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

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## 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.

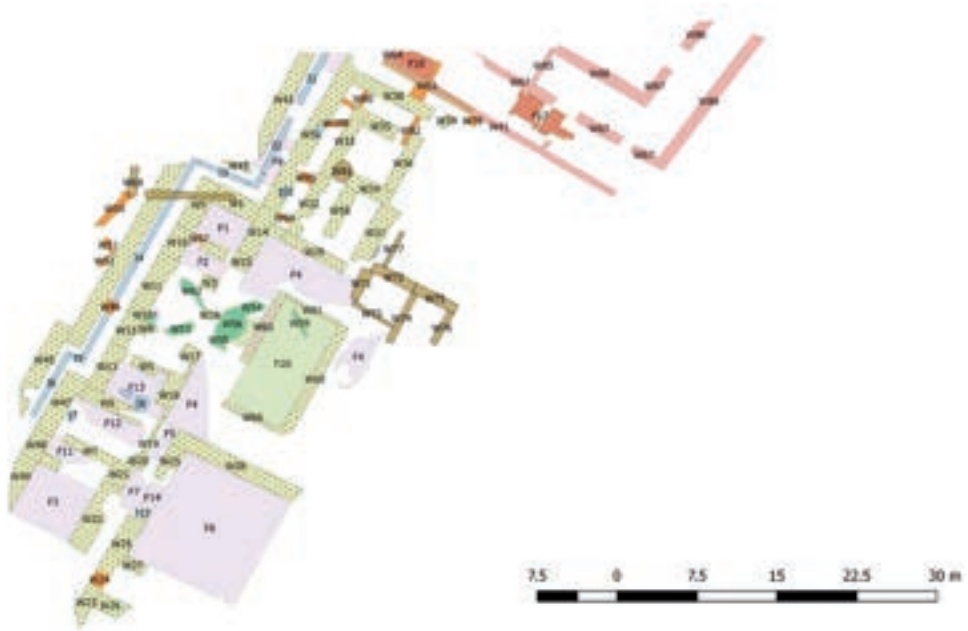


Fig. 4.1. Map of archaeological units in sector i-n/13-19, with layers II (in brown), III (in orange), IV (in red), V (the palace, with walls in dotted yellow, floors in purple and installations in blue) and VI (in green). For a bigger version, see appendix D, map D1. Figure by the author (based on Özgüç 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.<sup>401</sup> 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).<sup>402</sup> 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

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<sup>401</sup> Especially Zoroğlu 2000, 2012; Özgüç 2009; and Bingöl 2013.

<sup>402</sup> 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.<sup>403</sup>

*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.<sup>404</sup> 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.

<sup>403</sup> 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).

<sup>404</sup> 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.<sup>405</sup> 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.*

<sup>405</sup> 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.<sup>406</sup> 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.*

<sup>406</sup> 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.<sup>407</sup> 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.

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<sup>407</sup> 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.<sup>408</sup> 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.

<sup>408</sup> 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.*

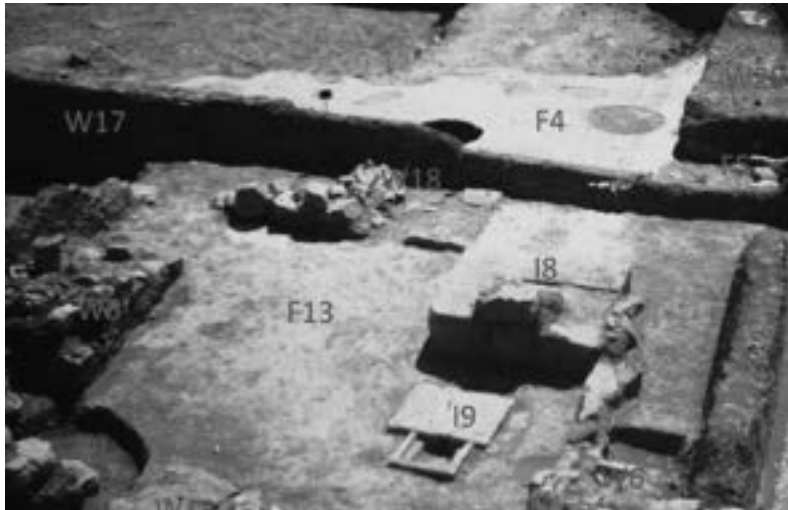


W17 is a wall with irregular courses of medium-sized and small stones at its outer faces and an irregular core of small stones and mud mortar, running in a NE-SW orientation. Its total width is ca. 1,70 m. The outer SE facing consists of a 0,40 m. wide mudbrick segment which is much better preserved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



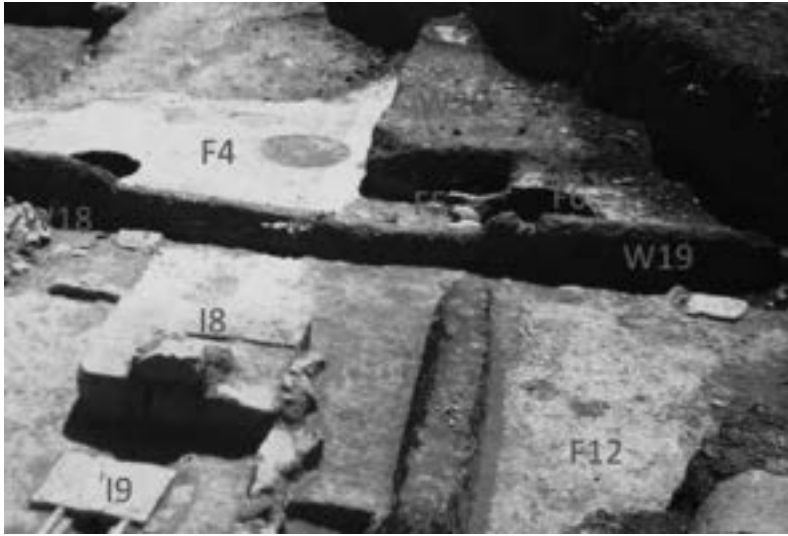
(rubble) wall, up to a height of ca. 1,10 m. (measured from F4). W17 is the same as and continues into W18. There is no evidence for traces of (painted) plaster on the NW side (room IV) nor on the SE side (room XIV). It is likely that F4 abuts W17. The differing character of the SE mudbrick wall segment 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.<sup>409</sup>

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

<sup>409</sup> '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.<sup>410</sup>

*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.

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<sup>410</sup> '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'.<sup>411</sup> 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.

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<sup>411</sup> 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.

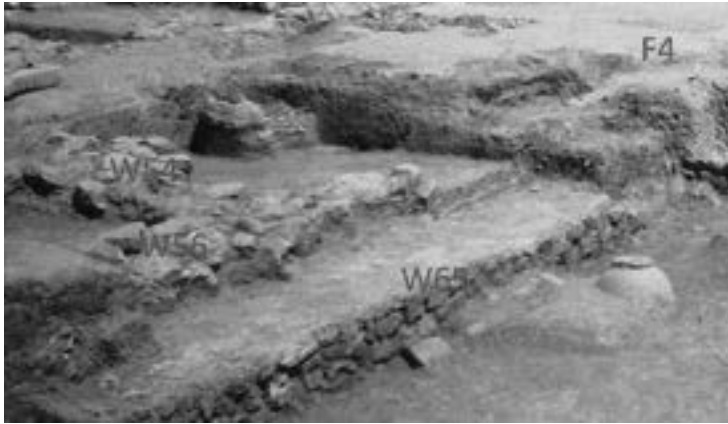
*Figures appendix A: X.*



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.<sup>412</sup> 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.<sup>413</sup> 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

<sup>412</sup> '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).

<sup>413</sup> '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.<sup>414</sup> 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.*

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<sup>414</sup> *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.

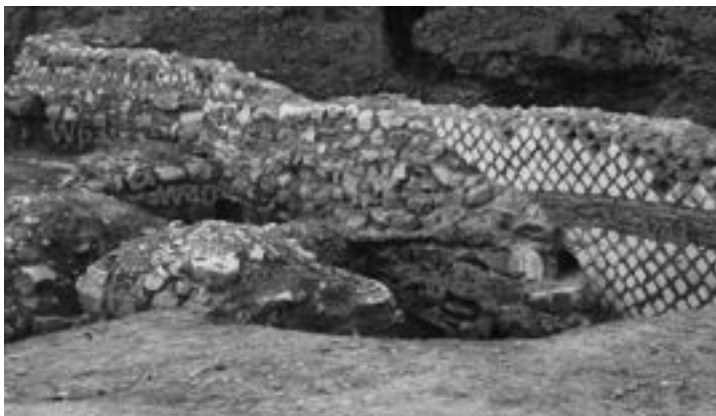
*Figures appendix A: III/IX/LVIII/XIX/XXXVIII/XLVI/CI.*



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.'*<sup>415</sup> 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.

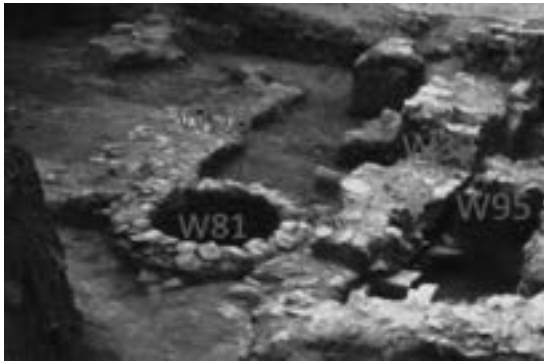


W80 is a wall with semi-regular courses of medium-sized and small stones (width: 0,50 m. length: 1,70 m.) located in corridor A5, running in a NE-SW orientation. It was preserved up to a height of ca. 0,70 m. It was built against W33 in the SW and W38 in the NE and thus is later than both. It entirely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

*Figures appendix A: XI/CXXXI.*

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<sup>415</sup> Özgüç 2009, 41 (transl. by the author).



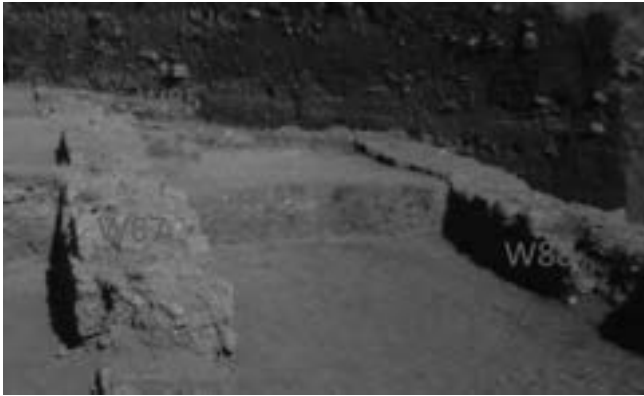
W81 is a circular pit (diameter: 2,05 m.) located between rooms XII and XIII. It is constructed with semi-regular courses of medium-sized stones. It cuts through W34 in the SE and W33 in the NW. It is likely that W81 is located exactly at the location of an entrance in W34, providing access between room 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.

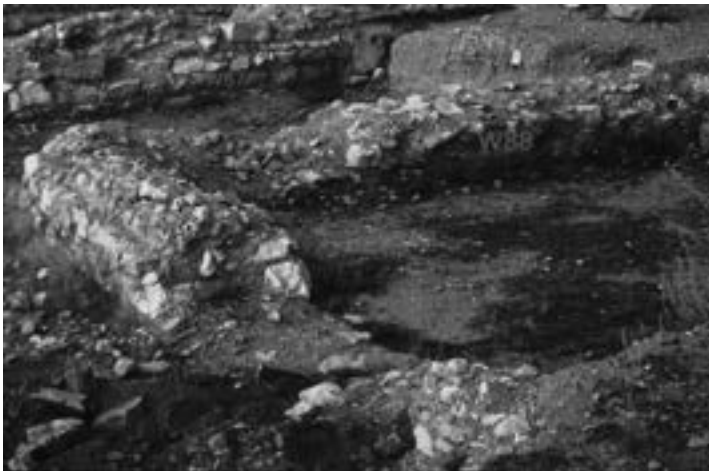
*Figures appendix A: XVII/CXXXI/LXXII/XV.*



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.*

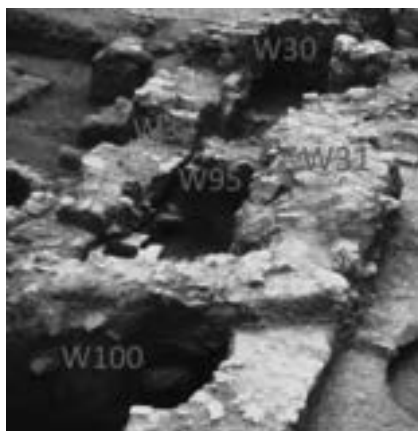
*Figures appendix A: XXXVI/LXXXII/XLVII/XVIII/XXV.*



*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

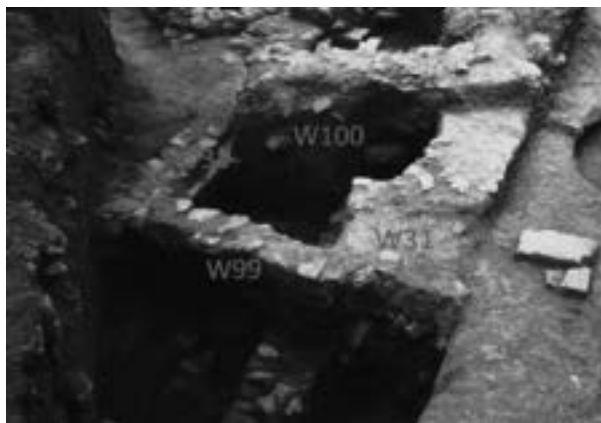
W31 in the NW and W32 in the SE and thus is likely later than these walls. It completely closes off corridor A4. No traces of (painted) plaster are associated with W94.

*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.<sup>416</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> The inner *emblema* is executed in *opus vermiculatum* in tesserae of 3-6 mm<sup>2</sup>. 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 follows<sup>417</sup>: 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

<sup>416</sup> Bingöl 1997, pl. 24,2; Bingöl 2013, 66 fig. 94.

<sup>417</sup> 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 mm<sup>2</sup>.<sup>418</sup> 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.

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<sup>418</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 mm<sup>2</sup>, 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.<sup>419</sup> 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'<sup>420</sup>). 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 this 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.<sup>421</sup> A high quality, perhaps figurative,

<sup>419</sup> 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).

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

<sup>421</sup> '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.<sup>422</sup>

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).

<sup>422</sup> '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.<sup>423</sup> In the same report, a little sketch gives a rough idea of its decorative pattern as well.<sup>424</sup> 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.*

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<sup>423</sup> '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).

<sup>424</sup> 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 mm<sup>2</sup>, 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.18-1001<sup>425</sup>; ID702-st. 18-1002<sup>426</sup>). 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.18-1004<sup>427</sup>) 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.18-1003<sup>428</sup>) 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.*



<sup>425</sup> 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.

<sup>426</sup> 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.

<sup>427</sup> 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.

<sup>428</sup> 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.

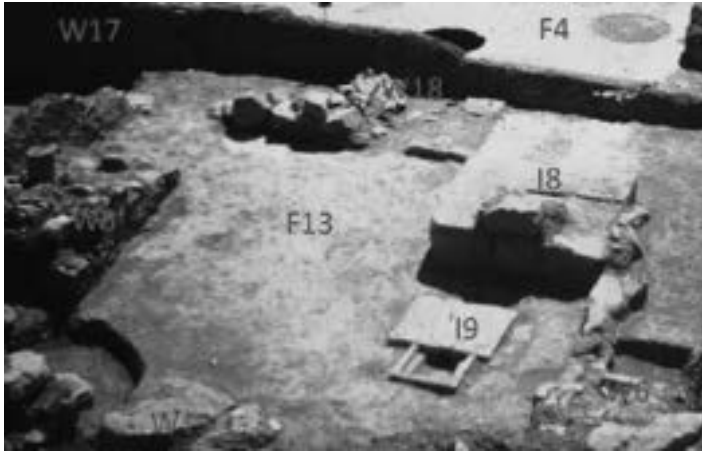
*Figures appendix A: XIII/XXVIII/LXII/LXXIII/LXXIX.*



*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.<sup>429</sup> 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.*

<sup>429</sup> '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.<sup>430</sup> It must be covered by F4. See also map B2.



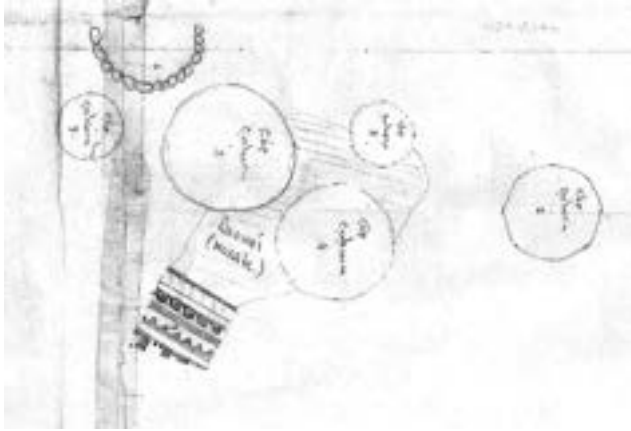
F17 is a fragment of a floor (6,50 x 2,80) located in the 'opus reticulatum structure', constructed with small square limestone slabs in an orthogonal design. It was not well documented but it is likely that it is similar to F10. It was destroyed in the W, S and E side. It seems to abut W67 in the NE.

*Absolute height:* ca. 445,69 m.

*Figures appendix A:* XXV/L/CXXVII.

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<sup>430</sup> '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.<sup>431</sup> The preservation of this surface is not clear. On top of it, 'late-Assyrian' finds were encountered, including a glazed brick,

<sup>431</sup> '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.<sup>432</sup> 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.*

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<sup>432</sup> *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*.

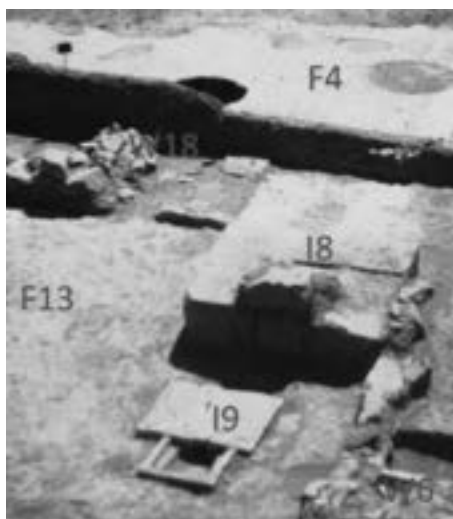
*Figures appendix A: XIII/XXVII/XXVIII/XXX/XXXIII/XXXVII/XL/LXII/LXVI/LXXIII/LXXIX.*



*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

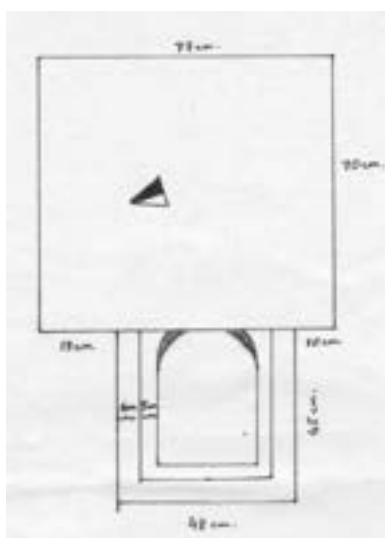
at the time of excavation. On p.1 of the 1984 excavation report, the block is drawn in a sketch at the same location and it has written 'altar' on it. It seems to be on top of F12.

*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.

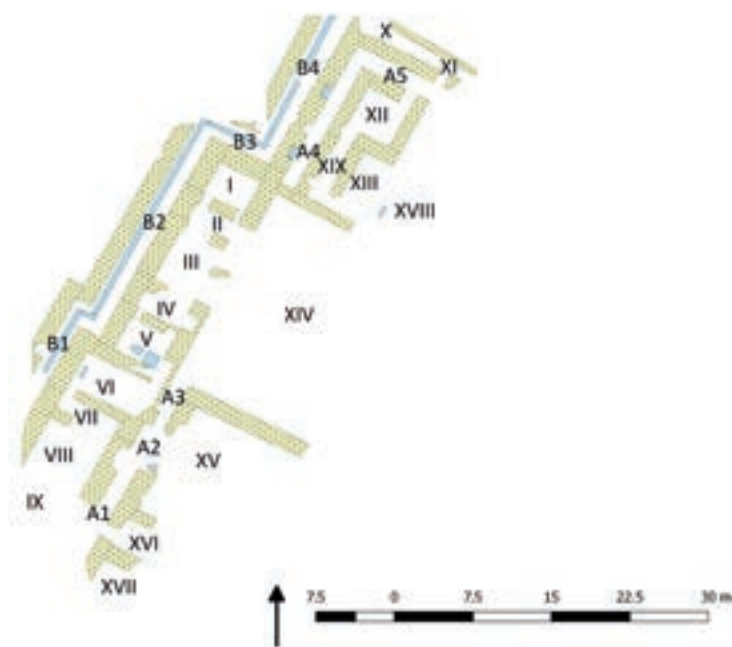


Fig. 4.2 Map of the palace of Samosata with room and corridor numbers. Map by the author (based on Özgüç 2009, 139 pl. 12).

The excavated area of the palace measures ca. 64,0 x 26,5 m. (ca. 1700 m<sup>2</sup>), 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.<sup>433</sup>

*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

<sup>433</sup> 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.<sup>434</sup> Close to the two structures, two limestone portraits were discovered (ID215 and ID216), probably depicting Zeus and a Hellenistic

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<sup>434</sup> 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.<sup>435</sup> 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

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<sup>435</sup> 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.<sup>436</sup> 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).

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<sup>436</sup> '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.<sup>437</sup>

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.

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<sup>437</sup> 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.<sup>438</sup> Bingöl however argues that we should interpret room XIV as a roofed space because of its painted walls,

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<sup>438</sup> Kropp 2013, 108; Kopsacheili 2011, 26 n.31; Brijder 2014, 425.

tessellated mosaic, and rectangular (i.e. not square) shape.<sup>439</sup> 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.<sup>440</sup> 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 ceramics<sup>441</sup> and a fragment of architectural decoration (ID522).<sup>442</sup> 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.<sup>443</sup> 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

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<sup>439</sup>Bingöl 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.'

<sup>440</sup>'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).

<sup>441</sup>*Ibidem*.

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

<sup>443</sup>In 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).<sup>444</sup> 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.<sup>445</sup> 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.<sup>446</sup>

### *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.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>444</sup> Dörner and Goell 1963; Hoepfner 1983; Brijder 2014, 281.

<sup>445</sup> 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).

<sup>446</sup> 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.

<sup>447</sup> 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.

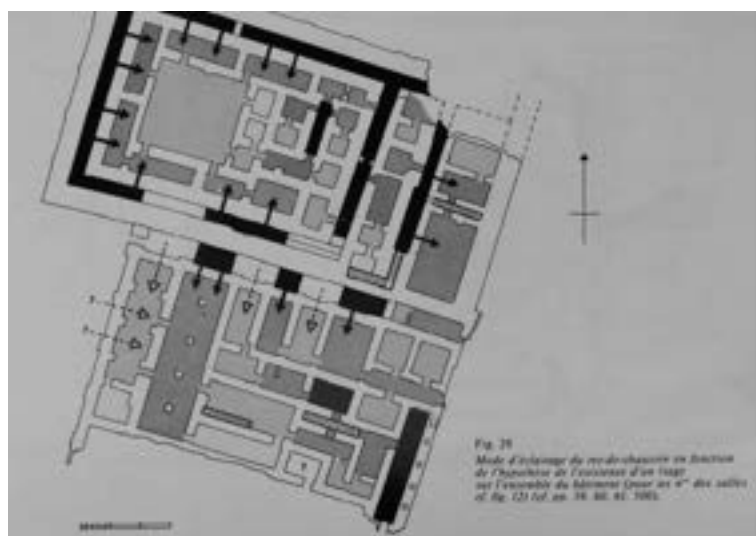


Fig. 4.3. A reconstruction of an unroofed peripheral corridor in Palace 'A' in Kish. Source: Margueron 1982, fig. 29.

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.<sup>448</sup> 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.<sup>449</sup> 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.

<sup>448</sup> Especially at Kish A, see Margueron 1982, 525 n. 84.

<sup>449</sup> 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.<sup>450</sup> 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.

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<sup>450</sup> 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'.<sup>451</sup> 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'.<sup>452</sup> In another section, it is mentioned that Antiochos 'has completed what was left behind and accomplished other parts of the hierothesion'.<sup>453</sup> Brijder has suggested that, in Arsameia on the Nymphaios, such embellishments likely concerned the wall painting in Masonry Style inside the two 'Mosaic Rooms'.<sup>454</sup> 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.<sup>455</sup> 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)'.<sup>456</sup> In a footnote, Versluys furthermore remarks: 'these authors do not question the interpretation of the remains as a royal palatial complex'.<sup>457</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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'.<sup>458</sup> 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.<sup>459</sup> Its large size (at

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<sup>451</sup> A99-101.

<sup>452</sup> A42-45.

<sup>453</sup> A58-60.

<sup>454</sup> Brijder 2014, 294. For the 'Mosaic Rooms' of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, see section 10.5 of this dissertation.

<sup>455</sup> 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.

<sup>456</sup> Versluys 2017a, 84-85.

<sup>457</sup> *Idem*, 85 n. 88.

<sup>458</sup> Strabo 16.2.3.

<sup>459</sup> Brands and Hoepfner 1996; Nielsen 1999.

least 1700 m<sup>2</sup>) 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.<sup>460</sup> 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.<sup>461</sup> 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 *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios.<sup>462</sup> 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.<sup>463</sup>

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.

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<sup>460</sup> See ID216 in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

<sup>461</sup> See ID520 in chapter 6 of this dissertation.

<sup>462</sup> See below for a discussion of this site in relation to the chronology of the palace. For *hierothesia* and the Antiochan ruler cult, see paragraph 1.5 of this dissertation with bibliography.

<sup>463</sup> 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.<sup>464</sup> 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.<sup>465</sup> Özgüç suggested that the palatial complex passed into possession of king Antiochos I, who expanded it and commissioned its decoration.<sup>466</sup> 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.<sup>467</sup>

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 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, while the second phase is rather situated in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> 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

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<sup>464</sup> Cf. Özgüç 1985, 225; Zoroğlu 2000, 83.

<sup>465</sup> 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.

<sup>466</sup> Özgüç 2009; Kopsacheili 2012, 232.

<sup>467</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, like Eastern Sigillata A (ESA), which, in North-Syrian contexts, is generally dated to the late-Hellenistic and early-Roman periods.<sup>468</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE. Although the evidence is very limited and blurry, these observations at least *allow* for an early 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 Nymphaios<sup>469</sup>, in terms of mosaic decoration (tessellated, black and white concentric border decoration<sup>470</sup>), the architectural decoration (Oenbrink’s Commagenean ‘Corinthian Order I’<sup>471</sup>), the wall painting (Masonry Style wall painting<sup>472</sup>) and the iconography (the mosaic *emblema* with a depiction of a Rhodian amphora flanked by dolphin-like creatures<sup>473</sup>).<sup>474</sup> Although the chronology of Arsameia on the Nymphaios has been debated during the last decades, it seems increasingly convincing that its ‘Mosaic Rooms’

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<sup>468</sup> In Jebel Khalid, ESA is dated post-150 BCE (see Jackson 2009, 250). For the ESA of Samosata, see Zoroğlu 1986.

<sup>469</sup> See paragraph 10.5.1 of this dissertation for a more elaborate discussion of this site in relation to the palace of Samosata.

<sup>470</sup> 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.

<sup>471</sup> 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.

<sup>472</sup> 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.

<sup>473</sup> 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.

<sup>474</sup> 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.<sup>475</sup>

In the Great Cult Inscription found at the *hierothesion* of Arsameia on the Nymphaios, Antiochos I mentions the foundation and fortification of both plateaus in Arsameia by Arsames, the Armenian satrap in the 3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>476</sup> Apart from a few pottery finds, which comprise bowls, cups and cooking pots<sup>477</sup>, 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 phase<sup>478</sup> which allows no reconstruction whatsoever. This evidence leaves us with a severe gap in the archaeological record from the early-Hellenistic period in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (represented by some pottery finds from lower strata) until the *hierothesion's* main phase which the excavators attributed to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE, i.e. the reign of Antiochos I.<sup>479</sup> The latter dating would mean that the building activities by Mithradates I which are mentioned in the inscription are invented by Antiochos I.<sup>480</sup>

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 2<sup>nd</sup> or beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE<sup>481</sup>, 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-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE in Commagene around the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE.<sup>482</sup> This hypothesis

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<sup>475</sup> 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.

<sup>476</sup> Cf. Dörner and Goell 1963, 40–42 l. 13–58.

<sup>477</sup> *Idem*, 236–237 do not list cooking pots which were obviously only found in the trench close to the staircase (Hoepfner 1983, 92).

<sup>478</sup> Hoepfner 1983, 6–7; Oenbrink 2017, 37–38.

<sup>479</sup> Dörner et al. 1965, 218–221; Hoepfner 1983, 51–52; Hoepfner 2012, 129.

<sup>480</sup> 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.

<sup>481</sup> Lavin 1963, 196; Balty 1981, 355–357; Salzmann 1982, 68. 120 nos. 146–149; Balty 1995, 161; Oenbrink 2017, 120.

<sup>482</sup> 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-1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE.<sup>483</sup> 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-1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE*’<sup>484</sup>, already the quoted publication of the excavations advises caution since it also mentions pottery from the layers he refers to, dating to 2<sup>nd</sup> – and even late-2<sup>nd</sup> – c. BCE<sup>485</sup>. 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-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE.<sup>486</sup> According to their evaluation, all pottery that can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE is imported although for most of the finds they cannot give a place or region of origin.<sup>487</sup> In short, the pottery found at Arsameia does not allow for Hoepfner’s exclusive dating of the structures to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> 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-2<sup>nd</sup>/early 1<sup>st</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> and especially early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE.<sup>488</sup> Also the previously mentioned new archaeological and epigraphic evidence from a sanctuary at the Güzelçay<sup>489</sup>, about 20 km northeast of Samosata, supports the idea of Mithradatic precursors.<sup>490</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> *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).

<sup>484</sup> 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’.

<sup>485</sup> Hoepfner 1983, 92–95.

<sup>486</sup> Cf. Dörner and Goell 1963, 234–241.

<sup>487</sup> *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 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE and the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 1<sup>st</sup> 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.

<sup>488</sup> Oenbrink 2017, esp. 120–121.

<sup>489</sup> See *infra* n. 165..

<sup>490</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE–early 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE and could suggest that the palatial complex was at least in use until this period.<sup>491</sup> 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).<sup>492</sup> 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.<sup>493</sup> 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).<sup>494</sup> If this is right, the superimposition of the

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<sup>491</sup> For the sculptural fragments, see chapter 6 of this dissertation.

<sup>492</sup> 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'.

<sup>493</sup> 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.

<sup>494</sup> *Opus reticulatum* is mostly found on the Italian peninsula (and specifically in Latium and Campania), where it is dated to the early 1<sup>st</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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-1<sup>st</sup> c. CE at the latest, the palatial complex would have fallen out of use.<sup>495</sup>

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<sup>495</sup> 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’ ἐρυμνὴν 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.