

# Inscriptions on Stone

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## INTRODUCTION

The rescue excavations at Zeugma<sup>1</sup> carried out in summer 2000 across Trenches 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, and 19 in Area B of the archaeological zone recovered a relatively small number of inscriptions on stone.<sup>2</sup> A summary discussion of the finds, with preliminary publications of the major texts, has appeared in the preliminary excavation report.<sup>3</sup> This final report aims to offer texts of all the stone inscriptions found in the OA trenches.<sup>4</sup>

The history of epigraphical investigation at Zeugma, from Chabot's visit in 1897 onwards,<sup>5</sup> has been reviewed by Kennedy and Graf.<sup>6</sup> The evidence is dominated by the inscriptions recovered from the necropoleis of Zeugma. In his 1976 monograph J. Wagner catalogued 159 inscriptions from Zeugma and the surrounding area, of which 147 were funerary;<sup>7</sup> Kennedy and Graf added a further 18 fragmentary, for the most part funerary, texts from the 1993 rescue excavations. Continuing campaigns by a team from the Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes since 1996 have added further texts.<sup>8</sup> Finds of public documents have been scarce, fragmentary, and removed from original contexts. The pattern of epigraphical finds from the 2000 rescue excavations in this respect matched the results of previous investigations. The areas investigated in 2000 crossed residential and commercial sectors and skirted the public center of the city.

## CATALOGUE

### Commagene Period

The most significant epigraphical finds during the rescue excavations were a series of texts inscribed on separate surfaces (INI-2 [SS1], IN3) relating to the ruler cult of Antiochus I of Commagene.<sup>9</sup> The existence of a temenos of Antiochus at Zeugma had already been revealed by the discovery in 1972 and 1974 on the upper slopes of Belkis Tepe of fragments of a limestone relief stele depicting a *dexiosis* exchange between the king and Herakles,<sup>10</sup> but the inscribed material from Trenches 9 and 15 offers the first documentary evidence of its character. The discoveries at Zeugma have prompted the reexamination of already-known inscriptions from Samosata, Sofraz Köy, and Çaputlu Ağaç Küllük<sup>11</sup> and, at the same time, elicited a timely publication of fragments of a sanctuary assemblage at Ancoz first recovered between 1977 and 1980.<sup>12</sup>

The implications of the new discoveries were examined

by the writer and M. Facella in a paper published in 2003.<sup>13</sup> The analysis developed there is resumed in the present report, but the main emphasis is on full presentation of the epigraphical evidence.<sup>14</sup>

INI-2 (SS1; Inscription Register 4, WS 510)

Trench 15, context 15009

FIGS. 1-4;

Rose, FIGS. 1-4; PL. 145B-C

Stele of black basalt, h. 1.46 m, w. 0.70 m, th. 0.26 m, inscribed with 34 lines of text, followed by three partially erased lines; found on 21 August by OA trench supervisor D. Thomason at a depth of ca. 1 m in an area of infill retained by the east-to-west Roman terrace wall 15005 on the east side of Trench 15. Now in Gaziantep Museum.<sup>15</sup>

Datable fineware finds from associated contexts indicate that the stele is likely to have been deposited early in the reign of the emperor Tiberius.<sup>16</sup> Commagene was annexed by Germanicus as a praetorian province in A.D. 17.<sup>17</sup> Although the suppression of the kingdom would have provided an appropriate context for the removal of visible traces of Commagenian rule such as the temenos at Zeugma, the coincidence of archaeological and historical context may be deceptive. The isolation of the stele in the deposit in Trench 15 from other elements of its assemblage tells against such a hypothesis, and it seems possible, in any case, that Zeugma was detached from Commagene somewhat earlier, perhaps after Actium.<sup>18</sup>

The stele carried on one face a relief sculpture of a type attested elsewhere within the kingdom of Commagene, depicting a *dexiosis* greeting between King Antiochus I and Apollo. The character of the relief sculpture and its comparanda are discussed in detail elsewhere in this volume in the chapter by C. B. Rose.<sup>19</sup>

The other side of the stele was inscribed with a text of at least 34 lines whose left margin began on the curved return of the stele and carried across the natural contours of its face and on to the right return in the manner of other Commagenian ruler-cult inscriptions.<sup>20</sup>

Damage to the upper section of the stele has removed the apex of Apollo's radiance and Antiochus' tiara from the relief sculpture, together with the opening lines of the texts on the inscribed face. When the stele was discovered, attention was initially directed to the relief sculpture and the well-preserved inscription on its opposite face (IN2). It became apparent only later that the stele had originally carried a different inscription (INI), which was erased to make place for the text that is now evident. Traces of the original inscription are visible immediately below the last

line of the superimposed text, where three lines were only partially erased, and elsewhere on the left and right returns of the stele, where the reworking of the basalt necessary to provide a clean surface for the new inscription seems to have been less effective. The traces that survive, of up to 15 letters from the beginning of each line, fewer from the end of a smaller number of lines, and of the three almost complete lines at the base of the stele, offer a framework whose missing interior can be filled in from a group of closely parallel Commagenian texts found at Sofraz Köy (SO), an unidentified site near Adiyaman (AD), and at Çaputlu Ağaç Küllük (Cb).<sup>21</sup>

Letters on both left and right edges of IN1 were removed by the cutting of the relief scene on the other face of the stele: from lines 10 to 31, one and a half letters are consistently lost on the left edge (fig. 2); the break of ε[ὐ]μ[ε]νεῖς across lines 30–1 suggests a similar deficit on the right edge. IN2, in contrast, was cut with a clear margin on its left edge and regular and sometimes extensive vacats on its right edge.<sup>22</sup> It follows that the relief sculpture postdates IN1 and is likely to be contemporary with IN2.<sup>23</sup> A similar discontinuity between inscription and relief on the relief stele found at Sofraz Köy (SO) had already been noticed by its editors,<sup>24</sup> and may also be observed on a fragmentary stele now in Adiyaman Museum (AD).<sup>25</sup> On the Sx and Sz stelai from Samosata and the fragments of stelai from Ancoz (ANf, h), by contrast, relief and inscription are cut in harmony with one another and there is no underlying text.<sup>26</sup>

The new texts are presented here in chronological order: the underlying erased text on the basalt stele first (IN1), followed by the overwritten text (IN2), and a further fragment of five lines cut on a limestone block (IN3), which is likely to belong to the continuation of the same text. A small fragment of a limestone block found during the 1998 excavation season of the French mission adds a handful of letters from three lines that seem to belong to the conclusion of the document.<sup>27</sup> The interrelationship of these fragments and the composition of the text as a whole is discussed below.

A latex squeeze of the inscribed surface made immediately after the discovery of the stele by K. Schneider was used by H.W. Elton for an initial transcription of IN2 and was also consulted by the writer in September 2000.<sup>28</sup> This squeeze was unavailable during the 2002 study season and appears to have been lost. New paper squeezes made in September 2000 and 2002, together with detailed digital photographs, provide the foundation for the decipherment and reconstruction of the erased text offered below.<sup>29</sup>

#### IN1 (Commagene BEe; SEG LIII, 1771)

The underlying inscription on WS 510, if it duplicated the whole of the parallel Sofraz Köy text, would have consisted of ca. 42 lines, the first two or three of which would have been cut on the lost upper part of the stele.<sup>30</sup> The size of the lettering is comparable to that of IN2 (ca. 0.015–0.02 m),

but the interlinear spacing is marginally tighter (0.008; 0.01 for IN2).

In contrast to the opening lines, recording Antiochus' titulature, of both IN2, which were indented on the left, and SO, which were indented on left and right, letter traces in lines 2–3 suggest that the initial surviving lines of IN1 were inscribed across the full width of the stele.<sup>31</sup> The length of individual lines decreases from ca. 50 to 57 letters at the beginning of the inscription to ca. 37–43 at the end, following the taper of the stele.

Decipherment of the erased inscription has been an incremental process, as underlying letter traces have been identified and aligned with corresponding passages in the securely attested parallel texts. The text offered here follows but is somewhat fuller than that of the first edition and its subsequent revision;<sup>32</sup> the lines have been renumbered to take account of additional letter traces on the upper surface of the stele identified since the initial publication.<sup>33</sup> Minor differences in reading from the earlier editions are not noticed separately in the critical notes below.



Figure 1. IN1–2 in situ.

ca. 2 lines lost

- [[-----]]  
 [[ΛΙΛΓ .. <sup>ca. 4</sup> .. Λ...Ι -----]]  
 [[- - - - - <sup>ca. 15</sup> - - - - - τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἀφιέρωσα καὶ τὰς τε τῶν θεῶν]]  
 5 [[εἰκ]ό[νας τὰς ἐνγεγλυμμένας ἐν ταῖς] σ[τ]ήλα[ις] [καὶ τὰς] ἐμ[ά]ς [τ]ᾶς]]  
 [[συν]κ[α]θ[ιδρυμένας ταύταις ἀναστήσας κατέστησα ἱερεῖς ἔν τε τῶ]]  
 [[ἱερῶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀφώρι]]-  
 [[σα χώρας τοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσι, ὅπως οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τῶν γινομένων] πρ[ο]σ[ό]δων]]  
 [[τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ποιῶνται τὰς ἐπιθύσεις κ]α[ι] τὰς θυσίας] κατὰ]]  
 [[μῆν]α [τῆ] ἐ[κ]κα[ι]δεκά[τ]η γενεθλίῳ μου ἡμέρα καὶ ἐορτάζωσιν κ]α[ι]]  
 10 [[εὐω]χῶνται [οἱ] κατ[ὰ] μέρος· διεταξάμην δ]ε [ἵνα καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς]]  
 [[ἐμ]ῆς βασιλ[εί]ας πανδημῆι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν συνέρχωντ]α[ι] ἐκ]α[σ]]-  
 [[τοι εἰς τὰ συνεγγὺς αὐτοῖς ἱερὰ ἔν τε τῇ ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ]]  
 [[Α]ὐθ[υ]νά[ιο]υ [οὔ]ση ἐνιαυσίῳ γενεθλίῳ μου ἡμέρα καὶ τῇ δεκάτῃ]]  
 [[τοῦ Λῶου μηνὸς ἐν ᾗ ἀνέλαβον τὸ διάδημα, καὶ ἐπιθύοντες ἐν]]  
 15 [[τοῖς] ἱε[ροῖς] ε[ὐ]ψ[υχῶνται ταύτας τὰς δύο ἡμέρας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἱεροδοῦ]]-  
 [[λο]υ[ς] ἀφιέρ[ω]σα ἵνα προσκαρτεροῦντες τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρέχωνται]]  
 [[τ]ᾶς χρε[ί]ας· ἐ[ὰν] δὲ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ μου καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν βασιλεί]α-  
 [[αν] δ[ι]αδεχόμ[ε]νοι ἄγωσιν τὴν ἔμμηνον μου γενέθλιον ἐκκαιδεκάτην]]  
 [[ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱεροῖς ἅπασιν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐμῆν]]  
 20 [[βα]σ[ι]λ[εί]αν διατάξ[ω]νται [ἄ]γεσθαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν καθὼς καὶ]]  
 [[ἐκ] τῶν ἐμῶν χρόνων [ἦ]γετο, εὐμενεῖς εἶησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἴλε]]-  
 [[ως] αὐτοῖς σ[υ]ν[υ]γχανέτωσαν· ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν βασιλέων ἢ δυ]]-  
 [[ν]αστῶν ἢ [σ]τ[ρ]α[τη]γῶν ἢ ἐθναρχῶν ἢ ἄλλοι τινὲς παραγένωνται]]  
 [[εἰς] τοῦτο τ[ὸ] ἱερ[ὸν] [καὶ] βούλωνται ἐπιθύειν καὶ σπενδοποιεῖσ]]-  
 25 [[θ]αὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν καθιδρυμένων ἐν τούτῳ τῶ ἱερῶ, ὁμοί]]-  
 [[ως] δὲ καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἐ[ι]κ[ό]νῃ τῇ καθιδρυμένῃ σὺν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν εἰ]]-  
 [[κ]όσι, [κα]τὰ [τα]υτὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἱεροῖς,]]  
 [[ἐ]ν οἷς κα[θ]ί[δ]ρυ[ν]ται καὶ αἱ ἐμαὶ εἰκόνες σὺν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν]]  
 [[εἰ]κόσιν, συναύ[ξ]ουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν τε θεῶν καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς]]  
 30 [[τ]ε[μ]νὰς κ[αὶ] τ[ὸν] [π]ρέποντα σεβασμὸν ἀπομερί]ζο[υ]σιν ε[ὐ]]-  
 [[μ]ενεῖς εἰ[ρη]σά[ν]οι θεοὶ καὶ παρ' ὅλον αὐτοῖς τὸν χρό[ν]ον]]  
 [[τὰ] πα[ρὰ] τ[ὸ] ὑπὸν ἀπαντάσθω ἀγαθὰ· οἱ δ' ἂν παραγενό]]-  
 [[μ]ε[νο]σὶν ε[ἰ]ς τ[ὸ] ἱερόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ἱερὰ ἐν]]  
 [[τοῖς] τῆς βα[σι]λείας τόποις, ἐν οἷς συνκ[α]θιδρυ[ν]ται]]  
 35 [[τοῖς] θεοῖς] κα[ι] αἱ [ἐ]μαὶ [εἰ]κόνες, μὴ τὸν π[ρ]ο[π]ο[ν]τα σεβ[ασ]μ[ὸν]-  
 [[μὸν] ἀπ[ο]μ[ε]ρίσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων βλάψω]σίν]]  
 [[τ]ι ἢ [λ]υμ[ή]ν[ω]ντα τὰ ἱερὰ [ἢ] τὰς ἐμὰς [εἰκόν]ας, συμβα[ί]ν]-  
 [[νο]ι αὐτ[ὸ]σ[ι]ν τὰ ἐν[α]ντία τούτ[ων] καὶ γίν[ε]σθαι αὐ]]-  
 [[τοῖς] ἄ τοῖς ἀσεβοῦσι περὶ το[ῦ]ς θεοῖς γίνεται]].

The formulation of Commagenian royal inscriptions is repeated for the most part without significant alteration in separate sanctuary publications, but Cb and the new Ancoz fragments both offer minor variations in phrasing.<sup>34</sup> The restorations offered for IN1 below are drawn directly from SO and AD, but IN1 seems to have been drafted after SO and AD,<sup>35</sup> and may have contained additional variations in wording, in particular in the opening lines for which the alignment of IN1 with SO can no longer be established because of a subsisting uncertainty, discussed further below, over the identity of the deities (or deity) to whom the teme-

nos at Zeugma was dedicated. Although a fully restored text is presented here, the verbatim accuracy of its formulation is subject throughout to these qualifications.

#### CRITICAL NOTES

Continuous restorations are based on SO 7–32 for ll. 3–32 and AD 5–10 for ll. 33–9; notes on letter traces are fuller for the first 20 lines than for the second half of the inscription, in which secure correspondences with SO and AD increasingly offer corroboration for readings and restorations.

The lost and fragmentary opening lines of the inscription can be expected to have announced Antiochus' titula-  
ture and lineage and the god or gods to whom the sanctu-  
ary was dedicated (SO 1–7, Appendix, text 1).

- 1: no identifiable letter traces remain under the preserved letters in l. 1 of IN2.
- 2: letter traces at the beginning of this line, which aligns with the upper half of IN2 l. 2, seem to belong to the left angle of a triangular letter followed by an iota, an outline which may belong to another triangular letter, and a letter bounded by a left vertical and upper horizontal; after an interval of ca. 4 spaces, a further triangular letter shape overlaps the upper part of the theta and epsilon of Θεᾶς at the beginning of IN2 l. 2; an underlying vertical stroke is also visible between the phi and iota of Φιλαδέλφο[υ].
- 3: a count back from the restoration of l. 4 suggests that a round letter shape overlapping the apex of the alpha of Ἐπιφανοῦς in IN2 l. 3 is likely to correspond to one of the omicrons of τὸν τόπον in SO l. 7. The first part



Figure 2. IN2, left side, after conservation  
(IN1, 1–16; IN2, 4–16).



Figure 3. IN1-2. Left side, after conservation  
(IN1, 15–31; IN2, 15–30).

of the line should, on this basis, offer an identity for one or more of the deities to whom the τόπος was dedicated, but the surviving letter traces are insufficient to confirm, or exclude, any of the possible candidates: either Apollo Epekoos and Artemis Diktyinna of SO (Appendix, text 1, ll. 6–7) or Zeus Oromasdes, Apollo Mithras Helios Hermes and Artagnes Herakles Ares of IN2 ll. 15–7.

- 4: letter traces under the middle and upper edge of letters in the second half of IN2 l. 4 match SO l. 8; a round letter below the left edge of tau at the beginning of IN2 l. 4 seems likely to be the omicron of εἰκόνας in SO ll. 7–8.
- 5: the beta of [εὐσε]||βείας at the beginning of IN2 l. 5 is cut over an earlier kappa, the position of which seems to match συνκαθιδρυμένας in SO l. 9.
- 6: sporadic letter traces are visible across the width of the stele below IN2 l. 6, but their association with individual underlying letters is difficult. There may be an



Figure 4. IN1-2. Left side, after conservation (IN1, 28–39; IN2, 27–34).

upper edge of a round letter above the epsilon and nu of ἐνεχάραξεν; in the middle of the line letter traces from the sigma of ἱεραῖς to the omega of ἐγὼ in IN2 should fall at the same point as λοιποῖς in SO 10; at the end of the line a curved trace seems to belong to an omega, perhaps corresponding to ἀφώρισα in SO l. 11; if this identification is correct a curved trace over the first omicron of μόνον in IN2 could belong to the omicron of ἱεροῖς. Both 6 and 7 are relatively long lines, of ca. 55 letters, but, like l. 17, which has a similar letter count, contain a disproportionate number (respectively 10 and 8) of iotas.

- 7: an intrusive iota in ἀν{ι}θρώποις in IN2 l. 7 should be a survival of the underlying text and seems most plausibly associated with the rho of προσόδων in SO ll. 11–2; traces two spaces later, above omega, may belong to the upper edge and left vertical of a sigma.
- 8: a kappa is visible after upsilon and overlapping the left vertical of nu of δυνά|μεως in IN2 l. 8; succeeding letter traces can be resolved as κατὰ; earlier in the line

the outline of a triangular letter between τε and κρίσιν matches the alpha of [κ]α[ί].

- 9: the apex of a triangular letter followed by a vertical is visible in the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 8–9 above tau of εὐτυχοῦς; preceding traces are compatible with two kappas above epsilon and upsilon; traces of the left angle of a triangular letter remain after the nu of ἔσχον at the end of the line.
- 10: the traces preserved in this line, which falls between IN2 ll. 9–10, above παρ' ὄλον in IN2 10, belong to a third-person subjunctive verb and match the corresponding section of SO ll. 13–4, which offers ἐ[ύω]χ|ῶνται οἱ κατὰ μέρος.
- 11: the letter traces on the left edge of the stone, which fall across the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 10–11 and the upper part of l. 11, correspond to SO 14–5: οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐ[μῆς || β]ασιλείας;<sup>36</sup> at the end of the line alpha is visible immediately after τῆν in IN2.
- 12: no securely identifiable letter traces remain below IN2 l. 12.
- 13: the letter traces at the beginning of the line, before and underlying the lower half of IN2 l. 13 and the interlinear space between ll. 13–4, seem to belong to [A]ῦδν[αίω]ν and indicate that IN1 followed the emended text of SO 16–7.<sup>37</sup>
- 14: no securely identifiable letter traces below IN2 l. 14.
- 15: letter traces at the beginning of this line, under the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 15–6 and the upper half of l. 16, can be completed to match SO 17: [ἐν | τοῖ]ς [ἐ]ροῖς].
- 16: letter traces are visible at the beginning of the line in the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 16–7 and under the lower half of 16; sigma and alpha below omega and nu of Ἀπόλ|λωνος seem secure.
- 17: letter traces are visible at the beginning of the line from the middle of IN2 l. 17 to the interlinear interval between ll. 17–8; epsilon below the second tau of τοῦτο in IN2 is clear.
- 18: traces below IN2 l. 18 and the interlinear space between ll. 18–9.
- 19: no securely identifiable letter traces below IN2 l. 19.
- 20: letter traces below the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 19–20 and the upper part of l. 20.
- 21: letter traces below the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 20–21 and the upper part of l. 21.
- 20–21: in the corresponding passage of SO (ll. 22–3) either ἐκ or ἐπί has been suggested as an alternative for the πρό restored before [τῶ]ν ἐμῶν χρόνων by edd. pr.<sup>38</sup> The alignment of the left edge of the Zeugma stele, which can be measured from [εἰ]ς τοῦτο in IN1 l. 24, allows room for barely two letter spaces and seems to exclude both ἐπί and πρό.
- 22: letter traces underlying the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 21–2 and the upper part of l. 22.
- 23: letter traces below the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 22–3.

- 24: letter traces below the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 23–4.  
 25: letter traces below the lower edge of IN2, l. 24 and across the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 24–5.  
 26: letter traces underlying the middle of IN2 l. 25 and the interlinear space between ll. 25–6.  
 27: letter traces below IN2 l. 26.  
 28: letter traces below IN2 l. 27.  
 29: letter traces below the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 27–8.  
 30: letter traces on the left return of the stele below the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 28–9 and the middle of l. 29; letter traces on the right edge of the stone fall below IN2, l. 28.  
 31: letter traces below IN2 l. 30.  
 32: letter traces below IN2 l. 31.  
 33: letter traces underlying the upper part of IN2 l. 32.  
 33–34: for the supplement ἐν at the end of l. 33, omitted at the corresponding point in current texts of AD (ll. 5–6), see the revised text of AD in Crowther-Facella 2003, 74–7, text 4.  
 34: letter traces below the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 32–3.  
 35: letter traces in the interlinear space between IN2 ll. 33–4 and below the upper part of l. 34.  
 36: letter traces immediately below IN2 l. 34.  
 38: Cb (Crowther-Facella 2003, Epigraphical Appendix, text 5) has ἀπαντάσθω as a *variatio* for γίνεσθαι in AD and [SO]. IN1 follows the pattern of the Adiyaman stele.

## TRANSLATION

... I consecrated to [...] this place and having set up both the images of the gods carved on the stelai and the images of myself that I established together with them I appointed priests both in this place and in the other sanctuaries of the kingdom and assigned lands for all the sanctuaries so that from the incomes that arise from the same land the priests might make the burnt offerings of incense and sacrifices every month on the sixteenth day, the day of my birth, and the inhabitants (of the land) might celebrate and feast. I ordained that all the inhabitants of my kingdom every year come together as one, each in the sanctuaries in proximity to them, both on the sixteenth of Audnaios, which is my annual birthday, and on the tenth of the month Loos, on which I assumed the diadem, and making burnt offerings in the sanctuaries, feast for these two days; in the same way I consecrated sacred slaves to attend to the sanctuaries and perform their duties in them. If my sons and their descendants who succeed to the kingdom observe my monthly birthday on the sixteenth day, and likewise give instructions for the same day to be observed also in all the other sanctuaries in my kingdom, in the same way as it was observed from my own times onwards, may the gods be well disposed towards them and deal with them graciously. Whoever of the kings or dynasts or generals or ethnarchs or any others comes into this sanctuary and wishes to make burnt offerings of incense and libations on the altars established in this sanctuary, and likewise to the image of me that has been established together with the images of the gods, and in the same way in the other sanctuaries in the kingdom in which my images have been established together with the images of the gods, and will join with them in increasing the honors of the gods and of myself and offer



Figure 5. IN3 in situ, built into wall 9250 in Trench 9.

the appropriate reverence, may the gods be well disposed towards them and may they experience for all time the good things that come from them (the gods). Whoever, on the other hand, coming into this sanctuary, and similarly into the other sanctuaries in the districts of my kingdom in which images of myself have been established together with the gods does not offer the appropriate reverence, but on the contrary damages or insults the sanctuaries or the images of me, may they experience the opposite of this and may there befall them what befalls those who act impiously towards the gods.

## DISCUSSION

The opening formulation of the parallel inscription from Sofraz Köy (SO) makes it clear that the group of texts to which IN1 belongs (SO, AD, Cb) was composed in the early years of the reign of Antiochus I of Commagene.<sup>39</sup> The king's titlature in SO (Appendix, text 1, ll. 1–6) omits the epithet μέγας advertised invariably in later texts,<sup>40</sup> and Antiochus emphasises the primacy of his assumption of the Armenian tiara.<sup>41</sup> A similar clause in the body of the text may underly the erasure in ll. 16–7 of SO, which was overwritten with a reference to the date of Antiochus' assumption of the diadem. The formulation of IN1, 12–4, appears to follow the corrected version of the Sofraz Köy text. The early date of this text in the reign of Antiochus I coincides with the transfer by Pompey to the Commagenian kingdom of Zeugma and adjoining territories on the far bank of the Euphrates in 64 B.C.<sup>42</sup> The basalt stele from Trench 15 with its original inscription is likely to have been set up initially as part of a temenos assemblage shortly after the king acquired the city.

The configuration of this temenos is attested only through the text of the inscription; there is no associated archaeological context since the stele was already in reuse when it was later deposited. The inscription mentions depictions (εἰκόνες) of Antiochus set up together with those of the gods (ll. 3–5, 26–7, 28–9, 34–5), as well as altars at which visitors to the sanctuary were expected to make burnt offerings and libations (24–5). The formulation of ll. 3–4 (restored from SO ll. 7–8) indicates that the depictions of the gods, and so probably of Antiochus himself, were relief sculptures inscribed on stelai (SO 7–8: τὰς τε τῶν θεῶν [εἰ|κό]νας τὰς ἐνγεγλυμμένας ἐν ταῖς στήλαις). The images of the gods, however, appear to have been distinct from those of Antiochus. Lines 26–7 refer to a single εἰκὼν of the king set up in the sanctuary together with the εἰκόνες of the gods. Since plural citations of εἰκόνες of Antiochus elsewhere in the text occur in the context of general references to sanctuaries throughout the kingdom, it seems to follow that each sanctuary originally contained a single relief portrait of the king alongside separate relief portraits of the gods.<sup>43</sup> The *dexiosis* scene subsequently cut on the opposite face of the stele offers a rather different conception and representation of the king's divinity and his place among the gods.

A secure identity for the gods to whom the temenos at Zeugma was dedicated is lost with the opening lines of the inscription. Two alternatives offer themselves. It is possible that IN1 followed the text of the Sofraz Köy stele exactly and that the original dedicants of the sanctuary were Apollo Epekoos and Artemis Diktyinna.<sup>44</sup> In IN2, however, Antiochus claims to have established a sanctuary for Zeus Oromasdes, Apollos Mithras Helios Hermes, and Artagnes Herakles Ares as soon as he succeeded to his father's kingdom (IN2 ll. 14–7). The claim is partly generic, since it is repeated from Sx ll. 19–22 and Zeugma, in any case, seems not to have been a part of the Commagenian kingdom when Antiochus came to power. But the relief scene of a *dexiosis* between Apollo and Antiochus cut on the other side of the stele and an earlier discovery of fragments of a relief of Antiochus and Herakles on Belkis Tepe (BEa, BEb) show that this description of the temenos was eventually an accurate one. The opening lines of IN1, for this reason, are perhaps more likely to have contained a dedication to the three gods of IN2 than to Apollo and Artemis of SO.<sup>45</sup>

## IN2 (Commagene BEc; SEG LIII, 1769)

Letter height 0.02 m, line interval 0.01 m. The lettering is typical of Commagenian royal inscriptions: alpha has broken crossbar, theta a short central horizontal, pi vertical hastae of equal length; sigma is rectangular.

The titlature and lineage of Antiochus in the lost opening lines of the inscription can be restored from the parallel passages in the Nemrud Dağı inscription (N 1–7, Appendix, text 2) and the partially preserved headings of Sx (ll. 1–6), and D (ll. 1–6).<sup>46</sup> The same titlature and lineage are multiply attested, with minor variants, in Antiochus' other inscriptions, with the exception of the first series texts, represented by SO, AD, Cb, and IN1, and an honorific inscription from Ephesos now in the Ashmolean Museum (*IK.Ephesos* 203; *OGIS* 405), in which the epithet μέγας is omitted.<sup>47</sup>

From ll. 23 onwards IN2 follows the Nemrud Dağı text verbatim (Appendix, text 2, lines 67–83); this correspondence is assumed in the restoration of the continuation of the clause interrupted in the last line of the text (ll. 34ff.)

- [*vacat* Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος]  
 [*vacat* Θεὸς Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανὴς Φιλορώμαιος]  
 [*vacat* καὶ Φιλέλλην, ὁ ἐκ βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου]  
 [*vacat* Καλλιν]ῖκου καὶ β[ασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης]  
*vacat* Θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφο[υ τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως Ἀντι]-  
*vacat* ὄχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Φιλομήτ[ορο]ς Καλλ[ινί]κου  
 ὕ τούτων τύπον ἰδίας γνώμης νόμον τε κοινῆς εὐσ<ε>-  
 5 βείας εἰς χρόνον ἅπαντα προνοίαι δαιμόνων στήλαις  
 ἐνεχάραξεν ἱεραῖς. ὕ ἐγὼ πάντων ἀγαθῶν οὐ μόνον κτή-  
 σιν βεβαιοτάτην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην ἀν[ι]θρώποις  
 ἐνόμισα τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ὕ τὴν αὐτὴν τε κρίσιν καὶ δυνά- ὕ  
 μως εὐτυχοῦς καὶ χρήσεως μακαρίστης αἰτίαν ἔσχον,  
 10 παρ' ὅλον τε τὸν βίον ὄφθην ἅπασιν βασιλείας ἐμῆς καὶ φύ- ὕ  
 λακα πιστοτάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἀμίμητον ἡγούμενος τὴν ὕ  
 ὀσιότητα· δι' ἅ καὶ κινδύνους μεγάλους παραδόξως διέφυ-  
 γον καὶ πράξεων δυσελπίστων εὐμηχάνως ἐπεκράτησα ὕ  
 καὶ βίου πολυετοῦς μακαρίστως ἐπληρώθην. ὕ ἐγὼ πατρώαν  
 15 βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν εὐθέως Διὸς τε Ὀρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους Ἄρεως  
 τοῦτο νέ<ο>ν τέμενος παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως ἔκτισα ὕ καὶ τύ- ὕ  
 χης ἐμῆς ἡλικιωτίν θεῶν μεγάλων τιμὴν ἐποιησάμην, ἐγ  
 ἱεραῖ τε λιθεῖαι μᾶς περιοχῆς ἀγάλμασι δαιμονίοις χα-  
 20 ρακτῆρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς δεχόμενον θεῶν εὐμενεῖς δε-  
 ξιάς παρέστησα, ὕ μίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσσω ἀθανάτου  
 φροντίδος ἢ πολλάκις ἐμοὶ χεῖρας οὐρανίους εἰς βοήθει[ι]-  
 αν ἀγώνων ἐξέτειναν. ὕ χώραν τε ἰκανὴν καὶ προσό- ὕ  
 δους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀκινήτους εἰς θυσιῶν πολυτέλειαν ἀ-  
 25 πένεμα θεραπείαν τε ἀνέγλειπτον καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐπι-  
 λέξας σὺμ πρεπούσαις ἐσθήσιν Περσικῶι γένει *vacat*  
 κατέστησα, κόσμον τε καὶ λειτουργίαν πάσαν ὕ  
 ἀξίως τύχης ἐμῆς καὶ δαιμόνων ὑπεροχῆς ἀνέ- ὕ  
 θηκα. περὶ δὲ ἰ<ε>ρουργιῶν αἰδίων διάταξιν πρέπου-  
 30 σαν ἐποιησάμην, ὅπως σὺν αἰς ἀρχαῖος καὶ κοι-  
 νὸς νόμος ἔταξεν θυσίαις καὶ νέας ἑορτὰς  
 εἷς τε θεῶν σεβασμὸν καὶ ἡμετέρας τι- ὕ  
 μὰς ἅπαντες οἱ κατ' ἐμὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιτε-  
 λῶσι. ὕ σώματος μὲν γὰρ ἐμοῦ γενέθλιον  
 [Ἀύδναίου ἐκκαιδεκάτην, διαδήματος δὲ]  
 [Ἄφου δεκάτην ἀφιέρωσα μεγάλων δαιμόνων]  
 [ἐπιφανείαις, αἵτινες ἐμοὶ καθηγεμόνες]  
 [εὐτυχοῦς ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείαι πάσῃ κοι]-  
 [νῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαι κατέστησαν κτλ.]

CRITICAL NOTES

- 4: EYΣB lapis. The apparent beta for epsilon seems to be a prolepsis rather than a stray survival of the underlying text.  
 7: ANIΘPΩΠIOIS lapis; the intrusive vertical between nu and theta may be a survival of the underlying text.  
 17: NEQN lapis, unconnected with the underlying text.  
 29: IPOYPTIΩN lapis.

TRANSLATION<sup>48</sup>

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



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

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

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

#### DISCUSSION

The use of τύπος in line 4 is striking. As well as having the extended sense of a pattern or text,<sup>49</sup> τύπος is the regular Greek term for a sculptured relief.<sup>50</sup> If the wording of the inscription can be pressed,<sup>51</sup> Antiochus appears to distinguish between the physical representation on the stele of his ἴδια γνώμη, his personal conception of his relationship to the gods, apparently in the form of a relief scene showing him receiving the *dexiosis* of Apollo, and the written text, which records a ἱερὸς νόμος, “sacred law,” prescribing the forms in which piety is to be expressed by the population of the kingdom. Implicit in this distinction is the combination of the two expressions of Antiochus’ ruler cult on a single stele; the inscription and relief appear to be represented from the beginning as a unity. The reference to a sacred law looks forward to a section of text not preserved on the relief stele itself. There seems little doubt that IN3 and the fragment from Chantier 9 BEf belong to this continuation,

just as Sz forms part of the “law of common piety” of Sx l. 7 at Samosata.

Evidence for the dating of IN2 and two other parallel Commagenian texts (Sx, N) emerges allusively from lines 10–14. Antiochus’ ambiguous and vulnerable position between Rome and Parthia is evident from a number of unsympathetic allusions in Cicero’s correspondence.<sup>52</sup> The “great perils” and “desperate situations” noticed by the king in lines 12–13 seem most likely to refer to the events of 38 B.C. when a Roman army under M. Antonius’ legate Ventidius Bassus and later Antonius himself laid siege to Samosata, the royal capital of Commagene.<sup>53</sup> Plutarch reports that the siege was contested and protracted. There is some ambiguity in our sources as to whether Samosata itself was surrendered, but in the end Antiochus and Antonius seem to have come to an agreement that allowed the king to maintain his authority.<sup>54</sup> If the κινδύνοι μεγάλοι and πράξεις δυσέλπιστοι to which Antiochus refers include this confrontation with Antonius, the text of the Zeugma inscription (as well as of Sx ll. 16–9 and N 20–3 which repeat the same claims) should be dated after 38 B.C.<sup>55</sup> The limits of Antiochus’ life and reign cannot be determined with precision. A terminus ante quem is offered by Plutarch’s citation of Antiochus’ son Mithradates among the subject kings who supported Marcus Antonius at Actium in 31 B.C. (*Ant.* LXI.1), but Antiochus’ death has usually been placed somewhat earlier, ca. 36 B.C.<sup>56</sup> A dating between 38 B.C. and Antiochus’ death for IN2 would accord well with Antiochus’ words in lines 10–4 (14: καὶ βίου πολυετοῦς μακαρίστως ἐπληρώθη), which represent the text as a summation of the king’s extended life.

The wording of the text in l. 17, which places the establishment of the sanctuary at the beginning of Antiochus’ reign, seems incongruous, since Zeugma only came under his control in 64 B.C. The exact correspondence between IN2 and the Samosata text Sx (ll. 17–22) suggests that these lines were originally composed for a different situation, most probably that at Samosata itself, and were carried over unchanged to the Zeugma text.<sup>57</sup> In its primary context, the clause indicates that the associated cult of Zeus Oromasdes, Apollo Mithras Helios Hermes and Artagnes Herakles Ares (lines 15–6) goes back to Antiochus’ accession; this implication may also carry over to the original configuration of the *temenos* at Zeugma.<sup>58</sup>

Lines 18–9 of IN2 (Sx ll. 24–6) offer an important commentary on the cult scene represented in the relief sculpture on the other face of the stele.<sup>59</sup> Antiochus implicitly distinguishes the representation of his own form receiving the benevolent right hands of the gods on the relief stelai which he added to the *temenos*, and of which the Zeugma stele is one example, from previous εἰκόνες both of himself and of the gods, such as those referred to in the SO, AD, and Cb texts,<sup>60</sup> by emphasising that a single stone encompassed both the king’s form and that of the god.



Figure 6. IN3 after excavation and conservation.

IN3 (Commagene BED; SEG LIII, 1770; Inscription Register 1, WS 91, Trench 9, context 9204) FIGS. 5–6

Fragment of a block of yellow-white limestone, preserving four lines and the upper edge of a fifth line from the top and left edge of a column of text. Traces of (red) paint remain in the lettering. The stone is broken away on the right and below; part of the original upper surface is preserved. The block shows pitting and abrasion across its inscribed face. When studied in 2002, IN3 was held in the archaeological store at the Zeugma Excavation House in Birecik.

The second new inscription from Zeugma was found ca. 300 m to the east in Trench 9, inverted and incorporated with other reused masonry into a late Roman dividing wall (fig. 5, Plate 69A) inserted into a Roman-period building complex in what appears to have been a commercial area of the town. The inscription is cut on a limestone block, the top and part of the left side of which are preserved (WS 91). Much of the block's original width and height, however, has been lost; scarcely a third of the original line length of the inscription has survived, although the continuation of the text may have crossed over to adjoining blocks. The

inscribed face of the stone has suffered damage from the application of a coarse claw chisel. There is no indication of when this damage occurred between the block's inscription and its reuse in the Roman period, although the secondary Tiberian context in which the relief stele SS1 was found indicates that the sanctuary assemblage to which IN3 belonged survived the king's lifetime by no more than half a century and is likely to have been intentionally dismantled.

W. 0.42 m, h. 0.22 m, th. 0.34 m; letter height: 0.02 m; line interval: 0.01 m. The lettering is similar to that of IN2.

#### CRITICAL NOTES

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

The restoration considered in the initial publication for the end of l. 4, ταῖς [δὲ θ]εραπείαις τ[ῶν θυσίων],<sup>61</sup> now seems incongruous to a context in which the responsibilities of *hierodouloi* rather than of a priest are in question; τ[ῶν ἑορτῶν] fits the available letter spaces and offers more suitable sense.<sup>62</sup>

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξαιρού[μενος, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς  
 παρατυγχά]-  
 νοῦσι διανέμων εἰς ἀν[υπεύθυνον εὐωχίαν, οἱ δὲ καθωσιωμένοι ὑπ' ἐ]-  
 μοῦ ἱερόδουλοι καὶ το[ύτων παῖδες ἔγγονοί τε πάντες ἀπαρενόχλητοι]  
 μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάν[των ἀφείσθωσαν, ταῖς δὲ θεραπείαις τῶν  
 ἑορτῶν(?)]

5 [κ]αῖ τ[α]ῖς δι[ακονίαι]ς τ[ῶν συνόδων προσκαρτερεῖτωσαν.]

The restoration of l. 5, and of the corresponding section of the parallel text Sz from Samosata, has been clarified by one of the new fragments from Ancoz, ANd,<sup>63</sup> which offers [ταῖς τ]ε διακονίαις in l. 3; the *variatio* of τε and καί is trivial.

## TRANSLATION

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

## DISCUSSION

The text of IN2 breaks in mid clause at the base of the stele; IN3, conversely, begins in the middle of a sentence at the head of a column. Its surviving text follows closely, and can be restored from, lines 8–14 of Sz, a stele found at Selik, ca. 9.5 km to the north of Samosata, and now in the British Museum. Just as the continuation of IN2 can be supplied from the parallel passage in the Nemrud Dağı texts (N 83ff.), so the immediately preceding context of IN3 can be supplied from the opening lines of Sz. A larger context is provided by parallels between Sz and the *Nomos* section of the cult inscription from Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios (Sz 1–5 = A 134–41; Sz 14–47 = A 151–96).<sup>64</sup> The first four lines of Sz correspond to A ll. 134–41, which belong to the conclusion of a series of provisions concerning the monthly celebration of Antiochus' birthday.<sup>65</sup> Sz, in contrast to the Nemrud Dağı and Arsameia *Nomoi*, which proceed to sections concerning the *hierodouloi* entrusted with the performance of the celebrations (N 161–71, A 141–51, G 78–89), continues with a set of provisions for the monthly celebration of Antiochus' assumption of the diadem and perhaps also of his birthday (Sz 5–10).<sup>66</sup> It is to this context that the opening clause of IN3 belongs. The priest responsible for the celebration is to wear Persian dress and to receive perquisites according to the same *nomos* that regulates annual celebrations (γέρατα κατὰ νόμον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐξαρούμενος).<sup>67</sup>

The definition of the responsibilities of the *hierodouloi* consecrated to the performance of the king's monthly birthday and accession celebrations corresponds in general terms to the formula used in the *Nomos* texts from Nemrud Dağı and Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios: the *hierodouloi* are freed from other obligations, but are bound through successive generations to the exclusive tendance of the *synodoi*, the festival gatherings.<sup>68</sup> In the Arsameia and Nemrud Dağı inscriptions, however, the *hierodouloi* are referred to more specifically as musicians, and in the Arsameia text, at least, are female.<sup>69</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

## IN2–3

The temenos to which SS1 with IN2 belonged contained at least one and perhaps as many as three inscribed stelai with sculpted reliefs of *dexiosis* scenes.<sup>70</sup> The probable disposition of the relief stelai within the temenos is discussed by C. B. Rose elsewhere in this volume. The interrelationship of the inscribed texts to one another adds some details and clarifications but also complexities to the picture drawn there.

The parallels between IN2 and IN3 and two inscriptions from the area of Samosata (Sx and Sz) are sufficient to suggest that the Zeugma texts belong to the same long document, whose structure and composition seem to have followed more or less closely those of the fully preserved texts from Nemrud Dağı (N) and Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios (A), and less well preserved texts from Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios (As) and Arsameia-on-the-Euphrates (G).

The recent publication of seven inscribed fragments belonging to a series of basalt stelai from Ancoz (ANb-h) has offered fresh evidence for the nature of the extended cult text to which IN2–3 belonged;<sup>71</sup> the picture is further consolidated by the identification of a fragment found during the 1998 excavation season of the French Zeugma mission (BEf) as part of the conclusion of the Zeugma text.<sup>72</sup> It will be worth reviewing briefly the new outline that emerges.

The form of the extended Commagenian cult texts is largely regular: an introductory section, related more or less specifically to the immediate and local context, followed by a section describing Antiochus' career, aspirations, and commitment to piety (IN2, ll. 6–14; Sx 9–19, N 11–24) exemplified in the establishment of the particular sanctuary (IN2 ll. 14–23, Sx 19–28, N 24–67), the performance of annual and monthly cult festivals, contingencies for the maintenance of the temenos or *hierothesion* and cult (IN2 ll. 23–34, N 67–105; A 69–76), and the elaboration of a sacred law (ἱερὸς νόμος) regulating the observation of the cult and the admission of worshipers (N 105–22; A 77–94; As 65–76); followed by the *Nomos* itself. The terms of the latter show a number of variations across different cult sites, but the overall arrangement of the text is consistent and has allowed G. Petzl to reconstruct a model composite text of more than 200 lines to illustrate the interrelationship of the new Ancoz fragments, drawing elements from Sx, IN2, Ana-g, N, As, Sz, IN3, A, G, and Sy.<sup>73</sup>

The surviving elements of the temenos assemblage at Zeugma are the stele SS1 with inscription IN2, and two inscribed wall-blocks, IN3 and the fragment from the French excavations in Chantier 9, BEf. The texts that they preserve correspond, respectively, to lines 4–37 (IN2), 109–15 (IN3), and 195–98 (BEf) of Petzl's composite text.<sup>74</sup> Beginning, middle and end of the text are, accordingly, represented. The inscription seems to have been cut partly on stelai and partly on associated walls so that it could be read, in principle, continuously from one surface to the next. It seems

unlikely, however, that IN3 and BEf belong to contiguous passages of text written in columns on a single surface, since the height of the lettering of BEf is perceptibly larger than that of IN3. A possible solution is that they were separated from one another by another object — perhaps one of the other relief stelai with an intervening segment of text on its reverse face.

### INI-3

The new evidence provided by the inscriptions and relief sculpture from Zeugma has prompted a reevaluation of the development of the Commagenian ruler cult during the reign of Antiochus I and, specifically, of the significance and chronology of the *dexiosis* scenes represented on Commagenian relief sculptures.<sup>75</sup> Stelai with *dexiosis* representations have been found at a number of temenos sites: Sofraz Köy (SO), an unidentified site in the area of Adıyaman (AD), Samosata (Sx/Sz), and now Zeugma (SS1/INI-2) and perhaps also Ancoz (ANf). On these stelai the relationship between the *dexiosis* reliefs and inscribed texts is as follows:

SO: the stele initially carried a text of ca. 38 lines, which was corrected, perhaps not long after it had been inscribed, by a new clause in smaller lettering cut over lines 16–7 of the original text. Letters from the beginning and end of lines both in the original text and in the overwritten corrections were removed by the subsequent cutting back of the stele for the addition of a relief sculpture, which therefore postdates not only the original text, but also the amendment to it.

AD: only the lower part of the stele has been preserved; the original text seems to have been corrected, not in the same form as the SO text, but by the addition after the last line of an incomplete clause relating to Antiochus' assumption of the diadem (ll. 10–2). The edges of both the supplementary clause and the original inscription were affected by the cutting of the relief, which therefore postdates both.

Zeugma SS1 stele: the underlying inscription (INI) on the Zeugma relief stele reproduces the corrected text of the SO stele. Line endings and beginnings from this text were removed by the cutting of the relief sculpture. The overwritten and now visible text (IN2), in contrast, follows and respects the contours of the relief field. Since the letters of the original text were deeply incised into the basalt of the stele, preparation of the surface for the new text would have run the risk of damaging a preexisting relief sculpture; but there is no indication of such damage to the edges of the surviving relief. It seems to follow that the relief sculpture SS1 and IN2 were conceived and carried out as a single action (as, indeed, the formulation of IN2, 4–6, already implies). This conclusion is strengthened by a comparison with the Sx and Sz stelai from Samosata.

Sx and Sz: inscription and relief sculpture on both stelai are in harmony one with another. There is no trace of an underlying text. In both cases the sculpture and text seem to represent a single conception.



Figure 7. IN4.

Since the relief sculptures and inscriptions on the Sx and SS1/IN2 stelai are contemporary, a dating range for both is provided by the internal references in the latter that, as has been seen, point to the later part of Antiochus' reign. At the same time, the separation of the SO and AD relief sculptures from their contingent inscribed texts breaks the link between the *dexiosis* representations and the early years of Antiochus' reign. Although the possibility cannot be excluded that future discoveries may show that the *dexiosis* motif was adopted and advertised by Antiochus shortly after his accession, this can no longer be argued to have been the case on the basis of the available evidence, which suggests, instead, that the *dexiosis* was a vision elaborated by Antiochus at a later stage of his reign.<sup>76</sup>

## Public Inscriptions

### Early Imperial

IN4 (Inscription Register 5, WS 197, Trench 5, associated context 5024)

FIG. 7

Block of yellow-white local limestone, broken above and on both edges; traces of the original dressed lower surface of the block survive. The lower part of the block has been partially erased with a coarse claw chisel. When studied in 2002 the inscription was held in the archaeological store at the Zeugma Excavation House in Birecik.

The context from which this block derives is a wall of reused blocks (5024), with no dating evidence other than the inscription itself. The fill from the foundation trench of the wall (context 5097) offers no diagnostic material, but there is evidence elsewhere in Trench 5 for a destruction at the time of the Sasanian incursion in A.D. 252/253. The building or construction identified by the inscription ap-

pears to have been dismantled to provide material for the construction phase evident elsewhere on the site in the first half of the third century A.D., which in turn fell victim to Shapur in the middle of the century. The lettering of the inscription, which would be at home in the second century A.D.,<sup>77</sup> seems compatible with this picture.

W. 0.35 m, h. 0.27 m, th. 0.25 m. Letter height varies between 0.035 (small numerals) and 0.055 (L and X); line interval 0.02 m. Traces of red paint remain in the letter grooves.

A preliminary publication of this text appeared with other material recorded by the Swiss team from the Universities of Bern and Lausanne in 2002 in Hartmann-Speidel 2003, 112, no. 1 (resumed as *AE* 2003, 1785).

EI  
 AX·TRIB·PO  
 OS·III·LEG·III  
*vacat* FECIT *vacat*

#### CRITICAL NOTES

- 1: the lower edge of E or L followed by the base of a vertical letter stroke; the possible trace of the foot of a letter stroke before E noticed in the *ed. pr.* appears to be incidental damage.
- 2: there is a trace of the bottom right angle of A before X at the beginning of the line. Between the *tribunicia potestas* year reported in this line and the third consulship in line 3, a further titlature element is required, either *p(atr-) p(atriciae)* or an imperatorial acclamation or, perhaps better, both.
- 3: the upper and lower edges of the head and foot serifs of a tall numeral sign are visible on the right edge of the stone.
- 4: FECIT appears to have been both preceded and followed by a *vacat*.

[Imp(erator-) - - - | - - -]E.[- - - | pont(ific-) m]ax(imo)  
 trib(unicia) po[testat(e) - - - | - - - c]o(n)s(ul-) III legio III  
 [Scythica] | fecit

#### TRANSLATION

[For (or under)<sup>78</sup> the Emperor - - -, *pontifex*] *maximus*, in the [- -] year of his tribunician power, [- - -], consul for the third time, *legio III Scythica* constructed (this).

#### DISCUSSION

Little remains of the titlature of the emperor in whose reign the unspecified building or construction commemorated by this inscription was completed.<sup>79</sup> In their preliminary discussion Hartmann and Speidel prudently refrained from spurious identification or restoration. It seems worthwhile, nevertheless, to explore the limited possibilities offered by the surviving letters and their configuration for reconstruction of the titlature.

Hartmann and Speidel in commenting on the *vacat*

before *fecit* in line 4 observe that either the *vacat* or the text may have been centered. Since the text ends naturally with *fecit*, however, and it is clear that the preceding lines continued beyond the broken edge of the stone, it seems more likely that *fecit* was centered and stood alone in the last line of the inscription. If this was so, the central axis of the inscription should have fallen approximately through the *c* of *fecit* in line 4, the *g* of *legio* in line 3, immediately after the *b* of *trib(unicia)* in line 2 and two letter spaces after the second letter trace in line 1. In line 3, the title of *legio iv* may be completed either in the abbreviated form *legio iiii* [*Scythica*], well-attested on tile stamps from Zeugma,<sup>80</sup> or, more plausibly, in full as *legio iiii* [*Scythica*], suggesting a minimum line length on the right of the central axis of 11 or 16 characters (including interpuncts) and a line length of either ca. 22 or ca. 32 letters.

The elements of an imperial titlature preserved in lines 2–3 indicate that very little of the inscription has been lost: before *pont(ific-) m]ax(imo)* in l. 2, the name, titles, and probably the filiation of an emperor are required. The letter traces on the upper edge of the stone must belong to this titlature, but are insufficient to support further interpretation.<sup>81</sup> A date within available imperial third consulship designations between the late first and second centuries is the closest context that can be offered.<sup>82</sup>

IN4 is the first official document relating to the activity of *legio III Scythica* at Zeugma. The legion's presence had previously been attested by roof tiles, by coins, and by a handful of legionary gravestones.<sup>83</sup> *Legio III* seems to have been moved from Moesia to Syria to support Corbulo's Parthian campaigns ca. A.D. 56–57. It remained in Syria until the end of the third century A.D.<sup>84</sup> The legion took part in Trajan's Parthian war from A.D. 113, but seems to have returned to Zeugma after Trajan's death when Hadrian withdrew the legions from the captured provinces.<sup>85</sup>

IN5 (Inscription Register 20, WS 652, Trench 15, context 15298)

FIG. 8

Fragment of a thin plaque of coloured marble with two lines of text, found in the fill of a robber trench cut across wall 15344. The lettering is inscribed between lightly traced guidelines.

When studied in 2002, the inscription was held in the archaeological store at the Zeugma Excavation House in Birecik.

W. 0.09 m, h. 0.07 m, th. 0.085 m; letter height: 0.035 m, line interval: 0.009 m. Omicron is rectangular.

IO  
 EBH

#### CRITICAL NOTES

- 1: the gap between the lower half of a vertical stroke preserved at the beginning of the line and the following rectangular omicron suggests that it is more likely to be



Figure 8. IN5.

the stem of a tau or narrow gamma than an iota; the upper part of omicron is lost.

- 2: only the upper and central bars of epsilon are preserved at the beginning of the line, but the reading is secure. EBH may belong to a form of εὐσεβής.

DISCUSSION

The quality of the marble and the care of the lettering suggest that this fragment of a plaque may once have contained a text of significance, but too little remains to support an interpretation. The surviving letterforms would be compatible with an Early or Middle Imperial date.

*Middle Imperial*

IN6 (Inscription Register 9, WS 150, Trench 11, context 11066, associated context 11006) FIG. 9

Fragment of a limestone base, with slightly convex curvature on the inscribed face; broken on all sides. Much of the upper part of the inscribed surface has been hammered away. When studied in 2002 the inscription was held in the archaeological store at the Zeugma Excavation House in Birecik.

H. 0.40 m, w. 0.30 m, th. 0.25 m; letter height 0.058 (sigma, tau) to 0.065 (mu) m, line interval 0.025–0.03 m. Mu and perhaps omega are cursive, and epsilon lunate; sigma however has a standard four-bar form; nu and alpha are relatively narrow.

----- ΩΝ  
 - - - ἡγεμόνα  
 [ - - ]ματος ν  
 - - -ΥΣΙΚΕ-

CRITICAL NOTES

- 1: before the nu at the end of the line, a letter stroke curving slightly inwards at the bottom seems more likely to belong to omega than omicron, which in lines 2 and 3 is almost fully rounded.



Figure 9. IN6.

- 2: the bases of three successive verticals at the beginning of the line are associated in the suggested resolution of ἡγεμόνα with an eta closely followed by a gamma whose upper bar would have overhung the following lunate epsilon; the upper half of omicron and the left vertical of nu are partly lost.
- 3: an unscripted area after sigma extending to the broken edge of the stone indicates that this may have been where the lines broke. The surviving letters suggest a genitive singular ending of a neuter noun: for example, [ψηφίσ]ματος, but there are numerous other possibilities.
- 4: at the beginning of the line traces of two branching strokes may belong to an upsilon, followed by the upper bar and perhaps the beginning of the diagonal of a sigma.

DISCUSSION

Too little of this text survives to indicate more than a public function and a record of some importance: perhaps an honorific notice on a base for an unidentified Roman governor (ἡγεμών).<sup>86</sup> The cursive forms of epsilon and mu have a recent parallel in an honorific inscription for Caracalla recovered during the September 2003 excavation season of the Forschungsstelle Asia Minor mission at Doliche (Dülluk Baba Tepe).<sup>87</sup>

There is some uncertainty about the context from which this inscription came. The excavation database and Worked Stone Record Sheet WS 150 offer 11066, while Inscription Record Sheet 9 and the Inscription Register in the 2001 unpublished Oxford Archaeology Interim Report in-



Figure 10. IN7.

dicate 11024 (part of wall 11009). 11066 is a fill between wall 11009 and the trench's southern limit of excavation, and so from an area that is somewhat removed from the rest of the trench.

Neither context has yielded diagnostic pottery for dating. The only coin (of A.D. 244) comes from 11066. IN6 appears to have been built into a wall at some point between A.D. 100 and 253. The lettering of the inscription would point to a date in the middle or later part of this range, perhaps after A.D. 150.<sup>88</sup> There is no specific evidence from trench 11 to narrow this range of dates further, but on the basis of the general pattern of construction observable at Zeugma, wall 11009 is best assigned to the phase of construction in the first half of the third century A.D., so that IN6 seems already to have been removed from its context and reused in the decades leading up to the Sasanid destruction.

### Funerary Inscriptions

#### *Early Imperial*

IN7 (Inscription Register 3, WS 126, Trench 2, context 2181)

FIG. 10

Limestone stele, with partially dressed face within a hammered frame on left and above. The inscription is cut within incised guidelines, but space for a fourth line is left blank. Now in Gaziantep Museum.

Alpha has deeply broken crossbar, finished with a pendent serif; the hastae of pi are of equal length; omicron is circular; rho has a small loop; the central bar of epsilon is slightly detached from the stem and of almost equal length to the upper and lower bars. The lettering would be compatible with a late Hellenistic or Early Imperial date, but it is difficult to confine the dating range more closely.

H. 0.55 m, w. 0.46 m, th. 0.29 m; letter height: 0.020 (epsilon, pi, l. 3) to 0.028 m (rho, ll. 1, 2), line interval: 0.017 m.

Μ[ε]ικρά Ἀλε-  
ξάνδρου  
ἄλυπε χαίρε

#### CRITICAL NOTES

1: the epsilon of Μεικρά has been effaced by a deep pit in the surface of the stone.

#### TRANSLATION

Meikra the daughter of Alexandros, causing grief to no one, farewell.

#### DISCUSSION

The funerary formula ἄλυπε χαίρε, whose distribution has recently been studied by J.-B. Yon,<sup>89</sup> represents a positive virtue: "causing grief to no one."<sup>90</sup> This is by far the commonest formula represented in the funerary epigraphy of Zeugma.<sup>91</sup> The lettering of the inscription suggests that IN7 is one of the earlier examples of its use at Zeugma.<sup>92</sup>

The common name Alexandros is attested at Zeugma in two other epitaphs, but with no evident relationship to the present case.<sup>93</sup> Mikra (here in the form Μεικρά), in contrast, is new to Zeugma and uncommon elsewhere.<sup>94</sup>

IN8 (Inscription Register 8, WS 141, surface find) FIG. 11

Fragment of a limestone funerary stele, broken on all sides, found in a robber mound, 2 m above a track southeast of Belkis Tepe. The front face is dressed level with a coarse claw chisel; letters are cut within guidelines, but space for a third line of text is left blank. The surface of the stone has suffered extensive damage.

Recorded by H. Elton on 2 September 2000. When restudied in 2002 the inscription was held in the archaeological store at the Zeugma Excavation House in Birecik.

Letters are widely spaced and deeply cut: alpha has straight crossbar; the bars of epsilon are of equal length; omega is cursive.

H. 0.345 m, w. 0.285 m, th. 0.125 m; letter height 0.03 m, line interval 0.01–0.014 m.

[ᾗ]ωρει ἄλ[υ]-  
[π]ε χαίρε

#### CRITICAL NOTES

1: the stem and beginning of the loop of a possible rho are preserved in a worn area following omega; deep, vertical



Figure 11. IN8.

incisions in the surface of the stone after rho and epsilon seem to be extraneous gouges.

- 2: after alpha, there is a gap of one letter space before a single vertical stroke; it is possible that the lapicide allowed a larger interval before cutting the iota to avoid a damaged area on the surface of the stone. The next letter should be rho rather than epsilon, since the incision leading from the foot of the vertical is part of the guideline traced across the stone rather than a letter stroke.

TRANSLATION

[- -] untimely, causing grief to no one, farewell.

DISCUSSION

The interpretation of this damaged funerary text is not quite secure. The first three preserved letters in line 1 seem to belong to ἄωρε and a record of an untimely death, but the formula restored in lines 1-2, ἄλ[υπ]ε χαῖρ[ε], is only reconcilable with the surviving letter traces in line 2 on the assumption that the letters are spaced to avoid pits and imperfections in the dressed surface.<sup>95</sup> The combination of the two formulae ἄωρε and ἄλυπε χαῖρε in a single epitaph is not otherwise attested at Zeugma,<sup>96</sup> although it is found in a small number of epitaphs elsewhere in Syria.<sup>97</sup> In the majority of cases the two patterns stand by themselves, the former sometimes accompanied by an age notation, which is absent here.<sup>98</sup>



Figure 12. IN9.

*Late Imperial*

IN9 (Inscription Register 19, WS 651, Trench 15, context 15070)

FIG. 12

Funerary stele of yellow-white limestone, inscribed with a striking Christian epitaph set within a dressed frame. The inscribed surface has suffered some damage along its left edge. Now in Gaziantep Museum. Recorded by H. Elton on 27 September 2000.

H. 0.46 m, w. 0.26 m, th. 0.1–0.13 m; letter height 0.0175–0.03 m, line interval 0.015–0.035 m.

The lettering is written within roughly traced guidelines, except for lines 6–7, which are not so separated, and shows considerable variation in forms and execution: letter extremities are frequently defined by drilled points; some letters are only lightly traced. Alpha has alternately straight (ll. 1, 2, 3), broken (2), and angled (2, 6) crossbars; sigma is both lunate (4, 5, 6, 7) and rectangular (2, 3); epsilon is



rectangular (2, 3, 4) and lunate (3, 4, 7); theta and omega are rectangular; omicron is both oval (5, 6) and rectangular (3); rho has a loop of variable size; upsilon has a V shape without a stem. There are ligatures in lines 3 (ΓΥΝΕ, ΤΕ), 5 (ΧΕ), 6 (ΑC), and 7 (ΩΖ).

Α Χρ(ιστὸς) Ω  
Μάρις μετὰ  
γυνεκὸς καὶ τέ-  
κνων, θαρσῖτε,  
5 ΧΕΡΟΙΣΣΕ  
Χριστὸς ὑμᾶς  
σώξει

## CRITICAL NOTES

- 1: the inscription is headed by a chi-rho symbol in the form of a staurogram enclosed within an alpha-omega resting on a baseline with a right vertical limit.<sup>99</sup>
- 2-3: lines 2 and 3 are separated by three deeply incised lines.
- 3: the first four letters are ligatured together, as are the penultimate two letters. A partial vertical immediately after καὶ is extraneous; kappa at the end of the line overlaps the edge of the dressed text field.
- 4: nu at the beginning of the line is no more than a trace, partially obscured by damage to the edge of the stone.
- 5: the reading and resolution of the letters in this line are difficult. The line begins with what seems to be a ligature of chi and epsilon, although two lightly traced vertical lines rising from the lower right edge of chi and bisecting the incomplete circumference of epsilon complicate the interpretation: ΧΕ, but possibly also ΧΕΙ or even ΧΗC. The vertical after rho and omicron appears to be capped by a short bar and could perhaps be read as gamma rather than iota. The following letter appears to be omicron, although the circumference is closed only by the left edge of the succeeding letter, so that sigma is an alternative reading. The penultimate letter appears to be a lunate sigma, but is joined below by a less clearly incised outline, suggesting epsilon or, less likely, theta. The final letter appears to be a lightly traced epsilon. The interpretation of these letters remains open. ΧΕ is a well-attested abbreviation of Χ(ριστ)έ, but the remaining letters in the line do not easily stand by themselves, and the vocative seems, in any case, excluded by the nominative Χριστὸς in the following line. χαίρει is regularly inscribed at Zeugma in the phonetic form χῆρει;<sup>100</sup> if the unclear penultimate letter could be read as a theta left open on the right, χέροισ<θ>ε for the middle χairoισθε might, with difficulty, be read; but the middle optative is only rarely attested in funerary formulae,<sup>101</sup> and the combination of χαίρει with θάρσ(ε)ι is itself very rare. Alternatively, if the ligature at the beginning of the line is resolved as ΧΕΙ, χειροῖσ<θ>ε (“may you overcome”) could be read, but χειρόομαι elsewhere always commands a direct object. A further, almost final, resort might be

to take the letters in line 5 with the following lines as an approximate and aberrant dual or plural dative of χεῖρ (for χε(ι)ροῖν or χε(ι)ροῖν): “with his hands Christ saves you”; but this is scarcely credible.

- 6: the chi of Χριστός seems originally to have been a kappa, reshaped by extending the lower bar upward to form a diagonal descending from right to left; a lightly traced loop attached to the vertical stem appears to convert the resulting letter to a christogram.
- 7: the reading of the second and third letters, which appear to be ligatured together, is not quite clear: omega seems probable and requires either sigma or zeta; the latter seems indicated by the inward-curving line traced on the right edge of omega.

## Fragments

## TRANSLATION

Maris with your wife and children, be of good courage, - - -  
Christ saves you.

## DISCUSSION

This funerary text comes from a colluvium layer in Trench 15 and postdates the main phases of occupations of this area of the city; the lettering would be compatible with a date late in the fifth century or beyond but is too inconsistent to allow a closer palaeographical judgment.

The inscription records a consolatory funerary text addressed to Maris with his wife and children. The encouraging imperative θάρσ(ε)ι/θαρσῖτε (“have courage”) is frequently, but not invariably, associated with the qualification οὐδεὶς (γὰρ) ἀθάνατος, absent here, and is widely used in pagan, Jewish, and Christian epitaphs,<sup>102</sup> although this seems to be its first appearance at Zeugma.<sup>103</sup>

The concluding salvation formula in lines 6–7 is eminently Christian in character, but this seems to be its first epigraphical attestation.<sup>104</sup>

The name Maris, which seems to derive from semitic MAR/*mr*’ (“lord,” “master”),<sup>105</sup> is previously known from Zeugma in the form Μάρρις in an epitaph with a similar consolatory formula,<sup>106</sup> and is attested sparsely elsewhere in Syria.<sup>107</sup>

IN10 (Inscription Register 7, WS 258, Trench 1, context 1010)

FIG. 13

Fragment of a limestone block, broken away on the right, with incomplete inscription on one dressed end; part of the original upper surface appears to be preserved. Now in Gaziantep Museum. Initially recorded by H. Elton on 16 June 2000.

H. 0.30 m, w. 0.2 m, th. 0.56 m; letter height 0.042 m, line interval 0.004 m. Omicron, sigma, and omega are rectangular.

ΣΕΙΦΝ[-]  
Διοδω[ρο-]



Figure 13. IN10.

#### DISCUSSION

Both this inscription and IN11 were recovered from the same context of reuse in Trench 1, the westernmost trench opened by Oxford Archaeology during the rescue excavations. The reading is clear, but interpretation less so. The left edge of the block is preserved and there is a *vacat* above and below the two lines of text. The letters that survive should, accordingly, provide the beginning of a text, but the extent of the lacuna to the right is unclear. What remains could be a name and patronymic, but the resolution of the first element is difficult. Σεργν[-] may be a variant form of the name Σέγνας, which is sporadically attested in Syria;<sup>108</sup> a brief epitaph from Kephallenia for a woman named Signa offers a closer parallel.<sup>109</sup> A less likely possibility is that σεργν[-] is an iotacism for σίγν[ov] (Latin *signum*) or σίγν[ιφερ] (Latin *signifer*).<sup>110</sup>

IN11 (Inscription Register 6, WS 252, Trench 1, context 1010)

FIG. 14

Limestone block, broken away on the left and below, inscribed with a worn and only partially legible inscription of two lines set within a roughly executed panel; the right edge, part of the upper surface on the right, and the original rough-picked back are preserved. Now in Gaziantep Museum. Initially recorded by H. Elton on 16 June 2000.

H. 0.23 m, w. 0.52 m, th. 0.21 m; letter height 0.035 m, line interval 0.012 m. The crossbar of alpha slopes up from left to right; omicron, sigma, and upsilon are rectangular; the loop of rho is small and almost square.

- - <sup>c.8</sup> - - ΣΟΑΙ  
ΒΑΡΣΥΜΟΣ

#### CRITICAL NOTES

- 1: the first preserved letter seems more likely to be a sigma than epsilon, which would have to have an unusually high central bar. The rectangular second letter seems to be omicron; there is no trace of the crossbar of a theta to provide a middle or passive infinitive.
- 2: a diagonal letter trace at the beginning of the line, on the broken edge of the stone, might belong to a triangular letter, but the angle is more acute than that of the following alpha and suggests instead the lower branch of a kappa; an epigraphically more difficult alternative would be the lower loop of an angular beta. The fifth letter is a rectangle open at the top and should accordingly be upsilon rather than omicron, although comparanda for this form are not plentiful.<sup>111</sup> There is a *vacat* of around four spaces to the edge of the frame.

#### DISCUSSION

Reading and dating of this inscription are difficult. The preservation of part of the original upper surface of the block on the right suggests that there were only two lines, but the extent of the text missing on the left edge is unclear. If the letter trace at the beginning of line 2 could belong to an angular form of beta, Βαρσυμος, a Semitic name signifying “son of Shamash (the Sun)” already attested at Zeugma in a recently discovered funerary inscription,<sup>112</sup> might be read. The alternative, ΚΑΡΣΥΜΟΣ, seems to lead nowhere. A plausible resolution of the traces at the end of the first line has not been found.

IN12 (Inscription Register 21, WS 513, Trench 15, context 15001)

FIG. 15

Fragment preserving a segment of a limestone disc, inscribed with two letters. Recorded by H. Elton on 27 September 2000. When studied in 2002 the inscription was held in the archaeological store at the Zeugma Excavation House in Birecik.

H. 0.2 m, w. 0.16 m, th. 0.16 m; letter height 0.08 m.



Figure 14. IN11.



Figure 15. IN12.

ΕΓ

#### CRITICAL NOTES

The remains of the second letter are compatible with gamma, pi, or a rectangular sigma.

#### DISCUSSION

The interpretation of this text is unclear. The orientation of the letters follows the circumference of the rough disc to which this fragment appears to belong, but the length of the full text can no longer be determined.



Figure 16. IN13, shown in situ (right).

IN13 (Inscription Register 2, WS 1017, Trench 7B, context 7195)

Fragment of a limestone block reused in a later wall with a fragmentary inscription in monumental lettering. Now backfilled.

L. 0.26 m, w. 0.16 m; letter height 0.11 m. Sigma has a regular four-bar form.

Recorded by H. Elton. Not seen.

ΩΣΙ

#### CRITICAL NOTES

Only the right half of the first letter, consisting of a vertical stroke curving inwards towards the baseline, is preserved and seems more likely to belong to omega than omicron; the third letter consists of a vertical stroke broken at half-letter height; a base serif extends to the left and there appears to be the beginning of an intersecting stroke, so that rho or eta seem the most plausible identifications.

DISCUSSION

The size of the lettering suggests a text of importance, perhaps a dedication inscribed along a fascia, but three letters are insufficient to support even a speculation. The lettering would be appropriate in the early or mid-Roman period.

Graffiti

IN14 (Inscription Register 18, Trench 2, context 2396)

PL. 37A

Limestone ashlar block, with an incised picture of a bull or stag and a short graffito in Greek, forming part of a door jamb between rooms 2344 and 2522; now backfilled. Transcribed by H. Elton on 15 September 2000 from a latex squeeze of the inscription taken by the CCA conservators.

L. 0.64 m, w. 0.56 m, th. 0.62 m; letter height 0.01 m. Not seen.

ΠΟ.ΑΒΓΔΗΖΘ  
-----  
ΑΑΑΑ

CRITICAL NOTES

- 1: there may be a trace of an additional letter after ΠΟ; only the stem of gamma, a possible apex of delta, and the left edge of theta are visible; the identification of none of these letters is secure.

DISCUSSION

The letters in line 1, which are cut immediately below the belly (ΠΟ.) and between (ΑΒΓ) and to the right of (ΔΗΖΘ) the front legs of the incised figure of a bull or stag, appear, as recorded, to belong to an abecedarium.

IN15 (Inscription Register 16, WS 93, Trench 9, context 9003)

Limestone architectural block with a scratched Latin graffito; now backfilled. Transcribed by H. Elton on 2 September 2000.

L. 0.52 m, w. 0.5 m, th. 0.5 m; letter height: 0.02 m. Not seen.

..I .RVS

DISCUSSION

The transcription suggests IV or M as possible interpretations of the first two letter traces and perhaps N or a combination of V with another letter before R. It is possible that the graffito registers a personal name ending *-urus*, but the reading is by no means clear.

APPENDIX: RELATED COMMAGENE TEXTS

SO. Basalt stele now in Gaziantep Museum inscribed on one side with a relief depiction of a *dexiosis* scene between Antiochus of Commagene and Apollo. The lower part of the stele is broken away, with the loss of the last five lines of text and the feet of the relief figures.

Ed. pr. of Wagner and Petzl 1976, 201–23 (*SEG* 26, 1623; Waldmann 1991, 202–4, no. 6). Revised edition of Crowther-Facella 2003, 71–4, text 3.

Cf. Clarysse 1976, 264 (l. 14); Kirsten 1981, 268 n. 29 (ll. 22–3, noticed in *SEG* 31, 1380; 1682); *SEG* 33, 1215.

- Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Θεὸς Δί-  
καιος Ἐπιφανὴς Φιλορώμαιος  
καὶ Φιλέλλην ὁ ἐγ βασιλέως Μι-  
θραδάτου Καλλινίκου, ὁ κτίστης  
5 καὶ εὐερ<γ>έτης καὶ πρῶτος ἀναλα-  
βῶν τὴν κίταριν, Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐπηκόῳ καὶ Ἄρτ[έμι]-  
[δι] Δικτύνη τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ἀφιέρωσα καὶ τὰς τε τῶν θεῶν [εἰ]-  
[κό]νας τὰς ἐνγεγλυμμένας ἐν ταῖς στήλαις καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς τ[ὰς]  
συνκαθιδρυμένας ταύταις ἀναστήσας κατέστησα ἱερεῖ[ς] ἔν[ν]  
10 [τ]ε τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἱερο[ῖς] καὶ  
ἀφώρισα χώρας τοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσι, ὅπως οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκ τῶν γινομένων[ν προ]-  
σόδων τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ποιῶνται τὰς ἐπιθύσεις καὶ τὰς θυσίας [κα]τ[ὰ]  
[μ]ῆνα τῆ ἑκκαίδεκάτη γενεθλίῳ μου ἡμέρα καὶ ἐορτάζωσιν καὶ εἰ[ὺ]ω-  
[χ]ῶνται οἱ κατὰ μέρος. ὁ διαταξάμην δὲ ἵνα καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐ[μ]ῆς  
15 [β]ασιλείας πανδημεὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν συνέρχωνται, ἕκαστοι εἰς τὰ σ[υνεγ]-  
[γ]υὰς αὐτοῖς ἱερὰ ἔν τε τῇ ἑκκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Α[ἰ]ὸνδαίου, οὔση ἐνιαυσίῳ γ[ενε]ῖ-  
[[θλίω μου ἡμέρα, καὶ τῇ δε[κάτῃ]]

[[τ]οῦ Λώου μηνός, ἐν ἣ τὸ διάδημα ἄν]-  
 ἐλαβον]], [κ]αὶ ἐπιθύοντες ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐχωῶ[νται]  
 ταύτας τὰς δύο ἡμέρας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἱεροδοῦ<λ>ους ἀφιέρωσα ἵνα προσ[καρτε]-  
 [ροῦ]ντες τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρέχωνται τὰς χρεῖας. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ μου καὶ [οἶ]  
 20 [ἔγγ]ονοι αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεχόμενοι ἄγωσιν τὴν ἔμμητόν μου [γενέ]-  
 [θλι]ον ἐκκαιδεκάτην, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱεροῖς ἅπασιν τοῖς κ[ατὰ τὴν]  
 [ἐμ]ὴν βασιλείαν διατάξωνται ἄγεσθαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν καθὼς καὶ [ἐκ]  
 [τῶ]ν ἐμῶν χρόνων ἤγετο, εὐμενεῖς εἶψαν αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἴλεως [αὐτοῖς]  
 [σ]υντυγχανέτωσαν· ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν βασιλέων ἢ δυναστῶν ἢ στρατ[ηγῶν]  
 25 [ἦ] ἔθναρχῶν ἢ ἄλλοι τινὲς παραγένωνται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ β[ούλων]-  
 [ται] ἐπιθύειν καὶ σπενδοποιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν καθιδρυμένω[ν ἐν]  
 [το]ύτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ εἰκόني τῇ καθιδρυμένῃ σὺν τα[ῖς τῶν]  
 [θ]εῶν εἰκόσιν, κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλε[ίᾳ] ἱε]-  
 [ρ]οῖς ἐν οἷς καθίδρυνται καὶ αἱ ἐμαὶ εἰκόνας σὺν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν εἰκ[όσιν],  
 30 [σ]υναύξουσιν [αὐ]τοῖς τῶν τε θεῶν καὶ τὰς ἐμ[ὰς] τιμὰς καὶ τὸ[ν] πρέ]-  
 [πον]τα <σ>εβ[ασμ]ὸν ἀπομερίζουσιν εὐμεν[εῖς] εἶψα[ν] οἱ θεοὶ κ[αὶ] παρ' ]  
 [ὄ]λον αὐτοῖς τὸν χ[ρ]όνον τὰ παρὰ τούτων ἀπ[αντάσθω] ἀγαθὰ· ο[ἱ]  
 [δ'] ἂν παραγενόμενοι εἰς τοῦτο τ[ὸ] ἱερὸν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ἱε]-  
 [ρὰ] ἐν τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας τόποις ἐν οἷς συνακθίδρυνται τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ αἱ]  
 35 [ἐ]μαὶ εἰκόνας μὴ τὸν πρέποντα σεβασμὸν ἀπομερίσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν]  
 [ἐ]ναντίων βλάβωσιν τι ἢ λυμῆνται τὰ ἱερά ἢ τὰς ἐμὰς εἰκόνας,]  
 [σ]υμβαίνοι αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐναντία τούτων καὶ γίνεσθαι αὐτοῖς]  
 [ἄ] τοῖς ἀσεβοῦσι περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς γίνεται.]

N 1–122: Nemrud Dağı East Terrace Inscription.  
 I have made minor corrections to the text in lines 71,  
 110, 117.

[Βασιλεὺς μέγ]ας Ἀντίοχος Θεὸς  
 Δίκαιος [Ἐπιφ]αν[ῆς] Φιλορώμαιος καὶ  
 Φιλέ[λλ]ην, ὁ ἐκ βασιλέως Μιθραδά-  
 του Καλλινίκου καὶ βασιλίσσης Λαο-  
 5 δ[ί]κης Θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου τῆς ἐκ βασι-  
 λέω[ς] Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Φιλο-  
 μήτορος Καλλινίκου ἐπὶ καθω-  
 σιωμένων βάσεων ἀσύλοις  
 γράμμασιν ἔργα χάριτος ἰδίας εἰς  
 10 χρόνον ἀνέγραψεν αἰώνιον.  
 ἐγὼ πάντων ἀγαθῶν οὐ μόνον κτῆ-  
 σιν βεβαιοτάτην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόλαυ-  
 σιν ἡδίστην ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμισα τὴν  
 εὐσέβειαν, τὴν αὐτὴν τε κρίσιν καὶ  
 15 δυνάμειος εὐτυχούς καὶ χρήσε-  
 ως μακαρίστης αἰτίαν ἔσχον, παρ' ὅ-  
 λον τε τὸν βίον ὤφθην ἅπασι βασιλείας  
 ἐμῆς καὶ φύλακα πιστοτάτην καὶ  
 τέρψιν ἀμίμητον ἠγούμενος τὴν ὀσιότη-  
 20 τα· δι' ἧ καὶ κινδύνους μεγάλους παραδό-  
 ξως διέφυγον καὶ πράξεων δυσελπίστων  
 εὐμηχάνως ἐπεκράτησα καὶ βίου πολυ-  
 ετοῦς μακαρίστως ἐπληρώθην.  
 ἐγὼ πατρώαν [ἀ]ρχὴν παρ[α]λα[β]ῶν  
 25 βασιλείαν [μ]ὲν ἐμοῖ[ς] ὑπήκοον θρό-

νοὺς κοινὴν θεῶν ἀπάντων εὐσεβείαι  
 γνώμης ἐμῆς δίαίταν ἀπέδειξα, μορ-  
 φῆς μὲν ἰκόνας παντοῖα τέχνη, κα-  
 θ' ἧ παλαιὸς λόγος Περσῶν τε καὶ  
 30 Ἑλλήνων - ἐμοῦ γένους εὐτυχεσ-  
 τάτη ρίζα - παραδέδωκε, κοσμήσας  
 θυσίαις δὲ καὶ πανηγύρεσιν, ὡς ἀρ-  
 χαῖός τε νόμος καὶ κοινὸν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων ἔθος· ἔτι δὲ ἐμῇ δικαίᾳ φροντίς  
 35 προσεξεῦρε τιμὰς ἐπιφανῶς γερα-  
 ράς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱεροθεσίῳ τοῦδε κρη-  
 πείδα ἀπόρθητον χρόνου λύμαις  
 ουρανίων ἀγχιστα θρόνων κατασ-  
 τήσασθαι προενοήθην, ἐν ᾧ μα-  
 40 καριστον ἄχρι [γ]ήρωσ ὑπάρξαν σῶμα  
 μορφῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς  
 Ὠρομάσδου θρόνους θεοφιλεῖ ψυχὴν  
 προπέμψαν εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα κοι-  
 μήσεται. τότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε χώρον  
 45 ἱερὸν ἀπάντων κοινὸν ἀναδείξει  
 θεῶν ἐνθρόνισμα προειλάμην, ὅπως  
 μὴ μόνον ἐμῶν προγόνων οὗτος ὢν ὄρᾳς  
 ἠρω<ο>ς λόχος ἐμαῖς ἐπιμελείαις ὑπαρ-  
 50 χη καθιδρυμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 δαιμόνων ἐπιφανῶν θεῖος τύπος ἐν  
 ἀγίῳ λόφῳ καθοσιωθεὶς μηδὲ τόν-  
 δε τὸν τόπον ὄρφανὸν ἐ-  
 μῆς εὐσεβείας ἔχῃ μάρτυρα· διόπερ  
 ὡς ὄρᾳς Διὸς τε Ὠρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπολ-

55 λωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἄρτα-  
 γνου Ἡρακλέους Ἄρεως ἐμῆς τε πα-  
 τρίδος παντρόφου Κομμαγήνης θεοπρε-  
 πῆ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα καθιδρυσάμην.  
 ἀπό τε λιθείας μιᾶς δαιμόσιν ἐπηκόοις  
 60 σύνθρονον χαρακτήρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς  
 συνανέθηκα καὶ τύχης νέας ἡλικιῶ-  
 τιν ἀρχαίαν θεῶν μεγάλων τιμὴν ἐποι-  
 ησάμην, μίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσ-  
 σων ἀθανάτου φροντίδος ἢ πολλά-  
 65 κικ ἐμοὶ παραστάτις ἐπιφανῆς εἰς βοη-  
 θείαν ἀγώνων βασιλικῶν εὐμενῆς  
 ἑωρᾶτο. χώραν τε ἰκανὴν καὶ προ-  
 σόδους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀκινήτους εἰς θυσι-  
 ῶν πολυτέλειαν ἀπένευμα  
 70 θεραπείαν τε ἀνέγλειπτον καὶ  
 ἱερεῖς ἐπιλέξας σὺν πρεπούσαις  
 ἐσθῆσι Περσικῶν γένει κατέστησα,  
 κόσμον τε καὶ λειτουργίαν πᾶσαν  
 ἀξίως τύχης ἐμῆς καὶ δαιμόνων  
 75 ὑπεροχῆς ἀνέθηκα. περὶ δὲ ἱερουρ-  
 γιῶν αἰδίων διάταξιν πρέπουσαν  
 ἐποίησάμην, ὅπως σὺν αἰς ἀρχαῖος  
 καὶ κοινὸς νόμος ἔταξεν  
 θυσίαις καὶ νέας ἑορτὰς εἰς τε  
 80 θεῶν σεβασμὸν καὶ ἡμετέρας τι-  
 μὰς ἅπαντες οἱ κατ' ἐμὴν βασιλεί-  
 αν ἐπιτελώσιν. σώματος μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐμοῦ γενέθλιον Αὐδναίου ἐκκαϊδε-  
 κάτην, διαδήματος δὲ Λύου δεκά-  
 85 τὴν ἀφιέρωσα μεγάλων δαιμόνων ἐπι-  
 φανείαις, αἵτινες ἐμοὶ καθηγεμόνες  
 εὐτυχοῦς ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείαι πάσηι  
 κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαι κατέστησαν.  
 χάριν τε θυσιῶν πλή-  
 90 θους καὶ μεγέθους  
 εὐωχίας δύο προσκαθωσίωσα ἡμέρας  
 ἑκατέραν τούτων ἐνιαύσιον  
 ἑορτήν. βασιλείας δὲ πλῆθος  
 εἰς συναγωγὰς καὶ πανγύρεις  
 95 καὶ θυσίας ταύτας διελὼν κατὰ  
 κώμας καὶ πόλεις τοῖς ἔγγιστα  
 τεμένεσιν ὡς ἤρμοζεν ἑκάστοις  
 κατὰ γιτνίαν ἐνεορτάζειν ὦρι-  
 σα. τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ χρόνου κατὰ  
 100 μῆνα μία[ν] ὁμώνυμον τ[α]ίς εἰρημέ-  
 ναις - ὑπὲρ μὲν γενέσεως ἐμῆς τὴν  
 ἐκκαϊδεκάτην, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀναλήψεως  
 διαδήματος τὴν δεκάτην - αἰεὶ διὰ  
 τῶν ἱερέων γεραίρεσθαι παρήγγει-  
 105 λα. διαμονῆς δὲ τούτων ἔνεκεν,  
 ἦν ἐμφορνίμοις ἀνδράσι εὐσεβῆς  
 αἰεὶ τηρεῖν, οὐ μόνον εἰς τιμὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ μακαρίστας ἐλπίδας ἰδίας ἐ-  
 κάστου τύχης ἐγὼ καθοσιώσας ἐν στή-  
 110 λαις ἀσύλοις ἐχάραξα γνώμηι θεῶν

ἱερὸν νόμον, ὃν θέμις ἀνθρώπων  
 γενεαῖς ἀπάντων, οὓς ἂν χρόνος  
 ἄπειρος εἰς διαδοχὴν  
 115 χώρας ταύτης ἰδίαι βίου μοίραι καταστή-  
 ση, τηρεῖν ἄσυλον, εἰδότας ὡς χαλεπὴ νέ-  
 μεσις βασιλικῶν δαιμόνων τιμωρὸς ὁμοί-  
 ως ἀμελίας τε κ<α>ὶ ὕβρεως ἀσέβειαν διώκει,  
 καθωσιωμένων τε ἡρώων ἀτειμασθεῖς νόμος  
 ἀνειλάτους ἔχει ποινάς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅσιον ἅπαν  
 120 κοῦφον ἔργον, τῆς δὲ ἀσεβείας ὀπισθοβαρεῖς  
 ἀνάγκαι. νόμον δὲ τοῦτον φωνῆ μὲν ἐξήγγειλεν  
 ἐμῆ, νοῦς δὲ θεῶν ἐκύρωσεν.

## NOTES

1. Acknowledgments: In common with all the participants in the Zeugma Project, I owe an immense obligation to The Packard Humanities Institute for its support for the project through every stage. During the preparation of this report I have incurred a large number of individual obligations of gratitude for kindnesses and help: to Rob Early, Philippa Walton, Jen Coolidge, Adam Brossler, Serap Güler, and Andy Millar of the Zeugma 2000 team at Oxford Archaeology; to Dr. Hamza Güllüce, Director of the Gaziantep Museum; to Dr. Philip Kenrick for sharing his preliminary assessment of the pottery from the 2000 rescue excavation; to Engelbert Winter for help in the Gaziantep Museum. I am grateful to William Aylward for his patience, support, and for contributing paragraphs on the context of inscriptions IN4 and IN5. Georg Petzl offered a series of comments on the new Commagenian inscriptions at the Rothenberge Kolloquium in 2002, and has been a regular source of advice and encouragement since. Matthew Dickie showed me an unpublished paper on the Hieros Nomos from Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios. Jean-Baptiste Yon has shared advice and texts. I am grateful, above all, to Margherita Facella who has offered her unequalled knowledge of Commagene and has been a muse to the first section of this report.
2. Only Trenches 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, and 15 yielded stone inscriptions; finds of graffiti, mosaic, and painted inscriptions are summarized in separate reports by Benefiel and Coleman, Dunbabin, and Bergmann.
3. Crowther 2003.
4. The inscriptions were recorded and transcribed by Hugh Elton as they were found. Three stones (IN13–15), which formed part of walls or other structures, were backfilled before the writer visited the Zeugma excavations in late September 2000, and were unavailable for reexamination. The editions in these cases are based on Elton's initial transcriptions and, where available, excavation photographs and drawings. Catalogue entries presented here include trench and context numbers, WS (worked stone) and SF (small find) numbers assigned to some of the inscribed finds by the excavators, and numbers assigned to the inscriptions in the Inscriptions Register in the Oxford Archaeology Unpublished Interim Report (2001, 143).
5. Chabot 1900, 279–83.
6. Kennedy-Graf 1998.
7. Wagner 1976, 84: 2 funerary texts from Apameia (SEG 26, 1488–9); 111: 3 mosaic texts from Asagi Çardak (SEG 26, 1491–3); 112–3: 3 funerary texts from Nisibis (SEG 26, 1494–6); 130: public honorific inscription (SEG 26, 1498); 130–1: altar dedication (SEG 26, 1499); 132–6: 4 funerary texts for legionaries (AE 1977, 818–22); 136–43: 7 legionary tile stamps (AE 1977, 823); 173–273: 138 private funerary inscriptions, 3 in Latin, from Zeugma itself (SEG 26, 1500–1622).
8. Yon 1999–2001. Full excavation reports in Abadie-Reynal et al. 1996–2001.
9. A summary account of the reign and ruler cult of Antiochus I in Wagner 2000b, with Jacobs 2000; in general, see now the full discussion in Facella 2006, 225–97. The cult center at Nemrud Dağı has recently been the subject of renewed investigation by a team from the University of Amsterdam: Moormann and Versluys 2002–2005.
10. Wagner 1976, 117–23; C.B. Rose, this volume, 7–8 with fig. 9.
11. Crowther and Facella 2003.
12. Wagner and Petzl 2003.
13. Crowther and Facella 2003. The arguments and evidence presented there have recently been reviewed by B. Jacobs (Jacobs and Rollinger 2005); see the discussion below in n. 76.
14. Commagenian cult inscriptions and stelai are conventionally referred to by acronyms derived from the initial letters of their findspots: SO (Sofraz Köy), Sx (Samosata), and so on. The following acronyms are used in this report:  
A: Cult inscription from the *hierothesion* at Arsameia on the Nymphaios: ed. pr. of F.K. Dörner in Dörner-Goell 1963, 36–91.  
AD: Lower part of a relief stele with a *dexiosis* scene and the same text as Cb and SO from Adıyaman: Waldmann 1973, 5–15; ed. pr. of J. Keil in Dörner-Naumann 1939, 51–3; revised text in Crowther and Facella 2003, 74–6, text 4 (SEG LIII, 1777).  
ANa–h: eight fragments of basalt relief stelai from the temenos at Ancoz: Wagner and Petzl 2003 (SEG LIII, 1763).  
BEa: Fragment from the upper part of a Herakles *dexiosis* from Belkis Tepe: Wagner 1976, 117–23.  
BEb: Fragment from the lower part of a Herakles *dexiosis* from Belkis Tepe: Wagner 1976, 117–23.  
BEf: Fragment from a wall block found during the French excavations in Chantier 9 in 1998: Yon 1999.  
Cb: Fragmentary inscription with the same text as AD and SO from Çaputlu Ağaç Küllük: Waldmann 1973, 45–7; revised text in Crowther and Facella 2003, 76–7, text 5 (SEG LIII, 1764).  
D: Fragmentary inscription with the same text as Sx and BEc from Doliche: SEG 32, 1385; revised text in Crowther and Facella 2003, 71, text 2 (SEG LIII, 1766).  
N: Cult inscription from the *hierothesion* at Nemrud Dağı: OGIS 383; Sanders 1996, 213–7.  
SO: Relief stele with cult inscription and *dexiosis* scene from Sofraz Köy: Wagner and Petzl 1976; revised text in Crowther and Facella 2003, 71–74, text 3 (SEG LIII, 1776).  
Sx: Relief stele with cult inscription and *dexiosis* scene from Samosata: GIBM 1048a (OGIS 404); revised text in Crowther and Facella 2003, 68–71, text 1 (SEG LIII, 1768).  
Sz: Relief stele from Selik, near Samosata, with cult inscription and Herakles *dexiosis*: Fraser 1952 (SEG XII, 554).
15. SS1 is now permanently mounted in the exhibition gallery of the museum with its inscribed face turned towards the wall. For the findspot, see figure 1 in the chapter by Rose.
16. See the discussions by Aylward and Kenrick in this publication.
17. Tac., Ann. 2.56.4: *Commagenis Q. Servaeus praeponitur, tum primum ad ius praetoris translatis*. For the circumstances leading to the annexation, see Facella 2006, 316–8.
18. Wagner 1976, 61–4. M. Facella in an unpublished paper raises doubts over the numismatic evidence cited by Wagner for a possible annexation after Actium.
19. Rose, this volume; see also Crowther and Facella 2003, with Petzl 2003 on the significance of the *dexiosis* scene, and for its antecedents, Jacobs and Rollinger 2005, 144–50.
20. Cf. AD, ANa–h, Aq, Ar, SO, Sx, Sz, Sy. The right and left edges of the stele are more clearly defined on the Sofraz Köy, Samosata, Arsameia, and Adıyaman stele, but the contour of the inscribed face of the Zeugma stelai, is continuous from left to right edge.
21. The Sofraz Köy text (SO) is complete save for its concluding 5 lines, which can be restored, in turn, from the inscription now in Adıyaman Museum (AD); Cb preserves the right edge of 8 lines from the end of the text.
22. Cf., e.g., IN2, ll. 8, 10, 23, 26, 28, 32.
23. See the discussion below, with Crowther and Facella 2003, 57, 62–3, and Rose, in this volume.
24. Wagner and Petzl 1976, 206: “bei der Ausarbeitung des Reliefs wurde ... die bereits eingemeisselte Inschrift auf der Schmalseiten stellenweise zerstört.”
25. Crowther and Facella 2003, 74–6, text 4.
26. Crowther and Facella 2003, 63.
27. Yon 1999: “les découvertes les plus importantes de cette année concernent des textes non-funéraires qui éclairent sur des aspects moins connus de la vie de la cité. Ainsi une pierre a-t-elle été découverte à proximité du chantier 9: elle comporte un texte

- lacunaire qui mentionne la fondation d'un temple (?) et un sacrifice." The lettering of this fragment is slightly larger than that of IN2-3, although the line separation is similar. This text will be published by J.-B. Yon together with the other epigraphical finds from the French mission's investigation. I am most grateful to Dr. Yon for providing a photograph of the fragment to allow its identification as part of Antiochus' *ἱερὸς νόμος* and for subsequently discussing it with me.
28. Nardi and Schneider 2004 and the chapter by Nardi and Schneider in this volume, figs. 15 and 16.
  29. The paper squeezes of IN1-2, together with squeezes of other inscriptions from the excavation and of SO, have been deposited at the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents in Oxford.
  30. Three lines have been lost from the beginning of IN2. The corresponding lines of IN1 would have contained the opening formulae of Antiochus' titulature.
  31. Cf. Sx, only the first line of which (Βασιλεὺς [μέγας Ἀντίοχος]) was centered; the first line of IN2 seems also to have been fully centered.
  32. Crowther 2003 (20 lines), reprinted with revisions in Crowther and Facella 2003 (30 lines); the latter text is now reprinted in SEG LIII, 1777.
  33. L. 1 of the text of BEe in Crowther and Facella 2003 corresponds to l. 10 of IN1.
  34. Cb 8: ἀπαντάσθω for γινέσθω (Crowther and Facella 2003, 76-77); ANd 3: τε for καί in Sz 13 and IN3, 5 (Wagner and Petzl 2003, 90).
  35. Crowther and Facella 2003, 60-61.
  36. For the correction of the ed. pr. of SO, which has οἱ ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας, see Crowther and Facella 2003, 71-4, text 3.
  37. For the implication that IN1 was drafted after SO was corrected but before the *dexiosis* relief was added to the stele, see the discussion in Crowther and Facella 2003, 60-1.
  38. SEG 31, 1380; cf. Crowther and Facella 2003, 71-4, text 3.
  39. Full commentary and contextualization of this text are offered in the editio princeps of the Sofraz Köy stele (Wagner and Petzl 1976).
  40. μέγας is also omitted from an honorific inscription for Antiochus from Ephesos, now in the Ashmolean Museum (*IK.Ephesos* 203; *OGIS* 405), which, for this reason, is presumed also to be early; cf. Wagner and Petzl 1976, 210-2.
  41. SO ll. 4-6: ὁ κτίστης | καὶ εὐεργέτης καὶ πρῶτος ἀναλαβῶν τὴν κίταριν ("the founder and benefactor and the first to assume the tiara"). This formula is absent from later texts: Wagner and Petzl 1976, 206-8.
  42. App. *Mithr.* 114.559: Ἀντίοχῳ δὲ τῷ Κομμαγενῶ Σελευκείαν ἐπέτρεψε (sc. Πομπήϊος) καὶ ὅσα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας κατέδραμεν.
  43. The distinction is reinforced by the generalizing clause that follows immediately in ll. 27-29 and reverts to the plural for εἰκόνες of the king.
  44. This is the interpretation favored by C.B. Rose in his discussion of the relief sculpture, in this volume.
  45. Crowther and Facella 2003, 61.
  46. Crowther and Facella 2003, 68-71, texts 1-2.
  47. Discussion in Dörrie, 29-32; Wagner and Petzl, 210-11.
  48. The translation takes note of and borrows some of its phrasing from the English translation of the Nemrud Dağı text in Sanders 1996, 213-7.
  49. It seems to be used in this sense at N 212; A 174; Sz 31: τύπον δὲ εὐσεβείας.
  50. *LSJ* s.v. τύπος IV, *figure worked in relief*; V, *carved figure, image*. τύπος at N 50 seems to have a generic reference to all the representations of the gods at Nemrud Dağı.
  51. So Crowther and Facella 2003, 48-9.
  52. *Ad Fam.* 15.1.1-2; *Ad Q. Fr.* 2.10.2; cf. Facella 2005, 94-8.
  53. *D.C.* 49.20.3-5. Accounts of the siege of Samosata vary over the leadership of the initial assault: according to Dio, Ventidius attacked Antiochus on the pretext that the latter had not handed over fugitives from Pacorus' defeat (although the real reason was the wealth of Commagene) but was removed from his command by Antonius, who took over the war against Antiochus and confined him at Samosata. Plutarch, *Ant.* 34.4-5, reports that the siege was initiated by Ventidius and then assumed by Antonius.
  54. According to *D.C.* 49.22.1-2 and *Plut. Ant.* 34.5-7, Antonius came to an agreement with Antiochus after a payment by the latter of 300 T; Josephus, *BJ* 1.16.7 (321-2), *AJ* 14.15.9 (445-7), and *Oros.* 6.18.23, however, report that the siege was pursued to the point at which Antiochus surrendered; see now Facella 2006, 244-8.
  55. Crowther and Facella 2003, 49-50.
  56. Facella 2006, 249-50.
  57. Some support for this assumption is now provided by the important discussion in Schütte-Maischatz 2003, which analyzes the interplay between religion and geographic space in Antiochus' ruler cult and concludes that Samosata was the "Ausgangspunkt der Kultstiftungen" and played the central role in the diffusion of the cult.
  58. See the discussion of IN1, p. 198.
  59. For the interpretation of the elliptical phrase in 18-19 (ἐν ἱερῶι τε λιθείαι μιᾶς περιοχῆς ἀγάλμασι δαιμονίους χαρακτῆρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς δεχόμενον θεῶν εὐμενεῖς δεξιὰς παρέστησα), see the discussions of Petzl 2003 and Crowther and Facella 2003, 52, 62-5.
  60. SO 7-9: τὰς τε τῶν θεῶν [εἰκό]νας τὰς ἐνγεγλυμμένας ἐν ταῖς στήλαις καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς τ[ᾶς] συνακαθιδρυμένας ταῦταις; cf. SO 27-9; 34-5; AD 2-3; Cb 4-5.
  61. Crowther 2003, 63.
  62. This suggestion is owed to M. Facella.
  63. Wagner and Petzl 2003.
  64. The corresponding section of the *Nomos* text from Nemrud Dağı is somewhat different; see the text infra and the discussion that follows of the composition of the long text to which IN2 and IN3 belong.
  65. A 111-113: ἐν δὲ γενεθλίῳις ἡμέραις, ἅς ἐμῆνους | ἄγειν πατρός τε κάμου κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἀεὶ | διατέταχα. Similar provisions can be reconstructed in the corresponding section of the *Nomos* from Arsameia-on-the-Euphrates (G 54-6).
  66. If Sz followed the texts from the three *hierotheresia* sites exactly, a repeated specification of the way in which the king's birthday was to be celebrated monthly in these lines would be redundant; in this case, we might expect a different completion for the lacuna at the beginning of Sz 6 than the one that has become current (Sz 5-6: δεκάτη δὲ ἐμῆνῳι | καὶ ἑκαταδεκάτηι). An alternative and better solution is now suggested by the parallel between Ancoz fragment ANc and As 83-9. If Sz also followed the pattern of As 84-104 at this point rather than A, N, and G, the provisions in ll. 1-5 would have concerned the annual celebrations of the king's accession as well as his birthday, and the additional clause in Sz 5-10 would have dealt with the monthly celebration of both dates.
  67. In the translation the broken clause before the first line of the inscribed text is completed on the basis of a revision of the corresponding passage in Sz: τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα παράπ[αν | ἀνα] μβά[ν]ων Περσι[κῆν] καὶ γέρατα κατὰ νόμον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐ[ξ]α[ι]ρούμενος, κτλ. (Sz 7-9).
  68. Sz 10-14; BEd 2-5; cf. A 147-51; N 167-71: ταῖς διατε|ταγμέναις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συνόδοις ἐνταῦθα προσ|καρτερεῖτωσαν ἀπροφασίστως τε τὰς λι|τουργίας, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν βούληται χρόνον ἢ σύν|οδος ποιείσθωσαν ("they are to devote themselves to the gatherings ordained by me here and to perform their obligations without hesitation for as long a time as the assembly wishes").



69. N 161-2: ὄσον τε πλῆθος εἰς τοῦτο καθιέρωσα μουσικῶν; A 141-2: αἱ δὲ καθωσιωμένοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τῶν | ἱεροθεσιῶν μουσικαί.
70. In addition to the *dexiosis* relief of Antiochus with Apollo, depictions of Antiochus with Herakles and perhaps also Zeus Oromasdes might also be expected.
71. Wagner and Petzl 2003. The inscriptions recovered from Zeugma overlap Ancoz fragments ANa (IN2) and ANd (IN3); so that it seems possible that the same extensive text that was inscribed at Samosata (Sx, Sy, Sz) was reproduced at Ancoz as well as at Zeugma. One of the gains from publication of the Ancoz fragments is the parallel suggested by ANb-c with a long and incomplete text from Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios (As) inscribed on the reverse of a colossal (4.39 m) limestone relief stele depicting a *dexiosis* between Antiochus (whose figure is now lost) and Apollo-Mithras-Helios, the latter depicted in Persian dress (Rose, fig. 8, this volume), as in the Nemrud Dağı (*dexiosis*) relief of Apollo and Antiochus (Rose, fig. 7). In the reconstruction of the Ancoz text, there is a substantial gap, for which no parallel witness has yet been recovered, between the end of the section attested in Sx and IN2, and the immediate continuation that can be derived from N and the section for which Arsameia text As seems to offer the best parallel.
72. BEf: Yon 1999, cited supra in n. 27.
73. Wagner and Petzl 2003: ll. 1-2 are based on Sx 1-2 and ANa; 3-26 (Sx 3-28; IN2 (BEc) 1-23); 27-37 (IN2, 24-34; N 67-83); 38-59 (N 83-105); 59-61 (As 65-7); 62-67 (ANb; As 68-73); 67-76 (As 73-82); 77-83 (ANc; As 83-9); 84-98 (As 90-104); 98-102 (N 151-5); 102-9 (Sz 1-8); 110-1 (Sz 9-10; BEd 1-2); 112-4 (ANd; BEd 3-5; Sz 11-13); 115-24 (Sz 14-23); 125-39 (ANe; Sz 24-8); 140-2 (ANf(?); Sz 29-41); 143-148 (Sz 42-7); 149-56 (A 196-203); 157-66 (A 204-13; G 141-9); 167-9 (ANf(?); A 214-6; G 159-1); 170-8 (A 217-25; G 152-9); 179-86 (SyR 1-8; A 226-34; G 159-169); 187-9 (ANg; SyR 9-11; A 234-8; G 169-72); 190-206 (SyR 12-28; A 238-56; G 172-87).
74. Petzl 2003, 90-6.
75. Crowther and Facella 2003, 62-5, with Rose, this volume.
76. B. Jacobs has recently challenged this analysis (Jacobs and Rollinger 2005), arguing instead that IN1 (BEe) and SO (implicitly also AD and Cb) should belong between 70 and 62 B.C. and that the relief scenes of *dexiosis* on the stelai should also fall within this dating range, even if IN2 (BEc) is later and seems to belong to the last years of Antiochus' reign. The following observations can be made: (1) Jacobs argues that the relief scenes on the stelai were primary, the inscriptions secondary, but this only became the case once the reliefs were cut (Crowther and Facella 2003, 64); on any construction, the SO and AD stelai were inscribed first, then their texts were corrected (certainly in the case of SO, probably for AD); only afterwards were reliefs added, cutting across the margins of the inscriptions. Both the SO and AD stelai (and of course SSI as well) were reworked considerably to provide fields for the sculptured reliefs. When the stelai were remodelled with *dexiosis* reliefs they represented a rather different conception from their initial form. The original inscriptions, indeed, do not seem to refer to the *dexiosis* scenes depicted on the stelai, but to images of a different kind. (2) Jacobs' argument requires a series of distinct stages of conception and execution: 70-62 B.C. (but this extended range seems somewhat artificial since Antiochus was only confirmed in control of Zeugma in 64/63 B.C.), cutting of SO and AD inscriptions; correction of SO (and possibly AD) inscriptions; cutting of IN1; addition of relief sculptures to SO, AD, and Zeugma stele. Ca. 38 B.C. or later (end of Antiochus' reign), erasure of IN1 and inscription of IN2 at Zeugma; inscription of Sx and Sz texts at Samosata together with cutting of *dexiosis* reliefs. Jacobs argues strongly that placing the execution of all the *dexiosis* reliefs after 38 B.C. would result in an unacceptable congestion of actions within a short space of time at the end of Antiochus' reign, but this seems to have been the case anyway, since, even on Jacobs' interpretation, this second phase would have involved the construction of the Nemrud Dağı monuments and their associated inscriptions, major cult installations and inscriptions at the two Arsameia sites, and the inscriptions (and reliefs) at Ancoz. (3) The Sx and Sz stelai show every sign of being unitary works; the reliefs belong with the texts and both belong to the later stages of Antiochus' reign. Jacobs suggests that it would be desirable for the relationship between text and relief on these stelai to be reexamined *carefully* (Jacobs and Rollinger 2005, 151 n. 80). Through the kindness of Dr. Jonathan Tubb of the Department of the Middle East of the British Museum, the writer and two colleagues (M. Facella and A. Cazemier) were able to do so on three occasions in 2002 and 2003. Jacobs eloquently defends a *communis opinio* of the development of the Commagenian ruler cult, but his arguments take only limited account of the material realities of carving and inscribing the stelai.
77. Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 112: "the letter-forms may suggest a date within the 2nd century A.D."
78. The titulare may be restored either in the dative case as a dedication ([Imp(eratori) - - - | - - -]E.[- - - | pont(ifici) m]ax(imo) trib(unicia) po[testat(e) - - - | - - - c]o(n)s(uli) III) or as an ablative absolute construction: [Imp(eratore) - - - | - - -]E.[- - - | pont(ifice) m]ax(imo) trib(unicia) po[testat(e) - - - | - - - c]o(n)s(ule) III.
79. Horster 2001, 168-87, with Tab. 8, 184-86, for the limited evidence for building activity by legionary detachments within cities.
80. Wagner 1976, 135-143.
81. A possible resolution of the traces as [N]er[va] and restoration of the titulare of Trajan's third consulship (A.D. 100), noted by Hartmann and Speidel 2003, 112 n. 28, and in the lemma to AÉ 2003, 1785, now no longer seems cogent, since the lacuna between lines 2-3 cannot be satisfactorily restored: *p(atr-) p(atriciae)* would be too short and Trajan's second imperial acclamation did not come until the following year (Kienast 1996, 122-4). Other resolutions among possible titulare elements are [G]er[m(anico)], [n]ep[ot-] and [pronep(ot-)], but, in each case, the succeeding lacuna to [pont(ific-) m]ax(imo) is difficult to fill satisfactorily.
82. The possibilities (for which see the registers in Kienast 1996) are as follows: 97 (Nerva), 100 (Trajan), 119-38 (Hadrian), 140-4 (Antoninus Pius), 161-80 (Marcus Aurelius), 181-2 (Commodus), 194-201 (Septimius Severus). If, as seems likely, an imperial acclamation is required to fill the lacuna in 2-3, 100 would be excluded, and the available ranges in the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius restricted, respectively, to 134-8, 142-4, and 163-80.
83. Wagner 1976, 135-46; cf. Speidel 1998, 166-70, and the new texts collected in Hartmann and Speidel 2003.
84. Speidel 2000.
85. Speidel 2000, 332-3.
86. For the range of equivalences of Greek ἡγεμῶν (*praeses provinciae, legatus*, and a general term "for all governors of all classes"), see Mason 1974, 147-50.
87. Blömer et al. 2005, 54-5, Abb. 4-5. IN6, however, has a four-bar sigma instead of the lunate form in the Doliche inscription.
88. For the dating of the rounded forms of epsilon and mu used in the inscription, cf. IGLS XXI.4, 46, with commentary by M. Sartre, *ibid.*, p. 75.
89. Yon 2003, noting its predominance in northern Syria.
90. Tod 1951, 186-7.
91. Wagner 1976, 168; of 162 individual epitaphs in Wagner's catalogue of private funerary inscriptions from Zeugma, supple-

- mented by Kennedy and Graf 1998, ἄλυπε χαίρε is used in 106; cf. Yon 2003, 154–5.
92. So Yon 2003, 152, where IN7 is the unpublished inscription cited in the text.
93. Wagner 1976, 199–200, 47 (SEG 26, 1538); Kennedy and Graf 1998, 97–99 no. 11.2.
94. LGPN IIIb offers a fourth-century B.C. Thessalian example: IG IX 2, 1227, 4.
95. Kennedy and Graf 1998, 100–1 no. 19, l. 2, seems to offer another example of the cutting of χαίρε around an already damaged surface.
96. Wagner 1976, 190–1, no. 31a–c (SEG 26, 1524) combines ἄλυπε χαίρε epitaphs for Poupaios the son of Poupaios and Zosimos the son of Poupaios with an ἄωρε χαίρε epitaph for Poupaios (perhaps the son of the former); Wagner 1976, 254, no. 139 (SEG 26, 1609), for a similar combination on a family monument; cf. also Wagner 1976, 186–7, no. 22a–b (SEG 26, 1518).
97. The closest parallel is perhaps IGLS III, 1193 (Seleucia Pieria): Ἀλέξανδρε Ἀλε<ξ>νδρου ἄωρε | ἄλυπε χαίρε; cf. IGLS I, 193, 4–5; IGLS III, 748. The combination is better attested in Egypt: for example, SEG 41, 1661 from Terenouthis.
98. Twenty-four examples in the catalogue in Wagner 1976 with the supplement of Kennedy and Graf 1998, of which three provide ages at death: Wagner 1976, 199 no. 46 (SEG 26, 1537); Wagner 1976, 212 no. 67 (SEG 26, 1555); Wagner 1976, 261 no. 147 (SEG 26, 1616).
99. For the staurogram form, see Dinkler 1967, 177–8 and Hurtado 2006 (although their evidence is primarily papyrological); cf. Lefebvre 1907, xxxiii–iv (epigraphical attestations from the mid-fourth century onwards), Avi-Yonah 1974, 112; and the Phrygian examples collected in Gibson 1978, 21.
100. Wagner 1976, 179 no. 9 (SEG 26, 1507); 181 no. 12 (SEG 26, 1509); 183 no. 16 (SEG 26, 1513); 192–4 nos. 34–6 (SEG 26, 1527–9); 199–200 no. 47 (SEG 26, 1538); 202 no. 51 (SEG 26, 1542); 206 no. 58 (SEG 26, 1548); 207–9 no. 61 (SEG 26, 1551); 215 no. 72 (SEG 26, 1558); 226–7 no. 94 (SEG 26, 1575); 236–7 no. 114 (SEG 26, 1591); 250–1, no. 131b–c (SEG 26, 1604 a.I, b); 252 no. 135b (SEG 26, 1606b); 254 no. 139c (SEG 26, 1609c); 255–6 no. 140c–f (SEG 26, 1610 II–V); 260 no. 144 (SEG 26, 1614: χῆρα); 261 no. 147 (SEG 26, 1616); 263–4 no. 151 (SEG 26, 1619).
101. IosPE I<sup>3</sup>, 6–7 (χαίροισθαι, παροδεῖται, ἅμα τε καὶ ἔρρωσθε) is the only (and isolated) example returned by a search of The Packard Humanities Institute's *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* online database.
102. Park 2000, 47–63, modifying Simon 1936. The consolatory and encouraging character of the formula is more evident in pagan contexts, but Park argues that it is not incompatible in a Christian context with belief in the afterlife; cf. the excellent summary discussion of M. Sartre in IGLS XIII.1, pp. 43–4.
103. The comparable exhortations εὐθύμει and εὐψύχει (for which see Şahin 1991c), although less common elsewhere, are attested at Zeugma, the former twice combined with οὐδεις ἀθάνατος; Wagner 1976, 187–7 no. 22b (SEG 26, 1518b); 215–6, no. 73 (SEG 26, 1559); 225–6 no. 92 (SEG 26, 1573, quoted below); 238 no. 117 (SEG 26, 1594).
104. Cf., e.g., I.Priene 216: Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ θ(εὸς) | σῶζε πᾶ|σαν ψυχὴν | παριοῦσαν | ἐντεῦθεν; IGLS XXI.4, 50 (Petra: Χ[ρ](ιστοῦ) σῶζοντ[ος]; SEG 32, 1589 (Panopolis).
105. Wuthnow 1930, 73, 149; cf. Prentice 1914, 148: “the names Μάρας and Μάρις are Greek forms of the Syriac name Mara or Mari, meaning originally *lord*, *master*, and so the equivalent of the Greek(?) names Κυρις and Κύρος.”
106. Wagner 1976, 225–6 no. 92 (IGLS I, 114; SEG 26, 1573): εὐθύμει, Μάρρι· οὐδεις ἀθάνατ[ος]; it seems possible from the published photograph (Tafel 41) that Μάρρις should be read instead of Μάρρος in l. 1 of Wagner 1976, 219 no. 80 (SEG 26, 1563).
107. IGLS II, 389, 8 (Fâfirtîn); 426, 3 (Refâdê); an association with the Christian church is provided by Maris the late fourth-century bishop of Doliche ordained by Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, in A.D. 380: RE XIV, 2 (1930) s. v. *Maris* (5), 1807; another Maris was bishop of Chalcedon in the first half of the fourth century: RE XIV, 2 (1930) s. v. *Maris* (4), 1807–8. I am grateful to Richard Catling for providing me with these references from the LGPN database.
108. IGLS IV, 1295; 1506, 5; V, 2616, ; VI, 2729, 6.
109. IG IX 1<sup>3</sup>, 4, 1542 (Σιγνα | χαίρε); cf. MAMA III, 668, 1–2 (Κορυκος: σωματοθήκη Σιγνα Προαγοράστου | κ(αι) τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς Κυροῦτος).
110. IGUR I, 119, 2 (καὶ τὸ σίγνον ἀργυροῦν); MAMA I, 169b, 6–7 (Laodicea Combusta: ὁ καθοισω[μ(ένος) σίγνιφερ).
111. Two of the fragmentary inscriptions published by Kennedy and Graf offer possible parallels, but neither reading is entirely secure: Kennedy-Graf 1998 no. 10, l. 1 is read as ΓΥ, but could as easily be ΓΟ; l. 1 of no. 19 offers what appears to be a ligatured upsilon and omega (“a pair of square upsilons linked at the bottom”, in ed. pr.).
112. Yon 2003, 155, citing Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, 17, fig. 10: Βαρσυμοσος [... ἄλυ]πε χαίρε. I am grateful to J.-B. Yon for drawing this reference to my attention. Other examples of similarly formed Semitic names at Zeugma: Wagner 1976, 188–9 no. 27 (SEG 26, 1522: Βαρλάας); 218 no. 78 (SEG 26, 1561: Βαράδαδος); 252–3 no. 136 (SEG 26, 1607: Βαρλάας).

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