

CHAPTER IV.

Period VI. Marcus Aurelius to Didius Julianus. The Continuation.

This Period is essentially one of transition, without much in the way of a distinctive character of its own, merging into the preceding and succeeding Periods, the innovations which adumbrate the latter hardly perceptible in the gentle flow from one to the other. Like its first century counterpart, Period III, however, it is also a Period where the response to the previous impositions and developments first becomes apparent, but this time the response is affirmative, and signalled in a highly paradoxical manner.

This is not to say that there is not also a continuation of old pre-Roman forms which did not spread beyond their place of origin to become part of the Romano-Syrian milieu, or even a fresh recrudescence of older types. At Koryphaios (Gebel Seih Barakat) in the Dana plain, the Sanctuary of Zeus Bomos (A.D. 161) and the stylistically closely related Sanctuary of Zeus Madbachos¹ show a strong a-Classical architectural elements, particularly in regard to the "lotus" capitals, which bear some resemblance to the late Byzantine-Umayyad capitals in Palmyrene, especially those from Resafa. The old cults themselves persisted with little sign of abatement or alteration - the cult of Zeus Belus at Apamea, for example, is attested by the reference to the prophecy which Septimius Severus received from this oracle during his service in Syria,² which should have taken place during this Period. And, despite the issue of coins with Latin legends at Antioch to commemorate the arrival of Verus,³ Latin, too, continued to 'advance to the rear': its usage is attested only in official contexts, or where soldiers and officials are concerned, and, even so, on the milestone of A.D. 162 near Aelia, dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Verus, it was deemed necessary to repeat the vital part of the inscription, "5 miles from Col. Aelia Cap.", in Greek.⁴

By the same token of course, this also attests the use of Greek as a lingua franca in what was once, at least ostensibly, a non-Greek area, and from this point of view is in harmony with the general tone of the Period. As a whole, it was a matter of a steady continuation of earlier trends and developments, and those innovations which occurred were either themselves Romanizing, or elements which were destined to become part of the future Romano-Syrian milieu. The tendency towards uniformity continued.

The implementation of programmes initiated in the previous Period

proceeded without interruption, both those of a purely local character, the building programmes of the various cities, now attributable in execution if not in inspiration to the local inhabitants themselves, and those overall programmes which can be referred to the Roman administration, provincial or otherwise.

The Hadrianic road system in Judaea and the Decapolis area was expanded by the addition of the Damascus-Salcha-Gadara road, and the road from Aelia to Emmaus under Marcus Aurelius; the road from Jerash to Adra'a was perhaps repaired at the very end of the Period,⁵ A milestone numbered XI, and dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, found between Byblos and the Nahr el-Kelb⁶ suggests that the roads of Syria proper also received attention where needed, as does the inscription from Abila Lysaniae discussed below.

In terms of cultural dynamics, this constitutes no more than superimposition, or reinforcement of the previous superimpositions, but the continuing programmes of the various cities are now more a matter of response, whether to previous Roman superimpositions or to the spread of the Romano-Syrian milieu, which, it must be reiterated, the growth of the road system facilitated.

At Palmyra, the building programme, with the extension of the east-west colonnaded street (the "decumanus"), the extension of the transverse colonnaded street which had been initiated under Hadrian southwards towards the Ephca spring, the South-West Gate, and the organization of the eastern part of the town into a residential quarter with parallel streets, cut by the "decumanus", all continued.⁷ So too did the new Palmyrene script, developed, according to Starcky,⁸ under the influence of Greek. In the field of religion, it is obvious that the cult of Baalshamin-Zeus Hypsistos continued to gain support: an altar, dedicated to "ΔΙΙ ΨΙCΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΗΚΩ" (sic), dated to A.D. 163, was discovered close to the Ephca by Wood and Dawkins,⁹ the epithet "ΕΠΗΚΩ" being characteristic of this new, compassionate aspect of Baalshamin.¹⁰ The imperial cult is more firmly attested at Palmyra in this Period: Bowersock¹¹ notes that a Caesareum is explicitly referred to in an inscription of A.D. 171, as well as in one of A.D. 272, and wishes to ascribe an inscription of A.D. 166 from Kaṣr al-Hêr ech Charqi, which perhaps mentions an imperial priest, to Palmyra itself.

It was in this Period, according to Ward-Perkins,¹² that the Propylaea was added to the Sanctuary of Bel. As remarked earlier,¹³ this sanctuary, taking its core to be bounded by the four earliest colonnades, was almost square. The addition of the Propylaea was enough to tip the balance, and the long and short axes of the sanctuary were now reversed.

The sanctuary as a whole was now of the long-axis type, if it was not so before with some predecessor of the Propylaea, since the temple door lay on the axis of this entrance.

The transitional nature of the Period means that the ascription of evidence dated by stylistic criteria is always doubtful, as the styles in question continue across the arbitrary chronological boundaries; so it is that the most pertinent new development in personal appearance at Palmyra may be assigned to this Period or the preceding one. Ingholt's Group II Palmyrene sculptures¹⁴ are dated ca. 150-200 A.D. Two of the busts belonging to this group, which he published in Syria 1930, depict bearded (and mustachioed) males, as opposed to the clean-shaven features of earlier busts, something which Ingholt seems to consider as an important chronological criterion. Both busts in question appear to date to this Period, and in both the beard is shown as short and curly, "avec des petites boucles crépues" as Ingholt puts it (or, as Colledge¹⁵ terms them, "snail curls"); in one case, that of the funerary bust of Vaballat son of Vaballat, this rendition is compared by Ingholt to that on a bust dated A.D. 154-155.¹⁶

These beards, as Colledge¹⁷ points out, have Parthian relations, but it does not seem unreasonable to suggest, as too does Colledge, that the change was inspired by one of the famous bearded Roman emperors, Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius - Verus, too, was bearded in the earlier part of his reign - particularly since the introduction of beards coincided with the introduction into Palmyra of the Antonine male hairstyle.¹⁸ It is, however, uncertain which of the three emperors set the fashion. The two busts under discussion find their best parallels in Period VI, but both were funerary; the fashion presumably started earlier, while the subjects were alive, though how much earlier it is impossible to say. All three emperors visited the province, although Marcus' visit (A.D. 176) came too late to have initiated the fashion, but in any case the more likely inspiration would have been official portraits generally and especially coin portraits.¹⁹

Antioch displays a similar pattern of continuity, reiteration and the gradual development of types already established. The pottery, like the material of this Period as a whole, echoes that of preceding Periods, and foreshadows that of succeeding ones. The fine imported (or perhaps now locally produced) ware falls into the category which Waagé calls Middle Roman, a phase which he dates to the latter part of the second century and the early part of the third: Early Roman shapes die out, and a few new ones appear; he notes the decline in quantity, quality and the variety of shapes.²⁰ At the same time he mentions the occasional appearance of Late Roman B, a type which continues into the Late Roman period proper, in Middle Roman deposits.²¹ The local moulded bowls²² (which show an unbroken development from Hellenistic times, and influenced local pottery as far away as Palestine, the decoration of which, in Roman times, included both the garland pattern which may have derived from Roman moulded bowls and the quatripartite rosette common on late mosaics under Sassanian influence) also continued, occurring in the later Middle Roman deposit in Sector 16-P; again, the most noticeable change is the decline in quantity and quality.

The architectural picture is not so clear. There is some slight literary evidence regarding two of the most important types, those whose existence implies a concomitant institution or practice, but it is doubtful in the extreme. The implication of SHA Marcus VIII.12, et Verus quidem, posteaquam in Syriam venit Antiochiam et Daphnen vixit armisque se gladiatorii et venatibus exercuit, is that the practice of holding gladiatorial games, first introduced by Antiochus IV Epiphanes and reinforced by Caesar, had endured, and was still acceptable. Some sort of facilities must have existed for these contests, and since we are not told that Verus built or rebuilt any amphitheatre - given that the statement is pejorative, and this would have aggravated the offence, it would almost certainly have been mentioned, had it been known to be so - it is possible that Caesar's was still in good repair; such maintenance itself in turn implies continuous local interest. However, too much weight cannot be placed upon such vague references: interpreted in like manner, SHA Verus VI.1, Circensium tantam curam habuit et frequentur e provincia litteras causa circensium et miserit et acceperit

might be seen to imply that adequate facilities for chariot racing no longer existed in Antioch, together with the corresponding decline in the popularity of the sport - highly unlikely in view of the substantial remains of the circus on the island; once again, if there is any truth in the story, it is probably no more than an indication of the extent of Verus' passion for such pastimes, which no amount of local substitutes could satisfy.²³

The material from Jerash again tells much the same story of continuity and reiteration. The building of the Sanctuary of Artemis continued, with some features of the approach to the Propylaea, for example the triple-arched gate, being dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius by Kraeling.²⁴ That the main responsibility for the continuation of the project lay with the citizen body is attested by Inscr. No. 146 (Gerasa p.426), a tympanum block with a Greek dedication to Tyche, on behalf of Marcus and Verus, by the city, with a certain Nestor as epimeletes. Another inscription, No. 64,²⁵ on the block built into the wall of the Propylaea Church, reads,

[---] ὡς νῦν ἐπὶ Γεμινίου Μαρ[ρ]κίου οὐ
[πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρατήγου ὑπάτ]ου ἀναδεδελεγμένου
[Ετους...---] κ' Ϝ.

Welles gives the date as A.D. 162-166, the tenure of Geminius Marcianus as governor of Arabia.

The same governor appears in connection with the other similar project commenced and executed during this Period, the reconstruction of the Temple of Zeus, between 161 and 166 A.D.²⁶ An inscription on the broken blocks from the main entablature of the east façade of the temple reads,²⁷

A	B	C
[Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. 'Υ]	πέρ τῇ[ς] τῶν Σ εβ(αστῶν) σωτηρίας	
	καὶ αὐ[τῶν] δι' αἰμονῆς 'Α ντωνίου καὶ	
	Θύρου [Ἀυτοκρατ]όρων[καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος]	
	οἴκου αὐτῶν ἀφιερώθη ἐπ[ὶ] Γ[ε]μινίου	
[Μαρκιανοῦ]	πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου, ε,	
	ἐτους ε' ἐκς, Λώου ε[?]	

This project is particularly interesting in that it illustrates the spread of the architectural elements of the Romano-Syrian milieu. The level of the terrace upon which the temple stood was raised by the construction of huge vaults of what Kraeling describes as "the finest workmanship". The temple

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itself followed by what was by now the standard Syrian type, à escaliers, though more Classical than some, peripteral, and with a rectangular templum rather than a curvilinear thalamos at the rear, very similar in plan to the Temple of Artemis.²⁸ A possible added Eastern feature, however, is the niches on the external wall of the cella, which Amy considers may be vestiges of windows.

More securely Romanizing is the North Theatre (cf. M.A., pp.182-185), again apparently constructed under the auspices of Geminus Marcianus, and so dated 161-166 A.D.²⁹ On the other hand, the exiguous remains of the Temple of Nemesis,³⁰ the eight Corinthian columns of which disappeared in the nineteenth century leaving only the foundations, give little scope for conjecture as to the architectural significance of the building, and the same is true of the Birketein reservoir-sacred pool to the north of the city.³¹ But, subject to the reservations stipulated in my previous work (pp.97-8) the inscriptions from the columns of the cardo between the 'Forum' and the Artemis temenos, dated by the style of the lettering to the second half of the second century,³² seem to show that the change in order was still in progress, and the order of the Temple of Nemesis is at least consistent with this general modernization, while the Birketein pool was used not only in a utilitarian way for the provision of water, but also as an integral part of the Maiumas festival.

Architecturally speaking, Jerash is, nevertheless, the best documented site of the Period, and because of this it is at Jerash that the impact of the gradual change which occurred during this Period is detectable. The use of domes and hemicyclical and hemispherical vaults, and curvilinear architecture generally, becomes marked in the later part of the Period; firstly in the West Baths,³³ with their hemispherical vault over the chamber in the north wing, complemented by the arched recess below,³⁴ and then, even more emphatically, in the Nymphaeum (finished by 191 and dedicated to Tyche on behalf of the welfare of Commodus and the body corporate of Roman citizens, by the city)³⁵ which featured a hemicyclical vault of light volcanic scoriae.

Here too the internal decoration utilizes, and plays upon, the contrast between quadrate and curvilinear, alternating arched and rectangular aediculae in a manner very reminiscent of Baalbek, where the contrapuntal use of linear and curvilinear is a recurrent, characteristic theme,³⁶ repeated and underscored.

As remarked earlier (Ch. III, p.142), this stands in sharp contra-

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distinction to the Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Artemis, and the absence of the curvilinear motif from this structure is all the more striking because the overall design of the Sanctuary of Artemis makes it clear that it was conceived with the Heliopolitanum in mind. In the Propylaea at Jerash³⁷ there is a similar system of doors and niches to that used in the Baalbek Altar Court, but here the curved lines are not only not emphasized, but actually muted. In the section west of the cardo, to the left of the photographs cited, a structural arch is concealed in the masonry; on either side of the entrance itself there are arched niches in the upper storey, but each is surmounted by a triangular architrave, and flanked on either side by columns supporting this entablature; the angular framework, and especially the horizontal base-line of the pediment, effectively counteracts the force of the curve of the arch, neutralized still more by the effect of the horizontal cornice above the pediment.³⁸ Each niche contains a rectangular opening giving on to the interior of the Sanctuary; if these openings are original, and were not entirely masked from view by the statue - one presumes the function of this opening was to allow the statue to be seen from both sides - then it would further nullify the effect of the arch above. The combined result is that those two offending, covert little curves are almost entirely suppressed, smothered by the massive four-square structure of the gateway.

Yet the germ of the motif is here. The more recent photographs such as those published in Gerasa and by Ward-Perkins, in which the pediments of the aediculae are very fragmentary, suggest that if fully restored they would project over the arched niche³⁹ to such an extent that the arch would be inconspicuous, if not invisible, from a distance, becoming noticeable only when one was standing directly below, so that one saw first the rectilinear entablature, then the arched niche, not both together as part of the same pattern as in the Nymphaeum or at Baalbek. Even so, in the corresponding aedicula on the inside⁴⁰ of the gate, which contains an extant "Syrian" conch⁴¹ and was connected with the external aedicula by the rectangular opening, the entablature seems to have been shallower, so that the possibility of the arch below being visible would have been increased. In fact, the older photographs of the same structure taken by the Puchstein expedition of 1902,⁴² when it was in a much better state of preservation, show that this is indeed true: furthermore, measures had been taken to offset the adumbration of the niche by the pediment. In the general shot of the interior of the gate, the rim of the arch above the niche is highlighted by the sun, as is the triangular frame of the pediment above. Assuming that they were either

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gilded or painted, the effect must have been quite dramatic: it would have been impossible to miss the visual interplay, the two shapes, lune and triangle, juxtaposed and contrasted, yet similar, the same shape, as it were, translated into two different geometrical media. The detail of the right hand interior aedícula shows how this was achieved: the projecting architrave directly above the conch was cut back, with a rectangular recess to allow sunlight to enter. The detail of the right hand side aedícula of the exterior of the gate shows that the same expedient was used here, too.

However, it is likely that it only partially counteracted the shadow of the pediment: in the photograph of the interior, the sun seems to be low in the sky, striking the arch at an oblique angle; in as far as it is possible to judge from the photograph, it seems likely that if the sun were higher in the sky, or if the direct light were impeded by neighbouring buildings not preserved, the niche would be entirely in the shadow. Furthermore, a close-up shot of the interior aedícula shows a large arch below, while the exterior view shows a rectangular doorway, and the photograph in Gerasa shows the building restored with the arch invisible: again, apparently, a relieving arch, concealed in the masonry, to allow the preferred rectangular doorway.⁴³ For the most part, curved lines, where they occur, are deliberately obscured or disguised; the emphasis is on straight lines and sharp angles. The seed of the motif existed at Jerash at the beginning of Period VI, but only at the end of the Period did it appear fully developed.

The ultimate origin of the motif is uncertain. Western examples pre-dating Jerash exist,⁴⁴ but it is doubtful whether any pre-date the exedrae of the substructure at Baalbek. Ward-Perkins⁴⁵ also sees the decorative aediculae as evidence of a link between Baalbek and Jerash in the second century, and his juxtaposition of the plates of the Altar Court, the Jerash Nymphaeum and the Artemis Propylaea⁴⁶ makes the point with tacit eloquence. He does not, however, specify their use as a medium of expression for the curvilinear-rectilinear motif, though he mentions this motif in connection with the use of alternating curved and triangular pediments in the aediculae of the Library of Celsus at Ephesus,⁴⁷ describing it as a late Hellenistic device which took on a new lease of life in contexts such as this.⁴⁸ This, however, does not entirely dispose of the peculiar relationship between Baalbek and Jerash. At Ephesus the contrast is confined to the pediments: arch and triangular pediment alike surmount rectangular niches below. While some of the aediculae at Baalbek, for example those in the cella wall of the

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'Temple of Bacchus' follow this pattern, in others, for example some of those of the Altar Court⁴⁹ and those of the exedrae of its substructure,⁵⁰ the contrasting shape is extended to the niche itself, arches surmounting apsidal, hemicyclically domed niches, triangular pediments flat rectangular ones. The same appears to be true of the Jerash Nymphaeum, although it may in part be de rigueur. Here the transition between the arch and the wall behind is effected in a rather awkward manner, by means of a second set of voussoirs, sloping backwards and downwards,⁵¹ instead of by a single block shaped to fit the intrados on the one hand and the curved rear wall on the other, with its front surface following the line of the archivolt and forming a secondary arch below, hollowed out on the underside to form the dome of the niche, as at Baalbek.⁵² It looks almost as if the architects at Jerash were expecting the rear surface of the voussoirs to strike the wall at right angles, as in the West Baths, thus achieving a tight fit, only to be defeated by the gentle curve of the apsidal wall of the Nymphaeum, and thus forced to construct makeshift apsidal niches. However, this awkward transition would undoubtedly have been hidden by decoration, and the solution, the end result, is aediculae on the same pattern as those cited from Baalbek. It seems that once again Jerash followed Baalbek.

In the sphere of religion, the material from Jerash is consistent with that from the province as a whole: cults attested, apart from those of Zeus, Artemis and Nemesis, suggest that at least nominal syncretization of old and new deities continued. Inscriptions include dedications to Zeus Epicarpus, Zeus Poseidon, Apollo and "Deana " (the latter being a Latin dedication in the Sanctuary of Artemis by a soldier of Leg. III Cyr.)⁵³ Of interest, however, is the appearance of priests of the living emperor among the dedicants:⁵⁴ if Hadrian had had some intention of promoting the cult of Zeus Hypsistos as an alternative cohesive religious force in the province, it had made no inroads at Gerasa.

However, rather a large percentage of the Latin inscriptions from Jerash date, or may date, to this Period. Aside from milestones found in the vicinity,⁵⁵ there are two inscriptions dated on the style of lettering to the middle of the second century,⁵⁶ four which are similarly dated "second century" and ten which are assigned to the second century or early third,⁵⁸ to which may perhaps be added CIL III No.6034, found "horis duabus a Gerasa". This last group is perhaps best attributed to the following Period.

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The remaining six all concern soldiers or provincial officials. Nos. 173 and 174, dated by the lettering to the middle of the century, both built into the Propylaea Church, and therefore presumably from the Sanctuary of Artemis, are dedications to Lucius Valerius Poblilia Firmus, who was, according to No. 173, a highly distinguished soldier, variously tribune of Cohors XXVI Voluntariorum (Civium Romanorum), military tribune of Legio X Pia Fidelis (which Welles identifies as Leg. X Gemina), and prefect of the Ala Siliana, was decorated on several occasions, and apparently crowned his career with a procuratorship (? provinciae Arabiae). The units in which he served were all, according to Welles, stationed far from Jerash in the second century, in Dacia and Germany Superior, although there is a suggestion that Leg. X Gemina may have taken part in the Second Jewish War.⁵⁹ The detailed account of his career might perhaps be interpreted as hinting that he was of local origin, so his achievements were given special prominence. Other inscriptions recording dedications to procuratores provinciae Arabiae, e.g. Nos. 175, 176, do not include a cursus, and such a detailed eulogy seems more in keeping with an honour paid by the city to a member of a local family who had achieved eminence in the Empire; compare, for example, the bilingual honorific inscription of M. Septimius Magnus (IGLS VII No. 4016 = CIL III No. 186) from Arados⁶⁰ (in which the Greek is an exact translation of the Latin, and the primacy of the latter seems assured by the importation of Latin forms and word order into Greek), from a statue erected, presumably with the approval of the boule, by his brother. Rey-Coquais dates this Arados inscription to the late first century or early second, again from the style of the lettering, but other dates, including Period VI, are possible. Septimius' tribe is given as the Fabia, the tribe of Berytus and Baalbek; one would expect that any citizen born at Arados would have been assigned to the colony of Berytus, and would have suspected that this honour was accorded to one of the town's own citizens, even if a second earlier inscription (IGLS VII, No. 4015) had not confirmed those suspicions,

Ἡ βο[υλή καὶ]
 ὁ δή[μος Ἀραδίων]
 Μάρκον Σεπ[τιμίου]
 Μάρκου υἱόν, Φαβία,
 Μάγνον, ἑκατοντάρχην
 λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθυκῆς
 τὸν ἑαυτῶν πολίτην
 εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς χάριν

Against this, the absence of the cursus in other inscriptions dedicated to

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procurators may be coincidental, due merely to the relative expenditure on dedication: the second dedication to Valerius, No.174, on a pedestal, presumably the base of a statue, gives no more than his name in the dative case.

Of those dated only to the second century, No.31 is the dedication to "Deana" already mentioned, from the Sanctuary of Artemis, Deanae/Flavius Apol-/ inaris mil(es)/ Leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae). No.208 is an incomplete stele found in the debris over the Clergy House and so classified as funerary by Welles; it mentions a c ornici(ularius). No.175 is a dedication to a procurator by the heirs of an advocatus fisci, Allius Vestrinus,⁶¹ and No.207, an incomplete inscription from a funerary monument outside the Southwest Gate,

Cilic(iae) proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Arabia e
Iul? ia Sabina uxor et Ulpianus f(ilius).

There is, therefore, no evidence to suggest any spread in the use of Latin to the civilian population. To the contrary, its usage still seems confined to soldiers, officials and their dependants. It is interesting, however, that it is still used by soldiers in private inscriptions, and that it is still considered by some others to be the language appropriate when publicly referring to such people, as with the heirs of Allius Vestrinus and the wife and son of the unnamed procurator. Latin does not seem to have lost as much ground at Jerash as it had elsewhere in the province - at least the milestones do not repeat the gist of the message in Greek. The picture is one of precarious stasis. The potential for the introduction of Latin had lain in the personnel of the official Roman presence: at Jerash, the potential had not been realised, but the future possibility remained unextinguished.

Samaria is also plagued by the problem of continuity, that is to say, the essential unity of the material belonging to this Period and the succeeding one. As pointed out earlier, the bulk of the pertinent architectural remains recovered have been polarized into two phases, the material overlying the "Herodian" level being assigned by the excavators of the Harvard Expedition to the Severan period,⁶² and the later Joint Expedition, while detecting sub-phases within these two phases, still produced only the scantiest of remains dating to the period between the destruction of the city at the beginning of the First Revolt and the end of the second century.⁶³

The major post-Herodian, pre-fourth century buildings, the forum colonnades, the basilica, the reconstructed stadium and the east-west

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colonnaded street, are all linked by the Harvard Expedition with the rebuilding of the Temple of Augustus on the summit, dated by an inscription to the reign of Severus,⁶⁴ on the grounds of the similarity of the stones used and of the architectural forms.⁶⁵ To these, the Joint Expedition added a number of other buildings as possibly associated, "either because the mouldings are similar or because they are built of newly quarried stone of the same quality", namely the West Gate and the shrine near it, the latest Temple of Kore, the second shrine near the paved street, possibly an aqueduct and the more elaborate tombs.⁶⁶

As mentioned earlier, this late first century-early second century hiatus hardly seems credible. More apposite, however, is the earliest possible date for any of the buildings of the second major Roman phase, the "Third Period" of the Joint Expedition.

This phase is dated to between 180 and 230 by the Corinthian capitals of the basilica, forum colonnades, colonnaded street and stadium;⁶⁷ Albright⁶⁸ seeks to narrow this range by suggesting that the rebuilding was inspired by the elevation of the city to the rank of colony under Severus, and that the cost was met by the Imperial treasury. This is not implausible, particularly in view of the fact that the town apparently became Col. Lucia Septimia Sebaste as a reward for its loyalty (or rather political adroitness) during the struggle with Niger.⁶⁹ However, such a change in status did not automatically produce a civic remodelling to give the town an appearance suitable for its new station, nor was this the only possible inspiration for such an operation. Kraeling⁷⁰ specifically notes the absence of any such response at Jerash, and Palmyra, for example, engaged in such an extensive reconstruction long before it achieved colonial status under Caracalla.

Of the Corinthian capitals cited, only that from the colonnaded street, and those found in the basilica⁷¹ are well enough illustrated to allow a comparison to be made with photographs from other sites. The dating criteria employed by Crowfoot,⁷² following Schlumberger's system, are that the rim of the kalathos is well-marked, the tips of the lower leaves touch one another, giving the well known hell-dunkel effect, the lower stems of the second row of acanthus have disappeared and the cauliculi have almost disappeared, and that the helices are flattened out. He cites other similar examples from Palestine and elsewhere, especially from the temple at Corycus which was dedicated by Julia Domna in A.D. 193.

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The difficulty in this lies in the fact that the validity of Schlumberger's system, like all such systems, rests on the criteria he uses. It is easy enough to take a selection of similar objects, note which features are common among several, then group them accordingly, but whether the groups form a valid chronological sequence depends upon whether the grouping criteria are themselves of chronological significance, rather than a function of some other factor such as geography. With Syrian Orthodox Corinthians certainly some features are local rather than temporal manifestations, but the architectural interchange between the various sites suggests that, increasingly, individual local styles were being swallowed in the ever-spreading provincial milieu, so that, with the geographical element partially discounted, the chances of recurrent features being regulated by province-wide fashions, and so being chronologically significant, are correspondingly increased.

The stumbling block is the mechanism by which these abstract tastes achieved reification, namely people. In one sense a given feature could be dictated by the overall fashions of the time, but in another sense it was elective, a matter of personal choice on the part of the artist or his patron. Then as now, both artist and patron would normally choose to reproduce certain features of the ruling style of the day, so in effect these features can be imputed to abstract fashions and hence are a function of chronology, but others were more truly optional, and their presence, absence or rendition limited only by the technological capabilities of the time, and hence can serve as only the broadest of chronological indications.

At this period, it seems that the cost of major public buildings was generally borne by the local civic bodies, as the evidence from Jerash implies, rather than by individual benefactors of Herod's ilk, who had a dilettante interest in architecture, and might consequently have acquired a more knowledgeable and discriminating taste and an tendency to take an interest in the finer details. Such bodies would be both influenced by, and help to establish, the prevailing fashions of the time: on modern analogy, they would be more likely to choose a given style of capital rather than stipulate every detail. The features regulated by overall fashions would thus tend to coincide with the elective features assignable to the patron. Now it is likely, as has been suggested elsewhere (M.A. pp.12-14) that what constituted a given style in the eyes of the layman was the combination of the most prominent, conspicuous features. While there are other formative factors apart from the choice of the patron entailed in the creation of

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fashions, it seems to follow that the features to which chronological significance can most safely be imputed at this period are features of this type.

Those features, the finer details and more technical aspects, which can be referred to the craftsmen, again fall into two categories. There are those which are idiosyncrasies, the hallmark of a particular artisan or architect or group of such people, which are therefore good chronological criteria, since they can only occur in conjunction with certain individuals, whose working lifespan was limited. Others, however, once developed, formed part of the artistic and technical repertoire upon which a craftsman, or workshop, could draw ad lib., just as in contemporary literature there was a repertoire of established imagery, motifs and devices utilized where appropriate by writers such as Lucian (cf. the situation with the leaf-and-dart motif, supra, Ch. III, Note 258). While, with positive criteria, the gradual evolution of the form and differences in rendition might still serve as a chronological guide, negative criteria, the omission or diminution of a certain standard feature, once a precedent had been set, are less reliable.

It is into this last category that one of Schlumberger's major chronological criteria, and one used by Crowfoot to date the capitals from Samaria, falls, namely the amount of cauliculus or tige, the grooved stem of the acanthus calyx from which the helices spring, which is visible. The type B capitals of the South Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra⁷³ are divided into two subgroups, 1 and 2, which Collart considers, with good reason given their generic resemblance to each other and probable distribution within the sanctuary, to be contemporaneous workshop groups. One of the diagnostic features of Group B₁ is that the cauliculus is clearly visible between the fronds of the second row, while in Group B₂, dated, inferentially but with a greater degree than is usually possible, to A.D. 149,⁷⁴ only the roll at the top is indicated, the spaces between the leaves of the second row revealing only the surface of the kalathos.

While this by no means entirely vitiates Schlumberger's system it means a potential reduction in the precision possible, since it reduces the number of criteria which can be applied to any given specimen, and thus the number of limiting factors. Unless some one of the remaining criteria which can be applied has a very narrow range, the capital in question can be dated only in broad terms.

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This is the case with the capitals illustrated from Samaria. Of the other criteria cited, the virtual disappearance of the stems of the second row of the acanthus is also a feature of Type B capitals from the South Court, and one of the criteria used by Collart to distinguish them from Group A; the "hell-dunkel" effect, in which the tips of the leaves of each acanthus frond touch those of its neighbour, creating an openwork pattern in the space between the fronds, is again a feature of the South Court capitals, Groups A and B alike;⁷⁵ indeed, it is found in Palmyra as early as the capitals of the pronaos of the Temple of Baalshamin,⁷⁶ dated to approximately A.D. 130, although it is absent from the 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek.⁷⁷ The comparative flattening of the helices (if by this it is meant to indicate the profile, depth of moulding, and degree of channelling, the same effect described by Schlumberger and used by him as a criterion for comparative lateness,⁷⁸ rather than their location and position relative to the horizontal axis of the capital) is also present in some of the South Court Type B capitals,⁷⁹ while others retain a greater degree of moulding.⁸⁰ And, in regard to the fact that the rim of the kalathos is well marked, it is in fact better marked than in some of the examples cited from Palmyra.

The same situation emerges when one applies some the other criteria used by Schlumberger. Insofar as it is possible to judge from the photographs, the two halves of the calices are closed in the Samaritan examples: this, however, means, in Schlumberger's sequence, only that they are no earlier than the second century;⁸¹ again, the South Court capitals, as well as those from the pronaos of the Temple of Baalshamin, exhibit the same trait. Furthermore, there are other similarities to the capitals of the South Court of the Baalshamin Sanctuary. In Group A₁, the medial helices do not touch, allowing the stem of the abacus ornament to pass between them;⁸² the same is true of the capital from the colonnaded street at Samaria⁸³ and probably also of the column capital from the basilica.⁸⁴ In Group B at Palmyra, the medial helices touch, leaving no space between them for the stem of the abacus ornament;⁸⁵ this appears to be effectively true of the pilaster capital from the basilica at Samaria.⁸⁶ At Palmyra, in both groups, there is a slender stem below the inner leaves of the calices, running down and terminating "behind" the central frond of the middle row of acanthus; in the case of Group A, seemingly a continuation of the stem of the abacus ornament, in B, a "support" for the inner leaves of the calices, which bifurcates, sending shoots to either side to meet the calices below the point where they meet the medial helices. Where this stem is preserved, it is executed in the round,

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and almost completely detached from the surface of the kalathos, a fragile detail, obviously likely to fall prey to the vicissitudes of time. Not unexpectedly, it is missing, or partially missing, from many specimens.⁸⁷ In two of the capitals from Samaria, the column capital from the basilica and the capital from the colonnaded street,⁸⁸ there is a gap in the corresponding position on the capital as if some similar, fragile portion had broken off, and the existing surface of the stone shows appropriate scars.

These comparisons with the South Court capitals do not demonstrate that the capitals from Samaria are not of Severan date: rather, they discredit the points in common as criteria for dating with such precision as to permit the distinction to be drawn - and, incidentally, reaffirm yet again the essential unity of the material and the gentleness of the transition. Indeed, there is one other feature evident in the Samaritan capitals which points to a date later than that of the capitals from Palmyra, namely the size and disposition of the medial helices.

In the capitals from the South Court, the helices are fully developed, rising almost vertically from the calices, surging across the rim of the kalathos to encroach on the abacus itself. In all the capitals from Samaria, the helices are confined below the rim of the kalathos, as in capitals of the earlier second century, but here it has resulted in the central helices, much reduced in size, being cramped up against the rim of the abacus, their stems almost parallel to the horizontal axis of the capital. Schlumberger⁸⁹ describes such helices, tiny, deprived of their elasticity, squeezed into the kalathos, and places them at the end of his sequence, which terminates at an unspecified time in the third century; they are characteristic of his final "decadent" class, capitals with atrophied croisiers (helices) and calices, with a general impression of confusion, angularity and coagulation, without high relief. This last derogation is certainly merited by two of the three Samaritan examples, the pilaster capital from the basilica and the capital from the colonnaded street, though in them it appears to be the product of bad design and bad workmanship, something which might occur in any period; indeed the pilaster capital almost looks as if it was a mistake, the stone-cutter miscalculating the amount of space allowable for the two lower rows, then finding himself with no room left for the helices. Crowfoot's comments⁹⁰ apropos the clumsy use of the drill on this capital seem to confirm that the impression of inferior quality is not merely due to the photograph. The same features, however, appear in the more competently executed column

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capital from the basilica, where it seems clear that it is a matter of deliberate design, style, not ineptitude.

The size and disposition of the volutes seems a priori a more reliable criterion than the finer details previously discussed. To reiterate, the choice of the patron in part regulated the fashions prevailing, and the patrons at this time were likely to be the civic bodies of the towns in question, that is to say, primarily laymen. As pointed out in my previous work, one of the main features of a capital, as far as Athenaeus was concerned, were the ἑλικες.⁹¹ It seems likely that if a layman were professionally obliged to look more closely at a Corinthian capital, he would notice, beyond the presence or absence of the croisiers, whether or not they rose above the the borderline on to the abacus, and their relative size, i.e. prominence. Where there was no incentive to copy older capitals on buildings considered as part of the same whole, as there was at Baalbek, this, therefore, should be a function of fashion, i.e. of chronology, rather than lying within the discretion of the individual artist. Just as, at Baalbek, the size and disposition of the helices is one of the features that ensured that the general, superficial appearance of the capitals from the various buildings matched,⁹² elsewhere it would be one of the features which determined whether a capital looked "old-fashioned", "newfangled", "modern" or "proper" to a layman. However, the date at which this change of fashion first reached Syria is not certain: outside the province, at Pergamon, the medial helices were already "atrophied" by the middle of the second century.⁹³

The features in common with Palmyra cannot therefore be used to substantiate an earlier date, any more than they can be used to substantiate Albright's later one. Rather, they emphasize that these capitals can only be dated within a range of years, at least the 180 to 230 suggested by Crowfoot, rather than the more restricted range implied by Albright. They allow, rather than advocate, the hypothesis that at least some of the buildings assigned to this phase can be attributed to Period VI rather than Period VII.

Such an hypothesis would fit with Crowfoot's point that Samaria is a small and by no means wealthy town - he evinces some surprise that all these buildings could have been constructed in the fifty years he ascribes to this phase.⁹⁴ It also accords with the coin sequence: the decrease in datable coins is between the reigns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and the local mint resumes issuing coinage under Commodus.⁹⁵ Furthermore, the initiation of the

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building programme at Samaria would then coincide with the possible cessation of activity on Mt. Gerizim (infra p.232 and N.181), perhaps with the completion of the Hadrianic temple; since it seems likely that in a given district there would be only a limited number of resident craftsmen, this would free the workforce from Gerizim for the project at Samaria, so that it, too, would fit. It should be stressed, however, that the hiatus at Mt. Gerizim (and Neapolis itself) is based only on negative evidence, and inference at that.

The difficulty lies in deciding which of the buildings at Samaria can most readily be referred to the earlier Period. There is no real indication. Given its importance to the city, the basilica might well have been one of the first buildings to receive the necessary attention. Watzinger calls it Antonine, without qualification.⁹⁶ In plan, it conformed to the Pompeian "long" type, as do other basilicas from the province,⁹⁷ with the apsidal tribunal on one of the shorter sides. While it adjoined the forum, as Vitruvius prescribes,⁹⁸ unlike its possible predecessor⁹⁹ its long axis lay at right angles to that of the forum,¹⁰⁰ as at Pompeii.¹⁰¹

The colonnaded street and the West Gate both formed parts of the same building operation.¹⁰² Crowfoot calls it a "colossal" undertaking:¹⁰³ in fact, it could hardly compare with the similar programme at Palmyra, taken as a whole, but nevertheless it seems likely that, as with Jerash and Palmyra, its construction occupied a goodly number of years, and so its inception may well date back to this Period. The street itself¹⁰⁴ was similar to those of Antioch¹⁰⁵ and Apamea,¹⁰⁶ save that there was a series of rooms running behind the portico proper, conceived as part of the same structure and connected to it by a series of doorways aligned with the columns of the portico; on the northern side these rooms were apsidal, with a vaulted ceiling, on the southern side they were rectangular, again, perhaps, a pointer to a protracted construction period. In this respect it is less like the Roman iter porticus; Crowfoot states that these rooms were the shops of petty craftsmen and retailers, and consequently likens it to an Eastern bazaar rather than a Roman cardo. It should be pointed out that it is not, thereby, necessarily un-Roman: the combination of colonnade and shops results in something not too far removed from the viae porticatae of Republican Rome,¹⁰⁷ in which the individual porticoes of the shops abutted, to form a kind of de facto colonnaded street, and their provincial descendants such as the quasi-colonnaded streets at Caerleon, which seems to date back to the second century A.D., and possibly the "colonnaded street" of first century Verulamium.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, in at

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least one section at Antioch, shops were discovered behind the rear wall of the portico, and although direct access to the colonnaded street was not attested, it should be assumed;¹¹⁰ Lucas indeed suggested that some of the inscriptions from the columns of the 'cardo' at Jerash should be interpreted as indicating the place of business of various individuals or guilds, rather than donors of that part of the structure, but a neighbouring, more explicit inscription militates against this interpretation.¹¹¹

Crowfoot dates the capitals from the reconstructed stadium to the last quarter of the second century,¹¹² and so it seems feasible to assign construction of the stadium to this Period, although, by a tenuous inference, it seems unlikely to go back far into the reign of Aurelius: Crowfoot cites the victories of an athlete in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, which includes prizes won at Caesarea (presumably Maritima) where Herod is known to have founded games, Scythopolis, Gaza, Caesarea Panias, Philadelphia, and, most significantly, "Neapolis of Samaria", but not at Sebaste.¹¹³

Apart from providing valuable evidence in other respects, testifying to the sustained and continuing Classicization of the area, to the positive results of at least one of Herod's superimpositions,¹¹⁴ and, once again, to the trend towards uniformity, this may also have some bearing on the present issue. If Sebaste had the funds and facilities, one would hardly expect it to be behind in this respect, and this, coupled with the evidence cited above, which indicates that in the middle of the second century Samaria, oppressed by a disaster (be it solely the devastation of the First Revolt, or this compounded by some subsequent destruction) was temporarily eclipsed by Neapolis, and taken in conjunction with the fact that the stadium's Doric predecessor was in such a state of disrepair that, in the area excavated, apparently only part of the rear wall of the portico on the west side could be incorporated into the new building,¹¹⁵ suggests that Samaria lacked a usable stadium in the reign of Aurelius. Too much weight cannot, however, be placed on the absence of Samaria itself from the list of victories: it is, after all, possible that the man lost at Sebaste.

The new stadium¹¹⁶ differed from its predecessor in that it was Corinthian in order, but otherwise displayed equally Hellenic, as distinct from Hellenistic, traits. The dimensions of the track¹¹⁷ are similar to those at Miletus, with a length of approximately 194.5 m., that is to say, to provide for a standard track 600 Olympic feet long, the Olympic foot, here as

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at Miletus, being 320 cm. And, yet again as at Miletus, the width was aberrant, here varying between 58 and 58.5 m; Crowfoot, following von Gerkan, suggests that the length was standardized to comply with the requirements of foot-racing, while the width, immaterial from this point of view, was varied to accommodate the other activities for which the stadium was used; in the case of Samaria, judging from the graffiti on the walls, possibly boxing or wrestling matches, though another inscription suggests that a professor of literature may at one stage have given lectures in the porticoes. Despite this diversification, the stadium preserved the fundamental association between religion and athletic contests dating back to the heyday of the festivals of mainland Greece. The date of the graffiti on the remaining section of the wall from the Doric stadium (one of which records a prayer to Kore, while another commemorates Pomponius Rufus, a hieroktistes, founder of the rites) is not specified; but a cistern contemporary with the Corinthian stadium contained pieces of a small statue of Kore and a fragment of marble with a painted acclamation of the same goddess. In the middle of the arena itself there was an altar to Kore, set up by the "high priest", Calpurnius son of Gaianus, with three further altars near the cistern, at the south-east corner of the stadium, and near the north portico, the first with an unintelligible inscription, the latter two uninscribed.¹¹⁵

Even at this late date, it might have been possible to construe this as a Hellenistic survival, remembering the degree of Hellenistic influence on the pottery of pre-Roman Samaria, and the alacrity with which the Samaritans are said to have received the Hellenizing policy of Antiochus IV Epiphanes,¹¹⁹ save that Roman Samaria-Sebaste was in many respects a different town, and the chances of continuity very slim indeed. Although the town destroyed by Jonathan Hyrcanus had already been at least partially rebuilt by Gabinius, the influx of colonists, Herod's veterans, of non-Greek stock, seems to have had a drastic effect on the composition of the population: Crowfoot, commenting on the graffiti on the old west wall of the Doric stadium, notes that while the language is Greek, many of the names are of Latin origin; Pomponius Rufus is the only case where two names are given, but others include Martialis, a second Rufus, a Primus, a Glaphyrus, a Narcissus and an Antyllus, the sort of names to be expected in the first century in a town largely settled by Herodian veterans,¹²⁰ who comprised "Galatians, Thracians and Germans".¹²¹ Nor can the only deity attested by the religious evidence, Kore, be traced back to Hellenistic times; rather, there is the suggestion that the cult of Kore was first established here in Roman times, and her temple replaced the Hellen-

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istic sanctuary in which Isis and Serapis were worshipped in conjunction with the Dioskouroi on the same site.¹²² It is frequently pointed out, as an argument for the superficiality of the impact of the Greeks and Romans on Syria, that many towns have reverted to their old pre-Classical names, demonstrating that the old traditions persisted, and survived the Classical overlay, the exceptions being cities such as Tiberias¹²³ which were founded on virgin soil and had no such previous names to which to revert. Samaria is another exception, its Herodian name Sebaste still surviving locally¹²⁴ in the name Sabastiya.¹²⁵ It seems that the severance with its pre-Roman past was virtually complete. This reconstructed stadium, rather than a Hellenistic survival, is, like that change in cult, a piece of supererogatory Hellenism which can be referred to the Roman occupation, one of the instances where "Greek", for the purposes of the thesis, is equivalent to "Roman", thus falling within the comprehensive definition of Romanization.

The evidence from Samaria thus in part confirms the evidence from Jerash in the previous Period: Romanization was becoming "inevitable"; the stadium, previously Doric, becomes Corinthian, because, even in a town so wilfully Greek as Samaria, it is now unthinkable to build a major public building in any other order. in a homogeneously Corinthian Syria; when innovations occur, they must either be local original inventions, or of necessity follow a Roman model, whether within the province itself or in the greater Roman world, since almost no other source of inspiration was now available - as witness the change in the treatment of the helices of the capitals, which derives either from other capitals within the province or directly from Asia Minor.

The corollary of this 'inevitable Romanization' imposed by a Romanized external world, the use of internal provincial models for inspiration, and consequent spread of the types which form the elements of the Romano-Syrian milieu, again tending toward provincial uniformity, is also to be seen in the proliferation of one of the elements which ultimately derives from Syria itself, the stair-temple. Apart from the Temple of Zeus at Jerash, already discussed, the es-Sanamen temple belongs to this Period, and those from Decapolitan Abila and Capitolias are likely to date from this Period, while the example from Esrija may do so. From the point of view of distribution this last is the most significant. Hitherto, the stair-temples seem to have been confined to Schlumberger's old South Syrian cultural province, defined by the distribution of Heterodox Corinthians. While Esrija

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may, like Palmyra, have come within this province, there is no evidence to suggest that it did, and the temple is certainly the most northerly Syrian example known to me.

The most secure of these specimens is the temple at Capitolias, attested by the coins of the local mint issued in the reigns of Aurelius, Commodus, Severus, Macrinus and Elagabalus.¹²⁶ These form part of the series of coins celebrating the history and cults of the city, another of which, also dating from the reign of Aurelius, shows a cult statue of Tyche (whom Seyrig identifies with the Semitic Gad) in a normal temple, probably Corinthian, with an arcuated lintel.¹²⁷ A second coin, from the reign of Macrinus,¹²⁸ shows a similar statue in a slightly different pose, with different attributes, under an arch supported by four columns, in the same way that the "Syrian arch" in the first coin is supported by three columns on either side, but without the triangular pediment - Seyrig suggests it may represent an aedicula though it is possible to see it as a small round temple like the "Temple of Venus" at Baalbek, or the Temple of Venus in Hadrian's Col. Aelia Capitolina¹²⁹ with the pediment and other details of the façade omitted from the schematization to make this clear. The stair temple was dedicated to Zeus, and there seems no reasonable doubt that it is a stair-temple, of the type distinguished by Amy. The coins show a seated statue, with what appear to be Corinthian columns to either side, supporting a triangular pediment above, with a crenellated tower to the viewer's left, and what Seyrig identifies, almost certainly correctly, as a flaming altar behind the pediment, that is to say, on the roof of the temple. Seyrig indeed wishes to discern two separate structures in this coin series, pointing out that some of the smaller coins of Marcus Aurelius show a "Syrian arch" in the façade, absent from the larger issues, and from the coins of the later emperors. He suggests that these smaller coins represent an attempt at perspective; the towered façade is a propylaea of a sanctuary, with an altar in the courtyard behind it (as in the Heliopolitanum at Baalbek); the scene is to be interpreted in the same manner as that shown on coins of Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla and Elagabalus from Decapolitan Abila.¹³⁰

The altar shown in the "courtyard" at Capitolias is rendered in the same manner as that "on top" of the temple in the other coins, namely by vertical strokes indicating a crenellated façade, but, whereas in the other coins the lines are carried down on either side of the apex of the pediment, to disappear when they reach the raking simas, clearly indicating that the

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altar lies behind the pediment, in the same horizontal plane, the altar in the "courtyard" only begins, on the surface of the coin, above the pediment, so that Seyrig may well be right; the interpretation of the Abila coin as showing a similar sanctuary, however, is a different matter.

The coins illustrated show a triangular pediment, flanked by towers crowned with merlons and pierced by three windows, the tops of which are level with the lowest point of the raking sima of the pediment which can be seen. The altar is indicated not as a solid structure, as in the Capitolas coin, but merely by a line running across the apex of the pediment, joining the outline of the towers to either side, with flames shown above, so that the exact relationship of the altar to the pediment is not clear, other than that it is somewhere behind it. It is possible to interpret this as an altar seen through a propylaea, as Seyrig does, but there are some objections. Firstly, the arcuated lintel is supported not by the towers to either side, but by columns, indicated in the two dimensional plane of the coin surface by lines running beside those designating the towers, and lying in the gap between the two towers; that is to say, the construction of the facade is shown in exactly the same manner in which the construction of the three temples from Capitolas is rendered on the coins; secondly, if the towers, columns and cult statue beneath the central arch supported by the columns are meant to be imagined as lying in the same plane, then the cult statue must have been located in the middle of the gateway of the propylaea, or, assuming that it alone is meant to lie further back, in the middle of the courtyard beyond, unprotected by any structure; while not totally implausible, neither seems likely. The towers seem to occult part of the pediment, cutting off the junction of the raking simas and the architrave from view: it seems likely, therefore, that what is represented is a more complex scene, a temple, with a triangular pediment and arcuated facade, and a cult statue inside, seen through the gateway of a monumental propylaea. The altar lies further back still, behind the pediment - that is to say, on the roof of the temple. This means that once again it is a matter of one of Amy's stair-temples.

These two examples may possibly date back to the previous Period, since the coin portraits are only one of several manifestations of a new civic consciousness, and proud awareness of their identity within the province, and place in its history, on the part of the cities in this area (see below); cults and buildings may have existed previously, their celebration on the coinage at this stage being due to the change in attitude towards them.

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However, the Tychaeon at es-Sanamen¹³¹ is dated, according to Ward-Perkins, to A.D. 191. Its form and decoration are somewhat deviant by comparison with those of the other stair-temples of the Period (see below, p. 236), but the diagnostic feature, stairs giving access to an upper storey (this time located beside the apsidal thalamos) are clearly attested.

The ground-plan of the temple at Esrija, published by Musil,¹³² makes it clear that it too falls within this category, a medium sized temple very much in the manner of Bel at Palmyra or Zeus at Jerash. To each side of the entrance the foundations thicken to form a solid platform, as if the substructure for a tower, and the stairs are actually indicated to the right of the doorway - indeed in the text Musil states that there was a spiral stairway reaching to the roof. It is somewhat disconcerting, in view of the fact that he notes that the east side is almost intact, to find that his drawing of the facade gives no indication of towers. There are two possible explanations for this. Firstly, it may be that Musil saw no traces of towers because he was not looking for them - at that time, no modern scholar would have dreamt of attaching towers to the facade of such a temple. In the second place, the temple was later converted into a Christian church;¹³³ Musil's drawing of the facade shows differently shaded blocks of stone haphazardly intermingled, and suggests that there may at one stage have been a substantial reconstruction, using the old masonry, supplemented where necessary by new stone; if the two coincide, it is possible that the towers were omitted as too intrinsically connected with the older cult, although towers were, of course, also a characteristic of early Christian churches in Syria, probably derived from the old lateral towers.

Any attempt to date this structure from Musil's drawings is severely hampered by the fact that they are drawings, and reproduced at small scale; the detail of the treatment is not ascertainable, and so only general form and arrangement can be taken into calculation.

The overall impression of the facade suggests mid second century: the generally florid decoration seems typical of the period. A more detailed examination of the architectural elements, however, while not incompatible with such a date, does not necessarily corroborate it.

The entablature, excluding the arch, consists of two elements, a frieze immediately above the door, not incorporated within the actual decorative door-frame, but integrally part of the same unit, and above this an overhanging architrave, which becomes in effect a cornice, but at the same time neatly cutting off the arch above it with a strong horizontal base-line. The arch and door appear to be in the same vertical plane.

The cornice, from the top, comprises the following mouldings: a narrow plain fillet; a broad cyma recta with alternating leaf and palmette decoration, the leaves being of two varieties, one broad and one slender, and with a broad leaf flanked by two slender ones between each palmette, so that the scheme is a b a c, a b a c, but with palmettes in profile, so as to form an additional narrow but distinctive element, finishing off the band at each end - the individual vertical units in this scheme are fairly emphatic, so that the impression is static, rather than one of horizontal motion; below this is an astragal (with bead and reel), followed by pipes with (?) a soffit and modillions beneath; what appears to be a narrow convex moulding, either a cyma reversa or a cyma recta, with cardiate leaves like those of the cyma reversa, but not distinguishable as a leaf-and-dart; a row of dentils, and an ovolo with egg-and-tongue. Below this overhanging, gradually receding epistyle is the doorway proper, flanked as far as the top of the actual opening by the pendant lateral consoles which depend from the pipes, truncating the mouldings below at each end. These consoles are adorned with a draped male bust, an inverted leaf above his head, an upright one beneath.

The doorway proper consists of: a broad fascia with running spiral vine-leaf frieze - although the individual tondos formed by each convolution are fairly clearly marked, the impression, by comparison with that of the cyma recta, is one of horizontal motion, the eye being drawn along the frieze; this frieze is approximately four units high, taking the uppermost plain fascia of the door-frame as one unit; beneath it is another plain fascia (1 unit); a narrow cyma recta with leaf and palmette decoration - again there are two varieties of leaf between each palmette, but both broad; an astragal (approx. $\frac{1}{2}$ unit); a plain fascia (a little less than 1 unit); an astragal (a little less than $\frac{1}{2}$ unit); a plain fascia (narrower again than the last).

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The whole scheme is thus dominated by the two broad decorative bands surmounting each sector, the sima of the cornice, with its leaf decoration, and the vine-leaf frieze above the door.

The general scheme of the door is not unlike that of the 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek - that is to say, the external face of the main door¹³⁶ - although this, like all the Baalbek parallels, is much more ornate. At Baalbek there are several higher mouldings, then a prominent vine-leaf frieze, occupying approximately the same relative position as at Esrija, although it, like the higher mouldings, is continued around and down the door-jambs, so that it lies within the door frame proper. This frieze is bordered by two narrow cymae reversae, the upper one upright, the lower inverted - technically, therefore, a cyma recta, but the inverted leaf-and-dart decoration makes it clear that it is intended as the mirror image of the moulding above. Then follow a fillet, a narrow guilloche, another fillet, an astragal, then a leafy frieze on what appears to be a fascia, an astragal, a fillet, a band composed of two astragals, the second smaller than the first, then a plain fascia. This would seem to be the counterpart of the three inner fascia at Esrija, but with almost every moulding, flat and convex, ornamented, and the boundaries between them now articulated as decorated mouldings in their own right.¹³⁷ However, as parallels go, it is too basic to be meaningful: the point of similarity is hardly more than a framework consisting of concentric, progressively narrowing fasciae, divided by convex mouldings, more or less elaborate as the case may be, and all rectangular doors with an ornamental framework have a scheme based on this principle. The 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek is merely a glorified version of the commonplace.

As an illustration of this, less ornate parallels are to be found in Palmyra, in the entablature of the rectangular aediculae of the Portico of the Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Bel¹³⁸ (first half of the second century), and in certain doors in the Court of the Sanctuary of Bel.¹³⁹ The latter match Esrija in the austerity of the actual door-frame, the most ornate (Wood Pl. XIIa) having a cyma reversa and astragal where Esrija has a cyma recta, followed by fascia, astragal, fascia, astragal, fascia, diminishing in proportions in a manner similar to that at Esrija.

The entablature above also bears some similarity to that at Esrija: in the side door of the Court (Wood Pl. XI) the door frame is bounded at the sides by lateral consoles, as at Esrija, and is separated from the frieze above

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by a narrow, indistinguishable moulded band. The frieze, which appears to be an acorn pattern, is topped by an egg-and-tongue, above which are dentils, then a fascia, then modillions. Above these, however, instead of a broad decorative band consisting of a cyma recta with leaf decoration, is a composite sima consisting of four narrow bands, bottom to top a fascia, a very narrow cyma reversa, a narrow, plain cyma recta, and a fillet. The effect is strictly linear, and quite unlike that produced by the broad cyma recta at Esrija.

The overall dominance of the two broad panels, the sima with the leaf pattern and the lower frieze above the door, is thus missing. The same is true of the entablature of the aediculae of the Propylae itself (Wood Pl. X); the uppermost member is composed of narrow horizontal bands, which take the eye sideways. However, the lower frieze band in all these cases works visually in the same manner as the sima at Esrija: it is static, composed of individual vertical units such as upright leaves, or the undifferentiated expanse of the acorn pattern. The effect is quite different from that of the vine-leaf which occupies the corresponding position at Esrija: at Palmyra, the visual dynamics are reversed.

The vine-leaf pattern returns to prominence in this position in the Temple of Baalshamin,¹⁴⁰ but once again the upper cyma recta is missing, replaced by pipes.¹⁴¹ The closest parallel at Palmyra, in terms of visual effect, is the entablature from one of the lower porticoes of the Court of the Sanctuary of Bel (late C^{1st} to early C^{2nd}).¹⁴² This consists of an architrave carried on columns, and so is not directly comparable to the door at Esrija. Once again, however, it is surmounted by a prominent cyma recta (with lion spouts among the leaf decoration), below which, in order, are a fillet, egg-and-tongue, fillet, plain fascia, roundel with rope pattern, a fascia ornamented with a variant leaf-and-dart (very much schematized), fillet, larger egg-and-tongue, fillet, and fascia with vine-leaf frieze. Below this is a second, separate entablature belonging to the architrave resting directly on the capitals of the columns.

A reasonable parallel, in terms of these highly inexact and unreasonable parallels, for the cornice alone, comes from the Altar Court at Baalbek (mid C^{1st} to C^{2nd}), in the form of two broken epistyle blocks from the façade of one of the porticoes.¹⁴³ The scheme seems basically identical, although, once again, Baalbek is more elaborate. The decoration of the sima again includes lion-head spouts, but is composed, again like that of Esrija,

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of essentially individual vertical units, leaves and palmettes, and, as at Esrija, the end of the pattern is marked by a slimmer, triangular unit, a variant of one of the main motifs, in this case a profile acanthus leaf (Taf. 80, lower, right) rather than a profile palmette. Then follows an astragal, as at Esrija, a fillet and a band of pipes, where the pipes occur at Esrija, modillions and consoles, then cyma reversa, dentils, egg-and-dart, precisely as at Esrija. We have therefore, exactly the same mouldings with the addition of only a very narrow fillet, marking the boundary of a more prominent moulding (and which may simply not have shown up at Esrija because of the scale of the drawing) in exactly the same order, which, as has already been seen, is by no means the case in other examples. Again, so far as can be determined, the overall treatment is different, but the dominance of the broad cyma recta and the identity of the mouldings below make the visual dynamics very similar.

The Altar Court also provides a parallel for the lower portion of the Esrija façade, in the form of two other epistyle blocks from the entablature of one of the porticoes, the architrave proper this time, i.e. belonging to the position immediately below that occupied by the two cornice blocks already discussed.¹⁴⁴ Again there is a contrast between ornate and plain, as between the frieze and the door-frame at Esrija: the blocks consist of a vine-leaf frieze, below which is a fillet instead of the wider fascia at Esrija, a double band comprising a narrow cyma recta with alternating acanthus leaf (frontal as at Esrija) and palmette, though here there is only one acanthus leaf between the palmettes, and an egg-and-tongue below, both in openwork technique, bounded below by an extremely narrow fillet which again would be invisible at Esrija because of the scale of the drawing, then a broad plain fascia, astragal, fascia, astragal, fascia as at Esrija and diminishing in roughly the same ratios. The vine-leaf pattern is alternated with clumps of acanthus: at Esrija, which is roughly equivalent in length to one vine-leaf unit at Baalbek - the façade ran the full width of the portico - the frieze is bounded at each end by a frontal acanthus leaf, and, on the extremity, half another, making a narrow vertical element balancing the profile palmettes terminating the frieze of the cornice. The acanthus leaf is inclined towards the vine-leaf here, while at Baalbek it is perpendicular, a difference perhaps prompted only by the fact that the leaves at Esrija are terminals.

If one reconstructs the façade of the Altar Court portico, as Wiegand does (Taf. 25), by placing these particular cornice blocks on top of

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these particular epistyle ones, then one has a scheme almost identical to that at Esrija, the two broad bands, with decoration which works visually in the same manner, dominating the whole, the other mouldings equivalent, where not identical, arranged in the same order, with the proviso only that additional mouldings are added to the more ornate façade at Baalbek. There is this difference, however, that at Esrija the lower frieze above the door is larger than the decorative band formed by the sima, while at Baalbek the latter predominates. The Altar Court façade is, of course, generically similar to that of the Temple of Jupiter¹⁴⁵ (though there are signal differences, such as the inclusion of the meander and bucrania frieze in the latter) and this in turn is generically similar to entablatures at Rome¹⁴⁶ such as those of the Temple of Concord and the Temple of Vespasian, or the fragmentary Trajanic entablature from the Temple of Venus Genetrix.¹⁴⁷ None, however, is identical in scheme to the Altar Court entablature - the Temple of Vespasian introduces entirely different ornaments, the Temple of Venus Genetrix has an entirely different sima decoration, with the astragal between it and the pipes replaced by a cyma reversa, and the remaining mouldings, as far as the block goes, in a different order; the Temple of Concord, while it is confined to the same repertoire as the Altar Court façade, also has a cyma reversa in this position, with the cyma reversa above the dentils and the ovolo transposed and an intrusive astragal and fascia immediately above the dentils, and while it is preserved as far as the epistyle below, it completely lacks the second decorative band. To my knowledge, there is none as close in scheme to the Altar Court as it is to Esrija, and, in default of a study of the treatment of the motifs, and given the inadequacy of a drawing, accurate as it may be, for such a purpose, this seems the nearest thing to a parallel that one can hope to obtain. It looks very much as if the entablature of Esrija was a cut-down, simplified copy of that of the Altar Court, excerpting one section of the pattern, as defined by the acanthus dividers in the vine-leaf frieze, as the model.

Insofar as any chronological significance can be placed upon this, it provides a terminus post quem. The Esrija temple, as befits a building in a smaller town, should be later than its model, though not necessarily by much. The decoration of the Altar Court was in progress from the middle of the first century to the first half of the second, but it seems likely that the overall design would have been established at the beginning of this period, regardless of the date of execution of the individual sections. It is also likely that the Esrija temple was inspired not by the architect's drawings

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but by the actual building, so some leeway must be allowed for a reasonably large section of the Altar Court to be completed. Thus the earliest possible date for Esrija should be the latter part of the first century, and it could have been built at any time thereafter.

The only standard motif in the Esrija drawing which is clear enough to essay a comparison is the egg-and-tongue. It appears to be a relatively common type, a slender dart joined on either side to the framework of the adjacent eggs by its barbs, contact being made somewhere around the mid-point of the dart (the erstwhile "Hadrianic" dart). A similar type occurs on the previously discussed cornice blocks from the Altar Court (Baalbek I Taf.80), in the main order of the block in the upper frame of this plate, but only in the border of the modillions and consoles on the soffit of the block in the lower frame, the dart in the main ovolo being a simple unbarbed spindle, suggesting, perhaps, that in the earlier stages of construction this type was making a tentative appearance. This being so, Esrija should have taken as a model one of the later sections of the entablature, where it was fully established. Darts of the same type as that at Esrija also occur in the 'Temple of Bacchus' (but not, to my knowledge, in the Temple of Jupiter), alternating with inverted darts of similar type in the decoration of the door discussed earlier.¹⁴⁸ Elsewhere in the temple, however, the spindle dart also occurs, the availability of the two forms being exploited by using them alternately,¹⁴⁹ and what appears to be a combination of the various types of dart, used in rotation, occurs in the Round Temple.¹⁵⁰ One does not know whether the band at Esrija was preserved in its entirety, or whether the drawing reconstructs it from isolated fragments, and consequently whether the slim barbed dart was used exclusively or whether it was one among several, as in the Baalbek examples. While not entirely incompatible with a first century date, this nevertheless seems to indicate some time in the second century, tending towards the middle.

The remaining members, however, do not support this ascription, modifying it in opposite directions. It is difficult to find even a vague parallel for the decoration of the arch anywhere in the area. It consists of fillet, cyma recta with leaf decoration, plain fascia, astragal, fascia, astragal - a simplified, modified version of the scheme of the architrave - and is far more austere than, for example, the arch of Alexander Severus at Palmyra,¹⁵¹ and equally far more austere than the arches from the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus¹⁵² as well as those, from conches or otherwise, at Baalbek,

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excepting only those from the Round Temple,¹⁵³ though here again the parallel is by no means exact. With a very great deal of imagination and goodwill, it might be possible to see the arch from the adyton (thalamos) of the 'Temple of Bacchus',¹⁵⁴ as a very, very much more ornate version, but it is so much more ornate that any attempt a meaningful comparison is impossible.

The only thing which approaches it is the Arch of the Victories from the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra,¹⁵⁵ which dates to the middle or second half of the first century.¹⁵⁶ This has completely undecorated mouldings, so perhaps designs may have been painted on, in which case its appearance could well have been different. It is, again, not completely identical, consisting of a fillet, a (??) cyma recta or groove and ovolo, divided by a roundel, (?) roundel, fillet, roundel, fascia, roundel, fascia. At one point, however, the roundel below the ovolo is doubled by an inner roundel, reducing the space occupied by the fillet so that it becomes in effect just a deep groove between this and the next roundel, perhaps because this arch is essentially Kleinarchitektur.

The pilaster capital is equally difficult to match or date, possibly partially because it is a pilaster rather than a column capital. If Musil actually drew this capital rather than reproducing a mental archetype of a Corinthian capital, then there are again features which at first sight suggest an early date: the clarity and separation of the elements, the overall sparsity, and particularly the second row of acanthus, the stems of which are clearly visible between the leaves of the first, springing from the very base of the kalathos, a criterion which holds good at Palmyra for capitals dating from the C^{1st}, or ca. 80 to 120 A.D. at the latest.¹⁵⁷ In these respects it contrasts sharply with the pilaster capitals from the Temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra,¹⁵⁸ and seems more comparable to the Type I capitals of the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek,¹⁵⁹ or those of the lower porticoes in the Sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra.¹⁶⁰ The proportions, too, with generous space allowed to the third row, the calices and helices, are redolent of the early first century.

However, it should be remembered that the criterion regarding the separation of the leaves of the lowest row, and consequently the springing point of the leaves of the second, did not hold good for Baalbek (supra Note 77), and the entablature, at least, appears to be under the influence of the Heliopolitanum. Furthermore, it is not particularly like any of the first

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century examples cited. The treatment, insofar as it can be judged, seems completely different not only from the roughly worked Baalbek capital, but also from the more delicate ones from Palmyra. In all cases, the stem of the second row, visible between the leaves of the first, is rendered as a plane projection, with detail either in the form of incised lines, or, in the case of Baalbek Type 1, with the slightly fuller central relief band picked out with indentations. But if we are to believe the Esrija drawing, these stems there are fully moulded. There is also far more of the kalathos visible at Esrija than on any of the other capitals, however early - the nearest parallels would come from among the old Heterodox Corinthians - and the lateral helices are far freer from foliage. It seems almost a caricature of the type. I know of no parallel for the convoluted stem of the outer leaves of the second row of the acanthus, and the extra tendril on the outside of the first row, which give the capital its distinctive profile, the boundary of each zone being marked by a projection, top and bottom. This fact goes a long way towards repairing the credibility of the drawing: whereas the other peculiarities could arise from an inaccurate rendition of the forms, this is an intrusive, positive eccentricity, and suggests that the capital, despite its air of conventionality, might indeed be an individualist. It seems that it lies outside the main series.

The question is whether it does so because of the fact that it dates from a period not covered by the series, or merely by virtue of the sovereign right of the artist, no less than any other mortal, to diverge from the established norm and experiment with aberrant forms, something which could occur at any time. The former is certainly possible, and has some recommendations. Taken at face value, the capital can hardly be dated, conventionally, much later than the middle of the first century, while it is difficult to see the entablature as dating back so far; consequently, the capital and entablature tend to disassociate in any case. As pointed out above, the temple was later converted into a Christian church, and it seems possible that it was also radically reconstructed at that time. The pilasters and their capitals could well date from this era.

While I have no pretensions whatsoever to an intimate knowledge of the later capitals in Syria, a conspectus does suggest that some valid generalities can be drawn. After the establishment of Orthodox Corinthians as the norm all over the area, variants began to be developed. In time the diversification became so great that the norm broke down entirely; the forms

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were more multifarious even than in the period before the establishment of the Orthodox Corinthians: the old Heterodox capitals tended to be heterodox in a limited number of conventional ways,¹⁶¹ but in the later capitals it seems as if the freedom of the individual artist and patron was almost unlimited. Some capitals, indeed, belong to definable groups, but others are effectively unique, matched only by their siblings from the same structure. Others still mimicked older types, and old capitals were, apparently, re-used. All the previous forms, motifs and devices seem to have been regarded as part of a common repertoire upon which the artist could draw at will, supplemented by an ever-growing number of new inventions. The result is that, for example, the Great Mosque at Damascus (A.D. 715) affects what look to be perfectly reputable Orthodox Corinthians¹⁶² (possibly re-used), while Alamandarus' church at Resafa (late sixth century) sports a pilaster capital which can barely be called Corinthian, as well as one of the 'lotus' type quasi-Corinthians common at the site.¹⁶³

It does not seem impossible to assign the Esrija capital to the archaizing Byzantine class. Those which descend most obviously from the Orthodox Corinthians tend toward shallow relief, almost a graphic rendition with the details of the leaves incised on plane surfaces, rather than modelled;¹⁶⁴ but at least one other late capital, from the church near Joseph's Spring at Sichem¹⁶⁵ does have the stems of the second row modelled rather than engraved, and, as at Esrija, the central helices are also treated in a 'naturalistic' manner, although in other respects, for example in the high springing point of the second row and the fact that the leaves of the lower row touch, it takes after later prototypes. The extreme sparsity of the vegetation, which makes the Esrija capital seem almost a caricature of Julio-Claudian Corinthians, is also noticeable in some of the more orthodox Byzantine Corinthians.

Such an ascription would remove the capital from consideration in relationship to the date of the temple, and with it the difficulty of correlating the capital with the entablature. However, there is an alternative. The stems of the medial helices were already becoming more round in appearance, if not in actual carving, due to the reduction in their size and consequent decrease in the conspicuity of the planed inner channel - even the capitals of the 'Temple of Bacchus' seem to have been affected.¹⁶⁶ Nor does the earliest date at which the conformity of the capitals began to break down

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seem certain. One feature of the Esrija capital, a feature normally among the most elective and individual aspects, does have a near parallel, namely the abacus ornament. At Esrija it is a simple frontal acanthus leaf; again the closest comparable ornament known to me comes from further to the west, though not, this time, from Baalbek. It accords with none of the range provided by the 'Temple of Bacchus',¹⁶⁷ although it could perhaps be a very elementary version of one of them¹⁶⁸ - again it is a matter of extreme simplicity at Esrija. However, it is much closer to the abacus ornament of a capital excavated near the Church of St. Anna and Pool of Bethesda at Jerusalem.¹⁶⁹ The abacus ornament of this capital, too, could be a simpler version of the same ornament from the 'Temple of Bacchus'; but, even so, it is slightly more complex than the Esrija example, having three folioles where that from Esrija has only two, and a basal 'bulb' where there is none at Esrija. Nevertheless, the resemblance is close.

Watzinger considers that the capital from Jerusalem is Antonine, but specific features which might be adduced to support this ascription do so only because they are 'late' in terms of the sequence extrapolated by Schlumberger from the work of Edmund Wiegand; the question once again is how late, and it is not impossible, stylistically, to apply the 'Byzantine' solution to this capital too. Nevertheless, there are reasons for thinking that it could indeed be Late Antonine (below, pp.230-232), and it seems possible to assign the same date to the Esrija capital, granted that it too foreshadows even later capitals. Such a date would allow it to be reunited with the entablature: the latter need only be later than the Altar Court, and there seems no barrier to making it as late as Period VI.

One cannot, therefore, find parallels close enough to offer any decisive evidence for the date of the façade. While its general appearance suits the middle of the second century, it differs markedly from two major structures of the period, the 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek and the Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra, and is not noticeably consonant with the Hadrianic Temple of Baalshamin. Such parallels as do exist, and can be dated more closely than mid-first century to mid-second, tend to bring it down towards the first century. None of those parallels is particularly close, however, and, with the exception of the scheme of the entablature of the Altar Court, are comparisons of omission, the major point of similarity being the austerity, the simplicity, and the lack of florid ornament. Such severity

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may in fact have nothing to do with chronology: Esrija, whatever its official status, was more than what in modern eyes would be "just a village", but nevertheless was only one of the lesser towns, and may not have aspired to, or may have rejected, the luxuriant styles of the larger centres. The same austerity in decoration is noted in regard to the architecture of the Late Antonine-Severan building phase at Samaria by the excavators of the Joint Expedition.¹⁷⁰ One can state with certainty only that the temple is Roman, and no earlier than the Flavian period, since, as a presumably derivative work, it can be no earlier than all the elements it collates. While the Late Antonine date seems plausible, one cannot, therefore, particularly in view of the doubt surrounding the capitals, rule out a date near the end of the first century, or earlier in the second, or, for that matter, even later, at the beginning of the third.

The parallels, such as they are, are interesting. The difficulty surrounding Baalbek, the possibility that its importance may be over-emphasized due to the fact that as the largest body of available architectural evidence comes from the site, the chances of finding the closest, inexact parallel for any given piece there rather than elsewhere in the province are correspondingly increased, has been discussed in my previous work (M.A. pp. 94-5). However, the evidence from Jerash, and the surprising lack of parallels from the almost equally well-documented Palmyra, combined with the rather tenuous parallel from Aelia, suggests that Esrija looked for inspiration not, as might be expected, to the nearest major centre, Palmyra, but to the west, if not to Baalbek itself then to an architectural sub-milieu of which Baalbek was part, one which equally exercised sway over the other smaller towns of the province.

This in turn serves to articulate an undercurrent in the tendency towards provincial uniformity; just as this uniformity within the area was a function of the political delineation of that area by the Romans, so too the forms were regulated by those, of whatever ultimate origin, which were acceptable to the local Romans, and destined to become part of the Romano-Syrian milieu. The process was orientated by the more Romanized sites within the province.

Three of the other stair-temples belonging to the Period bear out Esrija in this respect. As far as can be determined, the temples of Zeus at Jerash, of Zeus at Capitolias, and at Abila, like that at Esrija, belong to

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what can almost be distinguished as a sub-group in its own right, strongly Classicized despite their various idiosyncrasies, rectangular, with Orthodox Corinthian capitals, the entrance in one of the short sides, almost, but not quite, Classical temples with additions and modifications to fit them for the cults they housed. This type of temple was acceptable to the Roman administration of the province, at least since the construction of the 'Temple of Bacchus' in the colony of Baalbek, most emphatically so if, as Ward-Perkins suggests, it was intended as the provincial Pantheon (supra, Ch. III, p.148 and N.229). The Tychaeon at es-Sanamen, however, does not belong to this sub-class. Almost square, with its towers at the back, this tripartite temple is classified by Ward-Perkins¹⁷¹ as the "box-within-a-box" variety, like the Qasr Fira'un at Petra, a type which he traces back to the first century sanctuary at Khirbet et-Tannur. The prominent meander pattern in the entablature, too, is out of tune with the general tone of the Period. At Baalbek this appears as a Hellenistic survival in the Temple of Jupiter,¹⁷² and, in accordance with the intestine continuity of the site, recurs in the 'Temple of Bacchus'.¹⁷³ The overall form of the es-Sanamen Tychaeon, however, suggests that it lay beyond Baalbek's sphere of influence, and local continuity from Hellenistic times is doubtful, on similar grounds. Another alternative is suggested by the appearance of the meander, equally prominent, on the façades of Parthian buildings.¹⁷⁴ Evidently it was part of Seyrig's Graeco-Iranian artistic milieu. It seems that, as late as A.D. 191, this was still an alternative source of inspiration for an outlying site like es-Sanamen, and serves as a reminder that while, as the evidence from Jerash in the preceding Period and that from Samaria in this Period demonstrates, the time was approaching when Romanization would be inevitable, because the only external sources of inspiration would themselves be Roman, that situation had not yet come to pass. Syria was not yet completely encapsulated in a Roman envelope.

The evidence from Aelia, too, suffers from the same chronological difficulty which besets the other material of this Period. A number of buildings belonging to the new colony can be dated only in general terms, and could belong to this Period rather than to the original construction of the city, or even to the following Period; there is no evidence to settle the point either way. Such are the remains of the Corinthian capitals from the columns and pilasters found in the excavation of the fourth century baths near the Church of St. Anna.¹⁷⁵ While not aesthetically edifying the capital illustrated by Watzinger (already mentioned in connection with the

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the Esrija temple, supra p.228), is nevertheless interesting.

He dates it to the "antoninischer Zeit", but it seems that if it is Antonine, it is a) late Antonine and b) bad Antonine. The volutes are cramped up against the abacus in the manner typical of Schlumberger's Severan capitals, and, though in this respect not too dissimilar to the 'Marble style' capital from Pergamon illustrated by Ward-Perkins,¹⁷⁶ it differs in the proportions of the zones, which are much less even than in that example, closer to those of the 'Temple of Bacchus',¹⁷⁷ but closer still to the Late-Antonine - Early-Severan capitals from Samaria discussed above. It is certainly "late", but the question once again is how late it could be. The parallel with Esrija is obviously of no assistance in this regard, and it differs markedly from all the capitals cited in one respect, the treatment of the details of the leaves. The overall shape of each frond is blocked out, clearly separated from its neighbours, and in places there are signs of deep drilling, but the detail is more a matter of figures incised on a plane surface, comparatively shallow inscribed decoration, almost as if it were one step away from being a plain capital with painted decoration, and only a trace of bas-relief. It is possible to suggest that the capital was unfinished, but it is carved to the same depth all over, and the details fully, if lightly, articulated: what appears to be an unfinished capital from the Antonine Baths at Carthage¹⁷⁸ indicates that there, at least, one section was finished completely before the next was worked beyond the initial inscription of the design on its surface, since one calyx remains in this state, while the other calyx, and the acanthus leaves, are fully carved. Furthermore, there are Syrian parallels for this sort of treatment, albeit later ones: the capital from the arch adjoining the South Church at Resafa¹⁷⁹ and the pilaster capital from the martyrty at the same site¹⁸⁰ show that this tendency towards graphic rendition continued and became more pronounced in later times, although the shape of the fronds too was gradually lost, and their outline carved with scarcely greater depth than the detail. The question arises as to whether this capital could be Byzantine. It was apparently found in conjunction with Attic column bases set on "Stuhle". According to Watzinger, these bases belonged to the capitals, and had crosses cut into them, indicating that they were re-used in the Byzantine period: while there is no guarantee that the bases alone were not re-used, the capitals being made to fit them at the later date, it seems unlikely, and gives some support to the earlier date proposed by Watzinger; it is at least permissible to see this capital as the forerunner of later types, rather than

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itself late.

Culturally speaking, the important thing is that these parallels can be drawn. This capital, though an individual without exact parallel, fits easily into the general range and spirit of the Corinthian capitals of Syria at the time of its manufacture, foreshadowing the traits of later capitals and echoing those of earlier ones; it stands in contrast to the Herodian capital from the same site discussed above (Ch. I p.26), which is clearly experimental, and out of accord with the other Syrian Corinthians, alien alike to the Orthodox capitals of Northern Syria and the various standard forms of 'Heterodox' capitals of the South. Together with the "Shrine of Isis" discussed in the previous chapter, this capital makes the point that, architecturally speaking, Hadrian's Col. Aelia Capitolina fitted easily into the Romano-Syrian architectural milieu, in a way that Herod's Jerusalem, despite its Classical trimmings, did not. One good reason why this was so, of course, is that in Herod's day there was no single provincial milieu in which the city could be fashioned: it was something which he himself helped to initiate, firstly by imposing the models which allowed a taste for such an architectural style to develop, and secondly because his building programmes necessitated the creation of a body of craftsmen competent in this architectural medium, the expertise which allowed this taste to find expression; but it was also something which evolved only gradually, absorbing new elements, both from the province itself and from the changing architectural milieu of Rome and the rest of the empire, in the intervening years. In this respect, the implications of the capital again point up one of the major characteristics of the Period, the spread of the cultural milieu and the steady, gentle progress towards provincial uniformity.

Continuity and repetition at new sites of forms already established elsewhere in the province is also the key-note of the minor sites. To be sure, work on the Temple of Zeus Hypsistos on Mt. Gerizim may have temporarily ceased, since no coins minted at Neapolis during this Period are cited as showing the building:¹⁸¹ if so, it was probably resumed in the next Period under Caracalla, when it once again acquired enough local importance to warrant such depiction, perhaps because of a rebuilding, rather than a continuation of the original construction (see below, Ch. V, pp.289-290). But "occupation" of the mausoleum on Jebel Jofeh apparently continued, since a provincial coin of Aurelius, perhaps struck at Gaza, was recovered from locus AD.¹⁸² To this should perhaps be added the "large Roman mausoleum" at

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Kfar Gil'adi, in the region of Caesarea Philippi, mentioned by Applebaum,¹⁸³ where there were three successive phases of sarcophagus burial, the earliest of which is dated to the late second century or early third. In this case, at least, it can be ascertained that the original owner was a native rather than of foreign descent, since the earliest sarcophagus was inscribed "Hezekiah". Sia has a triumphal arch which Ward-Perkins dates ca. 150-175,¹⁸⁴ and compares to the East Arch at Bostra¹⁸⁵ and the triple arch at Petra, in regard to which latter he notes that the proportions are unclassical, as in many outlying Syrian arches, and that a great deal of the detail, for example the pilaster capitals and the zoomorphic Ionic capitals of the columns and quarter columns, are of Nabataean derivation.

In regard to settlement and urbanization, there is also a slight increase in the number of sites with datable occupation in the once sparsely populated Palmyrene.¹⁸⁶ The earliest inscription from the hamlet at Kheurbet Leqteir¹⁸⁷ in the mountains north-west of Palmyra, is dated to A.D. 188, and the Aramaic inscription from the fortified villa at Bâzûrijje,¹⁸⁸ slightly to the south-east of Palmyra, dated May A.D. 171 records the sale of three burial loculi, by Salme, daughter of Bôlhâ, son of Bôrephâ, acting in the place of her husband, 'Ôgailû, son of Bôrephâ, to Malikû, son of Mogimû, son of 'Ogga, with Jaddai son of Kailai as witness.¹⁸⁹ Wiegand points out that the inscription was found in the door of the tower, and the block on which it was inscribed had formed part of the door; the loculi, then, were in the tower, which in this case served as a family vault, like the old tower tombs of the previous century.

He also points out that this inscription implies that the villa had been in existence for some time, and the same may be true of Kheurbet Leqteir. It seems again that what is visible here is not the actual event, but rather a reflection of what had happened in a previous Period. However, the Bâzûrijje inscription provides evidence of a different kind, which does certainly relate to Period VI.

The price of the loculi is stipulated as one hundred and twenty "silver denarii", } ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ١٠ ١١ ١٢. Roman currency had been known at Palmyra itself at least since the previous Period, for incorporated into the Palmyrene Tariff is an edict of Germanicus, decreeing that the abattoir tax should be paid in Roman currency¹⁹⁰ and this must have applied in Palmyrene at least from the time of the Tariff, if not from the time of

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Germanicus. But that was a matter of official compulsion; this text is a private contract, with the currency voluntarily nominated, ostensibly at least by the vendor, though with at least the acquiescence of the purchaser. It seems a clear instance of response to a previous superimposition, although the exact mechanism at work is not evident. There were, apparently, reasons why Roman currency was to be preferred, but whether those reasons were reasons of prestige or economics can only be conjectured. All the implications of this piece of evidence are not, in any case, clear: why, for example, are silver denarii specified? Yet regardless of the reasons, it can hardly be denied that a response on the part of the local population has occurred, a response which was voluntary, if not spontaneous, and it adds one more small item to the even more Roman flavour of daily life in the province.

There is one innovative type which may make its first appearance in this Period rather than the following one (though again the dates are dubious), the Hauran type of basilica, as exemplified by the specimen at Shaqqa¹⁹¹ dating, according to Robertson, to the last quarter of the second century. Tripartite in plan, with a nave and aisles, its most notable features are the technique of buttressing the transverse arches by connecting them with internal engaged pillars, foreshadowing the external buttresses in later, related buildings, and the roofing technique. This consisted of a series of arches spanning the aisles between the seven engaged pillars and a row of seven freestanding pillars, with a further arch across the nave, each row of transverse arches bearing a wall, which in turn supported the roof, composed of large stone slabs, providing a flat surface for the clay terrace above, surrounded by parapets, suggesting that perhaps, as in the stair-temples, the roof too was used to fulfil some of the building's functions; it also had an internal gallery, again perhaps to be compared with the second storey chapels beside the adyton in the temple at es-Sanamen.¹⁹²

The principle of the slab roof is not dissimilar to that used in the 'Temple of Diana' at Nîmes,¹⁹³ although there the slabs were laid directly on the arches, which themselves formed the ribs of the vault - Robertson may have had this parallel in mind, since his plate of the 'Temple of Diana' is located opposite the text relating to the Shaqqa basilica, though he says nothing to this effect. Any endeavour to derive the technique from this building, however, would be perilous indeed, apart from the difference in form, because of the uncertainty over the date of the Nîmes example. Ward-Perkins seems to favour an indigenous development: he points to the

frequency with which this technique appears in the district, interpreting the use of stone slabs to cover the spaces as a technique developed because of the lack of suitable timber in the area, citing, in particular, the 'Praetorium' at Mismiyeh,¹⁹⁴ where this form of roofing is used in conjunction with an older technique, in which the slabs were carried on columns; he suggests this technique may go back to Achaemenid Persian models, evidence for an established local tradition. However, the Mismiyeh example might also have been cited in support of a hybrid Romano-Syrian origin - the old Achaemenid technique survived until the second century, when it mutated under the influence of the increasingly Roman architecture of the area, the columnar supports being replaced by arcades - were it not for the existence of a pre-Roman parallel, not from Syria, but the C^{3rd} B.C. cisterns of Delos.¹⁹⁵ To judge from the photograph, the arches carried a superstructure and the superstructure the transverse slabs, closer to the Hauran technique than the roof of the Nîmes temple.

These Delian vaults form part of the collection which Boyd uses to support his contention that Hellenistic vaults developed in the East, from a fusion of the old Mesopotamian brick arches and vaults and the Greek masonry techniques, a theory which supports and is supported by the evidence suggesting a pre-Roman tradition of stone vaulting in Syria.¹⁹⁶ The Delian examples are much smaller than the basilica at Shaqqa, and, of course, subterranean, but given all this plus the use of precisely this kind of roofing in Parthian Hatra in the first century A.D.,¹⁹⁷ that is to say, in the current centre of Seyrig's Graeco-Iranian milieu, the possibility that the Hauran technique developed in pre-Roman times, with or without the assistance of Boyd's Hellenistic masons, is too strong to ignore. In the present context it is safer to regard it as an independent local invention, assuming lost local predecessors. More certain Roman influence in roofing techniques can be detected in a loosely contemporary building at Shaqqa, in the concrete vault of the 'Palace', dated to the third century by Robertson,¹⁹⁸ and to the late second by Ward-Perkins,¹⁹⁹ and perhaps also in the domes of other unspecified buildings, where, however, the local flat slab technique was adapted to perform the function of a squinch, and the domes themselves may have been elliptical rather than spherical.²⁰⁰

It is therefore doubtful how great a share the Roman architecture of Syria had in the formation of this basilica type. Certainly, the overall plan is that of a basilica, but as pointed out earlier, the tripartite plan also had local precedents, including the C^{1st} B.C. temple at Sia,²⁰¹ and

features are paralleled in the stair temples - indeed, Amy wishes to reconstruct the roof of the es-Sanamen temple on analogy with that of Shaqqa.²⁰² The effective Roman element may be little more than reinforcement, the endorsement by the Romano-Syrian milieu of the various components which combined to constitute the type, so that the final result was compatible with the tenor of the architecture of that milieu. The Hauran type of basilica may not have developed without this overall context.

Be this as it may, it was destined to become one of the type fossils of the Romano-Syrian milieu, not only as a basilica but later in the form of the basilica church which spread throughout the region,²⁰³ and Shaqqa also marks, in effect, the first appearance of this latter type.

Despite the exceptions, it is clear that the overall thrust of developments in this Period was towards uniformity, the uniformity of the Romano-Syrian cultural milieu, in which Syrian blended with Roman until the two became indistinguishable, and acceptable alike to Romans and non-Romans. The reasons for this are, doubtless, many and varied, though one contributing factor may be that the various conflicts of the Period brought a fresh influx of Romans, troops and otherwise, to the province.

Certainly, this resulted in fresh superimpositions, which may conceivably have reinforced the direction of trends already established by the activity of the previous Period, nowhere more obviously than at Dura Europos. Here, as at Jerusalem in the previous Period, there is an example of Romanization in its simplest, clearest, and most brutal form, the removal of what had previously existed and its replacement by something totally different, and Roman. This previously Parthian fortress was captured in A.D. 164,²⁰⁴ although, since it perhaps did not receive a Roman garrison until the reign of Septimius Severus,²⁰⁵ it is once again doubtful how much of the following should be ascribed to this Period and how much to the next. About a quarter of the area within the walls was completely transformed into a military establishment, comprising barracks and officers' quarters, a campus Martius, several bath buildings and a praetorium²⁰⁶ facing on to a colonnaded street, a small amphitheatre,²⁰⁷ a temple to the emperor²⁰⁸ and, later, an official residence for the commander of the Euphrates zone, the Dux Ripae,²⁰⁹ on which Ward-Perkins comments,

As in the case of the residence of some other high officer near the praetorium, and of the praetorium itself, the whole layout represents an alien, imported architecture, the analogies for which lie in the West. Local materials and building techniques imposed

certain features such as the flat roofs and the arches of the facade (very reminiscent of the twentieth-century Italian 'colonial' architecture in Libya), but that was all. Even the unit of measurement was the Roman foot, instead of the local Semitic cubit.

Rostovtzeff cites evidence to suggest that the whole of this north-western part of the city became the preserve of the military: the 'women's theatre' adjacent to the Temple of Artemis Nanaia was destroyed; the new theatre, built in its place, contained inscriptions naming only men, including a bouleutes, others being dedications by the "senate and people" and the 'chief coloni'; he suggests that this new theatre, rather than primarily religious in function, may have served as a public meeting place, taking over the functions of some such structure in the old agora, which may well have lain in the area razed to accommodate the Roman installations. Similarly, in another 'women's temple', that of Artemis Azzanathkona, which was not destroyed, there is no record of female worshippers later than A.D. 117. He concludes that there were no longer women in that part of the city, and it was the soldiers of the Roman army who continued to support the cult.²¹⁰ In similar fashion, while the earlier frescoes from the erstwhile "Temple of the Palmyrene Gods" showed civilian dedicants, only soldiers appear in those of the Roman period.²¹¹

The destruction, as Rostovtzeff points out, was selective.²¹² The Temple of the Parthian god Aphlad was buried during the construction of the glacis of the fortification,²¹³ and the Sanctuary of Artemis Nanaia was drastically modified.²¹⁴ On the other hand, the Temple of Artemis Azzanathkona was preserved²¹⁵ - her cult image is identical to that of Atargatis, and he suggests that, as such, she was worshipped by the predominantly Syrian Roman garrison; the "Temple of the Palmyrene Gods" - gods who were also worshipped by the Palmyrenes - was similarly spared,²¹⁶ according to Rostovtzeff to become the primary temple of the garrison.²¹⁷

Despite the confusion generated by some of the evidence it has produced, Dura serves to clarify one of the most vexatious problems attached to any study of Romanization in Syria, by equally producing a clear example of the distinction between Hellenistic survival, and Hellenistic elements brought afresh by the Romans as part of their own eclectic culture, "Greek in lieu of Roman". Ann Perkins notes that the agora of the original Hellenistic city lacked a stoa, and in Parthian times it gradually lost its character and evolved into a Middle Eastern bazaar. However, in its later phases, it again became an open market, this time colonnaded on

two sides, with a series of shops facing the open area, similar to agoras such as those of Priene, but with constructional details she considers indicative of a Roman date, and using the Roman foot as a unit of measurement. There was no continuity, and one of the Hellenistic elements was not present in the original Hellenistic version. Moreover, she also points out that street colonnades appeared in this area at this time,^{217a} something apparently not yet invented in the time of Hellenistic Dura (see M.A. pp.112-148).

Other such superimpositions proceeding directly or indirectly from the influx of Roman soldiers produced by the various conflicts are more firmly dated. One such is the Latin adventus coins of Verus issued at Antioch, to which reference has already been made (supra, p.195 and N.3). Another should be the camp near Dumeir. A stone found among the ruins of the "castra quadrata" bears a dedication to Verus, dated to A.D. 162 (or Dec. 161), by the Coh. I Fl. Chal. Eq. Sag. under Attidius Cornelianus, leg. Aug. pr. pr. (per Aelius Herculanus, praef.).²¹⁸ This can hardly be other than the Dmejr al-'Atîže surveyed by Musil,²¹⁹ and, while not ruling out an earlier date, suggests that the camp was built as a staging camp for Verus' Parthian campaign, in which Attidius Cornelianus is known to have participated. The camp is described by Musil as the largest fortified camp northeast of Damascus, measuring 189 by 173 m., with, in its extant state, round towers projecting from each corner, and medial turrets on each side, flanking a gate. A broad north-south street bisects the camp, with two narrower streets running parallel to it on either side, while three narrower roads cut these at right angles, running east to west; a more than usually complete chequerboard plan was thus achieved. In the western half, on either side of the central east-west road (which should therefore equate to the via praetoria and via decumana) there are two buildings each measuring 20 x 17 m., which may have been the praetorium and the commander's quarters. The broad north-south street, perhaps the via principalis, was colonnaded, something also to be seen in the military quarter of Dura. On Musil's plan there seem to be traces of a building directly adjoining the north wall; if these are not later additions, Dumeir, like other Roman forts in the area, may have lacked a true pomerium (cf. M.A. pp.194-6). Despite these idiosyncrasies, it seems fairly consistent with Roman forts of this time; the shape and disposition of the towers, round at the corners, semi-elliptical between, is reminiscent of al-Bhara, discussed in the previous chapter, though the gates themselves differ somewhat from the extant remains at that site, here double, with a bipartite guardroom to either side.

The tightening of the Roman military grip may have been matched by a tightening of the administrative grip: two dedications from the agora at Palmyra (dated July 161 and 174) mention Roman citizens of Greek descent as "tax-gatherers of the quarter" which Starcky²²⁰ suggests might refer to the tax (as opposed to internal tariff) of a quarter of a value of the goods, collected at the frontier of the province, since the first dedication comes from a caravan returning from Charax.

The cultural effect, if any, of these activities may have stemmed less from the positive aspect of the impositions as models, and more from the negative aspect: Syria's position as part of the Roman empire was reiterated with emphasis, and, with the fall of Dura and the extension of the boundary as far as Mesene,²²¹ it was, furthermore, again no longer a frontier province. It was at this stage, too, that Edessa effectively passed into Roman control, with the re-installation of a puppet monarch.²²² Politically speaking at least, the 'Roman envelope' had temporarily encircled the province.

Be that as it may, the material from this Period serves as a good illustration that in the system of classification of degree of Romanization, each degree represents only the minimum amount of Romanization present. Apart from the basilical hybrid, doubtfully assigned to this Period, the rest is no more than second degree Romanization, imitative response. Yet there is other evidence to show that this response was indeed the product of a very profound effect.

First, and least, there is an inscription from the neighbourhood of Abila Lysaniae, once the headquarters of marauding brigands (BJ I.xx.4, cf. AJ XIX.275), prefaced by a dedication to Aurelius and Verus. It records how, after the road had been swept away by a flood of the Baradah, it was restored per Iul. Verum. Leg. Pr. Pr. provinc. Syr. et amicum . suum (i.e. amicus Augusti) inpendiis. Abilenorum.²²³ Two nearby inscriptions,²²⁴ dedicated pro salute of Aurelius and Verus, are the work of M. Volusius Maximus, a centurion of Leg. XVI F.F., qui operi institit. v.s. Since this legion was stationed either at Samosata in Commagene, or at Sura on the Euphrates at the time,²²⁵ Volusius Maximus may have been a technical specialist seconded for the task, or, if v.s. means, as it usually does in Syria, votum solvit, he may have been a local man, or otherwise privately connected with the town, acting in his private capacity, as an intermediary between the town and the provincial authorities. In either case, these inscriptions reflect a degree of co-operation between civilian towns and military administration previously rare in the lesser towns, albeit the centre of a district, such

as Abila. Furthermore, inpendiis Abilenorum, while a new, and possibly unwelcome development as far as the Abilenes were concerned - previous road inscriptions are purely military in character, and make no reference to any such levies on the local towns - also attests a certain degree of civic responsibility, and awareness of the town as part of the province.

Secondly, Seyrig has published a series of coins from the Decapolis, which celebrate the cities and their history, of which some mention has already been made. This new interest in the past is attested at Capitolias, where a coin issued under Commodus has a representation of Alexander, together with the legend, $\text{ΚΑΠΙ(ΤΟΛΙΕΩΝ) 'ΑΛΕΞ(ΑΝΔΡΟΣ) ΜΑΚΕ(ΔΩΝ)}$ or $\text{ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝΩΝ ΓΕΝΑΡ(ΧΗΣ)}$.²²⁶ In this case the glorious past may well be mythical, a device to emulate the other cities whose claim might well have been better, cities such as Dion, Pella and Jerash,²²⁷ since Capitolias does not appear in Pliny's list of cities of the Decapolis, although it is included by Ptolemy.²²⁸ Its coinage is not known until the reign of Marcus Aurelius,²²⁹ though its era goes back to 97 or 98, implying a foundation, or at least re-foundation, by Nerva or Trajan.²³⁰ What may be a similar claim from Decapolitan Abila, on a coin dated A.D. 218/9 or 219/20²³¹ is also mentioned by Seyrig. In this case, however, there may be some substance for such a legend: while it, too, is omitted from Pliny's list, Bietenhard mentions epigraphical evidence attesting its membership of the early Decapolis;²³² certainly, its existence dates back at least to the first century B.C., since its era, given that these coins are dated 282, must start between 64 and 62 B.C., implying a foundation, or re-foundation, by Pompey, as with other cities in the vicinity; although, once again, it does not appear in Josephus' list of cities removed from Jewish control and added to the province of Syria by Pompey.²³³

It is this Pompeian "foundation" which is commemorated on the coins of Gadara, dating from the time of Verus, in the legend, ΠΟΜΠΗΖΩΝ ΓΑΔΑΡΕΩΝ ²³⁴ - Gadara was actually rebuilt by Pompey, after its previous destruction by the Hasmonaeans.²³⁵ Canatha, although not among those cities listed by Josephus as rebuilt on the orders of Gabinius,²³⁶ became the city of the Gabinian Canathenes, $\text{ΓΑΒΙΝΙΩΝ ΚΑΝΑΘΗΝΩΝ}$, on coins dating from Commodus onwards,²³⁷ adopting a style similar to that affected earlier, and with good cause, by the Samaritans;²³⁸ in the same general period Pella, a town which is mentioned among those 'liberated' by Pompey,²³⁹ similarly revived the name of a predecessor of Gabinius, L. Marcius Philippus,²⁴⁰ Octavian's stepfather, of whose tenure²⁴¹ little is known. Jerash chose to commemorate its Seleucid past, issuing

coins with the legend, 'Αντιοχεὺς οὐ πρότερον under Marcus Aurelius, this name not appearing in inscriptions until the second century,²⁴² then appearing prominently, for example, on the dedication of the Nymphaeum to Commodus by the city,²⁴³ although Jerash too was apparently 're-founded' by Pompey, since its era starts from 63 B.C.²⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that all these coins are Roman in appearance, despite their Greek legends, insofar as content takes precedence over composition.

These coins celebrate the past of the various cities, and seem to indicate that no qualitative differentiation was made between the Roman past and the pre-Roman past: Pella, had she chosen to do so, might have claimed Alexander as founder with some degree of credibility,²⁴⁵ yet chose instead to celebrate Philippus; Canatha could celebrate Gabinius and Gadara Pompey in the same spirit that Capitolias celebrated Alexander and Jerash a foundation by Antiochus I. The Roman past was now itself venerable enough to form a reputable part of the continuing proud tradition and this in turn implies a new awareness by the cities, not only of themselves, but of themselves as part of the Roman empire.

Thirdly, in A.D. 175, the province revolted.

There are two quite distinct ways of revolting under the Roman empire. The first is a nationalistic revolt such as the Jewish revolts, which entailed the total rejection, not only of Roman political suzerainty, but of Roman culture and values; the cry, so to speak, is, "Down with the Roman emperor, and with Rome and all her works!" The second is a revolt like the late third century Palmyrene rebellion: the cry is not, "Down with the emperor!" but rather, "Let me be emperor!" It is, in short, a Roman revolt, and implies an acceptance at least of the Roman political frame of reference, and especially of Roman values: the goal was one recognised as desirable by Romans everywhere, even, and especially, in Rome itself, and it was sought by what was now the established Roman method. An even more Roman form was the acclamation of the local Roman governor as emperor, with the backing not only of the troops, but also of the cities and the civilian resources of the province, the aim being merely to instate their own candidate (with, of course, the expectation of future favours) without even the schismatic element in the Palmyrene revolt, of which the aim, in the final stages at least, was the establishment of an alternative Roman empire; here the status quo is to be maintained, with only the slightest re-adjustment, and the exercise is carried out entirely within the existing Roman frame of reference.

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The revolt of Avidius Cassius²⁴⁶ falls within this last category. Although he himself was known as a Syrian,²⁴⁷ and this may have enhanced his appeal for the local cities - at least the central Roman government thought so, in that it passed a law to prevent anyone in future governing the province from which he had come²⁴⁸ - in another sense his birthplace is irrelevant. As governor of Syria, he could have hailed from any part of the empire. Syria was emulating the older provinces and claiming a voice in the affairs of the empire, backing her candidate for the purpose. Whether support for Cassius within the province was unanimous is not certain, though the participation of two towns, Antioch and Cyrrhus, is attested, and that of other unspecified towns indicated. SHA Avidius Cassius VI.6 states,

He [Cassius] was well loved by all the eastern nations (omnibus orientalibus), especially by the citizens of Antioch, who even acquiesced to his rule, as Marius Maximus relates in his life of the Deified Marcus.

and SHA Avidius Cassius IX.1:

The citizens of Antioch also had sided with Avidius Cassius, but these, together with certain other states (civitatibus) which had aided Cassius he [Marcus] pardoned, though at first he was deeply angered at the citizens of Antioch and took away their games and many of the distinctions of the city, all of which he afterwards restored.

Compare SHA Marcus XXV.8-12:

He [Marcus] pardoned the communities (civitatis) which had sided with Cassius, and even went so far as to pardon the citizens of Antioch, who had said many things in support of Cassius and in opposition to himself. But he did abolish their games and public meetings, including assemblies of every kind, and issued a very severe edict against the people themselves....nor would he visit Cyrrhus, the home of Cassius. Later on, however, he did visit Antioch.²⁴⁹

The revolt melted away when Aurelius appeared, not, as had been reported, dead, but Antioch remained loyal to Cassius until the end:

The love felt for Antoninus was most clearly manifested in the fact that it was with the consent of all save the citizens of Antioch that Avidius was slain. (SHA Avidius Cassius VIII.8).²⁵⁰

According to Parker,²⁵¹ it continued to hold out against Martius Verus,

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Cassius' one-time colleague in the Parthian campaign, so that when Aurelius arrived in 176 he went to Egypt to avoid Antioch.

Nor was this revolt merely a local aberration of the natives and resident garrison: Cassius was recognised by Flavius Calvisius, prefect of Egypt, and a papyrus dated in the first year of the Emperor Caesar Julius Avidius Cassius²⁵² serves to re-emphasise the extent to which this revolt was a Roman revolt, a power struggle played out in Roman terms, a "revolt" only because it failed, and intrinsically no more a rebellion, or a rejection of Rome, than the successive bids of Otho, Galba, Vitellius and Vespasian in the previous century. Cassius himself had accepted the report of Marcus' death, and given out that he had been acclaimed by the army in Pannonia;²⁵³ as far as the local population was concerned, with Commodus too young to rule, and no better candidate available, Cassius, a man whose fitness is attested both by Dio and by the later more dubious tradition of the SHA biographer,²⁵⁴ was the obvious successor. Their actions were quite legitimate, if hardly legal.

Politically speaking, there was nothing more Roman that Syria could do than revolt in this manner. Submission to Roman rule might or might not indicate no more than the acknowledgement of the military realities of the time, but active participation in the "Great Game" of the day can hardly betoken less than whole-hearted acceptance of the Roman political frame of reference and the Roman set of values it implies. Syria had declared herself an equal partner in the empire along with the other provinces.

To be sure, there was a precedent, in the elevation of Vespasian, but there is no evidence to suggest that this was not essentially confined to the army: Vespasian was acclaimed in Egypt, and Mucianus persuaded his troops to join the cause. The last time the cities endeavoured to take sides in affairs of the empire was in the civil wars of the first century B.C., when, for example, the Antiochenes excluded Pompey and his allies as they fled from the battle of Pharsalus.²⁵⁵ This participation was de rigueur: as in the later civil wars the conflict was essentially external to the province, forced upon it from the outside. Indeed, the conflict was also initially represented to the Syrians as external in the revolt of Avidius Cassius, as having begun in Pannonia, but the revolt continued even when the truth was known, until Marcus himself approached.²⁵⁶ Its

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centre, as well as its actual origin, was in Syria.

Nor were the Syrians deterred by the outcome of their first essay into Roman politics. When war broke out between Niger and Severus,²⁵⁷ they once again voiced and supported their opinions, although this time it was the individual cities, rather than the province as a whole, which sought to influence the elevation of one or the other candidate. Aelia supported Niger, even to issuing his coinage,²⁵⁸ and so did Neapolis.²⁵⁹ Indeed there is some reason to think that active partisanship of Niger was widespread in Palestine. SHA Severus XIV.6 states that Severus revoked the punishment which had been imposed on the people of Palestine, apparently a reference to the preceding passage (XIV.5) which states that he deprived the citizens of Neapolis of all their civic rights because they had taken up arms in Niger's cause.²⁶⁰ He also forbade conversion to Judaism and Christianity (XVII.1), which Smallwood²⁶¹ sees as a rationalization of previous anti-circumcision legislation, but which may also be construed as a measure against groups which had supported, and possibly continued to support, the cause of his rival. That adherents remained even after the death of Niger is shown by SHA Severus XV.4: ca. 198, when he returned to Syria to prepare for an offensive against the Parthians, he pursued the remainder of Niger's partisans (Pescennianas reliquias... persequabatur). These are not localized, but another incident, taken in conjunction with this, may indicate Palestine as the centre of dissent: when Severus was forced to decline a Parthian triumph because of ill-health, he allowed Caracalla to celebrate one over Judaea, cui senatus Iudaicum triumphum decreverat, idcirco (sic) quod et in Syria res bene gestae fuerant a Severo (SHA Severus XVI.7); as Magie points out,²⁶² it is hardly likely that Caracalla personally won a victory, since he was only twelve years old at the time; nevertheless, some token justification must have been provided, and it is not impossible that it was arranged by putting the boy in the charge of some responsible person engaged in mopping-up operations, specifically in Judaea. Not all of Palestine fought for Niger, however. Samaria supported Severus, and was raised by him to the rank of colony.²⁶³ But in Syria proper, the luckless Antioch once again backed the loser.²⁶⁴

That Avidius Cassius, as a Syrian, should even aspire to such an elevation of itself marks a notable change. Previously, while there were exceptions, for the most part local dynasts like the later Herodians or

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C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, whose political office was more or less honorary, the Syrians in the empire still tended to be seen in the traditional menial or servile professions - artists, writers, actors, entertainers, travelling scholars such as rhetoricians, astrologers and philosophers and so forth. As pointed out in the previous chapter, even Syrians of the equestrian order are rare, and indeed one of the earliest equestrian officers known to Rostovtzeff is Hadrianic.^{264a} Avidius' father, Heliodorus, the rhetorician who rose to become prefect of Egypt, was the outstanding Syrian of his day in this respect.

Yet now, just as the province and cities achieved a new awareness of themselves as part of the Roman empire and began to participate in the affairs of the empire, so too individual Syrians entered into the life of the empire on all levels. Alföldy²⁶⁵ lists seven other Syrian consulars for this Period, although for two of these, T. Statilius Severus and L. Aemilius Carus, their Syrian origin rests upon their relationship or supposed relationship to the similarly named consuls of the previous Period, who were only tentatively imputed to Syrian families; a third, ...Sohaemus, cos. suff. prior to A.D. 162 and said to be an Ituraean, is obviously not free from the suspicion that his consulship was more or less honorary, a polite gesture towards the descendant of a local dynasty.

Avidius himself was a member of the senatorial order, cos. suff. between 161 and 168,²⁶⁶ and served with distinction in the army: according to SHA Verus VII.1 he was responsible, together with Statius Priscus and Martius Verus, for the success of the Parthian campaign; subsequently he was given command of all Asia²⁶⁷ and proved himself worthy of the appointment, suppressing the Egyptian revolt of A.D. 172-3.²⁶⁸

Then there was the corollary of Avidius Cassius, the man who refused the purple, Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus. Like Cassius, he was the son of an equestrian, this time from Antioch, who rose to the senatorial order, governing Lower Pannonia ca. A.D. 167, where he successfully countered the German invasion, and was cos. I suff. either before or soon after this appointment.²⁶⁹ In 169 he married the widow of Verus²⁷⁰ and became cos. II ord. in 173.²⁷¹ A man of great influence and unquestioned probity, it was he who secured the preferment of his schoolmate, Pertinax, and successfully rescued him from obscurity when he again lost favour;²⁷² he alone of the senators refused to attend Commodus' gladiatorial bouts;²⁷³

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he even survived the abortive attempt to assassinate Commodus by his son,²⁷⁴ and, on the death of that emperor, went to Pertinax, bewailing the fate of Commodus.²⁷⁵ Whereupon Pertinax invited him to become emperor, an honour he declined, quia iam imperatorem Pertinacem videbat. Didius Julianus, in an effort to secure calm and his own position, tried to recall Pompeianus from retirement on his Tarracina estates to become his colleague, when it became clear that Julianus would not be acceptable alone;²⁷⁶ Pompeianus once again prudently declined to share the purple, and doubtless his colleague's undoubted fate, on the grounds that his eye-sight was failing. On the validity of this polite excuse, Dio (Loeb) LXIV.3, at his best, comments:²⁷⁹

and it was at this time, under Pertinax, that I myself saw Pompeianus present in the senate for both the first and last time. For he had been wont to spend most of his time in the country because of Commodus, and very rarely came down to the City, alleging his age and an ailment of the eyes as an excuse; and he had never before, when I was present, entered the senate. Furthermore, after the reign of Pertinax he was once more ailing; whereas under this emperor he had both his sight and good health, and used to take part in the deliberations of the senate.

Nor does the Period lack an outstanding Syrian member of the equestrian order, one who also played a part in the history of the empire. L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Julianus, a praetorian prefect under Commodus, was a member of the Palmyrene aristocracy;²⁸⁰ he was honoured, at an earlier stage in his career, by a statue on a column bracket in the western portico of the Sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra, as prefect of the Ala Thracum Herculania.²⁸¹

Another prefect of this Ala, C. Vibius Celer, was later procurator of Arabia,²⁸² while a first century prefect of the same unit subsequently became "prefect of the River Euphrates".²⁸³ This unit, whose command seems to have been a regular stepping-stone to higher office, was the garrison of Palmyra itself in the mid-second century, at the time of Vehilius Gratus' command:²⁸⁴ its commander was, apparently ex officio, a Palmyrene senator.²⁸⁵

Furthermore, Starcky also argues for a local origin for at least one member of its lower ranks, a trooper, Vibius Apollinaris, whose sepulchral relief, sculpted at Palmyra, is preserved: he points out that the name Apollinaris should be a translation of the common Palmyrene

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theophor, Barnebo (from Nebô).²⁸⁶ It has already been suggested that the situation in Abila Lysaniae may indicate an increasing rapprochement between the military administration and the civilian population (supra, p. 239), and it may be that here is one of the reasons: the process of assimilation of army and local population, already attested as early as Period IV,²⁸⁷ had continued, and had now reached the stage where the local garrisons could be recruited from the local population, adumbrating the situation in the next Period where Dura was manned by the Twentieth Palmyrene cohort.

In any case, there is a rise in the number of known Syrians serving in the army. M. Septimius Magnus of Arados has already been mentioned (supra, pp.204-205) and it has already been suggested that L. Valerius Poblilia Firmus of Jerash may possibly have been a local who had previously served with distinction in the Roman army (supra, pp.204-205). P. Aelius Lucius, natione Surus, who served in the fleet at Misenum and was buried at Puteoli²⁸⁸ should belong to somewhere about this period, and a Palmyrene, twice centurion of Coh. III Thracum Syr., transferred to Coh. I Chalcidenorum on imperial orders and placed in charge of the Palmyrene archers, died in Numidia while holding this position at around this time, the presumption being that a numerus Palmyrenorum was serving in this province.²⁸⁹

It has been argued that the tardy entry of Syrians into the higher echelons of Roman government was in part attributable to a rooted and abiding Roman prejudice against Syrians per se; in a familiar vicious circle, Syrians were initially seen most frequently as slaves, or in lower class, albeit trained, professions; the concept of what a Syrian was was formulated accordingly, and they were therefore judged as fit only for these sorts of roles. This prejudice must therefore have abated during Period VI, although it did not entirely vanish, and is evinced again during the subsequent Period, in the form of a rationalization of the dislike felt for the later Severans such as Caracalla and Elagabalus. There is indeed some slight evidence to this effect.

Tertullian asserts the friendship of Aurelius towards the Christians,²⁹⁰ although this, of course, is likely to be tendentious if not fictitious. Dio, in his summary of Avidius' character (Loeb LXXII.22.2) states that he was a Syrian from Cyrrhus, who had shown himself an excellent

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man and the sort one would have wished to have as emperor, save for the fact that he was the son of Heliodorus, who secured the prefecture of Egypt as a reward for his rhetorical talents. In view of Dio's stated opinion of Caracalla's ancestry (Loeb LXXVIII.6.1^a) and of "the Syrians", i.e. the Severans (Loeb LXXIX.39.4) one would have expected the objection to be one of nationality, yet it is not: Dio's other characteristic prejudice, class distinction, in this case replaces it. Nor does he even mention the nationality of Pompeianus. SHA Marcus XX.6-7, which may or may not reflect the attitudes of sources contemporary with this Period, seems to assess Pompeianus in a similar manner, and with similar criteria. It states his nationality, and that he was not worthy of the marriage to Lucilla: grandaevio equitis Romani filio Claudio Pompeiano dedit genere Antiochensi nec satis nobili (quem postea bis consulem fecit), cum filia eius Augusta esset et Augustae filia. Although nec satis nobili follows genere Antiochensi, the concessive insertion quem postea bis consulem fecit, together with the specification of Lucilla's imperial status, suggest that the gravamen, once again, is not his nationality but his equestrian origin. Furthermore, it was between A.D. 176 and 180 that the new Sanctuary of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus and the Syrian Gods was built on the Janiculum by M. Antonius Gaionas, reconstructed over the first century sanctuary, using the same orientation; dedications to both Marcus and Commodus have been found.²⁹¹ While this represents no innovation, it at least demonstrates that the climate of opinion at Rome was favourable to the tolerance of the despised Syrian religions.

This remission of prejudice may have been a function of a better, more widespread knowledge of the province among the Romans of Italy and the empire, caused, on the one hand, by the appearance of more Syrians in roles other than that of slave or freedman, namely the troops serving abroad mentioned above, and on the other by the cumulative effect of the number of Romans of the upper echelon who had visited the province, starting with the First Revolt in the previous century. The effect of this had not yet been fully felt at the beginning of the previous Period, as the works of Tacitus show:²⁹² Syria for him was barely more than a police station, a place from which Ummidius Quadratus, or whoever the governor happened to be, could descend upon malefactors and dissidents in the neighbouring provinces, deal out swift and rough justice, and depart. Since Tacitus' noetic period, however, the Second Revolt and the journeys of Hadrian had brought more well-placed Romans to the area, and in the present Period

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Verus, Marcus and Commodus had all had reason to visit Syria, while both Pertinax and Severus seem to have seen service there in the earlier part of their careers,²⁹³ and Pertinax indeed governed Syria from A.D. 180 to 182.²⁹⁴

Certainly, in one way, Syria had become unpleasantly close to Rome. Whereas previously, with some exceptions, Syria had escaped the repercussions of the various political assassinations and reigns of terror at Rome, at least until they resulted in an empire-wide civil war, the arm of Commodus now stretched across the Mediterranean. Sextus Quintilius Condianus, who was living in Syria, learning that he had been condemned - his father at Rome had incurred Commodus' displeasure and been killed or forced to commit suicide - escaped by a ruse. He was, however, pursued, and a number of people resembling him were killed and their heads taken to Rome.²⁹⁵ Julius Alexander of Emesa earned a similar sentence, according to Cassius Dio for no better reason than that he had outshone Commodus by killing a lion while on horseback, though there may have been local political implications; assassins were sent to despatch him, he was overtaken as he was fleeing "to the barbarians" and killed himself and his companion.²⁹⁶

This is not to say that the prejudice had vanished entirely: there is also some slight evidence that it had not. The Lucian persona in The Fisherman, when asked his nationality by his judge, Philosophy, answers, but argues that it is irrelevant, and should not be held against him, an argument Philosophy concedes. Apparently Lucian still found it necessary to raise the issue in this unconventional apologia. The forged letter of Faustina in SHA Avidius Cassius X.2-4, if Magie is correct in his assertion that it was not forged by the author of the SHA,²⁹⁷ should date from some time between Aurelius and Diocletian, and, once again, may reflect either the prejudices of the author's own time, or those derived from a source of this Period. In it she appeals to Aurelius to protect the interests of his wife and children, (defenceless) since Commodus was so young, and "our son-in-law Pompeianus is an elderly man and a foreigner besides" (et senior est et peregrinus).²⁹⁸

Nor did Syrians cease to appear in their older less reputable roles: the cultural brain-drain continued. Verus, like L. Vitellius a century before, brought a troop of actors and entertainers back with him from Syria,²⁹⁹ quasi reges aliquos triumphum adduceret, sic histriones eduxit e Syria... adduxerat secum et fidicinas et tibicines et histriones

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scurrasque mimarios et praestigiatores et omnia mancipiorum genera, quorum Syria et Alexandria pascitur voluptate, prorsus ut videretur bellum non Parthicum sed histrionicum confecisse. Two were well-known enough to be singled out by name, Maximinus, whom Verus called Paris, and Agrippus Memphius, whom he kept, and nicknamed Apolaustus. It is unlikely that the name was interpreted by contemporaries as referring solely to his theatrical skills. In fact Apolaustus seems to have been a thoroughly unobjectionable sort of person,³⁰⁰ but the point, unfortunately, is irrelevant. The SHA's sarcasm serves to confirm, if confirmation were needed, the attitude of the Roman upper class, the people whose favour still to some extent regulated entry into the higher spheres of Roman government, towards such people; that Verus might indeed have achieved something of a coup, in terms of artistic talent, is unthinkable - it has no place in the prevailing system of values. These actors were the sort of Syrians frequently seen in Rome, and this was their context, slaves and freedmen debauched by their masters, the most degenerate sort of Greek. This can hardly have failed, even at this late date, to corroborate the existing image of a Syrian in Roman eyes, an image which in turn helped limit the vocational options of a man of Syrian birth. That Cassius Dio should separate "Syrian" from social standing in the case of Avidius Cassius, is, in the light of this, a distinct advance.

Then there were the writers, more respectable, but still déclassé when their occupation was a career rather than a dilettante gentleman's hobby. The novelist Iamblichus, a Greek writer of Syrian origin³⁰¹ - the popularity of the name at Palmyra needs no elaboration - belongs to this Period, while the career of Lucian of Samosata covers the preceding Period as well as this.

The work of Lucian provides an opportunity to make some assessment of one individual Roman Syrian of this Period, a close-up, as it were, just as that of Josephus allowed the same opportunity for the earlier age; though such an analysis is, if anything, more precarious in the case of Lucian since a feature of the genre to which he belongs, then as now, is the adoption of various authorial personae which may in fact have little to do with the real personality of the writer.³⁰²

Lucian's own career, insofar as it is known, is typical of that of a Syrian of the time, that is to say, little different from that of any

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other sort of provincial Roman of that age. Born at Samosata (probably one of the most Romanized towns in Commagene) either late in the reign of Trajan or early in that of Hadrian,³⁰³ he received a Classical education and, finding it to his liking, pursued it as his career, after first practising law for a time. As a writer, he travelled the empire, ultimately securing a position in the administration of Egypt,³⁰⁴ a cursus not too dissimilar to that of Avidius Heliodorus in the preceding Period if less politically illustrious.

The degree of Classical learning displayed by his works needs no expatiation.³⁰⁵ To what extent this was, as in the case of Josephus, merely a veneer, can only be assessed by an investigation of the underlying attitudes in his writings. The most apt example for such an investigation would seem to be the Dea Syria itself. It would seem a valid test case, since, as the author proclaims by way of presentation of credentials, he himself is a Syrian, and furthermore performed the customary 'rites of passage' in the Sanctuary of Hierapolis as a youth (Dea Syria 1 and 60) - the first statement is substantiated by other evidence, and there is no reason to doubt the second; as such, and treating a subject familiar to him as an integral part of the life of his childhood, it seems likely that here the mask of Classicism, if it is a mask, will slip, if it ever does, for the material itself is likely to induce him to fall back into old, familiar patterns of thought, by its own familiarity.

It should be pointed out at once, however, that this is not a straightforward task, since this piece is also written in persona. A.M. Harmon's comments, and translation into pseudo-Mandevillian English,³⁰⁶ serve as a timely warning that the 'author' of this traveller's tale is "Herodotus", despite the identifying references cited. In other words, Lucian is writing in the person of a Greek historian whose attitudes and preconceptions are those of a society external to his subject. Like Josephus, but for an entirely different reason, as a comic device, Lucian is erecting a facade, that of a historian of the Graeco-Roman tradition.

Yet the degree to which he succeeds is testimony to a far more profound degree of Romanization than Josephus managed to achieve. One of the most striking features of the work - and one, no doubt, responsible for its exclusion from the school, Penguin translation and suchlike editions - is the emphasis on the sexual aspects of the Syrian cults

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described, on what would, to the Romans as much as to their cultural descendants of today, be aberrant sexual behaviour. This is, to be sure, a rather precarious area of investigation: since we have inherited some of the same mores and taboos, it is easy to fall prey to anachronism; those mores, no less than the Latin words which have passed into English, have gradually evolved, changing in form and meaning, so that many apparent parallels are in fact not identical. As with words, there are cases where the difference is manifest, and others where the change is slight,³⁰⁷ the nuances making the situation all the more deceptive; for example, what the Roman attitude to the ithyphallic pillars of Dea Syria 16 and 28-9 would be, in view of the respectability of Priapus images, is something virtually impossible to assess. Nevertheless, out of a total of sixty sections, more than a quarter deal with subjects that would be offensive to normal Roman morality; 16-17, the story of Stratonice and her incestuous relationship with her step-son, and the passages on the eunuch priests, the Galli, which, viewed unsympathetically, deal with castration and transvestitism; 15, giving what purports to be the Phrygian mythological basis for the practice; 20-27, the story of Combabus as an alternative origin; a passing mention in 43 and then the contemporary Galli in 50 to 53.

It is difficult to gainsay Lucian on this point: since so much of our knowledge of Syrian cults of the time is derived from the Dea Syria (and much of that which is not, for example the stair-temple, high place, fire-altar syndrome, refers to the worship of masculine deities) it is technically possible that he is no more than accurate, and there is no over-emphasis in his account; the cults he describes, essentially fertility cults, may have been almost exclusively composed of such rites and myths. However, he himself mentions other aspects in passing, and alludes to things upon which he does not elaborate, such as the Sanctuary of Venus at Apheca (Dea Syria 9).

Harmon³⁰⁸ points out that this summary dismissal is a matter of technique: the sanctuary in question was famous, and the reader, eager to know more about it, is left with a section consisting of one brief sentence to the effect that it is there, Lucian saw it, and it was old. This audience manipulation is in the interest of the parody of Herodotus, noted for occasionally leaving his reader seething. However, this does not explain why Lucian chose to employ the technique in this instance rather than others; the same technique would have worked with the later section

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on the Galli; had the reader never heard of them before, he would by then have been thoroughly acquainted with the general character of the priesthood, and a tantalizing suppression of some of the later details would, if anything, have been more effective. It seems that the Galli are described so frequently, and at such length, for the very reason that their rites contravened one of the strongest Roman sexual taboos, their abhorrence of self-mutilation, one, furthermore, which was very much in force in the period in question.

Smallwood³⁰⁹ points out that castration and circumcision were confused in the minds of the Romans, so that Hadrian's edict against circumcision (as well as laws passed under Hadrian and Antoninus specifically forbidding castration) may possibly be read as intended to stamp out the practice. That the practice provoked the same reaction at the beginning of the third century can be seen by Cassius Dio's account of the behaviour of Elagabalus (e.g. Loeb LXXX.11; Loeb pp.456,460). It is noteworthy that Dio condemns not only the excesses which may have been the emperor's own invention, but totally refuses to accept the religious character of his proposed castration, though grudgingly and disgustedly accepting the sacerdotal requirement of circumcision. Nevertheless, he proceeds to relate the various incidents.

This is the sort of reaction which the Dea Syria would have elicited, and Lucian, well-educated and well-travelled, can hardly have expected otherwise. A writer who manipulates his readers and calculates their reaction as nicely as Lucian does in the case of the Apheca sanctuary does not commit solecisms of this order. Indeed the work depends for its effect on such a reaction of inseparable prurience and prudishness; it demands it, and relies upon it, no less than the Satyricon or, more covertly, the biographies of Suetonius. In short, my suggestion is that Lucian is deliberately writing pornography.

This is startling, to say the least. In any society, there is little that is more basic than sexual mores. Lucian, as a Syrian Greek, unaffected, according to those who deny Romanization in Syria, by the Roman occupation, should not be able to see the Syrian cults in this manner. As a disaffected follower he may, perhaps, see some of the more extreme manifestations such as the self-mutilation of the Galli as the height of superstitious folly, but the idea that they might be pornographic should

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simply not occur. For a Syrian, the nameless obscenities of the Syrian cults should be neither nameless nor obscene, but part of everyday life. And should the idea be suggested to him from the outside - and this, in itself, would represent Romanization - while he might realise it intellectually, it should be as much beyond his real comprehension as the idea that castration might be a legitimate religious practice is beyond Dio's. Yet the Dea Syria is so written as to postulate a reaction to Syrian religion exactly like that of the other provincial Roman, Cassius Dio, to the 'bizarre' behaviour of Elagabalus and his followers.

To be sure it may be a pose, part of Lucian's "Herodotus" character. Indeed there is evidence to suggest that it is: Lucian seldom employs sustained obscenity, and when he does wax bawdy, the jokes are not merely "dirty", but a natural outgrowth of his own peculiar brand of whimsy,³¹⁰ or necessary to the plot or the point of the satire, as in the abduction of Ganymede in Dialogues of the Gods. In the Dea Syria however, there is little of this whimsy in the sections in question. Furthermore, he demonstrates his ability to sustain the character of an outside observer in Anarchasis.

Yet it is one thing to stand back and play the part of the "outside observer" of one's own culture when that observer is a Scythian, or a Martian, equipped with a semi-mythical or totally fictional culture of his own which can conveniently take whatever form best suits the writer's purpose. It is quite another to assume, with protracted credibility, the role of a member of a real, fixed culture and comment on an aspect of one's own culture as basic as this, an aspect in which the culture of the persona is antithetical to the writer's. Furthermore, pornography depends for its shock effect on the existence of the taboos it breaks; a thorough and empathetic knowledge of those taboos is necessary for such a lengthy essay. To sustain such a pose so well requires a genuine assimilation of the standpoint and mores of the Classical world. If not a Roman in the purest sense of the word, Lucian was at least cosmopolitan, a citizen of the Roman empire in more than just the legal sense.

Not a Roman in the purest sense of the word to be sure, for the mask does indeed slip. In Dea Syria 12 Lucian purports to tell the story of Deucalion, and then proceeds to retail something which resembles a cross between Genesis and the Mesopotamian flood myth.³¹¹ Yet even this error is

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revealing, not, as in the case of Josephus' mistakes, of how brittle is the author's Classical façade, but rather of how much the importance of the distinction between Roman and native had dwindled. For Josephus it would have been an egregious blunder, a catastrophic mistake on a par with his external view of the Roman "constitution". For Lucian it is a casual slip which he could easily have avoided, had he taken the trouble to do so. Josephus, despite his undoubted literary merits, is no rival for Lucian when it comes to the professional skills of the wordsmith, and the use of the Ionic dialect for this work demonstrates that Lucian is writing with more than usual attention to detail. Had the issue of Roman as opposed to non-Roman (rather than Lucian as opposed to "Herodotus") been one of great importance to him, such a glaring error could hardly have occurred: it is a careless mistake, in the radical sense of the word as well as in the normal one. Whereas Josephus, less than a century before, pretended very hard to be a Roman, Lucian didn't really bother. The force of the distinction, if not the distinction itself, had virtually disappeared.

Thus the evidence from this Period, be it architectural, epigraphical, numismatic or literary, all points in the same direction, towards a provincial homogeneity derived from a fusion of Roman and Syrian, on the one hand, and on the other towards the erosion of the distinction between Roman and Syrian, between Romano-Syrian and the culture of the empire as a whole. This process would never be complete, but by the end of the following Period, would be so far advanced as to make the issue barely meaningful.

CHAPTER V.

Period VII. Septimius Severus to Caracalla. Syria Romana?

Regardless of what may have been happening elsewhere in the empire, the Severan age marked a high point in the history of Roman Syria. Just as Africa, and in particular Leptis Magna, benefited from the elevation of Severus, so too Julia Domna's native land profited from her good fortune, and her native city, Emesa, where her family were hereditary priest-kings, became a colony with ius Italicum and metropolis of Syria Phoenice.¹

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Severus himself spent a deal of time in the area at the beginning of his reign, campaigning against the supporters of Niger and Albinus, and against the Arabs, Adiabeni and Osroeni as well as the Parthians;² his own attitude towards the peoples of the area, understandably, was mixed. While towns which supported his claim such as Samaria enjoyed his favour, others, like Aelia, Neapolis and Antioch which had supported his rival, earned his displeasure;³ the latter in particular he deprived of many privileges⁴ including, apparently, its status as metropolis, which was restored by Caracalla.⁵ But his anger was apparently tempered, since, after the Parthian campaign of ca. 198, he invested his son with the toga virilis at Antioch, and while still there entered into a joint consulship with him.⁶ Neapolis lost all its civic rights,⁷ but these too were apparently restored, and within his own reign, according to SHA Severus XIV.6, which states that he revoked the penalties imposed on the peoples of Palestine, while SHA Severus XVII.1 adds that after entering into the consulship with Caracalla he conferred numerous rights on the people of Palestine on his way southward to Alexandria. He is also alleged to have been kindly disposed toward the Christians,⁸ and anecdotal evidence implies that a Jewish boy (or perhaps a Christian) was admitted as a playfellow for his elder son,⁹ while another story has it that the boy's nurse was a Christian.¹⁰ But if there is any truth in these anecdotes, they seem to reflect only his relations on a person-to-person basis: he legislated to forbid conversion to Judaism or Christianity on pain of severe penalties.¹¹

Their son, Caracalla, on the other hand, seems to have regarded Syria as his home. Half-Syrian by blood, and, if credence is to be placed on the above anecdotes, probably reared among Syrian attendants, including the playmate, whom he protected from the torments of his fellows, in addition to his natural association with his mother's family, he accompanied his father on his eastern campaign, triumphed over Judaea at the age of twelve (if the theory suggested in the previous chapter is correct, over the supporters of Niger), and received his toga virilis and entered into his first consulship at Antioch; all the circumstances combined to give him a special fondness for the province. During the later part of his reign he spent a considerable amount of time in the area,¹² with Julia Domna acting in his stead at Antioch during his Parthian campaign,¹³ which suggests that he had removed much of the administration to his Syrian base for that campaign.

Certainly the Syrians, particularly the army of Syria but also

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the people of the cities, regarded him as their own, as effusive dedications, both civilian and military, attest. For example, the acclamation from the road between Berytus and Byblus by Leg. III Gallica, now 'Antoniniana sua'¹⁴ CIL III No.207, reads,

INVICTE . IMP
ANTONINE.PIE.FELIX. AVG
MVLTIS.ANNIS . IMPERES

Fulsome and sycophantic as such dedications may seem, they were not entirely indiscriminating, or blindly partisan in favour of the local family: it was this same Third Gallica which revolted under Elagabalus, and was cashiered for its behaviour.¹⁵ The Syrians genuinely adored the two earliest Severi, Caracalla above all, and that their devotion was not entirely unearned is evident in the expansion of the building programmes and the general prosperity of the area in their reigns. Technically the first Syrian emperor was the lamentable Elagabalus; in all but birthplace¹⁶ it was in fact his reprehensible but slightly less lamentable¹⁷ second cousin.

If the overall activity pattern of the area during the timespan under discussion in this thesis is viewed as a pulsating current, then Periods II, V and VII represent the main surges. The pattern of Romanization perforce followed this activity pattern. As explained in Chapter III, such an increase in general activity, and particularly in the prosperity which gave rise to large scale public building schemes, in part allows the expression of Romanized tastes previously formed in the spheres affected, that is to say, allows a previous effect to become visible. In part, too, it crystallizes the effect taking place at the time, in that, by creating the circumstances engendering new buildings, sculptures and suchlike, it regulates their appearance, ensuring that they will be produced at this particular time and so subject to the factors tending towards Romanization then obtaining, the availability of models, the limitation of options, and so forth. And because of this it also helps to perpetuate both the process and the connection between the two patterns, by providing examples produced under these conditions to serve as models when the next upsurge in prosperity and creativity shall both permit and inspire the next upsurge in Romanization.

However, in the present case, the trifold role of the upturn in prosperity is curtailed by its very effectiveness in previous Periods.

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While both the mechanisms and the enabling conditions continued, and both superimposition and response is attested, it is debatable how much of the effect perceptible at this time represents the process of Romanization in progress, and how much of it is merely a matter of the Romanization which had previously occurred becoming discernible; even more than in the preceding Period, what is visible is the finished state, not the action which created that state. Both superimposition and response to a great extent take the form of reiteration, or at best reinforcement, of earlier instances of the same kind.

This is not to say that some importations are not perceptible: indeed, in this Period, there was an upsurge in the more purely Roman forms, not dissimilar to that in Period IV, and perhaps for not dissimilar reasons. Taken with the impact of the Emesan Julii, particularly Julia Domna, on Rome, and the consequent acceptance there of what had been Syrian, so that it, too, was now 'Roman' in the broader sense of the word, this means that Syria, during Period VII, must unquestionably be considered more Roman than at any other period in the timespan covered by the thesis. The doubts attach only to how much of this actually occurred during this Period and, in the case of the more purely Roman forms, how great and permanent was the impact they made, by comparison with the hybrid forms whose growth was less spectacular, but steady.

As stated, there was continuity in the process itself and in its effect. The mechanisms continued to operate, the enabling conditions were maintained or renewed, and the trend of effects attributable remained very much the same. Among the first, it should be noted that the resumption of hostilities with Parthia would once again have encouraged those towns apt to look across the Euphrates to turn westwards for inspiration. Among the second, apart from the upsurge in prosperity, the continuity of road-building and repairs, probably partially for military reasons, ensured the continuity of internal communications.

In Palestine, the road from Neapolis to Scythopolis (Beth-Shan) dates from the reign of Severus,¹⁸ and Avi-Yonah also cites a milestone of Caracalla from Dan, on the road from Tyre to Caesarea Philippi (Paneas).¹⁹ In Arabia, the road from Jerash to Adra'a received attention in the reigns of both Severus and Caracalla, for Bowersock mentions inscriptions naming the governors P. Aelius Severianus (A.D. 193/4) and Sex. Furnus Julianus

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(A.D. 213/4).²⁰ In Syria proper the main coastal road was also repaired: milestone II near Laodicea ad Mare is dedicated to Septimius Severus, DIVI COMMODI FRATRI - Severus styled himself in this manner, calling Marcus Aurelius his father and duly deifying his "brother"²¹ - while between Berytus and Byblus two inscriptions in a cutting through the rock, CIL III Nos. 206-7, previously mentioned, record that Caracalla (nominative case) averted the danger to the road of an impending landslip, caused by erosion to the mountain by the Nahr el-Kelb, per Leg. III Gallica; near Sidon, five granite milestones state that Septimius Severus and Caracalla repaired the roads and milestones per Q. Venidius Rufus, governor of Syria Phoenice - since his title is LEG. AVGG the inscriptions should date from 198 or later; two similar inscriptions, not actually milestones, were found just outside Sidon on the road to Tyre.²² Inland, on the road from Baalbek to Abila, an obelisk near the foot of the Libanus mountains bears a fragmentary inscription in the form of a dedication to Caracalla, stating that the roads and milestones were repaired by Col. Iulia Augusta... Hel., Baalbek, per D. Pius Cassius, governor of Syria Phoenice;²³ the date, from "TRIB POT XVI", should be A.D. 213. In the light of the inscription from the vicinity of Aelia of the previous Period, in which the gist of the message is repeated in Greek, it is worth noting that all these are in florid Latin.

Viewed in a different way, this evidence may also be classified as imperial superimpositions. In this same category are the creation of new colonies and 're-foundations'. This Period saw the elevation of more colonies in Syria than any other, seven, probably eight, in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla or immediately after in the reign of Elagabalus. Apart from Lucia Septimia Sebaste and Emesa, Tyre received this status, with ius Italicum, from Severus, while Laodicea became a metropolis;²⁴ Antioch was raised to the rank of colony by Caracalla, who also restored its rank as Metropolis, but without granting immunity from tribute;²⁵ Palmyra, attached to Syria Phoenice after the partition of the province by Severus,²⁶ received colonial status probably from Caracalla;²⁷ Jerash became Colonia Aurelia Antoniniana, and so was raised to this status by either Caracalla or Elagabalus;²⁸ Sidon was elevated by Elagabalus, but without ius Italicum or a draft of colonists.²⁹ According to Rostovtzeff, Dura Europos, now technically in Mesopotamia, also achieved the rank of colony under the Severi.³⁰ In addition, Baetogabra and Lydda in Palestine were 're-founded' by Severus under the names, respectively, of Eleutheropolis and Diospolis.³¹

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In only three cases is it likely that these colonies were colonies in the old sense of the term, with drafts of actual colonists drawn from army veterans: certainly in the case of Tyre, which was 'colonized' by veterans of Leg. III Gallica,³² and probably in the cases of Samaria and Dura.³³ The other changes in status were almost certainly purely honorary, whether ius Italicum was granted or not, not dissimilar in kind to Marcus Aurelius' elevation of the village of Halala, in the foothills of the Taurus, where his wife Faustina died,³⁴ a gesture, though in all probability a rather more meaningful one than that of Marcus. They represent the recognition of the previous growth of the town in question, and its increasing cultural compatibility with the rest of the empire, rather than the creation of new Roman towns with the stroke of a pen. So too the Constitutio, from one point of view, is a most blatant instance of superimposition - the people of the Empire were now Romans, because Caracalla created them Roman - but in Syria at least it is also a regularization of an existing situation, for a province which provided men for equestrian governorships, on three separate occasions in the previous Period came close to providing an emperor, and had indeed provided half of the present reigning house, was to most intents and purposes Roman, and in the sphere of politics equal in status to, and on the same footing as, Italy itself.

Also in the category of imperial imposition is the possibility of the establishment of a new fort in the general vicinity of Palmyrene, at Khan Kosseir. CIL III No.128, found in the ruins of a 'castrum Romanum' at this location, records a dedication to Septimius Severus by L. Calpurnius, p[ro]praetor of the province of Syria Coele, who HOC PROESIDIUM (sic) CONSTRVXIT/IN SECVRITATEM PVBLICAM/ET/SCAENITARVM ARABVM TERROREM. Mommsen considers this part of the inscription apocryphal, a later addition, accepting only the opening dedication to Severus, and L. Calpurnius (sic) as original, but there is evidence both in the subject matter, the mention of hostilities with the Scenite Arabs at this time, and in the text itself, the type of error made in the Latin, which supports the authenticity of the whole.³⁵ The real problem lies in the identity of the site to which the inscription should refer. Mommsen locates "Khan Kosseir" only as "4 leugis a Damasco Aleppum versus", and, depending on the exact distance and direction, this may well place it close to the site which Musil calls al-Ḳṣejr, which seems very likely to be how Mommsen's "Kosseir" would be rendered in Musil's system of transliteration; Musil states³⁶ that a lot of material from the Roman station of Ḥân al-'Ajjas was taken to al-Ḳṣejr, where it was used

to build the khan. The inscription, together with the other material which gave the impression of a Roman camp to the earlier travellers cited by Mommsen, may therefore have 'walked' from Hân al-'Ajjas.

In addition, there are hints in Cassius Dio that two of the type fossils of the milieu, amphitheatres and hippodromes, may have increased in number dramatically, if temporarily, in this Period through imperial agency. Dio (LXXVIII.9.7, Loeb Vol. IX, pp.296 ff.) makes the following assertions about Caracalla:

Moreover, we constructed amphitheatres and race-courses ("ἵπποδρόμους") wherever he spent the winter or expected to spend it, all without receiving any contribution from him; and they were all promptly demolished, the sole reason for their being built in the first place being, apparently, that we might become impoverished.

(Cary's translation). Given the amount of time Caracalla spent in Syria, if there is any truth in this story some of these structures should have been in the province.

The situation in the towns is again one of mixed response. One would expect the strongest evidence of the new prosperity in terms of Romanization would come from Emesa: there above all it is likely that this effect would receive some guidance from the imperial house in the direction of observation at least of outward Roman forms, so that Julia's town could hardly be considered other than Roman, an expectation increased by the elevation of the town to the rank of colony. In fact, however, there is little evidence from Emesa (modern Homs) for this Period, and such as there is displays a mixture of Romanizing and a-Roman characteristics.

It is hardly surprising that some of the positive evidence which does exist, a bronze bust,³⁸ incidentally testifies to the stature of Julia Domna. Even so, it comes not from Emesa itself, but from the Roman post at Salamieh, or Selimiyeh, ancient Salaminias, 44 km. to the northeast, and almost certainly in Emesene, and testifies only to Romanization by proxy, in the form of Hellenization. Hiesinger,³⁹ however, cites numerous specimens of fine metalwork from the area, including the first and second century A.D. portrait busts which share with the Julia Domna bust 'Eastern' features such as the tendency towards broadly rounded, shallow areas, and more linear detail, "qualities which seem more appropriate to work in gold and silver than bronze", and wishes to hypothesize a workshop at Emesa itself, to which the bust may be attributed; he questions only whether Emesa was capable of supporting a bronze workshop with the capacity for casting

life-sized statues - the bust was intended for insertion into such a statue. Given the antiquity and prominence of Emesa, particularly as a client-kingdom of Rome, there seems little real doubt on this point.

Despite its 'Eastern' features the bust is unmistakably Greek in style, the kind of Greek work which was prized the empire over. Hiesinger observes,⁴⁰

Wherever the sculptor of the Fogg head may have worked, he is, despite his decidedly native accent, representative on a high level of a class of artists whose work is clearly in the mainstream of the Graeco-Roman sculptural tradition of the Syrian coastal regions.

Again it seems a matter of the spread of the Graeco-Roman milieu of western Syria to a non-Greek city to the east, rather than the substitution of purely Roman forms for native, something consonant with the prevailing political situation, since Hiesinger⁴¹ dates the bust to the time of Severus' Parthian campaign of ca. 198. For the piece is certainly not 'purely Roman', as is evident by comparison with the later marble head of Julia from Tivoli, which Hiesinger illustrates.⁴² As he points out, some of the 'Eastern' qualities of the Syrian portrait have influenced this head, particularly in the treatment of the physiognomy, but there is an entirely different quality about the Roman piece which is difficult to define. Hiesinger essays the following:⁴³

Despite certain formal rigidities and generalizations the Fogg portrait [i.e. the Syrian bust in question], like the Dusenbery head, reveals a disposition in the sitter which is still fundamentally individual and humanistic in nature. What appear by contrast to be the later Roman versions (the head found at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli serves as an example, pl.18, figs. 12-13) are more abstracted. The statement of a self-contained being found in the Dusenbery and Fogg portraits is replaced by a sense of specific personality no longer masked by a condition of heightened spiritual excitement.

This seems somewhat self-contradictory. Insofar as it is possible to judge from the photographs, it is perhaps more a matter of sculptural stereotypes, in two different respects. Both portraits are idealized, the Roman that of an ideal empress, yet the Roman version is still more 'realistic' in that it shows a certain shrewd intelligence, a certain hardness, a grim determination - the famous will of iron - about the eyes, as well as the touches of spirituality and ethereal beauty of the Syrian bust. The Syrian piece is fundamentally Greek as opposed to Roman, the statue of an ideal woman, almost an ideal statue of a woman, lovely, warm, wistful, dreaming. She is neither intelligent nor unintelligent, hard nor yielding, for, pace Hiesinger, she has no real character of her own.

The other evidence for the Period is also somewhat doubtful in its reference, though it certainly pertains to Emesa, but it points, if not to a renewed borrowing from across the Euphrates, then at least to a continuation of previous borrowings from that area. Seyrig⁴⁴ quotes Herodian's description of Elagabalus as he performed the rites of the sun-god of Emesa (whose hereditary high-priest he was) at Rome, pointing out that his costume tallies with the Parthian pantaloons worn by the upper classes at Palmyra, implying, perhaps, that the same situation existed at Emesa. However, he also observes that while what he terms the intermediate region of Syria, between the coastal strip and the eastern area bordering the Euphrates, has produced many representations of gods wearing such pantaloons, no other instance of a mortal wearing this Iranian dress is known. He suggests that this may be due to the military origin of the costume, worn initially by warriors, and introduced into the Persian court only with the rise of the Arsacid dynasty; the gods, in their capacity as military deities, adopted this 'modern' military garb, just as they later adopted the Hellenistic corselet.

The reference therefore is to the sphere of religion rather than that of dress. Elagabalus wore Iranian dress in his capacity of officiating high-priest, and because, to a certain extent, he was the earthly manifestation of the god from whom his soubriquet derived, as for example his courting of a wife for the god, the goddess Urania from Carthage, shows.⁴⁵ While the image of the deity which was taken to Rome was 'aniconic', a betyl, apparently the chief god of Emesa tactlessly wore Parthian dress when represented in human form.

In fact it is Emesa's more easterly neighbour, Palmyra, which displays the signs one would have expected from Julia's city. Starcky remarks that this was the greatest period of prosperity the city saw, particularly after its elevation to the rank of colony in Caracalla's reign,⁴⁶ and the most obvious manifestation of this prosperity, in the expansion of the building programme, took the form of Roman type fossils, or established types of the Romano-Syrian milieu. The plateia, the 'Grand Colonnade', completed its eastward extension from the four-way monument to the triumphal arch of Severus Alexander,⁴⁷ dated A.D. 225,⁴⁸ encroaching on the Sanctuary of Nabô, as did the new residential quarter, which bordered it.⁴⁹ The theatre was surrounded by colonnades, and so aligned with the 'Grand Colonnade'; what Starcky sees jointly as "cette effort d'urbanisme" also found expression in the funerary temples of the necropolis, which now became the accepted form of mausoleum.⁵⁰

More certain in its Romanizing implications is another change in the realm of mortuary culture, what Colledge describes as "a truly illogical hybrid" - which would seem to imply that the cultural pressure to include the Roman element was so strong as to override all else. Possibly in the late second century, certainly in the early third, lidded stone sarcophagi begin to appear, patently deriving from Western models. However, in order to accomodate the established local tradition of funerary banquet reliefs, carved on vertical slabs intended to seal the ends of loculi, the lids were made in a reverse L-shape, the vertical relief slab set flush with the front of the sarcophagus, the shorter base extending back from it far enough to actually cover the corpse. Third century Palmyra also attests another notable hybrid, though not a Palmyrene one, in the sphere of house mosaics. Colledge points out that these mosaics were essentially 'Roman', with standard Greek mythological scenes with 'international' ornament and a general subscription to Hellenistic standards of female pulchritude. However, in the Cassiopeia mosaic, the personification of Spring in the spandrel carries a kid instead of fruit or vegetables, and is winged, something rare, but attested in Antioch. It seems likely that this fairly specialised need was catered for by a provincial school based on that city. The marginal effect on personal appearance also continued, with the male fashions in hairstyle changing with those of Rome, to the Severan style, with indications of Roman influence also in the rendition.^{50a}

More generally, too, the sculpture of the Period shows the unmistakable influence of the region to the west, and again a good example is a head, this time in limestone, which was exported elsewhere, in this case apparently to Carthage.⁵¹ The head was once part of a relief, like the funerary busts of Palmyra, and the subject is once again a young woman; it is dated by Howarth to between A.D. 200 and A.D. 225.⁵² There can be little dispute as to its ethnic origin; the chemical composition of the light grey limestone from which it was carved is almost identical to that of funerary busts excavated at Palmyra itself, so close as to suggest to the analyst that the material may have come from the same source;⁵³ Howarth notes that the subject wears a traditional Palmyrene turban, over which is draped a veil which falls to the shoulders, framing the face, in the manner of other such Palmyrene busts,⁵⁴ and throughout the article compares the details of the bust with various Palmyrene sculptures, in the process establishing the date. She points out that while there is no other evidence of Palmyrene sculpture specifically from Carthage, an African provenance is quite plausible in view of the presence of the Numerus Palmyrenorum, the auxiliaries of Leg. VI Fer.

drafted from Palmyra and Emesa, stationed on the Numidian frontier, in the Libyan Desert, from the second to the fourth centuries. These troops were accompanied by their families, the cantonment being centred at el-Kantara, as attested by discoveries of inscriptions in Latin and Palmyrene referring to their families and to the gods they worshipped, as well as by the architecture and even wall-paintings in the style of Palmyra, in addition to numerous Palmyrene sculptures.⁵⁵ The fact that, as she observes, most of these other sculptures are in local stone, does not seem a serious drawback; it would be hardly surprising if a wealthy member of the Palmyrene community, in the manner of later English colonists in America and Australia, chose to import an 'authentic' piece from the homeland rather than patronise the local Palmyrene craftsmen.

Nevertheless, she notes an unusual degree of Classicizing influence in the bust ascribed to Carthage. The head is not frontal, but turned slightly to the right,⁵⁶ the bandeau commonly worn across the forehead in such busts is also absent, and instead the hair, parted in the centre, recedes to either side of the face in soft waves, covering the ears:⁵⁷ though unusual, this is not entirely unique; the bandeau is also absent and the hairstyle identical in one of her major parallels, the Fitzwilliam relief, allegedly from Palmyra,⁵⁸ and although the bandeau is present the hairstyle is virtually identical in another relief from Palmyra, now in the Louvre.⁵⁹ She also points to the unusual degree of modelling and carving in the features such as the eyebrows, where incision is more normal in other Palmyrene busts,⁶⁰ and notes that, whereas attention to minute detail is the major interest in most Palmyrene funerary reliefs, in this head, while the details of patternization do create a pleasing effect, the main interest is in the rendering of the face, "a trait more in keeping with the classical tradition."⁶¹ She compares the head to a marble head of Livia from "Aquileia", which also recalls the more Classicizing of her Palmyrene examples, citing in the Roman piece,⁶²

the gentle, unstylized beauty of the face, the full, sensuous lips, the uncarved eyeball, the long, flat curls on the cheeks in front of the ears, and the absence of any bandeau across the forehead, which allows the hair to be seen. The hair is worn in the same style and bound with a turban on which rests a crown. Above this, covering Livia's head and shoulders, is a mantle which completes the startling likeness. Several details of Livia's face - especially the fleshiness of the cheek and mouth area and the plumpness of the chin - are also noticeably similar. The corners of the mouth seem to draw back also.

While the degree of Classicization in the bust assigned to Carthage is unusual, it is not unique at this time. Both of the parallels which

Howarth illustrates show similar signs, in the case of the Fitzwilliam head particularly in the treatment of the eyes, nose and lips, as well as in the general spirit of the piece; indeed, it seems if anything more Classicizing than the head from Carthage. The other bust illustrated,⁶³ the relief from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, is more Palmyrene in the treatment of the features and the general style of the work, but the head is turned to the left, and the drapery of the torso is very much in the 'wet drapery' style. It seems that the Palmyrene sculpture of around this Period generally showed this upsurge in western influence; for example, Starcky⁶⁴ notes that the reliefs from the exedra of Maqqai, in the Hypogeum of Aténaten, dating from A.D. 229, are perhaps the most successful from Palmyra from the point of view of Graeco-Roman art, pointing to the height of the reliefs and the suppleness and grace of the attitudes, though he excepts the composition. The pieces he illustrates bear this out, particularly by comparison with his earlier material: contrast, for example, the bust of Sadda (late first or early second century A.D.),⁶⁵ who is shown wearing Greek dress, while the piece is essentially Oriental, with the page from the exedra of Maqqai, who is depicted in Iranian dress but even to the rendition of the hair is essentially Graeco-Roman in conception.

The new script, influenced, according to Starcky, by Greek inscriptions, continued, and there is even some sign of the use of Latin spreading to the native population in a bilingual inscription found in the debris from the 'Temple of the Standards' in the 'Camp of Diocletian':⁶⁶

I.O.M.	VOTVM	AMATHALLAT	F	SABBITI	{approx. 10 letters}
OPTIEQ.....	ΔII	ΥΨICTω	{AMAΘA}	ΛΛAΘ	
CABBITI...					...}INOC

The equation of Jupiter Optimus Maximus with Zeus Hypsistos-Baalshamin is interesting in itself from the point of view of an aspect which I hope to deal with elsewhere, particularly since Gawlikowski states that it is the first Latin dedication to Zeus Hypsistos known from Palmyra, and the continuity of this 'westernized' aspect of the cult into the third century confirms its hold in Palmyra, but the major significance here is in the use of Latin by a civilian who, as Gawlikowski points out, bears a good Palmyrene name, coupled with the absence of the Palmyrene dialect. The apparent mechanism of dissemination, too, is one which is otherwise attested, but more frequently as a potential factor, without the concomitant effect: as Gawlikowski observes, Starcky's suggested expansion of OPTIEQ, which he accepts, opti(o) eq(uitum) of Coh. I Fl. Chalcidenorum, means that the dedicant's father was a soldier,⁶⁷ and the use of Latin was adopted by his

daughter who was apparently unenfranchised at the time of this inscription. Coh. I Fl. Chalcidenorum garrisoned Palmyra between A.D. 207 and at least 244;⁶⁸ the apparent lack of citizenship suggests a date before the Constitutio.

At least a potential instance of what has been termed the 'quasi-Ramsy' mechanism is also attested at Palmyra in this Period. An inscription dated to A.D. 200 takes the form of a dedication by the 'Senate and People' of Palmyra to Malchos son of Baréas son of Malichos son of Sêmanaios, who presided over the 'Senate' with 'integrity and distinction' and received the congratulations of Aetrios Severus, "the illustrious governor".⁶⁹ Here again is a Palmyrene notable who is not a citizen, but enjoys a personal association with a high Roman official: the subsequent dissemination and sponsorship of Romanizing forms in this case is a matter of a dedication to the Unnamed God (Baalshamin-Zeus Hypsistos).⁷⁰

Allied to this somewhat irregular situation is the Roman acceptance of essentially local institutions such as the position of strategos at Palmyra, first firmly attested in this Period, but probably a convenient formalization of an existing native military system, the use of synodiarchs, or 'protectors' to guard caravans against the depredations of bandits, evidenced by numerous inscriptions set up by the caravans in honour of these benefactors after the successful completion of a journey. An inscription of A.D. 199, dedicated by the Four Tribes of Palmyra, acknowledges the services of Ogîlô, who held multiple strategies against the nomads, and always ensured the safety of merchants and caravans, while an inscription from the preceding year honours the strategos Aelius Bôrrâ, son of T. Aelius Ogîlô (the latter tentatively identified by Starcky as the honorand of the first inscription) for having secured peace on the borders of the city's territory.⁷¹

Rostovtzeff⁷² identifies the strategos as an extraordinary appointee who took dictatorial powers in time of war, but Starcky⁷³ equates the strategos with the 'duumvir', one of the two chief magistrates of Palmyra elected annually, and called archontes in the Tariff. The mention of merchants and caravans in the later of the Severan inscriptions suggests that some of the functions of the synodiarch were absorbed into the official position of strategos; it may be that at this time the office was adapted or created to combine the functions of all three positions, and that, as Rostovtzeff intimates, the Romans had a hand in affairs, recognizing and partially guiding an informal position of local military chief towards becoming a regular office, and employing this man and whatever forces were at his command in the control of the nomadic Arabs, known from literary sources to have been troublesome at this time⁷⁴ (apart from the disputed Khan Kosseir inscription), as the Severan

dedications imply. Certainly it is noteworthy that one, if not both, of the strategoi named in these inscriptions were, in contrast to Malchos, Roman citizens, before the Constitutio produced its plethora of Julii Aurelii Septimii at Palmyra.⁷⁵ In support of such a contention is an inscription dated to A.D. 198, in which a strategos of Palmyra is named εἰρηνάρχος by one of the governors of the province of Syria;⁷⁶ the word εἰρηνάρχος strongly recalls the wording of the dedication to Bôrrâ at Palmyra, which, in Starcky's translation, honours him "pour avoir assuré la paix aux frontières de la cité"; Poidebard and Mouterde interpret εἰρηνάρχος as a kind of chief of police in the desert; it seems clear that at this time the major function of the strategos was to 'keep the peace' in the desert while Severus was campaigning to the East, in other words, securing his rear.

This is not Romanization, but rather the reverse, the acceptance and utilization by the Romans of native forms which were of service to them. Nevertheless, it is consistent with the overall picture in that it represents another aspect of the growing rapprochement between 'Roman' and 'Syrian'. There is, however, other evidence from Palmyra for this Period which does not in any way correlate with this fusion of the two cultures. Parthian dress, as well as Greek, was worn by the nobility of Palmyra to the last days of the city,⁷⁷ and while Palmyrene sculpture generally was affected by the art of the coastal area at this time, and some individual pieces were very Classicizing indeed, there was a limit to this influence on Palmyrene sculpture as a whole. Seyrig, commenting on the sculpture of the third century, notes the same tendency towards Classicization in an attempt to break up the stiffness of the figures as does Starcky, the easier attitudes and softer expressions, but qualifies this by pointing out that this change remains confined to the individual figures: the composition, the rows of nearly identical, almost entirely frontal figures, a style shared with Iranian art, remained the same. The examples cited by Starcky, therefore, are valid, as his plates demonstrate, but the act of taking them out of context to illustrate the point blurs the importance of the change in the perspective of Palmyrene sculpture as a whole. There was indeed a change, an important one by comparison with the previous Periods, but there was more continuity. The most important effect of the Romans in this sphere was to condition the choice of which types survived and which died out, by the 'reinforcement' of their own favour: Colledge observes that those art forms which survived were the ones inspired by, and probably imported from, the West.⁷⁸

Nevertheless, the overall picture of Palmyra at this time is one

of a marked degree of Romanization; Palmyra always retained her old traditions and forms, but this Period shows the greatest increase in additional new Romanizing forms since Period II, and, given the number of aspects of life which show such changes, great or small, surpasses even that Period with its dramatic impact on the architecture of the town. Furthermore, the changes attested at Palmyra now are more numerous and greater than in almost any other town in the area. This may be partially illusory, a function of the available evidence, since there is commensurately more evidence available from Palmyra than from almost any other town, and the main exception to this generalization, Samaria, is also an exception to the other, for if anything a higher degree of Romanization is evident there. In part, too, Palmyra may be something of a special case, in that the upsurge in Romanization may have been connected with the influx of foreign troops for Severus' eastern campaigns. But the fact that, despite the adoption of the name of Julius Aurelius Septimius by so many Palmyrenes after the general enfranchisement (that is to say, a combination of Julia Domna's family name with the official names of the Severi), there does not seem to have been any special connection between Palmyra and the members of either family, strongly suggests that the first explanation is closer to the truth, and the situation at Palmyra may validly be used as an indication of the situation in other major towns for which evidence either way is lacking.

Rostovtzeff saw the elevation of Palmyra to colonial status as part of a general scheme to increase the supply of useful and loyal soldiers, a theory which requires some qualification.⁷⁹ If there is any basis to the idea, one would expect an increase in Palmyrenes serving in the Roman army. There does not in fact appear to be any drastic increase, though the level of Palmyrenes serving as auxiliaries remains high: apart from the Numerus Palmyrenorum in Numidia, a Palmyrene unit was stationed in Algeria, and the Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort became the garrison of Dura under Caracalla or Alexander Severus;⁸⁰ it is possible that Sabbitus, father of Amathallat, despite his name, was a local man.

One possibility, but only that, within the Syrian lands, would be Rabilius Beliabus, a tubicen of Leg. IV Scyth., mentioned in an inscription from Enesh, which cannot be dated closely, but seems likely to belong to Period V (under which brief mention has already been made) or to this Period.⁸¹ The name Beliabus, as pointed out previously, is a theophor of Bel, chief god of Palmyra, and is listed by Stark as a Palmyrene personal name; however, it is also known outside Palmyra, and Rabil(ius/us) is the Latinized form of the name of two well-known Nabataean kings, that is to

say, Arabic in origin like many Palmyrene names; it cannot therefore be regarded as diagnostic enough for certainty.

Whoever Beliabus may have been, and whenever he lived, this inscription, too, is another rare instance of a mechanism, assimilation of Roman ways by service in the army alongside soldiers from elsewhere in the empire, attested together with its effect. Beliabus certainly came from somewhere in this area, and of the other two dedicants, Julius Aretinus and Julius Severus, it seems likely that the former was not of Syrian origin. Apart from the use of (not altogether orthodox) Latin, the dedication, i.o.m. siluano/conseruatori/soli deuino suggests at least a nominally syncretized, though probably basically local, deity, for Parker⁸² states that Silvanus was of Italian origin: at least to this extent the Syrian recruit learned to observe the customs of his fellow-soldiers.

Commagene has produced other Latin inscriptions which are securely dated to this Period, which confirms that matters in the north in regard to the effect of the new dynasty were very much the same as in Syria proper. One, ILS 5899, belonging to the time when both Severus and Caracalla were Augusti and Geta Caesar (A.D. 198-209), records the restoration of a bridge over the river Bölam-Su near Kiachtim, close to the border between Commagene and Cappadocia, by these rulers "sub" the governor Alfenius Senecio, with Marius Perpetuus, who was apparently both leg. Augg. and legate of Leg. XVI F.F., acting in his stead (curante). Another from the same general area (ILS 7204), from a column, bears the name and titles of Severus (Arabicus, Parthicus) in the accusative case, and should therefore refer to a statue placed on the column, that is to say the whole forms an honorific column. The dedication is by the quattuor civitates Com{m}ag., which Dessau rightly interprets as the four city territories into which the sub-province was divided, Samosata, Caesarea Germanica, Perrhe and Doliche. He also mentions similar dedications to Caracalla and Julia Domna at the same location, hypothesizing that there was once a fourth, to Geta.

At Dura Europos the transformation of the site into a Roman fort was still in progress.⁸³ It is impossible to date the material closely enough to arrange a rigid division between the previous Period, this Period, and the remainder of the Roman occupation until its capture by Shapur, but the overall effect of the occupation, despite the few elements of continuity, seems beyond doubt; the only question is whether it is in fact too excessive to be considered meaningful Romanization - the place may have been Romanized, but was there a remaining indigenous population to be Romanized, or was it replaced along with its artifacts? In fact, the nature of some of

the buildings, as interpreted by modern scholars, does suggest a civilian population, the synagogue, for example, and the Christian Church,⁸⁴ and the newly built baths and 'theatre' behind the temple of Artemis, which, if Rostovtzeff, arguing from the inscriptions found, is correct, served as a bouleuterion.⁸⁵ This building is an interesting one, and if Rostovtzeff is right as to its function, Romanization can be substantiated in regard to it. Though more or less circular, it really bears little resemblance to a theatre of the usual variety; there is some slight similarity to the Bouleuterion in the Athenian Agora, though the restoration of this building is uncertain,⁸⁶ but it contrasts sharply with the remains of the bouleuterion from Knidos,⁸⁷ which suggests that the 'normal' Greek, as opposed to Roman, bouleuterion in this part of the world, if such there was, consisted simply of a stageless theatre with an orchestra with a curve of less than half a circle. The best comparison comes from Roman Corinth, the horseshoe shaped "Curia", which has no apparent predecessor in the Hellenistic levels.⁸⁸

In the absence of Syrian sites where both Roman and Hellenistic levels are satisfactorily known, Corinth, used with discretion, seems to provide one of the best guides to the distinction between Greek and Roman. Here there was an even stronger Greek substratum than in the suspect sites in Syria, and any distinction between Greek and Roman clear and indisputable; the destruction of the city and the break in occupation gives the stratigraphical picture a sharp definition, and consequently elucidates the cultural issues in a way that sites like Antioch (where it is a matter of culturally transitional levels of arguable date, the date depending upon presuppositions as to the distinction between Greek and Roman rather than vice versa) cannot. Furthermore, since Roman Corinth is earlier than most of Roman Syria - the colony was founded in 44 B.C. - it seems likely that dubious Hellenistic forms which occur first here, then in Syria, can be construed as "Roman" in the latter case. The Romans, if they did not invent the form in question themselves, must have adopted it from some third Hellenistic source such as Southern Italy; the timespan makes it most unlikely that they could have taken it from Syria, assimilated it, then re-exported it to mainland Greece. While there is still the possibility that the type in question might have originated in Syria during the break in occupation at Corinth, and been adopted by the Romans before their official acquisition of the former, it is somewhat reduced by the fact that the break at Corinth coincided with some of the worst political turmoil in Syria, the least likely period for such innovations to develop. Under these circumstances, there seems little doubt that the 'bouleuterion' of Dura should be considered as a Roman type.

But this does not answer the question of for whose use it was intended: It is impossible to know what proportion of this 'civilian' population was previous inhabitants, what veterans and their families or the families of serving soldiers, and what people from previously Romanized areas elsewhere in the region, who were attracted to the town by the presence of the garrison. On the one hand, Ward-Perkins points out that both the Christian church and the synagogue were created by the adaptation of the architecture of existing houses: the act of adaptation itself suggests that those responsible were new settlers, and the fact that the synagogue was provided with a separate chamber connected to the main House of Assembly, interpreted as a women's area, suggests that at least the Jewish settlers brought their families with them. But it is disconcerting that this "women's room" was apparently abolished in the reconstruction dated A.D. 244/5, and the issue confused by the fact that ethnic affiliations of the architecture of these buildings, as indeed of all places of worship constructed in the Roman period, have recently been challenged. On the other hand Perkins has adduced evidence for at least some continuity of the Iranian population and of what may be seen as the "Romanization" of same, the use of additional Classical forms beyond those which may have survived from Graeco-Iranian culture. She notes the appearance of four types of plaster cornice, all compatible with the current Roman stone versions, and all, plausibly, of local manufacture, since one contains a text with a common Durene formula asking that Orthonobazos son of Goras be remembered. The name Orthonobazos is Iranian; this text therefore indicates the existence of a local manufacturer, to whom all four types may most easily be attributed. Many of the motifs used in these cornices, such as the rinceau, egg-and-dart, dentils and maeander may have derived from the Hellenistic past, though equally current in the Roman period, but the combination of motifs in the cornice with the text, centaur, peacocks drinking from vases, reclining figures, horsemen charging lions, Victories, Erotes, shells, animals and musical instruments, suggests a hodge-podge of all the commonest Roman period figurative motifs and seems to vindicate Perkins' interpretation.⁸⁹

As the proportions of immigrant and pre-Roman local inhabitants cannot be properly assessed, neither, by definition, can the degree of Romanization of this sector of the community. On the whole, its presence can only be detected by a departure from the norm for the site, and since the norm is the stern Romanism of the camp, this means that it only becomes visible when behaving in a non-Roman fashion. This situation is reinforced by the accretion principle, for where doubt as to the ascription of any

Romanizing material from Dura exists, it must stochastically, in view of the strong Romanizing elements in the camp, such as the praetorium with its monumental entrance in the form of a tetrapylon (which Rostovtzeff compares to "scores of such buildings" "along the British, the German, the Danubian, the Arabian and African 'limes',"⁹⁰) be attributed to the soldiers, whether they be local recruits or immigrants.

So it is that the doubtfully attested imperial cult⁹¹ must be considered as the preserve of the garrison, the superficial Classicization of the 'Temple of the Palmyrene Gods' by the addition of a porch, dated to some time in the third century,⁹² must be deemed the responsibility of the garrison or their families, given the predominance of soldiers attested among the worshippers in the Roman period, and the rare cremation burials⁹³ similarly assumed to be those of immigrant soldiers. If such evidence could be tied more precisely to individuals, particularly the last, then it might in fact be seen to represent an increase in Romanization, given the large local component in the garrison: for example if the cremations were those of members of the Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort, then given that the conventional form of burial at Palmyra was interment, this would be of considerable significance, implying that the Palmyrene soldiers in that unit had learned the customs of their comrades in the regular army. However, this is not the case; the cremation burials are, understandably, taken to be those of immigrant legionaries. Failing a way of assessing the impact on the indigenous population of Dura, or on the locally born members of the garrison, the most significant piece of evidence, because of its broader implications for the process of dissemination in the area as a whole, is the case of the Palmyrene merchant who seemingly introduced the worship of Nemesis into the town with a dedication dated to A.D. 228, discussed in my previous work.⁹⁴

At Damascus there is no serious question of an influx of immigrants amounting to an effective replacement of the population: it did not even become a colony, with or without settlers, until the reign of Philip the Arab.⁹⁵ But by the same token, the datable evidence is sparse in the extreme, the major item being the triple-arched East city gate, of identical proportions to the contemporary arch at Aelia.⁹⁶

To the west, Antioch displays continuity in its taste for pottery, with Middle Roman wares and local moulded bowls, less frequent now, persisting, but again it was subject to a renewed influx of second-hand Romanization, with the effective introduction of Late Roman wares.⁹⁷

This fresh influx of the types of the empire was inevitable. The distribution of this pottery was effectively empire-wide.⁹⁸ At some time, for whatever reason, Antioch was bound to import pottery, even if it was a matter of a continuation of the level of importation in Waagé's Middle Roman period. This being the case, the change from Middle Roman to the newer style was inescapable, since, insofar as the sources of supply to Antioch were concerned, not other options were available. Yet it may not have been entirely a matter of faute de mieux at Antioch; an element of voluntary acceptance and genuine preference is attested in what may be imitative response, for Waagé⁹⁹ cites a class of pottery which is imitation Late B, possibly a local imitation; even if it is not of local manufacture, it seems to indicate the seeking out of a 'reasonable facsimile' when for some reason additional supplies were required.

It is possible that Antioch might not have shared initially in the prosperity of the Period, labouring as it was under the disapproval of Septimius Severus, but the city was completely 'forgiven' at least by the reign of Caracalla, and probably even comparatively early in the reign of Severus himself. In addition to his choice of Antioch as the city in which Caracalla received the toga virilis and entered, with Severus, into his first consulship, it is possible that Severus presented the city with new baths (in terms of this thesis, an imperial superimposition of Roman type): Lassus¹⁰⁰ cites Evagrius' account of an earthquake in A.D. 458, which states that while the colonnades escaped unharmed, the baths of Trajan, of Severus and of Hadrian suffered some slight damage; it is possible that "Severus" is one of the later rulers of this dynasty, but more likely that the name is applied, in ancient as in modern writers, to the original eponym.

From Apamea comes a Latin inscription, the tombstone of a soldier of Leg. II Parthica, which may belong to this Period, though a later date is certainly possible:¹⁰⁶ it takes the form of an unusually correct dedication to the shades and to Septimius Zeno//stratus, who lived for fifty-four years and served for twenty-two, by his heir, Fl. Iulius Maximus Mucianus, who appears to have been some sort of legate, possibly of this legion, and who, again with punctilious propriety, "erected the monument to one who well deserved it" (B.M.P.); from the names, it is possible that both the deceased and his heir were of local origin.¹⁰⁷ From Arados comes a singular instance both of official complaisance in the matter of the imperial cult, and of the active willingness to comply with the desires of the new dynasty among the towns as well as individuals, for IGLS. 4006 reads,¹⁰⁸ θ{ε}δν / Κόμμοδον/ή πόλις.

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From Berytus, and adjacent Beit-Mîri and Deir-el-Kal'a, there are three Latin dedications on behalf of the welfare of members of the imperial family, all by private individuals, and all, apparently, connected with the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Balmarcodia. In a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Deir-el-Kal'a (CIL III, No.158), Mummeius Ingenuus couples the welfare of Septimius Severus with that of himself, his brother and his children; from Beit-Mîri, a private dedication¹⁰⁹ records the erection of an aedicula and a statue, to, or on behalf of, the welfare of, an emperor of whose name only pertINACI is preserved, and who may therefore be Pertinax, but is more likely to be L. Septimius Severus Pertinax. The most significant, perhaps, is CIL III No.154:¹¹⁰

pro salute imp caes
l .septimi severi
pii PERTinaciS . AVG
araBICI.ADIABENICI.P.PET
5 m. AVRELI. ANTONINI CAES
fILI.EIVS.ET.IVLIAE.DOMNAE
aVG. MATRIS. CASTRORVM
LIBERORVMQVE . ET. TOTIVS
DOMVS. DIVINAE .EIVS

10 SACRVM GENIO POPVLI
SENTIA.MAGNIA. SAE
PHARE . FLAMInICA

corona et folia

Sentia Magnia Saephare is, like Amathalat of Palmyra, certainly not a soldier or Roman civil official, and so her inscription should probably be regarded as an instance of the use of Latin by ordinary citizens of the colony, if not by 'natives', although Flaminica, if it is not a cognomen, should indicate that she was the wife of a flamen, possibly an imperial priest, and so perhaps in some sense acting 'ex officio'. In the first case the inscription would be indicative of the increased attestation of Latin in this Period, in the second, of the hold of the imperial cult.

The theatre at Byblos may also be assigned to this Period, although either an earlier or a later date is possible. Frézouls¹¹¹ mentions third century coins found in the substructure of the cavea, and states that the style of the mosaic in the centre of the orchestra confirms this date, but qualifies this by pointing out that the construction of the wall of the pulpitum suggests that the material was re-used; he infers that the extant structure is not as old as the third century and probably represents the

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latest phase of an older building. It seems that at least a major reconstruction if not the original construction should belong around this time.

As already adumbrated, at Baalbek the focus of attention shifted back to the Heliopolitanum proper at this time, with the Propylaea, representing the easternmost realization of the fundamental linear scheme, finished, or in the later stages of construction, in the reign of Caracalla.¹¹² Certainly there seems to have been renewed interest in the colony at this time, for it is in this Period that the local coinage first makes its appearance,¹¹³ and it is possible that it was Severus who first granted it ius Italicum.¹¹⁴ The remaining elements in the Heliopolitanum cannot be dated with exactitude, save that the hexagonal forecourt belongs principally to the reign of Philip the Arab,¹¹⁵ but it seems at least feasible that the ceremonial water-tanks of the Altar Court, which presumably fulfilled a function similar to those in the Sanctuaries of Bel at Palmyra¹¹⁶ and Artemis at Jerash,¹¹⁷ that is to say, some sort of ritual purification like that of the Jewish mikvehs,¹¹⁸ may belong to this Period. Such a date would be consistent with the style of the sculptural decoration,¹¹⁹ though in many respects it seems virtually unique. It is also consonant with Wiegand's observation¹²⁰ that the decorative scheme as a whole, with its series of plane projections and apsidal recesses around the exterior of both basins, is comparable to that of the proscenia of Roman theatres, for this Period sees the construction of at least two theatres with perhaps three others constructed or reconstructed, in the Syrian provinces, though the point is hardly conclusive in respect to chronology. It does, however, serve to underscore the continuing mixture of ethnic elements at the site, for the same scheme, with its interplay of curvilinear and rectilinear, again takes up the aesthetic theme which is a virtual hall mark of Baalbek, whatever its ultimate origin, while the baroque 'fountain-house' situated in the middle of the northern pool¹²¹ reiterates the strong Hellenistic element in the mixture.

Another major feature of the Altar Court which can be tentatively assigned to this Period is the honorific column to the south of the Great Altar.¹²² What remains is the broken base of an isolated column which bears a Greek dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, by Apollonios, ὁ καὶ Apollinarios, son of Segna, of Arados, together with his children, who vowed the statue on the instructions of an oracle. Rey-Coquais notes that the man is a peregrine; that his town is Arados suggests that the

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date should be before the Constitutio, since any free Aradian should have received the franchise at that time. By the same token, the use of Greek in such a prominent part of the sanctuary suggests a fairly late date, while if Rey-Coquais is correct in hypothesizing that there would have been two such columns flanking the altar, on analogy with an old Eastern tradition - he cites a coin of Sidon - then the column or columns must have been orientated by, and therefore later than, the Altar, which was still in the process of decoration in the Flavian period¹²³

There can be little doubt that the monument in question was a column like those of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius, although, in this case, the statue was probably that of the god, as in the Jupiter Columns of western Europe. The main emphasis of the dedication was, quite clearly, on the statue, and a substantial statue on a bracket on a free-standing column is not a viable proposition; the statue must have surmounted the column. While uncertainty attaches to the significance of the older honorific column from the town of Baalbek, because of the doubt as to the origin of the type, by this time it is certainly both a Roman form and a type fossil of the Romano-Syrian milieu. The dedicant himself, a local non-citizen, the son of one Segna, who bears the Greek name Apollonios but adds the Latinizing form Apollinarios, appears to be a man in the process of being Romanized. One would dearly like to know which oracle gave precisely what instructions.

Nevertheless, the use of Greek rather than Latin in so prominent a part of the sanctuary, in one of the two senior colonies of the province, of which the official language was Latin, in this peak period of Latin usage, is a harbinger of the decline of Latin and the triumph of Greek.¹²⁴ Another such pointer, firmly dated to this Period, is the Greek dedication IGLS VI No.2744, on behalf of the health and victory of Caracalla, Geta, Julia Domna and their household, by Antonios Silvanos, a veteran and ex-beneficiarius, in accordance with a vow and as a favour to his wife and family. It seems likely that Antonios was a local recruit - he may even have acquired the cognomen Silvanos from service with Leg. IV Scyth. at Enesh, where the worship of Silvanos is so prominent - but unlike previously mentioned local recruits, so far from helping to disseminate the Latin language through his own inscriptions and those of his family, he himself reverted to Greek upon discharge, even in the colony of Julia Augusta Felix Heliopolis.

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To judge from his name, the dedicant of the inscriptions which furnish the date for the Propylaea¹²⁵ may also have been a local man, and he was certainly a soldier. Aurelius Antiochinus, a centurion, possibly of Leg. VI Fer., certainly of a legion which bore the title Antoniniana, either dedicated the gilt bronze capitals of two columns, or illuminated existing bronze capitals - the meaning is uncertain. The dedication, "EX . VOTO . L.A.S.", is to the Heliopolitan gods, "PRO . SALVTe . et. VICTORIIS . D .N. ANTONINI . PII. FEL . AVG. ET . IVLIAE . AVG . MATRIS . D.N. CASTR. SENAT. PATR.". If indeed his legion was the Sixth, it is possible that the Antiochus of Leg. VI from Antioch in IGLS No.813 was his father. At least Antiochinus wrote Latin, though it should be noted that the Latin was far from immaculate.¹²⁶ The opulence of the dedication confirms that the prosperity of the Period was shared by Baalbek, too.

Seyrig¹²⁷ states that to judge from the issues of local mints, the cities of the Decapolis enjoyed "une prospérité particulière" under the Antonines and Severans; in fact the earliest coin he cites in this regard dates from the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and this wave of prosperity can be seen as part of the general economic upturn in the area as a whole. The coins, which show a new awareness by the cities of themselves as part of the Roman empire, have been discussed in the previous chapter; the buildings they depict, the stair temples at Capitolias and Abila, the stairless temple to Gad-Tyche at Capitolias, continue to be represented on the coins of this Period. A possible addition is the shrine of Gad-Tyche at Capitolias shown on the coins issued under Macrinus, which may be read as a small round temple rather than an aedicular;¹²⁸ in this connection it is instructive to remember that the round 'Temple of Venus' at Baalbek is generally dated to some time in the third century.

Other kinds of evidence, however, confirm the continuing prosperity of the area under the Severans, which gave fresh impetus to the spread of the Romano-Syrian milieu. At Scythopolis (Beth-Shan), a somewhat unorthodox, but still essentially Roman, theatre was constructed at this time,¹²⁹ and Waage¹³⁰ notes the occurrence of his Late B pottery shape 833. At Shaqqa the large public building known as the 'Palace', dated to the late second century, employed the same sort of concrete vaulting, based on light volcanic rock, as is found in the Nymphaeum at Jerash, in its entrance hall.¹³¹ The popularity of the dynasty which promoted this prosperity, if it did not give direction to the manifestations it took, here as elsewhere,

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is demonstrated by the dedications from Jerash and Canatha already cited. The persistence of the mutually acceptable forms is indicated by the continued use of the mausoleum on Jebel Jofeh, near Amman.¹³²

In this context, the paucity of remains dated to the Period at Jerash is surprising. The situation is obscured by the excavators' preconception that the Severan period was one of decline, and consequent ascription of the architectural remains on the general premise that, "if its bad, it's Severan", together with the corollary, "if it's good, it must be earlier", although even Kraeling feels constrained to remark, with the almost apologetic air of one stating and explaining the extraordinary, that, "In the age of the Severi the indications of a decline in Gerasa's fortunes are not yet pronounced," and, "In spite of their monarchic absolutism and the manifest unfitness of some of their number, the Severi did claim and apparently had some justification for claiming to carry on the traditions of the Antonines."¹³³ Nevertheless, the only "major" building projects he assigns to the Period are the East Baths, for which the upper limit, from epigraphic evidence, is the third century, and the 'Hippodrome',¹³⁴ the latter being attributed instead to Period IV in this thesis.

The East Baths were unexcavated at the time Gerasa was published. They are described as "massive" by Kraeling, and Fisher¹³⁵ states that portions of four great chambers are visible, the largest 13 m. wide and 27 m. long, with walls 5 m. thick; to the south is a smaller room 9.5 m. wide by at least 18 m.; west of these two chambers are two additional rooms, one with heavy piers, two of which are joined by an arch. He notes that the baths have suffered from pillaging, and that considerably less remained at the time of writing than when the photograph published in Gerasa was taken. Insofar as it is possible to judge from the description and from the photograph and plan supplied,¹³⁶ the construction was masonry rather than concrete, but in other respects the baths are typical of the great Roman thermae elsewhere in the Empire.

The other two "minor" undertakings which Kraeling allows to this Period are the small 'Festival Theatre' at the Birketein and the development of the northern 'decumanus', specifically the interpolation of a colonnade between the street and the scaena of the North Theatre, and the erection of the North Tetrapylon at the intersection of the 'decumanus' and 'cardo'. Almost in an aside he mentions that the southern 'decumanus' was

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re-graded from the 'cardo' to the river,¹³⁷ and that the temple west of the Church of St. Theodore had already fallen into decay and a house had been built in its precincts, while the adjacent house, House VII, fronting on to the street running southward from the Temple of Artemis, produced numerous coins of Alexander Severus; he adds in a footnote that another house east of the river Chrysorrhoas where a notable mosaic was found should also be assigned to this Period.

House VII,¹³⁸ a corner house, was only partially excavated, and its overall plan is unknown. Portions of three rooms had been recovered at the time of publication, and Fisher comments on the regularity of their plan and the excellence of their construction; built of stone rather than concrete, the masonry was laid in regular courses to the foundations on bedrock; the rooms were vaulted, and towards the middle of the building arranged in two storeys. From the scant remains one can only say, as so often, that while there is nothing specifically Roman about them, they were consonant with the Graeco-Roman milieu.

The 'Festival Theatre' is dated roughly by the column of the adjacent portico inscribed in honour of Geta, and by the podium inscriptions in the theatre itself,¹³⁹ to the end of the second century. While it was once suggested that it lacked a scaenae frons so that whatever ceremonies were conducted in the pool behind the stage could be seen over the top of the stage by the spectators in the theatre, McCown¹⁴⁰ has disposed of this theory by pointing out that even if there were no scaenae frons the pool could still not be seen because of the difference in orientation between the two structures; indeed the foundations of what he identifies as the scaenae frons were found in the excavation. His study of the building and the comparisons he cites¹⁴¹ have shown, in fact, that, allowing for modifications and the omission of some features, due to the topography and the small size of the building (the orchestra was only 12 m. in diameter), not unparalleled elsewhere, it too may be considered within the range of the norm for Roman theatres.

The North Tetrapylon was unexcavated at the time of the publication of Gerasa, and there seems some doubt as to the original date of its construction. The small site guidebook, published subsequently, confirms its existence in the Severan age and states that it consisted of four piers joined by arches, and the whole surmounted by a dome, in other words,

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somewhat less bizarre, and certainly more Roman in its repertoire of elements than the South Tetrapylon. If not originally constructed at this time, it certainly underwent a remodelling, for the sculptural decoration illustrated confirms the date; the horseheads are striking in their similarity to horseheads of Severan date from elsewhere in the Roman empire, an indication that at Jerash too the influence of Rome had penetrated the sphere of sculpture by this time.¹⁴²

Of the Latin inscriptions, the ten dated only to the second or third century, previously referred to,¹⁴³ like CIL III No.6034, equally loosely dated and found outside the city, are almost all the work of official Roman personnel or their dependants or associates, although they do at least demonstrate the existence of Latin speaking families in the town and the use of Latin by these people in an unofficial context, for example the funerary inscriptions Gerasa Inscr. 210-218. There is one of more interest, that of a child (Inscr. 215), whose father's name was Hermes and whose brother's name was Geminius, which suggests a recently enfranchised local family in the process of Romanization.

Save for three milestones from near the town, referring to the work of Aelius Severianus Maximus, governor of Arabia under Severus,¹⁴⁴ no Latin inscriptions are in fact datable to this Period, although there are three dated on lettering to the first quarter of the third century,¹⁴⁵ two certainly, and probably all three, dedications to procurators of Arabia, one of whom was an imperial freedman, another honoured together with his wife. The name of the dedicant is missing in the first inscription; in the second it is a group of individuals comprising a centurion of Leg. III Gallica, a 'Roman knight' and at least one other 'Roman knight' whose name has been lost; in the third it was Aurelius Longinianus, and probably the colony of Jerash itself.

While it is heartening to see that even if Antioch-on-the-Chrysorrhoas wrote Greek, Col. Aurelia Antoniniana wrote Latin, at least for a short time, none of these, obviously, can be considered of strong positive significance. The only other two Latin inscriptions which might possibly be assigned to this Period, Gerasa Inscr. 180,¹⁴⁶ Prin(cipem?) Peregrin{orum}, and the tombstone No.209,¹⁴⁷ ...cio Gaiano prin(cipi) {Perigrinorum?} do little to counter the suspicion that the seeds of the decline of Latin had already germinated at Jerash. The contrast with the previous Period is striking.

On the other hand the Gerasenes continued to express their devotion to the emperor and his appointees, albeit in Greek. Two dedications to Severus from the city are recorded,¹⁴⁸ one to Julia Domna,¹⁴⁹ two certainly to Caracalla,¹⁵⁰ and one to Geta,¹⁵¹ as well as one dedication ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας of, and one to, an emperor who could be either Caracalla or Elagabalus.¹⁵² Two other dedications on behalf of the welfare of Caracalla or Elagabalus lack the name of the dedicants,¹⁵³ as does a dedication ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας of Severus, Caracalla and Geta.¹⁵⁴ In addition there are a number of roughly dated possibilities, a fragmentary dedication by Egnatius Victor Marinianus, governor of Arabia some time before the 230's,¹⁵⁵ a dedication ὑπὲρ τῶν {Σεβαστῶν} σωτηρίας by Nat... dated to the first half of the third century,¹⁵⁶ an even more doubtful example, similarly dated, of which only a dedication to Tyche and Ὑ{πὲρ σωτ}η{ρί}ας is preserved,¹⁵⁷ as well as a dedication Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν Κυρίων by the agoranomos Kyrillos Alkibiades, dated only to the third century.¹⁵⁸ More closely dated is a dedication to the governor L. Alfenius Avitianus by a stranger, M. Aurelius Alketas, from Antioch-on-the-Orontes, which Welles assigns to the second decade of the third century.¹⁵⁹

Of relevance also are two other Greek inscriptions, one of which, dated to the first half of the third century,¹⁶⁰ is a dedication by a member of Leg. III Cyr. to his ancestral god, which confirms the use of Latin even among soldiers, albeit of local origin, was already disappearing. The second, a dedication to Zeus Helios Sarapis by Augas Malchionos,¹⁶¹ points in the opposite direction, towards the persistence of the hybrids of the Romano-Syrian milieu, for it shows that this syncretized cult, if artificial, was not ephemeral.

Viewed without the filter of presumed 'Severan decadence', the material from Jerash is not inconsiderable, but there should, perhaps, be more. It is noticeable that among the construction which is assigned to this Period by the excavators, while the grading of the road, and even, in the context of Roman culture, the baths, might be deemed necessities, the little theatre and the ornamental tetrapylon must be classed as civic luxuries, hardly the sign of a town in a state of financial decline. It is possible, for example, that, given the indications of financial difficulties towards the end of Period V, the main construction of the residential quarter to the north, like that of its analogue at Palmyra, should be referred to the preceding Period and this; unfortunately, this cannot be determined. Whereas in the previous century Jerash was some-

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thing of a backwater, the evidence from the site is at odds with that from the other towns; the conditions which brought about this situation (its comparative inaccessibility and lack of contact with the province proper, and its exclusion from what was one of the first political units to receive the impact of ideas from the west, the kingdom of Herod the Great) had been rectified by the second century. It is not credible that Jerash should, virtually alone in the area, languish in decline at this time.

It is even less credible when one considers the evidence from the most comparable of the better documented towns, Samaria. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the general rebuilding programme probably began in the preceding Period and achieved completion in this, but there is no reliable way of drawing a distinction between the material belonging to Period VI and that belonging to Period VII, so a somewhat arbitrary division has been made for the purpose of treating the evidence in this thesis. In addition to the structures discussed in Chapter IV, there are the forum colonnades, the small shrines adjacent to the paved streets (which presumably postdate its construction since they follow its alignment), the Temple of Kore, the theatre, an aqueduct, and, in the private sphere, two fairly elaborate tombs.

The aqueduct¹⁶² is complex, but somewhat indeterminate in that it is masonry rather than concrete in construction, and most of the preserved remains are subterranean; however, the shape of the arches guarantees that it is Roman rather than Ummayyad, and its relationship to the forum buildings suggest that its initial construction belongs to this Period. Crowfoot compares the masonry to that of the later imperial constructions, and suggests that the extant vestiges may belong to a later Roman rebuilding. In one place it crossed a valley on a bridge roughly 165 ft. high, comparable to the height of 200 ft. for the aqueduct between Antioch and Daphne or the 160 ft. of the Pont du Gard at Nîmes;¹⁶³ in toto, the remains are sufficient to demonstrate that it was a good example of a 'proper' Roman aqueduct.

The forum colonnades¹⁶⁴ are also, in context, Roman types, since, as has been pointed out, the arrangement of the forum itself and its relationship to its basilica meant that, unlike, for example, the oval 'forum' at Jerash, this was a truly Roman forum. The addition of embellishments consistent with the type in the form of porticoes therefore represents confirmation and reinforcement of the acceptance of the type.

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On the other hand the tombs,¹⁶⁵ as such, do no more than confirm the uniformity of the culture of the area in this respect. They are of the variety of subterranean chamber tombs with extrusive loculi which, in one form or another, are ubiquitous within the area. Those in question, Tombs 220, dated fairly closely to this Period by the pottery, and 222, more loosely assigned to the same general date, added specifically Graeco-Roman refinements to the basic type which had been fundamentally unchanged for centuries, arched and barrel-vaulted masonry passages, roughly carved funerary busts, pilasters, ornamental monolithic doors, stele, Latin inscriptions (illegible). The result bears a strong resemblance to the tombs of the Decapolis region explored by Schumacher,¹⁶⁶ or that excavated by Lankester Harding on Jebel Jofeh.¹⁶⁷ They illustrate the growing uniformity within the area as a whole, but themselves do little to contribute to that uniformity, since uniformity in this respect already existed in pre-Roman times; the change is limited to the adoption in the several cases of the same fashionable architectural trappings, applied to almost all types of structure, drawn from the emergent Romano-Syrian milieu.

The main interest therefore lies in the contents. The pottery, in both cases recognisably Roman, and the other objects, confirm that in details of daily life the same uniformity evident in more public aspects such as the architecture of the towns extended also into the private sphere, a more important uniformity, this, since it is a function of the Roman period as a whole rather than of the thousand or so years preceding it. Most striking, and a supererogatory instance of the addition of 'pure' Roman forms to the types of the Romano-Syrian milieu, are the cremation burials in Tomb 222,¹⁶⁸ a copper urn containing burnt bones in one of the large stone sarcophagi which were a feature of these tombs, here as in the Decapolis and elsewhere, and a linen bag full of ashes and bones.

The two small shrines near the colonnaded street, one close to the West Gate¹⁶⁹ and that in the South-east quarter,¹⁷⁰ are not so secure in their implications. The latter is ill-known, a small square building which may or may not have conformed to Roman practice in its internal plan. The former is described by Crowfoot as "a small cella in antis" and indeed shows some Classicizing features in the decorative elements, such as the orthodox column base illustrated and the internal arrangement of the columns, but it is nevertheless debatable whether Classical architectural terminology is really appropriate. The plan is tripartite, like the temples to the

south, for example the Qasr Fira'un at Petra;¹⁷¹ furthermore, it is rectangular in shape and bît-hilani in plan, with one corner of the cella cut off to form a thalamos, a circuitous entrance being achieved by entering the cella, proceeding along a small passage to one side, and making a sharp left-hand turn, in the time-honoured manner of Near Eastern buildings such as palaces and temples. The battered 'gargoyle' found in the 'garden' area to each side of the cella¹⁷² shows a utilization of Roman sculptural techniques in the use of the deep drill, but it is too mutilated to judge its stylistic affinities. Possibly, given the acceptability of the stair-temple type to the Romans of the province, this little stairless shrine might be considered as within the permissible range for the Romano-Syrian milieu, but there is certainly nothing significantly Romanizing about it.

On the other hand the Temple of Kore,¹⁷³ paradoxically, provides evidence of what might be deemed Romanization in the broadest sense of the term, an increase in Hellenization, for, as has been pointed out in the previous chapter, the change in cult from the worship of the hybrid deities Isis and Serapis, essentially Eastern if also accepted in Rome, to the Classical Kore, whether it took place now, with the reconstruction of the temple, or at an earlier date, indicates an increasing degree of Classicization within the Roman period.

The temple itself was, appropriately enough, quite Classical insofar as it is preserved, a narrow rectangle, not laterally tripartite, and probably not bît-hilani: the position of the door does not seem to have been preserved, but from the way in which its long axis corresponds to that of the surrounding temenos (see below) it is most unlikely that it was other than in the short side; only extraordinary unknown circumstances would have removed the placement of the door from this position, always assuming that the structure was, in detail as in general plan, "normal" for the place and time. There are no signs that it possessed stairs, though it should perhaps be pointed out that so little remains that the evidence of stairs may have been so slight as to be perceptible only if consciously sought, and the excavation took place before the definitive work of Amy made it clear that the stair-temple, particularly the long rectangular 'Classicizing' version like Bel at Palmyra or Zeus at Jerash, was indeed the norm in Roman Syria.

It was set in what appears from the sparse remains to have been

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an 'axial' sanctuary, that is to say, the temenos, like the temple, is rectangular, and the long axis of the sanctuary as a whole nearly coincides with the long axis of the temple. The temenos was at least partially paved with flagstones, and contained pedestals as well as buildings which are for the most part too badly preserved to yield significant information, although Sukenik states that it certainly had a portico on the south side, and while no stylobate was preserved on any other of the three sides the foundations discovered on the east and west sides (the two short sides) correspond to those on the south.

One might, therefore, reconstruct the sanctuary as a whole along the lines of a smaller version of the Sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra or the Heliopolitanum at Baalbek, a rectangular temenos surrounded internally by colonnades, dominated by a rectangular temple set back on the long axis, with smaller buildings connected with cultic functions, and perhaps an altar, distributed within the court formed by the porticoes, and dedications, statues and so forth, ornamenting the whole. The proviso must be made, however, that while this is consistent with the evidence as far as it goes, it does not go far enough to eliminate the possibility of a major deviation from the type in the internal arrangement of the subsidiary structures or details of the temple.

Apart from the aqueduct and this sanctuary, the most significant Romanizing type which may be attributed to this Period is the theatre.¹⁷⁴ While there is some slight evidence for assigning the Sanctuary of Kore to this Period rather than the preceding one, in that Sukenik suggests that its construction coincided with the upsurge in the importance of the cult, marked by the depiction of the rape of Persephone on coins of the town belonging to the third century,¹⁷⁵ there seems no cogent reason for believing the same of the theatre. A standard Roman theatre, it cannot be dated with any degree of precision.

Frézouls¹⁷⁶ wishes to refer it back to the Herodian building phase, on analogy with that at Caesarea, although it is not mentioned by Josephus. This however does not seem tenable, at least insofar as the remains discovered are concerned, although there is nothing to preclude the possibility that this building replaced an earlier one. The decoration seems more in keeping with a later period, and there is no sign of the "peculiarities" evident in Herod's theatre at Caesarea. The re-use of old

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material in the substructure of the cavea,¹⁷⁷ albeit material of unspecified date, also seems to point to the C^{2nd}-C^{3rd} building phase, when whatever successive disasters overtook Samaria in the interim left a ready supply of such material to be employed in this manner.

Crowfoot, indeed, remarks,¹⁷⁸

The carved detail on the entablature from the frons scaenae is the richest in Sebaste: it seems later than the equally florid work of the Nymphaeum at Jerash which was built in the reign of Commodus.

Noting the similarity between the ground-plan of the front wall of the stage and those of "late" African theatres such as Djemila, Dugga, Khamissa, Timgad and Sabratha (seven niches alternately rectangular and semicircular, with elaborate reliefs in each), and in particular the occurrence of "Roman pipes" in blocks from the entablature,¹⁷⁹ "a rare ornament which recurs in the frieze of the synagogue at Capernaum", he tentatively assigns the theatre to the first quarter of the third century.

This does not seem entirely secure. Though it may point away from the early first century A.D., mere floridity is no safe grounds for the assumption of a late date in a place such as Syria, where multiple second century examples exist. The decorative block in question, which Crowfoot identifies as the lower part of the entablature of the scaena frons, features a figured vine leaf frieze above a plain fillet, followed by a narrow running spiral, egg-and-tongue, then three broader fasciae of progressively decreasing size separated by two bead-and-reel astragals, like the lower section of the entablature of the Esrija temple discussed in the previous chapter, from the lower vine frieze downwards, differing in that the plain fascia below the vine leaf is relatively narrower, and the cyma recta below is replaced by the ovolo with egg-and-tongue. The Samaritan example, too, might be considered as a simplified version of the main doorway of the 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek, and the same parallels are therefore relevant, particularly the epistyle block from the Altar Court at Baalbek, Baalbek I, Taf. 78, which is even closer to Samaria than is Esrija, differing only in that the running spiral is replaced by a more elaborate palmette design.

But the same caveats also apply, particularly those concerning

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the basic nature of the points of comparison. Once again, the fact that only a drawing is available for the Samaritan example means that only the scheme, not the rendition, can be compared with other specimens, and once again, even so, there are no identical parallels, only close ones. Little more can be said than that the general scheme is consonant with other similar architectural members found in the province, and that this confirms that in all probability it belongs to the overall timespan under discussion in this thesis.

Nor do the "Roman pipes" assist the chronological determination. While undeniably Roman, and comparatively rare in the area, they nevertheless occur too frequently, in examples of diverse date, for the link with the Capernaum synagogue to assume a chronological significance. Of the two examples assigned to the theatre by Crowfoot, one was found on the spot, the other built into a wall, possibly of mediaeval date, which was subsequently re-used yet again as the foundation for a modern house; "Roman pipes" occur otherwise at Samaria among the "miscellaneous fragments from the debris" illustrated by the Harvard excavators.¹⁸⁰ Elsewhere in the region, they occur at Palmyra in the Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Bel;¹⁸¹ in the Temple of Baalshamin, in the entablature, in place of a vine leaf on the cyma recta,¹⁸² and in the mouldings of the the thalamos;¹⁸³ in the Arch of Severus Alexander as an abacus ornament,¹⁸⁴ as the main decoration of the capital, in place of the acanthus,¹⁸⁵ and as a moulding in the arch itself;¹⁸⁶ inverted on the raking sima of a building of Diocletianic date,¹⁸⁷ and on various other monuments.¹⁸⁸ At Baalbek, they are employed with equal frequency and versatility: in the Temple of Jupiter as an abacus ornament in Type 2 capitals,¹⁸⁹ and on the south-east akroterion;¹⁹⁰ in the Altar Court, on the epistyle block and in the sima of an aedicula,¹⁹¹ on the abacus of a capital from one of the exedrae,¹⁹² and in both an arch and a door frame from the west wall of the north hall;¹⁹³ in the 'Temple of Bacchus' they also occur as an abacus ornament,¹⁹⁴ and especially in the 'Kleinarchitektur' of the cella wall;¹⁹⁵ in the Round Temple they occur in the internal cornice of the cella.¹⁹⁶ They also appear in the facade of the temple at Esrija,¹⁹⁷ and in the second of the undated temples at Pella recorded by Schumacher.¹⁹⁸

While the form of the ornament does vary, for example in the amount of projecting plane surface left between the top of the arch of the pipe and the upper border of the moulding, it does not appear to do so consistently with time, and so such variations cannot be used as a chrono-

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logical guide. Save that it confirms that the theatre is Roman, and probably of the second or third century, this ornament is of little avail. Within this range, the arguments cited by Crowfoot, the similarity of mouldings and the type of stone, together with the re-use of older material, establish that, in the overall context of Samaria, the theatre belongs to the late second century-early third century building phase, but when in this phase, early or late, remains in doubt.

But if these parallels do not establish a precise date, they do assure the Roman affinities of the theatre, its compatability with, and its place in, the Romano-Syrian milieu.

These buildings, together with those discussed in the previous chapter, the basilica,¹⁹⁹ the colonnaded street and West Gate²⁰⁰ and the Corinthian stadium,²⁰¹ mean that the town was virtually built afresh in this phase. Crowfoot, after commenting upon the extraordinarily high standard of the workmanship, if anything superior to that of the Gabinian period where similar members are available for comparison, as well as on the enormity of the output for so small a town in so short a space of time,²⁰² concludes,²⁰³

It is astounding, but not delightful: the rather luscious exuberance of the Antonine period gives one more pleasure: it is almost a relief to find mouldings which were never finished. The carved detail of the Severan age is undeniably dull and stereotyped. It looks as if nothing individual had survived under the grey pall which now stretched over the city: Sebaste had become what its masters no doubt intended, a little Rome, one of a thousand second- or third-rate cities pullulating round the Mediterranean, dreary and prolific.

Without disputing Crowfoot's value judgment as to the desirability of the situation, this is not entirely correct. Samaria was certainly an example of a 'mass produced' type, but the type was not the 'little third-rate Romes', the typical Roman provincial towns. Typical Roman provincial towns do not, on the whole affect colonnaded streets as the main artery of the urban system. Samaria was a typical Romano-Syrian town.

If Aelia marks the crystallization of the Romano-Syrian milieu, Samaria, built almost afresh, represents the product of this pattern, now almost fully formed and hardening, acting as a template.

Elsewhere in Palestine, at Gerizim, it is possible that the temple

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to Zeus Hypsistos was rebuilt, coinciding with the reappearance of the structure on the coins of Neapolis.²⁰⁴ At Caesarea, the Herodian theatre was rebuilt, and its stage altered to conform with orthodox Roman practice,²⁰⁵ at some time in the second or third century, something which may perhaps be connected with a general development discussed below.

Aelia in this Period saw the construction of a triumphal arch²⁰⁶ - perhaps, since Caracalla triumphed over Judaea ca. A.D. 198, at that time. The material has been moved and re-used, but enough remains to show that the central carriageway was 20 Roman feet wide, and the lateral passages 10, and that the capitals, of the Corinthian order, were consistent stylistically with those of the early third century, despite an unusual abacus ornament, leaves intertwined in a 'Herakles knot', carved in high relief; in this too they are consonant with other capitals of this Period and slightly later, which, developing aberrant forms all firmly based on the Orthodox Corinthian, presage the capitals of the Later Roman period, for example those pilaster capitals from the Arch of Severus Alexander at Palmyra in which the main acanthus decoration is replaced by "Roman pipes".²⁰⁷ The presence and influence of the garrison is attested in a Latin dedication to the governor M. Junius Maximus by his strator C. Domitius Sergius Iulius Honoratus, which, however, is only tentatively dated to this Period,²⁰⁸ while several examples of Late B pottery shapes, and one example of Late A, are identified as coming from the site by Waagé,²⁰⁹ who also notes the occurrence of Late A and B at Jericho, and in "Eastern Palestine".²¹⁰ The currency of the milieu in the rest of Judaea, apart from Samaria, is thus confirmed on at least two counts.

More generally, the continuation of the development of the countryside is implied by the fact that the earliest datable material from three more of Schlumberger's small sites in north-western Palmyrene belongs roughly to this Period: Kheurbet Farouâne (also known as Bet-Phasiël), where there was a temple, three courtyard-houses or "khans", and another unidentified building, and where dedications to Gad of the village and Gad of the gardens, dated A.D. 237-238, and dedications to the Genius of Bet-Phasiël, one dated to A.D. 191, another dated by the calligraphy to the third century, were found in the excavations;²¹¹ Ras ech Chaar (as opposed to Rasm ech Chaar) where there was, apparently, a reasonable sized settlement, including a temple and houses, and where finds include an inscription dated to A.D. 194;²¹² slightly beyond the Period, El Mkemlé, where there were

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cisterns and a small sanctuary, and a rock slab with an inscription dated 228/9.²¹³ In addition, the site of Marzouga, again a sizable settlement, has a relief of Baalshamin dated to A.D. 216, but also an inscription dated to five hundred and some units, the characters for which have been lost, that is to say, A.D. 188 +, if the Seleucid calender was used; other finds included three coins of Elagabalus minted at Antioch, as well as a later antoninianus from the same source.²¹⁴ It must be stressed, however, that these once again represent the earliest datable finds: there is nothing to preclude a somewhat earlier date for the sites in question, although a lengthy prior occupation of, say, a hundred years, would reasonably be expected to have left some trace.

The continuity of the imperial cult in the province is well attested by the dedication of Sentia Magnia Saephare at Berytus, as well as the legionary inscription from Canatha, and the former, if "Flaminica" is a name and not a title, perhaps indicates the penetration of the cult to what might be termed the 'grass-roots' level. In the sphere of language, it is evident, as Liebermann points out,²¹⁵ that the acceptance of Greek in Palestine continued to increase among the Jewish population: he cites the adjuration of the grandson of R. Gamaliel, R. Juda Hanassi, "Why speak Syriac in Palestine? Speak either Hebrew or Greek." Save at Jerash, however, Latin is still strongly represented, and there are even what, without foreknowledge of its later decline, might have been taken as signs of its growing assimilation into daily life, for example in the inscription of Amathallat at Palmyra. It is convenient to note at this point that in regions where Greek had not obtained some hold prior to the Roman occupation, Latin does seem to have achieved some currency as a genuine demotic tongue: the aforesaid inscription from Palmyra, in which a private individual uses it alongside Greek, is some indication, since Palmyra was less thoroughly Hellenized prior to the Roman period than the region to the west, and a more emphasized version of this situation is evident further north in Commagene, in the area of Enesh, where there was less prior Hellenization coupled with the presence of a Roman garrison. Here even the principle of "if it needs to be understood, write it in Greek" was waived, and Latin used in essentially private inscriptions of the types noted as generally absent in Syria: two inscriptions which can be dated only as later than the Flavian annexation of the kingdom, but which, from their general appearance, seem to date to the overall timespan under discussion, serve to illustrate the point. Both are somewhat doubtful: the first, IGLS No.71, from Enesh, reads,

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g liccinius iulianus
 > probi scripsit ua
 lian domini mei co
 militones apot
 silvano semper

It appears to be a manumission dedication by a slave: Jalabert and Mouterde cite Cumont to this effect. They themselves, however, question that an ex-slave would call his masters commilitones, and suggest that dominus may simply be a courtesy title, like κύριος. However, the Latin is not good. Mouterde and Jalabert note the absence of the t in valian(t), suggesting that this was due to its omission before a dental in vulgar pronunciation, in addition, an m has dropped out of com(m)ilitones, and apot silvano might be taken as apud silvanum. It seems possible therefore that there has also been an error in declension, and the commilitones are part of the honorand, the sense being, "to my master and his fellow-soldiers". There seems no insuperable obstacle to interpreting the inscription in this way, as Cumont does. In any case, the errors based on vulgar pronunciation are in themselves an indication of the currency of Latin as a spoken as well as a written language.

The second inscription, IGLS No.82, from Tsardak near Enesh, requires reconstruction:

ndus i.l.
 mil<leg<ss.
 has<pos con
 vicano pos
 s b...st ..

Jalabert and Mouterde suggest: &l. Secu ndus..., &l. 2 following, mil(es) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae)...has(tatus) pos(terior) con{cedente? locum} uicano pos{sessore?...} b(ene) {m(erenti) f(ecit)}. S(it) t(ibi) {t(erra) l(evis)?}; in other words, it is a matter of a tomb of a soldier erected on ground conceded by a landowner of the vicus in question. The reconstruction seems quite plausible, and, if correct, means that Latin was employed in a contract which, by its nature, had to be intelligible to both parties, military and civilian.

But more importantly, since the effect was more profound and much more lasting, this Period saw the emergence of what might justifiably

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be called Judaeo-Roman architecture, signalled by the appearance of the new basilican hybrid, the basilica synagogue. This type, studied in detail by Sukenik,²¹⁶ is basically a Roman basilica in design, but with modifications made necessary by the rites it housed, its technique incorporating structural elements drawn from the Romano-Syrian milieu, such as the arcuated lintel carried on columns,²¹⁷ its decoration a motley of Classical and Jewish motifs, many of which latter developed from earlier forms known from the native coinage and other sources, including some which may ultimately be of Classical origin, the result of past acculturation.

For example, in the frieze of the entablature of the pilasters at Capernaum, there are well defined round decorative units which may, for the sake of convenience, be termed "medallions".²¹⁸ One such 'medallion',²¹⁹ seems to combine a number of earlier motifs: it shows two bunches of grapes on stems growing out of an amphora, the stems diverging, then curving, so that the bunches hang down on either side of the amphora. Single bunches of grapes appear on a coin of the Second Revolt,²²⁰ while a slightly different form of the fluted amphora (in which the handles do not rise above the level of the rim) also occurs in the coinage of the same phase.²²¹ The bifurcate composition, though not, to my knowledge, exactly paralleled in this form, also has a respectable ancestry in the coinage, beginning with the double cornucopiae which can be traced back to Maccabaeian times,²²² and passing into Herodian coinage²²³ and the 'Procuratorial' issues under Tiberius.²²⁴ In some cases the cornucopiae are crossed at the base, in others they spring from a single stem. A similar visual effect is achieved by another motif, the plumed helmet, in which the plume divides and falls to either side, found on the coinage of Archelaus,²²⁵ and which, particularly in one specimen,²²⁶ is still closer to the composition of the 'medallion' at Capernaum. That this disposition was still popular in Jewish art of a later date is shown by the arrangement of the two stems of the bunch of grapes on at least one of the Second Revolt coins,²²⁷ while a not dissimilar tripartite arrangement is seen in the divisions of the leaf on another.²²⁸

Another 'medallion' at Capernaum features a six-point star.²²⁹ A star, possibly with six points, also appears in two of the Second Revolt coins, above the representation of the synagogue or temple;²³⁰ the legend reads "Simon", so here, presumably, it is the canting-badge of the leader of the Revolt, deriving from the Bar-Kochba - Bar-Kosiba pun. Yet another 'medallion' motif is the six-leafed spiral rosette, 'spinning' both

clockwise and anti-clockwise²³¹ - the more normal five-petalled rosette does however appear on a lintel of the main doorway of the synagogue.²³²

One of the spiral rosettes²³³ is enclosed in a wreath, emphasizing the circular frame of the 'medallion'. The wreath is used in a similar fashion to emphasize the round field of coins of the Second Revolt,²³⁴ a device ultimately taken over from the Classical mode, in all probability from 'Procuratorial' and Herodian issues.²³⁶ Wreaths appear on coins of Herod I,²³⁷ Herod Antipas,²³⁸ Herod of Chalcis,²³⁹ and Agrippa II,²⁴⁰ and on 'Procuratorial' issues prior to the First Revolt under Tiberius,²⁴¹ Claudius²⁴² and Nero.²⁴³ However, it should be pointed out that the inspiration for its use may have been earlier: it also occurs on Maccabaeen coinage,²⁴⁴ coinage from which the Herodian coins in part derive.

The chronology of the 'basilica synagogues' has recently been the subject of considerable controversy, following the excavations at Capernaum, and the matter is not yet decided.²⁴⁵ Pending further evidence, it seems wisest to retain the old chronology as a working hypothesis, since it fits well with the other known evidence. In this scheme the 'Galilean' synagogues, most notably Capernaum, Kefr Bir'im and Chorazin, are the earliest, with Capernaum dating from the third century and the other two assigned to the Late Antonine-Early Severan limbo.²⁴⁶

The plan of the synagogue at Capernaum²⁴⁷ shows an obvious advance, in terms of coherence, over the second phase of the synagogue at Masada:²⁴⁸ there the alterations made by the Zealots - the removal of two of the internal columns to allow one corner of the rear of the building to be partitioned off to form a small square room, the removal of the wall between the porch and the main room to extend the latter, the installation of the benches - are obviously makeshift modifications, while the synagogue at Capernaum seems to have been designed to house its functions, two-storeyed, presumably to allow for a gallery for segregated worship, with the courtyard to the east, and the small square annex to the rear of the main building. Nevertheless, it still seems to have been in some sense experimental: on the plan the alignment of the annex (with staircase) does not match that of the west wall of the main building; it also lacks the pilastered facade, and its own west wall, thicker than that of the main building, is built against the north wall of the latter, rather than forming an extension of the west wall. In short, it seems to represent a change of plan, an addition, possibly during construction, and hardly much

later than the rest, given that it was connected with the stairs. Yet this connection with the stairs means that the change was an important one.

If Capernaum, in the third century, is still experimental, it seems to follow that the other two synagogues mentioned, which represent the finished type, can hardly be earlier; at the earliest they should be contemporary with Capernaum, developments conceived in their construction requiring modifications in the Capernaum synagogue while it was in the process of being built, in order to incorporate a functional equivalent.

There seems little doubt that the creation of the new form was due to a change in the requirements of the religion; while there were manifestly synagogues in earlier times, the destruction of the Temple coupled with the construction of Aelia, which put its rebuilding out of the question in the foreseeable future, would have placed greater emphasis on the smaller local prayer-houses, exerting pressure towards the development of a single recognisable type; at the same time, as Albright points out,²⁴⁹ the general destruction of the synagogues in successive revolts, and consequent multiple buildings or rebuildings, created the conditions under which new architectural types are likely to emerge. While there were patently other forms of synagogue, the existence of Capernaum at this early stage, with the addition of other examples of similar date and displaying a similar mixture of Classicizing and Judaic elements, such as the third century buildings at Bar'am near Safad²⁵⁰ seem to justify the appellation "hybrid type" even in this first phase of development.

The wholesale acceptance of Classical forms and motifs (albeit with an admixture of 'Orientalizing' details) marks a new acceptance of Graeco-Roman art in a far wider and more representative sector of the population than ever before,²⁵¹ and contrasts strongly with the reaction of the populace, and particularly of the religious leaders, to the buildings of Herod I. A temporary peak is attained in the synagogue at Capernaum, which featured a lintel of the main doorway depicting an eagle, with six Erotes bearing garlands above.²⁵² These were later hacked out at a time when a more stringent interpretation of the scriptures prevailed, but the long-term increase in the general acceptance of the trappings of Classical art is still evinced by the motifs, such as garlands, which remained unexpurgated, as well as the mouldings, such as the "Roman pipes", the capitals and other such features of the building, a situation confirmed by the architecture, wall-paintings, reliefs, sarcophagi and ossuaries of the

necropolis at the religious centre of Beth She'arim. Dating from the third to the fourth centuries A.D., these feature 'Hellenistic' decoration including the depiction of animals and human heads, and Classical mythological scenes, along with traditionally acceptable Jewish motifs.²⁵³

Nor was it merely a matter of imitation, for the creative element was not confined to the development of the type itself. Just as the structural elements combined to form a new type of building, so too the decorative elements, Classical and Jewish, combined to create new artistic forms. An example of this is the entablature of the pilasters at Capernaum.²⁵⁴ It can be viewed in two separate ways, firstly as a fairly orthodox entablature, consisting, top and bottom, of a plain fascia, cyma recta with leaf frieze, astragal with bead-and-reel, dentils, ovolo with egg-and-dart (in one case²⁵⁵ with upright and inverted darts alternating) and a larger ovolo with a frieze comprising various motifs such as leaves and six-leafed rosettes (including the sections mentioned above which might be termed "medallions") with another fascia below.

However, it is also divided vertically into decorative units which cut across the horizontal zones, each "medallion" being aligned with a section of the upper frieze bounded on each side by a profile acanthus spiral, giving the impression of the external helices of a Corinthian capital, an impression reinforced by the overall campanulate outline of the upper part of the unit, narrowing towards the bottom, and capable of visual division into three "zones", the upper leaf frieze, the astragal and dentils, and the ovolo (though the proportions do not match those of contemporary capitals, the "upper row" monopolising approximately half the total height); the fascia above does service as an abacus. The total result is a capital, echoing the pilaster capital beneath, with a pendant tondo, or rather, representationally, a capital growing from a spherical vessel with a flat base (since the bottommost fascia can also be included in the unit) in the way in which, in the design of one of the "medallions", bunches of grapes grow from an amphora. The integrity of the overall shape of the vertical unit is assured by a slight modification of the eggs of the ovolo which bound the "lower row" to each side, in that they are shown slightly in profile. But the modification is only slight, so that the traditional horizontal zones of the entablature are also operative, simultaneously; there is real ambivalence:²⁵⁶

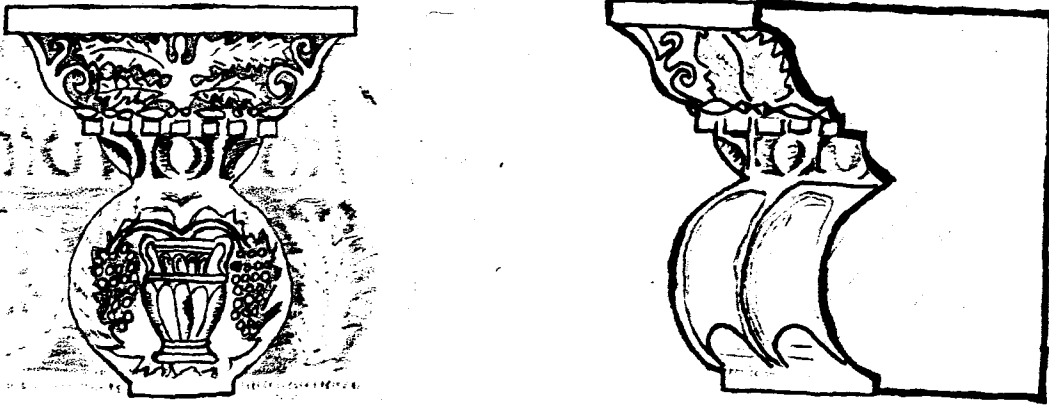


Fig. 4 Entablature of a pilaster capital in the Synagogue of
Capernaum
Drawn from Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues Pl. VI,
middle row, left, and top right respectively, with
the relevant portions emphasized.

The degree of assimilation and comprehension of, and the facility in, the principles, techniques and aesthetics of Classical architecture required to allow this creative architectural punning on two, perhaps even three, superimposed levels of interpretation needs no expatiation.

It is possible that here too the earlier Jewish coins may have exerted a formative influence, and that it is not merely a matter of the coins and architecture alike using the same motifs. There is the use of the wreath to emphasize the circular field of the "medallion" in one case, as mentioned above, and, in regard to the composition, the overall shape of the vertical unit, essentially a triangular shape spreading upwards from a circular base which is flattened at the bottom, might just conceivably be seen as a truncated version of the design of the superimposed lulab and ethrog on coins of the Second Revolt,²⁵⁶ though this, obviously, is highly speculative. Far more important is the fact that the interchangeability of capital and entablature had a precedent in the anta capital from Jerusalem assigned by Watzinger to "Herodian" times,²⁵⁷ in which a standard Hellenistic entablature replaced the leaves, a cyma reversa stood in place of the upper zone, and a series of mouldings, ovolo, astragal and so forth, in place of

the two lower rows.

Indeed, although burgeoning only now, the seeds of this evolution were visible throughout the whole timespan under discussion. The façade of the basilica synagogues, as Avigad points out, is presaged by that of the Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom at Jerusalem, while the depiction of the synagogue or temple on the coins of the Second Revolt demonstrates the growing interest in architecture and the acceptability of that interest in the first half of the second century.²⁵⁸ The motifs, and the way in which they are used, can be traced through the coins of the Revolts, of the 'Procurators' and of the Herodian rulers, in some instances to Maccabaeon times. The use of human and animal figures as decoration (which continued until the sixth century iconoclastic movement) has its beginnings in the easing of the embargo on such representations seen in the finds from the Cave of Letters.^{258a} But the primary enabling factor, the acquisition of the skills and techniques of Classical architecture which allowed the realization of this new hybrid art in tectonic form, must be attributed to Herod the Great, and to his employment of Jewish artisans side by side with skilled craftsmen from the Classical world.^{259*}

Although Judaeo-Roman architecture implies the existence of Jewish architects capable of working creatively within the Classical medium, and expanding that medium by a fusion of its forms with others drawn from their own cultural background; the assumption of their existence does not rest on inference alone. The name of one of the architects of the new divergent theatre at Beth-Shan was Absalom;²⁶⁰ in the context of Capernaum, the anomalies of this theatre, the plan of the exits and the circular staircases in the wings,²⁶¹ are less like a deviation from the Roman norm through the ignorance of provincial architects than genuine experiments and developments within that medium. One wonders whether perhaps the modification of the theatre at Caesarea towards the Roman norm might also have been the work of local architects of less ambitious bent.

Certainly, there is some evidence for a Jewish member of a closely allied profession at Caesarea, doubtfully dated somewhere about this time. Both the 'High Level Aqueduct' (the arches of which were repaired and buttressed by supporting arches in the sixth century), and the 'Low Level Aqueduct' are assigned to the second century by Reifenberg,²⁶² and Schwabe²⁶³ interprets the tombstone of Sym(m)achus son of Samuel, whose monument bears a representation of a lulab and shofar, as that of a waterworks technician. The inscription is quite fragmentary; the reconstruction is quite plausible.

1. μημη}ο{ριον
2. Σ}υμμά{χου τοῦ
3. υἱο Σ}αμου{ήλ
4. μη} χανυ{κοῦ

The spacing seems to suit the reconstruction (the above text is not quite accurate in this respect) and the words supplied are carefully justified by parallels; the interpretation of μηχανικός is supported by parallels drawn from Egypt, in which the context makes the meaning clear, and by similar examples of the use of the allied word μηχανική both in Egypt, and once in Palestine, in an inscription of the sixth century A.D.²⁶⁴ The date of the inscription cannot be established with certainty: the only indication is the lettering, which Schwabe compares with that from Jerash (the only dated collection of alphabets in the area at the time of publication) in the hope that the same fluctuations applied to Caesarea, and even on these dubiously applicable criteria, two periods are possible, the third century and the fifth to sixth centuries; the fact that the name Symmachus is attested among Jews in the reign of Marcus Aurelius tends to bring the inscription down towards the earlier period; the aqueducts, built at some time around the second century, with the 'High Level' aqueduct repaired in the sixth century, merely confirm that these are the two most likely periods.

Whenever he lived, Symmachus son of Samuel was a Jew who wrote Greek, the language of the Romano-Syrian milieu, used a Greek name, and followed a profession, hydraulic engineering, which was if anything even more typically Roman than that of architecture generally, yet his tombstone bore a lulab and shofar. Absalom and Symmachus were Jews who remained Jews, unlike, say, Tiberius Alexander, but followed Roman careers, with success, within the Roman frame of reference. And the architecture itself was firmly based on the architecture of the Roman empire, which had imposed itself so securely on the popular mind that by A.D. 244/5 the temples depicted in the Dura synagogue, one at least undoubtedly the Jewish Temple, were Classical Corinthian long temples, with no apparent Eastern features: the very concept of a temple, even the Temple, now coincided with real, contemporary pagan temples.^{246a} From this, and from the evidence of the synagogues and Beth She'arim, it seems that the remaining Jewish population of Palestine now lived within the Romano-Syrian milieu, utilizing and exploiting it for Jewish purposes instead of rejecting it wholesale, as in the days of Herod and of the Revolts, adding to and expanding that milieu by the creation of a new sub-milieu, Judaeo-Roman art, which drew partially on Jewish, partially on Roman, and partially on the established Romano-Syrian milieu for its inspiration.

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Outside Syria, there was still some prejudice against Syrians following Roman careers, as is evident in the writings of Cassius Dio: of Caracalla, he states that, "In everything he was very hot-headed and very fickle, and he furthermore possessed the craftiness ("πανουργον") of his mother and the Syrians, to which race she belonged," (E. Cary's translation)²⁶⁵ as well as the somewhat more general condemnation implied in his statement that (after the death of Caracalla) Rome began to lean towards Macrinus, because of "the effrontery of the Syrians ("τὸ τῶν Σύρων τόλμημα") the youth of the False Antoninus, and the arbitrary course of Gannys and Comazon".²⁶⁶ But there was also acceptance, as there must perforce have been, with a Syrian dynasty in control, and new Syrian introductions, and reinforcements of old, in the cultures of the west and of Rome itself, particularly in the sphere of religion: apart from the activities of the second Severan M. Aurelius Antoninus in connection with his god Elagabalus (whose introduction was in fact rejected outright after his death²⁶⁷), Caracalla built a sanctuary of Isis near the Colosseum,²⁶⁸ while Syrian soldiers carried the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus to Britain, Dacia and Africa.²⁶⁹

On a lower social level, other Syrians continued to play their roles in the empire: Ulpian, the jurist and later Praetorian Prefect, whose brief administration in the interregnum following Elagabalus' death is praised by Dio,²⁷⁰ came from a Roman family of Tyre, while a native of Heliopolis, perhaps Syrian Baalbek, is noted by Rey-Coquais as a member of the same prestigious unit in A.D. 209.²⁷¹ Further down the scale, recruitment within the province and the use of Palmyrene troops abroad has already been mentioned; it should be noted that Palmyrene merchants and other civilians also perambulated the empire with the same facility with which they were wont to perambulate the lands across the Euphrates,²⁷² ultimately as far as Hadrian's Wall,²⁷³ taking with them the various aspects of their culture, in their various states of Romanization.²⁷⁴

The process was still not complete, but, with the addition of the basilica synagogues and the emergence of Judaeo-Roman architecture, it was complete enough for the contrast between Syria, now an 'old' Romanized province, and the temporary additions in the fringe area across the Euphrates to be palpable.

After the death of Niger, the Osroeni and Adiabeni, who had declared war, nominally in support of Severus against Niger, refused to

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abandon the forts they had captured, and demanded as a reward for their services that the garrisons still remaining should be removed,²⁷⁵ a nationalistic revolt by any standards. In the reign of Caracalla, Septimius

Abgarus, king of the Osroëni, when he had once got control of the kindred tribes, visited upon their leaders all the worst forms of cruelty. Nominally, he was compelling them to change to Roman customs, but in fact he was indulging his authority over them to the full (λόγῳ μὲν ἐς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦθη μεθίστασθαι ἡνάγκαζεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίας ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο).²⁷⁶

This sounds remarkably familiar. It needs little in the way of deduction or interpretation to see the shadow of Herod's Judaea, with the monarch imposing Roman ways and Roman forms on a population which, on the whole, regarded them with genuine abhorrence.²⁷⁷ The acceptance and development of Classical forms by assimilation with indigenous ones in the synagogue at Capernaum - not cowed capitulation, but embracement - is indeed in another world, distanced by two hundred years of Roman occupation.

There were to be virtually no more nationalistic revolts in Syria, only 'Roman' ones, and the hybrid culture of the area had reached the point where it was effectively acceptable to all, "Romans" and "Syrians" - an almost meaningless distinction, surely - without inducing a shudder of aversion at the 'alien' forms in either party. There was uniformity, though not yet Crowfoot's dreary homogeneity. Differences between the various parts of the region remained, and would remain: rather it was a conglomerate (as opposed to agglomeration), with enough held in common throughout for it to be seen as a single defined culture.

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The most conspicuous desideratum of the Romano-Syrian milieu, as it had evolved to this point, was a common religion. Save perhaps for Jerash, where Faustina may have been identified with Isis, the imperial cult made no real inroads: the form was observed, but it was hardly a religion in the sense of a cohesive cultural force, like, for example Judaism. The cult of Baalshamin-Zeus Hypsistos, though it retained its hold in Palmyra into the fourth century, did not gain effective currency beyond this

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vicinity. Certainly, a more spontaneous tendency towards uniformity is discernible in the major indigenous cults, both those of Syria and those imported from adjacent areas, particularly Egypt, which spread and combined with each other and with smaller local cults. Among the most prominent were the cult of Kronos, attested at Arados, Berytus, Baalbek, Abila Lysaniae¹ and Jerash,² Asklepios-Eshmoun, worshipped on the coast at Arados, Marathos, and Carné,³ and Herakles, popular in Syria as elsewhere in the empire, syncretized with Melcarth in Tyre, and worshipped in places as far apart as Daphne,⁴ Baalbek,⁵ Palmyra,⁶ and Dura,⁷ the nominal Graeco-Roman syncretizations sufficing to make the various local deities subsumed under these names acceptable to the Romans of the province. Dedications to the Egyptian Apis are known from the small rural town of Barahlia in the Barada Valley,⁸ and the widespread cult of Isis, identified with the various local aspects of the Dea Syria and exported to Rome itself, has already been mentioned.⁹ Of the purely Syrian cults which gained favour not only throughout the province but throughout the empire, the most successful were those of Jupiter Dolichenus¹⁰ and Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus.¹¹

None, however, achieved a monopoly within the area and, given that Roman Syria was by the end of the second century A.D. very much in the context of the Roman empire as a whole, such a monopoly would not have been stable unless it had been echoed in the empire generally. Similarly, the most potent cultural afferent among the older religions, Judaism, though it flourished within the area, was ruled out of contention by the three major Revolts, which ensured that it would be unacceptable to official Rome for the foreseeable future.

It seems appropriate that this gap should have been filled by what, superficially at least, is a new hybrid Romano-Syrian religion, Christianity, initially an offshoot of Judaism, but modified by Graeco-Roman elements to create the form in which it became the religion not only of Syria but of the empire. Initially both Christianity and Judaism were equally despised by the Roman upper classes, on similar grounds, actual or fallacious.¹² Christianity, rather than Judaism, triumphed precisely because it was compatible with the apparatus of empire, a point the Christians themselves made much of - Keresztes¹³ cites Tertullian's assertion that the African Christians did not worship and sacrifice to the Emperor, but respected him and offered sacrifices on his behalf to the 'true God'; it will be recalled that sacrificing on behalf of the emperor was the casus

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of the First Jewish Revolt. In this sense, Christianity could be seen as a replacement for the imperial cult, since it performed the same function of inducing loyalty to the emperor, particularly if sacrificing for, as opposed to to, the emperor was indeed an adjunct of the official imperial cult.

But its status as a Romano-Syrian hybrid becomes less clear upon closer scrutiny. The basic Syrian element, the Jewish roots, is indisputable, and there seems little disagreement in substance, if not in degree, over the occurrence of a (principally Pauline) infusion of Graeco-Roman philosophy which transformed the original doctrine into what was to evolve into the state religion of the Roman empire,¹⁴ even though the details of this early form of Christianity may be the subject of doubt and controversy. However, a fusion of Judaism and Graeco-Roman philosophy, effected, if Brandon is correct, by a Roman citizen of Tarsus in a cell at Rome, then re-exported to Syria, cannot strictly be called a Romano-Syrian hybrid in the same way that the other cultural fusions which took place within Syria-Palestine may be; in terms of cultural dynamics, it can more readily be seen as a superimposition from the external Roman world.

To be sure, there are numerous instances of secondary internal hybridizations, testimony of its acceptance, fusions in which there was an assimilation of various local Syrian religious elements, giving distinction to the various local sects which arose, whether before or after the Roman acceptance of Christianity as the religion of the capital, though they too require examination. On the most superficial level, it is easy to see an echo of the old pillar cults, and specifically of the biannual ceremony at Hierapolis, in which a votary climbed the phallic pillars in the temenos, and remained there without sleeping for seven days (Dea Syr. 28-9), in the devotions of St. Simeon Stylites and his followers. However, while the existence of pillar cults is beyond dispute, to the best of my knowledge Lucian's testimony is the only evidence that the pillars were in fact climbed and that the climber remained there for long periods as an act of piety; it is unfortunate that in this passage, of all the De Dea Syriae, the tone most closely resembles that of the True History.

More generally, the pagan cults involving self-mutilation - Lucian mentions a wide range of examples, the shaving of hair as an alternative to ritual prostitution in Byblos (Dea Syr. 6), castration in the cult of Hierapolis (50-53), tattooing or branding¹⁵ - might be viewed as a preced-

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ent and reinforcement contributing to the acceptance of, if not the inspiration. for, the ascetic principle of mortification of the flesh by way of expiation. The difficulty here lies in the fact that such comparisons are general, and not precise enough for the significance to be clear. Similar concepts were common in Judaism, the purging of Isaiah (Isaiah 6.5-7), the vow of abstinence from food imposed on the prophet in I Kings 13.8ff., the strict abstinence and continence of the Essenes (BJ II.viii.2-13), the still more austere regimen of John the Baptist, and so forth. This element may therefore have been part of the original hybrid created, if Brandon is correct, in Rome, rather than the result of fresh fusions between this form and the pre-existent local customs when it reached the pagan areas of Syria. Clearly, facile equations are unsafe.

Nevertheless, more specific and more certain cases do certainly exist, the best known being the syncretization of the older cults of the localities in question with the rites of the new religion, not only the transmogrification of the old deities into legendary saints, as, for example, at Daphne, together with a transference of the concomitant iconography, but also the incorporation, under the guise of commemorative ceremonial, of the old rituals in the rites of the local Christian church. Kraeling¹⁶ cites the annual re-enactment of the miracle of the water turned to wine in the precincts of the Cathedral at Jerash as evidence that the "Arabian God", to whom the building beneath the Cathedral was apparently dedicated, was Dusares, seeing this ceremony as a continuation of the old Dionysiac rites; Harmon¹⁷ associates this, and similar observances performed at Cibyra in Caria and in Egypt (as related by Epiphanius), as well as the localization of the mutilation of Uranus in the hinterland of Byblos (where the springs and rivers were said to have received his blood) with the rites of Adonis at Byblos, the commencement of which was signalled by the annual rubefaction of the Nahr Ibrahim (river Adonis) described, with geographical explanation, by Lucian in Dea Syr. 8.

A more specific example still, and one of the rare pieces of evidence which allow insight into the private beliefs of a private individual, comes from Pella.¹⁸ Tomb 7 of the Eastern cemetery was especially rich, with a lintel bearing a Greek inscription dated to A.D. 522, commencing, "Tomb belonging to Ioannes", who, the writer of the article states, was "evidently a Christian". Among the finds was a female figurine "of the general character of Syrian fertility goddesses of much earlier date" but

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wearing a flowing robe. The fact that it was found in a tomb suggests that, rather than the usual votive figurines, it was the sort of icon, pagan and Christian, which was habitually carried as a personal talisman¹⁹ - the sort of representation which in part reflects and in part shapes the owner's conception of the deity or demiurge in question. This particular syncretization was, then, a genuine part of the beliefs of the owner.

There is, furthermore, other evidence of syncretization inherent in this same example. The very presence of grave goods attests the continuation of old burial traditions, born of pagan ideas regarding the nature of the afterlife, within the framework of the new religion.

But while these secondary hybrids ensure the acceptance of the new religion, their very multiplicity and diversity calls into question the amount of weight which may be placed upon each individual instance, since it implies an unevenness in the dissemination of the basic form. It is possible, therefore, that these subsidiary forms do not presuppose the same amount of conscious selection on the part of the local Syrians as the artistic hybrids, in that nothing in the version of Christianity which reached them may have conflicted with these particular elements of the local cults, which thus persisted under the aegis of the new religion, more a matter of accretion than syncretization. The new introductions occupied a "vacant" cultural slot contiguous with that filled by the existing religion, so that there was only a minimum of conflict resulting in nominal suppression of the old while both actually co-existed. Only later was the true fusion effected, the various practices classified as orthodox or schismatic, and the result codified. The evidence by which it might be determined which of these secondary hybrids carried what degree of significance at what time is lacking.

Nevertheless, Christianity, variegated as it may have been, produced a far greater degree of religious uniformity in the area as a whole than the polyglot syncretized cults which preceded it had achieved. Furthermore, the new religion postulated a new architectural manifestation by which it might be expressed, the basilica church.

The cultural status of this, the last of the major types of the Romano-Syrian milieu, is also somewhat questionable. Sukenik,²⁰ for example, sees it as a development of the basilica synagogue, but the earliest known

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example, the Church of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem,²¹ is attributed, with more than usual plausibility, to Helena, mother of Constantine. The building is very Roman indeed, recalling, especially in plan, the Aula Palatina of Diocletian at Trier;²² the plan of the congregational section is quite clearly that of a basilica, divided into a nave and four aisles by rows of columns, while the hallmark of the contemporary architectural repertoire of Rome, the octagonal room, is represented in the structure covering the Birth Cave itself. It may be that this hybrid too was created in Rome and then exported to Syria; certainly, the process of creating Christian hybrids continued at Rome.²³

But whether as a Romano-Syrian hybrid or as a superimposition, the type spread rapidly throughout the whole area, setting the seal on the architectural uniformity of the towns. While each building, naturally, had individual features in plan, decoration, and superstructure, the generic sameness is unmistakable, to cite only a few examples, those at Bethlehem; Jerusalem;²⁴ Jerash;²⁵ Qalblōzé, where the basilica church stands in sharp contrast to the second century pagan shrines at nearby Koryphaios, discussed in Chapter IV, in which the old pre-Roman forms persisted as late as Period VI, for it is thoroughly typical of Late Roman basilicas in all respects, plan, arches, domes, apses, buttresses and ornamental elements - Tchalenko compares it to those of Brad, Ruweiha and Resafa;²⁶ the "Cathedral" and other churches of Androna (Anderîn), similarly Roman in structural details;²⁷ the "Basilica" at Decapolitan Abila;²⁸ the more elaborate triple-naved church at Pella;²⁹ the slightly divergent church at Gadara, with the apse within the rectangle, rather than extruding from it;³⁰ and, of course, the churches of Resafa, the Basilica of St. Sergius, the central part of the Martyry, the five-naved South Church, the sixth century Church of Alamandarus, and at least two smaller, less well-preserved buildings shown on Musil's general plan of the site.³¹

Naturally there were variants, such as the Church of John the Baptist at Jerash.³² In other cases, pagan temples were converted to churches - indeed all the major pagan shrines seem to have been so transformed: at Palmyra, for example, in addition to two new basilicas,³³ the cella of the Temple of Bel³⁴ and the Temple of Baalshamin (converted into a basilica church with extrusive apse in the first half of the fifth century),³⁵ at Baalbek the Temple of Jupiter was overthrown by Theodosius I and the debris used to construct a church in the Altar Court;³⁶ the Temple at Esrija

was converted into a Christian church,³⁷ as too, in all probability, was the major 'temple' at Decapolitan Abila.³⁸ Where the reconstruction was not thoroughgoing this imposed certain restrictions on the form of the church: for example, the form of the normal rectilinear pagan temple was very similar to that of the basilica church, save for the absence of the extruding apse, and in many cases this arrangement was retained instead, with an internal apse based on the often apsidal thalamos.³⁹

Signs of the new faith are to be found everywhere in the area, not only in the churches themselves, but in the Christian symbols which appear on the walls of older buildings, not merely in churches, tombs and funerary inscriptions, but also in purely secular buildings, such as the villa at Hazîme, or the fort at Hân abu Šindâh.⁴⁰ Judaism flourished alongside Christianity, and the basilica synagogues, like their Christian analogues, proliferated: of the synagogues included by Chiat in her Corpus, Hammath Tiberias A and B, Gush Halav (Gischala) A, Meiron, Nabratein A, Yesod Hama'ala, Kefr Hananyah, Ammudim, Beth She'arim, Japhia/Yafa, Beth Alpha, Beth Shan A, Ma'oz Hayyim, Rehov, Husifa, Khirbet Semmakâka, Ma'on, Na'aran, Beth Yerah and Hammat Gadara were basilicas,⁴¹ apart from those mentioned in Chapter V; there are also doubtful basilica synagogues at Ramat Aviv, ed-Dikke, Caesarea, Gaza, Jericho and Kafr Kanna (Cana),⁴² the first two doubtfully synagogues, the last three doubtfully basilicas. Many of the synagogues she catalogues included in their decoration representations of animals or humans,⁴³ like the famous Zodiac mosaics at Hammat Tiberias B and Beth Alpha,⁴⁴ and many more showed Classical influence in the non-figurative ornamentation. While the synagogues are most common in Palestine and the Transjordan, they also appeared elsewhere in the area, sometimes, as with the churches, a matter of the conversion of older pagan monuments, as at Palmyra.⁴⁶ Together the churches and synagogues contributed to an architectural uniformity throughout the area which did indeed approach monotony.

For the other architectural types of the Romano-Syrian milieu also continued to proliferate, and the acceptability of the towns couched in this milieu continued to be acknowledged by their elevation to colonial status. Bostra became a colony under Alexander Severus;⁴⁷ Damascus was elevated to the same rank under Philip the Arab,⁴⁸ as, not surprisingly, was his birthplace Shehba, now Philippopolis, where the increasing structural use of concrete domes as in the large thermae with which he endowed his new city⁴⁹ reflects the remodelling of the emperor's native

town in a slightly more Roman style. At the same time, Ward-Perkins notes the appearance of a new form of masonry in the area, with a facing of opus quadratum around a core of mortared rubble, which he takes to be derived from Roman constructional methods in concrete.⁵⁰

As pointed out in my previous work (M.A. pp.184-189) there are, to my knowledge, no true atrium-houses in Syria, but those houses which are preserved, if not Romanizing, would probably have been acceptable to the Romans, particularly in view of the fact that the strict atrium type appeared to be breaking down at Pompeii prior to the destruction, and there is little indication of what form normal later Roman town houses in Italy took. The houses assignable to this time seem especially compatible with Roman taste. Indeed, one house from Seleucia Pieriae⁵¹ might well be viewed as a modified atrium-house: it possesses a triclinium at the eastern end, but with fauces to the north instead of true alae, and nothing to the south; the rooms, however, are arranged around a central courtyard like those around the atrium in canonical Roman houses; the court is paved with a mosaic depicting Erotes riding on dolphins, although, despite this motif, there is no apparent sign of an impluvium. Another house from Daphne,⁵² dated to the third century, possessed a horseshoe "agape table", with a mosaic on the floor representing a table, with Ganymede in a Phrygian cap holding out a dish to the eagle of Zeus, behind which is a small cupid.

Antioch itself possessed a nymphaeum, built over a third century brick building,⁵³ as well as a bath in Sector 13-R, reconstructed probably after the earthquake of A.D. 526.⁵⁴ Indeed baths pullulate in the later Roman period: apart from this example and that from Philipoppolis mentioned above, there are the mid sixth century thermae at Androna mentioned in Chapter III,⁵⁵ the "Doppelteich", with five chambers, from under the Church of St. Anna at Jerusalem,⁵⁶ the third century complex at Brad,⁵⁷ and the bath at Toprak-en-Narbidja, in a valley in the mountain range on the east side of the plain of Antioch, from the coins and mosaics no earlier than the fifth century.⁵⁸ In addition to new monuments of types belonging to the milieu, the old were repaired and maintained, for example the aqueducts of Caesarea, repaired probably in the sixth century, while a vault was constructed as a protection against the sand encroaching on the 'Low Level Aqueduct' as late as the tenth or eleventh century.⁵⁹

The development of the capitals has already been adumbrated above:⁶⁰ once the Orthodox Syrian Corinthian had gained almost exclusive

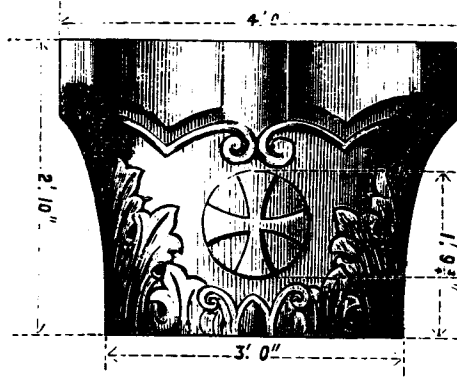
currency throughout the area, variants began to develop, until the norm broke down entirely in a welter of apparently polyglot forms. Yet, while multifarious, they were not heterogeneous, for the Orthodox Corinthian left its mark, and its elements, often thoroughly devolved and schematized, can be detected in the majority of later specimens (see Figure 5).

For example, the composite capital from the church at Capitolias⁶¹ (Fig. 5a) is clearly an emaciated version of the Orthodox Corinthian, as is one of the examples from the 'temple' at Decapolitan Abila⁶² (Fig. 5b) in which the middle row, calices and central stem are replaced by a circle-cross in the centre of each face (varied by a rosette), and in which the median helices spring from "nowhere" but are connected with the corner volutes and reduced to a tiny abstract ornament. Similar, but slightly more devolved, pilaster capitals come from the Martyry of Resafa⁶³ (Fig. 5c,d), but two other capitals from the 'temple' at Decapolitan Abila (Fig. 5e,f) can only be recognised as descendants of Corinthians by careful scrutiny. One⁶⁴ (Fig. 5e) does indeed have most of the essentials, though in a thoroughly mutated form: the lower row which, at each side, reaches from the bottom of the capital to just below the corner of the external helices (which it "supports") is no longer composed of true acanthus leaves, but of single broad triangular leaves with incised ribbing;⁶⁵ the middle row is represented by a single abbreviated acanthus leaf showing through behind and between the two large lateral leaves at their junction in the centre of the face of the capitals; from this acanthus leaf spring the lateral helices, the median helices and stem which "supports" them being replaced by a shield. The other⁶⁶ (Fig. 5f) has in fact more of the elements of the Orthodox Corinthian, but in such a thoroughly devolved form, and so schematized and stylized, that they are recognisable only by reference to the capital just discussed. The same two broad lateral leaves are present, but they are transformed into the second row, as they should be, by the addition of an abbreviated lower row around the base of the capitals; between them is another leaf of similar type to the large leaves, from which springs what would once have been the central tendril "supporting" or weaving between the median helices; above are two curlicue shapes, all that remains of the median helices; the external, lateral helices are omitted.

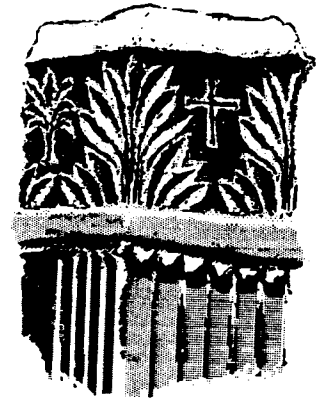
At the same time older forms reappeared,⁶⁷ fused with the new, particularly the chapiteaux épannelés, which seem to have survived through the Roman period in odd examples such as that from the 'Temple of Bacchus'



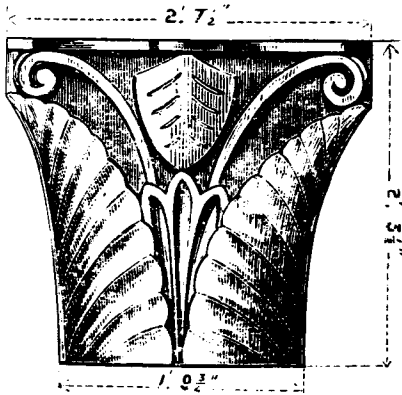
A. Capitolas, Church
from Schumacher,
Northern 'Ajlûn, p. 161, left.



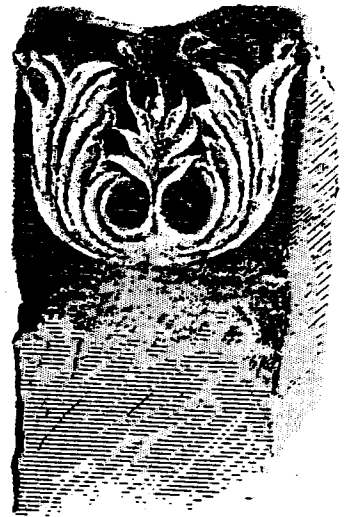
B. Decapolitan Abila,
'Temple',
from Schumacher, Abila, p.27, No.3
p. 27, No. 3



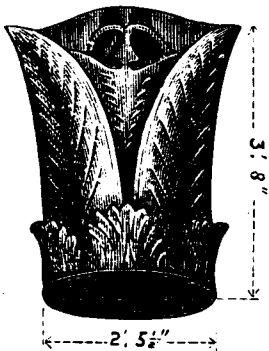
C. Resafa, Martyr
from Musil, Palmyrena,
p. 197, fig. 75.



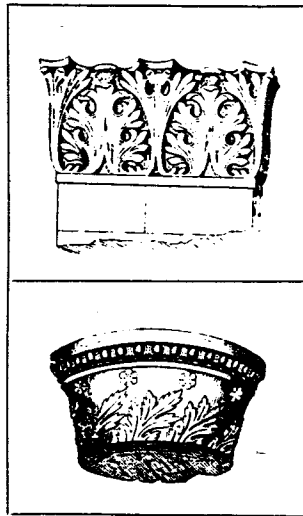
E. Abila, 'Temple',
from Schumacher,
Abila, p. 26, No. 2.



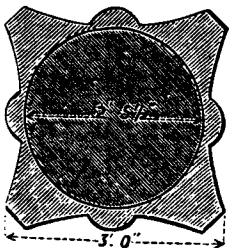
D. Resafa, Martyr,
from Musil, Palmyrena,
p. 199, fig. 76.



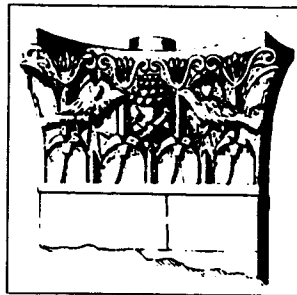
F. Abila, 'Temple',
from Schumacher,
Abila, p. 25, No. 1



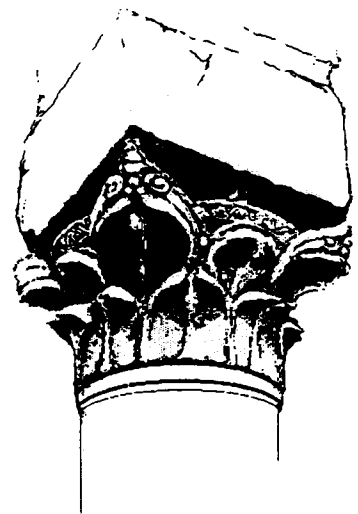
G, H. Kasr al-Her ech-Chorqi,
Mosque
from Musil, Palmyrena,
p. 77, figs. 19,20.



J. Resafa Alamundarus' Church.
from Musil, Palmyrena,
p. 209, fig. 82.



K. Resafa Basilica of
St. Sergius
from Musil, Palmyrena,
p. 194, fig. 72.



at Baalbek,⁶⁸ now, if not before, perhaps also blended with the lotus capital of Egypt and Mesopotamian varieties. Yet even here the influence of the Orthodox Corinthians can be discerned in some variants; at Resafa, the external volutes and overall arrangement of the leaves are retained in examples from the Basilica of St. Sergius⁶⁹ (Fig. 5k) and one from Alemandarus' Church,⁷⁰ while another capital from the latter building⁷¹ (Fig. 5j) (perhaps in combination in addition with a third 'Egyptianizing' type⁷²) adds birds and a bunch of grapes to the middle row, and retains the internal helices as well as the external - indeed, it reduplicates the stems so that there are four in all, and two sets of internal and external helices, to each side of the capital.

The Umayyads brought with them new forms, but they also continued the development of the Corinthian, not only in the re-use and duplication of old capitals, as in the Great Mosque at Damascus, but in experiments with schematization of motifs and variant combinations, in a very similar manner to that of the first group of Christian capitals cited, see for example the capital from Anjar illustrated by Talbot Rice,⁷³ or those from the mosque at Kaşr al-Hêr ech Charqi illustrated by Musil⁷⁴ (Fig. 5g,h).

Even the undesirable legacies of the Romans persisted. In the passage quoted from A.H.M. Jones above,⁷⁵ in a denial of any significant impact by the Romans, he points out that by the Byzantine period virtually the whole of Syria was partitioned into city states, with a consequent increase in the wealthy landlord class which gradually stamped out peasant proprietorship. In this respect Syria suffered the same fate as other provinces of the empire: it is, unfortunately, not a prerequisite of Romanization that it should be beneficial.

Just as Aelia typified the emergent Romano-Syrian milieu, and Samaria the effect of that milieu in its developed form, so Resafa⁷⁶ may stand as a type of the milieu in this, its latest phase, for most of the known extant material belongs to this time, and that which is earlier, stemming from the early and middle Roman periods, was extant in the later period, forming part of the town of that time.

Its churches and their capitals have already been mentioned. Always a caravan town on the main road from Palmyra to the Euphrates, it became known as Sergiopolis in the fifth and sixth centuries, after the martyrdom of St. Sergius outside the gate, the seat of a metropolitan, and

a centre of pilgrimage; later it became the country residence of the caliph Hišam, son of 'Abdalmalek (who died in A.D. 743), though retaining its importance as a Christian centre; the fame of its monastery is preserved in the accounts of Arab writers. It is enclosed by walls 577 by 361 metres long, with circular, elliptical and square towers, and an external ditch system; three splendid gates with propugnacula are preserved, that of the North Gate being particularly fine;⁷⁷ the capitals of this complex are, as Mendl points out,⁷⁸ typically 'Byzantine', though of the florid, luxuriant type closest to the Orthodox Corinthian, rather than the church capitals illustrated in Fig. 5; a somewhat earlier date for the gate, fourth or even third century might be entertained.

Within the walls the town was laid out according to the points of the compass, with two main intersecting arcaded streets (the *cardo* 28 metres broad) connecting the gates in the centres of each wall; between these arcades and houses was a footway 1.8 metres broad. Traces of subsidiary colonnaded streets branching off to the east and west of the main north-south street, laid out in grid fashion, remained at the time of Musil's visit, as did vestiges of at least two triumphal arches. Apart from the churches, typical of Late Roman architecture in their structural details as well as in plan,⁷⁹ traces of houses, and of an elaborate system of aqueducts and cisterns were noted.

Indeed, only two elements of the Romano-Syrian milieu actually declined rather than developing further and mutating under later influences, namely the pottery, which, even at Antioch, gave way before the pottery of the Arab conquerors (this, of course, only in the seventh century)⁸⁰ and Latin. As has been pointed out throughout the preceding sections, Syria was Romanized, but not truly Latinized, since Greek, which had already gained a hold prior to the Roman occupation, was initially, and became increasingly more, acceptable to the Romans in lieu of Latin. Nevertheless, the precarious hold of Latin proved tenacious in those contexts in which it was most marked, official documents and notices such as CIL III No.184 (for which, however, it was deemed necessary to provide a Greek translation) or the many milestones of the late third and early fourth centuries,⁸¹ and the "private", that is to say public, but not ex officio, inscriptions of official Roman personnel, such as the dedication to the emperors by a Roman official of equestrian rank, IGLS VII, No.4007, from Arados, dated to the 'Christian epoch' by Rey-Coquais.

On the other hand, the Umayyads continued much that had been part of the Romano-Syrian milieu, particularly in architecture and associated cultural aspects. The architectural forms - not merely the capitals but many of the other decorative elements as well - were retained and developed to such an extent that Poidebard, for example, falsely assumed that the bulk of the extant work on the Ḥarbaka dam system was Roman: it is indeed Roman in origin, in that the dam itself was probably constructed in the C^{1st} A.D., while the construction of the fort at Ḥan al-Mankûra, dependent upon an artificial water supply, implies that some sort of reticulation system existed in the Mankûra Valley in Roman times, but all the extant channels, dividing walls and other apparatus of the distribution system are Umayyad.⁸² Not only were the forms alike, but the types of structure were much the same - for example, the water-wheel and high aqueduct system at Hama⁸³ might well have been Roman but for the slightly ogival shape of the arches of the viaduct - something which reflects a similarity in outlook, priorities and policies, most noticeably in the matter of water conservation and management: their continuation of the Roman irrigation scheme at Kaṣr al-Ḥēr al-Ġarbi has been mentioned, and a similar Umayyad system of channels and gardens has been discovered elsewhere in the area at its namesake, Kaṣr al-Ḥēr ech Charqi north-east of Palmyra, near Suḥne.⁸⁴ Even some of the institutions of the previous era continued under the Arab rulers, particularly Christian institutions: while many Christian churches were converted into mosques, others continued to serve the Christian faith, and indeed many were substantially repaired under the caliphs, for example, the monastery basilica at Resafa, which was repaired after the earthquake of A.D. 1086 by the metropolitan Simeon.⁸⁵ Similarly, the Christians of the monastery of Anasarthā (Ḥanaṣer) successfully made peace with Abu 'Obejda, and it was apparently still in existence in the reign of 'Abdalmalek (A.D. 685-705); shortly after, in 709, the town became the residence of the caliph al-Walīd ibn 'Abdalmalek, with the monastery perhaps still in existence;⁸⁶ the monastery of Dejr Murrân : regularly entertained the Umayyad princes, and the same al-Walīd I died there.⁸⁷

The Romano-Syrian milieu was neither static nor stagnant in later times. The impact of the Romans was neither slight nor ephemeral.

CHAPTER VI.

Synthesis.

The overall pattern of the process outlined in the previous chapters is quite clear and needs little elaboration.

The process at work was cumulative, and accelerated exponentially, beginning from the time of the Roman conquest, or perhaps even before, with only a minor impact in a few specific cases, and checked periodically in the first centuries B.C. and A.D. by political upheavals, which not only disrupted the normal social intercourse of the area, and so obstructed the mechanism of dissemination, but also destroyed many of the existing physical manifestations of Roman, or Romano-Syrian, culture, thus preventing any further secondary effect by way of imitation.

However, the seeds were planted, particularly in the work of Herod I, and the process was self-perpetuating, in that tolerated, and surviving, superimpositions or other manifestations might serve as the model and inspiration for others of their kind. Together with the multiplication of Roman and Romano-Syrian manifestations, natural obsolescence, physical and otherwise, saw to the reduction of types not destined to become part of the ultimate provincial milieu, so that a period of uninterrupted development made it progressively harder for the effects to be overturned, well-nigh eliminating the non-Roman options by eliminating the models. The tempo was accelerated still more by the application of irregular impetuses (like the partially abortive upsurge in Period II with the activities of Herod I), in the form of an increase in general prosperity, particularly in Periods IV, V and VII: these allowed the expression of previously established Roman tastes in a multitude of examples, each a potential model which might further propagate those tastes, or an influx of Roman superimpositions, imperial or otherwise, calculated or otherwise, acting in the same manner.

By the first half of the second century A.D. the process had achieved enough momentum for the adverse effects of the second major Jewish revolt to be negligible; indeed, the (from the point of view of this thesis) positive effects of the reprisal measures consequent upon the revolt, especially the construction of the model city of Colonia Aelia Capitolina, outweighed the deleterious results of the uprising. By the end of the same century, the change, not only in the physical aspect of the towns in the

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area, but also in the attitudes, values and thought patterns of the inhabitants is unmistakable.

The process, more and more a matter of fusion and hybridization rather than simple replacement of non-Roman forms with Roman ones, continued unabated into the third century and later, with the evolution of new Romano-Syrian types; with new mutations, due to the influx of new cultural elements, it persisted even into the Ummayyad era.

It is equally clear that the pattern of response varied in different parts of the area, as the Roman importations interacted with the various pre-existent subcultures, hence producing different rates of Romanization, and different kinds.

In the wilder regions such as the non-urban portions of Commagene and the Transjordan, the innovations met with a comparatively easy reception, because of the lack of local counterparts strong enough to resist the imported ones, particularly in places where the Graeco-Iranian cultural milieu had not fully prevailed, providing types close enough to persist as acceptable substitutes. In the non-Greek cities of the Levant and Beqa'a, the importations were accepted with the habitual ease of the age-old melting pot: the gods, complaisant as their devotees, amenably answered to whatever name the Roman rulers were pleased to call them by, without radically changing their nature; the cities wore Graeco-Roman garb with the ease of a practised quick-change artist. As of old, there seems to have been little conflict, and little commitment. The history of the area, of which each individual would have known some part, even the mythology, according to Lucian's De Dea Syriae, tells of the arrival of numerous strangers spreading new ways; that Lucian records these stories ensures that they were part of remembered history at the time, not merely history as it was later rediscovered. It must have prepared the people for recurrent influxes of foreign culture, each with advantages as well as disadvantages.

The Palmyrenes, on the other hand, received the innovations with somewhat indiscriminate enthusiasm in some respects, and with utterly impervious resistance in others. The prevailing attitude was one of a joyous lack of gravity on the subject, somehow child-like, a delight at the sight of a new toy - but they seldom threw away the old one. They were

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proud of their own culture and its (supposed) origins, but they were not preoccupied with keeping it inviolate and unsullied by fresh stimuli. Probably because of the lack of prior Hellenization, they tended to accept the more purely Italian Roman forms, whereas further to the west, in the area which was already conditioned to the acceptance of some degree of Hellenization, it was the Graeco-Roman forms, those things common to both cultures, which spread to areas beyond their former currency. This is not, however, to say that the Hellenizing forms of western Syria did not also spread to Palmyra - indeed, it is a marked feature of the site that in the Roman period it turned to the Mediterranean coast for inspiration, whereas formerly it looked almost exclusively to the east.

The Greek cities, especially those of the coast and the Decapolis, present special problems. The existence of a previous Hellenistic tradition, in so many respects acceptable to the Romans, meant that prior to the emergence of the Romano-Syrian milieu, there was no necessity and little pressure to change. Yet new, specifically Roman architectural types were eventually introduced, arched gates, the rare amphitheatre or concrete domed nymphaeum, and types held in common by Greek and Roman alike flourished at the expense of those Greek forms no longer favoured by the Romans. Even Jerash finally adopted the Corinthian order in lieu of the Ionic for major public buildings, as the effect of the emergent Romano-Syrian milieu was felt, and the cities became proudly aware of themselves as part of the Roman Empire, in what they saw as a continuing tradition from Seleucid times.

Judaea provides the best of all controls, with, to be sure, one sector of the population assiduously embracing the Romans and all things Roman, but with the majority the conscious and unwilling subjects of Romanization, very much aware of the phenomenon of acculturation at least since the time of Antiochus IV, and bitterly opposed to it as a threat to their own national integrity, and especially religious separatism. The excesses of Antiochus had produced a passionate desire to freeze the evolution of their culture at what was regarded as the moment of salvation, the early Maccabaeon era, with, admittedly, some Hellenistic elements, but only a very limited and select number. (They, of course, would not have seen the situation in these terms, but rather in terms of upholding the sacred law, which, taken to its full extremes, so pervaded every aspect of life that it amounted to the culture as a whole.) They resented the innovations to the point of suicidal revolt, yet even in revolt demonstrated that they had

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been affected, for the most part unawares, by the foreign culture they rejected, using Roman forms and ideas, not, certainly, the more overt or sedulous type of Romanization, but in more subtle, barely perceptible ways - attitudes to coinage, the preference for some motifs over others in a repertoire of acceptable types. The impact in Judaea, if nowhere else, demonstrates the inevitability of the phenomenon. Ultimately, the resistance decayed, consumed by the violence of the revolts it engendered, and the survivors in Judaea began to follow the same pattern as the other inhabitants of greater Syria, using Greek in public, following Graeco-Roman occupations such as that of architect or hydraulic engineer, creating new architectural and artistic forms from the Romano-Syrian pool of devices (to which their own culture made its contribution) to suit their own particular needs.

Despite the initial differences between these various areas and subcultures, none remained untouched. All were gradually brought closer to each other, culturally speaking, by the spread of the Romano-Syrian milieu.

The same disparity is visible in the various spheres of influence, aspects of life, in both the degree and the spread of the impact. Yet, once again, no sphere remained entirely untouched.

In the sphere of public life, as has been remarked throughout, Syrians were disadvantaged in that a persistent prejudice, not dissimilar to modern racial bigotry, existed in the minds of the upper classes at Rome: the Romans, seeing Syrians first en masse as slaves, and imitation Greek slaves at that, evolved a stereotype of a Syrian, base, cunning, born to be a slave, and so were resistant to the idea of such a creature occupying the higher offices normally filled by the upper social echelons. There is also a positive side to the tardy entry of Syrian-born Romans into the life of the empire on the political level. It has also been noted that, at least at Palmyra, even Roman citizenship, rather than a coveted prize, was regarded with something like indifference,¹ an indication that options other than the Roman one existed. In places such as Britain, for example, if a man wished to make a public career, he had to follow a Roman career, to play the Roman game on the Roman terms, but in Palmyra, at least, the vocational straitjacket was not so tight. A man might simply be a Palmyrene and still achieve an illustrious eminence, the intimate of kings and princes and rulers, Roman and non-Roman, like the merchant who gives

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no indication that he was a Roman citizen, dispatched by Germanicus to the Persian Gulf, and also employed by Sampsigeramus II of Emesa,² or Yarhaī son of Nebozabad, made 'satrap' by Meherdates of Mesene in the early second century A.D.,³ and, of course, the inimitable Soados son of Boliades.⁴ The incentive to follow a Roman career was lacking, and when this was joined with the resistance the Roman idea of a Syrian must have engendered, it is hardly surprising that Syrians, save for the local dynasts, made little impact on the higher offices of the imperial government during the first century and a half of Roman rule.

Nevertheless, the breakthrough came, in the first half of the second century A.D., signalled by the rise to the position of Prefect of Egypt of Avidius Heliodorus, no native potentate but a provincial following what was a more or less normal equestrian cursus with distinction.⁵ In the following Period, his son, Avidius Cassius, aspired to even higher honours, actually reigned, for approximately three months, not only in Syria but also in Egypt, and won at least the retrospective approval of Cassius Dio and the author of his SHA biography, if only in the light of hindsight and the reign of Commodus, subsequent to and consequent upon his failure.⁶ Before the close of the second century, a Syrian had come close to the purple on three occasions, for the senator Claudius Pompeianus, son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius, twice prudently declined elevation, once when it was offered to him by Pertinax, once when he was pressed to accept it by Didius Julianus after the death of Pertinax.⁷ The rise of the Severi, and with them the Emesan Julii, made the question irrelevant. From that time onwards the Syrian lands supplied emperors in much the same manner and with much the same frequency as the other parts of the empire.

On a lower social level, particularly in those occupations, theatrical, artistic and academic, which, suitable as they may have been as leisure pursuits of a dilettante gentleman, were generally regarded as servile when performed as a means of gaining a living - fit careers for slaves and freedmen - Syrians were prominent from the Late Republic onwards. It might even be said that the Syrians, as denizens of the "Greek East", were in this instance the teachers and the Romans the pupils, and that the flow of influence was east to west rather than vice versa, but this must be modified by the fact that people from non-Greek parts of the area, such as Josephus and Lucian, found it necessary to tailor themselves to fit the particular Greek forms acceptable to the Romans, while others, Publilius

Syrus, master of Atellan farces,⁸ and Apollodorus of Damascus, architect to Trajan,⁹ perforce went further, and became so fluent in peculiarly Roman (as opposed to Greek) forms as to surpass their Italian-born rivals.

In the military sphere, soldiers and sailors of Syrian origin served in both specialized ethnic auxiliary units,¹⁰ and, more importantly, because of the opportunity it allows for dissemination of Roman ways via these local recruits, in the regular army units, both outside the area¹¹ and inside, the latter, perhaps, at a comparatively early date.¹²

Within the province, in local government, the municipal offices took on Latin or Greek titles, in the colonies duoviri, pontifices, decuriones and so forth.¹³ In Greek cities such as Jerash¹⁴ and Arados¹⁵ offices such as those of agonothete, gymnasiarch, agoranomos, proedros and strategos appear, as too in non-Greek cities such as Palmyra, where the offices of archon, strategos, agoranomos and proedros as well as symposiarch of the priesthoods are attested.¹⁶ While one is tempted to believe, with Rostovtzeff,¹⁷ that these titles covered at mere regularization of existing native dignities in the remoter areas, the exact function of these offices is in many cases debatable, and the same may not have been true of those settlements which became sizable towns only in the Roman period, so that strictly civic offices such as agoranomos, as opposed to nebulous terms like strategos, are unlikely to reflect pre-existent positions.

As has been pointed out in my previous work, the evidence pertaining to private life is the most incomplete, mainly because of the unavailability of material or because the form of what is available is unsuited to a study of this kind. Such of what may be termed 'miscellaneous small finds' as have been taken into consideration, the lamps from Murabba'at,¹⁸ the little icon from the Tomb of Ioannes at Pella,¹⁹ the fragments of textiles from Palmyra and Qumran,²⁰ suggest a deal of continuity from pre-Roman times, and that the impact of the Romans was limited to an increasing uniformity within the area, itself a function of the Roman occupation, of the Romano-Syrian milieu, something observable in other spheres, where the impact and the degree of change were greater. Indeed, such evidence as there is pertaining to dress suggests continuity from pre-Roman times rather than change,²¹ with some peripheral exceptions, such as the body armour depicted on the gods of Palmyra,²² hairstyles, and perhaps the introduction of beards.²³ However, it must be noted that the

bulk of the evidence which has fallen under consideration comes from Palmyra, or outlying areas to the north and south-west. The situation may have been different in the towns of western Syria; indeed the contrast-distinction drawn by Seyrig between 'middle' and eastern Syrian and the Phoenician cities of the coast, in his major article on the subject,²⁴ implies something of the sort.

In the sphere of religion, within the timespan under discussion in the thesis proper, the detectable impact is again superficial, in part a function, once more, of the nature of the evidence, which pertains to public professions rather than private beliefs. The major discernible effect, the tendency towards uniformity visible in the growth of the major cults and their assimilation of the smaller ones, together with the nominal syncretizations with Classical deities which made them acceptable to the Romans, prefiguring the uniformity of the milieu in this sphere with the rise of Christianity, has already been discussed,²⁵ as has the failure of the imperial cult to make any profound impact, except, perhaps, at Jerash.²⁶

Nevertheless, it should also be pointed out that at least perfunctory observance of the imperial cult was widespread, continued throughout the entire timespan, and was, like the allied and possibly directly connected phenomenon of offering and dedicating for the welfare of the reigning emperor and imperial household, obviously very much a part of everyday life in the province: it was something done automatically, and probably without much conscious enthusiasm, but for that very reason, something apt to influence one's preconceptions regarding the world on a subliminal level. Apart from the hypothetical identification of Faustina with Isis at Jerash, the cult is attested, if Downey's interpretation is correct, in a nascent form in the work of Caesar at Antioch,²⁷ and perhaps more safely recognisable in the coinage of Antony issued at the same city,²⁸ on which he appears as a divine Hellenistic ruler. In the reign of Augustus, the diligent Herod spread the cult throughout his non-Jewish possessions, Samaria, Caesarea, Paneion, as well as unspecified places in the province of Syria itself,²⁹ though not overtly introducing it anywhere inhabited by a predominantly Jewish population.

Whether the responsibility lay with Herod or not, the cult seems to have been instituted early on a provincial, and perhaps on a municipal, level, with prince Dexandros as the first high priest of the provincial cult under Augustus, and Ariston son of Alexander of Arados as priest under the same emperor.³⁰ Similarly, for the reign of Tiberius, there is at Jerash the inscription of Zabdion son of Aristomachos, priest of Tiberius, a dedication to Zeus Olympios ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστοῶν σοτηρίας, dated A.D. 22/3 and so attesting, once more, the cult of the living emperor;³¹ this early appearance of the cult at Jerash receives some shaky confirmation from the dedication of an andron by Serapion son of Demetrios, likewise on behalf of the welfare of the "emperors",³² though here one enters a somewhat circular chain of conjecture. In the Flavian period, Period IV, there is an inscription from Berytus which commemorates the erection of a statue of a man who seems to have been pontifex Augusti or Augustalis, though pontifex rather than flamen, sevir, or sacerdos would be unusual, and another reading is possible.³³ Certainly the formalities of the deification of deceased emperors were observed, as the inscription of a quaestor divi Vespasiani et divi {Titi} from Antioch³⁴ demonstrates.

With the increase in the number of surviving inscriptions and of evidence generally from the second century, it becomes clear that the cult was established all over the region. For Antioch, and indeed for the whole area, there is the evidence of a dedication from Jerash by a man who served as an imperial priest at Antioch, and in the four eparchies, Syria, Phoenicia, Commagene and Coele Syria: the inscription is dated to A.D. 119/20, so his priesthood was presumably that of Trajan.³⁵ For Jerash itself, there is, apart from the contentious identification with Isis,³⁶ evidence of the existence of at least one imperial priest, again apparently of Trajan,³⁷ with three more doubtful examples from inscriptions assigned on the lettering to the middle of the century.³⁸ From Palmyra and Palmyrene there is the allusion to "the god" Hadrian in the inscription of Malé Agrippa on the Temple of Baalshamin, A.D. 130/131,³⁹ and the similar reference to Antoninus Pius on the column of Soados at Amad, cut in the reign of Antoninus.⁴⁰ In addition, there were supposedly Hadrianea at Tiberias,⁴¹ Caesarea⁴² and Damascus⁴³ as well as the basilica in the agora at Palmyra

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identified as a kaisarion by Ward-Perkins and the later attestation of the cult;⁴⁴ the imperial cult may have been instituted at Dura by the army of occupation as early as Period VI, though this is uncertain.⁴⁵ The nominal deification of deceased emperors is of course widely and amply attested, for example in the more elaborate dedicatory inscriptions such as the dedication to Antoninus Pius from the road from Salamieh to Palmyra,⁴⁶ the Trajanic inscription from the road between Pella and Jerash,⁴⁷ or the Hadrianic ones from the roads from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis,⁴⁸ Philadelphia to Jerash,⁴⁹ and the Damascus road,⁵⁰ where the titles of previous emperors are included.

Whether this increase in attestation reflects an actual growth in the cult within the area, or merely echoes the general increase in evidence, is obviously impossible to say with certainty. It seems likely, however, that it does signal a real aggrandizement. While the Hadrianea of Caesarea and Damascus may represent no more than the re-dedication and perhaps refurbishing of older buildings previously devoted to the imperial cult, the basilica in the agora at Palmyra, if correctly identified as a kaisarion, was a new construction, since it belongs to the second century building phase; whether it replaced an older building with the same function is unknown. It is, however, extremely likely that at Tiberias constituted an innovation: as Rajak⁵¹ points out, Tiberias was founded as a Jewish town, and only gradually became 'Hellenised'; following Jones, she suggests the imperial cult may have been forced upon the town, though it seems equally possible that it was a thank-offering for some benefaction of Hadrian's, given his record in the area, or perhaps a profession of loyalty in the ambiguous circumstances of the Second Revolt. Furthermore, the extraordinary activities of Soados in Vologesia⁵² suggest that there was indeed an expansion of the cult at this time, with or without imperial impetus.

Certainly there is no immediate sign of the cult's decline in the Severan age, rather the reverse, although the assertion of Tertullian cited by Keresztes to the effect that the African Christians did not participate in the cult worshipping or sacrificing to the emperor, instead offering sacrifices on his behalf,⁵³ points to the eventual fate of the cult, and once again raises the question of how closely the two practices were connected and to what extent pro salute dedications were an acceptable substitute, both now and earlier, with especial reference to the ostensible cause of the First Jewish Revolt.⁵⁴ In the meantime, however, the cult flourished. The posthumous cult of Commodus, sponsored by Septimius Severus,

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is attested in a military inscription from the road near Laodicea,⁵⁵ and the same rather unlooked-for development evidenced in a dedication by the city at Arados, and among the soldiers at Dura,⁵⁶ where a temple of the emperors should also have been constructed in this Period if not in the preceding one. Worship of the reigning imperial family is also well documented, in the military dedication from Canatha,⁵⁷ the civilian dedication from Berytus,⁵⁸ or in the dedication to Severus Alexander from Palmyra which marked his visit.⁵⁹

It is likely that there was an element of imperial superimposition in all this, at least insofar as the assent of the reigning emperor may have been required for the establishment of each new local chapter, even if his active promotion was not entailed. Pliny the Younger, writing in the reign of Trajan, refers all matters anent the imperial cult back to Rome.⁶⁰ It is true that Pliny may not be a reliable guide in this matter, since he refers all matters generally back to Rome to an extent which cannot possibly reflect the position of governors of major provinces such as Syria; moreover, many of his 'consultations' may be factitious, aimed at allowing him yet another excuse to reiterate his request for an architectural expert from Rome.⁶¹ That Pliny, for whatever reason, did not represent the norm as far as general consultation is concerned is confirmed by his own account: it is evident that some towns had previously proceeded with major building projects not connected with the imperial cult under their own auspices⁶² (though perhaps with unstated permission from a predecessor of his); moreover, his interminable series of querulous missives ultimately draws the reproof, Sed ego ideo prudentiam tuam elegi ut formandis istius provinciae moribus ipse moderandis et ea constitueres quae ad perpetuam eius provinciae quietem essent profutura.⁶³

But there is no indication in the replies to his specific enquiries regarding the imperial cult that he is in any way out of order, and in the earliest of his letters on the subject he states that he had previously asked Nerva's permission to set up a temple at Tifernum in Italy, and add Nerva's statue. It does indeed seem probable that this was standard practice, though whether the prerogative of the emperor reached as far as Soados in Vologesia, or whether he set up his temple of the emperors entirely on his own initiative, is another matter.

However, it also seems that the cult, if it inspired no profound

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religious fervour, nonetheless became so ingrained in the minds of the population as to form part of their automatic presuppositions regarding daily life. In this respect, the two Severan inscriptions cited from Berytus and Canatha are impressive. In both cases the reference to the divinity of the imperial family seems almost an aside, an allusion peripheral to the main import of the text: in CIL III No.121 from Canatha, certainly, the formulaic "DEVOTIS SIMVS NVMINI EIVS" falls at the end of a verbose and florid dedication to Caracalla, and so might perhaps be construed as the climax rather than a mere appendage, but in CIL III No.154 from Berytus, "ET . TOTIVS DOMVS.DIVINAE.EIVS" is imbedded in the text,^{63a} almost as an afterthought to the full elaboration of the titles of Julia Domna, "LIBERORVMQVE", and the inscription continues with a dedication to the Genius of Berytus (see the text, supra, Ch.V, p.275); it is very much in the nature of an aside, an allusion to a normal formality which was almost overlooked in the attention paid to the main themes.

While no assessment can be made of whether the other two major pagan Roman phenomena, the syncretized cults and the rise of the Zeus Hysistos aspect of Baalshamin at Palmyra, became part of normal life in this way, it is clear that the syncretizations, once formed, were not ephemeral,⁶⁴ and the cult of Zeus Hysistos (which Starcky sees as a spiritualization of the cult under the influence of the religions of western Syria, and which was consistently patronised by Romans or individuals otherwise connected with the Romans and suspected of being "Romanized")⁶⁵ if it did not spread, at least survived at Palmyra until the beginning of the fourth century, outlasting the original aspects of this same deity: the latest pagan dedication in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin is an altar dedicated to Zeus Hysistos Epekoos by a Roman officer, on September the 25th, A.D. 302.⁶⁶ On the other hand, there is no doubt of the demotic impact and profound effect, despite local hybridizations, of Christianity (which must, for reasons already given, be regarded in some sense as a Romano-Syrian hybrid, though perhaps with the status of a Roman importation in much of Syria),⁶⁷ if only from the little figurine from the tomb of Ionnes at Pella,⁶⁸ and the multitude of Christian graffiti.⁶⁹

Even in its present indefinite state, the evidence suggests that if the influence of Rome in the sphere of religion was at first slight and superficial, overall and all in all the impact was by no means nugatory.

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Furthermore, the fitments, if not the form, of such private houses, early⁷⁰ and late,⁷¹ as are available for study suggest a domestic atmosphere in the middle and upper classes which was at least consonant with the Graeco-Roman milieu in the broader sense. The pottery, specifically, seems to point in opposing directions - as has been explained in my previous work⁷² the ceramic evidence is so uneven and contradictory in its implications as to make any appraisal of the overall situation hazardous - but even so, some positive impact, three different sorts of Romanization, is attested in this sphere, though the physical extent and degree of each cannot be assessed.

The pottery of Antioch studied by Waagé demonstrates, as has already been noted, a species of 'inevitable' Romanization, in which external events brought about a (possibly unwitting and involuntary) Romanization in Syria itself: the Romanization of the external source of the pottery meant that merely by continuing to import pottery from the same source as before, towns within Syria transferred to themselves a commensurate Romanization, in terms of the extent to which the pottery was affected, if not in the degree of significance which may be attached. While the distribution of those shapes which Waagé considers felt the effect of Italian pottery is unclear, there are indisputable instances of the appearance of his 'Roman' pottery throughout Palestine: 'Early Roman' at Beth-Shan - Scythopolis⁷³ and possibly at Samaria⁷⁴ and Dura;⁷⁵ 'Middle Roman' (a phase which he considers to consist of local developments proceeding without a clear break from the preceding phase) understandably not precisely duplicated elsewhere, though with some of the pottery from Jerash⁷⁶ possibly representing the Gerasene counterpart phase; Late Roman B at Beth-Shan,⁷⁷ Jericho, and in "Eastern Palestine",⁷⁸ with both A and B at Aelia.⁷⁹ Taken with the pottery from Hama,⁸⁰ this is sufficient to show that this phenomenon was not confined to Antioch and adjacent regions,⁸¹ even laying aside the indeterminate "Eastern Sigillata" which is reported from places such as Qasile⁸² and Masada,⁸³ and as far south as the Middle Nabataean sites of Kurnub and Oboda in Lower Arabia,⁸⁴ beyond the geographic limits of the thesis, and, at the time in question, beyond the Roman domain.

On the other hand, the direct importation of Italian or Gaulish pottery betokens the willing and witting adoption of Roman varieties. Comfort mentions the appearance of imported Italian wares of roughly Augustan or Tiberian date at Samaria and Scythopolis,⁸⁶ as well as at Petra⁸⁷

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and indeed Arretine penetrated even to the remoter areas to the south, again reported at Oboda;⁸⁷ Comfort notes in addition many signatures of similar date which appear "elsewhere in the Near East" or in "Palestine", as well as at Antioch,⁸⁸ together with an unsigned 'Samian' shape, possibly of Tiberian date, found at Beth-Shan as well as at the capital;⁸⁹ Antioch, of course, imported both Italian and Gaulish wares lavishly, particularly in the first two centuries A.D.⁹⁰

Thirdly, there is the local imitation of imported Roman or Romanized pottery. Waagé notes the possible imitation at Antioch of both the moulded bowls which form a continuous sequence throughout the timespan⁹¹ and of Late B,⁹² though, given that the Romanization implicit in the models may in this case have been unwittingly and involuntarily taken over, it is theoretically possible, if unlikely, that this imitation also represents unintentional Romanization in that the imitator was unaware of its Roman connotations; if he is correct about the nature of his "Middle Roman" phase, all the pottery belonging to that phase would fall into the same category. But if Brown's interpretation of the kiln stand found at Jericho as indicating the production of "Samian-sigillata" is correct,⁹³ then this, certainly, was a deliberate reproduction of unmistakably western forms, which in turn predicates a widespread market for such pottery in the area.

Apart from dress, perhaps the least impact was felt in the sphere of language. As pointed out previously (M.A. pp.98-110, supra, Epilogue, p. 312) the use of Latin was slight and ephemeral, and principally confined to a limited number of specialized situations; certainly it failed to make a profound impact, and signs of its decay are evident as early as Period VI.⁹⁴ Yet this is not to say that within the first two and a half centuries of Roman rule it made no impact at all.

It was the official language of the colonies, not only the two senior colonies of Berytus and Baalbek, but also of the later foundations and elevations, Aelia⁹⁵ and, however fleetingly, Col. Aurelia Antoniniana, Jerash.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the colonists continued to use Latin when outside the colonies.⁹⁷ It also remained, to some extent, the language of the army, migrant soldiers and local recruits alike, used on and off duty, especially in outlying areas such as Dura⁹⁸ and Commagene. Here, particularly at the shrine of Silvanus at Enesh, the dedications of the soldiers, both as units and as private individuals, are all in Latin, save that in which not enough

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is preserved to show whether the dedicant, Markos, was or was not a soldier.⁹⁹ Moreover, the use of colloquial, and not always correct Latin, "e" appearing consistently for "i" in "devinus" and "legeonis" in IGLS No. 68, "valian" for "valeant"¹⁰⁰ and "apot Silvano" for "apud Silvanum" in IGLS No. 71, errors which derive from vulgar pronunciation (that is to say, with vowels degenerating to the indeterminate, and endings swallowed), clearly attest that this Latin was essentially a spoken, rather than a written language: it is apparent that it was used as the common tongue for normal conversation between the soldiers themselves, stemming as they did from a wide variety of linguistic backgrounds. Not least among these backgrounds would have been Syria itself: as pointed out above, Rabilius or Rabilus Beliabus, the tubicen who appears as a dedicant, together with Julius Aretinus and Julius Severus, of IGLS No. 68, written in this same soldierly argot, was certainly a local man.¹⁰¹

While Enesh is an extreme case, the same is true, to a lesser extent, throughout the region. Of the sample of ca. 294 Latin inscriptions discussed in my previous work,¹⁰² over 23% are military funerary inscriptions; even at a strongly Hellenized site such as Jerash, there are seven certain examples and one doubtful one,¹⁰³ as well as six Latin dedications or other inscriptions certainly by military personnel.¹⁰⁴ The reason for this was probably something like the following: the lower ranks of the original army of occupation - Caesar's Tenth, for example - were predominantly drawn from Italy, though perhaps, even at this stage, with a sprinkling of soldiers from the older provinces, who spoke Latin. Latin remained the language of the army, partially because it became an entrenched tradition, passing from recruit to recruit, and partially because of the need for a specialized terminology, orders, manoeuvres, the names of the various items of equipment and so forth, understood by all - again these terms already existed in Latin before the first Syrian recruits were inducted.

The inscriptions set up by members of the forces in their private capacity, together with official Latin inscriptions such as the odic inscriptions or the "D.F.S" notices (which saturated the Afka-Akura district) with which the country was bestrewn and which formed 20% of the sample of Latin inscriptions discussed in my previous work, added to the Latin of the colonists, meant that the appearance, at least, of written Latin would have been familiar to the inhabitants of most of the area, something which was already beginning in another sphere in the reign of Augustus, with the

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use by Herod's masons of the characters of the Latin alphabet as symbols.¹⁰⁵ The same inference may be drawn from the possible effects of this familiarity: if CIL III No.176¹⁰⁶ is indeed Greek written predominantly in the Latin alphabet, then the implication is that the writer was more conversant with the Latin alphabet than with the Greek.

A more pronounced, and more certain effect is discernible in the use of passable Latin by civilians. While it is difficult in some cases to determine whether the people concerned were "natives" or immigrants, and to decide what weight to place upon the individual instances - Petilia Lucia of Djedîthe may have been a colonist from Baalbek¹⁰⁷ (though the date, the reign of Antoninus Pius, suggests at least that she was several generations Syrian-born) and Sentia Magnia Saephare of Berytus may have been the wife of an imperial priest¹⁰⁸ - some are beyond doubt. The holy woman Hochmaea, who, in accordance with a vow to Hadara (Hadad) abstained from bread for twenty years and recorded the fact in reasonable Latin at Baalbek¹⁰⁹ was a quintessential "native" in any terms (though the blurring of the distinction is evident in the fact that it was a Roman centurion who later gave her burial¹¹⁰). In at least one case, that of Amathallat of Palmyra, the daughter of an opti(o) eq(uitum),¹¹¹ this use of Latin can be directly attributed to its military usage; in others, such as the doubtful manumission dedication from Enesh or the use of Latin in a possible deed of concession between a soldier and a civilian at nearby Tšardak¹¹² a more indirect, but equally certain, connection may be inferred; instances of freedmen and women whose former owners spoke Latin erecting Latin inscriptions are also attested.¹¹³ In most cases, however, the mechanism of transmission is undemonstrable.

Some slight intimation that the present evidence errs on the negative side, and that the impact of Latin was more profound and occurred earlier than is generally apparent, is implicit in the case of Publilius Syrus.¹¹⁴ He came to Rome as a slave in the first century B.C., and distinguished himself not only as an actor, but also as a writer of Latin mime, praised for his ability to express some thoughts better than any other dramatist, his one rival being the knight Laberius whom he defeated in a competition ordered by Julius Caesar; his sententiae later formed part of the Roman school curriculum. While it is possible that he learnt Latin only after his arrival at Rome, acquiring there his mastery of the tongue - among modern writers one thinks of Joseph Conrad - the likelihood

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lies in his receiving his basic grounding in his homeland.

While only a handful of the extant Latin inscriptions from Syria are as early even as the reign of Tiberius,¹¹⁵ and those generally set up by foreigners, the fact that these do exist, and that Greek inscriptions of similar date are also rare, while the earliest Latin inscription from remote Palmyra belongs to this era,¹¹⁶ suggests that their absence may be due to some extent to the preservation factor.

Furthermore, the fact that the use of Latin retained an element of prestige not accorded to Greek¹¹⁷ generated a will to speak Latin. This is evident in the inscriptions cited in my previous work in which a Greek translation is supplied, the Latin, apparently, not functionally adequate, presumably there merely for the sake of appearance; similarly, the same will to write Latin is discernible in those inscriptions cited in which intrusive Greek letters appear,¹¹⁸ indicating that Greek came more naturally to the writer than Latin - the fact remains that they are in Latin, Latin, as it were, produced in spite of difficulties. The same is true of that simplistic civic dedication to L. Domitius Catullus from Arados, IGLS No. 4009, which commences, "Civitas et Bule Aradia", and its companion piece, the Flavian trilingual inscription from Palmyra;¹¹⁹ even CIL III No.176, which seems to be a determined effort to write Greek though the Latin alphabet had to be used, has a corollary in an inscription of a thoroughly personal nature, a graffito of a cook in the "palace" at Dura, in which he noted the number of hams to be served at a meal, in Latin, but in the Greek alphabet.¹²¹

This last, indeed, suggests that while Greek may have come more easily to most Syrians than Latin, there were some few for whom the reverse was true. There are in fact rare Greek inscriptions in which the writer appears to lapse from Greek into Latin: a dedication to "the god of Baetocece" at that site was made by one Theodorus son of Caros, of the highest (σοῦμμος = summus) rank of cavaliers - indeed the whole phrase, σοῦμμος ὑπ(έ)ων σιγγοῦ{λα} is a makeshift Greek version of summus equitum singularium.¹²¹

In fact the indirect impact of Latin, in the form of loan words, was probably greater than its direct impact in the creation of Latin speakers. As pointed out in my previous work¹²² such loan words are of dual

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importance, having implications for the cultural sphere to which the word pertains as well as for the language itself. The examples of Greek and Latin words cited by de Nobiscu¹²³ in his review of Krauss' Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum reflect, in general terms, Heichelheim's more extravagant claim that in Syria Greek was the universal cultural language and Latin the administrative,¹²⁴ insofar as of the loan words derived from these languages the Greek examples tend to favour, and almost monopolise, the spheres of learning and literature and commerce. The Latin, however, do not echo any such state of affairs, but rather tend to confirm the indications from Josephus and the Essene texts from Qumrân¹²⁵ that as far as the Jewish population was concerned the main impact was in the military sphere: castellum, vexillum, encomma and in a sense *sicarii all belong to that sector, and possibly dimissus, though there are alternative connotations in this case, the discharging of a creditor; this situation is corroborated at the opposite extreme of the region, in Palmyra, by the loan words mentioned by Starcky, particularly the borrowing of centurionus despite the existence of a Greek translation, discussed above in Chapter III.¹²⁶ However, the same list of examples by de Nobiscu also demonstrates a broader Latin influence: pardalis and Caspia may have been borrowed from geographical literature; bisellium, oblatio (whether 'sacrifice' or 'bid') and "trajanisch" are more terms of general vocabulary. Most interesting of all are the words which betoken a knowledge of peculiarly Roman mores: maccus, the buffoon in the Atellan farce, sigillaria, the small images given as gifts at the end of Saturnalia, and repotia, a drinking session after entertainment. A similar range of influence is indicated by the other loan words in Semitic in different contexts, such as denarii in Palmyrene.¹²⁷ Perhaps the most striking illustration of the insidious influence of Latin is the loan word *μύλλον cited by de Nobiscu, the Greek word ultimately deriving from mille passuum¹²⁸ and retaining its meaning of a Roman mile.

The impact of Latin was not negligible.

Greek also flourished and spread under the Romans, something which is again most readily demonstrable in Judaea and Palmyra, and is presumptive in other less Hellenized areas. In both places mentioned an upsurge of influence can be dated to Period V, taking the form, in the case of Judaea, of a softening of the previous resistance to the teachings of Greek and the establishment of the school of Rabbi Gamaliel, in which five hundred young

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men studied the Law, and five hundred 'Greek Wisdom';¹²⁹ in the case of Palmyra, it manifests itself more obliquely, in the use of Greek loan words in fields of architecture and administration, such as "dogma" and "boule" in the preamble of the Tariff, the fact that this itself was in bilingual form, Greek and Palmyrene, and the change in the Palmyrene script under the influence of written Greek.¹³⁰

In neither case, however, was the upsurge in the influence of Greek confined to the Period. For Judaea, there is the dictum of the grandson of Rabbi Gamaliel, Rabbi Judah Hanassi, quoted by Lieberman,¹³¹ "Why speak Syriac in Palestine? Talk either Hebrew or Greek." Lieberman himself affirms a general knowledge of Greek language among the Jewish population, although deeming that the more general aspects of Greek culture, particularly the intellectual side, were confined to the upper classes.¹³² For Palmyrene there is the general conspectus of the epigraphy for the site: while Aramaean remained the normal language of Palmyra from the second millennium B.C. to the Late Roman Period,¹³³ a great number of bilingual Greek-Palmyrene texts exist, with others entirely in Greek or Latin,¹³⁴ although Latin appears to have been in the minority in this regard - for example, Wood and Dawkins recorded only one Latin inscription¹³⁵ - a situation similar to that at Dura.¹³⁶ More cogent than numbers alone can ever be are the indications of tacit social acceptance and institutionalization of the learning of Greek implicit in the funerary bust of a boy from Palmyra.¹³⁷ As has been noted previously,¹³⁸ Seyrig argues that these funerary busts were derived from mass produced bronze statues imported from across the Euphrates, that is to say, they were not true portraits but stereotypes divided into a limited number of categories, young woman, matron, draped male, etc., with standard diagnostic attributes and only perfunctory additions to create an impression of individuality. In this case the type would be that of a schoolboy, and the diagnostic attributes included a stylus and a schoolboy's writing tablet, on which were inscribed the last letters of the Greek alphabet, ω, χ, φ, right to left and bottom to top. The 'typical Palmyrene schoolboy' therefore learnt Greek (presumably not backwards and upside down).

The significance of this is obvious: if Greek were taught to the upper classes as a 'typical' part of the curriculum, its usage as the common language, particularly for external commerce, seems assured; the familiarity of the educated sector of the population with the language,

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and consequent use of it in, say, a business situation, means that the remainder of the population must needs have some acquaintance with it, to understand the Greek based terminology to which its usage would give rise.

Greek loan words, as noted above, do in fact support the idea that Greek was the major common cultural language, used by Semitic speakers for communication with Greeks and Romans alike, in that many of the loan words are obviously drawn from literary or academic sources. The Jewish examples cited by de Nobiscu¹³⁹ include words such as ἀκτῶρος, Ἀρούρητις, θεωρητής, κοῦτη, κοπή, μορμούς, *πατροβούλη, ὀργία, ὀρθόγραμμα, προστάς, λογοκλέπτης, Μάζακου and εἰκῶν. Similarly, at Palmyra, Starcky notes the borrowing in particular of Greek architectural terms,¹⁴⁰ something reflected in Palestine and the Hauran, for example, in the word estewā from stoa, cited by Watzinger.¹⁴¹

However, the loan words also suggest a broader impact, particularly in the field of commerce (as adumbrated above in the case of Palmyra), for example in de Nobiscu's selection,¹⁴² probably *δολιχόστοον and κηρύνη, certainly ἔμπορος, θάλασσα, τέτρα and ἄντιον drawn from the terminology of the shipping trade, and possibly ὀστρακύνη, earthenware, and λυκαόνικος and κανωβικά if the latter two words mean, as they appear to do, some product respectively of Lycaon and Canopus. Furthermore, they also attest the encroachment of Greek in the supposedly Latin preserve of administration: the use of Greek terms for the civic offices of Palmyra has been mentioned, and Starcky¹⁴³ also speaks of numerous other administrative terms, including the instances from the Tariff already cited. Indeed, of the loan words from Jewish sources cited by de Nobiscu, *πατροβούλη and προστάς may belong to this sphere rather than to literature.

Perhaps the most conspicuous, and most superficial impact of Latin and Greek was the widespread practice of using two names, the original Semitic with, in addition, a Latin or Greek alternative, again something which is singled out for mention at Palmyra by Starcky.¹⁴⁴ He cites as examples the dual names of the later queen, Bathzabbai and Zenobia, and of her son Vaballath or Wahballât (conflated with Hairânes-Herennius of the SHA Triginta Tyranni, but probably a different individual). The choice of a second Classical name, as Starcky observes, was somewhat arbitrary: he explains the Greek name of Vaballath, Athenodorus, as a translation of Wahballât, meaning gift of Allat, who was assimilated with Athena (a

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similar instance being Beliabus-Diodotos from Damascus¹⁴⁵) but points out that a casual consonantal resemblance might suffice to inspire an equation, Hairân, for example, becoming Herodes.

Overall, the evidence from the linguistic sphere implies no mean impact.

Moreover, there is indirect evidence of a change in the way in which people thought, and of the mental assimilation of the Syrian population into the Roman frame of reference. As discussed above in Chapter IV, Period VI saw the meek co-operation of Abila Lysaniae, the centre of the territory presented to Herod by Augustus when it became apparent that the governor of Syria could not control its brigands, in the funding of public works carried out by the Roman army within the city's demesne,¹⁴⁶ the minting of coins of the cities of the Decapolis which show a change of perspective, a new civic self-awareness of themselves as standing in a continuing history from Seleucid through early Roman times, both now equally part of the same proud tradition,¹⁴⁷ and ultimately the participation of the various cities, first in their support of Avidius Cassius in A.D. 175, then later in the divided partisanship in the struggle between Severus and Niger, participation which implicitly attests the acceptance of Roman values, the Roman system of rule, and their own position within the Roman framework as part of the Roman empire.¹⁴⁸

This evidence pertains, strictly, to the public sphere rather than the private, since it is a matter of the towns acting corporately. However, the towns as corporate bodies were composed of a collection of individuals, and without a change in the thought patterns of most of the influential citizens such corporate action would not have taken place. That such a change had occurred on the individual level is confirmed by the contrast which may be drawn between the writings of Josephus and Lucian, analysed from this point of view:¹⁴⁹ Josephus is a man willing to be Romanized, and in the process of being Romanized, but not yet entirely at home in his new cultural environment - conscious effort is required to sustain the façade, with the result that actual mistakes are made; Lucian swims naturally in the Graeco-Roman milieu to such an extent that he is almost unaware of its existence, as separate from the Syrian, save in the sphere of religion, where he is capable of assuming a Graeco-Roman standpoint. There is no sense that the writer is maintaining a precarious façade, likely

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to collapse if the slightest chink is permitted, and his indifference to his occasional accidental blending of the two traditions only serves to make it clear how unimportant the distinction between them had become, and the degree to which the two had merged to become part of the same whole.

While in isolation it would be foolish to extrapolate too broadly from the evidence of two individuals, and those from widely separated parts of the region,¹⁵⁰ in combination with the evidence from the towns they indicate a real change in the outlook of at least some members of the population in progress at the end of the first century, but effectively complete only at the end of the second. Furthermore, there is other evidence of a change in the manner in which people thought, a more specific impact, and one which certainly pertains to the private sphere, though as Romanization it represents a more attenuated stream of evidence: the change in the type of tomb preferred at Palmyra,¹⁵¹ which seems to owe its inspiration not to strictly Roman forms (one would in fact be hard put to define a strictly Roman form) but to the forms favoured in the western parts of the region, thus constituting a spread of the Romano-Syrian milieu.

Jointly this disparate evidence from different parts of the region hints at a slow, insidious, but ultimately drastic change in the overall mentality of the population. But the shape of this change is nebulous, and how ubiquitous it really was and how profound, cannot be gauged on the present evidence. It can be stated only that if, to take the extreme possibility, it was confined to the examples cited, there was at least a minimal change in the preconceptions and presuppositions of a good many of the inhabitants of Syria, one which occurred during, and can reasonably be attributed to, the Roman occupation. In all but the case of the Palmyrene tombs it constitutes Romanization in the sense of the re-creation of what was current elsewhere in the empire, that is to say, the Syrians in question demonstrably shared the civic, political or literary presuppositions and expectations of their Roman counterparts in other provinces.

The specific causes of this change can be no more than conjectured. In general terms, however, it was the product of all the other changes, major and minor, in the everyday life and overall ambience of the region, of the type discussed in the previous chapters; it seems likely that the changes which had the greatest ultimate effect were in themselves slight and almost imperceptible, accepted without notice, and which gradually

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became part of the subconscious expectations of the shape of the everyday world and cumulatively altered that 'Weltanschauung' to the point where a qualitative change can be perceived.

The pervasive nature and significance of coins in this respect has already been noticed;¹⁵² in Judaea, at least, the actual result of this can be documented in the coins of the Jewish Revolts,¹⁵³ with ultimate repercussions in the synagogues and synagogue art of the third century and later.¹⁵⁴ Although, as previously remarked, there is some confusion as to the usage of the words drachmae and denarii,¹⁵⁵ the spread of the latter throughout the region is nevertheless well attested, both in the dated examples already cited,¹⁵⁶ and in less closely dated cases;¹⁵⁷ although this cannot elsewhere be connected directly with the same diverse and ramified secondary cultural effects, leading ultimately to a change in the concept of objects and ideas, it seems likely that, to some extent, it did work a similar change.

It is likely, too, although again undemonstrable, that a similar subliminal and cumulative role was played by alterations in analogous aspects such as weights and measures, though without the artistic consequences stemming from the motifs on the coins. Certainly, some inroads were made: while for the most part the Seleucid calendar or old local eras persisted, and dating by the Roman method was rare,¹⁵⁸ in linear measurement, the occurrence of the loan word μέτρον¹⁵⁹ has been noted, as has the use of Roman feet at Dura,¹⁶⁰ something also attested at Samaria;¹⁶¹ the standardization of measures of capacity in Judaea according to the Greek system is implicit in the stone weight of Herod, which was a 'regulation' three minas.¹⁶²

These changes, if collectively pertinent to the private sphere, have a more direct bearing on the sphere of industry and crafts, something which, again due to lack of readily available evidence, complications in regard to what does exist¹⁶³ and the scope of the thesis, has been omitted from serious consideration at present. It is appropriate only to note in passing that the potential for acculturation existed in this area, too, in the form of both enforced and involuntary change, stemming from alteration to the standards, and voluntary imitation in that Roman models were available, for example those provided by legionary works such as the tilerie at Jerusalem.¹⁶⁴ And that, furthermore, if the evidence concerning the local imitation of imported pottery, particularly the doubtful evidence of

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the kiln stands from Jericho¹⁶⁵ is valid, at least some of that potential was realised.

If there are hints at Romanization in the crafts, there is firm evidence for it in the arts. Here, however, it tended to take the form of Romanization by proxy, the promulgation of Greek influence, this being the style prized by the Romans themselves, as in the small amount of sculpture taken into consideration from Palmyra¹⁶⁶ and Emesa,¹⁶⁷ both sites otherwise manifestly under Parthian influence, so that this represents a change which can be dated at Palmyra, and reasonably inferred at Emesa. To a great extent the same was true in literature, as adumbrated above: while Ulpian, for example, used Latin as the language appropriate to legal work,¹⁶⁸ and Publilius Syrus, who moved to Rome, specialized in an Italian form of drama, the two major writers to whom most attention has been paid, Josephus¹⁶⁹ and Lucian,¹⁷⁰ although the latter came from one of the least Hellenized and most Latinized areas, Commagene, and the former, similarly from an area resistant to Hellenization and was writing at Rome for a Roman audience, elected to write in Greek. Josephus gives ample proof of his own desire to display 'Greek wisdom', borrowed or otherwise,¹⁷¹ and even his most stringent auditor, Thackeray, allows him a personal knowledge of some Greek authors by the time he came to write his later works;¹⁷² Lucian, seventy years or more later, if by no means the greatest writer of ancient times nevertheless manifestly surpasses Josephus as far as literary craftsmanship is concerned - Rose says of him, "Of all the Atticists, he is the one who handles the language most nearly as if it were his own."¹⁷³

The matter is not entirely straightforward: as has been pointed out, Josephus' thinking, if not his expression, was influenced by purely Roman forms, in for example military matters, and Lucian, for all his Greek settings and trappings, was still essentially satirist to the Roman empire; nevertheless, their works as a whole do not reflect the sort of literature the Romans invented for themselves, but perforce shaped themselves to correspond to the type of Greek literature favoured and fostered by the Romans, the type of the Roman world.

The situation in the field of architecture is much better defined than is the case with other varieties of evidence, and, once the preliminary uncertainties have been resolved, it is here that the degree and nature of the total impact is most readily gauged and here that the documentation

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of the process is most easily achieved.

Since, for reasons explained in my previous work, the selection of evidence in the thesis is such that architecture is emphasized, the discrepancy between this and other spheres may be partially illusory. Only partially, however: the evidence from Palmyra serves as a check in this respect. Almost the same amount of evidence is available from that site in regard, for example, to dress (albeit almost entirely representational), but the disparity in the amount of Romanization in the two aspects remains.

The picture, as it emerges from the evidence cited to date, is not dissimilar to the overall outline extrapolated above, since the architectural evidence plays such a large part in the formulation of that outline. Until the second century, the basic pre-Roman Hellenistic styles remained prevalent, the pattern set by the slim rectangular temples and the longitudinal sanctuaries they dominated, the surrounding fabric (with some exceptions) interwoven in nuances of quadrate Hellenistic shapes. It was only at the end of the first century and in the second that features which are characteristically Roman, as opposed to Graeco-Roman, were introduced and began to take hold, many of them the hallmarks of the "Roman Architectural Revolution" (to use Ward-Perkins' phrase), the enclosure of rounded or angulated rounded space in rooms, apsidal exedrae, and so forth, principally by means of the structural use of concrete in domes, semi-domes, and complex vaults. While this new architecture achieved supremacy in Rome itself only around the same time, it was well rooted in the architecture of first century Rome, particularly in the imperial residences.¹⁷⁴

This is not to say that there was no impact prior to this date. There are hints at the introduction of specifically Roman forms in the first century B.C., the circus at Antioch,¹⁷⁵ the Gabinian insulae at Samaria,¹⁷⁶ and above all in the abortive Herodian adventure, but these must be regarded as something of a false start. In the first century A.D. there was again some superimposition of purely Roman types, such as the amphitheatres built by the Herodians (and possibly earlier by Caesar),¹⁷⁷ but the main, and in fact the major, impact was in the form of reinforcement of local Hellenistic types which correspond to those held in common by Greek and Roman architecture, such as the Orthodox Corinthian capitals, and their spread to areas where they were previously unknown, above all Palmyra.

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Indeed, the spread of the Orthodox Corinthian order as it were opened architectural communications between the cities, and the beginnings of the ultimate Romano-Syrian milieu can be detected in the development of those types which rely most heavily on the Romano-Hellenistic tradition, such as the 'axial' sanctuaries, the Augusteum at Samaria, perhaps the Temple complex at Jerusalem, the Heliopolitanum at Baalbek and the Sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra.¹⁷⁸ In addition, the major pre-Roman elements in the ultimate milieu, the stair-temple, the 'Syrian arch', the isolated fortified villa, were already prominent, and in the case of the last, accepted even by Herod I,¹⁷⁹ who must be considered as a representative of the Romans in this context.

The reason for only minimal Romanization in the purest sense at this time, for the lack of introduction of forms which were strictly Roman as opposed to Greek, is quite clear when one looks at the architecture of Rome itself. There, too, the Hellenistic style which rose to favour in the Late Republic still clearly predominated, despite the development of additional and alternative forms. The Hellenistic architecture of western Syria, now spreading inland, was slightly more Greek than its counterpart at Rome, but it was, as it were, 'Roman enough'. Indeed some of the Hellenistic elements in the architecture of Rome, particularly under Augustus, may well be attributed proximately to Syria itself.

Under the circumstances, there was no pressure on the Classicizing architecture of the Hellenistic cities of Syria to change: it was technically adequate for local requirements, and stylistically not only acceptable, but desirable to the Romans. It is understandable, therefore, that the general trend of this phase was for the pre-eminence of this architecture to be reinforced, and for it to spread to previously lightly Hellenized districts.

Time, however, brought about a change in fashion at Rome, the famous "Roman Architectural Revolution". The Hellenistic style in Syria was no longer sustained by its prestige in Rome; the endorsement had been withdrawn. And so time also brought about a change in Syria. For obsolescence of a different sort saw to it that this elimination of supporting prestige was translated into positive developments.

Old buildings began to need substantial repairs, or proved

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inadequate to new requirements, necessitating a completely new edifice. When this occurred, the Syrians could do one of four things: repeat older forms; invent entirely new ones with no relationship to any known form of architecture; import new styles from elsewhere, either within the region itself, or outside it. It is very difficult to invent entirely new forms, and something which happens but rarely. The 'Hellenistic' style was now unequivocally old-fashioned, something which, at least in regard to public buildings,¹⁸⁰ constitutes a prohibition approaching the force of an imperative; just as in modern sartorial fashion it is easier to indulge in deliberate archaism and return to the styles of thirty years ago than it is to continue the immediately preceding style, to 'wear last year's dress', so it would have been easier to bypass the blatantly outmoded 'Hellenistic' forms and borrow older pre-Hellenistic, or early Syro-Hellenistic forms from elsewhere in the region than it would have been to build, say, an Ionic temple in Jerash in the middle of the second century A.D.

If these first two possibilities are ruled out, then it becomes clear that one of two things was bound to happen, or perhaps both. The builders might borrow from within their own region, on the one hand forms which still accorded with Roman taste or were newly imported to coincide with it, on the other much older types which were, so to speak, hors de combat. The obvious consequence of this would be the development and spread of the Romano-Syrian milieu.

Alternatively, they could borrow from elsewhere, outside Syria. However, as has been pointed out (supra, Ch.III, pp.191-2), some Romans at least did equate cultural affinity with political loyalty, and this concept is codified in the writings of Tacitus, and so pertains to the very time when the changing architectural fashions at Rome would have had their first repercussions in Syria. While the Romans did not command their provincial subjects to build in a certain fashion, the inducement of their approbation was now joined by the threat of their suspicion, so that given the chequered relationship with the empire across the Euphrates throughout the second century, new borrowings from that direction were effectively precluded. It may well have been that it was not even a matter of the Syrians analyzing the situation in these terms, but rather that the impossibility was so self-evident that it manifested itself in the total failure of the idea to occur at all.

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There remained the possibility of borrowing non-Hellenic forms from Rome itself, or borrowing from other cultural milieux. But to the north, west, and south, these "other cultural milieux" were now themselves Roman provinces, in each of which there was already a fusion of Roman and pre-Roman, resulting in a hybrid regional style. Wherever inspiration was sought, therefore, the result would be to add to the amount of Roman influence already present in the architecture of Syria.

The Syrians in fact employed all three expedients, borrowing ideas from cities within Syria itself, and looking both to Rome and to neighbouring provinces: in short, what happened was what was a priori most likely to happen. From Asia Minor they borrowed the "marble style";¹⁸¹ it may have been Egypt, or perhaps Nabataea, which provided the inspiration for the Palmyrene hypogea,¹⁸² although the plan of these mausolea has obvious affinities with the sepulchres of western Syria;¹⁸³ within the area, small towns followed their larger neighbours, al-Bhara following Palmyra,¹⁸⁴ Jerash, Samaria and Esrija perhaps Baalbek,¹⁸⁵ and the larger centres continued to keep a watchful eye on developments in their rivals.¹⁸⁶ At the same time, some Roman types made a somewhat tardy appearance, most palpably in backwaters such as Jerash, for example the structural use of concrete in the hemicyclical concrete dome of the Nymphaeum.¹⁸⁷ And there is a numerical increase in what may be considered as Roman or provincial Roman types already attested, baths, colonnaded streets, triumphal arches, theatres, the use of the Orthodox Corinthian order, and so forth. The types of the Romano-Syrian milieu, which were of pre-Roman, hybrid or indeterminate origin also increased and spread, stair-temples, honorific columns and the contrapuntal use of rounded and quadrate shapes in architectural decor.¹⁸⁸

The second phase, roughly equivalent to the second century A.D., therefore saw both the emergence and development of the Romano-Syrian milieu, and an increase in the Roman element in the composition of that milieu.

The third phase is the natural outcome of the second, its fruition. The milieu, almost fully developed, acts as a template, setting the pattern for new foundations or re-foundations such as that of Samaria.¹⁸⁹ And whenever there arose a new concept which demanded architectural expression, and which differed so markedly from what had gone before that no established architectural form could accomodate it so that a new

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architectural form was postulated, that new form was created from either the Roman or the Romano-Syrian repertoire.

So, the basilica synagogues: while there were synagogues before the emergence of this type, the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem and the failure of the Revolts meant that these local prayer-houses acquired a new significance which demanded a distinctive architectural form - dreams of rebuilding the Temple had to be set aside for the present, and the synagogues were now predictably the centres of Jewish worship for the time being at least.¹⁹⁰ While the origin of the basilica church is debatable and debated,¹⁹¹ it is clear that it falls into the same category: whether developed in Syria or imported from Rome almost in toto, the new type draws heavily on the new Roman, as opposed to Greek, architecture, with its use of apse and dome and its obvious structural relationship not only to the Roman basilica but also to the great thermae. A more isolated instance may be the bouleuterion of Roman Dura, which took its pattern not from Greek buildings serving the same function, but from something which resembled the Roman bouleuterion of Corinth, built after the institution of the colony.¹⁹²

The borrowing of Roman architectural forms to serve imported concepts was not new: the most obvious example from earlier times is the amphitheatre to serve as a venue for gladiatorial fights or wild beast hunts. But now the Syrians drew on the Roman and Romano-Syrian repertoires to serve concepts springing from Syria itself. The architecture was as much their own as the ideas.

The overall outline of the course of the process in the sphere of architecture receives some confirmation where it is most needed, in the unsatisfactory period covering the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, Period II, in which so many architectural types seem to spring, unheralded and fully developed, from the ground itself, while an unexpected and unprecedented influx of western forms occurs at Palmyra. This might have been dismissed as illusory, a function of the state of preservation of the evidence, were it not for the pottery sequence at Antioch. Here too, though probably for slightly different reasons, there is no discernible impact until the reign of Augustus.¹⁹³

It seems that, overall, while there were undoubtedly exceptions,

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the generality holds good. Syria became a Roman province under Pompey, but the political turmoil, internal and external, between this time and the establishment of "Pax Augusta" meant that only desultory cultural effects of this political change in status were felt before the latter part of the century.

It remains, however, a generality, like the overall outline, and there were certainly exceptions to both. While it is almost true to say that after the beginning of the second century A.D. no major public building was built exactly as it would have been had the Romans never come - indeed, given the way in which Roman influence, direct and indirect, penetrated to the finer details, it may even be accurate - the second century rebuilding of the Sanctuary of Nabô at Palmyra in the Doric order,¹⁹⁴ and even later, the construction of the Sanctuaries of Zeus Bomos and Zeus Madbachos at Koryphaios,¹⁹⁵ and to a certain extent the Tychaeon at es-Sanamen, despite its Orthodox Corinthian capitals,¹⁹⁶ all show that an effective return to older forms remained possible on occasions.

Furthermore, there is some hint that at least some of the cities may have been "ahead" of the rest and in step with developments at Rome, even though there is enough evidence to show that this was not true of the area as a whole. The work of Apollodorus of Damascus at Rome and in the empire was totally at odds with developments in his homeland, and so much attuned to those of the capital that it is effectively entirely Roman, with no indication of his Oriental background.¹⁹⁷ While it is clear that rather than a bringer of Syrian expertise to Rome, Apollodorus is an example of a Romanized Syrian who had so steeped himself in one variety of Roman architecture - and at that a style alien the prevailing architectural trends in his native province, and of which the roots may be traced back through the preceding century in the city itself - as to be instrumental in making creative advances within that sub-milieu, the suggestion remains that he may have already received some grounding in that type of architecture in his native town. This in turn suggests that some areas of Syria may have already begun to pass out of the quadrate Hellenistic phase by the end of the first century.

How great a formative role, if any, Syria played in the evolution of the new architecture is therefore unclear, but it is clear that it was not its home, and that its advent in the region as a whole was comparatively late. Suppositious exceptions based on the mere possibility that

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Apollodorus may have had some knowledge of developments at Rome before his arrival there cannot alter the rule. There is enough evidence from both Rome and Syria, enough disparity between the two in the first century A.D., to show that what happened in Syria in the second century was fundamentally the architectural impact of Rome on Syria.

Thus the nature of the impact and its course. The extent of that impact is best gauged by an examination of the fortunes of some of the architectural types dealt with in my previous work and listed in the Introduction.

Of the types which may be considered Roman, or equivalent to Roman, undoubtedly the most successful was the Orthodox Corinthian capital. Its victory was well nigh total. After displacing the Heterodox Corinthian in the old 'Southern Syria cultural province', it held virtually unchallenged sway. The Doric and especially the Ionic order, which was in all likelihood the most common for major buildings in pre-Roman times,¹⁹⁸ became as rare in Syria as in Rome. That the immediately pre-Roman Heterodox Corinthians survived in some form is evident from their recrudescence in Byzantine types;¹⁹⁹ that this involved some continuity of usage is confirmed by the rare appearance of the chapiteau épannelé not only in the Sanctuaries of Zeus Bomos and Zeus Madbachos but also once in the 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek, and in the 'Round Temple' at the same site.²⁰⁰ However, the fact that, with the notable exception of the Sanctuary of Nabô and lesser exceptions in outlying areas,²⁰¹ the capitals of major public buildings datable to the second century or later are otherwise Orthodox Corinthian, implies that this Late Roman revival was more a matter of a return to older models still extant in early buildings, or perhaps a fortuitous re-development of forms resembling the Heterodox Corinthians, as variants of the Orthodox variety, just as other divergent late capitals are quite obviously developments of the latter style.²⁰² Indeed, nothing could better illustrate the earlier success of the Corinthian order than the way that these late capitals, despite their apparent diversity, all in some way derive from this order.

Of the introduced types of monument, the most successful, numerically speaking, is on present evidence the theatre. Frézouls²⁰³ lists, apart from doubtful structures such as those adjacent to shrines in places such as Dura, over forty conventional theatres or odeons, or what may be in

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the overall context considered as such: the theatres of Antioch, two at Daphne apart from the suppositious structure of Caesar,²⁰⁴ one each at Seleucia Pieriae, Laodicea ad Mare,²⁰⁵ Gabala, Apamea, Cyrrhus,²⁰⁶ Sueida, Philippopolis, Canatha (an odeon), Bostra, Ematha, Palmyra,²⁰⁷ Damascus,²⁰⁸ Shaqqa, Sidon,²⁰⁹ Berytus (but there may have been two here),²¹⁰ Byblos,²¹¹ Botrys, Baalbek,²¹² Dora, possibly Mamas and Legio, Diocaesarea, Hippos, Scythopolis,²¹³ Caesarea Maritima,²¹⁴ Jerusalem (possibly two)²¹⁵ Jericho, Samaria-Sebaste,²¹⁶ Decapolitan Abila,²¹⁷ Gadara (two)²¹⁸ Jerash (three)²¹⁹ Philadelphia (a theatre and an odeon) and possibly but doubtfully Ascalon.

While some of these instances were certainly a matter of superimposition by the Romans or their agents, it is extremely unlikely, if undemonstrable, that all were: for example, the donation of a cuneus to the South Theatre at Jerash by a decurion indicates that it was constructed by the piecemeal benefaction system typical of civic projects in Syria and especially at Jerash, and it is unlikely that all the donors, locals no doubt, were Romans. But in any case the acceptance of the type, implicit, to take an absurdly extreme possibility, in the tolerance of so many superimpositions, is attested in at least three cases by the repair of such structures, Herod's theatre at Caesarea, repaired and remodelled to accord more closely with the conventional Roman type in Period VII,²²⁰ the theatre at Byblos,²²¹ and the South Theatre at Jerash - the existing structure, dated to the reign of Domitian, incorporates in its core what appear to be elements of an earlier version.²²² The theatre at Berytus, built by Agrippa I, may also have been repaired or remodelled by Agrippa II, if it is not a matter of two distinct buildings;²²³ in any case, given the identity of the benefactors, this is less significant, since even a repair must count as merely a superimposition.

Baths which can reasonably be supposed to be of the Roman variety also proliferated. Even eliminating as doubtfully of Roman type the earlier imperial and dynastic benefactions of which there are no remains,²²⁴ the alleged baths of Caesar at Antioch, those of Herod at Ascalon,²²⁶ of Agrippa²²⁷ and Tiberius²²⁸ at Antioch,²²⁵ and of Herod Agrippa I at Berytus,²²⁹ there are still at least twenty-one known specimens: the 'Large Bath-House' at Masada,²³⁰ the Baths of Trajan, Hadrian and Septimius Severus at Antioch²³¹ (the two former just possibly one and the same, while any one of the three, or none of them, may be the "second century" baths²³² discovered in the excavation), the two thermae of Col. Aelia Capitolina as well as the Late

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Roman baths²³³ and an undated example also discovered at Jerusalem, the Trajanic baths of L. Julius Agrippa at Apamea,²³⁴ the West²³⁵ and East²³⁶ Baths at Jerash, the third century baths at Bostra²³⁷ and Philippopolis,²³⁸ the latter constructed under Philip the Arab, the third century baths at Brad,²³⁹ the Late Roman baths at Androna,²⁴⁰ the "military baths" at Sab Bijâr,²⁴¹ the late baths discovered at Antioch,²⁴² and those apparently attached to a country villa in Antiochene, at Toprak-en-Nârbidja,²⁴³ and at least four, with full Roman accoutrements, at Dura Europos.²⁴⁴ Of these, at least those at Androna and Apamea were constructed by local donors, and it is almost certain that this would have been the case with many earlier examples. This too, clearly, was a Roman type which gained genuine acceptance.

The circus, on the other hand, apparently failed to make a deep impression: only two are certainly attested, those of Antioch,²⁴⁵ and Jerash,²⁴⁶ with the probability that there was also one in Hadrian's Colonia Aelia Capitolina.²⁴⁷ This lack of popularity²⁴⁸ may be more apparent than real, given the conflation of terminology and the impossibility of knowing the nature of "hippodromes" such as those of Jerusalem²⁴⁹ and Tarichaeae²⁵⁰ or of the stadium or hippodrome at Jericho mentioned by Frézouls.²⁵¹ Nevertheless, in the present state of the evidence, the circus forms a part of the Romano-Syrian milieu only in conjunction with hippodromes, stadiums and amphitheatres, in that, as Frézouls points out,²⁵² every substantial town had one or the other if it did not have a theatre; some towns had both a theatre and one of the other types of structure designed as provision for spectator entertainment, and, conversely, theatres in Syria were essentially an urban phenomenon; as remarked previously,²⁵³ this phenomenon is both a function and a measure of the growing urbanization of the area.

Taken in isolation, amphitheatres might well be considered the least successful of the introduced types. Aside from the possibility of multiple temporary structures erected to serve the pleasure of Caracalla during his stay in the region,²⁵⁴ only six seem to be attested, those of Caesar at Antioch, Herod at Jerusalem and Caesarea, the amphitheatre at Jericho which is again likely to have been the work of Herod, the amphitheatre of Agrippa I at Berytus,²⁵⁵ and that serving the garrison at Dura Europos,²⁵⁶ with some outside possibility of one at Caesarea Panias built by either Herod Philip or Agrippa II.²⁵⁷ All, therefore, must be considered as superimpositions by the Romans, and while they in all likelihood did continue to serve the purpose for which they had been built after the time

of their builders. Certainly this was the case with Antioch - the only attested later re-use is by Titus, for the spectacles he staged after his victory in the First Revolt.²⁵⁸ There is nothing to suggest any widespread acceptance of either the type of building or the form of entertainment it was designed to house by the native populace, be it Greek, Semitic or Arabic.

Stairless temples, too, a Hellenistic then a Roman superimposition, met with little success. Apart from the small temples excavated by Schlumberger at El-Mkémle,²⁵⁹ Kheurbet Farouâne,²⁶⁰ Ras ech Chaar,²⁶¹ Kheurbet Semrine,²⁶² Kheurbet Abou Douhour,²⁶³ Kheurbet Ramadane,²⁶⁴ Kheurbet es Sané,²⁶⁵ Kheurbet Madaba,²⁶⁶ Kheurbet Ouadi Souâne and Kheurbet es Souâne,²⁶⁷ Kheurbet Leqteir,²⁶⁸ Kheurbet Chteib,²⁶⁹ Labda,²⁷⁰ Hassan Madhour²⁷¹ and Marzouga²⁷² in north-western Palmyrene, most of which are in any case too small for such refinements, and equally, if not belonging this particular Syrian type, by no means 'Classical', very few temples which can certainly be stated not to have possessed stairs, towers and a terraced roof are attested. Round temples form a separate class on their own, and of the square or rectangular ones belonging to the Roman period there are only the temple on the coin of Herod Philip, probably Herod's temple at Pnias,²⁷³ the Augusteum at Samaria,²⁷⁴ Hadrian's temple of Zeus Hypsistos on Mount Gerizim,²⁷⁵ his temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus at Aelia,²⁷⁶ the temple of Baalshamin-Zeus Hypsistos at Palmyra,²⁷⁷ and the temple of Gad-Tyche at Capitolias attested on coins;²⁷⁸ all but the last (given the association of Malé Agrippa and Hadrian) may certainly be viewed in the light of superimpositions, and at that in some way the responsibility of one of the two most probable 'Romanizers'. However, once erected, they seem to have remained, and at least three were apparently maintained and repaired in much the same form as that in which they were originally built; the temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra, which survived to be converted into a church;²⁷⁹ less securely, the temple of Zeus Hypsistos on Mount Gerizim, which, though it fell into disrepair, was seemingly restored to its sacred status in the reign of Julian the Apostate;²⁸⁰ and the Augusteum at Samaria, which was rebuilt during the Late Antonine-Early Severan building phase at that site.²⁸¹ Such temples, if not the preferred type, were not alien to the area as amphitheatres were; they must at least be considered as tolerated superimpositions which did not take root.

Despite their formative influence on the development of 'axial' sanctuaries such as the Heliopolitanum, Roman monumental fora also failed to become part of the Romano-Syrian milieu. I can cite only one of truly Italian type, that of Samaria,²⁸² with, perhaps, the agora of the second

century building programme at Palmyra²⁸³ as an uncanonical version showing some influence of the Roman type. But these can hardly be counted as a superimposition which failed, since these are the only cases where any attempt was made to 'superimpose' them, and it is noteworthy that in both instances this occurred where the town, or the relevant part of the town, was being built or rebuilt effectively from the ground upwards, in a situation which was almost tantamount to a new foundation on virgin soil. The older, more irregular 'town squares' survived where they had previously existed, presumably adequate, and more appropriate, to the type of business conducted in them in cities in this region. Basilicas, too, as opposed to basilican hybrids, seem to have enjoyed little success. Apart from the vexed Hauran type,²⁸⁴ there were only rare, isolated specimens such as the "kaisareion" of Caesar at Antioch,²⁸⁵ that bordering the agora of second century Palmyra,²⁸⁶ the basilica adjoining the forum at Samaria,²⁸⁷ the basilica at Beth She'arim or the basilica of L. Julius Agrippa at Apamea.²⁸⁸ As remarked earlier, this seems to support the contention that this form of building was inseparably connected with the imperial cult;²⁸⁹ if so, then the specialized function of the type would explain a rarity otherwise surprising in the light of the success of the hybrids, which were equally proper to their respective religions, but religions which achieved a far greater hold than did the cult of the emperors. However, this rarity may be partially illusory: basilican structures of indeterminate form, function and date, such as that of Dumeir,²⁹⁰ must in the absence of other evidence be assumed to belong to one of the two basilican hybrids, usually basilica churches. The accretion syndrome may be present here, disguising the true number of the primary type.

A similar difficulty attaches to the assessment of the success of aqueducts of the sort which may be considered Roman. There are at least seven of which either the remains or the circumstances of construction are adequate indication of Roman type, those at Samaria,²⁹¹ and from the Birketein to the town of Jerash,²⁹² at least two at Caesarea,²⁹³ Pilate's aqueduct at Bethlehem,²⁹⁴ Palma's great system in the Transjordan²⁹⁵ and the aqueducts of Trajan and Hadrian, perhaps in fact one and the same, at Antioch.²⁹⁶ Three other possibilities, doubtful by reason of their early date or manner of attestation, are Herod's at Laodicea ad Mare²⁹⁷ - in view of Herod's extensive use of arches in the viaduct at Jerusalem,²⁹⁸ it is likely that if the terrain required an above-ground conduit this diagnostically Roman feature would have been employed -, that mentioned in an inscription

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at Apamea, and the one at Antioch attributed to the putative programme of Caesar by Malalas.²⁹⁹ Less confidence may be accorded two other possibilities, the aqueduct at Gadara called Roman by Schumacher,³⁰⁰ and the undated specimen at Abila Lysaniae:³⁰¹ in view of the history of the site, the latter aqueduct is likely to be at least Roman in period, though de Saulcy gives little in the way of definitive detail, describing it as a covered canal with a cornice; so too the aqueduct system of Damascus, equally supplied by the River Baradah, of which he gives no details³⁰² - such a system could hardly have been built or operated successfully at a time when Abila Lysaniae was the headquarters of brigands given to preying on Damascus and its territory. But despite the paucity of numbers, the acceptance of the Roman type is guaranteed by the attested later repair of at least four of those examples certainly of Roman significance, Pilate's aqueduct at Bethlehem,³⁰³ Palma's system in the Transjordan,³⁰⁴ and the two aqueducts of Caesarea.³⁰⁵ Clearly, the more sophisticated Roman version was regarded as a welcome improvement on previous water reticulation systems, adequate as they may have been under some conditions.

Domes and complex vaults of the type designated as Romanizing, together with the associated use of concrete which enabled their construction, had a similar history to that of Roman baths in that, as far as the present evidence goes, their true acceptance and floruit came late.* The earliest instances of concrete used in a manner which might be considered Roman are in the circus at Antioch,³⁰⁶ Herod's theatre at Caesarea,³⁰⁷ and Pilate's aqueduct,³⁰⁸ and of these the last is somewhat dubious, given that the use of hydraulic cement for waterworks is known from pre-Roman times - the same doubt attaches, for example, to the undated cistern at Pella mentioned by Schumacher.³⁰⁹ All three dated examples are, in any case, very much in the category of superimpositions. While the ethnic origin of the pseudo-reticulatum masonry of the Palmyrene and Arabian forts is perhaps too uncertain for much weight to be placed upon its occurrence, what seems to be genuine opus reticulatum is reported from Emesa by Wiegand, without any indication of the date;³¹⁰ given the location, even this is not free from the suspicion of Mesopotamian origin, where the setting of bricks or partial bricks in walls to form a patterned façade is attested virtually from the beginning of urban civilization in the region, probably what Perowne had in mind when suggesting that Herod used Babylonian Jewish craftsmen on the opus reticulatum terrace of his palace at Jericho.³¹¹ While this doubtful Emesan example may belong to the period between the reign of

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Tiberius and the end of the second century, I know of no securely dated examples belonging to this hiatus. After the unsuccessful superimpositions of Periods I and II, concrete seems to have been eschewed as a structural material in favour of the existing local masonry techniques until the arrival of the domes, semi-domes and complex vaults of the "Roman Architectural Revolution", which required its structural properties and capabilities for success.

This did not happen until well into the second century. To my knowledge, the first datable example either of the use of concrete or of the forms which might prompt it is the dome of Hadrian's Temple of Venus at Aelia;³¹² however, since this is known only from a coin portrait, the material in which the dome was constructed cannot be determined, and it may have had a masonry dome, like the Round Temple at Baalbek,³¹³ to which Watzinger otherwise compares it. The first unambiguously attested use of concrete in such a situation seems to be in the semi-dome of the Jerash nymphaeum, A.D. 191³¹⁴ - even the near contemporary West Baths at the same site³¹⁵ still used masonry vaulting. While the use of masonry in situations where the Romans would have used concrete did not die out, nevertheless concrete begins to appear more frequently in such contexts, as the contexts themselves multiplied, from this point onwards, for example occurring in the third century "palace" at Shaqqa,³¹⁶ and in the Baths of Philip at Philippopolis.³¹⁷

Indeed the increase in the number of thermae gave ample scope for domes from this time onwards, in the fourth century rebuilding of the second century baths at Antioch,³¹⁸ the south baths at Bostra,³¹⁹ or the bath building at Brad,³²⁰ although the preference for the use of masonry wherever it was possible in such contexts tended to remain. It was, however, the basilica churches which provided the most scope for domes and complex cross and segmented vaults of the type which are characteristic of the "Roman Architectural Revolution" - instances are too numerous to cite, but striking examples are to be found in the round Church of St. John the Baptist at Jerash, which followed the common round plan found in both pagan and Christian structures at Rome itself, a circular chamber, with a semi-circular exedra from which extruded smaller apses featuring concrete semi-domes;³²¹ or in the vaulting of the churches at Resafa, particularly the Martyr³²² and the Basilica of St. Sergius.³²³ But more frappant proof of acceptance than mere numbers can ever give comes from one of the rock-cut

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"Anchorite Caves" at Pella, explored by Schumacher: he describes the ceiling as "cut in the shape of a cross-vault".³²⁴ The existence of a skeuomorph, the imitation of a form proper to another medium or technique in a more common or readily available one, must bear testimony to the prestige of the model, just as now plastic shoes or handbags with moulded imitation stitching attest the prestige of the original leather.

The two architectural details designated as Roman, the Roman conch and Roman pipes, met with almost opposite fortunes. Despite its prominence at Baalbek³²⁵ the Roman conch failed to spread, appearing in the region elsewhere, to my knowledge, only at the two fringe sites of Petra³²⁶ and Bostra³²⁷ and in the area proper, significantly twice at Jerusalem, or more correctly in the second case Col. Aelia Capitolina, in the Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom³²⁸ and the Shrine of Isis.³²⁹ On the other hand, pipes, while not the most common of mouldings, appear throughout the area, as pointed out in Ch. V. Not only, as one would expect, are they prominent at Baalbek and Samaria, but also at Palmyra, with other instances at Capernaum, Pella and Esrija;³³⁰ in addition they occur in the small square ruin of Rujm el-Menâra, on the Roman high road from Gadara to the Hauran, which Schumacher takes to be either a temple or a watchtower.³³¹

There are also other structures which, though not common enough to have received generic treatment as types in my previous study, nevertheless appear to betray the influence of Rome. While, in view of the example at Antioch attributed to Antiochus IV,³³² bridges and viaducts consisting of no more than a pair of parallel barrel vaults carrying the roadway, or of indeterminate construction, such as those at Decapolitan Abila,³³³ possibly Pella,³³⁴ or Abila Lysaniae,³³⁵ are probably best left out of the discussion, the two moles of Tyre³³⁶ seem redolent of Roman constructions elsewhere, such as the mole built at Ostia by Claudius.

Town planning, too, has not been discussed as such in detail, but for a different reason, namely that the broad situation is relatively clearcut and undisputed: the Romans used the same regularized grid-plan as is found in Hellenistic architecture, the "Hippodamian" plan, but added to it axiality in the form of the two major streets intersecting in the centre of the town, the cardo, running north-south, and the decumanus running east-west. Given the similarity of the two types of planning, it is a priori likely that Romanization in this respect would be confined to a minimum in

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Hellenized areas, what existed sufficing, with the more Roman version appearing only in the case of new foundations, or towns so extensively rebuilt as to amount to the same thing. In terms of this presupposition the evidence is somewhat confusing. There are certainly signs of the introduction of the Roman plan in expected circumstances, for example at Androna,³³⁷ and at Resafa,³³⁸ the plan of which is called typically Roman by Mendl - while the town itself was certainly pre-Roman, the extant architectural remains are homogeneously Late Roman and Umayyad so that it is clear that whatever its exact history, it underwent a major reconstruction at some time late in the Roman period. But there also seem to be cases where the Roman axiality is superimposed upon or added to pre-Roman plans: in the case of Damascus Ward-Perkins³³⁹ states that two Roman colonnaded streets were superimposed on the Hellenistic grid plan, and the same may possibly be true of Gabinius' rebuilding of Marisa,³⁴⁰ where the new town, replacing the destroyed city of "Hippodamian" plan, was an irregular rectangle with its chequerboard arrangement based on two parallel streets running east-west. However, particularly in the latter instance, it is far from certain that this represented an innovation - one or two main streets setting the orientation of the whole would be unsurprising in a Hellenistic town, especially when there was no intersecting main street to establish the cross-reference as in the canonical Roman plan; until the earlier history of town-planning in Syria is more fully understood, cases like that of Marisa must be regarded more in the light of restoring what previously existed.

It is possible, as pointed out in Chapter III³⁴¹ that a slightly divergent version of the Roman plan in which a chequerboard plan of roughly regular outline was combined with a mandatory main street setting the long axis, and an optional number of cross streets, might be considered in the light of a provincial variant, since it occurs frequently, especially from the time when the architecture of the West was manifestly influencing that of Syria, examples being Aelia,³⁴² Palmyra,³⁴³ Jerash,³⁴⁴ and more doubtfully Samaria.³⁴⁵ The additional cross-streets presumably derive, as demonstrably in the case of Palmyra and Jerash, from the addition of extra quarters to the town as originally planned; the strongly marked long axis undoubtedly owes a great deal to the development of the plateia, the main colonnaded street, as a special type of structure. The difficulty, however, lies in the danger of seeing as planned long axiality what was in fact fortuitous; a similar type of plan, at least insofar as the axial main street is concerned, might be conjectured for both Gadara and Capitolias,³⁴⁶ for in

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both cases it runs through the entire site, and was very likely colonnaded (see below), were it not for the fact that Schumacher notes that it was also the 'high road' to the Hauran; rather than towns deliberately planned with a long axis, it seems more probable that it is a matter of settlements, later regularized to a certain degree, spontaneously growing up along each side of an existing road.

The gates of such towns, however, wherever known, were of the arched Roman type, as with the gate of Agrippa I at Jerusalem,³⁴⁷ rebuilt as the gate of Aelia, with probably at least one more gate of similar type,³⁴⁸ the gates of Jerash,³⁴⁹ those of Resafa,³⁵⁰ that of Damascus³⁵¹ and that of at-Tajjibe³⁵² (Oriza), north-east of Palmyra on the road to the Euphrates. Only the rectangular gate of Baalbek deviates severely from the norm, showing that the use of Roman gates elsewhere was a matter of choice, since a quadrate Hellenistic alternative did exist.³⁵³

The allied type, triumphal arches, also prospered, with at least two at Resafa,³⁵⁴ and one at Dura,³⁵⁵ Aelia,³⁵⁶ Tyre³⁵⁷ and Palmyra³⁵⁸ as well as what Ward-Perkins considers to be a Syrian variant, triumphal arches with unusual proportions found in outlying areas, at Sia and Bostra.³⁵⁹ In this last, it is no longer a matter of superimposition or imitative response, but of creative response.

So too, in all likelihood, with the two major 'Provincial Roman' types, which, it has been argued, were Roman in inspiration but, because of the conditions prevailing at Rome, could achieve their full development only in the provinces, in the event in Syria, namely colonnaded streets and 'axial' sanctuaries. Both proliferated.

In view of the magnitude of the undertaking, even granted that land was by no means as scarce in Syria as in Rome and that the cost could be shared between many donors due to the municipal benefaction system, it is remarkable that there are no fewer than fourteen colonnaded or arcaded streets, or systems of such streets, attested within the area proper, at Antioch,³⁶⁰ Laodicea ad Mare,³⁶¹ Byblos,³⁶² Tyre,³⁶³ Samaria,³⁶⁴ Neapolis,³⁶⁵ Aelia,³⁶⁶ Jerash,³⁶⁷ Damascus,³⁶⁸ Apamea,³⁶⁹ in the camp at Dumeir,³⁷⁰ Palmyra,³⁷¹ Resafa³⁷² and Dura,³⁷³ apart from two more in the part of Arabia which lies outside the area proper, at Bostra³⁷⁴ and Petra.³⁷⁵ In addition, there were probably at least two more, at Gadara³⁷⁶ and Capitolias.³⁷⁷ At the

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former site, the stones used for kerbing the extant main street were in some cases column shafts; of the main street of the latter, Schumacher says that it was bordered by column shafts "as at Umm Keis" (Gadara). While it is possible that the columns re-used came from nearby buildings which had nothing to do with the street per se rather than from porticoes marking it as a plateia, it is certainly quite plausible, given the frequency of the type not only in the region as a whole, but in Palestine and Arabia, and especially its occurrence in two other Decapolis towns, Jerash and Damascus, to suppose that the columns came from adjoining porticoes which had fallen into disrepair, and formed the closest and easiest source of material for the reconstruction of the road proper.

There are other possibilities. Josephus states that Herod presented "στοαί" to Berytus and Tyre and a "περίστυλα", among other buildings, to Ascalon.³⁷⁸ Either term might refer to the porticoes which lined a street, but the situation is unclear. Certainly, the word στοά is the term Josephus uses to denote the colonnades of the plateia at Antioch, constructed by Herod, and since an undated colonnaded street is attested at Tyre by other evidence, it is not improbable that its origin lay in Herod's benefaction and that Berytus also acquired one through the same agency (although Berytus was also presented with στοαί by Agrippa I³⁷⁹). The implication would be that the building at Ascalon, for which a generically similar but different term is used, was not a street colonnade, but an isolated columnar structure. But the terminology is so uncertain that it is not clear whether the word is indeed varied to indicate a distinction between street colonnades on the one hand and ordinary stoas on the other, rather than merely as a matter of style, and even if the former, whether use of the term στοά in connection with the colonnaded street of Antioch is sufficient to indicate that it was Berytus and Tyre which received the colonnaded streets and Ascalon the isolated building. Ascalon remains a possibility, though not a likely one.

Again given the magnitude of the undertaking, it is hardly less remarkable that at least seven 'axial' sanctuaries are attested, apart from the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra in its modified form:³⁸⁰ the Augusteum³⁸¹ and Sanctuary of Kore³⁸² at Samaria, the Sanctuaries of Artemis³⁸³ and Zeus³⁸⁴ at Jerash, the Heliopolitanum at Baalbek,³⁸⁵ the Sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra³⁸⁶ and the Temple complex at Jerusalem.³⁸⁷ In addition, there is the complex shown on the coins of Capitolias identified by Seyrig as a

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propylon with a 'Syrian Arch' as at Baalbek, with a court with a fire-altar behind it:³⁸⁸ if he is correct in believing that this is an attempt to reproduce a real perspective, then this should be another sanctuary of similar type; however it may be that the perspective is false, due to the need to depict two different structures on the coin, the only way of achieving this being to show them one behind the other as if axially aligned, where the reality may have been that the altar lay off centre, at an angle to the axis of the propylon.

But the success of the 'provincial' types pales by comparison with that of the two major hybrids, the basilica synagogue and the basilica church. There are more than twenty known examples³⁸⁹ and mere numbers are inappropriate in the case of the churches: the thirty or so previously mentioned³⁹⁰ are no more than examples;³⁹¹ it is more meaningful to say that they were ubiquitous within the area, and that most towns had at least one, sometimes several.

The types belonging to the Romano-Syrian milieu whose origin remains indeterminate also succeeded, their numbers reflecting their functions, specialized or general, and the amount of effort needed for their construction. Given their specialized function, that of ornamenting intersections and masking changes of direction or other architectural inelegancies, the fact that there were two tetrapylons at Jerash, the North³⁹² and South³⁹³ Tetrapylons, two at Palmyra, that on the "Grande Colonnade"³⁹⁴ and that in the 'Camp of Diocletian',³⁹⁵ with other examples at Laodicea,³⁹⁶ Brad,³⁹⁷ Dana³⁹⁸ and Antioch (see M.A. Note 412, Malalas, Chron. 333), as well as one at Philippopolis,³⁹⁹ is sufficient testimony to their acceptance. Apart from the doubtful 'Tetranyphon' at Aelia⁴⁰⁰ and the 'Shrine of the Nymphs' at Daphne⁴⁰¹ what are identified as nymphaea occur at Jerash,⁴⁰² Byblos,⁴⁰³ Pella,⁴⁰⁴ Palmyra,⁴⁰⁵ Antioch,⁴⁰⁶ Ain Housbay⁴⁰⁷ and Tummin al Foqā in the Beqa';⁴⁰⁸ of these, at least the last two instances occur at sites remote enough for the significance to be at least Hellenization in lieu of Romanization. Viewed in the light of their comparatively small cost, the number of opportunities for construction afforded by their primary function, and the fact that they could serve an additional function as a landmark for a territorial boundary or well, it is not surprising that there were fourteen or more honorific columns, three or four near the border with Cappadocia in Commagene,⁴⁰⁹ one at Yat⁴¹⁰ and two or more at Baalbek⁴¹¹ in the Beqa', and one at Antioch,⁴¹² Aelia,⁴¹³ Amad⁴¹⁴ and Kheurbet el-Bila'as on the boundary

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of Palmyrene,⁴¹⁵ and at least four at Palmyra itself,⁴¹⁶ with another possibility in the Belas mountains.⁴¹⁷ Nevertheless, their frequency itself serves to cast doubts on their origin.

On the other hand, the pre-Roman types also continued. Of the seven or so known isolated fortified villas, three at least were occupied during the Roman period, those at Hazîme,⁴¹⁸ Bâzûrijje,⁴¹⁹ and Hirbet al-Moraq.⁴²⁰ More important than the number of dated examples is the fact that the last was an Herodian site: the patronage of Herod or his descendants would have been sufficient to set the fashion for the upper classes elsewhere for some time to come, something confirmed, despite their near-singularity, by the other two dated examples, Bâzûrijje occupied in the middle of the second century, Hazîme at some time after the rise of Christianity; the probability that al-Bhera,⁴²¹ a structure of the same type, was an Ummayyad country residence, corroborates the continued survival of the type. High altars also survived, with examples at Damascus, Emesa, Kaalat Fakra,⁴²² in the Sanctuary of Nabô at Palmyra,⁴²³ and of course in the Heliopolitanum at Baalbek.⁴²⁴ Apparently the last two, and certainly the last, were constructed in the Roman period. Again, more important than the numbers is the patronage: Baalbek was, after all, one of the two senior Roman colonies, and the construction of the Great Altar in the first century A.D. serves as proof that this type, like the stair-temples, was acceptable to the Romans of the province, if not the Romans of the empire.

The 'Syrian Arch', however, not only occurs as a feature of prominent buildings throughout the area, as in the Propylaea at Baalbek,⁴²⁵ the propylon depicted on the coin from Capitolias,⁴²⁶ the coin portrait of the Temple of Gad-Tyche from the same site,⁴²⁷ the Round Temple at Baalbek,⁴²⁸ the redoubt at Dura,⁴²⁹ the "Golden Gate" at Jerusalem⁴³⁰ in the colony and native city alike, and in innumerable smaller monuments such as the Shrine of Isis at Aelia,⁴³¹ but also, from at least the time of Hadrian,⁴³² spread throughout the empire, becoming a standard device in the Roman architectural repertoire, both in the East and in the West, and passing into derivative architecture. And while it does not seem that the stair-temples achieved acceptance in the architecture of the empire - to the west Amy⁴³³ cites only the Didymaion and the temples of the Hellenistic cities of southern Italy, which implies transmission into the western Hellenistic from the eastern - within the Syrian lands they proliferated. Amy cites some twenty-four examples as reasonably secure, the temples at Dmeir,⁴³⁴ Slem⁴³⁵ Es-Senamen,⁴³⁶

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Canatha,⁴³⁷ Dat Ras,⁴³⁸ Mhayy and Kasr Rabba in Arabia,⁴³⁹ the temple of Bel at Palmyra,⁴⁴⁰ the temple at es-Syrié,⁴⁴¹ the temples of Zeus⁴⁴² and Artemis⁴⁴³ at Jerash, the Kasr Fira'un at Petra,⁴⁴⁴ the temple of Zeus at Baetocece,⁴⁴⁵ the temples at Deir el-Kala,⁴⁴⁶ Kasr Nebo,⁴⁴⁷ one of the temples at Hosn Niha,⁴⁴⁸ those at Hosn Sfiri,⁴⁴⁹ Nebi-Safa,⁴⁵⁰ Hibbariyé,⁴⁵¹ Kaalat Fakra,⁴⁵² Medjel Andjar,⁴⁵³ the 'Temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek⁴⁵⁴ and the Temple of Jupiter at Damascus,⁴⁵⁵ as well as five more doubtful instances, the temple at Mousmieh,⁴⁵⁶ a second temple at Hosn Niha,⁴⁵⁷ those at Kasr Naus⁴⁵⁸ and Burkush⁴⁵⁹ and Herod's Temple at Jerusalem.⁴⁶⁰ Of these, the most doubtful must be the last: in view of the likelihood that his Augusteum at Samaria did not have stairs, and that the same is true of the temple shown on the coins of Herod Philip which probably represent Herod's Augusteum at Panias, it seems more likely that he deliberately chose to Classicize wherever the imperatives of tradition would permit. At least three or four more stair-temples must be added to Amy's list, those of Esrija⁴⁶¹ (unless it is identical to that of es-Syrié listed by Amy), Capitolias⁴⁶² and Decapolitan Abila,⁴⁶³ and the Temple of Nabô at Palmyra,⁴⁶⁴ making somewhere around thirty in all, in contrast to the six major temples known to have lacked stairs. In addition, numerous other pre-Roman features, such as the crow-step merlons, the windows and false windows, which, since the topic is Romanization rather than the reverse, have not been followed up per se, survived in the detail of even the most Classicizing types.

The pre-Roman heritage cannot be denied, but neither can the Roman impact. Not only tolerance of superimpositions, in some cases with acceptance implicit in the form of later repair or rebuilding, but also both imitative and creative response are well attested.

One area which has received only brief mention so far is that of agriculture, settlement patterns and urbanization. These aspects are manifestly interrelated - on the most obvious level it is axiomatic that large towns cannot exist without agriculture to support them.

Insofar as intentional effect is concerned, the degree to which they are integrated depends upon whether the Romans were motivated primarily by the desire to increase the productivity of the province, or, in line with Tacitus Agricola 21, by a desire to settle the population down, both literally and, as a consequence, metaphorically speaking (a sedentary, established population being less apt to revolt than one with only portable

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or easily replaceable and consequently less vulnerable material possessions) - to add them, as Cicero would have put it, to the list of peoples so pacified that they rejoiced in Roman rule.⁴⁶⁵ That is to say, the whole constituted a policy of Romanization as such, in which urbanization and settlement generally was the penultimate end, and agriculture the means, rather than the change in demographic patterns being one coincidental result of increased agriculture aimed purely at productivity. But given the unevenness and sparsity of the evidence, the discernible effect of both such intentions is likely to be identical, and in any case, any attempt to distinguish between the two, as practised in Syria, more properly belongs to a study of Romanization the policy. It is only the effect which is at issue here.

The major question is whether there is any evidence to suggest that the Romans, intentionally or otherwise, brought about in Syria any transformation comparable in magnitude and nature to that which occurred elsewhere in the empire, particularly in parts of Africa.⁴⁶⁶ There fields and vineyards, dotted with frequent villages, all bound together by a complex system of land tenure, grew up under the auspices of the Romans in what was previously empty land inhabited by only scattered bands of nomads. If the same effect could be demonstrated in Syria, Romanization could hardly be denied.

The density of settlement in Syria in Roman times is admirably demonstrated both by the literary record and by the distribution of the remains;⁴⁶⁷ for the fertility and diversity of produce Heichelheim⁴⁶⁸ has amassed an enormous amount of evidence, and he indeed attributes this fecundity to a great extent to the introduction of new varieties of flora and fauna, new methods of production, and new technical inventions from the western world.⁴⁶⁹

Unfortunately, the bulk of this material is unusable. Heichelheim stipulates that he is concerned only with the Principate to the time of Diocletian,⁴⁷⁰ and a great deal of his evidence certainly does belong to this period. Furthermore, there is no reason to doubt that the picture he paints is a valid one, even if it levels out any fluctuations that may have occurred within that period. But when speaking specifically of the introductions to which he attributes this prosperity, he carefully brackets the source of these introductions as, "the Graeco-Roman civilisation".⁴⁷¹

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And rightly so. It is impossible to postulate any change concomitant with Roman rule, or consequently any effect of the Romans which might be deemed Romanization, unless it is known which of these introductions belonged to Roman, and which to preceding times, most particularly to the Hellenistic age, and how much of the subsequent prosperity was due to each. The evidence is for the most part inadequate to determine this. It pertains to, and reflects the state of, affairs in the Imperial period, and bears no implications whatsoever for what did, or did not, precede it.

It is virtually impossible to get a general picture of the period immediately preceding the advent of the Romans analogous to, and so directly comparable with, that provided by Heichelheim. On the one hand, the turbulent political situation in the Late Hellenistic period accords well with that one-time archaeological cliché, impoverished Hellenistic levels.⁴⁷² This engenders what may well be the illusory impression that any such beneficial advances as may have been made earlier must have been extinguished in the turmoil that accompanied the disintegration of the Seleucid empire, so that the prosperity of the Roman age was therefore due to new introductions, or re-introductions tantamount to the same.

The archaeological evidence is not, however, unimpeachable,⁴⁷³ and while there is ample evidence, for example in Josephus, of the devastation accompanying the disintegration of Seleucid power,⁴⁷⁴ there is no need to suppose that the resultant fragments, such as the core of the Hasmonaean kingdom, did not achieve some degree of stability in the more mundane aspects of life. There would indeed have been particular areas which suffered severe retrogression - Rostovtzeff and Jones⁴⁷⁵ have been able to identify Trachonitis-Gaulanitis-Batanaea as one such area, and demonstrate measures taken by Herod aimed at its restoration. One is not, however, justified in projecting this picture on to the province as a whole. Not only is the evidence inadequate to suggest that the destruction was universal, but the duration of the desolation at any given place is not clearly attested. If a town is destroyed, the neighbouring villages may have survived; towns can be rebuilt,⁴⁷⁶ and the technical knowledge involved in agricultural improvements, once acquired, becomes traditional, handed down from father to son: either the complete annihilation of the population, or its removal from the entire area, or at least a period of disturbance that prevents the practice of that technology for, say, three generations, is necessary before that knowledge can be presumed to be irrevocably extinct

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in a given area. The stair-temples demonstrate that even specific architectural types could survive this turmoil; major irrigation works, for example, could similarly have survived, even if they fell into disrepair for a time.

On the other hand, there is evidence that some of the necessary technology had indeed penetrated to Syria during the Hellenistic period. Of the devices specifically mentioned by Heichelheim - the improved plough, the water-mill,⁴⁷⁷ the presses⁴⁷⁸ and improved oil mills⁴⁷⁹ - at least the water-mill and water-screw are attested as inventions of the Hellenistic period,⁴⁸⁰ if not actually attested in Syria; of the imported varieties of plants, he himself suggests that some, including Persian nuts and the Crustumian pears of Italy, were introduced in or before the Hellenistic age.⁴⁸¹

Moreover, the prime prerequisite alike for agriculture and settlement is water, and in many areas of Syria this postulates hydraulic technology and conservation methods more complex than simple rainwater cisterns - this holds not only for agriculture in general,⁴⁸² and in particular for the vegetables prized at Rome, which constituted a notable export in Imperial times,⁴⁸³ but also for the very existence of any sizeable community in some areas.⁴⁸⁴ But, as has been pointed out in my previous work,⁴⁸⁵ although hydraulics are a Roman speciality, they are by no means their exclusive preserve, and pre-Roman Syria also specialized in such technology. Most appositely, large-scale water systems and irrigation are attested in the Hellenistic period.

Taken with this is the fact that waterworks are, on the whole, utilitarian products of pragmatic thought: they are no more elaborate than they are required to be to overcome the specific problem they were designed to solve. For the most part the problem is purely local, and there is no necessity for an aqueduct, say, with aerial conduits to maintain altitude over low-lying areas or to span obstacles. In most agricultural instances, a system consisting of, for example, a roughly-built earth dam, with terrestrial channels taking water to and from it, all constructed from whatever material was to hand, without any niceties of masonry style or refinements such as lead conduits, will suffice. The sort of structure providing water for a settlement will once again depend upon what is required, and what is supplied by nature. The nett result is that a great many hydraulic structures possess no diagnostic attributes, either of date or of culture, and consequently there are many specimens in Syria of which

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one could not assert that they are not Hellenistic.⁴⁸⁶

Equally, one could not assert that they are not Roman, or that they do not belong to any of the preceding or succeeding periods. But, when there is some positive evidence for the existence of the requisite technology in Hellenistic times, and the nature of the evidence precludes a more exact assessment of the level and extent of such technology in this era, then it is difficult to demonstrate the change which is a prerequisite for Romanization.

To be sure, there is such a thing as reasonable presumption, and when one has, for example, inscriptional evidence of the building (as opposed to repair) of aqueducts (particularly where it is a matter of a complex system carrying water over long distances, to serve several different towns and settlements, as in the case of the system authorised by Palma), or where, as in the case of Ainī, it is a matter of the construction of a relatively sophisticated machine in what one can assume from the surrounding remains (or lack of same) to be a comparatively remote area, then it would seem over-zealous and unwarranted to gratuitously postulate a Hellenistic predecessor. It is much more reasonable to suppose that the construction in question represents a real change in the status quo.

This rule of thumb has been applied in the preceding chapters. But such examples, particularly datable ones, are rare, and it would be very dangerous to draw general conclusions regarding the impact of the Romans in this sphere of activity from them alone. When it comes to a general appraisal, this desultory method of approach is clearly inadequate.

Beyond it, the most promising avenue would seem to be to concentrate upon identifying particular areas where it is possible to get some idea of the overall state of the countryside in two different periods, some indication at least that conditions obtaining before the arrival of the Romans - or indeed after their arrival, if there is information regarding the area from a subsequent time within the Roman period - allowed scope for development by the Romans.

One such area is Palmyrene (see Map 2).^{*} East and south of Apamea, Strabo⁴⁸⁷ knows only Parapotamia, the area held by the Arab chieftains, and inhabited by people whom he calls Arabs. Among these he includes alike

both those who lived in more or less settled and organized kingdoms, the more so the closer they were to the Syrians, such as Chalcidene and Emesene, and possibly that of the Rhambaeans, and the Scenitae, the tent-dwellers, whom he distinguishes from these and locates on both the right and left banks of the Euphrates.⁴⁸⁸ Strabo's picture of the Scenitae, as gleaned from the various passages, is somewhat confused and contradictory, but what emerges is a portrait of typical nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes: brigands and shepherds, ruled by chieftains who exact exorbitant tribute from travellers, living in country which is infertile, though slightly less infertile in some places than in others.⁴⁸⁹

Strabo's information is so imprecise that it is not possible to define the area on the right bank which he assigns to the Scenitae with any exactitude: all one can say, putting together the various passages, is that it lay to the east of the al-'Ala' plateau, and south of Hierapolis-Bambyce, Beroea, and Heracleia, and extended south as far as "Arabia".⁴⁹⁰ But it would seem likely that the whole of later Palmyrene, possibly with some of the adjacent territory to the west and north-west and, given later references to the Scenitae,⁴⁹¹ certainly the river bank to the north between Hierapolis and Sura, is known to him only as the domain of nomads and semi-nomads, without towns worthy of note, and with a pastoral rather than an agricultural economy.

Strabo therefore provides information regarding the economic, demographic and political conditions in this region, but it seems advisable to check with other evidence before accepting it as reliable: Strabo's ignorance of the geography of Syria is, after all, notorious.⁴⁹² His failure to mention Palmyra itself, which undeniably existed in the immediately pre-Roman period (though in what form is not yet clear)⁴⁹³ hardly allays one's suspicions. Moreover, there is at least one other town in the area which certainly pre-dates the Roman occupation, Resafa,⁴⁹⁴ which Musil identifies as the Ra-Sa-Pa of Assyrian texts of the ninth century B.C., and the Resaf mentioned in Isaiah as an Assyrian possession. Two more, Arak, ancient Aracha⁴⁹⁵ and neighbouring Kalat al-Hurri, should also date back to Assyrian times if Musil's less certain identifications⁴⁹⁶ of the former with the Jarki mentioned in Assyrian texts relating to Assurbanipal's ninth expedition, and the latter with Hurarîna, are valid. It also seems likely that Sura,⁴⁹⁷ mentioned in the next earliest Classical source (see below) would also have attracted some degree of settlement at an early stage, for it is situated on a ford of the Euphrates which gave

access to the road running northwards.⁴⁹⁸ While it is possible that these towns were destroyed, and lay deserted in ruins or were drastically reduced in size and population during the period to which Strabo's knowledge pertains, it seems likely that they, too, should be scored against him as omissions.

On the other hand, Strabo does appear to have some knowledge of Mesopotamia, and it says something for his credibility that he chooses to populate a never particularly well-known area with real nomads rather than imaginary monsters. Nevertheless, Strabo's ignorance of a more sedentary population habituated to agriculture in Palmyrene is not, without support, a reliable criterion for its non-existence. It is merely an indication.

Pliny's knowledge of the area is more detailed, if not wholly accurate. He states that the Palmyrene Desert (solitudines) stretched from below Sura to Petra in Arabia, and apparently just to the north of Sura, or thereabouts, he locates the Arabes Scenitae.⁴⁹⁹ In this desert he places Palmyra, "urbs nobilis situ, divitiis soli et aquis amoenis, vasto undique ambitu harenis includit agros, ac velut exempta a rerum natura, privata sorte inter duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque..."⁵⁰⁰ in other, triter words, in splendid isolation. This accords quite well with Strabo, Palmyra itself aside. It must be asked, however, whether this desert lies in Syria or only in Pliny's knowledge of Syria. This is considerably less likely than in the case of Strabo - Pliny's knowledge of Syria as a whole is also more detailed - and it would be significant in itself if, with this increase in the general knowledge of Syria there was still nothing worthy of note known from this area. Even if the Great Plinian Void is itself gnostic rather than geographical, it to some extent implies the existence of a geographical void in Pliny's cognitive period, whenever that was.⁵⁰¹

The boundaries of this desert can, once again, only be established by inference,⁵⁰² and must, given the state of the evidence, be somewhat arbitrary. The guideline on Map 2 reflects the conservative methodology of the thesis: since the ultimate aim is to demonstrate change, in the form of agricultural development and settlement in an erstwhile desert area, the amount of change, and hence the amount of pre-existent desert, should be reduced to an irrefutable minimum, i.e., the line should be drawn if anything too far east. In a curious inversion of conservative methodology, this in turn leads to the acceptance of very slight, and insubstantial, evidence of natural fertility as grounds for eliminating particular areas.

Since the object is, essentially, to determine the true state of

affairs rather than to define Pliny's subjective version, one may start by eliminating those regions described as less civilized by Strabo. If Pliny in fact supposed his desert to encompass part or all of these as well, then it simply becomes impossible to demonstrate Romanization in these areas, because the conflicting evidence regarding early conditions precludes the certainty that anything which might be shown there later constitutes a change. One can therefore eliminate the al-'Ala' plateau, the putative territory of Theledda, the nearest of Strabo's Arab kingdoms to Palmyra and a naturally fertile basaltic area,⁵⁰³ as too Chalcidene, the territory of Chalcis ad Belum, noted by Pliny as "fertilissima Syriae".⁵⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the south-eastern boundary of both territories at this point is unknown, but Musil has plausibly suggested that Chalcidene and the territory of Theledda jointly formed the second century Chalybonitis of Ptolemy, also noted for its fertility.⁵⁰⁵ The identification of Chalybon, and the towns assigned to its territory, is a matter of controversy, particularly between Dussaud and Musil, but if one allows the physical description of the rival candidates for Chalybon, Ḥelbūn, Ḥelbān and Beroea, to prevail amid the welter of arguments, good and bad, on all sides, then Ḥelbān should be Chalybon,⁵⁰⁶ and the identifications which follow from this mean that the nearest town to Palmyrene in Ptolemy's Chalybonitis is Accoraba, the Occaraba of the Peutinger Table, equated by Musil with 'Uẓêribât, an identification accepted by most later scholars.⁵⁰⁷ The boundary, therefore, must have lain east of 'Uẓêribât at this point. To the north, I accept Musil's identification of Derrhima with Seriane, i.e. Esrija.⁵⁰⁸ On the Euphrates, Ptolemy has Barbalissos and Athis:⁵⁰⁹ Musil's location of Barbalissos at or near modern Bal'is seems tenable,⁵¹⁰ as does his identification of Athis with ad-Dibsi, 12 km. to the southeast, where there are now known to have been important Diocletianic remains.⁵¹¹

South of Accoraba there is only inference, the assumption that where Palmyrene was, at some time, Chalybonitis and its predecessors were not. A cippus at Khirbet Bila'as marks the boundary between the Palmyrenes and the Abditerans, supposedly first established by the Roman governor between A.D. 11 and 17 and reconfirmed down into the second century.⁵¹² Similarly, at Kaṣr al-Ḥêr al-Ġarbi, there is a cippus marking the boundary between the Palmyrenes and Emesenes built into the Umayyad structure.⁵¹³ There is no indication of where the boundary with Damascene lay, though, given that Goareia was somewhere near Dumeir, it must have lain considerably to the west. I am in any case reluctant to use this method any more than necessary, since, apart from the manifest danger of boundaries changing from century

to century, it seems perilously close to becoming a circular argument: if the area in which an increase in population is to be postulated is defined by where Palmyrene was, one is in effect saying "the area in which new sites in the Roman period are to be postulated is defined by the area where the Roman sites of Palmyrene are known to have been." The essence of the matter is in any case the extent of the natural desert region. The demarcation between naturally fertile and naturally infertile land was sharply delineated in Musil's day, and he places the terminator as Hân aš-Sâmât.⁵¹⁴ Conversely, land which was cultivated in Musil's time was land which was easily cultivated, so one should exclude the environs of al-Brejġ, Tell al-'Ajn, the 'Emedijje Valley, al-Forkłos, and to be extremely conservative, the area of Howareen and Zerzeitin,⁵¹⁵ though from the description of other travellers,⁵¹⁶ it seems more likely that these last two were oases rather than a continuation of the fertile zone.

This, then, is the area which can with the minimum of doubt be considered to have lain within the nomad infested desert of Pliny and Strabo. It is, however, also necessary to establish the latest period at which that composite picture applied. Some indication can be gained from the time at which the description was applied, namely the cognitive periods, respectively, of Strabo and Pliny. Strabo, though utilizing earlier literary material, certainly makes some attempt to revise it and add comments in the light of his own contemporary knowledge. However, while he mentions the doings of Caecilius Bassus at Apamea during the First Civil War (XVI.2.10), he makes no mention of Palmyra or Antony's escapade there, well-known from Appian: this part of his material, at least, must date from the period before the Second Triumvirate.

The situation with Pliny is more difficult. As pointed out in my previous work,⁵¹⁷ there is against him the charge of anachronism, which can be neither substantiated nor denied. One can say only that Pliny's information pre-dates A.D. 78, though even this does not mean it ceased to apply after that date.

It had, however, certainly ceased to apply by the cognitive period of Ptolemy. The composite picture of Strabo and Pliny ill-accords with the list of sixteen towns given by him to Palmyrene, mentioned above (Ch.III, p.169 and Notes 247, 248, 363-371). Of these, eight should lie within the guideline, Sura, Resapha, Cholle (al-Hulle), Oriza (at-Tajjibe or close to it), Putea (all identifications), Palmyra, Adacha/Aracha

(Arak) and Aueira (Başîri).

It accords still worse with the picture presented by the ruins in the area, shown on Map 2. There are nearly ninety known sites, beginning from the Euphrates, abu Hrêra,⁵¹⁸ Sura,⁵¹⁹ al-Hnejda,⁵²⁰ al-Hulmi,⁵²¹ Tadijjen,⁵²² Qşeyr as-Sele,⁵²³ Kasr ad-Dahal,⁵²⁴ Resafa,⁵²⁵ al-Ksejr,⁵²⁶ al-Hulle,⁵²⁷ ad-Dahal,⁵²⁸ at-Turkmanijje,⁵²⁹ Tell Fêhde,⁵³⁰ al-Qdeyr,⁵³¹ Nedwiyât al-Qdeyr,⁵³² al-Kowm,⁵³³ Gebb al-Kdejm,⁵³⁴ al-Kwem,⁵³⁵ at-Tajjibe,⁵³⁶ al-ʿAzze,⁵³⁷ Kasr al-Hêr ech Charqi,⁵³⁸ al-Bwêza,⁵³⁹ Dubejs,⁵⁴⁰ Suhne,⁵⁴¹ abu Tummên,⁵⁴² Marzouga,⁵⁴³ Kheurbet Farouâne,⁵⁴⁴ Hassan Madhour,⁵⁴⁵ Kheurbet abu Douhour,⁵⁴⁶ Labda,⁵⁴⁷ Ras ech Chaar,⁵⁴⁸ el Mkemlé,⁵⁴⁹ Kheurbet Chteib,⁵⁵⁰ Rasm ech Chaar,⁵⁵¹ Kheurbet el-Bila'as,⁵⁵² Kheurbet Ouadi Souâne,⁵⁵³ Kheurbet Semrine,⁵⁵⁴ Kheurbet es Sané,⁵⁵⁵ Kheurbet es Souâne,⁵⁵⁶ Kheurbet Leqteir,⁵⁵⁷ Kheurbet Ramadané,⁵⁵⁸ Kheurbet Madaba,⁵⁵⁹ Ouéchel/al-Wešel,⁵⁶⁰ Tahoun el Masek,⁵⁶¹ al-Hêrem,⁵⁶² al-Hlêhle,⁵⁶³ Kalat al-Hurri,⁵⁶⁴ al-Kubba,⁵⁶⁵ ʿAntar,⁵⁶⁶ Arak,⁵⁶⁷ Bijâr Ghâr,⁵⁶⁸ al Ahmar,⁵⁶⁹ Palmyra, abu-l-Fawares,⁵⁷⁰ al-Kaṭṭar,⁵⁷¹ al-Klebijje,⁵⁷² Kasr ʿAnen,⁵⁷³ al-ʿEdijje,⁵⁷⁴ Bâzûrijje,⁵⁷⁵ Hirbet al-Hân,⁵⁷⁶ al Bêza,⁵⁷⁷ Hazîme,⁵⁷⁸ al-Bhara,⁵⁷⁹ Hân al-Abyad,⁵⁸⁰ al-Bhera,⁵⁸¹ Twâle,⁵⁸² Hân al-Hallâbât,⁵⁸³ at Tjas,⁵⁸⁴ Murran,⁵⁸⁵ Hwênique,⁵⁸⁶ Kasr al-Hêr al-Ġarbi,⁵⁸⁷ al-Hawa,⁵⁸⁸ al-Harbaka,⁵⁸⁹ Khan al-Kaṭṭar,⁵⁹⁰ al-Mlêke,⁵⁹¹ al-Bârde,⁵⁹² al-Başîri,⁵⁹³ al-ʿEleyiâniyé,⁵⁹⁴ Hân al-Mankûra,⁵⁹⁵ Sab Bijâr,⁵⁹⁶ Dab'a,⁵⁹⁷ Hirbet Boutmiyât,⁵⁹⁸ Hân al-Hamra,⁵⁹⁹ Tel'et as-Sâ'i,⁶⁰⁰ Hân at-Trâb,⁶⁰¹ Hân aš-Sâmât,⁶⁰² and Qasr Seyqal.⁶⁰³ A rather populous desert.

There should perhaps be more. Palmyrene has not, to my knowledge, been explored in its entirety.⁶⁰⁴ Everywhere sites have been sought, sites have been found, but the region, for example, north of Palmyra, between the guideline and the Strata from Nedwiyât al-Qdeyr to the Euphrates, seems not to have been covered since Musil, and Musil, like other early travellers, was compelled to follow existing Arab routes dictated by existing water sources and pasturate. He himself believed that ancient sites must similarly cluster along these routes, probably for similar reasons, for he states that south of al-Bhara the only "settlements" were the villa at al-Bhera and al-Mlêke.⁶⁰⁵ But Poidebard, untrammelled by such considerations, found a vast of sites, stretching to Arabia (cut off arbitrarily at the first line on Map 2), and Schlumberger, similarly working "off road" in the Belas mountains north-west of Palmyra, found a remarkable number of sites in a very limited area (Map 2, insert), and the results of his excavations

confirm the explanation suggested by Poidebard's work: where there was no water, water was supplied artificially.

The area was a sparsely populated "desert" at the beginning of the Roman period, according to the literary sources, and the fact that only Palmyra itself, Resafa, Arak, Kalat al-Hurri and Sura would seem to have any verifiable claim to pre-date this period corroborates rather than refutes their testimony. After the Roman occupation, and after the decline of the Arab empire, the area became a sparsely populated 'desert' again: as can be seen from Map 2, almost all the sites listed above represent ruins, places once occupied, but no longer occupied, or with greatly reduced modern settlement.

The date at which the intervening period of prosperity occurred can hardly be in doubt. Of the sites listed, only 5 have evidence of pre-Roman occupation. For at least 38, there is evidence of some kind, datable remains or identification with known ancient sites, for Roman occupation: Sura, Resafa, al-Hulle (Cholle), at-Tajjibe (Oriza), Suhne, Arak, Palmyra, Kaşr al-Hêr al-Ġarbi, al-Harbaka, abu-l-Fawares, Bazûrijje, Hazîme, al-Bhara, Khan al-Kaţţar, Mankûra, Başîri, Bijâr Ġhâr, Hân al-Hallâbât, and most importantly, since excavations have been carried out, all twenty of Schlumberger's little Belas mountain sites (Map 2, insert), occupied in the Roman period, with none showing any trace of pre-Roman occupation.⁶⁰⁶ While some sites, like Kaşr al-Her ech Charqi, were doubtless first occupied in Umayyad times, and Umayyads continued and expanded the work of their predecessors, as with the irrigation works below the Harbaka dam, it is clear that the first and main thrust came in the Roman period.

The transformation is all the more startling when one takes account of the nature of the remains as a whole, taking together the dated and undated sites, as a single Roman-Umayyad continuum. Indeed, the ruins as a whole represent the full range of settlement known elsewhere in the empire.

Ostensibly the least important are the forts and other military installations (see Map 2). It is, however, axiomatic that forts tend to beget settlements, and the cases of Mankûra, al-Bhara, and possibly Hân al-Hallâbât have already been mentioned in Ch.III.⁶⁰⁷ Another possible example is Başîri, where the camp lies in the centre of the remains of the settlement, with a cemetery nearby, though the date of this settlement is once again in doubt, since Musil notes a church which was "demolished...no more than fifty years ago." Al-Klebijje is also a likely case: Musil notes

to the northwest of the camp, a rampart 464 paces long from north to south and 400 paces wide, with, to the east of it, the foundation walls of houses, an olive press and a fragment of a ruined column 70 cm. in diameter. Also in apparent association, perhaps a causal association, with Roman strongholds, are the ruins of the village at al-Hulle, about 500 yards from those of the camp, those at ancient (as opposed to modern) Suhne, which lie below the fort at the same site, al-Kowm, where, according to Poidebard, there is a tell showing signs of ancient occupation now covered by modern, with two ruined villages at neighbouring al-Kwem and the ruins of another village on a hummock between the two, and, more doubtfully, but still possibly, Sura, where a modern town surrounds the camp. More plausibly, an association may be argued between the fort of Abu Tummên and the small settlement at Dubejs.

With other types of settlement, a full range can be demonstrated even from among the sites of known Roman date. Apart from Palmyra, there was at least one town worthy of the name of city, if not initially of polis, Resafa-Sergiopolis, which probably became the main centre after the decline of Palmyra, and possibly also al-Bhara. Of Schlumberger's sites, six appear to have been large villages, Marzouga, Kheurbet about Douhour, Ras ech Chaar, Kheurbet Cuadi Souâne and Khirbet Semrine and Kheurbet Madaba. On the other hand, his Labda was only a small village or hamlet, as were Kheurbet Leqteir, el Mkemlé, Kheurbet Chteib, Kheurbet es Sané, Kheurbet es Souâne and Hassan Madhour. Others such as al-Hulle, Suhne, Ramadane and Kheurbet Farouâne are of indeterminate size, and there are also miscellaneous remains, such as the boundary marker at Bila'as, and a number which cannot be identified.

But most impressive of all, in this supposedly desert area, are what might be termed the alimentary remains. Cisterns or wells are attested at virtually all the settlements, and there are also the isolated villas, Bazûrijje, Hazîme, al-Bhera and perhaps Hirbet al-Hân, obviously partially self-supporting - indeed, Musil⁶⁰⁸ notes the remains of a garden, once irrigated from wells, in the courtyard at Bazûrijje, and there are other undated agricultural remains in their vicinity⁶⁰⁹ - though their main economic basis may have been the caravan trade rather than agriculture. But the Harbaka dam seems beyond doubt. For, considering the time and place, it was immense. Dimensions given vary with the writer, but Poidebard's fairly conservative ones give a length of over 200 m., a basal width of 6.3 m., and a storage capacity of 140,000 cubic metres.

Schlumberger's excavations have shown that the irrigation channels in the valley below the dam are all of Umayyad date, but the soft limestone dam itself is of Palmyrene workmanship, perhaps as early as the first century A.D. From inception, it had a sluice-gate, and it seems inescapable that it was intended from the beginning for the task of large-scale irrigation, since there was no major settlement nearby for which it provided water, and there is no other raison d'être for a dam of this size, which was, assuredly, no mere farm dam.⁶¹⁰ The same would seem to apply to the Mankûra dam, for which I can obtain no dimensions, but which appears to have been a smaller version of the Harbaka dam, likewise taking as its basis the blocking of a valley, here the Mankûra Valley, at a narrow point. There was a fort at the waterless site of Ḥān al-Mankûra in Roman times, regardless of the date of the extant remains, since it is known from milestones to have been Valle Alba; if the extant reservoir is fed from the irrigation channels below the dam, this would imply a dam in Roman times, but it is likely that its primary purpose was to supply the canabae noted by Poidebard rather than merely the fort. In addition, there were the wells at al-Bârde, al-Bêza, al-Hâwa, Twâle and Bijâr Ghâr, the channelled spring at al-'Edijje, the Roman period aqueduct of abu-l-Fawares, which served Palmyra,⁶¹¹ and, aside from the numerous small cisterns and wells reported by Schlumberger at almost all his settlement sites, the waterworks, cisterns and reservoirs of Resafa, which permitted the existence of the city on this naturally waterless site; in their final form, as part of the Late Roman-Umayyad city, their storage capacity was, according to Musil,⁶¹² great enough not only for the needs of the town, but also for the raising of crops.

The remains representing the natural outcome of such measures for water conservation and management are all, to my knowledge, undated, although there is epigraphic evidence suggesting that some, at least, should be Roman. Near Baṣṭri, on the road to al-Bârde, Musil notes traces of old fields and vineyards,⁶¹³ while further along the road, in the al-Ḥallâbât valley, he records "old graves, garden walls and even dams", noting that these dams become especially numerous just before Ḥān al-Ḥallâbât itself.⁶¹⁴ To the north, between al-Bêza and Palmyra, in the shallow ar-Raml valley near al-Klebijje, he again notes the remains of old dams which he considers were to hold back the run-off and prevent soil erosion, and the foundation walls of demolished farms, while he found an oil-press among the ruins of the settlement near the camp at al-Klebijje itself.⁶¹⁵ To the west, travelling from Bazûrijje, aside from what may be the villas themselves, he

mentions numerous remains of gardens near al-Bhëra, and, later, a small, partly ruined farmhouse.⁶¹⁶ East of Palmyra, apart from the vast Umayyad irrigation system at Kaşr al-Hër, Poidebard's aerial survey revealed traces of cultivation at al-Kwem,⁶¹⁷ and what he considers Roman wells with canals near the spring at at-Tajjibe;⁶¹⁸ near ad-Daḥal, in addition to the eponymous doline, Musil records an artificial dam.⁶¹⁹ Schlumberger makes no mention of remains of a similar nature in his area to the northwest, but they must at one time have existed: among the finds from Kheurbet Farouâne was a dedication to "Gad of the village and Gad of the Gardens" dated A.D. 237/8.⁶²⁰

Thus the territory of Palmyra, the caravan city. In the light of the above, it seems desirable to take a new look at the economy of Palmyra itself. The oasis was fertile,⁶²¹ the reason for settlement in the first place. It may even have provided some of the exported foodstuffs noted in the Marinus edict incorporated into the Palmyrene Tariff.⁶²² But the Tariff also shows that, by the second century at least, the city had expanded to the point where it was no longer a self-supporting closed system: foodstuffs were also imported, from outside its territory;⁶²³ already in the Marinus edict foodstuffs are imported from the "villages",⁶²⁴ i.e. from the villages belonging to Palmyra, which produce was exempt from duty. The general tacit assumption has been that importations from outside Palmyrene were funded from the caravan trade. Schlumberger, however, adds another source of revenue:⁶²⁵ the Tariff also specifies a duty on cattle brought to pasturage, presumably from outside Palmyrene, and he sees his Belas mountains sites as ranches, used for this purpose as well as to pasture the horses of the Palmyrene cavalry.

But in the light of the evidence as a whole, he seems to be underestimating the case. Palmyra to a great extent lived off the produce of her territory. Palmyrene was never the Garden of Eden, but in the Roman period it was an agricultural as well as pastoral area. Palmyra was primarily a caravan city, but she also had a strongly based mixed economy.

I suggest that there were two different mechanisms working together to produce this transformation. First, the great limes system of forts itself. Not only do forts beget settlements, but the nature of this particular limes must in the long term have had an effect on the habits of the nomadic population. Whether it was intended as a line, as Poidebard maintains, with the terrain and climate filling in the gaps - in such a region any large body of men such as an army must move from waterhole to

waterhole, from pasture to pasture, by a limited number of passes, so if all the major water sources and passes are guarded, a solid wall becomes unnecessary - or a 'zone of control',⁶²⁶ the fact remains that the forts and posts were located on the waterholes and passes, the strategic military points under any system. Designedly or otherwise, this would tend also to regulate, and perhaps eventually inhibit, the routine migrations of the nomadic inhabitants who then as in modern times regularly brought their flocks to pasture in the area. At the same time the canabae and hydraulic installations of the forts provided models for the necessary technology for a more sedentary, agricultural way of life, should they choose to adopt it, as well as demonstrating the allurements and advantages of such a way of life, a situation very redolent of Tacitus' famous 'civilize and debilitate your enemies' policy of Romanization in Agricola 21. For the nomads, therefore, the limes provided both a reason for changing their way of life, and the means by which they could do so.

However, the limes alone cannot account for all the development. Schlumberger's group of sites do not fit with this mechanism: in this area there is no evidence of stringent supervision of the water supply, in the form of forts and posts placed on the water sources, and of the three little forts in the area, only Rasm ech Chaar lies among the settlements, and rather than a fort of the limes system (as perhaps Ouéchel/al-Wešel may have been) it seems more like an isolated 'police station'. Nevertheless, there was development. Moreover, the supposed effect of the mechanism is attested before the mechanism itself: the villages of the Tariff are mentioned in the Edict of Marinus, dating from somewhere around the reign of Nero. There is no evidence for any fort or fortified town (save Palmyra itself) before the second century; even supposing that some of the forts date back to the time of the construction of the eastern part of the Strata Diocletiana, this was only in progress in the Flavian period. Even allowing some latitude, my limes mechanism is a long-term one, and its effects could hardly have become evident by the mid first century. Then, too, there is the Harbaka dam. Not only is it possibly too early, it is too excessive. My limes mechanism postulates that people, unavoidably brought into contact with conditions conducive to agriculture, should settle down to tilling the soil. It does not postulate that they should build monumental dams with a capacity of 140,00 cubic litres. This seems to be an undertaking of a different order, and when Schlumberger talks in terms of capital investment from Palmyra⁶²⁷ he seems much closer to the mark.

This points the direction for the other major causal mechanism. The development of Palmyrene must, to some extent, have been a function of the growth of Palmyra. As pointed out above, the Tariff indicates that the oasis itself could not supply the needs of the expanding city, and the new demands were met by importing foodstuffs, not only from outside Palmyrene, but from within it. It seems to follow that as Palmyra grew, its territory was progressively developed, and this in turn may have to some extent governed the order of construction of the limes forts, whatever its overall schema: with the ever-present spectre of the Arabes Scenitae, newly developed territory had to be protected.

There were three major episodes of large-scale building programmes at Palmyra, late first century B.C. to the early first century A.D., early to middle second century, with a fresh impetus given to the continuing building programmes in the Severan age, and an effect can be discerned in Palmyrene for all three. For the first phase there are the villages of the Tariff and the Harbaka dam. For the second, there are the additional towns not previously attested listed by Ptolemy.⁶²⁸ While the dates from Schlumberger's little sites are "earliest datable objects", rather true foundation dates, they, too, appear to match up. For the second phase there is Kheurbet Ramadane, Kheurbet abou Douhour, and Kheurbet Semrine,⁶²⁹ with Leqteir and, elsewhere in Palmyrene, Bazûrijje, in the later Antonine period,⁶³⁰ and another cluster in the Severan period, Kheurbet Farouâne, Ras ech Chaar, el Mkemlé and Marzouga.⁶³¹ Such dates as are available for the forts are at least compatible with this theory, Suhne, Tahoun el Masek, al-Başîri and possibly al-Bhara being first attested in the mid second century.⁶³²

The transformation, therefore, was created by an interplay between these two intimately connected mechanisms, the cumulative and pervasive limes mechanism and the more staccato, sporadic response to the growth of Palmyra.

The question of whether, and to what extent, the Romans planned this development, or whether it happened coincidentally as a result of measures taken for other reasons, and they later recognised and augmented it, belongs to a study of the causes of Romanization. One point, however, must be stressed. The prime prerequisite for both mechanism is water, and the Romans held a strangle hold on the water supplies. Even allowing for the modifications to Poidebard's picture⁶³³ made necessary by the part played by the Umayyads, and the fact that the water supplies in Schlumberger's

area was not so strictly controlled, the point remains that the Romans controlled all the major permanent water supplies, directly, with a military post, or indirectly, because they lay within the limes grid. At MankŪra, the overflow from the cistern from the fort fed the cistern on the road itself, available for caravans and travellers, with the supply controlled by a sluice-gate in the cistern of the fort.⁶³⁴ The Harbaka dam also had a sluice-gate from inception, and whether from the (undated) post at the dam itself or from Kaṣr al-Hēr, blocking the approach through the valley, the Romans controlled that sluice-gate. In dry seasons, unless the sluice gate was opened, no water flowed. No water, no crops. The Tariff of Palmyra is headed "Hadriana Palmyra and the Water-sources of Aelius Caesar."⁶³⁵ The lifeblood of the city itself was under direct imperial control.

Through control of the water supply the Romans controlled and orchestrated the development of the countryside.

Hitherto the discussion has been essentially concerned with the changing of the countryside, that is to say, the Romanization of a place. This need not entail the fundamental changing of the inhabitants, if the new settlements were populated exclusively by people already accustomed to such a way of life, the overflow of the population of Palmyra itself, for example, who doubtless formed a large proportion of the new rural population, insofar as the development of Palmyrene was in part a function of the growth of Palmyra. However, four pointers suggest that this was not the entire picture. In the first place, while the culture, particularly the religious culture, of the Belas mountain sites as revealed by Schlumberger's excavations, was assuredly Palmyrene,⁶³⁶ it was almost 'purely' Palmyrene. While the culture of the city itself shows an increase in the amount of western influence during the Roman period, this is notably lacking in the Belas mountain sites. In particular, there is the diagonally orientated temple at Hassan Madhour, and the Sanctuary of Abgal at Kheurbet Semrine, again orientated by the diagonals; it is noteworthy that Collart and Vicari have shown that the principles of diagonal orientation were held in common by the Palmyrenes and the Nabataean Arabs.⁶³⁷ Secondly, the inscriptions from the area, like those of Palmyra itself, include Palmyrene, Greek and the occasional Latin text, but also Safaitic Arab texts;⁶³⁸ while many people of Arabic origin made dedications at Palmyra, one of these texts is bilingual, Palmyrene/Safaitic, apparently implying the need for a translation, and hence not the work of a Palmyrene of Arab descent. Thirdly, while the pantheon of Palmyra itself included a marked Arab component,

Schlumberger remarks on the particularly strong Arab element in the pantheon of the area, specifically identifying some of the deities as nomadic Arab deities.⁶³⁹ Fourthly, Notitia Dignitatum Oriens XXXII gives the garrisons of Abina/Abira (Auirā, al-Baṣṣīri) and Adatha (Adacha, Aracha, Arak) as the Equites sagitarii indigenae, while in XXXIII those of Anatha/Aratha (Aracha, Arak) and Adada (which, if it existed, and is not a further corruption of Aracha, should lie in the same vicinity) as the Equites promoti indigenae.

There can hardly be any doubt that these Arabs were the dreaded Arabes Scenitae. Brought into constant contact with the agricultural settlements of Palmyrene, their old way of life becoming progressively more regimented and restricted under the eyes of the forts of the ever-spreading limes, some of these terrible nomads were inducted into the local militia, and into the ways of sedentary agricultural life. The hypothetical nomad of my previous work,⁶⁴⁰ who suddenly finds a new settlement at his accustomed camping place and adapts to it, is not entirely hypothetical.

Moreover, the new way of life to which they were introduced was lived under a system not only totally different from that to which they were accustomed, but one common to the other Roman provinces as well as the rest of Syria, a system of land tenure based on the cities holding large territories with dependent villages, as the mention of the villages in the Tariff attests. Not only is the change demonstrable, a change which can indubitably be seen as the effect of the Romans, but it resulted in a proportion of the population hitherto virtually untouched by Classical civilization changing its ways and adopting a new sort of life within a Roman frame of reference.

What happened in Palmyrene seems closely analogous to Rostovtzeff's allowed exception, the development and settlement of the Transjordan. In the light of Palmyrene, where the pre-Roman conditions are evidenced by literary testimony, the presumption of change in those cases already cited - the work of Herod and his successors in Peraea,⁶⁴¹ Trachonitis,⁶⁴² and Batanaea⁶⁴³ and its continuation by the Romans,⁶⁴⁴ the other Herodian work in Judaea proper, the colonies of Herod at Samaria and Gaba with a model settlement near Samaria at Pente Komai,⁶⁴⁵ his agricultural settlements at Phasaelis near Jericho and Livias near the second Herodium,⁶⁴⁶ the agricultural village of Archelaïs,⁶⁴⁷ the continuation of Herodian work in the Transjordan with the road-building programme of the Flavians⁶⁴⁸ and the construction of the cochlea at Aini, which suggests that they instituted similar developments in newly acquired Commagene,⁶⁴⁹ the Trajanic aqueduct

system of Palma, also a continuation of the development of the Transjordan,⁶⁵⁰ the creation of Androna⁶⁵¹ and the Trajanic introduction of rice into the Lake Huleh district⁶⁵² - must be considered forensically if not scientifically proven, and these cases may stand beside Abila Lysaniae, where, after Herodian attention followed by a century and a half of Roman rule, the erstwhile centre of brigands and marauders became a sober, responsible Roman city, contributing financially to civic repair work carried out by the Roman army in its territory.⁶⁵³

It seems superfluous to point out that these instances, taken together with Palmyrene, cover a substantial proportion of the area called Syria in this thesis.

Again there is a frappant coincidence between the dates of these instances, and the chronological framework in Palmyrene, the main collocations being in the first half of the first century A.D. and the first half of the second; the development of Palmyrene followed the development and expansion of the city of Palmyra, and this in turn followed the general upsurges in urbanization and expansion of the cities in Syria. What happened in Palmyrene was part of a pattern general throughout the area.

There is more. The same symptoms which in Palmyrene indicated erstwhile fertility, then decay, are found elsewhere. Even in the once proliferous and naturally fertile area of Chalcidene-Chalybonitis immediately west of the guideline drawn for the Palmyrene desert, Musil notes that the once flourishing city and territory of Esrija/Seriye is now only ruins,⁶⁵⁴ and in the same general region there are uncounted ruins of towns, settlements and farms fallen into decay: to name only two cases, the ruins in the vicinity of Forḳlos, which Musil identifies as a fort and unclassified ruins - the former, if his identification with the Arabic al-Furḳuls and the Classical Betproclis are correct, existed in Roman times, but was already derelict by the thirteenth century, when mention of only wells is found in Arab literature;⁶⁵⁵ the vicinity of al-Ḥaṣṣ, north of Androna, again in what should once have been the Chalybonitis-Chalcidene area, where he mentions ruins, including some with porphyry and basalt columns, indicating either a settlement or a monumental tomb implying nearby habitation, but especially, and most frequently, traces of old gardens and vineyards, between here and the mesa of Sbêt, where he found basalt heaps used as vine supports.⁶⁵⁶ In the light of Palmyrene, the Roman period is now equally as likely as the Hellenistic and Umayyad periods to have been the time when the potential of this less intractable country was realised to its greatest extent. The chances of this period of prosperity being the Roman age are clearly augmented by the certainty of Palmyrene and the increased probability of the rest.

Indeed, in the light of Palmyrene, the numerous undated alimentary remains all over the Syrian region take on a new aspect. Some have already been mentioned in my previous work:⁶⁵⁷ in this vicinity, the ruined dam in the al-'Emedijje valley, west of the guideline, intended to irrigate gardens below, the old canal from the Euphrates near al-Meskene, the artificial wells at al-Mhadûm, nearby, the walled springs at Hanute in the al-Haṣṣ area, the cisterns at the khan between Damascus and Ktejfe, the low dams near abu Rabah, the cisterns and reservoir near the Gebâb Hamed wells, and the "frequent dams" between 'Uḡeribât and Esrija, all recorded by Musil, with others from Chalcis, particularly the reservoir "236 paces long by 174 wide" recorded by Poidebard and Mouterde; in the Decapolis area, recorded by Schumacher, a mill and lade at Pella, a mill with water channels at Wad el-'Arab, a mortared reservoir and cisterns at Capitolias. But these are mere examples, and a multitude of others are known - in the Palmyrene/Chalcidene area there are other hydraulic installations cited by Poidebard and Mouterde,⁶⁵⁸ and the fort reservoir at Ḥan 'Ajjaṣ mentioned by Musil;⁶⁵⁹ in the Decapolis region an artificial earth dam near Kheurbet es-Sakhni,⁶⁶⁰ at Pella itself, apart from the mill and lade previously mentioned, there are two other mills⁶⁶¹ (one of which, however, seems certain to be Arab, and only a couple of centuries old), as well as cisterns,⁶⁶² numerous cisterns being found in all the ruined settlements, as at Capitolias⁶⁶³ (apart from the reservoir mentioned in my previous work), at Samma,⁶⁶⁴ at Decapolitan Abila,⁶⁶⁵ at Bersinia,⁶⁶⁶ with still other alimentary works such as the wine or oil press near rock-cut sarcophagi in the El-Ket'a region of northern 'Ajlûn.⁶⁶⁷ Heichelheim⁶⁶⁸ mentions unspecified irrigation works at Sepphoris, Jericho, Caesarea, Kallirhoe, Gezer, on the shores of Lake Tiberias, at Jerusalem, and in the 'whole of Palestine' - of these, at least the example at Caesarea is almost certainly Roman, since it is probably the dam which connected the slopes of Mount Carmel with a knoll, which Reifenberg⁶⁶⁹ tentatively assigns to the third century. It blocked the Zerqa river, preventing its waters from spreading near its mouth, and in so doing raised the water level several metres, so that it could be led to the town by the 'Low Level Aqueduct'; Reifenberg notes openings in the dam allowing for the working of water-mills; in addition, Schwabe⁶⁷⁰ points out that the aqueduct north of the town had at its southern end pipes branching off eastwards, which may have served for irrigation. The sometime fertility of Arados is attested by an inscription which mentions an area with sown fields and plantations, apparently sacred to Zeus Chronos,⁶⁷¹ and in his comments on this inscription Rey-Coquais⁶⁷² cites as parallels a sale contract from

Dura-Europos in which the land is sold "with the fruit trees, the hamlet, the gardens and everything which is there", an a quarter of Laodicea ad Mare known as the Garden of Adonis.

Some of this evidence undoubtedly refers to periods other than the Roman one. Some of these unassignable remains are undoubtedly Arab, some Hellenistic, and some pre-Hellenistic,⁶⁷³ but in the light of Palmyrene it is now a probability, rather than a possibility, that a goodly proportion are in fact Roman.

Heichelheim's rather startling accumulation of evidence is now understandable. The certainties and the probabilities together build a picture very similar to that of Roman Africa, a transformation similar in nature and on a comparable scale. The picture is still hazy in places, but the evidence is there, for transformations on a grand scale, as in Palmyrene and the Transjordan, and, in more detail, for limited local instances such as Abila Lysaniae, Aini, or, given the undated material, Caesarea. We can see the phenomenon, as it were, both in the panoramic view and in close-up.

One can hardly fail to call this Romanization. It was certainly the effect of the Romans, and it resulted in the creation in Syria of conditions similar to those elsewhere - Rostovtzeff obviously sees such changes in this light, listing the Transjordan along with other examples such as the kingdom of Tacfarinas in Africa.⁶⁷⁴ Even Jones' evidence, as he presents it, for the opposition, his observation that the foundation of the cities created a wealthy landlord class which stamped out peasant proprietorship,⁶⁷⁵ enhances the comparison with the rest of the empire. The 'superficial' change in the political aspect of the country by its division into city territories upon which he remarks was, by his own evidence, one with severe repercussions for the mass of the population, in that this noisome Roman system of land tenure obtained where it had not obtained before. There is no reason why Romanization should always be beneficial.

CONCLUSION.

There can be no serious doubt that Romanization occurred in Syria, whether or not the Romans intended it to occur. The addition of the material which cannot be assigned to one on of the seven Periods shows that it penetrated beyond the cities to the villages and countryside, whether as a matter of the creation of nymphaea in places such as Ain Housbay and

and Tummin al Foqā, or the creation of places such as Kheurbet Farouâne and the Mankûra valley complex.

It is possible to abstract a composite picture of an inhabitant of Roman Syria from, say the beginning of the third century on. If he lives in a town, it is likely to have a colonnaded main street, a Roman theatre, perhaps tetrapylons, almost certainly baths, and a stair-temple dedicated to a nominally syncretized deity, with houses of a type not alien to Italy, all in the Corinthian order and all save the private dwellings constructed from individual elements paid for by his fellow-townsmen.

If he chooses to go into politics, he will find himself occupying an office with a Greek or Latin name, in a corporate body designated by a Greek or Latin title. He may hold the office of priest of the emperor - if he does not, he will know someone who does. If his political ambitions exceed the confines of local government, he will further them by seeking admission to the offices of Rome itself, like Claudius Pompeianus, or, if his ambitions are more autocratic, set himself up as Roman emperor, as did Avidius Cassius and Odenathus - by no means, "Down with the Emperor!" but rather, "Let me be Emperor!" If he is a lesser mortal who finds himself in revolt against the powers that be, or some thereof, the chances are that he will still be supporting a candidate for imperial office, rather than taking part in a nationalistic breakaway movement - even the Arabs at the end of the second century seem to have been nominally supporting one of the claimants - indulging in the politics of empire 'at grass roots level'. Loyal or disloyal, he is still within the Roman frame of reference.

If he prefers the world of commerce, he will for the most part find himself speaking Greek or Latin, particularly if involved in extra-local trade, and, Semite, Arab, Greek or Roman, when he transacts business the price will be in drachmae or denarii. He may write a contract in Aramaic or Greek, and when he comes to date it, he still has the option of using the Seleucid era or one of the local pre-Roman chronologies, but he may also date it by a local era commemorating some significant act of the Romans, or by the offices and titles of the reigning emperor, or even by the peculiarly Roman system of consular dating. The goods he purveys and the forms they take are likely, if he deals on more than a village level, to reflect the prevailing tastes of the empire at large.

And if he wishes to offer his associates some refreshment to celebrate the transaction, the chances are that it will be served in or on

the ubiquitous Late Roman pottery. If he has the leisure to read secular literature, it, too, will be Graeco-Roman; if less studious, he can go to the theatre or circus, or even amphitheatre, or exercise in the town's stadium.

If he wishes to join the army, the army he joins will be in structure, organization, training activities and, except in the auxilia, equipment, a Roman army. Even if he is not translated to another province of the Roman empire he will, in the regular army, hold a Latin rank, and, in obedience to Latin orders, use Roman objects with Roman names to perform the functions dictated by the Roman army system. He will come into contact with men speaking Latin, and work beside them in the building of roads, camps and so forth, commemorating these achievements in Latin inscriptions piously dedicating the work to the glory of the emperor. He will honour the military standards, and he may, like Rabil(i)us Beliabus, join in worshipping the particular gods common to his comrades, syncretized local deities or otherwise. And he himself will take a Roman name instead of, or in addition to, his own.

If he is an architect, stonemason or builder's labourer by trade, then he will find himself designing, shaping or constructing buildings in which new elements are fused with old ones. If he is engaged in the production of pottery, he may be involved in the production of local copies of imported Arretine, Gaulish, or "Eastern Red Ware" - if not, he will probably eat off it on special occasions, although the meal won't be cooked in it. If he is an artist, he will have more freedom insofar as choice of style and motif is concerned, but only within the artistic milieu of the empire, which he himself is helping to develop. If he indulges in representational art, whether professionally or otherwise, sooner or later he will find that what he is representing is an introduction from the Roman world - as in the new type of corselet which is shown on the gods of Palmyra after the first impact of Roman influence, the Erotes and eagles on the lintel of the synagogue precinct at Capernaum, the Roman soldiers in the frescoes of the "Temple of the Palmyrene Gods" at Dura, the cataphract in the famous graffito from the same town, the Romano-Syrian architecture shown in mosaics such as the Madeba mosaic of Jerusalem, or the provincial coins depicting, in attempted Classical style, the reigning emperor - regardless of the style in which he casts his representation, because so many of those things he sees around him are, or contain, those elements.

If he is a farmer, he may use imported seeds, stock, or techniques, or rely on hydraulic installations provided by the Roman army, or he may

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not. But if he takes his produce to the city to sell, he does so under the auspices of an agoranomos or an aedile. Wherever he sells it, if he wants payment in cash rather than in kind, the cash will come in the form of the same range of denominations, Latin or Greek by name, and almost certainly with pictures of the same emperors, with symbols or wreathed legends purveying the current imperial propaganda. The same applies if he, like anyone else, sells his land.

If he goes to law or is brought to trial, the case will be conducted under a Roman legal system which his compatriots from Tyre and Berytus are helping to formulate.

He lives in a Roman world, and the only escape from the influence of Rome, insidious or blatant, is death - and even then he may well be buried in a tomb marked in Greek or Latin, neither of which may be his ancestral tongue, surrounded by Classical architectural mouldings, or if a Palmyrene, be buried in a mausoleum of a type imported from further west as a consequence of the unification of that particular region by the Roman conquest.

In short, if he does anything other than be born without medical assistance in a settlement unknown to the fiscal officers, live all his life there subsisting exclusively on the products his land provides, eventually dying and being buried in an unmarked grave, he cannot escape being touched by some effect of the Roman presence, whether he knows it or not, whether he likes it or not.

Obviously, this convenient construct is purely hypothetical and no individual would have been affected in all the possible ways. Moreover, which part of this is change will vary in each case, depending upon the background and ancestry of each individual involved. One can indeed envisage an inhabitant of some remote village, or an individual owning his own self-sufficient land, living in a closed system which no new influence, either Roman in origin or from any other part of the province which was Romanized, penetrated. But this second individual is as theoretical as the first, and there can hardly be many such who remained entirely unchanged, out of contact with the rest of the province.

Just as virtually no part of the region remained unchanged and

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virtually no sphere of life unaffected, so too there would have been virtually no inhabitant who was not, in some way, however slight, Romanized.

The preceding summary serves to emphasize an axiom of acculturation: any effective contact must produce, if it does not in itself constitute, some degree of acculturation, however slight.

But this hardly does justice to the amount of Romanization in Syria.

While Syria, to be sure, was not the most thoroughly Romanized of all provinces, in almost all those areas in which detection of Romanization was a priori possible, Romanization, albeit partial and limited, does occur. Even though there are, at the moment, many areas in which our knowledge of either Hellenistic or Roman forms in general, or of conditions obtaining in a particular place, make such a study impossible, this, in itself, is enough. Romanization is attested, both as superimposition and as response.

Three key items about which there can be no doubt characterise this positive effect of the Romans: the coins of the Jewish Revolts, which vindicate the principle that it is impossible to remain uncontaminated by the culture of a dominant occupying power, even in so extreme and virtually unique a case as this, where the subjects of acculturation were not only conscious of the fact, but actively endeavoured to resist it, and which, furthermore, dispose of one of the prevalent fallacies regarding the nature of Romanization, for nothing could demonstrate more clearly that obsequious political compliance is only one small part of a more generalized phenomenon; the development of Palmyrene, which illustrates the possible extent of the physical effect on the province, with its concomitant implications for the socio-economic structure of the society in the area in question; the revolt of Avidius Cassius, which reveals the cumulative effect of the process and its physical results on the mentality and attitudes of the populace at large - Syria as a whole was by this time so much a part of the Roman empire, politically, emotionally and intellectually, that it was unthinkable that she should be otherwise, even when in disagreement with the rest of the empire, the issue at stake, so far from being her affinity with Rome, being who should be Roman emperor. She was simply joining in the favourite game of the other senior provinces.

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Together these examples epitomise an inevitable process of acculturation which took its course over the first two and a half centuries of Roman occupation, retarded as it may have been by pre-existent situations and political upheavals, a process which resulted in widespread physical changes which altered the entire aspect of the region, city and country, and ultimately in concomitant changes to the mentality of the inhabitants; they create a framework within which the other evidence can be seen readily to fit, a focus which allows that evidence to be interpreted.

It is apparent that there was a great deal of Romanization in Syria.

It is also apparent that there was a great deal of survival. Everywhere in the area, except in a few special cases such as the total replacement of the local population, and perhaps even there, many of the old ways continued unaffected: so much of the pre-Roman cultural milieu of Syria was acceptable to the Romans that there was little pressure upon them to do otherwise. This is not the subject of the present thesis, and has been ably dealt with by others who have elected to explore this aspect: only a few instances which bear some relationship to what precedes or succeeds them, or impinge upon something germane to the topic, have been noted, instances such as the Sanctuaries of Zeus Bomos and Zeus Madbachos at Koryphaios, which contrast sharply with the nearby Late Roman basilica church at Qalblōzé, or, from a different subculture, the Doric Sanctuary of Nabô at Palmyra, in the midst of westernized, Syrian Orthodox Corinthian neighbours, or the stair-temples, which formed such an integral part of the Romano-Syrian architectural milieu, and by their history, their acceptance by the Romans of the colony of Baalbek and subsequent proliferation, reveal a part of the workings of the process involved in the creation of that milieu. These few examples are not representative, either in quantity, degree or kind. They are less the tip of the iceberg than a small fragment splintered away from it by the collision of the two studies.

The statement of Bowersock that after the decline of Latin in the east the Greeks were still as Greek and the natives still as native therefore has some justification as a generality, but only if one adds that the Greeks were also more Roman, the natives more Graeco-Roman, and all of them more Romano-Syrian. For the process of Romanization in Syria was essentially one of addition rather than subtraction.