⁰ Hellenism was famously first considered by Johan Gustav Droysen as a hybrid culture that resulting from a cultural fusion (*Verschmelzung*) between Greek culture and ‘Eastern’ culture. cf. Droysen 1836. For critical analyses of Droysen’s use of the term ‘Hellenismus’, see Canfora 1995, 95-109; and Sebastiani 2015.

and in many ways still implicitly or explicitly steers research on cultural transformation in the Hellenistic-period Near East.²¹¹ An explanatory framework that is influential to this very day (especially in non-academic discourse) is the idea of ‘Hellenization’, an acculturation process that is strongly tied to (British) colonial, imperialist narratives of civilising military expansion (most notably through Alexander’s ‘conquest of the east’) and the presumed inherent superiority of Hellenism.²¹² In the wake of post-colonial critique, this model was largely overthrown in favour of narratives of local and regional resistance to such cultural imperialism, stressing, on the one hand, the limits of Hellenization²¹³, and, on the other, the possibility of local agency, with non-Greek individuals and groups that actively ‘self-hellenized’.²¹⁴

At the core of these type of reasoning, however, still lies the assumption of an *encounter* of two groups of people with their distinct cultural (and sometimes also ethnic) containers, namely ‘Western-Greek’ and ‘Oriental’ that always retained a certain degree of incommensurability. More recently, understandings of ‘things Greek in the East’ have increasingly drifted away from such acculturative models, reframing the bottom-up, local appropriations of ‘Greekness’ as very contextual forms of ‘Hellenisms’ that were less connected to (resistance to) cultural imperialism or cultural identity per se. Crucial in this shift has been the disentanglement of a strict one-to-one relation between culture styles and cultural identity; especially Paul Veyne already realized that not everything we call ‘Greek’ from an *etic* perspective was in fact considered ‘Greek’ from an *emic* perspective.²¹⁵ In this more contextual reading of ‘things Greek’ in ‘eastern contexts’, Hellenism is considered to have evolved into ‘a source of social power’²¹⁶ through its repeated and widespread adoptions. From this perspective, cultural forms that modern scholars designate as ‘Greek’ might not have functioned as tokens of ethnic and cultural identity in historical contexts and rather were

²¹¹ And beyond antiquity as well; see Zacharia 2008 for a diachronic overview of ‘Hellenisms’ from antiquity to modernity.

²¹² See for instance Schlumberger 1970, 5: ‘*the Hellenization of Asia is a consequence of the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the art introduced in the regions of the former Achaemenid Empire by the newcomers did adapt and diversify in time and space.*’ Daniel Schlumberger was one of the first to seriously consider what he called ‘*hellénisme oriental*’ as a cultural phenomenon in its own right and not merely in relation to Graeco-Roman Mediterranean culture. Although Schlumberger acknowledged the importance of ‘*hellénisme oriental*’ for the formation of for instance Parthian and Greco-Buddhist art, he still considered it the outcome of an acculturation process that started with Alexander’s military campaigns and his presumed diffusion of an inherently superior Greek culture. Schlumberger’s notion of Hellenization therefore is acculturation in an ethnological sense; it describes the encounter of two distinct cultures that has ‘*hellénisme oriental*’ as its result. See Schlumberger 1960, 1970. For a more recent example of this type of acculturative approaches to ‘*transferts culturels*’ in Zeugma, see Abadie Reynal and Yon 2015, with the review of Kruijer 2018. See also Messina and Versluys 2021, 196.

²¹³ Cf. Eddy 1961; Momigliano 1975.

²¹⁴ E.g. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987; Alcock 1993; Funck 1996.

²¹⁵ Veyne 1979.

²¹⁶ Butcher 2003, 273.

intended to evoke connotations with, for instance, 'modernization', 'civilization' and a general sense of 'cultural competence'.²¹⁷

In Commagene studies, this 'social' definition of 'Hellenism in the East' was only recently introduced with the work of Versluys.²¹⁸ Most Commagenean scholarship, however, has reasoned from an acculturative equation between visual styles and ethnic or cultural ideas.²¹⁹ In the case of the Antiochan program, this acculturation-model thus considered the occurrence of different cultural elements ('Greek', 'Persian') as the logical outcome of an encounter of two ethnic or cultural containers, either through the presumed mixed ethnicity of the Commagenean population or the presumed mixed ethnic ancestry of the royals themselves. The outcome of this acculturative encounter is often expressed in terms of a hybrid, an 'in-between' category such as the typically hyphenated category of 'Graeco-Persian', which still refers back directly to its perceived cultural constituents. As such, this more traditional scholarship of the Antiochan project in some way denied this dynastic visual culture its unicity, undermining the way the seemingly different cultural elements actually functioned as a logical 'whole' in its Commagenean context, becoming something genuinely new.

This is relevant for our understanding of the palace of Samosata as, here too, we can witness acculturative approaches that frame the structure as the outcome of an encounter between 'Greek' and 'Oriental' cultural or ethnic containers.²²⁰ The most recent, vocal proponent of this line of thinking is Maria Kopsacheili, who considers the palace of Samosata as an example of 'hybridization of Hellenistic architecture'.²²¹ The palace, in her understanding, is a 'Greek-Oriental hybrid' that consists of 'Greek' decoration in combination with an 'Oriental' lay-out.²²² She connects this hybridity to the presumed hybridity of the Antiochan program, suggesting it is an

²¹⁷ For such contextualized understandings of Hellenisms and their social significance, see Gatier 2003, 112-113; Stavrianopoulou 2013; Versluys 2017a.

²¹⁸ Versluys 2017a. See paragraph 2.4 below.

²¹⁹ *Ibidem.* for many examples.

²²⁰ Note that the model is also used for Samosata as a whole, for instance in Krüger and Blömer 2011, 348: 'Im 2. Jh. v. Chr. wurde Samosata dann Hauptstadt des Königreiches Kommagene, das sich unter der Herrschaft der Orontiden vom Seleukidenreich lossagte. Welchen Charakter die Siedlung damals hatte, lässt sich nicht beurteilen, doch scheint der Ort noch über einen langen Zeitraum kaum hellenisiert gewesen zu sein.' Here, the notion of a 'not yet hellenized' city employs the term 'hellenisiert' in an acculturative manner that is moreover teleological as it reasons from an understanding of hellenization as a cultural process that would inevitably befall Samosata.

²²¹ Kopsacheili 2011.

²²² *Idem.* 24 states: 'the plan of the excavated part of the palace in Samosata resembles oriental models instead of early Hellenistic Macedonian (...); corridors appear to play an important role as passageways between the different rooms, while a broader corridor runs along the external wall of the western side of the building and must have extended to the north surrounding the whole palace. Nevertheless, as presented below, western elements also feature, but in this case they are detected in decoration (...) the decoration in the palace of Samosata follows Greek prototypes in terms of iconography and style. Tessellated mosaics depict a pornoboskos (a pimp), a character of the New Comedy, a Rhodian amphora, and cymatia, while wall painting fragments and a Greek-style limestone head representing Antiochus I of Commagene have been also found'.

expression of the ancestral claims of Antiochos I (discussed in paragraph 1.6): *‘The fact that the rulers of Kommagene preferred to follow this pattern is possibly explained by the effort of Antiochus I to claim origin from Seleucus I and the daughter of Artaxerxes II, leading further back to Alexander and Darius I. This is also expressed in the “Ancestor Gallery” he set out at Nemrut-Dağı.’*²²³ In this line of reasoning the different elements of the palace are labelled in terms of a perceived cultural affiliation and subsequently considered representative of a certain ethnic (imagined or actual) identity.

A somewhat similar acculturative approach to the palace of Samosata that also emphasises its cultural hybridity is found in Werner Oenbrink’s study of Commagene’s *‘Sakralarchitektur’*.²²⁴ Oenbrink considers the palatial structures of both Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios to be typical Commagenean *‘Mischformen’* that combine, what he calls ‘Greek-Hellenistic’ decorative elements with ‘oriental’ architectural forms: *‘Darüber hinaus folgt die Gestaltung beider Grundrisse, die vor allem durch die auf modern westlich-hellenistische Dekorformen zurückgreifende Ausstattung mit Bodenmosaiken vordergründlich griechisch-hellenistisch wirken, eindeutig östlichem Raumverständnis. (...)’*²²⁵ Within this *‘Mischform’*, Oenbrink ultimately considers the palace of Samosata as more ‘Oriental’ than Greek, when he states: *‘Aufgrund ihrer topographischen Lage leitet die Kommagene eher zum syrisch-palästinischen und mesopotamischen Raum und ist dementsprechend stärker „orientalistisch“ geprägt.’*²²⁶ Oenbrink considers the palatial structures as belonging to a category of ‘Oriental-Hellenistic Peristyle houses’ that showcase a *‘partielle „Hellenisierung“’*²²⁷ which particularly developed in the Seleucid and Parthian empires. Especially Oenbrink’s explicit use of the term ‘Kulturkreise’, gives away the acculturative interpretative model that lies behind his reasoning, suggesting that the ‘Greek’ and ‘oriental’ finally ‘meet’ in Samosata, forming into a mix of which the constituent parts remain distinguishable and always to some extent incommensurable.²²⁸

As I explained above, there are several drawbacks to this acculturative interpretative framework, also when employed to analyses of 1st c. BCE cultural dynamics of Commagene.²²⁹ Most importantly, it runs the risk of reducing (culture) styles and material culture in general to mere one-to-one representations of ethnic and cultural identities – *even* when the intention is merely to provide an *etic*, descriptive classification of archaeological phenomena. The claim on an objective classificatory system accommodates a pre-theoretical use of cultural labels and

²²³ Kopsacheili 2011.

²²⁴ Oenbrink 2017.

²²⁵ *Idem*, 177

²²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²²⁷ *Idem*, 177-178

²²⁸ *Idem*, 178: *‘Einflüsse aus beiden Kulturkreise’*.

²²⁹ A criticism formulated in detail in Versluys 2017a.

profoundly structures any argument that follows. In the case of Commagene, scholars have specifically focused on the representation of hybrid ethnic or cultural identity, which implies that, when two 'pure' cultural containers meet ('western Greek' and 'eastern Persian or Oriental'), a mixed hybrid is the outcome.

The material culture that is deemed a mere representation of such hybrid identities subsequently is also conceptualized as the logical and passive outcome of this inter-cultural encounter. As such, this argumentation leaves very little agency for the local agents that selected and used the specific cultural elements that made up the perceived hybrid. The local context of 1st c. BCE Commagene – its socio-cultural and politically specific historical situation, the particular selection of elements, and their specific combination and embedding – is made subordinate to an abstract grand narrative of diffusing and clashing 'cultures'. Thinking about the palace of Samosata in terms of hybridity thus risks ignoring the fact that this 'oriental lay-out' and 'Greek decoration' in fact made part of one and the same structure; they were both part of the same assemblage (see chapter 3). The local, contextual and social functioning of the different constituent elements of the palace might very well not have been determined (solely) by their potential cultural connotations.

Lastly, the conceptualization of Commagenean culture as 'in-between' and 'a bridge between East and West' allowed scholars to study Commagene in isolation, considering it as peripheral and a '*Sonderstellung*' in the wider Eurasian world. By using the kingdom's exceptional location 'between cultures' as a shorthand explanation for its cultural dynamics, scholars thus often failed to investigate the socio-cultural local context within which it emerged as well as to compare this to broader Near Eastern or even Eurasian parallel phenomena.

2.3 Understanding the Antiochan program in the context of 1st c. BCE dynastic self-representation of 'client kings' in the Near East

Some of the drawbacks of these acculturative approaches to the cultural dynamics of 1st c. BCE Commagene are dealt with in Kropp's 2013 monograph *'Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasties, 100 BC – AD 100'*.²³⁰ This important book investigates the Antiochan program in the regional socio-political context of other Hellenistic dynasts of the Near East, namely the Nabataeans, the Hasmonaeans and Herodians, the Ituraeans, and the Emesans – traditionally known as 'client kings', a modern label that is increasingly considered controversial for its Romanocentrism.²³¹ This larger, regional perspective moves away from the more traditional,

²³⁰ Kropp 2013.

²³¹ *Idem*, 10-13. 'Client kingship' was coined and developed by Badian 1958 and usefully criticized in Braund 1984 and Braund 1988. In general, see Kaizer and Facella 2010.

acculturative approaches discussed in the previous paragraph in the sense that it does not consider what happens in Commagene as a peripheral, isolated case of 'East meeting West', but rather as something that can be studied and explained within its specific socio-political context. For all 'client kingdoms', Kropp systematically compares the iconographies, stylistic choices and intended messages of their royal portraiture, royal palaces, royal tombs and royal cults. Although Kropp's conclusion emphasizes difference and variety in these client kings' cultural responses to Roman power,²³² he also points to the similarity of the intended messages, which, to his mind, share '*the aspiration to manifest royal projections (and illusions) of full-fledged sovereignty*'.²³³ Kropp suggests that we should understand the Antiochan program within this socio-political context too, and describes what happens in mid-1st c. BCE Commagene as '*the self-projection as a sovereign ruler, exceeding his Hellenistic predecessors by benefitting from a double Graeco-Persian heritage*'.²³⁴ Rather than interpreting the eclectic character of Antiochos I's cultural program as the result of an ethno-cultural encounter, Kropp considers it the outcome of a broader socio-political context, in which the politically dire circumstances of the time – Commagene being crammed between the Roman and Parthian super powers – necessitated kings like Antiochos I to develop new forms of self-projection.²³⁵ Kropp argues that this increased necessity for self-representation went hand in hand with larger royal investments in luxury and monumentalization, that themselves '*required and conditioned innovation. As local dynasts decided to spend prodigious sums on monuments, they inevitably broke with cultural traditions*'.²³⁶

Therefore, a second common characteristic of the images and monuments of these Near Eastern client kings according to Kropp is the incorporation of foreign models, and their combination in eclectic and innovative ways. Although, on a structural level, Commagene fits well to this general characteristic, Kropp considers the kingdom an anomaly in his analysis as, according to him, in Commagene there seems to be no place for *local* identities and *local* religious traditions in the newly created eclectic mix. Instead, Kropp claims that the ruler cult of Antiochos I '*uprooted the religious fabric of Commagene*' by solely adopting outside models (Hellenism, Persianism) and not

²³² Kropp 2013, 382: '*In terms of images and monuments, one looks in vain for a trajectory of typical features across the borders. There is no typology of self-representation of client kings, but instead a bewildering variety of images and monuments*'.

²³³ *Ibidem*.

²³⁴ *Idem*, 357.

²³⁵ Kropp's analysis of the motives of Antiochos I to establish his royal cult seem to primarily stick with the commonly political '*Großwetterlage*'. See Kropp 2013, 358.

²³⁶ *Idem*, 5.

'absorbing traditions'.²³⁷ He suggests that in Commagene, the starting point is never 'local' but instead always 'Greek'.²³⁸

Although the latter assertion is problematic, especially for the palace of Samosata (see below), Kropp *does* make us aware that what happens in 1st c. BCE Commagene is a type of cultural dynamics that can be studied in a broader, trans-regional context, and that, at its core, is about the innovative and active adoption of non-local elements, creating new forms that benefitted the political self-positioning of dynastic rulers in a local context.

Kropp fails to explain, however, what 'Greek' and 'Persian' as cultural concepts had become by the 1st c. BCE and how the social roles and connotations of these concepts might have developed. When he states that '*the kings of Kommagene can be described as Hellenizers*' who '*enjoyed excellent contacts with the west*'²³⁹, he seems to hold on to an acculturative model where 'Greek identity' and 'Greek style' are all part of a static cultural container that was, moreover, still strictly tied to a territory ('the West'). By merely explaining the occurrence of 'things Greek' and 'things Persian' in Commagene in relation to Antiochos I's ancestry, he misses the opportunity to critically rethink the validity of such material classification and to ask what 'Greek' had become by the 1st c. BCE.²⁴⁰

This is specifically problematic in his treatment of the palace of Samosata, which he structurally reduces to a '*Hellenized visual arrangement*'²⁴¹, a '*Hellenized counterpart*'²⁴², with '*a cultural emphasis (...) inclined towards Graeco-Roman culture*'²⁴³, '*rooted in a Greek artistic tradition*', and '*built by a dynasty keen to stress its Greek credentials*'.²⁴⁴ This reductive and pre-theoretical labelling allows little room for other, novel meanings and other object capacities emerging in the palace beyond its 'Greek' affiliation. The supposed 'Greek' origins of the manifold elements of the

²³⁷ Both quotes from Kropp 2013, 382. This is a contested issue however; we know so little of local cults that it is hard to consider to what extent they were 'absorbed' by the Antiochan cult. See Blömer 2012a for an exploration of the available evidence for local religion in Commagene. An important argument against a complete depletion of local religion by Antiochos I is the fact that his *temene* were often located in pre-existent cult sites.

²³⁸ Something he witnesses, for instance, in the presumed pre-syncretic phase of the ruler cult, see *infra* n. 179. Note that, even in its 'Greekness', Kropp suggests that what happens in Commagene is '*blown out of proportion*' and '*an extreme example of the normal Greek civic practices*' (Kropp 2013, 170), thus ascribing to Commagene a new type of *Sonderstellung*.

²³⁹ Kropp 2013, 363.

²⁴⁰ The closest Kropp comes to such theorizing is in the very last sentences of his book, where he states: '*The selective use of foreign elements reveals both a familiarity with things Greek and Roman and a thorough consideration of how to employ them. Hellenized and Romanized artefacts did not necessarily carry precise cultural messages per se, but were integrated as lavish, exotic, and modern elements. In other instances, the origins of individual elements may have been identifiable, but their composition, and often accumulation, resulted in unique visual expressions charged with new meanings, designed to highlight social superiority and enhance royal prestige*' (Kropp 2013, 383). Kropp does however not explore the socio-cultural consequences of the repeated and widespread adoptions of such 'foreign models'.

²⁴¹ Kropp 2013, 85.

²⁴² *Ibidem*.

²⁴³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴⁴ *Idem*, 109.

palace become the alpha and omega of the analysis, overshadowing the less obvious outcomes of novel ‘integrations’, ‘compositions’ and ‘accumulations’.²⁴⁵ Additionally, Kropp ignores the fact that several elements of the palace – for instance its mudbrick architecture, its architectural lay-out, its pebble mosaic with checkerboard patterns – would not even qualify as ‘Greek’ or ‘Hellenized’ in a traditional, *etic* cultural taxonomy. The idea that the Commagenean dynasty only ‘does Greek’ and ‘uprooted’ everything local is not only reductive and solely reasoning from an *etic* cultural categorization, but also questionable when looking at the objects themselves.

A last shortcoming of Kropp’s analysis is its sole focus on Near Eastern kingdoms as it is too limited a context for the cultural dynamics witnessed in Commagene. The new *Sonderstellung* Kropp assigns to Commagene suggests that not all phenomena witnessed here can be explained within the context of Near Eastern client kingdoms. He even suggests that the ‘unique’ characteristics of the Antiochan cult - its lack of local religious tradition and the highly central position of the ruler – does in fact find strong parallels in, for instance, the Roman imperial cult²⁴⁶, adding however immediately (and curiously) that ‘Rome played no role in Kommagenian ideology’.²⁴⁷ Apparently, the cultural dynamics emerging in 1st c. BCE Commagene demand a broader geographic context, that is not *a priori* restricted to the political context of client kingdoms.

2.4 Towards a globalizing perspective: universalized culture styles in a local context of dynastic ideology construction and strategies of cultural bricolage

Such a broader approach is developed in Versluys’s 2017 monograph on Nemrut Dağı, which analyses the Antiochan program in relation to developments happening in the wider Hellenistic world.²⁴⁸ Versluys suggests that we should understand the seemingly mixed cultural character of Antiochos I’s ruler cult in the context of visual strategies of innovative eclecticism and cultural bricolage witnessed throughout Late-Hellenistic Afro-Eurasia - also *beyond* the confines of Near Eastern client kingdoms.²⁴⁹ Geographically, Versluys thus casts the net wider than Kropp, suggesting that the socio-cultural mechanisms at stake in Commagene during this period to some degree also transcend the socio-political circumstances of the region and have everything to do

²⁴⁵ See *infra* n. 240.

²⁴⁶ Kropp 2013, 358-359, 359: ‘This veneration of a divinized ruler may draw some conclusions with the imperial cult that was taking shape at almost the same time as Antiochos’ cult reform’.

²⁴⁷ *Idem*, 359. The fact that the Commagenian kings, from Antiochos I onwards, employed the epithet ‘*philorhomaioi*’ seems incompatible with this statement, cf. Facella 2006, 225-298. Kropp also considers how the artificial, eclectic art of the Antiochan program bears structural similarities to the Achaemenid practices at Susa, Pasargadae and Persepolis, cf. Kropp 2013, 361-362.

²⁴⁸ Versluys 2017a.

²⁴⁹ Bricolage was first introduced to classical archaeology by Terrenato 1998, 23, who defined it as ‘a process in which new cultural items are obtained by means of attributing new functions to previously existing ones’ resulting in ‘a complex patchwork made of elements of various age and provenance: some of them are new, but many other are old objects, refunctionalized in new forms and made to serve new purposes within a new context.’ See also Versluys 2013, 434; 2017, 178-182, 201-207.

with increased connectivity - and hence globalization processes.²⁵⁰ Crucially, Versluys suggests to consider 1st c. BCE Commagene as an integrated node in a large Afro-Eurasian network, which means a very explicit shift away from traditional acculturative understanding of the kingdom as 'peripheral' and 'out-of-the-ordinary' (paragraph 2.2).²⁵¹

Versluys considers how 1st c. BCE Afro-Eurasia was a world that, already for a long time, had been deeply connected, and for which, already since the late Bronze Age, strict cultural borders between 'East' and 'West' are not tenable.²⁵² He suggests that, therefore, the occurrence of 'Greek' and 'Persian' visual styles in Commagene cannot be the simple outcome of two cultures meeting on 'the bridge between East and West', nor the logic consequence of an actual 'Greek' and 'Persian' ancestry passively befallen upon Antiochos I. Like Kropp, he instead assigns a good deal of agency to the king himself, whose active selection of styles and forms from seemingly different cultural traditions in fact served a very specific purpose in the context of the king's socio-political circumstances, especially with regards to his need for legitimization of his rule.²⁵³ In much more detail than Kropp, Versluys develops an analysis of the character of Antiochos I's visual strategies, arguing that his cultural and cultic program should be understood as an attempt at constructing dynastic ideology through strategies of canonization and cultural innovation. The latter is especially characterized by 'cultural bricolage', creatively and consciously combining elements from different 'cultural scenarios'. Instead of a megalomaniac monarch in the periphery, Versluys

²⁵⁰ Versluys 2017a, 142-148. See also Riedel and Versluys 2021, 4, where they suggest that the Antiochan program should be seen as '*exemplary of socio-cultural developments in a Hellenistic oikumene that stretched from the Atlantic to the Oxus*'. Note that the comparative approach of Versluys 2017a is still largely limited to western Eurasia (as the author also admits, cf. Versluys 2017a, 24, n.61). This is now compensated for in Blömer et al. 2021, an edited volume called '*Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods. Commagene in its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*'. This book is the result of a conference held at Münster University in 2019 and contains a range of contributions by different authors that critically discuss and further develop Versluys's approach to Nemrut Dağı. Importantly, the book contains a wide range of 'Eurasian perspectives', with specialists of different Eurasian regions (from Ai Khanoum to Italy and from Alexandria to Armenia) reflecting on the congruence between developments happening in Commagene and in their own respective localities.

²⁵¹ This perspective starts out from an explicit critique on the acculturation-model in Commagenean scholarship, arguing that it 1) conceptualizes cultures as monolithic 'culture containers', 2) culture contact as ethnological first-hand encounters and 3) visual styles as directly linked to ethnicity and identity. See Versluys 2017a, 26-29; Riedel and Versluys 2021, 8. See paragraph (2.2) for a more elaborate summary of this argument.

²⁵² For connectivity in the Bronze Age, see for instance Vandkilde 2016.

²⁵³ For Antiochos I's need for legitimization, see Versluys 2017a, 168: '*Antiochos' position and new political importance – after the disintegration of Seleucid authority and after Pompey's measures – required ideological underpinning and he developed a highly visible ideological system to fulfil this need. Imaginary or not, everything Antiochos I did demonstrated to both his people and the world around him that he had become a Hellenistic sovereign*'. For the agency of Antiochos I see Versluys 2017a, 157-167, see especially 157: '*The main conclusion of this chapter, thus far, is therefore that we should not regard the material culture of Antiochan Commagene as an ethnic or cultural "index" of its population or royal house, but rather as a dynastic Hellenistic project that had many (structural) parallels; not as the logic and linear outcome of a historical process in which ethnic and cultural identities from East and West met, but as a set of specific choices made for specific reasons*'.

considers Antiochos I a capable cosmopolitan broker in sync with dynastic cultural practice of his time.

Crucial for our understanding of Antiochos I's strategies, according to Versluys, is the question what 'Greek' and 'Persian' *had become* in their 1st c. BCE Commagenean context. To investigate this, Versluys considers the implications of increased connectivity for visual styles in the Late-Hellenistic period. He argues that the repeated use of visual styles over a large area can instigate a process of universalization, a phenomenon that derives from globalization theory and implies the de-territorialized, watering down of 'original' meanings and connections to an origin.²⁵⁴ In line with more social and contextual definitions of 'Hellenism in the East' (see paragraph 2.2), Versluys considers these universalized styles as 'social repositories' rather than direct representations of a territory, ethnicity or cultural identity. By the 1st c. BCE, then, 'Hellenism' had developed into a 'cultural scenario' that was more about 'doing Greek' than 'becoming Greek' – *'a cultural means to achieve social and political aims'*.²⁵⁵ By tracing the cultural biography of 'Greek style' and 'Greek' as a cultural scenario, Versluys convincingly argues that the 'Greek' element in Antiochos I's ruler cult - including his ancestral claims – was a consciously chosen source of social power that was capable of evoking connotations with civilization and modernity.²⁵⁶ The Persian element, on the other hand, functioned in Antiochos I's bricolage as a cultural scenario that evoked connotations with dynastic legitimacy.²⁵⁷

Versluys's analysis of Nemrut Dağı is particularly useful for this dissertation in terms of its introduction of globalization theory to understand cultural change in 1st c. BCE Commagene. It fits well to a relatively recent trend in scholarship on the Hellenistic World turning to 'globalization' as a concept to describe and analyse processes of increasing connectivity in Afro-Eurasia.²⁵⁸ Following a plethora of studies on 'things global' – first developed in the social sciences and cultural anthropology²⁵⁹ but now successfully adopted and adapted by the historical sciences as well²⁶⁰ - the notion of an expanded Hellenistic *oikoumene* (in terms of long-distance trade,

²⁵⁴ For de-territorialization, or disembeddedness, see Appadurai 1986, 13-20, 41-48; Giddens 1990, 21-29; Tomlinson 1999, 106-149.

²⁵⁵ Strootman 2020, 204.

²⁵⁶ Versluys 2017a, 209-213, 247.

²⁵⁷ *Idem*, 213-219. See also Strootman and Versluys 2017.

²⁵⁸ A broader field in which Versluys himself is one of the most influential voices. In general, see Malitz 2000, 37; Martin and Pachis 2004; Moore and Lewis 2009, 174-205; Vlassopoulos 2013; Strootman 2007, 2014; Thonemann 2015; Versluys 2014; 2015; 2017; 2021; Hoo 2020; Hoo 2021 (forthcoming). An important precursor to these studies on Hellenistic-period globalization is Horden and Purcell 2000, which did not yet engage with the term globalization in depth but placed much emphasis on connectivity and interdependence in the Mediterranean.

²⁵⁹ Appadurai 1990; Giddens, 1990; Tomlinson 1999, 2006; Held et al 1999; Appadurai 2000; Eriksen 2007; Nederveen Pieterse 2009.

²⁶⁰ Many scholars have by now argued and accepted that 'globalization' is not restricted to 'planetary global' situations nor industrialized 'modernity', allowing for engagements with globalization theory also in deep historical contexts. For a good historiographic discussion of this shift, see Jennings 2011, who argues for the

economics, politics, science, intellectual networks, culture and arts) is now also reconsidered in terms of globalization.²⁶¹ Several authors have warned for the uncritical, undertheorized use of the terms 'global', 'globalism', and 'globalization', as a merely descriptive employment of these terms often holds little analytical and explanatory value, serving mainly as fashionable but hollow terminology.²⁶² Although definitions of what ancient globalization exactly entails differ greatly,²⁶³ a general focus lies on a set of processes brought about by increased connectivity between distant localities, entailing economic, political and cultural interactions through the movement of flows of people, things and ideas.²⁶⁴ One of the most important of such processes is *universalization*, a concept Versluys uses to investigate the watering down of territorial, ethnic and cultural connotations of a visual style. This phenomenon goes hand in hand with the process of *particularization*, the adoption, adaption and embedding of universalized elements in a local context – creating a variety of different local responses to the global. The ongoing, intertwined process of universalization and particularization forms the mechanism that produces and further develops forms of *glocal* culture; people, things and ideas that are local and global at the very same time.²⁶⁵

The notion of the glocality of people, things and ideas has profound implications for our understanding of the cultural dynamics of 1st c. BCE Commagene and 'Hellenism in the East' in general as it stands in stark contrast to understandings of 'things Greek' as merely global, non-

breaking down of the 'Great Wall' between 'modernity' and 'pre-modernity' (also following the fundamental critique on 'modernity' by Latour 1991). For other good examples of historicized globalization, see Bordo et al. 2003; Chanda 2007; Hopkins 2002; Seland 2008; McNeill 2008; Osterhammel and Petersson 2005; La Bianca and Scham 2006; Hall et al. 2011; Hodos 2009, 2010, 2016, 2020; Hodos et al. 2017; Hales and Hodos 2010; Nederveen Pieterse 2012; Kardulias 2014; Malkin 2011; Pitts and Versluys 2015. Scepticism about the usefulness of the concept of globalization in our studies of the ancient world include Naerebout 2006-2007, 153; Rosenberg 2005, 66; Ball 2015, 251; these studies often point to the perceived anachronism of the term, and the risk of yet a new type of 'grand narrative' terminology. These concerns are dealt with and overcome for instance in Pitts and Versluys 2015; and Hoo 2020, 555-560.

²⁶¹ Pitts 2008; Hodos 2010, 2016; Pitts and Versluys 2015; Versluys 2013, 2017; Vlassopoulos 2013; Whitmarsh 2010; Strootman 2017; Hoo 2018; 2020; 2021.

²⁶² For an eloquent critique, see Hoo 2020, 554. Important exceptions include her own work as well as Hodos 2016, 2010; Pitts 2008; Pitts and Versluys 2015; Versluys 2013, 2017; Vlassopoulos 2013; Whitmarsh 2010.

²⁶³ Ranging from 'a set of processes of increasing connectivities' (Hodos 2015; Pitts and Versluys 2015, 11; Hoo 2020, 555), to a 'product, not an agent, of change' (Morley 2015), and a 'hermeneutic device' (Versluys 2015, 143; Laurence and Trifilò 2015). For this distinction, see Van Oyen 2015, 641.

²⁶⁴ I follow here the definition in Hoo 2020, 555. An important characteristic of these increased connectivities and global flows is the variety in terms of their strength, frequency, directionality and intensity (Knappett 2013), which causes fundamental unevenness and interdependency, something that can deeply affect social relations and material realities on a local level.

²⁶⁵ These complex, paradoxical processes clearly are a far cry from stereotypical ideas of globalization as simply a fashionable word for homogenization. Instead, studying ancient globalization entails acknowledging the variety of local responses to the global, and allowing for the existence of, for instance, objects across large distances that are *similarly glocal* in a relational sense but at the same time *wildly heterogeneous* in terms of their specific outcome. Cf. Robertson 1992, 97-115; 1995, 29-32; Hannerz 1990, 249-250.

local, cosmopolitan culture.²⁶⁶ Kropp's assertion that Antiochos I's program was solely non-local because it was 'Greek' (see section 7.3), for instance reasons from an *a priori* categorical distinction between local culture and global culture, where 'things Greek' can never be considered local.²⁶⁷ Strootman suggests something similar by defining Hellenism as a '*supranational form of culture*' which was '*in essence what we might now term Greek*'²⁶⁸, thus disallowing Hellenism a degree of locality. His understanding of Hellenism as 'court culture' is equally problematic in this regard, as he considers this '*a shared culture of interaction*' that developed as an outcome of the social character of courts, being '*intercultural meeting places where networks of interaction converge*'²⁶⁹, thus only understanding Hellenism as something global and not as something glocal. Understanding Hellenism as a phenomenon that is solely global ('cosmopolitan', 'shared', 'supranational' etc.) risks to ignore the contextual particularities of Hellenisms. Versluys's approach to the glocal character of Hellenism in Commagene, investigating both the universalization *and* the particularization of 'Greek' as a cultural concept, is fundamentally different in this regard, and an important step forward.

2.5 'Doing Greek' in the palace of Samosata? The limits of Hellenism

Versluys's analysis of Hellenism at Nemrut Dağı as a glocal phenomenon provides us with a sophisticated and illuminating understanding of the *conscious* and *intentional* adoption and particularization of what a de-territorialized concept of 'Greekness' had come to mean in the 1st c. BCE. In this paragraph, I will argue that Versluys's Hellenism-model is however problematic when applied to the material culture of the palace of Samosata. I will formulate a set of shortcomings of the Hellenism-model, focusing on its emphasis on conscious adoption, its pre-theoretical

²⁶⁶ This point is made very well also in Hoo 2020, 557: '*Although the idea of a global culture is an appealing explanation for what we analytically examine as Greek(ish) visual culture across Eurasia and what some describe as Hellenism in passing, we should be wary about how we use the concept. Without proper reflection and clarification, there is a risk of simply equating global culture to the assimilation of local difference into plain sameness, centred on a particular society or civilization – Greek in the case of Hellenistic period Central Asia – from where global culture disseminated to peripheral areas. According to globalization thinkers (...), global culture is by no means homogeneous because the flows of goods, objects, ideas, and meanings are mediated through asymmetrically organized channels. Although we infamously lack written sources to inform us in detail about these channels in Hellenistic Central Asia, the archaeological presence of fragile unbaked sculptures of local clay in various styles at Takht-i Sangin (...), the mould-made and locally fired "Megarian" bowls at Ai Khanoum (...), and templates and plaster casts for the manufacture of figural art at Ai Khanoum (...) and at the late Hellenistic sites of Sakhsanokhur (...) and Kampyr Tepe (...), amongst others, should make us think about numerous different hands, eyes, experiences, and interpretations that mediated and intersected in processes of producing, transporting, using, and making meaning of Greek and other styled material objects and visual culture.*'

²⁶⁷ Kropp 2013, 382.

²⁶⁸ Strootman 2014, 9.

²⁶⁹ Strootman 2020, 205; see also Strootman 2014; 2017.

preservation of ‘things Greek’ as a supposed *emic* category of material culture, and its overall lack of attention for the relationality and capacities of material culture beyond culture styles.

There are fundamental differences between the contexts of Nemrut Dağı and that of Samosata’s palace that make the application of Versluys’s model of glocal Hellenism in the latter difficult to conduct. At Nemrut Dağı, there is explicit epigraphic evidence that attests of an *emic* categorization of material culture as ‘Greek’ and ‘Persian’. In the Great Cult Inscription of the *hierothesion*, written at the back of the colossal statues of the deities on both the Eastern and the Western Terraces, Antiochos I asserts that the colossal statues of the deities were consciously executed in a Greek and Persian style (*‘the kingdom subject to my throne should be the common dwelling place of all the gods, in that by means of every kind of art I decorated the representations of their form, as the ancient lore of Persians and of Greeks – the fortunate roots of my ancestry’*).²⁷⁰ Such epigraphic evidence for *emic* stylistic and cultural categories that are consciously adopted lacks completely in Samosata. It is furthermore highly probable that the palace of Samosata was not part of the Antiochan program but in fact pre-dated the king’s reign. Did the presumed commissioner of the palace, Mithridates I, categorize the palace or aspects of it as ‘Greek’? Was this a similarly *conscious* adoption of Hellenism as witnessed at Nemrut? – we simply cannot tell. However, if we speak of ‘Hellenism’ in relation to the palace of Samosata, we automatically assume that there was a conscious adoption of ‘things Greek’.

This is related to a more fundamental criticism on the role of material culture and its categorization in the model of glocal Hellenism, as its reliance on ‘conscious adoption’ suggests that Hellenism is more conceptual than material. Whereas Versluys investigates the processes of universalization and particularization of Hellenism as a cultural concept, he actually keeps the material culture ‘behind it’ at distance. By *a priori* assuming that certain objects belong to a certain style, he reduces these objects to a cultural category but the validity of this category remains unquestioned: *‘no one will deny that a style of material culture developed in Magna Graecia that has specific formal characteristics and has commonly been denominated as Greek’*.²⁷¹ As such, it appears that the *etic*, pre-theoretical categorization of ‘things Greek’, according to Versluys, is a valid historical category that has *‘common characteristics shared and displayed by large groups of artefacts over extended geographic ranges and/or periods of time’*.²⁷² However, Versluys remains silent about what these common characteristics are – he seems more interested in what Hellenism means than what it actually consists of. The pre-theoretical insistence on the validity of ‘things Greek’ as an *emic* category should however be avoided, as it is a consequence of the *‘false cultural*

²⁷⁰ N 24-36.

²⁷¹ Versluys 2017a, 209. Strootman makes a similar common-sense claim when he asserts that *‘One usually recognizes Greek style when one sees it.’* (Strootman 2020, 202).

²⁷² Versluys 2017a, 190.

intimacy’ of antiquity in our modern world: the modern, Western appropriation of the ‘classical world’ – a term that itself illustrates this modern foundation myth - has fuelled the assumption that our modern *etic* taxonomies and ontologies were more or less identical to the *emic* categories of people living in ‘the classical world’.²⁷³ Taking glocal Hellenism as a starting point for an investigation of the material culture of the palace, would imply that its adherence to an *emic* category of ‘Greekness’ is unquestionable. In short: starting out from Hellenism in Samosata risks the *a priori* imposition of an *etic* (modern) cultural category onto material culture. In this regard, it seems more fruitful to employ the notion of *glocality* – a result of simultaneous processes of universalization and particularization – not to a pre-theoretical stylistic category (as Versluys does) but rather to *actual* objects.

Despite its dynamic understanding of Hellenism as a glocal phenomenon, Versluys’s approach retains a static, homogenous category of material culture of (‘things Greek’) which risks reducing objects to a single cultural category (‘Hellenism’), and, related to this, only considers material culture in relation to its human, conscious and intentional genesis. To some extent, therefore, this model assigns only a representational role to ‘things Greek’, framing these things as vessels of meaning that for instance signal Hellenism as ‘civilization’.²⁷⁴ Uncritically holding on to the category of ‘things Greek’ however obfuscates the complex and versatile character of material culture, its relationality and its much wider capacities in terms of meaning and impact.²⁷⁵ Using glocal Hellenism as a starting point for the analysis of this dissertation would simplify our understanding of the roles of material culture in the palace, as its outcome would be fairly predictable: an interpretation in which the ‘Hellenism’ of the palace of Samosata is interpreted as a situated evocation of concepts of civilization, modernity and/or cosmopolitanism that the Commagenean kings employed to simultaneously legitimize their rule and enter a global stage of shared trans-regional court culture.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Herzfeld 2005.

²⁷⁴ Although Versluys suggests to go ‘*beyond representation*’ (Versluys 2017a, 29-33), he actually retains a largely semiotic understanding of culture styles by looking at ‘*the meanings and associations that these elements built up over time*’, formulating the ‘*respective messages*’ of Hellenism and Persianism, concluding they ‘*signalled*’ civilization, modernity and kingship. (see Versluys 2017a, 247).

²⁷⁵ Similar *a priori* reductions of material culture to homogenous *etic* categories have been successfully deconstructed (notably also by Versluys) for conceptions of ‘things Roman’ (Versluys 2014; Van Oyen 2017) and ‘things Egyptian’ (Mol 2013; Mol 2015) but the category of ‘things Greek’ might turn out to be the most stubborn of them all. This work also relates to a more general and well-known archaeological critique of the problems of attempting to establish bounded groups and bounded sets of stylistically distinct objects. See Hodder 1979, 1982. Gavin Lucas already noticed in 2001 that, despite this general deconstruction of the culture concept as ‘*a bounded, homogenous entity which ‘more or less’ corresponded with a comparable social unit – a people, an ethnic group and, in some cases, a race*’ (Lucas 2001, 121), ‘*in many ways the use of cultural classifications (...) continued – and continues in practice with little thought for what this might mean*’ (Lucas 2001, 123).

²⁷⁶ A similar conclusion as already drawn by Kropp 2013, 363: ‘*It appears that Antiochos saw Hellenistic palaces, the etiquette of court, and the conventions of Greek symposia as entirely adequate for the projection of his image*’. Ultimately, both Versluys and Kropp explain the cultural dynamics of 1st c. BCE in terms of

This type of interpretation has a strong focus on the human, conscious and intentional genesis of objects and can therefore be seen as an example of what anthropologist Tim Ingold has coined the 'hylomorphic' model of creation, in which *'form came to be seen as imposed by an agent with a particular design in mind, while matter, thus rendered passive and inert, became that which was imposed upon'*.²⁷⁷ Ingold makes a broad distinction between 'reading creativity backwards' ('hylomorphic') versus 'reading creativity forwards' ('morphogenic'), prioritizing the coming into being of objects over their presumed origin and intention.²⁷⁸ This distinction should make us aware that the Hellenism-model only covers *one* aspect of what the palace of Samosata - as a *real, actual and material entity* - was, could do and mean. Moving away from an approach that culturally reduces objects creates analytical room for an approach in which other interpretative possibilities appear, in which the palace of Samosata is less trapped in an exclusively representational role.

Although we definitely cannot exclude that Hellenism played a role as a consciously intended 'cultural scenario' in the palace of Samosata, it seems clear that there are significant drawbacks to Hellenism as an analytical starting point for our understanding of the cultural dynamics of Samosata. What is needed therefore, is an approach to the palace of Samosata that postpones cultural categorizations and human intentions, and instead investigates the global and 'morphogenic' relations and capacities of objects making up the palatial context, studying it as a real, actual, and material phenomenon. Such an approach is developed in the next chapter, where I introduce assemblage thinking as a post-anthropocentric and post-representational theoretical approach to *vibrant* material culture.

Anticochos I's '*Legitimationsdruck*' (Kropp 2013, 35; see also Versluys 2017a, 170). Note however Sheldon Pollock's critique on interpretations that come down to the notion of legitimacy, claiming these are '*not only anachronistic, but intellectually mechanical, culturally homogenizing, theoretically naïve, empirically false, and tediously predictable*.' (Pollock 2006, 18, 614-625; quoted after De Jong 2017, 42.)

²⁷⁷ Ingold 2010, 92, in general 91-93. See also Ingold 2012, 432.

²⁷⁸ Ingold relies heavily on the work of Deleuze and Guattari 2004. See the next chapter for a more elaborate discussion of their work as well as Ingold's in relation to new materialism and assemblage theory.

Chapter 3. Towards vibrant objects. Theory and methodology.

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was argued that, in order to understand the palace of Samosata as a real, actual and material entity, an analytical approach is needed that goes beyond existing acculturative, representational and anthropocentric understandings of material culture. Although Versluys's model of glocal Hellenisms offers a valuable set of concepts to overcome acculturative thinking (derived from globalization theory), it was considered a problematic analytical starting point for the purposes of this dissertation, as it retains a pre-theoretical notion of 'things Greek', and ignores the more-than-representational and more-than-intentional aspects of objects. A necessary analytical approach that takes the objects making up the palace of Samosata seriously, should acknowledge the complex relationality of objects, their wide-ranging capacities and their actual impact – *beyond* cultural categorization and representation.

This chapter draws on concepts and approaches from a theoretical field known as 'New Materialism' – more particularly its 'Assemblage Theory' – in order to develop an alternative analytical approach to *glocal* objects in Late-Hellenistic Samosata. In its shortest definition, assemblages are '*compositions that act*'.²⁷⁹ Assemblage Theory provides a well-developed ontological framework in which people, things and ideas are related in radically different ways than is the case in traditional Cartesian dualist ontologies that underlie conventional archaeological thinking (not in the least that of Hellenism discourse). Recent applications of assemblage thinking in archaeological analyses have by now proved it to be highly advantageous for our understanding of the relationality, capacities and impact of material culture and its complex relation to humans.²⁸⁰ It helps us, for instance, to break away from the often very restrictive subject-object opposition in our archaeological analyses, a problem that lies at the core of much acculturative and representational thinking. The notion of a passive material world (for instance a tessellated mosaic) that is imbued with 'concepts' (for instance 'Greekness' or 'civilization') by active human actors (like king Antiochos I) maintains this dualist ontology.

As approaches like this are relatively new to the field of Hellenistic-Roman archaeology, this chapter will elaborate on New Materialism and Assemblage theory, before presenting it as a methodology to study the palace of Samosata and its place in the material transformations of Samosata during the 4th c. BCE – 1st c. CE. In section 3.2, I will therefore first explore briefly the philosophical foundations of New Materialism and then turn to its application in archaeology.

²⁷⁹ Due 2002, 32.

²⁸⁰ For many examples, see Crellin et al. 2021. See 3.2.2. of this dissertation for a discussion of archaeological applications of Assemblage Theory.

Here I will spend some time considering how the adoption of Assemblage Theory in archaeology differs from other archaeological theoretical approaches that belong to the broader ‘material turn’ (e.g. Gell’s object agency, and the symmetrical archaeologies based on Latour’s ANT or on Harman’s OOO). Subsequently, I will briefly discuss the ethical implications of post-anthropocentric approaches in the ancient world. In section 3.3, I will explore how a New Materialist approach can help us to fundamentally rethink the notion of Hellenistic courts and palaces, understanding these as post-anthropocentric, relational and emergent assemblages instead of the more representational notions of palaces as ‘manifestations’ of ‘a monarch’s wealth and power’ that ‘embody the ideas and values of his kingship’.²⁸¹ A turn to the actual and virtual capacities of the elements that make up Hellenistic palaces can help to go beyond such representational notions and to become aware of the processes and vibrancy of the palace as an assemblage. In section 3.4, I will develop a methodology to study the palace of Samosata and its place in material transformations in Late-Hellenistic Samosata in terms of assemblages. This means that I will consider two types of assemblages, namely ‘vibrant objectscares’ and ‘glocal genealogies’, notions that I further elucidate at the end of this chapter.

3.2 New Materialism, assemblage thinking and its application in archaeology and the study of the ancient world

This section introduces ‘New Materialism’, Assemblage Theory and its application in archaeology. I will first outline the philosophical foundations of this theoretical corpus, focusing specifically on its discontents with traditional dualist ontologies (paragraph 3.2.1). After this, I will consider its application in archaeology and how this differs from other, related archaeological theory that draws on the broader ‘Material Turn’, especially the so-called ‘first-wave symmetrical archaeology’ based on Bruno Latour’s Actor Network Theory (ANT) and the ‘second-wave symmetrical archaeology’, based on Graham Harman’s Object Oriented Ontology (OOO) (paragraph 3.2.2). After this, I will briefly comment on a recent debate about the perceived ethical implications of employing New Materialist approaches in our study of the ancient world (paragraph 3.2.2).

²⁸¹ Citations from Kropp 2013, 94.

3.2.1 New Materialism

New Materialism and Assemblage Theory are related bodies of post-humanist theory²⁸² that are applied and adapted in a range of different disciplines, but find a shared origin in the philosophical work of Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, Manuel DeLanda, Jane Bennett, Donna Haraway, Karen Barad, and Quentin Meillassoux, to name its most influential protagonists.²⁸³ Although the work of these authors is in many ways wildly different, diverging and often contradicting, what they share is a post-anthropocentric and anti-dualistic critique of what they consider the arbitrary nature of Western, Cartesian thought and its Enlightenment taxonomies. Importantly, New Materialism moves away from a philosophical stance now known as ‘correlationism’, for which all knowledge about the ‘being’ of objects was considered to be constricted by our human cognition.²⁸⁴ As an alternative, New Materialists argue from a philosophical stance (or ‘meta-ontology’) that is known as ‘Speculative Realism’, which posits that there exists a reality independent from human subjectivity and that it is possible to speculate about the nature (or ontology) of that reality.²⁸⁵ This means, for instance, that the palace of Samosata can be understood as a real and actual entity that is presumed to have existed independent from human thoughts, intentions and concepts. New

²⁸² Posthumanism is a broad and extremely varied intellectual movement and ontological orientation in the social sciences and humanities characterized by a general desire to move beyond humanist worldviews, Cartesian dualisms and anthropocentrism. Especially the humanist’s insistence on the idea of the individual human subject is considered fundamentally problematic as it implies a universal and transcendent ontological status of this human subject and does not explore its emergence and immanence. For a good introduction see Ferrando 2019.

²⁸³ Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 1980, 2004; DeLanda 2006; 2016; Bennett 2010; Barad 2007; Haraway 2008; Meillassoux 2008. A good introduction to these philosophical foundations of New Materialism is offered by Coole and Frost 2010; as well as by Dolphijn and Van der Tuin 2013.

²⁸⁴ Speculative realist Quentin Meillassoux coined correlationism as ‘*the idea [that] we only ever have access to the correlation between thinking and being, and never to either term considered apart from the other*’ (Meillassoux 2008, 5). From that perspective, humans are always trapped in a circle of thought, an imminent dialectic between thought and the world. Graham Harman refers to the basic correlationist stance as ‘*we can’t think an X outside of thought without thinking it, and thereby we cannot escape the circle of thought*’ (Harman 2012). Levi Bryant describes that what followed from this perspective was an anthropocentric ‘*subordination of ontology to epistemology*’ (Bryant 2011, 35) because it could not be asked anymore what an object was *as such*, only what an object was *for* humans, *in relation to* humans. This idea probably finds its origin in Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason*, where he stated: ‘*[u]p to now it has been assumed that all our cognition must conform to the objects; but all attempts to find out something about them a priori through concepts that would extend our cognition have, on this presupposition, come to nothing. Hence let us once try whether we do not get farther with the problems of metaphysics by assuming that the objects must conform to our cognition, which would agree better with the requested possibility of an a priori cognition of them, which is to establish something about objects before they are given to us*’ (Kant 1998, xvi). Peter Heft on Kant’s influence on later philosophers: ‘*Kant cemented correlationism in the minds of philosophers in such a way that everyone from Hegel to Heidegger, Freud to Lacan, and Pierce to Baudrillard were implicated.*’ (Heft 2016, 10). This primarily entailed Kant’s distinction between ‘*an inaccessible noumenal world of things-in-themselves*’ and ‘*a phenomenal world of experience*’ and his persistence that we can only deal with the latter. Kant stated that the world does not have an inherent structure, but that the phenomenal world is structured by human thought by using categories. This was an affirmation of Berkeley’s radical empiricism and immaterialism (it is impossible to think of a thing outside of thought; ‘*esse est percipi*’) and made the correlationist perspective even stronger. See also Edgeworth 2016.

²⁸⁵ DeLanda and Harman 2017, 28: ‘*The world exists outside of human beings’ knowledge of it; the world does not depend on human beings.*’

Materialist thinkers furthermore share a conviction of the relational nature of this reality ('relational realism'), suggesting that relationality is a feature of ontology and that no object pre-exists its relations.²⁸⁶ These relations, furthermore, are understood to form assemblages, relational gatherings (or '*bundles of relations*'²⁸⁷) of diverse matter that act, affect and that are emergent, in the sense that they are always 'in a state of becoming'. Importantly for the purpose of this dissertation, New Materialist and Assemblage Theory positions share a desire to give the non-human elements in the world their due, investigating the relations humans have with non-human elements - such as material culture (but also plants and animals) - and exploring the roles these non-human elements play. As a consequence, New Materialists de-centre humans, reconceptualising them as 'one of many'.²⁸⁸ As such, they allow a much greater deal of 'ontological room' for non-human things, noting that both humans and non-humans function as and participate in assemblages which themselves are often also heterogeneous, consisting of a gathering of human and non-human elements.²⁸⁹

A key text for New Materialism is Deleuze and Guattari's 1972 *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*.²⁹⁰ In a broad sense, their work on assemblages focuses on issues such as becoming, contingency, local difference, and how relationships give rise to things.²⁹¹ Deleuze and Guattari were heavily influenced by the work of Baruch Spinoza, whose anti-Cartesian and monistic thinking profoundly informed their ideas about the heterogeneity, and relationality of assemblages as well as their capacity to affect.²⁹² Spinoza famously claimed that '*no one has yet determined what the body can do*'²⁹³, a notion that planted the seed for an exploration of the undetermined and emergent nature of assemblages. Deleuze and Guattari's philosophical work is wide-ranging and notoriously complex, which has caused many recent, non-philosophical applications of their work in the humanities and social sciences (among them archaeologists) to rely heavily on the reading and further development of their Assemblage theory by philosopher

²⁸⁶ Barad 2007. Note however that Harman's OOO (see below) already deviates from this position, allowing for a certain object essence that can withdraw from its relations.

²⁸⁷ Pauketat 2013.

²⁸⁸ Harman has argued in several places that a fundamental problem with correlationism is the fact that it always assigns to humans 50% of all that exists (all of ontology) and only maximum 50% to everything else, cf. Harman 2018, 56.

²⁸⁹ Jane Bennett for instance argues that we should not anymore put humans at the '*ontological apex*' of our analyses (Bennett 2010, ix).

²⁹⁰ Deleuze and Guattari 2004.

²⁹¹ As nicely summarized by Fowler 2017, 96.

²⁹² Deleuze 1998, 124–5; Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 253–60. See Bennett 2010 for an exploration of Spinoza's thinking in relation to Deleuze and Guattari. New Materialist scholarship in general uses the word 'affect' rather than the also common word 'agency', which is considered too much in line with humanist ideals of the individual human subject that is 'agentive', cf. Hamilakis 2017. Affect implies the possibility to affect and be affected. The concept of affect, by comparison, makes it clear that we have the capacity to affect and be affected, describing a relational, two-way street.

²⁹³ Spinoza 1994, 155–156.

Manuel DeLanda.²⁹⁴ In DeLanda's 2006 *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*, he uses the Deleuzian notion of assemblages to describe and analyse social ontologies.²⁹⁵

On the basis of Delanda's work, it is possible to characterize assemblages as heterogeneous, non-hierarchical, emergent and vibrant. The first three characteristics are important to elaborate on as they will help us to radically rethink what Hellenistic palaces and courts really are (see 3.3) and they provide a conceptual framework to give hand and feet to Ingold's call for a 'morphogenic approach', a reading creativity forwards (see 2.5). I singled out 'vibrancy' as the central notion of the methodology of this dissertation to analyse the archaeology of Late-Hellenistic Samosata (see paragraphs 3.3.1-4) and therefore I will elaborate on this notion here too.

Assemblages are *heterogeneous*, meaning that they consist of elements that are often considered categorically separate or even opposing, such as human and non-human elements, cultural and natural elements and material and conceptual elements.²⁹⁶ By freely combining and containing these heterogeneous elements and their (often shifting) relations, assemblages are in essence non-dualistic and post-anthropocentric. This heterogeneity also implies that assemblages have no single point of origin or a singular organizing principle (such as a notion of 'Greekness') but instead are always multiple in terms of the relations and processes they are caught up in. Crucially, Deleuze and Guattari stress that assemblages always consist of both 'material and expressive components', meaning that they are not limited to solely physical elements, and thus often also include signs, gestures, symbols, meanings, identities and emotions.²⁹⁷ This means that Assemblage Theory accommodates meanings and representations but is not confined to these 'expressive components'; instead of non-representational, assemblages thus are *more-than-representational*, re-situating the relations between material culture and meaning in a shared ontology.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ DeLanda 1997; 2006. His reading of Deleuze and Guattari is however contested, with several authors warning for an understanding of Deleuze and Guattari that is in fact more 'DeLandian'. Cf. Hamilakis 2017, who however also admits that Deleuze and Guattari themselves encouraged the selective reading of their own work and the work of others.

²⁹⁵ In DeLanda 2006, DeLanda develops a critique on organic and totalizing understandings of societies, and instead suggests to conceptualize societies as assemblages in which stabilizing and de-stabilizing processes are constantly at play. By pointing to the self-subsistent and relational character of all the different elements that make up a society, DeLanda explored how societies emerge and transform into new compositions at a variety of different scales (towns, cities and nations).

²⁹⁶ Deleuze 2006, 176–177: '[i]n assemblages you find states of things, bodies, various combinations of bodies, hodgepodes; but you also find utterances, modes of expression, and whole regimes of signs'.

²⁹⁷ Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 97–98.

²⁹⁸ Harris 2021, 111.

Assemblages furthermore are also *non-hierarchical*, because they reason from a so-called ‘flat ontology’²⁹⁹; in principle, there is no *a priori* hierarchy between its heterogeneous elements. With a ‘flat ontology’ new materialists criticize the conventional hierarchical ontology of the modern ‘western’ world that places humans above animals, plants, and objects. A ‘flat ontology’ suggests that this hierarchy can be brought down to one shared ontological plane where things (human and non-human) exist on an equal footing. In the assemblage, human elements are not necessarily more important than non-human elements; concepts are not necessarily more important than material elements.³⁰⁰

Thirdly, assemblages are *emergent*, in the sense that they are more than the sum of their gathering parts; we can say that the assemblage is immanent to the relations between its constituent parts. This also relates to the fact that assemblages are never bounded, static or permanent³⁰¹; they are always in a state of becoming and its changing relations create their capacity to affect the world around it.³⁰² A good example of an assemblage is a pollinating insect (a bee) and a flower³⁰³; its components are of a different kind (the assemblage is heterogeneous), there is no hierarchy between the insect and the flower (assemblages are non-hierarchical), and the insect-flower relation causes, for instance, the pollination of the flower, the production of honey, and the creation of the flower’s offspring (assemblages are emergent). The non-static character of assemblages is witnessed especially in Deleuze and Guattari’s notions of ‘territorialization’ (coming together) and ‘de-territorialization’ (falling apart), which indicate how assemblages form, transform and dwindle.³⁰⁴ *Territorialization* describes how some elements that make up an assemblage are acting to stabilize the assemblage, making its boundaries clearer and the elements more homogenous. *De-territorialization*, on the other hand, describes how other elements are trying to break the assemblage apart, to blur its boundaries, making its identity less clear and allowing some parts to fall away.³⁰⁵ Both territorialization and de-territorialization are always at

²⁹⁹ DeLanda 2002, 51. This does not mean however that New Materialists believe humans and non-humans to be exactly the same. Rather, it means that humans and non-humans are all equally capable of effect and affect in the world. See also Cipolla and Harris 2017, 147: ‘*It is also worth emphasising that starting with a flat ontology does not mean ending in the same way – with no variations in power or authority at the end of the analysis. These approaches ask us to explore all of these differences rather than deciding beforehand that one particular difference (that between humans and everything else) is worthy of special, ontological, status.*’

³⁰⁰ Such a flat ontology does however not necessarily lead to a flat ethics; see paragraph 3.2.3.

³⁰¹ Barad 2007.

³⁰² Fowler 2017, 96: ‘*an assemblage acts, and acts in a way that none of its components can without being in such a configuration.*’

³⁰³ DeLanda 2006, 15.

³⁰⁴ *Idem*, 12. See also Barad 2007.

³⁰⁵ Note that we should not confuse the Deleuzian use of the term ‘de-territorialization’ with that being used in globalization theory, where it is considered the opposite of ‘particularization’ (for which, see paragraph 2.4). Whereas the former, Deleuzian concept describes a disintegrating process of entities on an ontological level, the latter describes how a phenomenon’s connections to an actual geographic place or area water down through being caught up in a process of increased connectivity. To prevent from conceptual confusion, I will only use the term universalization when discussing it in the latter globalized way.

stake in every assemblage. Importantly, this constant shifting of the boundaries of assemblages and their elements conjures up a world in which there are no bounded subjects and objects and in which the outcome is always contingent and, to some extent, open-ended. If we consider the palace of Samosata as an actual, and real assemblage, it should be acknowledged that it was never *a priori* decided what it would do and become, nor who or what was the driving force in this process.

Lastly, assemblages are *vibrant*. By stressing the emergent nature of assemblages, Assemblage Theory allows for the change and process of these assemblages. Deleuze and Guattari already suggested that change came about through '*a life proper to matter*'³⁰⁶ and in the work of political theorist and philosopher Jane Bennett this capacity of assemblages to change is further explored and explained through the notion of the 'vitality' or 'vibrancy' of matter, (human and non-human) something which itself allows an assemblage to affect the world around it: '*an assemblage owes its agentic capacity to the vitality of the materialities that constitute it*'³⁰⁷ By showing how the elements that assemblages consist of are never static, but always in a state of becoming through the vibrancy of its elements, we start appreciating how assemblages exist on different scales³⁰⁸; the elements of assemblages are emergent assemblages with vibrant elements in their own right. Bennett located this vibrancy in the notion of capacities; relational characteristics of the assemblage's components that can effect change on the level of the overall assemblage. In her fascinating book *Meeting the Universe Halfway*, feminist theorist and theoretical physicist Karen Barad explores the '*different material configurations of ontological bodies and boundaries, where the actual matter of bodies is what is at issue and at stake*'³⁰⁹, drawing attention to the intra-actions and capacities of the elements within a relational configuration. Assemblages transform through the vibrant capacities of the elements that it consists of and the specific relational composition of its elements.

There are some crucial differences between New Materialist 'assemblage thinking' and other, related, post-humanist and anti-dualistic theories that have emerged in the humanities and social sciences in the last two decades or so. As these different approaches have also led to very different archaeological applications of these ideas and are moreover often lumped together in critiques on New Materialism (see paragraph 3.2.2), it is useful to briefly consider the main differences. The first and arguably most important of these alternative post-humanist and anti-dualistic approaches is Bruno Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT), whose post-dualistic thinking already developed in the late 1970s with his *Laboratory Life* and, later, with *We Have Never Been*

³⁰⁶ Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 454.

³⁰⁷ Bennett 2010, 34.

³⁰⁸ Something particularly also explored in DeLanda 2016. See also Harris 2017.

³⁰⁹ Barad 2007, 155.

Modern.³¹⁰ In his 2005 *Reassembling the Social*, Latour reconceptualised society as a heterogeneous network of people and objects that both act through their relations, with agency distributed throughout the network.³¹¹ His thinking meant a radical departure of dualistic understandings of the world, breaking down differences and oppositions between humans and non-humans, culture and nature, reasoning towards a more 'symmetrical' ontology. As such, Latour shares with New Materialism a relational approach that insists on the heterogeneity of networks and, to certain degree, a flat ontology, allowing for both human and non-human 'actants'.³¹² However, New Materialist theorists have criticized Latour's ANT for the little analytical room it leaves for explaining change, suggesting that his networks are rather static.³¹³ The main reason for this is that, for Latour, the nodes in his network are entirely defined by their *actual* relations, which leaves the question how such an air-tight network can ever change.³¹⁴ New materialism instead considers relations and objects as co-emergent to one another, allowing for non-activated (non-actual) but enduring object capacities (virtual object capacities, see below) and the vibrancy of matter to affect change.³¹⁵ On the other end of the spectrum is Graham Harman's Object Oriented Ontology (OOO), which posits objects as the fundamental ontological building blocks of the world. Harman is strongly influenced by Deleuze and Latour, and hence argues from a largely flat ontology where relations and non-humans have an important role to play, but by insisting that objects (human and non-human) cannot be reduced to their components (as naïve realism has it³¹⁶) nor to their relations (as 'correlationism' has it, see above), he strongly deviates from other New materialists thinkers. This has great repercussions for archaeological

³¹⁰ Latour 1979; 1991.

³¹¹ Latour 1999; 2005.

³¹² Latour uses the term 'actant' to indicate any entity in the world that is capable of having any type of effect through its relations. In a by now famous example, Latour argued that, when dealing with a person holding a gun, it is not either the human or the gun that has agency, but rather the relational network that both are part of, cf. Latour 1999. Thus, for Latour, agency emerges relationally. See also Robb 2010.

³¹³ Crellin 2020.

³¹⁴ Harman 2009. Note that Ingold has a diametrically opposing reading of Latour, suggesting that Latour prioritizes objects instead of relations. Cf. Ingold 2008.

³¹⁵ Fowler and Harris 2015, 135: '*This reading of Barad resolves the question of whether we start with real objects that enter into relationships, or whether we should begin with relationships that are only abstracted, later, into bounded objects. Not only does she reveal that neither is primary, she also shows how both are relational, and dependent on a broader assemblage.*' For vibrancy of matter, see Bennett 2010.

³¹⁶ In naïve realism, objects are deemed too superficial, too shallow as they are considered as mere manifestations in the human mind. Following John Locke's empiricism, proponents of naïve realism argue that objects should be studied using our perception and our possibility to experiment, causing us to understand that objects are actually not solid entities at all, as they disintegrate into smaller components such as atoms when we observe them and experiment with them. Harman and others have stressed that this approach to objects can be said to be foundational to most of modern-day natural sciences and tends to break the object into smaller pieces, stating that the object is just a manifestation but that underneath it there is a reality of matter that is much more complex and real than objects as they appear in everyday human experience. In the naïve realism perspective, the world as it manifests itself to us basically is a fake world – an illusion of the human mind – that needs to be deconstructed by studying the real world that lies beneath it. This studying of the real world, according to naïve realists, is possible only by the use of scientific observation and experimentation. See Harman 2012.

applications of OOO, especially when compared to archaeological applications of New materialism, an issue to which we shall turn now.

3.2.2. *The application of Assemblage Theory in archaeology*

The notion of assemblages is not new in archaeology, but its conventional use in modernist archaeology, where it simply indicates the collection or association of objects or materials, is very different from that of recent archaeological applications of Assemblage Theory.³¹⁷ Anthropologist Tim Ingold was one of the first to draw attention to the value of New Materialism for archaeology.³¹⁸ He argued that materials and their properties are always caught up in variable relations with the world around it (something he coins a 'meshwork', comparable to an assemblage), and thus form a history of change and transformation instead of having a static nature. Crucially, this theoretical notion of 'vibrant materials' is promising as a way to reconcile the more scientific approaches in archaeology with its more conceptual or theoretical strands of research.³¹⁹ Related to this, is Ingold's suggestion that New Materialism can help archaeologists to develop better ways to think about the genesis and formation of forms and the roles of people in the processes behind their 'making'.³²⁰ In paragraph 2.5, I characterized the existing interpretations of the palace of Samosata as strongly related to what Tim Ingold coined the 'hylomorphic' model of creation, in which 'creativity was read backwards', and the interpretation of an object, in this case the palace, was reduced to its human, conscious and intentional genesis.³²¹ The New Materialist ontology and its specific conceptualization of assemblages indeed is closely related to the 'morphogenic' approach ('reading creativity forward') advocated for by Ingold. Rethinking archaeological objects (like the palace of Samosata) as assemblages makes us aware of the many internal and external relations in which these objects were caught up, the heterogeneity and vibrancy of its constitutive elements, its emergent state, and the processes of territorialization and de-territorialization that were ongoing from the moment an object was assembled (or 'territorialized').³²²

³¹⁷ Hamilakis and Jones 2017, 80: '*in the conventional understanding of assemblages in archaeology, the main emphasis is either on formal and material similarity, or on spatial and chronological co-presence or proximity, in other words on aggregation*'.

³¹⁸ Ingold 2007.

³¹⁹ A good example of this approach is offered by Conneller 2011.

³²⁰ Cipolla and Harris 2017, 139

³²¹ Ingold 2012, 432. Cipolla and Harris summarize the critique on hylomorphic thinking well when they state: '*it tends to emphasise the creativity of the human being at the expense of the materials*' (Cipolla and Harris 2017, 139).

³²² Fowler 2017, 96: '*Assemblages occur at varying scales of space and time, intersect, and can bleed into one another. Assemblages are always in the process of becoming, yet are also definable entities. They are temporary, yet may be of very long duration. Societies or communities are assemblages of humans, things,*

Reflecting an increasing dissatisfaction with the dualistic and anthropocentric nature of most archaeological thought (be it 'cultural historical', 'processual' or 'post-processual'³²³), the last decade has witnessed an enthusiastic adoption and adaption of New Materialist approaches in a range of archaeological studies.³²⁴ Especially noteworthy introductions are a 2017 Special Section on assemblages in the *Cambridge Journal Archaeological Journal* edited by Yannis Hamilakis and Andrew Jones³²⁵ and the introductory *Archaeological Theory in the New Millennium* by Craig Cipolla and Oliver Harris, a book that broadly deals with the many 'Material Turns' of archaeology but also spends considerable attention to New Materialism.³²⁶ Applications of New Materialism to the archaeology of the ancient Mediterranean and Near East is also picking up since the last century.³²⁷ Scholarship following more broadly the 'material turn' of so-called 'symmetrical archaeology' are definitely more widespread however.³²⁸ In a stimulating 'manifesto' from 2014, Versluys argued for the necessity of a 'Romanization Debate 2.0', in which a turn to global object flows and the stylistic and material properties of objects are central.³²⁹ A similar post-representational approach to the Hellenistic world is necessary, but, as I have argued, the current focus on global Hellenisms still retains, from its analytical outset, an overtly representational approach to objects. Therefore, a truly New Materialist approach would be highly welcome for the Hellenistic World as well.

Cipolla and Harris summarize the value of proper New Materialism for archaeology as such: *'People are no longer the driving forces of history; instead they are one element of a set of relationships of swirling materials and forces that come together in the world, and allow for certain kinds of action and not others. Archaeological sites are excavated not just to understand the people who lived there but to look at the materials that were transformed there as historical actors in their*

animals, materials, practices, ideas, places, and so on. A broadly Deleuzian reading of assemblages places emphasis on becoming, contingency, local difference, and how relationships give rise to things.'

³²³ For a summary of this critique, see Cipolla and Harris 2017, chapter 1. Note that especially critique on the 'textual metaphor' of post-processualism was already fully developed by the first proponents of symmetrical archaeology, cf. Olsen 2003. See also Thomas 2004. For a critique on correlationist thinking (see above) in archaeology, see Thomas 2015, 1291.

³²⁴ Cobb and Croucher 2014; Hamilakis 2013; Fowler 2013; Harris 2014a, 2014b, 2016a, 2016b; Harrison 2011; Jones 2012; Lucas 2012; Normark 2010; Witmore 2014. Hamilakis 2017 suggests that Chapman 2000 should be seen as an exploration of assemblage thinking in archaeology '*avant la lettre*'. Applications of assemblage theory to reflections on the nature of the archaeological discipline are found in Lucas 2012; Fowler 2013; and Hamilakis 2013.

³²⁵ See Hamilakis and Jones 2017 for an introduction to this collection of papers.

³²⁶ Something not surprising since the authors are leading voices of Assemblage Theory in archaeology. See Cipolla and Harris 2017.

³²⁷ For Bronze Age Crete, see Hamilakis 2013. For the Roman world see Mol 2013, 2015, 2021.

³²⁸ For the Roman world, see for instance Versluys 2014, 2015; Van Oyen 2016; and Pitts 2019. For the Near East, see for instance Bahrani 2014; Ristvet 2014a. Below I will follow the distinction made by Cipolla and Harris between 'first wave symmetrical archaeology' (following Latour) and 'second wave symmetrical archaeology' (following Harman).

³²⁹ Versluys 2014.

own right.’³³⁰ Whereas their book is intended more as an undergraduate introduction (or, of course, a postgraduate refresher course) to relational thinking in archaeology, it has a perfect follow-up in the highly stimulating and thorough 2021 *Archaeological Theory in Dialogue*.³³¹ In this book, five leading voices of Assemblage Theory in archaeology - Rachel Crellin, Craig Cipolla, Lindsay Montgomery, Oliver Harris and Sophie Moore - discuss its advantages for archaeological interpretation, its deviation from other relational approaches and ongoing matters of debate regarding a wide range of issues such as the ontological status of relations, the different conflicting types of ‘ontological archaeology’, and the need for post-anthropocentric ethics.

Cipolla and Harris make some useful distinctions between assemblage approaches in archaeology on the one hand and other types of semi-related archaeological theory on the other, something which is of importance when we want to ‘turn to objects’ in the Hellenistic world as well. An important distinction is created by the degree to which such alternative approaches retain some of the anthropocentrism that characterized earlier (mostly ‘post-processual’) archaeological theory. Despite its general turn to the capacities of objects, anthropologist Alfred Gell’s classic 1998 monograph *Art and Agency* is, for instance, considered to largely retain an anthropocentric focus, as Gell differentiated between primary and secondary agency, understanding the agency of objects primarily as an ‘index’ of human agency.³³² Ian Hodder’s 2012 *Entangled* is similarly considered to retain an anthropocentric focus, as his discussions of human-thing entanglement are strongly focused on ‘dependence’ and its human aspects.³³³ A wide range of different archaeological approaches based on Latour’s ANT are considered ‘first wave symmetrical archaeology’ by Cipolla and Harris.³³⁴ Despite its great variety of approaches, in general these approaches share with New Materialism a relational, post-anthropocentric and anti-dualistic approach to material culture that considers the properties of a variety of different ‘actants’ (human and non-human) in a network and, for instance, understand object meaning as only one of many object capacities. A crucial difference is the New Materialist emphasis on process, the diachronic movement of materials in a world in motion, and the territorialization and de-

³³⁰ Cipolla and Harris 2017, 148. See also the motto of this dissertation.

³³¹ Crellin et al. 2021.

³³² Gell 1998. See Cipolla and Harris 2017, 72: ‘For Gell, humans use the material world to distribute their personhood and agency.’ Note that they do acknowledge that the later parts of *Art and Agency* explores also less anthropocentric forms of object agency, in which humans are not necessarily always the starting point. Gosden 2005, 196 already remarked the same when he further developed Gell’s idea of the inter-artefactual domain (see below).

³³³ Hodder 2012. For critiques, also on Hodder’s insistence on ‘contextual meaning’ instead of affects and effects of assemblages, see Jones and Alberti 2013, 27-30; Hamilakis 2013; Cipolla and Harris 2017, 104-106. ‘Dependences’ are Hodder’s main focus in terms of human-thing entanglement and are framed as a relation through which humans use things to accomplish new tasks, hence implying an anthropocentric notion of entanglement.

³³⁴ Olsen 2003; 2010; Witmore 2007; Shanks 2007; Webmoor and Witmore 2008. Olsen et al. 2012. See Cipolla and Harris 2017, 138.

territorialization of gatherings of people and materials.³³⁵ More recently, symmetrical archaeology has developed into what Cipolla and Harris have coined a 'second wave', which increasingly relies on Harman's OOO rather than Latour's ANT (for which, see paragraph 3.2.1).³³⁶ This has evolved into an anti-human, anti-relational and anti-historical approach, in which materials and objects are considered as withdrawn essences, that, compared to the dynamic assemblages of New Materialism, are problematically static in their very nature.³³⁷ This type of anti-human approach naturally can have ethical implications but, and this is important, should not be considered representative of all New Materialist approaches to material culture. This is an issue I will now briefly discuss in relation to criticisms on the application of New Materialisms in Mediterranean archaeology.

3.2.3 From 'power over' to 'power to': New Materialist archaeology and its ethical implications

In a recent discussion article by Fernandez-Götz, Dominik Maschek and Nico Roymans, the adoption of New Materialism in studies of the Roman world – especially Versluys's 'Romanization 2.0' manifesto – was heavily criticised for its perceived lack of ethical considerations, suggesting that approaches that reason from a 'flat ontology' ignore the unequal and dark 'predatory' character of Roman imperialism, creating '*a sanitized past*'.³³⁸ Misunderstanding post-anthropocentrism as a complete renunciation of 'all things human', Fernandez-Götz et al. furthermore frame archaeological adoptions of New Materialism as causing a new form of 'object fetishism' in archaeology.³³⁹ Since debates about the right application of New Materialist and post-humanist theories are still ongoing, scepticism about the ethical implications of New Materialism is in some sense understandable. However, it overlooks the wide variety of approaches that New Materialist archaeology has to offer.³⁴⁰ Whereas it is indeed true that the object-oriented, a-humanist and non-relational stance of 'second-wave symmetrical archaeology' (largely based on the idea of withdrawing object 'essences' of Harman's OOO and therefore not really 'New

³³⁵ Cipolla and Harris 2017, 200: '*This emphasis on process and becoming is one of the critical differences between symmetrical archaeology and new materialism*' (Harris).

³³⁶ Olsen 2010; Olsen and Pétursdóttir 2014; Olsen and Witmore 2015; Pétursdóttir 2012; Witmore 2014.

³³⁷ The non-human aspect of these approaches is well captured in Pétursdóttir's interest in '*how things exist, act and inflict on each other (...) outside the human realm*' (Pétursdóttir 2012, 578). See also Olsen and Witmore, who claim that '*things do hold something in reserve, something that cannot be explained by such relational involvement*' (Olsen and Witmore 2015, 190). For a critique see Cipolla and Harris 2017, 188; Crellin et al. 2021

³³⁸ Fernández-Götz et al. 2020; Díaz de Liaño and Fernández-Götz 2021. Echoing also Barret's critique on non-anthropocentrism in archaeology as '*the new antiquarianism*'.

³³⁹ Fernandez-Götz et al. 2020, 1630-1631.

³⁴⁰ For a critique on Fernández-Götz et al. 2020, see the defence of Versluys 2020. See also Crellin et al. 2021, 133: '*Critics of these new ideas sometimes mischaracterize them as apolitical and ahuman, and whether we agree or not, it is certainly the case that many archaeologists experimenting with these new directions in theory have yet to seriously address the status of power and politics.*'

Materialist', see 3.2.1) leaves very little room for humans and the political and social relations and affects of objects³⁴¹, other forms of New Materialist archaeology in fact can be considered to be at the very forefront of decolonial activism in archaeology, developing exciting new posthuman perspectives on issues such as racism, queerness, and inequality in both past and present contexts.³⁴²

Critically, posthumanism does not mean anti-human or non-human, and it is therefore that several authors now also use post-anthropocentrism instead of non- or anti-anthropocentrism.³⁴³ Humans, including their social inequalities, power structures and other asymmetries, are often still a very important part of the assemblages that New Materialists study. To put it bluntly, it is simply mistaken that an approach that reasons from a 'flat ontology' cannot account for any type of inequalities.³⁴⁴ Rather, a 'flat ontology' merely creates a level playing field for all that exists at the outset of any analysis, as one cannot know whether a human, an animal, a thing or a landscape will have a more or less important role to play. A post-anthropocentric analysis can however very well detect inequalities in any given assemblage: *'Thus, here the political outcomes, and the ethical impact, of the analysis are not decided in advance, but they follow nonetheless'*.³⁴⁵ Rachel Crellin has been particularly occupied with developing a New Materialist approach to power in archaeology, investigating how power – both in its negative, repressive form (*potestas*) and its positive, empowering form (*potential*) – is not simply 'possessed' and 'exercised' by human agents but instead relational, multiple and dynamic, emerging from post-anthropocentric assemblages.³⁴⁶ She states: *'Power is not limited to humans and is not merely repressive. We need to keep talking about 'power over' but also about 'power to', including non-humans. Power is as much in resistance as in subjugation. The power of a virus to bring down economies, destroy businesses, reconfigure social relations, shift politics, and kill thousands of people. Power, like affect, has nothing to do with human beings. Indeed, it always involves non-humans, because even those assemblages that include humans involve non-humans too. The slave and owner example includes all kinds of non-humans*

³⁴¹ See Van Dyke 2021 for a thorough critique. A good example of such a-humanist approaches in archaeology is Pétursdóttir and Olsen 2018. The anti-human stance of such approaches sometimes adopts concepts from post-colonialism ('Archaeologists should unite in a defence of things, a defence of those subaltern members of the collective that have been silenced and 'othered' by the imperialist social and humanist discourses', Olsen 2010), which is, to say the least, not very helpful for the post-humanist agenda. Somewhat related is the radical ahumanism in Patricia MacCormack's 'Ahuman Manifesto', which argues for human extinction to end the Anthropocene, cf. MacCormack 2020.

³⁴² See for instance Alberti 2016; Crellin et al. 2021, 120: *'Why should studies that elevate the non-human be any less concerned with power than anthropocentric approaches?'*.

³⁴³ For the ethics of post-humanism and its discontents with the very narrow and unequal definitions of 'the human' in traditional humanism – see especially Braidotti 2013; 2019. For post-anthropocentrism, see Crellin 2021, 121.

³⁴⁴ Something that was for instance also suggested in Hodder 2014.

³⁴⁵ Crellin et al. 2021, 9.

³⁴⁶ *Idem*, 126, drawing specifically on Deleuze 2006, 60 and his reading of Foucault 1979.

from chains and ships to whips and weapons.’³⁴⁷ Investigating the roles and capacities of the different elements of an assemblage – for instance a Hellenistic palace – therefore is not a form of ‘object fetishism’ or a ‘new antiquarianism’ but a radical investigation of the ‘power to’ while still acknowledging the ‘power over’. This idea I will further explore in relation to Hellenistic palaces as assemblages in the next section.

3.3 The Assembled Palace. Towards a post-anthropocentric and post-representational understanding of Hellenistic courts and their vibrant elements

In this section, I will explore how Assemblage Theory can offer new analytical perspectives to the study of Hellenistic palaces and courts in more general terms. I will first broadly outline some characteristics of current scholarship on Hellenistic palaces, emphasising how these architectural structures are generally understood as representational ‘manifestations’ of ‘a monarch’s wealth and power’ that ‘embody the ideas and values of his kingship’.³⁴⁸ I will then explore what a rethinking of such palaces as heterogeneous, non-hierarchical, emergent and vibrant assemblages (see paragraph 3.2.1) can add to our analyses and interpretations of the monumental and highly eclectic nature of these royal residences. I will explore how a turn to the actual (local) and virtual (globalizing) capacities of the elements that make up Hellenistic palaces can help to go *beyond* the representational notions and to become aware of the processes and vibrancy of palaces as glocal assemblages.

Scholarship on Hellenistic palaces has increased considerably over the last three decades or so.³⁴⁹ Known palaces have been re-examined, and new ones have been discovered.³⁵⁰ Overall, the palaces of the Hellenistic period become increasingly experimental and monumental through time, culminating in the innovative eclecticism of Late-Hellenistic palaces.³⁵¹ The formation and functioning of these palatial residences are mostly analysed and understood in the socio-cultural framework of Hellenistic courts and the mechanisms of royal power that constitute such courts.³⁵² Kropp summarizes the main axioms of this general interpretative framework well when he states: ‘Typically, a new king seeks to impress his subjects, satisfy his subordinates, and overshadow his

³⁴⁷ Crellin et al. 2021, 126.

³⁴⁸ Kropp 2013, 94.

³⁴⁹ Lévy 1987; Brands and Hoepfner 1996; Nielsen 1999; Held 2002; Kropp 2013, 93-173.

³⁵⁰ E.g. *Vergina*: Saatsoglu-Paliadeli 2001; *Iraq el-Amir*: Will and Larché 1991. Relatively recent discoveries include, inter alia, *Pella*: Brands and Hoepfner 1996; and the Governor’s palace of *Jebel Khalid*: Clarke 2001.

³⁵¹ See Kropp 2013 for a good overview. For this move towards eclecticism, see Hoepfner 1996, 43: ‘Die architektur der basileia ist anfangs konservativ. Die frühen Paläste zeichnen sich durch hohe Qualität der Bauausführung, aber kaum durch bedeutende Neuerungen aus. (...) ‘Neue Formen und farben prägten den Eklektizismus des Hoch- und Späthellenismus.’

³⁵² Strootman 2014, chapter 3.

*predecessors in magnificence. Royal palaces are a key feature in this visual game of power.*³⁵³ As such, Hellenistic royal palaces are mostly considered as the physical setting of a court, allowing for certain social functions and always subject to 'games of power'. This perspective is greatly indebted to Norbert Elias's classic 1969 *The Court Society*, in which Elias developed a 'sociology of court society', in which he describes the court in the following way: *'At such a 'court' hundreds and often thousands of people were bound together in one place by peculiar restraints which they and outsiders applied to each other and to themselves, as servants, advisers and companions of kings who believed they ruled their countries with absolute power and whose will the fate of all people these people, their rank, their financial support, their rise and fall, depended within certain limits. A more or less fixed hierarchy, a precise etiquette bound them together'*.³⁵⁴ In Elias's definition, the court is primarily a social entity consisting and created by humans, bound together by hierarchies, ideologies of absolute power and the practices of etiquette; the *material* elements of the court - the physical space of the palace, with its own capacities and demands - however remains largely subordinate to these things.

Following from Elias's influential human-centred, social understanding of the court, scholarship dealing with Hellenistic courts has had the strong tendency to ascribe representational roles to palaces, understanding them primarily as symbolic vehicles meant to signal the royal ideology and power of the king.³⁵⁵ Related to this interpretative framework is Inge Nielsen's insistence that in Hellenistic palaces 'form always follows function', suggesting that all palatial forms can be 'read back' to one of nine general 'palatial functions', i.e. official, social, religious, defensive, administrative, service, residential for king, royal family and guests, public and recreational.³⁵⁶ This 'reading back' of palatial residences to ideological concepts and human intentions and functions echoes Ingold's definition of the hylomorphic model of understanding cultural creation. As a consequence, palaces remain static, bounded entities that are strictly reduced to their messages and functions, and are deemed ontologically inferior to their human commissioners and users. Kropp claims: *'the design and decoration of public and semi-public areas of all palaces, such as court rooms, banqueting and reception halls, express ideological messages of legitimation, sacrality and self-aggrandizement (...) Great buildings manifest a monarch's wealth and power, and embody the ideas and values of his kingship'*.³⁵⁷ A fundamental problem with this representational understanding of palatial design and decoration is that it leads to an approach in which the

³⁵³ Kropp 2013, 94. See also Kropp 2013, 348: *'The universal rationale of absolute monarchy, whereby wealth and power needed to be displayed ostentatiously in order to inspire awe and respect.'*

³⁵⁴ Elias 1969, 35.

³⁵⁵ E.g. Kopsacheili 2011; Kropp 2013; Strootman 2014.

³⁵⁶ Nielsen 1999.

³⁵⁷ Kropp 2013, 94.

'deciphering' of the messages is solely determined by the socio-cultural context.³⁵⁸ As such, object meaning is always determined by an external, human sphere that completely exhausts the objects under study (e.g. the palace's design and decoration). The point that I try to make in this section is *not* that objects are *never* manifestations of royal power and embodiments of ideas. Rather, I want to explore whether there is also analytical room to consider palaces and their constituent elements as more-than-representational, asking whether the design and decoration of palaces also did something else *besides* 'expressing ideological messages' and participating in 'visual games of power'.³⁵⁹ Can we consider power to be distributed across the heterogeneous assemblage (following Deleuze and Crellin), not owned by humans or non-humans, but rather emerging from the relations between its different components? Can we allow for the 'power to' of non-human elements in a palace?³⁶⁰

What if we rethink Hellenistic palaces and courts as assemblages that are heterogeneous, non-hierarchical, emergent and vibrant instead of solely representational? What would such a relational, post-anthropocentric, post-humanist, truly New Materialist approach to Hellenistic palaces look like? In theoretical studies of architecture, New Materialist approaches have already been enthusiastically adopted³⁶¹, a trend that is particularly well captured and further developed in the 2019 edited volume *Elements of Architecture* by Mikkel Bille and Tim Flohr Sørensen.³⁶² The manifold ways this book investigates and operationalizes the book's analytical starting point – i.e. '*architecture is the assemblage of elements*'³⁶³ – provide promising new avenues of analysis for the study of Hellenistic palaces as well. The editors emphasize time and again how 'assemblage thinking' frees studies of architecture from the limiting and sometimes intellectually suffocating interpretative frameworks that retain reductive, static and dualistic understandings of such

³⁵⁸ See for instance Kropp 2013, 93: 'In order to "decipher" such messages of the architecture, it is necessary to explore the cultural background of its makers and consumers'.

³⁵⁹ Note that Irene Winter claims that 'Any study of the palace, whatever its historical period, is fundamentally linked to the concepts of authority and rule' (Winter 1993, 36). Zaineb Bahrani rightfully challenges this claim when she states that this type of approach 'continues to equate serious theoretical discussion exclusively with the idea of reducing social practices in Near Eastern antiquity to practices in the service of royal power and overt propaganda.' (Bahrani 2014, 34).

³⁶⁰ I follow Rachel Crellin's suggestion that power does not reside with a single idea or person but rather is the emergent quality of a heterogeneous network: '*power does not rest with the monarchy but in relations between flags, anthems, postage stamps, parliament, bank notes, and newspaper front pages. The importance of the monarchy can change; newspapers print stories about scandals or extravagant spending, the flow of power shifts direction and intensity; this in turn elevates some components at the expense of others and thereby shifts public opinion, the relations between monarchy and the public change as people come to think differently of a member of the royal family. Whilst the power in one part of the assemblage is changing elsewhere, other components remain stable: the flags still fly, the Queen's head is still on the postage stamps and coins, and Buckingham Palace remains.*' (Crellin 2021, 126).

³⁶¹ Introduced (again) by Ingold 2013, who warned for approaches to architecture that turn 'building' from verb into a noun, from an active process to a passive object (Ingold 2013, 47).

³⁶² Bille and Sørensen 2016, 3: '*architecture as a process and as a sensory and affective experience, enabling, rather than merely reflecting ideas, hopes, practices, politics, economy and social life*'

³⁶³ *Ibidem*.

architecture: *'architecture is rarely – if ever – a socially and functionally compartmentalised occurrence. A focus on the continuous practices and heterogeneous performances of tangible and intangible elements of architecture goes to show precisely this point'*.³⁶⁴ Bille and Sørensen's call for a focus on *'the heterogeneous performances of tangible and intangible elements of architecture'* echoes strongly with Jane Bennett's turn to 'the vibrancy of matter' and Crellin's attention for the 'power to'-aspect of elements. It is exactly this kind of perspective that I want to pursue here with regards to Hellenistic palaces, not in the least because their increased eclecticism in the Late-Hellenistic period is probably better understood by looking at its impact than by reducing it to the static 'visual games of power' mentioned by Andreas Kropp (as discussed in paragraph 2.3).

New types of questions concerning the nature of Hellenistic palaces thus emerge: what are these kinds of 'continuous processes' that elements of Hellenistic palaces were caught up in?; What role do these tangible and intangible elements have to play? A turn to these questions requires us to radically rethink Hellenistic palaces as heterogeneous, non-hierarchical, emergent and vibrant assemblages (see 3.2.1). I single out the notion of 'vibrancy' to now start building up a methodology to investigate these 'assembled palaces' because I believe that, from the conceptual toolbox of New Materialism, this concept has the most analytical power. A focus on the vibrancy of elements of a palace urges us to question the different types of processes and relational capacities that such elements were caught up in. I make this more concrete by distinguishing between different types of vibrancies, that can in fact be researched for every object or (palatial) assemblage, namely their 1) material vibrancy, 2) sensorial vibrancy, 3) vibrancy through alterity and their 4) vibrancy through virtual glocal relations. It should be remarked that I do not intend these four types of vibrancy to be an exhaustive or mutually exclusive conceptual taxonomy; they overlap and are related, forming an emergent assemblage themselves. Importantly, these four types of vibrancy will return as the four methodological proxies with which I study the object transformation (including the palace) in 4th c. BCE-1st c. CE Samosata (see 3.4 and chapter 7). In the following, I will illustrate the analytical potential of thinking in terms of these vibrancies by exploratively applying them to some well-known Hellenistic palaces.

3.3.1 Material vibrancy

A first type of ongoing processes we can investigate for elements of Hellenistic palaces are their *tangible, material vibrancies*, specifically the properties of the materials with which palaces are made. Karen Barad has made us aware that the experiential qualities of materials (e.g. their colour, hardness) are relational *'but they do not only become attached to other things, but also come to*

³⁶⁴ Bille and Sørensen 2016, 6.

define them, they are central to the emergence of these things'.³⁶⁵ This opens up a perspective to Hellenistic palaces that looks at the processual and relational capacities of its materials, asking questions, for instance, about the possibilities and demands that mud-brick walls or limestone floors are engaged in, what flowing water affords, or how the colour of an object defines and constitutes that object.³⁶⁶ At the famous Hellenistic Qasr el-Abd of Iraq el-Amir, we might ask what the white stone, mentioned explicitly in a description by Flavius Josephus (*ek lithou leukou*), defined the palace itself.³⁶⁷ What was enabled and restricted by the water in the moat around it? How did *opus caementicium* allow for new forms (cupolas, domes, vaults) in Herod's Third Palace at Jericho and how was the need for Herod's eclectic experimentation nourished by the capacities of this material?³⁶⁸ How did the ongoing flooding potential of the Wadi at Jericho impact the palaces around it? What was the impact of the '*variety of the stones*'³⁶⁹ Josephus describes for the palace of Jerusalem? How were the sandstone columns and painted stucco of the northern knife-edge of the northern palace of Masada, with its *belvedere* and *tholos*, affected by wind and rain; how severely did they erode and discolour?³⁷⁰

3.3.2 Sensorial vibrancy

This materiality perspective to the ongoing vibrancy of elements in Hellenistic palaces is furthermore strongly connected to questions about the *multi-sensorial capacities* of an assemblage. This approach was particularly developed for archaeology by Yannis Hamilakis, who criticized overtly DeLandian understandings of Assemblages Theory as being too much rooted in modernist sociological thinking (e.g. Max Weber and Erwin Goffman), arguing that this made them too mechanical and systemic, not allowing for the messier, experiential and sensorial aspects of life and matter.³⁷¹ This focus on sensoriality in assemblages resonate well with the ethical considerations discussed earlier in this chapter, as Hamilakis' 'sensorial assemblages' or 'multi-sensorial fields', consist of both non-human and human elements, and allows for investigations of the ways that power is distributed along the relations of its assemblage, and not merely 'owned' by a royal commissioner.³⁷² Sensorial assemblages are defined by Hamilakis as '*the contingent co-presence of heterogeneous elements such as bodies, things, substances, affects, memories, information, and ideas. Sensorial flows and exchanges are part of this sensorial assemblage and at*

³⁶⁵ Harris 2021, 35, referring to Barad 2007.

³⁶⁶ See Ingold 2007 for the relational and processual properties of objects. For a good example see Van Oyen 2016, 11-32, reflecting on the redness of terra sigillata.

³⁶⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 12.230 – 33. For the Qasr el-Abd, see Will and Larché 1991.

³⁶⁸ For the Third palace of Jericho see Netzer 2001, 93-100.

³⁶⁹ Joseph. *BJ* 5.176 -81.

³⁷⁰ For the northern palace of Masada see Netzer 1991, 115-124.

³⁷¹ Hamilakis 2013; 2017.

³⁷² *Idem*, 111: '*Sensorial assemblages produce place and locality through evocative, affective, and mnemonic performances and interactions. At the same time, natural or human-made features in these localities, permanent or not, or buildings and architecture, can become part of sensorial assemblages.*'

*the same time the “glue” that holds it together’.*³⁷³ Multi-sensoriality of palatial elements points our attention to the intricate and constantly ongoing and shifting combinations of olfactory sensations (e.g. the smell of burning oil lamps), tactility (e.g. narrow corridors; the structure of a tessellated mosaic), vision (e.g. how geometric patterns slow down the eye and the mind³⁷⁴), audial sensations (e.g. the acoustics of an inner court, the silence of a secluded room) but for instance also memorial sensations (e.g. how a place or object with much time-depth allows for multi-temporality and conflicting or channelled memorialization³⁷⁵). Together, these multi-sensorial fields can function as a form of bio-politics or ‘sensorial regimes’ that have a certain degree of duration and therewith suppress or enable, limit or empower specific individuals.³⁷⁶ Hamilakis makes us aware that there is room for cynicism with regards to such bio-politics: *‘a ‘palatial’ building can be a component of a sensorial assemblage where authorities attempt (often unsuccessfully) to establish specific sensorial regimes, and a distinctive, power-laden bio-political and consensual order. These attempts do not go unchallenged by the various participants in these sensorial assemblages.’*³⁷⁷ These considerations raise a plethora of new approaches to Hellenistic palaces; what kind of multi-sensorial regimes were for instance shaped by the many pools and bathrooms of Hasmonaean palaces?³⁷⁸; how did the physical experience of ascending the imposing rock of Masada produce a sensorial memory, and how were such bio-politics challenged?; how did the smells of the gardens at Jericho determine the specific sensorial fields of each different palace?; and how did the vibrancy of flowers growing in the western peristyle court of Jericho’s Third Palace enter into complex sensorial relations with the abstracted floral motifs of its painted stucco walls?³⁷⁹

³⁷³ Hamilakis 2013, 126.

³⁷⁴ Gell 1998.

³⁷⁵ A good example for a place with a lot of time-depth is of course Eski Samsat, with which I started this dissertation (see the introduction). I argued there that the destruction of such a multi-temporal site (with pasts that endure) also means the *de facto* erasure of historical worlds. Hamilakis reminds us that this type of mnemo-politics is always also a multi-sensorial matter.

³⁷⁶ Hamilakis 2013, 111: *‘Such devices produce distinctive sensorial affordances, and often regulate and regiment sensorial experience and interaction. A settlement or a city, a monumental structure, a temple or sanctuary, a ‘palatial’ building can be a component of a sensorial assemblage where authorities attempt (often unsuccessfully) to establish specific sensorial regimes, and a distinctive, power-laden bio-political and consensual order. These attempts do not go unchallenged by the various participants in these sensorial assemblages.’*

³⁷⁷ Hamilakis 2013, 127.

³⁷⁸ Netzer 1975, 74-76.

³⁷⁹ For the flowers of the western peristyle court, where seven rows of twelve flower pots were found, see Gleason 1993; Nielsen 2001, 180. For the wall painting, see Netzer 2001, 250-251.

3.3.3 Vibrancy through radical alterity

A less tangible, but still very actual type of ongoing object capacities is that of bringing in 'radical alterity'; aspects of palatial elements that introduce highly different modes of 'existence' and therefore prove to be vibrant and transformative.³⁸⁰ Colours, styles, materials, concepts, figurative modes, and multi-sensorial fields can all be radically different, unsettling, shocking and shaking the foundations of the pre-existing ontologies in which they appear.³⁸¹ This implies an approach to objects as if they are new, encountered for the first time or considered a constitutive part of ontological change. The often highly experimental and eclectic nature of Hellenistic palaces are the ideal context to pursue such questions. What radical alterity did the 'animals of gigantic size' at the façade of the Qasr el-Abd of Iraq el-Amir for instance bring forth?³⁸² How radically new was the introduction of figurative painted stucco in Jebel Khalid?³⁸³ How was the presence of naturalistic sculpted decoration in the architectural decoration of the 'Dionysian Hall' of Nabatean Beidha - with its Ionic capitals with heads, Medusa heads in the abaci, and elephant heads in the place of volutes - actively altering the ontological status of representation in this region?³⁸⁴

3.3.4 Vibrancy through glocal relations

A non-tangible and perhaps even virtual capacity of elements, affecting another type of vibrancy of Hellenistic Palaces as assemblages, are their glocal relations; the ways that object types exist beyond a strictly local level only. The ongoing globalizing processes of universalization and particularization of object types throughout Hellenistic-period Afro-Eurasia caused the virtual relations of objects to always be in flux. As such, individual elements of Hellenistic palaces in part also derived their vibrancy from their virtual and glocal relations with other objects of the same types.³⁸⁵ For this notion I draw first of all on the work of Chris Gosden, whose seminal 2005 article '*What do Objects Want?*' itself drew on Clarke's famous notion of 'battleship curves'³⁸⁶ and Gell's notion of an 'inter-artefactual domain'.³⁸⁷ Gosden made a compelling argument for the importance

³⁸⁰ For alterity, see Holbraad and Pedersen 2017.

³⁸¹ An approach also taken in Bahrani 2014, who frames art objects in the Near East as emergent 'time-travellers', infinite images that can effect change through their alterity.

³⁸² Joseph. *AJ* 12.230 - 33. Kropp 2013, 100.

³⁸³ Jackson 2016.

³⁸⁴ Bikai et al. 2008.

³⁸⁵ For this notion, see also Versluys 2014, who argues that objects, through their globalizing relations, are always 'in motion', even when encountered as static that objects.

³⁸⁶ Clarke 1978.

³⁸⁷ Gell 1998, 215 with an analysis of the inter-artefactual domain of Maori meeting houses that only change according to the '*principle of least difference*'. See also Gell 216: '*Culture may dictate the practical and/or symbolic significance of artefacts, and their iconographic interpretation; but the only factor which governs the visual appearance of artefacts is their relationship to other artefacts in the same style. Visual culture is an autonomous domain in the sense that it is only definable in terms of relationships between artefacts and other*

of the way that groups of related objects *en masse* produce 'stylistic universes' that affect producers and users of new objects, being bound to the canons and demands of such object-types.³⁸⁸ Gosden realized that such perpetuated forms added to and altered these universes through simultaneous processes of standardization and particularization, notions that pleasantly overlap with concepts developed in globalization theory (universalization and particularization). Through such processes, a dynamic genealogy of standardized but not static form-types emerged and with these standardized (or 'canonized') object-types also other things were perpetuated, especially the specific capacities (or, in Gosden's terms 'obligations' and 'requirements') that an object-type afforded.³⁸⁹ Recently, the New Materialist archaeologist and theorist Chris Fowler has made similar arguments by suggesting that object-types and their genealogies function as assemblages, existing as a relational group of objects that is emergent, dynamic but also, to some extent, enduring.³⁹⁰ Fowler notices that, while every new local and actual particularization of an object type is a unique 'rearticulation' of the virtual, globalized assemblage, creating a 'momentary presence', this rearticulation does not necessarily change the inter-artefactual assemblage completely at once; in other words: while these standardized object-types should not be understood as static and essential, they nonetheless can have endurance.³⁹¹ This means that individual objects never only exist in their actual local relations ('present in the world'); they were

artefacts; it is a mistake to think of 'culture' as a kind of 'head office' which decrees, on the one hand, what form political competition will assume, and on the other, what artefacts will look like. Artefacts are shaped in the 'inter-artefactual domain', obeying the immanent injunctions governing formal stylistic relationships among artefacts, not in response to external injunctions from some imaginary 'head office'. Gosden reflects on Gell: *'Although he doesn't explore the conceptual implications of this idea, Gell's view that artefacts form a world with its own logics somewhat independent of human intentions is vital in demonstrating that there might be many cases in which forms of abstract thought and mental representation take the shape suggested by objects, rather than objects simply manifesting pre-existing forms of thought.'* (Gosden 2005, 196).

³⁸⁸ Gosden 2005, 194: *'the ways styles of objects set up universes of their own into which people need to fit.'* See also Pitts 2019, 14-16.

³⁸⁹ Gosden 2005, 194: *'Objects produced within a recognizable set of forms and styles have influences on the ways in which people make and use them.'* Crucially for the purpose of this dissertation, I believe Gosden's use of the word 'style' is not applicable to the category of 'things Greek' (see the previous chapter) as he is not interested in culture styles but rather in groups of objects that are related in terms of their form. While a 'tessellated mosaic with concentric border decoration' exists in an inter-artefactual domain as its execution was channelled and constrained by the standardization of its form and object-type, a similar argument cannot be made for the much more elusive *conceptual* category of 'things Greek'; it is impossible to say what formal obligations 'things Greek' imposed on new 'things Greek' as there are no clear formal characteristics of 'things Greek'.

³⁹⁰ Fowler 2013; 2014. See especially Fowler 2017, 95: *'typologies are not constraints to the appreciation of distinctiveness, difference and relationality in the past, but can rather form an important tool in detecting those relations and making sense of different past ways of becoming. Artefacts are assemblages and so are types of artefacts.'* See also Fowler and Harris 2015, 130: *'A group of pots of the same type are just as real – and as relational – as any single pot. (...) The point is that, for archaeologists at least, classification need not separate a thing from its relations, but can rather identify some of the key relations that endure.'*

³⁹¹ Fowler 2013, 252: *'The rearticulation of assemblages continually produces momentary presents out of these pasts; but such rearticulations do not change everything at once.'*

also caught up (or '*territorializing*'³⁹²) into more-than-local assemblages of virtual relations ('real but not actual').³⁹³

Acknowledging the virtual, more-than-local (glocal) relations of objects as existing within such object-type assemblages is another way of investigating the vibrancy of matter.³⁹⁴ From these considerations follow that we can investigate the genealogies of palatial elements and consider how these virtual, inter-artefactual assemblages were developing through time and space. We might for instance ask how the genealogy of tessellated concentric border mosaics shaped their occurrence in the Western palace of Masada and how its aniconic particularization meant a strong deviation from the inter-artefactual assemblage.³⁹⁵ Another example of such virtual relations in Hellenistic palaces is the very standardized 'Masonry Style painting', an inter-artefactual assemblage that channelled and constrained its adoption for instance in the royal palace of Petra.³⁹⁶

The four types of 'vibrancy' of elements of Hellenistic palace assemblages explored above open up a lot of analytical room to go beyond anthropocentric and representational approaches and

³⁹² Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 307.

³⁹³ The distinction between *actual* and *virtual* relations is made by Deleuze: '*the virtual is not opposed to the real, but to the actual*' (Deleuze 2004, 260). In relation to archaeology, Oliver Harris comments: '*the notion of a virtual shaped by history allows us to think about how capacities to act endure, without having to reject the relational existence of the world.*' (Crellin et al. 2021, 45(Harris)). Bille and Sørensen make a similar claim for the importance of exploring the less presentist, actual aspects of architecture, something they call 'entering into the fog of architecture': '*we believe that there is still a pressing need to, also beyond archaeological approaches to architecture, for complementing the presentist bias on the tangible with attention to intangible and ontologically vague phenomena tinturing people's lives. Beyond the steel framework of a building, we need to enter into the fog of architecture and adopt the ontologically indistinct as the starting point for tracing the connections shaping the tangible and intangible aspects of human lives*' (Bille and Sørensen 2016, 3). Harris further explores the multi-scalar character of assemblages in Harris 2017, 127, where he concludes that any attempt to privilege a single scale is always reductionist. Note that this position stands in stark contrast to the axioms of especially post-processualist archaeologists, who often consider such larger 'virtual' scales as merely human inventions, artificial concepts that are imposed onto 'reality' in a top-down manner. This very dualist epistemology (of local material reality versus subjective human concepts) is not desired for in assemblage thinking, which has as a key characteristic a commitment to realism (see paragraph 3.1 of this dissertation and DeLanda 2002, 4). Harris shows how assemblages offer '*new ways of thinking about archaeological categories as neither externally imposed reifications, nor simply internally defined essential historical truths*' (Harris 2017, 128). See also Crellin et al. 2021, 43 (Harris). The notion of the 'virtual' is also at odds with Latour's ANT, as there the nodes in the network are solely defined by their *actual* relations, something especially criticized by Harman, who uses the notion of 'potentiality' to deal with object qualities that are not necessarily currently activated. Cf. Harman, 2009, 75. His use of the word 'potentiality' however relies heavily on the notion of the 'withdrawn object', a form of un-relational essentialism that is not suitable for historical analysis as it has an ahistorical character. Following Crellin et al. 2021, I use the word 'capacities' to indicate the relational qualities of objects in an assemblage.

³⁹⁴ Harris summarizes this relation between virtual relations and vibrant emergence by pointing out how the virtual '*captures the space of potentials that exist in the process of becoming through which things emerge*'. (Harris 2017, 135).

³⁹⁵ For Herod's aniconism, see Kropp 2013, 148-152.

³⁹⁶ E.g. Joukowsky 2007.

understandings of these palaces. Rather than culturally labelling the elements that make up these palaces, or ‘reading them back’ to human intentions and royal ideologies (Ingold’s *hylomorphic* model), I have here explored a *morphogenic* approach, reading forward, along with the processes of object capacities, toward palaces as heterogeneous, non-hierarchical, emergent and vibrant assemblages. This implies allowing for the multifarious and multi-scalar character of object assemblages, their actuality as well as their virtuality, their glocal and relational genealogy, their ‘radical alterity’ and their participation in sensorial fields. The elements that Hellenistic palaces consisted of were anything but static; they were vibrant and in a constant state of becoming.

3.4. Methodology: vibrant objectscales and glocal genealogies

In the remainder of this chapter, I will briefly explain how this dissertation will employ the theoretical positioning developed in the previous sections to the context of the palace of Samosata. One might in fact read the overall dissertation in a morphogenic way, successively territorializing, assembling first the archaeological elements of Hellenistic-Early Roman Samosata (its architecture, architectural decoration and sculptural evidence, in chapters 4, 5 and 6), and subsequently bundling and applying the notion of assemblages and vibrancies in chapters 7-10. Acknowledging that assemblages are multi-scalar, two slightly overlapping types of assemblages will be considered³⁹⁷: first, in chapter 7, the relatively synchronous and actual ‘vibrant objectscales’, and, second, in chapters 8-10, the more diachronic and virtual ‘glocal genealogies’. I will elaborate on the ways I will investigate these two types of assemblages in the following paragraphs.

3.4.1 Vibrant objectscales

In chapter 7, I will consider four consecutive ‘objectscales’ of Hellenistic and ‘early Roman’ Samosata. Such objectscales are a type of assemblages that comprise of ‘*the repertoires of objects at hand in a given locality in a particular historical moment*’.³⁹⁸ By studying the sequencing of

³⁹⁷ Such overlapping is inevitable because, as Chris Fowler claimed, ‘*Assemblages occur at varying scales of space and time, intersect, and can bleed into one another*’ (Fowler 2017, 96).

³⁹⁸ Pitts 2019, 7. For objectscales, see Versluys 2017b; Pitts 2019, 7–19; Pitts and Versluys 2021. Pitts 2019 is the most in-depth application of the objectscale methodology as of yet. In his impressive monograph ‘*The Roman Object Revolution*’, Pitts investigates the impact of the boom of standardized objects in northwest Europe during 100 BCE–100 CE in terms of shifting objectscales, using a dataset of thousands of objects, mostly pertaining to funerary contexts. Through the lens of objectscales, Pitts is capable to discern how increased object standardization allowed for pan-regional societal convergence in Gallia Belgica, southern Britannia and Germania Inferior, with a punctuation in the adoption of standardized objects with Mediterranean genealogies during the Augustan period – a true ‘revolution’. Crucially, his approach illustrates how objectscale-thinking provides a way out from problematic acculturative narratives of

multiple succeeding 'objectscapes' in the same locality, one can first of all 'map' cultural changes in a locality in terms of its material transformations; it makes it possible to contextualize the palace in the archaeological and diachronic context of the site. As such, this part of the methodology is not necessarily much different from conventional archaeological diachronic narratives, albeit explicitly focused on the objects of these changes, and not on their representational aspects. However, investigating objectscales also allows for an investigation of the nature of these material transformations, asking what exactly changed and, more importantly, *how* the different elements of these objectscales contributed to this change as vibrant historical actors.

This will be done by analysing every objectscale according to four 'proxies' that investigate different relational capacities. These four types of object vibrancy have been discussed in depth in the previous section (3.3) and consist of 1) temporal and geographical genealogies (investigating the vibrancy of glocal relations); 2) materials and colours (investigating the vibrancy of materials and their relational capacities); 3) sensorial capacities (investigating the vibrancy of matter through the multi-sensorial capacities of objects and their place in 'sensorial regimes'); and 4) radical alterity and representation (investigating the vibrancy of 'ontologically unsettling' objects). These proxies help to investigate object-change in Samosata from a post-representational and post-anthropocentric perspective, shedding light on the emergence and affect of these assemblages, while giving non-human elements their due.³⁹⁹ It situates the palace of Samosata in the context of that change by investigating the sequencing of four objectscales in Samosata that together span a period between ca. the 4th c. BCE and the 1st c. CE. These consists of the 4th-2nd c. BCE pre-palatial objectscale (section 7.2); the early 1st c. BCE early palatial

cultural change ('romanization') and representational understandings of objects. Note that both Pitts and Versluys consider objectscales as something distinct from assemblages: '*Unlike the archaeological notion of the assemblage, which consists of a discrete, quantifiable and static group of objects that share an archaeological context, an objectscale comprises a dynamic repertoire of objects in motion*' (Pitts and Versluys 2021, 368). Their definition of assemblages however is solely applicable to the conventional use of the word 'assemblage' in modernist archaeology (for which, see Hamilakis and Jones 2017, 80 and paragraph 3.2.2 of this dissertation), and does not apply at all to the New Materialist, 'Deleuzian' assemblages that I employ here. Therefore, I believe objectscales can in fact be considered a specific type of New Materialist assemblages because both are focused on the gathering of heterogeneous elements from which emerges something that is 'more than the sum of its parts'; they are both about process and change; and can exist on a variety of scales (although, unlike objectscales, assemblages can also exist on the object-scale itself – an object as an assemblage – and much 'below' it, down to its very atoms, electrons and neutrons, cf. Barad 2007). Objectscales, as the name implies, is furthermore focused primarily on the non-human aspect of assemblages ('*non-human agents*', cf. Pitts and Versluys 2021, 367), which makes them suitable as an archaeological methodology, but too dualistic for a theoretical framework – in which case it would have more affinities with Hodder's entanglement or symmetrical archaeology (indeed referred to in Pitts 2019, 7) than with the post-dualism of New Materialism.

³⁹⁹ This resonates well with the general scope of the objectscales methodology, cf. Pitts 2019, 8: '*Prioritising this relationality fosters better understandings of what objects did in the past, helping to evade the partial representational logic in many archaeological studies in which objects are reduced to proxies for abstract processes (e.g. Romanisation) or social categories (e.g. ethnicities and identities).*'

objectscape (section 7.3); the mid-late 1st c. BCE later palatial objectscape (section 7.4); and the 1st c. CE post-palatial objectscape (section 7.5).

3.4.2 Glocal genealogies

Whereas chapter 7 focuses on changing objectscales and considers the genealogical aspect of its elements *only* as one of four proxies to explore the vibrancy of the objectscale, chapter 8-10 investigates such object type genealogies in much more detail, focusing on the role such inter-artefactual assemblages have for the affect and vibrant impact of individual objects. These chapters then present three case studies of different elements that make up the palace, namely a geometric decorative motif (the 'crenellation motif'), a figurative decoration (the 'mask mosaic'), and an architectural lay-out (the 'symmetrical suite').

In each of these case studies, the first part of the analysis is focused on the standardizing, universalizing object-type that the individual object in Samosata belongs to. Following the ideas of Chris Fowler (see paragraph 3.3.4), I understand these standardized object types as virtual assemblages, that define and are defined by their particularized re-articulations. Each case study traces the glocal genealogy of these object-types, resulting in a diachronic narrative of universalization and particularization of the object under scrutiny. For each particularized re-articulation of these object types, it will be investigated how they adhered to or deviated from the standardizing object type. Underlying these object type genealogies, then, are questions about the endurance of object-types, their impact on an individual, actualized level and the ways in which these re-articulations alter the object-type in turn.⁴⁰⁰ By approximating the dynamic emergence of an object type, it becomes clear how the particularized, crenellation motif, mask mosaic, and 'symmetrical suite' in the palace of Samosata adhered to the standardized object type, and thus were shaped by their virtual relations. At the same time, it becomes clear how these particularized re-articulations also deviated from the standardized types they were related to, thus altering the inter-artefactual assemblage itself. In the second part of each of these three genealogical case studies, we take this analysis one step further, moving, as it were, from interpretation to 'analytical exploration', asking what the further implications of such relationality might have been. What type of capacities might these object-types have acquired through their glocal genealogies? And how might they have been transformative and vibrant in the context of the palace of Samosata?

⁴⁰⁰ The need for such an analysis in archaeology is also formulated by Fowler and Harris 2015, 135: '*What is also needed, however, is an appreciation of the history of the entities producing relations and entities emerging from relations; precise histories for all the elements in the phenomenon. What we require, therefore, is an approach capable of dealing with both episodes of being and the dynamics of becoming, and one that reveals the work required to reveal either configuration.*'

Chapter 4. Archaeological description and discussion.

4.1 Introduction

Before this thesis arrives at interpretative questions about the vibrancy of objects and their global genealogies, it first starts assembling the palace of Samosata by bringing together and analyzing the legacy data pertaining to the excavations by Nimet Özgüç (chapters 4-6). To this end, this chapter provides a detailed description and discussion of the archaeological features in sector i-n/13-19, in periodic layers III-V on the *höyük* of Samosata. This includes periodic layer IV, to which the palatial structure was assigned. A close analysis of the available legacy data, deriving from the Özgüç Archive, makes it possible to provide a much more fine-grained account of its archaeological character compared to the earlier publications by Özgüç, Bingöl and Zoroğlu. Due to the nature of the available legacy data, the descriptions and analyses are especially focused on architectural features such as walls, floors and installations.

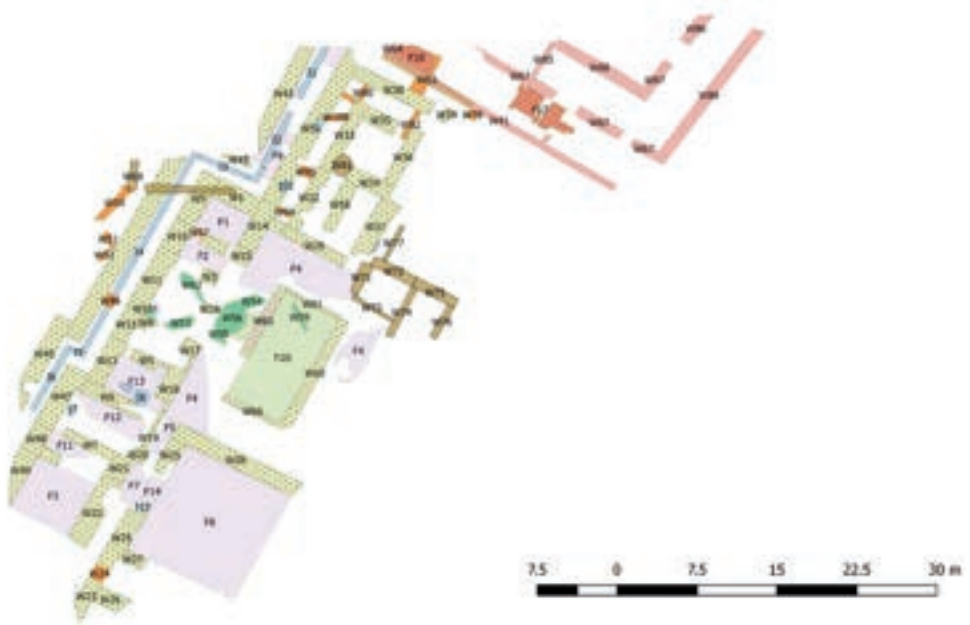


Fig. 4.1. Map of archaeological units in sector i-n/13-19, with layers II (in brown), III (in orange), IV (in red), V (the palace, with walls in dotted yellow, floors in purple and installations in blue) and VI (in green). For a bigger version, see appendix D, map D1. Figure by the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).

The descriptions and discussions of this chapter are based on an integration of the photographic evidence (Appendix A) with the available maps, sketches and drawings (Appendix B) as well as the 1984 excavation report (Appendix C) and, lastly, the publications by Özgüç, Bingöl and Zoroğlu.⁴⁰¹ By assigning feature numbers to the walls, floors and installations documented in these four source types and using these features as the basis for the new QGIS maps, a much more detailed account of the palatial structure and its (stratigraphic) context can be provided. To fully appreciate the new level of detail, the descriptions and discussions in this chapter should therefore be read in close relation to especially catalogue A (the pictures) and the newly developed maps (Appendix D, see also fig. 4.1). This integration of the legacy data makes it possible to provide detailed descriptions of separate features and to link these to the photos and maps. Such descriptions in turn allow for discussions concerning the architectural make-up and lay-out of the palatial structure, its accessibility and routes of movement, as well as the stratigraphic sequencing of its features. It also is the first time that the decorative elements of the palatial structure, especially its wall painting and mosaic floors, can be described in their spatial context, making it much easier to contextualize them than was the case in the more stylistic descriptions offered, for example, in Bingöl's 1997 and 2013 publications.

The descriptions in section 4.2 start off with paragraph 4.2.1, an in-depth account of the wall features (labelled as *W1*, *W2*, *W3* etc.) in sector i-n/13-19 in layers III-V, providing the available or inferable information about their masonry type, their size, their location, their orientation, their state of preservation, their relative and absolute heights, their stratigraphic relations, the availability of entrances and, if present, the character of their decoration. In each case, mention is made of all the pictures from appendix A where this particular feature is visible and indicated. In paragraph 4.2.2, the same type of description is provided for the floor features (labelled as *F1*, *F2*, *F3* etc.) in the same sectors. In paragraph 4.2.3, I describe a more miscellaneous category of features under the heading of 'installations' (labelled as *I1*, *I2*, *I3* etc.), which comprise drainages, statue bases, altars and more.

The discussions of section 4.3 are intended to synthesize and analyze in more depth the data presented in section 4.2, starting with a detailed account of the lay-out of the palatial structure, describing its spaces and entrances (paragraph 4.3.1).⁴⁰² This newly proposed interpretation of the lay-out and its spaces deviates in significant ways from the previously proposed interpretations, which I will elaborate on more in this section. In paragraph 4.3.2, I discuss the existence of different 'elevation zones' in the palatial structure, illuminating the use of 'micro-terracing' in the construction of the palace. By integrating the different elevation systems on

⁴⁰¹ Especially Zoroğlu 2000, 2012; Özgüç 2009; and Bingöl 2013.

⁴⁰² For those readers less interested in detailed wall and floor descriptions, it is advised to skip to this section directly.

different field drawings, sketches, and published maps, and standardizing these, it is possible to now provide an overall idea of the absolute heights throughout the palatial structure. I discuss to what extent the different 'elevation zones' also seem to function as separate zones in the palace in terms of accessibility, decoration and overall character. In paragraph 4.3.3, the evidence for roofing in the palatial structure is discussed. Not much archaeological evidence is available but, on the basis of some contextual indications and some parallels, new hypotheses can be formulated for the presence of a roof in room XIV and the absence of a roof in corridor B. In paragraph 4.3.4, earlier scholarly claims about the presence of staircases and multiple floors in the palatial complex are critically discussed. In paragraph 4.3.5, I discuss the evidence for later additions and reparations, suggesting that the palatial structure is likely to have undergone at least one more phase of embellishment and restructuring after its construction. In 4.3.6, I discuss the interpretation of the building as a palace. In paragraph 4.3.7, lastly, I discuss the issue of the structure's dating, both concerning its construction and its abandonment and/or destruction.

4.2 Description of archaeological features in sector i-n/13-19

4.2.1 Walls



W1 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,90 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It has been preserved up to 1,86 m. high in the NW, sloping down gently towards the SE. No traces of plaster or wall painting were

associated with W1. W1 connects to W9 in the NW and W14 in the E. W69 covers W1 and is thus later. In the SW, F1 seems to abut W1.

Absolute height: 448,28 m.⁴⁰³

Figures appendix A: I/IX/X/XLVI/XXIV/LV/LVI/LIX/LXVII/LXXX/LXXXI/LXXXIII/CXXI.



W2 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,15 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It has been preserved up to 1,38 m. in height. It has an entrance in the west of ca. 1,00 m. and another opening in the east of ca. 0,60 m., both indicated by stone slabs. Traces of wall painting were found in the centre of its southern facing in room II, consisting of alternating red and yellow vertical orthostats.⁴⁰⁴ W2 connects to W10 in the NW and W15 in the SE. W57 is placed against W2, blocking off the eastern entrance, and thus must be later. It seems that F2 abuts W2 in the SW and it is likely that F1 abuts W2 in the NE.

Absolute height: 447,80 m.

Figures appendix A: I/IV/VII/IX/X/XXVII/XXVIII/XXXIV/XLIII/XLVI/LVI/LIX/LXXXI/LXXXIII.

⁴⁰³ In some cases, absolute heights were not available and the relative heights of the features is estimated on the basis of the pictures (indicated by 'ca.' in the description).

⁴⁰⁴ Bingöl 2013, 28 fig. 23–24.



W3 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,20 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. Its preservation at the time of excavation was very bad; almost nothing was preserved. Only one layer of stones remained in the southeast section of the wall (with a length of ca. 1,50 m.), while a small protrusion of W10 may indicate the wall's northwest connection to W10. The clearly defined limit of F2, the checkerboard mosaic of room II, seems to indicate that it ran up to W3, but it cannot be excluded that an opening similar to those in W2 was present, providing entrance from room II to room III. No traces of plaster or wall painting are associated with W3. W3 seems to connect to W11 in the NW and W16 in the SE. F2 likely abutted W3. W62 likely runs below W3.

Figures appendix A: I/IV.



W4 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,30 m.), running in a NW-SE direction. It was preserved only in its NW part (length ca. 1,60 m.), where it reached ca. 40 m. in height. The entire central and SE part of the wall were not preserved. It is likely that an entrance connecting rooms III and IV was present in the SE part of W4. No traces of plaster or wall painting are associated with W4. W4 connects to W12. Its stratigraphic relation to W17 is unclear. Both W101 and W102 seem to run below W4.

Figures appendix A: I/VII/X/XXXVII/XXXVIII/LII/LIX.



W5 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,20 m.), running in a NW-SE direction. It was preserved up to ca. 1,00 m. in the NW, sloping down steeply towards the SE. It is likely that it originally contained an entrance both in the NW and the SE, comparable to W2. The entrance in the NW was probably filled with a later collapse and hence not recognized during excavation. The entrance in the SE is recognizable through the continuation of F13 but at some point closed with a SE extension of W5 consisting of mudbrick. Traces of plaster and painted decoration were found on the NE side of W5 in room IV, including on the extension. These wall paintings consist of a lower row of horizontal orthostats in red, yellow and green, placed underneath a layer of vertical orthostats with diamond-shaped lozenges, alternating in red and blue.⁴⁰⁵ W5 connects to W13 in the NW and W18 in the SE. It likely abuts F13 in the SW.

Figures appendix A: I/VI/X/XII/XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/XXXIV/XXXVII/XXXVIII/LII/LIX/LXXXIV/XCVI/XCVII/XCVIII.

⁴⁰⁵ Bingöl 2013, 30, fig. 27 and 40 figs. 46-47.



W6 is a wall with an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (1,00 m. wide) combined with a mudbrick facing (0,30 m. wide) at its SW side. It has a NW-SE orientation. The random rubble wall was preserved primarily in the NW part (with a height of ca. 0,50 m. measured from F13), sloping down towards the SE, where it seems to have been cut and/or pillaged. The mudbrick part of the wall was preserved along almost the entire length of the wall. No traces of plaster or wall painting are associated with W6. It connects to W13 and W47 in the NW and, likely, to the badly preserved W18 in the SE. F12 seems to abut W6 in the SW and F13 in the NE. It is possible that the SW mudbrick segment and (painted) plaster is a later addition to the wall.

Figures appendix A: VI/XII/XIII/XXXIV/XXXVIII/LII/LXXXIV/CXXIX.



W7 is a mudbrick wall (width: 0,95 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved across its entire length (5,10 m.) and to a height of 0,34 m. In the NW, an entrance with a width of ca. 1,00 m. provided access between rooms VI and VII, specifically indicated by the continuation of F11 NW of W7. No traces of plaster or wall painting are associated with this wall. W7 connects to W21 in the SE. Both F12 and F11 seem to abut to W7.

Absolute height: 447,60 m.

Figures appendix A: V/XIII/XXVIII/XXXIII/LXII/LXXIII/LXXIX.



W8 is a mudbrick wall (width: 1,10 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was only preserved in the NW, with a length of ca. 2,00 m. and up to a height of ca. 0,20 m. It is not clear how far it extended to the SE originally and whether there was an entrance that connected rooms VII and VIII. No traces of plaster or wall painting are associated with this wall. W8 connects to W48 in the NW and might have connected to W22 in the SE. F11 seems to abut W8 in the NE and F3 in the SW.

Figures appendix A: XIII/LXII/LXXIII/LXXIX/C/CXXX.



W9 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar. It has a NE-SW orientation and a width of 1,90 m. It was very well preserved, up to a height of 2,26 m. across its entire length (measured from F1), only sloping down slightly towards the NE. Small fragments of plaster containing painted decoration were preserved on its SE facing, in room I. It seems to consist of vertical orthostats alternating in red and yellow.⁴⁰⁶ W9 is the same as W10, W11, W12 and W13. It connects to W1 in the NE and W2 in the SW. It is likely that F1 abuts W9 in the SE.

Absolute height: 448,68 m.

Figures appendix A: I/VII/X/XLVI/LIX/LXXX/LXXXI/LXXXIII/LXXXVIII/CXXI.

⁴⁰⁶ Bingöl 2013, 28, fig.21.



W10 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar. It has a NE-SW orientation and a width of 1,90 m. It was very well preserved, up to a height of 2,26 across its entire length (measured from F2), only sloping down slightly towards the SE. Small fragments of plaster containing painted decoration were preserved on its SE facing, in room II, but also further NE in the entrance leading to room I. It seems to consist of a standing orthostat in yellow with a red diamond-shaped lozenge inside it.⁴⁰⁷ W10 is the same as W9, W11, W12 and W13. It connects to W2 in the NE and W3 in the SW. It is likely that F2 abuts W10.

Absolute height: 448,35 m.

Figures appendix A: I/IV/VII/X/XIV/XL/XLVI/LIX/LXXXI/LXXXVIII.

⁴⁰⁷ Bingöl 2013, 28, fig. 24.



W11 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar. It has a NE-SW orientation and a width of 1,90 m. It was very well preserved, up to a height of 1,90 m. across its entire length (measured from room III); in the S part, the wall seems to be cut by a later oval-shaped feature. Fragments of plaster containing painted decoration were preserved on its SE facing, in room III, consisting of vertical orthostats alternating in red and yellow and divided by band in purple.⁴⁰⁸ The yellow orthostats contain depictions of red pomegranates with green foliage. *W11* is the same as *W9*, *W10*, *W12* and *W13*. It connects to *W3* in the NE and to *W4* in the SW. It seems that *W11* overlies *W101* in the SW. It is likely that *W11* overlies the presumed continuation of *W62* in the NE.

Absolute height: 448,32 m.

Figures appendix A: I/VII/X/XXVII/XXVIII/XXXIV/XXXVII/XL/XLVI/LII/LIX/LXVI/LXXXVI/LXXXIX/XC.

⁴⁰⁸ Bingöl 2013, 33-34, figs. 32-35.



W12 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar. It has a NE-SW orientation and a width of 1,70 m. It was very well preserved, up to a height of ca. 2,23 m. across its entire length (measured from room IV), although it slopes down somewhat towards the E. No traces of wall painting or plaster are associated with *W12*. *W12* is the same as *W9*, *W10*, *W11* and *W13*. It connects to *W4* in the NE and *W5* in the SW.

Absolute height: 448,32 m.

Figures appendix A: I/VII/X/XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/XXXIV/XXXVII/XXXVIII/XL/XLVI/LII/LIX/LXVI.



W13 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar. It has a NE-SW orientation and a width of 1,70 m. It was only preserved at its far NE part, where it reaches 1,80 m. (measured from *F13*), but in the SW it was almost completely gone. It is indicated solely by one shallow row of stones and the edge of *F13* in the E. It seems likely that a

later feature cut straight through the wall, a disturbance we can also witness further towards the SW. No traces of wall painting or plaster are associated with W13. W13 is the same as W9, W10, W11 and W12. It connects to W5 in the NE and W6 in the SW. F13 seems to abut W13.

Absolute height: 448,32 m.

Figures appendix A: I/X/XII/XXXIV/XXXVII/XXXVIII/LII/LIX.



W14 is a wall with mudbrick facings on both the NW side as well as the SE side; the core seems badly preserved. It is running in a NE-SW orientation. Both mudbrick faces measured ca. 30,0 cm. in width and contained (painted) plaster and were preserved up to 1,40 m. high in the SW. The core was preserved much less well (up to ca. 0,50 cm. high). On the basis of the pictures (e.g. fig. LV), it seems that the excavators removed the wall almost in its entirety, possibly to safeguard the (painted) plaster that was present on both mudbrick sides. For the NW facing of W14 (in room I), it cannot be established whether the clearly preserved plaster still contained any painted decoration (see fig. LXXXIII). The decoration at the SE side (in room XIV), contains a fragment of a vertical orange orthostat with a red diamond-shaped lozenge inside (fig. XXIV). W14 continues into and is the same as W15. It connects to W1 in the NE and W2 in the SW. W14 lies against W30 in the NE but its stratigraphic relation is unclear; a fragment of painted plaster seems to cover both walls simultaneously, which suggests they are (semi-)contemporary or at least both ante-date the painted decoration (see fig. XXIV). It is likely that F1 abuts W14 in the NW. F4 likely abuts W14 in the SE. It is possible that the outer mudbrick segments of the wall, which contain the (painted) plaster, are later additions to the wall.

Figures appendix A: IV/IX/XXIV/LV/LVI/LXXXI/LXXXIII.



W15 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar, running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved very well, up to a height of ca 0,90 m. The continuation of the wall towards the SW is however difficult to ascertain; it is possible that there was an entrance from room II to room XIV here. The SW stone facing of W15 and the presence of plaster in front of it indeed seem to indicate an entrance (especially visible on fig. IV). The stones and rubble SW of W15, witnessed on other figures (e.g. figs. I/IX/XLVI/LXXXI), might merely be a collapse of W15. The clearly delineated SE border of F2 (see fig. IV) has likely been interpreted as the border of a continued W15 by the excavators, but the plaster SE of F2 suggests that the threshold between room II and room XIV contained a different (mosaic?) flooring. The row of stones that continues SE of this plaster layer is most likely part of a threshold step that was needed to make up for the difference in elevation between room II and room XIV. W15 is the same as and continues into W14. It is likely that F4 abuts W15. It is not clear whether the plaster layer on the NW facing of W15 (in rooms I-II) contained painted decoration, nor whether the SE facing (in room XIV) contained any (painted) plaster.

Figures appendix A: I/IV/VII/IX/X/XXXIV/XLIII/XLVI/LIX/LV/LXXXI/LXXXIII.



W16 is a wall with a NE-SW orientation that is indicated on the plans of Bingöl, Özgüç and Zoroğlu, supposedly separating room III from room XIV. It can, however, not be attested with certainty on the basis of the photographic evidence; only a small cluster of stones between room XIV and room III could be indicative of a wall with an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar but the evidence is very meagre. It is possible that the wall was completely destroyed and/or pillaged.

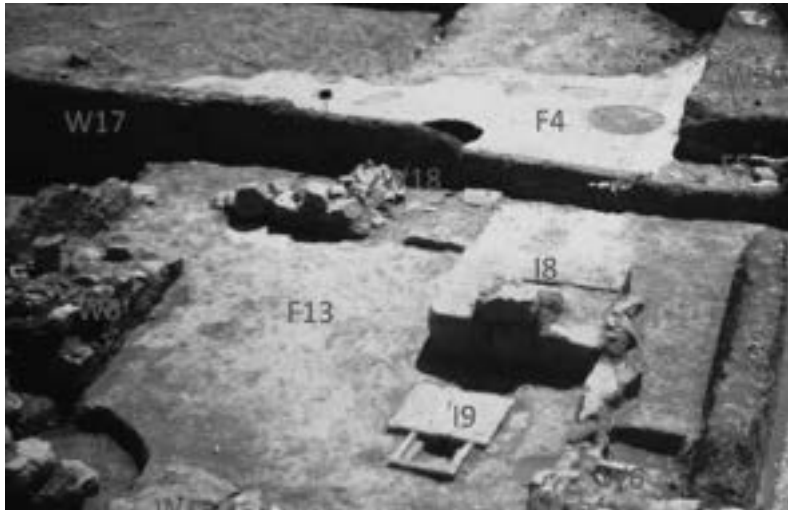
Figures appendix A: I/VII/X/XXXIV/XXXVIII/XLVI/LIX.



W17 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar, running in a NE-SW orientation. Its total width is ca. 1,70 m. The outer SE facing consists of a 0,40 m. wide mudbrick segment which is much better preserved than the rest of the

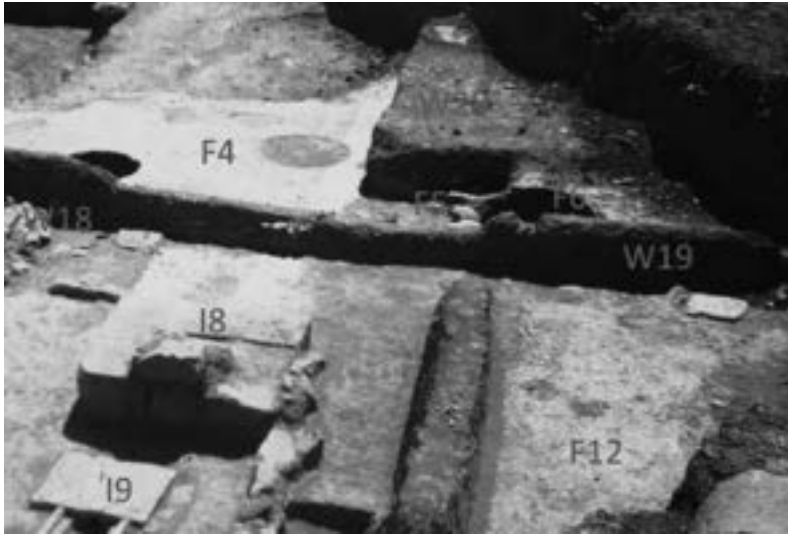
(rubble) wall, up to a height of ca. 1,10 m. (measured from F4). W17 is the same as and continues into W18. There is no evidence for traces of (painted) plaster on the NW side (room IV) nor on the SE side (room XIV). It is likely that F4 abuts W17. The differing character of the SE mudbrick wall segment might suggest it is a later addition to the wall.

Figures appendix A: I/III/XII/XXXIV/XXXVIII/LII/LXXXIV/XCVI/XCVII.



W18 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar, running in a NE-SW orientation. It has a total width of ca. 1,70 m. The outer SE facing consists of a 0,40 m. wide mudbrick segment which is much better preserved than the rest of the wall, up to a height of ca. 1,10 m. (measured from F4), sloping down towards the SW. It contains traces of paint on the SE side (room XIV) containing a row of vertical orthostats with diamond-shaped lozenges alternating in orange and red with white delineation (fig. VI). The continuation of W18 towards the SW is not entirely clear; the continuation of the plaster flooring of F13 SW of W18 suggests that there was an entrance here from room V into room XIV, later closed off by the 0,40 m. wide mudbrick segment that continues further SW than the random rubble wall. If this is indeed the case, it would mean that this segment belongs to a later building phase of the palace. In that case, it is also likely that I8 was only installed after the closing of this potential entrance (see below). W18 is the same and continuous into W17 in the NE as well as W19 in the SW. As said, the stratigraphic relation between F4 and W18 is unsure, specifically in the SW, where we might expect an entrance. This also counts for the stratigraphic relation between F13 and W18, although it is likely that F13 abuts W18 in the NW.

Figures appendix A: I/III/VI/XII/XXXIV/XXXVIII/LII/LVII/LXXXIV/XCVI/CXXIX.



W19 is a mudbrick wall with a NE-SW orientation that is likely to have been ca. 1,30 m. wide. The NW side was so badly preserved that it is difficult to establish whether it contained a random rubble wall segment similar to that of W18. The SE facing of ca. 0,40 m. wide is similar to that of W18 and was better preserved, reaching a height of max. 0,45 m. (measured from F12). W19 continues into and is (largely) the same as W18 in the NE, albeit on a higher elevation as rooms VI/VII/VIII and corridor A3. W19 continues into W20 in the SW but we lack evidence to establish their exact stratigraphic relationship. W6 probably connects to W19 in the NE but the poor preservation makes it hard to establish in what manner exactly. W19's stratigraphic relation with F12 and F6 are unclear; it is possible that these floors are in fact the same and run below W19. It seems that fig. LII shows traces of (painted?) plaster on the fine mudbrick, SE facing of W19, similar to W17 and W18. In the 1984 excavation report, mention is made of a corridor with frescoes on both sides and a mosaic with rows of squares in the middle; if this is indeed describing mosaic F6 and corridor A3, it means that W19 has painted decoration on its SE facing.⁴⁰⁹

Figures appendix A: XII/XXXIV/LII/CXXIX.

⁴⁰⁹ 'J ve K 17 nolu alanların kesistiği noktada güneydoğu kesimde bir üst tabakanın kuyularının tabanında mozaik sırasına rastaldık. birbirine paralel kare sıralarının şekil oluşturduğu mozaik her iki tarafta fresklerle sınırlı bir koridor oluşturmakta.' (1984 excavation report, 01-06-1984, p.3).



W20 is a mudbrick wall with a SE/NW orientation and a width of ca. 1,50 m. It was preserved up to ca. 1,00 m. high. (measured from F7). It is not clear how the wall continues towards the SE because of a large ellipse-shaped destruction cutting through W20 in the SE. It is likely, however, that it contained an entrance that allowed for movement between corridor A2 and corridor A3. W20 connects to W21 in the NW and W19 in the NE. It has painted plaster on the SW side (corridor A2) with, at the bottom, a row of horizontal orthostats in red with yellow alignment and, on top of this, a layer of vertical orthostats, alternating in red and yellow, with blue alignment (fig. V). It is likely that F7 abuts W20 in the SW.

Figures appendix A: V/XXIII.



W21 is a mudbrick wall with a NE/SW orientation and a width of ca. 2,00 m. It was preserved up to ca. 1,00 m. high (measured from F7), sloping down towards the SW. W20 connects to W21 in the NE but the ellipse-shaped disturbance makes it unclear in what way precisely. W21 connects to W22 in the NE. It has painted plaster on the SE facing (corridor A2), with, at the bottom, a row of horizontal orthostats in red with yellow alignment and, on top of this, a layer of vertical orthostats, alternating in red and yellow, with blue alignment (fig. V). It is likely that F7 abuts W21 in the SE.

Figures appendix A: V/XXIII.



W22 is a mudbrick wall with a NE/SW orientation and a width of ca. 1,90 m. It was not very well recorded, but it seems that it was preserved up to 1,24 m. high (measured from corridor A1), more or less across its entire length. A later, ellipse-shaped disturbance in the NE makes the connection to W21 however unclear. Towards the SW it seems to disappear into the SW profile of the trench. F3 most likely abuts W22 in the NE. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with this wall.

Absolute height: 447,55 m.

Figures appendix A: LXXIX/LXXIII.

W23 is a wall with a NE/SW orientation and a width of ca. 1,40 m. There are no photographs of this wall, it was only drawn on the map by Özgüç. It seems to be a continuation of W24 and W25 in the NE and continuing into the SW profile of the trench. It seems to connect to W26 in the E. The map indicates a floor, F19, which would lie NW of W23. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with this wall.

W24 is indicated on the map by Özgüç as a square-shaped cluster of middle-sized stones located between W23 and W25. It was not photographed. It is possible that it was a later closing of an entrance from corridor A1 to room (or corridor) XVI. The stones might also indicate a surface of an entrance but the closed lines on the map make this unlikely. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with this wall.



W25 is (probably) a mudbrick wall, running in a NE/SW direction with a width of ca. 1,80 m. It was not very well preserved in the SW, with few stones giving a vague outline of the wall and a slight mudbrick elevation of ca. 25,0 cm. remaining close to W27 as well as in the NE close to W28. In the NE, it was preserved up to 0,74 m. high (measured from F8). It was not extensively recorded and the two pictures available seem to be taken after the trench had been untouched for some time. A large entrance is present in the centre of W25 (width: ca. 2,60 m.), providing entrance from corridor A2 to room XV. W25 connects to W27 in the E, W28 in the NE, and W24 in the SW. I13 probably abuts W25 in the north and F8 in the E. It is likely that W25 has fragments of painted plaster on its NW facing at the northern side (in corridor A3), as the 1984 excavation report seems to describe corridor A3 as containing frescoes on both sides.⁴¹⁰

Absolute height: 446,80 m.

Figures appendix A: LXIV/LXIX.

W26 is a wall with a NW/SE orientation and a width of ca. 1,60 m. There are no photographs of this wall, it was only drawn on the map by Özgüç. It seems to be connected to W23 in the NW. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with this wall.

Absolute height: 446,50 m.

⁴¹⁰ 'J ve K 17 nolu alanların kesistiği noktada güneydoğu kesimde bir üst tabakanın kuyularının tabanında mozaik sırasına rastaldık. birbirine paralel kare sıralarının şekil oluşturduğu mozaik her iki tarafta fresklerle sınırlı bir koridor oluşturmakta.' (1984 excavation report, 01-06-1984, p.3).



W27 is a mudbrick wall running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved to 0,83 m. high in the NW part (measured from F8), where it connects to W25. It is likely that it contained (painted) plaster on the NE side in room XV but the pictures of painted plaster from this room cannot be easily assigned to a specific wall (e.g. figs. XCII/XCIII/XCIV/XCV). On fig. LXIV, it seems that also the SW facing of W27 (room XVI) contains fragments of painted plaster. It is likely that F8 abuts W27.

Absolute height: 447,04 m.

Figures appendix A: LXIV/LXIX.



W28 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,50 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved to a height of 0,56 m. across its entire length, although the far SE corner has not been recorded well enough to describe with certainty. It connects to W25 in the NW and seems to continue into the profile of the trench in the SE. F4 likely abuts W28. The NE side of W28 (room XIV) contained fragments of painted plaster, consisting of vertical orthostats, alternating in red and orange, with white alignment (fig. LXXXVII). At the SW side (room XV), the painting contains a bottom layer of horizontal orthostats in yellow with red alignment, followed by a blue border with white alignment and, on top of this, a row of vertical orthostats, alternating in red and yellow (fig. CXXVI).

Absolute height: 446,62 m.

Figures appendix A: XII/XXXVIII/LI/LII/LXIX/LXXXVII/XCIV/XCIC(?)/CXXVI.



W29 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,00 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to 0,80 m. high in the SE (measured from room XIII), sloping gently down towards the NW. It connects to W30 in the W and W32 in the N. F4 likely abuts W28. No fragments of painted plaster were associated with W29. The stratigraphic relationship between W30 and W29 is of importance but on the basis of the pictures it cannot be established. Note that the surface of F4 on the SW side of W29 is higher than the surface of room XIII on the NE side.

Absolute height: 446, 50.

Figures appendix A: I/II/III/VIII/IX/X/XI/XIX/XLIII/LI/LV/LVI/CXXXI.



W30 is a wall with an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,20 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 1,00 m. (seen from the NE side). Its SW facing seems to consist of a mudbrick segment similar and continuing into W14's SE mudbrick facing. The NE facing of W30 contains

a very regular masonry of middle-sized stones. W30 seems to be a continuation of W29 in the SE (see fig. IX) but the exact stratigraphic relationship remains unclear. W30 separates room XIV from corridor A4 and might therefore be a later addition. The continuing painted plaster of W14 and W30 however suggests that W30 actually belonged to the palace, something not considered by (the maps of) Zoroğlu, Bingöl and Özgüç, who suggest an entrance provided access between corridor A4 and room XIV. The painted decoration on the S side consists of a vertical red orthostat with, inside it, an orange diamond-shaped lozenge with white alignment (fig. XXIV). The stratigraphic relation between F4 and W30 is unclear.

Figures appendix A: I/IV/IX/XI/XXIV/XLIII/LI/LV/LVI/LXVII.



W31 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,70 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved very well, up to a height of 2,15 m. across its entire length (measured from corridor A4). W31 connects to W14 and W30 in the SW and W38 in the NE. Two niches (I10 and I11) in the SE side of the wall (in corridor A4) can be recognized by the regular masonry on the niches' corners. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W31. It is likely that F9 abuts W31 at the NW side of the wall (in corridor B4). W94, W95, W99 and W100 appear to have been built against or on top of W31 and thus need to be later.

Absolute height: 447,67 m.

Figures appendix A: I/VIII/IX/XI/XVII/XXIV/XLIII/LI/LIV/LV/LVI/LVIII/LXVII/LXXII/LXXX.



W32 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,20 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 0,68 m. across its entire length (measured from corridor A4). W32 is the same and continues into W33 in the NE. It connects to W30 and W29 in the SW and W34 in the NE. W94 and W95 appear to have been built against or on top of W32 and thus need to be later (e.g. fig. XLIII). No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W32.

Figures appendix A: I/VIII/XI/XXI/XVII/XLIII/LI/LIV/LV/LVI/LVIII/LXVII/LXXII/CXXXI.



W33 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,20 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 0,75 m. across its entire length (measured from corridor A4). In the SW, a large circular shaped disturbance (a later pit) cuts through the wall. W33 is the same and continues into W32 in the SW. It connects to W34 in the SW and W35 in the NE. W99 and W100 appear to have been built against or on

top of W32 and thus need to be later (e.g. fig. XLIII). No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W33.

Absolute height: 446,27 m.

Figures appendix A: 1/VIII/XI/XVII/XLIII/LI/LIV/LVI/LXVII/LXXII/CXXXI.



W34 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,30 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 1,07 m. in the NW (measured from room XII) but sloping down towards the SE. In the NW, W81, a large circular disturbance (a later pit) cuts through the wall. W34 connects to W33 and W32 in the NW, W58 in the W and W36 and W37 in the SE. W34 seems to be built against W37 and should thus be later (see fig. II). The stratigraphic relation with W58 is not clear from the photographic evidence. The maps by Bingöl, Zoroğlu and Özgüç seem to suggest that W58 is later than W34 and not part of the palatial architecture. It might be more likely, however, that, instead, W58 is more or less contemporary to W34. On the basis of fig. LXVII, I also suggest that W34 did not continue as far NW as indicated on all previously published maps but that, instead, W81 disturbed an entrance here, leading from room XII to room XIX. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W34.

Absolute height: 446,44 m.

Figures appendix A: 1/II/III/VIII/IX/XI/XLIII/XVII/XXI/LI/LIV/LVI/LXXII.



W35 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,40 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to 0,90 m. high across its entire length. An entrance was located in the SE (width: 1,40 m.) W35 connects to W33 in the NW. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W35.

Figures appendix A: 1/VIII/XI/XVII/LXXII/LI/LIV/LVI/CXXXI.



W36 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,20 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved very well, up to a height of ca. 1,20 m. across its entire length. It connects to W34 in the SW. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W36.

Figures appendix A: 1/III/VIII/XI/XXI/XVII/LI/LIV/LXXII/CI/CXXXI.



W37 is an ashlar wall (width: ca. 1,80 m.) consisting of two courses of large rectangular ashlars, made of limestone, running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 0,80 m. high (see fig. VIII). The lowest course of ashlars might have continued into the NE profile of the trench while W37's SW continuation seems to have been disturbed and/or pillaged. In the central NW side of the wall, some ashlars are missing, probably the result of later pillaging as well. The construction is characterized by alternating courses of 'headers-against-stretchers'.⁴¹¹ At the eastern side, a large, standing stone slab (I14) is placed against W37. A layer of painted plaster was present against the SE facing of W37, clearly placed against the sides also of I14, however not entirely covering the latter (e.g. figs. LX and LXI). The decorative pattern of the small fragment of red painted plaster cannot be established. W34 seems to be built against W37 (see fig. II), which suggests that W37 is older than W34.

Absolute height: 445,27 m.

Figures appendix A: II/VIII/XXI/XXII/XLI/XLIV/XVII/LIV/LX/LXI/LXIII/LXX/LXXII.

⁴¹¹ For an example of this technique, see Sharon 1987, 21-42, in particular 25, fig 2 (c1) and 26.



W38 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,30 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved unto a height of ca. 0,70 m. across its entire length. In the NW, it connects to *W31*. An entrance of ca. 1,00 m. wide separates *W38* from *W39*. In the N, *W38* connects to *W40*, but the exact stratigraphic relation is difficult to establish on the basis of the photographic evidence; we might however cautiously suggest that the long vertical fissure witnessed on fig. LXV suggests that *W40* is placed against *W38* and thus is later. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with *W38*.

Absolute height: 446,65 m.

Figures appendix A: I/VIII/XI/XV/XVI/XXXI/XXXV/XLVII/LIV/LXV/LXVII/CXXXI.



W39 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,30 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved unto a height of ca. 0,70 m. across its entire length. An entrance of ca. 1,00 m. wide separates W39 from W38 in the NW. In the SE, a large circular ditch seems to have cut through W39 (as well as W63). No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W39.

Figures appendix A: XV/XXXI/LIV/LXV/VIII/XLVII.



W40 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces (width: 1,50 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved onto a height of ca. 0,90 m. The maps by Bingöl, Zoroğlu and Özgüç suggest that *W40* runs underneath *W63* and continues into (and is the same as) *W70*. On the basis of figs. XV, XVI, XXXI and XXXV, it seems however more likely that *W40* runs against *W63* (and perhaps also *W41*) and thus is later; especially the upper two courses of stones of *W40* seems to be placed against *W63*. The stratigraphic relationship between *W38* and *W40* seems more straightforward: the long vertical fissure between these walls witnessed on fig. LXV suggests that *W40* is placed against *W38* and thus is later. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with *W40*.

Figures appendix A: LXV/XLVII/XV/XVI/XXXI/XXXV/CXXVII/CXXXI.



W41 is a wall with a facing in *opus reticulatum* alternated with a layers of tiles on both sides, running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved onto a height of 1,26 m. across its entire preserved length (measured from F10). Its SE continuation is unclear and cannot be established on the basis of the available evidence. On the NE side of the wall, a protruding edge indicates the level of the floor (F10 and F17; see fig. LIII). *W41* connects and is the same as *W64* in the NW. *W41* covers *W63*, and must be later also than the partial destruction of *W63* (see for instance fig. XVI, where *W41* follows the SE sloping cut of the destroyed *W63*). F10 abuts *W41*. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with *W41*.

Absolute height: 445,96 m.

Figures appendix A: VIII/XV/XVI/XVIII/XXV/XXVI/XXIX/XXXI/XXXII/XXXV/XXXVI/XXXIX/XLII/XLVII/XLVIII/XLIX/L/LIII/LIV/LVIII/LXV/LXXI/LXXXII/CXXVII/CXXXI.



W42 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,40 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. W42 continues in the N profile of the trench and the W profile of the trench. It was preserved only for ca 0,30 cm. F9 abuts W42 in the SE. Together with W43, W44 and W45, W42 forms the outer western wall of the palatial building. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W42.

Figures appendix A: XLIII/LVI/LXVII.



W43 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar, running in a NW-SE orientation. *W43* continues in the W profile of the trench. It was preserved only for ca 0,40 cm. in height. Its width is unclear, but it is likely it was similar to *W42* (width 1,40 m.), to which it connects. Together with *W42*, *W44* and *W45*, *W43* forms the outer western wall of the palatial building. *F9* abuts *W43* in the E. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with *W43*.

Figures appendix A: LIX/LXXX.



W44 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,50 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. *W44* was well preserved, up to a height of 1,72 m. across its entire length (measured from corridor B2). It connects to *W45*

in the SW and continues into the W profile of the trench in the NE. Together with W42, W43 and W45, W44 forms the outer western wall of the palatial building. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W44. In the SE, W46 is built against and later than W44. In the NW, W51 is built against and later than W44 (see fig. VII).

Absolute height: 449,06 m.

Figures appendix A: I/VII/X/XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/XXXIII/XXXIV/XXXVII/XL/XLVI/LII/LIX/LXII/LXVI/LXXX.



W45 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,50 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved to a height of 1,53 m. in the NE (measured from corridor B1) but almost entirely disappears towards the SW, where a large ellipse-shaped disturbance cuts through the wall. W45 connects to W44 in the NE and probably continues into the S profile of the trench in the SW. Together with W42, W43 and W44, W45 forms the outer western wall of the palatial building. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W45.

Absolute height: 449,02 m.

Figures appendix A: XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/XXXIII/XL/LXVI/LXXIII/LXXIX.



W46 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 1,20 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 0,40 m. (measured from corridor B2). The available evidence does not allow a definitive answer to the question whether it ends or is cut in the SE. It is most probably built against and later than W44 in the NW. It covers (and probably blocked) the drainage I4 and thus was built later. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W46.

Absolute height: 448,37 m.

Figures appendix A: VII/X/XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/XXXVII/XXVIII/XL/XLVI/LII/LIX/LXVI.

W47 is a wall with a NE-SW orientation that is indicated on the maps by Zoroğlu, Bingöl and Özgüç but that was not attested archaeologically. On figs. V, VII, XXVII, XXXIII, LII, LIX, LXII, LXVI, LXXIII it seems that no wall was preserved; it seems that it was destroyed and/or pillaged in combination with large part of W13. Perhaps a vague contour of the wall can be witnessed however on XIII and LXXIX. It is possible that W47 contained an entrance into corridor B1, but we cannot say with certainty. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W47.

Figures appendix A: (perhaps) XIII/LXXIX/CXXX.



W48 is a wall with a NE-SW orientation. Its preservation was so bad that it is difficult to establish its type of masonry or its width. Only a shallow elevation of ca. 0,25 m. remained at the time of excavation, of which the character could be described as a mudbrick wall. *W48* seems to connect to (the even more elusive) *W47* in the NE and *W8* and *W29* in the SW. It is likely that *F11* abuts *W48*. An entrance between *W7* and *W48* provides access between rooms VI and VII. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with *W48*.

Figures appendix A: XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/LXXIII/LXXIX/C/CXXX.



W49 is a mudbrick wall (width: unclear), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 0,70 m. (seen from the SE side). It connects to *W48* and *W8* in the NE and runs in the S profile of the trench in the SW. Just as *W47* and *W48*, it is hard to establish the exact character of the wall. The painted decoration contains a socle consisting of a red border, followed by a border with yellow and white fields. Higher up, the

decoration contains a frieze with rosettes in brown, blue, yellow and red, against a dark background and divided by ionic columns in blue and red (fig. CXXX). Below the frieze runs a border with an egg-and-dart pattern. It is likely that F3 abuts W49.

Figures appendix A: XIII/XXVIII/LXXIX/LXXXV/XCI/C/CXXX.



W50 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 0,70 m.), running in a SW-NE orientation. Based on the photographic evidence, it was only preserved in one row of stones. It might have connected to W91, but the stratigraphic relation is unclear. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W50.

Figures appendix A: VII/X/XLVI/LIX.



W51 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (0,80 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. Based on the photographic evidence, it was only preserved in one row of stones. It was built against and thus later than W44. It seems to connect to W52 in the SE. In the NW it seems to be destroyed. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W51.

Figures appendix A: VII/X/XLVI/LIX.



W52 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 0,50 m.), running in a SW-NE orientation. The exact masonry cannot be established. It seems to connect to W51 in the NE. It seems to be destroyed towards the SW. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W52.

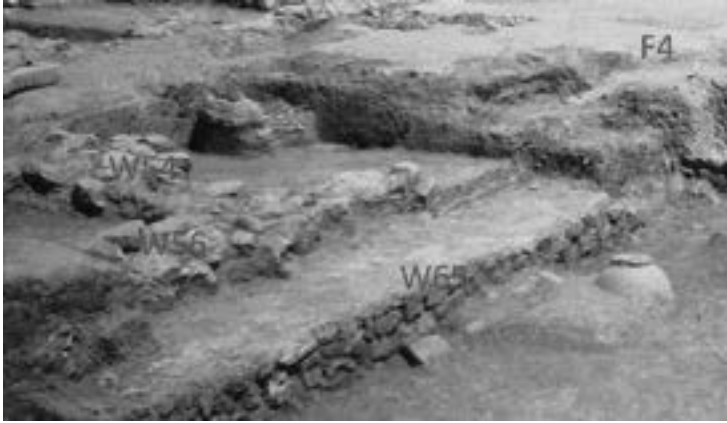
Figures appendix A: X.



W53 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 0,90 m.), running in a WSW orientation. It was not very well documented on photographs but maps G and I provide enough evidence for its presence. W53 was preserved to a height of 0,43 m. in the SW, sloping down towards the NE. It connected to W62 in the NE and to W101 in the NW. It ran below and must thus be earlier than W4. It also runs below the elusive W16. W53 might belong to and continues into W54 in the NE, but this cannot be established with certainty on the basis of the data. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W53.

Absolute height: 445,05 m.

Figures appendix A: XXXVIII.



W54 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,10 m.), running in a WSW orientation. It was not very well documented on photographs but map B2 provides enough evidence for its location in the small trench (3,60 x 6,00 m.) in the W of room XIV. Nonetheless, the preservation of W54 is difficult to establish; while on map B2 it seems the wall runs into the N profile of the (deeper) trench, on fig. IX this does not actually show. The connection to W56 remains unclear. W54 runs below and is older than F4, which was probably partially removed to create the small trench in the W of room XIV.⁴¹² It is also likely that it runs underneath the elusive W16 in the SW. W54 might belong to and continue into W53 in the SW, but this cannot be established with certainty on the basis of the data. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W54.

Figures appendix A: IX.

W55 is a wall, running in a NW-SE orientation. It was not documented on any photograph, but map B2 records its location in the small trench (3,60 x 6,00 m.) in the W of room XIV. It seems to be a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width of ca. 1,20 m.). It might be a continuation of W62 in the NW. It runs below and thus is older than F4.⁴¹³ It seems to run underneath the elusive wall W16 and continues into the (deeper) trench profile in the S. The exact connection to W56 is unclear. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W55.

W56 appears to be some sort of staircase of three consecutive curved steps in the corner of a room or basin made with W54 and W55. There are no good photographs and only map B2 records its location in the small trench (3,60 x 6,00 m.) in the W of room XIV. We specifically lack information about the respective height of the steps, their surface and the stratigraphic relation of this structure to W54 and W55 (both also badly

⁴¹² 'Yine bu alanda mozaik tabanının altından itibaren duvarlar çıkmaya başladı. henüz belirli bir plan yok. dikdörtgen planlı duvarların doğu kesiminde tam ortada duvara paralel fakat askıda kalan ortası oluklu bir blok taş var. ne olduğu hakkında kesin bir fikir yok.' (excavation report 1984, 9-8-1984, p. 13).

⁴¹³ 'Yine bu alanda mozaik tabanının altından itibaren duvarlar çıkmaya başladı. henüz belirli bir plan yok. dikdörtgen planlı duvarların doğu kesiminde tam ortada duvara paralel fakat askıda kalan ortası oluklu bir blok taş var. ne olduğu hakkında kesin bir fikir yok.' (excavation report 1984, 9-8-1984, p. 13).

recorded, see above). W56 runs below and is older than F4.⁴¹⁴ W56 might run below the elusive wall W16. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W56.

Figures appendix A: IX.



W57 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 0,40 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was not indicated as a wall on the maps by Bingöl, Özgüç and Zoroğlu but the photographic evidence suggests it was in fact there. It was preserved up to ca. 0,50 m high and closed the entrance between room I and room II. It is most likely built partially on top of F2 and against W10 and W2 and must thus be dated later than those features. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W57.

Figures appendix A: I/IV/X/XXXIV/LIX.

⁴¹⁴ *Yine bu alanda mozaik tabanının altından itibaren duvarlar çıkmaya başladı. henüz belirli bir plan yok. dikdörtgen planlı duvarların doğu kesiminde tam ortada duvara paralel fakat askıda kalan ortası oluklu bir blok taş var. ne olduğu hakkında kesin bir fikir yok.* (excavation report 1984, 9-8-1984, p. 13).



W58 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,40 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved very well, on to a height of ca. 1,50 m. across its entire length. It is connected to W34 in the NE and stops in the SE, perhaps because it was destroyed there partially. On the SW, W58 there is a small recess of ca. 0,40 m. towards the SE. The maps of Bingöl, Özgüç and Zoroğlu do not include W58 in their plans of the palatial structure; the reason for this is unclear. In terms of masonry and orientation, it fits well to the rest of the plan. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated to W58.

Absolute height: 446,44 m.

Figures appendix A: I/II/VIII/XVII/XXI/XLIII/LIV/LVI/LXXII/CXXXI.



W59 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar, running in a NW-SE orientation. It was not very well documented and does not appear on the maps by Bingöl, Özgüç and Zoroğlu. Some pictures do however attest of its location. It seems to have been preserved only for one course of stones and its continuation towards both the NW and SE might be disturbed by later activity. Its stratigraphic relation to W61 and W65 is unclear. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W59.

Figures appendix A: III/XIX/XXXVIII/CI.



W60 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,00 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved well, up to ca. 0,70 m. high. *W60* was not included on the maps by Bingöl, Özgüç and Zoroğlu, but the photographic evidence attests of its location. In the centre of *W60*, a rectangular ashlar limestone block standing upright is integrated into the wall. *W60* connects to *W61* in the NE and *W66* in the SW. Together with *W61*, *W65* and *W66*, *W60* forms a rectangular construction that is probably later than the destruction of the mosaic. *W60* sits on top of *F20*. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with *W60*.

Figures appendix A: III/IX/XII/XXXVIII/LVI/LVIII.



W61 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: unclear), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 0,50 m. high. *W61* was not included on the maps by Bingöl, Özgüç and Zoroğlu, but the photographic evidence attests of its location. *W61* connects to *W60* in the SE and *W65* in the NW. It is likely that it ran below mosaic floor *F4*, but this cannot be established with certainty. Together with *W60*, *W65* and *W66*,

W61 forms a rectangular construction that is probably later than the destruction of F4. W61 sits on top of F20. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W61.

Figures appendix A: III/IX/LVIII/XIX/XXXVIII/XLVI/CI.



W62 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,20 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. W62 was preserved up to 0,66 m. high, it continues into the northern and eastern profiles of the (deeper) trench. It connects to W53 in the SE. W62 runs below and is earlier than W3 in the NW as well as the elusive W16 in the SE. W62 might continue into W55 in the SE but this cannot be established for certain. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W62.

Absolute height: 445,36 m.

Figures appendix A: I/XLVI/XXXVIII.



W63 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 0,70 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved

onto ca. 2,50 m. high in the centre and slopes down slightly towards the NW. In the SE, W63 slopes down strongly and it is likely that it was disturbed here and cut through by some kind of ditch. It seems that W40 abuts and is later than W63. It is clearly running below W64 and W41, the walls in *opus reticulatum*, the latter which was only constructed on top of it after W63 was partially destroyed. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W63. It is likely that this was the outer northern wall of the palace.

Absolute height: 446,95 m.

Figures appendix A: XV/XVI/XXXI/XXXV/XXXIX/XLVII.



W64 is a rubble wall containing small stones and a facing of *opus reticulatum* combined with layers of tiles on both sides (width: 0,80 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to 1,26 m. across the entire preserved length (measured from F10). In the SW, W64 connects to W41. In the NE, W64 continues into the N trench profile. W64 partially covers W63 in the SW. F10 seems to abut W64. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W64.

Figures appendix A: XV/XXV/XXVI/XXXII/XLVII/LIII/LXV.



W65 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 0,90 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. W65 is preserved up to 0,60 m. high. In the SW, it seems to be disturbed and its continuation further SW cannot be established on the basis of the evidence. In the NE it connects to W61. The stratigraphic relation to W54, W56 and F15 is unclear. It is likely that it ran below mosaic floor F4, but this cannot be established with certainty. Together with W60, W61 and W66, W65 forms a rectangular construction that probably dates after the destruction of F4. W65 sits on top of F20.

Figures appendix A: I/III/IX/XIX/XXXVIII/XLVI/LI/LVI/LVIII.



W66 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: unclear), running in a NW-SE orientation. It is preserved up to ca. 0,60 m. across its entire length. It seems to connect to W65 in the NW and to W60 in the SE. It is likely that it ran below mosaic floor F4, but this cannot be established with certainty. Together with W60, W61

and W65, W66 forms a rectangular construction that probably dates after the destruction of F4. W60 sits on top of F20. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W66.

Figures appendix A: LI/LVI.



W67 is a wall with regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,00 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 0,22 m. (measured from F17). It is disturbed in two locations in the centre, where wide trenches (ca. 2,70 m and 1,00 m. wide) seem to have cut through the wall. South of the northern opening, a square pilaster made out of tiles is located and it might be that in this location an entrance was located. W67 connects to W89 in the SE. The stratigraphic relation with W85 in the NW is not clear. F17 likely abuts W67 at the SW centre of the wall. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W67.

Absolute height: 445,80 m.

Figs. XXIX/XXV/XXXVI/L/LXXI/LXXXII/XLII/XLVII/XLVIII/XVIII/CXXVII.

W68 is a wall (width ca. 0,70 m.) running in a N-S orientation. There are no photographs of W68, but it is documented on map B3. In the S, it seems to connect to W69. It also connects to W50 in the SW but the stratigraphic relation is unclear. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W68. No pictures available.



W69 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: ca. 0,70 m.), running in a E-W orientation. It was preserved to a height of 0,80 m. (measured from the top of W9). In the W, it seems to connect to W68. In the E it seems to be cut by a circular, later pit. It consists of a variety of different stone types, including *spolia* like a limestone ashlar block and a small column drum. W68 covers and partially cuts W1, W9 and W44, and thus must be later than these features. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W69.

Absolute height: 449,08.

Figures appendix A: IV/LXXX/LXXXIII.



W70 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces (width: ca. 1,30 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,90 m. Its continuation towards the NE has not been recorded. The maps by Bingöl, Zoroğlu and Özgüç suggest that W70 runs underneath W63 and continues into (and is the same as) W40. On the basis of figs. XV, XVI, XXXI and XXXV, I argue that W40 runs against W63 (see W40). On the basis of the pictures, it cannot be established what is the stratigraphic relation between W70 and W40, but considering the fact that the masonry of W70 and W40 are very similar, it is likely that W70 is also placed against W63 and thus later. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W70.

Figures appendix A: LIII/LXV.



W71 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: ca. 1,20 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,60 m. across its entire length. In the NE, it connects to W72 and in the SW to W73. It covers and or cuts through F4 in the SW. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W71.

Figures appendix A: II/III/VIII/IX/X/XVII/LXXXI/LXXII/XXXVIII/XLIII/LV/LVI/LIV/CI.

W72 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: ca. 1,00 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 1,05 m. across its entire length (measured from F4). In the NW, it connects to W71 and in the SE to W74. It continues in and is the same as W75. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W72.

Absolute height: 447,22 m.

Figures appendix A: II/III/VIII/XVII/XXII/LI/LXXXI/LXXII/LVI/LIV/CI.

W73 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: ca. 0,40 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 0,15 m. across its entire length (measured from F4).

In the NW, it connects to W71 and in the SE to W74. It covers and or cuts through F4. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W73.

Absolute height: 446,02 m.

Figures appendix A: III/XLIII/LXXXI/LXXII/LV/LVI/CI.

W74 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: ca. 0,60 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,80 m. across its entire length. In the NE, it connects to W72 and W75 and in the SW to W73. It covers and or cuts through F4 in the SW. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W74.

Absolute height: 447,23 m.

Figures appendix A: III/XXII/LXXXI/LXXII/LVI/CI.



W75 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,00 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 0,81 m. across its entire length (measured from F4). In the SE, it seems to be destroyed. In the NW it continues into and is the same as W72. In the NW, it connects to W74 and in the SE to W76. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W75.

Absolute height: 446,98 m.

Figures appendix A: III/VIII/XVII/LXXXI/LXXII/LIV/CI.

W76 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 0,60 m.) with mediums-sized stones, running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,80 m. across its entire length. In the SE, it seems to be destroyed. In the NE, it connects to W75. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W76.

Absolute height: 446,61.

Figures appendix A: III/VIII/XVII/LXXXI/LIV/CI.



W77 is a wall with semi-regular courses of obliquely placed, medium-sized stones (width: ca. 0,40 m.). It has a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,40 m. but slopes down following a depression towards the SW. In the NE it seems to end at a vertical ashlar block which might indicate an entrance. In the SW it might connect to W72, but the situation looks very disturbed. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W77.

Figures appendix A: II/VIII/LIV/LXXII.



W78 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: 0,90 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved

onto a height of ca. 0,50 m. It seems that W78 runs against W63 (and perhaps also W41) and thus is dated later. No fragments of (painted) plaster were associated with W40.

Figures appendix A: XVI/CXXVIII.

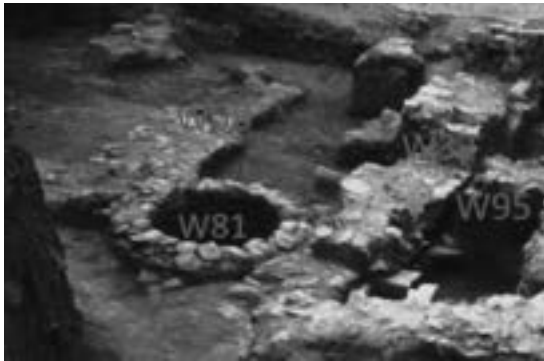
W79 is a probable fragment of a wall near F18 in sector s/11. It was not drawn or documented but only mentioned in Özgüç 2009. She writes: *'In the s/11 area, 2.80 m from the surface, we encountered mosaic borders with spiral and dentil motifs as well as very low remains of frescoes which give you an idea of the eastern boundary of the palace.'*⁴¹⁵ As she discusses these very low remains of frescoes in relation to the mosaics, it is likely that this wall was found close to these. Although not indicated on map B8, I propose the location of the wall SW of F18. As discussed for F18, it is most likely that the mosaic's crenellation border indicates the outer SW limit of F18. W79 contained painted wall decoration, but it was not documented.



W80 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: 0,50 m. length: 1,70 m.) located in corridor A5, running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,70 m. It was built against W33 in the SW and W38 in the NE and thus is later than both. It entirely blocks off corridor A5.

Figures appendix A: XI/CXXXI.

⁴¹⁵ Özgüç 2009, 41 (transl. by the author).



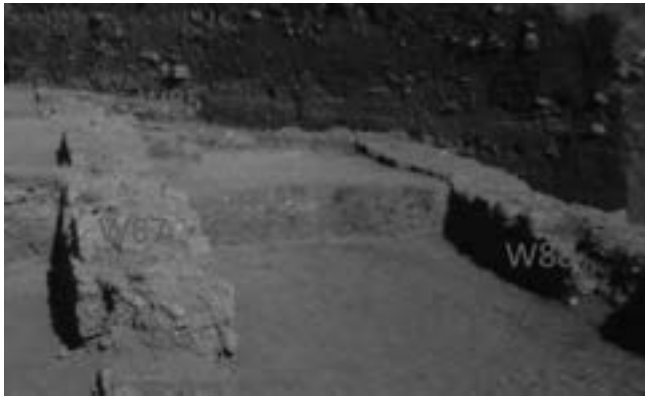
W81 is a circular pit (diameter: 2,05 m.) located between rooms XII and XIII. It is constructed with semi-regular courses of medium-sized stones. It cuts through W34 in the SE and W33 in the NW. It is likely that W81 is located exactly at the location of an entrance in W34, providing access between room XII and XIII. Like the other pits, it is generally dated to the later Islamic layers I and II, much later than the palatial complex.

Figures appendix A: XI/XVII/CXXXI/LI/LIV/LVI/LXVII/LXXII/LXXX/XLIII.



W82 is a wall (1,70 x 0,50 m.) with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar, running in a NNE orientation. It is located in room XII and corridor A5 and the entrance between these spaces. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,40 m. It seems to be built against and thus later than W36 in the SW and W38 in the NE. It blocks off corridor A5. No traces of (painted) plaster were associated with W82.

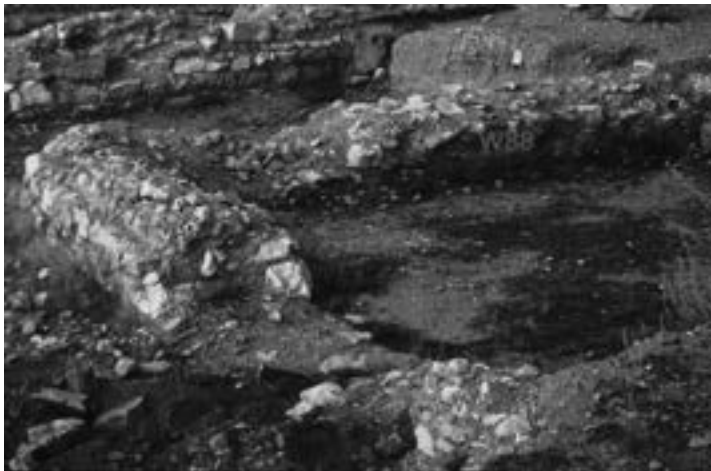
Figures appendix A: XVII/CXXXI/LXXII/XV.



W85 is a wall with regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 0,50 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It seems to have been preserved only to one course of stones, 0,27 m. high. In the NE, W85 continues into the trench profile. Its stratigraphic relation with W67 in the SW cannot be established on the basis of the meagre documentation. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W85.

Absolute height: 445,39 m.

Figures appendix A: XXV/CXXVII.



W86 is a wall with regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,10 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,50 m. It continues into the N trench profile and is destroyed at the SW side. It probably is the same as W87 towards the SW. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W86.

Figures appendix A: L.



W87 is a wall with regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,10 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 0,66 m. across its entire length. It connects to *W88* in the SW and appears to be destroyed in the NE. It likely is the same as *W86* in the NE. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with *W87*.

Absolute height: 445,15 m.

Figures appendix A: XLII/XXXVI/XLVII/L/LXXI.



W88 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,20 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to a height of 0,70 m. across its entire length. It connects to *W87* in the SE and appears to continue into the N profile of trench in the NW. Its stratigraphic relation to *W85* in the NW is unclear. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with *W88*.

Absolute height: 445,19 m.

Figures appendix A: XXV/XXXVI/XLII/XLVII/L/LXXXII/LXXI/CXXVII.



W89 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 1,10 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,80 m. in the SW but then immediately slopes down to one course of stones of ca. 0,30 m. high. It connects to *W67* in the SW and appears to continue into the N profile of trench in the NE. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with *W89*.

Absolute height: 445,20 m.

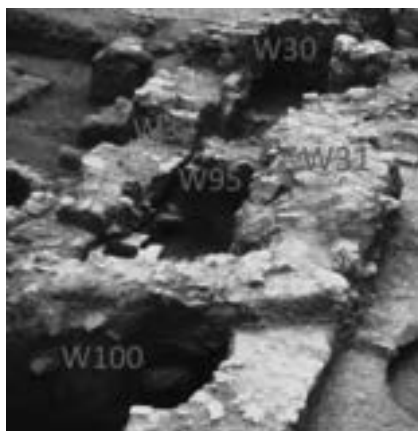
Figures appendix A: XXXVI/LXXXII/XLVII/XVIII/XXV.



W94 is a wall with regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: ca. 0,40 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 0,90 m. high. across its entire length. It seems to be built against

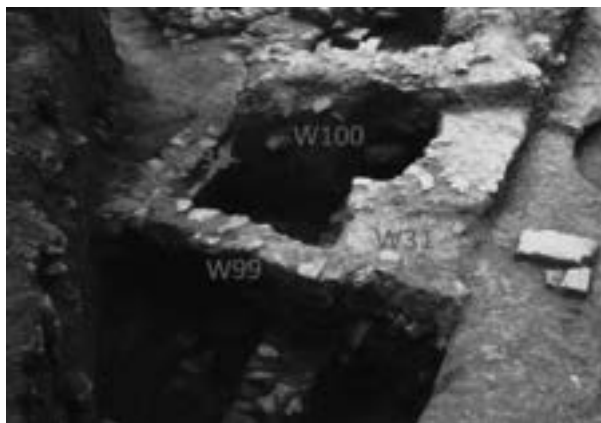
W31 in the NW and W32 in the SE and thus is likely later than these walls. It completely closes off corridor A4. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W94.

Figures appendix A: XXIV/LV/LXXX.



W95 is a wall with regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: ca. 0,80 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 0,90 m. high. across its entire length. It seems to be built against W31 in the NW and W32 in the SE and thus is likely later than these walls. It completely closes off corridor A4. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W95.

Figures appendix A: XLIII/LXVII/LXXX.



W99 is a wall with regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: ca. 0,60 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 0,45 m. high. across its entire length (measured from corridor A4). It seems to be built against W31 in the NW and W33 in the SE and thus is likely later than these walls. It completely closes off corridor A4. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W99.

Absolute height: 445,97 m.

Figure appendix A: LXVII.

W100 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar (width: ca. 0,50 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation. It was preserved up to ca. 1,30 m. high. across its entire length. It seems to be built against and on top of W31 in the NW and W33 in the SE and thus is later than these walls. It completely closes off corridor A4. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W100.

Figures appendix A: XLIII/LXVII.

4.2.2 Floors



F1 is a tessellated mosaic in concentric border design, located in room I.⁴¹⁶ It covers the entire rectangular room (3,40 x 4,40 m.). The borders of the mosaic are conducted in *opus tessellatum*, consisting of tesserae of ca. 10-13 mm.² The inner *emblema* is executed in *opus vermiculatum* in tesserae of 3-6 mm². The mosaic was almost completely preserved, save for a disturbance of ca. 1,00 x 0,50 m. SW of the central *emblema*. Also in the S border, the outer strip seems to have been destroyed. The mosaic has one *emblema* surrounded by nine borders, which, from the outside inwards, can be described as follows⁴¹⁷: 1) a plain border, white 2) a band with a stepped pyramid motif, dark grey on white, 3) a plain band, dark grey, 4) a wave-crest pattern, white on dark grey 5) a meander in perspective, white on dark grey with red in the central hollow cubes of the meander, 6) a wave-crest pattern, dark grey on white, 7) a plain, red border, 8) a border with fishes: two fishes turned towards each other on each side, in all four cases flanking a shell. Wide palette of coloured tesserae, 9) a plain, red border. The central *emblema* consist of two dolphin-like sea-creatures symmetrically flanking an amphora in the centre, executed in a wide palette of coloured tesserae. The

⁴¹⁶ Bingöl 1997, pl. 24,2; Bingöl 2013, 66 fig. 94.

⁴¹⁷ The designation 'grey on white' is relative; there is no clear hierarchy between the white and grey wave-crest motifs that result from one another. For the sake of description, I choose to give primacy to the colour first encountered when describing from the outside inwards.

emblema is oriented towards the NE. F1 seems to abut W1 in the NE, W9 in the NW, W2 in the SW and W14 in the SE. It is probable that F1 is below W57.

Absolute height: 446,42 m.

Figures appendix A: VII/X/XLI/III/LIX/LXVII/LXXXI/LXXXIII/LXXXVIII/LV/CIII/CIV/CIX/CV/CVI/CVII/CVIII/CX/CXI/CXII/CXIII/CXIV/CXV/CXVI/CXXI.



F2 is a tessellated mosaic (1,80 x 4,40 m.) located in room II, containing white and dark grey tesserae of ca. 10-13 mm².⁴¹⁸ Its decorative pattern consists of equally sized white and dark grey squares (ca. 30 tesserae per square) together creating a 'checkerboard-pattern'. F2 probably abuts W2 in the NE and W10 in the NW. F2 continues into the entrance towards room I in the N, where it is probably covered by W57. In the SW it seems to abut W3 but the limited preservation of W3 makes it hard to establish. In the SE, F2 borders what might be the entrance to XIV.

Absolute height: 446,42 m.

Figures appendix A: I/IV/VII/X/XIV/XXVII/XXVIII/XXXIV/CII/LIX/LXXXI.

⁴¹⁸ Bingöl 2013, 28 fig. 23–24.



F3 is a tessellated mosaic in concentric border design, located in room VIII. It covers the entire rectangular room (5,40 x 6,30 m.). The borders of the mosaic are conducted in *opus tessellatum*, consisting of tesserae of ca. 10-13 mm.² The mosaic was almost completely preserved, save for a disturbance of ca. 2,00 x 3,00 m. in the SW and central part of the mosaic. This disturbance makes it unclear whether there was an *emblema* in the centre of the mosaic. Nine borders can be established, which, from the outside inwards, can be described as follows: 1) a plain border, white 2) a crenellation motif, dark grey on white, 3) a plain, dark grey border, 4) a stepped pyramid motif, white on dark grey, 5) a plain border, white, 6) a wave-crest pattern, dark grey on white, 7) a plain, dark grey border, 8) a wave-crest pattern, white on dark grey, 9) a meander, white on dark grey. F3 seems to abut W8 in the NE, W49 in the NW, W2 and W22 in the SE.

Absolute height: 447,06 m.

Figures appendix A: XIII/LXII/LXXIX/LXXXV/XCI/C/CXXII/CXXX.



F4 is a tessellated mosaic (14,60 x 20,00 m.) with white and dark grey tesserae of ca. 10-13 mm², located in room XIV. The mosaic is conducted in *opus tessellatum* and has a concentric border design. The mosaic was preserved in the N corner, in the W corner and in the E. The many circular disturbances are the results of later Islamic pits (from layer II) that cut right through the mosaic.⁴¹⁹ In the centre, a large rectangular depression was excavated (5,50 x 11,00 m.) that clearly had a different filling compared to the surrounding layers on top of F4 (the excavators mention a 'pile of rubble'⁴²⁰). The issue at stake here is whether F4 was destroyed or that in fact this rectangular area in the exact centre of F4 had never contained a mosaic. The excavators first thought the latter was the case and entertained the hypothesis of a rectangular pool in the centre of F4. An important argument was the fact that W60, W61, W65 and W66 follow exactly the concentric border design of F4 and could thus potentially be the foundation of a peristyle surrounding a *piscina*. In the final publication, Özgüç argued that F4 was destroyed and that W60, W61, W65 and W66 were late Roman walls that were constructed after the destruction of F4. Looking at the fairly irregular character of especially walls W61 and W66, containing several spolia, it seems indeed likely that these small walls were only constructed after the destruction of F4 and are thus not evidence of a pool or a peristylum. In the filling of the depression in sector I/17, moreover, were found many fragments of mosaic, but also eastern sigillata, other Hellenistic period ceramics and roof tiles.⁴²¹ A high quality, perhaps figurative,

⁴¹⁹ Witnessed, for instance, in the W corner of F4 and described in the 1984 excavation report: 'bütün j K 17 nolu alanın kesiştiği kısımdan doğu'yu devam eden mozaik sırasını bulduk. mozaikler avlunun güney batı kanadını oluşturmakta. mozaikler islami katların kuyularıyla yer yer tahrip olmuş.' (excavation report 1984, 22-06-1984, p.4).

⁴²⁰ 'Avlu ortasındaki moloz yığın temizlenmeye başlandı.' (excavation report 1984, 9-7-1984, p.7).

⁴²¹ 'bu tarihten itibaren sarayda orta avlunun içersinde L16 L17 ve K16 K17 nolu alanlarda çalışmaya başladık. (...) çok sayıda fresk ve çatı kiremidi parçaları gelmekte. ayrıca formları değişik sicillatlar ve geç hellenistik seramiği devam etmekte. ayrıca bu alanda ufak bloklar halinde mozaik parçaları bulunmakta.'

emblema containing such glass tesserae and perhaps executed in *opus vermiculatum*, is therefore a more likely reconstruction than the presence of a pool (see also below in paragraph 4.3.4). In short: F4 certainly covered W54, W55, W56 and F16 and abutted W14, W15, W29 and W30 in the N. In the W, it seems to abut W17, W18 and W28. The stratigraphic relation to F5, W60, W61, W65, W66 cannot be established with certainty but it is likely that the latter four walls are constructed after the mosaic's destruction. F4 is covered by W71, W73 and W74 in the E. In the 1984 excavation report, it is mentioned that Islamic floors and walls from layer II, located almost right on top of F4 in the south (in sector k/17), were removed.⁴²²

In terms of the concentric border design, eleven borders can be established, which, from the outside inwards, can be described as follows: 1) a plain border, white, 2) a saw-tooth motif, dark grey on white, 3) a wave-crest motif, dark grey on white, 4) a plain border, 5) a wave-crest motif, white on dark grey, 6) a plain border, white, 7) a meander, white on dark grey, 8) a plain border, white, 8) a wave-crest motif, dark grey on white, 9) a plain border, dark grey, 10) a wave-crest motif, white on dark grey, 11) a stepped pyramid motif, white on dark grey.

Absolute height: 446,10 m.

Figures appendix A: I/III/IV/VI/IX/X/XI/XII/XIX/XXIV/XXVIII/XXXIV/XXXVIII/XLIII/LI/LII/LV/LVI/LVIII/LIX/LXXXI/LXXXIII/LXXXVII/CI/CXIX/CXVII/CXVIII/CXX/CXXIX.



F5 is a probable floor in corridor A3. It was not well documented; fig. XII does not give us any clue about F5's character. Map B2 does indicate the presence of a floor, but it remains unclear what it consists of. F5 has approximately the same height as F4 (446,27 m.), but their relation is unclear. It is likely that F5 made part of a step towards F6, which is located considerably higher (approximately 0,30 m.).

(excavation report 1984, 1-8-1984, p.9) and 'Ayrıca mozaik üzerindeki küpleri temizlerken I 17 plankareli alanda bulunan küp içerisinde cam bardak parçaları ele geçti.' (excavation report 1984, 9-7-1984, p.7).

⁴²² 'Ayrıca K 17 nolu alanda çizimleri yapılan islami kat duvarları kaldırıldı.' (excavation report 1984, 31-05-1984, p.3).

Absolute height: ca. 446,10 m.

Figure appendix A: XII.



F6 is a probable floor (ca. 2,00 x 1,30) in corridor A3. It was not well documented; fig. XII does not give us any clue about F5's character. Map B2 does indicate the presence of a mosaic floor constructed in a raster design of dark grey on white. In the 1984 excavation report, the excavators mention a mosaic with parallel rows of squares located in a corridor, on the border of sectors j/17 and k/17; it is very likely that this description concerns F6.⁴²³ In the same report, a little sketch gives a rough idea of its decorative pattern as well.⁴²⁴ It is unclear whether this mosaic was constructed with tesserae or pebbles. In the N corner, the mosaic was clearly cut by a later circular disturbance. F6 likely abuts W25 in the SE. The stratigraphic relation with W19 is unclear. The transition towards F7 in the SW also remains unclear.

Absolute height: cannot be established on the basis of the maps but should be approximately 446,40 m.

Figures appendix A: XII.

⁴²³ 'J ve K 17 nolu alanların kesistiği noktada güneydoğu kesimde bir üst tabakanın kuyularının tabanında mozaik sırasına rastaldık. birbirine paralel kare sıralarının şekil oluşturduğu mozaik her iki tarafta fresklerle sınırlı bir koridor oluşturmakta.' (excavation report 1984, 01-06-1984, p. 3).

⁴²⁴ Excavation report 1984, 01-06-1984, p. 6.



F7 is a pebble mosaic (ca. 3,90 x 2,20 m.) consisting of white and dark grey pebbles, located in corridor A2. It has a raster design of dark grey on white, creating white squares. It was disturbed in the E and the W by ellipse-shaped disturbances. F7 seems to abut W21 and W20 in the NE and N. It seems to connect to F14 in the SE

Absolute height: 446,60 m.

Figures appendix A: V/XX/XXIII/LXIX.



F8 is a tessellated mosaic (11,00 x 11,00 m.) with white and dark grey tesserae of ca. 10-13 mm², located in room XV. The mosaic is conducted in *opus tessellatum* and has a concentric border design. The mosaic was destroyed in its entire southern corner and heavily disturbed in the centre and its NE side. The mosaic seems to abut W25, W27, W28 and F14. For the concentric border design, twenty-three borders can be established, which, from the outside inwards, can be described as follows: 1) an empty band, white 2) a band with a crenellation motif, dark grey on white, 3) a wave crest-motif, dark grey on white, 4) an empty dark band, 5) a wave-crest motif mirroring the former one, white on dark grey, 5) a wide band of lozenges in perspective in dark grey, white and dark red, 6) a band with a saw-tooth motif, white on dark grey, 7) empty band, white 8) band with another saw-tooth motif, mirroring the former one, dark grey on white, 9) band with stepped pyramid-motif, dark grey on white, 10) empty band, dark grey, 11) band with meander-motif, 12) empty band, dark grey, 13) a band with wave-crest pattern, white on dark grey, 14) an empty band, white, 15) a band with wave-crest pattern, white on dark grey, 16) a wide band with vegetal decoration against a dark grey background, including four symmetrical pairs of acanthus leaves in pink, yellow and white in each corner. From the top of these acanthus leaves, twigs shoot up which bifurcate and

end in ivy leaves (fig. 3: ID701 – st.18-1001⁴²⁵; ID702-st. 18-1002⁴²⁶). The circular roundel that follows continues in a concentric border-style: 17) wide red band with stylized and/or vegetal motifs in dark green with (unidentified) white rectangular element with black line in its centre (fig. 3: ID704 – st.18-1004⁴²⁷) 18) a simple guilloche in pink, white and red 19) a wave crest border, dark grey on white, 20) an empty band, white, 21) a wave crest border, white on dark grey 22) a ‘ionian kymation’ with red, white and dark grey (ID703 – st.18-1003⁴²⁸) 23) an empty band in white. In the centre, a medallion containing a depiction of a satyr-like comic mask was depicted (extensively discussed in chapter 10).

Absolute height: 446,27 m.

Figures appendix A: XXIII/LXIV/LXIX/XCII/XCIII/XCIV/XCV/CXXIII/CXXIV/CXXV/CXXVI.



⁴²⁵ ID701– st.18-1001: Found *in situ*. Fragment of symmetric floral decoration in *opus tessellatum* from the rectangular frame that serves as the transition to the roundel in the centre. Depicting two acanthus leaves mirroring each other. Both are rendered in yellow, pink and white. Both leaves curve outwards at the pink top and have serrated edges on the inside. The outside is smooth and is indicated with yellow tesserae.

⁴²⁶ ID702-st. 18-1002: Found *in situ*. Fragment of symmetric floral decoration in *opus tessellatum* from the rectangular frame that serves as the transition to the roundel. Depicting an acanthus leaf in pink and white that curves outwards on the top, where the edge is serrated. From the top shoots a twig in white that seems to bifurcate and ends in several ivy leaves in white-yellow, four of which have been preserved.

⁴²⁷ ID704 – st.18-1004: Found *in situ*, with decorative bands in *opus tessellatum*, surrounding the roundel. Outer band has vegetal and stylized motifs on a red background. Then follows a simple guilloche in red, yellow and white against a dark grey background. After this a wave-crest pattern, white on dark grey; an empty fillet of white tesserae; a small wave-crest pattern, dark grey on white. More detailed description of concentric border decoration, see below.

⁴²⁸ ID703 – st.18-1003: Found *in situ*. Executed in *opus tessellatum*. Stylized Ionian cymation in red, dark grey and white-yellow tesserae. Ovals in red, framed with a white border separating from the stylized lotus, again rendered in red tesserae.

F9 is a pebble mosaic floor located in corridor B4, consisting solely of plain white pebbles. It was cut by an ellipse-shaped disturbance in the centre and seems to be destroyed at the NE and SW sides. F9 runs on both sides of I1. It seems to abut W31 in the SE and W42 in the NW. F9 descends towards the NE.

Absolute height: 446,96 m. (far SW); 446,69 m. (far NE).

Figures appendix A: I/XLIII/XLV/LVI/LXVII/LXXX.



F10 is a fragment of a floor located in the '*opus reticulatum* structure', constructed with small square limestone slabs in an orthogonal design. It was preserved in the far W corner of the structure and was destroyed towards the S. It is probably the same as F17. It seems that, at the time of excavation, the floor was preserved continuing toward the S at least covering W70 (see fig. CXXVII). At some point during the excavation, however, a large part of the floor was removed (see for instance on figs. LIII and LXV). F10 seems to abut W41 in the S and W64 in the W.

Absolute height: 445,69 m.

Figures appendix A: XXVI/LIII/LXII/LXV/CXXVII.



F11 is the mortar bed of a floor (ca. 4,20 x 1,60 m.) in room VII. It is likely that it contained a tessellated mosaic. It was preserved in the NW and destroyed on the SE side. It continues in the entrance towards room VI (between W7 and W47). It probably abuts W7 in the NE and W8 in the SW.

Absolute height: 447,26 m.

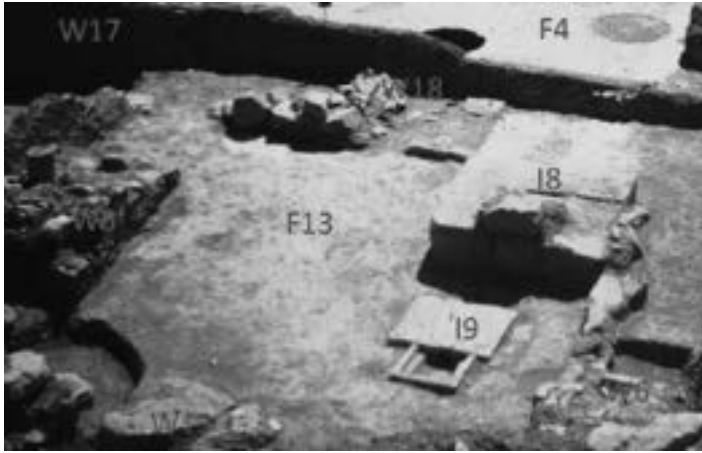
Figures appendix A: XIII/XXVIII/LXII/LXXIII/LXXIX.



F12 is the mortar bed of a floor (ca. 7,30 x 1,90 m.) in room VI. It is likely that it contained a tessellated mosaic. It was preserved in the N and the NW and destroyed on the SW and the S side. It continues in the entrance towards room VI (between W7 and W47). It probably abuts W6 in the NE and W47 in the NW. I7 seems to be on top of F12.

Absolute height: 447,20 m.

Figures appendix A: XII/XIII/XXXIII/XXXIV/LII/LXII.



F13 is the mortar bed of a floor (ca. 4,70 x 3,50 m.) in room V. Based on the 1984 excavation report, which mentions the presence of mosaic tesserae in this room, it is likely that it contained a tessellated mosaic.⁴²⁹ According to the report, the mortar bed contains larger pebbles. The mortar bed seems to have been preserved in almost the entire room. Only in the NW corner, it is cut by a circular shaped disturbance. *F13* notably runs E of *W5*, where it might indicate the existence of an earlier entrance towards room IV, which was later closed off by a small mudbrick wall. It also continues SW of *W18* (and SE of *I8*), which might indicate the existence of an entrance between room V and room XIV, later closed off also by a small mudbrick wall. *F13* seems to abut *W5*, *W18*, *W6* and *W13*. The stratigraphic relation with *I8* and *I9* is not clear.

Absolute height: 446,53 m.

Figures appendix A: I/VI/XII/XXXIV/LII/CXXIX.

⁴²⁹ 'Bügün kazı alanını aynı plankarede, doğu yönünde ca 5 m gemişlettik. ayrıca daüka önceki senelerde açığa çıkarılan altların tabanını ve duvar fresklerinin yüzeyini temizledik. altarı odada mozaiklerin varlığını keşlettik. ancak mozaik döseme sökülmüş sadece tabanın çakıl parçalarını temizliyebildik.' (1984 excavation report, 29-05-1984, p.2).



F14 is a floor (1,60 x 2,70 m.) in corridor A2 consisting of ten large marble slabs (average size: 0,40 x 0,70 m). It functions as the threshold between corridor A2 and room XV. *F14* seems to abut *W25* and connect to *F7*. *I13* seems to partially cover *F14*.

Absolute height: 446,54 m.

Figures appendix A: XX/XXIII/LXIV/LXIX.



F15 seems to be a mortar layer (ca. 5,60 x 3,00 m) in room XIV. It is not clear whether this was indeed a surface and it was not documented as such by the excavators. The photographic evidence of figs. III and IX however seems to suggest that *F15* was a mortar or plaster layer on top of *W65* and running upward

towards the NW. If the large rectangular depression of room XIV was indeed a pool, F15 might be a plastered step to enter it; we lack evidence to be sure however.

Absolute height: ca. 445,00 m.

Figures appendix A: III/IX.

F16 might be a floor or surface located on a deeper level in room XIV. It was not well documented and there are no photos available depicting this unit. On plan B, it is drawn as what appears to be some sort of surface consisting of pebbles. In the excavation report of 1984, it is also shortly mentioned.⁴³⁰ It must be covered by F4. See also map B2.

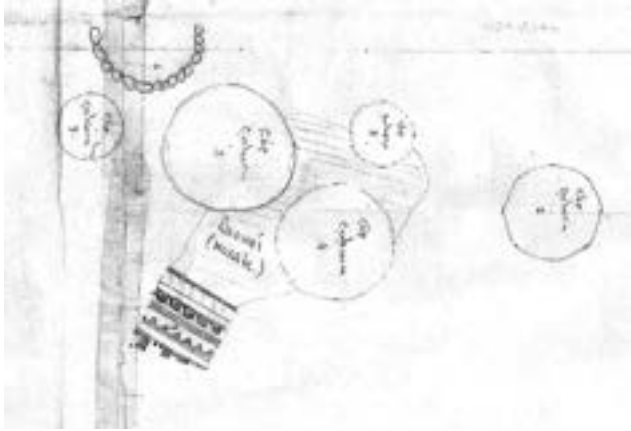


F17 is a fragment of a floor (6,50 x 2,80) located in the 'opus reticulatum structure', constructed with small square limestone slabs in an orthogonal design. It was not well documented but it is likely that it is similar to F10. It was destroyed in the W, S and E side. It seems to abut W67 in the NE.

Absolute height: ca. 445,69 m.

Figures appendix A: XXV/L/CXXVII.

⁴³⁰ 'bu alanın batısındaki 3.60 a 6 m lik çukurda ise V kat seviyesine inildi.' (excavation report 1984, 15-8-1984, p.15).



F18 is a fragment of a tessellated mosaic floor (ca. 3,80 x 1,40 m.) located in sector s/11. It was not documented very well and is only drawn on map B8. the mosaic was destroyed on all sides. Two circular disturbances cut through the F18 in the NW and the E. Because of the crenellation motif, it is likely that the SW side forms the outside of the mosaic. It has a concentric border design, conducted in *opus tessellatum*. Based on the other mosaics, it is likely that the mosaic was conducted in white and dark grey tesserae. Nine borders can be established, which, from the outside inwards, can be described as follows: 1) a crenellation motif, white on dark grey, 2) a plain border, white, 3) a saw-tooth motif, dark grey on white, 4) a plain border, dark grey, 5) a wave-crest motif, white on dark grey, 6) a plain border, white, 7) an unidentifiable motif (perhaps wave crest?), 8) a plain border, dark grey, 9) illusionistic cubes.

No pictures; see appendix B, map B8.

F19 is a fragment of a floor (ca. 1,50 x 0,20 m.) located in the far SW of corridor A1. It was not well documented and only appears on map B2. It seems to be largely destroyed towards the N and NE. It seems to continue into the S trench profile. On the basis of the drawing of map B2, it is likely that it concerns a pebble mosaic comparable to F9.

Absolute height: ca. 446,31.

No pictures, see appendix B, map B2.

F20 is described by Özgüç as a 'floor' located on the bottom of the rectangular depression in the centre of room XIV. There are no clear pictures of this feature and it was only described very shortly in the 1984 excavation report. There, it says that the 'floor' contains small pebbles and is very hard.⁴³¹ The preservation of this surface is not clear. On top of it, 'late-Assyrian' finds were encountered, including a glazed brick,

⁴³¹ 'Bütün yapılan çalışmalarda mozaikli avlunun ortasındaki dikdörtgen şekilli mekanın tabanına indik. taban çok sert toprak zemin ve üzerinde bir takım dizili ufak çakıl taşlarının izleri var.' (excavation report 1984, 15-8-1984, p.15).

which might mean that the surface belongs to a much older pre-palatial building phase.⁴³² It might be the same as F16. It is likely that W60, W61, W65 and W66 are later than F20. The stratigraphic relation to W59 is unclear.

Absolute height: 444,47 m.

Figure appendix A: III.

4.2.3 Installations



I1 is the northern-most part of the channel running SW-NE through corridor B4, descending towards the NE. It consists of multiple limestone segments with upstanding rims. It was cut in the SW by an ellipse-shaped disturbance and it continues into the N trench profile. The stratigraphic relation to F9 on both sides of the channel is unclear.

Absolute height: 446,59 m.

Figure appendix A: LXVII.

⁴³² *Bütün yapılan çalışmalarda dikdörtgen şeklindeki mekanın tabanına inildi ve temizliği yapıldı. bu alanın taban seviyesinden geç asur parçaları getmeye başladı. bir adet üzeri sırlı duvar tuğlası ele geçti (yarısı kırık).* (excavation report 1984, 16-8-1984, p.15).



I2 is a part of the channel running in a SW-NE orientation through corridor B4, descending towards the NE. It consists of multiple limestone segments with upstanding rims. It was cut by ellipse-shaped disturbances in both the NE and the SW. The stratigraphic relation to F9 on both sides of the channel is unclear.

Absolute height: ca. 446,95 m.

Figures appendix A: I/XXIV/XLIII/XLV/LVI/LXVII/LXXX.



I3 is a part of the channel running in a NW-SE orientation through corridor B3, descending towards the SE. It consists of multiple limestone segments with upstanding rims. It was cut by ellipse-shaped disturbances in the SE. In the NW, it connects to I4.

Absolute height: 447,15 m.

Figures appendix A: XX/XL/XLIII/XLV/XLVI/LIX/LVI/LXXX.



I4 is a part of the channel running in a SW-NE orientation through corridor B2, descending towards the NE. It consists of multiple limestone segments with upstanding rims. It was almost completely preserved. In the SW, W46 covers and blocks I4. In the NE, it connects to I3. In the SW, it connects to I5.

Absolute height: 448,07 (far SW); 447,14 (far NE).

Figures appendix A: I/VII/XXI/XXVII/XXVIII/XXII/XXX/XXXIII/XXXVII/XXXVIII/XL/XLVI/LII/LIX/LXII/LXVI.



I5 is a part of the channel running in a NW-SE orientation through corridor B3, descending towards the SE. It consists of multiple limestone segments with upstanding rims. It was almost completely preserved. In the NW, it connects to I6. In the SE, it connects to I4.

Absolute height: ca. 448,17.

Figures appendix A: XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/XXX/XXXIII/XXXVII/XXXVIII/XL/LXII/LXVI.



I6 is a part of the channel running in a SW-NE orientation through corridor B2, descending towards the NE. It consists of multiple limestone segments with upstanding rims. In the SW, it was destroyed. In the NE, it connects to *I5*.

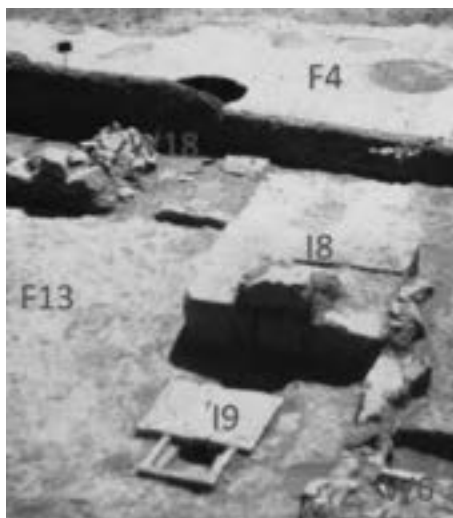
Figures appendix A: XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/XXX/XXXIII/XXXVII/XL/LXII/LXVI/LXXIII/LXXIX.



I7 is a rectangular limestone block (ca. 1,10 x 0,35 m., height: ca. 0,50 m.) with a profiled base as well as a profiled upper rim located in room VI. It was not well documented and it was not present in the museum nor in its catalogue. In the sketch of the 1984 excavation report (appendix C1, see a detail above), its location was drawn in a central position of room VI, against W47 in the SW. Although both figures VII and LII show the object at this same location it is not entirely sure whether it was indeed found exactly in situ

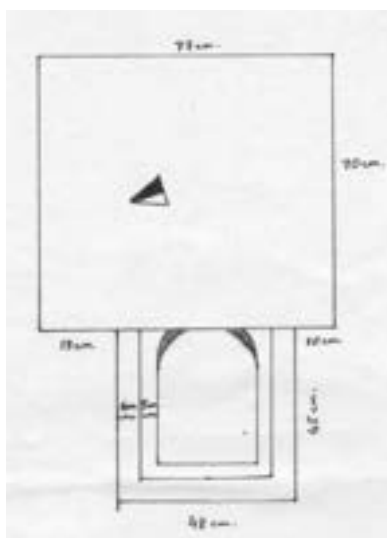
at the time of excavation. On p.1 of the 1984 excavation report, the block is drawn in a sketch at the same location and it has written 'altar' on it. It seems to be on top of F12.

Figures appendix A: VII/LII.



I8 is an elevated platform (1,30 x 1,30 m. height: ca. 0,40 m.) constructed in limestone slabs, generally interpreted as a statue base. The platform consists of one layer of stones, but in the W, a fragment of a second possible layer seems to be preserved. *I8* is laced against W6 but the stratigraphic relation is unclear. The relation to *F13* is also unclear. It is likely that *I9* and *I8* belong to each other. If *I8* indeed functioned as a statue base, the nearby sculpture fragments *ID215* and *ID216* might have been located here.

Figures appendix A: I/VI/XII/XXXVIII/LII/CXXIX/LXXXIV.



I9 is a platform with an apsidal basin constructed in limestone located in the W of room V. It consists of a square surface of 0,77 x 0,70 m. (height: ca. 0,15 m.) with, at the NW side, the basin of 0,45 x 0,58 m. and a depth of ca. 0,30 m. The basin contains a step between the outer rim and the bottom, shaped in an apsidal form. The basin is not placed exactly in the centre of the square altar, but slightly towards the S. The platform was not photographed from up close. In a sketch from the 1984 excavation report, a detailed drawing was provided. The stratigraphic relation to F13 is unclear. It might be an altar related to statue base I8.

Figures appendix A: XII/CXXIX.



I10 is a niche (1,20 x 0,70 m., starting at a height of ca. 0,40 m.) in W31, located in corridor A4. The corners of the niche are enforced by a masonry of coursed rubble stones. It seems to be part of the original wall construction. I10 is very similar to niche I11, located 5,40 m. towards the NE.

Figures appendix A: IX/XI/LI/CXXXI.



I11 is a niche (1,30 x 0,70 m., starting at a height of ca. 0,40 m.) in *W31*, located in corridor *A4*. The corners of the niche are enforced by a masonry of coursed rubble stones. It seems to be part of the original wall construction. *I11* is very similar to niche *I10*, located 5,40 m. towards the SW.

Figures appendix A: IX/XI/CXXXI.



I13 is a slight elevation of two indented limestone slabs (0,90 x 0,70 m., height: ca. 0,15 m.) which belong to the entrance between corridor *A2* and room *XV*. It is likely that it functioned as the foundation of a decorated door frame, to which fragments *ID517*, *ID588*, *ID613* and *ID614* (see chapter 5) might belong. *I13* seems to partially cover *F14* in the N. *W25* connects to *I13* in the S.

Figures appendix A: LXIV/LXIX.



I14 is a standing *orthostat* consisting of two limestone slabs located in room *XVIII* (ca. 1,00 x 0,40 m.). It was preserved up to a height of ca. 1,20 m. and broken at the top. On figs. *LXI* and *LXX*, it is visible that the painted

plaster layer that is placed against W37 continues on I14, which suggests that I14 and W37 belong to the same phase of construction. The purpose of I14 remains unclear.

Figures appendix A: II/XLIV/LXI/LXIII/LXX/LXXII.

4.3 Discussion

This paragraph deals with several issues concerning the architecture and archaeology of the Commagenean palace, discussing its lay-out (4.3.1), the height differences and 'height zones' of the palace's construction (4.3.2), the evidence for staircases and multiple floors (4.3.3), the presence of roofs (4.3.4), evidence for later additions and reparations (4.3.5), the interpretation of the structure as a palace (4.3.6), and the dating of its construction and abandonment and/or destruction (4.3.7).

4.3.1 The palatial lay-out

This paragraph synthesizes the information provided in paragraph 4.2 in order to arrive at a detailed account of the different spaces belonging to the palatial lay-out. In map D5 of appendix D, a new plan of the palatial structure is provided, containing a new numbering of the different spaces (for a small version, see fig. 4.2). This numbering of the rooms and corridors is different from previous publications; they do not follow those proposed by Özgüç, Bingöl, nor Zoroğlu. The reason for adding yet *another* numbering system is meant to overcome the contradicting and internally inconsequent character of these earlier numbering systems.

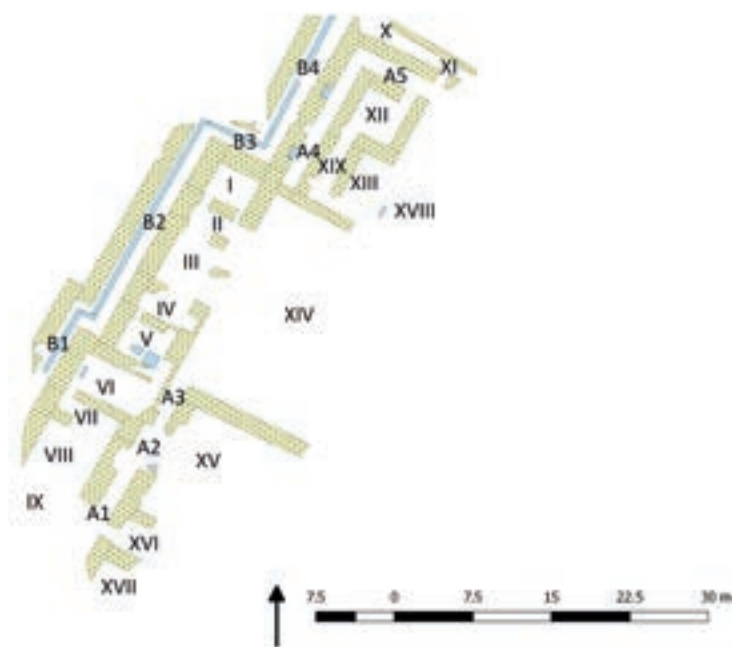


Fig. 4.2 Map of the palace of Samosata with room and corridor numbers. Map by the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).

The excavated area of the palace measures ca. 64,0 x 26,5 m. (ca. 1700 m²), but this must be only a part of the original palatial structure. It is likely that the palace extended further towards the north, east, and south; the western, peripheral corridor (B1), running in a NNE orientation, probably indicates the western border of the structure. It remains unclear how large the original structure was and how far it extended in the different directions. One clue in this regard is provided by a fragment of tessellated mosaic in concentric border decoration (F18) and a W79 in sector s/11, located circa 60 m. towards the east-north-east. This might indeed suggest that the palace extended all the way to this part of the *höyük*, and would suggest that the excavated part of the structure is not even half the size of its original extent. It is however also possible that the overall eastern area of the *höyük* was rather characterized by a 'palatial complex', with multiple structures (palaces, pavilions) dispersed over the acropolis, perhaps in a garden-like *paradeisos* setting.⁴³³

Room I (3,50 x 4,50 m) is a small rectangular room with a NW-SE orientation, delimited by W1, W2, W9 and W14. It contains F1, a tessellated mosaic in so-called concentric border style

⁴³³ Known for instance from the palaces of Susa, Pasargadae, Iraq el-Amir and Judea, cf. Nielsen 2001; Evyasaf 2010.

surrounding an *emblema* with two symmetrically placed dolphin-like sea creatures on either side of a Rhodian amphora. W9 and W14 contained traces of wall painting in Masonry Style with vertical orthostats rendered in red and yellow. Room I was entered from room II through an entrance in the NW of W2 and perhaps also through an entrance in the SE of W2. Floor height: 446,42 m.

Room II (2,00 x 4,50 m) is a small corridor-like room with a NW-SE orientation, delimited by W2, W3, W10 and W15. It contains F2, a tessellated mosaic in a white-black checkerboard-pattern. W2 and W10 contain traces of wall painting in Masonry Style with vertical orthostats, alternating in red and yellow. Room II was most likely entered from room XIV through an entrance in the SE. It was entered from room I through two possible entrances in the NW and SE of W2. It is unclear whether there were entrances in W3 towards room III. Floor height: 446,42 m.

Room III (6,80 x 4,50 m) is a large rectangular room with a NE-SW orientation, delimited by W3, W4, W11, and W16. W11 contains traces of wall painting in Masonry Style with vertical orthostats rendered in red, rose, purple, yellow and light blue as well as figurative depictions of pomegranates. No floor (decoration) was preserved, largely because of a much later, Islamic pit that cut through the centre of room III and which contained four skeletons. Room III probably had entrances towards room XIV and room IV and possibly also to room II; none of these can be established with certainty. Height: 444,70 m. (no surface and containing deeper trench).

Room IV (1,90 x 4,50 m.) is a small corridor-like room with a NW-SE orientation, delimited by walls W4, W17, W5 and W12. Its floor was not preserved. W5 contains Masonry Style wall painting on W5, containing vertical orthostats with diamond-shaped lozenges, alternating in red and blue. It probably contained an entrance towards room III and perhaps W5 originally provided two entrances to room V (like in W2), of which the SE entrance was probably later closed with a mudbrick extension of W5. Height: 446,09 m. (no surface).

Room V (3,60 x 4,50 m) is a small rectangular room with a NW-SE orientation, delimited by walls W5, W13, W6 and W18. It contains a mortar bed (F13), which most likely originally contained a mosaic floor. No plaster or wall painting were preserved in room V. In the far SE corner, room V contains a statue base (I8). In front of this, at the NW side, another platform (I9) is located, containing an apsidal shaped basin, perhaps used as an altar.⁴³⁴ Close to the two structures, two limestone portraits were discovered (ID215 and ID216), probably depicting Zeus and a Hellenistic

⁴³⁴ Özgüç 1985, 225 and Zoroğlu 2012, 140. Özgüç 2009, 44 calls the room '*kült odası*' (cult-room) and in the excavation's diary the structure is named '*sunak*' (altar). In a preliminary report the structure is interpreted to have served blood sacrifices (Özgüç 1985, 225).

monarch.⁴³⁵ It is likely that room V only could be entered from room IV. Based on the continuation of F13, it is likely that originally there were two entrances, one in the NW and one in the SE; the latter seems to have been closed at a later moment with a mudbrick extension of W5. Based on the E continuation of F13, it is also possible that, originally, room V was accessible from XIV; a later mudbrick extension of W18 closed off this entrance however. Room V is significantly lower than room VI (ca. 0,70 m.). Height of surface: 446,53 m.

Room VI (6,00 x 3,50 m) is a rectangular room with a NW-SE orientation, delimited by W6, W7, W19, W20, W21 and W47. It contains fragments of a mortar bed (F12), which probably originally contained a mosaic. No traces of plaster or wall painting were found in room VI. At the NW end of the room, an elongated stone (I7) was placed in the centre, described as an 'altar' by the excavators. Room VI was entered from room VII in the W. Room VI is significantly higher than room V (ca. 0,70 m.). Height of surface: 447,20 m.

Room VII (ca. 1,50 x 6,00 m.) is a corridor-like room with a NW-SE orientation, delimited by W7, W8, W21 and W48. No traces of plaster or wall painting are associate with this room. In the NW half, a mortar bed was preserved (F11), which most probably originally contained a mosaic floor. Room VII was entered from room VI in the W and, possibly, from room VIII in the E. Height of surface: 447,26 m.

Room VIII (6,00 x 5,50 m.) is an almost square room, delimited by W8, W22 and W49. It contains a tessellated mosaic (F3) in concentric border style. W49 contains painted decoration with a frieze of rosettes and an egg-and-dart border. Room VIII was probably entered from room VII in the NE. The entrance to a space SW of room VIII, a possible room IX, is unclear. Floor height: 447,16 m.

Room IX (measurements unclear) was not excavated but might be a room SW of room VIII. The SW continuation of corridors A1 and B1 makes it likely that a room was indeed located here.

Room XII (4,70 x 4,30 m.) is an almost square room, delimited by W33, W34, W35 and W36. No traces of plaster or wall painting are associated with this room. Also, no surface was preserved here, although an fig. XVII some sort of mortar bed might be visible. Room XII was entered from corridor A5 in the NE. Height: 445,37 m. (no surface, probably).

Room XIII (2,40 x 6,40 m.) is a corridor-like room with a NE-SW orientation, delimited by W29, W34, W37 and W58. Due to the inclusion of W58 in the palatial plan, the spatial situation in this

⁴³⁵ See Özgüç 1985, 225; Özgüç 2009, 44; Zoroğlu 2012, 138 and, most recently, Riedel 2018. See also chapter 6, ID216.

area is very different from the plans published by Özgüç, Bingöl and Zoroğlu; the rooms (room XIII, XIX and XVIII) here now seem to consist of a series of narrow corridors. Room XIII was entered from the SW (room XIX), and from the SE (room XVIII). No surface was preserved in this room. Also, no traces of plaster or wall painting were associated with room XIII. Height: ca. 445,70 m. (no surface).

Room XIV (20,00 x 14,80 m.) is a large room with a NE-SW orientation, delimited by W14, W15, W16, W17, W18, W28, W29, W30. The SE wall was not preserved. The rectangular depression in the centre most likely is the result of a later destruction (see F4). Throughout the room, destructions from later pits and other activity (mostly belonging to layer II) are visible in the surface. The floor of room XIV was most likely entirely covered with F4, a mosaic in concentric border decoration. W14, W18, W28 and W30 contain fragments of wall painting, consisting of a row of vertical orthostats with diamond-shaped lozenges alternating in orange and red with white delineation. Room XIV probably had an entrance towards room II, room III and corridor B3. Although this is indicated on all previously published maps, it seems unlikely that room XIV could be entered from corridor A4; W30 basically makes this impossible (although perhaps this is only a later addition, see paragraph 4.3.5). Entrances towards room XVII and other possible spaces towards the E remain unclear. See paragraph 4.3.4 for a discussion about the possible roofing of this room. Height: 446,10 m.

Room XV (11,20 x 11,10 m), is an almost square room, delimited by W25, W27 and W28. Its SE limit was not excavated and cannot be established with certainty. The floor of room XV was covered with F3, a mosaic in concentric border decoration, containing a roundel that frames a figurative mosaic depicting a comic mask of a satyr-like figure (see chapter 8). W28, definitely contained wall painting. For W25 and W27 this cannot be established with certainty, but several pictures of painted plaster definitely derive from room XV but cannot be assigned to a specific wall (figs. XCII/XCIII/XCIV/XCV). Room XV contains a 2,70 m. wide entrance in the NW, towards corridor A2. This also contains a high threshold, as corridor A3 is much higher than room XV (0,37 m. difference). Height: 446,17 m.

Room XVI (3,00 x ? m.) is a small, corridor-like room with a NW-SE orientation, delimited by W23, W24, W25, W26 and W27. It has not been well documented and its plan is very unclear, especially in terms of its continuation towards the E. It is not clear whether a surface was reached. It might be that W24 is not a wall but an entrance from corridor A1. Height: unclear.

Room XVII (measurements unknown) is a room that was not well documented, possibly located at the far S of the trench. It seems to be delimited by W23 and W26. Height: unclear.

Room XVIII (measurements unknown) is a room that was only partially excavated. It was delimited by W37 in the W but the rest of the walls cannot be established. It is unclear whether a surface was reached. The vertical orthostat I14 is placed against W37, but its function is unclear. W37 contains small fragments of (red) painted plaster across its entire length (see fig. XXI), but no decorative scheme can be established. Height: unclear.

Room XIX (1,40 x 6,40 m.) is a corridor-like room, delimited by W29, W32, W34 and W58. It is unclear whether a surface was reached by the excavators. Due to the inclusion of W58 in the palatial plan, the spatial situation in this area is very different from the plans published by Özgüç, Bingöl and Zoroğlu; the rooms (room XIII, XIX and XVIII) here now seem to consist of a series of narrow corridors. Room XIX probably had an entrance in the NE towards room XII as well as an entrance towards room XIII in the S. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with room XIX. Height: 445,70 m. (no surface).

A1 is a corridor (10,40 x 1,50 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation, delimited by W22, W23, W24 and W25. It continues into the S trench profile towards the SW. In the NE, it continues into corridor A2. It might contain another entrance at W24, into room XVI. Corridor A1 was probably paved with F19, which most likely was a pebble floor. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with corridor A1. Height: 446,31 m.

A2 is a corridor and/or a small (ante-)room (3,50 x 3,90 m.), delimited by W20, W21, W22 and W25. In the NW, it contained F7, a pebble floor with a black raster decoration on a white background. In the SE, it contained F14, a stone floor made of large limestone slabs, serving as the threshold towards room XV. Corridor A2 also provides access to corridor A1 in the SW and corridor A3 in the NE. W20 and W21 contain painted plaster, with a row of horizontal orthostats in red with yellow alignment and, on top of this, a layer of vertical orthostats, alternating in red and yellow, with blue alignment. Height: 446,60 m.

A3 is a corridor (1,20 x 4,90 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation, delimited by W18, W19, W20 and W25. In the NE, it contains F5, which is an undocumented floor at a height of ca. 446,10 m. In the SW, it contains F6, a mosaic floor in a raster design of dark grey on white (unclear whether this is constructed with tesserae or pebbles), at a height of ca. 446,40 m. It is thus likely that the transition from F5 to F6 purported a step of ca. 0,30 m. height. It is likely that W18, W19 and W25 all contained painted plaster, as the 1984 excavation report describes corridor A3 as containing

frescoes on both sides.⁴³⁶ The decorative patterns are however unclear. Height: 446,10 (F5) and 446,40 (F6).

A4 is a corridor (15,10 x 1,50 m.), running in a NE-SW orientation, and delimited by W30, W31, W32, and W33. It is unclear whether the excavators reached a surface. In the NE, it continues into corridor A5. Two niches are located in W31, one at 2,60 m. (I10) and one at 6,50 m. (I11). No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with corridor A4. Height: 445,52 m. (no surface).

A5 is a corridor (10,20 x 1,60 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation, delimited by W36, W36, W38 and W39. It is unclear whether the excavators reached a surface. In the SW, it continues into corridor A4. In the NE, its continuation is unclear as the excavators did not seem to reach the 'palatial level' here. It contains an entrance towards the N (room XI) and towards the S (room XII). No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with corridor A4. Height: 445,47 m.

B1 is a corridor (ca. 12,00 x 1,60 m.), running in a SW-NE orientation, delimited by W44, W45, W47, W48 and W49. In the SW it seems to continue into the S trench profile. It continues into corridor B2 in the NE. It is probable that the excavators did not encounter a surface, but a pebble floor like F9 in corridor B4 might be expected here as well. B1 contains water channels/drainages I5 and I6. Both I6 and the corridor itself are likely to slope down towards the NE, but no heights are known in B1. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with corridor B1. Height: unknown.

B2 is a corridor (23,90 x 2,00 m.), running in a SW-NE orientation, delimited by W9, W10, W11, W12, W13 and W44. It connects to corridor B1 in the SW and corridor B3 in the NE. It is probable that the excavators did not encounter a surface, but a pebble floor like F9 in corridor B4 might be expected here as well. B2 contains water channel/drainage I4. With a height difference of 0,93 over a distance of 21,40 meter, I4 has a $((448,07-447,14)/21,40) \times 100 = 4,35\%$ downward slope. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with corridor B2. Heights: 448,07 m. (far SW) and 447,14 m. (far NE).

B3 is a corridor (8,20 x 2,10 m.), running in a NW-SE orientation, delimited by W1, W9, W31, W43 and W44. It connects to B2 in the NW and B3 in the SE. A small portion of pebble surface F9 stretches into B3 but it was otherwise completely destroyed. B3 contains water channel/drainage I3. With a height difference of 0,19 m. over a distance of 5,18 meter, I3 has a $((447,14-446,95)/5,18) \times 100 = 3,67\%$ downward slope. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with corridor B2. Heights: 447,14 m. (far NW) and 446,95 m. (far SE).

⁴³⁶ 'J ve K 17 nolu alanların kesistiği noktada güneydoğu kesimde bir üst tabakanın kuyularının tabanında mozaik sırasına rastaldık. birbirine paralel kare sıralarının şekil oluşturduğu mozaik her iki tarafta fresklerle sınırlı bir koridor oluşturmakta.' (1984 excavation report, 01-06-1984, p.3).

B4 is a corridor (16,40 x 2,30 m.), running in a SW-NE orientation, delimited by W31 and W42. It connects to B3 in the SW and continues into the northern trench profile in the NE. Large parts of F9, a white pebbled floor, were preserved; only in the centre it is absent because of later destructions. Through corridor B4 run water channels/drainages I1 and I2. With a height difference of 0,31 m. over a distance of 12,98 meter, I1 and I2 have a $((446,90-446,59)/12,98) \times 100 = 2,39\%$ downward slope. Heights: 446,90 m. (far SW) and 446,59 (far NE).

C1 is a corridor (ca. 8,00 x 1,50 m.) running between W38/W39 and W63 in a NW-SE orientation. It is likely the continuation of corridor A5 and therefore probably contained also the continuation of the water drainage, running towards the southeast. This means that the suggested rooms X and XI, suggested by the excavators, in fact did not exist and did not continue underneath the structure in *opus reticulatum*.

4.3.2 Height differences

Based on the available information concerning the elevation of floors surfaces in the palace, it is possible to distinguish between six different 'elevation zones' (see map D9 in appendix D): 1) a zone in the NE, consisting of rooms XI, XII, XIII and XIX, which seems to have an average height of 445,53 m. 2) a zone in the SE, consisting of rooms XIV and XV, which has an average height of 446,10 m. 3) a zone in the W, consisting of rooms I, II, III, IV and V, which has an average height of 446,48 m. 4) a zone in the SW, consisting of corridors A1, A2 and A3, which has an average height of 446,45 m., 5) a zone in the SW, consisting of rooms VI, VII and VIII, which has an average height of 447,21 m. 6) a zone in the W, consisting of corridor B1, B2, B3 and B4, which is sloping down towards the NE ca. 1,50 m from the far SW (ca. 448,15 m.) to the far NE (446,59 m.). For rooms IX, X, XI, XVI and XVII and XVIII, no height could be established. Also for F18 (in sector s/11), unfortunately no elevations are known. Especially in zone 1, it was difficult to establish an average height as it remains unclear whether the excavators reached any type of surface here. In zones 3, 4, 5 and 6, it is assumed that those rooms that contain a surface or (mosaic) floor are representative of the heights in the rooms where such features are lacking. In zone 6, the upper part of the channels I1, I2, I3, I4, I5 and I6 are used as indicators of the average height here.

In general, it can be assumed that the internal differences in height to some extent follow the pre-existing shape of the *höyük*, gradually sloping down from the SW to the E and the NE in a form of 'micro-terracing'. Nonetheless, some height differences between the respective zones are so substantial that these do seem to represent distinct 'zones', possibly indicative of a different overall character, building phase or function. We can consider these differences in relation to other overall characteristics of the zones, especially the presence of decoration and accessibility.

Zone 1 lies more than 0,50 m. lower than the adjacent zone 2. In this light, it is interesting that, on the basis of the available evidence, zone 2 does not seem to be directly accessible from zone 1. The lack of any evidence for mosaic floors in this zone also makes it stand apart from the rest of the palace. Zone 1 is characterized by several narrow corridors and corridor-like, small rooms, in contrast to the large representative rooms of zone 2. Zone 2 is located ca. 0,38 m. lower than zone 3 and 0,35 m. lower than zone 4. Zone 2 is characterized by large representative spaces with intricate mosaic floors and wall painting (room XIV and rooms XV). Whether approached from zone 3 or zone 4, the rooms constituting zone 2 are always entered from a higher level; accessing them implies taking a considerable step down. Zone 3 is a clearly distinct zone on the basis of its average elevation, but also when considering its symmetric lay-out and limited accessibility; it really functions as a suite of five rooms that was probably only accessible from room II and/or room III. It was ca. 0,33 m. lower than zone 5 to which it has no direct access at all. Zone 3 and zone 4 have approximately the same height but do not have direct access to each other; to move between these zones, one should first move through zone 2. Zone 5 is again ca. 0,24 m. higher than zone 4. It is possible that zone 5 had a similar symmetrical and hierarchical accessibility as the suite of rooms in zone 3 (see chapter 7), something which would have been emphasized more by its distinct average elevation.

4.3.3 Staircases and multiple floors

Apart from the single steps necessitated by the different 'elevation zones' discussed in the previous paragraph, no convincing evidence is available for the presence of staircases and multiple floors in the palatial complex. Özgüç suggested that room IV and room VII could be considered as staircases but it remains entirely unclear on what evidence she bases these claims.⁴³⁷

Room IV does not provide any room for a staircase; it seems likely that its entire space was needed to provide entrance from room III to room V. When entering room IV through the SE side of W4, one would see the wall paintings on the SE side of W5 inside room IV, suggesting that a staircase cannot have existed in the SE part of the room. However, to enter into room V from room IV, one would have to cross room IV entirely and then turn left to enter room V. Since room V was solely accessible through room IV, it is inconceivable that a large staircase was located in room IV; there simply is not enough space in the 1,90 x 4,50 m. large room.

⁴³⁷ Özgüç 2009, 42.

Room VII holds similar problems with regards to the possible location of a staircase; it is a small room (ca. 1,50 x 6,00 m.) that is essential for the access to room VI. The entrance in the NW of W7 excludes the possibility for a staircase in the NW of room VII. In this half of the room, the preservation of mortar bed F11 likewise excludes the presence of a staircase. To enter room VII, however, one would have to arrive from an entrance in the SE of W8 and cross the entire room VII. The layer consisting of pebbles SE of F11 witnessed on, for instance, fig. LXXIX can hardly be interpreted as the foundation of a staircase; it is more likely that this is the substratum of the destroyed mortar bed. Again, the limited space and the essential role of room VII as a space of movement make the presence of a staircase highly unlikely.

In general, the inner walls in elevation zone 4 and zone 5 (e.g. W7, W8, W20, W21 and W22) seem to be mudbrick walls and not particularly suitable to carry a second floor. The solid, wide walls in zone 1 and zone 3, constructed in a random rubble masonry with many medium-sized stones, would be more suitable for the presence of a first floor. The dead-end corridor-like space of room XIII would for instance be a more logical contender for the presence of a staircase. However, no further archaeological evidence points at the existence of a staircase here; there are no structures nor did the excavators make any mention of clear layers that could, for instance, indicate the collapse of a floor or an upper wall. As such, we can neither prove nor disprove the presence of a first floor in the palatial complex. All in all, however, it seems unlikely that a second floor existed, at least not in the excavated part of the palace.

4.3.4 Roofing

There is very little evidence for the presence of roofs in the available documentation of the palatial complex. For rooms I-IX, XII-XV there is little doubt that they were roofed, especially since many of them are small and contain tessellated mosaics and wall painting. As we have seen in the previous section, a second floor cannot be excluded but there but the absence of staircases makes it unlikely. For two spaces in the palatial complex, a discussion concerning the presence or absence of roofing is necessary: room XIV and corridor B.

Room XIV

Room XIV is usually interpreted as an open, unroofed court without a peristyle, which, in combination with its tessellated mosaic, is often considered a rare feature of the palace.⁴³⁸ Bingöl however argues that we should interpret room XIV as a roofed space because of its painted walls,

⁴³⁸ Kropp 2013, 108; Kopsacheili 2011, 26 n.31; Brijder 2014, 425.

tessellated mosaic, and rectangular (i.e. not square) shape.⁴³⁹ He reconstructs a square open court east from room XIV, a suggestion which, based on the available evidence, can neither be proved nor falsified. Although Bingöl argues from a rather rigid model for 'Near Eastern palaces' (which he sees as the main inspiration for the palace of Samosata), it is indeed possible that room XIV was a roofed room. First of all, it is true that the presence of F4 and wall paintings on W14, W18, W28 and W30 make it unlikely that this space was a court. Secondly, the 1984 excavation report in fact mentions the high amount of roof tiles found in room XIV, specifically in sector k-l/16-17.⁴⁴⁰ It seems that Özgüç here is specifically discussing the filling of the rectangular depression in the centre of room XIV; it is very well possible that this filling belongs to a (perhaps later levelled or somewhat moved) collapse layer of the palatial structure, specifically because it also contains a large amount of fresco fragments, Hellenistic ceramics⁴⁴¹ and a fragment of architectural decoration (ID522).⁴⁴² This information did not make its way from the excavation report to the discussions of Özgüç, Zoroğlu or Bingöl, but in fact strengthens the latter's argumentation for a roofed space.

At the same time, it cannot be entirely ruled out that room XIV in fact *did* contain a peristyle court, in which case W60, W61, W65 and W66 would have functioned as the foundations of the peristyle. In this reconstruction, the wall painting would have been sufficiently protected from weathering and it would be an equally satisfying explanation for the tile concentration in the filling of the rectangular depression. Also, it would offer a seemingly more logical reconstruction of such a large 20,00 x 14,80 m. room. Be that as it may, this hypothesis also has its drawbacks: there is for instance no other example of a peristyle court with a concentric border mosaic in its portico.⁴⁴³ To that must be added that the presupposed walls W60, W61, W65 and W66 do not appear like peristyle foundations on the pictures; especially walls W61 and W66 are very irregular, containing several spolia, and would have provided little support; they might in fact date from after the destruction of the mosaic (as also suggested above). Lastly, there is actually good evidence for

⁴³⁹Bingöl 2013, 90: 'Bu özellikleri B6'nın avlu olup olmadığına yönelik değerlendirmeler kapsamında irdelediğimiz zaman, bir de buna genelde kare planlı avluları göz önüne getirerek, B6'nın dikdörtgen bir plana sahip olduğunu eklersek, B6'nın bir avlu olması olasılığı ortadan kalkmaktadır gibi görünmektedir. Ayrıca yine doğu saraylarını genelde çeviren ikinci bir mekan sırasını, bu yapı için de öngördüğümüzde B6'nın avlu olmaktan çok bu ilk sıra mekandan biri olma olasılığı kuvvetlenmektedir. Bu ipuçları bizi yapının avlusunun hangisi olabileceğini yeniden sorgulanmasını kaçınılmaz kılmakta ve avlunun, B6'nın doğu uzun duvarına açılan ve kazısı yapılmayan konumda kalmış olduğunu varsayacağımız bir seçeneğe yönlendirmektedir.'

⁴⁴⁰'bu tarihten itibaren sarayda orta avlunun içersinde L16 L17 ve K16 K17 nolan alanlarda çalışmaya başladık (...) çok sayıda fresk ve çatı kiremidi parçaları gelmekte. Ayrıca formları değişik sicillatlar ve geç hellenistik seramiği devam etmekte.' (excavation report 1984, 1-8-1984, p.11).

⁴⁴¹*Ibidem*.

⁴⁴²'Avlu ortasındaki moloz yığın temizlenmeye başlandı. 116 plankare'dan bir akantus mimari eleman parçası çıktı.' (excavation report 1984, 9-7-1984, p.7).

⁴⁴³In appendix E of this dissertation, I offer a large catalogue of 61 mosaics containing the crenellation motif, all placed in a concentric scheme, and none of them are solely placed in a portico or interrupted by a peristyle. Note that the mosaic of the peristylum in the House of the Dolphins on Delos (app. E: cat. 10).

large, roofed rooms containing concentric border mosaics in Commagene, namely the 'Mosaic Rooms' belonging to the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios (see paragraph 10.5.1).⁴⁴⁴ There, the floor of 'Mosaic Room I' was covered with a 0,25 cm. thick layer of ash, which the excavators interpreted as the burnt remains of a roof construction. In Mosaic Room II of this structure, measuring 14,90 x 13.85 m., a central pilaster, indicated by a square plinth, probably carried a roof, a reconstruction that is also possible for room XIV.⁴⁴⁵ As room XIV in Samosata is not much larger than room II in Arsameia, I believe it is warranted to cautiously follow Bingöl in his reconstruction of this room as a large roofed space that provided access to a suite of rooms (I-V) behind it; the existence of a (square) open court to the east of XIV is furthermore a probable (but fully speculative) hypothesis.⁴⁴⁶

Corridor B

Corridor B runs along the entire excavated western periphery of the palatial complex. In the maps and descriptions by Özgüç, Bingöl and Zoroğlu, the roofing of this peripheral corridor remains unconsidered; it seems to be assumed that this space was used for the movement of servants and that it was a roofed space. If we consider the parallels for such constructions, it seems very well possible that corridor B in fact was unroofed. Jean-Claude Margueron has discussed the use of unroofed peripheral corridors (*'Le couloir peripherique'*) in Mesopotamian architecture, specifically pointing to their importance in terms of providing lighting and air circulation to adjacent spaces.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ Dörner and Goell 1963; Hoepfner 1983; Brijder 2014, 281.

⁴⁴⁵ The measurements of 'Mosaic Room I' in Arsameia on the Nymphaios are 10.76 m × 9.22 m and apparently did not even need a central pilaster to stabilize the roof. Note that rooms with centrally placed pilasters are a more common feature in palatial residences of Hellenistic-period northern Syria, for instance in the central room in the southern suite of the Citadel Palace of Dura Europos (see section 10.4 of this dissertation and fig. 10.3).

⁴⁴⁶ See chapter 10 for a detailed case study of this particular architectural configuration, it parallels and its function, offering also a detailed comparison with the 'Mosaic Rooms' of the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

⁴⁴⁷ Margueron 1982, 525: '*C'est le type rencontre a Uruk, a Kish A et P et qui represente justement un cas tout a fait specifique de l'architecture mesopotamienne, puisqu'il ne joue aucun role dans la circulation et que, si mon analyse est acceptee, il sert uniquement a permettre a la lumiere d'entrer dans le bloc dont il fait le tour*'. Margueron emphasizes that this architectural phenomenon is not confined to palatial architecture only; it was for instance also encountered in the Giparu temple at Ur. See Margueron 1982, 525, n. 85. I thank Tijm Lanjouw for pointing me to this.

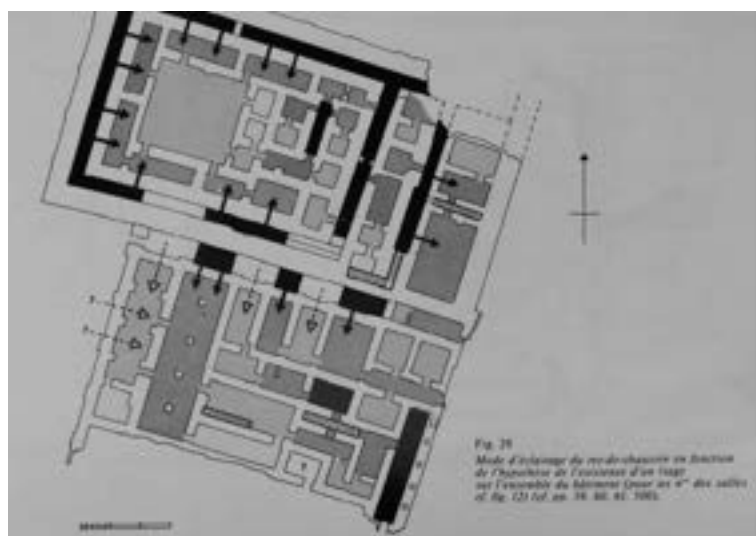


Fig. 4.3. A reconstruction of an unroofed peripheral corridor in Palace 'A' in Kish. Source: Margueron 1982, fig. 29.

The examples of unroofed corridors that he provides – admittedly the much earlier palaces in Uruk, Eridu P and Kish A (for the latter, see fig. 4.3)- have in common that they run on the far periphery of the building and have no role whatsoever in the circulation of movement of the remaining structure; there is no access between the corridor and the rest of the building.⁴⁴⁸ Margueron suggested that the only function such peripheral, non-integrated corridors might have had is providing light and fresh air to the adjacent spaces through windows placed in their inner walls. A major objection to this interpretation is the lack of any good archaeological evidence for such windows. Margueron counters this objection by suggesting that, for safety reasons and ease of wall construction, it was necessary for such windows to be placed high up in the walls, and hence they are not encountered in the preserved lower sections of the walls.⁴⁴⁹ Margueron furthermore argues that the use of such unroofed peripheral corridors is specifically encountered in buildings with more than one floor, as lighting of the ground floor spaces in such cases is specifically challenging.

⁴⁴⁸ Especially at Kish A, see Margueron 1982, 525 n. 84.

⁴⁴⁹ Margueron 1982, 525: 'On pourra objecter que l'on n'a jamais retrouvé de fenêtres dans les murs qui limitent ce type de puits de lumière. C'est malheureusement vrai à une exception près dans des conditions différentes; il est à craindre que les fouilles à venir n'en donnent pas, car, pour des raisons de sécurité peut-être, mais surtout d'efficacité, ces ouvertures ne pouvaient se trouver qu'en hauteur, c'est-à-dire le plus près possible de la lumière la plus dense. De plus pour assurer la ventilation des Salles, elles ne pouvaient se trouver qu'en hauteur, l'appel d'air étant assuré par les portes. En tout état de cause cette objection -l'absence de fenêtres- ne me paraît guère recevable, car on ne peut raisonnablement expliquer ces couloirs périphériques que comme des pourvoyeurs d'air et de lumière'.

This model from Mesopotamian architecture might offer a useful possibility for our reconstruction of corridor B in Samosata. Most importantly, this too seems to be a corridor without any further access to the rest of the structure, at least not in the excavated parts. The use of corridor B for lighting and air circulation in rooms I-IX is an appealing hypothesis. If we indeed consider room XIV as a roofed space (see above), the lighting and air circulation of rooms I-V would have become particularly challenging; at the E side of those rooms there would be no daylight entering and without an air shaft, these rooms would get musty very easily.⁴⁵⁰ For rooms VI-IX, flanked by the roofed room XV, this is the exact same situation. An unroofed corridor B with windows placed on a high altitude in W9-W13 and W47-W49 would solve these issues in an efficient way. The lack of a roof in corridor B would furthermore make sense in relation to the drainage that runs through it (I1-I6), which would drain (also) the rain water that fell inside corridor B. The pebble floor F9, preserved in corridor B4, likely was constructed in a slight angle as to lead the rain water towards the open drainage in the centre of the corridor. In the far north of B4, the pavement of F9 (446,69) for instance seems to be 0,10 m. higher than the drainage (446,59 m.). All in all, the above considerations make it possible that corridor B did not contain a roof and instead was constructed to provide light and air circulation in the adjacent rooms by means of windows placed high up in W9-W13 and W47-W49.

⁴⁵⁰ A related argument in favour of an unroofed corridor B and windows in the side walls would be the internal situation of room V. There, the location of the statue base (I8) in the SE corner of room V would have fitted very well within the proposed reconstruction. A visitor would approach the statue(s) present on the statue base from the NW and would therefore appreciate them lit by daylight, perhaps while standing in the shadow, underneath the window, themselves. As discussed for I8, it is likely that sculptural fragments ID215 and ID216, found in close relation to I8 (see chapter 6), were placed on this statue base. ID216 is particularly interesting with regards to the theme of a play with light: the drilled holes in its diadem most likely carried a radiant crown made out of metal, which would achieve its full potential when reflecting the daylight deriving from a window higher up in W13. Might, furthermore, the very subtle inscription 'ANTIOXOU' underneath the left eye have been particularly well visible to the viewer when lit from the window in W13?

4.3.5 Evidence for later additions and reparations

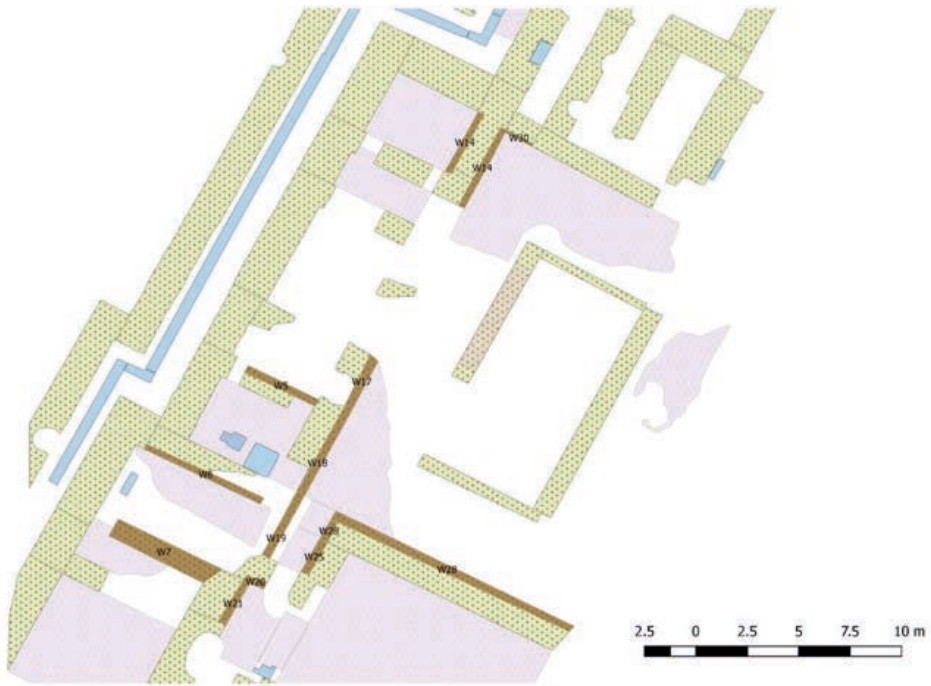


Fig. 4.4 Mudbrick walls and mudbrick wall facings with (painted) plaster that are likely to be later additions. Map by the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).

Throughout the central and southern part of the palatial structure, walls are encountered that seem to consist of at least two different masonry types. These walls combine a random rubble masonry containing many medium-sized and small stones with an outer facing of plastered mudbrick with painted decoration (see fig. 4.4). This is specifically encountered in W14, W5, W6, W17, W18 and W19. There is reason to assume that these two different wall types are not always necessarily constructed contemporaneously; it is likely that at least some of these mudbrick walls with (painted) plaster were later additions to the palace.



Fig. 4.5 Detail of fig. I (appendix. A), showing the situation in room V. Source: Özgüç Archive.

Fig. 4.5 provides a good image of this phenomenon. W5 appears to consist first and foremost of a wall executed in a random rubble masonry, with a high amount of medium-sized and small stones. This part of the wall abruptly ends at the SE side, where a continuation of mortar bed F13 suggests an entrance between room IV and room V. A layer of mudbrick however is placed against the full northern facing of the rubble wall W5 and continues all the way up to W17 in the E, effectively closing off the entrance. This layer of mudbrick contains wall painting in Masonry Style at its NE facing (see W5 and fig. LXXXIV). The layer in mudbrick with painted plaster thus most likely was a later embellishment and restructuring, not part of the original construction of the rubble wall.

In the same picture, it is easy to separate between the rubble walls W17 and W18 and their E mudbrick facing. Here too, the mudbrick wall seems to close off an entrance between room V and room XIV; the continuation of F13, S of W18, suggests that initially the rubble wall ended here. Only with the painted mudbrick embellishment this entrance was closed off. In relation to that, it is likely that I8 and I9 were only later additions to the palace, placed there when I8 would not block off the entrance to room XIV anymore because it had been closed off by W18 anyway. Approaching the altar from the side would furthermore not be desirable, necessitating the closing off of the easternmost entrance in W5 as well.

The separation between the mudbrick facings and the random rubble walls can furthermore be very clearly witnessed for W6 on fig. LII and for W1 on fig. LXXXIII. In the other cases indicated on fig. 4.4 (W7, W20, W21, W25, W28, W30), it is less certain that a clear separation between the different layers was visible. Not all wall painting was placed on such mudbrick facings; important exceptions are for instance W10, W11 and W37, where the plaster layer seems to be attached to the rubble wall or stone surface (W37) more directly.

It is tempting to see the potential additions of plastered and painted mudbrick walls in the palace as a later phase of embellishment. In the Great Cult Inscription at Arsameia on the Nymphaios, mention is made of the moment '*When Antiochos embellished his father's hierothesion at Arsameia*

on River Nymphaios on this spot'.⁴⁵¹ It is furthermore claimed that other structures 'were either built or restored or enlarged or (...) were added to everything that was overlooked due to current circumstances or destroyed in the course of time'.⁴⁵² In another section, it is mentioned that Antiochos 'has completed what was left behind and accomplished other parts of the hierothesion'.⁴⁵³ Brijder has suggested that, in Arsameia on the Nymphaios, such embellishments likely concerned the wall painting in Masonry Style inside the two 'Mosaic Rooms'.⁴⁵⁴ Although the connection between the textual and archaeological evidence is appealing also for Samosata, it is impossible to prove any direct connection between the two.

4.3.6 Identification as the Commagenean royal palace

This paragraph discusses the designation of the elaborate structure in sector i-n/13-19 on top of the *höyük* of Samosata as a royal Commagenean palace. From the moment the structure on top of the *höyük* was excavated in the mid-1980s, its excavators and other scholars have identified it as a palace connected to the royal Commagenean dynasty.⁴⁵⁵ Recently, however, Versluys called for prudence: 'there is as yet no decisive evidence to prove that this large, richly decorated mansion, reminiscent of complexes like the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii or the Palazzo delle Colonne in Ptolemais, really was "the palatial complex of Mithridates" (or Antiochos I himself)'.⁴⁵⁶ In a footnote, Versluys furthermore remarks: 'these authors do not question the interpretation of the remains as a royal palatial complex'.⁴⁵⁷ It is indeed important to not just uncritically accept the structure's identification as a royal palace, which is why I will present the available evidence for this designation and argue for its probability.

The written evidence for the existence of a palace in Samosata derives from Strabo, who, probably in the early 1st c. CE, refers to Commagene's capital as the location of 'the seat of the kings' of Commagene (*tò basileion*): »ἔχει δ' ἐρυμνὴν πόλιν Σαμόσατα ἐν ᾗ τὸ βασιλεῖον ὑπῆρχε, νῦν δ' ἐπαρχία γέγονε'.⁴⁵⁸ Like many other Hellenistic palaces (e.g. Masada, Herodion, Pella, Vergina, Pergamon), the structure in Samosata is located on top of the capital's *höyük* covering large parts of it: at least a quarter of the mound must have been taken in by the palace.⁴⁵⁹ Its large size (at

⁴⁵¹ A99-101.

⁴⁵² A42-45.

⁴⁵³ A58-60.

⁴⁵⁴ Brijder 2014, 294. For the 'Mosaic Rooms' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see section 10.5 of this dissertation.

⁴⁵⁵ See, most notably: Özgüç 1985, 221-227; Sinclair 1990, 146-147; Facella 2006, 220; Kopsacheili 2011, 26; Özgüç 2009; Zoroğlu 2012, 145; Bingöl 2013; Kropp 2013, 107; Brijder 2014, 424-428.

⁴⁵⁶ Versluys 2017a, 84-85.

⁴⁵⁷ *Idem*, 85 n. 88.

⁴⁵⁸ Strabo 16.2.3.

⁴⁵⁹ Brands and Hoepfner 1996; Nielsen 1999.

least 1700 m²) and lavish decoration furthermore implies a considerable investment, fitting to a royal commissioner. The sculptural evidence contains two direct references to the Commagenean kings, both of which are discussed in detail in chapter 6 of this dissertation. The first is a limestone head of a Hellenistic king wearing a diadem, found in room V of the palatial structure.⁴⁶⁰ Underneath the left eye, this portrait has an inscription saying 'ANTIOXOU', which most probably should indicate king Antiochos I. A second fragment of a portrait only contains a fragment of a royal diadem with eagles in relief, an iconography that is unique to royal Commagenean visual culture and must have belonged to a statue of king Antiochos I.⁴⁶¹ The overall visual culture of the structure's decorative elements bears strong parallels with at least one other royal visual context, namely that of the *hierotheriesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁴⁶² There too, we find wall painting in Masonry Style, tessellated mosaics with black and white concentric border decoration, and identical iconographies (e.g. mosaic *emblemata* depicting Rhodian amphorae flanked by dolphin-like sea-creatures). In a recently discovered context at Güzelçay, currently interpreted as a *temenos* that was built under Antiochos I's predecessor, Mithridates I Kallinikos, very similar fragments of tessellated mosaic in concentric border decoration were furthermore discovered, again suggesting that the visual, decorative selections of the structure in Samosata fit very well to what we know about the royal Commagenean visual program from other royal contexts.⁴⁶³

Any interpretation of the structure that claims a non-royal commissioner would need to incorporate this evidence for it to be a convincing alternative scenario. It is however hard to imagine a non-royal context that was allowed to take in at least a quarter of the kingdom capital's central acropolis. More questions would arise that would need at least a start of a satisfactory answer for such a scenario to be somewhat convincing. For instance, who other than the Commagenean kings would be allowed to reside at this central location? Why would such a non-royal commissioner appropriate the royal visual language and set up statues for the Commagenean kings? A non-royal commissioner can certainly not be entirely discarded, but there is simply no supportive evidence for such an alternative interpretation, making it highly unlikely. In all probability, therefore, the structure in sector i-n/13-19 can be interpreted as the royal Commagenean palace.

⁴⁶⁰ See ID216 in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

⁴⁶¹ See ID520 in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

⁴⁶² See below for a discussion of this site in relation to the chronology of the palace. For *hierotheriesia* and the Antiochan ruler cult, see paragraph 1.5 of this dissertation with bibliography.

⁴⁶³ See *infra* n. 165.

4.3.7 Chronology

Construction

The dating of the construction of the palace and the designation of the palace to a specific royal commissioner is matter of debate that cannot be entirely resolved as of yet. The excavators dated the palace to the reign of king Mithradates I Kallinikos (100–69 BCE), something which is mostly followed by most other scholars.⁴⁶⁴ This dating was first of all based on a coin depicting Mithridates I Kallinikos (found on the mosaic floor in the southern part of room XIV) as well as the rendering of the acanthus leaves in a fragment of a Corinthian capital and the style of palatial complex's tessellated mosaics.⁴⁶⁵ Özgüç suggested that the palatial complex passed into possession of king Antiochos I, who expanded it and commissioned its decoration.⁴⁶⁶ Based on the observation that the northern area of the palace was located on a lower altitude than the southern part, Zoroğlu also suggested that the palatial complex consisted of two phases: a peristyle-house in the north, commissioned by Mithradates I Kallinkos and a large southern addition and overall complete refurbishment by Antiochos I.⁴⁶⁷

With the new evidence presented in this chapter, the suggestion of an Antiochan expansion of the palace should however be discarded: in paragraph 4.3.2 of this chapter, I have argued that the overall palatial structure is characterized by a form of 'micro-terracing', consisting of different elevation zones that were however most likely conceived and constructed as part of one and the same building phase. Özgüç's suggestion that all decoration was commissioned by Antiochos neither can be supported by the presented evidence, however, in paragraph 4.3.5 of this chapter, I have cautiously suggested the existence of at least two different wall phases inside the palace, with a second phase consisting of plastered and painted mudbrick walls that were often placed against older walls with irregular courses of small and medium-sized stones. The precise dating of these two phases remains problematic, although in chapter 7 I will develop an argument that suggests that the older phase dates to the early 1st c. BCE, while the second phase is rather situated in the second half of the 1st c. BCE.

As explained before, it is difficult to draw many conclusions from the very broad periodic layering presented by Özgüç and a closer look at the respective ceramic assemblages does not help to infer a more fine-grained chronology either, specifically because of their very mixed character. In very

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. Özgüç 1985, 225; Zoroğlu 2000, 83.

⁴⁶⁵ Özgüç 1985, 225; Zoroğlu 2012, 144; Bingöl 2013, 111–112. The dating of the structure on the basis of one coin placed on top of a floor is not very reliable and is not further discussed here as serious evidence.

⁴⁶⁶ Özgüç 2009; Kopsacheili 2012, 232.

⁴⁶⁷ See Zoroğlu 2012, 144. Followed by Kropp 2013, 109 and Kopsacheili 2011, 26, n. 31.

broad terms, it can however be observed that the pottery associated with the pre-palatial ‘curved step structure’ in sector k/16, (layer VI), did not contain any material that unequivocally can be dated to the later 2nd – early 1st c. BCE, like Eastern Sigillata A (ESA), which, in North-Syrian contexts, is generally dated to the late-Hellenistic and early-Roman periods.⁴⁶⁸ Instead, these layers almost solely consisted of the typical thick-walled and red painted course wares, which are likely dated earlier (see chapter 7.2). This general picture is very different from the other pre-palatial contexts on top of the *höyük* that are located outside, west of the palace (the so-called ‘torus-base structure’, the ‘altar structure’ and sector u/9-10; again, see paragraph 7.2): here, the red painted wares are also found in combination with ESA, suggesting that these layers continued into the 1st c. BCE. Although the evidence is very limited and blurry, these observations at least *allow* for an early 1st c. BCE dating of the palace.

A more detailed assessment is however impossible and, as such, a more precise dating of the construction of the palace is mostly dependent on stylistic and typological approximations (presented for separate object types in chapters 5, 6 and 7), which naturally bring along a considerable degree of uncertainty. Based on such stylistic dating, drawing on comparanda from other regional and trans-regional sites, the fragments of architectural decoration, the wall painting and the mosaics would indeed seem to allow for a dating that is situated in the early 1st c. BCE, probably during the reign of king Mithridates I Kallinikos (100-69 BCE).

The most important argument for the ‘Mithridatic’ dating of the palace of Samosata are the previously mentioned strong stylistic parallels between the palatial structure of Samosata and the so-called ‘Mosaic Rooms’ in the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios⁴⁶⁹, in terms of mosaic decoration (tessellated, black and white concentric border decoration⁴⁷⁰), the architectural decoration (Oenbrink’s Commagenean ‘Corinthian Order I’⁴⁷¹), the wall painting (Masonry Style wall painting⁴⁷²) and the iconography (the mosaic *emblema* with a depiction of a Rhodian amphora flanked by dolphin-like creatures⁴⁷³).⁴⁷⁴ Although the chronology of Arsameia on the Nymphaios has been debated during the last decades, it seems increasingly convincing that its ‘Mosaic Rooms’

⁴⁶⁸ In Jebel Khalid, ESA is dated post-150 BCE (see Jackson 2009, 250). For the ESA of Samosata, see Zoroğlu 1986.

⁴⁶⁹ See paragraph 10.5.1 of this dissertation for a more elaborate discussion of this site in relation to the palace of Samosata.

⁴⁷⁰ For the concentric border mosaics of Samosata, see chapter 8 and appendix A, CIX-CXXII of this dissertation. For the concentric border mosaics of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see Lavin 1963, 191-196.

⁴⁷¹ For the Corinthian capital fragments of Samosata, see paragraph 5.2.1 of this dissertation. For the Corinthian capital fragments of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see Oenbrink 2017, 50-68.

⁴⁷² For the wall painting in Samosata, see paragraph 7.3.4 of this dissertation. For wall painting in Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see Hoepfner 1983, pl. 17, D.

⁴⁷³ For the figurative mosaics of Samosata, see paragraph 7.3.2 of this dissertation with fig. 7.20a-b. For the figurative mosaics of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see Lavin 1963, pl. 44A.

⁴⁷⁴ As already suggested (albeit with different conclusions concerning the dating of both structures) by Hoepfner 2012, 117; Brijder 2014, 427-428.

on the western side of the plateau indeed contain 'pre-Antiochan' phases (i.e. before the reign of king Antiochos I; ca. 69-36 BCE). I will briefly elaborate here on a discussion concerning the chronology of Arsameia, as I presume that the conclusions concerning its dating should be more or less applicable to the palace of Samosata.⁴⁷⁵

In the Great Cult Inscription found at the *hierotherision* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, Antiochos I mentions the foundation and fortification of both plateaus in Arsameia by Arsames, the Armenian satrap in the 3rd c. BCE and paternal ancestor of the Commagenean dynasty, and also the preparation of the place to hold his burial by Mithradates I, which he claims to have renewed and embellished.⁴⁷⁶ Apart from a few pottery finds, which comprise bowls, cups and cooking pots⁴⁷⁷, nothing has been observed that contributes to the understanding of the appearance and function of the place prior to the erection of the sanctuary's architecture. Only one torus-base found in a lower stratum next to the staircase is tentatively attributed to the early-Hellenistic phase⁴⁷⁸ which allows no reconstruction whatsoever. This evidence leaves us with a severe gap in the archaeological record from the early-Hellenistic period in the 3rd c. BCE (represented by some pottery finds from lower strata) until the *hierotherision's* main phase which the excavators attributed to the mid-1st c. BCE, i.e. the reign of Antiochos I.⁴⁷⁹ The latter dating would mean that the building activities by Mithradates I which are mentioned in the inscription are invented by Antiochos I.⁴⁸⁰

However, although it may be that Antiochos I undoubtedly enlarged and monumentalized the cult installations at Arsameia on the Nymphaios, it seems to be increasingly convincing that there are in fact indications for earlier, pre-Antiochan activities at the site. Reconsidering the material evidence, already the mosaics, which, based on stylistic grounds, were mainly dated to the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 1st c. BCE⁴⁸¹, indicate a pre-Antiochan building-phase of the sanctuary. In order to conciliate this with the identification of Antiochos I as sole builder of the structures, Wolfram Hoepfner explained the mosaics as well as the wall-paintings as classicistic recourses to Pergamenian art of the mid-2nd c. BCE in Commagene around the mid-1st c. BCE.⁴⁸² This hypothesis

⁴⁷⁵ This pertains largely a reiteration of the argument presented already in Kruijer and Riedel 2021; I thank S. Riedel for allowing me to publish it here as part of my dissertation.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Dörner and Goell 1963, 40–42 l. 13–58.

⁴⁷⁷ *Idem*, 236–237 do not list cooking pots which were obviously only found in the trench close to the staircase (Hoepfner 1983, 92).

⁴⁷⁸ Hoepfner 1983, 6–7; Oenbrink 2017, 37–38.

⁴⁷⁹ Dörner et al. 1965, 218–221; Hoepfner 1983, 51–52; Hoepfner 2012, 129.

⁴⁸⁰ Hoepfner in a later article mentions that the excavators – including himself – were intrigued by finding the mentioned earlier phase but in the end failed to do so (Hoepfner 2012, 129). Cf. Versluys 2017a, 176–177.

⁴⁸¹ Lavin 1963, 196; Balty 1981, 355–357; Salzmann 1982, 68. 120 nos. 146–149; Balty 1995, 161; Oenbrink 2017, 120.

⁴⁸² Hoepfner 1983, 73.

seems to be supported by pottery found ‘*in the trench beneath mosaic I*’ of which the youngest pieces are dated to the mid-1st c. BCE.⁴⁸³ But it must be remarked that Hoepfner’s picture is much less clear than he presents it. Against his claims that all pottery, ‘*including those from the deepest layers, [belongs] to single period around the mid-1st c. BCE*’⁴⁸⁴, already the quoted publication of the excavations advises caution since it also mentions pottery from the layers he refers to, dating to 2nd – and even late-2nd – c. BCE⁴⁸⁵. Furthermore, the first excavators of Arsameia, Friedrich Karl Dörner and Theresa Goell, mention that most of the pottery they observed belongs to the so-called Hellenistic-Pergamenian ware whose use in Commagene they roughly date from the late-2nd c. BCE to the 1st c. CE.⁴⁸⁶ According to their evaluation, all pottery that can be dated to the 2nd c. BCE is imported although for most of the finds they cannot give a place or region of origin.⁴⁸⁷ In short, the pottery found at Arsameia does not allow for Hoepfner’s exclusive dating of the structures to the mid-1st c. BCE and therefore for an indisputable allocation of the *hierotherision* to Antiochos I. Alternatively, it is well possible that at least some of the pieces date to the time of Mithradates I. In that light, the mosaics, for which many comparanda dating to the late-2nd/early 1st c. BCE can be found (see chapter 7, 8 and 9) need not have been Antiochan recourses to Pergamenian art as suggested by Hoepfner, but rather were part of settlement and building activities at Arsameia on the Nymphaios in the time of Mithradates I – as the Antiochan inscription informs us. Such a phase is further attested by Werner Oenbrink’s thorough reassessment of the architectural fragments of which some were executed in the late 2nd and especially early 1st c. BCE.⁴⁸⁸ Also the previously mentioned new archaeological and epigraphic evidence from a sanctuary at the Güzelçay⁴⁸⁹, about 20 km northeast of Samosata, supports the idea of Mithradatic precursors.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸³ *Idem*, 93 (‘FO: Im Schnitt unter Mosaik I’). The pottery in question was obviously found in the southern part of the room where the mosaic was preserved best (cf. Hoepfner 1983, 12).

⁴⁸⁴ Hoepfner 2012, 129: ‘[Die] Keramik, darunter solche aus den tiefsten Schichten, [zeigt,] dass es nur eine einzige Periode aus der Mitte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. gibt’.

⁴⁸⁵ Hoepfner 1983, 92–95.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. Dörner and Goell 1963, 234–241.

⁴⁸⁷ *Idem*, 234, albeit this seems to be a very narrow understanding of ‘import’ since Samosata is assumed to be one of the production centres (cf. Dörner and Goell 1963, 234 note 2). However, two stamped handles of Rhodian amphorae have been discovered which date to the 2nd half of the 2nd c. BCE and the late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE, respectively (Dörner and Goell 1963, 244–245). This further strengthens the hypothesis of a pre-Antiochan phase at Arsameia in which obviously connections to the Eastern Mediterranean have been well-established. Admittedly, the argument presented here is more deconstructing an Antiochan dating of Arsameia on the Nymphaios than unequivocally proving a Mithradatic dating. New, high-definition excavations and investigations of the *hierotherision* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios are therefore highly desirable. A more precise dating of the ‘Mosaic Rooms’ of Arsameia on the Nymphaios might in fact be one of the only ways to arrive at a better dating for the palace of Samosata.

⁴⁸⁸ Oenbrink 2017, esp. 120–121.

⁴⁸⁹ See *infra* n. 165..

⁴⁹⁰ The preserved architectural elements at Güzelçay strongly resemble those at Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Oenbrink 2017, 124–141) as well as the door lintels of Samosata (see ID517; ID518; ID614; ID613 in chapter 5).

Based on this new reading of the chronology of the 'Mosaic Rooms' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios and, to a less extent, the newly discovered sanctuary at the Güzelçay, it seems probable that the very similar mosaics, architectural decoration and wall paintings in the palace of Samosata have a similar Mithridatic construction date. Like at Arsameia and, perhaps, also at Güzelçay, a possible re-building or embellishment of the site under the reign of Antiochos I is very well possible, as for instance hinted at in the multiple wall phases suggested in paragraph 4.3.5. In the next paragraph section, I will discuss the possible (and equally problematic) dating of the abandonment and/or destruction of the palace, which also seems to allow for an Antiochan use phase of the palace.

Abandonment and destruction

The high amount of Eastern Sigillata A on top of the palatial complex's floors (layer 4) suggest that the abandonment and/or destruction of the structure must be dated to the late-Hellenistic-early-Roman period as well. Some of its finds, specifically the two limestone portraits of Antiochos I (ID520; ID216) and the limestone head of a bearded male deity (perhaps Zeus; ID215), seem to date to the late 1st c. BCE–early 1st c. CE and could suggest that the palatial complex was at least in use until this period.⁴⁹¹ The palatial complex must have been abandoned and destroyed at the time of the construction of the structure in *opus reticulatum* that cuts through and superimposes the northern sector of the palatial complex (rooms X and XI).⁴⁹² Contrary to what is generally assumed, it is doubtful that this structure was only constructed in or after 72 CE, when Commagene was finally annexed by the Roman Empire.⁴⁹³ Alternatively, it might be cautiously considered that the use of this wall facing technique – rarely attested outside the Italian peninsula – belongs to the reign of Antiochos IV (38–72 CE).⁴⁹⁴ If this is right, the superimposition of the

⁴⁹¹ For the sculptural fragments, see chapter 6 of this dissertation.

⁴⁹² Excavation report from 1985 from the Özgüç Archive: 'A room with a wall in *opus reticulatum* was built on top of the room to the left of the corridor'.

⁴⁹³ E.g. Özgüç 2009; Zoroğlu 2012. Facella 2005, 239 claims that these walls are the quintessential example of the activity of the Roman legions from 72 CE onwards, showcasing an investment by the empire in this area and indicative of the Romans' 'contribution to building techniques' and, more in general, representative of the 'material transformations of the region' and 'lasting impact of direct Roman control and the effect of the military presence'. Brijder 2014, 428 already doubted whether the palatial complex was indeed in use up until 72 CE. Versluys 2017a, 53 wrongly attributes the *opus reticulatum* walls to the palatial structure itself. Sinclair 1990, 146 suggests that the palatial complex was abandoned immediately after the reign of Antiochos I but offers no arguments. Hoepfner 2012, 117 also suggested that the walls belonged to the reign of Antiochos I.

⁴⁹⁴ *Opus reticulatum* is mostly found on the Italian peninsula (and specifically in Latium and Campania), where it is dated to the early 1st c. BCE until the Augustan period (27 BCE–14 CE). Its presence outside Italy is rare. Cf. Kropp 2013, 147 n.274 and Oenbrink 2009, 196–197. Note that a mid or even later 1st c. CE dating is well possible if we for instance take into account the tomb of Gaius Iulius Samsigeramos in Emesa which dates to 78/79 CE (Oenbrink 2009; Kropp 2010). For more, see section 7.5 in this dissertation.

structure in *opus reticulatum* would suggest that by roughly the mid-1st c. CE at the latest, the palatial complex would have fallen out of use.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹⁵ This might furthermore be corroborated by the fact that Strabo 16,2,3 refers to Samosata as the location of ‘the seat of the kings’ in the past tense (‘ἔχει δ’ ἔρυννῆν πόλιν Σαμόσατα ἐν ᾗ τὸ βασίλειον ὑπῆρχε, νῦν δ’ ἐπαρχία γέγονε’; emphasis by the author). Strabo (63 BCE–23 CE) probably wrote during the Roman ‘interregnum’ of 17–38 CE, and the year of his death would thus offer a *terminus ante quem* for the abandonment of the palatial complex.

Chapter 5. Fragments of architectural decoration from Samosata (2nd c. BCE-1st c. CE).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses an extensive catalogue of fragments of architectural decoration, largely deriving from the excavations by Özgüç and her team. The largest part of these finds were stored at the depot of the Archaeological Museum of Adıyaman. The last years have seen considerable improvement of our knowledge of architectural decoration in Commagene, especially through the thorough publications by Werner Oenbrink about the Antiochan ‘Sakralarchitektur’ in the *hierothesia* and *temene* of his ruler cult⁴⁹⁶ and the Hellenistic and Imperial Roman architectural fragments of Doliche.⁴⁹⁷ The former book deals specifically with the material of the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios (*Eski Kale*), which still offers the largest corpus of architectural decoration in Commagene.⁴⁹⁸ Importantly, Oenbrink argues for an earlier Mithridatic phase (ca. 100-69 BCE) of the palatial complex on the western plateau of this site, with several architectural forms dating to the late 2nd and early 1st c. BCE.⁴⁹⁹ Most architectural material from this important site, however, still seems to stem from the reign of Antiochos I. Oenbrink also discusses the architectural decoration of a second important royal cult site, namely that of Güzelçay (Kâhta), where, as discussed before, an earlier Mithridatic phase is also assumed.⁵⁰⁰ Although some fragments from Samosata were already available to Oenbrink, large parts of this catalogue had not been considered. As such, this material adds a valuable new corpus to our understanding of architectural decoration of Commagene. In this chapter I will present the evidence for Corinthian capitals (paragraph 5.2), Ionian capitals (paragraph 5.3), door lintels (paragraph 5.4), column bases (paragraph 5.5), column drums (paragraph 5.6), entablature fragments (paragraph 5.7), and small decorative fragments (paragraph 5.8). Most of these categories are too heterogeneous in dating and character to discuss as a group, but the Corinthian orders I and II will be further discussed at the end of each sub-paragraph.

⁴⁹⁶ Oenbrink 2017. For a good summary see Oenbrink 2021.

⁴⁹⁷ Oenbrink 2019.

⁴⁹⁸ Oenbrink 2017, 16-123. See also Hoepfner 1983 for an earlier analysis of the site including its architectural decoration, somewhat revised in Hoepfner 2000, 56-73. Oenbrink provides a thorough discussion of Hoepfner’s interpretations.

⁴⁹⁹ Oenbrink 2017, 108-123. See also paragraph 4.3.7 of this dissertation.

⁵⁰⁰ See *infra*, n. 165.

5.2 Corinthian Capitals

In his study of Corinthian capital fragments from Arsameia on the Nymphaios, Oenbrink distinguished three different Corinthian capital orders (I-III), and this typology seems particularly useful for the late-Hellenistic Corinthian capital fragments found in Samosata.⁵⁰¹ The typology is based on the different structural and formal characteristics of the capitals and their individual elements (cf. acanthus leaves, eyelets) as well as their relative proportions. The fragments discussed below from Samosata can be categorized under the Corinthian order I (5.2.1) and order II (5.2.2); no Corinthian capital fragments from Samosata seem to adhere to order III. After discussing the fragments belonging to orders I and II, I present more (potential) fragments of Corinthian capitals, which, due to their bad preservation or their idiosyncrasy, could not be categorized under a specific Corinthian order (5.2.3).

5.2.1 Corinthian Order I

ID292 - st.85-459



Fragment of an acanthus leaf

Measurements: h. 16,3; l. 28,2; w. 35,8.

Material: limestone.

Location: sector j/19, palace.

Current location: stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken on all three sides.

⁵⁰¹ As remarked already in several places by Oenbrink, e.g. Oenbrink 2017, 52, 62; Oenbrink 2021, 172 n.30. For the Corinthian orders in general, see Oenbrink 2017, 50-68 nos. A52-A91 and Oenbrink 2021, 169-175.

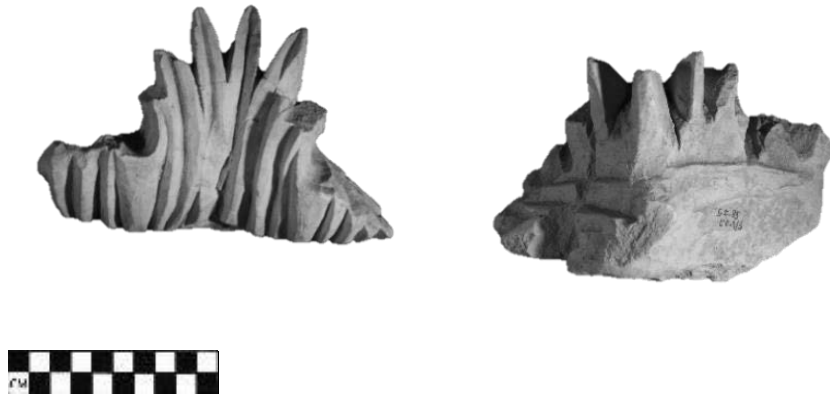
*Description*⁵⁰²: Large fragment of an acanthus leaf. Probably part of a Corinthian capital. Worked on front and back. Front is convex shaped, back is concave. On the front left, a protruding, drooping top-leaflet of an acanthus leaf belonging to the upper folium or the calyx. On the segmented leaf, at least two lobes can be observed. In total, fourteen leaf-fingers are preserved, with two droplet-like eyelets where the fingers meet. The upward-pointing fingers are straight, while those belonging to the drooping lobe curve strongly. On the front right, some upward-pointing, straight leaf-fingers from what is probably the start of another acanthus leaf. In general, the fingers are grooved, pointed and well-chiseled.

Discussion: Exact location and orientation of the fragment is difficult to establish; perhaps the drooping top-leaflet indicates the top part of the kalathos, like ID518. Similar also to fragments ID513, ID522, ID526, ID527, ID528, and ID679. Resembling the acanthus leaves of ID679 as well as the Corinthian pilaster capital from Arsameia on the Nymphaeion which Oenbrink both assigns to his first Commagenean Corinthian order, dated to the early 1st c. BCE.⁵⁰³ The excavators mistakenly described the piece as sculpture.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early-1st c. BCE.

ID513 - st.85-1000



Fragment of an acanthus leaf

Measurements: h. 6,5; l. 12,0; w. 8,0.

Material: bright white limestone.

Location: unknown, probably palace.

Current location: depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: broken at two sides and at the back.

⁵⁰² Description in the object inventory: 'dışbükey formlu bir parçadır. bir band üzerinde kanatları yarı açık bir kuş. büyük bir ihtimalle kartal kabartması vardır. elimizdeki parçada ikisi tam, birinin re yalnızca baş kısmı kalmış olan bu süsleme belki de herhangi bir mimari parça üzerindeki süslemeye yer alan bantı göstermektedir. bu görüşü bir heykelin üzerindeki bir kemer tasviri olarak da açabiliriz.'

⁵⁰³ Oenbrink 2021, 169 fig. 4. Hoepfner 1983, 38–42. 51. 73 fig. 29. pl. 15A–B; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107; Oenbrink 2017, 50–55 nos. A52–A63. pl. 18, 1–4.

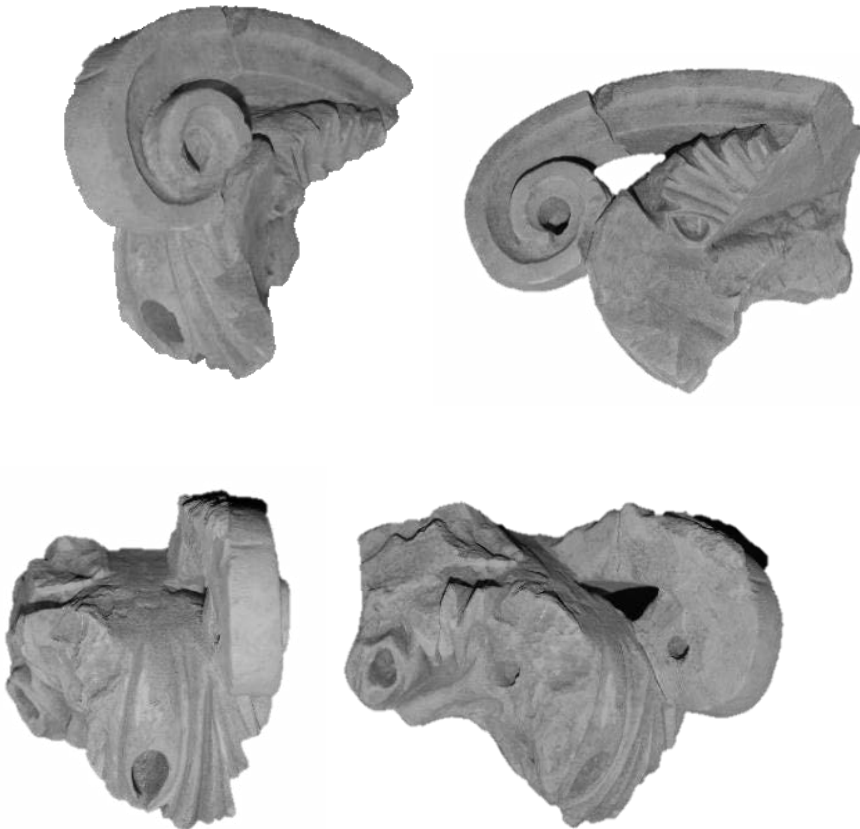
Description: Fragment of an acanthus leaf. Probably part of a Corinthian capital. Slightly curved, smooth edge. Consisting of ca. eleven leaf-fingers, slightly curving in different directions, with two droplet-like eyelets where the fingers meet. The fingers are grooved, pointed and well-chiseled.

Discussion: Exact location and orientation of the fragment is difficult to establish. Similar to fragments ID518, ID522, ID526, ID527, ID528, and ID679. Resembling the acanthus leaves of ID679 as well as the Corinthian pilaster capital from Arsameia on the Nymphaios which Oenbrink both assigns to his first Commagenean Corinthian order, dated to the early 1st c. BCE.⁵⁰⁴ Similar fragments also in Dülük Baba Tepesi.⁵⁰⁵

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early-1st c. BCE.

ID518 - st.85-1005



⁵⁰⁴ Oenbrink 2021, 169 fig. 4. Hoepfner 1983, 38–42. 51. 73 fig. 29. pl. 15A–B; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107; Oenbrink 2017, 50–55 nos. A52–A63. pl. 18, 1–4.

⁵⁰⁵ Oenbrink 2008, 121–122 pl. 19, 3–4.



Fragment of Corinthian capital with corner volute

Measurements: h. 11,7; l. 14,0; w. 9,5.

Material: bright white limestone.

Location: unknown, probably palace.

Current location: depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: broken at all sides. One volute-half is missing.

Description: Fragment of Corinthian capital with corner volute. Worked on all sides. The abacus does not directly follow on top of the volute, so the volute must have been protruding considerably. The volute's fillet is flat and well-articulated, ending in an opened oculus. Under the volute starts a drooping top-leaflet of an acanthus leaf. On the segmented leaf, at least three lobes can be observed. In total, ca. fifteen preserved leaf-fingers slightly curving in different directions, with three droplet-like eyelets where the fingers meet. The fingers are grooved, pointed and well-chiseled.

Discussion: Similar to fragments ID 528, ID522, ID526, ID527, ID513, and ID679. Resembling the acanthus leaves of ID679 as well as the corinthian pilaster capital from Arsameia on the Nymphaios which Oenbrink both assigns to his first Commagenean Corinthian order, dated to the early 1st c. BCE.⁵⁰⁶ Similar fragments also in Dülük Baba Tepesi.⁵⁰⁷

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early-1st c. BCE.

ID522 - st.85-1009



Fragment of an acanthus leaf

Measurements: h. 5,6; l. 10,7; w. 5,3.

Material: bright white limestone.

⁵⁰⁶ Oenbrink 2021, 169 fig. 4. Hoepfner 1983, 38–42. 51. 73 fig. 29. pl. 15A–B; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107; Oenbrink 2017, 50–55 nos. A52–A63. pl. 18, 1–4.

⁵⁰⁷ Oenbrink 2008, 121–122 pl. 19, 3–4.

Location: In the upper part of the NE fill of the destruction of F4 in room XIV.⁵⁰⁸

Current location: depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: broken on all sides except where the slightly curving edge was preserved.

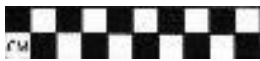
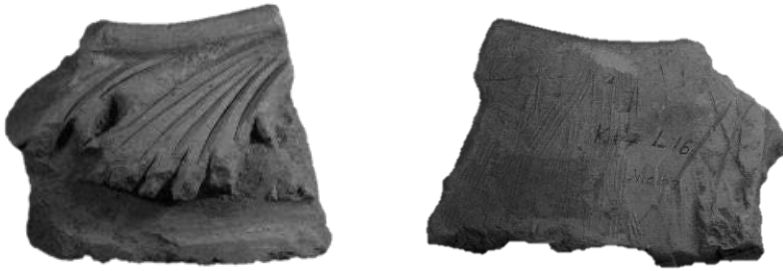
Description: Fragment of an acanthus leaf. Probably part of a Corinthian capital. Flat backside and slightly curved, smooth edge. Consisting of ca. ten leaf-fingers, slightly curving in different directions, with two droplet-like eyelets where the fingers meet. The fingers are grooved, pointed and well-chiseled.

Discussion: Exact location and orientation of the fragment is difficult to establish, but the curved edge might indicate the start of a volute, like in ID518? In general, similar to fragments ID518, ID528, ID526, ID527, ID513, and ID679. Resembling ID679 as well as the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian pilaster capital from Arsameia on the Nymphaeion which Oenbrink both assigns to his first Commagenean Corinthian order, dated to the early 1st c. BCE.⁵⁰⁹ Similar fragments also in Dülük Baba Tepesi.⁵¹⁰

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early-1st c. BCE.

ID526 - st.85-1013



Fragment of an acanthus leaf

Measurements: h. 2,7; l. 10,3; w. 7,8.

Material: bright white limestone.

Location: L 16, probably palace.

Current location: depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: broken at the left and right side.

⁵⁰⁸ Mentioned in the 1984 excavation report by Özgüç. See appendix C, 7.

⁵⁰⁹ Oenbrink 2021, 169 fig. 4. Hoepfner 1983, 38–42. 51. 73 fig. 29. pl. 15A–B; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107; Oenbrink 2017, 50–55 nos. A52–A63. pl. 18, 1–4.

⁵¹⁰ Oenbrink 2008, 121–122 pl. 19, 3–4.

Description: Fragment of an acanthus leaf. Probably part of a Corinthian capital. Flat backside and slightly curved, smooth edges on both sides. Consisting of ca. ten leaf-fingers, slightly curving in different directions, with two droplet-like eyelets where the fingers meet. The fingers are grooved, pointed and well-chiseled.

Discussion: Exact location and orientation of the fragment is difficult to establish, but the curved edge might indicate the start of a volute, like in ID518? In general, similar to fragments ID518, ID522, ID528, ID527 and ID513. Resembling the acanthus leaves of ID679 as well as the Corinthian pilaster capital from Arsameia on the Nymphaios which Oenbrink both assigns to his first Commagenean Corinthian order, dated to the early 1st c. BCE.⁵¹¹ Similar fragments also in Dülük Baba Tepesi.⁵¹²

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early-1st c. BCE.

ID527 - st.85-1014



Fragment of an acanthus leaf

Measurements: h. 3,2; l. 8,4; w. 7,3.

Material: bright white limestone.

Location: unknown, probably palace.

Current location: depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: Sides are broken.

Description: Fragment of an acanthus leaf. Probably part of a Corinthian capital. Flat backside and slightly curved, smooth edge. Two lobes consisting of ca. six leaf-fingers, with a droplet-like eyelet in the center where the fingers meet. The almost straight fingers are grooved, pointed and well-chiseled.

Discussion: Exact location and orientation of the fragment is difficult to establish, but the curved edge might indicate the start of a volute, like in ID518? In general, similar to fragments ID518, ID522, ID526, ID528 and

⁵¹¹ Oenbrink 2021, 169 fig. 4. Hoepfner 1983, 38–42. 51. 73 fig. 29. pl. 15A–B; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107; Oenbrink 2017, 50–55 nos. A52–A63. pl. 18, 1–4.

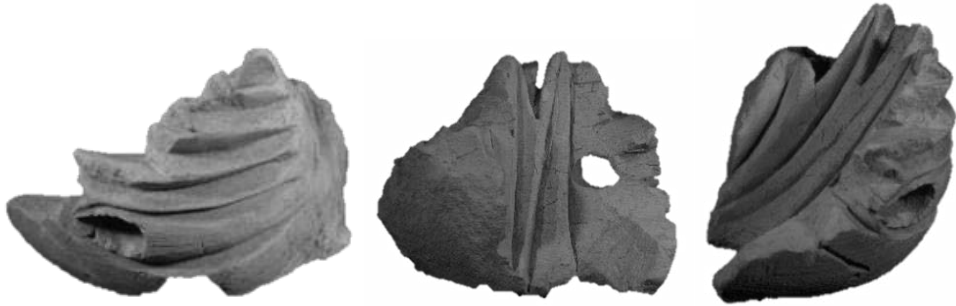
⁵¹² Oenbrink 2008, 121–122 pl. 19, 3–4.

ID513. Resembling the acanthus leaves of ID679 as well as the Corinthian pilaster capital from Arsameia on the Nymphaios which Oenbrink both assigns to his first Commagenean Corinthian order, dated to the early 1st c. BCE.⁵¹³ Similar fragments also in Dülük Baba Tepesi.⁵¹⁴

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early-1st c. BCE.

ID528 - st.85-1015



Fragment of an acanthus leaf

Measurements: h. 8,4; l. 9,7; w. 6,8.

Material: bright white limestone.

Location: unclear, probably palace.

Current location: depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: Broken on one side.

Description: Fragment of an acanthus leaf. Probably part of a Corinthian capital. Worked on both sides. Front side is convex and consists of ca. seven curving leaf-fingers, with a droplet-like eyelet in the center where the fingers meet. The concave back contains three straight leaf-fingers at the left side, in a 90 degree tilted orientation. On both sides, the fingers are grooved, pointed and well-chiseled.

Discussion: Exact location and orientation is difficult to establish; probably part of a drooping top-leaflet as it is worked on both sides and curves strongly. Similar to fragments ID518, ID522, ID526, ID527 and ID513. Resembling ID679 and the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian pilaster capital from Arsameia on the Nymphaios which Oenbrink both assigns to his first Commagenean Corinthian order, dated to the early 1st c. BCE.⁵¹⁵

Literature: previously unpublished.

⁵¹³ Oenbrink 2021, 169 fig. 4. Hoepfner 1983, 38–42. 51. 73 fig. 29. pl. 15A–B; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107; Oenbrink 2017, 50–55 nos. A52–A63. pl. 18, 1–4.

⁵¹⁴ Oenbrink 2008, 121–122 pl. 19, 3–4.

⁵¹⁵ Oenbrink 2021, 169 fig. 4. Hoepfner 1983, 38–42. 51. 73 fig. 29. pl. 15A–B; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107; Oenbrink 2017, 50–55 nos. A52–A63. pl. 18, 1–4.

Date: early-1st c. BCE.

ID529 - st.85-1016



Fragment of a Corinthian pilaster capital?

Measurements: h. 9,8; l. 8,5; w. 8,4.

Material: limestone.

Location: palace, sector and layer unknown.

Current location: depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: broken on all sides except for the front side.

Description: Fragment of a Corinthian pilaster capital? Worked on one side. Almost vertical stem or helix that ends in an outward curve or volute at the top. Well-chiseled.

Discussion: Perhaps part of a helix, emerging directly from the calyx on the topmost part of the kalathos? Perhaps to be combined with the group of ID513, ID522, ID526, ID527, ID528, ID292 and ID679, which are dated to the 1st c. BCE.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early-1st c. BCE?

ID679



Fragment of a Corinthian pilaster capital

Measurements: h. 58,0; l. 62,0; w. 26,0.

Material: limestone.

Location: said to stem from Samosata.⁵¹⁶

Current location: Kâhta, Lokanta Müze (Neşet Akel). Inv.-No. 2003/3: KA2010_001-404.

Preservation: broken at the back, the bottom, and at the left and right sides. Slightly worn at the front side.

Description: Fragment of a Corinthian pilaster capital. The lower and central part of the capital-kalathos has been preserved. Two symmetrically composed acanthus leaves are part of the wreath leaf folium; they are segmented with three grooved and pointed lobes arranged around a rounded mid-vein. Between the lobes are droplet-like eyelets. The fingers are grooved, pointed and well-chiseled. Behind the wreath, three elongated bracts are placed, which protrude above the wreath leaf folium; these are rendered more schematically than the lower folium. Behind these, two column-like parallel fluted caules are towering, containing torus-shaped cauliculus-knots. From these spring symmetrically composed calices with inner and outer bracts. The caules and calices are again rendered in great detail. In the centre, between the caules, a narrower parallel fluted stem contains an acanthus calyx.

Discussion: Oenbrink comments that the piece is difficult to place chronologically both because of its poor state of preservation and because of a lack of securely dated parallels. The only close parallel derives from Arsameia on the Nymphaios, which Oenbrink also assigns to the Commagenean Corinthian order I.⁵¹⁷ He

⁵¹⁶ Oenbrink 2021, 172.

⁵¹⁷ *Idem*, 169 fig. 4; Hoepfner 1983, 38-42. 51. 73 fig. 29. pl. 15A-B; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107; Oenbrink 2017, 50-55 nos. A52-A63. pl. 18, 1-4. Oenbrink also refers to another, unpublished, fragment of a capital from the Kâhta Lokanta Müze (Inv.-No. 2003/13: KA2010_001-400) which also belongs to the first Commagenean Corinthian order. It has a cauliculus-knot and a partially preserved calyx. Oenbrink 2021, 172 n. 28.

comments that both pieces in principle adhere to the formal traditions of Corinthian capitals from Asia Minor.⁵¹⁸ On the basis of a combination of formal characteristics (e.g. the segmented acanthus with multiple pointed, grooved lobes and droplet-like eyelets; the parallel fluting of the caulis-stems; and the rudimentary execution of the lower part of the bracts), Oenbrink arrives at a date in the early-1st c. BCE.⁵¹⁹

Literature: Lauter 1986, 761; Rumscheid 1994 2, 7 no. 18.10; Oenbrink 2017, 52. pl. 19,1; Oenbrink 2021, 171-172, 171 fig. 5 and 172, n. 28-29.

Date: early-1st c. BCE.

General discussion: Of the total amount of fifteen Corinthian capital fragments, nine capital fragments can be assigned to Oenbrink's Corinthian Order I (ID292, ID513, ID518, ID522, ID526, ID527, ID528, ID529, ID679). Oenbrink considers this the canonical type of Corinthian capitals in Commagene and largely based this typology on Hoepfner's Corinthian Order C.⁵²⁰ Especially ID679 provides a good idea of the overall composition of this delicately rendered capital order, which, according to Oenbrink, adheres to the formal traditions of Corinthian capitals from Asia Minor, containing two circulating folia and a simple caulis-stem.⁵²¹ The acanthus leaves consist of multiple rather wavy lobes that are symmetrically organized around a well-articulated rounded mid-vein. The lobes often have up to four or five leaf-fingers, which are elongated, pointed, well-articulated and notched. Where the leaf-fingers meet, and deeply placed within the leaf, tear-shaped eyelets are located, completely surrounded by the neighbouring leaf-fingers. The bracts of the higher folium are rendered in a rudimentary fashion, and do not touch each other, allowing room for the column-like, parallel-fluted caulis-stems with torus-shaped caulis-knots. On top of this follows a calyx with inner and outer bracts. In the centre, a smaller caulis-stem, also parallel-fluted, with torus-shaped knot and acanthus calyx, runs towards the abacus-fleuron, which is not preserved on any of the fragments in Samosata. On the basis of a combination of formal characteristics (e.g. the segmented acanthus with multiple pointed, grooved leaf-fingers and droplet-like eyelets; the parallel fluting of the caulis-stems; and the rudimentary execution of the lower part of the bracts), Oenbrink arrives at a date for the Corinthian Order I in the late 2nd or early-1st c. BCE.⁵²² I follow Oenbrink's dating for the nine fragments of Corinthian capitals that

⁵¹⁸ Oenbrink 2021, 170.

⁵¹⁹ Thus fine-tuning but largely confirming the earlier datings by Lauter 1986, 761 and Rumscheid 1994 1, 266.

⁵²⁰ Oenbrink 2021, 172. For Hoepfner's treatment of the architectural decoration see Hoepfner 1983, 38-40, 51, 73, fig. 29. pl.15A-B; Hoepfner 2000, 65 fig. 86, 95; Hoepfner 2012, 126 fig. 107.

⁵²¹ Oenbrink 2017, 50.

⁵²² Oenbrink 2017, 51-52; Oenbrink 2021, 171: 'Apart from their general structural composition, the Commagenean capitals also in the characteristic traits of the rendering of the acanthus-leaves follow the general development in the Corinthian capital production in Asia Minor where the earliest examples of capitals with droplet-like eyelets occur in the mid-2nd c. BCE at the latest. The dissolution of the regularly contoured acanthus-leaves with a closed outline into individual leaflets, which thereby acquire an irregular contour, can be observed from this period onwards at the latest. Moreover, the number of lobes on the individual leaflets increases to four or five lobes, a formal change which can be traced throughout the Hellenistic period and which becomes the most common way of the rendering of the leaves particularly in the late-Classical period. Characteristics of Hellenistic architectural sculpture are, furthermore, the simple form of the roundel of the

adhere to the characteristics of Corinthian Order I, which, as already discussed in paragraph 4.3.7, forms one of the arguments for a 'Mithridatic', early 1st c. BCE dating of the first phase of the palace.⁵²³

5.2.2 Corinthian Order II

ID287 – st.85-531



Fragment of a small Corinthian (half-)pilaster/column capital, gilded

Measurements: l. 10,7; h. 10,0:

Material: limestone

caulis-knot as well as the parallel fluting of the caulis-stems which from the mid-2nd c. BCE onwards is increasingly replaced by spiralling caulis-flutes. Thus, the parallel fluting of the capital fragments from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (order I) in principal rather points to a dating to the late-2nd or early-1st c. BCE.' Oenbrink's dating of the Corinthian order I is earlier than that by Hoepfner 1983, 51, 73, who assigned his Corinthian Order C to the 2nd quarter of the 1st c. BCE - early Augustan period and connected the columns solely to the reign of Antiochos I, something rightly criticized by Oenbrink 2017, 51, who allows for a building program under Mithridates I. See also Lauter 1986, 761 (early 1st c. BCE) and Rumscheid 1994, II 7 no. 18.10 (who suggested a dating around 80 BCE, contradicting however his own general dating of the *hierothesion* to the reign of Antiochos I, see Rumscheid 1994 I, 266). Important parallels are the late 2nd – early 1st c. BCE funerary monument for Sextus Appuleius in Klaros (Hoepfner 1983, 73; Oenbrink 2017, 51, referring to i.a. Rumscheid 1994, 19 f. 32, 93, 152), which is sometimes incorrectly dated to the early Augustan period (e.g. Brijder 2014, 92).

⁵²³ This will also return in paragraph 7.3.3, where I reintroduce the Corinthian Order I capital fragments as part of 'Objectscape 2' of Samosata.

Location: sector j/19, in the south-western corner of room XV ('*kabul salonu*'), either on the floor or in the fill above the floor.

Current location: unknown.

Preservation: broken on the two sides and at the top and back. The right acanthus leaf is broken at the right side.

*Description*⁵²⁴: Fragment of a small Corinthian (half-)pilaster or half-column capital. Two acanthus leaves with drooping tips belonging to the wreath leaf folium are preserved. The symmetrically composed leaves are tripartite and very ample, with rounded stems and heart-shaped eyelets where the leaves meet. The leaf-fingers are compact, rounded and very ample. Between the leaves, the caulis-stalk can be observed. Below the folium runs a convex band of bead-and-reel. Traces of gilding are visible across the leaves and the caulis-stalk.

Discussion: Similar to ID294. Due to the size, the fragment probably belonged to a half-column or half-pilaster capital that was part of interior decoration. No indications of (half-)columns or (half-)pilasters are known for room XV (see chapter 4), however, so its original context remains unclear. Another possibility is that the piece belongs to the decoration of a second floor (however, see *infra* paragraph 4.3.3). In Commagene, this is the only example of a gilded architectural decorative fragment, but gilded architectural features are witnessed as early as the 4th c. BCE in tombs of Macedonia and western Asia Minor, and later in a wide variety of contexts in Judea, Petra, Jebel Khalid and, during the late 1st c. BCE, also on the Italian peninsula.⁵²⁵ The very ample leaves with rounded stems and heart-shaped eyelets suggest the fragment belongs to a small pilaster capital belonging to Oenbrink's second Commagenean Corinthian order, and therefore it likely dates to the late 1st half – mid 1st c. BCE.⁵²⁶ For a general discussion, see below.

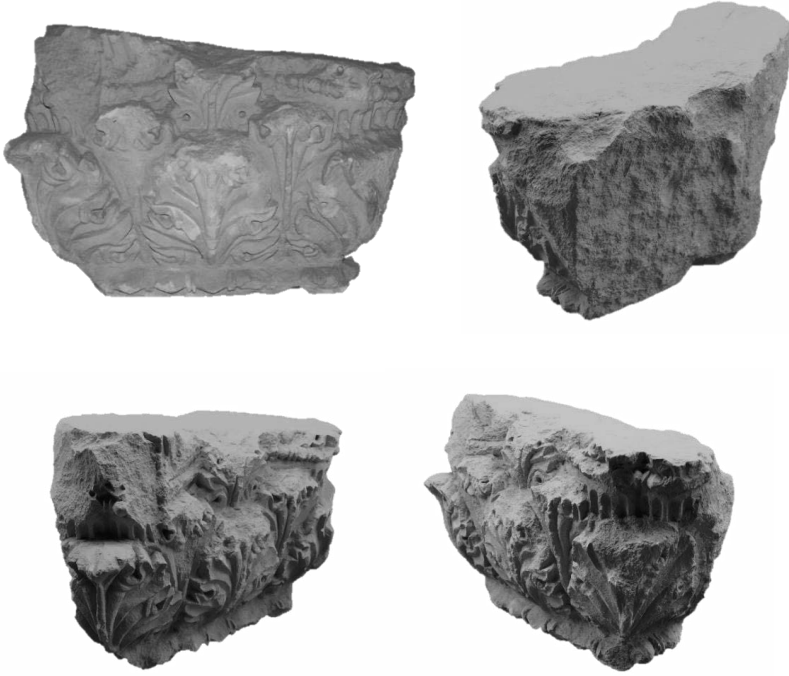
Literature: Zoroğlu 2012, 144–145; Bingöl 2013, 79, fig. 125; Oenbrink 2017, 57–68, pl. 23,1; Kruijer and Riedel 2021, 211–213.

Date: Late 1st half – mid 1st c. BCE.

⁵²⁴ Description in the object inventory: '*korinth stili başlığın yaklaşık 1/4 lük parçası sağlam kalmıştır. Biri sağlam, diğeri yarıdan fazla iki akhantus ile "caules" in sapının alt kısmı kalmıştır. Boyunda kısmen oval taneli inci dizisinden itibaren yukarı doğru iki akhantus yaprağı ökmıştır. Yapraklar arasında caules sapı görülmektedir. Yapraklar her bir yanda üçer gözlü olup, yaprağın tepe kısmı yaprak damarına doğru dönmüştür. Başlık üzerinde görülen altın safihalar, başlığın altın kaplama olduğuna işaret sayılabilir.*'

⁵²⁵ In some 4th c. BCE Macedonian tombs, gilded marble and gilded plasterwork have been attested, cf. Kakoulli 2009, 60. A 4th c. BCE tomb in Mylasa (South-western Turkey) allegedly contains gilded surfaces as well, cf. Kidd 2015, n. 17. In the so-called Late-Hellenistic Stuccoed Building of Tel Anafa (Upper Galilee, ca. 125–90 BCE) many examples of gilded egg-and-dart mouldings, dentils, Corinthian column shafts and Corinthian capitals were found, cf. Kidd 2015, 83–84. In the 1st c. BCE Great Temple Complex of Petra, gilded plaster was found (cf. Kropp 2013, 161) and in the debris of exedra 7 of the 'Nabatean Mansion' or villa at Az-Zantur IV a huge number of gilded and painted stucco fragments occurred, cf. Kolb and Keller 2001, 319. In the Governor's Palatial complex of Jebel Khalid, a white plaster fragment with embedded gold leaf was excavated in room 21 as well as a small separate piece of gold leaf, cf. Clarke 2002, 42–43. The earliest attestation of gilded architecture on the Italian peninsula is the Augustan temple of Apollo on the Palatine (dedicated in 28 BCE), which post-dates the palatial complex of Samosata, cf. Zink and Piening 2009. Literary sources provide additional evidence for the use of gilded architectural decoration. Kallixeinos of Rhodes, handed down through Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (Athenaeus 5,204d–206c), mentions that the main banquet room of the Thalamegos of Ptolemy IV (late 3rd c. BCE) was adorned with Corinthian capitals that were covered with ivory and gold (Athenaeus 5,203D). According to Josephus, there was a golden, perhaps gilded, grape-and-vine decoration on the frieze of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem (ca. 20 BCE) (Joseph. *AJ* 15,394–396.) And in a demotic letter on an *ostrakon* from Ptolemaic Egypt, the main subject is the gilding of a monumental doorway of a local temple in Nebkhounis (Documents Démotiques de Strasbourg III, 6 (Inv. D. 156). See Colin 2016, 41–74).

⁵²⁶ Oenbrink 2017, 57–68.



Fragment of Corinthian pilaster capital

Measurements: h. 24,0; l. 26,0; w. 22,0.

Material: limestone.

Location: sector j/17, layer IV, in room XIV.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. No. 3046).

Preservation: Broken on top and bottom, some leaves chopped off.

*Description*⁵²⁷: Fragment of a Corinthian pilaster capital. Lower kalathos with wreath leaf folium consisting of three symmetrically composed acanthus leaves, of which the outer two are placed on the corners of the kalathos. Behind the wreath leaf folium, two bract leaves with overhanging tips are barely protruding. The highly compact acanthus leaves are tripartite and have very ample leaf-fingers with rounded stems. Where the different fingers touch, heart-shaped eyelets are formed. To the left and right of the bract leaves, approximately at the same height, rather short duplicated caulis-stems with vertical fluting are placed. The caulis knot has a band of bead-and-reel at the bottom. In the centre, right above the central wreath leaf

⁵²⁷ Description in the object inventory: 'başlığın üst ve alt bölümlerinde yer yer kırık ve eksikler, akhantus yapraklarında küçük tharibat vardır. başlığın asıl karakterini oluşturan üç sıra akanthus yaprağı bulunmaktadır. alttaki inci dizisi bordürden çıkan birinci sıra yapraklardan biri merkezde diğer ikisi köşelerde yer almıştır. bunlar başlığın 4/3 lük kısmını kaplamaktadır. ortadaki yaprağın iki yanından ikinci sıra yaprakların sapları çıkmaktadır. bunların üç kısımları ise tahrip olmuştur. üçüncü sıra yapraklar ise birinci sıra yaprakların tam üstünde yer almıştır. yaprak aralarında 'caules' ler bulunmaktadır. abakusa geçiştaki inci dizisindeki inciler küçük ve yuvarlağa yakınken, attaki bordürdeki inciler biraz uzun formldurlar.'

folium, the start of the fleuron-stem can be observed. A bead-and-reel border runs across the entire lower edge of the capital.

Discussion: Similar to ID287. On the basis of the overall compact composition, with short caulis stems and short bracts, as well as the ample shape of the acanthus leaves with heart-shaped eyelets and rounded stems, Oenbrink assigns this piece to his Commagenean Corinthian order II and thus to the late 1st half to mid-1st c. BCE.⁵²⁸ For a general discussion, see below.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 43–44. pls. 111–112 figs. 244–245; Zoroğlu 2012, 144. fig. 122; Bingöl 2013, 79 figs. 124; Oenbrink 2017, 60–61 pl. 23; Oenbrink 2019, 326–327, 326 n. 552, pl. 122; Oenbrink 2021, 172–175, fig. 7.

Date: Late 1st half – mid 1st c. BCE.

General discussion: Of the total amount of fifteen Corinthian capital fragments, two capital fragments can be assigned to Oenbrink's Corinthian Order II (ID287, ID294). Especially fragment ID294 provides a good idea of the overall compact composition of this order, which, according to Oenbrink, differs significantly from his Corinthian Order I in terms of its composition and the formal characteristics of the foliage decoration.⁵²⁹ The order has a lower kalathos with a canonical arrangement with two acanthus-leaf folia and large bracts that support the volutes above them. The very compact but ample rendering of the foliage decoration is uncanonical, and the fact that the bracts are only nearly protruding over the wreath leaves of the lower folium is uncommon too. The caulis-stems are also unusually short, not protruding much further than the top of the bracts of the upper folium. The tripartite acanthus leaf is exceptionally ample, with rounded stems, wide leaf-fingers, and heart-shaped eyelets at the location where the fingers meet. The fleuron-stem, located in an axisymmetric relationship to the outer wreath-leaf folium, is curiously placed, as it is normally located right on top of the central leaf of the inner bract-folium.

Oenbrink dates the second Corinthian capital order to the late 1st half to mid-1st c. BCE on the basis of the duplicated caulis-motif, a short-lived phenomenon that has parallels in late-Republican Rome and Campania (the early-1st c. BCE circular temple B in Largo Argentina and a grave monument of the mid-1st c. BCE in Pompeii), as well as the heart-shaped eyelet form (attested in Asia Minor until the mid-1st c. BCE) and the compressed-shape of the folium with short caulis stems (late-1st and early-2nd half of the 1st c. BCE).⁵³⁰ I follow Oenbrink's late 1st half to mid-1st c. BCE dating for the two fragments of Corinthian capitals that adhere to the characteristics of Corinthian Order II.⁵³¹

⁵²⁸ Oenbrink 2017, 60–61, pl. 23. For Commagenean capitals in the second Corinthian order, see Oenbrink 2017, 57–73 with examples from Arsameia on the Nymphaios: nos. A74–A105.

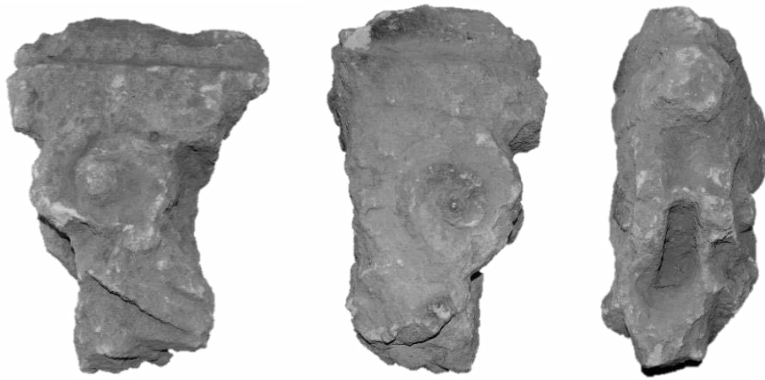
⁵²⁹ Oenbrink 2017, 57–68 nos. A74–A91; Oenbrink 2021, 172.

⁵³⁰ Oenbrink 2017, 61–64; Oenbrink 2021, 174–175 with further literature.

⁵³¹ This will also return in paragraph 7.4.3, where I reintroduce the Corinthian Order II capital fragments as part of 'Objectscape 3' of Samosata.

5.2.3 Corinthian capitals (miscellaneous)

ID633 - st.86-1004



Fragment of Corinthian capital with corner volute

Measurements: h. 32,3; l. 19,1; w. 20,1. Radius measured from oculi (preserved): 6,8.

Material: limestone.

Location: sector g/18, layer II.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: Broken at the top bottom and backside. Very worn on all sides.

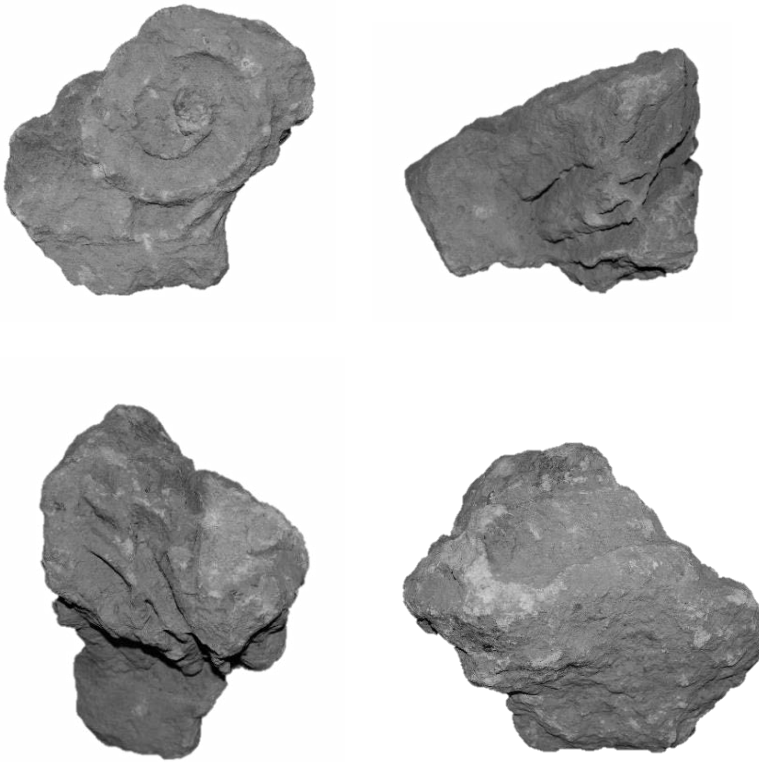
Description: Fragment of Corinthian capital with corner volute. Small part of the abacus (5,6 high) and a slightly convex profile above it (5,0 high) are preserved. Both volute-halves do not protrude beyond the abacus. Slightly rounded volute fillet? Closed oculus. At the bottom, perhaps the start of a drooping top-leaflet of an acanthus leaf belonging to the calyx (the 'Stützblatt').

Discussion: Too badly preserved to assign to a specific Corinthian order.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Roman - Imperial

ID476- st.89-144



Fragment of Corinthian capital with corner volute

Measurements: h. 29,5; l. 23,0; w. 19,0.

Material: limestone

Location: unclear.

Current location: stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: Broken at the top, bottom and backside. Very worn at all sides.

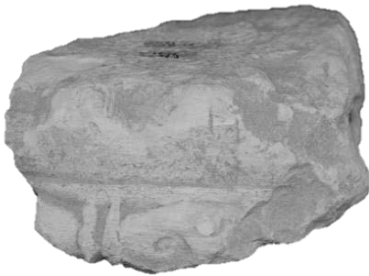
Description: Fragment of Corinthian capital with corner volute. Volute-half on the right side with acanthus leaf turning downwards on the left side. On top, a part of the abacus is preserved. Backside has concave shape; perhaps the result of reuse?

Discussion: Although very worn, it is probable that the position of the acanthus leaves as well as the deeply carved leaf fingers suggest an Imperial date.

Literature: not published.

Date: Roman – Imperial

ID521 - st.85-1008



Fragment of caulis-knot?

Measurements: h. 5,8; l. 13,3; w. 11,7.

Material: limestone.

Location: sector k/17, layer III ('saray').

Current location: depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: broken on bottom and at two sides.

Description: Fragment of caulis-knot on a corinthian pilaster capital? Small part of convex border of bead-and-reel is preserved. Above it, a convex rim, leading to a flat top.

Discussion: The preservation is too limited for a more precise dating.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Hellenistic-Roman.

ID005 - st.78-090



Lower part of Corinthian *kalathos* or decorated column drum (?)

Measurements: h. 21,0; l. 35,0; w. 35,0.

Material: limestone.

Location: 'eastern trench', sector and layer unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the protruding part on the bottom. Worn on the top and bottom.

*Description*⁵³²: Lower part of Corinthian kalathos or column drum. Round central regression (deep 4,3; diam. 23,5) on top and a circular protruding element (diam. 25,0) at the bottom; a hole (diam. 7,0) in the center of the object for fixation cuts through on both sides. Outside surface contains a decorated frieze (w. 6,0-10,0) of 29 standing, chiseled and asymmetric leaves (h. 6,7) in two alternating shapes. Compact and rounded, notched leaves. Perhaps a stylized anthemion (honeysuckle design)? Bordering the frieze at the top and bottom are narrow bands (w. 6,0) with ornamentation of pierced circles.

Discussion: Unusual shape and decoration. Perhaps the lower part of the kalathos of a Corinthian capital? The compact, asymmetric rendering of the leaves is comparable to that of a Late-Hellenistic (mid-2nd c.-1st half 1st c. BCE) frieze fragment with vegetal decoration from Dülük (Oenbrink 2019, 27 no. F14 pl. 16,8).

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: unclear. Perhaps Late-Hellenistic (mid-2nd c.-1st half 1st c. BCE).

5.3 Ionic Capitals

ID624 - st.17-1013



Volute fragment of an ionic capital

Measurements: h. 23,8; l. 28,3; w. 11,8. Preserved radius 16,0.

⁵³² Description in the object inventory: 'yıpranmış üst kenarı yaprak бүklümleriyle süslü. yaklaşık 6-10 cm. bordür 4 cm derinliğinde ve 23 cm çapında bir oyuğa geçilmekte. ortasında 5 cm çapında bütün parçayı kateden delik mevcut. parçanın dik kenarında dairelerden oluşan bordürlerin ortasına yerleştirilmiş dik yapraklar. parçanın alt kenarında takriben 25 cm çapında dairesel bir çıkıntı. muhtemelen bir şeye oturtulacak'.

Material: limestone.

Location: unclear.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum

Preservation: broken at the back and at the bottom. Damaged on top and at the front side. The outer fillet of the volute is missing and the outer channel is badly damaged.

Description: Volute fragment of an ionic capital. The fillet is convex, profiled at the sides and well-articulated, ending in a circular, closed oculus. At the edge, a small remainder of the pulvini are preserved.

Discussion: Convex fillet with profiled sides and closed oculus is similar to the Ionic capitals of the temple of Artemis Leucophryene in Magnesia on the Meander (2nd c. BCE) (Hammerschmidt 2019, pl. 5,2) and are also found on other, somewhat later Ionic capitals of the 2nd c. BCE (for instance the Dionysus temple of Teos⁵³³) and 1st c. BCE (e.g. the Aphrodite Temple at Aphrodisias⁵³⁴). A parallel in Commagene is offered by a strongly fragmented Ionic capital from the urban area of Doliche (Keber Tepe), probably dating to middle to second half of the 1st c. BCE.⁵³⁵

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Mid-Late Hellenistic (2nd - 1st c. BCE).

ID680



Ionic column capital

Measurements: h. 24,0; l. 49,0; w. 48,0.

Material: limestone

Location: unclear.

Current location: Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited.

Preservation: Fragment is broken in two large fragments but repaired after excavation. Broken at the bottom and top. Slightly worn at the volute and the echinus. Corner of the abacus was broken but restored.

Description: Ionic column capital. Part of the profiled abacus above it has been preserved. The capital has a protruding echinus with egg-and-dart, with angle palmettes growing upwards at the sides. Underneath this, a thin band with a vegetal ornament consisting of triangular leaves. This in turn rests on top of the astragal

⁵³³ Uz 1990, 51–61, esp. 55–57. fig. 3–5; Hoepfner 1990, 31 fig. 39–40.

⁵³⁴ Hoepfner and Schwandner 1990, 32, fig. 41.

⁵³⁵ Schütte-Maischatz and Winter 2004, 4 pl. 1,2; Oenbrink 2019, 178f, pls. 75, 3–5.

that runs along the entire perimeter of the fluted column. The volutes are connected with a straight line. The volutes have well-articulated flat fillets with slightly curved edges and smooth flat channels. The pulvini consist of long, pointed and notched leaves that are well-articulated. They are bound by a balteus that is moulded in the center and contains acanthus leaves with droplet-shaped eyelets and palm leaves on both sides.

Discussion: Very similar bead-and-reel as ID525. Oenbrink remarks that the triangular leaves underneath the egg-and-dart are unique and that the angle palmettes are unusual as they grow upwards instead of originating from the volute coil at the top.⁵³⁶ The fact that the capital is inscribed into the outer contours of the block-shape, resembling chip-carving, is explained by Oenbrink as the result of a production in a local stone mason workshop.⁵³⁷ Comparable to the small fragments of a small ionic column from Arsameia on the Nymphaeion, that was probably used as interior decoration and contains similar long, pointed and notched leaves on the pulvinus.⁵³⁸ On the basis of the general form and its individual decorative elements, Oenbrink arrives at a dating in the late first half of the 1st c. BCE.⁵³⁹

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 44, pl. 113 fig. 247a-b; Bingöl 2013, 79-80, fig. 127a-b; Oenbrink 2017, 120 n. 326; Oenbrink 2019, 179-180, pl. 75,1-2; Oenbrink 2021, 178-179, n.47-48, 178 fig.10.

Date: late first half of the 1st c. BCE.

ID683



Ionic column capital

Measurements: h. 26,0; l. 40,0; w. 17,5.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken and very worn at the echinus.

Description: Ionic column capital. Flat on top and flat at the bottom. Part of the profiled abacus above it has been preserved. The capital has a protruding echinus with egg-and-dart motif, with angle palmettes originating from the volute coiling at the top, turning downwards and inwards. Bingöl mentions a bead-and-reel border beneath the egg-and-dart.⁵⁴⁰ The fillets of the volutes are flat, without profile and well-

⁵³⁶ Oenbrink 2021, 179.

⁵³⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵³⁸ Oenbrink 2017, 81-82, A137, A138, pl. 27, 1-4, 120, n. 326.

⁵³⁹ Oenbrink 2019, 180.

⁵⁴⁰ Bingöl 2013, 79.

articulated, ending in small circular and closed oculi. The channels are relatively wide. The pulvini consist of horizontal stylized palmettes, bound by a profiled balteus with a v-shaped vegetal motif in the central band.

Discussion: Bingöl assigns this piece to his 'XIII O a'-type, which, according to him, can be late-Hellenistic, as it is, according to him, also witnessed on the temple of Artemis Leucophryene in Magnesia (2nd c. BCE).⁵⁴¹ The relatively simple design of the channels and the angle palmettes originating from the volute indeed indicate a Late-Hellenistic dating.

Literature: Bingöl 1980, 100; Özgüç 2009, 44, pl. 112 fig. 246; Bingöl 2013, 79, fig. 126a-b; Oenbrink 2017, 120 n. 326; Oenbrink 2019, 179-180, 179 n.276.

Date: Late Hellenistic (1st century BCE).

5.4 Door lintels

ID517 - st.85-1004



Frieze fragment of a door lintel

Measurements: h. 7,2; l. 13,6; w. 17,1.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: broken on all three sides and at the back.

⁵⁴¹ Bingöl 2013, 79 n. 37.

Description: Frieze fragment of a door lintel. One flat side. The orientation is unclear. The frieze depicts a fragment of a bound, five-foil garland with olive or laurel leaves. The central leave and the outer two leaves overlap the remaining two leaves in the background. The leaves are straight, pointed, notched and strongly articulated.

Discussion: Very similar to ID588; perhaps these fragments belong to the same door lintel. Similar also to ID613 and ID614, however there the leaves are shorter and less articulated. Close parallels for door lintels with the tre-foil garland were found at the sepulchral sanctuary of Kâhta/ Güzelçay Köyü (Oenbrink 2017, 135-140, pl. 48,1-6) and in Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Oenbrink 2017, 99 no. A195. pl. 29,2). On the figurative relief from Güzelçay, the sculpted figure wears a helmet that is adorned with a similar tre-foil garland (Crowther and Facella 2014, 255-270; Oenbrink 2017, 124-141). The chiselling of ID517, ID588, ID613 and ID614 is even more articulated than the examples of Güzelçay and Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

Literature: Kruijer and Riedel 2021, 216-218.

Date: early-mid 1st c. BCE.

ID588 – st.83-1006



Frieze fragment of a door lintel

Measurements: h. 7,4; l. 12,6; w. 10,4.

Material: limestone

Location: sector j-k/15-16, layer III.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at two sides and at the back.

Description: Frieze fragment of a door lintel. One flat side. The orientation is unclear. The frieze depicts a fragment of a bound, five-foil garland with olive or laurel leaves. The central leave and the outer two leaves overlap the remaining two leaves in the background. The leaves are straight, pointed, notched and strongly articulated.

Discussion: Very similar to ID517; perhaps these fragments belong to the same door lintel. Similar also to ID613 and ID614, however there the leaves are shorter and less articulated. Close parallels for door lintels with the tre-foil garland were found at the sepulchral sanctuary of Kâhta/ Güzelçay Köyü (Oenbrink 2017, 135-140, pl. 48,1-6) and in Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Oenbrink 2017, 99 no. A195. pl. 29,2). On the figurative relief from Güzelçay, the sculpted figure wears a helmet that is adorned with a similar tre-foil

garland (Crowther and Facella 2014, 255–270; Oenbrink 2017, 124–141). The chiselling of ID517, ID588, ID613 and ID614 is even more articulated than the examples of Güzelçay and Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

Literature: Kruijer and Riedel 2021, 216–218.

Date: early-mid 1st c. BCE.

ID613 - st.17-1005



Corner fragment of a door lintel

Measurements: h. 20,0; l. 27,2; w. 20,9.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the bottom and the back.

Description: Corner fragment of a door lintel. Decorated on two sides. Left and top are flat. Upper part consists of a sima with cyma recta moulding, decorated with an acanthus leaf on the corner. Profiled rim underneath it with a bead and reel motif. The continuous frieze below it depicts a fragment of a bound, five-foil garland with olive or laurel leaves, pointing towards the right. The central leave and the outer two leaves overlap the remaining two leaves in the background. The leaves are relatively short, straight, pointed, notched and well-articulated. Deep and well perforated holes (ca. 3–4 cm.) at the far-left side of the sima, probably used to attach stone or metal.

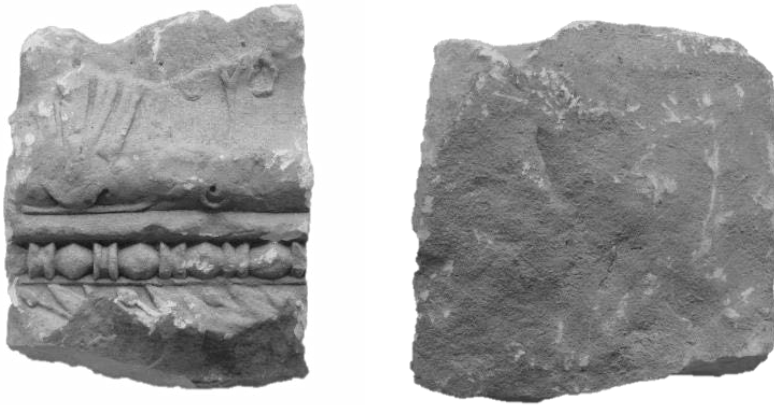
Discussion: Very similar to ID614; perhaps these fragments belong to the same door lintel. Similar also to ID517 and ID588, but there the leaves are more elongated and articulated. Close parallels for door lintels with the tre-foil garland were found at the sepulchral sanctuary of Kâhta/ Güzelçay Köyü (Oenbrink 2017, 135–140, pl. 48, 1–6) and in Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Oenbrink 2017, 99 no. A195. pl. 29,2). On the figurative relief from Güzelçay, the sculpted figure wears a helmet that is adorned with a similar tre-foil garland (Crowther and Facella 2014, 255–270; Oenbrink 2017, 124–141). The chiselling of ID517, ID588, ID613 and ID614 is even more articulated than the examples of Güzelçay and Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

For the bead-and-reel, see the capital fragments of the second Corinthian order (ID287 and ID294), which are dated to the late 1st half – mid 1st c. BCE.

Literature: Kruijer and Riedel 2021, 216-218.

Date: early-mid 1st c. BCE.

ID614 - st.17-1006



Fragment of a door lintel

Measurements: h. 21,3; l. 21,7; w. 17,5.

Material: limestone

Location: unknown, probably from the palace.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum

Preservation: broken on the bottom as well as at the back. Rather damaged and worn at the top front side.

Description: Fragment of a door lintel. Left and right side are flat. Top is rather flat. Upper part consists of a sima with cyma recta moulding, decorated with an acanthus leaf on the left and a helix with outward turned volutes on the right. Profiled rim underneath it with a bead and reel motif. The continuous frieze below it depicts a fragment of a bound, five-foil garland with olive or laurel leaves, pointing towards the right. The central leave and the outer two leaves overlap the remaining two leaves in the background. The leaves are relatively short, straight, pointed, notched and well-articulated.

Discussion: Very similar to ID613; perhaps these fragments belong to the same door lintel. Similar also to ID517 and ID588, but there the leaves are more elongated and articulated. Close parallels for door lintels with the tre-foil garland were found at the sepulchral sanctuary of Kâhta/ Güzelçay Köyü (Oenbrink 2017, 135-140, pl. 48,1-6) and in Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Oenbrink 2017, 99 no. A195. pl. 29,2). On the figurative relief from Güzelçay, the sculpted figure wears a helmet that is adorned with a similar tre-foil garland (Crowther and Facella 2014, 255-270; Oenbrink 2017, 124-141). The chiselling of ID517, ID588, ID613 and ID614 is even more articulated than the examples of Güzelçay and Arsameia on the Nymphaios. For the bead-and-reel, see the capital fragments of the second Corinthian order (ID287 and ID294), which are dated to the late 1st half – mid 1st c. BCE.

Literature: Kruijer and Riedel 2021, 216-218, 217 fig. 8.

Date: early-mid 1st c. BCE.

5.5 Column bases

ID622 - st.17-1012



Fragment of Ionic column base (?)

Measurements: h. 16,4; l. 31,2; w. 12,0.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the bottom and right side. Lower torus is missing.

Description: fragment of a column base of 'kleinasiatisch-ionischer' type. Flattened top and right side, while the back side is made concave; this is probably the result of reworking activity for later reuse, perhaps when used as a well-head. The base has a three small stepped profiles with straight front (h. 0,8), which indicates the transition from the upper torus (h. 7,0) to the column shaft. Below the torus starts a small profile, followed by a concave regression (h. 2,3) that is crowned by another outcropping profile.

Discussion: The development of the Ionic column base in Asia Minor witnesses a shift from a simple cylinder to a more differentiated profile sequence already in the archaic and classical period.⁵⁴² A canonized 'Ephesian' form of such differentiated horizontally structured spirals and a correspondingly profiled torus continue into the Hellenistic period in Asia Minor, for instance at the 3rd c. BCE cult buildings of Didyma⁵⁴³ and the early 2nd c. BCE Ionic columns of Magnesia on the Meander.⁵⁴⁴ The 'Ephesian' form is even witnessed into the Imperial Roman period, for instance on the Augustan temple of Mylasa.⁵⁴⁵ The use of a

⁵⁴² For early, Samian examples, see Dirschedl 2013, 129-177.

⁵⁴³ Rumscheid 1994, 12 f. no. 33.1; Dirschedl 2013, 190 No. E44 pl. 37, 1; 193 no. E57 pl. 39, 4.

⁵⁴⁴ Dirschedl 2013, 189, E40 pl. 36, 3.

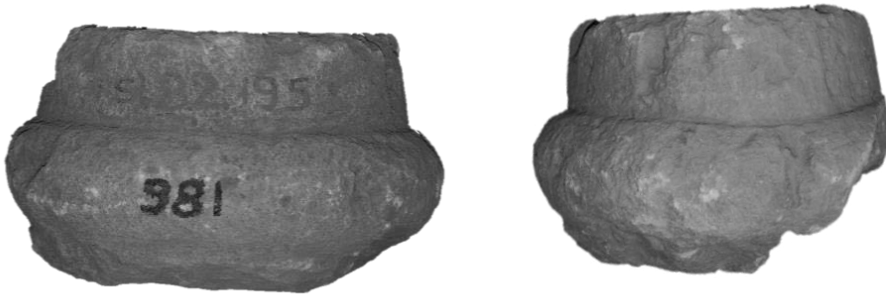
⁵⁴⁵ Rumscheid 2004, 131-178, esp. 147, 149, figs. 16 and 27; Dirschedl 2013, 193 no. E55, pl. 39, 1-2.

Asia Minor-type Ionic base form, as opposed to the later dominant use of the Attic Ionic base, points to a general dating back to the Hellenistic period.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Hellenistic.

ID84 - st.82-195



Fragment of base and column shaft

Measurements: h. 26,0; l. 32,0; w. 42,0.

Material: limestone.

Location: sector j/15-16, layer unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum

Preservation: broken at the bottom and top. Damaged on the sides.

Description⁵⁴⁶: Fragment of a column base with a relatively flat torus and column shaft. Made in one piece. Perhaps the start of the trochilus below it.

Discussion: Attic-Ionic torus base. Slightly reminiscent of the Attic-Ionic column base from Kâhta/Güzelçay⁵⁴⁷, which is dated to the Late-Hellenistic period. However, the profiling above and below the torus is very different. A more precise dating is not possible due to the state of preservation.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Unclear. Hellenistic – Roman Imperial (?)

⁵⁴⁶ Description in the object inventory: 'satunun topuk kısmı ile gövdesinin topukla birleşmiş ve aynı parçadan yapılmış alt kısmından ibarettir. kırık ve eksik.'

⁵⁴⁷ Oenbrink 2017, 134 K21, pl. 47,2.

5.6 Column drums



ID617 - st.17-1009

Fragment of a fluted column drum

Measurements: h. 17,5; l. 22,2; w. 7,3.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the sides and at the back.

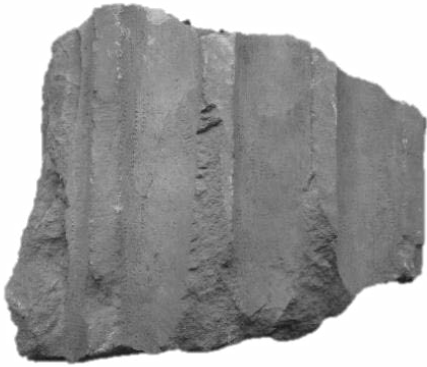
Description: Fragment of a fluted column drum. Four concave flutes are preserved. Fillets (w. 1,6) are flat.

Discussion: Similar to and perhaps belonging to ID615. Similar to the Late-Hellenistic fragment of a Corinthian column from Kâhta/Güzelçay, with similar concave fluting and straightened fillet (Oenbrink 2017, 131-132, 134 no. K17, pl. 46, 3).

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Unclear. Perhaps Late-Hellenistic.

ID615 - st.17-1007



Fragment of a fluted column drum

Measurements: h. 19,9; l. 24,7; w. 9,8.

Material: limestone.

Location: unclear.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the sides and at the back.

Description: Fragment of a fluted column drum. Five concave flutes are preserved. Fillets (w. 1,6) are flat.

Discussion: Similar to and perhaps belonging to ID617. Similar to the Late-Hellenistic fragment of a Corinthian column from Kâhta/Güzelçay, with similar concave fluting and straightened fillet (Oenbrink 2017, 131-132, 134 no. K17, pl. 46, 3).

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Unclear. Perhaps Late-Hellenistic.



Fragment of column drum

Measurements: h. 24,8; l. 33,5; w. 18,5; w. (fillet) 1,5; w. (flute) 7,9.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum

Preservation: broken at the top, back, and two sides.

Description: fragment of a column drum. The bottom is worked, perhaps for reuse. Convex front side with fluting (h.14,0; w. 8,3), of which four flutes were preserved. Flutes are filled and end in a curved manner at the bottom.

Discussion: The filled flutes and their curved ending suggests it is the lowest drum of the column. Comparable to large column drum fragments with filled fluting from Dülük Baba Tepesi, dated generally to the early imperial period.⁵⁴⁸

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Early Imperial?

⁵⁴⁸ Oenbrink 2019, 124-128, pls. 53-54.

ID24 - st.79-132



Fragment of small column with spiral fluting.

Measurements: h. 4,0; l. 11,0; w. 12,0.

Material: marble.

Location: sector unknown, layer I.

Current location: stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum

Preservation: broken at the back, bottom and left and right side.

Description: Fragment of a column with spiral fluting. Flat top. Flutes (w. 1,3) end in a slightly curved top. Narrow rim (1,7) on top.

Discussion: For spiralling fluted columns, see Benson 1959, 253-272. The earliest specimen is recorded in Stabiae (dated to 79 CE; D'Orsi 1996, pl. 5). Although especially popular in late Antiquity, this fragment could also be imperial. Relatively close-by parallels, albeit on much larger scale than ID24, derive from the colonnaded streets of Side and Apamea (ca. 200 CE), see Williams 1979, 254; Martin 1959, 39 (Side) and Balty 1969, pls. XI, 1 and 2; XII, 1; XX, l; Lassus 1972, 155; Butcher 2003, 245 fig. 99 (Apamea).

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Roman imperial

5.7 Entablature fragments

ID684



Fragment of architrave with frieze

Measurements: unknown.

Material: limestone

Location: Found by Hoepfner as a stray find in the lower city.

Current location: Stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: Broken on the left and right side, the bottom, and at the backside. Very worn at the front side, especially in the left and lower regions.

Description: Fragment of architrave with vine scroll. Flat on top. Probably three-fascia architrave. Slightly protruding profiled band for the transition to the frieze. Frieze contains vine scroll decoration with detailed, well-articulated and notched vine leaves, one of which was preserved. Next to and behind the leaves are depicted bunches of grapes, three of which are preserved. On top of the frieze, traces of a frame of egg-and-dart.

Discussion: Probably to be combined with ID685, ID686 and ID687. Oenbrink suggests that these pieces belong to the Corinthian order of a Late-Hellenistic representational building, for which the function, layout and exact locations cannot be exactly determined but that might have existed in the lower city of Samosata.⁵⁴⁹ Oenbrink furthermore suggests the possibility of combining these pieces with a Doric column capital that was allegedly found in the lower city of Samosata as well (now probably lost).⁵⁵⁰ The evidence for these pieces is too limited to be connected to the presumed *temene* of the ruler cult of Antiochos I.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁹ Oenbrink 2017, 144.

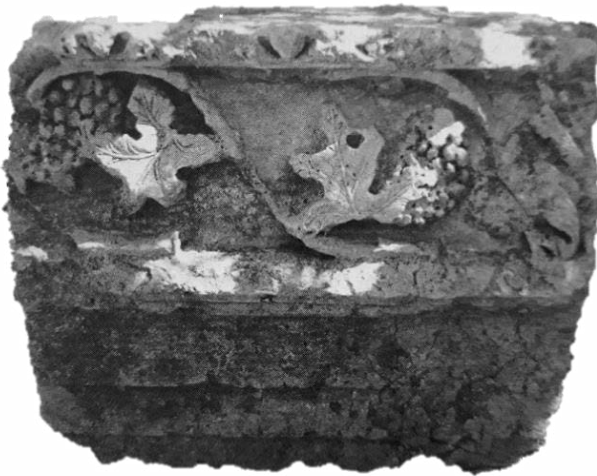
⁵⁵⁰ *Idem*, 144, n. 399. The picture (AD2010_001-480) is from the *Dörner Archiv* of the *Forschungsstelle Asia Minor*.

⁵⁵¹ As suggested by Hoepfner 1975, 47; Zoroğlu 2000, 77; Zoroğlu 2012, 138. They argue that the piece belonged to a *temenos* on top of the *höyük* and was dragged down, but Wagner 2003/2004, 136 and Oenbrink 2017, 144 n. 397 see no problem with an origin in the lower city.

Literature: Hoepfner 1975, 47 fig. 66; Hoepfner 1983, 67 pl. 37B; Hoepfner 2000, 56-73; Zoroğlu 2000, 77; Wagner 2003/2004, 136; Zoroğlu 2012, 138; Oenbrink 2017, 144, n. 397.

Date: Late-Hellenistic

ID685



Fragment of architrave with frieze

Measurements: h. 72,0; l. 84,0; w. 38,0.

Material: limestone

Location: unknown.

Current location: Stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken on the two sides, on the bottom and at the back. Worn at the front, especially at the right side of the frieze and at the top of the front side.

Description: Two-sided architrave blocks with profiles and a figurative frieze. Front side: three-fascia architrave with horizontal incisions. Slightly protruding profiled band for the transition to the frieze. Frieze contains vine scroll decoration with detailed, well-articulated and notched vine leaves, two of which are preserved. Next to and behind the leaves are depicted bunches of grapes, two of which are preserved. On top of the frieze, a frame of egg-and-dart. Backside: three-fascia architrave with horizontal incisions. Slightly protruding profiled band for the transition to the frieze. Frieze with a smooth, high *cyma recta*. Broken at the cornice.

Discussion: Probably to be combined with ID684, ID686 and ID687. The worked character of both sides suggests that the fragment belonged to an architrave beam above a column or pillar structure. Oenbrink suggests that these pieces belong to the Corinthian order of a Late-Hellenistic representational building, for which the function, lay-out and exact locations cannot be exactly determined but that might have existed in

the lower city of Samosata.⁵⁵² Oenbrink furthermore suggests the possibility of combining these pieces with a Doric column capital that was allegedly found in the lower city of Samosata as well (now probably lost).⁵⁵³ The evidence for these pieces is too limited to be connected to the presumed *temene* of the ruler cult of Antiochos I.⁵⁵⁴

Literature: Oenbrink 2017, 144, pl. 50, 2.

Date: Late-Hellenistic

ID686



Fragment of architrave with frieze

Measurements: h. 32,0; l. 81,0; w. 55,0.

Material: limestone

Location: unknown.

Current location: Stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the bottom, the back, the left and the right sides. Rather worn at the front side.

Description: Two-sided fragment of a profiled architrave fragment with figurative frieze. Flat on top. Front side: the frieze contains vine scroll decoration with detailed, well-articulated and notched vine leaves, two of which are preserved. Next to and behind the leaves are depicted bunches of grapes, one of which is preserved. On top of the frieze, a frame of egg-and-dart. Back side: frieze with a smooth, high *cyma recta* and the start of the cornice.

Discussion: Probably to be combined with ID684, ID685 and ID687. The worked character of both sides suggests that the fragment belonged to an architrave beam above a column or pillar structure. Oenbrink suggests that these pieces belong to the Corinthian order of a Late-Hellenistic representational building, for which the function, lay-out and exact locations cannot be exactly determined but that might have existed in

⁵⁵² Oenbrink 2017, 144.

⁵⁵³ *Idem*, 144 n. 399. The picture (AD2010_001-480) belongs to the *Dörner Archiv* of the *Forschungsstelle Asia Minor*.

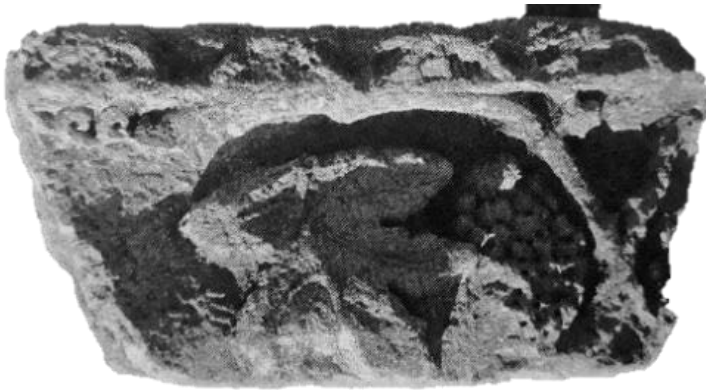
⁵⁵⁴ As suggested by Hoepfner 1975, 47; Zoroğlu 2000, 77; Zoroğlu 2012, 138.

the lower city of Samosata.⁵⁵⁵ Oenbrink furthermore suggests the possibility of combining these pieces with a Doric column capital that was allegedly found in the lower city of Samosata as well (now probably lost).⁵⁵⁶ The evidence for these pieces is too limited to be connected to the presumed *temene* of the ruler cult of Antiochos I.⁵⁵⁷

Literature: Oenbrink 2017, 144, pl. 50, 3.

Date: Late-Hellenistic

ID687



Fragment of architrave with frieze

Measurements: h 26,0; l. 53,0; w. 59,0.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: Stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the bottom, the back, the left and the right sides. Rather worn at the front side.

Description: Fragment of a two-sided architrave with profile and a figurative frieze. Flat on top. Frontside: frieze contains vine scroll decoration with detailed, well-articulated and notched vine leaves, one of which is preserved. Next to and behind the leaves are depicted bunches of grapes, two of which is preserved. On top of the frieze, traces of a frame of egg-and-dart. Backside: broken.

Discussion: Probably to be combined with ID684, ID685 and ID686. The worked character of both sides suggests that the fragment belonged to an architrave beam above a column or pillar structure. Oenbrink suggests that these pieces belong to the Corinthian order of a Late-Hellenistic representational building, for which the function, lay-out and exact locations cannot be exactly determined but that might have existed in

⁵⁵⁵ Oenbrink 2017, 144.

⁵⁵⁶ *Idem*, 144, n. 399. The picture (AD2010_001-480) belongs to the *Dörner Archiv* of the *Forschungsstelle Asia Minor*.

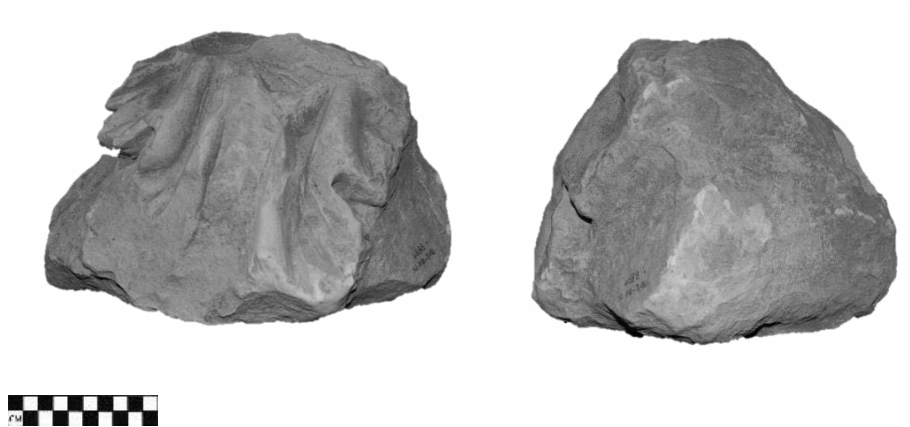
⁵⁵⁷ As suggested by Hoepfner 1975, 47; Zoroğlu 2000, 77; Zoroğlu 2012, 138.

the lower city of Samosata.⁵⁵⁸ Oenbrink furthermore suggests the possibility of combining these pieces with a Doric column capital that was allegedly found in the lower city of Samosata as well (now probably lost).⁵⁵⁹ The evidence for these pieces is too limited to be connected to the presumed *temene* of the ruler cult of Antiochos I.⁵⁶⁰

Literature: Oenbrink 2017, 144, pl. 50, 4.

Date: Late-Hellenistic.

ID477 - st.89-145



Modillion fragment of acanthus decoration of coffered cornice ('*Konsolengeison*')

Measurements: h.19,4; l. 28,0; w.19,3.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: Broken on the top and at three sides. Rather worn.

Description: Modillion fragment of acanthus decoration of coffered cornice ('*Konsolengeison*'). Left side is worked, indicating the start of the coffer. Modillion is decorated with a large asymmetric acanthus leaf. Leaf is segmented, with a rounded stem, ample leaves, and opened, tear-shaped eyelets.

Discussion: The ample leaf might suggest a connection to the Corinthian leaves of the second Commagenean Corinthian order (mid-1st c. BCE; Oenbrink 2017, 57-68)?

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Unclear. Perhaps Late Hellenistic?

⁵⁵⁸ Oenbrink 2017, 144.

⁵⁵⁹ *Idem*, 144, n. 399. The picture (AD2010_001-480) belongs to the Dörner Archive of the Forschungsstelle Asia Minor.

⁵⁶⁰ As suggested by Hoepfner 1975, 47; Zoroğlu 2000, 77; Zoroğlu 2012, 138.

ID17 - st.79-319



Modillion, console bracket with double volutes

Measurements: h. 47,0; l. 59,0; w. 50,0.

Material: limestone.

Location: re-used in tower, layer unknown.

Current location: garden Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the top and left side. Very worn on all sides.

*Description*⁵⁶¹: Console bracket with double volutes. Double ogee with s-curve terminating in volutes left and right. Volutes of wide fillets and small, pierced oculi. Very worn profiled borders above contain first a border of shallow dentils, on top of which a border of bead-and-reel, followed by a border of egg-and-darts. At the front, bottom side of the volutes, hanging acanthus leaves are located.

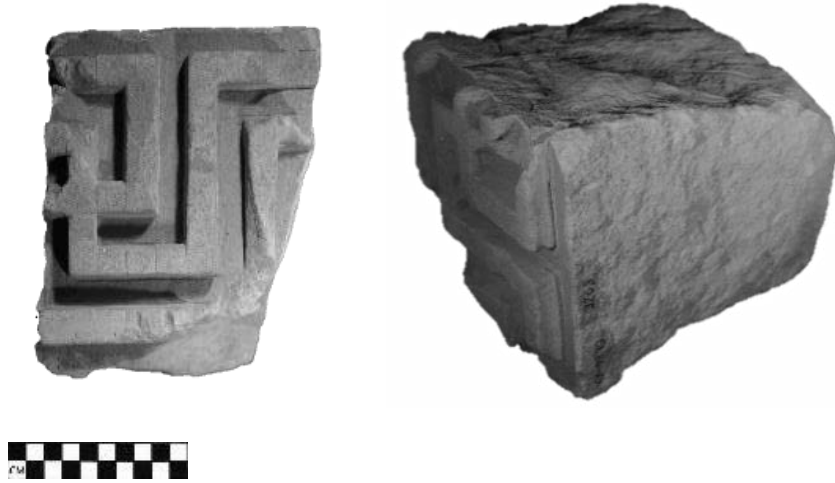
⁵⁶¹ Description object inventory: 'yumurta dizisi altında birbirine bağlı helezon sezeme'.

Discussion: the fragments seems to indicate the direct connection between the console bracket and the door cornice ('*hyperthyron*'), that were placed above the door lintel. The execution of the acanthus leaves suggests a dating in the 2nd c. BCE.

Literature: not previously published.

Date: 1st half/mid-2nd century CE.

ID345 - st.86-079



Frieze fragment with meander decoration

Measurements: h. 11,2; l. 10,4; w. 14,6.

Material: limestone.

Location: sector u/9-10, layer VII.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: Broken at the back, sides and bottom.

*Description*⁵⁶²: Frieze fragment with meander decoration. Upper side is flat. Meander (deep 1,0 cm) is well articulated and consists of two parallel strips of meandering fillets crossing one another at continuous intervals. The surface of the fillets is flat but contains shallow incisions at regular intervals.

Discussion: The earliest use of this type of meander with two parallel strips of meandering fillets in architectural decoration is observed on the socle of the altar of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (ca. 350 BCE)⁵⁶³ and in the Artemis temple of Magnesia on the Meander.⁵⁶⁴ It reoccurs on the 'katalobeus' of the temple of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias (1st c. BCE)⁵⁶⁵ and the Zeus temple of Aizanoi and the Augustus tempel

⁵⁶² Description in the object inventory: 'taş yüzeyinden birer santimlik arabalarla birbirine bağlı meander motifinin bir kısmı korunmuş. bu motifi altta kabartma bir bant sınırlamaktadır.'

⁵⁶³ Bammer 1971, fig. 13 pl. 20; Rumscheid 1994 2, 15 f. nos. 40.6 – 40.11 pl. 36,4.

⁵⁶⁴ Rumscheid 1994 1, 210. 284 f.; Rumscheid 1994 2, 38 no. 137.25 pl. 83, 1.

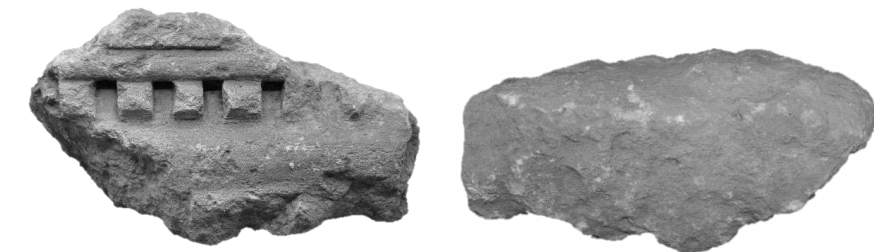
⁵⁶⁵ Gros 1976, pl. LVI, fig. 2.

of Ancyra.⁵⁶⁶ In the Augustan period, the motif also appears in Rome in the porticus of the Forum of Caesar (46 BCE)⁵⁶⁷, on a frieze of the Ara Pacis (9 BCE)⁵⁶⁸, and on the soffit of the temple of Mars Ultor (2 BCE).⁵⁶⁹ Later examples are observed in Baalbek/Heliopolis on a cornice fragment of the Jupiter Heliopolitanus temple (60 CE)⁵⁷⁰ as well as on the temple of Bacchus (2nd c. CE).⁵⁷¹ In Ephesos, it reoccurs on the balustrade of its theatre, which belongs to the Roman restructuring phase (110 CE).⁵⁷² On the basalt doorway of the southern temple at 'Atil in Syria (151 CE), the lintel of the rectangular alcove and the entrance is adorned with meanders as well.⁵⁷³ The 2nd c. CE comparanda in Syria make a 2nd c. CE dating for ID345 likely on first instance, but the Hellenistic examples from Asia Minor make a much earlier dating possible as well. The early, Hellenistic layer in which the piece was found furthermore points to a Late-Hellenistic dating, something also suggested by the stone type and quality of the carving.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Late-Hellenistic (2nd - 1st century BCE).

ID619 - st.17-1010



Fragment of coffered cornice ('*Konsolengeison*') (?)

Measurements: h. 17,6; l. 35,1; w.13,0.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the back, on the top and on the left and right side.

Description: Fragment of coffered cornice ('*Konsolengeison*?'). Broken upper edge followed by channel, on top of convex profile (w. 2,1). Below, a row of six dentils (w. 2,5-3,1) with unequal size. Underneath, a slightly convex profile (w. 5,2). At the bottom, perhaps the start of a modillion.

⁵⁶⁶ Rumscheid 1994 2, 3 f. no. 11.3 pl. 3,7.

⁵⁶⁷ Maisto and Pinna Caboni 2010, 440 fig.17: FC4273 and 441 fig. 18.

⁵⁶⁸ Elsner 1991, pls. I and IV.

⁵⁶⁹ Ungaro 2004, 17-35; Ungaro 2015, 305 fig. 35

⁵⁷⁰ Butcher 2003, 353 fig. 162; Kropp 2013, 275-278.

⁵⁷¹ Wiegand 1921, pl. 22.

⁵⁷² Krinzing and Ruggendorfer 2017.

⁵⁷³ Butcher 2003, 177 fig.70, 294 fig.125.

Discussion: The bad preservation does not allow for any certainty concerning the exact nature of this piece nor its dating.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Late-Hellenistic?

ID611 - st.17-1003



Sima fragment

Measurements: h. 15,7; l. 14,0; w. 10,8.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: broken at the top, bottom (or very worn?) and left and right sides.

Description: Fragment of a cyma recta sima. Backside seems worked, but might also be very worn. Sima contains a frieze with two stylized palmettes that touch or even cover each other. The leaves are plain and without detail. The right palmette has two perforated holes at the top, on either side of the central leaf, and one in the triangular space between the leaf fingers. Underneath, a border of bead-and-reel with elongated, oval beads and prismatic reels.

Discussion: the combination of the individual elements (the shape of the palmette leaves, the perforated palmette leaves and the form of the bead-and-reel) suggests a dating to the second half - late 1st c. CE.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Roman-Imperial (second half - late 1st century CE).



Fragment of coffered cornice ('Konsolengeison')

Measurements: h. 59,0; l. 27,0; w. 27,0.

Material: limestone

Location: sector j/15, layer II.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum

Preservation: top is cut off for reuse. Worn above the dentil strip.

*Description*⁵⁷⁴: Fragment of coffered cornice ('Konsolengeison'). Rectangular. Plain surface with one row of shallow dentils with variable interspace.

⁵⁷⁴ Description in the object inventory: 'dikdörtgen prizma biçiminde arkası veyanları düzeltilmiş. Ön yüzün üst kısmında bir set meydana getirilmiş. Setin altında bir sıra dış kesimi motifi mevcut.'

Discussion: Width of zone underneath the dentils is unusual. The superficial dentils and their variable interspace suggest an early imperial date.⁵⁷⁵

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early imperial.

ID681



Sima corner fragment with ivy scroll or garland.

Measurements: h. 20,3; l. 18,6; w. 11,2.

Material: limestone

Location: unclear.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum

Preservation: broken at the top, bottom, back and at right side.

Description: Fragment of sima in cyma recta decorated with ivy scroll or garland. Acanthus leaf on the corner with ample, pointed leaves. One ivy leaf on the front side is notched. Underneath, a bead-and-reel frame on top of further moulding.

Discussion: This corner fragment of a relatively small *cyma recta* sima might belong to an exterior door lintel. Ivy scrolls and garlands are rare in Hellenistic period architectural decoration.⁵⁷⁶ The execution of the acanthus leaf and the tendrils are typical for the Late-Hellenistic period, but however the shape of the bead-and-reel is early Imperial.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: early imperial (1st century CE).

⁵⁷⁵ Oenbrink 2019, 81-83.

⁵⁷⁶ Rumscheid 1994 2, 65 f. nos. 258.1 u. 259.1 pl. 139, 5-6.

ID608 - st.17-1001



Profiled architrave fragment or a door lintel

Measurements: h. 25,0; l. 12,6; w. 19,8.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum.

Preservation: Broken on bottom and back and right side.

Description: Profiled architrave fragment with two bead-and-reel borders. Bottom and left side are flat. Bead-and-reels are well-articulated.

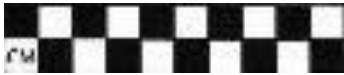
Discussion: The three fascia, each separated by a row of bead-and-reel might be related to a three-fascia architrave. On the other hand, the relatively narrow fascia strips can also indicate profiled door lintel. The shape of the bead-and-reel with elongated, pointed oval beads and close pairs of reels probably indicates an early to mid-imperial dating.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Imperial (1st - 2nd century CE).

5.8 Small decorative fragments

ID523 - st.85-1010



Fragment of stucco egg-and-dart moulding.

Measurements: h. 1,8; l. 4,3; w. 3,9.

Material: stucco

Location: unknown, probably palace

Current location: depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'

Preservation: broken at all sides except front.

Description: Fragment of stucco egg-and-dart moulding. Very little space between egg and tongues. Darts are relatively wide. Traces of paint.

Discussion: Similar to ID524 but different type.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Hellenistic.

ID524 - st.85-1011



Fragment of stucco egg-and-dart moulding.

Measurements: h. 1,5; l. 5,3; w. 5,3.

Material: stucco.

Location: unknown, probably palace.

Current location: depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: broken on left and right side. Heavily damaged at the front.

Description: Fragment of stucco egg-and-dart moulding. Back is flat. Very little space between egg and tongues. Darts are relatively wide.

Discussion: Similar to ID523 but different type. This very badly preserved fragment clearly shows the 'dart' between two ovoli, filling the relatively wide space. This is a preferred shape for the Hellenistic period but has a long longevity afterwards too, making it difficult to date it.⁵⁷⁷ A comparable form can already be found in the Artemis temple of Magnesia.⁵⁷⁸

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Hellenistic (2nd - 1st century BCE).

ID525 - st.85-1012



Fragment of bead-and-reel motif

Measurements: h. 3,8; l. 5,6; w. 3,5.

Material: limestone.

Location: unknown, probably palace.

Current location: depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum; box '1985 saray mimari parca'.

Preservation: broken at all sides except the front side.

Description: Fragment of large bead-and-reel frame. Perhaps the start of an egg-and-dart above it.

⁵⁷⁷ Rumscheid 1994, 253-258.

⁵⁷⁸ *Idem*, 2, 38 no. 137.12 pl. 80.4.

Discussion: Very similar to ID680. Comparable to late-Hellenistic bead-and-reel fragments from Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁵⁷⁹

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Late-Hellenistic (late first half of the 1st c. BCE?).

ID618 - st.85-1034



Fragment of echinus?

Measurements: h. 18,9; l.17,7; w.8,6.

Material: limestone.

Location: G 15, layer unknown.

Current location: stone depot Adiyaman Archaeological Museum

Preservation: broken on top, bottom, left and right side.

Description: Fragment of egg-and-dart of an echinus? Back is smoothened and hollow. Egg-and-dart starts above a concave regression (h. 3,0). One, relatively large ovolo preserved (h. 10,6; w. 7,3). Traces of two more eggs and the two narrow, protruding darts in between.

⁵⁷⁹ Oenbrink 2017, 102. 105 no. A207 pl. 33,7; Oenbrink 2017, 104, A201, pl. 33, 6 and 105 A207, pl. 33, 7. 246

Discussion: If it is indeed part of an echinus of an ionic capital, it must be a relatively large order. The shape of the darts is found in an early-Imperial capital from Commagene⁵⁸⁰ but overall the shape looks more Late-Hellenistic.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Late Hellenistic

⁵⁸⁰ Oenbrink 2019 , 237 ff. Plate 95.

Chapter 6. Hellenistic and early Roman sculpture from Samosata (2nd c. BCE-1st c. CE).

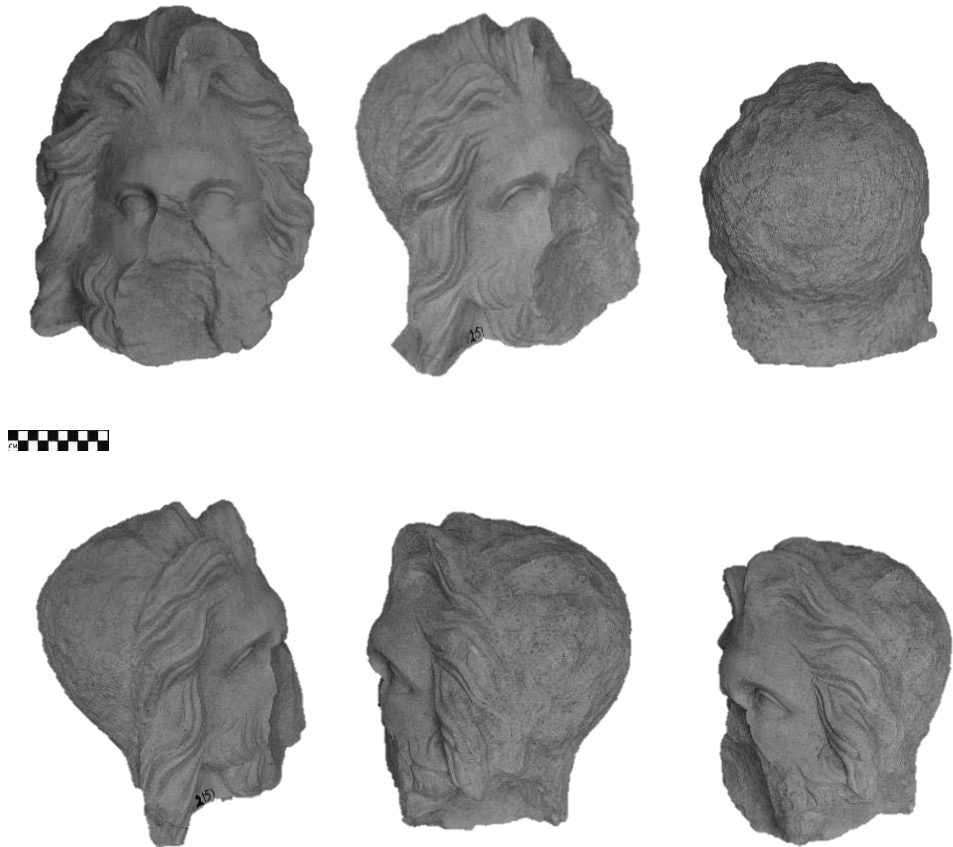
6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the sculptural evidence for the Hellenistic and early Roman periods in Samosata. Most of the sculptural fragments presented here were unearthed during the excavations by Özgüç's team on top of the *höyük*, but the corpus also includes relevant stray finds or gifts to the excavators or to the Adiyaman Archaeological Museum.⁵⁸¹ I limited the overall selection to the Hellenistic and early Roman period, which in practice means approximately the 2nd c. BCE – late 1st c. CE. The material consists of portraits (paragraph 6.2), statue fragments (paragraph 6.3), figurative reliefs (paragraph 6.4), and stelai belonging to the ruler cult of Antiochos I (paragraph 6.5). The paragraphs on portraits (6.2), statue fragments (6.3), and stelai (6.5) each time conclude with brief discussions of their shared palatial and Commagenean context. In a concluding paragraph 6.6, I discuss the complete corpus in relation to Commagenean sculpture.

⁵⁸¹ Although many of these pieces are published for the first time, some were already described and discussed in Özgüç 2009. Cf. Özgüç 2009, pl. 96 fig. 216; pl. 97 fig. 217; pl. 97 fig. 218; pl. 98 fig. 219; pl. 113 fig. 248; pl. 114 fig. 249; pl. 113 figs. 250-251; pl. 116 figs. 252-253. Other scholars dealing with the Late-Hellenistic and early Roman sculpture of Samosata have done so mostly in passing by, selecting only a few individual pieces from the published material. E.g. Zoroğlu 2000, 79-80, fig. 109; Wagner 2003/2004, 136 fig. 7, 137; Bingöl 2013, 110-111, figs. 170-171; Blömer 2012a, 101-102, fig. 3. Note also the remark by Blömer 2014, 66: '*Selbst aus Samosata, das Metropolis der Kommagene und Hauptquartier einer römischen Legion war, sind fast keine Skulpturen überliefert*'. Logically, the remarkable limestone head representing (most likely) Antiochos I wearing a diadem (ID216), has received most attention, whereas less aesthetically pleasing objects remained unnoticed and unpublished in the depot of the Adiyaman Archaeological Museum. In general, no comprehensive overview and discussion of Late-Hellenistic and early Roman sculpture of Samosata has been presented so far. For the head of Antiochos I, see Fleischer 2008; Riedel 2018; and entry ID216 in this chapter.

6.2 Portraits

ID215 - st.84-023



Head of a bearded male, perhaps Zeus.

Measurements: h. 26,3; w. 25,5; width ear-to-ear 19,6; depth (preserved) 21,2; forehead-chin 19,5. Approximately life-size.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: sector j/17, room V, between I8 and I9. Layer IV. Next to ID216.

Current Location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inv. nr. st.84-023).

Preservation: broken in a triangular shape in the lower center of the face. Chin, mouth, nose and large part of the beard are missing.

*Description*⁵⁸²: Head of a bearded male. The face seems to be oval-shaped. The jaws are covered by a beard. The eyes are almond-shaped with eyelids that are very precisely delineated. No iris or pupil is indicated. The brows are gently curving and not protruding but indicated with fine lines. The forehead is prominent. A curious depression in the form of a strip between the forehead and the start of the hair might indicate the location for the attachment or painting of some type of headgear. The long hair is roughly parted in the center and combed to the back in wild, upstanding locks of wavy but not curled hair, giving a mane-like impression. On top of the head, the hair is not rendered. The beard is also rendered in relief, giving a slightly more curled impression.

Discussion: Based on the hairstyle and the beard, this head is generally interpreted as a representation of Zeus.⁵⁸³ Zoroğlu suggested that the head might have belonged to a Roman sanctuary in the *opus reticulatum* structure north of the palace, thus ignoring the find location of the piece.⁵⁸⁴ As argued in the introduction of this paragraph, it is however more likely that ID215 and ID216 were erected together in room V of the palace, where they were found lying between statue base I8 and altar I9 (see chapter 4). The lack of any other sculptural fragments in room V should however make us cautious still.⁵⁸⁵ If indeed ID215 and ID216 were erected together, they probably formed part of an ancestral gallery that included statues of one or more gods.⁵⁸⁶ The presence of Zeus in such an ensemble would fit well with the evidence for a superior position of Zeus at Nemrut Dağı.⁵⁸⁷ A stylistic parallel might be found in the more than life-size marble head with similar wavy but not curled hair found in the temple of Sarapis in Pozzuoli, dated to the 1st c. CE.⁵⁸⁸ Blömer dates ID215 to the 1st c. CE while Riedel suggests that the late 1st c. BCE is also possible.⁵⁸⁹

Literature: Özgüç 1985, 125; Zoroğlu 2000, 77–78, fig. 105; Özgüç 2009, 44, pl.115 fig. 250; Blömer 2012, 101–102 fig. 3; Zoroğlu 2012, 138–139; Brijder 2014, 425, 427 fig. 242d; Riedel 2019, 107.

Date: Late 1st c. BCE – early 1st c. CE.

⁵⁸² Description in the object inventory: ‘Bir erkek heykelinin çenesinden üstü korunmuş. saçlar arkada ve başın üzerinde işlenmedin bırakılmış. Onda alın üzerinden kabartma olarak iki yana doğru uzun bukleler halinde inmekte. sakal aynı şekilde kabartma olarak belirtilmiş. çıkık alınlı, kaşlar balık kılğı biçiminde ince çizgilerle belirtilmiş. göz bebeği işli. burnu ağız ve çenesi kırık’.

⁵⁸³ Özgüç 1985, 225; Wagner 2003/2004, 136; Özgüç 2009, 44 with figs. 250a-b; Blömer 2012a, 101; Zoroğlu 2012, 138–139; Riedel 2018, 107.

⁵⁸⁴ Zoroğlu 2012, 139.

⁵⁸⁵ As suggested by Riedel 2018, 107.

⁵⁸⁶ See the introduction to this section.

⁵⁸⁷ Riedel 2018, 112f. See also Blömer 2012a for more evidence for local gods being venerated as Zeus in Commagene.

⁵⁸⁸ Now in the British Museum (1973.0302.2), cf. Pryce and Smith 1892, no. 1529.

⁵⁸⁹ Blömer 2012a, 101; Riedel 2018, 107 and n. 126.

ID216 – st.84-024



Portrait of a young man, probably Antiochos I of Commagene

Measurements: h. 31,5; w. 20,5 about life-size.

Material: fine, white limestone.

Find Location: sector j/17, room V, between I8 and I9. Layer IV. Next to ID215.

Current Location: Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inv. nr. st.84-024).

Preservation: Well preserved. Broken nose and broken left eyebrow and mouth. Broken at the neck.

*Description*⁵⁹⁰: Portrait of a young man wearing a diadem. The face is oval in shape with a slightly pointed and pronounced chin and round jaws, and turns slightly to the right. The mouth is small and somewhat opened. The eyes are almond-shaped; only the right eye has a carved pupil. The eyelids are very precisely delineated. The brows are gently arching and indicated with fine lines. The hairstyle is characterized by crescent-shaped strands arranged in overlapping rows. On the back of the head, the execution is very schematic. The two first rows of locks, oriented towards the forehead, are executed in a more detailed manner. In the center of the first row of locks, two locks curl towards each other, in contrasting movement. Behind the first two rows of locks, a 2,4 cm. wide royal diadem is indicated. It is placed around the head and contains twelve drilled holes (with an average diameter of 1,6 cm.), placed in a zigzag-line from behind the head's right ear up to the part above its left eye. These holes are generally interpreted as receptacles for bronze rays forming a radiate crown.⁵⁹¹ The diadem is knotted in the back. Below the left eye of the portrayed on the left cheek, an inscription reading *ANTIOXO* [...] is incised. The letters are very superficially chiseled into limestone and barely legible without the use of oblique lighting. Traces of red paint were observed on the portrait by the excavators, but their location on the head are unclear; during inspection in 2017, no traces were observed.⁵⁹²

Discussion: It is by and large accepted that the diadem identifies the portrayed as a Hellenistic ruler and, because of the find spot within the palace, as a member of the Orontid dynasty of Commagene.⁵⁹³ The inscription underneath the left eye narrows the identification down to the four members of the Commagenean dynasty who bore the name Antiochos. Of these, Antiochos I

⁵⁹⁰ Description from the object inventory: 'Bir erkek heykelinin boyundan üst kısmı korunmuş. baş sağa doğru hafifçe dönük. saçlar kabartma olarak alev dilimleri şeklinde gösterilmiş. baştaki diademin üzerinde, dol kaşın üzerinden başlayıp sağ kulak arkasına kadar devam eden 12 delik bulunmakta diademin üstünde kalan kısımda saçlar kabaca işlenmiş. alnı öne doğru çıkık. kaşlar balık kılçığı şeklinde ince çizgilerle gösterilmiş. göz çevresi kabartma, göz bebekleri işlenmiş. göz pınarları derin olarak belirtilmiş. yuvarlak çeneli. kulaklar tabii olarak işlenmiş. diadem arkada düğümlemiş. sol olmacık kemiği üzerinde kitabe mevcut. üzerinde kırmızı boya izleri kısmen korunmuş'.

⁵⁹¹ Fleischer 2008, 324; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Kropp 2013, 84; Riedel 2018, 95.

⁵⁹² Özgüç 1985, 225; Özgüç 2009, 44. Riedel 2018, 93.

⁵⁹³ Zoroğlu 2000, 79; Fleischer 2008, 326-329; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Kropp 2013, 85; Riedel 2018, 95.

and Antiochos III have been considered the two most likely candidates in existing scholarship.⁵⁹⁴ Zoroğlu suggested an identification with Antiochos I on the basis of a very general physiognomic similarity (the smooth transition from the forehead to the nose) with the rest of the king's iconography.⁵⁹⁵ The lack of any knowledge concerning the iconography of Antiochos III weakens these physiognomic criteria – we simply cannot know whether Antiochos III did not also have these basic physiognomic characteristics.⁵⁹⁶ For the dating of the head, Fleischer, Kropp and Riedel follow a *terminus postquem* of 40 BCE, as the portrait's hairstyle belongs to (variations of) the main Octavian-type, used by Octavian between 40-31 BCE.⁵⁹⁷ Fleischer identified the head as Antiochos III (12? BCE-17 CE), arguing that Antiochos I should be discarded as this king was solely depicted wearing the Armenian tiara after the defeat of the Armenian king Tigranes by Pompey in 66 BCE/65 BCE.⁵⁹⁸ The adoption by Antiochos III of the much earlier Octavian portrait-type instead of the contemporary Prima Porta-type - which became widespread from 27 BCE onwards - is explained by Fleischer in terms of an '*Angleichungstabu*'; the minor Hellenistic kings would have been restricted in adopting the classicizing Augustan style in detail as it would insult the emperor.⁵⁹⁹ Riedel agrees with Fleischer that a life-time portrait of Antiochos I is not possible but – I think convincingly - discards an identification as Antiochos III.⁶⁰⁰

Instead, Riedel argues that the head should be a posthumous depiction of Antiochos I, commissioned during the reign of Mithridates II (36-20 BCE).⁶⁰¹ He argues that during his reign, Antiochos I would not be expected to follow an Octavian hairstyle, as this would be unusual in the eastern Mediterranean, where it was rather Marc Antony who was the strongman.⁶⁰² Riedel suggests that, by portraying the deceased Antiochos I in the guise of a Hellenistic king and with a subtle reference to the portraiture of Octavian, Mithridates II would have attempted to rewrite

⁵⁹⁴ Antiochos II is discarded as he never became a king of Commagene and thus would not wear a diadem or a radiate crown, see Haake 2012. Antiochos IV (who ruled from 38-72/73 CE) is discarded on the basis of recurring physiognomic traits (contracted eyebrows, deep-set eyes, a bulge at the root of the nose, a slightly bent nose, a small mouth, and a strong jaw) and the Julio-Claudian hairstyle in all his depictions. The hair in those depictions has thick strands without subdivision, reaching down the nape where it is combed to the front, very much unlike the divided locks of the Samosata head. See Kropp 2013, 85-86) and Riedel 2018, 96.

⁵⁹⁵ Zoroğlu 2012, 140.

⁵⁹⁶ Fleischer 2008, 326; Riedel 2018, 97.

⁵⁹⁷ Fleischer 2008, 327; Kropp 2013, 85; Riedel 2018, 97-98.

⁵⁹⁸ Fleischer 2008, 100.

⁵⁹⁹ *Idem*, 328f. He provides similar Octavian-style portraits from the early Imperial period by referring to the portraits of the Mauretanian kings Iuba II (25 BCE -23 CE) and his son Ptolemy, see Fleischer 2008, 321-324, 327 and 329.

⁶⁰⁰ Kropp and Riedel both refute Fleischer's argument for an '*Angleichungstabu*' during the reign of Antiochos III; Riedel provides plenty of examples for the adoption of the classicizing Augustan portrait style by minor kings of the Roman world. See Riedel 2018, 99-103, referring to Smith 1988, 140. See also Kropp 2013, 76-78.

⁶⁰¹ Riedel 2018, 104.

⁶⁰² *Idem*, 99: 'Given the date of the head – after 40 B.C., due to the hairstyle – the strongman to adapt to necessarily would have had to have been Antony.'

history, in some way covering up the assumed problematic early relationship between Octavian and Antiochos I.⁶⁰³

Although ingenious, Riedel's argumentation strongly relies on the assumption that Antiochos I, during his lifetime 1) could *not* have been represented without the Armenian tiara after 66/65 BCE, and that he also 2) could *not* have opted for an Octavian portrait type. I believe, however, that both assumptions are not necessarily self-evident. I am more inclined to follow Kropp's assertion that this is in fact a lifetime portrait of Antiochos I, but intended for a different socio-cultural setting than on his coins and monuments and hence not adhering to the restrictions of those media.⁶⁰⁴ The seemingly more private character of room V, difficult to access in the palace, as well as the perhaps ritual context of that room (with I9, the altar placed in front of pedestal I8, see appendix D4) would allow for a completely different social setting than in, for instance, the king's *hierothesia*, and perhaps allowed for a radically different form of self-representation.⁶⁰⁵ Especially the radiant crown in combination with the altar-like structure, together emphasize a different role for Antiochos I. Whereas the Armenian tiara served to proclaim himself the true and only heir of the Orontid house⁶⁰⁶, a message well-suited for the widely visible iconography on coinage and large-scale monuments, the diadem with bronze radiant crown would instead emphasize the epithet Ἐπιφάνης and perhaps even Θεός, which, importantly, Antiochos I already adopted during his lifetime.⁶⁰⁷ The unicity of this type of representation of Antiochos I might explain the presence of the incised inscription; also during his lifetime, those who were responsible for the execution and erection of the statue would not have been used to this type of representation.⁶⁰⁸ We should furthermore be careful in interpreting the adoption of a specific sculptural hairstyle developed in Octavian portraiture as a necessary representation of the king's political allegiance to Octavian himself. Rather, the hairstyle might more generally be understood

⁶⁰³ Riedel 2018, 125: 'adopting the hairstyle for an image of Antiochos I, who indeed was the contemporary Commagenean king to Octavian, evoked a historical interconnection between Commagene and Rome, by at the same time ignoring the problematic episode of having supported Marc Antony. (...) it is tempting to take into account the interpretation of the ancestral gallery as a very specific case of re-invented, or, better, re-defined tradition and history by the Commagenean dynasty in order to be on better terms with Augustan Rome.'

⁶⁰⁴ Kropp 2013, 85: "The Armenian tiara with which he is depicted on coins and monuments is a political symbol employed for official iconography. By contrast, the surprising discovery of mosaic floors depicting Greek theatrical motifs such as a brothelkeeper (...) demonstrate a radically different cultural emphasis in the private atmosphere of the royal palace of Samosata, more inclined towards Graeco-Roman culture and the entertainment it had to offer. It would be in keeping with the Hellenized visual arrangement of the palace to find a bust or statue of Antiochos I depicting him according to the 'modern' fashion employed by Octavian. If the portrait was part of a gallery of kings, it would have constituted the Hellenized counterpart to the official portrait gallery on Nemrut Dağı.'

⁶⁰⁵ Note, however, that a portrait of king Antiochos I wearing the Armenian tiara was probably also present in the palace; see ID520.

⁶⁰⁶ Wagner 1983, 201; Jacobs 2003, 119-120; Facella 2006, 220; Kropp 83-84.

⁶⁰⁷ Riedel 2018, 104 discusses the connection between the bronze radiant crown and the epithet Ἐπιφάνης as well but only in the context of a posthumous portrait.

⁶⁰⁸ Riedel 2018, 104 also suggests this but then in relation to a posthumous portrait of Antiochos I. The argument also holds true for a life-time portrait.

as a form of ‘Romanism’ – tied to the king’s epithet *philorhomaïos* – that was not necessarily tied to one specific Roman general, as, from a Commagenean perspective, these were probably coming and going in rapid succession.⁶⁰⁹ Such a possible cultural representation of the hairstyle need however not have been activated in Commagene at all; other object capacities – for instance the hairstyle’s general association with the idea of a ruler – might have been more decisive relational qualities.⁶¹⁰

As explained in the introduction to this paragraph, it is likely that ID215 and ID216 were erected together in room V of the palace, where they were found lying between statue base I8 and altar I9 (see chapter 4). The lack of any other sculptural fragments in room V should however make us cautious still.⁶¹¹ If indeed ID215 and ID216 were erected together, they probably formed part of an expanded ancestral gallery that included statues of one or more gods.⁶¹² The inscription underneath the left eye might have helped those responsible of erecting the statues to separate it from the other statues and ‘*guarantee the correct position within the ensemble*’.⁶¹³ According to Fleischer, Kropp and Riedel, the inscription would almost not have been visible as it was most likely covered with paint.⁶¹⁴ Several aspects of the statue (the slight leftward turn of the head; the

⁶⁰⁹ See Versluys 2017a. He considers Antiochos I’s ‘*Romanism as a form of Hellenism*’, which would indeed suggest that the use of a Roman hairstyle was more a cultural scenario meant to evoke general associations with, for instance, Roman power than to function as a direct representation of a specific political allegiance. If, for the sake of argument, we assume however that the portrait *did* signal an allegiance to Octavian, we might ask why Antiochos I could not have supported him for some time during his life. The argument often encountered for this is that Antiochos I should have instead supported Marc Antony, who was the strongman in the eastern Mediterranean in this period, but this might be questioned. The siege of Samosata of 38 BCE seems, at least to some extent, to have derived from Antiochos I’s apparent disloyalty to Antony by allowing Parthian troops to enter Roman territory (Facella 2006, 244–245). Whether or not the siege ended successfully for Antony (Plutarch and Cassius Dio, perhaps as a form of Octavian propaganda, emphasize Antony’s failure, while Flavius Josephus and Orosius suggest Samosata was in fact taken, see Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 34.4; Cass. Dio XLIX 20.5; Joseph. *BJ* 16.7 and *AJ* XIV 15.9, Oros. VI18.23. In general, see Facella 2006, 244–248), the relation between Antiochos I and Marc Antony after 38 BCE remains completely unclear (Facella 2006, 249: ‘*Sulle relazioni che intercorsero tra Antonio e Antioco dopo il 38 a.C. non si sa nulla*’). It is very well possible that only after the death of Antiochos I, presumably in 36 BCE, his son, Mithridates II, started an allegiance with Marc Antony that led up to his military support at Actium in 31 BCE. As such, we cannot entirely rule out that, for instance between 38 and 36 BCE, Antiochos I would have felt more inclined to express an allegiance to Octavian than to Marc Anthony.

⁶¹⁰ Note that the hairstyle of, for instance the Seleucid rulers in the ancestral gallery does not deviate that much from that of the limestone head, cf. Sanders 1996, 2, 240 fig. 468.

⁶¹¹ As suggested by Riedel 2018, 107.

⁶¹² Riedel 2018, n. 127, 107. See the introduction of this section.

⁶¹³ *Idem*, 109. See also Fleischer 2008, 326: ‘*Nach Zoroğlu würde man eine “Versatzmarke des Künstlers – für eine Aufstellung in einer Galerie der Ahnen – ...nicht so fein geschrieben erwarten”. Dieser von ihm verworfene Gedanke trifft aber wohl das Richtige. Gerade weil die Inschrift so flach und fein eingeritzt ist, war sie für den Betrachter kaum zu sehen, da sie wie die Raspelspuren auf der Haut unter dem üblichen farbig getönten Überzug verschwand. Die Inschrift wurde offensichtlich für die Versetzung in einem größeren Zusammenhang, also einer Herrschergalerie, angebracht. Auch der Fundort, die Basileia von Samosata, spricht für diese Annahme*’; Zoroğlu 2012, 140f.; Kropp 2013, 84: ‘*As this inscription would have disappeared underneath the plaster necessary to conceal evident toolmarks, it was perhaps made in the workshop as an instruction for the placement of the head in a portrait gallery in the palace*’; Riedel 2018, 104: ‘*(...) the use of an inscription to identify the portrayed which was most probably related to its setting in an ancestral gallery*’.

⁶¹⁴ Riedel 2018, 109. See also Fleischer 2008, 326 and Zoroğlu 2012, 141.

drilled holes which only cover two-thirds of the diadem; and the fact that only the right eye contains a carved pupil) indicate an emphasis on the right profile of the head, suggesting it was turned towards another statue. For a discussion of the possible counterparts, see the introduction of the paragraph.

A possible parallel for a portrait containing an identifying inscription placed on the cheeks is a portrait of Alexander the Great from the Kerameikos in Athens, dated to ca. 200 BCE.⁶¹⁵ This inscription however seems to be of a later date than the portrait itself and much less subtle. An example of Hellenistic sculpture containing incised inscriptions is the 1st c. bronze sculpture with Etruscan inscription (*l'Arringatore*) on the drapery from Cortona but this might be secondary as well.⁶¹⁶ In both cases, the inscriptions were clearly meant to be seen by the viewing audience, something which seems unlikely in the case of ID216.

Literature: Özgüç 1985, 224–226 and Özgüç 1986, 301–302; Zoroğlu 2000, 79; Wagner 2003/2004, 136–137, fig. 7; Özgüç 2009, 44, pl.113 fig. 248, pl. 114 fig.249; Fleischer 2008; Zoroğlu 2012, 140; Bingöl 2013, 110–111, figs. 170–171; Kropp 2013, 84; Brijder 2014, 425, 427 fig. 242b–c; Riedel 2018; Kruijer and Riedel 2021, 205.

Date: ca. 40 – 20 BCE.

⁶¹⁵ Mols and Moormann 2016, 26–27, fig. 2. According to the online catalogue of National Museum of Athens, where the portrait is exhibited, these inscriptions were however added at a later date.

⁶¹⁶ Dohrn 1968.

ID240 - st.84-381



Fragment of a female head.

Measurements: h. 28,0; w. 17,0; depth 9,4 (preserved). Life-size.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: sector k/16, probably room XIV, layer IV. The excavators designate the statue fragment to a 'mosaic room 6' in sector k/16. Riedel suggests it might have been found in corridor B3 or B4 or in room 258

XIV. The latter is more likely as the excavators refer to a mosaic room; the pebble floor of corridors B3 and B4 is never described as 'mosaic room 6'.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. st.84-381).

Preservation: Cut off at the complete front side; no traces preserved from the face, only part of the ears. Irregularly cut off at the neck. Fragment was in two parts but glued during restoration.

*Description*⁶¹⁷: A limestone fragment of the backside of a female head. The long, wavy hair is combed to the back, covering the top of the ears and gathered at the back in a bun. The hair is executed in a rather schematic way and at the upper left part it is left unfinished without differentiated strains. The top of the head is roughly rendered. There is a connection hole underneath, which could have attached the head to a bust or a statue. Another hole on the back suggests a restoration of the same break already in antiquity.

Discussion: Perhaps an example of the very popular Hellenistic 'Aphrodite'-type, which ultimately derives from Praxiteles.⁶¹⁸ Riedel discusses whether ID240 might have been part of a statue group, potentially an ancestral gallery, comprising also of ID215 and ID216.⁶¹⁹ An important argument in favor of this is the very rough rendering of the left top of the head, where the hair is not even indicated. This would indicate that the statue had an emphasis on its right profile (just like ID216) and thus was likely placed in relation to another statue.⁶²⁰ As mentioned in the introduction to this paragraph, ID240 is however inferior in quality when compared to ID215, ID216 and the female head wearing a diadem from Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁶²¹ Combined with the lack of a diadem it seems unlikely that ID240 belonged to the proposed expanded ancestral gallery of room V.⁶²² Rather, the find location of the fragment might point to an original location in the nearby recess I10 (h. 1,20; w. 0,70 m.). The reworked back of the portrait would not be visible when placed in the niche and the emphasis on the right profile might indicate that it turned towards a similar counterpart in the almost identical niche I11, 5,40 m. further in corridor A4 (see chapter 4).

Literature: Riedel 2018, 110-111, figs. 22-23.

Date: Late-Hellenistic

⁶¹⁷ Description from the object inventory: '*Bir kadın başının boyundan üstü ve kulakların arkası korunmuş. saçlar kulakların üst kısmını kapatacak şekilde arkaya taranmış ve ensede topuz yapılmış. başın üstü kabaca işlenmiş topozu kırık. saçlar yatay yiv ve setler halinde belirtilmiş. başın her iki yanında kulak arkasından küçük bir parça korunmuş. yuzu ve boynun altı kırık. boynun altında geçme deliği mevcut.*'

⁶¹⁸ Hermay 2006, 106.

⁶¹⁹ Riedel 2018, 109-110.

⁶²⁰ *Idem*, n.132, 110. In that case, however, the statue would not turn to ID216 when placed in a statue group.

⁶²¹ Riedel 2018, 110. For the head from Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see Hoepfner 1983, 24 and Hoepfner 2012, 123.

⁶²² Riedel 2018, 111.

ID512 - st.17-001



Head and neck of a male figure

Measurements: h. 21,0; w. 14,6.; depth: 15,0 (preserved). Slightly smaller than life-size.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: unclear.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (no inv. nr.).

Preservation: Face is cut off completely; only the ears remain. Irregularly cut off at the neck.

Description: Head and neck of a male from a slightly smaller than life-size sculpture. Oval-shaped face with, it seems, a somewhat square-set jaw. The curly hair is executed in roughly chiselled but clearly articulated polygonal lumps, which continue into considerable whiskers on both sides of the face. The hair does not cover the rather roughly executed ears. Creating a slightly curving line, the hair strongly contrasts with the smoothly polished flesh of the neck. The male wears a thin fillet or diadem (w. 1,10) that is loosely fixed at the back in a simple knot.

Discussion: Identification of the portrait is problematic due to its limited preservation. The execution of the short, frizzy hair perhaps suggests it represents an 'Ethiopian', a distinct iconographical category for depictions of black people that already developed in the pre-Hellenistic ancient world.⁶²³ If the fillet is in fact a diadem, the portrait might portray a Hellenistic king and thus be part of the proposed expanded ancestral gallery in room V of the palace (see introduction to this paragraph). No known depiction of members from Antiochos I's ancestral galleries however fit the characteristics of ID512 so its inclusion in the proposed ancestral gallery remains very uncertain. The hairstyle has some affinities with the portraits of king Ptolemy Apion of Cyrene (150/145-96 BCE), who was partially native Egyptian, and therefore often portrayed with short frizzy hair.⁶²⁴ If the thin fillet is not a diadem, the portrait might instead be a depiction of an athlete of African appearance. The hairstyle and strong contrast between the hair and neck are also witnessed in a black siltstone head of a young, male 'Ethiopian' from Alexandria, dated to 100-75 BCE.⁶²⁵ A radically different possibility is that the statue belongs to the category of so-called Cypro-Archaic or Cypro-Classical male statuary, which is also characterized by a rather schematic, short and curly hairstyle.⁶²⁶

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: unclear.

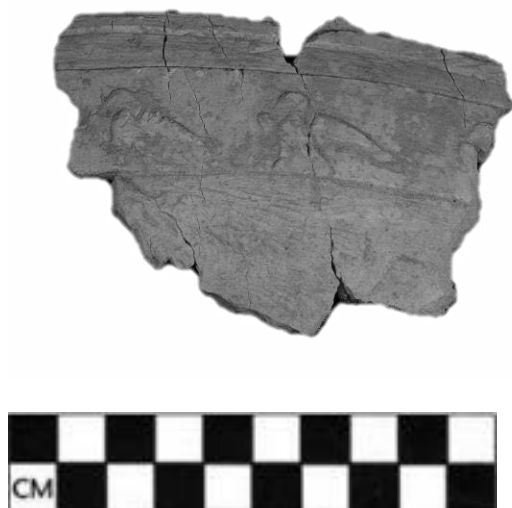
⁶²³ For a critical analysis of representations of black people in antiquity, see Bindman and Gates 2010.

⁶²⁴ Examples include two marble heads at the British Museum (1861,0725.11 and 1861,1127.55). See Rosenbaum 1960, cat. no. 9, pl. X and Huskinson 1975, cat. no. 63.

⁶²⁵ Now in the British Museum (EA55253; 1875,0810.13), cf. Hinks 1976, 35, no. 25; James and Davies 1983, 56, fig.63; Walker and Burnett 1981, 13, no. 132; Belli Pasqua 1995, 40-1, no. 8, fig.12; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, 246-247.

⁶²⁶ Cf. Sørensen 2017, 63 fig. 5.

ID520



Fragment of a portrait with a diadem containing eagles in relief. Perhaps Antiochos I?

Measurements: h. 8,0; w. 6,0; depth 0,8.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: sector j/19, layer IV.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: Broken on all sides except the front. The right eagle is only partially preserved.

Description: Fragment of a portrait with a diadem containing eagles in relief. The fragment shows a well-articulated, slightly curving horizontal band with three eagles in relief depicted in three quarters, with partly spread wings, heads in profile, and facing towards the left. Below and above the horizontal band, a surface with lightly incised lines is visible, irregularly waving from the top left to the right bottom; perhaps the lines in these surfaces indicate the hair of an approximately life-size portrait. Above and more or less parallel to the band or diadem runs a ridge that might indicate the start of another type of headgear, perhaps an Armenian tiara.

Discussion: Although the fragment is small and curious, it is very likely that it belongs to a slightly larger than life-size portrait of a Hellenistic king wearing an Armenian tiara with a decorated diadem. Especially the unusual curve of the horizontal band and the hair-like incisions below and above it suggests it is part of the upper left side of a three-dimensional portrait; perhaps showing

the area right above the left ear. The most direct parallels for the diadem derive from two *dexiosis* reliefs that show Antiochos I with abundant eagle iconography. The *dexiosis* relief from Sofraz Köy ('SO') shows Antiochos I shaking hands with Apollo *Epekoos*, with the king wearing a five-pointed Armenian tiara that contains a large eagle flapping its wings above a laurel wreath.⁶²⁷ Underneath the laurel wreath, a diadem, placed around the tiara, is adorned with a row of eagles in relief with their wings partly spread. The king's neckband too contains a row of eagles in relief.⁶²⁸ A *dexiosis* relief from Zeugma ('BEc') is very similar and also contains a diadem adorned with a row of eagles in relief, with the wings partly spread; the large eagle on top is however not preserved and the neckband, according to Rose, contains a row of lions instead of eagles.⁶²⁹ Apart from the obvious Hellenistic-period role as symbol and protector of royalty (together with the lion), the eagle on the Commagenean reliefs seems more specifically connected to Apollo.⁶³⁰ It also seems to be linked to Armenian royal concepts as well; the five-pointed Armenian tiara was adopted by Antiochos I after the defeat of Tigranes II of Armenia in 69/68 BCE.⁶³¹ Depictions of Tigranes II wearing the five-pointed Armenian tiara on coins do however not show rows of eagles, but are restricted to an iconography of an eight-rayed star flanked by two eagles in profile facing each other.⁶³² The row of eagles in relief, with wings partly spread, is also witnessed on the diadem placed over the Persian tiara of Darius on the ancestral stele on the North socle (I-1) of the Eastern Terrace.⁶³³ The fourth and seventh Persian ancestors of the ancestral gallery show the same feature.⁶³⁴ The row of eagles on a tiara is however also not known from Achaemenid iconography, which suggests that it was an invention under Antiochos I that should be understood as a form of

⁶²⁷ Wagner 1975, 55-56; Wagner and Petzl 1983; Wagner 2000, 16-7; Crowther and Facella 2003, 71-74, no. 3; Brijder 2014, 141-144.

⁶²⁸ Wagner and Petzl 1983, 206: 'Die Wahl der Symbole ist von der Person des jeweils dem König gegenüber dargestellten Gottes abhängig: so zeigt die Tiara unseres Reliefs -neben dem Adler- einen Lorbeerkrantz zur Verehrung des begrüßten Gottes Apoll; eine Reihe von Adlern findet sich außerdem auf dem Diadem, das um die Tiara gelegt ist, und auf dem Halsband des Königs.'

⁶²⁹ Rose 2013, 221: 'The diadem, worn at the top of the forehead, is decorated with a row of four eagles in profile, and a row of lions appears on his metal neckband.' For the *dexiosis* from Zeugma ('BEc'), see Early 2003, 8-56; Facella and Crowther, 2003, 41-80; Jacobs and Rollinger 2005; Facella 2006, 233-234, 287-288; Crowther and Facella 2012, 74-75, figs. 54-56; Brijder 2014, 152-155. Note that the *dexiosis* stelai from Zeugma and Sofraz Köy are very similar to ID691 ('Sx'), the *dexiosis* stele found on the banks of the Euphrates near Samosata, see Brijder 2014, 152. Although the depiction of Antiochos I is not preserved there, it is very likely that this stele too depicted the king with a diadem adorned with eagles in relief.

⁶³⁰ Note that the eagles on the Commagenean coins seem to have slightly different associations; Facella demonstrates that, in the later coins of Samosata, an eagle rests on Tyche's branch, which, according to Butcher, might reference a foundation myth of the city (Butcher 2004, 231). Facella also mentions that other bronzes from Samosata occur with an eagle on the reverse type of a sitting Zeus, something very common for the Antiochene type of the 1st c. BCE. For the frequent occurrence of the eagle on coins of the Commagenean and Sopenian kings, see Bedoukian 1983. In general, see Facella 2021, 153-154.

⁶³¹ Facella 2006, 281.

⁶³² Bedoukian 1964, 303-306; Young 1964, 29-34; Sullivan 1973; Sullivan 1990, 194.

⁶³³ Sanders 1996, I 407-408, II 185 figs. 334-335. The stele of Darius on the west terrace (south socle- 1) is too worn to discern any decoration, but a similar diadem with eagles in relief might be expected here. See Sanders 1996 II, 204 figs. 383-384. For more comments on eagles at Nemrut Dağı, see Sanders 1996 I, 407-408.

⁶³⁴ Sanders 1996 I, 407.

'Persianism'.⁶³⁵ If we confine the identification of the portrayed of ID520 to either Antiochos I wearing the Armenian tiara or Darius wearing the Persian tiara, it seems that the former is more likely, as it would explain the multifaceted structure of the diadem and the rim above it, something which is not to be expected for the Persian tiara. The find location and layer make it very well possible that the portrait was erected inside the palatial structure, perhaps in the expanded ancestral gallery together with ID215, ID216, and ID512 (see introduction to this paragraph). It is however unlikely that Antiochos I would be portrayed twice in the same ancestral gallery and the identification of ID216 seems irrefutable. The find location of ID520, in sector j/19, furthermore is so far removed from room V that another location in the palace is also possible. The idea of two very different representations of king Antiochos I, one wearing a solar crown placed on a diadem and one with a five-pointed Armenian tiara, placed inside the same palace would in some way also fit very well with a king that was so actively and consciously experimenting and innovating in terms of his self-representation. The lack of more detailed contextual evidence makes it however impossible to assess if these portraits were visible contemporaneously or represent two different phases in the visual program of king Antiochos I.

Literature: unpublished.

Date: Late-Hellenistic; mid-1st c. BCE.

ID130 – st.83-013



⁶³⁵ For Persianism, see Strootman and Versluys 2017; Versluys 2017, 213-219. Note that neither of these publications discuss the eagle motif. It must be mentioned that the motif was not entirely alien in Achaemenid art, cf. Sanders 1996: *'the motif is reminiscent of the line of birds, lions, and bulls on the baldachin of Xerxes at Persepolis; processions of birds are also found on the shields of the earlier Urartians, contemporary allies of Kummuhu/Commagene'* (Theresa Goell 1977-1980).

Head and neck of a female, perhaps Aphrodite

Measurements: h. 16,50; w. 10,50. Much smaller than life-size.

Material: crystalline marble.

Find location: sector i/16, layer I.

Current Location: Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inv. nr. st.83-013).

Preservation: Broken at the neck, broken and worn at the front, especially the nose, mouth and chin. Left ear is broken. Burnt at the left profile of the face.

*Description*⁶³⁶: Head and neck of a young female from a small statue. Rather rectangular shaped face with rounded chin and jaws. The figure is shown frontally, but with her head turned slightly to the right. Small, seemingly closed mouth. Almond-shaped eyes with precisely delineated eyelids. No pupils or irises are indicated. The brows are strongly arching. Only a small part of the ears is visible; the rest is covered by hair. The hair is parted in the center and combed to the sides. The wavy, even curly strands of hair are very clearly separated in a stylized, but in a rather course manner. At both sides of the head, a thick lock of hair falls down the neck, behind the ears, and curls upwards at its end. An upstanding, crescent shaped crown runs across the head and protrudes above the hair; it is possible that this represents a *stephané*, a type of Hellenistic metal coronet⁶³⁷, or just a more common fillet. The part of the head that continues behind the *stephané* is not carved; no hair is indicated here. A flattened stump of iron dowel preserved on the underside of the neck suggests that the portrait was intended for attachment to a statuette.

Discussion: Perhaps a rather course reworking of the very popular Hellenistic 'Aphrodite'-type.⁶³⁸ The *stephané* is an often recurring element in the portraiture of classical Greek goddesses (often Aphrodite) as well as Hellenistic queens.⁶³⁹ The first representations of queens wearing a *stephané* are found in Ptolemaic iconography, especially that of queens Arsinoë II and Arsinoë III, and, later, of Cleopatra VII.⁶⁴⁰ Among Seleucid queens, the iconography of queen Cleopatra Thea (ca. 125/6

⁶³⁶ Description in the object inventory: '*baş hafif sağa yatmış durumda. diademli. diademir sol kenarından, sol kulakla başın üzerinin üçte ikisi kırık. başın tepesi konik şekilde oyulmuş. boynun altından başlayıp başa kadar uzanan bağlantı deliği mevcut. boyunda deliğin metal bağlantısı korunmuş. saç alında ortadan ikiye ayrılarak kulak üstünden arkaya çekilmiş ve arka ortada tuturulmuş. kulağın arkasından iki bukle boyna doğru sarkarak öne doğru kıvrılmış. burnu, ağzı ve sol yanağı tahrip olmuş.*'

⁶³⁷ Lichtenberger et al. 2012, 402–405. It is generally assumed that they were made of gold, cf. Burr Thompson 1973, 28–29.

⁶³⁸ Hermay 2006, 106.

⁶³⁹ Smith 1988, 431. Smith's assertion that the *stephané* was exclusively used for deceased and deified queens is not followed anymore, cf. Eule 2001; Connelly 2007; Dillon 2010.

⁶⁴⁰ Newell 1937, 101 fig. 1–2 and 106 fig. 11. Thompson 1973, 28–29.

– 121 BCE), with *stephané*, bears some similarities.⁶⁴¹ None of these queens however are known with the two long curly locks hanging behind the ears. The 2nd-1st c. BCE bronze Aphrodite of Satala depicts a female goddess - identified either as Aphrodite or the Armenian goddess Anahit in the guise of Aphrodite – with curled hair, parted in the middle and combed to the back, with two curly locks of hair hanging free behind the ears as well as a small *stephané*.⁶⁴² Compare also the small, marble, female head wearing a *stephané* from the Athenian agora, which Stewart identifies as Aphrodite and dates to 200 – 86 BCE.⁶⁴³ While keeping in mind that royal or divine images could also serve as prototypes for generic idealized portraits of female subjects (or specifically goddess votaries), it might be possible that the portrait depicts a female deity, either Aphrodite or a goddess in the guise of Aphrodite.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 44, pl. 115 fig. 251.

Date: ca. 2nd - 1st c. BCE?

ID678 – st.84-381



⁶⁴¹ *Coins:* Houghton and Lorber 2002, 465-7 and 469-81 nos. 2258-77.

⁶⁴² Engelmann 1878, 150-152 fig. 20. Mitford 1974, 236; Ridgway 2001, 324. In the British Museum, cat. no. 1873, 0820.1.

⁶⁴³ Stewart 2012, cat.no. 15, 328; fig. 38, 308.



Head and neck of a young female

Measurements: h. 14,50; w. 9,90; d. 9,20 (preserved). Much smaller than life-size.

Material: crystalline marble.

Find Location: sector k/16, layer IV.

Current Location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inv. nr. St.84-381).

Preservation: Broken at the neck and at the right upper part of the head (restored with plaster by the museum). Broken and worn at the mouth, nose and ears. Worn and scratched across the face and hair.

Description: Head and neck of a young female from a small statue. Oval-shaped face with rounded chin and full rounded jaws and cheeks. The subject is shown frontally, but with her head turned slightly to the right. Small, closed mouth and small, triangular shaped nose. Relatively large, almond-shaped eyes, with sharp eyelids, indicated with a single line. No iris or pupil is indicated. Brows are strongly arching. Low forehead. The ears are visible but slightly covered by the hair. The hair is either extremely worn or very roughly executed. It seems to be combed in large locks to the back, and fastened very tightly, creating a rather flat impression. At the back, the hair is gathered in a small bun. It seems that the figure wears a diadem, which runs across the forehead, perhaps partially covers the ears and disappears underneath the bun at the back.

Discussion: Identification of the subject is uncertain. The possible diadem might indicate a queen or a goddess but we have to keep in mind that royal or divine images could also serve as

prototypes for generalized portraits of female subjects (or, more specifically, goddess votaries).⁶⁴⁴ The head nonetheless seems to have similarities with portraits of Ptolemaic queen Berenike II (273-221 BCE), which are also characterized by rounded cheeks, and a tight, flat hairstyle.⁶⁴⁵ A good comparison is a small marble portrait from Amanthus (Cyprus)⁶⁴⁶ and a more than life-size marble head from Alexandria, more securely identified as Berenike II.⁶⁴⁷ The find location in the Hellenistic layer IV of the palace might however point to a Late-Hellenistic date.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 45, pl. 116 fig. 117.

Date: Mid-late Hellenistic (?).

General discussion: This paragraph presents seven fragments of sculpted portraits from Samosata that can be dated to the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. They differ in size, style, material, estimated dating and find location. For some of the fragments, however, a shared context might be considered (ID215, ID216, ID240, ID512 and ID520). Riedel cautiously suggested that ID215, ID216 and, less likely, ID240 might have been part of the same ensemble.⁶⁴⁸ It is likely that this ensemble was located in room V of the palatial structure, as ID215 and ID216 were found there lying between statue base I8 and altar I9 (see chapter 4). The inscription underneath the left eye of ID216 as well as its slightly turned head (towards the left) are furthermore indications of a statue group. Such an ensemble, according to Riedel, would most likely have been an ancestral gallery which included statues of one or more gods.⁶⁴⁹ He compares the setting with a room on the upper floor of the *Thalamegos*, the Nile-boat of Ptolemy IV described by Athenaeus, where statues of members of the royal dynasty were displayed side by side with statues of Dionysus, and perhaps also Herakles and Zeus.⁶⁵⁰ Just like in this Ptolemaic context, the proposed ensemble in Samosata might have emphasized the dynastic genealogy, reaching all the way into its mythological, divine ancestry.⁶⁵¹ Riedel furthermore suggests that '(t)he gallery might have

⁶⁴⁴ Bennett 1980, 474.

⁶⁴⁵ Kyrieleis 1975, 94-101.

⁶⁴⁶ Now in the British Museum (BM GR 1894,11-1.725). Higgs and Kiely 2009, cat. no. 2, 411-415, figs. 2a-e. This statue (h. 5,70; w.5,00; d. 6,20) was a surface find during the BM Turner Bequest expedition to Amathus in 1893-1894; it is unknown from which area of the site it derives.

⁶⁴⁷ Now in Kassel (SK115). Felgenhauer 1996, 204-208, cat.no. 98; Gercke and Zimmermann-Elseify 2007, 212-214, cat.no. 66. See also Smith 1991, 208.

⁶⁴⁸ Riedel 2018.

⁶⁴⁹ *Idem*, 107-117. Riedel convincingly discards the possibility of a cult room in which the king was worshipped together with one or more gods as σύνναος θεός (cf. Nock 1930; Riedel 2018, 211 n.135). He argues that, in case cult rooms are present inside Hellenistic palaces, these never include the worship of rulers (*Aigai/Vergina*: e.g. Kottaridi 2011, 326; *Pergamon*: e.g. Zimmer 2014). The veneration of rulers among gods in a σύνναος θεός setting is only attested in separate locations from the palace; Riedel provides the example of the 'Sema' in Ptolemaic Alexandria (Riedel 2018, 112 n.140; Riedel 2020).

⁶⁵⁰ Pfrommer 1999, 112.

⁶⁵¹ Riedel 2018, 112.

included parts of the divine ancestry and installations for ritual practices but the overall setting in the royal residence more firmly emphasizes the genealogical aspect instead of the religious one, which is more prominent in the hierothesia.⁶⁵² Apart from the obvious link to the ancestral galleries of Nemrut Dağı (and perhaps also at Arsameia on the Nymphaios and Kâhta), the presentation of the (real or invented) royal lineage as part of a dynastic visual program was very popular in the Hellenistic period; ancestral galleries are well-attested for the the Ptolemaic, Attalid, Antigonid, Mauretanian and Arsacid (Parthian) dynasties.⁶⁵³ It is noteworthy that the ancestral gallery in the palace of Samosata (and perhaps also the one in Arsameia on the Nymphaios) adheres more to this globalized ancestral gallery practice, which almost without exception consists of statues and busts, and less to that of Nemrut Dağı, where reliefs are used instead.⁶⁵⁴

Combined with the inscription of ID216 and its diadem, it is thus expected that more statues depicting rulers were part of this ancestral gallery. Riedel considers but discards ID240 as a possible addition to the ensemble because of the inferior quality and the lack of a diadem.⁶⁵⁵ Below, I argue that, based on its find location, ID240 should indeed be discarded in this context as it seems more likely that it was erected in the small recess of I10 in corridor A4. Two portrait fragments, ID512 and ID520, should however be seriously considered as potential members of the ensemble. Both limestone portraits wear a diadem and might therefore have been part of the ancestral gallery; ID520 moreover was found inside the palace in Hellenistic layer IV. Whereas ID512 cannot be easily identified or dated, there is good reason to assume that the small fragment of ID520 belongs to a portrait of Antiochos I wearing the five-pointed Armenian tiara. If this identification is right, it either means that the palace contained two very different statues of Antiochos I (one with a solar crown, the other with the Armenian tiara) or it means we have to reconsider the identification of ID216 as Antiochos I. Considering the evidence for ID216 and the

⁶⁵² Riedel 2018, 113.

⁶⁵³ For the ancestral galleries at Nemrut Dağı, see Sanders 1996; Brijder 2014; Strootman 2016; and Versluys 2017a. For Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see paragraph 10.5.1 of this dissertation. Two preserved inscriptions (GÜa, no. 2003/30; GÜb, no. 2003/7) from the private collection of Neşet Akel (Güzelday, Kâhta) suggest the existence of a Commagenean ancestral gallery here, but it is not clear (yet) whether statues were part of this, cf. *infra* n. 165. For ancestral galleries in the 'big Hellenistic world', see Hintzen-Bohlen 1990; Munk-Højte 2002; Versluys 2014, 130-135; Hekster 2015; Riedel 2018, 113. Note that the practice is older; Versluys mentions for instance the rock relief at Behistun, where the ancestors of Darius I are listed as a foundation charter of the Achaemenid dynasty (Versluys 2017a, 130f). Versluys also discusses the private ancestor galleries of Republican Rome and the ancestor gallery in the porticoes of the Forum Augustum (Versluys 2017a, 132 with n. 113-115). Note that Facella 2006, 276-278 links the ancestral practices of Commagene to the ancestor cult in Armenia. Messerschmidt 2011, 300-304 has argued for Late-Hittite tradition lingering on in the Commagenean ancestral cult but this is debated (cf. Jacobs 2016, n.13).

⁶⁵⁴ For similar observations see Kropp 2013, 85; Riedel 2018, 116-117.

⁶⁵⁵ Riedel 2018, 107-117.

location of ID520 in the far south of the palace, far removed from room V, the first option is most likely, meaning ID520 was erected separately from the proposed ancestral gallery.

6.3 Statue fragments

This paragraph presents and discusses six fragments of statues with a human subject and four fragments of statues with an animal subject, all deriving from the *höyük* of Samosata and dated within the Hellenistic and early Roman timeframe.

Human subjects

ID89 - st.82-199



Upper torso of a male

Measurements: h. 22,3; l. 28,4; w. 15,5, smaller than life-size.

Material: marble.

Find Location: sector j/15, layer IV.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (st.82-199).

Preservation: Broken at the neck and waist. Both arms are broken at the shoulder. Worn, especially at the chest and at the back. Deeper scratches on the belly.

*Description*⁶⁵⁶: Upper torso of a nude and muscled male subject. Part of a smaller than life-size statue. The left shoulder is raised and the right shoulder lowered, perhaps indicating a contrapposto pose. The chest and abdominal muscles are well indicated. At the back, the spine is rendered with a straight, deep groove. The long hair forms a trapezoid shape (12,0 x 12,0 x 8,0) at the back, starting from the neck, with a strong separation between the hair and the flesh of the back. Two long locks of wavy hair are falling onto the left shoulders and back. One lock of wavy hair falls on the back at the right side. One bronze attachment point remains at the right side of triangular hair on the back.

Discussion: Identification is uncertain; perhaps the long locks of hair falling on the shoulder point to a representation of Apollo or Dionysus but it remains unsure. The slightly curving posture suggests that statue was part of a statue group. The unusual inorganic treatment of the trapezoid-shaped hair at the back might be a late-Hellenistic or Roman appropriation of the typical Archaic *kouros*-hairstyle.⁶⁵⁷ In terms of material, style and proportions, it might be part of ID327, and form a sculpture of ca. 1,40 m. high. It is also possible that ID584 belongs to these fragments. Özgüç dated the statue broadly to the Roman period⁶⁵⁸, but the find location just beside the palace in J 15, in the 'palatial' layer IV might make a slightly earlier dating possible as well. The marble material furthermore suggests that the piece was imported from outside of Commagene, which, together with its refined execution, make it stand out from the fragments in the rest of this catalogue. If we assume a location of the statue inside the palace, we might hypothesize that the sculpture was erected in the nearby symmetrical suite, perhaps in a central position of room III, which potentially would make it visible from room XIV as well.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 35, pl. 96 fig. 216.

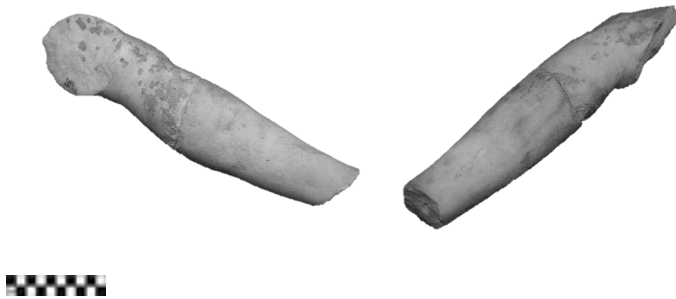
Date: Roman, 1st c. CE?

⁶⁵⁶ Description in the object inventory: 'ayakta duran bir heykelin boyundan itibaren karnına kadar olan kısmı. Sol omuz hafifce yukarı kalkık, sağ omuz düşüktür. Kollar omuz bitiminden itibaren kırıktır. Göğüs ve karın kasları iyi bir biçimde belirtilmiştir. arkada boyun bitiminden itibaren sırta kadar inen yelpaze biçiminde saçlar ile arka omuz üzerinde uzanan saç bukleleri arkaikkrosları hatırlatmaktadır. sırtta omurganın uyuntusu iyi bir biçimde işlenmiştir.'

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Fullerton 1990 with many examples.

⁶⁵⁸ Özgüç 2009, 35.

ID327 - st.85-316



Fragment of left leg

Measurements: l. 0,38; w.8,5; depth 8,7. Smaller than life-size.

Material: marble.

Find Location: sector n/14, in the structure in *opus reticulatum*.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. 85-316).

Preservation: broken right above the knee and broken right above the ankle. Heavily worn at the knee. Broken in two parts, restored after excavation.

*Description*⁶⁵⁹: Fragment of a left leg. Part of a smaller than life-size statue. The leg seems to be almost fully stretched. The muscles near the knee cap are well rendered. At the bottom, a connection hole is located, to connect the left foot.

Discussion: Context suggests a 1st c. CE dating, but this remains uncertain. In terms of material, style and proportions, it might be part of ID89, and form a sculpture of ca. 1,40 m. high. It is also possible that ID584 belongs to these fragments.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Roman, 1st c. CE?

⁶⁵⁹ Description in the object inventory: 'heykelin diz kapağına yakın yerinden bileği kadar olan kısmı iki parça olarak ele geçmiştir. iri grenli mermerden yapılmış olup, üzeri çok iyi perdahlanmıştır. Normalden küçük boyda bir erkek heykelinin sol bacağına ait bir parçadır. büyük bir ihtimalle dizden hafifce kırılmış olan bu bacak öne doğru atılmıştır. diz kapağına yakın yerdeki bacak adaleleri güzel bir biçimde gösterilmiştir.'

ID584 - st.83-1002



Fragment of right foot in sandal on curved pedestal

Measurements: l. 8,5 w. 8,8 h. 6,3. Somewhat smaller than life-size.

Material: Marble.

Find Location: sector I/16, layer II.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum in box labelled '1983 etütlük'.

Preservation: broken at the top and at two sides. Very worn on the foot and toes.

Description: Fragment of right foot in a sandal on curved pedestal. Part of a slightly smaller than life-size sculpture. The pedestal has a profiled rim. The bottom and side of the lower part have rough incision marks. The presence of a sandal is indicated by a slightly protruding rim which runs on top of the foot and most likely indicates the sandal's strap. It leads towards a large space between the big toe and the next toe.

Discussion: The incision marks probably indicate that this part was meant to fit into another carrier. The curved shape might indicate that it was placed on top of a column, but this remains uncertain. In terms of size (somewhat smaller than life-size) and material (marble), the fragment might belong to ID89 and ID327, but this can only remain a hypothesis.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: uncertain, probably Roman

ID87 - st.82-197



Sculpture fragment with drapery

Measurements: h. 20,4; w. 12,0; l. 18,0.

Material: marble.

Find Location: sector j/15, layer II.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. st.82-197).

Preservation: broken at the top.

*Description*⁶⁶⁰: Sculptural fragment with vertical drapery on three sides. The fourth side as well as the bottom are flat. On what appears to have been the most visible side, the drapery is folding in a more oblique and complex manner, while the drapery on the other side merely consists of three straight vertical folds.

Discussion: The limited preservation makes it difficult to assign the fragment to a statue type or style. The excavators date the statue to the Roman period and suggest it must have been a female subject, but especially the latter remains unclear. As it was found in periodic layer II, it might indeed be dated to the imperial Roman period.

Literature: previously unpublished.

⁶⁶⁰ Description in the object inventory: 'küçük boylu bir kadın heykelini belden aşağısı, elbisesi dikey pliseli'.
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Date: Roman?

ID328 - st.85-315



Fragment of a left hand

Measurements: l. 14,8; w. 9,3. Wrist: 7,6 x 6,0. Slightly larger than life-size.

Material: limestone.

Find Location: sector n/14, in the structure in *opus reticulatum*.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (cat. nr. St.85-315).

Preservation: Broken at the wrist. Upper part of the thumb is broken, index finger completely missing, middle finger complete, no nails, ring finger partially, pinky not preserved.

*Description*⁶⁶¹: Fragment of a left hand. Part of a slightly larger than life-size statue. Hand makes a fist around a hole. The outside of the hand is smooth but without much detail. The middle finger, completely preserved, is roughly executed; the nail is not indicated. Remarkable detail on the inside of the hand.

⁶⁶¹ Description in the object inventory: 'heykelin yalnızca eli, baş birinci. üçüncü ve dördüncü parsaklar kısmen eksik olarak bulunmuştur. normal büyüklükteki bir heykele ait büyük bir ihtimalle mızrak tutan a sol elidir. oldukça düzgün yapılmış, ancak fazla detaya inilmeyerek mızrak tutma hali ifade edilmiştir.'

Discussion: Probably the hole inside the fist indicates that the statue was originally holding an object, perhaps in metal, for instance a royal scepter (see ID514).⁶⁶² The dating is uncertain, but the context might indicate a 1st c. CE date.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Uncertain, perhaps Late-Hellenistic or early Imperial?

ID514 - st.85-1001



Fragment of a left hand

Measurements: h. 6,5; w. 3,7; l. 6,0. Slightly smaller than life-size.

Material: limestone

Find Location: perhaps palace (see current location).

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: broken at the palm, close to the wrist. Thumb is partially broken and very worn. The elongated object worn inside the hand (perhaps a spear or staff) is broken at the top and bottom. Small damages on top of the pinky and ring finger.

⁶⁶² See ID514 for a further discussion.

Description: Fragment of a left hand. Part of a slightly smaller than life-size statue, or a statue of a child. The rather flat and almost completely unworked backside suggests this part was not visible and pushed against the body. Hand makes a fist around an elongated object, perhaps a spear or staff or scepter. The outside of the hand is smooth and with very limited detail; perhaps some subtle suggestion of veins can be observed. The upper sections of the fingers, bending inwards, are executed without much detail, no nails are indicated. The inside of the hand is almost not rendered.

Discussion: The box in which it is currently located suggests that it was found within the palace. The excavators apparently labelled it as architectural decoration, but it is, without doubt, a fragment of figurative sculpture. The fragment is similar to ID328 as it is also a limestone left hand that holds an elongated object and shows very limited detail in the execution of the fingers. The other fragment is however larger, has detailed rendering of the palm of the hand and the elongated object was probably executed in metal.

If the fragment (and perhaps also ID328) indeed derives from a statue that was erected in the palace, and if this statue represented the known Commagenean gods or members of the Commagenean dynasty, some hypotheses can be formulated as to what kind of elongated object is held in this left hand. The colossal statues of Antiochos I, Zeus-Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes on Nemrut Dağı for instance hold a bundle of tamarisk twigs, a so-called *barsom*, in their left hands, resting on their laps.⁶⁶³ On the stele from Sofraz Köy, Apollo carries a bundle of laurel twigs in his left hand.⁶⁶⁴ On most *dexiosis* stelai, Antiochos I holds the royal scepter in his left hand.⁶⁶⁵ The large quantity of royal scepters in Commagenean royal iconography as well as its overall thin and undifferentiated shape makes it the most likely hypothesis for both ID328 and ID514. The dating is uncertain, but the palace-context might indicate a 1st c. BCE date.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: uncertain, Late-Hellenistic?

⁶⁶³ Brijder 2014, 143; Versluys 2017a, 55. Brijder explains that the *barsom* (or *bareçman*) was held together with a thong or ribbon and was held by *magoi* during the Persian period. See Brijder 2014, 90-91 with further literature.

⁶⁶⁴ Brijder 2014, 143.

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. the *dexiosis* stele from Selik (Brijder 2014, 135) as well as the stele with Antiochos I and Artagnes-Herakles from the West Terrace on Nemrut Dağı (Versluys 2017a, 71, fig. 2.24). Also on other types of stelai, we see the royal sceptre in the left hand, cf. the honorary stele from Kılafık Hüyük (Brijder 2014, 148). For the royal sceptre, see Strootman 2007, 372-374.

Animal subjects

ID361 - st.86-268



Head of a lion

Measurements: h. 7,5; w. 9,8; depth 5,5. Less than life-size.

Material: limestone

Find Location: sector i/18, palace room VIII or IX, layer IV, in the debris on top of the floor.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. st.86-268).

Preservation: Entirely broken at the bottom and the lower part of the face; the snout and mouth have not been preserved. Broken below the right ear.

*Description*⁶⁶⁶: Fragment of a head of a lion. Probably part of a less than life-size statue or applique. Back is roughly rendered. Very symmetrical face with carefully executed, almond-shaped eyes (l. 2,0; w. 1,2) that have clearly indicated eyelids. No indication of pupils or irises. A strong frown with clearly articulated wrinkles or tufts of hair between the eyes. Short forehead. Two small, rounded ears on top of the head. Long, stylized manes with flame-like locks. Three articulated locks between the ears. Smaller locks of hair in front of the ears, covering the lowest section of the ears. The nose and mouth are pierced from the back.

⁶⁶⁶ Description in the object inventory: 'arkası kabaca düzeltilmiş. alev dilimi şeklindeki yeleler barok biçimde başı çevrelemekte. dik kulakların içi oyulmuş. gözler badem şeklinde gösterilmiş. göz kapağı kabartma bir hatla belirtilmiş. alın kırışıkları belirgin. kırık burun ve ağzın içi arkadan delinmiş'.

Discussion: The fact that the nose and mouth are pierced from the back might indicate that the fragment was part of an applique. The general characteristics of the lion's eyes, frown, ears and manes show strong parallels with the overall Commagenean dynastic lion imagery (see also the introduction to this paragraph). Especially the famous lion horoscope from the west terrace of Nemrut Dağı forms an important parallel, as it shows the same type of almond-shaped eyes and relatively small, rounded ears on top of the head.⁶⁶⁷ Also, its very stylized, flame-like locks - exactly three locks between the ears and much smaller locks in front of the ears - are very similar to ID361. The typical frown with strong wrinkles or tufts of hair between the eyes, however, is lacking in the lion horoscope. Especially the colossal limestone lions of Nemrut Dağı do show this more aggressive expression, often indicated with tufts of hair between the eyes.⁶⁶⁸ Both the sandstone lions and the limestone lions of Nemrut are rendered in the same flame-like, stylized manner as witnessed in ID361. As such, it is very well possible that the fragment should be assigned to the dynastic Commagenean lion-repertoire, and date to the mid-1st c. BCE. Its function as an applique might for instance be explained as an adornment of a royal throne, as witnessed on, for instance, the throne of the colossal Zeus-Oromasdes on the east terrace, the throne on the third *dexiosis* stele with Antiochus I and the enthroned Zeus-Oromasdes of the east terrae, and the sandstone *dexiosis* stele of Antiochus I and the enthroned Zeus-Oromasdes from the West Terrace.⁶⁶⁹

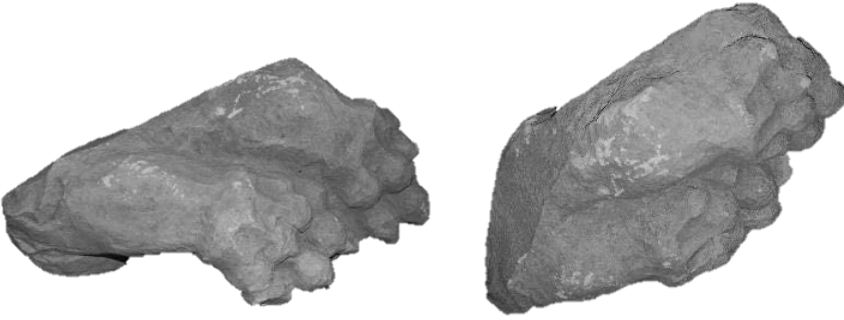
Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Late-Hellenistic, mid-1st c. BCE?

⁶⁶⁷ Sanders 1996 II, 180, figs. 324-325.

⁶⁶⁸ As also observed by Brijder 2014, 113. Not that the ears of the colossal limestone lions are placed more to the side of the face and also lack the smaller locks of hair in front of them.

⁶⁶⁹ Sanders 1996 I, 187-189 (colossal statue east terrace), 226-227 (third *dexiosis* relief, eastern terrace) 242-243 (third *dexiosis* relief, western terrace); Sanders 1996 II, figs. 241-242, 288; Brijder 2014, 88 fig. 43a, 108.



Left and right forelegs of a lion

Measurements: h. 21; l. 48; w. 37, approximately life-size.

Material: limestone

Find Location: sector g/15, layer II.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. ID84-493).

Preservation: broken at the top of the legs. Worn on top of the left leg.

*Description*⁶⁷⁰: Left and right forelegs of a lion. Probably part of an approximately life-size statue of a recumbent lion, with the legs placed in front of the animal. Left leg is placed slightly further away from the body than the right leg. Both legs are wide and have clearly articulated muscles, rendered in a rather course manner. For both paws, four clearly articulated sheaths and claws are visible.

Discussion: As discussed in the introduction to this paragraph, lion imagery is ubiquitous in the dynastic monuments of Late-Hellenistic Commagene, especially on Nemrut Dağı. The positioning and execution is however rather different from the known lion-repertoire on Nemrut Dağı and other dynastic contexts. In none of the Commagenean parallels, lions are depicted in a recumbent position, with the legs positioned adjacent but asymmetrical to one another. The articulated execution of the muscles in the forelegs is also uncommon. The excavators assigned the piece to the late-Hellenistic period, but the find context makes it also possible that this is too early. Based on their similarities concerning their proportions, material and overall sculptural style, it is likely

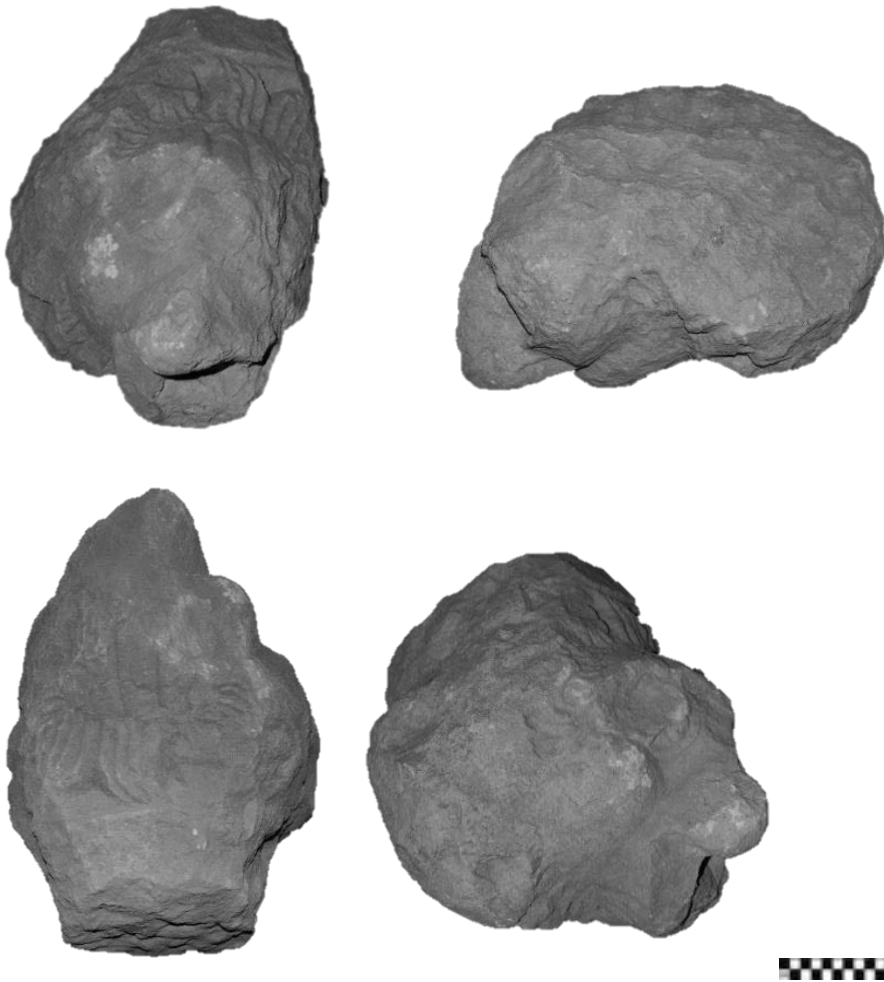
⁶⁷⁰ Description in the object inventory: 'oturan bir aslan heykelinin öne uzanmış bacakları ve ayakları korunmuş. ayaklar dört parmaklı. parmaklar ikişer boğum olarak gösterilmiş. tırnaklar belirtilmiş. ayak bileği boğumlu. Kırık'.

that the large lion head (ID220) and the forelegs of a lion (ID219) belonged to the same life-size lion sculpture in a recumbent position. In general, life-size statue of recumbent lions are ubiquitous in antiquity, for instance witnessed in the famous 2nd c. BCE marble lion of Knidos.⁶⁷¹

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 36, pl.98 fig. 219.

Date: Uncertain. Probably Hellenistic-Roman.

ID220 - st.84-492



⁶⁷¹ Jenkins 2007.

Head of a lion

Measurements: h. 40,0; l. 33,0; w. 30,0; approximately life-size.

Material: Limestone

Find Location: sector i/15, layer II, where it was used as building material for the structure of a floor.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum (inv. nr. st.84-492).

Preservation: Broken at the neck. Badly damaged and worn on all sides. Especially the left part of the face is missing; the left eye is missing and large part of the left side of the snout and mouth. Ears are missing.

*Description*⁶⁷²: Head of a lion. Probably part of an approximately life-size statue of a lion or integrated into a wall or architectural feature. The execution seems a bit coarse, but this might be caused by the heavy damage. Rounded face, with a forehead in a triangular shape. The mouth is opened, with the tongue hanging out and canine teeth visible at the right side. The right nostril of the relatively protruding snout is indicated. Strongly articulated cheek bones protrude underneath the eyes. Relief underneath the rather rhombus-shaped eye, which contains a pupil. All around the head, manes are shown in flame-shaped embossments. On the forehead, the manes are triangular in shape. On top of the head, behind the manes, a fragment of a flat band can be observed.

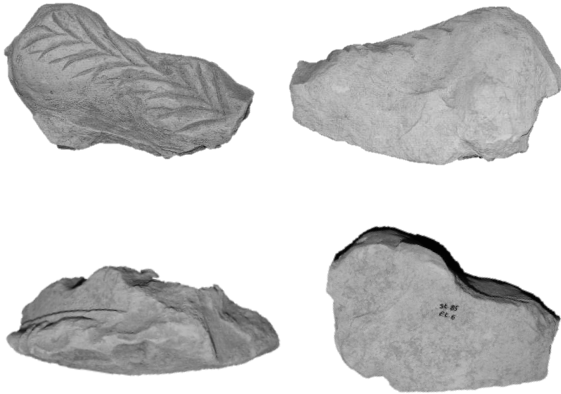
Discussion: Based on their similarities concerning their proportions, material and overall sculptural style, it is likely that the large lion head (ID220) and the forelegs of a lion (ID219) belonged to the same life-size lion sculpture in a recumbent position. The flat band at the top backside of the head might indicate that the statue was integrated into a wall or an architectural feature. The flame-like locks of the manes share some similarities with the dynastic Commagenean lion repertoire, but the absence of lions in a recumbent position in this Commagenean corpus would make the proposed statue rather anomalous.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 45, pl. 116 fig.253.

Date: Uncertain. Probably Hellenistic-Roman.

⁶⁷² Description in the object inventory: 'bir aslan heykelinin başı kısmen korunmuş. baş çevresinde yeleler alev biçiminde kabartmalarla gösterilmiş. alın üçgen, göz çevresi kabartma, göz bebekleri birer kabartı olarak gösterilmiş elmacık kemikleri çıkık. ağız açık, dil dışarı doğru sarkmış. köpek dişleri belirtilmiş. yüzün sol tarafı kırık.'

ID516 - st.85-1003



Undefined sculptural fragment

Measurements: l. 14,0; w. 8,0; h. 6,2.

Material: limestone

Find Location: Perhaps palace (see current location). Precise location unclear.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: Broken at the sides.

Description: Limestone sculptural fragment with decoration. Perhaps part of a small statuette. The fragment has a flat bottom. It has an overall elongated shape with curved sides. On one side seems to protrude a continuation. On top of the fragment, a series of v-shaped incisions decorate the fragment, perhaps to indicate the fur of an animal? At the sides, the locations of the breaks allow for the original presence of (hind-)legs, but it remains unclear.

Discussion: Perhaps a small statuette of a lion? The location of the fragment in the box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça', might be an indication that it was found in relation to Late-Hellenistic material. The excavators seem to have considered it an architectural (decorative) fragment.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Uncertain. Probably Hellenistic-Roman, perhaps Late-Hellenistic.

General discussion: This corpus of statue fragments is highly heterogeneous as the pieces strongly differ in terms of their size, style, material, estimated dating and find location. Three fragments of marble sculpture (ID89, ID327 and ID584) however, might be considered part of the same sculpture or sculpture group. The relative proportions of the torso (ID89) and leg (ID327) both suggest a statue of ca. 1,40 m. high, while the foot (ID584) also suggests a statue that is less than life-size. Although the fragments were found in three different locations and layers, it is possible that it was erected inside the structure in *opus reticulatum*, where ID327 was found. Together with D678, these are the only sculptural fragments in marble from the presented corpus.

For the four sculpture fragments with an animal subject, it is noteworthy that they all represent lions, although the identification of ID516 remains largely uncertain. Based on their similarities concerning proportions, material and sculptural style, it is likely that the large lion head (ID220) and the forelegs of a lion (ID219) belonged to the same life-size lion sculpture in a recumbent position. Lion imagery is ubiquitous in the dynastic monuments of Late-Hellenistic Commagene, especially on Nemrut Dağı, where it occurs in tandem with the eagle motif.⁶⁷³ Apart from the diadem decoration on ID520 (see above), no further evidence for eagle decoration is attested in Samosata. Lions occur on Nemrut Dağı as guardian animals, horoscopes and attributes of deities, both on reliefs and as sculpture in the round.⁶⁷⁴ The evidence for lions as decorative motifs on tiaras, diadems, neckbands and torques was subdivided by Goell into lions in profile ('motif 1') and lion's heads ('motif 2').⁶⁷⁵ Since Goell's work on Nemrut, the corpus of lion iconography in the

⁶⁷³ Goell in Sanders 1996, 406-407 and 415-417 discusses the lion motif on Nemrut Dağı.

⁶⁷⁴ Lion sculpture on Nemrut Dağı includes: 1) a sandstone three-headed lion, guarding the main entrance to the west terrace (Goell 1957, 16; Sanders 1996 II, 283-285 figs. 585-591; Jacobs 1997, 172; Brijder 2014, 127, 128 figs. 78a-d); 2) four colossal limestone lions on the east and the west terrace, cf. Sanders 1996 II, 76-81 figs. 142-149 and 152-153, 108-110 figs 108-110, 112 fig.210; Brijder 2014, 100 fig. 54, 113 fig. 65a-b; 3) six large sand stone statues of lions that are part of the six pairs of sculptures of lions and eagles flanking the rows of *dexiosis*- and lion horoscope stelai on the east terrace, the west terrace, and on the stepped platform on the east terrace, cf. Sanders 1996 II, 168-173 figs. 301-311, 276-279 figs.570-575, 577-578; Jacobs 1997, 176-178; Brijder 2014, 4 fig.4, 94 and figs. 47a-b (the sandstone lion which originally stood at the northern side of the stepped altar platform on the eastern terrace), 48a (lion and eagle on the west Terrace) and 48b (north of the row of the *dexiosis* reliefs, on the west Terrace); 4) two stelai, one on the east terrace and one on the west terrace, that contained a so-called lion horoscope. Only the latter was well preserved, cf. Sanders 1996, 176-80, figs.318-325; Versluys 2017a, 72 fig. 2.25 and 2.26. Brijder 2014, fig. 70a-b and 71a-b, with reconstructions; 5) the left and right sides of the thrones of the colossal statues, which, according to Brijder, are shaped like lions in a stylized way. Only the throne of Zeus-Oromasdes is executed in more detail, cf. Brijder 2014, 91: '*The fronts of the 'forelegs' are moulded in the shape of lion legs, seen frontally, stylized and only indicated in rough outlines (...)* Only those of Zeus' throne are rendered in more detail. In each of them we recognize the lion's head, neck, bulging chest and forelegs with strong paws'; 6) the sandstone *dexiosis* stele of Antiochus I and the enthroned Zeus-Oromasdes from the West Terrace, which shows a throne with lion-shaped sides. The lions here have horns and pointed ears, cf. Sanders 1996, 158 figs. 281-282, 160-163, figs 285, 288, 290-291; Brijder 2014, 91 and figs. 51, 203c.

⁶⁷⁵ Goell in Sanders 1996, 406-407. The lions of motif 1 recur on the tiara, diadem or neckband of Antiochos I. They are mostly depicted in a row, with legs bent and one of each pair of legs advanced, as if walking. They are oriented in the same direction as Antiochos I. Witnessed on 1) the Commagene *dexiosis* of the west terrace (see Sanders 1996 II, 154 fig. 274); 2) the Apollo-Mithras *dexiosis* on the west terrace (Sanders 1996 II, 157 fig. 279); 3) the Artagnes-Herakles *dexiosis* on the west terrace (Sanders 1996 II, 165 fig. 296). Motif 2, the lion heads, also occur on other figures besides Antiochos: 4) the colossal statue of Zeus-Oromasdes 284

dynastic monuments of Commagene has grown substantially.⁶⁷⁶ From this evidence, it seems safe to say that, apart from the obvious Hellenistic-period role as symbol and protector of royalty (together with the eagle), the lion in Commagene is more specifically connected to Zeus, Heracles and to Antiochos I himself, the latter of course especially witnessed in the Lion Horoscope.⁶⁷⁷ The large corpus of lion depictions in the dynastic Commagene does not contain any recumbent lions, as witnessed for ID219 (perhaps combined with ID220). It therefore unlikely that the proposed statue belonged to the dynastic visual program. ID361, a smaller frontal lion head that might have functioned as an applique adheres more to the dynastic lion repertoire of Commagene; it is not unlikely that it adorned a piece of furniture, for instance a throne.

6.4 Figurative reliefs

This paragraph presents and discusses four figurative relief fragments that derive from Samosata and date within the Hellenistic and early Roman timeframe. The fragments differ in size, style, material, estimated dating and find location. ID88 and ID519 are however similar in material, size and style and might have been of a similar type and function. Only to the large relief ID298 a secure

on the West Terrace wears a torque ending in two lion's heads, cf. Brijder 2014, 88 fig. 43a, 108; 5) the stele of Mithridates I Kallinkos on the east terrace shows the king with a torque around his neck which, according to Goell, 'quite certainly [ends] in confronting lion heads' (Goell in Sanders 1996, 274); 6) the stele of Darius I with a torque with lion's heads (Sanders 1996 II, 185-186, figs.334-336); 7) the third stele of the Iranian ancestors with a torque with lion's heads (Sanders 1996 II, 207, fig. 390); 8) the sixth stele of the Iranian ancestors with a torque with lion's heads (Sanders 1996 II, 212 fig. 401); 9) the dagger case of Antiochos I with a lion's head on the *dexiosis* with Zeus-Oromasdes on the west terrace.

⁶⁷⁶ A non-exhaustive overview of lion iconography in Hellenistic/Early-Roman Commagene: 1) lions occur on a variety of contexts that depict the lion's skin worn by Artagnes-Herakles. Examples are the *dexiosis* stele of Selik (Brijder 2014, 84); the *dexiosis* stele with Antiochos I and Artagnes-Herakles at Arsameia on the Nymphaios; or the relief at Arsameia at the Euphrates (Brijder 2014, 226-227 and fig. 147a-c.); 2) a large limestone lion was found at the tumulus of Karakuş (Wagner 1983, 210; Brijder 2014, 209, 210 fig. 127a-b and 128a-d); 3) on the Artagnes-Heracles *dexiosis* stele at Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaeus, Antiochos I wears a (golden) neckband, with a row of lions (cf. Brijder 2014, 108); 4) on a *dexiosis* stele showing Antiochos I and Artagnes-Herakles from Selik, the king's Armenian tiara contains a row of small lions (cf. Brijder 2014, 84); 5) a sima with lion-head protome from Dülük Baba Tepesi (Oenbrink 2019, 91, Si1, pl. 42, 1-2, probably imperial period); 6) sima fragment with lion head (Brijder 2019, 91, Si2, Taf 42, 3-4, imperial); 7) limestone fragment of the manes of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, EK1001, pl. 26); 8) limestone fragment of the fur of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, 21, EK339, fig. 11, pl. 27B); 9) limestone fragment of the upper jaw of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, 22, EK1058, fig. 11, pl. 26A); 10) limestone fragment of the manes and ear of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, 22, EK1057, fig. 11, pl. 26D); 11) limestone fragment of the foot of a life-size lion sculpture from Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Hoepfner 1983, 22, EK342.1060, fig. 11, pl. 27A); 12) lions on the reverse of coins issued in Samosata, from Antiochos I onwards, often contain lion iconography (see for instance Facella 2006, 484 fig. 49; Facella 2021, 153); 13) perhaps the find of a planet-like star in relief from Arsameia on the Nymphaios indicates the existence of a third Lion Horoscope here (Goell in Sanders 1996, 460).

⁶⁷⁷ As also observed by Facella 2021, 153. See also Dahmen 2010, 106.

find location can be ascribed (inside the structure in *opus reticulatum*); the correct find context of the other three fragments remains unclear.

ID298 – st.85-451.



Relief with bearded male deity, perhaps Zeus.

Measurements: h. 74,5; w. 49,0; depth 24,0 (less than life-size).

Material: limestone

Find Location: sector n/14, layer III, in the *opus reticulatum* structure.

Current Location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (st.85-451).

Preservation: Broken at the top and at the front side. Head and hands of standing figure are missing. Right foot was broken but glued after excavation. Upper part of scepter is broken.

*Description*⁶⁷⁸: Relief with bearded male deity, standing upright with his weight resting on the right leg. The left free leg is slightly bent. The figure is depicted wearing only sandals and a himation, which is draped with a thick bunch of fabric over his left shoulder and wrapped around his waist. The muscles of the broad-shouldered torso are well-defined and developed. The right arm opens to the side, the elbow rests on a support. The raised, left arm holds a large scepter. Only the lower section of the curly beard is preserved.

Discussion: The relief is of high quality. Blömer discusses the piece in relation to other evidence (such as ID215) for the central position of Zeus in the royal and aristocratic religious life of Commagene.⁶⁷⁹ The type belongs to very standard Zeus iconography; compare, for instance, with a statue of Zeus in the late-Hadrianic north nymphaeum of Perge.⁶⁸⁰ There, Zeus holds a *phiale* in the palm of his right hand, which could also be expected for ID298. The location in the structure in *opus reticulatum* makes an early-mid roman date likely.

Literature: Özgüç 2009, 35, pl. 97 fig. 217; Blömer 2012, 101.

Date: ca. 1st -2nd c. CE

⁶⁷⁸ Description in the object inventory: 'baş ve eller eksik, bacaklar ve gövdenin üst bölümü ile sağ ayak kırık yapılandırılmış. mızrağın orta kısmı eksik. yüksek kabartma, ayakta bir tanrı heykelini tasvir etmektedir. ayaktaki figürün vücut ağırlığı sağ ayağa verilmiş, sol bacak dizden hafifçe kırık ve geride tasvir edilmiştir. sağ kol yana açılmış, dirsekten kırılarak öne doğru uzatılmış, bir desteğe dayatılmıştır. sol kolda yana uzatılmış, dirsekten kırılarak yukarıda aksik olan yerden mızrağa dayanmaktadır. tek parça kumaştan oluşan elbisesi sol omuzu örtmüş, arkadan aşağı sarkmıştır. elbise belde kalın bir bant şeklindedir. belden aşağısını bşleklere kadar örtmektedir. kıvrımlar kalındır, figürün göğüs kasları aşırı bir şekilde belirtilmiştir. figürün ayağında sandalları vardır. zeus dolichenus tipi olabilir.'

⁶⁷⁹ Blömer 2012a, 99-102.

⁶⁸⁰ Mansel 1975, 93, fig. 59; Pehlivaner 1996, no. I. Now in the Antalya Museum (inv. no. 3729).



Fragment of a small stele with left part of torso

Measurements: h.10,6; l. 7,1; w. 6,7. Much smaller than life-size.

Material: limestone

Find Location: Perhaps from the palace (see current location) but the object inventory says the piece derives from the lower town, in layer III.

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: Broken at the top and bottom as well as on the left side (where the torso is expected to continue). Back side is damaged but not entirely broken. Heavily damaged at the front side. Large part of the chest is broken and the location where a face is expected is completely chipped off.

Description: Fragment of a small stele with left part of torso. Probably part of a much smaller than life-size depiction of a semi-nude male subject. Front side is worked as well as the right side, which is flat and has a smooth surface. Three small circular protrusions at the left arm pit. A thin vertical strip running parallel to the left arm with small, unclear detail protruding on the right side towards and over the edge of the fragment. Perhaps, the protrusions at the arm pit and the vertical strip are part of a mantle or the like worn over the shoulder, but it remains uncertain. At the right top of the front side of the relief, remains of a type of headgear seem to be preserved. It runs on top of the thin vertical strip and continues slightly over the right edge of the fragment. It consists of thin incised lines that fan out in a circular mode; perhaps the separate rays of a sun crown? Traces of red paint are visible on the left part of the left arm, on the right side of the fragment and on the back side of the fragment.

Discussion: Unusual shape and size, perhaps comparable to ID519? The identification is problematic. If indeed the semi-nude man wears a sun crown and a mantle, a logical Commagenean parallel would be the ubiquitous *dexiosis* reliefs figuring the semi-nude Apollo-Helios-Mithras-Hermes or Apollo *epekoos*, who both wear sun discs with rays.⁶⁸¹ What makes this comparison problematic, however, is the fact that in the *dexiosis* iconography, the left shoulder is always completely covered with a mantle, often fastened with a disc-shaped brooch on the right shoulder. ID88's uncovered shoulder and its little circular protrusions at the left arm pit, perhaps a type of brooch or decoration, do not correspond well with this standard *dexiosis* iconography. The dating is uncertain, but the palace-context might indicate a 1st c. BCE date.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Unclear. Late-Hellenistic?

ID519 - st.85-1006



⁶⁸¹ *Apollo-Helios-Mithras-Hermes*: cf. the basalt *dexiosis* stele from Samosata, with a youthful and semi-nude Apollo-Mithras-Helios Hermes wearing a mantle and a sun disc with twenty rays. See Brijder 2014, 132-135, esp. 132 n.283 with further literature. *Apollo epekoos*: the basalt *dexiosis* stele from Sofraz Köy (Üçgöz), with Apollo *epekoos*. See Brijder 2014, 141-144, esp. 141 n.305 with further literature.

Fragment of a small stele with legs of a figure

Measurements: h. 8,0; l. 11,0; w. 5,2

Material: limestone.

Find Location: Perhaps from the palace (see current location).

Current Location: Depot Adıyaman Archaeological Museum, in box labelled '1985 saray mimari parça'.

Preservation: Upper side is completely broken. Front side is heavily damaged at the left. Back side is worn or broken at the bottom.

Description: Fragment of a small stele with legs of a figure. Bottom is flat. The left and the right side of the fragment are flat and polished. The back side is worked in a course manner. The front side depicts the legs and feet of a figure, perhaps seated, executed in a rough manner. The left leg is vertical and seems to be stretched, while the right leg is standing outward, in an oblique position, perhaps loosely resting on the side of the left foot. A protruding rim is located on top of the left leg and probably broken off on top of the right leg. It is unclear what it represents. Right of the left leg, a vertical strip runs along the left leg and left of the right leg, an L-shaped protrusion seems to frame the figure. Perhaps part of a chair or a throne? Traces of red paint on the right side of the fragment.

Discussion: Unusual shape and size, perhaps comparable to ID88? Identification is problematic. The dating is uncertain. The very course execution makes a stylistic comparison difficult, although the loose positioning of the right leg suggests a Hellenistic or Roman date. The palace-context might indicate a 1st c. BCE date.

Literature: previously unpublished.

Date: Unclear. Late-Hellenistic?

6.5 Stelai pertaining to the Antiochan ruler cult

In total, four stelai pertaining to the Late-Hellenistic ruler cult of Antiochos I have been ascribed to Samosata and its nearby surroundings (ID688 = Sa, ID689 = Sy, ID690 = Sz and ID691 = Sx).

ID688



Inscription stele 'Sa'

Measurements: h. 32,0; w. 22,0; depth 15,8; h. (letters) 1,1-1,3.

Material: dark-grey basalt

Find Location: Samosata (or surroundings).

Current location: Stone heap with finds assigned to Samosata in the depot of the Adiyaman Archaeological Museum; no inventory number.

Preservation: broken away above, left, below and at the back.

Description: The fragments contains adjoining faces with inscriptions in Greek. The right return face contains an inscription with a vertical dividing line. The text contains a description of the responsibilities of the *hierodouloi* (sacred slaves) on the front side and the two final sections of the *nomos* inscription on the right return side.

Inscription:

'(A) And the sacred slaves consecrated by me and the children of these and all their descendants are to be released from the burden of all other responsibilities to be undisturbed and they are to apply themselves to ministering to the festivals (?) and serving gatherings. It is to be permitted for no one, neither king, ruler, nor priest, nor official to enslave to himself these sacred slaves, whom I have dedicated to the gods and to my own honour in accordance with the divine will, or their children or their descendants, who shall continue this family at any later time; nor yet to alienate them to another in any manner, nor to injure any of them or divert them away from this ministry; rather the

priests are to take care of them, while the kings, officials and private persons, for whom the gratitude of the gods and heroes for their piety shall be held in store, are to protect them.

(B) Pierced through by the unerring arrows of Apollo and Herakles in his evil heart, the root of an unjust life, let him experience bitter pain in the innermost feelings of his good-hating character, and through the wrath of Hera let him find injustice-hating punishment, which is the inexorable servant of heavenly justice, a most bitter avenger of impious character; through the thunderbolts of Zeus-Oromasdes let that person's family, since it shares in his evil blood, and the whole of his household, which stained god's earth by offering reception and shelter to impiety, be consumed in hostile fire. Whoever, however, has a mind pure of unjust living, and eager for holy actions, with confidence let them look upon the countenances of the gods, and walk in the cheerful steps of the blessed, and let them lead a good life through happy paths to (the fulfilment of) their own hopes as a result of their honour for us.⁶⁸²

Discussion: The fact that the inscription runs across the right edge and backs side of the stele suggests that the stele was free-standing. The sections of the *nomos* inscribed on the right return side is also known from Nemrut Dağı (N171-191), Arsameia on the Nymphaios (A151-165; 228-242), Zeugma (BEd 2-5) and the fragments ID689 and ID690 from Samosata (Sz 10-24; SyR 3-15).⁶⁸³ Crowther and Facella demonstrated that ID688 (Sa) is different from ID689 (Sy), ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) in terms of letter-size and line-interval.⁶⁸⁴ The overlap in text with ID689 and ID690 furthermore make it unlikely that it was meant to be seen in combination with any of the other three stelai. It is therefore indeed likely that the stele represents a separate *temenos* in or near Samosata. Crowther and Facella argued that this stele fragment was exceptional as it was found between the archaeological remains of the 1979-1989 Özgüç Campaigns and, for that reason, would arrive from the top of the *höyük*, evidencing a *temenos* at that location.⁶⁸⁵ The find context of many of the fragments from the stone heap in the corner of the depot of the Adiyaman Archaeological Museum is however less straightforward than suggested by Crowther and Facella. Especially for the pieces without a labelled mark telling the sector and stratigraphic layer, as is the case with ID688, it is impossible to assign a specific find location other than a general 'Samsat

⁶⁸² Translation from Crowther and Facella 2011, 359. For a transcription of the badly preserved inscription see Crowther and Facella 2011, 357-358.

⁶⁸³ Crowther and Facella 2011, 356.

⁶⁸⁴ *Idem*, 362.

⁶⁸⁵ *Idem*, 355: 'All three stelai were found away from original contexts (...) A new element is now added by the discovery, during a survey of the epigraphical collection of Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, of a fragment of a cult inscription which seems to belong to an additional text deriving from the settlement mound of Samosata itself'; and 362: 'The discovery of Sa adds an important new element to our picture, because it points to the presence of a separate *temenos* assemblage for the ruler cult on the acropolis itself'. See also 356 with n. 7.

and surroundings'.⁶⁸⁶ Crowther and Facella argue that the stele belongs to the 'syncretistic' phase of Antiochos I's ruler cult, which they date to the later period of the latter's reign.⁶⁸⁷

Literature: Crowther and Facella 2011, 355-366, pl. 51-53; Blömer 2012, 101 n.19; Brijder 2014, 138, fig. 86d-e.

Date: Late-Hellenistic.

ID689



Inscription stele 'Sy'

Measurements: h. 98,0; w. 50,0; depth 20,0-24,0; h. (letters) 2,3-2,6.

Material: basalt.

⁶⁸⁶ The unlabelled fragments from the heap of stones in the depot consists for a large part of stray finds from the lower city and its environs done by the Özgüç team, as well as pieces that were gifted by farmers from the wider area during (or even long after) the excavations. Some of the fragments might also derive from the multiple smaller trenches in the lower town opened by Özgüç, for instance near the Urfa Gate. Even *if* the stele fragment was unearthed on top of the *höyük* it is still unlikely it was found in an actual Late-Hellenistic context as it is not mentioned anywhere in the preserved documentation.

⁶⁸⁷ Crowther and Facella 2011, 363 with more literature. See also, more recently, Jacobs 2021. Note that Versluys 2017a, 178-182 argues against the whole notion of a 'Greek' versus a 'syncretistic phase'.

Find Location: In 1935, Giulio Jacopi found it stored in the elementary school of Samsat, but it was probably found between the village and the settlement mound.⁶⁸⁸

Current location: Adiyaman Archaeological Museum, exhibited (inner garden).

Preservation: Broken in two adjoining pieces. As one piece, broken at the top and at the right side; almost half of the stele is missing. Front side has a water channel cut along its length.

Description: Inscriptions in Greek on the front and back side. The front has the prologue of the cult text. The back side and the sides have the final lines of the sacred law (*nomos*).⁶⁸⁹

Discussion: Waldmann, Crowther and Facella have argued that it is very likely that this stele was freestanding and went together with a second stele, that contained the rest of the cult text and

⁶⁸⁸ Jacopi 1936, 21; Dörner and Naumann 1939, 30.

⁶⁸⁹ (A) [... Έγώ δ'εγενόμην]

[γενεθλίοις] σώματο[ς] έμου Αύδναίον εκκαιδε[
[κάτη, διαδήμα]τος δέ [Λών δεκάτη, ας αφιέρωσα
[μεγάλων δαιμόν]ων επι[φανεΐαις. Προσκαθωσίω-]
[σα έκατέραι τουτ]ω[ν εξής θύο ημέρας ...]
[...]
[Χώραν τε ίκαν]ήν και π[ροσόδους εξ αυτής άκινή-]
[το]υς εις [θυσι]ών πολυτ[έλειαν άπένειμα, θερα-]
[π]είαν τ[ε άνέ]γλειπτο[ν και ιερείς επιλέξας συν]
πρεπου[σαις ε]σθήσι Π[ερσικώι γένει κατέστη-]
[σ]α, κ[ο]σμον τε κ[α]ι λιτουργίαν πάσαν άξίως τύ-]
[χης έμης και δαιμόνων υπέροχης ανέβηκα.]
(B) [θεών χειράς επί κακών τιμωρίαν άνδρών ·] αι[ς άσε-]
[βής τρόπος όφειλομένας δίκας άπα]ραιτητοις τε<ί->
[σειεν όργαις. Απόλλωνός τε και 'Ηρακλέους άναμ]αρτήτοις βέλε-
[σιν καρδίαν πονηράν άδίκου βίου ρίζαν διηλουμέ]νος εχέτω πι-
[κρόν άλγος εν μεισαγάθου τρόπου σπλάγχνοις.] 'Ηρας τε χό-
[λωι μεισάδικον ποιήν ουρανίου δίκης άθώπευτ]ον ύπηρέτιν τι-
[μωρόν ασεβούς τρόπου πικροτάτην εφευρισκ]έτω, Διός τε
[Όρομάσδου κεραυνοις γένο]ις ε[κείνου παν ο]περ κοινωνει κα-
[κού αίματος οικός τε ολ]ος, οστις ύ[ποδοχ]εύς καί στεγανο-
[μος άσεβείας γενηθείς] εμίανε γην θεού, πολεμίωι πυρί
[φλεγέσθω. Όσοις δέ κα]θαρός μεν νους αδίκου ζωής, επιθυ-
[μητής δε οσίων έργων] θαρρούντες μεν εις θεών άπο-
[βλεπέτωσαν όψεις, ιλ]αροις δε μακάρων ιχνεσιν επι-
[βαινέτωσαν, εύδαίμο]σιν δε άτραποις εξ ήμετέρας
[τιμής βίον αγαθόν εις] ελπίδας όδηγείτωσαν ίδιαις ·
[ούτοί τε πάντες άφ' ύ]ψηλού φρονήματος πλησίον
[όρώντες Διός μέγαν] ουράνιον οίκον εγγύς
[όφθαλμοίς ώσιν τε θ]εών εύχάς δικαίας καί θυσι-
[ας έπιτελείτωσαν ό]σίαις, ήμέτερόν τε κόσμον
[άναβημάτων καί κλέ]ος αίώνος ύμνούντες καί γε-
[ραίροντες άπαρχαις] πρεπουσας επήκοον άγίοις
[εύχαΐς ευμενή τε σ]υναγωνιστην αγαθών έργων
[εαυτοις Όρομάσδην ε]χέτωσαν Δία, προς εκείνωι τε
[παραστάτην 'Ηραν Τελε]ίαν, ετι δε Άρτάγηνην 'Ηρακλεα
[καί Μίθρην Απόλλω καί] 'Ηλιον 'Ερμη τε πολυφωνότατ[ον]
[θεών · πάντας τε] δαιμόνων ευμενών χαρ-
[κτήρας αψευδείς προφ]ήτας ευτυχούς βίου και συν-
[αγωνιστάς τόλμης αγαθ]ής διά παντός εύρισκέτωσαν.

Transliteration from Waldman 1973, 30-32.

nomos; one would have to walk around the two stelai, starting with the front of ID689 (Sy).⁶⁹⁰ Crowther and Facella argued that ID689 (Sy) and ID691 (Sx) cannot belong to the same *temenos* as they both contain the prologue to the sacred law and, more so, are different in terms of the size and interlinear spacing of the letters.⁶⁹¹ ID688 (Sa) also cannot serve as the twin stele to ID689 (Sy) as its letter-size and line-interval are too small in comparison.⁶⁹² ID690 (Sz) most probably derives from a *temenos* at Selik and also differs in lettering (see ID690). The find location suggests that the stele belonged to a *temenos* that was located in or near Samosata, but the exact location cannot be established.⁶⁹³

Literature: Jacopi 1936, 21-26, pl. 27 fig. 100; Dörner and Naumann 1939, 30-43, pl. 5, 1-2; Waldmann 1973, 28-32 nr. 3, pl. 12; Crowther and Facella 2011, 354, 362; Brijder 2014, 136-137 fig. 86 a-c.; Oenbrink 2017, 144, n. 395; Versluys 2017a, 85.

Date: Late-Hellenistic

⁶⁹⁰ Waldmann 1973, 29; Crowther and Facella 2011, 361. See also Brijder 2014, 137.

⁶⁹¹ Crowther and Facella 2011, 362. Followed by Brijder 2014, 137.

⁶⁹² Crowther and Facella 2011, 362.

⁶⁹³ Crowther and Facella suggest it is likely that the related *temenos* was located in the lower city instead of on the citadel (Crowther and Facella 2011, 363; followed by Brijder 2014, 137) but the lack of a primary archaeological context makes it impossible to tell.

ID690



Dexiosis stele 'Sz'

Measurements: h. 133,0; w. 60,0; depth 27,0 (max.); h. (letters) 1,8; h. (figures) 106,0, less than life-size.

Material: basalt

Find Location: Selik, 9,5 km. north of Samsat

Current location: London, British Museum (G52/od; inv. nr. 1927,1214.1)

Preservation: Large circular destruction at the back suggests a use of the piece as the bed-stone for an olive press.

Description: Front side has a relief of a *dexiosis* scene between Antiochos I and Artagnes-Heracles. Antiochos I wears a belted tunic and cloak, and, on his right hip, a four-lobed dagger. He furthermore wears the Armenian tiara, adorned with lions, as well as a neck band, equally adorned with lions. In his left hand, the king holds a royal sceptre. Artagnes-Heracles is depicted nude, with pronounced (abdominal) muscles in his short torso. He has the Nemean lion skin draped over

his left arm and his club carried upright in his left hand. The inscribed back side and edges contain fragments of the *nomos*.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁹⁴ ... ὅπως] εκαστος ἐν [ἐραῖς]
[ἡμέραις ἀνελλιπη χορ]ηγίαν λαμβάνων ἀσυκοφάντ[η]
[τον εχη την εορτήν εὐωχοῦ]μενος, οπου προαιρείται. Τοις τε
ἐκπώμασιν, οἷς ἐγὼ καθιέρωσα, διακονέισθωσαν, ἕως αν εν ἱερῶι
[τόπωι συνόδου κοινῆς με]ταλαμβάνωσιν. Δεκάτη δε ἐμμήνω[ι]
[ὡς ὁ νόμος κελεύει] τὰς ἐπιθύσεις καὶ θυσίας ἱερεὺς ὁ[ς]-
[τις ὑπ' ἔμον καθίσταται] ἐπιτελείτω, τὴν τε ἐσθήτα παρα-
[λ]αμβά[ν]ων Ἱερσι[κὴν] καὶ γέρατα κατὰ νόμον τον αὐτόν ἐ[ξ]
[αιρ]οῦμενος, τα λοιπ[ά δέ ἀ]πό των ἱερῶν τοις παρατυγχάνου –
[σιν δια]νέμων εις ἀνυπεύθ[υνο]ν ευωχίαν. Οἱ δε καθω[σ]ιωμένοι
ὕ[π']
[έμου] ἱεροδουλοι καὶ τού[των παιδες] ἐγγονοὶ τε πάντες α –
[παρ]ενόχλητοι μεν τῶ[ν ἄλλων ἀπάντων] ἀφείσθωσαν, ταῖς
[δε θ]εραπειαῖς τῶν [λειτουργιῶν τε καὶ] των συνόδων
[προ]σκαρτερε[ί]τωσαν. Μηδενί δε ὅσιον ε]στω, μήτε βασι-
[λει] μήτε δ[υνάστη] μήτε ἱερεῖ μήτε ἀρχο]ντι, τούτους ἱερο-
[δο]ύλους, οὐ[ς] ἐγὼ θεοις τε καὶ τιμαῖς ἐμαῖς κατὰ] δαιμόνιον
[βο]ύλησιν ἀν[έ]θηκα, μηδε μην παῖδας ἐγγόν]ους τε ἐκείνων,
[οι]τινες αν ἐ[ν ἀπαντι χρόνῳ] τούτο γένος δ]ιαδέχωνται
Μήτε αὐτῶ[ι] καταδουλώσασθαι μήτε εις ἐ]τερον ἀπαλλο-
τριῶσαι τρό[πωι] μηδενί μήτε κακῶσαί τινα] τούτων ἡ περι-
σπάσαι θερα[πείας ταύτης, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελίσθ]ωσαν μεν αυ-
τῶν ἱερεῖς, ἐπαμυνέτωσαν δε βασιλεῖς τ]ε καὶ ἀρχον-
τες ιδιῶτα[ι] τε πάντες, οἷς ἀποκείσεται πα]ρὰ θεῶν καὶ η-
ρῶν χάρις [εὐσεβείας. Ὅμοίως δε μηδε κώμας, ας] ἐγὼ καθιέρωσα
θεοις τούτο[ις, μηδενί ὅσιον ἐστω μήτε ἐξ]ιδιάσασθαι μη-
τε ἐξάλλο[τριῶσαι] μήτε μεταδιατάξαι μήτ]ε βλάψαι κατὰ
μηδένα τρ[ό]πον κώμας ἐκείνας ἡ πρόσοδον, ἡν ἐγὼ κ]τήμα θεοις
ἀσυλον ἀν[έ]θηκα. Ωσαύτως δε μηδε ἀλ]λην παρεῦ-
ρσιν εις ὑβ[ρίν] ἡ ταπεινῶσιν ἡ κατὰλυσιν ὧν ἀφωσί]ωκα θυσιῶν
καὶ συνόδων [ἐπιμηχανήσασθαι μηδενί κατὰ τιμῆς] ἡμετέ-
ρας ἀκίνδυν[ον] ἐστω. Τύπον δέ εὐσεβείας, ἡν θεοις καὶ] προγῶ-
νοις εισφέρει[ιν ὅσιον, ἐγὼ παισίν ἐγγόν]οις τε ἐμοῖς ἐ]μφανῆ
καὶ δι' ἐτέρων [πολλῶν καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐκτέθ]εικα, νομίζω
τε αὐτούς κ[αλὸν] υπόδειγμα μιμήσασθαι γένους] καὶ θεῶν αὐ-
ξοντας ἀεὶ [συγγενεῖς τιμὰς, ὁμοίως τ' ἐ]μοί πολλά
προσθήσε[ιν ἐν ἀκμῇ χρόνων ιδίων, εις κό]σμον οικειον οἷς
ταῦτα πράσ[ουσιν ἐγὼ πατρώους πάντα]ς θεοὺς ἐκ Περσί-
δος τε καὶ Μ[ακετίδος] γης Κομμαγηνῆς τ]ε εστίας εἰλεως
εις πασαν χάρ[ιν] εὐχομαι διαμένειν. "Ὅστ]ις τε ἀν βασιλεύ[ς]
ἡ δυνάστη<ς> ἐ[ν] μάκρῳ χρόνῳ ταύτην] ἀρχ παραλάβη, νό-
μον τούτον κα[ί] τιμὰς ἡμετέρ]ας διαφυλάσσων καὶ παρά της
[ἐμ]ῆς εὐχῆς εἰλεως δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς πάντας ἐχέτω. Δαιμο-
[ν]ῶι δε γνώμη ταύτην ἀναγραφῆν εὐσεβείας πρόφητιν ἐποιη-
[σάμην, ἐφ' ἥς ἱερά γράμματα δι' ὀλίγης φωνῆς θεσπίζ]ει μέγαν θε-
[ων] νουν πολίταις καὶ ξένοις, ὁμοίως βασιλευσιν, δυνάσταις,
[ἐλ]εῦθεροις, δούλοις, πασιν ὅσοι φύσεως κοινωνουντες ἀνθρω-
[πίν]ης, ονόμασι <γ>ένούσ η τύχης διαφέρουσιν τούτοις.
(Transcription from Waldman 1973, 34-35).

Discussion: Crowther and Facella argued that ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) are very similar in terms of their lettering and are therefore likely to have had a similar provenance.⁶⁹⁵ Like others, including Brijder, they suggested these stelai belonged to a *temenos* that was located in the lower city of Samosata.⁶⁹⁶ Recently, Blömer however suggested that ID690 (Sz) did not belong to a *temenos* in Samosata, arguing that the find context points to the existence of a *temenos* at Selik itself, something which makes the connection to ID691 (Sx) more problematic but not impossible.⁶⁹⁷ For a more elaborate discussion of the mode of visibility in this stele, see paragraph 8.3.2 of this dissertation.

Literature: Hamdi Bey and Efendi 1883, 29-30; Humann and Puchstein 1890, 184. 368-372 fig. 52; Fraser 1952, 96; Dörner and Goell 1963, 48 with n.13, 89 with n.173; Waldmann 1973, 33-42, nr. 4 pl. VII-IX; Sanders 1996, 456; Eldem 2010, 70; Crowther and Facella 2011, 354-366; Crowther and Facella, 2012, 70, 79, fig. 51a-d; Brijder 2014, 135–36; figs. 85a-b, 99 (A 2); Messerschmidt 2011, 295; Oenbrink 2017, 144, n. 395; Versluys 2017a, 85-86 fig. 2.37.

Date: Late-Hellenistic.

⁶⁹⁵ Crowther and Facella 2011, 355 with n.3. Already suggested by Yorke 1898, 313. *Contra* Fraser, who disconnected ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx), see Fraser 1952, 101. Instead, he suggested that there was a connection between ID690 (Sz) and a fragment (AD) of a lower section of a relief stele from Palas (30 km south of Selik), see Fraser 1952, 96 with n.2.

⁶⁹⁶ Waldmann 1973, 33–42; Crowther and Facella 2011, 363; Brijder 2014, 135.

⁶⁹⁷ Blömer 2012a, 101. Followed by Versluys 2017a, 85-86. See also Blömer 2017, 103: ‚Für die Hauptstadt Samosata sind, wie auch für Zeugma, jeweils zwei Temene sicher nachzuweisen. Brijder folgt zudem der einschlägigen Forschung, indem er davon ausgeht, dass auch die Stele aus Selik (Sz) ursprünglich in Samosata stand, so dass dort die Existenz von drei Temene postuliert werden kann. Die im Buch an späterer Stelle (S. 196–199) sehr präzise nachgezeichneten Fundumstände der Stele sprechen allerdings m. E. dafür, dass bei Selik, immerhin 12 km von Samosata entfernt, ein eigenes Heiligtum existierte.‘ Perhaps the stress on similar or deviating types of lettering should not be taken too rigidly in our designation of stelai to specific *temene*. It is not inconceivable that the same stonemasons were responsible for *dexioseis* of different *temene*, while the erection of *dexioseis* with different lettering within one and the same *temenos* should perhaps not necessarily be ruled out. This might explain why ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) are very similar in terms of their lettering but did not belong to the same *temenos*.



Dexiosis stele 'Sx'

Measurements: h. 78,7; w. 35,6; depth 30,5; h. (letters) 1,8; h. (with stone plinth) 106,0; h. (figures) ca. 105,0. Less than life-size.

Material: dark-grey basalt

Find Location: found by H.J.B. Lynch's father , who brought it to London 'from the banks of the Euphrates near Samosata'.⁶⁹⁸

Current location: London, British Museum (not on display, mus. nr. 108834; inv. nr. 1914,0214.60).

Preservation: Broken at the bottom and left side; left half, with Antiochos I is missing.

Description: Front surface contains a relief depiction of a *dexiosis* scene between Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes and, most probably, Antiochos I (missing). The youthful deity is depicted wearing a mantle that is fastened with a disc-shaped brooch on his right shoulder. His head is surrounded with a sun-disc that contains twenty rays. The reverse carries an inscription in Greek with the king's titulature and a prologue to the sacred law.

Inscription:

'The Great King Antiochus, the God, the Righteous One, has inscribed this declaration of his respect – commanding intention – in which he presents a law of common devotion – on sacred stelae, fulfilling

⁶⁹⁸ Yorke 1898, 313.

all this in accordance with divine preordination. I came to believe piety to be, of all good things, not only the securest possession, but also the sweetest enjoyment for men; it was this judgment 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 fulfillment of a life of many years. After succeeding to my ancestral kingdom and setting up the images of Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, and Artagnes-Heracles-Ares, – images of their most venerable power – I made the honour of the great gods grow in step with my own fortune and joined to the representations in stone of the heavenly deities, that are set up and united in groups, the representation of my own appearance conform their shape, receiving the benevolent right hands of the gods, preserving a proper depiction of the undying concern which they often showed me to my assistance in my frightful struggles.’⁶⁹⁹

Discussion: Crowther and Facella argued that ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) are very similar in terms of their lettering and are therefore likely to have had a similar provenance.⁷⁰⁰ Recently, Blömer

⁶⁹⁹ Βασιλευς [μέγας Αντίοχος]
 [Θε]ος Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανής [Φιλορώμαιος καὶ]
 Φιλέλλην, ὁ ἐκ βασιλέω[ς Μιθραδάτου Καλ]-
 [λι]νίκου καὶ βασιλίσσης Λ[αοδίκης Θεας Φίλα]-
 [δέ]λφου, τῆς ἐκ βασιλέω[ς Ἀντ]ιοχου Ἐπιφανους Φι]-
 [λ]ομήτορος Κα<λ>λινίκου, τουτ[ον τύπον ιδίας γνώ]-
 μης νόμον τε κοινῆς εὐσεβ[είας εἰς χρόνον]
 ἀπαντα προνοίαι δαιμόνων[ν στήλαις ἐνεχάρα]-
 ξεν ἱεραις. Ἐγὼ πάντων ἀγα[θων οὐ μόνον κτη]-
 σιν βεβαιωτάτην ἀλλὰ κ[αὶ] ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην]
 ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμισα τη[ν εὐσεβειαν, τὴν αὐτήν]
 τε κρίσιν καὶ δυνάμεων ε[ὐ]τυχοῦς καὶ χρήσεως μα]-
 καρίστης αἰτίαν ἐσχον, πα[ρ] ὅλον τε τὸν βίον ὦ]-
 φθην ἅπασι βασιλείας ἐμ[ῆς καὶ φύλακα πιστοτά]-
 την καὶ τέρψιν ἀμείμητον [ηγούμενος τὴν οσιό]-
 τητα. Διὰ καὶ κινδύνους με[γάλους παραδόξως]
 διέφυγον καὶ πράξεων δυσ[ε]λπιστων εὐμηχάνως]
 ἐπεκράτησα καὶ βίου πολυετοῦς μακαρίστως ἐπλη]-
 ρώθην. Ἐγὼ πατρῶϊαν βασιλ[είαν παραλαβὼν εὐθέως]
 Διὸς τε Ὀρομάδου καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἑρ]-
 μου καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλούς [Ἀρεως τοῦτο νέον τέ]-
 μενος παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως [ἐκτίσα καὶ τύχης ἐ]-
 μῆς ἡλικιωτίν Θεων μεγάλω[ν τιμὴν ἐποιήσαμην,]
 ἐν ἱεραις τε λιθεῖαις μίας περιο[χῆς ἀγάλμασι δαίμο]-
 νίοις χαρακτηρὰ μορφῆς ἐμῆς [δεχόμενον Θεων εὐμε]-
 νεις δεξιᾶς παρέστησα, με[μ]νημὴν φυλάσ]-
 σων ἀθανάτου φροντίδος [τῇ πολλᾷ κίς ἐμοὶ χει]-
 [ρ]ας οὐ[ρανί]ους εἰς β[ο]η[θεί]αν ἀγώνων ἐξέτειναν.]

Transcription from Crowther and Facella 2003, 69. Translation taken from Brijder 2014, 134.

⁷⁰⁰ Crowther and Facella 2011, 355 with n.3. Already suggested by Yorke 1898, 313. *Contra* Fraser, who disconnected ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx), see Fraser 1952, 101. Instead, he suggested that there was a connection between ID690 (Sz) and a fragment (AD) of a lower section of a relief stele from Palas (30 km south of Selik), see Fraser 1952, 96 with n.2.

and Versluys have however suggested that ID690 (Sz) did not belong to a *temenos* in Samosata, arguing that the find context points to the existence of a *temenos* at Selik itself, something which makes the connection to ID691 (Sx) more problematic but not impossible.⁷⁰¹

Literature: GIBM IV 1048a; Yorke 1898, 313; Wilhelm 1929, 127-130; Keil 1940, 129-134 pl. 8-9; Dörrie 1964, 129-131; Waldmann 1973, 16-27 nr. 2 pl. 5, 6; Crowther and Facella 2003, 68-71 pl. 8, 1-3; Facella 2006, 232; Crowther and Facella 2012, 70 fig. 52a-b; Brijder 2014, 132, 134-135 fig. 84a-c, 99 (A1); Oenbrink 2017, 144, n. 395; Versluys 2017a, 85.

Date: Late-Hellenistic.

General discussion: These Antiochan reliefs have already received ample scholarly attention, but since they share the same overall dynastic context as the palatial structure they cannot be ignored in this overview. These type of basalt stelai can be found throughout Commagene and, when not found in the so-called Antiochan *hierothesia*, they are generally interpreted as indicators of the presence of so-called *temene*, sanctuaries belonging to the ruler cult of Antiochos I.⁷⁰² The *dexiosis* stelai witnessed in ID690 ('Sz') and ID691 ('Sx') portray king Antiochos I in a *dexiosis* (hand-shake) with the gods from the ruler cult's pantheon.⁷⁰³ The text on these *dexiosis* stelai as well as on the inscribed stelai (ID688 'Sa' and ID689 'Sy') largely coincides with the almost completely preserved Great Cult Inscriptions and *nomos* (sacred law) that we know from the *hierothesia* (tomb-sanctuaries belonging to Antiochos I's ruler cult) at Nemrut Dağı and Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁷⁰⁴ It is generally assumed that the ruler cult would have been present and visible in one or more *temene* in Samosata, as it was the capital of the kingdom and the location of the dynasty's palace.⁷⁰⁵ The four stelai presented here are suggested in existing scholarship as representative of the presence of *temene* in Samosata, but, as I discussed in the separate entries, it is debated whether all four were originally erected in Samosata. In fact, we have seen that, for none of the four stelai, we can say with certainty whether their presumed *temene* were located inside or even near Samosata itself. ID688 (Sa) was merely found in association with the Samsat finds in the depot of the archaeological museum of Adıyaman; ID689 (Sy) was found in the elementary school by Jacopi in the 1930s; ID690 (Sz) was found in Selik; and ID691 (Sx) was found at 'the banks of the Euphrates Near Samsat'. Stelai can travel easily, making these secondary

⁷⁰¹ Versluys 2017a, 85-86; Blömer 2017, 103: 'Für die Hauptstadt Samosata sind, wie auch für Zeugma, jeweils zwei Temene sicher nachzuweisen. Brijder folgt zudem der einschlägigen Forschung, indem er davon ausgeht, dass auch die Stele aus Selik (Sz) ursprünglich in Samosata stand, so dass dort die Existenz von drei Temene postuliert werden kann. Die im Buch an späterer Stelle (S. 196-199) sehr präzise nachgezeichneten Fundumstände der Stele sprechen allerdings m. E. dafür, dass bei Selik, immerhin 12 km von Samosata entfernt, ein eigenes Heiligtum existierte.' See also the entry for ID690 above.

⁷⁰² In general, see Facella 2006, 250ff.

⁷⁰³ For which, see Petzl 2003; Jacobs and Rollinger 2005.

⁷⁰⁴ Crowther and Facella 2012, 71-76; See also Brijder 2014, 132ff.

⁷⁰⁵ Crowther and Facella 2011, 341-354; Crowther and Facella 2012, 71-76; Brijder 2014, 132ff; Versluys 2017a, 86-86.

contexts anything but proof for *temene* in Samosata. We should allow for the possibility that the strong resemblance between ID690 (Sz) and ID691 (Sx) in terms of their lettering⁷⁰⁶ means that *both* belonged to a *temenos* in Selik.⁷⁰⁷ If this would be the case, we are left with only two contenders for *temene* in Samosata, namely ID688 (Sa) and ID689 (Sy) for two separate *temene* in Samosata. It is impossible to say whether these were located in the Lower Town or on top of the *höyük*; they may even have been located outside the city walls. Be that as it may, it can still be expected that Antiochos I commissioned a *temenos* for his ruler cult in the royal area of his kingdom's capital. If we consider the many parallels between the palace of Samosata and the 'palatial' structure of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, which was completely integrated into the *hierothesion*, a similar connection between the palace and a possible cult site would not be surprising (see paragraph 10.5.1 for a further exploration of this idea).

6.6 The sculptural evidence for Hellenistic and early Roman Samosata in its Commagenean context

The presented overview of sculptural fragments adds an important corpus of material to our broader understanding of the sculpture of Commagene for the Hellenistic and early Roman period. There is in fact not much known about sculpture in Commagene from the 9th/8th c. BCE up until the 1st c. BCE dynastic monuments of Antiochos I.⁷⁰⁸ The amount of 'pre-Antiochan' known sculpture is sketchy at best.⁷⁰⁹ Depictions of his predecessors are still restricted to the visual program of Antiochos I himself⁷¹⁰, and, besides such royal portraiture, there is also not known any

⁷⁰⁶ Crowther and Facella 2011, 355.

⁷⁰⁷ Thus combining the arguments of Blömer 2012a with those of Crowther and Facella 2011.

⁷⁰⁸ As remarked in several places by Blömer, e.g. Blömer 2014, 8: '*Festzuhalten ist, dass mit dem Ende der luwischen und aramäischen Königreiche ein tiefgreifender Umbruch verbunden war, der sich nicht nur in einer Verschiebung von Siedlungsmustern äußert, sondern auch in einem kulturellen Wandel. Das Ende der Herrschersitze leitete das Ende des epigraphischen und sculpturalen Habitus ein. Die lokale Kunstproduktion kam weitgehend zum Erliegen*'. See also Blömer 2012a, 113: '*In general the production of sculptures (and inscriptions) ceased after the fall of the Assyrian empire and was revived only after the establishment of Roman rule. With the notable exception of the royal monuments commissioned by Antiochos I and his son Mithridates II there is virtually no sculpture at all from the Hellenistic period*'. For the Syro-Hittite figurative reliefs and hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of Kummuh, see Hawkins 1970; Hawkins 1975; Hawkins 2000; Özgüç 2009, pls. 133-136. The sculpture that can be ascribed to the reign of Antiochos I has been extensively published and discussed, e.g. Sanders 1996; Brijder 2014 and Versluys 2017a. For a regional and global contextualization of (*inter alia*) the visual program of Antiochos I, see recently Blömer et al. 2021.

⁷⁰⁹ As has been argued extensively by Blömer in different places, e.g. Blömer 2014, 66: '*Die Statuen und Reliefs vom Nemrut Dağ, die Dexiosis-Stelen aus den temene des Herrscherkultes Antiochos I. oder die Ausstattung des hierothesion von Arsameia a. Nymphaios sind allgemein bekannt und auch in den Handbüchern zu hellenistischer Plastik vertreten. Ungleich schlechter ist es um die Kenntnis von Skulpturen hellenistischer Zeit außerhalb des königlichen Kontextes, vor allem aber um die Kenntnis regionaler Plastik römischer Zeit, bestellt*'. See also Facella 2006, 199-224 and 299-337 for the epigraphic material.

⁷¹⁰ Riedel 2018, 118. These include the large rock-cut relief depicting Samos II at Arsameia on the Euphrates (Humann and Puchstein 1890, 355; Dörner and Naumann 1939, 17-29; Waldmann 1973, 123-141; Dörner 1987, 32-33; Facella 2006, 205-208; Cohen 2006, 152; Blömer and Winter 2011, 70; Brijder 2014, 222-228; Versluys 2017a, 78 fig. 2.33); the ancestor gallery at Nemrut Dağı (e.g. Sanders 1996; Brijder 2014; Versluys 2017a, 57-68, fig. 2.16); and the so-called *stephanophoros* stelai depicting Antiochos I with Mithridates I

other type of sculpture known that was commissioned by a predecessor of Antiochos I.⁷¹¹ The evidence for non-dynastic sculpture from the period leading up to the Antiochan program is equally scarce⁷¹² although two pieces could be briefly mentioned. The first is a Hellenistic-period, limestone grave stele from north-Commagene that has no specific find context.⁷¹³ It depicts two figures in profile; a standing, beardless man on the left wearing a so-called *kausia*⁷¹⁴, facing a seated woman wearing a *chiton* with *chlamys* on the right, holding each other's hands. The second example of possibly pre-Antiochan sculpture in Commagene is the rock-cut relief from Haydaran (Taşgedik), located near Perrhe on the ancient road from Samosata via Perrhe to Melitene.⁷¹⁵ This very worn and largely destroyed relief depicts a woman in a *chiton* and *himation* (left) and a man with trousers, a *tunica* and a mantle (right), facing one another, with a lying crescent moon supporting a star between them,⁷¹⁶ was however recently dated by Blömer to the second half of the 1st c. BCE, perhaps stretching into the first half of the 1st c. CE, making it rather contemporaneous or later than the Antiochan sculpture.⁷¹⁷ This scarce evidence leaves us with

(Goell in Sanders 1996, 248, 448-449 note that Sanders himself interpreted these stelai as depicting Antiochos I and Mithridates II). There is numismatic evidence for the depictions of Antiochos I's predecessors but this material is not within the scope of this chapter. For a good recent discussion of the numismatic evidence in relation to the iconography of dynastic portraits, see Riedel 2018, 118-123. For Commagenean coins in general, see Butcher 2004; Facella 2006, 481-487 figs. 45-55; Facella 2021, 139-161.

⁷¹¹ Although there is good reason to presume a pre-Antiochan phase to the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, it seems that the two life-sized limestone heads found near the so-called Mosaic Rooms belong to the profound restructuring and embellishment of the sanctuary under Antiochos I, see Dörner et al. 1965, 215; Hoepfner 1983, 24; Hoepfner 2012, 123. Recently, evidence from a private collection of antiquities nearby Kâhta suggests that we might expect more (sculptural) material related to Mithridates I (ca. 100 BCE – ca. 70 BCE) in the future. For this Neşet Akel Collection from Kâhta (Güzelçay), see *infra*, n. 165.

⁷¹² Unfortunately, the excavations undertaken by the Forschungsstelle Asia Minor on Dülük Baba Tepesi have not yielded any Hellenistic-period sculpture (e.g. Winter (ed.) 2011, 1-282). Recent excavations by the Forschungsstelle in the urban centre of Doliche (Keber Tepe) are likely to unearth more Hellenistic phases, as for instance already evidenced by the results of the urban intensive surveys (See Blömer, Çobanoğlu and Winter 2019, 103-186).

⁷¹³ Blömer 2011, 401-402, pl. 75, 1. Exhibited in the inner garden of the museum.

⁷¹⁴ Blömer 2011, 401-402. See also Janssen 2007, 92-94, 143-152, 244-264.

⁷¹⁵ The key-publication is Blömer 2011, 395-406, pls. 72-73. For earlier mentions of the relief, see Kalkandelen 1951, 29-32 with fig. on p. 30; Waldmann 1973, 113-115; Colledge 1977, 91; Sinclair 1990, 75. The male figure's dress is hardly visible due to the bad state of preservation but Blömer discerns a *tunica* covered with a mantle and wide trousers. He is beardless and does not wear a headdress. His opened, right hand is raised and stretched towards the woman.

⁷¹⁶ The heads are depicted in profile and the bodies in three-quarter. Importantly, the relief shows many similarities with the Late-Hellenistic dynastic Commagenean evidence, most notably the *dexiosis* relief of Karakuş, when considering its composition, posture and dress (interpreted as a 'Greek' *chiton* and *himation* of the woman and 'Iranian' trousers of the man), cf. Blömer 2011. However, the male figure of Haydaran is definitely not a king, considering the lack of a headdress. Another important difference with the *dexiosis* of Karakuş is the lack of an actual hand-shake in the relief of Haydaran; Blömer interprets the raised right hand of the male figure instead as a 'Betgestus', which however also seems to occur on Nemrut Dağı. See Blömer 2011, 400. Blömer suggests that the depicted man must have belonged to the Commagenean aristocracy and had close connections to the Commagenean king. Blömer 2011, 405: *Jedoch ist davon aus zu gehen, dass der Auftraggeber über Kontakte und Verbindungen zum königlichen Hof verfügte, dass er zur kommagenischen Aristokratie oder den Freunden des Königs zählte*.

⁷¹⁷ Blömer 2011, 397-398: *Insgesamt ist deutlich zu erkennen, dass die späthellenistischen kommagenischen Bildwerke den besten Referenzpunkt für das Relief von Haydaran bilden. Nahe liegt daher eine Datierung in*

the question what sculpture looked like in pre-Antiochan Commagene. The one stele without context cannot serve as a good indicator of any sculptural tradition in Hellenistic Commagene.

Whereas the corpus presented in this chapter still contains several sculptural pieces that likely can be assigned to the Antiochan phase proper (ID215/ID216/ID520/ ID361/ID514/ID516 and Antiochan stelai ID688/ID689/ID690/ID691), the material also cautiously broadens the corpus of pre-Antiochan sculpture. The two smaller than life-size female portraits of crystalline marble (ID130 and ID678), might for instance both be dated to the Hellenistic period broadly and do not necessarily belong to the Antiochan program. The two pieces share their marble materiality as well as an adherence to a standardized supra-regional iconography, but the execution of both is rather coarse. While the material itself was likely imported into Commagene, it is well possible that the statues themselves were produced locally. Limestone portrait fragments ID240 and ID512 might equally provide a small window onto the sculptural tradition of Commagene that is pre-Antiochan or at least non-Antiochan. Again, both pieces seem to follow a supra-regional iconography, although much remains unclear about the dating and character of especially ID512, which might be a much older 'Cypro-Archaic' import as well. The coarse execution of the otherwise standardized hairstyle of ID240 suggests a local production. A less standardized iconography is witnessed in ID88 and ID89, the small limestone stelai that both seem to portray (male?) figures in a rather coarse style. The pieces both show traces of red painted decoration and, according to their current location in the museum depot, might belong to the Hellenistic period, and perhaps the palace.

Moving to the state of knowledge concerning the royal and non-royal sculpture of the *post*-Antiochan phases in Commagene, we are again confronted with a very limited corpus. If we consider the royal portraiture and commissions of Antiochos I's successors, we have to conclude that, while some sculptural evidence is available for Mithridates II (ca. 36 BCE – ca. 20 BCE)⁷¹⁸,

der letzten Hälfte des 1. Jh v. Chr. Denkbar wäre aber auch noch eine Entstehung in der letzten Phase kommagenischer Souveränität vor der Annexion durch die Römer im Jahr 72/73 n. Chr.' (398). Blömer convincingly argues that the relief cannot be directly connected to a tomb (contra Waldmann 1973, 113-115) nor a cult site.

⁷¹⁸ Most importantly at the tomb of Karakuş, where the preserved sculpture comprises of a statue of an eagle placed on top of a pillar on the south side of the mound; a fragment of a statue of a bull on top of a pillar on the north-east side; and a *dexiosis* stele. See Humann and Puchstein 1890, 217; Waldmann 1973, 56-57; Dörner 1975, 60-63; Wagner 1983, 196-213; Facella 2006, 303-306; Blömer 2008, 103-104; Blömer and Winter 2011, 96-99; Brijder 2014, 206-217; Versluys 2017a, 79-81. I do not here deal with the otherwise very important shrine or sanctuary for Zeus Soter at Damlica, which was erected under Mithridates II but which only contains an inscription. See Şahin 1991, 101-105; Facella 2006, 307-309; Blömer 2012, 109-114; Blömer and Winter 2011, 150-155; Brijder 2014, 147-148; Versluys 2017a, 98; Collar 2021, 328; Jacobs 2021, 233. I also do not include the evidence from Sesönk (Dikili Taş), which has long been thought to be the burial mound of Mithridates II, but recently has been convincingly dated to the Roman period (see Blömer 2008 and Blömer and Winter 2011, 175-176, followed by Brijder 2014, 199-206). It contains statues of an eagle, a bull and a seated couple, probably erected on top of the three sets of Doric columns that are placed around the mound. For earlier studies (where the burial mound is still

the later Commagenean kings - Mithridates III (ca. 20 BCE-12 BCE), Antiochos III (12 BCE -17 CE) and Antiochos IV (38 CE-72 CE)– remain largely silent and unknown.⁷¹⁹ For Roman Commagene, the evidence is considerably larger, although 1st c. CE material remains scarce. In Samosata itself, at least two Roman grave reliefs have been recorded, both dating to the 2nd and 3rd c. CE.⁷²⁰ An important corpus of Roman sculpture from North-Syria was analyzed by Blömer, but almost all finds date to the 2nd c. CE and later.⁷²¹ Important evidence for mid- and later Imperial Roman sculpture furthermore derives from contexts such as the excavated necropolis of Perrhe⁷²², the grave reliefs of Zeugma⁷²³, the sanctuary at Direk Kale⁷²⁴, and the sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus at Dülük Baba Tepesi.⁷²⁵

Three fragments from the catalogue of this chapter cautiously add to our knowledge of post-Antiochan Commagenean sculpture of the later 1st c BCE and the 1st-2nd c. CE. Some of these fragments are associated with the structure in *opus reticulatum* (cf. ID298/ID327/ID328). The high-quality marble torso fragment ID89 and the marble leg ID327 that might belong to it, are likely imports and must have belonged to a statue group. The adherence to supra-regionally standardized iconography is witnessed also in ID298, the limestone relief depicting a Zeus-like figure. Other marble (ID584) and limestone sculptural fragments (ID328/ID87/ID229/ID220) might also be assigned to this early Roman period, but their preservation and limited contextual information should make us cautious.

connected to Mithridates II), see Humann and Puchstein 1890, Dörner 1987, 47-49; Comfort and Ergeç 2001, 41.

⁷¹⁹ Note, however, that Fleischer 2008 assigns to Mithridates III the limestone head from the palatial structure of Samosata (ID216 in this chapter and identified to Antiochos I by Riedel 2018).

⁷²⁰ For one grave relief see Jacopi 1936, 24 fig. 103; another one in Serdaroğlu 1977, 66-70 fig. 27.

⁷²¹ Blömer 2014. The only piece of sculpture cautiously associated with Samosata in this catalogue is Blömer 2014, 205, cat. no. A II 12, pl. 36, 3-4, a statue of a seated female subject, dated to the 2nd- 3rd c CE. The earliest 'Commagenean' material from this catalogue comprises of Blömer 2014, 322 cat. no. C II 2, pl. 95,3, an altar with relief from Dülük Baba Tepesi dated to 57/58 CE.

⁷²² Erarslan and Winter 2008, 179-187, pl. 25, 1; Blömer and Facella 2008, 189-200, pl. 28; Blömer and Lätzer 2008, pl. 33.

⁷²³ Wagner 1976; Parlasca 1982; Skupinska-Løvset 1985, 101-129; Künlz 2001, 513-528; Parlasca 2005, 231-239.

⁷²⁴ Hoepfner 1966; Wagner 1983, 194; Facella 2006, 280; Blömer and Winter 2011, 100-105; Brijder 2014, 421-423.

⁷²⁵ Extensively published in the Asia Minor Studien, e.g. Winter 2011, 2017. Note that the recently started excavations at the urban centre of ancient Doliche (Keber Tepe) have already unearthed a mid-Imperial bath complex, with some sculptural fragments, in general see Blömer, Çobanoğlu and Winter 2019, 103–186. More sculptural evidence for the Roman period in Commagene derives from Sesönk (Hoepfner 1983, 67-69, pl. 39) and grave reliefs and rock-cut reliefs scattered across the landscape (Zeyrek 2007, 117-144; and Ergeç 2003 (South Commagene); Dörner and Naumann 1939, 47-50 pl. 9,1). See also Blömer 2012b.

Chapter 7. Transforming *Objectscapes* of Samosata (4th c. BCE - 1st c. CE).

7.1. Introduction: four vibrant objectscapes of Samosata

In this chapter, I distinguish and analyse the sequencing of four objectscapes in Samosata that together span a period between ca. the 4th c. BCE and the 1st c. CE. These consists of:

- *Objectscape 1*, consisting of the 4th -2nd c. BCE, pre-palatial material (section 7.2);
- *Objectscape 2*, consisting of the early 1st c. BCE, early palatial material (section 7.3);
- *Objectscape 3*, consisting of the mid-late 1st c. BCE, later palatial material (section 7.4); and
- *Objectscape 4*, consisting of the 1st c. CE, post-palatial material (section 7.5).

In the first place, then, this chapter provides a fairly conventional synthesizing overview of the archaeological evidence for this broad, circa four centuries spanning, period in Samosata, and it suggests a chronological development for the available material that itself contextualizes the palace in this development. However, this chapter also attempts to apply the theoretical and methodological notions that were presented in chapter 3 to the archaeological evidence of Hellenistic and early Roman Samosata, attempting to develop a new perspective on the impact of the witnessed material transformations. By reconceptualising the palace as a relational assemblage consisting of ‘vibrant’ elements, it is hoped to provide a forward-reading, ‘morphogenic’ understanding of cultural transformation in Samosata (see chapter 3). This chapter, then, understands the four successive ‘objectscapes’ not merely as archaeological phases but rather as synchronous assemblages whose relational capacities caused different types of vibrancy. Instead of understanding the object changes from one objectscape to another as merely representative of abstract socio-historical or (ethno)cultural-historical concepts such as ‘imperialism’, ‘urbanization’, or ‘Hellenization’, this approach emphasizes the impact of the observed object-change itself. In chapter 3, I have proposed four different ‘objectscope-proxies’, with which we can investigate the relational capacities and thus the vibrancy of each successive objectscape. These proxies are: 1) temporal and geographical genealogies (investigating the vibrancy of glocal relations); 2) materials and colours (investigating the vibrancy of materials and their relational capacities); 3) sensorial capacities (investigating the vibrancy of matter through the multi-sensorial capacities of objects and their place in ‘sensorial regimes’; and 4) radical alterity and representation (investigating the vibrancy of ‘ontologically unsettling’ objects). By analysing, for each objectscape, the changes of these four proxies in relation to their preceding objectscape, it is attempted to investigate the impact and vibrancy of material transformations through time.

Crucial to the argument of this chapter is the suggested separation of objectscape 2 and 3: an ‘early palatial objectscape’ dating approximately to the early 1st c. BCE (section 7.3) and a ‘later palatial objectscape’ dating to approximately the mid-late 1st c. BCE (section 7.4). This separation is based on the recurring evidence for at least two phases in the archaeological material of the palatial complex, witnessed in the evidence for the architectural lay-out (see paragraph 4.3.5), the architectural decoration (chapter 5) as well as the painted wall decoration (see paragraph 7.3.4). It should be emphasized again that the character and quality of the available legacy data does not allow for high-definition archaeology⁷²⁶, and the broad periodic sequencing of the four proposed objectscales in many ways already stretches the analytical possibilities of the material to its maximum.⁷²⁷

7.2. Objectscale 1 (4th-2nd c. BCE; pre-palatial)

In this section, I will discuss the archaeological evidence for the pre-palatial objectscale’ of Samosata, comprising of layers that broadly date to the 4th -2nd c. BCE.⁷²⁸ Four sectors on top of the *höyük* yielded evidence for this pre-palatial period: the so-called ‘torus-base structure’ in sector d-g/15-17, on the southwest of the *höyük* (7.2.1); the so-called ‘altar structure’ in sector f-g/17, directly east from the torus-base structure (7.2.2); the ‘curved step’ structure in sector k/16, below the palace (7.2.3); and pottery finds in sector u/9-10, on the north-east side of the *höyük* (7.2.4). I will discuss the material evidence for these four contexts separately, after which I provide an analysis of this objectscale according to the objectscale-proxies introduced in chapter 3 and in the introduction of this chapter (7.1).

⁷²⁶ Raja and Sindbaek 2018.

⁷²⁷ Paradoxically perhaps, I believe that the objectscale methodology has a particular value for patchy and low-definition legacy data such as those under discussion. Its theoretical, middle-range character and its zoomed-out investigation of *moyenne durée* change ideally functions as an analytical compensation for the dearth of high-definition evidence of the legacy data for Samosata.

⁷²⁸ Part of the evidence and arguments presented in this paragraph were already published in Kruijer and Riedel 2021. Özgüç published some of these findings in Özgüç 1996, 216; Özgüç 2009, 46-48.

7.2.1 The 'torus-base structure' in sector d-g/15-17, layer VI



Fig. 7.1. Map of the 'torus-base structure' in sector d-g/15-17, layer V, with indication of rooms, courtyard and entrances (red arrows). Source: Özgüç 2009 140, plan 13 (adapted by the author).

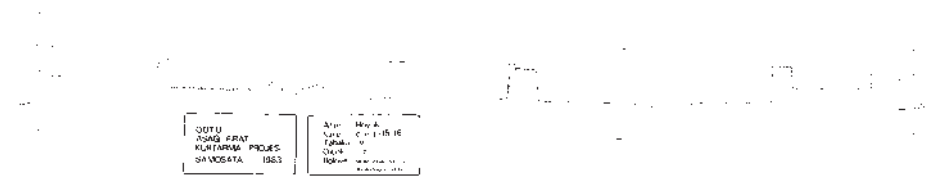


Fig. 7.2 Section A (see fig. 7.1) of the 'torus-base structure' in sector d-g/15-17, layer V. Source: Özgüç 2009, 141 plan 14.

The so-called ‘torus-base structure’ is located on the southwest edge of the *höyük* and assigned to periodic layer VI in the excavations of Özgüç (figs. 7.1-4).⁷²⁹ Its remains were placed directly on top of a level containing a mixed debris of Neo-Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian and Late Hittite material.⁷³⁰ The structure consist of a courtyard with at least three adjoining rooms in the north, east and west that were only partially preserved (see fig. 7.1). The central room I (ca. 14,0 x 4,5 m.) has a NW-SE orientation and opened to the courtyard in the SW with two simple torus-bases *in antis* set on plinths, at ca. 4,0 m. distance (fig. 7.4). South-east of this room a second large L-shaped space, ‘room II’ (ca. 10,0 x 9,0 m.) was located. It is possible that this area in fact consisted of multiple rooms or a corridor with rooms; the documentation and preservation does not allow for a definitive plan. Although not assigned as such by the excavators, it seems likely that west of the courtyard a third, space, ‘room III’ (size unclear) was partially excavated. By means of the ample space between the torus-bases *in antis*, room I was easily accessible and visible from the courtyard. In the east of room I, an entrance towards room II was located (see fig. 7.1, entrances indicated with red arrows). Further towards the south, room II could also be reached from the courtyard. A third entrance led from room II towards the NE; it remains unclear whether the structure continued in that area.

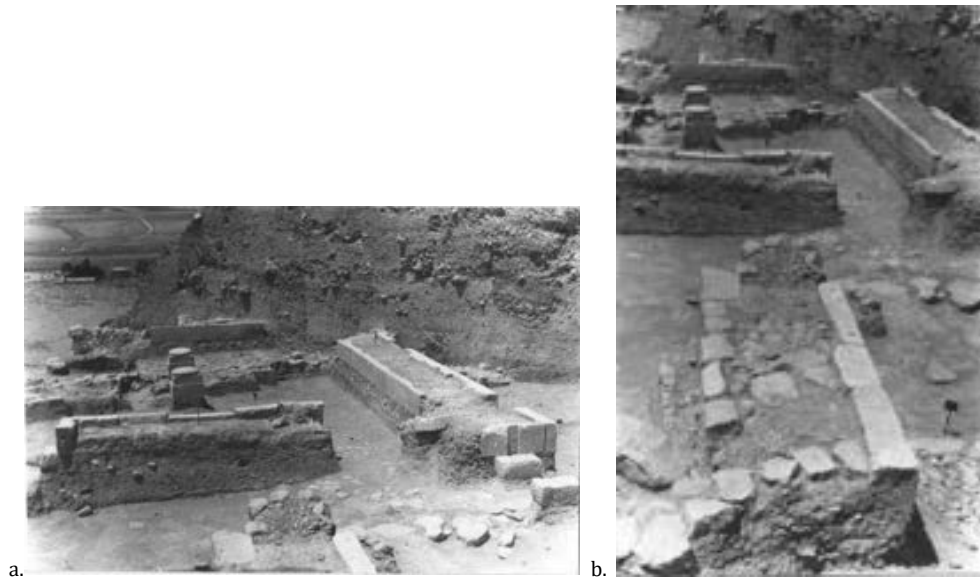


Fig. 7.3a-b. The ‘torus-base structure’ in sector d-g/15-17, layer V. Towards the NNW. Source: a: Özgüç 2009, pl. 119, 259 (originally published in negative); b: Özgüç 2009, pl. 120, 260a (originally published in negative).

⁷²⁹ Mellink 1984, 449; Özgüç 1996, 214; Özgüç 2009, 46–48. plans 13–14. pls. 119–120. 258–260b; Canepa 2011, 219–220; Canepa 2018, 109–110; Canepa 2021, 84. Note that the pictures of the structure provided in Özgüç 2009, pls. 119–120 were published in negative, creating a confusing image that did not correspond with the maps.

⁷³⁰ Özgüç 2009, 46.



Fig. 7.4. One of two torus-bases belonging to the 'torus-base structure' in sector d-g/15-17, layer V. Source: Özgüç 2009, pl. 120, 260b.

Throughout the structure, the walls are constructed with mudbrick combined with many medium-sized limestone fragments and pebbles. On the exteriors, the walls are covered with facings of smoothened limestone orthostats with an average size of 1,0 x 0.5 x 0.25 m., aligned and starting at a height of ca. 0,40 m. above the surface (fig. 7.3a-b).⁷³¹ The entrance in the NE furthermore contained reused limestone blocks which, according to Özgüç, '*partly bore late-Hittite hieroglyphic signs*'⁷³², with which she probably meant Luwian inscriptions (indicated on the section of fig. 2 with '*kayı eşiği*'). All in all, these remains seem to have made up the southwest part of a larger structure with a NE-SW orientation that faced the lower town in the west. Several authors have suggested that the structure was related to the 'altar structure' immediately to the east in f-g/17, something which indeed seems likely (see below).⁷³³

⁷³¹ Özgüç 1996, 213.

⁷³² *Idem*, 213–215; Özgüç 2009, 46.

⁷³³ Özgüç 1996, 216; Canepa 2021, 84.



Fig. 7.5 a-b. Ceramics from sector e-f/15-16, layer V. Source: by the author.



Fig. 7.6 Storage jar with circular decoration in red paint. Source: Özgüç 2009, pl. 122, fig. 263.

The pottery connected to the ‘torus-base structure’ (mainly from sector e-f /15-16, layer V, found, according to the excavators, in and on the floor of the structure⁷³⁴) contains a group of mostly body sherds that are characterized by thick walls, rather coarse fabrics made of a yellowish buff clay, and decorations of different types in red paint (fig. 7.5a).⁷³⁵ The decoration contains geometric motifs, floral designs and figurative elements that often consist of either human or gazelle depictions. Similar red-painted ceramics were attested in several sites in Cappadocia and Pontus, where they are dated to the very broad mid-late Iron Age period (ca. 6th-3rd c. BCE) often continuing into the early and mid-Hellenistic period.⁷³⁶ In nearby Tille Höyük, the red painted buff

⁷³⁴ Özgüç 2009, 47.

⁷³⁵ A thorough analysis of the Iron Age and Hellenistic-period pottery of Samosata is still desirable; here I selected a non-random sample of sherds for a very general overview.

⁷³⁶ Such red painted mid-late Iron Age wares with geometric motifs are for instance known from the Amasya Region, at Oluz Höyük (Dönmez and Naza-Dönmez 2009, fig. 37), where it continues into the Hellenistic-period with the so-called Galatian wares, cf. Özşait and Özşait 2003, 338, pl. 1.6. It is also attested in the late

fabrics are for instance widely attested for the Iron Age layers as well, and continuing into the 3rd and 2nd c. BCE.⁷³⁷ They are assumed to be locally produced. Another important group consists of the typical shallow ‘Hellenistic bowls’ with incurved rims covered with red and brownish paint, covering the inside and outside rims and shoulders (fig. 7.5b). These shapes are attested also in the wider Syrian region but are likely to have been locally produced.⁷³⁸ Not belonging to either of these groups is a storage jar in pinkish clay with fine sand inclusions has a bulging body, ring base and short cylinder-shaped neck and circular decoration in red paint (h. 25,0 cm.; diam. 21.2 cm; rim diam. 11.4 cm.), which was found in sector d/15, layer VI, in the floor level of SW corner of the torus-base structure (see fig. 7.6).⁷³⁹ A secure dating of the assemblage is problematic as there is an absence of non-local finds that can serve as clear chronological markers, however the examples from Cappadocia, Pontus and Tille suggest a general 4th-3rd c. BCE date. The very general, unspecified contextual character of the periodic layer as well as the appearance of especially the first ceramic group in the earlier layers VI and VII blurs the picture considerably.



Fig. 7.7. Stamped Rhodian amphora handle found, from sector e/17, layer IV. Source: Wagner Archive.

Iron Age layers of Gövezli Tepesi (Ergürer 2018, fig. 3); Dédik (Genouillac 1926, pl. 7: 10061, pl. 8: 10054); Büyükkale in Boğazköy/Hattuša (Genz 2000, 37-39, figs. 7,5, 9-10, 13; Genouillac 1926, pl. 9:10091), Kara Höyük (Genouillac 1926, pl. 1: 9807 and 9812, pl. 17: 9816) and Çadır Höyük (Genz 2001, 160-161, with fig. 4).

⁷³⁷ Blaylock 2016, 5; French et al. 1982, 173.

⁷³⁸ E.g. in *Antioch*: Christensen and Johansen 1971, 2; *Tarsus*: Christensen and Johansen 1971, 2; *Aşvan Kale*: French 1973; *Hama*: Christensen and Johansen 1971, 1 and 6 nos. 2-3 figs. 1-2; *Tell Mardikh/Ebla*: Mazzoni 1991, 92 fig. 7.8-13; Mazzoni 1995.

⁷³⁹ Özgüç 1996, pl. 37,6; Özgüç 2009, 47, st.83-360, pl. 122 fig. 263.

A stamped Rhodian amphora handle (l. 9,7; w. 7,7) found in sector e/17 - but in layer IV, so covering the 'torus-base structure' - might provide a further clue in terms of the dating of the 'torus-base structure' (see fig. 7.7).⁷⁴⁰ It contains the eponym Αριστόδαμος, who officiated in ca. 166/164 BCE.⁷⁴¹ As such, it is possible that the 'torus-base structure' was abandoned and destroyed in the course of the early-mid 2nd c. BCE. This stamp also provides an insight in the genealogies of objectscape 1 as the same Rhodian stamp is also attested in, for instance, Cosa in Italy⁷⁴², Alexandria⁷⁴³ Gözlü Kule (Tarsus) in Cilicia⁷⁴⁴, Tel Jezreel in northern Judea.⁷⁴⁵ More in general, Rhodian amphorae recur in Commagene, for instance in Arsameia on the Nymphaios, where two fragments of stamped handles from Rhodian amphorae date to the 2nd half of the 2nd c. BCE up to the early 1st c. BCE.⁷⁴⁶

The 'torus-base structure' has been interpreted as the remainder of a satrapal palace from the Achaemenid period⁷⁴⁷ or as a palace belonging to the reign of the Orontids of Sophene in the first half of the 3rd c. BCE.⁷⁴⁸ The latter interpretation has been favoured specifically by Matthew Canepa, who argues that the early Orontids in Greater Armenia abandoned old satrapal sites – such as Tille Höyük⁷⁴⁹ - and instead favoured sites with a long occupation history but without an Achaemenid satrapal phase.⁷⁵⁰ In this scenario, Canepa suggests that the torus bases would have evoked a concept of Persian architecture and kingship, something which is attested for the Orontids of Sophene in other instances as well.⁷⁵¹ Although Canepa's interpretation indeed conveniently fits the overall picture of 3rd c. BCE Orontid dynastic policy, the archaeological

⁷⁴⁰ Published in Zoroğlu 2000, 83, fig. 119, with n. 294.

⁷⁴¹ Finkielsztein 2001, 192.

⁷⁴² Will and Slane 2019, 144, cat. no. B5

⁷⁴³ Şenol and Şenol 2000, 404, no. 17.

⁷⁴⁴ Grace 1934, 219, fig. 2; Grace 1950, 141, no. 28.

⁷⁴⁵ Ariel 2014, 136,138. Other Rhodian amphorae found in Commagene derive from Arsameia on the Nymphaios and Doliche. See Dörner and Goell 1963, 244 and Wagner, 21-24.

⁷⁴⁶ Dörner and Goell 1963, 244–245.

⁷⁴⁷ Mellinck 1984, 448; Messerschmidt 2014, 330. See also the earlier excavation reports of Özgüç 1985, 221-228 and Özgüç 1986, 297-304; only later, the excavators, opted for an Early-Hellenistic dating.

⁷⁴⁸ Özgüç 1996, 213-216 (assigning the structure specifically to Samos I); Özgüç 2009, 41–48; Canepa 2018, 102-103, 109–110 and Canepa 2021, 84. Note that Facella 2006, 173 first assigns the structure to the Late-Persian period but later discusses 'un grande edificio' that was found 'nella parte sud-occidentale' which she dates to 'prima età ellenistica'.

⁷⁴⁹ Blaylock 2009, 157. 171–112; Canepa 2018, 25–28.

⁷⁵⁰ Canepa 2011, 219-220. See also Canepa 2021, 75: 'Samosata evinces an analogous pattern of development compared to Arsamosata in Sophene. Founded in the mid- to late-3rd c. BCE by Arsames, son of Samos I, it too had a similar gap between the Urartian and Hellenistic occupations. Still more, its use of 'sub Achaemenid' Persian architectural forms is conceptually continuous with Orontid structures in Greater Armenia, as is its location at a site of ancient significance without satrapal connotations.' Another argument in favour of this interpretation is another torus-base found at Arsameia on the Nymphaios, dating to the 1st half of the 3rd c. BCE (cf. Oenbrink 2017, 37–38; contra Messerschmidt 2014, 330 n. 37, who dates the base to the Achaemenid period). The torus bases from Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios do however differ in terms of their height and their proportion vis-à-vis the plinth, making a chronological comparison between the two problematic.

⁷⁵¹ Canepa 2011, 219-220; Canepa 2018, 109–112; Canepa 2021, 84.

evidence remains thin and interpretative caution must be warranted. Based on the very general Hellenistic-period dating of part of the associated ceramic material, it is possible that the structure was constructed already in the late Iron Age (ca. 4th c. BCE) and remained in use until the early 2nd c. BCE.

7.2.2 The 'altar structure' in sector f-g/17, layer VI



Figs. 7.8. The so-called 'altar-structure' in sector f-g/17 of the höyük. Towards the NNW. Source: Özgüç Archive.

There is only limited archaeological evidence for the so-called 'altar-structure' in sector f-g/17, layer VI; it was not well preserved and the excavators did not document it apart from a handful of pictures and short descriptions (figs. 7.8-11).⁷⁵² Like the torus-base structure, the altar structure was built directly on top of a layer with a mixed debris of Neo-Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian and Late Hittite material.⁷⁵³ The structure consists of three walls that together create a space of ca. 9,0 x 4,0 m. with a NE-SW orientation; no wall was found in the NE which would close this possible room. Just like the nearby torus-base structure in sector d-g/15-17, the walls of the 'altar structure' appear to be constructed in mudbrick and limestone pebbles and also contain smoothed limestone orthostat facings. Only in the north-western wall, a couple of limestone orthostats were

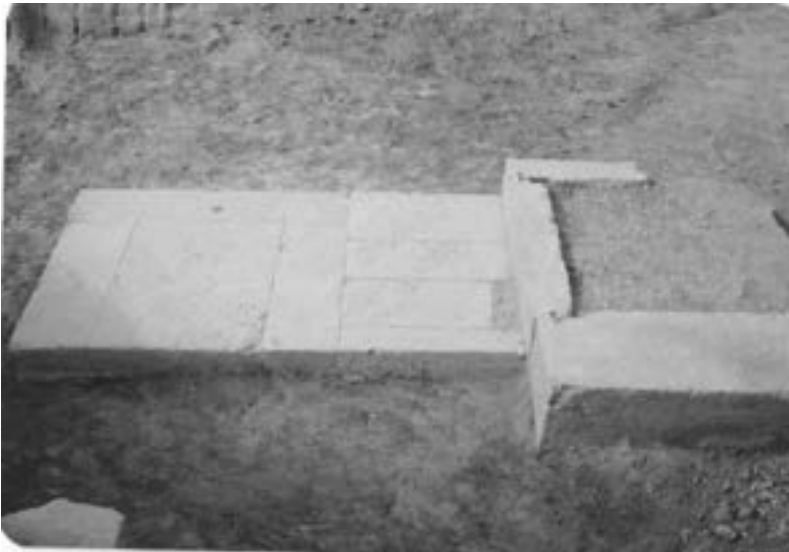
⁷⁵² Özgüç 1996, 213; Özgüç 2009, 41–46. See also Canepa 2018, 102–103; Canepa 2021, 84–86; Kruijer and Riedel 2021. No maps or drawings were made. The orientation of the structure can nonetheless be deduced from figure 8, which shows the east-west running border of the trench (the north of sector f-g/17).

⁷⁵³ Özgüç 2009, 46.

discovered *in situ*; in the south-western wall, all the orthostats fell backwards on top of the remainder of the mudbrick wall (fig. 7.8).



Figs. 7.9. The so-called 'altar-structure' in sector f-g/17 of the höyük. Towards the SW. Source: Özgüç Archive.



Figs. 7.10. The so-called 'altar-structure' in sector f-g/17 of the höyük. Towards the SE. Source: Özgüç Archive.



Fig. 7.11 The so-called 'altar-structure' in sector f-g/17 of the höyük. Towards the NW. Source: Özgüç Archive.

In the north-eastern extension of the north-western wall, an installation was unearthed that granted the structure its name (figs. 7.9 and 7.10). Instead of an altar, the elevated part, consisting of mudbrick and three large limestone orthostats, should however most likely be understood as the best preserved part and north-eastern (perhaps widening) end of the north-western wall. Further towards the north-east, a surface consisting of neatly fitting limestone slabs is most likely a threshold belonging to the north-eastern entrance to the structure.





Fig. 7.12a-d. Ceramics from sector g/17, layer VI. Source: by the author.

The ceramics found in relation to the 'altar structure', specifically in sector g/17, layer VI, can predominantly be assigned to the first group discussed in relation to the 'torus-base structure'; these are characterized by thick-walled, rather coarse fabrics made of a yellowish buff clay with decorations of different types in red paint (see fig. 7.12a-d). Most fragments are body sherds of large closed vessels; some vertical handles indicate the presence of amphora-type shapes (see fig. 7.12a and d). Also here, the decoration contains geometric motifs, floral designs and figurative elements with either human or gazelle subjects.



Fig. 7.13a-c. a: Neck of a crater with painted hunting scene found in the northern part of the 'altar structure'. b-c: front and side of jug with vertical handles and gazelle iconography. Source a: Wagner Archive b+c: pictures by the author.

From this group, we can single out two craters with remarkable and well preserved painted decoration (see figs.7.13a-c). One is a neck fragment of a crater containing painted decoration depicting a hunting scene, in so-called silhouette style (see fig. 7.13a).⁷⁵⁴ The elongated neck (h.

⁷⁵⁴ Özgüç 1996, st.89-107, pl. 38. 1-3; Özgüç 2009, 47, pl. 123 fig. 266.

38,0 cm.; diam. 34,0 cm.) with protruding rim and long vertical handles shows a hunter on a galloping horse directing his spear towards what is probably a gazelle, while a dog chases another gazelle at the bottom. The other crater (fig. 7.13b-c) was almost completely preserved, with a shorter neck and bulging body, with two vertical handles that start at the rim and end at the belly.⁷⁵⁵ The crater has a slightly protruding rim and a flat base. This crater also contains abundant gazelle iconography in red paint onto the yellowish buff surface, albeit not in the form of a hunting scene. The central scene rather depicts a continuous frieze of what appear to be date trees that are each adjoined by two gazelles facing in the same direction. This silhouette or animal style ceramics is widely attested for the mid-late Iron Age in Cappadocia and the Pontic region but, like the red-painted buff wares, might have still been produced in the early-mid Hellenistic period as well.⁷⁵⁶

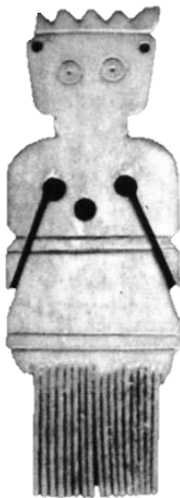


Fig.7. 14. Anthropomorphic ivory comb found in the 'altar structure'. Source: Özgüç 2009, pl. 125, fig. 268.

Like for the torus-base structure, the excavators mention the presence of reused late-Hittite stone reliefs with (Luwian) inscriptions; it is not clear which fragments they refer to.⁷⁵⁷ Özgüç also mentions a large amount of white and green glazed bricks or tiles which were found in association with the 'altar structure'.⁷⁵⁸ It is not clear whether these indeed were originally integrated in the 'altar structure' or merely findings belonging to the layer onto which the structure was placed.

⁷⁵⁵ Özgüç 2009, 47, pl. 124 fig. 267a-c.

⁷⁵⁶ Early examples are attested in Büyükkale II in Boğazköy/Hattuša (cf. Opificius 1965; Genz 2000, 53, figs. 14-15) and Gordion (Sams 1994). In general, see Özkaya 1995.

⁷⁵⁷ Özgüç 2009, 46-47.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibidem*. For pictures of these glazed bricks/tiles, see Özgüç 2009, pls. 125-126, figs. 269-270.

The 'altar structure' also yielded an anthropomorphic ivory comb (see fig. 7.14).⁷⁵⁹ The comb (l. 8,5 cm.; w. 3,1 cm.) has twenty narrow teeth, of which three were missing. Both sides of the handle have the same carved imagery of a human subject with an angular head, a schematic indication of hair, two circular eyes and the suggestion of shoulders, arms and hands placed along the body and perhaps the suggestion of a skirt with horizontally carved lines.

Taken together, the evidence for the 'altar structure', and especially its high quality limestone orthostats and slabs, suggests that it was part of a representative structure. The ceramic assemblage is very similar to that of the nearby 'torus-base structure' (ca. 10 m. to the west), although, compared to the latter context, the absence of 'Hellenistic fish plates' in the former context is remarkable. The similar wall technique and decoration as well as the identical NE-SW/NW-SE orientation make it probable that the 'altar structure' belonged to the same large representative structure on the south-west part of the *höyük* as did the 'torus-base structure' (see above). None of the ceramic and small finds from the 'altar structure' can be dated with any certainty, but following the very similar ceramic finds from Cappadocia and Tille Höyük (see paragraph 7.2.1), and assuming the structure indeed belonged to the 'torus-base structure', it is likely that it was in use approximately during the 4th-3rd c. BCE.

⁷⁵⁹ Özgüç 2009, 48, st. 89-110, pl. 125, fig. 268.

7.2.3 'Curved step structure' in sector k /16, layer VI



Fig. 7.15. Pre-palatial structure indicated in light grey in sector k/16, underneath the palatial structure, indicated in dark grey. Map by the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 plan 12).

The third context with structural remains belonging to the objectscape 1 is the so-called 'curved step structure' located in sector k/16, in layer VI, underneath the tessellated mosaic of room XIV of the Late-Hellenistic palatial structure of layer V (see fig. 7.15).⁷⁶⁰ These remains consist of slightly curving stairs (W56, see appendix A) made of several small stones and adjoining walls (W53/54/55/62/101) with a different alignment (NEE-SWW) than the later palatial complex. The limited preservation and documentation of this structure do not allow for any far-reaching conclusions concerning its dating, overall size and character. The masonry, however, seems to differ from the 'torus-base structure' and the 'altar-structure' (for both, see above) as there is no evidence for the use of smoothed limestone orthostats nor mudbrick walls. It is therefore likely that this structure does not belong to the building phase of the large representative building on the southwest sector of the *höyük*.

⁷⁶⁰ Although visible in the plans of the palatial complex, this small structure remains unmentioned throughout the publications on Samosata by Özgüç 2009, Zoroğlu 2000/2012 and Bingöl 2013. See also Kruijer and Riedel 2021.

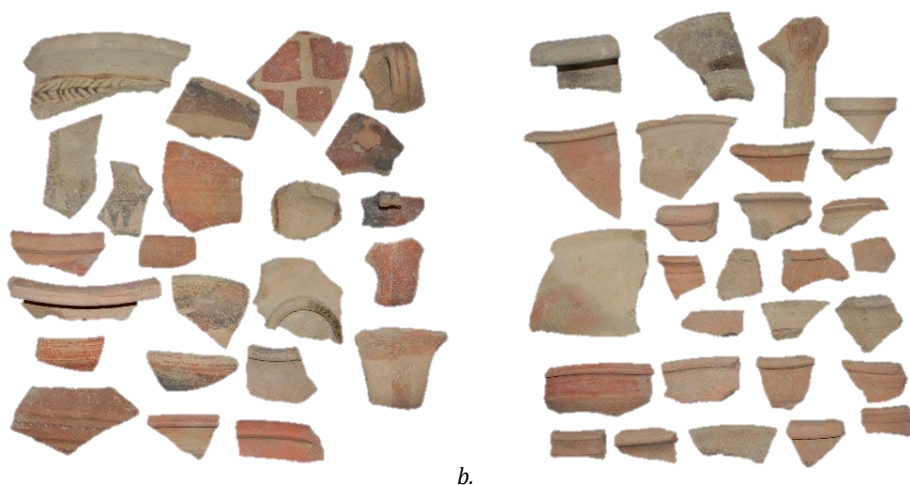


Fig. 7.16a-b. Ceramics from sector k/16, layer VI. Source: by the author.

The ceramic evidence connected to the ‘curved step structure’ in sector k/16, layer VI, indicates a similar picture as it is more varied than the assemblages connected to the ‘torus-base structure’ and the ‘altar-structure’ (see fig. 7.16a-b). Only a handful of fragments belong to the group of thick-walled, rather coarse fabrics made of a yellowish buff clay with decorations of different types in red paint, which was found in large numbers in the previous two sectors (7.2.1 and 7.2.2). Here, the decorations are less elaborate compared to the previous two contexts. Again, however, these fragments seem to belong to large vessels, and the presence of vertical painted handles indicates the occurrence of amphora-like forms. Some rim fragments and body sherds belonging to the typical shallow ‘Hellenistic bowls’ with incurved rims were equally attested. Far more numerous however are less shallow bowls made of a similar buff clay with few inclusions, with simple protruding rims and a mat light red painted surface. As in the other two pre-palatial contexts (7.2.1 and 7.2.2), the ceramic material lacks non-local finds that can serve as clear chronological markers, but the overall picture again allows for a broad 5th-2nd c. BCE date. The lack of any ceramics firmly dated to the late 2nd - early 1st c. BCE – for instance ESA – has important implications for the dating of the superimposed palace, as it allows for an early 1st c. BCE dating (as also argued for in paragraph 4.3.7)

7.2.4 Pottery finds in sector u/9-10, layer VII

In sector u/9-10, Hellenistic-period ceramic material was found in Özgüç’s layer VII (see fig. 7.18a-d), which, in other sectors, could be dated to the Iron Age but here looks very similar to the

previously discussed layers V and VI. As such, it is likely that this layer belongs to objectscape 1 as well. The sector is located at the north-east slope of the *höyük* and hence its potential structural remains were probably all eroded. The ceramic material however shows an interesting combination of pottery types also attested in the other three previously discussed pre-palatial contexts, while also yielding some evidence for non-local finds that might serve as chronological markers.

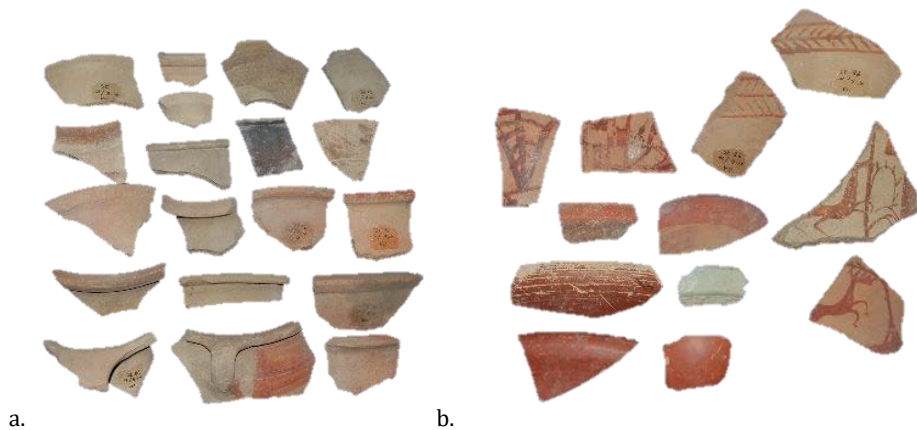


Fig. 7.17a-b. Pottery from sector u/9-10, layer VII. Source: by the author.

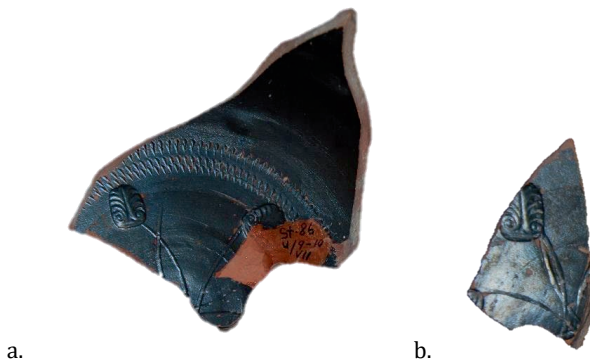


Fig. 7.18a-b Attic black-glazed pottery from sector u/9-10, layer VII. Source: by the author.

The ceramic material contains a considerable amount of the thick-walled, rather coarse fabrics made of a yellowish buff clay with decorations of different types in red paint (see fig 7.17b), which were found in large numbers in the previous three sectors. Next to this are some rim fragments belonging to the well attested Hellenistic fish plates, covered with red paint. Less shallow bowls attested in k/16, layer V, in connection to the 'curved step structure' were equally attested (fig.

7.17a). Two fragments of Attic black-glazed pottery were furthermore found and allow for a more precise dating (fig. 7.18a-b). These two fragments might derive from the same kylix, bowl or plate and contain an interior design of stamped palmettes placed within rouletting. Close parallels derive from the Athenian agora and can be dated to the last quarter of the 4th and beginning 3rd c. BCE.⁷⁶¹ The mixed and probably rather contaminated character of layer VII in sector u/9-10 however makes it difficult to draw any further conclusions concerning the dating of the other ceramics and structures. Nonetheless, the sporadic fragments do indicate some sort of material link and supra-regional genealogies to the Mediterranean in the Early-Hellenistic period. This is also attested in other Commagenean sites such as Tille Höyük and Arsameia on the Nymphaios, where, however, the numbers of imports are equally low.⁷⁶²

7.2.5 Analysis

Although the evidence is rather sketchy and haphazard, it is possible to analyse objectscape 1 in terms of the four proxies introduced and defined in chapter 3 and in the introduction to this chapter (7.1), looking at 1) temporal and geographical genealogies (investigating the vibrancy of glocal relations); 2) materials and colours (investigating the vibrancy of materials and their relational capacities); 3) sensorial capacities (investigating the vibrancy of matter through the multi-sensorial capacities of objects and their place in 'sensorial regimes'; and 4) radical alterity and representation (investigating the vibrancy of 'ontologically unsettling' objects).

Temporal and geographical genealogies. In terms of architectural features, the use of torus-bases and smoothened limestone orthostats in the large structure on the SW edge of the *höyük* (comprising of the 'torus base structure' and the 'altar structure') are most notable. If the suggested 3rd c. BCE dating is approximately correct, the use of these features should be considered the appropriation and activation of forms that were developed already centuries before. The limestone orthostat wall facings likely had the capacity to evoke a building tradition

⁷⁶¹ Rotroff 1997, 309–310 nos. 635–653. 330–331 nos. 874. 877. For a detailed study of the ceramics from the '*Atelier des petit estampilles*' see still Morel 1969.

⁷⁶² For Tille Höyük, see French et al. 1982, 173. A few black glazed sherds dating to the Early-Hellenistic period including one probable piece of Athenian West Slope are mentioned. French 1984, 247 merely mentions the occurrence of black-glazed pottery. French 1985, 213 mentions many such sherds found at the site but it is well possible that these were locally or regionally produced, as he does not mention a place of origin. This idea seems to be confirmed by Blaylock et al. 1990, 117 where the pottery of Tille Höyük is connected to the findings at Antioch on the Orontes, adding local wares '*from the Tille material*'. Cf. also Blaylock 2016, 66 who, on the basis of the pottery, suggests only a gradual turn towards the Mediterranean from the later 4th c. BCE onwards. It is however possible that this turn started already earlier, as a handful of black-gloss fragments are considered Mediterranean imports or imitations of 'western models' and are dated to the late 5th c. BCE (cf. Blaylock 2009, 63). This however still concerns only a very limited amount; Blaylock 2016, 201–203 lists only 26 pieces for the whole Iron Age period with a '*late emphasis*' (Blaylock 2016, 62). For three black-glazed sherds from Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see Dörner and Goell 1963, 236 nos. 1–2 and Hoepfner 1983, 6. 92 no. 6.

that developed already during the Middle Bronze age in Northern Syria and became particularly ubiquitous in the Early Iron Age of Upper Mesopotamia.⁷⁶³ Its initial function, protecting the otherwise vulnerable mudbrick walls from weathering, through time, had likely become entangled with concepts of monumentality, ceremonial space and royalty, especially through its later use in the courtyards and interior spaces of Late-Assyrian palaces.⁷⁶⁴

A similar drawing on earlier building traditions is witnessed in the adoption of the torus-base, which was developed in northern Syrian (late) Hittite architecture of the early Iron Age and is found in north Syrian sites such as Karkamiš, Zincirli, Tell Taynat and Zamaghara.⁷⁶⁵ The torus bases would later become strongly entangled with a concept of Persian royal culture, as it was enthusiastically adopted in the palaces of Pasargadae in Palace S and in the Darius Gate in Susa.⁷⁶⁶ It is not unlikely that the use of torus-bases in Samosata was an active attempt by the Orontids of Sophene at evoking a concept of Persian royal culture in the 3rd c. BCE, a cultural scenario of ‘Persianism’ also well attested in other places for this dynasty.⁷⁶⁷ It should however be noted that other Hellenistic-period contexts throughout Eurasia often involved the adoption of torus bases as well (e.g. the Oxus temple at Taht-i Sangin⁷⁶⁸, the central complex of Ai Khanoum⁷⁶⁹, the rock-cut tombs of Paphlagonia⁷⁷⁰ and Ağıcıkışi near Taşköprü/ Pompeiopolis⁷⁷¹, and, perhaps, the residence at Meydancıkale in Cilicia⁷⁷²) thus perhaps again watering down the Persian connotation. The widely attested integration of the torus-bases as elements that are placed *in antis*, providing entrance between a central courtyard and an elongated room that runs along the length of the court, is neatly adhered to in the torus-base structure in Samosata. It might be suggested that that, *if* the glazed bricks found in association with the ‘altar structure’ indeed adorned the walls of the large representative edifice that stood on the SW edge of Samosata’s *höyük*, these provide us with another architectural element that tied in with an older building tradition stood on the SW edge of Samosata’s *höyük*, these provide us with yet another architectural element that tied in with an older building tradition that was deeply entangled with a concept of Persian royal culture. With these considerations in mind, we might furthermore hypothesize that, besides fulfilling their basic functional role as architectural *spolia*, the re-used

⁷⁶³ Semper 2004.

⁷⁶⁴ Harmanşah 2013, 157-162, with many examples.

⁷⁶⁵ Naumann 1955, 130-132; Wesenberg 1971, 87-116.

⁷⁶⁶ Stronach 1978, 56-106, pls. 54-56, 73-75; Ladiray 2010, 181-195, figs. 169, 188; Boucharlat 2010, 420-443; Wesenberg 1971, 104-111.

⁷⁶⁷ As already suggested in Canepa 2011, 219-220; Canepa 2018, 109-112; Canepa 2021, 84. For ‘Persianism’, see Strootman and Versluys 2017.

⁷⁶⁸ Litvinskij and Pičikjan 2002, 75-83, pls. 7-9, 15, 16.

⁷⁶⁹ Hoo 2018 with further literature.

⁷⁷⁰ Von Gall 1966, 113-116, fig. 29; Summerer and Von Kienlin 2010, 195-221.

⁷⁷¹ Von Kienlin 2011, 215-216, pl. 1.1, 2.

⁷⁷² Held and Kaplan 2015, 184, which the excavators date to the Persian period arguing unconvincingly that the Early-Hellenistic Ptolemaic rule of Meydancıkale excludes the possibility of a Hellenistic dating.

limestone blocks with Late-Hittite Luwian inscriptions found in the 'torus-base structure' in a similar way activated a more general sense of a deep past (rather than necessarily evoking Persian kingship). Their specific, seemingly targeted integration in the NE entrance of that structure might indeed suggest some degree of awareness of the deep historical, local entanglements of these blocks.⁷⁷³

As such, the limestone orthostats, the torus bases and perhaps also the glazed bricks and reused Late-Hittite blocks imbued objectscape 1 with deep genealogical links to building traditions that, in fact, almost all had been originally developed in northern Syria itself. Hence, these architectural elements together in principle provided objectscape 1 with a strongly local and regional signature. Many of these elements, however, seem to have come down to 4th-2nd c. BCE Samosata in an evolved, further developed manner: it is likely that these architectural elements had acquired conceptual connections to concepts of non-local and non-regional royal culture through their Late-Assyrian or their Persian palatial genealogical phases. The 3rd c. BCE access to and application of such forms therefore demonstrates some degree of supra-regional connectivity for objectscape 1.

The pottery associated with objectscape 1 demands a more detailed study for its full potential to be appreciated but some broader characteristics can be formulated here already. In general, the pottery assemblage predominantly seems to follow local and regional developments. This is most evident for the group of ceramics with thick walls, rather coarse fabrics made of a yellowish buff clay, and decorations of different types in red paint, which was most likely locally produced but in terms of shape and decoration was attested also in Cilicia and Pontus. It was found in large amounts in all the four discussed contexts, but seems to be specifically associated with the large representative structure on the SW edge of the *höyük* that comprises of the 'torus-base structure'

⁷⁷³ This would fit with contemporary, 3rd-2nd c. BCE Near Eastern examples of intentional integrations of antique building materials and the integration of these materials in a meaningful way. In the Seleucid theatre of Babylon, bricks were re-used that carried stamps with Nebuchadnezzar's name and derived from the long gone Esagila temple (Ristvet 2014a, 259-260). In the 2nd c. BCE palace of Adad-nadin-ahhe, at Telloh, ancient Lagash, the foundations and statues of a 3rd millennium BCE structure were reused and consciously reconstructed and imitated (Bahrani 2014, 217-224); temples in Uruk too adopted older layouts, consciously suggesting a sense of continuity and connection to the deep past (Kose 1998). In Samosata, the appropriateness for the liminal location of these spolia perhaps lay in these blocks' potential at transforming spatial movement into temporal movement, entering from a mundane present into an 'extra-temporal' or 'infinite' space, cf. Bahrani 2014, esp. 99-100. Bahrani contemplates how tell sites of the Near East inevitably caused encounters with traces of the past each time a building was reconstructed. Such encounters with objects from the deep past potentially opened up *'the dizzying mise en abyme of deep time (...) They re-emerge as liminal objects or apparitions from a space that is not part of the world of the living, but not the funerary realm of the netherworld (...) It is not the space of death; it is the obverse or opposite of the space of life, of the realm of the living, and it is somehow known to continue for all time'*. Although such meanings and functions remain unproved, we may at least understand their integration in objectscape 1 as indicative of another active engagement with the materials, styles and visual concepts of the early Iron Age.

and the 'altar structure'. As mentioned before, this type of pottery featured in the 4th – 2nd c. BCE layers V and VI (or VII in u/9-10), but also occurred in large quantities in the older, Iron Age layers. As such, its strong presence in the 4th–2nd c. BCE layers indicates a 'performed continuity' of Iron Age local ceramic production.⁷⁷⁴ The specifically high quality of the sherds belonging to this pottery type in the large SW structure, where the painted decoration is most elaborate, perhaps suggests that this pottery type participated in a similar mechanism of performing much older, Iron Age traditions, in a similar vein as discussed for the architectural features above. The other large group of ceramics comprises of the so-called 'Hellenistic bowls' with inverted rim, which are most likely locally produced but in its formal adoption indicates a supra-regional connection. The only evidence for imported ceramics in objectscape 1 derives from sector u/9-10 and comprises of two (perhaps related) fragments of Attic black-glazed pottery with an interior design of stamped palmettes and rouletting, probably dating to the late 4th and early 3rd c. BCE, as well as the stamped Rhodian amphora in sector e/17, layer IV, dating to the 2nd c. BCE. All in all, the ceramic evidence of objectscape 1 shows a complex combination of seemingly continued local ceramic styles with the local production of supra-regional forms and some, but probably very limited, integration in supra-regional (Mediterranean) trade networks.

Materials and colours. The objectscape contains a large amount of white limestone, visible in the well-executed torus bases, the orthostats and the slabs that adorn the northern entrance of the 'altar-structure'. Although some caution should be exercised, the lack of traces of paint on these limestone surfaces seems to suggest that their whiteness was indeed a principle characteristic of the objectscape, something for instance also recurring in the ivory anthropomorphic comb (see fig. 7.15). The pottery shows a more bi-chromic 'colourscape' consisting of yellowish buff and red tones, witnessed in the figurative depictions as well as the partially colour-coated 'Hellenistic bowls'.

Sensorial capacities. The tactile capacities of the objects making up objectscape 1 furthermore might be deduced from the finely cut and smoothened limestone elements, which show no evidence for deep reliefs, appliques or other types of irregular surfaces. Even the ivory comb contains only a very limited and shallow degree of relief, with an overall emphasis on relatively large flat fields. The ceramic evidence too is characterized by flat surfaces, and only the stamped palmettes and rouletting of the Attic black gloss fragments (fig. 7.18c-d) contain a shallow relief.

⁷⁷⁴ I use the phrase 'performed continuity' here because it is well established that terms like 'continuity' or 'tradition' often obfuscate and simplify complex social processes that lie behind the adoption of older forms or forms that are perceived as such now or in antiquity. See Giddens 2000. Ristvet 2014a, 155-158 rightly warns for Orientalist views of an unchanging 'traditional' Near East, for which see still Said 1978. Connerton summarizes the issue of the emergence of 'tradition' and 'continuity' well when he says that the '*very act of restituting a presence to what was past produces something new.*' (Connerton 2011, 122).

The only evidence for the surface of floors derives from the threshold of neatly cut limestone slabs (figs. 7.9-10). Otherwise there is no evidence for the material, visual and tactile qualities of the floors in this objectscape; it is however likely that these consisted of packed earth surfaces that were covered with textile carpets.⁷⁷⁵ Earthen floors are high-maintenance; to keep them dry, even, dry, salubrious and debris-free demanded an ongoing routine of upkeep and care, entangling humans individuals to the floors in a profoundly mutually dependent relation.⁷⁷⁶

Radical alterity and representation. When considering the role and character of representation in objectscape 1, the available imagery, mostly deriving from the painted ceramics, appears to rely primarily on schematized and two-dimensional figuration. The elaborate painted depictions on the yellowish buff ceramics portray animals, plants and humans in a flat and largely undetailed manner; there is no suggestion of depth as all figuration is set in the same two-dimensional field (fig. 7.13a-c). This emphasis on schematized and two-dimensional figuration is also witnessed in the flat anthropomorphic ivory comb (fig. 7.15), that only provides the most and essential of figurative elements (eyes, rounded shoulders, dentil-shaped hairs) for it to become anthropomorphic. In all these representations, furthermore, we can observe the blurred boundaries between the ontological status of objects, plants, animals and humans. Take for instance the same ivory comb, an object made of an animal-derived material which has taken on human form and functions as a human-object entity.⁷⁷⁷ On the ceramics, we see how the use of one and the same colour of paint for human, animal, vegetal and geometric subjects creates a flat ontology in which all figurative subjects are made out of the same substance and together form alternative ontological entities (fig. 7.13a-c). Especially the hunter, his horse and his spear together are rendered in one uninterrupted painted form and thus seem to become one singular entity, just like the dog and his gazelle prey below it. On the other gazelle scene, we furthermore observe how the date trees curve in a parallel fashion to the necks of the gazelles, and how the overall composition makes us focus not on separate gazelles and separate date trees but rather on an entity consisting of one date tree adjoined by two gazelles, infinitely and rhythmically repeating in the circular frieze.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁵ See paragraph 9.3.3.2 of this dissertation for a discussion of evidence for packed earth surfaces and the use of textiles in comparable palatial contexts of the region.

⁷⁷⁶ For similar notions of maintenance and care, see Hodder 2011. Hodder 2014, 20 summarizes the basic idea well when he states: '*Because humans rely on things that have to be maintained so that they can be relied on, humans are caught in the lives and temporalities of things, their uncertain vicissitudes and their insatiable needs*'.

⁷⁷⁷ For the 'living presence' of anthropomorphic objects, see Gell 1998; Van Eck 2010, 642–59. See also Alberti 2018.

⁷⁷⁸ For a discussion of 'circular repetition' in the visual culture of the Near East, see Bahrani 2014, 115–144. She discusses the visual effects of repeating figurative motifs, for instance on vessels (Bahrani 2014, 130–132) but also on cylinder seals (Bahrani 2014, 128–130). She suggests there are powerful ontological implications to 'circular repetition', especially in terms of its implicit infinity of representation or the infinite

Conclusion. In conclusion, objectscape 1, as far as we can reconstruct, is characterized by a wide variety of actual or performed manifestations of a deep local past, be it through the re-use of Late-Hittite limestone blocks with Luwian inscriptions, the use of limestone orthostats or the continued local production of red-painted figurative wares. The objectscape has an overall strong emphasis on local and regional connections, with architectural elements that connect to a deep regional tradition as well as an almost absence of ceramic imports. The objectscape does however provide some indications for supra-regional connections through Attic black glaze imports, the widely attested ‘Hellenistic bowls’, and the local particularization of the universalized torus base. The objectscape has a general recurrence of limestone, a bi-chrome and probably white colour palette, and a preference for smooth, flat surfaces. Lastly, the objectscape comprises of a type of representation that emphasizes schematized and two-dimensional figuration, in which the ontological boundaries between objects, animals, plants and humans are often blurred.

7.3 *Objectscape 2 (early 1st c. BCE; early palatial)*

In this section, I will synthesize and analyse the archaeological evidence for the early 1st c. BCE objectscape 2, largely comprising of the first construction phase of the Late-Hellenistic palatial complex. In the previous chapters, I have already described and discussed in detail the palace’s architecture (chapter 4), its mosaic decoration (chapter 4), its painted wall decoration (chapter 4), its architectural decoration (chapter 5), and its sculptural evidence (chapter 6). This section therefore is less descriptive than the previous section as it will mostly provide an ‘objectscape synthesis’ of the already presented evidence according to material groups. This means I will consider and discuss the main characteristics of the architecture (7.3.1), the mosaics (7.3.2), the architectural decoration (7.3.3), the wall painting (7.3.4), and the ceramics (7.3.5). After this, I will analyse objectscape 2 in terms of the proxies introduced in the introduction (7.3.6) and compare these to the analysis of objectscape 1 (7.2.5).

7.3.1 *Architecture*

Here, I will briefly synthesize the evidence for the architectural features of the large palatial complex, located in layer V of sector i-m/14–20, at the south-eastern part of the *höyük* (see the map in appendix D1). The NNE-SSW oriented structure was at least 1700 m² in size and erected

in representation: *‘It has a peculiar power. In being a fragment of an extending continuity, it compels our knowledge of a potential infinite.’* (Bahrani 2014, 129).

on multiple newly constructed terraces that progressively decreased in height towards the NE. The different 'height zones' created through this micro-terracing largely correspond to wings of interconnected rooms and/or corridors within the structure (*zone 1*: rooms I-V; *zone 2*: rooms VI-IX; *zone 3*: rooms X-XIII, XIX and corr. A4-5; *zone 4*: rooms XIV-XV and corr. A3; *zone 5*: corr. A1-2; *zone 6*: corridor B1-4. See the map in appendix D9). The walls of objectscape 2 are wide (ca. 1,50 m.) and almost all constructed with limestone fieldstones. Throughout the structure, these walls are covered by a layer of painted plaster (see 7.3.4), although this is more abundantly attested in zones 1, 2, 4 and 5 and (almost) not in zones 3 and 6.

The architectural lay-out is characterized by a long narrow corridor (B1-4) that runs along the entire western periphery of the structure and holds an open water drainage that descends towards the NE. This peripheral corridor was probably unroofed and largely inaccessible from the rest of the spaces within the palace. A series of five small rectangular roofed rooms in zone 1 (rooms I-V) creates a symmetrical suite with internal access but only limited entrances leading out of the suite (probably in rooms II, III and V). The large space east of this symmetrical suite was a large roofed space (room XIV). This combination indicates that the lay-out of the structure was characterized by at least a double layer of rooms (the symmetrical suite of rooms I-V plus room XIV) around a potential open court further east of room XIV. This double layer consisting of a larger space with a suite of smaller rooms behind it is repeated almost in identical manner towards the south with the larger roofed room XV and roofed rooms VI-IX, perhaps also forming a symmetrical suite, behind it. In the north (zone 3) the situation is less clear but seems to consist of small rooms and several corridors, creating a double or even triple layer of rooms as well. Based on the lacking evidence for features such as staircases, it is assumed that the structure did not contain a second floor.

7.3.2 Mosaics

Many of the floors of the palace contained tessellated or pebble mosaics that were placed on layers of mortar. The retrieved examples of tessellated mosaics all derive from zones 1, 2, 4 and 5, while the pebble mosaics derive from the unroofed corridor B (F9 in zone 6). Some of the tessellated mosaics are executed in bi-chrome dark-grey/white geometric patterns such as the chequerboard motif (F2 in room II, F5 and F6 in corr. A3, and F7 in corr. A2, see descriptions in chapter 4 and the map in appendix D1). These bi-chrome geometric patterns are all located in corridor(-like) contexts. The use of black-and-white chequerboard-mosaics is widely attested in pebble mosaics of the open courtyards and passages of the northern Syrian palaces of Arslan Tash⁷⁷⁹ and Tell

⁷⁷⁹ Thureau-Dangin et al. 1931, 43–44.

Ahmar⁷⁸⁰, at Tille Höyük⁷⁸¹ and Karkemish on the Euphrates⁷⁸², and at Ziyaret Tepe⁷⁸³ and Assur on the Tigris River^{784, 785}. The execution of this very local/regional and ancient decorative motif in the entirely novel tessellated technique should be regarded a remarkable innovation in Samosata that is otherwise unattested in the wider north-Syrian region.

The other retrieved tessellated mosaics are executed in the so-called 'concentric border style' and contained figurative *emblemata* in their centre (F1 in room 1, F3 in room VIII, F4 in room XIV, with a destroyed *emblemata* that contained glass tesserae; F8 in room XV; and F18 in sector s/11 of the *höyük*, see descriptions in chapter 4 and the map in appendix D1). The concentric border mosaics contain bands with geometric patterns consisting of the meander motif (in F1, in perspective with red tesserae; F3; and F4), the stepped pyramid motif (in F1; F3; F4; and F8), the wave-crest motif (in F1; F3; F4; F8; and F18), the saw-tooth motif (in F3; F4; F8; and F18), the crenellation motif (in F3; F8; and F18) and illusionistic cubes (in F8; and F18).

Concentric border mosaics containing such geometric motifs are widely attested in 2nd and early 1st c. BCE Eastern Mediterranean contexts such as Pergamon and Delos, where they consisted of exceptionally large amount of concentric bands.⁷⁸⁶ In Commagene, the mosaics from the so-called 'Mosaic Rooms' in the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios show very close parallels, while mosaic fragments from Güzelçay indicate the existence of another Commagenean dynastic context with similar concentric mosaics.⁷⁸⁷ In the wider region around Commagene, the concentric border mosaics are not attested; tessellated mosaics in general are rare in eastern Anatolia, Syria and the wider Near East.⁷⁸⁸ The geometric motifs witnessed in Samosata all belong to a set of geometric motifs that had become widely standardized and global by the 2nd c. BCE, and often used in concentric border mosaics, although the specific combination of geometric motifs and their sequencing is never exactly the same. For some motifs we see specific standardized norms however⁷⁸⁹, which are adhered to in the mosaics of Samosata; illusionistic cubes always demand a wider band than the other motifs⁷⁹⁰ and the crenellation motif is almost always found in the outer border of the concentric scheme (see chapter 10 for a more in-depth analysis of the integration and impact of the crenellation motif in Samosata). Although a formal dating of the

⁷⁸⁰ Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, 24, plan B, pl. 42.1.

⁷⁸¹ Blaylock 2009, 134–38.

⁷⁸² Marchetti 2016, 37a, fig. 13.

⁷⁸³ Matney et al. 2002, 69–70, fig. 25–27.

⁷⁸⁴ Miglus 1996, 96–97.

⁷⁸⁵ For pebble mosaics in the Neo-Assyrian period in general, see Bunnens 2016.

⁷⁸⁶ Dunbabin 1999, 32.

⁷⁸⁷ For Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see Lavin 1963. The mosaic fragments from the private collection at Güzelçay have not yet been published in detail but for this collection, see *infra*, n.165.

⁷⁸⁸ Haug 2021, 542.

⁷⁸⁹ Scheibelreiter 2005, 762–763; Zapheiroupolou 2006, 115–116.

⁷⁹⁰ For these illusionistic cubes or lozenges in perspective, see Moormann and Swinkels 1983, 239–262.

concentric scheme and its motifs is difficult because of its widespread occurrence during a long period of time (from approximately the late classical to the Roman period), it can be cautiously suggested that the high quantity of concentric borders attested in Samosata fits more to a 2nd c. BCE-early 1st c. BCE eastern Mediterranean tradition than the more modest framing methods that generally develop in the mid-1st c. BCE.⁷⁹¹ The visual impact of such elaborate borders – functioning as a captivating maze or a visual trap that potentially slowed down the eye and the mind⁷⁹²– increased with the amount of borders and was thus fanatically exploited in Samosata.



Fig. 7.19a-c. Details of the frieze with a fish mosaic. Source: the Wagner Archive.

The only preserved mosaic *emblemata*, containing figurative depictions in *opus tessellatum* (sometimes using relatively small tesserae), were found in F1 in room I and F8 in room XV. The *emblemata* of F1 is framed in a frieze with contrasting fish of different size and types as well as fine foliage, all against a white background (fig. 7.19a-c).⁷⁹³ The fish are likely edible luxury fish.⁷⁹⁴ The *emblemata* itself contains two dolphins with sharp teeth symmetrically flanking an orange-red Rhodian amphora in the centre, executed in a wide palette of coloured tesserae and placed against a dark background (fig. 7.20a-b). The rendering of especially the fish and the dolphins is very realistic in style and full of coloured detail; the fish are executed in a palette of brown, yellow, black, green-brown, dark brown and pink. The tondo of F8 contains a depiction of an orange-red satyr-like comic mask of an old bearded man wearing a laurel wreath, also placed against a dark background.⁷⁹⁵ A wide colour palette and the use of relatively small tesserae (no *vermiculatum*) is used to indicate details such as wrinkles, shadows and strains of hair in the beard. The tondo itself has a border with a stylized Ionian cymation and lies at the centre of a square panel with naturalistic vegetal decoration set in an elaborate square concentric scheme.

These figurative *emblemata* fit to a contemporary phenomenon of the 2nd c. BCE and early 1st c. BCE in which tessellated and figurative polychrome mosaics start appearing in large amounts

⁷⁹¹ Westgate 1999.

⁷⁹² Following the ideas about the visual techniques of geometric decoration of Gell 1998, esp. 73-95. For a more in-depth application of these ideas see the case-studies of chapters 8 and 9.

⁷⁹³ See chapter 4 of this dissertation for a more detailed description.

⁷⁹⁴ Especially the larger fish depicted on the longer side of the mosaic can most likely be identified as a type of bass, which occurs in the form of freshwater types in the Euphrates. See Çiçek et al. 2015.

⁷⁹⁵ See chapter 4 of this dissertation for a detailed description and chapter 10 for a case-study.

throughout the Mediterranean.⁷⁹⁶ In the eastern Mediterranean, this type of mosaics first and mainly occur in high-status Hellenistic residences such as the palatial complexes of Pergamon, Alexandria and Ptolemais, whereas in the western Mediterranean, they occur specifically in elite domestic contexts of the Italian peninsula.⁷⁹⁷ The figurative mosaics of Samosata should be considered local adoptions of contemporary globalized techniques, forms of presentation, image themes and visual formula/image schemes that were used in a contextually specific manner but fitted to a supra-regional consumption pattern witnessed in similarly elite and palatial contexts. In terms of technique, the use of *opus tessellatum* with varying sizes of tesserae, sometimes relatively small, fits to the overall image of figurative polychrome mosaics in the eastern Mediterranean, where a broader spectrum of techniques was in use than the *opus vermiculatum* witnessed in the western Mediterranean.⁷⁹⁸

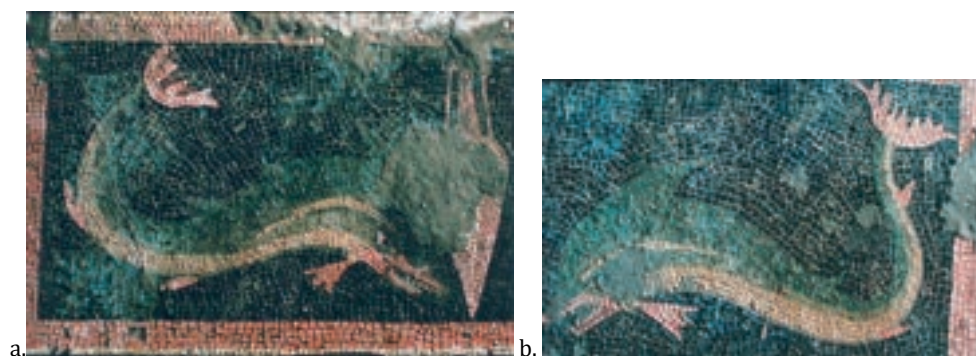


Fig. 7.20a-b. Details of the emblema with dolphin and Rhodian amphora, F1 in room I. Source: Wagner Archive.

Let us first briefly consider the genealogies, meanings and local applications of the iconographic elements of F1. Fish mosaics are widely attested on the Italian peninsula, but can be regarded a more supra-regional phenomenon as well, with examples throughout the wider Mediterranean.⁷⁹⁹ Dolphin iconography is also widely attested in a wide variety of contexts in the Mediterranean with a strong point of gravity on Delos, with floors dating to the late 2nd c. - early 1st c. BCE (e.g. the House of the Masks, the House of the Dolphins).⁸⁰⁰ When combined with amphorae, as in the

⁷⁹⁶ Zapheiroupolou 2006; Haug 2021, esp. 543 and annex I, an addendum to the overview provided in Zapheiroupolou 2006.

⁷⁹⁷ Zapheiroupolou 2006; Haug 2021, 543. It should be noted that the high amount of specimens in domestic contexts from the Gulf of Naples to some extent may be the result of a methodological bias.

⁷⁹⁸ Haug 2021, 558.

⁷⁹⁹ For fish mosaic on the Italian peninsula, see Gullini 1956, 20–32; De Puma 1969; Meyboom 1977. For a more global perspective, see Haug 2021. This important study gives ample attention to the mosaics with fish and dolphin-like creatures from Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios. In her overall analysis, Haug excludes Nilotic mosaics, still lifes with dead fish, and mythological scenes including fish.

⁸⁰⁰ *House of the Masks* (end of 2nd/beginning 1st c. BCE): Bruneau 1972, no. 215, figs. 184–195. *House of the Dolphins* (around 150 BCE (Haug); 130–88 BCE (Dunbabin)): Bruneau 1972, no. 210, fig. 168, pl. B, 1–2; Dunbabin 1999, figs. 34–35. See also Haug 2021, 555–557.

case of Samosata, they generally are considered to refer to trade.⁸⁰¹ The motif recurs in an almost identical manner in the 'Mosaic Rooms' of the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁸⁰²

Placing the fish mosaics in an elaborate concentric border scheme is more typical for the eastern Mediterranean (e.g. the fish mosaic in 'palace IV' in Pergamon).⁸⁰³ On the one hand, the concentric bands with geometric patterns might have created a visual competition with the marine setting of the *emblema* as the carpet-like quality of the concentric bands suggested a more indoor environment.⁸⁰⁴ On the other hand, however, the use of two wave-crest bands around the fish-and-dolphin *emblema* perhaps in some way blurred the conceptual boundaries of indoors and outdoors.⁸⁰⁵ Haug has argued convincingly that the mosaic of room I in Samosata implies the remarkable combination of two image concepts – dolphins and swimming fish – that in other Eurasian contexts, without exception, are kept separate.⁸⁰⁶ Whereas the dolphins, in combination with the dark background and the amphora evoke the idea of a maritime world as well as maritime trade (and the wealth and general connectivity associated with this), the frieze of swimming fish, against a white background, and framed by the carpet-like concentric borders, are typical for representations of indoor luxury dining.⁸⁰⁷

The iconographic element of F8, the satyr-like comedy mask of an old bearded man wearing a laurel wreath, is less easily understood as an expression of a distinctly local concept or practice, as there are for instance no signs for the existence of theatre practice or Dionysiac cults in Commagene.⁸⁰⁸ Like the iconographic elements of F1, however, the mask should be considered a particularization of a glocal iconographic motif (satyr-like comedy masks), glocal techniques (an *opus tessellatum* with relatively small tesserae), and glocal visual formula/image schemes (the concentric border scheme and the tondo), that all widely occurred in elite contexts on a supra-regional scale throughout the Mediterranean around the 2nd c.-early 1st c. BCE. Like the remarkable thematic combination of F1 (see above), the variations on the globalized mask theme in F8 are rather spectacular as well: it uniquely combines an isolated satyr-like mask with a circular tondo and an elaborate concentric border scheme. Furthermore, the strict frontality of the mask is unusual when compared to most of the known mask mosaics, and, together with the concentric

⁸⁰¹ Haug 2021, 558.

⁸⁰² Lavin 1963, pl. 44A; Bingöl 1997, fig. 71; Brijder 2014, fig. 179a. See paragraph 10.5.1 of this dissertation for more about the 'Mosaic Rooms' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

⁸⁰³ Andrae 2003, 140; Kopsacheili 2012, 160–166.

⁸⁰⁴ As argued for eastern Mediterranean fish mosaics in concentric border schemata in Haug 2021, 554

⁸⁰⁵ Following the argumentation about the semantic and formal impact of geometric borders in concentric border designs in Bahmer 2015.

⁸⁰⁶ Haug 2021, 555–557. She demonstrates how dolphins occur often on fish mosaics of the east, but here are mostly set against a white background and not in relation to luxury food. Rather they function as visual signs that refer to the marine world.

⁸⁰⁷ *Idem*, 557: 'The combination of two different image concepts – dolphins and swimming fish – is spectacular.'

⁸⁰⁸ See chapter 9 for an in-depth analysis of the mask mosaic, its iconographic genealogy and its integration and impact in Samosata. Here I offer only a summary of the arguments and conclusions developed there.

scheme, this potentially triggered a whole set of visual effects that were novel to the glocal iconographic theme. Thus, mosaic F8 also shows, on the one hand, the adoption of contemporary glocal visual themes, available on a supra-regional scale, but, on the other hand, also a very specific local variation and combination of these elements.

7.3.3 Architectural decoration

The architectural decoration of objectscape 2 comprises of the Commagenean Corinthian Capital Order I and the decorated limestone doorframes (*'Türlaibungen'*) containing the vegetal motif of bound tre-foil garlands of olive (or laurel) leaves. Both architectural elements are already discussed in detail in chapter 5 so I will here only shortly synthesize this evidence with specific attention for the objectscape proxies mentioned in the introduction of this chapter.

Nine capital fragments are assigned to Oenbrink's Corinthian Order I (ID292, ID513, ID518, ID522, ID526, ID527, ID528, ID529, ID679, see chapter 5) and generally dated to the late 2nd or early-1st c. BCE by Oenbrink.⁸⁰⁹ In terms of form and syntax, these Corinthian capitals largely follow a globalized repertoire and closely stick to contemporary developments of Corinthian capital production in Asia Minor. This adherence to a supra-regional forms and structural composition is for instance witnessed in its use of two circulating folia, the rendering of the acanthus leaves (with droplet-like eyelets, the use of individual leaflets and four to five lobes per leaflet), the rendering of the caulis-knot (the simple form of the roundel) and the parallel fluting of the caulis-stem. An important parallel derives from the re-used capitals of the column monument of Sextus Appuleius in Klaros (west Anatolia).⁸¹⁰ According to Oenbrink, the workshop responsible for the Corinthian Order I largely follows a universal repertoire of forms and does not show any inclination towards the integration of alternative regional or local variations into this glocal formal composition.⁸¹¹

The architectural decoration of objectscape 2 is furthermore characterized by the decorated limestone doorframes (*'Türlaibungen'*) containing the vegetal motif of bound tre-foil garlands of olive (or laurel) leaves. Four fragments (ID517/588/613/614, see chapter 5) were described and discussed in chapter 5, where I have suggested that they potentially adorned the wide entrance from corridor A2 leading into room XV. The only other example of this decorative motif placed on door lintels derives from the *hierotherision* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios and also occur in the private collection of Neşet Akel, probably belonging to a Commagenean dynastic sepulchral

⁸⁰⁹ Oenbrink 2021, 169-172. See chapter 5 for more detailed descriptions and analyses.

⁸¹⁰ Hoepfner 1983, 73; Oenbrink 2017, 51, referring to *i.a.* Rumscheid 1994, 19 f. 32, 93, 152).

⁸¹¹ Oenbrink 2021, 170.

context near Güzelçay Köyü.⁸¹² Beyond these parallels, the decorative motif of tre-foil garlands of olive or laurel leaves is attested on a variety of materials and media but never on doorframes.⁸¹³ Especially from the late 3rd c. BCE onwards, the bound version of the motif starts appears in great quantity, often in relation to Seleucid dynastic visual culture, most notably on coins, but also on architectural ornaments of Seleucid monuments.⁸¹⁴ By the 2nd c. BCE, the motif might therefore have acquired the capacity to signal concepts related to the Seleucids, as for instance witnessed on a sculptural frieze in Pergamon.⁸¹⁵ In the early 2nd-1st c. BCE, the motif also starts appearing further east, for instance on bowls and rhytons belonging to the Parthian silverware treasures I and II.⁸¹⁶ After Seleucid power declined in the region, the motif continued to be used on architectural decoration, for instance on a frieze of the Khazne Firaun in Petra (last quarter 1st c. BCE).⁸¹⁷ These parallels suggest that, by the 1st c. BCE, the vegetal motif of bound tre-foil garlands of olive (or laurel) leaves had acquired a strongly supra-regional, glocal signature, and potentially had developed a relation to a concept of Seleucid royal power. Its occurrence on a doorframe is a Commagenean innovation, that was applied in at least two other dynastic contexts in Commagene besides the palace of Samosata.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹² For the possible *hierotheresion* at Güzelçay, see *infra*, n.165. For Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see: Oenbrink 2017, 99 no. A195. pl. 29,2.

⁸¹³ The earliest examples occur on red-figured ceramics from ca. 400 BCE where its appears in a non-bound version, cf. Pfrommer 1993, n. 367. In the 3rd c. BCE, the same motif appears throughout the Mediterranean, on a Ptolemaic gilded glass cup (Brussels, Musées Royaux E8034. Adriani 1967, 122. pl. 7A.), a faience skyphos (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum JE 10479. Breccia 1912, 80–81 no. 233. pls. 45. 65.) and a bronze *cista* from Palestrina (Italy) (cf. Copenhagen, National Museum 778. See the 1968 Museum catalogue, page 93). Pfrommer 1993, 37–39 deals extensively with the development of the motif on a variety of materials in his study of the Parthian silverware treasures and this paragraph strongly draws on his findings. Pfrommer proposed a different chronology of the motif's biography than Callaghan 1980, 33–47.

⁸¹⁴ *Coins*: Pfrommer 1993, n. 382 for instance mentions Houghton 1983, 27 no. 404. pl. 22. *Seleucid architectural ornamentation*: e.g. a red-clay *simā* from Seleucia on the Tigris from the 3rd c. BCE (Hopkins 1972, 132–133 figs. 44–46.). For approximately the same period, see also the grave reliefs from Tyre (Seyrig 1940, 120–122) and a stele from Sidon (Callaghan 1980, 45 fig. 2,3).

⁸¹⁵ The motif appears on a shield ornament depicted on a weapon frieze of the Athena precinct in Pergamon, (2nd c. BCE.), which represented weapons captured by the Attalids, possibly after the battle of Magnesia against the Seleucids in 190 BCE. See Pfrommer 1993, 38.

⁸¹⁶ Pfrommer 1993, treasure I: nos. 1, 2, 17, 74; treasure II: nos. 69, 70, stag rhyton 74.

⁸¹⁷ Schmidt-Colinet 1980, 217 fig. 32. For the dating, see Kropp 2013, 199–205.

⁸¹⁸ The only other example of the motif on a doorframe was found on a block reused in a wall foundation in the sanctuary of Bel in Palmyra (late 1st c. BCE or early 1st c. CE), dating later than the doorframe fragments from Samosata. See Seyrig 1940, 285–289, multiple fragments: fig. 5. pl. 29,2. 30 (left). For the dating see Seyrig 1940,

279–282. See also Gawlikowski 2015. Note that Pfrommer 1993 also refers to the adyton-fronton of the temple of Bacchus in Baalbek, which, however, is a 2nd c. CE structure and thus beyond our chronological scope.

7.3.4 Wall painting

Objectscape 2 contained painted plaster decoration with imitations of ashlar masonry, luxurious panelling in coloured stone veneers and decorative elements of stone walls.⁸¹⁹ In chapter 4, I have presented in detail the evidence for *in situ* wall painting in the palace, with descriptions that link to the figures of these wall paintings in appendix A. Here, I will synthesize this evidence, and supplement it with a couple of *ex situ* fragments of wall painting as well.⁸²⁰ In chapter 4, I have already tentatively proposed the existence of two different wall decoration phases, which I maintain here as a division between objectscales 2 and 3. This differentiation is primarily based on the existence of two different wall types – rubble masonry with medium-sized limestones and a fine mudbrick - of which the latter is used in several instances to close off entrances (see chapter 4). The lack of any evidence for re-plastering should of course make us cautious, although I believe that the apparent correlation of the later mudbrick walls with the use of an otherwise unattested iconographic motif, the diamond-shaped lozenge, makes the proposed differentiation significant and worthwhile (see 7.4.2).⁸²¹

Evidence for wall painting belonging to objectscale 2 derives from room I (W9), room II (W2), room III, (W11), room XV (*i.a.* W28), room XVIII (W37) and corridor A2 (W20 and W21). The paintings on these walls are organized in a design that has a tripartite structure, consisting of 1) a socle with a continuous plinth or with isodomes, 2) a central band with alternating wide and narrow orthostats, with a frieze on top and 3) an upper band, containing a layer of isodomes, a frieze, or panels with stone imitations. Of these, only the socle and central bands have been preserved *in situ*. The wall decoration consists of plaster painted in a wide palette of colours (mostly red, yellow, and white but also burgundy, blue, light blue and green) and does not contain any convincing indications of plaster modelled in relief, nor any use of the diamond-shaped lozenge motif or natural stone imitations.⁸²² The *ex situ* fragments of painted plaster assigned to

⁸¹⁹ In scholarship, a wide array of terms is used often interchangeably to indicate the decoration of walls by means of plaster that has been moulded and/or painted (e.g. 'wall painting', 'painted (or coloured) stucco', 'painted (or coloured) plaster', 'plaster decoration', 'moulded plaster', 'stucco', 'fresco'). Although labels like 'wall plaster' and 'stucco' are synonymous, others in fact indicate important differences, such as the difference between plaster that has been moulded in relief versus flat painted walls that render the illusion of three-dimensional relief in two dimensions. See also Kidd 2018, 5.

⁸²⁰ The *ex situ* fragments cannot be assigned with certainty to a specific palatial objectscale but, for matters of convenience, are discussed under objectscale 2. See paragraph 7.2.3.

⁸²¹ Note that Bingöl also distinguished between two types of wall painting in the palace of Samosata (Types A and B), for which the presence of the diamond-shaped lozenge (as well as triangular and trapezoid socle decoration) was the defining characteristic of type B. Bingöl 1997, 111-113. Bingöl did not consider these two types as different chronological phases however.

⁸²² As I will suggest in 7.2.3, it is possible that the latter two elements were only introduced in objectscale 3. The occurrence of two small *ex situ* fragments of stamped stucco with cymation moulding (chapter 5, ID523 and ID524) should make us cautious but the evidence is too meagre to argue for the existence of elaborate plaster modelled in relief.

the palace furthermore indicate that two layers of plaster were used: 1) a coarse layer (width ca. 2,0 cm.) with many inclusions of small stones and reed impressions on the reverse, and 2) a very fine layer (width ca. 0,4 cm.) without visible inclusions.

In room I, W9 contains a central band with alternating wide and narrow orthostats in alternating red and yellow, and contrasting frames in red and yellow (appendix A, fig. LXXXVIII). In room II, W2 contains a socle with isodomes alternating in red and yellow with contrasting frames in red and yellow. Above it, begin the central zone with alternating wide and narrow orthostats in alternating red and yellow, and contrasting frames in red and yellow (appendix A, fig. IV). In room III, W11 contains a continuous socle in yellow with a central band with alternating wide and narrow orthostats on top. The wide orthostats alternate in red (with light blue framing) and yellow (with red framing), while the narrow orthostats are in burgundy. The yellow orthostats contain depictions of red pomegranates with green foliage (appendix A, figs. LXXXVI/ LXXXIX/ XC).⁸²³ In room XV, W28 and other walls contain a socle with yellow isodomes with red framing, followed by an uninterrupted light blue band, with a central band on top, that consists of orthostats alternating in red and yellow with contrasting framing in red and yellow (appendix A, figs. XCIV/ CXXVI/ XCII/ XCIII/ XCV). In room XVIII, W37 seems to have contained an orthostat with yellow and red, but the painting is poorly preserved (appendix A, figs. XLIV/ LXX). In corridor A2, W20 and W21 contain a socle with red isodomes with yellow framing and a central band with alternating wide and narrow orthostats in red (with blue framing) and yellow (with red framing). The narrow orthostats are rendered in blue, with yellow framing (appendix A, fig. V).

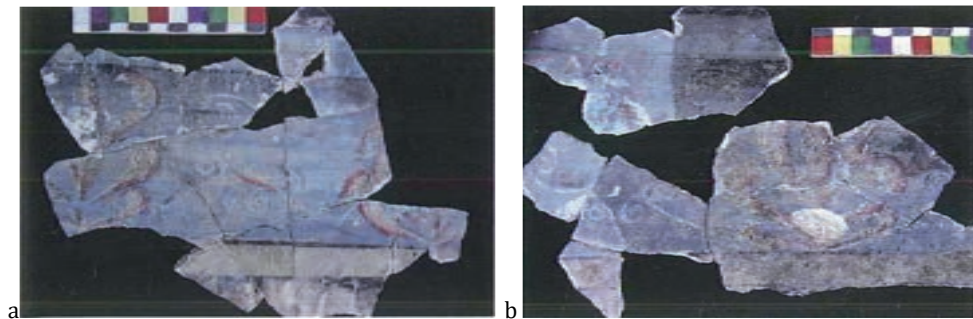


Fig. 7.21a-b. Painted plaster frieze with light yellow acanthus leaves against a light blue background, with cymation moulding. Source: the Wagner Archive.

Let us now turn to the *ex situ* evidence for wall painting that can be connected to the palace. It is difficult to assign these fragments to either objectscape 2 or 3, but these fragments do provide us

⁸²³ Bingöl 1997, 112, fig. 77; Bingöl 2013, 34 figs. 34–35.

with elements of the decorative scheme that have otherwise not been preserved, especially of the higher zones of the tripartite structure. In figure 7.21a-b, two *ex situ* fragments of painted plaster that most likely belonged to the main band of the frieze zone above the orthostats are shown. They contain a continuous palmette frieze in fine yellow, red and white lines with subtle suggestions of shadow and relief, placed against a light blue background.⁸²⁴ The frieze is framed by an Ionic cymation moulding below it.



Fig. 7.22. Painted plaster fragment with yellow isodome and red framing. Source: the Wagner Archive.

A very similar Ionic cymation moulding of the fragment in fig. 7.22 suggests that this fragment was located right below a frieze similar to that of fig. 7.21a-b and thus also part of the frieze zone above the orthostats.⁸²⁵ Below the cymation moulding runs a smaller band with a string-course of narrow bevelled-edge blocks in yellow with red framing, which is the colour scheme that recurs most in the painting of objectscape 2. The bevelled-edge is indicated with very fine white and black lines that create the illusionistic effect of a relief that is illuminated from the right top and casts a shadow at the left bottom. Below this band runs yet another band (width. ca. 14 cm) with vine leaves rendered very realistically in light green against a dark background.

⁸²⁴ Bingöl 1997, 116 fig. 83; Bingöl 2013, 52–53 figs. 72. 74.

⁸²⁵ Bingöl 1997, 114 fig. 80; Bingöl 2013, 108 fig. 168.

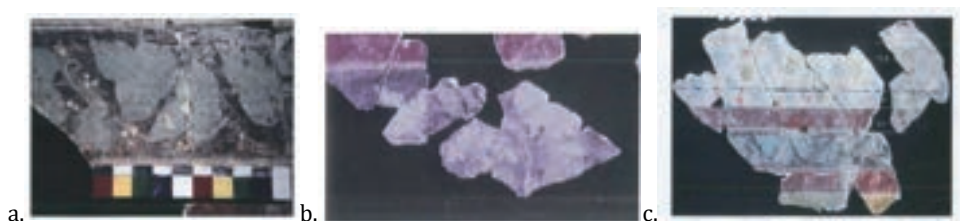


Fig. 7.23a-c. Painted plaster with a band of vine leaf decoration. Source: the Wagner Archive.

Such bands with continuous strips with ivy leaf decoration rendered in light green against a dark background are attested on three other *ex situ* fragments as well, where they are of equal size (fig. 7.23a-c). The detail of the ivy leaves is remarkable, with the stems, veins, lobes and fingers of the leaves clearly and realistically rendered. In some fragments, the grapes, rendered in yellow, are also indicated (fig. 7.22a).⁸²⁶ The fragments of fig. 7.21-23 together suggest that the total frieze zone consisted of a frieze and at least two extra bands. The fragment of fig. 7.23c shows how the band with vine leaves also occurred in a different frieze scheme, as there it is framed with two red borders and a larger band with luxury stone imitation, rendered in white with blue, red and yellow inclusions on top. It is likely that the latter field was an alternative to the string-course of narrow bevelled-edge blocks in yellow witnessed in fig. 7.22.



Fig. 7.24. Painted plaster with fields of stone imitation. Source: the Wagner Archive.

Such luxury stone imitation is also witnessed in other *ex situ* fragments, such as in figure 7.24, which contains isodomes with alabaster-like imitation with long waving veins in white, orange-red, yellow, dark grey and light blue.⁸²⁷ Like the *in situ* paintings of objectscape 1, the field is

⁸²⁶ Bingöl 2013, 47–48 figs. 63–64.

⁸²⁷ Bingöl 1997, 115 fig. 81. Note that Bingöl describes the fragments as ‘*Marmorierten Quader*’ (115).

framed with plain red and yellow borders. This fragment might have belonged to one of the bands in the frieze zone above the orthostats or to the upper zone of the decorative scheme.

These fragments of *in situ* painted wall decoration from objectscape 1 can be assigned to the so-called 'Masonry Style', which is widely attested on walls and ceilings across the Mediterranean, and is characterized by painted decorations depicting *trompe-l'oeil* imitations of monumental ashlar masonry, luxurious panelling in coloured stone veneers and decorative elements of stone walls, often in three- to five- partite schemes.⁸²⁸ In the late 4th c. BCE, early examples of the Masonry Style appear in the houses of Olynthos in Greece, the Hieron of Samothrace in the Aegean, and in tombs of Macedonia.⁸²⁹ In these early instances, we already encounter stone imitations in very structured decorative schemata, sometimes with hints towards illusionism by means of the use of stucco relief and painted suggestion of shadows and three-dimensionality.⁸³⁰ From the 3rd c. BCE onwards, the Masonry Style becomes more widespread, now appearing in Alexandria⁸³¹, South Russia (Kerch)⁸³² and the Greek mainland and its islands, specifically Delos.⁸³³ Important comparanda in Asia Minor are found in Ephesus⁸³⁴, Kolophon⁸³⁵, Halikarnassos⁸³⁶, Priene⁸³⁷,

⁸²⁸ A useful brief introduction to the Masonry Style is provided in Westgate 2000, 397-400. A thorough and up-to-date analysis of the Masonry Style across western Afro-Eurasia so far is unfortunately lacking however. See also Bruno 1969, 305-317; Laidlaw 1985.

⁸²⁹ *Olynthos*: Robinson and Graham 1938, 297-299. *Hieron of Samothrace* (ca. 325 BCE): Lehmann 1964a, 267-286. *Macedonia*: Gossel 1980; Brecolaki 2006 (Tomb of Lefkadia). I will not deal here in detail with the debate concerning the supposed 'origin' of the Masonry Style, which has been assigned to *i.a.* Athens, Delos and Alexandria, cf. Bulard 1988, 91ff; Pagenstecher 1917, 20ff; Bruno 1969, 305-317. This scholarly debate developed from a quest for the 'origin' of the first Pompeian/Campanian style, but, like I argue here for the paintings of Samosata and in general in this dissertation, this quest for 'origins' seems to be missing the point as, by the 2nd c. BCE, we seem to be dealing with local adoptions and adaptations of a global phenomenon. Fragaki 2003, 257-258 explains this development very well in her assessment of the origins of the first Pompeian/Campanian style, stating: '*On a distingué dans la peinture et l'architecture de cette période, aussi bien en Orient qu'en Italie, des tendances communes qui se retrouvent plus tard sur les murs pompéiens. Au sein de cette koine hellénistique, on a repéré différents systèmes décoratifs à zones qui évoquent, malgré leurs particularités et leurs divergences, le Premier Style pompéien. En ce sens, ce style aurait des précurseurs et des variantes aussi bien en Afrique du Nord, en Syrie, en Asie Mineure, en Grèce, en Macédoine, en Thrace et en Russie du Sud qu'en Italie.*' Contra Laidlaw 1993, 227-233, who holds that the Masonry Style was inherently different from the First Pompeian/Campanian style. See also Strocka 1996; 2007; Bragantini 2014; Moormann 2018.

⁸³⁰ Note, however, that for instance most of the houses of Olynthos contain only very flat and monochrome wall decorations, with painted or incised incisions and only very sporadic relief decoration. Only one house yielded a decorated frieze. See Westgate 2000, 400.

⁸³¹ Venit 2002. For the tombs of Anfushy, see Adriani 1952, 55-97; Adriani 1966, 191-197; Venit 2002, 73-90; Helmbold-Doyé 2009, 5-56; Fragaki 2021.

⁸³² Rostovtzeff 2004.

⁸³³ *Delos*: Chamonard 1922-1924, vol. 8, fig. 83, 98-169 (The House of the Masks); Bezerra de Meneses 1970, 151-193 (The House of the Comedians).

⁸³⁴ Strocka 1977; Zimmermann 2005.

⁸³⁵ Holland 1944, 137ff.

⁸³⁶ Hinks 1933, 8 fig. 4-5.

⁸³⁷ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 308ff; Raeder 1983, 21 pl. 1.

Assos⁸³⁸, Pergamon⁸³⁹, Magnesia on the Maeander⁸⁴⁰, Miletus⁸⁴¹, Erythrai⁸⁴² and Knidos^{843, 844}. In Syria, the Levant and Judea, the Masonry Style is furthermore attested in the 'Painted House' of Beidha⁸⁴⁵, the late-Hellenistic Stuccoed Building of Tel Anafa⁸⁴⁶, the Western Quarter at Gamla⁸⁴⁷ the 'Petit Serail' in Beirut⁸⁴⁸, the 'House of the Painted Frieze' in the insula of Jebel Khalid⁸⁴⁹, as well as in Iraq el-Amir⁸⁵⁰, Akko⁸⁵¹, Mareshah⁸⁵², in the Hasmonaean palace-complex at Jericho⁸⁵³, and in the closely related 'Mosaic Rooms' of the *hierotherision* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios.⁸⁵⁴ Clearly, by the early 1st c. BCE, the Masonry Style was widespread across the Mediterranean and Levant and had become a global, supra-regional phenomenon. Ruth Westgate emphasizes that, by the 2nd c. BCE, the range of decorative possibilities within this Masonry Style had basically exploded: *'By the second century, the flat decoration which was usual at Olynthos was found only in rooms of secondary importance; there had clearly been a process of inflation at work, which had the effect of widening the range of available possibilities, and hence the range of distinctions that could be expressed in the decoration.'*⁸⁵⁵

Most of the Mediterranean examples of masonry style wall painting referred to above, however, belong to what Bingöl has termed the 'First Eastern Style', a sub-style of the Masonry Style which is characterized by the elaborate use and combination of painted decoration with plaster modelled in relief, the use of incisions, and a four- or five-partite scheme.⁸⁵⁶ In contrast, Bingöl has suggested that the wall decoration of Samosata rather belonged to the less widely attested 'Second Eastern Style', which deviates from the 'First Eastern Style' by its strictly tri-partite scheme and its exclusion of stucco relief and incisions.⁸⁵⁷ Besides the painted plaster walls of Samosata, Bingöl

⁸³⁸ Clarke et al. 1902, 113.

⁸³⁹ Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, 47, 52, pl. 4, 7.

⁸⁴⁰ Humann 1904, 138, figs. 149-150.

⁸⁴¹ Weber 1985, 36 fig. 4, pl. 11-12 and 48.

⁸⁴² Bingöl 1988, fig. 4; Bingöl 1997, 89, 90 fig. 60, pl. 16.

⁸⁴³ Bingöl 1997, 89-96, pl. 17-21

⁸⁴⁴ For the wall painting of Asia Minor in general, see Bingöl 1997, 89-98 and 111-118

⁸⁴⁵ Bikai et al. 2008, 465-507; Twaissi et al. 2010, 31-42.

⁸⁴⁶ Weinberg 1970, 135-138, pl. D; Kidd 2018.

⁸⁴⁷ Farhi and Sharabi 2020.

⁸⁴⁸ Aubert and Eristov 1998, pl. 39.

⁸⁴⁹ Area 19 in the House of the Painted Frieze: Jackson 2009, 231-253.

⁸⁵⁰ Groot 1983, figs. 33ff; Will and Larché 1991.

⁸⁵¹ Hartal 1993, 22-24.

⁸⁵² Kloner 2003.

⁸⁵³ Netzer 2001, 11ff, figs. 12-13.

⁸⁵⁴ Hoepfner 1983, pl 17 D.

⁸⁵⁵ Westgate 2000, 400.

⁸⁵⁶ Bingöl 1997, 89-98. Note that Rozenberg 2009 makes a similar differentiation in Judaea between the paintings dating to the Hasmonaean period and the later paintings belonging to the Herodian palaces. For more about the Herodian paintings, see paragraph 7.2.3.

⁸⁵⁷ Bingöl 1997, 111: *'Sockel, Orthostaten und Deckschicht sind an und für sich nichts anderes als die gleichen Hauptglieder des ersten Stils, die jedoch jetzt nach den Prinzipien des zweiten Stils kein plastisches Profil aufweisen, sondern nur Malerei sind. Durch Farbe, Licht und Schatten und durch die Verwendung der Perspektive wird jetzt das ersetzt, was früher aus Stuck geformt war.'*

also assigns the wall paintings in private houses of Amphiopolis⁸⁵⁸ and in several 2nd c. BCE contexts in Pergamon to this 'Second Eastern Style'.⁸⁵⁹ The complete absence of relief and incision devices is also reminiscent of the Herodian palaces of ca. the second half of the 1st c. BCE.⁸⁶⁰ Bingöl argues that the lack of relief and incision in the 'Second Eastern Style' was compensated for by an emphasized suggestion of perspective and three-dimensionality, but, especially when compared to the examples from Pergamon and Delos, this cannot in fact be attested for the orthostats and isodomes in Samosata.⁸⁶¹

Bingöl's differentiation between a First and Second Eastern Style clearly was not meant as a strict chronological or geographical separation, and rather indicates the '*widening range of available possibilities*'⁸⁶² as well as the flexible character of the global Masonry Style. There was ample room to vary and combine in terms of colour, framing, moulding, the amount of frieze bands, their decorative motifs, and specifically also the use of plaster modelling in relief and the use of incisions. These variations strongly determined the degree to which the Masonry Style's capacity to evoke perspective and three-dimensionality was activated. When we compare the isodomes and orthostats of the socle and lower zones in objectscape 2 to the many examples of Masonry Style wall painting attested throughout the Mediterranean and the Near East, it seems that in Samosata we are dealing with a relatively flat corpus. Its rejection of incisions as well as plaster modelling in relief was not at all compensated for, as the largely plain and mostly bi-chrome orthostats and isodomes in red and yellow show. Even their contrasting frames, usually the feature that suggests a shadow or a relief, here seems to function more almost as a flat geometric patterns than as a form of *trompe l'oeil*, mind-boggling illusionism.⁸⁶³

⁸⁵⁸ Ginouvès et al. 1994, 103–104, figs. 92–93.

⁸⁵⁹ Bingöl 1997, 142. He refers to the decoration of a northern wall in the west wing of the Lower Agora (cf. Conze 1912, 152, fig. 4), as well as the northern wall of House II in the Lower Agora, cf. Bingöl 2013, 100 fig. 155a-b. Note that the Masonry Style in the 'Mosaic Rooms' belonging to the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaeion belongs to the 'First Eastern Style' as it contains incised decoration.

⁸⁶⁰ Rozenberg 2009, 254–255 for instance remarks that '*The choice of white or black framing lines as a means for indicating the direction of the light is not as consistent in the Herodian examples as in those from Italy, and was probably copied as a decorative motif without illusionistic significance*'.

⁸⁶¹ In this regard, it should be noted that the Masonry Style paintings attested in the so-called Mosaic Rooms of the *hierothesion* at Arsameia on the Nymphaeion do in fact appear to contain incisions, and therefore perhaps adhered more to the more widespread 'First Eastern Style' where three-dimensionality was more directly achieved. See Hoepfner 1983, pl. 17, D.

⁸⁶² Westgate 2000, 400.

⁸⁶³ One might argue that the 'modest' orthostats and isodomes of Samosata merely belonged to 'the cheaper segment' of what workshops trained in the Masonry Style had on offer. Ruth Westgate for example argues the following concerning variations in its appearance in different contexts: '*In its most basic form, this scheme is marked out on a flat, white plaster surface by incised or painted lines, occasionally with the frieze picked out in red paint. However, it could be elaborated in several ways to express distinctions between rooms and areas of the house. These distinctions seem to depend on a combination of four factors: the extent of relief moulding; the number of frieze bands; the colours and motifs used; and the addition of monumental architectural forms in stucco relief. No doubt, as in the case of mosaics, the distinction was ultimately one of cost.*' (Westgate 2000, 397). In line with the theoretical framework of this dissertation, however, I would

The elaborate frieze above the orthostats however strongly contrasts the visual modesty of the orthostats and isodomes, as it consists of at least three borders, and contains a cymation moulding, realistic vine leaf decoration in green, a string-course of narrow bevelled-edge blocks or luxurious stone imitation, as well as a polychrome continuous frieze with acanthus leaves with indications of shadow. The contrast between, on the one hand, a relatively flat, almost geometric zone of plain isodome socles and orthostats, and, on the other hand, a relatively elaborate frieze, creates an effect of visual extremes. This strong emphasis on the compositional concentration of detail, realism and illusionism is in fact very similar to the visual strategies witnessed in the concentric border style mosaics (see above), where the flat geometric motifs activate a different type of visuality than the highly figurative and naturalistic *emblemata*, which framed and separated in the centre of the composition.

7.3.5 Ceramics

Here I will provide a brief overview of the ceramic evidence for objectscape 2, focusing on red-gloss wares and largely based on the work of Levent Zoroğlu, whose main conclusions I follow here.⁸⁶⁴ In 1986, Zoroğlu published a study of the Late-Hellenistic-Early Roman red-gloss table wares or 'Eastern Sigillata A' ceramics from the *höyük* and the Lower Town. He distinguished between two types of red-gloss table ware: 1) with a pale and light red clay with or without mica and with small limestone inclusions, and with a light red and reddish brown glaze with dark patches; 2) with a yellowish or reddish cream clay with limestone inclusions but without mica, and with a brown mat glaze.⁸⁶⁵ For the forms, which are not necessarily restricted to one clay/gloss type, he based his investigations on the classifications that Kathleen Kenyon had

warn for an overtly simple economic reduction of this Masonry Style variation; merely stating that the choice for this flatter, more geometric Masonry Style in Samosata was simply the result of a limited budget risks ignoring the contextual implications of the *outcome* of this choice. On a different but related note, it is important to consider that a seemingly simple 'flat' design could for instance be executed in very expensive pigments, something which was probably recognized by the viewers as well (Westgate 2000, 399 n.10, referring to remarks of Vitruvius (Vitr. *De arch.* vii. 7-14) and Pliny (Plin. *HN* xxxv. 12-31)). Research into the chemical composition of the pigments used in Samosata would therefore be highly desirable.

⁸⁶⁴ Zoroğlu 1986. 'Terra Sigillata' is a 19th century term that is less adequate than the more recently used 'Late-Hellenistic/Early Roman red-gloss table wares'. The former suggests that it concerns 'stamped' pottery per definition, while not all the red-slip ware contains stamped figures and/or floral ornaments and other decorative techniques (barbotine, appliqué, roulette and incising) are also attested. For 'Eastern Sigillata A' in general, see Berlin 2006, 13-14; Hayes 1985; Hayes 2008, 13-30; Lund 2005, 234-235; Kavvadias 2012; Kramer 2012, 13-16; Kramer 2013; Slane and Berlin 1997; Willet 2012, 211-250; Lund 2015, 264-265. The typology suggested by John W. Hayes and refined by Kathleen W. Slane have by now become the standard classification, cf. Hayes 1985; Slane and Berlin 1997. An in-depth re-appraisal of the ceramic material of Hellenistic and Roman Samosata did not lie within the scope of this dissertation, but is much desired, albeit with the caveat of good stratigraphic documentation of this material.

⁸⁶⁵ Zoroğlu 1986, 72 table 2.

established on the basis of material from Samaria in 1957.⁸⁶⁶ On the basis of this formal typology, Zoroğlu identified 17 different forms in Samosata (1, 3, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 - 26, 27). Most of this material was found in layers III and IV of sector g-l/14-16 - i.e. in the layers covering the palatial complex - and layers IV-VI in sector e-f/14-16 as well as during cleaning activities near the Urfa Gate in the Lower Town. As mentioned in chapter 1, the lack of good stratigraphic evidence makes it almost impossible to use this ceramic material to date the structures or to build a relative chronology of the ceramic material itself. However, on the basis of Zoroğlu's analysis, who compared the red-gloss wares from Samosata with more securely dated fragments in the wider region, we can cautiously make a rough distinction between forms that are likely already produced in the early 1st c. BCE (1, 16, 19, 21)⁸⁶⁷, forms that were likely produced in the late 1st c. BCE (3/18/27) and forms that are dated to the 1st c. CE (14, 20, 22, 23, 24). As such, I will briefly discuss the fragments belonging to the first group here as potentially already part of objectscape 2, those of the second group as part of the late 1st c. BCE objectscape 3 (see paragraph 7.4.6) and those of the third group as belonging to the 1st c. CE objectscape 3 (see paragraph 7.5.5).

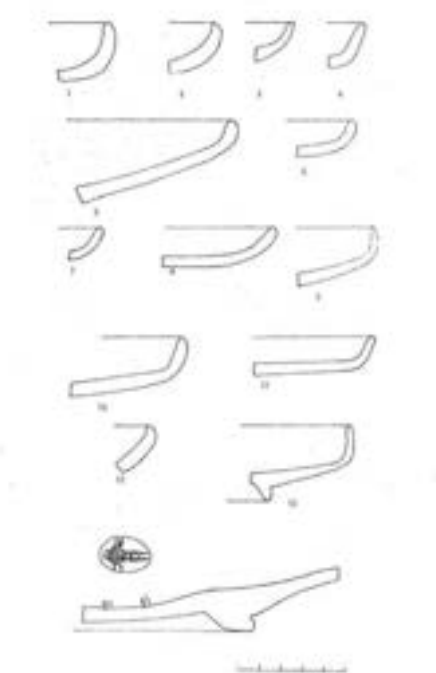


Fig. 7.25. Drawings of fragments pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 1'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 75 fig. 1.

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. Crowfoot et al. 1957.

⁸⁶⁷ Zoroğlu 1986, 96: 'This pottery was first produced nearly at the beginning of the first c. B.C.'

Fourteen fragments were assigned to 'Form 1', which consists of shallow plates with a ring-base and an inverted edge (fig. 7.25). Fragments of this form were found both in sectors e-f/15-16 (fr. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11) G-K/15-16 (fr. 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 14) on the *höyük* as well as during the Urfa Gate cleanings (fr. 12, 13). Zoroğlu suggested that fragments 1, 2, 12 and 13 belonged to the earliest fragments of this form, as these have a wider wall (except for 12) and are less shallow and thus have more affinities with earlier, Hellenistic shapes.⁸⁶⁸ Fragment 14 is a ring base fragment of a plate with roulette decoration and a so-called 'Isis Crown' stamp, which is exclusive to plates of Hayes form 4 and bowls of form 5A in 'Eastern Sigillata A'. The stamp has parallels in the late 2nd c. BCE and early 1st c. BCE⁸⁶⁹, while plates of Hayes form 4 belongs to the so-called 'second generation' of Eastern Sigillata A forms, which start to be produced approximately in the last quarter of the 2nd c. BCE, but remain in use during the 1st c. BCE.⁸⁷⁰

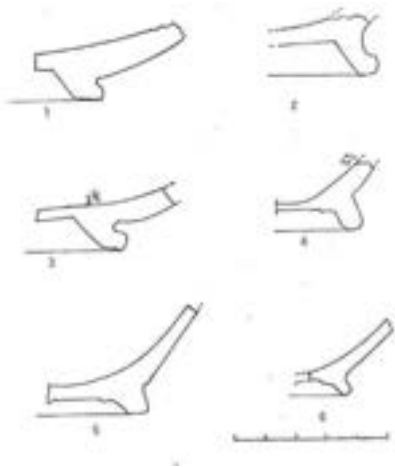


Fig. 7.26. Drawings of fragments pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 16'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 82 fig. 6.

⁸⁶⁸ Zoroğlu 1986, 74: 'Elimizdeki parçalardan 1, 2 ve 13 nolu kenar profilleri bir çok bakımlardan Hellenistik dönemin aynı formdaki çanak ve tabaklarını hatırlatmaktadır. Yalnız sigillataların genel olarak diğer Hellenistik karakterli örneklerle göre şiş olması dikkat çekicidir. Bu ilk üç örnek bize göre derin sayılabilecek kaplar olmak itibarıyla hâlâ Hellenistik formların etkisini taşımaktadır. Ayrıca cidar arının kalınlığı da, bize bunların erken olmasını düşündürmektedir'. Fragment 1: clay/gloss type 1, h. 2,8; from sector j-k/15-16, layer IV. Fragment 2: clay/gloss type 1, h. 2,4; from sector j-k/15-16, layer IV. Fragment 12: clay/gloss type 1, h. 2,2, from Urfa Gate cleaning. Fragment 13: clay/gloss type 1, h. 3,5, from Urfa Gate cleaning.

⁸⁶⁹ Hayes 2008, 17, n. 25; Lund 2016, 834-837. Several examples derive from stratum Hell 2B/C, Hell 2C and 2C+ at Tel Anafa in Israel, which is suggestive of a date between 128 and 80 BCE, cf. Slane and Berlin 1997, 258-261, 340 nos. FW 368-369, FW 373 pl. 46, no. FW 374 pl. 27, 48, no. FW 380 pl. 48. Two examples were furthermore found at Jebel Khalid in Syria, with an estimated date in the first third of the 1st century BCE, cf. Jackson and Tidmarsh 2011, 334 nos. FW 267-268, fig. 117, pl. 25.

⁸⁷⁰ Lund 2005, 345, n.18: 'The evidence from Tel Anafa suggests that the earliest version of this form began to be made before 128/125 BC'.

Six fragments were assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 16', which consists of straight walled, hemispherical bowls with a ring base and a flat rim (fig. 7.26). These fragments derive from sectors E-F/15-16 (fr.3), K-L/14 (fr. 2 and 5), J-K/15-16 (fr.6) and the Urfa Gate cleanings (fr. 1 and 4). This form is a continuation of earlier black-slipped bowls and belongs to the earliest forms of red-gloss wares, starting at the end of the 2nd c. BCE. Based on parallels from Samaria, Hama and Ephesus, Zoroğlu assigned especially fragment 3 to this early phase.⁸⁷¹

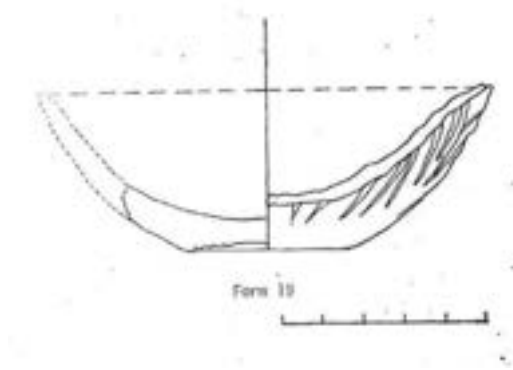


Fig. 7.27. Drawing of fragment pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 19'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 86 fig. 8.

One fragment was assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 19', which consists of thick-walled bowl with a hemispherical body, a flat base and relief decoration on the exterior (fig. 7.27). The fragment was found during the cleaning works at the Urfa Gate.⁸⁷² According to Zoroğlu, this shape also derives from earlier black-slipped forms with grooved decoration, which leads him to date the fragment to the late 2nd and early 1st c. BCE.⁸⁷³ Important parallels derive from Samaria⁸⁷⁴, Hama⁸⁷⁵, and Tarsus.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷¹ Zoroğlu 1986, 83: 'Biz Samsat'da EF/15-16 V. tabakada bulunan bir parçayı (no: 3) bu formun en erken örneği olarak kabul etmek istiyoruz'. Samaria: Crowfoot et al. 1957, 332, fig. 80; Hama: Johansen 1971, 113, fig. 45; Sehâfer 1962, fig. 2/20; Mitsoupoulou-Leon 1972/1975, fig. 2/2; Ephesus: Mitsoupoulou-Leon 1972/1975, fig. 3/9. Fragment 3: clay characteristics of type 1, gloss characteristics of type 2, h. 2,2, from E-F/15-16, layer V.

⁸⁷² Fragment 1: clay characteristics of type 2, gloss characteristics of type 1, h. 3,9; w. 11, 1.

⁸⁷³ Zoroğlu 1986, 85: 'Aslında Form 19'da 1 ve 16 formlar gibi, Hellenistik dönemden gelen ve Doğu Sigillatları içinde de sevilen bir kaptıdır. Bu bakımdan onun ortaya çıkışını DS'lerin ilk ortaya çıkış tarihine götürmek fazla abartma olmaz.' For black-glazed versions, see Jones 1950, fig. 124, No. 104.

⁸⁷⁴ Crowfoot et al. 1957, 342.

⁸⁷⁵ Johansen 1971, 120, figs. 46-47.

⁸⁷⁶ Jones 1950, fig. 137, No. 293.



Fig. 7.28. Drawing of a fragment pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 21'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 87 fig. 9.

One fragment was assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 21', which consists of a deep bowl with a profile, a slightly out-curving rim (fig. 7.28). The fragment was found in layer V of sector E-F/15-16. Zoroğlu claims that this is a rare form in 'Eastern Sigillata A'.⁸⁷⁷ Parallels from Samaria⁸⁷⁸, Hama⁸⁷⁹, and the Heraion on Samos⁸⁸⁰ suggest a dating in the early 1st c. BCE.⁸⁸¹

In general, the production of red-slip wares starts in the 2nd c. BCE, when it is already attested in the Levant, Judea, Cyprus, Egypt, the Aegean, western Anatolia, and, in smaller quantities, in the inner lands of present-day Turkey and Syria.⁸⁸² During the 1st c. BCE, this distribution remains similar but increases in number, with a peak production period between 50 and 1 BCE⁸⁸³, continuing but strongly decreasing in number from the 1st c. CE until deep into the 3rd c. CE.⁸⁸⁴ The production centres of 'Eastern Sigillata A' have not yet been identified but chemical analyses of the clays suggests that kilns producing it were located in North-western Syria or eastern Cilicia, where indeed also by far the highest quantities of 'eastern Sigillata A' were found.⁸⁸⁵ The type of pottery is characterized by a high degree of fabric and shape standardization, the latter which might be explained by the use of moulds.⁸⁸⁶ At Arsameia on the Nymphaios, 'Eastern Sigillata A' is also found from the end of the 2nd c. BCE onwards⁸⁸⁷, where it is closely related to the

⁸⁷⁷ Zoroğlu 1986, 87: 'Samsat'da E-F/15 - 16 plankaresinde V. tabaka'da bulunan çanak parçası DS'lar içinde nadir bir formu temsil etmektedir.'

⁸⁷⁸ Crowfoot et al. 1957, 336, fig. 81.

⁸⁷⁹ Johansen 1971, 159, fig. 64.

⁸⁸⁰ Technau 1929, 48.

⁸⁸¹ Suggested also in Lapp 1961, 213.

⁸⁸² For a geographical distribution map of ESA in the period 150-100 BCE, see Lund 2005, 241 fig. 10.4.

⁸⁸³ For the geographical distribution of ESA in the 1st c. BCE, see Lund 2005, 242 fig. 10.5.

⁸⁸⁴ Hayes 1985, 13; Lund 2005, 239 with fig. 10.3 showing the occurrence of ESA in absolute numbers; Reynolds 2014.

⁸⁸⁵ Schneider 1995, 416; Hayes 1997, 54; Slane and Berlin 1997, 335; Fischer-Genz et al. 2014. For the still debated connection to the '*vasa rhosica*', mentioned by Cicero, see Poblome et al. 2001, 144 with Lund 2005, 237-238.

⁸⁸⁶ Sartre 2001, 228; Hayes 1997, 19-21 fig. 6; Meyza 2000, 237-9 fig. 1.

⁸⁸⁷ Cf. Dörner and Goell 1963, 235-241 nos. 9-32.

construction period of the *hierothesion*.⁸⁸⁸ At Tille Höyük, too, large quantities of red-gloss pottery have been attested.⁸⁸⁹

7.3.6 Analysis

I will now analyse the material pertaining to objectscape 2 in terms of the four objectscape-proxies as defined in sections 3.3 and 3.4: 1) temporal and geographical genealogies (investigating the vibrancy of glocal relations); 2) materials and colours (investigating the vibrancy of materials and their relational capacities); 3) sensorial capacities (investigating the vibrancy of matter through the multi-sensorial capacities of objects and their place in 'sensorial regimes'; and 4) radical alterity and representation (investigating the vibrancy of 'ontologically unsettling' objects). Where possible, I will address significant differences with objectscape 1 of paragraph 7.2.1.

Temporal and geographical genealogies. Many of the objects, styles and concepts of objectscape 2 appear to be completely new when compared with the pre-existing objectscales of both Samosata and Commagene, and in some cases even to that of the wider northern Syrian region. Until its appearance in Samosata in the early 1st c. BCE, the use of tessellated mosaics is, for instance, unattested in northern Syria, as well as the concentric border scheme, the figurative, polychrome *emblemata* and specific iconographic motifs such as the crenellations, the illusionistic cubes, fish depictions, dolphin and amphora iconography and mask iconography; also in other media, these are not attested. The joint appearance of so many novel elements in objectscape 2 potentially initially triggered a '*shock of the new*'.⁸⁹⁰ What many of these non-local mosaic elements seem to share is their genealogical development in the 4th or 3rd c. BCE, mostly in the eastern Mediterranean, and their subsequent explosive increase in terms of quantity and geographical scope during the 2nd c. BCE, becoming truly glocal phenomena with a supra-regional reach. In a similar way, the arrival of Masonry Style wall painting in Samosata in the early 1st c. BCE appears to be a novum for the whole of Commagene, although, on a wider geographical scale, it seems to be much less rare in (northern) Syria than the tessellated mosaics are.⁸⁹¹ The Masonry Style too seems to have developed in the 4th/3rd c. BCE Eastern Mediterranean, and reached a supra-regional character by the 2nd c. BCE. For the architectural decoration, the Corinthian capitals and the door frames with bound tre-foil motifs, there are also no precursors in Commagene before the early 1st c. BCE. The former however sticks close to late 2nd c.- early 1st c. BCE developments in

⁸⁸⁸ Hoepfner 1983, 51.

⁸⁸⁹ Although the final publication of the Hellenistic period at Tille Höyük is still eagerly awaited, the preliminary reports at least mention '*many pieces of fine, red pottery, especially of the mould made relief ware common in the late Hellenistic period*' (French 1982, 417) indicating a very similar situation, whereas the composition of the evidence seems to be rather complicated in the Hellenistic period (cf. French 1984, 247; Blaylock et al. 1990, 117) like in other places of Commagene.

⁸⁹⁰ Hughes 1991, who used it mainly as a description of change relating to the modernist movement.

⁸⁹¹ Masonry Style wall painting is witnessed, for instance, in Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, cf. Jackson 2009.

Asia Minor, while the latter adopts a motif that is ubiquitous in the wider Syrian region during the 2nd c. BCE. On a wide regional scale, we might therefore suggest that these elements of the objectscape were not particularly rare.

The manifest and recurring tendency of engaging with objects and concepts from a deep local past, as observed in objectscape 1 (see 7.2), is less present in objectscape 2 but not absent. An important example is provided by the multiple chequerboard mosaics in *opus tessellatum* (F2, F5, F6 and F7) which adapt a decorative motif from the deep local past in a novel, non-local technique. In the architectural lay-out (small rooms and narrow corridors; a 'double layer' of rooms around a courtyard; the peripheral corridor mudbrick architecture), we perhaps also witness a certain type of anchoring of the manifold novel, non-local elements (e.g. mosaics, architectural decoration, wall paintings) into an architectural setting that, through its adherence to pre-existing architectural forms and techniques (e.g. the mudbrick architecture of the 'torus-base structure' and the Iron Age architecture of nearby Tille Höyük⁸⁹²), was capable of evoking a deep local past.⁸⁹³ It is also worth considering the Rhodian amphora depicted in the iconography of mosaic floor F1: they suggest a continued presence of at least the *concept* of such amphorae, as these were attested already in objectscape 1 (see 7.2.1). Overall, however, there appears to be a shift from objectscape 1 with a strong inclination to performed manifestations of a deep local past and very limited supra-regional elements to objectscape 2 that mainly consists of novel, non-local elements with a supra-regional character that had only become widespread and glocal by the 2nd c. BCE.

A significant change can also be observed in the mechanisms behind the appropriation of these non-local objects: whereas, in objectscape 1, the attested non-local elements seem to be either imports (e.g. black glazed pottery, Rhodian amphorae) or adoptions that adhere neatly to the pre-existing, glocal norms (e.g. the torus-bases *in antis*), objectscape 2 is characterized more by local adaptations, variations and unique combinations of non-local elements. It uniquely combines, among other things, an unusually large amount of very flat, bi-chrome concentric borders with polychrome figurative *emblemata* in very fine *opus tessellatum*; a border with a fish mosaic with an *emblema* with dolphins; satyr-like mask iconography with an elaborate border scheme and a tondo frame; an ornamental limestone doorframe with the vegetal motif of bound tre-foil garlands of olive (or laurel) leaves; and, lastly, relatively flat and exclusively painted Masonry Style orthostats and isodomes with an elaborate and illusionistic frieze zone. An important exception to this phenomenon is the adoption of the Corinthian Capital Order I, which largely seems to follow the wider regional repertoire and its decorative norms without a clear indication of local variations and unique combinations.

⁸⁹² Blaylock 2009, 157. 171–212; Canepa 2018, 25–28.

⁸⁹³ For the concept of anchoring, see Sluiter 2017.

Materials and colours. In terms of materials and colours, objectscape 2 is characterized by much novelty and a widening of the repertoire too. The mosaic stone floors introduced a wide variety of new, coloured stone types, as well as glass (in the destroyed *emblema* of mosaic F4 in room XIV). The walls of the palace implied the introduction of plaster of two different types, and pigments made of a variety of different materials, potentially deriving from far, and difficult and expensive to acquire.⁸⁹⁴ Some materials, at the same time, must have been deeply familiar: the pebbles, probably from the nearby river bed of the Euphrates, used in the pebble floors and filling of the walls; the fine vegetal reeds used for the attachment of the plaster; the local limestone, most probably from quarries nearby the city. It is striking however how many of these more local materials seem to be made invisible in the palatial complex as they are covered or disguised by novel materials; the pebbles and the reeds, and even the ashlar masonry wall, covered by the painted plaster, and the pebble floors placed exclusively in the remarkably inaccessible and invisible peripheral corridor.

The largely bi-chrome use of colour in objectscape 1 was enriched by a much wider palette of colours in objectscape 2, although the use of bi-chromatic contrasts was still visible in the black and white the concentric borders as well as the yellow and red painted orthostats and isodomes. The figurative *emblemata* of the tessellated mosaics introduced red, brown, yellow, green, orange, blue, pink and, by means of the glass tesserae, even translucent and shimmering tones. Besides the yellow, red and sometimes blue and burgundy painted orthostats and isodomes, especially the friezes and possible upper zones contained a wide variety of colours (light blue, orange-red, brown, greens, and white). This overall rich palette, with red and yellow as the dominant colours, seems to have played an instrumental and active role in the modes of visibility of the palatial complex. By contrasting the bi-chrome black-and-white concentric border scheme with a polychrome figurative *emblema*, the gaze was steered towards the latter.⁸⁹⁵ Orange-red reoccurs as the central and prime colour of both *emblemata* (the amphora and the mask). It is likely that colour to some extent had the capacity to indicate the hierarchies between spaces; the relatively increased colour palette of the orthostats in room III for instance suggests an elevated position of this space, especially when considered in relation to its unique use of figurative elements (the pomegranates) and its size and central position of the room in the symmetrical suite.⁸⁹⁶ The role of colour in the architectural decoration of objectscape 2 remains unclear; no traces of paint were attested on any of the fragments but their current shiny white appearance might have been coloured originally as well.

⁸⁹⁴ See Rozenberg 2009 for the chemical analysis of the pigments used in the only slightly later dating palace of Masada in Judea.

⁸⁹⁵ Haug 2021, 547.

⁸⁹⁶ For the use of colours for the (hierarchical) organization of space in Hellenistic palaces, see Rozenberg 2004.

Sensorial capacities. Objectscape 2 also introduces a wide variety of new sensorial, experiential object capacities, preserving however one important sensorial aspect: the use of flat wall surfaces. This is all the more surprising considering the ample possibilities offered by the Masonry Style to make use of moulded plaster in relief as well as incisions. The exclusion of such relief meant the persistence of a tactile experience of smooth flat surfaces. In objectscape 2, however, this flatness becomes more complex in a multi-sensorial sense, as the illusionistic friezes, with their painted suggestion of relief, invited viewers to touch the surfaces, potentially triggering an immediate ‘dissonant experience’ between the visual and the tactile. This sensorial dissonance was perhaps enforced by the co-existence of these wall paintings with elements of architectural decoration where, in contrast to the wall paintings, the perceived relief was in fact tangible; the visual suggestion of three-dimensionality in the Corinthian capitals as well as the door lintels with bound tre-foil garlands in relief could actually be confirmed in a tactile sense as well. Importantly, the wall painting covered completely all the walls of the rooms, ‘enveloping’ the spectator in a total environment, meaning that entering these rooms implied being completely surrounded by a painted world.⁸⁹⁷

The tessellated mosaic floors probably introduced a radically new set of multi-sensorial experiences, especially when compared to the proposed stamped earth and tapestry covered floors of objectscape 1. The specific types of maintenance and ensuing human-thing entanglement discussed for the stamped earthen floors of objectscape 1 had shifted to a less high-maintenance flooring, which was flat by itself, and easily cleaned and dried, in turn introducing a new olfactory regime.⁸⁹⁸ If we consider the tactile experience of treading on mosaics with bare feet, we should consider how the fragmented but flat surface was harder and colder than floor surfaces had probably been before.⁸⁹⁹ The tessellated floors furthermore brought along new and different acoustic qualities, especially when walked on with sandals.⁹⁰⁰ In combination with these sensorial qualities, the concentric border decoration potentially triggered a visual and cognitive response that slowed down the gaze of the eye, functioning as a mind-trap.⁹⁰¹ The illusionistic elements of

⁸⁹⁷ For ‘enveloping’ aspects of Minoan wall painting, see Morgan 2005, 24-26.

⁸⁹⁸ Hamilakis 2013, 117.

⁸⁹⁹ Ingold 2011, 16 emphasizes the importance of the tactile qualities of floors when treaded on with bare feet: ‘Our understanding of that most fundamental surface of all, the ground, is moulded by the experience of walking in boots or shoes over paved surfaces. Barefoot walking reveals the ground to be composite and heterogeneous, not so much an isotropic platform for life as a coarse cloth or patchwork woven from the comings and goings of its manifold inhabitants. And it reveals, too, the extent to which our primary tactile contact with the environment is through the feet rather than the hands.’

⁹⁰⁰ The acoustic qualities of mosaics have not yet been investigated in separate studies, but archaeological investigation into auditive experience of ancient architectural space can be found in Devereux and Jahn 1996; Watson and Keating 1999; and Watson 2001.

⁹⁰¹ Gell 1998.

the tessellated mosaics (the meander in perspective and the illusionistic cubes) potentially triggered a multi-sensorial dissonance similar to that of the illusionistic wall painting described above, with the *visual* perception of an uneven surface and the simultaneous *tactile* perception of a flat surface. The geometric maze of the concentric borders furthermore steered the eye toward its central *emblema*, where the figurative realism contrasted in terms of its visual modality. As argued before, a similar contrast of visual modes was achieved by the use of very flat orthostats and isodomes combined with relatively elaborate and illusionistic frieze bands. Hamilakis makes us aware that the elaboration of such wall and floor decorations and were indeed not simply attempts to impress through conspicuous consumption, but rather *'they were attempts to regulate sensory modalities, to manage attention, through the regulated movement and conduct of the body, and the controlled sensory interactions that this entailed – to produce, in other words, a consensus.'*⁹⁰² Hamilakis sees a correlation between increased accumulations of power, drawing more people to a court, and the necessity to regulate and fix meanings and memories.⁹⁰³ It is not unlikely that a similar social process lay at the basis of objectscape 2 as well.

The architectural lay-out of objectscape 2 actively steered and restricted the corporeal movement of people (and for instance also of animals) inside its walls. The small rooms and long, narrow and winding corridors potentially triggered a sense of confinement and perhaps even claustrophobia, as the organic, labyrinth-like lay-out could easily cause a loss of orientation, something perhaps enforced by the subtle, almost unnoticeable height differences caused by the micro-terracing underlying the architecture.⁹⁰⁴ In contrast to the single layer of spaces around a courtyard in objectscape 1, the multiple layers of spaces in objectscape 2 would have added to a sense of seclusion, while also limiting the possibility of daylight entering these spaces. The narrow corridors and mostly small rooms furthermore made it hard to avoid contact with other people moving through the palace, with the risk of touching other bodies, or being gazed upon always present. All these considerations apply also to the suites of small rooms (I-V and, probably VI-IX), in which movement was restricted even more. Both the inaccessibility of the structure – for instance suggested by the peripheral corridor – as well as its maze-like internal lay-out actively allowed for the evocation of concepts of power and hierarchy between those who visited and those who ruled, affecting the visitor *'in an unconscious, habitual, corporeal way'*.⁹⁰⁵ Such architectural elements together partook in a 'sensorial regime' (see paragraph 3.3.2) that had the

⁹⁰² Hamilakis 2013, 179. Note that Hamilakis also acknowledges that this was not necessarily the outcome of such attempts: *'Yet, these sensory experiences would not have necessarily had the intended outcomes and effects, and their unpredictability, the dis-sensual processes generated, are perhaps hinted in the deliberate, successive, and often-selective destructions'*

⁹⁰³ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁰⁴ Something for instance also suggested by Lauren Ristvet for the palace of Tell Beydar, cf. Ristvet 2014a, 60. See also Dovey 2008, 10.

⁹⁰⁵ Hastorf 2009, 53. See also Ristvet 2014a, 44.

capacity to impose an overall sense of powerlessness onto the visitor, and could evoke the authority of the royal power that monitored these spaces. It is furthermore possible that the capacity to cause 'sensorial dissonance' by the wall paintings and mosaics as well as the 'mind trap' capacity of the concentric borders with geometric patterns all participated and enforced this multi-sensorial regime, in which the individual senses were simultaneously restricted, steered, confused and slowed down. As underlined in paragraph 3.3.2, however, the 'power to' of such biopolitics need not necessarily have been successful or have gone unchallenged.

Radical alterity and representation. In terms of representation, objectscape 2 introduces depictions that are characterized by more detailed, more naturalistic, and sometimes illusionistic ways of rendering. The carefully rendered and deeply notched leaf-fingers of the acanthus in the corinthian capitals (cf. ID522), as well as the tre-foil garland on the door lintels (cf. ID588) introduce a degree of finely detailed figurative articulation that cannot be attested for the objectscape 1. This fine detail recurs throughout the objectscape, from the small tesserae in the beard of the mask mosaic (F8), allowing to distinguish separate strains of hair, to the extremely fine white and black lines in the painted bevelled-edge yellow block (fig. 22). This is strongly connected to the types of figuration used in objectscape 2. Whereas objectscape 1 seemed restricted to schematized and two-dimensional figuration (7.2.5), in objectscape 2 this type of figuration is supplemented with more naturalistic and illusionistic figuration. The schematized, two-dimensional figuration can still be observed in the mosaic concentric border decoration (cf. F1, F3, F4 and F8), the Rhodian amphora (F1), and the painted isodomes and orthostats (e.g. W2). Naturalism and illusionism are specifically observed in the rendering of the mosaic fish (F1), the mosaic dolphins (F1), the painted vine leaf band (fig. 23), the painted bevelled-edge block (fig. x), the painted alabaster imitation (fig. 24), the sculpted tre-foil garland (cf. ID588), and the acanthus leaves of the corinthian capitals (cf. ID522).

This mixed use of schematic as well as naturalistic modes of figuration has implications for the ontological status of the things that are depicted. Whereas, in objectscape 1, we witnessed blurred boundaries between the ontological status of objects by means of material, composition and figurative rendering (creating 'gazelle-date-tree' and 'hunter-horse-spear' entities as well as a 'human-comb' entity, see paragraph 7.2.1), in objectscape 2, the depictions of humans, animals and things are mostly separated by figurative or compositional boundaries. The dolphins, fish and amphora of F1 are depicted as self-contained entities, as well as the mask (F8), and the painted vine leaves (fig. 24). In compositional terms, both the concentric border scheme and the Masonry style scheme also actively create ontological boundaries by means of the frames that divide the decorative elements within them. The use of illusionist painting, however, does create more ontologically complex categories, especially in the painted frieze bands and stone imitations,

where the ontological status of actual stone masonry is redefined by the illusionist suggestion of such masonry in plaster. The mask mosaic (F8) is ontologically complex too, as it conflates an object (the mask) with a demanding, human-like vivacity (especially by means of the staring eyes), and an animal-like wildness (the satyr).⁹⁰⁶

Conclusion. In conclusion, objectscape 2 is characterized by the introduction of many elements that are new on a local and regional scale, but that had already become ubiquitous and glocal on a supra-regional scale. Many of these elements introduced new colours, materials, sensorial qualities, modes of representation as well as ontological concepts. The integration of these non-local objects in objectscape 2 often occurred by combining these elements in a unique manner. In the case of the architectural technique and lay-out as well as the chequerboard mosaics, it can be argued that forms with a deeper local past were reworked into the new configuration as well, perhaps functioning as anchoring devices that allowed an embedding of the many innovating objects. Simultaneously, these elements added to and enforced the palace's sensorial regime that restricted, steered, confused and slowed down. All these remarkable appropriations and combinations together meant the creation of a unique assemblage at the intersection of the local, regional and global scales, with a strong emphasis on the latter. Compared to objectscape 1, this meant a radical shift in orientation and scale of its relational capacities.

7.4 Objectscape 3 (mid-late 1st c. BCE; later-palatial)

In this section, I will synthesize and analyse the archaeological evidence for objectscape 3. Like the previous section, I will mostly provide an 'objectscape synthesis' of the already presented evidence in the previous chapters, albeit with some additions of material types that were not yet analysed in detail in the previous chapters (i.e. wall painting and ceramics). As some elements of objectscape 2 were still part of objectscape 3, I will also very briefly repeat some of the conclusions offered there already. This means I will consider and discuss the main characteristics of the architecture (paragraph 7.4.1), the mosaics (paragraph 7.4.2), the architectural decoration (paragraph 7.4.3), the painted wall decoration (paragraph 7.4.4), the sculpture (paragraph 7.4.5), and the ceramics (paragraph 7.4.6). After this, I will analyse objectscape 3 in terms of the proxies that were introduced in chapter 3 and the introduction of this chapter (7.1), and compare these with the analysis of the previous objectscape 2 (discussed in 7.3.6).

⁹⁰⁶ See chapter 8 for a case study that investigates the relational capacities of the mask mosaic of room XV.

7.4.1 Architecture



Fig. 7.29. Map of the palatial complex with indicated in brown the walls pertaining to objectscape 3. Source: by the author.

In large part, the architectural techniques and lay-out of objectscape 3 are the same as those of objectscape 2 (for which, see 7.3). However, as discussed in chapter 4, there is evidence for the later replacement or addition of walls that were constructed in a different technique than the walls pertaining to the objectscape 2 (fig. 7.29). Instead of very wide walls with many small and middle-sized stone inclusions, these later walls are characterized by a decreased width and a fine type of mudbrick. These walls are W5 in room IV, W6 in room VI, W7 in rooms VI and VII, W49 in room VIII, W14 in rooms I and XIV, W17 in room XIV, W18 in room XIV, W19 in corridor A3, W25 in corridor A3, W28 in corridor A3 and room XIV and W30 in room XIV. In some cases, the construction of these walls appears to have closed off entrances, thus altering the accessibility of the structure. This had most repercussions for room V, where an entrance from room IV was closed off by W5, as well as an entrance from room XIV by W18, making this room exceptionally secluded in terms of accessibility and adding to the already inaccessible character of the symmetrical suite of room I-V. It is not unlikely that these changes went hand in hand with the construction of an altar and a socle with a statue group in room V (see below). The other important closed off entrance is W30, between room XIV and corridor A4, through which the accessibility between the northern zone and the central, western and southern zones of the palace was likely drastically restricted. The claustrophobic and labyrinthine character of the architectural lay-out thus seems to increase in objectscape 3 when compared to objectscape 2.

7.4.2 Mosaics

There is no evidence for later additions or alterations to the floors that pre-existed from objectscape 2. This means that the same geographical and temporal genealogies, materials and colours, sensorial qualities and modes of representation and ontologies discussed in paragraph 7.3.2 should be assumed to persist in objectscape 3.

7.4.3 Architectural decoration

As discussed in chapter 5, there is evidence for a later phase of architectural decoration in the form of the Corinthian Capital Order II, as defined by Werner Oenbrink (see chapter 5). Two capital fragments (ID287, ID294) could be assigned to this order and should be considered part of objectscape 3 as they likely date to the late 1st half to mid-1st c. BCE. Compared to the fragments of Corinthian Capital Order I from objectscape 2, we can observe several changes in terms of the composition and the formal characteristics of the foliage decoration, as, for instance, this order has a lower kalathos and a much more compact but ample rendering of the foliage decoration, with tri-partite acanthus leaves, rounded stems, wide leaf-fingers, and heart-shaped eyelets. Whereas the Corinthian capital fragments of objectscape 2 largely followed the standard canon of Corinthian capitals in Asia Minor (see 7.3.3), these later Corinthian capital fragments contain multiple uncanonical characteristics that should be considered unique local reworkings of universalized and standardized forms.⁹⁰⁷ The unusual appropriation of the duplicated caulis-motif is especially noteworthy, as this is a short-lived phenomenon that has parallels primarily in late-Republican Rome and Campania (the early-1st c. BCE circular temple B in Largo Argentina and a grave monument of the mid-1st c. BCE in Pompeii).⁹⁰⁸ In terms of architectural decoration, objectscape 3 thus suggests a change of orientation of the network from the wider region (Asia Minor) to the western Mediterranean.

One of the fragments pertaining to the later Corinthian Capital Order II contained clear traces of gilding (ID287). It concerns a small pilaster capital that likely pertained to a half-pilaster aligning the walls of an interior space. Gilding as a decorative technique on architectural decoration is unattested in Samosata and Commagene in the previous objectscales. This decorative feature probably developed somewhere in the 4th c. BCE (with examples in tombs of Macedonia⁹⁰⁹ and South-western Turkey⁹¹⁰) and probably became widespread and glocal by the 2nd and 1st c. BCE.

⁹⁰⁷ Oenbrink 2021, 174. See also Oenbrink 2017, 61.

⁹⁰⁸ Oenbrink 2017, 61-64; Oenbrink 2021, 174-175 with further literature.

⁹⁰⁹ Kakoulli 2009, 60.

⁹¹⁰ *Mylasa*: Kidd 2015, n. 17.

By then, it is attested on Delos in the House of the Comedians⁹¹¹ and in northern Syria at the 'Governor's Palatial complex' of Jebel Khalid,⁹¹² while on the Italian peninsula the concept of gilded architectural forms (capitals, pilasters and columns) starts featuring on the painted plaster decoration of the Campanian houses.⁹¹³ In Judea and Nabatea, gilded plaster in relief as well as gilded architectural decoration (among which corinthian capitals) occurs in multiple contexts, for instance in the so-called late Hellenistic Stuccoed Building of Tel Anafa (Upper Galilee, ca. 125–90 BCE)⁹¹⁴, the 1st c. BCE Great Temple Complex of Petra⁹¹⁵ and in the debris of exedra 7 of the 'Nabatean Mansion' or villa at Az-Zantur IV.⁹¹⁶ The earliest actual attestation of gilded architecture on the Italian peninsula is in the Augustan temple of Apollo on the Palatine (dedicated in 28 BCE).⁹¹⁷ The adoption of gilded architectural decoration in Samosata thus corresponded well to the developments in the building projects of other monarchs, since the 2nd c. BCE. Its accompanying visual, shimmering effects as well as its specific illusionistic materiality (suggesting a solid gold capital) were all novel aspects in objectscape 3.

7.4.4 Wall painting

Like objectscape 2, objectscape 3 also contained painted plaster decoration that contained imitations of ashlar masonry, luxurious panelling in coloured stone veneers and decorative elements of stone walls. Some evidence for wall painting can however be cautiously assigned to objectscape 3. Here, I will synthesize this evidence (that I already described in detail in chapter 4) and analyse its genealogies and overall character.⁹¹⁸ As discussed in 7.3.2 and chapter 4, the proposed chronological division between objectscales 2 and 3 is primarily based on the existence of two different wall types – a rubble masonry with medium-sized limestones and a fine mudbrick - of which the latter is used in several instances to close off entrances and thus is presented here as belonging to objectscape 3. Because most of the paintings of objectscape 2 were likely still visible in objectscape 3, I refer principally to the synthesis and analysis of these offered in 7.3.2.

Evidence for objectscape 3 was located in rooms IV (W5), room VIII (W49), and room XIV (W14, W18, W28, and W30). The paintings on these walls are organized in a design that has a tripartite structure, consisting of 1) a socle with a continuous plinth or with isodomes, 2) a central band

⁹¹¹ Westgate 2000, 408.

⁹¹² Clarke 2002, 42–43.

⁹¹³ E.g. *Villa of Oplontis (Torre Annunziata)*: De Franciscis 1975, 9–38, pls. 8, 16, 17, 23.

⁹¹⁴ Kidd 2015, 83–84.

⁹¹⁵ Kropp 2013, 161.

⁹¹⁶ Kolb and Keller 2001, 319.

⁹¹⁷ Zink and Piening 2009

⁹¹⁸ The *ex situ* fragments cannot be assigned with certainty to a specific palatial objectscape but, for matters of convenience, are discussed under the 'later palatial objectscape'. See paragraph 7.2.3.

with alternating wide and narrow orthostats, with a frieze on top and 3) an upper band, containing a layer of isodomes, a frieze, or panels with stone imitations. On W14, W18, W28 and W30, however, the socle is absent, creating a bi-partite scheme. In W49, a fragment of the frieze zone has been preserved. The wall decoration consists of plaster painted in a wide palette of colours (with red, yellow, white, dark blue, burgundy, pink, purple, green, light blue and black) and, like in objectscape 2, does not contain any evidence for plaster modelled in relief.

In room IV, W5 contains a socle with a narrow continuous green band and isodomes that consist of a large trapezoid field in green and smaller triangular field in red (left top) and yellow (right bottom). It has a narrow continuous frame in blue below the isodome and a frame in yellow on top of it. The central band consists of alternating wide and narrow orthostats. The wide orthostats alternate in yellow with a red frame and pink with a blue frame, while the narrow orthostats are rendered in purple with a yellow frame. The wide orthostats contain lozenges, alternating in yellow with pink and blue frames (in the pink orthostat) and red with blue and red frames (in the yellow orthostat) (cf. appendix A, figs. LXXXIV/XCVI/XCVII/XCVIII). In room VIII, W49 contains a continuous red socle and a frieze with a row of rosettes in red, yellow, light blue and white, separated by stylized miniature Doric columns in red with shadows indicated in burgundy, and capitals and bases rendered in light blue. Below and on top of the frieze run uninterrupted yellow, red and blue continuous lines as well as a cymation moulding (appendix A, (figs. LXXXV/ XCI/ C/ CXXX)).⁹¹⁹ In room XIV, W14, W18, W28 and W30 do not appear to contain a socle but instead immediately start with a zone with alternating wide and narrow orthostats, with the narrow orthostats in burgundy with yellow framing and the wide orthostats alternating in yellow (with red framing) and red (with white framing). The wide orthostats contain lozenges, alternating in red with white and red framing (in the yellow orthostat) and yellow with red and white framing (in the red orthostat) (appendix A, figs. VI/XXIV/ LXXXVII/XXIV).

In general, we can say that, compared to the wall paintings of objectscape 2, the composition of these later wall paintings shows more complexity and experimentation, especially when we consider the character of its socle zone (by leaving it out altogether on W14, W18, W28 and W30 or its unique trapezoid-shaped colouring on W5), as well as the inclusion of framed and multi-coloured lozenges inside the orthostats (W5, W14, W18, W28 and W30). Another difference is witnessed in the cymation moulding of W49 in room VIII, which has less elongated ovoli than the cymation in the fragments presented in figs. 21a-b and 7.22, which were assigned to objectscape 2.

⁹¹⁹ Bingöl 2013, 55–56 figs. 79–80.

The rosette frieze of W49 imitates the use of carved rosettes on architectural Doric friezes, which has an early appearance on the 4th c. BCE tholos of Epidauros.⁹²⁰ In the 3rd c. BCE, the Ptolemaeum and Arseneion at Samothrace contain friezes with carved rosettes and bucrania.⁹²¹ The Ptolemaic link of these structures suggests that the motif occurred in Alexandria as well during this period, but the lack of Alexandrian evidence makes it difficult to establish this connection.⁹²² For the 2nd and 1st c. BCE, there are ample parallels for this decoration on the Italian peninsula, both in tombs⁹²³ and public buildings and temples.⁹²⁴ In the Campanian domestic contexts, we also find what seems to be one of the earliest examples of Doric friezes with rosettes in painted form, in the bichrome architectural imitation in the villa of Boscoreale (c. 50-40 BCE).⁹²⁵ Probably semi-contemporary to its adoption in objectscape 3 in Samosata, the motif appears in the architectural decoration of Herodian Judea (ca. 37-4 BCE).⁹²⁶ Peleg-Barkat has emphasized how the motif is entirely new to Judea and considers it as part of one of many Herodian adoptions from a distinctly Roman repertoire.⁹²⁷ It cannot be said with certainty whether the rosette frieze in Samosata post- or ante-dates its parallels in Judea, but it seems to combine a polychrome, painted rendering with a decorative concept that derived from architectural decoration that had strongly developed in Roman (Italian) contexts but apparently had become attractive also for other late 1st c. Near Eastern monarchs.

The earliest known examples of diamond-shaped lozenges in interior painted stucco decoration derive from 2nd c. BCE plastered vault decoration of tombs in Alexandria, where the complex borders suggest the motif imitated three-dimensional ceiling coffers.⁹²⁸ Not much later, the use of the motif is attested in the Masonry Style wall decorations in 2nd c. BCE Delos (e.g. the 'Quartier du

⁹²⁰ Roux 1961, 131, pl. 43.

⁹²¹ Lawrence 1996, 141, 155, fig. 244.

⁹²² As also noted by Peleg-Barkat 2014, 147.

⁹²³ Foerster 1998, 304. The sarcophagus of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, dated to the first half of the 3rd c. BCE is an early example, cf. (Saladino 1970, pls. 4-5).

⁹²⁴ E.g. the podium of the apsidal hall in Palestrina (c. 80 BCE), cf. Krauss 1976, 456–58, figs. 1–2.

⁹²⁵ Simon 1986, pl. 24f; Bingöl 1997, 115 n.132.

⁹²⁶ For the adoption of Doric friezes with rosette decoration in Judaea and the Decapolis, see Peleg-Barkat 2011, 430-432. See also Mathea-Förtsch 1996, 151. Important examples derive from the palaestra in the large bathhouse at Masada (Foerster 1995, figs. 225–30; Peleg-Barkat 2014, 146 fig. 5.) and from the possible burial complex of Herod at the Lower Herodium (Netzer 1999, fig. 152; Peleg-Barkat 2014, fig. 5), while carved rosettes also occur on sarcophagi and tomb facades from Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2014, 147). For Herodian art and architecture in general, see Peleg-Barkat 2021, with additional literature.

⁹²⁷ Peleg-Barkat 2014, 146-147: '*Doric friezes with rosettes in the metopes, as well as Ionic friezes decorated with acanthus scrolls, both appear for the first time in Judaea under Herod, constituting a turning point in local architectural décor (...) It seems reasonable to believe that the shift from plain metopes to metopes carved with rosettes that occurred under Herod was due to Roman influence*'

⁹²⁸ Adriani 1940, 55–97. The decorative motif itself is obviously older, occurring for instance in the brick decoration of the Apadana from the palatial complex of Dareios I in Susa, cf. Perrot 2013. It is in fact likely that, in Classical Greece, the motif was initially associated with the Achaemenids, as the motif occurs in representations of Persians on red-figured ceramics, for instance adorning the leggings of Persians and Amazons, cf. Morgan 2016, 120–122.

Stade⁹²⁹ and The House of Dionysos⁹³⁰), Amphipolis (2nd c. BCE)⁹³¹, as well as the Late Hellenistic Stucco Building of Tel Anafa (125-80 BCE)⁹³², where the lozenges are placed in orthostats and rendered in relief and incision. In the 1st c. BCE, the motif is widely attested in flat versions on the Italian peninsula, with examples like Room II in the House of the Griffins on the Palatine in Rome (80-60 BCE), the Villa dei Misteri (70-60 BCE), and the Villa Imperiale in Pompeii (20 BCE).⁹³³ The motif also occurs further west, in the 'Maison de Sulla' (32 BCE)⁹³⁴, the 'Maison aux deux alcoves' (XVIII) (40-30 BCE) and the 'portique Dorique' (XXXII) (40-35 BCE) at Glanum, in southern France.⁹³⁵ In the Herodian palaces of the last three decades of the 1st c. BCE, we see the lozenge used with and without the incision and relief styles. At the entrance room in the Mountain Palace Fortress at Herodium (early 20s BCE) the lozenges appear solely in relief and incision.⁹³⁶ In the north palace of Masada (30-20 BCE) the lozenges appear in both guises⁹³⁷, while in the Third Herodian palace of Jericho, the lozenge patterns exist only in small decorative designs and in socle ornamentations without incision and relief.⁹³⁸ Netzer understand this as a typical Roman influence: *'The relief and incision Styles do not appear in the Herodian fragments from Jericho, where the principle influences seem to be from the Roman western examples and not from the Hellenistic world.'*⁹³⁹ In Judea, the use of the lozenge is however not restricted to Herodian contexts, as it is also attested in Khirbet al Murak⁹⁴⁰ and the western quarter at Gamla (1st c. CE)⁹⁴¹, where, however, the motif is again rendered in relief and with incisions. The use of the lozenge in Samosata is very similar to the flat versions of the northern palace of Masada and the northern palace of Jericho, but, as with the rosette frieze, it remains unclear whether the lozenges of Samosata date somewhat earlier (for instance during the reign of Antiochos I) or somewhat later (for instance during the reigns of Mithridates II or Mithridates III) than the Herodian examples. It seems safe to say that the adoption of the flat orthostat also meant the appropriation of a global decorative element that, however, had undergone a profound Roman (Italian) phase of particularizations in the 1st c. BCE, which perhaps did create the attractiveness of this motif to Near Eastern Roman client kings in the last decades of the 1st c. BCE.

⁹²⁹ Alabé 1994, 160.

⁹³⁰ Chamonard 1922-1924, no. 45, 536.

⁹³¹ Lazaridis 1982, 48; 1983, 35-7; Ginouves et al. 1994, 103, figs. 92, 93.

⁹³² Weinberg 1971, 98; Kidd 2015, 85-89

⁹³³ Beyen 1956, 54ff; Ehrhardt 1987, pls. 18:73, 22:91, 23:95; Pappalardo and Grimaldi 2018.

⁹³⁴ Rolland 1946, 118ff, fig. 93.

⁹³⁵ Barbet 1987, 16-17, 37.

⁹³⁶ Corbo 1967, 111-112, fig. 21; Rozenberg 2008, 360.

⁹³⁷ Foerster 1995, 13-36; Fittschen 1996, 139-162; Rozenberg 2006, 355-356.

⁹³⁸ Rozenberg 2008, 439-440, figs. 531, 532 and no. 90; Rozenberg 2009, fig. 12 (room B90).

⁹³⁹ Netzer 2004.

⁹⁴⁰ Also known as 'the Palace of Hilkiya'. See Damati 1972, 173; Damati 1982, 117-120 (Hebrew); Netzer 2008, 232-234.

⁹⁴¹ Farhi and Sharabi 2020, 89, No. 22; Fig. 2.

7.4.5 Sculpture

Here, I will synthesize and analyse some of the sculptural evidence that likely pertained to objectscape 3. In chapter 5, I already presented, described and discussed the sculptural evidence for the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Samosata. The problematic archaeological contexts of many of these finds precludes their designation to a particular objectscape, which means I will only focus on some of the fragments from chapter 5, namely ID215/216/520/688/689/690/691.

The alterations to room V are most important in this regard. In chapter 4, I have argued that the instalment of a statue group on a square statue base (I8) with an altar (I9) in front of it, in the southern corner of this room, necessitated the closing off of two entrances in W5 and W18, which was done with new mudbrick walls that were covered with the wall painting (discussed in this section, see above). This allowed for the erection of a statue of Antiochos I (ID216) and a Zeus-like bearded male (ID215), which probably formed part of an ancestral gallery which included statues of one or more gods (see 6.2). As discussed in chapter 5, this meant the introduction in Samosata of a concept of ancestral galleries that was widely attested already in the Attalid, Antigonid, Mauretanian and Arsacid (Parthian) dynasties, as well as at the Ptolemaic court, where a similar inclusion of deities in such an ancestral gallery was probably available in the *Thalamegos*, the Nile-boat of Ptolemy IV. As observed in paragraph 6.2, the proposed ancestral gallery of objectscape 3 adheres more to this globalized ancestral gallery practice than the gallery witnessed on Nemrut Dağı, as it consists of statues and busts instead of the more unusual basalt reliefs.

Both the Zeus-like bearded male (ID215) and the statue of Antiochos I (ID216) introduce a rather classicizing but still very naturalistic form of semi-life-size, three-dimensional sculptural portraiture of rulers and deities that cannot be attested with certainty in the previous objectscales. ID216's adoption of an Octavian-type hairstyle in combination with a bronze radiant crown placed in the diadem, shows an innovative combination of concepts of self-representation that had been developing during the last two centuries BCE, on the one hand, in Near Eastern royal contexts, and, on the other hand, in the Italic peninsula, perhaps suggestive of the introduction of a type of 'Romanism' in objectscape 3. The other portrait of Antiochos I (ID520) fitted more to the known representations of Antiochos I in other *hierothesia*, such as the ancestral gallery of Arsameia on the Nymphaios and the basalt relief ancestral gallery of Nemrut Dağı. The adoption of the Armenian tiara with a diadem containing a row of eagles in relief implies the adoption of an Armenian royal concept and its Commagenean reworking into a type of 'Persianism' by its simultaneous use in the depictions of the diadem with eagles in, for instance, Darius on the ancestral stele on the North socle (I-1) of the Eastern Terrace on Nemrut Dağı.⁹⁴² The introduction

⁹⁴² For 'Persianism', see Strootman and Versluys 2017.

of inscription stelai (ID688 and ID689) and *dexiosis* stelai (ID690 and ID691) pertaining to the ruler cult of Antiochos I, placed near or in the city, in the lower town or on top of the *höyük*, introduced a range of non-local religious and iconographic concepts, materials, styles and objects to objectscape 3 that were not witnessed there in the preceding period.⁹⁴³

7.4.6 Ceramics

Here, I will provide a brief overview of forms of red-gloss table wares pertaining to the mid-late 1st c. BCE. I refer to 7.2.2 for an introduction to 'Eastern Sigillata A' and the specific find conditions of this material in Samosata. The forms discussed here (3/18/27) were also found in layers III and IV of sector G-L/14-16 - i.e. in the layers covering the palatial complex - and layers IV-VI in sector E-F/14-16 as well as during cleaning activities near the Urfa Gate in the Lower Town.

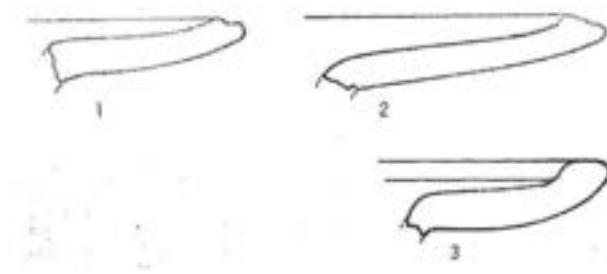


Fig. 7.30. Drawings of fragments pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 3'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 76 fig. 2.

Three fragments were assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 3', which consists of plates with rims extending outwards (fig. 7.30). The fragments derive from sectors J-K (fr. 1 and 2) and L-O (fr. 3). Zoroğlu suggests that the form emerged from a typical form of Hellenistic black-slipped plates, which is also evidenced by the black-slipped fragment 2.⁹⁴⁴ Zoroğlu follows a dating by Lapp to the period 75-30 BCE.⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴³ The innovative character of these Antiochan appropriations of globalized elements and their local reworking have been discussed in depth and at long length elsewhere, and will not be further commented upon here. See, most importantly, Versluys 2017a.

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. a black-slipped plate from Hama: Johansen 1971, fig. 33. Zoroğlu 1986, 76: '*Hellenistik dönemin siyah glazurlu tabakları içinde tipik bir form olarak ortaya çıkan bu türün kırmızı astarlı örnekleri de siyah astarlıların bir devamı olarak görülmektedir.*'

⁹⁴⁵ Lapp 1961, 35.

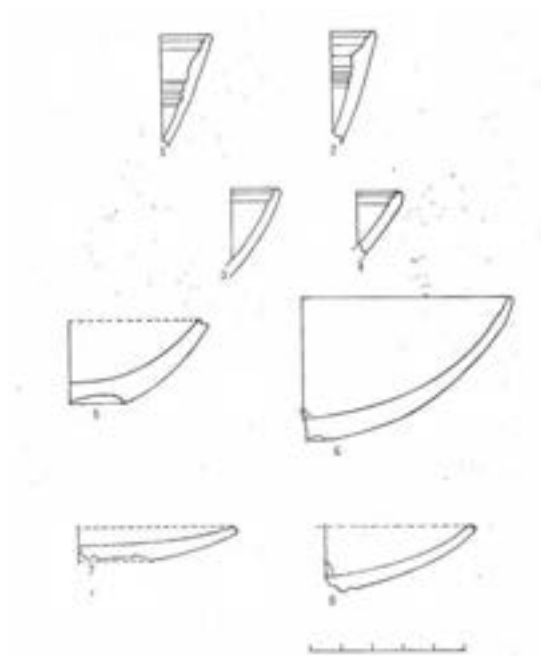


Fig. 7.31. Drawings of fragments pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 18'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 84 fig. 7.

Eight fragments were assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 18', which consists of deep bowls with a profiled interior and plain rims (fig. 7.31). Zoroğlu refers to earlier black-slipped as well as metal and glass versions of this form.⁹⁴⁶ The fragments derive from sectors E-F/15/16 (fr.1 and 2), O-R/14/15 (fr. 3), and K/15 on the *höyük*, and at The Urfa Gate (fr. 5 and 6). Fragments from Hama⁹⁴⁷, Samaria⁹⁴⁸ and Antiochia⁹⁴⁹ suggest a date in the last decades of the 1st c. BCE.

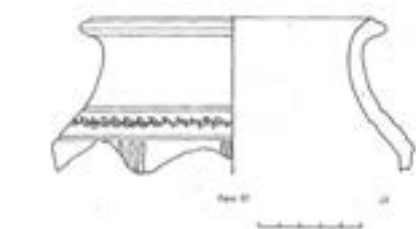


Fig. 7.32. Drawing of fragment pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 27'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 94 fig. 13.

⁹⁴⁶ Zoroğlu 1986, 83 with n. 53. For a black-slipped bowl of this form from Dura Europos, see Cox 1949, 5, No. 25.

⁹⁴⁷ Johansen 1971, 117, fig. 46.

⁹⁴⁸ Crowfoot et al. 1957, 335, fig. 80.

⁹⁴⁹ Waagé 1948, 15, pl. II, No. 54.

One fragment was assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 27' which consists of craters with widened mouths, profiled rims, and a relatively short neck (fig. 7.32). The fragment was found in sector E/16-17, in layer IV. Zoroğlu mentions that the shape already pre-existed in the earlier Hellenistic form repertoire but has a much shorter neck than these predecessors.⁹⁵⁰ A parallel from Hama shows that these types of craters have relatively very high ring-bases.⁹⁵¹ A parallel from Samaria was dated to 30-25 BCE⁹⁵², and also the parallel from Hama dates to the last centuries of the 1st c. BCE⁹⁵³, which makes a similar dating for the fragment from Samosata possible as well. Zoroğlu mentions that one aspect of the fragment is remarkable: the ornamentation with a laurel wreath and a Doric frieze is sliced into the clay but lacks a second slip to finish the crater. This unfinished state, according to Zoroğlu, might indicate the existence of a potter's workshop at Samosata.⁹⁵⁴

7.4.7 Analysis

On the basis of the above presentation and discussion of the material pertaining to objectscape 3, I will now analyse this objectscape in terms of the four objectscape-proxies developed in chapter 3: 1) temporal and geographical genealogies (investigating the vibrancy of glocal relations); 2) materials and colours (investigating the vibrancy of materials and their relational capacities); 3) sensorial capacities (investigating the vibrancy of matter through the multi-sensorial capacities of objects and their place in 'sensorial regimes'; and 4) radical alterity and representation (investigating the vibrancy of 'ontologically unsettling' objects. Where possible, I will address significant differences with objectscape 2 (7.3).

⁹⁵⁰ Zoroğlu 1986, 95.

⁹⁵¹ Christensen and Johansen. 1971, 188, fig. 72.

⁹⁵² Crowfoot et al. 1957, 340, fig. 82.

⁹⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁵⁴ Zoroğlu 1986, 95: '*Kraterlerin en önemli özelliği karın başlangıcında ve karın üzerinde yer alan kazıma ile yapılmış süslerdir. Form 19'da olduğu gibi, Hellenistik devirden intikal eden bu tür süslemelere Samsat'da bulunan yarım bir parça üzerinde de rastlamaktayız. Burada boyun bitiminde bir defne çelengini hatırlatan süsleme yanında karın üzerinde dikine üçlü guruplar halinde dilimler bulunmaktadır. Samsat parçasının en önemli özelliği krem-sarı renkteki hamurun üzerinde çok hafif olarak - özellikle oyulmuş kısımları daha koyu bırakan - bir astarla kaplanmış olduğudur. Öyle sanıyoruz ki, bu parça ikinci daldırma yapılmadan bırakılmıştır. Samaria ve Hama'da bulunan kraterlerin A tipi sigillatalara özgü bir astarla kaplı olmasına karşın, Samsat kraterinin bu astarsız veya yarı astarlı olarak bırakılmış yüzeyi, belki de burada bir çömlekçi atölyesinin varlığının işareti sayılabilir. Bu konuda henüz yeterli araştırmalar yapılmadığı için bir şey söylemek istemiyoruz. Ancak, Samsat gibi önemli bir merkezde çömlekçi atölyesinin bulunmasının da şaşırtıcı bir durum olmayacağını vurgulamak isteriz.*' Note that this was already suggested also by Dörner and Goell 1963, 234 with note 2.

Temporal and geographical genealogies. The temporal and geographical genealogies discussed for the fixed features pertaining to objectscape 2 – the architecture, mosaics, architectural decoration and the wall paintings; see 7.3– in large parts persisted into objectscape 3, albeit with some additions and adaptations. In terms of temporal genealogies, it is possible that, by the late 1st c. BCE, the elaborate concentric border schemes of the tessellated mosaics had become somewhat outdated reminders of an elite culture that was popular a century earlier in centres like Delos and Pergamon; their potential to trigger a ‘shock of the new’ was now severely watered down. For the architectural decoration, it is likely that the appearance of the Corinthian Capital Order II should be understood as an addition rather than a replacement of Order I, which would mean that in this case too older forms persisted. The continued use of red-gloss table wares furthermore shows no remarkable break with objectscape 2 either. Like the red-gloss wares from objectscape 2, the new forms (3, 18, 27) in objectscape 3 were re-workings of forms that pre-existed in the earlier Hellenistic repertoire, especially with black-slipped wares. Although objectscape 3 consisted of many objects that were already around since approximately the early 1st c., some of its elements can also be regarded as completely novel; these new elements include the gilded architectural decoration, the painted diamond-shaped lozenge, the painted rosette frieze, the naturalistic, three-dimensional portraits, the concept of an ancestral gallery, the iconography of *dexiosis* stelai and the Armenian tiara.

In terms of geographical genealogies, a striking aspect of objectscape 3 is the increased adoption of objects that, by the 1st c. BCE, had been repeatedly re-articulated in the Italian peninsula. These include the duplicated caulis-stem in the Corinthian Capital Order II, the use of gilded architectural decoration, the rosette frieze in the painted wall decoration of W49, the diamond-shaped lozenges, and the Octavian-type hairstyle in the limestone portrait of ID216. None of these elements were originally Roman nor exclusively available on the Italian peninsula, yet their popularity in the Late-Republican Roman world will likely have altered or added to the (virtual) capacities of these objects on a global scale as well. The fanatic adoption of some of these elements at the Herodian court in Judea (lozenges, rosette frieze, gilding) attests of the capacity of these elements to evoke ‘Rome’, as they occurred in royal contexts where a ‘Roman cultural scenario’ was explicitly intended.⁹⁵⁵ The ‘Roman connection’ need not necessarily have been activated in Samosata as well though, as many of the objects and concepts witnessed objectscape 3 corresponded also to developments happening beyond Rome and closer to home, with gilded architectural decoration occurring on Delos, in Jebel Khalid and in Nabatean contexts; rosette

⁹⁵⁵ With which I do not intend to imply that these elements signalled a political submission to Roman power and functioned in a programmatic manner. Rather, through the Roman/Italic phases of their genealogies, these elements had acquired a capacity to be associated with the riches and luxuries that were connected to an idea of Roman/Italic culture, which Herod adopted to signal his position as a strong Hellenistic sovereign. See Lichtenberger 2009.

friezes in Ptolemaic contexts in the Aegean at Samothrace; ancestral galleries in a wide variety of Hellenistic courts⁹⁵⁶; red-gloss wares of the 'Eastern Sigillata A' type occurring throughout the eastern Mediterranean⁹⁵⁷; and Octavian-like hairstyles in the portrait sculpture of other Hellenistic client-kings such as Iuba II of Mauretania.⁹⁵⁸ With such a wide-ranging set of geographical genealogies, we should thus be cautious in describing this objectscape as 'Romanized'. Especially the adoption of elements that very explicitly evoke a concept of other cultures, such as the occurrence of the 'Armenian Tiara' (ID690) and the 'Persianized' diadem with eagles in relief (ID520), suggest that 'Rome' as a connection and cultural concept did not necessarily seem to have had the primacy.

Instead, what seems more important in this regard are the many innovative local adaptations and unique combinations of many of these non-local elements. The Corinthian Capital Order II deviates much more from the canonical standards of Corinthian capitals in Asia Minor than Order I, especially through the adoption of the duplicated caulis. Other local experimentation with global elements is the appearance of Masonry Style wall painting that excludes a socle zone or contains socles with polychrome trapezoid and triangular fields. In the sculpture too, we observe the integration of different traditions, with its combination of an Octavian-type hairstyle and a Hellenistic, eastern Mediterranean diadem with bronze radiant crown. A final example of local adoption and adaptation of non-local forms might be witnessed in the possibility of a local production of 'eastern Sigillata A' red gloss table wares, as suggested by Zoroğlu.⁹⁵⁹

Materials and colours. Objectscape 3 largely consisted of the same materials and colours as objectscape 2 (7.3), save for some additions. The wall paintings show a similar emphasis on red, yellow and white in its orthostat zone, but the palette now is extended with burgundy. The integration of the diamond-shaped lozenges furthermore caused a more complex colour setting with multiple contrasting frames in different colours within one orthostat. The socle zone also occurs in many more colours than in the previous objectscape, with multiple colour fields within one isodome and green as the dominant colour. In the architectural decoration, an important new addition is the gilding on the small Corinthian column or pilaster capital (ID287).

Sensorial capacities. The sensorial capacities of objectscape 2 (7.3.6) in large part persisted in objectscape 3. The additions and alterations in the palatial complex however did also have implications on an experiential level. The closing off of several entrances inside the palatial complex (W5, W18 and W30) would have added to the pre-existing labyrinthine lay-out, which

⁹⁵⁶ Versluys 2014, 130-135.

⁹⁵⁷ Lund 2005.

⁹⁵⁸ Fleischer 2008, 321-324, 327 and 329.

⁹⁵⁹ Zoroğlu 1986, 61-100.

increased its control and regulation of human action and movement. The widened colour palette of burgundy and gilding and the increased complexity of the wall paintings with polychrome socle zones and diamond-shaped lozenges inside the orthostats, further regulated the sensory modalities of the visitors, potentially allowing for an increased managing of their attention.⁹⁶⁰

If we consider the sensorial qualities brought along with the figurative three-dimensional sculpture, it is important to especially consider ID215 and ID216 in their assumed spatial context in room V. It is possible that the closing off of room V and the installation of a pedestal for a statue group, with an altar placed in front of it, set the very theatrical stage for a radically new multi-sensorial assemblage. The zigzag route through the narrow corridors and small rooms from room II or III to room V led past concentric border mosaics and illusionistic wall painting, which lured the visitor into a maze of which the only way out was by turning back. At the very end of this, one would have been confronted with the limestone life-size sculpture, probably depicting the king, his ancestors as well as deities in an ancestral gallery, hovering above the spectator, standing on a pedestal. The shallow altar in front of the statues, smelling of offered foods and liquids, necessitated the visitor to kneel in order to reach it and to offer to the royal family, causing a deep curtsy, a forced corporeal submission of subject to king. The light coming in from high up in the NW wall (W13), would fall right on the bronze radiant crown of the statue of king Antiochos I, creating a strong contrast between the enlightened sovereign and the spectator below in the shadows, possibly blinded by this sight. The 'naturalistic' rendering of the limestone portraits drew visitors into a shared ontological realm (see below) but it also provided the statues with a heightened capacity for the appropriation of natural bodily response.⁹⁶¹ All these theatrical and multi-sensorial devices regulating the sensorial modalities and social relations likely were adoptions of more common elements of Hellenistic court culture but the specific assemblage of features in the palatial context of Samosata created a unique multi-sensorial regime.⁹⁶²

Representation and ontologies. In terms of the mosaics, the wall paintings and the architectural decoration, the analysis of the role of representation and ontologies in objectscape 2 (7.3.6) largely stays the same in objectscape 3. An important addition however is provided by the figurative, three-dimensional sculpture in limestone (specifically ID215, ID216, ID520). Its life-size character and largely 'naturalistic' rendering (in a classicizing style) seem to introduce a radically new way of representation, of which I already briefly discussed its sensorial capacities

⁹⁶⁰ Causing the production of what Hamilakis calls a '*con-sensus*', cf. Hamilakis 2013, 179. For more on the sensorial qualities of the wall paintings, see 7.2.2.

⁹⁶¹ After Jeremy Tanner's understanding of the specific affective qualities of naturalism in classical sculpture, cf. Tanner 2001, 257. For 'naturalism' and its capacities, see also Tanner 2006 and Neer 2010.

⁹⁶² A thorough investigation of the theatricality and multi-sensoriality of Hellenistic-period palaces is still desired but important first steps have been made by Strootman 2014 (on theatricality and Hellenistic court culture) and Ristvet 2014a and 2014b (on performance in Seleucid Babylonia).

above. The lifelike, mimetic aspect of such sculpture has a direct impact on ontological taxonomies, as it actively drew people and objects into the same ontological realm, making the king, the god and potential other ancestors as present and real as their participating spectators.⁹⁶³ The fact that both the Zeus-like bearded deity (ID215) and Antiochos I (ID216) were executed in the same limestone material is of significance as it is an aspect that is explicitly mentioned in the Great Cult Inscription on Nemrut Dağı: *'and from one and the same quarry, throned likewise among the deities who hear our prayers, I have consecrated the features of my own form.'*⁹⁶⁴ Through a stress on the identical materiality of the statues, the king attempted to substantiate a shared ontological status of the king and the gods. A similar claim was likely desirable in room V too, as the incorporation of a deity into an ancestral gallery makes a similar ontological claim by means of the shared socio-spatial context.⁹⁶⁵

Conclusion. Although objectscape 3 in many ways perpetuated the general characteristics of objectscape 2, some important alterations and additions were noticed while analysing the objectscape-proxies. Many of the elements of objectscape 2 likely were retained in objectscape 3: The fact that many elements of objectscape 2 were retained (i.e. the architecture, wall painting, mosaics, architectural decoration, and red-gloss table wares) paradoxically would have introduced a different temporality of the new objectscape, in which the 'shock of the new' was likely greatly diminished. Similarly, the geographical genealogy of these objects had changed, adding a local phase to elements that previously could have been categorized as 'non-local'; in objectscape 3, these persisting elements now perhaps in some way even served as local anchors into which actually novel objects (such as the Corinthian order II and the painted lozenges) could be embedded. In terms of geographical genealogies, I have also cautiously suggested an increase of objects with a strong Roman/Italic genealogical phase, but, instead of suggesting a 'romanized phase', I have put emphasis on the wider geographical scope of the objectscape and specifically the myriad of local reworkings and unique local combinations of such non-local forms. The slight increase of colours and materials, but especially the changes in the architectural lay-out and the appearance of naturalistic life-size sculpture not only enforced pre-existing sensorial modalities inherent to objectscape 2, but also created specific sensorial assemblages (specifically in room V). The naturalistic style and limestone materiality of the sculpture furthermore introduced a different representational modality and ontological taxonomy that likely played an active role in the performance of royal power and social relations.

⁹⁶³ Or, as Tonio Hölscher would call it, one shared *'Lebenswelt'*, cf. Hölscher 2014, 21.

⁹⁶⁴ N 54-63. Translation from Sanders 1996, 206-217.

⁹⁶⁵ The divine connotations of the bronze radiant crown furthermore added to this ontological equation of king and god.

7.5 Objectscape 4 (1st c. CE; post-palatial)

In this section, I will synthesize and analyse the archaeological evidence for the post-palatial, 1st c. CE objectscape 4 of Samosata. I will discuss the relevant evidence for four different contexts that are likely assigned to this objectscape: the structure in *opus reticulatum* in sector m-r/14-15 (paragraph 7.5.1); the citadel wall in *opus reticulatum* in sector f-h/2-3 (paragraph 7.5.2); The city walls and Urfa Gate in *opus reticulatum* in the Lower Town (paragraph 7.5.3); and the structure in *opus reticulatum* in the Lower Town (paragraph 7.5.4). In a separate paragraph, I will discuss the ceramic material that likely pertained to this objectscape as well (paragraph 7.5.5). After this, I will analyse objectscape 4 in terms of the proxies that were introduced in chapter 3 and in the introduction of this chapter (7.1), and compare this with the analysis of objectscape 3 (7.4.7).

7.5.1 The structure in *opus reticulatum* in sector m-r/14-15.

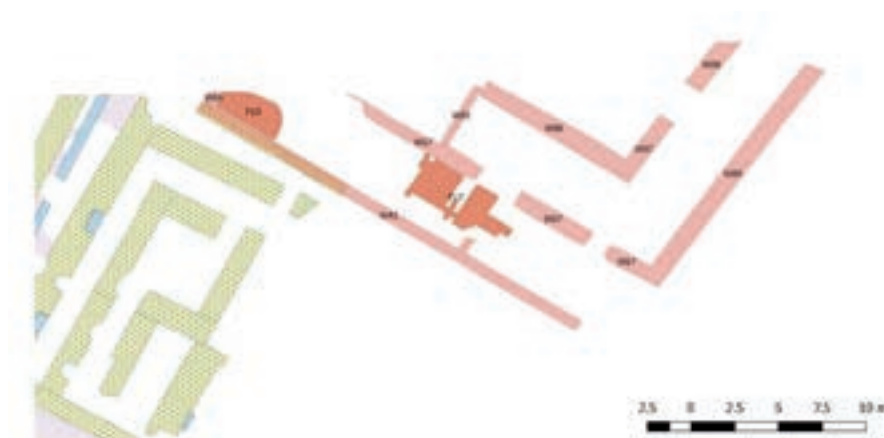


Fig. 7.33. Map of the structure in *opus reticulatum* in sector m-r/14-15. Source: by the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 129 pl. 12).

In sector m-r/14-15, the excavations yielded parts of a rectangular, longitudinal structure that was at least 22,0 x 15,0 m. in size and has a NWW-SEE orientation (see fig. 7.33 and appendix A, figs. XV / XVI / XVIII / XXV / XXVI / XXIX / XXXI / XXXII / XXXV / XXXVI / XXXIX / XLII / XLVII / XLVIII / XLIX / L / LIII / LXV / LXXI / LXXXII / CXXVII / CXXVIII / CXXXI). The walls, constructed in *opus caementicium* consist of three parallel running walls in a NWW orientation (W41, W67 and W88) and three parallel running walls with a NNE orientation (W64, W86+W87 and W89), all of which continued into the northern trench profile. In the outer aisle at the SW side of the building, two fragments of floors were retrieved: F17 in the centre of the aisle and F10 in the NW of the

aisle, both consisting of small, square and plain white limestone slabs in an orthogonal design. W41 and W64 contain a facing in *opus reticulatum* combined with a band of bricks on both sides, suggesting that it was visible both on the exterior and interior of the building. Özgüç and Tırpan claim that the technique used of the *opus reticulatum* in this structure is the same as in the city walls in the Lower Town.⁹⁶⁶ The excavators mention bricks and roof tiles containing a stamp with 'BACIAIKH'.⁹⁶⁷ In fact, the lay-out of the structure is reminiscent of Roman basilicas, with a central nave flanked by, in this case, two longitudinal aisles on both sides. The presence of multiple floors, often occurring in the central nave of basilicas, could not be established. F10 and W41 partially cover walls pertaining to the palatial complex, which suggests that it post-dates the abandonment and destruction of the palatial complex.⁹⁶⁸ The excavators suggest that the structure underwent repairs into the Byzantine period, suggesting a life-span of several centuries.⁹⁶⁹ Inside the structure the excavators unearthed four sculptural fragments that were possibly erected inside the structure: a male torso in marble that likely formed part of a statue group (ID89), a fragment of a left leg in marble that potentially belonged to this (ID327), a limestone fragment of a hand that originally held a metal objects, perhaps a sceptre (ID328) and a limestone relief depicting a Zeus-like, bearded male deity (ID298). It proved impossible to assign to this structure specific fragments of architectural decoration or wall painting.⁹⁷⁰ The limited contextual evidence for this basilica-shaped structure makes it hard to assign any concrete function to it, apart from the general notion that it concerns a large representative structure on a significant location, on top of the *höyük* and partially covering the old royal palace. As I will discuss at the end of this chapter, the use of *opus caementicium* and *opus reticulatum* is rare outside of the Italian peninsula, but, as we will see below, not at all rare within Samosata itself.

⁹⁶⁶ Özgüç 2009, 33; Tırpan 1989, 519-526.

⁹⁶⁷ Özgüç 2009, pl. 89 fig. 200, and 33: 'Höyüğün IV.katının en önemli yapısının, enkazından ve çevresinden derlediğimiz 'BACIAIKH' yazıtlı kiremit ve tuğlalardan bir bazilika olduğunu öğrendiğimiz dört köşeli uzun mekandır.'

⁹⁶⁸ *Idem*, 33: 'Bir kısmı Kommagene sarayının kuzey kanadındaki 14-15 nolu odaların temelleri üstüne oturmuştur.'

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*: 'Bizans devri onarımları sırasında değiştirilmemiş olan iki uzun duvarının iç ve dış yüzeyleri retikulatlarla kaplıdır.'

⁹⁷⁰ One fragment of wall painting, depicting a female portrait, was found in layers III or IV in sector k-l/16-17, covering the palatial structure, cf. Özgüç 2009, 33, pl. 89 fig. 199. Stylistically, this fragment however likely dates to the mid- or late-Imperial period.

7.5.2 The citadel wall in opus reticulatum in sector g-h/2-3

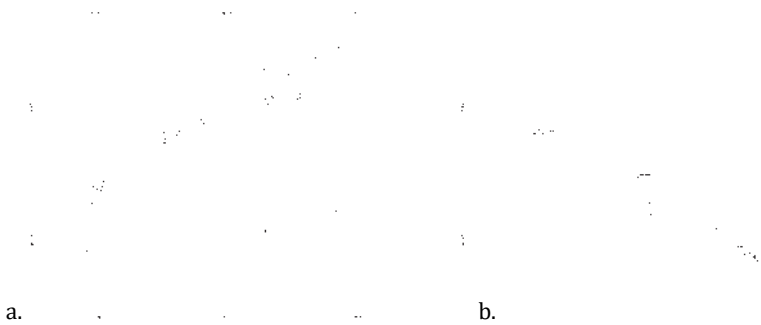


Fig. 7.34a-b. Map (a) and section (b) of the citadel wall in opus reticulatum in sector g-h/2-3. Source: Özgüç Archive.

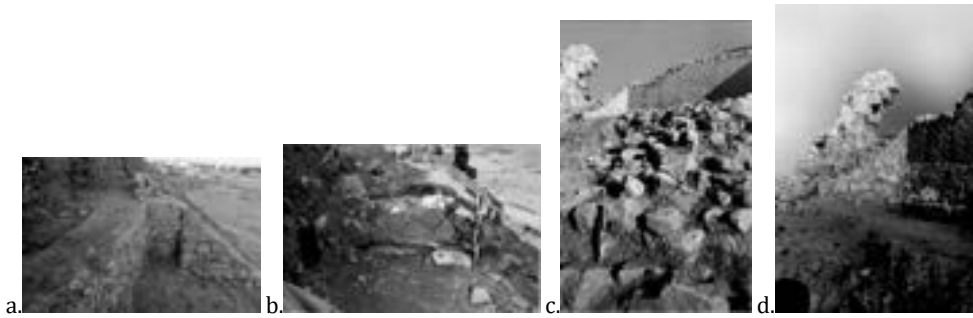


Fig. 7.35a-d. Pictures of the citadel wall in opus reticulatum in sector g-h/2-3. Source: Özgüç Archive.

More architectural features that likely pertain to objectscape 4 were located at the north-west edge of the *höyük* in sector g-h/2-3.⁹⁷¹ Here, a fragment of a fortification wall with protruding bastions was encountered (see fig. 7.34 and 7.35a-d). The walls were constructed in *opus caementicium* and contained a facing in *opus reticulatum*, with limestone, diamond-shaped *cubilia* of approximately 10,0 x 10,0 cm. The wall was built on top of older citadel walls dating to the early Iron Age and was itself used as the foundation for later Medieval period walls.⁹⁷² Although badly preserved in other places because of erosion processes on the edge of the *höyük* and later demolishment, it is likely that the citadel wall encircled large parts or even the entire citadel.

⁹⁷¹ Özgüç 2009, 34.

⁹⁷² *Ibidem*.

7.5.3 The city walls and Urfa Gate in opus reticulatum in the Lower Town



Fig. 7.36a-b. Pictures of the wall in opus caementicium with a facing in opus reticulatum, in the south-eastern side of the Lower Town, near the Urfa Gate. Source: Wagner Archive.

In multiple locations along the ancient city's 5,5 km. long border, fragments of a fortification wall were still standing up by the time that the team of professor Tırpan studied them in the 1980s (fig. 7.36a-b and appendix B, map B1, with the mapped course of the wall).⁹⁷³ The lowest regions of these walls were constructed in *opus caementicium*, filled with gravel and coarse river stones, and had a facing in *opus reticulatum*. The limestone *cubilia* were approximately 8,3 - 8,9 cm. At regular intervals of 7,20 m., the wall contained rectangular enforcements in brick masonry (1.30 x 0.36 m.), that were placed against the exterior of the wall, covering part of the wall facing in *opus reticulatum*. It is possible that these date much later (perhaps Byzantine period) than the original construction of the wall.⁹⁷⁴

⁹⁷³ Tırpan 1987; 1989. See also Goell 1974, fig. 2; Spanu 1996, 926-930; and Özgüç 2009, 34-35, figs. 209-213.

⁹⁷⁴ Özgüç 2009, 34, with figs. 210-211.

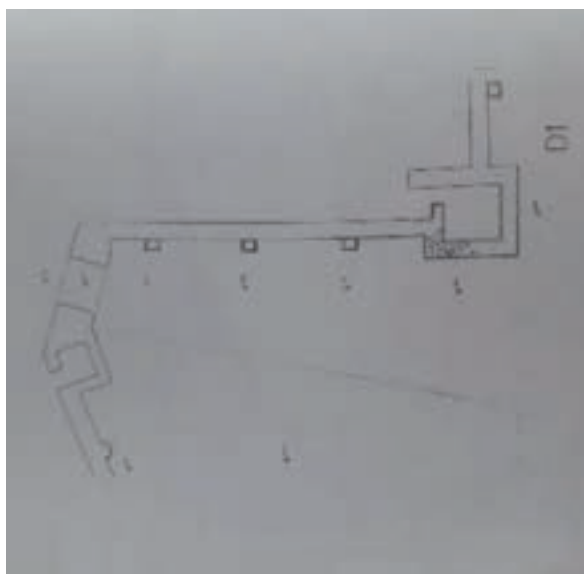


Fig. 7.37. The so-called Urfa Gate with the smaller, well-preserved tower in the south and the larger tower in the north. Top is towards the north. Source: Özgüç 2009, 138, pl. 10.



Fig. 7.38a-d. The so-called Urfa Gate (a-c) with the well-preserved smaller southern tower (c) and the interior of the larger northern tower (d). Source: Wagner Archive.

South of the *höyük*, one of the main gates of the city was located, the so-called Urfa Gate, which was located in a corner of the wall and faced towards the East (figs. 7.37 and 7.38a-d). It was most probably intended to control the incoming traffic that had crossed the Euphrates. Tirpan made a section underneath the gate, in which he distinguished, from bottom to top, 1) a thick layer of fluvial deposit, 2) a layer (h. 25 cm) described as a fill (character unclear), and 3) a foundation layer (h. 85 cm.) consisting of mortar filled with large and small pebbles.⁹⁷⁵ In the vicinity of the plain, rectangular gate, two rectangular towers with rooms were located that opened up to the interior of the wall (fig. 7.37 and fig. 7.38 c-d). The smaller, southern tower was preserved up to a height of ca. 6,65 m. when investigated by Tirpan in the 1980s. The larger tower (7,50 x 7,30 m.), placed towards the north of the gate was cleaned and contained a facing of *opus reticulatum* on the outside, but a facing of hexagonal shaped limestone *cubilia* in the interior (fig. 7.38d).⁹⁷⁶ Many fragment of red-gloss ware were found inside these rooms and in the further surroundings of the Urfa Gate (see also 7.5.5), but a systematic and contextual documentation of these finds is unfortunately lacking.

7.5.4 The structure in *opus reticulatum* in the Lower Town



Fig. 7.39a-c. The structure in *opus reticulatum* in the Lower Town. Source: Wagner Archive.

A last context that likely belonged to objectscape 4 was encountered in the Lower Town, where a structure with walls in *opus reticulatum* combined with brick masonry was encountered. Unfortunately, the context remains completely undocumented save for three pictures that were encountered in the Wagner Archive (fig. 7.39a-c). The exact location of the structure is not clear, but the few houses pertaining to the old town of Samsat (fig. 7.39a) suggests that we have to situate the trench somewhere in the south of the ancient city. On the basis of the pictures, the excavators seem to have unearthed one wall with a facing in *opus reticulatum*, which makes a turn into the profile of the trench. Three other walls executed in a more regular drystone masonry form a rectangular structure that is placed against the wall in *opus reticulatum* and is thus probably

⁹⁷⁵ Tirpan 1989, 519-526.

⁹⁷⁶ Özgüç 2009, 34, pl. 95, fig. 212.

later. Although the evidence is very minimal, the context at least attests of the use of *opus reticulatum* in the Lower Town as well.

As mentioned before, the use of *opus caementicium* masonry with a facing in *opus reticulatum* is very rare outside of the Italian peninsula, and even there it seems to be largely constricted to Latium and Campania, where it is usually dated to the early 1st c. BCE until the Augustan period (27 BCE – 14 CE).⁹⁷⁷ Here, the use of *opus reticulatum* in city walls is rare but not unattested.⁹⁷⁸ In the Near East, there are a handful of examples of its use, but, apart from Samosata, the technique is never attested in fortification walls. The earliest examples in the east are likely witnessed in several contexts pertaining to the building program of king Herod in Judea, who seems to adopt the technique after 20 BCE.⁹⁷⁹ It is now generally accepted however, that in these Judean instances, the *opus reticulatum* was not visible as the walls were coated and plastered afterwards.⁹⁸⁰ In later 1st c. CE contexts in the Near East, the *opus reticulatum* was however visible, for instance in several 1st and 2nd c. CE contexts at Antioch⁹⁸¹ and the monumental royal tomb of Sampsigeramus in Emesa, dating to ca. 70 CE.⁹⁸²

The many examples in Samosata discussed above are not easy to date, but the suggestion to assign the walls to the reign of Antiochos I⁹⁸³ is generally unconvincing, especially since the structure in *opus reticulatum* on top of the *höyük* must post-date the palatial complex, which is likely to have been in place until the early 1st c. CE (see chapter 4). The absence of *opus reticulatum* in the *hierothesia* of Antiochos I further weakens this suggestion. Most scholars have suggested a date after the Roman provincialization of Commagene in 72 CE.⁹⁸⁴ A context in Ancoz (Eskitaş) very nearby Samosata, might however suggest an earlier dating.⁹⁸⁵ Here the evidence suggests a major sanctuary that was in use from the 8th c. BCE until at least the 1st c. CE, with a temple podium ca. (20,0 x 8,0 m.) in *opus caementicium*, and walls of a narrow corridor executed in *opus reticulatum*. Blömer and Winter suggest that '(t)he occurrence of this building technique in Samosata is usually explained by the deployment of a Roman legion after the annexation of Commagene in 72 CE.

⁹⁷⁷ Dodge 1990; Spanu 1996, 923-939; Torelli 1980. Tırpan 1986; 1989, 519-536; Lichtenberger 2009, 50-52; Kropp 2013:147-148.

⁹⁷⁸ E.g. the Augustan fortification walls of Saepinum in Molise, cf. Pinder 2016.

⁹⁷⁹ Netzer 1975, 93 n.18. Contexts with *opus caementicium* and *opus reticulatum* in Judea comprise of 1) Jericho, Herod's Third Palace; 2) Jerusalem, the potential tomb of Herod; 3) Pnias, Herod's potential Augusteum; Post-Herodian contexts in Judea can also include the wall technique: 1) Caesarea, a secondary wall at the south of the Hippodrome (Burrell 2009, 220).

⁹⁸⁰ Netzer 1975, I, 238; Lichtenberger 2009, 51; Kropp 2013, 148.

⁹⁸¹ In the aqueduct from Daphne (mid-1st c. CE), cf. Wilber 1938, 55; in a monumental tomb (probably 2nd c. CE), cf. Lassus 1972, 85-87; and in a 2nd c. CE villa: Stillwell 1941, 25.

⁹⁸² Watzinger 1923; Oenbrink 2009; Kropp 2013, 208-212.

⁹⁸³ Wagner 2003/2004, 135-136; Hoepfner 2012, 117.

⁹⁸⁴ Tırpan 1987, 101-112; 1989, 522-523; Sinclair 1990, 147-148; Özgüç 2009; Zoroğlu 2000, 76; Zoroğlu 2012, 137; Facella 2005, 239.

⁹⁸⁵ As suggested by Blömer and Winter 2011, 117-120. See also Krüger and Blömer 2011.

However, many pieces of architectural decoration from the temple of Eskitaş would be in accordance with an earlier date as well.⁹⁸⁶ This context then might be cautiously used to suggest a general dating for *opus reticulatum* in Commagene in the reign of Antiochos IV (38-72 CE). Although such an adoption of *opus reticulatum* by Roman 'client-kings' like Herod, Antiochos IV and Sampsigeramus seems to be easily interpreted as a signalling of allegiance to Roman power⁹⁸⁷, the extent to which the Roman capacity in Samosata itself was activated remains doubtful.⁹⁸⁸ The remarkably high amount of examples of *opus caementicium* and *opus reticulatum* in Samosata, in a variety of different contexts (city walls, citadel walls, representative buildings on top of the citadel and perhaps less representative buildings in the Lower Town), suggests that these techniques profoundly altered the objectscape of Samosata. The *reticulatum*-like facing witnessed in the interior of the large tower near the Urfa Gate suggests a local variation of a non-local technique.

7.5.5 Ceramics

Here, I will provide a brief overview of forms of red-gloss table wares pertaining to the early-mid 1st c. BCE. I refer to 7.3.5 for an introduction to red-gloss 'Eastern Sigillata A' wares and the specific find conditions of this material in Samosata. The forms discussed here (14/20/22/23/24) were also found in layers III and IV of sector G-L/14-16 - i.e. in the layers covering the palatial complex - and layers IV-VI in sector E-F/14-16 as well as during cleaning activities near the Urfa Gate in the Lower Town.

⁹⁸⁶ Blömer and Winter 2011, 120.

⁹⁸⁷ As suggested by Blömer and Winter 2011, 120-121.

⁹⁸⁸ See Lichtenberger 2009, 51-52 for a similar discussion of the programmatic value of *opus reticulatum* and *opus caementicium* in Herodian Judea. He stresses that, although it is possible that the construction methods were openly visible to the public and thus part of the programmatic-propagandistic character of Herod's building program, it is likely that it was not so much the 'Roman' character of these techniques rather than their expensiveness and altogether foreignness that was activated. See also Kropp 2013, 148 with a similar argument.

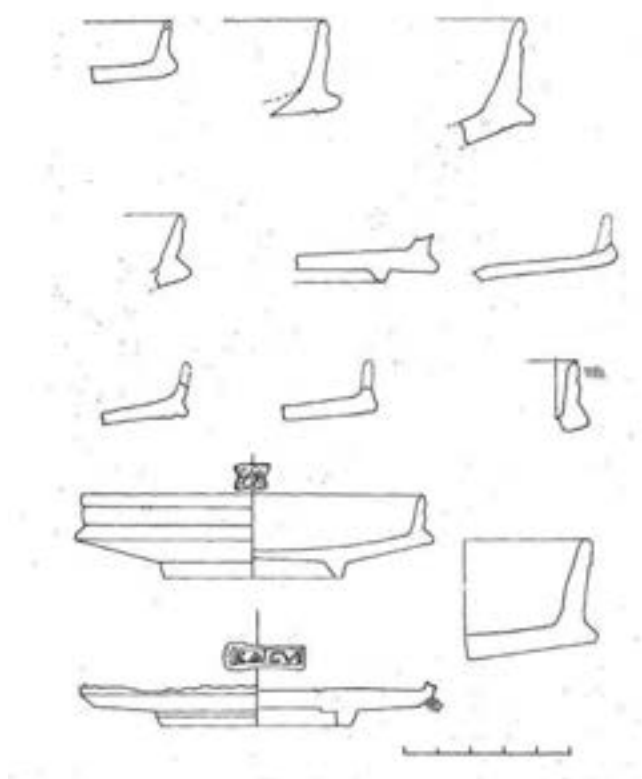


Fig. 7.40. Drawings of fragments pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 14'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 76 fig. 2.

Twelve fragments were assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 14', which consist of shallow plates with vertical rims and wide but low ring bases (fig. 7.40). Most fragments derive from the cleaning activities near the Urfa Gate (fr. 1-11) and one fragment derived from sector J-K/15-16 on the *höyük*. The form is widely available and occurs in red gloss wares in the eastern Mediterranean, the western Mediterranean and along the northern limes.⁹⁸⁹ An early parallel, from the mid-1st c. BCE derives from Samaria⁹⁹⁰ but the shape is attested until deep into the 1st c. CE, for instance in Pompeii.⁹⁹¹ Fragments 9 and 12 have roulette decoration on the rim or on the body. Fragments 10 and 12 have stamp decoration on the interior. The stamp of fragment 12 ('KAICY', read as 'καὶ οὐ') is a well attested stamp belonging to the category of 'redende Stempel' and mostly seen in contexts dating to the 1st c. CE and later, for instance in Tarsus.⁹⁹² The roulette ornamentation is considered an invention from western Mediterranean potters, which was subsequently adopted

⁹⁸⁹ E.g. in Haltern (Germany): Loeschke 1909, 143, fig. 2 Type 2.

⁹⁹⁰ Crowfoot et al. 1957, 332.

⁹⁹¹ Pucci 1977, pl. V, 127.

⁹⁹² One in Walters, 1908, 18 and two more examples from Tarsus in Iliffe 1936, 37. For 'redende Stempel', see Oxé 1934.

in the eastern Mediterranean, for instance in examples from Antiochia⁹⁹³ and Hama⁹⁹⁴, which are dated to the first half of the 1st c. CE.

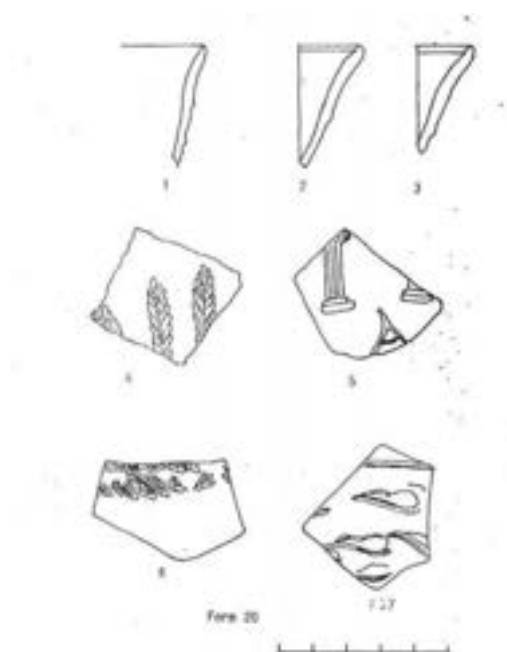


Fig. 7.41. Drawings of fragments pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 20'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 86 fig. 8.

Seven fragments were assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 20', which consists of hemispherical, embossed bowls, mostly with a simple ring-base (fig. 7.41). Most finds derive from sector J-K/15/16 on top of the *höyük* (fr.1,2,4,5,6,7), and one derived from sector Q-R/14-15. Zoroğlu states that these red-gloss bowls are slightly smaller and more thin-walled re-workings of a pre-existent Hellenistic form known commonly as the 'Megarian bowl'.⁹⁹⁵ The body is divided by a protruding profile in the middle and below it, some of the fragments carried decoration in relief (fr. 4-7), which comprises of vegetal motifs, palmettes, shell motifs and architectural elements (fr. 5). The form is in use between the middle of the 1st c. BCE to the 2nd c. CE, with important parallels

⁹⁹³ Waagé 1948, pl. IV, no. 412.

⁹⁹⁴ Johansen 1971, fig. 40, no. 40.

⁹⁹⁵ For which, see Courby 1922; Rotroff 2006.

in Hama⁹⁹⁶, Samaria⁹⁹⁷, Antiochia⁹⁹⁸ and Tarsus.⁹⁹⁹ Zoroğlu dates these fragments to the early 1st c. CE.¹⁰⁰⁰

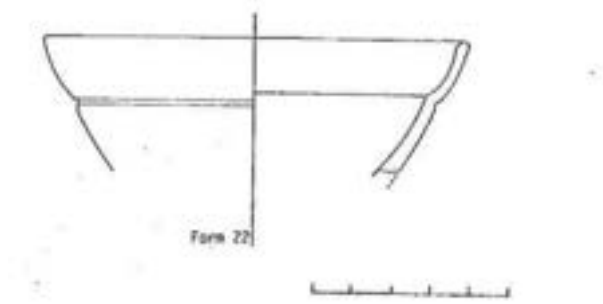


Fig. 7.42. Drawing of a fragment pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 22'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 87 fig. 9.

One fragment was assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 22', which consists of deep bowls with a simple straight rim and a profile in the middle of the body (fig. 7.42). It derived from sector L/14, layer IV. Based on parallels from Hama¹⁰⁰¹, Tarsus¹⁰⁰² and Antioch¹⁰⁰³, Zoroğlu arrived at a dating to the first half of the 1st century CE.

⁹⁹⁶ Johansen 1971, 124.

⁹⁹⁷ Crowfoot et al. 1957, 272.

⁹⁹⁸ Waagé 1948, 30.

⁹⁹⁹ Jones 1950, 177.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Zoroğlu 1986, 87: 'Samsat parçaları da, özellikle Merkez açmasında bulunan örneklerin yardımıyla M.S. erken 1. yüzyıla tarihlenebilir düşüncesindeyiz.'

¹⁰⁰¹ Johansen 1971, 163, 166, fig. 64

¹⁰⁰² Jones 1950, 243, fig. 144, no. 411.

¹⁰⁰³ Waagé 1948, pl. V, 450 f, k and p.

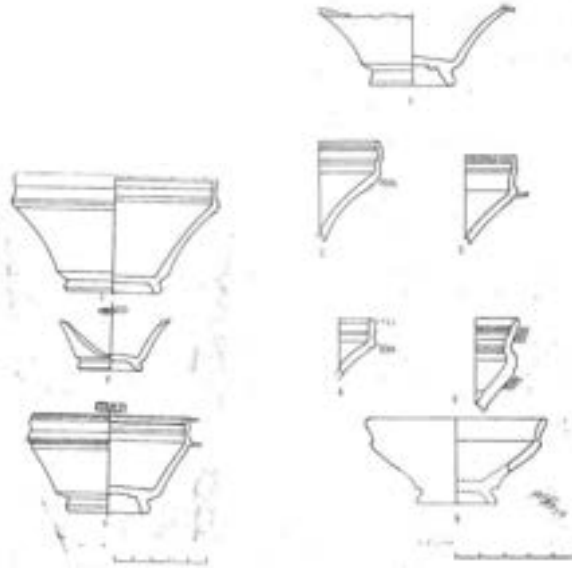


Fig. 7.43. Drawings of fragments pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 23'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 76 figs. 10 and 11.

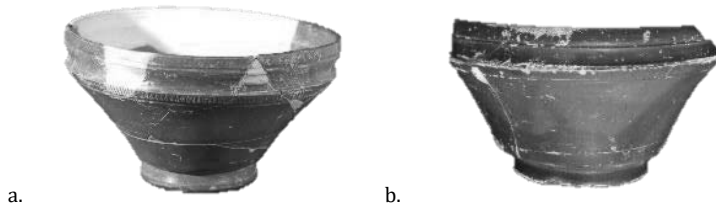


Fig. 7.44a-b. Fragments 1 (a) and 3 (b) pertaining to 'Form 23'. Source: by the author.

Nine fragments were assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 23', which consist of angular profiled cups with a relatively low ring base, also known as 'Kalathos cups' (figs. 7.43 and 7.44a-b). The fragments derive from sector K-L/14-15 (fr.6-9) on top of the *höyük* and from the cleaning activities near the Urfa Gate in the Lower Town (fr.1-5). Several fragments contain rouletting ornamentation on the exterior of the profiled rim (fr. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) and two fragments contain a stamp in the tondo (fr. 2: palmette, fr. 3: 'Xapıç'). The general form is well-attested, both in eastern and western red-gloss wares, and is generally dated to the first half of the 1st c. CE.¹⁰⁰⁴ Important parallels derive

¹⁰⁰⁴ Hayes 1986, 34. Zoroğlu 1986, 91: 'Urfa Kapısı'nda bulunanlar dışında, diğerleri Merkez açmadaki Mozaikli yapı seviyesinde, yani iv. tabakada ele geçmişlerdir ki, daha önce burada ele geçen parçalarda olduğu gibi, bu fincanlar da M. S. 1. yüzyılın ilk yarısına tarihlenebilecek buluntulardır.'

from Hama¹⁰⁰⁵, Samaria¹⁰⁰⁶, Tarsus¹⁰⁰⁷, Dura Europos¹⁰⁰⁸, Tel Anafa¹⁰⁰⁹, Nessana¹⁰¹⁰, Corinth¹⁰¹¹, Perge¹⁰¹² and Antiochia.¹⁰¹³

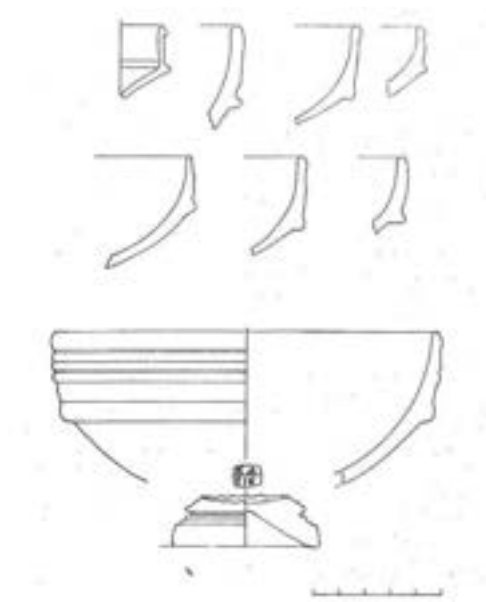


Fig. 7.45. Drawings of fragments pertaining to Zoroğlu's 'Form 24'. Source: Zoroğlu 1986, 92 fig. 12.

Nine fragments were assigned by Zoroğlu to 'Form 24', which consists of deep bowls with vertical, often profiled rims, an angular body and a high, narrow and profiled ring-base (fig. 7.45). Fragments were found primarily at the Urfa Gate in the Lower Town (fr. 1-7 and 9), while one fragment was found on top of the *höyük* (fr. 8). This form has several parallels with western red-gloss forms.¹⁰¹⁴ In some cases, the rim has vertical roulette decoration on the exterior. Fragment 9 contains a stamp ('*Xapıç*') in the tondo. Form 24 is generally dated to the 1st century CE in other

¹⁰⁰⁵ Christensen and Johansen 1971, 166-168, fig. 64.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Crowfoot et al. 1957, fig. 68, 81.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Jones 1950, 182, 244.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cox 1949, 12, pl. 3, no. 69.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Slane and Berlin 1997, 324-325.

¹⁰¹⁰ Baly 1962, 283, pl. 44j.

¹⁰¹¹ Hayes 1973, 451, pl. 85, no. 119.

¹⁰¹² Atik 1995, 68, fig. 27 no. 96.

¹⁰¹³ Waagé 1948, forms 453, 455, 457, 460.

¹⁰¹⁴ E.g. Loeschke 1909, 152, 153, pl. XI, 12 (in Haltern).

contexts such as Samaria¹⁰¹⁵ and Hama¹⁰¹⁶, with the plain and un-profiled walls perhaps slightly later. Zoroğlu dates these fragments from Samosata to the Augustan-1st c. CE period.¹⁰¹⁷

7.5.6 Analysis

On the basis of the above presentation and discussion of the material pertaining to objectscape 4, I will now again analyse this objectscape in terms of the four different objectscape-proxies: 1) temporal and geographical genealogies (investigating the vibrancy of glocal relations); 2) materials and colours (investigating the vibrancy of materials and their relational capacities); 3) sensorial capacities (investigating the vibrancy of matter through the multi-sensorial capacities of objects and their place in 'sensorial regimes'; and 4) radical alterity and representation (investigating the vibrancy of 'ontologically unsettling' objects). If appropriate and possible, I will address significant differences with the analysis of objectscape 3 (paragraph 7.4.7).

Temporal and geographical genealogies. For some elements of objectscape 4, there were precursors in objectscape 3. The red-gloss wares remained the principle fine ware ceramics in the assemblage; and the Zeus-like iconography witnessed in the sculptural evidence (ID298) was already attested for the previous objectscape as well (ID215). Except from the new citadel wall, which followed the course of the older Iron Age Wall, no temporal relations with a deep, local history can be witnessed in this objectscape however. In fact, most other objects making up objectscape 4 were most likely entirely novel on this local scale. The most important of these are the wall techniques of *opus caementicium* and *opus reticulatum*, which occurred in such great quantity and were so unlike pre-existing wall constructions (mudbrick with fieldstones and ashlar masonry) and wall facing techniques (limestone slabs or plaster coating) that it likely brought about another 'shock of the new'.¹⁰¹⁸ Other new elements in objectscape 4 comprise of the symmetrical basilica lay-out; the limestone floor made with square, plain white slabs (F10 and F17); the new forms of red-gloss wares (forms 14, 20, 22, 23 and 24); the use of 'redende Stempel' (fig. 40, fragment 12); and the construction of city walls in the Lower City.

In terms of geographical genealogies, it seems that the shift attested for objectscape 3 to forms that were widely attested on the Italian peninsula and the western Mediterranean in general (see 7.2.3), is amplified in objectscape 4. At the same time, many of such forms were also witnessed in a more incidental way in other Near Eastern kingdoms and localities, especially in Herodian Judea.

¹⁰¹⁵ Crowfoot et al. 1957, 338, fig. 81.

¹⁰¹⁶ Christensen and Johansen 1971, 172, fig. 69.

¹⁰¹⁷ Zoroğlu 1986, 93: 'Ancak diğer parçaları Augustus döneminden itibaren M.S. 1. yüzyıla tarihlemek istiyoruz.'

¹⁰¹⁸ See n. 886.

The *opus reticulatum* and *opus caementicium* were developed and ubiquitous especially in Latium and Campania, but it was also attested in several contexts in Herodian Judea, in Emesa and in Antioch. The basilica lay-out was likely developed in Rome already by the 3rd c. BCE but started to appear in the eastern Mediterranean from the late 1st c. BCE onwards, with examples in Samaria-Sebaste, Ashkelon and Aphrodisias.¹⁰¹⁹ Several of the newly introduced forms of 'Eastern Sigillata A' red-gloss wares, which were widely attested in Asia Minor, Syria, and the Levant, now also had parallels in western Mediterranean red-gloss wares (especially forms 14, 23, 24).

Some of the local appropriations of these non-local objects might be termed rearticulations or local adaptations of the global norm. Especially the construction of a wall facing in hexagonal *cubilia*, in the large tower near the Urfa Gate, seems to be a local variation on *opus reticulatum*. The use of *opus reticulatum* in a city fortification is not attested outside of the Italian peninsula and even there it appears to be a marginal phenomenon. Its simultaneous application in a city wall, a citadel wall, and in representative buildings like a basilica, fundamentally determining the fabric of the city, is a unique phenomenon for Samosata.

Materials and colours. Objectscape 4 is characterized by the introduction of several new materials. The sculptural evidence suggests that marble has become part of the objectscape (ID89/327) alongside the continued use of limestone (ID298/328). The use of walls in *opus caementicium*, filled with gravel and pebbles, allowed for novel architectural lay-outs (for instance a multi-storeyed basilica with a wide nave and wide aisles) compared to the mud-brick architecture of the previous objectscales, where small rooms and narrow corridors were the norm.¹⁰²⁰ White was likely one of the dominant colours, witnessed in the many walls in *opus reticulatum*, the limestone floors (F10 and F17) and, if we allow for (partially) unpainted sculpture, the marble torso and leg (ID89/327). Through the continued preference for red-gloss ware, red retained a strong presence in the 'colourscape' too.

Sensorial capacities. The new objects of objectscape 4 brought along new sensorial qualities as well. The combination of the city fortification and the citadel walls meant a new degree of controlled constrain of movement and passage; people were channelled through checkpoints and gates (like the Urfa Gate) and the access to especially the citadel was limited, thus emphasizing the authority in charge of these constraints.¹⁰²¹ The similarities between the city wall and the citadel wall suggest a holistic sensorial regime that limited movement in the city, perhaps caused

¹⁰¹⁹ For basilicas and their early manifestations in Rome, see Balty 1991, 396; Welch 2003. For the adoption of basilicas in the east, see Ohr 1975; Nünnerich-Asmus 1994. *Samaria-Sebaste* (probably a Herodian earliest phase): Watzinger 1935; Boehm et al. 2016, 292); *Aphrodisias* (1st c. CE): Stinson 2008; and *Ashkelon* (1st c. CE earliest phase): Boehm et al. 2016.

¹⁰²⁰ For the impact of *opus caementicium* on architecture and society at large in the Roman world, see Flohr 2016, 16-17.

¹⁰²¹ Ristvet 2014a, 54-56.

by the increase of visitors, which in turn was likely related to increased movement across the Euphrates. In contrast to all this, the basilica lay-out of the structure in *opus reticulatum* suggests a shift from a labyrinthine architecture of the palatial complex to more extended, open and symmetrical spaces, where control of movement and a sense of disorientation and powerlessness were likely less prominent. The presence of the plain, white square decorative elements on floors (F10 and F17) and walls in *opus reticulatum* meant a shift from the palace's complex polychrome wall and floor decoration and its inherent tendency to regulate the sensory modalities of the visitors to a less imposing sensorial regime with neutral colours and shapes. We might conclude that, in objectscape 4, the management of movement and attention was less present inside its representative buildings on top of the *höyük*, while at the same time, the control of movement became a more prominent feature of the city as a whole.

Radical alterity and Representation. The use of figurative three-dimensional and more-or-less life-size sculpture in a naturalistic fashion was already discussed for objectscape 3 and is also attested for objectscape 4. The use of sculpture groups, suggesting inter-relations between the represented figures, can again also be presumed on the basis of ID89. As mentioned above, the overall inclination towards plain white surfaces suggests a move away from representations at least in some domains, when compared to the previous objectscape. The appearance of 'redende Stempel' on red-gloss ware - 'καὶ σὺ' on form 14, fr. 12 (fig. 7.40); but perhaps also 'χαρίς', taken either as a greeting or as 'favour'¹⁰²² on form 23, fr. 3 (fig. 7.43) and on form 24, fr. 9 (fig. 7.45) - introduces an innovative object to the objectscape of Samosata, with certain ceramics acquiring the capacity to become a type of 'conversational partners', engaging and encouraging the human participants to the banquet.¹⁰²³

Conclusion: Objectscape 4 is characterized by an amplification of the pre-existent tendency towards contemporary western Mediterranean genealogies, especially connections on the Italian peninsula. The local appropriation of non-local forms does not simply follow the norm in terms of the integration of these forms, something especially witnessed in the all-encompassing use of *opus caementicium* and *opus reticulatum* and the local hexagonal variations of the latter. The move towards less regulating architectural lay-outs and decorative features in representative buildings is contrasted with the increased emphasis on the control of movement through the building of two fortification walls and well-guarded city gates.

¹⁰²² Hayes 1985, 11 51.

¹⁰²³ For similar considerations on the speaking stamps of 'Rhenish' ware, see Van Oyen 2016, 108.

7.6 From objectscales to glocal genealogies

In chapter 3, I argued that an Assemblage Theory approach to Hellenistic palaces provides us with analytical room to analyse the constituent elements of such palaces in a ‘more-than-representational’ manner. Such an analytical shift, I explained, entails moving from interpretations that reduce such elements to *merely* expressing cultural concepts and ideological messages (participating in ‘visual games of power’) to an approach that asks questions about the vibrancy of such elements, their capacities (their ‘power to’), and the way these emerged from their relations. In order to grasp some of the capacities of the palace’s elements, this present chapter zoomed out from the palace and looked how its elements played an active role in Samosata’s transforming objectscales during the 4th c. BCE and the 1st c. CE. Instead of understanding changes in the archaeological repertoire in this period as representative of cultural concepts or socio-political developments, the focus was now on ‘thinking along with these objects’, in a ‘morphogenic’ manner, analysing how a new objectscale implied the introduction of new types of relational object capacities, assembling and emerging as vibrant objectscales. To some extent, however, this objectscale-approach necessarily focuses more on the broader assemblages and their overall change than on the elements they comprise of. As such, it does not completely do justice yet to the potential of these individual elements, the multiplicity of their relational capacities. What is needed therefore, is a finer, more specific level of analysis that zooms in on the relational capacities of singular objects, an approach that really considers these individual elements as assemblages in their own right. This type of analysis is offered in the case studies of chapters 8, 9 and 10.

These three case studies investigate the relational capacities of different elements assembled in the palace, namely a figurative decoration (the ‘mask mosaic’, chapter 8), a geometric decorative motif (the ‘crenellation motif’, chapter 9), and an architectural lay-out (the ‘symmetrical suite’, chapter 10). The very different character of these three elements follows logically from an understanding of the palatial assemblage as heterogeneous and non-hierarchical: the different elements that make up the palace, be they an entire architectural lay-out or a seemingly unremarkable geometric motif, are not *a priori* separated or valued differently, but instead analysed and approached according to the same method and terms.

In each of these case studies, the first part of the analysis provides and analyses the *glocal genealogy* of the object under discussion. In the theoretical chapter of this dissertation, I have explained how a genealogical approach to objects can help us to understand better the emergence and relationality of these objects (paragraph 3.3.4). To briefly recapitulate, these genealogical relations of objects form a crucial aspect of their vibrancy because they illuminate an important type of continuous processes that these objects were caught up in. With these continuous

processes I mean the dynamic relation that exists between an object and a group of objects of the same type. Building on the work of Alfred Gell and Chris Gosden, and strongly following the recent New Materialist approaches to object types by Chris Fowler, in chapter 3 I suggested to see these object genealogies and their continuous relational processes as assemblages themselves: emergent groups of related objects that are not static and monolithic like a conventional archaeological typology, but rather vibrant, and transforming through the relations of their own elements. I argued that such a model of object types and objects being co-emergent, constituting each other, fits very well to the notion of glocality, in which objects are always caught up in simultaneous processes of universalization and particularization. The notion of universalization indicates the way that, in a context of increased connectivity, objects become de-territorialized or disembedded from their previous cultural environments, and thus become available to be particularized (i.e. 're-embedded' or 'recontextualized') in a new context, acquiring new relations and thus new forms of object capacities. To emphasize the importance of this vibrant aspect of object genealogies, these case studies are all considered 'glocal genealogies'. In each case study, I thus trace the glocal genealogy of these object-types, resulting in a diachronic narrative of universalization and particularization of the object under scrutiny. For each particularization of these object types, I investigate how it adhered to or deviated from the universalizing object type, and, consequently, how it modified the glocal genealogy itself. Bringing into focus the emergent processes that individual object in the palace were caught up in and interpreting their role in Samosata is the scope of the first part of these case studies.

In the second part of these case studies, we move from interpretation to 'analytical exploration', turning to the question what these genealogical relations actually implied. On the basis of their glocal genealogies, I formulate different potential object type capacities and test these in the context of Samosata. This approach relies on the assumption that object-types allowed for enduring object capacities. Taking the emphasis on heterogeneity and 'flat ontologies' in New Materialism seriously, these enduring object capacities should allow for the inclusion of conceptual relations. Thus, 'meaning' re-enters through the backdoor in the analysis, however now only in a relational sense – thus opposing interpretative models in which objects 'have' meaning or are mere empty carriers of meaning (e.g. cultural reductionism, see chapter 2 and 3). Exploring an object's capacity to evoke certain conceptual relations instead foregrounds how a genealogy allows for multiple (yet not an infinite amount of) possible meanings, which can be subsequently 'tested' for the specific context within which the object type is particularized. As an explorative analysis, therefore, I attempt to arrive at object meaning not by prioritizing the local context of the *actual* relations and assemblages these objects were caught up in, but rather by starting out from their genealogical and *virtual* relations and capacities. What kinds of conceptual

capacities had object types acquired through time? To what extent did these endure? And how might they have been transformative and vibrant in the context of the palace of Samosata?

In the conclusion of this dissertation, I will provide a comparison of the different case studies that not only discusses the different types of glocal genealogies and types of object impact presented, but also considers how their relational capacities potentially resonated and formed an assemblage in the palace itself. Furthermore, I will reflect on the methodological gains and disadvantages of this genealogical approach, considering the possibility of its application also in other, contemporary contexts in Afro-Eurasia.

Chapter 8. Case study 1: The glocal genealogy of the satyr-like mosaic mask.



Fig. 8.1. The mask mosaic in room XV (ID700 - st.18-1000a+b). Source: Özgüç 2009, pl. 109, 239.

8.0 Introduction

This case study investigates the relational capacities of a mosaic fragment that adorned the centre of room XV (fig. 8.1).¹⁰²⁴ Although it was only partially preserved, enough elements of the fragment were still visible to identify it as the depiction of a mask of either a satyr or a figure from New Comedy.¹⁰²⁵ As this chapter will elaborately show, this mosaic fragment has played a pivotal role in reductive scholarly narratives keen on stressing the cultural affiliation of the palace. Andreas Kropp for instance writes: *‘Especially the mosaic fragment depicting a pornoboskos from the New Comedy is a striking testimony of fondness for Greek culture and the entertainment it had to offer.’*¹⁰²⁶ As argued in chapters 2 and 3, such a scholarly focus on the supposed ‘Greekness’ of an object runs the risk of obscuring other, more-than-representational capacities of such an object. To overcome this risk, this chapter attempts to illuminate other relational capacities of the mosaic,

¹⁰²⁴ See also Bingöl 1997, pl. 24.1.

¹⁰²⁵ In paragraph 8.1.2.1, I will discuss the identification of the mosaic depiction in detail.

¹⁰²⁶ Kropp 2013, 363.

understanding the mask mosaic as a vibrant assemblage emerging from a variety of elements that came together in one object.

The central methodology with which it tries to unleash the many overlooked capacities of this mosaic, is by starting out from its genealogical relations, exploring how the widespread appearance of similar mask mosaics throughout the Mediterranean, especially from the 2nd c. BCE onwards, formed a glocal genealogy for the mask mosaic in Samosata in the 1st c. BCE. I establish this genealogy and investigate how it played a role in Commagene in terms of object capacities. How did the Samosata mask adhere or deviate from the universalizing and particularizing object type? And what kind of very specific object capacities emerged from the genealogy of this object type and its particularization in Samosata?

After a detailed description and discussion of the mosaic and its archaeological context (section 8.1), I will discuss previous scholarly interpretations of the mask, a critique that ties in with the overall historiographical critique of representational and reductive interpretations of material culture as dealt with in chapter 2. After this, I will analyse the glocal genealogy of the mask mosaics, assembling other examples of isolated mask mosaics in *emblemata* (paragraph 8.2). This genealogy is then used to contextualize the mask mosaic and to establish its relational capacities with regards to this universalizing object type. In section 8.3, I will explore the implications of these genealogical relations, asking how very particular, more-than-relational capacities emerged in the context of the mask mosaic in 1st c. BCE Samosata.

8.1 Description and discussion

8.1.1 Description

This paragraph provides a description of the mask mosaic and its context in room XV of the palace. After describing the mask mosaic, I will shortly recapitulate the general context of the wider mosaic and room XV as already described in detail in chapter 4.

The 'mask mosaic' is partially preserved as a mosaic fragment (ID700 - st.18-1000a+b: Length: 0.613 m.; Height: 0.045 m.; Width: 0.32 m.), found in room XV, with an east-west orientation, facing the viewer when entering the room.¹⁰²⁷ Nowadays, the mosaic consists of two fitting pieces (a and b), which were found *in situ* in the central roundel of the mosaic covering the floor of room XV. The entire fragment probably broke in two after it was excavated and was glued together again during modern restoration (probably conducted during the time of excavation in 1984) and is

¹⁰²⁷ Its orientation is nowhere mentioned by the excavators, but on the basis of the sketches and reconstructions, it seems likely that the mask faced the entrance.

therefore discussed as one fragment. It has extensive damage on top and bottom and is broken on all sides. The stone and ceramic tesserae (height: 0,007 m.) are set into rather fine mortar (height: 0,038 m.). The technique used in the mosaic is *opus vermiculatum*, using 3-8 mm² tesserae in a wide range of reds, greys, greens, oranges, and white-yellows.¹⁰²⁸ There is no evidence for the use of glass or lead strips.

The mosaic depicts a face from a frontal perspective. It is set against a monochrome dark grey background. The size of the tesserae is smaller in the face (3-5 mm²) than in the dark grey background (5-8 mm²) and is particularly small in the nose of the depicted figure. The visible facial characteristics are a rounded bald head, a complete right eye and a partially preserved left eye, two eyebrows, a nose, an opened mouth, a beard and an ivy wreath with berries. I will here provide a more detailed description of each of these facial characteristics.

The bald head, executed in orange-red and light brown tesserae, is only preserved at the top and the front, which makes it unsure whether the sides of the head contained traces of hair. The outline of the widely opened eyes is indicated with a narrow line of dark grey tesserae. The white of the eye is executed in a monochrome field of white tesserae. The large dark-brown irises, delineated with a narrow line of dark-grey tesserae, are almost entirely visible, and placed in the upper part of the eyes, looking slightly upwards. Inside the dark brown irises, pupils are visible that are executed in dark grey tesserae. Underneath the eyes, a horizontal but curving black line indicates a wrinkle that ends at the nose, giving the impression of a large bag under the eye. Above the eyes are placed heavily curved non-connected eyebrows that turn upwards at their inside ends (where the nose starts). The right eyebrow curves downwards at the outside end. The left eyebrow is only preserved halfway, which makes it impossible to tell whether the brows are exactly symmetrical.

The nose is stubby, very broad at the bottom and delineated with a strong line of dark-grey tesserae. It has a much darker area of dark-brown tesserae on its upper part compared to the light-brown and orange red tesserae in the remainder of the nose. Its right nostril is clearly indicated and executed in dark grey tesserae. Three horizontal lines in dark grey tesserae are placed on top of the nose and indicate wrinkles. Underneath the nose, an opened mouth is depicted, that is almost as wide as the width of the nose. The right corner of the mouth is turning upwards. The lips are executed in dark-orange and light brown tesserae; especially the lower region of the lower lip is executed in darker tones. The inside of the opened mouth shows a monochrome field of dark grey tesserae, equal to the general background of the roundel. No indications of a tongue or teeth are suggested. The beard is rendered in several shades of white and light-orange tesserae, giving the impression of separate unkempt and perhaps greasy strains

¹⁰²⁸ For *opus vermiculatum*, the 'wormlike' mosaic technique which uses very small tesserae to indicate the outline of a subject, see: Daszewski 1985, 74–77; Dunbabin 1999, 23 and Zapheirou 2006, 33.

of hair. Five lines of white tesserae starting at the very side of the mouth and continuing on the outer side of the beard suggest a long moustache. Above the right eye, four leaves connected to a twig are depicted in dark green tones, suggesting an ivy wreath. Above the left eye, one ivy leaf is present, which is not connected to the other four, and thus suggests that the mask was depicted wearing a wreath interrupted on the front side, right above the nose. Here, at the end of both twigs, at least five small yellow berries are indicated in light yellow tesserae.

Mosaic room XV The mask mosaic is set in a concentric border design, that covers the entire square, 11,1 x 11,1 m. sized room (fig. 8.2). This mosaic is executed in *opus tessellatum*, consisting of tesserae of ca. 10-13 mm², significantly larger than those of the *emblema* with the mask mosaic described above. The mosaic was almost entirely excavated, safe for the southeast corner, which was not included in the trench. In the north, a large part of the mosaic was destroyed, as well as in the central-south, right next to the roundel. The mosaic is executed in the so-called ‘concentric-border-decoration style’, with consecutive rectangular bands containing geometric decoration, discussed in chapter 4 and chapter 8 of this dissertation.

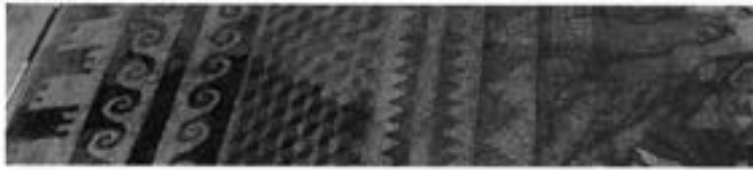


Fig. 8.2. Concentric border decoration in room XV. Source: Özgüç Archive.

The mosaic has 16 consecutive borders, which, from the outside inwards, can be described as follows¹⁰²⁹: 1) an empty band, white 2) a band with a crenellation motif, dark grey on white, 3) a wave crest-motif (or “running dog”), dark grey on white, 4) an empty dark band, 5) a wave-crest motif mirroring the former one, white on dark grey, 6) a wide band of lozenges in perspective in dark grey, white and dark red, 7) a band with a saw-tooth motif, white on dark grey, 8) empty band, white 9) band with another saw-tooth motif, mirroring the former one, dark grey on white, 10) band with stepped pyramid-motif, dark grey on white, 11) empty band, dark grey, 12) band with meander-motif (or “Greek key”), 13) empty band, dark grey, 14) a band with wave-crest pattern, white on dark grey, 15) an empty band, white, 16) a band with wave-crest pattern, white on dark grey, 17) a wide band with vegetal decoration against a dark grey background, including

¹⁰²⁹ The designation ‘grey on white’ is relative; there is no clear hierarchy between the white and grey wave-crest motifs that result from one another. For the sake of description, I choose to give primacy to the colour first encountered when describing ‘from the outside inwards’.

four symmetrical pairs of acanthus leaves in pink, yellow and white in each corner. From the top of these acanthus leaves, twigs shoot up which bifurcate and end in ivy leaves (fig. 8.3: ID701 – st.18-1001¹⁰³⁰; ID702-st. 18-1002¹⁰³¹).

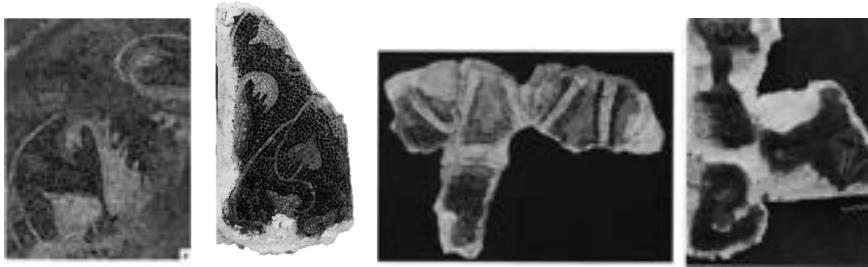


Fig. 8.3. ID701 – st.18-1001 fragment of vegetal decoration; ID702 – st.18-1002 fragment of vegetal decoration; ID703 – st.18-1003 fragment of 'Ionian cymation'; ID704 – st.18-1004 fragment of circular vegetal decoration and stylized motifs. Source: Özgüç Archive.

The circular roundel that follows and in which the Mask Mosaic is placed continues in a concentric border-style: 17) wide red band with stylized and/or vegetal motifs in dark green with (unidentified) white rectangular element with black line in its centre (fig. 8.3: ID704 – st.18-1004¹⁰³²) 18) a simple guilloche in pink, white and red 19) a wave crest border, dark grey on white, 20) an empty band, white, 21) a wave crest border, white on dark grey 22) a 'Ionian cymation' with red, white and dark grey (ID703 – st.18-1003¹⁰³³) 23) an empty band in white. This latter concentric border is then followed by the inner *emblema* with the mask mosaic.

¹⁰³⁰ ID701– st.18-1001: Found *in situ*. Fragment of symmetric floral decoration in *opus tessellatum* from the rectangular frame that serves as the transition to the roundel in the centre. Depicting two acanthus leaves mirroring each other. Both are rendered in yellow, pink and white. Both leaves curve outwards at the pink top and have serrated edges on the inside. The outside is smooth and is indicated with yellow tesserae.

¹⁰³¹ ID702-st. 18-1002: Found *in situ*. Fragment of symmetric floral decoration in *opus tessellatum* from the rectangular frame that serves as the transition to the roundel. Depicting an acanthus leaf in pink and white that curves outwards on the top, where the edge is serrated. From the top shoots a twig in white that seems to bifurcate and ends in several ivy leaves in white-yellow, four of which have been preserved.

¹⁰³² ID704 – st.18-1004: Found *in situ*, with decorative bands in *opus tessellatum*, surrounding the roundel. Outer band has vegetal and stylized motifs on a red background. Then follows a simple guilloche in red, yellow and white against a dark grey background. After this a wave-crest pattern, white on dark grey; an empty fillet of white tesserae; a small wave-crest pattern, dark grey on white. More detailed description of concentric border decoration, see below.

¹⁰³³ ID703 – st.18-1003: Found *in situ*. Executed in *opus tessellatum*. Stylized Ionian cymation in red, dark grey and white-yellow tesserae. Ovals in red, framed with a white border separating from the stylized lotus, again rendered in red tesserae.

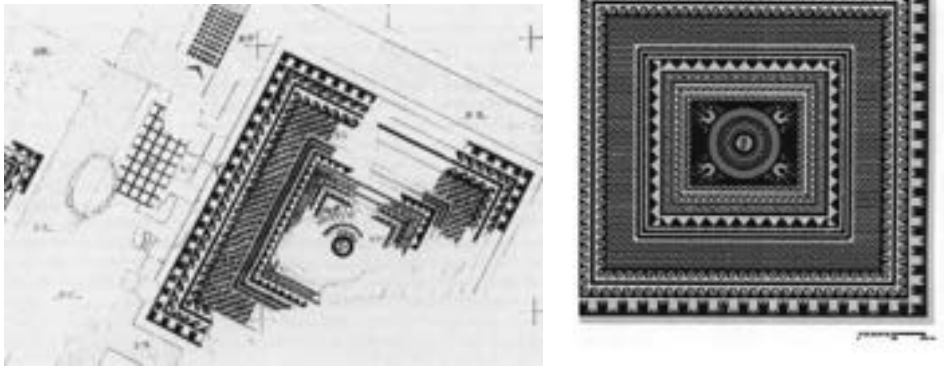


Fig. 8.4. Excavation drawing of room XV with the mask mosaic (Source: Özgüç Archive) and a reconstruction from Bingöl 2013, fig. 20. .

Room XV, where the mosaic was located, is described in detail already in chapter 4 so a concise discussion of its basic features will suffice here. Most importantly, the square room measures 11,1 x 11,1 m. and is the second largest room of the excavated part of the royal building (123,21 sq. m.; see fig. 8.4 for a map and a reconstruction). The room was entered from sector 4 of corridor A (which has the characteristics of an anteroom) through a wide, relatively monumental entrance (2,45 m.) constructed with large limestone slabs. The mosaic floor is located 37,0 cm. lower than this entrance, which means that one would have had an elevated viewing position onto the mosaic when entering, providing an increased viewing angle and a more frontal perspective onto the mask mosaic.¹⁰³⁴ In chapter 4 and 5, I have suggested that the entrance was adorned with a limestone door lintel, of which several fragments have been preserved (chapter 5: ID517; ID588; ID614; ID613). The wall decoration of room XV contained Masonry Style wall painting that, in broad lines, is very similar to the wall painting decoration encountered throughout the rest of the royal building. Based on the photographic evidence, it seems that at least two different decorative *schemata* were displayed on separate walls of the room.¹⁰³⁵ The elaborate decoration of room XV likely points to a representative function, and, like room XIV, would have been well equipped for

¹⁰³⁴ The excavation map published by Özgüç provides relative depths and indicates that the limestone threshold is located at 10,26 m., while the mosaic of room XV is located on 10,63 m. See chapter 4.

¹⁰³⁵ The first is a decorative schema that consists of a socle of horizontal yellow orthostats with red borders, interspersed with red orthostats with yellow borders. The middle and upper parts of this decorative scheme have not been preserved. The second is a decorative schema with a socle that, from the bottom up, consists of a narrow white band, followed by a narrow blue band, a narrow red band, a wider white band, a wider blue band and again a wide white band. On top of this socle, there seem to be vertical orthostats that might be blue with a red border, interspersed with narrower red orthostats with a yellow border. Here too, the upper parts of this decorative schema have not been preserved.

banqueting, something that is also suggested by its close similarity to the ‘Mosaic Rooms’ in Arsameia on the Nymphaios (see paragraph 10.5).

8.1.2 Identification and connotation of the mask mosaic: a discussion

The mask mosaic has received considerable attention in earlier scholarly work on the palace of Samosata. This work has however primarily focused on the identification of the mosaic’s iconography. Although the intention of this chapter is to go beyond such iconographic discussions about representation and deal with other, overlooked object capacities that are more-than-representational, it is useful to briefly discuss the scholarly debate as it might itself be seen as an illustration of the limits of representation. In this section, I will therefore first consider different scholarly interpretations concerning the identification of the mask mosaic, discussing its representation of a mask, a satyr, or a new comedy mask (paragraph 8.1.2.1). After doing this, I will move to discussions concerning the more connotative meaning of the mask mosaic, dealing with the way scholars have used their specific identifications of the mask mosaic to link it to broader concepts (i.e. to Greekness, theatre and Dionysos; see paragraph 8.1.2.2). The reductive nature of this reasoning forms the motivation for the genealogical and more-than-representational approach offered in sections 8.2 and 8.3.

8.1.2.1 Identification

Here, I will provide an overview of the scholarly interpretations concerning the identification of the mask mosaic, discussing four possibilities: a *pornoboskos* mask, a generic comedy mask of an old man, a satyr portrait and a satyr mask.

Most scholars have interpreted the mask mosaic as a depiction of a so-called *pornoboskos* (“Brothelkeeper”), a mask type pertaining to New Comedy. In his 1997 monograph on Turkish mosaics, Orhan Bingöl was the first to suggest this identification: ‘*In der Mitte des rechteckigen Feldes befindet sich ein von pflanzlichen Motiven umgebenes rundes Emblema. In ihm ist von einer Maske soviel erhalten, dass sie sich als die des Bordellwirtes (Pornoboskos) der Neuen Komödie bestimmen lässt. Seinen kahlen Schädel schmückt ein Efeukranz.*’¹⁰³⁶ This interpretation was followed by Ruth Westgate, who suggests that the ‘(...) fragment, from the centre of a floor, shows the mask of a character from Greek comedy, probably the Brothelkeeper’.¹⁰³⁷ Maria Kopsacheili furthermore states that the ‘*tessellated mosaics depict a pornoboskos (a pimp), a character of the*

¹⁰³⁶ Bingöl 1997, 107. In Bingöl 2013, 76-77 this interpretation remains unaltered: ‘Tüm bu özellikler burada satyr başının bir ‘mask’ olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır (...) En önemli özelliği olarak görülebilecek bir ayrıntı bornunda bir halka oluşudur ki bu da onun bir ‘pornoboskos’ olduğunun diğer bir göstergesidir’.

¹⁰³⁷ Westgate 2002, 242.

New Comedy'.¹⁰³⁸ Andreas Kropp claims 'a fragment of the central medallion of room 6 depicted a bald head, probably a theatre mask of the New Comedy of a brothel keeper (*pornoboskos*)'.¹⁰³⁹ Other authors are more cautious and stick with the more generic '(new) comedy mask' without ascribing a specific mask type to the depiction. Eric Moormann, for instance, mentions the '*flattish rendering (...) [of the] comedy mask*'¹⁰⁴⁰, Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets writes '*Un masque de la Nouvelle Comédie ornait le centre d'un pavement de Samosate*'.¹⁰⁴¹

Other scholars, however, have suggested that the mosaic in room XV does not depict a mask, but should instead be understood as a figural image of a satyr. Nimet Özgüç, writes: '*Çok küçük taşlarla hazırlanmış olan merkez figürü, satır başının, üçte biri korunmuştur. Saçlarıyla yüzünün organları kırmızı zemin üzerine siyah taşlarla işlenmiştir. Alnına yeşil yapraklı, sarı dut çelengi süsler*'.¹⁰⁴² Levent Zoroğlu seems to follow this line of interpretation when he states that '*Das eingesunkene und stark zerstörte Bildfeld zeigt ein von grünem Blattwerk umgebenes Medaillon, von dem zwei Fragmente einen kahlen Satyrkopf mit einem Efeukranz erkennen lassen*'.¹⁰⁴³ Although Maria Kopsacheili in her 2011 publication has decided on the mask-interpretation, it should be noted that in the catalogue of her 2013 dissertation, she leaves open both interpretations: '*A partly preserved medallion in the center illustrates the head of a male figure with an ivy-wreath, identified either as a satyr, or a comic mask of the type of pornoboskos*'.¹⁰⁴⁴

Based on this overview, three different identifications are on the table: 1) a generic new comedy mask, 2) a *pornoboskos* mask, or 3) a satyr head. It is difficult to further discuss these various options based on the mentioned scholarly interpretations as virtually none of them has actually motivated the identification of their liking. To make up of this, I will discuss these identifications separately below. After this, I will add (and argue in favour of) a fourth identification, namely 4) a satyr-like mask, in which aspects of especially the first and third options are combined.

1) A generic (comedy) mask

As we have seen, most scholars interpret the mosaic from room XV as the depiction of a comedy mask. Whereas many authors are very specific about the type of comedy mask (cf. the '*pornoboskos*', see below), it is useful to first discuss why we might be dealing with a *comedy mask* in the first place. Mosaic depictions of masks - widespread in a variety of media (e.g. terracotta, pottery and glass decoration, wall paintings, and mosaics) - have received elaborate scholarly

¹⁰³⁸ Kopsacheili 2011, 24-25.

¹⁰³⁹ Kropp 2013, 109.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Moormann 2014, 611.

¹⁰⁴¹ Guimier-Sorbets 2012b, 445.

¹⁰⁴² Özgüç 2009, 42.

¹⁰⁴³ Zoroğlu 2012, 143.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Kopsacheili 2012, 230-231. Anette Haug also leaves all options open by describing the mosaic as 'satyr or comic mask/*pornoboskos*' (Haug 2021, no. 124).

attention over the last century¹⁰⁴⁵, culminating in T.B.L. Webster's elaborate and repeatedly revised catalogues of 'Monuments Illustrating' Old and Middle Comedy¹⁰⁴⁶, New Comedy¹⁰⁴⁷ and Tragedy and Satyr Play.¹⁰⁴⁸ This scholarly work was however mostly focused on mask depictions as evidence for 'real' theatre masks and theatre practice and less on their qualities as visual elements and objects in themselves.¹⁰⁴⁹

Nonetheless, from these catalogues emerges a basic set of characteristics of comedy mask depictions. Like any type of mask, comedic mask iconography is first of all recognized as portraits that lack a physical connection to a neck and torso. Comedy mask depictions are furthermore characterized by their widely opened mouths, usually depicted without teeth or tongue. The facial characteristics are generally considered to be schematic, inanimate and grotesque; they do not look like normal human faces. Often, the eyes are very large and lack any pupils.¹⁰⁵⁰ Many depictions of masks, especially, as we will see, in mosaics, in fact are not really simply mask-depictions but rather an iconographic type of itself; the depiction of actual eyes (instead of the openings for the actors to look through) supports this notion specifically (see also section 8.3)

The figure depicted in the mosaic roundel of room XV more or less adheres to these requirements. It has a wide opened, gaping mouth without teeth, merely showing a black hole in the same colour as the general background. Also, the 'grotesque' features of the figure in room XV – the stubby nose, the big eyes, the bald head, the strong wrinkles and the pronounced and frowning eyebrows – match well with the general 'mask requirements'. To this, it could be opposed that the fragmentary state of the mosaic makes it impossible to say whether the depicted face indeed lacks a neck and a trunk with the further complication that a potential neck might be covered by the figure's beard.¹⁰⁵¹ The presence of irises and pupils within the figure's eyes give the figure a more animated impression that furthermore might contradict the mask-requirements. However, on closer inspection, there are several mask mosaics where pupils and irises are clearly indicated as well (e.g. the satyr(-like) masks from the House of the Masks and the masks from the Insula of the Jewelry on Delos as well as the masks in the House of the Faun in Pompeii see below *infra*). We

¹⁰⁴⁵ From the early 20th century onward, scholars like C. Robert and M. Bieber have catalogued and commented on a large corpus of mask illustrations from the ancient world (including mosaic depictions). See Robert 1911; Bieber 1920.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Webster 1960. Updated and revised by Green in Webster and Green 1978.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Webster 1961, updated and revised in Webster 1969 and again updated and revised by Green and Seeborg in Webster et al. 1995.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Webster 1962, updated and revised in Webster 1967.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Or as Mieke Bahmer 2015, ii states: '*The masks are more thoroughly examined as remnants of Classical theatre than in studies of antique mosaics*'.

¹⁰⁵⁰ For a similar type of assessment, but then for the mask mosaic in Tel Dor, see Sagiv-Hayik 2011. For the Tel Dor mask see paragraph 8.2.1.

¹⁰⁵¹ The fact that the beard is rendered with stones with a light-orange hue, similar to the figure's overall skin colour, could be understood as the skin of the neck shining through the beard.

can thus conclude that, although the lack of preservation of the mosaic prevents us from complete certainty, it seems very likely that the mosaic indeed depicts a mask.

2) A pornoboskos ('Brothelkeeper') mask

As we have seen above, most scholars ascribe to the mask mosaic a specific type of New Comedy mask, namely the *pornoboskos*. The *pornoboskos* is known as a New Comedy stock character described in the 2nd c. CE *Onomasticon* by Ioulios Polydeukes, better known as Julius Pollux.¹⁰⁵² This Roman lexicon, a product of the Second Sophistic, provides a list and short descriptions of 44 different theatre masks, among which the *pornoboskos*.¹⁰⁵³ *Pornoboskos* literally means 'herdsman of prostitutes', and his role in New Comedy-plays thus is that of the old male brothelkeeper. Pollux describes the *pornoboskos* as follows: 'generally like the Lycomedian, but has a slight smile on his lips and connected brows; he has receding hair and is bald'.¹⁰⁵⁴ The Lycomedian, in turn, is described as follows: 'The Lycomedian is curly-haired, long-bearded, raises one of his eyebrows, and shows a tendency to meddle in other people's business'.¹⁰⁵⁵ On first glance, this indeed fits well with our mask mosaic; the raised eyebrow, the long beard, slight smile and the bald head all coincide with this description. Some elements are however also lacking, as no mention is made of the figure's ivy wreath nor the greasiness and greyness of the beard. Furthermore, the eyebrows of the Samosata mask are not connected as described for the *pornoboskos*. The descriptions of the *pornoboskos* and the Lycomedian thus are problematic as definitive identifications of the Samosata mask as they remain very limited, ambiguous and unspecific. In general, the *Onomasticon* should also be considered a problematic source as the 2nd c. CE lexicon is strongly antiquarian and it is not clear how representative it is of actual theatre masks throughout the Mediterranean and across time, nor whether it bears any relation to the iconographic tradition of mask depictions.¹⁰⁵⁶

¹⁰⁵² Poll. *Onom.* 4.143–54. For a summary, see Dickey 2007, 96. It was written during the reign of emperor Commodus, to whom the ten different books the work consists of are repeatedly dedicated. The work basically consists of word lists about a wide range of different subjects, from intellectual themes to issues of everyday life. König 2016, 298 writes how Pollux's *Onomasticon* 'constructs an encyclopaedic panorama of Greek cultural experience'. See also Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 177–9, 223–31; Bearzot, Landucci and Giuseppe Zecchini 2007, the latter together with the review by Rance 2008.

¹⁰⁵³ Note that these mask types are not necessarily connected easily either to the roles in New Comedy itself; based on Pollux's mask descriptions, inferences can however be made about their likely use for specific roles in specific plays. For such an analysis, see MacCary 1970.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Poll. *Onom.* 4.143–54.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Poll. *Onom.* 4.144, comic mask no.7.

¹⁰⁵⁶ For a convincing criticism see Poe 1996. It is important to bear in mind that no actual theatre masks were preserved from antiquity as these were made of highly perishable materials such as wood, cork or thin plaster. Poe also makes us aware that one of the main reasons the list of masks ended up in Pollux's list probably was the fact that this knowledge was by then outdated and largely forgotten. It is not clear on which ancient sources Pollux based his descriptions and how reliable these were.

3) *A satyr head*

As presented above, Özgüç, Zoroğlu and (to some extent) Kopsacheili suggest that the mosaic figure depicts an actual portrait of a satyr – not a mask. As we have concluded in the sub-paragraph on masks above, the objections against the mask-identification can be largely dismissed. However, it is still useful to consider the affinity of the mask mosaic to satyr iconography, which is well attested in a variety of media.¹⁰⁵⁷ Satyrs are typically male, wild and uninhibited figures that are half-human, half-animal, mostly containing characteristics of horses or donkeys. They often have horse/donkey-like tails, hooves, equine ears and sometimes horns. Many wear ivy wreaths, and often they are depicted holding other 'Dionysiac' attributes, such as the *thyrsus* and *kantharos*. The older satyrs or *papposilanoi* have particularly stubby and wild facial characteristics, they are often bald or heavily balding and have long grey beards, often appearing unkempt and greasy. Examples showing this fairly standardized set of characteristics include the painted *papposilenos* from the Villa dei Misteri, the *papposilanoi* from the Stobadeion in Delos, and the *emblemata* presenting a *papposilenos* with Dionysos Pais from building Z in Pergamon.¹⁰⁵⁸

The figure depicted in the mosaic of Samosata definitely resembles such standardized *papposilenos*-iconography if we consider its ivy wreath, bald head, stubby and wild facial characteristics and unkempt beard. Due to the lack of preservation, it is however impossible to say something about the presence of horns or equine ears. We should conclude that, even if the mosaic depiction represents a comedy mask of an older man, the general features of this mask should still be described as heavily satyr-like or *papposilenos*-like.

4) *A satyr(-like) mask*

Taking into account our discussion of the three suggested identifications in earlier scholarship, we might consider a fourth option that is a combination of the first and third identification, suggesting that the mosaic depiction in Samosata represents a satyr mask or a comedy mask with satyr-like characteristics. Satyr masks are well-attested, especially also in mosaics, e.g. the masks from the House of the Masks on Delos and the masks from the Seven Sages Mosaic from the Villa of T. Siminius Stephanus near Torre Annunziata.¹⁰⁵⁹ Satyr-like masks, combining traits from comedy masks and satyr masks occur often in mosaics, especially in combination with comedy slave masks, e.g. the Kos Mask, the Ampurias Mask and the Centocelle Mask. It is very well possible that such satyr-like comedy mask depictions did not necessarily reflect 'real' theatre masks, functioning more as iconographical motifs in themselves than as direct reflections of theatre

¹⁰⁵⁷ Key publications about satyrs and satyr iconography are Hedreen 1992, 1994; Lindblom 2011; Lissarrague 2013, 2019, 207-220; Padgett 2003; and Heinemann 2016.

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Villa dei Misteri*: Beyen 1938; *Delos*: Zaphiropoulou 1993, 32; *Pergamon*: Salzmann 1993, 393, fig. 7.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Webster 1962, updated and revised in Webster 1967.

practice.¹⁰⁶⁰ In paragraph 8.3.2 of this chapter, I will explain why this ambiguity of satyr-like depictions – between satyr mask and actual satyr, between comedy figure and satyr – fitted well to the transformational capacity of satyr-like depictions.

8.1.2.2 *Three reductions: the mask mosaic as a representation of Greekness, theatre and Dionysos*

In this paragraph, we will turn to scholarly interpretations of the mask mosaic that deal with its more connotative meanings. I discuss three (sometimes overlapping) concepts or interpretative frames separately: 'Greekness', theatre and Dionysos. I will briefly discuss these interpretative frames and use this discussion to make a general point about the reductionisms the mask mosaic has been subjected to in this earlier scholarship, a point made more generally in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Cultural reductionism: Greekness

The mask mosaic has first of all been understood by scholars as a token of 'Greekness'. By selecting a mask mosaic in the palace, the Commagenean rulers would signal a Greek affiliation, a (partially) Greek cultural identity or even a Greek ethnicity. Several authors specifically highlight the mask mosaic to make an argument about the 'Greekness' of the interior decoration and often this is then linked to the cultural identity or ethnicity of the Commagenean kings. Ruth Westgate for instance argues that the mask was a reflection of the '*Greek side of their [the Commagenean dynasty's] cultural identity*'¹⁰⁶¹, typical for the overall interior décor. She juxtaposes this to the hybrid character of the public monuments of Commagene, which '*reflected the ruling dynasty's mixed Greek-Persian origins*'.¹⁰⁶² Andreas Kropp argues along the same lines, but puts less stress on the actual 'origins' of the dynasty and rather sees the mask as an evocation of the dynasty's 'Greek credentials', a form of 'Hellenism' or 'doing Greek' that would have had an influential precursor in a mosaic of palace V in Pergamon: '*The comical theatre mask depicted in the floor mosaic has a tragic correspondent in the Attalid royal palace ('Raumgruppe V') of Pergamon, built by a dynasty keen to stress its Greek credentials, and reinforces this impression.*'¹⁰⁶³ Kropp's argument would have been stronger if he would have actually compared the Samosata mask with the Pergamene example. The mask as a pars-pro-toto for Greek culture is made even more explicit when Kropp

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. Bahmer 2016. See also below.

¹⁰⁶¹ Westgate 2002, 242. Note that Westgate uses the concept of 'cultural identity' interchangeably from more ethnical understandings of the dynasty, for instance when she talks about '*a half-Greek, half-Persian dynasty*' or '*the ruling dynasty's mixed Greek-Persian origins*' (Westgate 2002, 241).

¹⁰⁶² Westgate 2002, 242. Note how Westgate switches between terms like identity and origins, seemingly leaving open an ethnical understanding of the styles employed.

¹⁰⁶³ Kropp 2013, 109. For Attalid 'Hellenism(s)', see Schalles 1985; Smith 1991, 155-180; Schwarzer 1999; Queyrel 2003; Stewart 2005.

states: *'Especially the mosaic fragment depicting a pornoboskos from the New Comedy is a striking testimony of fondness for Greek culture and the entertainment it had to offer.'*¹⁰⁶⁴ Maria Kopsacheili states that the mask mosaic *'follows Greek prototypes'* and is a decorative element that stems *'from the Hellenistic tradition'*.¹⁰⁶⁵ These cultural reductions of the mask mosaic *a priori* link the mask to a category of Greekness, which is conveniently linked to the cultural strategies and ancestral claims of Antiochos I (see chapter 2).

Representational reductionism: theatre

Linked to the cultural reduction of the mask mosaic to an evocation of Greekness discussed above is the presupposition that a mask depiction in the first place connotes (Greek) theatre and (Greek) theatre practice. When Kropp states *'Especially the mosaic fragment depicting a pornoboskos from the New Comedy is a striking testimony of fondness for Greek culture and the entertainment it had to offer'*¹⁰⁶⁶ he implies that the mask depiction represented the Commagenean dynasty's enthusiasm for Greek New Comedy. Similarly, Westgate argues in relation to the Samosata mask: *'the popularity of theatrical motifs may simply reflect the popularity of drama.'*¹⁰⁶⁷ Kopsacheili furthermore claims *'the satyr or a comic mask relates to Dionysos and theatre.'*¹⁰⁶⁸

It is definitely the case that mask depictions sometimes functioned within narrative iconographies that were directly connected to contemporary or older theatre practice, something for instance attested by the so-called Menander Mosaics discovered in Pompeii and by the much later examples from Antioch and Mytilene.¹⁰⁶⁹ Webster noticed, however, that many other theatre

¹⁰⁶⁴ Kropp 2013, 363.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Kopsacheili 2013, 24, 26-27.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Kropp 2013, 363.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Westgate 2007, 320.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Kopsacheili 2012, 232-233.

¹⁰⁶⁹ See Nervegna 2013, 264-267 (appendix 2) for a catalogue of mosaics and paintings depicting comedies by Menander. The mosaic depictions are very rare for the Hellenistic period and until the 1st c. CE derive solely from Pompeian contexts. In the *tablinum* floor mosaic of the House of the Tragic Poet (1st c. CE) in Pompeii, a choreographer (*choragos*) and actors are depicted 'backstage', preparing for a theatrical performance, most likely a satyr play. Several masks are shown lying around and one actor wears what appears to be a silenos mask. See Pernice 1938, 98, 171; Herrmann and Bruckmann 1988, 22-23; Bieber 1961, 20. Two other famous Pompeian depictions of masks being worn derive from the 'Villa of Cicero' and are both signed with ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ ΣΑΜΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕ ('Dioskourides of Samos created [this]'). These are both dated to the late 2nd-early 1st c. BCE. Dioskourides may be the mosaicist who made these mosaics but it might also be the artist who produced older Hellenistic paintings that served as their inspiration or model. The first mosaic depicts four street musicians three of which are wearing theatrical masks (Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 9985). The second mosaic shows a group of three seated women, who all wear theatrical masks (Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 9987). On the basis of later mosaic parallels and evidence from later Roman comedies, the scene with the women is interpreted as a depiction from a largely lost comedy written by Menander, called *Synaristosai* (Συναριστώσαι, *Women at lunch* or *The women who lunch together*). The *emblema* with the musicians is thought to depict a scene from the

depictions containing masks could not be considered direct reflections of contemporary theatre practice but instead had developed as a visual category in and of itself: *'From the second century B.C. and still more obviously in the Roman period artists can in some cases be shown to be following an artistic tradition which derives from earlier theatre practice and may therefore be out of touch with the contemporary theatre'*.¹⁰⁷⁰ As already mentioned above, the depiction of actual eyes in a mosaic depiction should further make us wonder whether we are really dealing with a truthful representation of an actual theatre mask or, rather, with a particular mosaic iconography that had become somewhat detached from theatre and theatre practice. This detached nature between theatre depictions and actual contemporary theatre practice is furthermore particularly attested for depictions of satyrs and papposilenoi: *'Satyrs, even in stage costume and sometimes even when masked, may do things which have no connection to satyr play'*.¹⁰⁷¹ Especially when placed in a non-narrative, isolated setting, without any allusions to theatrical practice (as in Samosata), we should probably be careful in ascribing a simple theatrical representation to these depictions and allow also for other capacities. This is all the more important because we lack any contextual evidence for theatre practice in Commagene.¹⁰⁷²

Again, we might say that this type of reasoning reduces the mosaic merely to the concept it is presumed to represent, without critically assessing whether the connection between the object and the concept is valid in the first place. As such, the object becomes secondary to its representation; stating that a mask depiction connotes theatre (practice) degrades the status of the mosaic depiction in itself.

Cultic reductionism: Dionysos cult

A last type of reductionism is the notion that the mask mosaic represents the dynasty's affiliation with the Dionysiac cult. This interpretation is for instance expressed by Maria Kopsacheili, who states: *'The iconography of the mosaic in room VI is associated with cult, since the satyr or a comic mask relates to Dionysos and theatre'*.¹⁰⁷³ She connects the mask mosaic to a limestone architrave

play *Theophoroumene* (Θεοφορονυμένη, *The girl possessed by a deity*). See Bieber and Rodenwaldt 1911, 1-22.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Webster 1969, 5. Note that, for Webster, all these non-representative mask depictions mainly formed a hurdle to his actual research goal; understanding ancient theatre practice.

¹⁰⁷¹ Webster 1962, 7.

¹⁰⁷² In fact, no theatres were found in entire Hellenistic-period Syria, something that might well be a reflection of our limited state of knowledge concerning the archaeology of urban contexts there, but see Millar 1987, 117-118: *'Poseidonius' remarks on the luxury of life in Syria imply that gymnasia were common. None of these cities, however, has revealed any trace of a theatre that can be firmly dated to this period. It is surely, I think, a revealing fact that there is no certain archaeological evidence for a theatre of the Hellenistic period anywhere in the Syrian region. Given the relative indestructability of theatres built against hillsides, as Hellenistic theatres normally were (e.g. those of Priene or Delos), this is one case where negative evidence may be suggestive'*.

¹⁰⁷³ Kopsacheili 2012, 232-233. An example of other scholarly work that invariably connects masks to Dionysos, is Herdejürgen 1996, 22-23. The potential connection between masks, theatre and Dionysos is

block with grape and vine decoration found in the lower city of Samosata, which she stages as *'evidence for the cult of the god'*¹⁰⁷⁴ and implicitly seems to link to a small Dionsyiac temple. In a similar vein, Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets asserts that *'Dionysos est le dieu du théâtre, et l'iconographie qui lui est attaché sert souvent à évoquer le dieu'*.¹⁰⁷⁵ The commissioner of the mosaics *'affirme ainsi son appartenance à un meme culture, dans laquelle Dionysos joue un rôle prépondérant'*.¹⁰⁷⁶

Such direct links between mosaic motifs and room use is however highly problematic; we simply cannot base the existence of a religious cult on the presence of one mosaic motif. Ruth Westgate has shown extensively how, for the many 2nd c. BCE mosaics on Delos, *'[t]here is certainly not enough evidence to identify the function of a room from the subject matter of its decoration alone'*.¹⁰⁷⁷ This furthermore applies specifically for motifs usually associated with Dionysos, which cannot be connected to cultic function and not even be necessarily confined to convivial (banqueting) practices.¹⁰⁷⁸

This discussion of the historiography of the mask mosaic shows how the mask mosaic has been structurally reduced to singular, abstract and static notions. The reductions to 'greekness', theatre and the Dionsyiac cult have diverted attention away from the mask mosaic as a contextual visual motif that had more-than-representational capacities. The underlying assumption to all these interpretations is that a mask depiction will merely mean and do *the same* in any given time or place. Also, such reductions merely serve to shed light on the supposed intentions and motivations of its commissioners, the Commagenean kings.

Following the theoretical framework of this dissertation (chapter 3), it is however crucial to shift the focus from an anthropocentric, hylomorphic analysis that *'reasons back'* from a mosaic to its

well-established in a number of contexts, especially of course in classical Athens. In general, see Bieber 1961; Schlesier 2011; and Pajares et al. 2013. Note however that in the next paragraph, I will argue that by the 2nd c. BCE, the connection between mask depictions and Dionysos was not self-evident anymore. See also Bahmer 2016.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Kopsacheili 2012. 232-233. Full quote: *'Evidence for the cult of the god comes also from the decoration of an architrave and frieze block of a small building found in the lower city in Samosata. The fragment is contemporary to Antiochos's I reign and decorated with grapes and vine, namely attributes of Dionysos.'*

¹⁰⁷⁵ Guimier-Sorbets 2012b, 445.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Ibidem*. Note that Kropp 2013, 314 suggests that *'selected guests (...) could enjoy their banquets in great halls, decorated appropriately with imagery from the realm of Dionysos (amphoras, dolphins).'*

¹⁰⁷⁷ Westgate 2007, 321.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Idem*, 319-321: *'Many decorative motifs have a Dionysiac flavour, and these too are often seen as indicating a dining or reception function. However, a comprehensive survey shows that we cannot assume a simple relationship between the function of a room and the subjects represented in its decoration. (...) No clear associations can be observed between motifs and particular types of room, partly because the number of motifs with an identifiable theme is so small (...) although some decoration can be linked to activities that may have taken place in the room, some clearly cannot, and most has no obvious significance beyond a general desire to create a pleasant ambience or reflect well on the owner. The tendency to mix motifs in the same room defies attempts to identify coherent thematic programs: dolphins, for instance, are juxtaposed with the drinking satyr on the mosaic at Salemi, with victory motifs on Delos, and with gods and comic masks on Delos.'*

preceding human intentions towards an analysis that ‘reasons *forward*’ from the mosaic to its capacities, its potential meanings and impact - Ingold’s morphogenic model. Only through this shift from human causes to relational capacities we can analyse the mask mosaic as a proper historical agent. Such an approach is at the centre of sections 8.2 and 8.3 of this chapter, in which I will analyse the impact of the glocal genealogy of isolated, non-narrative mosaic mask depictions.

8.2 The glocal genealogy of the mask mosaic

This section provides the glocal genealogy of isolated, non-narrative mask mosaics, in order to shed a different light on the relational capacities of the mask mosaic in Samosata. I will focus on isolated masks that are placed in central mosaic panels (*emblemata*), an object type that appears from the 2nd c. BCE onwards across the Mediterranean. The glocal genealogy is analysed in terms of the transformation and widening of the capacities of mask mosaics through time and, moreover, help to determine the relative adherence or innovation of the Samosata mask in relation to the universalizing object type. Isolated mask mosaics that are placed in central panels or *emblemata* start appearing in the first half of the 2nd c. BCE. The glocal genealogy of such isolated mosaics contains examples from Pergamon, Kos, Ampurias, Centocelle and Rome. This section will analyse this glocal genealogy by tracing the development of the type through its particularization and universalization, creating local deviations, altogether forming a wider context for the mask mosaic of Samosata.

Pergamon, palace V



Fig 8.5. Excavation photo and reconstruction of room H ("altar-room") in palace V on the citadel of Pergamon. Source: Salzmann 1995, 108, figs. 18.1 and 19.1.

One of the earliest examples of isolated mask in an *emblema* stem from the so-called altar room (or room H; 10,89 sq. m.) in palace V on the citadel of Pergamon (fig. 8.5).¹⁰⁷⁹ Here, two larger than life-size mask mosaics were located in two rectangular *pinakes* (each ca. 68,0 x 58,0 cm.) against the far eastern wall of the room. Like palace V itself, these are generally dated to the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 BCE).¹⁰⁸⁰ The mosaics, executed in *opus vermiculatum*, figure in *emblemata* that are located left and right of a statue base (or altar) in the room, oriented towards the east, facing the entrance on the other side of the room in the west.¹⁰⁸¹ The left mask mosaic showed a tragic mask, while the right one was not preserved well enough to be described but is generally expected to have contained a comic mask.¹⁰⁸² The left mask is a white, female tragic mask with wide-opened eyes and mouth. The mask is shown in three-quarters against a dark background, and looks away from the viewer towards the other mask, but specifically towards the statue base in the centre. The mask panels are part of a non-concentric scheme, which consist of two garlands with ribbons, flowers, ivy leaves, corymbs, foliage fruits and birds placed on both sides of three *emblemata*. Of these, only the left (most northern) *emblema* was preserved, depicting a green parrot in profile, turned towards the right, and placed against a dark background.¹⁰⁸³ The wall of the room consisted of a socle of white marble (c. 23,0 cm high), above which orthostats of white-veined blue-grey marble (c. 45.5 cm high) were located, with white marble slabs on top (c. 23,0 cm. high). The room was accessible and even visible directly from the central court of the palace, only separated by a metal fence spanning the entire western side of the room.¹⁰⁸⁴

In scholarship, the room is generally connected to Dionysos and even described as a 'Dionysiac cult room'; it has been suggested that the possible lost statue pertaining to the central statue base

¹⁰⁷⁹ Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, 30-39; Salzmann 1995, 108, figs. 18.1, 19.1, 20.1; Hoepfner 1996, 1-43; Radt 1999, 69, fig. 18. Debate exists about the character and function of palace V in relation to palace IV. Hoepfner argued for a distinction between a residential (palace IV) and an official-administrative (palace V) function, a model derived from the House of Dionysos at Pella. The distinction is problematic however – these are clearly separate buildings – and it seems more likely that both palaces satisfied a mixture of both needs. Nonetheless, it is clear that the high amount of large rooms makes palace V more suitable for semi-public banquets and receptions than palace IV. Also, the more central location of palace V in comparison with palace IV – it probably opened up towards an open space created by the *propylon* of the acropolis to the south and the Athena sanctuary to the west – makes it a more likely candidate for more official, public uses that needed visibility. Pfrommer 2004, 165 suggested that 'palaces IV and V' were not at all palaces, but rather lavish residences.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, 30-39.

¹⁰⁸¹ The base was originally interpreted as an altar by the excavators – hence the name of the room – but it is now generally understood as a statue base, of which the statue has not been preserved, cf. Radt 1999, 69. The base, composed of two slabs, measured c. 1,00 x 0,60 m.

¹⁰⁸² Both mosaics are unfortunately destroyed. The assumption that the right mosaic contained a comic mask is not self-evident, as the tragic-comic mask duo only became a popular motif in the Roman period. The Capitoline Mask, discussed below, however provides an early 2nd c. BCE parallel of this tragic-comic juxtaposition.

¹⁰⁸³ Executed in *opus vermiculatum* with stone and glass tesserae in green, blue and yellow, cf. Salzmann 1995, 109

¹⁰⁸⁴ Indicated by the threshold and cuttings in the floor, cf. Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, 31, fig. 39.

would have represented Dionysos.¹⁰⁸⁵ In the mosaic itself, the presence of ivy leaves and corymbs in the garlands as well as the depiction of the parrot and the theatre masks are considered allusions to Dionysos.¹⁰⁸⁶ Dionysos functioned as one of the patron deities of the Attalids, something attested since the 3rd c. BCE.¹⁰⁸⁷ *Dionysos Kathegemon* ("The Leader") played an integral role in the ruler cult of the Attalids of Pergamon, but clearly also was popular by non-royal strata of society.¹⁰⁸⁸ A large sanctuary for Dionysos was located on the edge of the steep western slope of the Acropolis, in close connection to the theatre, and large festivals were organized in celebration of the god.¹⁰⁸⁹ The Attalids presented *Dionysos Kathegemon* as the progenitor of the dynasty, but did not lay any stress on an actual genealogy like Antiochos I of Commagene did.¹⁰⁹⁰ The priestly office was generally obtained by royal relatives and the maintenance of the ruler cult happened through the Dionysiac artist guild.¹⁰⁹¹

As we have already seen in section 8.1, Andreas Kropp suggested that the Samosata mask directly capitalized on the Attalid use of mask mosaics as signs of their 'Greek credentials'.¹⁰⁹² The Attalid

¹⁰⁸⁵ Kutbay 1990, 1; Kopsacheili 2012, 168: '*Judging from the iconography of the mosaics, especially the garlands and the masks, worship in this room relates to Dionysos*'.

¹⁰⁸⁶ For the parrot, see Horn 1972, 38f. Kutbay 1990, 5 n.5 suggests: '*The parrot may allude to the Oriental triumph of Dionysos*'. Note also the presence of the foundation of a large rectangular structure (6,70 x 2,60 m.) close to the 'altar room', in the western part of the central court of the palace. This might have been a socle for a large statue group, to which a statue of a female dancer or Dionysiac maenad might be connected (see Kutbay 1998, 15; Ohlemutz 1968, 94-96; Hardiman 2017, 277-278, the latter suggests the statue belonged to the statue base in the 'altar room'). The female statue (height: 1.10 m) was found in room K of the palace, which contained the famous Hephaistion mosaic that was located next to the 'altar room' H. The woman holds her chiton with her left hand and turns her head towards the right, while bringing her right hand to the front. The backside is '*only quickly finished*', suggesting that it was produced to be seen from a frontal view, cf. Winter 1908, 65.

¹⁰⁸⁷ As described by Hansen 1971, 432-433, 452, 462-463; Müller 1989, 539-553; and Chaniotis 2003, 433. After Attalos I, the grand-nephew of Philetairos (founder of the Attalid dynasty), had defeated the Gauls, he was declared a son of Dionysos by Delphi. See Evans 2012, 19-23. An inscription on a statue base from Pergamon dated to ca. 250-220 BCE, connects Attalos I and Dionysos, cf. Müller 1989, 539-553.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Pillin 1903, 18-23; Ohlemutz 1940, 90-122; Scheer 1993, 131-133; Agelidis 2011, 182.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Maischberger 2011, 242-247. The origins of the cult cannot be dated with certainty. The Hellenistic phase of the temple seems connected to Eumenes II, but underneath the structure some older traces have been discovered as well. Most of the current remains of the temple are from a temple constructed under the reigns of Caracalla or Hadrian.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Agelidis 2011, 182.

¹⁰⁹¹ Schwarzer 2011, 115: '*Anders verhält es sich mit der Schauspieltruppe des pergamenischen Hoftheaters, die ohne Zweifel zum teischen Technitenverband gehörte und an deren Sitz wir den Nischenbau höchstwahrscheinlich identifizieren können. Der dort gepflegte Kult für Dionysos Kathegemon ging sicher mit einem Kult für die Attaliden einher (...)*'. See also Schwarzer 2008. This also serves to demonstrate the strong connection between Dionysos and theatre, closely following the Athenian model. The theatre of Pergamon was located on the western side of the acropolis and looking towards the west. It was constructed in the late 3rd c. BCE and enlarged during the reign of Eumenes II, during the same period as the construction of palace V, cf. Romano 1982, 586-589. The Attalid attempts to legitimate their power by connecting themselves to the Greek cities and the Macedonian palaces would have made the construction of a theatre indispensable and it is reasonable to suggest that it was used to perform Attic tragedies, comedies and satyr plays. Note that no evidence for mask depictions is known from either the sanctuary for Dionysos or the theatre.

¹⁰⁹² Kropp 2013, 109: '*The comical theatre mask depicted in the floor mosaic has a tragic correspondent in the Attalid royal palace ('Raumgruppe V') of Pergamon, built by a dynasty keen to stress its Greek credentials, and reinforces this impression.*'

masks and the Samosata mask are however too different for this interpretation to be convincing. The Pergamene masks were placed in rectangular panels in a juxtaposing composition of a four-partite scheme, a very different setting than the isolated mask depiction in Samosata, which was placed in a central roundel surrounded by a concentric decorative scheme. The Pergamene depiction of a larger than life-size tragic mask in three-quarter perspective furthermore differs too much from the frontally depicted smaller than life-size satyr mask in Samosata for the latter to be considered a direct reference to the former. The Pergamene masks do however, in a more general sense, attest of the object types' fittingness to a royal, palatial context, and shows how, by the mid-2nd c. BCE mosaic mask depictions had acquired the capacity to participate in royal visual programs. To some extent, therefore, we can argue that this capacity was activated and further developed in the palace of Samosata, albeit without implying any direct, explicit connections between Attalid Pergamon and 1st c. BCE Commagene.

Kos



Fig. 8.6. *The Kos Mask. Mosaic emblema containing a mask depiction from Kos. Source: Welch 1998, fig. 171.*

Another 2nd c. BCE mask mosaic in an *emblema* comes from Kos, and is nowadays in the archaeological Castello Museum of Rhodes (fig. 8.6).¹⁰⁹³ Its re-use in a later Roman domestic context makes it difficult to say much about its presumed earlier Hellenistic setting.¹⁰⁹⁴ The small

¹⁰⁹³ Konstantinopoulos 1986, 147-149. pl. XXVII, who dated it to the Mid-Hellenistic period on stylistic grounds. Guimier-Sorbets and V. Giannouli 1988, 559; Guimier-Sorbets 1994, 23-37 and 1998, 287-288 who dated it to the 2nd c. BCE based on stylistic grounds and the presence of lead strips. See also Welch 1998, 40-41, 233-234, cat. 37, fig. 171.

¹⁰⁹⁴ The *emblema* was lifted from its Hellenistic context and re-used in a Roman domestic context, where it was placed in the middle of a square white field framed by a floral border. See Konstantinopoulos 1986, 149.

square *emblema* (60,0 x 60,0 cm.) is framed with a plain light green band and an egg-and-dart border in perspective with geometric decoration on the four corners. The *emblema* itself is executed in exceptionally fine *opus vermiculatum* and depicts a mask against a dark grey background. The mask is shown in three-quarters, with the face pointed towards the right, not looking directly towards the viewer. The mask has a wide opened mouth, half opened, 'drunk' eyes and generally stubby facial features, with curved eyebrows and a short grey beard. The figure wears an ivy wreath that contains fruits (perhaps grapes) and a ribbon. The reddish-brown tones of the skin colour contain a wide spectrum, which indicates in detail the shadowy and more highlighted areas of the face, creating a sense of perspective. Konstantinopoulos first interpreted the mask as a depiction of Silenos, but later changed this to an unspecified theatrical mask.¹⁰⁹⁵ Webster also interprets it as a mask, specifically the 'fat-faced slave' type.¹⁰⁹⁶ Guimier-Sorbets and Barbet describe it as a Silenos mask.¹⁰⁹⁷ Welch is tempted to follow this interpretation but concludes that, if a satyr like Silenos was intended, its pointed ears would certainly have been shown by the mosaicist.¹⁰⁹⁸

It seems most likely, therefore, that the depiction from Kos is best described as 'a satyr-like comic slave mask', which constituted a conflation of a comic mask with a satyr mask, creating a new type of mask depiction that was confined to mosaic depictions. As such, the global genealogy of isolated mask mosaics indicates a watering down of the direct relation between theatrical practice and this distinct mosaic iconographic tradition; mask mosaics could exist autonomously from their 'real' theatrical counterparts and move beyond their presupposed representational function. This insight, in effect, deconstructs the representational reduction of mask depictions to theatre (practice) discussed in paragraph 8.1.2.2

The Kos mask has several similarities with the Samosata mask: both are executed in *opus vermiculatum* and placed against a dark grey background; both contain an old, grey-bearded comic mask with satyr-like features wearing an ivy wreath; both have stubby facial features and a spectrum of red-brown tones to indicate the skin. Differences are also plenty however: the mask from Kos is placed in a square instead of a round *emblema*, which has a light illusionistic egg-and-dart frame instead of a highly stylized Ionian kymation. The Kos mask is executed in much finer *opus vermiculatum* than the Samosata mask and the mask itself is depicted in three-quarters

¹⁰⁹⁵ Konstantinopoulos 1986, 147-149.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Cf. Webster et al. 1995, 3DM4.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Barbet and Guimier-Sorbets 1994, 26, n.25; Welch 1998, 233.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Welch 1998, 233-234: 'the beautiful full wreath of ivy and the exceptional quality of the panel invite us to believe that this is a depiction of the leader of Dionysos' thiasos, instead of a fat slave. The existing iconography, however, does not support the Silenos image, who is traditionally shown with a long beard and the trademark of his satyr nature, the pointed ears. In the emblema from Rhodes the beard is short and stylized and the right ear appears to be normal. In fact, the tip of the ear is covered by a loose strand of hair, a mistake that an experienced mosaicist would not have made, if his intention was to depict a satyr.'

instead of the frontal depiction in Samosata. Importantly, the Kos mask relies heavily on the generic features of a comic slave mask, with its short grey beard instead of the 'greasy' long beard witnessed in the Samosata mask. The widening capacity of conflating a comic mask with satyr-like features witnessed in the Kos mosaic seems to have been activated also in the Samosata mask, effectively watering down the direct (representational) relation of the mask depiction with theatre (practice).

Ampurias



Fig. 8.7. The Ampurias Mask. Square mosaic emblema with mask depiction from Ampurias (Spain). Source: Almagro 1951, 231, fig. 67.

A good indication that the Kos mask mosaic type had become universalized is provided by a mask mosaic from Ampurias, dating to the middle of the 1st c. BCE (fig. 8.7).¹⁰⁹⁹ It was found in room (*cubiculum*) 12 of 'atrium house' *casa 1* or *casa Villaneuva* ('second phase'), located in the northern zone of the Roman city of *Emporion* (modern Ampurias). The mosaic was placed in the centre of a white mosaic floor and was framed by a black border. Like the Kos mosaic, the mask is smaller than life-size (32,0 x 32,0 cm.), and has similarly half opened eyes, a stubby nose, a short

¹⁰⁹⁹ Almagro 1951, 231, fig. 67; Aquilué et al. 1999, 87; Balil 1961, 47-50, fig 2; Santos 1991, 27, fig. 9. Webster MNC, v. 2, 4XM 1a-b; Vicente and Duran 2010, 39-42. Now located in the Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya. The dating is based on stylistic grounds by Meyboom 2007, 98, who proposes comparanda from the *Casa del Fauno* in Pompeii. It is more or less corroborated by stratigraphic material from a layer right underneath the building's foundations as well as material from a cistern in the house. *Contra* Balil 1961, 41-52, who placed the mosaics of the building at the late Augustean/early Julio-Claudian period and Santos 1991, 27 who proposes the second half 1st c. BCE.

grey beard and heavily curved eyebrows. Contrary to the Kos mask, the Ampurias mask is directed towards the left instead of the right and more (though not entirely) frontally depicted, looking more directly at the viewer. Furthermore, the background is white instead of dark grey and the lower third of the image depicts a grey pedestal on which the mask is placed. The wreath only contains sparse vegetal elements and seems to consist more of ribbons than the Kos mask.

Two other, clearly related, figural mosaics, possibly pertaining to *casa 1* as well but not found *in situ*, depict a partridge stealing a collar from a *pyxis* and a still life. According to the excavators, these pertain to the same workshop as the mask mosaic.¹¹⁰⁰ The contemporary walls of the house were decorated in the 2nd Pompeian style. Notably, there is no evidence for other decorative elements that are typically seen as theatrical or Dionysiac allusions. During what the excavators call the ‘second phase’ of the house, somewhere in the mid-1st c. BCE, the house undergoes a gradual change in architectural character, which the excavators describe as a ‘hellenization process’: a large peristyle is added to the south of the structure, as well as banqueting and other ‘representative’ rooms.¹¹⁰¹ Describing this change in the ‘objectscape’ of Ampurias as a ‘hellenization process’ however has little explanatory value and is a good example of the acculturative approach to ‘Hellenism in the East’ elaborately discussed in chapter 2. Rather, what seems to happen in mid-1st c. BCE Ampurias is a shift to a repertoire of objects with a glocal genealogy that has a wider geographical reach. The incorporation of the isolated, non-narrative mask mosaic tells us something about the widespread availability of this object type by this time, throughout the Mediterranean. Its particularization in a context where an overall stringent ideological message seems to lack, suggests that, by this time, the object type had acquired a certain malleability, developing as an object type that was suitable to particularize in luxurious settings that were not connected to Dionysos or theatre practice. This phase in the glocal genealogy of the mask mosaic is of importance to its particularization in Samosata, as it seems likely that, instead of evoking the Pergamene masks (Kropp’s argument), the object capacities that were activated in Samosata were likely rather those acquired in the later and more similar particularizations of mask mosaics such as that of Ampurias.

¹¹⁰⁰ The partridge mosaic was well preserved but the still life was only very sparsely preserved, cf. Vicente and Duran 2010, 39-42.

¹¹⁰¹ Vicente and Duran 2010, 42: ‘A lo largo del siglo I a.C. y durante el siglo I d.C., casas como la nº1 o Villanueva, y la casa nº 2B, tuvieron un proceso de helenización, siguiendo una evolución arquitectónica similar a las casas de las ciudades del Vesubio. Las dos casas experimentarán un importante crecimiento, apropiándose de parte del terreno perteneciente a las parcelas vecinas. La primera ampliación consistirá en la construcción de grandes peristilos y nuevas estancias correspondientes a este nuevo espacio. Tanto la casa nº 1 como la nº 2B gozarán de estancias aptas para ofrecer grandes banquetes entre sus iguales y diversas salas de representación.’

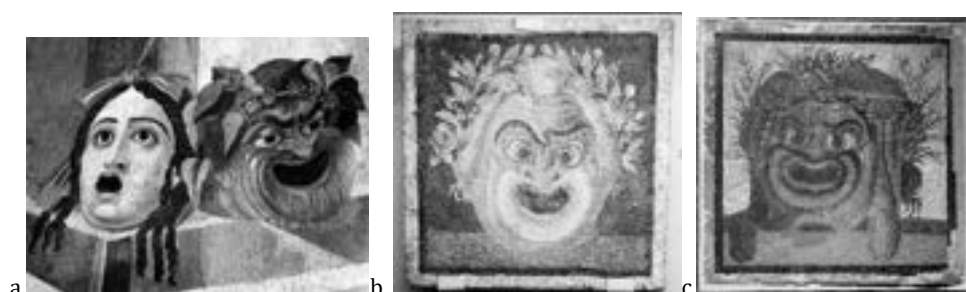


Fig. 8.8a-c. a: The Capitoline mask (Source: Bieber 1961, fig. 329), b: the Villa Giulia Mask and; c: the Centocelle Mask (sources: Wikimedia Commons).

The many similarities between the Ampurias mask and the Kos Mask suggest that indeed this object type had become global; its particularizations were simultaneously universalizing. This is further attested in three other examples from Rome and surroundings. A mosaic fragment from Rome, now in the Capitoline museums, depicts a satyr-like slave mask together with a female tragic mask, both placed upright against a pilaster (fig. 8.8a).¹¹⁰² It was reused in the baths of Decius on the Aventine hill, but its original context is unknown; it is dated to the 2nd c. BCE on stylistic grounds. In terms of execution, the satyr-like slave mask bears many similarities with the Kos and Ampurias mask, especially with its short rounded beard and the ivy wreath. Like the Ampurias mask, the Capitoline mask looks away from the viewer. An important difference however is that the Capitoline Mask is not placed isolated in an *emblema*, but probably only adorned the margins of a more central depiction that is now lost. The juxtaposition of the comic 'slave mask' with the tragic female mask is reminiscent of the possible juxtaposition in Pergamon.

The two other comparanda are probably from a later date: a mask mosaic from Rome without context that is now in the Villa Giulia (fig. 8.8b), and dated to the 1st half of the 1st c. CE and a mask mosaic found in a 2nd c. CE villa in Centocelle (Rome, now in de *Altes Museum* in Berlin, see fig. 8.8c).¹¹⁰³ Both again show a satyr-like slave mask type with short grey hair, a short grey beard, curved eyebrows, and an opened mouth, placed in a square *emblema*. Compared to the examples from Kos and Ampurias, the eyes are more opened. The wreaths from the Villa Giulia mosaic are more like those from Kos and the Capitoline Mosaic, with more continuous ivy or vine leaves with grapes or berries instead of the haphazard tufts of vegetation tucked into the ribbon like in the Ampurias and Centocelle masks. Like the Kos mosaic, the background in the Villa Giulia mask is dark, while the Centocelle Mask has a white background like the Ampurias mask. While the

¹¹⁰² Webster et al. 1995, 3DM4a; Bieber 1961, fig. 329. The fragment was most probably part of a larger figurative scene.

¹¹⁰³ *Villa Giulia*: Webster et al. 1995, 4XM1a; *Centocelle*: Webster et al. 1995, 4XM1b.

Capitoline and Centocelle masks are again depicted in three-quarter and looking away from the viewer, the Villa Giulia mask is the only example with a full frontal depiction, looking straight at the viewer.

These considerations point to a high degree of standardization of the satyr-like slave comic mask from the 2nd c. BCE onwards. Although clearly the motif was popular in and around Rome, the examples from Kos and Ampurias exemplify that the motif was much more widespread throughout the Mediterranean already in the 2nd c. BCE. Welch remarks: '*Naturally, the similarity of these panels raises again the question of a common original and again reinforces our belief in the existence of copy books*'.¹¹⁰⁴ The existence of such copy books indeed might explain the strong similarities between mask mosaics over large distances. Variations were allowed within this standardized iconography, especially with regards to the orientation of the mask (three quarters or frontal), the background (dark or light), and the degree of elaboration of the ivy (or generic vegetal) wreath. The universalization of mask iconography (that seems to have had no direct representational relation to 'real' theatrical masks, combining traits from a comic slave mask with a satyr mask) further implies that the global mask mosaic lost its self-evident connection to theatre, and rather had developed a relation to its global genealogy. It is noteworthy also that for none of these universalizing satyr-like slave mask mosaics any type of 'Dionysiac' context can be assigned, suggesting that for this type of mask mosaic a watering down of the Dionysiac capacity had occurred. The large differences between Pergamon and these later mask mosaics - in terms of the type of masks, the style and their visual integration - underline that the Pergamene masks cannot be considered a blueprint for these later masks (as proposed by Kropp for the Samosata mask, see paragraph 8.1.2).

The mask of Samosata can be regarded as a related but deviating particularization of the universalizing satyr-like slave mask type. The similarities are specifically witnessed in the fact that also in Samosata, we see a conflation between a comic mask and a satyr-like figure wearing a wreath, creating a novel iconographic motif that cannot be directly connected to 'real' theatrical masks. Importantly also, the discussed masks offer the only evidence for isolated masks in central *emblemata* in the Hellenistic period, a category to which the Samosata mask also belongs. The use of a black background, a frontal depiction and wide opened eyes in the Samosata mask fits within the set of variations that the standardized motif allowed for (as I concluded above). The Villa Giulia Mask is clearly the closest parallel to the Samosata mask, as this is the only example in which the mask is depicted frontally like in Samosata. This relative adherence of the Samosata mask to the universalizing mask mosaic type provided the Samosata mask with its particularized capacity; it could be understood as something distinctly non-local, not connected to any specific place, culture

¹¹⁰⁴ Welch 1998, 234.

or region (such as 'greekness'). With the global genealogy in mind, we can conclude that the Samosata mask was *globally available and standardized* but *regionally rare*; in fact, no masks in *emblemata* were found in the entire Near East, something which it has in common with the crenellation motif (see chapter 9).

Despite the obvious adherence of the Samosata mask to the standardized motif, it also strongly deviated from it. This is observable first of all in its combination of satyr-mask characteristics with traits of the comic mask of an older long-bearded man, instead of the comic slave mask. Second, the Samosata mask is the only isolated mask mosaic that is depicted in a circular (roundel) frame instead of a square *emblema*. There is, furthermore, no evidence for the integration of mask *emblemata* in elaborate concentric designs with geometric bands such as in Samosata. These deviations can be seen as actively contributing to the glocal genealogy, adding new relational capacities to the object type which was 'in a state of becoming'. The contextual implications of these new combinations – especially the combination of a satyr-like mask with a frontal depiction placed in a roundel and surrounded with elaborate concentric decoration - is further analysed in the following section.

8.3 Exploring a more-than-representational capacity of the mask mosaic: the 'satyr/mask/mirror-assembly'

In this section, I will explore a capacity of the mask mosaic that is more-than-representational, focusing on what it *did* instead of what it *meant*. As explained in chapter 3 and section 7.6, this analysis is meant as a move from interpretation to analytical exploration, an attempt to read the object 'forward' and ask what might have been the implication of the genealogical relations in its Commagenean context. At the end of the glocal genealogy of section 8.2, I concluded that the specific deviations of the Samosata mask from the object type caused it to assemble novel combination of elements that together afforded the object with new capacities. The combination of a satyr-like mask, depicted frontally, placed in a roundel, and surrounded by elaborate concentric border decoration created something distinctly novel that allowed it to act as something that I will coin the 'satyr/mask/mirror-assembly'.¹¹⁰⁵ Applying the notion of vibrant and heterogeneous assemblages presented in chapter 3, I will here explore how the glocal genealogy of satyr-like masks was particularized in a very specific type of assemblage in Samosata.

Throughout western Eurasia, we can observe a type of satyr iconography in which masking, mirroring and transformation are central themes. Although such 'satyr/mask/mirror-

¹¹⁰⁵ For this, I rely heavily on Rabun Taylor's inspiring monograph *'The moral mirror of Roman Art'* (Taylor 2008), specifically his chapter about the Dionysiac mirror (90-136) and its relation to masks and masking.

assemblages' never occur in a similar fashion, its visual and material mechanisms recur in a wide variety of media across the Mediterranean. In its most straightforward manifestation, the assemblage involves satyrs (or figures experiencing a transformation into satyrs) that see their own transformed reflection in a mirror or a wine-filled cup, with masks thematised as the pivotal device for this transformation. In this section, I will first elaborate on the mechanisms of the satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage, discussing some examples of the assemblage from a range of media. Afterwards, I will argue that the Samosata mask could potentially be experienced as such a 'satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage' because it assembles the following elements: *a satyr(-like) mask, frontality, a circular frame (roundel)*, the importance of *mirroring* as a visual device, and a viewer. In the second part of this section, I will discuss how the conceptual capacities attached to this satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage fit in the context of Commagenean modes of visibility of the 1st c. BCE and how its potential played out there. We will see that, if we take this particular capacity seriously, the Samosata mask was a more-than-representational object in Commagene in the 1st c. BCE.

8.3.1 The 'satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage'

In his discussion on the use of mirrors in the Dionysiac cult, Rabun Taylor discusses a specific iconography in which satyrs see their own reflection in a wine-filled cup.¹¹⁰⁶ Taylor uses these example to argue for the importance of 'reflectivity' in the cult of Dionysos, which '*served as both a tool and a symbol of personal transformation for members of the cult*'.¹¹⁰⁷ Taylor connects such iconography to the Orphic tradition of the mythical child Zagreus, who was murdered through his obsession with a mirror but became reborn as Dionysos. In his analysis, Taylor suggests that the mirror was used in Dionysiac rituals as a 'ritual hallucinogen', to which also wine, song, dance, miracles and, naturally, masks belonged.¹¹⁰⁸ These hallucinogens were essentially used as tools to achieve ecstasy or divine epiphany and allowed the users to 'become' satyrs, Zagreus, or even Dionysos himself.¹¹⁰⁹ As such, the mirror functioned as a transformational device that allowed for personal metamorphosis and closer vicinity to the god. Taylor provides convincing evidence that masks played an important role in this transformation as well, providing an additional transformational device or hallucinogen that was worn during the Dionysiac rituals. Watching oneself in the mirror while wearing a satyr mask made the self-delusionary experience complete.

¹¹⁰⁶ Taylor 2008, 90-136.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, 128.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Idem*, 90.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Idem*, 91.



Fig. 8.9. Attic red-figured pelike by the Louvre painter. Source: Louvre G238.

Depictions of this principle occur in a variety of media and never in a standardized form. Taylor mentions an Attic red-figured *pelike* dating to the early 5th century BCE on which a satyr looks into a krater with great surprise, while a Dionysos mask is watching over him on the side (fig. 8.9).¹¹¹⁰ Taylor suggests that the surprised satyr is in fact a masked Dionysiac initiand that is caught at the moment of his transformation and his realization thereof. The manner of depiction, importantly, does however not bother to depict a mask; the viewer is not allowed to take an objective, amused perspective on the self-delusion of the figure. Instead, the transformation is depicted as real; the viewer is drawn into the personal transformation of the initiand that is now a satyr. Especially the frontal depiction of the satyr, looking at the wine but also at the viewer, makes the viewer complicit in the metamorphosis.

¹¹¹⁰ Salzman 1982, no. 87; Taylor 2008, 129 fig. 69. Now in the Louvre (G238).



Fig. 8.10. Pebble mosaic depicting two satyrs on either side of a krater in the Villa of Good Fortune Olynthos. Source: Robinson 1934, 509, fig. 3.

A somewhat later, 4th c. BCE example, not discussed by Taylor but nonetheless relevant, is a pebble mosaic from the entrance to what is interpreted as the *andron* in the Villa of Good Fortune in Olynthos, where we see two satyrs symmetrically placed on either side of a krater (fig. 8.10).¹¹¹¹ The curious posture of both satyrs, leaning forward, can only be explained by a similar mirror function of the wine-filled amphora. In this case, there seems to be less surprise, but again the viewer is not allowed an outsider's perspective -these figures have really *become* satyrs. The threshold location of the mosaic added to a sense of personal metamorphosis, by which entering the room would imply stepping into world where wine, mirrors and masks effected *actual* transformation.

¹¹¹¹ Robinson 1946, pl. II.

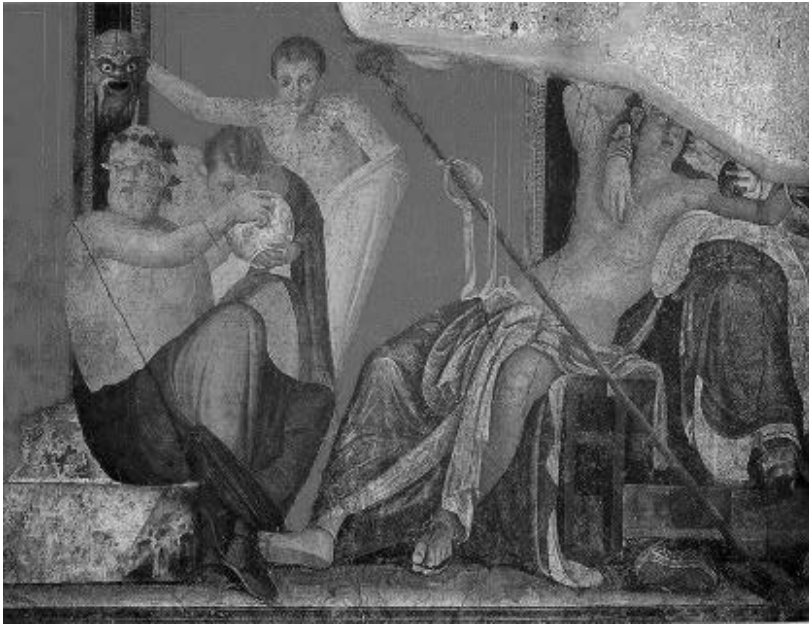


Fig. 8.11. Mask scene from the frieze of the Villa dei Misteri, left side of the focal wall. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

A last illustration of this principle is the famous and extensively discussed wall painting from the Villa dei Misteri (fig. 8.11), dated to the mid-1st c. BCE.¹¹¹² A young satyr looks into a wine-filled jug held by a *papposilenos*. Instead of seeing his own reflection, however, the young satyr is tricked as he doesn't see his own face but a mirror-image of a mask held behind him by another young satyr. Here, the self-delusion is in fact depicted, and the hallucinatory impact of the mask (either worn or used in a game of reflection) has become a theme in itself. At the same time, however, the three protagonists of the scene are depicted as actual satyrs already, thus making the transformation much more *real* than a simple trick of (self-)delusion. The viewer is both seduced into the reality of the metamorphosis but at the same time allowed to contemplate or be amused by the trickery itself. If, like Taylor suggests, it is true that the *papposilenos* figure is depicted in the moment just after he himself looked into the wine-filled jug, the viewer is again made complicit to the metamorphosis; the old man has really turned into a *papposilenos* and his far-away stare indeed betrays his ecstatic state of mind.¹¹¹³ The last figure to be transformed by the mask is the viewer himself; the frontal depiction of the satyr masks draws the viewer into the scene and

¹¹¹² For an extensive bibliography of the wall paintings as well as a detailed reading of its iconography, see Hearnshaw 1999, 43-50. See also Zuntz 1965; Bastet 1974, 207-240; Sauron 1998; and Cicirelli and Guidobaldi 2000. For Taylor's discussion of the frieze, see Taylor 2008, 129-133.

¹¹¹³ Taylor 2008, 132.

confronts with the mask's transformational capacity. The depiction turns the viewer into one of its protagonists. By holding the mask exactly at eye-height of the viewer in the room, we are obliged to engage with the mask as our own mirror image. This also means that the depiction breached a set of ontological separations such as those between the human subject and the painted object, between the human and the divine, and between the human and the wild animal.

Taylor discusses the satyr/mask/mirror-assemblages primarily as an iconographic phenomenon that provides information about an external notion, namely that of Dionysiac initiation rites, but I think it is useful to consider its implications for the capacity of satyr-like mask depictions in a less obviously cultic setting, such as that of Samosata, as well. This is especially the case because the impact of the imagery does not so much depend on such an external notion, but rather from the specific assemblage of visual and material elements and their combined capacity. It seems probable that, when encountered in combination with cups, mirrors and a play with visibility, depictions of satyr-like masks acquired the capacity to effectuate personal transformation with the viewer, and breach ontological divisions between object and subject, human and divine and man and animal. This in fact fits well to what we know about the evocative power of masks in anthropological research (i.e. in contexts that are not Dionysiac), where masks are attested more often as media of revelation rather than disguise and as tools for effecting transition and metamorphosis.¹¹¹⁴ Philippe Descola ascribes a pivotal role to masks in animist ontologies, as they are the ultimate devices to bring about metamorphosis: *'Dans la mesure où la métamorphose joue un rôle central dans l'animisme, l'on doit aussi s'attendre à ce que celle-ci reçoive une expression figurative sous la forme d'un basculement de point de vue, d'un dispositif de commutation permettant de voir un existant tantôt sous un certain angle, tantôt sous un autre. Le masque à transformation est le moyen le plus efficace et le plus spectaculaire pour réaliser cette commutation.'*¹¹¹⁵ I will therefore explore how the satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage could have been at play in the Samosata mask, along with its capacity of personal transformation and the breaching of ontological divisions between object and subject, human and divine and man and animal. To do this, I discuss four essential elements necessary to assemble this assemblage in Samosata: *a satyr(-like) mask, frontality, a circular frame (roundel)* and the importance of *mirroring* as a visual device.

A satyr-like mask. In paragraph 8.1.1, I have argued extensively for the satyr-like characteristics of the Samosata mask, which I will not repeat here. With the examples of the satyr/mask/mirror-assemblages presented above in mind, we are urged to ask whether the Samosata mask not 'actually' depicts a human figure that *experiences* himself as a satyr through wearing a satyr-like

¹¹¹⁴ Napier 1986, xv-xvii; Wiles 1991, 1 13-15.

¹¹¹⁵ Descola 2008, 456.

mask. If we take this transformational potential of satyr masks seriously, I think we also can better appreciate the conflation of comic masks with satyr masks discussed in paragraphs 8.1.1 and 8.2.2 of this chapter. A crucial observation that points in this direction is the fact that, throughout the glocal genealogy of section 8.2, the satyr-like masks are depicted with actual eyes, suggesting that these masks were actually alive.

Frontality. With the examples of the satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage in mind, the frontality of the Samosata mask becomes a crucial element of the depiction. The satyr-like mask really looks its viewer straight in the eye, and thus activates the mirroring capacity of the depiction. The glocal genealogy of section 8.2 suggests that satyr-like masks are depicted frontally or semi-frontally often; only the Pergamon Masks and the Capitoline masks do not really look the viewer in the eye, but both are deviating strongly from that object type as they are not part of an isolated and centered composition. It does not seem unlikely that these satyr-like masks had the capacity to address the viewer directly with a piercing and demanding gaze. This in itself might already indicate that such satyr-like mask depictions had the capacity to reflect. In the case of the Samosata mask, however, I would argue that there is even more reason to suggest that the satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage was assembled.

A circular frame (roundel). A crucial deviation from the genealogy witnessed in the particularized mask of Samosata is its placement in a roundel. When considered in relation to the satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage, I would propose that the circular shape of the frame potentially evoked the circular shape of mirrors and the inside of cups. This was definitely not always and everywhere the case with roundel mosaics: a few roundel mosaics are known for the Hellenistic period, but in many cases, these do not necessarily evoke the idea of a mirror or a cup.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹⁶ Some (but probably not all) examples of roundel mosaics from the Hellenistic period include: 1) the roundel depicting the Bellerophon scene in a house of Olynthos; 2) the dog mosaic from Alexandria; 3) the Berenike mosaic from Thmuis (2nd c. BCE); 4) several roundels with stylized rosettes from Delos (e.g. House IIIN Theatre Quarter late 2nd / early 1st c. BCE); 5) the rosette from the House of Trittolemus (Pompeii, late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE) and ; 6) the geometric floral motifs from the Western Palace in Masada (1st c. BCE).

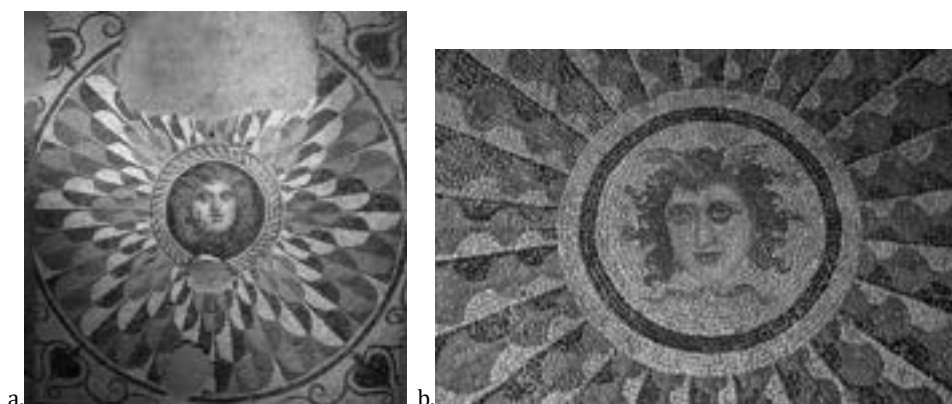


Fig. 8.12. Medusa heads in a circular frame (roundel) from Alexandria (left) and Kos (right). Sources: Wikimedia Commons.

However, two other known Hellenistic-period examples of isolated heads (without a torso) placed in a mosaic roundel depict Medusa: a roundel from Alexandria and a roundel from Kos, both dated to the 2nd c. BCE (fig. 8.12a and b).¹¹¹⁷ In these cases, the roundel most definitely had the capacity to evoke a mirror; Medusa, after all, was defeated by Perseus, who used the polished circular shield given by Athena - Medusa's petrifying gaze was turned towards herself and killed her.¹¹¹⁸ By depicting Medusa frontally, gazing directly at the viewer from a circular frame, the viewer is at the same time petrified but also confronted with the question of reflection, asking whether we are perhaps Medusa herself. The visual game is about captivation, shock, self-questioning and, to some extent, also about a potential of personal metamorphosis, be it the permanent transformation from the fleeting life of the living to the eternal petrified state of the dead. The circular shape of the frame actively contributed to this mirroring potentiality of the image, as the association with the circular shield would be entangled with the concept of Medusa. Importantly, the materiality of the mosaic plays an important role here in contributing to a sense of actual petrification, making the depiction more-than-representational as it could really *become* Medusa captured in stone tesserae. This visual mechanism then also drew the viewer into the same ontological reality as Medusa; the coming together of an iconographic concept (Medusa), composition (roundel), materiality (stone mosaic floor) and a viewer formed one heterogeneous and vibrant assemblage in which transformation stood central.

If we accept these type of transformational capacities for these Medusa assemblages, a similar capacity for the satyr-like mask and its circular 'mirror cup' is possible. The petrifying gaze of

¹¹¹⁷ Guimier-Sorbets 1998; Neira 2015 for many other examples. For mosaic depictions of Medusa, see also Mckeen 1986; Panagiotopoulou 1994, 369-383.

¹¹¹⁸ Neira 2015, 34.

Medusa simply enacted a different type of metamorphosis compared to the satyr-like mask, but the principle of mirroring, viewer involvement and breaching of the ontological division between viewer and image functioned in a similar manner. This parallelism was enforced by the use of a roundel as a frame around the mask, a unique Commagenean addition to the global genealogy of mask mosaics.

Mirroring elements. The captivating effect of a delusional and somehow terrifying mirror-image was furthermore achieved in the Samosata mask because of the elaborate concentric border design around it. The complex geometric motifs repeat and mirror each other without end; black and white tesserae mirror the same motifs in combination with one another in a single border and such borders again are mirrored in opposite colouring in other borders- specifically the wave crest and the dog tooth patterns (see chapter 4 and 9). Mirroring thus is one of the central devices of the captivating effect of the concentric border.¹¹¹⁹

By depicting a satyr-like mask from a frontal perspective, inside a roundel, surrounded with a complex web of mirroring geometric motifs, the Samosata mask was granted the capacity to function as a satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage, in which the viewer was obliged to be physically and mentally involved. As such, the viewer was potentially drawn into a domain where separations between subject and object, man and animal, human and divine, representation and represented, are all annulled or at least questioned. The viewer becomes an equal protagonist of the depiction; its personal metamorphosis – temporary or permanent – is always imminent. Lissarrague explains that in 5th/4th c. BCE Athens, satyrs functioned as affirmative figures *ex negativo* for the Athenian symposiasts, as their orgiastic behaviour reminded the conforming Athenian citizen of what was not socially accepted or fitting.¹¹²⁰ It is not unlikely that the wild, stubby and animal-like physiognomy of the satyrs allowed for the continuity of their capacity to embody alterity also beyond the specific socio-cultural context of 5th/4th c. BCE Athens.¹¹²¹ However, by framing this otherness in a frontal, mirroring context like in Samosata, its confrontational capacity became even stronger. The mirroring principle and masking concept demanded questions of identity and the Self versus the Other, and, moreover, threatened (or promised) an actual transformation of the Self into that Other.¹¹²² As such, the alterity of the satyr

¹¹¹⁹ For the captivation of geometric patterns, see Gell 1998.

¹¹²⁰ Lissarrague 1993, 220. For satyrs as embodiments of alterity, see also Padgett 2000, 43 and Lindblom 2011.

¹¹²¹ Kistler 2009, 193 speaks of satyrs as '*transporters of alterity*'.

¹¹²² Kistler 2009 comes to similar conclusions based on a distinction between preferred, oppositional and negotiated readings of orgiastic satyr iconography. He suggests that, as much as the satyrs could embody the Other as an affirmative figure *ex negativo*, at the same time they could '*animate to join the intoxicated counter-culture*'.

and the transformational capacities of mask and mirror together proved a powerful, almost alchemic combination.

8.3.2 Modes of visibility in Commagene

Here, I will contextualize the visual mechanisms and capacities of the satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage mask discussed in the previous paragraph in relation to other modes of visibility in contemporary Commagene. It will become clear that the visual mechanisms of mirroring, viewer involvement, personal transformation and breaching of ontological divisions were at play in other types of Commagenean visual culture as well, albeit in different ways. To make this point, I will particularly focus on the visual mechanisms at play in the typically Commagenean *dexiosis* stelai.



Fig. 8.13 The *dexiosis* stele from Selik. Source: Brijder 2014, 135-136, figs. 85a-b.

A large number of *dexiosis* stelai are known from Commagene, and the following analytical exploration applies more or less to all of them. For matters of convenience, however, I will here focus on the *stele* from Selik that I described and discussed in chapter 6 (ID690), depicting Antiochos I shaking hands with Artagnes-Heracles (fig. 8.13). Here, it is not the viewer that is

confronted with a frontal depiction of something 'otherworldly', like in the Samosata mask, but rather the depicted figures themselves. This encounter between the human king and the divine subject has been interpreted often as a greeting within the context of the *apotheosis* of the king. Kropp, however, argues that the *dexiosis* rather visually evoked the divine help and assistance that Antiochos received from the gods.¹¹²³ Kropp relies on the inscription on the back of a recently discovered *dexiosis* stele with Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes from Zeugma, in which Antiochos I proclaims: *'I set up in sacred stone of a single compass alongside images of the deities the representation of my own form receiving the benevolent right hands of the gods, preserving a proper depiction of the undying concern with which they often extended their heavenly hands to my assistance in struggles'*.¹¹²⁴ I think Kropp relies too much on the *rhetoric* modesty of Antiochos I in this case, as the supposed humility proclaimed in the inscription in no way springs from the depiction itself. Kropp's assertion that the colossal statue of Antiochos I at Nemrut Dağı *'remains a blunt expression of apotheosis'*¹¹²⁵ is remarkable in this respect as it could equally be countered with passages from the Great Cult Inscription in which Antiochos I claims a more modest relation to the gods. However, as I have argued in the theoretical chapter of this dissertation (chapter 3), the intentions or explicit rhetoric of a commissioner cannot completely exhaust the capacities and vibrancy of an object or image. A closer look at the *dexiosis* relief itself - beyond concepts like 'apotheosis' and 'divine help' - brings us to an analysis of their iconography in terms of their visual techniques and ontological status, revealing mechanisms that correlate well with those of the Samosata mask.

A basic observation of the *dexiosis stele* from Selik is that the visual relation between Antiochos I and Appollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes involves a form of mirroring, something enforced by the symmetrical composition of the *stele*. The two men appear as mirror-images to the viewer but, and this is crucial, their direct gaze towards each other suggests they could also experience each other as actual mirror-images of themselves. The symmetricity invites comparison; the viewing experience cannot but observe stark contrasts between an earthly king and a divine presence and between a clothed man and a naked deity. Simultaneously, the correspondences or resonances between the two men are observed to such an extent that the two figures can even morph into each other while looking. This comparing and conflating viewing experience of the mirror-image

¹¹²³ Kropp 2013, 182-183. Brijder 2014, 95-96 argues something similar, but more in detail, suggesting that the *dexiosis* scene represents a formal greeting and a symbolic agreement concerning divine assistance, divine approval of the reign of Antiochos I as well as a divine future alliance between the king and the gods.

¹¹²⁴ Crowther and Facella 2003, 47, 52-53.

¹¹²⁵ Kropp 2013, 184.

is ultimately sealed and defined by the handshake between the two men, the *dexiosis* itself. In the depiction of this handshake, the ontological separation between the seemingly different worlds of earthly and divine is breached. The king and the god exist in the same realm, their physical connection, materialized in the handshake, the mutual mirroring gaze and the symmetry of the *dexiosis* stele, invite or even force the viewer to establish a new, alternative ontology where king and god actually co-exist in the same realm.

This reading can be seen against the background of the colossal statues of Nemrut Dağı and Arsameia on the Nymphaios, where the king too appears to exist within the same ontological domain as the gods.¹¹²⁶ In this case, however, there is no visual mechanism of direct mirroring at play, and the viewer is merely invited to take part in this realm by means of celebrating and offering in the ruler cult. We might however consider how the constant visibility of Nemrut Dağı throughout the Commagenean territory not only reminded the Commagenean populace of the ruler cult and its dynastic power, but also afforded a more activating and transformational effect through the potential of constant eye-contact with the enthroned gods and king. Other Commagenean sculpture is more inviting and involving with respect to the viewer. Although its participants do not look each other nor the viewers in the eye, the ancestor gallery at Nemrut Dağı involves the viewer into a world of long-deceased kings and queens by literally ‘walking along with’ the visitors of these *hierothesia*, towards and away from the central colossal statue groups on the eastern and western terraces.¹¹²⁷ Through the character and placement of these reliefs, the living human visitor and the deceased basalt kings co-exist in their collective movement, again drawing both into the same ontological realm.

These examples together suggests that similar modes of visibility existed in Commagene, where the coming together of human and non-human elements breached an ontological separation between the human and the divine, and activated and involved the viewer in this shared world. As part and parcel of a satyr/mirror/mask-assemblage, the Samosata mask also related to and added to these wider modes of visibility in Commagene. Just like Antiochos had eye-contact with Artagnes-Heracles and shook hands with him, the viewer of the Samosata mask was drawn into a *visual dexiosis* with the satyr-like mask in the palace. The same principle that could align a king

¹¹²⁶ Something explicated in the Great Cult Inscription at Nemrut Dağı, where an emphasis on the uniform materiality of the statues enhances the idea of a singular ontological realm: ‘*from one and the same quarry, enthroned among the deities who hear our prayers, I have consecrated the features of my own form*’ (N59-61; translation from Sanders 1996, 206-217).

¹¹²⁷ Versluys 2017a, 62-68.

with a god (or even transform him into one) was put in practice to align a man with a satyr-like mask, threatening or promising the full metamorphosis of the former into the latter.

8.4 Conclusion

This case study has analyzed and explored several more-than-representational capacities of the mask mosaic in Samosata, focusing on its genealogical relations and their contextualization in 1st c. BCE Commagene. Existing scholarly interpretations of this object have overlooked these capacities, and solely reduced this object to static concepts like Greekness, theatre and Dionysos. The point of this chapter is not that these concepts had no role to play in the context of Samosata at all, but rather that such uncritical labelling of mask iconography runs the risk of creating reductive and static interpretations in which the individual object with its particular capacities and context becomes overshadowed or forgotten. It has become clear that the mask mosaic existed in relation to a glocal object type, which was simultaneously universalizing and particularizing through several mask mosaics throughout western Eurasia. In many ways, the Samosata mask adhered to the demands of this glocal object type, but in some crucial aspects (the mask type, the use of a roundel, the elaborate concentric frame) it also deviated from it. The specific geographical character of the mask genealogy afforded the mask in Samosata with the capacity to function as 'globally' available, but regionally and locally extremely rare or even non-existent; no isolated satyr-like mask mosaics are known from Syria and the wider 'Near East'. The genealogy furthermore did not provide evidence for a consistent occurrence of the mask mosaic type to function in contexts where Greekness, theatre or Dionysos played an important role, an observation that sits uneasy with the representational interpretations of previous scholarship. In section 8.3, I have explored another more-than-representational capacity of the mask mosaic, namely its assembling of visual elements into a satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage. Emerging from this assemblage are a visual mechanism of mirroring, viewer involvement, personal transformation and breaching of ontological divisions between subject and object, man and animal, human and divine, representation and represented. By drawing these explorations of the mask mosaic in relation to other modes of visibility in Commagene, the last part of this chapter demonstrated that the breaching of ontological divides between human and divine seems to recur in the royal visual culture of Commagene, albeit in different forms and with different elements. This focus on the mask mosaic as emerging from a unique coming together of elements, provides

a radically different perspective on this object that takes the very specific contextual character of the mask mosaic seriously for the first time.

Chapter 9. Case study 2: The glocal genealogy of the crenellation motif

9.1. Introduction

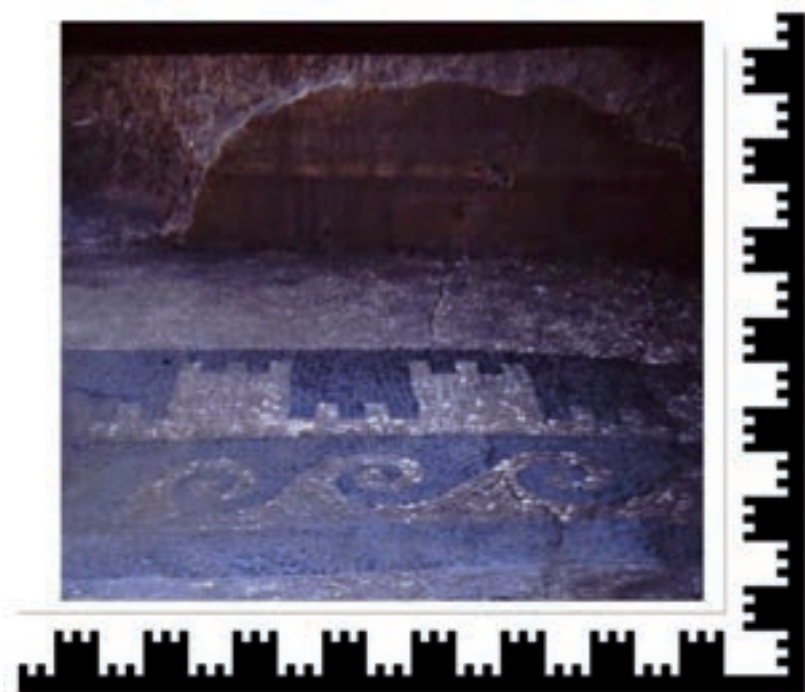


Fig. 9.1 The crenellation motif in tessellated mosaic floor F8 in room XV. Sources: centre: Wagner Archive. Reproduced with permission of Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, Münster), and a schematic reconstruction (bottom and right, by L. Kruijer and J.F. Porck).

This chapter investigates the glocal genealogy of the so-called crenellation motif, a geometric decorative element that occurs in multiple tessellated mosaics with concentric border decoration throughout the palace of Samosata. The crenellation motif consists of ‘turrets’ with three merlons on top and two crenels between them, alternated in a dark and a lighter version (fig. 9.1).

As the previous case study, this chapter investigates the role of this genealogy in terms of its relational capacities in Samosata. To understand what travelled with the crenellation motif, this chapter starts out with an analysis of its glocal genealogy (section 9.2), drawing on a large catalogue of Eurasian contexts containing the motif (appendices E and F).¹¹²⁸ In section 9.3, this glocal genealogy is subsequently contextualized in Samosata, where its more-than-representational capacities are differentiated between relations on the local (9.3.1), the global

¹¹²⁸ This catalogue derives almost completely from Zschätzsch 2009.

(9.3.2) and the regional scale (9.3.3). The final section of this chapter (9.4) is an exploration of the conceptual networks and potential meanings of the crenellation motif in Samosata. In the remainder of this introduction, a concise description of the crenellations in Samosata is provided as well as a short historiographic overview of the decorative motif, introducing some of the analytical challenges that recur in the chapter's analysis.

9.1.1 Description of the crenellations in Samosata

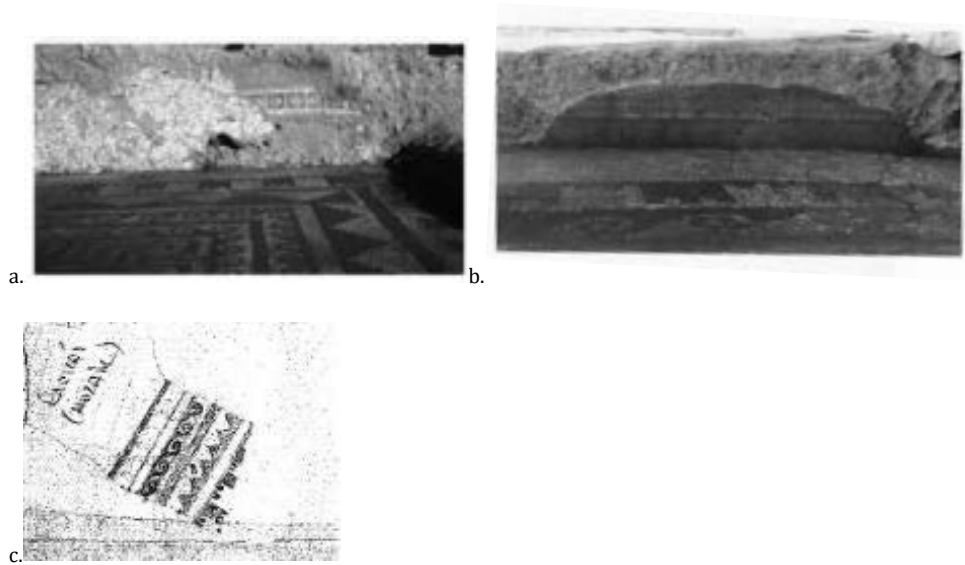


Fig. 9.2a-c. Three mosaics containing the crenellation motif in Samosata: room VIII (a), room XV (b) and sector s/11 (c; no pictures are available). Sources: Özgüç Archive.



Fig. 9.3 Schematic drawing of the corner with 'overlapping' crenellated borders in room VIII. Source: Bingöl 2013, 71 res. 105.

Decorative borders consisting of the crenellation motif are present in the mosaics of rooms VIII, XV of the palatial complex and sector s/11 of the *höyük* (fig. 9.2a-c). In all cases, these crenellated borders only appear in the outer band of its concentric decorative design. The size of the individual 'turrets' is ca. 20,0 cm. x 28,0 cm., while the width of the complete frieze is 36,0 cm. On average, each 'turret' contains approximately 225 tesserae with tesserae that are approximately 2,4 cm² in size. They are executed solely in white and dark grey tesserae. Room VIII has 12 white

turrets and 13 dark turrets on the long side, and 11 white turrets and 12 dark turrets on the shorter side. For the mosaic fragment in sector s /11, this cannot be reconstructed because of the small fragment of preserved mosaic. In room XV, all sides have 17 white 'turrets' and 18 dark turrets. The use of crenellation in rooms VIII and XV is exactly the same; the outer border is decorated with the motif and the crenellations that are oriented outward (away from the centre) are white, while those oriented inward are dark grey. This is reversed in the mosaic of sector s/11, where the outward oriented crenellations are dark and the inward crenellations are white. In the mosaics of rooms VIII and XV, the corners of the crenellated borders are irregular as one of the borders 'overlaps' another (see fig. 9.3). The mosaics of rooms VIII and XV are located in close proximity to one another in the southern area of the excavated part of the palatial complex. These rooms are only separated by corridor A. The mosaic of sector s/11 is located much further away from these rooms (ca. 60 m. to the east-north-east).

9.1.2 Earlier scholarship on the crenellation motif

The crenellation motif is known under various names: 'Zinnenband', 'Zinnenmuster' or 'Zinnenornament' in German, 'turreted border' or 'crenellation' in English, 'tours crénelées' and 'merlons' in French and 'mura merlate' in Italian. The motif has received only modest attention in discussions of Hellenistic mosaics and painting. Already in the early 20th century, Mikhail Rostovtzeff shortly commented on its appearance on the ceiling of a tomb on mount Vasjurin (Crimea) and described it as a carpet imitation.¹¹²⁹ In the 1950s, Klaus Parlasca and Blanche R. Brown both shortly remarked on the crenellation motif in mosaic in relation to its occurrence in painting and furthermore provided a short list of parallels throughout Eurasia.¹¹³⁰ For the painted versions especially, both followed Rostovtzeff's ideas about a connection to tapestry.¹¹³¹ In his chapter on the mosaics of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, Irving Lavin drew attention to the motif as a dating tool for the 'Mosaic Rooms'.¹¹³² Lavin argued that crenellations only occurred during a very narrow time-frame, namely the 2nd c. BCE, but he relied solely on the limited lists of crenellations compiled by Brown and Parlasca.¹¹³³ Lavin did not consider the concentric mosaics with crenellations to have any relation to tapestry and instead argued that the later 1st c. BCE,

¹¹²⁹ Rostovtzeff 2004 (French translation and new edition of 1913-1914 publication), 62 and plate XV. See also Rostovtzeff 1955, 297.

¹¹³⁰ Brown 1957; Parlasca 1959, 129 ff.

¹¹³¹ Brown 1957, 71; Parlasca 1959, 129 ff. For the same argument, see also Daszewski 1977, 60; and Ovadiah 1980, 107.

¹¹³² Lavin 1963, 193-194. See 9.3.1 of this dissertation for a discussion of the use of crenellations in Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

¹¹³³ *Idem*, 193: 'Of the decorative motifs in the borders the "crenellation" is most useful for this purpose, since it is relatively uncommon and seems to occur within a fairly limited period of time'.

‘Roman’ mosaics were in fact more carpet-like.¹¹³⁴ Salzmann followed the narrow 2nd c. BCE chronology for the crenellation motif, but argued strongly against any connection of mosaics with textile, instead arguing for a direct relation to the Greek painting tradition.¹¹³⁵ Most recent scholarly work however maintains the connection to textile, something most notably developed in the work of Bernard Andreae.¹¹³⁶

Recently, the list of contexts containing crenellations was updated by Anemone Zschätzsch in her article on the mosaics of Grumentum (Italy). She compiled a catalogue of 56 entries of mosaics with crenellations, also including those from Samosata.¹¹³⁷ Zschätzsch’s catalogue shows that the motif occurred in many more mosaics than previously thought, many of them dating also to the 1st c. BCE, the 1st c CE and the 2nd c. CE (see section 9.2 and appendix E). Zschätzsch however excluded the painted crenellations from her catalogue and, moreover, did not in any way provide an analysis of her catalogue or a contextualization of it in Grumentum. Also, she does not use the large amount of newly available evidence to explore the relation with textiles, something which she takes for granted.¹¹³⁸ In a chapter discussing the relations between Samosata and Pergamon from 2014, Eric Moormann is the first to shortly discuss the crenellations from Samosata, however without consulting the catalogue by Zschätzsch.¹¹³⁹ His observations largely follow the ideas of Andreae, but he suggests that the crenellations in Samosata had in fact lost their connection to tapestry and instead represented actual turrets.

In summary, scholarly attention to the crenellation motif has remained relatively marginal, featuring mostly as a mere footnote to descriptions of specific wall paintings and mosaics or of more general, mostly art-historical overviews. Unlike the scholarly interpretations of the mask mosaic in the previous chapter, this element of the palace has not received any proper attention in scholarship on Samosata, and thus was not reduced explicitly to similar external cultural concepts like Greekness. It is probable that the widespread appearance of this seemingly unremarkable motif as well as its designation as mere geometric decoration made scholars refrain from investigating its capacities and impact so far. The general ignoring of the crenellation motif however does not do justice to the wealth of analytical possibilities it offers, precisely because of

¹¹³⁴ Lavin 1963, 194 n.19.

¹¹³⁵ Salzmann 1982, 66. On the relation with textile, see Salzmann 1982, 55-58.

¹¹³⁶ E.g. Andreae 2003; 2012, 33, 36. See also Steingraber 2006, 288; Martin 2017, 63, 78 n.43; Baggio and Salvadori 2017, 298, 300 n. 39. Note that the debate about the conceptual link between the crenellation motif and textile is closely linked to (and often confused with) the debate on a textile origin for all pebble mosaics already in the 5th c. BCE, something first suggested by Von Lorentz 1937, 165-222 and further developed by Bruneau 1976, 20. For a nuanced view, see Dunbabin 1999, 9-10. In paragraph 9.2.4.2, I will explore to what extent we can still consider certain mosaics (especially those with crenellations) to have evoked textiles even if their actual *origins* might have been more diverse and complex.

¹¹³⁷ Zschätzsch 2009, 339-360.

¹¹³⁸ Zschätzsch 2009.

¹¹³⁹ Moormann 2014, 611. Scholarly work on the mosaics of Samosata has remained limited to Bingöl 2013 and, to a lesser extent, Bingöl 1997. In both publications, the crenellation motif is not discussed.

its very specific but widespread occurrence. What for instance lacks so far is an investigation of the specific relational capacities of crenellations in different localities. In tandem with this deficiency comes the rather superficial understanding of the motif's relation to textile. As we have seen, several authors have pointed to the similarities between textile on the one hand and mosaics and textiles containing crenellation, but an in-depth analysis of this relation has not yet been undertaken. The analysis and explorations provided in sections 9.2, 9.3 and 9.4 attempt to make up for this interpretative lacuna and exploit the enormous analytical potential offered by the glocal genealogy of the crenellation motif.

9.2 The glocal genealogy of the crenellation motif

In this section, I will discuss the glocal genealogy of the crenellation motif, first in mosaics (paragraph 9.2.1) and then in painting (paragraph 9.2.2). It must be emphasized that no examples of crenellation are known in other media other than mosaics, painted (tomb) ceilings and painted sarcophagi, an important fact to which I will come back later in this chapter. Through a focus on larger patterns deriving from quantitative data it is attempted to illustrate the general geographical development and widespread occurrence of the motif.

9.2.1 The glocal genealogy of mosaics with crenellation

As mentioned in the historiographic overview, the catalogue by Anemone Zschätzsch has provided the most up to date overview of mosaics containing crenellation.¹¹⁴⁰ Whereas in previous accounts only a handful of examples were known, Zschätzsch provided 56 examples. In appendix E, her catalogue is largely taken over completely, however with some alterations and new additions.¹¹⁴¹ Most importantly, the results of recent excavations were added, especially in France and Spain, which allow us to extend the catalogue to 61 entrances.

¹¹⁴⁰ Zschätzsch 2009.

¹¹⁴¹ Appendix E is largely based on the catalogue by Zschätzsch, with some adaptations. If needed, I have added more bibliography and possible datings. An important alteration was made for the case of Samosata, where the mosaic from sector s/11 was not included. The room-numbers have also been altered as Zschätzsch refers to rooms 1, 4 and 6, which should be VIII, XV and sector s/11.

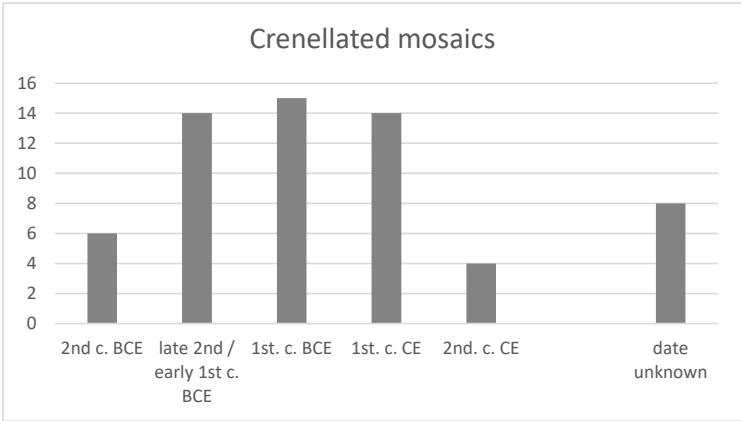


Fig. 9.4 Histogram with the quantitative chronological development of mosaics with crenellation, based on the catalogue in appendix E. By the author.

Fig. 9.4 is a histogram that shows the quantitative chronological development of mosaics containing the crenellation motif. This and the following graphs only provide an idea of the approximate production date of the mosaics and do not take into consideration the longevity of each mosaic, i.e. the period within which it remained visible. Resembling a typical battleship curve, here we see the rise in frequency of the motif, its period of maximum popularity and its quantitative decline. The earliest examples of mosaics containing the crenellation motif appear in the early 2nd c. BCE (6 mosaics), while the latest are dated to the 2nd c. CE (4 mosaics). The peak of frequency starts in the late 2nd c. BCE (14 mosaics), continues into the 1st c. BCE (15 mosaics) and lasts into the 1st c. CE. (14 mosaics), after which it seems to rapidly decline.

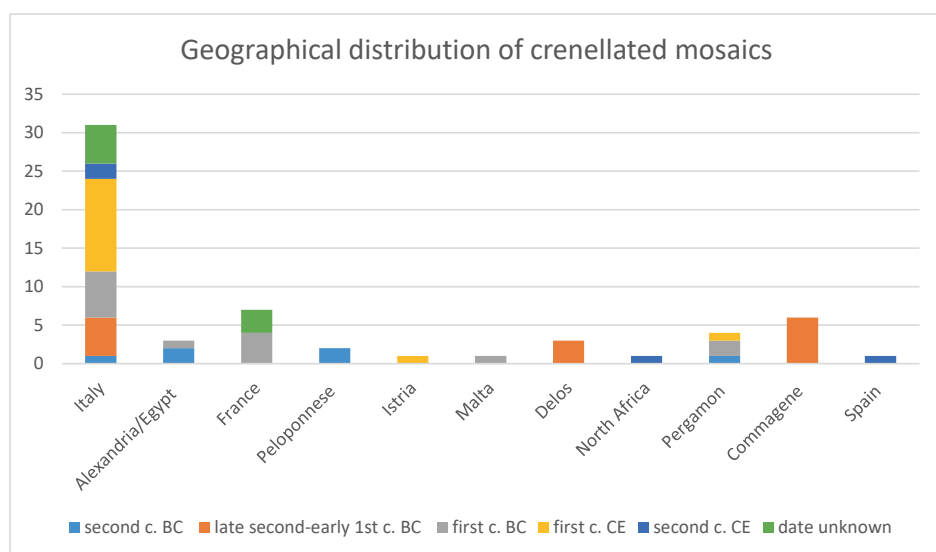


Fig. 9.5 Graph showing the geographical distribution of crenellated mosaics, based on the catalogue in appendix E. By the author.

In fig. 9.5, an overview is provided of the geographical distribution of the crenellation motif in mosaics. The regions where mosaics with crenellation are found are Italy, Alexandria/Egypt, France, the Peloponnese, Istria, Malta, Delos, North Africa, Pergamon, Commagene and Spain. Commagene is by far the most eastern region where the crenellation motif occurs and also the region most detached from the Mediterranean – Samosata is located ca. 300 km away from the coast. By far most mosaics with crenellation are found in Italy (31). France and Commagene follow with 7 and 6 mosaics respectively. All other regions contain between 1 and 4 examples. The graph also shows the chronological distribution per region. Most strikingly, in Italy, Egypt and Pergamon, the motif remains in use over a large period of time, containing examples from the 2nd c. BCE, the 1st c. BCE (safe for Egypt) and the 1st c. CE (and in Italy several examples dating to the 2nd c. CE are known as well). In the other regions, the mosaics with crenellation only date to one specific period, although the low quantity in these regions should make us cautious in deriving too many conclusions from this fact.

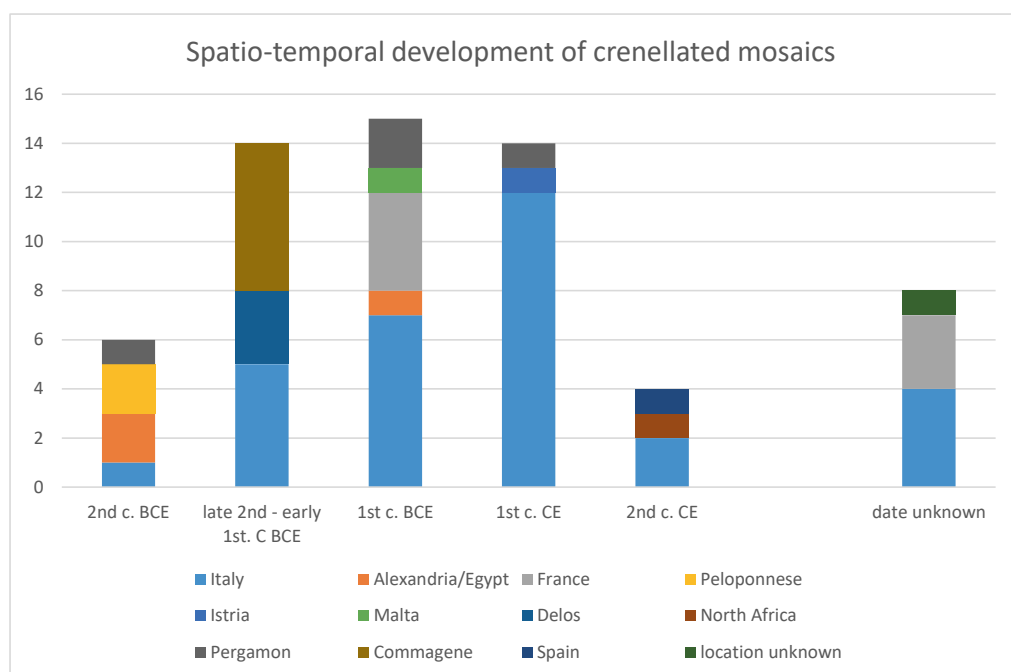


Fig. 9.6 Graph showing the spatio-temporal development of mosaics with crenellation, based on the catalogue in appendix E. By the author.

When we look at the spatial distribution of the mosaics with crenellation per chronological phase (fig. 9.6), we can make some cautious observations. The earliest examples, dating to the 2nd c. BCE, derive from multiple regions: Italy (1), Alexandria (2), the Peloponnese (2) and Pergamon (1). This wide spatial distribution suggests that we cannot pinpoint a clear geographical origin of the crenellation motif in mosaics; rather suddenly, it seems, the motif appears throughout the Mediterranean. In the later 2nd century and early 1st century BCE, the motif is confined to three regions, Italy (5), Delos (3) and Commagene (6). In the latter two regions, the motif seems to appear for the first time. In the 1st c. BCE, the amount of mosaics with crenellation rises again in Italy (7), and is suddenly adopted in relatively high frequency in France (4). In the 1st century CE, the motif has become a largely Italian phenomenon (12 and 1 in Istria), although it continues to be produced in Pergamon as well (1). The last examples of the 2nd c. CE appear in Italy (2, in Pisa and Bovino), North-Africa (1 in Utica, Tunisia) and Spain (1 in Itálica, Spain), suggesting a gradual shift of the geographical distribution of the motif towards the western Mediterranean.

Most of the 61 crenelated mosaics occur in domestic contexts (27)¹¹⁴²; some occur in (semi-)palatial contexts (9)¹¹⁴³; another group belongs to bath houses (9)¹¹⁴⁴; and a last group belongs to temples or sanctuaries (4)¹¹⁴⁵. Already the earliest 2nd c. BCE examples occur in this variety of contexts: domestic contexts (appendix E: cat. A37, the Casa del Trittolemo in Pompeii), palatial contexts (app. E: cat. A31, palace V in Pergamon), and temples/sanctuaries (app. E: cat. A22, the temple of Lykosoura and cat. A35, the Asklepiion of Pheneos). The context of the Thmuis mosaics (app. E, Cat A50) is impossible to determine, but a royal context is likely.¹¹⁴⁶

9.2.2 The glocal genealogy of painted crenellations

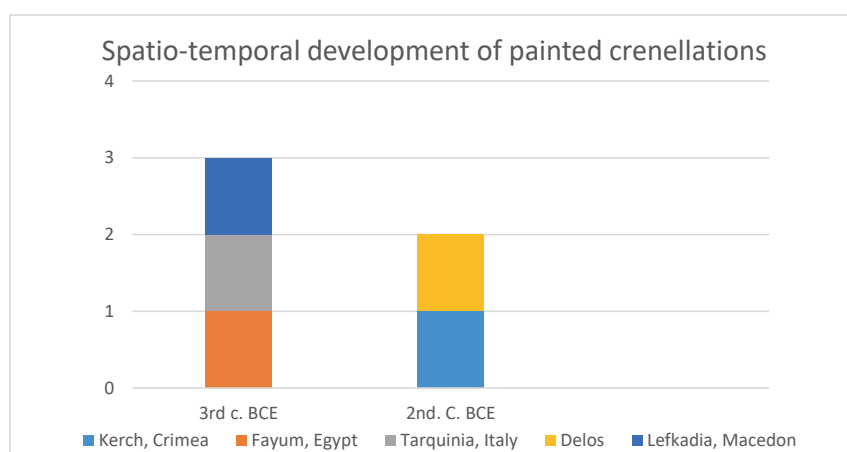


Fig. 9.7 Spatio-temporal development of painted crenellations, based on the catalogue of appendix F. By the author.

In appendix F, I have provided a catalogue of *painted* crenellations, largely based on the work by Stephan Steingraber, with some important alterations (see below).¹¹⁴⁷ When we take into consideration the few examples of painted crenellations (fig. 9.7), it can be observed that some of these predate the mosaics with crenellation, with three out of five dating to the 3rd c. BCE.¹¹⁴⁸ Like the early mosaic crenellations, their spatial distribution is again very wide, ranging from Kerch in

¹¹⁴² Appendix E: cat. A10-16, 19-21, 23, 26, 30, 32-33, 37-38, 40, 48-49, 54-60.

¹¹⁴³ Appendix E: cat. A4-6, 31, 44-46, 52-53.

¹¹⁴⁴ Appendix E: cat. A2-3, 9, 25, 28, 39, 41, 42, 43.

¹¹⁴⁵ Appendix E: cat. A22, 34-35, 47.

¹¹⁴⁶ The central panel most probably depicts a Ptolemaic queen, identified by Daszewski as Berenike II in the guise of the personification of Alexandria. See Daszewski 1985. For more scepticism, see Dunbabin 1999, who however does agree with the interpretation of the panel as a Ptolemaic queen. See also paragraph 9.2.2.

¹¹⁴⁷ Steingraber 2006.

¹¹⁴⁸ Obviously, this small number cannot be considered statistically representative in itself. However, most conclusions derived from these data in this chapter concern the combined evidence of appendix E and F.

Crimea (app. F: cat. B1) to the Fayum in Egypt (app. F: cat. B3) and Tarquinia in Italy (app. F: cat. B2).

In the 2nd c. BCE, an example of painted crenellation occurs in Delos, in the House of the Seals (app. F: cat. B4) and in the tomb of Lyson and Kallikles (app. F: cat. B5). No examples are known that post-date these examples. It must be noted that many authors also refer to painted crenellations in Alexandria, in the Anfouchy and Mustapha Pasha tombs.¹¹⁴⁹ None of the published or otherwise available evidence however suggests that these paintings contain crenellations; in all cases we seem to be dealing with stepped pyramid motifs. I will however discuss some of these examples in the section on painted tomb ceilings with textile imitation. In four out of five examples of painted crenellations, the paintings are located on a ceiling (Kerch, Tarquinia and Delos), and in one case it concerns a painted sarcophagus (Fayum). In all three 3rd c. BCE paintings as well as in the early 2nd c. BCE tomb of Lefkadia, the crenellation occurs in a funerary context, whereas the later 2nd c. BCE example on Delos concerns a domestic context.

Zooming out from the glocal genealogy presented above, we can make some general first conclusions. First of all, it seems clear that, in the glocal genealogy of the crenellation motif, the painted phase (3rd c. BCE – 2nd c. BCE) largely precedes the mosaic phase (2nd c. BCE–2nd c. CE), only overlapping in the 2nd c. BCE. This was already suggested by many scholars, but the large amount of new evidence still supports this claim.¹¹⁵⁰ Even if we would include the possible Alexandrian tombs with painted crenellation, the shift from painting to mosaics would still be placed in the 2nd c. BCE.

This transition from one medium to another might be explained in terms of a direct translation from painted (tomb) ceilings to floor mosaics. If we follow this hypothesis, the presented data provide some hints regarding the location of this shift. Egypt would be a logical possibility, as here we have painted crenellations in the 3rd c. BCE in the Fayum sarcophagus (and perhaps in painted tomb ceilings as well, see 8.1.2) and mosaic crenellations in the 2nd c. BCE in Thmuis (Alexandria). Delos is a second possibility, as here we see the first occurrence of the crenellation motif in a non-funerary context (the ceiling of the Maison des Sceaux) and some relatively early (2nd c. BCE)

¹¹⁴⁹ Reference is made by several authors to the following tombs: Mustafa Kamel (Pasha) Tomb II, Alexandria (3rd–2nd c BCE); Mustafa Kamel (Pasha) Tomb III, Alexandria (3rd–2nd c BCE); Anfouchy Tomb V, 5, loculus ceiling painting (2nd c. BCE); Anfouchy Tomb V, 2, ceiling painting (2nd c. BCE); Anfouchy Tomb III, Alexandria – 2nd c. BCE; Fragment from a wall, Alexandria (date unknown). See Adriani 1952, 1966, who talks about a '*motif à dents*'. See also Parlasca 1959, 129 ff.; Guimier-Sorbets 2012a.

¹¹⁵⁰ See for example Steingraber 2006, 288: '*We often find crenellated friezes (...) in painting on tomb ceilings. In effect they form a kind of baldachin above a burial spot. Such tapestry-like designs, (...) adorn the ceilings of chamber tombs mainly from the third century (...) In Greek mosaics, however, we only find crenellated designs beginning in the later third century and especially the second century.*'

mosaics as well. It seems logical that an intermediate step in the transformation of media would be the shift from funerary contexts to domestic contexts. A less direct translation should also be considered; it might be that both painted crenellations and mosaic crenellations derive from textile crenellations. Instead of an analysis that explores the actual origins of mosaic crenellations in Samosata, I will explore the relation between crenellated mosaics and textile on a more conceptual level in 8.2.4.2, asking to what extent these Commagenean crenellations had the capacity to evoke textile. Another general observation we can make on the basis of the presented data, is that, already in the 3rd c. BCE, the crenellated motif had a widespread universalizing character, appearing in contexts across the Mediterranean and into southern Russia. This is the case both in painted and in mosaic form. Its global genealogy comprised of a shift from a pan-Mediterranean phenomenon in the 3rd c. BCE to a largely Italian phenomenon in the 1st c. CE. Lastly, it is remarkable to observe that the global genealogy of the crenellation motif – its wide distribution and long lifespan – did not turn it into a completely generic and malleable motif. Unlike the wave-crest, the meander, the stepped pyramid and the guilloches, the crenellation motif did not become a ubiquitous decorative element that appeared in any type of context on any type of medium¹¹⁵¹; its use remained restricted to painting and mosaics. These genealogical object type demands will be explored more in 8.2.2, when we look at the degree to which the Commagenean mosaics adhered to the glocal object type.

9.3 More-than-representational capacities of the crenellation motif on three scales

In this section, I will contextualize the crenellation motif's glocal genealogy in the palatial complex of Samosata. I am specifically interested how the glocal genealogy afforded the crenellations in Samosata with specific relational capacities on different geographical scales, namely on a local, a global and a regional scale. This section will demonstrate how the glocal genealogy of the crenellation motif could actively contribute to 1) achieving visual coherence on a local scale (9.3.1); 2) joining a global network of motifs and concepts (9.3.2); and 3) achieving distinctiveness on a regional scale (9.3.3).

9.3.1 Achieving visual coherence on a local scale

In this paragraph, the glocal genealogy of the crenellation motif is investigated to understand how the crenellations of Samosata acquired relational capacities in the context of the local Commagenean royal visual program. It will focus on what the implications were of the very

¹¹⁵¹ For the generic use of these motifs, see Dunbabin 1999, Ling 1998 and Andreae 2003.

structural and uniform manner in which the motif was repeatedly applied in Commagene. I will explore in what sense this search for uniformity and repetition fits and adds to the wider context of Commagenean royal visual strategies.

Three other mosaics containing the crenellation motif (app. E: cat. A4, A5 and A6) are known from Commagene, all located in the so-called 'Mosaic Rooms' I, II and III of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, the *hierothesion* for Mithridates I Kallinikos.¹¹⁵² As discussed already in chapter 4, there are numerous similarities between the Samosata mosaics and those from Arsameia on the Nymphaios.¹¹⁵³ The three tessellated mosaics belonging to the 'Mosaic Rooms' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios all contain outer decorative bands adorned with a crenellation motif. Their tesserae are identical to those in Samosata in terms of size (ca. 2,5 cm²) and colour (white and dark grey). In all cases, the outward-pointing crenellations are executed in white tesserae and the inward-pointing crenellations executed in dark grey tesserae. The corners, like in Samosata, are created by 'overlapping' borders. Besides the crenellated borders, other similarities between the mosaics from Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios are multiple. The size of the mosaics, for instance, is comparable to those of Samosata; pavement 1 measures 10,76 x 9,22 m. and pavement 2 measures 13,85 x 11,30 m. This means pavement 1 is slightly smaller than Samosata's room XV (11,00 x 11,00 m.) but larger than Samosata's room VIII (6,00 x 5,50). Pavement 2 is slightly larger than Samosata's room XV. Like in Samosata, the mosaics cover the complete surface of the rooms, and employ a relatively high amount of decorative concentric borders (at least ten, excluding the *emblemata*). The motifs employed in these decorative borders are the wave crest, stepped pyramid, meander and the crenellation motif. Furthermore, the only figurative emblem preserved (pavement I), showing symmetrically placed dolphin-like sea creatures on either side of an amphora, is almost identical to the one in room I in Samosata. A minor difference between both contexts is that in Samosata crenellations only appear in square mosaics¹¹⁵⁴, while the crenellated mosaics in Arsameia on the Nymphaios are all rectangular.

We could argue that, through its re-occurrence in a very similar way in Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios, the crenellation motif actively contributed to the creation of a certain degree of visual coherence in these two royal Commagenean contexts. This phenomenon is perhaps not surprising when we contextualize it in the royal Commagenean visual strategy in general. Versluys has for instance characterized the Antiochan visual program as an attempt at 'canon building'. He states: *'Introducing the concept of canon seems the only way to understand the rigidity that*

¹¹⁵² Lavin 1963, 191-6. For a comparison between room XIV and the Mosaic Rooms of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see paragraph 4.3.4 in this dissertation. For a discussion about their chronology, see paragraph 4.3.4. For a discussion about the role of these Mosaic Rooms in the Antiochan ruler cult, see 10.5.1.

¹¹⁵³ Bingöl 2013; Zoroğlu 2012, Özgüç 2009.

¹¹⁵⁴ For the mosaic fragment in sector s/11, the shape of the mosaic nor the room can be established.

*characterizes the Antiochan project, with its uniform texts and stereotypical visual material culture. This behaviour is very much in line with one of the main characteristics of the canon; namely, that nothing can be added, removed or changed. Coherence and repetition are therefore of prime importance to the functioning of a canon, like they were to the Antiochan project.*¹¹⁵⁵ Many aspects of the Antiochan ruler cult indeed appear multiple times and in very similar ways. Hilltop sanctuaries are found at Nemrut Dağı, Arsameia on the Nymphaios, Arsameia on the Euphrates¹¹⁵⁶; tumuli-shaped tombs appear in Nemrut Dağı and Karakuş; colossal statues of gods and the king occur (twice) in Nemrut Dağı and Arsameia on the Nymphaios; the great cult inscription (including the *nomos*-inscription) appears almost in identical versions in Nemrut Dağı (again twice), Arsameia on the Nymphaios and on the back of several *dexiosis* reliefs; these *dexiosis* reliefs themselves appear in very identical fashion throughout Commagene (e.g. Nemrut Dağı, Arsameia on the Nymphaios, Zeugma, Doliche, Samosata); and ancestor galleries occurred in Nemrut Dağı, probably in Arsameia on the Nymphaios and probably in Samosata.¹¹⁵⁷

Through the repeated use of the crenellation motif on this local, Commagenean scale, the decorative element acquired a very particular relational capacity, namely to create visual coherence in context of a royal program of canon building. As Versluys and others have shown, this canon building itself served as a way to produce structures of power and identity within Commagene.¹¹⁵⁸ In a way, we might say that the crenellation motif was suitable for such canon building strategies as repetition lay at its very core. In the mosaic itself, the crenellation motifs were already functioning as a collective, acquiring their strength through repetition. In a way, the motif demands multiplicity as its negative image produces again the same motif; it always exists in plural.

9.3.2 Joining a global network of motifs and concepts

How did the global genealogy of the crenellation motif play a role in Samosata when we consider the global scale? In this paragraph, we will assess the place of Samosata within this global network by comparing its mosaics to earlier and more or less contemporary mosaics with crenellation. To assess this question, I will chronologically discuss a set of global (i.e. non-local and non-regional) particularizations of the crenellation motif from the 2nd c. BCE-early 1st c. BCE. By comparing these

¹¹⁵⁵ Versluys 2017a, 170.

¹¹⁵⁶ Naturally, there are enormous differences between these sites. I am here solely referring to the fact that these are three *hierothesia* located on hilltops.

¹¹⁵⁷ Versluys 2017a, 130-135. For the possibility of an ancestor gallery in Samosata, see section 6.2 of this dissertation.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Idem*, 170.

phases of the global genealogy to Samosata, we can discern the latter's adherence to or deviation from the demands of the developing object type.



Fig. 9.8 The so-called *Sophilos Mosaic* from Thmuis (Tell Timai, Egypt), ca. 200 BCE. Source: Alexandria, Graeco- Roman Museum inv. no. 21739.

One of the earliest examples of the crenellated motif stems from a mosaic in *opus vermiculatum* found in Tell Timai, ancient Thmuis, in the Nile Delta, and dated to ca. 200 BCE (fig. 9.8; app. E: cat. A50).¹¹⁵⁹ The mosaic shows the bust of a woman wearing an elaborate costume that includes headgear in the form of a ship's prow. Daszewski has convincingly interpreted this figure (and an almost identical figure on another mosaic of Thmuis) as a Ptolemaic queen, possibly Berenike II, in the guise of a *thea synnaos*, representing various aspects of Ptolemaic power on land and sea.¹¹⁶⁰ Although the mosaic was found somewhat removed from the Ptolemaic royal capital itself, the connection to Ptolemaic royalty seems undeniable through the extremely high quality *opus vermiculatum* as well as the figure represented. The crenellation motif appears in a double border on the outer edge of a sequence of several decorated borders, including an elaborate polychrome and three-dimensional meander as well as a polychrome three-dimensional guilloche. In contrast to these complex borders, the crenellated border is exceptionally plain, black-and-white and two-

¹¹⁵⁹ Alexandria, Graeco- Roman Museum inv. no. 21739. Brown 1957, 67-68, cat. no. 48, pl. 38; Parlasca 1959, 130; Lavin 1963, 193 n.13; Daszewski 1977, 61; Ovadia 1980, 59, no. 42; Daszewski 1985, 142-158, cat. no. 38, fig. 5, pl. 32; Donderer 1989, 79, cat. A39, pl. 25; Grimm 1998, fig. 81a; Dunbabin 1999, 24-26, fig. 25; Andreae 2003, 27-38.

¹¹⁶⁰ Daszewski 1996, 143.

dimensional.¹¹⁶¹ The mosaic is one of the few signed mosaics of the Hellenistic period, stating *Sophilos epoiei* ('Sophilos made [me]').¹¹⁶²



Fig. 9.9 The so-called Hephaistion Mosaic from Pergamon's 'Palace V', ca. 200-150 BCE. Source: Berlin, Pergamonmuseum Nr. Inv. 70.

In the so-called Hephaistion mosaic (app. E: cat. A31) in Pergamon's 'Palace V', the use of the crenellation in many ways is very similar to that of Thmuis (fig. 9.9).¹¹⁶³ The mosaic is located in room K in the NW-corner of the palace. The mosaic and the palace are generally dated to the first half of the 2nd century BCE, coinciding with the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 BCE).¹¹⁶⁴ Much of the mosaic was destroyed but the remaining parts allow a reconstruction of a large square mosaic

¹¹⁶¹ An observation already made by Martin 2017, 63: 'Surely the play of paradoxes between depth/ surface and naturalism/ artifice was part of mosaic's appeal, as attested by the growing complexity of various border devices in Hellenistic floors: some emphatically flattened, some highly three dimensional, and some framing pictorial central scenes with life- like content. Sophilos's signed floor in Thmuis is a clear example of this visual duality. A flattened tassell device derived from textiles (so- called "crenellation") frames a perspective meander and other plain and double guilloche borders.'

¹¹⁶² Martin 2017, 56.

¹¹⁶³ Berlin, Pergamonmuseum No. Inv. 70. Kawerau and Wiegand 1930, 58-63, pls. V, XII-XV, text plate XXVI; Rostovtzeff 1955, pl. 74; Brown 1957, 72-74, pl. 39, 1; Parlasca 1959, 129; Lavin 1963, 193 n.13; Börker 1973, 299; Daszewski 1977, 60; Ovadia 1980, 47-48, no. 27, 1; Salzmann 1991, 433-456, fig. 1; Salzmann 1995, 101-112, pl. 6-21, app. 1-2; Bingöl 1997, 83-84, fig. 57; Radt 1988, 73, fig. 22; Kriseleit 2000, 17-23, figs. 8-15; Andreae 2003, 44-47.

¹¹⁶⁴ Salzmann 1991, 436-437. For alternative, later datings, see Andreae 2003, 44-47 (ca. 150 BCE); Börker 1973, 299 (mid-1st c. BCE); and Kriseleit 2000, 17-23 (mid-2nd c. BCE).

with at least seven concentric borders around a central field. The entire mosaic covers almost the complete surface of the room. The central field originally included three panels at the top, with a wide panel below it containing a floral design. In the centre of this floral design a piece of parchment – seemingly bowing away – was depicted containing the signature of the artist Hephaistion (*'Hephaistion epoiei'*). From the inside out, the concentric borders consist of a perspective meander, dogtooth pattern, a scroll against a black background and a chain guilloche. The outer edge of the mosaic is decorated with a double border of crenellations in black and white, similar to the double border in Thmuis. Here too, the crenellated borders stand in stark contrast to the complex, three-dimensional and polychrome character of the other borders. It seems that the three-dimensionality and illusionism here really seem to increase towards the centre, leading from the plain and simple crenellation to the relatively flat scroll containing a very naturalistic grasshopper, all the way to the fully three-dimensional meander, ending in the playful illusionistic depiction of a piece of parchment that is on the verge of being blown away.

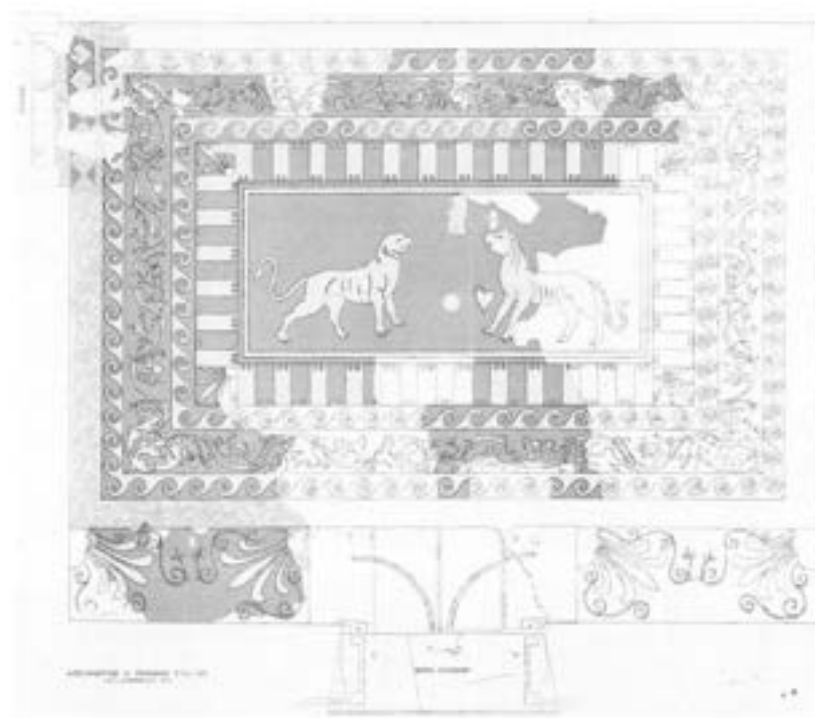


Fig. 9.10. The mosaic from the cella of the temple of Despoina at Lykosoura in Arkadia, early 2nd c. BCE. Source: Dunbabin 1979, 271, pl. 38 fig.10.

The cella of the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura in Arkadia contains a mosaic with an elaborate concentric border design with a crenellated border (fig. 9.10; app. E: cat. A22).¹¹⁶⁵ The dating of the structure and its mosaic floor remains a matter of debate but an early 2nd c. BCE construction date seems likely.¹¹⁶⁶ The tesserae, in red, yellow and white, are very irregular, with a relatively large size of 2-3 cm. The central *emblema* contains a depiction of two symmetrically placed lions. From the inside out, the concentric borders are a crenellation motif with palmettes in the corners, a wave crest, a floral scroll, and a wave crest. Left and right from the entrance, two smaller panels are connected to the concentric border design, containing palmettes with thin 'Blütenranken'. The mosaic fills almost the entire surface of the cella, leaving only a very narrow band of white tesserae around it. The use of the crenellation on the inner border is exceptional and does not occur in any of the other mosaics from the catalogue (appendix E). The other borders contain relatively flat and bi-chrome decorative motifs, so the crenellation does not contrast to more three-dimensional elements like in Pergamon and Thmuis.



Fig. 9.11 Mosaic from the peristyle courtyard of the House of the Dolphins on Delos, late 2nd c.-early 1st c. BCE.
Source: Dunbabin 1999, 33, fig. 34.

¹¹⁶⁵ Kavvadias 1889, 159-160; 1893, 7-8; Leonardos 1907 with references to earlier reports; Dickins 1905/1906, 112-115; Pernice 1938, 141; Brown 1957, 72; Parlasca 1959, 129-130; Lavin 1963, 195; Lehmann 1964b, 190-197; Levy 1967, 518; Bruneau 1969, 324-325, fig. 19; Daszewski 1977, 60; Dunbabin 1979, 271, pl. 38 fig.10; Ovadia 1980, 38, no. 15; Salzmänn 1982, 65-66, 123, no. 162, pl. 80.

¹¹⁶⁶ Construction dates have been proposed between the 4th c. BCE and the 2nd c. CE. It is clear that the structure has had several (re)construction phases. The cult statues of the temple are generally accepted as dating from a renovation in the first half of the 2nd century BCE. The mosaic too is likely to have been a replacement for an earlier flagstone covering, but this need not have been contemporaneous with the cult statue. See Lehmann 1964b, 196; Marcadé 1972, 986; Dunbabin 1979, 271 sticks with an early 2nd c. BCE dating, which is followed in this dissertation.

The crenellation motif also occurs in a mosaic in the courtyard of the peristyle of the House of the Dolphins (fig. 9.11; app. E: cat. A10).¹¹⁶⁷ The mosaic and house are generally dated to the late 2nd c.-early 1st century BCE, approximately contemporary to the palatial complex of Samosata.¹¹⁶⁸ This is one of the most elaborate concentric designs found on Delos, with at least seven circular borders within a square outer frame. Like in Thmuis and Pergamon, the crenellation motif occurs in the outer (square) border. The darker crenellations are facing outward, while the light red crenellations face inward. Like in Lykosoura, the four corners of the crenellated border are filled with a palmette. The other borders consist of relatively 'flat' motifs, with, from the inside out, a bead-and-reel border, a polychrome chain guilloche, a scroll with griffin heads, a wave crest, a meander in perspective and a wave crest. Each of the four corners of the square frame contains two dolphin-like sea creatures with small winged figures riding on top of them. The central medallion contained a rosette surrounded by floral garlands. The mosaic is signed by Asclepiades of Arados ([ΑΣΚΛΑΕ]ΠΙΑΔΕΣ ΑΡΑΔΙΟ[Σ] ΕΠΟΙΕΙ), and this Phoenician connection is furthermore enforced by the presence of a symbol for the Punic-Phoenician goddess Tanit in the mosaic at the entrance of the house.¹¹⁶⁹

From these earlier phases of the global genealogy of crenellations, some general observations can be made regarding the selection, integration and contextualization of the crenellation motif, shared throughout the genealogy. We can compare these general characteristics of the object type to the particularization of the crenellated motif in Samosata.

- 1) In all phases of the global genealogy, the crenellation motif occurs within an *elaborate concentric border design*, consisting of a sequence of many decorated borders around a central *emblemata*. These mosaics contain at least 4 or 5 concentric borders. Almost all concentric border designs are rectangular or square; in the rare case of a circular concentric design (e.g. the House of the Dolphins, app. E: cat. A10), the crenellated border is still only used in the square border around the circular sequence. This is also the case in room XV of Samosata, where a medallion with some concentric borders is framed with a square concentric design. The Commagenean mosaics are by far the most elaborate compared to the others from the catalogue, with 7 (Samosata room VIII) and 10 (Samosata room XV; Arsameia on the Nymphaeion 'Mosaic Room I') decorated borders. This elaborate design also means that the mosaic generally fills a large surface, sometimes even covering

¹¹⁶⁷ Bulard 1908, 193-198, pl. 12-13; Chamonard 1922-24, 136-139, pl. 53; Pernice 1938, 30; Brown 1957, 72; Parlasca 1959, 130; Lavin 1963, 193, n. 13; Bruneau 1972, 51, 235-239, no. 210, figs. 168-175, pl. B, 1-2; Daszewski 1977, 61; Ovadia 1980, 34-35, no. 10, 2; Pinkwart and Stammnitz 1984, 99; Donderer 1989, 56, no. cat. A 6, 1; Dunbabin 1999, 33, figs. 34-36.

¹¹⁶⁸ Bruneau 1972, 95-99. Bruneau dates the houses and their mosaic decoration to the period between 130 and 88 BCE, a date that is generally followed. For alternative datings, see Chamonard ('Late-Hellenistic'), Parlasca (early 1st c. BCE), Pinkwart – Stammnitz (1st c. BCE).

¹¹⁶⁹ Dunbabin 1999, 33.

the complete room, like in Pergamon (app. E: cat. A31) and Lykosoura (app. E: cat. A22), something which is also the case in Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

- 2) In almost all genealogical phases, save for Lykosoura (app. E: cat. A22), the crenellated border occurs in the outer border of the concentric border design. This is again also the case in all six mosaics with crenellation in Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios.
- 3) In almost all genealogical phases, the darker crenellated 'turrets' face outward from the centre. In Samosata, this is only the case in the mosaic of sector s/11 and not in rooms VIII and XV. In 'Mosaic Room I' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, the white 'turrets' are pointing outward, while in the other two mosaics, the darker ones are.
- 4) In almost all genealogical phases, the corners of the crenellated border consist of a square field that contains a palmette or a rosette (Lykosoura, app. E: cat. A22; Delos, app. E: cat. A10; Pheneos, app. E: cat. A35), a lozenge (Thmuis, app. E: cat. A50) or remains empty (Pergamon cat. A31). In Commagene, an alternative solution is selected in which one border of crenellation seemingly 'overlaps' another, creating an asymmetrical transition in the corner. This type of solution is only seen in (mostly later) Italian examples (e.g. Grumentum app. E: cat. A19; Rome, app. E: cat. A42).
- 5) In many genealogical phases, the crenellated motif co-occurs with much more complex, polychrome and three-dimensional decorative motifs, often executed in *opus vermiculatum*, creating a stark contrast with the two-dimensional, bi-chrome crenellation (e.g. Pergamon, app. E: cat. A31; Thmuis, app. E: cat. A50). Notable exceptions are the mosaics of Lykosoura (with mostly flat motifs, see app. E: cat. A22) and one from the Pompeian Casa del Trittolemo (with polychrome crenellations, see app. E: cat. A37). In Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios, the other borders are also very bi-chrome and flat, except for a panel with illusionistic cubes in room XV. In general, it can be stated that the crenellation's capacity to evoke a '*play of paradoxes between depth/ surface and naturalism/ artifice*'¹¹⁷⁰ was not activated in Commagene.
- 6) A surprisingly large amount of genealogical phases happen to be mosaics that contain a signature by its craftsman (Pergamon, app. E: cat. A31; Delos, app. E: cat. A10 and Thmuis, app. E: cat. A50).¹¹⁷¹ Although these three examples might not be statistically representative and the relation to the crenellation motif might be purely coincidental, it must be emphasized that the amount of signed Hellenistic mosaics is exceptionally small. Rebecca Martin recently established a corpus of only ten such signed mosaics, which, '*with the exception of the pebble mosaic from Athens, all (...) are found on mosaics of exceptionally*

¹¹⁷⁰ Martin 2017, 63.

¹¹⁷¹ Wootton 2012, 227 suggests that some signatures name patrons, but in these three cases the 'epoiei' really seems to indicate the craftsman.

high quality.¹¹⁷² Together with the fact that the crenellation motif occurs mostly in very elaborate concentric designs with complex decoration, it seems safe to suggest that the crenellation motif was exceptionally suitable for very prestigious contexts and high quality mosaics. This fits well with the observation that multiple mosaics with crenellation were found in royal context (Pergamon, app. E: cat. A31; Thmuis, app. E: cat. A50), something which fits with the royal contexts of Commagene.

These trends show that, by the time the crenellation motif appeared in Samosata, the motif was not a completely generic decorative element that could be applied everywhere in any manner. It could for instance not appear in mosaic designs with only one or two borders, *nor* in circular concentric designs, *nor* could it be rendered in a three-dimensional manner, *nor* was it applicable to any other medium than (tomb) painting and mosaics. Although there are exceptions, it seems that it also strongly demanded to be placed in the outer border of an elaborate concentric design and to be rendered in a bi-chrome palette. This all means that, despite its global occurrence, the crenellation was not a motif that was endlessly *malleable*; it could not be experimented with without specific limitations. Apparently, through its glocal genealogy, the motif had acquired a set of (decorative) demands. It is important to emphasize that, as we have seen, these genealogical demands were also largely adhered to in Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

By adhering to these object type demands, the crenellations in Samosata thus implied a tight relation to the glocal genealogy of the object type. Slight deviations from those norms and concepts are witnessed in Commagene especially in terms of the solution for the corners and the combination of almost only bi-chrome and 'flat' motifs. These deviations were however not unique – e.g. the use of flat motifs in Lykosoura – and were minimal in relation to the overall adherence to the genealogical demands. Interestingly, it should be added that the repeated local particularization of the motif on the local, Commagenean scale (dealt with in paragraph 9.2.1), is witnessed in none of the other genealogical phases. The fact that the crenellation motif occurred on a wide geographic scale does not imply that the specific nodes of that network (Delos, Pergamon, Alexandria) were represented by the mosaics in Samosata; rather, its adherence to a glocal genealogy suggests that the widely available object type had an impact on its particularization in Samosata.

¹¹⁷² Martin 2017, 56.

9.3.3. Achieving distinctiveness on a regional scale

The wide availability of crenellation motif stands in stark contrast to its scarcity in Syria, Asia Minor and the Levant. The overview of section 9.2 shows that, in fact, the crenellations of Commagene are almost unique in the wider region. The most nearby examples are Pergamon (app. E: cat. A31) in the far west of Asia Minor and Alexandria (app. E: cat. A50). The absence of further crenellations in Asia Minor, the Levant, Armenia, Judea and further east can probably not be merely explained by a lack of archaeological data. The occurrence of the motif in Samosata is therefore remarkable. It could be argued that the Commagenean visual strategy of canon building was furthermore enforced by the selection of visual elements that were exceptionally rare in the wider region, i.e. Syria, central and eastern Asia Minor, the Levant and further east. From this perspective, a visual element like the crenellation motif might have acquired a specific kind of relational capacity by means of its regional distribution pattern as well. Its *rareness* made it a very suitable element to create 'distinctiveness on a regional scale'. To illustrate this point, I will first consider the evidence for mosaics without crenellation in the wider region around Commagene to see what alternative selections of visual elements occur in these mosaics (section 9.3.3.1). Subsequently, I will consider several (semi-)palatial contexts in the wider region without evidence for mosaics despite other similarities with the palace of Samosata (section 9.3.3.2). Lastly, I will explore how the capacity to achieve regional distinctiveness was also at play in other object types of 1st c. BCE Commagene (9.3.3.3).

9.3.3.1 Hellenistic floor mosaics in Asia Minor and the Near East: different selections on a regional level

I will now briefly consider the evidence for mosaics in the wider region around Commagene (Asia Minor and Syria). None of these specimen contain the crenellation motif, which provides a context for the motif in Commagene. To understand the selection of the crenellation in Commagene better, it is important to assess which decorative elements were selected instead. First, the mosaics of Asia Minor will be discussed and then those occurring in Syria and the Levant.



Fig. 9.12 The pebble mosaic in Tarsus-Gözlükule Höyük (Cilicia), 3rd – early 2nd c. BCE. Source: Goldman, 1950a, fig. 12.

Decorated Hellenistic mosaics in Asia Minor are widely found in western Anatolia, close to the Mediterranean sea: Bingöl provides examples from Letoon¹¹⁷³, Halikarnassos¹¹⁷⁴, Kyme¹¹⁷⁵, Troy¹¹⁷⁶, Erythrai¹¹⁷⁷, Priene¹¹⁷⁸, Aphrodisias¹¹⁷⁹, Klazomenai¹¹⁸⁰, Assos¹¹⁸¹ and Pergamon (see above). Towards the east, the use of (decorated) mosaics becomes much more rare; Tarsos¹¹⁸² in Cilicia, Sinope¹¹⁸³ on the Black sea and the Commagenean mosaics are notable exceptions. Apart from the Pergamene (see 9.2.2) mosaics, none of the Anatolian mosaics contain crenellation. Furthermore, none of the Anatolian mosaics contain more than two or three decorated borders (again excluding Pergamon). Salzmann indeed called the amount of concentric borders in Arsameia on the Nymphaios ‘*auffallend*’.¹¹⁸⁴ It shows that, at least for Anatolia, the elaborate concentric border design was not at all a common choice for mosaics. Instead, for example, the mosaic in the temple of Apollo Letoon merely represented the deity’s symbols, a bow and arrow

¹¹⁷³ Metzger 1978, 795 f., pl. 241, 6.

¹¹⁷⁴ Poulsen 1994, 124 ff., fig. 14, 17, 19.

¹¹⁷⁵ Salzmann 1993, 601-606, figs. 2-5

¹¹⁷⁶ Campbell 1973, 208, pls. 4 and 2.

¹¹⁷⁷ Clarke, Bacon and Koldewey 1902, 119 and 121, fig. 2.

¹¹⁷⁸ Salzmann 1982, 124 f., cat. no. 168, pl. 84,1.

¹¹⁷⁹ Erism 1965, 145.

¹¹⁸⁰ Salzmann 1982, 122, cat. no. 159, pl. 86, 1-2.

¹¹⁸¹ Clarke, Bacon and Koldewey 1902, 141, 163, 164, fig. 1.

¹¹⁸² Goldman 1937, 272, figs. 24-25.

¹¹⁸³ Akurgal and Budde 1956, 32, pl. 8b, 22a.

¹¹⁸⁴ Salzmann 1982, 68.

and a lyre, within a small and undecorated frame.¹¹⁸⁵ Another example of very limited concentric designs is provided by the pebble mosaic from section B of Tarsus-Gözlükule Höyük in Cilicia (fig. 9.12), which consists of only three borders (egg-and-dart, a white cable and a wave crest) and is placed around an exceptionally large central white panel with four dolphins placed on either side of rosettes and palmettes.¹¹⁸⁶

What kind of decorative elements and motifs were selected in mosaics of Syria and into what overall design were these placed? In her chapter on *'La Tradition hellénistique Dans La Mosaïque Du Proche-Orient'*, Janine Balty states that floor mosaics were in general rare in the Near East: *'Si l'on excepte la mosaïque de galets trouvée à Tarse en Cilicie (fin III^e, début II^e siècle avant J.-C.) et les deux pavements mis au jour à Arsameia du Nymphée en Commagène (fin II^e, début I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.), aucune découverte ne vient éclairer, pour l'époque hellénistique, l'histoire de la mosaïque de pavement dans les provinces orientales de monde méditerranéen.'*¹¹⁸⁷ This means that, save for the Commagenean examples – now also including those from Samosata – no mosaics at all are known for Hellenistic Syria.¹¹⁸⁸ If we widen the regional scope somewhat, we could include a group of Hellenistic mosaics from Judea, located in Tel Dor, Tel Anafa and Jericho.¹¹⁸⁹ None of these examples however have evidence for the use of crenellated borders. Below, I will discuss these examples and compare their iconographic selections in light of the concentric border design and crenellated borders in Samosata. The fragments from Tel Anafa are too small and ill-preserved to discuss in terms of iconography and will be left out of this discussion.¹¹⁹⁰

¹¹⁸⁵ Metzger 1978, 795f., pl. 241, 6.

¹¹⁸⁶ Goldman, 1950, fig. 12. Found in room 6 of a large building complex (35,0 x 30,0 m. in the excavated area) with multiple rooms, and walls erected in ashlar masonry. This structure was dated to the first half of the 3rd century BCE until the early years of the 2nd century (Goldman, 1950, 30-31). The structure contained a part that was centred around a courtyard, a two-room unit that the excavators called a "megaron" and a group of rooms that contained a bath complex. The pebble mosaic was found in room 6, adjacent to the court, and part of the main entrance to the building. The mosaic (3.10 x 1.90 m), was executed in white, red and dark blue tesserae.

¹¹⁸⁷ Balty 1995, 161. Balty suggests the existence of a Levantine workshop in Arados (modern Arwad in Syria, on the Mediterranean coast) based on an artist's signature in the house of the Dolphins in Delos by [Askle]piades of Arados. Interestingly, this is one of the few early parallels known where a crenellated border was also found (app. E, cat. A10-11). I will come back to this in paragraph 9.2.4.

¹¹⁸⁸ Balty 1995, 59 on Mosaics in Syria: *'la mosaïque hellénistique n'est représentée nulle part – pas même à Antioch -, contrairement à ce qu'on aurait pu croire en raison de la profonde hellénisation de toute la zone côtière, après la fondation de la Tétrapolis par Séleucos Nicator (300).'*

¹¹⁸⁹ The Judean mosaics mentioned are those pre-dating the Herodian examples as the Herodian mosaics most certainly post-date Samosata.

¹¹⁹⁰ The mosaics have not been fully published but their context, the Late-Hellenistic 'Stuccoed Building' was. Weinberg 1969, 21-23; 1971a, 97-98; 1971b, 11-13; 1972, 9, fig. 5; 1974, 20, fig. 3c. Final publication of the Late-Hellenistic Stuccoed Building (LHSB) appears in Herbert 1994, especially 31-36 (overview of the LHSB phases and dates), 53-62, pls. 32-34 (mosaic). For a discussion of the fragments, see Ovadia and Ovadia 1987, 137, cat. no. 234 as well as Martin 2017, 68-70.

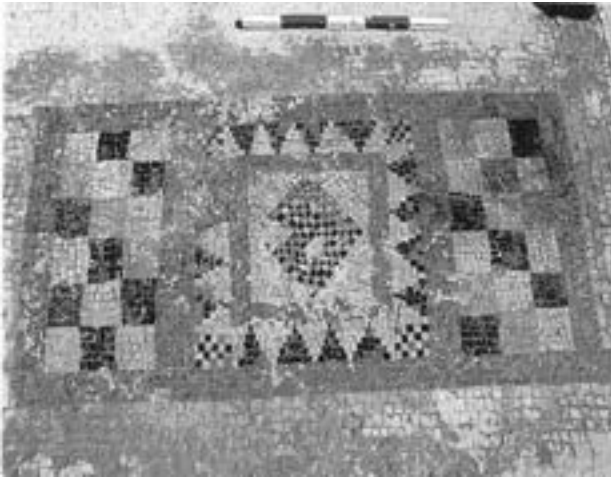


Fig. 9.13 Mosaic from room A[B] 42, in the *apodyterion* of the Winter Palace in Jericho. Source: Netzer 2001, pl. VII.

The Hellenistic (pre-Herodian) mosaics from Jericho were part of the Hasmonean baths in the Winter palace and date between ca. 64 BCE and 31 BCE.¹¹⁹¹ These mostly consist of very basic designs *in opus tessellatum* without any elaborate concentric borders. One of the relatively more complex designs is found in room A[B] 42, the palace *apodyterion* (see fig. 9.13). Here, a red triptych of about 1 x 2 meter is filled with a checkerboard pattern and stepped pyramids. The design is however clearly still very minimal compared to the elaborate concentric designs from Commagene and only covers a small (central) portion of the wider room.

¹¹⁹¹ Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987, 76– 66, nos. 110– 111, pls. XCIII:1– 2; Netzer 2001, 6– 7, 98– 101, pl. VII.

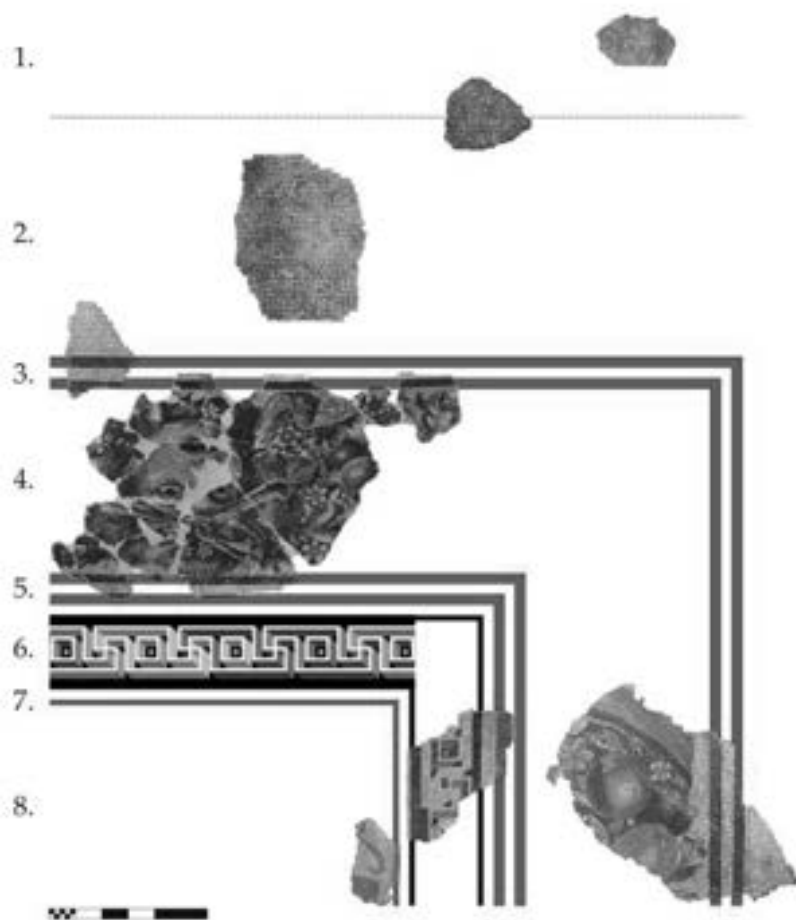


Fig. 9.14 Reconstruction of the mosaic from Tel Dor showing a central field surrounded with a polychrome meander in perspective and a mask-and-garland border, second half 2nd c. BCE(?). Source: Wootton 2012.

In Tel Dor (ancient Dora, in the Haifa district of modern Israel), almost 200 fragments were unearthed belonging to a mosaic with a central field surrounded with a polychrome meander in perspective and a mask-and-garland border (fig. 9.14).¹¹⁹² The mosaic fragments, varying in size from small clusters of tesserae to larger sections measuring over 0.40 x 0.30 m., were unearthed in a fragmentary state in a refuse pit dating to the Roman period, in area D1 on the southwest side of the Tel; their original location is unknown.¹¹⁹³ Because of this secondary find context, the dating is problematic and solely based on stylistic grounds; Martin and Stewart suggest the second half

¹¹⁹² Stewart and Martin 2003, 121-145. For all the fragments and a reconstruction, see Wootton 2012. For a reconsideration of Stewart and Martin's interpretation see Ovadiah 2012.

¹¹⁹³ Martin remarks on the find context: 'Given the quality of this mosaic, it is hard to believe that someone destroyed it on a whim. Earthquake damage or urban renewal come to mind as possible explanations, but until the original context of the mosaic is found, no firm conclusions are possible.' (Stewart and Martin 2003, 132)

of the 2nd c. BCE.¹¹⁹⁴ The mosaic is executed in white, black, yellow, and several tones of red, grey and beige *tesserae*. The technique is in *opus tessellatum* and *opus vermiculatum*, with the size of the *tesserae* ranging from 3 mm. to 5 mm.¹¹⁹⁵ Only one of two fragments with a mask-and-garland has been restored, the other is still unpublished.¹¹⁹⁶ The mosaic consists of a central *emblema* with figurative decoration (too badly preserved to interpret) surrounded with several concentric borders. Wootton reconstructs seven borders of which several, especially the outer ones, are plain white. The two inner borders are elaborately decorated: the first consisting of a polychrome meander in perspective and the second with an elaborate polychrome mask-and-garland border.¹¹⁹⁷

The mosaic is particularly interesting for our analysis, as it is the only example of a semi-elaborate concentric border design with complex border decoration that can be found in the (wide) region around Commagene. If we would expect the crenellation motif to be selected anywhere in the wider region, it would be here. Instead, however, a very different selection is opted for. First of all, the mask-and-garland border is not found in any of the concentric border designs with crenellation presented in appendix E. Although the very figurative and animated character has similarities with the vegetal scrolls in Pergamon (app. E: cat. A31) and the dolphins in the House of the Dolphins on Delos (app. E: cat. A10), the inclusion of human faces in the borders (be they masks or actual people¹¹⁹⁸) does never occur in crenellated mosaics. Instead of an elaborate sequence of geometric flat outer borders, the concentric borders of the Tel Dor mosaic are merely plain, making the paradox between depth/ surface and naturalism/ artifice even more forceful. In some way, the complex polychrome borders of the Tel Dor mosaic should be considered extensions of the figurative *emblema* rather than a mere framing device. The global genealogy of the crenellation motif suggests that the selection of this motif in Tel Dor would not have been out

¹¹⁹⁴ Stewart and Martin 2003, 141.

¹¹⁹⁵ *Idem*, 133 further comment on the technique: 'The white limestone field is framed at top and bottom by red bands using larger tesserae up to 4 x 6 mm in size. Most of the tesserae used for this white background and adjacent sections of floor are rectilinear and laid horizontally. But as they approach the decorated areas they begin to curve and include tiny chips, often only 1mm across, in order to follow the contours of the fruits, flowers, and mask. This technique is particularly clear where the top of the mask approaches the upper red border. The work is set into a bed of fine mortar 0.019 m thick, supported by a heavy backing of coarser mortar.'

¹¹⁹⁶ 'a fragment of a second mask and a separate geometric zone await supplementation from further excavation and restoration' (Stewart and Martin 2003, 132). It is suggested by a fragment of an eyebrow and adjacent wavy strands of hair.

¹¹⁹⁷ The depicted mask is turned slightly to the viewer's left and shows a young man with coils of brown hair over the temples and forehead, large brown eyes with large black pupils, thick dark eyebrows, heavy eyelids and a wide-opened mouth with red lips. He wears a hat and a woolen fillet that is bound together with a blue *taenia*. He is surrounded by a garland that consists of mainly of ivy leaves, but also has vine leaves, olive leaves, olives, pomegranates, pine cones, trailing branches, tendrils and flowers (five- and six-petalled rosettes).

¹¹⁹⁸ Stewart and Martin 2003 suggested that the figure in the frieze represents a mask and this was followed by Wootton 2012. Ovadia 2012 suggests that the figure would represent a young Dionysos. He does not consider the fact that another fragment showing a mask was also found.

of place at all. Its absence in this context makes us aware that its presence in Commagene afforded the motif with the ability to achieve a certain distinctiveness on a regional scale.

This discussion of the evidence for mosaics in Anatolia and the Near East shows that the selection of crenellation in Commagene was in many ways a unique phenomenon on a regional scale. Most evidence for mosaics show very different selections in terms of decorative motifs and mosaic designs, selecting only motifs of frequent occurrence (e.g. the wave crest, stepped pyramid, meander etc.) in designs that only have a very limited amount of concentric borders or even completely lack such a design. Even when the elaborate concentric design is present, as in Tel Dor, the crenellation motif does not occur. This particular distribution pattern played a role in the impact of the crenellation motif in Samosata; its exceptionality on a regional scale afforded it with the ability to make the Commagenean royal visual context very distinct from its wider, regional 'neighbours'.

9.3.3.2 *The absence of floor mosaics in 'palatial' contexts of the Near East*

It is important to reflect some more on Balty's observation that floor mosaics from the Hellenistic period were very scarce in the Near East in general, as it might add to our understanding of the regional exceptionality of the Commagenean mosaics. This lack might be partially due to a methodological bias; it could be that we simply lack the archaeological data. The *argumentum ad ignorantiam* that 'absence of evidence is no evidence of absence' would particularly hold true for the nearby *Tetrapolis* (Antioch, Seleucia in Pieria, Apamea and Laodicea), where we would expect many Hellenistic mosaics but limited archaeological investigation into the period might be an important reason for their absence.¹¹⁹⁹ However, even when we take this important methodological bias into account, the use of mosaics in a wide region around Commagene remains scarce. This becomes specifically clear when we focus on well-documented contexts in the Near East where one would expect mosaics on the basis of the general decorative repertoire of these sites. In this section I will therefore discuss some well-excavated comparanda to Samosata in the wider region around Commagene where mosaics are absent and the *argumentum ad ignorantiam* does not apply.

¹¹⁹⁹ The 'Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its Vicinity' was an undertaking of various universities (Princeton university, Worcester Art Museum, The Baltimore Art Museum and the Louvre), which conducted systematic excavations in Antiocheia (Antakya), Seleukeia Pieria (Samandağ) and Daphne (Harbiye) between 1932-1939. These excavations unearthed more than 300 floor mosaics, which all only date from the 2nd c. – 6th c. CE. Also recent rescue excavations have not yielded any earlier results, cf. Pamir 2015, 65. For a re-evaluation of the Princeton excavations, see Redford 2014 and De Giorgi 2015. See also Bowersock 1994, 411-427.

In Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates, the so-called ‘Governor’s Palace’, dated to the 3rd c. BCE, provides a fairly recently excavated context (conducted between 1986-1996) that in many ways compares well to the case of Samosata.¹²⁰⁰ The palace measures ca. 3200 m² and, like in Samosata, is located in the centre of the city’s acropolis. Its finely decorated rooms consist of i.a. Doric columns, marbled plaster, stucco with vegetal decoration, polychrome plastering with *trompe l’oeil* decoration that includes integrated gold leaf. Despite the fine detail of the palace’s decoration, which is not unlike the palace in Samosata, mosaics were attested. Instead, all floors were constructed with packed earth. Also in the domestic contexts of Jebel Khalid – which range in dating from the mid-3rd to 1st c. BCE – no evidence for mosaics was attested.¹²⁰¹ The ‘Housing Insula’, excavated between 1988 and 2005, again contained only packed earthen floors. Especially in the more luxurious houses of the insula – containing for instance high quality wall paintings with a figured frieze that depicts *erotes* – the absence of mosaics is remarkable.¹²⁰²

In Dura Europos, also located on the Euphrates, two subsequent palatial structures were found on top of the citadel, of which only the later and better preserved structure, the so-called Citadel Palace, can be assessed in the context of floor decoration.¹²⁰³ This structure was excavated in the early 20th century, but the level of available documentation allows some inferences to be made. It was executed in stone walls and its construction is dated to the mid-3rd c. BCE.¹²⁰⁴ The structure was characterized by long corridors and elaborate decoration, with a peristyle court consisting of Doric columns and a columned room in the south and a large court in the north. Nearby the citadel, the early 2nd c. BCE ‘Redoubt Palace’ or ‘Strategion’ at Dura Europos is also centred around a similar peristyle court.¹²⁰⁵ Leaving aside the question concerning the actual palatial function of these two buildings, it is again remarkable that, despite their architectural lay-out, reminiscent of palaces in, for instance, Pergamon and Pella, both do not contain any evidence for mosaics.

Further to the south, several examples of contexts also similar to the palatial complex of Samosata can be proposed where mosaics seem to have been excluded from the selection. In the well

¹²⁰⁰ Clarke et al. 2002, 25, 36-40. For a more elaborate comparison in terms of its architectural lay-out, see chapter 10.

¹²⁰¹ Jackson 2014.

¹²⁰² Jackson 2009. Jackson assigns the construction of the first houses in the Domestic Quarter of Jebel Khalid to the mid-3rd c. BCE, also referred to as Phase A. Construction is dated by four coins of Antiochus I (278-261 BCE) found below the first floor level. Attic black glaze and Attic West Slope ware, the earliest dateable ceramics, suggest a similar date.

¹²⁰³ Downey 1986, 27-37. Nielsen 1999, 115-117, no. 16. See chapter 10 for a more detailed comparison in terms of its architectural lay-out.

¹²⁰⁴ Perkins 1973, 15; Downey 1986, 27.

¹²⁰⁵ Rostovtzeff 1938, 35-37; Goldman 1973, 114, n. 7. This palace also recurs in chapter 10 when compared to the palace of Samosata in terms of its architectural lay-out.

excavated palace or fortress (*baris*) of Iraq el-Amir for instance, no mosaics were excavated nor do the excavators mention any tesserae finds.¹²⁰⁶ Josephus' rather detailed description of the *baris* and its surroundings does not contain any reference to mosaics either.¹²⁰⁷ The lack of mosaics happens in an environment that is otherwise characterized again by the selection of a wide variety of global elements such as 'Corinthian' pilasters, an 'Ionic' entablature, a 'Doric' frieze, stucco decoration, and 'Alexandrian' acanthus decoration.¹²⁰⁸

Also in the so-called 'great temple' of Petra, which was most probably part of a large Nabatean palatial complex, no mosaics were found, despite recent thorough excavations by Brown University (1993-2006).¹²⁰⁹ The structure measures 113,0 x 70,0 m. and is dated to the late 1st c. BCE or the early 1st c. CE.¹²¹⁰ The lower *temenos* has a well-preserved pavement of hexagonal limestone slabs of 77,0 x 80,0 cm. There, many decorative features were found, such as elephant-headed capitals, relief panels with deities in a naturalistic style and marine imagery. The pronaos of the 'cella' – which is now interpreted as the audience and reception hall of the palatial complex – is reconstructed as a Corinthian tetrastyle *in antis* and contains Attic bases with red stucco. A small room of 3,90 x 5,65 m. was entered through a vestibule and contained multi-coloured plaster and architectural imitations in stucco very reminiscent of the painting in Samosata, Masada, Jericho and Herodium. In the so-called 'baroque room', we find painted and gilded stucco fragments from the ceiling, which were part of an elaborate arrangement containing leaves, grapes and pomegranates around a round medallion of ca.1 meter in diameter. None of these heavily decorated rooms, nor the large pool and garden complex (*paradeisos*) to the east, contained any evidence for mosaic floor decoration.

From this discussion we can conclude that several 'palatial' contexts in the wider region around Commagene did not opt for floor mosaics at all, despite being comparable to the palatial complex of Samosata in several other ways. The selection of mosaics in Commagene then clearly was not a self-evident phenomenon; through the specific global genealogy of the motif, the crenellations in Samosata acquired the capacity to achieve an exceptionality on a regional scale.

¹²⁰⁶ Will and Larché 1991; McKenzie 2007, 95; Ginouvès 1994; Kropp 2013, 98-107.

¹²⁰⁷ Joseph. *AJ* 12.154-236. Josephus's account is generally deemed largely unproblematic in its description of the *baris* and its historical context.

¹²⁰⁸ Kropp 2013, 98-107. An alternative explanation for the lack of mosaics might be that the structure was probably never finished, something mentioned by Kropp 2013, 100.

¹²⁰⁹ For a good introduction, see Joukowsky 2007 with further literature. The interpretation of the structure as a palace instead of a temple complex is widely accepted now, cf. Schluntz 1999; Seigne 2000; Bedal 2004; Kropp 2009; and Kropp 2013.

¹²¹⁰ Based on the ceramics and the architectural decoration, cf. Joukowsky 1998, 136.

9.3.3.3 'Rare selections' in the royal Commagenean visual program

This relational capacity to achieve a rare, exceptional status can be compared to other such object capacities in 1st c. BCE Commagene. A good example of this is the Great Cult Inscription (and its *nomos*), written in Greek and widely available throughout Commagene (see above in 1.2). Versluys states: *'there are not many other examples of texts that comprehensively explain the context and meaning of the material culture in the context of which they are explained. (...) Although the great cult inscription with the nomos must (...) be seen as an attempt to create (dynastic) memory, it differs in several respects from the general Hellenistic practice. It is more extensive, it is more personal, it literally explains the material culture it is displayed with, and it was disseminated and put on public display in a standardised form all over the (target area).'*¹²¹¹ Parallels that Versluys mentions range from Egyptian hieroglyphs to the Behistun inscription to the somewhat later *Res Gestae* of Octavian Augustus. Versluys thus convincingly argues that the appearance of this element need not surprise completely if we understand its global availability. None of the parallels however occur in other Hellenistic Client Kingdoms of the Near east, nor in Asia Minor.¹²¹² So on a regional level, the phenomenon was in fact rare. It was through this particular geographically widespread but at the same time quantitatively limited glocal genealogy that the Great Cult Inscription acquired its affordance to actively contribute to a distinct Commagenean cultural program.

Several elements of the royal visual program in Commagene were not regionally rare; we know that tumuli graves occurred throughout the region for instance, and the conical and Armenian tiara of the Commagenean rulers was far from regionally exceptional. Yet, it seems likely that object types with the capacity to make the Commagenean royal objectscape stand out were important to achieve a certain distinction on a regional scale. The crenellation motif should thus be regarded as one of at least a few elements in Late-Hellenistic Commagene that were *globally developed* (9.3.2), *regionally exceptional* (9.3.3) and *locally repeatable* (9.3.1).

9.4 Exploring relational capacities of the crenellation motif genealogy

In the previous section, I have concluded that the glocal genealogy of the crenellation motif played an active role in shaping the kinds of specific capacities it had in the palace of Samosata. This

¹²¹¹ Versluys 2017a, 124-125.

¹²¹² See Kropp 2013, 302-303 who for instance claims that *'The local dynasts of the Near East often sought proximity of local cults, but their rule was not always enhanced with religious overtones. The outright worship of living or deceased monarchs, which was practiced for hellenistic kings and Roman emperors, was even less common. The case of Commagene was a drastic one-off creation, and also the Nabatean ruler cult is an anomaly in the Arabian milieu'*. In the Nabatean context, however, no monumental inscriptions like the Great Cult Inscription from Commagene can be found (see Kropp 2013, 303-309 for a summary of the available evidence).

section will push this investigation further by moving from interpretation to analytical exoloration to see what kind of other capacities might have followed from the glocal genealogy. Contrary to the previous case study, where I showed that previous scholarship had overlooked the non-representative capacities of the mask mosaic, here I will instead explore the conceptual capacities of the crenellation motif, precisely because the object type has been rejected so strictly as mere geometric decoration. An exploration of potential meaning of the motif, allowing for the capacity to evoke certain concepts should emancipate the object type from a static marginal element to a vibrant element of the palace. Spinoza's observation that '*no one has yet determined what the body can do*'¹²¹³, already mentioned in chapter 3, describes a similar sense that, in order to understand an object, one has to allow for its virtual, potential capacities as well.

Based on the glocal genealogy presented in section I of this chapter, I will explore the strength of the following four conceptual capacities: 1) the crenellation motif as a representation of architectural fortifications (paragraph 9.4.1). 2) the crenellation motif as a representation of carpets (paragraph 9.4.2) 3) the crenellation motif as a celestial representation with divine connotations (9.4.3), and 4) the crenellation motif as a form of Persianism (9.4.4).

9.4.1 The crenellation motif as a representation of architectural fortifications

As shown in section 9.1, the modern nomenclature that indicates the decorative motif under discussion in most languages makes a direct reference to architectural fortifications (*crenellation*, *mura merlate*, *tours crénelées* etc.). It is however not entirely clear whether the motif was indeed recognized as a representation of fortification as such in antiquity. We do not know for sure, for instance, what the motif was called, let alone specifically in 1st c. BCE Commagene. Attempts to connect written sources to the motif are problematic; the only ancient source that speaks in detail of mosaic motifs is the so-called Zenon papyrus 59665 (256–246 BCE), but this makes no mention of anything that could refer to the crenellation motif.¹²¹⁴ Some descriptions of textile mention a decorative motif that refers to towers (*πυργωτός*), and many authors assume this is a reference to the crenellation motif.¹²¹⁵ It should however be kept in mind that it could also refer to the

¹²¹³ Spinoza 1994, 155-156.

¹²¹⁴ See Edgar 1931, no. 59665; corrections in Koenen 1971.

¹²¹⁵ A mid-4th c. BCE inscription recording an inventory of the garments worn by cult statues in the treasury of Artemis at Brauron mentions a 'χιτωνίσκος λευκός πυργωτός παρακυμάτιος πλατυαλουρήs ἀνεπίγραφος' (IG II² 1514, 45-47. The block of grey marble containing the inscription is stored in the British Museum inv. No. 1816,0610.223). The *χιτωνίσκος πυργωτός* would refer to a garment containing the crenellation motif. In passages by Kallixeinos of Rhodes (known through the *Deipnosophistae* by Athenaeus of Naucratis) the description of the luxury tent of Ptolemaios II refers to the (textile?) decoration of the beams of the tent also being *πυργωτά*, in this case assumed to indicate a crenellated decoration in red or purple (Ath. 5.25.5 sq). Rouveret 1989, 196-197; Miller 1993, 45 n. 53; Guimier-Sorbets 2001. Studniczka 1914, 52-53: '(...) mit einem Muster nach Art einer turmbesetzten Festungsmauer geschmückt, das in unserem Falle rot oder

stepped-pyramid motif or any other decorative motif in textile that is either not known today or not necessarily associated with fortifications today.

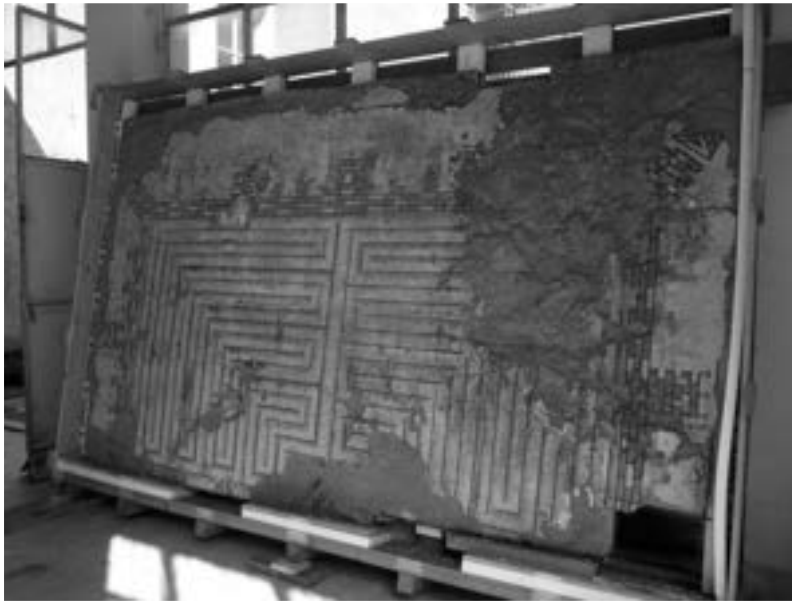


Fig. 9.15 The labyrinth mosaic with fortified border from a republican Domus on the Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano (100-80 BCE). Source: Salvetti 2016, fig. 1.

purpurn, sei es nur an beiden Seiten der weißen Mittelzone, sei es auch an den lotrechten Nebenseiten der Balken zu denken ist.').



Fig. 9.16 Labyrinth mosaic from the Via Cadolini in Cremona, dating to the mid-1st c. BCE. Source: Passi Pitcher and Volontè 2010.

A corpus of mosaics with outer borders that unquestionably represent urban fortifications provides some context.¹²¹⁶ Almost all of these concern mosaics with a central field containing a labyrinth, surrounded with a border of 'realistically' depicted fortifications (e.g. figs. 9.15 and 9.16).¹²¹⁷ They are found almost primarily on the Italian peninsula, but some examples are known from north-Africa¹²¹⁸, France¹²¹⁹ and Serbia¹²²⁰. Most scholars working on the Hellenistic-period crenellations have refuted the connection with these realistic fortification borders. Lavin, for instance, writes: '*As Mrs. Brown observes, the abstract design in these Hellenistic mosaics is not the same as the imitations of actual fortifications which appear in the borders of other, generally later, pavements.*'¹²²¹ Indeed, most of these mosaics showing actual fortifications date to the mid-

¹²¹⁶ Salvetti 2016, 587-609.

¹²¹⁷ In general, see Daszewski 1977. Often these labyrinth mosaics contain a direct reference to Theseus and the Minotaur, in some cases depicting both (or either of the two) in the centre. In some cases, it also depicts Ariadne's thread as a single line of tesserae. See also Marec 1962, 1094-1112.

¹²¹⁸ Slim 1980, 201-215 (Thysdrus, Tunisia); Daszewski 1977, 101, no. 1 pl. 39 (Annaba, Tunisia); Daszewski 1977, 102, n. 3, pl. 19 (Dellys, Algeria); Slim 1980, 207, n.2 (*Bulla Regia*, Tunisia); Daszewski 1977 123-124, n.52, pl. 18 (Henchir el Faouar, Tunisia); Daszewski 1977, 103, n.5 (Tametfoust, Algeria).

¹²¹⁹ At Verdes, see Daszewski 1977, 108-109, n. 18, pl. 46.

¹²²⁰ At Stolac, now in the Museum of Sarajevo. See Daszewski 1977, 127-128, n. 59, pl. 41.

¹²²¹ Lavin 1963, 194, n.15. See also Parlasca 1959, 130ff.

Imperial Roman period.¹²²² There are, however, some mosaics with an outer band of actual fortifications that date to the late-Republican period which were either not known by Lavin and others or simply neglected in their analysis.¹²²³ These include a labyrinth mosaic belonging to a domestic context on the Piazza di S. Giovanni in Laterano (fig. 18), dated to 100-80 BCE¹²²⁴; a labyrinth mosaic from the Via Cadolini in Cremona (fig. 19), dating to the mid-1st c. BCE¹²²⁵, a labyrinth mosaic from Calvatone, also dating to the mid-1st c. BCE¹²²⁶; and a mosaic from the Via d'Azeglio in Ravenna, dating to the 1st c. BCE.¹²²⁷ All of these early examples were found on the Italian peninsula and derive from domestic contexts.¹²²⁸

Contrary to Lavin, Salvetti argues that these fortified borders and the labyrinth designs derive from the crenellated borders and concentric designs of Hellenistic-period mosaics.¹²²⁹ The association of the motif and its labyrinth design with fortification and the urban centre would be a Roman innovation that developed around 100 BCE. Salvetti provides multiple, closely related layers of interpretation of this iconography which he convincingly contextualizes in Late-Republican Rome. First of all, this new conceptual frame emphasized an idea of the fortification as a delimitation of urban space, a division between a sacred interior and an uncertain exterior space.¹²³⁰ Connected to this symbolic aspect of the fortified wall are the depictions of fortifications as *pars-pro-toto* of an entire city, that accompany texts of Roman *agrimensores* (land surveyors).¹²³¹ Furthermore, the depiction of such fortified urban centres in a *domus*-context, can be understood as a manifestation of the relation between the city and the *domus*, in which the collective serves as a magical, protective structure that protects the individual.¹²³² The location of

¹²²² Around two-thirds of Daszewski's catalogue dates to the late 1st c.- 3rd c. CE, and only a couple of mosaics date to the 4th c. CE or even later.

¹²²³ Note that also Zschätzsch's catalogue, here expanded on in appendix E, excluded these fortified borders.

¹²²⁴ Daszewski 1977, 129, n.62; Salvetti 2013 81-87; Salvetti 2016, 587-609. After restorations in 2014, the mosaic was transported to the Museo Centrale Montemartini in Rome.

¹²²⁵ Passi Pitcher and Volontè 2010, 53-60.

¹²²⁶ Volontè 2013.

¹²²⁷ Maioli 1995, 514.

¹²²⁸ Salvetti 2016, 597 with n. 26.

¹²²⁹ *Idem*, 599: 'non si può mettere in discussione il fatto che sia la rappresentazione della cinta muraria che quella del labirinto, abbiano un'origine ellenistica', referring directly to the so-called *pyrgotos*-borders in mosaic and in *idem* 599 n. 37: 'Questa derivazione da modelli tessili mi sembra possa essere applicata solo nel caso del motivo di torri bicrome alternate', he points specifically at the crenellation motif.

¹²³⁰ Salvetti 2016, 600: 'All'adozione di queste iconografie, la cultura romana associa ben presto il concetto di centro urbano, racchiuso entro le mura che ne enfatizzano il carattere sacro e ne sottolineano la funzione di delimitazione di spazio interno contrapposto a quello esterno dai contorni incerti.' See also Rosada 1992, 124-139.

¹²³¹ Salvetti 2016, 600: 'La stessa cortina muraria è del resto significativamente utilizzata nelle rappresentazioni che accompagnano i testi degli agrimensori romani, dove le città sono rappresentate non da un insieme di abitazioni, ma da una cinta turrita continua "simbolo riassuntivo dell'intero insediamento".'; See also Rosada 1992, 130-131, with several examples.

¹²³² Salvetti 2016, 600: 'Tra le varie interpretazioni proposte nell'esegesi dei pavimenti musivi di provenienza occidentale con questo tipo di rappresentazione, quella che ricorre nella maggior parte degli studi, è

these mosaics in *triclinia* or, more often, in *atria* or vestibules which preceded the most private quarters, could also constitute an explicit declaration of the double social role of its commissioner, being, on the one hand, a public, institutional magistrate, and, on the other hand, a private *patronus*.¹²³³

If Salvetti is right that the fortified borders on the Italian peninsula were related to the crenellations in earlier mosaics and developed already around 100 BCE, it is interesting to hypothesize what it would imply if the crenellations in Samosata indeed had the capacity to evoke actual fortifications. We might ask, for instance, to what extent the late Hellenistic Commagenean kings were interested in presenting themselves as city founders and builders of fortifications - a typical trait of Hellenistic kings in general - by depicting several mosaics as *pars-pro-toto* for their urban project. It is, for example, notable that Antiochos I Theos presents himself as *ktistēs* (founder and benefactor) in the inscription on the back of an early *dexiosis* stele (known as SO) found in Sofraz Köy, nearby Samosata.¹²³⁴ In inscription A, from the Great Cult Inscription on the rock wall of pedestal III at Arsameia on the Nymphaios, Antiochos mentions that Arsames, his forefather, had founded the city of Arsameia on the Nymphaios (A13-14), which consisted of two separate halves, hence creating an '*amphipolis*' (double city) and he emphasizes the importance of its fortification: '*Because of the fact that he [=Arsames] strengthened the unassailable fortification construction [...] he created for the country a never-taken military basis and made for our lives a safe refugee in times of war*' (A 23-27).¹²³⁵ Antiochos furthermore emphasizes that, among other things, he improved the *defences* founded by his forefather. Interestingly, no evidence of ancient remains was found indicating any kind of urban foundation at Arsameia on the Nymphaios.¹²³⁶ It might be that the rhetorical claim of urban foundations and fortifications was more important than their actual materialization. If we assume that the crenellation motif was indeed a representation of fortified settlements, it would fit very well within such a royal strategy of self-representation.

If we further follow this thought experiment, the crenellations as city fortifications enter into a relation with the actual fortification walls in and around Samosata. It could for instance be argued that the construction of the fortification walls around the city of Samosata, as well as its citadel wall - both executed in *opus reticulatum* - would have enforced the conceptual connection

ovviamente quella che riconosce nell'associazione labirinto-cinta muraria il rapporto tra città e domus, con una ulteriore funzione magica e protettiva che coinvolge tanto il singolo quanto la comunità.'

¹²³³ Grassigli 1998, n. 21.

¹²³⁴ Wagner and Petzl 1976; Brijder 2014, 141-144; translation by Crowther and Facella 2003, 71-74. For the use of *ktistēs* by Seleucid kings in relation to their city foundations, see Lauter 1986, 86; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 230.

¹²³⁵ Translation by Crowther and Facella 2003, 71-74.

¹²³⁶ Hoepfner 1983, 58.

between the crenellation motif and the idea of fortification. A problematic issue in this regard is the chronology; as we have discussed in chapter 4, some structures in *opus reticulatum* – those on top of the *höyük* – most definitely post-date the palatial complex. The city walls in the lower city could date earlier and thus have existed contemporary to the mosaics but it seems more likely that all structures in *opus reticulatum* date to the early 1st c. CE during the reign of Antiochos IV.¹²³⁷ The siege of Samosata by Ventidius in 38 BCE, makes it however likely that an earlier fortification existed already in the mid-1st c. BCE.¹²³⁸ For the Roman period, we have indications that the city of Samosata was strongly associated with its fortification walls – similar to the *pars-pro-toto* function described above –, especially when we look at the only known fragment in which the 2nd c. CE author Lucian of Samosata describes his hometown.¹²³⁹ Furthermore, it could be questioned whether the crenellations in the palatial complex of Samosata could have connoted a similar declaration of the king's double social role: being, on the one hand, a mortal king residing within the limits of the city, and, on the other hand, a sovereign that resides among the gods, located on a high *höyük*, looking upon the city as one looks upon a crenellated mosaic.¹²⁴⁰

9.4.2. The crenellated mosaics as representations of carpets

As already mentioned in paragraph 9.1.2, many authors have argued that the crenellation motif had strong connections to textile, describing it as a motif that originally derived from the outer borders of carpets.¹²⁴¹ Furthermore, the elaborate concentric border design (which structurally

¹²³⁷ See chapters 4 and 7 (especially section 7.5).

¹²³⁸ For this siege, see Josph. *AJ* 14.15.8, 439-441.

¹²³⁹ 'However, any mistake in mere expression or arrangement is excusable; but when you come to fancy geography, differing from the other not by miles or leagues, but by whole days' journeys, where is the classical model for that? One writer has taken so little trouble with his facts — never met a Syrian, I suppose, nor listened to the stray information you may pick up at the barber's —, that he thus locates Europus: — 'Europus lies in Mesopotamia, two days' journey from the Euphrates, and is a colony from Edessa.' Not content with that, this enterprising person has in the same book taken up my native Samosata and shifted it, citadel, walls, and all, into Mesopotamia, giving it the two rivers for boundaries, and making them shave past it, all but touching the walls on either side. I suspect you would laugh at me, Philo, if I were to set about convincing you that I am neither Parthian nor Mesopotamian, as this whimsical colony-planter makes me.' (Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 24).

¹²⁴⁰ The tension and interdependency between the 'two antithetical societies' of court and city (Nielsen 1999F, 208) is well documented for Hellenistic courts; e.g. Strootman 2014, 55-57 on their symbiotic relationship. Strootman 2014, 57 claims: '(...) through the use of architectural elements adapted from religious structural design, the palace precinct was shaped as a sacred *temenos* of sorts. Thus the sacredness of kingship was accentuated, and a mode was created of separating and connecting royal and civic space.' The fact that the palace of Commagene was located on an elevated position within the city of Samosata illustrates this paradoxical strategy of contemporaneous separation and connection very well. Kropp 2013, 109 states: 'The fact that the palace was erected (...) on the acropolis hovering above the city among the main sanctuaries is already a good indicator of an absolute monarchy, matching the self-projection of Kommagenian rulers as kings and gods at the same time.' It is impossible to assess whether this double social role was experienced as a tension by the royal Commagenean commissioners and whether there was any need to explicate this by means of its mosaics (like was the case in Late-Republican aristocratic, Roman *domus* contexts).

¹²⁴¹ Wataghin 1990, 269-298: '*ossia dalla tradizionale rifinitura delle stoffe di lana che avevano un bordo detto pyrgotos*'; Ghedini 1995, 129-141; Meyboom 1995, 366-367, n.3: '*the motif of the turreted border [i.e. crenellation] is essentially a textile pattern*'; Dunbabin 1999, 292: '*For others [i.e. patterns] a derivation from textiles is likely, despite the lack of surviving examples; patterns like crenellation and crowstep, where designs*

co-occurs with the crenellation motif) is also regarded as typical for carpets.¹²⁴² However, the mosaics in Samosata are generally not explicitly interpreted as carpet imitations.¹²⁴³ I would like to make a distinction here between the notion of crenellated mosaics as *deriving from* carpets on the one hand, and the notion of such mosaics *contextually connoting* carpets on the other hand. The point is that the *contextual meaning* of the mosaics cannot be answered solely by looking for *origins*; the active role of (perceived) origins can only be assessed by analysing their meaning in

in two colours form complementary images, are particularly well suited to be executed in weaving.'; Steingraber 2006, 288: 'Textiles, some of them produced in eastern Asia and Persia, are certain to have played a large role in the transmission of ornamental motifs. Unfortunately, our knowledge of ancient textiles from the Mediterranean region, especially Etruscan textiles, is still very limited. (...) Crenellated friezes are an obvious example.'; Martin 2017, 78 and n.43: 'A flattened tassel device derived from textiles (so-called "crenellation")'. Salvetti 2016, 599: 'È opinione ormai ripresa in molti studi che il primo motivo [i.e. crenellation] derivi dall'arte tessile (...) e che nella sostituzione del tappeto con un pavimento più consistente e duraturo, se ne riprendano anche i motivi e le trame.'; Steingraber A number of the motifs found (...) in mosaics and in wall painting appear to have been based primarily on textile designs. Crenellated friezes are an obvious example.'; Note that Asher Ovadiah has attempted to pinpoint the origins of many decorative mosaic patterns (Ovadiah 1980) but his conclusions are generally considered unreliable because of methodological problems, see Salzmann 1983, 737-743; Note also that Studniczka 1914, 53 and Jacobthal 1938, 207 have both suggested that the crenellation motif occurred on ceramic decoration as well, but this has convincingly been refuted by Parlasca 1959, 129 n.7, who explains that in all the offered examples it concerns 'broad meanders', or 'U-Haken-Leiste', which are very common in mosaic decoration but something very different from the crenellation motif.

¹²⁴²Rostovtzeff called the mosaics with concentric border decoration 'stone carpets' (Rostovtzeff 1913-1914) and Bruneau used the term 'tapis central' (Bruneau 1972, 7) to describe the concentric mosaics from Delos; Meyboom 1995, 366-367, n.3: 'Friezes are a natural pattern for textiles'. Ling 1998, 20-21: 'It is often suggested that the motifs and general design reflect the influence of textiles, and one can well believe that there is some truth in this; surviving fragments of Greek textiles, and more especially representations of them in other works of art, confirm that they used motifs seen in the Olynthian mosaics.' The scholarly debate about the general origin of (pebble) mosaics will be largely left out from this discussion, as it by now it is clear that mosaics developed already in the early Iron Age and most of its decorative patterns co-developed in a variety of media, something which cannot be said for the crenellation motif. Von Lorentz, Robinson and Bruneau argued that the (apparently) sudden appearance of pebble mosaics in the later 5th century meant a one-to-one translation from Near Eastern luxurious textiles into the more permanent medium of stone, see Von Lorentz 1937, 165-222; Robinson 1946, 337-338; Bruneau 1972, 37ff. Salzmann 1982 refuted the idea that the early pebble mosaics would be copies of carpets and argued that many of the iconographic motifs, especially the meander, wave crest, and palmette frieze are part of a decorative repertoire that by then already appeared on a wide variety of media, such as ceramics, architecture and, specifically, painting. Also, he argued that the development of decorated pebble mosaics was in fact much less sudden than often thought; examples from Gordion and Syria had already started in the 8th c. BCE. It is nowadays generally accepted that mosaicists probably drew their inspiration from multiple sources and that mosaics probably should not be uncritically considered just one-to-one 'copies' of carpets (see Martin 2017, also in relation to the origins of tessellated mosaics). Such sources seem to include textiles, architecture and painting, although the latter probably only developed in the 4th/3rd c. BCE. The idea that mosaic decoration would have been influenced by ceramics is however not very likely and has been largely refuted by Katherine Dunbabin: '(...) it seems unlikely that a small-scale art such as vase-painting would have acted as a primary inspiration for work in a very different medium; and the two do not in fact have much in common. The rendering of the figures on earlier pavements is infinitely less sophisticated than on contemporary vase-painting, and seems to revert to a level of anatomical knowledge typical in that medium of a century or more earlier. (...) only in the treatment of vegetal ornament is there a comparable development in mosaic and vase-painting, which does suggest a relationship, though perhaps in the sense that both drew on a common source.' (Dunbabin 1999, 10).

¹²⁴³One notable exception is Annete Haug: 'A telling example is the fish mosaic of palace (IV) on the acropolis of Pergamon. The opulent frames do not simply compete visually with the central emblem, they also replicate the experience of a precious carpet and thus run counter to the impression of a basin.' (Haug 2021).

context; a motif that did not originally derive from textile could still at some point in time come to connote textiles, while motifs deriving from textiles do not necessarily need to actively evoke the idea of textiles at all. This issue seems to be less problematic for the painted tomb ceilings with crenellation than for the mosaics (see appendix F), for which there is broad consensus that they actively connoted the idea of hanging textiles, arching over the tomb like a baldachin. In this paragraph, I will explore to what extent the crenellated mosaics in Samosata also actively referred to carpets.

Contextual conceptual networks are hard to reconstruct, especially when, as in this case, we lack ancient viewer-responses of people seeing and using the crenellated mosaics. However, we can analytically explore how these mosaics with crenellation were categorized in Samosata by looking at the two principles behind the way that conceptual relations are created in people's perception. Mol has argued how conceptual networks and categorizations are derivatives from the material world and how resemblance and co-occurrence of objects are the prime principles behind the creation of a category.¹²⁴⁴ I will now explore the question as to whether the mosaics from Samosata connoted carpets along these two principles, first looking at *resemblance* and then at *co-occurrence*.

¹²⁴⁴ See Mol 2017: 'These semantic relations in the brain work through a complex set of storage capabilities, linked to hierarchies, symbolism, and visual input. On the most superficial scale semantic relations can be defined on the basis of a couple of premises: resemblance (...) and co-occurrence. When things resemble each other they are likely to be linked (...) when things do not resemble, but usually occur together they are also linked'. See also Stock 2010, 1951-1969.

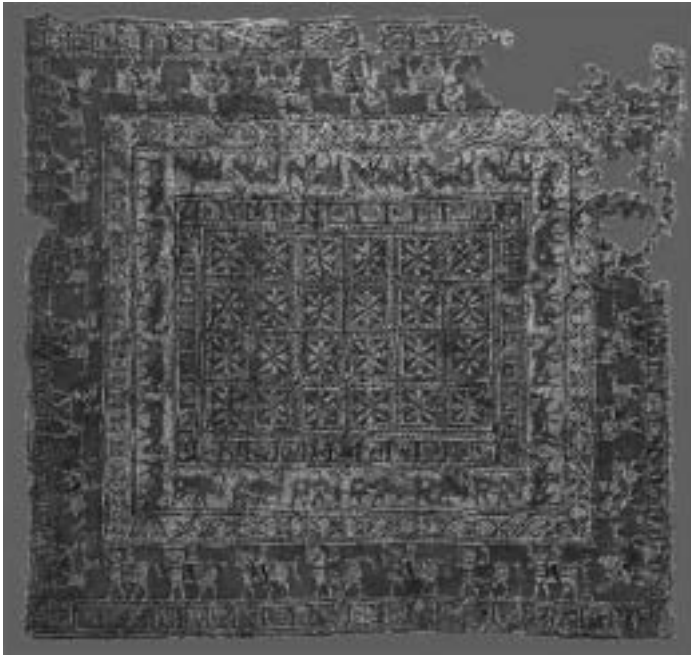


Fig. 9.17 The Pazyryk carpet, found in a Scythian grave in the Pazyryk Valley of the Altai Mountains in Siberia, 5th c. BCE.
Source: Rudenko 1970, plate 147.

In terms of *resemblance*, it is hard to say whether the crenellated mosaics indeed looked very similar to carpets that existed in Samosata; no textile fragments were preserved in Samosata or Commagene. Looking at the wider corpus of preserved carpets and textiles from the ancient world, no comparanda for the crenellation motif can be found; none of the preserved textiles contains any decorative element resembling the crenellation motif. The elaborate concentric border design, however, does occur extensively in ancient carpets. A good example is the 5th c. BCE 'Pazyryk carpet', found in a Scythian grave in the Pazyryk Valley of the Altai Mountains in Siberia (fig. 9.17).¹²⁴⁵ The elaborate concentric design is placed around an inner field that contains identical square frames arranged in rows on a red ground, each filled by identical, star shaped ornaments. The concentric borders contain depictions of elk or deer, warriors on horses and square decorative elements.

¹²⁴⁵ It is a woollen carpet of 1,83 x 2,00 m., weaved in the so-called pile-weaving technique and executed in red and yellow fabric. This is one of the oldest and best preserved pieces of elaborately decorated textiles. The grave had been completely frozen, a condition that safeguarded the carpet's preservation. Based on radiocarbon dating it could be established that the carpet dated to the late 5th c. BCE. Because of its unicity, it is hard to establish whether this was a Scythian production or an import from elsewhere. It has been suggested that the carpet was produced in Armenia or Persia. Rudenko 1970, 205-6, 275, 295-304, pls. 147, 154, 174-177; Ghirshman 1964, figs. 466-470; Zick-Nissen 1966, 569-581. Exhibited in the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. No. 1687/93.

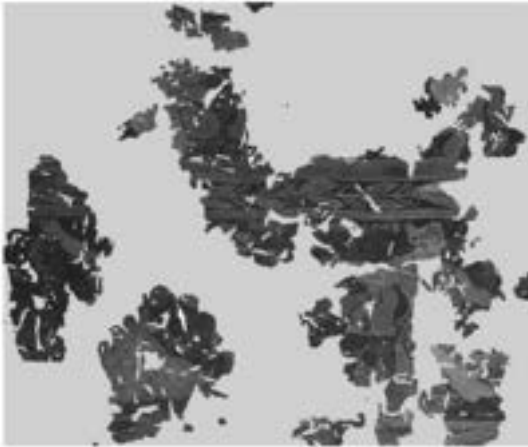


Fig. 9.18 Batik cloth from the Seven Brothers Barrow on the Taman peninsula, 4th c. BCE. Source: Gerziger 1975, 51, pl.24.

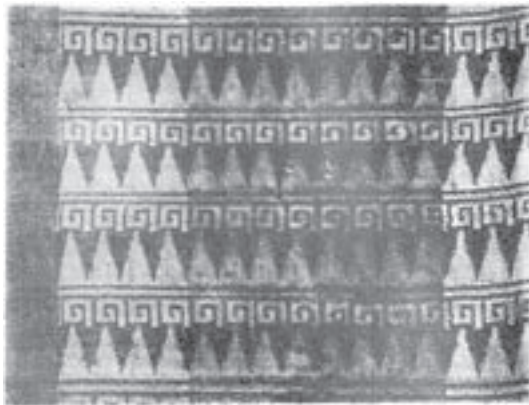


Fig. 9.19 Fragment of silk (150 x 18.5 cm.) from barrow no. 23 of the Xiongnu tombs of Noyon Uul in northern Mongolia (1st c. BCE). Source: Trever 1932, 38, pl. 19.3.

A later, 4th c. BCE example of textile with a concentric design is offered by the batik cloth from the Seven Brothers Barrow on the Taman peninsula, bordering the Krim, a site which is associated with the Greek Black sea colony of Panticapaeum (fig. 9.18).¹²⁴⁶ On it, we see a border with red figures on a dark background, interpreted as an Amazonomachy¹²⁴⁷, as well as a border with two foiled-garland decoration. For both this batik cloth and the Pazyryk carpet, the elaborate concentric border design clearly resembles the mosaic designs in Samosata. The type of decorative elements used within these borders is however very different from the crenellated mosaics. None of the decorative motifs used in Samosata are found on the carpets from Pazyryk

¹²⁴⁶The textile was found in the Semibratny barrow 6 main sepulchre. Now in Saint Petersburg, The Hermitage VI.16. Cf. Gerziger 1975, 51-55, pls. 21-24.

¹²⁴⁷ Gerziger 1975, 51-55.

and the Taman peninsula. In the 1st c. BCE, however, we have evidence for the application of such decorative motifs on textiles. On a fragment of silk (150 x 18.5 cm.) from barrow no. 23 of the Xiongnu tombs of Noyon Uul in northern Mongolia, we see the use of the meander and the dog-tooth motif (fig. 9.19).¹²⁴⁸ Interestingly however, these motifs are placed in a layered border design instead of a concentric border design.

This discussion shows that ancient textiles clearly resembled the elaborate concentric design of the mosaics in Samosata; especially their concentric border decoration is very reminiscent of the mosaics. The occurrence of decorative borders containing meanders and dog-tooth motifs on the Noyon Uul silk (see above) however also suggests that elaborate concentric designs with motifs like those in Samosata are conceivable very well for textiles in the 1st c. BCE.

The second principle by which conceptual networks are created, *co-occurrence*, provides us with a different perspective on the question whether the mosaics in Samosata actively connoted textiles. This argument draws on the discussion of paragraph 9.3.2, in which it was concluded that most regional palatial structures lacked any evidence for mosaics. In Dura Europos, Jebel Khalid, Iraq el-Amir and 'the Great Temple' of Petra, there is no evidence for mosaic floors, despite relatively extensive excavations and publications. The hard-packed earthen floors in Jebel Khalid might have been actual walking surfaces, but we might very well imagine such earthen floors to have been covered with carpets. In Dura Europos, fragments of tapestry were in fact found in the citadel tombs dating to the 1st c. CE, just after the abandonment of the palace.¹²⁴⁹ It seems therefore likely that, instead of mosaics, most palatial structures in the wider region around Samosata had decorated textiles on their floors. From this perspective, the co-occurrence of floors, elaborate concentric designs and particular motifs (such as the crenellation motif) could easily have developed a category in which mosaics and carpets were to some extent equated; they occurred in the same type of context and were treaded in the same manner. The important point is that, in a region where mosaics were ubiquitous, such as western Anatolia, the categorization of the mosaic as a form of textile would have been much less obvious. The capacity to connote textiles

¹²⁴⁸ The fragment was found in the lower beam of the external eastern corridor Trever 1932, 38, pl. 19/3. It is also discussed in the catalogue (no. 78) for the exhibition *Scythian, Persian and Central Asian Art from the Hermitage Collection, Leningrad* in Tokyo, published in 1969 by the Tokyo National Museum. The Xiongnu tombs of Noyon Uul contain several fragments of well-preserved textile that predominantly show a concentric border style with decorative motifs reminiscent of the Pazyryk carpet. Most of the fragments show borders decorated with stylized floral motifs, lozenges, animals and warriors, all very much unlike the elaborate concentric mosaics from Samosata. See Trever 1932; Rudenko 1962; Miller and Brosseder 2017, 475-479; Eregzen 2011.

¹²⁴⁹ For a complete overview of the textiles from Dura Europos (many of them dating to the Roman and early Christian period), see Pfister and Bellinger 1945. The fragments from the four citadel tombs are Pfister and Bellinger 1945, 17, cat. nos. 1 and 2; p. 19, cat. no. 17; p. 26, cat. nos. 65 and 66; p. 30, cat. no. 90; and 34, cat. no. 116. These fragments are now in the Yale University Art Gallery. For the excavation report of these tombs, see Matheson 1992, 121-140.

was more activated in a region where mosaics could not be their own category because of their rare appearance.

Based on the above, we could cautiously conclude that it is not unlikely that the crenellated mosaics in Samosata connoted an idea of carpets. These mosaics clearly *resembled* the elaborate concentric designs on textiles and both media accommodated similar decorative motifs, be it that the crenellation motif is lacking. The rare occurrence of such mosaics in the wider region around Commagene suggests that the mosaics were likely also to be categorized along the principle of *co-occurrence* and held as a type of floor decoration similar to carpets. In this way, the mosaics would have indeed been interpreted as ‘stone carpets’, something which would inherently stimulate the urge for comparison between the two different media. The hard, cold and stable character of the mosaics would have been perceived as a radical change from the soft, portable and more perishable nature of the carpets. The production and trade of textile is attested early in Commagene and seems to have been a trade-mark product¹²⁵⁰; if it was indeed the case that the use of mosaics was perceived as a shift away from textiles it most probably meant a shift away from an object-type that was deeply ingrained in Commagenean culture. Such a radical shift in the material repertoire of Commagene fits well with the overall character of the Commagenean cultural program in the 1st c. BCE.¹²⁵¹

¹²⁵⁰ Gaspa 2017, 85: ‘*The strengthening of trade contacts with Anatolia in the Sargonid Age in the field of imported textiles is also confirmed by a Sennacherib’s letter mentioning wool from the land of Kummuh, corresponding to classical Commagene*’. In this letter from Sennacherib to Sargon, the tribute paid by Kummuh to the Assyrian king is described as born by seven teams of mules and including red wool. See: SAA 1 33: 19 r. 3. In another mid-Iron Age source, the Assyrian king Sargon II besieges and captures the city of Kummuh (later Samosata) after king Mutallu of Kummuh rebels against him in 708 BCE. From the so-called ‘Display Inscription’ of Salons IV, VII, VIII and X in the Assyrian palace of Khorsabad, we know that the (Iron Age) palace of Kummuh (Samsat) was plundered, the spoils of war contain ‘*150 chariots, 1500 cavalry, 20,000 bowmen, 1000 bearers of the shield and bearers of the land*’ but also ‘*horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep [...] gold, silver, garments of brightly coloured wool, and linen garments, blue and purple garments, elephant hides, ivory, maple and boxwood, and the treasures of his palace*’. See Luckenbill 1927, 23 paragraph 45. Note that the inscription implies that the city under discussion is Melid but Hawkins 2000, 285 and n.50 argue convincingly that it concerns Kummuh/Samosata. A third text, of less certain date but still dating to the mid-Iron Age, mentions merchants from Kummuh in Harran, selling skins and linen. See Fales and Postgate 1995, 26 and xix-xx.

¹²⁵¹ Note also how the concept of ‘indestructibility’ and aspirations to eternity plays a major role in the ruler cult of Antiochos I. In the Great Cult inscription, he states: ‘*And I have taken forethought to lay the foundation of this sacred tomb, which is to be indestructible by the ravages of time*’ (N 36-53); ‘*the fortunately preserved outer form of my person, preserved to ripe old age*’ (N 36-53); ‘*the soul beloved by God has been sent to the heavenly thrones of Zeus Oromasdes, rest through immeasurable time*’ (N 36-53); ‘*a holy law, which shall be binding upon all generations of mankind who in the immeasurable course of time (...) shall successively be destined to dwell in this land*’ (N 105-124). Transl. F. K. Dörner, see Sanders 1996, 206, 217).

9.4.3 The crenellation motif as a celestial representation with divine connotations

Building on the tentative conclusions of the last paragraph, we might furthermore explore what these ‘stone carpets’ in Samosata connoted on a more symbolic or even cultic level in the royal cultural and cultic program of 1st c. BCE Commagene.

One particular aspect of the Commagenean ruler cult that is emphasized time and again in the monuments and inscriptions of the *hierothersia* and *temene* is the king’s *spatial and physical vicinity to the (sacred) heavens*. The colossal statues of Antiochos I enthroned amidst the gods on both terraces of Nemrut Dağı (possibly also in Arsameia on the Nymphaeion) are a strong illustration of this claim. The choice of deities makes no mistake about the scope of his ambitions; especially Zeus-Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes make a claim to universality and a vicinity to the heavenly throne (Zeus) and the sun (Apollo).¹²⁵² Obviously, the high location of the king’s tomb (or cenotaph¹²⁵³), is described in the Great Cult Inscription as ‘*in close proximity to the heavenly throne*’ (36) and this anticipates the moment the king’s ‘*soul beloved by God has been sent to the heavenly thrones of Zeus-Oromasdes*’ (36-53). A similar argument can be made for the elevated location of the Commagenean palace in Samosata, as already discussed above. Furthermore, the *dexiosis* reliefs also explicitly make a claim for the king’s close vicinity to the heavens. On the back of the *dexiosis* relief from Seleukeia-on-the-Euphrates/Zeugma, Antiochos claims: ‘*I set up in sacred stone of a single compass alongside images of the deities the representation of my own form receiving the benevolent right hands of the gods, preserving a proper depiction of the undying concern with which they have often extended their heavenly hands to my assistance in my struggles*’ (my emphasis).¹²⁵⁴ The relief depicts Antiochos I shaking hands with Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, emphasising the physical bond between the king and the heavenly spheres. A last example of Antiochos I’s claim to a physical and spatial vicinity to the heavens is the so-called lion-horoscope, which emphasizes the entangled nature of the king’s persona to the heavens; his life was literally *written in the stars*.¹²⁵⁵

¹²⁵² Many Hellenistic monarchies reinforced their claim to universality by associating their terrestrial monarchy with the heavenly kingship of Zeus. See Holt 1999, Strootman 2007, 247-248, Strootman 2013. In Hellenistic dynastic thinking, the dream of a world empire was closely related to the promise of a new golden age, for which the symbol of the sun was of prime importance. See Strootman 2007, 247.

¹²⁵³ Versluys 2017a suggests that it could well be that the *hierothersion* did not in fact contain the king’s dead body.

¹²⁵⁴ Crowther and Facella 2003, 47-48.

¹²⁵⁵ The lion horoscope was found on the at the northern side of the West terrace of Nemrut Dağı. The stele shows a lion that strides to the right but a head that turns to the spectator in a frontal manner. On his chest a moon crescent is depicted and several eight-pointed stars are rendered across the stele’s surface. Three larger sixteen-pointed planets (Jupiter, Mercury and Mars, mentioned in the accompanying inscription) are placed above the back of the lion. The iconography shows the constellation of Lion and is generally interpreted as the ‘*frozen picture of the positions of the heavenly bodies at a certain moment at a certain date.*’ (Versluys 2017a, 65). There is no consensus about the exact date that is meant nor its significance, but most

How could the 'stone carpets' have played a role within this ubiquitous message of the king's spatial and physical vicinity to the heavens? Could the mosaics indeed have played an active role in the royal cultic program of 1st c. BCE Commagene? A possible answer to these questions might lie in the specific role that carpets had clearly developed throughout Eurasian tomb contexts. Here, they were hung as baldachins against the ceiling or, as we have already mentioned, painted as such on the ceilings.¹²⁵⁶ This tradition already starts as early as the 6th c. BCE in Etruria and can be found across Eurasia in a variety of forms. It has been convincingly argued by Monica Baggio and Monica Salvadori that these baldachins had a sacred connotation; they evoked a celestial ambience in which the divine heavens guarded over the dead and delimited a sacred space.¹²⁵⁷ In fact, there are at least two examples of preserved textiles found in tombs that contained celestial representations, with star and moon motifs in the central field, making this connotation very clear.¹²⁵⁸ In descriptions and depictions of Persian royal rituals, the tent was also considered a celestial symbol, under which, for instance, not every servant was allowed to even stand.¹²⁵⁹

scholars agree that the horoscope presents a date that is strongly connected to the king's life, either his birth or his ascension of the throne.

¹²⁵⁶ 1) The corpus of ancient *textiles found in tombs* is too large to discuss here in detail. Some well-preserved fragments are discussed already in paragraph 8.2.2. Other important Hellenistic fragments derive from the so-called tomb of Euridice in Vergina, where several pieces of textile were found in the antechamber of the tomb (Guimier-Sorbets 2001, 218). The tomb contained nails still fixed to the stuccoed walls which were most probably used to hang the textile against the ceiling. 2) *Painted textiles* were, inter alia, found in tombs of Alexandria (e.g. Mustafa Kamel (Pasha) Tomb II and Tomb III; Anfouchy Tomb V, 5, and 2; Anfouchy Tomb III, see Brown 1957), Etruria (e.g. Tomb 5512 (appendix F: cat. B2)/Tomb of the Hunter/Tomb of the Tapestry/ Tomb of the Anina Family in Tarquinia, in general, see Steingraber 2006), Capua (e.g. tomba 8 San Prisco, see Benassai 2001, 77ff., fig. 98.); Macedonia (app. F: cat. B5, the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles in Lefkadia, see Miller 1993, 45; Alabé 2002, 248; Brecolouki 2006, 230), Delos (app. F: cat. B4, Maison des Sceaux, see Alabé 2002) and Crimea (app. F: cat. B1) Mount Vasjurin tomb 1, see Rostovtzeff 2004). In the latter painting, the relation with carpets is indicated specifically by the tassels that adorn each corner. A link might be made between the painted tomb ceilings and the paintings on a wooden sarcophagus found in Magdola in the Egyptian Fayum, dated to 250-200 BCE (app. F: cat. B3, see Edgar 1905, 10, pl. 5 (CG No. 33123)), which contains an elaborate concentric design and a crenellated border.

¹²⁵⁷ Baggio and Salvadori 2017, 301: '*Il velario dunque sembra costituire un topos del repertorio decorativo dei sistemi parietali architettonico-illusionistici, veicolando un messaggio strettamente connesso all'importanza dello spazio che esso delimita: il tendaggio (...) può alludere alla sacralità dell'ambiente.*' Guimier Sorbets 2002, 159-180: '*Dans quelques cas où elle est conservée, la représentation de la tenture peut être peinte sur le plafond, soit à l'intérieur du loculus soit à l'extérieur, au-dessus de l'ouverture. On retrouve ainsi à Alexandrie, la fonction symbolique très forte du baldaquin funéraire, marquant de façon pérenne le statut héroïque du défunt.*'

¹²⁵⁸ See the so-called Pazyryk-carpet discussed here in paragraph 9.4.2, which is decorated with many yellow star-shaped ornaments in the central red field (see Rudenko 1970, plate 147). Tomb C in Sédès (late 4th/early 3rd c. BCE), near Thessaloniki was also adorned with a star-motif, see Brecolouki 2006, 315- 316.

¹²⁵⁹ Paspalas 2005, 73: '*The enthroned Great King, always shown in monumental art beneath a canopy (...) must have been one of the most important images of the royal Persian repertoire. (...) There is no doubt that the canopy over the Great King's throne played an integral part in the projection of his majesty. (...) The image of the enthroned king travelled widely.*' Paspalas for instance refers to the Audience scenes of the so-called Treasury reliefs which were originally on show in the central fields of the Apadana's northern and eastern stairways (see Paspalas 2005, 73 fig.1). Here we see the king seated underneath a canopy, that is also hovering above a dignitary who is received by the king, the crown prince and two other dignitaries. The fact that the guards are placed beyond the canopy suggests that the hanging textile delimited a hierarchical, royal space. See also Schmidt 1953, 167, pls. 119, 121.-123; and Tilia 1972, 183-190 fig. 3 (reconstruction) and figs. 6-7. Calandra 2008, 50 suggests that '*è proprio la funzione simposiastica del padiglione che*

With these connotative capacities in mind, it becomes an attractive idea that the crenellated mosaics in Samosata were in fact representations of celestial stone carpets which functioned in a royal rhetoric that emphasized the king's spatial and physical vicinity to the heavens. This rhetoric was so ubiquitous in the 1st c. BCE royal context of Commagene that it could have easily activated the capacity of the mosaics to evoke such celestial connotations. The delimitating and hierarchizing function of both the tomb baldachins and the Persian royal canopies - making a distinction between a sacred royal space and an outer non-sacred space - is reminiscent of the conclusions from paragraph 9.4.1, in which the crenellated mosaic as a fortification was discussed. It is not unlikely that the crenellated mosaics in the palatial complex of Samosata functioned in a similar delimitating way, making a clear distinction between spaces of different hierarchies that gave access to an exclusive social group.¹²⁶⁰

9.4.4 *The crenellation motif as a form of Persianism*

A last virtual conceptual capacity of the crenellation genealogy regards its cultural evocation. As we have seen extensively in the previous chapter, many scholarly interpretations argue that the mosaics of Samosata were representative of either Greek ethnicity or Greek cultural identity.¹²⁶¹ These claims are generally based on ideas about the origin of mosaics, their design and the decorative motifs as well as their geographic spread. However, they do not so much assess what it actually was that they mean with *Greek* as a cultural concept in the Commagenean context. In chapters 2 and 3, I have deconstructed the pre-theoretical reduction of material culture to merely a cultural label, and I have shown that the genealogical relations of the crenellation motif also opens up many non-representational capacities. However, it cannot be denied that cultural concepts *did* exist as explicit cultural constructs, in antiquity in general and in Commagene specifically. Therefore, I will here explore the radical alternative hypothesis that, instead of evoking an idea of 'Greekness', the crenellations evoked an idea of 'Persia'.

In his monograph on Nemrut Dağı, Versluys demonstrates how Antiochos I explicitly appropriated 'Persian elements' into his cultural program. In his ancestral gallery, Antiochos for instance claims descent from the Persian kings through his paternal line, claiming a lineage that harkened back to

attribuisce sacralità al luogo e che lo qualifica a tutti gli effetti come "una sorta di temenos" ritagliato nel palazzo reale e delimitato dall'elemento mobile dei tendaggi.'

¹²⁶⁰ See paragraph 10.3 for an exploration of the use of these mosaic rooms in the Commagenean ruler cult and a discussion of the evidence for social differentiation in the cultic banquets of the ruler cult.

¹²⁶¹ Westgate 2002, 242: *Although some of the public monuments commissioned by the Kommagenian regime reflected the ruling dynasty's mixed Greek-Persian origins, their choice of interior decor seems designed to stress the Greek side of their cultural identity.*; Kropp 2013, 109: *'The mosaic pavement and wall paintings are rooted in a Greek artistic tradition'* Like Westgate, Kropp too understands these Greek credentials as standing *'in stark contrast to the public image of Antiochos I'* (109).

Persian king Darius I.¹²⁶² Another example of Persian elements derives from the inscriptions on the back of the colossal statues at Nemrut as well as on several *dexiosis* stelai. From these we know that the gods venerated in the ruler cult were granted double, triple or even quadruple names containing both Greek and Persian elements: Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, Artagnes-Herakles.¹²⁶³ Furthermore, several of the colossal statues were supposed to ‘look Persian’: the dress of the figures features boots, trousers, a long-sleeved tunic and a cloak. In the Great Cult Inscription, it is even explicitly stated that the king ‘*decorated it [the hierothesion] with representations of their [the gods] forms by all the kinds of art that the ancient traditions of Persians and Greeks—the fortunate roots of my ancestry—had handed down to me*’.¹²⁶⁴

Versluys convincingly argues that we have to understand these explicit appropriations of ‘Persian elements’ as forms of ‘Persianism’: ‘*ideas and associations revolving around Persia and appropriated in specific contexts for specific (socio-cultural and socio-political) reasons*’.¹²⁶⁵ In the volume *Persianism in Antiquity*, it becomes apparent that this cultural strategy was widely available throughout Eurasia from the Persian period onward. From the overview provided in this volume it is clear that the goals and concepts connected to ‘Persianism’ as well as the forms through which such ‘doing Persian’ could be evoked can take a variety of shapes and function in very contextual ways. Also, Versluys explains that the elements used to evoke ‘Persia’ did not in any way need to refer to *actual* origins or realities in Persia itself. Persianism thus should be considered a cultural construct that had acquired a life of its own, far beyond the chronological and geographical boundaries of the Achaemenid empire. Through time, it seems that this cultural construct had become an exceptionally strong cultural currency that allowed to express specific concepts and evoke specific atmospheres and senses. Versluys demonstrates that Antiochos I made use of Persianism within the context of active dynastic legitimization, making use of the royal prestige of the (idea of the) Achaemenids.¹²⁶⁶

¹²⁶² Versluys 2017a, 60.

¹²⁶³ See the Great Cult Inscription (N), Sanders 1996, 206-217.

¹²⁶⁴ N24-34: ‘*After taking over my paternal dominion (archē) [...] I proclaimed that the kingdom (basileia) subject to my throne should be the common dwelling place of all the gods; and I decorated it with representations of their forms by all the kinds of art that the ancient traditions (logos) of Persians and Greeks—the fortunate roots of my ancestry—had handed down to me, and honored them with sacrifices and festivals in accordance with the original law (nomos) and common practice (ethos) of all mankind*’. (Translation from Sanders 1996, 206-217).

¹²⁶⁵ Versluys 2017a, 215. For a thorough discussion of the concept of Persianism as well as a wide chronological overview of examples see Strootman and Versluys 2017.

¹²⁶⁶ Versluys 2017a, 219. Versluys shows that this was in no way a unique thing to do in the Late-Hellenistic period. He refers to Mithridates of Pontus who, in 89 BCE, also boasted about his royal Persian dynastic genealogy (Just. *Epit.* 38.7.1) and the royal Ptolemaic ritual known as the Donations of Alexandria in which Alexander, one of the children of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, was dressed in explicitly Persian attire to stress rulership over the east and suggest dynastic claims (Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 54).

On the basis of the global genealogy of the crenellation motif presented in this chapter, a link with a concept of 'Persia' can be explored. It should of course readily be acknowledged that the distribution patterns of the crenellation motif and the elaborate concentric design are largely confined to the Mediterranean; almost no examples of crenellation were found in the areas that were originally inside Persian territory, except perhaps for the Commagenean mosaics. However, the capacity to evoke textiles, baldachins and canopies, explored in 9.4.2 and 9.4.3, could be used as an analytical stepping stone to now explore the crenellation's potential evocation of Persianism.

First of all, the elaborately decorated carpets were often imported from the east and were therewith connected to an idea of 'eastern' luxuries (*luxuria asiatica*).¹²⁶⁷ This was also true for the painted textile imitations, which, according to Steingraber '*potrebbe essere un ricordo delle contemporanee importazioni di tessuti dall'area orientale*.'¹²⁶⁸ The concept of such eastern luxuries was strongly tied to an idea about Persia and, specifically, Persian royalty, one that was re-used and further developed time and again to create a negative stereotype of the 'Persian' cultural Other. Already in the late 4th century, Theophrastus from Lesbos makes a direct link between tapestry and Persian soldiers in his ridiculing description of an 'obsequious character': '*You can be sure he is apt to keep a pet monkey, and buys a pheasant, and some Sicilian pigeons, and dice made from gazelle horns, and oil flasks from Thurii of the rounded sort, and walking sticks from Sparta of the twisted sort, and a tapestry embroidered with pictures of Persian soldiers (...)*'.¹²⁶⁹ The description mentions a variety of odd and exotic elements that seem to portray the 'obsequious character' as eccentric and indulgent in luxury. Like several of the other 'characters' described by Theophrastus, the obsequious character is a negative stereotype and aims to represent anything but the Greek male ideal. Within this description, the role of the carpet with pictures of Persian soldiers embroidered onto it is to enforce this strategy of cultural Othering. Through this, the carpet is connected to a negative image of luxury and effeminate Persian soldiers.

In his *Deipnosophistae*, Athenaeus of Rhodes offers a wide variety of descriptions of 'eastern luxuries' and, in many of them, carpets play an important role. Although Athenaeus was a 3rd c. CE author, he often derives his descriptions from more ancient authors, which makes it a useful

¹²⁶⁷ Baggio and Salvadori 2017, 297: '*In sintesi, (...), le sontuose tende sono simbolicamente connesse all'immaginario tipico della luxuria orientale. (...)le tende d'arredo vengono comunemente associate dalle fonti ad una consuetudine tipicamente orientale connessa ad ambienti prestigiosi*.' Note that this concept played a large role in a rhetoric about the downfall of Roman society by means of the import of foreign objects: Plin. HN, 33.148: '*Asia primum devicta luxuriam misit in Italiam, siquidem L. Scipio in triumph transtulit argenti caelati*'. Plin. HN 34, 34: '*Ad devictam Asiam, unde luxuria*'; Livy Ab urbe cond. 39, 6, 7: '*luxuriat enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu asiatico invecta in urbem est*'; August. De civ. D. 3.21: '*tunc primum...Asiatica luxuria Romam omni hoste peior inrepsit*'. In general, see Gruen 1992.

¹²⁶⁸ Steingraber 1985, n. 51, 301.

¹²⁶⁹ Theophr. Char. 5.9: '*ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ πίθηκον θρέψαι δεινὸς καὶ τίτυρον κτήσασθαι καὶ Σικελικὰς περιστερὰς καὶ δορκαδείους ἀστραγάλους καὶ θουριακάς τῶν στρογγύλων ληκύθους καὶ βακτηρίας τῶν σκολιῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ αὐλαίαν Πέρσας ἐνυφασμένην*'.

source for our understanding of the place of carpets within the cultural concept of Persianism in the Hellenistic period. One of these earlier authors is Kallixeinos of Rhodes (writing ca. 200 BCE), who describes the luxury tent of Ptolemaios II. In it, he refers to the decoration of the beams of the tent also being *πυργωτα*, in this case likely indicating a crenellated decoration in red or purple.¹²⁷⁰ In another passage, Athenaeus describes : *'And Phylarchus, in the twenty-third book of his History, and Agatharchides of Cnidus, in the tenth book of his History of Asia, say that the companions also of Alexander gave way to the most extravagant luxury. (...) Cleitus, who was surnamed The White, whenever he was about to transact business, used to converse with everyone who came to him while walking about on a purple carpet.'*¹²⁷¹ A passage written by Phylarchos (writing in the second half of the 3rd c. BCE) and cited by Athenaeus, describes the public audience at the court of Alexander in a tent, illustrating how 'Persian' Alexander had become: *'His tent was furnished with one hundred couches and was supported by fifty gilded pillars. The roof was covered with carpets embroidered with gold thread and sumptuously ornamented. Inside first five hundred Persian melophoroi stood, dressed in colourful robes of purple and yellow.'*¹²⁷² The carpets placed on the roof would have had the effect of a baldachin, which referred to the Persian Great Kings' audience tents.

A last example is offered by Philo of Alexandria, a Hellenistic Jewish author writing in the late 1st c. BCE and early 1st century CE, who again makes an explicit connection between Persian royal luxury and tapestry: *'For those physicians of the body, when a man favoured by fortune is sick, even though he be the Great King himself, take no notice of the colonnades, of the men's apartments, of the ladies' bowers, of the pictures, of the silver and gold whether coined or uncoined, of the accumulation of goblets or tapestry work and the rest of the magnificence which adorns kingship.'*¹²⁷³ The passage imagines a hypothetical palatial context that, by mentioning the 'Great King', is immediately placed

¹²⁷⁰ Ath. 5.25.5. Rouveret 1989, 196-197; Miller 1993, 45 n.53; Guimier-Sorbets 2001. Studniczka 1914, 52-53: '(...) mit einem Muster nach Art einer turmbesetzten Festungsmauer geschmückt, das in unserem Falle rot oder purpurn, sei es nur an beiden Seiten der weißen Mittelzone, sei es auch an den lotrechten Nebenseiten der Balken zu denken ist.'

¹²⁷¹ Ath. 12.55.

¹²⁷² The complete passage continues as follows: *'behind them no less than one thousand archers were standing, some in flame-coloured clothing and many in dark blue clothes. In front of these were five hundred Macedonian arguraspides. In the centre of the pavilion stood a golden throne on which Alexander was seated, giving audience; at either side [of the throne] were his somatophulakes, standing close by him. Outside the pavilion the elephant contingent was arrayed in a circle, fully equipped, and also a thousand Macedonians in Macedonian costume, besides ten thousand Persians and a large company of five hundred who were all clad in purple, as Alexander had granted them permission to wear such clothes. And the number of friends (philoi) and guards was so large that nobody dared to approach Alexander; such was the majesty of his presence'* (Ath. 539e-f). Athenaeus mentions that Phylarchos' source was a certain Douris, who drew upon the Histories of Alexander of Chares of Mytilene, Alexander's chamberlain.

¹²⁷³ Philo CW 2, 17, 386-390: *'ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴν τις εὐτυχὴς νοσήσῃ, κἂν ὁ μέγας ἢ βασιλεύς, πάνθ' ὑπερβάντες τὰ περίστωα, τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας, τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας, γραφάς, ἄργυρον, χρυσόν, ἄσσημον, ἐπίσημον, ἐκπωμάτων ἢ ὑφασμάτων πλῆθος, τὸν ἄλλον τῶν βασιλέων αἰόδιμον κόσμον'*. Translated by F. H. Colson. LCL 363, 468-469.

in a royal Persian setting. The rhetorical goal of the imagined space is to evoke the idea of ultimate Persian luxury, in which tapestry could clearly not lack.



Fig. 9.20 Drawing of the painting on the interior of a shield held by a Persian combatant on the Alexander Sarcophagus.
Source: Von Graeve 1987, 134, fig.3.

In visual culture too, the connection between the idea of the Persian king (Persianism) and carpets was developed outside Persia itself. A good example is offered by the Alexander sarcophagus, found in a cemetery near Sidon (Lebanon) and dated to the late 4th c. BCE (see fig.9.20).¹²⁷⁴ On the interior of a shield of a Persian warrior we see the vague traces of a painting depicting the Great King enthroned underneath a canopy. The sarcophagus clearly has a strong preference for Alexander and it dates to after the fall of the Persian empire and the death of Dareios III. As such, the depiction is definitely a form of Persianism, referring to Persia and Persian royalty rather as an idea than an actual reality.

All these textual and visual examples underline that in the 1st c. BCE Mediterranean world, textiles and textile imitations had acquired the capacity to evoke a concept of Persia. If we accept that the crenellation motif evoked an idea of carpets, a next potential capacity might be the evocation of a form of Persianism that was about royal luxury. As we have seen, this cultural strategy was in fact

¹²⁷⁴ Paspalas 2005, 74-76.

explicitly selected and applied enthusiastically in the royal cultural program of Commagene. Could it therefore be that Antiochos, in his wish to evoke Persia, selected a visual element, the crenellated mosaic, that had developed into something quintessentially Persian? Such Persianism would have in fact fitted well in the context of palatial space, where the king's audiences could benefit from an evocation of Persian royal grandeur.

9.5 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the relational capacities of the crenellation motif as a vibrant element in the palatial complex of Samosata. It has done so by taking very seriously the glocal genealogy of this decorative motif. As such, it has become clear that, when the crenellation motif was selected and applied in Samosata, it had already undergone a long Afro-Eurasian development since the 3rd c. BCE. Through a comparative approach, it could be argued that the selection of the crenellation motif in Commagene largely adhered to the demands of the glocal object type. It was argued that the very conscious adoption of a global cultural element fits well in the wider royal cultural strategy of Late-Hellenistic Commagene and in fact contextualizes some of its elements. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that the regional distribution pattern of the crenellation motif afforded the motif to actively contribute to a distinctive visual character of the Commagenean royal contexts. It has been argued that this again should be understood within a royal cultural strategy that indeed seems to have targeted such visual distinctiveness. This strategy moreover seems to have gone hand in hand with a strategy of cultural canon building, in which repetition and coherence of visual culture was of prime importance. The specific global and regional distribution patterns of the crenellation motif as well as its inherent replicable character, afforded the motif with the ideal object capacities to actively contribute to such strategies of cultural canon building. This capacity was clearly enthusiastically taken advantage of by applying the motif in six mosaics in Commagene, both in Samosata and Arsameia on the Nymphaios. In section 9.4, I have explored four different conceptual capacities that might have been activated by the crenellated mosaics in the palatial complex of Samosata: the capacity of these crenellations to connote architectural fortifications; textiles, the royal vicinity to the heavens; and 'an idea of Persia' (*Persianism*). In all cases, it should be underlined that these have been explorations rather than definitive interpretations.

Chapter 10. Case study 3: The glocal genealogy of the symmetrical suite.

10.1 Introduction

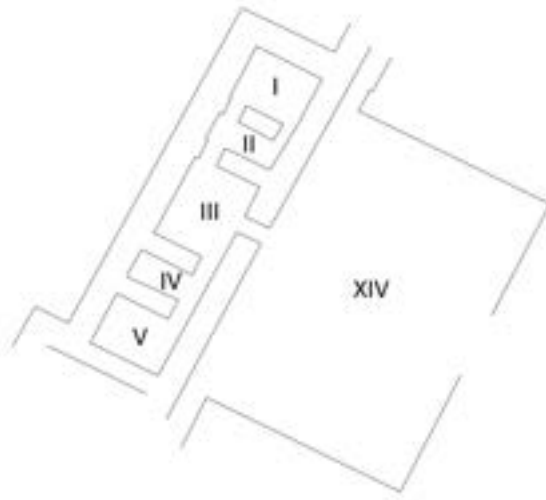


Fig. 10.1 Schematic reconstruction of the symmetrical suite in the palace of Samosata. Source: by the author.

This case study investigates the glocal genealogy of a specific architectural lay-out found in rooms I-V and XIV of the palace: a symmetrical suite (see fig. 10.1). In palatial architecture, such suites often consist of a string of interconnected and symmetrically positioned rooms of which the central room provides access to a larger rectangular space that itself can grant access to a court. This chapter starts out with a brief description of the symmetrical suite in the palace (paragraph 10.2), summarizing some of the evidence and arguments put forward already in the discussions on the palace's architecture in chapter 4. Like in the other two case studies, this chapter then proceeds with a critical discussion of existing interpretations of the palace's symmetrical suite, pointing out and deconstructing the cultural reductions at play in such scholarly work (section 10.3). In the next paragraph, I subsequently apply the same glocal genealogy approach to the symmetrical suites as developed in the other case studies, looking at the development of the object type through time and space (paragraph 10.4). This genealogical approach is again meant to open up a new perspective on an otherwise culturally reduced element of the palace, shedding light on its relational capacities, its emergence and its vibrancy. To take full advantage of this genealogy, the case study in its last paragraph again moves from interpretation to critical exploration, looking how the relational capacities of the symmetrical suite genealogy potentially played out in the context of Samosata (paragraph 10.5).

10.2 Description of symmetrical suite(s) in Samosata

Rooms I-V together with room XIV make up the symmetrical suite that is the focus of this chapter. In chapter 4, I have provided an in-depth description and analysis of the archaeological and architectural evidence for this particular configuration, of which I will summarize the most relevant aspects here. The western wing of the palatial complex of Samosata consists of five spatial units, that are all located in the same elevation zone 3, with floors at 446,48 m. (see paragraph 4.3.2). Three of these spaces (I, III and V) seem to be actual rooms, while the other two (II and IV) are more likely corridors.¹²⁷⁵ The arrangement of the wing of rooms is perfectly symmetrical, with a central room (III) of 6,80 x 4,50 m, two side corridors (II and IV) of 1,90-2,00 x 4,50 m and two outer rooms of 3,50-60 x 4,50 m (I and V). These five rooms make up the entire western border of room XIV (14,0 x 20,0 m.), which thus has the same total length as rooms I-V and the same orientation. In chapter 4, I have explained that the exact character of room XIV remains debatable: either this large space contained a peristyle court or it was roofed and perhaps contained one or more pilasters in the centre of the room to carry the roof (see paragraph 4.3.4). Although both reconstructions remain possible, I have expressed a slight preference for a roofed space, particularly because of the concentric border mosaic, the wall painting and the available parallels in the roofed 'Mosaic Rooms' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios. The analysis that follows in this chapter will therefore reason from the hypothesis of a large, roofed hall.

In chapter 4, I have discussed in detail the evidence for entrances in this section of the palace (see 4.3.1). I have proposed that room I was entered from room II through two entrances in W2. It is possible that, at least in the first construction phase of the palace (objectscape 2), room II was accessible from room XIV through W15 (which, however, was barely preserved). There is not enough archaeological evidence to prove the existence of an entrance between rooms II and room III (W3 was barely preserved), and unfortunately the same is true for the entrances between room III and room XIV as well as room IV (both W4 and W16 were barely preserved). I have suggested that room IV contained two entrances to room V in W5 (similar to the situation in W2). Room V probably originally contained an entrance to room XIV in W18. During the second construction phase (objectscape 3), however, mudbrick walls closed off this entrance as well as one of the entrances in W5 to room IV. After these entrances were closed off, the symmetrical lay-out of rooms I-V likely functioned even more as a suite than before. In the schematic reconstruction of fig. 10.1, I have suggested the most secluded, non-accessible hypothesis possible, allowing only an entrance into the symmetrical suite from the central room III. The analysis that follows in this chapter will reason from this reconstruction but would be valid for less secluded reconstructions of the suite as well.

¹²⁷⁵ Zoroğlu 2012, 139.

Looking at the available evidence for decoration and installations, it is clear that the rooms making up the suite were relatively luxurious spaces in the palace (see 4.3.1). There is evidence for Masonry Style wall painting in rooms I, II, III, and IV and the preserved tessellated mosaics of rooms I and II were likely also available in the other three rooms. In paragraphs 4.31, 6.2 and 7.4, I have dealt with the character of room V, which contains an elevated platform (I8) in its southern corner, which likely functioned as a statue base, perhaps connected to portraits ID215 (the ‘Zeus-like’ head in limestone) and ID216 (the portrait of Antiochos I; for both see chapter 6). The less elevated platform (I9) directly north from the presumed statue base might have functioned as some kind of altar, which would suggest a cultic function for room V, perhaps for a dynastic ancestral cult, but this remains highly uncertain (see especially paragraph 6.2).

Importantly, Bingöl has suggested that a second symmetrical suite existed south of rooms I-V, namely in rooms VI-IX, for which room VII might have had the same central function as room III.¹²⁷⁶ In this wing, however, entrance was not granted through this central room VIII but rather through a narrow corridor north of it (room VII). Maria Kopsacheili observed the same repetition of a lay out with symmetrical suites south of the cluster containing rooms I-V and XIV: *‘Together with rooms I and IIa-c [rooms II-V] it [room XIV] would have formed a group that presented the same layout as the group of spaces VI, II- V [rooms VI-IX and XV].’*¹²⁷⁷ It is indeed tempting to suggest that the palace contained at least two symmetrical suites next to each other, an observation that suggests this architectural configuration was an important structuring principle of the palace.

10.3 Scholarly debate on the cultural designation of the symmetrical suite in Samosata

This section provides a critical discussion of existing interpretations of the palace’s overall architectural plan, specifically focusing on its symmetrical suite. It will point out two distinct and oppositional interpretations that however both are concerned with its cultural designation: while a first group of scholars considers the symmetrical suite a typically ‘Greek’ feature, others describe it as a feature typical for ‘Oriental’ architecture. In the following, I will critically discuss both interpretations and, following my central critique on cultural reductions of material culture developed in chapters 2 and 3, argue why these interpretations are too reductive and reason from overtly essentialist conceptions of cultural classifications, ignoring crucial capacities of this

¹²⁷⁶ Bingöl 2013, 84.

¹²⁷⁷ Kopsacheili 2012, 229. Her numbering of the rooms is different from the numbering used here, which I have added in brackets within the text.

architectural configuration. The discussion and deconstruction of this paragraph forms the starting point for the alternative, genealogical approach in sections 10.2 and 10.3.

10.3.1 A 'Greek' reduction

Let us first consider interpretations that designate the symmetrical suite of the palace as 'Greek', some of which have been discussed in more general terms already in sections 2.2 and 2.3. In his 2000 chapter on the palace of Samsoata, Levent Zoroğlu suggests that the overall architectural plan of the palace is comparable to Hellenistic peristyle houses, yet - and this is remarkable -, without containing an actual peristylum: *'Auf den ersten Blick kann der Plan mit hellenistischen Peristylhäusern verglichen werden, jedoch fehlt im Palast von Samosata die dort übliche Säulenreihe'*.¹²⁷⁸ Andreas Kropp, in a similar vein, assigns the palace to a preconceived category of Hellenistic palaces, mentioning explicitly the Macedonian palace of Vergina, and on the basis of this association adds a myriad of non-attested architectural elements to his reconstruction: *'one could expect the structure to have had further typical features of Hellenistic palaces, such as a peristyle courtyard, triclinia, and a sumptuous façade. (...) a dynasty keen to stress its Greek credentials (...)'*.¹²⁷⁹ Later, Kropp writes: *'The design and décor of the palace of Antiochos I at Samosata incorporates the traditional elements of Hellenistic palaces in order to accommodate court life à la Grecque.'*¹²⁸⁰ Matthew Canepa furthermore interprets the architectural style of the palace as a true shift in relation to what came before in Samosata itself (e.g. the 'torus-base structure', see chapter 7) suggesting that it links more to 'the Graeco-Roman world' than local or regional traditions: *'(...) the later Hellenistic palace of the Orontids of Commagene imposed a rather abrupt shift in architectural style emblematic of the later dynasty's greater involvement with the wider Greco-Roman world and tenuous yet symbolically important connection with the Orontid line.'*¹²⁸¹

What seems problematic about especially the interpretations of Zoroğlu and Kropp is their insistence on a well-defined category of Hellenistic peristyled architecture that the palace of Samosata should adhere to even when there is no archaeological evidence (for instance a peristylum or a façade) supporting it. However, none of these authors deal explicitly with the symmetrical suite; rather, they focus on the overall cultural designation of the lay-out and its presumed peristyle. It is probable that the authors imply a relation between the symmetrical suite in Samosata and the so-called *Flügeldreiraumgruppe*, defined by Vera Heermann as an

¹²⁷⁸ Zoroğlu 2000, 54.

¹²⁷⁹ Kropp 2013, 109 and n. 85, which solely states: *'Cf. eg. Vergina'*.

¹²⁸⁰ *Idem*, 363.

¹²⁸¹ Canepa 2018, 110.

arrangement of three large rooms of which only the middle room opens up to the peristyle with a broad entrance (in some cases with two columns *in antis*), while the two flanking rooms, mostly of equal size, are only accessed through the central room, often in non-axial entrances.¹²⁸² The *Flügeldreiraumgruppe* has been associated specifically with the 'Hellenistic' palaces and houses that contain peristylia, for instance at Vergina, Pella, Demetrias and Pergamon.¹²⁸³ Several scholars have subsequently argued that such (*Flügel*)*Dreiraumgruppen* or, more neutrally, 'tripartite suites' (allowing also entrances to the peristyle court from the adjacent rooms), were adopted in architecture throughout the Hellenistic world, with comparanda found in the palaces and houses of Pergamon, the 'Palazzo delle Colonne' in Ptolemais, Jebel Khalid's 'Governor Palace', Herod's second palace in Jericho, and the *Dreiraumgruppen* in Sicily and south Italy.¹²⁸⁴ The tripartite suite indeed seems to have become a universalized and semi-standardized lay-out that, if we consider its appearance in places like Jebel Khalid, could well have been available in Samosata as well.

¹²⁸² Heermann 1986.

¹²⁸³ Take for instance the suite of large banquet rooms in the palace of Vergina where Heermann assigned three such *Flügeldreiraumgruppen*, cf. Heermann 1986, 259-266, 355-357. For the other contexts, see e.g. Kutbay 1998, 26; Brands and Hoepfner 1996, 62; and Hesberg 1996, 182-189. Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt further developed Heermann's ideas and argued that this 'typically Macedonian' lay out was subsequently adopted in architecture that was not Macedonian, specifically in the palaces and private houses of Pergamon, for which she developed the term *Dreiraumgruppe*, cf. Wulf-Rheidt 1999. She defines this as a series of three rooms that are interconnected and located in one flank of the peristyle. Wulf-Rheidt's *Dreiraumgruppe* however differed from Heermann's *Flügeldreiraumgruppe* in that all three of the rooms may be open to the peristyle and the central room does not function as an anteroom nor must it have a broad entrance with columns *in antis*.

¹²⁸⁴ For 'tripartite suites', see Kottaridi 2011, 326 n. 107: 'Especially imposing and representative, the great Type B tripartite complexes are yet another invention of the architect of Aegae. It seems that the type responded to essential functional needs because it found imitators immediately in the period of the successors and became fashionable not only in the palaces and houses of neighbouring Pella, but in the whole of the Hellenised world.' See also Isler 2010, 316f, pointing at examples in i.a. Macedon, Sicily, Epirus (Antigoneia) and Apulia (Monte Sannace). For Herod's second palace in Jericho, see Netzer 2006, 251 n. 20; Kropp 2013, 130: 'To the north of the peristyle, aligned on the same central axis, lay an exedra with two columns *in antis* with one small room accessible on each side in the manner of a Greek *prostas*. However, the strictly symmetrical arrangement with one room branching off on either side is very similar to the typical 'Flügeldreiraumgruppe' of Macedonian palaces as well as Hellenistic houses, for instance, the peristyle houses and palaces of Pergamon. The 'reception' room would hence serve as a vestibule to the two lateral rooms, which were used as *andrones* for *symposia*'; and Lichtenberger 1999, 61. For the Sicilian appropriation of the 'Macedonian lay out', see Dalcher 1994, 156; Isler 1996, 252ff; Wolf 2003, 85f.; Isler 2010 and Russenberger 2014. The latter however warns for overly confident interpretations: 'Aus verschiedenen Gründen, insbesondere jedoch weil die syrakusanische Privatarchitektur des 4. und 3. Jhs. v. Chr. nahezu unbekannt ist, haben entsprechende Szenarien m. E. vorderhand stark hypothetischen Charakter.' (Russenberger 2014, 79 n. 90). Other critical voices have also been raised, which, for instance, downplay Heermann's assertion of the Macedonian palaces as starting point for the *Flügeldreiraumgruppe*. Hoepfner, for instance, suggests that the *Flügeldreiraumgruppe* has precursors in the houses from Pella, thus suggesting that the palatial architecture derived from pre-existing domestic architectural traditions, cf. Hoepfner 1996, 13-15. Whereas Hoepfner still points to a Macedonian origin of the architectural configuration, Inge Nielsen questions this connection more fundamentally. In her 1994 monograph on Hellenistic palaces, she is critical of Heermann's identification of the *Flügeldreiraumgruppen* in Vergina itself, suggesting that the archaeological evidence does not in fact support many of her examples. According to her, especially the archaeological situation of rooms M1-3 and N1-3 allows for a reconstruction without a tripartite suite too, cf. Nielsen 1999, 87-88. These considerations further undermine the usefulness for this term in Samosata.

Assuming that, by pointing to the broad category of Hellenistic peristyle architecture, Kropp and Zoroğlu indeed implicitly suggest that the symmetrical suite of Samosata was such a (*Flügel*)*Dreiraumgruppe* or tripartite suite, we can briefly explore such a claim can be substantiated. It seems, however, that several of the key aspects of such suites can in fact not be observed in Samosata. A crucial element of these is the presence of a peristyle court, which, as I discussed above, remains a very problematic part of the reconstruction of the palace in Samosata (see paragraph 4.3.4). The (*Flügel*)*Dreiraumgruppe*, as the name suggests, consists of three spatial units, and not of five as is the case in Samosata. Even more importantly, the rooms in these tripartite suites are all very large, often semi-square rooms, used for banqueting (indicated by wide peripheral bands used for *klinai*). The small, sometimes even corridor-like rooms in Samosata look very dissimilar, and their use as banquet halls cannot be supported with any evidence; in fact, it seems more likely that the larger rooms XIV and XV were used for banqueting instead. The elevated platforms of room V furthermore point rather to a cultic use of that room than a banqueting function. The (*Flügel*)*Dreiraumgruppen*, lastly, function without exception in very open architectural configurations with only one layer of rooms around a large central courtyard. The palace of Samosata, on the other hand, is characterized by a much more secluded architectural lay-out, with narrow corridors, perhaps two layers of rooms around a court, and a peripheral corridor behind the string of rooms (corridor B; see map D5 in appendix D). These deviations from both the category of ‘Greek’ or ‘Hellenistic peristyle architecture’ as well as the more universalized tripartite suites, makes the suggested cultural designations by Zoroğlu, Kropp and Canepa problematic and rather reductive. An analysis that does not simply reconstruct the palace of Samosata on the basis of the rather essentialist category of Greek or Hellenistic peristyle architecture but rather explores the palace’s relation to more fitting comparanda (with suites of smaller rooms that were not necessarily used for banqueting, and not necessarily found in connection to a peristyle), is therefore desirable.

10.3.2 An ‘Oriental’ reduction

It is illustrative for the broader argument I make in this chapter (and in this dissertation more generally) that the same architectural lay-out that was designated ‘Greek’ by scholars in the previous paragraph is considered typically ‘Oriental’ by other scholars. Maria Kopsacheili, for instance, places the architectural setting in relation to Persian or ‘oriental models’: ‘*The palaces in Ai Khanoum and Samosata present stronger Persian influence*’¹²⁸⁵ and ‘*similarly to Ai Khanoum, the plan of the excavated part of the palace in Samosata resembles oriental models instead of early*

¹²⁸⁵ Kopsacheili 2011, 22.

*Hellenistic Macedonian; corridors appear to play an important role as passageways between the different rooms, while a broader corridor runs along the external wall of the western side of the building and must have extended to the north surrounding the whole palace.*¹²⁸⁶ Orhan Bingöl likewise categorizes the entire architectural plan in Samosata as 'Eastern', suggesting that the palace bears no connection whatsoever to Macedonian palaces: '*Pellai Aigai ve Pergamon örnekleri incelendiğinde bu özellikler ve ayrıca mekanların birbirleriyle neredeyse hiç bağlantılarının olmadığı açıkça görülmektedir*'.¹²⁸⁷ Instead, he designates the palace of Samosata to a broad category of 'Eastern palaces', which he characterizes as having suites of rooms and long corridors, a second row of rooms behind the row of rooms that surrounds the courtyard, one or more courtyards without a peristyle, and entrances with distyles *in antis*.¹²⁸⁸ For Bingöl, this category of palatial architecture remains a stable type that can be recognized in Bronze Age and Iron Age comparanda (he refers to the palaces of Eridu, Mari and Dur Surrukin¹²⁸⁹), and continues with little alteration into the Hellenistic period (mentioning the palatial structures of Petra ez-Zantur IV and the Western palace of Masada¹²⁹⁰). More recently, Werner Oenbrink also emphasized the 'eastern' character of the palace's lay out, which he discusses in tandem with the 'palatial structure' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios: '*Darüber hinaus folgt die Gestaltung beider Grundrisse (...) eindeutig östlichem Raumverständnis. (...) Aufgrund ihrer topographischen Lage leitet die Kommagene eher zum syrisch-palästinischen und mesopotamischen Raum und ist dementsprechend stärker „orientalistisch“ geprägt*'.¹²⁹¹

¹²⁸⁶ *Idem*, 24. In her 2012 dissertation, she suggests that the specific symmetrical suite should be interpreted as a bath suite, and finds a parallel in the bath section of the palace of Ai Khanoum, which she also labels as 'Eastern': '(...) When all these rooms are examined as a group, they resemble architecturally the part of Section g in the Palace of Ai Khanoum identified as a bath (rooms 72–73, 63, 69–70).' In addition, room I (15.75 m²) was paved with a mosaic floor that depicted marine animals around a Rhodian amphora, while the number and dimensions of the rooms of each group correspond to the four room-scheme of the bath sections in Ai Khanoum: kitchen, changing-room, and two ablution rooms. The form of the palace is associated rather with oriental models than early Hellenistic Macedonian ones with corridors playing an important role as passageways between the different rooms, in a fashion familiar from the palace of Ai Khanoum.' (Kopsacheili 2012, 229-230). This interpretation of the suite as a bath suite is not very convincing as there has been no evidence for bathing installations in Samosata. The marine iconography of the mosaic in room I is ubiquitous in mosaic imagery and never found in strict connection to bathing practices, cf. Haug 2021.

¹²⁸⁷ Bingöl 2013, 85-86.

¹²⁸⁸ *Idem*, 86-87: '1) Birbirlerine bağlı mekanlar, uzun koridorlar, ya da sadece onları birbirlerine bağlayabilmek için oluşturulmuş, başka ne gibi amaçla kullanılmış olabilecekleri konusunda bir yorum yapılamayacak ara mekanlar. 2) avluyu çeviren mekan dizisinin arkasında ikinci bir mekan sırası, ya da mekan grupları. 3) ortada sütunlarla çevrili olmayan bir ya da birden fazla avlu. Bu özelliklerle batı örneklerinde hiç karşılaşılmaması, iki coğrafi tip arasındaki kesin ayrımı göstermektedir.'

¹²⁸⁹ *Idem*, figs. 134a-c.

¹²⁹⁰ *Idem*, 87-88, figs. 135-139; he compares the symmetrical suite of Samosata's rooms I-V to the north-eastern wing of Petra ez-Zantur IV and the north-western wing of the western palace of Masada. The suggested suite of rooms VI-IX in Samosata is supposed to look like the northern wing of Masada and the southern wing of Petra ez-Zantur (rooms 6, 7 and 17 in Bingöl's fig. 136). Bingöl 2013, 87: 'Nitekim doğunun karakteristik uygulaması sadece erken dönemlerle sınırlı olmayıp Hellenistik Dönem'de de kendini göstermektedir.'

¹²⁹¹ Oenbrink 2017, 177.

Like in the previous section, the authors that point to ‘Oriental models’ do not actually investigate the adherence or deviation of the palace of Samosata to this architectural type and its associated comparanda, but rather use this type as a very essentialized model with which to reconstruct it, for instance by providing the reconstruction with a distyle *in antis*.¹²⁹² Underlying this methodological issue runs a more serious problem with the use of the term ‘Oriental’, and its (neo-)colonial suggestion of an exotic, unchanging and traditional ‘East’.¹²⁹³ Although this notion should in fact already be enough reason to not rely on notions as ‘Oriental’ or ‘Near Eastern models’, let us briefly ask whether the claim of Kopsacheili, Bingöl and Oenbrink that the palace’s symmetrical suite should be understood against the background of such ‘models’ can be substantiated by the evidence.

Although the authors do not mention the suites explicitly, it is likely that a similarity is implied between the suite in Samosata and an architectural configuration known as the ‘Near Eastern reception suite’. Irene Winter sees the earliest presence of such reception suites in the middle Bronze Age palace of Mari (ca. 18th-17th c. BCE), one of the parallels suggested also for Samosata by Bingöl.¹²⁹⁴ At Mari, the reception suite is located in the centre of the palace and consists of a large rectangular room located in the south flank of a square court and a second room south of it that itself gives access to an asymmetric string of very small rooms behind it. Generally, these large rectangular rooms are interpreted as a public throne room and a more formal throne room, with evidence for thrones placed on podiums.¹²⁹⁵ Another palace with a ‘reception suite’, mentioned again as a comparandum for Samosata by Bingöl, is the Late Assyrian palace of Sargon II at Dur-Surrukin (8th c. BCE).¹²⁹⁶ Here, the reception suite is equally located in the centre of the palace and consist of an elongated rectangular room that runs parallel to the western flank of a court, containing evidence for a throne in the centre. Behind this room, an asymmetrical string of smaller rooms was located that itself gave access to another square court behind it. David Kertai discusses such Late-Assyrian reception suites in relation to its presumed Bronze Age precursors

¹²⁹² As done in the reconstruction by Bingöl 2013, 91, fig. 140. There is no supporting evidence for his reconstruction.

¹²⁹³ For a thorough critique, see Ristvet 2014a and, still, Said 1978.

¹²⁹⁴ Winter 2010, 341. For the palace of Mari, see Margueron 1982, 209-380, 1995; Heinrich 1984, 68-81. For the initial excavation reports, see Parrot 1958. Important studies of the archaeology of Near Eastern palaces are Margueron 1982 and Heinrich 1984; Roaf 1973/2013; and, most recently, Kertai 2015.

¹²⁹⁵ Winter 2010, 341: ‘*There is evidence of a podium on the south wall opposite that central door. The podium was plastered and whitewashed, giving it special prominence, and could have been used either as a base for a statue, or, more likely, as a platform for the throne of the ruler himself, for those occasions that called for him to be in view, and, reciprocally, with a full view of the courtyard. The inner room included a second podium on the short, west wall, which then faced down the length of the room toward an elevated niche that, it has been suggested, may have contained an image of the local goddess, Ishtar.*’

¹²⁹⁶ Kertai 2015.

and argues that, contrary to what is often suggested¹²⁹⁷, such reception suites were in fact very different as they increased in terms of the number of rooms as well as in terms of their size.¹²⁹⁸ Kertai furthermore explains that typical characteristics of such Late Assyrian reception rooms are installations such as ‘tram rails’ (*‘large, often grooved stone plates placed in the middle of the room, intended for the placement of a portable brazier’*¹²⁹⁹ used for heating), ‘libation slabs’ (*‘large stone plates placed on the floor against their outer wall’*¹³⁰⁰ and, in case the largest room was a throne room and not merely a reception room, also a stone dais that served as a throne and was placed at the short end of the room. His conclusions underline that an insistence on ‘Near Eastern’ or ‘Oriental’ palatial architecture as a static, monolithic tradition from the Bronze Age to the Late Assyrian period (let alone to the Hellenistic period) simply does not match with our knowledge of developments and temporal and geographical differentiation of such architecture.

For the purposes of this chapter, it suffices to conclude that the architectural lay-out of the symmetrical suite in the palace of Samosata has very little to do with the reception suites of Mari and Dur-Surrukin. Apart from the fact that Samosata yielded no ‘tram rails’, ‘libation slabs’ or evidence for thrones, nor was found in the centre of the palace (Samosata’s symmetrical suite must have been located at the western edge of the palace), some quintessential aspects of the suite in Samosata (for instance its symmetrical lay-out) can, vice versa, not be found in these much older palaces. By merely referring to the palaces of Mari and Dur Surrukin and not actually providing a comparison, Bingöl perpetuates the idea of ‘Near Eastern palaces’ as a static, monolithic category. As such, he petrifies the cultural affiliation of the reception suite to an all-encompassing ‘Orient’, within which all variety, contextual idiosyncrasy and diachronic transformation have been annulled. If we want to understand to which type of architectural lay-out the symmetrical suite actually adhered and how it deviated from it, it is therefore more promising and desirable to take more recent (i.e. chronologically less far removed from the 1st c. BCE) comparanda as a starting point of a genealogy of such suites.

¹²⁹⁷ E.g. Winter 2010, 341: *‘Identical suites, with the innermost room being the formal throne room and a throne base preserved along a short wall, are also to be found in Assyrian palaces of the first millennium (see below)’*.

¹²⁹⁸ Kertai 2015, 242.

¹²⁹⁹ *Idem*, 44.

¹³⁰⁰ *Ibidem*.

10.4. The glocal genealogy of symmetrical suites

In the previous section I have argued that existing scholarly interpretations of Samosata's symmetrical suite as either following a 'Greek' or an 'Oriental' model have been overtly reductive, reasoning from static and monolithic architectural traditions and categories. The comparanda that are suggested by previous scholars either demand actual comparison and analysis or should be simply discarded due to their dissimilarity or chronological distance. The symmetrical suite in the palace of Samosata was not simply 'Greek' or 'Oriental'; to understand its relational capacities, it is important to explore its genealogy by looking at more promising (and more recent) comparanda. Such a genealogical exploration should help to illuminate the dynamic, vibrant relation between the particularized suite in Samosata on the one hand, and a possible wider, universalized suite type that it adhered to on the other. To do this, I will focus here on the genealogy of symmetrical suites in palatial architecture of the 3rd and 2nd c. BCE. I present a range of structures that have not been seriously considered yet in relation to the palace of Samosata and its symmetrical suite. I will discuss the rearticulations of symmetrical suites in a chronological order, using the estimated date of construction. For each case, I will describe the suite, its integration (location in the palace, association with other elements such as a peristyle court) and its related features (wall painting, floors, installations). I compare each rearticulation in relation to the palace of Samosata, considering to what extent the symmetrical suite in Samosata adhered to or deviated from an emerging 'object type'. From these critical comparisons subsequently follows an analysis that focuses on what these comparisons tell us about the relationality of the suite in the context of Samosata itself.



Fig. 10.2. The 'Governor's Palace' at Jebel Khalid. Source: Clarke, 2002, 26, fig.1.

Royal Seleucid palatial architecture of the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BCE is not very well known, but some related or at least contemporary palatial structures provide interesting examples of symmetrical suites in new constellations.¹³⁰¹ The so-called 'Governor's palace' of Jebel Khalid, dating to the 3rd c. BCE, was located inside the city's acropolis fortification (fig. 10.2).¹³⁰² It is generally considered to be the seat of a local Seleucid governor.¹³⁰³ The building (ca. 3200 m²) most probably contained two floors and was constructed around a square, Doric peristyle court (26; see fig. 10.2 for the room numbers).¹³⁰⁴ The structure was entered from the eastern wing, leading through a small, one-row symmetrical tripartite suite (15-17) which itself gave way to the court. North and south of the court, two large symmetrical suites were located consisting of

¹³⁰¹ For Seleucid palaces, see Nielsen 1999, Brands and Hoepfner 1996; Kutbay 1998; Nielsen 2001; Held 2002; and Strootman 2007, 54-91. The most important newly constructed Seleucid residences were located in Antioch on the Orontes (Joseph. *AJ* 13.36), Seleucia in Pieria, Daphne, Apamea, Sardis, Tarsos, Mopsuestia, Tambrax in Hyrkania and Seleucia on the Tigris; none of these were preserved. The palaces of Jebel Khalid, Dura Europos and Ai Khanoum are considered as potential Seleucid governor's palaces, but the degree to which they represent the major royal palaces can be disputed.

¹³⁰² Clarke 2001; 2002; 2016; Jackson 2016. The structure was first recorded in 1984 and excavated by the Australian National University during campaigns in 1992, 1997 and 1999.

¹³⁰³ Clarke 2002, vii-xi. Room 22 yielded two official Seleucid seals, suggesting that this area was used for official administrative business or as a treasury, see Clarke 2002, 43-45.

¹³⁰⁴ Clarke 2002, 25, 40-42. Clarke suggest that room 18 might have contained a staircase to an upper floor but there is no strong evidence to support this.

multiple rows of rooms (19-21/23 and 1/3/4-12). Both the southern and northern suite were entered through lengthy vestibule corridors (1 and 23), which ran parallel to the northern and southern flanks of the court. The southern suite, was entered through a bent entrance in the west, and contained a second row of three rooms (19-21) with a symmetrical lay-out, that was solely entered through a wide entrance with a distyle *in antis* toward the central, largest room, interpreted by the excavators as a large reception hall. The northern suite contained a vestibule hall (1) that, in the far west corner, led to an outdoor 'cult space' (3) containing a drum altar.¹³⁰⁵ Behind the vestibule hall, which was entered through a narrow entrance in the west, two more rows of rooms were located that were centred around a large reception hall (7,39 m. x 11,34 m.)(12). This hall was also entered through a distyle *in antis*, and itself gave access to a symmetrical string of rooms around it (4-11). The high amount of eating and drinking vessels found in the 'reception halls' suggests that they were used for banqueting practices.¹³⁰⁶ The smaller rooms (ca. 5,0 x 5,0 m. each) adjoining the central reception halls are interpreted as storerooms, food preparation rooms and two kitchens.¹³⁰⁷ The excavators interpreted the ground plan as showing '*some affinity to preceding Achaemenid palaces*'¹³⁰⁸, just as the presence of a latrine (13) and bathing complex and a courtyard garden are considered to have '*eastern influences*'.¹³⁰⁹ The peristyle, the banquet practices and the traces for cultic animal sacrifices on the other hand, are considered '*Greek*', just as the Masonry Style plasterwork and painting that was found in both 'reception halls'. Heather Jackson states that '*(t)he hybridity would appear to be deliberate*'.¹³¹⁰

The lay-out of the 'Governor's Palace' of Jebel Khalid contains multiple symmetrical suites, widely varying in size, amount of rooms, integration, and function. Both the northern and southern suite are characterized by the use of multiple rows of rooms, a feature which I have also cautiously proposed for the palace of Samosata (paragraph 4.3.4). The room size and tripartite structure of the southern suite does not compare well to the much smaller, almost corridor-like rooms in the

¹³⁰⁵ Clarke 2002, 33. See also Jackson 2016, 335, who writes that there was '*ample evidence of burnt animal sacrifices in the Greek manner*'.

¹³⁰⁶ Clarke 2002, 25; 32-33; 42-43.

¹³⁰⁷ *Idem*, 37-40. In room 8, two very large *pithoi* were found in situ as well as a high amount of basalt grinders and 34 clay loom weights stored together in a vessel, together suggesting that it was used as a magazine room (Clarke 2002, 36). In room 9, a large amount of table ware ceramics was found (Clarke 2002, 36). Room 11 contained a rectangular hearth against its south wall suggesting it was a cooking area (Clarke 2002, 37).

¹³⁰⁸ Jackson 2016, 335. See also Mottram 2013, 45: '*the city temple and the governor's palace on the Acropolis exhibit features which are unusual or inconsistent with Greek architectural forms and clearly derive from local Near Eastern and Achaemenid traditions*'.

¹³⁰⁹ Jackson 2016, 335.

¹³¹⁰ *Ibidem*. Note that Maria Kopsacheili also describes the 'Governor's palace' as a hybrid structure but instead describes the suites as typically Greek elements, something contrasting to the typically Egyptian, Assyrian and Persian garden in the peristyle: '*the formation of the long spaces 23 and 2 between the peristyle and the rooms to the north and south belongs to the group of Western elements. They recall the pastas in Greek houses and the same element is also found in the House of Dionysus in Pella (space 20) Rooms 19-21 are reminiscent of the units of two andrones of the same size flanking one vestibule*'. (Kopsacheili 2011, 21-22).

suite in Samosata. The northern suite, and especially its string of small rooms in the far north seems more promising as a comparandum for Samosata, especially considering the use of Masonry Style wall painting in the central ‘reception hall’ (12) and the string of small rooms running around it. The latter, however, are merely similar in terms of their similar size, and the fact that they are interconnected rooms laid out in a symmetrical manner; their use as storerooms, food preparation rooms or kitchens makes them however very different from the elaborately decorated, representative rooms in the suite of Samosata. A last element of the northern suite, its integration of a ‘cult space’ with a drum altar (3), forms an interesting parallel to room V in the palace of Samosata, for which a similarly cultic function has been proposed (6.2). An important difference, however, is that the former context was located in an open, unroofed area, while the latter was part of the roofed string of rooms.

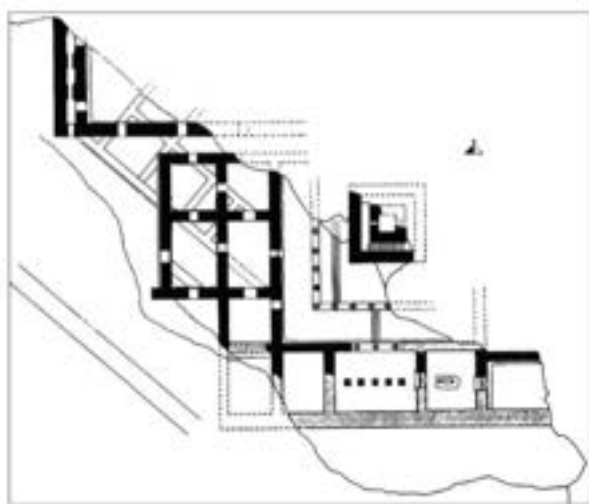


Fig. 10.3. Plan and partial reconstruction of the ‘Citadel palace’ of Dura Europos by Pillet. Source: Downey 1986, fig.1.

The second symmetrical suite of this genealogy is the ‘Citadel palace’ of Dura Europos, which was located on the flattened citadel of the city (fig. 10.3).¹³¹¹ The structure dates to the mid-3rd c. BCE and is generally connected to the period of Seleucid rule.¹³¹² The structure was only partially preserved at its south-western side and reconstructions of its overall lay out remain problematic;

¹³¹¹ In general, see Downey 1986, 1988, 343-347, 1992 (Frank Brown’s notes of the excavation). I largely follow Downey’s conclusions concerning the lay-out in this description.

¹³¹² The dating is based on the use of a 0.35 foot for the ashlar, which in Dura characterizes the Hellenistic buildings. The structure was probably preceded by an earlier building, perhaps also a palace, but its traces are not sufficient to analyse.

at this point we unfortunately still have to rely mainly on Pillet's reconstructions of the structure.¹³¹³ The excavated part is divided by a northern and a southern section, which is separated by a long, narrow east-west running corridor. The southern section was constructed around a Doric peristyle court, underneath which was located a cistern. In the reconstruction by Pillet, the preserved western and southern wing surrounding the court consist of respectively two and one row of rooms. The southern wing likely functioned as a symmetrical suite of rooms, which was solely accessed through the central, largest room (9,48 x ca. 7,50 m.). The entrance to this central room, which lay on the axis of the court, was through a portico of three columns. In the centre of the room, five pillars supported the roof. The excavators suggested that the room provided access to at least two adjoining rooms on its east and western side (ca. 5,00 x 7,50 m.) ; Pillet's reconstruction also allows for a five room suite, with two rooms on either side of the central room with pillars. It is probable that none of these smaller rooms opened up to the court and their internal entrances are likely to have been located in the same central east-west axis. In the western wing of the court, two rows of rooms were present, containing five, maybe six rooms of approximately equal size and equal access with one another. North of the rooms and the peristyle court runs the long east-west dividing corridor (2,12 m. wide) that seems to have had multiple smaller accesses towards the north, into a large rectangular open court without a peristyle. Along the west end of the court ran another, perhaps peripheral corridor. Downey suggested that the northern open section served official purposes, while the southern section was used for residential purposes. Kopsacheili suggested that the southern part of the structure, including its symmetrical suite, was '*Greek-Macedonian*', while its northern side, including the large open court and narrow corridors was '*of Persian type*'.¹³¹⁴ Downey suggests that the southern section '*resembles the peristyle houses of Hellenistic Greek architecture and the palaces of Pergamon*' but remarks that the indirect access to the peristyle, i.e. the symmetrical suite, '*is unusual*'.¹³¹⁵ Downey calls the northern side of the palace '*different*' and points to Ai Khanoum and Babylonian temples as potential parallels.¹³¹⁶

If Pillet's reconstructions are correct, the symmetrical suite in the south of the Citadel Palace of Dura Europos shows a considerable amount of similarities with the suite of Samosata. It would

¹³¹³ Downey 1986, 28 refutes the reconstruction by Brown, who suggested the presence three 'iwans' at the northern side of the palace, cf. Downey 1992. For the original excavation reports, see Rostovtzeff et al. 1944. The northern and eastern part of the palace fell into the Euphrates valley. This might perhaps be connected to an earthquake of 160, by which time the structure would have already fallen out of use.

¹³¹⁴ Kopsacheili 2011, 22: '*The hybridised character of this structure is evident in its architectural plan: the southern section of the building contains a peristyle courtyard and reception rooms with flanking spaces to the western and southern wings, elements stemming from the Greek-Macedonian tradition. On the contrary, eastern features are present at the northern part. This is defined by narrow corridors beside large open spaces and even though a very small part of it survives, it is possible that it was formed as a large forecourt of Persian type, similar to Ai Khanoum*'.

¹³¹⁵ Downey 1986, 30.

¹³¹⁶ *Idem*, 33.

have a similarly five-partite and symmetrical lay-out, with rooms of similar size and with limited access possibilities from the smaller adjoining rooms. Its location at the edge of the palace (not in the centre, like the reception suites discussed in 10.3.2) and its integration in an architecture characterized by long, narrow corridors furthermore is not unlike the situation in Samosata. Especially the long, potentially peripheral corridor of the northern sector of the palace is reminiscent of the equally long peripheral corridor B in Samosata. The use of pilasters in the centre of the central room in the suite of Dura Europos is comparable to the 'Mosaic Rooms' in Arsameia on the Nymphaios, a space that I have suggested as a parallel for room XIV, where a central pilaster might also be envisioned (see paragraph 4.3.4). However, the Citadel Palace of Dura Europos merely consists of one row of rooms, and provides a direct access to the peristyle court; it lacks a space that would function as the equivalent of room XIV in Samosata.

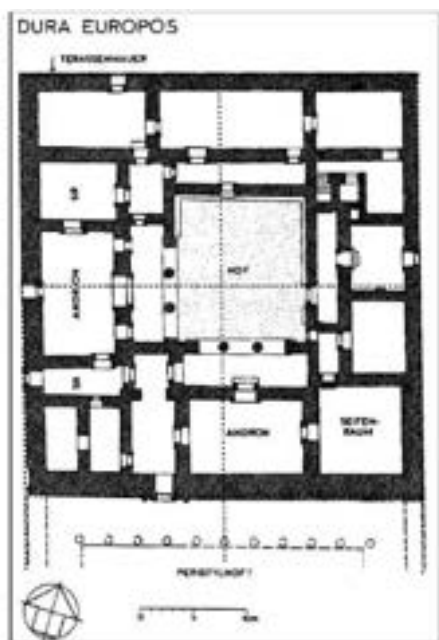


Fig. 10.4. Plan of the 'Redoubt Palace'/'Strategeion' at Dura Europos, early-2nd c. BCE. Source: Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, fig. 216.

A next particularization of symmetrical suites is the early-2nd c. BCE 'Redoubt Palace' or 'Strategeion' of Dura Europos (fig. 10.4), located in block C9 on the edge of the site's southern plateau.¹³¹⁷ It is likely that this palace took over the role of the previously discussed, earlier

¹³¹⁷ Bernard 1973, 114, n. 7; Baird 2018. Note that, although the name *Strategeion* suggests a link to the office of *strategos*, no evidence supports this particular connection. See Baird 2018, 92 *contra* Hopkins 1979,

'Citadel Palace' during the Parthian period of the city.¹³¹⁸ The palace had a defensive character, with large walls made of limestone ashlar. The internal lay-out is centered on a square court, with two rows of rooms surrounding it. Towards the west and south, the court opens up to suites through wide entrances with distyles *in antis*, providing access to rectangular rooms (ca. 11,0 x 4,0 m.) that run parallel to the flanks of the court. These ante-chambers subsequently provide access to strings of rooms that are primarily accessed through their central, largest room (ca. 12,0 x 7,0 m.), called *andron* by the excavators (see fig. 10.4). The smaller rooms flanking these central rooms greatly differ in size (ca. 6,0 x 7,0 m. on average) all contain further entrances to the rest of the building, creating a relatively accessible space. The designation of these spaces as *andrones* cannot be supported by any concrete evidence and probably betrays an overtly 'Greek bias' of the excavators. Indeed, Downey suggests that the Redoubt palace '*belongs to the Hellenistic Greek peristyle type*'¹³¹⁹, an assertion that is reminiscent of some of the scholarly interpretations of the palace in Samosata (see paragraph 10.3.1).

The two-rowed construction surrounding the court and the combination of an oblong ante-chamber with a string of rooms behind it resembles the lay-out of Samosata's symmetrical suite, but only to a limited degree. The ante-chambers are much smaller than the large hall of room XIV and the string of rooms is not symmetrical. Almost all of the rooms adjoining the so-called andrones (some of them of similar size as the rooms in Samosata) furthermore contain multiple entrances, which definitely makes them different from the much more confined string of rooms I-V in Samosata.

252-253 and Leriche 2003, 176. A good overview of the Hellenistic structures of Dura-Europos is provided by Leriche 1994. For the dating of the structure, see Leriche 1994, 403 and Leriche 2003, 176: '*Au palais du Stratège, une fouille exécutée à l'arrière de la façade à bossages a montré que celle-ci devait être datée de la première moitié du IIe s. av. n. è. et que le bâtiment avait connu un état antérieur qui pourrait remonter au IIIe s. av. n. è.*' Note that Kopsacheili 2012, 175 fig.1 still dates the structure to the mid-3rd c. BCE but provides no arguments.

¹³¹⁸ Baird 2018, 92.

¹³¹⁹ Downey 1986, 33.

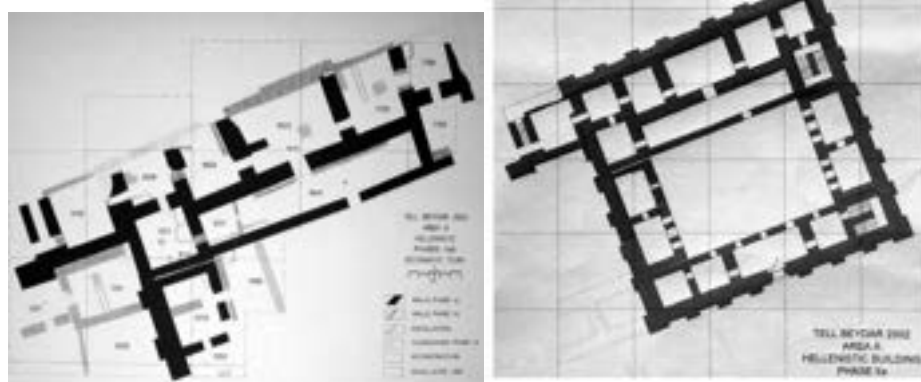


Fig. 10.5a-b. Map of the excavated structures (a) and a reconstructed plan of the 'Hellenistic palace' of Tell Beydar. Source: Galán 2005, fig. 198.

Following the genealogy of symmetrical suites, we encounter another particularization of this phenomenon in the so-called 'Hellenistic palace' of Tell Beydar (fig. 10.5a-b) in north-eastern Syria, which was only recently excavated by a Spanish team led by R. Martín Galán.¹³²⁰ It was located at the northern end of the tell (in field A of the excavations), overlooking the northern Khabur region and the Wadi Awajj. The first construction phase of the palace belongs to Hellenistic phase IIa, and was dated to the mid-2nd c. BCE, based on numismatic finds and pottery from secure stratigraphic contexts.¹³²¹ The mudbrick structure was not entirely excavated but measures approximately 700 m² so far (fig. 10.5a). The excavators suggest that the palace was destroyed during the second half of the 2nd c. BCE and reconstructed during the early 1st c. BCE (Hellenistic phase IIb); the current lay-out specifically reflects this phase. By the mid-1st c. BCE, this second phase was also destroyed.¹³²² It is unclear whether the structure was indeed used as a palace and whether it housed a representative of a larger (Seleucid or Parthian) power or a local elite. Based on the reconstruction offered in the excavators' plan (fig. 10.5b), the internal lay-out of the palace seems to be concentrated around an almost square court, with strings of largely symmetrically placed rooms distributed around it in a NW-SE orientation. The north-western side contains more than one row of rooms; entering from the court, a large rectangular hall (ca. 20,0 x 5,0 m.) was accessed through a non-axial entrance. This large hall makes up the entire north-western flank of the central court and provides further access to a symmetrical string of five rooms that is entered through a relatively wide doorway providing entrance to its central, largest room

¹³²⁰ Galán 2005, 40-42. The descriptions and interpretations offered here are entirely based on this publication and the reconstruction it offers by the excavators.

¹³²¹ *Idem*, 40.

¹³²² This dating is based on lamps 'characterised by a moulded fabric with a radial decoration' (Galán 2005, 41) found on top of the latest floors.

(ca. 6,0 x 8,0 m.). The smaller, adjacent rooms (measuring ca. 4,50 x 5,50 m. each) are almost solely accessible from the central room although the small room in the far west provides access further west as well. No information is provided by the excavators concerning internal decoration or flooring. The architectural lay-out of the building is described as ‘*purely Mesopotamian*’ by its excavators.¹³²³

In some aspects, the northern suite of Tell Beydar’s Hellenistic palace is similar to the symmetrical suite of Samosata. It contains more than one row of rooms and has a strictly symmetrical lay-out. Its relatively large ante-chamber furthermore is approximately as long as room XIV in Samosata (ca. 20 m.), while the smaller rooms in the symmetrical suite are of similar size too. What lacks in Tell Beydar in comparison to Samosata however are indications for a similarly elaborate decoration. Overall, the plan is not characterized by long, narrow corridors such as those witnessed in Samosata and the Citadel Palace of Dura Europos.



Fig. 10.6. The Western Palace of Masada. Source: detail of a map from Netzer 1991, fig. 1.

A last possible particularization in the genealogy of symmetrical suites, dated only slightly later than the symmetrical suite of Samosata, is the south-eastern suite of the Western Palace of Masada (fig. 10.6). This fortified, two-storeyed palace was probably one of the earliest of Herod’s many palatial constructions, built in 37 BCE.¹³²⁴ One would enter the palace through a small bent entrance from the north, leading to a court without peristyle in the centre (12.5 x 10, 5 m.).¹³²⁵

¹³²³ Galán 2005, 40 adding that it is ‘*reminding us of a 2nd millennium BC palace*’. One of the main arguments for this cultural designation is in fact the symmetrical string of rooms, see Galán 205, 40: ‘*The mentioned main room can be found in the centre of a series of five aligned rooms which are distributed along a NE/SW axis. This row of aligned rooms can be found regularly among many palaces of the ancient Mesopotamian architectural tradition*’.

¹³²⁴ Foerster 1995; Netzer 1991, 235-263, Nielsen 1999, 184-189; Roller 1998, 189; Netzer 2008, 21-27, Kropp 2013, 12—122.

¹³²⁵ Roller 1998, 189 suggested a peristyle but there is no evidence for this at all.

The court was surrounded on all sides with one row of wings, many of which opened up to the court. A very confined suite of rooms is located in the south-east corner of the palace, which, although it is not at all symmetrical, forms an important last comparandum for this genealogical analysis. The suite contains a large, central room (8,7 x 6,0 m.), located in the far southeast corner of the palace. This central room could be approached from the central court in two ways: a small entrance at the north-east of the court, providing room to an anteroom, followed by an entrance through an Ionic distyle *in antis* that led to a small room with a mosaic in concentric border decoration¹³²⁶, followed by a small corridor that ultimately led to the central room. A much grander and slightly more direct entrance was provided at the southside of the court, where a large distyle *in antis* provided access to an anteroom that itself led to the central room. The suite contains elaborate wall decoration in Masonry Style wall painting.¹³²⁷ Yadin interpreted the central room as a throne room, based on the presence of four symmetrical depressions in the corner of the room.¹³²⁸ Foerster, however, suggested that these depressions indicated the location of a table on which one would, for instance, display fine silver ware.¹³²⁹ Kropp connected the suite to the Greek prostas-houses of Olynthus, Abdera, and Priene as well as the (*Flügel*)*Dreiraumgruppen* of Pergamon and Macedonia, stating that this is ‘*simply a more elaborate version of the same principle*’.¹³³⁰ Netzer, in contrast, describes the palace as containing ‘*oriental elements in [its] plan*’, although he remains unclear about the specific elements he refers to.¹³³¹

This suite deviates most from the presented genealogy of symmetrical suites, be it for the obvious reason that it is not symmetrical. It does however provide an interesting example of a spatial configuration in palatial architecture more or less contemporary to that of Samosata, where a set of smaller but clearly representative rooms form a highly confined and inaccessible lay-out. The adoption of a mosaic with elaborate concentric decoration in such a suite is very reminiscent of the use of such mosaics in room I of the palace in Samosata, something furthermore matched with the similar use of Masonry Style wall painting.

¹³²⁶ Containing 13 bands with geometric motifs (meanders, wave crest patterns, braids and stepped pyramids) placed around a central roundel with schematic floral decoration, itself placed in a square panel. Cf. Foerster 1995, 150-151; Talgam and Peleg 2006, 379.

¹³²⁷ Avigad 1984, 95-120.

¹³²⁸ Yadin 1965, 118, followed by Netzer 1994, 75-76.

¹³²⁹ Foerster 1995, 164-168; Hoepfner 1996, 14 n.56; Kropp 2013, 121.

¹³³⁰ Kropp 2013, 122.

¹³³¹ Netzer 2009, 172: ‘*the Western Palace at Masada (and its three satellites, Buildings Nos. 11, 12, 13), which resemble the Hasmonaean Twin Palaces at Jericho (Netzer 1991, 599–604). All of them have oriental elements in their plan.*’

Analysis of the genealogy

The suites discussed in this glocal genealogy are very different in terms of size, shape and function and cannot be described as adhering to a clearly defined and standardized object type. This somewhat negative conclusion most probably reflects the limited state of our knowledge concerning palatial architecture of the 3rd-1st c. BCE, with simply not enough relevant comparanda having been excavated yet. As such, this glocal genealogy cannot analyse the adherence or deviation from a universalized and standardized object type as done in chapters 8 and 9 for the mask mosaic and the crenellation motif. This being said, there are some cautious, more general remarks and observations possible regarding this assemblage of loosely related palatial suites which help to define the relation of the suite in Samosata to this broader 'inter-artefactual domain' (see paragraph 3.3.4).

- 1) First of all, there are multiple examples of suites that consist of two-rowed lay-outs, with an oblong antechamber that is accessed from a court, and containing a string of rooms with limited access behind this antechamber (e.g. the suites in Jebel Khalid, Tell Beydar and the Redoubt Palace of Dura Europos). If the reconstruction of room XIV as a roofed hall in Samosata is right, it fits well to this type of suites, with the caveat that none of the discussed antechambers is as big and elaborately decorated as room XIV which seems more like a banquet hall than an antechamber.
- 2) Several of the discussed suites are furthermore perfectly symmetrical (e.g. the suites in the Citadel Palace of Dura Europos, Jebel Khalid and Tell Beydar) while others are definitely not (e.g. the suites in the Redoubt Palace of Dura Europos and the Western Palace in Masada). The perfectly symmetrical lay-out of rooms I-V in Samosata makes it belong to the first group.
- 3) What all suites seem to share is their location at the relative edges of the overall palace, a feature that stands in stark contrast to the central reception rooms in many of the Bronze Age and Iron Age palaces briefly discussed in section 10.3. This is definitely also the case in Samosata, which is located at the western edge of the palace. None of the other examples however have a peripheral corridor that runs along the very edge of the palace; for now, this remains a unique feature of the palace of Samosata.
- 4) Some, but not all of the discussed suites contain painted and stucco wall decoration in Masonry Style (e.g. the suites in Jebel Khalid, Western Palace of Masada) as well as mosaics in concentric border decoration (e.g. the suites in the Western Palace of Masada), suggestive of a somewhat representative function of these rooms. Such very elaborate decoration is equally encountered in Samosata, where the central room contains the most

elaborate wall painting, perhaps reminiscent of the central room in the Western Palace of Masada.

- 5) Only one of the discussed suites contains evidence for cultic use, in the palace of Jebel Khalid. If the interpretation of an ancestral gallery connected to an ancestral cult in room V of the palace of Samosata is right (see paragraphs 4.3.1 and 6.2), these contexts have a commonality, albeit that the cult room in Jebel Khalid was most likely unroofed and showed no evidence for an ancestral gallery.
- 6) The discussed symmetrical suites are definitely not restricted to lay-outs with a peristyle courtyard (e.g. the suites in Jebel Khalid, Citadel palace of Dura Europos) as there also examples without this feature (e.g. the suites in the Western Palace of Masada, Tell Beydar and the Redoubt Palace of Dura Europos).
- 7) The discussed symmetrical suites are neither restricted to lay-outs with very long narrow corridors and small rooms (e.g. the suites in the Citadel Palace of Dura Europos) as they can also occur in much more open architectural lay-outs with large courts and rooms (e.g. Jebel Khalid).

These last two observations are of interest on a more interpretative level as well, and I believe here the presented genealogy really proves its worth for our understanding of the suite of Samosata. In almost all of the presented contexts, we have seen that scholars have assigned either 'Greek' or 'Oriental' cultural labels to these architectural lay-outs, sometimes referred to in contrast to a type of decoration or to indicate differences within the lay-out itself. For the 3rd c. BCE palace of Jebel Khalid, we have seen that Jackson considers the lay-out of the suites 'Persian' and opposes it to the 'Greek' peristyle, Masonry Style wall decorations and ritual activities, creating, what Jackson calls, a '*deliberate hybridity*'.¹³³² For the equally 3rd c. BCE Citadel Palace of Dura Europos, Downey describes the peristyle court as 'Greek', the large open court as '*different*' and the symmetrical suite as '*unusual*', again creating a cultural, categorical divide within the building that is presented as one of its main characteristics. In the early 2nd c. BCE 'Redoubt Palace', the suites are called *andrones* and clearly designated properly 'Greek', which leads Downey to designate the structure as a 'Hellenistic Greek peristyle type' without any evidence for the existence of a peristyle. Galán calls the symmetrical string of rooms in the mid-2nd c. BCE 'Hellenistic Palace' of Tell Beydar '*purely Mesopotamian*' and makes no reference to any 'Greek' elements; the close similarity of this structure to the 'Redoubt Palace', considered 'Greek' by Downey, is hard to reconcile. Disagreement concerning the cultural designation of the suites continues all up to the later 1st c. BCE Western Palace of Masada, which Kropp describes as an

¹³³² Jackson 2016, 335.

elaborate version of Greek/Macedonian types (such as the *(Flügel)dreiraumgruppe*, while Netzer designates it as '*Oriental*').

This brief genealogical overview of (often opposing) cultural designations in scholarship on these palatial lay-outs in the first place attests of a scholarly tendency towards cultural reductionism (see also chapter 3) similar to the interpretations encountered for the palace of Samosata. However, it also tells us something about the nature of these palatial lay-outs themselves; the fact that seemingly 'hybrid' combinations of 'Greek' and 'Oriental' elements are encountered centuries before the construction of the palace of Samosata makes upholding this categorical divide for Samosata problematic. Indeed, we have seen that, already from at least the 3rd c. BCE onwards, symmetrical suites occur in combination with elements that are either designated 'Greek' or 'Oriental', and that several of these examples (e.g. Jebel Khalid, Dura Europos) were located in the wider region of Syria. These 3rd and 2nd c. BCE palatial lay-outs should be taken much more seriously as active alterations of such dichotomous categorizations; their seemingly 'hybrid' character actively undermined these categorical distinctions and 'de-territorialized' (see chapter 3) many of its presumed elements (among which the suites). Simply said: the modern categories 'Greek' and 'Oriental' thus simply will not do as valid interpretative concepts in 1st c. BCE Samosata because we see them combined in too many instances in the period beforehand. It is very likely that, while their capacity to represent cultural labels like 'Greek' or 'Oriental' watered down, instead, new, different relational capacities emerged for these symmetrical suites. Exploring these potential capacities is the main objective of the final paragraph of this chapter.

10.5. Exploring the capacities of the symmetrical suite in Samosata

In the previous paragraph, I have concluded that the symmetrical suite of Samosata should be understood in relation to a relatively loose, non-standardized group of palatial suites of the 3rd-1st c. BCE. Crucially, what followed from this genealogy of palatial suites is the undesirability of an interpretative framework for such suites that relies solely on the dichotomous cultural reductions 'Greek' and 'Oriental' – especially when it concerns the 1st c. BCE palatial suite in Samosata. However, if such lay-outs indeed were more than merely representing cultural concepts, what else could they do? As I explained in chapter 3, this methodology should be read as a move from interpretation to exploration, suggesting some alternative ways to think about the palatial suites under discussion. This paragraph explores the relational capacities of the symmetrical suite of Samosata in the light of what we know about banqueting practices connected to the ruler cult of Commagene.

In Commagenean scholarship, it has often been suggested that, as the kingdom's capital, Samosata must have contained sanctuaries (*temene*) related to the Commagenean ruler cult.¹³³³ However, apart from the *dexiosis* reliefs found in and around Samosata (discussed in paragraph 6.5), no other evidence for the presence of the ruler cult has previously been considered. Following from the cautious new interpretation of the architectural lay-out presented in chapter 4 and a comparison with the 'Mosaic Rooms' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios (already discussed in paragraphs 4.3.4/4.3.7/4.3.6/9.3.1 and further developed here), it is however possible to explore here the idea that the symmetrical suite of Samosata was used as a banqueting space that played a role in the Commagenean ruler cult. To do this, we will first consider the available evidence for cultic banqueting in the *hierotherision* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios.

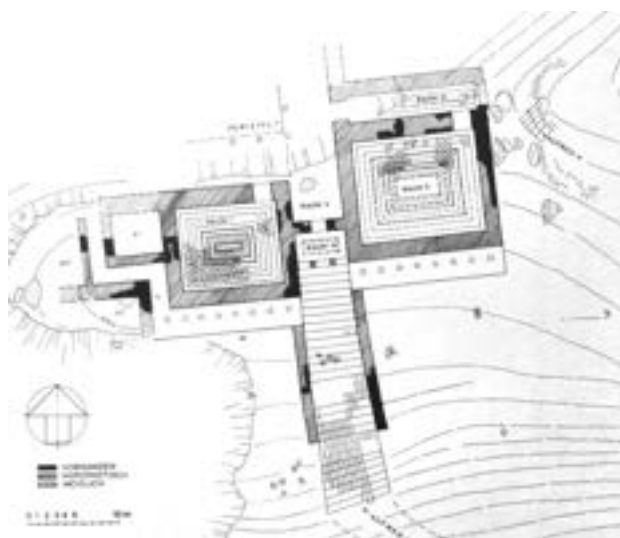


Fig. 10.7. The large mansion with 'Mosaic Rooms' (I and II) in Arsameia on the Nymphaios. Source: Hoepfner 1983, 9, fig. 4.

The site of Arsameia on the Nymphaios (near Eski Kâhta) is located in the north of Commagene, approximately 15 kilometres southwest of Nemrut Dağı, on a flattened hilltop that overlooks the valley of the Nymphaeum, a small tributary river of the Euphrates (see fig. 1.2).¹³³⁴ The site

¹³³³E.g. Brijder 2014, 132, Jacobs 2014, 43: „Es bestätigt sich die Vermutung, daß den Heiligtümern von Arsameia a. N. und vom Nemrut Dağı eines in Samosata vorausging.“

¹³³⁴First discovered by Dörner in 1951 and excavated by and Goell in 1953, 1954 and 1956, cf. Dörner and Goell 1963. Hoepfner continued excavations between 1963 and 1967, cf. Hoepfner 1983. See also Waldmann 1973, 82-97; Dörner 1978; Hoepfner 2000; Cohen 2006, 152-153; Blömer and Winter 2011, 76-87; Brijder 2014, 238-297 and Versluys 2017a, 69-79. In several places throughout this dissertation I have referred to this site in relation to the palace of Samosata already. See paragraph 4.3.4 for the use of roofs; paragraph 4.3.6 for a connection to the rulers of Samosata; paragraph 4.3.7 for its chronology; and paragraph 9.3.1 for a comparison with the mosaics. In this discussion, I will refer back to many of the descriptions and interpretations I have proposed in these earlier paragraphs.

contains a large rock inscription in Greek known as the Great Cult Inscription, which tells us it belonged to the *hierothesion* of king Mithridates I Kallinkos, under whose reign the sanctuary probably first took shape.¹³³⁵ It provides us with cult regulations that contain precise proscriptions, rewards and punishments related to the royal ruler cult. Important other finds concern several *dexiosis* stelai featuring king Antiochos I and the usual Commagenean deities and fragments of colossal statuary, indicating the presence of a similar colossal statue group as witnessed on Nemrut Dağı. Concerning the topography of the overall site we are largely reliant on the excavations by Hoepfner, but the reliability of his reconstructions is debated.¹³³⁶ Hoepfner suggested that, in order to reach what he considered the centre of the sanctuary, at the eastern end of the flattened hilltop, one would have to follow a 'processional way' that be passed along three '*Sockelanlagen*' marked by *dexiosis* reliefs, and set along entrances to a '*Felsenhalle*' and a 158,1 m. deep '*Felstunnel*':¹³³⁷

According to the reconstructions by Hoepfner, the processional way led through a large mansion with 'Mosaic Rooms' I (in the West) and II (in the East) (fig. 10.7), which allowed entrance of the eastern (central) part of the plateau, where the colossal statue group would be located. Due to later pillaging practices and erosion at the northern side of the plateau, our knowledge of this mansion with its 'Mosaic Rooms' remains very limited and Hoepfner's reconstructions cannot be easily verified nowadays.¹³³⁸ A large, 7,5-6,5 m. wide staircase constructed in light sand-limestone blocks provided entrance to the structure in the centre. Hoepfner reconstructs the staircase with circa 26 steps, two intermediate landings and side walls constructed with rectangular ashlar.¹³³⁹ An entrance with a distyle *in antis* led into a small 'passage room' or 'Propylaia' of 5,54 m. wide that was located between 'Mosaic Rooms' I and II and which would have originally contained a mosaic. A wide doorway (2,90 m.) gave entrance to a next room, which is also believed to have contained a mosaic floor and continued into a narrow corridor towards the east, leading out of the structure towards the eastern part of the plateau. 'Mosaic Room I' (10,76 m. x 9,22 m.) was probably entered from the north, and contained Masonry Style wall painting as well as a mosaic in concentric border style surrounding a central rectangular *emblema* which depicted an amphora with two dolphin-like sea creatures symmetrically placed on either side of it.¹³⁴⁰ 'Mosaic Room II' (14,90 m. x 13,85 m.), entered from the north, is slightly bigger than room I and located 0,60 m.

¹³³⁵ As discussed in paragraph 4.3.7 of this dissertation.

¹³³⁶ Versluys 2017a, 75: '*in general his interpretations and reconstructions should be handled with care*'. A criticism also dealt with extensively by Brijder 2014.

¹³³⁷ See Allgöwer 1993, 270-272 for an overview of existing interpretations.

¹³³⁸ As such, the description that follows is largely reliant on Hoepfner 1983 with the critical remarks of Brijder 2014. A thorough cleaning campaign with targeted excavation of this part of the sanctuary would be highly desirable.

¹³³⁹ Only the lower part of the stairs was preserved, but the 30% gradient makes a continuation of the stairs further north necessary.

¹³⁴⁰ There is ample evidence that both these rooms were roofed. See paragraph 4.3.4 for a discussion.

higher. It contained a similar mosaic in concentric border style as well as traces of red painted decoration on the lowest sections of the eastern wall. Hoepfner initially suggested a peristyle court north of 'Mosaic Room I' but in more recent publications it has become clear that this cannot be substantiated.¹³⁴¹ Notably, the structure yielded a large amount of column fragments in the Doric order as well as multiple fragments of medium-sized and small-sized columns in the Corinthian order. The Doric columns were almost all found on the slope south of the structure and near or on the staircase. In the same location, ca. 20 fragments of life-size statues in sand-limestone were found that are interpreted as belonging to a statue group, most probably forming an ancestral gallery.¹³⁴²

Hoepfner proposed that the function of 'Mosaic Rooms' stood in close relation to the cult activities in the *hierothesion* as described in the Great Cult Inscription, suggesting that they were used as banqueting halls for cult meals, specifically for elite and prominent guests.¹³⁴³ His reconstruction of the processional way running through the Mosaic Room structure formed another argument for this proposed integration. Brijder followed Hoepfner's ideas and calculated the capacity of the 'Mosaic Rooms', claiming that it had room for a banquet of approximately 30 people,¹³⁴⁴ which indeed would suggest a relatively exclusive group.¹³⁴⁵ Brijder points to a section in the Great Cult

¹³⁴¹ Brijder 2014, 280, who also notes that in the map of Hoepfner (Hoepfner 2012, 119 fig. 95), a question mark is added after 'peristylum'.

¹³⁴² These included 1) a limestone head turning to its left, most probably depicting king Antiochos I wearing the 'Armenian tiara' and 2) a limestone female head turning to her right, wearing a diadem (found south of room I), perhaps representing queen Laodice or queen Isias; 3) eight fragments of one (or more) male statue(s), which might represent Mithridates I, and 4) several fragments of statues representing lions, eagles and bulls. The fact that the well preserved heads (1 and 2) could turn towards each other has led to the interpretation that 'they could be very well related to each other as a couple (...) It is possible that the heads either (1) are belonging to a pair of statues, representing Antiochos I and his wife, Isias, or (2) the female head is representing Laodice, Antiochos' mother and Mithradates I' wife, and is belonging to a pair of statues with Mithradates I (head not preserved), or, in that case, (3) the head of Antiochos I is belonging to a pair of statues with Isias, of which the head has not been preserved' (Brijder 2014, 275). Whatever the specific constellation and identification of the statue fragments, it seems likely that we are dealing with a statue group representing members of the royal family. See Brijder 2014, 276. The location of this statue group has been a matter of discussion, related to the nature of the front side of the structure. Dörner initially reconstructed two deep terraces of 3,50 m. in front of Mosaic Rooms I and II, with a colonnade of 4-meter-high Doric columns to support the extended roofs of rooms I and II. Hoepfner's 1983 reconstruction, however, suggested that the statues were located on top of these 4-meter-high columns, in a similar way to the tomb monuments of Karakuş and Sesönk. He reconstructed a row of 8 columns west of the staircase and another row of 8 columns east from the staircase. Brijder and others have rightly argued that this reconstruction cannot be supported by archaeological evidence, if only because the amount of statue fragments is simply too little to fill 16 columns. As such, it seems most likely that the columns were indeed used to create a colonnade on both terraces, carrying the roofs of Mosaic rooms I and II, an interpretation that Hoepfner probably also ascribed to in a later publication, cf. Hoepfner 2012. If this is right, the statue group might have been located in the colonnade in front of the structure or, as Brijder states, 'in those rooms of the complex that were not banqueting rooms' (Brijder 2014, 280).

¹³⁴³ Hoepfner 2000, 61; Hoepfner 2012, 119.

¹³⁴⁴ Brijder 2014, 280-297. He suggests that room I allowed for four *klinai* and room II for six *klinai*, with three men per *kline*.

¹³⁴⁵ He states: 'The banquets for this relatively small group of privileged men (30) must have had a more or less private character' (Brijder 2014, 280).

Inscription where, he suggests, such social differentiation during the cult festivities is in fact hinted at: *'On the birthdays of my father and myself – which I have decreed to be celebrated monthly throughout the year and forever – the priest shall [...] provide for a feast for the whole garrisons and all citizens; on this feast the priest shall richly supply the royal tables with appropriate food and fill up the kraters with pure wine from the winepress and water so that it can be mixed. Together with the garrison commander he shall welcome the detachment on guard of the region as well as the whole multitude of native population and provide for the common enjoyment of the feast'*.¹³⁴⁶ Brijder suggests a distinction between 1) the garrison commander and representatives of the garrison and the detachment on guard of the region and possibly other selected elite men who would have banquets round the 'royal tables' inside the banqueting halls, and 2) the 'citizens' and the 'whole multitude of native population', who would wine and dine in the open-air area in the eastern section of the plateau. The latter, according to Brijder, would not dine from the 'royal tables' but rather from 'sacred tabled', which are mentioned in the Great Cult inscription of Nemrut Dağı.¹³⁴⁷

The specific character of such social differentiation remains rather speculative and cannot be based solely on the cultic proscriptions of one inscription. However, the importance of cultic banqueting and the integrated role of the 'Mosaic Rooms' in the *hierothesion* seem probable enough, and might provide us with a model to explore the kinds of activities that were afforded also by the symmetrical suite in Samosata. As discussed already throughout this dissertation, there are several strong similarities between the 'Mosaic Rooms' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios and the rooms of the symmetrical suite in Samosata, in terms of room size and roof construction (paragraph 4.3.4), the use of Masonry Style Wall painting (paragraph 7.3.4), the use of architectural decoration in the Commagenean Corinthian Capital orders I and II (paragraphs 5.2.1 and 5.2.2), the identical mosaic decoration (paragraph 9.3.1), and evidence for ancestral galleries (paragraph 6.2). It is moreover likely, as discussed in paragraph 6.5, that a sanctuary belonging to the ruler cult (*temenos*) was present on top of the *höyük*, evidenced specifically by inscription stelai Sa (ID688) and Sy (ID689). These strong similarities probably granted the symmetrical suite in Samosata with the capacity to function as a banqueting space in the context of the ruler cult, with the royal palace integrated into the *temenos* in a similar way as suggested for the 'Mosaic Rooms' in Arsameia on the Nymphaios. Following Brijder's calculations for Arsameia, the palace of Samosata could have provided room for at least 48 people.¹³⁴⁸ It is likely that, if indeed these rooms were used for such cultic banqueting, the social groups who participated were limited to members of the court, local elites, high profile guests, and perhaps, as suggested for Arsameia, the

¹³⁴⁶ A11–31.

¹³⁴⁷ N42-45: *'The whole multitude that happened to be present, both the native and the foreigners who stream hither [are invited to the] sacred tables richly-laden with appropriate foods'*.

¹³⁴⁸ Based on Brijder's model, room XIV allows for ca. 10 *klinai* (30 people) and room XV another 6 *klinai* (18 people). Note that Kropp 2013, 170 estimates room for approximately 20 guests in room XV.

garrison commander and representatives of the garrison and the detachment on guard of the region. More than any of the suites discussed in the genealogy of this chapter, such large scale, cultic banqueting seems reminiscent of, for instance, the Square Building of Nisa, where Invernizzi has reconstructed an enormous 2nd c. BCE structure solely intended for royal banquets connected to the Parthian monarchy.¹³⁴⁹ Equally comparable is the pavilion of Ptolemy II, known through Athenaeus' citation of the description of Kallixenos of Rhodes, who mentions similarly huge banquets, with space for 130 *klinai*.¹³⁵⁰ The limited preservation of the palace of Samosata as well as the Mosaic Room structure in Arsameia on the Nymphaios in the end make it impossible to compare these royal banquets in terms of actual scale however.

10.6. Conclusions

This case study has demonstrated that the scholarly treatment of the symmetrical suite in Samosata has been subject to cultural reductionism, designating either a 'Greek' or an 'oriental' label to the particular lay-out. I have argued that it is not very insightful to ask whether the form originally goes back to either the (*Flügel*)*Dreiraumgruppe* or the 'Near Eastern reception suites'. Rather, I have demonstrated that there are multiple more recent, 3rd-1st c. BCE parallels for (symmetrical) suites in palatial architecture, which are much more telling if we want to know what such suites *had become* or *were becoming* by the 1st c. BCE. Although the proposed suite genealogy contains wildly varying examples and cannot be considered a clearly universalized and standardized type, nonetheless it was possible to observe several traits that were alternately shared by different examples from the group. Importantly, the genealogy showed that palatial architectural lay-outs with seemingly contradictory elements in terms of cultural adherence already occurred in the 3rd c. BCE, a notion that undermines the dichotomous hybridity models previously used in scholarship dealing with the architectural lay-out of Samosata. In the last paragraph, I have tentatively explored potential capacities of the symmetrical suite in terms of its use, pointing to the close resemblance between the suite of Samosata and the 'Mosaic Rooms' in Arsameia on the Nymphaios. On the basis of this comparison, I have suggested that the symmetrical suite allowed for banquets in the context of the Commagenean ruler cult and an integration of these in a possible *temenos* on top of the capital's *höyük*.

¹³⁴⁹ Invernizzi 2000, 40-50.

¹³⁵⁰ Ath. 5.196-97. See Murray 1996, 21-22.

Chapter 11. Conclusions.

11.1 Assembling legacy data

This book in the first place has assembled a wide variety of legacy data pertaining to the salvage excavations conducted by Nimet Özgüç. From this heterogeneous corpus emerged the possibility to critically evaluate, adjust, add and sometimes falsify the reconstructions and interpretations put forward in earlier publications. As a start of this dissertation's conclusion, let me briefly recapitulate some of, what I consider, the most important new insights and conclusions of this dissertation concerning the palace's architectural construction and lay-out, its chronology, and its internal phasing.

Özgüç's suggestion that the palatial structure existed of an older, Mithridatic, northern section and a later, Antiochan southern section, that was located at a higher level, has proven influential (it was for instance followed by Zoroğlu, Kopsacheili and Kropp), but, as I argued in paragraph 4.3.7, it should be refuted. This interpretation was primarily based on the height difference between these sections of the structure, but it did not take into regard the fact that the entire structure was constructed with a form of 'micro-terracing', with descending elevation zones towards the north-east of the structure (see paragraph 4.3.2). The difference in height should thus be considered integral to the method of construction of the palace rather than evidence for succeeding construction phases.

Another important new insight, formulated in paragraph 4.3.5, concerns the evidence for two different wall types, suggestive of later additions and/or reparations within the overall structure. The first type consists of irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar, while the second, mostly placed against the former or closing off previous entrances, is a type of fine mudbrick. I have argued that the latter appears to coincide with a second phase of wall painting, something that is particularly evidenced by the introduction of new decorative schemes and motifs: the painting associated with the later mudbrick walls (presented in 'objectscape 3', see chapter 7) is more complex and experimental than the painting on the limestone rubble walls (part of 'objectscape 2'). It contains schemata without a socle or with trapezoid-shaped polychrome fields inside a row of isodomes. The introduction of the framed and multi-coloured lozenges is a particular feature that is exclusively found on the mudbrick walls. It cannot be said with certainty whether the later wall additions were part of one integral phase of refurbishment or a more gradual process of small-scale adjustments. In both cases, however, the proposed internal phasing suggests a transformation of the palace's lay-out that had not been considered in previous scholarly work. The closing off of several entrances profoundly changed the communications inside the structure. Certain rooms

became much more isolated (room V through W18 and W5); others were perhaps divided in two (rooms VI and VII through W7); a group of rooms started to function more as a separate spatial configuration ('the symmetrical suite' of rooms I-V through W17 and W18, and perhaps also W14); and the accessibility between the northern and central sections of the palace might have been fundamentally altered as well (through W30).

These considerations provide an interesting new building block in terms of our understanding of the chronology of the palace's construction and abandonment. Whereas previous scholarship relied almost entirely on a single coin find on top of a mosaic floor to argue for a Mithridatic construction date (early 1st c. BCE), the present corpus of unlocked legacy data allowed for more informed arguments, in favour of a similar dating (see paragraph 4.3.7). The wealth of new evidence for the architectural decoration of the palace presented in chapter 5 suggests an early 1st c. BCE based on the Corinthian capital fragments that can be assigned to Werner Oenbrink's Commagenean Order I, dated to the late 2nd-early 1st c. BCE as well as the fragments of door lintels with trefoil-garland decoration that are likely dated to the early 1st c. BCE. Although the very mixed and coarse periodic layers are difficult to interpret, I observed that it is striking that the pottery associated with the pre-palatial 'curved step structure' in sector k/16, (layer VI), did not seem to contain any Eastern Sigillata A, which at least *allows* for an early 1st c. BCE dating of the palace. Equally telling is the previously unexplored relation between the palace of Samosata and the so-called 'Mosaic Rooms' in the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios; this very close parallel too seems to have good papers for a Mithridatic construction. A Mithridatic dating of the construction phase of the palace of Samosata would fit in the steadily emerging of Mithridatic contexts in the archaeology of Commagene more widely, notably also at the newly discovered sanctuary at the Güzelçay, and casts a new light on the previously presumed complete artificiality and radical innovation of the Antiochan cultic and visual program.

It is very likely that the palace remained in use until at least the early 1st c. CE, when it was probably abandoned and, later, covered by the structure in *opus reticulatum* in sector m-r/14-15 (see chapter 4 and paragraph 7.5.1). It was argued that the internal phasing of the walls and painted decoration suggests that the building was in active use during the 1st c. BCE, and the evidence for architectural decoration and sculpture in the later 1st c. BCE and the early 1st c. CE seem to support this claim. I have cautiously suggested that the abandonment of the palace might be related to the provincialization of Commagene under Roman emperor Tiberius (17 CE), while the newly built basilica in *opus reticulatum* could very well have been commissioned during the restoration of the kingdom under king Antiochos IV (38-72 CE), although both ideas remain hypothetical.

Due to the general limitations of the archaeological legacy data, several aspects of the palace's architectural character remain obscure. Concerning some questions, we remain largely in the dark, while, for others, only educated guesses are possible. The actual size of the structure can for instance not be estimated with any certainty, although the presented evidence from sector s/11 suggests that the excavated area of the palace could easily be only half (or even less) the size of the original 'palatial area'. Another crucial but still unresolved issue is the character of room XIV, which is interpreted here as a roofed space but could have functioned as a peristyle court as well, in which case the analysis offered in chapter 10 needs to be fundamentally revised. The presence of a roof is equally debatable for the peripheral corridor (B), although here I believe I could make a relatively convincing case for it to have been uncovered, allowing for a light source into rooms I-IX (see paragraph 4.3.4).

11.2 Assembling vibrant objects

This book has proposed an unconventional approach to the study of palatial contexts and cultural transformations of the 4th c. BCE – 1st c. CE in Commagene. This approach emerged first of all from a discontent with previous interpretations of the palace of Samosata and, more generally, from a critique on reductive approaches in scholarship on royal Commagenean contexts. In chapter 2, it was argued extensively that the scholarly tendency to reduce archaeological contexts like the palace of Samosata to (a combination of) cultural concepts like 'Greek' and 'Persian' or 'Hellenistic' and 'Oriental' tend to reason from static classifications of material culture and allow only for representative capacities of objects. The objective of these approaches, I showed, ultimately was to 'reason back' from the objects that make up the Commagenean palace to the human intentions that were presumed to lie at their origin. This resulted in reductive, hylomorphic, representational and anthropocentric analyses, where material culture functioned merely as the 'props' in an otherwise human theatre of intentions and identities, unceasingly deciding the course of history. The palace of Samosata, in this interpretative framework, could only and exclusively be studied as an expression of royal ideology, with its decorative elements and architectural lay-out as rhetorical notions that represented specific cultural affiliations and claims of ethnic and cultural identity. Reasoning further back, such visual rhetoric ultimately always was explained in relation to issues of royal legitimacy, with kings like Mithridates I Kallinikos and Antiochos I acting like they did in the broader socio-political context of a '*Legitimationsdruck*'.¹³⁵¹

This book has not so much intended to refute the overall validity of several of these approaches and interpretations, but rather has insisted on their partiality, asking instead the following simple

¹³⁵¹ E.g. Kopsacheili 2011; Kropp 2013, Versluys 2017.

question: where does this all leave the palace as a real, actual and material entity? By forcing analytical room to ‘think along’ with objects - a morphogenic approach that allows these objects a proper place at the table where history is produced - this thesis has proposed a profoundly different analytical starting point than previous Commagenean scholarship has permitted for. In chapter 3, I argued that the notion of assemblages, developed within the Deleuzian inspired theoretical framework of New Materialism, provides a useful vocabulary and set of ontological axiomata to develop a morphogenic and more-than representational approach to objects, de-centering humans and their intentions from the equation and instead focusing on the relational capacities of objects: what were they capable of? What emerged from objects and their relations? I have suggested that the reconceptualization of Hellenistic palaces as assemblages, ‘compositions that act’¹³⁵², provides a way out of the representational, culturally reductive and anthropocentric notions so far followed in scholarship. Assemblage Theory, I suggested, can help us to think about the palace of Samosata and its elements as ‘*historical actors in their own right*’.¹³⁵³

Assemblages are heterogeneous and always in a state of becoming – they are emergent. As archaeologists, we can turn our attention to the ‘*life proper to matter*’¹³⁵⁴ that allows for this emergence: the vibrant nature of objects, their capacity to have affect through their relations. To arrive at such ‘object vibrancy’, it is necessary to detect, investigate and explore object capacities that are more-than-representational, more-than-intentional, always multiple, and, through their never entirely controllable nature, capable of inciting change. In order to study such vibrancy in the palace of Samosata, I proposed four different types of vibrant modalities to use as analytical proxies for the relational capacities of objects: 1) temporal and geographical genealogies (investigating the vibrancy of glocal relations); 2) materials and colors (investigating the vibrancy of materials and their relational capacities); 3) sensorial capacities (investigating the vibrancy of matter through the multi-sensorial capacities of objects and their place in ‘sensorial regimes’); and 4) radical alterity and representation (investigating the vibrancy of ‘ontologically unsettling’ objects).

In chapter 7, I have applied these proxies to an analysis of four successive objectscaes of Samosata. Such objectscaes can be understood as a type of assemblage; they describe the total gathering of object types in a particular locality during a specific period, like slices in time and space. Importantly, objectscaes can transcend specific archaeological and social contexts; they provide a more holistic analytical tool to compare shifting material repertoires of a specific locality (or region) through time and also allow for a comparison between contemporary localities. By adding the adjective ‘vibrant’ to objectscaes, I emphasized that such objectscaes,

¹³⁵² Due 2002, 32.

¹³⁵³ Cipolla and Harris 2017, 148. See also the motto of this dissertation.

¹³⁵⁴ Deleuze and Guattari 2004, 454.

like assemblages, are never just representative phases, but instead are full of life, allowing for '*certain types of action and not others*'.¹³⁵⁵ A vibrant objectscape analysis can, for instance, never end up with a narrative of successive phases that move from being 'Oriental', to 'Hellenistic' to 'Roman'. Instead, it focuses on the changing relational capacities of the specific objects that partake in them and focuses on the different ways such capacities incited change. This has, first of all, allowed for a narrative of changing relational capacities in Samosata from the 4th c. BCE until the 1st c. CE that did not have to rely on the cultural labelling of objects - and all its ensuing methodological nationalism, colonialism, and orientalism. Through this approach it has furthermore been possible to investigate the coming into being of the royal palace (objectscope 2) *not* in relation to static cultural concepts and presumed royal rhetoric and intentions, but as the introduction of a new objectscape, that, compared to its preceding objectscape 1, was very different in terms of its 'power to' do things.

Let me recapitulate here just some of the newly established aspects of this transition from objectscape 1 to objectscape 2 (i.e. the royal palace) to stress the strength of this approach again more concretely.

- Whereas objectscape 1 bundled a wide set of chronologically deep and geographically local and regional genealogies that allowed for the manifestation of enduring local pasts (through object types like limestone orthostats, torus bases, glazed bricks, Late-Hittite Luwian spolia, red-painted course wares), objectscape 2 brought together genealogies that, through the 4th -2nd c. BCE, had become universalized on a supra-regional, mostly eastern-Mediterranean scale but were still novel or very rare on a local and often also regional scale in Samosata, allowing for a 'shock of the new' (e.g. tessellated mosaics, concentric border frames, naturalistic sculpture, Masonry Style wall painting).
- Whereas the few trans-regional relations of objectscape 1 are characterized by a strong, almost passive adherence to universalized forms (black gloss imports, torus bases, red-painted course wares, Hellenistic bowls with inverted rims, limestone orthostat wall facings), the embedding of the many trans-regional relations assembled in objectscape 2 are characterized by more unique local adaptations, variations and combinations (combining, *i.a.*, a fish mosaics with a dolphin *emblema*; a satyr-like mask with a medallion; a limestone doorframe with trefoil garlands; a chequerboard motif with a tessellated mosaic technique; flat orthostat wall painting with elaborate and illusionistic frieze zones).
- Whereas objectscape 1 appears to bring together a rather restricted repertoire of colors and mostly local materials (white limestone and ivory, mudbrick, yellow buff clay and red

¹³⁵⁵ Cipolla and Harris 2017, 148.

paint), objectscape 2 aggregates a much wider repertoire of materials and colors (glass, colored stone, plaster, many different pigments, marble), each with their own relational and sensorial capacities.

- Whereas the schematized and two dimensional figuration of objectscape 1 had the capacity to blur boundaries between the ontological status of objects through their material, composition and rendering (the painted 'gazelle-date-tree' and 'hunter-horse-spear' entities as well as the ivory 'human-comb' entity), objectscape 2 introduced more self-contained entities (through framing, *emblemata* and rendering) that brought about different relations and reactions with their viewers (e.g. the satyr-like mask mosaic of chapter 8).

These are just some of the many changes in relational capacities that characterize the shift from objectscape 1 to objectscape 2. The goal here is not to completely reiterate the conclusions of each objectscape of chapter 7, but rather to emphasize how, through this approach, forms of change emerge that notions like Hellenization or Hellenism simply cannot encompass. What made this emergence possible is the move away from an *a priori* categorical divide between 'Persian elements' and 'Greek elements' of the palace. The coming together of architectural forms, materials and object types implied much more than the presumed dichotomous rhetoric of a Commagenean monarch. It meant, for starters, the actual assembling of new and global object capacities that, once they existed, started to affect the world around them. Whereas it is definitely possible that this affect was sometimes in accordance with the intentions of a commissioning monarch (for instance by means of its bio-politics), this was definitely not necessarily the case. We can only guess about the manifold ways that the palace's 'power to' create mind-traps, steer corporeal movement, create 'con-sensus', or incite sensorial dissonance *also* affected, restricted and shaped those who had intended the palace to be solely their instrument of power. The vibrancy of objects, then, occurs on a plane that is often impervious to the human will to control and steer; objects are never exhausted by their representative capacities nor by their presumed roles as indices of human agency.¹³⁵⁶ It's infinite and ever (de-)territorializing relations always allow for a surplus of potentiality, allowing, in fact, for the types of subaltern change humans desire for and act towards. Making this argument for a Hellenistic palace, a type of context where the human will to dominate is self-evidently present, be it through royal rhetoric or forms of bio-politics, should make us aware that, even in such cases, the vibrancy of objects has its own life, forming assemblages in which these humans are only one of many protagonists.

¹³⁵⁶ It is ironic how one of the few domains in which the infinite complexity and multiplicity of object relations and capacities could be more or less successfully reduced to single abstract notions is, in fact, in the domain of archaeological scholarship.

11.3 Assembling glocal genealogies

In the three case studies of this dissertation, I pushed the analysis one step further, focusing on the genealogical capacities of separate objects that constituted the heterogeneous palace assemblage: the satyr-like mask, the crenellation motif and the symmetrical suite. By tracing the genealogical relations of these objects and exploring how the relational capacities that ensued were potentially actualized in the context of Samosata, it was attempted to truly ‘think along with objects’, allowing for their full vibrancy to reveal. I conceived of these genealogies as assemblages as well, constantly territorializing and de-territorializing in the Deleuzian sense, emerging and transforming through the changing relations of their pertaining elements. I added the adjective ‘glocal’ to emphasize how these assembled genealogies emerge from a global-local paradox, with the trans-local, universalizing object type emerging from its local particularizations and vice versa.

In the mask-mosaic case study of chapter 8, it was argued that the Samosata mask in many ways adhered to a glocal genealogy of isolated and non-narrative satyr-like mask mosaics. Through this more-than-local relation, the Samosata mask functioned as a globally available and standardized but regionally and locally unique object. Following the different particularizations of its genealogy, it was argued that, unlike previous interpretations had claimed, relational capacities had developed that were not restricted to representing notions like theatre, Dionysos and Greekness. A crucial, more-than-representational capacity, for instance, emerged from the specific coming together of a satyr-like mask, a frontal depiction, a demanding gaze, a circular roundel and a concentric border decoration. I explored how this satyr/mask/mirror-assemblage had the capacity to draw the viewer into a visual mechanism of mirroring, personal transformation, and breaching of ontological divisions between subject and object, man and animal, human and divine, representation and represented.

The case study of the crenellation motif of chapter 9, equally established the more-than-local character of the mosaic crenellations in Samosata, demonstrating how they adhered to the demands and possibilities offered by the glocal genealogy of crenellation motifs. Like the satyr mask, this genealogical relation allowed the crenellations of Samosata to function as a globally available and regionally unique element. Unlike the mask mosaic, the crenellations were not unique on a local, Commagenean level, where its capacity to create visual coherence was activated in multiple mosaics of at least two royal Commagenean contexts. Through the specific character of their genealogical relations, both the mosaic and the crenellation motif also acquired the capacity to achieve distinctiveness on a regional scale, introducing techniques (tessellated mosaics) and motifs that were not employed in comparative (north-)Syrian contexts like Jebel Khalid and Dura Europos. Here we start to discern how the *absence* of a certain object type in one

locality can inform the capacities of that object type when present in another locality. An exploration of relational capacities furthermore demonstrated that, rather than being merely a marginal, meaningless motif that passively participated in an overall decoration signalling 'Greekness', the crenellations potentially allowed for connotations with architectural fortifications, carpets, celestial and divine notions and, paradoxically, perhaps even Persianism. 'Meaning', in this analysis, is not considered something monolithic and exhaustive, but rather multiple, relational and potential; it can be investigated as a *virtual* capacity that was real but not necessarily actual.

Chapter 10, the case study of the symmetrical suite, functions somewhat as an antithesis to the previous two case studies, as here it proved difficult to establish a standardized glocal genealogy, presenting rather a more loosely related assemblage of suite-like lay-outs occurring in palatial contexts from Syria. On a more structural level, however, this assemblage brings together a set of 3rd-2nd c. BCE structures that, in one way or another, have been considered to function as 'Greek-Oriental hybrids' in scholarship. As such, the analysis of this genealogy assists in further deconstructing the analytical value of hyphenated categories like Greek-Oriental in early 1st c. BCE Samosata, arguing that we have to consider more seriously how the repeated particularization of supposedly hybrid architecture soon would have watered down its assumed oppositional nature.

11.4 Assembling Afro-Eurasian localities

If we zoom out from Samosata, and consider how the analysis presented in this dissertation might resonate with research on Hellenistic-period Commagene and the wider North-Syrian region (and beyond), some final remarks can be made. Recently, Michael Blömer argued that *'Instead of enhancing overarching concepts of regional urban development, individual histories of single sites have to be written which take into account all evidence available. The effort to create generic concepts of urbanism in Syria and generalizing labels like 'cit  grecque' in contrast to 'oriental city' (...) have concealed the originality of each place and ignored the co-occurrence of diverse manifestations of urbanity. Writing the biography of a place must take this diversity into account.'*¹³⁵⁷ Bl mer's remarks provide a valuable wider context to the broader implications of this dissertation, as its assemblage approach and stress on object vibrancy have aimed to precisely provide a way out from Bl mer's (and other's) discontent with reductive concepts like *'cit  grecque'* and *'oriental city'*. Stressing the originality of the vibrant and transforming assemblages of Samosata evades the over-simplification of overarching concepts of regional urban development, and allows for highly diverse manifestations of such urbanity. As Pitts and Versluys have stressed

¹³⁵⁷ Bl mer 2020, 146.

in their coining of objectscares, this methodology is particularly suitable for the comparison between localities, something that would make a vibrant objectscape approach for different sites in Commagene, North-Syria and the wider region (e.g. Pontus, Armenia, Sophene, Osroehne, Cilicia, and Adiabene) a desideratum.¹³⁵⁸

A methodology that solely stresses the originality and diversity of localities, however, runs the risk of developing fragmented histories of highly compartmentalized places and solely *local* developments. Such an approach seems hardly compatible with the highly connected Hellenistic-period realities of long-distance trade, wide elite networks, travelling workshops, military campaigns, empire dynamics, migrations and its ensuing flows of ideas, people and objects.¹³⁵⁹ Whereas it is clear that the outcome of such globalization processes in Afro-Eurasia was unique and contingent from locality to locality, we simply cannot settle with a focus on diversity alone. This dissertation has demonstrated how a globalization approach to objects – acknowledging and investigating the more-than-local dynamics they were bound up with – is in fact indispensable for our understanding of local object change and its impact. The end-point of such analyses should not be the *passe-partout* generalization that, on a structural level, *everything* was glocal, connected, cosmopolitan and a form of eclectic innovation. Instead, this dissertation has shown how the material outcomes of such connectivities can be taken as the analytical point of departure. It is through an emphasis on the vibrant character of glocal objects that new, exciting analytical territory opens up.

¹³⁵⁸ Pitts and Versluys 2021

¹³⁵⁹ For global object flows, see already Appadurai 1990.

Curriculum Vitae

Lennart Wouter Kruijer (Amstelveen, 1989) finished his RMA in Mediterranean and Near Eastern Archaeology at Leiden University in 2015. From September 2016 onwards, he has been employed as a PhD Candidate at Leiden University.

Dutch Summary – Nederlandse Samenvatting

Het Paleis van Samosata als Assemblage: de vitaliteit van objecten in Commagene gedurende de 1^e eeuw v. Chr.

Dit proefschrift vormt de eerste volledige archeologische publicatie van de opgravingsresultaten van het zogenaamde ‘paleis van Samosata’, een unieke structuur uit de 1^e eeuw v. Chr. die in de periode 1978-1989 onder leiding van archeologe Nimet Özgüç (METU, Ankara) werd blootgelegd op de *höyük* (kunstmatige heuvel) in de hoofdstad van het Laat-Hellenistische koninkrijk Commagene, in de huidige regio Adiyaman (Zuid-Oost Turkije). De dissertatie brengt, op kritische wijze, een grote hoeveelheid veelal ongepubliceerde *legacy data* (opgravingsverslagen, kaarten, tekeningen, schetsen, foto’s, dia’s, objectinventarissen etc.) bijeen, en voorziet in een uitgebreide studie van de archeologische *units* van de palatiale context en aanverwante archeologie. Dit resulteert in een grondige discussie van de architectonische lay-out, chronologie, en interne fasering van het paleis (hoofdstuk 4). Daarnaast voegt de dissertatie twee uitgebreide catalogi toe met grotendeels ongepubliceerd materiaal, betreffende fragmenten van architectonische decoratie (hoofdstuk 5) en sculptuurfragmenten (hoofdstuk 6). Hoofdstuk 7 voorziet in een chronologische contextualisering van het paleis, waar de materiële transformaties van Samosata van de 4^e eeuw v. Chr. – 1^e eeuw n. Chr. in vier fasen worden behandeld.

Naast deze meer conventionele archeologische analyse van het paleis van Samosata, tracht dit proefschrift ook een meer interpretatieve en theoretische bijdrage te leveren aan debatten over culturele transformatie in Commagene, de studie van palatiale contexten in de Hellenistische periode en de problematische, representatieve rol die objecten veelal krijgen toegeschreven in archeologische interpretaties. In hoofdstuk 2 wordt gesteld dat voorgaande analyses van het paleis van Samosata - en de archeologie van Commagene meer in het algemeen - veelal geneigd zijn om materiële cultuur te reduceren tot (een combinatie van) culturele concepten zoals ‘Grieks’, ‘Perzisch’, ‘Hellenistisch’ of ‘Oriëntaals’. Dergelijke reducties hebben veelal geleid tot historische narratieven waarin het representatieve karakter van objecten en hun rol in de ideologie en intenties van menselijke actoren centraal staan. Zo wordt het paleis van Samosata door

bijvoorbeeld Maria Kopsacheili en Andreas Kropp geïnterpreteerd als een hybride structuur waarin, enerzijds, de architectonische lay-out een expressie zou zijn van de 'Perzische' (etnische) identiteit van de koninklijke opdrachtgevers, en, anderzijds, de decoratie een expressie van hun gelijktijdige claim op een 'Griekse' (etnische) identiteit.¹³⁶⁰ In meer genuanceerde benaderingen tot dergelijk cultureel eclecticisme in Commagene en daarbuiten is reeds in eerder onderzoek overtuigend beargumenteerd dat het voorkomen van Griekse en Perzische 'cultuurstijlen' niet per definitie representatief hoeft te zijn voor de culturele identiteit of etniciteit van de desbetreffende producenten of opdrachtgevers, maar in de Hellenistische wereld veeleer beschikbaar waren als bewust toegepaste 'culturele scenario's' die specifieke sociale doeleinden dienden, verschillend van context tot context.¹³⁶¹ Hoewel deze dissertatie de bewuste toepassing van 'Hellenisme' en 'Persianisme' als culturele scenario's onderkent als conceptuele stijlfiguur in de retoriek van (vooral) koningen en elites van de Hellenistische periode, wordt gesteld dat ook dit interpretatieve kader niet uitputtend is, daar zij een antropocentrische en nog immer representatieve benadering tot materiële cultuur voorstaat. De vraag is namelijk waar het paleis van Samosata blijft als *actuele materiële entiteit*.

In plaats van een analytische benadering tot het paleis waarin menselijke intenties, concepten en representaties centraal staan, stelt dit proefschrift voor om het paleis als reëel assemblage te onderzoeken, waarbij de vitaliteit (een ietwat gemankeerde Nederlandse vertaling van het Engelse '*vibrancy*') van de objecten die haar constitueren als uitgangspunt dienen (hoofdstuk 3). Een dergelijke benadering leunt sterk op de door Gilles Deleuze en Félix Guattari's filosofie geïnspireerde theoretische positie van *New Materialism* en de daaraan gelieerde *Assemblage Theory*, dewelke een relationele en 'democratische' ontologie voorstaat waarin menselijke én niet-menselijke objecten heterogene assemblages vormen met emergente en affectieve kwaliteiten. Vanuit deze theoretische positie wordt de analytische ruimte om het paleis van Samosata te bestuderen enorm uitgebreid, aangezien nu ook niet-menselijke objecten verandering kunnen bewerkstelligen door middel van hun 'vitale', relationele capaciteiten. Door de analytische focus te verschuiven naar deze object capaciteiten en de assemblages die zij voortbrachten wordt het paleis van Samosata plotseling bevolkt door een grote hoeveelheid niet-menselijke, historische actoren.

De uit deze analytische verbreding voortvloeiende methode van '*vibrant objects*' (vitale object assemblages) onderzoekt voor elke eerdergenoemde vier chronologische fasen van Samosata (4^e eeuw v. Chr. – 1^e eeuw n. Chr.) wat de relationele object capaciteiten zijn van een specifieke fase/objectscape en hoe deze verschillen ten opzichte van de eerdere fase/objectscape

¹³⁶⁰ Kopsacheili 2011; Kropp 2013.

¹³⁶¹ Versluys 2017.

(hoofdstuk 7). Daarbij wordt onderscheid gemaakt tussen relationele capaciteiten die gerelateerd zijn aan 1) de genealogieën waar deze objecten toe behoren (de meer-dan-lokale relaties van objecten tot groepen objecten van dezelfde soort); 2) de materiële kwaliteiten van objecten (kleur, materiaal, textuur), 3) de zintuiglijke kwaliteiten van objecten (de wijze waarop objecten de menselijke zintuiglijke ervaring beïnvloeden) ; en 4) de radicale 'alteriteit' van objecten (de manier waarop objecten door middel van bijvoorbeeld figuratie en representatie een alternatieve werkelijkheid behelzen). Door deze vier 'proxies' voor elk objectscape te analyseren wordt een diachroon narratief geschetst van transformerende materiële repertoires in Samosata dat 'vooruit' denkt met de capaciteiten van objecten in plaats van 'terug' te redeneren naar representatieve culturele labels zoals 'Hellenisme' en antropocentrische noties zoals 'identiteit' en 'machtslegitimatie'. In de drie case studies van hoofdstukken 8, 9 en 10 worden drie objecten die het paleisassemlage constitueren centraal gesteld als vitale assemblages in zichzelf. Ook daarbij staan de meer-dan-representatieve capaciteiten en meer-dan-lokale relaties van deze objecten centraal. De grote hoeveelheid mogelijkheden die uit bovenstaande analyse van het vitale paleisassemlage oprijzen, geven diepte aan voorgaande antropocentrische interpretaties, suggereren verrassende verbanden tussen object-typen en contexten en vormen een kritisch tegengeluid en alternatief voor het *a priori* gebruik van culturele labels in de analyse van de archeologie van Commagene en paleiscontexten van de Hellenistische periode.

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Abbreviations

A = Cult Inscription from the *hierotheresion* at Arsameia on the Nymphaios. Translation from the by F.K. Dörner in Dörner, F.K. and T. Goell 1963, 36–91.

N = Cult Inscription from the *hierotheresion* at Nemrut Dağı. Translation from Sanders 1996, 206–217 ; OGIS 383.

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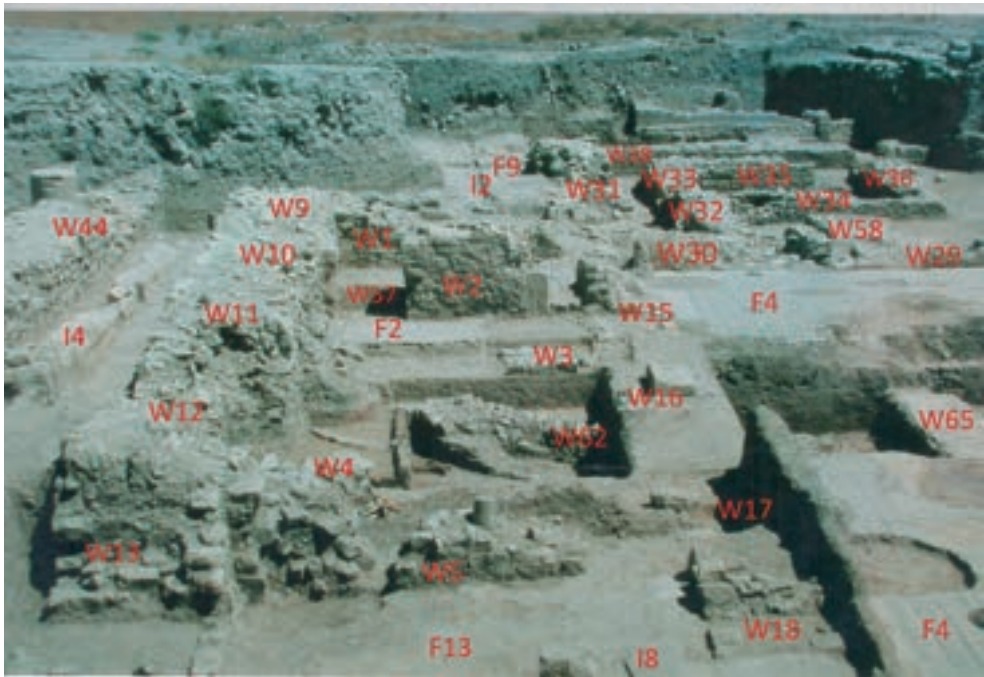
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Appendix A Excavation photographs (Özgüç Archive)

I - Towards NE



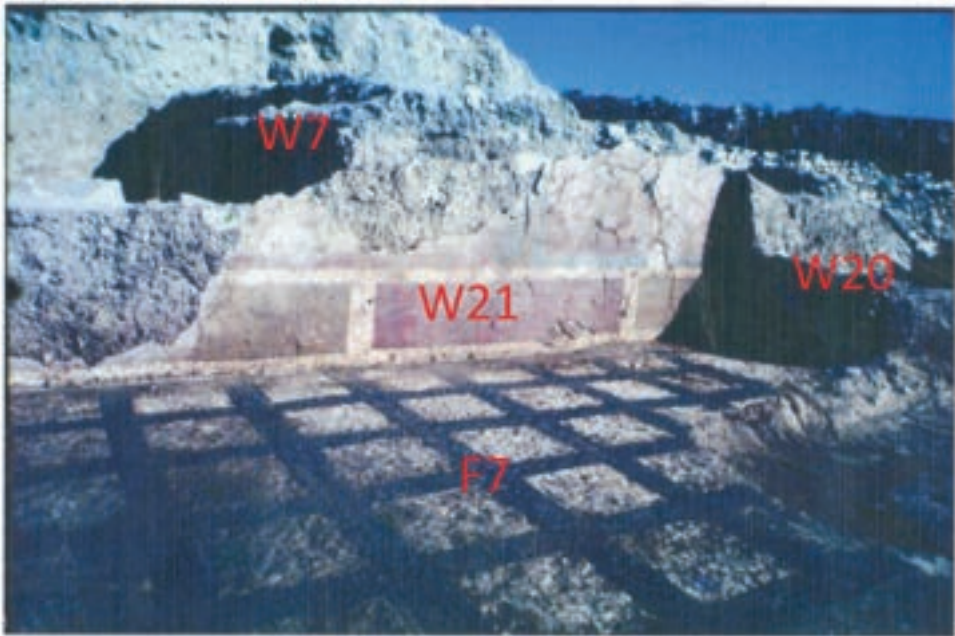
II - towards SE

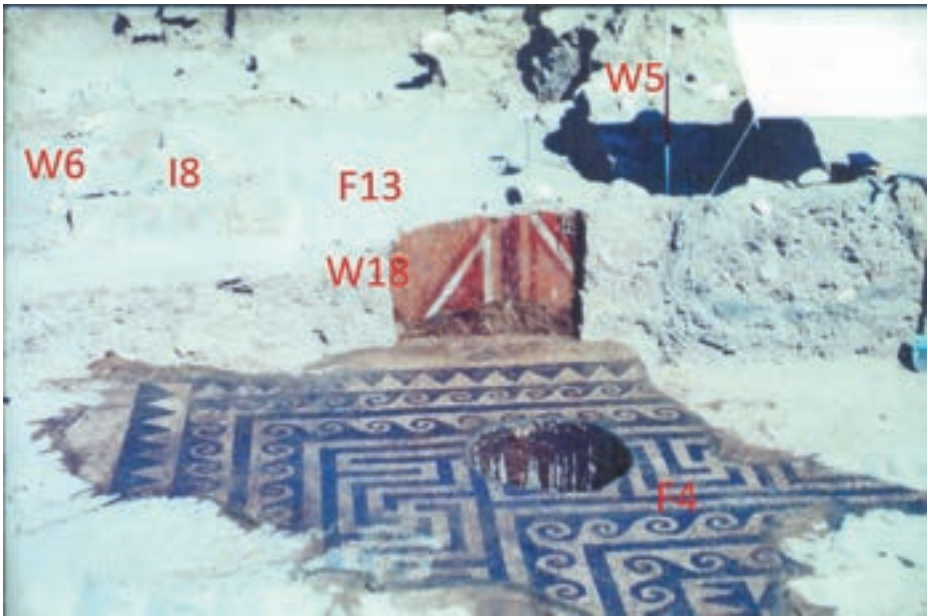






V – towards the NWN











X – towards the NNE

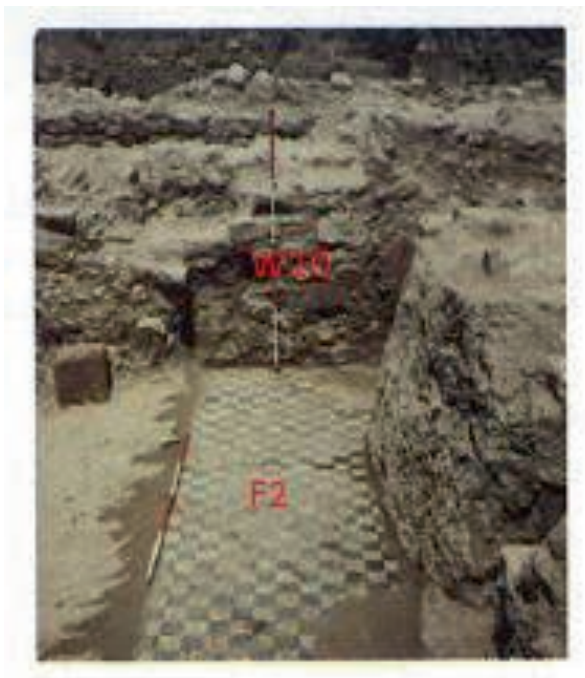


XI – towards the SSW









XV – towards the N



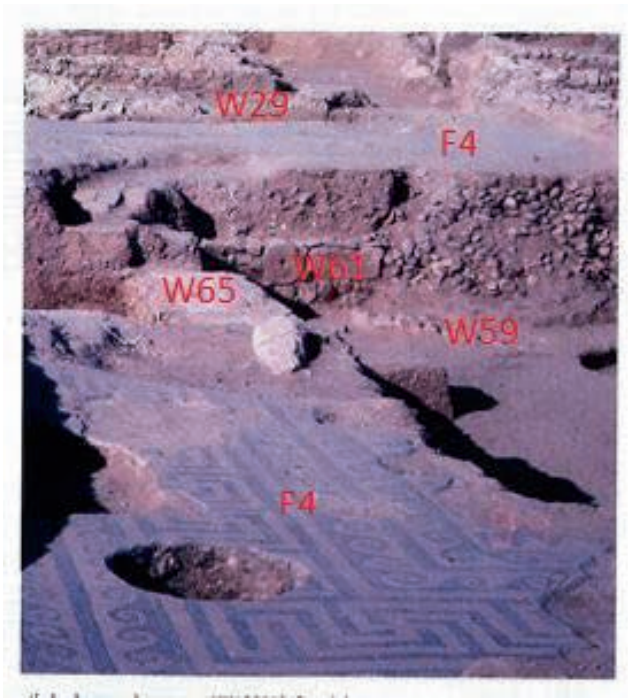
XVI – towards the NWN



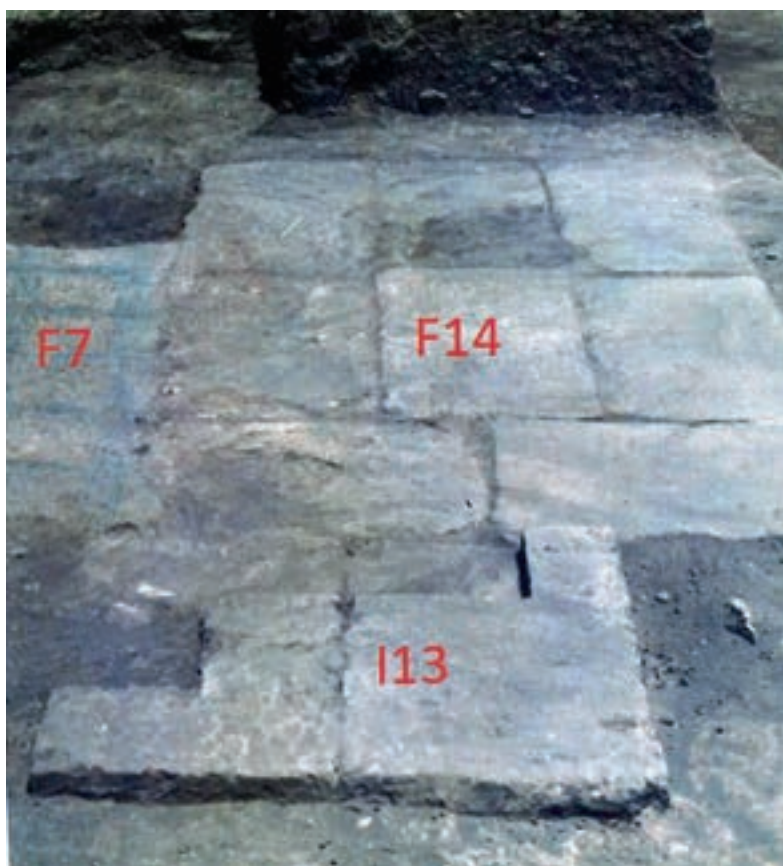




XIX – towards the NNE



XX – towards the NE



XXI – towards the NNW



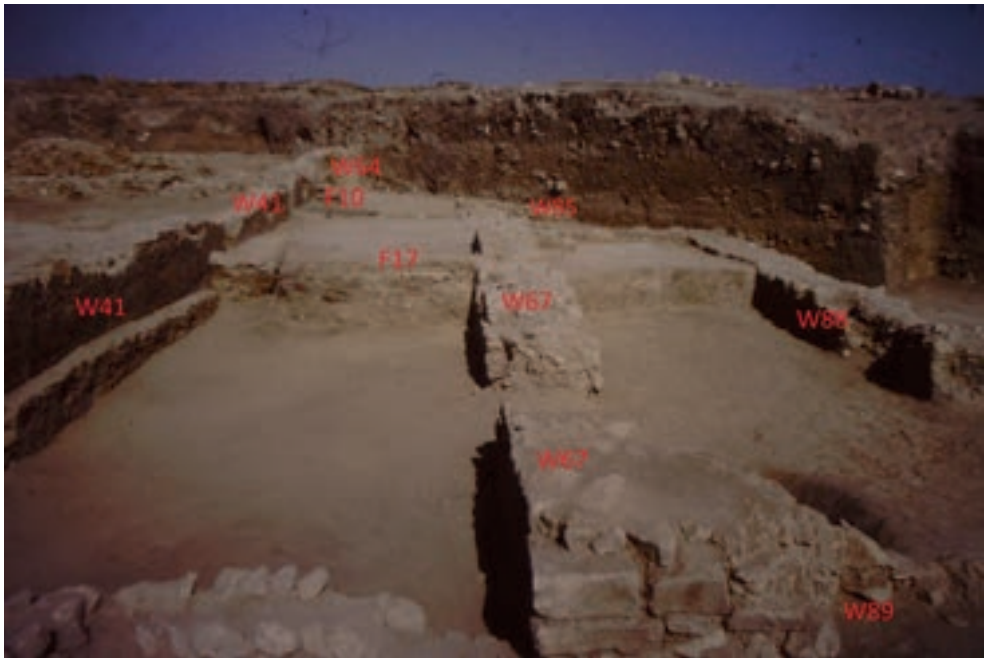
XXII – towards the SSE

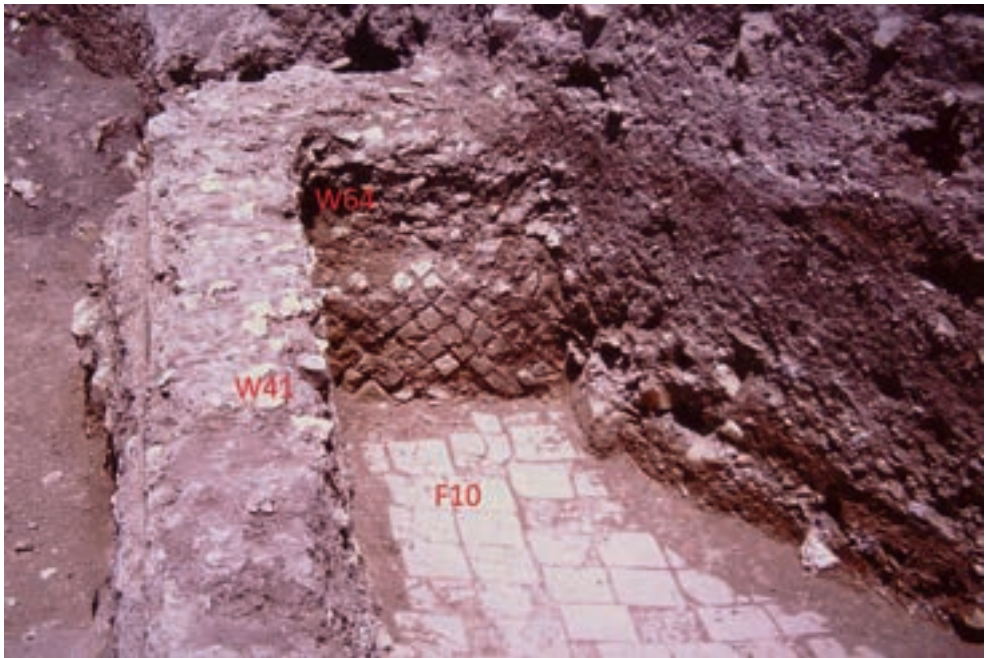




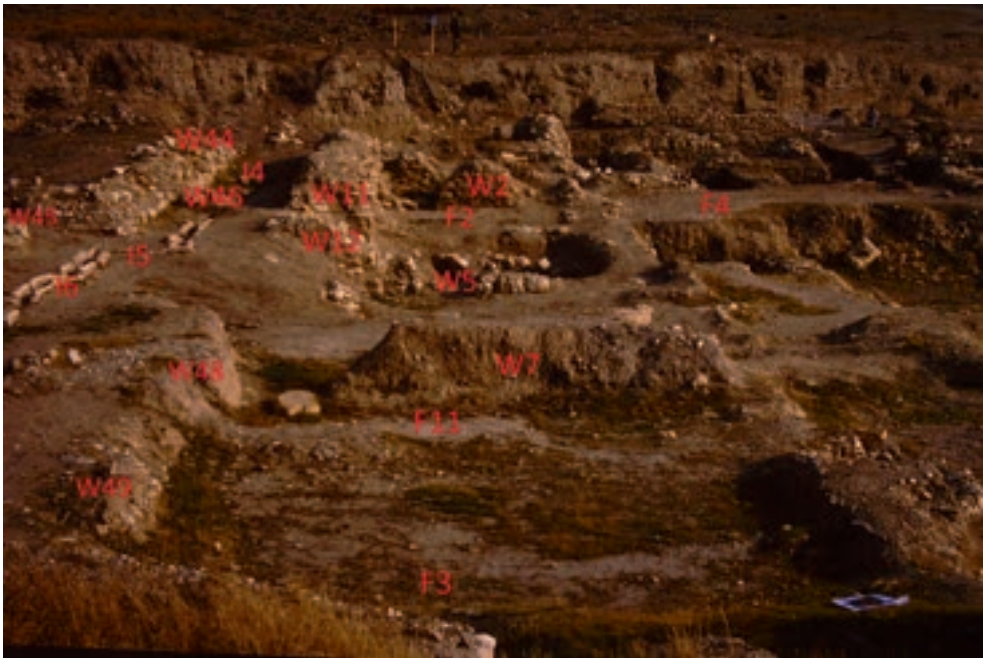


XXV – towards the NW

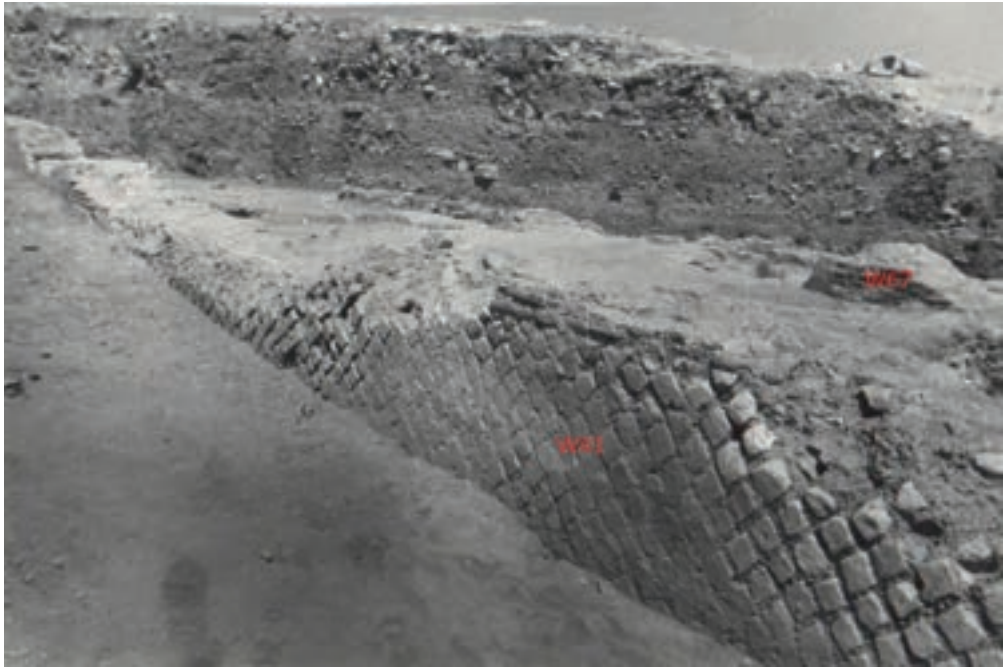








XXIX – towards the N

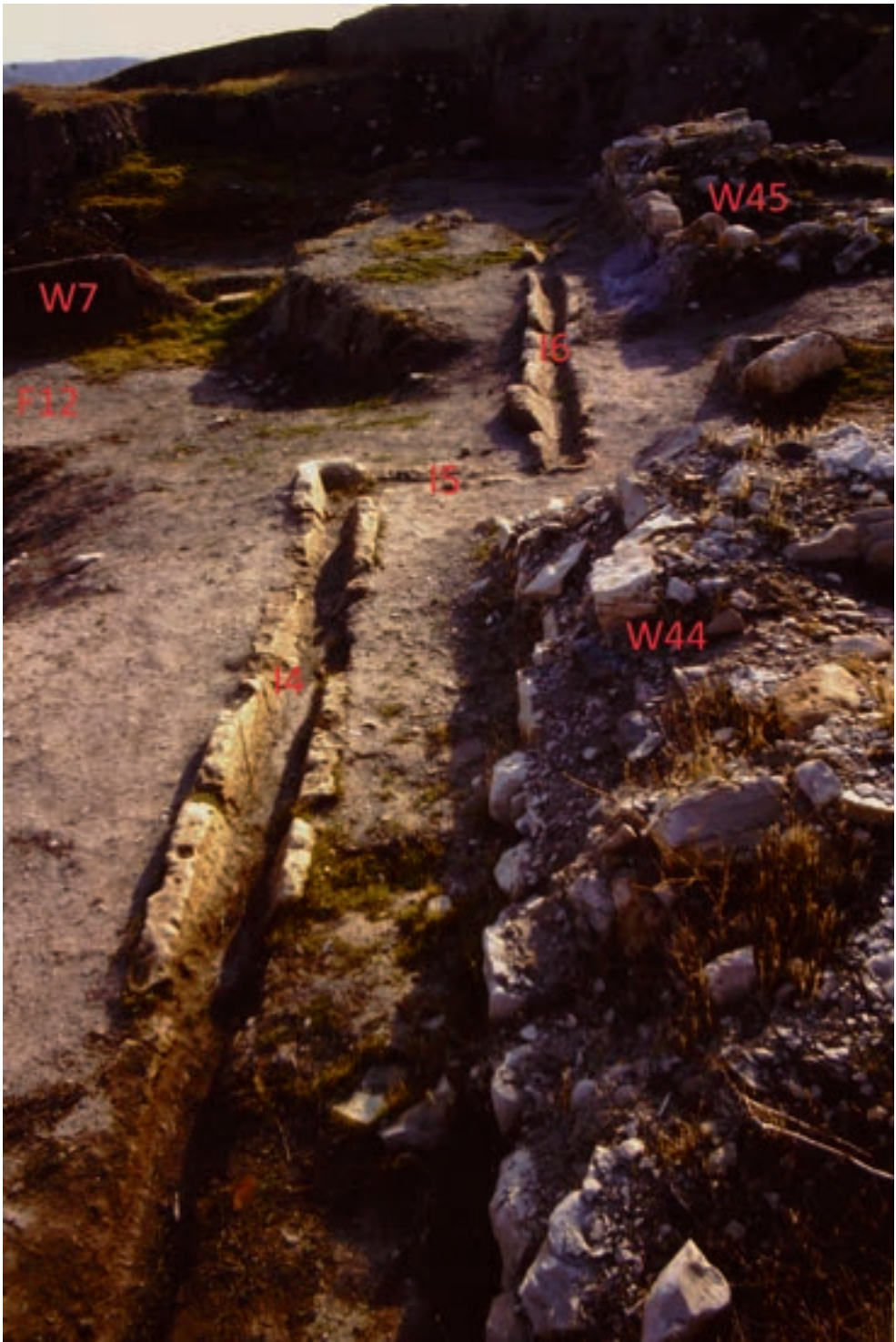


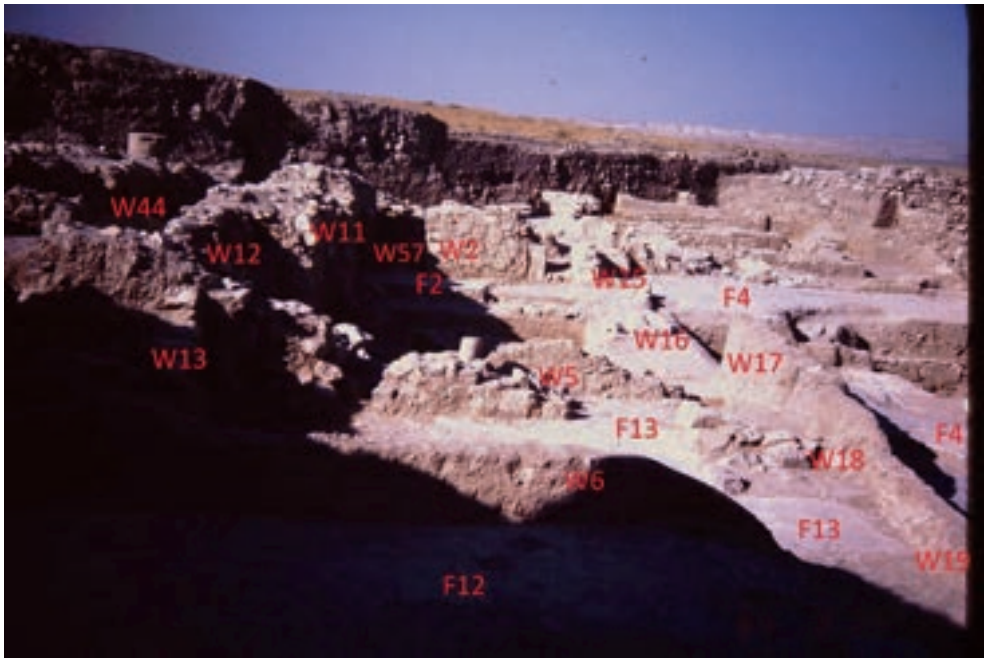
XXX – towards the NW













XXXVI – towards the SW

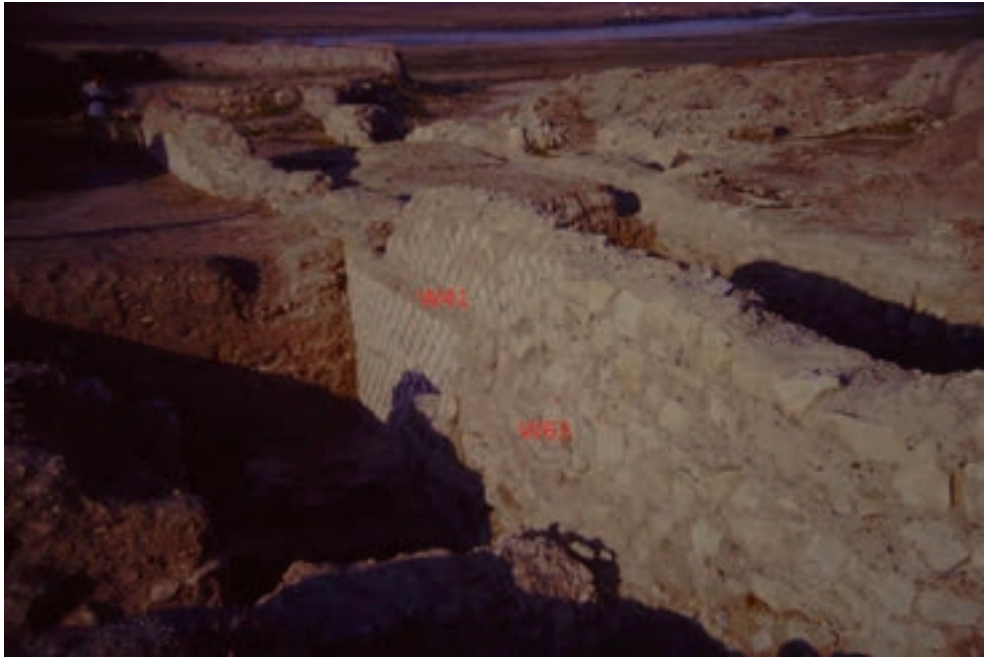


XXXVII – towards the NW





XXXIX – towards the S



XL – towards the NNE



XLI – towards the N







XLIV – towards the NW









XLVIII – *towards the SW*



XLIX – towards the S



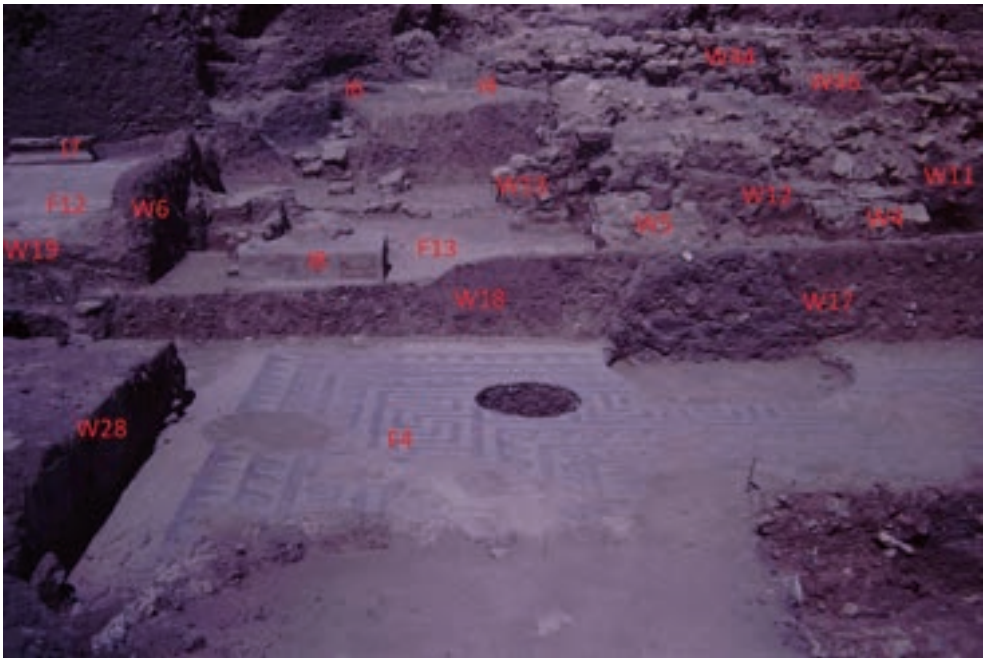
L – towards the SSW



LI - towards the SW



LII – towards the WNW







LV – towards the SE





LVII – towards the NW



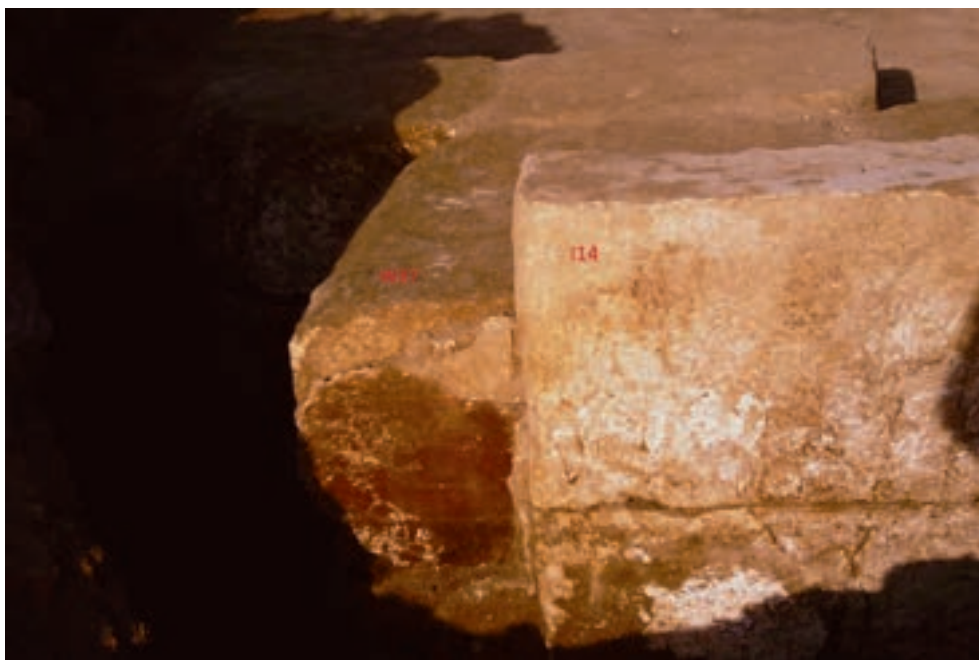
LVIII – *towards the N*



LX – towards the N



LXI – towards the WNW



LXII – towards the SSW



LXIII – towards the NW



LXIV – towards the NE



LXV – towards the NW



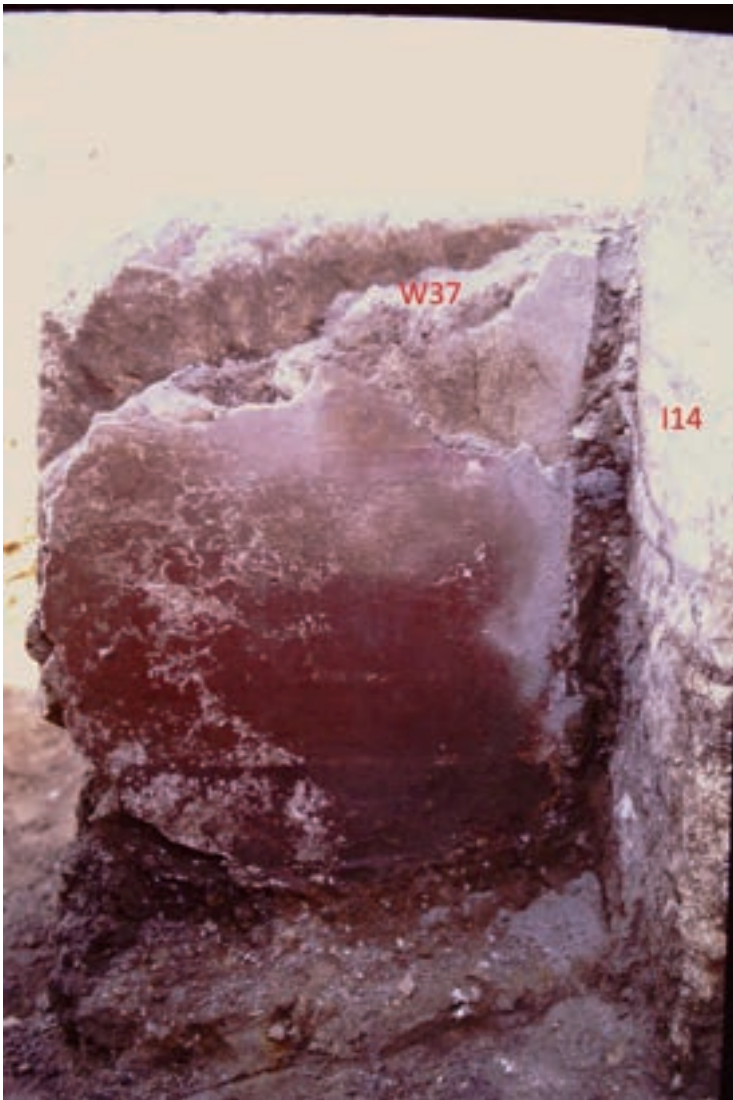
LXVI – towards the NNE





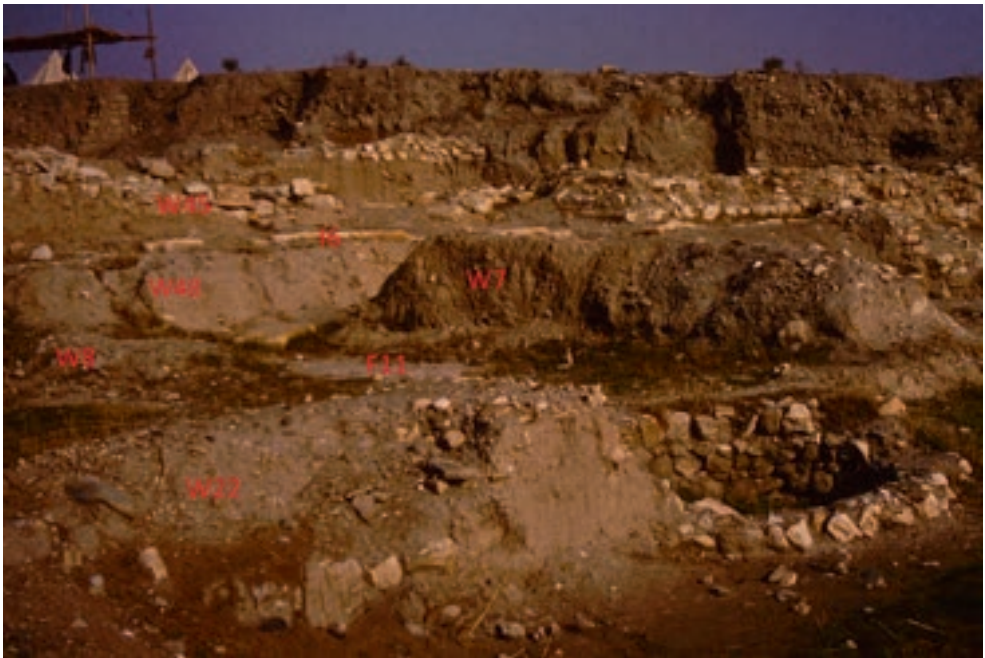


LXX – towards the NW







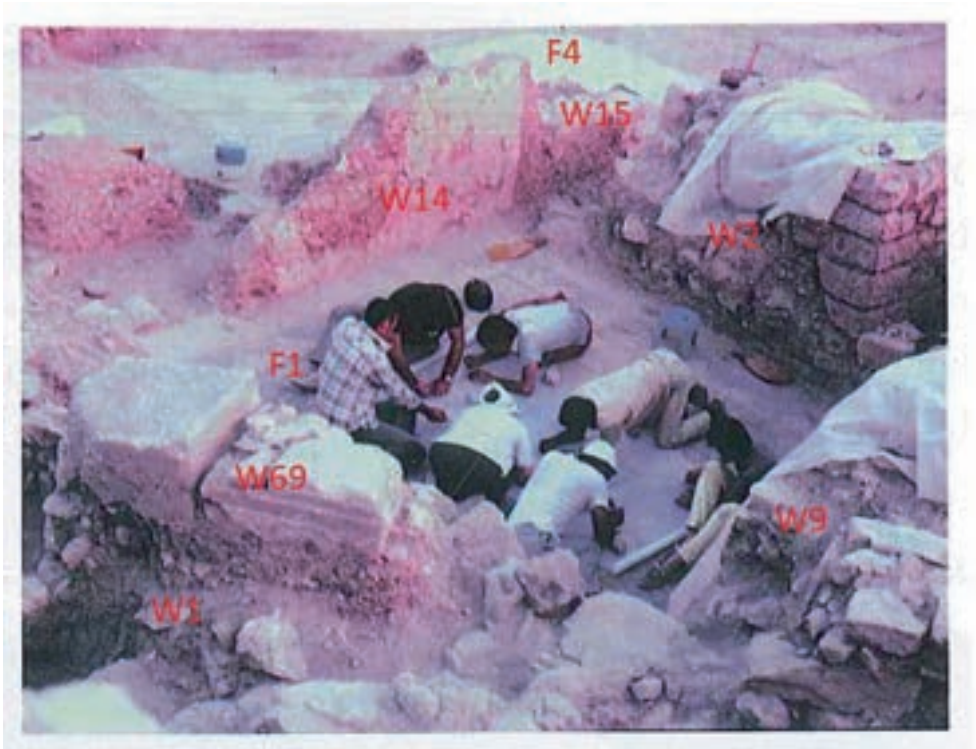


LXXIX – towards the N



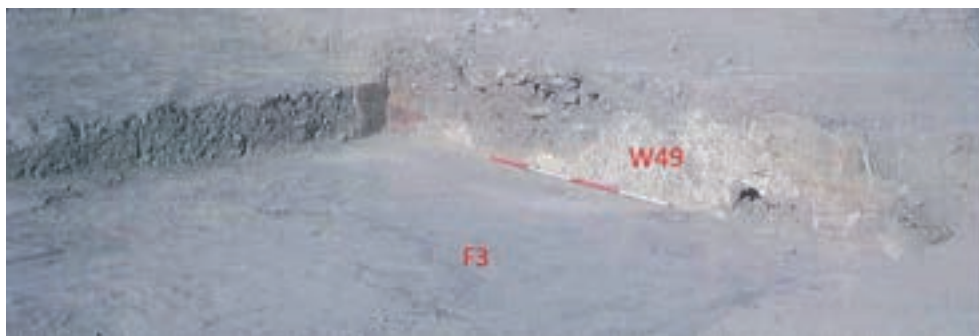








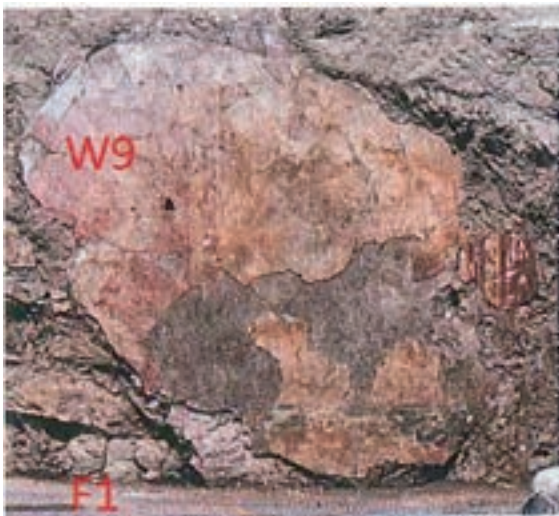
LXXXV – towards the W





LXXXVII – towards the SW





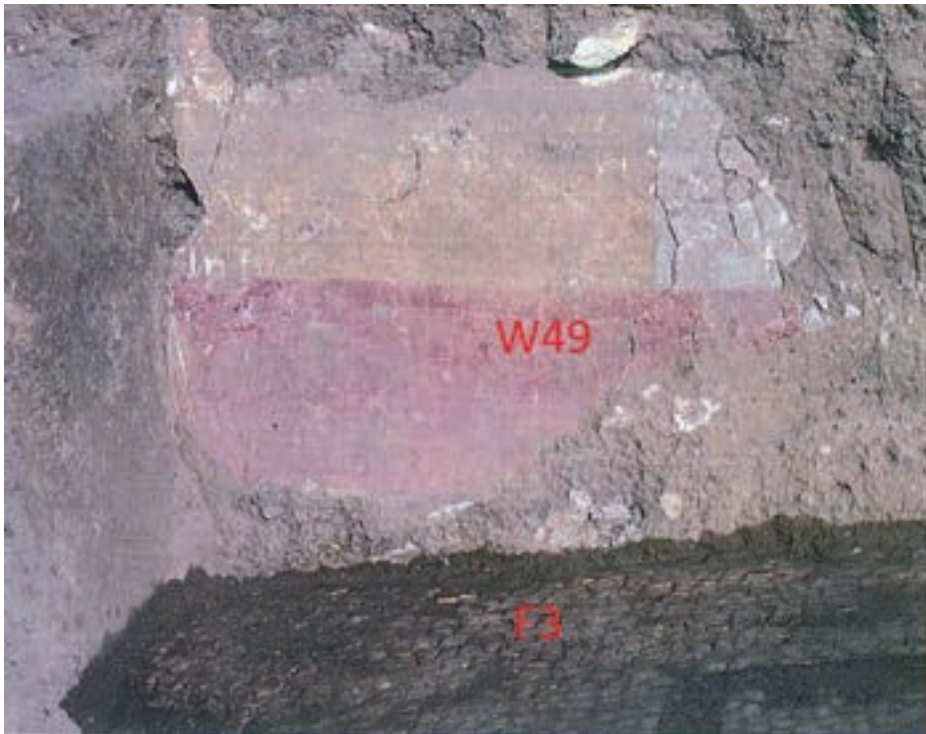
LXXXIX – towards the NW



XC – towards the NW



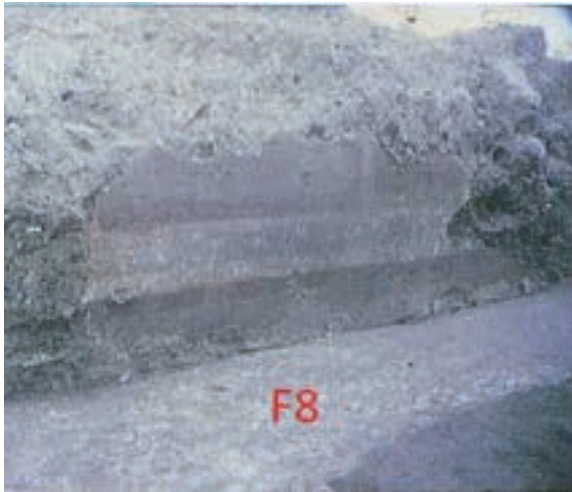
XCI – towards the NW



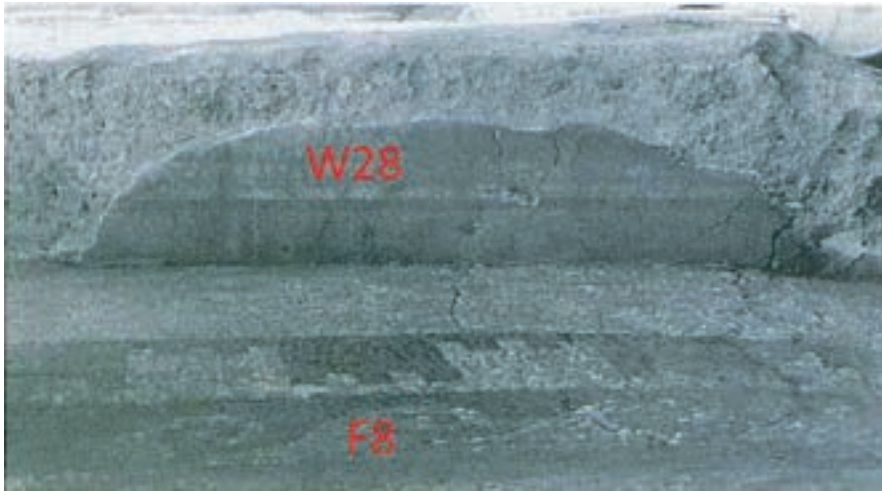
XCH – orientation unclear



XCIII – orientation unclear



XCIV – towards the NE



XCV – orientation unclear



XCVI – towards the S



XCVII – *towards the SW*



XCVIII – towards the SW



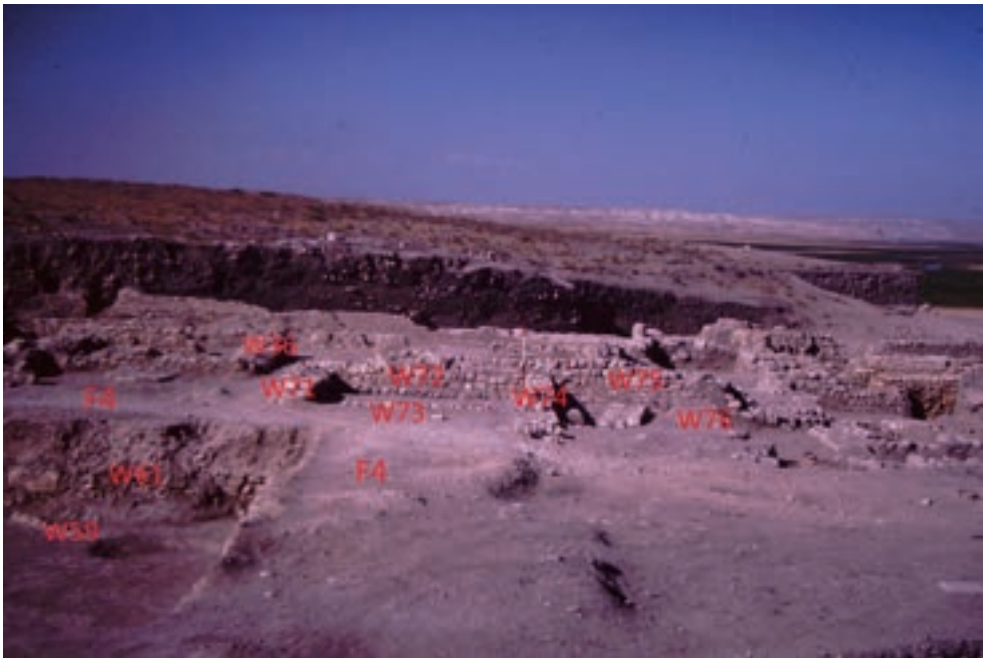
XCIX – towards the SE



C – towards the SW

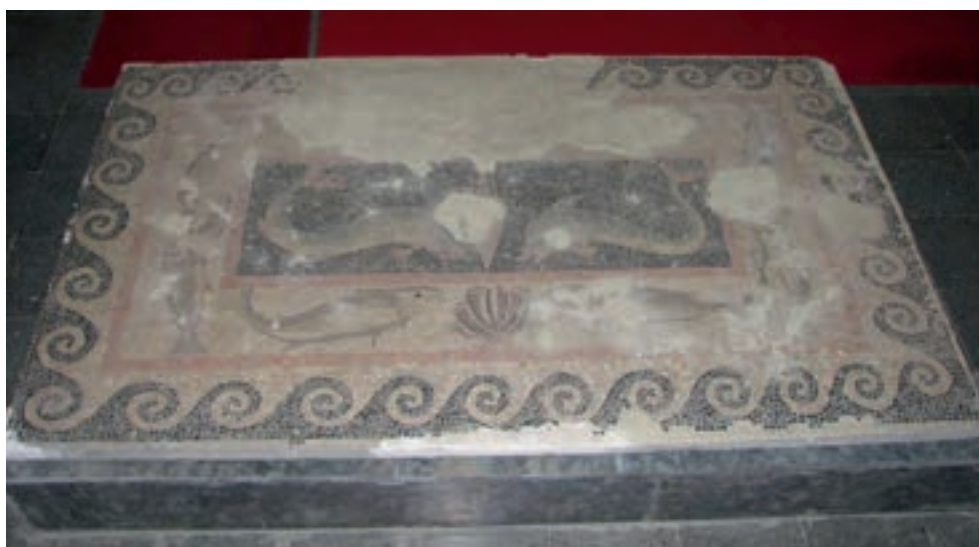


CI – towards the NE





CIII – mosaic *F1*





CV mosaic F1









CIX – mosaic F1



CX – mosaic F1



CXI – mosaic F1



CXII – mosaic *F1*



CXIII - mosaic F1



CXIV – mosaic F1



CXV – mosaic *F1*



CXVI – mosaic F1













CXXII – orientation unclear



CXXIII – *mosaic F8*

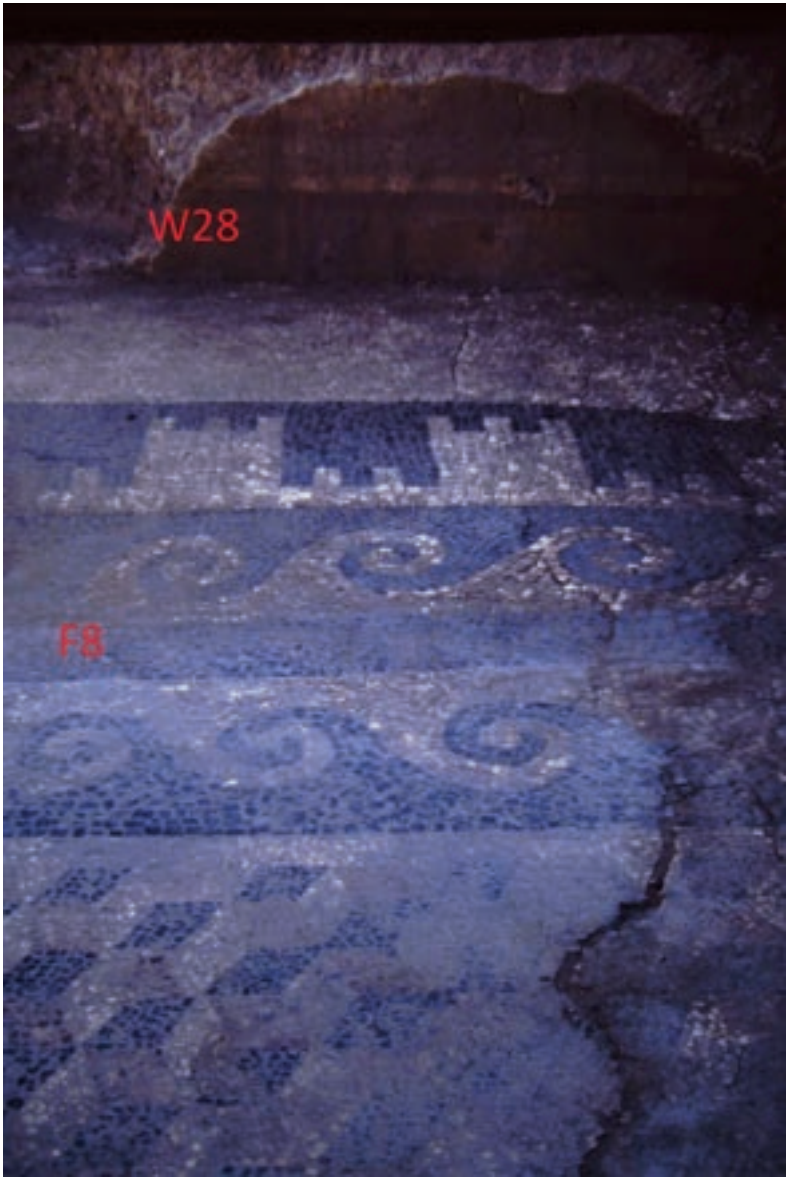




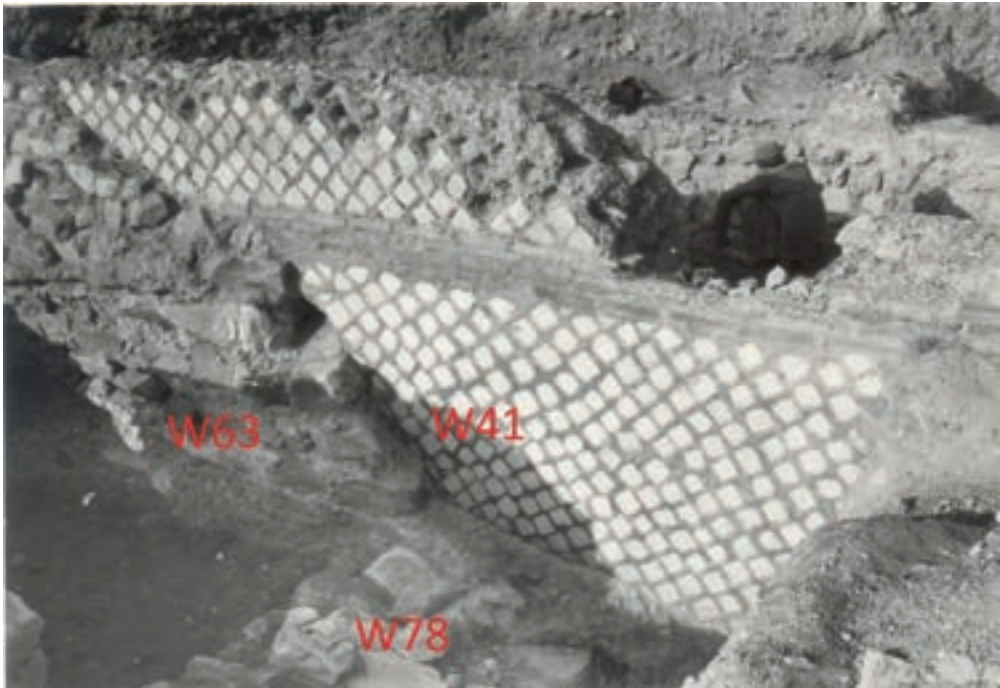
CXXV – orientation unclear

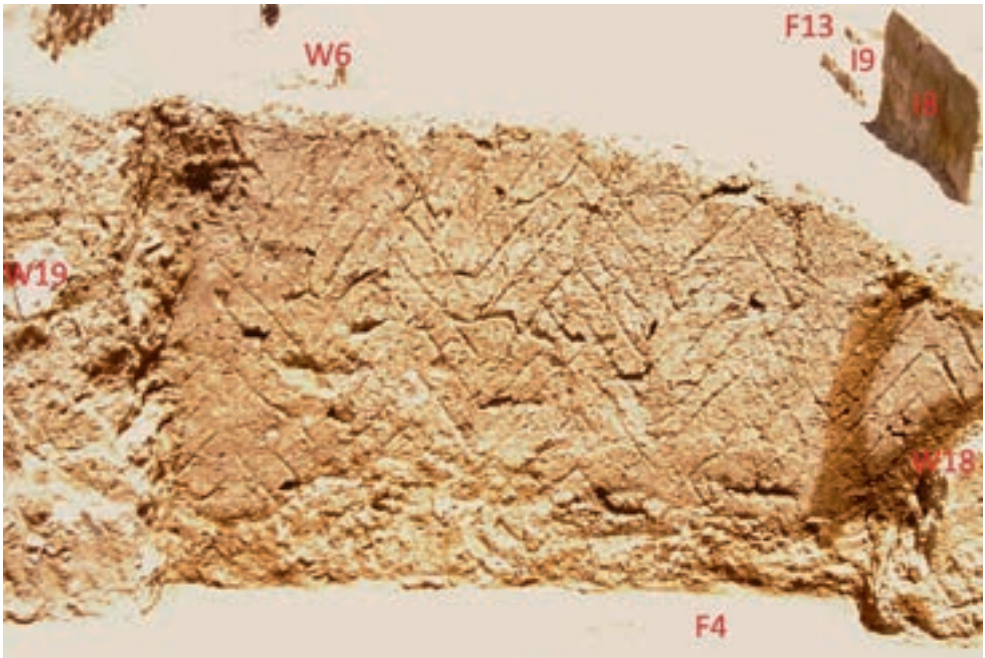


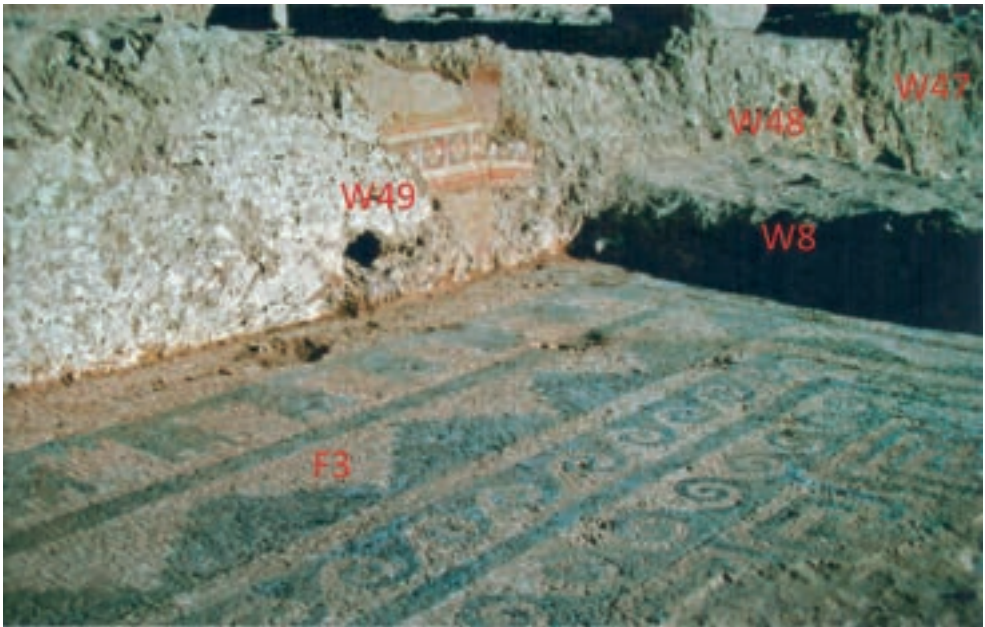
CXXVI – towards the NE











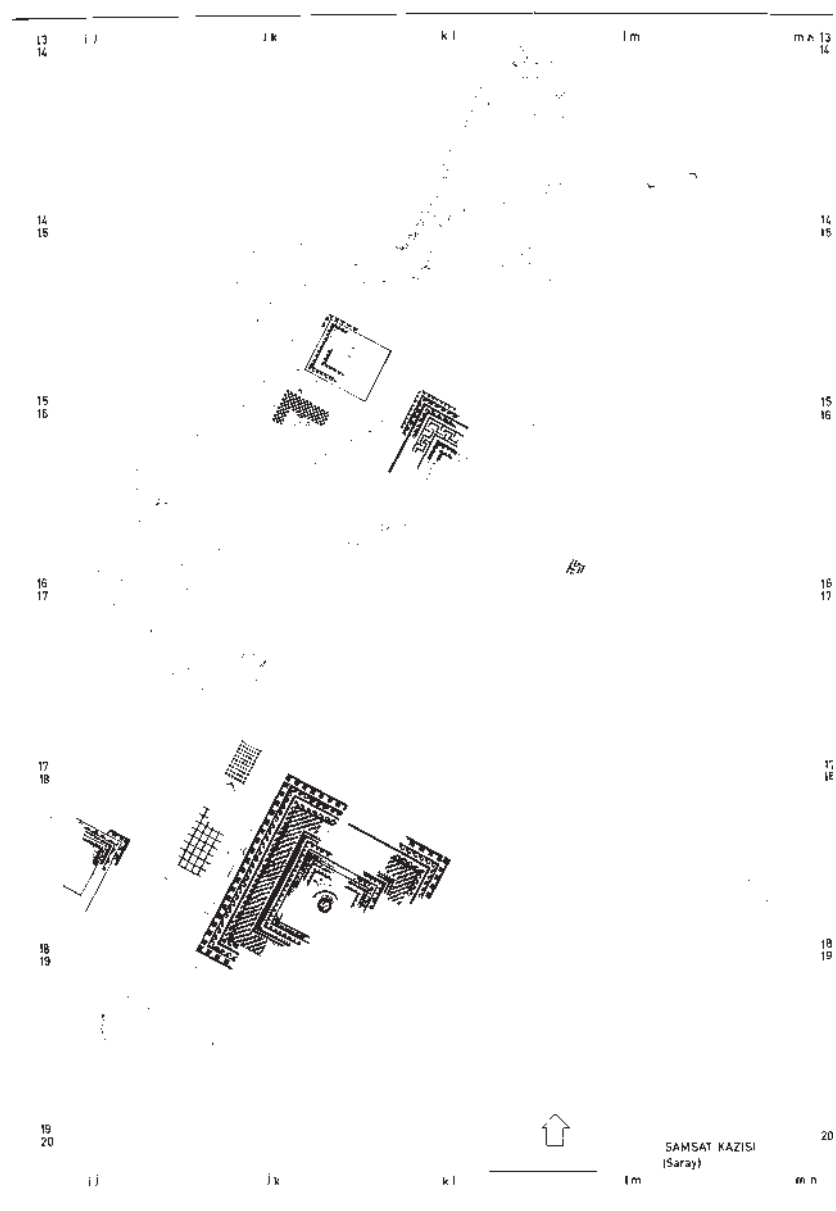


Appendix B - Maps and sketches (From the Özgüç Archive).

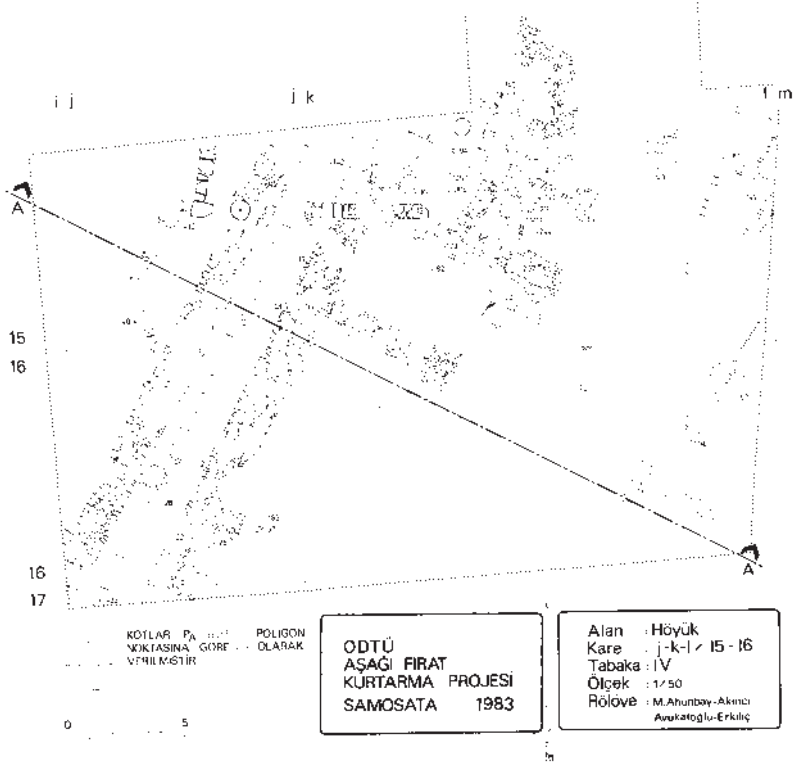
B1 Map showing the topography of Samosata. Source: Goell 1974, 86-87, fig. 2.



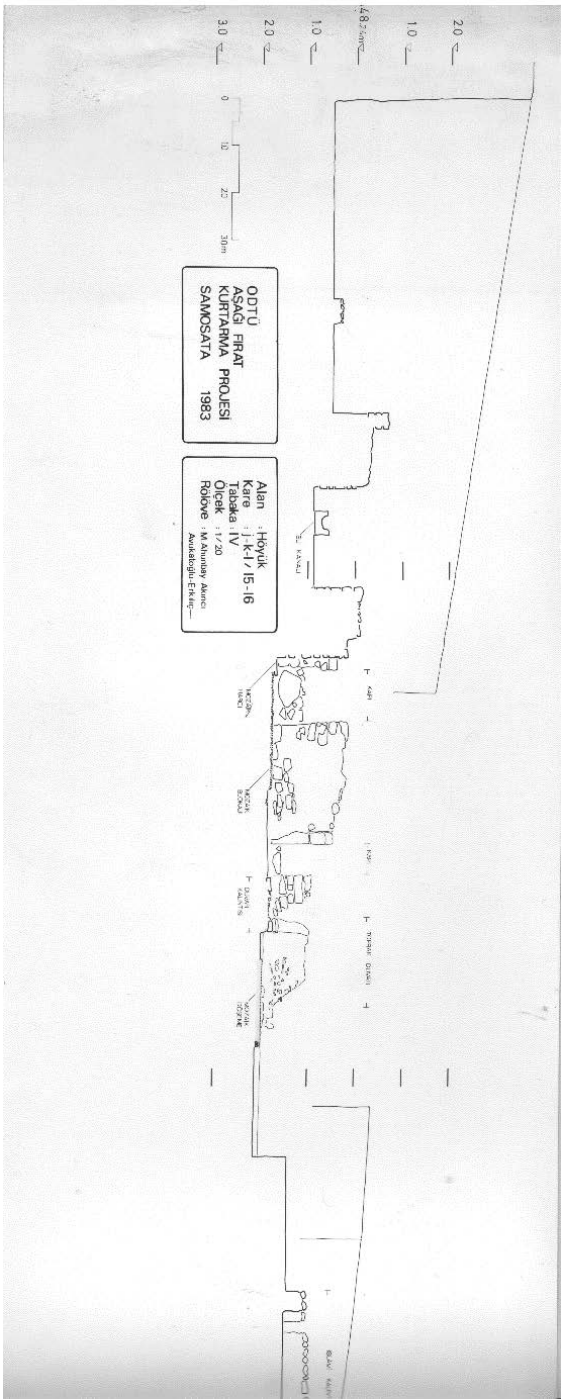
B2 Map of the palace, sector i-m/14-19.



B3 Map of section j-l/15-16.



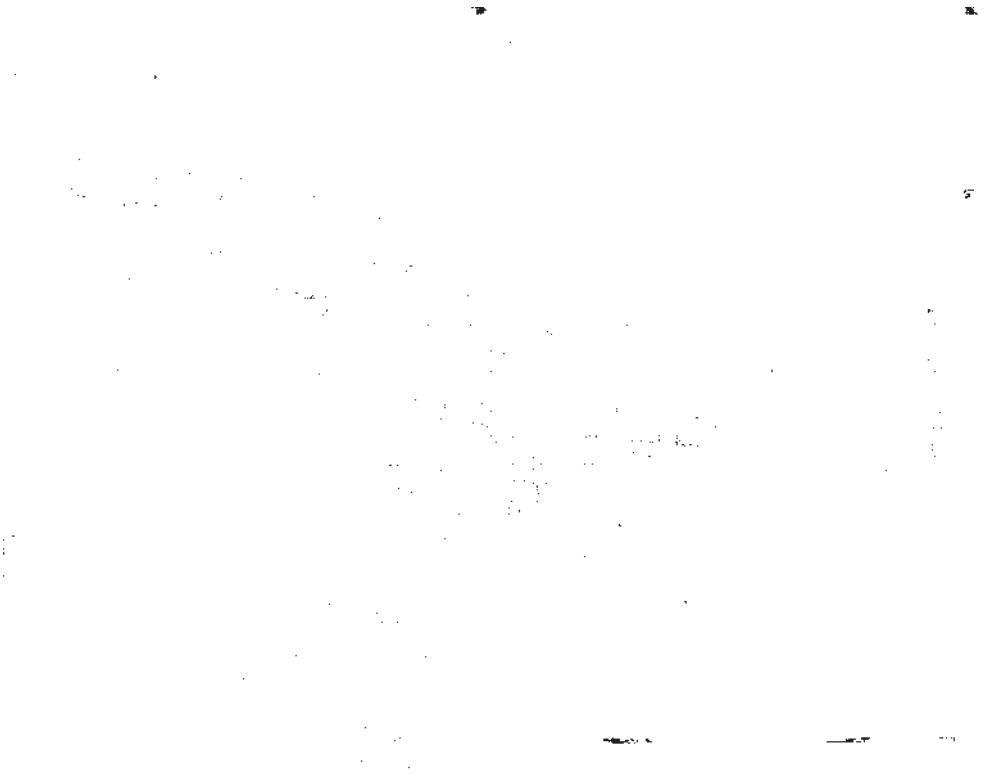
B4 Section of the palace (j-l/15-16, layer IV).



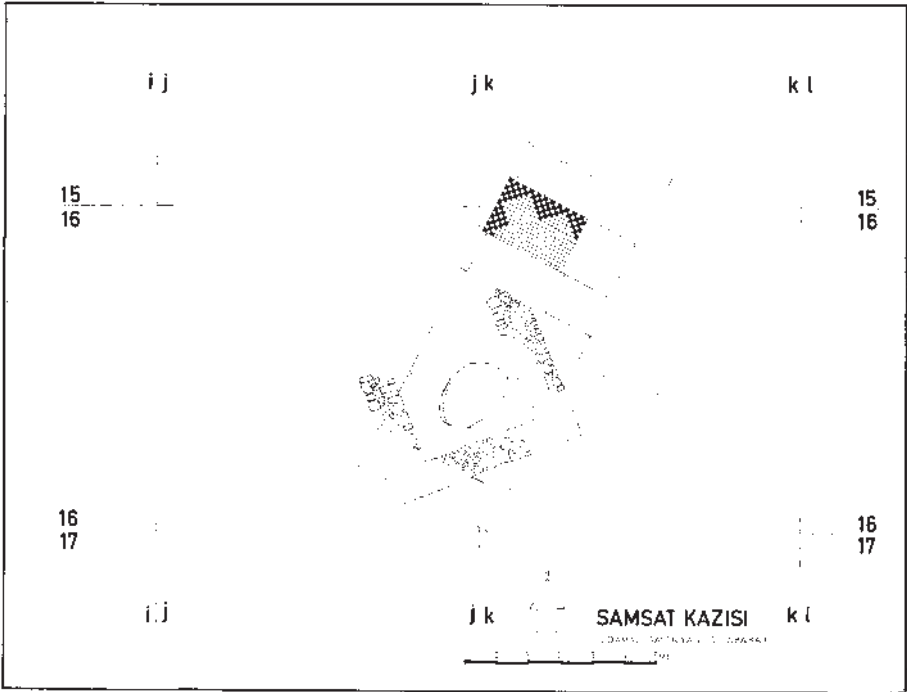
B5 Field drawing of sector j-k/16.



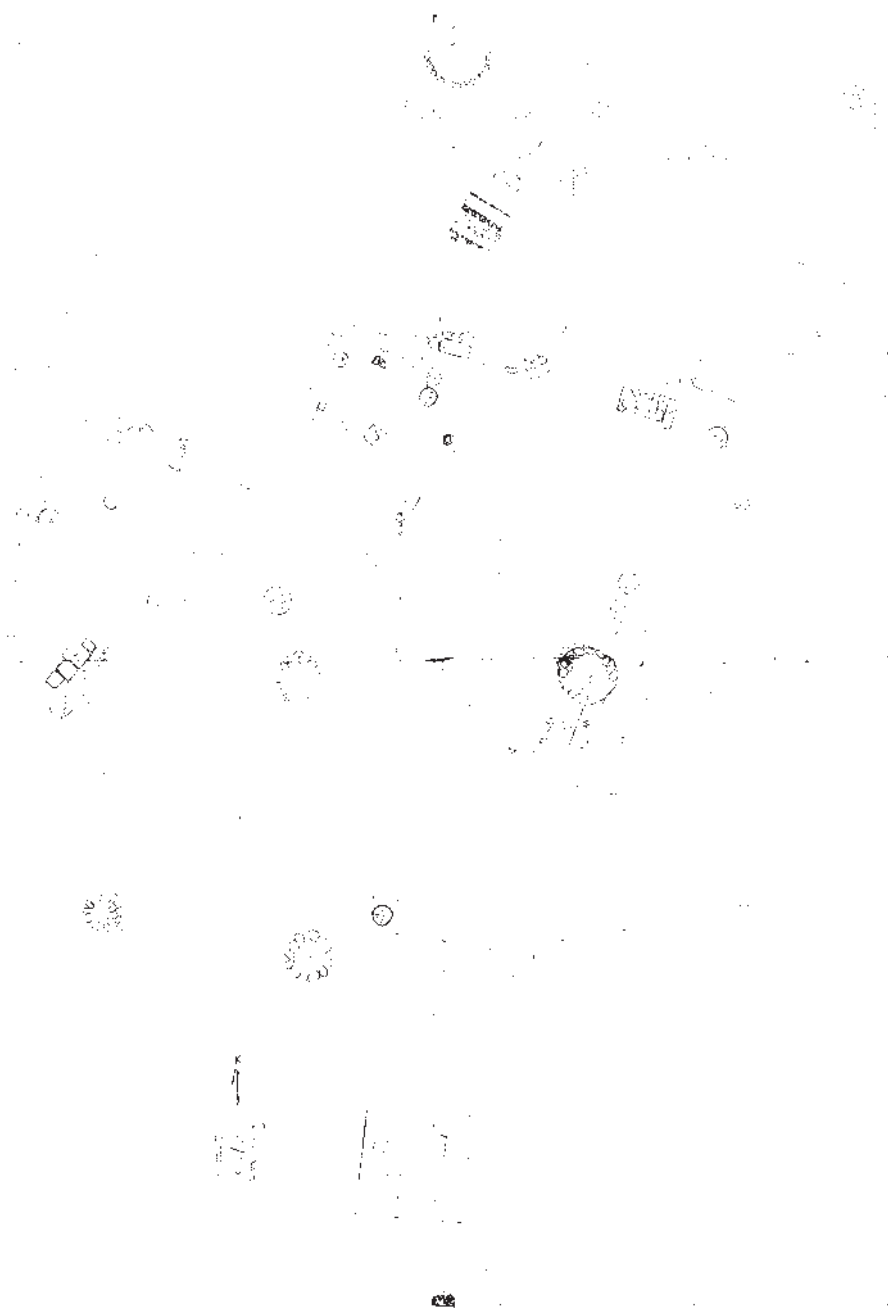
B6 Field drawing of sector i-m/14-17.



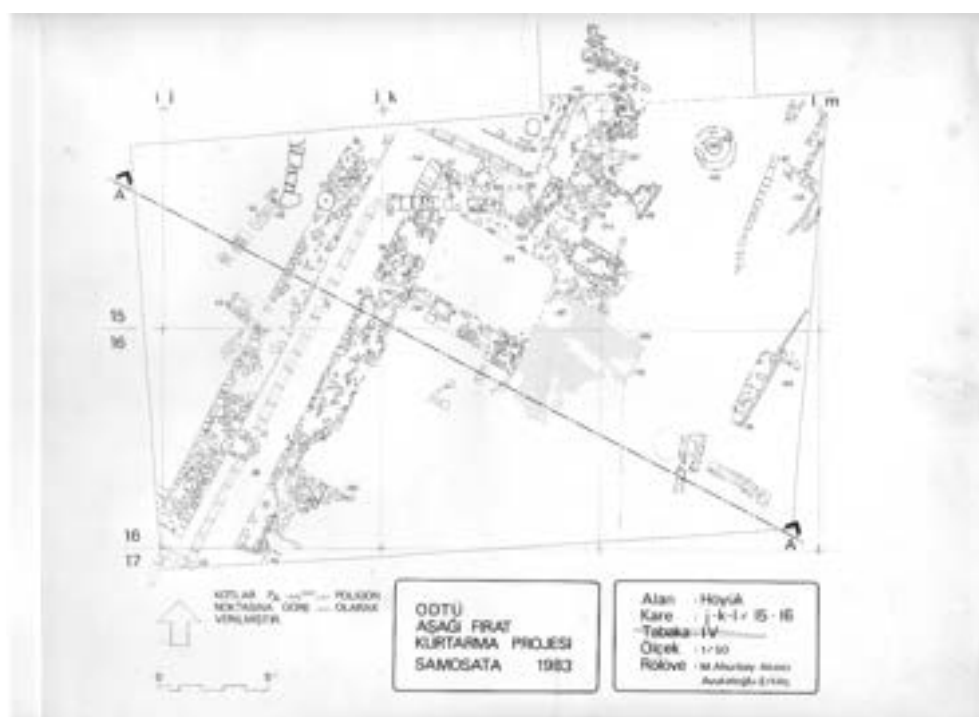
B7 Map of sector j-k/16.

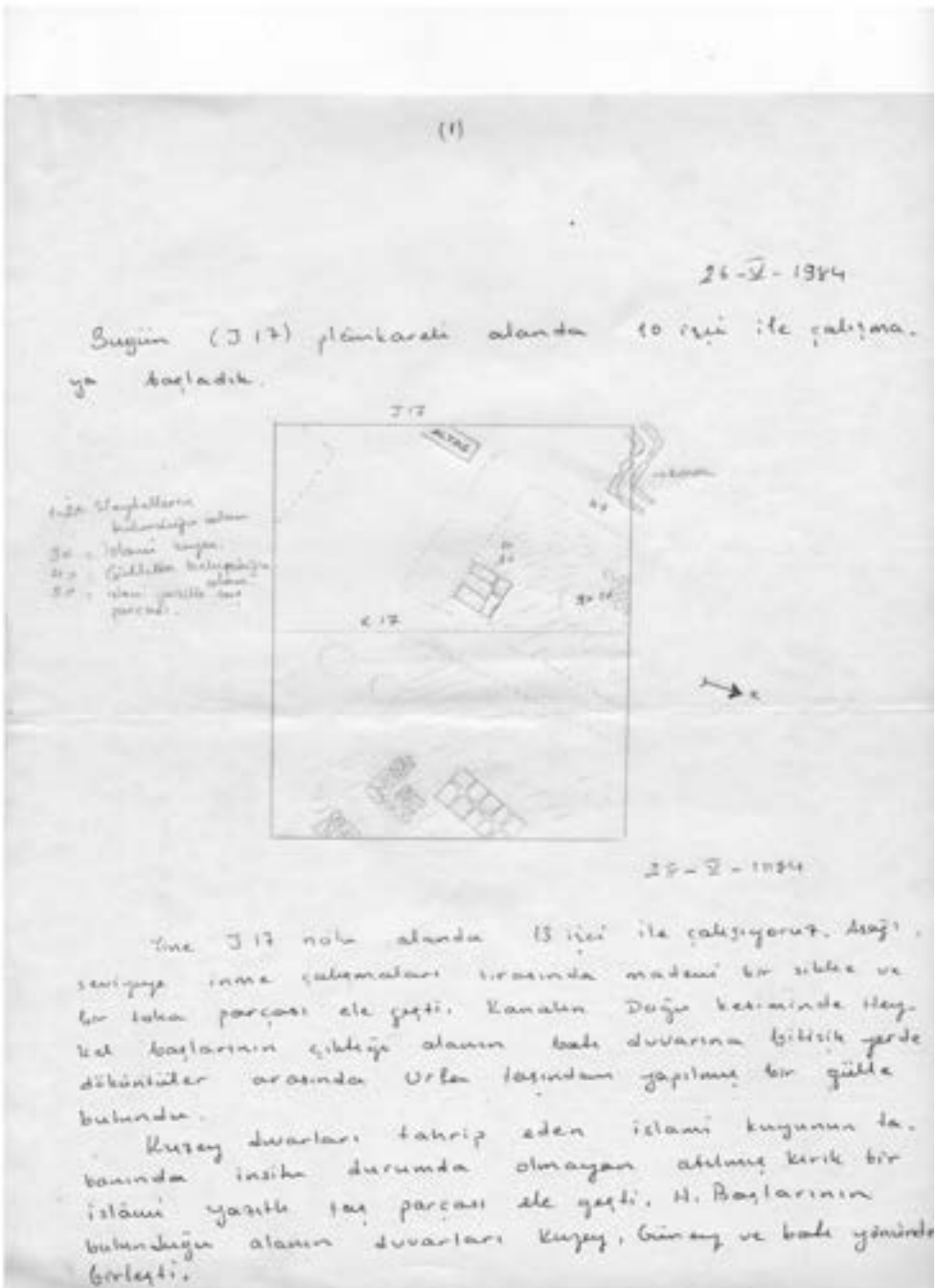


B8 Sketch of sector s/10-11.

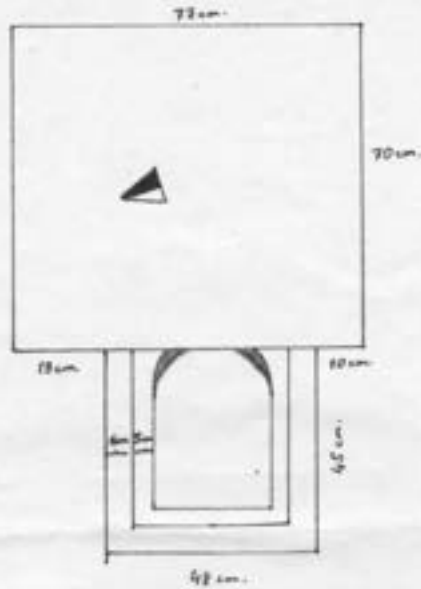


B9 Map of sector j-l/15-16.





(3)



3/17 KAT 32.
TAÇ SIVAZI.

1/10

3/17 nolu planda dağlık bağlarının hemen
yanından bir sunak açığı çıkarıldı ve bu odanın
tabanına inildi. Bu alandan tek tek terra cotta par-
çaları bulundu.

29.12.1984.

Bugün Kase alanını aynı planda dağlık
yönünde ~ 5 m. genişlettik. Ayrıca daha önce senelerde
açığı çıkarılan Altarın tabanını ve Duvar fresklerinin
yerini temizledik. Altarlı odada mozaiklerin varlı-
ğını tespit ettik. Ancak mozaik desenini sadece
tabanının çakıl parçalarını temizleyebildik.

Daha sonra 2/17 planına doğru genişliyoruz.

31.12.1984

Bugün J/12 ve K/12 nolu plankarelerde çalışıldı. J/12 nolu alanda sunaklı ve Altarlı odaların güneybatı yönüne bakan bağlantıları temizlendi. Ayrıca K/12 nolu alanda çizimleri yapılan islami kat duvarları kaldırıldı. Temizlik sırasında bu alandan küçük biçimdeki bir kap ve yastık, küçük bir vazo parçası ele geçti.

1-III - 1984

Bugün J/12 ve K/12 plankarelerinde çalışıldı. J/12 nolu alandan kuyunun bulunduğu kesimden bir kemik aldat çıktı. Ayrıca J ve K/12 nolu alanların kesiştiği kısımda kuyuya benzeyen taş yüzlerinin ortasından bir sikkeler çıktı. Ayrıca bu kesimde sık sık demir yüzeyleri çıkıyor!

J ve K/12 nolu alanların kesiştiği noktada Güneydoğu kesimde bir üst tabakanın kuyularının tabanında mozaik sırasına rastladık. Birbirine paralel kare sıralarının sehit oluşturduğu mozaik her iki tarafta fresklerle sınırlı bir koridor oluşturmakta.

16-21, IV, 1984

Bu Tarihler arasında yapılan çalışmaların Kimiyosinin çalıştığı K/12 nolu alanda 2. tabaka duvarları çizilip kaldırıldı. Bu alanlar islami tabakalarla kaplı fakat düzgün bir plan veren yapılar yok, sadece K/12 nolu alanda Güneydoğu yönüne utanan

(4)

ve batıda kapanan odalar var. Bu alandaki kuyulardan (II-Kat) islami sikkeler ıkkte Roma ve Bizans devrine ait olanlar alt seviyede karışık çıkmaktadır. K/17 nolu plankare'de yığınca kısmında bulunan kuyudan bronz mobilya süraşığı (kanatlı kartal şeklinde) çıktı. Bu katlarda yığının bulunduğu kısmında İslami kandil (Yeşil Sırtı) ele geçti. Daha sonra K/17 nolu plankarenin batı kesiminde çalışıldı. Burada III. katın altına mozaikli alana inmeye başlandı.

22. IV - 1984

Bugün J/K 17 nolu alanın keşitği kısımdan doğuya doğru devam eden mozaik sırasını bulduk. Mozaikler Mülhün güney batı kenarını oluşturmakta mozaikler islami katların kuyularıyla yer yer tahrip olmuş. Seramik karışık çıkmakta.

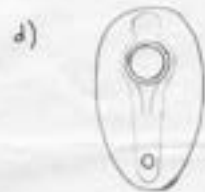
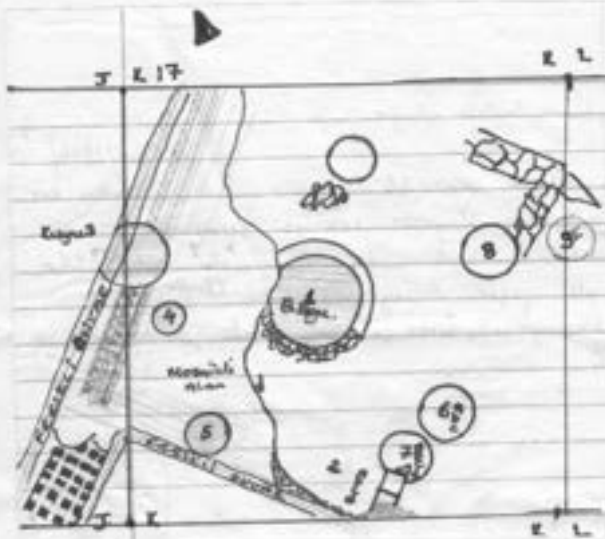
23. VI - 1984

Bugün K/17 nolu alanın batı kesiminde sarayın avlusuna ait mozaikler açılmaya başladı. Mozaik alanı kuyularla yer yer tahrip olmuş Ortadaki büyük kuyu açılarak boşaltıldı kuyunun bir kısmı sert topraktan oluşmakta güney kısmında ise kaymayı önlemek için taş blokaj yapılmış Mozaikli alandaki motifler dıştan içe sırasıyla BORDÜ, TESTEE DİŞİ, DALGA MOTİFİ, ŞERİT, DALGA MOTİFİ, MEANDER, DALGA MOTİFİ, ŞERİT, DALGA MOTİFİ, ŞERİT ve TESTEE DİŞİ. İç kısımlar Tahrip edilmiş. Mozaiklerin üzerinden basen fresh parçaları nadiren de Terra Siculata parçaları çıkıyor.

(5)

25 VI 1934

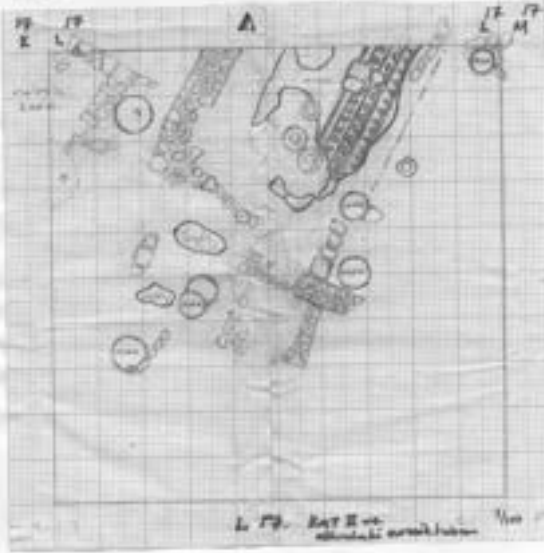
Buğur mazarlık avlusu geri kalan kısmını temis.
Hıyırca. Tevriye siraında mazarlık tabanı üstünden
ile sikkeler geldi. Güney'de ki kuyudan bir yüzük,
bir sikkeler ve bir tırnak silindiri parçası 2(a) ile geldi



- 1 a) Tumbuhan Guludan perawan
b) Yutuh
c) Sike
b a) Idam, Sast, Igetai
b) Anyajah (2 menit)
c) Zilaka
7 a) Mitridakula's mit Zilaka

(6)

Burada cıkm seramik islami dineme ait. Sert kesimde ki taştı kesimden terra siütada parçaları bol miktarda çıktı bu alanda ayrıca freskler ele geçmekte. Doğuya L/17 nolu kesime geçtiğimizde II. kat islami taban altında yer yer mozaik dişelerinin devam ettiğini görüyoruz.



Mozaiik Adu bu kesimde sona eriyor. Etaklar 20.40cm X 14.75 cm. dolayında

K/16 ve 17 nolu plan karelerin kesitigi nok. tada yanında helle-nistik buluntu veren bir demir yijini acil-maya atılandı.

3.VII 934

Bugün K/L/M 17

nolu alanlarda ca.

İsıyorus K alanında mozaik kesimden siütada parçaları rınca yanı sıra fresk parçaları da ele geçiyor. L alanın. da mozağının doğu kesimi temislendi yine taban u. zerinde siütatalar ele geçiyor M plan karesinde I. kat islami mimari hemen hemen yok bu alanda yüzeyde 3 adet sikk ve bir yüzük ele geçti (ince boyan yüzüğü yine K ve L alanlarının birleştiği kesimden bir istif attığı (islami) ele geçti.

Bu tarihler arasında yapılan çalışmalarda M/17 plankareli alanda çalışıldı. Bu alanda yapılan çalışmalarda İslami mimarinin motif tabanı seviyesinin altına indiğini gördük. M/15 plankare'de aşağı çıkan birim parateli M/17'de de görüldü. Bu alanda güney doğuya doğru alcağığundan mimari alanda tahrifat büyük M/17 den güneyden ibi İslami sikkeler, bir kemer tokası ve baltık (çift) var. Ayrıca bir delikli miç ve kaba miçlerle ucu ele geçti. Aynı plankare'de daha çok İslami seramik parçaları ele geçiyor. M/16 plankarenin doğu kısmında ikinci katın duvarlarına benzeyen fakat daha kalın bir duvarın temizliğine bağlandı.

9.VII-1984

M/17 nolu plankare'de satırlar ~ 45 cm. aralıktan bir ARCHAİUS sikkeleri bulundu. Sikkede hemen hemen hiç bir tahrifat yok. Geç Roma veya Bizans dönemine ait. Bir yüzde imparatorun portresi, diğer yüzde elinde miç ve yerde bir adam temsil edilmiş. Bu alandan yavaş yavaş İslam seramikleri çıkıyor. Ayrıca bugün L/17 plankare'de bulunan motiflerin üzerindeki mimari duvarlar kaldırılıp temizlendi. Adu ortasında ki motif bugün temizlenmeye bağlandı. L/16 plankare'den bir Akantus mimari eleman parçası çıktı. Ayrıca motifin üzerindeki küpleri temizlerken L/17 plankareli alanda bulunan küp içersinde cam bardak parçaları ele geçti.



(8)

L/12 ve 16 nolu alanlarda ki yığmı temizlerken I. ve II. yy. ait seramik parçalarıyla birlikte fresh parçaları da ele geçiyor. M/17 nolu alanın doğu kesiminden islami bir kapak parçası ele geçti. Üteri mühtür sırasıyla bezeli,

10. VII. 1984

Bugün M/12 plankareli alanın doğu kesiminin tesviyesi yapıldı. ~ 50cm. derinliğe kadar bir mimari plan çıkmadı. Ancak alanın ortasında düşemeğe benzer mimari parçalar var. Daha sonra M/12 nolu alanın batısına kaydık. L/17 nolu alanın temizliği sırasında II. kata ait bir sikke ele geçti. K/L 17 nolu alanlarda ki molozlu yığmı mozaiik düşemesi seviyesine indirildi. Ayrıca II. kata ait düşeme üzerindeki bazı küpler kaldırıldı. M/17 nolu alanın yüzey toprağından genellikle islami seramik parçaları ele geçiyor. L/17 nolu alanın doğu kesimi ve M/17 nolu alanın L/17 ile kesiştiğı alanda sayıları 7 den fazla bir arada taneler çıktı. Bazılarının üzerinde bir üst (I. katın) binalarının temellerinin oturduğunu görüyoruz. Bu alan simitlik seramik açısından zengin değıl.

11-12. VII. 1984

Bu tarihlerde Adıyaman mütesinde bulunan mozaiikler; Hasan Bayle kalepladık.

Bugün yapılan çalışmalar da K/18 nolu alanda temistige başlandı. 10/10 m.lik alandan en üst sathıtan üzerinde şu istirdige fosile bulunan bir taş. 2. kattan bir mizrah ucu bir çivi ele geçti. Ayrıca K/17 nolu alanda yapılan temistlik çalışmalarında alanın güney doğusundan tander içinden iki sikke çıktı. Etrafından bir yurük ve bol miktarda cam parçaları ele geçiyor. K/18 nolu alanda batı kesimde sathıtan ~ 50 cm. aşağıda temeller ortaya çıkmaya başladı. Bu alanda bol miktarda sırlı parçalar ortaya çıkıyor. Üstüne ağırlıkta çiviler bol miktarda. Güney batı kesimde I. katın mimarisi yavaşça çok yakın.

25. VII - 1984

Bu tarihe kadar evde seramik çizimleri yapıldı. Daha sonra K/18 nolu alanda I. kat duvarları kaldırıldı. Bu alanda derinleştiriyoruz. İslami seramik çok az. Buluntular arasında 4 sikke ve çeşitli demir uklar var. Bu alanın batı kesiminde K/18 ile birleşilen kesimde bir fresk parçası geldi. Sarıya ait olmalı. Saray avlusunun bir köşesi K/18 nolu alana giriyor fakat islami fatihadlar neticesi hiçbir iz ele geçmedi. Güney köşesinde bir ucu duvarın bağlı bir kanat asığa çıkarıldı. Bu kanat çevresinden bir adet otla iğnesi çıktı. K/18 nolu alanda güney-batıda

II. kata ait bir kanat çıktı. Kanatın her iki yanını çok sert çalutla düzenmiş. Bu kısmın daha alt seviyeye inmek için kaldırıldı.

26. VII. 1964

Bugün 4/16 nolu alanın güney-batısında çalışıyoruz. En köşede II. kata ait bir mimari ve ortasında bir tandır çıktı. Henüz kesin bir plan yok. Bu alanda üst katın yığıntı molozlarını temizlerken sağlam bir islami testicek ele geçti. Ayrıca en kuzeyde modern bir çivi ele geçti.



27.28. VII. 1964

Bu tarihlerde yapılan çalışmalarda 3/17 nolu alanda çalışıldı. Aşağıdaki kanala takip etme amacıyla yapılan ~2 m. genişlik ~7 m. uzunlukta ki alanda I. kata ait duvarların iyi vasıfette korunmuş durumda bulunmasıyla çalışma yarım bırakıldı. Bu alandan bir kemik çığır dolen, bol miktarda çivi, ok ucu, nal ve bir bıçak ayrıca II. kata ait tüsterler çıktı.



I 17 I. kat mimarisi

Bu tarihten itibaren Sarayda Orta avlunun içerisinde L/16-17 ve K/16-17 nolu alanlarda çalışmaya başladık. Bu alan ~ 14 e 8 m. ebatlarında dikdörtgen bir çölü arz ediyor. Bu alan çok sayıda kuyu ile tahrip olmuş. Kuyuların çoğunluğu islami II. kafa ait. ~ 35 cm kadar derinlettik. Çok sayıda fresk ve caddi kiremidi parçaları gelmekte. Ayrıca formları değişik sicilatalar ve Geç Hellenistik seramiği devam etmekte. Ayrıca bu alanda ufak bloklar halinde mozaik parçaları bulunmakta. Sicilatalar Erken döneme (m.ö 3. yy'a) ait. K/17 nolu alanda aynen islami kuyudan bir adet sikkü çıktı.

9-VIII-884

Bu tarihe kadar yapılan çalışmalar Levant delherine not etti ilavesi çalışmalarını özetleyecek olursak mozaikli avlunun tam ortasına düşen sahada $\sim 1,5$ m. derinleştirildi. Çalınan alanın ebatları kesin rakamlarla $13,10 \times 6,90$ cm. ~ 1 m derinlikle aynayla aynı paralellikte II. kafa ait duvarlar ortaya çıkarıldı. Bu seviyeye kadar yapılan çalışmalarda K/17/16, L/17/16 nolu alanlarda genellikle kuyular temizlendi ve tabanlarına inildi. Kuyu dışında kültür toprağında bu seviyeye kadar gelen malzeme genellikle terrasicilata. L/17 nolu alandan ilk defa 10 nolu form tipi ortaya çıktı.



form 10.

Ayrıca ortası bitti bekkli

form 23 ve ortası yarıklı tiplerde yine mozaik seviyesinin hemen altında gözüktü. Ayrıca kuyuların içinden dikinti freskleri ve yarıktan ufak mozaik parçaları ele geçti. Derinleşme sırasında bir yılan başı ve bir fibula çıktı. Küçük toprağından hiç sikkeler geçirilemedi. Daha sonra alanın K/17 ve L/17 nolu plänkarelerinde bir plan vermeyen duvarlar ortaya çıktı. Bu duvarlarla birlikte bol miktarda balık tabakları ortaya çıkmaya başladı. Bunlar halka kaideli ve ortaları genellikle oyuk. Aynı seviyede siyahimsi ve kırmızımsı Hellenistik devir seramiği gözüktü. Bunlar Levant Bayırı değişimle M. Ö. II. yy'a ait. Böylelikle II. tabakasının devri ortaya çıkmış oluyor. Daha sonra bu duvarları kaldırdık. (Çizimler Sabri Bayır). Sonraki çalışmalarında L/17 ve 16 nolu alanlardaki kuyularda derinleştirildi. L/17 nolu kuyudan (III kat) İskani devre ait malzeme var. Ayrıca part dinomine ait bir kase malzeme var. III kata ait kuyudaki tiplere örnekler;





pors. seramiği

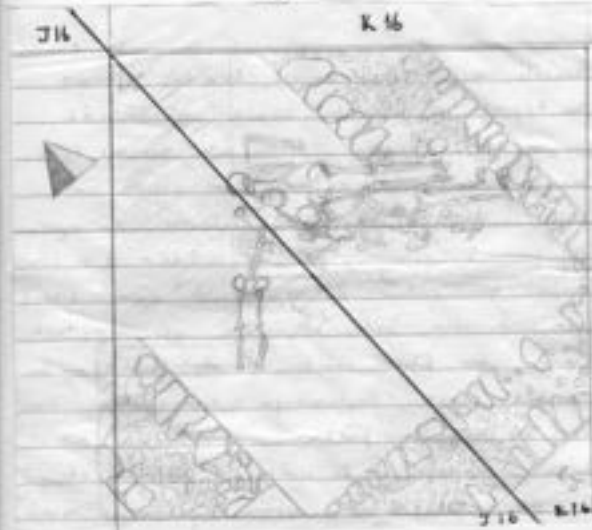


Ayrıca kaba mutfak sera-
mikleri var. Şehilde görüldü-
ğü gibi sıgacı hamurlu kulp
tiplerinde yine III. kademeye ait
kuvvada görülmektedir.

Çalışılan alanda Dikdörtgen şehilde açığa çık-
rılan duvarlar mozaiik motifleriyle (bordürlerle) her ki-
şeden paralellik kuruyor. Bu da bize dikdörtgen duvarla-
rın en azından yukarıdaki mozaiikli mutfak ile bir iliş-
kisi olabileceğini kanıtlıyor. (Şayet bir rastlantı değilse)
Acaba bir havuz mu? Bu görüşü bir noktada çürü-
tücek bir buluntu var. Freskler. Saray fresklerine
nazaran daha kalın ve üzerinde mermer stilini yansı-
tan motifler var. Alanın güney kesiminde ki duvarlar
çift örgü halinde ortaya çıktı. Bazı kışlar kuyular-
dan çürü tahrip olmuş. Alanın kuzey-batı kesimin-
de bu duvarlarla aynı seviyede bir küp
ortaya çıkarıldı. Küpün ağız dışı çelik kenarlı ve
gövdesi küresel formda. Henüz toprak seviyesi bu
küpün gövdesinde. Şu anda çalışmalar seramik toplama
seviyeyi düzleme ve resim çekme amacıyla yavaşladı.
Ayrıca bu alanın batısında 3.60 a. 6m. ebadında
bir çukur daha açıldı. Amaç dikdörtgen duvarın
batı kesiminden genişlikleri hakkında bir fikir sahibi
olmak. Bu alanda çalışılırken izzetli durumda olmayan

(14)

bir heykelin baş kısmının arkasına ait parçalar ele geçti. Nite bu alanda mozaik tabanının altından itibaren duvarlar çıkmaya başladı. Henüz belirli bir plan yok. Dikdörtgen planlı duvarların Doğu kesiminde tam ortada duvara paralel fakat aşağıda kalan ortası oluklu bir blok taş var. Ne olduğu hakkında kesin bir fikir yok.



J/16 ve K/16 nolu alanın kesiştiği noktada kuyuya atılmış vaziyette 4 adet iskelet bulundu bunlardan biri kadın hemen boynunun arkasında 3 adet altın istami sikkeler çıktı. Bu alanda esas kültür toprakından parlak perdahlı seramik çıkmakta.

K16/17 ve L16/17 nolu alanlarda yapılan çalışmalar da dikdörtgen şekilli yapının içinde derinleşiyoruz. K/17 nolu alandan ufak bir vazo (Hellenistik), ayrıca K/16 nolu alandan I kattan bir tar çıktı (Urfa taşından) derinleşmeye devam ediyoruz.



Bugün yapılan çalışmalarda metakli aulunun ortasındaki dikdörtgen şekilli mekanın tabanına indik. Taban çok sert toprak temin ve üzerinde bir takım dizili ufak çukuk taşlarının izleri var. Bu alanda seramik sayısı oldukça azaldı. Duvarların enini 1.20cm. olarak ölçtük. Taban ise duvar seviyesinden 80cm. aşağıda. Daha önce açığa çıkarılan kübün tabanında bu temine oturuyor. kübün etrafında yanık lara rastlıyoruz. Bu alanın batısında ki 3.60 a 6m.lik çukurda ise II. kat seviyesine inildi. Bu seviyede m.ö II - yığa ait bakık tabakları ortaya çıkıyor. Bu seviyede Mayus biceği şeklinde üterm de bir boğa motifi olan mühür ele geçti.

16. VIII - 1984.

Bugün yapılan çalışmalarda dikdörtgen şeklindeki mekanın tabanına inildi ve temizliği yapıldı.

Bu alanın taban seviyesinden Geç tour parçaları gelmeye başladı. Bir adet üzeri sırlı duvar tuğlası ele geçti. (Yansı kırık)

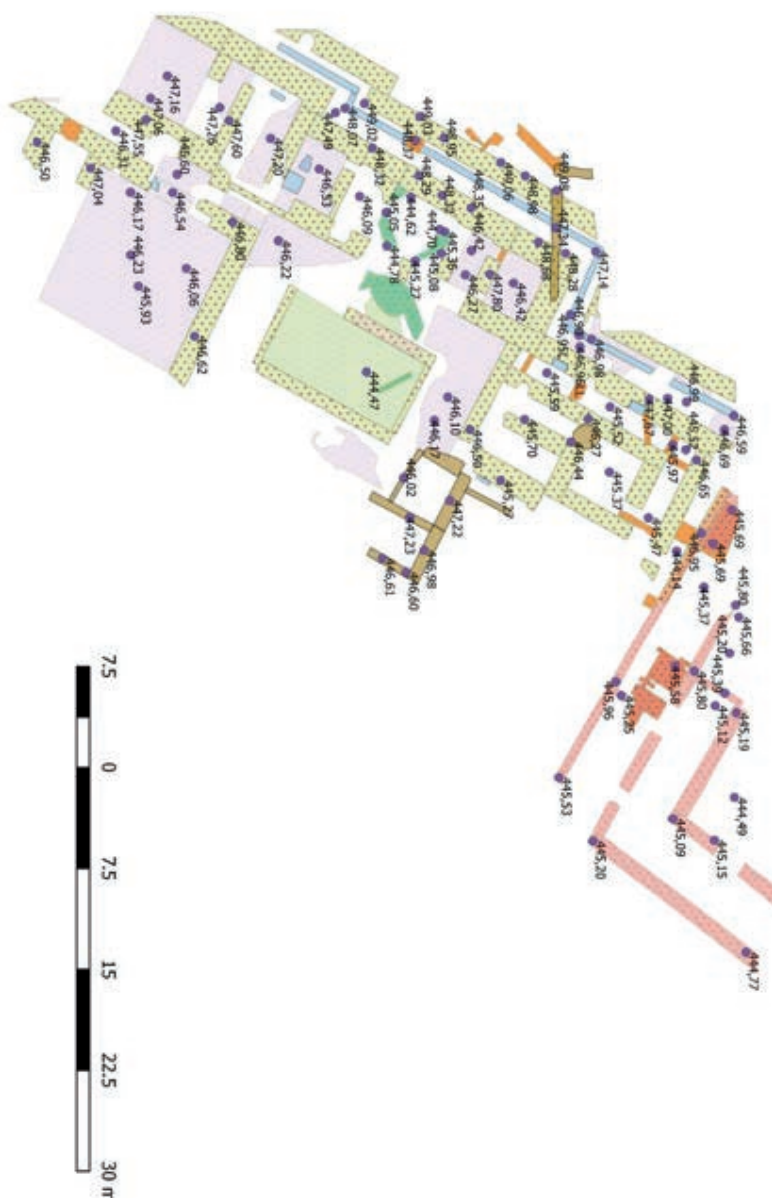
Daha sonra K/14 nolu alanda Sarayın Güney Doğu kesimine uzanan koridor bağlantılarını açıyoruz. Koridorlarda bol miktarda fresk parçaları ve terra sicilataalar bulundu.

Appendix D - Maps

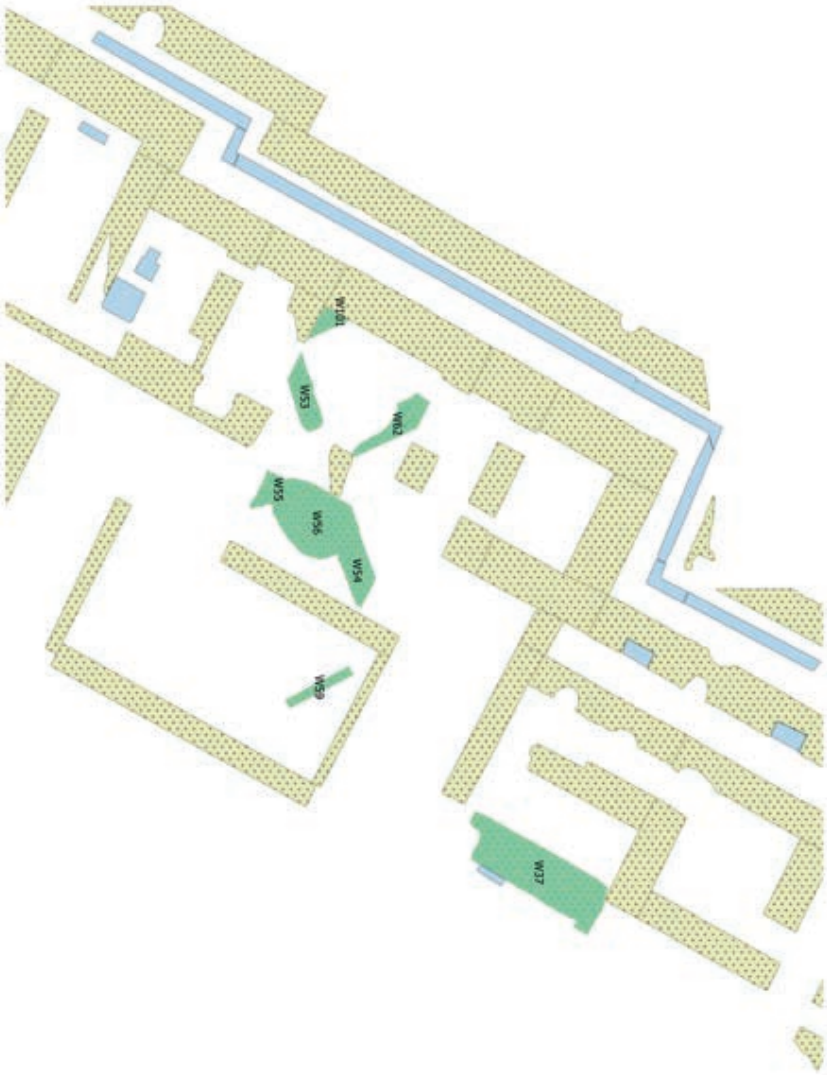
D1 Map of archaeological units in sector i-n/13-19, with layers II (in brown), III (in orange), IV (in red), V (the palace, with walls in dotted yellow, floors in purple and installations in blue) and VI (in green). By the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12)



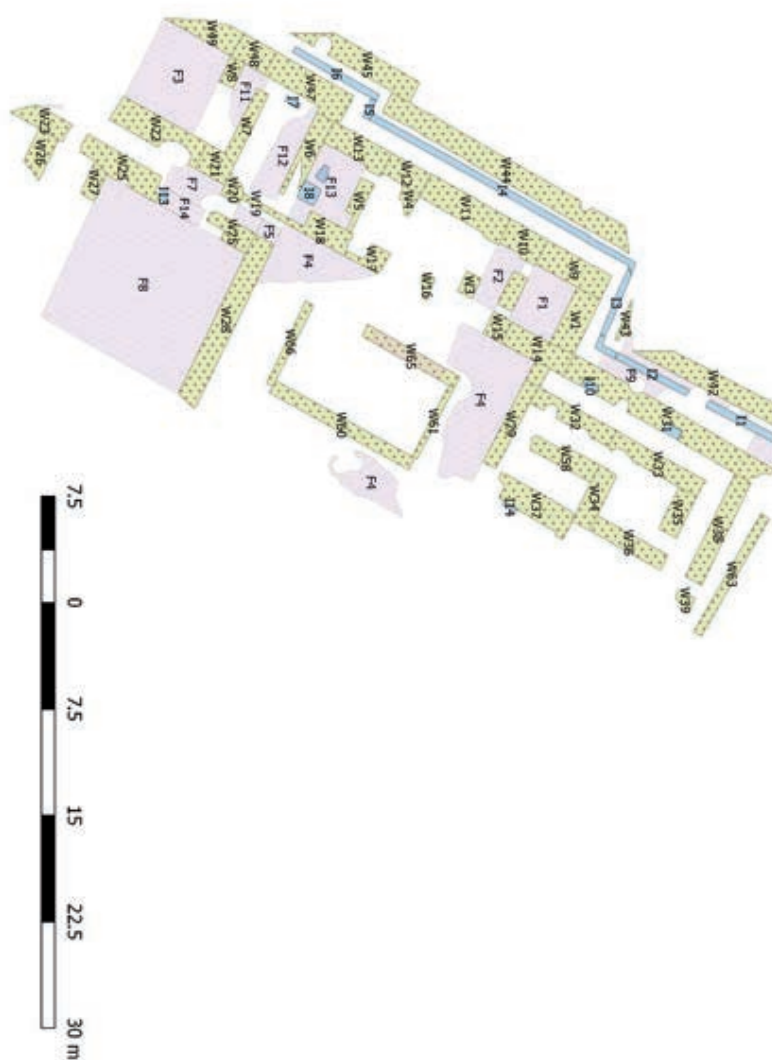
720



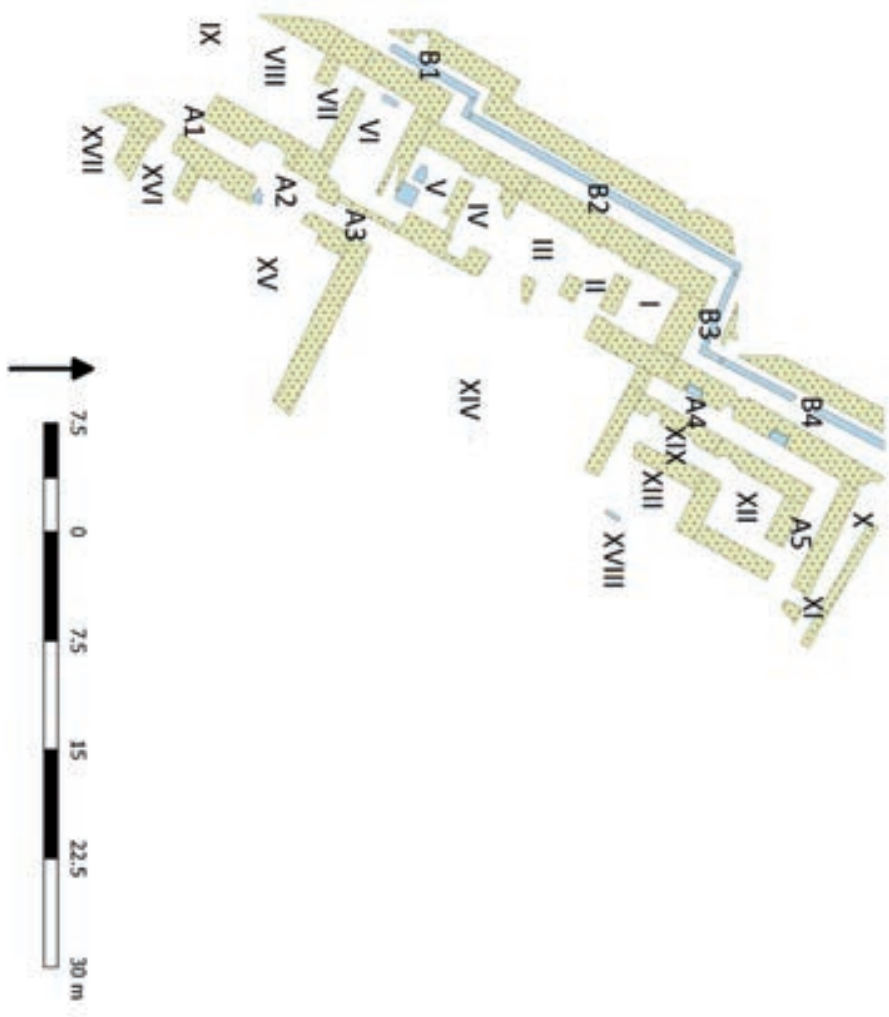
D3 Map of archaeological units in sector i-n/13-19, with layers VI indicated in green. By the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).



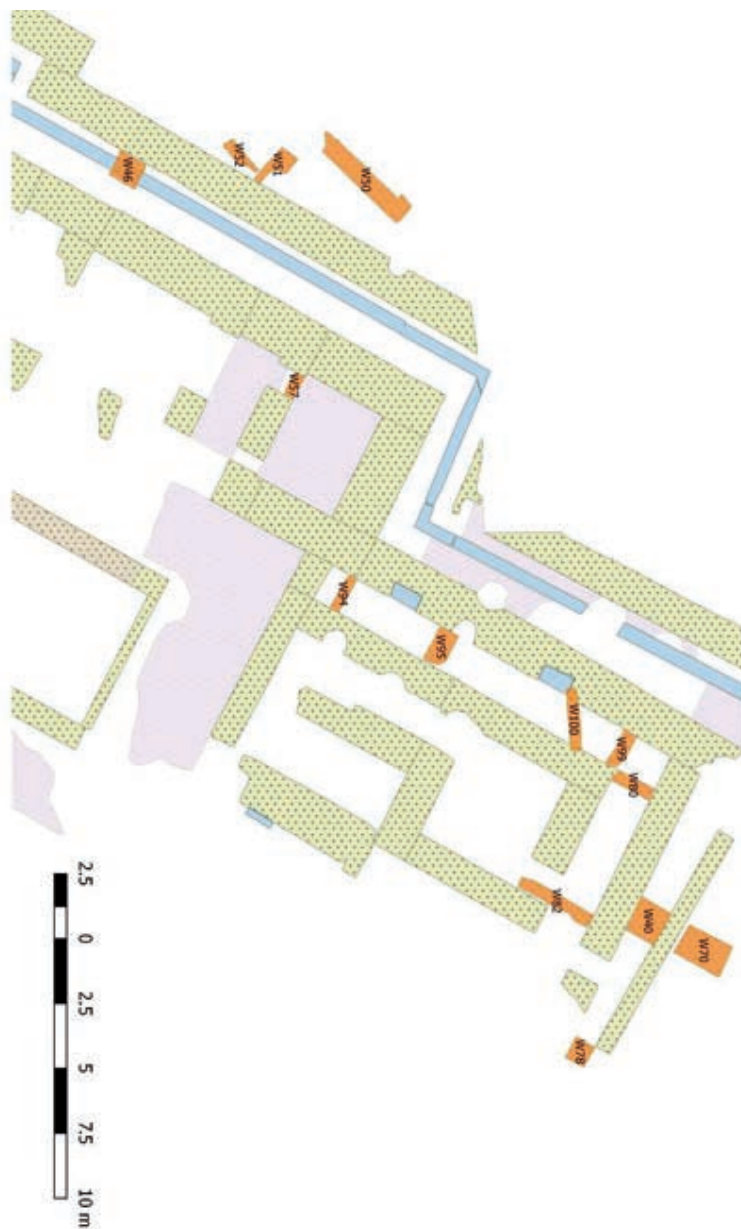
D4 Map of archaeological units in sector i-n/13-19, with V, the palace, indicated with walls in dotted yellow, floors in purple and installations in blue. By the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).



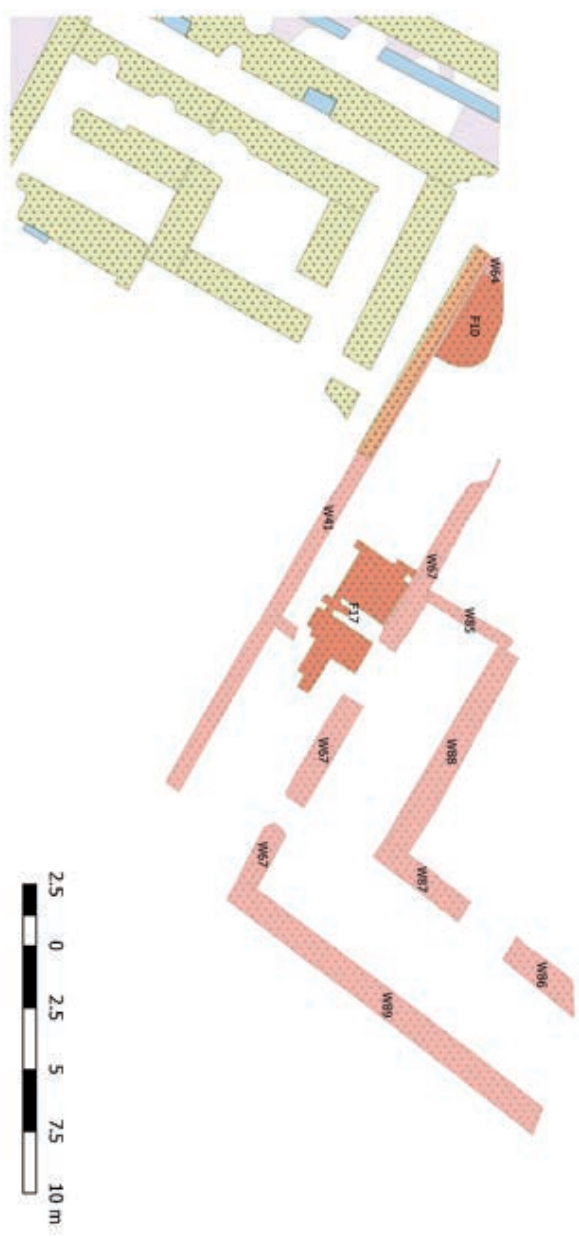
D5 Map of the palace of Samosata with room and corridor numbers. By the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).



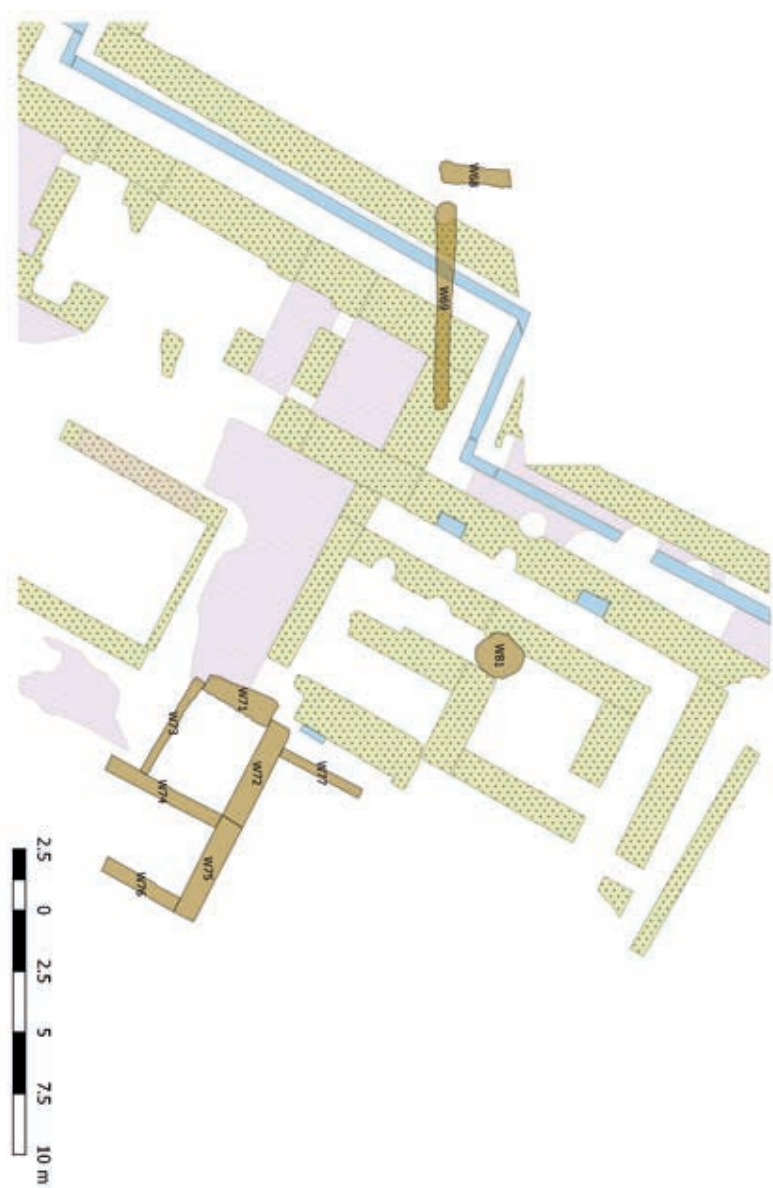
724



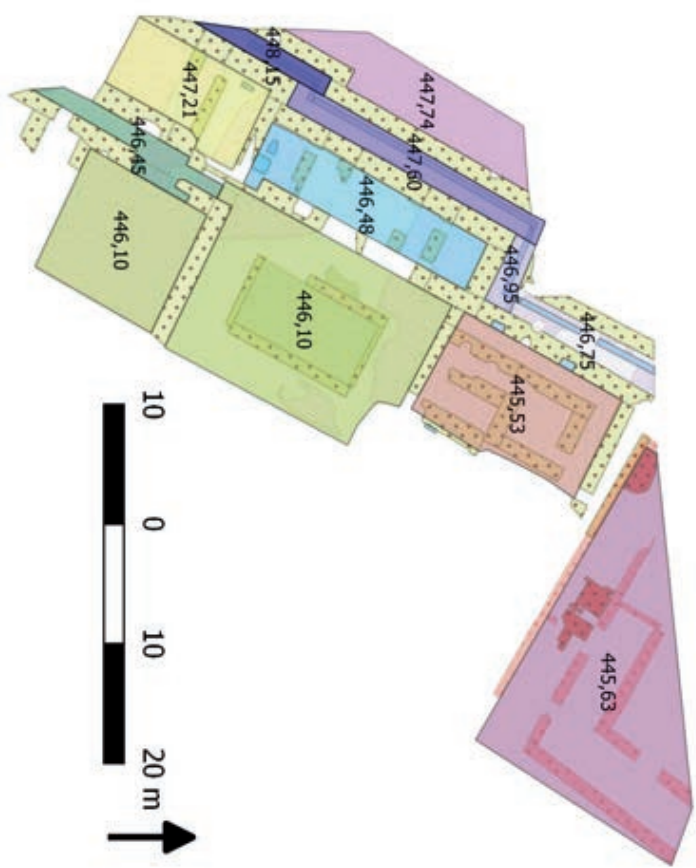
D7 Map of archaeological units in sector i-n/13-19, with layer IV indicated in red. By the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).



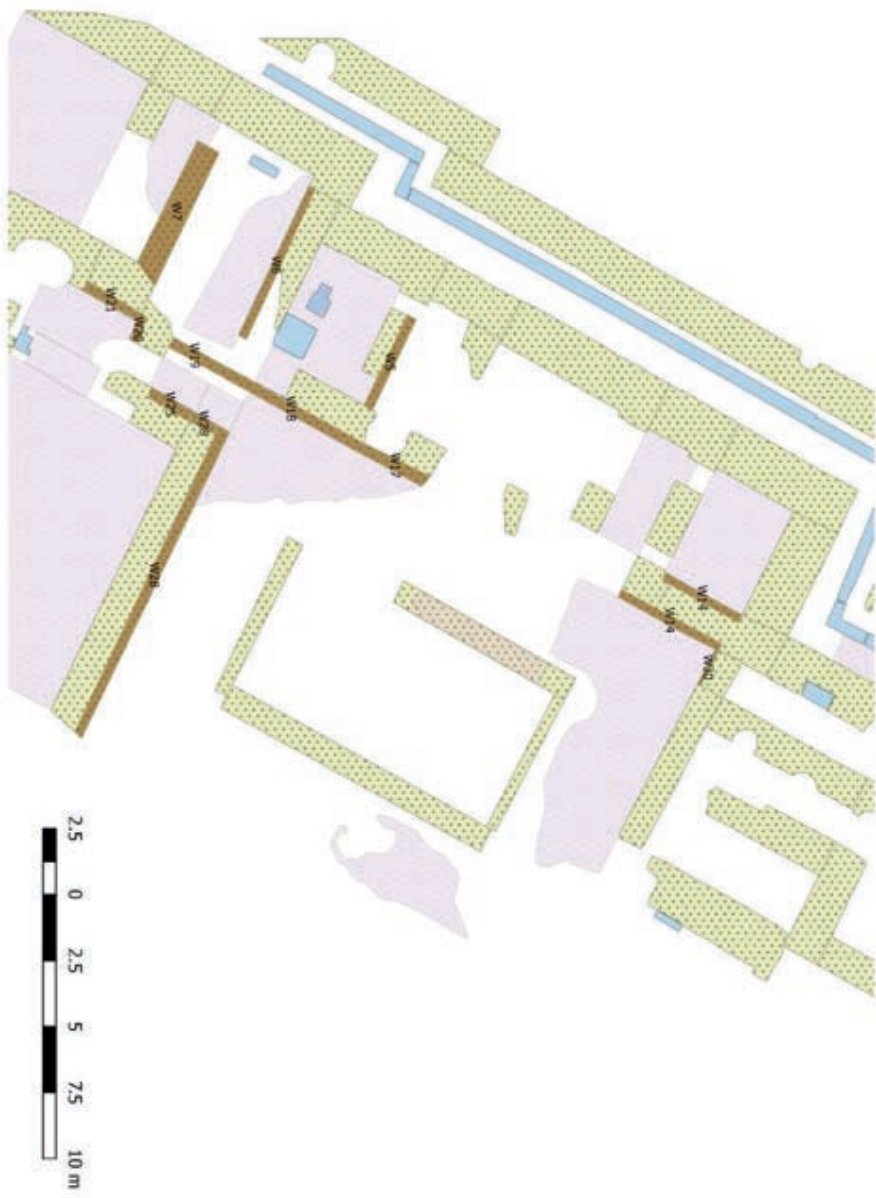
D8 Map of archaeological units in sector i-n/13-19, with layer II indicated in brown. By the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).



D9 Map of the palace with indication of 'elevation zones'. By the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).



D10 Map of the palace with mud-brick walls indicated in brown. By the author.



Appendix E: Mosaics with crenellation.

This catalogue lists the known mosaics with the crenellation motif, and is an expanded version of the catalogue provided in Zschätsch 2009. 'FL' indicates the find location; 'CL' indicates the current location; 'Dat.' indicates the relative dating of their construction; 'Bibl.' indicates the bibliography. A question mark indicates that information is not available.

Cat. 1 FL: unknown LC: SCHLOSS KLEIN-GLIENICKE, Antikensammlung Nr. Inv. Gl. 349, Kleine Neugierde; Dat.: ? Bibl.: F. W. GOETHERT, Katalog der Antikensammlung des Prinzen Carl von Preußen im Schloß zu Klein Glienicke bei Potsdam, Mainz 1972, 68, Nr. 362, pl. 111; DASZEWSKI 1977, 60 n. 54.

Cat. 2 Alexandria FL: Alexandria (Gabbari), Baths or Villa; CL: Alessandria, GRM Nr. Inv. 3696; Dat.: 50-30 BCE (Daszewski). Bibl.: DASZEWSKI 1977, 61 and n. 60; DASZEWSKI 1985, 120-128, Nr. Cat. 20, Fig. 6, pl. 22.

Cat. 3 Antibes FL: Antibes, rue Aubernon, Terme, Calidarium; CL: ?; Dat.: ? Bibl.: M. MORENA - D. COUNORD, Antipolis municipale romaine, Antibes 1994, 45; H. BROISE - JOLIVET 2004, 106-108, Figs. 152-153.

Cat. 4 Arsameia 1 FL: Arsameia on the Nymphaeion, *Hierotheseion*, room I; CL: in situ; Dat.: late 2nd c. BCE (Ovadia); late 2nd, early 1st c. BCE (Lavin, Salzmann). Bibl.: LAVIN 1963, 191-196, pl. 46 B, map 11; F. K. DÖRNER et al., in "AA" 1965, 203-206; W. HOEPFNER, Architektur in Kommagene, in F. K. DÖRNER (ed.), Kommagene. Geschichte und Kultur einer antiken Landschaft, in "AW" 6, 1975, 43-50, Fig. 67; EAA Suppl. 1970 (1973), 86, Fig. 92 s. v. Arsameia (Dörner); DASZEWSKI 1977, 61; OVADIAH 1980, 30, Nr. 2; SALZMANN 1982, 120, Nr. 146, pl. 86, 3-4; HOEPFNER 1983, p. 12-13, map 2; BINGÖL 1997, 106, Fig. 71; W. HOEPFNER, in Gottkönige am Euphrat, 60-61, Fig. 80.

Cat. 5 Arsameia 2 FL: Arsameia on the Nymphaeion, *Hierotheseion*, room II; CL: in situ; Dat.: late 2nd, early 1st c. BCE (Lavin). Bibl.: Lavin 1963, 161, Fig. 16, pl. 47 B; F. K. DÖRNER et al., AA 1965, 203-206, Fig. 6; W. HOEPFNER, Architektur in Kommagene, in F. K. DÖRNER (ed.), Kommagene. Geschichte und Kultur einer antiken Landschaft, in "AW" 6, 1975, 43-50, Fig. 63; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61; SALZMANN 1982, 120, Nr. 147, pl. 86, 5; HOEPFNER 1983, 13, pl. 6 B, plate 2; BINGÖL 1997, 108, Figs. 73-74; W. HOEPFNER, in Gottkönige am Euphrat, 61, Fig. 81.

Cat. 6 Arsameia 3 FL: Arsameia on the Nymphaeion, *Hierotheseion*, room III; CL: in situ; Dat.: late 2nd, early 1st c. BCE. Bibl.: W. HOEPFNER, Arsameia am Nymphaeion II, *IstForsch* 33, Tübingen 1983, 13, plate 2.

Cat. 7 Bovino FL: Bovino, Via Lastene 20; CL: Bovino, Museo Civico, Palazzo Pisani, Nr. Inv. 1467; Dat.: I-II c. CE (Tamma). Bibl.: G. TAMMA, in M. MAZZEI (ed.), Bovino. Studi per la storia della città antica. La Collezione Museale (1994), 241-242, Nr. 308, Fig. 308.

Cat. 8 Carpentras FL: Carpentras; CL: Carpentras, Musée Lapidaire; Dat.: ? Bibl.: H. LAVAGNE (ed.), Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule, III 1. Province de Narbonnaise. Partie Centrale, Paris 1979, 88, pl. 28, Nr. 91.

Cat. 9 Cortona FL: Cortona, Piazza Tommasi, Baths; CL: Cortona, Museo della Città Etrusca e Romana; Dat.: Late 2nd, early 1st c. BCE (Mancini). Bibl.: M. FABBRI, in M. TORELLI (ed.), Arezzo, Cortona, Sestino: Archeologia di una Provincia, 1988, 15-16, Figs. 1-3; Id., in C. MASSERIA (ed.),

10 anni di archeologia a Cortona, 2001, 10-13, pl. II b; H. BROISE - JOLIVET 2004, 105-106, Fig. 151; A. MANCINI, in S. FORTUNELLI (ed.), *Il Museo della Città Etrusca e Romana di Cortona. Catalogo delle collezioni*, Firenze 2005, 353-356, Nr. Cat. VIII 49.

Cat. 10 Delos 1 FL: Delos, Maison du Dauphins, Peristilium (Mosaic of [Askle]piades of Arados); CL: in situ; Dat.: late Hellenistic (Chamonard); early 1st c. BCE. (Parlasca); ca. 100 BCE (Bruneau); 1st c. BCE (Pinkwart - Stammnitz); late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE (Daszewski, Donderer); 130-88 BCE. (Dunbabin). Bibl.: M. M. BULARD, in "Monuments Piot" 14, 1908, 193. 198, pls. 12-13; J. CHAMONARD, *Le Quartier du théâtre. Délos*, VIII 1, Paris 1922, 136-139, pl. 53; PERNICE 1938, 30; BROWN 1957, 72; PARLASCA 1959, 130; LAVIN 1963, 193 n. 13; Ph. BRUNEAU, *Les mosaïques. Délos*, XXIX, Paris 1972, p. 51. 235-239, Nr. 210, Fig. 168; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61; OVADIAH 1980, 34-35, Nr. 10, 2; PINKWART - STAMMNITZ 1984, 99; M. DONDERER, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung*, Erlangen 1989, 56, Nr. Cat. A 6, pl. 6, 1; DUNBABIN 1999, 33, Figs. 34-36.

Cat. 11 Delos 2 FL: Delos, Maison du Dauphins, piano superiore; CL: disperso; Dat.: early 1st c. BCE. Bibl.: J. CHAMONARD, *Le Quartier du Théâtre. Délos*, VIII 2 (Paris 1924, 409; Pernice 1938, 24; Ph. BRUNEAU, *Les mosaïques. Délos*, XXIX (Paris 1972, 239, Nr. 212; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61; PINKWART - STAMMNITZ 1984, 101.

Cat. 12 Delos 3 FL: Delos, Maison du Dionysos (?); CL: ?; Dat.: early 1st c. BCE Bibl.: J. CHAMONARD, in "BCH" 30, 1906, 543; PERNICE 1938, 25 n. 2; PARLASCA 1959, 130 n. 6; Ph. BRUNEAU, *Les mosaïques, Délos*, XXIX, Paris 1972, 294, Nr. 298, fig. 256; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61 n. 61; PINKWART - STAMMNITZ 1984, 101.

Cat. 13 Este 1 FL: Este, Casa romana, Via S. Fermo; CL: Este, Museo Nazionale Atestino, Nr. Inv. I. G. 1907; Dat.: 1st c. CE (De Fogolari); Augustan (Donderer, Zanovello). Bibl.: G. DE FOGOLARI, in "FA" 7, 1952, Nr. 3116; PARLASCA 1959, 130 n. 13; G. BRUSIN, *Mosaici atestini*, in "AttiAcPadova" 66, 1953/54, 151, Nr. 19, Fig. 2; Id., in *Storia di Venezia, I Venezia* 1957, 453; DONDERER 1986, 147-148, Nr. Cat. Este 24, pl. 50, 1; ZANOVELLO, in "Aven" 21/22, 1998/99, 227, Fig. 2.

Cat. 14 Este 2 FL: Este, Quartiere di Via dei Pilastrì, Domus I, room E; Dat: 1st c. CE Bibl.: G. TOSI, in *Este antica*, 384-388, Fig. 302; ZANOVELLO, in "Aven" 21/22, 1998/99, 239.

Cat. 15 Este 3 FL: Este, Quartiere di Via dei Pilastrì; Dat.: 1st c. CE. Bibl.: G. TOSI, in *Este antica*, 384

Cat. 16 Firenze 1 FL: Firenze, Casa romana sotto S. Giovanni, room 29; CL: Firenze, Museo Archeologico; Dat.: 1st c. CE (Maetzke); second quarter 1st c. CE (Salies). Bibl.: MAETZKE 1941, 70, pl. 12; G. SALIES, in "BJb" 174, 1974, 104, Nr. Cat. 91; G. CIAMPOLTRINI, in "Prospettiva" 69, 1993, 53, Fig. 3; 60, Nr. 3. 1.

Cat. 17 Firenze 2 FL: Firenze, Via Lontanmorti; CL: Firenze, Museo Archeologico; Dat.: mid 1st c. CE (Michelucci, Ciampoltrini). Bibl.: MAETZKE 1941, 70 n. 4; 72, pl. 14 a; PARLASCA 1959, 130 n. 13; M. LOPES PEGNA, *Firenze dalle origini al Medioevo*, Firenze 1974, 173, Fig. 71; DONDERER 1986, 204 with n. 1950; M. Michelucci, in *AISCOM VIII* (Ravenna 2001, p. 11-34, Fig. 1; G. CIAMPOLTRINI, in "Prospettiva" 69, 1993, 55-56, Fig. 9; 61, Nr. 4.

Cat. 18 Fossato di Vico FL: Fossato di Vico; CL: Fossato di Vico, Antiquarium (?); Dat.: ca. 80 CE (Stefani); 1st c. BCE (Moorman - Swinkels, Barbieri). Bibl.: E. STEFANI, in "NSA" 1940, 71-179, Fig. 7; BECATTI 1961, 297 with n. 101; E. M. MOORMAN - L. J. F. SWINKELS, *Lozenges in Perspective*,

in A. Barbet (ed.), *La peinture murale romaine dans les provinces de l'Empire*, Oxford 1983, 245. 253, Nr. 12; G. BARBIERI, in "BdA" 72, 1987, 67; M. MORRIWITHE MATINI, in AISCOM I, Ravenna 1994, 309, Fig. 8.

Cat. 19 Grumentum FL: Grumentum, Domus dell'emblema with torri, Triclinio; CL: in situ; Dat.: 1st c. BCE. Bibl.: H. THALER - A. ZSCHÄTZSCH 2004, 261; ZSCHÄTZSCH 2006, 9-17.

Cat. 20 Ercolano FL: Ercolano, Casa dell'Atrio corinzio (V 30), room 1 (Exedra); CL: in situ; Dat.: after 62 BCE (Hendricks). Bibl.: A. MAIURI, *Ercolano. I nuovi scavi (1927-1958)*, I, Roma 1958, 261-265; A. HENDRICKS, in R. DE KIND - M. C. VAN BINNEBEKE et al., in "CronErcol" 26, 1996, 196, Fig. 15.

Cat. 21 Lanuvium FL: Lanuvium, Villa romana, room d; CL: in situ (?); Dat.: ? Bibl.: G. GHINI, in AISCOM II, Bordighera 1995, 483-500, Fig. 9.

Cat. 22 Lykosoura FL: Lykosoura, Temple of Despoina, Cella; CL: in situ; Dat.: first half 2nd c. BCE (Dickins, Lavin); third quarter 2nd c. BCE (Parlasca); after 165 BCE (Lehmann); 2nd c. BCE (Ovadia); second half 3rd c. BCE (Salzmann). Bibl.: CAVVADIAS, in "Deltion" 1889, 159-160; Id., *Fouilles de Lycosoura*, I, Atene 1893, 7-8; V. LEONARDOS, in "Praktika" 1896, 93-126, tavv. 2-3; Id., in "EphArch" 1899, 43-48, pl. 3; G. DICKINS, in "ABSA" 12, 1905/1906, 112-115; K. KOUROUNIOTES, *Katalogos tou Mouseiu Lykosouras*, Atene 1911, 10-18, Fig. 5; BLAKE 1930, 73-74; PERNICE 1938, 141; BROWN 1957, 72; PARLASCA 1959, 129-130; Lavin 1963, 195; Ph. W. LEHMANN, in L. F. SANDLER (ed.), *Essays in Memory of K. Lehmann*, New York 1964, 190-197, Figs. 2-3. 6-7; N. D. PAPACHATZIS, *Pausaniu Hellados periegesis*, IV, Atene 1967, 233, Fig. 207; Ph. BRUNEAU, in "BCH" 93, 1969, 324-325, Fig. 19; DASZEWSKI 1977, 60; M. ROBERTSON, in "JHS" 87, 1967, 135; G. Hejzlar, "SPFB" 20, 1971, 240; K. M. D. DUNBABIN, in "AJA" 83, 1979, 271, pl. 38 Fig. 10; OVADIAH 1980, 38, Nr. 15; SALZMANN 1982, 65-66; 123, Nr. 162, pl. 80.

Cat. 23 Malta FL: Malta, Villa nearby Rabato, peristilium; CL: in situ; Dat.: 2nd or 1st c. BCE (Lavin); 1st c. CE (Ashby); 1st c. BCE (Brown, Pernice); after 80 BCE (Salies). Bibl.: Th. ASHBY, *JRS* 5, 1915, p. 34-38, Fig. 5; PERNICE 1938, 7; PARLASCA 1959, 130; BROWN 1957, 72; LAVIN 1963, 193 n. 13; G. SALIES, *BjB* 174, 1974, 104, Nr. Cat. 87; OVADIAH 1980, 51, Nr. 31.

Cat. 24 Marcigliana FL: Tenuta della Marcigliana; CL: in situ (?); Dat.: half 1st c. BCE (Messineo). Bibl.: G. MESSINEO, in "Archeologia Laziale" 10, 1990, 138-142.

Cat. 25 Musarna FL: Musarna, Terme, room III (Calidarium); CL: Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Rocca Alborno; Dat.: late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE (Broise - Jolivet). Bibl.: G. BARBIERI, in "SE" 1983, 226-228; O. DE CAZANOVE - V. JOLIVET, in "MEFRA" 96, 1984, 530-534; B. BARBIERI - H. BROISE - V. JOLIVET, in "BdA" 70, 1985, 29-38, Figs. 7. 11; G. BARBIERI, in "BdA" 72, 1987, 61-70; H. BROISE - V. JOLIVET, in *Les thermes romaines* 1991, 89-92, Fig. 14; H. BROISE, "Xenia Antiqua" 3, 1994, 17-32, Fig. 19; BROISE - JOLIVET 2004, 52-55, Fig. 71; 120, pl. 3.

Cat. 26 Nîmes 1 FL: Nîmes; CL: Maison de Carrée; Dat.:? Bibl.: unpublished?

Cat. 27 Nîmes 2 FL: Nîmes; CL: Nîmes, Musée Lapidaire; Dat.: around the mid 1st c. BCE Bibl.: É. ESPÉRANDIEU, *Les mosaïques romaines de Nîmes*, Nîmes 1935, 142, Nr. 72 with fig.; DONDERER 1986, 204 and n. 1949.

Cat. 28 Ostia FL: Ostia, località Capanna Murata, Baths; CL: in situ (?); Dat.: not earlier than Julio-Claudian (Pellegrino - Panariti - Olivanti). Bibl.: A. PELLEGRINO - F. PANARITI - OLIVANTI, in

"Archeologia Laziale" 12, 2 (1995, 393-400, Fig. 3; Id., in AISCOM, II, Bordighera 1995, 517-524, Fig. 4.

Cat. 29 Padova FL: Padova, Via Cesare Battisti; CL: Padova, Museo Civico; Dat.: 1st c. CE (Brusin, Cessi, Corso); late 1st/early 2nd c. CE (Gasparotto - Battaglia); 70-120 CE (Gasparotto); early Augustan (Donderer). Bibl.: G. BRUSIN, in Storia di Venezia, I, Venezia 1957, 226, Figs. 69. 453; C. GASPAROTTO - R. BATTAGLIA, Edizione archeologica della Carta d'Italia, pl. 50. Padova, Firenze 1959, 39, Nr. 44a; C. GASPAROTTO, in Padova. Guida ai monumenti e alle opere d'arte, Venezia 1961, 53, Fig. 14; M. DONDERER, in "Gnomon" 48, 1976, 302; A. PROSDOCIMI, in L. BOSIO et al., Padova antica, Padova 1981, 269; 399, Fig. 132; A. CORSO, in "Aven" 5, 1982, 89, Nr. 46; 98-99, Fig. 11; DONDERER 1986, 167-168, Cat. Padova 5, pl. 53, 3; G. ZAMPIERI, Il Museo Archeologico di Padova, Milano 1994, 151.

Cat. 30 Paestum FL: Paestum, Casa romana, atrio; CL: in situ (?); Dat.: 1st c. BCE (Broise - Jolivet). Bibl.: M. MAIELLO, in "MEFRA" 107, 1995, 511-513, Fig. 26; L. FICUCIELLO, in E. GRECO - F. LONGO (ed.), Paestum, scavi, studi e ricerche. Bilancio di un decennio (1988-1998), (Paestum 2000, 174-175, Figs. 3-4; BROISE - JOLIVET 2004, 86 n. 80.

Cat. 31 Pergamon 1 FL: Pergamon, Palace V, 'Mosaic of Hephaestion'; CL: partially in situ (found in 1886, later excavations in 1989) and partially in Berlin: Pergamonmuseum Nr. Inv. Mos. 70; Dat.: 197-159 BCE (Wiegand); first half 2nd c. BCE (Parlasca, Daszewski, Radt, Salzmann); ca. 150 BCE (Andreae); mid 1st c. BCE (Börker); mid 2nd c. BCE (Kriseleit). Bibl.: G. KAWERAU - TH. WIEGAND, Die Paläste der Hochburg, AvP V 1 (Berlin 1930, 63-65, pl. 26; ROSTOVITZEFF 1955, pl. 74; BROWN 1957, 72-74, pl. 39, 1; PARLASCA 1959, 129; LAVIN 1963, 193 with n. 13; Chr. BÖRKER, "Jdl" 88, 1973, 299; DASZEWSKI 1977, 60; OVADIAH 1980, 47-48, Nr. 27, 1; D. SALZMANN, AA, 1991, 433-456; 434, Fig. 1; Id., in Studien zum antiken Kleinasien 3, Asia Minor Studien 16, Bonn 1995, 101-112, pls. 6-21, Beil. 1-2; BINGÖL 1997, 83-84, Fig. 57; RADT 1988, 73, Fig. 22; I. KRISELEIT, Antike Mosaiken. Altes Museum Pergamonmuseum, Berlin 2000, 17-23 with fig.; B. ANDREA, Antike Bildmosaiken, Mainz 2003, Fig. 44.

Cat. 32 Pergamon 2 FL: Pergamon, House of Withsul Attalus, room 38; CL: in situ; Dat.: mid 2nd c. BCE (Dörpfeld); 2nd c. BCE (Parlasca); first half 2nd c. BCE (Blake); first half 1st c. BCE (Pernice); 67-47 BCE (Ovadiah) Augustan period (Rostovtzeff); 1st c. BCE (Salzmann); ca. 50 BCE (Börker). Bibl.: W. DÖRPFELD, in "MDAIA(R)" 32, 1907, 183-184, pls. 15. 17; BLAKE 1930, 37. 71. 73; PERNICE 1938, 31. 141, pl. 6, 2; BROWN 1957, 72-74, pl. 39, 2; PARLASCA 1959, 130; LAVIN 1963, 193 with n. 13; Chr. BÖRKER, in "Jdl" 88, 1973, 299 n. 99; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61; OVADIAH 1980, 47-48, Nr. 27, 3; pl. 26, Fig. 61; D. SALZMANN, in "AA", 1991, 440; BINGÖL 1997, 100. 103, Fig. 67.

Cat. 33 Pergamon 3 FL: Pergamo, House of the Peristylum II, room 9; CL: in situ; Dat.: 1st c. BCE (Pinkwart - Stammenitz); 67-47 BCE (Dunbabin). Bibl.: PINKWART - STAMMNITZ 1984, 101, pls. 45 c. 46 b; DUNBABIN 1999, 224, Fig. 235; BINGÖL 1997, 101; 104, Fig. 68.

Cat. 34 Pergamon 4 FL: Pergamon, Diodoreion; CL: in situ; Dat.: mid-1st c. BCE (Parlasca); after the earthquake of 17 CE (Radt); mid-2nd c. BCE (Filgis). Bibl.: M. N. FILGIS - W. RADT, Die Stadtgrabung I. Das Heroon, AvP XV 1, Berlin 1986, 53-55, pls. 40. 41. 61 a. 79 b. 84 b; RADT 1988, 279-285, Fig. 141.

Cat. 35 Pheneos FL: Pheneos, Asklepieion; CL: in situ; Dat.: 2nd c. BCE (Hopp). Bibl.: G. DAUX, in "BCH" 85, 1961, 682-683, Fig. 1; E. VANDERPOOL, in "AJA" 63, 1959, 280-281; E. PROTONRIOU-

DEÏLAKE, in "DeltChron" 17, 2, 1961/62, 57-61, Fig. 1, pl. 66; S. LAUFFER, Griechenland. Lexikon der historischen Stätten, München 1989, 537-538 (J. Hopp).

Cat. 36 Pisa FL: Pisa, Piazza del Duomo (found in 1860); CL: Camposanto Monumentale, Nr. Inv. 1963 N. 30; Dat.: 2nd c. CE (Tedeschi Grisanti). Bibl.: F. Drexel, in R. Herbig, Germania 9, 1925, 140 n. 8; PARLASCA 1959, 130 n. 13; SANPAOLESI, Il Duomo di Pisa e l'architettura romanica toscana delle origini, Pisa 1975, 149-150, pl. 60 b; G. TEDESCHI GRISANTI, in S. SETTIS (ed.), Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa. Le antichità, II, Pisa 1984, 265, Nr. Cat. 120; DONDERER 1986, 204 with n. 1950; G. CIAMPOLTRINI, in "Prospettiva" 69, 1993, 63, Nr. 10. 2.

Cat. 37 Pompei 1 FL: Pompei, Casa del Trittolemo (VII, VII 5), Exedra; CL: in situ; Dat.: 2nd c. BCE (Blake). Bibl.: BLAKE 1930, 38. 73. 106, pls. 2, 2; 6, 2; PERNICE 1938, 83; PARLASCA 1959, 130 n. 9; BROWN 1957, 72 n. 214; LAVIN 1963, 193 with n. 13; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61 n. 62; OVADIAH 1980, pl. 36, Fig. 99; BALMELLE 1985, 150, pl. 96 c; DONDERER 1986, 204 with n. 1949; PPM VII 2 (1997), 251, figs. 40. 42.

Cat. 38 Pompei 2 FL: Pompei, Casa di Cornelius Rufus o Domus Cornelia (VIII, IV 15), atrium; CL: in situ; Dat.: 1st c. CE (Blake, Tamma, Barbieri, Fiorini). Bibl.: Blake 1930, 12 n. 7; 106, pl. 31, 1; PERNICE 1938, 141; H. G. BEYEN, Die pompeianische Wanddekoration vom 2. bis zum 4. Stil II 1, Haag 1960, 254 with n. 1; LAVIN 1963, 194 with n. 14; OVADIAH 1980, pl. 42, Fig. 115; DONDERER 1986, 204 with n. 1950; G. BARBIERI, in "BdA" 72, 1987, 69 n. 27; C. FIORINI, in Topografi a romana. Ricerche e discussioni, Firenze 1988, 55; F. BOLOGNA, Die Wiederentdeckung von Herculaneum und Pompeji in der künstlerischen Kultur im Europa des 18. Jahrhunderts, in B. WITHTICELLO (ed.), Pompeji wiederentdeckt. Catalogo, Roma 1993, Fig. 81; G. TAMMA, in M. MAZZEI (ed.), Bovino. Studi per la storia della città antica. La Collezione Museale, Taranto 1994, 242; PPM VIII 1998, 519 with Fig.; 520 Fig. 1.

Cat. 39 Populonia FL: Populonia, large villa with baths, Calidarium; CL: in situ; Dat.: ? Bibl.: AVIVA 117, 2006, 13 with fig.

Cat. 40 Privernum 1 FL: Privernum, Domus dell'Emblema Figurato (Domus A), doorway; CL: Museo Archeologico di Priverno; Dat.: età tardo-repubblicana (Barbieri); late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE (Cancellieri). Bibl.: R. RIGHI, in "Archeologia Laziale" 6, 1984, 178-185, fig. 4; G. BARBIERI, in "BdA" 72, 1987, 67; M. CANCELLIERI, in AISCOR, III, Bordighera 1996, 635 Fig. 8; CANCELLIERI 1998, 14-21.

Cat. 41 Privernum 2 FL: Privernum, Domus dell'Emblema figurato (Domus A), ambiente H, soglia; CL: Museo Archeologico di Priverno; Dat.: late 2nd c. BCE/early 1st c. BCE (Cancellieri). Bibl.: M. CANCELLIERI, in AISCOR, III, Bordighera 1996, 637, fig. 12; CANCELLIERI 1998, 19 with fig.

Cat. 42 Rome 1 FL: Rome, House with floors in opus signinum and a mosaic, under San Pietro in Vincoli, room M, doorway, CL: in situ; Dat.: Republican (Morriwithe Matini); first half 1st c. BCE (Werner); late 2nd/early 1st c. BCE (Messineo). Bibl.: A. M. COLINI, in "MemPontAcc" 9, 1966, 15-16, figs. 17-18, pl. 4; EAA Suppl. 1970 (1973), 507; pl. 512 e 513, s. v. Mosaico (Morriwithe Matini); K. WERNER, Mosaiken aus Rom. Polychrome Mosaikpavimente und Emblemata aus Rom und Umgebung, Würzburg 1994, 61-62, Cat. K 15; G. MESSINEO, in "Archeologia Laziale" 10, 1990, 138 n. 2.

Cat. 43 Rome 2 FL: Roma, Baths, Via Sistina (under Suore di Nostra Signora di Lourdes); CL: in situ; Dat.: first third of 1st c. BCE (Fiorini); second half 1st c. BCE (Messineo). Bibl.: C. FIORINI, in

Topografi a romana. Ricerche e discussioni, Firenze 1988, 45-57, fig. 12 pl. 5 b; H. BROISE, in "Xenia Antiqua" 3, 1994, p. 28-29, figs. 17-18; BROISE – JOLIVET 2004, 100-101, figs. 140. 142; G. MESSINEO, in "Archeologia Laziale" 10, 1990, 138 n. 2.

Cat. 44 Samosata 1 FL: Samosata, Palatial complex, grid square S11; CL: in situ; Dat.: late 2nd, early 1st c. BCE. Bibl.: BINGÖL 1997, 110; L. ZOROGLU, in Gottkönige am Euphrat, 75-83, figs. 106-107.

Cat. 45 Samosata 2 FL: Samosata, Palatial complex IV VIII (Bingöl; G3); CL: in situ; Dat.: late second, early 1st c. BCE. Bibl.: BINGÖL 1997, 109, Fig. 75; L. ZOROGLU, in Gottkönige am Euphrat, 75-83, figs. 106-107.

Cat. 46 Samosata 3 FL: Samosata Palatial complex VI; XV (Bingöl G5) CL: in situ; Dat.: late second, early 1st c. BCE. Bibl.: BINGÖL 1997, 109 Fig. 75; L. ZOROGLU, in Gottkönige am Euphrat, 75-83, figs. 106-107.

Cat. 47 Sulmona FL: Sacellum of Hercules Curinus nearby Sulmona; CL: in situ; Dat.: 10 BCE - 10 CE (Clarke); mid-1st c. BCE (Wongerghem); 2nd c. CE (Türck). Bibl.: J. R. CLARKE, Roman Black and White Figural Mosaics, Ann Arbor 1973, 268; F. VAN WONTERGHEM, in V. M. STROCKA (ed.), Hellenismus in Mittelitalien, 1976, 152, fig. 8; G. BECATTI, in Actes du Ier Colloque International sur la mosaïque gréco-romaine, Paris 1963 (Paris 1965, 19-20, fig. 5; F. VAN WONTERGHEM, in E. MATTIOCCO, Dalla Villa di Ovidio al Santuario di Ercole, 1989, 151-158; R. TUTERI, in AISCOM, II, Bordighera 1995, 71-84; TÜRCK 2000/2001, 169.

Cat. 48 Teramo 1 FL: Teramo, Domus dell'antica cattedrale; CL: in situ; Dat.: Republican (Daszewski); after 100 BCE (Parlasca); after 80 BCE (Salies). Bibl.: BLAKE 1930, 31; PERNICE 1938, 18; PARLASCA 1959, 130; G. CERULLI IRELLI, Edizione archeologica della Carta d'Italia. Foglio 140. Teramo, Firenze 1971, 14, Nr. 9; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61 n. 62; W. MAZZITTI, Teramo archeologica. Repertorio di monumenti, Teramo 1983, 134-137, fig. 4.

Cat. 49 Teramo 2 FL: Teramo, Domus di vico delle Ninfe; CL: in situ; Dat.: ? Bibl.: W. Mazzitti, Teramo archeologica. Repertorio di monumenti, Teramo 1983, 141-149; fig. 141; 142 fig. 2; 143 fig. 3; 144 figs. 1-2; 147 fig. 14.

Cat. 50 Thmuis 1 FL: Thmuis/Tell Timai; CL: Alexandria, GRM Nr. Inv. 21739, Mosaic of Sophilos; Dat.: ca. 200 BCE (Brown, Daszewski); late 3rd/early 2nd c. BCE (Ovadiah); second half 2nd c. BCE (Donderer); first half 2nd c. BCE (Dunbabin); 210-200 BCE (Andreae). Bibl.: Brown 1957, 67-68, Nr. Cat. 48, pl. 38; E. BRECCIA, Le Musée Gréco-Romain de Alexandrie 1925-1931, Bergamo 1932, republished 1970) 65, pl. 54, fig. 196; PARLASCA 1959, 130; LAVIN 1963, 193 with n.13; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61; OVADIAH 1980, 59, nr. 42 (mosaic Nr. 48); DASZEWSKI 1985, 142-158, nr. Cat. 38, Fig. 8, pl. 32; Mf. DONDERER, Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung, Erlangen 1989, 79, Nr. Cat. A39, pl. 25; G. GRIMM, Alexandria, Mainz 1998, Fig. 81 a; DUNBABIN 1999, 24-26, fig. 25; B. ANDREAE, Antike Bildmosaiken, Mainz 2003, 32; Figs. 28. 29. 33. 34.

Cat. 51 Thmuis 2 FL: Thmuis/Tell Timai; CL: Alexandria, GRM Nr. Inv. 21737; Dat.: mid-2nd c. BCE (Daszewski); second half 2nd c. BCE (Ovadiah). Bibl.: A. Adriani, Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romaine 1935-1939 (Alexandria 1940, 44; Brown 1957, 76-77; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61; OVADIAH 1980, 59, Nr. 42 (mosaic Nr. 49); DASZEWSKI 1985, 163-164, Nr. Cat. 41, fig. 9, pl. 36 b; M. GRANDI, in AISCOM, I, Ravenna 1994, 138; 139 Fig. 1.

Cat. 52 + Cat. 53 Tivoli 1+2 FL: Tivoli, Villa Adriana; CL: Rom, Museo dei Withservatori, Pinacoteca, Sala di S. Petronill, two mosaic tables; Dat.: late Republican/early augustan (Parlasca, Franceschini). Bibl.: A. FURIETTI, *De musiviis*, Roma 1752, 54, pl. 4; GUSMAN, *La Villa Impériale de Tibur*, Paris 1904, 225, Fig. 327 d; K. PARLASCA, in "MDAI(R)" 65, 1958, 163; PARLASCA 1959, 131 n. 6; LAVIN 1963, 194 with n. 14; DASZEWSKI 1977, 61 n. 65; M. De FRANCESCHINI, *Villa Adriana. Mosaici - Pavimenti - Edifici*, Roma 1991, 339-340, Nr. 4-5, pls. 39, 1-2.

Cat. 54 Torri in Sabina FL: Torri in Sabina, Vescovio, room A; CL: in situ; Dat.: ? Bibl.: G. Alvino, in AISCOM II. Bordighera 1995, 501-516, figs. 14. 16.

Cat. 55 Utica FL: Utica, Maison au Grand Oecus, room VIII; CL: in situ; Dat.: 2nd c. CE (Duliere); 100-130 CE (Schmelzeisen). Bibl.: C. Duliere, CMT 1, 2 (Tunis 1974, 7-8, Nr. 150 A, plate 2, pl. 4; M. Donderer, *Gnomon* 50, 1978, 400; C. G. Smith, *Black and White Mosaic Pavements at Utica* Minneapolis 1985, 76, nr. 150 A; Donderer 1986, 204 with n. 1948; K. Schmelzeisen, *Römische Mosaiken der Afrika Prowithsularis. Studien zu Ornamenten, Datierung und Werkstätten* Francoforte 1992, 1384, Nr. 9.1.1.

Cat. 56 Val Bandon FL: Val Bandon (Istrien); CL: room E; Dat.: late 1st c. CE (Donderer). Bibl.: A. Gnirs, *Öjh* 14, 1911, Beibl. 176-180, figs. 94-96. 98; W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken in Salzburg* (Vienna 1982, 97 n. 351; 132 n. 477; Donderer 1986, 203-204, Cat. Val Bandon 11.

Cat. 57. Boscoreale FL Villa of Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale. CL: small peristyle 15; Dat: shortly after mid-1st c. BCE. Bibl.: Andreae, B. 1975. "Rekonstruktion des großen Oecus der Villa des Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale." In Andreae and Kyrieleis 1975, 71-83, figs. 59-71.

Cat. 58 Uzès FL Gendarmerie of Uzès, Gard, CL: excavated in 2017 under the direction of Philippe Cayn (Inrap); Dat: 1st c. BCE. Bibl. Rothé, Boislève **and** Barberan 2017, 35.

Cat.59 Arles FL La Maison de la Harpiste, room VIIa, Arles. CL:?. Date: 1st c. BCE Bibl. Rothé, Boislève **and** Barberan 2017, 34-35.

Cat. 60 Nimes FL Domus with mosaic at the Maison Carrée in Nimes. CL:?. Date: 1st c. BCE. Bibl.: Fiches, Veyrac dir. 1996, 293, fig. 210; Guimier-Sorbets 2011, 619 with fig.

Cat. 61 Itálica FL, Domus in Itálica, Spain. CL:?. Date: 2nd c. BCE. Bibl. A. Parladé, "Excavaciones en Itálica," in: Junta superior del Tesoro Artístico, Sección de Excavaciones, Memorias, 1933, pl. XXVII.

Appendix F: Painted Crenellations.

This short catalogue lists the available evidence for painted crenellations, and is an expanded version of the catalogue provided in Zschätsch 2009. 'FL' indicates the find location; 'Dat.' indicates the relative dating of their withstruction; 'Bibl.' indicates the bibliography. A question mark indicates that information is not available.

Cat. 1 Vasjurin FL Vasjurin's Hill in the Taman Peninsula, South Russia. Tomb 1, painting on the ceiling of room 2 ; Dat.: 3rd c. BCE Bibl.: Rostovtzeff 1913/1914, 2004 (French translation and new edition), 62 and plate XV; Rostovtzeff 1955, 297. Alabe 2002, 248.

Cat. 2 Tarquinia FL Tarquinia tomb 5512, painting on the ceiling of the tomb. Dat.: 2nd half 3rd c. BCE (Steingraeber). Bibl. Steingräber 2006, 250 .

Cat 3. Fayum FL Fayum, exact find location unknown. Sarcophagus painting. Dat.: 3rd c. BCE. Bibl.: Edgar 1905, 10, Pl. 5 (CG Nr. 33123).

Cat. 4 Delos FL Maison des Sceaux, Delos, painting on the ceiling. Dat.: between 167/166 BCE and 69 BCE. Bibl.: Alabé 2002.

Cat. 5 Lefkadia FL Tomb in Lefkadia. Date: around 200 BCE (Alabé 2002, 248). Bibl.: Brecolaki 2006, in part. 230 ss.; Miller 1993, 45; Alabe 2002, 248.