ROMANIZATION IN SYRIA-PALESTINE
IN THE LATE REPUBLIC AND EARLY EMPIRE.

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VOLUME I
TEXT

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy, October, 1985.

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

HIGHER DEGREE THESIS (PhD)
AUTHOR'S CONSENT

This is to certify that I, ..R̶o̶b̶y̶ ̶N̶ ̶T̶R̶A̶C̶E̶Y............................

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The Academic Senate on   6 May 1986   resolved that the candidate
had satisfied requirements for admission to this degree. This thesis represents
a major part of the prescribed program of study.

Volume I.

CHAPTER V. Period VII. Septimius Severus to Caracalla.

Volume II.

<u>Major Figures in Text.</u>

SUMMARY:

My previous thesis, submitted for a degree of Master of Arts with Honours, School of History, Philosophy and Politics, Macquarie University, 1981, established the methodological basis for the present study, in particular differentiating between Romanization the deliberate policy and Romanization the effect, providing a working definition of "Romanization", and distinguishing three major degrees of Romanization, superimposition, imitation and creative response; it also established the significance in terms of Romanization for the purpose of the study of a number of contentious type fossils, and determined the intrinsic limitations of the various types of evidence.

The present thesis proceeds from this to investigate Romanization the effect in the Syrian lands, its primary aim being to demonstrate that a minimum amount of Romanization did occur. The first five chapters delineate the course of the process of Romanization from its beginning to the end of what may be termed its formative phase, dividing suitably dated material into seven Periods, from the first known contact between Rome and Syria to the death of Caracalla, in order to chart its progress; the most significant trends which emerge during this timespan and continue beyond it are dealt with in a brief Epilogue. This same evidence is then reunited with the material which cannot be dated closely enough for chronological treatment (a large proportion of the total) in a final chapter, and studied according to the aspect of life to which it pertains, in order to make some assessment of the overall minimum impact of Rome on the culture of the area, and to gain some insight into the nature of this impact.

PREFACE, 1985:

The following text represents a revised, shorterned version of my 1983 thesis in the light of the reports of my previous examiners.

In regard to the inclusion of recommended additional material, save for the very latest publications to hand, no distinction has been made between older material omitted from the previous version and material which became available too late for inclusion, given the 1978 bibliographical cut-off (see below, 1983 Preface). It is in fact impossible to reconstruct what would, and would not, have been available at the time, since the delay between the publication date and the date at which works are actually to hand in Australia varies erratically. (For example, O. Grabar et. al., City in the Desert. Qasr al-Hayr East, 1978, and Javier Teixidor, The Pagan God, 1977, were both processed by the relevant libraries in 1980; Anthony McNicoll et al., Pella in Jordan 1, 1982, was still "in processing" on the 31st August, 1985, the point at which the present text had to be finalised for typing; at the same date, the latest volume of Syria to hand was 1983, and the latest JRS, recently arrived , was (October) 1984, so publications ordered from reviews in these periodicals will by subject to an additional timelag between the date of publication and the date at which they are actually to hand; however, Tessa Rajak, Josephus, 1983, thanks to a special effort by Macquarie University, became available in time for (late) inclusion in the thesis.)

Instead, therefore, the distinction has been drawn on the basis of substance and of the function of the material within the thesis. Since part of the aim of the revision is a reduction in size , additional material which opens new lines that are pertinent to those taken in the thesis, but do not conflict with the previous version, has been consigned to the Addendum; where the additional material necessitated an alteration to the previous thesis, or, conversely, where it merely reinforced the lines already taken and so could be added on without introducing new lines, it has been included in the thesis proper. For example, the additional material from the Herodian sites, published both before and after 1978, adds significantly to the amount of Roman influence attested in Herod's architecture; it does not, however, alter my observations regarding the existence of a strong pre-Roman Hellenistic element. This material has therefore been assigned to the Addendum.

Where further information is to be found in the Addendum, the

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sign * has been placed in the appropriate part of the text.

The maps and major figures have been re-drawn or re-photographed by the Macquarie University Art Department, save for Fig. 4, p.297, which, as the caption indicates, entails a deliberate alteration to Sukenik's illustration to make a particular point, and so is in some sense an 'original'. I would like to express my particular thanks to Ms. K. A. Smith, for her painstaking work on the maps and her ingenuity in devising a system of coding which allowed Map 2 to be reproduced in black-and-white instead of colour-coded, to Mr. T.E. Tan, for his patient work on the drawings in Fig. 5 (p.310) and the figure in Ch.III Note 258, and to Ms. S. McAlister for deciphering and re-typing my miniaturized captions, and assembling the multitude of tiny bits of paper into single figures. I must point out, however, that these illustrations were based on my own drawings and on additional material supplied by me, that the results were checked by me, and that any errors are solely my responsibility.

I should also like to thank, once again, my supervisors, past and present, Associate Professor B.F. Harris, Dr. C.E.V. Nixon and Associate Professor J.R. Green, and also to extend my thanks to Professor E.A. Judge for acting, unofficially, in loco curatoris in their absence. Once again, however, the final decisions regarding the form and content of the revised thesis were taken by me, and the responsibility is therefor mine.

PREFACE:

The present thesis represents the main body of a comprehensive study of Romanization in Syria-Palestine, intended for submission for a degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which was substantially completed in the Christmas vacation of 1979/1980; the bibliographical cut-off was therefore early 1978.

Although the present thesis is now a self-sufficient work in its own right, in some respects it owes its form to its place in the overall study, which therefore requires some preliminary explanation.

The study, as conceived and originally written, was tripartite. Part I, the introductory section, which was subsequently modified for submission as the preliminary M.A. thesis, established the theoretical and methodological basis, in particular differentiating between "Romanization" the deliberate policy, and "Romanization", the impersonal cultural effect, the conflation of which has vitiated previous studies; it provided a working definition of "Romanization" vis-à-vis "Hellenization", and distinguished varying degrees of Romanization (tolerated superimposition, copy, hybrid entailing creative use of Roman cultural elements). It also evaluated major sources of evidence, literary or otherwise, and established, for the purposes of the work, the significance in terms of Romanization of various contentious cultural types, principally architectural.

Part II, the present thesis, deals with Romanization the cultural effect, charting the process from its beginnings to the point where the trends which have emerged will continue of their own accord until the major disruption caused by the Arab conquest. In conclusion, it endeavours, given the limitations imposed by the evidence, to make some assessment of the total discernible impact of Rome on the culture of the Syrian lands in the various spheres of life - politics, agriculture and settlement, public and private life, art , literature. It seeks to gain an insight into the deeper effect on the values, thought processes and general mentality of the inhabitants, and to define the particular nature of this effect (see above, Summary).

Part III explored one possible cause of this effect, Romanization the deliberate policy, induced acculturation for whatever reason. It was prefaced by an introductory investigation of the development of the Roman concept of "Romanization", utilizing in particular the works of Tacitus

(Agricola and Germania) and of Caesar, as well as various other authors: if one is trying to detect Roman policies which may be termed "Romanization", it is necessary to know what the nearest analogous Roman concept was, and at what time this concept or concepts developed.

The presence of Part III conditioned both the overall form and internal structure of Part II (see below, Introduction, pp. xviii-xx, xxv-xxvi). The delineation of a process, a change over time, patently requires some sort of system of spatial and temporal units against which its fluctuations can be charted, but these units can reflect either the 'anachronistic' approach, being a fixed area in square miles or hectares against a fixed number of years, or the 'empathetic' approach, reigns of emperors and groups of emperors against contemporary political and administrative areas. The issue is complicated by the use of disparate evidence, which is dated, if at all, in its own terms: the historical and some epigraphical evidence tends to be dated in years, a short range of years, or reigns of emperors; most archaeological and artistic evidence, and some epigraphical, is dated by stylistic means, to at best quarter or half centuries. In isolation, the 'anachronistic' approach is more appropriate to a study of Romanization the effect, which seeks to establish what happened, regardless of whether it was perceived at the time.

However, since this study, while clearly an end in itself, also to some extent acted as the basis for the further study of Romanization the policy, providing some of the data, its results had to be expressed in terms compatible with those of the further study. Had the Romans set out to 'Romanize' an area, it would have been one of their areas, and the choice of geographical units which conflict with those areas might well fragment the detectable effects of such a policy and obscure its existence; policies are the work of individuals or groups of individuals, and evidence drawn from, say, the first half of the first century A.D. as a whole, which collectively might be interpreted as a policy of 'Romanization', may in fact merely create an illusion of such a policy by the combination of substantively unrelated incidents - certainly, such a technique is of no avail if one is trying to detect the existence of a policy implemented by, say, Claudius. The choice of the temporally narrower 'empathetic' units in Part II was therefore mandatory. Because this meant that an even greater proportion of the available evidence could not be dated closely enough to fit into the chronological framework, this in turn necessitated the existence of Chapter VI, in which the 'dated' and 'undated' material

is reunited in an attempt to assess the overall impact.

Obviously, it would have been easier to have correlated the more closely dated evidence with broader temporal units, say, half centuries, based on the common range for the less closely dated material. To choose the reverse course without good reason would have been foolish, or a species of intellectual masochism.

The thesis as a whole proved to be too long, and Part I was modified for submission for a degree of M.A. Honours, in the hope that the remainder could be modified for submission for a degree of Ph.D. However, the principle of economy had been applied throughout, particularly in Part II, and few items of evidence were included unless relevant to at least two points, sometimes three or four, the technique being to treat the evidence once fully, even more fully than the immediate context required, then use cross-references in the other relevant places, each of which, of course, had further connections of its own. Deletion or alteration in one place therefore postulated deletion or alteration in a number of others, with the result that the ramifications tended to run through the whole body of the work. Only very limited topical surgery could be achieved without incurring radical changes which would have necessitated effectively recommencing the work from the beginning, something which is not feasible under the present circumstances.

Part III was therefore deleted. The decision was made with an eye both to the practicalities of the situation and to the relative value of the findings of Parts II and III. While a number of frayed edges remain, the integrity of Part II, the main body of the work, is still preserved, since Part III was conceived as subsequent to and presupposing Part II rather than vice versa, whereas further alteration to Part II would have entailed the total dismantling of the study. Moreover, while the conclusions reached in Part II were on the whole positive, those of Part III were predominantly negative, or conclusions that "no conclusions can be drawn on the present evidence" (see Vol.II, Postface; this summary is not intended as a substantive part of the thesis, but is included merely for the sake of clarification). I hope to take up the more positive findings of Part III at a later date, probably as a series of articles treating the major points individually.

The modifications to Part II have therefore been kept to the

necessary minimum, Part II as written being treated as a penultimate draft. Substantival alterations to conclusions or interpretation, additions and correction of obsolete evidence, whether made on my own initiative or stemming from the suggestions of my supervisors or the examiners of the M.A. thesis, are only such as would normally occur between the last draft and the final version, utilizing additional evidence only if published prior to the bibliographical cut-off. Its integrity as a 1979/1980 work has thus been preserved. (I must point out that I have on my own responsibility declined to implement some suggestions both from my supervisors and from previous examiners, on purely practical grounds.)

Because the M.A. thesis serves as a preliminary study for the present work, there remains a degree of thematic and substantival overlap, and hence a small amount of repetition; cross-references have been used to make it clear where this occurs. While it is envisaged that a copy of my Master's degree thesis will be made available to examiners, for the sake of convenience a precis of the main points of the M.A. has been included below in the Introduction (pp.xii-xviii, xxii-liv) along with an explanation of the parameters and internal structure of the thesis. More mechanically, the Plate, Maps, M.A. Figs. 11-12, p.220/Ph.D. Figs. 1-2, p.140, and the Notes on the Plate and Maps are common to both.

Some points made in the Preface of the M.A. apply to the study as a whole, and therefore also relate to the present thesis, as follows (cf. M.A. pp.vii-ix).

In view of the nature of the topic it seems likely that the examiners will comprise both historians and archaeologists; I have therefore considered it advisable to give some of the more specialized arguments in greater detail than would have been the case had the topic lain entirely within either discipline. What is obvious to someone best versed in one field in one field is not always obvious to his counterpart in another: while the necessary cross-fertilization between the disciplines in the study of provincial Roman material means that most scholars have a knowledge of the other field as well as their own, it is still possible that the particular points and instances pertinent to this thesis may have evaded their attention.

For the sake of clarity, the common soubriquet of historical personnages has been preferred except where the correct name is relevant to

the point at issue, even the incorrect "Caracalla", and the manifestly more
incorrect "Herod Agrippa I". There are too many C. Julii Caesares and M.
Aurelii Antonini under consideration for anything other than the fullest
and most cumbersome rehearsal of titles, even then in some cases supplement-
ed by an identifying epexegesis, to suffice if the correct form is
employed; M. Julius Agrippa could be anyone.

For more weighty reasons no attempt has been made to keep a
consistent transliteration of Arab place-names, save for those such as
Baalbek, which have a single standardized English form. The spelling is
taken from the source used in the passage concerned; when more than one
source is used, or reference made to my own independent argument, the
commonest English, or failing that French, version is employed. This is
not merely a matter of carelessness or laziness. In the first place it
would be absurd for me to pretend to a linguistic proficiency capable of
the double transliteration through the French or German versions of the
Arabic without the danger of arriving at an English version which bears no
relationship to the original.

In the second place, Syria is vexed by numerous sites with
identical names, single sites with multiple names (some obvious variants
due to the differences in local dialect, others completely divergent), with,
to boot, cases where a slight variation in spelling or diacritical marks
does indeed indicate two different sites. There are in fact cases where it
is impossible to be certain whether a site mentioned by one writer is
identical to one with a similar name discussed by another, particularly
when one is dealing on the one hand with older surveys such as those of de
Saulcy, Schumacher and Musil, where many of the adjacent sites which might
have clarified the point have disappeared without trace, and on the other
with more recent studies, not only in a different language but drawing their
place names from a different local dialect (for more detailed discussion of
examples see M.A., pp.ix, 86-7 cf. Note 268, and p.xi/Ph.D.p.lxxxvi, Note on
the Maps).

Under these circumstances any uninformed meddling on my part with
the spelling of scholars more qualified in this aspect would run the grave
risk of exacerbating an already confused situation and obscuring slight but
meaningful differences in an attempt at academic propriety.

The nature of the topic and the structure it imposes on the

thesis means that a good deal of internal cross-reference has been required both within the present thesis and to the M.A. thesis. For contra-distinction "Note", "Notes", "N.", or "NN" have been used in such references, whereas "note", "notes", "n." or "nn." refer to external works cited; an unqualified reference always refers to a note or page within the same chapter or division, e.g. "supra, Note 34" would refer to Note 34 in the same chapter, reference to other chapters taking the form of e.g. "supra, Ch.III, Note 34".

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The Problem.

After the decline of Latin in the East, Bowersock says,[1] most of the Greeks were still as Greek as they had always been, and the natives still as native. Levick[2] maintains that the Romans deliberately employed a policy of Romanization only where Romanization was tantamount to civilization, so that it might be appropriately alluring, and therefore most of the East was ineligible, the only exception being places like Pisidia. Bowersock denies her even Pisidia, claiming that the setting up of colonies there had a purely military motivation - their physical and political form was not intended as a model for the natives, but was merely coincidental - the Romans did things this way simply because it was their practice.[3]

This example not only illustrates the degree of contention which the topic engenders, but also epitomises the confusion which is the primary cause of that contention. Nor is it an isolated case: it is evident, if not clear, that the following scholars are talking about generically related phenomena. Rostovtzeff,[4] having just excepted Trachonitis and the Safaitic region of the Hauran,[5] writes,

> ...the period of Roman domination in the Syrian lands... was not a period of radical change. The Syrian Orient remained under Roman rule what it had been before. Urbanization made no striking progress, nor did the land become hellenized. A few new half-Greek cities arose, and some elements of the rural population settled in cities. But the mass lived on in the old fashion, devoted to their gods and to their temples, to their fields and to their flocks, and ready at the first opportunity to slaughter the men of the cities and return to the life of peasants and shepherds, under the rule of native priest-kings and sheiks.

and A.H.M. Jones,[6]

> We are now in a position to sum up the results of the millenium during which Syria had been ruled by the Macedonian dynasties and by Rome. On paper, the change in the political aspect of the country is considerable. In the Persian period cities existed only on the sea-coast, the desert fringe, and two of the gangways between them. By the Byzantine period practically the whole of Syria was partitioned into city states; only in a few isolated areas, notably the Jordan valley and the Haurân, did village life remain the rule. In reality, however, the change was superficial. It was achieved partly by assigning vast territories to the old cities of the coast and of the desert fringe, partly by the foundation of a small number of new cities, to each of which was assigned a vast territory. The political

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> life of the inhabitants of the agricultural belt was unaffected,
> their unit remained the village, and they took no part in the life
> of the city to which they were attached. Economically they lost by
> the change. The new cities performed no useful function, for the
> larger villages supplied such manufactured goods as the villages
> required and the trade of the country-side was conducted at the
> village markets. The only effect of the foundation of the cities
> was the creation of a wealthy landlord class which gradually
> stamped out peasant proprietorship. Culturally the country-side
> remained utterly unaffected by the Hellenism of the cities; the
> peasants continued to speak Syriac down to the Arab conquest. The
> only function which the cities performed was administrative; they
> policed and collected the taxes of their territories.

It is noteworthy that while Jones and Rostovtzeff are united in minimizing
the amount of Classical acculturation which took place, they are
diametrically opposed in detail: what Rostovtzeff sees as the Classicizing
exception, the settlement of people in the Transjordan villages, Jones
considers to be the flaw in the overall thin veneer of Classical
political form.

When the field of vision is widened to include other disciplines
the picture becomes even more clouded. In the sphere of architecture, for
example,[7] Fyfe descries a good deal of Hellenization, but eliminates the
possibility of Romanization by subsuming all western influence under the
former designation: proceeding from the work of Lethaby he develops the
thesis that, architecturally, the Roman period prior to the fourth century
A.D. represented an unbroken continuation of the Hellenistic period; as
such, even Tarn's appellation "Graeco-Roman" is inappropriate, and "Hellen-
istic" is the only term which can validly be applied. The concept of a
smooth uninterrupted growth from the Hellenistic period is however at odds
with some more recent opinion: Ward-Perkins,[8] speaking more generally as
regards time, place and personnel, calls Damascus a "source of classical
influence" within the Decapolis[9] and Baalbek the "focus and continuing
inspiration " "of the distinctive Romano-provincial style."[10]

Kenyon,[11] from a broader archaeological perspective, does not even
question the possibility of Romanization in Syria in the case of Herod the Great:

> He did his best to build or adapt cities in his kingdom to the Roman
> standard that he admired... In Jerusalem, Hellenization had been
> anathema to the orthodox, since the struggles against Antiochus
> Epiphanes early in the second century B.C. The barely different Roman-
> ·ization (for in Asia Roman culture was firmly founded on the Hellenistic)
> was equally suspect. Herod therefore had to proceed very cautiously.

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Perowne, too, simply states that Herod engaged in a policy of "westerniz-
ation"[12]and goes on to outline what he sees as his motives.[13] Nor does
S.G.F. Brandon hesitate to link together those activities of Herod which
he considers as supporting "Graeco-Roman civilization", and, referring to
them as "Hellenization", to speculate as to the ultimate aim of this
policy.[14] Similarly, Th. Frankfort[15]and M. Avi-Yonah[16]take it as read that
what Frankfort calls a "programme d'hellénisation" was quite possible in
Judaea, and proceed each to his own interpretation of the particulars of
this putative policy of Herod and his successors.[17]

As pointed out in my previous work,[18]while some of these opinions
are more or less reconcilable, it is clear that others are fundamentally at
variance.

Briefly, the debate, if such it may be termed, has so far proved
futile: quot homines tot sententiae; a matter on the one hand of categoric-
al denials not only of the fact but even of the possibility of Romanization,
while on the other the fact itself is assumed as a premise and the
discussion confined to the details, ramifications, and further implications.
There is no confrontation, hence no productive discussion and no real
conclusions.

A number of factors contribute to this situation. In part it is
a function of the limited viewpoints of the various authors, in turn a function
of the overwhelming flood of pertinent information which forces such a
high degree of specialization on the academic world. Bowersock, for example,
is relying on predominantly linguistic criteria, and Jones patently uses
similar values in assessing the "reality" as opposed to the "superficial."
Kenyon and Ward-Perkins are concerned with the archaeological aspects. It
is hardly surprising, therefore, that their appraisals of the situation are at
odds: each sees it from a different perspective, with all the metaphor implies.

Then, too, there is confusion, and profusion, of terminology.
A variety of different words is used to refer to the same, or closely
related phenomena, designations which, for the most part, reflect unspoken
assumptions as to the cause of the phenomenon in question, or are determin-
ed by the author's preoccupation in the work concerned. Rostovtzeff uses
the word "Hellenization" to refer specifically to the Roman period, because
he believes the Roman period to be essentially a continuation of the
preceding era. Kenyon uses the word "Romanization" in contradistinction to

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"Hellenization", to emphasize the disjunction: in all probability she is influenced by the pottery of Jerusalem, which, unlike that of Samaria, showed very little Hellenistic influence until the first century B.C.,[19] so providing unambiguous evidence of the impact of the advent of the Romans and underscoring that disjunction. Perowne uses the inarguable if imprecise term "westernization" to bypass the problem, since his interest lies in the further implications in regard to the policy of one man, Herod.

But the crux of the matter lies in the corollary, a further confusion stemming from the loose use of terminology, the use of the word "Romanization" to cover two related, but distinct things, a confusion of terminology which results in the conflation of two separate concepts.

"Romanization" can denote the act of Romanizing someone or some thing, or it can denote the effect of such an action. When Levick talks of Romanization only where it is tantamount to civilization, she is referring to a deliberate policy on the part of the Romans, a policy which was as likely to fail as to succeed. Of itself, therefore, it bears no implications whatsoever regarding the effect; it is merely one of a number of possible causes of such an effect. The _effect_, whether the result of such a policy or otherwise, is a totally different matter. When Levick says that there is little scope for Romanization in the East, referring to Romanization the _policy_, and only to that, she is making an overstatement, but one which contains a degree of truth, and the same may apply to Bowersock's pronouncements on the lack of Romanization, insofar as they relate to the _policy_ under Augustus towards the 'Greek East' as a whole. But then to say that the Greeks remained as Greek and the natives as native after Latin failed to take hold is an entirely different matter. There has been a semantic shift from intent to effect, a glide from one periphery of the syndrome to the other. The effect in question need not have been (and in my view, in the majority of cases was not) attributable to, or in any way connected with, a deliberate attempt to induce it on the part of any person or persons.[20]

There are two separate problems: whether Romanization, the effect, did take place, intentionally or otherwise; if it did, how and why, whether as a matter of policy and if so what sort of policy, and so forth, if not, what other more impersonal factors were involved. A separate but obviously related issue is whether there is any evidence of a policy which was initiated but failed.

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While the selective approaches to the evidence and the confusion of terminology and of the concept itself aggravate these problems, the questions do not evaporate along with the confusion once the issues are clarified. There is real conflict, for example, between Bowersock's statement that after the decline of Latin the Greeks remained as Greek as they had always been and the natives as native, and Ward-Perkins' reference to Damascus as "a source of classical influence" within the Decapolis during the Roman period, and to Baalbek as the "focus and continuing inspiration" "of the distinctive Romano-provincial [architectural] style." Allowing that Bowersock is proceeding mainly from linguistic evidence, his statement is still couched in such terms as to preclude "a source of classical influence" of any description, since influence, to exist, must be effective; if the Greeks remained as Greek and the natives as native, then the development of a "distinctive Romano-provincial style" is quite impossible. And the statements of, for example, Rostovtzeff, ill-accord with evidence from the area, some of it more recent than his original date of publication, which he himself did not utilize.[21]

Aim.

The initial aim of any new study of Romanization would therefore be to avoid those pitfalls already revealed by the experience of others, and then, having first identified those areas, physical and conceptual, where Romanization is potentially discernible, to see whether it can be so discerned; to establish that a minimum amount of Romanization occurred, so creating a firm foundation for a further study of the causes of this effect, be they policies or the more impersonal mechanisms of Romanization.

My previous work established the methodological and theoretical basis for the study, providing a working definition of "Romanization" vis-à-vis "Hellenization" and distinguishing varying degrees of Romanization, and also examined the more contentious types of evidence, determining their significance in terms of Romanization.

The present thesis, therefore, deals with Romanization the effect, its aim being to chart the course of the process of Romanization in the Syrian lands, in so doing establishing that at least a minimum amount of Romanization occurred. It then seeks to make some assessment of the minimum total discernible impact of Rome on the culture of the area in its various aspects - public and private life, art, architecture, literature, religion, politics, agriculture and settlement. and so forth -, to gain an

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insight into the deeper effect on the values, thought processes and general mentality of the people, and to define the nature of this overall effect.

Method of Approach.[22]

The method of approach is dictated by the subject. Romanization, by anyone's definition, is a form of acculturation, induced or otherwise. As such, it is not confined to any single modern academic field, but cuts across what are, in any case, arbitrary superimposed divisions, and demands that any such study should be as broadly based as practicable. Ideally it would take into account every aspect of life which might conceivably have felt the influence of Roman culture, in the most comprehensive sense of that word. Any attempt to improve upon the unsatisfactory situation outlined above must give full weight to this fundamental consideration.

Needless to say, the practicalities of the present work have, in the event, necessitated the omission of some potentially vital categories of evidence, in accordance with dictates other than those of pure methodology.[23] The acute specialization of modern scholarship is due to the overwhelming flood of information: the evidence in some highly pertinent categories is of such a quantity and in such a state of study as to require a separate thesis before extrapolative work such as that entailed in the present discussion could be attempted.

Nevertheless, it seems desirable to proceed on as broad a basis as possible, even if one can hope to achieve no more than a basis for a more substantial work. The process of acculturation, and the interaction of cultures more generally, relevant today, are precisely the sort of question in which the historical perspective is most valuable, since it enables the total process, from beginning to end, to be seen and studied as a finite phenomenon. But the amount of pertinent material is continuously increasing, and with it the ineluctability of specialization, making it all the more urgent to grapple with the broader historical issues of this sort - indeed, of finding a method of doing so - while there is still some hope of including a wide enough spectrum of evidence to yield some valid results.

For these reasons I have persisted with the method which seems most appropriate, rather than embarking on a more detailed study of a single limited aspect of the problem, wherever possible, when limitation becomes unavoidable, restricting the amount of evidence rather than the

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type, and so preserving as broad a spectrum as possible. The effect of this unavoidable limitation is to regulate the nature of the conclusions which can validly be drawn: negative evidence is of no value, and no conclusions can be firmly drawn as to the absence of Romanization in any given area or aspect of life, since such conclusions would require an exhaustive study of the evidence. Only positive conclusions regarding the occurrence of Romanization in given forms, times and places can be obtained: if valid, they will remain so; while existing evidence not taken into account and future discoveries may modify these conclusions by placing them in a different perspective, they will not entirely negate them.

Parameters of the Thesis.

The parameters of the present thesis were set when the study as a whole was conceived (and written) as a three part investigation of the methodological problem, Romanization the effect, and the causes, including Romanization the deliberate policy (see above, Preface). This arrangement has been retained, both because it has proved impossible to alter those parameters at this stage without effectively commencing the study from the beginning, something which is impractical under existing circumstances, and because the modifications to the parameters and structure of the present work imposed by its inclusion in the overall study as conceived were made in order to allow it to serve as a basis for Part III, Causes, including the examination of Romanization the policy, a function which I hope it may still in some sense serve.

For practical purposes, it is necessary to set somewhat arbitrary boundaries, but with an eye to their significance.

Firstly, it seems desirable to choose a geographical area which would have had some meaning in contemporary eyes. It would be possible to use a totally arbitrary temporo-spatial grid system, the units of study being so many square kilometres over so many calendar years, and still obtain valid results about impersonal phenomena, for example the effect on a particular area over a given span of time. But if one is trying to obtain results in terms of Romanization the policy, it is necessary to have terms at least approximating those of the subject: had the Romans set out to Romanize an area, it would have been one of their areas, and choosing geographical units which cut across such areas could well obscure any signs of such a policy by fragmenting the attestation of its effects.

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Therefore an area roughly coinciding with the administrative province of
Syria has been used.

I stress "roughly". Due to the protean nature of this
administrative district, and the uncertainty at any given time of the
position of the south-eastern boundary in the Syrian desert,[24] it is
impossible to take the actual boundaries at any particular time. The
ultimate determining factor where doubt exists has perforce been practical:
the availability of evidence without an unmanageable plethora.

The area includes Coelesyria, Phoenician Syria and Syria
Palaestina, together with those portions of the Decapolis and the modern
Hauran which formed part of the province of Syria before being assigned to
the newly created province of Arabia, and Commagene. Most of what became
Arabia Petraea is therefore excluded. The northern boundary is that of
Commagene, and the Euphrates forms the eastern boundary until just below
Sura, from which point a rather nebulous line returns across the desert,
running slightly south-east as far as the vicinity of Kaṣr al-Hêr ech
Charqi, then turning south-west and west again to a point on the eastern
shore of the Dead Sea, thereafter coinciding with the boundaries of Syria
Palaestina.[25]

The arbitrariness of this needs no expatiation. The inclusion
of Syria Palaestina is particularly hard to justify in terms of contemporary
significance, since it was officially part of Syria for such a brief time,
however alluring it may be in terms of evidence. But it may be contended
that the long-term subordination of its governor to that of Syria makes it
in practice part of Syria, and that the similarities outweigh the
differences.[26]

This approximation of Syria does, however, have its advantages.
In terms of the thesis, it comprises enough diversity of subcultures and
environments to allow an insight into the interaction of Roman culture
with a variety of other established milieux, but at the same time enough
of the administrative division of Syria is included at any given time for
any overall policy for the province to be visible. On the other hand,
local differences notwithstanding, there is, in the larger sense, an
essential geographical, ecological and cultural integrity about the area
under consideration.[27]

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Furthermore, some, at least, of the Romans did not think in terms of rigid administratve districts - see, for example, Hadrian"s so-called "Province" series of coins, in which, as Mattingly points out, the areas singled out for representation are not actual provinces (nor yet nationes).[28] In fact, some contemporaries did indeed consider approximately the area chosen as a single whole, which they labelled "Syria". Strabo (XVI.ii.1-2) enumerates the parts of Syria as Commagene, Seleucis (i.e. roughly the old Seleucid, as opposed to Ptolemaic, Syria), Coelesyria, Phoenicia and Judaea. The eastern boundary he states to be the Euphrates and the Arabian Scenitae on the right bank, the southern boundary Arabia Felix. The dual eastern boundary is explained by XVI.i.28, where it appears that Roman suzerainty, at the time to which Strabo's description pertains, reached to the Euphrates only in some places; the remainder of the right bank was held by the nomadic Scenitae, who for the most part occupied lands in Mesopotamia, but in some places inhabited both banks of the river. It is, therefore, Roman Syria which Strabo is defining in XVI. ii.1-2 . Pliny (NH V.13, 66-77) divides the regions somewhat differently, and includes in addition Mesopotamia, Sophene and Adiabene, though excluding Arabia (unspecified, so therefore presumably both Arabia Petraea and Arabia Felix).

Obviously, in terms of practical administration, the Romans themselves would be unlikely to quibble over a few miles either way of a provincial boundary in sparsely populated desert regions (although the same would not, of course, apply in more civilized areas, or in the case of an international boundary). Equally obviously, my own arbitrary boundaries should remain fairly flexible - if something strikingly apposite occurs just on the other side of the line, it seems far less sensible to ignore it than to include it.

In line with the spatial divisions, the temporal scope of the thesis also attempts to relate to the contemporary terms, starting with the official inception of the province in 59 B.C. However, since the subject is Romanization, it is manifestly important to know the extent to which Roman influence had already penetrated the area. For this reason, anything of significance or possible significance which takes place before this date must be taken into account, for example, the putative activities of Q. Marcius Rex, as reconstructed by Downey, the "client-hunting" expeditions of the Claudii Pulchri, as discerned by Elizabeth Rawson, and,

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even before this, the highly conjectural activities of Antiochus IV
Epiphanes at Antioch.[29]

On the other end of the scale, the terminus is rather more
subjective - when Syria is as Romanized as it is going to be, that is to
say, when such elements as are to be modified by local non-Roman counter-
parts have been so modified, when those Roman elements which are to become
permanent additions to the local culture have been firmly established,
when those native elements which are to survive are as much a part of the
culture of the local "Romans" as of the "natives" - in short, when it is
meaningless to make any of these distinctions any more, and the only
realistic terminology is to call the whole "Romano-Syrian".

Needless to say, this ideal situation could never be demonstrat-
ed to the total satisfaction of all, but for practical purposes the death
of Caracalla seems a suitable cut-off point. On the historical side, the
Edict of Caracalla, whatever its particular aim, had the effect of sharply
reducing the number of official non-Romans. On the archaeological side,
all but one of the major diagnostic elements in the Romano-Syrian cultural
milieu have made their appearance by this time: the imperial cult, the
internal syncretization of pre-Roman deities, and the hybrid religion which
would soon replace them all, Christianity; the epigraphic style of the
province, the florid and extravagant milestones and other hodic inscriptions,
in the form of verbose and magniloquent dedications pro salute of the
reigning emperor,[30] the acceptance of Greek (including sometimes thoroughly
bad Greek) as the lingua franca by Romans, Greeks and Semites alike (with
a touch of Latin here and there just for show); the municipal benefaction
system and the limited city state and dependent village system of land
tenure; the Late Roman pottery types; the architectural features which
gave the cities their distinctive Romano-Syrian appearance - colonnaded
streets, tetrapyla, triumphal arches, nymphaea, elaborate 'axial'
sanctuaries with their endless rows of aediculae (alternating, and playing
upon the contrast between, quadrate and curvilinear), the stair-temples,
couched in the Classical idiom, complete with Syrian Orthodox Corinthian
capitals, the aqueducts, baths, theatres, amphitheatres, circuses and the
multitudinous and multifarious architectural details which, collectively
and cumulatively, built up the overall impression; all, regardless of
their place of origin, had by this time appeared and achieved currency
beyond the place of their appearance, so that the fusion, the uniform
cultural milieu, was at least beginning to be visible.[31] The process in

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fact continued - a point which will be elaborated later - but what might be called the formative period was effectively complete.

And the appearance of the basilica synagogue in Palestine, a basically Roman building in respect to design and decoration, with the modifications made necessary by the rites it housed, and particularly the construction of the synagogue at Capernaum, with its eagle over the main gate, seems an appropriate note on which to end.[32]

Beyond all this, there are two practical considerations which dictate the choice of this as a terminus, one purely a matter of expediency, the other of more fundamental significance. In the first place, the bulk of the material becomes too great to handle in thesis form if the main study is prolonged beyond this point. In the second, the advent of the Emesan Julii at Rome, with the concomitant influx of eastern culture, makes it progressively more difficult to decide what shall be construed as "Roman" and what shall be construed as "Syrian": matters are indeed approaching the point where such a distinction is purely academic.

Again, however, the nature of the evidence demands that this boundary, too, should retain a degree of flexibility. Too many things, among them the earliest of the basilica synagogues, are dated only in terms of terms of a wide range, in this case "Late Antonine - Early Severan". Others still, such as the Arch of Severus Alexander at Palmyra, are part of an overall programme initiated in the previous reigns.[33] It would seem as casuistic to exclude this monument on chronological grounds as it would to exclude, on geographical grounds, all mention of the Palmyrene who built a temple to the emperors in the Palmyrene fondouq at Vologesia, in Parthia.[34]

Internal Structure of the Thesis.

The internal structure, too, is predetermined by the nature of the topic, but modified by the nature of the evidence. In addition, there are conflicting methodological claims which must be reconciled.

The conflation of cause and effect outlined above would suggest that the best way both of remedying past deficiencies and of approaching the subject would be a simple bipartite plan, the effect, which is potentially knowable, then the causes extrapolated, which are more a matter

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of reconstruction. Such a plan would have the added advantage of
approximating the customary division between the presentation of evidence
and its interpretation, insulating 'objective' facts from the contamination
of 'subjective' conjecture.

However, the nature of the subject, a process, a series of
interrelated events taking place within a given area over a given span of
time, demands a chronological narrative. And the process in question is,
in part, generative, a self-perpetuating concatenation: what may be
considered as part of the effect in one period, a manifestation of Roman-
ization in the perfect tense - a Classical building, for example, or the
introduction of a Roman custom or institution - may serve as the inspiration
and model for another such introduction elsewhere, in a subsequent period,
thus in itself constituting a cause. One instance of Romanization begets
the next, in a continuous, cumulative and integrated flow, which cannot
easily be factored into cause and effect. .In addition, the evidence is by
no means clearcut: an element of reconstruction and interpretation enters
into the establishment of virtually every piece of data; the 'objective'
purity is in any case adulterated by and infusion of subjectivity.

Furthermore, the exigencies of time and space have necessitated
the omission of the projected section on the impersonal mechanisms of
acculturation, that is to say, those causal factors at work besides
deliberate induction, policy.[35] This in turn postulates some brief refer-
ence to such factors in the course of the delineation of the process: the
section in question is therefore perforce less clearly defined in respect
to its causal nature than might be desired.

The nearest approach to a reconciliation would seem to be to
deem the process as a whole the effect, regardless of its continuous and
complex nature: whereas it was initially intended to answer the question
"what happened", "what" now to a certain extent also includes "how". Thus
this thesis still establishes the data, and a subsequent study would
interpret the data so established. Such a division has advantages as well
as disadvantages, in that it allows a clearer separation, if not of the
logical causal steps then of the two sorts of "Romanization", the semantic
and conceptual conflation of which lies at the heart of much of the problem,
permitting the application to each of the method which will yield results
in the terms it demands.

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For the present thesis answers the questions: Was there Romaniz-
ation in Syria? Of what kind? Where? and When?; in other words, What
happened, regardless of whether it was comprehended at the time. A study
of Romanization the policy, while in broad terms dealing with one potential
cause of this "what", conscious induction by the Romans, exploring one
aspect of "why", takes the form of an investigation of the motivation,
awareness and reasoning of the contemporary Romans. Policy implies conscious
induction of acculturation, with correlative questions such as: By whom
was the policy instituted? Was there ever any long-term 'master plan' for
Syria followed by successive administrations? What was the specific purpose
of the policy, Romanization of the place for the sake of appearances, with
little or no account taken of the concomitant effect on the population, or
Romanization of the people? If the latter, was it Romanization for its own
sake, by altruistic evangelists of 'civilization', or more a matter of
Romanization as a tool of military subjugation, as Tacitus implies it was
in Britain, or the somewhat more positive, if equally expedient, policy of
Romanization as an inducement to political loyalty which can be inferred
for Agricola from this same passage[36] and more generally from other texts?
Was it a matter of general policy, or a specific measure applied to
specific problems? And so forth.

Such questions obviously require an 'empathetic' approach,
whereas, for the rest, it would be highly improper to assume a priori that
the Romans were aware of what was happening, much less why. Such a factual
investigation is best dealt with by what is known as the 'anachronistic'
approach, in which the standpoint of the writer is frankly that of the
twentieth century, with all available information, from whatever source,
utilized, regardless of whether such information would have been available
at the time, and judgments as to what was occurring similarly taking into
account the cumulative experience of the intervening two thousand years,
laying aside the question of whether, and to what extent, the Romans were
aware of the phenomenon and inducing or exploiting it, or whether it was
purely a matter of an impersonal process. akin to evolution, until what it
is that both parties, modern and ancient, are seeking to analyse or
utilize has been determined.

The present division allows for such variation of approach. In
the present thesis Romanization is treated purely as an impersonal
phenomenon, regardless of whether it was discerned, or even discernible at
the time, with the appropriate standpoint adopted, a standpoint which would

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be reversed in any further study of Romanization the policy.

The resolution cannot be complete, however. Since the proposed
study, at least in part, would depend upon what precedes it, it in turn
postulates that what precedes should be moulded into a framework expressed
in terms compatible with those of its own. Specifically, the units used
to subdivide the present thesis must bear some relationship to those of
the further study.

The general arrangement is already predetermined - the charting
of a process, a thing dynamic, demands some sort of fixed scale against
which its fluctuations can be measured, a temporo-spatial grid, by what-
ever name. (Thus an arrangement by, say, categories of evidence, is a
priori precluded). The use of totally arbitrary units, decades and so
many square miles or hectares, would, as mentioned above, be appropriate
to a wholly 'anachronistic' study, and would from one viewpoint seem
advisable, since the size of the units would then remain constant. However,
when it comes to interpreting the results obtained from such a system in
terms of a putative policy, something by definition attributable to an
individual person or group of individuals, a certain amount of difficulty
arises, since such arbitrary units need not coincide with what may be
termed the empathetic ones. To take a hypothetical example, if something
indicating the existence of such a policy occurred during Period x,
defined as the decade A.D. 60-70, one would then be in the position of
solemnly pronouncing that a policy of Romanization could be attributed to
Nero/Galba/Otho/Vitellius/Vespasian, hardly an informative statement. The
analogous problems with using arbitrary spatial units have already been
outlined above.

In theory, there seems no irrefutable reason why the spatial and
temporal units should not consist wholly of those compatible with an
empathetic approach; the spatial units cities or towns and their
territories, rather than hectares or even geographic regions, the temporal
units the periods of pre-eminence of emperors, or, for the "Republican"
period, imperatores, rather than years or even decades.[37] In practice,
however, the nature of the evidence supervenes. Only a small percentage
of city territories or any other Roman administrative districts are known -
some of them known only in part, from a single boundary stone, as with the
Abditerans[38] - and few of them were constant. And while the textual

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evidence makes its chronological reference in such terms, events being
assigned, accurately or otherwise, to the reign or period of domination of
this or that person, the epigraphic and numismatic evidence complies only
in part: undated coins or inscriptions, or those on which the date is not
preserved, must be assigned a period, if at all, by style or archaeologic-
al context, which yields answers only in terms of stylistic or archaeo-
logical chronology. This may or may not, in turn, be translatable into
years, quarter centuries, or at best dynasties. Such terminology is
equally difficult to correlate with individual people - what does "Late
Antonine", one of the more precise examples, mean? Possibly the latter
half of the reign of Antoninus Pius? The reign of Marcus Aurelius? Of
Commodus? The archaeological evidence proper is even more apt to come in
this form, the range of emperors being even wider.

Again some sort of compromise solution is required. If only the
material datable to a single reign were taken into consideration, then the
results, meagre as they would be, would be of such doubtful validity,
given the amount of material which might belong to a particular reign, that
the exercise would hardly be worthwhile. On the other hand, it is
impossible to include that evidence which is virtually undated, assignable
only to the overall period involved (and that only with probability),
without any more specific location in time. The absence of this evidence,
which comprises a goodly proportion of the total under consideration,
would palpably distort the overall static picture, if not the course of
the process, of Romanization in Syria.

Practical application suggested a solution not too much at odds
with the methodological imperatives. Although a distressingly large
proportion of the evidence falls into the latter category, the bulk lies
in between these two extremes of chronological precision. Periods consist-
ing of groups of reigns, more or less along dynastic lines, seemed
feasible. Essentially, the groups were determined by the frequency of
occurrence of a given range of dates - for example, at the time of
formulation, more evidence was dated Trajan-Hadrian-Antoninus Pius than
was dated Hadrian-Pius-Marcus Aurelius.

This type of surgery is not quite as arbitrary as it appears:
the frequency of occurrence of a particular range of dates implies the
fundamental integrity of the material pertaining to it; a given piece

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differs from an analogous manifestation from the reign of say, Vespasian, but is indistinguishable from others ranging in date from the time of Trajan to the time of Antoninus Pius, because there is a real and germane relationship between it and the latter pieces in regard to those aspects, artistic style and so forth, most frequently used for chronological determination. The periods are thus intrinsic, spontaneous, "organic" units in this sense, if not in the sense of empathetic units corresponding to the contemporary Roman terms.

Nevertheless, some of the termini are still of necessity arbitrary, dictated by the amount of material which can be handled as one coherent unit. For example, in both the type of material and the course of the process of Romanization, there is a gentle transition, with a great deal of continuity, between the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, although the end of Period VI (M. Aurelius to Didius Julianus) is perceptibly different from the beginning of Period V (Trajan to Pius). Similarly, it is to a great extent only matters of degree which place the reign of Trajan with that of Hadrian rather than with those of the Flavians and Nerva.[39] Other things being equal, the dual purpose of the thesis has prevailed, and, where possible, 'dynastic' groupings deemed the deciding factor in delineating the bounds of the Periods.

The grid thus retains a degree of ambivalence, though hopefully not of ambiguity. By keeping the temporal units as close as practicable to the empathetic units required for a further study of Romanization the policy, the thesis creates a chronological skeleton which should be close enough to the historical frame of reference to allow its use as a tool in the historical investigation, albeit an imprecise one. But the structure is still far from ideal.

In the first place, as already stated, only evidence assigned to a particular temporal unit, a particular Period, or, at the very outside, to within three such Periods, can be accommadated. While nothing can be done to minimise the potential distortion to the apparent course of the process caused by this omission, insofar as the distortion of the overall static picture of the effect is concerned, this defect has been partially remedied by the addition of a concluding chapter, Chapter VI, which first delineates the pattern traced by the evidence discussed in the preceding chronological chapters, then supplements the chronological framework so obtained

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with the evidence which cannot be assigned to any particular Period or group of Periods, re-organizing the material and treating it by category of evidence, or rather, by the aspect of life to which it relates. Thus the whole is, in a sense, regarded as a single Period, or a single instant - to borrow a mathematical analogy, the temporal axis is in abeyance - but with the chronological framework as a cross-reference. The first five chapters as it were describe (and authenticate) the individual trees one after the other; Chapter VI delineates the shape of the woods.

More seriously, and more irreparably, the evidence not only modifies, but is modified by, the structure. In theory and intention, the resultant spatio-temporal grid, like all such systems, is no more than a kind of noetic graph paper, a backdrop against which the fluctuations can be measured and the patterns charted, not a set of superimposed boxes into which the evidence is forced willy-nilly. In practice, the implementation of this system by means of the written word forces it to be linear, episodic and procrustean. If a certain event belongs chronologically to one of two Periods, it must receive its first mention in one or the other, not both, nor will any amount of cross-reference or qualification dispel the initial impression. And a continuing process, belonging equally to more than one Period, must similarly receive its first mention in the Period of its inception, with the major discussion confined to the account of one such Period.

The nett result is that the evidence is concentrated into a number of circumscribed boxes, arranged seriatim, artificially concentrated, since the units are intrinsic only to one or two aspects of the evidence, those pertaining to chronological determination.[40]

In the present case, the potential effect of this procrustean tendency is, at worst, the creation of artificial trends and patterns, the concentration of evidence which should be evenly distributed throughout the timespan around a number of points located at irregular intervals along the temporal axis, producing the illusion of fluctuations. Given, however, that the units are in part spontaneous, initially based on the natural confluence of the evidence itself, it is more likely to be a matter of distortion of real trends by the suppression of intermediate peaks and troughs. This is perhaps best illustrated by the results of two actual graphs drawn approximately half way through my candidature. It must be stressed that these graphs were, and are, NOT INTENDED AS

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SUBSTANTIVAL STATEMENTS - the nature of the evidence precludes the use
alike of graphs and computers, since that would require that all the
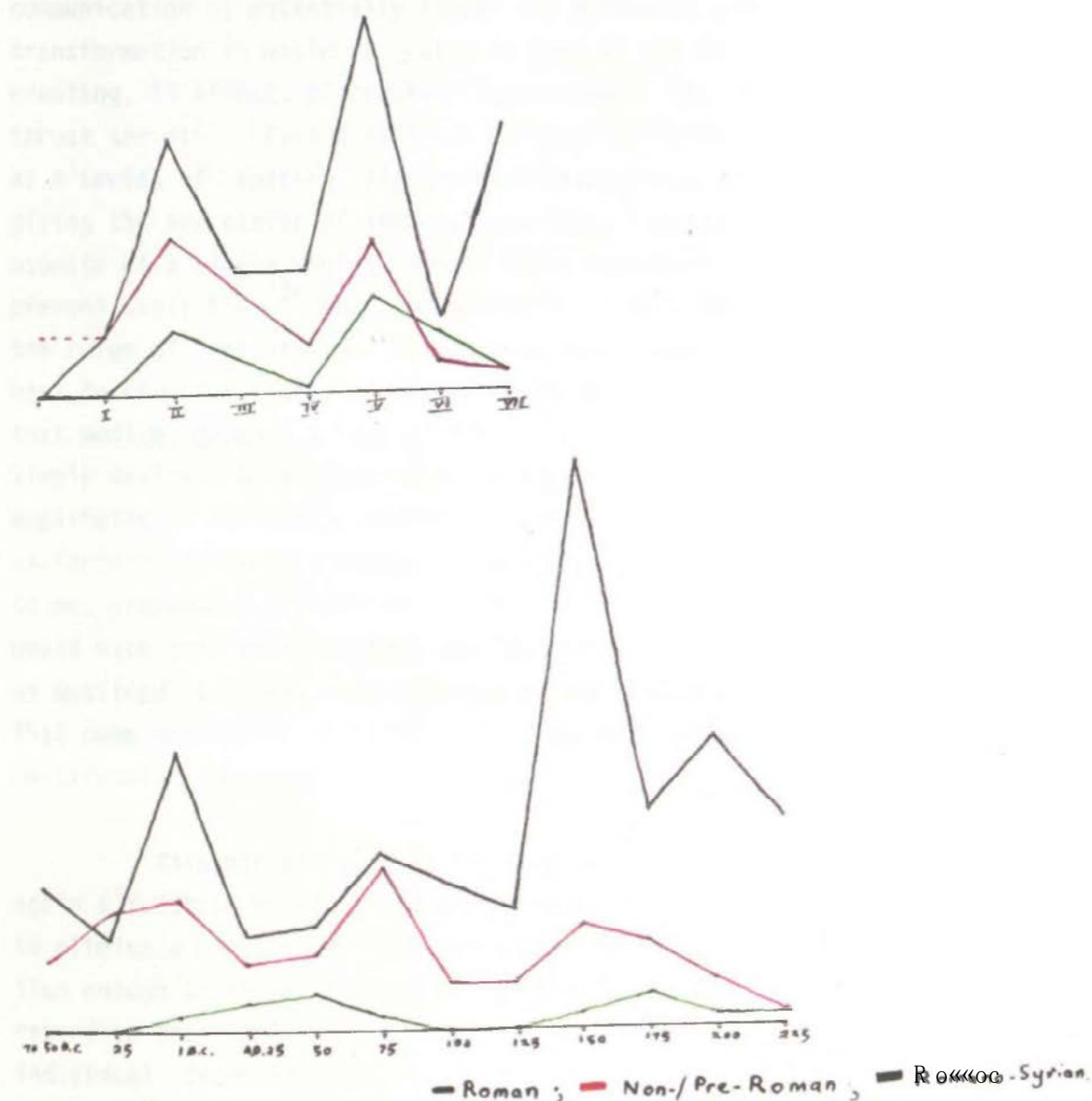evidence taken into account should be expressed in numerical values.

It might have been possible, indeed useful, to treat, for example,
the Latin inscriptions in this manner, since many are of quantitative value
only, awarding one point for Roman for the fact that the inscription is in
Latin, and extra points for additional Romanizing features in content or
physical form, perhaps deducting points for intrusive Greek or Aramaic,
and so forth. However, it seems impossible to assess other types of
evidence in a similar manner: how, for example, does one evaluate a Roman
type of building, with non-Roman details, as opposed to a non-Roman type
of building with Roman details? Does one estimate and count the number of
Orthodox Corinthian capitals in the Temple of Bel at Palmyra, and offset
the number of attached Ionics? How does one rate an entire city built in
the Graeco-Roman manner as against the introduction of an important new
Roman form, as embodied in a single building, into a previously non-Roman
city? How does one both take account of the fact that it is more import-
ant if the Syrians themselves employ a Roman form than if it is the local
Roman officials who do so, at the same time allowing for the fact that the
authorship, or the nationality of the author, of the majority of
manifestations is unknown? And how does one evaluate a Romanized person
in these terms - does one give Herod I as many points as he had children
for sending those children to school in Rome, and deduct for the use of
Greek rather than Latin on coins, one point each for the number of known
coins or issues? It is simply not an appropriate technique.

The only valid use of a graph in this sort of context is, as
these graphs were, merely as an epistomological monitoring device. They
were aimed specifically at the question of whether too little evidence had
been taken into account for any valid conclusions to be drawn, but, in the
event, proved painfully revealing in regard to the manner in which the
choice of units regulated the results - a variation on the axiom that the
form of the question determines the form, and nature, of the answer.

The first graph used the seven Periods as the temporal units,
but the second used a purely arbitrary system, each unit being twenty-five
years,[41] so that the reign of Trajan was effectively separated from that of
Hadrian. The first graph showed Period V, Trajan-Hadrian-Pius, as the peak

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period in terms of activity, material and the dynamic process of Romaniz-
ation, with a marked decline in Period VI, Aurelius-Julianus. The second
showed a decline in activity in the period approximating the reign of
Trajan, which had been entirely invisible in the first:

I   II   III   IV   V   VI   VII

70 5o B.C   25   1 B.C.   A.D.25   50   75   100   125   150   175   200   225

━━ Roman ; ━━ Non-/Pre-Roman ; ━━ Romano-Syrian.

In historical terms, this hiatus is easily explained by Trajan's Parthian
campaigns and the annexation of Arabia, which temporarily engrossed a
goodly proportion of the resources of Syria, and that part of the
population most likely to be engaged in Romanizing activities, as the
subject or object of the verb. Its failure to appear in the other graph,

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however, has alarming implications for the use of the more comprehensive
temporal units, and, furthermore, points up the analogous limitations
imposed by the overall spatial unit.

But such a distortion is inevitable. Some system of classificat-
ion is needed in a written work, and the written word as a medium of
communication is essentially linear and episodic, and would work a similar
transformation in whatever system is used as the basis for organization,
creating, in effect, procrustean compartments into which the material is
thrust seriatim. Even a division by types of evidence would be realised
as a series of separate, disconnected categories, listed consecutively,
giving the impression of temporal sequence, instead of interrelated
aspects of a single whole. Nor is there any more suitable medium at
present available.[42] Since the medium is in fact prescribed, not only by
the rules of presentation, but also by its overall superiority, it seems
best to choose a system of organization which will, in combination with
that medium, produce a type of distortion that can be assessed by such a
simple device. As already noted, the use of more precise units, whether
empathetic or arbitrary, would have entailed a far greater degree of
distortion, insofar as something more than 50% of the material available
to me, presumably already only a small fraction of what once existed,
would have been excluded from consideration. On reflection, the structure
as outlined above has been retained as the one of those methods practicable
that came nearest to fulfilling the disparate demands of the
multifaceted subject.

This structure is an admittedly simplistic approach, which is
again a function of the state of the material. It constitutes an attempt
to eliminate unnecessary complications - the material itself provides more
than enough of those, fraught as it is with controversy, not only in
regard to the overall subject, but in the establishment of so many of the
individual pieces of data.

Since lack of definition is one of the main causes of the
confusion and controversy regarding the topic, it seems advisable to
briefly summarise the other conclusions of my previous work before
proceeding to the main study.

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Romanization, a Working Definition.[43]

       Limitation of scope is at least in part responsible for some of the diametrically opposed conclusions previously drawn, as has been pointed out above, a matter of underlying definitions of what constitutes Romanization, be they implicit or explicit. As an antidote to such obstructions to a fruitful investigation, the basic, all-inclusive definition used is as follows.

       Romanization is the effect of the Romans upon the pre-Roman population, the cultural changes resulting from their advent. Any change of any description which takes place during the Roman occupation is therefore viewed as potential Romanization: if the new can be shown to derive from Roman culture in the broadest sense of the term, if the change results in the appearance of something which conforms to a "Roman" prototype, Romanization has taken place.

       This definition is not quite as hospitable as it sounds. "Roman" innovations must be able to display proof of Roman ancestry, since there is genuine doubt about the status here of some type fossils which elsewhere constitute the hallmarks of Roman culture, but whose precise origin is unknown. Given the widely attested influence of Hellenistic culture on Roman, particularly at the beginning of the period covered by this thesis, some may have derived from Hellenistic Syria itself, so that in Syria, and in Syria alone, they are evidence not of Romanization but of the antithesis, continuity and survival from the preceding era. The crux of the matter is change, and unless there is some reason to suppose that a given type fossil was not a product of Hellenistic Syria, no such change can be demonstrated. Since the aim of the study is to maintain, in the face of categorical denials by such august authorities, that Romanization did occur in Syria, it is obviously desirable to concentrate as far as possible on the incontestable examples and waive the more dubious cases, at least until an irrefutable minimum of Romanization has been demonstrated, to establish that such a thing is not inconceivable. Error must be on the conservative side. Those type fossils, predominantly architectural, whose status can be clarified generically in accordance with this requirement, have been dealt with in my previous work and the results summarised below.

       Even so, with such a comprehensive definition some absurdities and apparent absurdities are evident. The mere presence of a piece of

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Roman architecture constitutes Romanization. Romanization can be said to have occurred if the population merely tolerated it, i.e, did not show signs of objecting, regardless of whether they were cowed or converted, whether their acceptance was perfunctory or whole-hearted or due simply to indifference, or even whether they were aware of the change. Willingly or unwillingly, wittingly or unwittingly, they had been Romanized. Almost anything could constitute Romanization.

Nevertheless, I prefer to retain this definition and proceed from it to distinguish varying degrees of Romanization. Obviously a leaven of common sense must be used in practice, and each case treated on its merits. Besides which, not all apparent absurdities are as ludicrous as they seem.

Degrees of Romanization.

i) Superficial: simple imposition.[44] .

The mere presence of a Roman type fossil, be it a building, an institution or whatever, but especially a tangible, prominent manifestation such as a public building, does in fact signal the presence of at least some slight degree of Romanization.

In the first place, the mere tolerance of its existence does imply some degree of acceptance, conscious or otherwise, willing or other-wise, since, as the Zealots demonstrated, one could always object if offended, provided one didn't mind dying for it.

More importantly, no one can help being affected by his surroundings, architectural or otherwise, any more than he can remain uninfluenced by the prevailing attitudes and beliefs which form the mental side of his total milieu. A modern experience shared by many people, which illustrates this in the grossest way, is moving into a rented house. The location of power points, taps, doors and the sizes and shapes of the rooms dictate the placement of major appliances, in turn dictating where certain actions shall be performed, as a matter of convenience due to access the order in which they shall be performed and to a certain extent their frequency, even, because of considerations such as lighting, heating, or lack of same, the time of day at which particular activities are to be performed. To a certain limited extent, the tenant finds himself behaving not as an individual but as the occupant of that particular house.

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It seems reasonable to suppose that this would be equally valid for Roman times; the further step, not whether surrounding objects affect the way a person acts, but how surrounding (architectural) objects affect his concepts of those objects, and ultimately the whole manner in which he thinks, can be illustrated from ancient texts such as Athenaeus, Deipnosophists V.206-206c and 205c, Josephus, AJ XV.414 and Pliny, NH XXXVI.178-9.[45]

It also seems reasonable to suppose that the more a person's total ambience consists of tolerated superimpositions the greater the potential effect on that person. Just as the modern tenant to a certain limited extent may become an occupant of that particular house, so too the resident of a town that was Roman in its physical shape and in its type of government would find himself behaving, again to a certain limited extent, as a resident of a Roman town rather than as an individual, regardless of the fact that the Roman forms may have been superimposed without his consent, approval, or even cognizance. If the plan is that of a Roman town, his movements about it on his daily routine would be regulated accordingly; if a building in which he had business was arranged internally in a Roman manner, in regard to the provision for seating and orientation in terms of the focus of interest (as in a temple or basilica) he would suit his actions to this disposition, mimicking, whether he knew it or not, the actions of his counterpart in Rome itself. If his ambitions took the direction of local political prominence, he would conform to the (Roman) system of election or appointment which prevailed, holding a Roman office in a Roman system of government in a manner that obtained all over the empire. The Romanization of a place, if it persists, must surely result in some superficial degree of Romanization of its people.

It must be pointed out that a single isolated superimposition does not guarantee that this potential ultimate effect took place: it is merely a fair assumption that given time the potential will be realised. The immediate significance of first degree Romanization is no more than tolerance plus potential.

But it should equally be stressed that this represents only the minimum degree of Romanization guaranteed present in any given instance of superimposition: it may be that more than a slight degree of Romanization is present - it is simply undemonstrable from such evidence alone - but at least that slight amount is attested.

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ii) Response, imitative.

While any manifestation of imported Roman culture, however nominal or superficial, is therefore of quantitative significance insofar as it implies at least a slight degree of Romanization of the populace, it would obviously be desirable to investigate the possibility of a more profound impact, not merely toleration of superimpositions, but a positive, active and preferably voluntary response to these introductions. In theory there is a variety of possible approaches.[46]

Obviously some types of evidence are more meaningful than others. On the one hand the series of more than eight hundred Definitio (or Defensio) Silvarum inscriptions in the Afka-Akura area[47] are of quantitative value only, and a formulaic dedication for the well-being of the emperor by a detachment of the Roman army does little more.

Personal testimony, such as the writings of contemporary Syrians, Josephus and Lucian, are better, but subject to reservations and requiring examination, since the author may be, consciously or otherwise, misrepresenting his own attitude. Such records in any case essentially relate to only one individual, the author, and are in the event rare: Josephus and Lucian stand almost alone (Libanius and Malalas being outside the temporal scope of the thesis), with only the less extensive and more dubious sources such as the writings of Nicolas of Damascus (extrapolated, in part, from Josephus, and so open to the suspicion of being transmitted through a Josephan filter) and the chronologically vexed New Testament.

Generically more promising are those classes of artifact, tangible or intangible, which pertain to private rather than public life, the most obvious example being pottery, particularly the more mundane utensils: a person may affect the trappings of the culture of his rulers in public for reasons of pure expediency, but what he eats his breakfast off is a different matter. Where there is no pressure to conform, and the choice is entirely a matter of personal inclination, i.e. in an elective sphere, a more accurate reflection of the effect of the Romans can be obtained; any indication of Romanization in this area is therefore commensurately more significant. But unfortunately it is precisely this type of evidence which is rarest, domestic architecture and the miscellanea of daily life found in excavations being for the most part absent or so indeterminate as to be incapable of interpretation, the pottery for the most part unusable

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because the state of study is such that a separate thesis would be required
before it could be employed in a derivative study of this nature.

Finds from tombs might have partially compensated for these
desiderata, since they are predominantly of two classes: treasured personal
possessions and objects such as lamps and coins left behind by the mourners,
so commonplace as to be unimportant. Both are equally significant, for
opposite reasons, and Romanizing objects from such contexts would
constitute unambiguous evidence of the kind of impact and acceptance sought.
Similarly, Romanizing architecture in private funerary monuments might
have compensated for the comparative lack of domestic architecture. But
objects from tombs in the area are also comparatively rare, most sepulchres
having been robbed in antiquity, and again much of what has been recovered
is indeterminate for the purposes of this study, while ironically funerary
architecture, as too forms of burial, is one area in which something
approaching a lack of Romanization could be expected. The forms of funerary
monuments were heterogeneous in pre-Roman times and remained so in the
Roman era; the same however was true of Rome itself, so there was no single
identifiable 'Roman' type to which the Syrian examples could conform, or to
exert pressure on them to do so;[48] the main perceptible change is the
occasional addition of Romanizing architectural elements to a
pre-existent type. Moreover, because of the preservation factor such
positive evidence of Romanization as there is from such contexts tends to
derive from richer, better constructed tombs, i.e. refers to the upper
classes, doing little more in the event than corroborate what is already
known from other, principally historical sources.

For one reason or another, therefore, in practice it is less a
matter of some categories of evidence bearing a greater significance in
terms of Romanization, than of rare, isolated cases dealt with individually.
It must be stressed that this comparative lack of evidence does not mean
that the more profound degree of Romanization such evidence would attest
was also lacking, merely that it is undemonstrable. In fact, in some
cases where such evidence exists it does provide testimony to a lack of
Romanization, but in others an affirmative result is obtained. But
individual examples signify this degree of Romanization only of single
individual people. If general conclusions are to be drawn some other
means must be found of categorizing evidence showing a greater degree of
Romanization than superimpositions, a means which can in practice be
applied to the existing material, in order to detect a more widespread

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response among the population.

One valid approach is to equate degrees of Romanization with degrees of volition (indeed already a tacit preconception in the case of superimposition), and construct a system of classification based on this premise. One class would then be imitative response.

While, as pointed out above, a certain amount of involuntary usage is unavoidable, voluntary usage of Roman introductions implies a slightly greater degree of Romanization than simple toleration, and in practice such voluntary usage can seldom be detected other than by evidence which in some way involves imitation.

For example, the repair of a Roman public building in the manner in which it was built evinces the acceptance of the artistic style or structural technique in question, as well as a desire that the structure concerned should be retained, along with the concomitant functions or institutions it implies. More straightforward is the erection of a new public building of Roman type, or the various analogues, the creation of new statues of Roman type in areas where Classical sculpture had not penetrated prior to the Romans, the institution of local city governments along the lines of those found in other Roman provinces, and so forth, by individual local citizens or the civic body of local towns. Similar in import are inscriptions like the military ones mentioned above, <u>pro salute</u> (or ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν σωτηρίας) of the reigning emperor, but by native residents, preferably of proven non-Italic extraction. They signify a nominal willingness on the part of the dedicant to accept the Roman head of state as his or her ruler, and constitute what appears to be a spontaneous, affirmative response to the superimposition of Roman rule and concomitant forms, especially like inscriptions by Roman military personnel.

There are however limitations to the significance which can be placed upon such manifestations. In the case of the repair of a building, in theory, granted the desire for its retention, there is still no necessity for it to be repaired in the particular manner in which it was built, so that a further element of choice seems attested. But in fact it is always possible that the practical difficulties were such that it was easier to effect a repair by imitating what was there previously than by trying to devise an alternative, compatible method. The erection of new Roman public buildings, the institution of Roman forms of local

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government, and in many cases the sculpture, all belong to public rather than private life, and there is no way of knowing whether they reflect the attitudes of the citizen body as a whole, or attest no more than the desire of a few local officials to assume the fashionable, and in terms of ingratiation with their rulers, rewarding outward forms, a protestation, sincere or otherwise, of their love of the Romans and things Roman. Similarly with the inscriptions: if the dedication is originally worded, painfully pieced out in inadequate Latin, the assumption would be that the person in question strongly desired to make this gesture for some reason, the most likely being that he or she meant what was said, but if, as in most cases, the inscription is purely formulaic, then it may, or may not, be a perfunctory gesture, an observance of a set of conventions which are tolerated rather than embraced. The form, if not the sentiment, still constitutes elective use of a Roman type fossil, and the fact that the person concerned had the knowledge to do so, or cause it to be done, signifies a real degree of acculturation, willing or otherwise, but how heartfelt this espousal of the emperor and things Roman may have been is a different matter. Imitative response betokens some slight degree of active voluntary acceptance not necessarily inherent in superimpositions, but guarantees no more than that.

This classification, like superimpositions, cuts across the more usual categories of evidence. Imitative response may occur in any sphere of life, not only municipal architecture, civic structure, sculpture or epigraphy, but equally in literature, as for example Josephus' assumption of the façade of a Graeco-Roman historian in The Jewish War,[49] in domestic architecture and "small finds", in pottery, in religion, for example where the forms of the imperial cult practised in Syria (or indeed any other imported cult acceptable at Rome) mimick those of Italy, or any other sphere of life, and take any form which implies voluntary acceptance. Within this overall classification, the depth of the effect demonstrated varies, and some categories of evidence, the 'elective' spheres of private life where extraneous pressures to conform are not so endemic, still bear more significance than others. The main proviso is that the authorship of the manifestation in question is known to be 'native' rather than a Roman superimposition from outside.

It must be pointed out that the greater degree of Romanization implied by an instance of imitative response refers only to the author or

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authors of the manifestation in question; for the rest of the population
the example concerned stands in the same position as a superimposition by
the Romans.

But it must also be emphasized that, as with superimpositions,
the degree of Romanization implicit in the classification represents only
the minimum amount of Romanization present in any given case; more may or
may not be present, but this cannot be determined without further evidence,
such as for example the form of expression in the hypothetical originally
worded dedication, laboriously pieced out in halting Latin, mentioned above.

iii) Response, creative.[50]

For the same limited section of the population, those people
involved in the creation of artifacts or conventions, there is another
avenue of approach to the question. The creation of a hybrid form, a
fusion of Roman and native elements, implies unambiguous acceptance of
those Roman elements involved.

On the face of it, such manifestations would seem to be of less
importance than something completely Roman, for example an instance of
imitative response - after all, it is only partially Roman, and therefore
signifies only partial Romanization. In any given case this may indeed be
true: the Roman innovation which was taken over in toto may, for all one
can tell, have been embraced with fanatical fervour after protracted
cogitation and meticulous deliberation had shown it to be desirable. The
point is that there is nothing which actually postulates such a profound
effect.

Such wholesale takeovers are also the hallmark of a more facile,
almost inadvertent form of acculturation. It occurs most frequently when
there is no effective counterpart in the recipient culture to 'fight against'
the new element, nothing with which it must be reconciled and assimilated.

Without this conflict which forces adjustment and awareness, the
importation slips imperceptibly into a vacant cultural slot, with no
conscious decision or acceptance on the part of the recipient. The same
may well be true of importations which, technologically or otherwise,
represented such a signal advance as to render the nearest local counter-
part negligible by comparison.[51]

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In one sense, this form of acculturation is all the more potent for its insidiousness - indeed, it seems likely that this is the most common, and most effective variety. Working subliminally, in time and in sufficient numbers, such instances collectively may be the major cause of those dramatic transformations of whole cultures which do occur. But in another sense, this form is superficial, and certainly potentially less durable; the custom, device, technique or whatever is apt to be replaced just as easily and painlessly by a newer, more attractive version from a different source. There need be none of the emotional commitment inherent in a conscious decision.

By contrast, the process of creating a hybrid entails the selection and rejection of various elements from the sources involved. There is, therefore, a guarantee that those Roman elements included were voluntarily, genuinely, and after due consideration accepted as desirable.

Furthermore, the creative element itself implies a not inconsiderable prior degree of Romanization in a broader sense: the author was sufficiently conversant with the Roman components to contemplate using them for his own purpose.

An even greater degree is similarly implied by the creation of what might be termed 'Provincial Roman' types. These types were invented in the area, and initially peculiar to it, but their peculiarity does not derive from any pre-existent non-Roman elements in the culture of the region. All the components were drawn from the existing Roman repertoire, or were original inventions of the author, with no 'native' admixture at all. The types might have been conceived as a local variant in almost any other province. They lie entirely within the Roman frame of reference, and represent nothing less than the ongoing evolution of <u>Roman</u> culture. When local natives are so at home in the Roman idiom that they can work creatively within that idiom, no better proof of thoroughgoing Romanization could be asked.

The ultimate test of these Provincial Roman types is their acceptability elsewhere in the Roman world. Some gained currency beyond the East, some did not, but even the latter nevertheless attest a profound degree of Romanization not demonstrable from most other evidence.

The main problem with the use of Provincial Roman types is

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establishing their local credentials: precisely because of the lack of
non-Roman elements, and because they are entirely Roman in spirit and
derivation, it is exceedingly difficult to show that they were the product
of non-Roman creators. Customs and beliefs may have been confined to
Italian immigrants, tangible objects may have been imported. Even where
this last can be ruled out, because of sheer impractibility or because the
object in question is made from local materials, anyone wishing to deny
the existence of Romanization has merely to invoke the spectre of immigrant
craftsmen. It is difficult to show any marked degree of acculturation
when the anonymous author of any object which displays such a marked
degree of Roman influence is deemed to be an immigrant, by definintion.

In Syria, too, there is another recourse: when all else fails
and a Roman type appears unambiguously as the work of a local non-Roman,
one can always dispute the 'Romanness' of the type in question, claiming
that it was created in Seleucid Syria and transmitted thence to Rome.
Earlier examples which show the development of the type have been lost,
but this particular instance is a survival which testifies to its Syrian
origin, since the only alternative explanation, Roman influence on the
pre-Roman population, is by definition impossible. While such conclusions
can hardly be regarded as proven, in vacuo neither can the reverse, given
the genuine instances of erstwhile Roman type fossils now shown to be of
Syrian origin.

Since the aim of this study is to demonstrate a solid minimum
of Romanization, in order to establish the principle, the hybrids, whose
significance is more easily demonstrated if not as great, are better suit-
ed to the purpose.

Basically there are two sorts of hybrid: firstly, those which
might be termed simple mixtures, isolated instances which beget no
descendants and gain no currency beyond their place of origin, for example
individual unrepeated pieces of sculpture, architecture or literature;
secondly, true Romano-Syrian types, which are copied and disseminated over
a wide area of the province, if not beyond. The significance of the latter
in terms of the prior Romanization of its creator is marginally more secure:
the singletons which were not copied may perhaps have seemed unsuccessful
to contemporary eyes, and one, among several, possible causes of this
failure might have been inadequate assimilation or lack of understanding

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of the Roman elements involved. Moreover, with the true hybrids, the subsequent dissemination, i.e. repetitions and probable imitations, entailing further, at least second degree, Romanization on the part of others, is guaranteed, by definition.

The overall prerequisites of the hybrid category are that both Roman and non-Roman elements should be attested and that the hybrid should be new: given the amount of Greek influence in Roman culture, and the virtual identity of numerous Greek and Roman elements, the possibility of a fusion of Hellenistic and native elements in pre-Roman times, as with the stair-temples,[52] must be examined and effectively excluded.

Third degree Romanization as a class shares the limitations of second degree Romanization. Within the overall class examples bear a greater of lesser significance generically depending upon the category of evidence, e.g. public or private life, to which they belong, and the significance in terms of a profound degree of Romanization applies only to the author or authors of the manifestation in question: as far as the rest of the population is concerned, it stands in the same position as a Roman superimposition; any secondary effect can be demonstrated only by the same means, evidence of usage and imitation which signals acceptance.

Indeed the tripartite classification system as a whole has its limitations. As pointed out above, it is essentially based upon a single criterion, volition, save only for the internal subdivisions within third degree Romanization, where thoroughness of cognizance on the part of the author, and the amount of further effect, are the basis for the distinction. Volition alone cannot dictate where so many factors are present: clearly a system based on a single criterion, or even two or three, is inadequate to a patently complex phenomenon. In practice, for example, some instances which otherwise meet the requirements of the Provincial Roman category, do not demonstrably achieve acceptance beyond the eastern provinces, for instance the coins of Agrippa II,[53] and therefore in theory do not carry quite the same significance. On the other hand, some Romano-Syrian types, for example partially syncretized cults such as that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus,[54] gained currency elsewhere in the Roman world, even at Rome itself. While unprecedented in Roman culture, the Syrian elements were sufficiently in the spirit of what was currently "Roman" to be acceptable to the Romans themselves - for what was "Roman" was of course

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neither static nor immutable, but itself evolving, absorbing and transmut-
ing new elements from a variety of sources which then became part of the
"Roman" cultural matrix that interacted with later introductions.

The validity of the distinction in terms of significance between
the two forms of hybrid, 'true hybrid' and 'mixture' is also sometimes
questionable,[55] while the significance ascribed to hybrids as a whole at
times postulates further investigation in a given case: the nature of the
fusion must be considered before an apparent hybrid can be accredited with
the full import as outlined above. Particularly with intangible types,
such as religion, unless detailed documentation of what existed before is
available to disprove it, or the actual synthesis is apparent, it is
possible that the incoming components may simply have occupied a 'vacant'
cultural niche adjacent to the existing type, so that the process was more
one of accretion than synthesis, facile Romanization akin to that describ-
ed above, in chemical terminology, a mixture not a compound. The element
of conscious thought and commitment would therefore be missing.

The system therefore suffices only for the most straightforward
cases. It is intended merely as a set of guidelines, by no means a
procrustean set of compartments into which the evidence should be thrust
willy-nilly, and the guidelines do not dispense with the necessity for
treating many cases individually. It is a device, a tool not a master; a
rule of thumb, a means of 'bulk handling' suitable material, on the
practical level of organizing the text, on an interpretative level of mass
evaluation; it is a somewhat imprecise measuring stick, another species of
noetic graph paper against which suitable evidence can be scaled.

Bearing in mind these limitations, specific and general, it is
still apparent that the Romano-Syrian hybrid classification indicates the
most promising area for research. Not only, as in the more elusive
Provincial Roman category, is the presence of some secondary effect
guaranteed, since proliferation is part of the definition, but it is, from
one point of view, a truer form of Romanization, a genuine constituent of
the ultimate result. For Romanization in Syria did not take the form of
the creation of a tintype of Rome, any more than it did in any other province:
as always, there was a degree of mutual influence, a blending and fusion
of the two so that the distinction between them became more and more
blurred, until a new and separate culture was created, a culture which was

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neither one nor the other, but the progeny of both. This overall fusion is merely a macrocosm of the individual hybridizations which create the Romano-Syrian types, and those types, at one and the same time, symptoms, epitomes and formative constituents of the whole.

The Romano-Syrian Milieu.[56]

For this reason a study of the formation and spread of the Romano-Syrian subculture within the area is not only a legitimate, but an imperative part of the study of Romanization in Syria, although not all the elements involved were, strictly speaking, Roman. The internal movement towards uniformity also entailed the spread of both local Greek and various pre-Greek cultural types to areas where they were previously unknown.

On a superficial level, it can be argued that the dissemination of the non-Roman elements was part of the "effect of the Romans" in the broadest sense, as examples cited in my previous work[57] demonstrate: for instance, the role of itinerant Palmyrenes in disseminating elements derived from western Syria is a function of the delineation of this particular area as a unit by the Roman occupation - prior to the advent of the Romans, Palmyra looked almost exclusively east, across the Euphrates, for cultural inspiration; similarly the mutual religious influence of Baalbek and Berytus in the Roman period is a function not only of the definition of the overall area by the Romans and their facilitation of communications within that area, but of their joint re-foundation of these two towns as colonies settled by veterans of the Fifth Macedonica and the Eighth Augusta, something which would have directed the attention of the inhabitants of each town one to the other, alike for social and administrative reasons.

More importantly, however, all such examples of cross-fertilization within the area belong to the same real phenomenon, the tendency towards uniformity and the creation of a Romano-Syrian provincial milieu, the form which Romanization took here. While the inclusion in the study of some elements which made up that milieu may be straining the definition of Roman, to abstract only those which accord with it and exclude the rest would be a matter of pedantry rather than fundamental relevance. It would create an artificial, spurious phenomenon, delineating an entity which never before existed.

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Working Definition of "Roman"; the Hellenistic Problem.[58]

   Since the topic of the thesis is, however, Romanization, and its orientation accordingly Roman culture in the stricter sense, priority must nonetheless be given to examples involving the introduction of Roman elements. And this, like much of the foregoing, demands the clarification of what shall be deemed "Roman" for the purposes of the study.

   As previously implied, the issue is clouded by the fact that Roman culture, being a real and dynamic phenomenon rather than a theoretical abstract, was constantly changing, absorbing new elements from all over the empire and blending them together with that special brand of eclecticism which was its most famous characteristic.

   Greek culture, Hellenic and Hellenistic, was always foremost among the sources of these innovations. It not only played a formative role in the creation of the Roman culture of the Late Republic and Early Empire, but provided a continuing inspiration for the periodic upsurges of Hellenism which occurred throughout the period under discussion, most notably in the reigns of Augustus and Hadrian. In consequence, the Roman culture at Rome was itself so permeated with Greek that differentiation is extremely difficult - and probably, from an empathetic viewpoint, pointless.

   While with hindsight a distinction may be drawn, it is doubtful whether it was apparent at the time to anyone save an artist or architect, except in the grossest instances. Ancient evidence, both textual and actual - the combination in one programme of what to modern eyes appear as Greek and Roman elements - suggests that it was not: in the Syrian lands at least it was more common for all to be subsumed under the one heading, namely "Greek".[59]

   Given all this, the only viable criterion would seem to be to deem what is acceptable at Rome - or in exceptional cases such as where an impracticably extensive building type fails to appear in the city itself because of lack of space, Italy or the older provinces - the "Roman" norm of the day.

   For almost any other province this would suffice, but with Syria there are special problems, as adumbrated above. While the generalization does retain some validity in those parts of Syria which had not been

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substantially Hellenized in the preceding era, those which had require a more stringent scrutiny. Even the most charitable definition of Romanization requires it to constitute change, and where Hellenistic survivals are more than a possibility, such a change is hard to prove, except where the introduced form belongs to the Roman, as opposed to Greek, cultural milieu. The distinction must therefore be drawn, and a rider added to the 'definition', "provided that it is not a type stemming from pre-Roman Syria itself".

For, on the one hand, at the time of the Roman conquest of Syria and immediately afterwards, Rome was going through one of its periodic Hellenizing phases. On the other, comparatively little is known of the tangible culture of Syria in the Late Seleucid and Maccabaean periods. Furthermore, and partially because of this, there are a number of type fossils, mainly architectural, which seem, from an anachronistic viewpoint, to appear simultaneously in Syria and Rome, while others still seem to spring fully columniated from the soil of Syria itself in the Augustan period.

The result of this unhappy coincidence is that doubt is cast upon the significance of types which elsewhere in the Roman empire constitute the hallmarks of Romanization. At one point it seemed reasonable to assume that such unprecedented apparitions in Syria were either of Roman origin, or represented a hybrid response to the impact of Roman culture. Yet it is now known that some of these hybrids derive not from a fusion of Classical and Syrian elements in the Roman age, but from a fusion of Syrian and Hellenistic in the previous era and belong to the hybrid artistic style Seyrig has dubbed "gréco-iranien".[60] In particular, stair-temples such as that of Bel at Palmyra, appeared at one stage to constitute what might have been called "Romano-Syrian temples", but the probability is now that the definitive fusion took place in the Hellenistic age.[61]

When a type cannot, therefore, produce a long Roman pedigree, and above all when its absence from Hellenistic Syria cannot be demonstrated, it is always open to anyone so inclined to refute its significance in terms of Romanization by claiming that it developed in pre-Roman Syria, so that the particular example in question represents a survival, evidence of a continuation unbroken by the impact of Roman culture. Where the type appears almost simultaneously at Rome, whether marginally earlier or marginally later, the direction of influence is deemed to be from Syria to Rome.

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None of this is by any means a priori incredible. In later times
the impact of Syrian culture on Roman was pronounced; if it is hardly true
to say that the Orontes flowed into the Tiber, the statement still contains
a kernel of truth.[62] And in Syria itself, the absence of a particular form
from the area in the Hellenistic age can never be proven beyond all
possible doubt since that would presuppose the exhaustive excavation of the
place, something which can never be achieved in practice. The fact that,
to the contrary, there is evidence that some types characteristic of the
Roman age had already appeared before the advent of the Romans means that
an absence cannot be assumed except with the utmost cirmumspection. For
instance, even when the responsibility for a given building, institution
or whatever can be firmly ascribed to a given Roman, the previous absence
of anything similar in the same place cannot be presumed: laying aside the
question of whether there was ever any policy of Romanization, the Romans
were certainly not so obsessed with the idea as to avoid 'wasting'
Graeco-Roman gifts on previously Hellenized towns, and the superimposition
of Hellenistic on Hellenistic hardly constitutes the change which is
diagnostic of Romanization, the effect.

The resolution once again takes the form of compromises, ways
of approaching the problem, rather than a complete answer.

The problem is most acute in the earlier periods: for these,
there is no alternative to the omission of cases where the doubt cannot be
resolved. But after the reign of Augustus, or at the outside by the
middle of the first century A.D., it does seem reasonable to assume that,
at least at the better documented sites such as Palmyra, some previous
indication of the types would have been evident had they existed in
pre-Roman times. Consequently, the appearance of an unprecedented Hellen-
istic type should signal not survival but the spread of the Hellenistic
milieu, quite possibly due to the Romans, whether as part of a vicarious
policy of Romanization or simply as part of the spread of the
Romano-Syrian milieu.

For example, the precise origin of the Syrian Orthodox Corinthian
capital,[63] which varies only slightly from the 'Vitruvian' Orthodox
Corinthian, is in doubt. It is totally unlike the Syrian Heterodox
Corinthian of the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods found in the southern

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parts of the area, and very much like what was accepted at Rome. Schlumberger,[64] however, nevertheless makes it originate as a completely independent development in Late Hellenistic Antioch - a convenient vacuum - instead of being a local variant of the current Roman version, whether developed in and disseminated from Baalbek, as Edmund Wiegand suggests,[65] or somewhere else in Syria, perhaps even _Roman_ Antioch. Be this as it may, the fact that, regardless of its origin, it waited until ca. A.D. 30 when Antioch had been the Roman 'capital' of Syria for something like ninety years, to start replacing its predecessors in southern Syria, seems to make it a legitimate instance of Romanization anywhere but Antiochene: a form acceptable to the Romans, and virtually identical to that current at Rome itself, is seen to replace an older and quite different form. It seems to follow that it spread to the south because of the Roman unification of the area, and because the Romans, in a sense, took it with them, accepting the product of local Hellenistic craftsmen as " a reasonable facsimile thereof".

In general terms, the situation can be clarified as follows: Greek forms are tantamount to Roman only where their previous absence can be assumed.

My previous work also dealt with a number of more specific problems, methodological and substantival, which have wide ramifications in the study proper, in order to facilitate the present thesis.

For example, in regard to _chronology_[66] the major generic problem is correlating chronological determinations achieved from different types of evidence,[67] something already alluded to above (pp. xxv - xxvi). Beyond this, some generic comment can be made on the limitations of dating by stylistic sequence, namely that, even if properly constructed, such a sequence is far more reliable when dating a group of objects, rather than individual objects, given the danger of archaism or innovation in the example in question. Most chronological difficulties are, however, peculiar to the individual cases, and so because chronology is obviously vital in the charting of a process, a change over time, must be discussed in the appropriate place in the study proper. This is regrettable because, for preference, the same space and time might have been devoted to further extrapolation of the significance, or to the canvassing of a wider range of parallels, inside and outside the area.

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In the sphere of language,[68] Syria as an erstwhile part of the
Seleucid empire is in a special position. There is no doubt that the
area was not thoroughly Latinized, and that the principal language of the
Roman era was Greek, something demonstrable if only from the numerous
Latin inscriptions in which the text slips from Latin to the better known
language, Greek, solecisms as likely to be those of the purchaser of the
inscription as of the lapicide.[69] But there are also special reasons why
this was so, and why no other outcome could be expected. The pressures to
speak Latin which existed in the western provinces were partially muted
here, due to the ambiguous status of Greek in Roman eyes.

In Britain, for example, Latin prospered because of two factors,
prestige and practicality: Latin was the only viable means of communicat-
ion between the native population and their Roman rulers, since the Romans
could hardly be expected to master the predominantly Celtic local dialects,
and, at the same time, a certain kudos attached to proficiency in the use
of the language of those rulers. In Syria, Greek had already obtained
some prior hold during the Hellenistic period and, to some extent having
travelled the path of Latin in Britain, already served as a common
language for communications between the Greeks of the Hellenistic
foundations and the non-Greek inhabitants, and in some sense was a
ready-made equivalent, should the Romans decide to accept it as such.

It was, however, by no means as close a 'reasonable facsimile'
as, say, Syrian Orthodox Corinthians were of the Roman Corinthian capital.
It was the language of culture and literature, but it was also the
language of slaves and freedmen, part of the despised stereotype of a
Syrian, its status made still more doubtful by the fact that the teachers
of learning and literature were themselves on the whole drawn from this
same menial class. It was understood by most Romans of the social class
generally engaged in provincial administration, and probably by many
members of the lower classes as well, but it was, at least at some periods
during the overall timespan, unacceptable in lieu of Latin in official
contexts at Rome itself.

The result of this for Syria was the separation of the combined
factors which elsewhere ensured the success of Latin. From a purely
practical point of view Greek did indeed adequately fulfil the function of
Latin, but the unacceptability of Greek in lieu of Latin at Rome

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also produced an echo in Syria, in the mutated, wholly conventional form
of social values: the element of prestige remained with Latin. Given
this, neither the ultimate triumph of Latin, nor its total failure to
make an impact, could be expected.

The implications for the present thesis are: the appearance of
Greek constitutes Romanization under the same circumstances in which
'Greek' generally is tantamount to 'Roman' outlined above, namely where
its spread is seen to be caused in some way by the Romans and where it
demonstrably represents a change from what had previously existed; given
the foreknowledge that it is Greek which would prove the dominant language,
the existence of Latin texts, even those which may be no more than
superimpositions (or Latin legends on municipal coinage, as at Antioch in
my Period IV), is of particular significance, almost supererogatory Roman-
ization, and noteworthy in itself.

An aspect to which time and space allow only brief attention is
loan words. Lieberman[70] points out, specifically of loan words in Judaean
Aramaic, that,

> Almost every loan-word reflects a certain phase of contact
> between Jew and Gentile. The word has to be defined within a given
> cultural setting.

That is to say, the implications go beyond the sphere of language, since
the creation of a loan-word presupposes the introduction of a concept, a
physical object or otherwise, so entirely new that no term which could
adequately describe it exists in the language. In terms of this study the
degree of Romanization is theoretically superficial, since it indicates a
facile introduction into a 'vacant' cultural slot, where even the word to
describe such a concept was lacking, yet at the same time the existence of
the new term does in this case guarantee a complete and thorough acceptance,
if an easy one; furthermore, more mechanically, the fact that such
instances have at least double significance, for the sphere of language and
at least one other, makes them of especial importance. Of even more
interest is the existence of Latin loan words where some equivalent Greek
term is known from the area, since here the elements of conflict and
commitment are added to that total acceptance.

Two potential major ancient literary sources, Tacitus[71] and

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Malalas[72] were determined to be of extremely limited value to the study proper, Tacitus because of his "special ignorance" of Syria and Malalas because of the general unreliability of the text. Two others, Josephus[73] and Pliny the Elder,[74] were shown to require special caution in some respects: Josephus primarily in regard to his partiality towards the Romans, above all the Flavians, which colours his general information, and towards his then hero, that epitome of a Romanized Jew, Herod I, in The Jewish War, so that there may be some danger of his having overemphasized Herod's 'Romanness'; Pliny principally in regard to his possible use of outdated material. With Lucian[75] it must always be borne in mind that much of what he wrote was, and was intended to be, fiction.

The discussion of modern sources,[76] on the other hand, concerned those which have been extensively used despite their limitations, specifically those for Palmyrene, and especially the shortcomings of Alois Musil's Palmyrena. The generic problems are that the multiplicity of identical and near-identical place names (and the use of more than one name for the same site) - partially because many of these 'names' are still essentially descriptions - and the propensity of Syrian sites to disappear entirely through stone robbing and so forth, make it all the more difficult to co-ordinate the different accounts: none is perfect, and this lack of correlation makes it all the harder to identify and correct mistakes.

For practical reasons, the following types of evidence have also been utilized to a lesser extent than pure methodology would require: archaeological "small finds",[77] the miscellaneous paraphernalia of daily life which generally comes to light in an excavation, because of the comparative absence of such evidence of appropriate date, that which exists being to a great extent of an indeterminate nature; pottery,[78] where the state of study is such that a special preparatory thesis would be necessary before the bulk of the material could be used in a derivative study of this kind, the major catalogue, F.O. Waagé's Antioch IV, being only partially valid as a guide for the overall area; sculpture,[79] similarly because of the state of study, here exacerbated by bibliographical difficulties.

Apart from the chronological problem mentioned above, the archaeological evidence generally[80] suffers from a variant of the accretion syndrome. Just as once Edmund Wiegand[81] overestimated the influence of

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Rome in part because the lack of comparative material from Syria and
adjacent areas meant that parallels must be sought elsewhere, in the west,
where the amount of material was so large that a close, if not exact,
parallel was almost certain to be found, so now within Syria a disproportionate
amount of evidence comes from a limited number of sites, particularly
Baalbek and Palmyra: when searching for parallels within the area, a close,
but not exact, parallel is likely to be found at one of these two sites,
thus incurring the danger of creating an artificial illusion that these
two towns played an almost exclusive role in the dissemination of Romaniz-
ing forms. Their overall importance, too, may therefore be exaggerated, as
may that of the two best known smaller towns, Jerash and Samaria. This
distortion is somewhat ameliorated by the scope and purpose of the study,
namely to obtain an overall picture of Romanization in Syria: these two
smaller towns for want of better are taken as examples of the dozens of
similar size which once existed, so that their prominence in the account,
inordinate in terms of their contemporary importance, is nonetheless
commensurate with their function within the survey; it is proper in a
study, as opposed to a description, of Roman Syria, to place the emphasis
equally upon small towns and large. An irremediable aspect of this same
problem is the distortion due to lack of evidence from, and so lack of
prominence in the study of, what are known from literary sources to have
been the major cities, the two 'capitals', Antioch and Jerusalem, where
modern occupation has meant that only desultory excavation is possible,
the premier Roman colony of Berytus, Damascus, Emesa and Hierapolis-Bambyce,
from which there is only a minimal amount of archaeological evidence;
there seems no valid method of offsetting the distortion this creates.

Conclusions drawn from epigraphical evidence[82] are subject to
the qualification that the sporadic coverage of the major corpora publish-
ed to date may have imposed analogous distortions, for example in matters
such as the relative numbers of Greek and Latin inscriptions;[83] this evidence
also suffers from more than its fair share of the generic problems of illegible,
unintelligible, undated or incomplete inscriptions. The numismatic
evidence[84] is also vexed by the usual problems such as the internal chrono-
logies of local sequences, ascriptions to mints, and readings, but most are
too specific for generic treatment and therefore treated topically below.

My previous work also dealt with the problem of the significance
in terms of Romanization of the various architectural types (principally a

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matter of establishing their probable origin) the determination of which is necessary to the present thesis. Of Roman significance are: circuses[85](as opposed to hippodromes); amphitheatres;[86] in view of the fact that stair-temples now appear to have been the norm, stairless temples[87]of Classical type; monumental fora;[88] somewhat surprisingly theatres[89]which conform to the norm; basilicas[90](other than the 'Hauran type'); arched town gates;[91] triumphal arches;[92] the Provincial Roman types, colonnaded[93] and arcaded[94]streets and western 'axial' sanctuaries.[95] The latter, architypally the Heliopolitanum at Baalbek, comprise one or more courts, surrounded internally by porticoes and (if relevant) arranged seriatim and linearly, dominated by a rectangular temple set parallel to the court(s), the long axis of which is also the axis of the sanctuary as a whole (in contrast to the orientation by the diagonals of some Syrian sanctuaries); they often have a barrel-vaulted 'crypto-porticus'. With these last three types, all the elements existed separately in Rome or Italy, and some indeed combined there, but the fully developed types could not be expressed at Rome itself because of the acute shortage of space. Among the individual architectural details and techniques, Syrian Orthodox Corinthians[96](except in Antiochene), 'Roman Pipes'[97]and the 'Roman conch'[98] (with the hinge at the top and the veins of the mussel shell radiating downwards as opposed to the 'Syrian conch' with the hinge at the bottom and the veins radiating upwards) are also Romanizing.

Other types are Romanizing under certain circumstances: baths,[99] when they may reasonably be supposed to resemble thermae - for the most part early examples, before the crystallization of the type at Rome, are too doubtful to use; aqueducts,[100]only where they have diagnostic Roman details, or may reasonably be supposed to have had such; of the techniques and details, the structural use of concrete,[101]domes, arches and complex vaults[102]only when used in a Roman manner as part of a typically Roman structure.

Stair-temples,[103]isolated fortified villas,[104]'high altars,[105] and the 'Syrian Arch'[106]or arcuated lintel are all, on balance, given the conservative aims of the study, considered to be pre-Roman types. The significance of some other types of the Romano-Syrian milieu cannot be determined with sufficient certainty to accord them either Roman or non-Roman status: unexpectedly, honorific columns[107]like Trajan's Column at Rome - their origin cannot be determined, and while a fair case can be

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made for Rome, Syria itself also has a considerable claim; tetrapylons,[108] whose existence in Syria in the Hellenistic period is hinted at by the doubtful testimony of Malalas; nymphaea[109] - the term could cover both specifically Roman and wholly Greek types of structure; also surprisingly, forts and camps,[110] which, save for a few, do not correspond to the stereotype of a Roman camp, but are pragmatic structures reflecting the countryside in which they were built. For some reason hors de combat are the following: roads,[111] through lack of evidence; private town houses,[112] which are neither patently Roman nor patently un-Roman - while I know of no true 'atrium houses' from the area, many would seem compatible with the Graeco-Roman milieu, the exact form the development of the 'atrium house' took in Italy during the Empire being itself uncertain due to lack of evidence; tombs,[113] similarly because there was no single Roman type to which they could conform. With these, as with the pre-Roman and indeterminate types, Romanization, beyond their contribution to the uniformity of the Romano-Syrian milieu, is confined to the appearance of Romanizing architectural details.