

Military Installations at Zeugma: An Overview of the Swiss Archaeological Investigations, 2001-2003

M. Hartmann and M. A. Speidel

THE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

The Euphrates marked most of Rome's eastern frontier, and it divided the empire's territory from the spheres of influence of Rome's most resourceful foes, the Parthians and Persians (fig. 1).¹ The river marked the border between the two foremost empires of the ancient world,² and, for the many different peoples of this frontier zone, it made a true difference on which side of the border they lived.³

The defense of Rome's eastern frontier was the task of soldiers. Their duties were of such proportions that the defense of this border consumed about one quarter of Rome's entire military force. The impact of the Roman army in this area, however, was not limited to its vital function of preserving Roman law and order. The Roman army also played a major role in the thriving economy of the eastern provinces and, amongst other things, furthered the spread of Christianity. The armed forces thus strongly participated in shaping the culture, the economy, the infrastructure, the landscape, and the individual lives of people in the Near East under Roman rule. Only after the overwhelming military success of the Arabs did this part of the world find an entirely new political order.

During the long history of Roman military presence, Zeugma played an outstanding role on the eastern frontier.⁴ It was located at the crossing of two major ancient highways that linked the Mediterranean coast and Anatolia with northern and southern Mesopotamia. Moreover, it provided the most convenient river crossing, the *transitus Euphratis nobilis*, as Pliny the Elder called it.⁵ It is of no surprise, therefore, that the east-west route crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma was a favorite inroad for Parthian attacks.⁶ However, Zeugma also saw large-scale Roman military operations being launched in the opposite direction: During the wars against the Parthians Roman troops regularly used this river crossing to invade the enemy's territory. From 31 B.C., when Zeugma was added to the Roman province of Syria, to A.D. 195, when the Roman emperor Septimius Severus created the new province Osrhoene on the opposite east bank of the Euphrates,⁷ Zeugma was thus a frontier city of great strategic importance.⁸

Apart from political and diplomatic efforts to secure its eastern border, Rome's frontier policy also included moving forward a significant proportion of its military force in Syria. Probably as early as the principate of Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) most of the Roman army in the region was

surveying the Euphrates.⁹ Even so, the names and garrison places of only a few units are known for this early period.¹⁰ In A.D. 19, *legio X Fretensis* had its winter quarters at Cyrrhus, roughly halfway between the provincial capital Antioch and Zeugma.¹¹ In the years prior to A.D. 66, the same legion is known to have been safeguarding the Euphrates.¹² Hence, *legio X Fretensis* may have been moved closer to the river, perhaps to a new fortress at or near Zeugma.¹³

At any rate, a temporary Roman military camp was set up in A.D. 49 *apud Zeugma*, when the emperor Claudius supported a friendly Parthian prince to seize the Parthian throne.¹⁴ The camp was set up for a Roman military escort, which had accompanied the prince on his journey from Rome to the Euphrates border. A similar event had already taken place in A.D. 35, when Tiberius championed another prince.¹⁵ Between 1997 and 1999 our team discovered and investigated two superimposed temporary Roman forts, each of ca. 11 ha, on the plain to the east of Belkis village (now submerged).¹⁶ These camps were built of dried mud bricks and tamped mud. Each had been occupied only for a short period of time before and around the mid-first century A.D. Perhaps these are the two camps *apud Zeugma* known from our sources. It is equally possible, however, that other reasons led to the construction of one or both of these forts.¹⁷ Yet, whatever the occasions for their construction may have been, the existence of such temporary military forts in the immediate vicinity of ancient Zeugma appears to indicate that there was no large and permanent legionary fortress *apud Zeugma* available at that time to provide shelter for military escorts—unlike the 10th legion's fortress at Cyrrhus mentioned above, where Germanicus and Piso and their escorts had stayed in A.D. 19.¹⁸

In A.D. 64, the Roman general Domitius Corbulo consolidated the military installations on the banks of the Euphrates by building bases at closer intervals (*Euphratis ripam crebrioribus praesidiis insedit*).¹⁹ Only two years later, the 10th legion was ordered to take part in the campaigns of Vespasian and Titus against the Jewish rebels in Palestine.²⁰ The unit never returned to its base on the Euphrates, but was permanently garrisoned in Jerusalem instead.²¹ The Euphrates, however, was not left unprotected. Early in A.D. 70, 3,000 of the "guards from the Euphrates" also joined Titus' army, this time for his final attack on Jerusalem.²² These soldiers were probably drawn at least in part from *legio III Scythica*, as this unit was the only legion based in Syria during the early months of A.D. 70.²³ Hence,

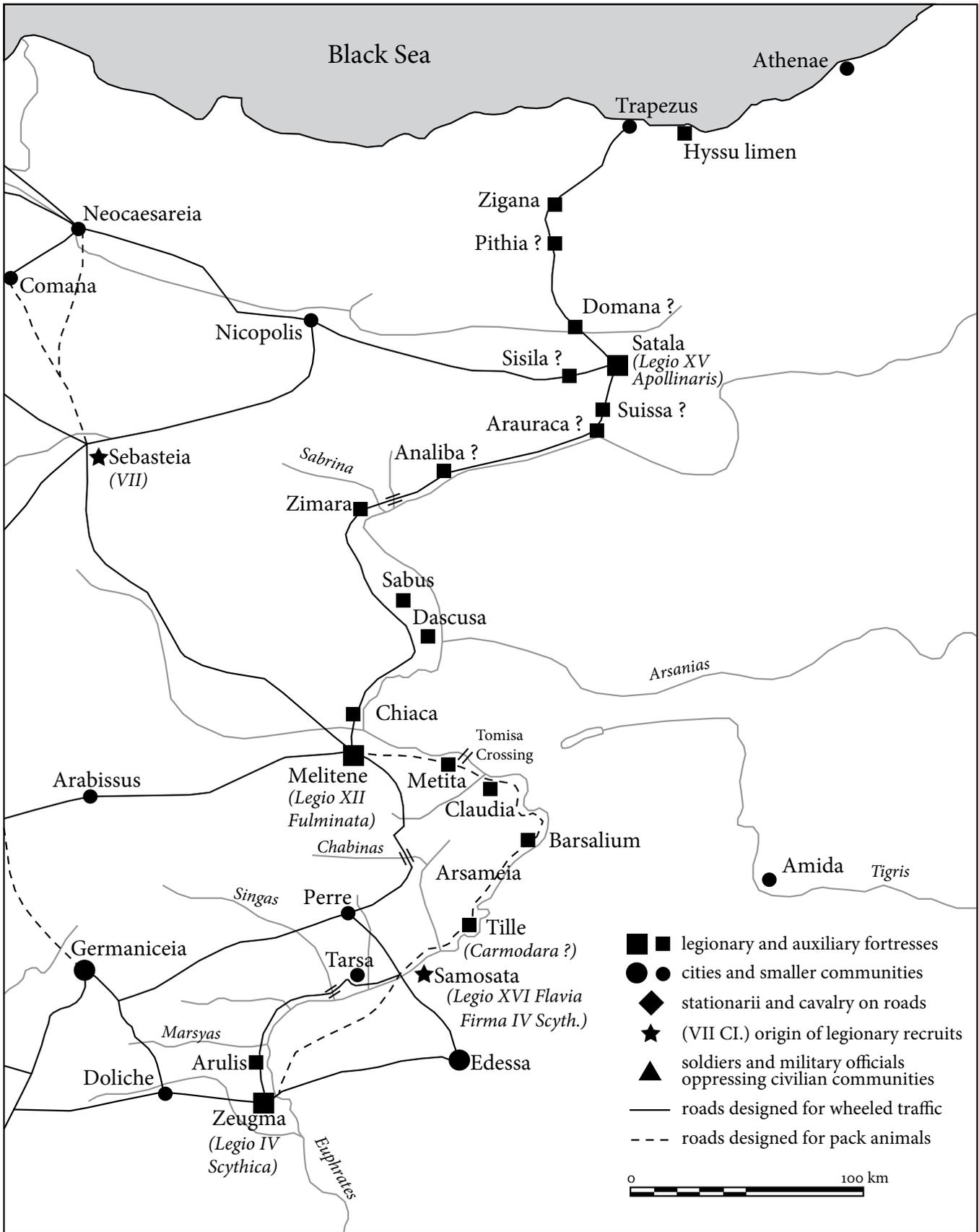


Figure 1. Zeugma's location on the northern Euphrates frontier (after Mitchell 1993, map 9).

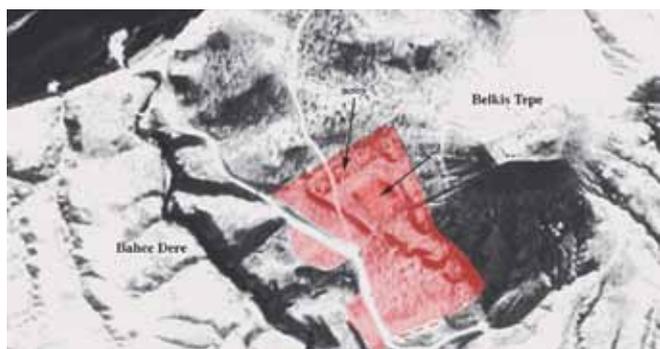


Figure 2. Russian satellite photograph showing the presumed area of Roman military occupation with the areas of archaeological investigation in 2002 (At Meydan plateau) and in 2003.

legio IIII Scythica may have replaced *legio X Fretensis* in its role as the “guards from the Euphrates” after A.D. 66/67. Henceforth, our sources closely associate *legio IIII Scythica* with the city of Zeugma.²⁴

Safeguarding the river crossing at Zeugma was certainly one of the main tasks of the Roman army on the Euphrates River. Consequently, the city is generally assumed to have been the permanent garrison-place of *legio IIII Scythica*. Yet, when exactly Zeugma became associated with a permanent legionary base, where exactly such a large fortress may have been located, and what relation it may have had with the civilian population of Zeugma are unknown, as the fortress of *legio IIII Scythica* has not yet been discovered.

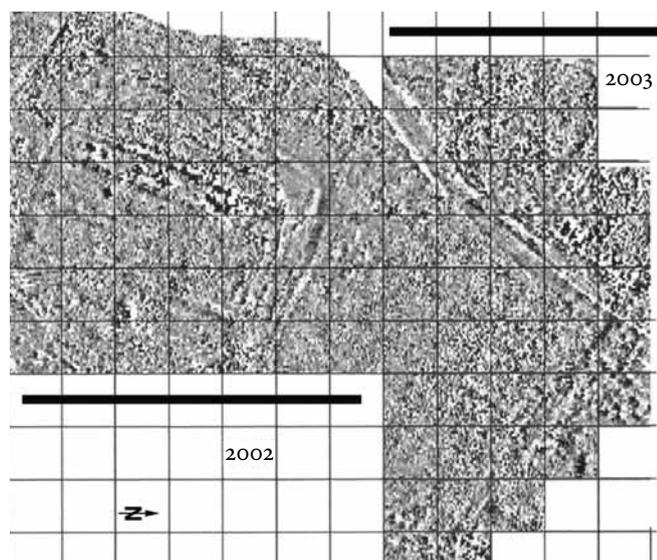


Figure 3. Large-scale gradiometer image of the At Meydan plateau at Zeugma (2002 and 2003 combined).

THE AT MEYDANI MILITARY CAMP

In 2002 and 2003 geophysical surveys were conducted on the field of At Meydanı northwest of Belkis Tepe and in an adjacent area to the north (fig. 2). The aim of these surveys was to collect further information on this field, which had been claimed to be the site of the fortress of *legio IIII Scythica*. Several stamped tiles of the fourth legion found there seemed to support this view.²⁵ Russian satellite photographs acquired by our team showed architectural structures similar to those of Roman military buildings. Finally, our surface surveys proved At Meydanı to lie amidst a vast complex of fields arranged on several plateaux, all of which provided evidence for Roman military presence: numerous tile stamps and many fragments of Latin inscriptions.²⁶ At Meydanı and the field-complex between Bahçe Dere and Belkis Tepe comprise ca. 15 to 20 ha of terraced land. The northern and southern boundaries are two nearly parallel ridges that run roughly west to east. In the middle of the southern ridge a man-made gap allowed access to an ancient road leading to and from Zeugma. As these topographical findings suggest, the area had been enclosed and was visibly separated from the city of Zeugma.²⁷

The geophysics team was led by Prof. Mahmut Drahor from Dokuz Eylül University at Izmir.²⁸ Both gradiometry (fig. 3) and resistivity were applied.²⁹ The resistivity profiling data was collected in 1-m intervals along 10 north-to-south profiles by the Wenner-type array ($a = 1, 3, \text{ and } 5 \text{ m}$). This data was processed by inversion and interpreted via electrical resistivity tomography in order to obtain true resistivity and depths in the study area.

The results show a significant correlation between the

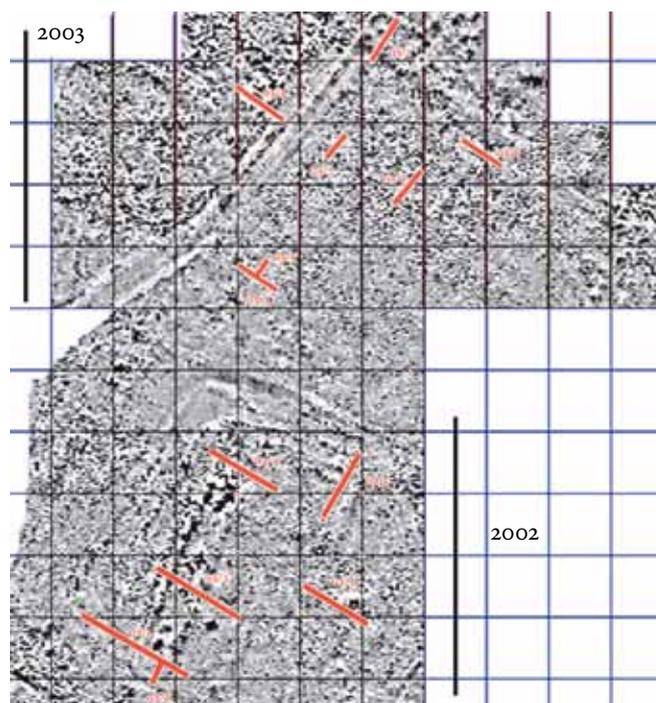


Figure 4. The position of the trial trenches (2002 and 2003).



Figure 5. Wall of large blocks in trench 02/1.



Figure 6. Wall of large blocks in trench 02/4.

resistivity and the magnetic data, both clearly supporting each other. Thus, each method by itself successfully revealed the archaeological features in the investigated area. The results of both methods were superimposed and provided a rough blueprint of the architectural features. The archaeological structures, in general, are close to the surface (0.5–1 m) though some, particularly in the northern and western sections of the field, are deeper (2–2.5 m). The picture produced by the gradiometry data (fig. 3) from the At Meydanı plateau shows the rectangular outlines of a construction with the typical features of a Roman military camp. The size of this rectangular structure (ca. 1 ha), however, made it clear from the start that this could not be the permanent camp of *legio IIII Scythica*.

Next, several trenches, all confined to the topographically distinct plateau at At Meydanı (i.e., between E 40/120 and N 20/120) were dug, and these clearly verified and further clarified Prof. Drahor's geophysical results (fig. 4).³⁰ Three parallel trenches (02/1, 02/2, and 02/4; figs. 5 and 6) on the At Meydanı plateau uncovered the foundations of two massive stone walls in 2002. This clearly verified the gradiometer image. Both wall foundations are 1 m wide and run parallel to the western slope of the plateau.



Figure 7. Wall of large blocks in trench 02/5.

Where parts of the stone walls were still intact, one could see that they had been built with large rectangular blocks whereas the foundations were constructed from gravel and concrete. Obviously, these walls had been part of a fortification. A similar situation was detected in the northern (02/5) and southern (02/6) parts of the plateau. Here again the remains of wall foundations of 1 m width were observed. In trench 02/6 the wall followed the edge of the plateau towards the south, and in trench 02/5 it appeared to be part of a gate (fig. 7). The occasional remains of smaller wall foundations, of postholes, and of rectangular blocks of stone with holes drilled through their centers (probably to hold clay pipes) point to a variety of buildings within the fortification. The stratigraphy in the different trenches revealed several phases of construction. This was also confirmed by the finds. In particular, the significant amount of Roman military equipment (arrow- and spearheads, armor scales, mail shirts, etc.) as well as coins, suggest a chronological frame between the late first and the mid-third century A.D.

In the field north of the At Meydanı plateau, investigated in 2003, the gradiometry image (fig. 3) shows a variety of rectangular architectural structures oriented northwest to northeast and northeast to southwest. As expected from the gradiometric image, roadway structures were uncovered in trenches 03/1 and 03/4. One of these seems to have

been a main road. It leaves the area of military occupation and leads directly to the center of ancient Zeugma (fig. 8). Trench 03/1 also revealed the remains of workshops (fig. 9), and trenches 03/1 and 03/3 those of a complicated system of clay pipes (figs. 10 and 11). As in the previous year, walls constructed of large rectangular blocks of stone were also discovered (fig. 12). Fragments of a latrine and the remains of a two-colored mosaic in trench 03/6 hint at the existence of a bathhouse (figs. 13 and 14).

The stratigraphy in the trenches show several periods, and the small finds point to an occupation of the area from the end of the first to at least the fourth century A.D. (fig. 15). As yet, no structures preceding those of the Roman military occupation could be observed. The significant amount of Roman army equipment (arrow- and spearheads, armor scales, scabbards, mantraps, mail shirts, helmets, and parts of a catapult) from the trenches provide clear and solid proof of the military nature of the archaeological remains (fig. 16).³¹

In both years, 2002 and 2003, the archaeological structures and the finds were of the same nature. Clearly, we are dealing with one and the same Roman military installation. Yet, further detailed information, as well as an analysis of the function and purpose of the observed structures, can only be obtained by further investigations and future large-scale excavations. A first hypothesis of the function of the investigated archaeological structures can, however, be

obtained by an analysis of the inscriptions and tile stamps discovered during the surface surveys and from the trial trenches.

ROMAN MILITARY INSCRIPTIONS AND TILE STAMPS

The area of military occupation described above, as well as two ridges that confine the plateau, have yielded a vast number of tiles stamped with the abbreviated names of several Roman units (fig. 2). With only a handful of these tiles known from other locations at Zeugma (the summit of Belkis Tepe, nearby Karatepe, and Zeugma's west necropolis),³² practically all stamped tiles have been found on this plateau. A concentration was noticed at At Meydanı itself, as well as in the fields to the north and the west of it. Furthermore, many fragments of Latin inscriptions were discovered in the same fields.

In the Roman East, Greek was the official language. There is no indication that Latin ever became a normal language of daily speech. The numerous Latin inscriptions from the investigated area are therefore a significant find (fig. 17).³³ Latin inscriptions in this part of the ancient world were linked to distinct, Latin-speaking communities, such as soldiers, veterans, or the staff and officials of the Roman provincial government.³⁴ At Zeugma, this community must



Figure 8. Roadway structures in trench 03/4.



Figure 9. Remains of a workshop in trench 03/1.



Figure 10. System of clay pipes in trench 03/1.

have been the Roman army. What little can be drawn from the nature of these slabs and their original inscriptions shows that many may have belonged to statue bases with inscriptions honoring Roman emperors and generals. Others may have been parts of building inscriptions. One fragmentary block of stone with monumental letters of high quality was found on the north slope of Belkis Tepe, nearly two-thirds of the way to the top.³⁵ This suggests that the building it once belonged to stood on the hilltop, presumably within the temple precinct. The few remaining Latin letters belonged to the name of the Roman individual responsible



Figure 12. Wall of large blocks in trench 03/3.



Figure 11. Wall of large blocks of stone and system of clay pipes in trench 03/3.

for the construction and dedication of the building. It is of particular interest, therefore, that a stamped tile of *legio IIII Scythica* has also been found within the temple precinct on top of Belkis Tepe.³⁶

The concentration of these fragments in the area to the north and northwest of the At Meydanı plateau, as well as their shapes and sizes, could indicate that they had last been in secondary use as parts of a stone floor. A similar such floor was observed in trench 03/6 in the 2003 campaign, though none of the fragmentary stone slabs in the uncovered area was inscribed (fig. 18).



Figure 13. The remains of a latrine in trench 03/6.



Figure 14. The remains of a latrine in trench 03/6.



Figure 15. Coins from the second to fifth centuries A.D.



Figure 16. A selection of Roman military equipment from the 2003 campaign (scabbards, mantrap, axes, parts of a catapult).



Figure 17. Fragments of Latin inscriptions found in 2002 and 2003.



Figure 18. Floor of reused fragments of stone slabs in trench 03/6.

The military nature and possible function of the area under investigation is also borne out by the many tile stamps found in this area (fig. 19).³⁷ According to the number of stamped tiles recovered, *legio IIII Scythica* was by far the most active legion in the area (table 1). Of a total of now 190 stamped tiles³⁸ (153 of which were found by our team in 2002 and 2003), only 20 are not of *legio IIII Scythica*, whereas 170 were stamped by this legion. This shows that the fourth legion was responsible for most of the construction work. Soldiers of other legions, however, also participated in building activities on the same fields, producing their own stamped tiles.³⁹

Leg I	2
Leg I IT	1
Leg II	1
Leg III	6
Leg IIII	1
Leg IIII SCY	133
Leg VII	2
Leg P IN	1
Leg XIII (?)	3
Leg (?)	3
Total	153

Table 1: Tile stamps of legions found at Zeugma in 2002 and 2003.

The presence of these other units at Zeugma was hardly limited to a few weeks or months. Also, the archaeological results from the trial trenches suggest that the buildings constructed at At Meydanı were durable constructions intended to last for longer periods of time. The many different types of stamps used, as well as the different dates of the inscriptions, prove that there was a repeated presence of Roman soldiers on this site from at least the late first or

early second to the third century A.D. This observation is further confirmed by the stratigraphy and the finds from the trial trenches. Moreover, monuments honoring the emperor in Latin were set up in this field, and a temple was dedicated in Latin on the summit of Belkis Tepe. All this strongly suggests a military occupation of At Meydanı and the surrounding fields, with buildings intended for repeated mid- or long-term use.

These results go well with the fact that some soldiers from the West who died here had their Latin gravestones set up in Zeugma's west necropolis.⁴⁰ Latin gravestones have, as yet, not been found in any other necropolis of ancient Zeugma.⁴¹ The close link between the west necropolis and the military installations at At Meydanı is further suggested by the same Roman units on record at both sites, as well as by stamped tiles of *legio IIII Scythica* found at the necropolis.

Jörg Wagner had already recovered three Latin gravestones of soldiers of *legio I Adiutrix*, *legio IIII Scythica*, and of *legio X Gemina pia fidelis* from this area.⁴² These gravestones belong to the late second and early third century. The soldiers they were set up for may thus have died during one of the eastern wars of the time.⁴³ In 2002, our team recovered two further Latin gravestones of Roman soldiers from the west necropolis.⁴⁴ These belonged to an *optio* of *legio VII Claudia* from the late first or early second century A.D. and to a young soldier of *cohors milliaria Maurorum* from the mid-third century A.D.

In 2003, yet another Latin gravestone was discovered by our team in the immediate vicinity of the two inscriptions



Figure 19. A selection of tile stamps indicating the presence of several Roman military units.



Figure 20. Third-century gravestone of a soldier of legio II Adiutrix from Zeugma's West necropolis.

found the previous year. All inscriptions are now at the Archaeological Museum at Gaziantep. The new rectangular slab (height: 62 cm, width: 44.5 cm, thickness: 15.5 cm) of local white limestone is nearly complete, with only the lower left corner missing (fig. 20). Traces of red color are visible on the upper half of the frame around the text field. The inscribed surface, however, is somewhat abraded, making the lower parts of the inscription difficult to read. The upper and lower borders of the seven lines, with letter heights between 3.5 and 4.8 cm, are inscribed across a text field .48 m by .33 m. Laurel leaves and triangles are used to separate the words. The inscription reads thus:

D(is) ♦ M(anibus)
 L(ucius) Sep(timius) ♦ Patern(u)s
 q(uondam) ♦ mil(es) leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) p(ia) f(idelis)
 ann(or)um ♦ L ♦ stip(endiorum) XX ♦
 5 [---]+[-]sanus
 [here]ns eiu[s]
 [pon]end(um) ♦ curavit.⁴⁵

Units	By tile stamps	By inscriptions
<i>Cohors milliaria Maurorum</i>		♦
<i>Legio I</i>	♦	
<i>Legio I Adiutrix</i>		♦
<i>Legio I Italica</i>	♦	
<i>Legio II</i>	♦	
<i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>		♦
<i>Leg(io) P(annoniae) in(ferioris)</i>	♦	
<i>Legio III (Augusta?)</i>	♦	
<i>Legio IIII (Flavia?)</i>	♦	
<i>Legio IIII Scythica</i>	♦	♦
<i>Legio VII</i>	♦	
<i>Legio VII Claudia p.f.</i>	♦	♦
<i>Legio X Gemina</i>		♦
<i>Legio XIII Gemina</i>	♦	
<i>Equites scutarii Aureliaci</i>		♦

Table 2: Roman military units so far attested at Zeugma.⁴⁶

The general appearance of the gravestone as well as the soldier's names betray a third-century date. The soldier's legion, *legio II Adiutrix* from Aquincum in Lower Pannonia, took part in several eastern campaigns of the second and third centuries A.D.⁴⁷ Another Latin gravestone of a soldier of *legio II Adiutrix*, now in the Archaeological Museum at Sanliurfa (inv. no. 1419), had been removed from its original context at Zeugma when first seen by Jörg Wagner in Belkis village.⁴⁸ A stamped tile of an unnamed *legio II* was discovered by our team in the above-mentioned field of military occupation.⁴⁹ It may well have been produced by soldiers of *legio II Adiutrix*. One tile of particular interest (fig. 19, bottom left) bears the stamp LEG•P•IN, which must read: *leg(ionis) P(annoniae) in(ferioris)*.⁵⁰ Again, *legio II Adiutrix* must be meant, as this was the only legion in the province of Lower Pannonia until A.D. 214. It seems clear, therefore, that Lower Pannonian *legio II Adiutrix* had some involvement with the installation of the fields in our investigations.

In fact, soldiers of all four Pannonian legions (*legio I Adiutrix*, *legio II Adiutrix*, *legio X Gemina*, *legio XIII Gemina* [?]), as well as Pannonian auxiliaries (*cohors milliaria Maurorum*) appear to have been at Zeugma here at least once during the second or third century A.D. (table 2).⁵¹ Moreover, all hitherto known inscriptions set up by citizens of Zeugma and its surroundings outside Syria were found in the Danube provinces, particularly in and around Brigetio, the garrison place of *legio I Adiutrix*.⁵² This indicates particular ties between both regions most likely resulting from the repeated relocation of legionary soldiers from the Danube frontier to the military base at Zeugma.

Also, detachments from both of Moesia superior's legions (*legio III Flavia* and *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*) as well as from *legio I Italica* from Novae in Moesia inferior (fig. 19, col. 2 and table 1) appear to have been at Zeugma. So far, *legio III Augusta* from North Africa may have been the only legion from elsewhere than the Danube frontier. Finally, during the later fourth century, perhaps between the civil wars of A.D. 351 to 353 and the end of the century, an elite cavalry unit is attested at Zeugma by another inscription: (*equites scutarii*) *Aureliaci*.⁵³

CONCLUSIONS

All these units (apart from *cohors milliaria Maurorum*) are known from other sources to have participated in eastern wars. It is most likely, therefore, that their presence and their building activities at Zeugma were largely due to these campaigns. Clearly, the numerous stamped tiles and finds of Roman army equipment at At Meydanı and in the surrounding fields prove that we are dealing with a Roman military installation of the second and third centuries (fig. 2). With its immediate access to the Euphrates, and its permanent structures with buildings for repeated mid- or long-term use, it may have served as a major base where the many soldiers from different parts of the Roman world were led to await the emperor or his orders, before crossing into enemy territory.⁵⁴ Such forces were drawn from the frontiers across the empire and assembled for expeditionary armies.⁵⁵ These field armies had fought the decisive battles after the second century and saved the Roman Empire in the third. Much about their evolution, composition, and organization, as well as the logistics they depended upon, remains unknown. The new evidence from Zeugma, therefore, sheds welcome light on these issues, but in particular, it leaves no doubt that further investigations at Zeugma and future full-scale excavations will contribute enormously to our knowledge of the Roman field army.

On their march to and from the war zones, the expeditionary forces will have halted near many large cities at quarters often prepared for passing armies.⁵⁶ Yet, none of these quarters have so far been investigated and their organization and inner structures remain entirely unknown. The site at At Meydanı appears to have been one element of such a system. Its particular importance, however, at least up to A.D. 195, must have been with its location directly on the empire's frontier. In this respect the military base at Zeugma differed considerably from other such winter quarters, as it was here that so many Roman soldiers crossed into enemy territory. During campaigns after A.D. 195 this camp may also have served important logistical purposes.

Legio III Scythica was the principal unit at Zeugma, but the city was hardly suitable for the construction of a permanent Roman legionary fortress. The absence of a soldiers' graveyard and the impractical terrace structure of the area are indications of this. The construction activities at

the military base at At Meydanı of so many legions from other, faraway garrison places also leads to the conclusion that we are not dealing with *legio III Scythica's* permanent fortress. This goes well with the observation that the known military remains from within the city of Zeugma do not hint towards the long-term presence of larger numbers of Roman soldiers. A study of the archaeological contexts and of Roman military objects excavated in 2000 suggests that the majority of these objects were found in destruction layers, make-up layers, and fillings of the mid-third century within the various rooms of the excavated houses.⁵⁷ Most of these military items, therefore, seem to have been lost during the fights, pillage, and destruction of Zeugma in the Sasanian raid of A.D. 252/253, rather than by the occasional and repeated loss over many decades by Roman soldiers dwelling in the city. Finally, a very suitable flat field of well over 20 ha with all the necessary infrastructure, in particular water and roads, would have been available for the construction of such a fortress in the immediate vicinity of the city just south of Belkis Tepe. This area, however, investigated in 2001, revealed no traces of any habitation. Consequently, *legio III Scythica* probably had its permanent camp somewhere in the hinterland of Zeugma.⁵⁸

The discovery of the unique and major Roman military base at Zeugma is clearly of great and far-reaching archaeological and historical importance. However, only less than a quarter of the entire camp has hitherto been investigated. Further campaigns in the remaining areas as well as future full-scale excavations will be necessary to provide more information and answers as to the exact nature and history of the architectural structures at At Meydanı, as well as more information on the military purpose, use, and organization of the whole site. Much of what made Roman rule so enduring in this extremely diverse region with Rome's great rival neighbor just beyond the empire's borders remains unknown. Future investigations will therefore continue to reveal a great many welcome insights into questions relating to the history of the Roman Empire and the region of Zeugma, the history and the logistics of the Roman army, the interrelation of soldiers and civilians, foreign and inner relations, as well as the economy. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this project can be completed.

NOTES

1. Our sincere thanks go to Dr. David W. Packard and The Packard Humanities Institute for their generous support of our investigations between 2001 and 2003. We would also like to thank Dr. H. Güllüce, M. Önal, and A. Beyazlar, all of the Gaziantep Museum, as well as Prof. Dr. Mahmut Drahor and his team from Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir; Dr. J. Ewald, Arbaldswil; W. Rutishauser, Zürich; and Oxford Archaeology for all their help and support. All photographs are courtesy of the Mavors-Institute, Basel, Switzerland.
2. Vell. 2.101; Strabo 6.4.2; Tac. *Ann.* 2.58; 6.37; 15.17; Suet. *Cal.* 14. For the following, see Hartmann and Speidel 2003.
3. Millar 1993; Millar 1996, 159–73.

4. See in particular Wagner 1976; Kennedy 1998.
5. Plin. *NH* 5.21. See also Tac. *Ann.* 12.12 (*apud Zeugma, unde maxime pervius amnis*); Isid. *Char.* 1; Dio 49.19.3.
6. Tac. *Ann.* 12.12; Front. *Strat.* 1.1.6; Dio 49.19.
7. *AE* 1984, 919; Wagner 1983, 103–129.
8. *Stat. Silv.* 5.3.185–187; Jos. *BJ* 7.1.3.
9. Philo of Alexandria, *Legatio ad Caium* 31.207 and 34.259. On imperial politics, and the relations between the Roman army and the cities of Syria, see Gebhardt 2002.
10. For *cohors II pia fidelis* at Tell el Hajj (?) having been one of these early Roman units safeguarding the Euphrates frontier, see Stucky 1975. Cf. also Gregory 1995, 59–60, 202, and Russell 1995, 118–19 and n. 254, for further references.
11. Tac. *Ann.* 2.57.
12. Jos. *BJ* 7.1.3.
13. Our sources, however, do not provide any indication of a date or location for this.
14. Tac. *Ann.* 12.11; 12.12.3.
15. Jos. *Ant.* 18.4.5; Tac. *Ann.* 6.31ff.
16. Hartmann and Speidel 2002, 259–68; Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 103–5.
17. E.g., Tac. *Ann.* 15.3, 9.
18. Tac. *Ann.* 2.57.
19. Tac. *Ann.* 15.9.
20. Jos. 3.4.2; 5.1.6; Tac. *Hist.* 5.1.
21. Jos. *BJ* 7.1.3.
22. Jos. *BJ* 5.1.6.
23. Ritterling 1925, 1560; Keppie 1986, 421; Millar 1993, 75–6; Speidel 1998, 169; Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 102. For a history of *legio III Scythica* see Speidel 1998.
24. Speidel 1998, 163–204, esp. 166–8; Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 102–3.
25. Wagner 1976, 146, cf. also his Map 2; Kennedy 1998, 37. For the tile stamps, see below.
26. See below.
27. The results of the 2002 campaigns are published in Hartmann and Speidel 2003.
28. Engineering Faculty, Department of Geophysics, 35160 Kaynaklar Campus, Buca-Izmir, Turkey.
29. Prof. Drahor and his team have produced a full final report with the results of their investigations. A publication of these results is being prepared.
30. The archaeological team was under the direction of Hamza Güllüce (director of the Gaziantep Museum) and of Dr. Martin Hartmann (project leader of the Swiss team). The team also included Ahmet Beyazlar (Gaziantep Museum), the archaeologists Dr. Jürg Ewald and Werner Rutishauser, as well as Prof. Dr. Michael A. Speidel (University of Bern), co-project leader of the Swiss team.
31. For military equipment from excavations in the city of Zeugma in 2000, see chapters by Scott and Elton in this volume.
32. See below.
33. For the inscriptions found in 2002, see Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 112–21. For inscriptions on stone from excavations in the city of Zeugma in 2000, see the chapter by Crowther in volume 1.
34. Cf. Millar 1993, 527f.; Eck 2001, 50–3.
35. Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 112–3.
36. French 1994, 35f. and fig. 2.
37. For the tile stamps found until 2002, see Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 118–21.
38. Our investigations in 2004 have revealed further stamped tiles. A report of these investigations is currently being prepared for publication.
39. Auxiliary units, too, participated in the construction works at At Meydanı, as shown by a tile stamp discovered in 2004.
40. Wagner 1976, 147ff.; Kennedy 1998, 51ff. One of these soldiers even lost and buried his wife during his stay in the region: Cumont 1907, 577 no. 16; Cumont 1917, 329 no. 37; *IGLS* I 83. Cf. Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 117.
41. One Latin gravestone had been removed from its original context when first seen in Belkis village by Jörg Wagner: Wagner 1976, 534 no. 2 = *AE* 1977, 820. For another Latin gravestone (*IGLS* I 82) found at Çardak, just south of Ehnes, see note 51, below.
42. Wagner 1976, 132–5, nos. 1, 3–4; *AE* 1977, 819, 821–2. Cf. Speidel 1992, 214–8. For *AE* 1977, 822 see also Speidel 1998, 176 no. 1. A gravestone of a soldier of *legio II Adiutrix* may also originally have been set up in the west necropolis (cf. below). Finally, a further gravestone of a soldier of *legio X (Gemina) pia fidelis* from the late second or early third century was found at Syrian Laodiceia: Rey-Coquais 1994, 156–8 = *AE* 1994: 1770.
43. Speidel 1992, 212f.; Speidel 1998, 176 no. 1. Cf. also Lörincz 1995, 245–8.
44. Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 115–8.
45. Line 5: The heir's name can be restored in several ways: Bassanus, Casanus, Celsanus, Concessanus, Musanus, Pisanus, Processanus, Sanus, Sponsanus, Successanus, Tempusanus, Tolosanus, Ursanus (cf. Solin and Salomies 1988, 464) depending also on whether the abbreviated family name of soldier's heir preceded his cognomen. Line 6: For *herens* rather than *heres* see e.g., *CIL* 12, 122 (p. 805) = *ILAlp* 1, 35; *AE* 1976, 191 = *AE* 1985, 331; *AE* 1993, 1579; *AE* 1994, 556. [*Pare*]ns, though not entirely impossible, seems less likely.
46. Additional data will be published in our report on the 2004 campaigns.
47. Ritterling 1925, 1448–51; Speidel 1984, 12; Mocsy 1962, 626–9. Lörincz 2001, 165–7. Cf. e.g., *CIL* III 10572.
48. Wagner 1976, 534 no. 2 = *AE* 1977, 820.
49. Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 119, and above, table 2.
50. Compare the *vexill(atio) auxiliar(orum) Pann(oniae) infer(ioris)* that took part in Severus Alexander's Persian War (*CIL* III 1464 = *ILS* 1370), or the third-century *vexillatio P(annoniae) inf(erioris)*: Speidel 1992: 67–70. Similar tile stamps are, e.g.: *CIL* III 3749; *CIL* III 10659; *CIL* III 13393 (EXER PAN INF) from Pannonia inferior.
51. Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 112–25. For the Latin gravestone of another soldier on vexillation duty, buried at Çardak, a few km south of Ehnes, see *IGLS* I 80, and Speidel 1984, 275f.
52. From Zeugma: *AE* 1923: 58 = *RIU* 435 (Brigetio); *CIL* III 4331 = *RIU* 522 (Brigetio); *RIU* 712 (Szomód on the territory of Brigetio). From Doliche: *AE* 1965: 4 = *RIU* 523 (Brigetio); *AE* 1944: 125 = *RIU* 533 (Brigetio). Cf. also *CIL* III 4331 and 11701 = *ILS* 7207 (Celeia) for another citizen from Zeugma, *AE* 1962: 29 = *RIU* 113 (Savaria) for a citizen from Cyrrhos, as well as *AE* 1962: 28 = *RIU* 110 (Savaria) for another *civis Surus*.
53. Speidel 1984, 401–3 on *AE* 1977, 818.
54. For Titus at Zeugma: Jos. *BJ* 7.5.2 (105–6); for Trajan, see now Speidel 2002, 38. For Septimius Severus, see Birley 1988, 115. Many other Roman military leaders were at Zeugma too. For an entire expeditionary army from the Danube provinces awaiting the emperor Trajan at Satala, see Birley 1997, 69; Speidel 2002, 37.
55. Such forces were often named after the province from which they came: Speidel 1978, 1; Speidel 1984, 230, 338; Speidel 1992, 69.
56. Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 124.
57. The authors are grateful to Dr. David Packard, PHI, and Oxford Archaeology for the opportunity to study this material.
58. Speidel 1998, 168.

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