

DEATH IN ZEUGMA: A SURVEY OF THE TOMBS

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Keywords: Zeugma • Seleucia on the Euphrates • Necropolis • Chamber tombs • Arcosolium • Loculus • Tumulus • Sarcophagus • Tombstone

Abstract: This paper presents an evaluation of data obtained from field surveys that took place in the necropoleis of Zeugma (Seleucia on the Euphrates) between 2008 and 2010. The necropoleis appear to have developed along the ancient roads that led from the city and are located to the east, west, and south. Featuring soft limestone bedrock, low-lying hills, valleys and slopes the local topography defined the nature of tomb architecture. Four tomb types have been differentiated; rock-cut cist, rock-cut chamber, tumulus, sarcophagus. Although rock-cut cists are typical of the eastern necropolis, it has been noted in recent studies that they also exist in the southern necropolis. Field surveys have revealed traces of such tombs in the western necropolis as well. Rock-cut chamber tomb frequently consists of a front room that can be identified as a *vestibulum* and the main burial chamber, which is designed to resemble a *triclinium*. As well as this double chamber type, there are also examples of single-chamber tombs. In rock-cut chamber type, the burial is made in a cist underneath an *arcosolium* (or *arcosolia*) carved into the walls of the burial chamber. In the case of a *loculus* carved vertically into the wall of chamber tombs, the body was laid in a cist or directly on the flat floor surface. These tombs have elaborate decoration featuring free-standing statues outside the tomb and frescoes with floral designs and mythological figures, architectural features, and reliefs located in the inside and/or outside the walls of the tomb. These decorative elements indicate that some of the tombs were commissioned by wealthy families. It is possible that some tombs belonged to *collegia*. Tumuli were found to be concentrated more in the southern and western necropoleis. Until now, only one tumulus has been excavated at Zeugma. The inhabitants of Zeugma regarded their tombs as a “*domus aeterna* – an eternal residence” with decoration, and spaces that can be defined as the *vestibulum* and *triclinium*. It is known that the necropoleis, was used from the mid-2nd century BC to the end of the 4th century AD. Ornamental sarcophagi are only known to exist in the southern necropolis, while undecorated sarcophagi have been found in both the eastern and the southern necropolis. The garland sarcophagi, which appear to be a local copy of Proconnesian sarcophagi, can be dated to the late 2nd – 3rd century AD. An important element on the tombstones in Zeugma is the frequent depiction of an eagle to symbolise men and a basket to symbolise women. In addition to these symbols, portraits exist of individuals alone, in couples or in family groups. While inscriptions are mostly in Greek, there is also a small number in Latin. The inscriptions follow a standard formulation that includes the name of the deceased, the name of the father and the expression “*ἀλυπε χάϊρε*”. The names on the inscriptions suggest that people of Semitic, Greco-Macedonian and Roman descent lived together in Zeugma. Tombstones were used frequently from the mid-1st century AD until the mid-3rd century AD. However, there are also very few tombstones from the 4th century AD. The portraits and names on the tombstones are particularly important indications about the origins of the city’s inhabitants. As for the self-portraits of the deceased, they feature both oriental and occidental characteristics. Data obtained from the necropoleis of Zeugma suggests that this was a multi-cultural city where different cultures interacted.

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ZEUGMA'DA ÖLÜM: MEZARLAR ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zeugma • Fırat Seleukeia'sı • Nekropol • Oda mezar • Arcosolium • Loculus • Tümülüs • Lahit • Mezar steli.

Özet: Zeugma (Fırat Seleukeia'sı) nekropollerinde 2008-2010 yılları arasında gerçekleştirdiğimiz yüzey araştırmalarıyla elde edilen verilerin değerlendirilmesi bu çalışmanın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Kente ulaşan antik yolların etrafında geliştiği anlaşılan nekropol alanları Doğu, Batı ve Güney'de yer almaktadır. Yumuşak, bej-sarımsı renkli kolaylıkla şekillendirilebilen kireçtaşı anakaya, alçak tepeler, vadiler ve yamaçlardan oluşan coğrafi yapı mezar mimarisinde belirleyici olmuştur. Mezar tipleri “anayakaya oyulmuş tekne mezarlar, anakayaya oyulmuş oda mezarlar, tümülüsler, lahitler” olarak ayrılır. Mezar tiplerinden basit tekne mezarlar Doğu Nekropol'den bilinmekle birlikte geçmiş yıllarda yapılan çalışmalarda Güney Nekropol'de görüldüğü belirtilmiştir. Ayrıca gerçekleştirdiğimiz yüzey araştırmasında Batı Nekropol'de bu tip mezarlarla ilişkin izler belirlenmiştir. Anakayaya oyulmuş oda mezarlar, sıklıkla *vestibulum* olarak niteleyebileceğimiz ön oda/alan ve *triclinium*'a benzeyecek şekilde biçimlendirilmiş gömü yapılan ana odadan oluşmaktadır. Bu tip mezarlarda gömü mezar odası duvarlarına açılmış *arcosolium*'lar altındaki teknelere yapılmıştır. Mezar odası duvarına, dikine açılan *loculus* içinde ya tekne ya da düz zemin ceset yerleştirmek için kullanılmıştır. Bu mezarlar bitkisel ve mitolojiden figürlerin tasvir edildiği freskler, mimari öğeler, mezar iç ve/veya dışında anakayaya oyulmuş tıpkı mezar stellerinde olduğu gibi portreler veya kartal-sepet betimlerinden oluşan kabartmalar, mezar stelleri, mezar dışında serbest duran heykeller gibi zengin dekorasyona sahiptir. Tüm bunlar bazı mezarların zengin aileler tarafından inşa ettirilmiş olduğuna işaret eder. Bazı mezarlarınsa *collegium*'lara ait olabileceğini söyleyebiliriz. Tümülüslerin ağırlıklı olarak Güney ve Batı nekropollerde olduğu görülür. Zeugma'da yalnızca bir tümülüs kazılmıştır. Tüm mezarlık alanlarında var olan bu tip mezarların geç Hellenistik Dönem'den (*loculus*'lu olanlar) başlayarak MS 4. yüzyıla kadar kullanılmış olduğu bilinmektedir. Bezemeli lahitler yalnızca Güney nekropolden bilinmekteyken bezemesiz lahitler Doğu ve Güney nekropollerde belirlenmiştir. Prokonnessos üretimi lahitlerin yerel bir kopyası gibi duran iki gırlı lahit MS 2. yüzyıl sonu MS 3. yüzyıl başlarından olmalıdır. Zeugma'da nekropolün önemli bir unsuru olan mezar stelleri üzerinde erkekler için kartal, kadınlar için sepet betimleri sıklıkla kullanılmıştır. Bu bezemelerin yanı sıra mezar taşlarında bireysel portrelere tek, çiftler veya aileler halinde yer verilmiştir. Yazıtlar ağırlıklı olarak Grekçe olmakla birlikte az sayıdaki mezar stelinde Latince görülmektedir. Yazıtlar ölenin adı, baba adı ve “*ἀλυπε χαίρε*” ifadesinden oluşan standart bir yapıya sahiptir. Yazıtlardaki isimlerden Sami, Greko-Makedon ve Roma kökenli kişilerin Zeugma'da bir arada olduğunu göstermektedir. Mezar stelleri MS 1. yüzyıl ortaları ile MS 3. yüzyıl ortalarına kadar yoğun olarak kullanılmıştır. Bununla birlikte, MS 4. yüzyıldan birkaç mezar taşı mevcuttur. Zeugma sakinleri mezarlarda karşımıza çıkan freskler, mezar steli gibi biçimlendirilmiş rölyefler, heykeller ve mezar stelleri yanı sıra *vestibulum* ve *triclinium* olarak tanımlanabilecek mekânlarıyla mezarlarını “*domus aeterna* – ebedi ev” olarak kabul etmiş olmalıdır. Özellikle mezar stellerindeki portreler ve isimler yukarıda kentte yaşayanların kökenlerine işaret eden önemli kanıtlardır. Ölen kişinin öz-temsili olan portreler hem Doğu hem de Batılı özellikler içermektedir. Zeugma nekropollerinden edinilen veriler kentin kozmopolit bir yapıya sahip olduğuna ve farklı kültürlerin kentte etkileşim halinde olduğuna işaret eder.

1. Introduction

This paper presents a general evaluation of the necropoleis and tombs based on the interpretation of data obtained from surveys carried out in the necropoleis of Zeugma between 2008 and 2010¹. In addition to tombs, tombstones are also described in this study.

Founded in *ca.* 300 BC by Seleucus I Nicator, Zeugma's natural location linked the two banks of the river Euphrates and must have acquired a multicultural structure by permanently or temporarily bringing together different ethnicities such as Semitic, Parthian, Greco-Macedonian, and Roman for political, military, commercial and similar reasons². Zeugma prospered culturally after the city was handed over to the Kingdom of Commagene by the Roman general Pompey the Great in 64 BC. *Legio X Fretensis* was the first Roman legion to be deployed here in AD 18, followed by *Legio III Scythica* in AD 66. When Vespasian ended the local dynasty of Antiochus in AD 72, Commagene including Zeugma was annexed to Roman Syria. The city lost its wealth and significance after its destruction by the Sassanids in AD 252/253.

The first researchers to mention and provide information about the necropoleis and tombs of Zeugma were Chabot and Cumont in the early 20th century³. The first comprehensive study of Zeugma, however, was Wagner's work in the 1970s, which also evaluated on the location of necropoleis, tomb types and tomb inscriptions by providing information on the tombstones⁴. In the 1995, Ergeç's study of the necropoleis of southern Commagene provides information and interpretation of the necropoleis and tombs of Zeugma⁵. A number of rescue excavations were carried out by the Gaziantep Archaeology Museum in subsequent years and some of the results were published⁶. Tombs discovered during the rescue excavations were published in reports⁷. Most recently, Görkay made a brief description of the necropoleis⁸.

Taking the area occupied by the city as the centre, it can be said that the Zeugma necropoleis spread out in three directions – East, West and South (Fig. 1). The topography of the city was as influential as the roads in the placement of tombs. The slopes of the low-lying hills outside the city centre that rises from the shores of the Euphrates River towards

¹ I would like to extend my gratitude to head of the Zeugma Excavation Prof. Dr. Kutalmış Görkay for facilitating this research and providing suggestions for this paper. I would like to thank Dr. Christopher Lightfoot for valuable support regarding the English text and to Dr. Tolga Özhan for kindly help. All remaining mistakes are, of course, my own. This paper derives from my doctoral thesis titled "Zeugma Mezar Stelleri" prepared at the Ankara University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Classical Archaeology (Yaman 2013).

² Seleucus I Nicator founded Seleukeia on the west side of the Euphrates and Apamea on the east side.

These twin cities were later known as Zeugma. In this study, only the necropoleis and tombs in Seleukeia are discussed. For the results of recent excavations and research at Zeugma, see Görkay 2012a; Görkay 2012b; Görkay 2017.

³ Chabot 1900, 279-283; Cumont 1910, 123-126.

⁴ Wagner 1976, 147-150, Figs. 15-18.

⁵ Ergeç 1995.

⁶ Ergeç 1996, 359-360, Pl. 1; Önal 2006, 136.

⁷ Kennedy – Kennedy 1998; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2000; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2001.

⁸ Görkay 2010, 150-151; Görkay 2012a, 294-297; Görkay 2012b, 545-546.

Belkis Tepe, ravines that protrude towards the river and rugged and sloped flatlands on the hills were usually the locations chosen for tombs. All of the rock-cut tombs identified to date by the survey at Zeugma were carved into the limestone bedrock. The beige-yellowish coloured soft limestone bedrock of the low-lying hills, valleys, and slopes, defined the local geography and the nature of the tomb architecture.

It is now impossible to access most of the tombs that were located and marked on city plans by researchers⁹ because the dam reservoir, as well as natural causes, agricultural activity, and other damaging human factors have closed entrances to the tombs. A total of 61 rock-cut chambers, 9 cist tombs, and 15 tumuli were identified and documented during the necropolis survey conducted between 2008 and 2010. The number of rock-cut chamber tombs rose to 62 after a tomb in the Southern Necropolis that had been targeted by looters was excavated in 2014. However, the survey indicated that the actual number of tombs is much greater than what is currently known.

2. Location of the necropoleis

The necropoleis of Zeugma developed along the ancient roads that lead to Samosata to the north, Doliche to the west, Edessa to the east, and Hierapolis Bambyce to the south¹⁰ (Fig. 1). The city's growth and development may explain why

the necropoleis of Zeugma are situated in different locations encircling the settlement. As the city expanded during the Roman period, the necropoleis naturally spread out on either side of the ancient roads.

The Eastern Necropolis includes the low hills known as Kırkbayır and Çimlitepe, the Şelteredesi stream just east of Belkis Tepe, and the nearby slopes and ravines. Taking account of previous studies and our recent observations, it can be stated that most of the tombs in the Eastern Necropolis are situated on Kırkbayır and its slopes that extend down the south. The necropolis survey carried out here suggests that the tombs are carved side-by-side on terraces starting from the top of the hill and extend down the slopes. Rock-cut cists, rock-cut chamber tombs, sarcophagi, and their fragments have been found in the Eastern Necropolis¹¹. Possibly there is also a low tumulus on the hill where the water pump-treatment plant is located, next to the dam reservoir. 36 tombs were identified during the survey in the Eastern Necropolis¹².

The Western Necropolis includes the slopes that extend up the hills to the east and south of Bahçedere valley and the area that stretches nearly 900 m to the north of the valley. The western necropolis is known to include rock-cut chamber tombs and tumuli. On the other hand,

⁹ Wagner 1976, 147-150, Figs. 15-18b, Pls. 54-55, Map 2; Algaze *et al.* 1994, 20, Fig. 33; Ergeç 1995, 149-179 and 186-190, Map VIII, Pls. 76-92 and 198-219; Ergeç 2003, 76-85, Map 4, Figs. 76-97; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2000, 292-312, Figs. 14-59; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2001, 294, fn. 13; Kennedy – Kennedy 1998, 41-53, Figs. 3.2, 3.14-3.29.

¹⁰ For ancient roads that link Zeugma to other cities, see Wagner 1976, 48; Görkay also reported that the necropoleis developed around ancient roads, see 2010, 150; 2012a, 294; 2012b, 545.

¹¹ Wagner 1976, 147, no. 169, Pl. 55c.

¹² For previous studies carried out in this area, see Wagner 1976, 147; Ergeç 1995, 149; Ergeç 2003, Map 4.

traces that could belong to rock-cut cists were seen on the cross-sections along the shoreline to the east of this area when the water level of the dam reservoir was decreased significantly in 2010. During the survey, a chamber tomb with its lower part carved into bedrock was identified in the western necropolis¹³. In addition to the tumulus that was excavated in 2006, 7 tumuli (Fig. 1-3) were identified¹⁴. Furthermore, 6 rock-cut chamber tombs were identified in the necropolis. A *loculus* is located in the rock-cut chamber tomb underneath the tumulus. Another tomb featuring a *loculus* is situated 45 metres north of this tumulus¹⁵. The tombstones inscribed in Latin found here suggest that the Western Necropolis might have been a preferred burial site for legionaries¹⁶.

The Southern Necropolis starts from the southern and southwestern foothills of Belkıs Tepe, stretching as far as Samandöken village to the south, and the eastern slopes of Bahçedere to the west. The survey here did not reveal any tomb types other than rock-cut chamber tombs and tumuli. However, Wagner reported the discovery of rock-cut cists in the eastern part of the Southern Necropolis and two garland sarcophagi on the road leading to Nizip¹⁷. 6 tumuli and 19 rock-cut

chamber tombs were identified in the Southern Necropolis¹⁸.

3. Tombs

Surveys have revealed that the tomb types found in Zeugma include the rock-cut cist tomb (*chamosorion*), rock-cut chamber tomb (*hypogeum*), tumulus and sarcophagus. In earlier studies, Wagner categorised the tombs at Zeugma as the rock-cut chamber tomb and *chamosorion*. However, he also reported the existence of sarcophagi and monumental tombs in the Western Necropolis¹⁹. Ergeç classified the rock-cut chamber tombs as five types, namely chambers with *arcosolia*, chambers with *loculi*, chambers with platforms, chambers with platforms and *arcosolia*²⁰. Additionally, a rock-cut chamber tomb (Tomb 23) located on Kırkbayır in the Eastern Necropolis was considered to be a *columbarium* or part of a tomb complex²¹. This room with reliefs (Fig. 27) depicted on the walls could be the front room (*vestibulum*) of a rock-cut chamber tomb. However, Ergeç reported that urns, each 30-40 cm tall and containing ashes were found during illicit digging in Tomb 19 (Fig. 22) in the Eastern Necropolis and argues that the tradition of cremation did therefore exist at Zeugma²².

¹³ Wagner 1976, 148, Fig. 15; Ergeç 2003, 80-82, 85, map 4; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2001, 294, fn. 13.

¹⁴ The tumulus has been designated as TS13 in, Kennedy – Kennedy 1998, 51, Figs. 3.2, 3.27-3.28.

¹⁵ Kennedy – Kennedy 1998, 51.

¹⁶ For tombstones belonging to Roman soldiers found in the Western Necropolis, see Wagner 1976, 132-137, 147; Speidel – Speidel 1998, 176-177; Hartmann – Speidel 2013, 388; Yaman 2013, 267.

¹⁷ Wagner 1976, 148-150, nos. 167-168, Pl. 59.

¹⁸ Wagner 1976, 148, map II; Ergeç 1995, 188-189, Map 8; Ergeç 2003, Map 4.

¹⁹ Wagner 1976, 148-150.

²⁰ Ergeç 1995, 151-165, Fig. XIV; Ergeç 2003, 20-26.

²¹ This tomb was identified as K86 by Ergeç, see 1995, 165-166, no. 86, Pl. 90; Ergeç 2003, 26, 80, no. 86, Taf. 46.1-3, abb. 84.

²² This tomb was identified as K92 by Ergeç, see 1995, 180, no. 92, Pl. 90; Ergeç 2003, 24, no. 79, Fig. 77.

3.1. Rock-cut cist tombs

These are the most basic types of rock-cut tomb²³. At Zeugma they were carved into the bedrock, with dimensions that range between 45-55 cm deep, 170-210 cm long and 45-65 cm wide. This type of tomb, which can be identified as *chamosorion*, usually have a roughly-smoothened rock surface around the cist and were covered with one or more limestone blocks (Fig. 4). Wagner reported rock-cut cist graves in the Southern Necropolis²⁴. During the rescue excavations in 1999–2000, several rock-cut cist graves were unearthed in the *Synaristosai* House in trench 6 in area 9 by the French team²⁵. Nearly 200 m east of this house on the shoreline of the dam reservoir, in 2006, nine cists tombs excavated and revealed Hellenistic finds²⁶. In addition, the necropolis survey encountered finds suggesting that such tombs also existed in the Western Necropolis. Rock-cut cists were also frequently used inside the chamber tombs mentioned below.

3.2. Rock-cut chamber tombs

The rock-cut chamber tomb, i.e. *hypogeum*, is the most common type of tomb used for multiple burials in the necropolises of Zeugma. The rock-cut tombs, carved into the soft limestone bedrock on

which the city was founded, lack unity in orientation owing to the rugged landscape of slopes, hills, and valleys. Tombs are carved side-by-side and frequently abut each other (Fig. 5-6). Some of the tombs feature relief decoration on the walls²⁷ (Fig. 27-29) that depicting eagles, baskets or portraits familiar from tombstones also found at Zeugma. Furthermore, according to information passed on by earlier researchers, tombstones²⁸ and free-standing statues – of which Tomb 20²⁹ is the only known example – could have been used outside rock-cut chamber tombs.

Variations of rock-cut chamber tombs were found, including single- and double-chamber types. In both cases, a large central hall was left in the middle and surrounded by walls with burial spaces. These spaces opened in the walls are *arcosolia* with barrel-vaulted or gabled roofs containing one or two burial cists or *loculi* inside which cists for burials were carved (Fig. 6-8). Other examples include cists dug into the floor around the central hall, particularly in front of the *arcosolia*. It is likely that these cists were made when there was no more space in the walls for new burials.

²³ Amy – Seyrig 1936, 229-230; Machatschek 1967, 57.

²⁴ Wagner 1976, 148.

²⁵ Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2001, 258, 297-301, Figs. 2.2, 2.52-2.62; Abadie-Reynal 2012, 17-22, Figs. 3-7.

²⁶ A paper is being prepared for publication on these tombs and finds.

²⁷ For these reliefs, see Chabot 1900, 279-283; Cumont 1910, 124-126, Fig. 3-5.; Cumont 1917, 42-44, Figs. 12-14; Wagner 1976, 254-259, Fig. 40; Kennedy – Kennedy 1998, 43, Fig. 3.15; Ergeç – Yon 2012, 157-

170, Figs. 5b-9, 13a-d and 14b. Also, for recently discovered reliefs from Southern Necropolis, see Yaman 2013, 244-264 (cat. nos. MzK 8, 11, 15, 19, 20, 23, 31), Figs. 259-301.

²⁸ Ergeç 1994, 321; Ergeç 1995, 164; Ergeç 1996, 359-360, pl. 1, Figs. 11-12; Ergeç 1998, 91, Fig. 5.14; Ergeç 2002, 121, Pl. 28.4.

²⁹ This tomb was identified as K91 by Ergeç, see 1995, 151, 291, Pl. 89; Ergeç *et al.* 2000, 106; Başgelen 2000, 13 and figures on p. 15; identified as Mz20 by Yaman 2013.

Some rock-cut chamber tombs consist of a front room that could be described as a *vestibulum* and a main room that is shaped like a *triclinium*³⁰ – the best example being Tomb 20³¹. In Tomb 16, a couch (*lectus*³²) with a backrest, headboard and footboard at the ends is engraved in profile in the wall on the edge of the burial cist in the *arcosolium*, supporting the view that the main burial room had been planned to resemble a *triclinium* (Fig. 9). Additionally, the steps encircling the central hall in the tomb may have been used as benches by visitors attending ceremonies held here.

Some tombs have a stepped *dromos* (Fig. 10a-b); sometimes the *dromos* was constructed with vaulting and sometimes with a gable roof (Fig. 11-12). The tomb entrances were closed with rectangular or circular doors. We know that the circular doors were carved out of monoliths and were designed to slide on a mortice that opened to the left or right side of the entrance³³. The rectangular doors must have been made of stone or wood. It has been identified that the pivots located in the top and bottom corners of the rectangular doors moved inside mortices carved into the bedrock; whereas holes carved into the door frame suggest that the inward-opening doors were evidently locked with a bolt system (Fig. 13a-b). The floor in the main room may be level with the entrance-way or a few steps below. In some examples, the entrance opens first into a front

room and in others directly into the burial chamber.

Chamber tombs carved into the bedrock have been divided into three types: “with *arcosolium*”, “with *loculus*” and “combined”. In the first type, the only burial location inside the tomb chamber is the *arcosolium*, in the second type, *loculi* were carved into the tomb chambers for burials. The combined tomb plan features *arcosolia* and/or *loculi* together with rock-cut cist graves or narrow platforms that could have been used as *kline*.

In the necropoleis of Zeugma, the *arcosolium* is the most common type among rock-cut chamber tombs, and most are vaulted. There are rare examples with an initial gable roof layout containing a vaulted *arcosolium* (Fig. 14). Inside the *arcosolium*, are placed usually two, and more rarely one, rock-cut cist for the burials (Fig. 14, 16-17, 20-22). For example, in the Southern Necropolis, Tomb 20 contains 30 cists inside the *arcosolia* (Fig. 31). Cists are also found in the floor of the chamber of rock-cut tombs. In Tomb 37 in Eastern Necropolis are a total of 66 cists inside the *arcosolia* and in the floor (Fig. 32). Most of the cists in the chamber tombs have only one convex-curving short side, indicating the placement of the head of the deceased. However, although rare, there are examples of cists with square or convex sides at both ends. The floor of the basin is slightly raised towards the convex end, as if a pillow was placed under the head.

³⁰ Görkay 2012b, 545-546.

³¹ *Supra* n. 29.

³² For *lectus* and its types, see Smith 1891, 17-19. Richter 1966, 105-109, Figs. 531, 550-558.

³³ Ergeç 2003, 79, no. 84 (ZN 9 [K84]), Pl. 82; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2000, Fig. 24; Wagner 1976, 147, Fig. 15.

It is evident from the large number of tile fragments found in the chamber tombs and especially inside the cists that they were covered with tiles. But, in addition to tiles, thin stone slabs were also used as covers. Some of the tiles have the stamp³⁴ “LEG” on them, some have handles attached convenience in lifting and holding them (Fig. 15a-b). On the other hand, the remains of mortar seen at the join between the rear wall of the *arcosolium* and the cists in Tomb 31 and Tomb 37 in the Eastern Necropolis indicate that the tiles used to cover the cists were fixed in a way that would make them difficult to open (Fig. 16-17).

In the Southern Necropolis, some tombs feature 4-7 cm-wide mortices along the length of the rear wall of the *arcosolium* (Fig. 16-17). It is possible that these mortices held the tiles or slabs that covered the basins. Inside the *loculi*, however, only a cist was carved, or else the base was left unworked (Fig. 18-19). Ergeç argued that burials inside *loculi* were made inside a terracotta sarcophagus or wooden coffin³⁵. In a tomb in the Southern Necropolis (Tomb 16) the top side of the *loculus* is carved to appear like a gable roof (Fig. 18). Rectangular, vaulted, or gabled niches or small niches (Fig. 18-19) that resemble *arcosolia* can be seen in the walls of tombs (Fig. 20-22). In the chamber of Tomb 10 in the Southern Necropolis, three niches divided by two horizontal grooves were created in the corner where the two walls

meet (Fig. 23a). The rear walls of these upper and middle niches are flat, while the lower niche has a concave rear wall. It may be suggested that shelves were placed in the grooves. What could these niches and grooves have been used for? It could be argued that they were built to hold offerings, an urn for ashes, or a commemorative *stèle*.

A different application is worth mentioning in another tomb (Tomb 15) in the Southern Necropolis. Shallow niches with a depth ranging between 10 and 14 cm were opened up on the rear wall in three of the 20 *loculi* inside the tomb (Fig. 23b). The top ends of two of them are triangular, while the other is arched. Sarcophagi and tombstones were found in the tombs. It is known that undecorated sarcophagi were placed in a free-standing manner inside the tomb³⁶. Also, in the chamber or the *loculus* floor of tombs, square or hemispherical carved pits (Fig. 8, 24a-b) are seen, which probably served as *ostotbeke*³⁷.

It is clear from markings on the walls that pointed and thick toothed chisels, as well as picks, were used to carve out the tomb. Once the walls were shaped, a layer of mortar followed by a fine layer of plaster was applied. On the walls of some tombs, fragments of mortar, plaster or frescoes have survived. There is not a lot of diversity in the decoration that was used on the white, off-white, and pale powder-coloured plaster. Floral designs, garlands, and ribbons in red, green, blue,

³⁴ For roof tiles with legionary stamps, see Wagner 1976, 137-143, Figs. 14.1-7; Kennedy *et al.* 1998, 134-135, Fig. 8.12; Hartmann – Speidel 2013, 338, Pl. 1, fig. 19.

³⁵ Ergeç 1995, 154-155.

³⁶ Ergeç 1995, 276 and 284, nos. 76 and 84, Pls. 74, 82, 198 and 209.

³⁷ For similar use at Phrygian Hierapolis, see Ronchetta 2018, Fig. 92.

pale brown and yellow appear frequently (Fig. 16, 25-26). In contrast, a figurative composition consisting of a hunting scene, warriors, a ship, and a scene from Greek mythology depicting Eros and Hermes *Psychopompos* taking the dead to Hades was discovered in a tomb (Tomb 62) in the western sector of the Southern Necropolis. It was excavated by the Zeugma excavation team in a joint operation with the Gaziantep Archaeology Museum to preserve it because of looters' activity in 2014³⁸. The wall paintings of the tomb were located on both the vault and the rear wall of the *arcosolium*, consisting of contours with black and pale brown paint and incised lines.

It is clear that the use of paint in tombs is not limited to frescoes. In one of the tombs in the Western Necropolis³⁹, red paint was used on the portrait carved into the bedrock as well as on the basket and eagle reliefs (Fig. 28)⁴⁰. It was also observed that architectural elements such as pilasters, architraves, and beams were imitated inside the tombs. In the Eastern Necropolis a capital and a column base (Fig. 30, a-b) found in Tomb 29 suggest that rock-cut chamber tombs could feature elaborate architectural elements like ones in monumental tombs. In addition to this,

we know that massive limestone blocks were found in illicit diggings in the Southern Necropolis. Furthermore, Wagner pointed out the remains of foundations belonging to a monumental tomb in the Western Necropolis⁴¹. Monumental tombs are known from the villages of Hisar, Elif, and Hasanoglu⁴², which were seen during the Gaziantep Province Survey in 2008⁴³ in the Araban district, as well as others from Asia Minor⁴⁴, and Syria⁴⁵. These suggest the presence of monumental tombs at Zeugma, but currently their locations are not known.

Regarding the ceilings of the chamber in Tomb 20 and Tomb 25, they were supported with columns made from rectangular limestone blocks (Fig. 31). This arrangement appears to have emerged out of necessity during the lifetime of the tombs. It is possible that the columns originally carved out of the living rock became worn away over time. The use of columns made of rectangular blocks becomes more logical considering the multiple cracks in the bedrock in all of the chamber tombs because the ceilings in some of the tombs have collapsed completely owing to the weak bedrock (Fig. 26). These columns were preventing collapse of the ceiling.

³⁸ Painted tombs adorned with floral and figural scenes are known from nearby at Tuğlu, see Önal – Güllüce 2004; Üçgöl, see Ergeç 1995, 140-141 and 300, Pls. 98 and 222; Önal *et al.* 2007, 533-536; and also see for Üçgöl and Tuğlu, Blömer – Winter 2011, 285-288 and figs. on those pages. For a little more distant at Anemurium (ship figure), see Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971, 15-25, Figs. 15-33; and Olba, see Akçay 2018, 166-167, Fig. 175.

³⁹ This tomb was found by seeing the illicit digging hole in 2006. Photos were taken and the hole was closed. Nowadays, access to the tomb is not possible.

⁴⁰ Also, Wagner reports several inscriptions painted in red, see 1976, 149.

⁴¹ Wagner 1976, 148-150; Ergeç 2003, 20-26.

⁴² Cumont 1917, 203-218, figs. 71-80; Wagner 1975, 80, figs. 97-98; Wagner 1985, 54, Figs. 52-54 and 57; Blömer – Winter 2011, 218.

⁴³ The Gaziantep Province Survey was conducted between 2008-2012 by a team under the direction of Prof. Dr. Kutalmış Gökay.

⁴⁴ Cormack 2004.

⁴⁵ Tchalenko 1953, 33-40, pls. 85-86 and 170-171; Will 1949, 277-278, Pls. XIII.2 and XIV.1, Fig. 12.

There are rare examples of the use of undecorated rectangular pilasters that framed *arcosolia* (Fig. 33). It has been noted that in tombs 21, 32, and 38 the walls were left untouched without creating a space for the burial; or else, as in the case of Tomb 13, platforms were carved out (Fig. 34). It is likely that the uncarved walls were reserved for future use⁴⁶ or structural reasons such as cracks in the ceiling or lack of an adequate bedrock for carving because of the adjacent tomb. The platforms were probably used to lay out the dead or to put objects on, such as *stele* or offerings for ritual purposes. A small empty space was carved to fit a *loculus* next to one of the *arcosolia* in Tomb 16 in the Eastern Necropolis. This indicates that any blank space suited for new burials was utilised during the tomb's life span (Fig. 18).

However, Tomb 10 in the Southern Necropolis has a completely different arrangement to other tombs. This tomb features a passage accessed through a hole behind the two *arcosolia* on the northern wall of the chamber, which opens on to the *arcosolium* east of the wall (Fig. 7). The reason for carving this narrow place with roughly carved walls and steps reaching the floor, remains unclear⁴⁷. Situated on Kırkbayır in the Eastern Necropolis, the northern wall and *arcosolium* of Tomb 29

were constructed using stone blocks instead of carving them out of the bedrock (Fig. 26). Looking at the opening in the centre of the northern wall of the chamber and the damaged sections of the rear wall of the *arcosolium*, there appears to be another small room at the back. Although its purpose is unclear, it is likely that this section was closed off with a wall after the ceiling over the rear area collapsed or became unusable for other reasons.

It is known that rock-cut chamber tombs of the *arcosolium* and/or *loculus* type were used extensively over a wide area⁴⁸. This type of tomb has a long history that predates the Roman imperial period and is found frequently in ancient cities in Cilicia, Phrygia, Isauria, Pamphylia and Pisidia, all of which regions had a rocky terrain suitable for such structures⁴⁹. Tombs similar to the chamber tombs with *arcosolia* at Zeugma are recorded in nearby Doliche, Arulis, Büyükkarakuyu, Halilbaşlı, Yukarı Söğütlü, Turuş, Perrhe, Tuğlu, Üçgöl, and Yarımca⁵⁰, and to the south at Dura-Europos and Palmyra in Syria⁵¹, as well as other cities.

3.3. Tumuli

During the necropolis survey, 15 hill-like sites in Zeugma were identified as tumuli, in addition to the only excavated tumulus in the Western Necropolis. One of

⁴⁶ Supra n. 40.

⁴⁷ Ergeç reported a pit in front of the entrance to the tomb. He argued that the older remains were removed from the tomb and put into the pit to make space for new burials, see 1995, 154-155, 288, Pl. 86.

⁴⁸ For the appearance and development of chamber tombs with *arcosolia*, see Machatschek 1967; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971; Orthmann 1980; Berns 2003.

⁴⁹ Durukan 2012; Akçay 2012; Machatschek 1967; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1971; Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1980;

Kortanoğlu 2008; Doğanay 2009; Çelgin 1990; Çelgin 1994; Özdizbay 2002; Köse 2005.

⁵⁰ Dörner 1939; Erarslan 2003b; Erarslan 2009; Ergeç 1999; Ergeç 2003a; von der Osten 1933; Önal *et al.* 2007; Önal – Güllüce 2004; Ergeç 2003; Beyazlar – Blömer 2008; Zeyrek 2007; Erarslan 2001; for general discussion on Commagene and Cyrrhestica, see Blömer – Çobanoğlu 2019.

⁵¹ Schmidt-Colinet 1989; Hachlili 2005; Vivancos 2005; de Jong 2017, 316.

these tumuli is in the Eastern Necropolis, 6 are in the Southern Necropolis and 8 are in the Western Necropolis (Fig. 1-3). The tumuli have elevations ranging between 1.5 m and 12 m and diameters ranging between 10 and 40 m. However, the tumuli are constantly changing shape due to natural causes and human activity.

The tumulus in the Western Necropolis was excavated in 2006⁵². The tumulus measures 12 metres in height and 40 metres in diameter. A rock-cut chamber tomb (Tomb 34) was uncovered under the mound. The entrance of the chamber is reached through a *dromos* with 18-steps that is 1.28 m wide and 9.50 m long, of which only 3.25 m is vaulted. The side walls of the *dromos* were built with small stone blocks. The tomb has two chambers. Inside the 2.25x5.50 m room (*vestibulum*) behind the entrance there are three *arcosolia*, which contain a total of five cists. The nearly 4x6 m main room (*triclinium*) has three *loculi* each on the northern and western walls. It appears that there were three more *loculi* on the almost-completely destroyed south wall. This tumulus can be seen from different points at Zeugma. The tumulus has not been dated precisely yet but is considered to be Hellenistic because of the *loculi*⁵³. It is thought that the *arcosolia* were added out of necessity to the first room, probably ca. the 2nd century

AD, when it was effectively turned into a burial chamber⁵⁴.

Although little is known about the tumulus tradition at Zeugma, it is found in Commagene, specifically at Nemrut, Karakuş, Sesönk (Dikilitaş-Üçtaş), Turuş, Sofraz and Halilbaşlı, and also in Syria⁵⁵. This type of tomb, which is known to be an established tradition in the region, must have been used by ruling or local elite⁵⁶ in Zeugma before Roman rule began in AD 72. How long did the tumulus tradition continue in Zeugma after this date? The answer will only be clarified from contextualized new finds excavated from the tumuli in Zeugma and the region⁵⁷.

3.4. Sarcophagi

Little is known about the use of sarcophagi in the necropoleis of Zeugma. Wagner reported the existence of two sarcophagi from the Southern Necropolis and one from the Eastern Necropolis⁵⁸. The sarcophagus in the Eastern Necropolis is inside a tomb and is undecorated. Additionally, Ergeç mentions the existence of one undecorated sarcophagus inside each of the two rock-cut chamber tombs in the Eastern Necropolis⁵⁹. The lid and chest fragments of an undecorated sarcophagus were found inside Tomb 15 in the Southern Necropolis (Fig. 35). The two limestone sarcophagi found in the Southern

⁵² Supra n. 14.

⁵³ A paper on this tumulus and its finds is being prepared for publication by Şahin Yıldırım.

⁵⁴ Görkay 2012b, 545.

⁵⁵ For Karakuş, see Dörner 1969/70; Sesönk, see Blömer 2008; Turuş, see Eraslan 2001; Sofraz, see Eraslan 2003a; Halilbaşlı, see Beyazlar – Blömer 2008; a general evaluation of Syria, de Jong 2017; Toll

1946; Bounni *et al.* 1978; Bounni 1980; Sartre 1983; Sartre 1989.

⁵⁶ Görkay 2012c, 4.

⁵⁷ For the tumulus at Sesönk that considered to belong to member of a royal family from Commagene, and also tumulus at Halilbaşlı see Blömer 2008; Beyazlar – Blömer 2008; Blömer – Çobanoğlu 2019, 70.

⁵⁸ Wagner 1976, 147-148, nos. 167-169, Pls. 55c and 59.

⁵⁹ Supra n. 36.

Necropolis fall in the “garland sarcophagus” group⁶⁰. Only one long side of both sarcophagi are decorated, while the other long side was left with just roughly smoothed. The decorated sides feature Medusa heads inside the curves of the garland wreaths carried by Erotes. Based on their stylistic features, it is possible to date these garland sarcophagi to the late 2nd – 3rd century AD. Other than these two sarcophagi with depictions in relief, it is not possible to date the limited number of surviving undecorated fragments, but we know that the production and use of sarcophagi gained popularity during the Roman imperial period, especially after the mid-2nd century AD⁶¹.

Interpreting the available findings at Zeugma, it is clear that sarcophagi were definitely used but only in limited numbers and, so far, no marble sarcophagi have been discovered. With regard to style, it is understood that the decorated sarcophagi in Zeugma were produced at local workshops as copies of imported examples. In evaluating the sarcophagi of Cilicia and Syria, Koch reported that most of the sarcophagi in these regions were copies of imported ones⁶². The same hypothesis could be suggest for the sarcophagi discovered at Zeugma.

4. Tombstones

Tombstones (Fig. 36) found at Zeugma and those known to belong to Zeugma have been mentioned in many studies since the early 1900s⁶³. Most of the finds associated with the necropoleis at Zeugma are tombstones. Although we know in which necropolis some of them were found, there is no information about the tombs to which many of the tombstones belonged. The tombstones are made of beige-yellowish limestone and have been categorised under distinctive types⁶⁴. They are decorated with columns on either side and have a triangular pediment or arched niches. A single or three-swag garland is featured inside the niche. Eagles for men and baskets for women are the most frequently used depictions beneath the garlands. Additionally, tombstones often feature portraits of the deceased persons. The deceased can be depicted alone or in some cases with their spouse and/or children. Depictions of hands also appear on a few tombstones. Inscriptions are generally found below the niche. However, there are rare examples where the inscription is outside the niche, on the side or inside the niche.

There is a very small number of tombstones with only inscriptions on them. Most inscriptions are in Greek; very

⁶⁰ Sarcophagi from the Gaziantep Museum with inventory numbers 1724 and 1969, Wagner 1976, 271-272, nos. 167-168, Pl. 59; Ergeç 1995, 303-304, nos. 103-104, pl. 224.

⁶¹ Koch 1993, 162-168.

⁶² Koch 1993, 189-190 and 193.

⁶³ Chapot 1902, 175, no. 19, Fig. 2; Cousin 1905, 346-347, fn. 3; Cumont 1910, 126-129, Figs. 8-13; Cumont 1917, 42-47; Jalabert – Mouterde 1929, nos. 94-112; Mouterde 1921, 289, no. 26; Mouterde –

Poidebard 1945, 213, Pl. CXVII/4; Wagner 1976, 156-271, Pls. 29-72; Parlasca 1978, 305-309, Figs. 82-84; Parlasca 1982, 9-14, Figs. 6-16; Skupinska-Lovset 1987; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2000, 309-311, Figs. 53 and 55-57; Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2001, 294, 304-305, Figs. 2.52-2.54; Kennedy – Graf 1998, 92-104; Parlasca 2006; Ergeç – Yon 2012, 156-193, Figs. 4-59; Yaman 2013; Crowther 2013, 206-208, Figs. 10-12.

⁶⁴ Wagner 1976; for a recent updated evaluation of the tombstones of Zeugma, see Yaman 2013.

few inscriptions are in Latin. It can be said that the standardized inscriptions generally include the name of the deceased, patronymic and expression “ἄλυπε χαῖρε”⁶⁵. The names on the inscriptions attest to persons of Semitic, Greco-Macedonian and Roman origin, indicating that Zeugma had a multicultural social structure⁶⁶.

Although the nearest location with tombstones having comparable portraits are Hierapolis and Palmyra⁶⁷, tombstones in Zeugma important differences in terms of shape, inscription, language and especially men’s clothing. Considering the clothing depicted on portraits, it appears that the garments of women in particular bear traces of oriental characteristics with regard to elements such as headdresses and headbands⁶⁸. Tombstones have traces of red paint oftenly. The rear and narrow sides of the tombstones have been shaped sketchy in almost all. However, there are rare with depictions on both faces and/or the narrow sides. The fact that no surface other than the front face was carefully treated makes it likely that only the decorated sides of the tombstones were visible.

How tombstones were used in Zeugma remains unclear. Information obtained from the earlier studies, tombs and tombstones suggest that they did not have

a standard practice. The tombstones could have been placed in the niches on the walls of the tomb (Fig. 23a). Another possibility is that the front of the *loculus* was closed with a tombstone, as seen at Palmyra⁶⁹. With the exception of the tombstone discovered by Wagner blocking the *loculus* front in a tomb in the Western Necropolis⁷⁰, we cannot say with certainty that the tombstone fragments⁷¹ found in tombs during the survey were used for the same purpose. This is because the tombs in which these tombstones were found have *arcosolia*. It could also be argued that tombstones were also placed in the shallow niches found on the back walls of *loculi* in Tomb 15 in the Southern Necropolis (Fig. 23b). However, it would be wrong to assume that all tombstones were used for this precise purpose because most of the known tombstones are smaller than the dimensions of the *loculi*.

In the Eastern Necropolis, Ergeç reported the existence of a terrace in front of a tomb⁷² on which eight tombstones were placed side-by-side. Therefore, it would be possible to argue that in some instances tombstones was placed on the terrace in front of the tomb. Such uses have also been reported in Umm-el Jimal, a Roman settlement in northern Jordan⁷³. Consequently, we can be certain that

⁶⁵ For the meaning of this term, see Tod 1951, 186-187; also, for the distribution areas of tombstones featuring this formulaic term, see Yon 2003.

⁶⁶ Current evaluations on onomastics in Syria and Mesopotamia, also Zeugma, see Yon 2015.

⁶⁷ For Hierapolis see, Vivancos 2006, 354-372, Figs. 257, 260, 262, 266-267, 270-275, 277-280; Colledge 1976, 63-71 and 243-264; Sadurska – Bounni 1994. For a study on dress practices and identity in Dura-Europos, see Baird 2016; also, for dress in Syrian region, see Goldmann 1994.

⁶⁸ Parlasca 1982, 9-10.

⁶⁹ Amy – Seyrig 1936, pls. XXXIII and XLI-XLIII; Colledge 1976, Fig. 60.

⁷⁰ Wagner 1976, 150, Abb. 16.

⁷¹ Yaman 2013, nos. 43, 45, 72, 160, 162, 206 and 239.

⁷² This tomb was identified as K84 by Ergeç, see supra n. 28.

⁷³ Litmann 1914, 52-53, Fig. III/7.

tombstones were placed both inside and outside the tomb. This is supported by the existence of reliefs depicted on the walls of the tomb.

The tombstone-like reliefs carved directly on the front façade or inside (Fig. 27-29) walls of the chamber tombs should be mentioned in this category⁷⁴. Apart from being worked into the bedrock, the reliefs are identical to tombstones in terms of form and style (garland, eagle, basket, portrait, inscription). These reliefs are seen in nine tombs in the Southern and Eastern necropoleis. The locations of a few (six in the Western, one in the Eastern and one in the Southern) previously recorded reliefs in the necropoleis were not verified⁷⁵ because these submerged under the waters of Birecik Dam. The existence of tombs with related reliefs is known at Doliche, Perrhe, Yukarı Söğütlü, Üçgöl, Büyükkarakuyu and Kamışlı in Commagene⁷⁶; Bdama, Qatura, Turin and Derkuş, Frikya in Syria⁷⁷; and Cilicia⁷⁸, and Phrygia⁷⁹ in Anatolia. With the exception of the Bdama example in Syria, the reliefs at Zeugma are different from the others in terms of form and style. Although tombstones were used extensively in Zeugma from the mid-1st century to the mid-3rd

century AD, there are also tombstones dated to the 4th century AD⁸⁰.

5. Conclusion

It can be clearly seen that the necropoleis expanded along the main roads that linked Zeugma with nearby regions, thereby surrounding the city in three directions. Topographical features were the defining factors in orientation of the necropoleis and tombs. The locations of the necropoleis are significant in that they provide an insight into the boundaries of the city. The rescue excavations conducted by the French team in 1999–2000 revealed *arcosolia* and *loculi* inside the Synaristosai House, as well as rock-cut cist tombs immediately south and east of this house⁸¹. The rock-cut chamber tomb, some 250 metres west of Karatepe, indicates the western boundary of the city during that period. The rock-cut cist, *loculi*, and *arcosolia* were practised during the Hellenistic period. Thus, these tombs also indicate the city boundaries throughout this period⁸².

Rock-cut cists covered with lid slabs known from the Eastern and Western necropoleis were used during the Hellenistic period and in the early 1st century AD. It

⁷⁴ *Supra* n. 27.

⁷⁵ For reliefs, see Chabot 1900, 279-283; Cumont 1910, 123-126, Figs. 3-5; Cumont 1917, 42-44, Figs. 12-14; Jalabert – Mouterde 1929; nos. 94-105; Wagner 1976, 254-261, nos. 140-147; Yaman 2013, 244-264, nos. MzK 1-44, Figs. 259-301.

⁷⁶ For Doliche, see Ergeç 2003, 47-48, Figs. 13.1 and 13.3; Perrhe see, Erarslan 2009, 174; Dörner 1939; Yukarı Söğütlü see, Zeyrek 2007, 131-137, Figs. 13-20; Üçgöl see, Ergeç 1995, 300, Pls. 98 and 222; Önal *et al.* 2007, 533-536; Büyükkarakuyu see, von der Osten 1933, 135, Fig. 130; Reliefs in Kamışlı were seen on site as part of the regional survey in 2011.

⁷⁷ For Bdama see, Mouterde 1949-1950; Qatura see, Tchalenko 1953, 189-193, Pl. CLXXV.3; Turin and Derkuş see, Griesheimer 1997, 170 and 193-194, Figs. 4-5, 32 and 36; Frikya see, Altheeb 2015.

⁷⁸ *MAMA* 3; Durugönül 1989; Akçay 2018.

⁷⁹ Kortanoğlu 2008, 76, Pls. 171.2-3.

⁸⁰ Wagner 1976, 150, Fig. 16; Yaman 2013, 272-295.

⁸¹ Abadie-Reynal *et al.* 2001, 258-261 and 299, Figs. 2.2, 2.58 and 2.60; Abadie-Reynal 2012, 17-22, Figs. 4-7.

⁸² Recent studies on expansion of the city and the walls in Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Görkay 2012a; Görkay 2012b; Görkay 2017.

could be said that chamber tombs with *arcosolia* and/or *loculi* were also used from the Hellenistic period onward. However, chamber tombs with *arcosolia* must have gained popularity at the beginning of the Roman imperial period. The same assumption could be made for tumuli that were originally constructed with *loculi* in the Hellenistic period, after which *arcosolia* were added in the Roman period⁸³. Two garland sarcophagi have been dated to the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD. Finds related to burials at Zeugma concentrate around the late 1st century until mid-3rd century AD. These dates coincide with the period when Roman activity increased, and legions were deployed here until the Sassanid destruction of the city in AD 252/253. Tombstones were used from the mid-1st century until the mid-3rd century AD, with a few examples dated as late as the 4th century AD. In light of the existing data, it is possible to say that the necropoleis of Zeugma were used from the late 2nd/early 1st century BC to the end of 4th century AD⁸⁴.

No finds associated with cremation were found in the necropoleis during the survey but Ergeç reported urns in the Eastern Necropolis⁸⁵. As in Tomb 19, cremation can be considered in Zeugma if the niches were used for urns. Thus, based on Ergeç's findings, and the niches and the *ostothেকে*-like pits inside tombs, it would not be wrong to suppose that both

inhumation and cremation were practised at Zeugma.

The large number of burial places suggest that some of the tombs such as Tomb 37 in the Eastern Necropolis may have been used by a *collegium*⁸⁶. Although all the tiles used as lids are broken, that traces of mortar found on the *arcosolia* walls of this tomb (Fig. 32) demonstrates that the tiles were tightly sealed so that they could never be opened again. In the tomb could have been more burials because it is unclear whether the tiles were broken open for new burials or were smashed by modern looters. Tombs with multiple burials can not just be associated with *collegium* but also with families. Statues in sitting and standing positions were discovered in the area in front of the tomb excavated by Gaziantep Archaeology Museum in 1987 in the Southern Necropolis⁸⁷. Portrait reliefs were also carved on the front façade of the tomb. These statues and reliefs aimed to demonstrate the wealth and social status of deceased to the people visiting the necropolis, as well as honouring of dead, and conveying their memory to survivors and future generations⁸⁸.

The shape of tombs, the wall frescoes and the statues clearly demonstrate that Zeugma was loyal to the ideology of tombs being a "*domus aeterna*" – an eternal residence⁸⁹ – and that the city's inhabitants visited these tombs to commemorate their

⁸³ Supra n. 54.

⁸⁴ Wagner 1976, 148-149; Ergeç 1995, 187-188.

⁸⁵ Supra n. 22.

⁸⁶ For the funeral activities of *collegia*, see Toynbee 1971, 54-55; Hopkins 1983, 211-217; Nijf 1997, 38-69.

⁸⁷ Ergeç 1995, 291, no. K91, Pl. 89; Ergeç *et al.* 2000, 106.

⁸⁸ Bodel 1999; Fejfer 2008; Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

⁸⁹ Cumont 1922, 48; Drijvers 1982, 720; Lattimore 1942, 165-167; for a detailed explanation of the concept of "eternal residence", see Waelkens 1980; for an inscription that emphasises this concept, see Şahin 1975, 294-295.

deceased relatives or friends. Funeral banqueting hosted by family in honour of the beloved dead must have held possibly at *vestibulum* or in front of tomb⁹⁰ on several occasions throughout the year. The two small holes on the top corners of tomb reliefs and tombstones are most likely associated with commemorations⁹¹. Garlands of freshly-gathered flowers (roses or violets) would have been fixed to the corners of the tombstone with pins during such celebrations⁹².

Just as in modern times, Romans honoured their dead and felt the need to fulfil their final duties appropriately. Burial traditions arose from the belief that the deceased would find peace at their final destination, and from practices that preserved the reputation of the deceased's family or social group, while offering consolation to the grieving survivors. Therefore, a common culture, traditions, needs and personal characteristics were influential in the choice of the shape, dimensions and decoration of the tomb. Data acquired from the necropoleis at Zeugma about burial traditions suggest that different cultures interacted in the city. This can be traced from the tomb architecture and portraits on the tombstones. Furthermore, the Semitic, Macedonian, Greek and Roman names of local people seen in the inscriptions on the tomb façades, front chambers and tombstones are clear proof of the diverse origins of the city inhabitants⁹³.

That said, the self-representation in the portraits which depict the deceased and the names suggest that members of different cultural backgrounds were trying to preserve their cultural heritage. In the portraits on the tombstones and the statues found outside Tomb 20 in the Eastern Necropolis, women are often depicted with veils and in the style of *Pudicitia*. It is seen that some female figures in particular are depicted with a fez-like headdress and headbands, emphasising their oriental origins. Men, on the other hand, appear to follow occidental fashions⁹⁴. Although cultural interaction and engagement were taking place, judging from the tombstones featuring eagle and basket figures and a standard inscription template, it is evident that a unique local style prevailed in Zeugma. In contrast, the two sarcophagi found at Zeugma believed to be copies made at local workshops reflect the style of the Proconnesus workshops which produced half-fabricated marble sarcophagi. As the culmination of an extensive cultural evolution, *arcosolia* are found in many areas, particularly in tombs dated to the Roman period; whereas the *loculi* in the tombs of Zeugma reflect the character of Syria and the Levant, especially the opulent examples found in Palmyra. Consequently, it is evident that the connection between local and global cultural elements creates multicultural diversity in Zeugma.

⁹⁰ For the tradition of dining at the tomb during the funeral rites, see Gee 2008, 65-68; Dunbabin 2003, 130-140; Lindsay 1998, 68-76; Saller 1994, 95-101; Hopkins 1983, 233 and 214; Toynbee 1971, 50-51 and 62-63.

⁹¹ Görkay 2012a, 297; Görkay 2012b, 546.

⁹² For *Rosalia*, see Toynbee 1971, 63-64.

⁹³ Wagner 1976, 169-171; Kennedy – Graf 1998, 104-108; Yaman 2013, 264-271 and 307-309, Appendix 1.

⁹⁴ Parlasca 1982, 9, pls. 6.1-2, 8.1, 9.2 and 10.1-2.

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Figure 21: Gabled niches in Tomb 24, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 22: Niches and *arcosolia* in Tomb 19, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 23: (a) Niches separated with chase mortices in Tomb 10, (b) shallow niche on rear *loculus* wall in Tomb 15, Southern Necropolis.

Figure 24: (a) *Ostothekke*-like pit on the floor of the *loculus* in Tomb 15, (b) on the ground of Tomb 62, Southern Necropolis.

Figure 25: Frescoes in Tomb 20, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 26: Frescoes, tombstone and wall constructed in Tomb 29, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 27: Reliefs on wall of Tomb 23, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 28: Reliefs in *vestibulum* of tomb in the Southern Necropolis, dug by looters.

Figure 29: The reliefs in Tomb 19, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 30: A capital and a column base in Tomb 29, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 31: Ceiling supported by columns made of limestone blocks in Tomb 20.

Figure 32: Cists in Tomb 37, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 33: Pilasters in Tomb 9, Southern Necropolis.

Figure 34: Platforms in Tomb 13, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 35: Sarcophagi fragments in Tomb 15, Eastern Necropolis.

Figure 36: Tombstones from Zeugma.

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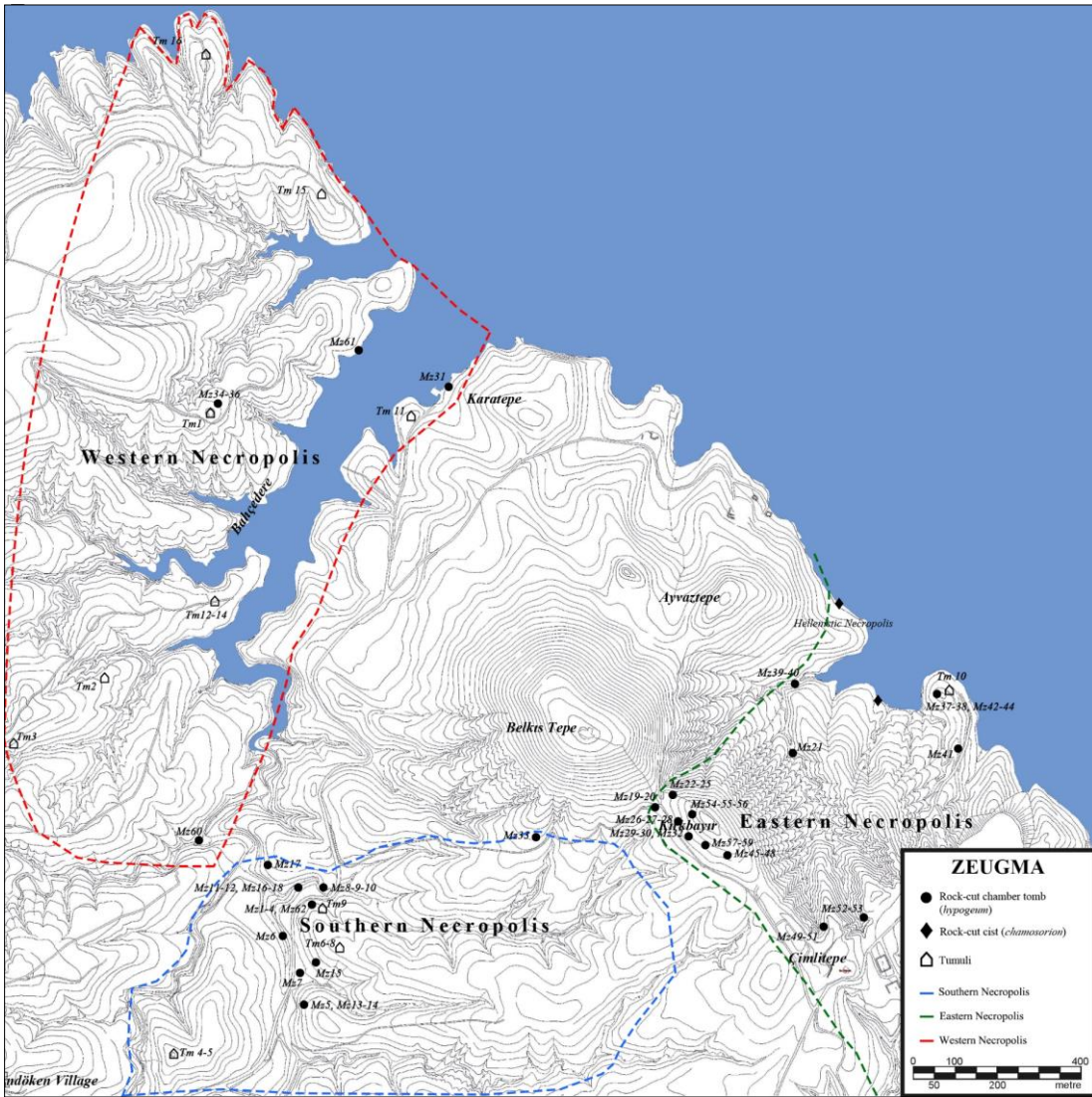


Figure 1

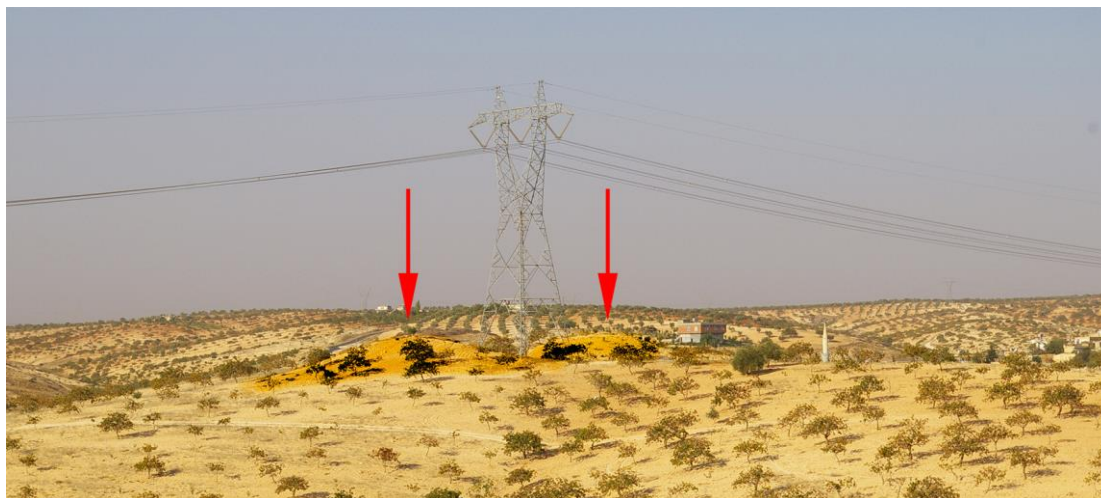


Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

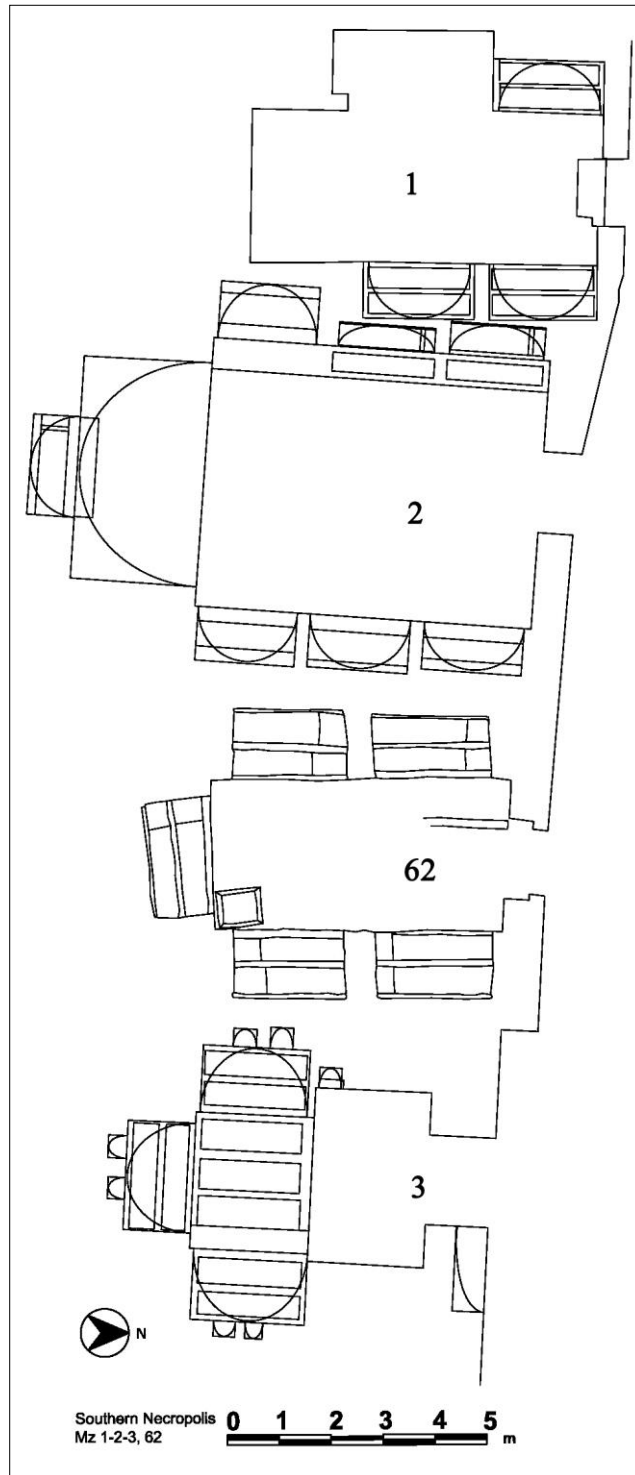


Figure 6

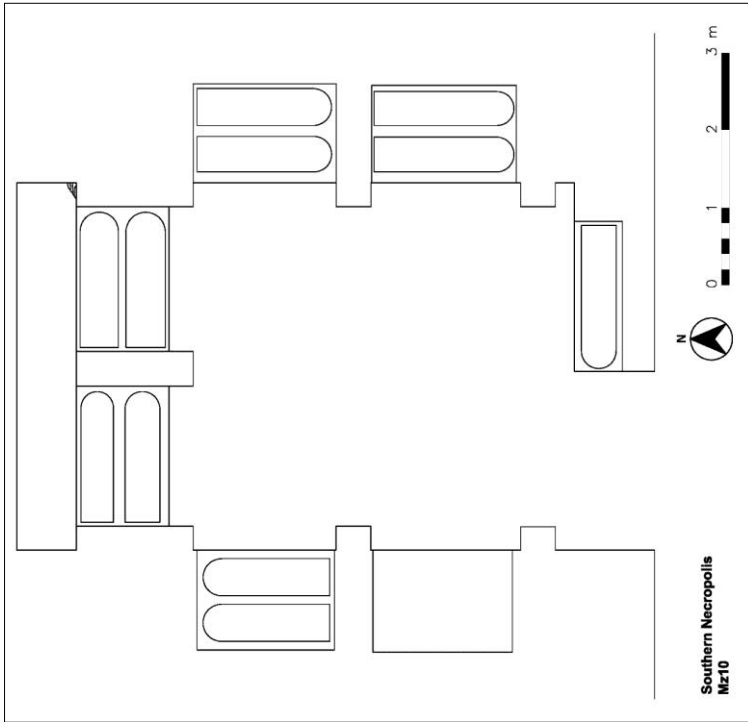


Figure 7

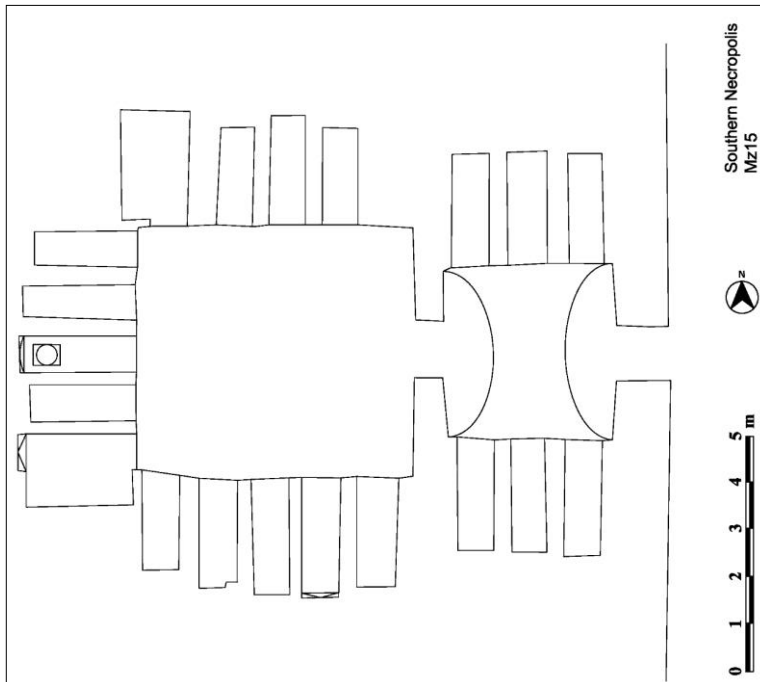


Figure 8



Figure 9



a



b

Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14

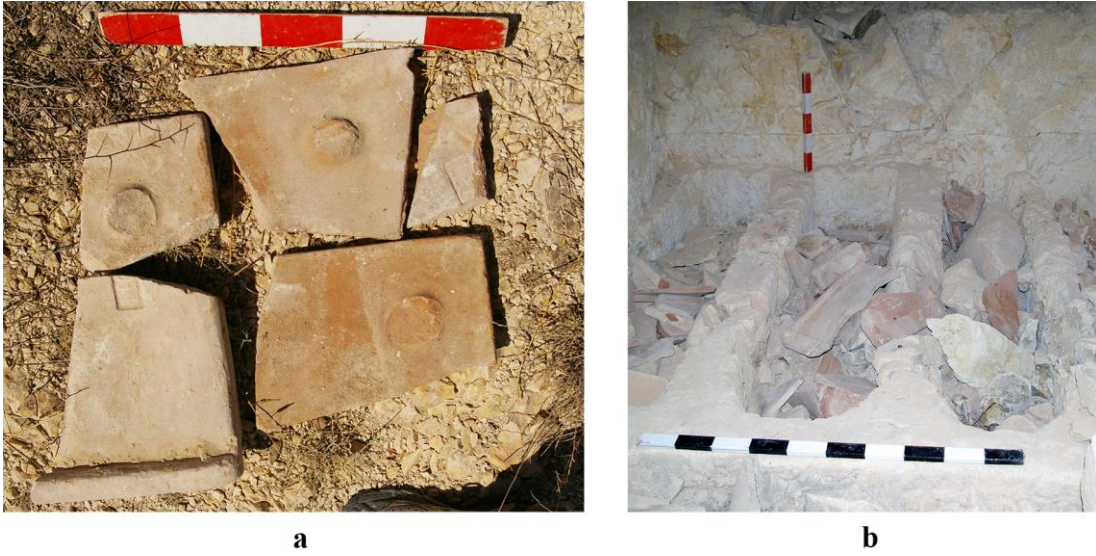


Figure 15



Figure 16



Figure 17



Figure 18



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22

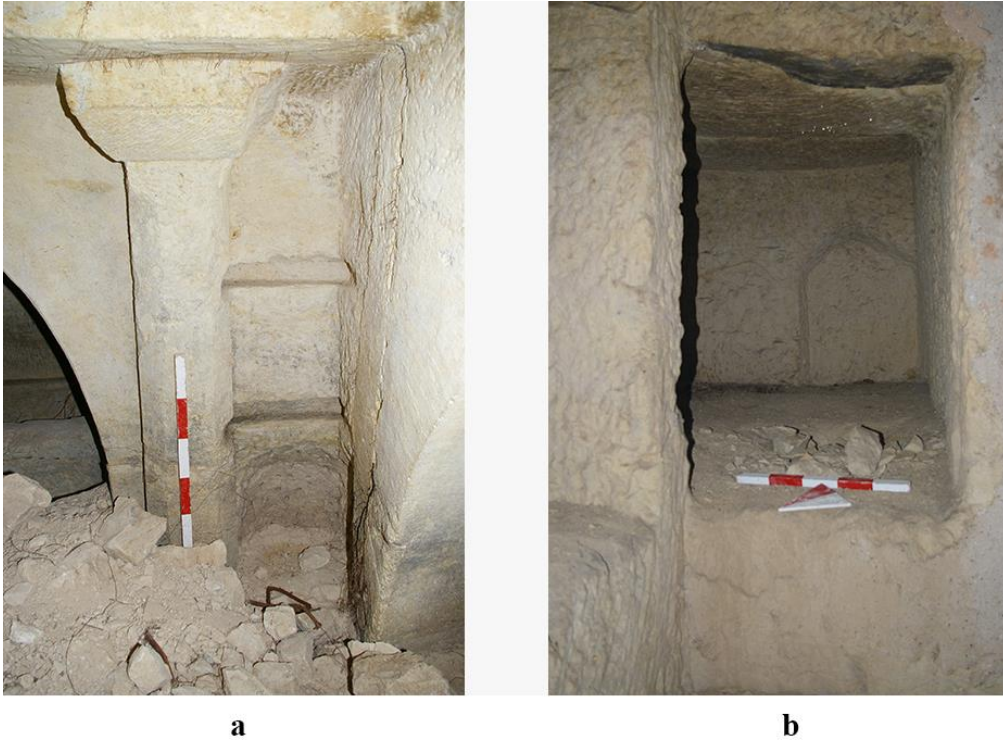


Figure 23

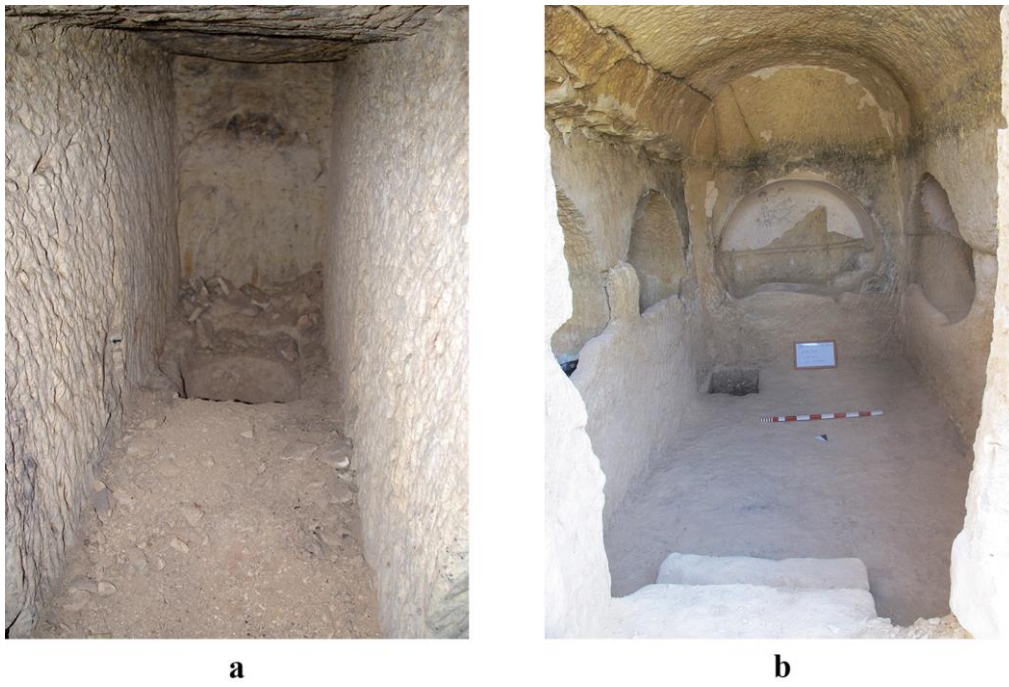


Figure 24



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30



Figure 31



Figure 32



Figure 33



Figure 34



Figure 35



Figure 36