

CHAPTER I. THE FIRST PHASE.
PERIODS I TO III.

Period I: To the end of the Second Triumvirate.

Beyond myth, the first hint of Roman contact with Syria belongs to the reign of Seleucus II (246 to 226 B.C.).¹ Rome, it seems, already assumed the dominant role in the interchange, offering Seleucus the friendship and alliance of the Roman people, on condition that he granted their kinsmen, the people of Ilium, immunity from tribute.

From the first, therefore, the Romans proceeded on the assumption of their own superiority, and arrogated the right to intervene in the affairs of the East, sitting in judgment and dictating the actions of others. From the start, they assumed that the friendship and alliance of the Roman people was something which the Syrian king would value highly, something he would covet enough to be willing to give up what was undeniably his in return. The political basis of the contact, the frame of reference within which the cultural action would take place, was in their minds already clear. And with it, whether now or later, came the overall shape of that cultural interaction: on the one hand the Syrians, an amalgam of what were, in many cases, older and more sophisticated cultures, with much which the Romans might admire and learn; on the other, the Romans, whose military and political supremacy in the area endued themselves, and all things Roman, with the prestige necessary to inspire emulation.

Seleucus' reaction to this gracious pronouncement from afar is unrecorded, but the Romans continued as they had begun. The next recorded instance of contact, and the first clearly documented, is the embassy sent to deliver an ultimatum to Philip which, incidentally as it were, was also instructed to visit the Ptolemaic and Seleucid courts to make peace between Ptolemy and Antiochus III.² A little later, there is the disputed evidence of Livy to the effect that Antiochus withdrew from Pergamum after a protest from Rome,³ but in any case Antiochus did not long continue to accept Rome at her own value: when yet another embassy arrived in 196 B.C. to demand that the peace between Egypt and Syria be observed, he replied that peace already existed,⁴ as indeed it did from his point of view since he considered the issue settled in his favour; war between Rome and the Seleucid Empire finally broke out in 193.

War is a situation which has always been conducive to acculturation,

since it enforces contact between the parties involved, however hostile, and increases their knowledge of each other's ways. In this case, however, the most important known consequence in terms of the process of Romanization was an incidental result of the war: the son of Antiochus III, Antiochus, later IV Epiphanes, was sent to Rome as a hostage and remained there receiving the education of his formative years.⁴ Returning to claim the throne, he brought with him a taste for Roman forms and Roman customs, some of which he introduced to his subjects at Antioch.

The evidence is anecdotal, but of some respectability, since much of it stems from his contemporary, Polybius, retold by Athenaeus. It is related by Athenaeus, recounting Polybius,⁵ that among other things considered proof of Antiochus' madness, he would lay aside his royal robes and put on a *τήβεννα*, and walk up and down the *ἀγορά* as though he were canvassing for votes, sometimes for the office of *ἀγορανόμος*, sometimes for that of *δήμαρχος*, and having won office, would seat himself on an ivory chair "according to Roman custom" and hear cases involving contracts in the market.

Since Polybius uses the principle of translation by analogy, it is impossible to be sure how closely Antiochus mimicked Roman forms: elsewhere in his empire he was active in spreading the forms of government of the Greek polis⁶ and it is not certain that the Greek offices mentioned did not exist in Antioch itself; the story would not entirely lose its point in this case since the anecdote which precedes it concerns his propensity for slipping away from the palace and joining in the activities of his own subjects, the proof of his insanity being his extreme democratization. However, the unusual word *τήβεννα*, which must almost certainly mean toga here,⁷ and the phrase, "according to Roman custom," seem to set the context, and justify the translation and alternatives supplied by Gulick in the Loeb edition (the construction placed upon them by most modern scholars⁸); "aedile" for *ἀγορανόμος*, "tribune of the people" for *δήμαρχος* and "curule chair" for "ivory chair,"⁹ (although the alternative "forum"¹⁰ for *ἀγορά* is unlikely since the setting is Antioch, which would hardly have possessed a forum at this date, and there is nothing to suggest that Antiochus himself built one).

To this joint account Athenaeus adds a description of the games he held in an endeavour to emulate those instituted by Aemilius Paullus in Macedonia to celebrate his triumph.¹¹ The opening procession was headed by

units dressed in the costume and arms of various nations, Mysians, Cilicians, Thracians, Macedonians, Nissean horsemen, led by a contingent of five thousand men in the bloom of youth wearing Roman chain mail.¹² Also included in the parade were two hundred and forty pairs of gladiators¹³ and the games themselves included hunts and gladiatorial contests, as well as unspecified events, presumably the traditional Greek athletic ones.¹⁴ Yet another possible Roman touch is the use of *τροχάλυα* at the banquet.¹⁵

These anecdotes may be merely that: what is important is that the tone is set by those which came from Polybius. Regardless of their accuracy, they indicate that he was such a person as to inspire these particular stories in his own times, and to make them acceptable to his contemporaries; something in his own character or behaviour ensured that they took this particular form, rather than another. It seems reasonable to conclude that he was indeed a Romanophile, and possibly an extravagant one.

This in itself lends credence to the two potentially important innovations attributed to him by other sources, the introduction of gladiatorial games ascribed to him by Athenaeus, and the construction, in Antioch, of a temple to Capitoline Jupiter, covered with gold plates, probably in a bid to imitate and outdo the gilded shields on the roof of the temple at Rome, which rests on the testimony of Livy.¹⁶ Both these examples of imposition carry with them far-reaching ramifications, on the one hand at least the nominal introduction of a Roman cult, on the other a partially religious, partially secular institution with implications of an ethical nature, in that the killing of humans as a sport was foreign to most Syrian societies. Other more dubious Romanizing innovations, in the architectural sphere, stone barrel-vaults, colonnaded streets, and just possibly Corinthian capitals, have already been discussed in my previous work.¹⁷

It should be stressed, however, that these Romanizing introductions seem to have been confined to Antioch, more in the nature of indulgence in his own personal tastes in his own capital than the pursuance of a policy of Romanization, whether for its own sake or as a tool of political dominance. Elsewhere in his kingdom he pursued a policy of Hellenization, some aspects of which are important in that they may have provided models for later introductions of the Romans: the ruler cult, attested not only by the name Epiphanes but also by the legends and iconography of his coins,¹⁸ the spread of Greek political forms already mentioned, as well as the attempt

to force Hellenization on that part of the Jewish population unwilling to receive it,¹⁹ which not only provoked an immediate reaction, but created a lasting hypersensitivity towards anything that resembled superposed Hellenization in Judaea.

This indeed seems a brave and early beginning for the process of Romanization in Syria; in fact it was no more than the first of a series of false starts. After the death of Antiochus the Seleucid dynasty declined, with an increasing number of smaller independent states seceding as the Seleucid contenders quarrelled over the remainder,²⁰ one of the first such rebellions being that of the Jews, provoked by the measures of Antiochus Epiphanes.²¹

To be sure, the Romans maintained the same dictatorial attitude towards Syria, as indeed they had during the previous reigns: there is some suggestion that the Roman ambassador T. Flamininus had managed to prevent Seleucus IV Nicator from aiding Pharnaces against the allies of Rome in 183 B.C.²² and Antiochus IV seems to have acknowledged their paternalistic status by sending an embassy to Rome in 173 to obtain approval for his own accession.²³ Around 170 the Romans apparently sent an embassy to Syria and Egypt to settle the renewed conflict,²⁴ and in 169 B.C. Antiochus himself felt the need to send an embassy to Rome to explain his conduct in Egypt.²⁵ In 168 the famous embassy of Gaius Popillius Laenas delivered its ultimatum to Antiochus in Egypt²⁶ and in 164 Gnaeus Octavius Lucretius and Lucius Aurelius were dispatched to Syria to "regulate the affairs of the kingdom" - according to Bevan,²⁷ a discreetly periphrastic way of saying, 'attend to the destruction of the major military forces of the kingdom', the fleet and the elephant corps, which contravened the Peace of Apamea. Demetrius I, another erstwhile sojourner in Rome, also sought to have his succession endorsed by the Romans: he sent to Rome a generous thank-offering for his nurture, together with the assassin of the ambassador Octavius. Rome, with the memory of the defeat of Antiochus III still fresh, instead of gracefully accepting the fait accompli replied by according him only the answer that he would receive consideration if his conduct were satisfactory to the Senate.²⁸

After this, according to Bevan,²⁹ the overt dominance of Rome declined, although she may have established diplomatic relations with some of the breakaway states such as the Hasmonaeans, domain,³⁰ and the belief in Roman supremacy already inculcated seems to have remained; Antiochus VII sent ambassadors with gifts for Scipio Aemilianus,³¹ gifts which he

prudently handed over to the state; the claims of Antiochus Grypus seem to have received Roman approval³² and the two sons of Antiochus Eusebes appeared in Rome in 75 B.C. to be recognised and maintained as the rightful kings of Syria for two years before returning to claim the throne.³³

Yet all this is at most the maintenance of the existing basis of the relationship which formed the background to the process of Romanization. It may be that contact and activity of the type conducive to Romanization continued, as one would expect from the fact that various Seleucid monarchs had spent time in Rome itself before their accession, and that the apparent hiatus is due merely to the sparsity of the evidence; but the next instance of anything recognisable even as superimposition, if that, is the expeditions to Antioch in search of fresh clients which Rawson attributes to the Appii Claudii,³⁴ specifically that of Appius Claudius Pulcher.

Sent on an embassy to Tigranes of Armenia, he spent the time waiting for him at Antioch in making friends with various disaffected dynasts, in particular Zarbienus king of Gordyene, and in entering into secret relationships with other cities under Tigranes' rule. How many of his clients were Syrian, as opposed to Anatolian, does not seem clear, but Rawson notes that in his train was a Syrian freedman who knew the country, and among the activities of Claudius' later career which she cites in defence of her theory are his support of Caesar in the matter of the presentation of the toga praetexta to Antiochus I of Commagene and his attack on Gabinius in support of the Syrian charges against him - though which Syrians these were is also unclear, as the evidence from the province itself attests rather the enormous local popularity of Gabinius (see below). Claudius' brother, Clodius, who went to the East with Lucullus but subsequently transferred his allegiance to Marcius Rex, seems to have indulged in like activities, perhaps following up his brother's contacts, perhaps involving himself in the intrigues of the various Seleucid claimants to the throne: again the specifics are obscure,³⁵ although it seems certain that he too went to Antioch, where he offered the citizens help against the Arabs.

The significance of these activities in terms of Romanization is questionable upon more than one count. Certainly, they introduced to at least some of the more highly-placed Syrians the Roman client-patron system, although the delegation sent by Antiochus VII to Scipio Aemilianus hints that this may not have been a complete novelty; nor is there any way to

judge the degree of effect without more precise evidence as to the response of the Syrians - this sort of imposition is not in the same category as that of an architectural type, where the existence of the building in question attests some degree of tolerance.

Better evidence from this point of view is the circus at Antioch attributed to Q. Marcius Rex. Not only was a new architectural form superimposed, together with the form of horse-racing the building implies (i.e. that practised in Rome), but a new constructional technique, concrete vaulting, one which differed markedly from the local technique, made its first appearance in the province. The date of this structure, as pointed out elsewhere, is a trifle doubtful, however, and it may belong to the Augustan period; if indeed it does owe its existence to Q. Marcius Rex, then it seems likely that its main construction was not during his brief visit, but rather under Pompey or the earliest governors of the province.³⁶

With Pompey's formal acquisition of the province in 64 B.C. comes the first pertinent evidence from elsewhere in the area; in other respects, however, the evidence concerning Pompey is less satisfactory. He himself did little, if anything, which can be called superimposition, nor is there anything not attributable to him belonging to the time of his visit.

Pompey seems to have been wholly concerned with the preliminary organization of the province for Roman administration. He "allowed" Syria to collect its "own" taxes,³⁷ and, according to Josephus,³⁸ "freed" those cities which had been taken but not destroyed by Jannaeus, returning them to their original inhabitants and attaching them to the province of Syria: he specifies Hippus, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria, Jamnia, Marisa, Azotus and Arethusa inland, and Gaza, Joppa, Dora and Strato's Tower (later Caesarea Maritima) on the coast, as well as Dium.

It is a measure of the inadequacy of the evidence of this period that, scarce though it is, there is still some which conflicts with Josephus' statement. Josephus also states that Gabinius (a sometime protégé of Pompey's who governed the province as its first proconsular legate from 57 to 55 B.C.³⁹) set about resettling those towns which had not been destroyed and ordered the rebuilding of those which had, naming, by way of example, Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marisa, Adoreus, Gamala and Azotus.⁴⁰ Since Scythopolis, Samaria, Jamnia,

and Marisa are also in the list of towns freed by Pompey, one would assume that Gabinus merely re-populated these towns, and rebuilt Anthedon, Apollonia, Raphia, Adoreus, Gamala and Azotus. However, the archaeological evidence from Samaria, discussed below, indicates that it was thoroughly demolished by Hyrcanus, and that Gabinus effectively refounded it. Similarly, Gaza⁴¹ started its era from a date in the governorship of Gabinus, despite the fact that it appears on the list of towns "freed" by Pompey; the evidence of eras can be ambiguous, but it does suggest that this town, too, may have been misattributed. Furthermore, there is another possible discrepancy of similar type with Pella: when the cities of the Decapolis issued coins commemorating their history and foundations in the second century A.D., it was not Pompey, but a predecessor of Gabinus, L. Marcius Philippus, the stepfather of Octavian,⁴² who was honoured by this town. On the other hand, while the list of towns rebuilt or repopulated on the orders of Gabinus is clearly intended as examples only, that of the towns "freed" by Pompey appears to be exhaustive; nevertheless, at least one more should be added, Jerash,⁴³ which also used the Pompeian era.

In only one case does other evidence support that of Josephus, namely Gadara. Josephus states⁴⁴ that Gadara was rebuilt by Pompey as a favour to a Gadarene freedman of his, and, on coins dating from the time of Lucius Verus, the legend Πομπήων Γαδαρέων duly appears.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing whether or not the social or architectural forms of Pompey's town entailed any Romanizing introductions or superimpositions, since the ruins of Umm-Keiss⁴⁶ are undated. Rostovtzeff⁴⁷ suggests that the Transjordanian "liberations" should be viewed in commercial terms, as an attempt to block the nascent Nabataean power.

To the north, there is equally little to suggest true innovation. Pompey granted libertas to Antioch and other cities including Seleucia Pieria⁴⁸ and authorised the renewed issue of bronze "Metropolis" coins at Antioch, a practice which had been in effect until 69 B.C., when it was stopped by Antiochus XIII. He issued no silver at Antioch, and Seleucid silver remained in usage until the first Roman tetradrachms were issued by Gabinus in 57 B.C.⁴⁹ In what Downey interprets as a sign of the new order, Pompey abolished the Seleucid calendar in 64/3 B.C. and instituted a new era;⁵⁰ it lasted only until the arrival of Caesar in 47, when the city adopted the Caesarean era.⁵¹ Pompey's other acts consisted of benefactions which restored, or reinforced, the old status quo, the return of hostages,

the granting of extra lands and so forth; the Antiochenes were ecstatically grateful,⁵² but their gratitude lasted only until the Battle of Pharsalus, when they repudiated Pompey and those of his followers who fled to Syria for safety.⁵³

There is little about any of this suggestive of the sort of Roman superimposition one would expect to occur, coincidentally or otherwise, during the initial organization of the new Roman province, rather the reverse, deliberate espousal of the old forms and traditions. Taking Pompey's actions as a whole, the reason seems clear: with a limited amount of time at his disposal, rather than trying to create a new Roman province, he directed his efforts towards makeshift repairs to the Seleucid empire, which must, perforce, serve instead until something more permanent could be managed.

There is, however, one other innovation which is generally attributed to Pompey, and which may have a bearing on the question, namely the "foundation" of the Decapolis.⁵⁴ The nature of this association does not appear to be clear, any more than the date of its institution, and it may be that rather than a legal confederation it was a loose association which grew up between the cities of the area, and which therefore had no one single founder. But if a founder there must be, the choice of Pompey does not seem mandatory.⁵⁵

Aulus Gabinius, a protégé of Pompey's who served under him in the Syrian campaign,⁵⁶ has been the subject of a hostile tradition, stemming originally from his political opponents, passing into modern scholarship from Cicero's diatribe against him.⁵⁷ Yet the evidence from the province suggests that Gabinius was an able and energetic administrator, not, to be sure, a paragon, but a figure of extreme importance in the history of the area, and one who won the lasting affection of the people he governed.

It has already been pointed out that it was he who issued the first Roman silver at Antioch, and the narrative of Josephus, coupled with the archaeological evidence, makes it clear that it was he who undertook the reconstruction of the southern part of the province and of the reduced Judaea, a role which he had played before, elsewhere, again perhaps in conjunction with Pompey, for it was he who tried to restore the prosperity of Delos after the ravages of Pompey's war with the pirates.⁵⁸ As already

mentioned, the era of Gaza dates from Gabinus; Canatha, a city of the Decapolis not mentioned either as one "freed" by Pompey or rehabilitated by Gabinus, nevertheless becomes "the city of the Gabinian Canathenes", Γαβινίων Καναθηνῶν on coins dating from the reign of Commodus onwards;⁵⁹ the Samaritans, similarly, became Γαβινιεύς,⁶⁰ something which, according to Bammel, was still known in the Middle Ages. There are also other, vaguer, echoes of Gabinus in the region: the name was an uncommon one,⁶¹ yet it is one of the comparatively few Latin names which appear at Palmyra;⁶² an Aulus Gabinus Secundus (ΑΛΟΣ ΓΑΒΕΙΝΙΟΣ ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣ) appears in CIL III No.6983 and an M. Gabinus Ammonianus in CIL III No.6580 from Alexandria, dating from the time of Severus. Furthermore, Josephus states⁶³ that he partitioned Palestine, dividing the nation (ἔθνος) into five divisions which BJ calls σύνοδου, based on five different cities, a statement which AJ amplifies, stating that he set up five συνέδρια and divided the nation into as many districts, the towns named being Jerusalem, Amathus, Jericho, Sepphoris and a town which appears in the manuscripts of both works as Γαδάρου,⁶⁴ arrangements which he himself later saw fit to vary, but probably only in the case of the "synod" based on Jerusalem, at the behest of Antipater.⁶⁵

When these actions of Gabinus are taken together and compared with those of Pompey, it seems obvious that it was now, rather than at the time of occupation, that steps were taken to organize the area as a Roman province. Whether Gabinus was still working in accordance with a plan devised by Pompey, or whether he was acting on his own initiative - certainly the expedition to Egypt,⁶⁶ which brought about his downfall, could have been no part of any scheme of Pompey's - is unclear. But it is in the activities of Gabinus, rather than those of Pompey, that Romanizing superimpositions, of the type conducive to the re-initiation of the process of Romanization, are to be sought.

The disposition of Palestine certainly represented a change, caused by the Romans, and one which was not entirely without general parallels elsewhere in the Roman world,⁶⁷ though as it cannot be shown that its model was not some Seleucid institution from elsewhere in the area, it may be more the superimposition of Hellenistic forms on a partially Hellenized area than the introduction of Roman ones.

Even more ambiguity of similar type attaches to the remains of one of the two Gabiniansites known, Marisa. The evidence is confused by

the destruction by the Parthian troops,⁶⁸ but it seems to be a matter of an early Hellenistic town, with "Hippodamian" plan, destroyed by the Hasmonaeans then deserted, but rebuilt as a smaller town along the same lines under Gabinius, and re-settled.⁶⁹ The new town was a walled, irregular rectangle, with corner towers and smaller turrets. The basis of the chequerboard plan was two parallel streets running east-west, the more northerly the main street of the town, the more southerly bordered by houses, all of them oriental in type, with a temple of the 'Nabataean' type like the Qasr Fira'un at Petra.⁷⁰ So far from representing a Roman superimposition, the evidence, as far as it goes, does not even point to superinduced Hellenism, but rather a simple renewal of what existed previously.

The case is different with Samaria. Here too there was a thoroughgoing Hasmonaeon destruction, traces of which were found by the excavators of the Joint Expedition;⁷¹ it too was rebuilt under Gabinius, in recognition of which the Samaritans became "Gabinians" as has already been mentioned. Very little of this phase has survived the later vicissitudes of Samaria's history, but what there is is of extreme importance. Beneath Herod's temple to Augustus on the summit, and under the embankments of the temple court were found the remains of insulae⁷² - not insulae merely in the sense of blocks delineated on all sides by streets (as for example Reifenberg uses the term in reference to Caesarea and Dura, comparing these unexcavated street blocks rather optimistically with those of Samaria,⁷³), but insulae in the full sense, tenement houses with a row of shops (*tabernae*) along the front as at Rome or Ostia, usually four houses and a row of *tabernae* to the insula. The Harvard expedition found five such blocks. The best preserved house, with, as Crowfoot puts it, "everything on a small scale," contained about fifteen rooms and two open courts, the main court being surrounded by porticoes on three sides, with a central column standing on a raised kerb or stylobate between two antae. The columns were composed of unfluted blocks of local limestone; the earlier Harvard Expedition found quantities of stucco fragments, with panelling in red, white, purple and yellow, which strongly suggests Pompeian style wall-paintings like those found in the palace of Herod at Masada.⁷⁴

The implications of this superimposition need little elaboration: it was the kind of superimposition which must, in time, bring about its own response; people lived in those houses, and bought and sold in those shops. Furthermore, the people concerned were not expatriate Italians, but the

Syrians themselves: Samaria was one of the towns "freed" from Jewish rule and "restored to their legitimate inhabitants" by Pompey;⁷⁵ the pottery in part confirms this, since it continues the old Hellenistic shapes.⁷⁶ These houses and shops apparently remained in use for something like thirty to thirty-five years, before being demolished to make way for Herod's temple.⁷⁷

This seems a promising new initiation of the process of Romanization, since it increases the chances that Gabinius used the forms of Italy, architectural or otherwise, in his other superimpositions of which less is known. Yet once again it was a false start. Once again the political situation deteriorated into near chaos.⁷⁸

There may have been a brief respite immediately after Pompey's defeat. Caesar visited Antioch, and like Pompey before him declared the "freedom" of the city, authorizing the minting of more elaborate autonomous bronze coins, taking for their legend the opening phrase of his edict, "ANTIOXEΩN THΣ METPOΛIOAEΩΣ IEPAΣ KAI AΣYΛOY KAI AYTONOMOY", dated by the Caesarean era, though it should be noted that some of the silver tetradrachms of Philip I's type still continued to be used.⁷⁹ This again is no more than a confirmation of the past, but Downey,⁸⁰ relying on the evidence of Malalas, also attributes to him an ambitious building programme, involving the reconstruction of a Pantheon and the construction of a new theatre, amphitheatre and public bath, all but the Pantheon on the slope of the mountain, with an aqueduct to serve this new settlement. That is to say, he re-developed the area in a thoroughly Roman manner, since all but the bath and aqueduct are per se Roman types, and these two, in context, are very likely to be so. Downey also accepts the statement that he built a basilica called the Kaisarion at Antioch, with a vaulted apse, similar to the Kaisarion at Alexandria, and the first such building to be attested in the East. Outside the apse were statues of Caesar, Tyche and Rome. Downey reads this as evidence that Caesar, the "statesmanlike conscious Romanizer", was preserving, transmuted into a new form, the elements of the Hellenistic ruler cult and the cult of Dea Roma, already known in Asia. In other words, the imperial cult.

The difficulty with this evidence lies not only in the fact that it stems from Malalas, with all that implies, but also in the man himself. The name Caesar might well ensure the preservation of the tradition of the origin of buildings whose authorship would otherwise be forgotten, but it

might also serve to attract ancient buildings whose true builder had been forgotten, just as it attracted putative human descendants in Gaul. Caesar is such a person as to inspire a virulent outbreak of the accretion syndrome, particularly in view of the fact that his successors used the name and any partially preserved building inscription of the Roman period might contain that one crucial word.

On the other hand there is some evidence which is at least consistent with this account. This is one case in which it is impossible to separate policy and effect entirely, since, with details unknown, whether or not these actions were Romanizing, or potentially Romanizing in effect, can only be extrapolated by reference to their intent. As discussed elsewhere,^{80a} it is plausible that Caesar, at this stage of his career, had conceived of such a policy of Romanization, since all the necessary conceptual elements exist, separately, in his earlier writing. Furthermore, there are other actions attributed to him by other sources which, taken in isolation, may or may not be indications of Romanizing intent, but considered in the light of the evidence of Malalas, point in the same direction: he sent a toga praetexta to Antiochus I of Commagene;⁸¹ he employed Syrian archers in his army in Africa.⁸²

Unfortunately, this policy, if it existed, came to nothing. The Alexandrine War (65-6) gives conflicting evidence as to the length of Caesar's stay in Syria, stating on the one hand that although his return to Rome was urgent, he spent some time in practically all the important states, bestowing rewards upon both individuals and communities (a statement partially corroborated by the account of his visit to Judaea in AJ XIV.137-155), but also stating that after spending a few days in Syria he left his kinsman, Sextus Caesar, in charge and departed. The states rewarded are not specified as being in Syria, and it is also asserted that he considered that while affairs in Syria could be settled quickly he would have a more difficult task in Bithynia and Pontus; the resolution seems to lie in the conclusion that he spent very little time in Syria proper. He could hardly have done more than commission the buildings in Antioch; few if any would have been actually started and those could hardly have been completed for a considerable period afterwards. For the respite from political chaos was only brief.⁸³

There is little trace of any later attempt to pursue Caesar's

hypothetical policy - Mark Antony appeared as a divine Seleucid ruler on the coins of Antioch,⁸⁴ which marks either the continuation of Caesar's policy in this respect, or if that suppositious policy is discounted, the institution of the 'imperial' cult, regardless of the approval of Rome - but there is little else, deliberate or otherwise. This hardly surprising, since the chequered political and military history continued in the same vein until Augustus' power was firmly established.

It may be that the apparent lack of Romanization during this phase is no more than a function of the lack of evidence relating to the period, which, obviously, is singularly ill-documented, yet it seems likely that this in itself reflects a real situation: any Roman superimpositions, any tentative response, would in all probability have been wiped out by the upheavals which engulfed the area, disappearing along with the evidence of their existence. While it may be that something remained, and planted seeds of the process which developed only later, such evidence as there is supports the view that Roman culture made little impact at this stage.

To the east, Palmyra shows no sign of the impact of the Romans. The excavations in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin,⁸⁵ and particularly the excavation of the peculiar mausoleum which predated and encroached on it and which it is convenient to refer to by the German soubriquet, "Grabanlage",⁸⁶ have confirmed what was previously extrapolated from the scant remains of architectural fragments from the pre-Roman Sanctuary of Bel:⁸⁷ despite some contact with the west, as evidenced by the importation of some items such as lamps, until the first century A.D. Palmyrene architecture remained within the ambit of the Graeco-Iranian artistic milieu, the hybrid milieu which had developed in Mesopotamia in the time of the Seleucid empire. A common tradition with the Parthians is further demonstrated in the religion⁸⁸ and dress. It is, however, noteworthy that the city expanded in the next Period, the late first century B.C., after Antony, indicating an upsurge in prosperity.⁸⁹

Palmyra, to be sure, can hardly be considered as even a de facto part of the Roman province at this stage, but the influence of Parthia, at least in costume, can be seen as far west as Chalcis in the Belus mountains.⁹⁰ In the west itself, the pottery not only of Samaria, but of Antioch and all the sites which shared its forms, continued without marked change until the reign of Augustus.⁹¹ The only thing which can be considered even 'neutral' is a Greek inscription by the demos of Arados, honouring Decius Laelius, prefect of the fleet, who may be identified as the accuser of Flaccus and who served as a squadron commander under Pompey.⁹²

There are, even so, some Syrians attested elsewhere in the Roman world, pursuing what might be termed "Roman" occupations, but all in the lower social orders. The Syrian archers in Africa, previously mentioned, were auxiliaries, not legionaries. Publilius Syrus,⁹³ the noted actor, came to Rome as a slave. Marcus Pompilius Andronicus,⁹⁴ the grammarian, was obviously a Roman citizen, though his origin may also have been servile; Theodorus of Gadara,⁹⁵ a rhetor who lived to teach Tiberius during his sojourn on Rhodes, apparently never acquired enfranchisement. Aside from the dynasts, Antiochus I of Commagene, and Antipater and his son Herod, the most distinguished Syrian of the period seems to have been the poet A. Licinius Archias⁹⁶ whose right to citizenship, acquired under the Lex Plautia Papinia, was challenged by Gratus and successfully defended by Cicero. Treggiari makes the point⁹⁷ that Syrians were among the most visible, if not the most numerous of slaves; as such they inspired such an opinion of Syrians among Romans that Cicero, whatever his own private views, could use as an argument in his case against Gabinius that he handed over the inoffensive tax-farmers "Judaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti". The point seems fully justified. A prohibitive prejudice which was long to bar Syrians from taking part in the affairs of the Empire, and one which has echoes even in the works of modern scholars,⁹⁸ was already in the making.

Period II: Augustus to Tiberius.

It was only when Octavian was securely in control that the stable political conditions once again allowed a fresh start to the process of Romanization. With peace came prosperity, and an upsurge in trade, building, and activity generally, and with that activity superimpositions of the type conducive to Romanization. Some of these superimpositions can be attributed directly to the Romans themselves, but more to the Herodians, above all to Herod I. Indeed it is the figure of Herod I which dominates this Period. This, once again, may be a function of the evidence: the survival of the works of Josephus, and his preoccupation with Herod in the Jewish War (which in turn helps regulate the amount of space devoted to Herod in the Antiquities, despite his change in attitude), may have magnified the importance of the man and his doings by comparison with the less well-documented events which were in no way connected with him. Yet the evidence suggests that this is not entirely the case; Herod was indeed used as an agent by Augustus, and so was responsible for things which must otherwise needs be done by the Romans themselves. As a Roman citizen by inheritance, and an amicus Augusti, and on one occasion appointed as an epitropos,⁹⁹ his status as such is by no means as extraordinary as it might at first appear.

Two superimpositions which can certainly be attributed to the Romans, however, and probably to Agrippa, are the first colonies, at Berytus and Baalbek;¹⁰⁰ the institution of the Pagus Augustus in the Nîha valley should also date from this time.¹⁰¹ Berytus formed the official Roman focus for the province proper, issuing colonial coinage from this time onwards. It was allotted the Fabian tribe (as too was Heliopolis-Baalbek), the tribe to which Syrians who received the franchise were assigned by legal fiction, even when their birthplace was another city of the province, at least as late as the time of Hadrian.¹⁰²

The Heliopolitanum, the sanctuary of the Heliopolitan triad at Baalbek, was probably commenced during this Period. All that is known for certain is that some of the capitals of the Temple of Jupiter had not yet been put into position in the reign of Nero, but it must have been nearing completion at that stage, since the sanctuary was, so to speak, operational by the time of Claudius or Nero at the latest.¹⁰³ It seems likely that its planning if not its construction should go back to soon after the establishment of the colony, and Ward-Perkins plausibly suggests that it was in some sense the Roman religious centre for the province.¹⁰⁴

In any case the fact that it was in a colony makes the Temple of Jupiter of extreme importance for the process of Romanization on four counts. Firstly, the use here of Syrian Orthodox Corinthian capitals, one of the earliest datable instances, serves as a kind of endorsement of these capitals as a substitute for the slightly different version found in the West in Roman eyes. Secondly, while Ed. Wiegand's view that Baalbek served as a centre for the transmission of Roman architectural forms to the province, based on an inadequate assessment of the surviving local architectural elements,¹⁰⁵ has been rightly attacked, and requires drastic modification, it should not be modified entirely out of existence. Lyttelton, albeit inadvertently, clearly demonstrates that Wiegand's Type 1 capitals from the Temple are a graphic illustration of the process of hybridization in response to conflicting artistic pressures, Roman and Hellenistic.¹⁰⁶ Two architectural details, the Roman significance of which has not been seriously challenged, "Roman pipes" and the "Roman conch", occur in parts of the sanctuary which should in all likelihood date back to the earliest construction phase, the pipes moulding occurring in the Temple,¹⁰⁷ the conches in the north wall of the southern exedra of the substructure of the Altar Court,¹⁰⁸ for which a date in this Period is less chronologically secure.¹⁰⁹ The general lay-out of the sanctuary itself, with the Temple dominating the Altar Court,¹¹⁰ if not the Forecourt and Propylaea, must have been conceived at

this stage, even if construction was not commenced, and this, together with the subterranean barrel-vaults, means that jointly with Herod's Temple complex at Jerusalem, it represents the earliest appearance of the regularized axial sanctuary.¹¹¹

And it is interesting to note, in this context, that the Temple of Jupiter was probably not a stair-temple, the Great Altar in front fulfilling, according to the theory, the same ritual function;¹¹² while the initial fusion between the Greek longitudinal style of temple and the towers may have taken place in the Early Hellenistic period, either the hybrid had not yet reached Baalbek, or the Romans of the time frowned on such a bizarre miscegenation.

The inscription from the baths of Lucius Julius Agrippa at Apamea attests that his ancestor, prince Dexandros, was the first high-priest of the cult of the living emperor for the province of Syria, under Augustus, as well as receiving other honours bestowed upon him by this ruler, so it seems likely that the establishment of the cult on a provincial level had the full endorsement of Augustus, even if the initial move came (perhaps nominally) from elsewhere. Imperial approval at least seems implicit in the establishment of the cult on what was perhaps a local level at Arados, where a local notable, Ariston son of Alexander, a sometime πρόβουλος and ναύαρχος, was a priest of Augustus, who was not yet "θεός"; his son was named Lucius, and Rey-Coquais speculates that he may have been a newly enfranchised citizen, named after Lucius Caesar, though noting the lack of gentilicum.^{112a} At Jerash there is more doubtful evidence for the cult under Tiberius (see below). But other actions of Augustus and Agrippa, which might be construed as superimpositions, intentional or otherwise, rest on the doubtful evidence of Malalas. In a particularly muddled passage¹¹³ he states that Augustus erected a theatre in Laodicea (ad Mare) and reconstructed a tetrapylon there, and that Agrippa built a bath outside Antioch and added an extra tier to the theatre. Of Tiberius, he says that he too built a bath near the spring of Olympias at Antioch¹¹⁴ and also that he built the colonnaded street, which, as pointed out in my previous work, may more plausibly be taken to indicate that he carried on work initiated by Herod, reinforcement rather than the initial superimposition.¹¹⁵

Of the lesser figures we know only that Pontius Pilate built an aqueduct at Jerusalem, expropriating funds from the Temple treasure for the purpose, and when this provoked trouble, enforced his will.¹¹⁶ While aqueducts at this stage at least, are of doubtful significance unless the details are known, since they may represent no more than a reproduction of

old Hellenistic types, it seems likely that this one did represent an innovation at least in terms of architectural technique: a concrete aqueduct built by Pilate is known from Bethlehem,¹¹⁷ the technique being to use cemented masonry for the channel, which, at some later time (perhaps not too much later?) was altered so that the water was carried in earthenware pipes protected by a casing of concrete and rubble. The length of the Jerusalem aqueduct, and where it drew its water from, is unknown - Josephus states that it brought water from 400 furlongs away in BJ, amending the figure to 200 furlongs in AJ; it is not impossible that the Bethlehem aqueduct formed part of the same system.

However, it is certainly in the time of Augustus that the coinage of Antioch at last showed a marked change from the old Seleucid types¹¹⁸ and Germanicus ensured the promulgation of the new coinage by issuing an edict, preserved in the Palmyrene Tariff, to the effect that the abattoir tax should be paid in Roman money.¹¹⁹

There is another architectural superimposition which may belong here, and cannot be attributed to any single Roman, but should have been the work either of one of the visiting dignitaries, or of the military administration, namely the triple arch at Tyre, dated by Ward-Perkins¹²⁰ to the first century. Equally unattributable, but equally to be referred to the official Roman presence, are two circumstances conducive to Romanization, though not in themselves superimpositions in the sense that the word is used in this thesis. The northern part of the province was already in contact with Roman soldiers, in that the winter quarters of the Tenth were at Cyrrhus.¹²¹ The corollary, which belongs to this Period only by implication, is found in the account of the quarrel between the Jews and the gentile population of Caesarea, during the prefecture of Felix (A.D. 52-60), in AJ XX.176 (though not in the parallel BJ passage): the "Syrians" took great pride in the fact that they and the Sebastenians formed the bulk of those in military service under the Romans. Since the same argument does not appear in Josephus' earlier account, however, it may be his own embroidery rather than information drawn from a contemporary source. But a more secure example of local recruitment comes from Arados (see below).

This rather jejune list stands in complete contrast to the works of Herod. In BJ I.xxi.1-11 Josephus assembles an impressive array of achievements, for the most part architectural. Priority is given to his most famous work, the Temple complex at Jerusalem. He rebuilt the Temple and its precincts, enlarging the surrounding area to double its former extent,

surrounding the Temple courts with a fortress dominating the complex to the north. The fortress, restored in a "style in no way inferior to that of a palace",¹²² was called Antonia, after Antony. His own palace at Jerusalem comprised two spacious and beautiful buildings, one named the Caesareum, the other the Agrippeum.

As further proof of his devotion to his Roman friends, he rebuilt two cities in honour of Augustus. Samaria he renamed Sebaste, enclosing it with "magnificent" walls, twenty furlongs in length, with a temple and enclosure dedicated to Augustus in the centre of the town, assigning to it six thousand "settlers" ("οὐκλήτορας") to whom he granted fertile lands. Realizing the need for a seaport, he rebuilt Strato's Tower as Caesarea, with equidistant streets (i.e. chequer-board plan), harbour, moles, towers (one named after Drusus), colossi, a temple to Augustus with huge statues of Augustus and Rome, modelled respectively on those of Olympian Zeus and Hera at Argos; "the rest of the buildings - amphitheatre, theatre, public places - were constructed in a style worthy of the name the city bore."¹²³ In addition, he instituted quinquennial games there, named after "Caesar", and to make the point even clearer, he dedicated the city to the province, the harbour to the navigators of these waters, and the glory to Caesar.

Nor was Agrippa forgotten: as well as demonstrating his affection by inscribing his name over the gate of the Temple (the so-called Golden Gate) he rebuilt Anthedon as Agrippium (or Agrippias). It should be noted, however, that he forgot neither himself nor his family in his tectonic commemorations. He founded the city of Antipatris in memory of his father, and another city, Phasaelis, in the "valley north of Jericho" in honour of his brother Phasael (killed towards the end of the conflicts which marked Herod's rise to power) and also named one of the towers protecting the Temple complex at Jerusalem after the same brother. The fortress above Jericho was named Cypros, after his mother, and he built two fortresses named Herodium, the first in the hills on the Arabian frontier,* the second stated to be an artificial rounded hill sixty furlongs from Jerusalem* (hereafter referred to as Herodium I and II respectively); Herodium II was equipped as a palace as much as a fortress, according to Josephus, who gives details of the lavish appointments (none diagnostically Roman or non-Roman). He also built himself another palace, a larger and more sumptuous version of the previous palace at the same site, at Jericho.*

In addition, he built other temples to Caesar: the location of one, Paneion or Panias, the later Caesarea Philippi, is stated, the occasion of

its construction being the granting of extra territory by Augustus: for the rest, Josephus says, "and then, after filling his own territory with temples, he let the memorials overflow into the province and erected in numerous cities monuments to Caesar."

He showered benefactions on the cities of the area, by no means only those in his own territory: gymnasia for Tripolis, Damascus and Ptolemais; a wall for Byblos; halls, porticoes (στοάς) for Berytus; theatres for Sidon and Damascus; an aqueduct for Laodicea ad Mare, baths, sumptuous fountains and colonnades (περίστυλα) "admirable alike for their architecture and their proportions" for Ascalon, with groves and meadows for other unspecified communities. And of course, as well as benefactions of various kinds to the Greek cities of Asia Minor, the islands and the Mainland, he also paved the πλατεῖα of Antioch, formerly shunned in bad weather because of mud, for a distance of twenty furlongs, using "polished marble", and adorned it with a colonnade of equal length as a protection from the rain.

The chronology of these building activities is not entirely clear. Herod was appointed king of Judaea by the Senate in 40 B.C.¹²⁴ (but may have counted his reign from 38/7 B.C.¹²⁵), so some may even date from the preceding Period: the palace at Jericho seems likely to do so, since it was there that Aristobulus was murdered while bathing (BJ I.xxii.3, cf. AJ XV. 53-6), though this is not certain, as an earlier palace existed there. Most, however, should belong to the years after Actium, when Herod attained his greatest power: the games at Caesarea were inaugurated in 10-9 B.C.,¹²⁶ and work commenced there in either 22 or 20 B.C.¹²⁷ Samaria is stated to have been built by this time,¹²⁸ so the foundation date of 27 B.C. given by Schalit¹²⁹ seems quite reasonable. Both, certainly, were completed or well into their construction in 14 B.C., since they, together with Herodium and the rebuilt fortresses of Alexandreion and Hyrcania were shown to Agrippa, who visited Judaea at that time.¹³⁰ The Temple is stated to have been begun in the fifteenth year of his reign in BJ I.xxi.1 and in the eighteenth in AJ XV.380, that is to say, 23/22 or 20/19 (the later date being preferred by Thackeray and Marcus, following Schürer¹³¹) if his reign is counted from 37/38, or 26/25 or 23/22 counted from 40. The temple at Paneion also belongs to this Period, for obvious reasons, and it seems likely, in view of the fact that Berytus was singled out for special attention,¹³² that his benefaction coincided with, or post-dated, the creation of the colony. Since there is some reason to believe that he may have acted as a kind of de facto governor of the whole area during the absence of Agrippa,

who was in overall command,¹³³ ca. 20 to 18 B.C., it also seems likely that most of his benefactions to the province should date from that time.

This all sounds extremely promising. Of the architectural types mentioned, the amphitheatre and theatres at Caesarea, Sidon and Damascus, the temples to Augustus at Samaria, Caesarea, Paneion and elsewhere and the colonnaded street at Antioch are per se Romanizing types, the amphitheatre, with its implication of gladiatorial games, being of special importance because of the social and ethical innovation entailed (see above, p.3); the temples to Augustus and Rome propagating the imperial cult, instituted in the previous century, and the colonnaded street, of which enough has been said in my previous work, need no expatiation of their import. In addition, there is some possibility that the other colonnades mentioned may have formed parts of colonnaded streets: at least those of Berytus are called "στοάς", a word applied to the colonnades of Antioch when viewed as elements separate from the street. Others fall into the doubtful category at this period, because of the possibility of Hellenistic predecessors on the same site, the aqueduct at Laodicea, the baths and fountains at Ascalon. Gymnasia are of course Greek, and the others are of unknown significance, depending upon their details, but from the verbal description alone it all seems consonant with the current Roman milieu, that is to say, there is nothing that would have been out of place in Rome itself.

The fact that Caesarea was built "in a style worthy of the name the city bore", coupled with the dedications to the various Roman luminaries, encourages the belief that the indeterminate types would indeed have been Roman, in the broader sense of the word. Indeed, to judge from this particular account, one might well gain the impression that Herod single-handedly Romanized the southern part of the area (if not its population), and bade fair to do the same for the remainder; that he did so deliberately is a very strong inference.

This impression is strengthened by additional information provided by Josephus. Not only did Herod name towns and buildings after his Roman friends, he went so far as to name the very rooms of the palace at Jerusalem after Augustus and Agrippa (AJ XV.318). He also adds a description of another fortress-palace, which, like Herodium II, conjures visions of Pompeii, without specific details which can be designated as Roman, namely Masada

(BJ VII.viii.3): ample provision for water, colonnades, sumptuous apartments, baths, floors "laid with variegated stones" (i.e. mosaics).

In AJ XV.267 ff. he states that Herod also built a theatre¹³⁴ and amphitheatre at Jerusalem and instituted quinquennial games there; furthermore, we know from this passage and from AJ XVI.137-9 that in both places the games included typical Roman, as well as traditional Greek, events: wild beasts are stipulated in both cases; chariot-racing is mentioned at Jerusalem, "horse" racing at Caesarea - Jerusalem possessed a "hippodrome" in 4 B.C., presumed to be the work of Herod;¹³⁵ the games at Caesarea are said to have had gladiatorial combats, and the same is probably true of Jerusalem, since Josephus mentions Herod's construction of the amphitheatre there in the same passage.

The Temple at Jerusalem had, as Josephus troubles to point out, Corinthian capitals (AJ XV.414). Furthermore, modern reconstructions of the plan of the complex¹³⁶ suggest very strongly that he was endeavouring to build an axial sanctuary, along the lines of the marginally later one at Baalbek, a regularization of old-fashioned sanctuaries inspired by the Roman forum-temple complexes such as those of Caesar and Augustus. The result was not canonical: the position and orientation of the Temple itself was fixed by tradition and ritual, but by the addition of porticoes and the expansion of the courts he created something not unlike them; this central complex was orientated at right angles to the larger enclosure - it was not an axial sanctuary to that extent - but the axis of the Temple proper was parallel, if not identical to that of the main gate, the Golden Gate. Taken with the use of the vaulted crypto-porticus in the platform,¹³⁷ a feature of similar structures in Republican times in Italy,¹³⁸ the intention seems clear.

Moreover, there is another modern extrapolation from Josephus which enhances the general picture: according to Perowne¹³⁹ Augustus created only two colonies in Syria, but Herod adopted the idea, and founded veteran colonies at Samaria and Gaba. Unfortunately, we do not know how far he followed the Roman model with his veteran settlements, in terms of civic structure, but certainly the military aspect, the creation of a standing reserve of loyal and experienced soldiers, is redolent of Roman colonies. Together with this programme of colonization, Perowne adduces the usual concomitants, settlement and the promotion of agriculture; for near Samaria was a model settlement called the Five Villages, Pente Komai, the name

surviving in the modern Arabic Fandaqumia, and in addition to building Gaba as a centre for Galilee, with allotments of land being granted to the settlers, he also rebuilt Esebonitis in Peraea. The town of Phasaelis¹⁴⁰ was similarly an agricultural settlement, where a new and superior variety of date-palm, named Nicolaitan after his secretary Nicolas of Damascus, was cultivated. In line with this too is his more general promotion of agriculture after the famine of the twenties B.C.: not only in Palestine, but also in Syria proper, he provided seed for the farmers to replant, and sent workers to assist in the harvest.¹⁴¹

This indeed sounds very much like Romanization, granted that Romanization could use Hellenistic models: promotion of agriculture and settlement, with district centres and their dependent villages created as the overall framework. The difficulty lies, as it always does with this aspect of Romanization, in the fact that it is impossible, in this particular area, to be sure that it constituted change rather than, as in Pompey's work, merely restoring what had been there before.

Galilee was known as a particularly fertile district,¹⁴² and in the description by Josephus appears as a particularly populous one; the basic fertility of the area makes it likely that Herod's introductions did no more than add, perhaps in kind, to what previously existed, so the example is dubious. Samaria, like Judaea, comprised mixed terrain, and again was, perhaps later, densely populated;¹⁴³ here too it is impossible to be sure that the later situation constituted a change, and doubt must remain. However, Peraea is noted as a rugged and infertile area by both Josephus and Pliny,¹⁴⁴ (although Josephus notes the cultivation of the olive¹⁴⁵) and furthermore was the home of brigands.¹⁴⁶ The institution of Esebonitis may therefore mark a combined programme of pacification and development discerned by Jones in the case of the other eastern districts, where Herod suppressed brigandage, and, according to an explicit statement of Josephus, forced the inhabitants, who had previously lived by plunder, to till the soil and live peacefully; when a revolt broke out while Herod was visiting Rome for the second time, he installed a colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanea, granting them autonomy and freedom from taxes.¹⁴⁷

But similar questions must be asked about all Herod's activities

as chronicled by Josephus; namely, regardless of what Herod thought he was doing, how Roman, and how Romanizing, were his works, and how much of the impression is due to the attitude of Josephus in the Jewish War, which perforce formed the basis, in many respects, for the Antiquities. The answer modifies the impression created, without entirely contradicting it.

Certainly, there is some confirmation for Josephus' testimony. His sedulous flattery of Augustus and Agrippa, for example, is borne out by a title he adopted towards the end of his reign, for a three-mina stone weight, dated to the year 32 (i.e. 9/8 B.C.) used the cognomen $\Phi\text{I}\text{A}\text{O}\kappa(\text{AICAPOC})$.¹⁴⁸ At the same time, this weight with its Greek legend and its Greek standard demonstrates his promulgation of things Greek as opposed to things Hebrew. There are also very Roman touches about his architecture; the use of concrete in the theatre at Caesarea,¹⁴⁹ its possible use as a column socle at Antioch,¹⁵⁰ in the palace at Jericho¹⁵¹ and in the forts of the defensive chain which may date from his reign,¹⁵² although, as has been pointed out elsewhere, this is not unknown in pre-Roman times. Similarly, while the use of arches and vaults, particularly stone vaults, may date back to Hellenistic times, the extent to which they are used, and the way in which they are used in Jerusalem, to support the viaduct leading to the Temple platform,¹⁵³ and especially in the barrel-vaulted substructure, is very reminiscent of Roman work.* Then, too, there is the evidence from the other Herodian sites excavated.

The excavators of the Joint Expedition to Samaria assign only two structures to the time of Herod himself, those specified by Josephus, the walls and the temple to Augustus,¹⁵⁴ pointing out that the Harvard Expedition was mistaken in their ascription of the basilica to this period, their date stemming from a misreading of an inscription.¹⁵⁵ Crowfoot suggests that more might have been unnecessary, because of the Gabinian rebuilding. The temple was almost entirely rebuilt in the Late Antonine-Severan building phase, but the remains of the Herodian building are consistent with the Romanizing view of Herod, at least insofar as there is no evidence to suggest that it was other than a Classical building, perhaps even an Italian type with a colonnade on three sides, and that, dominating its rectangular court from its platform, it did not make of the complex, as Kenyon suggests, a kind of miniature axial sanctuary, like those of Jerusalem and Baalbek¹⁵⁶ (although the barrel-vaults in the substructure, which make the resemblance so striking, are of later date). Or, for that matter, that it was à

escaliers.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the presence of imported sigillata, signed by Sextus Annius whose floruit was the last decade B.C. and the early decades of the first century A.D., "at least" to the reign of Tiberius, as well as examples by his probable contemporary, L.TITY THYRSI,¹⁵⁸ seems to confirm the expectations raised by Josephus' descriptions in regard to the life-style of the inhabitants of one of Herod's towns.

If one adds, furthermore, evidence which may belong to this period, the Doric stadium with its stucco decoration painted in the same manner as the Gabinian houses¹⁵⁹ - the chronological doubt stems, as with the other buildings of this phase, from the fact that the structure is built in 'Herodian' masonry, a technique which was used by Herod, but also by his successors and in special circumstances, such as the Damascus Gate area in Jerusalem, where it was reconstructed perhaps in an endeavour to match the previous work, even later - then the impression must be that this 'veteran colony' of Herod's was a thoroughly Graeco-Roman town, with all the appropriate trappings and trimmings.

Similar confirmation can be found in the results of the excavations of one of the fortress-palaces, Masada: the wall-paintings have already been mentioned;¹⁶¹ mosaics, too, have been found, the earliest known in the Holy Land;¹⁶² the pottery included eastern sigillata types.¹⁶³

However, three qualifications to the account also emerge. Firstly, Josephus, who, in the Jewish War, seemed to have regarded Herod, a highly successful Romanized Jew, as a kind of prototype for himself, and accordingly stressed Herod's Roman activities, is in all likelihood guilty of distortion by suppression in this respect. With the exception of the Temple at Jerusalem itself, he omits, or underemphasises, actions on the part of Herod which demonstrate an interest in Jewish, as opposed to Roman, culture, an interest at which other evidence hints. Two buildings attributed to him by modern scholars, on the doubtful grounds of Herodian masonry, are at the Jewish sacred sites of Mamre (Machpelah) and Hebron;¹⁶⁴ Perowne makes out a reasonable case for the Haram at Hebron being a smaller copy of the Temple complex at Jerusalem, although this does not preclude the date from being "Herodian", meaning the dynasty, rather than "Herodian" meaning the time of Herod I. More secure are the ritual baths in the palaces at Masada¹⁶⁵ and Herodium II,¹⁶⁶ that at Masada certainly dating back to the time of Herod, even if some doubt remains about the actual synagogues found at both

sites.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, Josephus himself gives an indication of a similar interest in Jewish sacred matters in AJ XVI.182, where he describes Herod's lavish additions to David's Tomb at Jerusalem. With his erstwhile favourable attitude to Herod almost reversed in the Antiquities, Josephus explains this as expiation of a previous desecration, lest it be thought that Herod's action was motivated by piety, but given this reversal of attitude, the explanation may well be tendentious, if not fictitious.

Secondly, even when the types are Roman, or consistent with the Roman milieu, the forms are more ambiguous. As has been previously mentioned, there is other material from Samaria which it is possible to attribute to Herod. One such possible ascription is the material found re-used in the foundation of the later Temple of Kore,¹⁶⁸ which may belong to the previous temple on the same site (dedicated, apparently, to Isis and the Dioskouroi and dated by the masonry to the 'Herodian' period¹⁶⁹) or to the courtyard of the Temple of Augustus, which is part of Herod's original concept. These fragments included Ionic capitals, an Egyptian cavetto moulding and coloured 'Nabataean crowstep' merlons. In similar vein, the mosaics of Masada are highly selective in the motifs they use, avoiding representation of humans or animals, instead drawing on the repertoire of vegetation motifs found in other Jewish art of the time.¹⁷⁰

While at this stage in the development of Roman architecture it is not un-Roman that Herod may have used the Doric and Ionic orders at Samaria, and also (if the example belongs to the original construction rather than to the later refurbishment prior to the First Revolt) at Masada,¹⁷¹ merely not Romanizing given the prevalence of these orders in pre-Roman Syria, there is the suspicion that some of his Corinthian capitals, not excluding those singled out by Josephus in the Temple complex, may have been less than canonical. Crowfoot states¹⁷² that while the Harvard Excavators at Samaria said that the order of Herod's Augusteum was Corinthian, he could not judge the order from the published drawings and could locate none of the fragments in question. Harvard Excavations I p.193 fig. 114.4 illustrates a capital built into a late wall parallel to the west wall of the temple. It is one of Schlumberger's Heterodox Corinthians, assignable with reasonable certainty to his Group B;¹⁷⁴ another fragment illustrated in the same figure (114.2), found built into a Roman foundation wall west of the court appears to be a variation of the same type, and the remaining fragments may well be. There is little doubt that the order of Herod's Augusteum was Corinthian - Heterodox Corinthian.¹⁷⁵

Perowne also mentions what from his description is a Heterodox capital, with acanthus and rose leaves, from the Double Gate below the Royal Portico of the Temple complex at Jerusalem,¹⁷⁶ and there is yet another doubtfully ascribed "Herodian" capital, heterodox, but belonging to none of Schlumberger's Heterodox groups, found (together with "Antonine" capitals discussed in Chapter IV) in the excavations near the Pool of Bethesda.¹⁷⁷ This last mentioned capital is quite extraordinary, the normal design being replaced by a standard Hellenistic entablature, the upper row a cyma reversa, the lower two rows a series of mouldings, bead-and-reel, egg-and-dart, and so forth. The relief is very shallow. A Corinthian pilaster capital from Masada¹⁷⁸ which may date to the time of Herod or to the period between his death and the First Revolt, is indeed Orthodox. However, while it may have been subsequently mutilated, the photographs suggest that it was originally made as it is now, in separate pieces, the upper zone forming one visual unit and the two lower zones the other, an echo of the concept which appears in the Jerusalem example; the relief is again very shallow. While the carving is certainly competent, the design does hint at its being the work of someone trying to copy an Orthodox Corinthian, but more familiar with another sort.

It seems that Herod favoured the older, pre-Roman forms to a much greater extent than one might expect from the picture derived from the Jewish War. It might be added that, in line with this, he also continued older types, the fortress palaces which are to be connected with the fortified villa concept found in later Palmyrene, but in all probability deriving from pre-Roman models. Apart from those already discussed, one which may be his at Hirbet-al-Moraq,¹⁷⁹ built over rock-hewn chambers, with two ranges of rooms round an inner peristyle court and an attached tower, sounds even more reminiscent of the Palmyrene examples.

Thirdly, it is difficult to assess how much of the strong Greek element in Herod's Graeco-Roman style represented change, due to the uncertainty about the degree of prior Hellenization in the cities in question. It is impossible to know where Herod is introducing Greek forms, and where, like Gabinius at Marisa, he is merely restoring and reinforcing what had existed previously. For example, at Jerusalem, there had been quite a deal of voluntary Hellenization before the excesses of Antiochus IV provoked a reaction,¹⁸⁰ to judge from the account of Josephus it seems that the division in the community continued, some Jews favouring the adoption of Greek

ways where they were not in conflict with what they considered to be the law of God, others, more strict, the section from which most of our evidence stems, constantly trying to purge the state of such contamination. The Maccabaeen dynasty itself seems divided on the point: Aristobulus I seems to have adopted the title of Philohellene,¹⁸¹ and Alexander Jannaeus, despite his forcible proselytizing activities, used Greek legends, as well as Hebrew, on his coins, legends which reappear on the coins of Antigonus Mattathius.¹⁸² On the other hand, Kenyon¹⁸³ points to the lack of Hellenizing pottery at Jerusalem, which she contrasts strongly with the situation at Samaria. Modern scholars are equally divided: while, for example, Milik,¹⁸⁴ proceeding from the testimony of the 'extreme opposition', the Essenes, alleges Hellenization and corruption among the priests of Jerusalem itself, Frankfort goes so far as to deny the existence of Hellenization, not only in Jerusalem, but in Judaea as a whole.¹⁸⁵

Nor is it possible to settle the question in the case of the two major cities which Herod rebuilt, Samaria and Caesarea, since the composition of the population at the time is doubtful.* Certainly, as stated above, Samaria was supposedly given back to its rightful inhabitants by Pompey, and certainly there is evidence for a great deal of prior Hellenization in the case of the Samaritans, manifested not only in the pottery but also in the alacrity with which they received the Hellenizing policies of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.¹⁸⁶ However, the later change in the cult of the Temple of Kore indicates that the later Roman town was effectively severed from its Hellenistic past, religious traditions being proverbially the most tenacious of all; here only the memory that it was sacred ground seems to have survived. Similarly, it is frequently pointed out in support of the view that only the most superficial veneer of Hellenization or Romanization occurred, that most towns reverted to their pre-Classical names in later times; here the Herodian name Sebaste survives in the modern "Sabastiya",¹⁸⁷ which again seems to point to the Roman town being effectively a new town. This break with the past would presumably have resulted from the cumulative effect of the destruction by Hyrcanus in the last decade of the second century B.C., the influx of Herodian settlers and the destruction of the town in the First, and possibly also the Second, Jewish revolt. How far this process of dissociation had gone in the time of Herod is impossible to say on present evidence.

Caesarea is also a difficult case. The older name, Strato's Tower, suggests that it was previously a Greek city, and that it is among

those "freed" by Pompey support this conjecture. But the impression given by Josephus is that Herod rebuilt it entirely, literally from the drains and sewers upwards,¹⁸⁸ and this is supported by the fact that here too it is the Herodian name which is preserved in the modern Hirbet Qesari.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the population of Herod's town was drawn from predominantly Jewish sources, even allowing the dangerous assumption that these were less likely to be Hellenized; the city was dedicated to the province, and in the reign of Nero a quarrel arose between the Jewish and Gentile inhabitants of the town (called "Syrians") over whom the town had been intended for, the "Syrians" maintaining that it was for "Greeks" because of the statues and temples.^{190 *}

In view of this difficulty, perhaps the most positive thing which can be said about Herod's 'Hellenizing' activities is that the coins at least provide evidence that he not only continued, but augmented current trends in that direction: his were the first coins to use only Greek legends, without Hebrew;¹⁹¹ his stone weight discussed above testifies to the same thing.

Nevertheless, despite these modifications to the picture, the importance of the work of Herod cannot be doubted. It should not be forgotten that the first colonnaded street was almost certainly his, and very probably also the first axial sanctuary, whether one considers it to be the small complex at Samaria, which only later acquired the barrel-vaults that brought it into line with Jerusalem and Baalbek, or the Temple complex at Jerusalem, despite its anomalies.¹⁹² Furthermore, even some of his non-Roman types survived to become part of the Romano-Syrian milieu, the crowstep merlons and the fortified villas. It was he who established the taste for such architecture, and provided the models, and if some of his forms were themselves old-fashioned, and not as Roman as later ones, it was he who pointed the direction in which to look for new inspiration and models.

Moreover, more prosaically, and quite probably coincidentally, he created the means by which this taste could achieve reification, a pool of craftsmen and artisans skilled in the necessary styles and techniques.

The masons' marks at Masada¹⁹³ indicate that he employed Hebrew workmen alongside foreign specialists in the construction of his Classicizing buildings: the Greek, Latin and Hebrew alphabets are used. Seemingly,

first the entire Hebrew alphabet was utilised, then, when more distinctive signs were needed, letters of the Palaeo-Hebrew alphabet. Then perhaps when these were exhausted, Latin and Greek letters were similarly used as symbols on the various blocks. While Hebrew workmen might perhaps have known Greek, it seems unlikely that any of them would have known the Latin alphabet well enough to assign its letters to be used in this manner, implying the presence of at least one Roman artisan or architect among the workforce. By the same token, it is equally unlikely that an entirely imported workforce would know the Hebrew alphabet, not to mention Palaeo-Hebrew, well enough to use the letters in this manner. A similar situation is perhaps attested at Hirbet-al-Moraq,¹⁹⁴ where both Greek and Hebrew letters are used in this way.

Kenyon, indeed, tends to dismiss the role of the Hebrew part of the workforce,¹⁹⁵

...the fact that the inhabitants of the Jewish state had no artistic skills; when anything elaborate in architecture was required they brought in foreigners...

although she herself mentions Hebrew masons' marks in the substructure of the temple platform.¹⁹⁴ However, it seems clear, not only from the masons' marks but also from literary testimony that the bulk of the workforce was in fact composed of local men. According to Josephus,¹⁹⁷ on the completion of the Temple project (which he dates to the prefecture of Albinus) the people of Jerusalem, seeing the workforce of eighteen thousand unemployed, voluntarily undertook to relieve their plight with a scheme by which they received a full day's pay if they worked for even an hour. It is hardly likely that they would have shown such concern for the welfare of an alien workforce, who could, after all, return to their place of origin. The story may not be entirely true, but it indicates that Josephus, a contemporary of the supposed events, at least thought it credible enough to adduce in favour of his overall purpose of repairing Jewish respectability in the eyes of the Romans; and it would hardly be credible if the facts, which would have been widely known at the time, were too different. Kenyon herself provides an answer to the question of what did happen to at least part of the workforce after their part in the construction of the Temple complex had been completed:¹⁹⁸ the evidence of the Damascus Gate, built by Agrippa I, shows that masons working in the same style as those employed by Herod were used on the buildings of his grandson. It seems that it was Agrippa, rather than the population of

Jerusalem, who found a practical solution to the problem.

The implications of this are quite clear. Herod employed a limited number of alien specialists, who worked alongside local masons, thus transmitting to them the skills and techniques needed for Herod's Classicizing architecture. This in turn created a workforce adept in those techniques which was later employed on other buildings by the successors of Herod, perpetuating, for a limited time at least, the Herodian style of architecture which was itself a product of the fusion of the skills and styles of the imported experts and those of the indigenous workforce employed along with them.*

Herod's successors continued in a similar vein. Three have reigns which fall within, or partially within, this Period, Archelaus who briefly followed Herod in Judaea (4 B.C. - A.D. 6), Herod Philip, tetrarch of Auranitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, Gaulanitis and Paneas (4 B.C. - A.D. 34) and Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee (4 B.C. - A.D. 39).¹⁹⁹ All seem to have followed up the measures of Herod, creating, perhaps, few innovations, but certainly increasing the number of superimpositions.

Archelaus' brief and chequered reign gave little scope for him to play any part in the process of Romanization, but Josephus does state that he rebuilt Herod's palace at Jericho,²⁰⁰ to what effect, in terms of this thesis, it is impossible to say. However, Josephus adds that he diverted half the water that served to irrigate the village of Neara to water a plain planted by him with palm trees. Wikgren,²⁰¹ following Avi-Yonah, identifies this village as modern Duyuk, two and a half miles north of Jerusalem, so it seems that Archelaus was extending the work of Herod in this area; in the same place Josephus mentions that he founded a village named after himself, which is probably therefore to be located in this same vicinity.

Herod Philip also continued his father's work in the Transjordan²⁰² and there is some indication of the forms he would have used. All his coins²⁰³ except for the very earliest²⁰⁴ show a Classical temple, apparently tetrastyle (and without towers, fire altars or any of the paraphernalia of the stair-temples) and possibly Ionic in order. It may be, as Reifenberg suggests, the temple constructed by Herod I at Paneion; however, the fact that it does occur on Philip's issues suggests that something occurred during his reign to give it new prominence, most reasonably reconstruction or repair. If this is the case, it seems likely that his architecture

would be similar to that of his father, still rooted in the pre-Roman Hellenistic tradition - though the spread of this to the wilder areas is of course 'Romanization' within the definition used by this thesis - with perhaps some Roman types and forms included.

The most historically prominent of the three, Herod Antipas, did, however, make what appears to be an innovation, although this may be an illusion created by the lack of evidence about the population of Herod's towns. Both Avi-Yonah²⁰⁵ and Rajak²⁰⁶ stress the point that in founding the city of Tiberias, he created a Hellenistic city with what was a basically Jewish population. It possessed a βουλή of six hundred, Greek magistrates, archons, agoranomoi, a hyparch or strategos appointed by the tetrarch, and a dependent territory,²⁰⁷ with at least Hellenizing architecture, a stadium and a royal palace with pictures of animals included among its decoration, as well as a synagogue, which seems to have been the regular place used for assemblies.²⁰⁸ However, it had less autonomy than its original Greek prototype: the first coins issued are those of Antipas, and the city itself did not coin until the reign of Trajan.²⁰⁹ It was a royal capital²¹⁰ as much as a polis.

The coinage of these three rulers also shows not only a continuation, but an augmentation of Classicizing tendencies in that of Herod I. That of Archelaus,²¹¹ to be sure, is little more than a continuation of Herod's issues, but there is little of it from which to judge, probably a real rather than purely evidential situation, given the brevity of his reign. Herod's coins²¹² had been stylistically a continuation of those of the later Hasmonaeans: with the exception of the representation of an eagle on one particular coin (something which may have had a particular purpose), he was careful to avoid "images" which might give offence to the stricter members of the Jewish community, choosing instead from the repertoire established by his predecessors, double cornucopiae,²¹³ anchor,²¹⁴ wreath²¹⁵ and so forth. The only other innovative type was the war-galley.²¹⁶ This, together with others such as an anchor, cornucopiae and helmet²¹⁷ reappears on the coins of Archelaus; as Reifenberg points out, he too had a Jewish kingdom, and the choice of motifs was consequently restricted.

The same restriction applied to the coins of Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, but nevertheless his coins show a significant change. Whereas the coins of Herod, the King, had an almost autonomous ring to them, the later

coins of Antipas²¹⁸ bear the legend ΠΑΙΩΚΑΙCΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ (sic) on the reverse,²²⁰ with the tetrarch's name on the obverse. The type, a palm branch²¹⁹ on the obverse, with a wreath containing the imperial legend on the reverse, is most interesting for the present purposes. While the palm leaf had appeared in the early Maccabaeian period on a coin of John Hyrcanus (Anc. Jew. Coins No.12)²²¹ and perhaps on one of Alexander Jannaeus (ibid. No.17),²²² it was not used later in the Hasmonaeian period; Herod used the palm leaf in the field (ibid. Nos. 26,30), two crossed palm branches²²³ but also a single palm branch as a motif in its own right.²²⁴ It is also used in this manner, on the reverse as in the Hasmonaeian examples, in the "Procuratorial" issues under Valerius Gratus and Felix,²²⁵ the obverse of these coins being the name of the reigning emperor within a wreath. That there is an intimate connection between the "Procuratorial" coins and those of Antipas is obvious, but the direction of influence is not clear: one would have expected it to be Antipas' coins which first revived the Maccabaeian and Herodian motifs, and that it was copied from his coinage by the prefects; however, the earliest known coins of Antipas date from the year 19/20 A.D.^{225A} while the scheme appears on coins issued by Gratus as early as A.D. 17.^{225B} Be that as it may, it is clear that the "Procuratorial" coinage does owe a debt to Herodian coins. It used simple Greek legends, and on the whole avoided figurative motifs which might give offence to the inhabitants, employing instead, among other motifs, the double cornucopiae.²²⁶

The coins of Antipas constitute a Romano-Syrian type. All the elements are present: an old pre-Roman type as far as the choice of motifs, and the reason for that choice, but one which had undergone further Classicization since the Roman occupation, the omission of Hebrew legends; these coins, to a certain extent, presumed knowledge of Greek. That they used Greek instead of Latin is no more than an anticipation of the ultimate situation at Antioch, and the contemporary acceptability of Greek for Latin in the area to Roman officialdom is demonstrated by the "Procuratorial" coins themselves. Indeed, the "Procuratorial" coins with a virtually identical design serve as a kind of general endorsement of Antipas' coinage: while it was undoubtedly a matter of convenience on the part of either Agrippa or Gratus to use such similar coinage, one or the other saving himself the trouble of designing other coins which did not affront the religious sensibilities of the population, this does not detract from its value as testimony to the mutual acceptability of the type. And it does indeed have descendants, somewhat unlikely ones, as will be shown in Chapter III.

The coinage of Herod Philip²²⁷ is even more Classicizing. As Reifenberg points out, most of his subjects were Gentiles, and this permitted him to use representations of humans on his coins. He, too, seems to have used only one basic type, an obverse with the head of the reigning emperor, with the name of the emperor in Greek as the legend, and a reverse showing the temple previously mentioned, with the legend, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ, although there are, of course, slight variations, and Livia appears with Augustus on one of his coins. It is interesting that in the earlier coins, with the head of Augustus, Σ is sometimes used, although later issues under Tiberius, bowing perhaps to the inevitable, use C, the more normal choice in Syria. Given that Greek legends are also used on the "Procuratorial" coins, it is hard to say why these should not be considered 'Roman' eastern provincial coins, save perhaps for the choice of the building. The depiction of a building itself marks an innovation, since none of his predecessors, even the architecturally minded Herod, had used this typically Roman device to underscore the significance of politically important edifices (save perhaps in an oblique reference by way of the eagle on Herod's coin, AncJewCoins No.34). However, Handler²²⁸ has pointed out that Augustus' provincial coins generally depict buildings at Rome, such as the Temple of Mars Ultor or the Parthian Victory Arch, when they depict buildings at all, rather than local structures. If Reifenberg is correct about the identity of the buildings on Philip's coins, and there seems no reason to doubt it, then Philip was, as it were, going one better than creating a kind of unofficial provincial Roman coinage. He was not imitating provincial coinage, but rather creating his own "Roman" coinage, on the model of the coins of Rome herself.

The importance of these coins in terms of Romanization should not be underestimated. While there is much debate as to how often one would, in fact, read or look at a coin, in a society which lacked the mass media familiar to us today, it seems certain that everyone would look closely at one at some time or another - the common reference is to Matthew 22.15-22. Their influence may have been subtle, but it was also pervasive. The coins were inescapable: virtually everyone, everywhere in the area, used money; they even appear at the Essene 'monastery' at Qumrân.²²⁹ While their implications as hybrids may be restricted to the Herodian rulers themselves, their potential effect as superimpositions cannot be doubted.

As well as this welter of superimpositions of various degrees, the Period also provides some evidence of response, either to these superimposit-

ions, or perhaps even to anything which survived the upheavals of the previous Period. The most explicit, and that from which the degree of Romanization of the people, rather than Romanization of the place, is most easily judged, is that of the Jews.

Certainly, the more extreme superimpositions of Herod were met with outright rejection. Interestingly, it was not apparently the nature of his games as such, but rather the trophies around the arena, construed by stricter Jews as "images of men", which produced the major outcry, one which he endeavoured to counter by having the trophies stripped to reveal the inoffensive frame.²³⁰ The image of the eagle over the main gate of the Temple complex produced an axe.²³¹ Similarly it was the busts on the standards of Pilate's troops which provoked the wrath of the population when he tried to bring them into Jerusalem, not the troops themselves.²³² It was again a religious matter, the use of the Temple treasury to fund his aqueduct, which prompted objection on a later occasion.²³³ While, according to Josephus, the bulk of the people were prepared to laugh at his joke with the trophies, and raised no further objections, some of them continued to oppose him and conspired to kill him;²³⁴ it was from fear of this persistent resistance, according to Josephus' version in the Antiquities, that he built the fortified towns of Caesarea and the "veteran colonies",²³⁵ Given the number of private palace-fortresses among his buildings, there may be more than malice behind this: the resistance continued after the trophies incident because the objection, though still religious, was more broadly based,²³⁶ and the outcome of this specific instance did not dispose of it; it was directed towards not only the trophies, but also the killing of humans for sport²³⁷ and the trappings generally. However, most of the antipathy towards Herod on this account vanished after the generous measures he took to relieve the famine²³⁸ (to flare up again, admittedly, in the affair of the Golden Eagle).

And on the other hand, the Period also sees the first appearance of Josephus' much stressed "moderate" pro-Roman Jews. In his Preface to the Jewish War he emphasises the contradistinction between the insurgent leaders who were guilty of insurrection, and "the populace", which was at their mercy,²³⁹ and throughout the book he follows out this theme.

They first appear at the very beginning of the general strife which ultimately led to war, the disturbance after the death of Herod, as the citizens of Jerusalem, protesting their innocence of seditious intent-

ion to Varus, governor of Syria, who endorsed the view that it was the work of a minority of trouble-makers, punishing only the authors of the commotion (some 2000 of them, according to Josephus' usually inflated figures).²⁴⁰ They were presumably the same people as those who sent 50 envoys to Rome to ask that Judaea be made part of the province of Syria, and put under a Roman governor.²⁴¹ Throughout the book Josephus stresses the existence of these non-insurgents, until Titus is about to order a massacre at Jerusalem,²⁴² when he tactfully refers to (presumably) them merely as civilians.

Their method of replying to Roman provocation is not revolt, but deputations and conferences,²⁴³ or "passive resistance",²⁴⁴ and they constantly affirm their loyalty to Rome and Caesar.²⁴⁵ Indeed, they even revolt against the insurgents who have seized control at Jerusalem.²⁴⁶ The overall pattern is quite clear: they are happy to be dutiful subjects of Rome, so long as this does not contravene their religion.

Precisely who they were is unclear from the account of Josephus. He calls them "the populace" in the Preface,²⁴⁷ and later they are the "townsfolk" of Gischala²⁴⁸ and "the people" again;²⁴⁹ in other words, the impression he is trying to create is that the great majority of the people as opposed to a few reprobates, the scurrilous "brigands" who happened to get into power, were loyal to the Romans.

On the other hand, he also refers to them as the elder and better, more prudent and sober, people,²⁵⁰ and notes the desertion of many nobles to the Romans.²⁵¹ While this could be explained as merely singling out the notables among the defectors, earlier passages on the mission to Rome and so forth imply that it was the royal family who were so ardently pro-Roman and desirous of becoming part of the province.²⁵² In fact, the impression gained through inference is the opposite of Josephus' statement in the Preface: the situation, as for example Rajak,²⁵³ and others,²⁵⁴ suggest, is one of a pro-Roman royal family and upper class, and an anti-Roman populace.

It is the "magistrates of Jerusalem" who persuade the people not to make war on the Samaritans, for fear of provoking the Romans;²⁵⁴ the "leading men and chief priests" who calm down the tumult provoked by Florus on the first occasion;²⁵⁵ the priests and ministers of God who calm down the people on the second occasion, persuading them to accede to his extravagant demands for servility rather than put themselves in the wrong;²⁵⁶ the "principal

citizens...chief priests and the most notable Pharisees" who try unsuccessfully to dissuade the people from revolt over the matter of sacrifices for the Roman rulers,²⁵⁷ and later,²⁵⁸ when Agrippa sends in troops, "encouraged by these reinforcements, the leading men, the chief priests and all the people who were in favour of peace occupied the upper city."²⁵⁹ During the war proper, the leader of the abortive revolt against the insurgents at Jerusalem is Ananus, the ex-high priest.²⁶⁶

The arguments Josephus imputes to the magistrates when an unauthorized war with the Samaritans seems imminent, "the magistrates... implored them to return home and not, by their desire for reprisals on the Samaritans, to bring down the wrath of the Romans on Jerusalem, but to take pity on their country and sanctuary, on their own wives and children; all these were threatened with destruction merely for the object of avenging the blood of a single Galilaean"²⁶¹ recall in spirit the arguments attributed to Caiphas the high priest by the writer of the Gospel of St. John;²⁶² "it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not" when the "chief priests and Pharisees"²⁶³ hold a council to decide what should be done about Jesus.²⁶⁴ It seems very possible, therefore, that the pro-Roman party was in fact mainly composed of the nobles and the priestly class, including, as Holscher suggests in P-W 9.2, the Pharisees.

The chief of them is Agrippa the Second, who fought on the side of the Romans, and it is into his mouth that their credo is put.²⁶⁵ While his speech gives the argument in detail, it is essentially the same as that professed by Ananus,²⁶⁶ the Josephus persona²⁶⁷ and others. All the supposedly various testimonies are those of a single person, Josephus himself, but the New Testament parallels provide external confirmation for the existence of this faction, its composition, and its attitude - the arguments are almost always those of fear and expedience.²⁶⁸

There is evidence, therefore, that a certain portion of the Jewish population had become "Romanized", in the sense that it accepted, and even favoured, Roman political domination. But this response is entirely a negative sort of one; their actions were motivated, not by love of the Romans but by fear of the alternative, in the case of the request to be made a province, by fear that Archelaus would turn out to be as repressive and insensitive to their religious scruples as his father, and, later a more straightforward fear of Roman military might. Furthermore, this Romanization

is limited not only in degree but also in the number of people so affected, since this view seems to have been almost exclusively confined to the upper classes.²⁶⁹

Whether like divisions existed in the bulk of other Syrian communities is unknown, but Josephus, in Antiquities XVIII.53 provides evidence of one similar, less documented situation, in Commagene, where the royal family had a similar relationship with the Romans, Antiochus I having received the toga praetexta from Julius Caesar:

Now Antiochus, King of Commagene, died; and there arose a conflict between the masses ("πληθος") and the men of note ("γνωρίζουσ"). Both factions sent embassies, the men of substance ("δυνατοὶ") requesting reconstitution of the state as a Roman province ("ἐπαρχίαν"), while the masses supported the monarchical tradition of their ancestors.²⁷⁰

The indirect evidence also testifies to a mixed reaction to the superimpositions, although it is not precise enough to discern whether there were divisions, social or otherwise, between people who accepted them and those who did not, or whether it was a matter of the same people accepting some, but not other, introductions.

There is little datable evidence from Jerash for this period. Certainly, both the pottery and the coinage show the continuation of Nabataean cultural domination, and lack of Roman impact rather than the reverse, although apparently some sigillata was found - Kraeling attributes it to Nabataean traders;²⁷¹ an instance, therefore of the sort of inevitable Romanization which occurs later at Jerash and elsewhere, no other option existing because of an external Romanized world in which importations were already Romanized at their source. While several buildings may belong to this Period, the Temple of Dusares, the earlier Temple of Artemis and unattributed architectural members of Nabataean style found re-used in the Hadrianic Arch,²⁷² it seems more likely that they belong to the next; all that can be ascribed with certainty is the older Temple of Zeus, known from epigraphical evidence to have been under construction in the year A.D. 22/23.²⁷³ No remains of the temple itself seem to have survived; Kraeling, judging from the decoration of the temenos surrounding the later temple, takes it to be Ionic in order, which would accord with the rest of the evidence, pointing to continuity of old traditions rather than the adoption of new ones, but even this does not seem certain.²⁷⁴ On the other hand, the inscription which provides this date is a Greek dedication for the welfare of Tiberius,

CH. I: 38.
by Zabdion, a priest of the living emperor,²⁷⁵ demonstrating that the ruler cult, in its new Roman guise, had slipped easily into the religious framework of this basically Hellenistic city.

The Temple of Bel at Palmyra represents not so much a mixed reaction, as a mixture, in the special sense of the word used in this thesis, a creation in which the authors at least consciously and voluntarily selected some Roman elements and some non-Roman elements, and blended the two traditions. While it was superficially a Classical octastyle peripteral temple,²⁷⁶ it was à escaliers,²⁷⁷ with crowstep merlons,²⁷⁸ windows,²⁷⁹ attached Ionic columns at the rear of the cella²⁸⁰ and thalamoi;²⁸¹ it also marked the first known appearance of the Syrian Orthodox Corinthian in Palmyra.²⁸² The huge door lay not on the short side, but on one of the long sides, off centre from the short axis of the temple, but on the axis of the Propylaea, the axis of the sanctuary as a whole.²⁸³ The temple was surrounded by a colonnaded temenos with, as at Baalbek, a ceremonial purification basin.²⁸⁴ As at Baalbek, too, the construction continued over a period of nearly two hundred years, but if one assumes that the earlier porticoes, built towards the end of the first century, and the western portico added in the time of Hadrian, represent the original plan, then there can be little doubt that the orientation was by the long axis: on Wood's plan²⁸⁵ this complex, without the later Propylaea, is just a little longer from north to south than it is from east to west; although the temple was centrally located, and did not dominate the complex from one end, its long axis is also that of the sanctuary. This contrasts sharply with the near-contemporary sanctuary of Baalshamin at the same site, which was built according to the older principle of orientation by the diagonals, like the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Sia.²⁸⁶ Despite the absence of a barrel-vaulted cryptoporticus, it seems that the Sanctuary of Bel was intended as an imitation of the Baalbek type.

The sculpture of the Temple of Bel also shows the first signs of an influx of Classical influence (probably due to foreign workmanship), but in other respects Palmyra remained virtually unaffected by the Romanizing culture to the west in this Period, despite the fact that the Latin inscription recording the erection of statues of Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus in the Sanctuary of Bel demonstrates that effective contact had been made. The remainder of Palmyrene art, even much of the sculpture of the Bel Temple itself,²⁸⁷ continued virtually untouched until the next Period, and, even in the architectural sphere, this is the Period when the earliest datable Tower Tombs, a form deriving from further east, and decorated in the old "severe" style, were built.²⁸⁸

Little is known of the Temple of Jupiter Damascenus at Damascus.²⁸⁹ While the syncretization of the cult was probably little more than nominal, what does remain of the architecture suggests that it was a mixture, very similar to the Temple of Bel at Palmyra. Only traces of the temenos remain preserved in the extant mosque, but these traces imply a temple with 'Egyptian' mouldings and merlons; the temenos had corner towers, with stairs leading to a terrace, and it seems possible that this reflects the design of the temple, too, although it is obviously uncertain; the order was Corinthian.

An interesting response also comes from Arados.²⁹⁰ The city had occasion to honour one L. Domitius Catullus, C. fil. - Fabia tribu, so very possibly a local man - probably with the erection of a statue. The Latin inscription commences, Civitas et Bule Aradia. While this can hardly be termed a mixture, in the special sense, since there is no indication of voluntary selection of elements, it certainly seems to indicate that they were trying very, very hard to honour this Roman citizen in an appropriate manner, in Latin, without as yet the capacity to do more than literally translate standard Greek formulae where formulaic Latin failed to answer.

The imported pottery found at Antioch confirms the evidence of the architecture: in the reign of Augustus an entirely new series of shapes replaces the old Hellenistic types, though without significant variation in the body or finish, and stamped potters' names and marks include those of artificers based in the western part of the Empire.²⁹¹ These new shapes, according to Waagé, owe their inspiration to Italian types. It should be noted, however, that this is a kind of second-hand Romanization, since the pottery in question was imported from the same source as that of the Hellenistic era, and Romanized at that source, wherever it might have been,²⁹² a species of 'inevitable Romanization' caused by the Romanization of the external world. It is likely, but not absolutely certain, that it was these new shapes which constituted the pottery of Masada, already mentioned, and also the bulk of the "Herodian" Stratum V material from Tell Qasîle, near Tel Aviv,²⁹³ although given the vague description of this pottery in the publications cited, this cannot be considered beyond doubt, since a small amount of Hellenistic "sigillata", in the sense of stamped pottery with the old Hellenistic rather than the new Roman shapes²⁹⁴ is known, specifically from Qasîle. However, there was certainly imported pottery in this period at Scythopolis (Beth-Shan, Beisan): Comfort notes the appearance of the Sextus Annius signature here as well as at Samaria²⁹⁵ and also compares Tiberian

"Samian" ware from Antioch, which itself shows Italian influence, to that found at the Decapolis site.²⁹⁶

Furthermore, there is some sign of local response to these importations. Waagé mentions that one of the bowls classed as local moulded bowls at Antioch²⁹⁷ may have been manufactured locally: Brown²⁹⁸ points out that kiln stands found at Jericho were, in the West, associated with the production of Samian-sigillata pottery, though noting as an alternative explanation that what was a specialized technology in the West may have been common practice in the East; there is, in any case, no indication of the date at which this hypothetical workshop commenced operations.

The response may be meagre, but it does exist; taken with the plethora of superimpositions (even allowing certain reservations in regard to Herodian architecture), the fact that there was some second degree Romanization, even some hybrids, would seem to indicate that the process of Romanization had once again made a fresh start.

Period III: Caligula to Vitellius.²⁹⁹

This Period as a whole in a sense represents the reaction to the superimpositions of the previous Period. Essentially, therefore, it is a continuation of the previous Period, in which the trends which had their beginning at that time crystallized and became clearly visible.

Certainly there were some new superimpositions, in the special sense in which the word is used in this thesis, manifestations of Romanization which, often perhaps for no better reason than that lack of evidence regarding their authorship prevents their classification as imitative response, must be construed as designating only first degree Romanization. Furthermore, there was at least one attempted superimposition in the normal sense of the word, Caligula's bid to place his own statue in the Temple at Jerusalem.

Josephus gives an account of events in BJ II.x.1-5 and in more detail in AJ XVIII.261-309, while the general outline is confirmed by other writers, among them Tacitus.³⁰⁰ The Jews, among them clearly Josephus' pro-Roman faction, protested their loyalty to Caesar, stating that they

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sacrificed on his behalf twice daily, but were ready to die rather than witness this impiety. Touched by their sincerity, Petronius, governor of Syria, who had arrived with considerable forces to execute the order, took upon himself the responsibility of writing to dissuade Caligula; the reply condemning him to death was delayed, and arrived only after the news of Caligula's assassination. The attempt failed, and is therefore less relevant to the present discussion than it is to the consideration of policies of Romanization on the part of Caligula; more pertinent is the reappearance of Josephus' loyalist faction, among them Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa, Helcias the Elder, a prominent member of the family, "together with the civic leaders" who make representations to Petronius,³⁰¹ and the fact that Petronius' troops included Syrian auxiliaries.³⁰²

It may, however, have had an interesting sequel: in the reign of Claudius "certain young men of Dora" set up an image of the emperor in the synagogue there; Agrippa I protested to the governor of Syria, the selfsame Publius Petronius, who naturally took a very severe stand on the matter.³⁰³ In the context of the times it seems more likely to have been a calculated piece of anti-Jewish provocation than prompted by an access of devotion to Caesar.

Otherwise, the projects initiated in the previous Period continued. The Heliopolitanum at Baalbek was still under construction, and an inscription from Zebedâmi, cut into the rock beside the road to Baalbek, NERO AVG CAESAR IMP, enclosed in a cartouche,³⁰⁴ may perhaps indicate that the roads in the area were being constructed or repaired as an adjunct to the construction of the colony.

The Herodian rulers, too, continued in the same fashion as their predecessors. As pointed out above, Agrippa I employed part of the work-force thrown idle by the progressive completion of the Temple complex at Jerusalem on his own projects, principally the Third Wall, which, as Hennessy suggests,³⁰⁵ very likely included a triple-arched gate, the predecessor of the Damascus Gate. Another building at Jerusalem which belongs to this Period is the "Peristyle Building" mentioned by Kenyon,³⁰⁶ although whether or not it should be ascribed to Agrippa does not seem certain. However, it was certainly Agrippa who continued the work of his predecessors in the settlement and agricultural development of Trachonitis in the Trans-jordan. Rostovtzeff³⁰⁷ cites an edict of his found at Canatha. Furthermore, he too showed special favour to the Roman colony of Berytus, giving it a theatre, an amphitheatre, baths, porticoes (στοάς), inaugurating his gifts

with lavish spectacles, musical performances in the theatre and combats between seven hundred fighters, in this case criminals, in the amphitheatre (AJ XIX.335-7). His son, Agrippa II, continued the family interest in Berytus, presenting it with another costly theatre, distributing oil and grain to the populace, and adorning it with statues, stripping his own kingdom of ornament for the purpose, in addition to enlarging Caesarea Philippi (Paneion) and renaming it Neronias (AJ XX.211-212). Either Agrippa I or, more probably, Agrippa II was also "patron" of the other Roman colony, Baalbek.³⁰⁸

The coinage of Agrippa I³⁰⁹ also shows further Romanization over that of his predecessors in the kingdom of Judaea itself, in that it bears effigies of humans, the reigning emperor (with his titles as the legend), Agrippa himself, and his heir apparent the later Agrippa II. Agrippa II appears on horseback, Agrippa I as a portrait bust on earlier coins, though he is shown driving a quadriga on AncJewCoins No.64, and Caligula is similarly depicted on No. 65.³¹⁰ There are also representations which are personifications, if not Classical deities, specifically, according to Reifenberg, of Victory.³¹¹

He seems to have used his coins like Roman coins, as propaganda to stress the significance of various acts and events. AncJewCoins Nos.60 and 61 show, on the reverse, a temple with a pediment and two columns, and the figure of a cowering, naked man between; another male figure, cuirassed, is shown standing left, while a female figure, possibly Victory, right, crowns the naked man. Reifenberg sees this as a reference to the incident of the golden chain: Agrippa, imprisoned by Tiberius for imprudently expressing the desire that Caligula would soon succeed, was released by Caligula, and given a tetrarchy and a golden chain equal in weight to the iron chain he wore as a captive; he dedicated first the original chain, then later the golden one, in the Temple at Jerusalem (cf. AJ XVIII.168-9, 182-204, 237, XIX.294). The naked man should represent Agrippa, being crowned in the presence of the emperor. This may be so, although the date of the earliest of these coins is 43/4 A.D., some seven years after his accession.³¹²

Unfortunately it is not certain whether the temple is meant to represent that at Jerusalem, a building at Rome, or perhaps an imperial temple which Agrippa himself built to commemorate the event somewhere in his kingdom. Reifenberg also describes a propagandist significance in some of the other coins, seeing the female figure holding the rudder and palm branch of his

Nos.60a and 62 as an allusion to the games at Caesarea, and citing Kirshner's suggestion that the design on one of the coins represents an anchor, a reference to maritime events during the king's reign.³¹³

As mentioned previously,³¹⁴ Herod I used the cognomen, or perhaps title, of Philokaisar on an official stone weight, and this reappears on the coins of Agrippa I, first occurring on a coin dated A.D. 43/4.³¹⁵ A similar title, Philoklaudius, appears on coins of Herod of Chalcis dating from A.D. 43.³¹⁶ It is possible to see this, too, as a commemoration of a significant event, rather than a sycophancy competition between the two brothers, since Claudius had raised Agrippa to the rank of consul, at the same time raising Herod to the rank of praetor;³¹⁷ as it is also stated that they were permitted to enter the Senate and express their thanks to him in Greek, these were presumably purely honorary titles, a matter of the regalia, as otherwise there could hardly have been any question of their right to enter the Senate.

Reifenberg asserts that these Romanizing coins, struck at Caesarea, were circulated only in the non-Jewish part of Agrippa's realm, with a separate series bearing inoffensive motifs struck for Judaea proper. It should perhaps be pointed out that of the coins he lists, only his No.59, with a fringed umbrella on the obverse and three ears of barley on the reverse, could belong to the hypothetical Jewish series.

The same problem did not face Herod of Chalcis, and his coins,³¹⁸ like those of his brother, are virtually Roman coins with Greek legends, now thoroughly divorced from the old Maccabaeian coinage, though perhaps more independent in spirit, in that they bear only his own portrait, with the legend, and a legend within a wreath on the reverse. However, the reverse legend gives the name and titles of Claudius, and as noted above Herod himself uses the title Philoklaudius. The coins of Aristobulus,³¹⁹ who ultimately succeeded to his kingdom after it had first been granted to Agrippa II, follow the same pattern, with a portrait of Aristobulus on the obverse together with the legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ (with variants, in one case ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ) and the imperial legend, enclosed in a wreath, on the reverse, though in the case of Reifenberg's No.71, this is replaced by the bust and name of his wife, Salome.

The reign of Agrippa II, like that of Aristobulus of Chalcis, overlapped this Period and the next, but in this case the bulk of the known

coins³²⁰ probably date from the later time. He was initially given the tetrarchy of Chalcis, but later exchanged it for the domain of Philip, to which, under Nero, parts of Galilee and Peraea were added.³²¹ By comparison with some of his later coins, which are entirely Roman in conception, motif and design, even to the occasional inclusion of Latin legends,³²² these coins seem restrained. He revives the double cornucopiae motif, as well as the ears (? of wheat) and poppy,³²³ but nevertheless all the coins belonging to this Period, including, presumably, those circulated in Galilee, have representations of human figures or personifications, Agrippa himself on Reifenberg's Nos.74 and 75, a city goddess on No.76, and Nero on Nos. 76, 77 and 78.³²⁴

These coins, between them, would have reached most of the southern part of the area under study, particularly when one adds the "Procuratorial" coins and the Hellenizing shekels from Tyre known from both textual evidence and actual finds to have been in use in Palestine.³²⁵ Those of Agrippa I have been found as far south as Qumran.³²⁶ Furthermore, the provincial issues of Antioch also penetrated to this area: reference has already been made to the coin incident in Matthew 22.15-22: the coin in question, with the superscription and portrait of Caesar, most likely came from Antioch. In this Period there is the evidence of Josephus, who states in BJ V.xiii.4 that during the siege at Jerusalem, gold was so abundant that they could purchase for twelve Attic drachmae what had previously been worth twenty-five - Thackeray supplies "coin" as the subject of the purchase.

Josephus' actual words, καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει χρυσοῦ ὥδεκα γοῦν Ἀττικῶν ὠνοῦντο πρότερον ἰσχύοντας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν,³²⁷ do not indicate that real currency exchanges, rather than abstract values, are meant; indeed, χρυσοῦ, in the singular, tends in the other direction. However, the observation is prompted by one of Josephus' (frequent) unpleasant anecdotes, in the same paragraph, the story of Jewish deserters swallowing gold and later recovering it from their excrement, specifically referring to a particular deserter found in the Syrian ranks picking χρυσοῦς from his faeces. Thackeray again supplies "coins", and because of the plural at least "gold pieces" must be meant; "gold coins" seems the most suitable construction. It seems likely that Josephus did have actual gold coins in mind throughout the paragraph - aurei, since there would have been no available Greek gold at the time. Antioch may have struck aurei in this Period.³²⁸ To the best of my knowledge it was the only mint in the region which did. It seems

therefore that the southern part of the area relied upon the coinage of Antioch for those denominations not struck by the smaller mints, Tyre, Caesarea, Tiberias and possibly others.

Josephus' pro-Roman Jewish faction also continues to be prominent during the whole Period,³²⁹ not only in Jerusalem itself, but also in the other towns such as Gischala, Tiberias and Tarichaeae.³³⁰ That the pro-Roman party was the "establishment", the priestly classes and the Herodians and their dependents, is confirmed throughout, not least by the fact that the leader of the faction at Tiberias was Herod, son of Gamalus.³³¹ It is noteworthy, however, that apart from the incident of Caligula's statue, the occasion of their appearance, if not that of a Roman army, is activity on the part of the revolutionary faction.

The various towns of the whole area still preserved a mixture of old and new elements, but the spread of the new continued.

At Antioch, the new pottery shapes continued. There is also the doubtful evidence of Malalas³³⁷ to the effect that in the reign of Claudius (or Nero, since the preceding passage is taken from Josephus, regarding the beginning of the Revolt), the Syrians of Antioch requested that five plays be celebrated yearly, with children's dolls, with climbing pillars, wrestling, horse races and fighting, and in other years singing. The pillar-climbing seems reminiscent of the pillar-climbing ceremony at Hierapolis-Bambyce described by Lucian (De Dea Syria, 28-9); the "fighting", however, should be gladiatorial contests, since wrestling has already been specified.³³³ The colonnaded street was also rebuilt after earthquake damage.³³⁴

At Palmyra the construction of the Sanctuary of Bel continued, as did that of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin,³³⁵ with the addition of the porticoes of the central courtyard in A.D.67, and the modification of the southern part of the sanctuary, the south court and the temple court, at some time prior to this. It is interesting that Yarhai, son of Lishamsh, the father of Malé Agrippa who later played an important role in the introduction of Romanizing architectural forms in the same sanctuary, appears as the dedicant of part of portico C4; however, the capitals belong to the épannelés group, orthodox save that their acanthus leaves are left smooth, a group which Schlumberger and Collart consider represent a transition between Heterodox and Orthodox Corinthians. The Temple of Nabô may also have been commenced

towards the end of this Period; it seems almost entirely a combination of older forms. A escaliers, with a typically south-Syrian box-like great altar in front, the temple itself had a rectangular cella and was placed on a high podium with a flight of steps, flanked by buttresses, leading up to it.³³⁶ Bounni notes that the god to whom it was dedicated was the famous Babylonian divinity Bel-Marduk, whose name occurs frequently in Palmyrene theophors. This complex was one of the most conservative structures in Palmyra, adding, in the second century, a trapezoidal temenos, Doric in order. The original capitals of the temple were, like contemporary capitals in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, chapiteaux épannelés.³³⁷

While not all of the introductions of the Temple of Bel took immediate hold, it is at this time that the sculpture generally first begins to show the influence of the West.³⁸⁸ This new influence appears in the major architectural sculptures of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, the Lintel of the Eagles and the Arch of the Victories,³³⁹ as well as some of the fragments from the Temple of Nabô.³⁴⁰ Collart stresses the coexistence of the two styles, one deriving from the old Mesopotamian Graeco-Iranian milieu, the other from Rome and Hellenized Syria, citing as evidence of western influence, in the case of the Lintel of the Eagles, the "naturalistic" treatment of the two lateral eagles in comparison to the older "hieratic" treatment of the large central eagle with outspread wings, and the similarly "naturalistic" treatment of the busts of the deities; in the fragments from the Nabô sanctuary he points to the replacement of the radial discs in the field with aster flowers and the use of the egg-and-dart on one, and the contrasting rendition of the eagles on another. For the Arch of the Victories, he points to the mouldings of the archivolt and again to the contrast in treatment between the two victories in the spandrels. In regard to what is depicted, Colledge points to the introduction of the tabula ansata surrounding inscriptions, and more importantly to a modification in male hairstyle to a closer cut built up from striated tufts or 'snail curls', popular in the Roman east but not in Parthia. In regard to the manner of rendition (as opposed strictly to style), he notes the introduction of the deep fold between the legs in the drapery of women and children, which he considers a product of 'Asiatic' late Hellenistic Classicism. Most significantly, he notes the introduction of a new form, the funerary bust, which he unequivocally derives from the Roman world, although, perhaps surprisingly, the closest parallels for detail come from the Rhine. It seems that, as with the form of cyma reversa in the temple, the proximate source of the introductions was frequently not Rome itself, but other parts of the Roman empire, where the fusion of Roman and had already begun to take place.³⁴¹

There is also the more doubtful possibility of Roman influence on the burial customs of Palmyra at this time. The old Grabanlage continued to be used in the first half of the century, and one of the latest graves, Grave II, contained a cremation burial.³⁴² Cremation is very rare in Palmyra: the general beliefs about the afterlife, like those of the Egyptians, required the survival of the body, so that this is the last sort of Romanizing to be expected. In the case of another example from Palmyra, in the second century Hypogeum of Yarhaï, Amy and Seyrig³⁴³ suggest that it was the burial of a Roman legionary who died at Palmyra. This is impossible in the case of the Grabanlage example, since it was the burial of a child; however, the possibility that it was the child of a visiting Roman cannot be ruled out. It is also possible that cremation may have been confined to children; the pathologist's report on the remains in the Hypogeum of Yarhaï did no more than establish that they were human. A third possibility is that these rare cremations represent instances of death by misadventure, where the body was in such a state as to preclude any other form of disposal.

There is little evidence from Samaria which can be dated to the Period with certainty, but that evidence which seems most likely to belong to this time is highly significant. It seems possible that the walls found in the area of the Eastern Insulae belong to this Period, if they do not represent an abortive reconstruction after the Revolt; the remains³⁴⁴ consist of foundation walls composed of drafted "Herodian" masonry, which, Kenyon points out, was not normally used for this purpose in its own time; she suggests it represents re-use. The walls should therefore be later than Herod's rebuilding at the earliest. On the other hand they were destroyed by the buildings of the late second-early third century building phase. As adumbrated above, the substructure of Herod's temple court had barrel-vaults cut into it at some time after its first construction, Kenyon suggests, to bring the complex into line with Jerusalem and Baalbek.³⁴⁵ However, the date of this modification could be as early as the later part of the reign of Herod I, inspired by the complexes mentioned, or it may, as Crowfoot suggests,³⁴⁶ again belong to the reconstruction after the destruction at the beginning of the First Revolt.

It is certain, however, that the Syrian Orthodox capital reached Samaria in this Period, if it had not done so before. A battered capital found by the Harvard expedition in the vicinity of the basilica was placed by in the basilica by them, and later published by the Joint Expedition.³⁴⁷ Crowfoot compares one detail to that on the capitals of the Temple of Bel; its mid century date seems assured by its general appearance. It, in turn, seems to imply the existence of a substantial building constructed after Herod's

rebuilding; as pointed out above, it seems virtually certain that Herod used Heterodox Corinthians in his temple. Crowfoot³⁴⁸ suggests that it may have come from a building which lies under the basilica, assumed by the Harvard Expedition, who excavated it, to be pre-Herodian, as they erroneously thought the basilica itself to be the work of Herod. This building, of which little is known, is orientated parallel to the axis of the forum, unlike the later basilica, which lies at right angles to it. It may, as the Harvard excavators and Crowfoot suggest, have been a temple, or it may, as the latter half implies, have been an earlier basilica.

Jerash, like Palmyra, displays a motley collection of old and new elements. It is to roughly this Period that Kraeling assigns the new city plan.³⁴⁹ It should be pointed out, however, that his terminus ante quem, the construction of the Northwest Gate, now confirmed as A.D. 75/6³⁵⁰ is precisely what he says, "the upper limit for the date of the adoption by Gerasa of its new plan". It is not the terminus ante quem for the construction; particularly in Jerash, which boasts a gate, the so-called "Triumphal Arch" of Hadrian³⁵¹ which is still waiting for a wall to incorporate it, let alone streets and buildings of the new quarter to which it gave access, there is no way of telling whether the actual construction, as opposed to the determination of the lines of the streets, took place before or after the building of the gate. Kraeling's chronology is a plausible working hypothesis, given that the second century building phase must be taken into account, and no more than that.

The new city plan, with its axial cardo crossed at right angles by the decumani, represented, as Kraeling says, the typical Roman adaptation of the Hippodamian city plan found elsewhere in the East. Furthermore, the streets were colonnaded. However, the order was Ionic, like that of the temenos of the Temple of Zeus discussed under the previous Period.

Then, too, the Nabataean influence persisted throughout the Period. Of the fifty-one coins found belonging to the period between Ptolemy III and Trajan, twenty-four were Nabataean, twenty-one of them dating to the reign of Aretas IV (9 B.C.-A.D. 40) which overlaps the beginning of the Period, while three belong to the next Period, to Rabbel II (A.D. 71-106).³⁵² An inscription assigned to the reign of Rabbel II,³⁵³ seems to imply the existence of a Nabataean version of the ruler cult, perhaps the reason why the imperial cult found such fertile ground in Jerash - it records the erection of a statue of Aretas, "for the life of our Lord Rabbel the king."

Less inferential in its implication for this Period is the architectural and religious evidence proper. Architectural fragments in the

Nabataean style, including capitals, were found built into the Hadrianic arch.³⁵⁴ The existence of a temple to the 'Arabian God' in this Period is attested by an inscription from the andron of Sarapion (Inscr.49) dated 67/8 A.D., and by another inscription (No.17) on two architrave blocks, also dated to the beginning of the next Period: its construction should belong to this Period. Second century dedications from the vicinity of the later Cathedral and Fountain Court imply that the ruins found below the Cathedral belong to the temple in question, and also suggest, insofar as Pakidas (identified with Zeus Chronos) and his consort (identified with Hera) were the parents of the 'Arabian God', that this deity was Dusares-Dionysos. Older elements incorporated in the Christian Fountain Court suggest that this temple, too, was Ionic.³⁵⁵ Ward-Perkins³⁵⁶ compares the T-shaped plan of the remains recovered from this site to the plan of temples at Hatra and Dura, the later temple at es-Sanamen and the Qasr Fira'un at Petra, all survivals, in this respect, from a pre-Roman tradition. The andron of Sarapion itself seems likely to represent a survival, not the andron of a Greek house or Roman baths but rather a building for banquets held by religious associations, like those found in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra.³⁵⁷

The Corinthian order did appear, but it was a matter of Heterodox Corinthians. A capital dating from somewhere near the middle of the century was re-used in SS. Peter and Paul.³⁵⁸ This is tentatively assigned to the earlier Temple of Artemis, which also lay in this area; obviously the attribution of the two orders to the Temple of Dusares and that of Artemis are only provisional, and may in fact have been reversed, although the fact that the temple to the Nabataean deity followed the old plan, and the Ionic order was used by the Graeco-Iranian milieu suggests that they are correctly matched. The capital in question seems to be under the influence of the Orthodox form, bearing a general resemblance to Type 1 capitals from the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek in the treatment of the stem of the calyx and the manner in which the drill is used in the acanthus of the lower two rows,³⁵⁹ but the medial helices have been replaced by a bust, partially effaced, but apparently that of a man or god in Greek dress.

On the other hand there is somewhat questionable evidence of the continuation of the imperial cult. The inscription from the andron of Sarapion, cited above, is a dedication ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν (sic) σωτηρ[ε]ας³⁶⁰ by Sarapion, son of De(metrios), and Welles supplies ἱερώμενος Νέπωρος to fill a hiatus, the main reason being that a grandson of Sarapion

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was a priest of the emperor in the second century.

There is also evidence from further to the south, in what is called a "Roman Family Vault" on Jebel Jofeh, near Amman.³⁶¹ This appellation is not explained. Certainly it is a family vault, as the child burials indicate, but there is little specifically Roman about it, other than its date. Several iron rings are listed among the finds, but whether they are large enough for thumb-rings, citizens' rings, does not seem clear. The tomb itself is unexceptional, one of the rock-cut chamber tombs, with sarcophagi and loculi, found all over the area; the finds are neither particularly Roman nor particularly un-Roman. If it is significant of anything, it seems to be the "middle ground" between Roman and Syrian. The earliest datable coin listed is one of Agrippa I found in loculus AF.³⁶² Elsewhere there is also evidence of the persistence of forms common to both Greek and Roman. At Damascus there was a gymnasium in existence at the beginning of the First Revolt (BJ II.xx.2) and at Tarichaeae there was a hippodrome (BJ II.xxi.3).

There is one other site, however, that shows the impact of Rome in the purest sense, a priori one of the least likely, the Essene 'monastery' at Qumrân. Here virtually every detail of daily life was fixed, impervious to outside influence, by ancient ritual laws, even to the manner in which textiles should be combined in weaving.³⁶³ Yet Milik³⁶⁴ points out that the battle plans drawn up for the Messianic war in the manuscripts of the sect found at Qumrân rely heavily on sources which must ultimately derive from Roman military treatises.

It is only the context which is surprising. Milik, following Yadin, suggests that the intermediate source was a manual used by Herod I for the organization of his army, and indeed, as Perowne³⁶⁵ points out, there is much about Herod's army which does betray the influence of Roman models, while Josephus explicitly states that he himself remodelled his own army in Galilee on Roman lines, increasing the various officers to correspond to the ratio in the Roman army, instituting the Roman system of ranking, teaching them transmission of signals, trumpet calls, and the various manoeuvres and principles used by the Romans (BJ II.xx.7). Indeed Josephus' whole thinking is permeated by Roman methods, even to the point where, in the Antiquities, he introduces what appear to be Roman anachronisms in his elaboration of Biblical accounts of various campaigns and battles.³⁶⁶

However, the influence of the military, rather than military influence, is obviously of the utmost importance where the process of Romanization is concerned, since soldiers are one of the most obvious means of transmission for the new types and forms.³⁶⁸ This mechanism requires contact between the Roman soldiers and the civilian population, and there is evidence of precisely that, the evidence dating from the following Period but referring back to this.

In the speech in favour of Vespasian's elevation which Tacitus imputes to Mucianus at Antioch (Hist. II.lxxx), his most cogent argument is the assertion that Vitellius intended to interchange the German and Syrian legions, which angered soldiers and civilians alike, quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitibus mixti, et militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria castra in modum penatium diligeantur.³⁶⁹ It is possible that this is no more than a charitable variant on the traditional charge laid against the Syrian army, that they had "gone native", but Tacitus provides other evidence which supports this picture.

When Antoninus Primus exhorts his troops at Cremona (Hist. III.xxiv), undique clamor, et orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani (Leg. III Gallica) salutavere. This gives rise to the belief among Vitellius' forces (possibly deliberately fostered) that Mucianus had arrived with the Syrian army (Hist. III.xxv). It seems that the Syrian army had developed a recognisable sub-culture of its own; the most likely explanation for this sub-culture is an interaction between soldiers and civilians, in which the Roman soldiers adopted Syrian practices, and, in all likelihood, exerted a reciprocal influence on the civilian population.

Furthermore, there is, if not corroborative evidence, then certainly a consistent hypothesis which can be deduced from other evidence provided by Tacitus, and by Suetonius. Leg. III Gall. had been transferred from Syria to Moesia by Nero in 68, and it was this legion which swung the Moesian army in favour of Vespasian.³⁷⁰ In such cases it is always advisable to look for an additional, if not ulterior, motive for the protagonists, and such a motive is not hard to supply for Leg. III Gall. Given the incident

at Cremona, it seems likely that Tacitus' comments in regard to the troops at Antioch should also apply to the Third; they too had assimilated with the Syrian population. It is very probable that they resented their transfer as much as the troops at Antioch resented a threatened transfer; they wanted to go "home". They received their reward in A.D. 70, when Vespasian returned the unit to Syria, where it remained as the Syrian legion par excellence until it was cashiered in the reign of Elagabalus, to be reformed later and serve in Syria Euphratensis.³⁷¹

There is also some possible evidence of the corollary, Syrians recruited into the regular army, in that IGLS VI No.2781 records what is presumably a statue erected for L. Antonius Naso, M. fil., a highly distinguished soldier who served as a centurion in several legions, earning numerous decorations, became a tribune of the Tenth Praetorian Cohort, returned to the line as primipilus of Leg. XIV Gemina for the second time, and then became tribune of the First Praetorian cohort and commander of the veterans of several armies stationed at Rome. His tribe is given as the Fabia. Given the time and place, however, it seems likely that he was a descendant of the Italian colonists at either Berytus or Baalbek itself.³⁷² There is plentiful evidence of Syrians employed as auxiliaries, for example the troops, initially Herodian veterans stationed at Samaria and Caesarea, whom Claudius decided to move from there to Pontus as punishment for the behaviour of the two towns on the death of Agrippa I, but allowed to remain at their old station after the troops sent a delegation to him (AJ XIX.365-6); the governor Cumanus used these troops to quell Jewish reprisals against the Samaritans, at the same time arming the Samaritans themselves, and nearly provoked a rebellion of the Jews thereby (AJ XX.122). In BJ II.xiii.7 Josephus expressly states that those stationed at Caesarea were levied by the Romans mainly from Syria.

This in fact reflects the general situation in respect to Syrians endeavouring to make Roman careers in the Roman Empire. With rare exceptions, they were still confined to the lower social echelons.

To be sure Herod Agrippa and Herod of Chalcis nominally became high ranking senators, but it is an open question whether the Herodian family should not be regarded as Romans rather than Syrians. As pointed out previously, Herod I was a second generation Roman, and he sent several of his sons to Rome for education, of those who survived him certainly Herod

Antipas and Archelaus and probably also Herod Philip;³⁷³ Herod Agrippa I was brought up with Claudius and the other younger members of the Julio-Claudian family³⁷⁴ and it seems reasonable to suppose similar training for his brother Herod of Chalcis. There is no doubt that Herod himself was a personal friend of Mark Antony, Augustus and Agrippa, and his sister Salome was a friend of Livia,³⁷⁵ while his daughter-in-law Berenice, mother of Agrippa I, was a close friend of Antonia, mother of Germanicus and Claudius.³⁷⁶ and Agrippa I himself played a part in the confirmation of the elevation of Claudius.³⁷⁷ His son, Agrippa II, was brought up at the court of Claudius (AJ XIX.360, XX.12). Furthermore, the coins of Herod's descendants suggest that while they may have taken care not to offend Jewish sensibilities by circulating issues with representations of humans or pagan divinities in predominantly Jewish areas, they themselves had no such sensibilities to offend.

Apart from the dynasts, the Syrians of whom we hear are of the ilk of those of the previous Period. L. Vitellius, father of the emperor, who received general command of the East in the reign of Tiberius, brought back a troupe of Syrian actors when he returned to Rome; there are more rhetoricians and mathematicians who may belong to this period, Nicomachus of Gerasa, an arithmetician and Neopythagorean who wrote somewhere between A.D. 50 and 150,³⁷⁸ Marcus Valerius Probus of Berytus,³⁷⁹ whom Suetonius places next after Q. Remnius Palaemon, a contemporary of Tiberius and Claudius, and, more certainly and less reputably, P. Egnatius Celer of Berytus,³⁸⁰ a philosopher who, for a suitable consideration, gave false evidence against Soranus under Nero.

Certainly a new degree of tolerance for eastern cults is attested: Claudius admitted a modified version of the cult of Attis, shorn of its eunuch priests, to the Roman calendar,³⁸¹ although Judaism and Christianity were still frowned upon in Rome because of the civil disturbances which the internal disagreements provoked;³⁸² Nero himself was at one time a devotee of the "Syrian Goddess" (although he later despised the cult)³⁸³ and somewhere near the middle of the century a sanctuary of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Helio-politanus and the Syrian Gods was built on the Janiculum.³⁸⁴ It is however doubtful whether the patronage of Nero would have enhanced the respectability of the cult in Roman eyes, and the literary evidence suggests that the Roman idea of a Syrian was still some degenerate knave of base origin. In the Satyricon it is two Syrians who come in at the end of Quartilla's party, to rob the guests while they lie in a drunken stupor. These two characters

CH.I: 54.
from low comedy are not even capable of enough self-control to do the dirty deed efficiently: they start to squabble noisily over the spoils and rouse one of the maids; they escape, however, by typical Syrian guile, dropping down on one of the couches and pretending to be drunken guests. The stereotype remained in force. It seems that the difficulties which would have faced any Syrian hoping for a career in the politics of the Empire were no less than in the previous Periods.

In the province itself, however, the process of Romanization seemed to be advancing smoothly, if slowly. The area was fully covered by Roman, or Romanizing coinage, provincial, Herodian and "Procuratorial". The imported pottery, Romanized willy-nilly since it was already Romanized at its point of origin, seems to have been spreading. The new architectural types and the concomitant institutions such as gladiatorial combats seem to have taken hold in the places in which they were first superimposed and some were gradually being disseminated to other towns. The wilder parts of the area were being settled, and their inhabitants encouraged to take up a way of life acceptable to the Romans.

While no serious attempt was made to induce the inhabitants of the area to speak Latin, a concerted effort seems to have been made by the Herodians to persuade the populations of their various realms to speak Greek, an effort which, because of the methods employed such as its use on an official standard weight which had to be read, and on coinage which, as pointed out above, had to be used by virtually everyone, was bound to bear fruit if it was continued. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that it did have some effect, although, as usual, it is clouded by uncertainty as to the extent to which Greek was already spoken in the area before the advent of the Romans: during the siege of Jerusalem, Titus was addressed by one of the rebels who bore, like many of his comrades, a Greek name, Kastor (BJ V.vii.4); since Josephus gives the man's name, and other details, there is no reason to suspect that the incident is purely a matter of Josephan embroidery. As Titus could hardly be expected to speak Aramaic, the implication is that Kastor used either Greek or Latin.

The old ways did not die out, and the new spread slowly. Some places, such as parochial little Jerash, had not yet felt the full impact, but the evidence from Qumrân, numismatic and textual, suggests that there would, by the same token, have been very few places which were not touched in

some way. The process of Romanization seemed to have made yet another promising start.

But in A.D. 66, Judaea revolted. Nothing could have been more inevitable, or more thoroughly foreshadowed, in the limited context of the history of Judaea itself; nothing could have been more unexpected in the context of the area as a whole, the context in which the government of Rome would have seen Judaea.

After a long series of provocations and confrontations the occasion of the actual Revolt itself was the objection by one section of the community to the practice of accepting the sacrifices of aliens at the Temple, and as a consequence, the practice of offering sacrifices on behalf of the nation and the emperor (BJ II.xvii.2ff.). Josephus opines that this was no more than a pretext and indeed it is true that this one incident can hardly be considered the sole cause of the Revolt, which was the cumulative result of unrest dating back to the time of Herod I. However, in the majority of cases, the cause of the disturbance was similarly a matter of cultural superimpositions, specifically those which conflicted with the interpretation of religious law by the stricter members of the community.³⁸⁵ There is no doubt that the Revolt was a nationalistic revolt in the fullest sense, one which sprang from the general populace despite the claims of Josephus, and fundamentally as much a rejection of Graeco-Roman culture as of Roman political suzerainty. This is confirmed by the evidence from Masada. So far from taking over the luxurious Herodian appurtenances, the Zealots who occupied the fortress proceeded to live an austere life in makeshift quarters in the casemates of the defensive wall and rough huts hurriedly constructed elsewhere on the site. Virtually the only buildings put to their former use were the religious structures, the ritual baths and perhaps the synagogue.³⁸⁶

Yet there is evidence even from the Zealots that Romanization had occurred, in their coins. Now that the spectre of the coinage of Simon Maccabee has been dispelled³⁸⁷ their ancestry can be determined with a greater degree of confidence. There is a return to simple motifs,³⁸⁸ many with obvious religious associations such as the ethrog, lulab and chalice, but others not overtly so, the basket of fruit, the palm tree, the stem with three pomegranates, the vine branch with leaf and tendril, the amphora and the palm branch. Reifenberg³⁸⁹ points out that in certain ways the coins seek pre-Roman models: the pomegranates, the covered chalice and the cup

all have symbolic religious significance, the "cup of salvation" also occurring on the lintel of a Jewish house at Nave; though he can cite no textual evidence as to the significance of the amphora, it, too, is a specifically Jewish motif, as it has been noted on a Jewish ossuary from Jerusalem; the weight approximates the Tyrian standard, and Phoenician money is stipulated for the payment of the Temple dues and for the five shekel redemption of the firstborn. On the other hand, he says of the slightly doubtful quarter shekel, his No. 146 with three ears of barley on the obverse and a wreath containing the legend on the reverse (Meshorer's No. 160), "it clearly shows the influence of the Herodian and Procuratorial coins."

An examination of the other motifs in any case bears this out. The ethrog, lulab, covered chalice and basket of fruit all seem to be unprecedented on coins. However, the palm tree, which appears between two baskets of fruit on Meshorer's No.161 (dated A.D. 69), does not appear on Maccabaeen coinage; however, a palm tree appears alone on a coin of Herod Antipas (AncJewCoins No.50, Meshorer op. cit., No.74) with two pendant bunches of dates, and, in a rendition similar to that of the First Revolt coin, on "Procuratorial" issues under Augustus³⁹⁰ and Claudius.³⁹¹

The other motifs are consonant with this derivation: the stem with three pomegranates has no exact parallel known to me, but the nearest approach is a stem with a pomegranate and a leaf on either side, found on a coin of Herod I.³⁹² A single ear of barley occurs between the horns of a double cornucopia on a coin of Antigonus Mattathias³⁹³ and a single ear of barley appears alone on a "Procuratorial" coin minted under Augustus,³⁹⁴ but the best parallels for three ears of barley are to be found on coins of Agrippa I³⁹⁵ and a "Procuratorial" coin issued under Tiberius.³⁹⁶ The vine branch with leaf and tendril has no exact parallel, but again the nearest approach is on coins of the Roman period, two issued by the governor Valerius Gratus, one of which has a vine branch with leaf, tendril and a small bunch of grapes on the obverse, the second a vine branch with two leaves and a tendril.³⁹⁷ There can be little doubt that the Revolt coinage was rooted in that of the Herodians and the "Procurators."

More certain, and of greater significance, is the function of these Revolt coins. With legends such as, "For the Redemption of Zion", "Jerusalem the Holy", "Shekel of Israel" and "Deliverance of Zion"³⁹⁸ it is clear that these coins were used in a very Roman way, as an organ of

propaganda, something which is true, to a lesser extent, of the Herodian coins. Nor can it be argued that the Revolt coins only coincidentally performed this function: Reifenberg points out that one of the coins, his No. 147a, is an overstruck coin of Agrippa I. Had they merely needed the money, that coin could have been used without modification. It seems that the revolutionaries regarded both the right to strike coins, which they assumed, and the use of coins, in a very Roman fashion, adopting not only the forms, but the idea which lay behind them.³⁹⁹

The revolutionaries abominated Rome and Roman culture, yet in this respect they were Romanized. Furthermore, it is a matter of third degree Romanization, the creation of a hybrid type from Roman, Romanizing, and non-Roman elements. It is difficult to think of a clearer illustration of the true nature of the Romanization phenomenon, a form of acculturation, a pervasive, well-nigh inevitable process which had very little to do with sycophantic political obeisance; that was merely one limited facet of the whole. It is important whether they say, "Hail Caesar" or "To Hell with Caesar", but it is far more important how they do it.

Yet even while the First Revolt provided frappant proof of the cumulative effect of the preceding Periods, at the same time it also partially nullified that effect. So much of what had occurred before was due to Herod and his descendants, and so much of their activity had been concentrated in the area affected by the Revolt, that it could hardly be otherwise. The exceptions tended to be places like the Roman colony of Berytus, where their superimpositions constituted the reinforcement of existing Romanization rather than the institution of Romanization in previously untouched areas. In the southern part of the area, the Revolt not only erased the effect of the previous Periods, sweeping away the Jewish population, revolutionaries and pro-Romans alike, but also destroyed the models which might have reproduced that effect; Samaria seems to have been utterly devastated and recovered properly only at the end of the following century (see below). So many of the things done by the Herodians, which were coincidentally or otherwise conducive to Romanization, measures aimed primarily at securing the peace and prosperity of the area, had to be done again by the Romans in the following Period that it can hardly be doubted that this was the general picture.

To be sure, the obliteration was not complete. A great deal of the area, the province of Syria proper, was untouched by the destructive effects

of the Revolt. Even in the southern region, the devastation was only partial - for example, Kraeling notes that despite the testimony of Josephus, Jerash remained effectively untouched.⁴⁰⁰ - and the Jewish population had recovered enough by the reign of Hadrian to mount a second Revolt.

Moreover, in some ways the Revolt in fact aided the process of Romanization: firstly by clearing away the older Herodian forms which derived virtually unchanged from the pre-Roman period to make way for the new forms which would be introduced in the process of reconstruction in the following period; secondly, in that it drew the attention of the central Roman government to the area, and that attention was itself a prerequisite for the imposition of new forms; thirdly, in that the Revolt brought together not only Romans and Syrians, but also Syrians from the various local sub-cultures which still existed as distinct enclaves within the area. Josephus⁴⁰¹ lists among the troops assembled by Titus for the assault on Jerusalem troops from Caesarea and Sebaste and auxiliaries sent by Antiochus IV of Commagene, Soemus, king of Emesa, Agrippa II and "the Arab Malchus". Kraeling⁴⁰² points out that it is likely that recruits from Jerash also took part in the campaign: the following Period sees the emergence of the first of the Flavii Flacci the prominent Romanized and Romanizing family of Jerash, and as Jones suggests, it is likely that the first member of the family to be enfranchised received his cognomen from S. Vettulenus Cerealis, the commander of the Fifth legion during the Revolt, for services during the campaign. When one adds the Syrian legions, the Fifth and Tenth⁴⁰³ as well, in all probability, as at least part of the Third Gallica,⁴⁰⁴ the Twelfth⁴⁰⁵ and quite possibly the Fourth and Sixth, known to have been stationed in Syria at the time⁴⁰⁶ (legions which, as pointed out above, had become assimilated with the local civilian populations in the area where they were stationed) as well as the Fifteenth Apollinaris and some of the Twenty-Second and Third Cyrenaica from Alexandria,⁴⁰⁷ it becomes evident that the Revolt created a concourse, a melting-pot in which soldiers from the various nations mingled and exchanged ideas, a situation ideally suited to the formation and dissemination of a uniform provincial milieu.

But these developments lay in the future. While their seeds may have lain in this Period, those seeds represented no more than a potential. Without the complementary actions and effects in the following Period - the introduction of new forms to replace the old, that the Romans should actually act upon the attention they perforce gave the area in such a manner as to

promote the introduction of those forms, and that intercourse between the various subcultures did indeed occur - this potential would have been lost. The occurrence of these complementary events was merely enabled, not fore-ordained, by the events of this Period. In itself, therefore, it represented, in part, yet another false start, and, in part, the process had to begin again in the following Period.

CHAPTER II.

Period IV. Vespasian to Nerva. The Fresh Impetus.

This Period saw the first re-organization of the area by the Romans themselves since the time of Gabinius, and with it came the purest Roman influx, both superimpositions and reinforcement, which was to occur during the timespan under discussion in this thesis. These superimpositions and reinforcements can be divided into two main groups, those consequent upon Roman activity which proceeded directly from the First Revolt and the other events of the previous Period, and those which stemmed from Roman activity which was only an indirect result of the upheaval.

First among the former are the coins of Vespasian issued at Antioch. According to the account of Tacitus (Hist. II.lxxxii), virtually the first act of Vespasian after his salutation as emperor was to strike silver and gold at Antioch; Mattingly¹ identifies these coins with an undated group with portraits resembling those of the more certainly attributed Antiochene issues. He considers them early, and certain features do indeed suggest the haste and ad hoc improvisation which might be expected under these circumstances: the lack of date may indicate that Vespasian had not yet officially been granted tribunician power; the coins themselves are rough, with irregular lettering; the blanks, according to Mattingly, seem as if they may well have been chopped from bars or plates of metal.

The bulk of the other coins of Vespasian (and of Titus who shared his coinage) attributed to this mint² are also early, and seem to represent a more organized continuation of the initial issues. Their most striking feature is their similarity to coins minted at Rome: the types are those of the Roman mint, and Mattingly particularly notes that the "Concordia Augusti"

of the issue of A.D. 72 is the Roman Concordia, with patera and cornucopiae, rather than the Eastern Concordia, with corn-ears and poppy; the legends, needless to add, are Latin. Those things which make them Provincial Roman rather than Roman are things which might have been found in any other eastern province, the appearance of a city Tyche on one issue, which Mattingly suggests may be interpreted as the Great Mother; the continuation of the 'Pax Orb. Terr. Aug' of Otho, as late as A.D.74, whereas in the West Vespasian had ceased to assume the role of Otho's avenger, appearing instead as the successor of Galba.

Mattingly does indeed assign one later group of aurei and denarii to this mint on the grounds of their "Eastern" "peculiarities of style"; he specifies the "curious finish to the bust" of Vespasian, and the draped bust of Titus, seen half from behind. The lack of cross-reference makes it difficult to be certain which coins he is referring to; the coins of Titus most likely to be those in question³ show peculiarities, but it is difficult to see why he should term them "Eastern" peculiarities. I know of no precedent for a partial rear view as an Eastern feature; the most "Eastern" art of the period is that of Palmyra, where "Parthian" frontality is the rule. It may be that these issues belong to some other, unidentified mint.

Titus shared his father's coinage,⁴ though Domitian appears on only one coin attributed to Antioch,⁵ on which his bust appears on the reverse with that of Titus, while that of Vespasian alone appears on the obverse. Neither Titus nor Domitian struck at Antioch during their respective reigns.⁶

It is probably in this Period that the construction of the new theatre at Daphne was commenced. Frézouls⁷ argues that since the earliest architectural fragments found belong to the end of the first century, or the beginning of the second, and the earliest coins to feature prominently in the catalogue of finds date from the reigns from Domitian to Hadrian, construction should similarly date from the reign of Domitian to the end of that of Trajan. In terms of this thesis, this too must be considered a "superimposition", or reinforcement of previous superimpositions, first degree Romanization, since proof of local authorship is lacking; but whether or not it is a superimposition attributable directly to the Romans is, naturally, uncertain. The only textual evidence for the construction of a theatre of any kind in Daphne approximating this date is the statement of Malalas that Hadrian built the "theatre of the fountains" there,⁸ and that would appear to

be too late.

The official status of Antioch at this time is not clear. Josephus (BJ III.ii.4) calls it the "metropolis of Syria", and Tacitus (Hist. II. lxxviii) states that it was Syriae...caput. However, it was raised to the rank of colony only by Caracalla,⁹ and one would expect that the Roman administrative centre of the province would have been the colony of Berytus. The fact that the Romans continued to mint coins at Antioch may be an indication that its old Seleucid pre-eminence, and the fact that it was, as Josephus says, "a city which for extent and opulence, unquestionably ranks third among the cities of the Roman world" (ibid.) could not yet be gainsaid. However, Vespasian also proclaimed his accession, and his victory over the Jews, by striking at other mints in the area, which are tentatively identified as Tyre and Caesarea by Mattingly.¹⁰

To Tyre he attributes a group of tetradrachms, as well as early aurei of Vespasian and Titus. The types, once again, are the normal types found at Rome, and the workmanship of the obverse is "fine and delicate, but the reverse betrays inexperience". In short, there is nothing untoward about them. The victory aureus assigned to the Judaeian mint may be said to have an Eastern flavour, in that the bust of Vespasian appears with a radiate crown; Mattingly states that the portrait is unlike any other. Nevertheless, it is still not particularly outlandish. He also suggests that a mint may have been established in Commagene, presumably after it passed into Roman possession in 72 or 3, the coins being distinguished by the absence of S C - again it seems a matter of purely Roman coins being produced at provincial mints. It is possible that the triple arch at Tyre, mentioned in the previous chapter, which is datable only to the first century, may belong to this Period, celebrating, like the coins, the suppression of the First Revolt.

Conducive to Romanization, too, sadly, is Titus' manner of disposing of his Jewish prisoners-of-war after the fall of Jerusalem. He celebrated his brother's birthday with a spectacle at Caesarea Philippi (Paneas, Paneion), in which, according to Josephus' usually inflated figures, two thousand five hundred were burnt, killed by wild beasts, or died in gladiatorial contests.¹¹ It seems possible that this implies the existence of an amphitheatre in that city; given its Herodian background, with successive additions by Herod I, Herod Philip and Agrippa II, it is far from unlikely. It is probable that it was in the amphitheatre donated by

Agrippa I at Berytus that he displayed "still greater magnificence" on the occasion of his father's birthday, when "multitudes of captives perished in the same manner as before."¹² On the other hand, it is likely that some among "all the cities of Syria through which he passed" on his way from Berytus to Antioch received their first taste of this peculiarly Roman form of entertainment, which, at the very least, marked a new degree of refinement in public executions, in the subsequent spectacles he provided along his triumphal route.¹³ Another punitive measure stemming from the failure of the Revolt took the form of enforced Romanization: thenceforth the Jews were compelled to pay their Temple tax to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.¹⁴

Less distasteful, from a modern viewpoint, was the reconstruction and re-organization of the southern part of the area. Judaea itself became a province in its own right, with a legate of senatorial rank in command of the Tenth Legion.¹⁵ Avi-Yonah¹⁶ finds it anomalous that while this legion was garrisoned at Jerusalem, the administrative capital remained at Caesarea;¹⁷ in fact, given the significance of the site of Jerusalem for the revolutionary Jewish faction, something which the legend "Jerusalem the Holy" on coins of the First Revolt¹⁸ alone serves to demonstrate, and, more importantly, the significance of Jerusalem itself and particularly of the site of the Temple which the Romans imputed to the revolutionaries,¹⁹ it was no more than what might be expected. The Romans would not dignify Jerusalem by making it their capital, but they felt it necessary to put a guard on the site, just as they did at Qumran²⁰ and Masada,²¹ in order to ensure that it could not once again become a centre of insurrection.

Caesarea was raised to the rank of colony during this Period. According to Frankfort,²² its full title was Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea, which, if the primacy refers to the foundation date as well as stature, would indicate that it was the earliest such institution of Vespasian, thus supporting the general hypothesis which includes the formalization of its position and the use of its mint for imperial coinage as parts of a coherent plan from the beginning, a plan in which Caesarea was to be the focus of the new province. However, Vespasian certainly founded one other veteran colony in Judaea, that of Emmaus Nicopolis,²³ as well as one other city, Neapolis,²⁴ which Frankfort considers to have been a 'hellenistic' type of city like the Herodian foundations.²⁵ The effective identification of Neapolis, modern Nablus, with the Biblical Sichem or Shechem is generally accepted,²⁶ and so in all likelihood it did constitute an innovation, since

the earlier inhabitants of Sichem were certainly Syrian, of whatever precise descent.²⁷ The intended relationship between these three foundations is not entirely certain, since the position of Emmaus, only four miles north-west of Jerusalem, suggests that it may have been envisaged as a replacement for the Jewish capital, with the colony of Caesarea as a temporary expedient; alternatively, if the "Prima" has no temporal connotations, perhaps it was a later substitute when Emmaus failed to live up to expectation. Jointly, however, these foundations, together with the garrisons at Jerusalem, Qumran and Masada, tightened the Roman military hold on the area, and were doubtless intended to do so.

With these new foundations would have come the roads which allowed communication between them, although only one road inscription of this this period is known from the area, that of Nerva²⁸ on the road running north from Jerusalem. Mommsen and others have taken this to indicate the construction (or reconstruction) of the road from Jerusalem to Neapolis, but Avi-Yonah,²⁹ noting that at this point the road to Neapolis and the shortest route from Jerusalem to Caesarea (via Antipatris (Thimna) and Gophna) coincided, prefers to interpret it as a measure to secure communications between the civil capital and the main garrison; since it is now known that Neapolis, too, was the work of Vespasian, the question remains open; it is not impossible that both roads were constructed at this stage.

The elevation of Caesarea was, in a sense, a retrospective endorsement of the work of Herod, and other measures - the foundation of another veteran colony, the construction of a new city, the re-fortification of the strong points - also echo Herodian ones. In the Transjordan, and in the related part of the West Bank, the Flavians also reinforced, continued, or perhaps, since the degree of devastation is unknown,³⁰ repeated afresh the work of Herod and his descendants.

The discovery of a milestone near Afula in the Jezreel Valley dated to between July 69 and 70 seems to confirm Avi-Yonah's earlier conjecture that this road from Caesarea to Scythopolis, and its further extension to Pella and Jerash, dates to this Period.³¹ Avi-Yonah's further suggestion that at least one road from Scythopolis to Damascus at this date should be postulated also seems sound, since it is unlikely that these towns would be connected with each other, but not with Damascus:³² the construction of such a road at this date, and the absence of good communications hitherto, would certainly go some way

towards explaining the conservatism of Jerash in the previous Period.

Bowersock, indeed, wishes to see the rebuilding of Jerash, assigned in general terms to the previous two Periods, as the outcome of measures taken for the prosperity of the region by Traianus, father of the future emperor (who served as his legate) and governor of Syria for Vespasian between 73/4 and 76/7;³³ he accepts Kraeling's termini for the reconstruction, A.D. 22 and A.D. 75, and endeavours to narrow the range by pointing out that the Sanctuary of Zeus was still under construction in A.D. 69.³⁴

As pointed out in the previous Chapter,³⁵ Kraeling's chronology represents a general guide rather than a precise date. Neither of the termini will bear scrutiny.

The terminus post quem for the adoption of the new plan is provided by the temenos of the Temple of Zeus, which is at odds with the later street plan. The street plan must therefore not yet have been conceived when the orientation of the temenos was established, that is to say, the terminus post quem is the moment at which the builders of the temenos were committed to this orientation, not necessarily, or even probably, the date of the completion of the construction, but at some time during the earlier stages. Realistically, one should allow some lapse of time between this date and the commencement of the rebuilding of the city in accordance with a completely new orthogonal concept.

Kraeling takes this to be A.D. 22/3, but in fact the date of the construction of the temenos is unknown. The inscription which provides the date refers to the construction of the ἱερόν, in all likelihood the temple proper, as do the inscriptions of A.D. 42+ and A.D. 43+, which show that the construction continued over a considerable length of time.³⁶ The temenos is not inseparably connected with this particular rebuilding of the temple: Kraeling himself points out that the second century temple also followed the orientation established by this temenos,³⁷ and that there was almost certainly a Temple of Zeus prior to the first century A.D. structure, dating back to Hellenistic times.³⁸ It is therefore possible that the temenos belonged to this still older structure, and the first century temple, like its second century replacement, was constructed on the same site in obedience to the already traditional orientation established by that temenos. The date of the temenos cannot be determined with any more precision than that it pre-dates the Northwest Gate of A.D. 75, which shows that the new street plan had

already been established - at least on paper. There is, therefore, no terminus post quem in terms of absolute chronology for the new city plan.

Bowersock's own evidence, the inscription dating to A.D. 69/70³⁹ is ostensibly more relevant, in that it refers to the construction of a *πρόπυλον*, but in the light of the other inscriptions, which show that the refurbishment of the sanctuary had already commenced as early as 22/3 A.D. with the reconstruction of the temple, it seems likely that this refers to an addition within the already established design. The orientation would hardly have changed once the temple had been commenced.

The terminus ante quem of 75/6, the date of the Northwest Gate, is, as Kraeling says, a terminus for the adoption of the new plan, since it implies that the lines of the streets were by that time fixed, but it is not a terminus for the construction, since, as the "Arch of Hadrian" at Jerash itself demonstrates, a gate could be built not only before the walls, but before work had even commenced on the part of the city they were to enclose, particularly when the gate, as this one did, also carried a symbolic and honorific, if not strictly triumphal, significance; it is precisely such a significance which Bowersock's ingenious reconstruction of the inscription on the Northwest Gate imputes to this structure; he restores it so as to commemorate the victory of Traianus over the Parthians. The plan had been adopted some time before the construction of the Northwest Gate, but the actual construction of the new city may be earlier, later, or both, in all likelihood commencing some time earlier, to allow time for a task of such magnitude before the second phase which commenced at the beginning of the next century. While it is likely, therefore, that part of the rebuilding dates to the governorship of Traianus, the construction as a whole cannot be dated with such precision as to allow the inference that it was in some way consequent upon measures which he took for the re-organization and prosperity of the area.

It is most unfortunate that Bowersock relied so heavily upon the precision of the Gerasene chronology, since this is one of the factors which led him to overemphasize the importance of Traianus, at the expense of that of Vespasian,⁴⁰ in an otherwise invaluable study. He may indeed well be correct in seeing the activities of Traianus as part of an overall re-organization of the province, rather than merely reconstruction.

Prior to the First Revolt, the greater part of the area had been left in the hands of loyal client rulers. I have pointed out in my previous work^{40a} that the picture of Syria which emerges from Tacitus is that of an undifferentiated, vaguely known whole, in which only the Jews stand out. Since this account was written after the Jews had obtruded themselves on the notice of Rome by the Revolt, it seems reasonable to assume that the general picture of Syria in the eyes of most Roman officials - Tacitus was, after all, a senator - was Tacitus' picture without the Jews, a vaguely envisaged Hellenistic area which could best be entrusted to rulers of this type. They had no reason to suspect that anything was amiss: the governors of Judaea would hardly have advertised their misdeeds on their return to Rome, so only a small percentage of their abuses, those which prompted delegations to Rome (as in the case of Ventidius Cumanus⁴¹) would ever have come to the attention of the government; loyal voices with access to Rome drowned out the cries of the dissidents. Elsewhere in Syria, the same façade was preserved: the various kings, tetrarchs and other rulers would not have proclaimed any maladministration on their part for Rome's edification; the inhabitants of provincial Syria had nothing of which to complain, or at least did not complain effectively, since the only Syrian governors known to have faced prosecution on their return were Gabinius and Piso,⁴² the former quite possibly unjustly, the latter on a matter, the death of Germanicus, essentially unrelated to provincial administration, despite the nominal charges. The system appeared to be working smoothly, the area serene. There was no conspicuous reason why interference from Rome was necessary. The First Revolt brought home to the Romans, and above all to Vespasian - as Bowersock points out, the first emperor since Tiberius to have a first hand knowledge of the area⁴³ - that the situation was not as it had appeared. He set about dismantling the client king system, and replacing it with a formal provincial organization.

Commagene was the first to go, the pretext being an allegation that Antiochus, king of Commagene, was about to league with Vologaeses of Parthia: it was annexed by Caesennius Paetus, governor of Syria, in 72.⁴⁴ The organization of Commagene seems somewhat anomalous: according to Jones,⁴⁵ it remained as separate *κοινόν* within the province of Syria, internally divided into four city territories, based on the old capital Samosata, Caesarea Germanica, founded in A.D. 38 by Antiochus IV (perhaps, one might suggest, in imitation of the Herodian foundations to the south), Perrhe, and Doliche. Samosata, however, apparently retained its pre-eminence as Flavia Samosata, the headquarters of Legio XVI Flavia Firma.⁴⁶

Something may be gleaned of the concomitant measures taken in the countryside, aimed at rural development and increased productivity, something which, if new, can hardly be deemed other than Romanization the effect, given the change of lifestyle and widespread repercussions implied. An extremely important inscription from Aini,⁴⁷ near the Euphrates, between Samosata and Rum-Kaleh, dated to the governorship of Paetus' ephemeral successor of A.D. 73, Marius Celsus, records the construction of a cochlea, or water-screw, for raising the level of water, by members of one or more legions, at the expense of the local farmers⁴⁸ - evidence which simultaneously attests the existence of a mechanism of transmission for further Romanization, namely amicable contact between soldiers and civilians, and, to boot, co-operation between the two in matters relating to the introduction of Graeco-Roman technology.

The next to fall was Emesa, which apparently ceased to be an independent kingdom quite peacefully, at some time between A.D. 72 and A.D. 78: the royal family ceased to rule, but continued to exist as local luminaries; the city became part of the province of Syria.⁴⁹ Since the site of Emesa is occupied by present day Homs, little is known from it beyond a few sculptures and inscriptions, and nothing, to my knowledge, dated to this period and pertinent to the question. It seems likely, however, that here, as indeed in all the various states now incorporated into the province, there would have been at least some coincidental Roman superimpositions of some description. The realms of the loyal Herodians may have been allowed to merge gently into the province on the death of the current ruler: Agrippa II indeed received additional territory after the Revolt,⁵⁰ although it too seems to have been incorporated into one of the provinces after his death, sometime between A.D. 90 and 100 - certainly Abila Lysania, part of his erstwhile realm, appears to be one of the usual 'free' cities of the province on an inscription dating from the reign of Marcus Aurelius,⁵¹ and Peraea formed part of the later province of Arabia; the latest dated coin of Aristobulus of Chalcis bears the regnal year 17, which Reifenberg, noting anomalies of chronology, is unable to interpret more closely than "ca. 80 A.D.,"⁵² and the era of the later coins of Chalcis dates from the year 92.⁵³ Capitolias, too, begins its era in A.D. 97/8, but what this signifies is uncertain.⁵⁴

If the current theory, according to which Palmyra lost its nominal independence in the reign of Tiberius,⁵⁵ is correct, then this reorganization

was not confined to the client states. Bowersock, citing the reading of Seyrig, points out that the Arak milestone demonstrates that it was Traianus who supervised the construction of the road from Palmyra to the Euphrates, via at-Tajjibe and Resafa,⁵⁶ interesting also from another point of view in that it implies the existence of the smaller towns mentioned at this time.⁵⁷ Other roads in Syria proper were in all likelihood under construction in the time of Nero, but an inscription "in rupe" near Akûra, at a point where the road appears to have been cut through the rock, IMP. DOMITIANI. AVG. S.V.T.,⁵⁸ indicates that the work continued at least until the eighties.

This may well be viewed as a continuation of the measures of the previous Period rather than part of the new re-organization, and indeed there is still some activity in the same pattern as before by the remaining Herodians. The coins of Aristobulus of Chalcis, described in the previous chapter, continued unchanged at least until the end of the reign of Titus, while the latest known coins of Agrippa II were issued in A.D. 91. With the loss of his predominantly Jewish possessions, Agrippa was relieved of any earlier qualms he may have felt about the style of his coinage, and he circulated a series of what are essentially Roman issues, some with Latin legends (such as SALVTI AVGVSTI) and even S C, which Reifenberg suggests may have been struck for him at a Roman mint.⁵⁹

To be sure, his earlier issues, dating from the reigns of Vespasian and Titus⁶⁰ were more closely related to the coinage of the previous Period than were those from the reign of Domitian. With few exceptions they consisted of the imperial portrait as the obverse and Tyche on the reverse, with a variety of attributes, predominantly the well-established cornucopia and barley ears; usually she wears a kalathos⁶¹ and occasionally perhaps new Classical attributes appear, the phiale,⁶² underfoot a pediment,⁶³ or the prow of a ship⁶⁴ (this last may well echo early coins of Vespasian struck at Antioch, on which Virtus appears, similarly setting one foot on the prow of a ship). The Tyche motif continues on the coins issued under Domitian, but the reverses overall are more diverse, a mixture of new Roman motifs and those already established on earlier Herodian and "Procuratorial" coinage, including a galley with oars,⁶⁵ an altar,⁶⁶ S C as a motif in its own right (as it is used on Roman coins),⁶⁷ and the familiar crossed cornucopiae,⁶⁸ in one case (AncJewCoins No.106, Meshorer No.143) with a caduceus between them, as on a coin of Agrippa II struck under Nero.⁶⁹

Most interesting, perhaps, is the palm tree which appears as the reverse on a coin dated to A.D. 81,⁷⁰ given the history of this motif. As pointed out previously, it appeared on one of the Revolt issues, deriving ultimately from Herodian and "Procuratorial" issues. Titus issued, in Judaea, two coins,⁷¹ which amplify the motif by adding Nike, in one case writing on her shield beside the palm, in the other with the shield itself hung on the tree, with the legend, $\text{IOV\AA I\AA\text{S}\text{E}\text{A}\ \Lambda\Omega\text{K}\text{Y}\text{\AA}\text{S}}$ or $\text{IOV\AA I\text{C}\text{E}\text{A}\ \Lambda\Omega\text{K}\text{Y}\text{\AA}\text{S}}$; the inscription on the shield, where legible, reads AVT/T/KAIC. There seems no doubt that, as Reifenberg infers, the palm tree is here, as in the coins issued at Rome, the symbol of Judaea. Domitian, too, issued what may well have been commemorative coins in Judaea with Latin legends and with the palm tree alone on the reverse.⁷⁷ Agrippa's coins 'spoke the same language.'

The head or bust of the reigning emperor is found on the obverse of all coins bar one, one of the latest dating from the year 91,⁷³ and the victory coins of Titus and Domitian issued in the reign of Vespasian or Titus, with Domitian laureate on the obverse, and Nike, writing on her shield as in the "Judaea Capta" coins of Titus, on the reverse.⁷⁴ These coins presumably commemorate particular Roman (as opposed to Syrian) events.⁷⁵ One later coin, however, may perhaps have reference to events closer to home, AncJewCoins No.96/Meshorer No. 122, with the head of Domitian on the obverse and Nike writing on her shield on the reverse, struck at Paneas in A.D.74;⁷⁶ Masada fell in A.D.73.⁷⁷ Agrippa, as head of the Jewish loyalist faction, might well have seen this final victory as, in part, his own. However, the later successes of Domitian, which had no direct bearing on Agrippa or his realm, were also celebrated. Campaigns on the Rhine are marked by two issues of A.D. 80,⁷⁸ both showing Domitian laureate, the title $\text{I\text{E}\text{P}\text{M}\text{A}}$ in the legend, and one with Nike again inscribing the events on her shield. The other events commemorated are, however, difficult to identify, perhaps due to the chronological problems with Agrippa's coins. SALVTI AVGVSTI , on a coin of A.D.87,⁷⁹ may perhaps refer to events during the Dacian campaign.

These coins are fundamentally an extension of official Roman issues.

Agrippa's sister, Queen Berenice, a Herodian monarch in her own right,⁸⁰ maintained the family tradition of patronage of the colony of Berytus, and of introducing the latest Roman architectural fashions into the area. The remains of a building, with a fragmentary inscription of Berenice, have been found at this site:⁸¹ its exact nature is unknown, but elements included

Corinthian capitals of Proconnesian marble, as well as columns of reddish limestone breccia; Ward-Perkins sees it as the model for his "marble style" capitals, deriving from Western Asia Minor, which became the second century norm for Berytus, as attested by the long series of Proconnesian marble capitals found there. One very good reason for considering the building the prototype for the style is that not only the capitals, but apparently the whole building, was imported pre-fabricated: the instructions for reassembly were carved on each individual block, possibly, as Ward-Perkins suggests, in the quarry. Technically, this building could date to the previous Period, but in view of the fact that the response to the model did not occur until the next century, and Berenice was most active in Roman circles at this time, it seems more probable that it belongs to the period of reconstruction and re-organization after the Revolt.

Although the Period is primarily one of innovation and superimposition, there is still something in the way of response detectable in the various towns, not only to the impositions of the previous Periods in places where there was unbroken continuity, but also to the superimpositions of this Period itself.

At Antioch the local municipal bronze coinage changed in response to imperial issues from the same mint in the reign of Vespasian, using Latin legends instead of Greek.⁸² According to Bouchier, it remained closely assimilated with the imperial coinage throughout the reigns of Titus and Domitian⁸³ - presumably he means that it continued in the manner established in the reign of Vespasian, since, as he himself points out,⁸⁴ no imperial coinage was struck at Antioch during the reigns of the later Flavians.

There is also a Latin inscription from the sometime island in the Orontes, attesting the continuity of at least the posthumous imperial cult, in all likelihood dating from the reign of either Domitian or Nerva,⁸⁵ although, given the commemoration inscription quoted by Bowersock, which mentions Traianus as a legate divi Vespasiani (though Titus is merely divi Vespasiani f.)⁸⁶ the reign of Trajan is not inconceivable. The inscription from Antioch is a dedication to Maecius L (f) ...stumus, whom Jalabert and Mouterd identify as L. Maecius Postumus, a promagister of the college of Arvales in 69 and in 72, and mentions his appointments (qu)aestor divi Vespasiani et divi Titi.

The Romanizing pottery, both imported and local, continues as before.⁸⁷

A better indication of the local continuation of the imperial cult comes from Berytus, in a dedication, probably of a statue, publice ex decr. dec. et popul. voluntat to an Aug. pontificI, duumvir and prefect of Vespasian.⁸⁸ Aug. and pontificI might perhaps be two separate offices, augur and pontifex, or Aug. may refer to the preceding line, the end of which is mutilated, but it is more plausible to read them together. From the same reign comes another inscription, CAESAR VESPASIANI SIGNVM LIBRI PATRIS.⁸⁹ Surprisingly, too, Palmyra affords an example of a civic trilingual text, the Latin commencing in the literal style of the Arados inscription (IGLS 4009) discussed under Period II, Bule et Civitas Palmyrenorum.⁹⁰

The tombstone of L. Aelius Sergius,⁹¹ a soldier of a legion whose name has been lost, from Europus (old Carchemish on the Euphrates) may also belong to this Period, despite the deceased's name. One would expect Aelius to have taken his name from Hadrian, but there were Aelii before Hadrian. The name of the legion is rendered as i t: Jalabert and Mouterde, pointing out that there was no such legion as the First Traiana, suggest that III Gal. should be restored, and date the inscription to the end of the first century or the beginning of the second, on the lettering. The Third Gallica in all probability was in the vicinity in the reign of Vespasian, being, as pointed out above, in all likelihood one of the legions involved in the annexation of Commagene: however, it took part in Trajan's Parthian campaign, then perhaps was stationed at Raphanea, so that if the restoration is correct all one can say is that it is likely that the inscription predates the reign of Hadrian.

There are four other legionary inscriptions from northern Syria which might also be attributed to this Period, but with an increasing degree of doubt, as the dating depends on my 'Moesia link' hypothesis, which postulates that inscriptions of serving soldiers in legions never stationed in Syria be referred to a time compatible with the legion's service on the Danube.⁹² The inscriptions of Aurelius Vindex (CIL III 194) from Cyrrhus and Valens (CIL III 192) from Beroea, probably both funerary, may belong to this Period or earlier, since Leg. VII Cl. P.F. was first stationed in Moesia in A.D. 57, then perhaps moved to Germany, returning to Moesia in the reign of Vespasian. The tombstone of M. A(urelius) (or Antoninus) Marcellus of Leg. VIII Augusta (CIL III 193) from Cyrrhus should date to the period if the man was a serving soldier, since Leg. VIII Aug. was stationed in Moesia from ca. A.D. 45 to 70, but on the same argument the tombstone of T. Flavius Julianus, the veteran of Leg. VIII Aug. who settled in Beroea with his wife T. Flavia and built their tomb, obviously should not predate this Period, and should not be later than this Period; the

writing of "Diis Manibus" in full is characteristic of the first century,⁹³ though naturally later examples are known, and in this case seems to confirm that Flavius Julianus was a man who terminated his service in 70, just before the legion moved, and who gained his mane as well as his citizenship on discharge. As perhaps in the case too of T. Flavius Epe..., discussed below. the name he selected on enlistment, perhaps under Claudius, may have smacked too much of Nero. C. Terentius Verecundus, who buried his mother at Baalbek,⁹⁴ should be a local recruit, whether of Roman or native descent, who commissioned his inscription in this Period, since his legion, XXI Rapax, was stationed in Moesia ca. 89, but was probably cashiered in 92.

From Jerash come three more military tombstones,⁹⁵ the date of which is also inferential, though not quite as inferential as the above. All three soldiers belonged to Ala I Thracum Augusta, which was apparently stationed at Jerash by Vespasian.⁹⁶ The inscriptions are dated to the first century by the lettering, something which, though never absolutely conclusive in the case of individual inscriptions because of the possibility of archaism, is certainly more secure when it is a matter of a long series of inscriptions from the same site, many dated, and especially when, as here, it is a matter not of a single inscription but of dating Group A in relationship to Group B, for these inscriptions are independently grouped. Not only are the soldiers all members of the same unit, but also as Kraeling observes, the names are actually Thracian, by no means always the case with supposedly ethnic units such as this. Valerius Tenes, son of Eptacens (or Eptacentes), Ziemices, son of Ziopen (or Eziopen) and Dorites son of Tarsus should all be recruits from Thrace itself, or directly descended from those recruits. The former is probable, since, as Welles points out, where the inscriptions are bilingual, there is a variation between the Greek and Latin renditions of the father's name; that is to say, no standard Classicization had been established, as one would expect had the father, too, been a soldier, for if it had, the Greek would simply have transliterated the Latin (not vice versa, as the unit was previously in a Latin-speaking province.) Furthermore, what is known of the later history of the unit supports a date in this Period. After the annexation of Arabia the unit appears to have remained as part of the garrison of the new province, but used the main military cemetery at Kurnub in the Negev: an inscription of an eques has been found at that site.⁹⁷ These inscriptions, therefore, are as closely dated as can be expected, failing the explicit mention of an emperor, consul or governor, or the local date. It is noteworthy that in regard to language Syria had already exercised an influence on these newcomers: while all three have the

primary text in Latin, the formal language of the Roman army, with two of the three⁹⁸ it was considered necessary to supply a Greek translation.

The apparent rise in the number of Latin inscriptions is in part a function of the preservation factor. The number of extant inscriptions increases with the years and consequent reduction in the time lapse between the date of their erection and the date at which modern scholars first set about recording them. There are numerically more inscriptions, some of them more significant in that they are clearly the work of local civilians, from later Periods. Nevertheless, allowing for the preservation factor, it still seems likely that there was a real increment. For the most part the use of the language was confined to soldiers and officials, but the second inscription from Berytus seems to be a private dedication, while the use of Latin in military sepulchral inscriptions, particularly that of T. Flavius Julianus and his wife at Beroea, shows at least that some of the soldiers continued to use the language in their private capacities, at the same time demonstrating, as do the inscriptions from Antioch and Palmyra, the spread of Latin beyond the boundaries of the colonies. Taking this with the coinage, it appears that this Period may well represent the high water mark of Latin in the area.

Part of the reason for this is self-evident, the influx of foreign troops, troops who habitually spoke Latin, the language, at least in the West, of the Roman army. Another factor may well have been an indirect result of connected events, the Revolt and Vespasian's accession, namely the establishment of enfranchised leading local families, some of native Greek or Syrian stock, others foreign, members of the various legions and auxiliary units who came to the area for the First Revolt and received their discharge and enfranchisement on the completion of the campaign.

Reference has already been made to the Flavii Flacci of Jerash, one such family who received the franchise at this time, apparently through a member who gained citizenship as a reward for his services during the Revolt.⁹⁹ Kraeling takes this to be an established local family, rather than settlers who arrived after the war, and uses the case as an argument in favour of Gerasene participation in that campaign. This may be so, since a doubtful member of the family, T. Flavius Epe..., son of Dionysios, a veteran decurion, donated a tier of seat (cuneus) in the South theatre at Jerash, between A.D. 83 and 96,¹⁰⁰ and his father's name is quite consistent with the type of name, often theophors, previously attested. If so, they should be viewed in the same light as the families of Asia Minor distinguished by Ramsay,¹⁰¹ where what he sees as the method of Romanization (or perhaps one should say mechanism)

took the form of enfranchising local leading families who then of their own accord proceeded to Romanize the populace, politically and otherwise.

However, the name "T. Flavius", without the diagnostic "Flaccus" or some other indication of a connection with the family, is hardly conclusive, since there was a veritable proliferation of T. Flavii after the First Revolt - one such has already been mentioned, T. Flavius Julianus of Beroea. It may be a case of a separate "Ramsay family" at Jerash. The First Revolt made many citizens.

While the Flavii of Jerash expressed themselves epigraphically in Greek, there are others who themselves used Latin in inscriptions, or founded families which did: given the special significance of Latin in Syria - due to its rarity, it is per se Romanizing - in this respect at least they fulfil the requirements of the syndrome by performing further Romanizing actions.

This type of evidence has not been utilized before this Period because of the element of doubt involved in attaching the author of an inscription to a particular patron, hence arriving at a date for the origin of the family. While mechanical cross-referencing of persons mentioned in the various inscriptions throws up a great many names corresponding to those of the various emperors and governors, because of the duplication (and multiplication) of these names, few firm conclusions can be drawn. Julii, for example, may have derived their name from enfranchisement by Caesar or one of his immediate successors or from one of the numerous similarly named governors of Syria, Arabia and Syria Palaestina, while the ubiquitous Julii Aurelli seem likely, like the famous Julii Aurelii Septimii of Palmyra¹⁰² to owe their engranchisement to the Severans, perhaps to the Edict of Caracalla. Even less common names cannot be placed with any degree of certainty, since, even laying aside the various commanders of the legions, there is a great deal of duplication of names among governors. In the initial period there seems to have been traditions of family service in Syria, for example the Calpurnii Bibuli, father and son, the Sentii Saturnini, and the Cassii Longini, the famous C. Cassius and a descendant of the same name who governed Syria in the reign of Claudius. Furthermore, governors with similar names, whose ancestors, somewhere, may have been clients of the families of early governors, appear at a later date. To take a quick example, should C. Cassius Arrianus of CIL III No.141 from Baalbek, "C. CASSIVS ARRIANVS/MONVMENTVM SIBI/IN LOCO SVO VIVVS/FECIT", be associated with the first C. Cassius Longinus, his descendant, D. Pius Cassius,

governor of Syria Phoenice under Caracalla, Avidius Cassius,¹⁰³ or none of them? For that matter, what lies behind the claim that Avidius Cassius himself was descended from the Cassii Longini on his mother's side?¹⁰⁴

With the Flavii, however, matters are less doubtful, at least in regard to the Latin inscriptions. The only known governors whose families would have owed their citizenship to these emperors are late - Q. Flavius Balbus, governor of Arabia between 213 and 221, Flavius Julianus, governor of Arabia attested in 219, Flavius Aelianus, governor of Arabia, attested 274/5 and Flavius Libyanus, governor of Syria Euphratesis in 434 - so late, in fact, that it is doubtful whether any freedman who gained citizenship through their good offices (all free born subjects of course received it under the Edict of Caracalla) would have left any Latin, as opposed to Greek, inscriptions.¹⁰⁵

One of the most certain cases is that of Flavia Ti. f. Alexandra (?) Atticilla of Berytus, to whom her husband, L. Dellius Rufus Artorianus, of the Fabian tribe, erected a statue with the permission of the local council, coniugi. piissime. et castissimae. in exemplum. ex d.d. sta/ marm. s. pec. fecit.¹⁰⁶ Her father's name should have been Tiberius Flavius Alexander, and he, or one of his ancestors, would have received the citizenship from either Titus or Vespasian, sponsored by the famous Tiberius Julius Alexander, son of the alabarch of Alexandria, nephew of Philo, governor of Judaea ca. 46-48, and general staff officer of Corbulo then of Titus during the Revolt.¹⁰⁷ Her husband, too, was obviously a local citizen, though I am unable to match any significant part of his name. The much later heir of a soldier of Leg. II Parthica Severiana, buried at Apamea, Flavius Iulius Maximus Mucianus, who was probably a legionary legate,¹⁰⁸ is a trifle more doubtful, since there is no direct indication that he was a local man. However, while there is no means of determining exactly how this genealogy-in-a-name came into being, if the Flavius and the Mucianus originally coincided then it is likely that here, too, is a descendant of someone who received the citizenship in this province, early in the Flavian period.

More doubtful still, but certainly still possible, are the Licinii of Berytus, a proliferous family whose prominence is noted by Rey-Coquais.¹⁰⁹ There are two eminent Licinii among the governors of Syria, first M. Licinius Crassus, then Licinius Mucianus, and also the possibility that the Berytan family was descended from the original colonists, and connected with neither. Crassus seems to have spent little time in the province, but

there are two questionable pieces of evidence in favour of one of the earlier origins. First, CIL III No.174 from Berytus is a dedication to Licinia L. f. Secunda, wife of Domitius Catullus, who, as Rey-Coquais points out, should not automatically be equated with the prefect of that name honoured at Arados, discussed in the previous chapter, but if the two are identical, then the Licinii obviously predate Mucianus. But since the prefect was a local citizen, the husband of Licinia may have been one of his descendants. Secondly, while the praenomen Marcus is attested in the case of a member of the Berytan family, M. Licinius Fronto (CIL III No. 173), the praenomen Gaius appears with Licinius on inscriptions known to me only in the case of the dubious¹ associated G. (sic) Licinnius Iulianus of Enesh (IGLS No.71). The issue cannot be settled with the available evidence.

This is unlikely to be an exhaustive list;¹¹⁰ there should have been more. But even the present tally, the Flavii Juliani from Beroea, the Flavii Flacci from Jerash, the Flavii Alexandri from Berytus, with the likelihood of the family of Flavius Iulius Maximus Mucianus and a separate family from Jerash, and the possibility of the Berytan Licinii, is large enough to demonstrate a considerable impact on the area, very much in keeping with the general tenor of the Period, that of a fresh start.

To return, however, to the situation in the various towns. Even in this peak Latin period, Greek was still the major epigraphical language for the older Greek towns. Arados, after its gallant attempt at a Latin inscription in honour of a Roman citizen in Period II, reverted to Greek for this purpose in the famous inscription in which Mommsen identified the honorand as Pliny the Elder (IGLS 4011), a theory now thoroughly discounted.¹¹¹ The honorand was a Roman citizen of note, whether local or from elsewhere in the empire, who was prefect of Coh. I Thracum, prefect of some other unit whose name has been lost, deputy to Tiberius Julius Alexander when he was general staff officer of the Judaeae army, and deputy procurator of Syria. The other datable inscriptions from Jerash¹¹² are also in Greek.

In other respects the situation was similar, continuation of pre-Roman forms, but also, in the area unaffected by the Revolt, of Roman forms introduced in earlier Periods, together with the innovations of this, and some distinct response on the part of the local population to these impositions. At Baalbek work on the Heliopolitanum continued, particularly in the Altar Court and perhaps also the decoration of the cryptoporticus, if this is not to be assigned to Period II.¹¹³ It is also to this Period that

the main construction and decoration of the Great Altar is assigned by Collart,¹¹⁴ a monument which epitomises the combination of elements detectable in the culture of the area at this time, almost a summary of affairs to date.

The altar itself is a Syrian type, owing its existence to the requirements of Syrian religions; in its decoration, however, Collart was able to distinguish the styles of three separate workshops, which he terms "rude", "plat" and "belle". The last of these owes its inspiration to Augustan art in the West, and Collart sees in it a continuation of the style introduced at the time of the founding of the colony, a style which at Baalbek, ever conservative, continues into the second century; he notes, however, certain features, a light suppleness in the execution, the occurrence of details such as additions to some of the garlands paralleled in the West at a later date, and the light grace of the buds of the roses and vines, which are redolent of "*le naturalisme délicat goûté sous les Flaviens*", indicating a fresh influx of inspiration in this Period. The first style, on the other hand, he sees as an established local artistic tradition which continued alongside the imported Western school, and developed further in the second century to give rise to the *ajouré* style which later appeared in Rome itself, achieving pre-eminence in Byzantine art and, in Syria, passing into the Umayyad architectural milieu, with some of its characteristic motifs attested in the palace at Kaṣr al-Hēr al-Ġarbi.

At Palmyra, too, there was continuity and innovation, but also response to previous models. Colledge notes a general upsurge in Roman or 'Western' influence on the sculpture: the frontal pose with one foot turned became common, as did the shorter male hairstyle, while funerary busts increased in popularity; the definitive change from soft to hard limestone did not come until ca. A.D. 100, but the use of hard limestone increased, and the reliefs were deeper cut; the relief of Ishtar, dated to the second half of the century, illustrates a new sphere of influence in that she wears "Romanized Hellenistic" jewellery; among the imports, he notes that after the time of Tiberius Romano-Syrian kinds of lamp predominate.¹¹⁵ However, the old gods continued to be worshipped: a dedication to the Arabian god Šamš, "the god of their forefathers" was erected by two local luminaries, Lišamš and Zebida, the sons of Maliku (Malchus), son of Ildibel, son of Nesa of the clan of Migdath, in the year 85.¹¹⁶ Work continued on the totally Syrian Temple of Nabō, which perhaps achieved its definitive form at this time, and there is a striking instance of non-Roman burial practices; in the sepulchres, including the Tower Tomb of Iamblichus built in A.D. 83 (but used for a long time thereafter) as well as in the Tower Tomb of Elahbel

(A.D. 103), Wood found mummies, though Colledge notes an increase of Western influence in the decoration of the Tomb of Iamblichus.¹¹⁷

Work on the Sanctuary of Baalshamin also continued, with the construction of porticoes T₂ and T₄ in the Temple Court, to which correspond two inscriptions, one recording the dedication of complete porticoes by Malchus, son of Oga, son of Wahbaï, son of Belhazai, dated to September A.D. 90, the other the dedication of an entire portico by Wahbaï, son of Oga, son of Wahbaï - apparently his brother.¹¹⁸ The Corinthian capitals are still épannelés,¹¹⁹ but the symmetrical placement of these two porticoes within the Court reflects a dramatic change in the orthogonal concept governing the Sanctuary: whereas when construction had first commenced, it used the old system of orientation by the diagonals (a system abandoned in favour of the Western 'axial' system by the slightly later Sanctuary of Bel), the Sanctuary of Baalshamin was now being progressively modified towards the Western system in response to the introduction of this architectural concept; apparently matters had reached the point where the Western system had become, as fashions will, effectively obligatory.

The Sanctuary of Bel itself continued in the manner in which it had begun, with the progressive construction of the low porticoes with capitals which are certainly Orthodox, despite differences in style.¹²⁰

Further to the south, Samaria does not seem to have been in a fit state to respond to anything. The picture is not entirely clear: the buildings of the next phase, the end of the second century to the beginning of the third, are often so dated merely because they overlies those already described, and it does not seem certain whether or not the earlier buildings continued in use until this time, or were destroyed in the interim, save for the Herodian Temple of Augustus, which, certainly, was used as a quarry before the reconstruction in the Severan age.¹²¹ Certainly, too, the only new structures which might be attributed to the Period, on present evidence, are the subterranean corridors beneath the Temple¹²² and possibly the Eastern Insulae below the summit, which are dated only to between the Herodian building phase and the Antonine-Severan one,¹²³ both of which have been tentatively assigned to the previous Period.

While there is no barrier to transferring them to this, such an ascription would leave the situation where almost no major construction was carried out in the reigns of Caligula, Claudius and Nero, without explanation, while there is at least some reason for such a hiatus in Flavian times.

Crowfoot points out that, according to Josephus, Samaria was captured and burnt in the first few months of the Revolt,¹²⁴ to which may perhaps be added the fact that one of the Hellenistic tombs was re-used as a dwelling at some time in the first century A.D.,¹²⁵ something very suggestive of squatter occupation.¹²⁶

That there was at least some attempt at reconstruction is attested in two ways, by a fragmentary inscription with the name of Vespasian apparently found on the summit,¹²⁷ and by the mixed Iron Age and first century overburden found on the west slope by Hennessy,¹²⁸ which implies some building operation on the summit in the first century A.D. or early in the second. Since the picture obtained otherwise leaves Samaria half in ruins during this Period and the next, the peak building period in the area during which other towns, Jerash, Palmyra, Baalbek, Jerusalem and possibly Neapolis all undertook major rebuilding and remodelling programmes, something which hardly seems credible, it is tempting to associate Hennessy's overburden with the construction of the corridors in the temple platform, and hypothesize a similar building, or, in view of the previous destruction, reconstruction programme at Samaria, including, as elsewhere, the remodelling of the main religious complex. The date of the overburden neither demands nor precludes such an association; since the Herodian temple was constructed somewhere around 27 to 20 B.C., the spoil from the tunnels should consist of material which predates this, without much in the way of intrusive first century A.C. remains, but if the operation was combined with a general clearance of the debris on the summit, then such a mixed deposit would undoubtedly result. However, there are more general reasons against this.

Given that some degree of disaster had occurred, it hardly seems likely that the initial reconstruction would have comprised not the repair of the existing sanctuary, but modifications aimed at 'modernizing' it, for that was what these corridors were. If they were cut as late as this, then they would surely have been part of the later work after the major reconstruction had occurred, so the reconstruction corresponding to the overburden is still to seek. Furthermore, the fact that the temple was used as a quarry before the Severan rebuilding strongly suggests a fairly long period of desertion - it does not, however, require it, since the quarrying could itself have been part of the rebuilding operation. The likelihood, therefore, is that the corridors and the spoil should not be associated, which leaves the conclusion that the operations marked by the overburden must have been abortive, as no known structure can be attached to it.

The evidence, as it is known, therefore indicates, however improbable it may seem on general grounds, that Samaria was destroyed at the beginning of the First Revolt and did not recover properly for the best part of a century. The site was not entirely deserted, and some attempt at reconstruction was made either in the Flavian period or at the beginning of the next century, but the attempt was abortive, or its effect obliterated by some further disaster, perhaps during the Second or Third Jewish Revolts, or in both; Samaria was always a target at such times, due to the time-honoured enmity between the Jews and Samaritans; the fact that the town embraced the Graeco-Roman culture the Jewish revolutionaries abhorred would only have added to the antagonism.

There is indeed some corroborative evidence for this picture of near-desolation. Crowfoot points out that the coin series from the site indicates something of an eclipse at the time in question: comparatively few coins dating between the reigns of Vespasian and Marcus Aurelius were found, forty-two as against one hundred and seventy-two belonging to the previous hundred years, and the local mint produced no coins between the reigns of Trajan and Commodus.¹²⁹ This stands in contrast to the coin record from Jerash, where thirty-eight coins belonging to the longer period between 88 B.C. and A.D. 68 were found, and fifty-one dating from the reign of Vespasian to that of Marcus.¹³⁰ Furthermore, there is the creation of the new city of Neapolis within the territory of Samaria by Vespasian; the pressure to rebuild the old capital would not have been as great as might otherwise have been the case, since Neapolis, to some extent, may have replaced Samaria itself as well as old Shechem.

Jerusalem also suffered a thoroughgoing devastation at the end of the First Revolt, but it, too, was not entirely deserted; as well as the garrison, the Tenth Fretensis, there is evidence of squatter occupation.¹³¹ indeed, there is even some loosely dated evidence of a positive response to previous, or current, cultural superimpositions, in a rock-cut tomb from the Valley of Hinnom.¹³² While the facade still shows the derivation from Hellenistic models common to the previous rock-cut tombs surrounding Jerusalem, it anticipates the Romano-Jewish architecture of later times in its three-doored arrangement, and the conch in the relieving arch above the central door is not, as commonly at this period, the Syrian conch with the hinge at the bottom and the folds radiating upwards, but the Roman conch with the hinge at the top.

Avigad wishes to date this tomb to some time before the First Revolt, principally on the grounds that after the destruction of the Second Temple the execution of such work on behalf of the Jews in Jerusalem is inconceivable. Apparently aware of the implications of the Roman conch - the earliest datable examples in Syria, apart from this, are to the best of my knowledge those from the cryptoporticus at Baalbek, which may, as already pointed out, not be earlier than the Flavian period - he argues that they appear as early as the Augustan age in Italy, implying that the inspiration came directly from there.

With respect, this is not impossible, but it is not particularly plausible, and the objections to a date after the First Revolt, probably between the First and Second Revolts, the time to which one would naturally assign this tomb on stylistic grounds, are by no means cogent. There was no embargo on Jews continuing to live in Jerusalem after the First Revolt as there was after the Second, and that they did so is implied by the continued occupation of the site. It is, however, more a matter of those who did not reside at Jerusalem which seems to be at issue here. Josephus undoubtedly magnifies the size and importance of the Jewish pro-Roman faction, but there is no doubt that these loyalists did exist, and that some of them actually took part in the war, on the side of the Romans. The manner in which the coins of Agrippa II echo those of the Flavian emperors, and record their triumphs including those against the Jewish revolutionaries, indicates that his loyalty was fundamental, that it continued. These loyalist existed, and profited by being on the winning side.

But they were still Jews, despite their Classicizing artistic tastes and political loyalties, at least insofar as they themselves were concerned, regardless of what their disaffected co-religionists may have thought of them. Josephus himself is a good example: while a great many uncharitable things might, with justice, be said about him, that he was an apostate is not one of them; indeed, it is in the matter of religion that his carefully assumed mask of a Roman writer slips, as will be shown later. This was a real division among the Jewish people, and one that was by no means new, as the repeated diatribes of the Old Testament prophets against syncretized practices demonstrate. There was always a tendency for some of the population, usually as in this case the upper social strata, to favour a more cosmopolitan outlook, but they ceased to be Jews only in the eyes of their most strictly orthodox countrymen. As Jews, they may well have wished

to be buried at Jerusalem, like the proselyte rulers of Adiabene.¹³³

The tomb in the Valley of Hinnom is not a poor man's grave: both in opulence and in its Romanizing style it suits one of the surviving Jewish loyalists, while the combination of elements, the residual influence of the old Hellenistic tombs, the new Romanizing version of the conch (Classicizing influence which, as will be pointed out, became more marked in later Jewish funerary art), and the adumbration of the design of the later synagogue architecture, all seem consistent with a date between the major revolts, a period during which the loyalists who supported the Romans are most likely to have been in need of a tomb. Whose tomb it may have been cannot be determined, but almost anyone known by name - Josephus himself or his family, Agrippa II, Berenice, Aristobulus of Chalcis and Salome, or any other surviving member of the Herodian family or their dependants - indeed any Jewish loyalist not known to have been buried elsewhere, would be suitable, and it is much easier to see it as dating to this Period or the beginning of the next, like the building of Berenice at Berytus, the first of the new rather than the last of the old.

At Jerash, as at Palmyra, there was a mixture of continuity and innovation, and here too, since the local authorship of introduced Roman types is beyond dispute, imitative response.

That the Nabataean influence was still strong is clear from the numismatic, architectural and epigraphic evidence which overlaps this and the previous Period, discussed in the last chapter.¹³⁴ Work continued on the Sanctuaries of Zeus and Artemis,¹³⁵ and there is epigraphic evidence to the effect that a separate temple of Hera, probably, as Kraeling suggests, the Arabian version of the mother goddess, existed at this time.¹³⁶

On the other hand, the Northwest Gate, now firmly dated to this Period, appears to have followed the Roman form. This gate is not explicitly described in Gerasa, since it had not been excavated at the time of publication,¹³⁷ but allusions to it by way of comparison indicate that it was generically similar to the typically Roman gates of the second century. In his discussion of the North Gate, erected in A.D. 115, Detweiler states that it had a single passageway,¹³⁸ while Kraeling¹³⁹ mentions that architectural members typical of the Northwest Gate were found as filling in the North and South Gates, indicating previous gates of the same first century type in

these positions at either end of the "cardo"; in the case of the South Gate these included the voussoirs of a flat arch.¹⁴⁰ These two earlier gates, replaced in the second century, should also be dated to roughly the same time.

While it is no more than a fair inference that the use of Roman forms in these cases was due to the choice of the local population rather than introduced by some official Roman agency, the evidence in the case of the South Theatre is less ambiguous. It was constructed in the normal manner of public edifices in Syrian towns, by piecemeal benefactions, mainly during the reign of Domitian, as the inscription of the veteran decurion T. Flavius Epe..., who donated a cuneus, and the earlier anonymous inscription recording the donation of the pavement,¹⁴¹ demonstrate. Theatres are a Roman type in Syria; this, however, might not be its first appearance in Jerash, since Kraeling mentions what may be the remains of an earlier theatre found re-used in the core of the stage.

It seems likely that another example of a Roman architectural type should be assigned to this Period, namely the "hippodrome" (see M.A. Fig.8). As pointed out previously,¹⁴² this particular "hippodrome" was a circus. Typically it is impeccable, although the standard of workmanship is the reverse, and this, among other factors, has led to disagreement regarding its date.

Müller¹⁴³ ascribes it to the Severan age, arguing that it was unfinished, an abortive construction which should belong to a period of expansion when the city's fortunes were about to decline, namely the late second or early third century. He bases this on the great depression in the arena which he states must have existed prior to the inward collapse of the western podium wall: since the arena was drained the depression could not have been formed through erosion after completion, ergo the arena was never filled; even if it had been filled it could not have been used, due to an outcrop of native rock.¹⁴⁴ Corroborative evidence is supplied by the coins recovered, which, though including a Nabataean issue and a coin of Nerva, do not begin a continuous series until after the middle of the third century, and the same date would still be indicated even had the arena been finished, by the slipshod workmanship "quite out of keeping with the elegance and precision of the earlier period." He concedes that the "hippodrome" may have been planned before the 'Triumphal Arch' because it encroaches upon its line, but affirms that the actual construction must date from the Severan period and have been later discontinued, the high northern end being cut off from the

depression by a wall, levelled and converted into an athletic stadium.

Kraeling, though noting the objections of Horsefield, concurs with Müller in regard to the date while differing in the details of interpretation and argument. He stresses that the 'Triumphal Arch' is somewhat unfavourably situated, asserting that this implies that the better position had already been pre-empted by the builders of the "hippodrome".¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless he prefers to place its actual construction in the Severan period, adding three further points in support: Schumacher saw an unintelligible five letter inscription built into a pier of the "hippodrome", again a characteristic of an age of decadence, not otherwise attested at Jerash before the third century; two inscriptions giving official lists of victors in athletic contests also date to the third century, an indication that these sports received an impetus at that time, such as the construction or conversion of the "hippodrome"; the "hippodrome", like the East Baths, may well reflect the interest in the lower classes so characteristic of the emperors of the third century.¹⁴⁶

Horsefield¹⁴⁷ is in complete disagreement, disputing the evidence in favour of a Severan date and arguing for a much earlier construction. He finds no reason to believe that the structure was unfinished, dismissing the "crudities" such as the rock outcrop as no more than a function of the "Oriental" view that "only God is perfect", and suggesting that had the extrusive rock in the arena been covered by dirt and that in the passage had steps cut into it, this would have sufficed; he draws attention to similar 'crudity' discernible around the 'Triumphal Arch'. In regard to the great depression, he conjectures that the high foundations on the southern end finally gave way, allowing the filling to spill out; erosion did the rest, creating a shallow but more extensive depression. In the Persian period the "hippodrome" was converted into a polo field - something not disputed - and it was during the process of this conversion that the retaining wall cutting off the northern end was built; the original depression was deepened by the removal of fill to bring the northern end back to its original level, explaining why the depression is deeper at the centre than in the sides where the collapsed foundations are located.

He stresses the evidence indicates that the "hippodrome" was planned before the 'Triumphal Arch' of A.D.129-30, and, in respect of the date of construction argues that, in the absence of inscriptions from the

building itself, it is necessary to proceed upon a comparative study of style, details of construction and the type of stone used. The soft nari limestone from which the "hippodrome" was constructed also appears in buildings of the first century A.D., the temple under the Cathedral, the vaults of the temenos of the Temple of Zeus, the remains of the earlier theatre found in the core of the South Theatre, and in other structures. In regard to the construction itself, the stepped arches of the "hippodrome" bays show a close resemblance to those of the vomitoria of the South Theatre. Moreover, the 'Triumphal Arch' could have been set in line with the South Gate, since planning and axial lines were well understood at the time, but was instead aligned with the side of the "hippodrome", proof, in his opinion, that the "hippodrome" was already built. He concludes that it may have been "as much as sixty or seventy years" earlier than the 'Arch'.

Kraeling's compromise theory, with the "hippodrome" planned in the early part of the second century in conjunction with the projected new quarter, but effected only later, lacks conviction. Hippodromes normally lay outside the city walls in the East.¹⁴⁸ This means that one of the two extreme solutions must apply: it was constructed either at a time before there was any thought of extending the city to cover its location, or at a much later date, when the planned extension marked by the erection of the 'Triumphal Arch' had finally and irreversibly been abandoned.

Obviously, neither case is conclusive: evidence which would allow a categorical pronouncement is lacking. Failing such evidence, it is necessary to follow the view supported by the soundest adductions. To my mind, in this case that is clearly Horsefield's simpler but less superficial interpretation.

It is true that the construction to be placed upon the relationship between the "hippodrome" and the 'Triumphal Arch' is highly debatable, but his other arguments are based on what are generally regarded as sound chronological indications. The form of the arches is a good criterion, since it is in the most part dependent upon what was then a rapidly developing technology; it is not particularly likely that, in a situation where sound construction rather than ornamental considerations were of the greatest importance, an old type of arch would be used once a more effective type had become known in Jerash. The point about the type of stone is also not conclusive but certainly cogent, like all such arguments. Translated into

actual events, it means that the builders of the monuments in question all used the same quarry or quarries. While it is certainly possible for a quarry to be abandoned when better stone is found elsewhere, then re-opened when this new source is worked out - actual examples might be cited - the more probable sequence of events is that one quarry or quarries is worked out, then another is opened, so that there is a good chance that buildings made from the same stone should form a chronological group. The exact duration of the group, obviously, is unknown, but where, as here, other different groups exist on the same site, the distinction is meaningful: building A of stone type X belongs with other buildings of stone type X, not with buildings of stone type Y.

Further points may be added to Horsefield's case. Those arguments of Müller and Kraeling which rely on the assumption of Severan decadence are suspect in the extreme. More recent evidence (for example from Palmyra) has shown that whatever may have been going on elsewhere in the Empire, the early Severan period was a golden age in Syria; just as Lepcis Magna, Septimius' birthplace, benefitted from his elevation, so too the native land of his wife reaped the rewards; the reigns of Severus and Caracalla rival those of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius as the apogee of affluence and expansion in this part of the world.

To a certain extent it is true that re-used material was a Severan feature, although it was more a matter of pragmatism than laziness: after the enormous building programmes of the first half of the second century a great deal of old material was available, and it was pointless to waste it and time collecting more merely for rubble fill. This was, however, something which could happen in almost any period - four examples of re-used material in earlier phases at Jerash have already been mentioned, the Nabataean architectural members in the 'Triumphal Arch', the old material in the North and South Gates, and what Horsefield¹⁴⁹ specifies as column shafts from an old scaena in the South Theatre; if not actual inscriptions, this material at least included finer architectural members re-used as rubble. Furthermore, we do not know the stage in the history of the "hippodrome" at which the inscription seen by Schumacher was so employed: it may have been part of a later repair rather than the original construction.

Nor was slovenly workmanship characteristic of the Severan age in Syria. Crowfoot,¹⁵⁰ commenting on the buildings of the Late Antonine-Early

Severan phase at Samaria, states, with some surprise, that,

...the workmanship was of no mean standard: the doorways of the little shops on the street had more elaborate jambs than the best of the Gabinian houses, the residences on the summit were about four times as large as the old ones, the walls of the new stadium were far better masoned than the walls of its predecessor.

Moreover, at Jerash itself, among the "elegance and precision of the known buildings of the earlier period", we find not only the rock outcropping in and around the 'Triumphal Arch' cited by Horsefield (which may not be a good example, since this did belong to an unfinished project), but also the decoration of the North Gate, A.D. 115, left half-finished,¹⁵¹ carelessness for which there is no such excuse. Horsefield's generalization about Oriental workmanship is not above question, if only on the grounds of the evidence just cited from Samaria, but it does apply in the case for which it is adduced: lackadaisical workmanship is not a Severan trait, but a Gerasene one.

Finally, if circumstantial evidence is needed to support a Flavian date, then the coincidence of the construction of a circus and the installation of a Roman garrison, particularly this garrison, is persuasive. Provision of recreational facilities for troops is a frequent and understandable feature of the establishment of a Roman military post, see, for example, the amphitheatre at Dura¹⁵² or the "military baths" at Sab Bijâr¹⁵³ in the limes south of Palmyra. The choice of a circus in this case would be most appropriate. Horsefield¹⁵⁴ points out that the Gerasenes would have had a lively interest in camel and horse racing, living, as they did, in Arabia, the home of the famous Arabian horse; this may be a somewhat anachronistic preconception, at least insofar as Arabian horses had not yet made much impression on Roman chariot-racing at Rome itself.¹⁵⁵ However, an equally famous phrase from equestrian lore which did have contemporary significance is incarnate in the newly established garrison, the Ala I Thracum. These were the famous "Thracian horsemen", the only people of the West whose equestrian repute might rival that of the Arabians.¹⁵⁶ What else would one build for them but a circus?

It seems very probable that the "hippodrome" belongs to the Flavian period.

In regard to Jerash, Kraeling,¹⁵⁷ and for Palmyra, and by implic-

ation for Syria more generally, Bowersock,¹⁵⁸ see the upsurge in local building and general activity as the product of the prosperity brought about by Roman measures for the security and development of the area.

This is undoubtedly true as far as it goes: the resultant prosperity created conditions, as Bowersock puts it, "conducive to urban growth", enabling this upsurge to take place. However, there is more to it than that. The prosperity provided, as it were, the locomotive power, but of itself did nothing to set the direction. Laying aside the circus, at least two Roman architectural types appeared in Jerash in this Period, the North-West Gate and the South Theatre. Models other than Roman models existed: the continued Nabataean influence shows that there was still an alternative direction in which to look for inspiration. At Palmyra, there is the change in the orthogonal principle of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin. If it were merely a matter of a new prosperity which enabled an upsurge in building, why could not this prosperity have been expressed in the old architectural forms? Why, for that matter, should there have been a change in the funerary architecture of Jerusalem, with the introduction of the Roman conch in the Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom? Why should not tombs continue to be built in an opulent manner appropriate to the new prosperity, in the same Hellenizing style as before? Why, even, should Baalbek not continue to construct its sumptuous Heliopolitanum in precisely the same style as before, with the Romanizing style established when the colony was founded co-existing with the surviving local schools, without seeking fresh models, albeit only in matters of detail, from Rome itself?

There is manifestly more than one factor involved, and probably many, but two possible reasons stand out as obvious. If Avi-Yonah is correct, then this was the time at which Jerash was first connected with the outside world by an improved road system. This theory would simultaneously explain the previous tardiness of the town in adopting such things as the Orthodox Corinthian order, and the direction taken by the buildings in this Period. The road itself was only an enabling, rather than a causal factor; roads do not provide models for gates, theatres and circuses. However, it facilitated communications between Jerash and places where such structures existed. There were theatres, for example, at Caesarea (if it had not been destroyed in the Revolt) and certainly at Berytus; Herod constructed the one at Caesarea, while Agrippa I and Agrippa II each donated one to Berytus. If

Malalas is to be believed, there were also theatres at Antioch, built by Caesar, and at Laodicea-ad-Mare, built by Augustus. Furthermore, Herod had also built theatres at Sidon and particularly at Damascus, this last being located on Avi-Yonah's hypothetical road from Jerash, via Scythopolis-Beth Shan. The circus at Antioch belongs to the first century B.C., and, prior to the Revolt, there had been "hippodromes", form unknown, at Jerusalem and Tarichaeae, if not Caesarea, though how they fared in the war is a matter for speculation. However, at least enough of Agrippa's gate at Jerusalem was intact for it to be reconstructed in the next Period,¹⁵⁹ and, failing that, the triple arch at Tyre - for a triumphal arch is essentially a gate without a wall, as the 'Arch of Hadrian' at Jerash shows - should have been constructed in this Period at the latest, perhaps in commemoration of Titus' victory, and so early in the Period; it is likely, though unproven, that Roman gates would also have existed at the colony of Berytus - the known gate at Baalbek was of course rectangular - and possibly also at Caesarea. With improved communications, an increasing number of Gerasenes would have been able to see these buildings, and copy them if they so desired.

A similar explanation may well apply to Palmyra. Traianus built the road from Palmyra to the Euphrates; it seems likely that the road from the west to Palmyra would also have been overhauled at the same time. As more Palmyrenes visited the towns to the west, and more inhabitants of those visited Palmyra, the Palmyrenes would have discovered, if they didn't already know, that "nobody" built sanctuaries orientated by the diagonals any more; so far from being a passing fad, that newfangled affair dedicated to Bel now represented the norm. The story may have been the same elsewhere in the province, given the indications that the road system as a whole was in the process of construction or reconstruction.

There is also at least one very good reason why they should desire to utilise the models now accessible at this particular time. It is generally believed, at least by those Titans of commerce who seek to advertise their products by sponsoring various sporting teams, that there is such a thing as merit by association, just as there is guilt by association, and that some of the lustre of victory rubs off on the victor's accoutrements. After the defeat of the Jews, finalised only in this Period, Roman military prestige would have been at its highest since Pompey. Not only would the sort of mimicry of heroes which now usually manifests itself in the 'fan club' phenomenon have come into play, but, on another level, the lesson of

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the Revolt would have served to make it clear that Roman forms would represent the fashion of the ruling classes in times to come; for the foreseeable future, Syria's destiny was as part of the Roman Empire.

The other partially complementary, partially alternative factor is the military. It has already been noted in the previous chapter that the Revolt resulted in the commingling of Roman troops from overseas and from all over the province itself, creating a situation conducive to the dissemination and interchange of ideas: roads aside, local men from the areas which had not yet felt the full force of the Graeco-Roman culture of the coast would then have had an opportunity to see the more Romanized cities of Judaea and the Levant. At the same time, there was an influx of foreign troops, some of them, if hardly skilled artisans, then at least competent workmen in the various aspects of the Roman cultural milieu: engineering, to some extent architecture, epigraphy, and even some industrial crafts such as tectonic ceramics¹⁶⁰ and probably metalwork. As such, they both increased the number of people in the area with a taste for things Roman, and added to the capacity of the area to cater for such a taste.

The national composition of the overseas troops is difficult to establish: whether or not the practice of recruiting the legions from Italy, Gaul and Spain was punctiliously observed until the time of Vespasian is a matter which is debated¹⁶¹ and similar doubt attaches to the auxilia which nominally came from a given area.¹⁶² However, as pointed out above, it seems that there were indeed Thracians in Ala I Thracum, and there is at least one example of a legionary who came from Rome itself. Burn¹⁶³ cites the case of Tiberius Claudius Fatalis, born at Rome, a centurion who did indeed serve with a long list of legions in Britain, Europe and Syria, Leg. II Aug., Leg. XX V.V., II Aug. again, XI Claudia, and XIV Gemina Martia Victrix (this in central Europe), XII Fulminata and Leg. X Fret., dying at Jerusalem either during the Revolt or while on garrison duty thereafter.

So, too, there is some difficulty over the precise details of the local component. It is hard to establish that any given man of local origin served in a legion, as opposed to auxilia, due to the fragmentary or cursory nature of the inscriptions, as with the two possibilities from Jerash, but the indications are that some, such as T. Flavius Epe... did so.¹⁶⁴ The exigencies of war, the need for on-the-spot replacement recruits, would have added greatly to whatever small number previously entered the regular army. Forni^{164a} lists 49 recruits for the reigns from that of Vespasian to that of Trajan (when local recruitment would similarly have been boosted by the Eastern campaigns) as

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against 3 for the reigns of Claudius and Nero and 5 from Augustus to Caligula. Indeed the total of 49 represents the highest for Syria-Palestine in all his tables. Forni's numbers are too small for great statistical weight to be placed upon this, but his extrapolations are at least consonant with what one would expect on general grounds. In any case, the list of auxilia quoted in the previous chapter is sufficient to show that a large number and variety of provincials took part.

And, legionaries and auxiliaries alike,¹⁶⁵ they were discharged in the province upon termination of their services, and settled in the various towns, not only those designated as veteran settlements, but places like Beroea and Jerash, as the inscriptions already cited show. Once there they would have proceeded to implement their taste for things Roman, be it native to them or newly acquired. As citizens of some standing, they would have been obvious candidates for participation in the ubiquitous benefaction system, and the buildings they erected, or those to which they contributed, would be likely to be those of Roman type - again the ex-decurion Titus Flavius of Jerash, who contributed a cuneus to the South Theatre, confirms what is otherwise a reasonable assumption, based on other instances from other Periods.¹⁶⁶ In addition, Rostovtzeff notes that in the Transjordan, veterans filled the majority of important positions in the towns and villages in which they settled;¹⁶⁷ there is no reason to think that things were otherwise elsewhere in Syria, and in such positions they would have exercised a great deal of influence in the choice and form of municipal buildings. As pointed out above, many founded families, Roman citizens who continued to use Latin, and in all likelihood fostered the spread of Roman culture in other ways.¹⁶⁸

Then, too, there are the serving soldiers who garrisoned the area. There is no reason to believe that the situation implied by Tacitus in regard to the relationship between soldiers and the civilian population showed any change from the previous Periods, indeed, there are indications that it did not. While there is still no explicit evidence of intermarriage between serving soldiers and local women, the implication is there: Burn takes it that Ionice, the freedwoman of Tiberius Claudius Fatalis, whom he bought, married, liberated and left as his heir, was Greek - though as mentioned elsewhere, Treggiari has pointed out that Greek names were given to slaves of other nationalities. If indeed she was Greek, then the chances are that she was also Syrian, given the cursus of Fatalis. Certainly there is no obstacle to foreign veterans marrying local women, though once again it is difficult to find evidence which is both dated and unambiguous - the wife of T. Flavius Iulianus of Beroea was

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certainly not from an enfranchised family, since her name is given as Titia Flavia, and may have been a local woman. In more general ways, however, there is evidence of communication and interaction between soldiers and civilians, even if it was a matter of civilians being asked to pay for something they had not requested, as at Aini. There is also undated evidence, for which this Period is the terminus post quem, of an amicable relationship between at least one soldier and the local civilian population: a soldier of an unnamed legion was buried at Tšardak, near Enesh in Commagene, on land conceded by the owner of the estate (vicus).¹⁶⁹

The potential mechanism of transmission is attested: again, to judge from later and undated examples,¹⁷⁰ it seems reasonable to suppose that the potential was realised, and the serving soldiers, too, played their part in the dissemination of Roman culture. To revert to Jerash, the joint effect of the installation of a garrison and the return of local troops or arrival of newly discharged foreign troops seems adequate cause for the change in direction, although improved roads may also have played a part.

Given that there were more Syrians integrated with the Roman army, one way or another, it is all the more surprising that there is still no evidence of Syrians pursuing Roman careers on a higher social level. The absence of Syrians is all the more striking when one considers the case of Tiberius Alexander, who, in the previous Period, had already risen to hold a high military position under Corbulo, been equestrian governor of Judaea, and then served again in a similar military capacity under Titus. To be sure, as the son of the Alabarch of Alexandria, he should perhaps be compared with the Syrian dynasts rather than members of the local equestrian families, but nevertheless, his eminence was not a matter of an honorary suffect consulship, like that of Agrippa I, but rather of a conventional equestrian cursus followed with distinction. Other things being equal, one would have expected to see members of the longer established Syrian families - after all, the twin colonies of Berytus and Helio-polis had been founded ca. 17 B.C. - doing likewise. Perhaps the general reaction to the Jewish Revolt, which certainly tended to inculcate Jews everywhere in the Empire, tarred all Syrians with the same brush.

There is, however, one native of the area who achieved at least literary distinction,¹⁷¹ yet another Flavius, whose work, the bulk of which is extant, provides an opportunity for a deeper analysis of the type and degree of the effect of the Romans on one indigenous individual. I refer, of course, to Josephus.

The controversy over the actual authorship of the works makes The

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Jewish War the most suitable for such a purpose, since it has the necessary length to allow such a study - the shorter works might represent a transient state of mind - and the time, place and circumstances of its composition mean that even if Josephus himself did not compose two consecutive words of the Greek text, it is still a valid subject for such a study. No matter who actually wrote it, Josephus must have endorsed it, so that it accords with the picture he wished to present. It is a fair inference from the date of the work (finished between ca. 70 and 79 A.D. but begun earlier¹⁷²) that one of the purposes was to consolidate his position at Rome and in the eyes of the Flavians. Under these circumstances he would hardly have delegated any more than necessary to his notorious amanuenses; certainly he did actually compose a great deal of it, since it draws upon his own personal experience, even if he did so in Aramaic and handed over the result to his assistants for translation into Greek with the appropriate Classical trappings. And he would certainly have given detailed instructions regarding the passages he did not, himself, write, and scrutinised the results with the utmost care, particularly the Classical allusions, to make sure that they contained no undesirable implications (which would itself argue some knowledge of Classical literature, acquired either previously or then, *ad hoc*). The Jewish War may not have been written entirely by Josephus, but this is how and what he would have written, had he been able. A distinctive, multi-faceted, but essentially single personality permeates the entire work, something which is not, at least to me, discernible in the Antiquities, which therefore can be utilised only where there is a particular reason to believe that Josephus himself composed a given section, i.e. where it clearly draws on his personal experience.

Essentially one is dealing with a translation. Josephus himself, in his Preface to The Jewish War, states that the Greek version is a translation of the account which he had previously written in his native tongue and sent to the Jews of Mesopotamia.¹⁷³ Certainly, it is not a direct and unaltered translation - some of it was composed afresh for his new Gentile audience, since the Jews of the Diaspora would hardly require, for example, the explanation of the various Jewish sects in BJ II.2-14. However, at the close of the Antiquities¹⁷⁴ he states that he had endeavoured to master Greek and made progress in the written language, although still not completely fluent in the spoken tongue; the implication is that at the time of the composition of the earlier work he would still have thought in Aramaic, even in the passages especially written for the Greek version, and himself translated, or required his assistants to translate, the result.

There are limits imposed by this circumstance. One cannot place

too much reliance on expression, save where, as for example with his favourite term of opprobrium for the revolutionaries, λήσται,¹⁷⁵ constant repetition makes it clear that a single word, with similar connotations, was in Josephus' mind at the time of composition. On the other hand, there are approaches such as those used when studying foreign writers as part of "English Literature", approaches which rely rather upon the substance and content, that can validly be used with translations, and there is no reason why they should not be applied to The Jewish War.

One aspect of Josephus' Romanization which cannot be assessed by this or any other method is his degree of genuine political commitment to Rome. As has been widely noted, his account of his own actions at the beginning of the Revolt in the War conflicts with that in the Vita; even within the work itself, what he does is at odds with what he professes to do;¹⁷⁶ he is, furthermore, by his own testimony, a shameless and vicious liar who would say and promise whatever is expedient and promptly do the reverse.¹⁷⁷ In other words, it is not possible to believe what he says on any point where expediency or personal advantage may enter the question. The only evidence we have on this point is what he himself says of his beliefs, and his own account(s) of his actions. As it was obviously expedient for him to flatter his conquerors, under whose protection he was living, and profess a high regard for Rome, we will never know whether he was genuinely loyal to the Romans, above all Titus and Vespasian, or secretly loathed Rome, the Romans, and the entire Flavian brood.

All one can say with certainty is that by the time he came to write The Jewish War he had engendered enough conative enthusiasm for the Romans to enable him to produce an assiduously sycophantic panegyric. It is indeed possible that he really did entertain mixed feelings from the beginning: insofar as one can judge, he was a somewhat weak character, an opportunist, no genius but by no means a fool, and certainly an egotist. He had been a member of a delegation to Rome immediately prior to the Revolt, and had returned to find the country irrevocably committed to insurrection. He would have been able to see the rebellion in the perspective of the Roman Empire as a whole something which his compatriots apparently could not, and would have realised that it was doomed unless some outside alliance could be achieved, either with the Nabataean Arabs, with whom the Jews co-existed in a state of mutual detestation, or by some means with the Parthian Empire. The arguments he attributes to Agrippa II have the advantage of hindsight,

but he was nonetheless in a position to draw the same conclusions at the time. All that might be achieved would be to force some favourable terms on the Romans, temporarily, if they could hold out long enough to make the campaign a severe strain on Roman resources, so that the matter was deferred until it was more convenient for the Romans to attend to it; even this hope vanished once the faction fighting amongst the Jews broke out in earnest. At the same time, he may well have been carried away by the patriotic fervour of those around him - there is no reason to dispute that he was a sincere Jew who cared deeply for his people, and later genuinely tried to mitigate the backlash against the Jewish race as a whole which the Revolt provoked (or for which it provided an excuse). He may also have been flattered by the deference paid to him, and the opportunity to play the Great General, only to have his earlier misgivings confirmed by the course of events. Beyond that, one cannot go.

However, political allegiance is, as has been pointed out, in any case one of the most facile and superficial forms of Romanization. It requires very little in the way of acculturation for someone to be able to say, "Yes, Sir," "No, Sir," and "Long live the Emperor!" Josephus certainly paid lip service to Rome when it was in his interest to do so, and there is seldom evidence to determine whether anyone else in fact did more. They may have done so, or they may not - those who fought for the Romans may have given them their swords without their hearts.

In other respects, where Josephus has nothing to gain by falsehood or distortion, and where he is writing with less self-conscious deliberation, something may be done by way of close analysis. This is not entirely a straightforward task, however, since, so far from being an unsophisticated, spontaneous, factual account, a great deal of the book shows evidence of being a carefully calculated, studied work, in which the author was very much aware of the potential audience reaction, and neither unwilling nor incapable when it came to manipulating that reaction. There are two separate and disparate characters named Josephus in the book, both of them products of literary artifice. There is Josephus the author, who must needs beg indulgence of his reader, lest he should transgress the rules of historical writing when his compassion overmasters him, and compels him to lament the fate of his country,¹⁷⁸ and Josephus, the Jewish general, a character in the narrative, who has no compunctions when it comes to scourging a deputation of the citizens of Tarichaeae, which he himself requested.¹⁷⁹

The task, therefore, is to see what can be learnt from both these Josephus projections, and then determine what can be referred back to the Josephus-behind-the-Josephi, as Thackeray puts it, "Josephus the Man".¹⁸⁰

First, Josephus the author. It is evident throughout the work that Josephus is writing his history in a Classical rather than a Jewish vein. The most startling instance of this occurs in the Preface (4):

Should, however, any critic censure me for my strictures upon the tyrants or their bands of marauders, or for my lamentation over my country's misfortunes, I ask his indulgence for a compassion which falls outside an historian's province.

Literally, "which is contrary to the law of history", τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας νόμον.¹⁸¹ Thackeray¹⁸² compares this to a later passage, BJ V.i.3, where he virtually repeats this, by demonstration.

What misery equal to that, most wretched city, hast thou suffered at the hands of the Romans, who entered to purge with fire thy internal pollutions? For thou wert no longer God's place, nor couldst thou survive, after becoming a sepulchre for the bodies of thine own children and converting the Sanctuary into a charnel house of civil war. Yet might there be hopes for an amelioration of thy lot, if ever thou wouldst propitiate that God who devastated thee! However, the laws of history compel one to restrain even one's emotions, since this is not the place for personal lamentation but for a narrative of events. I therefore proceed to relate the after history of the sedition.

This time, "τῷ νόμῳ τῆς γραφῆς".

Josephus certainly seems to be referring to some codified set of rules for writing history, but what rules? The only formularized set known to me is that of Lucian,¹⁸³ who in all probability was not born until after the death of Josephus.

Nevertheless, there is a striking coincidence between Lucian's tenets and those to which Josephus pays lip-service, either in his statements on what he will do or how history should be written, or in his condemnation of contemporary Greek historians, and even in some cases between what Lucian preaches and what Josephus practises. Lucian states that the purpose of history is not to please the reader, but to be useful, and "that comes from truth alone."¹⁸⁴ The historian's sole task is to state what happened,¹⁸⁵ without fear or favour or praise of his patrons,¹⁸⁶ and (anyway) the better

part of the audience will not be pleased by a fictitious history.¹⁸⁷ He stresses truth again and again¹⁸⁸ - the historian should be "a friend of free expression and truth,"¹⁸⁹ "only to Truth must sacrifice be made"¹⁹⁰ - and in his conclusion says, "History should then be written in that spirit, with truthfulness and an eye to future expectation rather than with adulation and a view to the pleasure of present praise."¹⁹¹

Josephus concludes his Preface with, "my work is written for lovers of the truth, and not to gratify my readers," and earlier¹⁹² says, "let us at least hold historical truth in honour, since by the Greeks it was disregarded," and deplores the fact that current available Greek versions of the Revolt are "flattering or fictitious."¹⁹³ He stresses that history should be a narrative of facts,¹⁹⁴ and promises that his history will be this, with nothing concealed, or added to the facts.¹⁹⁵

Lucian denounces excessive flattery and censure,¹⁹⁶ and again stresses that history should be impartial, "not giving one side more than its due,"¹⁹⁷ and Josephus charges the Greek historians with precisely this fault: "their writings exhibiting alternatively invective and encomium," either "flattery of the Romans or...hatred of the Jews" "but nowhere historical accuracy."¹⁹⁸ He ridicules,¹⁹⁹ as does Lucian,²⁰⁰ those who seek to magnify the Romans by denigrating their opponents, but is careful to add, after promising to rectify this diminution of Jewish military prowess, "I have no intention of rivalling those who extol the Roman power by exaggerating the deed of my compatriots. I shall faithfully recount the actions of both combatants."²⁰¹

Lucian castigates and parodies those who write with inadequate personal knowledge of the events and country, or, if this is impossible, inadequate study of the sources.²⁰² An historian should, he says, preferably have some military experience, so that he will at least get the technical terms correct.²⁰³ Josephus lambastes his Greek rivals for precisely this lack of sound information,²⁰⁴ and emphasises his own credentials as an eye-witness who fought with the Jews and later accompanied the Romans,²⁰⁵ and his careful preparation of his own work.²⁰⁶

Lucian says that a preface should have two points only, the causes of the war and the main events, with no appeal for a favourable hearing²⁰⁷ - Josephus, except for one brief appeal for forbearance, and his diatribe

against his rivals, measures up to this standard fairly well. The size of the preface in proportion to the size of the work is also in accord with the dictates of Lucian.

He advocates writing now from one side of the conflict, now from the other, a practice followed by Josephus throughout the book, and also decrees that the historian should follow the chronology of events, but also scamper from country to country to avoid missing any critical situations, for example from Armenia to Media to Iberia, then "fly back to Italy."²⁰⁸ Josephus' narrative follows chronological order, except for the section on the life of Herod the Great, where he departs from this practice for a special purpose, and he certainly indulges in flitting back to Italy for a progress report on events there,²⁰⁹ frequently, and at what sometimes seem to be inopportune moments.

Lucian notes,²¹⁰

Again, if a myth should come along, you must tell it but not believe it entirely; no, make it known to your audience to make of it what they will - you run no risk and lean to neither side.

and the most remarkable thing about Josephus' relation of Old Testament stories in the War is the impression that the author is distanced from his subject matter, that he is telling the stories as an objective outsider.²¹¹

On the other hand, some of Lucian's criticisms might well have been written with Josephus in mind. Apart from the obvious one, Lucian recommends that the language of speeches should suit the speaker and his subject,²¹² and Josephus commits some egregious solecisms on this count which will be dealt with later; Lucian's dislike of titles modelled on those of older writers²¹³ could more dubiously apply, since the exact title of the work is uncertain.²¹⁴ However, Josephus' inflated casualty figures seem to be exactly the sort Lucian deplores,²¹⁵ while Lucian specifically cites Thucydides' disapproval of histories which resemble "a schoolboy's prize composition," the very criticism levelled at The Jewish War by contemporaries, which, as Thackeray notes, provoked a reply from Josephus in Contra Apionem.²¹⁶ Furthermore, Josephus' digressions (mainly topographical or historical)²¹⁷ seem very redolent of the type which Lucian slates,²¹⁸ long-winded, involved, with excessive descriptions of forts, palaces and so forth, historical anecdotes told purely for their own sake, to the extent that the author seems to lose sight of the main narrative.²¹⁹ In Josephus' case, they may be partially

justified by the need to elucidate the position of the various factions and the Romans, and they are undoubtedly invaluable to the modern scholar, but nevertheless, from a purely literary standpoint, the descriptions are prolonged well beyond necessity.

What the exact connection was between Lucian's rules and Josephus' rules is impossible to say. Lucian being Lucian,²²⁰ it is unlikely that his codification was an original conception, and it is probable that the cliché "they both refer back to a (lost) common source" applies. Certainly Thucydides lies in the background, since Lucian cites him by name and his work is also part of the repertoire used by Josephus and/or his amanuenses to endue his own work with the appropriate Classical garb. However, Josephus, in the passages cited, seems to be referring to a more formal treatise on the art of writing history, implying an intermediate source which Lucian re-worked and enhanced with additional material drawn from elsewhere. Among this additional material would have been his own critical comments on later historians, and it seems from the above almost certain that one of those later works was The Jewish War.

Be that as it may, both in his obedience to the rules and in the manner in which he breaks them, Josephus is writing very much in the Classical tradition of historicans discussed by Lucian, and even his rather specious intentional transgression shows his awareness of that tradition, for Lucian expressly state that an historian should show "neither pity (my Italics) nor shame nor obsequiousness" and should be "a stranger and a man without a country."²²¹

In addition to this, the whole work is interlarded with Classical allusions, borrowed thoughts or actual phrases, or references to Classical customs. For these, I am indebted in the main to Thackeray's footnotes to the Loeb edition; however, there are some of his identifications I would prefer to discount. For example, Thackeray compares Josephus' account of the Zealots' escape from the Temple in BJ IV.iv.6 to Thucydides' account of an escape from Plataea, the grounds being that in both cases the escapees were aided by the noise of a storm, which covered their own. Storms do occur, and persons in uncongenial situations do indeed seize the opportunity to make their escape; this seems likely to be a genuine coincidence. Thackeray himself notes that Josephus does not borrow as freely from Thucydides in this work as he does in the Antiquities.²²² The wording, it is true, is

fairly similar to that in the Thucydides passage, , but then, if one is describing such an incident, what are the chances of mentioning noise (φῶφος), wild (ἄνημος), and the verb to hear (κατακοῦω)? Such similarity as there is in vocabulary could well be a function of the similarity between the events described, and nothing more. The parallel seems of doubtful significance.²²³

On the other hand, most of Thackeray's parallels seem sound, for example the unmistakable borrowing from Herodotus i.32 in BJ V.xi.3, "...but he too proved in old age how no man should be pronounced happy before his death" (my Italics). There are in all some thirty-four fairly certain allusions, with nine more doubtful ones,²²⁴ distributed fairly evenly throughout the book, with most in Books III and IV, only three in Book I which is concerned with Jewish history before the war, and, enigmatically, no certain ones in Book VI. Some adorn battle scenes and so forth, as Lucian prescribes,²²⁵ but others, contrary to Lucian, appear in the most incongruous places, for example an appeal to Athenian customs in Josephus' speech at Jotapata,²²⁶ appeals to precedents in servitude set by the Athenians and allusions to the goddess Fortune in Agrippa's speech²²⁷ (to pacify a crowd aroused by a nationalistic religious issue), and even Greek philosophy and phrases from Sophocles and an allusion to Euripides in Eleazar's speech at Masada,²²⁸ none of which could be expected to be appreciated by their respective (fictitious) Jewish audiences. The main sources are Sophocles and Thucydides, with Sallust, Virgil, Polybius, Hesiod, Herodotus, Plato, Aeschines, Meleager of Gadara, Demetrius, Philo the Elder, and Eupolemus.²²⁹

There are also dubious echoes of The Gallic Wars, a description of the Roman marching order,²³⁰ which may again be due to the similarity of the facts described rather than a literary borrowing, and the title, if indeed it is original,²³¹ as well as the possibility that Josephus may be trying to create a political catchword with Titus' pity,²³² none certain enough for great reliance. In addition, there are also nine probable references to Classical personifications such as Fortune and Destiny, though not as many as Thackeray's translation would imply.²²³ Altogether there are some sixty-three Classicizing passages (taking the Preface as one) throughout the book (though only three in Book VI), and fourteen more doubtful ones.²³⁴

This is patently a very superficial form of Classicism, a mechanical insertion of the apposite Classical appurtenance into the requisite places, something which merely requires patience and a good library, something which

Josephus himself could easily have done if time permitted, or otherwise set his amanuensis to doing. However, in certain passages, Josephus does more than just write in a Classical manner with all the appropriate trimmings. He writes as a Roman, seeing with Roman eyes, judging by Roman standards, operating within a Roman frame of reference.²³⁵

An illustration is provided by part of his description of Herod's work at Caesarea,²³⁶

On an eminence facing the harbour-mouth stood Caesar's temple, remarkable for its beauty and grand proportions; it contained a colossal statue of the emperor, not inferior to the Olympian Zeus, which served for its model, and another of Rome, rivalling that of Hera of Argos. The city Herod dedicated to the province, the harbour to the navigators of these waters, to Caesar the glory of this new foundation, to which he accordingly gave the name of Caesarea.

Josephus is praising these Classical creations in Classical terms and according to Classical standards. There is no hint of the Jewish aversion to statuary, and not only to statuary but that of a man as a god. While the stringency of the ban on imagery varied at different times, there is no doubt that such a statue would have been anathema to the bulk of Josephus' co-religionists at the time at which he wrote. The near-contemporary Acts of the Apostles 12.22-3, which describes the death of Agrippa I makes this clear:

And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, not a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not to God the glory; and he was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost.

For the earlier period there is Josephus' own evidence as to the Orthodox reaction to suchlike things. The Golden Eagle placed over the main gate of the Temple complex provoked a popular ("δημοτικῇ") rising, since the likeness of any living thing in the sanctuary was unlawful.²³⁷ At the injunction of two highly learned rabbis, about forty of their students took to the offensive object with an axe, and when interrogated by Herod, cheerfully asserted that they had done what was commanded by the Law and were assured of greater blessings in the afterlife. Nor was this the end of the affair. After Herod died (in a manner very similar to Agrippa I, but without any suggestion of divine retribution from Josephus²³⁸) the people as a whole went into mourning for these martyrs, and demanded reprisals against Herod's favourites - eventually the protest ended in a massacre.²³⁹ And more than the amphitheatre itself it was the trophies, the "images of men" which

adorned it, that provoked trouble earlier in Herod's reign.²⁴⁰

It is evident that Josephus himself thought that the Jews would condemn such proceedings, and presumably he was aware of the current consensus on such matters. Yet his own attitude to the work of Herod in no way resembles that of the other Jews he portrays. Now it is not to be doubted that his attitude in his account of Herod's work was partially shaped by that of his source, most reasonably the favourable account of Nicolas of Damascus; witness the change in attitude to Herod himself in the Antiquities. Nevertheless, the fact that he consistently adopts, albeit at second hand, this Classical frame of reference when dealing with Herod's works, even while recounting the unfavourable contemporary reaction, seems to indicate that this posture was deliberate.

For this is by no means the only time Josephus looks at Herod's most extreme Romanizing actions with appropriately Roman eyes. BJ I.xxi.1-13 is a veritable compendium of Herod's achievements, mostly architectural, and prominent among them are his dedications, especially his temples, to Augustus: at Samaria-Sebaste, the city re-founded in honour of Augustus,

in the centre of this settlement he erected a massive temple, enclosed in ground, a furlong and a half in length, consecrated to Caesar.²⁴¹

and

When, later on, through Caesar's bounty he received additional territory, Herod there too dedicated to him a temple of white marble near the sources of the Jordan, at a place called Paneion.²⁴²

In short, one can mention no suitable spot within his realm which he left destitute of some mark of homage to Caesar. And then, after filling his own territory with temples, he let the memorials of his esteem overflow into the province and erected in numerous cities monuments to Caesar.²⁴³

Once again Josephus is working in a Roman frame of reference, with Roman standards and values, praising Herod's works in appropriate terms, their size, their magnificence, their number.

Furthermore, this adoption of a Roman viewpoint and Roman values recurs throughout the work, particularly where it is a matter of architecture,

utilitarian or decorative, or of aesthetics in general, in passages where his narrative could not be based on that of Nicolas, indeed where it is likely that Josephus himself is the primary source, the description deriving from his own personal knowledge. Even in his account of how Pilate provoked the Jews by spending sacred monies on aqueducts, he duly notes that these brought water from a distance of 400 furlongs.²⁴⁴ His description of Jerusalem stresses the magnitude, beauty and strength of Herod's edifices, and in his description of the Temple complex itself (which, because it was not finished until the reign of Agrippa II,²⁴⁶ must derive from Josephus rather than Nicolas), while dutifully explaining the various prohibitions and rituals for his pagan audience, he concentrates more on its beauty, size, opulence and craftsmanship than its holiness, for example, in the description of the gates,²⁴⁷ and the beauty of the porticoes.²⁴⁸ Here, again, he sees through Roman eyes, though the mask is more noticeable for what it is, since he is endeavouring to make his audience see as he would wish them to see, and this draws attention to his technique as such:

The porticoes, all in double rows, were supported by columns five and twenty cubits high - each in a single block of the purest marble, and ceiled with panels of cedar.

They were undecorated by sculpture or painting, not because of any religious embargo, but because

The natural magnificence of these columns, their excellent polish and fine adjustment, presented a striking spectacle without any adventitious embellishment of painting or sculpture.²⁴⁹

Clearly Josephus felt the need to excuse the Temple to his pagan audience, on pagan grounds, for lacking what they would have expected from one of their own. Vespasian's Temple of Pax²⁵⁰ again brings out Josephus' aesthetic ardour, and provides a companion piece to the above, what Josephus thinks Romans would have expected of a great temple:

This was very speedily completed in a style surpassing all human conception. For, besides having prodigious resources of wealth on which to draw he also embellished it with ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture; indeed, into that shrine were accumulated and stored all objects for the sight of which men had once wandered over the whole world, eager to see them severally while they lay in various countries.

Josephus also looks at the Jews as an outsider, a member of his

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own audience in this, too, notably in his passage on the different Jewish sects.²⁵¹ Hölscher, in P-W 9²⁵² also notes the effect of this detachment, and argues from it that the sources for The Jewish War were not Jewish, but I find it difficult to believe that Josephus, a priest of the first rank who boasts in the Life of his ecclesiastical learning and personal knowledge of these Jewish sects, would simply copy out a passage on the Jewish sects wholesale, or allow his amanuensis to do so. Furthermore, the distanced effect of the passage is gradually lost as he becomes more and more sympathetic to the Essenes, to such an extent that he makes a mistake; he says that their courage was demonstrated during the Revolt when they went through the most atrocious tortures rather than blaspheme or break their sacred laws - and these atrocities are not among those attributed to the revolutionaries.^{252a}

Given the consistent exculpation of the Romans, and execration of the revolutionaries, throughout the work,²⁵³ this is a blunder indeed. Nevertheless, Josephus makes a valiant attempt to play the Roman, and, for the sake of his audience and to make the Essenes more acceptable in their eyes, likens their beliefs to some of the Greeks', thus presenting the Essenes in familiar, favourable terms - a comparison which is its own undoing, since the only point of similarity is that both doctrines are eschatological. Again, the mask slips.

That this is indeed Josephus, and the passage does not represent merely the results of a change of hand part of the way through, is vindicated by another passage which demonstrates that the same person was capable of writing both the Judaistic and Classicizing sections, BJ V.i.3, previously quoted. Here Josephus checks his Old Testament style lamentations by a reference to the laws of history. That whole passage is completely artificial, with the bewailings deliberately set up to permit the self-reproof. It sounds suspiciously as if Josephus has just re-read, or just written, his Preface, and decided that it was time he did some lamenting and self-restraining. The passage is conceived and executed as a whole, by the same writer, and there seems no reason to doubt that this is equally true of the passage on the Essenes.

Josephus makes a brave effort, but cannot quite bring off the masquerade. Joseph ben Matthias obtrudes, not frequently, but often enough, and conspicuously enough, to damage the overall effect - not so much in the Isaiahical lamentations, for they, too, are part of the "Flavius Josephus" persona, but in the passages such as that on the Essenes, and in one other of

a different nature which must be mentioned. After the death of Caligula, the senate "determined to settle the nation under an aristocracy, as it had of old been governed²⁵⁴ - no constitutional niceties about assemblies and rights of the plebs or other such circumlocutory impedimenta. While this curt summation has a certain appeal to modern eyes, this in itself is indicative of the error; it is essentially an outsider's view, a foreigner's view, probably accurate as regards the facts if not the form, but a contemporary Roman historian would hardly have put it so bluntly.

It is evident, then, that for a great deal of the book, the author is actually "Flavius Josephus, Roman historian", who sees the Jews through Roman eyes, and operates within a Roman frame of reference, with Roman standards and Roman values. He flatters the Romans in Roman terms and according to Roman values; they would have had no difficulty in recognising the picture as favourable. This is the person we first met in the Preface, which is easily the best piece of writing in the entire work, despite the fact that one might doubt, for example, his excessive protestations of Titus' innocence juxtaposed with his own abjuration of flattery. However, laying aside the slips and employing the "willing suspension of disbelief", we are presented with a picture of an intelligent, objective observer, who is still not repellently unfeeling or unhumanly disinterested - his one carefully chosen fault is a sympathetic one, he cannot suppress his patriotic compassion, allowable, since some other Roman writers, such as Tacitus, did, indeed, sometimes sympathize with brave adversaries such as the Britons and Germans, an attraction rather than a detraction. And by this very admission, he draws attention to the commendably austere intellectual tradition which he acknowledges, though occasionally cannot help but transgress. Altogether a very worthy and loveable Roman gentleman of letters.

Josephus, the Jewish general, is a very different person, and this in itself is almost enough to give the lie to "Flavius Josephus". However, he, too, has certain attributes which are relevant to the present discussion. As mentioned in the previous chapter²⁵⁵ his admiration for Roman military prowess takes a practical form: when placed in charge of Galilee, he set about transforming his army by introducing Roman practices in the hope of improving its performance. That this should indeed be referred back to the real Josephus is indicated by the fact that Roman forms and practices do indeed permeate his own military thinking, to the extent where, in the Antiquities, he envisages Biblical battles and campaigns as if they were contemporary

operations involving Roman armies, introducing Roman anachronisms into his expanded versions of Biblical accounts.²⁵⁶

"Josephus the Man" comprehends both these projections, at least in the sense that he is capable of creating them. Taken together, they provide a portrait of a man who wishes to be Romanized, to be accepted equally as a Roman capable of writing a Roman work, within a Roman frame of reference. This itself is highly significant: while the work was undoubtedly written at the behest of Titus and Vespasian, and it would have been required to be in an intelligible language, Greek or Latin, there is no reason to suppose that the rest was not gratuitous, and reflected Josephus' own predisposition. He is, furthermore, Romanized enough to put the idea into practice, mimicking Classical forms with creditable conviction, Romanized, that is to say, in the more superficial facile ways, and even more profoundly in some respects, capable at times of thinking as a Roman. However, he cannot entirely sustain the façade, even with the able assistance of his amanuenses; his own non-Roman preconceptions produce slips, for example where Roman political concepts, as opposed to outward forms, are concerned, or where his own genuine religious feelings contradict the case he is endeavouring to promulgate. As an example of Romanization, he gives an insight into the process in action rather than representing the finished product.

In a sense, Josephus epitomises the Period. The will to Romanize existed, whether it was prompted by admiration, expediency or fear. Some Romanization had taken place, insofar as the capacity to imitate Roman forms existed, and there may even have been some more profound degree of Romanization attested in the ability to take Roman elements and combine them to create new combinations, in the Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom. The process of Romanization was by no means complete, but it had once again begun, and this time it was not halted.

CHAPTER III.

Period V. Trajan to Antoninus Pius. The Florescence.

The reigns of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius saw an unprecedented upsurge in activity in the province, with major building programmes, imperial

or municipal, in most of the more important towns. While there is some difficulty in distinguishing between superimpositions and response, due to the doubtful ascription of the various projects, what may be termed an overall response is the most distinctive characteristic of the Period. For it is this Period which saw the emergence of the Romano-Syrian milieu; the multiplicity of new buildings, due to these construction programmes, in part allowed the expression of, and in part facilitated the development of, the new taste which the change in direction evident in the previous Period had inspired.

Some things are indeed directly attributable to the emperors themselves, the bulk to Hadrian, enough to constitute a palpable impetus to the growing tendency towards provincial uniformity - the reinforcement of certain Roman types, the endorsement of certain native, and Romano-Syrian ones. Hadrian governed Syria during the reign of Trajan,¹ and visited the province as emperor on at least two occasions,² and his visits resulted in a flood of architectural and other benefactions to the various towns, as well, perhaps, as the inspiration of various projects carried out by the inhabitants themselves, or the stimulation of projects already underway. Before Hadrian, however, there was Trajan, and while his personal intervention in the province was by no means as spectacular as that of Hadrian, much of what followed later had its beginnings in his reign.

There is indeed little attributable to Trajan himself, or to his closest advisors in the palace bureaucracy. His attention, such as it was, when the Parthian campaign brought him to the area, seems to have been concentrated on Antioch. Lassus³ cites the evidence of Evagrius as well as that of Malalas attesting the later existence of Baths of Trajan; Malalas supplies a more detailed account of how they came into existence, namely as part of the reconstruction work which he commenced after the earthquake in his reign, work initially supervised, and later continued, by Hadrian. Baths dating to the second century have been found,⁴ *thermae* of typical Italian form which were rebuilt on the same plan in the fourth century, but since Evagrius also mentions Baths of Hadrian in the same passage, while Malalas says of Hadrian, as of Trajan, that he built a public bath and an aqueduct,⁵ the attribution of these remains is not secure. The other restorations and buildings attributed by Malalas to Trajan, with work continued by Hadrian, include the famous colonnades. Lassus suggests the choice of vocabulary, *'ἀντήγειρε* as opposed to *'ἀνανέωσας* in the case of the Claudian repair,⁶ is stronger, and consequently identifies this work with the next major construction phase after the

Herod-Tiberian one.

The remains of this phase, too, are comparatively scanty,⁷ but they do suggest that while the system had still to achieve its full magnificence, as described by Libanius, and the type remained relatively simple,⁸ it was nevertheless somewhat more elaborate than its predecessor. The results from Cuttings 16-P and 19-M⁹ indicate that the road was paved, a piped drainage system existed, and that the width of the portico itself was increased to 9.50 m. Behind the rear wall of the portico was a small row of shops; while direct access from the portico does not seem to be attested, it should be presumed. This new element (if indeed it is new, and the change not merely an illusion due to the ambiguity of the earlier evidence¹⁰) brings the form closer to the old viae porticatae of Rome itself, now probably exported as far away as Britain.¹¹

The other major construction attributed to Trajan by Malalas also seems to have had a distinctively Roman flavour: it is described as a gate called the Μείση Πύλη, with a statue of a wolf and Romulus and Remus on top - more proprietary, perhaps, than deliberately Romanizing. It may just possibly have been some sort of tetrapylon, but the description sounds very much more like a triumphal arch.

It is likely that Trajan also issued coins at Antioch, if only to pay the troops involved in the Parthian campaign, though Mattingly's ascriptions¹² seem doubtful; if so, the issues were virtually indistinguishable from those of Rome. More certainly, he struck at Tyre.¹³

It is noteworthy that despite these Romanizing models, and the other more purely Roman superimpositions, it is nevertheless in this Period that the municipal bronze of Antioch, while still closely assimilated with the Imperial issues, reverts to Greek legends.¹⁴

By contrast, there is a great deal of superimposition indirectly referable to Trajan, or to his close advisors in the palace bureaucracy, or to the work of his governors or other subordinates, though to which is debatable.

Certainly there can be no doubt about Trajan's responsibility for the first, and most important, measure, the annexation of Nabataea by A. Cornelius Palma Frontianus in A.D. 106, and its subsequent re-organization as

the province of Arabia. Steps were taken to increase productivity, and so indirectly settlement in the new province, just as they had been in the case of the new addition under Vespasian, Commagene, but here there is more than just the implications of the inscription from Aini. Jones¹⁵ traces by inference from various inscriptions a vast system of aqueducts drawing on a number of springs on the western slopes of Jebel Hauran, erected by Palma after his conquest. These aqueducts led water to Kanatha in the Nukra district, a town which at the time was officially only a village: Jones suggests, on the basis of this, that the water was also intended to irrigate the surrounding countryside. However, a city also had some interest in the water, as an inscription dated to the governorship of Palma, recording the erection of a nymphaeum by the unnamed city, in Sueda demonstrates. Sueda itself was in Syria; Jones suggests that the city in question was the city which owned the Nukra, the new capital of Arabia, Bostra. If this is correct, one can perhaps go a little farther than that. It was only in the reign of the last Nabataean king, Rabbel II, that Bostra had ceased to be a town of virtually no importance;¹⁶ the city would still have been in a stage of growth, growth which the new water supply would allow to continue, so that the aqueduct system was measure conducive to both agriculture and urbanization. Its full extent can only be conjectured, but Jones cites an inscription from the reign of Commodus which may well refer to Palma's project, recording the repair of the aqueducts from the springs of Arra, Caenatha, Aphetatha and Orsua, Arra and Aphetatha being identified with modern Raha and 'Afine, where inscriptions of Palma have been found.

This project seems, in one sense, to be retrospective endorsement of the activities of the Herodians in their portion of the Transjordan, just as the elevation of Caesarea to colony status in the previous Period may have been.

Another measure, comparable in effect, undertaken in Judaea about this time, may have been a deliberate innovation on the part of Roman officialdom: the introduction of the cultivation of rice into the Lake Huleh region,¹⁷ something which, as Frankfort points out, favoured the prosperity of those towns and villages able to live on the produce of their fields.

Nor were communications, a vital factor in ensuring the prosperity of the area, overlooked. The Via Nova, Bostra to Aquaba on the Red Sea, was constructed by the governor of Arabia, Claudius Severus, between 111 and

114,¹⁸ while the same governor was also responsible for the repair of the road from Jerash to Pella.¹⁹ Nor were the older possessions neglected: it is likely that one of the two inscriptions on the column from the road from Jerusalem to Neapolis is Trajan's, and so that he either built or repaired that road.²⁰ However, the main thrust was in the Transjordan, in the newly acquired province, and those cities of the Decapolis whose ascription to Syria or Arabia seems to have been equivocal. As pointed out previously, the era of Capitolias begins in 97/98, suggesting that the city was either founded, or more likely re-founded, by Nerva or Trajan.²¹

In addition, Trajan's conquests further east, symbolized by the triumphal arch at Dura,²² created a situation where, temporarily, Syria was no longer an outlying part of the Roman Empire; but surrounded by an external Roman world, the provinces of Asia Minor to the north, Egypt, and now Arabia, to the south, and Mesopotamia to the east, a point to which I shall return later.

Hadrian, too, issued coins and built roads. Again the ascription of the coins to Antioch is somewhat tentative,²³ but again the balance seems in favour of such an imputation. Mattingly provisionally assigns two separate groups of denarii to an indeterminate eastern mint, perhaps Antioch, and a group of asses and semisses of orichalcum to Antioch. In addition, he suggests that some of the hybrids, which combine obverses and reverses in ways unknown at Rome, may be, rather than ancient counterfeits, the product of some official eastern mint.²⁴

Once again the general character of the issues is very similar to those of the mint at Rome. The "aes" (all with Cos. III on the reverse, and belonging to the years A.D. 125-128) is assigned to Antioch initially merely because of the metal and because "something in the finish of the coins and in the choice of types makes foreign mintage almost certain", and he qualifies his ascription with, "if so, the distinct local quality of the mint is for the moment in abeyance."²⁵ He states that the style is fine, and only slightly distinct from that of Rome,²⁶ and in the main catalogue allows these issues to stand under the Roman mint.²⁷ It is the types,²⁸ however, which support his identification of Antioch as the origin. Pegasus and the lyre, both allusions to Apollo according to Mattingly, are thoroughly consistent with such an attribution, and moreover, another type, that of the city Tyche holding corn-ears, with a river god swimming below, seems an echo of the famous Tyche of Antioch.²⁹

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The earlier group of denarii,³⁰ together with some very rare aurei, most of which date from the years 119-20 (TR.P.III.Cos III) are described as being "in markedly Eastern style", again without elaboration. However, the types and legends nevertheless seem generally comparable to those of coins struck at Rome, though there are some differences. Prominent is the 'Adoptio' type, which suggests that Hadrian's motive for striking early at Antioch was the legitimization of his own accession, in particular the asseveration of the fact of adoption in the area where, no doubt, some of the scurrilously sceptical rumours first arose. In the reverse of this coin, with TRIBVNIC POTESAS ADOPTIO, the two concepts linked by the nominative case, and the depiction of a hand clasp between Trajan and Hadrian, Mattingly sees the conferment of tribunician power. The regularity of Hadrian's elevation is thus emphasized. Another early coin, belonging to A.D. 118, also dutifully recalls the reign of Trajan, with a reverse legend SPQR,reviving the Trajanic coin catchphrase; the reverse type is Virtus. On the other hand, a lone aureus with the head of Sol and TRIBVNIC POTESAS COS III strikes a note more appropriate to Syria. The bulk of the coins, however, belong to the P.M. Tr. P.COS III series³¹ with normal Roman types, Aequitas (or Moneta), Concordia, "and above all Fortuna.". But this Fortuna is extremely interesting: Mattingly, for unstated reasons, identifies her as "the 'dea Syria' Atargatis".³²

The second group of denarii³³ (with which Mattingly similarly groups the odd aureus) is larger, and belongs mainly to the years after A.D. 128, and is seen by Mattingly as the counterpart of the 'cistophoric tetradrachms' of Asia. These, too, are described as being in "Eastern style", but the types are even more closely allied to those of Rome, including Aequitas-Moneta, an eagle, modius, priestly emblems, a galley, and Liberalitas emptying her cornucopiae - whether signifying a general largesse, as at Rome, grants to the various cities, or donatives to the troops does not seem clear. The only slightly divergent type seems to be the crescent and stars: Mattingly notes the variant with four or five stars instead of seven occurs only in those issues which he assigns to the East. He suggests this may have some unknown significance; at the moment, it seems less, as in the case of the 'Eastern' features in the previous group, a matter of an admixture of genuine local elements than, like the globe under the bust, a provincial variant which might have occurred almost anywhere in the Empire, a Provincial Roman type.

Hadrian also continued, and augmented, Trajan's road-building programme. In the Decapolis area he built the roads from Jerash to Adra'a,³⁴

and Adra'a to Bostra,³⁵ and connected the Scythopolis-Pella-Jerash road with the Via Nova at Philadelphia.³⁶ Avi-Yonah dates this last to A.D. 129, connecting it with Hadrian's visit to the area, and suggests that the road back to Judaea, from Heshbon to Jerusalem via Livias and Jericho, may have been built for his return journey westward.

He postulates that the remainder of the roads within Judaea can be divided into two groups, those built prior to the Bar-Kochba revolt, and those built in consequence of it either during the campaign, to facilitate the movement of troops, or afterwards, to improve communications between the various garrisons, and thus improve the military security of the new province. To the former group he assigns the milestone dated A.D. 130 on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza,³⁷ relating it to Hadrian's passage during his visit. Another explanation may be possible: the rebuilding of Jerusalem may already have been planned at the time, and Gaza dates its era to 129/30,³⁸ and so may have been raised in status, or materially assisted, by Hadrian at this time, meaning that he had a special interest in the two places joined by this road. To the military operations during the revolt are assigned the roads from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis,³⁹ and perhaps that from Jericho to et-Taiyibe (Aphairema)⁴⁰ which Avi-Yonah sees as an extension of the road from Gophna, and possibly as an extension of the Roman line encircling the revolutionaries in the Jerusalem district in the closing stages of the campaign, the location of which seems conjectural. The extension, in turn, he suggests was later connected with the Transjordan, by way of the Heshbon-Jericho road built previously, since the only extant milestone on this road is attributable to Hadrian.⁴¹

To the period after the revolt he assigns the roads radiating from Legio (Lajjun, Kefar 'Otnay), the new base to which Leg. VI Ferrata was transferred when Judaea became the proconsular province of Syria Palaestina, with two legions, after the revolt.⁴² The road connecting Caesarea with Scythopolis is now known to be Flavian, but his view that the northern road from Legio to Sepphoris, which has milestones dating to the reign of Hadrian, belongs to this Period, may be correct. Another road to Ptolemais gave access to the main coastal road, while one to Scythopolis provided a link with the Transjordan arterial system, and a third road through Sebaste, Neapolis and Gophna connected Legio with Aelia Capitolina.

Avi-Yonah states that up to Neapolis, this road is certainly Hadrianic, but its continuation is assigned only on logical grounds to the same scheme - the earliest known milestone dates from 162. However as pointed out previously, it seems likely that the milestone on the road from Jerusalem to Neapolis (CIL III 14384), with the two inscriptions attributable to Nerva/Trajan and Trajan/Hadrian,⁴³ which he considers belongs to the road to Caesarea, is just as likely to mark the road from Jerusalem to Neapolis, since the Flavians had an interest in both places, Neapolis, a new foundation, and Jerusalem, the base of Leg. X. The same applies to a possible Hadrianic repair of this road, since Hadrian founded Col. Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem, and built a temple on Mt. Gerizim. A connection between Legio and Jerusalem via Neapolis and Samaria thus seems certain at this date.

Finally, Avi-Yonah lists another "security road" built by Hadrian from Ptolemais to Tiberias, via Sepphoris, giving access into the heart of Galilee.⁴⁴

Nor was Syria proper forgotten. A Hadrianic milestone from the road from the colony of Berytus to Damascus,⁴⁵ which Hadrian raised to the status of a metropolis (see below), shows that this road was built or repaired at this time.

However, Hadrian's major superimposition was the rebuilding of Jerusalem as Colonia Aelia Capitolina. Planned perhaps in 130 (see below) and constructed from ca. 135, it was established without ius italicum⁴⁶ (perhaps so as not to detract from the prestige of the senior colony of Caesarea), but with a governing body formed by the decurions.⁴⁷ The city was divided into seven Amphodoi, or districts,⁴⁸ possibly on the model of the fourteen regiones of Augustan Rome.

With few exceptions, where surviving Herodian work was utilized as a basis for its replacement, the city was literally rebuilt from the ground upwards - indeed, in some places, from below ground level. The results of the recent British excavations lead Kenyon to conclude,⁴⁹

Hadrian thus very literally abolished Jewish Jerusalem with his construction of Aelia Capitolina. Within his city he buried it to level up the site for his regular lay-out. Outside it he threw it away in order to use the very rock on which it was built for his own city.

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One instance of this must suffice. In Kenyon's Site C, the Muristan area south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,⁵⁰ the excavators found a fill composed of interlocking layers of material from two periods, the seventh century B.C. and the first century A.D., distributed throughout. Within this fill was a large drain. Kenyon suggests that when the appropriate level was reached, the drain was constructed and tipping resumed, presumably until the required surface level was obtained. This area lay beneath Byzantine levels. The later content of the fill was closely comparable to that found at Qumran prior to its destruction in A.D. 68, but Kenyon states, as a tentative assessment, that the pottery included forms not found elsewhere in the destruction levels at Jerusalem, and so considers it slightly later, the debris cleared by Hadrian during the construction of his new city; the ascription seems reasonable.

Despite such drastic operations preparatory to construction, the plan of the new city does not seem to have been canonical. Working from the Madaba mosaic of the sixth century town, Watzinger⁵¹ traces the line of the main north-south street, the "cardo", from the semi-circular piazza behind the Damascus Gate to the Roman South Gate within the expanded Late Roman city. This street was colonnaded, and another similar colonnaded street ran from the same piazza, and took its direction from the north-west corner of the Temple platform. He is unable, however, to discern any real decumanus. Instead, two shorter cross-streets ran east-west, the first from a bend in the more easterly of the colonnaded streets, parallel to the north side of the Temple platform, to the eastern city gate, the second from the west gate, leading to the vicinity of the 'Tower of David', where Watzinger locates the camp of the Tenth Legion,⁵² then turning south and finally joining the main street, the first-mentioned colonnaded street, approximately level with the south gate. Watzinger considers that Hadrian's Aelia must have had a formal decumanus, and it was simply omitted by the mosaicist - he points out that the Ecce Homo Arch is also missing, an indication that the mosaicist did not include all extant buildings.

However, such an omission does not seem likely - the deliberate exclusion of a main street, one of the two axes of the whole town, seems of a different order to that of a single arch. Furthermore, the lay-out as shown in the mosaic is not dissimilar to that of other towns in the area. Second century Jerash, for example, had two major cross-streets branching off from the "cardo", from the South Tetrapylon to the South-West Gate, with another arm continuing eastward, and from the North Tetrapylon to the North-West Gate.⁵³

Had the planned Hadrianic extension south of the city been completed, it would undoubtedly have had at least one more. Palmyra, in its expanded second-to-third century form, also has several streets of approximately equal size branching off from the main street, the "Grand Colonnade".⁵⁴ This cross between the Roman axial plan, the older "Hippodamian" chequer-board of the Hellenistic world, and the spontaneous and erratic growth normal in a town was in part the result of pre-Roman foundations, in part the result of expansion in accordance with the imperatives of the individual topography, but it results in something approaching a standard hybrid plan, a town more or less symmetrically laid out in regular blocks, axial in the sense that it was dominated by a single major long axis, which was very clearly articulated (in the case of Aelia by duplication), a colonnaded street or plateia, like that of Antioch - which, from the description provided by Libanius,⁵⁵ seems to have had this same sort of plan. The type was thus in part superimposed, in the regular lay-out of the lesser streets, but in part spontaneous, since the main street was often structured by the local topography, or part of the pre-existent road around which the original settlement grew up.

The conditions which brought about this plan in the other towns mentioned did not apply in the case of Aelia, which was effectively a new foundation. It seems likely, however, that while the examples cited are contemporary with, or later than, Aelia, this plan had already reached the stage of evolution where it was already a recognisable form - not enough seems to be known about pre-second century Samaria, for example, to be clear as to its form in this regard,⁵⁶ but the Gabinian remains show that the part of the town laid out at that time took the form of chequerboard blocks, and it later acquired a colonnaded street that was a miniature of that at Antioch, while at Antioch itself the orthogonal plan seems to go back to its Seleucid foundation,⁵⁷ and the main street had acquired its overriding importance by the time of Herod. And it also seems likely that Hadrian's Aelia by choice made this gesture to the established local architectural milieu, so that its overall plan was in line with that of the other major cities in the area.

The individual buildings, however, show less sign of concession to local taste. In a sense they are more 'Greek' than his buildings at Rome, in that there is minimal indication of the new curvilinear architecture favoured at Rome since the time of Trajan, or the new complex segmented vaults, the famous "pumpkins" associated with Hadrian himself. But this may be a matter of the evidence itself, since the buildings are known only from brief literary

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allusion, or at best, from coin portraits. This gap in the evidence is particularly unfortunate, since it was during the second century that Syria, like Rome, adopted the new developments in curvilinear architecture and engineering, and reliable information as to the appearance or otherwise of the new architecture in Hadrian's foundation would have been of great assistance in determining its chronology and development, and settling the question of what derived from Rome and what from Syria - although there can be little doubt that the overall genesis was in Italy.⁵⁸ But be that as it may, the types attested in the new colony are almost entirely Roman ones, and somewhat old-fashioned ones at that.

The only evidence for the original buildings of the foundation is literary, in combination with two coin portraits of buildings so ascribed. The main focus of the colony, almost its raison d'être, was the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus on the site of the destroyed Herodian Temple.⁵⁹ Watzinger cites coin portraits, without further reference, but from his description there seems no hint that it was à escaliers, or in any way bizarrely Oriental, and the coin illustrated by Price and Trell⁶⁰ (presumably the same) bears this out. Rather, it seems to have followed purely Roman models. According to Watzinger, the temple contained cult statues of the Capitoline triad, as well, apparently, as a statue of Hadrian, in addition to an equestrian statue of the emperor outside, in front of the temple. This recalls not only the Capitolium, but also, perhaps, the Temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum complex, something which interested Hadrian, since it was he who undertook the restoration of this complex.

A second temple, the Temple of Venus, is also attested by literary sources and depicted on coins.⁶¹ According to Christian tradition, it was built on the site of the Holy Sepulchre. There seems no reason to doubt this story, if the Christian tradition regarding the location of the Sepulchre was already in existence in Hadrianic times. The archaeological evidence regarding the near-total obliteration of the Jewish city confirms the inference of literary sources regarding Hadrian's motivation: the construction of the new city, in particular the erection of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the site of the Jewish Temple, was intended as a specific measure against Judaism and the militant patriotism it inspired, the natural complementary step to its destruction by Titus, namely its replacement with a Roman equivalent. Judaism and Christianity were

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inextricably linked in the minds of contemporary Romans - see, for example, the fragment of Tacitus paraphrased by Sulpicius Severus in Chron. ii.306.⁶² Given Hadrian's attempt to literally bury the focus of Judaism under one Classical temple, it does not seem implausible that he should attempt to do the same for what he considered to be the physical focus of its major offshoot.

Some exiguous remains have been attributed to this sanctuary by Watzinger, a corner of a wall in Herodian masonry (which he considers to be re-used) with small attached pilasters, which he interprets as part of the enclosure wall of the temple: if the attribution is correct, the possibility of an axial sanctuary with propylaea and entrance stairway, like that of Artemis at Jerash, is ruled out. However, the main source of reliable information about this temple is the coin portraits he cites, in which he describes a round temple with cupola and peristyle, like the (later) round temple at Baalbek, containing the cult statue of the goddess. Unfortunately, the nature of the dome does not seem clear; if it is a true dome then it is certainly among the earliest attested in Syria. Again there is a symbolic connection with Hadrian's buildings at Rome - Watzinger points to Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome, Venus being the divine ancestress of the Caesars (originally the Julian gens, but stressed particularly by Hadrian) and an integral part of the imperial cult.⁶³

Watzinger⁶⁴ draws attention to a brief passage in the Chronicon Paschale which lists other buildings ascribed to the foundation of the Hadrianic city, two structures which are "öffentliche Thermen", a theatre, a "Tetranymphon", a "Triameron", the "Kodra" and the "Dodekapylon".

None of these buildings have so far had remains firmly imputed to them. If the baths are, as he suggests, *thermae*, then it is possible that the new architecture, with its concern for enclosed space which the emphasis on domes allowed, featured strongly, but this is a matter for conjecture. The theatre, he suggests, may have been a reconstruction of the old Herodian building, while the "Tetranymphon" was "einen öffentlichen Brunnen" - it may have been a *nymphaeum* of the type built later at Jerash (see Ch.IV) and once again the possibility of the use of domes and vaults in the service of curvilinear architecture exists, but it is undemonstrable. Watzinger⁶⁵ envisages it as a building with four streams running through it, or four wells, rather than a foundation wall surrounded on all four sides by stoas, in the manner of a Greek *tetrastoon*. He notes, however, that it has been

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tentatively located in the area of the Pool of Siloam, where remains have been found. Certainly, the adornment of this traditional site with pagan embellishments would have been in accord with the policy evident in the siting of the temples. The remains in question tend towards the tetrastoon interpretation, though certainly with the elements of a Roman ornamental nymphaeum as exemplified in the imperial residences at Rome. A square courtyard 23 x 23 m. was surrounded by halls, which opened on to the interior through pilastered arcades; save on the south side, where the entrance lay, the walls were fronted by a projecting enclosure 1.22m high and rounded at the top, behind which flowed the spring water which entered the building from the north-east corner, forming a basin from which it could be drawn. This fountain-house was still in existence in the time of Pilger of Bordeaux, from whose description Watzinger presumably derives some of the above details. It was then known as the Quadriporticus - which sounds like a direct translation of tetrastoon. The "Kodra" also requires interpretation. Watzinger⁶⁶ takes it to be a loan word, quadra or quadrum, referring, as at Hebron, to the Temple enclosure; this does not seem to be the only possibility.

However, Watzinger's explanation of the "Dodekapylon"⁶⁷ is more convincing. The building in question clearly had twelve gates, and was previously called the "Anabathmoi", the tiered or stepped building.⁶⁸ Following Vincent, he takes this to be a circus or hippodrome, the name deriving from the twelve carceres (starting-gates), noting that the carceres of the Circus Maximus at Rome are called "XII portae" in the "Regionsbeschreibung."⁶⁹ He further suggests that the Dodekapylon of Aelia was a monumental enlargement of the old Herodian hippodrome.

This seems conclusive. It is difficult to think of any other type of structure whose most prominent features were a stepped construction and twelve gates, the only, and less likely, possibility being an amphitheatre - in either case it would represent yet another retrospective Roman endorsement of the work of Herod. The change in the nickname of the building has further implications. If the twelve gates are correctly identified as carceres, it would seem that these were a special feature of the new, as opposed to the old, building, with the strong implication that the Hadrianic 'hippodrome' was a circus. At the same time it casts retrospective doubt on the nature of the Herodian building, whose most striking feature, which gave rise to its name, was the seating. However, this name change does not entirely rule out the possibility that the earlier building was also a

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circus, since the structural change which inspired it may have been no more than the replacement of wooden carceres with permanent, more sumptuous, ones, as in the case of the Circus Maximus at Rome, where Caesar built, or rebuilt, the carceres in tufa, and Claudius replaced the tufa ones with marble.⁷⁰

On the other hand, the interpretation of "Trikameron" is more vexed. Watzinger⁷¹ canvasses two different theories, one that it was the Capitolium, with three separate apses to house the cult statues of the Capitoline triad. If so, it would make the new temple even more Roman in form, since such an arrangement should derive from the old tripartite 'Tuscan' temples, like its model, the Capitolium at Rome (although the tripartite plan is also characteristic of some eastern temples), in combination with the apsidal setting of cult statues, a special feature of temples to the emperors' personal tutelary deities since the first century B.C., and so part of the imperial propagandist paraphernalia.⁷² However, Watzinger himself prefers the explanation that the term refers to a triumphal arch with three vaulted passages, because of the structural oddity implied by the alternative.⁷³

There are difficulties with this interpretation too. No remains of such a triple arch can be assigned with conviction to the foundation of the colony: those to the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are associated with Corinthian capitals of typically Severan cast, which cannot be earlier than the late second century; his suggestions that it may have lain a little further to the north, or outside the Damascus Gate, are purely speculative. Furthermore, the latter suggestion, and indeed to a certain extent the whole interpretation of the word is based upon the fact that Jerash also had a Hadrianic "Trikameron", the famous Arch. This triple arch is now known to have been the gate of a new walled quarter which was never built (see below). While this militates against Watzinger's argument it does not entirely nullify it, since the 'Arch' was in fact converted into a freestanding monument, possibly even in Hadrian's lifetime: the dedicatory inscription was cut in A.D. 130, but the passage referring to the donor, a private citizen, was inscribed over an erasure, a change perhaps to be connected with the change in the form of the monument; how much later than the original inscription this alteration was is impossible to say.

Certainly, it is probable that the new colony possessed one or more triple-arched gates. Both Watzinger⁷⁴ and Henderson⁷⁵ cite the testimony of St. Jerome to the effect that over the west gate was a marble statue of a

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boar, which Watzinger states was the emblem of the Tenth Legion,⁷⁶ the permanent garrison of Aelia as of Jerusalem - and which therefore might be expected to have assisted in the construction of the new city, and although no details are given it seems likely that its structure resembled that of the Damascus Gate, which is assignable to this construction phase only on grounds of general probability.

Of the latter, Kenyon⁷⁷ says that the original first century construction is complete only as far as the voussoirs of the arch (of the eastern side passage) - enough in itself, incidentally, to guarantee the continuity of the triple-arched plan from the time of Agrippa I, and the acceptance of this part of Herodian Jerusalem as it stood by the later builder - and that above this point an entirely new masonry appears, matters being confused by the construction of a cistern in Umayyad times. She dates the upper part of the structure to the time of Aelia Capitolina, in a fastidiously worded reference to a stone, slightly off-centre from the key-stone of the arch, on which is the mutilated inscription restored as COL(onia) AEL(ia) CAP(itolina) D(ecurionum) D(ecreto); she qualifies the assertion in the text that this re-located stone dates to the relevant part of the city wall with a footnote to the effect that it certainly belongs to a public building of Aelia, and that Hamilton has suggested that it was brought in from elsewhere, but also points out that Hennessy,⁷⁸ the later excavator, considers that it was merely levered 20 cm. out of position to take the spring of a relieving arch built in the Crusader period. Hennessy also mentions the discovery of a stone with an inscription of Leg. X re-used in a nearby Crusader building.⁷⁹

Some doubt must certainly attach to the date at which the inscribed stone was first placed in its present position: the arch in question is, after all, only that of the lateral pedestrian passage, and one would expect that the gate inscription would have been located over the main, central carriageway. It is, however, a relatively cursory text, and so not entirely inappropriate to a subsidiary part of the structure. If the stone is indeed in virtually its original position, then the construction of the gate cannot belong to the very foundation of the colony, since D(ecurionum) D(ecreto) presupposes the existence of its governing body. Nevertheless, it should probably be assigned to the initial construction phase.

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There is no doubt that this was the later gate of Aelia. It is not impossible that the Hadrianic gate was originally intended to be a new, more grandiose affair elsewhere in this wall, and the siting of the gate in the same position as its predecessor was an afterthought, perhaps an economy measure, later in the reign of Hadrian, in the reign of Antoninus, or even later - Aelia endured for at least a century or more without substantial change.⁸⁰ Indeed, the construction of an entirely new gate would accord better with the thinking evident in the rest of the town. But the preservation of part of Agrippa's gate in the face of these demolition activities, as if for reconstruction, militates against such a theory and supports the view that this re-utilization was envisaged from the first.

The attribution of other known structures of Aelia to the reign of Hadrian is even more doubtful. The Madeba mosaic shows an honorific column in the semi-circular piazza behind the Damascus gate, and Watzinger suggests that it bore, like the column of Tiberius in Antioch, a statue of the "founder", in this case Hadrian.⁸¹ There is no doubt that this column from Aelia should be considered a Roman superimposition, since, whatever the origin of the type, the erection of the columns of Nero at Mainz and Rome and of Trajan at Rome means that it was now considered part of the imperial trappings, like the triumphal arch, and there is no indication of the type appearing in Judaea prior to this date. It must be reckoned, at the least, as an instance of the spread of the Romano-Syrian milieu (although the same cannot apply in the case of the columns of Soados in Palmyrene⁸² which belong to the reign of Antoninus, given the possibility of a pre-Roman tradition in that area). However, the ascription of the column at Aelia to Hadrian, while plausible, is no more than speculation.

There is even less reason to suppose that the remains of a shrine of Isis and Serapis discovered during the excavations near the Church of St. Anne⁸³ should be imputed to the Hadrianic building phase: while there is numismatic evidence attesting the existence of the cult in the reign of Antoninus, the capitals found in association with these remains, called "Antonine" by Watzinger, should be late Antonine at the earliest;⁸⁴ these, however, may represent a secondary phase, if they belong to the building at all - they were re-used in a Christian structure - since the existence of a dedication by a vexillation of Leg. III Cyr., dating to the reign of Trajan and found near Jerusalem⁸⁵ shows that the inception of the cult, perhaps

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by these troops newly arrived from Alexandria,⁸⁶ pre-dates the Hadrianic rebuilding. In any case the heterogeneous elements in the details, Roman and Romano-Syrian alike, suggest that it is less likely to have been a formal superimposition of Hadrian than something created, perhaps at the behest of the troops, by local artisans, and so should be assigned, albeit tentatively, to the section on response.

The other major superimposition which can with certainty be attributed to Hadrian himself is the Temple to Zeus Hypsistos on Mount Gerizim, above Neapolis. The temple, its dedication and author, are known from a passage of the mid fifth century author Macrinus, preserved in the Vita Isidori, while its existence is confirmed by other Samaritan writers and by coin portraits on issues of Neapolis under Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, Macrinus, Elagabalus, the two Phillips, Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus. These coins bear depictions of a Classical temple, not à escaliers, with four or five columns along the side, open at the front to reveal a standing cult statue, arms raised in the Ψ position, inside; somewhat exiguous remains found on Tell er Ras (the northern extremity of Mount Gerizim, modern Jebel et Tur) have been identified as the temple in question by Robert J. Bull.⁸⁷

There seems some doubt, however, as to which, if either, of the two structures discovered, Building A and Building B, should be so identified; Bull believes Building A to be the Hadrianic version, though in neither case is there anything to suggest stairs, or on the other hand domed or vaulted architecture. Imperatives of space forbid a detailed discussion of the matter here. In essence, the dimensions of the podium as reconstructed cannot be reconciled with the notion that Building A represents the original Hadrianic building for which it was designed, and it is more plausible that Building A represents a later rebuilding; the extant coin portraits point in a similar direction.

It should also be noted in passing that the coin portraits themselves must be taken as synoptic in respect of details such as the number of columns and the absence from the façade of columns which would have obscured the cult statue, the product of a typically Roman preoccupation with content and message which dictates that what pertains to these areas must be shown, even emphasized to the point of distortion, albeit at the expense of less vital details, a situation not dissimilar to that discerned by Susan Handler

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specifically in regard to Alexandrine coins but also more generally.⁸⁸ But even allowing for this the coin portraits suggest a multiplicity of structures rather than merely the difference in emphasis selected by the various die-makers: in particular the discrepancy between the fully peripteral temple shown on a tetradrachm issued under Macrinus⁸⁹ and the version shown in the Donaldson drawing,⁹⁰ which, if accurate, shows what are almost certainly four semi-detached columns along the long side, with the wall of the cella clearly visible between them, implying a temple like the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, is not easy to discount (the columns found were, of course, all full columns).

One hypothesis would be to assume that the differences in the coin portraits reflect two different Roman rebuildings of the temple, the second perhaps in the third century, commenced under Caracalla, when after an hiatus the temple again figures prominently on the coins of Neapolis.

Bull also mentions⁹² a late account which states that in the time of Julian the Apostate, when the temple had fallen into disrepair, a Samaritan priest incurred the wrath of the emperor by removing the bronze doors, which had originally belonged to the Temple at Jerusalem, and had been transferred to the Samaritan temple on the orders of Hadrian. Certainly, such an action would have accorded with the general motivation behind Hadrian's reconstruction of the Samaritan temple: as much as a benefaction to the Samaritans it must be read as a further blow at Jewish morale, a complement to the final abolition of the Temple by its replacement with the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, for in rebuilding the temple on Gerizim Hadrian was championing the Jewish God's traditional rival, raising up the shrine once destroyed by Jewish nationalists. The doors in question must be the famous Corinthian bronze doors of one of the ten gates to the outer courtyard, singled out by Josephus (BJ V.v.3) as more valuable than the others, which were covered by silver and gold, and are mentioned also, according to Thackeray, in Middoth ii and possibly in Acts iii.2,10.⁹³ Josephus states that each of the ten gates had two doors, and each door was thirty cubits high and fifteen wide.⁹⁴ If so, the bronze gates could not possibly have fitted the temple on the podium, Building A. If one can assume, however, that Josephus exaggerated the figures, or that he mistakenly gave the dimensions of the two doors together as those of each door, then the story remains plausible and offers an explanation for the disproportionate width

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of the podium, ca. 14.4m. to ca. 21.48 m. long: the extra width of the temple was needed to accommodate the pre-existent doors. Hadrian could not construct a normal rectangular temple with a length roughly twice the width large enough to take the doors, since, as the plan shows,⁹⁵ any further extension to the length would have taken the temple beyond the limits of the small plateau on which it was situated. The slope does not appear to be too steep for Hadrianic architects to have built a retaining wall and filled a sufficient area to allow this greater length, indeed greater feats were accomplished at Aelia, but the inaccessibility of the site (Bull quotes Epiphanius to the effect that the path up from Neapolis, 300 m. below, had more than 1500 steps⁹⁶) may have made the transportation of sufficient men and materials impractical. The doors, assuming a breadth for the two of ca. 15 cubits, could hardly have fitted the rectangular temple actually built as doors, but may have been hung inside as trophies.

The difficulty arises when one tries to trace the history of the doors in question. It seems most unlikely that they survived the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. They appear neither in Josephus' list of spoils carried in triumph at Rome (BJ VII.v.5) nor in the extant reliefs from the Arch of Titus depicting the triumph,⁹⁷ nor are they mentioned as part of Vespasian's international 'art gallery' in the Temple of Peace, where the golden vessels from the Temple were subsequently placed (BJ VII.v.7). If they survived the actual destruction, but were not taken as part of the official booty, then it is likely that they suffered the fate of all such large objects made of valuable metal: too big for any one soldier to take away as plunder, they would have been broken up and divided between a number of men. Indeed, it is most unlikely that they survived the flames in the first place. Josephus does not expressly mention their destruction, but describes the firing of the other outer gates, and the melting of their silver incrustations (BJ VI.iv.2), while a textually vexed passage (BJ VI.iv.7) implies the same fate for the gold-covered doors of the inner temple. After the defeat of the Jews the entire area surrounding the Temple, save only the towers Phasaël, Hippicus and Mariamne, was razed to the ground (BJ VII.i.i); if the bronze doors had not previously been taken as an imperial prize they must have perished then. The only salvation for the theory seems to be to suppose that Hadrian had replicas made, perhaps one supposition too many.

In summation, there is little that can be known with certainty about this superimposition of Hadrian, save its existence and dedication. One thing does remain. Even if the coin portraits refer to a later and

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radically different temple, it is unlikely that Hadrian's temple was à escaliers. From the time of Antoninus onwards this type rapidly became the norm, and if the Hadrianic temple had incorporated towers or other such manifestations of this type it is difficult to see why its successor would have deviated from it in this respect.

The dedication requires special treatment, which properly belongs to a consideration of Romanization the policy, something I hope to take up elsewhere.⁹⁸ It must suffice here to point out that something beyond the general purpose of championing the god of the Samaritans at the expense of that of the Jews is involved. Had this not been the case, the older syncretization would have been retained, for in the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes the Samaritans, as ardent Hellenizers as the Jews were not (and perhaps for that very reason), had written to Antiochus requesting that the hitherto unnamed temple be known as that of Zeus Hellenios (AJ XII.261), or, according to Marcus,⁹⁹ Zeus Xenios in the briefer mention in 2 Macc. 62. In Josephus' account Antiochus wrote back, granting their request (AJ XII.263). Zeus Hypsistos seems to have been a very obscure deity before the second century A.D. A.B. Cook¹⁰⁰ states that this is the name attached to the deity of a non-Hellenic area from Hellenistic times onwards, Baalshamin in Syria, Jehovah here, the cult being found also at Berytus, Byblos and Athens. There was, of course, also an altar of Zeus Hypsistos at Olympia. Seemingly little more than a convenient name, Zeus Hypsistos undoubtedly achieved his greatest prominence, and most distinctive form, as the Greek syncretization of the Unnamed God of Palmyra, whose diagnostic epithets, "benevolent" and "compassionate" (or "responsive to prayers"), identify him as a new and, according to Starcky,¹⁰¹ more spiritual, aspect of Baalshamin which evolved at just this time, and under which aspect Baalshamin, patronised most conspicuously at Palmyra by an associate of Hadrian's, for a time even rivalled Bel for pre-eminence in the Palmyrene pantheon.

Less certainly attributable to Hadrian, because of the source, is a long list of benefactions in Antioch rehearsed by Malalas. Apparently it was Hadrian who was primarily responsible for the reconstruction of the colonnades, already discussed, since it was he who, together with other senators, was placed in charge of the work done under Trajan,¹⁰² although they had already fallen into disrepair again in the reign of Antoninus, who once more refurbished them.¹⁰³ In addition, Hadrian, on his own initiative, is alleged to have constructed a public bath and an aqueduct, both called after

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himself, a theatre at the springs of Daphne, and to have been responsible for a number of other notable waterworks, the diversion of the stream through the "Wild Ravine", a task entailing "costly works" and such that when he had completed it he raised a "Shrine of the Nymphs" in Daphne in thanksgiving, with a large statue holding an eagle in its hand; he also made the water of the "Saramannan Fount" run along a channel to the "little theatre", caused the water issuing from "the temple" to run in five streams, and enclosed the Spring of Pallas, re-channelling its water to Daphne.¹⁰⁴ This list ill-accords with S.H.A. Hadrian (XIX.1) which states that he conceived such a hatred for the people of Antioch that he wished to separate Syria from Phoenicia, in order to diminish the importance of the area of which Antioch was the chief city. Nevertheless, the baths at least are subject to independent confirmation, in the passage Lassus cites from Evagrius mentioned elsewhere, which records that they suffered damage in an earthquake under Leo I.¹⁰⁵ It is evident that many of these works were connected, forming part of a larger project in Daphne, although the details are not entirely clear; the baths, aqueduct and theatre must at this date be supposed to be of Roman type, while the "Shrine of the Nymphs" was probably, though not certainly, a Roman variety of nymphaeum - the doubt about its counterpart in Aelia must reflect on this example too.

There are a number of other fairly nominal superimpositions which can be referred either to Hadrian himself or to some high official in the imperial bureaucracy, actions which, almost certainly unintentionally, add a few more minor Roman touches to the world in which the contemporary Syrian lived, or, in the case of the non-Hellenic cities involved, the Roman substitute, self-consciously superimposed Greek.

Most conspicuous among them is the demarcation of the imperial forests in the Afka-Akûra area with over eight hundred Latin inscriptions, mentioned elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ Caesarea benefited from the imperial goodwill towards towns which did not support the Jewish nationalists when Hadrian set his troops to build an aqueduct from Mount Carmel, an act which may have prompted a response in the form of the construction of a Hadrianaeum.¹⁰⁷ In addition, three towns were raised to the status of metropolis, Samosata in Commagene, Damascus (which also, perhaps by way of a thank-offering, had a Hadrianaeum.¹⁰⁸ Gaza, too, may have received some substantial benefaction, or promotion in status, since its era begins in A.D. 129/30¹⁰⁹ - it will be remembered that it was in A.D. 130 that the road from Jerusalem to Gaza was

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built. Frankfort¹¹⁰ links Hadrian's work at Caesarea and Damascus and his hypothesized work at Tiberias - it, too, had a Hadrianaeum - with his 'foundation of Greek cities' (i.e. new quarters) at Palmyra and Jerash and his desire to make a city of "Hellenic plan" at Jerusalem, but there seems no evidence for supposing it was of the same magnitude.

In terms of the present thesis, Hadrian's work at Jerash and Palmyra is perplexing. It is difficult to determine the exact nature of his role. At least in the case of Palmyra the city was nominally re-founded, became "Adriana Palmyra", and was declared "free",¹¹¹ a term which in this case may carry more than its usual honorary significance, since, as Rostovtzeff points out,¹¹² the Palmyrene Tariff, which dates from this time, shows that the dues were neither set nor collected by the Roman administration, but rather by the council of the city itself, perhaps, as he suggests, under the supervision of a Roman advisory board. It is doubtful whether there was any real change in the civic constitution, but from this time onwards the offices bore Greek names:¹¹³ as well as the strategos,¹¹⁴ the commander of the militia appointed as a dictator in times of emergency, attested from the time of Antoninus Pius onwards, there were archons, agoranomoi, a boule under the leadership of a proedros, and so forth. It was also at this time that Roman names indicating Roman citizenship began to appear among the population.¹¹⁵ The outward forms, at least of a Graeco-Roman city, in the loose sense in which the term must be applied in Syria, were observed. Moreover, the re-foundation also took a more tangible form: a new residential quarter was added to the city, laid out in chequerboard fashion and cut by a colonnaded street, the "Grand Colonnade" or a section of the "decumanus", joined by a transverse colonnaded street, commenced under Hadrian, which continued southwards and ultimately led to the Ephca spring.¹¹⁶ However, the eastward extension of the "Grand Colonnade" seems to have been constructed not from imperial largesse, but by the citizens themselves, with the same piecemeal benefaction system conspicuous in the major sanctuaries of the previous century.¹¹⁷ The change in this Period was real and substantial, but it is difficult to know whether to regard it as superimposition with consent, or elicited response, if indeed Hadrian's role can be deemed to have been even as active as that.

Furthermore, while the major impetus came in the reign of Hadrian, and plausibly stemmed from his visit to the city, and the bulk of the actual work belongs to the reigns of his successors, reaching completion only in

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the Severan period,¹¹⁸ it is open to debate whether the project might not be in some sense a continuation of something which had begun of its own accord in the previous reigns, a movement towards urban expansion and monumentalization to which Hadrian's interest and approval gave a fresh impulse and a definitive shape. Wheeler¹¹⁹ states that the column inscriptions from the "decumanus" date from A.D. 158 to 225, so that "this street, or its adornment" belongs to this time. The point is well taken. It is unlikely that Palmyra lacked a major east-west street on this line prior to this date, particularly since it finally terminates at the Sanctuary of Bel, the chief shrine of the city from Hellenistic times. It is not the road itself but its monumentalization and columniation - Bounni¹²⁰ mentions the discovery of water pipes for reticulation or drainage, about sixty shops, and several arcades and façades indicating the position of side streets or major buildings, suggesting a very similar programme to the contemporary colonnaded street of Antioch - which was new.

The other known major colonnaded street, the "cardo", meets the "decumanus" at right angles at its north-western extremity, near the Camp of Diocletian. According to Wheeler,¹²¹ the inscriptions from the "cardo" range in date from A.D. 110 to 139. According to Ward-Perkins,¹²² "none of the colonnaded streets of Palmyra is earlier than the time of Hadrian" and "inscriptions of A.D. 76 and 81 are another instance of the disconcerting Palmyrene habit of re-cutting earlier texts". However, if a text is re-cut, then presumably there was something on the same site previously on which it was originally cut: it seems possible that the monumentalization of the street system here, as at Jerash, was begun at an earlier date, but that some change was deemed necessary in the time of Hadrian which required previous work to be re-done, perhaps in a more sumptuous fashion, perhaps with capitals of a different type; it is not likely that the previous order was Ionic, given the early introduction of the Orthodox Corinthian order here, as opposed to Jerash, but the old chapiteaux épannelés remained in vogue until quite late, perhaps until the establishment in western Syria of Ward-Perkins' marble style capitals from Asia Minor reinforced the status of the fully carved variety. And the new Roman names mentioned include Ulpia as well as Aelia.¹²³

Such an hypothesis would, however, merely modify the picture of a radical transformation of the city which had its well-spring in the reign of Hadrian, who may in any case have played a role in any hypothetical intervention by the Trajanic administration in the previous reign: he was at some

time governor of Syria - though perhaps only for the last few months of Trajan's life (see M.A. Appendix). In addition to the new quarter, a group of public buildings seems to be related to the construction of the new residential quarter, although not situated in it, but rather on the opposite side of the "decumanus" and slightly to the east.

The Agora was not aligned either with the "decumanus" itself, or with the southern extension of the transverse colonnaded street which led to the Ephca, but it was apparently built, or drastically remodelled, in the reign of Hadrian.¹²⁴ It was far more Classical than the circular piazzas otherwise featured in towns of Syria, for example, that of Jerash, built in the first century A.D.¹²⁵ and probably in some sense a "forum", a public square, or the circular piazza at the southern end of the "cardo" of Palmyra itself¹²⁶ and the plaza inside the Damascus Gate of Aelia, shown in the Madeba mosaic, which are more safely regarded as purely of the order of tetr pylons and suchlike monuments, disguising a change in the direction of the road, or articulating its sectors in the best anatomical manner.¹²⁷ It comprised a square porticoed enclosure with a basilican hall along the east side, in which Ward-Perkins recognises a kaisareion, pointing out that this type of building never achieved the popularity in the Eastern half of the empire that it did in the West. Its lack of alignment with the southern extension of the transverse colonnaded street reinforces the idea that this extension of the transverse street was not envisaged in the initial stages of the project, for the Agora is situated far enough away from the "decumanus" for any discrepancy with it to be inconspicuous, but it stands very awkwardly in relationship to the street leading to the Ephca.¹²⁸ The theatre, on the other hand, is aligned both with Section B of the "decumanus" and with the Agora: the angled space left vacant by the discrepancy in orientation between the latter and the former is filled by the horseshoe senate house.¹²⁹ It therefore postdates the Agora, and probably belongs to the time when the general plans for the area had crystallized with the establishment of the new line of the road, but it is debatable whether this was later in the reign of Hadrian, in the reign of Antoninus, or in the later second or early third century, when the major construction of this section of the "decumanus" was effected.

There are a number of other public buildings connected with this stretch of the "decumanus" which should similarly be loosely ascribed to the project envisaged at this time, though their construction should belong to the later phase and the date of their planning is uncertain: the tetrapylon which marks the beginning of this section of the street, masking the slight change in direction entailed, which actually falls within the limits of the new residential quarter, and at least one apsidal structure which was apparently a public nymphaeum, like that later built at Jerash, which gave on to the street itself.¹³⁰

Nevertheless, older projects dating back to the previous century were still continued, although in one case with perceptible changes, and the suspicion of imperial interest which reaffirms the fact that, insofar as such things can be clearly determined, the major turning point in the city's architectural development occurred in the reign of Hadrian.

In the Sanctuary of Bel, work proceeded with the construction of the low porticoes, with the South Portico under construction between A.D. 80 and 120, while the West Portico was completed under Hadrian.¹³¹ Work also continued in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, but with a noteworthy change: the capitals of the Rhodian Court, dated stylistically to the first quarter of the second century and probably to the first decade, are Syrian Orthodox Corinthians,¹³² like all the major capitals which followed them. Perhaps even more importantly, a new temple was constructed, in an entirely different position from its predecessor.¹³³ The construction of the Rhodian Court and in particular the interpolation of this new temple are viewed by Collart and Vicari as extremely important steps in the progressive modification of the sanctuary towards the western style of orthogony, with the orientation by the long axis;¹³⁴ the temple, in addition, was far more Classical in type than any previous known temple in Palmyra, despite the retention of certain Eastern features. Built around A.D. 130 by Malé Agrippa, son of Yarhai son of Lishamsh, the "Town Clerk" who had previously furnished what was necessary for the entertainment of Hadrian and his retinue out of his own pocket,¹³⁵ the temple preserved the crowstep merlons and cella windows, the statue brackets on the columns of the pronaos, the thalamos and the orientation of the cella by its diagonals,¹³⁶ and the unit of measurement was based on

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the Babylonian 'foot' of 0.2875 m.¹³⁷ But the capitals were Orthodox Syrian Corinthians, and the proportions regulated by the dictates of Vitruvius, based on a module equal to the diameter of the columns;¹³⁸ the proportions of the façade closely approximate the requirements of Vitruvius' ideal eustyle dimensions, and the intercolumniations are precisely as he prescribes.¹³⁹

And it was not à escaliers. In this it almost certainly marks a departure from a very strong local tradition. Nothing can be gleaned about the earlier temple of Baalshamin in this respect, since only scanty remains tentatively identified have been found in the vicinity of the Hotel Zenobia, but the first century Temple of Bel was à escaliers, as was the Temple of Nabô. The pristine disposition of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, orientated by the diagonals, prior to its progressive modification towards a western style of sanctuary, is compared by Collart and Vicari to that of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Sia.¹⁴¹ In this prototype, the temple was also à escaliers,¹⁴² for all that the town was probably part of the kingdom of Herod, who favoured imported Classical forms, at the time that it was built.¹⁴³ There is a strong presumption that temples to the major gods of the Palmyrene Pantheon, particularly those with Mesopotamian associations, included a terraced roof and/or towers as a matter of ritual necessity, as well as in accordance with the prevailing architectural traditions.

How far the hand of Hadrian should be seen in this is a matter for discussion, but it is certain that the construction of this new Classicizing temple, which itself played a major part in modifying the disposition of the sanctuary as a whole towards the western form, coincided with the rise of the new aspect of Baalshamin which Starcky¹⁴⁴ considers represents a spiritualization of the cult consequent upon contact with the lands to the west, the 'Unnamed God', "he whose name is eternally blessed", the kind and merciful god who listens to prayers, whose Greek name was Zeus Hypsistos. It seems inescapable that the new temple was primarily dedicated to this aspect of Baalshamin.^{144a}

Malé Agrippa may perhaps be viewed as an instance of the Ramsay theory, a man who received the citizenship, and then proceeded to promulgate Roman culture, bending his family interest in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin - it will be remembered that his father, Yarhai son of Lishamsh son of Raai, was a major benefactor in the previous century - to this purpose. However, there is at least one other Palmyrene at this time who also served as an

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imperial agent in this manner, if indeed it was a matter of imperial policy, or an agent of the impersonal process of Romanization if it were not, and his case suggests that it is perhaps a slightly different system which is at work here, one perhaps peculiar to Syria, and most prevalent in Palmyrene.

The man in question is, of course, Soados son of Boliades, son of Soados, son of Taimisamos.¹⁴⁵ He is identified as a member of a cadet branch of one of the leading families of Palmyra by Mouterde and Poidebard¹⁴⁶ who argue that his father was the brother of Zebida, son of Soados son of Taimisamos, voted a statue in A.D. 118 by the 'senate' of Palmyra, "vu que le dieu Iarhibôl lui a rendu temoignage dans sa charge de symposiarque de prêtes de Bel", that office being the highest priestly appointment in Palmyra. The younger Soados sought his fortune beyond the confines of the city, and distinguished himself in the protection of his fellow-citizens engaged in the caravan trade and resident in the Palmyrene fondouq at Vologesia, in Parthia. In recognition of this he was honoured by the 'senate and people' of Palmyra with decrees and statues (in addition to those erected by grateful private citizens), namely four statues in the "tetradion" at Palmyra and three outside the city, one in Vologesia, one in Spasinu Charax (like Vologesia, a caravan town in Mesopotamia with close connections with Palmyra) and one in the caravan station of Gennaes.

This information stems from an inscription from an honorific column at Amad, which Mouterde and Poidebard hypothesize would once have served as a guide to travellers, marking the well from a distance, and which is therefore assumed to be the last-mentioned dedication. The last fragmentary lines of the bilingual inscription, as restored by Seyrig,¹⁴⁷ read, καὶ κτίσαντα ἐν Ὀλογα{σιλᾶδου ναδὸν τῶν Σε}βαστῶν...

The reconstruction, given the extant letters and spacing, seems reasonable enough in isolation, but the idea of a temple to the emperors in the middle of Parthia, albeit in a Palmyrene fondouq, is startling to say the least. Mouterde and Poidebard somewhat bemusedly cite for comparison the temple of the deified emperors at Dura, though admitting that it was not founded until Dura became a Roman possession. Rostovtzeff,¹⁴⁸ however, places it in a more credible perspective, pointing out that Hadrian must have enjoyed enormous popularity in Parthia, because he had just returned Mesopotamia to that kingdom, and revived the regular commercial relations between the two empires. This last recalls yet another reason for his enormous

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popularity in Palmyra, beyond his good offices and benevolent attitude to the city, and why Palmyrenes intimately connected with the caravan trade might well feel the need to express their devotion in such an extravagant manner, for Rostovtzeff himself points out elsewhere¹⁴⁹ that the annexation of Mesopotamia by Trajan would have greatly diminished the role of Palmyra, no longer a frontier town, as the middleman between the two powers, and its restoration by Hadrian must (temporarily) have relieved the anxiety of the merchants on this account.

In the Ramsay theory, the 'carrot', the inducement, is Roman citizenship. That is to say, in Asia Minor, Roman citizenship carried with it enviable prestige. If Soados was a Roman citizen, his admirers did not bother to advertise the fact in his inscriptions. And, given his social position, there is at this stage no reason why he should not have been enfranchised, regardless of temples to the emperors, had he ever shown the slightest inclination in that direction.

What is particularly emphasized is that his service in defence of his fellow-countrymen is attested by "letters of the god Hadrian, the divine emperor Antoninus his son, and also in an edict and a letter of Publius Marcellus as well as those of the governors his successors" (Rostovtzeff's translation). With this may be compared a later instance of something not dissimilar: in an inscription dated to ca. A.D. 200, the president of the Palmyrene 'senate', Malchos son of Bâreas, son of Malichos, son of Sêmanaios is honoured by the 'Senate and People' of Palmyra as one who held that office with integrity and distinction, and received the congratulations of "Aetorius Severus, the illustrious governor".¹⁵⁰ It is noteworthy that there is no indication that this man was a citizen, either. It is not only powerful Romans with whom personal contact was prized: in similar vein an inscription of A.D. 131 proudly records that the Palmyrene Yarhaï son of Nebozabad was made satrap of part of Mesene by its ruler Meherdates,¹⁵¹ and it will be recalled that in the time of Tiberius a Palmyrene merchant had it recorded both that he was entrusted with a mission to the Persian Gulf by Germanicus and that he had a similar association with Sampsigeramus II of Emesa.¹⁵²

The 'carrot' is still prestige, and still a type of prestige which bears testimony to the high standing of the Romans- but it is not the prestige imparted by Roman citizenship. Instead, it is the reflected glory accruing from personal contact with the highest Roman officials, the emperor,

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or at least a provincial governor.

This might have been seen as a transplantation of the Roman client system but for the examples cited, one at a comparatively early date, in which the source of reflected glory is not a Roman luminary but a native ruler, an indication that these social values were indigenous to Palmyra. It may be a matter rather of reinforcement, the coincident Roman analogue helping to ensure the survival of the non-Roman.

It may not have been confined to Palmyra. More doubtful cases can be found elsewhere in Syria, in this Period, for example, that of Noaros, apparently a non-citizen, who erected at Arados a statue in honour of his "benefactor", Julius Quadratus, governor of Syria A.D. 102-4, together with a fulsome dedicatory inscription glorifying his master Trajan:¹⁵³

4 Ἰούλιον Κουαδ[ρᾶτον]
 πρεσβευτην καὶ ἀντι-
 στράτηγον Αὐτοκράτ[τορος]
 Νερουᾶ Τραιανοῦ
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ κυρίου
 Νοαρος Νοαρου τοῦ
 8 Βαδρου, τον ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέ-
 την

Here the further promulgation of Romanization is confined to the sentiments expressed in the inscription itself. Similarly, in an inscription from the lintel of a triple gateway in the Artemis Propylaea at Jerash, dated to somewhere near the middle of the second century, a non-citizen dedicates something to C. Allius Fuscianus, governor of Arabia at some time before A.D. 140:¹⁵⁴

Γ(άλον) Ἀλλιον Φουσκιανδν ὑπατικόν
 Διογένης Διογενους Ἀρίστωνος Διδύμου

If, as Welles suggests, the accusative indicates that the dedication is that of a statue of the governor, which stood near or over the doorway (rather than the doorway itself), then again the 'promulgation of Roman culture' is confined to the sentiments expressed in the inscription. Doubtful in a different way is the case of the apparently unenfranchised family of Sarapion at Jerash.¹⁵⁵ Welles hypothesises that this family held what amounts to an hereditary imperial priesthood, on the basis of two inscriptions, the first from the reign of Nero commemorating the construction of an andron by

Sarapion son of Apollonius son of De(metrius), the second, from the middle of the second century, recording the dedication, ἐχ' ἐπανγγελίας, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας by Ἀπολλώνιος Δημετρίου τοῦ Σαραπίωνος ἱερῶμενος ἐκ τῶν ἰδῶν. Welles conjectures that this man may have been the grandson of the Sarapion of the previous century. There are three major difficulties here. Welle's case is somewhat tenuous: the family relationship between the two men is an attractive speculation, given the similarity of names in the filiation and the tendency for the same names to recur in a given family in Syria, but undemonstrable, since the filiation in the second case goes back only as far as Sarapion, a not uncommon theophor; that it was an imperial priesthood which Apollonius held is made likely by the specification that the dedication was ἐκ τῶν ἰδῶν, apparently to anticipate the false assumption that this was merely part of his priestly duties. But the imperial priesthood of Sarapion is purely a matter of reconstruction: Σαραπίων Ἀπολλωνίων / τοῦ Δημετρίου ἱερῶμενος Νέρωνος / Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος...; it is, certainly, plausible, since he was an imperial functionary of some sort, and there is a limit to such offices a non-citizen might have held - an imperial freedman is unlikely given the elaborate filiation. However, even if Welles' hypotheses are correct, there is still no sign of personal contact with any high Roman official - it must be presumed from the nature of the office.¹⁵⁶

What might be interpreted as a more pragmatic variant of the syndrome may have existed in Palestine, if Lieberman is correct (as seems likely) in postulating that the promulgation of Greek studies, for example by Rabbi Gamaliel, was a matter of social necessity, since this was the only way of achieving access to the Roman judicial system and the Roman governor.¹⁵⁷ The element of prestige, as an inducement, is not clearly manifest. The only case which might fall strictly within this category is that of Rabbi Joshua,¹⁵⁸ an associate of Hadrian, and in view of his rather Delphic reply when questioned about the rectitude of studying Greek, it is hard to term him an active promoter of Graeco-Roman culture. The only unambiguous cases, to my knowledge, involve Palmyrenes.

Given all this, it seems safer to view Malé Agrippa in the same light as the non-citizen Roman associates who promulgated Romanization, the variant syndrome rather than Ramsay's original phenomenon, particularly since it is possible that his father, Yarhaï son of Lishamsh son of Raaï, falls within the former category: apparently a non-citizen, he dedicated part of Portico C₄ in the Great Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin,¹⁵⁹ the construct-

ion of which is one of the later modifications singled out by Collart and Vicari as part of the progressive alteration of the layout of the sanctuary towards the long-axis type,¹⁶⁰ for all that it employed chapiteaux épannelés;¹⁶¹ only the element of personal contact with Roman authority is missing.

This is not to say that the orthodox Ramsay syndrome, with enfranchised local families assisting the spread of western culture, did not occur in Palmyra. It is, however, difficult to find clear examples. For instance, in A.D. 135 a certain Marcus Ulpius Abgar, son of Hairân, dedicated a statue to the centurion Julius Maximus who had assisted his caravan.¹⁶² It is doubtful whether this should be seen in the light of Romanization, or even taken as an indication of a particular love of his fellow Romans; such inscriptions to the protectors of caravans who performed such signal services are extremely common - for example those to Soados have already been mentioned, and what Starcky takes to be the younger brother of M. Ulpius Abgar, M. Ulpius Yarhaï, son of Hairân, was similarly honoured in A.D. 157 and 159;¹⁶³ it is more likely that Julius Maximus was embraced by an established Palmyrene system of approbation. Ulpius Abgar's gesture is, in any case, hardly comparable with the erection of a temple to the emperors in Vologesia, or the intromission of new, and by comparison with the other temples of Palmyra, strongly Classicized, temple into an existing sanctuary, in such a manner as to alter the overall layout by shifting the focus of interest, bringing the complex closer to the westernizing type, in all likelihood in the service of a new aspect of the deity which marked a profound change in the nature of the cult, again a modification towards a version compatible with more westerly counterparts.

More likely examples of the Ramsay mechanism exist elsewhere. An interesting example of what appears to be a combination of the Ramsay and the quasi-Ramsay mechanisms is attested at Apamea, in the person of L. Julius Agrippa, descendant of Prince Dexandros, the first high-priest of the provincial imperial cult, ambassador both of the emperors and of governors, and author of a basilica and baths, honoured in the reign of Trajan.^{163a} Other possibilities come from Jerash. In this Period there is yet another Flavius, Flavius Agrippa, who, in his will, provided the money for the city to erect the "Arch of Hadrian" in honour of that emperor.¹⁶⁴ Since no filiation is given it is not certain that he was a native Gerasene, but his name indicates that he was a Syrian by birth, enfranchised in the Flavian era, perhaps under the patronage of Agrippa II; since his donation was ἐκ δαπάνης it is possible that he was the first member of his family to

receive the citizenship, as the lack of filiation suggests. It is, of course, possible that the case should be referred to the quasi-Ramsay syndrome, though the evidence of contact with high-placed Romans is lacking; it depends more on the nature of the supposed patronage of Agrippa II, who, for these purposes, must be regarded as a Roman. Certainly, there is no doubt about his own sponsorship of Roman forms, for the 'Arch' is a typically Roman - gate.

In either case, or neither, it serves as a reminder that Jerash is in the same position as Palmyra when one is trying to differentiate between superimpositions and response. The only part of the new 'Hadrianic' quarter actually built was dedicated by the city from funds provided by a local citizen. Further complications arise on closer inspection. The fact that the benefaction was testamentary makes it difficult to suspect, as one does in the case of his Palmyrene namesake Malé Agrippa, that Flavius Agrippa should be regarded as an agent of Hadrian. However, the possibility of imperial intervention is not completely precluded. The donation of Flavius Agrippa was inscribed over an erasure in the inscription; a considerable amount of the original text had been omitted, and Welles is unable to supply a suitable restoration; he suggests, however, that the name of a provincial governor who was later disgraced may once have been inscribed before the commemoration of Flavius Agrippa. It also seems permissible to speculate that the missing section, like that which followed, referred to the funding of the monument; the projected quarter was never built, and the most likely reason seems failure of finance.

Kraeling¹⁶⁵ hypothesizes, on analogy with the Hadrianic quarter at Athens, that the new quarter of Jerash would have been bounded symbolically by an arched gate at each extremity, with a suitable inscription facing into the quarter; the inscription on the 'Arch' is indeed on the inner side of the gate, not the outer as one would expect, and, on analogy with Athens, the South Gate of the city should have borne an inscription informing the passer-by that he was now leaving the city of... and entering the city of Hadrian;¹⁶⁶ he further speculates that the South Gate itself may have been a present to the city from Hadrian. To take this speculation one step further, it would not be inconsistent for the other symbolic boundary of the quarter, together with its walls, to have been a benefaction by Hadrian himself, or one of his close associates, notice of which was removed from the inscription when the promised money failed to materialise. It is, of course, equally possible that the hypothetetical defaulter was another wealthy local citizen or citizens. The failure of the project necessitated modifications to the 'Arch' to allow

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it to remain a freestanding monument, and if the missing passage in the inscription did indeed refer to the funding of the project, then the change in the inscription should coincide with the change in the monument itself; unfortunately there is no indication of how much later the alteration took place.

Indeed, the whole projected Hadrianic quarter was once in the realms of hypothesis, a plausible conjecture on the part of the excavators based entirely on analogy with Athens, prompted by the location of the dedicatory inscription on the side of the 'Arch' facing the city and the fact that the 'Arch' was a gate. But the reality of the new quarter of Palmyra has since lent credence to the hypothetical project at Jerash, and the 'Arch' was, most certainly, intended to be a gate.

In a section of the east and west (i.e. lateral) faces 3 m. wide and of indeterminate height, the alternate courses were left untrimmed, so that they projected beyond the surface of the structure, forming a serrated profile, as if for bonding into the masonry of a wall,¹⁶⁷ an irregularity later masked by the erection of terminal pavilions, built of poorer materials, and not bonded into the central structure.¹⁶⁸ In addition, the attic of the arch proper was pierced by a passage running east-west, that is to say across the line of the roadway, at a height of 10 m., without any provision for access from the ground¹⁶⁹ - until the construction of staircases in the later pavilions presumably remedied the deficiency¹⁷⁰ - in other words, the same communication system as is found in Roman fortification walls, where the passage running from one side of the gate to the other connects either with guard-houses to each side, or with the walkway of the wall proper. Furthermore, the archways were equipped with doors and a mechanism for closing them, and, according to Kraeling, the inscription itself refers to the monument as a *πύλος* not an *ἀψίς*.¹⁷¹

What was actually built is more readily viewed as an extension of the programme of expansion and remodelling upon which the city embarked in the previous century, a programme continued by Trajan, rather than something engendered in the reign of Hadrian. The remodelling of the city was extended towards the north, not the south, with the reconstruction of the Temple of Artemis, the slightly later construction of the Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Artemis, and the concomitant monumentalization of the stretch of the "cardo" between the oval "Forum" and the Sanctuary of Artemis, the rebuilding of which, as Kraeling points out, effectively shifted the focus of the city further to the north.¹⁷²

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The temple itself was à escaliers,¹⁷³ but belonged to what almost amounts to a sub-species within the type, strongly Classicized in other respects, of standard Greek rectangular plan (the podium, which it effectively occupied, was 22.6 x 40.1 m.¹⁷⁴) and, like the rest of the complex, of the Corinthian order,¹⁷⁵ with architectural refinements such as entasis of the columns,¹⁷⁶ and an intercolumniation, of the variety referred to by Vitruvius, of ca. 1.25 times the column diameter,¹⁷⁷ that is to say, slightly narrower than pycnostyle.¹⁷⁸ Vitruvius disapproved of such proportions on practical, functional grounds as well as aesthetic ones - when the matrons mounted the steps for public prayer or thanksgiving, they could not pass between the columns with their arms around each other, but had to walk in single file, and the forest of columns spoilt the effect of the folding doors of the temple proper;¹⁷⁹ perhaps Gerasene matrons did not process with their arms around each other; in any case, Vitruvius' express disapproval is a guarantee that such proportions were not infrequent in actual practice. Like Bel at Palmyra, and unlike, for example, the Tychaion at Slem, the temple was essentially a Classical building with Eastern additions.

The sanctuary was of the western long-axis variety,¹⁸⁰ and, especially after the addition of the Propylaea (dedicated in A.D. 150¹⁸¹ and partially on the opposite side of the "cardo" from the temple, the whole complex lying at right angles to the "cardo"¹⁸²) and leaving aside the further ceremonial approach through the city (which seems to have constituted some sort of counterpart of the Panathenaic Way at Athens) its design significantly resembled that of the Heliopolitanum of Baalbek,¹⁸³ albeit with some differences.

At Jerash, the temple was set on a high podium carried on barrel-vaults (which, according to Fisher¹⁸⁴ seem to have been used for water storage rather than as a crypto-porticus, as at Baalbek), in the centre of a much larger, rectangular court with porticoes on all sides, very like the Temple of Bel at Palmyra. The plan published by Albright shows what appear to be barrel-vaulted corridors under the outer halls, in the same relative position as those of the Altar Court at Baalbek;¹⁸⁵ in a sense, therefore, the Altar Court and the temple platform of the Heliopolitanum have been telescoped into one.

From this court a flight of steps leads down to an unexcavated, narrower, almost square court, of which little is known. There is an overlap between the two shapes: the flight of steps which runs the full width of the smaller court (rather than taking the form of a monumental staircase)

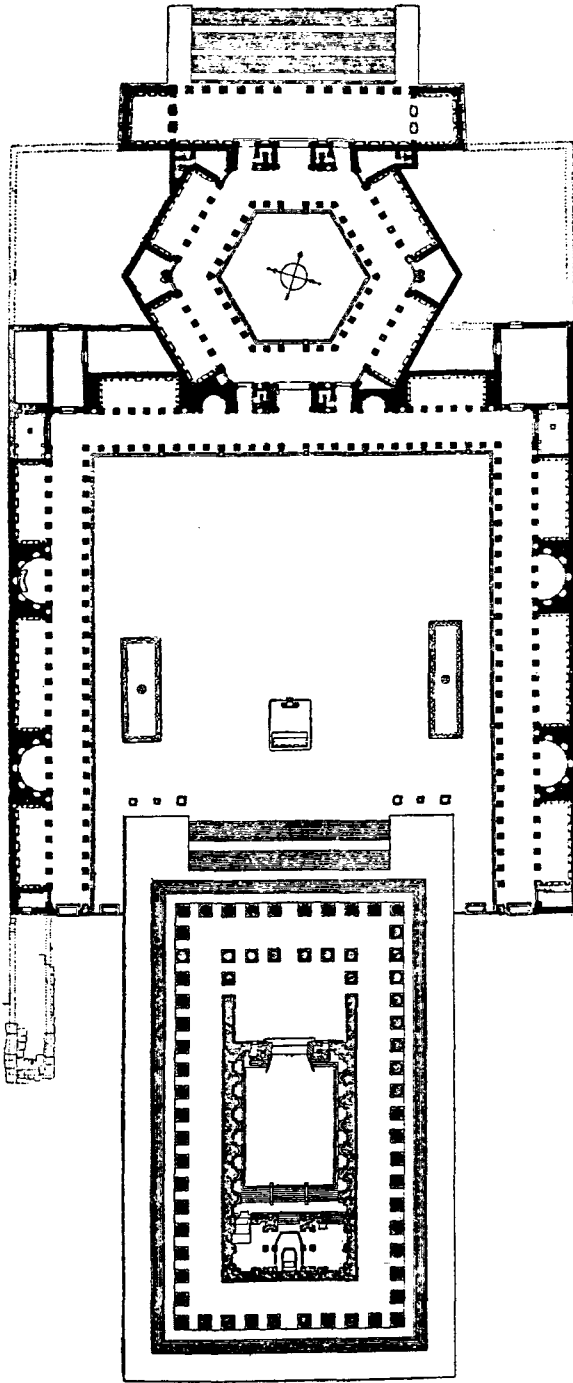


Figure 1

Simplified plan of the Heliopolitanum
at Baalbek.
(Adapted from Robertson, Handbook,
p. 222 Fig. 95.)

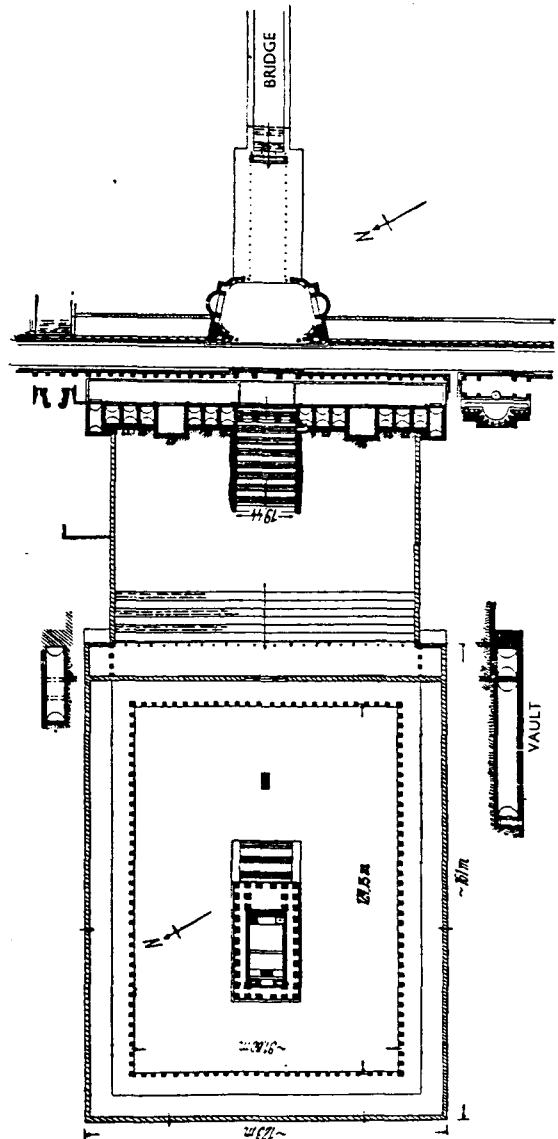


Figure 2

Simplified plan of the Sanctuary of
Artemis at Jerash.
(Adapted from Albright, ArchPalaest.
p. 171, Fig. 56.)

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encroaches on the notional rectangle of the upper court. Fisher¹⁸⁶ suggests that there may have been porticoes on either side of the monumental staircase intromitted into this court, and leading to the Propylaea, but states that although there is a deposit of debris over the southern half of the court, and passages were found to either side of the main stairwell, no trace of columns or of a parapet above the level of the stairwell has been found.

The staircase, which debouched well into this square court, led to the part of the Propylaea west of the "cardo", a narrow rectangular element lying athwart the axis of the sanctuary, with a row of small "shops", each divided into two parts by an exedra, on either side of the massive triple-arched gate, and a portico with its 'mur de fond' formed by the retaining wall of the complex, between them and the street. The complex was bounded on either side by projections in the retaining wall, and Fisher suggests corner towers.¹⁸⁷

Opposite, on the eastern side of the "cardo", was a rounded trapezoidal court which, fanning outwards towards the "cardo", eased the transition between it, the broad gate on the western side of the street, and the narrow rectangular colonnaded "sacred way" further to the east (which, crossing the Chrysorhoas on a bridge, continued as the processional way through the further parts of the city).¹⁸⁸

At Baalbek, the long rectangular podium of the temple was itself the first (or last) element, overlapping with, and intruding into, the broader, almost square Altar Court, which was surrounded on all sides by porticoes. There were two major exedrae on each of its long sides, and the whole of the façade of the outer wall (which should be regarded as their 'mur de fond') presented a vast display of aediculae and of rectilinear shapes alternating with curvilinear, plane surfaces alternating with curved, on the larger scale in the contrast between the exedrae and the straight wall between them, on the smaller scale with the aediculae within both the exedrae and the plane surface of the walls.¹⁸⁹ At the far end of the court from the temple, it too terminated in a narrow rectangular complex of halls and rooms set at right angles to the axis of the sanctuary, but in the case of Baalbek, this complex is very much a part of the Altar Court, falling within its notional outline, as the arrangement of the larger corner rooms demonstrate.

This notional outline is, however, broken by the intrusion of one of the facets of another, hexagonal court, which was built, according to

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


Rey-Coquais, under Philip the Arab,¹⁹⁰ but which must have been planned, in some form, earlier, since it served to connect the Altar Court with the Propylaea, which was under construction in the reign of Caracalla.¹⁹¹ The Propylaea itself was once again a narrow, rectangular element athwart the axis of the sanctuary, though much shorter, proportionally speaking than its closest counterpart on the western side of the "cardo" at Jerash, centrally located and occupying a space equal to only a little more than half the total width of the Altar Court (see Figs. 1 and 2).

Relatively speaking, the rounded, but partially angular element, the trapezoidal court answering to the hexagonal court at Baalbek, is out of order at Jerash, coming after the laterally placed narrow rectangle rather than before it, but this was conditioned by the presence of the "cardo" and the function of the trapezoidal court, to effect the transition between the "sacred way", the "cardo" and the remainder of the Propylaea on the opposite side of the road. The combination of shapes, a linear arrangement of rectangle, square, narrow lateral rectangle and a circular element with angular projections, is identical, but the order of the shapes and their proportions differ: variations on a single theme with a limited number of notes.

There is another major point of comparison between the two sanctuaries, not a diagnostic one, peculiar to them and so proof of a causal connection between them, but rather an indication of a generic connection, that they are products of the same school of architectural thought, namely the predilection for overlapping elements, disguising the transition between one and the next, rather than a strictly seriatim disposition with each element separate and fully articulated. This is manifested on the smaller scale in the preference for a temple with the podium extended to either side in front to enclose the staircase leading up from the court below,¹⁹² and on a larger scale in the overlapping of the courts or the intrusion of some part of one into its neighbour, creating an impression that the sanctuary flowed, or rather cascaded, down from the temple at its summit, like a stream of water from a fountain. The major difference between the two is the absence, or rather lack of attestation, of the interplay of rectilinear and curvilinear shapes in the central part of the sanctuary at Jerash.

The "cardo" itself was widened and repaved, a large sewer installed, running as far south as the South Tetrapylon, and new colonnades constructed.¹⁹³ It is also probable that it was at this time that the tetrakonia were

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introduced into the South Tetrapylon,¹⁹⁴ making a tetrapylon of what had previously been an indeterminate intersection. The mouldings of the tetrapylon are comparable to those of the 'Triumphal Arch' and the South Gate;¹⁹⁵ the order is Corinthian¹⁹⁶ rather than Ionic, with delicate, small-leafed capitals like those of the adjacent "decumanus": the tips of the fronds of the lower row touch to form the pattern , as in the capitals from the South Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra,¹⁹⁷ which should date from early in the reign of Antoninus (see below), save only that the leaves of the the latter touch once again to produce an extra rectangle above the two upper lozenges, . The tetrakonia are arranged so that their axes are parallel  to those of the intersecting streets, specifically the "cardo" and the southern "decumanus", and the outer columns of the tetrakonia continue the line of the Corinthian street colonnades.¹⁹⁸

For the most significant characteristic of the whole programme was the change from the Ionic order to the Corinthian in major public buildings. Not only were the street colonnades Corinthian, the order of the Sanctuary of Artemis, but when the widening of the "cardo" necessitated a new gateway from the street to the old oval "forum", that too was built in the Corinthian order¹⁹⁹ matching the street and not the "forum", an indication, surely, of the uncontested pre-eminence of the new order. Jerash had finally caught up with the rest of the region.

This programme, the extension and remodelling of the city to the north, was conceived in outline, if not in detail, in the reign of Trajan, for the "cardo" terminates at the North Gate, which is dated to A.D. 115.²⁰⁰ The change in the order, too, was probably determined at this time: the four pilaster capitals from the gate were Corinthian,²⁰¹ but the design was merely blocked out; Detweiler calls them unfinished, but it seems possible that they were intended for chapiteaux épannelés. The earliest undoubted Orthodox Corinthians on the site belong to the later part of the Period.

Kraeling sees the construction of the North Gate as connected with the improvement of the road to Pella, which commences from this gate, in 112, and both ultimately as a reflection of the political stability and consequent increase in commercial intercourse which the policies of Trajan had brought to the area. It can also be viewed as a natural progression of the building programme of the first century, which received fresh stimulus from the general measures for the area implemented by Trajan. Since Jerash was in Arabia, not Syria, even hypothetical activity during Hadrian's governorship

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of the latter province cannot counteract the impression that the main thrust of the programme came before the time of his accession. Indeed, in the inscription from the North Gate, as restored by Abel, Trajan is called
 σ/[ω]τῆρος κ[αλ κ]/τῆσται.

The bulk of the actual construction was undoubtedly the responsibility of the Gerasenes themselves; the North Gate was dedicated by the city itself;²⁰² the preserved inscriptions from the columns of the South Tetrapylon and the adjacent streets are for the most part third century or later, but bear names which were obviously those of Gerasenes, many of them Roman citizens;²⁰³ in the Sanctuary of Artemis itself, apart from the dedication by the city of the Propylaea, there is a third century dedication by one Flavius Munatius, son of the centurion Flavius Munatius, who seems to have held the office of strategos in Jerash.²⁰⁴ But the undertaking is still not free from the spectre of imperial intervention, either by direct encouragement to the city or through the activities of persons who may be suspected of being imperial agents. Bellinger,²⁰⁵ warning of the dangers of ex silentio evidence and of drawing conclusions from so small a number of coins, tentatively places the inauguration of the local mint under Hadrian, which seems to imply some change in the status of the city. Kraeling²⁰⁶ notes the presence in the city of imperial freedmen, who, to judge from their Latin tombstones, settled there with their families and may have held local offices; Hadrian's bodyguard, including eight turmae of Leg. V Macedonica, and probably a detachment of Leg VI, wintered in the city during the emperor's visit to the province, and left Latin inscriptions recording the dedication of an altar on behalf of the welfare of Hadrian in the Sanctuary of Artemis, and probably a statue of a legate on the bracket of an engaged column, if not the building to which it belonged, somewhere in the vicinity of the southern "decumanus" and the South Tetrapylon.²⁰⁷ What unrecorded part these people played in the building programme, and whether it was large enough to exert a formative influence, cannot be determined on the present evidence.

Furthermore, these same people, shorn of their imperial connections. serve to indicate the possibility of another, more casual form of Roman superimposition, that in which Romans of non-local origin, visiting or settling in the city, dedicated in its sanctuaries or participated in the benefaction system, their gifts, coincidentally, taking the form of Romanizing types, since these were the types to which they themselves were accustomed, thus introducing or promulgating Romanizing forms in Jerash. Kraeling

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conjectures that the presence of Hadrian in the city would have attracted not only the military, but also residents of other cities in the region, whose pleas he heard while in Jerash - a dedication marking the event, by one of the Flavii Flacci, has been found in the atrium of the Propylaea church.²⁰⁸ A specific example may be that of the famous "Germanus".²⁰⁹ The Temple of Zeus Epicarpus, north of the city, was rebuilt somewhere around the middle of the century, by a centurion whose name is lost. Nothing is known of this temple beyond this inscription, but nearby there was an exquisite Corinthian temple-tomb of the primipilaris Germanus, who died at the age of 77, dated by the lettering of the inscription to the second half of the second century. Kraeling identifies Germanus not only with the author of the temple, but also with the Aelius Germanus who apparently donated one of the columns of the "cardo" at some time near the middle of the century. Regardless of whether the concatenate chain of supposition holds or not, and whether there is one individual involved, or two, or three, the temple-tomb alone is a case in point. Germanus used a form of sepulchre which at this time was just taking hold in Palmyra, evidence of the internal acculturation of the province which tended towards a uniform provincial milieu, since it was probably imported into Palmyra from elsewhere in the region, as well as the Corinthian order, thus (in all likelihood unintentionally) assisting the spread of the milieu to Jerash.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, the projects commenced earlier in the Period continued, as will be evident from the material already discussed, with some new initiatives and some necessary modifications. Again the suspicion, but seldom the proof, of official Roman intervention and of superimposition attaches to a great deal of the evidence.²¹⁰ The most probable ascription to Antoninus himself is the continuation of work on the colonnaded street of Antioch, which seems to have been a special imperial project since the death of Herod (further justification, if such were needed, for the special Roman significance attached to this architectural type in this thesis, since the details of the other street colonnades in the area, the shops behind, the secondary colonnaded streets branching off, and so forth, suggest that it was the colonnaded street of Antioch which spawned all the imitations in the other cities). Lassus quotes Malalas as stating that Antoninus paid for the paving of the street out of his own pocket,²¹¹ although the kernel of truth seems more likely to be that he continued the work as a whole rather than merely attended to one aspect,²¹² and that he set up an inscription extant in Malalas' day, over the gate known as the Gate of the Cherubim, commemorat-

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ing the undertaking, this being the point at which his work commenced. Lassus identifies the gate as the Daphne gate.

The only difficulty is one which besets all the attributions based on Malalas for the reign of Antoninus, namely that the "Antoninus" to whom Malalas refers may have been not T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius, but M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus, Caracalla.²¹³ Lassus rejects the identification with Caracalla here, citing Downey, but without specifying his reasons. The identification of "Antoninus" in Malalas with Antoninus Pius rather than Caracalla seems to date from a period in modern scholarship when Caracalla was deemed unthinkable as well as unspeakable. More recent evidence from the province, particularly from Palmyra, has shown that he is most eminently 'thinkable', and there seems no proof of the identity of the emperor, either way, in this particular case.

The road-building programme may have been continued and expanded. An inscription cut in the base of a fallen, broken column, from the road through the Belas mountains from Salamieh to Palmyra,

```
imp.      caESAR
DIVI . HADRIAN. F
DIVI . TRAIANI. PARTH I
CI.NEPOS.  DIVI.NERVAE
pronepos t.aelius
hadrianus anto
ninus aug. pius
.....
```

may be one of the typical odic dedications, although this, obviously, is uncertain.²¹⁴ However, another in the same part of the area, CIL III No.131, re-used in a wall at Hatne, in the Palmyrene desert,

```
IMP      CAESARI
T. AELIO HADRIAN
ANTONINO AVG
PIO PP PONTIF
MAX TRIB POT
COs des II COH VII
```

confirms that there was official activity in the general vicinity, if not its nature.

There are several other important manifestations dating from the

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reign of Antoninus which are also referable to the Romans, though perhaps the Romans of the province itself rather than the emperor or central government. The most significant of these are the developments in the colony at Baalbek. Work still continued in the Heliopolitanum in this Period, with the decoration or re-decoration of the Altar Court in progress in the earlier part of the second century,²¹⁵ but a more significant new initiative was also undertaken, in a sense an adjunct of the Heliopolitanum, but obviously not part of the original unified plan of the sanctuary (crystallized by this time if not long before): the 'Temple of Bacchus', set to one side of the main complex, outside the temenos, and according to the reconstruction of Schulz in a separate temenos of its own.²¹⁶

The temple was completed in the reign of Antoninus: Malalas, with characteristic perversity, states that the Temple of Jupiter was built by "Antoninus Pius",²¹⁷ but since this is clearly impossible, not only on the stylistic grounds advanced by Ed. Wiegand in his painstaking study,²¹⁸ but also now because there is epigraphic evidence to support his dating of the Temple of Jupiter,²¹⁹ the statement is referred to the smaller temple.²²⁰ There is, in this case, confirmation that the "Antoninus" in question is indeed Antoninus Pius, and that Malalas has not confused or conflated him with Caracalla. The capitals of the 'Temple of Bacchus' fit very well with this date in the internal sequence at Baalbek itself, although the conservative nature of the architecture as a whole, seemingly born of a desire for the entire sanctuary to 'match', means that they were somewhat old-fashioned by the standards of the overall Syrian sequence;²²¹ to date them to the beginning of the third century would exacerbate the conflict between the internal and external sequences beyond the point of tolerance. Furthermore, there is epigraphic evidence which indicates that the Propylaea was under construction, nearing completion if not completed, in the reign of Caracalla:²²² the emphasis seems to have shifted back to the main sanctuary at that time.

The new temple was à escaliers.²²³ It does not appear to have possessed lateral towers, and so does not represent the fully developed type, but it is generally accepted that the roof was at least partially terraced.²²⁴ If Amy is correct, this represents a significant change, since the Temple of Jupiter, though possessing stairs leading to a gallery, was not à escaliers in the typical sense of the term, possessing neither a lateral tower or towers nor a terraced roof, functions of the cult which it housed.

This construction of an à escaliers temple in one of the senior

Roman colonies is the first known occurrence of the type in a heavily Romanizing context, and as such marks the acceptance by the provincial Romans of this thoroughly alien form, the product of an alien religion. It is noteworthy that even in the reign of Hadrian, those temples where there was a strong official Roman interest, or where such may be suspected, were not à escaliers, namely the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus at Aelia, the Temple of Zeus Hysistos on Mt. Gerizim, and the Temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra.²²⁶

The fact has even more impact if Ward-Perkins is correct in his interpretation of Roman intentions regarding the significance of Baalbek. He implies that the Romans deliberately set out to promote this sanctuary as the "focus for the religious loyalties of central Syria"²²⁷ - one might almost paraphrase 'as the religious capital of the province', remembering the anomalous joint foundation of the colony with the colony of Berytus, the administrative capital - noting the appearance of the patron deities of a number of other Syrian cities, including the Tyche of Antioch, in the coffering of the ceiling of the 'Temple of Bacchus',²²⁸ Following the inference through, this would seem to imply that the new temple was intended as a kind of Syrian Pantheon.²²⁹





This is not, of course, Romanization, rather the reverse, the reciprocal influence of Syrian culture on the Romans of the province, specifically on one of the major cantonments of European Roman settlers, but it is nevertheless a vital enabling factor in the development of the provincial milieu. The à escaliers type was too firmly established to disappear, to be subsumed by the stairless variety favoured in the previous imperial or quasi-imperial temples as late as the reign of Hadrian. Had the Romans of the colony not accepted the local form, it may well have proved an insuperable obstacle to the unification of the two architectural traditions.



The Roman 'imprimateur' may have acted as an immediate release mechanism, removing any hesitation the Syrians may have had in constructing new temples of the à escaliers type. From this time onwards such temples abound, and (if it is not merely an impression due to the preservation factor, the increase in extant evidence generally from the beginning of the second century) there is a sharp increase in their frequency. Apart from the 'Temple of Bacchus' there are two other important stair temples dating from the reign of Antoninus Pius, the Temple of Artemis at Jerash, and, according to Ward-Perkins, the Temple of Dmeir, discussed elsewhere,²³⁰ and in the following Period they proliferate.²³¹

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Also possibly to be referred to the Romans of the province, this time to the military, is an interesting example of the dissemination of a particular form, which demonstrates the presence of at least one, and possibly two, of the major mechanisms of transmission which one would have expected to find. Musil published a photograph of a battered Corinthian capital from the site of al-Bhara, a little to the south, and just slightly to the east, of Palmyra, as fig. 39 (p.142) in Palmyrena. The relevant portion of the text²³² reads,


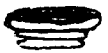
The fortified camp at al-Bhara is 159 meters long from west to east by 105 meters wide (Figs.38,39)...

The presumption, therefore, is that the capital comes from the actual Roman camp, rather than the adjacent settlement,²³³ if this is not merely a slip of the pen - a very easy slip of the pen, it should be pointed out. While the capital is badly mutilated (see Plate I), enough remains to show that the tips of the leaves of the lowest row of acanthus touched, forming the openwork pattern, . At this point the capital is broken: there should have been at  least two more junctions of the leaves below (or above, in the photograph, since the capital is lying upside down), forming at least one more space: it will be remembered that the pattern of the capitals from the South Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra is , a trait shared by the capitals from the Temple of Baalshamin²³⁴  (though the lowest lozenge appears to be constricted and distorted almost out of existence, perhaps due to the difference in camera angle), with only a slightly different pattern in the capitals from the South Tetrapylon at Jerash. The correspondence with the South Court capitals is thus exact as far as the al-Bhara capital is preserved. The resemblance does not, however, end here, but extends to the other features preserved, which are virtually identical to the corresponding features in the Palmyrene examples, specifically those of the capitals belonging to Group B₁ from the South Court of the Baalshamin Sanctuary illustrated by Collart and Vicari as Baalshamin II, Pl. LXXXIII. 3-6, and in particular those of the capital shown in fig.6 (see Plate I).

Unfortunately the helices, medial and lateral, are almost entirely missing from the al-Bhara capital, and what remains is battered beyond recognition, but the calices of the helices are represented as partially open, the leaves to either side touching to form the pattern , again a common feature not only in the South Court capitals, but also  in other Corinthians of roughly the same date, the capitals from the pronaos of the Temple of

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Baalshamin, the capitals from the South Tetrapylon at Jerash, and even the capitals from the 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek,²³⁵ which (like the capitals from the Temple of Artemis at Jerash²³⁶) differ markedly from the general style of capitals at the time, in that the leaves of the lower row do not touch at all, leaving the surface of the kalathos visible between them.²³⁷ The stems of the calices are also intact, something of significance here, since, although it is now evident that Schlumberger was incorrect in assuming that the amount of stem visible was a valid general chronological criterion, in the light of the situation in the South Court it seems likely that it was something which varied from workshop to workshop,²³⁸ and so, once a capital can be assigned to a date and a general style on other grounds, can serve as a guide to refining the ascription within that larger group. A considerable amount of the grooved stem is visible, ruling out, according to the excavators' criteria,²³⁹ Groups A₂ and B₂ of the South Court capitals, and, in its degree, by comparison with the photographs,²⁴⁰ also Group A₁, leaving the temple capitals and Group B₁ for comparison. In the capitals from the pronaos of the Temple of Baalshamin, the stem is decorated by superimposed bands of short horizontal grooves,  whereas in both the al-Bhara capital and the B₁ group from the South Court, it is rendered with continuous vertical grooves .

There is, however, one slight difference between the al-Bhara example and the B₁ capitals. In the capital from the temple the conventionalized roll at the top of the stem is rendered by simply dividing the roundel into two by a horizontal groove, ; in the B₁ capitals the treatment is essentially the same, although the two roundels seem more fully modelled, and the upper more pronounced than the lower, and in one photograph (Pl. LXXXIII.6) the leaves springing from this upper roll are so arranged as to produce the impression of yet a third band. The al-Bhara capital shows a triple division of the roll, with the lower half subdivided again, .²⁴¹ In this respect the al-Bhara capital seems a slightly more developed version of the B₁ Group. There is also, seemingly, a minor difference in rendition, in that by comparison with the B₁ capital illustrated as Baalshamîn II, Pl. LXXXIII.6 there appears to be less fine detail, closer to the verbal description of Group A, with its deeper relief and reliance on the interplay between light and shadow,²⁴² but it is nevertheless closely comparable to that in the photograph of another B₁ capital, Baalshamîn II, Pl. LXXXIII.4; in both cases the impression is probably caused by the weathering of the capital and the erosion of the finer surface texture.

Collart and Vicari, as noted above, consider that the stylistic

groups of the South Court of the Baalshamin Sanctuary are contemporary workshop groups. Given the proximity of al-Bhara to Palmyra, there seems little doubt that the resemblances between the capital from the former and the B₁ capitals is not merely due to the fact that both belong to the same general style and date, but that the al-Bhara capital was a product of the same workshop responsible for the B₁ capitals. The natural presumption, corroborated by the slightly more complex (i.e. possibly more evolved) terminal of the stem in the al-Bhara example, is that this capital was slightly later; in other words, this is an example of a common mechanism of dissemination, the spread of a particular form from a larger centre to surrounding smaller ones. In terms of actual events, the scenario should read as follows: having completed work on the major project at Palmyra, the workshop, or some members of it, were free to accept commissions in smaller towns, the prestige accruing from involvement in the major project creating the demand for and ensuring the proliferation of such commissions.

The difficulty lies in the alleged provenance of the capital, the camp itself and not the settlement which adjoined it to the north and south. The implication is that either the Palmyrenes employed military stonemasons in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, a possibility so rarified as to be negligible, or that the Roman army, for reasons which can only be conjectured, employed a civilian workshop specializing in high quality ornamental architecture in the construction of the camp. In other words, the actual instrument of transmission, within the broader mechanism of dissemination, was in this case the Roman army.

On the whole it seems more likely that a slip of the pen has occurred, and the capital belongs to the town rather than the camp, a most unfortunate circumstance, since the uncertainty limits the construction which may be placed on this evidence. Valuable as this chronological peg is for the dating of al-Bhara as a whole, it would be far more so could we be certain to which specific part of the ruins it applies.

For it is not entirely impossible that Musil's caption is correct. It gains some tenuous credence from the equally shadowy possibility that a Roman soldier may have played some part, if not in the introduction of this general type of capital into Palmyra, at least, by virtue of his own prestige, in the reinforcement of the growing popularity of this one of the several available, through the endorsement of his own selection. Collart and Vicari²⁴³ make a tentative distribution of the capitals of the South Court (a project which, by the way, furthered the transformation of the orientation of the

sanctuary as a whole to the western long-axis type), assigning the stylistic groups to those porticoes within the Court which match the number of capitals in the given group. Thus the nine capitals assigned to Group A are attributed to the nine columns of Portico S_4 and the six capitals of Group B_1 to the six columns of Portico S_3 , with the remaining fourteen capitals of Group B_2 to be divided between porticoes S_1 and S_2 . Portico S_1 , that is to say, one of those to which B_2 capitals are assigned, bears a dedicatory inscription dated September A.D. 149, recording the donation of one T. Flavius Priscus of the columns, woodwork, entablature and roof. The excavators do not hesitate to describe Priscus as a "Roman"; it does indeed seem likely that he was a man from elsewhere rather than a Palmyrene, since Palmyrene Roman citizens tended to retain their native name as a cognomen, for example M. Ulpius Yarhai, T. Aelius Ogîlô, Julius Aurelius Septimius Vorod, again perhaps a reflection of the fact that the citizenship, as such, was deemed of no more importance in Palmyra than a respectable Palmyrene genealogy. There is no evidence that Priscus was a soldier, but it is at least a plausible explanation for his presence in the city; he may have belonged to the Roman garrison. If the excavators' division of the capitals into major Groups A and B with subgroups A_1 and A_2 , B_1 and B_2 does indeed reflect the division between the two major workshops, and between squads or gangs within those workshops,²⁴⁴ then there is evidence here of Roman patronage of the same workshop whose product appears at al-Bhara.

This same capital, which should date to the later part of the reign of Antoninus, is a factor in the examination of another prominent feature of the Period, particularly in this area, which is certainly in part an official Roman superimposition. Just as the cities expanded (the only exception being Aelia, which occupied a smaller area than the old Jerusalem,²⁴⁵ though since it was in effect a new foundation it is perhaps best left out of the argumen), so too the movement towards urbanization was reflected in a concomitant growth of smaller settlements in the countryside, in many cases a reflection of the expansion of agriculture in support of the enlarged cities. In Palmyrene in particular, there are a number of sites, al-Bhara now being one, whose earliest known occupation belongs to this Period, some of them newly constructed forts and posts, initially Roman superimpositions of the simplest kind. They are, however, impositions which serve as an indication of the growth and development of the area and its increasing importance to Rome, as well as providing for the prerequisite for such a general expansion, the security and stability of the region. The post at Suhne is known to have been garrisoned by Coh. II Thracum Syriaca in the mid second century;²⁴⁶

al-Baṣîri, on the Road of the Ḥāns (the sector of the Strata Diocletiana to the south-west of Palmyra) has been identified from milestones as Auraca or Airaca,²⁴⁷ which Poidebard²⁴⁸ equates with Auira, the Abira of the Not. Dig. Oriens, and which can hardly not be identical to the Aueria listed by Ptolemy as one of the towns in Palmyrene in the mid second century.²⁴⁹ There is also the small military post of Tahoun el Masek,²⁵⁰ where the earliest datable find is a Latin inscription of A.D. 149/150. This site belongs to a group of about twenty small sites in north-west Palmyrene studied by Schlumberger, who made exploratory excavations: it is noteworthy that while it cannot be proved that Tahoun el Masek and the others discussed below originated at just this time, as with the remainder of his sites, there was no sign of pre-Roman occupation. As well there is now the possibility of al-Bhara.

These installations in themselves constituted part of the increase in settlement and population in the countryside, but they also represent, intentionally or otherwise, a potential cause of secondary settlement: a phenomenon well-known from the western provinces is the growth of small villages as an adjunct, initially, to military camps, the vici, inhabited not only by veteran soldiers but by traders and other camp followers.²⁵¹ Sometimes, indeed, such support towns may have been deliberately planned by the Romans themselves,²⁵² although most grew up unaided - and some vici in fact survived in their own right after the original military post was abandoned, such as the "Chesters" of Britain. These vici were, in the West, important factors in the dissemination of Romanization, beyond the fact that they themselves represent Romanization in the form of a change in demographic patterns, in that they constituted permanent points of contact between the Roman soldiers and the civilian population - indeed, from the point of view of the native traders that was their raison d'être - and as such facilitated the spread of Roman ways and Roman ideas among the indigenous inhabitants.

The same phenomenon may be visible here. As mentioned above, there are the remains of settlement to the north and south of the camp at al-Bhara. There are two ways in which the coincidence of a camp and settlement can occur: the camp can be inserted into some suitable place in an established town, or the town can grow up around a camp constructed on a virgin site or one with minimal occupation, like the vici. The configuration of the remains here tend to favour the latter: if the camp were inserted into an existing town this presupposes two settlements 105 metres apart, with a convenient strip of empty, or virtually empty, ground between, not a particularly likely contingency. One cannot, of course, rule out a compromise solution,

postulating the pre-existence of one of the settlements, the construction of the camp beside it and the later growth of the settlement on the opposite side of the camp, but if even one of the settlements was subsequent to the construction of the camp, it seems reasonable to assume a causal relationship. A clearer example is provided by one of the nearby forts of the Palmyrene limes, Hân al-Mankûra, ancient Valle Alba, with a more doubtful possibility at Hân al-Hallâbât, the Berianaca of the Not. Dig. Oriens, both occupied in Roman times but undated within that period. In the case of Mankûra Poidebard mentions a "military village". It is evident, moreover, that this site was integrally connected with a rural expansion programme not only by effect but by design: there is no natural water at the site itself, the garrison relying on a cistern apparently supplied from the artificial water storage system in the Mankûra valley; if this is so, the fort was constructed as part of the same undertaking, here at least undoubtedly a scheme aimed at increasing the productivity of the area, in line with similar undertakings in the reign of Trajan already mentioned.²⁵³

The overall pattern of imperial activity in this Period seems clear enough. Broadly speaking, it was Trajan who did the necessary groundwork and commenced some of the major projects, but if he had any further plans, never carried them out; Hadrian, a more ambitious thinker, gave fresh impetus to the overall projects which continued in a slightly different direction, and initiated new and more specific projects, but much of the more prosaic hard work remained undone at the end of his reign; it was left to Antoninus and his officials to continue the task, with practical modifications and reductions in scale or scope where necessary. That the plight of Jerash was not an isolated case is confirmed by two pieces of external evidence. First, Syria, unlike most of the major provinces, is not depicted in the "Restitutor" series of coins issued by Hadrian at Rome,²⁵⁴ an indication, perhaps, that Hadrian himself considered his work here unfinished; secondly, it was at some time in his reign deemed necessary to appoint a "corrector", a lawyer, Publius Pactumeius Clemens, described as "praetorius", who was sent to audit the accounts of the Syrian towns;²⁵⁵ Jerash, it must be remembered, was in Arabia, not Syria, by this time. Multiple signs of shoddy workmanship in the buildings of Jerash in this Period²⁵⁶ suggest that the fault may not have lain entirely with the unrealistic aspirations of Hadrian: jobbery and profiteering, the besetting vices of the architectural development of Rome itself, may well have been at home in the Syrian provinces.

In line with this is a less certain indication of another trend.

To judge from the somewhat sparse evidence, Trajan and Hadrian, Hadrian in particular, seem to have concentrated their efforts on spectacular programmes in the larger established centres. It was only in the reign of Antoninus that the smaller towns and villages felt the full effects of the new prosperity, insofar as this was deliberately promoted and required direct Roman intervention and attention, as witness the possibility of road-building in the desert near Hatne by Antoninus, corroborated by such dates as are available from the fortification system in Palmyrene. Again the less glamorous work was left to Antoninus.

Response:

As will have been apparent, much of the foregoing should possibly have been classed as response rather than superimposition, preference in uncertainty being accorded to the latter category, as the less significant degree of Romanization, only in deference to the conservative aim of the thesis, to establish a sound minimum of Romanization. Particularly when Hadrian visited the town at the time in question, the possibility that he may have contributed to the undertaking, or been its inspiration, cannot be denied even where local participation is attested, so the element of doubt remains. Other examples, however, seem certain enough to be categorised as response, even if absolute proof of authorship is lacking.

One such is the Shrine of Isis and Serapis at Aelia, already mentioned. The remains of the little aedicula, the upper part of the niche itself and the fragmentary figurative relief, discovered near the Church of St. Anna,²⁵⁷ are a cultural farrago in miniature (see Fig. 3). The niche comprises a triangular pediment with an arcuated lintel ("Syrian Arch") below, rising to almost fill the triangular space and encroach on the raking cornices. The arch is divided into four bands, the uppermost plain, followed by what appears to be a thoroughly devolved leaf-and-dart: the dart is entirely missing, and the emphasis has shifted completely from the leaves to the campanulate shape between them, formed by the juxtaposition of the outlines of the two leaves on either side, which normally serve as a frame for the dart, a tendency manifest elsewhere in Roman architecture, particularly at Baalbek, but not otherwise reaching this extreme in this area at this time.²⁵⁸ Below this is a roundel with a simple rope pattern, followed by a plain band with dependent dentils. The conch below is of the Roman variety, with the hinge at the top, rare in Syria but prominent at Baalbek where almost all the curvilinear niches are of this type.

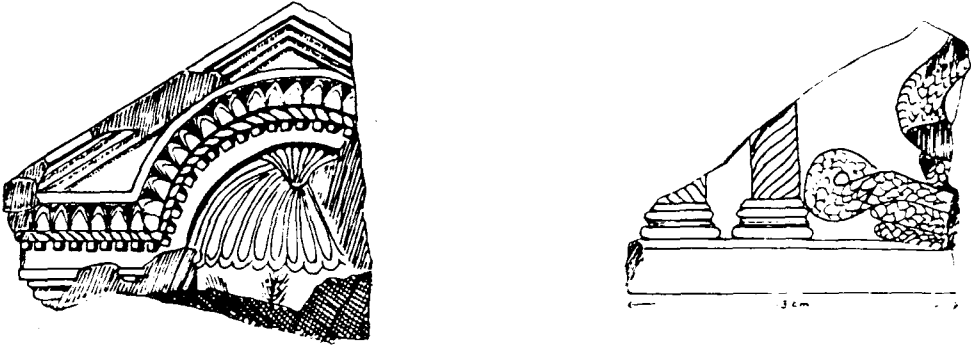


Figure 3

Aedicula from the Shrine of Isis and Serapis at Aelia.
(Adapted from Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.85, Abb.7)

The contrapuntal use of round and angular shapes, the arcuated lintel below the triangular pediment, is also in the spirit of Baalbek, but in fact it goes further than the 'Kleinarchitektur' at that site: while the arcuated lintel below a triangular pediment seems to have been standard practice for larger buildings, particularly in later times (see for example at Baalbek the façade of the Propylaea²⁵⁹ and the Round Temple,²⁶⁰ while in the 'Temple of Bacchus',²⁶¹ and in the North City Gate²⁶² a visible relieving arch appears above the straight lintel of the doorway, something which is similar in both engineering principle and aesthetic effect), the aediculae are internally consistent. An apsidal niche is surmounted by an arch, a rectangular one by a triangular pediment based on a straight architrave; it is the juxtaposition of rectangular and apsidal aediculae which creates the interplay of quadrate and curvilinear.²⁶³ The only near exceptions are in parts of the Altar Court²⁶⁴ and in the cella of the 'Temple of Bacchus',²⁶⁵ where arches surmount niches with flat rather than apsidal rear walls, in the former case with the arch surmounting a straight lintel of a kind of curvilinear version of the triangular pediment, like that used for example in the Library of Celsus at Ephesus,²⁶⁶ from a distance, the effect is the same, namely that the curvilinear and rectilinear elements are segregated into separate aediculae. A closer parallel, in principle, is the aediculae of the Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Artemis at Jerash,²⁶⁷ where prominent angular and rounded elements do occur within the same aedicula, although it is a matter of a conch (of the Syrian variety, with the hinge at the bottom) with an arched façade and a triangular pediment, clearly separated and 'supported' by attached columns to either side, above. An earlier, and closer, parallel, also in miniature, is to be found at Pompeii, in the mosaiced niche of a fountain:²⁶⁸ the niche itself is apsidal and arched at the top; above is a triangular pediment; the mosaic representation of the arch, which extends on to the flat façade of the niche, although essentially confined below, does actually encroach a little on the straight architrave of the pediment.

This is certainly a 'mixture' in the special sense of the term used in this thesis, an unrepeatable hybrid, and as such should represent third degree Romanization, creative response. Since the Syrian element is somewhat weaker than usual, and the 'Syrian Arch' was established in the West by this time,²⁶⁹ it might conceivably have been argued that the aedicula was the work, not of a Syrian craftsman, but of a Roman, were it not for the extreme devolution of the leaf-and-dart. This has reached the point where it might be termed barbarization: not only has the significance of the original design been lost, as in most Roman examples, but the new significance placed on the lines by the author of the immediate model has not been understood. This seems to indicate a provincial craftsman,²⁷⁰ and, given the 'Syrian arch', which was still more at home in this area than in the West, there seems no reason to look elsewhere than the province in which the aedicula was found. It was perhaps created, as suggested earlier, at the behest of immigrant Roman soldiers, who specified the general form.

Nevertheless, the inspiration for the Roman elements seems more likely to have been drawn directly from Italy than via Baalbek or one of the other Roman centres of the area, perhaps by means of personal experience on the part of the craftsman, more likely through imported representations such as paintings, mosaics or coins. Remembering the Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom, which also features a Roman conch and has been tentatively assigned to the previous Period (though may, of course, belong to this), it seems possible that Jerusalem-Aelia was, and continued to be, a centre of Roman influence in its own right, without denying the likelihood of interchange between the newest and oldest Roman colonies.

From the same town, more doubtfully classified as response, and then only on the most superficial level, is a Latin dedication to Antoninus Pius, P.P., "PONTIF AVGVR", discovered built into the south wall of the Temple platform.²⁷¹ If the fourth line (for which a variant reading exists) is correctly rendered as "D. D." then it is merely a civic dedication by the colony, so perhaps, given the date of its foundation, more properly considered superimposition by the official colonists; if so, it at least demonstrates that this colony, too, as was proper, used Latin as the official language.

Even more questionable is the possibility of large scale rebuilding programmes in two of the smaller towns of Palestine, Neapolis and Samaria, to be viewed in the same light as those of Palmyra, Jerash, and to a lesser extent Baalbek, a general response to the increasing prosperity, which, most pertinently, manifested itself in specifically Roman ways. There is no hint

in either case of Roman intervention which might introduce the possibility of superimposition, but by the same token there is little evidence beyond supposition for the programmes themselves.

In the case of Neapolis the evidence is confined to Bull's statement that second and third century coins of Neapolis show a colonnaded street with arches at the bottom of Mount Gerizim²⁷² (which should presumably be referred to this Period, since the only second century coins mentioned in those listed showing the temple were issued under Antoninus Pius)²⁷³ - the building depicted on the coins illustrated²⁷⁴ should more properly be termed an arcaded street rather than a colonnaded street - and the assumption that, if Samaria itself was in eclipse, part of the reason, and explanation, may have been the concentration of efforts and resources on the newer neighbouring city. The creation of a colonnaded street itself implies a major building programme, either the construction of a new and important thoroughfare - an expansion of the city, or possibly with more repercussions, the transformation of an old one, which for reasons discussed in my previous work²⁷⁵ presupposes the co-operation of a larger number of landholders or the expenditure of a considerable amount of money on the acquisition of the land in question. There is, however, only ex silentio evidence that this should not be dated back to the initial Flavian construction phase.

The situation at Samaria has already been discussed.²⁷⁶ At some time there was an attempt to repair the damage the town suffered in the First Revolt, and given that one of the few known operations which might be attributable to this phase is what amounted to the modernization of the temple complex by the insertion of barrel-vaulted corridors in the sub-structure, it may be that what began as repairs expanded into a full scale rebuilding programme like those of the other towns, in this Period or the preceding one, but the evidence is unclear.

Indeed, it is merely inferred that the site was occupied during this Period; the fill from the acropolis previously referred to implies large scale construction at this time or in the previous century, but Crowfoot²⁷⁷ states only that, "there is a stone or two in the village which may be Antonine, others perhaps from the Temple of Kore", and that this may also be the date of a series of stones covered with painted plaster found re-used in a cistern east of the temple corridor; as pointed out previously, only forty-two coins dating between the reigns of Vespasian and Marcus Aurelius were found, and the local mint itself issued no coins between Trajan and Commodus. To the best of my knowledge,

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the only evidence of activity at the site which can certainly be dated to this Period is an inscription found "in rupe" at Samaria, CIL III No.13589,

Neptunus
stans in
prora tenens
piscem
et tridentem

IMP. CAES. TRAIANO
HADRIANO. AVG
P.P. LEG X FR ET COH I

This cannot be dated within the reign of Hadrian other than that it should be no earlier than A.D. 138: pater patriae, though supplied without authority in some provincial inscriptions at the beginning of the reign, was not officially conferred until that year.²⁷⁸ However, the absence of any other honorand, and the general similarity of the pose of Neptune in the concomitant carving to that of the main figure on coins dating from 118 to 128²⁷⁹ might suggest an earlier date. This military tribute does not, of course, imply civilian occupation of the town, and is probably to be connected with either road-building or operations during the Second Revolt.

Nevertheless, the fill, taken with the fact that there was no sign of disuse prior to reconstruction detected in any building but the temple itself, permits the conjecture that there was indeed some occupation of the site at the time; this occupation may have been predominantly confined to a part of the town not yet excavated, away from the focus of civic interest and public buildings. The only explanation for the lack of evidence in the area excavated would be to suppose that a second disaster overtook the town before the reconstruction, on whatever scale it might have been, was completed, and that this devastation was of such a magnitude that in combination with the clearing the later reconstruction presupposes it obliterated all trace of the abortive building phase of the Flavian and early Antonine eras. The Second Revolt seems the obvious explanation: capture and destruction by the rebels would also give a plausible reason for the presence of the Tenth Legion and auxilia.

On the other hand, very little doubt can be attached to the positive response from Palmyra. The upsurge in Graeco-Roman influence from the region to the west is clearly manifest in a number of different spheres, not least that of language. The use of Greek terms to describe civic offices has already been mentioned; Starcky²⁸⁰ also notes, in addition to the practice of using two names, one a Greek translation of the Semitic, the marked usage of Greek loan words as architectural or administrative terms, with all that this implies for the importation of new forms in both these categories. Specifically, in this Period, he cites the words "dogma" and "boule" in the preamble of the Palmyrene Tariff. This increasing familiarity with Greek appears to

have engendered a secondary effect of its own, namely a change in the Palmyrene script. Again according to Starcky,²⁸¹ it was originally a flowing, continuous script with swirling curves and conjoined letters, but, under the influence of Greek, where each letter tends to be inscribed in a (notional) square, breakers gradually began to appear, culminating in the development of a new decorative type of lettering, exemplified, once again, in the Tariff.

Nor did Latin entirely fail to make an impact. Starcky²⁸² notes that Latin generally accounted for the military vocabulary (that is to say, presumably, the additional terms necessitated by the Roman occupation), citing as an example QTRYWN' for centurion. Although this hardly seems remarkable, it should be pointed out that in fact it serves to demonstrate that Palmyra was more receptive in this respect than the Greek towns to the west, such as Jerash and Arados, where the word "centurion" is normally rendered by a translation: when the abbreviation "ϰ" ²⁸³ is not used a word such as ἑκατοντάρχης²⁸⁴ or the rarer κλημοφόρος (translating vitifer)²⁸⁵ is preferred: similarly, the rank of (military) decurion is rendered as δεκαδάρχης in an inscription from Jerash²⁸⁶ (though the loan word περιμεπελαρζος does occur²⁸⁷). It should hardly have been beyond the Palmyrenes to devise an analogous translation had they so desired.

Of the other Latin loan words, that which would seem to bear the broadest cultural implications and is attested in this Period is denarius: it is stipulated in the edict of Germanicus, preserved in the Tariff and so ratified by Palmyra at this time if not before, that the abattoir tax should be paid in Roman money, while the letter of Mucianus, also preserved in the Tariff, specifies an impost of one denarius on unladen camels.²⁸⁸ Palmyra once again stands in contrast to the towns of the west in that in this respect, too, it accepted the more purely Roman form, whereas there the impact of the Romans was predominantly felt in the spread of the Greek equivalent, the drachma, confirmed as the main currency of Palestine, despite perceptible inroads by the denarius and the co-existence of the Tyrian shekel, even in places as isolated as the Dead Sea Caves,²⁸⁹ and now used, apparently, even in the smaller sites of Arabia such as Kurnub,²⁹⁰ where there was almost as little prior Hellenization as at Palmyra; both the Tyrian shekel²⁹¹ and the drachma²⁹² are previously attested at Jerash.

In similar vein, the date of the Tariff is given in Roman fashion, in two lines of Greek, in large letters, by Hadrian's tribunician power and by the consuls of the year.²⁹³ This, too, is exceptional. In the towns to the west, the formal Roman method of dating by the consuls of the year was

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employed in similar official contexts, in, for example, the colony of Baalbek (though even here in the rare dated Greek inscriptions the Seleucid calendar is employed),²⁹⁴ but the bulk of the other towns, including Baalbek's sister colony of Berytus, used their own individual eras²⁹⁵ or more frequently retained the old Seleucid era.²⁹⁶ The majority of Latin inscriptions are not formally dated, an inferential date being obtained from the imperial titles or offices where the inscription is a dedication to the reigning emperor (which most are, in form if not in substance).

The contemporary rise in the number of instances of citizens who took a Roman name such as Aelius or Ulpus along with their Palmyrene name has already been discussed. One particularly interesting example comes not from Palmyra itself, but from el-Malikîje in Arabia. Found re-used in a wall was the tombstone of a certain Ἀδριανου τοῦ καὶ Σοαῖδου/Μαλέκου, ἐθνάρχου στρα/τηγοῦ νομάδων, who was buried by his brother Ἀδδου²⁹⁷ (? Jaddai), who may have been, as Dittenberger takes it, a local Arab, but, from his names and titles may equally have been yet another eminent Palmyrene who received one of those extraordinary appointments to the management of local affairs through his personal acquaintance with the emperor or high Roman official (in this case the former, to judge from the unusual adoption of the name Hadrianus rather than Aelius) in which the Palmyrenes seem to specialize. Dittenberger notes the variants of the name, Σοαῖδου, Σοαῖδος and Σοαδου which occur in neighbouring inscriptions, suggesting that it is due to ignorance, stemming from the use of vowelless Semitic; this confirms that the use of Greek, at least, represents a recent change, since it implies, as in the cases cited from Jerash in the previous Period,²⁹⁸ that a standard transliteration of the name had not yet crystallized.

Much of this comes under the heading of public life, though some is a matter of personal option, but the impact of the western world was also felt in an area which certainly impinges on private life at this time, namely burial practices. While simple individual burials marked only by a stele are known from the beginning of the first century A.D. onwards, the type of tomb primarily used by the wealthier classes, prior to this Period, was the tower-tomb, at first (C^{1st} B.C.) comprising a subterranean chamber or hypogeum with a tower above,²⁹⁹ later with the tower alone,³⁰⁰ according to Fellmann, who follows Wills,³⁰¹ the type derived from Mesopotamia, though with Syrian and Egyptian elements, particularly in the arrangement of the loculi, according to Starcky,³⁰² from Phoenicia. In this Period a new type appears, the hypogeum: while it may be considered in part a reinforcement of the

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oldest type of tower tomb, with its subterranean chamber, the fact that these underground chambers had long since disappeared makes it easier to view it as a fresh importation. The type makes its appearance at the beginning of the Period, one of the most famous being the Hypogeum of Yarhai son of Barikhi, son of Taimarsô, with a foundation text dated to A.D. 108.³⁰³

There can be no real doubt in this case that the source of the importation was the Roman world to the west: signs of its influence are everywhere in these mausoleums. Starcky does not hesitate to associate the wall-paintings in the Hypogeum of the Three Brothers,³⁰⁴ founded in A.D. 140,³⁰⁵ with those in the hypogea in the necropolis of Alexandria, both in their nature, allegorical scenes depicting the deceased, and in their rendition and style,³⁰⁶ specifically in the Achilles fresco, which he suggests is copied from a Hellenistic cartoon - indeed he notes the general change in original Palmyrene art, painting and sculpture (the bulk of the extant examples being funerary) at this time, with western influence superimposing a naturalism and attention to detail on the hieratic eastern style which sought to immortalize by immobility.³⁰⁷ The foundation inscription of the Hypogeum of the Three Brothers calls the monument a "house of eternity",³⁰⁸ which has led to the general interpretation of this type of tomb in the same light, in contrast to the earlier tower-tombs, for which the word was nefesh, the name, according to Starcky,³⁰⁹ given to the funerary stele of Syria, which personified the deceased; again the concept of the tomb as the dwelling-place of the immortal part of man is distinctively Egyptian. However, other influent elements are also visible. The concession inscriptions from the Hypogeum of the Three Brothers employ a series of architectural terms, partially borrowed from the Greek;³¹⁰ more dubiously, Starcky speculates on the likeness of the horseshoe arrangement of the sarcophagi at the rear of a niche or exedra with reliefs of the dead reclining at a celestial banquet above, to the triclinium of a dining room.³¹¹

Here the inspiration is not Roman in the purest sense, but rather from the Graeco-Roman areas to the west and south; nevertheless, given that it failed to occur before this Period, it can hardly be classified other than as Romanization in the broader sense of the term. And its significance cannot be overemphasised. Two of the fundamentals of any society are its beliefs regarding death and the afterlife, and its sexual mores: a change in either of these areas is of the utmost importance.

Indeed, there is the possibility of an abortive introduction of

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an even more profound change in belief regarding the afterlife at this time, manifest in an alteration to the method of disposal of the body, the new method of purely Roman inspiration. One of the two intact burials found in the south exedra of the Hypogeum of Yarhai was a cremation burial.³¹²

The hypogeum was in use at least until the middle of the third century, but the cremation burial was certainly not among the latest, since another body was subsequently interred in the same loculus, on top of the cremated remains. The hypogeum itself was built progressively, the foundation text coming from the south-eastern exedra, where the sculptures are stylistically assigned to the first half of the second century, save one; the later eastern exedra also has a dated inscription, that of Julius Aurelius Hairan and Julius Aurelius Malochas, the sons of Julius Germanus, from A.D. 240; in fact some of the loculi were never filled, and others never completed. It seems therefore that the southern part of the tomb is early, and the chances of the cremation burial belonging to this Period consequently good.

But the singularity of the example casts doubt upon its significance.³¹³ Amy and Seyrig, indeed, suggest that it may have been the burial of a Roman soldier, and, given the practice of selling portions of such family mausoleums to outsiders - there were, for example, five texts of concession in the later Hypogeum of the Three Brothers³¹⁴ - it is far from impossible that a Roman acquaintance of the family of Yarhai was so honoured. Certainly the practice of cremation did not take root; it is at odds with the "house of eternity" syndrome, in which, at Palmyra as well as in Egypt, the survival of the body seems to have been a prerequisite for the afterlife; the nefesh concept, as described by Starcky, points in a similar direction, since the provision of a durable substitute body in the form of the ka statue, as a safeguard against a mishap to the original, seems to have been part of older Egyptian funerary practice.

The hypogeum remained the most popular form of tomb among the wealthy classes during the second century, but the "house of eternity" concept was also taken further in the development of a new form of collective sepulchre, the 'tomb-house' or 'temple-tomb'. This type of mausoleum consisted of a tomb in the form of a house, with a facade like the pronaos of a Classical temple, and was the preferred variety in the Severan age and later,³¹⁵ but its origins go back to the present Period, for the tomb of Aalani and Zebida, which includes what appears to be a "banquet hall", dates from A.D. 149.³¹⁶ Not only is the concept a development of that inspired by western influence, but the way in which it is manifested, the new type needed for its reification, the

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architectural innovations by which it is expressed, are also drawn from the same general repertoire of Classicized forms. It is not possible to be precise as to exactly where the sources lay, but the use of what was in effect a false façade, since it fronts not a temple but a house, makes one think in general terms of Petra.

The newer tower tombs, too, were affected by the prevailing influences of the time. They became more elaborate and more ornate, and the additional decoration was in the Romanizing style which had gradually evolved since the first Roman influx in the time of Tiberius, rather than in the older fashion which had survived alongside it. The Tower Tomb of Elahbel,³¹⁷ built in the year 414 of the Seleucid calendar (A.D. 103), is described by Wood as one of the richest and more diligently executed, so much in the style and manner of the other "public buildings" in general "that they may be supposed to be works of not very different ages". His drawings³¹⁸ support this contention; the use of modillions in particular³¹⁹ seems strongly Romanizing, recalling the ceiling of the 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek³²⁰ (which presumably copied a similar arrangement, not preserved, in the Temple of Jupiter, as well as older Roman models such as the Temple of Concord³²¹) and, at Palmyra itself, the Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Bel³²² and the Porticoes,³²³ though the rose in the Tomb of Elahbel does not quite match those in either, the closest parallel apparently coming from a temple-tomb.³²⁴ The capitals, Syrian Orthodox Corinthians,³²⁵ accord with their local contemporaries as it were by modern definition - they were used as a dating-peg by Schlumberger in the construction of his stylistic sequence.³²⁶ According to Wood,³²⁷ the ornamentation of the Tower Tomb of Jamblichus (A.D. 83)³²⁸ is in much the same taste, and indeed Starcky, in *Archaeologia* 1964,³²⁹ opines that these more elaborate examples should no longer be considered only as a nefesh, but also as a house of the dead, in other words, that the change should go back to the previous Period. He does not, however, elaborate in this brief article, and without further evidence this interpretation cannot be regarded as certain.

There was also response in the allied sphere of religion, both creative and perhaps also imitative. Reference has already been made to the rise of the 'Zeus Hypsistos' aspect of Baalshamin, in which Starcky sees a spiritualization of the cult under the influence of the religions of the western region. I shall deal with this subject in more detail elsewhere, but it should be noted here that while there is a strong suspicion of intervention on the part of Hadrian in the promulgation of the cult, it is difficult to see him as its originator. It seems to have begun, effectively, in the reign

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of Trajan, and unless Hadrian's governorship of Syria can be referred to the earliest, rather than the latest possible date (which is less likely)³³⁰ there is no reason to suspect he was anywhere in the region at the time. If Ward-Perkins is correct in reading the basilican hall on the eastern side of the agora as a Hadrianeum (which, given the special connection between the emperor and the forum basilica at Rome from the time of Augustus, before official recognition of the imperial cult, and indeed even before there was officially an "emperor",³³¹ as well as the activities of Soados in regard to the imperial cult in Vologesia, is hardly fanciful) then there was also a more overt, and perhaps superficial, imitative response in this sphere too.

In regard to architecture, apart from the new form of tomb, it has already been pointed out that the Sanctuary of Baalshamin continued to be modified in the direction of the western type of sanctuary, perhaps with imperial encouragement; it should also be noted that henceforth the supremacy of the Syrian Orthodox Corinthian capital over the other forms was almost complete. More doubtful, because of the doubt in regard to the origin of the type, are the honorific columns which abound in Palmyra and Palmyrene at this stage. Apart from those honouring Soados, the presumably Roman-built example from the boundary of Palmyrene at Khirbet Bila'as and the more doubtful instance in the Belas mountains,³³² one of the inscriptions recorded by Wood,³³³ dated to A.D. 139, comes "from the great column marked F, in Pl. XLIII", that is to say, clearly a freestanding column rather than a structural one, and reads,

HBOYΛHKAI IOΔHMOC AΛIAAAM€INATANOY
TOYMOKIMOY TOYAIPANOY TOYMAΘΘAKAI
AIPANHNTON IAT€PAAYTOY €YCEB€ICKAI
ΦIAO PATPIΔACKAI ΠANTITPOΠω
CIMO CAP€CANTACTHPATPIΔIKAI
TOIC PATPIOIC €OICT€IMHCXAPIN
€TOYCN YMHNOC EANA IKOY

This is not to say that older, pre-Roman forms did not survive at Palmyra. The Palmyrenes seem to have regarded the importations as welcome additions, not replacements. Indeed, there is no aspect of Palmyrene life assessable from the available evidence which does not show the endurance of the older forms and ways. In regard to costume, the wealthier Palmyrenes, at the beginning of the Roman period, affected either Greek or Parthian dress when depicted in paintings or sculpture,³³⁴ a combination which Seyrig attributes to the pre-Roman Graeco-Iranian milieu.³³⁵ While some motifs were held in common with the Mediterranean area, others, the row of pearls and the

jewelled bands with four-faceted stones and cabochons were not, finding their parallels further to the east.³³⁶ There is no perceptible correlation between Greek dress and Classicizing activities or associations; members of the same family are shown side by side, some in Iranian costume, others wearing the himation.³³⁷ The lower classes probably wore native dress, but depiction of what may be assumed to be the indigenous costume is so rare that it is not entirely certain what it comprised: Seyrig has suggested that it was the sort of short tunic shown on camel-riders and their tutelary gods,³³⁸ and offers as an alternative the long robes with sleeves worn by the priests of Dura in wall-paintings.³³⁹

While changes in fashion are detectable over time, there seems to have been little change in the ethnic components: the proportion of Greek dress to Parthian does not appear to increase, nor is there any certain evidence of the adoption of the toga by Roman citizens; while they are generally depicted draped rather than pantalooned, there is no representation known to me before ca. A.D. 200 in which the fine distinction between toga and himation (that the former was cut on the circle, the latter on the square) can be drawn with certainty in favour of the toga.³⁴⁰ As Starcky observes, the established local costume staunchly resisted the impact of the Romans.³⁴¹ Seyrig does note a tendency for Parthian and Greek dress to become mixed at this time, in that the long sleeves of the tailored tunic normally worn with Parthian dress are sometimes replaced by short loose sleeves reminiscent of those of the draped tunic,³⁴² but this seems more like a development within the pre-existent Graeco-Iranian milieu of Palmyra than a move towards incorporation with the Romano-Syrian. Indeed it is precisely in the first part of the second century that the jewelled bands with four-faceted stones and cabochons begin to appear,³⁴³ arguing, to the contrary, reinforcement of the Iranian costume at this time. The most evident discernible lasting effect is the modernized armour depicted on deities,³⁴⁴ who otherwise preserve traditional dress even when it is no longer fashionable, something more readily referred to the military sphere than the sartorial.

Indeed it is only in peripheral sartorial matters that any evidence points westward to the Roman world, for example the epaulets in the form of a medallion with two pendentives recovered from the Tomb of Elahbel³⁴⁵ for which Seyrig can find no parallel in artistic depiction, but which are known from Egypt (though not from Rome itself before the Tetrarchy); the date of these remains, obviously, could be very much later than the present Period. To be sure, there is some evidence of a common tradition at least

in the linen from this tomb is all S-weave, like that found at Qumran, but this is so common³⁴⁶ in the whole of the East that it can hardly be considered significant. The use of wool pendentives with linen³⁴⁷ is also too common to be significant, and the particular design of the wool pendentives from the Tomb of Elahbel, together with the woven strips to which they were attached, paralleled in art only by two Palmyrene reliefs from the third century, are similar to modern textiles of Syria,³⁴⁸ suggesting that in this respect, too, the status quo was maintained. However Colledge does note that necklaces, rare before ca. A.D. 150, begin to abound shortly before that date, and that most belong to the "Romanized Hellenistic" repertoire; in other words, in this case, when a new idea took hold, it found its expression in the currently favoured Roman types. Similarly, the intaglios of rings used to authenticate the tesserae, which date predominantly to the period between 89 and 188, are in the "artistic language" "of the Romanized East", comprising for the most part originally Hellenistic designs, with some rarer specifically Roman ones such as Romulus and Remus. Among the female hairstyles, he derives the "melon" coiffure from the style of Faustina the Elder; male hairstyles also changed at this time, but this seems integrally connected with developments discussed in the next chapter. And in regard to the sculpture itself, it is this period which saw the definitive change from soft to hard limestone, already mentioned, with the concomitant change in techniques, the greatest use of the drill being attested between A.D. 150 and 200.³⁴⁹

But if there were signs of western influence, there is also manifold proof of continuity. Even in the Hypogeum of the Three Brothers, alongside the Achilles fresco, there are original portraits which still preserve 'Parthian' frontality and follow the older eastern models in the thickness of the outlines and treatment of the folds, and the same is true of contemporary sculpture found elsewhere in the necropolis of Palmyra.³⁵⁰ In general the eastern influence in the composition³⁵¹ persisted, and Seyrig³⁵² cites third century instances to demonstrate just how slight the total impact was, in the particular example he singles out, confined to the central figure, with the subsidiary figures all in the stiff motionless poses of the old Iranian art style. Indeed, Seyrig's partial explanation for the continuity of this style, that the bulk of the bronze honorific statues which were mounted on the ubiquitous colum brackets in Palmyra were mass-produced in Mesopotamia and imported into Palmyra,³⁵³ refers specifically to the present Period, since it was based on the item in the Tariff which stipulates the duty on bronze statues.

In architecture, while the Syrian Orthodox Corinthians were being used

everywhere in the province for new major buildings, not least in Palmyra, the Temple of Nabô,³⁵⁴ entirely eastern in plan, acquired a precinct colonnade in the Doric order, and, as already noted, even the most Classicizing buildings such as the new Temple of Baalshamin retained eastern elements such as the thalamos, the cella windows, and the crowstep merlons. In religion, apart from the renewed interest in the Babylonian Nabô, the Semitic 'El is attested in theophors, and on a relief stylistically dated to A.D. 150-200 by Ingholt.³⁵⁵ And, as already remarked, the practice of cremation failed to take hold in Palmyra: mummies were found in the Tower Tomb of Elahbel by Wood and Dawkins,³⁵⁶ and according to Starcky,³⁵⁷ summary mummification is also found in hypogea. This is far more in keeping with the "house of eternity" concept, known from Egypt, but whether the custom was imported from Egypt along with the concept (if Starcky is correct in dating the change back to the previous Period), or whether it is indigenous in Palmyra as in Egypt, similarly inspired by the natural mummies produced by desert conditions, is uncertain. In either case, however, it represents no new importation from the Roman world at this stage.

A positive response is also evident in Palmyrene. As remarked above, one of the major features of this Period is the increasing urbanization apparent in the expansion of the major cities and towns,³⁵⁸ with a concomitant increase in the rural settlement and development which supported the new foundations and enlarged older ones. It has also been pointed out that some of this settlement and development was deliberately induced, as witness the aqueducts of Palma in the Transjordan - it is possible to view Hadrian's gifts to Antioch in similar light, since they were predominantly concerned with the provision and management of water for the metropolis, and especially for its suburb, Daphne - perhaps also the introduction of rice into the Lake Huleh district, the construction and improvement of the road system by all three emperors under discussion, as well as the installation of the forts in Palmyrene, al-Bhara, al-Baṣṣri and Tahoun el Masek, with the possibility of secondary settlement at al-Bhara.

In addition to these, there are three civilian sites in the north-western area studied by Schlumberger, where there is no sign of official Roman institution, from which, similarly, the earliest datable finds belong to this Period: Kheurbet Ramadane,³⁵⁹ where there are two large khans and also a village, with two small temples and a necropolis, the earliest datable find being a dedication to Gad from the village, dated A.D. 149/150; Kheurbet abou Douhour,³⁶⁰ to judge by the site plan³⁶¹ a sizeable settlement, with four

temples, khan-houses and cisterns, and where inscriptions include one of A.D. 147; Kheurbet Semrine,³⁶² where the earliest datable inscription is from A.D. 154, and where there were houses and a small temple in addition to the Sanctuary of Abgal, a complex which follows the 'irregular' plan of the older eastern type and stands in sharp contrast to the western long-axis sanctuaries of the larger centres. The response, therefore, is mixed: the growth of new towns - for, like all Schlumberger's sites, these show no trace of pre-Roman occupation, and the nature of the deposit argues against such a possibility, with original settlement in this Period a fair presumption - may be seen as part of the development of the countryside due to the Romans, but the culture of the smaller centres retained stronger pre-Roman elements than that of the major towns.

As well, there are a number of other towns in Palmyrene which, by inference, may have come into being at this time, depending upon the date of Pliny's information, namely those which do not appear in Pliny, but do appear in Ptolemy. Pliny (NH V.XXI, 87-89) knows only of Palmyra itself and Sura on the Euphrates; Ptolemy (V.15.24, Nobbe edition), lists in addition Resapha, Cholle, Oriza, Putea, Adada, Adacha, Danaba, Goaria, Aueria or Aueira, Casama, Adamana, Atera, Sura, Alalis and Alematha. Of these, Aueria is al-Baṣīri, and Musil³⁶³ is probably correct in considering Adacha a mistake for Aracha or Arak, on the road to the Euphrates, which, as the famous milestone seems to imply, may have been in existence in the previous Period. Resapha, Cholle and Oriza, respectively Resafa, al-Hulle and at-Tajjibe on the same road,³⁶⁴ should similarly be presumed to have existed when the road was built or come into existence very shortly thereafter. Musil's identification of Adada with Kaṣr al-Hēr ech Charqi, accepted by Poidebard,³⁶⁵ must now be considered highly questionable, since excavations have revealed only Umayyad occupation;³⁶⁶ Suhne may be a possibility. The remainder seem to be additional sites, not previously known. Putea, the Centum Putea of the Peutinger Table, is very probably Bijār Ghâr.³⁶⁷ The rest are not so securely located, but none seem likely to coincide with those already taken into account. Goaria was in the vicinity of Dmeir, since the temple lay within the jurisdiction of the Goharienses;³⁶⁸ Danaba was somewhere near Damascus,³⁶⁹ and Casama, Adamana and Atera seem likely to lie in the same direction. Alalis and Alematha, like extant Sura, are stated to be in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates: for Alalis, Musil tentatively suggests Talṓs,³⁷⁰ Dussaud,³⁷¹ more positively, equates it with Helela, perhaps modern al-Hlēhle between Palmyra and Suhne; Alematha should lie in its vicinity.

There is, therefore, reason to suppose that these sites were indeed first occupied in the Roman period - there is in fact other evidence on this point which, since it cannot be dated with the necessary precision, has been assigned to Chapter VI - and it is a plausible surmise that they had their origin at around this time. That is to say, the change necessary to demonstrate the effect of the Romans is documented, and, in combination with the role played by the forts installed in this area, this evidence leaves no doubt that the development of the region should be termed Romaization, of one degree or another. This proof is lacking in the other cases mentioned: for example, one cannot be sure that the aqueduct of Palma represented a change, since there is no evidence regarding the state of irrigation in the same area in Hellenistic times, or to what extent the Romans built on previous achievements. However, in view of the known situation in Palmyrene, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that they did represent some degree of change, even if of a lesser magnitude.

It also seems permissible to speculate that new towns grew up elsewhere in Syria at this time, and that the sudden appearance of new sites is not entirely an illusion due to inadequate evidence. One such may be Androna³⁷² modern Anderîn, where there was a reservoir built in opus quadratum, like the city walls, with mouldings and niches "of Roman character" and which Butler ascribes to the second century. The city at one stage received an axial plan, with two principal streets running respectively north-south and east-west and intersecting near the centre of the city, but apart from these two streets, it seems to have been unevenly planned;³⁷³ the walls were eventually outgrown by the city³⁷⁴ and it sounds very much like an unsuccessful superimposition, where the neat axial orthogony provided was ignored, and the city developed in its natural disorderly way. Butler notes that the site was waterless, the nearest water to the west being at il-Homêh, over two hours away, and to the east the desert wells of Ismyeh, forty miles distant: the existence of the city therefore depended on artificial water conservation, the reservoir and possibly others like it. In the Christian period the water supply was sufficient to allow the construction of a public bath of Roman type,³⁷⁵ and provision must also have been made for an agricultural supply, since Heichelheim³⁷⁶ notes that Androna was famous in ancient times for its wine. In toto, this sounds very much of a piece with the sort of activity detectable elsewhere at this time: the provision of an artificial water supply which enabled the foundation and growth of new cities and towns, and the agricultural development of erstwhile desert regions.

More limited, less spectacular instances of response can be discerned in the towns to the west and north. For Antioch there is evidence of the florescence of the imperial cult - the dedication of a statue of Justice at Jerash dated A.D. 119/20 mentions that the donor, the father of the agoranomos at Jerash, served as a priest of the imperial cult of the four eparchies (Syria, Phoenicia, Commagene and Coele Syria) in Antioch.³⁷⁷ The donor's name is Diogenes son of Hemmegnos, that of his son the agoranomos Eumenos, and Welles suggests that despite his office he may have been a Gerasene; certainly he was a native of the area, apparently a non-citizen. In similar vein, but less certain and probably less significant, there is a Latin dedication to Antoninus Pius from Seleucia Pieriae,³⁷⁸ of which the greater part, including the name of the dedicant, has been lost; the end of the seventh line is preserved as ...NORICAVG, which suggests a military unit with a cognomen Norica, so this Latin inscription may be no more than another military superimposition. Also of doubtful authorship, and so of doubtful significance, is the theatre at Cyrrhus, which Frézouls, through comparison with the remains of the theatre at Daphne, dates to somewhere near the reign of Hadrian.³⁷⁹ From Carchemish-Europos comes the Latin inscription of L. Aelius Sergius (?) Aeternus,³⁸⁰ tribune of the Third Legion, essentially a military superimposition, but one which testifies to the existence of a local auxiliary unit, the ala Commagenorum, since the other appointment of the subject preserved is the prefecture of this unit.

More certain in import, but of minor importance, are the Latin dedications from Baalbek, a statue dedicated to a propraetor of Syria under Trajan and a dedication to Hadrian from the Heliopolitanum,³⁸¹ together with a dedication to Hadrian at Berytus by the colony as such.³⁸² But from Djedfthe, in the Beqa', between the two colonies, comes a far more significant Latin inscription, CIL III No.134: IVNONI.REGINAE / PRO SALVTE IMP. CAES. T. / AEL. HADRIANI. ANTONI / NI. AVG. PII. LIBERO / RVMQVE. EIVS. BAEBI.³⁸³GA / IVS. ET. GEMELLVS. FRATRES / EX. TESTAMENTO. PETILI / AE. LVCIAE. MATRIS EOR. The dedicants seem to have been civilians, and certainly their mother, in accordance with whos will the dedication was made, must have been. They were also certainly Syrians, but their ancestry and connections are unknown; Juno Regina was worshipped at Baalbek, so they probably derived their citizenship from that colony. At the very least, however, the inscription demonstrates the persistence of the usage of Latin and formal Roman sentiments by civilian colonists when outside the colonies, and hence to some extent the spread of both to other areas. This, certainly, is rare, as far as language is concerned: it is noteworthy that at, for instance, Arados on the coast, even the public dedications by, or under

the auspices of, the body politic are in Greek at this time, and even when the sentiments expressed imply devotion to the Romans or a particular Roman (as in the case of the dedication by Noaros to his benefactor Julius Quadratus.³⁸⁴)

An overt affirmative response, at least, is also visible in the Hadrianaea of Caesarea, Tiberias and Damascus, previously mentioned.

If most of this response is positive, albeit slight and somewhat vague, the same is not entirely true of Judaea as a whole. Here there was a strong and definite response, a negative one, in the form of the Second Jewish Revolt. Like the First Revolt, its roots lay far deeper than the immediate causes, in the past and in Jewish culture, permeated as it was in every respect by Jewish religion. The earlier troubles in the Diaspora, particularly the abortive revolt in Egypt under Trajan, played their part. Modern opinion varies as to the proximate cause: the ancient evidence does not carry much conviction; the two most favoured possibilities are the plans to reconstruct Jerusalem as Aelia, with the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the site of the Jewish Temple, and Hadrian's edict forbidding circumcision.

In SHA Hadr. XIV.2 it is stated unambiguously, moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia, but apart from this statement, the edict is dated to the reign of Hadrian only because Pius rescinded it, and there is no sign of its existence prior to the reign of Hadrian; it can equally be read as a reprisal measure dating from after the Revolt.³⁸⁵ Cassius Dio, LXIX.12, states that it was the refoundation of Jerusalem as Aelia, and the construction of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the site of the Jewish Temple which provoked the uprising, and Henderson,³⁸⁶ for example, does not hesitate to embrace this opinion. However, the evidence that the new city, most of which, at least, was built after the Revolt, was indeed planned before (presumably during Hadrian's visit to the area in A.D. 130), and that the plans were known - that is to say, that this too was not a later punitive measure - is also extremely tenuous; Kenyon,³⁸⁷ for instance, points out that it is merely possible that the Jews knew of such plans, and that there is in fact no evidence that Hadrian even visited Jerusalem; clearly, the existence of the plans themselves prior to the Revolt is in the realms of hypothesis. E.M. Smallwood³⁸⁸ has carefully evaluated the evidence: while tending towards dating the anti-circumcision edict prior to the Revolt, her inference, inevitably, is that neither theory can be substantiated beyond doubt.

In either case, the main cause, like that of the First Revolt, was

religio-cultural; like the First Revolt, it represented an explicit rejection of Romanization in the broader, as well as the narrower, sense of the term.³⁸⁹ And, like the First Revolt, it also seems to give proof of the effect which the presence of the Romans had already had, sometimes in less ostentatious, more profound ways than political fealty and the more obvious forms of mimicry, ways which impinge on everyday life and even on thought processes.

Prior to the Revolt, Greek had, as at Palmyra, been gaining a stronger hold in Judaea, with the approval and active patronage of some of the Jewish leaders of the day. - Lieberman³⁹⁰ cites the statement of Rabbi Simeon, the son of Rabbi Gamaliel, the Patriarch, who was active in the reign of Trajan, "There were a thousand young men in my father's house, five hundred of whom studied the Law, while the other five hundred studied Greek wisdom," together with the corroborative statement in the Tosephta that, "permission was given to the House of Rabban Gamaliel to teach their children Greek." The importance of this can be gauged by comparison with Josephus' statement at the end of the Antiquities (AJ.XX.263-5) written not long before.

ἔχω γὰρ ὁμολογούμενον παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν παιδεῖαν διαφέρειν καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δὲ γραμμάτων καὶ ποιητικῶν μαθημάτων πολλὰ ἐσπούδασα μετασχεῖν τὴν γραμματικὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἀναλαβών, τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβειαν πατριὸς ἐκώλυσεν συνήθεια. παρ' ἡμῶν γὰρ οὐκ ἐκείνους ἀποδέχονται τοὺς πολλῶν ἐθνῶν διάλεκτον ἐκμαθόντας καὶ γλαφυρότητι λέξεων τὸν λόγον ἐπικομψεύοντας διὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι νομίζειν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο μόνον οὐκ ἐλευθέρους τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς θέλουσι, μόνους δὲ σοφίαν μαρτυροῦσιν τοῖς τὰ νόμιμα σαφῶς ἐπιστραμένους καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων δύναμιν ἐρμηνεύσαι δυναμένους. διὰ τοῦτο πολλῶν πονησάντων περὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν ταύτην πόλις δύο τινὲς ἢ τρεῖς κατῴρθωσαν καὶ τῶν πόνων τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβον.

The reason given for the objection to learning Greek is probably specious, that which Josephus considered most likely to appeal to his readership, and the gravamen may well have lain in religious objections such as the scriptural injunction quoted by the second century Rabbi Joshua (see below), exhorting study of the Law day and night, the study of Greek being regarded as a misdirection of effort which should have been put to this sacred purpose. But the point remains that Josephus, though from the same social and educational background as the students of Gamaliel, had to make a special individual effort to acquire Greek, since such studies played no part in the conventional Jewish education, and indeed, for whatever reason, met with actual disapproval.

Lieberman also deduces a knowledge of Greek, both the language and the literature, for at least two of the four members of the second century

Court of Jabney, Rabbi Eliazar and Rabbi Joshua, famous for his secular wisdom and his association with Hadrian,³⁹¹ and argues besides that at least some other rabbis were well versed in Greek learning, employing loan words, some Classical quotations and concepts, and rhetorical techniques both in their teaching in the synagogues and in their proselytizing endeavours among the Gentiles.³⁹² Beyond this, he posits a more general knowledge of Greek literature among the upper and middle classes, with a knowledge of the vernacular among the lower classes,³⁹³ pointing in particular to the existence of loan words,³⁹⁴ and observing,

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.

and using this to counteract the idea that the Rabbis used obscure words known only to themselves.

The spread of the Greek language and Classical culture was not without its opponents, as the equivocal answer of Rabbi Joshua to a question regarding the lawfulness of teaching one's children Greek (which Lieberman interprets in the affirmative³⁹⁵) demonstrates. But both approval and opposition were rooted in the same fact: again as Lieberman points out,³⁹⁶ failing Latin, Greek was the key to communication with the Roman government. This means that, so long as Judaea remained within the Roman empire, it was inevitable that the language with its concomitant cultural incidentals would continue to spread; its use was in fact, if not in law, compulsory. The force of the pressure to learn Greek may be judged by the fact that it was used, particularly in legal contexts, in remote places such as the Dead Sea sites, like Murabba'at and adjacent caves, which were to become insurgent strongholds during the Second Revolt: Bruce³⁹⁷ cites a marriage contract drawn up in Greek and dated to A.D. 124. And with the Greek language came the corollary, material evidence of communication and cultural interaction within the overall area in other ways, such as the lamps found at Muraba'at, de Vaux' Nos. 13 and 14, the former comparable to the Corinthian type XXV found at Antioch at the end of the first century, or to type XXVII found at Tarsus and Dura in the second century (with a fairly close third century parallel from Beth Shan), the latter an exact parallel for the product of a workshop at Jerash dated to the early second century.³⁹⁸ There are also signs of an easing of the ban on images of living things. Rules were evolved allowing the use of pagan objects with such images, subject to nominal 'annulment' of the image, and the ban was more narrowly applied, rendering a greater range of motifs permissible. Among the finds from Bar Kochba's

headquarters in the 'Cave of Letters' was a patera with a Greek mythological scene, with only the faces erased and signs of erasure on Thetis' bosom, while another had the figures intact; a seal found in a letter-skin had an unorthodox Herakles and the Nemean Lion scene - Yadin suggest that it was 'annulled' by the omission of the definitive attribute, the club.³⁹⁹

This same acceptance of external culture in apparently minor ways even by the Zealots is also reflected in the numismatic evidence. Despite the fact that one of the official coins struck by the leaders of the Revolt (whose propagandist function as a replacement for official Roman issues is once again assured by the fact that they were overstruck on Roman coins⁴⁰⁰) was found at Qumran,⁴⁰¹ the Aramaic contract from the Dead Sea caves to which allusion has already been made,⁴⁰² dated to the 'third year of the liberation of Israel', still specifies that the price of the house in question should be "eight denarii, equal to two tetradrachms". Apparently the doubtful validity of the Revolt coinage, coupled with the guaranteed value represented by the Roman, overrode patriotic fervour in this respect; as in the majority of instances, it was practical considerations which effected the acceptance of Romanizing forms rather than the alternative.

The Revolt coins themselves serve to illustrate both the continuation and the acceleration of the process of Romanization, in that fresh infusions of Classical culture are evident, and also the fact that the process had, by this time, become partially self-perpetuating and would have continued at least to maintain the existing level of Romanization from generation to generation had no new external impetus been involved. For those coins assigned to the Second Revolt by Reifenberg⁴⁰³ show clear signs of being modelled on those of the First Revolt, taking over both motifs⁴⁰⁴ and the compositional style in which they are rendered, and with them some of the motifs originally borrowed from Herodian or 'Procuratorial' coinage.

Neither the three ears of barley nor the stem with pomegranate reappears, but, of the other motifs previously designated as deriving from Herodian or 'Procuratorial' issues, the palm-leaf recurs, both in combination⁴⁰⁵ as in the old Maccabaeian coinage, and, more importantly, as a single central motif, surrounded by the legend, or by a wreath.⁴⁰⁶ In these latter examples the rendition varies, but nevertheless seems to derive from older types: AncJewCoins Nos.171 and 187⁴⁰⁷ seem close to the palm leaf shown on a coin issued by the Tiberian governor Valerius Gratus,⁴⁰⁸ and so a direct connection with the version used during the First Revolt cannot be demonstrated, but the leaf shown on Reifenberg's Nos.175 and 183⁴⁰⁹ seem to be a smaller, more

more delicately cut version of that used by Herod Antipas⁴¹⁰ and also on the First Revolt issues.⁴¹¹ The palm tree is also very prominent.⁴¹² The form with two bunches of fruit is very similar to that which appears on the Judaea Capta coins,⁴¹³ which, it may be argued, deliberately imitated those of the First Revolt by way of riposte. The mechanism of transmission here, therefore, may not be the same as in the case of the other motifs (namely the incidental, probably unwitting (on the part of the subject) form of Romanization in which the coins derive their Romanizing elements from a model which itself was previously Romanized) but rather deliberate mimicry with intent, as a reply to the Roman riposte.

The vine leaf and branch does not recur in precisely the same form as the vine branch with leaf and tendril on the First Revolt coin AncJewCoins No. 147⁴¹⁴ but a not dissimilar rendition to that on the First Revolt coin No. 149a⁴¹⁵ with cut vine branch and leaf, appears in AncJewCoins Nos. 200-200a, 204, 204a and 204b,⁴¹⁶ in these last examples possibly the result of overstriking a Roman coin, and a new motif not unlike it in visual effect, the bunch of grapes with leaf and tendril, is very frequent,⁴¹⁷ though this last is more likely to derive from an independent Jewish motif found in first century tombs.⁴¹⁸ The amphora also reappears in a slightly different form, a narrow-necked vessel with curved handles and a fluted body,⁴¹⁹ which seems to indicate either metalware or a skeuomorph thereof.

The mechanism at work here, with the Second Revolt coins taking over the Classicizing element of the coins of the First Revolt so that the Romanizing element is perpetuated without further infusions, is, from another viewpoint, somewhat akin to the 'inevitable' Romanization of the pottery of Antioch, Romanized because it was imported from the same external source as before, and that source became Romanized in the course of time. It is also, where the First Revolt coins owe their motifs to Herodian coinage, a matter of Romanization at two removes, a measure of the growing complexity and cumulative nature of the process, in that it now comprised chain reactions of this length. In addition, the coins serve as a retrospective vindication of the earlier hybrids, Herodian and those of the First Revolt, demonstrating the proliferation and long-term acceptability of these types which must therefore be rated as true hybrids, third degree Romanization, and not merely as casual mixtures.

However, not all the Second Revolt coins derived from those of the First Revolt. In a reprise of previous developmental history, a new type, the legend within a wreath, makes its appearance. It is possible that it was taken directly from old Maccabaeon issues, since it occurs on three issues attributed to John Hyrcanus,⁴²⁰ three issues attributed to Jonathan

Hyrcanus II,⁴²¹ two of Judas Aristobulus⁴²² and six of Antigonos Mattathias.⁴²³ However, it also features prominently on later Herodian coinage, that of Herod Antipas⁴²⁴ which was issued in Judaea itself, as well as that of Herod of Chalcis⁴²⁵ and early coins of Agrippa II.⁴²⁶ It is also common on 'Procuratorial' coinage prior to the First Revolt, found on issues under Tiberius,⁴²⁷ Claudius⁴²⁸ and Nero.⁴²⁹ The balance obviously is in favour of the 'Procuratorial' issues or those of Agrippa II being the proximate model; it is by no means impossible that they remained extant and available as models, thus allowing the repetition of a particular mechanism of transmission attested during the First Revolt.

On the other hand, important new motifs also occur, among them two which may be seen as reflecting a fresh impetus, new infusions of influence from the surrounding Roman world, that is to say, new mixtures or potential hybrids. One of these is the lyre.

Two distinct varieties are depicted, termed by Reifenberg the "chelys-shaped lyre" (shown with three, four or more strings),⁴³⁰ which first appears in Year 1 of the rebellion, A.D. 132/3,⁴³¹ and the "kithara" (shown with three or four strings)⁴³² which first appears in Year 2.⁴³³ Reifenberg is undoubtedly correct in assuming that a Jewish religious construction was placed upon these types in this context⁴³⁴ as indeed upon the other types listed which, borrowed from Classical coins though they may be, in context carried a peculiarly Jewish significance. He is also probably correct in seeing them as representing the instruments used by the priests in the Feast of the Tabernacles, like the trumpets which appear on his Nos. 174, 182 and 186,⁴³⁵ as too the other symbols capable of association with the same festival, the palm-branch and golden jug. Meshorer, indeed, distinguishes the two types of lyre throughout as "broad" and "elongated", thus avoiding the Classicizing implication of Reifenberg's tendentious terminology.

However, the Jewish significance does not preclude external Classical inspiration for the idea of depicting this particular and unprecedented symbol at this time. Among a group of Hadrianic bronzes dated A.D. 125-128 and tentatively attributed to Antioch by Mattingly⁴³⁶ are two coins which show a chelys-shaped lyre,⁴³⁷ here interpreted in pagan religious terms as the symbol of Apollo. While there are some differences,⁴³⁸ the resemblance to AncJewCoins No.192/Meshorer No.172, the earliest datable Jewish example, is pronounced. In one sense therefore Reifenberg's terminology seems justified. The Jewish religious instruments were, or were envisaged as, resembling their Graeco-Roman counterparts, Classicization either of the artifact or of its

imago, perhaps under the influence of Antiochene coins, which may well have conditioned the use of this rather than another sacral motif at this time; it may have been in somewhat emulous justification of the Jewish religion as lacking nothing of the (Classical) standard trappings or traditions, like Josephus' apologia for the Essenes in BJ II.viii.2-13, or his description of the Temple in BJ V.v.108 (cf. supra, pp.102-104)

The other motif is more controversial, a façade, generally with a flat roof, four columns, and an arch between a central pair of columns, its up-rights subdivided by two horizontal lines, with a varying number of small circular 'knobs' in the compartment so created.⁴³⁹ Reifenberg cites a wide range of interpretations of this façade, including the Temple, a tabernacle, the 'Beautiful Gate' of the Temple, the Ark and Mercy seat within the Tabernacle of the Temple (for this there is the identification of the object between the columns formed by the vertical and horizontal lines and the 'knobs' as a kind of chest known from Old Kingdom Egypt, and so plausibly identified with the traditional Mercy Seat), and the sacrarium of a synagogue, the central group of lines and dots representing the Ark containing the sacred books. Reifenberg himself, comparing the representations of "Thora Shrines" on synagoge mosaics, ossuaries, gilt glass and so forth, agrees with this last as far as the central part of the scene is concerned,⁴⁴⁰ but interprets the building which contains it as the Temple which the revolutionaries intended to build. He likens the way in which the interior of the Temple is shown behind the façade to Roman coin portraits "in the same way as heathen images are represented on contemporary Roman coins", in other words, suggesting that this coin should be 'read' in the same manner as Roman coin portraits.

It seems almost certain that Reifenberg is right, at least in that the coins represent the façade of a building with part of the interior visible through the columns. The ease with which they can be 'read' as Roman coin portraits suggests that they do indeed share the same conventions.⁴⁴¹ Furthermore, interpreted in this manner, the coins have a possible near-parallel in real architecture, namely the façade of the Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom previously discussed,⁴⁴² which should belong early in this Period or in the preceding one. Here there were no columns as such, but the triple-door façade, the lateral doors rectangular, the central door surmounted by a relieving arch, and what may have been a flat roof, bears a strong resemblance to the scheme of the structure shown on the coins, particularly if the arch in the centre of the coin is taken as part of an arched doorway, behind the columns, which seems one permissible reading.⁴⁴³

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While the depiction of buildings, particularly religious structures, is common in the extreme on Roman coinage, these issues mark the first such depiction on coins in Judaea proper - the previously mentioned coins of Herod Philip showing a Classical temple belong to his own tetrarchies. It is a matter, therefore, of a Roman concept, the depiction of important buildings on coins, understood and turned to his own purpose by the subject, and expressed in a Roman way, using the same conventions of coin portraiture.

Beyond this, these coins, taken with the Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom, foreshadow developments of nearly a hundred years later, the emergence of a Judaeo-Roman type of architecture. The coins in particular represent the obviation of a potential obstruction to this development. Granted that many if not most of the questions asked of teachers in both the New Testament and Rabbinic literature, "Is it lawful to..." are factitious paradigms, they still suggest that the prevailing assumption was that what was not stipulated as lawful was unlawful, rather than that all was permitted unless specifically forbidden. An interest in architecture per se (particularly if it included Classical elements), even in religious architecture, may well have fallen under suspicion, especially after the enthusiastic but impolitic patronage of Herod I. The coins demonstrate the removal of any doubts which might have existed: henceforth, at least, architecture was 'lawful', an acceptable preoccupation for an orthodox Jew.

After the Revolt there is no sign of an abatement in the influx of external influence into the area. The Romans demolished the fortifications at Qumrân⁴⁴⁴ and Bruce⁴⁴⁵ argues from the existence of a number of fragments of documents in cursive Latin (as well as Greek texts) that Murabba'at was occupied for a considerable time by a Roman garrison. However, the bulk of the textual remains he mentions from this vicinity, dated only broadly to the second century, are either in Aramaic (including ostraca) or Hebraic scriptural fragments (he suggests these may have resulted from a destruction of the sacred books by the Roman soldiers after the Revolt), with some Nabataean and a sprinkling of other Greek texts, including some Greek ostraca and fragments of literary works, one religious, one (perhaps a fragment of Nicolas of Damascus) dealing with the family of Herod I, as well as more legal documents, among them a contract of reconciliation between husband and wife, a bond dated to A.D. 171, and a document from the reign of Commodus. While some of the Hebrew religious texts and Aramaic obviously belongs to the time of the Revolt, it seems unlikely that all of it does, and, granted that local recruitment for the army may have been standard practice by this time, it

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still seems more likely that the local civilian population used Greek, and perhaps even Latin, for special purposes, than that the garrison used Judean Aramaic and the Nabataean dialect. It is probable, therefore, that civilian occupation continued, and continued to be influenced by the culture of the surrounding provinces, with or without the presence of a Roman garrison.

Nevertheless, the main thrust of the response from Judaea was negative. A Third Revolt, of which even less is known than the Second, occurred in the reign of Antoninus Pius, possibly as a protest against Hadrian's anti-circumcision edict.⁴⁴⁶ It is also possible, however, if Smallwood is correct in dating the effective repeal of this edict early in Pius' reign,⁴⁴⁷ that this Third Revolt, unlike its predecessors, was not a specific religio-cultural protest, but purely political in nature, its aim being to secure Jewish political independence.

Across the Jordan there was less resistance and a more undiluted affirmative response. Palma's aqueduct system was gladly received, as is signalled retrospectively in the reign of Commodus by the repair of 'the aqueducts from the springs of Arra, Caenatha, Aphetatha and Orsua' by the unnamed city which Jones identifies as Bostra.⁴⁴⁸ From Hippos⁴⁴⁹ comes the first of a series of indications which later jointly demonstrate an important change in the way the cities saw themselves, though as yet only the consciousness of Hippos of its supposed Seleucid past is evidenced, in the use of the phrase, Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς Ἰππῶ, to designate its citizen body, which, though known from the reigns of Nero and Domitian, becomes more frequent from the time of Antoninus onwards.

Much of the evidence from Jerash previously discussed seems likely to fall within the category of response, even more so than at Palmyra, since here the evidence of local participation is better documented. But other evidence exists, particularly for the sphere of religion, about which few doubts can be entertained.

The imperial cult flourished as an integral part of the local culture. A dedication to Zeus Olympios on behalf of the welfare of the emperor, from the reign of Trajan, by Asklepiodoros son of Malchos son of Demetrios records that the dedicant was a priest of Trajan,⁴⁵⁰ and Kraeling cites three more doubtful examples of imperial priests, where the nature of the priesthood is not specified in the inscription.⁴⁵¹ Such priesthoods were

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probably more secular in nature, more of a piece with local civic offices and honours, than with the profound emotional experience which is the modern anachronistic conception of religion, but from Jerash in this Period comes a hint of a new development in the imperial cult which brings it closer to this later conception, in a dedication to Zeus Helios Sarapis on behalf of the welfare of Antoninus Pius, dated A.D. 143, by Malchos son of Demetrios son of Malchos,⁴⁵² perhaps a younger brother of the priest of Trajan previously mentioned:

A	B	C	D
Υπερ σωτηριῶ	μας τῶν κυριῶ	ν Αυτοκράτορ	ος Καίσαρος
	Τ(υτου) Αιλιου	{Α} Εδριανου	Αντιωνεινου Ευ
	βοῦς Σεβαστ{ου}		ος
καὶ τέκνων	αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ	μοναίας καὶ εἰς	δαίμονας βουλῆς
	{κ}α ἱ δήμου τῆς	κυρίας πατρ	{ρ} ἴδος,
Διὸς Ἡλίου μ	εγάλου Σαρά	πιδος καὶ Ἰσ	ιδος καὶ Νεωτέρας
	τῶ	{ν συννάων θειῶν	Μάλχο· {ς Δημητρίου
τοῦ Μάλχο	{ν τῆ κυρία	πατρίδι ἐξ ἐπανγενέας	αὐτοῦ τὰ
	ἀγάλματα ἀν	έθηκεν σὺ	{ν} κρηπειδώματι
καὶ βάσει	σιν αὐτῶν, ἔτους	εξ Ξαν {δ}ηκοῦ	βη' ἀφιερωθέντα
	ἱερωμῆνου πρώτῳ	καὶ πρό	{ν} βαίνοντος τοῦ Μάλχου
	ἐπι Αἰμιλίου Κάρου	πρεσβ(ευτοῦ)	{ν} Σεβαστοῦ
	αντιλοστρατή	{ν} γου .	

('|' indicates the junctures of the stones). As is evident from the text, neither the reading nor the interpretation can be regarded as entirely certain, but Welles, following Abel, takes the 'New Isis' to be one of the women of the imperial house, probably Faustina, wife of Antoninus, dead in A.D. 140; he notes that although priests of the living emperor are known from inscriptions, this is the first evidence of a member of the imperial family being worshipped in a temple of the city.

Indeed, if this construction is correct, the instance is still remarkable in the broader context. The syncretization of a deified member of the imperial family with a major goddess adds a new dimension to the cult and brings it much closer to the less artificial ruler cults of the East, such as the old Egyptian version, that is to say, makes it a more 'genuine' religion; at Rome itself the syncretization of members of the imperial family, living or dead, with major deities was hitherto confined to the aberrations of Caligula and Nero, and the widespread practice of offering not to, but on behalf of the

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welfare of, the reigning emperor indicates that in this respect also the cult was far from comparable to other religions of the day.

If Faustina was identified with Isis, then the possibility arises that her male consort, here apparently the more important deity, was also identified with a divine member of the imperial house, though with whom it is impossible to say. In any case, the multiple syncretization itself is of interest, as is the spread of the cult of Isis and Sarapis, in whatever form, when one recalls the evidence from Jerusalem; the cult of Isis, whom, according to Rey-Coquais, the Syrian peoples generally identified with the great Astarte,⁴⁵³ the 'Dea Syriae', is also attested in undated inscriptions from Arados and Palmyra.⁴⁵⁴

Evidence of a similarly overt form of Romanization to that of the basic imperial cult comes from the numerous dedications expressing political loyalty, dedications of statues or buildings to the reigning emperor, or to the various gods on behalf of his welfare, for the most part incorporating the formula, pro salute... or ὑπὲρ τῆς... σωτηρίας... Six dedications to the emperor, three by the city, two by private individuals and one on which the identity of the dedicant is not preserved, are known from this Period,⁴⁵⁵ with possibly another of doubtful date.⁴⁵⁶ To these may be added the dedications to other Roman officials, six of which certainly belong to this Period, two Greek dedications to the governor L. Attidius Cornelianus by Flavius k... and L. Ulpus Cerealis, the latter naming him as his patron,⁴⁵⁷ two Greek dedications to the governor C. Allius Fuscianus, by Diogenes son of Diogenes and Flavius Eumenes, son of Claudianus⁴⁵⁸ - all these dedicants seem likely to be local residents - together with a Latin dedication to Allius Fuscianus by M. Antonius Gemellus, cornicularius of the procurator Vibius Celer,⁴⁵⁹ and a Latin dedication to a person whose name is lost, but who appears to have been a procurator in the reign of Hadrian, by a member or members of Leg. VI Fer.⁴⁶⁰ - these last two, obviously, of less importance. In addition there are five dedications more doubtfully referred to this Period: a Greek dedication by the city, with L. Aemilius Akula as epimeletes, to the procurator "Κ(ούντων) 'Αυρ(ήλιον) 'Ατιλλανδόν" - Welles comments that a Carus Aurelius Atilianus was a procurator of Arabia under Antoninus Pius;⁴⁶¹ of less importance, three Latin inscriptions dated on the lettering to the middle of the century, and so belonging to this Period or the next, two dedications to the distinguished soldier and procurator L. Valerius L.f. Poblilia Firmus,⁴⁶² neither of which preserves the name of the

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the dedicant or dedicants, who may therefore have been members of the army or Roman civil administration, and one to the procurator Maecius Laetus, an extestamentary offering by the advocatus fisci Allius Vestrinus, executed by his heirs;⁴⁶³ there is also a Latin dedication dated only to the second or third century, to the imperial freedman and procurator C. Amandus⁴⁶⁴ - again there is no indication of the identity of the dedicant.

Dedications on behalf of the welfare of the emperor are far more numerous. Thirteen are securely assignable to the Period: apart from the two examples already cited in connection with the imperial cult, Gerasa Inscrs. 10 and 15, there are ten other Greek dedications: from the reign of Trajan, that by T. Flavius Quirina Flaccus, son of Flavius Cerealis and possibly the father of T. Flavius Quirina Gerennus who was agonothete at Jerash in the same reign,⁴⁶⁵ and a dedication to Tyche, in which the name of the dedicant is not preserved,⁴⁶⁶ both dated A.D. 115/6; from the reign of Hadrian there are also two, the inscription from the 'Triumphal Arch' and the dedication by Diogenes, priest of the imperial cult at Antioch, dated A.D. 119/20;⁴⁶⁷ from the reign of Antoninus there are five, the dedication of the Gate of the Artemis Propylaea,⁴⁶⁸ the dedication to the Arabian gods by Demetrios son of Mutos (τοῦ καὶ Νελχομ{α}χου),⁴⁶⁹ the testamentary dedication to the Arabian Gods by the father of a man whose name was probably Zenon,⁴⁷⁰ the dedication to the Heavenly Goddess by Markos Oulpios Tibereinos,⁴⁷¹ and the dedication to Tyche by Athenionos son of Demetrios;⁴⁷² one Greek dedication to the Arabian Gods by Alexandros, brother of Anthos and priest of Dionysos is dated only by the lettering to the early second century.⁴⁷³ In addition to these there is a Latin dedication on behalf of the welfare of Hadrian by the soldiers who accompanied him on his visit to Jerash⁴⁷⁴ and a doubtful example of which only ...}ας τῶ{v... is preserved, dated to the first half of the second century by the lettering.⁴⁷⁵ Kraeling notes the increase in the number of Latin names at this time,⁴⁷⁶ but it seems likely, if only from the vagaries of transliteration, that most of the dedicants were locals, enfranchised or otherwise.

There are also a number of Greek examples which may belong to this Period, four inscriptions dated on the lettering to the middle of the second century,⁴⁷⁷ and so belonging to this Period or the next, another dated only to the second century,⁴⁷⁸ one dated as probably second century,⁴⁷⁹ and one dated as second or third century,⁴⁸⁰ which seems more likely to belong to Period VII.

The bulk of these dedications seem purely perfunctory, and in all

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likelihood the ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας formula, like its Latin equivalent pro salute, eventually ceased to carry any real meaning, invoking heartfelt blessings on the emperor no more frequently than the modern 'good-bye' means 'God be with you' - indeed, particularly in the case of private dedications, whose primary function was a different and personal one such as the fulfilment of a vow, the name of the emperor concerned is often left unspecified, the formula ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας being employed.⁴⁸¹ It was no more than a conventional formality. But the very perfunctory quality of this automatic formula shows how thoroughly established the convention of public devotion to the emperor had become, the extent to which, perhaps imperceptibly, this had become identified with respectability and propriety, something confirmed by the agonistic inscription of T. Flavius Quirina Gerennus, son of Flavius Flaccus, which dates from the reign of Trajan.⁴⁸² A decree of the "sacred guild of the ecumenical, victorious, crowned artists in the service of Dionysus and our Lord Emperor Nerva Traianus Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus and their associates" (ll. 3-4), it justifies the appointment of T. Flavius Gerennus as first agonothete of the newly established festival as "a man eminent and devoted to his Emperor (φυλοκαύσαρα) and the city, known by all the provincial governors and procurators because of his willing and generous coöperation with all" (ll. 5-6) (Welles' translation), followed by a full and fulsome encomium praising his loyalty and services to Trajan, on behalf of whose welfare the festival itself had been instituted, and to his city. Kraeling⁴⁸³ notes the conjunction of Trajan's name with that of Dionysos as the lords whom the guild of artists serves; the remainder further corroborates the way in which loyalty to Rome had become one of the prerequisites for respectability and local eminence.

In architecture, too, there is at least one item which seems more securely deemed response than superimposition: while the overall schemes may have owed some of their inspiration to external Roman intervention, the dedications seem to indicate that the individual parts of the structures were the responsibility of the locals, singly or corporately. It has been pointed out that the main part of the Sanctuary of Artemis seems to have lacked the vast displays of alternating curvilinear and rectilinear aediculae; the beginnings of such a concept are, however, evident in the niches of the Great Gate of the Propylaea, dedicated in A.D. 150. The example is integrally connected with developments in the following Period, and will be treated in detail in Chapter IV;⁴⁸⁴ suffice it to note here that it is a matter of a conch combined with a triangular pediment above and a rectangular opening

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below, within the same aedicula, and that the concept does not yet seem to be fully expressed.

On the other hand, if the number of visible local Roman citizens had increased, there is little sign of concomitant advances made by Latin. Apart from six milestones set up in the vicinity under Claudius Severus,⁴⁸⁵ there are only six Latin inscriptions which may be securely assigned to this Period, the dedication to C. Allius Fuscianus by the cornicularius M. Antonius Gemellus,⁴⁸⁶ the dedication to the procurator of the reign of Hadrian by a member or members of Leg. VI,⁴⁸⁷ the dedication on behalf of the welfare of Hadrian by his military escort,⁴⁸⁸ and the three tombstones of imperial freedmen, buried by their families, dated to the first half of the second century by the lettering.⁴⁸⁹ The latter show that imperial freedmen were settling in the city at this time, and that they and their families continued to use Latin in public and so represented a potential source of dissemination of the language, but there is little sign that this potential was realised. The remaining doubtfully dated Latin inscriptions⁴⁹⁰ (many of which have been arbitrarily assigned to the following Period) are similar in nature: where the author is identifiable, it is almost always a case of a soldier or a member of the civil administration, or one of their dependants, or of someone who may well have been, the possible exceptions being the least securely dated.

Nor were old ways and associations entirely abandoned. While there was a perceptible abatement in Nabataean influence,⁴⁹¹ it is possible that the dedication to the Nabataean king Aretas, found on 'Camp Hill',⁴⁹² if indeed it concerns Rabbel II, belongs to the beginning of this Period, and the worship of the Arabian Gods continued until at least A.D. 155/6.⁴⁹³

The most outstanding feature of this Period is the similarity of the material, particularly the architectural material, from the various sites all over the area - the relationship between the sanctuaries of Baalbek and Jerash, the construction of colonnaded streets in Palmyra, Jerash and possibly Aelia, coinciding with a major reconstruction of the plateia at Antioch, the spread of the stair-temple form, even the similarity between the capitals and other details, like the examples from the South Tetrapylon at Jerash, the fragments from Mt. Gerizim and the B Group capitals from the South Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra,⁴⁹⁴ or the devolution of the leaf-and-dart motif in Baalbek, Aelia and Palmyra, despite the strong local schools,

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in all cases moving first towards the degeneration in the importance of the leaf, then to the increased importance of the space between the leaves, in line with the rest of the Roman world,⁴⁹⁵ or the use of the Roman conch at Aelia, as at Baalbek (whether this be a matter of intercourse between the two colonies, or derivation from a common source, Rome) - all point to the manner in which the towns were growing together in this respect. As long ago as 1935 Watzinger⁴⁹⁶ remarked on the similarity in the material from Palmyra, Damascus, Jerash and Aelia, and the additional evidence discovered since has made the likeness even more conspicuous, and increased the number of sites to which his comments can validly be applied.

Nor was this growing uniformity confined to architecture: even the rare Latin inscriptions have taken on a recognisable provincial quality, the formal piety of the dedication to or pro salute of the reigning emperor, the practice of vowing manifest in the V.S.L.A. (B.M.) formula, both appended seemingly automatically to military and civilian texts alike, whether truly pertinent to the content of the document or not;⁴⁹⁷ perhaps even more significant, though rarer still, is the evidence of the small finds, the lamps and fragments of linen, which suggest a growing identity in the basics of everyday life, all over the area. Indeed, the stage has now been reached when a definition of the Romano-Syrian cultural milieu can be essayed: its evolution was by no means complete - for example, three important architectural hybrids had yet to emerge - but enough is already evident for the broad outline to be delineated.

The culture as a whole was strongly biased towards urbanization, manifest in the foundation of new towns, the demonstrable expansion of existing ones, and the nominal aggrandizement of others, evident in the raising of their status to that of metropolis, together with the concomitant rural development. The system of land tenure and administrative organization, borrowed from the Greeks, was an essentially urban one, in which the farms and villages supported the towns, rather than the towns serving as centres for the farms and villages, something attested in this Period by the mention of villages and farms belonging to Palmyra in the Tariff;⁴⁹⁸ since this mention falls within the section taken from the edict of 'Marinus', the same situation must also be projected back to the middle of the previous century.

The common language of this Romano-Syrian culture was Greek, used in inscriptions, even by the towns themselves in official documents outside the colonies, as well as on municipal coinage such as that mentioned from

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Jerash, and even that of Antioch. Some Latin does appear, although almost entirely confined to the colonies and to soldiers or Roman officials; the forms and formulae of both languages are combined into an epigraphic sub-milieu, and the Latin inscriptions of the province tend to confine themselves to those common forms, so evolving a recognisable provincial style. But with the increasing use of Greek in the old Semitic-speaking areas in this Period, the ultimate supremacy of Greek at the expense of Latin is assured.

The religion of the Romano-Syrian milieu was destined to be Christianity, its victory due to the preference of Rome for this one among many local Syrian cults, and of this there is as yet little sign. In the meantime, the general tendency towards uniformity is visible in the multiple syncretizations which, nominally at least, mark the incorporation of the smaller local cults into the larger ones, and in the growth of those cults favoured by non-Syrian Romans, officially or otherwise, such as the cults of Baalshamin-Zeus Hysistos, Isis and Sarapis, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Helio-politanus and, as will later appear, Jupiter Dolichenus and the Syrian Gods. The analogous spread of the deities of the major centres to the surrounding countryside is evident in the dedication to Juno Regina from Djedîthe.⁴⁹⁹

There is little change detectable in dress. The various local costumes continued in favour beside the draped Greek garments which had already gained some currency before the arrival of the Romans. While some changes are attested in body armour, the effect of the Romans, if any, in the sphere of ordinary clothing is limited to the reinforcement of the status of draped garments, and perhaps, to judge from the material from the Tower Tomb of Elahbel, to the facilitating of some tendency towards uniformity, by virtue, as with the other aspects of life, of improving internal communications within the Roman political area.

This same tendency towards uniformity is most clearly marked in the field of architecture, to the point where it is possible to extrapolate a picture of a typical Romano-Syrian town. Such a town would be more or less axially planned, with a cardo if not a single definable decumanus, walled, with arched city gates of Roman type. The main street, at least, would be colonnaded, possibly with subsidiary colonnades running off it to each side, awkward transitions such as changes in direction being marked by tetrapylons (or later, as at Rome, by triumphal arches), and the order of the colonnades, as of all the major public buildings, would be Orthodox Syrian Corinthian. The public buildings and monuments, naturally, would

vary, but are likely to include statues, on pedestals, on honorific columns, and possibly on column brackets, baths, a nymphaeum of some sort (see Antioch and Aelia) and at least one circus or theatre, or both, with perhaps an amphitheatre as an alternative. These last are, of course, also a function of the tendency towards urbanization. Virtually the entire male population of a village can participate simultaneously in one of the various rough forms of football or polo played under such circumstances, and an entire village can take part in dances, mimes or similar theatrical performances. However, when the population increases to that of a town or city, proper provision for spectator entertainments must be made, since only a small minority of the population can participate in any such form of recreation at a given time, if only for lack of space. The temples of the city would be a mixture of round and à escaliers, a type now acceptable to the Romans of Syria, showing various degrees of Classicization. The sanctuary surrounding the temple would be of the western long-axis type (though the Sanctuary of Abgal at Kh. Semrine indicates that a reversion to the older type was still possible in more remote regions). The aesthetic and structural advantages of arches, vaults and, to anticipate later developments, domes and concrete, would also be utilized where appropriate, including those of the popular local form, the 'Syrian Arch' or arcuated lintel. Architectural details, too, would vary, but the use of alternating curvilinear and rectilinear aediculae, and the interplay of curved and straight lines generally would, here as in Asia Minor, set the overall tone of the style of the city. Some peculiarly Roman details are also to be expected, perhaps the occasional Roman conch among predominantly Syrian ones.

There would also be a conspicuous and even obtrusive veneer of loyalty to Rome and public devotion to the emperor and his administration, palpable in the automatic dedications of everything from milestones to city gates to or for the emperor or one of his subordinates; one must not, however, lose sight of the fact that these were indeed the established forms, to some extent a measure of the degree to which the population, possibly unconsciously, had slipped into a Romanizing frame of reference.

The pattern is now much clearer than in previous Periods. While there are still local differences, the ultimate tendency towards this kind of uniformity is obvious, not a tendency towards a *mélange* in which all was reduced to a single shade of grey, but rather towards a mosaic composed of a limited number of colours. Save for the lack of stair temples, almost all the elements of the milieu are to be found in the new colony of Aelia Capitolina,

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whether in its initial Hadrianic structures or in its later additions; in a sense it sets the seal on the milieu, crystallizing its form.

This situation did not, of course, come about suddenly, in this Period itself. Some of the mechanisms involved in its creation were already visible in Period I, but these had since been augmented by others which had come into being in the interim. The role of the military in the dissemination of Roman forms, and at times even of peculiar local Syrian forms, throughout the area continued, as witness the settlements springing up beside the forts of al-Bhara, Mankûra and perhaps Kheurbet Ramadane, which indicate a marked degree of contact between soldiers and civilians, as well as the actual provision of models and superimpositions, not only in the numerous Latin military inscriptions, but possibly in the field of architecture: Kenyon⁵⁰⁰ states that bricks stamped with the mark of the Tenth Fretensis were found all over Jerusalem, which, taken with the previously-discussed inscription of the same legion found near the Damascus Gate and the alleged boar over the West Gate, suggest the legions themselves took part in the construction of the new model city; the possibility that the soldiers influenced the choice of the civilian population in architectural matters has already been discussed with reference to Palmyra and al-Bhara and the benefactions of the centurion(s) at Jerash - one remembers also the contribution of the decurion T. Flavius Epe... to the South Theatre in the previous Period.

As well as the influence of the military on the civilian population, there is also the recruiting of locals into the army where they served side by side with Romans from elsewhere in the empire, so acquiring customs and tastes which they brought back to their homes on retirement, 'Germanus' and T. Flavius Epe... again being possible instances. In this Period there is ample evidence for Syrians serving with the Roman forces, both in ethnic auxilia and in the regular units. The Ala Commagenorum, commanded by a tribune from a regular unit, the Third Legion, has already been mentioned; it was under Trajan that the Palmyrene archers were first constituted into a formal unit within the Roman army.⁵⁰¹ Syrians also served abroad in the regular army: two soldiers of Leg. III Augusta, stationed in Numidia, M. Domitius Valens and M. Atilius Saturninus, call themselves Heliopolitans, as does another member of the same legion in an inscription found at Baalbek itself;⁵⁰² the dedicant of ILS 9171, from Galizio, a member of Coh. I Hisp. (stationed in Moesia Superior from A.D. 93, in Dacia A.D. 110)

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seems likely to have been a Syrian, since it marks the fulfilment of a vow to Jupiter Dolichenus; from Ishkeli in Asia Minor comes a Latin dedication on behalf of the welfare of Hadrian and of Coh. I Claud. Sugambrum veteranae equitatae, V.S.L.M., by M. Iulius M.f. Pisonianus 'qui et Dion', prefect of that cohort and a praefectus fabrum who led a numerus from the garrison of Montanensis in Moesia Inferior, and who gives his tribe as the Fabia and his home as Tyre, 'metropolis Phoenices et Coeles Syriae';⁵⁰³ Buckler et al. mention two other Syrian equestrian officers of the same period, one of whom, M. Acilius Alexander of Palmyra, was prefect of this same cohort immediately before or after Pisonianus. Within the province local recruitment into units other than the local militia is not so securely attested in this Period, the most likely example known to me coming from an undated inscription of soldiers of Leg. IV Scyth. at Enesh, which is more likely to belong to Period VII.⁵⁰⁴

There is ample evidence that the 'Ramsay family' mechanism continued in this Period, in the activities of the Flavii Flacci at Jerash, while the inscription of Petilia Lucia and her sons and the number of Ulpii and Aelii attested among the dedications to or for the emperor and in other inscriptions suggests that more such families were in the making; the evidence for a variant syndrome in which the inducement was not Roman citizenship but personal contact with highly-placed Romans and the vicarious prestige accruing therefrom has also been discussed - the doubtful hereditary imperial priesthood of the family of Sarapion at Jerash⁵⁰⁵ may also come into this category. The agonistic inscription of T. Flavius Quirina Gerennus previously cited serves to illustrate how closely linked these two mechanisms of transmission were, in that a scion of the Flavii Flacci, probably the best example of the 'Ramsay mechanism' in the region, here, by way of his involvement in the inauguration of an annual festival in honour of the emperor, demonstrating the way in which this mechanism works, is also endowed with the diagnostic qualification for the 'quasi-Ramsay' mechanism, personal contact with high Roman officials, as too with L. Julius Agrippa of Apamea.

Moreover, as adumbrated earlier in regard to the coins of the Second Jewish Revolt, the process was becoming self-perpetuating, inexorable and inevitable. This was due not only to internal factors as in the case of the coins, based on previously Romanized models from the same area, but also to external factors. This too was presaged in the situation regarding the pottery of Antioch, where Romanization of the pottery was due to Romanization of an external source, but now the circle was closing more tightly.

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The change from the Ionic order to the Corinthian at Jerash seems the best illustration of what was occurring. Kraeling⁵⁰⁶ sees the incorporation of Jerash into the new province of Arabia as the turning point in the history of the city, since by this change it ceased to be a frontier town on the fringe of Syria, and became a town in the heart of the new province, and the improved road system allowed increased commerce with the towns to the north. This, however, merely establishes the enabling conditions which allowed the rebuilding and in turn the change of order; the improved communications permitted more frequent access to models in Roman Syria, but does not itself explain why Jerash chose to follow those particular models (which had in fact been available, if less readily, in the previous century) at this date. Ward-Perkins⁵⁰⁷ follows Kraeling insofar as that the incorporation of Jerash into Arabia marked a turning point in its architectural outlook, and offers an explanation for its previous dilatoriness in regard to the retention of the Ionic order when the rest of the area was changing to Corinthian, namely that as it was excluded from the kingdom of Herod, it remained something of a backwater. While this, too, seems partially valid, it still does not explain the positive aspect of the problem, the change now, rather than in the previous Period, in the order of major public buildings.

It seems to be more a matter of the reduction of options than the increase in opportunities to observe models. The creation of the province of Arabia, rather than a cause in itself, was a symptom of a more generalized change, the Romanization of what, in effect, was the entire external world. Jerash was engaged in a large scale rebuilding programme: it could rebuild in the same manner as before, following older models from the site itself; it could invent entirely new forms on the spot - and given that Jerash was still a small provincial town it is, in the nature of things, unlikely that she could afford to employ an innovative architect of high standing, or would countenance the work of a creative unknown, before it had been endorsed by the larger cities; or it could seek external models. If it chose the last, on the general grounds of wishing to be up-to-date, then all the models available to it, whether from neighbouring towns or from neighbouring provinces, even from Greece itself, were at least partially Romanized, since all was now encompassed within the Roman world. Even Mesopotamia was, for part of the Period, included within its ambit.

The choice was narrowed still further by prevailing Roman beliefs about the relationship between cultural affinities and political loyalties: I intend to deal with this subject in more detail elsewhere, but, to

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anticipate, there was indeed a contemporary belief that the one reflected the other. According to Tacitus (Ann. XIII.34),

Ad hoc Armenii ambigua fide utraque arma invitabant, situ terrarum, similitudine morum Parthis propiores conubiisque permixti ac libertate ignota illuc magis ad servitium inclinantes.

In other words, he considers that the loyalty of the Armenians was doubtful, among other reasons because their customs resembled those of the Parthians, forming a bond between the two peoples.⁵⁰⁸ The influence of the Nabataeans in Jerash had abated, not disappeared, but while the maintenance of previous borrowings such as the cult of the Arabian gods was permissible, fresh borrowings from the same source for public monuments of the city may well have been deemed untactful so soon after the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom. Models for the new capitals had to be sought in the Roman world, whether west, south-west, north or north-east, and virtually all of those available models were now Orthodox Corinthians.

A similar situation is discernible in Palmyra. Insofar as the new wave of Parthian influence on sculpture - the appearance of the jewelled band in the costume depicted, and perhaps the reinforcement of the Eastern elements in the rendition of the sculptures, both, if Seyrig is correct, attributable to the wholesale importation of the statues from Mesopotamia, implied by the Tariff - can be dated within the Period, it coincides with the time when Roman relations with the Parthian Empire were at their most cordial. By the same token, the appearance of the two new westernized types of tomb seems to correlate with the time when relations with the Parthians were least cordial, the hypogeum early in the reign of Trajan, the 'temple-tomb' later in the reign of Antoninus Pius, perhaps when relations were once again deteriorating, as usual over Armenia, and also when some conflict was developing with the king of Edessa - the dates, unfortunately, are vague. It would seem reasonable to suppose that Palmyra turned westwards at least in part because at such times, again while the continuation of old ways deriving from Mesopotamia might be tolerated, the adoption of new forms from that direction might be considered politically dangerous. Once Mesopotamia was ruled out as a source of inspiration, Palmyra, too, could look only to a Romanized or partially Romanized world for models.

The Romanization of the external world, together with the increasing Romanization within the area itself, meant that the process had become

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cumulative, not only continuing, but accelerating of its own accord. The circle was not yet completely closed, and there was always the possibility, as the Sanctuary of Abgal at Kheurbet Semrine and the Sanctuary of Nabô at Palmyra show, of turning back to older forms for a pattern, so long as they continued to exist. But the old ways and types must eventually fall into disuse or disrepair and vanish, and the point seemed to be approaching when Syria, circumscribed by Roman culture, must perforce be Romanized, since, inside or outside the area, only Roman options existed. The process, now widespread, fed by impetus from all directions and no longer based so heavily on Herodian work, had gathered such momentum that the Jewish revolts of this Period failed to check it significantly.

The state of affairs inside the area is reflected outside it by the number of Syrians taking their place on various levels in the affairs of the empire, and the way in which they did so. The prejudice still existed - it is to this Period that Juvenal's much cited jibe about the Orontes flowing into the Tiber⁵⁰⁹ must be referred. But there was also a growing acceptance of both Syrians and Syrian culture. Syrian soldiers serving abroad have already been mentioned, and merchants and slaves may be presumed. They took with them their gods and established cults elsewhere in the empire, in other provinces, in Italy itself, and even in Rome: the dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus from Galizio has already been cited; Jones⁵¹⁰ mentions an inscription by the 'cultores Iovis Heliopolitani Berytenses qui Puteolis consistunt'; at Rome a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus worshipped together with Juno Regina, Isis and Sarapis and the Dioscuri, was built on the Aventine in the first years of the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁵¹¹

Apart from the soldiers serving abroad, Syrians also continued to play their traditional role in the artistic and intellectual life of the empire: one thinks immediately of Trajan's architect, Apollodorus of Damascus; the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa⁵¹² may belong to this Period rather than the preceding one; the working life of Lucian of Samosata, discussed in the following chapter, certainly overlaps this and the following Period.

The prominence of Syrians in what may have been regarded as servile professions was, however, still not matched in the political sphere. To be sure, a Syrian was consul at Rome from May 1, 109, but this was the illustrious C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, grandson of Antiochus IV of Commagene, and also archon of Athens.⁵¹³ His suffect consulship is best

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regarded as purely honorary, comparable to that of Agrippa I, almost, perhaps, as a consolation prize for not being king of Commagene, rather than in the same light as consulships held by eminent provincials of distinguished, but not royal, local families. Alföldy⁵¹⁴ does list four Syrian consuls from much later in the Period, but of these only one, L. Aemilius Iuncus, cos. suff. A.D. 154 ("(?)"), whom he attaches to the Aemilii Iunci of Tripolis, seems certain; the others, T. Statilius Maximus (ord. 144), L. Aemilius Carus (suff. ? 144) and L. (T.) Iulius Statilius Severus (suff. 155) are only doubtfully included.

There is, nevertheless, one significant sign of change earlier at the equestrian level. C. Avidius Heliodorus of Cyrrhus,⁵¹⁵ father of Avidius Cassius, attained the prefecture of Egypt in the reign of Hadrian. Details of his career are vexed. Dio states that he held the governorship as a reward for his oratical ability, while Magie identifies him with the philosophos Heliodorus who, according to SHA: Hadr. XVI.10, was among a group of philosophers, musicians, geometricians, painters and astrologers - all professions of the type previously open to Syrians - who earned the respect and friendship of Hadrian. On the other hand, SHA Avidius Cassius I.1-3 states that he was a novus homo who at first commanded in the ranks (i.e. was a primipilaris)⁵¹⁶ and later attained the highest honours of state, being mentioned by the historian Quadratus as a very distinguished man, indispensable to the state and influential with Marcus Aurelius, in whose reign he died.

This second version is apt to be regarded as a retrospective attempt by the SHA to find a respectable ancestry, spurious or otherwise, for Avidius Cassius, who is ranked with the Augusti and Caesares, rather than the pretenders, and otherwise receives favourable treatment - Pflaum,⁵¹⁷ for example, has no hesitation in accepting Dio's version. In any case, it seems certain that he was no minor princeling, but a member of an ordinary well-to-do native family, probably already enfranchised before his birth: had his beginnings been any more illustrious, the SHA would undoubtedly have mentioned them. His father's, therefore, is a case of a man following what had become the standard provincial equestrian career, with great distinction, the first real sign that such a cursus was no longer closed to provincials of Syrian birth.