

Religious Structures in the Seleukid Empire:
An Inter-regional Case Study

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

In

Ancient Societies and Cultures

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Abstract: The present study is a comparison and analysis of five temple structures located within three different military colonies of the Seleukid Empire in an effort to identify potential locations of cultural interaction and communication. The comparison is temporally restricted to the first generations of Seleukid hegemony beginning in the last quarter of the fourth century BCE. Geographically, the analysis focuses on the communities of Dura-Europos in Mesopotamia, Jebel Khalid in Syria, and Ai-Khanoum in Bactria (modern Afghanistan). The method by which the potential locations within these communities is carried out, is through the use of a spatial analysis which combines the mobile material remains of the site with the remaining architectural features to engage with areas of potential ritual activity. These areas of potentiality represent links to focal communities, or smaller subsets of the population, which are analogous case studies to potential cultural groups. Specifically the smaller, identifiable groups are comparable to larger patterns of grouping within the civic community as a whole. Representative links could be established through the identification of a spatial syntax which, in turn, could be tied into repetitive and intentional performance of ritual act. The focal communities drawn from this analysis display identifiable cultural interactions within the Seleukid colonies but also represent a consistent structural form cross-regionally within the empire. This consistency could be indicative of both a common ritual activity in different regions within the empire, but also likely indicates that there was a comparable use of space by different focal communities cross-culturally as well as cross-temporally.

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Chapter One- Introduction:

The following case-study of five different temple structures erected in the early Seleukid Empire is focused on answering the following central research question: Can distinct socio-cultural groups be identified within the archaeological record by examining possible loci of ritual activity? To analyze the the entire urban landscape within these cities would be an extremely ambitious endeavour, as the focus would need to include the potentiality of domestic ritual. As such, my analysis will investigate the community temples and associated *temenoi* of three specific cities for evidence of possible interaction. Thus, the areas of potential ritual activity which will be examined are only those which can be established with confidence in the archaeological remains of bounded sacred space of the settlement sanctuaries. The concepts of sacred space and ritual activity will be discussed in detail in the following chapter when the theory and method for analysis are outlined.

This study focuses on three different settlements, and there are two specific reasons for this limitation. Firstly, the settlements provide a data set from numerous temple locations and forms (as well as different levels of preservation) in which to search for cultural interaction, and secondly, it allows for a cross-regional analysis within a similar time period which could be indicative of different identity manifestations within a similar imperial context.

The five temples chosen were erected in three different communities established in the first generation of Seleukid rule; Dura-Europos, Jebel Khalid, and Aï-Khanoum. These settlements were chosen for the following reasons. Firstly, they were all established by the same imperial power within a similar time period (ca. 300 BCE).¹ Secondly, all of the cities were originally military colonies of the Seleukid Empire, as such, although they may have been within areas of Seleukid power, they were also part of the imperial periphery. The colonies were newly established centres of power in regions never before held by Makedonian kings. Thirdly, there is a consistent environmental setting evident in the location of the settlements; there is a close proximity to water and mountains for each centre, they are situated along the banks of a major river, and all three settlements were heavily fortified. Focus will be placed on three different analyses: a) a spatial analysis conducted through a comparison of the architectural layouts found

¹ Although the settlements seem to have been established at the same time, there is doubt with regards to the established date of the temple structures. Cf. pg. 20

at the five structures, b) the material evidence recovered, and c) the potential delineation of ritual. The particular structures I have chosen have been previously identified as temples erected during the Hellenistic period in these cities. The modern names associated with these temples are: the temples of Artemis-Nanaia and Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, the temples *à redans* (also called the temple with indented niches) and *hors les murs* at Aï-Khanoum, and finally the temple structure of Area B at Jebel Khalid.

Dura-Europos was established on the banks of the Euphrates on the edge of Mesopotamia and Syria, and although there were fertile plains upstream, to the west lay the desert, making the community an important way-station on the route from Antioch to Babylon. Jebel Khalid was also situated on the banks of the Euphrates and was almost directly east of Antioch-on-the-Orontes and south of Zeugma. Aï-Khanoum, on the other hand, is to be found near the eastern edge of the empire surrounded by mountain ranges and grasslands sitting on the confluence of the Oxus and the Kokcha rivers. Aï-Khanoum was likely an influential point of imperial control as it would have dominated the trade routes connecting to India as well as the lands of Transoxania.² The cities were established as military colonies, with soldier settlers sent to farm land surrounding the settlements which were heavily fortified with walls surrounding their entirety and separate redoubt walls further fortifying the acropoleis of the colonies. All three sites were established within a similar chronological period, close to the year 300 BCE when Seleukos had already established himself as the regional ruler. In this thesis I do not have the intention of explaining representative social divisions in a universal manner, namely identifying socio-cultural groupings which would hold across the empire. Instead, the research is focused on highlighting potential differences and similarities between sites of a particular lineage, namely Seleukid military colonies along the banks of major waterways, and discussing what these potential delineations could mean for research into social identities.

Imperial power in the Seleukid realm did not substantially change for the first two generations of authority, however, the populations within that realm did not maintain a static self-perception of identity. The three settlements in question were newly established colonies of the Empire and needed to be populated. Hellenistic colonies were commonly filled with immigrant Greek and Makedonian populations, but the supply of this type of settler was extremely limited as the Seleukids did not hold territory in Greece or Makedonia. Apart from immigrating settlers,

² Susan B. Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture* (Princeton, 1988), 63, 78; Nicholas L. Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011), 117.

other sources of populations for Seleukid communities came from a) the native populations within the empire, or b) soldiers who were once in the Seleukid army or were still within reserve forces.³ The soldier settlers, otherwise known as *kleroukoi* in reference to the lots of land they held (*kleroi*), formed an essential part of the settlements.⁴ Most often the *kleroukoi* formed the largest part of the colony's original population and were given land directly from the king upon which to settle.⁵ The soldiers would have served a number of important roles within the imperial structure including acting as reserve troops; defending peripheral territory and major trade routes, cultivating agricultural areas, and acting as potential suppressive forces. The civic populations would not have been static, however, and importantly many soldiers would have been unmarried, motivating intermarriage between the new settlers and the native women.⁶

The framework of this study is supported by a number of theoretical approaches which have either been adapted or developed with the analysis of archaeological material in mind. Some of the theoretical approaches have arisen as independent studies in and of themselves, two of which are social memory⁷ and semiotics.⁸ Authors like John Ma and Susan Alcock employ theories of memory in their historical and archaeological methodology.⁹ There are, additionally, two scholars whose work addresses similar themes to the central research question I have put forth and my research is built to serve as a complimentary study based on their ideas. Susan B. Downey has written a significant amount on Dura-Europos and specifically has written a number of articles on the temple of Zeus Megistos.¹⁰ Downey's research provides a detailed reassessment of the religious structures at Dura-Europos, and offers an initial look into the deconstruction of previous excavations. Arguably the most important impact that Downey's work has had on the study of Dura-Europos is that early excavation reports are no longer considered as

³ Getzel M. Cohen, *The Seleucid Colonies* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978) 29.

⁴ It should be noted that these *kleroi* differ from the definition associated with Athenian colonists. See: P.A. Brunt, *Athenian Settlements Abroad In The Fifth Century BC* (Oxford, 1966).

⁵ Cohen, *The Seleucid Colonies*. 29.

⁶ For discussion see: Angelos Chaniotis, *Foreign Soldiers – Native Girls? : Constructing and Crossing Boundaries In Hellenistic Cities With Foreign Garrisons*, (Stuttgart, 2002).

⁷ On Social Memory See: M. Finley, *Myth, Memory, And History*, (Wiley, 1965); M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, (University of Chicago Press, 1992); S. Alcock, *Archaeologies Of The Greek Past*, (University Of Cambridge, 2002); N. Loraux, *The Divided City*, (Zone Books, 2002); B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, (Verso, 2006); P. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, (University of Chicago, 2006)

⁸ On Semiotics See: Charles Sanders Peirce, *Collected Writings*, (Harvard University Press, 1931-1958); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, (Penguin, 1972). Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, (Routledge, 2004); Michael Gardiner, *The Dialogics of Critique*, (Routledge, 1992); Justin Lewis, *The Ideological Octopus*, (Routledge, 1991).

⁹ Alcock, *Archaeologies Of The Greek Past*; John Ma, *City As Memory*, (Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹⁰ See: Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture; New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos*, (Mesopotamia, 1993); *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, 1994*, (Mesopotamia, 1995); *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos*, (Beyrouth, 1997).

authoritative as they were when first published, as when excavation teams returned to Dura-Europos with plans of re-investigating building elements described by Frank Brown, they were unable to locate them.¹¹ Basic architectural elements throughout the site, including various altars which were previously attested and temple walls used in reconstructions have decayed significantly.¹²

Rachel Mairs is another scholar whose research has engaged with topics which are similar to this thesis. Mairs has not only written on the temple with indented niches at Ai-Khanoum¹³, but has also detailed the potential expression of social identity and ethnicity within temple space.¹⁴ My intention is to focus on how the temple site can be an expression of multiple identities in order to engage with an abstract notion of civic identity rather than attempting to pin down a particular cultural group to specific space. Where my work diverges from Downey and Mairs is on the overall focus of combined visual and material evidence. These two aspects will be used in the greater discussion of social memory and the monumentalization of space in the mind to discuss the formation and identification of potential groups within the specified loci. Despite the differing research questions, the previous work of both Downey and Mairs will be invaluable and must be acknowledged.

¹¹ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, 1994*, 250.

¹² Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos* (1997), 111.

¹³ This thesis will refer to the temple with indented niches by the title: temple á redans.

¹⁴ See: Rachel Mairs, *Ethnic Identity in the Hellenistic Near East*, (University of Cambridge, 2006); *Ethnicity and Funerary Practice in Hellenistic Bactria*, (Oxford: School of Archaeology, 2007); *An Identity Crisis*, (Roma, 2008); *When Did the Greeks Abandon Ai Khanoum?*, (Anabasis, 2012); *Greek Settler Communities in Central and South Asia, 323 BCE to 10 CE*, (Wiley, 2013).

Chapter Two- Theory and Method:

2.1 Sacred Space and Ritual:

Sacred space for the purpose of this methodology will be considered a space which has been assigned a religious quality.¹⁵ Following this definition, I take the perspective that sacred space is created by ritual action, or more specifically, the attention of human participants towards ritual action.¹⁶ Thus, according to this view, sacred space is a human creation rather than a space which has an intrinsic external quality that determines it as sacred such as natural formations like mountains, groves, waterfalls, etc.¹⁷ Given that the spaces I am studying are the temples and temple areas of particular cities, we know that they are created (and re-created through ritual action) as they are man-made spaces of sacred liminality. The temples will thus be understood as areas of focus, ones in which ordinary actions become sacred because of location, not because of an inherent quality in and of themselves.¹⁸ Taking an essentialist point of view of sacred space emphasizes the human interaction involved in the maintenance of sacrality. In the context of sacred space, the liminal boundaries of sacrality are often demarcated by performances, emphasizing that the maintenance of sacrality is carried out by performed and repeated activity, namely ritual. To use a working definition of ritual it can be described as a pattern of verbal or physical expression which is undertaken in a context of sacrality in a formal pattern.¹⁹ There is an emphasis here on the formalization of the practised activity. With a solidification of what actions are to take place, the ritual can be learned and passed on.

In many ways, ritual functions like language. A word takes on an intended meaning only if that meaning can be agreed upon by the group in question. Much like the meaning of a word, the meaning of a ritual is non-transferrable unless the meaning can be understood by both parties involved in the transfer of knowledge. Also similar to language, there is a specific element of activity involved, namely the performance must in fact be performed. It is through this activity that the meaning is extended chronologically, taking on an authority of its own through historical

¹⁵ Sacred space in this sense is a very general usage as can be seen in introductory religious studies material. ex. Thomas A. Robinson and Hillary Rodrigues, *World Religions*, (Hendrickson Publishers, 2006).

¹⁶ Jonathan Z. Smith, *The Bare Facts Of Ritual*, (University of Chicago Press, 1982), 55.

¹⁷ For Further Discussion See: Vincent Scully jr, *The Earth, The Temple, And The Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*, (Yale University Press, 1979); Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred And The Profane*, (Harcourt, Brace, 1959)

¹⁸ Smith, *The Bare Facts Of Ritual*, 54-55.

¹⁹ As above, this is a basic definition of ritual, cf. footnote 14. James C. Livingston, *Anatomy of the Sacred: An Introduction to Religion*, (2009). It is important to note that I am only engaging with a portion of what ritual is, specifically those physical elements of the ritualization. As a study in and of itself, I am only engaging with specific examples of archaized ritual rather than attempting to delineate ritual as a thing in itself.

precedence. Specifically, the performance becomes naturalized, functioning as a meaning with its own reason for being rather than one connected directly to the external world in which it is performed. The naturalization allows for a suspension of arbitrary connections in the mind of the performer. A suspension of arbitrary connections is a necessary element of language as words do not hold any intrinsic descriptive value for the external save for the value which a common group ascribes to the particular grouping of sounds and symbols.

2.2 Places of Memory and Monuments of the Mind:

Continuity of rule can act as a reinforcement of power, but it can also reinforce that power with a degree of embeddedness wherein locations of imperial identity work to legitimize that identity and associated authority in the minds of the populace. Continuity of rule thus shows a direct correspondence to the world of metaphor and the material world, once again establishing a naturalization of its maintenance in the minds of the populace through the embeddedness of power. Combined with the physical act of ritual is the experiential quality of place and person which can function to monumentalize a particular place where those experiences are formed. The process of monumentalization, wherein a physical space becomes a monument in the mind as well, is an important aspect of social memory. There is both an active and passive element to this process, and this may be reminiscent of *habitus*²⁰ in the sense that it is both the postured attitudes and actions towards the structured space which reinforce its importance. The structure becomes an agent in the active creation of a mental landscape as it becomes extended in time, normalizing itself as part of the civic landscape. Space can easily be a representation of power, and though power is by nature a symbolic measure, it is able to be witnessed or at least pointed to in and through the material record. In some ways, space and power can be utilized in a restrictive space, excluding groups and persons though physical boundaries exerted by a power with enough resources to erect those boundaries in the physical world.²¹

2.3 Method of Architectural and Spatial Analysis:

In order to answer the outlined research questions, there are three separate analyses which will be undertaken. The first analysis is both a comparison of the architectural remains of the temple structures, as well as a spatial study as exemplified in the research catalogue of chapter

²⁰ For discussion of habitus see: Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.

²¹ Lisa Findley, *Building Change*, (Routledge, 2005), 4.

three. The focus on architecture and space is intended to emphasize differences between the physical structures themselves in opposition to more mobile materials which, will be discussed later in terms of what the spatial study reveals. Initial construction and later renovations of buildings represents a much more focused period of time than what is revealed through site material. The phase of building a structure is minute when compared with the relative use of the structure extended over its lifetime. With this in mind, however, the structures themselves are representative of both those who constructed the building, and who the building was intended for.

There are two specific methods of comparison which will be utilized in the architectural analysis specifically. Firstly, all architectural elements of the temples in question which can be compared (ie. *Crepis*, walls, size, orientation...) between civic communities will be compiled in the research catalogue whereupon they will be referenced against standards of Greek/Makedonian religious structures. The intent is to ascertain a) if there are differences within each civic space between temple structures, and b) to see which characteristics conform to scholarly expectations of standard Greek/Makedonian temple constructs. Those elements which do not conform to expectations will then be discussed on their own in order to see whether they are indicative of other cultural influences on the physical appearance of the temple, or if they are elements which may have an unknown purpose or origin. Secondly, all five temples will be compared with one another in an effort to highlight those elements (if any) which show structural variation between the three cities. The purpose of this comparison will be to analyze these elements in terms of what they can indicate with regards to public building variance within the Seleukid Empire.

Coincident with the architectural comparison, I will also be focusing on the spatial syntax of the temple structures themselves. In particular, this will involve three specific elements to be compared across the structures. These factors are permeability, surface area, and visibility. The first element is permeability, an element of structural analysis which has been directly related to the relative openness of a structure. Lisa Nevett and Margriet Haagsma have both utilized the methodology of permeability in the domestic space of Greek cities²² to analyze the relative inclusivity and exclusivity of the domestic space based on the accessibility of the buildings. This method of spatial syntax was outlined by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson in which accessibility

²² Margriet Haagsma, *Domestic Economy and Social Organization in New Halos*, (University of Groningen, 2010), 97-98; Lisa Nevett, *House and Society in the Ancient Greek World*, (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 179

of a structure acted as a communicative factor between the interior and exterior.²³ The results will be represented by so-called permeability diagrams; figures appearing in chapter four. These diagrams are two dimensional representations of the permeability of movement within a particular area, indicating where there are sharp or subtle divisions of space which may have limited or restricted movement. As will become clear in the research catalogue, the quality of information is highly variable with regards to the different temples. Thus, the inclusion of this data will require a pragmatic approach, utilizing what data is available.

Along with the inclusion of permeability data, the analysis of the temple architecture will include the data of surface area for the temple structures themselves, as well as the rooms within them. The comparison of surface areas will be a tool towards a further comparison of potential usage of these areas based on the amount of people who could fit within them. Calculations of density distribution will be measured at two levels, maximum possible occupancy, and an occupancy which would allow for free flow of people. Maximum occupancy is four people per square metre based on an average adult male while the loosely packed density will reflect one person per 1.2 square metres.²⁴ This occupancy data will be used in conjunction with a construction of conical overlays connected to a grid of raster points, creating a visual representation of differences in visibility within the temple structures. This visual data will be interpreted in the light of the other two factors in order to discuss the potential behaviours and potential liminality of specific areas related to the temple structures.

The spatial analysis of the temple structures is the first step in the overall comparison of the temple structures. This data will be utilized in chapters five and six for further analysis. The analysis of chapter five will focus on the more mobile materials of the archaeological record, taking into account the previous analysis of the architecture in order to build a strong causal connection of material to place and the potential behaviours reflected and reinforced by the physical remains. The analysis of chapter six is a connection of both of these studies and is a discussion of the potential liminality of sacred space based on areas of high potential for ritual activity determined firstly by the analysis of permeability and visibility and secondly by the potential behaviours which could be associated with specific areas of each temple.

2.4 Method of Material Analysis:

²³ Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*, (Cambridge University Press, 1984), 143-149.

²⁴ The latter density corresponds to Alberta Fire code 2008 table 3.1.17.1

The material evidence in this study is a set of data from the temple structures which will be used to discuss comparisons of cultural groups. The cross-cultural analysis within each temple structure will centre on focal communities, small groups of individuals which appear within a larger cultural system.²⁵ In the context of temple space, the focal communities will be both the community which engaged with the temples in a tangible way (notably through material evidence), and possibly include any separate groups which can be discerned from the archaeological record. In order to delineate these focal communities, the first analysis of the temple areas will be concerned with the material remains discovered in excavation excluding architectural elements of the structures or their larger area. The analysis of the archaeological material will be an identification of potential 'proxy measures'.²⁶ McNett describes these proxy measures as a way to view human behaviour. Importantly for an analysis of temple space, material culture can specifically be indicative of a ritual or cult practice. Thus, the analysis of material in the temple space will first involve a collection of all data within the structures and their surrounding area.

Once the data has been compiled, material which could be indicative of ritual behaviour will be identified and examined in its own context and against the other temple sites in question. Through comparing the material I will attempt to identify separate areas of potential focal communities within temple areas themselves as well as cross-regionally. Identifying separate focal communities would allow for a further analysis of causal variables within the record. These causal variables would suggest a relationship of material to ritual.²⁷ Building this type of causal relationship would allow for both a process of further analysis of cultural groups engaging in a particular type of behaviour, but would also lead to a working model of prediction which could be tested against other examples. There lies a difficulty in connecting beliefs to material remains given that this would require insight into an individual's consciousness,²⁸ however, connecting material behaviours²⁹ is an intermediate ground which could facilitate this investigation. Man-made materials are inevitably connected to behaviour in some manner, but for my own research, this connection will be sought only in cases which are generally agreed upon. As such, the material I will investigate will be that which can be connected tangibly to religious practices of

²⁵ Peter N. Peregrine, *Cross-Cultural Comparative Approaches in Archaeology*, (Annual Reviews, 2001), 4.

²⁶ CW McNett, *The Cross-Cultural Method In Archaeology*, (1979), 59-64.

²⁷ M. Ember and CR Ember, *Worldwide Cross-cultural Studies and Their Relevance For Archaeology*, (J. Archaeol Res, 1995), 97.

²⁸ Mike Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, (Knopf, 1953), 194.

²⁹ Peregrine, *Cross-Cultural Comparative Approaches in Archaeology*, 6.

ritual. The applicable cases will be outlined during the analysis based on what is collected in the research catalogue. This material will be discussed in terms of potentiality for ritual.

2.5 Method of Ritual and Cult Analysis:

The third analysis of this study is directly connected to the first analysis. In this section, material and areas analyzed for a high potential for ritual action will be discussed as locations of possible socio-cultural interaction. Rituals are a useful case for study not only because they directly connect human behaviour to a specific location and/or group, but in a public context they are social activities.³⁰ This social interaction means that rituals are not only performed by all actors, but also (as one might imagine), visualized by the actors involved in the ritual. This observation is a transmission not only of the symbolic language required for the ritual's understanding, but it is a reinforcement of social systems and social inclusion.³¹ The aspect of social inclusion is reinforced by the participation as the actors know not only that they are able to utilize the common symbolic language of ritual, but that those also interacting in the process can engage with the language. Conversely, it should not be forgotten that if one did not know how to engage with a particular ritual, or was physically restricted from participating, the act of ritual becomes exclusive rather than inclusive, separating a portion of the population from the rest in and through the restriction of symbolic language.

There is an essential quality of normalization involved in the persisting existence of physical structures as well as social and mental structures. In the construction of mental structures, much like physical ones, there is a separation of space, creating liminal boundaries of inside and outside. Liverani wrote on the city as the centre of the world (in reference to the city as a mnemonic entity),³² but for research into liminal space, the analogy can be extended to any structure. In boundary creation, the location or instance of memory thus becomes the centre of the memory creation. Ma emphasizes that monuments create and re-create collective identity. This identity is formed by the construction of memory.³³ This is an important point to focus on. Much like in modern society, how statues (for example) can function as exemplars of a civic identity, notably by transforming a human into a monument of memory through the monumentalization of their form. Sometimes this is accomplished through benefaction as well

³⁰ Michael Suk-Young Chwe, *Rational Ritual*, (Princeton University Press, 2013), 3.

³¹ Suk-Young Chwe, *Rational Ritual*, 4.

³² Mario Liverani, *Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts*, (Pontificium Institutum Biblicum 1973), 189-190

³³ Ma, *City As Memory*, 250.

which is a physical expression of wealth for mutual benefit to the community and the benefactor³⁴, as seen in modern buildings that express the names of donors. As expressed in the form of *euergetism*, there is a clear connection of the benefactor to the building erected.

This connection to the human element is an important aspect to remember even in the case of temple structures. A polis' normal functioning was tied to both a set of laws and specific civic structures within which typical activities were carried out by a citizen body.³⁵ These activities are clear examples of performative actions reinforcing a social identity. In the case of Greek identity, the gymnasium was a space where tangible physical actions were carried out, reinforcing a Greek identity and even reinforcing a use of the building as a normalized process of civic life.³⁶ Temple structures, however, would be actively reinforced and naturalized through ritual action, and the mental reinforcement would take place through the monumentality of the structure/ritual loci. This monumentality of religious structure is lent credence not simply because of the royal benefaction, their size, or the actions which take place within them, but also because of their physical persistence through time as locations of civic identity. I have emphasized the character of ritual as an active process, but must still engage with the activity of mental monuments.

I will be taking a point of view similar to Ma regarding memory, namely that it is an active agent in identity creation. To re-emphasize the point of Hillier and Hanson, buildings can take an active role in this creation,³⁷ and for this to be possible, buildings must take an active agency in the creation of mental ordering. As such the emphasis in memory analysis will inevitable focus on those elements where activity can take place, where visualization occurs, and where specific material remains indicate ritual connotations or identity connections. The analysis itself will thus take into account those materials or associated locations which can be identified as having a high potential for ritual activities. The resulting behaviors associated with the ritual locations can be discussed as areas of potential social delineation in and through the active process of ritual liminality. Thus the analysis of liminality (in this case related to the division of actions within sacred space) can attempt to link behavioural patterning to a concrete material culture and further, emphasize a basic liminality between the potential populations or focal communities which could have engaged with those patterns.

³⁴ Gregg Grabner, *Jewish Leadership and Hellenistic Civic Benefaction in the Second Century BCE*, (Journal of Biblical Literature, 2007), 328.

³⁵ Nigel M. Kennell, *New Light on 2 Maccabees 4:7-15*, (Journal of Jewish Studies, 2005), 14-15

³⁶ An example of this can be seen in 2 Maccabees 4: 7-15.

³⁷ Hillier, Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*, 1-2.

Chapter Three- Research Catalogue:

3.1 Dura-Europos:

3.1.1 “Temple of Artemis-Nanaia”:

Structural Components

-Size/Surface Area: Original source material does not specifically state what the size of the earlier temple may have been. This could be due to the extremely fragmentary nature of the structure in the periods associated with the construction of 40-32 BCE and prior. What can be extracted, based on scale though, is that the temple structure erected before the “Roman temple” (which replaced it in 40-32 BCE) seems to have been roughly 20 metres by 15 metres, while the *temenos* area itself would have been around 40 metres to a side based on assumptions of a regular street plan.³⁸ Given the estimated dimensions of the temple, it is difficult to estimate a surface area of the early structure, though the Roman temple would have been 300 m² according to the measurements.

-Shape and Orientation: Based on the relative measurements of the temple structure and the associated diagrams, the temple would have been rectangular in shape. Unfortunately there are no diagrams or references of an absolute direction associated with the older temple. What we do have are the relative building directions. As such, the earliest structure can be described as facing “Building north” and this is confirmed in Downey’s overview of the structure where she mentions the earliest temple structure lying on a north to south axis³⁹ (the Dura reports make mention that the second phase extends southward making use of the previous columns in construction.)⁴⁰ This is based on the reconstruction which interprets the two column drums lying to the east of the columns bases found in situ as features of a *pronaos*.⁴¹

-Building Material: The temple structure was for the most part constructed by stone as seen in the remaining walls and columns. The rubble of the walls also contained portions of

³⁸ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78-79. See: M.I. Rostoftzeff et al. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, (Yale University Press, 1936), 397-415. Note: This section contains meticulous measurement of various facets of the temple structure including measurements of columns and wall thickness, and yet does not provide specifics as to the actual structure's dimensions.

³⁹ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78

⁴⁰ Rostoftzeff et al., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, 408.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 408.

gypsum and mud.⁴²

-Walls: The walls of the temple structure seem to have measured .60-.75 metres in width and it is argued by Brown that this would have been too thin to support a large superstructure, indicating that the temple may have been constructed as a *peribolos* open to the air with a monumental *propylon* supported by the columns.⁴³ Once again the fragmentary nature of what we do have from the earliest two forms of the temple should be remembered (See figs 1, 2).

-Platform/*Crepis* There is no apparent evidence of a platform in the earliest phases of construction in the Temple of Artemis-Nanaia.

-*Cellae/naoi*: Due to the fragmentary nature of the earlier temple structures, it becomes difficult to say anything definitive regarding a *cella/naos*' shape, size, or orientation as these are based on reconstructions. Following the outline of the reconstruction however the *naos* would have been within the original *peristyle* surrounding all four sides and connected to the *pronaos* by one central entrance that sat in between the two column drum altars.⁴⁴

-Steps/Entrance: The entrance to the temple would have consisted of an open colonnade in both the first and the second phases of building. There would have been a probable back room such as a *naos/cella* which would have been accessible through the *peristyle*.⁴⁵ There is no definitive evidence for steps or a *crepis* leading up to the temple's *stylobate*.

-Description and Images of Structure: The original temple structure has been reconstructed as a rectangular structure oriented in a north/south direction which would have had a vestibule to the south of it and included structures to the east and west of it. The second phase of construction is a proposed reconstruction by Brown based on the remains of wall debris, four column bases, and two column drums which are named the two altars of the temple. The proposed second phase was in the form of a *naisikos* meaning it was surrounded on all sides by a colonnade, would have had a small *pronaos* on the *peristyle*. The two column drum altars were situated equidistant from each other in its inner courtyard construction. The second phase of construction is assumed to have had a *naos* placed within the rectangular colonnade. This construction of the second phase temple evidently was unfinished by the time it was torn down in 40-32 BCE and replaced by a new construction, the temple structure associated with the Roman

⁴² Ibid., 409.

⁴³ Ibid., 409. Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78

⁴⁴ Ibid., 408.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 409. Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78 (note: images of temple structure)

occupation of Dura-Europos.⁴⁶

Sacred Space Differentiators

-Altar: There is evidence for an altar in the original construction of the temple of Artemis which was located in the centre of a segmented section of the temple structure's south end. The second phase of construction (ending in 40-32 BCE) evidently had two altars, the noted column drums which appear in front of the proposed *naos/cella*.⁴⁷ These two altars are assumed to be associated with Artemis and Apollo.⁴⁸ The initial reconstruction of the temple's second phase by Brown (see fig 2)⁴⁹ identifies the column altars as the two rectangular shapes darkened near the centre of the centre of the image. The proposed *naos* is the semi-closed rectangle above the columns.

-Temenos/District: Excavation of the *temenos* in relation to the temple of Artemis is particularly problematic given the nature of the site. The areas of excavation in Dura-Europos have degraded significantly since they were first opened.⁵⁰ Specifically in regards to the temple of Artemis, the difficulties in reconstruction can be explained partially by the manner of excavation (note that the temple the excavators were concerned with for the most part ends at the columns and intersecting walls), but more to the point the blocks H4 and the connecting H2 were the site of frequent reconstruction and were the site of domestic structures in later phases of the site.⁵¹ This left the Hellenistic material in a very fragmented state.

Civic Space and Environs

-Foundation Dates: The first foundation of the temple of Artemis is assumed to be around the same time as the city's first settlers. This would put the foundation phase around the year 300

⁴⁶ Ibid., 408-409. Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78. Note, overall the description of the earlier phases of construction in the temple of Artemis are extremely convoluted and do not describe what may have been the construction in great detail. The temple structures are based largely off of reconstructions (and perhaps assumptions), and great care should be taken when using the phases of Seleukid dates as comparative structures.

⁴⁷ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78.

⁴⁸ It should come under consideration why these two column drums are described immediately as altars. Connected to this issue, it should also be questioned why these two "altars" are immediately associated with the sibling gods when there is a lack of epigraphic or otherwise material confirmation.

⁴⁹ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 79 (fig. 31).

⁵⁰ Rostoftzeff et al. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, 410; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78-79.

⁵¹ Ultimate culpability should not be placed on the excavators however given the complex nature of the area. Given that the *temenos* area was later occupied by domestic structures, it is possible that archaeological evidence from the Seleukid period may be intact underneath housing foundations but at the moment such connections are quite problematic.

BCE.⁵²

-Building Phases: The first two building phases of the temple of Artemis are associated with the Seleukid foundation and occupation of the city of Dura-Europos beginning ca. 300 BCE. The second construction phase seems to have been short lived and later phases were initiated after the Seleukid hegemony in the area had ended.

-Destruction Phase: Despite the distinction of two building phases in the Seleukid period, the second phase of construction seems to be extremely short lived. There is no specific time given as to the beginning of its period but it seems to have been sometime shortly before the 40-32 BCE reconstruction. The specific time period associated with tearing down of the Seleukid temple dates, as said, to 40-32 BCE and is associated with new Roman building projects in Dura-Europos.⁵³ It should be mentioned here that after the Seleukid period, the new temple which was erected in its place was said to have an "...oriental court plan typical of the Parthian Period."⁵⁴

-Accessibility: The Temple of Artemis seems to have been located one block south of the main thoroughfare in Dura running east to west. It is also located two blocks west of the interior redoubt wall of the acropolis, placing it in the lower city in the midst of various housing blocks and quite far from the southern and western edges of the city's main walls. Note that these block distinctions are based off an idealized form of the city's plan (see fig 3).

-Surroundings: Due to its location in the lower city, the temple would have been surrounded by various housing precincts, and if the delineation of the ancient agora is correct, it would have been one block away from the agora as it lay upon the main east to west thoroughfare. The structure would have been beneath the imposing redoubt and citadel.

Material Finds/Epigraphy/Cult Statue

-The destruction phase associated with the years just before the third construction of 40-32 BCE contains a layer of ash and cinders. The presence of this layer is why the second temple phase is given a *terminus ante quem* of just before the phase associated with Roman rebuilding,⁵⁵ as it seems the work was never fully completed and probably destroyed by fire.

⁵² Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78.

⁵³ Rostoftzeff et al., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, 404-409. Downey *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 79

⁵⁴ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 79. This is brought up here because we should consider to what extent we can rely on the earlier constructions of the temple given its fragmentary nature and the fact that the later temple shows such a drastically different form. This is not to say that the reconstruction is in and of itself incorrect, but it should be considered what assumptions are being brought to bear when the temple is considered to be of a "Seleukid foundation".

⁵⁵ Rostoftzeff et al., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, 410.

-The layer of stamped earth just below this phase of construction in 40-32 BCE contains pottery sherds of Hellenistic black glaze pottery and also Pergamom redware (though in a significantly smaller quantity). Later types of pottery were absent from this layer.⁵⁶

-In this layer of stamped earth there were also coins recovered which came from the reigns of Seleukos I and Antiochus I.⁵⁷

-The temple of Artemis at Dura-Europos, unfortunately, has not yielded any remains of a cult statue, and the fragmentary nature of the site prior to the Roman reconstruction of the temple building in 40-32 BCE means that it is difficult to ascertain an accurate analysis of the building's architecture. The source-work has not yet produced any more material finds relevant to the time periods associated with Seleukid rule of the city. As far as epigraphic remains are concerned, there is one important inscription which dates to 2 CE that claims Artemis and Apollo as *archegoi*, or founders; evidently a common epithet for Apollo in the Seleukid period.⁵⁸

3.1.2 “Temple of Zeus-Megistos”:

Structural Components

-Size/Surface Area: The earliest form of the Temple of Zeus was measured as 22.90 x 24.65 metres on the outside. As such, the temple structure would cover an area of 564.49 m².⁵⁹

-Shape and Orientation: Given the measurements associated with the temple structure, the form is roughly square in shape. The orientation of the temple is described as east in the excavation reports. In terms of absolute direction, however, the entrance of the temple faces much more to the north-east than to the east.⁶⁰ As such the entrance will be referred to as “Building East” with the understanding that this is in reference to a north-east orientation.

-Building Material: The walls of the temple are stated to have ashlar foundations. Unfortunately, there are several building materials used in the construction of the temple's superstructure and there is no clear identification by excavators of what material is where in a systematic way. Materials however include stone, plaster, and gypsum rubble.⁶¹ Evidently, Brown also posited that the roof must have been constructed with timber though there is no

⁵⁶ Ibid., 410. See: (Cf. Rep. II, pp. 37-39)

⁵⁷ Ibid., 410. See: 9Cf. Rep. III, pp. 19-22)

⁵⁸ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78-79.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 79.

⁶⁰ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos*, 1994, 242.

⁶¹ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos* (1997), 115.

physical evidence of this.⁶² We are unfortunately not told what sort of stone is used in the construction of the temple though we might imagine limestone in the case of Dura-Europos. The area between the altars and the temple facade revealed paving made of gypsum, beaten mudbrick and plaster in various forms and qualities.⁶³

-Walls: There does not seem to be any systematic measuring of the walls used in the construction of the temple of Zeus-Megistos at Dura-Europos. We can at least gain an idea of how thick the walls might have been in the temple given a statement by Brown when describing the front wall of the *naos* in temple. He states that the wall is wider than the other foundations in the temple structure and was measured at .352 metres. We then have an approximation of the thickest wall used for interior (and only interior) construction.⁶⁴ A specific measurement for the north-south *naos* wall (later labelled wall A as part of the earliest construction phase) was measured by Downey to a width of 3 metres.⁶⁵

The original structure's exterior walls were incorporated in the enlargement of the temple's second phase. Namely the foundations of these walls acted as the base for newly constructed walls of the later period.⁶⁶ In this way the north and east sections of the original structure served as the exterior of the later phase, while the south wall functioned as a differentiating wall, separating the main court from the rest of the enlarged structure. This can be seen in fig 6 where the gypsum blocks indicate a division between the courtyard of room 13 from that of room 21.⁶⁷ The western boundary is somewhat less easy to discern as the later building phases resulted in a series of rooms running in an off-parallel pattern to the original plan (namely 4, 3, 10/10', 15).⁶⁸

The eastern walls from the original three *naoi* were originally reused as the foundation of the new eastern facade of period two's *naos/pronaos* unit. The north-western corner of the second *naos* is somewhat more confusing as there appears to be a reused door lintel of the gypsum cut blocks which protrudes from the foundations. This lintel did not bond with the *naos* wall and as such may have been added later.⁶⁹

-Platform/*Crepis*: Elements of isometric gypsum blocks were found corresponding to

⁶² Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 82-83.

⁶³ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, 1994*, 243-245.

⁶⁴ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 79.

⁶⁵ Downey, *New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos*, 186.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 170, 179.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 170, 179.

⁶⁹ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos (1997)*, 112.

what was depicted in Brown's drawing titled "Earliest Plan of The Temple Of Zeus Megistos". These blocks were found *in situ* and in some cases acted as foundations for later walls, while in others they were just covered for later construction phases.⁷⁰

-*Cellae/naoi*: The original construction of the temple seems to have incorporated a tripartite division of the rear *naoi* (note: on the western side of the structure). These three *naoi* are evident from the remains of their original foundation stones which remain *in situ* despite the later renovations of the structure and its area. It can be seen in fig 6 that the south wall of room 18 (of the last building phase) was also the wall which ran east to west through the central and northern *naoi* of the Hellenistic structure. The later rooms which correspond to the Hellenistic *naoi* (S to N) are shown in fig. 5, and are 11/16, 13', 18 respectively.⁷¹ The excavation which took place in 1992 worked, in part, along the walls preserved in the court 13' and the stratigraphy in this area created a very complex picture of re-use, reconstruction, and preservation. Much of the original area of 13' had been cleared to bedrock by the Yale teams in the 30's, but a section of fill remained against the north wall of the period five rooms 11, and 16 running east to west. A drawing of this patch of deposit is shown in figure 8 (see top image).⁷² The stratigraphy shown in this patch of fill problematizes, particularly, wall A (note: the north to south interior wall separating the 'original' *naoi* from the interior courtyard) because of a red earth layer. This layer was found to contain bits of ash and stone and runs across the length of the *pronaos* wall (the north wall of rooms 11/16 of phase five), however, wall A which is thought to be of the earliest construction seems to have two blocks which rest upon this surface (with one seemingly cut to fit this adjustment). This is expressed in figure 8 (see bottom image, but it is hard to see where this intersection happens exactly. The result can be seen in figure 8 (see top image again), although from this view we cannot see exactly where or if the red earth layer runs underneath the gypsum blocks of wall A.⁷³ The ash layer with bits of charcoal surrounds this gypsum block and the packed red earth tapers off sharply, although, an assumed extrapolation would presumably place its end point underneath the foundation stones of wall A. This question will be re-attended in the deconstruction phase of this research.

In the reconstruction of the second period, the radical change of the temple area saw the construction of only one *naos* attached to a *pronaos* in a free-standing structure located at the

⁷⁰ Downey, *New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos*, 179.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 186.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 185, 186.

rear of a large courtyard. This area evidently remained as the principal area of sacrality throughout the life of the temple, and this is reinforced by its continued use in period five despite the major change of entrance introduced by the corridor of room 19 which opened the structure to the south rather than east.⁷⁴

-Steps/Entrance: Original reconstruction drawings made by Brown indicate that the entrances to the three *naoi* of the structure's western side were all arched and open. This conclusion has since been called into question with the excavations of Downey. Part of Brown's hypothesis rested on the central wall's width. New measurements by Downey, however, indicate that the wall was roughly 80 cm longer than was first indicated by Brown, and furthermore that the north and south ends of the central wall were in fact missing. These recent discoveries make conclusion of arched entrances somewhat more problematic.⁷⁵

-Description and Images of Structure: The initial construction phase of the Temple of Zeus Megistos was reconstructed by Brown and his team as a square form temple with a Doric *propylon* at the entrance of the structure which opened up to a courtyard overlooked by a tri-*naoi* division at the back of the structure. In the centre of the courtyard was a raised altar platform. This can be seen in fig 5 which was claimed to express a link between various Greek and Near Eastern forms.⁷⁶

Sacred Space Differentiators

-Altar: In the second phase of construction there were two altars indicated in reconstructions. The first altar was placed at the rear of the *naos* in room 16. This altar unfortunately could not be confirmed by the excavations of 1992.⁷⁷ There was a major addition to the sacred space identified by room 17, however this architectural element has been identified with the third building phase of the Temple of Zeus Megistos and seems to match structurally to temples of Roman and Parthian Dura-Europos such as the temple of Bel and Aphlad.⁷⁸ There is no expressed evidence for the central altar of the first construction phase.

-Temenos/District: The temple area underwent radical changes in space and utilization, and while some of these changes can be dated to the fifth (and last) construction phase, other elements like a series of houses (later attached to the southern wall of room 13), are yet to be

⁷⁴ Ibid., 179. Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos* (1997), 111-112

⁷⁵ Ibid., 187.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 168.

⁷⁷ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos* (1997), 111.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 113.

excavated in great detail. It was in this fifth phase as well that the entrance to the previously designated sacred space was changed radically with the addition of the corridor 19. This moved the main entrance of the structure from the east to the south.⁷⁹

In 1994 excavations included probing the area to the east of the original temple structure. The excavation revealed some important revelations during the clearing of the north-south road lying to the east of the original temple structure. Importantly there is a difference in how the various parts of this roadway were discovered. The outer edge of the original temple structure consists of gypsum slabs which run atop a layer of grey earth which contained some bits of sherds and plaster. Beneath this was discovered a hard packed surface which is what the Yale teams originally described as paving. Downey asserts that the presence of this grey earth shows there was a period between when the pavement was laid and when the temple was constructed. This is pressed further to argue that the temple was in fact not the first structure in that location.⁸⁰

Civic Space and Environs

-Foundation Dates: Initial estimates by Brown placed the first construction phase somewhere in the first quarter of the second century BCE.⁸¹ The excavations of 1994 however have brought the Hellenistic date of construction into question regarding the Temple of Zeus. The reasoning behind this is associated with the layer of grey soil which underlies the eastern wall of the phase one temple. The grey soil itself rests on a layer of pounded earth associated with a previously used roadway and has been identified as concurrent with a phase of paving in the direct area. Furthermore, the phase of the interior associated previously with the original construction seems to show reuse, recutting, and repairs in the walls which allowed it to fit over the hard packed soil layer.⁸² Downey asserts with this information that not only is the temple not the first structure which was erected in this location, but also that the Hellenistic dating of the structure itself is now brought into question.⁸³ Publications released by Pierre Leriche and Downey after the excavation reports of the site have further called into question the initial nature of the settlement. Specifically, Downey suggests that the grid plan of the city, the exterior fortifications, and both temple structures were constructed in the second century BCE at the time of Roman occupation of the site while the initial Seleukid foundations were very limited in their

⁷⁹ Downey, *New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos*, 192-193.

⁸⁰ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, 1994*, 245-247.

⁸¹ Downey, *New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos*, 168.

⁸² Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, 1994*, 249.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 249-250.

scope.⁸⁴ The implications of this position will be discussed in chapter four.

-Building Phases: Brown's excavations initially revealed what was thought to be five distinct building phases in the construction of the temple.⁸⁵ The second construction phase of the temple structure was dated to sometime around the first century BCE which was chronologically linked to a similar transformation which occurred at the temple of Artemis Nanaia. It was in this phase that the structure was evidently enlarged and changed into a “Babylonian type” of temple, namely a court style temple.⁸⁶ The second building phase asserted by Brown is shown in figure 6 which is representative of a drastic change to the overall structure and area. Notably the *trinaoi* / interior courtyard structure was rebuilt as an open courtyard with attached structures on the north and south walls. Within the open courtyard there was a freestanding structure containing a new *naos* and *pronaos* identified by rooms 16 and 11 respectively⁸⁷. Furthermore, it is stated that the reconstruction which occurred in period two was one which included a reuse of the old temple's walls. In this way the northern, western, and eastern walls which demarcated the extent of the old temple structure now indicated the limits of the *naos* structure and its ancillary buildings.⁸⁸ The further three phases of construction occurred well into the Roman and Parthian periods of Dura-Europos and will not be discussed in this investigation.

-Destruction Phase: The site of Dura-Europos is understood to have been abandoned ca. 256 CE after its sack by the Sasanian Empire.⁸⁹ The site was conquered by the Parthians substantially earlier, however, near the end of the second century BCE, removing Seleukid power over the centre permanently.

-Accessibility: The temple of Zeus Megistos was located on the edge of the upper city, within the redoubt walls of the acropolis and connected to the administrative/palatial structure. The location is inevitably more restrictive than other public structures within the civic space which were located in the lower city, not just because of the potential for restriction based on the elaborate fortifications, but also the natural incline involved in the topography making it less accessible.

-Surroundings: This temple structure was located in the upper city near the redoubt wall

⁸⁴ Downey, *Terracotta Figurines and Plaques from Dura-Europos*, (University of Michigan, 2003), 5; Cf. Downey, *The Transformation of Seleucid Dura-Europos* (Portsmouth, 2000); Leriche, *Matériaux Pour Une Réflexion Renouvelée Sur Les Sanctuaires De Doura-Europos*, (Topoi, 1997).

⁸⁵ Downey, *New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos*, 168.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁸⁷ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos* (1997), 108-111.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁸⁹ J.A. Baird, *Dura Deserta: The Death and Afterlife of Dura-Europos*, (Ashgate, 2012), 307.

and beside the administrative centre of the colony. No doubt it would have been imposing being on a cliff face above the majority of the city. One would have to wonder though how much one could see from the temple itself given that the redoubt and citadel walls would have obscured much of the view. Given that the temple faced in a north-east direction as well this would leave the entrance pointing towards the Euphrates with the back facade of the temple structure pointed towards the wadi opposite the river.

Material Finds/Epigraphy/Cult Statue

- There does not appear to be any material excavated at the temple site related to the Hellenistic period apart from the stones and gypsum related to the initial building construction. This conclusion has been reached based on a collection of published materials regarding the temple.⁹⁰ There has been material recovered from the later Roman and Parthian phases of the structure, however, there does not appear to be material recorded yet from the phases associated with Seleukid rule.

3.2 Aï-Khanoum:

3.2.1 "Temple á redans" (Temple à niches Indentées):

Structural Components

-Size/Surface Area: Building phase V had unique, though roughly similar, lengths to each of the exterior walls of the temple structure. The north side measures: 24.5, the south: 24.4, the east: 23.8, and finally the west: 23.5 m respectively.⁹¹ This of course gives the structure an approximately square shape and a total surface area of 578.23 m². Building phase IV, as well as later the phases, actually had a smaller exterior length with the north side measuring 22.4, the south 22.6, the east 21.7, and the west at 21.75 m.⁹² These lengths maintain the previously square character to the structure but change the surface area making it 488.81 m².

-Shape and Orientation: Given the measurements of the temple structure, the Temple á redans could be described as square in shape. With regards to orientation of the structure, it is

⁹⁰ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture; New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos; Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, 1994 ; Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos* (1997).

⁹¹ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture* 66. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 414-425).

⁹² *Ibid.*, 68.(See. Bernard, CRAI (1969), 327-34; idem, CRAI (1971), 425-27, figs. 17, 18, 22-24

generally described as facing east in the scholarly documentation with the east facade⁹³ containing the entrance and a set of steps leading from the *temenos* area up to that entrance. To be precise, however, the entrance of the building actually faces to the south east. It should also be noted then that the entrance faces away from the Oxus River (with the south facade running parallel to the Kokcha), and thus the entrance of the structure opens up not only to a main “north-south” thoroughfare which leads to the city's main entrance, but also to the height of the upper city.

-Building Material: The majority of the construction was made up of baked and unbaked mudbrick. The baked mudbrick specifically seems to have composed a double cornice as well as an apparent revetment which was set on the lower six steps of the structure (the latter of which were set in a lime mortar).⁹⁴ It is also proposed that the mudbrick walls of the structure were supported by a framework of wooden beams.⁹⁵ The platform associated with the phase V temple construction however seems to have been composed of pebbles.⁹⁶ The steps of phases IV and II were constructed out of stone alongside the mudbrick used in the revetment.⁹⁷

-Walls: The walls of the structure were extremely thick, measuring 2.8 m.⁹⁸ These specific walls in question would be associated with phase IV of construction where the studied superstructure was placed upon the *crepis* of the previous structure termed phase V. The general structure of these walls (namely their thickness, orientation and design) does not seem to have changed in the later phases of occupation (note, phases III and II), with the interior and exterior changing around them. The walls of phase V however have been measured at 5.57 m on the north and west sides and 6 m on the east side.⁹⁹ It is also interesting to note that the walls associated with phase V seem to have been smooth on the exterior while those of phase IV were constructed with evenly spaced niches and recesses, a total of fourteen in all. The niches were spread out with four along the north, west, and south walls with one on each side of the entrance on the eastern facade. Each of these niches had triple indentations on their side, making it a gradual and stepped progression rather than a square cut indentation.¹⁰⁰ These niches typify the structure though and gave rise to the name, “Temple à niches Indentées”, which is also used in

⁹³ Ibid., 66 (fig. 20).

⁹⁴ Ibid., 68. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1969), 327-34; idem, CRAI (1971), 425-27, figs. 17, 18, 22-24

⁹⁵ Ibid., 68. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1969), 327-34; idem, CRAI (1971), 425-27, figs. 17, 18, 22-24

⁹⁶ Ibid., 65.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 69. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 426)

⁹⁸ Ibid., 68. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1969), 327-34; idem, CRAI (1971), 425-27, figs. 17, 18, 22-24

⁹⁹ Ibid., 66. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 414-425).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 68. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1969), 327-34; idem, CRAI (1971), 425-27, figs. 17, 18, 22-24

studies of Ai-Khanoum.

-Platform/*Crepis*: The initial platform of the temple structure is associated with phase V and is described as a terrace of 1.2 m in height.¹⁰¹ Phase IV evidently saw this change into a three stepped *crepis* and these steps were whitewashed. It is upon this *crepis* that several small bases appeared in the record and will be mentioned here rather than in the material finds due to their size and placement. There were six bases of unbaked brick on the upper step. One was found on the western facade, three on the south (one in front of each of the corner recesses in the walls and one in between the two centred recesses), and additionally two on the north side (one located at the western end of this wall and the second located between the two eastern recesses). These platforms were 30 cm in height and the sides were 40-60 cm. These measurements formed the bases into the shape of a truncated pyramid. Additionally, the most completely preserved base (in the middle of the south wall) had a depression for ashes.¹⁰² Discussion of the temple usually refers to these as altars due to the presence this depression and it is worthwhile to keep that in mind as one analyses the ritual locations of the temple. The last construction phase of the Temple *à redans* (phase II) is typified by a large platform that completely covered the old structure's base and evidently saw the construction of a new set of steps as well. This last platform showed much wear as well as many rebuilds which could imply that phase II was a fairly long period of use. This last platform evidently had a baked mudbrick cornice to go along with the superstructure's.¹⁰³

-*Cellae/naoi*: The *naos* construction of the Temple *à redans* is apparent with the erection of the phase IV superstructure. This *naos* was square in nature and connected both to the *pronaos* by a large corridor, and also to two flanking rooms on the north and south which themselves are rectangular and substantially smaller. This *naos* had within it, a constructed bench associated with phase IV against the back (note: western) wall, which was .75 m. in height and 1.07 m. in width.¹⁰⁴ The depth of this bench is not mentioned, however, it was rectangular in nature. During phase II, a larger bench was built over-top of the original, making it .8 m. high and 1.4 m. deep (thus we can assume that the bench associated with phase IV is some measure less than 1.4 m. deep). Additionally, within the centre was cut a large cavity, presumably for something large and heavy like a cult statue. This cavity was reinforced with mortar and pebbles. Near the southwest

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 65. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 414-425.)

¹⁰² Ibid., 69. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 426-29)

¹⁰³ Ibid., 69. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 426)

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 69. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 426)

of this cavity there was dug a smaller cavity as well.¹⁰⁵ The *naos* was likely decorated with fabric and wood as well as a number of furniture pieces, plaques, and other small objects of ivory or gold.¹⁰⁶

-Steps/Entrance: There is evidence of three different step constructions. Phase V is assumed to have had steps because of the relative height difference of approximately a metre between the exterior ground and the beaten earth floors of the *naos* and *pronaos*.¹⁰⁷ Phase IV has steps which rose 1.7 m. to the level of the interior courtyard. This consisted of ten sets of steps with the lower six being set in lime mortar in a creation of a baked brick revetment. The width of the stairs was 5 m. wide and the actual entrance to the structure was 3.6 m. wide with evidence of material which would have facilitated a closing doorway.¹⁰⁸ Phase II saw a reconstruction of the access to the temple structure with a rebuilding of the platform. The stone steps used in phase IV were reused in this period.¹⁰⁹

-Description and Images of Structure: Phase V is the so-called predecessor to the Temple *à redans*. This phase rested upon a series of steps leading up to a platform composed of pebbles rising just over one metre in height. Within the bounds of this platform were found two rectangular areas of beaten earth corresponding to the *naos* and *pronaos* of the later phase IV.¹¹⁰ It is in phase IV that we see the superstructure erected and placed upon the previous platform. The evenly spaced niches in the walls, those which give the temple its second name of “the Temple with Indented Niches”, were constructed and the interior took shape during this phase as well. There was a large interior *pronaos*, remaining rectangular in shape, with a small connecting space that is referred to as the temple's *naos*. This back room now appears to be quite square but is also connected to two side rooms sometimes designated as sacristies in the reports, which were themselves rectangular and did not connect to the *pronaos*. This phase of construction extended the previous steps from phase V further past the presumed original steps (considered to have been necessary given the height of the beaten earth corresponding to the phase), as well as extending inwards to the new height of the interior space.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 71. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 429)

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 71; Francfort, *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum III*, (Delegation archéologique française en Afghanistan, 1984), 32-34, 107-111.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 66. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 414-25)

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 68. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 425-27)

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 69 (See. Bernard, CRAI (1969), 346-49)

¹¹⁰ See fig. 19 in Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 66.(See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 414-425)

¹¹¹ Ibid., 65-68. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1971), 414-425, 429f.)

Sacred Space Differentiators

-Altar: Six platform objects were found around the top *crepis* of phase IV of the temple structure, however there was only one altar type piece within the structure which was found in the centre of the *naos*. This altar was made of unbaked bricks and formed a cube being .6 metres on its sides and .6 metres in height. The top of this altar showed traces of ashes, reinforcing the idea that it was in fact used for the purpose of an altar. There was a slightly smaller and earlier altar contained within this one and it measured .4 metres on its sides.¹¹²

-Temenos/District: Potentially, the area termed Phase VI represented an area of sacred space previously associated with the site, while phase V represented the first construction on the location itself. The temple structure was set in a precinct which measured approximately 60 metres to a side. The area around the temple is sometimes referred to in the scholarship as the courtyard; however, care should be taken as this is also used to describe the *pronaos* of phases IV-II.¹¹³ It is also clear that the mentioned precinct corresponds with the location which is later described as the sanctuary.¹¹⁴ This is not problematic in and of itself, save that the reduplication of terminology leads to easy confusion. For simplification, this area surrounding the temple will be called the “Temple Area” or *temenos*, while the building itself will be called either the “Temple Structure”, or by the name given to the structure, the Temple *à redans*. Much like on the top *crepis* of the temple structure in phase IV, in this temple area there were found several bases of unbaked brick which have been posited as either altars or as offering tables.¹¹⁵ There was one set against the north-east corner of the building measuring about 4.0 metres long and 1.1 metres wide on the north side, and 1.6 metres long and 0.5 metres wide on the east. There were potentially two steps associated with this base but these may have disappeared with a subsequent removal of the base's top. Three parallel bases were found on the east facade approximately 4 metres from the south east corner. These measured 1x1, 1x.95, .9x1.15, and were all .4 metres in height. There was also a fourth base north of this row, found 7 metres north of the east facade and it measured .7x.5 metres.¹¹⁶

This temple area has VII definitive stratigraphic layers (I being the topsoil and VII being virgin soil), however it must be noted that these phases do not correspond to the associated temple structure phases of I through VI. Thus, temple structure phase IV does not necessarily

¹¹² Ibid., 67. (See: Bernard, CRAI (1971), 414-25, figs. 18-21.)

¹¹³ Ibid., 71. (See: Bernard, CRAI (1974), 295-298)

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 72

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 69. (see: Bernard, CRAI (1971), 427-429)

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 69.(see: Bernard, CRAI (1971), 427-429)

mean the same occupation as temple area IV.¹¹⁷ There is evidence that in the first phase of the temple area, there was a small rectangular “chapel” which was erected in the south, measuring 7.6x5 metres. This space had a small *naos* and a vestibule with two wooden columns which, evidently, were of an Achaemenid type termed “Plinth and Torus”.¹¹⁸ At a much later time this chapel was moved to the northern side and the construction became the shape of a 'T' with the vestibule being the wider area connected to the elongated *naos*.¹¹⁹ Within the greater temple area there was an interior portico which mixed types of column bases. The south side revealed a portico of four columns which had two anta type “Greek” bases and one base of the Plinth and Torus type (this was probably reused). There was also a portico on the southern enclosure wall, which was probably added at a later date, that used columns once again of the plinth and torus type. A final feature of the temple area was an open water channel on the south side which ran east to west.¹²⁰

Civic Space and Environs

-Foundation Dates: The designated sacred area associated with Phase VI, does not seem to have been founded before the reign of Antiochus I. This is based on numismatic evidence recovered from the site. Note the foundation of the site itself seems to correspond to the early third century BCE as no buildings can be dated to before this time, supporting a foundation under the Seleukid founder, Seleukos.¹²¹

-Building Phases: The erection of a building on the temple area began with the structure associated with Phase V of the temple structure, with the *Temple á redans* being built upon its foundations and being associated with the building phase IV. The structure associated with Phase V potentially dates to the beginning of the third century BCE or the last quarter of the fourth century.¹²²

-Destruction Phase: Phase II of the temple structure seems to mark its end as a sacred space, as the presence of storage jars and new mortars seems to imply that the area was inhabited by squatters sometime before the building was finally destroyed by fire. This is based on an assumption of a double-sacking of the temple, first by those who inhabited the area post-Greek

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 72.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 72. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 295-298)

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 72. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 295-298)

¹²⁰ Ibid., 72-73. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 298)

¹²¹ Ibid., 63.

¹²² Ibid., 63-65.

occupation, and secondly during the final destruction of the city (ca. 147-145 BCE).¹²³

-Accessibility: This temple structure/area was located on the main thoroughfare of the city, leading to the main gates north of the structure. The space was within the exterior walls of the city but was still in the lower city and thus not in the more secure interior redoubt of the upper city. The temple's precinct was itself walled but there is no evidence of an exterior gate.

-Surroundings: The temple structure was placed within view of two imposing areas. As the entrance opened up to the south east, those leaving the structure would have had a view of the upper city in front of them. In the opposite direction lay the Oxus River. Photographs of the area are sometimes misleading as when one views the temple from the south-east facade, they can see mountains in the background. These mountains are on the banks of the Oxus directly opposite the city's exterior walls and given their imposing height, would have undoubtedly been seen by the occupants of the civic area.

Material Finds/Epigraphy/Cult Statue

-Cult Statuary: On three bases of unbaked brick, placed beside the door into the *naos*, two small statues of clay and one of stucco were found.¹²⁴ Phase II of the temple structure contained a new bench structure, covering the old bench and making the new proportions 0.8 metres high and 1.4 metres deep with a large cavity cut out. This cavity was probably made for a seated cult statue. This proposition is supported by the material finds. Notably hand and feet fragments of marble were recovered from the *naos* area with a size implying a 2 to 3 times life size. What remained of the left hand were fingers bent around an object while only small fragments of a right hand survive. The portion of the left foot which we have is .27 metres in length with a smooth cut back, implying a possible acrolithic nature to the statue. The foot was shod in a 'Greek type' sandal, decorated with a winged thunderbolt on it. The dimensions of the *naos* also imply that the figure was seated.¹²⁵

-General material finds: Thirty two "non-Greek" libation vessels were found buried in the rear *crepis* of the temple and were thus against the exterior walls. There is also evidence of continued practice of this nature as vases also appear buried in the platform of phase II.¹²⁶

-Within the *naos* there was also furniture of wood with bronze and ivory fittings as well

¹²³ Ibid., 72. See: Francfort, (1984), 125.

¹²⁴ See: Francfort, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum III*, 32-34, 107-111, 125

¹²⁵ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 72. See: Francfort, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum III*, 32-34, 107-111, 125

¹²⁶ Ibid., 69, 71(fig. 24). See: Bernard, CRAI (1970), 327-30; (1971), 426-429.

as bronze plaques, small ivory and gold pieces, and gold leaf.¹²⁷ Although the material was discovered within the temple's *naos*, there is some doubt about their provenance as the layers were disturbed before excavation. The materials can be connected to the temple structure, but their connection directly to the central *naos* is less certain.¹²⁸

-Along the rear wall of the *naos* elements of a frieze were identified with a motif of walking lions.¹²⁹

-Numismatic Remains: Several important coins were recovered from the Temple à *Redans*. One such coin was of Seleukos I and was dated to roughly contemporaneous with his reign or slightly later. This coin was found under Phase III. A second coin associated with Diodotus II, which also dated approximately to his reign (248-235 BCE) or slightly after, was recovered from the masonry platform of Phase II.¹³⁰

3.2.2 "Temple *hors les murs*":

Structural Components

-Size/Surface Area: There were two major construction phases in the Temple *hors les murs*. The temple superstructure of the earlier phase measured 20.15 m in width and 15.8 m in length. This structure sat upon a stepped platform which itself measured 23.8 m in width and 20.8 m in length. The later temple structure measured substantially larger at 35.5 m in width and 20.5 m in length. This later superstructure similarly sat upon a larger base which measured 38.5 m in width and 26.5 m in length. Given these measurements, there are several surface areas we can extract from the numbers. The earlier structure encompassed an area of 495.04 m² based on the size of the stepped platform, while the superstructure on top would have occupied 318.37 m². Likewise the later structure would have occupied 1020.25 m² in total, with the superstructure occupying a space of 727.75 m².¹³¹

-Shape and Orientation: Based on the measurements of the temple structures, both the earlier and later phases of the "Temple *hors les murs*" were rectangular in shape (both the base platforms and superstructures). The orientation of the temple did not change in the later construction. The entrance to the structure opened to the north east in absolute terms (the wide

¹²⁷ Francfort, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum III*, 32-34, 107-111; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 72.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 32-34, 107-111; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 72

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 33-34; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 72

¹³⁰ J.-Cl. Gardin, CRAI (1975), 193-195; See: Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 72.

¹³¹ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 73. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289)

edge of the structure being that which held the entrance) and in the material is referenced as facing north (Thus this structure's building north is an absolute north-east).¹³²

-Building Material: The Temple *hors les murs* was constructed primarily of unbaked mudbrick while the roof of the later building displayed a cornice layer of baked bricks.¹³³

-Walls: The walls of the “Temple *hors les murs*” were built with rectangular recesses and projections on their exterior in the form of square cut indentations, rectangular in shape, with no intermediary steps truncating their form. These indentations appeared on all four sides of the later structure (twenty three in total), nine on the south side, four on the north (two on each side of the entrance), and five on each the east and west. The earlier structure also had indentations on the walls though there were only fourteen in total with six against the south wall and four on both the west and east sides.¹³⁴

-Platform/*Crepis*: Both the earlier and later phases of construction of the temple structure rested upon a platform. The platforms of both construction phases were the same height and both displayed a three step *crepis*. The south wall of the platform was reused in the later construction and thus this wall did not change in location though all of the other platform edges were extended given the increase in platform size of the later period. The height of both phases' platform was 1.8 m. The dimensions of the earlier platform were 23.8 x 20.8 m while the later platform measured 38.5 x 26.5 m.¹³⁵

-*Cellae/naoi*: The description of *naoi* in the “Temple *hors les murs*” rests upon the assumption that the structure, first of all is one of a religious nature, both in its earlier and later phases, and an assumed function of the rooms within that structure. Accepting both of those pretensions, the temple structure contained a tripartite *naoi* construction in both the earlier and later phases. These *naoi* ran parallel to each other on the south wall with steps leading up to each individually. In the later phase of construction the two parallel *naoi* on the east and west were connected to two smaller rooms on their outward edges, meaning that the eastern room was connected to a smaller rectangular room to its east that had no connection to any other room (and the opposite for the western *naoi*). In the later phase both the eastern and western *naoi* were square in form while the central *naoi* measured slightly rectangular. In contrast, the earlier phase's eastern room was quite square in shape while the western and central rooms appear to

¹³² Ibid., 72-75. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289)

¹³³ Ibid., 73. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

¹³⁴ Ibid., 74-75. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

¹³⁵ Ibid., 72-75. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

have been more rectangular in character. In both phases, the central *naos* was the largest, though not by a significant degree. The staircases in both the earlier and later phases connected the slightly raised rooms to the main open courtyard of the structure, the *naoi* being 0.5 m higher than the courtyard in both cases.¹³⁶

-Steps/Entrance: A set of steps existed on both building phases leading from the exterior to the level of the interior courtyard, a height of 1.8 m. In addition to this there were also three interior sets of steps in both phases of construction linking the three rooms at the rear of the structure to the interior courtyard, rising to an added height of .5 m. These steps were duplicated in the later phase of construction as heights of the interior rooms and interior courtyard did not change during the two phases.¹³⁷ Although exact measurements are not given for the width of the structure's wide entrance, drawings of the floorplans seem to indicate that the wall pieces connecting with the north-east and north-west corner of both phases only extended until they were parallel to the staircases of the rear flanking *naoi*.¹³⁸

-Description and Images of Structure: The “Temple *hors les murs*” had two distinct phases of construction. The earlier phase consisted of a much simpler overall form with one main open courtyard and three attached rooms, or the so-called tripartite *naoi* construction. The rear and side walls ran flush with the supporting platform while the front of the structure (note: building north), left a gap between where the walls ended and the platform began. The three anterior rooms were evenly spaced apart but varied in size with the centre being the largest and the two flanking rooms being of similar, albeit smaller size. The later period construction maintained an exterior reminiscent of the old structure, with the exterior walls running flush with the larger platform (save the north wall which still left a gap between where the platform began), and a large wide entrance leading into an open courtyard. The interior however shows a much more complicated interior with the addition of six new rooms to the structure. As with the earlier phase there are still three main anterior rooms which connect to the large main courtyard, while the centre *naos* was still slightly larger than its counterparts. The two flanking rooms, however, now connected to rooms that sat isolated in the south-east and south-west corners, attached to their respective *naoi* only. In addition, the final four rooms began with two side rooms situated in the north-east and north-west corners. These rooms were themselves connected to one exterior room each along their southern side. These final exterior rooms are similarly connected only to

¹³⁶ Ibid., 72-75. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

¹³⁷ Ibid., 72-74. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

¹³⁸ Ibid., 74-75. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

the rooms in the northern corners. The additional six rooms in this phase are all smaller than the main three anterior rooms which connect to the courtyard.¹³⁹

Sacred Space Differentiators

-Altar: There has not been any apparent evidence for an altar in the Temple *hors les murs*. The interior courtyard, however, is also described as a podium given that it is at the apex of the *crepis*. Bernard suggests that this podium construct is related to open air worship associated with Persian practices, a sentiment echoed by Downey, emphasizing the ‘oriental’ traditions which are present in the Temple *hors les murs* as well as the Temple *à redans*.¹⁴⁰

-Temenos//District: There has not been any intensive work done on the area surrounding the temple structure. As the name suggests, the temple was located outside the exterior walls of the city of Aï-Khanoum.

Civic Space and Environs

-Foundation Dates: Excavation of the Temple *hors les murs* has only resulted in the identification of two potential building phases, but no comprehensive theories have yet been put forth with regards to dating those phases. Recall the dates for the foundation of the settlement are ca. 329-326/ 311-303 BCE.

-Building Phases: Only a minimum of two building phases have been identified with regards to the structure. The earlier phase is identified because of its encapsulation by the larger, later structure in the same location. It is not yet possible to say when the second phase was begun within the structure though it is clear there was a marked change.

-Destruction Phase: No definitive theories have been put forth for an accurate dating of the building's abandonment and fall into disuse. Destruction dates associated with the community, however, are 147-145 BCE.

-Accessibility: The “Temple *hors les murs*” was located outside the main city walls of Aï-Khanoum and thus it becomes difficult to say what sort of restrictions there may have been save for the travel to the actual temple site itself.

-Surroundings: It is hard to say what would have been visible from this temple structure, though in all likelihood it would have been just off of the ancient road leading to the city given

¹³⁹ Ibid., 73-75. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 73-75; Bernard, CRAI (1976), 306 f; Herodotus (I.31 f.); Strabo (XV. 3. 13f.)

its location lying in a straight line from the main gate of the city. Doubtless as well, temple-goers could have seen the walls of the city and had a clear view of the city's main gate which would have been standing as a barrier on the road to the river confluence. The excavation photos also show that to the East, opposite the Oxus River was the imposing sight of mountains, standing in stark contrast to the flat plains that stretched out in an approach to the changing topography. These mountains seem to form a clear liminal space in terms of what can be seen, dividing the horizon into three parts, the sky, the mountains, and the flat outstretching plain.

Material Finds/Epigraphy/Cult Statue

-No cult objects, inscriptions, or documented material finds were recovered from the “Temple *hors les murs*.”¹⁴¹

3.3 Jebel Khalid:

3.3.1 Temple Structure (Area B):

Structural Components

-Size/Surface Area: The temple structure's north and south sides measured 10 metres while the east and west facades were 12.8 metres.¹⁴² The surface area which the structure took up was thus 128 m².

-Shape and Orientation: The temple structure at Jebel Khalid was fairly square in shape, measuring fractionally more in width than in length. The entrance to the structure faced to the east. Construction took place in very close relation to cardinal directions and as such, the ‘building east’, is very closely correspondent to an absolute east.¹⁴³

-Building Material: The courtyard of the *temenos* was made of crushed limestone which brought the area to an even level.¹⁴⁴ The specific building material of the temple structure is not described though stone is assumed as there is no differentiation mentioned between the walls and columns of the structure. In the original excavation trenches of 2000, a large amount of roof-tiles were recovered, indicating that the destruction of the temple structure occurred while the

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 73-75. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

¹⁴² Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, 122.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 122, 123.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 125.

building still had a roof.¹⁴⁵

-Walls: A number of architectural elements were discovered in the original trenches opened in 2000. Along with evidence of paving in the form of ashlar blocks placed on bedrock which itself had been levelled, there were a number of column fragments recovered including over 35 drums.¹⁴⁶ A number of the upper elements were recovered as well including cornice moulding, and Doric capitals.¹⁴⁷

-Platform/*Crepis*: Excavations along the east end of the *temenos* discovered fifteen ashlar blocks which remained *in situ* along the bedrock and against the retaining wall's western side. This functioned as a retaining wall as well, which was overlaid by the fill of the temple area's terrace. This terrace extended off the eastern facade of the temple and covered the 1.39 metres of the retaining wall's height.¹⁴⁸ The courtyard of the *temenos* was at the same level as the temple's *stylobate*.¹⁴⁹

-*Cellae/naoi*: The *naos* of Jebel Khalid's temple did not seem to undergo any structural changes through its two main building phases after the initial construction. The rear wall of the temple structure contained three rooms which all opened up onto the courtyard of the structure. The centre room was fairly square in form but measured wider than it was long. The two flanking rooms were substantially smaller than the associated central *naos* and were much longer in nature, being definitively rectangular in shape. This same tripartite division remained throughout the temple's use.¹⁵⁰

-Steps/Entrance: There was a small entrance into the temple structure which was situated behind the eastern portico.¹⁵¹

-Description and Images of Structure: The layout of the temple structure at Jebel Khalid changed very little with regards to its architecture. The western and eastern facades were constructed to incorporate shallow porticoes made of pseudo-Doric columns, creating an *amphirostyle* structure which had solid walls on its northern and southern faces. There is no evidence of decorative elements on the *metopes* or on the *pediment*, nor was there a course between the *architrave* and the *triglyphs/metopes*, divergent from standard Doric features.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ G.W. Clarke, *Jebel Khalid On The Euphrates*, (Meditarch, 2000), 125.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 123, 124.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 124. Clarke refers to the style as a debased Doric, typified by the single necking ring.

¹⁴⁸ G.W. Clarke, et al., *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, (Meditarch, 2005), 128.

¹⁴⁹ Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, 125.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 122, 123.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 122, 125.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 122.

These differences are categorized by the squat height of the columns and relative distance apart (which is greater than cannon would suggest). As well, the columns were without 20 flutes and instead were found to be faceted.¹⁵³ The interior structure was composed of an interior courtyard with three anterooms all connected to the main courtyard but not to each other. The centre anteroom (or *naos*) was the largest while the two flanking rooms were longer than they were wide as opposed to the centre room, which expressed the opposite dimensions.¹⁵⁴

Sacred Space Differentiators

-Altar: Evidence for a main altar placed it in the centre of the *temenos* forecourt, and thus to the east of the central *naos* of the temple structure. What was recovered was a large circular base which was level with the entrance to the temple. Evidently, below the platform was a drainage channel which connected to a drainage sump north of the altar, indicating possible libation activities associated with the altar area.¹⁵⁵ This altar area sat above fine grained and loose soil and there was no evidence of ash or bones. Clarke suggests that this enforces an idea of liquid offerings at the altar.¹⁵⁶

-Temenos//District: The excavations at Jebel Khalid have revealed a very clear construction and layout of a *temenos* surrounding the temple structure. The first phase of construction erected a colonnade along the north and part of the western walls which demarcated the temple area. It is unclear so far whether, or to what extent, there were colonnades along the south and east sides of the *temenos*. This western colonnade was at once very close to the western temple area (or sanctuary as it is referred to), and less than a metre from the western portico of the temple structure itself.¹⁵⁷ The site's second phase of construction also corresponded to an expansion of the *temenos* wherein new structures were created in both the south and north-east corners of the temple area. In the north-west of the *temenos*, there was a structure just off of the northern portico which was evidently able to be locked (as enforced by a key found on the threshold).¹⁵⁸ There was a third re-structuring of the *temenos* area, however, this occurred after the initial abandonment of the site and does not date until the first century BCE.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵³ Clarke, *Jebel Khalid On The Euphrates*, 125, 126.

¹⁵⁴ Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, 122, 123.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹⁵⁶ Clarke, et al., *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 131. Note: Clarke goes on here to describe a model of water sacrifice to Hadad which occurred at Hierapolis according to Lucian- Cp. Lucian, *De Syria Dea* 48.

¹⁵⁷ Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, 122.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 124-125.

Civic Space and Environs

-Foundation Dates: The foundation of Jebel Khalid can be dated to ca. 300 BCE and there has been no evidence as of yet for an occupation of the site before the Hellenistic colony.¹⁶⁰ The foundation of the temple structure was probably very early in the colony's existence given numismatic and ceramic evidence found under the initial *stylobate* foundations.¹⁶¹

-Building Phases: There are three identified building phases of the site of Jebel Khalid itself and the various phases of the temple structure are fit into the general shape of the initial mould. As such, there was a primary building phase wherein the structure's (and settlement's) foundations were laid corresponding roughly to the dates of ca. 300- 145 BCE. The second phase was indicative of a large project of renovations and restructuring, apparently indicating a prosperous period within the civic space and environs. This phase saw an expansion of the temple's *temenos* and ended around the time of intentional abandonment of the site, namely ca. 75/74 BCE. The last phase identified was one termed as “sub-Hellenistic” and corresponded to a scattered squatter occupation of the site which occurred sometime after the original abandonment. The temple was restored (the only civic space which was during this time evidently) and utilized, with the *temenos* and temple becoming heavily restructured. The dates associated with the squatter occupation, however, are correspondent with ca. 69 BCE- 1st CE.¹⁶² As such, this occupation phase is somewhat out of this study's scope and furthermore does not correspond with a period where an overarching Seleukid imperial power can be associated directly with the site in an official sense.

-Destruction Phase: The final abandonment of Jebel Khalid dates to sometime in the second quarter of the first century BCE (ca. 75/74).¹⁶³

-Accessibility: The temple area was located within the main walls of the city but still in the bounds of the lower city, notably still outside the upper redoubt walls of the acropolis. The structure was also located within a saddle separating the northern and southern halves of the city not absolutely, but relatively, through the topography. Although the *temenos* was walled, there was insufficient evidence for further restriction into the *temenos* courtyard or the temple structure

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 117.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 122.

¹⁶² Ibid., 120-123.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 118, 120.

itself. The structure in the *temenos'* north-west corner did show evidence of a locked door.¹⁶⁴

-Surroundings: The temple structure was located so that it would look out over the Euphrates in the East. It is unclear what sort of structures would have been around the temple, though there is evidence that buildings connected to the *temenos* in the north-east may have served a domestic function during the second construction phase of Jebel Khalid.¹⁶⁵

Material Finds/Epigraphy/Cult Statue

-The room occupying the north-west corner of the *temenos* associated with the second phase of construction contained a large amount of material. An important piece of evidence found was a key which was recovered from the threshold stone (indicating it could have had a locking door at its entrance). There were also many vessels recovered including jars, jugs, kraters, and other common-ware vessels which would have been used for storing liquids.¹⁶⁶

-The structure found in the south-west of the *temenos* area (also associated with the second phase of construction) revealed a large ash deposit which came to rest in uneven and successive layers filled with ceramic fragments of local and imported ware as well as unburnt bone fragments. These layers were measured to a depth of 42 cm.¹⁶⁷

-Directly to the east of the structure found in the *temenos'* south-west corner was a second deposit of ash layers which measured to a depth of 70cm but were found in uniform layers. This deposit was open to the air but was still within the walled *temenos* area. This deposit contained large animal bones which were for the most part burnt, and also small ceramic fragments. Evidently there has been no evidence for an altar that would have served for sacrifices associated with these finds, however, analysis of the bone fragments have revealed an overwhelming majority were ovicaprid.¹⁶⁸

-Fragments of marble have been recovered from the temple area, all of which are pieces of limbs and are over-life-size. Interestingly, these fragments exhibit several different scales of size and seem to indicate three different statues. There have been no torso fragments or draperies which have been recovered, and as such the statues have been theorized as acrolithic pieces. There have also been three heads recovered from the temple area, smaller-than-life in size and all

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 119, 124.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 119, 124.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 124. See: Clarke, G.W., et al. 2008, *Jebel Khalid: The 2006 season*. Meditarch 21,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 124. See: Clarke, G.W., et al. *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 119-60.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 124; Clarke, G.W. et al. 2011. *Jebel Khalid Fieldwork Report 2009-2010*. Meditarch 24, 165 (table 1). See: Clarke, G.W., et al. *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 119-60

stylistically different yet seemingly of local make. One of the heads was marble while the other two were carved of limestone.¹⁶⁹

-Underneath the terrace was found fragments of an Attic *kantharos* as well as several fragments from wheel-made lamps in trench B24's south end, directly on bedrock. These fragments were compared with Rotroff's agora dating, placing the lamp dates between 340-275 BCE. These ceramic fragments are considered the latest datable items which have been discovered in the terrace fill.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 125, 126. See: Clarke and Jackson (2002), 116-26 : 120. Clarke et al. 2003, *Jebel Khalid: the 2002 season*. Meridarch 16, 171-89:173 Clarke, G.W., et al. *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*. 5: 134. Clarke, G.W., et al. 2008. Note: The sculpture fragments are currently being studied by Clarke and Jackson for a future publication (unnamed as of yet)

¹⁷⁰ Clarke, *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 130-131. Note: The style which these lamps have been associated is that of Howland 25B.

Chapter Four- Architectural and Spatial Analysis:

The architectural and spatial analysis of the five Seleukid temple structures is divided into three connected discussions. The first focus is in the form of spatial permeability, the second is surface area, and the third is relative visual accessibility. The three topics are aspects of the sacred space in question which attempt to qualify the potential experience an observer would have undergone in the temple areas. Qualifying the potentiality of space is a first step towards a more holistic analysis of the temples. As such, the analyses present in chapters five and six will be able to draw further conclusions of human interaction on the basis of conclusions which can be drawn from the architecture of the temples and their *temenoi*.

4.1 Dura Europos: The two temple structures associated with the Hellenistic age in Dura Europos provide two distinct impressions of the architectural lineages within the civic space. The temple of Artemis-Nanaia (see fig 1), according to the original reconstructions proposed, had a very Greek-type form which is especially evident in the second phase of construction. The proposed reconstruction of the second phase, as seen in the site reports, indicated a rectangular and open form of the structure surrounded by a columnar structure supporting a common roof, also known as a *peribolos* style of temple construction.¹⁷¹ The rectangular *peribolos* temple contrasts sharply to the square and closed form which has been associated with the temple of Zeus Megistos. This square form allowed for an interior courtyard which could be roofed, or as the site reconstructions suggest in the case of Dura-Europos, left open to the air. Courtyard temples built in a square form were generally associated with a ‘Mesopotamian style’ local to the region of Dura-Europos¹⁷² rather than to the classical Greek tradition of temple layout. The two temples are representative of separate styles not only because of their shape and construction of walls/columns, but because of the drastically different internal structure of the two buildings. In the temple of Artemis the approach led to a single *naos* open to both the front and the rear of the structure, while at the temple of Zeus there was a closed courtyard with a potential *tri-naoi* construction at the rear wall. At the temple of Zeus there is also a differentiation in height given that the temple was constructed upon a *crepis* while this feature was not present at the temple of Artemis.

Research has provided a significant amount of architectural information regarding the temples of Dura-Europos, however, both temple structures unfortunately suffer from a

¹⁷¹ Rostoftzeff, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, 409.

¹⁷² Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 79.

fragmentary state of preservation, a great number of reuse periods which have obscured the Hellenistic structure forms, and a lack of original material that was found in the first excavations of the site.¹⁷³ Material that was recovered helps to indicate a strong likelihood that the temple of Artemis was constructed in the first phase of the city's existence.¹⁷⁴ In contrast, the temple of Zeus has a much more complete picture of its formation stages after the excavations of Susan Downey,¹⁷⁵ but these excavations have cast more doubt on the precise dating of the structure in general. In fact, Downey casts doubt on its presence within the Hellenistic period at all.¹⁷⁶ Taking into account the serious doubts excavators have on the precise dating of the temples within the settlements, and even their Hellenistic origins,¹⁷⁷ the structures must be considered not only as cross-regional examples, but also cross-temporal ones. This shift in temporal analysis allows for a further comparison between focal groups which may highlight a potential continuity or discontinuity of ritual practice in loci of high potential for ritual activity.

One salient fact we can point to regarding the structures is the significantly different location of erection between the two temples and the physical surroundings, both manmade and natural, which may have affected the relative accessibility of the temples. Referencing the image of the city plan (see fig 3), one can see that while the temple of Artemis existed in the lower city and was only one block displaced from the main east-west thoroughfare through the city, the temple of Zeus was in the more restrictive upper city. Furthermore, if one consults the updated plans of the temple of Zeus (See fig 6), not only was the exterior of the *temenos* already significantly restrictive to free movement, but walls erected in the later construction phases effectively sectioned off the early altars with new corridors.¹⁷⁸ Assuming a consistent *peristyle* construct of the temple of Artemis, the restricted movement within the temple of Zeus would contrast sharply with the relative openness of the columnar temple. Regarding the relative heights of the temples, however, there is still a clear difference in not only visual accessibility for the general public, but also in the monumental role that such structures could play. Specifically, because the temple of Zeus was erected at a much higher location than the temple of Artemis, the structure would in all likelihood have been significantly more visible to the populace of Dura-

¹⁷³ Rostoftzeff et al. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, 410; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 78-79.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 410. See: 9Cf. . Rep. II, pp. 37-39, Rep. III, pp. 19-22)

¹⁷⁵ See: Downey, (*New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos; Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, 1994; Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos (1997)*)

¹⁷⁶ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos, 1994*, 249-50

¹⁷⁷ Downey, *Terracotta Figurines and Plaques from Dura-Europos*, (University of Michigan, 2003), 5.

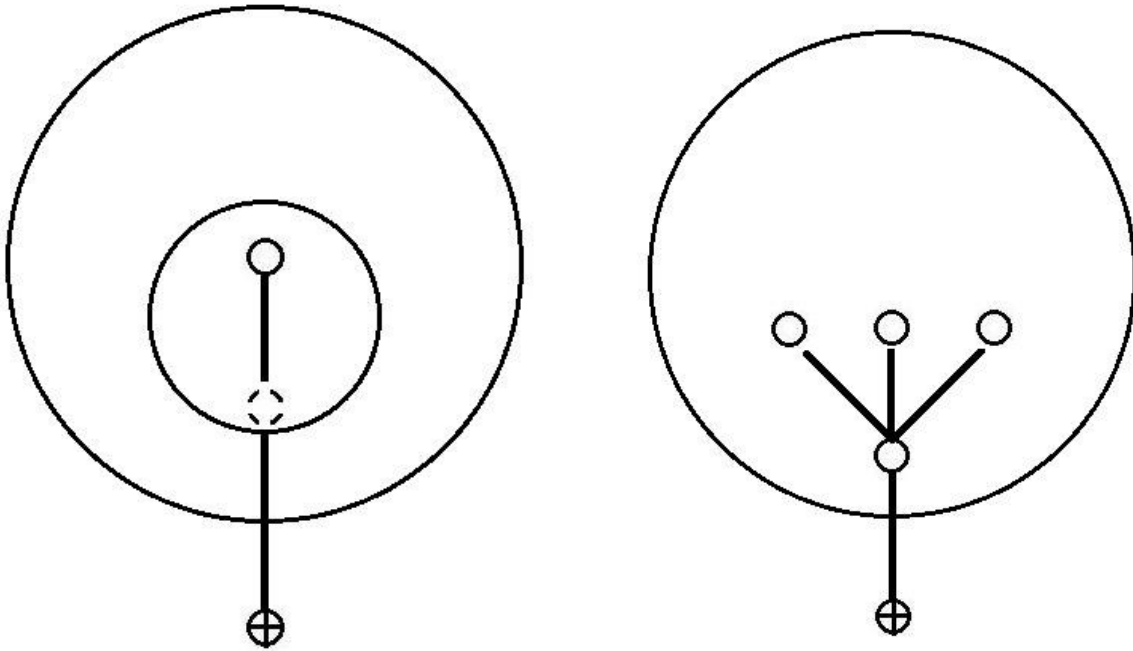
¹⁷⁸ Downey, *New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos*, 192-193.

Europos. Although relative visibility is not the only factor to consider, it is certainly an important element and seems to be indicative that the temple of Artemis would likely have had less of a symbolic impact on the civic sphere with regards to location.¹⁷⁹

Along with the comparison of the temples' relative locations, the architectural remains and associated reconstructions allow for a permeability analysis. I have constructed two permeability graphs to indicate the connectedness and inclusivity/exclusivity of the rooms within the structures based on the most complete reconstructions available. The form of the images is an adapted version of the permeability diagrams which originally appeared in Hillier and Hanson's *The Social Logic of Space*.¹⁸⁰ In my own images the exterior is indicated by a circle with a cross through it. Pathways into layers of permeability are indicated by solid lines which progress upwards. These lines can connect to several possible circular shapes. As seen in all of the temple structures, the large circular shapes which are passed through by the solid line indicate the *temenos* area of the temple. The solid line passes through this circle in order to indicate that although the area is representative of a distinct transition of permeable space, there is still a significant degree of openness in the area in question. In contrast, the solid line may also come into contact with a much smaller, and closed, circle which the line does not pass through. The smaller closed circles are indicative of interior rooms. In order to represent the much more closed nature of these locations the solid line does not pass through but must stop and start again on the other side of the circle. The third possibility which the solid line could connect to is a circle, large or small, which is not closed but rather has gaps on its four sides. These circles differentiate themselves from the closed forms in that they are representative of a partial closedness, such as a room which has several openings to the exterior, or a columnar *peristyle*. Each progressive layer vertically represents a new layer of permeability. The smaller circles laying parallel to each other represent rooms on the same layer of permeability, but the larger circles do not follow the same rules. Given that the solid vertical lines pass through the larger circles, the layers of permeability instead surround smaller circles which exist in the relative area of openness represented by the large circles.

¹⁷⁹ This symbolism will be returned to in chapter six along with a discussion of monumentalism as it related to location. For discussion of imperial continuity see: Fraser, *Cities of Alexander the Great*.

¹⁸⁰ Hillier, Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*.



(L-R: Temple of Artemis Phase II, Temple of Zeus Phase I)

Utilizing the adapted permeability graphs a distinct difference is evident between the relative closedness and openness of the two temples. A difficulty of discussing the two temples in comparison to one another is the clear difference in closed areas. While the temple of Artemis appears to be a structure with more openness (see: appendix figure 2), there is an added restriction posed by the peristyle. Although vision is not restricted in the same way as a wall, vision is still obscured by perpendicular observers, and even blocked completely by those standing parallel to the columnar walls. This opacity of columnar visual spheres will become evident in the analysis of visual space later in this chapter, however, there is also a symbolic separation which is evident in the graph above. While the temple of Zeus has clear differentiations of closed space, all connected to a single space which itself is closed off from the greater *temenos* area, the divisions within the temple of Artemis are less physically clear although still symbolically distinct. If every level of permeability is considered as a separate level of closedness, the central room of the temple of Artemis requires four transitions while the central room of the temple of Zeus requires three transitions.

Separate levels of permeability transition do not indicate the entire distinction of openness and closedness which appear between and within the temples. One can apply a more nuanced view in conjunction with visibility analysis, however, this is not possible with the temple of Artemis as the reconstructions proposed by excavators do not allow for a detailed graph construction. Despite this limitation, the distinction of permeability between the two

temples of Dura-Europos still reveals a deeper distinction of closedness of practice. Specifically, the temple of Artemis' altars were located within an area of partial obfuscation while still existing in a place of relative openness. The altars associated with the temple of Zeus are difficult to compare as evidence for their existence could not be confirmed by excavations in the 1990's.¹⁸¹ If one utilizes the original data for the sake of comparison, however, there is a distinctly more closed nature to the altar sites. Specifically, the courtyard area which contains an altar in the reconstruction of the first period (see: fig 5), is still a very closed-off area despite a direct entrance to the *temenos* area.

4.2 Aï-Khanoum: In the city of Aï-Khanoum, the two Hellenistic temple structures exhibited a drastically different quality and quantity of archaeological information. The temple *á redans* was a similar structure to the temple of Zeus at Dura-Europos in terms of form and size (see table one below for size comparison). The *temenos* was set against the city's main north-south thoroughfare (see fig 9), meaning that the temple structure was erected in the lower city. This placed the temple *á redans* in between two naturally imposing views. The entrance of the structure would have opened to the upper city's cliffs while an observer approaching the steps to the temple would have seen the Oxus River and the mountainous cliffs of the opposite bank. Interestingly, however, as can be noted in the image of the city (see fig 9), the identified palatial structure lay in extremely close proximity to the temple. In contrast, the political structures of Dura-Europos were situated on the heights of the upper city and far away from the city's main thoroughfare. The structure of the temple was a square form, closed courtyard building, contrasting it from the temple of Artemis' reconstruction and once again revealing a similarity to the temple of Zeus at Dura. An important difference between the temple *á redans* and the two temples at Dura-Europos is that a significant amount of material finds from the Hellenistic period were collected during the excavation. The finds not only re-emphasize the temple's role as an important location of religious significance, but they also provide scholars additional insights into potential areas of ritual within and around the temple. The dating of the temple *á redans* has been established through the recovery of numismatic evidence from the platform's masonry in the second construction phase.¹⁸² The identification of a floor plan proved significantly simpler with the temple *á redans* as well in comparison to the temples at Dura-Europos. A major reason

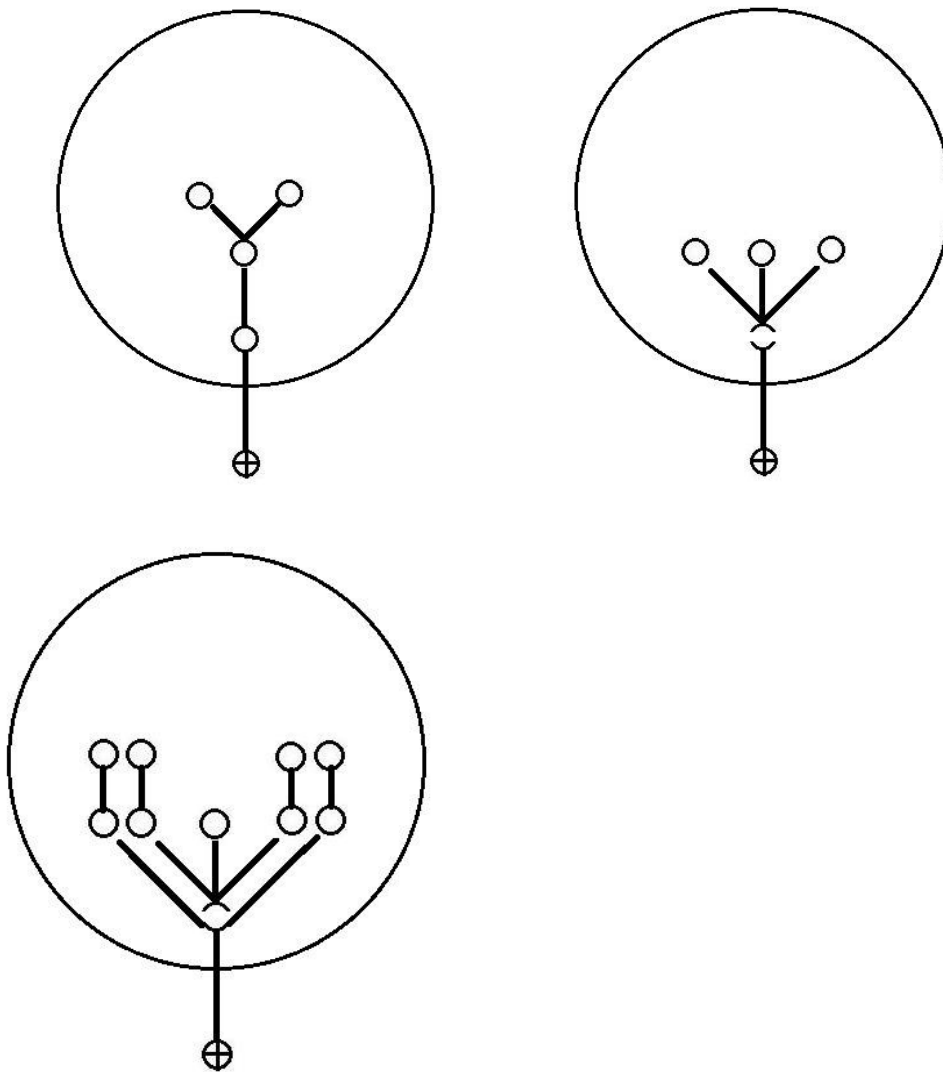
¹⁸¹ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos* (1997), 111

¹⁸² Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 72. See: Francfort, *Fouilles D'Ai Khanoum III*, 32-34, 107-111, 125

for this is the extended occupation and rebuilding of Dura-Europos. Aï-Khanoum, on the other hand, was occupied for a much shorter time as a civic centre than Dura-Europos was, and the final abandonment occurred while still within the Hellenistic period. In reference to the construction phase IV of the temple (see fig 10), one can see the similarity of interior structures between the temple *á redans* and the temple of Zeus.

In contrast to the temple *á redans*, the temple *hors les murs* has revealed very little information to researchers beyond its architectural foundations. The temple was erected outside the main walls of the city (see fig 9), however, the excavations around it have revealed very little in terms of how the *temenos* area was constructed or utilized. There has been no material or epigraphical evidence discovered on or around the temple *hors les murs* and, as such, there are no secure dates for the erection and destruction of the temple. Its status as a temple has been established based on previous structural comparisons with the temple *á redans*. Specifically, the similarities are the *crepis*, semi-closed interior courtyard, indented niches along the exterior walls (an identifying trait of the temple *á redans*), and the three room division at the rear wall of the building. Figures sixteen and seventeen indicate that the later construction phase was both an enlargement and an elaboration of the earlier phase. This expansion included not only a large increase in the temple platform's overall width, but also in the amount of rooms that the structure now contained. The similarities between the structure's early form and the temple *á redans* is notable, however, as the two side rooms at the temple's rear opened to the interior courtyard and were not directly connected to the central *naos*.

Given that the temple *hors les murs* was erected outside the city's fortifications, there was a significant difference in the accessibility of the temple as well as the visual impact for the city's inhabitants, and surrounding populations. With regards to the accessibility, it is quite likely that there would have been some restriction of an outer *temenos* wall though there is no evidence indicating its potential size. The *temenos* wall would have acted as a liminal barrier, though creating a physical identification separating the sacred from the profane rather than acting as a restrictive force, limiting the access of people in any meaningful way. The visual impact of the structure would have been striking for travellers approaching the city, but for the residents of Aï-Khanoum, it is doubtful that anyone save those at the upper city or manning the ramparts would have been able to see the structure. The architectural remains allow once again for a permeability analysis to be applied to the reconstructions of the temples in order to identify a potential discrepancy of inclusiveness/exclusiveness between the temples structures.



(L-R: Temple *à redans* Phase IV, Temple *Hors Les Murs* Phase I/II)

As noted, the temple *à redans* and the first phase of the temple *hors les murs* appear similar in terms of their exterior architecture, but the interior construction reveals that there is a differentiation in terms of inclusiveness and potentiality of liminal space. The internal structure of the temple *hors les murs* actually displays the same permeability as the temple of Zeus in Dura-Europos as opposed to its counterpart in Aï-Khanoum. Interestingly, this form also maintains the likelihood of a *tri-naoi* construction in the temple *hors les murs*. In contrast, the temple *à redans* does not support this type of delineation as the two rooms attached to the central *naos* are not connected to the central court. The difference in permeability may thus be indicative of a difference in the utilization of the space within the temple structures, although admittedly, the extent of that difference cannot be determined by permeability alone. The later form of the temple *hors les murs* presents a more complex permeability for the structure as a whole, but not

necessarily for the central *naos* as it remained unconnected to the other rooms of the temple. Due to the connectedness of rooms inclusive to the interior courtyard temple form, the actual closedness of the central *naoi* remains the same across all three images. The most distinct difference between the temples still remains in the temple *à redans'* closedness of its attached rooms. Importantly, as will be discussed in the following chapter, the two side rooms did not seem to indicate a high potential for ritual activities, and yet they exhibit the most restrictive permeability of the temples in question until the massive expansion of the temple *hors les murs*.

4.3 Jebel Khalid: The temple structure uncovered at Jebel Khalid was much smaller in size than either the temples at Dura-Europos or Ai-Khanoum. The excavation of the temple structure has so far yielded very detailed results in terms of its architectural layout and material catalogue. Examining the temple and *temenos* in isolation from the rest of the city, it is indicative of a very clear delineation of space and the reconstruction of the proposed entrance façade is similar to an *amphirostyle* temple, though one with solid walls along its northern and southern sides (whereas one would normally expect the columnar construct to continue around the entire exterior).¹⁸³ Unlike some of the other temples which have been analyzed, the temple of Jebel Khalid exhibited little change to its layout though there were significant changes to the *temenos'* layout as seen in fig 19.¹⁸⁴ The internal structure of the temple, when compared with the other square form temples, bears a striking similarity.

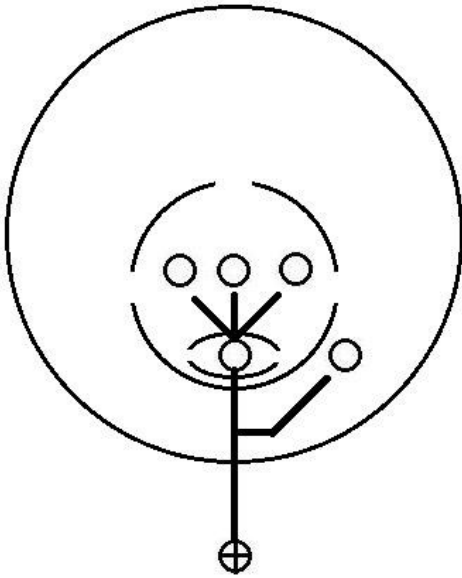
The location of the temple structure at Jebel Khalid was in the saddle between the acropolis to the south and the gentler sloping north side of the site. Thus, the structure was situated apart from the palatial complex of the upper city and also far away from the uncovered domestic area of the northern slopes (See fig 20).¹⁸⁵ The location would have been in close proximity to the proposed thoroughfare running east to west through Jebel Khalid, and also very close to the main gates of the city. Given the steep slope of the eastern half of the city, one would also have a view of the Euphrates River from the higher western portion where the temple was located. The location of the structure reveals a great amount of accessibility to the *temenos* and temple structure as it was in close proximity to the entrance and main thoroughfare of the city while still being in the lower city in full view of the acropolis. The *temenos* and temple structure did not show evidence of being closed off, but the small room of the area's north-west did show

¹⁸³ Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, 122.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 123 (Fig. 4).

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 119 (fig. 2).

evidence of a locked door.¹⁸⁶ Given the relatively isolated nature of the room and the storage material found within it, it is doubtful whether this was associated with an area of restriction and much more likely was simply for storage of liquids.¹⁸⁷



(Temple of Area B)

The permeability of the temple at Jebel Khalid is similar to the graphs of the temple *hors les murs* (phase I) and the temple of Zeus at Dura-Europos although they may look extremely different from one another. A point of similarity which remains evident in the temple's analysis is the *tri-naoi* construction associated with the square form temple. This construct holds in the case of Jebel Khalid's temple given the equal exclusivity granted to each of the three rear situated rooms, and their individual connectedness to the interior courtyard. The similarities seen in three different communities indicate a strong possibility of cross regional similarity in terms of ritual inclusiveness. By identifying similarities between three temple structures, it does not necessarily indicate a further pattern in temple construction within Seleukid colonies; however, it could be indicative of the imperial context in which these structures were erected. The similar quality of form in newly established colonial contexts seems to indicate a commonality in temple design. Presumably, a consistent form of construction across a diverse empire would involve an enormous project of euergetic beneficence or top down imperial administration into the civic sphere's construction projects. Given that the three settlements in question were military colonies constructed under Seleukid policy, it is not unreasonable to assume that the public buildings would also be part of the policy involving regional colonization.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 119, 124.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 124. See: Clarke, G.W., et al. 2008, *Jebel Khalid: The 2006 season*. Meditarch 21.

The differences between the temple of Area B at Jebel Khalid and the other square form temples studied is due to the detailed picture excavators have provided regarding the *temenos*. Specifically, there is clear evidence of a side room within the larger *temenos* area, but also two smaller areas of partial visual obstruction. Evidence shows that not only were columns erected within the *temenos* around the temple's exterior, but also within the temple's central courtyard itself. This affect these columns would have had on the visual sphere will be discussed below, but beyond the physical division created by the *peristyle* and interior columns, a symbolic division of space was also created. Theoretically, the partial delineation created by the semi-closed divisions is indicative of five levels of permeability. Practically though, the interior columns do not act as a further division between the central courtyard and the central *naos*, as the columns only transect the vertical plane and not the horizontal one (in a two dimensional representation of course), but do force a symbolic division of the central courtyard into three separate areas. The exterior *peristyle* is also an important element to consider with regards to its permeability as it not only blocks visual passage, into the temple's central area, but also functions as a division from the exterior *temenos* room and the rear wall of the temple itself. It may be tempting to dismiss the rear *peristyle* construct as a stylistic choice but, as will become clear in the discussion of ritual space in the following chapter, the rear of the temple was not necessarily devoid of ritual activity.

Surface Area and Density:

Table 1: Surface Areas of Temple Structures

	Total Surface Area (m ²)	Area of Superstructure	Area of Interior Courtyard	Area of Central Naos	Area of side rooms	Area of <i>Temenos</i>
Temple of Artemis	Phase I- 300 Phase II ¹⁸⁸ - 98	/	Phase I-100+ (open front)	Phase I- 200 Phase II- 9	/	(possible) 1600
Temple of Zeus	564.49	/	258.38	40.5	32.5	/
Temple <i>á redans</i>	Phase V-578.23 Phase IV-488.81	/	Phase IV- 84	Phase IV- 30	Phase IV- 7.5	3600
Temple <i>Hors Les Murs</i>	Phase I-495.04 Phase II-1020.25	Phase I- 318.37 Phase II- 727.75	Phase I- 94.88 Phase II- 199.5	Phase I- 25.88 Phase II- 32.5	Phase I- L: 20.25 R: 15.75 Phase II- ¹⁸⁹ ne: 15 ce: 9 se: 12	/
Temple of Area B	128	/	42	15.75	7	/

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	Density of Interior Courtyard	Density of Central Naos	Density of Side Rooms	Density of <i>Temenos</i>
Temple of Artemis	Phase I- Min: 83.33 Max: 400+	Phase I- Min: 166.6 Max: 800 Phase II- Min: 7.5 Max: 36	/	Min: 1332.8 Max: 6400
Temple of Zeus	Min: 215.23 Max: 1033.52	Min: 33.74 Max: 162	Min: 27.07 Max: 130	/
Temple <i>á redans</i>	Phase IV- Min: 69.97 Max: 336	Phase IV- Min: 69.97 Max: 120	Phase IV- Min: 6.25 Max: 30	Min: 2998.8 Max: 14400
Temple <i>Hors Les Murs</i>	Phase I- Min: 79.04 Max: 379.52 Phase II- Min: 166.18 Max: 798	Phase I- Min: 21.56 Max: 103.52 Phase II- Min: 27.07 Max: 130	Phase I- (l/r) Min: 16.87/13.12 Max: 81/63 Phase II- (ne/ce/se)Min: 12.5/7.5/10 Max: 60/36/48	/
Temple of Area B	Min: 34.99 Max: 168	Min: 13.12 Max: 63	Min: 5.83 Max: 28	/

Table 2: Relative Densities of Structures

Although the temple of Zeus, the temple *hors les murs*, and the temple of area B are very

¹⁸⁸ The second phase of the structure does not have a labeled scale, however, based on the relative size of columns each notch is assumed to be 1 metre in length.

¹⁸⁹ Side rooms in the second phase of construction are symmetrical. Rooms are listed in order of north, central and south of the east side; measurements thus are the same for the western rooms.

¹⁹⁰ The surface area of the interior rooms of the temple structures is based upon the measurements which are available in the research. As the specific measurements are not recorded, the room lengths are estimations based on reconstruction images and the scales provided.

similar in their architectural form, one can see that the structures have an extremely different variance in size. Specifically, the temple *hors les murs*' second phase was constructed much larger and the temple of area B was much smaller than the temple of Zeus. Despite the difference in overall size of the structures, the internal construction is not as disparate in terms of surface area. As shown in table 1, the surface area of the central *naos* was actually larger in the temple of Zeus than it was in the temple *hors les murs* in both phases of its construction. The difference in size was only about 15 square metres at its most disparate, and as is indicated in table 2 this would not have had a great effect on the total amount of people which could have fit in the area. It is indicative of relative space in the temple structures, however, as even though the temple of Zeus was nearly half the size of the temple *hors les murs*' second phase, the spaces of exclusivity still comprised an extremely similar area. It is important to note, however, that the expansion of the temple *hors les murs* also resulted in five rooms of complete exclusivity and four of relative exclusivity while the temple of Zeus still had only three rooms of exclusivity. Thus, even though the relative area of the central *naos* remained relatively unchanged, the total area of closed off space expanded greatly. Regardless of their similarity to each other, both the temple *hors les murs* and the temple of Zeus were still significantly larger than the temple of Area B in Jebel Khalid. Noting that the structures were of a similar shape and yet were distinctly different in size, even in the interior rooms associated with a *tri-naoi* construction, it is quite likely that the temple of Area B was utilized by a smaller population than the other two temples.

The temple of Artemis is problematic to discuss in terms of its size relative to the other temples analyzed in table 1, simply because of the large variation in its phases and the indiscernible extent of the temples first phase. One element which can be discussed with relative certainty, however, is the central *naos*. It is not surprising given the presence of dual altars at the front of the temple structure that the central *naos* was extremely small when compared with the square form temples of this study. The placement of the altars and the extremely small nature of the enclosed area is indicative of a differentiation in ritual practice between the temple of Artemis and the other four temples of this study. Notably, although the temple *à redans* was the only other temple discussed which had a significantly different permeability of internal space, the size of its central *naos* was remarkably similar to the other square form temples. Thus, although the nature of the ritual activity was likely quite different in the temple *à redans* than in any of the other temples, the exclusivity of space (at least with regards to the central *naos*) would have remained the same given the restriction of permeability.

Visual Space: My final analysis of architectural spatial syntax is a construction of potential visual accessibility for the temple structures and their associated areas. This potentiality is represented in graphs below by the general visual openness of the sacred space, revealing the relative exclusiveness and inclusiveness of the space and its probable ritual areas. This final architectural analysis will play an important role in chapter six as the discussion focuses on the visualization of ritual and its potential impact on social memory and identity formation. The visibility graphs which have been included are limited by the accessibility of information available. Two factors were essential in the creation of these graphs, a clear image of the temple structure and its surrounding area, and a workable scale which could be utilized in the creation of a grid. Only two temple structures met these requirements, the temple *á redans* and the temple of Jebel Khalid. Fortunately, the shape of the temple at Jebel Khalid is distinctly similar to the temple *hors les murs*' first phase as well as the temple of Zeus and thus the graph can be extended to the other two temples for analogies of visual accessibility. Given, the temple *hors les murs* and the temple of Zeus did not show evidence of the same columnar constructs as were revealed at the temple of Area B, and as such, a third grid will be utilized for argumentation sake. The third grid will be identical to the reconstruction of the temple of Area B, save for the columns which will be removed from the analysis. This is to highlight the potential difference in visual accessibility and its role in spatial permeability.¹⁹¹

The method of grid construction below involved first tracing the architectural lines from the proposed reconstructions of original excavators (indicated by image references). A grid corresponding to applicable and consistent measurements was laid over the image whereupon each square was counted as an individual observer. The colour corresponding to each square is representative of how many other squares in the plan would have a visual connection to it. It is important to remember that there is a margin of error associated with this as the squares in the first image are 5 x 5 metre sections while the other two are constructed as 2.5 x 2.5 metre squares. Importantly, the platform of the temple *á redans* was considered to block the vision of potential observers, and similarly, potential observers of the *temenos* area are assumed to have a visual accessibility to the interior courtyard but not the rear rooms because of the change in height and the resulting obfuscation which would have occurred.

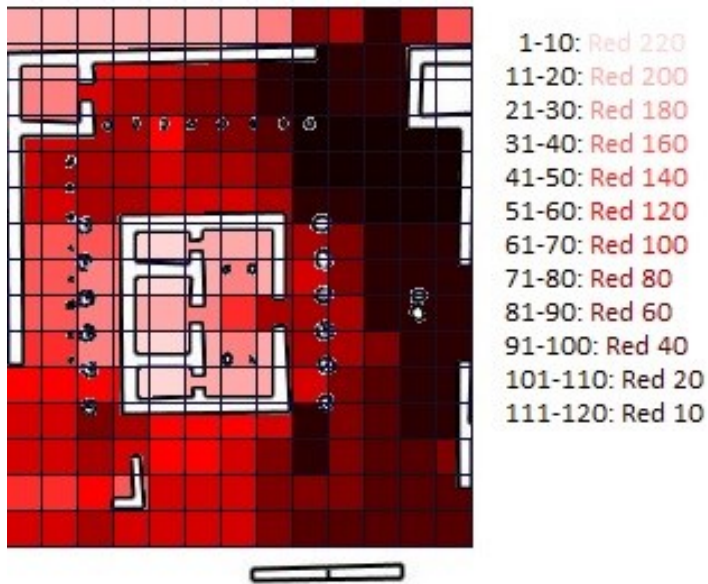
¹⁹¹ For discussion of permeability see: Hillier, Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space*.



(Visibility at Temple à redans Phase IV-. Scale of 5-10-20 metres.)¹⁹²

As is evident in the graph, particular areas which might seem intuitively private also have a low degree of potential spatial accessibility. The three rooms at the rear of the temple's courtyard were extremely secluded when compared with the rest of the *temenos*, and this exclusivity corresponds directly with multiple levels of permeability applied to these rooms. The rear wall of the temple, however, is not accounted for in a permeability analysis. Although this area is extremely visually exclusive, it is also very permeable to movement. Given this difference in permeability, it is quite likely that the nature of ritual which could or would have been performed at the rear wall of the temple would be quite different in nature. Both of these spaces, however, contrast sharply with the *temenos* area as a whole which was both permeable and visually accessible.

¹⁹² Bernard, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum I*, (CRAI 1973), fig 8, pg 294.



(Visibility at Area B of Jebel Khalid- Scale of 5-10

metres.)¹⁹³

The reconstruction of the temple of Jebel Khalid allowed for a grid construct of smaller increments than what was applied to the temple *à redans*, however, given the disparate nature of the temple's sizes, the detail of visual space appears similar. One immediate difference which can be identified between the temple *à redans* and the temple of Jebel Khalid is the columns and their effect as direct obstacles in the visual field. This is an element of exclusivity which the permeability graph was able to indicate for the temple of Jebel Khalid and in conjunction with the visual sphere, it becomes evident that there was a partial, but not total restriction with the erection of columns. The space immediately surrounding the columns is indicative of a drastic change in visual accessibility from one point to the next. Notably, the columns act as physical breaks between what would otherwise be unobstructed viewsheds. Each *naos* in the temple of Jebel Khalid would have had a visual restriction given their parallel positioning to one another and the presence of columns running from wall to wall in the interior courtyard. One could view the rear wall of more than one *naos* at a time, and in conjunction with the internal columns, observers outside the temple could not have viewed large portions of the interior courtyard as well, limiting the potential inclusiveness of any ritual activity which may have occurred within. Similarly, even if one were standing within the entrance to one of the side *naoi*, their vision would be highly restricted given the internal columns and the interior courtyard design of the temple structure in general.

¹⁹³ Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, fig 4, pg 123.



(Modified visibility based on Area B of

Jebel Khalid- Scale of 5-10 metres.)¹⁹⁴

The modified graph above is representative of the change of visual accessibility caused by columnar constructs. Not only is the graph indicative of the subtle changes that occur with the erection of column breaks, but this graph also bears a closer similarity to the other square form temple of this analysis. Despite the similarity of structure evident between the temple *hors les murs*, the temple of Zeus, and the temple of Jebel Khalid, any connections between the graph above and the other two structures must consider several factors which differentiate them. The temple *hors les murs* was built with a much wider entrance, meaning vision from the exterior of the structure to the interior courtyard would be much less obstructed. This openness would be mitigated by the raised nature of the temple as the superstructure was built upon a *crepis* almost two metres in height.¹⁹⁵ The temple of Zeus on the other hand was built with the same style of narrow courtyard entrance, but there was no evidence for the interior columns as seen at Jebel Khalid. As will be discussed in chapter five, the temple of Zeus may have had its own obstruction in the central courtyard in the form of a raised altar.¹⁹⁶ Importantly, however, for both the temple *hors les murs* and the temple of Zeus, the parallel construction of *naoi* within the structures would have maintained the visual liminality between them, meaning that as with the temple at Jebel Khalid, one could not have viewed the back wall of more than one *naos* at a time.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁹⁵ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 72-75. (See. Bernard, CRAI (1974), 287-289; Idem, CRAI (1976), 303-306)

¹⁹⁶ Downey, *New Soundings In the Temple of Zeus Megistos At Dura-Europos*, 172. (note: fig 3)

Chapter Five- Material Analysis:

Introduction: Chapter five describes a formal analysis designed to connect archaeological data with the specific locations in which it was recovered. The focus of the connection is a separation of spatial utilization. Pointing to particular groups who may have used the areas in question must be done indirectly given the lack of material associated with the temples of this study. Observing the past indirectly requires a proxy measure, or an instrument with which to measure the findings.¹⁹⁷ For the following analysis, the data compiled in chapters three and four will act as the instruments of measurement. The visual and architectural elements of the Seleukid temples offer information which, when compared to the material recovered at the temple sites, indicates separate causal variables of material. Causal variables can be connected to the physical activity of the interacting population, and as such, through this connection one can differentiate between separate focal communities. As outlined in chapter two, focal communities are smaller groups of individuals within a larger cultural system.¹⁹⁸ The separation of these groups (not necessarily exclusive or inclusive, simply differentiated) is achieved through the proxy measures of visual and spatial analysis in reference to recovered material.

The material analysis of the temple structures will be divided into three different sections, one for each of the settlements under examination. For each temple within the respective settlement, all material finds indicating a likely connection to ritual as well as any altars will be considered in reference to their relative location within the *temenos* or temple structure. Altars, although features which could be considered part of the buildings' overall structure and architecture given their relative immobility, will be considered part of the material remains for this study, and will be discussed as a major element of the analysis. The temple altars (as well as potential altars) have been associated with the material finds because altars can be directly connected to a causal behavioural pattern, making them extremely important for the analysis of ritual space. The emphasis of this analysis is to correlate areas of material causality with the previous analysis of exclusivity and permeability within and around the temple structures in an effort to identify areas with a high potential for ritual activity. The identification of potential ritual activity is particularly important in the overall discussion of socio-cultural interaction. The identification of ritual practices is an attempt to re-enforce the intentionality of human spatial interaction which is lacking from a purely architectural study.

¹⁹⁷ CW McNett, *The Cross-Cultural Method In Archaeology*, (1979), 59-64.

¹⁹⁸ Peter N. Peregrine, *Cross-Cultural Comparative Approaches in Archaeology*, (Annual Reviews, 2001), 4.

5.1 The Temples of Dura-Europos: In the case of the temple of Artemis at Dura-Europos, there are several areas of high potential for ritual activity based on reconstructions and remaining material evidence. The first phase of construction (see fig 1) likely had an altar located in the centre of the open, yet colonnaded, courtyard indicated by the small rectangular figure.¹⁹⁹ As discussed in the research catalogue, however, the remains of the first phase are particularly fragmentary. The lack of specificity in the early reconstruction restricts any detailed discussion of potential ritual space.²⁰⁰ The second phase of construction at the temple has been reconstructed with a much clearer picture of spatial organization, although there is still a stark lack of archaeological material beyond the architectural features which were left in place. Given the restriction of information at this time surrounding the temple of Artemis, there are only three identifiable areas of high potential for ritual activity in and around the structure. The first two areas are the altars indicated at the front end of the temple in figure two.²⁰¹ Already indicated in the permeability graph, these areas had a significant degree of openness given that they were directly connected with the *temenos* on three sides and even the fourth side was connected to another room rather than a solid wall. This connected room is the third area of high potential for ritual activity. The third area is considered to have a high potential for ritual not based on material or the presence of an altar, but because it was the most exclusive room of the structure. The exclusivity is a product of the room's high degree of impermeability. Without any further evidence for ritual processes, the areas will need to be discussed in terms of their position as potential spaces of liminal distinction. Specifically, without material evidence to reinforce the nature of the altars found at the front of the temple of Artemis, there is little else to assert than their position and relative exclusivity make them both prime candidates for ritual activity. Similarly, though the central room of the temple did not contain an associated altar, the uniqueness of the space in relation to the rest of the temple area is indicative of a separate usage, whatever that usage may have been.

The temple of Zeus can be analyzed in a similar manner to the temple of Artemis, although a more nuanced approach is necessary. For the discussion of potential ritual activity areas at the temple of Zeus, the analysis can include not only information of permeability, but also analogous information of visibility based on the third visibility graph of the previous

¹⁹⁹ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 79; Rostoftzeff et al. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, 407f.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 78-79

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 79 (fig. 31)

chapter. With regards to physical evidence for areas of potential ritual activity, there is an equal lack of material in the temple of Zeus.²⁰² Despite the dearth of physical evidence from the Hellenistic period, the permeability graph of the structure as well as the proposed reconstruction of the temple by Brown indicates four separate areas of high potential for ritual activity as well as a fifth (though potentially problematic) area associated with the area directly in front of the temple structure. This fifth area (namely the presence of an altar in the *temenos*) is tenuously linked to ritual practice because the new excavations by Downey have cast doubt on the development of the civic environs which surrounded the temple.²⁰³ Three of the areas associated with high potential for ritual activity are the rear *tri-naoi* rooms, which, as the permeability graph indicates, had a high degree of exclusiveness. The exclusivity is paired with an impermeability of both motion and vision as indicated by the third visibility graph. Specifically, the graph indicated that a potential observer within the temple could not have viewed the rear wall of more than one *naos* at a time. The graph also indicated a stark contrast of visual accessibility between the inside and outside of the temple area. Beyond simply claiming that the inside of the structure was more private to potential observation (a clear conclusion), there is also a separation of visual space within the temple's interior itself, limiting activity through very clear spatial divisions. Brown's reconstruction of the temple's first period also indicates that an altar stood at the centre of the interior courtyard. Despite the location allowing a significant amount of people (note table 2: roughly 200 people could have fit comfortably in the courtyard area), there would still have been a limited visual inclusion given the thin nature of the entranceway. As the temple of Zeus, similar to the temple of Artemis, lacks the material evidence to back specific claims with regards to ritual processes within and around the structure, further discussion will be limited to comparative claims at the end of this chapter and claims regarding potential liminality of ritual space in the next chapter.

5.2 The Temples of Aï-Khanoum: The temple *à redans* is a particularly important example of Seleukid temple structures largely because of the material evidence associated with the structure. The structure and its associated *temenos* have more physical material and probable altars than any of the other temple structures examined in the research catalogue. As discussed in the description of the material finds, the provenance of some finds has been difficult to establish.

²⁰² Note discussion in chapter 3.

²⁰³ Downey, *Excavations in the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos*, 1994, 245-247.

Although connecting the furniture, ivory and gold finds with specific locations of the temple structure may be difficult, there are still a number of elements recovered from the excavations that can be traced with causal relations of focal communities.

The area of highest potential for ritual activity within the temple *á redans* is the central *naos*. The room is associated with such a high potential for ritual activity because of its low permeability and position in location to the central courtyard, and because of the bench found against its rear wall. It was upon this rear bench that a large cavity was cut, a space presumably for a cult statue to sit. The marble statue fragments which were recovered seemed to be cut to facilitate a seated statue,²⁰⁴ making it quite likely that this was the location of the statue. The bench which presumably held the statue, and the recovered foot are shown in figures 12 and 13 respectively. The frieze found decorating the rear wall is an immovable feature of the *naos* which emphasizes the importance of the room.

Connected to the central *naos* were the two side rooms, also referred to as sacristies in the archaeological reports. As seen in fig 14, the rooms were likely converted into storage areas sometime during a squatter occupation of the site given the presence of the sunken ceramic vessels.²⁰⁵ Normally one might expect these rooms to have a ritual function given the restriction of vision and the associated impermeability of movement; however, given the probable function of the central *naos* as well as the material recovered, this conclusion would be problematic. Importantly, the rooms are not secluded on their own account but because they are attached to a secluded room. Although the actual size taken up by these rooms was roughly equivalent to the side rooms discovered in the *tri-naoi* construct of Jebel Khalid's temple, the rooms appear to have had a significantly different permeability than the side rooms at the temple of Area B or the temple of Zeus at Dura-Europos. The rooms were constructed on a separate level of permeability rather than an equivalent one. It does not seem as though these rooms would have played a significant role in ritual processes at the temple *á redans* though they may have had a functional purpose related to the rituals themselves.

A feature of the temple *á redans* not found at the other temple structures in this study was material which would have allowed for a closing doorway at the top of the stairs.²⁰⁶ The presence of doors would certainly add an unprecedented exclusiveness to potential ritual processes at the

²⁰⁴ Francfort, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum III*, 32-34, 107-111, 125

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 125; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 72

²⁰⁶ Bernard, *La campagne de fouilles de 1970 a Ai Khanoum*, (CRAI 1971), 425-27; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 68.

temple *á redans*, however, the temple also has a number of peripheral areas of extremely high potential for ritual activity. There were a number of altars or platforms around the *crepis* of the temple and the *temenos*, as well as a number of vessels embedded in the exterior of the temple's rear wall. The presence of several other areas with high potential does not diminish the exclusivity of the central *naos* of the temple, but it does allow for a great number of focal communities within the temple's greater area. The platforms which surrounded the temple *á redans* were varied in size, shape, and location. Six platforms were spread around the upper step of the *crepis* in the shape of truncated pyramids and measured at 40 to 60 cm to a side. An identification of these platforms as altars was established on the basis of the most preserved platform which had a depression formed in its top for ashes.²⁰⁷ Apart from the pyramidal features on the *crepis*, there were a further eight unbaked brick platforms discovered in the temple's *temenos* area. Only one of these platforms measured larger than a metre on a side and there was no ash discovered alongside them to emphasize their position as altars. Nonetheless, original excavations have emphasized that these platforms were likely altars or offering tables.²⁰⁸

Another feature unique to the temple *á redans* was a probable area of ritual activity against the exterior of the temple's back wall. Embedded in the wall at top of the *crepis* (see fig 11) were thirty two vessels associated with libation crafted in a traditionally non-Greek style.²⁰⁹ The placement of the vessels was clearly intentional given the niches carved into the wall for their deposit, and interestingly, there was also evidence of continued use into the squatter period,²¹⁰ indicating that the temple area may have still expressed a quality of sacrality to the city's inhabitants after its first abandonment as the process of embedding vessels remained in place. A final feature of the *temenos* which could indicate a connection to the libation vessels of the exterior wall is the presence of a water channel dug at the area's south end.²¹¹ The presence of a water channel certainly indicates a practical element of taking away excess water, however it could also be indicative of a causal connection alongside the libation vessels. The connection is tenuous given that the specific ritual practices of the *temenos* are unknown, but there is an analogous case at the temple of Jebel Khalid wherein a water channel was directly in the path of

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 426-29; Downey, (Princeton, 1988), 69.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 427-429; Downey, (Princeton, 1988), 69.

²⁰⁹ Francfort, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum III*, 32-34, 107-111; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 69, 71 (fig. 24).

²¹⁰ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 69, 71.

²¹¹ Bernard, *Fouilles de Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan), campagnes de 1972 et 1973*, (CRAI, 1974), 298. Notably this connection could be with any libation vessels and not necessarily the ones which were recovered at the rear wall of the structure.

an exterior altar.²¹²

If these areas of potential ritual activity are considered in conjunction with the visibility graph of the previous chapter, it becomes clear that there was a distinct difference between the areas themselves. Although a difference in visibility may not be a necessary factor for a difference in ritual, it is certainly a sufficient factor, and is at the very least representative of a different focal community engaging with the ritual. For instance, a ritual taking place at the *temenos* altars would have an enormous visual accessibility when compared with a ritual taking place in the interior temple courtyard or in the *naos*. The visibility associated with temple's rear exterior wall also indicated a difference in ritual process, differentiating the focal groups which could have participated in the rituals. A differentiation between focal groups does not necessitate a differentiation in socio-cultural group nor does it represent an exclusivity within and between focal groups. Thus the focal communities associated with the rear of the temple and the greater *temenos* could theoretically include the same individual members. What the differentiation does indicate, however, is a limitation on focal groupings at any particular moment which is indicative of separate causal relations with the areas of the temple in question. The differentiation therefore separates the two focal communities not based on potential membership, but rather through temporal limitations. Temporal practicalities would imply that a ritual performer or observer could not take part in rituals at both locations at the same time, this excluding the potential membership through pragmatic means rather than an absolute division of personage.

The analysis of the temple *hors les murs*' is an interesting, yet problematic matter. The difficulty arises due to the lack of material evidence found at the temple, as was the case with both of the temples at Dura-Europos. The first phase of the temple can be analyzed in the same manner as the temple of Zeus at Dura given that it was constructed as a similarly sized square form temple with a *tri-naoi* interior design.²¹³ Extending the same visual information gathered from the temple of Zeus, one can identify three areas of high potential for ritual activity, namely the three *naoi* in the structure. The second phase of the temple is more problematic, however, due to the lack of a comparative structure within this study. In part this is because of the substantial change in size and internal structural division, but also because the other four temples analyzed did not show a similar change in appearance at any time in their utilization (with regards to the Seleukid period). The physical area taken up by both the temple structure was more than

²¹² Clarke, et al., *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 131

²¹³ Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, fig 27, pg 75

doubled, as was the surface area of the interior courtyard. This expansion did not extend to the *naoi* of the structure, however, and instead more rooms were added within the superstructure's design. The expansion tripled the amount of rooms from three to nine, including four rooms which were completely closed off from the interior courtyard.²¹⁴ The expansion of the structure does not correspond to an expansion of ritual space however, as there is no evidence to corroborate such a claim.

5.3 Temple Structure of Jebel Khalid (Area B): The excavations undertaken at Jebel Khalid have revealed a significant amount of archaeological material in and around the temple of area B, allowing for an extremely detailed analysis of potential ritual areas. As was emphasized in the permeability graph and visualization graph of the temple structure, the similarities between the three square form temples with a *tri-naoi* construction allow for analogous comparison between the relative visibilities of the structures. Thus, through the analysis of Jebel Khalid, similar areas of high potential for ritual activity in the temple *hors les murs* and the temple of Zeus can be discussed not directly through material evidence, but indirectly through the potential focal communities which can be delineated at the temple of Jebel Khalid. There is a clear margin of error in this process though as the temple of Area B was a much smaller structure in a separate region of the empire. Furthermore any visual analysis of the temple of Zeus and the temple *hors les murs* must take into account a difference in colonnades as there is no evidence for extensive columnar constructs at the latter two temples.

Detailed excavation of the *temenos* at the temple of Jebel Khalid has revealed the presence of an altar directly in front of the entrance to the temple.²¹⁵ Discovered at this location, beyond a large circular base, was a drainage sump. No evidence of animal sacrifice in the form of ash or bone material was found at this altar. The soil underneath it was found to be loose and fine grained, which as Clarke suggests, could be indicative that this area was in fact intended for liquid libation.²¹⁶ The interior of the temple structure did not show evidence of an altar, however the three *naoi* at the temple structure are the most likely locations where original cult statues would have stood. Fragments from at least three different statues have been recovered,²¹⁷ and

²¹⁴ Ibid., fig 26, pg 74

²¹⁵ Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, fig 4, pg 123. (altar is indicated by circular base directly east of the structure's entranceway)

²¹⁶ Clarke, et al., *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 131; Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City* 126

²¹⁷ Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, 125, 126. See: Clarke and Jackson, *Jebel Khalid: the 2001 season*, 116-26 :120

although there is no evidence for a bench associated with the statues as was found in the *naos* of the temple *á redans*, the three *naoi* are nonetheless the most likely places for the original location of these statues. Linking the statues to the three *naoi* also links the material to ritual action, pointing to a specific focal community which would have engaged with these rooms. Even if the material were not connected to the *naoi* directly, these three rooms would still hold high potential for ritual processes as they display the same degree of closedness as the *naoi* of the other square form temples.

In addition to the areas of high potential for ritual activity, the temple of Jebel Khalid had an associated room in the *temenos*' South West corner which raises important questions for research. Within this isolated room there was distinct evidence of burning. Whether the burning took place inside the room itself it is difficult to say, but the presence of successive yet uneven layers of ash deposit²¹⁸ is nonetheless indicative of a continued process of burning over an extended period of time. Within these layers, unburnt bone fragments were found alongside ceramic sherds. Outside this structure there were more layers of ash but of a distinctly different character. These layers of ash were found to be thirty centimetres deeper than the layers within the room, in uniform layers, and there were also large animal bones and small ceramic sherds present within the ash.²¹⁹ The animal bones discovered in the exterior ash layers, however, were found to be mostly burnt, contrasted directly with the large amount of bone fragments recovered which were intact and unburnt.²²⁰ Although there has been no evidence for an altar in this location, the finds indicate a strong possibility of ritual activity. The material itself can certainly be connected to a causal action of ritual, but the link to a specific location remains tenuous as the ash can only be connected to the act of burning, not necessarily where the burning took place as it is by nature a mobile material.

In the North West corner of the *temenos*, a second room was erected which had a significantly different collection of material than the room of the South West corner. This second room held a significant amount of ceramic material mainly composed of vessels which generally are associated with liquid storage.²²¹ A key was found as well at the threshold stone of the room, indicating a strong likelihood that a locking door once existed at this location, preserving

²¹⁸ Wright, *The Last Days of a Seleucid City*, 124. See: Clarke, G.W., et al. *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 119-60

²¹⁹ Ibid., 124. See: Clarke, G.W., et al. *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 119-60

²²⁰ Clarke, G.W. et al. 2011. *Jebel Khalid Fieldwork Report 2009-2010*. *Meditarch* 24, 169.

²²¹ Ibid., 124. See: Clarke, G.W., et al. 2008. *Jebel Khalid: The 2006 season*. *Meditarch* 21. Only 4% of the bone fragments recovered from area B were burnt.

evidence of a direct restriction of space. The room, however, does not have the same causal link between material and ritual processes as the room in the south west does, so this restriction likely was not related to socio-cultural inclusiveness in relation to ritual specifically, but rather a method of movement restriction. In conjunction with the material associated with the room, the room was likely a storage area.

As was the case with the temple *á redans*, considering the areas of high potential for ritual activity with the associated graph of visibility reveals interesting differentiations between potential focal communities. As expected, the privacy of the three rear rooms was unrivaled in comparison to the rest of Area B, but the presence of the columns within and outside of the temple acted as a clear break in vision. The visual break directly constructs secondary areas of privacy which line up directly parallel to the columns. When the second and third visibility graphs are contrasted, one can see very clearly the effect that these columns had on the visual accessibility of the *temenos* as a whole. Without the columns at the front of the structure, almost the entire *temenos* foreground becomes similarly visible, drastically increasing the potential visibility of ritual within that space. Once again, it is necessary to consider the difference in relative size associated with the square form temples hitherto analysed. The temple at Jebel Khalid was significantly smaller and could never have held the same capacity of observation which could have been carried out at the temples of Zeus or *Hors les Murs*. Finally, whether separated for its own activities, or separated from activities, the room in the North West of Area B expressed a degree of visual exclusivity equal to the rear of the temple. There are two important factors to consider with regards to these two exclusive spaces. Firstly, it is hard to link these areas specifically to a particular ritual activity given the lack of physical remains associated with any individual ritual. Secondly, it is important to remember that these areas would have remained largely unseen during ritual activities in at the *temenos*' altar due to the restricting columns in Area B which surround the temple structure itself.

Chapter Six- Ritual and Cult Analysis:

Introduction: The goal of this thesis has been to identify socio-cultural groups by way of archaeological analyses in specific loci of possible ritual activities. The specific loci chosen were the temples and *temenoi* within the communities. As became evident after cataloguing the material evidence available, the identification of distinct socio-cultural identities could not be done directly as there was simply not enough artefactual evidence to make absolute claims. Instead of identifying clear lines of socio-cultural self-identification within the community, the method I instead focused on was an indirect identification of spatial usage and how that observation could point to a ritualized use of that space by a particular group. The analyses done in chapters four and five were aimed at recognizing potential focal communities within the greater civic communities based on their identification of distinct architectural spaces, permeability, visualization, and potential for ritual activity as emphasized by material remains. The current chapter reflects on all of the data collected so far in a synthetic and analytical framework with a goal to identify potential socio-cultural interaction within the selected Seleukid sanctuaries.

In the previous chapter the spatial data collected was the spatial permeability, the surface area and density of structures, and finally the relative inter-visibility of the sanctuaries as a whole. Through analyzing the spatial data, I have constructed a context of individual and group agency wherein potential actors engage with specifically delineated architectural space. This potential agent acts as a test to define the parameters determining potential actions and experiences within the specific areas of the sanctuaries in question. The following analysis will thus reflect a potential personage which, theoretically, is representative of a larger socio-cultural group. The analysis specifically is aimed at recognizing the spatial boundaries of a potential population's particular ritual actions and processes which can be identified through the use of spatial data taken from the archaeological record.

Group identification relies in part on social memory, whereby memory and identity formation are linked to the (re)creation of place.²²² This is a process which I will refer to as monumentalization.²²³ The process of monumentalization is significant in this analysis because it draws a connection between a potential community and a monument, whether that monument be

²²² For discussion of place as a concept see: Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction To An Anthropology Of Super Modernity*, (Verso, 1995); Thomas F. Gieryn, *A Space For Place In Sociology*, (Annual Review for Sociology, 2000).

²²³ Ma, *City As Memory*.

in the mind or the physical realm of experience.²²⁴ The five sanctuaries analyzed in this study will be discussed as monumental space not simply because of the active ritual processes which occurred there over an extended period of time contributed to identity formation, but also in view of the historical context in which they were built. Specifically, in the Hellenistic period, the newly created settlements were manifestations of a complex regional negotiation between the ruling kings, the local elite, the army, and the local populations inhabiting the region.²²⁵ To some extent, the erection of these outposts would be connected to the benefaction from wealthy individuals, but the role of the general inhabiting population cannot be ignored. Linking the foundation of the settlements to any particular individual(s) is problematic on account of the lack of any epigraphic evidence. As such, though it is easy to see the temple structures as manifestations of a form of *euergesism*, given their public character and relative monumental size, one cannot connect the sanctuaries to any one individual. The sanctuaries thus must be viewed as a product of civic and imperial context rather than an individual's financial effort.

The creation of civic space was directly linked to the regional context of imperial rule not just by the physical reality of the situation,²²⁶ the imperial rule of a Hellenistic *Diadoch*,²²⁷ but also in the memory of the new settlers and their descendants, as well as their inevitable interactions with the populations indigenous to the region. Any relationship between and among cultures in the region would have inevitably become hybridized in nature as the varying cultural groups asserted and expressed themselves. The interacting populations would have created not only a shared use of the space, but also shared and sometimes conflicting or contrasting memories of the urban landscape. In this way, the mental monument of “the city” would manifest in unique ways depending on each potential agent within the civic space or who interacted with the space. The use of potential agents allows for a general typification of space by organizing generalized locations of interaction rather than engaging with creations of civic landscape which would be unique to each interacting individual.

In the case of sanctuaries where specific actions are performed repeatedly through an extended period of time, one means by which to discuss how memories were shaped through location is by identifying and differentiating areas of potential ritual activity wherein those

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ For discussion see: Rolf Strootman, *Dynastic Courts Of The Hellenistic Empires*, (Wiley, 2013); *Hellenistic Court Society*, (Brill, 2011).

²²⁶ Briant, *The Seleucid Kingdom*, 57-58.

²²⁷ Along with the *diadoch*; the local elites, the powerful Macedonian nobles, and the standing army were all connected with the idea of the Seleukid Empire as a ruling force in the region. (See Briant, 1990)

actions were undertaken. Not only would the newly created communities have established a very physical boundary, dividing the urban from the rural, through the erection of massive fortifications,²²⁸ but the mental boundaries would extend further, comprising the land given to the *klerouchoi* as well as land potentially taken away from the previous inhabitants of the land.²²⁹ These boundaries would have undoubtedly affected the mental landscape of the area and built immediate associations in the mind with regards to place. The newly structured boundaries of place would be especially striking to the local population which would have witnessed an immediate change in the landscape as well as a new shift in population with the arrival of significant numbers of immigrants who would have begun to interact, intermarry, and become an equal part of the landscape with time. With regards to the space within the cities themselves, however, one can also draw direct connections with the large public works of the city. The temple structures and their spatial contexts are clear examples of communal locations that would serve as places of interaction, both intentional and coincidental, within the new civic spaces.

The memory of temples and their greater *temenos* locations would be reinforced as naturalized elements of the mental landscape in time through their mere existence and their cyclical use. The visual impact of the structures would have an intensifying effect on their overall mental emphasis and interpretation. The impact of a structure on a potential observer not only depends on the size and form of the structure, but also its general visibility. In a number of the temples there is direct connection between the visual sphere of the structures and the greater civic space as a whole. Notably the temples of Artemis, the temple *á redans*, and the temple of Jebel Khalid were constructed in locations directly within the sightlines of the upper city.²³⁰ At Dura-Europos and Jebel Khalid this also means that the same sightlines would include the administrative palace. Even at Ai-Khanoum, although the administrative buildings were located in the lower city, the temple *á redans* was erected beside these structures. The importance of these visual spheres is twofold, as not only could one standing in the upper city see the temple structures, but the temple-goers engaging in ritual would have a clear view of the upper city and the imperial power represented by the enormous fortifications.

It is important for us to remember the imperial context within which the temples were erected, as their construction is necessarily entangled with a concept of overreaching imperialism. The *diadoch* may not have been directly responsible for the construction of

²²⁸ Findley, *Building Change*, 4.

²²⁹ Grainger, *The Cities of Seleukid Syria*, 112-114.

²³⁰ See figs 3, 9, 20.

sanctuaries, but there is still a monumentality of the structures in the mind which is inextricably linked to their location within an imperial military colony, and thus a link to the *diadoch* himself. The *euergetic* nature of their foundation is an essential element of their existence, and though such a context may not have been relevant in the later periods of the cities, it would be very present under the Seleukid yoke. The similarity of imperial context can help to understand the relative inter-regional consistency of construction throughout the settlements.

The construction and maintenance of the sanctuaries and the liturgies celebrated therein would have played a major role in the creation of a social identity for the settlers of the Seleukid communities, but for the discussion of potential social interaction it is important to examine the greater temple areas themselves. By way of the analyses in the previous chapters, I have indicated the spaces of high potential for ritual activity which may have reflected as well as reinforced the emergence of ritual patterns in the newly formed communities. More importantly, areas which do not conform to those patterns stand out as examples of proxy measures unique to particular communities and sanctuaries. As shown in chapter five, there was a strong consistency of potential ritual space in the temple *hors les murs*, temple *à redans*, temple of Zeus at Dura, and the temple of Area B at Jebel Khalid. This consistency of potential ritual areas can partially be explained by the similarities of internal and external organization associated with the sanctuaries as well as temples proper. The four temples all had altar spaces in either the fore-court, or the internal courtyard of the temple structure. Similarly, all four had at least one area of closed permeability against the rear internal wall of the temple which has been associated with ritual practices. As will become evident in the following discussion of spatial analysis, each sanctuary exhibited differentiating characteristics which make each case of ritual patterning unique. Through the formal analysis of space, a combination of patterns emerged from the data, forming general identifying features of the temples that remained consistent to some degree from settlement to settlement. Below, three different types of temples are described in comparative terms. The types described are divided by structural patterns and ritual space characteristics. Typification is used here as a tool by which to discuss inter-regional similarities and differences of ritual space usage by potential active participants within the sanctuaries, and their observation by different audiences.

6.1 Type 1 Features: The first form of temple is also the least understood in the context of this study. The temple of Artemis is the only structure of the five temples studied which has a typical Greek-style ground plan. The reconstructions created by the original excavators indicate a

clear *peristyle* temple. There is a distinct contrast between the temple of Artemis at Dura-Europos and the other four temples analyzed both in terms of its overall structural characteristics as well as its exclusivity and visibility. The temple was constructed according to a typical Greek *peristyle* temple plan, identified by the rectangular form surrounded by exterior columns.²³¹ As discussed, the temple of Artemis has provided little in terms of material or visual evidence regarding its ritual activities. The overall analysis of space with regards to this temple is also quite difficult given its dearth of physical evidence. Although three areas of potential for ritual activity were discussed, determining potential liminal divisions associated with those areas is not possible as the extent of the sacred space has not been accurately ascertained through excavation. Despite the limitations the analysis faced, in the context of Dura-Europos the temple of Artemis is considered a whole, and we can make some claims regarding socio-cultural interaction between focal communities.

The typical Greek form temple, in this case typified by the temple of Artemis, was not found at either Aï-Khanoum or Jebel Khalid. The temple of Artemis at Dura is an intriguing outlier not only in terms of its different structure, but also in its context of former Persian lands where many temples instead follow regional consistency or fit into a square form temple pattern.²³² Due to the unique appearance of this temple type within the Seleukid colonies, one cannot assert that the temple structure was part of a larger pattern of construction throughout the empire. The mere existence of the temple of Artemis in contrast to the temple of Zeus at Dura is indicative for a separation of potential ritual communities, however, the manner of difference is more intriguing than the difference itself. A conclusion which can be drawn is that the ritual processes at this temple were of a different nature than those undertaken at the temple of Zeus at Dura-Europos.²³³ The differentiation of ritual is exposed by the radical difference in permeability between the two temples. Comparing the areas of high potential for ritual activity in both temples, which I have identified in the previous chapter, there is a distinctly different character of permeability between the two sites. As identified in the permeability images of pg. 53 (note: permeability images 1 and 2), the temple of Artemis has two areas of partial permeability, one surrounding and one attached to, the final area of the sanctuary (the only interior room). Notably, this does not include the theoretical *temenos* wall which cannot be accounted for in the

²³¹ Rostoftzeff et al., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: vol. 6*, 408, 409.

²³² Michael Shenkar, *Temple And Architecture In The Iranian World In The Hellenistic Period*, (Archaeopress, 2011), 119-131; Gilbert, J.P. McEwan, *Priest And Temple In Hellenistic Babylon*, (Verlag, 1981).

²³³ In the context of ritual processes, this includes both the members performing the ritual itself, as well as the audience experiencing the ritual as both are active participants in the ritual reinforcement.

archaeological record, but if one assumes that there was indeed an outer wall to the sanctuary as was the case with the temple of Zeus, both restrictive measures would cancel each other out in terms of comparative permeability. The temple of Artemis does, however, exhibit a surrounding peristyle of columns, partially restricting movement into the forecourt altar space which then connects to the only fully interior room of the structure, a room which itself has two entrances/exits. The temple of Zeus on the other hand does not have any levels of partial permeability, and each level is clearly demarcated by an entrance. The result of the temple's internal structure is four interior rooms, three of which represent a large degree of closedness as they connect only to one other room, namely the interior courtyard of the temple structure.

The contrast of permeability is not supported by an associated visual analysis in this case as with other temples in this study; however, the distinct locations of high potential for ritual activities are still indicative of a difference in physical accessibility to those activities. Most notably, the access to the two front altars at the temple of Artemis was more exclusive than access to the potential *temenos* altar at the temple of Zeus. Secondly, access to the *naos* of the temple of Artemis was less exclusive than to the *naoi* or the interior courtyard altar associated with the temple of Zeus. The difference in exclusivity does not necessarily point to a different religious/sacred community, but it does point to a difference in ritual community given that the two areas would have a significantly different accessibility for the population engaging or witnessing in the actions of the ritual. These differences in permeability as well as the architectural contrast between the two temples²³⁴ points to a distinct focal community at the temple of Artemis, one separate from those who would have enacted ritual processes at the temple of Zeus. The two communities would have been divided along ritual lines precisely because there was a different permeability associated with the rituals in the temples themselves. One of the ways this permeability expressed itself is through a physical limitation of space in the form of surface area. Specifically, as outlined in the fourth and fifth chapters of analysis, there is a sharp discrepancy between the surface areas of the areas representing a high potential for ritual. Not only is the superstructure of the temple of Zeus more than five times as large as the temple of Artemis, but the areas in which the altars were located also show a discrepancy of roughly two and a half times larger in favour of the temple of Zeus. It is in these locations, however, that permeability plays an important role. Although the temple of Zeus' altar area could theoretically

²³⁴ Specifically, immediately noticeable architectural differences between the two temples are the rectangular columnar construct of the temple of Artemis and its two altar construction, in contrast to the square form, *tri-naoi* construct with an interior courtyard altar.

hold more people within it, the amount of visually accessible space is drastically smaller in comparison to the temple of Artemis as the open form columns allow for any observer in the forecourt area of the *temenos* to act as a potential observer to ritual activities.

Discrepancy between these areas of high ritual potential certainly indicates a separation within or between rituals, an element easily seen today in religious settings. In the comparison between the two temples in the community, it is likely indicative of a larger pattern of community engagement if one area is much more visible than the other. Given that these two areas show a differentiation in potential focal communities, it indicates a strong likelihood that larger visible area, the temple of Artemis, would have had a larger population engaging in the potential ritual activities.

The permeability is indicative of a separate liminal boundary of sacrality because of the different nature of the performances carried out in ritual form. It is important to emphasize that the differentiation between focal communities is not a statement about focal exclusivity or religious differences. On the basis of this visual and spatial analysis, the differentiation of socio-cultural groups is not able to be done in absolute terms without support from physical remains and other sources. As such, one focal community does not form an exclusive set of civic inhabitants, and in fact it is equally likely for all citizens to be members of all focal communities associated with the separate areas of potential ritual activity. The only limit on such complete interaction within the community would be the realities of how many people could fit into the specific areas at any particular time. On a more pragmatic level, one can assume that divisions along the lines of focal communities would to some extent be representative of further divisions along socio-cultural lines within the civic community.

Unfortunately, because there was no similar sanctuary found in the three settlements examined, any understanding of the temple of Artemis comes from its relation to the temple of Zeus and their place in Dura-Europos. The sanctuaries themselves are different with respect to all proxy measurements of my outlined ritual space analysis (permeability, visibility, size, structure, location etc.), and thus are representative of separate focal communities of ritual process within the same larger civic community. Specifically, this includes both the audiences as well as the performers of the ritual acts since the proxy measures indicate not simply that a ritual may have taken place, but rather the general context of a particular series of actions interpreted as ritual. The temple of Zeus will be analyzed in further detail in the description of the 'type 3' sanctuary features.

6.2 Type 2 Features: The second temple type described in the architectural analysis is that associated with the temple *à redans*. Similarly to the first type, only one temple in the study exhibited the features which distinguish the temple *à redans* from the remaining temples. The temple *à redans* was erected as a square form temple similar to the temple of Zeus at Dura, the temple *hors les murs*, and the temple of area B, however, the distinct differences in internal construction and the resulting shift in permeability and intervisibility warrants a different classification. Beyond the structural differences such as; the larger size of the temple *hors les murs*, the *tri-naoi* construct in opposition to a single *naos*, and an open interior courtyard in opposition to the closed courtyard of the temple *à redans* (a difference intensified further by the presence of a door at the latter temple), there was a significant amount of additional material evidence at the temple *à redans*. The overall permeability of this temple is indicated by the third permeability image (pg. 45), and the structure of the temple can be typified by an open courtyard, central *naos*, and two connected side rooms, all situated upon a large *crepis* platform. The temple structure's central *naos* was highly indicative of ritual process given the decoration of the rear wall and the associated bench and cult statue. A significant aspect of this room is its unprecedented exclusivity, as not only was it the only room of high potential for ritual activity in the temple's superstructure, but the entrance to the temple also contained evidence of a closing doorway.²³⁵ Given such a great degree of exclusive liminality, the potential ritual activity within this central *naos* is indicative of a unique ritual process when compared with the permeability of the other square form temples.

The greater *temenos* of the temple as well as the exterior walls had a number of locations associated with a high potential for ritual activity. Importantly, the distinct nature of the material recovered as well as a stark differentiation in permeability and visibility is indicative of different focal communities within the same temple area. At the rear wall of the temple, the embedded libation vessels are located in a particularly exclusive location for ritual while still being within an open space, namely the *temenos* itself. As demonstrated in the permeability of the temple site, the rear of the temple was a very accessible space in term of human movement, however, the visual accessibility lies at the opposite end of the spectrum. In fact, the rear wall is shown through the visibility graph to have an equal range of visual accessibility as the *naos* of the temple. This contrast establishes the rear wall of the temple as not only distinct from potential ritual action which may have occurred within the *naos* itself, but also with the other areas of the

²³⁵ Bernard, CRAI (1971), 425-27.

temenos. What adds to the difference is material gathered from the site. The vessels at the rear wall are associated with liquid ritual practice, while one of the altar platforms surrounding the *crepis* had a distinct depression for ashes, reflecting sacrificial activity meant to be experienced and/or carried out by a larger audience.²³⁶ Separating the areas of ritual potential based on the material recovered is something which cannot be done at the other temples of this analysis. The material evidence of the temple *à redans*, however, can be used to interpret the greater spatial configuration of the sanctuary because it shows that a difference in permeability and visual accessibility can be representative of a difference in ritual processes and activities.

The platforms along the *crepis* lie in an area which is equally accessible visually and in terms of movement as the altars of the *temenos* area.²³⁷ This openness is representative of an inclusivity in the ritual processes allows one to emphasize the separation of this area's potential for ritual activity into a separate focal community. It is difficult, however, to separate conceptually the altars on the *crepis* from those on the flat ground of the *temenos* as the three rubrics of measurement (visibility, accessibility, and material remains) do not indicate a significantly different nature between the sets of altars. Bearing that in mind, the evidence compiled at the temple *à redans* allows for the claim that there were at least three distinct focal communities interacting in the same sacred space. One group is associated with the rear wall of the exterior temple, the second with the greater *temenos* area, and the third with the *naos* of the temple structure. The conclusion drawn from the evidence at the temple *à redans* is similar to the one established at the site of Dura-Europos. Namely, in both cases, there is evidence of separate focal communities interacting within the same civic sphere. Interestingly, however, in Aï-Khanoum, the evidence of separate focal communities comes from within the same sacred space. The presence of different focal communities is a significant divergence from the other studied temples mainly because of the diversity of proxy measures within such a relatively small space. In contrast, the temple of Artemis exhibited one area of high potential for ritual activity at the forecourt altars, and a possible second one within the *naos* (although there is no material to reinforce this claim). The temple *à redans*, however, contains three areas of high potential with one being the greater *temenos* area, including a significant number of altars within itself. The difference here is that, whereas in Dura-Europos, separate focal communities were identified in separate temple structures, the community of Aï-Khanoum has not only separate temples, but

²³⁶ Bernard, *La campagne de fouilles de 1970 à Ai Khanoum*, 426-29; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 69.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 427-429; Downey, *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture*, 69.

also separate focal communities within the same sanctuary, the only sanctuary in fact erected within its walls. It is important to remember that although there may have been slight differentiations in potential ritual space within the temple of Artemis and the temple of Zeus, these factors did not warrant a specifically separate focal community as there was no material to warrant such a claim (ie. Material related to ritual found in the *naoi* of the structures or separate altars). The exception to this is the potential exterior altar area at the temple of Zeus which would be representative of a separate focal community given its difference in visibility and permeability, however, its existence is not entirely confirmed given the doubt Downey's excavations have placed upon the formation of the *temenos*. The separate focal communities indicated at the temple *à redans* are certainly not in and of themselves indicative of separate socio-cultural groups engaging in ritual processes in the same sacred area. It does, however, form a basis for an investigation into a division between identifiable socio-cultural groups.

6.3 Type 3 Features: The final temple type examined in the analysis of the five temple structures is one which was exhibited in all three communities of the study. The temple of Zeus, the temple *hors les murs*, and the temple of Jebel Khalid (see permeability images 2, 4, and 6) all have a plan which can be summarized as a *tri-naoi* construct. As discussed in the analysis of the fourth and fifth chapters, the three temples can be discussed by two different means. Primarily, the three sanctuary locations can be discussed by comparing their relative permeabilities, the main reason for their similar grouping into a temple type. Secondly, the sanctuaries can be discussed as analogous comparisons of visibility. Specifically, although a direct visual analysis could not be done for the temple *hors les murs* or the temple of Zeus, their similar shape and appearance allowed for the creation of a graph similar to the temple of Area B with the columnar constructs removed. The combination of the permeability and visual analysis with the extant material evidence recovered at the temple at Jebel Khalid provides for an excellent way to recognize ritual at specific locations (as was the case with the temple *à redans*).

The three temples have a number of comparable characteristics but one of the most important ones is the equal distribution of the three *naoi* attached to the central courtyard in terms of their liminality. In the permeability images of the temple of Zeus, the temple *hors les murs*, and the temple of area B (see pp. 53, 56/7, 59 respectively), all three rear rooms lay on an equal plane of permeability, contrasting the fourth square form temple of the study, the temple *à redans*. This contrast is expressed by the two side rooms at the temple *à redans* are connected not to the interior courtyard, but rather to the *naos* itself, placing them on a separate level of

permeability, and changing the very nature of their ritual potential (a further complication given the presence of storage materials discovered within them).²³⁸ The consistency of internal structure also maintains a separation of the visual sphere between the three rear *naoi*. In all three structures one could view no more than one of the rear walls at the same time. There is, as a result of this separation, a clear restriction of vision to and from the outside of the temple structure. The nature of these rooms is indicative of a specific focal community rather than three separate ones (one for each room). This claim specifically is based on the parallel nature of the rooms' exclusivity rather than what was seen at the temple *à redans* where the two side rooms had a separate exclusivity than the central room. Given this parallelism, it would be difficult to separate the potential ritual processes of each room individually without further material evidence to support the claim. Based on the proxy measures of permeability and visibility, the opposite seems true in fact, that the three rooms are instead indicative of a single focal community with similar ritual processes occurring in each room.

There is a distinguishing feature of temple of Jebel Khalid in the form of a final area which had a high potential for ritual activity. The final area is the altar which was discovered in front of the temple's entrance. Excavations at the temple *hors les murs* did not reveal evidence for a *temenos* altar (and the one described at the temple of Zeus has since been thrown into doubt), but the visible accessibility of this altar at the temple of Jebel Khalid is indicative of a very inclusive permeability. The potential for ritual of this space would have a wide accessibility for the civic community of Jebel Khalid. There is a possibility of a comparative connection between this ritual space and the *temenos* of the temple *à redans*. Specifically, this ritual space has a strong connection with rituals of libation, a similar situation to the temple *à redans* because of the embedded libation vessels discovered at the rear wall of the temple. Furthermore, both of the *temenoi* were found to have a water channel,²³⁹ a feature which could serve a number of different functions related to ritual, both functional and symbolic (ex, rinsing of blood, purification, pouring libations).

It is important to note that to some extent the temple *hors les murs* and the temple *à redans* lie between categorization. Specifically, the inclusion of the temple *hors les murs* into the third temple type was made on the basis of permeability of potential spaces of ritual activity. Similarly, the same category was the reason for the temple *à redans*' exclusion from the category.

²³⁸ See: pg. 40, fig. 15 pg. 105

²³⁹ Bernard, *Fouilles de Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan), campagnes de 1972 et 1973*, 298; Clarke, et al., *Jebel Khalid: The 2004 And 2005 Seasons*, 131.

As such, the division is somewhat arbitrary, based on a particular proxy measure which was able to be analyzed in both instances. Although visual evidence can be done analogously for the temple *hors les murs*, it is not direct evidence and as such was not used as a rubric for typification.

The third temple type identified allows for an interesting conclusion which lies separate from the conclusions drawn on account of the first two types. Whereas types one and two were indicative of separate focal communities, type three is indicative of a startling similarity of cross-regional focal grouping based on the categories of material evidence, permeability, and visual accessibility. Cross-regional patterning of a specific focal community is representative of a common factor of initial construction. Remembering the context within which the temples were erected, one can claim that there was a strong possibility of a centralized building project which would have created space with the potential to function in a similar manner across different regions. Since all of the temples were linked to the initial settlement phases of the military colonies, there is a strong likelihood that these temples were erected in a similar imperial framework which resulted in a manifestation of similar sanctuary space and organization which was representative of a specific focal community.

The above leads to two potential arguments: either the similar square form temples were erected not with the local populations in mind, but rather for a group with a similar socio-cultural background who would have expressed their ritual potential in a roughly similar manner, or conversely, it could have been manifestation of amalgamated or hybridized ritual traditions within new spatial contexts. The former group may refer to the soldier settlers who travelled to the regional outposts of the empire as this would be a consistent socio-cultural group in the multi-ethnic empire. The processes of ritual activity, however, would inevitably change given not only the constant socio-cultural interactions of the local populations with the Greco-Macedonian settlers (and *vice versa*), but also from the regional isolation of each specific community. It is not surprising that most variation is seen in the settlement of Aī-Khanoum, the community erected at the furthest extent of the Empire. The second argument also merits a strong consideration, as there are a number of examples within the Seleukid Empire which reinforce this claim. Instead of seeing regional variation as a divergence from an original, or archetype, temple manifestation in the empire (one which becomes slowly changed over time with regional displacement and local influence), the variations can instead be representative of an initial compromise in structure and form. Notably, there does not seem to have been a significant change at the temple in Babylon

except in the form of an administrative language change. Similarly, temples in the Iranian plateau show a number of contrasting features from those discovered in Mesopotamia, Syria, or the eastern portions of the empire.²⁴⁰

The conclusion that the temples of the Seleukid Empire were manifestations of a mix between Greek and Eastern influences is not a new concept, but previous claims ignore the further complexity of the immigrant populations. One might wonder why Hellenistic rulers would erect structures with local design. Perhaps the architects themselves were non-Greek; a means of explaining this seeming contradiction.²⁴¹ As described throughout this thesis, however, the inhabiting populations of the military settlements were not exclusively of a Hellenic background. Intermarriage was an undeniable result of a large, and primarily male, population transplanted into a new region and it is clear that in the Seleukid context this was also the case.²⁴² Antiochus I himself was born to a Baktrian mother, a fact which reinforces the normalization of marriages to local women.²⁴³ The inevitable combination of cultures does not create two separate cultures interacting in the same space but easily divided in the archaeological record, but rather becomes a unique expression of identity. Each temple analyzed is thus a physical manifestation of the interacting cultural elements, taking the form of a hybridized civic area. Despite the hybrid nature of the structures and space, incorporating elements of a number of different focal communities, each community would to some extent have normalized the existence of the temple as they would not only interact with the space passively through visual means (or actively as an observer) but would also reinforce the use of the area through repeated ritual action.

The goals of this thesis were admittedly ambitious, however, despite not being able to draw definitive conclusions about the loci of potential cultural interaction as expressed by potential populations through ritual processes, significant results were still drawn from the separate analyses of this thesis. The methodology established within the start of this thesis has proven useful for identification of focal communities, a primary step in the further description of cultural communication and interaction. The strength of the methodology lies in its utilization of the mental and physical actions of potential actors to explain how ritual processes establish the boundaries of focal communities. Despite the weakness of this methodology, namely its reliance

²⁴⁰ Shenkar, *Temple And Architecture In The Iranian World In The Hellenistic Period*, 132, 133; See also for comparison: Joachim Oelsner, *Hellenization of the Babylonian Culture?*, (Università di Bologna & ISIAO, 2002)

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 131-133.

²⁴² Mairs, *The Places In Between: Model And Metaphor In The Archaeology Of Hellenistic Arachosia*, (Archaeopress, 2011), 179.

²⁴³ For further discussion see: Paul J. Kosmin, *Seleucid Ethnography and Indigenous Kingship: The Babylonian Education of Antiochus I*, (Wiesbaden, 2013)

on accurate physical data from the archaeological record (which is not necessarily attainable), this model was still useful in a cross-regional context of study. Thus the methodology applied helps to build off groundwork laid in the identification of cultural groups,²⁴⁴ as well as studies seeking to typify and explain temple structures in the Seleukid Empire.²⁴⁵ The work which has been accomplished in this thesis is an initial step into the discussion of social structures and groups as they manifested in areas of ritual processes.

²⁴⁴ For example see: Mairs, *Ethnic Identity in the Hellenistic Far East; Ethnicity and Funerary Practice in Hellenistic Bactria*.

²⁴⁵ See: Shenkar, *Temple And Architecture In The Iranian World In The Hellenistic Period*

Chapter Seven- Conclusion:

Analysis of the Hellenistic temple structures at Dura-Europos, Aï-Khanoum, and Jebel Khalid has raised a number of questions regarding the socio-cultural groups which utilized them, however it has also allowed for several assertions to be made. Firstly, evidence gathered regarding permeability, relative visibility and the potential for ritual processes (based on the material record) has emphasized a common technique of construction across all three of the settlements examined. This claim is supported by the fact that each settlement was constructed with a square form temple exhibiting a common form of permeability. The three of the temples which had this form of permeability (temple *hors les murs*, temple of Zeus, and temple of Area B) were likely erected at different times, however, given that the temple of Zeus has been emphasized as a Roman structure, not a Seleukid one by Downey and Leriche.²⁴⁶ This cross-temporal emphasis still supports a claim of regional continuity, however, it also indicates that the general focal community identified in the square form temple maintained a persistent presence in a capacity of ritual performance.

Given that the temples were large public structures erected at the construction of the cities themselves, it is reasonable to suggest that they were built either by imperial policy in a *euergetistic* expression of benefaction for the new populaces inhabiting the settlements, or their construction was motivated by a common socio-cultural group with the financial and social means to do so (a group which would have existed in some capacity cross-regionally as well as cross-temporally, given the varying dates associated with the temple of Zeus, in the region associated with the Seleukid Empire and later the Roman and Sassanid Empires). The commonality expressed between the three structures thus expresses a common liminal division of ritual space, further emphasizing the possibility that these ritual spaces were utilized by similar socio-cultural groups cross-regionally throughout the areas now associated with Seleukid rule.

Secondly, the cities which were constructed with two temples each (Dura-Europos and Aï-Khanoum) had a distinct separation of ritual space between their two temple areas. On a basic level, the two temples represent two separate spaces of worship, but beyond this, the second temples which were erected in the communities expressed observably different focal communities. At both sites, one temple was erected in the form of a square-type *tri-naoi* construct. The other two temples, alternatively, were constructed with the first and second types of temple features identified in chapter six (see pp. 82, 85). This differentiation of separate focal

²⁴⁶ Cf. pg. 20

communities within the same civic setting does not necessarily point to a separate cultural interaction, but is certainly indicative of a separate focal community grouping. Importantly, this does not mean that a single citizen could not have engaged with one focal community at one time while still participating in the separate focal community during ritual action. It is significant to note the presence of two sanctuaries within the same community which seem to have been established within a relatively contemporary time period, especially with the consideration that the sanctuaries were representative of separate focal communities. Once again, the presence of separate focal communities within a specific settlement is not necessarily representative of a strict social or cultural division in the population, but is rather a distinction between potential ritual processes which were undertaken at each location.

Thirdly, the temple à *redans* and its distinct ritual spaces indicate a separation of focal communities between the *temenos* and the temple structure, and possibly within the *temenos* itself. The central *naos* of the temple à *redans* had an unparalleled degree of exclusivity with regards to potential ritual action (the *naos* was a single room closed off from the rest of the temple area and even the interior courtyard was able to be closed off by a door), whereas the ritual spaces of the *temenos* inevitably expressed a much more open division of ritual space, accessible to anyone who entered the *temenos* itself. Specifically it seems that there were three levels of ritual space. Within the *temenos*, the platforms surrounding the *crepis* and the place of ritual at the back of the temple's exterior appear to have not simply been different in their exclusivity but also in their practice (See pp. 72-75). Thus, the temple à *redans* is representative of at least three separate focal communities all interacting in the same *temenos* but different locations within the greater sanctuary area.

The three conclusions which have been drawn from the three analyses of this study indicate that the research question posed at the introduction has been addressed but that there is also much more research which can be done with regards to the greater topic of socio-cultural interaction within Seleukid military colonies. There are several directions this research could take including a literary analysis, a more thorough case study of a particular region, or even a larger catalogue of more regions within the Seleukid empire in an effort to identify structural and spatial patterning. Such studies are unfortunately beyond the scope of a master's thesis but are worthwhile directions that my expressed methodology and theoretical framework could be applied. My own analyses, specifically, have indicated that there is indeed evidence that separate social groups were interacting within not only the Seleukid military colonies themselves, but also

cross-regionally throughout the Empire. The evidence, however, cannot at this point indicate a strict delineation of cultural groups with any certainty. To emphasize differences in interacting cultural groups more work will need to be done with regards to the material evidence found at the temples already studied, but the research can also be expanded to other Seleukid military colonies (not to mention extended to further generations and into the Roman period of the regions in question). The cross-regional (and ultimately cross-temporal) nature of this study has allowed for the comparison of temples in different areas of the Seleukid Empire, and led to a conclusion which could otherwise not have been expressed, specifically the potential for a social group throughout various regions in the empire based on the similarity of ritual areas.

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Appendix:

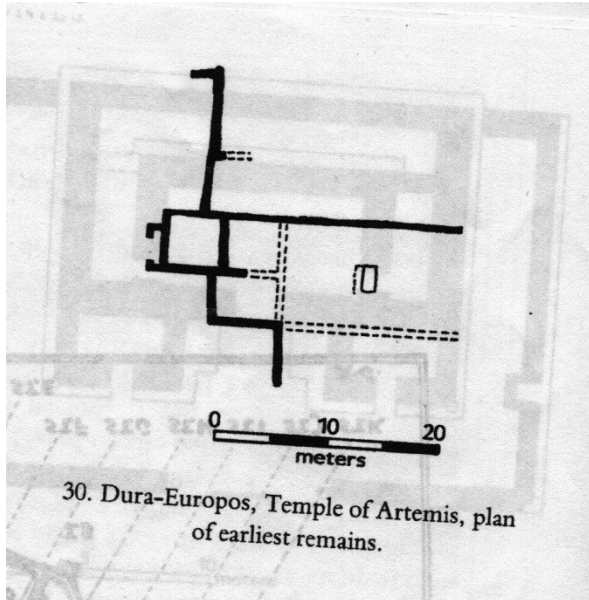


Fig 1²⁴⁷- Temple of Artemis, first phase

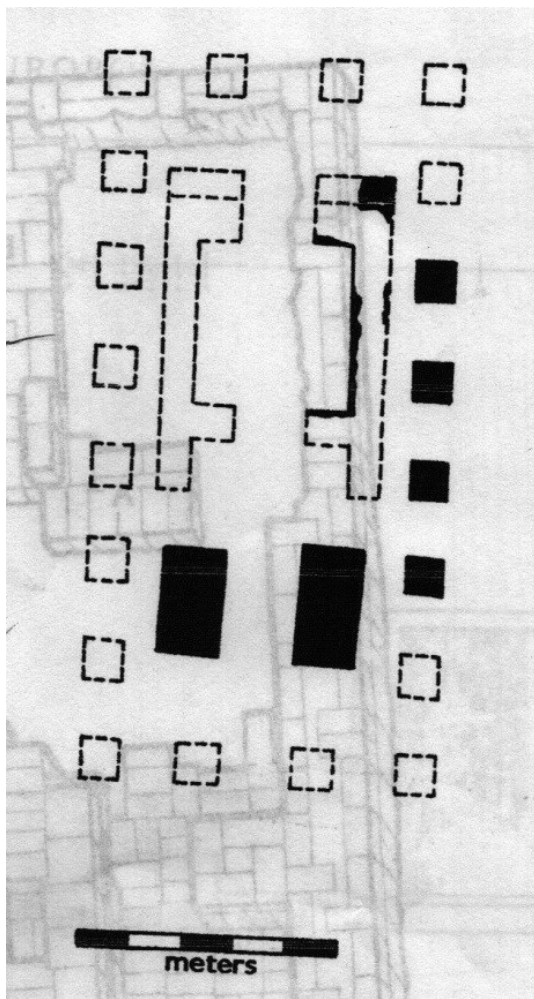


Fig 2²⁴⁸- Temple of Artemis, second phase

²⁴⁷ Downey, (1988), fig 30, pg 78.

²⁴⁸ Downey, (1988), fig 31, pg 79.

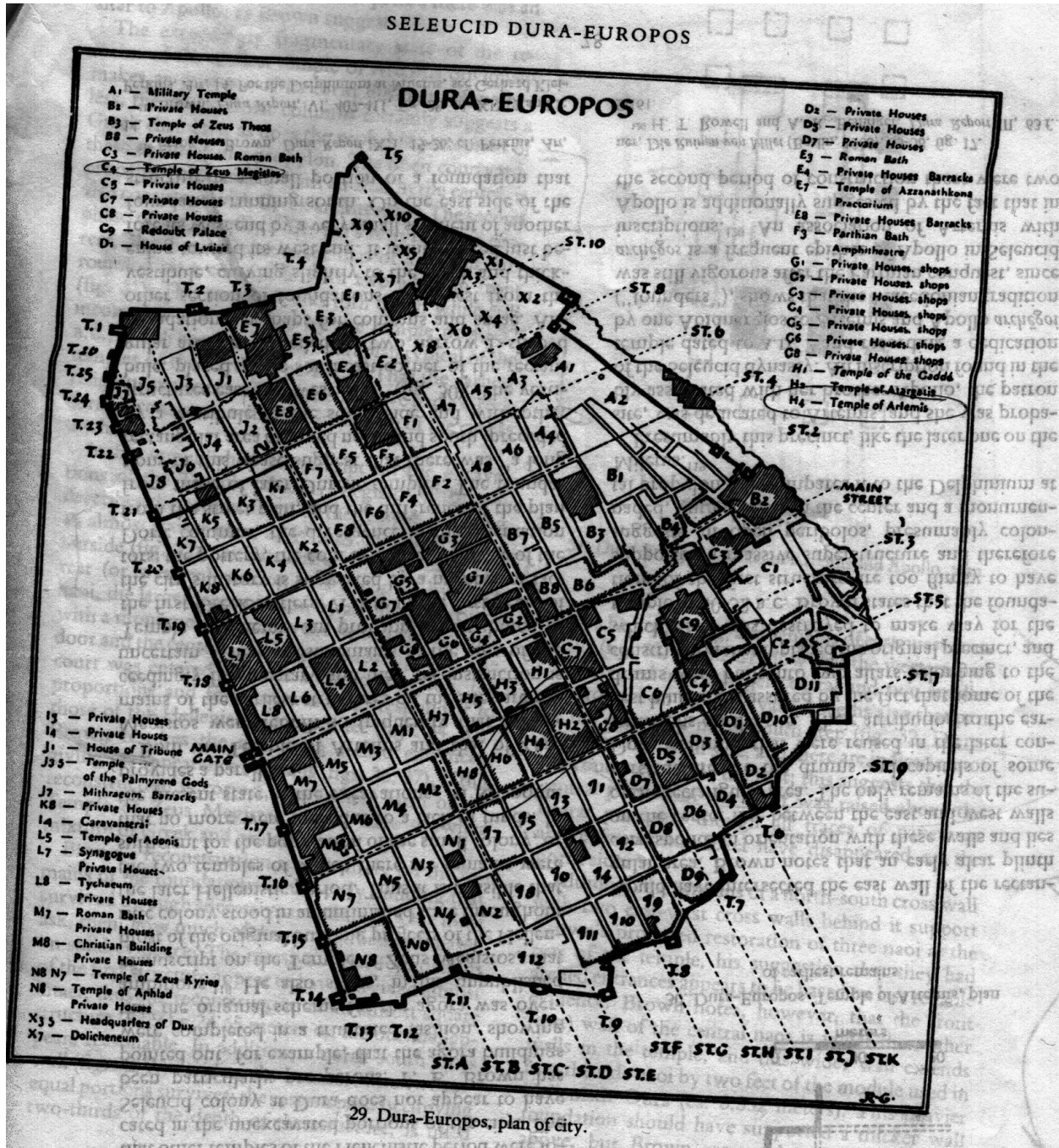


Fig 3²⁴⁹- Plan of Dura-Europos

²⁴⁹ Downey, (1988), fig 29, pg 77.

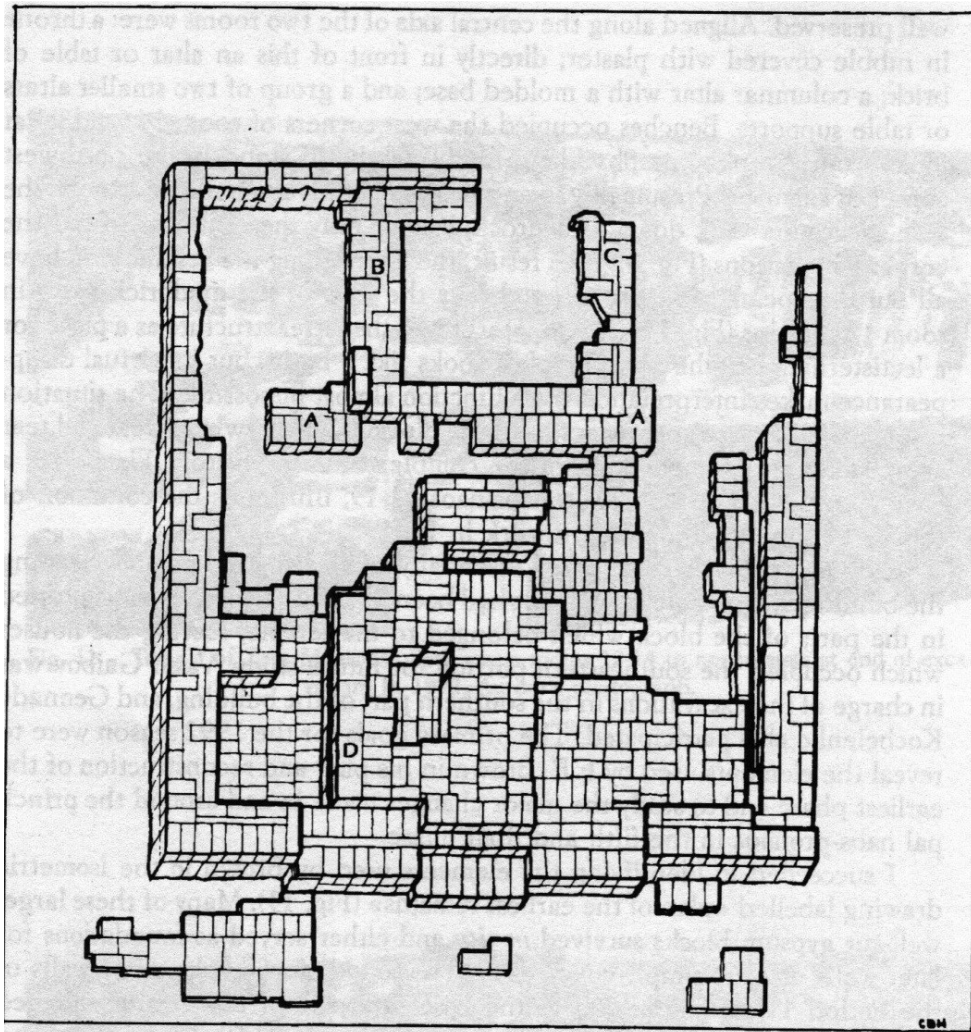


Fig 4²⁵⁰- Earliest

plan of the temple of Zeus Megistos

²⁵⁰ Downey, (1988), fig 32, pg 80.

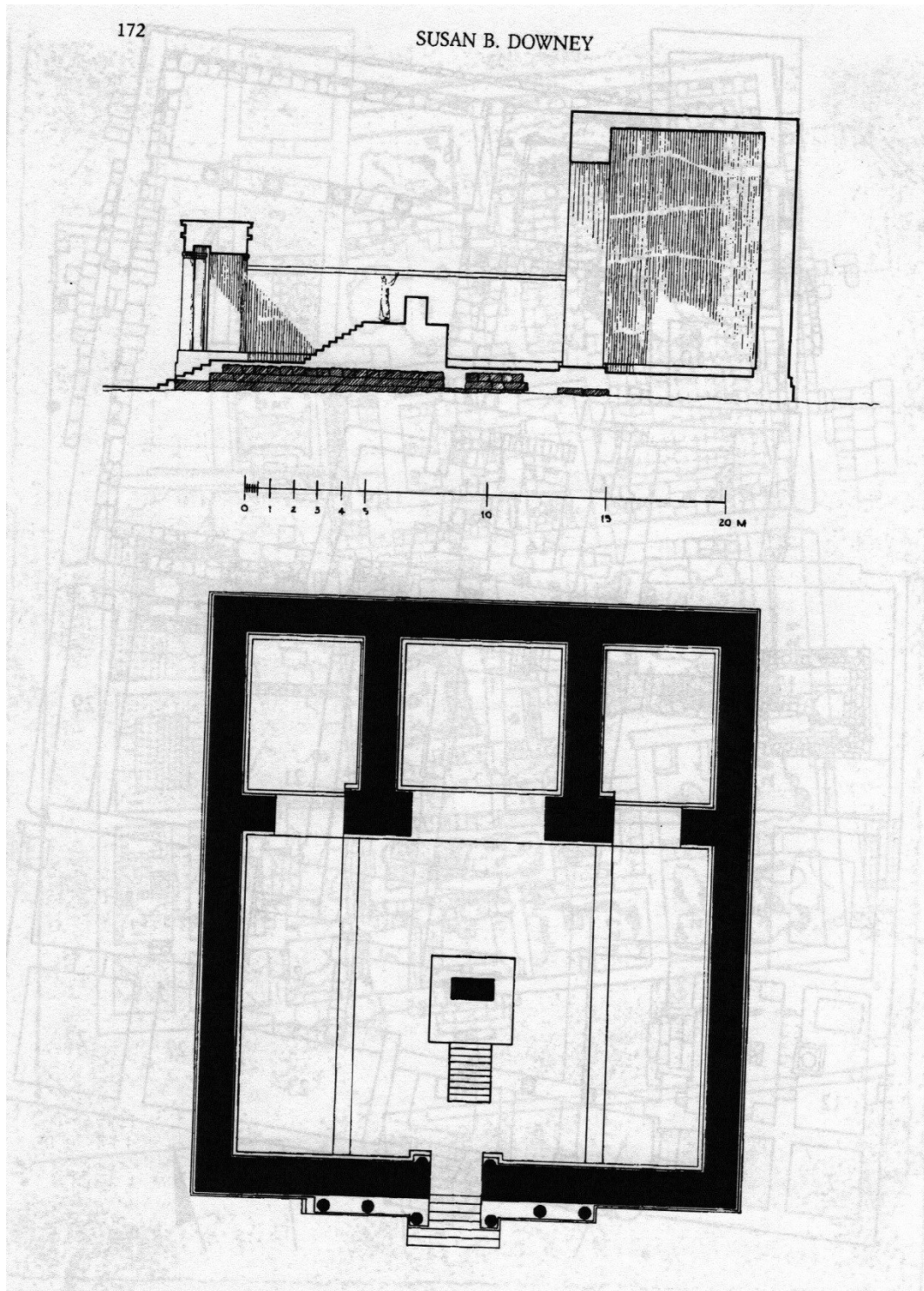


Fig 5²⁵¹-

Temple of Zeus Megistos, first period reconstruction

²⁵¹ Downey, (1993), fig 3, pg 172.

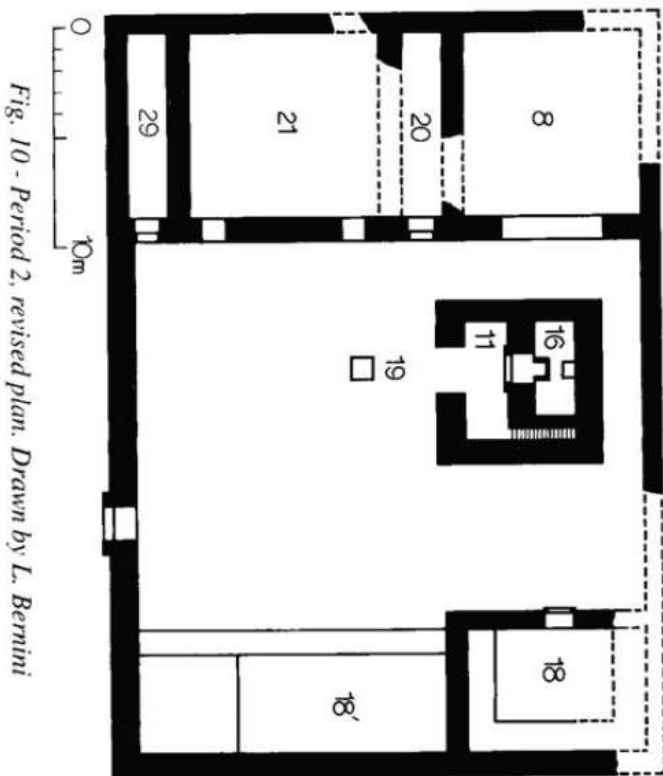
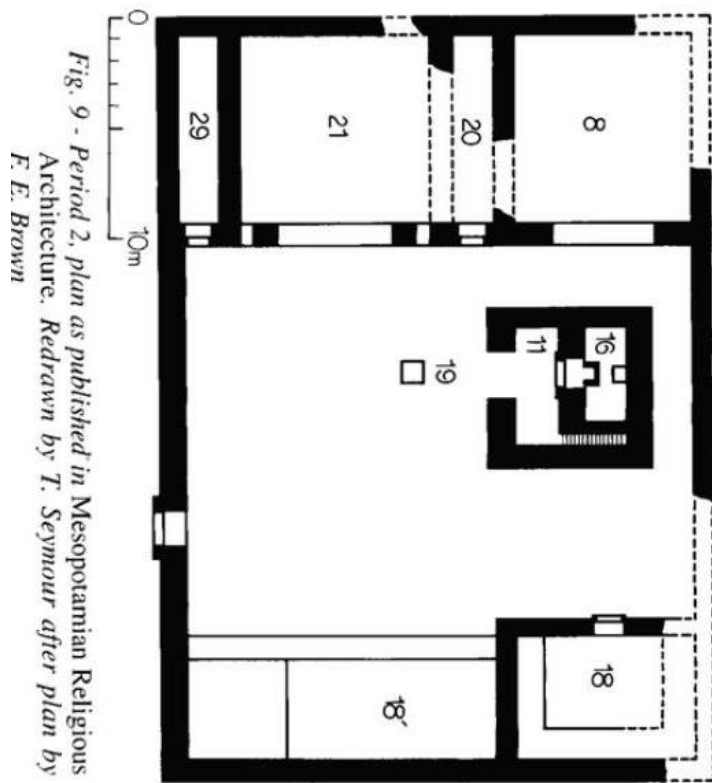
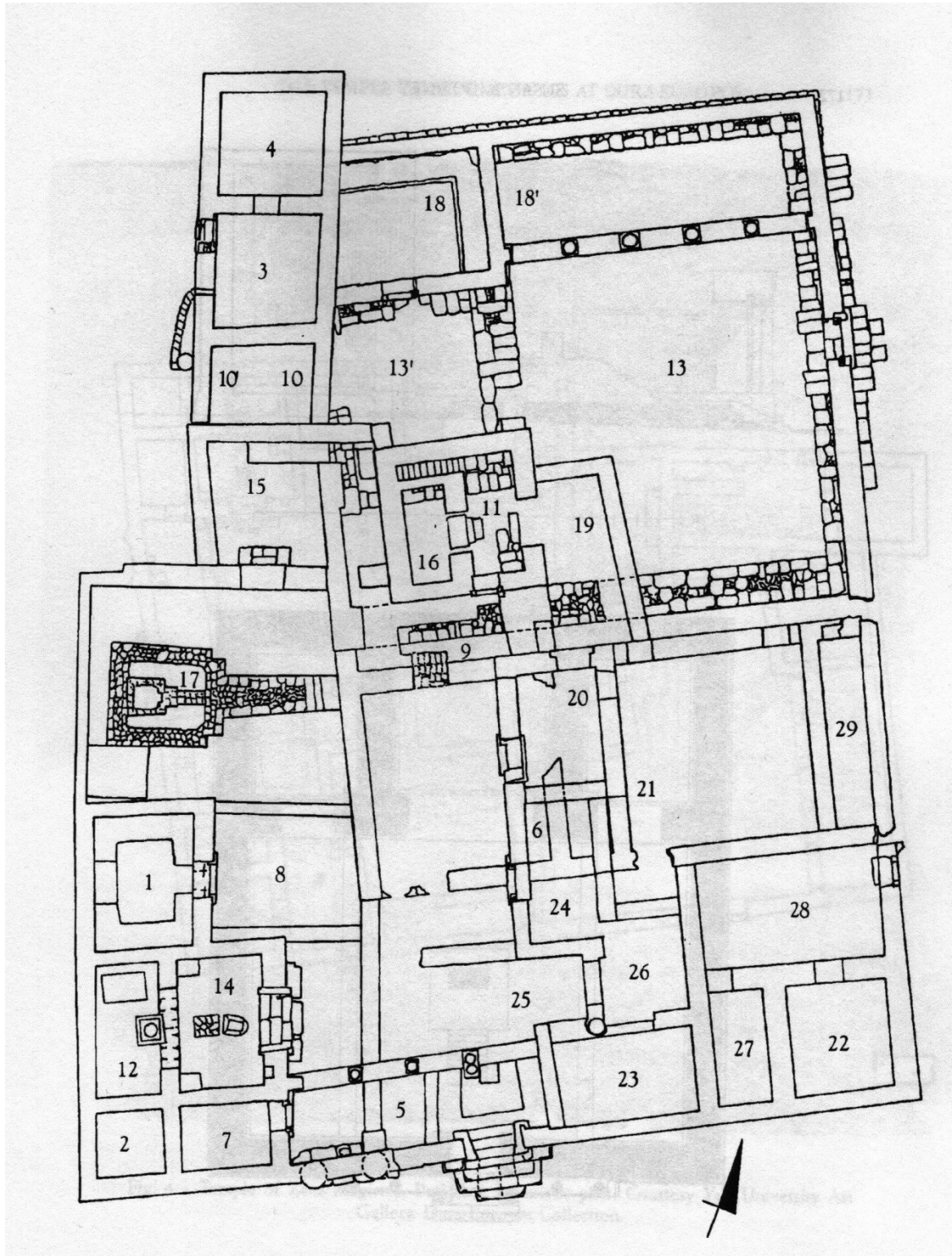


Fig. 2 Temple of Zeus Plan

²⁵² Downey, (1997), figs 9-10, pg 111



7²⁵³- Temple of Zeus Megistos with later structures overlaid and incorporated into structure Fig

²⁵³ Downey, (1993), fig 2, pg 171.

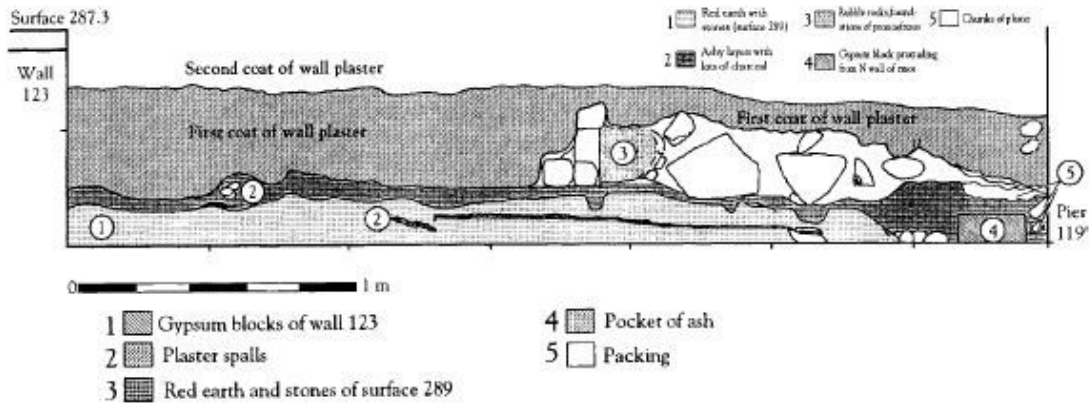


Fig. 19 - Temple of Zeus Magistos, north wall of Pronaos 11-Naos 16, section after removal of hard-packed surface. Drawn by Tim Seymour after drawing by author.

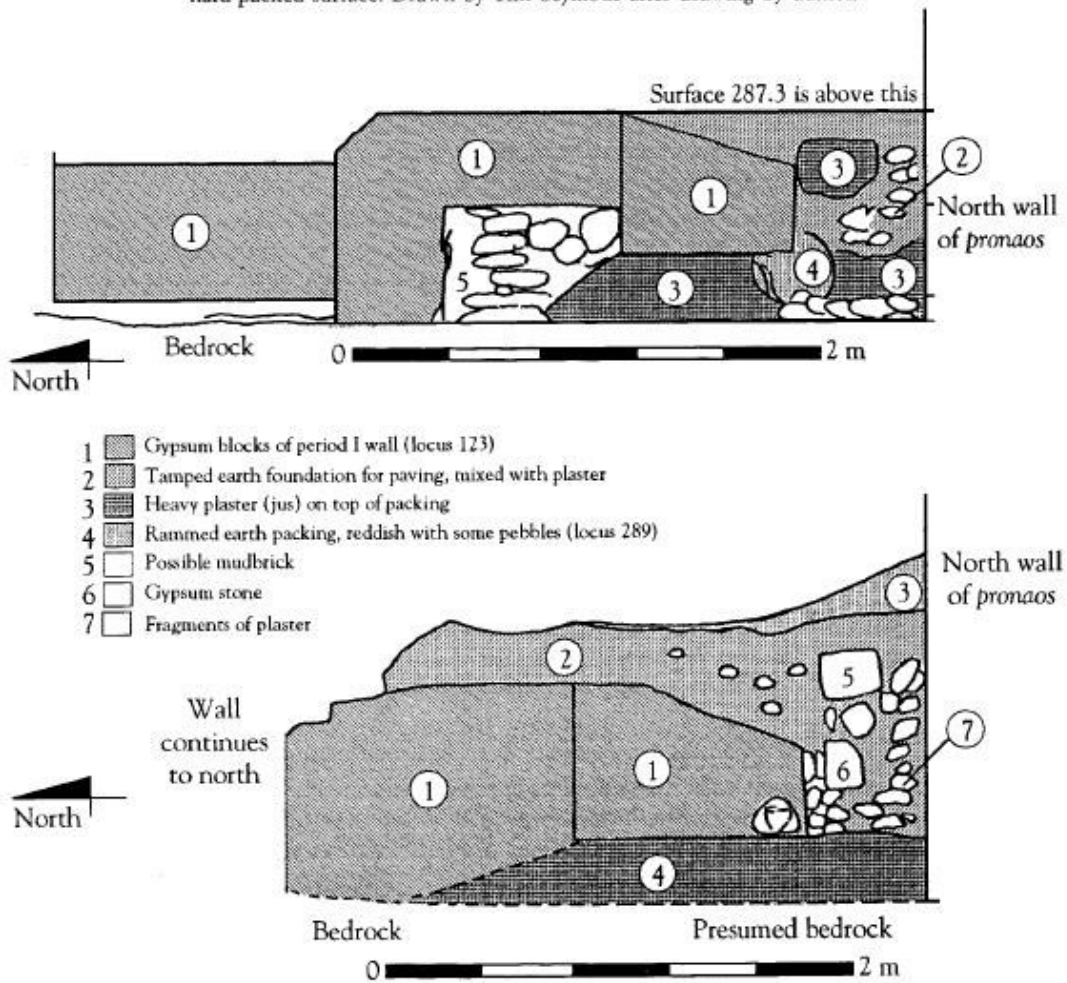


Fig. 20 - Temple of Zeus Magistos, south and of Period I wall in court 13', section. Bottom: before removal of rammed earth surface. Top: after removal of surface. Drawn by Tim Seymour after drawing by author.

Fig 8²⁵⁴- Temple of Zeus North and South walls

²⁵⁴ Downey, (1993), figs 19-20, pg 184.

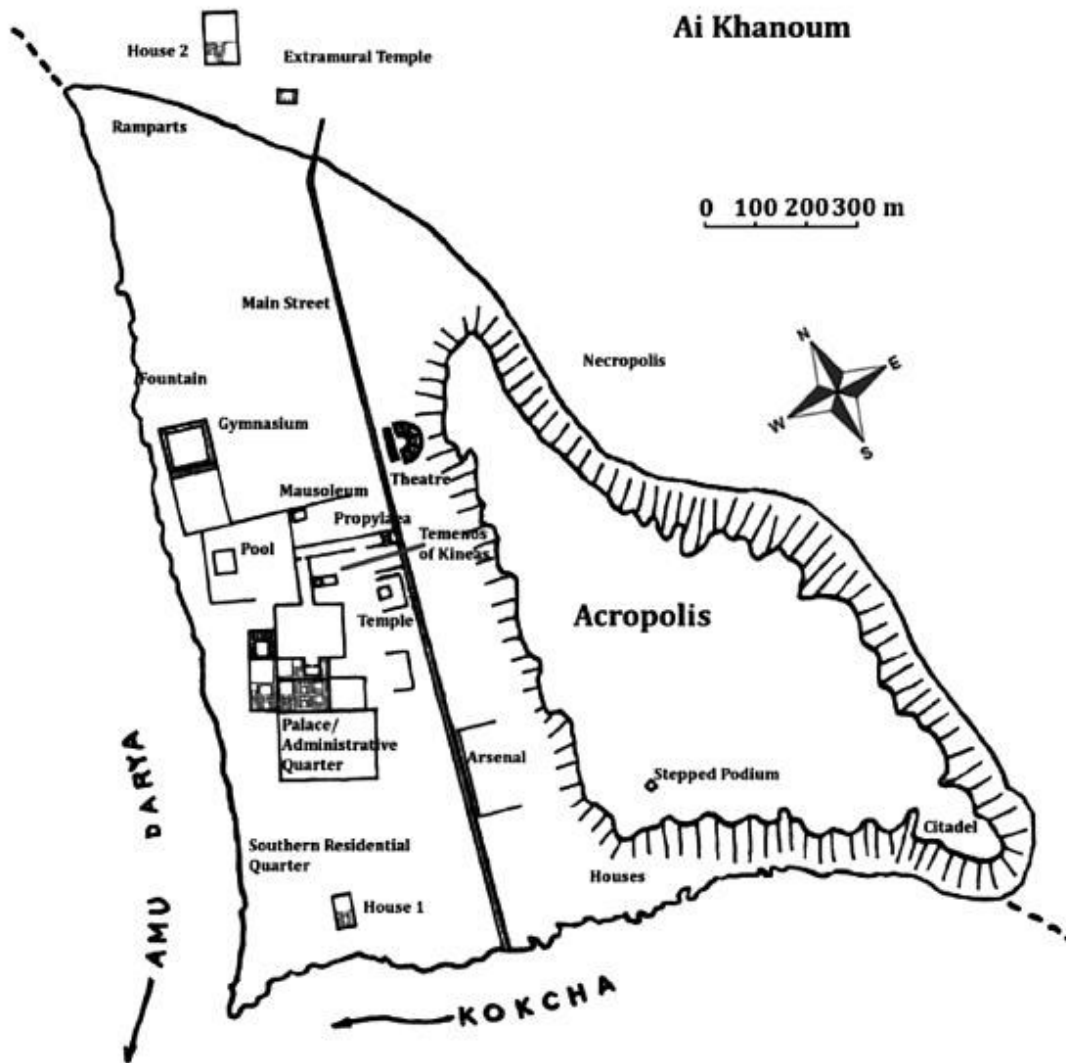
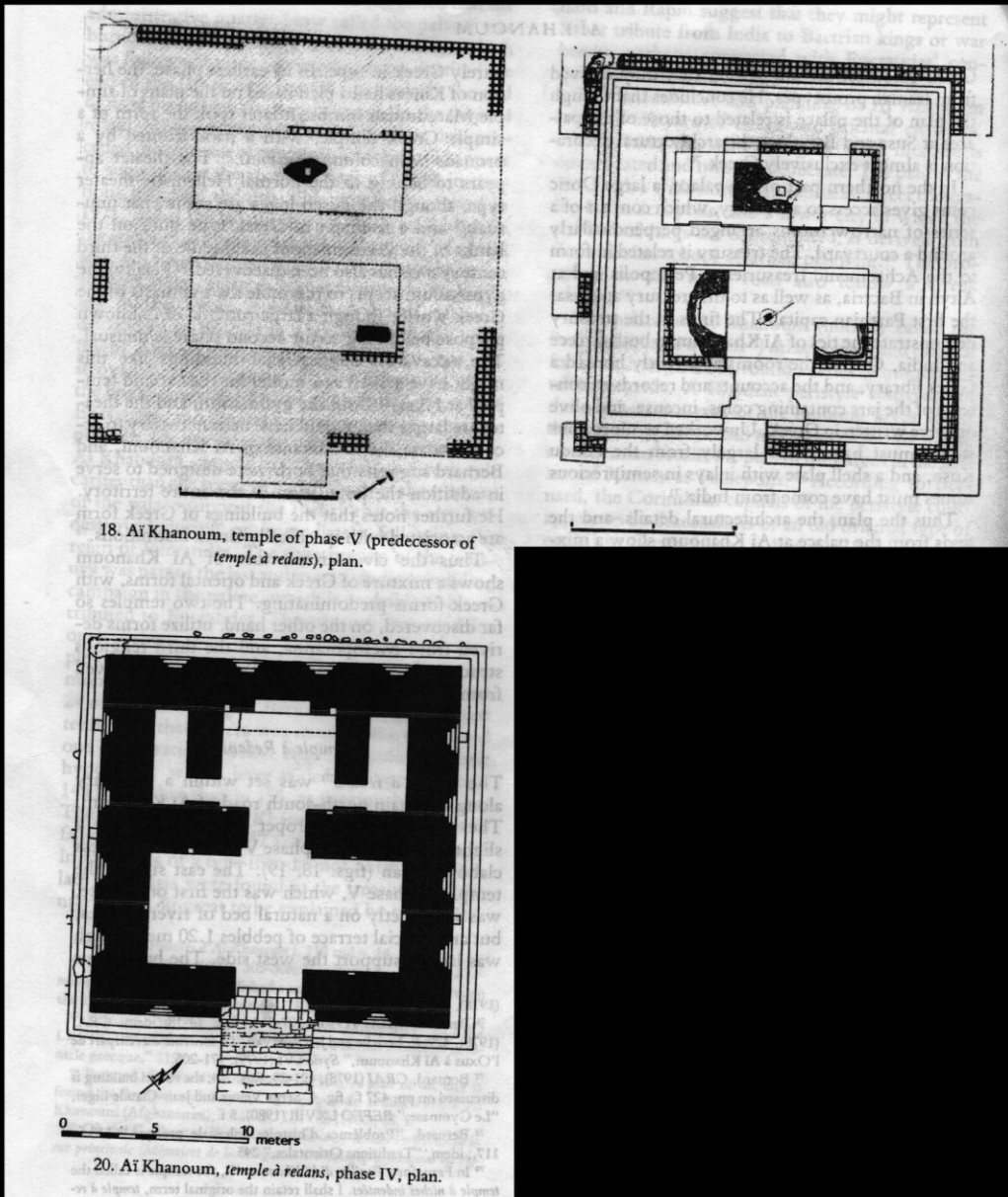


Fig 9²⁵⁵ - Ai-Khanoum

²⁵⁵ Mairs, (2013), fig 2, pg 116.



18. Ai Khanoum, temple of phase V (predecessor of temple à redans), plan.

20. Ai Khanoum, temple à redans, phase IV, plan.

Fig

10²⁵⁶- Temple à Redans (from R to L), Phase V, phase IV superimposed on phase V, and phase IV plan

²⁵⁶ Downey, (1988), figs 18-20, pg 66.

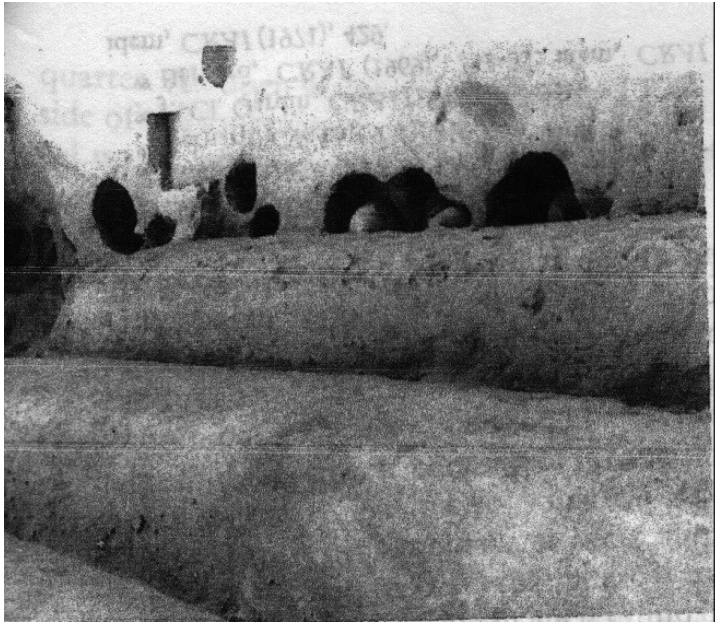


Fig 11²⁵⁷- Detail of Western façade of temple a redans-Image of libation vessels and carved niches which held them.



Fig 12²⁵⁸- East façade of the temple a redans with Oxus River in background.

²⁵⁷ Downey, (1988), fig 24, pg 71.

²⁵⁸ Downey, (1988), fig 21, pg 67.



Fig 13²⁵⁹- Temple a redans: banquette de fonde effondree avec emplacement pour la base de la statue de culte.

²⁵⁹ Bernard, (1968), fig 14, pg 335.



FIG. 15. — Temple à redans : pied colossal de la statue de culte.



FIG. 16. — Temple à redans : pied colossal de la statue de culte.
redans, pied colossal de la statue de culte.

Fig 14²⁶⁰- Temple a

²⁶⁰ Bernard, (1968), figs 15-16, pg 339.



Fig 15²⁶¹-

Temple a redans- jars of phase III in the second sacristy.

²⁶¹ Bernard, (1968), fig 26, pg 353.

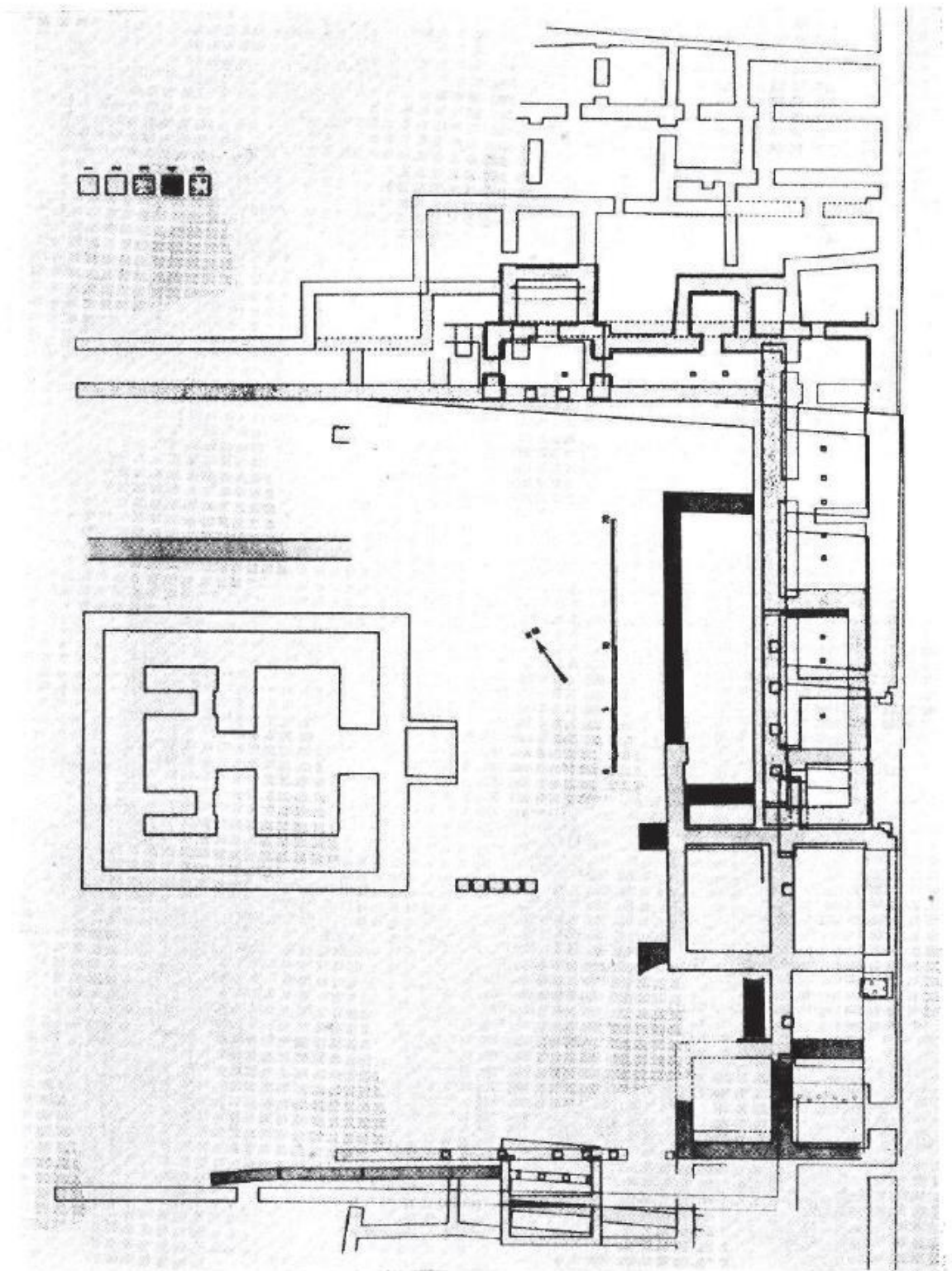


Fig 16²⁶²- Sanctuaire du temple a redans

²⁶² Bernard, (1973), fig 8, pg 294.

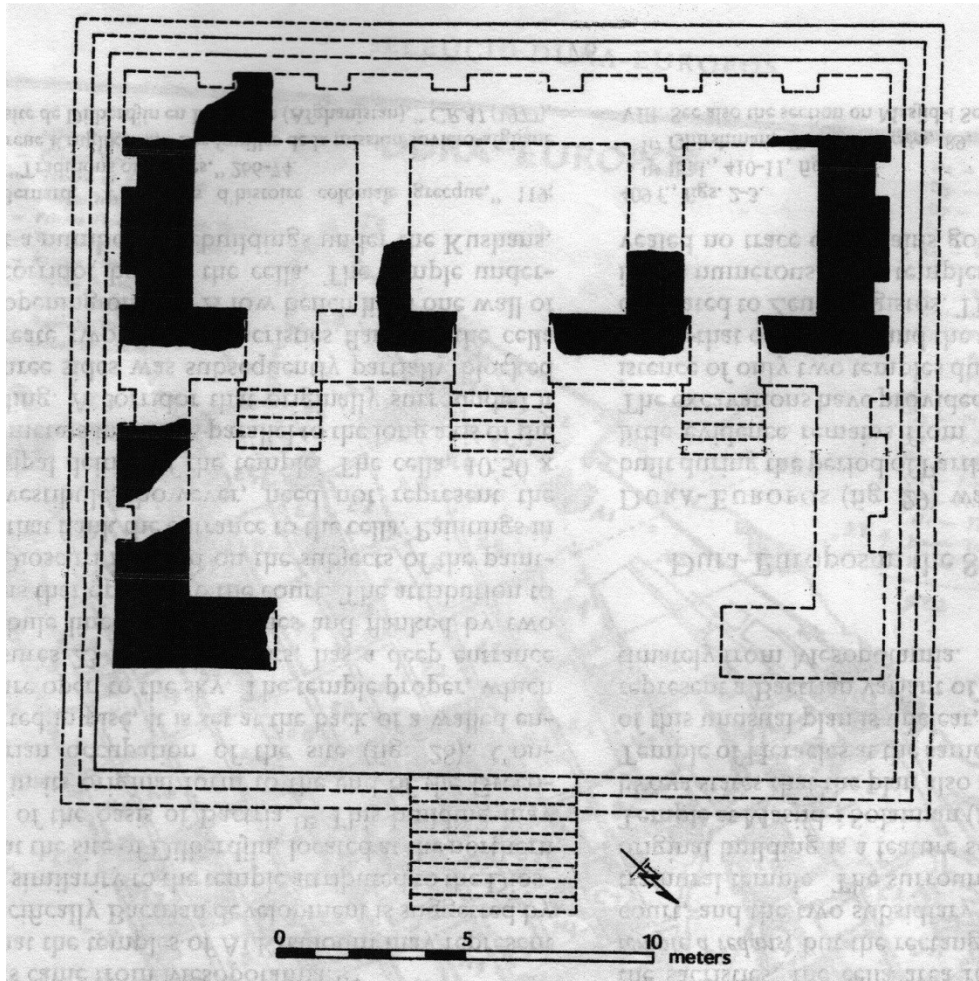
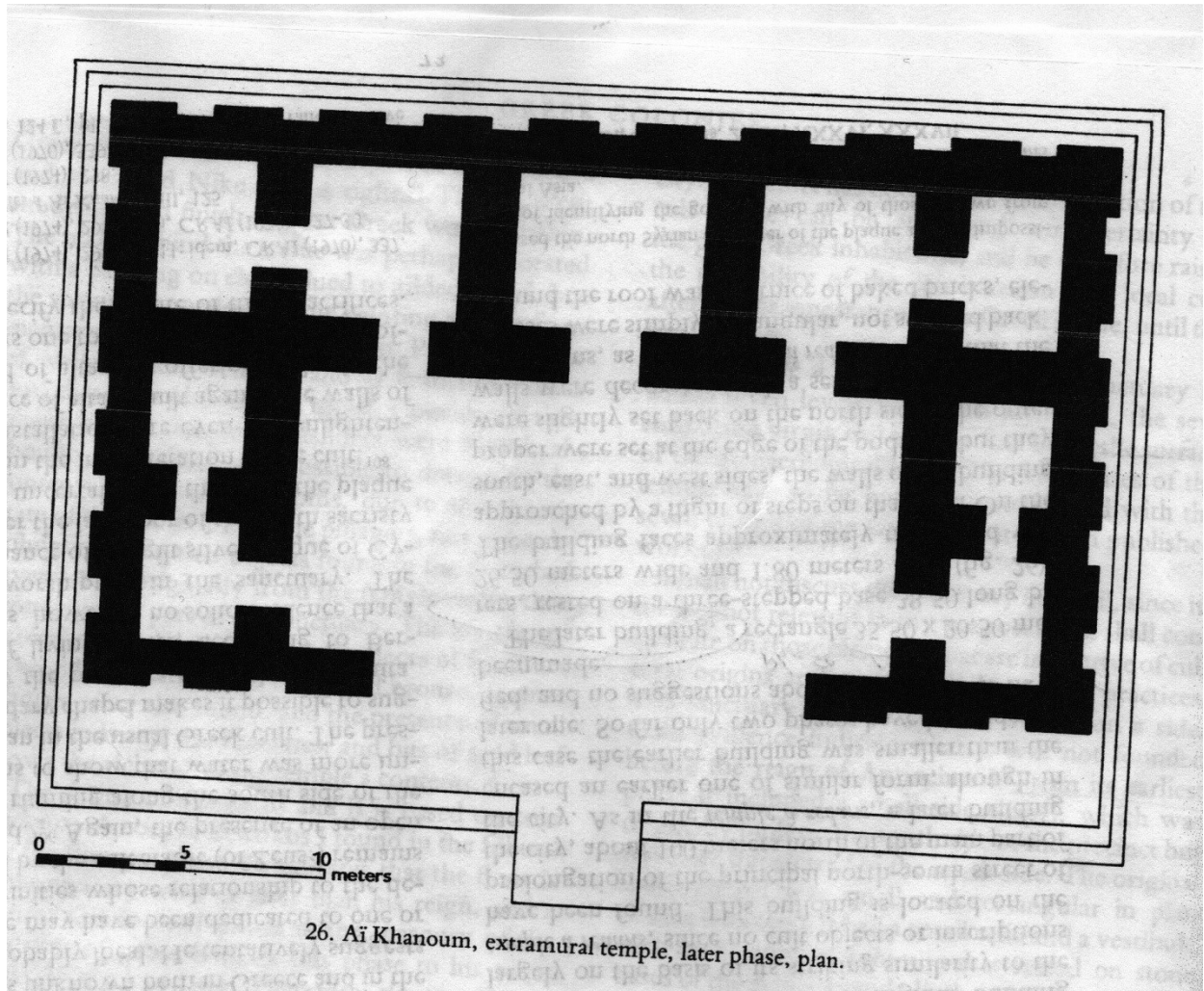


Fig 17²⁶³ - Temple hors les murs- Earlier phase.

²⁶³ Downey, (1988), fig 27, pg 75.



26. Ai Khanoum, extramural temple, later phase, plan.

Fig 18²⁶⁴- Temple hors les murs- Later phase.

²⁶⁴ Downey, (1988), fig 26, pg 74.

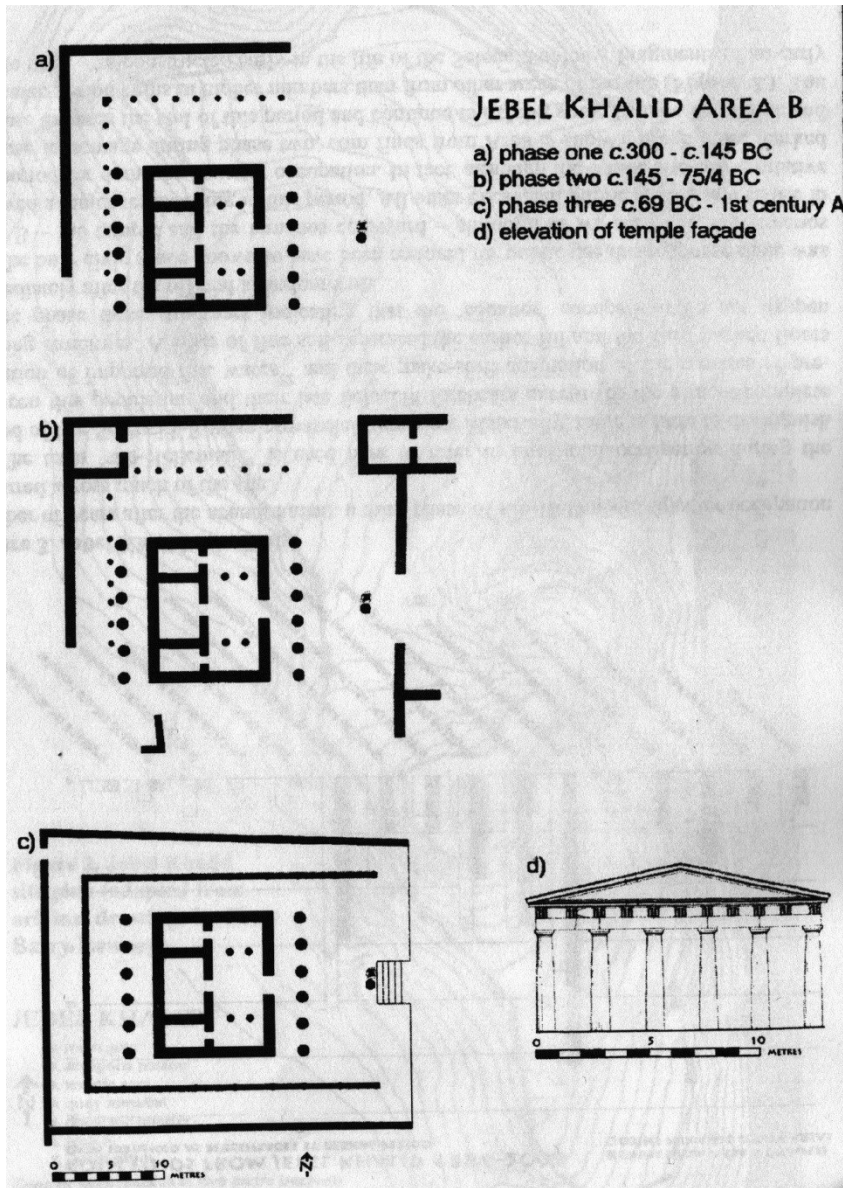


Fig 19²⁶⁵- Jebel Khalid Area B.

²⁶⁵ Wright (2011), fig 4, pg 123.

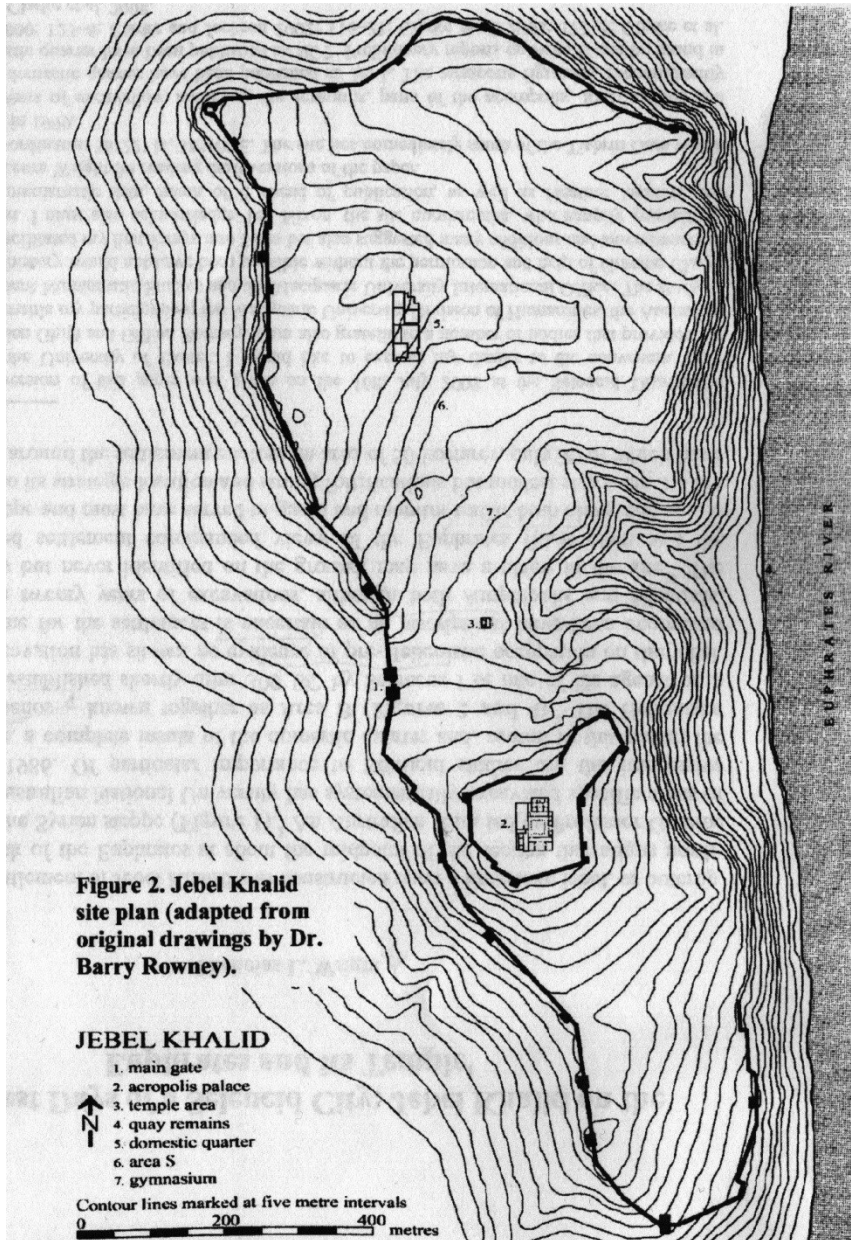


Fig 20²⁶⁶ - Plan of Jebel

Khalid.

²⁶⁶ Wright, (2011), fig 2, pg 119.