

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

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NOTES, ADDENDUM, BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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PLATE I



Chapiteaux de la cour sud

a



b



2 Type B 2

c

Notes on Plate:

- a) Type B₁ capital from the South Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra (Baalshamîn II, Pl.LXXXIII.6).
- b) Capital from al-Bhara (Musil, Palmyrena, p.142, fig.39, detail).
- c) Type B₂ capital from the South Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra (Baalshamîn II, Pl.LXXXIII.2).

1. Glen W. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World, Oxford, 1964, p.66. In fairness it should be pointed out that Bowersock himself, in later works, "City Development in Syria under Vespasian", Vestigia 17, 1973 (Sixth International Congress for Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Munich 1972), pp.123-129, and "Syria under Vespasian", JRS LXIII, 1973, pp.133-140, has taken a more liberal approach to the subject. Based on the substance, rather than the language of the relevant inscriptions, together with pertinent archaeological and textual evidence, these studies endeavour to determine the impact on the cities of Syria and Arabia in terms of expansion, of the policy implemented by Vespasian's legate, Traianus. Although Bowersock himself does not use the word 'Romanization', such a programme can hardly be other than one of Romanization in effect, even if this is not its primary aim.
2. Barbara Levick, Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor, Oxford, 1967, pp.184 ff.
3. Augustus and the Greek World, pp.66, 69-72.
4. M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, 2nd edition, revised by P.M. Fraser, Oxford, 1957 (hereafter S.E.H.R.E.²), pp.272-3.
5. Ibid., pp.270-272. A rather substantial exception.
6. Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces, 2nd edition, revised by Michael Avi-Yonah, George Bean, Michael Gough, T.B. Mitford, George Mihailov, Joyce Reynolds, Henri Seyrig, J. David Thomas and David Wilson, Oxford, 1971 (hereafter C.E.R.P.²), pp.293-4.
7. Theodor Fyfe, Hellenistic Architecture. An Introductory Study, Cambridge University Press, Great Britain, 1936, pp.3-4, for the explicit statement upon which the book is based.
8. In Axel Boëthius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture, The Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books, 1970, Part III, Ch.18, "The Architecture of the Roman East." Since this is the most recent English compendium of Syrian architecture of the Roman period, it constitutes a major reference work and will henceforth be cited as "Ward-Perkins, op. cit."; for the sake of contradistinction, reference to the remainder of the book will take the form of, "Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit.", with the actual author of the passage in question specified where necessary. The plates pertaining to Ch.18 will similarly be cited as, "Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. ..."
9. Ibid., p.431.
10. Ibid., p.425.
11. Kathleen M. Kenyon, Digging up Jerusalem, Ernest Benn Ltd.,

London and Tonbridge, 1974, p.206.

12. Stewart Perowne, The Life and Times of Herod the Great, Hodder and Stoughton, London and Southampton, first published 1956, 2nd impression 1957, p.108.

13. Ibid., p.178.

14. Religion in Ancient History, Studies in Ideas, Men and Events, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1973, pp.219-20.

15. "La Presence de Rome en Israël", Latomus XIX, 1960, pp.708-723, especially pp.708-710.

16. "The Foundation of Tiberias", IEJ I, 1950-1951, pp.160-169, especially p.160.

17. For a fuller discussion of the stances of these various scholars, see my previous work, "Preliminary Study for an Investigation of Romanization in Syria-Palestine: The Problems of Methodology and Evidence", a thesis submitted to the School of History, Philosophy and Politics, Macquarie University, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts with Honours, March 1981 (hereafter M.A.), pp.2-3.

18. M.A. pp.3-6.

19. Kenyon, op. cit., p.199 (cf. M.A. Note 20).

20. The distinction between policy and effect was drawn briefly by Duval in the discussion of the paper given to the Sixth International Congress for Greek and Latin Epigraphy, 1972, by H.-G. Pflaum, "La Romanisation de l'Afrique", Vestigia 17, 1973, pp.55-72, ref. p.70. My own appraisal of the problem was, however, independent.

21. For example, he takes no account of the situation in Palmyrene, see below, Ch. VI, pp. 260-273.

22. Cf. M.A. pp.6-8.

23. For example, the bulk of the pottery and sculptures and certain architectural types under certain conditions, and the "small finds", matters dealt with in detail in my previous work. See also below.

24. See now J.-P. Rey-Coquais, "Syrie romaine de Pompée à Dioclétien", JRS LXVIII, p.1978, pp.44-73, ref. pp.44-53. Pompey's Syria included what was later known as Syria Phoenice, that is to say the Mediterranean coastal strip west of the Libanus mountains, and spreading inland south of the range - though Josephus assigns the latter to Coele-syria (see H. Bietenhard, "Die Decapolis von Pompeius bis Trajan", ZDPV LXXIX, 1963, pp.24-58, ref. p.32) -, Coelesyria, based on the Beqa', the long valley cut off by the Libanus and Anti-Libanus mountains, and Syria Palaestina, but with a motley collection of small domains of various type and various sizes, held by a variety of different types of local ruler, particularly to the south and north-east (see e.g. E.S. Bouchier, Syria as a Roman Province, Oxford, 1916), Commagene, Emesa, Palmyra, Jerusalem

(temporarily assigned to Hyrcanus), and so forth.

After a complicated series of vicissitudes, alarums and excursions, principally Herodian, virtually all of the independent states were included in the province, most by the end of the first century A.D.; Commagene in 72/3 (BJ VII.vii.1 ff., widely cited, e.g. by Bowersock, *JRS* 1973, p.135, cf. Suetonius, *Vesp.* VII.4) after an earlier brief inclusion under Tiberius (Rey-Coquais, *loc. cit.*, p.49); Emesa between A.D. 72 and A.D. 78 (Bowersock, *loc. cit.*, citing a tomb inscription of A.D. 78, which shows that the family of Sampsigeramus, though still in existence, had ceased to rule; he refers to Schlumberger, Seyrig and Rey-Coquais for support in this rejection of the previously credited Domitianic date). Chalcis, too, was probably incorporated into the province at around the same time; Jones notes that its era on coins begins in the year A.D. 92 (*C.E.R.P.*², p.262). He suggests that this display of autonomy indicates that it was "freed" from a dynast, perhaps in return for acknowledgement of Roman suzerainty, cf. Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton University Press, 1961 (hereafter *HistAnt.*), p.145, on Pompey's granting of *libertas* to Antioch. Rey-Coquais, *loc. cit.*, p.50 and n. 71, also favours this date. However, coin eras can be ambiguous. Jones himself leaves open the question of the date of the incorporation of Emesa into the province, although it, too, issued its first coins under Domitian (*op. cit.*, pp.266-7) - presumably the basis for the older theory - perhaps advisedly, since Antioch, for example, dated its municipal coinage by the Pompeian era between 54 and 51 B.C. (Downey, *HistAnt.*, p.149), but circumspectly changed to the Caesarean era in 48 B.C. (*ibid.*, pp.153-4). Another example of doubt attaching to the significance of eras would be that of Capitolias: it begins its era in A.D.97/8, but precisely what this commemorates is uncertain. It may be its incorporation into the province of Syria, its incorporation into the Decapolis - it was absent from Pliny's list of cities belonging to the Decapolis but included in Ptolemy's list of cities belonging to the Decapolis and Coelesyria (see Bietenhard, *loc. cit.*, p.24 for the comparative lists from Pliny, *NH* V.16, 74 and Ptolemy, *V.7.14-17*, p.26 for the era of Capitolias) - or perhaps a real, more substantial re-foundation under Nerva or Trajan, rather than simply a change in political status.

Dura Europos, however, was annexed only under Marcus Aurelius, during Verus' Parthian campaign (M. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, transl. D. and T. Talbot Rice, Oxford, 1932, p.104), while the date of Palmyra's formal inclusion in the province is debatable.

Pliny states that it was *privata sorte inter duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque* (*NH* V.21,88), but this statement has been questioned by modern scholars. The consensus of modern opinion is that the passage on Palmyra is an anachronism, stemming from the indiscriminate reproduction of Pliny of an earlier source, a source which must date from a time before Germanicus' Syrian mission, since it was then that Palmyra officially became part of the empire. However, the evidence they adduce for this theory does not seem completely irrefutable (see *M.A.* pp.34-40, Notes 69-87, cf. now also the reservations expressed by Rey-Coquais, *loc. cit.*, p.51). The only thing which is completely certain is that Palmyra was a Roman possession in the time of Hadrian; he declared the "freedom" of the city (e.g. Jean Starcky, "Les grandes heures de l'histoire de

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Palmyre, métropole du desert de Syrie", Archaeologia (Paris) 1964, pp.30-39, ref. p.34) which was therefore presumably within his gift, at least for the moment.

Prior to this date, there are at least two suitable occasions for the incorporation of the city into the province, apart from Germanicus' tour of the area: the troubles preceding the outbreak of the First Jewish War, and Trajan's Parthian campaign. Pliny continues, *et (var. est) prima in discordia semper utrimque cura*, and indeed this would have remained true, at least insofar as the Roman part of the dyad was concerned. To ensure the quiescence at least, if not the active support of this formidable desert people and their strategic city would have been high on the list of priorities at the first sign of trouble. Sooner or later, when trouble loomed large enough, it would be deemed desirable to take the uncertainty out of the situation by effecting a more permanent arrangement. A technically independent Palmyra might perhaps have been tolerated during the First Jewish Revolt, since Palmyra was comparatively far removed from the centre of the disturbance, and had no particularly strong ties with the Jews which might have made her seem a potential ally for the would-be revolutionaries. However, in view of her longstanding friendly relationship with the rulers of Mesopotamia, it is difficult to see an even nominally unaligned Palmyra being countenanced by Rome during Trajan's Parthian War. There is corroborative evidence available for a Roman Palmyra to fit with both possible occasions, but, like that cited in favour of the Tiberian date, it is evidence which would complement an established fact, not in itself proof of that fact. For the former date there are the two most cogent items from the list assembled in support of the Tiberian date, the mention in the Palmyrene Tariff of a letter of Mucianus to Palmyra, regulating matters pertaining to the collection of duties and citing similar letters of two of his predecessors, Corbulo and an enigmatic Marinus or Marianus, together with the implication that Palmyra at that stage had a Roman garrison, and the fact that it was Vespasian's legate Traianus who was responsible for the construction of the road to the Euphrates via at Tadjibe and Resafa (see M.A. p.38, Note 69 for references). For the latter date there is the fact that it was apparently Trajan who first constituted the Palmyrene archers into a regular unit within the Roman army (Jean Starcky, Palmyre, l'Orient Ancien Illustré, Paris, 1952, p.36.) The point remains unsettled.

Further to the south and west, there is, unfortunately, no such clearcut demarcation by which to fix the spatial and temporal limitations of the thesis. The provincial boundary, which would otherwise serve as an arbitrary boundary for the study, from the time of its delineation, is unclear, and its position at any given time a matter for conjecture. The devices used by modern authors to avoid committing themselves on this point would make a fitting thesis topic in themselves - maps drawn on a minute scale, so that differences of a hundred miles or so are not registered, provinces marked by name, but with no boundaries indicated, are common. Most ingenious of all, perhaps, is CIL III Supp.2, which covers the critical area with a detailed inset of the vicinity of Jerusalem.

Humorous as these evasions may be, they stem from a very real confusion, and one that will hardly be resolved, since it dates back to Roman times. Part of the later province of Arabia was included in Pompey's Syria, although Bostra, the later capital, was not (see, for example, Bowersock, Vestigia 1973, pp.125-7, JRS 1973, p.139); as Bietenhard (loc. cit., pp.30-32) points out, even Kanatha and Philadelphia, members of the Decapolis, were often referred to Arabia before the province existed as

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such, but according to Josephus (BJ I.ix.2) Kanatha, an Arab possession, lay (geographically) in "Coelēsyrīa". As Bietenhard also remarks (loc. cit., p.31) the evidence which would allow us to define the boundary between Syria and Arabia at this stage is lacking; perhaps this was so because, to judge from the passage in Josephus, as early as the Flavian period there was a confusion of, and a conflict between, geographical and political boundaries. While we may be able to determine where one particular arm of the Roman bureaucracy considered the boundary to be at a particular time, or even where the consensus of the contemporary opinion held it to be, we will never be able to make a definite and categorical statement as to its line, since there was no unanimity on the point at whatever time is in question.

25. This "map" is a composite of many versions, but owes most to that in CIL III Supp.2, despite its shortcomings.

26. And it is totally beyond my apologetic powers to explain why Palmyra is included from the beginning, despite the fact that I would champion the unfashionable view that its independence ceased not under Germanicus, but at some time after the publication of the relevant section of Pliny's Natural History (see M.A. pp.34-40 and Notes 69-87) save only by a shift in kind in the criteria, from superimposed and arbitrary divisions to intrinsic, from theoretical to pragmatic. Since the subject of this thesis is the history of one particular instance of acculturation rather than the political history of the area, it would seem overly pedantic to delay Palmyra's inclusion, making it contingent upon its official incorporation into the province. Regardless of the date of the latter, the date of the first major impact of western culture on the city is quite clear: there is a marked and abrupt change in the cultural orientation of the city signalled by the Temple of Bel, dedicated in the reign of Tiberius, that is to say, the change occurred in Period II. And since the documentation of such changes is precisely what this thesis is concerned with, Palmyra should therefore be included from a time before this change occurred to illustrate it, that is to say, from Period I.

27. Cf. the justification of George Adam Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, London, 1897, pp.3 ff., for choosing a similar area.

28. H. Mattingly, Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum (hereafter BMC Emp.) Vol. III, London 1966, p.clxxv.

29. Q. Marcius Rex: Downey, HistAnt., pp.140 ff. The Claudii Pulchri: Elizabeth Rawson, "The Eastern Clientele of Clodius and the Claudii", Historia Band XXII, Heft 2, 1973, pp.219-239. For Antiochus IV Epiphanes, see M.A. pp.131-2 and NN.426-8, pp.133-4, 147-8, 233-4 and Notes 812-814, p.235 and Note 825 and infra, Ch.I pp.2-4 and concomitant Notes.

30. Syria even rejoices in a road inscription which effectively sings "God Save the King", CIL III No.207: INVICTE . IMP ANTONINE . PIE . FELIX . AVG/MVLTIS . ANNIS . IMPERES. The "king" is Caracalla, and the authors of this access of patriotic fervour the epigraphically inimitable Leg. III Gal., see CIL III No. 206. Cf. infra, Ch.V, p.257.

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31. These limits were determined by an initial conspectus of the material. The "Republic - Empire" nomenclature of the title is purely a matter of convenience, these labels being effectively meaningless in Syria, where there was no marked break in the type of administration between one and the other - unless one cares to consider Pompey as the first Roman emperor. The period involved is called "Early Empire", because the archaeological orientation of the study makes it proper to follow the more recent, and, culturally speaking, more accurate terminology which designates what used to be called "Byzantine" as "Late Roman".

32. The attractions of this terminus are admittedly more dramatic than actual. The eagle had a notorious predecessor, the Golden Eagle which Herod placed over the main gate of his Temple (BJ I.xxxiii.2-3). The orthodox Jewish reaction to this consummate abomination, as to all such, was, predictably, an axe, literal or metaphorical - in this case literal. Hardly surprising, in view of the fact that the eagle not only contravened the general prohibition on "images", violated later by the mere presence of the Roman standards, with busts of the emperor, in the city (BJ II.ix.2-3), but also happened to be the symbol not only of Rome but of Zeus/Jupiter, and located on an ancillary part of the most sacred structure in the Jewish world. This lesser repetition at Capernaum and its temporary acceptance seems the culmination of the process of Romanization in Judaea (cf. infra, Ch. V, pp. 292 ff.).

But in fact this peak did not mark a permanent level of Romanization : it was no more than the other extreme of the pendulum's swing. This eagle too was later obliterated (E.L. Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece (the Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology, 1930), London, 1934, pp.7 ff., Pl.IIa). Nor is it typical of the kind of Romanization which took place in Judaea, which seldom took the form of a spectacular and facile reversal, or obsequious capitulation and complaisance; rather it was a matter of gradual and well-nigh imperceptible changes which cumulatively produced a slightly different bias in the culture as a whole. A better, if less dramatic epitome, would be the building itself, and others of its type, which endured, or the undated but late inscription of Symmachus son of Samuel from Caesarea (M. Schwabe, "A Jewish Sepulchral Inscription from Caesarea Palaestinae", IEJ I, 1950-1951, pp.49-53 and pl.xv, fig.11). This inscription, apparently a tombstone, is in Greek, but bears a menorah, a lulab and a shofar. It is in an extremely fragmentary state, by Symmachus was probably, as Schwabe reconstructs, a μηχανικός, which may indeed, again as Schwabe suggests, be a hydraulic engineer in this instance. Symmachus seems to have been a man who, while retaining his Jewish identity, lived in and was part of the hybrid Romano-Syrian milieu, an amalgam of which Judaism was itself one of the multifarious constituents (cf. infra, Ch.V, pp. 298-9). Fittingly, the inscription comes from Caesarea, the town built by the Romanophile Jewish king Herod I in the Classical idiom, in honour of the emperor of Rome - an architectural step-child the Romans themselves were later pleased to accept, when, as Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarensis (or Caesarea, in e.g. ILS 7206, Caesarensis on a more recently discovered inscription, Shimon Applebaum, Archaeology in Israel, Israel Today No.10, "Israel Digest", Jerusalem, November 1970, p.46) it became the Roman capital of the province of Syria Palaestina. Symmachus' profession, too, comes as an echo from the time of Herod, the end of something, the beginnings of which were then visible, for it seems that it was Herod who, inadvertently or otherwise, introduced the expertise in Classical architecture along with that architecture, by employing Hebrew workmen side by side with foreign

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specialists in the construction of his Classicizing buildings. See the use of Latin, Greek and Hebrew alphabets as mason's marks, most significantly at Masada, where, seemingly, the entire Hebrew alphabet was utilized, then various letters of the Palaeo-Hebraic script, geometrical figures, and letters of the Latin alphabet were similarly used as symbols to mark the various blocks (Yigael Yadin, Masada, transl. Moshe Pearlman, Sphere Books Ltd., London, 1971, pp.68-9). Among other things, this would seem to imply the presence of at least one Roman artisan among the construction crew, along with local workmen. Cf. infra, Ch.I, pp.28-30.

33. E.g. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.34.

34. M.A. Note 527; infra, e.g. Ch.III, pp.132 f. and Notes 147-8.

35. This is extremely unfortunate, since this was the original focus of the thesis. However, there was no option as to which section had to be deleted: the remainder forms a necessary prerequisite for such a section, which could not, therefore, be included had any other portion been omitted. Cf. supra, Preface.

36. Agricola 21. I hope to take up these questions in a further study. Cf. also infra, Ch.III pp.191-2 and Note 508, and Postface p.lxix.

37. After all, counting time by the motions of the heavenly bodies, in years, lunar, solar or sidereal, or groups of years, based on a decimal, duodecimal or binary mathematical system, has no more sublime validity than reckoning it by the comings and goings of humans. Both are natural phenomena, and it is only from a strictly subjective viewpoint that any qualitative distinction can be drawn - by those who aspire to an objective viewpoint. Nor can constancy of the size of the unit be advanced as an argument; the motion of the heavenly bodies is in fact far from constant, with rotation rates changing, orbits decaying, and the movement of the stars themselves, which, over a long period of time, change their positions relative to one another.

38. E.g. M.A. Note 527, infra, Ch. VI, p.363 and Note 512.

39. Regardless of adoptive filiation, the reign of Nerva, in both policy and the material itself, is more an epilogue to the Flavian era than a prologue to the Antonine.

40. When in theory a truer understanding might be conveyed by some medium not unlike graph paper in concept, where one such mental box is seen to be simultaneously surrounded by a varying number of other such boxes, with the contents overlapping the boundaries between them, and a state of multivalence prevails.

41. In both cases evidence of doubtful date was arbitrarily assigned to the earliest possible period, and protracted events similarly counted in the period of their initiation.

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42. While some surpass the written word in some respects, for example, both oral conversation and visual media such as cinematography have a greater capacity for ambivalence, they are deficient in other ways, lacking in particular the facility for recapitulation by the auditor.
43. Cf. M.A. pp.8-10.
44. Cf. M.A. pp.10-15.
45. Cf. M.A. pp.11-14. It is noteworthy that these passages indicate that, as one would expect, those architectural features which would jointly shape and ultimately constitute a layman's concept of architectural elements such as capitals are the most prominent and obvious ones, in the case of a capital the presence or absence of volutes and foliage, and the background shape, the kalathos of a Corinthian. Romanization of the finer and more technical details would, on the whole, imply commensurate Romanization only in the creators of the artifact in question, and perhaps some of the more dilettante patrons, such as Herod I.
46. Cf. M.A. pp.15-19.
47. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. III, ed. Theodor Mommsen, 1873 (1958 reprint), Supps. I and II (hereafter CIL III), Nos.179-80; M. Rostowzew (Rostovtzeff), "Definitio und Defensio", Klio XI, 1911, pp.387,388. (Cf. M.A. Note 29).
48. Cf. also M.A. pp.208-9.
49. Infra, Ch.II, pp.92-106.
50. Cf. M.A. pp.19-25.
51. For modern and ancient examples, see M.A. p.20.
52. Cf. also M.A. pp.226-9.
53. Infra, Ch.I pp.43-4, Ch.II, pp.68-9. Obviously it was not part of their function that they should do so.
54. See e.g. Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, Vols. I and II, revised edition, Thames & Hudson, Great Britain, 1968, pp.525 ff., for the Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Rome, and more generally, below, the section on 'Syrians in the empire' at the end of each Period. (Cf. M.A. Note 34.)

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55. E.g. the Antonine stair-temple at Dumeir, see M.A. pp.23-4. While the piece comprises Classical and non-Classical elements, the Classical elements are less fused with the native than studded about the building like so many jewels. Rather than working creatively within the Classical medium, the architect appears to be playing with it, a sign of practised eclecticism. His approach seems indicative of a less than whole-hearted acceptance of the Roman elements, not from ineptitude or lack of understanding but from a cynical immunity to the infatuation with Classicism which had smitten the builders of the Temple of Bel or the even more Classical Temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra.

As with the coins of Agrippa II, there is a conflict of criteria, here commitment versus thorough cognizance and expertise. The question is whether one should rate more highly the willing embracement of the Classical mode, a matter of submerging oneself in it so thoroughly as to be able to work creatively within it, as does Apollodorus of Damascus, so allowing oneself to be circumscribed by it, or the capacity to comprehend that mode, as well as others, to view it from the outside and from a distance, with the capability to coolly select and use with facility such elements of it as are desired for special limited purposes. Artistically the latter seems the greater achievement, but strictly from the point of view of acculturation the former seems more significant.

56. Cf. M.A. pp.25-8.

57. Ibid.

58. Cf. M.A. pp.28-34.

59. See M.A. pp.29-30.

60. See M.A. pp.31-2.

61. Cf. also M.A. pp.226-9.

62. Juvenal, 3.60 seq. Cf. M.A. Note 63.

63. Cf. also M.A. pp.235-6.

64. Daniel Schlumberger, "Les formes anciennes du chapiteau corinthien en Syrie, en Palestine, et en Arabie", Syria XIV, 1933, pp.283-317. (Cf. M.A. Note 65)

65. Schlumberger, loc. cit., pp.283-6, refutes this. (Cf. M.A. Note 66.)

66. Cf. M.A. pp.96-8.

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67. Cf. also M.A. p.93.
68. Cf. M.A. pp.98-110.
69. Cf. M.A. p.102.
70. Saul Lieberman, Greek in Jewish Palestine, Philipp Feldheim Inc., New York, 2nd edition, 1965, p.6. (Cf. M.A. Note 372.)
71. Cf. M.A. pp.40-44.
72. Cf. M.A. pp.44-57.
73. Cf. M.A. pp.63-80.
74. Cf. M.A. pp.34-40.
75. Cf. M.A. pp.58-63.
76. Cf. M.A. pp.80-91.
77. Cf. M.A. pp.17-18 and supra, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
78. Cf. M.A. pp.240-243, cf. also supra, pp.xxxv-xxxvi.
79. Cf. M.A. pp.243-4.
80. Cf. M.A. pp.93-6.
81. E.g. "Baalbek und Rom, die römische Reichkunst in ihrer Entwicklung und Differenzierung", J.d.k.a.I. XXIX, 1914, SS.37-91.
82. Cf. M.A. pp.91-2.
83. Cf. also M.A. p.99.
84. Cf. M.A. pp.92-3.
85. Cf. M.A. pp.178-182 and Fig.8, p.180.

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86. Cf. M.A. p.182.
87. Cf. M.A. pp.229-30.
88. Cf. M.A. p.150.
89. Cf. M.A. pp.182-185.
90. Cf. M.A. p.175.
91. Cf. M.A. pp.174-5.
92. Ibid.
93. Cf. M.A. pp.112-148.
94. Cf. M.A. p.148.
95. Cf. M.A. pp.209-226.
96. Cf. M.A. pp.235-6. Cf. also M.A. p.33 and supra pp. xlvii-xlviii.
97. Cf. M.A. pp.239-240.
98. Cf. M.A. pp.238-9.
99. Cf. M.A. pp.177-8. See now also below, Ch. VI, Note 244.
100. Cf. M.A. pp.204-207.
101. Cf. M.A. pp.230-232.
102. Cf. M.A. pp.232-5.
103. Cf. M.A. pp.226-9.
104. Cf. M.A. pp.189-194.
105. Cf. M.A. p.230.

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106. Cf. M.A. pp.236-8.
107. Cf. M.A. pp.150-174.
108. Cf. M.A. pp.148-150.
109. Cf. M.A. pp.175-7. For the conventional view that the nymphaeum was of Eastern Hellenistic origin, e.g. Frank B. Sear, Roman Wall and Vault Mosaics, Dreiundzwanzigstes Ergänzungsheft des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Roms, F.H. Kerle Verlag, Heidelberg 1977, p.18.
110. Cf. M.A. pp.194-204.
111. Cf. M.A. pp.207-8.
112. Cf. M.A. pp.185-9.
113. Cf. M.A. pp.208-9; cf. supra, p. xxxvi.

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1. Edwyn Robert Bevan, The House of Seleucus, Vol.II, Edward Arnold, London, 1902, pp.34-5, citing the doubtful statement of Eutropius iii.1 that the Romans offered Ptolemy aid against "Antiochus king of Syria", when Seleucus II was in the process of recovering Syria from Ptolemy III. More cogently, he cites the old Greek letter of the Roman Senate to "King Seleucus", to which the emperor Claudius refers in support of his granting Ilium immunity from tribute (Suetonius, Claudius XXV.3). The date of the original letter does not seem certain.
2. Ibid., p.35.
3. Bevan, ibid., p.36, accepts the evidence of Livy, but notes that Niese rejects it.
4. Ibid., p.38.
5. Athenaeus, Deipnosophists, V.193 d; Polybius, XXVI.10.
6. See Bevan, op. cit., pp.151 ff.
7. A tebenna in modern terminology is the everyday dress worn by the Etruscans, cut on the circular, as distinct from the Greek himation, which is cut on the square; the Roman toga was an adaptation of the tebenna (Larissa Bonfante Warren, "Etruscan Dress as Historical Source: Some Problems and Examples", AJA LXXV, 1971, pp.277-284, ref. pp.282-3). It is difficult to be certain of the ancient usage, and so rule out the possibility that Polybius, and after him Athenaeus, was simply using what he considered to be a more recondite synonym for himation. In context, however, and taken with the phrase, "according to Roman custom," it seems far more probable that he uses it advisedly, to distinguish between the Roman toga and its Greek near-equivalent. The same word is used again twice in a near doublet in Athenaeus (Deipn. X.438 d - 439 d) where much the same anecdotes are used in a diatribe against the evils of drink, although he also states in that part which may derive from sources other than Polybius that Antiochus wore a τῖβεννα of woven gold when roaming alone through the streets and pelting anyone who followed him with stones.
8. E.g. Bevan, op. cit., p.131.
9. Gulick, the Loeb Athenaeus Vol. II, p.379 n. a.
10. Ibid., p.377 n.g.
11. Deipn. V.194 e - 195 e.
12. Deipn. V. 194 d.

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13. Ibid.

14. Deipn. 195 c

15. Ibid. The same word is used to describe the couches at what is apparently a different banquet, Deipn. V.439 c.

16. Boëthius, Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.547 n.36; Bevan, op. cit., pp.149-50. Boëthius suggests that it was an old eastern practice, so it is possible that in regard to this detail the influence was flowing in the opposite direction, but the choice of model makes the converse more likely. The primary reference is Livy, XLI.209.

17. M.A. pp.131-2 and Notes 426-8, pp.133-4, 147-8, 233-4 and Notes 812-4, p.235 and Note 825.

18. Bevan, op. cit., pp.154-7.

19. E.g. AJ XII.248-256 and Marcus' notes ad loc., for the desecration of the Temple at Jerusalem and the institution there of the worship of Zeus Olympios. For the Maccabaeian reaction, AJ XII.265 ff.

20. See e.g. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.99-100, on the expansion of the Parthian empire to Dura and the independence of Chalcis; C.E.R.P.², p.262 on the independence of Emesa.

21. Prior to his excesses there had been a considerable amount of voluntary Hellenization, see AJ XII.239-241 and Thackeray's notes ad loc.

22. Bevan, op. cit., p.124 and n.2, citing Polybius, XXIII.5.

23. Ibid., p.133.

24. Rawson, Historia 1973, pp.225-6, citing Livy, XLII.29.

25. Bevan, op. cit., p.135.

26. Ibid., pp.144-5. See also Josephus (AJ XII.244), who, characteristically, goes to the heart of the matter, oblivious of the niceties and nuances, "He [Antiochus] was, however, repelled not only from Alexandria but also from the whole of Egypt, for the Romans instructed him to keep away from the country...". Cf. also AJ XII.246.

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27. Op. cit., pp.185-6.
28. Bevan, op. cit., p.197.
29. Ibid., pp.197-8.
30. See e.g. AJ XII.414-419, XII.163-4, XIII.169, XIII.227. For comments, Marcus' notes ad loc. and Bevan, op.cit., pp.180, 202, 229, 256, Appendix L p.300 and Appendix U p.303: while some of the dealings between the Jewish state and Rome are generally credited, others, such as the alliance itself, are doubtful, given Josephus' overall apologetic purpose.
31. Bevan, op.cit., p.241.
32. Ibid., p.255.
33. Ibid., p.263.
34. Rawson, loc. cit., pp.231-2, for Appius Claudius Pulcher.
35. Ibid., pp.234 ff.
36. M.A. pp.46-58. For the situation in regard to pre-Roman vaulting, ibid., pp.230-235.
37. Freya Stark, Rome on the Euphrates, John Murray, London, 1966, p.89, citing Tenney Frank, Ec. Survey I, p.344, IV, p.537.
38. BJ I.vii.7, cf. AJ XIV.74-5 for the addition of Dium.
39. See M.A. Appendix.
40. BJ I.viii.4.
41. E. Bammel, "The Organization of Palestine by Gabinius", J(ournal of) J(ewish) S(tudies) XII, 1961, pp.159-162, ref.p.160 and n.17, citing numismatic evidence. However, eras do not necessarily imply rebuilding - Antioch, for example, (temporarily) adopted the Pompeian era (see below, and above, Introduction Note 24).
42. H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes", Syria XXXVI, 1959, pp.38 ff., pp.60-70, "Temples, cultes et souvenirs historiques de la Décapole", ref. p.67.

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43. Welles, apud Carl H. Kraeling (ed.), Gerasa, City of the Decapolis, American School of Oriental Research, New Haven, Connecticut, 1938, p.358.
44. Loc. cit., Note 38. Gadara is stated to have been held by Jannaeus (AJ XIII.395-7) and the damage was presumably caused at this time, though its destruction is not mentioned.
45. Seyrig, loc. cit., p.67 and n.3.
46. For the remains, Gottlieb Schumacher, "Abila of the Decapolis, 1899", "Pella, 1895", and "Northern 'Ajlūn within the Decapolis, 1890" (published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, bound in one volume, no overall title or date; H. Bietenhard, "Die Dekapolis von Pompeius bis Traian", ZDPV LXXIX, 1963, pp.24-58, ref. p.26 and n.8, appears to cite part of the work as PEFQ St. 1889, so it is probably a later monograph reprinted from this journal) (hereafter cited as Schumacher, Abila, Pella, or Northern 'Ajlūn as appropriate), Northern 'Ajlūn, pp.47-82, for the identification with Gadara, pp.47-49. The identification with Umm Keis, also called Mukes, is generally accepted, for example by Marcus, the Loeb Josephus Vol. VII, p.404 note c and W.H. Hoehner, Herod Antipas, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p.289.
47. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.65-6.
48. Downey, HistAnt., p.145.
49. Ibid., and p.146.
50. Ibid., p.146.
51. Ibid., p.152
52. Ibid., p.146.
53. Ibid., p.152.
54. E.g. Bietenhard, loc. cit., pp.25,33-7; Hoehner, op. cit., p.279 and n.3. The originator seems to have been Schürer, Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes, II, S.170-3.
55. See below, Note 64.
56. E.g. BJ I.vi.6.

57. Cicero, de prov. cons., 2,9-18. For a brief but sound assessment of Cicero's evidence on this point and Gabinus' character, see (Sir) Ronald Syme, The Roman Revolution, Oxford University Press, 1968, pp.66-7, 150. There seems no doubt that Gabinus was guilty of maiestas, of which he was acquitted through Cicero's own brilliant oratory, but the repetundae charge upon which he was found guilty is very much to be doubted.

58. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.² II, p.555 n.33.

59. Seyrig, loc. cit., p.67. The fact that it does not appear in the list of cities "freed" by Pompey, stated to be those not already razed, coupled with the fact that it was in existence at the beginning of the conflict between Octavian and Antony (BJ I.xix.2) suggests that it was one of the "many other" towns rebuilt, rather than merely repopulated, by Gabinus.

60. Bammel, loc. cit., p.160, cf. Crowfoot, p.31 and n.4 in J.W. Crowfoot, K.M. Kenyon and E.L. Sukenik, Samaria-Sebaste. Reports on the work of the Joint Expedition in 1931-1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935. No. 1. The Buildings at Samaria, published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1942 (hereafter Samaria-Sebaste I).

61. Even Syme, op. cit., p.31 and n.6, is unable to find him a family.

62. Jurgen Kurt Stark, Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions, Oxford at Clarendon, 1971, Appendix III, p.131, Lexicon p.81.

63. BJ I.viii.5, AJ XIV.91.

64. The issue is extremely complex: Emil Schürer, Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes in Zeitalten Jesu Christi, Vol. I, 1970, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim and New York (reproduced from the Leipzig edition of 1901), SS. 338, 339-41, states that the town concerned was "selbverständlich" not Gadara in Peraea (meaning the main city of the Decapolis, rather than Gadara, es-salt, the capital of Jewish Peraea, for which see Bietenhard, loc. cit. pp. 25-6) because that was a pagan Hellenistic town which had been detached from the Jewish state by Pompey, but that the Jewish Gadara (called Gadara in some modern works for contradistinction) is also unlikely, since its existence was apparently unknown to Josephus. He suggests instead that the town was Gazara, Biblical Gezer, adducing linguistic arguments to show that "Gadara" was an Aramaicized form of "Gazara". These arguments have been accepted until recently by many later scholars, among them Thackeray in his notes on the BJ passage and Bammel in his article on Gabinus (loc. cit., p.160), although Marcus, in his notes to the AJ passage (Loeb Vol. VII, pp.494-5), while granting the validity of Schürer's historical arguments, questions his philological ones and canvasses the possibilities of other towns of similar name, without coming to any firm conclusion. G. Verres and F. Millar, in their 1973 revision of Vol. I of Schürer (T. & T. Clark Ltd., Edinburgh), p.268 and n. 5, repeat Schürer's arguments, citing I Macc. 4.15 and AJ XII.308 to the effect that it was Judaicized by Simon Maccabee (with a fuller discussion p.191 and n.5), and more generally cite Strabo's conflation of Gazara and Decapolitan Gadara in XVI, 2, 29(759) as well as later evidence to demonstrate the existence of more than one town in Palestine called "Gadara", in support of the idea of a mistake in identity. However, they prefer Kanael's emendation to "Ἀδωρούς", Adora (B. Kanael, "The Partition of Judaea by Gabinus", IEJ 7, 1957, pp.98-106, ref. pp.102-3 and p.99 n.2 to p.98), which makes Gabinus' second division Idumaea, and which is accepted by

In regard to Gazara, the fact that Strabo could conflate Gadara and Gazara does not mean that anyone else could do so, particularly someone like Josephus, with an intimate knowledge of the area. Strabo's ignorance of Syria-Palestine is notorious - see his placement of the Beqa' at right angles to the coast (e.g. J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie (henceforth IGLS) VI, Baalbek et Beqa', Bibliothèque archéologique et historique LXXVIII, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1967, p.21, cf. M.A. p.4 and N.88, p.39 and N.80); I know of no other clear evidence of ancient confusion between these sites. The more recent excavations at Tell Gezer somewhat modify the picture of a Judaicized Gazara by showing that the Maccabaeen city remained strongly Hellenized - and confuse the issue by showing that in the Roman period occupation moved from the tell to the surrounding plain, i.e. in some sense a new foundation (see Joe D. Seger, "The Search for Maccabaeen Gezer", Biblical Archaeologist 39, No. 4, Dec. 1976, pp.142-4, especially p.144), but this issue may in fact be irrelevant (see below). Gaza is in any case an unlikely candidate, for the reasons given by Kanael, loc. cit., p.99 n.2 to p.98, pp.102-3.

But the whole problem may be artificial, and the confusion principally of modern origin. The historical arguments against Decapolitan Gadara do not seem totally insuperable. It is true that it was a nominally Greek city which had been attached to the province by Pompey, but the area had been forcibly Judaicized by Alexander Jannaeus, the only city which refused to accept conversion, Pella, being demolished (AJ XIII.395-7). Gadara is specified as being held by the Jews (though variants "Gazara" and "Adara" do exist, the identity of the city however being supported by the fact that it occurs immediately after Scythopolis in the list). J.T. Milik, Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea, SCM Press, London, revised translation 1959, p.91 and n.2, points out that the Hauran was fairly densely settled by Jews in the Graeco-Roman period, a situation which obtained until the fourth century A.D.; it seems unlikely that there was any clearcut ethnic distinction between the population of the Transjordan and that of adjacent areas of Judaea. It is in any case doubtful how strictly ethnical considerations were observed in the dispositions of Gabinius as opposed to those of Pompey: Bammel, loc. cit., p.161 and n.22, stresses the distinction between the sacred Sanhedrin and Gabinius' secular Synhedria. Gabinius' perception of what he was doing may have differed completely from that of Josephus, a Roman perception rather than a Jewish one. From his viewpoint he may well have been re-organizing the southern part of the area, following on from the work of Pompey, not partitioning Judaea, or re-organizing the Jewish nation, or doing anything exclusively Jewishly orientated. Moreover, it is extremely unlikely that the hypothetical error in the text of Josephus is his own, since the passage in the Antiquities, with its expatiation of the administrative apparatus of the "unions", the Synhedria, shows that he revised his account after writing The Jewish War; the implication is that he found, in his source, the name "Gadara", without any sort of qualification, and saw no reason to doubt it. While there is no denying the existence of multiple towns of like name, given Pompey's rebuilding of Umm Keis-Gadara and its subsequent prominence as the chief town of the Decapolis, it seems unlikely that "Gadara", without qualification, could refer to any other town in the period between Gabinius and Josephus.

If no emendation to the text of Josephus is needed, then this second "union" of Gabinius sounds remarkably like the origin of the Decapolis itself. Pompey, to be sure, had benefited the individual cities of the later Decapolis, including Gadara itself, but there is nothing to indicate that he did anything to or for them as a group. The list in Josephus is indeed subdivided into two groups, coastal and inland cities, with four of the eleven original cities, Hippos and Scythopolis, Pella and Dium (to which

by implication from the previous sentence Gadara should be added) appearing in the latter group - together with Samaria, Marisa, Azotus and Arethusa, which are in no way connected with the Decapolis. It is also true that most of the cities of the Decapolis used the Pompeian era, as Bietenhard, loc. cit., p.25 remarks, but it should be noted that he himself excludes as doubtfully originally belonging to the Decapolis three cities, Adra, Capitolias and Gadara, which do not, the first two on the grounds that they did not have a Pompeian era - the argument is circular - and even so he is forced to concede that one city which was undeniably part of the Decapolis (see Pliny, NH V.xvi.74), Philadelphia, equally did not. It may be that the eras of the cities in question celebrate, individually, the benefaction bestowed on them, individually, by Pompey, namely their "liberation". Thus Pompey, in a sense, took only the negative step of separating them from the Jewish realm; there is no evidence that he took the necessary positive step and dealt with them collectively, binding them together in a confederation, as Bietenhard (loc. cit., p.34) asserts. Gabinius also did some sort of service for at least two of the Decapolis cities as individuals, Scythopolis, which he rebuilt or repopulated, and Canatha, as the numismatic evidence shows, and if Gadara is restored to the text of Josephus, then certainly he was responsible for some sort of $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$ in that area, something from which the later, less formal association may well have sprung. This hypothesis in itself would tend to answer the remaining objection to the retention of Gadara in Josephus, namely that Pompey attached it to the province proper, since it seems clear from other evidence that it was not Pompey himself but Gabinius who undertook the first systematic reconstruction and reorganization of the southern part of the area, and it may well be that he was empowered to make such variations in Pompey's original arrangements as he saw fit.

65. Bammel, loc. cit., pp.160-3.

66. E.g. BJ I.viii.7.

67. For example, the later division of Gaul into three administrative districts, based on existing national units (see e.g. Theodor Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire; the European Provinces, ed. T.R.S. Broughton, University of Chicago Press, 1968, p.89). In Gabinius' partition of Palestine, at least one of the five "synods" had as its basis a distinct local sub-group, the Galilean division based on Sepphoris, and if the later Decapolis was indeed another, its purpose may have been to make a separate district of the area which was at one and the same time strongly Hellenized (see e.g. Seyrig, loc. cit., p.67 and n.1, citing Reinach), and strongly Judaicized (see previous Note), something which may be read as an amendment to Pompey's segregation of Greek and Jewish towns (Bietenhard, loc. cit., p.26) after it proved impractical. However, given the respective dates, the scheme may have originated in Syria.

68. Perowne, op. cit., pp.66-7; Carl Watzinger, Denkmäler Palästinas Vol. II, J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1935 (hereafter Denkmäler II), SS.12-13.

69. Watzinger, op. cit.

70. Ibid.

71. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.30, Kenyon, ibid., p.121.

72. Crowfoot, ibid., pp.30-31, Kenyon, ibid., pp.121-2, Plan Pl. IV.
73. A. Reifenberg, "Caesarea: a Study in the Decline of a Town", IEJ I, 1950-1951, pp.20-32, ref. p.23.
74. Yadin, Masada, for example the plates on pp.46-7, 48-9, 78, 79 and 80. Blue was also used in this building. Compare, for example, the frescoes from the tepidarium of the Large Bath House, ibid., p.79, with "Second Style" Pompeian painting such as the widely illustrated cubiculum of the House of the Silver Wedding.
75. BJ I.vii.7.
76. Kenyon, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.122.
77. Crowfoot, ibid., p.32, Kenyon, ibid., p.122.
78. For a brief summary, see M.A. Appendix pp.346-7.
79. HistAnt., pp.152, 153-4.
80. Ibid., pp.154-5.
- 80a. I hope to take this matter up elsewhere at a later date; see, for a very brief account, below, Postface, pp.lxx, lxxi.
81. Rawson, loc. cit., pp.231-2, citing Cicero, ad Q. f. II.10.2-3.
82. Bell. Afr. 20.
83. For a brief summary, see M.A. Appendix, pp.347-349.
84. Downey, HistAnt., p.155.
85. Paul Collart and Jacques Vicari, Le sanctuaire de Baalshamîn à Palmyre. Topographie et architecture., Vol. I, Text, Vol. II, Plates, "Mission archéologique suisse en Syrie 1954-1966", Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana X.I, Institut suisse de Rome, 1969, Paul Attinger S A Neuchâtel (henceforth Baalshamîn I, II), passim.
86. Rudolf Fellman, Le sanctuaire de Baalshamîn à Palmyre. V. Die Grabanlage, Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana X.V, Institut suisse de Rome, 1970 (hereafter Baalshamîn V or Grabanlage), pp.131-3, 136-8; for imported lamps from the west, throughout the Hellenistic period, and their local imitations, ibid., pp.88-9, and for these and other western imports, ibid., p.136. For older extrapolations of the architectural situation, summarised by Collart, Baalshamîn I, pp.171-5, see also Starcky, Palmyre, pp.31, 126-7, and p.126 n.6, and the work of H. Seyrig, for example "Palmyra and the East", JRS LX, 1950, pp.1-7. The encroachment of the Grabanlage on the later temenos of the Sanctuary of Bel is due to the preservation of the older monument by virtue of its sacred character.

87. The evidence is summarised by Fellman, op. cit., pp.131-3; see also Starcky, op. cit., and Robert du Mesnil du Buisson (commonly cited as du Mesnil), "Découvertes de la plus ancienne Palmyre, ville Amorite de la fin du III^e millenaire", Archaeologia (Paris), 1964, pp.50-51, ref. p.51.
88. Seyrig, JRS 1950, pp.1-2, cites the assimilation of the chief local god, whose name was probably Bôl, with the Babylonian Bel.
89. On dress, see Henri Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes", Syria XVIII, 1937, pp.1-53, ref. p.7. For the late first century expansion of the (unexcavated) Hellenistic city to the south, see, in lieu of his most unfortunately unavailable Palmyre VI. Le temple palmyrénien. Étude d'épigraphie et de topographie historique, Varsovie, 1973, M. Gawlikowski, "Remarks on the Ramparts of Palmyra", Studia Palmyrenskie VI/VII, 1975, pp.45-6, correcting Dora C. Crouch, "The Ramparts of Palmyra", Studia Palmyrenskie VI/VII, 1975, pp.6-44, especially p.40; M. Gawlikowski, "Les défenses de Palmyre", Syria LI, 1974, pp.231-242, especially p.277 for the date of the wall which first enclosed the Ephca spring and extended to Jebel Muntar (cf. p.235). (I am grateful to Prof. G.W. Bowersock for these references). Cf. now also E.Will, "Le développement urbain de Palmyre: témoignages épigraphiques anciens et nouveaux", Syria LX, 1983, pp.69-81, ref.p.77.
90. Seyrig, loc. cit., and n.8 for the date.
91. Frederick O. Waagé, Antioch-on-the-Orontes IV Part One. Ceramics and Islamic Coins, Published for the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its environs, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1948 (hereafter Antioch IV), p.4 for the change in the imported pottery in the early Augustan period, p.29 for the continuity of the local moulded bowls of Hellenistic type into the same period.
92. Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. Tome VII. Arados et régions voisines, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique tome LXXXIX, ed. Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, 1970 (hereafter IGLS VII), No. 4008, and Rey-Coquais' notes ad loc., pp.32-3.
93. John Wight Duff, OCD² , p.899, s.v. PUBLILIUS (3) SYRUS. Cf. S. Treggiari, Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic, Oxford, 1969, p.4. I am indebted to Mr. Alan Harper for drawing my attention to this book.
94. Suetonius, De Grammaticis, VII.
95. D.A. Russell, OCD² , p.1055, s.v. THEODORUS (3).
96. R. Gardiner, in the introduction to Pro Balbo, the Loeb Cicero, The Speeches: Pro Caelio-De Provinciis Consularibus-Pro Balbo, first printed 1958, pp.618-9; G.C. Richards, OCD² , pp.97-8, s.v. ARCHIAS.
97. Treggiari, op. cit., pp.2-3,4-5,7-8,9.
98. For example, H.H. Scullard, A History of the Roman World 753 - 146 B.C., Methuen, London, 1961 (1964 reprint), p.353.
99. See M.A. Note 21.

100. See M.A. Note 44.

101. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.35. See also now idem, JRS 1978, p.52, for a slightly different version.

102. For coinage, Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, pp.36-7. For the Fabian tribe, idem, IGLS VII, notes ad No.4009, pp.33-4 and note 8. For the attachment of Roman citizens to this tribe as late as the reign of Hadrian, see the inscription of M. Iulius Pisonianus qui et Dion from Tyre, W.H. Buckler, W.M. Calder and C.W.M. Cox, "Asia Minor, 1924. III - Monuments from Central Phrygia", JRS XVI, 1926, pp.53-94, Pls. IX-XII, ref. No. 201, pp.74-8 and fig. 27 p.77. The writers were apparently unaware of the significance of the Fabian tribe. (My attention was drawn to this article by Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E² II, p.633 n.30).

103. M.A. p.165 and Note 533.

104. Op. cit., p.417 and p.574 n.11.

105. Due, perhaps, to the comparative lack of Syrian evidence at the time, which led him to accept close, but not identical parallels from the West, and so to overestimate the importance of the western element; see M.A. p.94 (cf. p.4), supra, Introduction, pp.li-liii.

106. E.g. Schlumberger, Syria 1933, pp.283-7; Paul Collart, "Baalbek et Rome", Mus. Helv. VIII, 1951, pp.241-259, ref. pp.241-246; Margaret Lyttelton, Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity, Thames & Hudson, London, 1974, pp.88-93 on Baalbek generally and the Temple of Jupiter in particular, pp.89, 90-91, on the [Wiegand Type 1] Corinthian capitals. Unfortunately Lyttelton's section on the Temple of Jupiter is vitiated by the presence in a particularly aggravated form of generic flaws which, without wholly destroying the value of her work, do mar the book as a whole.

i) She consistently misunderstands or underestimates the force of the repertoire principle in ancient art: motifs and devices, once invented, could form part of the cumulative common stock, to be drawn upon and used in new combinations with other later devices, the act of utilising and combining existing ideas, rather than the invention, being the test of the artist's worth (for the principle in painting and literature, see Lucian, "Zeuxis or Antiochus". In the book generally this flaw appears in the dating of structures to the Hellenistic or early Roman period because they contain Hellenistic forms among their elements (e.g. pp.58-9, 63-65) - in fact these elements merely represent a terminus post quem. In regard to Baalbek it takes the form of using the persistence of Hellenistic elements to "demonstrate" the "non-existence" of later forms which in fact co-existed with them. This is a serious failing in the book as a whole, but most acute in the case of Baalbek, because at Baalbek above all the repertoire principle is most marked, perhaps due to a desire to make the different parts of the extended Heliopolitan complex 'match' by reiterating prominent earlier motifs (see below, Ch. IV, N.77.). Different forms co-exist not only in different structures within the site (see Ch.III N. 258) but also in the same building. The two forms of the egg-and-dart, that with the 'Hadrianic' barbed dart and that with the spindle dart appear in blocks (Baalbek I, Taf. 78,80) restored by Wiegand as part of the same entablature of the Altar Court (cf. his reconstruction Taf. 25). These blocks may perhaps have been carved at different dates as well as by different hands, since they were found separately, but in

the frame of the main door of the Temple of Bacchus the rendition of the leaf-and-dart motif varies considerably in respect to the shape of the dart within the same block, even within the same continuous moulding (see Baalbek II, composite Taf. 51-2, on the one hand panel 85, left, 86, right, on the other panels 85 r. and 84 l., cf. below, Ch. III, N.258), although the type of leaf-and-dart intended appears to be the same throughout, the 'Roman' type - a matter of carelessness, or perhaps carelessness conditioned by the knowledge of a different form of leaf-and-dart, cf. the slimmer dart from the 'pristine Greek' form in the Altar Court (Baalbek I, Taf. 55, cf. *infra*, Ch.III N. 258). To overlook the repertoire factor at Baalbek is to misunderstand its architecture.

ii) Her Hellenistic parallels for the Baalbek elements considered by Ed. Wiegand to be of Roman origin for the most part show merely that there is a possible alternative source, not that there is any reason for preferring that source. Indeed in some cases where the internal evidence is evenly balanced between the two, external circumstances still make the Roman West the more probable choice. For example, there is no evidence of any special connection between Alexandria and Baalbek, apart from her suppositious parallels, but there is a special connection between Baalbek and Rome. This is even more the case with her frequent derivations from Pergamon, where the form in question is equally attested in Pergamon and Rome, or a Roman context in the West. There is absolutely no reason to postulate a connection between Iturean Baalbek, in the Syrian hinterland, in the middle of the decaying Seleucid empire, and the kingdom of Pergamon on the north-east coast of Asia Minor. There was, however, a special connection between Rome and Pergamon on the one hand - she inherited the place, and Rome and Baalbek on the other - she colonized it. Whether the ultimate source of the element in question was Pergamon or Rome, it seems far more likely that it was transmitted to Baalbek from Rome than that it represents a survival of a hypothetical Iturean borrowing in the Hellenistic period, a situation analogous to the Roman assimilation and redissemination of the colonnaded street to Britain.

iii) Just as Ed. Wiegand overestimated the degree of Roman influence at Baalbek partially because the lack of available comparative material from Syria itself meant the acceptance of close, but not exact parallels from the West (see previous Note), so Lyttelton is in danger of overestimating the degree of Hellenistic survival by accepting close, but not exact parallels for want of better: colloquially put, she tends to do a reverse Edmund Wiegand. In the section on early Baalbek, however, she goes even further. For example, pp.90-91, in regard to the notched acanthus stems of Wiegand's Type 1 capitals, she prefers to derive this detail from depictions of acanthus on Hellenistic glassware, silverware and pottery, rather than from actual architectural parallels in capitals from Rome, her only architectural parallel being ringed acanthus stems on capitals from Aï Khanoum in Afghanistan. (Most of her parallels at Palmyra are irrelevant, since the examples belong to the period after Palmyra had begun to feel the architectural influence of the Roman empire to the west.) In the case of the modillions (p.92), she points out that the curved modillions at Baalbek have two grooves on the underside, while curved modillions with only one groove are common in the Hellenistic period. She points out that the curved modillion with two grooves occurs in Italy, in the Temple of Concord, but prefers to see the origin for Baalbek in the Hellenistic modillions of Asia Minor with "more than one groove", specifically those in a room behind the Stoa of Athena at Pergamon with three grooves. That is to say, she rejects the exact Roman parallel in favour of the close, but not exact, Hellenistic one. If the Pergamon example has any relevance, it is more likely that the Roman version developed from it and was then transmitted to Baalbek.

iv) She tends to set up straw men. Particularly since the studies of Schlumberger and especially Collart, no one would attempt to maintain Edmund Wiegand's extreme view. The type of cyma reversa decoration she painstakingly shows to be not identical to the Roman form (p.89) is in fact a very old type, closer even to the Classical Greek version than some of the Hellenistic examples, see below, Ch. III, N. 258. The point is that it co-exists with other newly imported versions. As with the capitals, she has selected the one variant which does reflect the survival of an earlier tradition out of a number of versions, then writes as if that member as a whole (i.e. all variants, including those not discussed at all) shows there to be no Roman influence.

For example, on p.90, she says, "The fact that the Corinthian capitals with interlocking helices in the Temple of Jupiter [i.e., Th. Wiegand's Type 1 capitals, e.g. Baalbek I, S.74, Abb. 46, Taf. 65, left] have an abacus carved with a cyma design suggests that Roman influences were not at work in this temple". This is nonsense. In fact her observations do not even apply to the other type of Corinthian capital, Wiegand's Type 2 (e.g. Baalbek I, S. 75, Abb. 47, Taf. 65, right), which has Roman pipes on its abacus in place of the (dartless) leaf-and-dart ("cyma design") of Type 1. Far less do they show a lack of Roman influence in the structure as a whole with its myriad of elements and details. All they may show is that there were other influences as well, something few people if any would dispute today, since a strong survival of pre-Roman traditions at Baalbek is a matter of consensus.

In point of fact her further discussion of the abacus decoration of the Ju. 1 capitals (pp.90-91) gives a very good example of the process of hybridization, illustrating how the tensions created by conflicting cultural influences resulted in a compromise between the standard Roman version and the local form, incorporating elements from each. She points out that while early Imperial Corinthians sometimes have a decorated abacus, the "cyma" never appears, either as a moulding or as [leaf-and-dart] decoration, the "orthodox" decoration being an ovolo above a curved band, which is usually left plain. However, the famous Corinthian capital from Bassae apparently had a cyma reversa above a large flat band, the capitals of the Khasne at Petra have a cyma reversa above a band divided into two fasciae, and an "unorthodox" (? Heterodox) capital from Palmyra, probably of first century B.C. date, has a fillet and a plain cyma reversa. The Ju. 1 capitals have an unorthodox ovolo (i.e. from her "orthodox" Roman type) above a cyma reversa decoration, but on an "orthodox" curved band, not on an actual cyma reversa moulding. It seems to me that here the tensions between the older Hellenistic tradition on the one hand and the influent Roman on the other have created a conflict so acute that even normally inseparable elements are broken apart and recombined into an architectural 'monstrosity' which makes gestures of appeasement to both traditions and satisfies neither, but one which clearly demonstrates a knowledge of both traditions, and that both were exerting considerable pull. This hardly justifies her statement that the capitals (i.e. this type of capital) suggest that Roman influences were not at work in the temple, let alone her more general conclusion (p.93) that the temple was not linked with the newly evolving style of Imperial Rome, but derived from older Hellenistic traditions. In fact it derived from both.

107. For example on the south-east akroterion, Th. Wiegand, ed., Baalbek. Der Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905, Vol. I, W. de Gruyter & Co., Berlin & Leipzig, 1921 (Baalbek I), Taf. 63, and as an abacus ornament on the "Type 2" capitals, ibid., Taf. 60, 65 right, and S.75 Abb. 47; Edmund Wiegand, J.d. (k.) a. I., 1914, S.44 and Abb. 10.

108. Baalbek I, Taf. 133, western field, and ibid., Taf. 43, the reconstruction. In the northern exedra, however, one conch has the hinge at the bottom, see the reconstruction, ibid., Taf. 42, and S.115.

109. There is no indication, as there is for example in the case of the barrel-vaults below the forecourt of the Temple of Augustus at Samaria (Kenyon, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.127, 129-30), that the subterranean passages were cut into the existing structure at a later date, although the decoration could of course be later. There is some slight reason to think that it may be: if the cryptic "DIVISIO MOSCHI" dedication in the substructure (CIL III No. 143, IGLS VI No. 2085, Baalbek I, S. 112 and Abb. 86) is, as Rey-Coquais takes it to be, the work of the masons employed in the construction, if these Moschi are to be identified with the Armenian tribe mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. XIII.xxxvii, and if, furthermore, they were employed during the initial construction rather than on later repairs, then it should not be earlier than the Neronian period, since Tacitus states that it was during the campaigns of Corbulo that their allegiance was first won, Tuncque primum inlecti Moschi gens ante alias socia Romanis, avia Armeniae incursavit.

110. See Baalbek I, Taf. 17, reproduced, for example, by D.S. Robertson, A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1964 (hereafter Handbook), p.233, fig.95 (in a simplified form).

111. For the probable priority of Baalbek over Palmyra, despite the fact that the Temple of Bel was dedicated earlier, M.A. Note 551. For the earlier Herodian sanctuary at Samaria, infra, pp.18, 19, 23-4.

112. See Robert Amy, "Temples à escaliers", Syria XXVIII, 1950, pp.82-136, ref. pp.115-6.

112a. For Apamea: Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, p.47; idem, "Inscriptions grecques d'Apamée", AAS 1973, pp.39-84, ref. pp.37-46 and especially 51-2. For Arados, idem, IGLS VII, No. 4012, and his comments ad loc. pp.39-41, and JRS 1978, p.47; in AAS 1973, p.71, n.22, and JRS 1978, he suggests that the priest may have served either the local cult or the provincial cult.

113. Slavonic text IX.IV, Spinka & Downey pp.29-30, Greek 222.

114. Slavonic text X.3, cf. Downey, HistAnt., p.64 and n.46.

115. Cf. Downey, HistAnt., p.107 and M.A. pp.128-131.

116. BJ II.ix.4, cf. AJ XVIII.60.

117. R.W. Hamilton, The Church of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem, 1947, p.41. He may also have been responsible for some building at Caesarea, see the inscription cited M.A. Note 94 (Applebaum, op. cit., p. 47; A. Momigliano and T.J. Cadoux, OCD2, p.860, s.v. PONTIVS (3) PILATUS: Brandon, op. cit., pp.254-5 and pl.255, cf. n. 1 p.238). However, this inscription comes from the theatre, built by Herod, so it may have been a matter of repairs, a reinforcement of Herod's work rather than an innovation of his own.

118. Hist.Ant., p.148. The Antioch mint had struck new tetradrachms of the type used by Philip I Philadelphus, but with the monogram of Gabinius, and this practice continued at intervals until the time of Augustus.
119. Starcky, Palmyre, p.32 (Greek text l.181).
120. Op. cit., p.426.
121. Tacitus, Ann. II.lvii.
122. Thackeray's translation, Loeb Vol. II, p.189, BJ I.xxi.1.
123. Thackeray's translation, Loeb Vol. II, p.197, BJ I.xxi.8. The remainder of the translations quoted are also those of Thackeray unless otherwise specified, save that he uses the more tendentious "colonists" for "settlers" in reference to Samaria. Another amphitheatre at Jericho, where the people were assembled to hear the news of his death (BJ I.xxxiii.8) was probably also Herod's.
124. See, for example, Perowne's chronological table, op.cit., pp.181-3.
125. Ya'kov Meshorer, Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period, transl. I.H. Levine, Am Hassefer Publishers Ltd. and Massada, Tel Aviv, 1967, pp.66-7, maintains that Herod counted his reign from his appointment by the Senate in 40 B.C.
126. BJ I.xxi.8.
127. Reifenberg, "Caesarea", IEJ 1950-1, p.20, gives 22 B.C., cf. Marcus, Loeb Vol. VIII, p.165, n. d to AJ XV.341, both preferring the figure of twelve years given for the time taken to build it here to that of ten years in AJ XVI.136-7. Cf. also Hoehner, op. cit., p.9 and n.4.
128. AJ XV.342.
129. Abraham Schalit, König Herodes. Der Mann und sein Werk, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1969, p.358, relying on numismatic evidence. So too Perowne, op. cit.
130. AJ XVI.13, for the date see Marcus' note b, Loeb Vol. VIII, p.218.
131. See their notes ad loc.
132. The other town receiving special attention was Ascalon; Perowne, op. cit., p.126, points out that this had a special association for Herod, being the town of his great-grandfather.
133. See M.A. Note 21.
134. For the theatre, cf. E. Frézouls, "Recherches sur les théâtres de l'orient Syrien." I, Syria XXXVI, 1959, pp.202-227, ref. p.217.

135. BJ I.iii.1 and the parallel passage, AJ XVII.255, cf. Thackeray, Loeb Vol. II, p.339, n. i. This is presumably the basis of Frankfort's statement, Latomus 1960, p.708, although no reference is given.

136. For example, that of L.-H. Vincent and M.-A. Stève, reproduced as a fold-out plan in the Loeb Josephus Vol. VIII. Cf. infra, Note 192.

137. See, for example, Kenyon, Digging up Jerusalem, Pl. 86, the so-called "Solomon's Stables".

138. As in the terrace supporting the Temple of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina, Boëthius, Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.146, or in the bastion at Ferentinum, different in function but similar as an architectural concept, ibid., pp.147-8. The Jupiter Anxur sanctuary is Sullan, the Ferentinum bastion is dated to the second half of the second century.

139. Perowne, op. cit., p.143, cf. p.127 on Gaba. Thackeray apparently thought along similar lines, see his translation of "οἰκιστοὺς" as colonists, supra, Note 123. The basis for the argument would seem to be AJ XV.294 for Gaba, and BJ III.iii.1 and AJ XV.296, together with the evidence about the Sebastenian troops (infra, Ch. IV, Note 121), which indicates that some of the settlers at Teast were soldiers, for Samaria. For these two veteran settlements (but not for the comparison with Augustus) see e.g. Schalit, op. cit., pp.361, 363-4, 365 for Samaria, p.365 for Gaba. The location of Gaba is not completely certain, but it was probably Sha'ar Ha-'Amakim (el Harithiyyeh), see e.g. Benjamin Mazar (Maisler), Beth She'arim. Report on the Excavations during 1936-1940. Vol. I. The Catacombs, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, pp.7-8, and especially p.11 n.55, and the map, p.2, cf. M. Avi-Yonah, Gazetteer of Roman Palestine, Qedem 5, Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1976, Map 1, p.106.

140. Perowne, op. cit., p.121. Cf. AJ XVI.145, BJ I.xxi.9, Wikgren, Loeb Josephus Vol. VIII, p.265 n. d, and Schalit, op. cit., p.324.

141. Perowne, op. cit., p.111, see AJ XV.305-16. Cf. Schalit's allusion, op. cit., p.670: Schalit does not deal with this matter per se.

142. E.g. BJ III.iii.1-2, III.x.8.

143. BJ III.iii.4.

144. Josephus, BJ III.iii.3, Pliny, NH V.xv,70.

145. F.M. Heichelheim, "Part II. Roman Syria", apud Tenney Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, Vol. IV, Pageant Books, 1959, pp.121-257, ref. p.137, stressing the positive case, takes this as a sign of agricultural importance, and rates the area next after Galilee, and the neighbourhood of Netafa, Scythopolis and Gischala. However, it seems clear that Peraea was basically one of the poorer districts in the area. The cultivation of the olive tree itself may have been part of the Herodian programme aimed at transforming the area.

146. AJ XX.1-6. It should be noted, however, that this "brigandage", which continued until suppressed by Fadus, the first Roman governor after the death of Agrippa I, may not entirely have been brigandage of the same order as that in Trachonitis and Batanea. The word used is ληστειά, Josephus' favourite term of abuse for the revolutionaries of the First Revolt (see M.A. p.72 and Note 231). It is therefore uncertain how much of the trouble under Fadus was caused by brigands of the type which would imply that the area was uncivilized, and how much was a matter of political dissent.

147. C.E.R.P.², p.282 and n.77, cf. AJ XVI.271 ff., XVII.23 ff.

148. Y. Meshorer, "A Stone Weight from the Reign of Herod", IEJ XX, 1970, pp.97-8 and Pl. 27A. The weight has no real provenance, but the high regnal year coupled with the title BAC(ΙΑΕΩC) should rule out its ascription to one of his successors; the only possibilities might have been Herod Philip II and Herod Antipas, both of whom appear only as tetrarch on coins, and neither of whom uses the title "Philokaisar" (see Adolf Reifenberg, Ancient Jewish Coins, 2nd edition, Rubin Mass, Jerusalem, 1947 (hereafter AncJewCoins), Nos. 37-52, idem, "Unpublished and Unusual Jewish Coins", IEJ I, 1950-1, pp.176-8 (hereafter cited as "Coins", IEJ 1950-1), ref. p.176). The title first appears on a coin of Herod Agrippa I dated to A.D. 43/44 (AncJewCoins No. 60a).

149. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.416.

150. The socle in question was at first only doubtfully attributed to the colonnades by J. Lassus, Antioch-on-the-Orontes. V. Les Portiques d'Antioche, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1972 (hereafter Antioch V), pp.70-71, cf. M.A. pp.129-30 and Note 416, p.133 and Note 429.

151. Perowne, op. cit., pp.120-124; Ehud Netzer, "The Hasmonaean and Herodian Winter Palaces at Jericho", IEJ 25, 1975, pp.89-100, ref. p.93; idem, "The Winter Palaces of the Judaean Kings at Jericho at the end of the Second Temple Period", BASOR No.228, Dec. 1977, pp.1-13, ref. p.9. For the possible use of opus reticulatum elsewhere by Herod, see Ehud Netzer and Sara Ben-Arieh, "Remains of an Opus Reticulatum Building in Jerusalem", IEJ 1983, pp.163-175; the building is tentatively identified as "Herod's Monument".

152. See M.A. pp.197-204.

153. Kenyon, Digging up Jerusalem, pp.14, 16, but cf. p.217. *See now also Addendum.

154. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.32-3. For the correction to the date of the basilica, ibid., p.36 and n.1.

155. For the earlier date, G.A. Reisner, C.S. Fisher and D.C. Lyon, The Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910, Harvard, 1921 (hereafter Harvard Excavations), p.46.

156. For the type of temple, cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.415. For the overall plan of the original sanctuary, Kenyon, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.126-7.

157. Harvard Excavations Plan 8, does show a slight thickening of the rear walls at the corners, but it does not seem adequate to allow the re-construction of towers, being a matter, according to the scale of the plan, of no more than half a metre. It seems to be rather an indication of decorative piers, like the façade of the Haram at Mamre, mentioned below.

158. Comfort, Antioch IV, pp.65, 67.

159. Crowfoot, op. cit., p.34.

160. J.B. Hennessy, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, 1964-6", Levant II, 1970, pp.22-7, especially p.24. I am grateful to Professor Hennessy for this reference.

161. Supra, Note 74.

162. Yadin, Masada, p.62, caption to pl. 63, and pp.63, 119, 127, pls. pp.84, 123, 124-5, 127, 129.

163. Ibid., p.65 and plate 66.

164. For Mamre, W.F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, Penguin, 1963 (last revised 1960) (hereafter ArchPalaest.), p.156, Thackeray, the Loeb Josephus, Vol. III, pp.158-9, n. c ; for Hebron, ibid., p.158 n. b, Albright, op. cit., Perowne, op. cit., pp.133-4. The problems of ascribing buildings on the grounds of "Herodian masonry" are of course enormous. The arguable ascription of part of the Temple podium at Jerusalem to the Temple of Solomon rather than that of Herod by E.M. Laperrousaz (e.g. "Après le <<Temple de Salomon>> la BAMA de Tel-Dan: L'Utilisation de pierres à bossage phénicien dans la Palestine préexilique", Syria LIX, 1982, pp.233-237) shows the care needed to determine that the masonry is Herodian at all, let alone attributable to the founder of the dynasty.

165. Yadin, op. cit., pp.164 ff.

166. Applebaum, op. cit., pp.35, 38.

167. For Masada, Yadin, op. cit., p.185 and plans, cf. plan p. 181; the building in question was modified by the Zealots during the First Revolt, and certainly served as a synagogue during their occupation, but whether the original building was also a synagogue is not clear; Herodium II had a similar history of occupation by the Zealots during the First, and in this case possibly the Second, Revolts (Applebaum, op. cit., p.38), so some doubt must attach to the date of the synagogue there, too. See now Ehud Netzer, Greater Herodium, Qedem 13 (Monograph of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem), 1981, p. 78 for the history of the site, p.49 for the "mikve", perhaps modified from its original form to serve Jewish ritual purposes. (I am most grateful to Dr. A.W. McNicoll for drawing my attention to this work.)

168. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.34.

169. Sukenik, ibid., p.64, cf. Crowfoot, ibid., p.48.

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170. Yadin, op. cit., pp.119, 127.
171. Ibid., plate p.70.
172. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.33.
173. Vacat.
174. Cf. Schlumberger, Syria 1933, pp.288 f.
175. For the significance of this , M.A. pp.33, 235-6, supra Introduction, pp.xlvii-xlviii.
176. Op. cit., p.136.
177. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.85 and Taf. 26, Abb. 59.
178. Masada, plates pp,48, 71.
179. Applebaum, op. cit., p.35.
180. Supra, Note 21.
181. AJ XIII.318, cf. Marcus, Loeb Vol. VII, pp.366-7, note c, for the dispute over whether this was an official title, or merely a common soubriquet applied to him.
182. See Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.5-17, 39-42, Pls. II-III, for Jannaeus and Jonathan Hyrcanus II, ibid., pp.17, 42 (Nos. 21-3 and Pl. III for Antigonus Mattathias. Cf. Meshorer, Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period, pp.56-7, 118-121 for Jannaeus, pp.124-126 for Antigonus Mattathias; he notes the presence of single Greek letters on three, possibly four coins of Hyrcanus, his Nos. 19 (p.121) 20, 20A and 21A (p.122).
183. Digging up Jerusalem, p.199.
184. Wilderness, p.78.
185. Latomus 1960, p.708. The difficulties involved in determining where and what Hellenistic survival existed are illustrated in F. Millar's article, "The Phoenician cities: a case-study in Hellenisation", Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society No.209 (N.S. 29), 1983, pp.55-71). For example, it seems difficult to be sure whether the later traditions he cites (e.g.pp.67-8) are genuine survivals, or false memories superimposed by the people of a later age, as perhaps with some of the "founders" of the Decapolis cities celebrated in the late second and third centuries (below, Ch.IV). On the problems of assessing the level of Hellenization in Judaea, specifically Jerusalem, see now Tessa Rajak, Josephus. The Historian and His Society, Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., London, 1983, Ch. II, pp.46-64 (specifically in regard to the Greek language in the early first century A.D., but with broader implications).

186. For the pottery, Kenyon, Digging up Jerusalem, p.199 for the influence of Mainland Greece; cf. Waagé, Antioch IV, pp.14 (Early Hellenistic), 18 (Late Hellenistic) for the occurrence of shapes found at Antioch and the intimate connection with the pottery of the Orontes valley. For the Samaritan response to the Hellenizing measures of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, including the dedication of the Gerizim temple to Zeus Hellenios, AJ XII.257-264.

187. See below, Ch. IV, Notes 124, 125.

188. See AJ XV.340, cf. Reifenberg, "Caesarea", IEJ 1950-1, p.23.

189. Bartholemew's Map of Israel with Jordan, scale 1:350,000, John Bartholemew and Sons Ltd., Edinburgh (no date, post 1967).

190. See M.A. pp.29-30.

191. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.17-19, 42-3, Pl. III. It is also noteworthy that No. 34 depicts an eagle, perhaps, as Reifenberg suggests, the Golden Eagle.

192. See the reconstruction of L.-H. Vincent and M.-A. Stève, Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament, Parts II and III (bound together), Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda et Cie, éditeurs, Pl. III, cf. also the plan reproduced as a fold-out in the Loeb Josephus Vol. VIII, from Jérusalem II, Pl. 102. It is also possible that he was the first to popularize the curvilinear-rectilinear motif in aediculae, so prominent at Baalbek, but spreading to, for example Jerash, only in the second half of the second century A.D. (see below, Ch.IV, pp.200-203), since Perowne (op. cit., p.120) mentions that there was a series of niches, alternately round- and square-headed, divided by clustered pilasters, in the concrete terrace on the north side of the palace at Jericho - I have not located his source.

193. Yadin, Masada, pp.68-9.

194. Applebaum, op. cit., p.35.

195. Digging up Jerusalem, p.2.

196. Ibid., p.12.

197. AJ XX.219-223.

198. Op. cit., p.248.

199. The dates are those given by Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.43, 44, 45.

200. AJ XVII.340. It had been plundered and burnt by Simon in the disturbances which followed Herod's death, AJ XVII.274, as were many other royal residences which are not specified.

201. The Loeb Josephus, Vol. VIII, pp.528-9, n. c.
202. C.E.R.P.², p.283.
203. See Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.19, 43-4, Pl. IV.
204. Reifenberg, "Coins", IEJ 1950-1, p.176. However, Meshorer, op. cit., p.76 (cf. his No.76), apparently discounts the earlier attribution.
205. M. Avi-Yonah, "The Foundation of Tiberias", IEJ 1950-1, pp.161-3.
206. Tessa Rajak, "Justus of Tiberias", The Classical Quarterly, New Series, XXIII, 1973, pp.345-368, ref. pp.346-7. (For a discussion of the actual foundation date, and a trenchant criticism of Avi-Yonah, see p.349 n.7).
207. Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., pp.162-166; Rajak, loc.cit., pp.346-349.
208. Rajak, loc. cit., p.347.
209. Ibid., p.349, contrast Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., p.165.
210. Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., p.163; Rajak, loc. cit., p.346.
211. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.20, 45-6, Pl. IV.
212. See above, Note 191.
213. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, Pl. III, Nos. 33, 33a; the motif first appears on the coins attributed to John Hyrcanus (ibid., Pl.II, 8-11) and continues throughout the Hasmonaean period (cf. e.g. ibid., Pl. II, 13, 13a, 19, Pl. III 21, 25).
214. Ibid., Pl. III, Nos. 33, 35; this motif is most prominent on the coins of Alexander Jannaeus, ibid., Pl. II, Nos. 14-16a.
215. Ibid., Pl. III, No. 35 and possibly Nos. 30, 31, cf. Reifenberg p.47. The motif appears on the coins of all the Maccabaeans, see ibid., Pl. II.
216. Ibid., Pl. III, No. 36; Meshorer, op. cit., p.130, Pl.VII No.55.
217. For the helmet on Herod's coinage, AncJewCoins, Pl.III, No.27; a crested helmet appears on a coin attributed to John Hyrcanus, ibid., Pl. II, No. 7, which Meshorer, op. cit., pp.41-52, 123 and Pl. IV No. 25, assigns to Jonathan Hyrcanus II; the essence of the matter here is that Herod had a precedent of sorts from Hasmonaean coins. Meshorer in fact sees the coins of Herod as purposively introducing pagan motifs (op. cit., pp.65-6), but given the absence of representations of living creatures apart from the eagle (which may be considered a special case), the degree to which this was so seems debatable. Meshorer himself points out that the identification of some of the designs is uncertain. Perhaps the ambiguity was deliberate, a function of the diffidence of Herod's gestures towards the introduction of pagan elements.

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218. AncJewCoins, pp.19, 44-5, Pl. IV.
219. The earliest known datable coins, commencing in the year A.D. 29/30, are coins of Tiberias, with the name of the city instead of that of the reigning emperor on the reverse.
220. All the coins in Reifenberg use this scheme, the only variation being his No. 52, where the branch is inverted.
221. Meshorer, op. cit., pp.41-52, 122, Pls. III-IV, Nos. 21, 21A, 24, assigns this coin and others with a wreath to Jonathan Hyrcanus II.
222. Meshorer, op. cit., p.18, Pl. II, No. 6.
223. Meshorer, op. cit., p.128, Pl.VI, No.46.
224. Ibid., pp.128-9, Pls. VI-VII, Nos. 47, 48, 49.
225. AncJewCoins Nos. 128-30, cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Nos. 226-8, for Valerius Gratus; AncJewCoins No. 136, cf. Meshorer, op. cit., No.234 for Felix.
- 225A. Meshorer, op. cit., p.72.
- 225B. Ibid., p.172 No. 226.
226. AncJewCoins, Pl. IX, Nos. 124, 124a, issued under Gratus.
227. Ibid., pp.19, 43-4, Pl. IV; idem, "Coins", IEJ 1950-1, p.176.
228. Susan Handler, "Architecture on Roman Coins from Alexandria", AJA 1971, pp.57-74, ref. p.57 n.6.
229. Milik, Wilderness, pp.53-4, notes the appearance of Maccabaeian and "procuratorial" coins, as well as those of Herod and Agrippa I.
230. AJ XV.277-280.
231. BJ I.xxxiii.3.
232. BJ II.ix.2-3, AJ XVIII.55-59.
233. BJ II.ix.4, AJ XVIII.60-62.
234. AJ XV.281-291.
235. AJ XV. 292 ff.
236. AJ XV.272-275.

237. This is a point on which Josephus is quite specific, although it is couched in a somewhat apologetic manner; furthermore, since he was, at the time of writing, living outside Judaea, in a Roman world where it was considered normal practice, it is hardly likely that he would have added it gratuitously.

238. AJ XV.315-316.

239. BJ Preface 4, 11. In this section I am following the general lines established by Thackeray and others; the references and the form of the case is however my own, unless otherwise specified.

240. BJ II.v.2-3.

241. BJ II.vi.1-2.

243. E.g. BJ II.vi.1, II.xii.3, II.xii.5, II.xiv.3.

244. BJ II.xiv.2-3 II.x.3-4.

245. E.g. BJ II.x.4 (sacrifices for Caesar twice daily).

246. BJ IV.iii.7 ff.

247. BJ Preface 4.

248. BJ IV.ii.3.

249. BJ II.xix.4, II.xix.6.

250. E.g. BJ IV.iii.2.

251. E.g. BJ II.xx.1.

252. E.g. BJ II.ii.3, II.iii.4.

253. Loc. cit., p.351.

254. BJ II.xii.5.

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255. BJ II.xv.2.

256. BJ II.xv.4-5.

257. BJ II.xvii.3-4.

258. BJ II.xvii.5.

259. Nevertheless, despite the similarity of their actions, they are never seen by Josephus as just another faction, like the different groups of rebels.

260. BJ IV.iv. 7ff.

261. BJ II.xii.5.

262. John 18.14. This comparison at least indicates that the pro-Roman faction existed outside Josephus' own imagination, something which is otherwise by no means impossible since, to my knowledge, all the evidence for their existence comes from one or the other of Josephus' works.

263. John 11.47.

264. John 11.47-53.

265. BJ II.xvi.4.

266. BJ IV.iii.10.

267. BJ V.ix.3-4.

268. When the chief priests and leading men plead with the crowd (BJ II.xv.2) their arguments are similar to those of the magistrates given above: again, the justice of the revolutionaries' cause is not disputed, but the disaster of the probable repercussions overrides any question of morality - they plead with the people "not to provoke Florus, after all they had endured, to some new and irreparable outrage." Similarly yet again, in II.xv.4-5 (cf. Agrippa's speech, II.xvi.4), they argue that it won't hurt them to comply with Florus' inordinate demands, and that failure to do so will only damage their case against him. Here, however, an element of rhetoric appears, and an appeal to the sanctions of reason: "and then, above all, what feebleness it showed to be guided by a handful of rebels, when they ought instead, with their numerous body, to coerce even these malcontents to join their own rational policy." This same element of

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rhetoric is present when the chief priests and Pharisees try to dissuade the revolutionaries from a later uprising (II.xvii.3-4): "they then proceeded to expose the absurdities of the alleged pretext [objection to the right of foreigners to sacrifice in the temple, and to the sacrifices by the Jewish people for the Romans and the Emperor, for which see II.x.4] ...in the course of these remonstrations they produced priestly experts on the traditions who declared that all their ancestors had accepted the sacrifice of aliens." Furthermore, now the morality of the case is impugned: "should such a law be introduced in the case of any private individual, they would be indignant at so inhuman a decree, yet they made light of putting the Romans and Caesar outside the pale." The rebels were in fact laying the city "open to a charge of impiety, if the Jews henceforth were to be the only people to allow no alien right of sacrifice and worship"; the theme of impiety is taken up by Agrippa, Ananus and Josephus later in the work. But here there is as much concern with secular as with religious culpability; the Jews would be behaving in a nonconformist fashion (by the alien standards of the Roman world), and the possible consequences of this are as much to be deplored as the sin. The main arguments remain here, as in the later speeches, ones of self-preservation and fear: "They began by expressing the keenest indignation at the audacity of this revolt and at their country being thus threatened with so serious a war...it was to be feared, however, that once they rejected the sacrifices for the Romans they might not be allowed to offer sacrifices even for themselves, and that their city would be placed outside the pale of empire."

269. This class distinction receives some slight confirmation from the discovery of two simple cist graves, with an infant burial in a cooking pot, datable to the early part of the first century A.D., near the Damascus Gate at Jerusalem (Hennessy, "Damascus Gate", Levant 1970, pp.22-3, fig. 3), though it should be noted that burial customs are among the most tenacious of all.

270. Feldman's translation, Loeb Vol. IX, p.41.

271. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.36. But on undistinguished "sigillata" see M.A. pp.240-243, especially pp.241, 242 and Note 873.

272. Kraeling, op. cit. and following pages. For the Temple of Dusares, cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.436-7.

273. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.39, cf. p.18.

274. See below, Ch. II, pp.64-5.

275. Gerasa, pp.44, 373-4 and Pl.XCV b.

276. E.g. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.454.

277. Amy, Syria 1950, pp.98-106.

278. E.g. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.454.

279. E.g. Robert Wood and H. Dawkins, The Ruins of Palmyra otherwise Tedmor in the Desart, London, 1753, republished 1971 by Gregg International Publishers Ltd., England, Tab. XX.

280. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 232.

281. Ibid., p.455.

282. For the capitals, see Schlumberger, Syria 1933, pp.291 ff., cf. e.g. Lyttelton, op. cit., pp.73, 93, 95. The order of the capitals of the peristyle is unknown, but Orthodox Syrian Corinthians are preserved in the full-sized order of the south thalamos, and in the miniature columns of the niches of the north thalamos. Malcolm A.R. Colledge, The Art of Palmyra, Thames & Hudson, London, 1976, p.214, suggests that the cyma reversa used in the temple derived specifically from Asia Minor, which would seem to mark it as part of the new influx of Classical motifs from the West, rather than a survival from the "Parthian" or "Graeco-Iranian" pre-Roman tradition.

283. The suggestion of I.A. Richmond, "Palmyra under the Aegis of the Romans", JRS LIII, 1963, pp.43-54, ref. pp.43 ff., that the door was originally on one of the short sides, and later moved, is highly improbable. Lyttelton's attempt (op. cit., pp.94-6) to date the thalamoi to the time of construction of the temple as a whole or not long after by direct comparison of details with early Hellenistic or Roman buildings suffers from the same problem as her attempts to date other buildings to the Hellenistic era on such grounds, namely that she ignores the extent to which forms, once invented, became part of the cumulative architectural repertoire. However, she succeeds by more indirect means, by showing that the particular mouldings used occur throughout the temple, and were not found in later buildings at Palmyra known to date. In terms of what was actually going on at the time, this suggests that the decorative work on the Temple of Bel was the product of a particular workshop, a workshop which had only a limited life at Palmyra itself, since it is unlikely that it could survive long working only on a piecemeal progressive redecoration of the temple alone. This in turn implies a unity of construction of the temple, as opposed to the sanctuary: the work on the temple was completed within a relatively short space of time, at an early date, since we have the date of A.D. 32 for the dedication. No door could have existed in either of the short sides with the thalamoi in position, and even if they were marginally later than the rest, it is difficult to envisage such a radical change of plan so soon after the dedication.

284. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.453 ff.

285. Wood, op. cit., Tab. III.

286. Collart and Vicari, Baalshamîn I, pp.89, 176-194.

287. See e.g. Seyrig, JRS 1950, pp.3-4; more generally, Starcky, Palmyre, pp.126-7; and for a detailed discussion, Colledge, op. cit.,

passim, e.g. p.237. In particular Colledge draws the distinction between the figured sculptures, which tend to remain "Eastern", and the rinceau frieze, which is more Classical (e.g. p.209), but also notes the inclusion of "Western" Classical details in the figured scenes, for example the introduction of the frontal pose with one foot turned sideways (p.133), the female lunar deity (p.238), and the change to the Hellenistic moulded cuirass and weapons (e.g. pp. 146, 153, Pls. 17, 19, cf. infra, Note 338). He also notes concomitant technical changes, the use of hard instead of soft limestone (p.109, cf. p.118), and with it the shift in the manner in which the tools were used and the proportional frequency of use of the various tools, which now coincides with the hard-stone marble techniques used in the West (pp.110, 117). On the identity of the craftsmen who brought these innovations and who left their Greek names on the Temple, and the possibility that they came from an east Syrian city such as Hierapolis-Bambyce, see ibid., pp.237-8. His suggestion (pp.220, 237) that the Bel Temple project would have required an injection of Roman, perhaps imperial, funds, however, no longer seems necessary in the light of the new evidence regarding the expansion, and presumably therefore increasing prosperity, of Palmyra in the late first century B.C. (supra, p.13 and Note 89), something supported by the possibility that the Harbaka dam, a project of at least the same magnitude, is perhaps as early as this Period (infra, Ch. VI Note 589); the old picture of Palmyra springing to life only from the time of Tiberius is clearly wrong.

288. The earliest firm date seems to be that of the Tomb of Athenathan, 9 B.C., although others are projected back into the first century B.C. by stylistic dating, see Fellmann, Baalshamîn V, pp.128-30, citing especially Ernest Will.

289. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.430-1; F. de Saulcy, Narrative of a Journey Round the Dead Sea and in Bible Lands in 1850 and 1851, ed. Count Edward de Warren, London, 1854, Vol. II, pp.529-531; Amy, Syria 1950, p.117.

290. IGLS VII, No.4009.

291. Waagé, Antioch IV, p.4.

292. Ibid., pp.20-22.

293. B. Maisler, "The Excavations at Tell Qasîle: Preliminary Report", IEJ I, 1950-1, pp.61 ff., 125 ff. 194 ff., ref. p.214. But see M.A. p.242 for the occurrence here of 'transitional' pottery and one rare example of Hellenistic "sigillata".

294. Waagé, Antioch IV, p.25. The same doubts must attach to the "frührömischen-östliche Terra Sigillata" reported by Negev (as quoted by Schalit, op. cit., p.335) from near the tentatively identified acropolis at Caesarea, found together with Arretine and Nabataean ware.

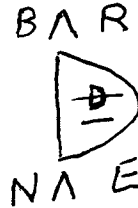
295. Comfort, Antioch IV. p.65.

296. Ibid., p.70.

297. Waagé, Antioch IV, p.30, fig. 14 No. 25.

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298. P.D.C. Brown, "Roman Pottery Kilns at Jericho", Levant III, 1971, pp.95-6. It is interesting in this context that CIL III No.6654 from near Jericho is a potter's stamp which I have not been able to identify among those of the imported sigillata listed by Comfort for Antioch in Antioch IV:



299. The common nicknames of the emperors are used in this thesis for the sake of clarity, even the incorrect "Caracalla". See above, Preface.

300. Hist. V.9. He states that the Jews resorted to arms rather than allow the erection of the statue, while Josephus stresses that they rather protested their loyalty to Caesar, and presented themselves to be killed.

301. AJ XVIII.273.

302. BJ II.x.1.

303. AJ XIX.300-312.

304. CIL III, No.136.

305. "Damascus Gate", Levant II, p.24. It is noteworthy that an alternative form of gate existed: the North Gate at Baalbek (the date of which does not seem to be known, but which might reasonably be supposed to belong to this Period or the preceding one) was rectangular, see Baalbek I, Taf. 4,5. (Cf. M.A. pp.174-5).

306. Digging up Jerusalem, p.237.

307. S.E.H.R.E.², Vol. II, note 33, p.665.

308. Rey-Coq, IGLS VI, p.34, cf. No.2759.

309. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.20-23, 64-7, Pl. V (Nos. 58-67); cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Nos. 85-93A.

310. Meshorer, op. cit., p.138, Pl. XII, Nos. 86,87. He identifies both drivers as "Agrippa I(?)".

311. For Victory, AncJewCoins, Nos. 60-63. Meshorer refrains from identifying the female figure on these coins, but calls the standing female figure on his Nos. 90 and 92 (Pls. XII, XIII, cf. pp.139,140) Tyche.

312. Since all the coins in question seem to date from the reign of Claudius, it seems that it may refer rather to the confirmation and augmentation of his kingdom by Claudius, BJ II.xi.5.

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313. But this last is perhaps not an innovation, in that the same significance may attach to the use of the anchor on earlier coinage, see Perowne, op. cit., p.97.
314. Supra, p.23.
315. Supra, Note 148.
316. AncJewCoins, Nos. 68-9.
317. Feldman, the Loeb Vol. IX, p.341, n. d, citing Cassius Dio LX.8.2.
318. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.23-4, 47-8, Pl.V (Nos. 68-70).
319. Ibid., pp.24-5, 48, Pl. V (Nos. 71-3). The portraiture is in some respects peculiar, and extremely interesting, but not for the present discussion.
320. Reifenberg, op. cit., pp.25-7, 49-54, Pls. VI-VIII, Nos. 74-117; according to him, only Nos. 74-79 belong to this Period. For a revised version of the internal chronology of the coins of Agrippa II, employing two different eras commencing respectively A.D. 56 and 61, see now Meshorer, op. cit., pp.82-4.
321. E.g. Reifenberg, op. cit., pp.25-6.
322. On AncJewCoins Nos. 103-106. Nos. 103, 104 and 106 also have "S C" (restored by Reifenberg in the case of 104). From this and the fact that the inverted die position is used, Reifenberg suggests that the coins were struck for him at Rome after the loss of his purely Jewish possessions. However, the Antioch mint also uses the inverted die position, and "S C" appears on coins tentatively assigned to that mint (for the inverted die position, e.g. BMC Emp. II, pp.104-5, for the Trajanic coins with "S C", BMC Emp. III p.cviii). This would therefore be a possible alternative source.
323. The poppy head is yet another Maccabaeian motif, see AncJewCoins Nos. 9, 9a, 11, 13, 18, 19, 20.
324. Reifenberg suggests that he only appears on his own coinage in his youth because later the Romans forbade him to do so.
325. E.g. Reifenberg, op. cit., pp.30-31, Pl.XVI, 1-9, and citing BJ II.xxi.2.
326. Milik, Wilderness, p.53.
327. For variants, see Thackeray, the Loeb Josephus, Vol. II, p.370, notes, especially note 3.
328. In the absence of BMC Emp. I, by inference from BMC Emp. II: on p.xiii Mattingly says (of the Flavian period) that it continued to

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strike the same denominations as before, and on p.lxxvii attributes to it a "later" group of aurei and denarii.

329. For example, BJ II.xii.5, II.xv.2, II.xv.4, II.xvi.4, II.xvii.5, II.xx.1, IV.iii.2, IV.iii.7 ff., IV.iv. passim, IV.v.2, IV.v.4.

330. BJ IV.ii.1-3 for Gischala, for Tiberias BJ II.xi.8, III.ix.8, for Tarichaeae, BJ III.x.4-5, though here the pro-Roman faction seems chiefly composed of the indigenous population, who may or may not be Jews.

331. Vita 66; cf. Feldman's index to Josephus, Loeb Vol. IX, p.690 and, more generally, Rajak, Classical Quarterly 1973, pp.347, 351-3.

332. X.VI in the Slavonic text (Spinka & Downey p.57).

333. Again resting on the evidence of Malalas (Slavonic IX.V, Spinka and Downey pp.31-2, Greek 224): Augustus had previously instituted quinquennial games at Antioch, in accordance with the will of Sosibius, a wealthy citizen of the city, but the events listed, performances with clowns, marionettes (again dolls in some texts), wrestling and foot-races, do not include any distinctive types. This evidence, therefore, insofar as it is valid at all, relates more to a study of policy; Augustus overlooked an obvious opportunity to introduce Roman types had he himself any intention of Romanizing the area; the implication is that he had no such intention.

334. M.A. pp.130, 136-7.

335. Baalshamîn I, pp.66-7, 147 ff., 186 ff.

336. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.48-9; Adnan Bounni, "En mission à Palmyre. Bilan de dix années d'exploration et de découvertes", Archaeologia (Paris) 1964, pp.40-49.

337. Baalshamîn I, p.148. But for the possibility that these capitals are a variation developed from the early Syrian Orthodox capital, rather than a transitional group, see M.A. pp.160-167. E. Will, "Développement urbain de Palmyre", Syria 1983, p.75, states that the origins of the sanctuary are obscure, but dates its main characteristics to the last quarter of the first century A.D.

338. Collart, Baalshamîn I, pp.171-5, citing, especially, Schlumberger and Seyrig. It should be noted that the date of the examples in part derives from the very fact that they show some western influence mixed with eastern; the argument is therefore in part circular. However, Seyrig used dated Roman parallels, such as the Prima Porta Augustus, when first establishing the date, mentioning, in particular, the introduction of the moulded cuirass, which makes its first appearance in Palmyra in the sculptures of the Temple of Bel, without much in the way of concomitant influence in more strictly aesthetic respects such as rendition and motif. Cf. e.g. Colledge, op. cit., pp.31, 146-7 and passim, e.g. and especially pp.32-5, see e.g. pl.7, contrast pls. 17, 19, (147), and p.37 fig. 15. Cf. pp. 147, 241 and pl. 41 for later developments, p.147 for the less thoroughly accepted Hellenistic/Roman baldric, p.153 for the Hellenistic sword, and the (rarely attested at Palmyra) form of the spear, with Roman

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parallels but also of Hellenistic origin. Interestingly, M. Avi-Yonah, Oriental Art in Roman Palestine, Centro di Studi Semitici, Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, Rome, 1961, p.62, notes the occurrence of "Parthian rider" figurines in the Roman cisterns at Beit Natif, which wear Roman military uniform, although, as he points out, this is less practical for riding than Parthian dress. Clearly Roman military accoutrements had a prestige value in the area, not only at Palmyra.

339. Baalshamîn II, Pls. XCIX.1, CII.1-2 for the Arch of the Victories, XCVII.1, CV.1, CI, CVII for the Lintel of the Eagles. For the probable original position of the latter in the aedícula which preceded Malé's temple, see now M. Gawlikowski and M. Pietrzykowski, "Les sculptures du temple de Baalshamîn à Palmyre", Syria LVII, 1980, pp.421-52, especially pp.422-435.

340. Baalshamîn I, p.173, Baalshamîn II, Pl. XCVII.4.

341. Collart, op. cit.: p.239 generally; for the tabula ansata, p. 215; for the change in hairstyle, p.141; for the drapery, p.150, for the funerary busts, p.138 and notes 490, 491. He suggests that the link between Syria and the Rhine may have been the Roman army. There is other evidence to suggest a link between the European provinces, specifically the Danube region, and northern Syria, in a group of somewhat anomalous legionary funerary inscriptions, particularly CIL III Nos. 193 and 194 from Cyrrhus and CIL III No.192 from Beroea, taken with CIL III No. 191 from Beroea. Cyrrhus was a military base, the headquarters of the Tenth in the reign of Tiberius (Tac. Ann. II.lvii), but CIL III 193 is restored by Mommsen as M. Aur. MARCELLVS mil leg/ VIII AVG (the "Aurelius", like "mil. leg." being Mommsen's unexplained restoration - he quotes Pococke's alternative "Antoninus"). In CIL III 194 the deceased, Aurelius Vindex, is also a serving soldier, but with Leg. VII - here "mil." is preserved. CIL III 192 from Beroea, which can also be reconstructed as funerary, mentions a "Valens (mi)l leg. VII". The difficulty lies in the fact that, although veterans from Leg. VIII Aug. colonized Baalbek and Berytus, no Leg. VIII or Leg. VII is known to have been stationed in Syria (see now Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, pp.67-71), yet here we have at least one, possibly three, serving soldiers who appear to have died in the area. The issue is complicated still further by the inscription of a veteran of Leg. VIII Aug., T. Flavius Julianus, who built a tomb for himself and his wife T. Flavia at Beroea during his own lifetime (CIL III 191) - that is to say, it is likely either that at the end of his service he found himself in the vicinity, or that he returned to his original home, Syria. "DIIS MANIBVS" written in full suggests a first century date, something not incompatible with the nomen Flavius, although the tria nomina were usually taken on enlistment - a known example of a veteran named Flavius is attested at Jerash in the reign of Domitian, see Ch.II.

Two solutions seem possible, one to emend the two "Leg. VII" s to read "Leg VIII", giving four inscriptions for this legion in all, and postulate a vexillation of Leg. VIII stationed in the region at some time. Against this, however, is the difficulty of so emending CIL III 194, where no appropriate lacuna seems to exist. The alternative is suggested by yet another inscription left by a soldier serving in a legion not known to have been stationed in Syria, C. Terentius Verecundus of Baalbek, apparently a centurion in Leg. XXI (CIL III No.140, = 2328, cf. Wiegand, Baalbek I, S. 40), and by a conspectus of the history of the legions serving in Syria. In brief, we have the movements of Leg. III Gallica, transferred to Moesia in A.D. 68, returning in 70 (see e.g. Rey-Coquais,

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loc. cit., p. 67, G.R. Watson, OCD², Oxford, 1970, p.592 s.v. LEGION), and the peregrinations of Leg. V Macedonica, which served in Syria until A.D. 5 or 9, moved to Moesia until 62 when it served with Corbulo in Armenia, returned to Syria to take part in the First Jewish War, then returned again to Moesia and Dacia (Watson, loc. cit.; J.C. Egbert, An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions, American Book Company, 1896, p.408; cf E. Ritterling, "Legio", P-W Halbbände XXIII (Stuttgart, 1924) 1186- XXIV (Stuttgart, 1925) 1837, s.v. Leg. V Macedonica). The C. Terentius Verecundus inscription is problematic, but Wiegand takes it to be the gravestone of a mother erected by her son, which should indicate a local family. Ritterling (loc. cit., 1790) accepts the reading, stating that how this inscription dovetails with legionary history is unclear - presumably because the only Leg. XXI known to have existed is the XXI Rapax, which was never, apparently, in Syria, but rather in the Germanies. It was, however, stationed on the Danube in 89, and was probably cashiered after Saturninus' uprising (Watson, loc. cit., p.593; Ritterling, loc. cit., 1781-90). Leg. VIII Aug. was stationed in Moesia ca. A.D.45, moving to Upper Germany in 70 (Watson, loc. cit., p.292; Ritterling, loc. cit., 1643-4. Leg. VII Claudia Pia Fidelis was stationed in Dalmatia from ca. A.D. 9 and in Moesia from ca. A.D. 57 (Watson, loc. cit.).

The anomalies are all explained if, instead of postulating stray vexillations to cover each instance (as does Ritterling, loc. cit., 1638, cf. 1622, 1660), one postulates a special logistical or geographical connection between the armies of the Middle Danube and those of Syria. It seems that either Syria was a favourite recruiting ground for the Moesian army, or there was a "short cut" from Syria to Moesia, perhaps up the Euphrates, via Asia Minor and the Black Sea, by which troops could be transferred and soldiers serving in the Moesian army could filter down into Syria to bury parents - or expire, or both. The inscriptions concerned can therefore be tentatively dated to coincide with the service of the legion in question on the Middle Danube. Such a link would help explain the cursus of the long-serving centurion M. Septimius Magnus of Arados (IGLS VII Nos. 4015 and 4016, cf. Rey-Coquais ad loc.), whose cursus was not given in order, as the earlier inscription, 4015, shows, but who served at various times in Leg. III Gallica, Leg. IV Scythica, and Leg. X Fretensis, which coincided in Syria, and Leg. XX Valeria Victrix (which may have sent a vexillation to the Second Jewish War, see below, Ch. III, Note 76), but also in Leg. I Minervia, raised by Domitian, which certainly served in the Parthian Wars of M. Aurelius, but also in the Dacian and Parthian Wars of Trajan (Watson, loc. cit.; Ritterling, loc. cit., 1426.)

Such a link to the Middle Danube, with the obvious further link to the Rhine, suggests that Colledge's parallels for the Palmyrene funerary busts represent no accident.

342. Fellmann, Baalshamîn V, Ss. 62-3, 123, cf. Bowersock, JRS 1973, p.137, n.44.

343. R. Amy and H. Seyrig, "Recherches dans la Nécropole de Palmyre", Syria XVII, 1936, pp.229-266, "1. Hypogeum de Iarhai fils de Barikhi, petit-fils de Taimarsô", pp.229 ff., ref. pp.229 ff.

344. Kenyon, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp. 128-9.

345. Kenyon, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.129-131; Crowfoot, ibid., p.35.

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346. Op. cit.
347. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.33-4, Pl. LXXXIV.1.
348. Ibid., pp.34, 56.
349. Gerasa, pp.34-43. For the problem with the initial date of this phase, see below, Ch. II, pp. 65-65. Cf. now also E. Will, "Remarques préliminaires à des nouvelles fouilles à Djerash", Syria LX, 1983, pp.133-145, especially p.136 for a general mid first century A.D. date for the Sanctuary of Zeus. The article as a whole seems to support my conclusions that Jerash was "backward", with pre-Roman traditions, Hellenistic and otherwise, lingering well into the first century A.D., and that there was a fresh impetus in the Flavian period.
350. Bowersock, JRS 1973, pp.138-9.
351. Kraeling, Gerasa, pp.49-50; Detweiler, Gerasa, pp.73-83; see below, Ch. III, p. 138.
352. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.36.
353. Ibid., pp.37-8; Welles, Inscr. I, ibid., pp.371-3. It is, however, merely assumed that the two Nabataean kings involved are Aretas IV and Rabbel II, rather than Aretas III and Rabbel I, who belong to the first half of the first century B.C. Kraeling suggests that the compass directions legible in the mutilated Greek text (it is bilingual, Nabataean and Greek) may indicate the boundaries of a special area set aside for the Nabataean community in Jerash. Welles suggests that it may refer to a grant of land made by a Nabataean merchant to provide income for the upkeep of the cult of the 'Arabian God', though he points out that the stone, found on 'Camp Hill', was too far from the site of the temple of the 'Arabian God' to be certain of the connection. The inscription is too fragmentary for any firm conclusions to be drawn.
354. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.36.
355. Ibid., p.37. Cf. pp.383-4, Inscr. 17, p.397, Inscr. 49.
356. Op. cit., pp.436-7, 449.
357. See, for example, Baalshamfn I, pp.232, 238-9.
358. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.39, pl. XLIX b.
359. Cf. Baalbek I, S.73, Abb. 45.
360. Since the date is A.D. 67/8, it is possible that this apparent error is intentional; the man may be hedging his bets.
361. G. Lankester Harding, "A Roman Family Vault on Jebel Jofeh,

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'Amman", QDAP XIV, 1950, pp.81-94.

362. Ibid., p.94.

363. See the fabric discussed by G.M. Crowfoot, "The Linen Textiles", apud J.T. Milik et al., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, Vol. I, The Qumran Cave I, Oxford, 1955 (hereafter Disc. Jud. Des. I), p.26.

364. Wilderness, pp.39-40.

365. Op. cit., p.105.

366. In AJ X.131-4 he describes the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, stating that he built towers on great earthworks from which he kept back the Jewish soldiers stationed on the city walls, placing earthworks equal to the height of the walls all around the city; the Babylonians used siege engines, and the Jews countered with engines of their own, so that a contest of ingenuity developed. Neither the engines nor the circumvallation, nor yet the measures and countermeasures, are mentioned in the accounts in 2 Kings xxv.1-4 and Jer. iii.4-7. Marcus, following Weill, suggests that Josephus has in mind the siege of Jerusalem by Titus. The parallel certainly fits, see BJ V.vi.3 ff., V.xii.4, V.xi.6 for the earthworks, V.xii.1-2 for the completion of the circumvallation; the engines are also prominent in the siege at Jerusalem, most notably the famous Victor (Nikon) in V.vii.2. However, the contest of ingenuity seems more reminiscent of Josephus' own "finest hour" at Jotapata, where he successfully devised countermeasures to a continual stream of fresh devices and stratagems employed by Vespasian, BJ III.vii.20, 22, 23-30, whereas in the siege of Jerusalem there is little of this battle of wits, only normal precautions such as the setting of watchmen (BJ V.vi.3), and direct attacks (e.g. BJ V.xi.5). It seems that it was these two sieges, jointly, which created Josephus' concept of what a siege was like.

Similarly, intrusive siege engines and mines appear in the time of David, in AJ VII.220, cf. Marcus, Loeb Vol. V, p.477, n. b; he adds not only earthworks to the siege in the case of Sennacherib's campaign at Pelusium, AJ X.17, cf. Marcus, Vol. VI, p.165 n. d, but possibly the siege itself, since there is no explicit mention of it in 2 Kings xix.8-9; intrusive earthworks and siege engines occur again in AJ XII.156, the description of Simon Maccabee's siege of Bethsur, cf. Marcus, Vol. VII, p.303, n. f. In the case of AJ IX.221, engines to throw rocks are actually mentioned in the relevant Biblical passage (see Marcus, Vol. VI, p.117 n. g), but Josephus adds another detail from his own experience, grappling irons. In addition, he embellishes accounts of other battles with different Romanizing details: in AJ XIII.94, when John Hyrcanus is ambushed by Apollonius, it is Josephus who adds to the account of 1 Macc. that he drew up his army in a square (see Marcus, Vol. VII, p.273 n. b), the standard Roman manoeuvre under such circumstances; in AJ XIII.95-6 he continues to elaborate the brief accounts of the ambush with a detailed description of the actions of the mounted javelin throwers mentioned in the original, and Hyrcanus' countermeasure, ordering the men to make a shield wall (see Marcus, id. loc. n. d) is again what any Roman commander would have done. It is clear that Josephus envisages these combats as if there were contemporary Roman armies in action, down to the last details; Biblical warfare in Josephus is, mutatis mutandis, very much like the mediaeval illustration of The Jewish War reproduced on the cover of the Penguin translation.

368. Compare, for example, Rostovtzeff, in the one exception he allows to the generalization that neither Hellenization nor Romanization occurred to any great degree, the Transjordan. He stresses the importance of this mechanism, showing that returned soldiers, or discharged veterans of foreign origin, filled the most important positions in the towns and villages in which they settled, S.E.H.R.E.², Vol. I, p.272, Vol. II, p.665 n.35.

369. If the account is factual, the legion involved is probably Leg. VI Ferrata or perhaps Leg. IV Scythica, since Leg. III Gallica, later the permanent garrison of Syria Phoenice, had been temporarily transferred to Moesia in 68 (see e.g. Watson, OCD², s.v. Legion, p.592).

It is noteworthy that Tacitus does not say that the soldiers had intermarried with the civilian population, but implies as much by a circumlocution, with characteristic deliberate imprecision, leaving the official status of the relationship vague. R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright, The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. I, Oxford 1965 (hereafter RIB I), p.5, presume that the letter of the law, which forbade marriage of serving soldiers until the third century A.D., was always obeyed, and consequently date all British inscriptions which mention married soldiers and give no other indication of date to the third century or later. H.M.D. Parker, The Roman Legions, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1958, pp.170 ff., points out that after the time of Hadrian many soldiers describe themselves as born in castris, implying that their fathers had "married" illegally, but CIL III No. 6687 shows that this practice goes back to the early first century A.D., and Britain itself provides other possible evidence that this disregard for technicalities was already evident in the first century. H. Haverfield, A Catalogue of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, 1900, p.46, No. 66, assigns the Thracian Caecilius Donatus to Leg. II Adiutrix, which was raised by Vespasian from the men of the Ravenna fleet in A.D. 70, and had left Britain by A.D. 87 at the latest, (Watson, OCD², s.v. LEGION, p.592). On his tombstone Donatus openly proclaims the fact that he was "married". For a possible Syrian example, though not quite so overt, see Tiberius Claudius Fatalis, discussed in the next chapter.

370. Briefly in Tacitus, Hist. III.lxxxv, with a more detailed account in Suetonius, Div. Vesp., VI.3.

371. See e.g. Watson, loc. cit.

372. For this inscription, see IGLS VI, pp.99-101. The dedicant is ...A[urel]i[us]... A..., an imperial procurator of Pontus and Bithynia.

373. Hoehner, op. cit., p.12, for Antipas, citing AJ XVII.20; for his conjectures regarding Herod Philip and Archelaus, ibid., pp.13-15.

374. AJ XVIII.143, 165.

375. See Hoehner, op. cit., p.25.

376. AJ XVIII.143, 165.

377. AJ XIX.256 ff., BJ II.xi.2-4.

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378. T.L. Heath, OCD², p.733, s.v. NICOMACHUS (3).

379. De Gramm. XXIV.

380. Cassius Dio, LXII.26.1-2 (Loeb numeration, Loeb Vol. VIII, pp. 130, 132). Suetonius, Otho, IV.1 and VI.1 gives the name of the astrologer (mathematicus) who predicts imperial power for Otho as Seleucus, which suggests that he may have been a Syrian (though for racial names for freedmen, see Treggiari, op. cit., p.7). However, Rolfe, the Loeb Suetonius, Vol. II, p.232, n. a, points out that Tacitus and Plutarch give the name as Ptolemaeus.

381. H.H. Scullard, From the Gracchi to Nero, 3rd edition, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1970 (hereafter Gracchi to Nero³), p.306.

382. Ibid., pp.305-6, p.458 nn.10,11. See also Nero's use of the Christians as scapegoats for the fire, an action he could take because of the general opinion of the sect at the time, Tacitus, Ann. XV.xliv.

383. Suet. Nero LVI.

384. Nash, op. cit., pp.525 f.

385. For example, apart from the objections to Herod's amphitheatre and the Golden Eagle, and to Pilate's entry into Jerusalem with the standards and his use of the funds from the Temple treasury to construct an aqueduct, the abortive revolt of Judas of Galilee, founder of the Zealots, in the governorship of Coponius, had as its casus the payment of tribute to Rome and the toleration of mortal masters instead of God alone (BJ II.viii.1); see also the assertion of Simon that Agrippa I was unclean (AJ XIX.332-4), possibly, as Feldman suggests, Loeb Vol. IX, p.371, because of his visit to the theatre.

386. Yadin, Masada, passim, especially pp.141 ff.

387. See M.A. pp.92-3, Notes 323-7.

388. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.10-12, 28-33, 39, 57-9, Pls. I, X-XI.

389. Ibid., pp.31-3.

390. Ibid., Nos. 118 (rev., unillustrated), 119-121; Meshorer, op. cit., Nos. 216-9.

391. AncJewCoins, No. 135; Meshorer, op. cit., No.233. It recurs subsequently on the "Judaea Capta" series, and on the later coins of Agrippa II.

392. AncJewCoins, Pl. III, No. 28, cf. Reifenberg, p.43; Meshorer, op. cit., No.39.

393. AncJewCoins Pl. III, No. 25, Meshorer, op. cit., No.33.

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394. AncJewCoins, Pl. IX, Nos. 118-121, Meshorer, op. cit., pp.216-9
395. AncJewCoins, Pl. VI, No. 59, Meshorer, op. cit., Nos. 88-88B. It was one of these coins which was overstruck and re-used, as discussed below, but the Revolt issue with three ears of barley, AncJewCoins No.146, Meshorer No. 160, is a distinct coin, with the wreath containing the legend as its reverse, while the coin of Agrippa I uses the barley motif as the reverse, and has a fringed umbrella on the obverse.
396. AncJewCoins, No. 131, Meshorer, op. cit., No.229.
397. AncJewCoins, Nos. 126, 127, Meshorer Nos. 225,224. A tripartite bunch of grapes appears on a sarcophagus from the Tomb of the Kings at Jerusalem, on the façade of the tomb itself, and on a tomb at Maqati Abud, see Avi-Yonah, Oriental Art in Roman Palestine, p.24 and Pl. III,2. However, no vine appears, and the stem of the bunch has clearly been cut. It seems a more probable ancestor for some of the coins of the Second Revolt, as Avi-Yonah suggests, than for these First Revolt coins. However, his interpretation of this motif as referring to the Golden Vine of the Temple, while dubious in the case of his own examples (which are clearly not envisaged as being on a vine) might possibly be applicable to the First Revolt vine branch, if not "Procuratorial" versions. This may be a matter of 'reinforcement', where the independent occurrence of the same or a very similar type in both the influent and recipient cultures ensures its survival in the resultant hybrid culture.
398. AncJewCoins, p.32.
399. Meshorer, op. cit., pp.61-2, interprets the use of the menorah on the coins of Antigonus Mattathias as similarly propagandist in intent.
400. Gerasa, p.45.
401. BJ III.iv.2. For Starcky's rather dubious suggestion that the troops of "Malchus the Arab" were Palmyrene, see M.A. p.40 and Note 85.
402. Gerasa, pp.45-6, n.92.
403. BJ III.iv.2, Tacitus, Hist. V.1.
404. It is not among the legions listed by Tacitus (Hist. V.1) or Josephus (BJ III.iv.2), but these lists refer to the later stages of the war after it had been sent to Moesia (see Suetonius, Div. Vesp. VI.3) Suetonius' words, "quidam e legione tertiae, quae sub exitu Neronis translata ex Syria in Moesiam fuerat, Vespasianum laudibus ferrent," suggest that at least these soldiers had served under Vespasian, as indeed one would expect if the legion had been in the Syrian lands until just before the death of Nero.
405. Tacitus, Hist. V.1.
406. See e.g. Watson, loc. cit., and Ritterling, loc. cit., 1559-60 for Leg. IV Scythica, 1589 for Leg. VI Ferrata.

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407. Tacitus, Hist. V.1, states that Leg. XV Apollinaris was already part of Vespasian's army when Titus reinforced it with troops from Alexandria, Tres eum in Iudaea legiones, quinta et decima et quinta decima, vetus Vespasiani miles, excepere. Josephus, however, states that it was stationed in Alexandria, and Titus, sent to call it up (BJ III.i.2), brought it with him when he came to Judaea (BJ III.iv.2). The evidence of Josephus is to be preferred, for reasons explained in my previous work (M.A. pp.40-42). On the other hand, Josephus omits the detachments of the Twenty-second and the Third from Alexandria, whose addition is quite plausible.

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1. BMC Emp. II, p. lxxvii.
2. Ibid., pp.xiii, lxxvii-lxxix, 104-109, Pl. 18 Nos. 5, 7, 8.9. 10, 11, 12, 13. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, Pl. 19 Nos. 1-2.
3. Ibid., catalogue Nos. 514-519, 521-2, Pl. 19 Nos. 4-8.
4. Ibid., p. lxxix.
5. Ibid., p.106, no number (*).
6. E.S. Bouchier, Syria as a Roman Province, Oxford, 1916, p.66. No further references are given. Cf. Mattingly, op. cit., p. lxxix.
7. Frézouls, Syria 1959, p.266, citing Wilbur, apud Richard Stillwell, Antioch-on-the-Orontes III. The Excavations 1937-1939, Princeton University Press, 1941 (hereafter Antioch III), pp.150 ff., for the coins.
8. See E. Frézouls, "Recherches sur les théâtres de l'orient Syrien" II, Syria XXXVIII, 1961, pp.54-86, ref. p.55.
9. C.E.R.P.², 267.
10. BMC Emp. II, pp. xiii, 109-10, lxxviii, Pl. 19 nos. 9-12 for Tyre, pp.lxxviii, 110-11, Pl. 19 No. 13 for Caesarea. For Caesarea cf. Lee L. Levine, Caesarea under Roman Rule, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1975, pp.31-2 and notes p.169. In particular he emphasises the distinction between Vespasian's coinage and the coinage of the local municipal mint, and points to the Tyche reverse, first found in the former but remaining popular in the latter, and passing thence to other local mints, Tiberias, Neapolis, Adraa, Aelia and Anthedon and several Arabian cities. He notes (p. 169 n.211) that this Tyche in her later form has two characteristics of the goddess Roma, the chiton worn so as to leave one breast bare, and the human bust she carries, thus connecting the coins with the imperial cult by the identification of the Tyche of Caesarea with Roma.
11. BJ VII.ii.1, VII.iii.1.

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12. BJ VII.iii.1.
13. BJ VII.v.1.
14. Scullard, Gracchi to Nero³, p.329. The presumptive primary sources should be Josephus, BJ VII.vi.6, Cassius Dio, LXV.vii.2 (Loeb numeration, Loeb Vol. VIII, pp.270-271). In the Cassius Dio passage, it is unclear whether this impost applied to all Jews, or only to those living in Judaea, and hence deemed to be directly implicated in the Revolt. Josephus, however, states that it applied to all Jews, wherever they lived.
15. Frankfort, Latomus 1960, p.711; Scullard, op. cit., p.329.
16. M. Avi-Yonah, "The Development of the Roman Road System in Palestine", IEJ I, 1950-1, pp.54-60 (hereafter "Road System", IEJ 1950-1) ref. p.55.
17. Caesarea had previously been the residence of the Roman governor, but it now seems to have achieved a new status as the recognised capital of Judaea, see Frankfort, Latomus 1960, p.710, citing Tacitus, Hist. II. lxxviii, ... Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasian Caesaream: illa Syriae, hoc Judaeae, caput est. As pointed out in my previous work, Tacitus, who even renders the title of the governor of Judaea incorrectly, may not be a reliable source for such points. However, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, this assessment must be accepted pro tem., cf. Levine, op.cit., p.34.
18. For example, AncJewCoins, nos. 137-145.
19. A matter I hope to take up elsewhere. See, very briefly, infra, Postface, pp.lxix, lxxi-lxxii.
20. Milik, Wilderness, p.55; F.F. Bruce, Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Paternoster Press, London, 1956, pp.51-2. One of the few points in the stratigraphy of Qumran which is not contested.
21. Yadin, Masada, e.g. p.205; Bruce, op. cit.
22. Latomus 1960, p.711: the primary source for "Prima Flavia" should be Pliny, NH V.xiv, 69. On most inscriptions known to me, such as the inscription noted by Applebaum, op. cit., p.46, "Prima" is not included, though it does appear in ILS 7206. The most usual form is Col. Flavia Caesarensis. Cf. Levine, op. cit., pp.34-6.
23. Mommsen CIL III Supp. 1, s.v. EMMAVS NICOPOLIS, citing Josephus, BJ VII.vi.6 (incorrectly given as Ant. 7,6,6) and Eusebius on the additional title of Nicopolis in memory of Titus' victory over the Jews; Frankfort, Latomus 1969, p.711; Thackeray, the Loeb Josephus, Vol. III, p.567, n. d. Josephus expressly states that Vespasian founded no towns, but reserved the whole country as his private property, although he did assign eight hundred discharged soldiers homes at Emmaus. That it was actually a colony, in the legal sense, seems assured by the modern name, Kulonieh, to which both Frankfort and Thackeray draw attention; the date of its elevation remains conjectural.
24. Frankfort, loc. cit., citing Abel, cf. Thackeray, the Loeb

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Josephus, Vol. III, pp.132-3, n. a Thackeray states that Flavia Neapolis was founded in A.D. 72.

25. Since the ruins are covered by modern Nablus, obviously little is known of the physical form of the town. Coins of Neapolis illustrated by Robert J. Bull, "A Preliminary Excavation of an Hadrianic Temple on Mount Gerizim", *AJA* LXXI, 1967, pp.387-393, ref. p.392 and Pl. 109 figs. 2-3, show what appears to be an arcaded street in the town, at the foot of the mountain; one coin, Pl. 109 fig. 2, dates from the reign of Macrinus; the date of the other is not given. Bull states that the coins under consideration, including those illustrated, date from the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Caracalla, Macrinus, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander, the two Philips, Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus, and that this colonnade appears on most of the coins, noting that no remains of this street have been found.

26. Strictly speaking, it is a matter of two slightly different sites in close proximity, the one replacing the other as far as the population was concerned - the town, in effect, moved, a not uncommon situation. Albright (*ArchPalaest.*, pp.247-8) states that old Shechem was actually Balatah, an excavated site in the same valley, where occupation continued until ca. A.D. 67, when Vespasian destroyed the town along with the temple on Mt. Gerizim. Neapolis (as indeed the name implies) was a new city constructed further up the valley, and Balatah was never rebuilt. Cf. also Thackeray, *loc. cit. supra* N.24.

27. Josephus, *AJ* XI.34, states that after Alexander had granted certain privileges to the Jews on religious grounds, the people of Shechem also made representations to him, stating that they were Hebrews, but called Sidonians of Shechem. Not surprisingly, Alexander felt that this needed clarification, and asked them whether they were Jews. When they replied that they were not, he understandably deferred the question until his return, and until such time as he had more exact information from them.

28. *CIL* III 14384. There are actually two inscriptions on the same column fragment:

a)
IMP NERVa
AVG PONT M
TRIBVN P Ot

b)
~~imP CAESAR~~
~~traIANVS AVG~~

Since there seems some doubt about the total width, it does not seem impossible to restore Hadrianus instead of Traianus in b) - Hadrian's titles appear in abbreviated form, without the Traianus, on the D.F.S. inscriptions from the Afka-Akura district, *CIL* III No. 180, for example as ~~IMP~~ HAD AVG. This in turn would allow the attribution of a), recording earlier work on the road, to Trajan, assuming "Traianus" to have been lost at the end of line 1, something which seems more probable on general grounds, since, while there are numerous road inscriptions of Trajan, this, to my knowledge, is the only hodic inscription of Nerva. Hadrian, furthermore, would have had a special interest in the maintenance of this road, since it runs between two places in which he took a personal interest, Jerusalem and Mt. Gerizim. The order of the extant words in a) favours the reading Nerva, since Trajan most frequently appears on inscriptions as IMP. CAESAR NERVA TRAIANVS (my Italics, see Egbert, *op. cit.*, p.131, cf. e.g. *CIL* III 14176 bis) while Nerva is either IMP CAESAR NERVA AVG or IMP NERVA CAESAR (Egbert, *op. cit.*); however, provincial, particularly Syrian, inscriptions do not always follow the normal titulature, and Trajan does appear as "IMP.

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NERVAE TRAIAN" on CIL III 13587 from Jerusalem, so the issue remains in doubt. But, despite its attractions, this interpretation is still forced: while at least two letters are missing on the right hand side of a), since both Nerva and Trajan were PONT. MAX on accession (Egbert, op. cit.), there is no indication that there is enough space to restore TRAIANVS: while Hadrian does appear on synoptic inscriptions without the name TRAIANVS it seems unlikely that this would occur in an inscription of this kind. Avi-Yonah, "Road Systems", IEJ 1950-1, p.55, accepts the ascription to Nerva without question.

29. Loc. cit.

30. For example, see the discrepancy between the account of Josephus and the archaeological findings at Jerash, Kraeling, Gerasa, p.45.

31. Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., p.55 and n.10. For the Afula milestone, B.H. Isaac and I. Roll, "A Milestone of A.D. 69 from Judaea: The Elder Trajan and Vespasian", JRS LXV, 1976, pp.15-19, especially pp.15-16. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Tessa Rajak for drawing my attention to this work.

32. Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., p.56.

33. Vestigia 1973, p.123; more fully, JRS 1973, pp.133-5.

34. Vestigia 1973, p.126; pp.137-9.

35. Supra, Ch.I, p.48 and Notes 349-351.

36. Gerasa, Inscrs. 2-4 (Welles) pp.373-6.

37. Gerasa, p.41, n.67.

38. Ibid., p.31.

39. Gerasa, Inscr. 5 (Welles) pp.376-7.

40. Vestigia 1973, pp.128-9, JRS 1973, p.140. In view of the fact that Traianus cannot be considered responsible for whatever gave rise to the rebuilding of Jerash, and the fact that a deal of the other similar work which Bowersock considers related to the same programme was work, not of Traianus, but of his predecessor Caesennius Paetus who annexed Commagene, while the immediate successor of the latter, Marius Celsus, seems to have implemented rural development measures, as the inscription from Ainī discussed below (p.67 and Note 48) indicates, it seems evident that the mind behind the policy as a whole was that of Vespasian.

40a. M.A. pp.40-42.

41. P.A. Brunt, "Charges of Provincial Maladministration under the Early Principate", Historia Band X, 1961, pp.189-227, ref. p.225, citing Josephus, AJ XX.134-6. He was convicted and exiled. This is the only case from Judaea listed by Brunt, see following Note.

42. For Gabinius, supra, Ch.I, Note 57; for Piso, Brunt, loc. cit., p.224. According to Brunt, loc. cit., p. 227, Piso and Cumanus are the

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only two (Early Empire) cases known from Syria and Palestine, as opposed, for example, to seven from Bithynia, five from Asia, Baetica, Crete and Greece and Africa, though only two are known from Egypt, and he notes two unspecified cases mentioned by Dio Chrysostom.

43. Bowersock, JRS 1973, p.133.

44.² Ibid., p.135, idem, Vestigia 1973, p.128, cf. A. Momigliano, OCD², p.767, s.v. PAETUS; A.H.M. Jones, OCD², p.273, s.v. COMMAGENE; Suetonius, Div. Vesp. VIII.4.

45. Loc. cit., supra, Note 44.

46. Bowersock, JRS 1973, p.135. It is possible that Samosata was a legionary headquarters even before the transferral of Leg. XVI from Cappadocia under Trajan, at the time of his Parthian campaign. As the old royal capital it seems a likely headquarters for the original army of occupation and in early 73, under Caesennius Paetus' successor, Marius Celsus, at least part of Leg. III Gal., apparently part of that army, was near Aini, between Samosata and Rum-Kalah, see H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, Vols. I, II Part 1, III Part 2, 3rd edition (Photogravure) Berolini apud Weidmannos, 1962 (hereafter ILS), No. 8903, and below, Notes 47-8.

47 Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. Tome I. Commagène et Cyrrhestique, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique tome XII, 1929, ed. Louis Jalabert et René Mouterde (hereafter IGLS I), No. 66; Dessau, ILS Vol. III Pt. 2, pp.xvi-xvii, No. 8903. The date can be inferred with unusual precision from the titles of Titus, cos. III des. and censor des. Jalabert points out that Titus became cos. III des. in March 73 and censor des. with Vespasian in April. According to Hoehner, op. cit., p.36 and n.5, the journey from Rome to Palestine via Alexandria took 15 to 20 days; one should therefore add approximately 3 to 4 weeks for the news of the appointments to reach Commagene, bringing the date to the end of April 73. The name of the legion concerned is illegible, but enough remains in an adjacent inscription, IGLS 65, to restore Leg. III Gal., a restoration which Dessau includes in his text of the inscription relating to the cochlea. For the meaning of cochlea, see the sources cited by Dessau and Jalabert, especially Vitruvius X.6, and Athenaeus, Deipn. V.208 f.

48. So Dessau, op. cit. However Jalabert, perhaps through a misreading of Dessau's rather confusing cross-references, denies this; he apparently takes Dessau's parallel for local financial participation in legionary constructions for the benefit of the community, the inscription from Abila Lysaniae (ILS 5864-5864^a = CIL III, 199-201), to be the further inscriptions to which he compares this Tast, which latter do indeed, as Jalabert says, concern public works implemented by the emperor. Jalabert interprets the Aini inscription as indicating the existence of a military post at this site, the cochlea being used to provide the water supply for the garrison.

It is impossible to construe the inscription in this manner. The IGLS text reads:

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{imp cae}sar uespasianus aug
{pont} max trib<potest III{I i}mp<X
{cos I}III{cos} designatv{pp et}
{t} caesar uespasianu{s }imp
5 {I}II trib potest<II< co{s}II design III
   {c}ensores designati<su{b}
.mario <celso leg aug<pro pr
.e..... et leg .... opus cochli
{ae d}e communi... fecerunt.

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(the spacing of each line, relative to that of the preceding and succeeding one, is not exact). Both Jalabert and Dessau restore the last line as, {ae d}e communi {imp(ensa)} fecerunt. Since only three letters are missing after communi, this restoration seems virtually certain, and if it is correct then Dessau is right and Jalabert is wrong. In the first place, the formal introduction and format is very redolent of inscriptions pertaining to civic works; compare not only the inscription from Abila Lysaniae, CIL III 199-201, but also CIL III, 205-6; the miliaria 6649 (=117) and 13591; 13596; 141771-3; 14176³ to take just a few examples. This might conceivably have been dismissed as the verbal elaboration of bored soldiers at a remote base. But if Jalabert is correct, what does d}e communi {imp(ensa)} signify? One would expect that the local population would have been asked to contribute to the whole camp or none of it, rather than one piece of equipment; on the face of it, therefore, it must mean that the soldiers paid for the construction of the cochlea out of one of their own communal funds.

But paid for what? The construction of a cochlea requires a beam and some cross-pieces, some willow withes, some iron strips, some boards, pitch and labour (see Vitruvius, X.6). It is hard to see the cost of the materials requiring to be, or even able to be, shared between at least vexillations of what, from line 8, would seem to be more than one legion, even if the materials were imported from afar - which is unlikely, since in the time of Severus, forest lands near the Euphrates were used for shipbuilding (Heichelheim apud Tenney Frank, op. cit., p.135 and n.70, citing Cassius Dio LXXV.9, i.e. correlated as LXXVI.ix.3, p.218, Loeb Vol. IX). The only real expense lay in the labour and expertise, which leaves one with the extraordinary situation in which the legionaries are compensating the army for their own labour spent on the construction of their own camp facilities. This is ridiculous. Even if, for some unimaginable reason they were not permitted to build the contraption as part of their ordinary work, they would surely have done so in off-duty hours rather than paid for their own services.

It is far more likely that the local inhabitants compensated the Roman army for having legionaries build the device, for irrigation purposes.

49. See above, Introduction Note 24.

50. E.M. Smallwood, OCD², p.30, s.v. AGRIPPA (2).

51. CIL III, 199.

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52. AncJewCoins, p.48, No.73.

53. Jones, C.E.R.P.², p.262. It seems unlikely that, as Bowersock would have it (Vestigia 1973, pp.127-8, JRS 1973, pp.138-40) the shift in the centre of gravity to Bostra during the reign of Rabbel II should be viewed as part of the same programme, deliberate preparation for the annexation of Arabia as a province under Trajan.

It would have been, as Bowersock himself states, Vespasian or Traianus who envisaged Arabia as a province, but Bowersock's interpretation requires the willing participation of Rabbel II in this scheme. With the Herodian experience from which to learn, Rabbel could hardly have had any doubt as to the ultimate fate of his kingdom if he chose to co-operate with the Romans. While it is not totally implausible that he might have been inclined "to identify Roman interests with his own" to the extent of deliberately working towards the incorporation of his own kingdom into the Roman empire - there are, after all, precedents such as Prasutagus, king of the Iceni in Britain, and Nicomedes IV of Bithynia, who bequeathed their kingdoms to Rome - it is unlikely. The two kings mentioned were merely facing the inevitable. Nicomedes owed his throne to Roman intervention in the first place, and again when he lost it during the Mithradatic War (T.R.S. Broughton, OCD², p.734, s.v. NICOMEDES); his kingdom had long been in the gift of Rome. Prasutagus' kingdom lay on an island, the bulk of which would obviously be conquered by Rome in the not too distant future; after one unsuccessful rebellion, and the foundation of the colony of Camulodunum in the adjacent territory of the Trinovantes, it was obvious what lay in store for the Iceni (see Donald R. Dudley and Graham Webster, The Revolt of Boudicca, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Great Britain, 1962, pp.43-4).

The situation in Arabia was different: there had been no incursion by the Romans since the time of Augustus; Roman power was counter-balanced by the Parthian Empire to the north-east; south and east lay the way to the Orient. The Roman alternative was not the only one for Nabataea; it was by no means foreordained that Rome should continue to expand in that direction.

The milder treatment of the Herodians may have been due in part to the close ties between the Flavians, particularly Titus, and the family. Not only were the Herodians loyal vassals, they were also personal friends. Titus and Agrippa II had grown up together: it has already been noted that Agrippa II was reared at Claudius' court (supra, Ch.I, p.53) and Titus, perhaps in accordance with an internal version of the same tactfully veiled hostage system, applied to the most spectacular military commanders, was a boyhood companion of Claudius' son Britannicus; for this there is not only the dramatic story related by Suetonius (Div. Titus II) in which, raised with Britannicus and taught by the same masters, Titus insisted on drinking from Britannicus' cup after he had been poisoned, and suffered the after-effects for a considerable time, but also the numismatic evidence; on his accession, Titus issued coins of Britannicus in memory of his friend. Berenice, the sister of Agrippa II, was, or was thought to be, the mistress of Titus (Suet. Div. Titus VII). Agrippa and Berenice were among the first to rally to Vespasian's cause when he embarked upon his quest for the throne (see Tacitus, Hist. II.lxxxi).

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54. Supra, Introduction Note 24.
55. Cf. M.A. pp.35-38 and N.69.
56. Vestigia 1973, p.124, JRS 1973, pp.133 and n.4, 136.
57. See below, Ch. VI.
58. CIL III, No.179.
59. Cf. supra, Ch. I, pp.43-4, Notes 320-324. AncJewCoins Nos.80-177, Meshorer, op. cit., Nos.101-147. For the reasons for preferring the era beginning A.D. 56 on the latest dated coin, rather than that of A.D. 61 (which would give a date of A.D. 96), see Meshorer, op. cit., p. 83.
60. AncJewCoins Nos.80-94, Meshorer, op. cit., Nos.101-119.
61. AncJewCoins Nos.80-85a,89, 90, Meshorer, op. cit., Nos. 101-108, 112, 118.
62. AncJewCoins No.85a, Meshorer, op. cit., No.108, reads an altar.
63. AncJewCoins No.83a, Meshorer, op. cit., No. 105 A, makes no comment on the object underfoot.
64. AncJewCoins No. 90 (Pl.VII), cf. BMC Emp. II, p.lxix, p.104, Nos. 499-501, Pl.18, Nos. 9,10. Meshorer, op. cit., No.116, sees this as a podium.
65. AncJewCoins, No.97, Meshorer, op. cit., No.124.
66. AncJewCoins Nos.103, 104, Meshorer, op. cit., Nos.140,141.
67. AncJewCoins No.105, Meshorer, op. cit., Nos.142,142a.
68. AncJewCoins No.106, Meshorer, op. cit., No.143.
69. AncJewCoins No.76, Meshorer, op. cit., No.99, and also ibid., No.94.
70. AncJewCoins No.102, Meshorer, op. cit., No.130.

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71. AncJewCoins Nos.154,155, cf. Reifenberg, ibid., p.33; Meshorer, op. cit., Nos.236,237.
72. AncJewCoins No.156, Meshorer, op. cit., No.232.
73. AncJewCoins No.117, Meshorer, op. cit., No.145. It seems to represent a reversion to the early simpler types, with a bust of a city Tyche with turretted crown on the obverse, accompanied by the brief legend, BA. ATP, and a cornucopia on the reverse.
74. AncJewCoins, No.95, Meshorer No.120 (A.D. 70); AncJewCoins No. 96, Meshorer No.122 (A.D. 74); AncJewCoins No.97, Meshorer No.124 (A.D.75); Reifenberg, "Coins", IEJ 1950-1, p.177, No.4 (A.D.74, new chronology), No. 5 (A.D. 75, new chronology). Fundamentally the same coin, but with the necessary modifications to the legend, was reissued in A.D. 80 (AncJewCoins No.100) and the same portrait of Nike was used as the reverse of AncJewCoins Nos.114-115 - the obverse is partially obliterated, but may also have been the same.
75. I do not know to what campaigns of Domitian these early coins would refer. The projected expedition to Gaul and the Germanies (Suet., Domit. II) was apparently abandoned, and is hardly a likely subject for commemoration, since the plan met with Vespasian's disapproval.
76. For the date and mint, Meshorer, op. cit., pp. 147-8.
77. The exact date of the fall of Masada is now disputed, see G.W. Bowersock, "Old and New in the History of Judaea", review of Schürer-Vermes-Millar, JRS 1975, pp.180-185, ref. p.183. I am also grateful to Dr. Tessa Rajak for drawing my attention to this point.
78. AncJewCoins Nos. 100-101. See above, Note 75.
79. AncJewCoins No. 104, Meshorer, op. cit., No.141.
80. She was variously married to Marcus, the brother of Tiberius Alexander, Herod of Chalcis, and Polemon, king of Olba in Cilicia (E.M. Smallwood, OCD², p. 165 s.v.BERENICE (4). Her behaviour is typical of the Herodian family: when revolt threatens, she acts with her brother to calm down the populace (BJ II.xvi.5, cf. Smallwood, loc. cit.); she deplores Roman abuses of the Jews, but seeks to remedy them by working within the Roman system, appealing to progressively higher Roman authority (BJ II.xv. 1, II.xvi.1); she takes an active part in the politics of the empire, being among the first to rally to Vespasian's cause (supra, Note 53).
81. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.426 and p.527 n.26.
82. Bouchier, op. cit., p.60. No further references.

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83. Ibid., p.66, no further references.

84. Ibid.

85. Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. Tome III, Part 1. Region de l'Amanus. Antioche Nos.699-698, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique tome XLVI, 1950, ed. Louis Jalabert et Rene Mouterde, No.768.

86. JRS 1973, p.134, quoting Dessau's emended text of ILS 8970 published in Wiegand, Milet i x:

[M. Ulp]ium Traianum cos., lega[tum d]ivi Vespas[iani et imp. Titi
divi Vespas[i]ani f. Vespa[siani Aug. provinciae...] et provinciae
Asiae et Hispaniae B[a]eticae, XV vir[um s.f., soda]lem Flavialem,
triumphalibus
ornamentis ex s.c.

But on this restoration see now Isaac and Roll, loc. cit., p.19.

87. Waagé, Antioch IV, pp.4, 29.

88. CIL III No. 170.

89. CIL III No.160. Another, earlier honorific inscription assigned to Berytus by Mommsen, CIL III No.6687, the elogium of Q. Aemilius Secundus, who served under Quirinius during the census and in his campaign against the Ituraeans, and later held various offices in the colony, has been omitted:

Q. A E M I L I V S . Q . F
P A L . S E C V N D V S in
CASTRIS. DIV I AVG . Sub
P.SULPICIO . QVIRINIO . LEgato
5 CaESARIS . SYRIAE . HO NORI
BV S.DECORATVS . PR aEFECT
COHORT .AVG .I. PR aEFECT
COHORT . II. CLASSICAE . IDEM
10 IVSSV.QVIRINI. GEN SVM . E GI
A P A MENAE . CIVITATI S.MIL
IVVM HOMIN. CIVIVM .C XVII
IDEM .MISSV.QVIRINI.A DVERS VS
ITVRAEOS.IN.LIBANO. MONTE .
15 CASTELLVM.EORVM.CEPL.ET. ANTE
MILITIEM. PRAEFECT. FABRV M .
DELATVS.A.DVOBVS.COS. AD . AE
RARIVM ET.IN.COLONIA.
QVAESTOR.AEDIL. II.DVVMVIR . II
PONTIFEXS
20 BIPOSITI.SVNT.Q.AEMILIVS.Q.F.PA L
SECVNDVS. F.ET.AEMILIA.CHIA. LIB
H. M .A MPLIVS. H.N . S

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(The spacing is not quite correct, due to slight changes in the size of the letters from line to line and within the same line in the original.)

Mommsen states that the inscription was found in Venice, where it would have been taken as ship's ballast, and should be assigned to Berytus, since this was the only Latin-speaking colony in Syria at the time. (This is now known to be untrue, since Baalbek-Heliopolis was a joint foundation, but that is beside the point.) He argues further that the Palatine tribe is often found among freedmen etc. from Berytus, and the offices of duumvir and pontifex are found in inscriptions from the same colony.

Unless Mommsen knows something which, for reasons of tact, he does not disclose, there is in fact no evidence that the inscription, for all that it contains information pertinent to Syria, was itself ever anywhere near Syria, let alone Berytus.

The same offices existed in numerous colonies the empire over, in any of which Quirinius' prefect might have settled and achieved distinction after his discharge. The fact that his tribe is given as the Palatine, rather than the Fabia, weighs heavily against such an ascription: he was not a freedman, but a soldier born in castris and would almost certainly have been attached to the normal tribe, the Fabia. Furthermore, although it is hardly conclusive with such an early inscription, the style and rendition do not accord with the general run of inscriptions from the area: there is a considerable amount of Latin with only minor mistakes; there are no intrusive Greek letters; the reference to Augustus is bald by comparison with later inscriptions - given the elaboration found on milestones, one would expect at least DIVI F. In short, it is too good for Syrian work. Moreover, I have yet to encounter such a typical example of a "Scipionic" elogium in Syria. This inscription stands out from all the others; it has a decidedly alien ring.

Mommsen is not always at his best in CIL III.

90. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VII, p.33 and n.5.
91. IGLS No.137.
92. See above, Ch. I, Note 341.
93. See Collingwood and Wright, RIB I, p.687, ad No. 2213.
94. See Ch. I, Note 341 for references.
95. Gerasa, pp.446-7, Inscrs.199, 200, 201.

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96. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.45 and n.91. It had formed part of the army of Vespasian and Titus in Judaea. Previously it seems to have been part of the original British garrison, see e.g. Dudley and Webster, op. cit., p.106, the tombstone of Longinus Sdapezematygus, from Camulodunum, dated to the governorship of Aulus Plautius.
97. PEQ St., 101, Jan-June 1969, "Notes and News", pp.1-4, ref. p.2; A. Negev, "The Chronology of the Middle Nabataean Period", PEQ St. 101, Jan-June 1969, pp.5-14, ref. p.9.
98. Gerasa, Inscrs. 199 and 200.
99. Kraeling, Gerasa, pp.45-6, n.92, cf. p.418, Inscr. 119 from the reign of Trajan, where he is mentioned as the father of the dedicant. See also Inscrs.192 from the reign of Trajan, 144 from the reign of Hadrian, 43 from the reign of Antoninus Pius and the undated Inscr. 182.
100. Ibid., p.43 and n.74; (Welles) p.399 and Inscr. 52.
101. W.M. Ramsay, The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor, prepared for the press by J.G.C. Anderson, Amsterdam 1967, unchanged reprint from Aberdeen 1941, passim, e.g. pp.232-4. Close citation is difficult, due to the nature of this posthumous work, a collection of drafts and notes collated by Anderson. The thesis emerges from the tenor of the notes as a whole.
102. See e.g. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.115.
103. See M.A. Appendix for references. The only other element of doubt is "Arrianus?", governor of Syria between "137 and 148?" according to P-W 4 A₂, 1629. If the historian is meant, he, too, was a Flavius. However, no-one else seems to know of such an appointment, only of the governorship of Cappadocia under Hadrian, see e.g. W.W. Tarn, OCD², pp.122-3, s.v. ARRIAN.
104. SHA Avidius Cassius I. For one opinion, see H.-G. Pflaum, "Les personnages nommément cités par les *Vita Aelii et Avidii Cassii de l'H.A.*", Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium, 1972/1974 (1976), pp.189-200, ref. p.193.
105. The Ulpia are also reasonably certain. The only governor of Syria of that name was Traianus, so any families so named should have been enfranchised during his governorship, or his son's reign, that is to say, in this Period or the next.
106. CIL III No.169.
107. For example, Syme, OCD², p.1072, s.v. TIBERIUS (3) JULIUS ALEXANDER.

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108. CIL III No.187.

109. IGLS VII, p.34, ref. No. 4009 from Arados. He mentions several unpublished inscriptions in the Beirut Museum, including one of a young cavalryman who died after having been prefect of "oeuvres militaires" (presumably praefectus fabrum), a post which, according to Rey-Coquais, attested good relations with someone of senatorial rank. Known Licinii include M. Licinius M. f. Fronto of Berytus (CIL III No.173); G. (sic) Licinnius Julianus of Enesh (IGLS 71) who may or may not be connected with the same family - the name Julianus, though very common, was that of the governor of Arabia in A.D. 125, Julius Julianus; and possibly illicinia, P. f., for which Mommsen reads Felicinia, from Jerusalem, in an inscription of which the second line reads, CHRESTE... (CIL III 6643). The third line includes the word SITA: it may be a tombstone.

110. Another doubtful possible case of a local family acquiring the citizenship in this Period is hinted at by the name of a soldier, born at Baalbek, serving with Leg. III Aug. in Numidia in the early second century, M. Atilius Saturninus (Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.40); cf. T. Atilius Rufus, governor of Syria 82/83 A.D.

111. For a summary, see Rey-Coquais, IGLS VII, pp.37-39.

112. The two dedications to the Arabian Gods mentioned in the previous chapter, Gerasa Inscr. 17, pp.383-4, dated 73/4, and Inscr. 18, late first century. From the Sanctuary of Artemis, inscriptions recording the dedication of a portico and a λάγκκος, presumably a ritual pool like those in the Altar Court at Baalbek (ibid., p.389, Inscr.28, A.D. 79/80); a chapel (Inscr. 27, p.389, first century); and an altar (pp.389-90, Inscr. 29, A.D. 98). From the South Theatre, the inscription recording the donation of a tier of seats by T. Flavius, already mentioned (p.399, Inscr. 52) and another commemorating an earlier donation of the pavement, by an unknown benefactor (Inscr. 51, pp.398-9, A.D. 81-3). From the Forum area, inscriptions recording the donation of a kakarion (pp.378-9, Inscr. 8, 76/7 A.D.) and an altar (p.417, Inscr. 117, first century), both perhaps to be connected with the construction of the Sanctuary of Zeus, which continued, see Inscr.5 (pp.375-6, A.D. 69/70), Inscr. 6 (pp.376-7, A.D. 70) and Inscr. 7 (pp.378-9, first century). To these may be added another dedication on a slab re-used in the Fountain Court, not assignable to any particular cult or building, by Nicomachus son of Apollonius, whom Kraeling (p.44 and n.80) suggests may be the mathematician of that name mentioned in the previous chapter, dated to A.D. 92/3 (p.417, Inscr.116).

113. See above, Ch.I, p.15 and Note 109.

114. Mus. Helv. 1951, pp.246-257, especially pp.248-9, 254-7.

115. Op. cit.: generally, p.239; for the change from soft to hard limestone, p.117 but cf. p.239; for the Ishtar relief, pp. 151, 239 and Pl. 38; for the lamps, p.217.

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116. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.134.
117. Wood, Palmyra, p.22. Cf. e.g. Colledge, op. cit., Pl. 59, pp.61, 98-9 and note 180. (I am indebted to Dr. A.W. McNicoll for this reference.) For the date of the Tower Tomb of Iamblichus, Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.577, note 70. Wrappings from the mummies from the Tomb of Iamblichus and Elahbel were studied by G. M. Crowfoot by way of comparison with the textiles found at Qumran (Disc. Jud. Des. I, p.26). For the decoration of the Tomb of Iamblichus, Colledge, op. cit., p.239.
118. Collart and Vicari, Baalshamîn I, p.188, cf. p.65 for the date.
119. Ibid., p.148.
120. Schlumberger, Syria 1933, e.g. p.291.
121. Harvard Excavations, pp.47-8.
122. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.35.
123. Supra, Ch. I, p.47 and Note 344.
124. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.35, cf. BJ II.xviii.1.
125. J.B. Hennessy, "Excavations at Samaria-Sebaste, 1968", Levant II, 1970, pp.1-21 (hereafter "Samaria", Levant 1970), ref. pp.1, 20-21, Pl. X, p.21 fig. 15. I am grateful to Professor J.B. Hennessy for drawing my attention to this work.
126. But see the Gadarene madman who dwelt among the tombs, Mark IV.5. It is possible for an alienated individual to utilise such structures for accommodation at any time.
127. Crowfoot, op. cit.
128. Hennessy, loc. cit., pp.1, 6, pp.7-8 figs. 6-7.
129. Crowfoot, op. cit.
130. Figures taken from the table drawn up by A.R. Bellinger, Gerasa, pp.500-501.
131. Kenyon, Digging up Jerusalem, p.25.
132. N. Avigad, "The Rock-carved Façades of the Jerusalem Necropolis", IEJ I, 1950-1, pp.96-106, ref. pp.104-6, p.105 fig. 9. However, in Beth She'arim. Report on the Excavations during 1957-1958. Vol. III. Catacombs 12-23, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1976 (hereafter Beth She'arim III), p.133 n. 127, he says of this façade that, "The accuracy of this reconstruction is doubtful." He does not specify in what ways. It

is not a matter of the triple façade, since he is in the process of comparing this to those of Catacombs 14 and 20 (ibid., p.94); it is unlikely to be the conch, since the gratuitous restoration of a 'Roman conch' with its position inverted in respect to all those of comparable buildings in the area is improbable.

133. AJ XX.95.

134. Ch. I, pp.48-9, Notes 352-6.

135. See above, Note 112.

136. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.44, cf. Inscr. 17.

137. See C.S. Fisher, Gerasa, pp.13-14.

138. Gerasa, p.117.

139. Gerasa, p.41 n.50.

140. Detweiler, Gerasa, p.62.

141. See above, Note 112. Cf. Frézouls, Syria 1959, p.221, Kraeling, Gerasa, p.43 and n.74 and Fisher, ibid., pp.19-20 for a description of the monument.

142. M.A. pp.179, 181 and Note 614, p.180 Fig. 8.

143. Gerasa, pp.99-100.

144. Ibid., pp.98-99.

145. Gerasa, p.50.

146. Ibid., pp.57-8.

147. Gerasa, pp.100-102.

148. The most egregious exception in the area, that of Samaria, has now been disposed of, since the "hippodrome" of Samaria proved to be a stadium when excavated by the Joint Expedition (Samaria-Sebaste I, p.41 and

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Plate I, cf. Harvard Excavations I, p.219 cf. Plan 1). This may not have been known to Kraeling.

149. Gerasa, p.101.

150. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.37.

151. A.H. Detweiler, Gerasa, p.123.

152. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.451.

153. A. Poidebard, La Trace de Rome dans le Désert Syrie. Le limes de Trajan à la conquête Arabe, Vol. I, texte, Vol.II, atlas, Introduction by Franz Cumont, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1934 (hereafter Trace de Rome), pp.66, 78.

154. Gerasa, p.100.

155. Roger Longrigg, The History of Horse Racing, Stein and Day, New York, 1972, pp.16, 19, cites the inscription of Avilius Teres, a famous charioteer who raced ca. A.D. 75, published in Revue Archéologique 1903, to show that Roman chariot horses were still drawn from the same areas as those of Greece: of the forty-two winning horses legible, thirty-seven are designated as Afer, bred in North Africa, one is Moorish, one is Spanish and three are Italian.

156. On the "Thracian rider" in religious art, see e.g. Sam Eitrem and Johan Harm Croon, OCD², p.924, s.v. RIDER-GODS AND HEROES.

157. Gerasa, pp.39-40.

158. Vestigia 1973, pp.123-5, JRS 1973, pp.136-7, cf. Vestigia 1973, p.129, JRS 1973, p.140,

Rome neither ignored her provincial cities nor ran them. What she could do and did was to provide initiative and coordination over a large area.

159. Supra, Ch.I, p.41 and Note 305.

160. At some time there was a tiler of Leg. X Fret. at Jerusalem: examples of several different batches have been found, see CIL III No.6651. In Britain, tiles and antefixes of Leg. XX Val. Vict. from Chester (Haverfield, Cat. Grov. Museum, p.88, Nos.200-202, woodcuts pp.87, 92) and a tile of Leg. IX Hispana from their station at York (ibid., p.91, No.213)

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suggest that it was normal for legions to be self-sufficient in this respect. In Commagene, at Enesh (ancient Arulis), there was also a quarry worked by vexillations of Leg. IV Scyth., especially in the second and third centuries (Jalabert and Mouterde, IGLS I, p.66).

161. Parker, The Roman Legions, p.168, states that until the civil war between Vespasian and Galba (when Legions I and II Adiutrix were raised from the fleet), the legions consisted of Roman citizens, drawn mainly from Italy, Gaul and Spain, but Haverfield, op. cit., p.39, holds that recruitment in Italy had almost ceased by A.D.70. The matter is not settled by the figures extrapolated by G. Forni, Il Reclutamento delle Legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano, Fratelli Bocca editori, Milano-Roma, 1st edition, 1953, pp.160-176, Tab. I-II. According to the figures in his Tab. I, (pp.160-168, Augustus to Caligula) Italy certainly provided the greatest number of recruits, 207, 45% of the total of 459, and "Province" provided another 128, 27%, but Spain (8) and "Gaul" (35) total less than the provinces of Asia Minor, which jointly contributed 49. In Tab. II (pp.169-176, Claudius-Nero) the number from Italy has certainly decreased to 117, but the total number of examples is only 357, so it still provides ca 33%; the proportion from "Province" has increased, 123, i.e. ca. 35%, as has that from Spain and Gaul, with 18 and 59 examples respectively; Asia Minor has decreased to ca. 11%. There is thus some support for some aspects of each view, but also contradictory indications; in any case, the small total numbers of examples, given the total complement of the Roman army in the respective periods, together with the discrepancy in the length of the two periods which makes direct comparison of doubtful validity, means that Forni's evidence cannot substantiate categorical conclusions on such precise points. Certainly, there would have been some admixture of local, or half-local men from the areas in which the legions had previously been stationed. J.C. Mann, "The Raising of New Legions During the Principate", Hermes XCI, 1963, pp.483-9, considers that it was normal practice to fill the gaps in the legions with local replacements; Parker (op. cit., p.170) agrees, at least after the time of Hadrian, citing soldiers who describe themselves as born in castris, i.e. their fathers had "married" illegally, in all likelihood local women; such men achieved citizenship by joining the army. That the practice does, however, date back at least to the time of Augustus, is shown by CIL III No.6687, which, contra Mommsen, probably does not come from Berytus, quoted above, Note 89; the subject, Q. Aemilius Q. f. Secundus, who served in Syria under Quirinius, was born in castris, but was nevertheless a citizen, belonging to the Palatine tribe. See also Ch.I Note 369 for de facto marriages of soldiers in the first century A.D.

162. In later times, certainly, the nominal nationality of an auxiliary unit was no guarantee whatsoever as to its actual composition. Those stationed in Britain were a veritable farrago of different races: to name just a few anomalies, one commander of the supposedly Gallic Ala Augusta was an African, Aemilius Crispinus (RIB I, No.897), another came from Xanten (RIB I, No.946) and yet another from Raetia (RIB I, No.957); an Italian commanded Coh. I Thracum at Bowes (RIB I, No.733) and another Italian Coh. IV Gal. at Chesterholm (RIB I, No.1686); Raetian tribesmen served in the Tungrian Cohort at Birrens (RIB I, No.2100) and Treveri served in Coh. II Tung. somewhere on Hadrian's Wall (RIB I, No.2108). When this situation first applied is not known. There are two inscriptions reflecting a similar situation tentatively assigned to the first century, or early second, that of a Frisian serving in the Thracian cavalry, from Cirencester (RIB I, No. 109) and the tombstone of Ammonius son of Damio from Ardoch (RIB I, No.2213) - Collingwood and Wright cite Schulze's ascription of the name to the East.

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This last is dated to the first century only because Dis Manibus is written in full - the possibility of archaism is obvious. In any case, it is clearly uncertain whether either of these would date back before this Period.

163. A.R. Burn, Agricola and Roman Britain, Collier Books, New York, 1962, pp.125-6.

164. There are other possibilities, but the element of doubt about either the date, or the nationality, is always great. For example, an inscription from Enesh in Commagene, IGLS No.68, for which the terminus post quem, obviously, is A.D. 72, records a dedication by three soldiers of Leg. IV Scyth., the signiferi Iulius Aretinus and Iulius Severus, and the tubicen Rabil. Beliabus: Rabilus is the Latin form of the name of several Nabataean kings; Jalabert and Mouterde point out that Beliabus is a theophor of Bel or Baal, meaning "gift of Bel/Baal" and cite another inscription from Damascene, where the Greek equivalent is Diodotos. Cf. also Stark, Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions, p.10. However, the name Iulius Severus suggests that the inscription should be later; if he, too, was a local man, his family may well have received the name from one of the Julii Severi who governed Syria Palaestina in the second century, or even later, in the time of Severus. The inscription has been tentatively assigned to Period V.

164a. Forni, op. cit., pp.184-5, Tab. III, cf. Tab. I and Tab. II.

165. For the auxilia, see CIL III Pt. 2, p.209, the diploma of a veteran of Ala II, Coh. IV, from Judaea, dated A.D. 86.

166. For example, the temple of Zeus Epicarpius at Jerash, rebuilt by a centurion who was the son of a local dignitary, Gerasa, pp.55 (Kraeling), pp.393-4, Inscr. 42 (Welles). For no very good reason, Kraeling suggests that this centurion, whose name has been lost, was identical to Germanus, a centurion who died at the age of 77, and was buried in a temple-tomb, with Orthodox Corinthians, close to the temple (cf. Fisher, Gerasa, p.25 and Welles, p.452, Inscr. 219) and to Aelius Germanus, the primipilaris of Inscr. 102 (p.413) who donated one of the columns to the second century "cardo". There may be two or three separate cases here.

167. Supra, Ch.I, Note 368.

168. For an undated example from Aïn Houşbay, see IGLS VI, No. 2923, engraved on the remains of an arch of a building which Rey-Coquais identifies as a fountain-house; from his description, it meets all the requirements of a nymphaeum in the loose sense of the term:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano)
Q(uintus) Baebius Rufus {v(otum) s(olvit) l}b(enter).

He identifies the dedicant with that of an inscription from Baalbek, IGLS No. 2718=CIL III 14386, or with a descendant of the same man. The name Baebius also occurs in another inscription from the Beqa', CIL III 134 from Djedîthe, in a context, a dedication to Juno Regina pro sal. of Antoninus Pius by the sons of Petilia Lucia in accordance with their mother's will, which again implies a local family, although it is not clear whether or not it is the nomen of the two sons, Gaius and Gemellus (see below, Ch.III).

169. IGLS 82, see below, Ch.V, p.292. The village is approximately two hours from Enesh, where a quarry was worked by vexillations of Leg. IV

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Scyth., mainly in the second and third centuries, see above, Note 160.

170. The use of a local form of masonry, based on the principle of opus reticulatum, but with wedge-shaped stones set into unmortared rubble (Poidebard, Trace de Rome, pp.153-4) should probably be referred to this category. It was used in the pre-Diocletianic forts in Palmyrene, and also in the civilian architecture from the first to the third centuries A.D. on Gebel Haurân (where it acquires mortar from the time of Philip the Arab onwards) and from the fourth to the seventh centuries A.D. on Gebel il-Hass, its usage being confined to important buildings such as temples and palaces. However, it appears in Palmyrene at aš-Sikkériyé, which Poidebard calls a military colony, but which seems to be identical to the villa of Khirbet Hazîme (see M.A. Preface p. ix and Note 647). Both Alois Musil, Palmyrena. A Topographical Itinerary, ed. J.K. Wright, American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies, No.4, New York, 1928, p.144, p.176 and n.18, p.91, and Th. Wiegand, Palmyra. Ergebnisse der Expedition von 1902 und 1917, Heinrich Keller, Berlin, 1932, S. 10-12 and Taf. 4, make it quite clear that it was a country residence, an example of the isolated fortified villa type well attested in Palmyrene. Its date is unknown, but it should not be too early, to judge from the Christian symbol carved on the wall. Among other forts in which this masonry occurs is Hân al-Mankûra (Valle Alba) (see Poidebard, op. cit., pp.182-4 - it is not mentioned in his earlier list) which belongs, typologically, to a group of forts dated by Poidebard as Trajan to Marcus Aurelius, on Arabian parallels (ibid., p.52). It is therefore likely that the civilian use of this type of masonry was transmitted from the Hauran to Palmyrene by the military.

For dated examples of the introduction of Roman forms coincident with the installation of a garrison, see also Dura Europos (Ch.IV, pp.236-7, Ch.V, pp.270-213) and the peculiar inverted situation at al-Bhara, where the army may have employed civilian craftsmen in the construction of the camp, since a Corinthian capital of a type produced by a workshop based at Palmyra seems to have been found there, thus spreading this type to smaller centres (Ch. III, pp.151-2).

171. Kraeling's identification of the dedicant in an inscription from Jerash dated A.D. 92/3 with the mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (supra, Note 112) is, of course, speculative.

172. See now Rajak, Josephus, pp.62, 195, on the date of composition. For an able exorcism of the spectre of the notorious "amanuenses", ibid., Appendix II, pp.233-36, Ch. II, pp.46-64, especially pp.58-64. Though her suggestion that the "amanuenses" were friends offering criticism on portions of Josephus' own text already written, in the common manner of literary circles at Rome, is not perhaps convincing, she demonstrates the probability that Josephus was sufficiently competent in Greek by the time he came to write the Greek version to exercise at least stringent control over those sections which he did not write himself; in particular, her comments on the distinction drawn between "Greek language" and "Greek wisdom" (pp.60-61) elucidates the famous passage in the Antiquities which gave rise to the "amanuenses" theory.

173. BJ Preface 1, cf. Thackeray, Loeb Vol. II, p.4 and n. b and Preface 2.

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174. AJ XX.263-4.

175. Supra, Ch.I, Note 146, M.A. p.72 and Note 231.

176. M.A. pp.65-76.

177. See his account of his suppression of uprisings in Galilee by tricking the people with a series of lies and false promises (BJ II.xxi). His prize trick, which he gleefully recounts, was to ask the hostile crowd at Tarichaeae to send a deputation into his house so that he could hear them, and when the leaders complied, take them to the back of the house where he "had them scourged till he flayed them to the bone" (BJ II.xxi.5).

178. Preface 4. That this gentle authorial persona is not the real Josephus is evident from the incidents he selects to relate in detail, see previous Note and cf. e.g. BJ VI.iii.3-4, III.vii.23, V.xiii.4, IV.ix.8, VI.vii.3, IV.ix.10, V.x.3, V.x.4, V.xi.1, VI.ii.10, VII.iii.1 etc.

179. Supra, Note 177.

180. H. St.J. Thackeray, Josephus the Man and the Historian: a series of 6 lectures, The Hilda Stich Stroock Lectures at the Jewish Institute of Religion, Jewish Institute of Religion Press, New York 1929. Much of my background knowledge of Josephus derives from Thackeray, and some of the general lines of argument were prompted by his discussion, for example pp. 12 ff., where he suggests that the truth about Josephus' behaviour at the beginning of the Revolt was a kind of compromise between the two versions given in the War and the Life, and that Josephus, secretly pro-Roman all the time, was playing a double game, hoping that war could still be averted and disarming the extremists, but was trapped by the situation. However, the particular arguments given are my own, unless otherwise stated. I should also like to express my thanks to Mr. R. West, who kindly lent me the chapter of his thesis dealing with Josephus and also his bibliography. Both, however, arrived after the original version of this section, which formed part of a seminar paper delivered at Macquarie University during my candidature, was drafted; it is gratifying to note that despite the disparate approaches taken, we coincided on two points: we both maintained a certain scepticism in regard to the degree of emphasis placed upon Josephus' famous amanuenses by Thackeray and others, and we each independently lighted upon Lucian.

For Josephus as a specifically Flavian Roman historian, see M.A. pp.66-7.

181. Thackeray, Loeb Vol. II, p.8 n. a.

182. Ibid.

183. Πῶς δὲ ἱστορεῖν συγγράφειν ("How to Write History" or Historia").

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The edition cited is the Loeb Lucian Vol. VI, translat. K.Kilburn, William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1968.

184. Historia 9.
185. Historia 39.
186. Historia 38-40.
187. Historia 10,11,12.
188. E.g. Historia 44,50,60.
189. Historia 41.
190. Historia 40.
191. Historia 63.
192. Preface 5.
193. Preface 2.
194. Preface 5.
195. Preface 10.
196. Historia 38 ff., cf. 7-8.
197. Historia 41.
198. Preface 1.
199. Preface 3.
200. Historia 14.
201. Preface 2-4.

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202. Historia 24,29-32, cf. 37, 47.
203. Historia 37.
204. Preface 3.
205. Preface 1,6.
206. Preface 5, cf. Contra Apionem, 1.9.
207. Historia 53-4.
208. Historia 49.
209. For example, BJ II.xi.1, II.xiii.1, IV.ix.2, IV.x.1, IV.xi.1-5.
210. Historia 60.
211. For example, BJ IV.viii.3.
212. Historia 58 cf.26.
213. Historia 32.
214. See Thackeray, Loeb Vol. II, pp.vii f.
215. Historia 20.
216. Loeb Vol. II, p.xxi, citing Contra Apionem I.10.
217. BJ II.viii.2-14, III.ii.4, III.iii.1-5, III.v.1-8, IV.i.i, IV.i.3, IV.viii.2-4, IV.ix.7, IV.x.5, V.iv.1-V.v.8, VI.x.1, VII.iii.2-3, VII.vi.3, VII.x.2.
218. Historia 19-20,57.
219. E.g. BJ V.iv.1-4.
220. See e.g. Paul Turner, in the introduction to Lucian: Satirical

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Sketches, Penguin Books, 1961, pp.7,12-14.

221. Historia 41.

222. Loeb Vol. II, p.xvi.

223. To put the argument in archaeological terms, Thackeray's comparison is like the comparison between two pots,  and , as opposed to  and . In the first case the similarity is confined to the shape, which is, in each instance, a function of the use to which the pot is to be put: a simple dish for some liquid food such as soup, stew, or porridge. The point of comparison is too basic to be meaningful. In the second case, the similarity extends to the decoration, which is arbitrary and non-functional, so that the chances of pure coincidence are very remote, and the parallel is significant of some connection between the examples. In cases such as the first, the usual aphorism is, "a pot is a pot is a pot", and I think it could be applied, mutatis mutandis, to Thackeray's parallel.

Also of doubtful significance are the numerous personifications, Fortune, Destiny, Virtue, Fate, Nemesis and Justice (Dike). Thackeray translates them with a capital (not in the Greek), like the quasi-divine allegories of Classical mythology. The context seldom clarifies the point - they could equally be mere abstract nouns, or at most, simple personifications. Indeed, in one passage, VII.ii.2, so translated, authorial comment, God, clearly the Jewish God, and Dike are paired as pursuers of the Jews,

For villainy escapes not the wrath of God, nor is Justice weak, but in due time she tracks down those who have transgressed against her and inflicts upon the sinners a chastisement more severe, when they imagined themselves quit of it because they were not punished immediately.

οὐδὲ γὰρ διαφεύγει πονηρὰ θεοῦ χόλον, οὐδὲ ἀσθενὴς ἡ δίκη, χρόνῳ δὲ μέτεισι τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν παρανομήσαντας καὶ χεῖρω τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιφέρει τοῖς πονηροῖς, ὅτε καὶ προσεδόκησαν αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάχθαι μὴ παραυτίκα κολασθέντες.

This seems highly unlikely, even for Josephus plus amanuensis; the sentence is more probably to be read as a species of hendiadys. While it is easy to see what Josephus means - "The mills of God grind slow, but they grind exceeding exceeding small" - it is difficult to achieve a translation, since, except by using the personification, as it is hard to get the two relevant meanings of δίκη, a code which it is possible to transgress and the punishment itself, into a single word or phrase suitable to the rest of the sentence, but a more extended translation along the lines of, "For villainy escapes not the wrath of God, nor are his laws without force; but in time His vengeance seizes those who offend against them, and visits upon them retribution more severe, that they believed themselves free, since punishment befell them not at once," might be managed. (The manuscripts have *ὅτι*, not *ὅτε*, this being the emendation of Niese after the Latin, see Thackeray, n.2 ad loc., and Josephus appears to be writing in his best, vindictive, Old Testament execration style.) Only nine such examples seem

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likely, BJ I.xi.8 (Destiny), II.xvi.4 (360) (Fortune), IV.i.6 (Fortune), IV.iv.6 (Destiny), IV.v.2 (Virtue), V.ii.4 (Fortune), VI.i.6 (Fortune), VI.i.8 (Destiny), VI.ix.1 (Fortune). See now also Rajak, Josephus, pp.99-101,194.

224. Certain: Preface 6 - Demetrius, Philo the Elder, Eupolemus; I.xxiii.5 - technical terms of the Hellenistic court; I.xxviii.2 - the same; I.xxx.7 - echoes of Greek tragedy; II.viii.11 - (?) Hesiod; II.xvi.4 - two events from Greek history (and Fortune); II.xxi.1 - Sallust; III.v.1-8 - Polybius; III.vii.5 - Sophocles; III.vii.16 - Homer; III.vii.17 - Sophocles; III.vii.18 - Sophocles; III.viii.5 - Athenian custom; III.ix.5 - Virgil; III.x.4 - Sophocles; IV.i.6 - Meleager of Gadara; IV.ii.1 - Sallust; IV.iii.10 - (?) Demosthenes; IV.iii.13 - Sallust; IV.v.2 - Thucydides; IV.vi.1 - Plato; IV.vi.1 - Thucydides; IV.x.2 - Thucydides; V.vii.3 - Thucydides; V.ix.4 - Aeschines; V.xi.3 - Herodotus; V.xii.1 - Sophocles; VII.i.2 - Thucydides (twice); VII.viii.7 - general Greek philosophy; VII.viii.7 - Sophocles (twice); VII.viii.7 - Euripides.

More doubtful: I.xix.4 - Thucydides; I.xix.3 - Virgil; I.xix.4 - Aristotle; III.v.1 - Polybius; III.vi.33 - Virgil; IV.iii.2 - Thucydides; IV.iii.14 - Greek generally; IV.iv.6 - Thucydides; VI.ii.1 - (?) Orac. Sibyll.

225. For example, III.vii.5, III.vii.16, III.vii.18, cf. Lucian, Historia 45.

226. BJ III.viii.5.

227. BJ II.xvi.4.

228. BJ VII.viii.7.

229. A very similar selection is given for the Antiquities by Hölscher, P-W 9.2, 916. Thackeray, Loeb Vol. II pp.xvi ff., discusses the sources in comparison with those used in the Antiquities, but does not give a full list.

230. BJ V.ii.1, cf. e.g. De Bello Gallico II.xvii cp. xix.

231. See e.g. Thackeray, Loeb Vol.II, pp. vii-ix; Rajak, Josephus, pp.201-2.



232. M.A pp.70-71 and Notes 210-212.

233. See above, Note 223.

234. For the language itself, see Thackeray, Loeb Vol. II, pp.xiii ff.

235. There is a difference in degree, homologous to the difference in

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the degree of influence demonstrated by drawing a pyramid  and  (the hieroglyph for "pyramid").

236. BJ I.xxi.7.

237. BJ I.xxxiii.2-4.

238. He is quite willing, however, to see God's justice at work in the fates of his personal enemies, John of Gischala (BJ VI.ix.4) and Catullus (BJ VII.xi.4), whose death once more was very similar to that of Herod.

239. BJ II.i.2-4.

240. AJ XV.277-280, cf. supra, Ch.I, p.34 and Note 230. Cf. also the reaction to Caligula's attempt to place his statue in the Temple, supra, Ch.I pp.40-41 and Notes 300-302.

241. BJ I.xxi.2.

242. BJ I.xxi.3.

243. BJ I.xxi.4.

244. BJ II.ix.4.

245. BJ V.iv.1 - V.v.8.

246. AJ XX.219-221. Cf. Allen Wikgren, Loeb Vol. VIII, pp.206-7, note a.

247. BJ V.v.3.

248. BJ V.v.2.

249. Ibid.

250. BJ VII.v.7.

251. BJ II.viii.2-13.

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252. Loc. cit. supra Note 229.

252a. Cf. now also Rajak, Josephus, pp.36-7 on Josephus' presentation of the Jewish sects as Greek philosophies.

253. See M.A. pp.65-76.

254. BJ II.xi.1 (Whiston's translation).

255. BJ II.xx.7, cf. supra, Ch. I, p.50.

256. Supra, Ch. I, p.50 and especially Note 366.

Chapter III, Notes.

1. The dates of his tenure are debatable and debated; see M.A. Appendix.

2. Bernard W. Henderson, The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 76 -138, Methuen, London, 1923, p.289, citing SHA Hadr. XIII.6-XIV.4. He dates this journey to A.D. 129 rather than the more conventional A.D. 130/131. For a discussion of the evidence in favour of Hadrian's personally conducting the war against Bar Kochba, ibid., p.218; he did, however, come as far as Antioch.

3. Antioch V, pp.133, 134 and n.30.

4. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.443, p.444 fig.164 B.

5. See Henderson, op. cit., p.126.

6. Antioch V, p.133.

7. For example, in Cutting 19-N, neither bases nor columns were found, with capitals re-used in nearby mediaeval structures only doubtfully ascribed to the colonnade (Antioch V, p.35).

8. For example, the position of the stylobate gives no indication of the existence of the intermediate colonnade once hypothesized (ibid., p.32).

9. Ibid., pp.80-81, cf. Plan LXIX p.125.

10. See ibid., p.80 and Plan LXIX p.125 on the possible association of the workshops behind the Herodian colonnade with the colonnade.

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11. M.A. p.112 and Note 383; for the date, infra, Ch.IV, Note 109.
12. BMC Emp. III, pp. xiii, liv, cviii, cix.
13. Mattingly, BMC Emp. III, p.xiii.
14. Bouchier, op. cit., p.66.
15. C.E.R.P.², pp.291-2, p.468 n.90.
16. Bowersock, Vestigia 1973, p.127, JRS 1973, p.139.
17. Frankfort, Latomus 1960, p.712.
18. Avi-Yonah, "Road Systems", IEJ 1950-1, p.56.
19. CIL III Nos. 14176², 14176³, cf. Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., p.55.
20. See above, Ch.II, Note 28.
21. See above, Introduction Note 24.
22. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.106-7, id., S.E.H.R.E², Vol. II, p.662, n.28.
23. BMC Emp. III, pp. cxii, cxiii, cliii.
24. Ibid., p. cxlix.
25. Ibid., p.cxii. Unfortunately he specifies neither what this distinctive quality of the mint of Antioch is, nor what it is in the finish of these coins which leads him to assign them to it.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., p. cxiii.
28. Ibid., p.clxviii and Pl.83.

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29. See e.g. G.M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, Phaidon, London, 2nd revised ed., 1960 (hereafter Handbook), fig.222.
30. BMC Emp. III, pp.cxii, clii-cliv.
31. With the variant legend "potes" or the date "Tr. Potes III".
32. Cf. the prominence accorded local deities in the Hadrianic coins of Asia Minor, BMC Emp. III, p.clviii.
33. Ibid., pp. cxii, cliv-clv.
34. Glen Bowersock, "A Report on Arabia Provincia", JRS LXI, 1971, pp.219-242, ref. p.238. Cf. infra, Ch.IV, Note 5.
35. See Avi-Yonah, "Road System", IEJ 1950-1, coded map p.57.
36. CIL III No.14168, cf. Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., p.56.
37. Loc. cit., pp.56,58.
38. Henderson, op. cit., p.128.
39. CIL III, 13596, cf. Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., p.58.
40. Avi-Yonah, loc. cit., p.59. The only milestone from this road in CIL III known to me is No.13598, of which too little, COS II.Pp / ΑΠΟ ΚΟΛ ΑΙΑΙ/ ΑC ΚΑΠΙ, remains to allow ascription. If COS II is correct, and not due merely to the omission of the extra stroke (something not beyond the bounds of possibility in a Syrian inscription) then the emperor is unlikely to be Hadrian. Egbert gives two separate dates for the assumption of the title Pater Patriae, Aug. 11, A.D. 117, in square brackets - according to SHA Hadr. VI.4 he refused this title when he first acceded - and "April 2 (?) 128" (op. cit., p.132), so that this need not prove an obstacle: the bestowal of such a title gratuitously in a Syrian inscription would come as no surprise. However, Hadrian became Cos. III on Jan. 1, 119 (Egbert, op. cit.). This would date the milestone to 117-8, and Col. Aelia Capitolina was not, apparently, even planned until ca. 130. A number of later emperors were also simultaneously COS II/III and P.M./ P.P., for example, Antoninus Pius was COS II and Pater Patriae at some time between Jan. 1, 139, and Jan. 1, 140, when he became COS III (Egbert, op. cit., p.133), L. Verus was COS III and Pater Patriae from some time in 167 until his death in 169 (ibid., p.134), Septimius Severus was COS II and Pater Patriae from some time in 194 until he became COS III on Jan. 1, 202 (ibid., p.136), and Caracalla was COS III and Pater Patriae from some time in 208 (ibid., cf. CIL III 14155). One of these would seem more suitable.

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41. Loc. cit., p.59.
42. Ibid., pp.59-60.
43. Supra, CH.II, Note 28.
44. Loc. cit., p.60.
45. CIL III 14177¹.
46. Henderson, op. cit., p.219, citing Ulpian.
47. See the inscription from above the Damascus Gate, COL(onia) AEL(ia) CAP(itolina) D(ecurionum) D(ecreto), quoted, for example, by Kenyon, Digging up Jerusalem, pp.239-243.
48. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.79,80, citing the Paschal Chronicle.
49. Op. cit., pp.264, cf. pp.31, 236-7, 257, 263-4.
50. Ibid., pp.228-30. Cf. also the results from sites S and R, outside the south wall, running up against the Haram, where it seems likely that Hadrian's builders "bulldozed" the ruins of the first century into the valley, in order to quarry the rock beneath, ibid., pp.263-4. It should be noted, however, that only a very small proportion of the total area of the town has been excavated, so that the picture thus obtained may be distorted.
51. Op. cit., S.81.
52. Kenyon, op. cit., p.256, locates it in the same general vicinity, but her Site L failed to produce any remains. She suggests it, and Herod's palace, must have lain further to the north, noting that the only indication of their proximity was the number of bricks stamped with LEG X FRE on the site: these occur in most areas of Jerusalem, but the number at Site L was much greater.
53. See Gerasa, Plan I.
54. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, plan p.33.
55. M.A. p.115.

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56. See Samaria-Sebaste I, Plan I.
57. M.A. pp.131-2.
58. The gradual development of the new techniques and structural forms and the concomitant new aesthetic principles can be traced at Rome from the Julio-Claudian period, see, for example, Ward-Perkins, Boëthius-Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Ch. 10, pp.245 ff. There is no evidence of any comparable development in Syria. The fact that Trajan's architect was Apollodorus of Damascus is thus in part a red herring, although it serves as a reminder that a categorical ascription of anything to Syria or Rome is never valid: since the time of Antiochus IV the architects of Rome and Syria had been aware of each other, so that all architectural development must have been, to a certain extent, pari passu. It was possible for Apollodorus to go to Rome and assist in bringing to fruition a process which had its origin in the West in the previous century, if not a little earlier: Syrian architects of the time, at least in the major cities, were thus abreast of developments in Rome, and it is far from inconceivable that some of the minor aspects of the "architectural revolution" were the doing of Syrian architects in Syria, working in the latest Roman idiom. The architecture of Aelia would have helped to determine the matter by providing a fixed point for the presence or absence in Syria of the new structural forms. Its loss is thus almost as great as that of the contemporary architecture of Antioch.
59. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.79-80, Henderson, op. cit., pp.216, 219. The major ancient sources for the buildings are Cassius Dio LXIX.12 for the Temple of Jupiter, the Paschal Chronicle (unseen, cited by Watzinger) for the buildings as a whole, and St. Jerome for the West Gate (cited by Henderson).
60. Martin Jessop Price and Bluma L. Trell, Coins and their Cities, Architecture on the coins of Greece, Rome and Palestine, Wayne Friary Press Ltd., London, 1977, p.179 fig.312.
61. Presumably Price and Trell, op. cit., p.179 fig.311.
62. A matter I hope to take up elsewhere, see briefly below, Postface, p.lxxii.
63. Cf. H.J. Rose, OCD², p.1113, s.v. VENUS.
64. Op. cit., S. 80.
65. Ibid., S. 84-5.
66. Ibid., S. 80.

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67. Ibid.

68. "Stufen- oder Treppenbau" - Watzinger.

69. Cf. e.g. Léon Homo, Rome Impériale et l'Urbanisme dans l'Antiquité, Albin Michel, Paris, 1951, p.354.

70. Jérôme Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, translat. E.O. Lorimer, Pelican Books 1956 (first published 1941), p.215.

71. Op. cit., S.80, 82-4, 92.

72. For the tripartite cella of the 'Tuscan' temple, Boëthius, Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.34-6 and fig. 15, 39-42 and figs. 21-2, 110 and fig. 64; Robertson, Handbook, pp.199ff. The primary reference is Vitruvius IV.7.

For the tripartite cella as a feature of Syrian temples, Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.434. This may be an instance of a mechanism of acculturation which can be termed 'reinforcement', where effectively identical forms, often of an entirely different origin, exist in both the influent and recipient cultures, and instead of competing their interaction confirms the type and ensures its survival, whereas in the case of divergent forms one or the other may disappear, or a hybrid of the two may evolve. Other instances of this mechanism in Roman Syria are discernible: genii loci; monumental altars located in front of a temple; if Schlumberger is correct about the local evolution of the Syrian Orthodox Corinthian, the spread of this type which is virtually identical to the Vitruvian Orthodox capital; perhaps the external façade of temples such as that of Bel at Palmyra, with attached columns, a perfectly good Roman device, but one which may have achieved acceptance more readily, given the old Egyptian and Mesopotamian façades with alternating pilasters, or piers, and bays (which might also have been considered the model for the façade of the "Herodian" Haram at Hebron, were it not for the similarity to the external wall of the Acropolis at Athens - the situation here is complicated); perhaps, also, the 'box-within-a-box' temple plans (for which see Ward-Perkins, op. cit.) and the axial forum type of sanctuary - in modern reconstructions Herod's Temple at Jerusalem contrives to be both at once; possibly the predominance of the Pompeian 'long' basilica given the tradition of hypostyle halls.

For the use of apsidal cellas as a special feature of temples to imperial tutelary deities, A.W. van Buren, Ancient Rome as Revealed by Recent Discoveries, London, 1936, Ch. VII, "The Apse in the Roman Temple". While there are difficulties with this theory there does seem to have been some special connection between the curvilinear shape as a background for statues, and imperial propaganda, to judge from Vitruvius' reference to the hemicyclical tribunal in the "temple of Augustus" in a basilica, i.e. as part of the standard fittings (V.1.7-8); this may be interpreted as a reflection of the incipient imperial cult, as yet not codified in Rome itself.

73. Presumably it would have taken the form of three parallel

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barrel-vaults, perhaps carried internally on piers or columns, something which, although to the best of my knowledge unprecedented in precisely this architectural context, does not seem particularly bizarre. A false pitched roof or façade, might, if necessary, have disguised the structure externally.

74. Op. cit., S. 81.

75. Op. cit., p.220.

76. Vincent, Jérusalem II-III, p.782, similarly refers to legionary emblems, without specific reference. The passage, Eusebius, Chron. (A.D. 138-9), J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus Latinae, Vol. XXVII, Belgium, cols. 619-622, reads: Aelia ab Aelio Hadriano condita, et in fronte ejus porta, qua Bethlehem egredimur, sus sculptus in marmore significans Romanae potestati subjacere Judaeos. In note a, p.622, Migne cites earlier commentary which takes sus to be an allusion to Virgil, Aeneid VIII.43, this foundation myth giving rise to a later symbolism in which the presence of the sus indicates that a district is under Roman domination. However, Jerome's "sus" is a "sus sculptus", a boar, as it is consistently translated by more modern scholars; Virgil's "sus" is a "sus" (l.43)...alba" (l. 45), suckling thirty young, a sow (Loeb Vergil, Aeneid, ed. H. Rushton Fairclough, 1966). Both Jerome and his commentators seem to be in error as to the significance of the carving.

Apparently dissatisfied with Jerome's interpretation, Watzinger sees it as the badge of the Tenth Legion: he cites no evidence for this connection and I know of none. Ritterling, loc. cit., 1671, gives the "Wappentier" of the Tenth Fretensis as the constellation of Taurus.

The boar was in fact the badge of Leg. XX Valeria Victrix: it appears in various places at Chester, for example on the antefixes illustrated Cat. Grosv. Mus., woodcuts, p.87 and p.90, the former with a boar rampant r., above which is the legend LEC {sic} XX, with a lion couchant regardant above this again, the latter with a boar rampant l. across a standard and LEC {sic} XX, also across a standard, above the boar (cf. Haverfield, ibid., ad No. 200); cf. also Ritterling, loc. cit., 1769, "Das Fahnentier der L. der springenden Eber..." It is in fact one of the most firmly established of all legionary badges (although, since the legion spent virtually its whole existence in the West, Jerome is unlikely to have known this); Ritterling indeed tends to postulate vexillations of Leg. XX V.V. in Europe wherever the boar emblem is found, though he is apparently unaware of the Jerusalem example. In the present case, the evidence of a mere rumour of a boar is manifestly too flimsy to substantiate the idea that some part of this legion was stationed at Jerusalem - Jerome may have mistaken the identity of the animal depicted, or the text may be corrupt. However, other items may fit with this, so that while still in the realm of speculation it is at least plausible. The governor of Britain, Sextus Julius Severus (see M.A. Appendix) was called to Syria by Hadrian in the closing stages of the Second Jewish War, and remained afterwards as governor of the province, at precisely the time the main construction of Aelia would have been carried out. He did in fact bring some of his British staff with him, and while, to my knowledge, no member of Leg. XX V.V. is attested, it is certainly not beyond the bounds of possibility that he brought a vexillation or two of specialists, who assisted in the construction of the city before returning to Britain. Such an hypothesis would also help explain the career of M. Septimius Magnus of Arados (see Ch. I, Note 341). His multitude of posts suggests he was some sort of specialist seconded to various legions as necessary, and he may well have been attached to some such unit at that time.

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77. Op. cit., pp.239-243. She also mentions another instance of the survival of parts of old Jerusalem into Aelia, the peristyle building excavated by Avigad in 1972, of which the details were unpublished at the time at which she wrote (ibid., pp.236-7).
78. "Damascus Gate", Levant 1970, p.24.
79. Ibid., p.26.
80. Henderson, op. cit., p.219 and n. 4, citing coins of Aelia down to the time of Valerian.
81. Op. cit., S. 81.
82. M.A. pp.156, 172-4, and Notes 526-7.
83. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.85-6.
84. See below, Ch. IV, pp. 228, 230-232.
85. CIL III No.13587.
86. The legion as such remained in Alexandria till some time between A.D. 119 and 127 (Bowersock, JRS 1971, pp.232-3, cf. JRS 1975, p.184) but according to Tacitus, Hist.V.1, part of it participated in the First Jewish War, cf. Ritterling, loc. cit., 1794) and the inscription CIL III 13587 is a dedication by a vexill(atio) (? or vexillifer) of this Legion, which supports the suggestion of Egbert (op. cit., p.408) and Ritterling (loc. cit.) that at least part of the legion may have served with Trajan in the Parthian Wars.
87. AJA 1967, pp.387-393, and idem, "Two Temples at Tell er Ras on Mout Gerizim in Occupied Jordan", Seventy-First Annual General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, AJA LXXIV, 1970, pp.189-190. For the identification of the temple by Marinus of Neapolis, AJA 1967, p.392; for the coins, ibid., and Pl. 109 fig. 3, AJA 1970, p.90.
88. See Handler, AJA 1971, p.58. In Alexandria the columns of the façade are generally reduced to two or four to make room for the cult statue, rather than none at all, as here; this, however, is mentioned only by way of example of the diversity of practice.
89. AJA 1967, Pl. 109 fig. 2.
90. Ibid., fig. 3. Cf. the not quite identical coins from the reign of Antoninus Pius illustrated by Price and Trell, op. cit., p.174, fig. 303, p.173, fig. 302, which suggests the same interpretation. That some major structure on the site belonged to this Period is confirmed by the discovery among the architectural fragments of what from the photographs appears to be the right hand portion (viewer's right) of an acanthus leaf from the bottom row of a Corinthian capital (AJA 1967, Pl. 10, fig. 6). The depth, breadth and shape of the channelling, the delicacy of the carving, and even the angle of the leaves and the relationship of the upper and lower fronds to each other are all very similar to the capitals from the South

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Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra, particularly the B₂ capitals illustrated Baalshamīn II, Pl. LXXXII.1-2, and show a generic similarity to the leaves of the capital from the Rhodian Court of the same sanctuary (Baalshamīn II, PL LXXXVII); the South Court as a whole belongs to this Period, cf. infra, p.152.

91. Vacat.
92. AJA 1967, p.293.
93. Thackeray, the Loeb Josephus Vol. III, p.261 and n. d.
94. BJ V.v.3.
95. AJA 1967, p.388, Ill. 1.
96. Ibid., p.392.
97. E.g. D.E. Strong, Roman Imperial Sculpture, Alec Tiranti, London, 1961, Ills. 59-60; cf. Thackeray's list, the Loeb Josephus Vol. III, p.549, n. b.
98. Cf. briefly below, Postface, pp. lxxii, lxxiv.
99. Loeb Josephus Vol. VII, pp.134-5, n. c.
100. Zeus: a Study in Ancient Religion, Vol. II, Cambridge 1925, pp.868-890, 950 ff.
101. Palmyre, p.47.
102. See Lassus, Antioch V, p.133, n.30.
103. Ibid., pp.133-4.
104. See Henderson, op. cit., pp.126-7, whose translation is used here.
105. See Lassus, Antioch V, p.134.
106. CIL III No. 180; M. Rostowzew (Rostovtzeff), Klio 1911, pp. 387-8; M.A. p.15 and Note 29, (p.99), p.100, cf. supra, Introduction, p.xxxv.
107. Frankfort, Latomus 1960, pp.713-4; for the Hadrianeum cf. Levine, op. cit., pp.42-3 and notes.
108. Magie, Loeb SHA Vol. I, p.43, n.8; for the Damascus Hadrianeum, Frankfort, loc. cit. (Tyre was already a metropolis under Domitian, see Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, p. 54 and n.122).
109. Henderson, op. cit., p.128.

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110. Loc. cit.
111. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.34, cf. SHA Hadr. XX.4
 Et cum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates Hadrianopolis
 appellavit, ut ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem. aquarum ductus
 etiam infinitos hoc nomine nuncupavit.
112. Caravan Cities, p.108.
113. Ibid., pp.141-2.
114. See also ibid., p.113.
115. Ibid., p.108.
116. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.34.
117. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Roman Art and Architecture, Thames &
 Hudson, London, 1964, p.62, states that the column inscriptions from this
 street date from A.D. 158 to 225.
118. Starcky, loc. cit.; Bounni, Archaeologia 1964, p.43. E. Will
 "Développement urbain de Palmyre", Syria 1983, especially pp.74-5, has
 recently argued convincingly that the bulk of the work should be later
 rather than earlier, including the theatre, which he dates to ca. 200, with the
 adjacent sector of the Grand Colonnade dating to the period of Odenathus.
119. Op. cit.
120. Loc. cit.
121. Op. cit., p.61.
122. Op. cit., p.456 and p.577 n.73.
123. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.108.
124. Starcky, loc. cit., Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.456. Rostovteff's
 interpretation of this area as a caravanserai (Caravan Cities, p.129) must
 now be abandoned or radically modified.
125. Fisher, Gerasa, pp.153-8.
126. E.g. Wheeler, op. cit., p.60, Ill. 41.
127. For the anatomical analogy in ancient architecture, see e.g.
 Vitruvius III.1.

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128. See Bounni's plan, Archaeologia 1964, p.42.
129. See Frézouls, Syria 1959, p.224. Again, Rostovtzeff's earlier speculations as to the nature of this building (Caravan Cities, pp.129-30) must be severely modified.
130. Bounni, Archaeologia 1964, p.44, cf. plan 42; Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.456.
131. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.34; Schlumberger, Syria 1933, p.291; Collart and Vicari, Baalshamfn I, p.145; Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.454 and p.577 n. 70. Starcky also ascribes the Propylaea to the reign of Hadrian, but in his later publication Ward-Perkins states that it was built under Marcus Aurelius or Commodus.
132. Collart and Vicari, Baalshamfn I, pp.144-5.
133. The older temple must have existed, but it has not been discovered. Collart and Vicari (ibid., pp.178-9) argue that this temple must lie in the vicinity of the modern Hotel Zenobia, and partly under it. Starcky (Archaeologia 1964, p.34) states that under Hadrian "on élève un temple à Be'elshemen, le Maître-des-Cieux, pour remplacer un édifice plus modeste du siècle précédent". This does not correlate with the view taken by the Swiss excavators, in whose opinion the older temple would have been the more important of the two. There seems little doubt that the construction of the small second century temple was connected with the change in the orientation of the sanctuary, inspired, perhaps, by a change in the nature of the cult or by some other ideological motive, see also below, Note 144a.
134. Baalshamfn I, pp.188-9.
135. Ibid., pp.11-12, 245, Starcky, Palmyre, p.38. Both cite Inventaire I.2, of which Starcky gives a French translation. The inscription itself, dated 130/131, comes from a bracket of a column of the pronaos of the temple, which means it refers to the statue of Malé Agrippa which once occupied the bracket, but the achievements listed as justification for this honour include both the entertainment of the emperor and the construction of the temple. That is to say, the temple was substantially complete prior to the cutting of this inscription.
136. Baalshamfn I, p.111.
137. Ibid., and pp.102-3.
138. Ibid., pp.111, 189, 102-3. Cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.457.
139. Baalshamfn I, p.102.
140. E.g. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.456-7.
141. Baalshamfn I, pp.89, 179-194.
142. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.440-1 and Fig. 163 p.440

143. See Perowne, op. cit., p.146 for the dedication to Herod from the temple.

144. Palmyre, pp.39, 47, cf. pp.98-101 for the identification of the Unnamed God as Baalshamin. The gravamen of his case is the coincidence of the epithets and titles of the two, such as Ζεὺς ὕψιστος καὶ ἐπίκοος in the Greek of bilingual inscriptions, and in particular the title "Master of the World", applied only to Baalshamin and the Unnamed God, and the coincidence of their iconography - the "Triad of Baalshamin" and that of the Unnamed God is identical, with Aglibol, the main deity, and Malakbel. The view that the Unnamed God was Baalshamin has been widely accepted, for example by Collart (e.g. Baalshamin I, p.212) and Colledge (e.g. Art of Palmyra, p.25, p.268 n.34), but has more recently been challenged by Javier Teixidor, The Pagan God. Popular Religion in the Graeco-Roman Near East, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1977, pp.122-130, cf. pp. 141-2 on the "Triad of Baalshamin", and idem, The Pantheon of Palmyra, M.J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1979, pp.115-19. He argues that a number of points weigh against this: an altar to the Unnamed God was found in the vicinity of the Ephca spring, which should be the precinct of Yarhibol. only one "aberrant" dedication has been found in the "temple" of Baalshamin, and the cult is attested before the dedication of (Malé's) temple in A.D. 132; it is unlikely that, given the otherwise attested prominence of the cult of Baalshamin around the year 130, it should, at the same time, have been "the object of a devotion interested in concealing his cult under the appellation "whose name is blessed for ever" - it would be paradoxical if a god adored in his sanctuary as Lord of the Heaven should later have his name replaced by the formula "whose name is blessed for ever" which leaves him in effect without a name. In regard to the "Triad of Baalshamin", he disputes the existence of any such regular triad, pointing out that only the Louvre relief unambiguously shows Baalshamin with Aglibol and Malakbel - in the Lintel of the Eagles the central deity is replaced by an eagle - there is no epigraphic evidence to support the existence of this triad. Similarly, the "Triad of the Unnamed God" is a matter of occasional association. He suggests that rather than designating a single specific deity, the formula "whose name is blessed for ever" was a cultic formula applied to various gods in various circumstances, Yarhibol in the Ephca dedication, Bel in the Sanctuary of Bel, and so forth.

His arguments do not seem watertight. The occurrence of dedications to the Unnamed God in the sanctuaries of deities other than Baalshamin is not surprising, given the well-attested Palmyrene practice of offering to one god in the precinct of another: see, for example, the list of other gods worshipped in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, Collart, Baalshamin I, pp.220-228; the idea that a god's sanctuary was exclusively his is anachronistic, borne of two thousand years of monotheistic religion - at Dura Europos it is sometimes impossible to establish which of the various gods worshipped in a sanctuary was the main one (see e.g. Ann Perkins, The Art of Dura Europos, Oxford at Clarendon, 1973, p.9). The Unnamed God is attested in the sanctuary of Baalshamin, see following Note. The cult may be attested before the dedication of Malé's little temple to Baalshamin, but hardly before the construction of the sanctuary, which goes back to the first century B.C.; Malé's temple was in any case only a subsidiary naos, replacing a first century aedicula, the main temple lying elsewhere (supra, Note 133). The argument that anonymity is inappropriate to Baalshamin at this time also seems anachronistic: the identity of the "Unnamed God" of Palmyra is hidden only from us - contemporary worshippers would have been in no doubt as to which deity was meant; moreover, strictly speaking, Baalshamin did not have a name at Palmyra - "Lord of the Heavens" is a title.

The problem of the "Triad of Baalshamin" is more vexatious. The restoration placing the Lintel of the Eagles in the main cult niche of the aedícula which preceded Malé's temple by Gawlikowski and Pietryzkowski, Syria 1980, pp.422-435, confirms that here indeed we have Baalshamin flanked by two acolytes, but the meaning of this is rendered unclear by the fact that, as they point out (p.448), exactly the same figures in exactly the same order are found in the north thalamus of the Temple of Bel. They suggest that the eagle represents an impersonal cosmic symbol for the vault of the heavens, rather than Baalshamin, in this case. Colledge, *op. cit.*, p.158, sees this cosmic eagle, with wings outstretched and head turned, as a more personal symbol, of either of the two great cosmic gods, Bel or Baalshamin. In this case, given the Palmyrene propensity for worshipping ancillary gods in the temples of others, this could still represent the "Triad of Baalshamin", though it seems more likely that it represents Bel with acolytes, thus proving the "Triad of Baalshamin" was not exclusively his. But other evidence mentioned by Colledge (*op. cit.*, p.231) tends against even this loophole: an altar dated ca. A.D. 100, dedicated to Malakbel, shows him borne aloft on the back of an eagle with wings spread, which supports the idea that the eagle was the embodiment of a more impersonal concept of the heavens, thus supporting the Gawlikowski-Pietryzkowski reading of the Lintel of the Eagles.

On the other hand, the remaining points in favour of Starcky's original case still seem to retain much of their force, in particular the fact that the title "Master of the World" is nowhere attested for any god other than Baalshamin and the Unnamed God - the dedication from the Sanctuary of Bel cited by Teixidor (Pagan God, p.123) which does not name the deity need not refer to Bel at all. There are also other cogent iconographical coincidences: Colledge, *op. cit.*, p.137, notes that the 'Divine Hand' symbolises both Baalshamin and the Unnamed God, and apparently no other deity (cf. e.g. also H. Seyrig, Syria 1939, p.116); Baalshamîn II, Pl. CIII.4). On balance, it seems that the older orthodox view on this question should be retained.

144a. Collart, Baalshamîn I, pp.212-3, properly attempting to correct the old view that worship of the Unnamed God entirely supplanted the basic cult of Baalshamin, argues (citing Seyrig) that the new temple was dedicated to Baalshamin rather than the Unnamed God, and that the cult of the Unnamed God was not part of the official worship of the Sanctuary, its centre lying elsewhere in the city, beyond the precinct of Baalshamin in which the cult persisted in its traditional form.

It seems likely that Collart, in attempting to redress the balance, has swung too far the other way. It is not in fact certain to which aspect of Baalshamin the temple of Malé Agrippa was dedicated. The existing inscription, which refers to the dedication of the statue of Malé, not of the temple itself, mentions only Baalshamin, Ζεύς, and Dourahloun, but with no distinctive epithet of the former; it is probably synoptic, presupposing a neighbouring inscription for the temple itself, but it is noteworthy that if it lacks the definitive ἐπίκοος of the Unnamed God, it equally lacks any epithet diagnostic of any other aspect of Baalshamin, such as the κεραυνός of a dedication from Tajjibe (Baalshamîn I, p.212, Starcky, Palmyre, pp.98-100).

In his zeal to show that the Unnamed God did not entirely supplant Baalshamin, but that both co-existed side by side, Collart seems to have exaggerated the degree of separation between the two. In order to sustain the hypothesis that the Unnamed God was not worshipped in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin it would be necessary to discount the dedication to the "Master of the World" "Zeus Hypsistos Epekoos", an altar found in front of the

temple and dated 115 (Starcky, *op. cit.*, Baalshamîn I, pp.26, 236) as belonging to a stage prior to the separation of the cults - and given that the temple itself was founded before 130/131, this allows little leeway - and dismiss two later dedications from the Sanctuary, one to "the Unnamed God" dated A.D. 207, possibly from the Grand Court (Baalshamîn I, pp.96, 97), the other, the latest dated pagan inscription from the Sanctuary, an altar dedicated by the Roman officer Avitus on the 25th September, 302, to Ζεὺς Ὑψίστος καὶ ἑπὶ ἄνομος (ibid., pp.93 cf. 97, pp.214, 236, 246), as belonging to a time when the decline of the cult meant that the schismatic elements were once more being viewed as part of the same whole. It would also be necessary to ignore the significance of the epithet ἑπὶ ἄνομος, which is almost invariably present in dedications to the Unnamed God, setting the keynote for this aspect, but also sometimes, though not always, appears in the parallel Greek texts of dedications to Baalshamin by name. There is no real dichotomy between Baalshamin and the Unnamed God: it is merely a matter of emphasis. Baalshamin might or might not be ἑπὶ ἄνομος, but he was always ἑπὶ ἄνομος in his aspect as the Unnamed God: the Unnamed God was the ἑπὶ ἄνομος aspect of Baalshamin. There was no real separation; all that was proper to Baalshamin might also be proper to the Unnamed God. The Unnamed God was merely an aspect of Baalshamin (although, from the point of view of a worshipper devoted to this aspect, perhaps Baalshamin was one aspect of the Unnamed God).

If the wording of the Malé Agrippa inscription is in fact in any way significant, then the total lack of epithets diagnostic of any one aspect of Baalshamin should imply that the temple was dedicated to Baalshamin in all his aspects, among them Zeus Hypsistos/the Unnamed God; Starcky (*op. cit.*) has argued that the word Ζεὺς, when used to designate the Unnamed God in parallel Greek texts, has reverted to being a common noun, "god", or as he puts it "Dieux", and a similar sort of generalization of meaning may be discerned here. Within this it seems reasonable to suppose, given that it was built at precisely the time when the ἑπὶ ἄνομος aspect of Baalshamin rose to prominence, that this aspect shows signs of the influence of religions further to the west, and that the construction of the temple similarly betrays the influence of western architecture in that it played a definitive role in the modification of the orientation of the Sanctuary towards the long-axis type, while the structure itself shows western influence in design and detail and almost certainly represents a radical breakaway from the à escaliers type, something which is in itself westernizing and moreover in turn implies an equally radical change in the ritual of the cult - given all this, it was the ἑπὶ ἄνομος aspect of Baalshamin which was uppermost in the mind of the builder and that it was through this aspect that the western influences penetrated the cult of Baalshamin as a whole.

145. See M.A. Note 527.

146. René Mouterde and A. Poidebard, "La Voie antique des Caravanes entre Palmyre et Hit au II^e siècle ap. J.C.", Syria XII, 1931, pp.101-115, ref. p.108.

147. Ibid., p.112.

148. Caravan Cities, p.144. The reconstruction and interpretation are also accepted by Starcky, Palmyre, pp.72-3.

149. Caravan Cities, pp.107-8.

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150. Starcky, Palmyre, p.39.

151. Ibid., p.74.

152. See M.A. p.26 and Note 72. Starcky also provides a more doubtful example: an inscription of A.D. 138 records that the Palmyrene notable Yarhibôlâ was sent as an ambassador to the Elamite king Worôd in Susa; Starcky conjectures that he was sent either by the 'senate' of Palmyra or by the Roman governor (Palmyre, p.74).

153. IGLS 4010. For the identification of Julius Quadratus see Rey-Coquais' notes ad loc.

154. Gerasa, p.433, Inscr. 167.

155. (Welles) Gerasa, p.397 Inscr. 49, pp.418-9, Inscr. 121.

156. Other examples of non-citizens engaged in marginally Romanizing activities include Hochmaea, a prophetess who recorded the fulfilment of a very Syrian vow of abstention to Hadara (Hadad) at Baalbek in the language of the colony, Latin (CIL III 13608 = 14384¹, IGLS 2928) - to balance, a centurion later gave her a bilingual Greek/Latin tombstone (IGLS 2929) - and Apollonius, also known as Apollinaris, son of Segna, of Arados, who dedicated an honorific column at Baalbek somewhere around A.D. 200 (IGLS 2729, cf. Rey-Coquais' notes ad loc.). In the former case the 'Romanization' is confined to the language of the inscription, and in the latter made uncertain because of the early example of the type discovered elsewhere in the town (see M.A. pp.150-174); in neither case is there any apparent contact with a Roman luminary. At Jerash at least, it seems to have been standard practice for priests of the imperial cult to have been non-citizens.

157. Lieberman, op. cit., pp.1-2 ff., cf. p.24.

158. Ibid., p. 16. When asked whether a Jew is allowed to teach his son Greek, he replied, "Let him teach him Greek at a time when it is neither day nor night, for it is written, 'Thou shalt meditate thereon (i.e. the Law) day and night'," which can be interpreted, as by Lieberman, as meaning "Greek education is forbidden inasmuch as it interferes with the study of the Law", if one wishes for such a reply, or as a straightforward prohibition, if one is seeking sanction for the opposite view. For a negative interpretation, see e.g. Rajak, Josephus, p.60.

159. Baalshamîn I, e.g. pp.12, 53, 66, 67, 96, 147.

160. Ibid., p.186.

161. Ibid., pp.145 ff.

162. Starcky, Palmyre, p.75.

163. Ibid., pp.74-5.

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- 163a. Rey-Coquais, AAS 1973, especially pp.41, 46.
164. Gerasa, pp.401-2, Inscr. 58.
165. Ibid., p.51.
166. In the case of Athens, Theseus. The inscription from the 'Arch' gives Jerash its aetiologistic title of ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων πρὸς τῷ τῶν Χρυσορρόφ τῶν πρότερον Γερασηνῶν, so that the most likely equivalent in the hypothetical inscription from the South Gate would be either one of the prominent Seleucids, or Alexander, the founder of the city according to a late tradition (see Kraeling, Gerasa, pp.28-9).
167. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.50.
168. A.H. Detweiler, ibid., p.81 and Pl. VIII.
169. Kraeling, ibid., p.50.
170. Detweiler, ibid., p.82.
171. Kraeling, ibid., p.50.
172. Ibid., pp.52-4.
173. Amy, Syria 1950, p.107 and p.108, fig. 22.
174. Fisher, Gerasa, p.135.
175. Ibid., p.128.
176. Ibid., p.135.
177. Fisher, ibid., states that the diameter of the columns varied from 1.48 to 1.50 m., and gives the distance from centre to centre (apart from the middle of the façade, where a wider space was left, cf. Vitruvius III.III.7) as 3.73 m. Vitruvius' intercolumniation is, however, apparently actual space between the columns - cf. the reconstructed diagrams in the Hicky Morgan edition, pp.79,81 in the Dover paperback version, with some confirmation from the text itself, in that one of Vitruvius' objections to the pycnostyle and systyle types of temple is that the matrons could not pass between the columns on ceremonial occasions with their arms about each other (III.III.3), an indication, perhaps, that he was thinking in terms of usable space (although the passageway would of course be narrowed by a reduction in the intercolumniation, wherever it is measured from). For the actual interstices, the width of a column (i.e. two half diameters) must be subtracted from Fisher's figure. Taking the two extremes for the column diameter, this gives an intercolumniation of 1.89 m., i.e. 1.277027 x the column diameter for a diameter of 1.48 m., and 1.87 m., i.e. 1.2466666 x the diameter for 1.50 m. It seems clear that an intercolumniation of 1.25 d. was intended.

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178. Vitruvius, III.III.2: "the pycnostyle is a temple in an inter-columniation of which the thickness of a column and a half can be inserted".
179. III.III.3.
180. See Albright, ArchPalaest., p.171 fig. 56, cf. Gerasa, Plan I, the general plan of the site. The sanctuary was still largely unexcavated when Gerasa was published, and no separate plan of the entire complex was included.
181. Kraeling, Gerasa, pp.52-3 and n.120; (Welles,) ibid., pp.402-3, Inscr. 60.
182. Fisher, Gerasa, pp.126-131.
183. Baalbek I, Taf. 14, reproduced in its essentials, Robertson, Handbook, p.223, fig. 95.
184. Gerasa, pp.134-5.
185. See Baalbek I, S. 110.
186. Gerasa, p.131.
187. Ibid., p.129. For the corner towers in the façade of the Sanctuary, cf. Seyrig's interpretation of some of the coins of Capitolias issued under Marcus Aurelius, which depict the Sanctuary of Zeus in that city, infra, Ch.IV, pp.216-7, and also, of course, the Propylaea at Baalbek (see the reconstruction, Baalbek I, Taf. 41, corroborated by coin portraits, Th. Wiegand, ed., Baalbek, der Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1896 bis 1905, Vol. II, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin & Leipzig, 1923 (Baalbek II), S.148).
188. Fisher, Gerasa, pp.125-9.
189. Cf. Baalbek I, e.g. Taf. 26, 27, 83.
190. IGLS VI, p.38.
191. M.A. Note 551.
192. For Jerash, see Fisher, Gerasa, p.134.
193. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.53.
194. Ibid., and p.105.
195. Ibid., p.105.

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196. Ibid., p.104 and Pl.XVIII, b,c.
197. E.g. Baalshamfn II, Pl.LXXXIII.6
198. Gerasa, pp.104-5.
199. Fisher, Gerasa, pp.155-6.
200. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.47.
201. Detweiler, Gerasa, pp.119, 120-1, and Pl.XXIII c.
202. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.47 and n.97; (Welles) ibid., p.401 Inscr. 56/7.
203. Gerasa, Inscr. 83-104, pp.411-414.
204. Ibid., p.404, Inscr.62.
205. Ibid., p.498.
206. Ibid., p.51 and n.117, cf. (Welles) pp.447-8, Inscr. 202-4, pp.449-50, Inscr. 210.
207. Kraeling, ibid., p.49 and n.103, cf. (Welles), pp.390-1, Inscr. 30, p.435, Inscr. 171.
208. Kraeling, ibid., p.49 and n.104, cf. (Welles) p.425, Inscr.144. The dedicant, whose cognomen began with ΔΗ, restored by Kraeling as Flavius Flaccus Demetrius (ibid., p.51), held the office of agonothete, continuing the history of this family in the best 'Ramsay' tradition.
209. Supra, Ch.II, Note 166.
210. It should be pointed out, however, that all the evidence for imperial participation comes from Malalas: it is not impossible therefore that it is a matter of post hoc adjustment by that patriotic author in accordance with his own sense of propriety - it seemed fitting that this famous monument should be the work of no lesser mortals.
211. Antioch V, p.133, quoting, in translation, Malalas 280.

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212. Cf. M.A. p.130.

213. The predominance of the nickname "Caracalla" or "Caracallus", though based on ancient usage, is to a great extent modern. Cassius Dio, when not employing some more pejorative epithet, refers to him most frequently as Antoninus; the presumption would therefore be that this was the name by which he was commonly known in his lifetime.

214. CIL III, No.203. Another possibility would be a caravan station, like that of Amad, if the column were freestanding, serving as a landmark for travellers. If the column were part of a building the possibilities multiply; Mommsen gives no further details. I am unable to locate this site exactly, and so rule out the possibility that it was actually Khirbet el-Bila'as, where a series of Roman governors established and re-established the boundary between the territory of the Abditerans and that of the Palmyrenes, one such being Pontius Laelianus, in Dec. A.D. 153, and where there was also an associated honorific column (Daniel Schlumberger, "Bornes frontières de la Palmyrène", Syria XX, 1939, pp.42-73, especially pp.47-52 and figs. 3-4, for the column, and pp.61-3 for Pontius Laelianus). It is unlikely, however, that CIL III 203 came from the honorific column, if the site is indeed the same, since Schlumberger states that it is a dedication to Trajan and his father, which would have been precluded by the extant text.

215. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.38, Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.421, cf. Ed. Wiegand, J.d.a.I 1914, S.42.

216. See Baalbek I, Taf. 16, and the ground-plan, Taf.17 = Robertson, Handbook, p.223, fig.95, cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.418, fig.156 (where it is reconstructed without a separate temenos).

217. Greek 280, not apparently in the Slavonic, see Spinka and Downey p.71. See also the modern scholars cited infra, Note 220.

218. J.d.a.I. 1914, especially S. 39 sqq.

219. Collart, Mus. Helv. 1951, p.244.

220. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.417-8 and p.574 n.12. For the dating of the 'Temple of Bacchus', see Ed. Wiegand, loc. cit., S. (42,) 57 sqq., especially 61, cf. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.38, Collart, loc. cit., pp.42, 56 (who cites Baalbek II S.86) and Ward-Perkins, op. cit.

221. Infra, Ch. IV, Note 77.

222. See M.A. Note 551.

223. Amy, Syria 1950, p.114.

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224. See Price and Trell, op. cit., p.160 and fig. 281. The coin portrait makes it clear that there were no lateral towers, although the question of the roof seems more open. The details are sketchy but appear not dissimilar to those of the roof of the Temple of Jupiter shown beside it. However, the photograph also leaves much to be desired and in the text Price and Trell accept that it had a terraced roof.

225. Amy, loc. cit., pp.115-6.

226. In addition to the Temple of Venus at Aelia, round temples forming a separate type which also persisted.

227. Op. cit., p.417.

228. Ibid., p.574 and n.11.

229. With the situation at Palmyra in mind, it might be speculated that a comparable, but not completely analogous, change occurred in the cult here. At Palmyra it was a matter of the rise to pre-eminence of one aspect of a prominent, but not supreme, deity; here it seems to have been a shift in emphasis within the cult, from Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus to the minor male deity of the triad (or perhaps again to a particular aspect of that deity), the Young God by whatever name, who was now given a temple in his own right.

For there seems little reason to dispute Seyrig's identification of the deity concerned as Mercury-Bacchus (see Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.43), Mercury being the established syncretization of the younger male deity who was a regular member of the Heliopolitan triad (see Baalbek II, S. (112,) (113,) 116, 117, 118, 120-121 and Abb.3, cf. IGLS VI, Nos.2711 ff., Baalbek II S.122; Baalbek II, S. 124, cf. IGLS VI, pp.43-4, for the identification of the vestigial temple on Seih Abdallah with the cult of Mercury, which might tend against the identification of the 'Temple of Bacchus' as that of Bacchus-Mercury, so removing the link with the Heliopolitan triad). The minor incongruity of the double syncretization pales before concoctions such as Zeus-Helios-Sarapis and Zeus-Poseidon, attested at Jerash (Kraeling, Gerasa, p.56, cf. (Welles,) ibid., pp.382-3, Inscrs. 15,16, p.392 Inscr. 39); syncretization in Syria was seldom exact, and almost any casual resemblance in any aspect or attribute was enough to justify nominal, and multiple, identification. The dedication of the temple to the vegetation god, for whom the syncretization with Bacchus or Dionysos is more meaningful than most, seems in any case assured, regardless of whether he was seen as an aspect of the minor male deity of the triad or not, not only by the scenes depicting the god's childhood included in the frieze (Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI p.43), but also in the emphasis on the vegetation-fertility aspect in the non-narrative figured decoration, for example the vine-leaf scroll where the figures of a lion and a bull emerge from the centre of the flowers, replacing the stamens and/or pistils (Baalbek II, S.22, Abb.36), the lower body either concealed by, or, more probably (see the lion) formed by the rest of the flower, and the very puzzling 'leaf-men' from the north wall of the cella, where the faces are actually formed by the foliage, so that they are simultaneously plant and man, ibid., S.16, Abb. 38, Taf.38-9, cf. S. 15.

If the observations about the 'Pantheon' aspect are well-founded, then the shift in emphasis in the cult at Baalbek does bear a general resemblance to the change at Palmyra, in that it represents a turning away from the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, which, despite syncretization and the currency it achieved elsewhere in the empire, was still an essentially parochial cult devoted to the tutelary deity of a particular district, towards a religion which held more universal appeal: the young vegetation god, often the consort of the Great Goddess, was worshipped throughout the East under one name or another, and, as such, was more suitable for the central role in a pan-Eastern religion. This is akin to the democratization of the cult of Baalshamin at Palmyra, the stress on the humane, compassionate aspects of the god: both changes represent the growth of cults with more universal appeal, and less hieratic elitism, than their predecessors.

230. Op. cit., p.434, cf. M.A. pp.23-4 and Note 35. Ward-Perkins cites no references for his date of A.D. 149; the more widely cited date is A.D. 245, see e.g. René Dussaud, Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale, Librairie Paule Geuthner, Paris, 1927, p.300 n.4; Pierre Roussel and F. de Visscher, "Inscriptions du temple de Dmeir", Syria XXIII, 1942/3, pp.173-200, Pls. IX-X, ref. pp.173-6. Roussel and de Visscher note that this date refers to the completion of the temple, but the "Cognitio Caracallae de Gohariensis" inscription, referring to events in A.D. 216, carved on both the podium and the anta of the temple, suggests that construction was underway at around that time, the podium complete not long after 216, when the first inscription was cut, with the antae not too long after that, when the second version was cut in this more prominent position within the temple.

231. Infra, Ch.IV, pp.215-250 and Notes 126 ff.

232. Palmyrena, p.142.

233. For which ibid., pp.142-3, cf. p.90. The ruins are quite substantial, over 1 km. in diameter, including the camp.

234. Baalshamîn II, Pl. LXXXV.3.

235. E.g. Baalbek II, Taf.33

236. Gerasa, Pl. XXVIII b.

237. See below, Ch. IV, Note 77, for a further discussion of this peculiarity of Baalbek.

238. Schlumberger, Syria 1933, p.293, cf. Collart and Vicari, Baalshamîn I, p.140 on the variation in the treatment of the stem (tige) between the different sub-groups, p.141 for the distinction between these sub-groups as a function of different work-gangs, or workshops, (équipes) rather than chronology, pp.139-142 for the South Court capitals generally.

239. Baalshamîn I, p.140.

240. See Baalshamîn II, Pl. LXXXIV.1-4.

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241. This is clearly visible in a ca. 7½" by 5½" enlargement of Musil's photograph, which is, in other respects, unsatisfactory, and so not reproduced in my Plate I b.
242. Baalshamfn I, p.141, cf. p.139.
243. Ibid., p.140.
244. The main criterion for the major division of the capitals into Groups A and B is the treatment of the acanthi, supported by the overall treatment, those capitals assigned to Group A consistently displaying deeper boring and more emphasis on the interplay of light and shadow (Baalshamfn I, p.140, cf. p.139). However, another constant criterion cuts across this: in Groups A₁ and B₁ the grooved stem of the calices is clearly visible below the conventionalized roll at the top, while in Groups A₂ and B₂ it is 'hidden' behind the foliage. It is therefore possible that priority has been given to the wrong criterion, and that the major division should be based on the treatment of the tige. In which case, Group B₁ should be associated with Group A₁ rather than Group B₂. The correlation with the overall quality of the relief should perhaps tip the scale in favour of the scheme as outlined by the excavators; the existing evidence does not allow the question to be settled beyond doubt. What does seem beyond dispute is the essential unity of all the South Court capitals within the capitals of the Baalshamin Sanctuary and of Palmyra as a whole, see Baalshamfn I, pp.139, 141.
245. See Kenyon, Digging up Jerusalem, pp.254-5, for the abandonment of the previous southern extension of the city (Site K).
246. Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, p.69 and n.338.
247. Maurice Dunand, "La Strata Diocletiana", Révue Biblique XL, 1931, pp.227-248, 419-434, 579-584, ref. p.238; cf. Honigmann, PW 4A2, 1679-80.
248. Trace de Rome, p.49.
249. Ptolemy, Geogr. V.15.20 (Nobbe's edition), "Αὐερία (ἢ Αὐερρα)". On the identity of the names see Musil, Palmyrena, p.233. Because of his mislocation of the Strata Diocletiana he wrongly located Aueria at Howareen (ibid., p.235), but this does not affect his philological arguments.
250. Daniel Schlumberger, La Palmyrène du nord-ouest, Librairie Orientaliste Paule Geuthner, Paris, 1951 (hereafter Palmyrène du N.-O.), pp.48, 86-8.
251. Cf. e.g. I.A. Richmond, Roman Britain, Pelican, Great Britain, pp.82-4 on the vici in Britain; Th. Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire (University of Chicago Press, 1968), p.176, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1909) Vol. I, p. 168, on the canabae in Germany.
252. See Wheeler, op. cit., pp.76-7, 80, 82, on the doubtful position of Caerwent in this respect.

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253. For Mankūra generally, Musil, Palmyrena, p.31 and n.5, p.33 and fig.4; Poidebard, Trace de Rome, pp.82-4, Pls. XX-XXII, XXIII-XXV. For the "military village", Poidebard, op. cit., pp.45-6; for the water storage system and the fort's relationship to it, ibid., pp.182-4, cf. Musil, op. cit., p.31 and pp.32,33, figs. 3 and 4. For the identification, Dunand, loc. cit., pp.238 ff., 583 ff., cf. Poidebard, op. cit., p.50. For Hallābat, Musil, op. cit., pp.91-3, p.92 fig. 25; for its identification, Dunand, loc. cit., pp.238 ff., cf. Poidebard, op. cit., p.49. Musil (op. cit., p.91) reports that old graves, dams and garden walls are frequent in its vicinity, but since he also (p.93) notes signs that the fort was altered for re-use by civilians after the military had departed, both the contemporaneity of the agricultural settlement and the causal relationship seem in doubt.

254. BMC Emp. III, pp.clxxiii-clxxiv.

255. Henderson, op. cit., p.178.

256. Apart from the instances cited in the previous chapter (Ch.II., pp.84, 87, Notes 147, 151), the 'Arch of Hadrian' and the North Gate, there is also the possibility of the misalignment of the tetrakonia in the South Tetrapylon (Kraeling, Gerasa, p.105 but cf. n.8), the awkward transition between the Corinthian Gate to the oval 'forum' itself (Fisher, ibid., pp.155-6) and possibly the difference in the height of the columns of the pronaos of the Temple of Artemis (ibid., pp.135-6), although Fisher doubts whether this last is actually a mistake.

257. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.85-6, S85 Abb. 7.

258. For the dartless leaf-and-dart in the cella of the 'Temple of Bacchus', Baalbek II, Taf. 56, bottom right. It also appears on the abacus of Type 1 capitals from the Temple of Jupiter, Baalbek I, S.74, Abb.46 and Taf. 65, cf. Lyttelton, op. cit., pp.89-90 and Pl. 100.

This motif shows a marked devolution throughout Classical antiquity. In the original Greek form the elements are clearly articulated, the leaf at first clipeate and almost straight-sided, see, for example, the Siphnian Treasury frieze (e.g. Spyros Meletzis and Helen Papadakis, Delphi. Sanctuary and Museum, Schnell & Steiner, Munich and Zurich, 3rd edition, 1966, Pls. 32-3, 39, 42-3, 51, 52-3; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, Greek Sculpture, transl. Michael Bullock, revised edition, Thames & Hudson, London, 1960, Pls. 50-51). By the fifth century B.C., the side of the leaf had developed the recurve which leaves the characteristic campanulate shape between the leaves, see, for example, the specimen from the Erechtheum illustrated by Robertson, Handbook, p.38 fig.16.

As time went on, this campanulate space between the leaves grew in importance at the expense of the leaves themselves, which gradually became a meaningless collection of lines whose significance had been lost, particularly in the Roman period, see, for example, the cyma reversa of the Forum Julium (Nash, op. cit., Vol. I, Pls. 523,524) or the famous Brescia sarcophagus (e.g. (Harrison,) AJA LXXVI, 1972, Pl.77). The process had already begun in the Hellenistic period: see the leaf-and -dart used as an abacus ornament on an Ionic capital from Xanthus-Letoon (Machteld Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor: Addenda", AJA LXX, 1966, pp.279-282, ref. p.281 for the date and Pl. 76 fig. 6) where the shift in emphasis to the space between the leaves is already apparent, and the degeneration of

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the leaf itself, now truncated and reduced to an intermediate stage between this and the leaf-Erechtheum is represented by the version found on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, (Fyfe, *op. cit.*, fig. 11) in which the leaf is still recognisable as such, although the outermost groove of its outline has already merged with the outline of the dart. The process was uneven, with some sites retaining older forms at a much later date than others; as far as absolute chronology is concerned, one can say only that an example in which the emphasis is entirely on the space between the leaves, and where the leaf itself is thoroughly devolved and has lost its significance completely, is likely to belong to the Roman period.



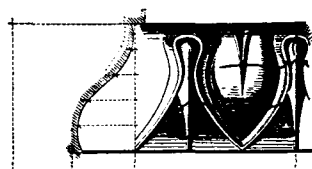
DELPHI, Siphnian Treasury Frieze.
(From Meletzis and Papadakis, Pl. 42-3).



BAALBEK, Altar Court.
(From Baalbek I, Taf. 55).



ROME, Temple of Concord.
(From Robertson, Handbook, Pl. XII a.)



ATHENS, Erechtheum.
(From Robertson, Handbook, P. 36 Fig. 16).



BAALBEK 'Temple of Bacchus',
North Cella Wall.
(From Baalbek II, Taf. 56.)



APHRODISIAS,
Baths of Hadrian.
(From AJA 1967, Pl. 65, Fig. 4)



HALICARNASSUS, Mausoleum.
(From Fyfe, Hellenistic Architecture Fig. 11).



BAALBEK, Temple of Jupiter,
(From Baalbek I, S. 63, Abb. 34.)



PALMYRA, Temple of Bel.
(From Wood, Palmyra, Tab. VIII.)



XANTHUS-LETOON
From Ionic Capital,
(From AJA 1966 Pl. 76 Fig. 6).



BAALBEK, 'Temple of Bacchus', Great
Door. Reconstructed from Baalbek II,
S. 13, Abb. 21 Taf 50, 51-2, (Abb. 21
is an inaccurate drawing of a particularly
inept section of the moulding shown in
Taf. 50, which is therefore not entirely
representative.)



PALMYRA, Sanctuary of Baalshamin.
(From Baalshamin II, Pl. LXXVI.4)

At Baalbek, with its strong Hellenistic architectural elements, a far more pristine form even than that from Xanthus-Letoon, or for that matter contemporary buildings at Rome, coexisted with more devolved varieties, occurring in the Altar Court, Baalbek I, Taf. 55, which appears

to be part of the Great Altar studied by the Swiss expedition, confirmed by an identical specimen found effectively in situ, in a door-frame in the west wall of the Altar Court, ibid., Taf. 86. But the multiplicity of workshops at the site is reflected in the multifarious forms which this ornament takes. In the Temple of Jupiter (ibid., S.63, Abb. 34, reconstruction) a different type appears, idiosyncratic, but closer to the Xanthus-Letoon version in that there is the same distortion of the shape of the leaf, with the median line heavily marked, dividing the shape into two distinct halves, a very prominent broad dart, which itself tends towards leaf, or tongue, shape, and the emphasis equally divided between the leaves and the space between the leaves. The leaf itself is truncated, so that the function of the outline to either sided is no longer clear. A similar leaf-and-dart appears in the west side of the south exedra of the cryptoporticus (cf. ibid., Taf. 43, reconstruction), while a slightly more devolved version is found in the façade of one of the porticoes of the Altar Court (ibid., Taf. 25, reconstruction, Taf. 80, photograph). The photograph indicates that the two halves of the erstwhile leaf are now more deeply divided, and set further apart. Several different types of leaf-and-dart were used in the 'Temple of Bacchus' (see, for example, the previously mentioned dartless leaf-and-dart from the N. cella wall, in which the shape of the leaf is much closer to the older Greek specimens, or to the first-mentioned specimen from the Altar Court), but one, described as the "übliche" type (Baalbek II, S.13) clearly corresponds to the type from the Temple of Jupiter, the cryptoporticus and parts of the Altar Court already discussed (see ibid., Taf. 50-54), and is presumably a product of the same school. Nevertheless, the change with time is perceptible. The leaf has now disappeared entirely, the two halves of its bifurcate median line have become narrow, wedge-shaped uprights, and the two sides of the outline of the leaf are now entirely disassociated, and merge with the corresponding portion of the leaf on the other side of the dart to form the bell-shaped frame. The emphasis is now clearly on the space between the leaves, and the dart, which takes the same form as that in the Temple of Jupiter. Even at Baalbek, when an obvious attempt is being made to reproduce the forms of older buildings, the influence of the external world is still detectable.

At Baalbek, however, save for the aberrant examples noted, which seem to have been modelled on older forms again and emphasise the leaf, the dart is retained, increasing in importance, a situation reflected in the rest of the province, in essence, if not in superficial appearance, by the evolution of more elaborate designs in place of the dart. For example, a flower, a bunch of grapes or some such complex ornament appears in place of the dart in the commonest form at Palmyra (Wood, Palmyra, Tab. VIII, from the door of the court of the Temple of Bel, cf. Tab. XV, XLVIII (the latter "Diocletianic")), something found elsewhere in the Roman world, in the Temple of Concord at Rome (Robertson, Handbook, Pl. XXI a), even earlier there in the Forum Julium (Nash, op. cit., Vol. I, Pls. 523, 524) (perhaps the ultimate model for Rome and Palmyra), or in Asia Minor, in the Baths of Hadrian at Aphrodisias (Kenan T. Erim, "De Aphrodisiade", AJA LXXI, 1967, pp.233-243, ref. Pl.65 fig.4). In the case of the Palmyrene examples, the meaning of the leaf shape has so far been lost, and the remaining halves of the outline so firmly welded to the adjacent halves of neighbouring leaves to form the bell-shaped frame for the dart area, that a filling ornament now begins to be supplied for the 'vacant' space between the campanulate units, that is to say, the erstwhile vine-leaf area; ironically, it takes the form of a small trefoil leaf. The same seems true to a certain extent in the Temple of Concord, where the bifurcate median line of the old vine-leaf has mutated into a bifurcate plant; the lines in question are not clear in the photograph of the Aphrodisias example, which, perhaps unfinished, is in bas-relief, with only the campanulate frames

deeply cut; the V-shaped figure in the 'field' may be some vestige of the old median line, or it, too, may have evolved into something else. Interestingly, a kind of composite version appears at Palmyra, in a very crude, possibly unfinished example from the lintel of a door in the Sanctuary of Baalshamin (Baalshamîn II, Pl. LXXVI.4), in which there is also an indeterminate bifurcate ornament in the position of the old median line, and the leaf as such has entirely disappeared in favour of the campanulate frame, but in which the dart takes the same form as the commonest type at Baalbek.

Again, in all cases, this serves to demonstrate the shift in importance to the space between the leaves at the expense of the leaves themselves, and the degree to which the architects of various parts of Syria felt the impact of the external world and the growing internal uniformity of architectural thought this helped impose on the area. In the Aelia example, the miniature scale may have deterred the artisan from attempting some similar ornament in the area of the dart (a first-class craftsman would, of course, have had no difficulty).

(The foregoing observations may have been made previously, unknown to me, perhaps in C. Weickert, Das Lesbische Kymation, Leipzig, 1913. This much cited definitive study of the cyma reversa moulding and its ornamentation has, however, proved totally unprocurable. I must also confess to having been defeated by the German in the relevant section of Ed. Wiegand's J.d.a.I. 1914 article. The general outline of the development, however, seems clear and indisputable.)

259. Baalbek I, Taf. 41.

260. Baalbek II, Taf. 62.

261. Ibid., Taf. 8.

262. Baalbek I, Taf. 4,5.

263. See e.g. ibid., Taf. 15, 26, 27, 43, 73, 83, 86, 94, 133. Cf. infra, Ch.IV, Note 36.

264. Baalbek I, Taf. 27, 83.

265. Baalbek II, Taf. 56, cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl.220.

266. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 209.

267. Ibid., Pl. 226; Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, Pl. XIV.1, Gerasa, Pls. XXIV b, XXV a.

268. Ugo Enrico Paoli, Rome, its People Life and Customs, transl. R.D. McNaughton, Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., London, 3rd impression, 1967, Pl. 14; Sear, op. cit., Pl. 20,1. Sear, ibid., p.192, dates it to the mid first century A.D.

269. One thinks especially of Hadrianic buildings such as the Canopus in the Villa at Tivoli (e.g. Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 136, Wheeler, op. cit., p.140 Ill. 123) or even of the manner in which the arched

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apse breaks into the lower architrave inside the Pantheon (e.g. ibid., p. 103 III. 81, Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pls. 132-3)

270. See above, Note 258.
271. CIL III 116 = 6639. See Mommsen's notes ad No. 116 on augur.
272. AJA 1970, p.190.
273. Idem, AJA 1967, p.392.
274. Ibid., Pl. 109, figs. 2,3 (the former dated to the reign of Macrinus).
275. See M.A. pp.146-7.
276. Supra, Ch. II, pp.78-80.
277. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.35.
278. See Egbert, op. cit., p.132.
279. The Salus Publica/Salus Generis Humani type in which the allegory stands with one foot on a globe, holding a patera and rudder, BMC Emp. III, p. clxv.
280. Palmyre, p.23.
281. Ibid., p.21.
282. Ibid., p.23.
283. E.g. Gerasa, Inscrs. 62, 183; IGLS 4016 from Arados; ibid., 4034. The editors supply "(ἐκατοντάρχης)". It is in fact an obvious abbreviation for ἐκατοντάρχης, 'P', the numeral for 100, with 'χ', the key sound in -άρχης.
284. E.g. Gerasa Inscr. 42, IGLS 4015 from Arados; the example from Jerash actually reads "ἐκατοντάρχης".
285. Welles, Gerasa, p.452, ad Inscr. 219.
286. Gerasa, Inscr. 52.
287. Gerasa, Inscr. 102.
288. Palmyre, p.42. Cf. infra, Ch. IV, pp. 233-234.

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289. Milik, Wilderness, p.138, quotes an Aramaic deed of sale drawn up towards the end of the Second Revolt, where the price is specified as "a sum amounting to eight denarii, equal to two tetradrachms", that is to say, the lesser known currency is explained in terms of its better known equivalent. Josephus (e.g. AJ IX.233, cf. Marcus, Loeb Vol.VI, p.123, n. e) sometimes uses drachmae in pre-Roman contexts in lieu of shekels, in some instances anachronistically, in others not necessarily so. The Tyrian shekel survived as a basic standard alongside the other denominations, presumably partially for religious reasons, since it was the currency stipulated for payment not only of the Temple tax (one half shekel) but also for the redemption of the first-born (five shekels) (e.g. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, p.32). Lieberman (op. cit., p.5) quotes an homily of Rabbi Jonah (fl. mid fourth century) which refers to the gross devaluation of the "denar", but the precise word does not seem to occur in the text, being supplied in the translation. While this supplementation may be justified, in the present context, where the object is to prove rather than assume Romanization, this is hardly adequate. Part of the difficulty lies in the loose usage of the names of coins, particularly denarii and drachmae, which were of roughly equal value, seemingly both in ancient and in modern writers (see following Note).

290. The editor, PEQ St. 101, Jan.-Jun. 1969, "Notes and News", p.2, states that in the Nabataean cemetery at Kurnub in the Negev region some of the dead had coins in their mouths, all drachmae of Trajan. If so, it may still be a special instance, the use of the Greek coin to coincide with the Greek custom, although the traditional fare was an obol. However, the excavator, A. Negev, in the same issue, p.9, calls the coins denarii.

291. Welles, Gerasa, pp.374-5, Inscr. 3, probably mid first century A.D.

292. E.g. ibid., p.309, Inscr. 52.

293. Starcky, Palmyre, pp.81-2.

294. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.36.

295. E.g. Berytus, Sidon, ibid.; Arados used an era starting in 200/201 B.C., also employed at Baetocece, Sahfn, and possibly Qalat Yahmour, idem, IGLS VII, pp.22-3; Gaza used an era which started in the governorship of Gabinius (Bammel, JJS 1961, p.160); Capitolias began its era in A.D. 97/8 (Bietenhard, ZDPV 1963, p.26 n.7, cf. Seyrig, Syria 1959, pp.66-7 and p.66 n.6); Jerash used an era commencing in 63 B.C., in the time of Pompey (Welles, Gerasa, p.358) though (probably coincidentally) dating by tribunician power occurs in Inscr. 58 (from the 'Triumphal Arch' which is also dated by the Gerasene era), and possibly in Inscr. 69, though this may be interpreted as dated by Commodus' regnal year, while a good many inscriptions similarly include the phrase ἐπὶ....., the name of the incumbent governor of Arabia, e.g. Nos. 63,64; Antioch adopted first the Pompeian era, then the Caesarian, in rapid succession, on its coins (Downey, HistAnt., pp.149, 153).

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296. For the general use of the Seleucid era, see Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.36. In IGLS VII, pp.23-4, he lists as the towns in the Arados region which possibly follow this practice Abnumrah, Halat, Joreikhat, Tell Sarîn and Yahmour, though it is not completely certain that this rather than the era of Arados was employed. It was in fact normal usage at Palmyra (e.g. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.33, Wood, Palmyra, p.17). For the possibility that the Seleucid calendar was introduced into Judaea by the Maccabaeans, in the face of opposition from stricter religious groups such as the Essenes, Milik, op. cit., pp.110-111.

297. W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecae, Vol. II, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim, New York, 1970, pp.312-3, No.616.

298. Supra, Ch.II, pp. 72-3.

299. Starcky, Palmyre, p.116.

300. Baalshamîn V, S.125.

301. Ibid., S.126 sqq.

302. Archaeologia 1964, p.37.

303. Amy and Seyrig, Syria 1936, pp.229 ff. For dates, pp.258-60.

304. Archaeologia 1964, p.37.

305. Ibid., p.34.

306. Idem, Palmyre, p.124.

307. Ibid., p.121 f.

308. Idem, Archaeologia 1964, p.37.

309. Ibid.

310. Idem, Palmyre, p.121.

311. Ibid.

312. Amy and Seyrig, loc. cit., pp.229,256, 258, 260 for dates.

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313. Cf. supra, Ch.I, p. 47.
314. Starcky, Palmyre, p.121.
315. Idem, Archaeologia 1964, p.37.
316. Idem, Palmyre, pp.118-120.
317. Wood, Palmyra, p.17.
318. Ibid., Tab. LVA, LVI, LVII.
319. Ibid., Tab. LVA.
320. E.g. Baalbek II, Taf. 41-8.
321. Robertson, Handbook, Pl. XII a.
322. Wood, op. cit., Tab. VIII.
323. Ibid., Tab. X. For other examples of coffering at Palmyra, ibid., Tab. XIII, XIX (also from the Sanctuary of Bel), XXXII, XXXIV, XXXVI, XLI, XLII (from a 'temple-tomb').
324. Ibid., Tab. XLI C. In the list of plates, however, the provenance of this particular drawing is not explicitly given - the preceding and succeeding drawings are of the 'temple-tomb'.
325. Ibid., Tab. LVI, LVII.
326. Syria 1933, p.293.
327. Op. cit., p.17.
328. Wood strenuously asserts that the Greek inscription from the architrave (his Inscr. I, cf. p.26) bears the date ΔΙΤ, 314 of the Seleucid era, i.e. A.D. 3; apparently there was a certain amount of contention at the time over the use of the letter, C, ω, and Ε for Σ, Ω, and Ε, which the contemporary authorities held to be no earlier than the reign of Domitian, thus casting doubt on an earlier date here, and in view of this, Wood affirms, they took particular care in reading the date, which was clearly legible. However, more modern scholars unanimously date the tomb to A.D.

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83 (e.g. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.37). The date should therefore read: ΔΙΙΤ.

329. Loc. cit.

330. See M.A. Appendix.

331. Vitruvius, V.I.7, in laying down the specifications for a basilica, states that the two middle internal columns on the long side opposite the forum are omitted, so as not to obstruct the view of the pronaos of the "templum" of Augustus, which is built at the middle of the side wall of the basilica, facing the forum and the temple of Jupiter.

332. Supra, Note 214.

333. Palmyra, pp.25-6, 27, Inscr. III.

334. Seyrig, Syria 1937, p.5.

335. JRS 1950, pp.2-3, 4-7.

336. Seyrig, Syria 1937, pp.18-20.

337. Ibid., pp.5-6, n.9.

338. JRS 1950, p.2.

339. Syria 1937, p.5.

340. See e.g. Palmyre, Pl. XIII.1, for a dubious example. For two examples from around A.D. 200, Colledge, op. cit., Pls. 127-8, cf. pp.91, 146, 147. Both are honorific. One (Pl.127) has a Palmyrene priest's cap beside him, and so is presumably a local man; the other need not be.

341. Palmyre, p.126. But contrast his assertions ibid., p.47.

342. Syria 1937, pp.17-18. Colledge, op. cit., p.217, doubtfully suggests that the stripe on the tunic of both men and women may have been inspired by the Roman clavus, but see ibid., p.233, for evidence which tends against this.

343. Syria 1937, pp.18-19.

344. Starcky, Palmyre, p.125, cf. Collart and Vicari, Baalshamîn I, p. 175, Colledge, op. cit., p.31, and supra, Ch. I, Note 338. For the specifically second and third century Roman input, the 'up-dating' of the Hellenistic cuirass to accord with the contemporary Roman mode in the second century and the rare appearance of the Roman mailed corselet in the third, Colledge, op. cit., p.147. Cf. also ibid., p.153, for the similarly 'Romanized' Hellenistic sword.

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345. Seyrig, Syria 1937, p.21.
346. G.M. Crowfoot, Disc. Jud. Des. I, p.26.
347. Seyrig, Syria 1937, pp.20-21, cf. Crowfoot, loc. cit.
348. Seyrig, loc. cit., and p.21 fig. 12.
349. Colledge, op. cit. For the jewellery, p. 151 - he also notes a change in the bracelet favoured to the hoop type in the early third century (p.152). For the seal rings, pp.54, 56: he also notes the occurrence of Egyptian scarab designs; as with the necklaces, it seems a matter of an introduced foreign concept which had to be served by foreign forms, Roman and otherwise. For the "melon" coiffure, p.143. On the use of the drill, p.118.
350. Starcky, Palmyre, p.124.
351. See Starcky, ibid., pp.121-5, Seyrig, JRS 1950, pp.3-4.
352. Seyrig, loc. cit., p.5.
353. Ibid., pp.4-5.
354. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.456-7; Bounni, Archaeologia 1964, pp.48-9.
355. H. Ingholt, "Quatre bustes Palmyréniens", Syria XI, 1930, pp.242-4, Pls. XL, XLI, ref. pp.243-4.
356. Op. cit., p.22, cf. G.M. Crowfoot, loc. cit., for confirmation and identification of the provenance; see also supra, Ch.II, Note 117.
357. Palmyre, p.121.
358. The only two exceptions are Samaria, if indeed it is an exception, and Aelia, which may have been smaller than old Jerusalem; the southern extension was not, apparently, reoccupied, see Kenyon, Digging Up Jerusalem, pp.247 ff., 254, 255 (Site K).

However, Aelia is perhaps best regarded as an entirely new foundation, so the case may not be relevant. As well as the instances of urban expansion already cited, see the situation with Arados and the offshore island of Marathus, previously an independent state: Jones, C.E.R.P.², p.267, points out that the latest coins of Marathus come from the early second century, after which it appears to have been absorbed into the expanded state of Arados.
359. Schlumberger, Palmyrène du N.-O., pp.35-6, figs. 55, 48.4, pp.76-8, 160-162.
360. Ibid., pp.37-41, 79-83, pp.163-6, p.38 fig. 15, p.40 fig.16, p.80 fig.36.

361. Ibid., p.38 fig. 15.

362. Ibid., pp.13-22, 51-62, 143-152, figs. 3-9.

363. Palmyrena, p.234. He suggests that the 'Adacha' of Ptolemy, like the 'Arathā' of Not. Dign. Oriens 33, No.11, is a false transcription of the 'Harac' of the Peutinger Table Segm. 11, further corrupted into 'Anatha' in Not. Dign. Oriens 33 No.20. He suggests that 'Aratha' derives from 'Aracha', the 'c' being changed to a 't' in miniscule. (This would imply Latin sources to Latin, whereas Ptolemy's version, 'A A A X A' to 'A A X A' implies Greek, either in Ptolemy's source or as a copyist error from Ptolemy's text, perhaps not a proscriptive objection - R.T.)

364. The name "Resapha" is essentially unchanged. The same is true, in effect, of Cholle: Musil (Palmyrena, pp.233, 242, 247) points out that this town is mentioned in identical form, by Ptolemy, the Peutinger Table, and the Ravenna Geographer, and that the Peutinger Table places it between Oruba (i.e. a misspelling of Oruza, Oriza or Oruda, modern at-Tajjibe) and "Risapa" (Resafa), 22 Roman miles from the former, and 20 from the latter. He therefore locates it at al-Hulle, where there is a camp with a tetrapyrgium and a ruined settlement, the site being actually 12 Roman miles from Resafa. His guide called the place al-Halla, but Turkijje, widow of Prince Sattam of a different tribe, the Ruala, pronounced it al-Holle (Cholle) or al-Hulle. The identification is not disputed. The identification of Oriza with at-Tajjibe is also accepted by both Dussaud and Poidebard. Musil, op. cit., pp.233, 244, quotes variants, and correlates them with the early Arabic Ord, the Bedouin Orz, though noting that the Peutinger Table gives the distance from Harac (Arak) as 22 Roman miles, whereas it is actually 45. This might perhaps have been an instance of dittography: the next distance given is 22 miles between Oruba and Cholle (R.T.). For a more recent discussion of the vicissitudes of the place-name Oriza, see Oleg Grabar, Renata Holod, James Knustad and William Trousdale, City in the Desert. Qasr al-Hayr East, Vols. I and II, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs XVIII/XXIV, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1978, pp.10-11. (I am grateful to Professor G.W. Bowersock for drawing my attention to this last work.)

365. Trace de Rome, Map.

366. See Grabar, op. cit., p.10 and passim.

367. Musil, op. cit., pp.233, 234. The identification is disputed. Musil notes and refutes the identification of Müller, in his edition of Ptolemy's Geography, and that of Moritz, with abu-l-Fawares, 7 km. WSW of Palmyra, on the grounds that there is only a single well there, and that this water was formerly led to Palmyra through an aqueduct. He also maintains that the Romans were unlikely to have built a station so close to Palmyra, and counters the alternative proposal of Moritz, that Putea should be identified with al-Kaṭṭar, "the only place where there is water", by pointing out that Putea is shown on the Peutinger Table as lying on the road from Occaraba ('Uzeribât) to Palmyra, and therefore should be west of Palmyra.

Poidebard, Trace de Rome, accepts Musil's identification, see his map, cf. R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard et. al., Le Limes de Chalcis. Organisation de la Steppe en Haute Syrie Romaine, Vol. I, Texte, Vol. II,

Atlas, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1945 (hereafter Limes de Chalcis), p.54, noting (Trace de Rome), without comment, the proposal of R. Dussaud, "La Palmyrène et l'exploration de M. Alois Musil", Syria X, 1929, pp.52-64, ref. p.59, that Ptolemy's Putea should be identified with Suhne. In Trace de Rome (p.78) he remarks, "Le nom ancien de Souhne n'est pas identifié avec certitude". Dussaud (loc. cit., pp.58-9) is in fact now retracting his former proposal that Ptolemy's Putea and the later Centum Putea of the Peutinger Table are identical, on the grounds that the amplification suggests a second locality, named in contradistinction to the first. In favour of Suhne his only arguments are that there is an important sulphurous spring there - which is not what one would think of in connection with a place named Putea - and that Suhne was such an important place that Ptolemy ought to have mentioned it; it would have had ca. 6,000 inhabitants. This very Musilian argument is presumably based on the size of the extant remains, which represent the ruined town of the latest phase; we do not in fact know the size or importance of Suhne in Ptolemy's gnostic period.

Schlumberger, Palmyrène du N.-O., p.129 n.2 and p.180, prefers his own site of Kheurbet Ramadane, though admitting that this identification is only hypothetical. The physical descriptions of Centum Putea and Bijâr Ghâr make Musil's identification most persuasive, if not conclusive, and would seem to settle the question at least temporarily in his favour: he points out that Bijâr, like Putea, means "wells". The Roman Centum Putea was a locality made in some way extraordinary by its wells, and the same connotations would attach to the Arabic Bijâr Ghâr. Ramadane, although it possessed "quelques citernes", was a settlement of some size, which also rejoiced in "deux petits temples" (Schlumberger, op. cit., and p.335); there seems nothing to justify the name "Centum Putea"; at Bijâr Ghâr, however, Musil points out that there are in fact more than a hundred caved-in wells.

368. Roussel and de Visscher, loc. cit., p.175, cf. e.g. Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, p.67 and n.314.

369. Rey-Coquais, loc. cit., p.70 and n.356.

370. Op. cit., p.235.

371. Loc. cit., p.60. Dussaud accepts the suggestion of Musil, Palmyrena, p.254, that Alalis is identical to the Helela of Not. Dign. Oriens 32, where the Cohors prima Gotthorum was stationed. Musil himself, however, points out the difficulty involved in this - Helela, like Palmyra itself, is listed as being in the province of Phoenices, not, as one would expect from Ptolemy's statement (Nobbe V.15.25) that it was παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, in Euphratensis. This difficulty seems solved if one accepts Poidebard's proposed identification of Helela with al-Hlêhle, between Arak and Palmyra (Trace de Rome, p.74), ascribing Ptolemy's location of Alalis on the Euphrates to the magnetism exercised by that great orientating geographical feature, which allows anything east of Palmyra to be so described.

372. Howard Crosby Butler, Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909. Division II, Architecture, Section B, Northern Syria, Vol. 2, Late E.J. Brill Ltd., Leyden, 1920 (hereafter P.A.E.S. II B 2), pp.48 ff., 62 ff.

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373. Ibid., p.48.
374. Ibid., p.47.
375. Ibid., pp.62-3 and III. 61.
376. Apud Tenney Frank, op. cit., p.139.
377. Gerasa, pp.399-400, Inscr. 53, cf. Welles' comments ad loc. The nature of the priesthood is not specified, being inferred from the reference to the four eparchies.
378. CIL III, No.189.
379. Syria 1959, p.226.
380. IGLS I, No.137. It is not entirely clear whether aet{e}rn(o) is a second cognomen or indicates a funerary context.
381. Ed. Wiegand, J.d.k.a.I. 1914, S. 40.
382. CIL III, No. 165.
383. Variant readings, BABI, BALBI.
384. See IGLS VII, No.4010 (a private dedication by Noaros), 4013, 4014 and possibly 4015 and 4016, the date of the latter two being uncertain - the last is probably Severan.
385. Henderson, op. cit., p.214, cf. E. M. Smallwood, "The Legislation of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius against Circumcision", Latomus 18, 1959, pp.334-7.
386. Op. cit.
387. Digging up Jerusalem, p.257.
388. Loc. cit. Both she and Henderson (op. cit.) reject corroborating evidence in favour of the theory that the plans for Aelia were noised about prior to the Revolt. Smallwood (loc. cit., pp.336-7) quotes from the Epistle of Barnabas the reference to the fulfilment of the prophecy in Isaiah that the Temple would be rebuilt by those who had destroyed it, noting Schürer's interpretation of this as a reference to Roman plans to build the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the Temple site, and consequent dating of the Epistle to A.D. 130, but comments,

But to suggest that a Jew or Christian would see this as fulfilment of a prophecy about the rebuilding of the Temple of the Jews seems too far-fetched to merit serious consideration...

and Henderson observes,

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Later Jewish apologists told a foolish tale, one of many with which such must be credited. The Roman Emperor, said they, had promised to restore the worship of Jehovah, and later, treacherously or weakly, broke his word.

Both seem to miss the point, in slightly different ways. The issue is not whether the tale, with hindsight, is to be considered foolish, but rather whether such a rumour existed, and was believed, at the time. If it did, then Schürer may be correct about the Barnabas Epistle, insofar as it refers, not to the real plans for the construction of Aelia, but to the garbled version of those plans reflected in the story of Hendersons' 'apologists'.

While the idea that Hadrian proposed to rebuild Jerusalem, and the Temple, in their original form, may seem preposterous in retrospect, it is hardly more preposterous per se than Herod's Golden Eagle or Caligula's attempt to place his statue in the Temple. At the same time, such a rumour, once started, may well have carried enough conviction to take hold: it would have gained credence from the fact that Hadrian did make a practice of restoring old temples, by way of benefaction - one thinks of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, the Olympeion at Athens (SHA Hadr. XIII. 6) (commenced by Antiochus IV Epiphanes), the Pantheon and other temples at Rome ("very many", according to the SHA XIX.10). If one endeavours to translate the situation into actual events and real people, it is quite plausible that such a rumour may have started. One of the most likely ways in which news of Hadrian's scheme could have reached the population of Judaea is through contact between well-placed Romans and the Jewish loyalist faction, that is to say, between friend and friend. Under the circumstances, it would be natural for the Roman informant to prevaricate, stressing the positive aspects and omitting or under-emphasising those which he knew would appal his listener; it is very likely that little beyond the fact that Jerusalem and the Temple were to be rebuilt was communicated. Alternatively, some short-sighted local official may have deliberately suppressed the more unpleasant details of the scheme, in the hope of deferring the outcry, at least until his own tenure had expired. Once the supposed plans became known, it is almost inevitable that a prophecy would have been found - the interpretation of the Isaiah passage in this manner is no more far-fetched than many New Testament interpretations of Old Testament texts - lending conviction to the rumour and ensuring its widespread acceptance. The discovery of the true nature of Hadrian's intentions, exacerbated by the disappointment of their false hopes and their apparent betrayal, would have been more than sufficient to provoke the Jews to an uprising.

The evidence for the existence of plans to rebuild Jerusalem prior to the Revolt, and for the Jews' having had some inaccurate knowledge of those plans, is weak, and hardly conclusive, but it should not be entirely discounted. The matter remains in limbo: Shimon Applebaum, "The Second Jewish Revolt (A.D.131-35)", PEQ Jan-June 1984, pp.35-41, ref. p.41, footnote, notes that the evidence of the hoard of coins, recently taken to show that not merely plans for Aelia but Aelia itself existed prior to the Revolt, has now been called into question.

389. The causes were of course multiple and complex: for an explanation which lays greater stress on the economic factor, the hardships imposed on the rural population as a result of measures taken after the First Revolt, see Applebaum, loc. cit., passim, cf. idem, "Judaea as a Roman Province; the Countryside as a Political and Economic Factor", ANRW 8, 1977, pp.355-396, especially pp.389-95.

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390. Op. cit., pp.1-3, 33.
391. Ibid., pp.16-17; on the knowledge of Greek among the rabbis, ibid., Ch.I, pp.15-18, passim.
392. Ibid., p.2 and Ch. 2, pp.29-67, especially pp.29, 31 ff., 41-3, 65-7.
393. Ibid., p.21.
394. Ibid., p.6.
395. Ibid., p.16. But see above, Note 158.
396. Ibid., pp.2, 24. It is noteworthy that his evidence for the objection to learning Greek on these grounds, namely that it encouraged the proliferation of informers, stems from the third century, and so may be post hoc rationalization of an earlier, more vague objection on general religio-cultural grounds.
397. Bruce, op. cit., p.55.
398. R. de Vaux, apud Disc. Jud. Des. II Des Grottes de Murabba'at, by P. Benoit, J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux (with contributions by G.M. Crowfoot, E. Crowfoot and A. Grohmann), Oxford, 1961, pp.31-4 and p.32 fig. 8 Nos. 13 and 14.
399. Avigad, Beth She'arim II, p.278 and p.286 n.3, citing Y. Yadin, The Finds from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters, Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem, 1963, fig. 45, Pl.173 - see also ibid., p. 118 fig.44, pp.119, 121 for the 'Heracles' seal, Pl. 17, pp.58-60, p.59 fig. 16 for the cancelled patera, and nn. 20 (p.119) and 22 (p.121) for a general discussion of the rules regarding "annulment". Cf. also generally e.g. F. Millar, "Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: The Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiance in Third Century Syria", JRS LXI, 1971, pp.1-17, ref. p.2 n.18.
400. See Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, p.33.
401. Bruce, op. cit., p.52.
402. Supra, Note 289.
403. AncJewCoins pp.33-38, 60-66, Nos. 163-207, Pls. XII-XV, cf. Meshorer, op. cit., pp.159-169, Pls. XXI-XXVIII, Nos. 165-215.
404. Cf. Reifenberg, op. cit., p.37.
405. AncJewCoins, Pl. XIII, Nos. 169 (cf. ibid., p.61) 170 (unillustrated), 173, 181. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXI, Nos. 167, 166, Pl. XXIII No. 183, Pl. XXVI, No. 202.

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406. AncJewCoins Pl. XIII Nos. 171, 183, 187 (cf. ibid., pp.61-3), surrounded only by a wreath, as in the examples from the previous century (with the legend in the field); cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXII No. 176, Pl. XXVI No. 204, Pl. XXVII No. 206. AncJewCoins Pl. XV No. 199 and No. 205, surrounded by a wreath then the legend, cf. ibid., p.66; cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXV, Nos. 193 and 194, Pl. XXVIII, No. 212. Reifenberg, op. cit., p.34, also calls the motif on his No. 196 (Pl. XIV) a palm-leaf, but comparison with other examples (see below, Note 412) indicates that it is a palm tree.
407. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXII, No. 176 and Pl. XXVII No. 206.
408. AncJewCoins Pl. IX, No. 130; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXX No.228.
409. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXIII, No. 184, Pl. XXIV, No. 184 A, and Pl. XXVI, No. 204, especially the last.
410. AncJewCoins, Pl. IV, Nos. 45 ff., cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. IX, Nos. 66 ff.
411. AncJewCoins Pl. X, No. 150. Meshorer, op. cit., omits this coin.
412. AncJewCoins, Pl. XIV Nos. 189, 189a, 193-195; Pl. XV Nos. 200, 200a, 202, 203, 204b, 206, 207. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXI Nos. 170, 170 A, Pl. XXII Nos. 171, 173, 174, 175, Pl. XXV Nos. 195, 196, 197, 198, Pl. XXVIII Nos. 210, 211, 211 A, 211 B, 211 C, 213, 214, 215. For Reifenberg No. 196, see above, Note 406. According to Meshorer's dating, the motif appears in all years of the Revolt.
413. E.g. AncJewCoins Pl. XIV Nos. 189, 189a, 194 (cf. ibid., Pl. XI No. 156, Meshorer, Pl. XXXI No. 239). Cf. especially Meshorer, op. cit., Nos. 171, 195, 211 A, 211 C.
414. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XIX, No. 153.
415. Cf. ibid., Pl. XX, No. 157 A.
416. Cf. ibid., Pl. XXVIII Nos. 210-211 B.
417. AncJewCoins Pl. XIII Nos. 185-8, Pl. XIV, Nos. 189-189a, 195, Pl. XV Nos. 203, 206-7. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXI, No. 166, Pl. XXII, Nos. 173-177, Pl. XXIV, Nos. 189-190 A, Pl. XXVII, Nos. 206-209 C, Pl. XXVIII, Nos. 213-215.
418. See above, Ch.I, Note 397.
419. AncJewCoins Pl. XIV, Nos. 190-191, 197-198, cf. Reifenberg, ibid.,

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pp.37-8. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXI, Nos.168, 169, Pl.XXV Nos.191, 192.

420. AncJewCoins Pl. II, Nos. 8-11, assigned to Jonathan Hyrcanus by Meshorer, op. cit., pp.41-52, Pl.III, Nos. 18-20 A.

421. AncJewCoins Pl. II, Nos. 18-20.

422. AncJewCoins Pl.II, Nos. 13, 13 a, Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. IV, Nos. 28-9, cf. 22-3, 27-8.

423. AncJewCoins Pl.III, Nos. 21-25, cf. ibid., p.42; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. V, Nos. 30-35.

424. AncJewCoins Pl. IV, Nos. 46-55, Meshorer, op. cit., Pls. IX,X, Nos. 67-74 A. The form of the wreath differs slightly from that on previously mentioned coins, in that it is larger, and the leaves more clearly articulated, that is to say, this motif is given more prominence in its own right.

425. AncJewCoins Pl. V, Nos. 68, 69.

426. AncJewCoins Pl.VI, Nos. 78, 79, Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XIII, Nos. 95, 96.

427. AncJewCoins Pl. IX, Nos. 122-5, 129, 130, 132, 133 and 128 obv. (unillustrated); Meshorer, op. cit., Pls. XXIX-XXX, Nos. 220-223 A, 227-228, 230-230 A, 231-231 A.

428. AncJewCoins Pl. IX, No. 134, Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXX, No.232.

429. AncJewCoins Pl. IX, No.136, cf. Reifenberg, ibid., pp.55-7; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXX, No.234.

430. AncJewCoins, Pl. XIII, Nos. 172, 136, 177, Pl. XIV, No.192, Pl. XV., No.199; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXII, Nos. 172, 172 A, 177, Pl.XXIV, Nos. 186, 188, Pl. XXV, Nos. 193-4.

431. AncJewCoins Pl.XIV, No. 192, Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXII, Nos. 172, 172 A.

432. AncJewCoins Pl.XIII, Nos. 178, 184, 188, Pl.XV, No.205; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXIV, Nos. 185, 187, Pl.XXVII, Nos. 205, 209-209 C, Pl. XXVIII, No. 212.

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433. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXIV, No.185.
434. AncJewCoins, p.37. An alternative interpretation would be the Harp of David.
435. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXIII, Nos. 182, 182 A, Pl. XXVI, No. 203, and Pl. XXVII, No.208.
436. BMC Emp. III, pp. cxii, clxviii.
437. Ibid., Pl. 83, Nos. 6 and 9.
438. The number of strings shown on the coins attributed to Antioch, like that on the Jewish coins, varies: BMC Emp. III, Pl.83 No.6 seems to have only three, while ibid., No.9, appears to have five. The three or four strings most frequently shown on the Jewish "chelys-shaped" lyre on coins may be due to a kind of numismatic short-hand similar to that which reduces the number of columns shown in façades to four, or some such number suitable for depiction in miniature, the essence being four strings in the "chelys-shaped" lyre in contradistinction to the three strings in the most frequent rendition of the "kithara" (or rather, if the "chelys-shaped" type is earlier, the "kithara" is commonly depicted with at least one less string than the "chelys-shaped" variety). Greek lyres of both varieties actually had seven strings or more (see J.F. Mountford and R.P. Winnington-Ingram, OCD², p.710, s.v. MUSIC.9. Instruments).
439. AncJewCoins Pl.XII, Nos. 163-168, cf. Reifenberg, ibid., pp.36-7, 60-61. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXI, No.165, Pl.XXIII, Nos.178-181, Pl. XXVI, Nos. 199-201. According to Meshorer's chronology, examples of this type were minted in all three years of the Revolt.
440. Some difficulty with this interpretation arises, however, from the fact that in, for example, AncJewCoins Nos. 163 - 165 (cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Nos. 165, 178, 181) the 'knobs' supposedly representing the ends of scrolls appear to be in mid-air between the 'shelves' represented by horizontal lines. While no recommendation, this need not be a serious objection, since, once again, the fact that it is a matter of coin portraiture on a miniature scale means that the die-cutter may have taken the necessary licence, representing the vital components at all costs, even where the scale forced him to do so in a nonsensical position or out of proportion to the rest of the scene; probably a stack of scrolls, one on top of the other and occupying all the available space between the two shelves, was intended, but because of the small scale only a token number, scattered over the area occupied by the stack, could actually be shown.
441. Parallels are too numerous to mention - two examples reproduced in Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 107 C (coin of Vespasian showing the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter at Rome as rebuilt after A.D. 75) and D (coin of Alexander Severus, showing Elagabalus' Temple of Sol Invictus)

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together with the coin portrait of the Temple of Trajan at Rome (Paoli, op. cit., Pl.64.ix) will suffice to illustrate Reifenberg's point regarding the way in which the cult statue inside the cella is shown between the columns of the façade, and demonstrate that the convention existed before, during and after the time of the Second Revolt.

Other Roman coin portraits, however, such as those of the Temple of Vesta as restored by Augustus and the Temple of Concord (Paoli, op. cit., Nos. iv, vii, respectively) do raise questions as to exactly what is visible in the centre of the picture in the Revolt coins, whether it is an arched shrine seen through the columns or whether, on analogy with the last-mentioned Roman coins, it is the arched doorway of the cella behind the columniated façade and a square box behind that door, in the cella itself, with the vertical lines in the centre of the scene perhaps doing double service as the uprights of the door and the lateral limits of the chest. In other words, whether the perspective represents two vertical planes or three.

Price and Trell, op. cit., p.176 fig.306, pp.177, 179, fig. 179, make no comment on this point, but consider the structure to be the ideal Temple the revolutionaries intended to build, and interpret AncJewCoins No. 166 (Meshorer No.201), with the wavy line above, as a flat-roofed "Phoenician" temple with a crenellated façade. Meshorer does not enter the discussion, but (p.93 and throughout the catalogue) takes it as read that the building is "the Temple", whether the real past Temple or an imaginary future one he does not specify.

442. Avigad, IEJ 1950-1, p.105, fig. 9, cf. supra, Ch. II, pp.80-82 and Note 132.

443. See above, Note 441.

444. Bruce, op. cit., p.52.

445. Ibid., pp.53-6.

446. Smallwood, loc. cit., pp.340-341 and p.341 n.3.

447. Ibid., pp.342-5.

448. Cf. supra, p.109.

449. Seyrig, Syria 1959, p.67.

450. Gerasa, Inscr. 10, Welles, ibid., pp.379-380, cf. Kraeling, ibid., p.44, and n.84.

451. Op. cit., cf. Gerasa, Inscrs. 121,122,123, Welles, ibid., pp.418-9.

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The first is a dedication to Tyche, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας, by Apollonios son of Demetrios son of Sarapion, the second a similar dedication by Metra son of Metra, both dated on the lettering to the middle of the second century. The third, similarly dated, simply records the erection of a statue without explicit dedication by Asklepiodoros son of Gorgios, like the first two, ἱερῶμενος. Welles, noting that Apollonios' grandfather Sarapion may have been a priest of Nero (cf. p.397, Inscr. 49), suggests that ἱερῶμενος alone may indicate a priest of the reigning emperor, but this does not seem beyond question. Sarapion's imperial priesthood is restored, partially on analogy with Inscr. 121: the hereditary priesthood, if any, could pertain to an entirely different cult - both dedications, for instance, are to Tyche. The appropriate amplification occurs only in Inscr. 2 (pp.373-4) and 10 (pp.379-380), the inscription previously mentioned, where the phrase {ἱε}ρῶμεν{ος Καῖσα}ρος Τραϊανοῦ is partially, though securely, restored; in Inscr. 2 the word used is ἱερᾶσμενος.

452. Gerasa, Inscr. 15, Welles, ibid., pp.382-3, Kraeling, ibid., p.44 and n.84.

453. IGLS VII, p.30 ad No.4003.

454. Ibid., pp.29-30 and n.2. The evidence from Arados takes the form of the theophoric name of the dedicant of IGLS No.4003, Εἰσιδῶρα; for Palmyra he cites unpublished inscriptions.

455. Gerasa, Inscr. 56/7, Greek dedication of the North Gate to Trajan by the city, see Kraeling, ibid., p.47 and n.97, Welles, ibid., p.401; Inscr. 141, Greek, to Trajan, by the boule and demos, Welles, ibid., p.424; Inscr. 142, Welles, ibid., a pedestal for a statue, with a Latin inscription of which only [T]raia[n...]/ G.v.v is preserved; Inscr. 143, Kraeling, ibid., p.49 and n.105, Welles, ibid., pp.424-5, Greek, a statue dedicated by the city to Hadrian; Inscr. 144, Kraeling, ibid., p.49 and n.104, Welles, ibid., p.425, Greek, to Hadrian, by Flavius Flaccus De(metrius); Inscr. 145, Kraeling, ibid., p.49 and n.105, p.51 and n.116, Welles, ibid., pp.425-6, Greek, to Hadrian, from Σόλων ὁ καὶ Παυλῆνος, son of Moiragenes.

456. Gerasa, Inscr. 41, Welles, ibid., p.393, fragmentary blocks from the ruins of the Temple of Nemesis, with an inscription of which only Αὐτοκρατορος Καῖσαρος is preserved.

457. Respectively Inscr. 163, Welles, ibid., p.432, and Inscr. 164, Welles, ibid.

458. Ibid., Inscr. 167 and 166, Welles ibid., p.433, respectively.

459. Ibid., p.433, Inscr. 165=CIL III No.118.

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460. Ibid., p.435, Inscr. 171.
461. Ibid., p.435, Inscr. 172.
462. Ibid., pp.435-6, Inscrs. 173,174.
463. Ibid., p.436, Inscr. 175.
464. Ibid., p.436, Inscr. 176.
465. Ibid., p.418, Inscr. 119, cf. Kraeling, ibid., p.47, Welles, pp.422-4, Inscr. 192.
466. Ibid., Inscr. 120, Welles, p.418.
467. Ibid., respectively Inscr. 58, pp.401-2, and Inscr. 53, pp.399-400.
468. Ibid., Inscr. 60, pp.403-4.
469. Ibid., Inscr. 21, pp.385-6.
470. Ibid., Inscr. 22, p.386.
471. Ibid., Inscr. 24, p.387.
472. Ibid., Inscr. 54, p.400.
473. Ibid., Inscr. 20, p.385.
474. Ibid., Inscr. 30, p.390.
475. Ibid., Inscr. 118, pp.417-8.
476. Ibid., p.56.
477. Ibid., Inscr. 121, Welles, pp.418-9, the dedication to Tyche by Apollonios son of Demetrios son of Sarapion, ἱερῶμενος, and the similar dedication by Metra son of Metra, Inscr. 122, p.419, previously discussed in connection with the imperial cult, supra, Note 451; a fragment in which

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Welles recognises the ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας formula in the preserved letters of Καὶ[]σαρος, Inscr. 109, pp.415-6; a dedication by Apollonios son of Antiochos, Inscr. 125, pp.419-420.

478. Ibid., Inscr. 38, p.392, a dedication by Sabeinos son of ...

479. The dedication, apparently of a shrine, to Zeus Epicarpus, by the centurion who was the son of Moe(r)agenes son of Molpon, ibid., Inscr. 42, pp.393-4.

480. Ibid., Inscr. 114, p.417, a fragment.

481. Ibid., Inscr. 119, Inscrs. 20,21, 22, 24,38,114, 120, 121, 122, 42, 53, 54, 125.

482. Ibid., Inscr. 192, with a translation and comments by Welles, pp.442-4.

483. Ibid., pp.48,49.

484. Infra, Ch.IV, pp.200-202 and Notes 39-43.

485. Gerasa, Inscrs. 252-257, pp.462-3.

486. Ibid., Inscr. 165, p.433=CIL III No.118.

487. Gerasa, Inscr. 171, p.435.

488. Ibid., Inscr. 30, pp.390-391.

489. Ibid., Inscrs.203,204, p.448, 202, pp.447-8 cf. supra, p.144 and Note 206.

490. Ibid., Inscr.142, (Welles) p.424, the fragmentary inscription from a pedestal, on which only the name Trajan, case unknown, is legible, seems likely to belong to this Period, since it is unusual for the filiation of later emperors to be carried back as far as Trajan beyond this time at Jerash. The remainder are dated only by the lettering: two to the middle of the second century, anonymous dedications to the procurator L. Valerius L. f. Poblilius Firmus (ibid., Inscrs. 173,174, pp.435-6); six to the second century, one, apparently complete, [Pie]tati~~o~~/et/ [P]udicitiae (ibid., Inscr. 44, p.395), the statue of the procurator Maecius Laetus, erected in accordance with the will of the advocatus fisci Allius Vestrinus (ibid., Inscr. 175, p.436), and the tombstones Inscrs. 205-208

(*ibid.*, pp.448-), 205 being that of freedmen, apparently of a certain Atticus, 206 seemingly that of a relation of these freedmen, 207 (= *CIL* III No. 14158) of the wife of a procurator of Arabia, whose son's name was Ulpianus, and 208 that of a procurator (possibly the same man) since it was set up by his *cornicularius*; ten to the second or third century, an anonymous dedication to C. Amandus, imperial freedman and procurator of the province of Arabia (*Inscr.* 176, p.436), and the tombstones *Inscr.* 210-218 (pp.449-451), 210 that of an imperial freedman, 211-213 those of members of Leg. III Cyr., more interestingly, 214 and 215, those of children who bear Latin names, but in the case of 215 the child of Hermes (with a brother named Geminius) so possibly of a local enfranchised family, 216-217 being those of women, again, like those of imperial freedmen and children, an indication of Latin speakers settling in the district, and 218 (= *CIL* III No. 119) a jumbled text, probably giving the name Aurelius Julius Draco.

491. Kraeling, *ibid.*, pp.48-9.

492. *Ibid.*, p. 38, *Inscr.* 1, Welles, *ibid.*, pp.371-2.

493. Four dedications belonging to this Period are listed, *Inscr.* 20, p.385, dated on the lettering to the early second century, the dedication of Alexandros brother of Anthos and priest of Dionysos on behalf of the welfare of the emperor, the similarly dated dedication of Xerxes son of Philippos, *Inscr.* 19, pp.384-5, the dedication on behalf of the welfare of the emperor by Demetrios son of Mutos, also known as Neikomachos, dated A.D. 150, *Inscr.* 21, pp.385-6, and the similar dedication of (?) Xenon, dated A.D. 155/6, *Inscr.* 22, p.386.

494. *Supra*, Note 90.

495. *Supra*, Note 258.

496. *Denkmäler* II, S.94.

497. One thinks of *Gerasa*, *Inscr.* 30 (pp.390-391), a dedication on behalf of the welfare of Hadrian by the soldiers of the Equites Singulares and other units of the imperial bodyguard, to which has been appended v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito) honoris et pietatis causa, apparently in reference to the individuals named as actually setting up the dedication, or hodic inscriptions such as *CIL* III No. 14177¹ from the road to Damascus, in the form of a dedication to the emperor, rather than a simple statement that the emperor (whose name is in the nominative case) built or repaired the road per the local officer or official in charge, as in, for example, *Gerasa* *Inscr.* 257, p.463. The V.S.L.A.B.M. formula may have owed its popularity to the pervasive reciprocity, the principal of quid pro quo, which permeated local popular religion, and which has been so admirably encapsulated in Javier Teixidor's phrase, "Friendly Gods and Contented Believers" (abstract, *GenMeet* 74, *AJA* LXXVII, 1973, p.229; cf. now also *idem*, *The Pagan God*, pp.7-11).

498. Translation of Heichelheim, *apud* Tenney Frank, *op. cit.*, p.253, cf. Rostovtzeff, *S.E.H.R.E.*² II, p.662 n.28. Rostovtzeff opines that these villages lay in the second oasis, towards the Euphrates; it seems equally likely that some of the sites in the area to the west and north-west of Palmyra, explored by Musil and Schlumberger, were involved, at least by the

second century.

499. Teixidor, e.g. The Pagan God, pp.13-14, Pantheon of Palmyra p.3, points to various elements showing a growing rapprochement of the various cults in the first millennium B.C. However, the unification of the area under the Romans seems to have sharply accelerated the process.
500. Digging up Jerusalem, p.256.
501. Starcky, Palmyre, p.36.
502. Rey-Coquais, IGLS, p.35, p.40 n.1.
503. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², p.663 n.30; Buckler et al., JRS 1926, Inscr. 201, pp.74-78, cf. supra, Ch.I, Note 102.
504. See Ch.II, Note 164, Ch.V, pp.269-270.
505. See above, Note 451.
506. Gerasa, pp.46-7.
507. Op. cit., pp.436,437.
508. More generally, see A.N. Sherwin-White, Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome, the J.H. Gray Lectures for 1966, Cambridge, Gt. Britain, 1970, passim, especially pp.57-9, for the kind of obvious cultural type fossil which was apt to provoke an adverse reaction. For views and examples of the same contemporary behavioural phenomenon, see e.g. N.S. Shaler, "Motives and Bases of Popular Classification", apud Edgar T. Thompson and Everett C. Hughes, Race, Individual and Collective Behaviour, The Free Press, New York, 1965 (first published 1958), pp.26-29, adapted from The Neighbour, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1904, pp.192-197, 207-208; Edward Augustus Freeman, "Language as a Basis of Racial Classification", Race, pp.29-35, adapted from "Race and Language", Historical Essays, Third Series, 1879; W.M.F. Petrie, "Religion as a Basis of Racial Classification", Race, pp. 36-7, adapted from "Race and Civilization", Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institute to July, 1895, pp.589-600 (originally published in the Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, pp.816-824); Robert Refield, "Popular Classification by Costume and Surname in Yucatan", Race, pp.37-45, adapted from "Race and Class in Yucatan", Cooperation in Research, Carnegie Inst. of Washington Publications No. 501, 1938, pp.511-33; Konrad Lorenz, On Aggression, transl. Marjorie Latzer, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1966, first published 1963, pp.55-6, 63, especially 65-70, 228, 233, 234.
509. III.60 ff., cf. Paoli, op. cit., p.11.
510. C.E.R.P.², p.467, n.85.
511. Nash, op. cit., pp.521 ff.
512. See T.L. Heath and G. J. Toomer, OCD², p.733, s.v. NICOMACHUS

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(3), cf. Kraeling's tentative identification of this man with the dedicant of an inscription from Jerash dated to the previous Period, supra, Ch. II, Notes 112, 171.

513. For the precise date of the consulship, E.M. Smallwood, Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, Cambridge University Press, 1966, p.5.

514. Géza Alföldy, Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht, (Antiquitas Reihe 1, Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte herausgegeben von Andreas Alföldi und Johannes Straub), Rudolf Habelt Verlag G mb H., Bonn, 1977, S.319-320.

515. SHA Avidius Cassius I.1-3 and Magie, Loeb Vol. I, pp.232-3, n. 2 ad loc.; Cassius Dio, LXXII.22.2 (Loeb). SHA Avidius Cassius gives his name as C. Avidius Severus.

516. See Magie, loc. cit., p.233 n.3.

517. H.-A. Colloquium 1972/4, pp.193-4.

Chapter IV, Notes.

1. Georges Tchalenko, "Travaux en cours dans la Syrie du Nord", Syria L, 1973, pp.115-116, Pls. V-VIII, "1. Le sanctuaire de Šeiḥ Barakāt", pp.115-127, "2. La Basilique de Qalblōzē", pp.128-136, ref. pp.115-127, figs. 1-9, especially 7-9. Cf. idem, Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord. Le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris, Vols. I-II, 1953, Vol. III, 1958, ref. Vol. I pp.106-7, Vol. III, pp.21-2, and Pls. VIII; XLI; XLII,1; LXXXI, 18; CLXXIII; CLXXIV; CXXX, 19; CCII. He links these two temples with a third at Srīr, considering them unusually "Roman", and as such standing out from the general run of the architecture in the area (which is on the whole later).

2. Cassius Dio, LXXIX, 8.5-6 (Loeb Numeration).

3. H.M.D. Parker, A History of the Roman World A.D. 138 to 337, revised by B.H. Warmington, 2nd revised edition, 1963 reprint (1st revised edition 1958), p. 19 and n. 29 to Ch. II.

4. CIL III, No. 6649 (=117).

5. M. Avi-Yonah, "Road System", IEJ 1950-1, p.60. I have not seen his references, but it is presumably to the Jerusalem-Emmaus road that the dedication to Verus at Hiericus (Rīḥa), CIL III No. 6645, which mentions (Com)MoDo CoS belongs; the reference is apparently to the governor C. Iulius Commodus Orfitianus, whose tenure is given by P-W 4 A2, 1630, as 162-3, and who is now known to have governed Palestine, not Syria (Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, p. 65). Presumably, too, the milestone dedicated to Aurelius and Verus, dated A.D. 162, cited above (Note 4), is also part of this road. Avi-Yonah, citing Thomsen, states that the "Bostra-Gerasa road" was built by Commodus. This may be a misprint, since no direct route from Jerash to

Bostra is shown on his map (p.57); it was necessary to go via Philadelphia or Adra'a. The road from Jerash to Philadelphia, and thence to Bostra, is coded "pre-Hadrianic" on this map, and that from Adra'a to Bostra is attributed to Hadrian, while the road from Jerash to Adra'a is coded "of unknown date". However, Bowersock, JRS 1971, p.238, points out that S. Mittmann traced this road carefully, and published a set of milestones in 1964 and 1966, the five earliest being Hadrianic. Among the other inscriptions, however, is one of P. Aelius Severianus Maximus, governor of Arabia 193/4 (ibid., p.235); it may be that this road was repaired at that date.

6. CIL III No. 208. The milestone cannot be dated more precisely. Marcus' titles are given as PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. and COS. II, with a possible hiatus before the last. According to Egbert, op. cit., pp.133-4, Marcus' second consulship occurred during the reign of Antoninus Pius (here already divi Antonini), and he was in his third consulship at the time of Antoninus' death. He received the tribunician power in 147, and took the title of Pontifex Maximus upon accession. The spacing in the CIL text suggests a possible lacuna in line 4, after TRIB. POT., but if the relative size of the lettering is roughly correct, there does not seem to be enough space to resolve the difficulty by restoring the titles of Verus, who was indeed cos. II at the beginning of the joint reign (Egbert, op. cit.).

7. Wheeler, op. cit., p.162; Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.34.

8. Supra, Ch. III, pp.159-160.

9. Wood, Palmyra, pp.26-8.

10. Cf. Starcky, Palmyre, pp. 98 ff.

11. G.W. Bowersock, "A New Antonine Inscription from the Syrian Desert", Chiron 6, 1976, pp.349-355, and Taf. 53, passim, especially p.353 for the inscriptions from Palmyra attesting the existence of a Caesareum and p.354 for the attribution of the al-Hêr inscription to Palmyra itself. His argument that the obvious alternative source, at-Tajjibe, shows "no sign of occupation in classical times" beyond the dedication to Baalshamin and some columns, re-used material which must itself have been brought from Palmyra, is not tenable. The town of Oriza is very firmly attested at, or very close to, at-Tajjibe by literary evidence dating from the second century onwards; see above, Ch.III, p.169 and Note 364, especially now Grabar's summary. (I am grateful to Professor Bowersock for drawing my attention both to his article and to Grabar's work.)

12. Op. cit., p.454 and p.577 n.70; for the previous ascription to the Hadrianic period, e.g. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.34.

13. Ch. I, p.38.

14. H. Ingholt, Syria 1930, pp.242-4, Pl. XLI 1-2 (in default of the unobtainable Studier over palmyrensk Skulptur). On the change to beards cf. also Colledge, Art of Palmyra, p.68.

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15. Op. cit., p.142.
16. Loc. cit., p.243.
17. Op. cit.
18. Ibid., p.143.
19. Three denarii of A.D. 117 of Hadrian, ascribed, somewhat doubtfully to Antioch by Mattingly (BMC Emp. III, Pl. 68, 1, 6, 7) show Hadrian lightly bearded.
20. Antioch IV, p.4.
21. Ibid., p.54.
22. Ibid., pp.29-30.
23. But see also below, Ch. V, Note 17.
24. Gerasa, p.53 and n.123.
25. Gerasa, p.405. The other inscription from the remains (Inscr. 167, p.433), from the fascia of the lintel of the southernmost doorway of the triple arch, merely records a Greek dedication by Diogenes son of Diogenes, son of Ariston, son of Didymos to C. Allius Fuscianus, governor of Arabia during the preceding period, without further amplification. Welles suggests a statue of the governor may have been placed above.
26. Kraeling, Gerasa, pp.18-19 and 54, (Welles,) p.380, Inscr. 11, and Pl. XXVI - the temple was unexcavated at the time of publication. Cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.437; Albright, ArchPalaest., p.170 and p.173 fig. 57; Amy, Syria 1950, pp.107-8.
27. Gerasa, p.380, Inscr. 11.
28. See Amy, loc. cit., p.108 figs. 21 and 22.

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29. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.22. He notes that its orientation was determined by the northern decumanus upon which it opens, and on p.54 (n.136), dates it 162-166 A.D., citing Inscr. 65 (p.405):

A	B	C
'Υπὲρ [σωτηρίας τῶν Καίσα]ρων [Αὐτοκρ]ατο[ρων Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου 'Αντωνίνου 'Αρμενιakoῦ Παρθικοῦ μεγίστου] καὶ Λου[κίου Οὐήρου 'Αρμενιakoῦ] Παρ[θικοῦ] μ[εγίστου] ----- καὶ τοῦ σύνπ[αντος οἴκου αὐτῶν ἀφιερῶθη] ἐπ[ὶ Γεμιν]ίου Μ[αρκιανοῦ] πρεσβ[ευτοῦ] Σεβ[αστῶν] ἀντιστρατήγου ὑπάτου ἀνα δεδελγμένου. "Ετους - -]		

Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.437, says A.D. 161-166.

30. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.55.

31. C.C. Crown, Gerasa, pp.159-162, 167 for date and (Welles,) p.471 Inscr. 279 for the Maiumas inscription.

32. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.53 and n.124; Welles, ibid., p.410 and Inscr. 78 and p.411 Inscr. 80-85. The other inscriptions cited by Kraeling in this context, Nos.102-4, are assigned by Welles (pp.413-4) to "unknown" or "unidentified" columns.

33. Tentatively assigned to the period by Kraeling, Gerasa, p.54 and pp.54-5 n.137; dated to the third quarter of the second century by Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 229, caption.

34. Gerasa, Pl. VI b; Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl.229.

35. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 225 and caption; Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, Pl.XIII.1; Kraeling, Gerasa, p.42, n.71, p.55, Pl. VI a; Welles, Gerasa, pp.406-7, Inscr. 69:

A
 'Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ. 'Υπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς αἰωνίου δια-
 μονῆς Αὐτοκράτορος Β[Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου]
 Κ[ομμόδου] 'Αντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 Σαρματικοῦ Βρεταν[νικοῦ] Εὐτυχοῦς π[ατρὸς]
 π[ατρύδος] δ[ημαρχικῆς] ἑξουσίας τὸ ὑ[πάτου]
 τοῦ κρατήσεως ἔτο[υς] πέντε καὶ δεκάτου καὶ
 A
 A
 καὶ δ[ὲ] ἡμ[ῶν] τῶν Ῥωμαίων [- -] ἡ πόλις Ἀντιο-
 χ[εῶν] τῶν πρὸς τῇ Χρυσορρόγῃ τῶν πρ[ο]τε[ρο]ν
 Γερασηνῶν. Εἶτους ἡ τριῦτος πεντηκοστὸς δολοκασ-
 οστοῦ μηνὸς Ἐανδικοῦ [...]

36. Cf. the examples previously cited, e.g. Ch. III, Note 263. The

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theme is used, for example, in the exedrae of the cryptoporticus of the Altar Court (Baalbek I, Taf.133 and reconstruction Taf. 42), the exterior of the water basins in the Court itself (*ibid.*, Taf. 105, S. 93 Abb.65, 66), where the curved recesses alternate with plane projecting surfaces, the contrast emphasised still further in the case of the Northern (though not of the Southern) basin by a concomitant change in the decorative motif (*ibid.*, S.94). (The Southern basin, unlike the the Northern one, has no step (*ibid.*, S.93); the latter may therefore represent an improved version.) It is again expressed by alternating aediculae in the Propylaea (*ibid.*, Taf.41 and S.106 Abb. 81), and appears in a more closely comparable architectural context in the interior walls of the cella of the 'Temple of Bacchus' (e.g. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp.95,98, Ill. 72 and 76 respectively; Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, Pl.220); closer still because of the curved surface in which the aediculae are set is the cella of the Round Temple (Baalbek II, Taf. 58). It is seen above all in the decoration of the Altar Court (Baalbek I, Taf. 72,73, 83 and their reconstructions, *ibid.*, Taf. 26,27,42; Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, Pl.224), where the round and flat niches alternate not only horizontally but vertically. On the general similarities between Jerash and Baalbek, see e.g. Lyttelton, *op.cit.*, pp.240,241,247.

37. Gerasa, Pl.XXIV b; Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, Pl.226; Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, Pl. XIV.1.

38. Gerasa, Pl.XXIV b and Caravan Cities Pl.XIV.1 both show the niche to the viewer's left as trabeated, thus diminishing the force of the curve even further, although this section was apparently restored: Ward-Perkins' plate shows the same section re-restored with a round arch.

39. As, for example, in the restored model of the Library of Celsus at Ephesus, e.g. Ward-Perkins, *op. cit.*, Pl.211.

40. Gerasa, Pl. XXV a. For the connection with the exterior aediculae, see C.S. Fisher, Gerasa, p.130.

41. I.e. with the hinge of the mussel shell at the bottom, while in two of the three closest parallels from Baalbek, the exedrae of the Untergeschoss (Baalbek I, Taf. 133), the Altar Court (*ibid.*, Taf. 83, 86), as well as the exterior aediculae of the Round Temple (Baalbek II, Taf.66) the "Roman conch", with the hinge at the top is used - the interior aediculae of the Round Temple are not well enough preserved for their decoration to be reconstructed (cf. *ibid.*, Taf. 58).

42. Th. Wiegand, Alte Denkmäler aus Syrien, Palästina und Westarabien, George Reimer, Berlin, 1918, Taf. 80 shows the interior of the gate, still partially buried; Taf. 82, left, is a detail of the interior aedicula; Taf. 85, upper, is a similar close-up of the r.h.s. exterior aedicula. It is unfortunate that Kraeling (Gerasa, p.2), was apparently unaware of this publication of the Puchstein photographs, since they illustrate the same features as those illustrated in Gerasa, but when the buildings were in a far better state of preservation; the quality of the older photographs is, if anything, superior to that of the plates in Gerasa.

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43. Puchstein's general shot of the gateway, Wiegand, Alte Denkmäler, Taf. 80, shows masonry preserved above the rectangular main entrance, to the viewer's right, which suggests that there may also have been an arch above this entrance. If so, it is likely that it, too, was filled, like the relieving arches over the lateral entrances, and either completely covered by the masonry of the superstructure or expressed in the surface decoration but sublimated, like the arch over the rectangular doorway in the Temple of Hadrian at Ephesus, seen in the background of the frontispiece of Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit.

44. For example, the Porta dei Borsari at Verona, dated to the third quarter of the first century, Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl.166. It occurs in the cella of the 'Temple of Diana' at Nîmes (Robertson, Handbook Pl.XV), where the triangular and lunate pediments alternate over the aediculae of the internal wall, but the date of this building is much disputed, estimates ranging from Augustan to the second century A.D. (ibid., p.237 n.4).

45. Op. cit., p.438.

46. Pls. 224,225 and 226 respectively.

47. Ibid., Pl.211.

48. Ibid., p.397.

49. Baalbek I, Taf. 83, upper.

50. Ibid., Taf.133.

51. Wiegand, Alte Denkmäler, Taf. 85, upper. It is also visible, with the aid of a magnifying glass, in the more recent photographs cited above, Note 37, published by Kraeling and Ward-Perkins, but without the Puchstein plate it is impossible to be sure of the significance of the masonry.

52. See e.g. Baalbek I, Taf.86, upper. The same technique of using a single block to form the upper part of the rear wall, in the niche, within the curve of the arch, in place of the normal masonry, is used even where the problem is minimal because the rear wall is flat, so joining the voussoirs at right angles, in the cella of the 'Temple of Bacchus', see Baalbek II, Taf. 56, and e.g. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl.220.

53. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.56, citing Inscrs. 42, 39 (pp.394, 392 respectively) for Zeus Epicarpius and Zeus Poseidon, and Inscrs. 31,38 (pp.391, 392 respectively) for Deana and Apollo.

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54. Ibid., citing Inscrs. 121, 122, 123 (pp.418-9) which are dated by the lettering to the middle of the second century (cf. supra, Ch.III, pp.183-184 and concomitant Notes, especially Note 477).
55. Gerasa, pp.463-4, Nos. 258-260.
56. Supra, Ch.III, Note 462.
57. Gerasa, p.391 No.31, p.436 No.175, p.449 Nos. 207 and 208.
58. Ibid., p.436 No.176, p.450 Nos. 210,211,212,213,214, p.451 Nos. 215, 216, 217, 218. Cf. supra, Ch.III, Note 490.
59. Henderson, op. cit., p.217. Ritterling, loc. cit., 1685, argues that it was a vexillation.
60. The IGLS text reads:
- M(arco) Septimio, M(arci) f(ilio), Fab(ia tribu), Magno (centurioni) leg(ionis) [III Ga]l(icae) iter(um) et leg(ionis) IV Scy[th]icae e[t] leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) iter(um) et leg(ionis) I Miner (viae) et
4. leg(ionis) X Fr(etensis) (bis)
L(ucius) Septimius Marcellus fratri optimo
- Μάρκω Σεπτίμω, Μάρκου υἱῷ, Φαβ(ία), Μάγνῳ (ἐκατοντάρχη) λεγεῶνος γ' [Γαλατ]ικῆς τὸ β' καὶ λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυθικῆς καὶ λεγ(εῶνος) κ' Οὐαλερίας Νευκηφόρου τὸ β' καὶ λεγ(εῶνος) α' Μινερ-
ουσίας καὶ λεγ(εῶνος) ε' Φρετηνσίας τὸ β'
- Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Μάρκελλος ἀδελφῷ ἀγαθῷ
- The CIL III text has the sign "7" for "centurion" in the Latin, "ἑ" in the Greek and "bis" in the Latin for "bis".
61. Supra, Ch.III, p.183 and Note 463.
62. G.A. Reisner, Harvard Excavations I, pp.46-7.
63. Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.31-35 (J.W. Crowfoot), pp.121-138 (K.M. Kenyon).
64. Supra, Note 62, cf. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.35.
65. For example, columns of the then unexcavated rectangular stadium (called a "hippodrome" by the Harvard expedition, and its outline restored accordingly on their Plan I) are said to be monolithic, of the same shape as those "of the roadway and other buildings" (C.S. Fisher, Harvard Excavations, p.219).

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66. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.36.
67. Ibid., pp.35-6.
68. ArchPalaest., pp.170, 172.
69. Crowfoot, op. cit., p.36.
70. Gerasa, p.57.
71. Samaria-Sebaste I, Pl. LXXXV.4-6.
72. Ibid., p.36.
73. Baalshamfn I, p.140, Baalshamfn II, Pl. LXXXIII, Pl.LXXXV.1-2.
74. Baalshamfn I, p.140, cf. p.75.
75. Baalshamfn II, Pls. LXXXIII, LXXXIV.1-4, XXXXV.1-2.
76. Ibid., Pl. LXXII, Pl. LXXXV.3.
77. E.g. Baalbek II, Taf. 33. Rigid adherence to Schlumberger's sequence, given the new dating peg of 149 from the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, would, however, push these capitals back to an unfeasible date. The Heliopolitanum, and its appendages such as the Round Temple, is not a safe guide in such matters, since there is a distinctive local tradition which in some respects overrides the more widespread changes in style. A great deal of work has been done on distinguishing the fine differences to be found in the various capitals and other architectural members and in assigning them to the various disparate workshops and schools active at Baalbek (see, for example, Collart, op. cit., pp.137-8 and Mus. Helv. 1951, passim); it is perhaps advisable to reiterate that there were also broad similarities. The capitals of the various successive buildings, as well as the decoration of prominent mouldings such as the cyma reversa, show a strong generic similarity to each other in regard to their grosser features, features which would, for a layman, constitute collectively the "look" of the place; in these respects the closest parallel for Baalbek is always Baalbek. The buildings of this complex were intended to "match" each other, at least as far as the lay visitor was concerned, in a way which those of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, for example, were not. In capitals, for example, whether or not the leaves of the acanthus touch each other is something which might conceivably effect the overall appearance, even if it registered on the perceptions of the visitor only as the difference between luxuriant and sparse vegetation: in fact the capitals from the 'Temple of Bacchus' (Baalbek II, e.g. Taf. 23,33) and of the Round Temple (ibid., e.g.

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Taf. 57, S.100 Abb. 154) follow the model established by those of the Temple of Jupiter in this respect (Baalbek I, Taf. 57, S.74 Abb. 46, S.75 Abb. 47): at Baalbek, the individual fronds are always clearly separated. Similarly, the fact that in the capitals of the Round Temple the central helices, now slightly diminished in size, are tucked under the rim of the kalathos, as distinct from those in the capitals of the South Court of the Sanctuary of Baalshamin, which surge up on to the abacus itself, might have been used to support Schlumberger's thesis that this was the chronological sequence in Syrian Orthodox capitals, first below the abacus, then on it, then again below it, were it not for the fact that the same is true of the capitals of the other two extant temples at Baalbek, and, furthermore, in all cases, the distinctive disc-like effect caused by the projection of a segment of the rim of the kalathos over the junction of the medial helices, another feature which achieved widespread currency (see e.g. Wiegand, J.d.(k.) a. I. 1914, Beilage 4, Abb. 26, 28, 29) but remained a characteristic of Baalbek capitals, found also in those preserved in the mosque (ibid., Abb. 24,25), is also present. It seems likely that in this respect, too, the Round Temple was following the model of its predecessors on the same site, ultimately the Temple of Jupiter, rather than current fashions; if it happens to correlate with more widespread fashions, this is more a matter of coincidence than design. The similarities between the Baalbek capitals are obvious at first glance, the fine differences only after prolonged scrutiny, and it is only these differences which can safely be regarded as a function of time. In other respects, the Baalshamin Sanctuary, where no such effort to ensure the uniformity of appearance of the sanctuary as a whole is evident, or individual buildings, which were not conceived as parts of a larger whole of which the construction continued over two centuries, are better guides.

78. Syria 1933, p.294.

79. Baalshamîn II, Pl. LXXXIII.1,3; Pl.LXXV.2.

80. Ibid., Pl. LXXXIII.4,5,6.

81. Syria 1933, p.293.

82. Baalshamîn I, p.140, Baalshamîn II, Pl. LXXXIV.1-4.

83. Samaria-Sebaste I, Pl. LXXXIV.6.

84. Ibid., fig. 5.

85. Baalshamîn II, Pl. LXXXIII, Pl. LXXXV.(1,) 2. However, in Pl. LXXXIII.1, labelled "Type B 2", there does appear to be a gap between the medial helices.

86. Samaria-Sebaste I, Pl. LXXXIV.4.

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87. Missing, Baalshamfn II, Pl. LXXXIII.1,4,5, Pl.LXXXV.2; partially missing or badly damaged, ibid., Pl.LXXXIII.2, 3, Pl.LXXXIV.1,4, Pl. LXXXV.1.

88. Samaria-Sebaste I, Pl. LXXXIV.5,6 respectively.

89. Syria 1933, p.294. Since he apparently visited the excavations and was consulted in regard to another capital (Samaria-Sebaste I, p.34) it is possible he had these capitals in mind when he wrote. The description certainly applies.

90. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.36.

91. See M.A. p.12.

92. Supra, Note 77.

93. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 215.

94. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.36, pp. 36-7:

A short period of some fifty years, from about A.D. 180 to about 230, will, in all probability, cover the dates of all these foundations (see our Third Roman Period, p.132 f.).

The output would be almost incredible if we did not know from other sources that the city was then passing through a wave of prosperity.

Sebaste was a small place: the area within the walls was little more than a kilometre across at its widest point. And though it was well situated so far as Palestine was concerned, it did not stand on one of the great trade routes of the ancient world, it was not a caravan city. Its wealth must have been derived from the exploitation of the immediate neighbourhood. The quantity and quality of the buildings is the more astounding. If we reflect that some 600 monolithic shafts, each more than 4 m. long, were required for the street, another 160 of the same type for the stadium, and some much larger ones for the basilica, and that most of the seats in the theatre weigh a quarter of a ton, we shall have some idea of what the Severan building programme meant in terms of human labour. And the workmanship was of no mean standard: the doorways of the little shops on the street had more elaborate jambs than the best of the Gabinian houses, the residences on the summit were about four times as large as the old ones, the walls of the new stadium were far better masoned than the walls of its predecessor. It is astounding...

95. Ibid., p.35.

96. Op. cit., S.95.

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97. Harvard Excavations, Plan 12. For the type of basilica, Robertson, Handbook, pp.267 f.; for other basilicas in Syria, Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.456 cf.p.577 n.75.
98. De Architectura V.I.4.
99. Supra, Ch. I, pp.47-8. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.56, for this building, tentatively identified as a temple.
100. Samaria-Sebaste I, Plan I,17, cf. Harvard Excavations Plan 12.
101. See the plan of the forum, reproduced e.g. Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.62, fig.35, and the Dover edition of the Hicky Morgan translation of Vitruvius, p.133.
102. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.52-4.
103. Ibid., p.50.
104. Ibid., pp.50-52, p.53 figs. 19-20.
105. Antioch V, e.g. p.19, Plan XIX.
106. Ibid., Plan LXX.
107. Ward-Perkins, oral communication.
108. Vacat.
109. See M.A. Notes 382-3. The Caerleon "colonnade" is dated only by the contents of one of the houses, which contained the tabernae, ranging from the second to the fourth century A.D. (J.P. Wright, "Roman Britain in 1955", JRS XLVI, 1956, pp.119-157, ref. p.122), while the Verulamium example pre-dates the Boudiccan rebellion (S.S. Frère, "Verulamium, a Belgic and three Roman Cities", Antiquity XXXVIII, 1964, pp.103-112, ref. pp.104-5.
110. Main Street, 16-P, Antioch V, pp.74, 80 and p.72 Plans XL, XLI.
111. See M.A. Note 474.
112. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.46.

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113. Ibid., p.49, n. 1.
114. Herod instituted quinquennial games at Caesarea and Jerusalem, cf. supra, Ch. I, pp.18,19,21.
115. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.47.
116. Ibid., pp.44 ff., p.43 fig.12.
117. Ibid., pp.48-9.
118. Ibid., pp.46, 48.
119. Supra, Ch.I, p.27 and Note 186.
120. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.44. Cf. AJ XV.296.
121. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.32, n.2, cf. AJ XVII.198 for their ethnic composition, though the passage in fact refers to those still in service at the time of Herod's death.

The recurrence of the name "Rufus" is interesting. It is of course too common for much weight to be placed upon it, but it may be worth mentioning that one of the Herodian officers who remained loyal to the Romans after Herod's death, and who is singled out for gallantry by Josephus, was Rufus, commander of the royal cavalry, and one of the commanders of the Sebastenian troops who came to the aid of Sabinus when there was a rebellion at Jerusalem in 4 B.C., cf. BJ II.iii.4:

...The rebels now had with them the bulk of the royal troops which had deserted to their side. The most efficient division, however, of those troops still adhered to the Romans, namely the Sebastenians, under Rufus and Gratus, the latter commanding the royal infantry, the former the cavalry;- a pair, either of whom, even without any force under him, was worth an army, owing to their bravery and acumen.

(Thackeray's translation), although another possible explanation for the occurrence of the name at Samaria might lie in emancipations or enfranchisements sponsored by T. Atilius Rufus, governor of Syria A.D. 82/3 (W. Eck, Senatores von Vespasian bis Hadrian, C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich 1970, p.249), or, since the date of the graffiti does not appear to be secure, Tineius Rufus, governor of Judaea A.D. 132 (Henderson, op. cit., p.217).

122. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.48; Sukenik, ibid., pp.66-7. Given that the cult of Isis and Sarapis was one Hellenistic feature which mutated and spread as part of the Roman milieu, not only in Syria but elsewhere in the Roman world, this is really quite extraordinary.

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123. Avi-Yonah, "Foundation of Tiberias", IEJ 1950-1, p.167.
124. See Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.37.
125. See, for example, Bartholemew's Map of Israel with Jordan, Scale 1:350,000, John Bartholemew & Sons Ltd., Edinburgh (no date, post 1967).
126. Seyrig, Syria 1959, pp.62-4, Pl. XII.6-7 (M. Aurelius), 8 (Commodus), 10 (Septimius Severus), 13 (Macrinus), 14 (Elagabalus).
127. Ibid., pp.64-6, Pl. XII.11.
128. Ibid., Pl. XII.12.
129. Supra, Ch.III, pp.116-117.
130. Syria 1959, pp.60-62, Pl.XII.1 (Caracalla), 2-4 (Elagabalus).
131. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.434,436, 438, 439, Pl.230; Amy, Syria 1950, pp.91-2 and fig.8 p.92; Ed. Wiegand, J.d.(k.) a. I. 1914, Beilage 3 to S.59, Abb.21.
132. Musil, Palmyrena, p.58, p.56 fig.10, p.57 fig. 11.
133. Ibid., p.58, cf. Dussaud, Syria 1929, p.54.
134. Vacat.
135. Vacat.
136. Baalbek II, Taf. 51-2.
137. The lateral consoles at Baalbek are of the usual S-type (ibid., Taf. 50), although figured ornament in unusual positions occurs elsewhere in the temple.
138. Wood, Palmyra, Tab. X.
139. Ibid., Tab. IX, XI, XII a. Contrast also, for example, the main doorway of the courtyard of the synagogue at Capernaum, Late Antonine -

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Early Severan (Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues, Pl. II).

140. Wood, Palmyra, Tab. XXIX.

141. A tetrakonia, Wood, op. cit., Tab. XXXIII, has both; the upper cyma recta returns to prominence, but without the lower frieze, on a temple tomb, ibid., Tab. XXXVIII, mid second century or later.

142. Ibid., Tab. XV.

143. Baalbek I, Taf. 80, cf. reconstruction, Taf. 25, text S. 77-8. The construction of the Altar Court continued from the first century to the middle of the second (Ed. Wiegand, J.d.(k.) a. I. 1914, S.42, considers the porticoes to be no earlier than the first decade of the second century). The scheme of the cornice, therefore, might have been laid down in the first century, regardless of when the blocks were executed, or at any time thereafter. The two blocks in Taf. 80 differ markedly in treatment. Apart from the variation in the form of the egg-and-tongue, discussed below, the upper block is far more summary in the portrayal of detail, and far less delicate in the actual rendition, particularly of the petals of the soffit leaves; the tendency towards openwork technique is less marked, and the sculpture of the frieze far more connected to the block behind, whereas in the lower photograph the frieze seems almost free-standing. Whether this betokens a difference in date, or merely in hand, is a moot point. Openwork occurs in the first century on the Great Altar (Collart, Mus. Helv. 1951, p.256), where the existence of three utterly different workshops, employed side by side on the same structure, is also attested, a situation obtaining also in the three extant temples, but less dramatically illustrated (ibid., pp.254 ff.).

144. Baalbek I, Taf. 78, reconstruction Taf. 25. Again there is a difference in the treatment of the two blocks, that in the lower frame showing more delicacy and detail in the rendition of the leaves, particularly of the acanthus, and in the petals of the flowers, and a greater depth of modelling in the acanthus clump as a whole.

145. E.g. Baalbek I, Taf. 57.

146. See Ed. Wiegand, J.d. (k.) a. I. 1914, S.50 sqq.

147. Concord, Robertson, Handbook, Pl.XIIa, Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 113; Temple of Vespasian, Robertson, Handbook, Pl.XIIb; Venus Genetrix, Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl.124.

148. Baalbek II, Taf. 51-2, especially Segm. 115; also in the cella, ibid., S.11 Abb.15 c and f, S. 16 Abb. 29.

149. Ibid., S. 11 Abb. 15 f.

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150. Ibid., S. 97 Abb.143.
151. E.g. Wood, Palmyra, Tab. XXII.
152. Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., frontispiece.
153. Main arch of the façade, which is of course much broader and flatter than that at Esrija, reconstruction, Baalbek II, Taf. 62, presumably based on the fragments of an arch from one of the internal conches, ibid., S. 102 Abb. 161. The decoration of the conch reconstructed in Taf. 66 is not as close.
154. Baalbek II, S.33 Abb.67, S. 34 Abb. 68,69.
155. Baalshamfîn II, Pl. CII.1-2.
156. Baalshamfîn I, p.165.
157. Collart, ibid., p.141; Schlumberger, Syria 1933, p.295.
158. Baalshamfîn II, Pl. LXXXVI.
159. Baalbek I, S. 74, Abb. 46, and Taf. 65, left.
160. Baalshamfîn II, Pl. XCIV.5.
161. See D. Schlumberger, loc. cit., pp.287-90.
162. David Talbot Rice, Islamic Art, Praeger World of Art Paperbacks, revised edition, Thames & Hudson, Britain, 1975, p.15, Ill.8.
163. Palmyrena, p.209 fig.82, p.208 fig. 81 respectively. Mendl, in his appendix on Resafa (ibid., p.326, cf. Musil p.163) quotes the inscription from the main apse, ΝΙΚΑΗΤΥΧΗΑΛΑΜΟΥΝΔΑΡΟΥ, which dates the church to the reign of Alamundarus, a Christian king of the Ghassanians, who reigned from 570 to 581. For the 'lotus' type cf. ibid., p.194 fig.72, from the Church of St. Sergius, p.201 fig. 77 from the martyr.
164. See, for example, the pilaster capital from the martyr at Resafa, ibid., p.201 fig.77.
165. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, Taf. 36 Abb.86, and S. 128 (-9).

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166. E.g. Baalbek II, Taf. 23,33.
167. Ibid., S.7 Abb.10.
168. Ibid., S.7 Abb. 10b; Taf. 35, upper.
169. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, Taf. 36 Abb. 84 and S.85.
170. For example, Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.61. He comments on the richness of the decoration of the theatre, more florid than any of the other buildings of the phase; the members from the theatre illustrated p.60 figs. 27,28, show almost puritanical restraint by comparison with the architecture of other sites.
171. Op. cit., p.434.
172. E.g. Baalbek I, Taf. 60.
173. E.g. Baalbek II, S. 8 Abb.12, S.10 Abb.14, S.11 Abb. 15.
174. E.g. Ernest E. Herzfeld, Iran in the Ancient East, Oxford U.P., 1941, p.293 fig.387, a first century A.D. plaster fragment from Assur.
175. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.85 and Taf.36 Abb. 84.
176. Op. cit., Pl.215.
177. Baalbek II, Taf. 37, lower.
178. Gilbert Picard, The Ancient Civilization of Rome, transl. H.S.B. Harrison, Ancient Civilizations series, Barrie & Rockliff, London, (no date, copyright 1969), [Pl.] 57.
179. Musil, Palmyrena, p.181 fig. 64.
180. Ibid., p.201 fig. 77.
181. Bull, AJA 1967, p.292.
182. QDAP 1950, p.94.

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183. Op. cit., p.48.
184. Op. cit., p.434.
185. Bostra has not been included in this thesis in its own right, since it is doubtful whether it ever formed part of the Roman province of Syria, and is mentioned only by way of comparison, or, as here, when it is materially linked to one of the other sites which has been taken into consideration.
186. For a fuller treatment of the question of urbanization and settlement in Palmyrene, infra, Ch. VI, pp.360-373.
187. Schlumberger, Palmyrène du N.-O., pp.22, 62-64, 153, (33).
188. Wiegand, Palmyra, S.11-12. For a similar sale of a particular area within a mausoleum, see the third century inscription from the Hypogeum of Yarhai (Amy and Seyrig, Syria 1936, p.260).
189. The transliteration of the names is that used by Wiegand.
190. M.A. pp.36-7 and Note 75.
191. Robertson, Handbook, pp.238-9, fig. 99; Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.442.
192. Syria 1950, p.91.
193. Cf. supra, Note 44.
194. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 235.
195. Thomas D. Boyd, "The Arch and the Vault in Greek Architecture", AJA LXXXII, 1978, pp.83-100, Figs.1-14, Ill. 1-4, ref. p.96 and p.97 fig. 13.
196. M.A. pp.232-5.
197. Malcolm A.R. Colledge, The Parthians, Thames & Hudson, Ancient Peoples and Places series, London, 1967, p.141 fig. 41.
198. Handbook, p.239.
199. Op. cit., p.442.
200. Ibid.
201. Ibid., p.440 and fig. 163.
202. Syria 1950, pp.92-3.

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203. Cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.434, where he derives the plan of the churches more directly from the tripartite temples. The vaulted roofs of the nave and aisles, however, do not appear in these earlier examples.
204. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.104.
205. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.451. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. p.114, says A.D. 165; so too Perkins, Art of Dura-Europos, p.6, who says that it received a small garrison in 165.
206. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p.181; Ward-Perkins, op. cit. Perkins, op. cit. p.25, argues that the bath in F3, which was partially overlaid by the amphitheatre of A.D. 216, and pre-dates the major re-organization of the area into a "proper military camp" in 210 (ibid., p.25), was Roman, belonging to the period after 165, not, as previously thought, Parthian, citing the use of the Roman foot and the typically Roman arches and domes ("presumably in concrete") and heating arrangements (cf. M. Rostovtzeff and H. Detweiler, apud The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report on the Ninth Season of Work 1935-1936, ed. M.I. Rostovtzeff et al., Part III. The Palace of the Dux Ripae and the Dolichenum, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1952 (hereafter Dura-Europos. Prelim. Report IX. Part III), pp.25-6, 69-94.) It seems that there is Roman influence on the architecture of Dura attested here whether the bath dates to the Parthian or to the Roman period - it is far from unthinkable that Dura should be influenced by the culture of the area to the west even while a Parthian possession. Perkins considers the bath built in E3, also within the camp precinct, to be the replacement for the bath in F3, built after the re-organization of the camp area and construction of the amphitheatre (op. cit., p.27).
207. Ward-Perkins, op. cit.
208. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.181, 199.
209. Ward-Perkins, op. cit. Perkins, op. cit., pp.31-2 points in addition to the use of domes and arches, concrete and baked brick in the buildings constructed after the Roman takeover, and to the similarity in plan between the Palace of the Dux Ripae and the Roman buildings of the West, and concludes that the architects and at least some of the workmen were Romans, or Roman-trained.
210. Caravan Cities, pp.180-1.
211. Ibid., p.185. On the gods to whom this shrine was dedicated, see Perkins, op. cit., p.44 and Colledge, Art of Palmyra, pp.228-9. (I am grateful to Dr. A.W. McNicoll for these references.)
212. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.187-8.
213. Ibid., p.186.
214. Ibid., pp.180-2.

215. Ibid., p.182.

216. Ibid., pp.183 ff.

217. This in itself is an argument for a late date for the remodelling, since the Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort became part of the garrison only under Caracalla or Elagabalus, see ibid., pp.113-4.

217a. Perkins, op. cit., p.24; pp.13-14 on the original Hellenistic agora. Cf. (F.E. Brown,) The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report on the Ninth Season of Work 1935-1936. Part I. The Agora and Bazaar, ed. M.I. Rostovtzeff et al., Yale University Press, New Haven, 1944 (hereafter Dura-Europos. Prelim. Report IX. Part I) pp.28-68, and especially figs. 78, 80, 82. As with the bath in F3 (supra, Note 206), there is no external confirmation that these developments belong to the period just after rather than just before A.D. 164; as with the bath, however, it would still be Romanization even if the Roman influence penetrated during the later part of the Parthian occupation. Some of the street colonnades appear to be, as Perkins (op. cit., p.24) suggests, a matter of individual merchants or groups of merchants erecting colonnades in front of their shops (see e.g. Dura-Europos. Prelim. Report IX. Part I, fig.78, the colonnade along the west side of Street H in Block G 2, opposite shops A4 to S14, as too the shorter colonnade on the north side of Alley G 2), that is to say, dubious, coincidental, 'de facto' street colonnades, the primary purpose being to provide porticoes for the individual shops, like some of those found in Britain, not a planned lining of the street. However, in other cases, it appears more likely that a stretch of colonnade was deliberately built to line the street, rather than built piecemeal to adorn individual shops: for example, in ibid., fig. 78, the colonnade of Market Street in Block G 2 seems to cut off one shop, S22, belonging to House C, leaving the others without a portico; on the opposite side of Market Street, in Block G 1, the columns adjacent shops S41-46 are aligned with the street, but are not consistently aligned with either the walls or the doors of the shops, as too in the case of the columns on the east side of Street H, opposite Block G 1 (cf. also ibid., fig. 80); similarly, in the section of the colonnade on the west side of Street H opposite shops S25 and S17 in G 2, the columns are aligned with the street and with the columns in the section of the colonnade further to the south, but not with any architectural feature of the two shops behind them.

218. CIL III No. 129.

219. Palmyrena, pp.110-11, p.112 fig. 29.

220. Palmyre, pp.80-81.

221. Ibid.

222. Parker, 138 to 337, pp.19-20.

223. De Saulcy, op. cit., pp.593 ff.; CIL III No. 199.

224. CIL III Nos. 201-2.

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225. It was stationed at Samosata by Trajan (Watson, loc. cit., p. 593; Ritterling, loc. cit., 1765; Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, p.67), although a detachment built a canal at Seleucia Pieriae under Antoninus Pius (Ritterling, loc. cit., 1766). By the fourth century, however, Sura was the residence of the praefectus legionis sextae decimae Flaviae firmae (Musil, Palmyrena, p.236, citing Not. Dign. Oriens, cf. Ritterling, loc. cit., who suggests this perhaps first happened under Diocletian.
226. Seyrig, Syria 1959, p.66. For a discussion of γενάρχης, ibid., and n.3.
227. Ibid.
228. Bietenhard, ZDPV 1963, p.44; Pliny, NH V.xvi, 74; Ptolemy, V.vii.14-17.
229. Seyrig, loc. cit., pp.66-7 and p.66 n.6.
230. Ibid., and e.g. Bietenhard, loc. cit., p.26.
231. Seyrig, loc. cit., p.67, cf. p.76 No. 5. The legend does not preserve any identification, but the reverse shows a peculiar bust, beardless, cuirassed, and possibly horned, which Seyrig suggests may be Alexander. For the cult of Alexander in Syria in Roman times, ibid., p.67, n.1.
232. Loc. cit.
233. BJ I.vii.7.
234. Seyrig, loc. cit., p.67 n.3.
235. BJ I.vii.8. For its capture by Jannaeus, AJ XIII.395-7. No destruction is mentioned, but it presumably occurred at this point.
236. BJ I.viii.4. These, however, are stated to be merely examples; Canatha is equally absent from the list of cities freed by Pompey (BJ I. vii.7), stated to be those which had not already been razed; Canatha existed at the outbreak of the conflict between Octavian and Antony (BJ I. xix.2); it therefore may well be that it was one of those which had been destroyed and was rebuilt by order of Gabinius.
237. Seyrig, Syria 1959, p.67.
238. Supra, Ch. I, Note 71.
239. Supra, Note 236.
240. Seyrig, loc. cit.
241. Various given as 61-60 B.C., 61-59 B.C. and 59-58 B.C., see M.A. Appendix.

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242. Seyrig, loc. cit., p.67 and n.2.

243. Quoted above, Note 35.

244. Welles, Gerasa, p.358. Again, it does not appear among the cities freed by Pompey in BJ I.vii.7.

245. See Seyrig, loc. cit., p.66.

246. The main sources are Cassius Dio LXXI. 22, 2 ff. (Loeb numeration, LXXII.22, 2ff.) and SHA Marcus XXI.2, XXIV.5, XXV.12. Only a very brief account appears in SHA Avidius Cassius, a work not, in any case, conspicuous for its reliability.

247. Dio states that he was a Syrian from Cyrrhus, the son of a rhetorician, Avidius Heliodorus, who had risen to the position of governor of Egypt (LXXI.22,2 = LXXII.22, 2 in the Loeb numeration; E. Cary, Loeb Vol. IX, p.37 n.1 supplies the cross-reference to LXIX.3.5 (Loeb numeration) for the nomen of "Heliodorus"). This is supported by SHA Marcus XXV .12, which states that Aurelius refused to visit Cyrrhus, the home of Cassius, and by Dio, LXXII.31,1 (Loeb) which states that after the revolt had failed, a law was passed preventing anyone from serving as governor in the province from which he had originally come, "inasmuch as the revolt of Cassius had occurred during his administration of Syria, which included his native district", ὅτι ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἐκούσῃ ἡγεμονένων ἐνεόχμησε. The tradition of the SHA Avidius Cassius I.1-4 that he was the son of Avidius Severus, a novus homo who rose from the rank of centurion ad summas dignitas, and was related to the old Republican Cassii on his mother's side is therefore probably apocryphal, and should be ignored, cf. supra, Ch.III, p.194 and Note 517. However, Alan K. Bowman, "A letter of Avidius Cassius?", JRS LX, 1970, pp.20-26, makes a good case for the authenticity of the letter in question (SB 10295) and in it, if the restoration is correct, Cassius calls Alexandria τῇ πατρίδι πόλει. Bowman suggests that this appellation may be due either to his father's governorship or to his own attitude to the city - his daughter was called Alexandria - or to political expediency: this letter to the Egyptians belongs to the period after Egypt had recognised him as emperor. It is also possible that it may be technically correct - that he may actually have been born in Alexandria, though a Syrian in all else: his father's prefecture of Egypt occurred during the reign of Antoninus (Magie, Loeb SHA Vol. I, pp.232-3 n.2) but he was previously an imperial secretary (ibid., cf. Dio LXIX.3,5, Loeb numeration), and may have travelled there in the course of his duties.

248. See previous Note. According to Rey-Coquais, JRS 1968, p.65, he was legate of Syria from 166 to at least 171, then rector totius Orientis from 172. His suffect consulship is dated to between 161 and 168 by Sutherland and Hammond, OCD², p.156, s.v. AVIDIUS (3), and as "? 166" by Alföldy, op. cit., S.321.

249. Magie's Loeb translation.

250. Ibid.

251. Op. cit., p.25.

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252. Magie, Loeb SHA Vol. I, p.246 n.4. A certain Maecianus is mentioned in both SHA Marcus (XXV.4) and SHA Avidius Cassius (VII.4) as having been put in charge of Alexandria by Cassius and subsequently slain by the army when the revolt failed. Magie (ibid., p.194 n.1) suggests that this is "possibly, though not probably" the jurist L. Volusius Maecianus, known in the reign of Antoninus Pius; if this identification were correct, it would make the revolt even more "Roman".
253. Dio (Loeb) LXXII.23,1.
254. Dio (Loeb) LXXII.22,2. SHA Avidius Cassius V.5-VI.4 wittingly or unwittingly uses forged letters of Aurelius to make the same point, as well, as Magie points out (Loeb Vol. I pp.xx-xxi) as to enhance the character of Aurelius. Commodus was then under age - he actually assumed his toga virilis when he was just fourteen, before accompanying his father when he went to the East to put down the revolt (SHA Commodus II.3, cf. Magie, Loeb Vol. I, p.267 n.10).
255. Downey, HistAnt., pp.151-2.
256. Dio (Loeb) LXXII.23,2.
257. Who were not Syrians: Severus came from Lepcis Magna (SHA Severus I.1-2) and Niger was of Italian stock (SHA Pescennius Niger I.3).
258. Magie, Loeb SHA Vol. I, p.329 n.2.
259. SHA Severus IX.5.
260. Cf. Magie, op. cit., p.403 n.7.
261. Latomus 1959, p.347.
262. Op. cit., p.409 n.7.
263. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, p.36, cf. supra, p.206.
264. SHA Severus IX.4-5: Antiochensibus iratior fuit, quod et administrantem se in oriente riserant et Nigrum etiam victu iuverant.
- 264a. S.E.H.R.E.² II, p.663 n.30, cf. supra Ch. III, p.190 and Note 503, Ch.I, Note 102.
265. Op. cit., S.320-322.
266. See above, Note 248.
267. Dio, LXXI.2 (= Loeb LXXII.3,1), cf. Sutherland and Hammond, OCD², p.156, s.v. AVIDIUS (3), Magie, Loeb SHA Vol. I, p.244 n. 2 for references. Cf supra Note 248.

268. Dio (Loeb) LXXII.4,1-2; SHA Avidius Cassius VI.6; Sutherland and Hammond, loc. cit.

269. C.H.V. Sutherland and Mason Hammond, OCD², pp.247-8, s.v. CLAUDIUS POMPEIANUS, cf. e.g. Alföldy, op. cit., S.321, Pflaum, "...Vita Aelii et Avidii Cassii, H.A. Colloquium 1972/74, p.197.

270. Sutherland and Hammond, loc. cit., cf. SHA Marcus XX.6-7 and the bogus letter of Aurelius in SHA Avidius Cassius X.2-4.

271. Sutherland and Hammond, loc. cit., cf. SHA Marcus XX.6-7. Cf. Alföldy, op. cit.

272. SHA Pertinax II.1 and Magie's note ad loc., II.4 and note c ad loc.; Dio (Loeb) LXXIV.3,1.

273. Cassius Dio (Loeb) LXXIII.20,2.

274. SHA Commodus IV.2-4. For the identity of the would-be assassin, see Magie's note 2 ad loc. Cf. Dio (Loeb).LXXII.4-5. Both sources fail to articulate the relationship between father and son clearly.

275. SHA Pertinax IV.10.

276. SHA Didius Julianus VIII.3.

277-8. Vacant.

279. Translated by E. Cary, Loeb Cassius Dio Vol. IX, p.127.

280. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.² II, p.663 n.31.

281. Starcky, Palmyre, p.39.

282. Ibid., p.42.

283. Ibid., p.39.

284. Ibid. Starcky places it at Palmyra until 185, when it was moved to Egypt by Commodus; Michael P. Speidel, "Numerus ou Ala Vocontorium à Palmyre", apud "Nouvelles Archéologiques", Syria XLIX, 1972, pp.495-7, ref. table p.497, gives the dates as before 167 to 183.

285. Starcky, op. cit., p.39.

286. Ibid., p.42.

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287. Supra, Ch.I, pp.51-2.

288. John H. D'Arms, "Eighteen Latin Inscriptions from Puteoli", AJA LXXVII, 1973, pp.151-167, ref. p.153 No.1, Pl.27 fig.1.

289. Dessau, ILS Nos. 9173, 2625 and notes ad loc.

290. Paul Keresztes, "The Constitutio Antoniniana and the Persecutions under Caracalla", AJP XCI,4, Oct. 1970, pp.464-459, ref. p.453 citing Tertullian, Ad Scap. 1-8 (cf. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus Vol. I, Belgium, Liber ad Scapulam).

291. Nash, op. cit., pp.525 ff.

292. See M.A. pp.40-44.

293. The details of Severus' service in Syria are obscure. While his marriage to Julia Domna was arranged by proxy while he was governor of Lugdunensis (SHA Severus III.9), Dio's passage describing his consultation of the oracle at Apamea, (Loeb) LXXIX.8.6) implies that he was there in person at some time. SHA Severus III.7 states that he was given command of the Fourth Scythica, stationed at Massilia. As Magie, Loeb Vol. I, p.376 n.4 points out, there is something amiss here, since this legion was never quartered near Marseilles, and was in Syria during the period in question (e.g. Watson, loc. cit., p.592). The error may be in the name of the legion; alternatively, a vexillation of the Fourth Scythica may at some time have been sent to Marseilles. It is also possible, however, that the biographer misplaced the incident in Severus' career, and one of his earlier posts was indeed legate of the Fourth, in Syria.

Pertinax served as prefect of a cohort in Syria in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and earned the displeasure of the governor of the day by using the imperial postal service without permission; he served with distinction in Verus' Parthian War before being transferred to Britain (SHA Pertinax I.6 - II.1).

294. HistAnt., p.236; P-W 4 A₂ Kol. 1630.

295. Cassius Dio (Loeb) LXXIII.6.1-5.

296. Dio (Loeb) LXXIII.14.1-3; SHA Commodus VII.2-3. This incident is also obscure, and may in fact be a reflection of some little-known local political strife in Emesa. The brief SHA account calls it a rebellion (defectio), after which Alexander killed himself and his nearest relations. In Dio's version, that summarized in the text, it is stated that Alexander, before taking flight, killed all his enemies (ἐχθροὺς) at Emesa, which again points to something more than a simple outburst of irrationality on the part of Commodus.

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297. Loeb SHA Vol. I, pp.xx-xxi.
298. Pflaum, loc. cit., translates, "d'un certain âge et d'origine non romaine."
299. SHA Verus VIII.6-11.
300. Magie, op. cit., pp.224-5 n.5, states that after his manumission he took the name of L. Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius, and is commemorated in numerous inscriptions, receiving many local honours in the cities of Italy. He was executed by Commodus in 189 during Cleander's reign of terror (SHA Commodus VII.2, cf. Magie, loc. cit.), a recommendation rather than the reverse. On the possibility of conflation with another Memphius, and for a fuller discussion, see H.-G. Pflaum, "Les personnages nommément cités par la Vita Veri de l'H.A." H.A. Colloquium 1972/74, pp.173-187, ref. pp.182-3.
301. Giuseppe Giagrande, OCD², p.538, s.v. IAMBLICHUS (1). Cf. F. Millar, JRS 1971, p.6.
302. The Lucian persona in Revivescentes sive Piscator is an example of this, a projection of only one limited facet of the author, who comprehends both the persona and his critics, see e.g. Section 20.
303. W.M. Edwards and R. Browning, OCD², p.621, s.v. LUCIAN; cf. Paul Turner, in his introduction to his translation, Lucian, Satirical Sketches, Penguin Books, 1961, p.8. There is disagreement about the date of his birth.
304. Edwards and Browning, loc. cit.
305. Cf. H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology, Methuen, London, 6th edition 1958 (republished 1964), p.418.
306. The Loeb Lucian Vol. IV, pp.399-411 and introduction p.337.
307. For example in the taboo regarding the mention of genital organs by name: in the case of the passage Verae Historiae II.45 cited below as an example, both the Loeb translation, first printed 1925, and the Penguin, first published 1958, deem it necessary to translate αἰδοῦα by a paraphrase; "penis" is a slightly dirtier word in the first half of the twentieth century than αἰδοῦα in the middle of the second.
308. Loeb Vol. IV, pp.348-9, n.1.
309. Latomus 1959, pp.334-7, and especially p.340. The rescript of Antoninus (cf. ibid., p.334) suggests that he drew a distinction between circumcision and castration, but the SHA's statement (Hadrian. XIV.2) that the Jews revolted under Hadrian quod vetabatur mutilare genitalia shows that the conflation could still pass unnoticed in the third century.
310. For example, as in Verae Historiae II.45, where the visual image evoked would be funny regardless of which member was used as the mast; it

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is paralleled by equally whimsical fancies concerning other parts of the anatomy not subject to social taboos, as with the giants on the floating islands, who had flames instead of hair, and so were spared the need for plumed helmets when they went to war, Verae Historiae I.41.

311. Cf. Harmon, the Loeb Lucian, Vol.IV, p.352, n.1. H. Stocks, "Studien zu Lukians >>De Syriae Dea<<", Berytus IV, 1937, pp.1-40, ref. pp.8-10, argues for a modification of Harmon's designation of the non-Greek element as West Semitic, stating that it is "weder...griechisch noch babylonisch", but rather Anatolian, just as he argues for a strong Anatolian element in the religion of Bambyce in the article as a whole. On this particular point he is not, perhaps, as convincing as he is in his overall assessments of the elements in the cult. However, for the present purposes, it does not matter which Near Eastern culture was the ultimate origin of the various elements, but rather that they were now "Syrian", as opposed to "Graeco-Roman".

Chapter V, Notes.

1. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.35, states that after the division of Syria in A.D. 194, Emesa became the metropolis of Syria Phoenice. Jones, C.E.R.P.², p.267, citing the Digest, states that Caracalla granted the city colonial status and ius Italicum. However, H.H. Scullard, OCD², p.382, s.v. EMESA, citing Seyrig, states that "When Elagabalus became Roman Emperor (A.D. 217), Emesa began to flourish; it became a metropolis and received ius Italicum..."

The more widely accepted date for Elagabalus' accession is A.D. 218, after the reign of Macrinus (see e.g. H.M.D. Parker, OCD², p.635, s.v. MACRINUS; idem, A.D. 138 to 337, e.g. p.377; idem and B.H. Warmington, OCD², p.377, s.v. ELAGABALUS (2)) and TR. P. (i.e. I) for Elagabalus appears to have been in A.D. 218 and TR.P. II in A.D. 219 (Egbert, op. cit., p.137). Subject to the evidence of Seyrig, which I have not checked, it seems reasonable to assume that something has gone amiss with Scullard's OCD² article, and accept the version of Rey-Coquais and Jones in which it was Caracalla who raised the city's status.

2. The Parthians, Adiabeni and Osroeni had given at least nominal support to Niger; for these campaigns see SHA Severus XV-XVI.7, Cassius Dio, LXXV.9.1 ff. (Loeb Vol. IX, pp.216 ff.); for the mopping-up operations against the followers of Niger in Syria and perhaps Judaea, SHA Severus XV.2-XVI.1, cf. supra, Ch.IV, p.244 and Note 262; for Leg. III Cyr. in Arabia as supporters of Albinus, SHA Severus XI.5-8 and Magie, Loeb Vol. I, p.399 n.3.

3. Cf. supra, Ch.IV, p.244 and Notes 258, 259 and 264.

4. SHA Severus IX.4-5:

Antiochensibus iratior fuit, quod et administrantem se in oriente riserant et Nigrum etiam victu iuverant. denique multa his ademit.

5. Jones, C.E.R.P.², 267, idem and Henri Seyrig, OCD² p.71, s.v. ANTIOCH.

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6. SHA Severus XVI.8-9. See also below for a possible gift of baths to Antioch.

7. SHA Severus IX.5.

8. Keresztes, AJP 1970, p.453, cites Tertullian to this effect. So too H.M.D. Parker, A.D. 138 to 337, p.137 and p.336 n.31.

9. SHA Ant. Car. I.6, cf. Keresztes, loc. cit., p.451 and n.21.

10. See Keresztes, loc. cit., and n.20.

11. SHA Severus XVII.1, cf. E.M. Smallwood, Latomus 1959, p.347.

12. See Cassius Dio LXXVIII.20 ff. (Loeb Vol. IX, pp.330 ff.) especially LXXVIII.20.1.

13. Cassius Dio LXXIX.4.3, cf. LXXIX.23.1 (Loeb Vol. IX, pp.346, 390 respectively).

14. See CIL III No.206.

15. Cassius Dio LXXX.7.1-3 (Loeb Vol. IX p(p.) 452(-3)), cf. Jalabert and Mouterde, IGLS I, pp.64-5 ad No.65, Mommsen CIL III, ad Nos. 186, 206-7.

16. He was born at Lyons on the 4th of August, A.D. 186.

17. While it would hardly be possible to 'rehabilitate' Caracalla completely, it seems certain that some part of his ill-repute is due to the influence of Cassius Dio on both modern and ancient writers. His bias against the man shows clearly in passages such as LXXVIII.11.2-4 (Loeb Vol. IX, pp.300ff.) where he purports to give an assessment of Caracalla's intellectual and educational failings, commencing with, "Indeed, he had no regard whatever for the higher things, and never learned anything of that nature, as he himself admitted; and hence he actually held in contempt those of us who possessed anything like education," continues, "Severus, to be sure, had trained him in absolutely all the pursuits that tended to excellence, whether of body or mind, so that even after he became emperor he went to teachers and studied philosophy most of the day," but then proceeds on the first theme, to enlarge upon his neglect of things of the mind in favour of things of the body, only to conclude, "...thanks to his authority and his impetuosity, as well as his habit of blurting out recklessly everything alike that came into his head and of feeling no shame at all about airing his thoughts, he often stumbled upon a happy phrase," (Cary's translations). The diligent effort to place the worst possible construction on everything possible and impossible is clearly apparent in this passage itself, particularly when read with LXXIX.8.4-5 (Loeb Vol. IX,

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p.356, Cary's translation p.357) where, having discussed omens and portents presaging Caracalla's death, and avid for a portent of his own, Dio relates how the emperor called him over at a banquet, and quoted the famous concluding lines of Euripides,

πολλὰ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
πολλὰ δ' ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί,
καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
τῶν δ' ἀδοκίμων πόρον εὔρε θεός.
τοῖόνδ' ἀπέβη τόδε πρᾶγμα.

It is apparent that one may expect, at the least, that Dio will always give the benefit of the doubt to the construction which most denigrates Caracalla, and one may suspect that he might also, if need be, suppress, if not invent, rather than attribute any laudable deed or motive to his *bête noire*. However, except in a few cases such as this, it is virtually impossible to tell when this occurs: Dio would not distort, or for that matter suppress or invent, if there were no need to do so; if the facts were as black as he would have wished, he would paint them no blacker. All one can say with certainty is that Dio's appraisal of Caracalla does not seem to apply in the context of Syria. The affable judge of the "procès devant Caracalla" (Roussel and de Vischer, *loc. cit.*, e.g. pp.176-181, Naphtali Lewis, "Cognitio Caracallae de Gohariensis: Two Textual Restorations", *TAPA* IC, 1968, pp.255-8) is not the bogeyman of Cassius Dio.

18. Avi-Yonah, "Road System", *IEJ* 1950-1, p.6.
19. *Ibid.* On road-building generally in Palestine in the second and early third centuries, cf. Watzinger, *Denkmäler* II, S.95.
20. *JRS* 1971, p.238 and p.236 for dates.
21. *CIL* III No.211, cf. Cassius Dio, LXXVI.7.4 (Loeb Vol.IX, p.212.)
22. *CIL* III No.205 and Mommsen's comments *ad loc.*
23. *CIL* III No.202.
24. Rostovtzeff, *S.E.H.R.E.*², Vol. I, p.428; Jones, *C.E.R.P.*², p.287 and p.466 n.85; Rey-Coquais, *JRS* 1978, p.56. According to the latter both Tyre and Laodicea were magnificently rebuilt.
25. Jones, *C.E.R.P.*², p.267 and p.459 n.53; *idem* and H. Seyrig, *OCD*², p.71, s.v. ANTIOCH (1).
26. Starcky, *Archaeologia* 1964, p.34.
27. Starcky, *loc. cit.* Rostovtzeff, *S.E.H.R.E.*² Vol. II, p.606 n. 20 to Ch.V, states that it was elevated by Septimius Severus.

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28. See Kraeling, Gerasa, p.57 and n.161 for the difficulty of ascription.
29. Jones, C.E.R.P.², p.287.
30. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², Vol. I, pp.428-9, Vol. II, p.726 n.54, pp.713-4 n.17.
31. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.95.
32. Jones, C.E.R.P.², p.287 and p.466 n.85, cites numismatic evidence for the settlement of veterans of Leg. III Gal. at Tyre; cf. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², Vol.I, p.428.
33. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², Vol. I, p.428 for Samaria and Vol. II p. 714 n.17 for Dura. His assertion that there were actual colonists is partially based on, and partially the basis for, his hypothesis that Severus set up such colonies in an endeavour to create pockets of support for his regime and a fertile source for recruitment for the Roman army generally. The argument is somewhat muddled, in that the whole discussion started (Vol. I, pp.423-4) with the proposition that the organization of Africa was an attempt to create a class of loyal peasant soldiers there similar to that existing in Thrace and Syria, and must in any case be reviewed in the light of the other Severan colonies and 're-foundations' in Syria where no influx of new settlers is attested; in the case of Sidon, elevated by Elagabalus, Jones (C.E.R.P.², p.287) specifically states that there were no colonists, although Rostovtzeff may intend his thesis to apply to Septimius alone.
34. SHA Marcus XXVI.
35. For the text of the inscription and a discussion of its authenticity, see M.A. Appendix, L. CALPHURNIUS, under SYRIA COELE. H.M.D. Parker, A.D. 138 to 337, p.188 and p.327 n.1, accepts it at face value.
36. Palmyrena, p.257.
37. Vacat.
38. Ulrich W. Hiesinger, "Julia Domna: Two Portraits in Bronze", AJA LXXIII, 1969, pp.39-44, Pls. 15-18.
39. Ibid., pp.39-40, Pl.15, Pl.16 fig. 5.
40. Ibid., p.40.
41. Ibid., pp.41-2.

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42. Ibid., Pl. 18.
43. Ibid., p.43.
44. Syria 1937, pp.7-8.
45. Cassius Dio, LXXX.11-12.2 (Loeb Vol. IX, p.460).
46. Archaeologia 1964, p.34.
47. Bounni, Archaeologia 1964, p.43.
48. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.34.
49. Bounni, loc. cit. Cf. now Will, "Développement urbain de Palmyre", Syria 1983, especially pp.74-5.
50. Starcky, loc. cit., p.37. For the theatre cf. Will, loc. cit., p.75, who dates its construction to ca. 200. For a discussion of the funerary temple type and its Romanizing implications, supra, Ch. III, pp.161-2 and Notes 303-311.
- 50a. Colledge, Art of Palmyra, p.77 for the sarcophagi, pp.224-5 and Pl. 139 for the mosaics, p.143 for the hairstyles.
51. Jean Leslie Howarth, "A Palmyrene Head at Bryn Mawr College", AJA LXXIII, 1969, pp.441-446, Pls. 123-4. Its history is uncertain, but it was allegedly excavated at Carthage, ibid., p.441.
52. Ibid., pp.443,445.
53. Ibid., pp.441 and n.2.
54. Ibid., p.441.
55. Ibid., pp.445-6.
56. Ibid., p.441.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., pp.443-4 and Pl. 124, fig. 5.
59. Ibid., p.443.

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60. Ibid., pp.442.
61. Ibid., pp.442-3.
62. Ibid., pp.444-5.
63. Ibid., Pl. 124, fig.6.
64. Palmyre, p.124 and Pls. XIII.2, XIV.4.
65. Ibid., Pl. XIV.
66. Michael Gawlikowski, "Nouvelles Inscriptions du Camp de Dioclétien", Syria XLVIII, 1970, pp.313-326, ref. p.319.
67. Ibid., p.319 and n.4.
68. Speidel, Syria 1972, p.497.
69. Starcky, Palmyre, p.39. He takes the inscription to imply that the Roman governor sometimes attended meetings of the Palmyrene 'Senate'.
70. Ibid., and p.101.
71. Ibid., pp.75-6.
72. Caravan Cities, p.313.
73. Op. cit.
74. SHA Severus XVIII.1: Arabas in dicionem accepit; it is not stated where these Arabs were, whether south, beyond the province of Arabia, or the Scenitae ("tent-dwellers") of the Syrian desert, but all his other campaigns were in the region of the upper and middle Euphrates, and, to my knowledge, there is no other evidence for an expedition to the far south. Cassius Dio, LXXVI.11. 2 (Loeb Vol. IX, pp. 220 ff.) states that in his siege of Hatra (ca. A.D. 200) he lost a considerable number of soldiers to the guerilla tactics of the Arabs, who were acting as cavalry for the enemy: in Strabo the Scenitae are located on both banks of the Euphrates (see below, Ch. VI, Notes 489, 500). It seems clear that in Dio's account and that of the SHA the Arabs referred to in the context of Severus' campaigns are these tribes, and that it was the remaining Scenitae in Syria who, in sympathy with their kindred across the Euphrates, caused the trouble in the Syrian

desert implied by the near-contemporary inscriptions and that from Khan Kosseir.

75. See Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.111.
76. Mouterde and Poidebard, Syria 1931, p.112 n.3.
77. Seyrig, Syria 1937, p.8.
78. Seyrig, JRS 1950, p.5; Colledge, op. cit., p.241.
79. See above, Note 33.
80. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.113-4; Colledge, op. cit., pp.230, 231.
81. Supra, Ch. II, Note 164, Ch.III, p.190.
82. A.D. 138 to 337, p.130. For the cult and nature of Silvanus, cf. H.J. Rose, OCD², p.990, s.v. SILVANUS; for Silvanus as the patron deity of the quarry-workers of Leg. IV Scyth. at Enesh, Jalabert and Mouterde, IGLS I, ad No. 67.
83. Cf. supra, Ch.IV, pp.236-238, Notes 204-217a.
84. E.g. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.449 and p.576 n.61.
85. For the baths, see Perkins, op. cit., p.28. She again suggests that the use of large amounts of baked brick and concrete and the use of vaults and domes accentuate the Roman character of these baths and set them apart from most of the architecture of Dura, and implies Roman workmanship: "local labour and local methods might be used for other buildings, but baths had to be built properly." For the bouleuterion, ibid., p.29, and Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.180-1.
86. Especially as reconstructed for the late fourth century B.D., see Homer A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherly, The Agora of Athens. The Athenian Agora, Results of Excavations conducted by the American School at Athens, Vol. XIV, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton, New Jersey, 1972 (hereafter Agora XIV), Pl.6, as a Greek theatre with a nearly circular orchestra (cf. The American School at Athens, The Athenian Agora: a Guide, 2nd edition, revised 1962, p.23, fig. 4, reconstruction for the third century B.C.); slightly less so in the reconstruction for the later periods, Agora XIV, Pl. 7, for the late second century B.C. (cf. Guide, p.25 fig.5, "After the Hellenistic remodelling") and Pl.8, for the second century A.D. (cf. Guide, p.28 fig.6). However, Agora XIV, pp.32,33, makes it clear that the remains are exiguous and the reconstruction of the seating based on curved poros bedding slabs, cf. Guide, pp.47-8
87. Iris Cornelia Love, "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Knidos, 1969", AJA LXXIV, 1970, pp.149-155, Pls. 37-40, ref. p.150 III. 2. It should be noted that the building is only tentatively identified as a bouleuterion, and no precise date is given.

88. Henry S. Robinson, The Urban Development of Ancient Corinth, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1965 (reprinted from Etudes sur l'art Antique, Musée National de Varsovie, 1963, revised 1965), p.23.

89. On the 'Christian Building' and synagogue, e.g. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., Perkins, op. cit., pp.24, 29. Marie-Henrietta Gates, "Dura-Europos: A Fortress of Syro-Mesopotamian Art", Biblical Archaeologist 47, No.3, Sept. 1984, pp.166-181, asserts (p.166) that the general architectural and decorative schemata of all religious buildings followed the standard types of preclassical Mesopotamia, so that the new cults had to conform to pre-existing architectural forms, sometimes even to the extent of contradicting their rites. In particular, she says (p.167) of the three new cults introduced in Roman times, Christianity, Judaism and Mithraism and the buildings created for them, "It is essential to understand that Roman dominance at Dura-Europos was one of historical import only and that it cannot claim any profound effect on any of the city's artistic and architectural features." (I am grateful to Dr. W.E. Jobling for drawing my attention to this work.) This of course runs directly counter to everything previously written about Dura, in particular by Perkins, who, op. cit., p.32, singles out the religious buildings of the Roman period as not conforming to the standard Durene plan, stating that the synagogue and 'Christian Building' were, "clearly made to suit the needs of the particular religion" (for cultic modifications to the former, cf. ibid., p.29, for the latter, ibid., p.24), and that the Dolichenum and 'Military Temple' "are, if not obviously Roman in plan, at least non-Durene." On the Dolichenum in particular she says (ibid. p.27), "The plan of the temple differs from the older Durene plan, being simply an open court with chapels and other rooms around three sides. The difference from the normal Durene plan with its separate sanctuary unit indicates that the builders were soldiers rather than local citizens. The dedications were all made by soldiers and this fact, along with the location within the camp suggests that it was made solely for the use of the garrison." The published plans would appear to bear out at least the first part of this statement. However, the synagogue and 'Christian Building' should perhaps be regarded as hors de combat, since in both cases an older existing building was re-used (cf. also ibid., p.6) and so involuntary constraints were imposed upon the owners, constraints which were probably more to do with economics than with culture. It is noteworthy that in her own publication of the Dolichenum in Dura-Europos. Prelim. Report IX, Part III, p.105, Perkins herself states that it was "built on the principle of Parthian temples at Dura (an open court surrounded by rooms), otherwise unknown in the religious buildings founded during the period of Roman occupation...." and goes on (ibid., p.106) to contrast it with other known sanctuaries of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman empire, pointing instead to similarities with the Sanctuary of Abgal at Kh. Semrine. Clearly, it is a matter of where one cares to lay the emphasis. However, pending a more detailed publication of Gates' arguments, the case for the older view of strong Roman architectural influence still seems valid. For the plaster cornices, Perkins, Art of Dura-Europos, p.31.

90. Caravan Cities, pp.199-200. He compares the use of a tetrapylon within a military camp to that in the praetorium at Lambaesis in Africa. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.547, also comments on this practice, dating the Lambaesis example to the reign of Trajan, but admitting the parallel with Dura and adding the example from the 'Camp of Diocletian' at Palmyra, a genuine Diocletianic date for which is supported by Kazimierz Michalowski, Palmyre, Fouilles Polonaises 1960, Państwowe Wydawnictwo

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Naukowie, Warsaw - Mouton & Co., La Haye, Paris, 1962, pp.35, 38-41, who bases his arguments on the re-use of material dated to the 'Palmyrene Empire' in the foundations and the functions of the monument within the plan of the camp as a whole. The praetorium at Dura has a Latin inscription dated A.D. 211 over the monumental archway leading from the court to the 'high hall' (Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p.200); its construction was therefore probably commenced under Septimius Severus.

91. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., pp.181, and, more tentatively, 199, identifies the small temple built during the Roman occupation opposite the north-western gate of the citadel as a temple to the emperors. He cites no specific evidence for this interpretation.

92. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.449.

93. Fellmann, Baalshamîn V, S.123 and n.2, citing Toll's interpretation in the site report.

94. See M.A. pp.25-27 and concomitant Notes.

95. A.H.M. Jones, OCD², p.311, s.v. 'DAMASCUS'; idem, C.E.R.P.², p.287.

96. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.83 and n.3.

97. Waagé, Antioch IV, p.45, cf. pp.44, 54 for the dating.

98. Particularly Late B, dated by Waagé, ibid., p.44, cf. p.54, to the late second century and early third. The distribution of Late B was especially wide: Waagé (ibid., p.45) mentions examples from Dacia, Greece, the Danube and Dalmatia, Italy, Asia Minor, France, Spain, Egypt and above all North Africa, as well as various sites in Syria-Palestine. Leslie Alcock, "Pottery and Settlement in Wales and the March, A.D. 400 - 700", apud LL. Foster and Leslie Alcock (eds.), Culture and Environment (Essays in honour of Sir Cyril Fox), Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp.281-302, ref. p.286, adds Cornwall.

99. Antioch IV, p.45. He reserves judgment on whether this pottery was purely local or not; the body of the ware, as he describes it, does not sound as if there is a diagnostic similarity to the Antiochene norm he describes ibid., p.6, under "Local Body".

100. Antioch V, p.134.

101-105. Vacant.

106. CIL III No. 187; it was raised by Severus in A.D. 197 (e.g. Watson, loc. cit., p.592).

107. For Flavius Julius Maximus Mucianus, see above, Ch.II, p.75 and Note 108.

108. The use of the accusative case implies a statue. For Commodus

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as the divine brother of Severus, see also supra, p.259 and Note 21 and Rey-Coquais' comments, as well as those he cites from Renan, IGLS VII, pp.31-2 and n.3.

109. CIL III, No. 161: the private nature of the dedication is attested by the last preserved words, DE SVO FEC(it).

110. For a similar mention of the Genius of the colony in a private inscription, see the dedication by Victorina Fabaria, on behalf of her own welfare, that of C. Antistius Elaini, and that of what are probably her fellow slaves or freedmen and freedwomen, Victorinus, Salvus, Hotario and Cara, CIL III, No.153.

111. Syria 1959, p.226.

112. See above, Ch.III, p.147, cf. M.A. Note 551.

113. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.35, cf. (by implication) Baalbek II, S.146.

114. This according to Ulpian, see M.A. Note 44. Rey-Coquais opposes the modern theories based on this evidence which hold that Baalbek was part of the territory of Berytus until this date, and only now achieved colonial status: it is not clear whether his opposition is to Ulpian's evidence as a whole, including the bestowal of Latin rights at this date, or merely to the implied earlier dependence on Berytus. Even if Baalbek was a colony from Augustan times, it does not seem necessary to reject Ulpian's date for the granting of Latin rights; other colonies founded without ius Italicum are known in Syria, such as Sidon in this period, and Aelia in Period III, though admittedly they were of later date.

115. Cf. M.A. Note 551.

116. Supra, Ch.I, p.38 and Note 284.

117. Supra, Ch.II, Note 112.

118. Cf. also the conjectural ceremonial function of the 'Maiumas' pool at the Birketein reservoir at Jerash, near the 'Festival Theatre' north of the city (Fisher, Gerasa, p.25, McCown, ibid., pp.159, 165). At Baalbek, the presence of a step in the south side of the north pool (Baalbek I, S.93) leaves little doubt that some sort of ritual ablution was involved.

119. Baalbek I, Taf. 105, 109-111. The only parallel known to me is the Herakles on a pilaster from the stage building at Bolu in Bithynia-Pontus, Machteld Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", AJA LXXVII, 1973, pp.169-193, Pls. 31-38, ref. Pl.38 fig.39 and pp.190-191. The date of this is unknown, but probably Roman.

120. Baalbek I, S.93, cf. Abb.65-6.

121. Ibid., S.95-6 and Abb. 69-71.

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122. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, No.2729, pp.60-62, Pl.XXVII. For the increasing use of Greek at Baalbek from the the third century onwards, cf. ibid., pp.35-6.
123. Collart, Mus. Helv. 1951, p.258.
124. On the language of Baalbek, see Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, pp.35-6.
125. See M.A. Note 551.
126. Ibid.
127. Syria 1959, p.67.
128. See above, Ch.IV, p.216.
129. Applebaum, Israel Today, pp.48-9.
130. Antioch IV, p.50.
131. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.442.
132. As well as the later third century coins, an issue of Caracalla was found in burial AE, Harding and Kirkbride, QDAP 1950, p.94. The actual burial in question may be slightly later, since the coin is pierced as an ornament, but it seems unlikely that it is too much later.
133. Gerasa, p.57.
134. Ibid., pp.57-8.
135. Ibid., pp.23-4.
136. Ibid., Pl. VIIa, Plan I.
137. Ibid., pp.58-9.
138. Fisher, ibid., p.290 and Plan XLVI.
139. Kraeling, Gerasa, pp.58-9; Frézouls, Syria 1959, p.221.
140. Gerasa, p.165.
141. Ibid., pp.162-167.
142. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Department of Antiquities, Official Guide to Jerash with Plan (post 1938, no date or author given). This is a small guidebook of the type usually sold at archaeological sites, sound as far as the evidence is concerned, and generally compiled by members

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of the excavation team. In this case no author is named; an unconfirmed allusion in another source suggests that Horsfield may have been responsible.

143. Supra, Ch.III, Note 490, Ch.IV, p.203 and Note 58.

144. (Welles,) Gerasa, p.464, Inscrs. 261-263, on the roads respectively to Pella, Dium and Philadelphia, at the sixth, tenth and eighth miles.

145. Ibid., p.437, Inscrs. 177 and 179, pp.437-8, Inscr. 179.

146. Ibid., p.438.

147. Ibid., p.449.

148. Ibid., p.427, Inscrs. 149, 151.

149. Ibid., Inscr. p.150.

150. Ibid., p.428 Inscr. 152, and the previously mentioned Inscr. 154, in which the names of the emperor are those common to Caracalla and Elagabalus, but Welles notes, presumably from the lack of citizenship of the epimelete, that it must pre-date the Constitutio.

151. Ibid., Inscr. 153, from the column near the Birketein.

152. Ibid., p.421, Inscr. 132, p.429, Inscr. 155.

153. Ibid., pp.381-2, Inscr. 14, pp.421-2, Inscr. 133.

154. Ibid., p.421, Inscr. 131.

155. Ibid., p.406, Inscr. 68; for the date of Marinus' tenure, see also M.A. Appendix.

156. Gerasa, pp.422-3, Inscr. 136.

157. Ibid., p.423 Inscr. 138.

158. Ibid., p.422, Inscr. 134.

159. Ibid., pp.434-5, Inscr. 170; Bowersock, following Pflaum, also dates Avitianus' tenure to between 210 and 220, see M.A. Appendix.

160. Gerasa p.386, Inscr. 23.

161. Ibid., p.383, Inscr. 16.

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162. Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.74-80, figs.38-40.
163. Ibid., p.79 and p.80 fig.40.
164. Ibid., p.56.
165. Sukenik, ibid., pp.80-90, figs. 41-45.
166. Cf. M.A. Note 722.
167. QDAP 1950, especially figs. 1,2.
168. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.90.
169. Crowfoot, ibid., pp.52-4, figs. 22-3.
170. Ibid., p.69, and p.68 fig. 32, p.69 figs. 33-4.
171. E.g. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.435 fig. 162.
172. Samaria-Sebaste I, Pl. LV.2.
173. Sukenik, ibid., pp.62-7, p.63 fig.29.
174. The cremations do not represent a permanent type of the Romano-Syrian milieu. For the theatre, Crowfoot, Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.57-62, figs. 24-28.
175. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.67.
176. Syria 1959, pp.220-221.
177. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.58.
178. Ibid., p.61.
179. Ibid., pp.61-2.
180. Harvard Excavations, p.217, fig.145.

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181. Wood, Palmyra, Tab. VII.
182. Ibid., Tab. XXIX.
183. Baalshamfn II, Pls. LXXIX.1,2,5, Pl.LXXX.3.
184. Wood, Palmyra, Tab.XXIII.
185. Ibid., Tab. XXII, XXIV.
186. Ibid., Tab.XXIV.
187. Ibid., Tab.XLIX.
188. On an isolated pedestal, ibid., Tab.XXXII, XXXIII,XXXIV; on the raking sima of a niche in a tomb, and on the cornice of the tomb itself, ibid., Tab. L, LIV.
189. Baalbek I, Abb. 47, Taf. 60, 65 (right); Ed. Wiegand, J.d.(k.) a.I. 1914, S. 44 and Abb. 10.
190. Baalbek I, Taf. 63.
191. Ibid., Taf. 83.
192. Ibid., Taf. 76.
193. Ibid., Taf. 86. They also occur in the cornice of the west "Rundexedra" of the North Hall, ibid., Taf. 33.
194. For example, in the capitals of the pronaos, Baalbek II, Taf. 24, capitals 4, 5, 6 and 8 of the North Pteron, ibid., Taf. 33, 34, capitals 4 and 5 of the South Pteron, ibid., Taf.35, on an internal capital of the peristyle, ibid., Taf. 41, and on the outer north-west corner pilaster of the cella wall, ibid., Taf. 37.
195. Ibid., e.g. S.16, Abb.30, S. 27, Abb. 32, S.34, Abb. 69, Taf.54, 56.
196. Ibid., Taf.58.
197. Musil, Palmyrena, p.57, fig.11.

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198. Schumacher, Pella, pp.55-6, fig. p.56.
199. Supra, Ch. IV, p. 212 and Notes 96-101.
200. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.212-3 and Notes 102-111.
201. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.213-214 and Notes 112-122.
202. Samaria-Sebaste I, pp.36-7.
203. Ibid., p.37.
204. Supra, Ch.III, p.123, Ch.IV, p.213.
205. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.415-6.
206. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.82-3. The date is from the style of the capitals.
207. Wood, Palmyra, Tab.XXII,XXIV.
208. CIL III No.6641; for the difficulty with the date, M.A. Appendix, PROCOS. PROV. SYRIAE PALAESTINAE.
209. Antioch IV, p.46. In the "List of Shapes", pp.47-50, he notes Late B shapes 819, 857, with several other specimens listed as "pretty certainly" or "may be" Late B; Late A shape 807.
210. Ibid., p.46; I am unable to locate these examples in the "List of Shapes", ibid., pp.47-50.
211. Schlumberger, Palmyrène du N.-O., pp.25, 67-8, 156-8, and p.26 fig. 11.
212. Ibid., pp.23-4, 66-7, 154-6 and p.24 fig. 10.
213. Ibid., pp.23, 64-5, 153-4.
214. Ibid., pp.41-4, 84-5,167, p.43 fig.17, p.100 fig.48.
215. Op. cit., p.21.

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216. E.L. Sukenik, Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece, (The Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology, 1930) London, 1934.
217. For this in the Kefr Bir'im synagogue, see Albright's reconstruction, ArchPalaest., p.175, fig. 59; for Tell Hum, Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S. 109 Abb. 10.
218. Sukenik, Synagogues, Pl. VI.
219. Ibid., middle row, left.
220. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, Pl. XIII, Nos. 171-2, 177-9, 180 (unillustrated), 185-8, Pl.XIV, Nos. 189-189a, 195, Pl.XV, Nos. 202-3, 206-7. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXII, Nos. 173-177, Pl.XXIV, Nos.187-190 A, Pl.XXV, Nos. 197-8, Pl. XXVII, Nos. 206-209C, Pl.XXVIII, Nos.213-5.
221. AncJewCoins, Pl. XIV, Nos. 190, 191, 197, 198. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXI, Nos. 168-169A, Pl.XXV, Nos. 191, 192.
222. AncJewCoins, Pl.II, Nos. 8-11, 13-13a, 19, 20, Pl.III. Nos. 21, 25. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. II, Nos. 12-13, Pl.III, Nos.14-17, 18-20A, Pl. IV, Nos. 22-23, 26-29, Pl. V, Nos. 30, 33-35. (AncJewCoins Pl. II No. 7, Meshorer Pl. IV No. 25, has a double cornucopiae, but with the horns parallel and tied.)
223. AncJewCoins Pl.III, Nos. 33, 33a (Herod I), Pl. IV, No. 53 (Archelaus), cf. Reifenberg, ibid., p.45. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. VII, Nos. 53-53C (Herod I), Pl.VIII, Nos. 56-56A (Archelaus). (AncJewCoins Pl. IV No. 54, Meshorer Pl. VIII Nos. 59-60 have double cornucopiae, but with the horns parallel.)
224. AncJewCoins Pl.IX, Nos. 122, 124, 124a, cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXIX, Nos. 220, 222-222A.
225. AncJewCoins Pl. IV, Nos. 55, 55a, cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. VIII, Nos. 61-2; A. Reifenberg, Israel's History in Coins from the Maccabees to the Roman Conquest, East and West Library, London, 1953, p.25, Ill. 11.
226. Israel's History in Coins, p.25, Ill. 11, cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. VIII, No.61A.
227. AncJewCoins Pl. XIII, No. 187, cf. also Nos. 177, 179, 185, 188 and Pl.XIV, Nos. 189, 189a. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXVII, No. 206, cf. also Pl. XXI, No. 166, Pl. XXII, Nos. 173-177, especially Pl. XXIV, Nos. 187-190A, Pl. XXV, Nos. 197-8, Pl.XXVII, Nos. 207-209C.

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228. AncJewCoins Pl. XIV, Nos. 193, 194, Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXI, Nos. 170-170A, Pl. XXII, No. 171, Pl.XXV, Nos. 195-6.
229. Sukenik, op. cit., Pl. VI, bottom row, right.
230. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins Pl. XII, Nos. 167, 168, cf. ibid., p.61. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXVI, Nos. 199-200, and possibly Pl. XXII Nos. 180-181. Meshorer, pp. 165, 162, identifies the motif in his Nos. 199-200 as a rosette, and in Nos. 180-181 as a rosette or star.
231. Sukenik, op. cit., top left and middle row, right.
232. Ibid., Pl. II.
233. Ibid., Pl. VI, middle row, right.
234. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, Pl. XIII, Nos. 169, 174, 175, 181-4; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXI, Nos. 168, 169, Pl.XXII, No.172, Pl.XXIII, Nos. 182-4, Pl.XXIV, Nos. 184A-186, Pl. XXV, Nos. 191-194, Pl. XXVI, Nos. 202-204, Pl. XXVII, No. 205, Pl. XXVIII, No. 212.
235. Vacat.
236. Cf. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, p.32, where he notes the influence of Herodian and 'Procuratorial' coinage on his No. 146, without specifying in what respect, and supra, Ch.III, pp.175-177.
237. AncJewCoins, Pl.III, Nos. 35 and perhaps 30, 31, cf. Reifenberg, ibid., p.47. Cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. VII No.50 and perhaps Pl. VI, Nos. 41, 41A, 48. It also occurs on a coin of Archelaus, AncJewCoins Pl.IV, No. 56, Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. VIII Nos. 58-58A.
238. On all known coins: AncJewCoins Pl. IV, Nos. 45-52; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. IX, Nos. 63-72A, Pl. X, Nos. 73-75.
239. AncJewCoins Pl. V, Nos. 68-70 (all coins illustrated by Reifenberg).
240. AncJewCoins Pl. VI, Nos. 78-9, Pl. VII, No.101, Pl.VIII, No.116, cf. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XIII, Nos. 95-7, Pl. XVII, No. 129, Pl. XVIII, No. 147. In AncJewCoins Nos. 78-9 - Meshorer Nos. 95-7 the tondo is further emphasized by a circle within the wreath.
241. AncJewCoins Pl. XI, Nos. 122-125, 128 (obv. unillustrated), 129-130, 132-133; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXIX, Nos. 220-223A, Pl. XXX, Nos. 226-228, 230-231A.

242. AncJewCoins Pl. IX, No. 134, Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXX, No.232.
243. AncJewCoins Pl. IX, No. 136, Meshorer, op. cit., Pl.XXX, No.
234. For these 'Procuratorial' coins cf. Reifenberg, AncJewCoins, pp.56-7.
244. AncJewCoins Pl. II, Nos. 8-9b, 18a-20 cf. Reifenberg, ibid., pp.41-2, Pl. III, Nos. 21-23, 25 cf. Reifenberg, p.42; Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. II, Nos. 12-13, Pl. III, Nos. 14-20A, Pl. IV, Nos. 22-23, 26-29, Pl. V Nos. 30 (with the wreath inside the inscription), 31-35.
245. See, for example, Marilyn Joyce Segal Chiat, A Corpus of Synagogue Art and Architecture in Roman and Byzantine Palestine, Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1979, Ann Arbor Microfilms, Michigan and London, 1983, pp. 75, 96, 209-210 and notes pp.211-212. Cf. e.g. G. Foerster, "Notes on Recent Excavations at Capernaum (Review Article)", IEJ 21, 1971, pp.207-211; S. Loffreda, "The Late Chronology of the Synagogue of Capernaum", IEJ 23, 1973, pp.37-42; M. Avi-Yonah, "Editor's Note", IEJ 23, 1973, pp.43-45; S. Loffreda, "A Reply to the Editor", IEJ 23, 1973, p.184; James F. Strange, "The Capernaum and Herodium Publications", BASOR No.226, April 1977, pp.65-73, especially pp.68-9. (All cited by Chiat, see also James F. Strange, "The Capernaum and Herodium Publications Part 2", BASOR 233, Winter 1979, pp.63-69.) The problem seems to revolve around whether the small number of fourth century coins were indeed stratified in sealed deposits in and below the pavement, and, if so, whether they should refer to the original construction of the synagogue or to a repair. The appeals of Foerster and Avi-Yonah to general historical circumstances and the previously credited framework of architectural development should not hold against strong contradictory evidence, since there is no external confirmation for the sequence, the dating of Beth She'arim being equally loose and based primarily on stylistic comparisons with these 'early Galilean' synagogues (see below, Note 253): the sequence would simply have to be adjusted. However, given the well-known propensity of individual coins to wander stratigraphically, the issue still seems in doubt. Even if Capernaum does date to the fourth century, the changes in plan discussed below might be taken to indicate, not an attempt to incorporate the elements of the new fashion in synagogues, as it evolved simultaneously in other specimens, but a change from the current fashion, as exemplified by e.g. the synagogue at Hammath Tiberias, to conform to that of a previous era, a remarkably successful piece of archaism. The matter can only be determined by further excavations at the other 'early Galilean' synagogues, to discover whether a general re-dating is necessary, or whether the previously credited chronological framework holds, and the results from Capernaum are exceptional.
246. See e.g. Albright, ArchPalaest., pp.174, 175.
247. Ibid., p. 174 fig. 58; Sukenik, Synagogues, pp.8-9 and fig. 1.
248. Yadin, Masada, p.185 and plans, cf. plan p.181.
249. ArchPalaest., p.172.
250. Applebaum, op. cit., pl. p.51.
251. It is not the purpose of this thesis to pursue the evolution of

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the new Romano-Jewish art per se, but rather to place it in its context in terms of the Romanization of the area as a whole. Suffice it to say that the concept of a "normative Jewry" which maintained the stringent attitudes of the first century, the figured decorations being the work of exceptional deviant "Hellenizers" has now been thoroughly exploded. "Normative Jewry" from the third century onwards comprised both the rigorously orthodox and the more liberal, see e.g. Avi-Yonah, Oriental Art in Roman Palestine, pp.29-42; A.T. Kraabel, "The Diaspora Synagogue: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence since Sukenik", ANRW II.19.1, 1979, pp.477-510, especially pp.479, 483-4; Avigad, Beth She'arim III, pp.2, and especially 275-287, Ch.VII, "Jewish Figurative Art. A Historical Review". Naturally there is some disagreement as to the time and extent of this change: for example, Avi-Yonah, op. cit., pp.38-9, implies that the rabbis called "holy", with their wives and daughters, were buried in figured sarcophagi in Catacomb 20 at Beth She'arim, whereas Avigad (op. cit., p.286), stressing the plurality of attitudes, is careful to distinguish between these rabbis, buried in plain coffins, and the laity, buried alongside them in figured sarcophagi - there is in fact no evidence of any rabbi buried in a sarcophagus decorated with human or animal figures. However, the general lines are clear. The evidence from Catacomb 20 alone (ibid., pp. 83-115 and especially p.286), plus that of the synagogue art (see following Note) would suffice to demonstrate the point.

252. Sukenik, Synagogues, p. 10 and Pl. IIa. Chiat, op. cit., in fact records human and/or animal representations in the decoration of the synagogues at Gush Halav (Gischala) A (p.66), Nabratein A (p.96), Er-Ramah (pp.106-7), Ammudim (p.152), Beth She'arim (p.159), Japhia/Yafa (p.164), Kefr. Bir'im A (pp.73-4), Chorazin (p.217), Hammath Tiberias B (pp.231-2), Kokhav Ha-Yaden (pp.235-6), Sarona (p.237), Beth Alpha (pp.271-80), Beth Shan B (p.290), Kefar Qarnan (p.295), Ma'oz Hayyim (p.298), Kafr Danna (p.308), Husifah (pp.379-80), Khirbet Semmaka (p.382), Gaza A (p.416), En-Gedi (p.514), Khirbet Susiva (p.527), Ma'on (p.556), Na'aran (pp.586-7), Ahmadiyye (p.615), Daburah (pp.621-2), En-Natosh (p.627), Khirbet Zamimra (p.629), Qusbiya (p.631), Salokia (p.632), Hammat Gadara (p.721) and Gerasa A (pp.741-2), as well as at the doubtful synagogue of Khirbet Tieba (p.129). There is evidence that Jewish workmen participated in the decoration at Beth Alpha (p.278) and possibly Khirbet Susiva (see p.528), as well as in the non-figurative decoration at 'Alma (p.100) and Kefr Bir'im B (p.112) and for a Jewish architect at Kefr Bir'im A (p.75). The use of human and animal imagery remained widespread until the iconoclastic reaction in the sixth century (see Avi-Yonah, Oriental Art in Roman Palestine, pp.29-42, especially p.42), and eagles, in particular, also appear in the synagogues at Gush Halav A, Japhia, Chorazin, Qusbiya, Salokia and possibly Daburah, and in the doubtful synagogue at Khirbet Tieba (Chiat, as above), as well as on stone sarcophagi from Beth She'arim Catacomb 20 (Avi-Yonah, op. cit., p.39 and Pl. VI, 2; Avigad, Beth She'arim III, Pls. XLIIIA.2, XLIV.4). The significance of this motif should not be underestimated: it demonstrates that a radical change in attitude had indeed occurred. Particularly in the form of the great pagan 'solar eagle', as at Beth She'arim, head turned and wings open but not spread (as at Palmyra), it can hardly have failed to evoke memories of Herod's scandalous Golden Eagle and the offence it gave. The exact meaning of Herod's Eagle is debated, and a range of interpretations posited, all of them offensive to the orthodox Jews of the day, see for example, Schalit, op. cit., S.357-8, 734. We will never know what Herod intended, but the point is that this same range of interpretations, 'each worse than the last', was available to the Jews of the day. It was not an incident that the Jewish people would have forgotten.

253. Widely cited, e.g. by Applebaum, Israel Today, pp.44-5 and Pl. p. 46, Avi-Yonah, Oriental Art in Roman Palestine, pp.36-41. The primary reference is to the Beth She'arim reports, especially Avigad, Beth She'arim III. In regard to the architecture, Avigad notes the similarity of the catacombs to synagogue architecture, and the derivation of some elements from earlier Jewish examples, such as the triple-façade of the Tomb in the Valley of Hinnom (ibid., p.94 and p.133 n.127), but also the incorporation of elements from Roman architecture. In particular (ibid., pp.51-2) he derives the triple-arched façade of Catacomb 14, stylistically one of the earliest of the main sequence of major catacombs (his Period II, cf. ibid., pp.261-2), from Roman arcades, but with the Roman elements arranged in a new combination - again a creative use of the Roman elements to form a new hybrid, closely analogous to the creation of the frieze at Capernaum (see below).

Under Rabbi Judah Hanassi the town became first the seat of the Sanhedrin, then the burial centre for pious Jews of Palestine and the Diaspora and a centre of cosmopolitanism and liberal Jewish art. The town, too, was noted for the magnificent columnar architecture built by Rabbi (ibid., pp.1-3, cf. Mazar, Beth She'arim I, pp.3-6) and possessed among other things a basilica (Avigad, op. cit., p.4 and fig. 2 pp.8-9). It would be tempting to see Beth She'arim, as it grew under the guidance of R. Judah Hanassi, as the cradle of this new art and architecture and the new spirit it attests. However, the chronological difficulties attached to both the synagogues and to Beth She'arim do not allow such detailed conclusions: it is impossible to establish which came first. The Beth She'arim necropolis is at best loosely dated (see Avigad, op. cit., Ch.V, pp.258-267). Avigad himself says (p. 259) that the data available for determining the dates of the catacombs is quite inadequate, and in effect the chronology rests on general stylistic similarities to the 'early Galilean' synagogues, the identification of the occupants of Catacomb 14 as R. Judah Hanassi, his family and known associates (cf. ibid., pp.52-4, especially 62-65 and 238-240) - the names coincide nearly enough with those known from literary sources, but none of them are uncommon or otherwise unknown - and the stylistic sequence of catacombs based on this chronological peg and a terminus ante quem of A.D. 272/3 for the burial of successive generations of a family of Palmyrene Jews in Catacomb 1, on the grounds that they would not have continued to be buried there after the destruction of Palmyra by Aurelian (cf. Mazar, pp.18, 86, 141, Avigad, p.3), with an ultimate terminus ante quem of A.D. 352, the destruction of Beth She'arim by Gallus. In point of fact the terminus ante quem for Catacomb 1 is non-existent. Palmyra continued to exist, as a town reduced in size and shorn of its importance, well into the Arab period (see e.g. Colledge, op. cit., p.22). It declined only gradually, and there is no reason why the Palmyrene Jews should not have continued to live there, prosper, and be buried at Beth She'arim. If the 'early Galilean' synagogues must be moved to a later date, there is no insuperable obstacle to moving the architecture of Beth She'arim along with them, at least to the later third century. Far less can it be shown that Beth She'arim had marginal priority over the synagogues and thus was the fons et origo of the new spirit. Avigad (op. cit., p.263, cf. p.2), to be sure, wishes to see the emergence of Beth She'arim as a burial centre during, rather than after, the lifetime of Judah Hanassi (contrast e.g. Avi-Yonah, op. cit., p.36), with Catacomb 20 dating back to the late second century and Catacomb 14 to the early third (cf. e.g. op. cit., p.115), but there is no cogent evidence for this - the lamps he cites from Catacomb 20 (ibid., p.262, cf. pp.184-5) permit rather than compel this date, there is nothing to rule out a range extending into the third century for any of them. Beth She'arim may simply be another contemporary manifestation of

the same general spirit, the same cultural change, which emerged from the cumulative smaller changes noted in the previous Periods.

254. Sukenik, op. cit., Pl. VI.

255. Ibid., Pl. VI, middle row, right.

256. AncJewCoins, Pl. XII, Nos. 163-8, cf. ibid., pp.60-61. Meshorer, op. cit., Pl. XXI, No. 165, Pl. XXIII, Nos. 179-181, Pl. XXVI, Nos. 199-201. (AncJewCoins No. 168-Meshorer No. 200 lacks the ethrog, but the overall shape of the design is formed by the lulab.)

257. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, Taf. 26, Abb. 59 and S. 85; cf. supra, Ch.I, p.26.

258. Cf. supra, Ch.II, pp.80-82, Ch.III, pp.178-9.

258a. Cf. supra, Ch.III, pp.174-5 and N.399.

259. Cf. supra, Introduction Note 32; Ch.I, pp.28-30.*

260. Applebaum, op. cit., p.49.

261. Ibid., pp.48-9, plate p.48.

262. "Caesarea", IEJ 1950-1, p.21, Pl. ix, No. 9, Pl. xi, fig. 4.

263. IEJ 1950-1, pp.49-53, cf. supra, Introduction, Note 32.

264. The main doubt seems to lie in the sixth century example from southern Palestine: although the context makes the meaning of $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\eta$ clear, indeed the pipe of the water installation emerged from the same slab, in the last two lines of the inscription the writers still felt the need to amplify it by specifying " $\dot{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ ", to make it doubly clear what sort of a $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\eta$ was meant. $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\eta$ alone was, even at that stage, not apparently deemed to be a sufficiently specialized term, although the same need not be true of $\mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$.

264a. See e.g. Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 24 and pp.62-3 - she points out that no such temple as this existed at Dura itself at the time; C. H. Kraeling, apud M.I. Rostovtzeff et al. (eds.), The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report on the Sixth Season of Work, October 1932 - March 1933, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936, pp.350-351; C.H. Kraeling, The Synagogue. Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report, VIII, Part I, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1956, Pls. LX, LVII, pp. 105-113; Erwin R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period Vol. IV. The Problem of Method, Bollingen Series XXXVII, Pantheon Books, New York, 1954, p.117 and Vol. VII, Pagan Symbols in Judaism, Bollingen Series XXXVII, Pantheon Books, New York, 1958, pp.170-1, 176. Two temples are in fact depicted, and the exact identification of each is hotly disputed, the "open temple" (Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII, Pl.LX) and the "closed temple" (ibid., Pl. LVII = Perkins, op. cit., Pl. 24). The former has the name of APWN written at the head of the main figure and is

interpreted as the Tabernacle consecrated by Aaron - or, by Goodenough, as an allegorical scene from the theology of his mystical Hellenized Jewish sect, while the latter is variously taken to be the Temple of Dagon at Beth-Shemesh, where the Ark rested when captured by the Philistines, the Temple of Solomon, the Temple of Herod, or, more abstractly, "The Temple" (mystically Hellenized or otherwise). The 'commonsense' argument of Kraeling, Prelim. Report VI, p.351, echoed by Perkins, op.cit., p.63, that the Jewish Temple was the only such sanctuary important enough to be represented here would seem to prevail in the absence of anything more concrete. If Solomon's Temple is intended, then there is here an anachronism answering to Josephus' visualization of Biblical battles as being fought by contemporary Roman armies, or the depiction of Biblical characters in the Dura synagogue itself, including Final Report VIII Pl. LX, as being in 'modern' dress; if Herod's Temple is meant less anachronism may be involved, as in the case of an aoristic "Temple", but the point remains that the builders of the synagogue were prepared to accept this form: their own concept of what a temple was like was drawn from contemporary Roman models.

265. LXXVIII.10.2 (Loeb Vol. IX p(p).298(-9). It should be noted, however, that Dio's views on this subject may not be as representative as one might normally expect; he undoubtedly had a special animus against Caracalla (see above, Note 17), and it may be a case of "any stick to beat him with".

266. LXXIX.39.4 (Loeb Vol. IX, pp.430-431) (E. Cary's translation).

267. Cassius Dio LXXX.21.3 (Loeb Vol. IX, p.478).

268. Parker, A.D. 138 to 337, p.131.

269. Ibid. For the impact of Syrian religion on Roman at this time, cf. also Ilse Marie Mundle, "Dea Caelestis in der Religionspolitik des Septimius Severus und der Julia Domna", Historia X, Heft 2, 1961, S.228-237, where she takes the more extreme (and untenable) view that the Orientalizing of Roman religion began only with Septimius Severus.

270. LXXX.2.2 (Loeb Vol. IX, pp.480-481).

271. IGLS VI, p.40.


272. Starcky, Palmyre, p.77, mentions what appears to be evidence of an organized Palmyrene trading cantonment in Egypt, like the fondouqs of Volagesia and Spasinu Charax in Parthia, stating that there were only isolated agents elsewhere in the empire; for which see the following Notes.

273. See the tombstones of Victor (a Moorish cavalryman) and Regina (a Catevellaunian freedwoman) from South Shields, R.I.B. I, p.355, No. 1064, p.356, No. 1066, cf. J.M.C. Toynbee, Art in Roman Britain, Phaidon, Great Britain, 1962, p.159 and Pl. 89, No. 85, eadem, Art in Britain under the Romans, Oxford, 1964, pp.200-201: Colledge, op. cit., pp.231-2 and Pls. 149, 150. Both were carved from local stone, but the Palmyrene influence in the sculpture is unmistakable, see the scholars cited; the tombstone of Regina is inscribed in both Latin and Palmyrene; the dedicant is her husband,

Barates of Palmyra, apparently a civilian, who may well have been the Palmyrene sculptor responsible.

By the same token Palmyrenes also penetrated to the heart of the empire. Colledge, *op. cit.*, p.231 note the presence of Palmyrenes in the third 'cohort' of workers at the Horrea Galbae, ca. A.D. 100, and the existence of a shrine to Malakhbel by A.D. 236. For Palmyrenes in the empire generally, *ibid.*, p.303, n.708.

274. Apart from the Classicizing Palmyrene bust, reputedly from Carthage, discussed above, and the sculptured tombstones from Hadrian's Wall, see, for example, the relief of "Artemis Pergaia and the Charities", which came from a building at Perge dedicated to Artemis Pergaia, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and their sons, and also contained a statue of Severus (Machteld Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* LXXIV, 1970, pp.157-178, ref. A.M. Mansel *apud* Mellink, p.168, and Pl. 44 fig. 17). The figures are essentially frontal, in the stiff manner of Palmyrene reliefs, with only an inept attempt at variation. An endeavour is made to show the central figure in the group comprising three naked Charities from the rear with her head turned to one side: the result is a direct four-square view of the body from the waist downwards, essentially the same in approach as the directly frontal figures of Palmyrene art, save that the sculptor carved buttocks instead of drapery (though what seem to be breasts may have been intended as shoulder-blades, the carving is somewhat ambiguous); the head is the uneasy profile found in some would-be Classicizing Palmyrene works. The group is in fact, quite obviously, the Palmyrene 'translation' of the very well-known Hellenistic composition known as "The Three Graces", and reproduced in many different forms in ancient as well as modern times, e.g. the Hellenistic wall-painting illustrated by, for example, John Boardman, *Greek Art*, Thames & Hudson, Britain, 1965, Ill. 248.

The main figure, Artemis, wears a 'sun-disc' composed of a disc with superimposed visible rays,  of exactly the same type as that worn by the gods such as Baal-shamin, Aglibol and Malakhbel in Palmyrene art, save that the number of rays is reduced to seven; furthermore, behind her head but in front of the disc, she wears an upturned lunar crescent on her shoulders, in precisely the same manner as her fellow moon-god, Aglibol, in the Lintel of the Eagles (Baalshamin II, Pl. CVII.1) and the 'Triad of Baalshamin' in the Louvre (*ibid.*, Pl. CV.2. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p.169 Ill. 148). There can be little doubt that the Palmyrenes were spreading the fame of the Severans and their own peculiar version of "Roman" culture in Asia Minor, too.

275. Cassius Dio, LXXV.1.2-3 (Loeb Vol. IX, pp.194-7).

276. Cassius Dio, LXXVIII.12.1^a (Loeb IX, pp.304-5), Cary's translation. Caracalla, unlike Augustus in the case of Herod I, put an abrupt stop to this by summarily removing the king; see, shorn of the author's determination to put a discreditable construction on every action of Caracalla's, *idem*, LXXVIII.12.1² (Loeb Vol. IX, pp.304-5).

277. Though Herod, to be sure, scrupulously avoided technical breaches of the Law within Judaea itself until the end of his reign. See even the later, hostile account of Josephus in the *Antiquities*, e.g. *AJ* XV.329-330, and Marcus, Loeb Vol. VIII, p.158 n. b.

Epilogue, Notes.

1. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VII, No. 4002 from Arados and p.29 nn.3-4.
2. Welles, Gerasa, p.388, Inscr. 26, A.D. 238, a dedication to Zeus Chronos.
3. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VII, No 4004 from Arados, and p.30.
4. Downey, HistAnt., p.82.
5. Baalbek I, S.112 and Abb. 86, the 'Divisio Moschi' graffito, which depicts the bust of a man with cloak and club; Baalbek II, S.72 and Taf. 44 for a bust from the modillions of the ceiling of the 'Temple of Bacchus', doubtfully identified as Herakles, and S.118 for the inclusion of Herakles among the gods depicted on a statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus found at Tartus (Antarados).
6. Collart and Vicari, Baashamîn I, p.227, mention a lead tessera showing Herakles and probably Apollo in the Damascus Museum. For an early relief see Colledge, op. cit., Pl. 36, cf. eg. ibid., p.144.
7. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.202.
8. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VII, p.30 n.1.
9. In addition, for Isis at Palmyra, see Rey-Coquais, loc. cit.
10. In addition to the examples mentioned in the chronological narrative, H. Seyrig, "Culte du Soleil en Syrie", Syria XLVIII, 1971, pp. 337-373, ref. p.353, cites two dedications from Rome in which Zeus Dolichenus is syncretized with the Sun.
11. For dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus both in Syria itself and throughout the empire, Baalbek II, S.113-121, Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p. 38 and n.5, p.40 footnote.
12. See e.g. Tacitus, Hist. V.i-xiii, on the Jews, Ann. XV.xliv on the Christians; cf. also the putative fragment of the Historiæ preserved in Sulpicius Severus, Chron. ii.30.6, reproduced in the Loeb Tacitus, Vol. II/III, p.220.
13. Loc. cit., p.453, cf. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus I loc. cit. Ch.IV Note 90, p.699, Caput II, especially 5.
14. See e.g. S.G.F. Brandon, op. cit., for example Ch. 15, "The Jesus of History", pp.223-237, especially pp.232-237, Ch. 18, "The Fall of Jerusalem", pp.268-281, especially pp.274-281, and Ch. 21, "Saint Paul. The Problem Figure of Christianity", pp.310-323, especially pp.318-320. For an illustration of the difficulties entailed in determining the exact cultural admixture, see F. Millar, JRS 1971, especially his conclusion p. 17, cf. generally idem, Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, 1983, p.56.

15. De Dea Syriae 59, cf. Harmon's n.2, Loeb Vol. IV, pp.409-10.
16. Gerasa, p.37.
17. The Loeb Lucian, Vol. IV, pp.346-7 n.1.
18. PEQ 101 Jan.-June 1969, "Notes and News", pp.2-3, the Wooster Expedition to Pella (Robert H. Smith, Robert J. Bull and Howard Kee), 1967 season. Cf. now Robert Houston Smith, Pella of the Decapolis Vol. I, The 1967 Season of the Wooster Expedition to Pella, The College of Wooster, William Clowes & Sons Ltd., London, Beccles and Colchester, 1973, pp.187-192, 226-8, Pls. 67 (drawing) and 84 (photograph), No.236.
19. For the pagan version, see for example the small pipeclay figurines of Venus, manufactured in the Allier district of France, but with individual examples found in Britain, not only in what might have been a votive context at Springhead, but also at Bitterne (Clausentum), Wroxeter, Richborough and Silchester (N.A. Cotton and P.W. Gathercole, Excavations at Clausentum, Southampton, 1951-4, 1958, p.48. For the theory that the Pella figurine was an apotropaic, Smith, op. cit., pp.267-8. Cf. the apotropaic nature of house and church inscriptions noted by Wolfgang Liebeschutz, "Epigraphic Evidence of the Christianisation of Syria", Akten des XI Intl. Limenskongresses, 1978, pp.485-508, ref. p.491.
20. Synagogues, p.2.
21. Hamilton, Church of the Holy Nativity, fig. 2.
22. Wheeler, op. cit., p.75, Ill. 53.
23. See, for example, the "Trophy of the Cross" on a sarcophagus of the second half of the fourth century, Brandon, op. cit., plate 323.
24. The Basilica of Anastasius, A.D. 384, in the Holy Sepulchre complex, K.J. Conant and G. Downey, "The Original Building of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem", Speculum XXXI, 1956, pp.1-48, especially the plan.
25. The Cathedral, Gerasa, Plan XXXI, even closer to Bethlehem, St. Theodore's Church, ibid., Plan XXXIII, the Propylaea Church, ibid., Plan XXXV, the "Synagogue Church", ibid., Plan XXXVI, Bishop Genesius' Church (A.D. 611), ibid., Plan XXXVIII, St. Peter and St. Paul, ibid., Plan XXXIX, the Prophets', Apostles' and Martyrs' Church, ibid., Plan XLI, Procopius' Church, ibid., Plan XLIII, and, in similar form, the Mortuary Church, ibid., Plan XL. The only truly divergent example is the Church of St. John the Baptist, ibid., Plan XXXVII, which is, however, equally based on a Roman form, with a circular central chamber with a semi-circular exedra and smaller apses, these last, at least, being covered by concrete semi-domes, see J.W. Crowfoot, ibid., pp.243-4, for the volcanic tufa remains.
26. Tchalenko, Syria 1973, "2, La Basilique de Qalblōzé", pp.128-136, Pls. V-VIII, and figs. especially figs. 2-5.
27. Butler, P.A.E.S. II B₂, pp.47, 52-62.

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28. Schumacher, Abila, pp.32-3.
29. Idem, Pella, pp.44-9 and plan p.46.
30. Idem, Northern 'Ajlûn, p.61.
31. Musil, Palmyrena, pp.56-163, with copious illustrations (see infra, Note 76), see especially the general plan of the site, fig. 91, p. 301; Antonín Mendl, Appendix X, "A Reconstruction of ar-Resâfa", Palmyrena, pp.299-326, ref. p.326.
32. See above, Note 25; for a doubtful example, the imperfectly preserved church at Capitolias (Beit Râs), Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlûn, p.159.
33. Starcky, Palmyre, Plan Pl. III, Nos. 15 and 16.
34. Idem, Archaeologia 1964, p.36.
35. Baalshamîn I, p.94.
36. Baalbek II, S.150.
37. Dussaud, Syria 1929, p.54.
38. Schumacher, Abila, pp.24-30, figs. 1-3; he himself considers the building of Byzantine origin, but mentions the absence of an apse (pp.26, 28), suggesting, however, that one might have existed, citing the piles of debris to the east of the temple, but pointing out that a brief exploratory exploration yielded no results. All the members published by Schumacher appear to be Byzantine or later, carrying Christian symbols, but the plan is as consonant with a Classicizing temple as with a basilica church, and the square adyton, with rear wall preserved, militates against the building's originally being conceived as a Christian basilica; any apse must have been attached to the main structure conceived without provision for it. It seems likely therefore that the basilica was of pagan origin; the feasibility of identifying it with the stair-temple depicted on coins of the city (supra, Ch.IV, p.216) cannot be assessed from Schumacher's plan.
39. This list in now way purports to be exhaustive. For churches in other parts of Syria, see, for example, Joseph Mattern, Villes mortes de Haute Syrie, 2nd edition, extract from Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth, 1944, passim; Tchalenko, Villages antiques, passim.
40. For Hazîme, Wiegand, Palmyra, S. 10; for Hân abu Sindâh, Musil, Palmyrena, p.45 fig. 6, cross within a circle not dissimilar to that in a Byzantine inscription (A.D. 528-569) from Kasr al-Hêr al Garbi (Daniel Schlumberger, "Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el Gharbi (1936-1938). Rapport Préliminaire", Syria XX, 1939, pp.195-238, 324-373, ref. p.367 and p.372 for the date). For an example on a lintel of more doubtful context from Merkez in the Decapolis region, Schumacher, Abila, p.13; it seems likely that the crosses were added to the original design, cf. the similar lintel

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without Christian symbols, from Harta, ibid., p.48.

41. Chiat, op. cit., respectively pp.222-7, 228, 60-69, 86-93,94,108, 118-120, 150, 157, 162, 271, 281, 296, 300, 377, 382, 533, 583, 714, 717.
42. Ramat Aviv, ibid., p.326; Ed-Dikke, ibid., p.636; Caesaea, ibid., p 371; Gaza A, ibid., p.414; Jericho, ibid., p.579; Kafr Kanna, ibid., p.174.
43. See Ch. V, Note 252.
44. Both widely published. For Hammath-Tiberias B, e.g. Chiat, op. cit., pp.231-2, Applebaum, op. cit., Pl. p.53; for Beth Alpha, e.g. Chiat, op. cit., pp.276-277, cf. Avi-Yonah, Oriental Art in Roman Palestine, pp. 42-3 on the Biblical scenes of the other panels. Zodiac mosaics have now also been found in other synagogues, for example Husifah (Chiat, op. cit., pp.379-80, cf. 164) and Na'aran (ibid., p.586, cf. 164) and possibly Japhia (ibid., p.164).
45. Vacat.
46. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.36.
47. Jones, C.E.R.P.², p.468 n.90.
48. Ibid., p.287; idem, OCD², p.311, s.v. DAMASCUS. For possible numismatic evidence for a draft of colonists from Leg. VI Fer., and later from Leg. III Gal., see E. Ritterling, P-W Halbband XXIV, 1593.
49. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.442.
50. Ibid.
51. Antioch III, pp.31 ff., and Plan VIII (Sector S-18-K).
52. Ibid., pp.27-8 and Pl. 71.
53. Ibid., pp.15-16.
54. Ibid., pp.8-9.
55. Butler, P.A.E.S. II B₂, p.62 and III. 61; William Kelly Prentice, P.A.E.S. III Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Section B. Northern Syria, Late E.J. Brill Ltd., Leyden, 1922, Inscr. 918, pp.48-9. Cf. supra, Ch. III, p.170 and Note 375.
56. Watzinger, Denkmäler II, S.85-6.
57. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.429 fig. 161; Tchalenko, Villages Antiques, pp.26-28, Pl. XIX. Cf. ibid., pp.25-28 for the baths in this area generally, the Brad specimen being the earliest.

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58. Antioch III, pp.19. ff.
59. Reifenberg, "Caesarea", IEJ 1950-1, p.21.
60. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.226-227.
61. Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlūn, p.161, left.
62. Idem, Abila, p.27 No.3.
63. Musil, Palmyrena, p.197 fig. 75, p.199 fig. 76.
64. Schumacher, Abila, p.26 No. 2.
65. Coincidentally not unlike banana leaves, or a schematized version of the leaves of some varieties of palm (but not the phoenix family).
66. Schumacher, Abila, p.25 No. 1.
67. For example the capitals from the Decapolis area, a capital from the basilica at Pella (Schumacher, Pella, p.47) comprising a square abacus below which are three progressively receding plain fasciae, the first two narrow, the lowest broad, with pendant balls beneath, and a second capital from the church at Capitolias (idem, Northern 'Ajlūn, p.161, right) similarly composed of a series of plain fasciae and ovólos, appear to mark a recrudescence of the Doric order. However, a comparison of the overall shape of the first example with that of the squared, angular outline of the first pseudo-Corinthian from the 'temple' at Abila (idem, Abila, p.27 No. 3, thesis Fig. 5b) suggests that at least this example may instead be a radical schematization of later Corinthians.
68. Baalbek II, S.20, Abb. 35e and S.22; from the shape of the leaves it is a true chapiteau épannelé, not an unfinished capital; from the text it appears that it was part of the original construction, not a later addition.
69. Musil, Palmyrena, p.194 fig. 72.
70. Ibid., p.208 fig. 81.
71. Ibid., p.209 fig. 82.
72. Ibid., p.160, fig. 50. As well as Egyptian and Mesopotamian it has perhaps ancestors in Asia Minor in the pier capitals of the Temple of Apollo at Didyma (see e.g. Lyttelton, op.cit., Pls. 35, 37) with more proximate ancestors in the pier capitals of the Arch of Hadrian at Athens (ibid., Pl. 197) and the Arched Gate at Petra (ibid., Pl. 75).
73. Islamic Art, p.19 Ill. 11.
74. Palmyrena, p.77, figs. 19, 20.

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75. Supra, Introduction, pp.xii-xiii, cf. M.A. pp.1-2.
76. Musil, Palmyrena, pp.65-7, 155-165, 260-272 ("Appendix VI, 'Historical Notes on ar-Resâfa' "), Antonín Mendl, Palmyrena, pp.299-236, "Appendix X, 'A Reconstruction of ar-Resâfa' ". Illustrations (both drawings and photographs): p.156 fig. 43; p.158 figs. 44-7; p.159 figs. 48-9; p.160 fig. 50; p.162 fig. 51; p.163 fig. 52; p.164 figs. 53, 54; p.165 fig.55; p.166 fig. 56; p.170 figs. 57-8; p.171 figs.59, 60; p.173 fig.61; p.174 fig. 62; p.175 fig. 63; p.181 fig. 64; p.182 fig.65; p.184 fig. 66; p.185 figs. 67-8; p.190 fig. 69; p.191 fig. 70; p.194 figs. 71-2; p.195 figs.73-4; p.197 fig.75; p.199 fig. 76; p.201 fig. 77; p.204 fig.78; p.205 fig.79; p.208 figs. 80-81; p.209 fig.82; p.211 fig. 83; p.301 fig.91; p.302 fig. 92; p.304 fig. 93; p.305 fig. 94; p.306 fig. 95; p.307 fig. 96; p.309 fig. 97; p.310 figs. 98-9; p.311 fig.100; p.312 fig. 101; p.313 fig. 102; p.314 fig. 103; p.315 fig.104; p.316 fig. 105; p.317 fig. 106; p.318 figs. 107-8; p.319 fig. 109; p.320 fig. 110; p.321 fig.111; p.322 fig. 112; p.323 fig. 113; p.324 fig.114; p.325 fig.115.
- H. Spanner and S. Guyer, Rusafa, die Wallfahrtsstadt des heiligen Sergios, Berlin 1926 (utilized, among other additional sources by Mendl) adds some extra photographs, but otherwise seems to represent no real advance on the joint account of Musil and Mendl; for the purposes of this thesis, so too Walter Karnapp, Die Stadtmauer von Resafa in Syrien, Deutsches archäologischen Institut, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1976.
77. See Palmyrena, p.301, fig. 91, p.158, figs. 44-7, p.302, fig. 92, p.306, fig. 95.
78. Mendl, Palmyrena, p.303, p.163, fig. 52, p.164, fig.54.
79. See, for example, the splendid squinches from the Basilica of St. Sergius, Palmyena, p.194, fig.72.
80. Waagé, Antioch IV, p.36.
81. E.g. CIL II, Nos. 209, 14177^{1b}, 14156² (= Gerasa Inscr. 70) and 14397.
82. See e.g. M.A. pp.89-90, Notes 314-5.
83. Alice Taylour, Syria, American Geographical Society, Nelson Doubleday Around the World Program, New York, 1965, plate p.16.
84. Musil, Palmyrena, pp.77, 81; Poidebard, Trace de Rome, p.189 n.1; Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², p.663, n.28.
85. Musil, Palmyrena, pp.160, 268-272.
86. Ibid., pp.204-5, n.58, p.282.
87. Ibid., pp.218, 282 (in "Appendix IX, 'The Country Residences of the Omayyads'", Palmyrena, pp.277-297).

Chapter VI, Notes.

1. E.g. supra, Ch.III, pp.132-137.
2. M.A. p.36 and Note 72, supra, Ch.III, p.133 and Note 152.
3. M.A. p. 36 and Note 74, supra, Ch.III, p.133 and Note 151.
4. E.g. M.A. p.27 and Note 527, supra, Ch.III, pp.132-3 and concomitant Notes.
5. Supra, Ch.III, p.194 and Notes 515-516.
6. Supra, Ch. IV, pp.241-245, 247-248 and concomitant Notes.
7. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.245-246 and concomitant Notes.
8. Supra, Ch.I, p.14 and Note 93; infra, pp.328-9.
9. Infra, p.342 and Note 197; cf. M.A. pp.210, 221-2 and Notes 725, 759, 760.
10. E.g. supra, Ch.I, p.12 and Note 82, p.14. During the power struggle in Judaea, Herod left Jerusalem in the hands of his brother Joseph, who then marched to Jericho with "five cohorts sent to him by Machaeras", a subordinate of Ventidius; in the ensuing battle "the whole Roman force was cut to pieces. For the cohorts had been recently levied in Syria and they had no leavening of "veterans" to support these raw recruits" (BJ I.xvii.1); these Syrians would presumably, at this stage, have been auxiliaries (see above). See also supra, Ch.I, p.17 cf.p.39 and Note 290 (L. Domitius Catullus, Fabia tribu, who was a prefect of some description), p.52 cf. Ch. IV Note 121 (the Sebastenians) and Ch.I p.58 (the Syrian auxiliaries who supported the Romans in the First Revolt). In the second century and later, Syrians found themselves in the prestigious Syrian and non-Syrian units whose ethnic derivations had long since ceased to be more than nominal: for example, the Palmyrene L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Julianus, prefect of the Ala Herculaniana Thracum stationed at Palmyra, who became Praetorian Prefect under Commodus and, on a less exalted level, A. Vibius Apollinaris, a trooper in the same unit (supra, Ch.IV, pp.246-7 and Notes 280-286) and Valerius Abdas from Chalcidene, imaginifer of the Ala Hamiorum in Africa (Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.40,9) as well as the Palmyrene centurion of Coh. III Thracum Syr. and Coh. I Chalcidiorum in Numidia (supra, Ch.IV, p.247 and Note 289) and the other still predominantly Syrian units such as the Numerus Palmyrenorum in Numidia (supra, Ch.V, pp.264-265) and the Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort at Dura (supra, Ch.IV, p.247 and Notes 205, 211, Ch.V, p.269 and Note 80). Other auxiliary units in the Syrian area include Ala/Cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum, which served in both Cyrrhestice and Pannonia, in which P.

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Insteio of Cyrrhus served (Mommson, CIL III, pp.914, 916); Ala Commagenorum (IGLS No. 137 from Enesh); Ala Epulol. (CIL III No.130 from Dumeir); Ala I Thracum (see above, Ch. II, p.72); Ala I Ulpia Singularium (at Palmyra ca. A.D. 151, Speidel, Syria 1972, p.497); (Ala I Valeria Dromedarium (CIL III No. 123 from Rîmet-el-Lohf); Ala Vocontiorum (at Palmyra A.D. 183 - , Speidel, loc. cit.); Cohors I Claudia Sugambrum, in Syria during Verus' Parthian War, the unit which M. Julius Pisonianus (qui et Dion) (Fab. trib.) of Tyre, commanded in Asia Minor, (Buckler et. al., JRS 1926, Inscr. 201 and commentary pp.74-8); Cohors Prima Gotthorum at HeTela in the Not. Dign. Oriens (Musil, Palmyrena, p.254); Cohors Prima Victorum, stationed at Ammatha/Alematha in the Not. Dign. Oriens (ibid., p.236); the Equites Promoti Illyricani, variously at Callinicius and Occariba in the Not. Dign. Oriens (ibid., p.236 and p.48 n.1), the Equites Promoti Indigenae, at Resafa in the Not. Dign. Oriens (ibid., p.263); the Equites Sagitarii Indigenae, at Adatha (i.e. Aracha, Arak) in the Not. Dign. Oriens (ibid., p.86 n.22), and possibly at Dumeir in A.D. 162 (see Mommson's reconstruction of CIL III 129); the Equites Saraceni, at Thelsee (Thelsea) in the Not. Dign. Oriens (Musil, op. cit., p.225 n.73); the Equites Saraceni Indigenae, at Betproclis (al-Forklos) in the Not. Dign. Oriens (Musil, op. cit., p.123 n.30). If, as seems likely, the Notitia Dignitatum Oriens was compiled from different lists of slightly differing dates, the last two may be one and the same, so too the Equites Promoti Indigenae and the Equites Sagitarii Indigenae.

11. E.g. supra, Ch.III, pp.189-190 and Notes 501-504, Ch.IV, pp. 204-205, 246-247, Ch.V, p.300. Cf. also Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.40, for Trebonius Sossianus, centurion of Leg. III Flavia Gordiana at Rome, possibly the same man who, at a later stage of his career, when he was primus pilus, left another inscription at Shehba-Philippolis, ibid. For Syrians serving in the fleet at Misenum, cf. also D'Arms, AJA 1973, especially p.152 n.3, cf. ILS 2871. Cf. also infra, Note 12, for Syrians in the regular army within their own region.

12. Supra, Ch.I, pp.51-2 and concomitant Notes, especially Note 369, for the period before the First Revolt. It seems very likely, in any case, that locals were recruited into the regular army during the First Revolt, if not before, to fill gaps, see Ch.I p.58 and Note 402, Ch.II Note 99 for the first of the Flavii Flacii of Jerash, Flavius Cerealis Quirina Flaccus, Ch. II, p.73, for the decurion T. Flavius Epe... from Jerash, though it cannot, of course, be ruled out that these Gerasenes served initially with auxiliary units. Forni, op. cit., pp.167, 176, lists 5 Syrian recruits for the period from Augustus to Caligula and 3 for the period from Claudius to Nero. Thereafter, the practice became quite common, two examples which spring readily to mind being M. Septimius Magnus of Arados who, whatever his subsequent career, certainly began his service in Leg. IV Scythica, in his own region (see IGLS VII, No. 4015 and Rey-Coquais comments ad Nos. 4015 and 4016, pp.43-45), and Rabil. Beliabus, the local recruit who served as a tubicen in Leg. VI Fer. at Enesh-Arulis in Commagene (supra, Ch.V, pp.269-270, Ch.II, Note 164, and infra, p.327). Cf. also Forni, op. cit., pp.184-204, Tables III-IV, for the recruitment of Syrians into the legions generally from the Flavian period onwards.

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13. E.g. at Caesarea, see ILS 7206, the inscription in which, notoriously, the honorand is as Dessau puts it "sine causa" identified with the younger son of Josephus by Mommsen. All three titles are otherwise attested for the colonies. For the somewhat tenuous possibility of a praefectus equitatum in Berytus, similar to those known in Spain, see Rey-Coquais ad IGLS 4009, from Arados, mentioned supra, Ch.I, p.39 and Note 290.
14. E.g. Gerasa, p.443 Inscr. 192, ἀγωνοθέτης; p.399 Inscr.53, p.422 Inscr. 134, p.441 Inscr. 188, ἀγορανομέω (cf. agoranomos); p.404 Inscr. 62, p.442 Inscr. 191, στρατηγός; and e.g. p.395 Inscr. 45, p.396 Inscr. 46, p.408 Inscr. 73, p.441 Inscr. 180, p.442 Inscr. 190, πρόεδρος and cognate words. N.B. also p.396 Inscr. 46, δεκαπρώτου.
15. E.g. IGLS 4001, γυμνασιαρχῶντο(ς).
16. Generally, and for archon, strategos, agoranomos and proedros, supra, Ch.III, p.127, for boule and demos, Ch.II, p.71 and Note 90, Ch.III, p.165; for strategos, see also Ch.V, pp.267-8, for synodiarch, ibid.; for symposiarch, Starcky, Palmyre, p.55 and n. 104, Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.136.
17. S.E.H.R.E.², pp.272-3, cf. Ch.V, pp.267-8.
18. Supra, Ch.III, p.174 and Note 398.
19. Supra, Epilogue, pp.304-5 and Note 19.
20. Supra, Ch.III, pp.166-7, 186, 187.
21. See above, Ch.III, pp.165-6 for Palmyra and Qumrân, for the latter see also G.M. Crowfoot, apud Disc. Jud. Des. I, p.26. For the former, Seyrig, Syria 1937, pp.4-31, 'Antiquités syriennes' No. 20, "Armes et costumes Iraniens de Palmyre:", and idem, "Palmyra and the East", JRS 1950, pp.1-7; for the possibility of Iranian dress also at Emesa, supra, Ch.V, p.269 and Note 44 (Seyrig, Syria 1937, pp.7-8); Seyrig also cites other doubtful instances of the use of Iranian dress in which the attestation is confined to its depiction on gods, from Baalbek (ibid., p.8 and n.3 to p.8), Dionysias in Batanea (ibid., and n.4 to p.8), Petra (ibid., and n.5 to p.8), Chalcis ad Belas (ibid., p.7 and n.8 to p.7) Epiphania (ibid., p.8 and n.1 to p.8) and Doliche (ibid., p.7 and n.7 to p.7) as well as numerous other instances from Auranitis (roughly the Hauran) and Batanea (ibid., p.8 and n.8 to p.8), but with a certain pre-Roman instance of mortal usage from the first century B.C. in the royal monument at Samosata (ibid., p.7 and n.5 to p.7).

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22. Supra, Ch. I, Note 338.

23. Supra, Ch.II, p.77, Ch.III, p.167, Ch.IV, p.197, Ch.V, p.264.

24. Syria 1937, p.7:

Les villes phéniciennes, où l'on porte la robe persique jusqu'à la conquête romaine, ne l'ont même jamais connues [i.e. Parthian pantaloons].

25. Supra, Ch.III, p.187, cf. e.g. ibid., Note 299 and pp.181, 182, Ch.V, p.282 and Note 161, Ch.I, p.49, Ch.IV, p.203, Epilogue pp.301-307.

26. Supra, Ch.III, pp.180-182. It is possible that the situation in other parts of the empire was different in this respect. Burn, op. cit., p.122, mentions a business document from London, surviving on a wooden writing tablet where the stylus penetrated the wax, which includes an oath sworn by Jupiter and the divinity of the Emperor Domitian.

27. Supra, Ch.I, p.11 and Note 80.

28. Supra, Ch.I, p.13 and Note 84.

29. Supra, Ch.I, pp.18-19.

30. Supra, Ch.I, p.16 and Note 112a.

31. Kraeling, Gerasa, p.44, Welles, ibid., pp.373-4, Pl. XCV b, Inscr. 2, cf. supra, Ch.I, pp.37-8.

32. Supra, Ch.I, pp.49-50, Ch.III, pp.134-5 and concomitant Notes, especially Ch.III Note 451.

33. Supra, Ch.II, p.71 and Note 88.

34. Ibid., p.70 and Notes 85-6.

35. Supra, Ch.III, p. 171 and Note 377.

36. Ibid., pp.181-2.

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37. Supra, Ch.III, p.180 and Note 450.
38. Ibid., pp.180-1, and Note 451.
39. Starcky, Palmyre, p.86 and n. 2, cf. p.73.
40. Ibid., pp.72-3, cf. M.A. Note 527. It is noteworthy that while, once deified, emperors tended to remain so short of a catastrophic change in public opinion (for this Period, see Pliny, Epist. X. LXX, LXXI, for Trajan's ruling on the matter of the demolition of a building perhaps once consecrated to Claudius), Hadrian, a god while living, is merely the 'late' emperor in this inscription; perhaps it dates to the hiatus after the death of Hadrian, before Antoninus over-persuaded the senate on the matter of his apotheosis.
41. Supra, Ch.III, p.127 and Note 110, cf. Rajak, Classical Quarterly 1973, p.350.
42. Supra, Ch.III, p.126 and Note 107.
43. Ibid., and Note 108.
44. Ibid., pp.129,164, and Notes 124, 331, cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.456 and p.577 n. 75; Ch.IV, p.196 and Note 11.
45. Supra, Ch.IV, p.236 and Note 208, cf. Ch. V, p.270, on the date.
46. CIL III No. 202, supra, Ch.III, p.146 and Note 214.
47. CIL III, No. 14176³, supra, Ch.III, p.110 and Note 19.
48. CIL III No. 13596, supra, Ch.III, p.112 and Note 39.
49. CIL III No. 14186, supra, Ch.III, p.112 and Note 36.
50. CIL III No. 14177¹, supra, Ch.III, p.113
51. Loc. cit.
52. E.g. M.A. Note 527, supra, Ch.III, pp.132-3 and Notes 145-149.

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53. Supra, Epilogue, p.302 and Note 13.
54. Ibid., pp.302-3, Ch.I, p.55, and on the possibility that such sacrifices were one of the functions of imperial priests, Welles, Gerasa, p.380, ad Inscr. 10, on the significance of ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας, which recurs in another dedication pro salute of the reigning emperor by a supposed imperial priest, Inscr. No. 121 (pp.418-9) and in a very similar inscription in which the nature of the dedicant's priesthood is not specified, but no such conjecture is ventured by the editor, Inscr. 22 (p.419). For earlier Jewish conflicts over similar issues to that of sacrificing for the emperor, Ch. I, pp.40-41.
55. CIL III No.211, cf. supra, Ch.V, p.259 and Note 21.
56. For Arados, supra, Ch.V, p.274 and Note 108; for Dura, see Rey-Coquais' comments, IGLS VII, p.321 and n.1.
57. CIL III No. 121, much restored by Mommsen.
58. Supra, Ch.V, p.275, cf. ibid., p.291.
59. Starcky, Palmyre, p.86 and n.3.
60. Epist. X.VIII.1-4, LXX, LXXI.
61. See Epist. X.XVII.2, XVIII.3, XXXVII.3 and Radice, Loeb Vol. II, p.213 n.1, XXXIX.5, XLI.3, XLII, LXI.5, LXII. Pliny probably never did get his architect.
62. Epist. X., e.g. XXXVII, XXXIX.
63. Ibid., CXVII. Cf. the gentler hint in XL.1.
- 63a. On the pre-Roman ancestry of the idea of a "family of gods", see Teixidor, Pantheon of Palmyra, p.3. Again this may be a case of "reinforcement", where the pre-Roman cultural type assures the acceptance of this particular aspect of the imperial cult, though in his earlier book, The Pagan God, pp.13-14, he considered that this divine assembly might have been dying out in the later part of the first millennium B.C.
64. Cf. supra, Ch.V, p.282.
65. E.g. supra, Ch.III, pp.125, 131 and concomitant Notes, especially Note 144a, Ch.V, pp.266-7 and Notes 66-70.
66. Collart and Vicari, Baalshamfn I, p.93.
67. Supra, Epilogue, pp.302-307.
68. Ibid., pp.304-5 and Notes 18-19.

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69. Ibid., p. 307.
70. Supra, Ch.I, pp.10, 39-40.
71. Supra, Ch.V, p. 280, Epilogue p. 308.
72. M.A., pp.240-243.
73. Waagé, Antioch IV, p.34 No.453.
74. Ibid., No.435.
75. Ibid., p.35 No. 460 (stamp only).
76. M.A. Note 864, those compared to Antioch IV Nos. 600 to 680.
77. Supra, Ch.V, p.278 and Note 130.
78. Ibid., p.390 and Note 210.
79. Ibid. and Note 209. For African redslip ware in the area from the mid third century onwards, see also J.W. Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, British School at Rome, London, 1972, e.g. p.317; for sporadic examples of Çandarlı, e.g. at Samaria, ibid., p.318, p.32 for the date.
80. M.A., p.242, Note 865.
81. Supra, Ch.I, p.39, Ch.IV, p.198, Ch.V, pp. 273-4.
82. Supra, Ch.I, p.39 and Note 293, cf. M.A., p.242 and Note 871.
83. Supra, Ch.I, p.24 and Note 163.
84. Negev, PEQ 101, 1969, p.9.
85. Supra, Ch.I, pp. 39-40, Notes 295-296; in addition, for the L TITY/THYRSI stamp at Samaria, see Antioch IV, p.67.
86. Comfort, Antioch IV, p.66, the stamp of T. Rufrenius.

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87. Negev, loc. cit.
88. Antioch IV, pp.65-7.
89. Ibid., p.70.
90. Ibid., pp.61-77. Most cannot be dated closely and so have been omitted from the chronological chapters.
91. Supra, Ch.IV, p.198.
92. Supra, Ch.V, p.274 and Note 99..
93. Supra, Ch.I, p.40 and also Note 298.
94. See above, Ch.IV, p.195, cf. M.A., p.100.
95. See above, Ch.III, p.157.
96. See above, Ch.V, p.281.
97. See above, Ch.III, p.171.
98. See Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.198-9, 202,205 for military Latin inscriptions from Dura. It is noteworthy that the pre-Roman population used Greek or Semitic (ibid., pp.179-80) and the civilian population of Dura continued to use Greek, Palmyrene and Safaitic Arabic, with Greek apparently emerging as the common tongue in the third century, see ibid., pp.202, 203, 207, 209.
99. See M.A., p.92 and Note 322.
100. For this error as deriving from vulgar pronunciation, see Jalabert and Mouterde, IGLS I, p.67. Cf. supra, Ch.V, pp.291-2.
101. Supra, Ch.V, pp.269-70, Ch III, p.190, and Ch.II Note 164.
102. M.A., pp.99-101 and Note 335.
103. Gerasa, p.446 Inscr. 199 (bilingual); p.447 Inscr. 200 (bilingual);

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p.447 Inscr. 201; pp.447-8 Inscr. 202; p.450 Inscr. 211; p.450 Inscr. 212; p.450 Inscr. 213; p.449 Inscr. 208 is the tombstone of an unknown erected by his cornicularius and so may be military or civil.

104. Ibid., p.390 Inscr. 30; p.391 Inscr. 31; p.435 Inscr. 171; pp. 435-6 Inscr. 173; p.436 Inscr. 174; p.437 Inscr. 178.

105. See Ch.I, pp.28-30 and Notes 193 ff.

106. M.A., pp.92, 101.

107. CIL III No.134, a dedication pro salute of Antoninus Pius; see above, Ch.III, p.171.

108. CIL III No. 154, supra, Ch.V, p.275.

109. CIL III no. 14384¹ (=13608, cf.14162¹) = IGLS VI No.2929; supra, Ch.III, Note 156.

110. See Rey-Coquais ad IGLS VI No.2929; supra, Ch.III, Note 156.

111. Supra, Ch.V, p.266.

112. IGLS Nos. 71, 82, M.A., p.100 and Note 337, supra, Ch.V, p.292.

113. E.g. Victorina Fabaria in the colony of Berytus, CIL III No.153, see above, Ch.V, Note 110.

114. Supra, Ch.I, p.14 and Note 93.

115. E.g. doubtfully, IGLS No.4009, discussed below, apropos which Rey-Coquais states that all the praefecti to which the honorand may be compared are 'in effect' from the Augustan period.

116. The inscription recording the erection of statues of Tiberius, Drusus and Nero in the Sanctuary of Bel by a legate of Leg. X Fret., Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.34.

117. M.A., pp.104-9, especially pp.108-9.

118. Ibid., pp.102-3 and Note 341.

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119. Supra, Ch.I, p.39 and Note 290, Ch.II, p.71 and Note 90.
120. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.173.
121. IGLS VII, No. 4037.
122. M.A., p.110.
123. Review of: Samuel Krauss, Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum, mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Löw, Teil I, 1898, Teil II, 1899, in Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XVII, 1903, S.192-6, ref.194-5.
124. M.A., p.109 and Note 367.
125. Supra, Ch.I, p. 50, and Notes 364-6, especially 366; Ch.II, pp.105-6.
126. Palmyre, p.23, cf. supra, Ch.III, p.160.
127. Supra, Ch.III, p.160 and Note 288 Ch.IV, pp. 233-4, and Note 190.
128. Liddell and Scott, Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon, p.446.
129. Supra, Ch.III, pp.173-174 and concomitant Notes.
130. Ibid., pp.127,159-60.
131. Op. cit., p.21.
132. Ibid., p.2, cf. supra, Ch.III, p.174 and Notes 493-4.
133. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.33.
134. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.133.
135. Wood, Palmyra, p.13.
136. See e.g. the inscriptions from the pre-Roman temples of Artemis Nanaia and Atargatis, the majority of which were in Greek (Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pp.179-180). For the general linguistic situation at Dura,

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supra, p.326 and Note 98.

137. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.152, Pl. XXIII.3 and caption.
138. E.g. supra, Ch.III, p.167 and Note 353.
139. Loc. cit.
140. Palmyre, p.23, supra, Ch.III, p.159 and Note 280.
141. Denkmäler II, S. 109-110 and S. 110 Abm. 1.
142. Loc. cit.
143. Op. cit.
144. Ibid.
145. Supra, Ch.II, Note 164.
146. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.239-40 and Notes 223-225.
147. Ibid., pp.240-41 and Notes 226-245.
148. Ibid., pp.241-244 and concomitant Notes.
149. Supra, Ch.II, pp.92-106 and concomitant Notes, especially p.106, Ch.IV, pp.250-255 especially pp.254-255 and concomitant Notes.
150. Albeit areas not dissimilar in cultural history from the point of view of this thesis, both, though not untouched by Hellenism prior to the Roman period, less Hellenized than the cities of the coast and the Decapolis district, both subjected to the Romanizing activities of their respective kings in Period II.
151. Supra, Ch.III, pp.161-163 and concomitant Notes, Ch.V, p.263 and Note 50.
152. Supra, Ch.I, p.33 cf. pp.44-5.
153. Ibid., pp.55-7 and concomitant Notes, Ch.III, pp.175-179.

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154. Supra, Ch. V, pp.292-299 and especially p.298 Cf. Ch.III, p.179.

155. Supra, Ch.III, Notes 289-290.

156. For Palestine, supra, Ch.III, pp.160,175; for Palmyra and Palmyrene, ibid., p.160 and Ch.IV, pp.233-234.

157. See e.g. Heichelheim, loc. cit., pp.150-2, 166-8, 173 n. 1, 174-5, 176-7, 197, 206, 210, 211 ff.

158. Supra, Ch.III, pp.160-61 and Notes 293-296', especially Notes 295-6.

159. Supra, p.330 and Note 128.

160. Supra, Ch.IV, p.337 and Note 206.

161. Samaria-Sebaste I, p.48.

162. Supra, Ch.I, p.23 and Note 148.

163. Mainly in regard to the 'Hellenistic problem', and the difficulty of showing that Roman influence occurred in Syria rather than that pre-Roman traditions continued and were exported thence to Rome in the Roman period. For example, the Syrian littoral was already famous for glass-making early in the Roman era, and noted for it by Strabo (Geogr. XVI.2.25); he also points out that many places specialized in various aspects of this craft, singling out for mention Alexandria and, most appositely, Rome itself, "and at Rome, also, it is said that many discoveries are made both for producing colours and for facility in manufacture, as, for example, in the case of glass-ware, where one can buy a glass beaker or drinking-cup for a copper". On such vague and ambivalent information it would be extremely difficult to demonstrate satisfactorily that any given feature or technique was exported from Rome to Syria, or rather that it was not used on the Syrian littoral prior to the Roman occupation, known throughout the Syrian region, and exported thence to Rome. Similarly, in regard to the manufacture of mosaics, Toynbee, e.g. Art in Britain under the Romans, pp.10-11, has argued for the existence of copy-books, created around the shores of the Mediterranean and circulated throughout the empire. None of these conjectural copy-books has survived, but the assumption of their existence makes the use or otherwise of local materials irrelevant to the question of origin. It is difficult to gainsay the possibility that any "Roman" feature one cares to adduce as evidence of Romanization in a Syrian example may in fact derive from a pre-Roman Graeco-Syrian tradition.

It has therefore been considered advisable to lay aside such equivocal categories of evidence and give priority to more potentially fruitful ones such as architecture, where some attempt can be made to

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establish the ethnic origin of the various types.

164. Supra, Ch.II, p.90 and especially Note 160.

165. Supra, Ch.I, p.40 and Note 298.

166. Supra, Ch.I, p.46 and Notes 338-340, cf. p.38 and Note 287; Ch.III, pp.162, 167; Ch.V, pp.263-264.

167. Supra, Ch.V, pp.261-262.

168. In addition to the eminence of Ulpian of Tyre in the legal sphere, it is noteworthy that from the third century Berytus was famous for its school of Roman law, see A.H.M. Jones and H. Seyrig, OCD², p.166, s.v. BERYTUS.

169. M.A., pp.63-80, supra, Ch.II, pp.93-106 (but cf. Ch.I, p. 50 and Note 366), Ch.IV, pp.254-5.

170. M.A., pp.58-63, supra, Ch.IV, pp.250-255, cf. Ch.II, pp.96-99.

171. See above, Note 169 and especially Ch.II, pp.96-105.

172. Loeb Vol. II, pp.xiii-xix.

173. Handbook of Greek Literature, p.418.

174. See e.g. especially Ward-Perkins apud Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.245-263, Ch. 10, "Materials and Methods: The Roman Architectural Revolution" (explicitly); cf. (implicitly) Wheeler, op. cit., pp.11-22 (especially 12 ff. for the enclosure of space) and Robertson, Handbook, pp.232-5, 239-266 (especially 242 for the separation between the apparent function and the real function of the old quadrate elements). Robertson's account should be revised, however, in regard to arch and vault, in view of the recent developments in the study of Hellenistic architecture, cf. M.A., pp.232-235.

175. M.A. pp.46-7, 49-58, supra, Ch.I, p.6.

176. Supra, Ch.I, pp.10-11.

177. For Caesar's alleged construction of an amphitheatre at Antioch, supra, Ch.I, pp.11-12, but cf. M.A. pp.44 ff. For Herod's amphitheatre at Caesarea, supra, Ch.I, p.18; for his amphitheatre at Jerusalem, ibid.,

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p.21. It is likely that he was also responsible for the amphitheatre at Jericho which was in existence at the time of his death, BJ I.xxxiii.8, although Josephus does not specifically ascribe its construction to him. For the amphitheatre of Agrippa I at Berytus, supra, Ch.I, pp.41-2. It is possible that there was also an amphitheatre at Caesarea Philippi (Paneas), the work of either Herod Philip, who rebuilt the city as Caesarea (BJ II. ix. 1, cf. AJ XVIII.28) or Agrippa II, who embellished it under the name of Neronias (BJ III.x.7, AJ XX.211): after his victories in the First Revolt, Titus celebrated by putting captives to death in spectacles in Caesarea Philippi (BJ VII.ii.7), Caesarea Maritima and Berytus (BJ VII.iii. 1); since the latter two cities already had provision for such spectacles in the form of amphitheatres, it seems likely that the same facilities existed in the third city he selected for his entertainments.

178. Cf. M.A., pp.209-226. For the Augusteum at Samaria, supra, Ch.I, pp.18, 23-4, 25, 47, Ch.II, pp.78-80 for the Temple complex at Jerusalem, Ch.I, p.23; for a summary of both, Ch.I, p.28. For the Sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra, Ch.I, pp.38, 45, Ch.II, p.78 Ch.III, p.130 Ch.IV, pp.196-7.

179. Supra, Ch.I, p.26.

180. Private domestic architecture, as opposed to public civic architecture, could and did continue old forms; being under the eye of the Romans, as it were, public architecture was subject to pressures which were less inevitable and inescapable in the case of private architecture.

181. E.g. see above, Ch.II, pp.69-70, Ch.IV, pp.211, 215.

182. Supra, Ch.III, pp.161-4.

183. M.A., pp.208-9 and especially Note 723.

184. Supra, Ch.III, pp.149-152.

185. For Jerash, supra, Ch.III, pp.139-142, Ch.IV pp.200-203 especially 203 for Samaria, Ch.V, pp.287-8 for Esrija, Ch.IV, pp.218-225 especially pp.221-3.

186. M.A., Note 551. Cf. also supra, e.g. Ch.III, (pp.155-7) especially Note 258, pp.185-6.

187. Supra, Ch.IV, p.200.

188. For this last, supra, Ch.III, pp.142, 156-7, Ch.IV, pp.200-203.

189. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.205-215, Ch.V, pp.283-289.

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190. Supra, Ch.V, pp.292-298, especially p.295 cf. 298.
191. Supra, Epilogue, pp.305-6.
192. Supra, Ch.V, p.271.
193. M.A., p.241 and Note 861.
194. Supra, Ch.III, pp.167-8 and Note 354.
195. Supra, Ch.IV, p.195.
196. Ibid., pp.218, 230.
197. Boëthius - Ward-Perkins, op. cit., see references listed in the index, p.606, under APOLLODORUS OF DAMASCUS, especially p.265.
198. Cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.437.
199. Supra, Epilogue, pp.310-311.
200. M.A., p.168 and Notes 599-560, supra, Epilogue pp.310-311 and N.68.
201. See above, Ch.IV, p.233.
202. Supra, Ch.IV, p.227, Epilogue, pp.308-311, 312.
203. Syria 1959, pp.212-219.
204. Supra, Ch.I, p.11, Ch.II, p.60 and Note 7, Ch.III, p.126.
205. Cf. supra, Ch.I, p.16.
206. Cf. supra, Ch.III, p.171.
207. Cf. supra, Ch.III, pp.129-131 and Note 118, Ch.V, p.263; for its peculiarities, see Frézouls, Syria 1959, pp.214-5.
208. Cf. supra, Ch.I, p.19, cf. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.230.

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209. Cf. supra, Ch.I, p.19.
210. Josephus mentions theatres built by Agrippa I and Agrippa II, see above, Ch.I, pp.41-2, cf. Ch.II, p.88. The second may have been a rebuilding or remodelling of the first, although Josephus writes as if they were two separate constructions.
211. Cf. M.A., p.183 and Note 624, supra, Ch.V, pp: 275-6.
212. Cf. Baalbek I, S. 42-3.
213. Cf. supra, Ch.V, pp.278, 298.
214. Cf. supra, Ch.I, p.18, but cf. also M.A., p.183 and Note 622 and supra, Ch.V, pp.290, 298.
215. Cf. supra, Ch.I, p.21, Ch.III, p.117.
216. Cf. supra, Ch.V, pp.286-7.
217. Cf. Schumacher, Abila, p.30.
218. Cf. idem, Northern 'Ajlûn, pp.49-53, 55-60.
219. Cf. M.A., p.183 and Note 623, supra, Ch.V, pp..279,280 (the 'Festival Theatre' at the Birketein); Ch.II, pp.76, 83 (the South Theatre); Ch.IV, p.200 (the North Theatre).
220. M.A., p.183 and Note 622, supra, Ch.V, pp..290, 298.
221. Supra, Ch.V, pp. 275-6.
222. Supra, Ch.II, p. 83.
223. See above, Note 210.
224. See M.A., pp.177-8.
225. M.A., p.177 and Note 597, cf. supra, Ch.I, p.11.
226. Supra, Ch.I, p.19, cf. M.A., p.177 and Note 600.

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227. Supra, Ch.I, p.16, cf. M.A. p.177 and Note 598.
228. Supra, Ch. I, p.16, cf. M.A., p.177 and Note 599.
229. Supra, Ch.I, p.41, cf. M.A. p.177 and Note 601.
230. M.A. p.177 and Note 594, pp.177-8.
231. Supra, Ch.III, pp.107, 125, Ch.V, p. 274.
232. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.444, fig. 164 B, cf. supra, Ch.III, p.107 and Note 4.
233. Supra, Ch.III, p.117, Epilogue, p.308.
234. Jerusalem: Kenyon, Digging up Jerusalem, p.246. Apamea: supra, Ch.III, p.136.
235. Supra, Ch.IV, p.200.
236. Supra, Ch.V, p.279.
237. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.444 and fig. 164A.
238. Supra, Epilogue, p.308.
239. Ibid.
240. Supra, Ch.III, p.170, Epilogue, p.308.
241. M.A., p.178 and Note 602.
242. Supra, Epilogue, p.308.
243. Ibid.
244. Supra, Ch.IV, p.336 and Note 206, Ch.V, p.271 and Note 85; cf. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, e.g. pp.201-2, 205. Applebaum, op. cit., p. 43, also mentions a bath of the Tenth Legion at Ramat Rahel, and, under "Roman works", a "Roman public bath" at Ein Geddi used between A.D. 70 and the Second Revolt. Some doubt, however, must now attach to late, undated specimens, since the baths at Kasr al-Hêr ech Charqî demonstrate that the Umayyads took over this type, too, initially without much in the way of diagnostic modification, see Grabar et al., op. cit., pp.167, 171, 95-117 and fig. 42D.

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245. M.A., pp.50-56, 181, supra, Ch.I, p.6, Ch.II, p.89.
246. Supra, Ch.II, pp.83-87 cf. M.A., p.179 and p.180 fig.8.
247. Supra, Ch.III, pp. 118-119.
248. Cf. supra, Ch.IV, p.199 for a dubious hint of a decline in the use of the existing structure at Antioch.
249. Supra, Ch.I, p.21, Ch.II, p.89.
250. Supra, Ch.I, p.50, Ch.II, p.89.
251. Syria 1961, p.64, n.3. For doubtful additional "hippodromes", temporary structures later demolished, to satisfy the tastes of Caracalla during his stay in the area, supra, Ch.V, p.261.
252. Syria 1961, p.64, cf. pp.61-3.
253. Supra, Ch.III, p.188.
254. Supra, Ch.V, p.261.
255. See above, Note 177, for early imperial and Herodian amphitheatres.
256. Supra, Ch.IV, p.236.
257. Supra, Note 177.
258. Ibid.
259. Palmyrène du N.- O., pp.23, 64-6, 153-4.
260. Ibid., pp.25, 67-8, 156-158.
261. Ibid., pp.23-4, p.24 fig. 10, pp.66-7, 154-6.
262. Ibid., pp.13-22, 51-62, 143-152, 116 and figs. 3-9.
263. Ibid., pp.37-41, p.38 fig.15, p.40 fig. 16, pp.79-83, p.80 fig. 36, pp.163-6.

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264. Ibid., pp.35-6, p.94 fig. 45.4, p.100 fig.48.4, pp.76-8, 160-162.
265. Ibid., pp.36-7, p.32 fig. 14, pp.78-9.
266. Ibid., pp.34, p.40 fig. 16.4, p.94 fig.45.3, p.75.
267. Ibid., respectively pp.31-3, p.32 fig. 14, p.30 fig. 13, pp.70-74, pp.159-160, and pp.33-4, p.32 fig. 14, pp.74-5.
268. Ibid., pp.22, 62-4, 153, (33).
269. Ibid., pp.29, 21, 70, (33).
270. Ibid., pp.29, 69-70, (33).
271. Ibid., pp. 27, 29, p.27 fig.12.
272. Ibid., pp.41-4, p.43 fig. 17, p.100 fig.48, pp.84-5, p.167.
273. Supra, Ch.I, pp.30-31.
274. Ibid., pp.18, 23-4, 25.
275. Supra, Ch.III, pp.122-5, Ch.IV, p.232, Ch.V, pp.289-290
276. Supra, Ch.III, p. 116.
277. Ibid., pp.130-131.
278. Supra, Ch.IV, p. 216.
279. Supra, Epilogue, p.306 and Note 35.
280. Supra, Ch.III, p.123.
281. Supra, Ch.I, p.23.
282. Supra, Ch.V, p. 283.

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283. Supra, Ch.III, p.129.
284. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.234-236.
285. Supra, Ch.I, pp.11-12.
286. Supra, Ch.III, p.165.
287. Supra, Ch.I, p.23, Ch.IV, p.212.
288. For Beth She'arim, supra, Ch.V, Note 253; for Apamea, supra, Ch.III, p.136.
289. Although one wonders about the situation at Samaria, which had a separate Augusteum as well. But the existence of a basilica with functions similar to those of the basilica in Rome or in one of the Italian cities would not, in any case, be surprising, since, as Crowfoot implies, it was in many respects a transplanted Italian town, with insulae, gates, and canonical forum, even if the description is partial and inadequate in the light of the peculiarly Romano-Syrian features such as the colonnaded street.
290. Musil, Palmyrena, p.111.
291. Supra, Ch.V, p.283 and Notes 162-3.
292. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.83. It connected the Birketein near the 'Festival Theatre' to the Nymphaeum dated A.D. 191. While the latter could originally have used another water source, it is likely therefore that the aqueduct was constructed in Period VI or Period VII.
293. Supra, Ch.III, p.126, Ch.V, pp.208, 299, Epilogue, p.308.
294. Supra, Ch.I, p.17.
295. Supra, Ch.III, pp.109, 180.
296. Ibid., pp.107, 125-6.
297. Supra, Ch.I, p.19.
298. Ibid., p.23.
299. For Antioch, ibid., p.11. For Apamea, see the L. Julius Agrippa inscription, Rey-Coquais, AAS 1973, p.45.

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300. Northern 'Ajlūn, pp.78-9.
301. De Saulcy, op. cit., p.541.
302. Ibid., pp.531 cf. 535.
303. Supra, Ch.I, p.17.
304. Supra, Ch.III, p.180.
305. Supra, Ch.V, 298 and Epilogue, p.308.
306. M.A., p.50 and Note 115.
307. Ibid., p.183 and Note 622.
308. Supra, Note 294.
309. Pella, p.55.
310. J.d. (k.) a. I. 1914, S. 63.
311. Op. cit., pp.120-124.
312. Supra, Ch.III, pp.116-117. The excavators restored a dome over the settling basin of the aqueduct at Baalbek (Baalbek I, S.26, Abb.11 b), which appears to comprise elements of varying date (cf. ibid., S. 27, Abb. 12) but may date back to the Hellenistic phase in its original form, since capitals of Schlumberger's 'median cross' Heterodox variety (ibid., Taf. 6) were found at the same site. However, the dome is in any case purely conjectural, since the excavators note that there were no actual remains (ibid., S. 27).
313. Baalbek II, S. 104, S. 103 Abb. 166, Taf. 58, 64.
314. Supra, Ch.IV, p.200
315. Ibid.
316. Supra, Ch.V, p.278.

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317. Supra, Epilogue, pp.307, 308.
318. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.444 and fig. 164.
319. Ibid.
320. Ibid., p.429 fig. 161 C.
321. Supra, Epilogue, Note 25.
322. Musil, Palmyrena, e.g. p.171 fig. 60.
323. E.g. ibid., p.194 fig. 71.
324. Schumacher, Pella, p.35.
325. M.A., p.238 and Notes 843-844.
326. Ibid., p.238 and Note 845.
327. Robertson, Handbook, p.230 n.2.
328. Supra, Ch.II, p.80 Ch.III, p.157.
329. Supra, Ch.III, pp.155-7 and Fig. 3, p.156.
330. Supra, Ch.V, p.288 and Notes 180-198, with p.294 and Note 179.
331. Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlūn, pp.103-4.
332. M.A., pp.233-4.
333. Schumacher, Abila, pp.23-4, 33-4.
334. Ibid., p.24; idem, Pella, pp.54-5.
335. De Saulcy, op. cit., pp.537, 545-6.
336. A. Poidebard, Tyr, Paris 1939, pp.25 ff., 39, 30.

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337. Supra, Ch.III, p. 170.

338. Supra, Epilogue, pp.311-2, cf. Mendl, Palmyrena, pp.299-326, especially 229.

339. Op. cit., p.430.

340. Supra, Ch.I, p.10.

341. Pp. 114-5.

342. Ibid.

343. Supra, Ch.III, p.127 cf. e.g. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, plan p.33.

344. Supra, Ch.I, p.48, Ch.II, pp.64-5.

345. Supra, Ch.III, p.115 and Note 56.

346. Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlūn, pp.155-6.

347. Supra, Ch.I, pp.29-30, 41, Ch.II, p. 89.

348. Supra, Ch.III, pp.119-121.

349. Supra, Ch.II, p.82 (the North-West Gate), pp.82-3,86 (the earlier North Gate), pp.82-3,86 (the South Gate), Ch.II, p.82, Ch.III, p.143 (the North Gate); cf. also the triple arched gate of the Propylaea of the Sanctuary of Artemis, Ch.III, p.141, Ch.IV, pp.199, 201-2 and the "Arch of Hadrian", Ch.II, pp.83-4, Ch.III, pp. 136-8, 138-9.

350. Supra, Epilogue, p. 312.

351. Supra, Ch.V, p. 273.

352. Poidebard, Trace de Rome, p.79.

353. Cf. M.A. pp.174-5 and Note 577.

354. Supra, Epilogue, p.312.

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355. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, p.207.
356. Supra, Ch.V, pp. 273, 290.
357. Supra, Ch.I, p.17, Ch.II, p. 89.
358. Supra, Ch.V, pp. 263, 288, 290.
359. Supra, Ch.IV, p. 233.
360. M.A., pp.127-134, 136-7, supra, Ch.I, p.19, Ch.III, pp. 107-108, 125, 145-6, Ch.IV, pp.212-3.
361. Wiegand, Alte Denkmäler, Taf. 99 right and caption.
362. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.426.
363. Ibid.
364. Supra, Ch.IV, pp. 205-6, 212-3.
365. M.A., p.148, supra, Ch.III, pp. 157-8.
366. Supra, Ch.III, p. 114.
367. Supra, Ch.III, pp. 143-4, Ch.IV, p.200, Ch.V, p.279.
368. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.430.
369. Appendix to Antioch V.
370. Supra, Ch.IV, p. 238.
371. Supra, Ch.III, pp. 127-129, Ch.IV, p.196, Ch.V, p. 263.
372. Supra, Epilogue, p. 312.
373. Supra, Ch.IV, p. 236.

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374. E.g. Robertson, Handbook, p.291.
375. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.432.
376. Schumacher, Northern 'Ajlûn, p.65.
377. Ibid., p.156.
378. Cf. supra, Ch.I, p.19.
379. Ibid., p.41.
380. M.A., pp.210-211, 226, supra, Ch.I, pp.38, 45, Ch.II, p.78, Ch.III, pp.130-133, 135-136.
381. M.A., pp.223-4, supra, Ch.I, pp.18, 23-4, 25, 28, 47.
382. Supra, Ch.V, p.285-6.
383. M.A., pp. 209, 211, 216, 225 and Fig. p.220, supra, Ch.III, pp. 138-142, p.140 Fig.2 (= M.A. Fig. p.220), 184-5, Ch.IV, pp.199, 200-201.
384. M.A., p.213 and Note 738, supra, Ch.II, p.64, Ch.IV, pp. 285-6.
385. M.A., pp.209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 215-6, 217-8, p.220 Fig. 11, pp.221, 223, 224, 225-6, supra, Ch.I, pp.15-16, Ch.II, pp.76-77, Ch.III, pp.139-142, and p.140 Fig.1 (= M.A. Fig. 11 p.220), Ch.IV, pp.221-3, Ch. V, pp.276-7.
386. M.A., pp.209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 225, supra, Ch.I, pp.38, 45, Ch.II, p. 78, Ch.III, p.130, Ch.IV, pp.196-7.
387. M.A., pp.223-4, 224-5, supra, Ch.I, pp.21, 26, 28.
388. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.216-7.
389. Cf. supra, Ch.V, pp.292-298, Epilogue, p.307.
390. Supra, Epilogue, e.g. pp.306-7 and Notes 21-39, pp.309-311 and concomitant Notes.

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391. Add, for example, several churches at Gubb al-Haḡal, Musil, Palmyrena, p.202, another (apart from the stair-temple) at Esrija, (ibid., p.58) and those at Klej'a (ibid., p.203) and al-Baṣṭri (ibid., p.129).
392. M.A., p.149 and Note 503, supra, Ch.V, pp. 279, 280-281.
393. M.A., p.149 and Note 503, supra, Ch.III, p. 144.
394. M.A., Note 503, supra, Ch.III, p. 130.
395. M.A., Note 503.
396. Ibid., and supra, Ch.I, p.16.
397. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.430.
398. Ibid.
399. M.A., Note 503.
400. M.A., p.176 and Note 589, supra, Ch.III, pp. 117-118, 126.
401. M.A., p.176 and Note 590, supra, Ch. III, p. 126.
402. M.A., p.176 and Note 588, supra, Ch.IV, pp. 200, 201, 203.
403. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.426.
404. A coin portrait, Seyrig, Syria 1959, pp.60-70, figs. 23-4, cf. Price and Trell, op. cit., p.44, fig. 72, coin of Elagabalus.
405. M.A., p.176 and Note 591, supra, Ch.III, p. 130.
406. Supra, Epilogue, p. 308.
407. M.A., pp.176-7 and Note 592, supra, Ch.II, Note 168.
408. Rey-Coquais, IGLS VI, p.194.
409. M.A., p.156 and Note 530, supra, Ch.V, p. 270.

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410. M.A. pp.156, 159 and Note 525.

411. The column from the town, M.A., pp.156, 159-169, p.164 Fig. 7b, and Note 525, and that from the Altar Court, which Rey-Coquais suggests was one of a pair, ibid., pp.156, 169-171 and Note 525, supra, Ch.V, pp. 270-271.

412. M.A., pp.156-9, cf. pp.128-9 and Notes 412-4, supra, Ch.III, p. 121.

413. M.A., p.156 and Note 529, supra, Ch.III, p.121.

414. M.A., p.156 and Note 527, supra, Ch.III, pp.121, 132 and N.214.

415. M.A., p.156 and Note 527, supra, Ch.III, p.165 and Note 214.

416. The column of Aailanii, M.A., p.156 and Note 526, Ch.III, p.165 and three undated ones, M.A., p.156 and Note 526.

417. Supra, Ch.III, pp. 146, (165,) and Note 214.

418. M.A., pp.190, 191, 193 and Notes 647, 649, supra, Ch.II, Note 170, cf. Epilogue Note 40 for the cross which implies the date.

419. M.A., p. 189 and Note 640, p.190 and Note 650, pp.192, 193, supra, Ch.IV, pp. 233-4.

420. M.A., p.190 and Note 648, pp.191, 194, supra, Ch.I, p.26 and Note 179, p.29 and Note 194.

421. M.A., pp.191-2.

422. Collart, Mus. Helv., 1951, p.249 and Note 42.

423. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., pp.456-7.

424. M.A., p.230 and Note 794, supra, Ch.II, pp. 76-7.

425. M.A., p.236 and Note 832.

426. Supra, Ch.IV, pp. 216-7.

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427. M.A., p.236 and Note 831 and supra, Ch.IV, p.216 and Note 127.

Price and Trell, op. cit., e.g. p.19, claim that this sort of portrait is deceptive, and what is represented is not always an arcuated lintel, but rather an internal cupola or conch translated to the façade in order to be seen at all; they consistently interpret the coin portraits in the latter manner, stating that while the real architectural form, the arcuated lintel, is known from remains, it is extremely rare; the only case where a coin portrait is paralleled by an extant structure is that of the Propylaea at Baalbek.

While there is undoubtedly a deal of truth in this observation (see, for example, the depiction of "portable shrines" from Damascus, ibid., p.36 fig. 43, p.217 fig.467, and Tyre, ibid., p.217 fig.468), in practice they seem to take their conclusion too far. Not all apparent arcuated lintels were illusory. Given that in one instance where both remains and a coin portrait are available for comparison, the seeming arcuated lintel is confirmed as real, and that there were alternative, simple, unambiguous ways of representing a cupola (compare e.g. their fig. 43, where the depiction of the radiating veins of the conch make the meaning clear, figs. 467 and 468 where the thickening of the curve of the 'lintel' indicates a dome, p.276 fig. 155 (Berytus) and p.195 figs.362-3 (Zela) where the 'arches' 'spring' from the intercolumniation, or p.207 fig. 422 (Neapolis) where several arches at angles 'springing' from different columns make it clear a vault is meant), with figs. 285 p.162 (Capitolias) and 288 p.163 (Abila) the presumption in the absence of other evidence must be that the architectural form depicted was as it appears on the coin.

Their case would be more cogent were they to cite instances where the actual existence of an 'arcuated lintel' shown in a coin portrait is precluded by extant remains.

428. Baalbek II, S.103-4, S.103 Abb. 166, S. 106 Abb. 167, S. 107 Abb. 169-70, cf. S. 95, Taf. 62, 65 (reconstruction). Cf. Wheeler, op. cit., p.97 Ill. 74.

429. Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p.451.

430. M.A., p.236 and Note 830.

431. Supra, Ch.III, pp.121-2, 155-7 and Fig. 3 p.156.

432. M.A., p.238 and Note 838.

433. Syria 1950, pp.125-136 and figs. 36-38 and Pl. II.

434. Ibid., pp.83-7 and figs. 1-3; M.A., pp.23-4 and Note 35, supra, Ch.III, p.148.

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435. Amy, Syria 1950, pp.87-91 and figs. 4-7.
436. Ibid., pp.91-4 and figs. 8-9; supra, Ch.IV, pp..218, 230.
437. Amy, Syria 1950, pp.94-5 and figs. 11-12.
438. Ibid., p.96 and fig. 13.
439. Ibid., pp.97-8 and fig. 14.
440. Ibid., pp.98-106 and figs. 15-19; M.A. e.g. pp.24,226,227, 229; supra, Ch.I, p.38.
441. Amy, Syria 1950, pp.106-7 and fig. 20.
442. Ibid., pp.107-8 and fig. 21; supra, Ch.IV, pp. 199-200.
443. Amy, Syria 1950, pp.107-8 and fig. 22; supra, Ch.III, pp.138-9, 148 (Ch.IV, p.200).
444. Amy, Syria 1950, pp.108-9 and fig. 23.
445. Ibid., pp.109-110 and fig. 24.
446. Ibid., p.110 and Pl. Ia.
447. Ibid., p.111 and Pl. Ib.
448. Ibid., p.111 and Pl. Ic.
449. Ibid., p.111 and Pl. Id.
450. Ibid., p.112 and fig. 25a.
451. Ibid., p.113 and fig. 25b.
452. Ibid., p.113.
453. Ibid., p.114 abd fig. 26.

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454. Ibid., p.114 and fig. 27; supra, Ch.III, pp. 148, Ch.IV, pp. 220, 228, 231 and Note 77, Ch.V, pp. 294, 288.
455. Amy, Syria 1950, p.117. Cf. supra, Ch.I, p.39.
456. Amy, Syria 1950, p.93 and fig.10.
457. Ibid., p.111 and Pl. If.
458. Ibid., p.111 and Pl. Ie.
459. Ibid., p.113 and fig. 25c.
460. Ibid., pp.117-8, p.118 n.1.
461. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.215, 218-229. The plan of the es-Syrié temple reproduced by Amy, that of Butler, is essentially identical to Musil's plan of Esrija, but so small in scale that certainty is not possible. Amy states es-Syrié to be about 50 km. north of Palmyra, and no other likely site in that vicinity is known to me.
462. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.215, 216, 229-230.
463. Ibid., pp.215, 216-7, 229-30. The remains of a temple which could be that depicted on the coins were found by Schumacher at Abila (Abila, pp.24-30, figs.1-3), but his description, or the remains themselves, do not permit an assessment of the likelihood that it was such a structure; naturally, since the idea of such temples was not seriously canvassed before Amy's 1950 article, Schumacher makes no specific observations on this point.
464. Supra, Ch.I, pp.45-6, Ch.II, p. 77.
465. Cicero, de prov. cons. 31 (xii): Nulla gens est, quae non ut ita sublata sit, ut vix existet, aut ita domita ut quiescat, aut ita pacata, ut victoria nostra imperioque laetetur. The two aspects are still connected, of course: productivity allows local prosperity, if the Romans are minded to distribute it in this manner, and prosperity greatly assists in the development of a contented (and loyal) population.
466. See e.g. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², Vol. I, pp.343-4, 319-323.
467. See Maps 1 and 2, which are very far from exhaustive, indicating only the main sites mentioned and those required for orientation purposes. The number of settlements, villages or towns, in Palestine noted by Josephus alone is too great to fit on a map of this size without resorting to a numeral system. Cf. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², I, p.270. See also A.H.M.

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Jones, C.E.R.P.², Ch. X, notes, passim, and especially Appendix IV, Tables xxxiii-xli and Rostovtzeff op. cit., p.262. For the rest of Syria, see e.g. Pliny's survey, NH V. xiii (66) - xxi (90), particularly in conjunction with later texts such as those of Ptolemy, the Antonine Itinerary, and the Not. Dign. Oriens, which greatly add to the total number of towns. It must be noted that since Pliny's survey is just that, it cannot automatically be assumed that these additional towns grew up in the interim, unless, as in the case of Palmyrene, there are special circumstances.

468. Apud Tenney Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, Vol. IV, pp.127-140; he utilizes a vast range of literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, but especially Rabbinic literature.

469. Ibid., pp.125-6, 137, 138: pp.125-6 he mentions seeds, new breeds of cattle, the improved plough, the so-called "Archimedean screw", the water-mill, "and other minor inventions"; p.138 (re viticulture) fertilization, manuring, press and water machines; p.137, oil mills.

470. Ibid., pp.123, 124.

471. Ibid., p.125.

472. But the evidence always seems to be ambiguous. For example, Gordion, deserted in the second century B.C., and with Hellenistic settlement confined to one end and the fringes of the extensive earlier mound - but the same is true of the Roman levels (Rodney S. Young, "Where Alexander the Great cut the Gordian Knot", Illustrated London News, Jan. 3, 1953, pp. 20 ff., "Gordion: Preliminary Report 1953", AJA LIX, 1955, pp. 2 ff.); Samaria, where the 1968 excavations discovered poor houses and destruction levels belonging to the late Hellenistic period, with only scanty finds (Hennessy, "Samaria", Levant II, pp.2-4) - but this may have been the poorer part of the city, with better quality remains unexcavated elsewhere.

473. Even apart from the peculiar qualifications attached to each site (see previous Note) the natural tendency to select for excavation towns of importance, and preferably of historical note, must also lead to a concentration on just those towns which would have been the most obvious military targets in the dynastic struggles of the later Hellenistic period. It is therefore possible that the picture is confined to the gloomier side of things.

474. E.g. Pella (AJ XIII.397); Amathus (AJ XIII.374); Gaza (AJ XIII.364); all to the discredit of Alexander Jannaeus. Samaria, destroyed by Jonathan Hyrcanus II (AJ XIII.281); Gadara, destroyed by the Jews (BJ I. vii.7). Probably also some of the other cities listed as rebuilt or restored to order by Gabinius, BJ I.viii.4, where Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Marisa, Adoreus, Gamala and Azotus are mentioned as being repeopled on his orders. AJ XIV.88 lists the same towns, with the exception of Apollonia, Jamnia and Gamala, as being rebuilt by Gabinius, but it is clear that the list includes both categories,

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undifferentiated, those that were rebuilt and those that were merely re-established, since Scythopolis, Jamnia, Marisa and Azotus, together with Pella, Gaza and Samaria (which presumably had been partially rebuilt in the interim), appear in the list of towns which had not been destroyed, and were freed from Jewish rule by Pompey (BJ I.vii.7), leaving only Anthedon, Apollonia, Raphia, Adoreus and Gamala as possible casualties. For 'Gamala' in BJ I.viii.4, Marcus, Loeb Vol.VII, p.493, n. e, notes the variants Gabala and Gadara, and himself suggests that the word is a corruption of Gaza - it may not therefore be a case of an additional casualty.

475. S.E.H.R.E.² I, pp.270-271, II, pp.664-5, n. 33; C.E.R.P.², pp. 282-3 and p.465 n.77. The main evidence comes from AJ XVI.271 ff. and XVII. 23 ff., together with Strabo, XVI.2.18 (cf. supra, Ch.I, pp.22, cf. 30-31).

476. E.g. Samaria, supra, Note 474.

477. Heichelheim, loc. cit., p.126.

478. Ibid., p.138 and n. 113 (pp.138-9).

479. Ibid., p.137 and n.94.

480. For the water-mill, ibid., p.197 and n. 88. For the water-screw, anciently attributed to Archimedes (e.g. by Athenaeus, Deipn. V. 208 f.) see Jalabert and Mouterde ad IGLS No.66, discussed above, Ch.II, p.67 and especially Notes 47-8.

481. Loc. cit., p.137 and nn. 95, 96.

482. Ibid., pp.141-2.

483. Ibid., p.133. For "Syrian pears", cf. Martial, Epigram.V, LXXXIII.13. For chestnuts from an unspecified "Neapolis", ibid., 14-5.

484. For example, places such as Androna (Butler, P.A.E.S. II B 2, p.48, cf. supra, Ch.III, p.170), and Qumrân (Milik, Wilderness, p.51, cf. M.A., p.231 and Notes 795-6), which, being waterless, could have supported comparatively few people on rudimentary rainwater catchment alone, without reasonably complex conservation methods. Within the area about to be discussed, it is noted by Musil (Palmyrena, pp.161, 260) that there is (and was) no natural water at Resafa, but that the ultimate Late Roman-Ummayyad system of cisterns and reservoirs would have stored enough water not only for the town, but also for the raising of crops; it is noteworthy in this context that Resafa is also known to have existed in Assyrian times, cf. infra, p.361 and Note 494.

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485. M.A., p.205 and Notes 707-710.

486. M.A., p.206 and Note 711.

487. Geogr. XVI.2.11, XVI.2.1, XVI.3.1.

488. For the Arab kingdoms, XVI.2.11, XV.2.10. For the Scenitae, XVI.1.26, XVI.1.27, XVI.1.28, XVI.2.1, XVI.2.10, XVI.3.1.

489. In XVI.2.1 (cf. XVI.1.28) he places them on the Syrian side of the river, and says that these Scenitae were similar to the nomads of Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamian Scenitae are described in terms of typical nomads in XVI.1.26 and XVI.3.1. However, in XVI.1.27 he says, "for after they [merchants] cross the river, the road runs through the desert to Scenae, a noteworthy city situated on a canal. The journey from the crossing of the river to Scenae requires twenty-five days and on that road are camel-drivers who keep halting-places, where sometimes are wells and reservoirs, generally cisterns, though sometimes the camel-drivers use waters brought in from other places. The Scenitae are peaceful, and moderate towards travellers in exaction of tribute, and on this account merchants avoid the land along the river and risk a journey through the desert, leaving the river on the right for approximately three days' journey. For the chieftains who live along the river on both sides occupy country which, though not rich in resources, is less resourceless than that of others, and are each invested with their own particular domains and exact a tribute of no moderate amount. For it is hard among so many (people) and that too among (people) so self-willed, for a common standard of tribute to be set that is advantageous to the merchant. Scenae is eighteen schoeni distant from Seleucia." (H.L. Jones' translation).

The inconsistency is obvious. It would seem that Strabo knows of Arabs who are on the whole nomadic and less civilized than those of the kingdoms such as that of Sampsigeramus. These he calls, or has heard called, collectively Scenitae, tent-dwellers. When his narrative calls for a more detailed description of their way of life, as in the section on Mesopotamia, he finds it desirable to differentiate among the Scenitae, some being more scenite than others. Either he lacks any other word by which he can express this distinction, or the alternative has fallen prey to scribal error. In either case, the name of the city, Scenae, with which he associates the more peaceful portion of the population, conditions the application of the designation "Scenitae" to these people, while those with whom he contrasts them, the riparian Scenitae, are left undesignated in this passage, the second half of the contrast being indicated simply by the word "chieftains" (φύλαρχου) - adequate in this case since Strabo's point is primarily concerned with the rate of tribute exacted, which is extortionate by comparison with that levied by the inlanders, and it is the chieftains who determine this rate.

We have, then, a reasonably clear picture of Strabo's vague picture: the Scenitae on both banks of the river are nomadic, occupying comparatively infertile, but not totally barren, country, practising little if any agriculture, and relying primarily upon pastoralism and brigandage, λησταςταί, under which heading may be included the levying of exorbitant tribute from merchants.

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490. To the south, it merges with Arabia, and one can define Strabo's Arabia only by saying that it occupied the territory beyond (Strabo says above) Judaea and Coele-Syria, and extended across the Euphrates as far as Babylon, with the exception of the Scenitae (XVI.3.1). To the north, he mentions Bambyce, Beroea, Heracleia and beyond them Cyrrhestice (XVI.2.7-8). On the west his Scenitae are bounded by Chalcidice and the Arab kingdoms, of which latter he gives only examples (καθάπερ), and those specifically of the more organized states closer to the Syrians, not of the Arab kingdoms *per se*: Arethusa under Sampsigeramus, the domain of Gambarus, and that of Themellas. He knows of the existence of Damascus and its territory (XVI.2.16.), but does not mention it in conjunction with the places he locates further east, and so it cannot be determined how, or whether, he relates it to the territory of the Scenitae.

The most significant of the Arab kingdoms for the present purpose are Arethusa and Themellas - Chalcidice here would refer to the territory of Ituraean Chalcis near Baalbek rather than Chalcis ad Belum (modern Kinnesrin) since it is said to extend down from Massyas and so is of little assistance in defining the area of the desert more closely. Arethusa is in Emesene, of which Sampsigeramus was king (see A.H.M. Jones *C.E.R.P.*², p.256. He places both Emesa and Themella in Chalcidene. The point is, however, irrelevant to the present issue, since even if Strabo were referring to a kind of Greater Chalcidene, there would still be no way of knowing how far it extended eastward, other than it extended at least as far as Arethusa and Themellas). H.L. Jones (Loeb Strabo, Vol. VII, p. 254, n.3) cites Casaubon, Corais and Groskurd as wishing to delete καὶ ἡ between Γαμβάρου and Θέμελλα, thus making Θέμελλα the seat of king (or sheikh) Gambarus; more importantly, he cites the conjecture of C. Müller that Θέμελλα is an error for Θέλεδδα, "a place about 25 miles east of Arethusa". Musil, *Palmyrena*, p.232 and p.216 n.3, likewise identifies this conjectural "Teledda" (his double d making the transposition ΘΕΜΕΛΛΑ-ΘΕΛΕΔΔΑ more convincing) with modern Tell 'Ada', north northwest of Ar-Rāstan (Arethusa) and southeast of Hama, near the south end of the al-'Ala' plateau, a natural topographic unit. He consequently identifies this plateau as the district dependent upon Theledda, the same district he considers to be part of the Chalybonitis of Ptolemy. Consequently Strabo's nomadic Scenitae should lie east of the al-'Ala' plateau, and south of Bambyce, Beroea (Aleppo) and Heracleia.

(It should be noted that Dussaud, *Syria* 1929, p.61, considers the entire Themella-Theledda argument a phantasm stemming from a mistake in the text of Casaubon, who made a place name out of the Arabic name of a man (in the genitive), Taim-Allah. Perhaps this itself is a misprint for Taim-Allat; if not, it would be more reassuring if Dussaud would give early parallels for this name in the region.)

491. For Pliny, *infra*, Note 499. Teixidor, *Pagan God*, p.63, cites a papyrus from Dura-Europos dated to A.D. 121, attesting the existence of a *strategos* of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia, who at the same time, under the title of *arabarch*, was charged with the control of Arab marauders to the west and south of Dura. See also CIL III No.128 from the camp at Khan Kosseir, a dedication to Septimius Severus which records the construction of a *praesidium* "IN SECVRITATEM PVBLICAM / ET / SCAENITARVM ARABVM TERROREM" (see above, Ch.V, p.260 and Note 35, *M.A. Appendix*, pp.366-9, s.v. LIVIUS CALP(H)URNIUS, cf. also the honorific inscriptions from Palmyra dated A.D. 198 and 199 referring to trouble with the "nomads" and unrest on the frontiers, Starcky, *Palmyre*, p.75, Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, pp.145-6, and the accounts of Severus' campaigns against the Adiabeni, Osroëni and Arabs, *SHA Sept. Sev.* IX.9-11 (cf. Magie's note, ,

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Loeb Vol. I, p.392) and Cassius Dio, (Loeb) LXXV.1-3. From the text of CIL III No. 128 alone, one would assume that not all the terror was on the side of the Scenitae, and the inscriptions from Palmyra, referring to conflict, in one case specifically with the "nomads", would seem to bear this out. Moreover, these troublesome nomads in turn may probably be associated with the Arabs mentioned in conjunction with the Osroëni and Adiabeni against whom Severus campaigned, for although, as Magie points out, the campaign was carried out for the most part near Nisibis, it will be remembered that Strabo locates his Scenitae in this part of Mesopotamia as well as on both sides of the river. Presumably they, like the Adiabeni and Osroëni, had supported, or purported to support, Niger. It seems therefore that the Scenitae, still not entirely pacified, continued to occupy at least part of the general area assigned to them by Strabo at the end of the second century. They continued to exist in some sense even later: Jones, C.E.R.P.², p.267, says that Scenarchia, 'the rule of tents', is mentioned in Hierocles and Georgius, and he identifies this with the district of the Scenitae.

492. See above, Ch.I, Note 64.

493. Fellmann, Baalshamin V, S.133-5 and S. 134 Abb. 37, (1970) correlated the then available evidence as to the extent of the Hellenistic city and produced a plan showing the relevant points, with which compare the more recent plans of the Roman city, e.g. those provided by Starcky and Bounni, Archaeologia 1964, respectively pp.33 and 42. See now also Will, Syria 1983, pp.76-7.

494. Supra, Ch.II, p.68, Ch.III, p.169, Epilogue pp.306, 309-311, 311-312 and especially Note 76 for references. Cf. also Poidebard, Trace de Rome, pp.82, 84. For Resafa as an Assyrian town, Musil, Palmyrena, pp.260, 262.

495. Musil, Palmyrena, pp.85-6 and n.22, p.234, cf. Poidebard, Trace de Rome, pp.76, 84. Cf. M.A. p.38 and Note 69, supra, Ch. II, p.68, Ch. III, p.169 and Note 363.

496. Palmyrena, p.86 and n.22.

497. Musil, Palmyrena, p.235-6; Poidebard, Trace de Rome, pp.83, 84. Cf. supra, Ch.III, p.169.

498. Musil, Palmyrena, p.236.

499. NH V.xxi, (87). He actually states only that the Scenitae were in Syria (rather than Commagene), but he is dealing with the course of the Euphrates below Zeugma, and the text runs,

at Syria oppida Europum, Thapsacum quondam, nunc Amphipolis, Arabes Scenitae. ita fertur [Euphrates] usque Suram locum, in quo conversus ad orientem relinquit Syriae Palmyrenas solitudines quae usque ad Petram urbem et regionem Arabiae Felicis appellatae pertinent.

The order and juxtaposition suggests Pliny thought of the Arabes Scenitae as somewhere just north of Sura and the Palmyrene Desert, although he felt his knowledge was not exact enough to commit himself to an assertion to that effect.

500. NH V.xxi, (88).

501. The statement of Josephus (AJ VIII.6.1 = VIII.154) cited by Dussaud, *Topographie*, pp.247-8, that Palmyra ("θαδδμοραν") was the only place in the desert where wells and springs were to be found cannot be taken literally. The Solomon story is apocryphal, and in any case this was not true, in Solomon's time, in Josephus' time, or ever. However, it does tend to suggest the absence of anything substantial in the area known to Josephus which might conflict with the story, and so tends to support the idea that Pliny's ignorance of substantial settlement reflects a real situation.

502. Pliny himself appears to give a starting point in another passage, NH xxi, (89):

Infra Palmyrae solitudinibus Stelendena regio est dictaeque iam Hierapolis ac Beroea et Chalcis. ultra Palmyram quoque ex solitudinibus his aliquid obtinet Hemesa, item Elatium, dimidio propior Petrae quam Damascus.

This is a highly problematic passage. On the face of it, it looks as if it means that the desert extended as far as the territories of these cities, each owning that part of it immediately adjacent to its own more fertile and populous lands. This seems quite straightforward in the case of the second sentence. But Pliny has already given a demarcation point, at least as far as the river bank is concerned, Suram locum (see above, Note 499). He does not even say that the desert starts at Sura, merely placing it below this point. Now while one might draw a rather nebulous sort of line north-west from Sura to include Chalcis and Beroea, there seems no way of delimiting the desert so as to include Hierapolis-Bambyce without also including the river bank between it and Sura.

There is also the problem of "infra Palmyrae solitudines". Musil (Palmyrena, p.216 n.64), who asserts that Stelendena is a mistake deriving from a misprint of Telendena in Detlefsen's edition, apparently uses a variant text which also reads "intra" for "infra" (the misreading of 't' for 'f' in miniscule needs no expatiation), or else he takes "infra" to refer to intellectual, rather than physical topography, "under the heading of", since he paraphrases the passage as, "Pliny...states that the Palmyrene desert comprises the districts of Telendena, Hierapolis, Beroea, and Chalcis..." (Cf. the non-committal "interhalb" of Honigman, P-W 4 A2, 1636).

This, however, cannot be right. The Chalcis in question must be Chalcis ad Belum, Kinnesrin, rather than Ituraean Chalcis. Pliny appears to be working north to south, therefore correctly placing this Chalcis between Beroea and, in the next sentence, Emesa, while dictae should refer back to V.xix, (81), where Bambyce and Chalcis are again mentioned together (although Beroea is not grouped with them, being obliquely referred to under the guise of Beroenses some sentences later in V.xix, (82)). The Chalcis in V.xix, (81) is specified as ad Belum:

Nunc interiora dicantur. Coele habet Apameam Marsya amne divisam a Nazerinorum tetrarchia, Bambycen quae alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Mabog - ibi prodigiosa Atargatis, Graecis autem Derceto dicta, colitur -, Chalcidem cognominatam Ad Belum, unde regio Chalcidena fertilissima Syriae, et inde Cyrrestice Cyrrum, Gazetas, Gindarenos, Gabenos...

Solitudines makes its primary reference to population rather than fertility,

but even so, "regio Chalcidena fertilissimae Syriae" is hardly compatible with "solitudines Palmyrae". The cross-reference ("dictae") makes it apparent that this is not simply an error caused by unwittingly taking information from two contradictory sources and failing to resolve the discrepancy. Pliny had the first passage in mind when he wrote the second. Unless one supposes that Pliny meant that Chalcis lay within the desert, but its territory did not, a highly unlikely solution, one must exclude the possibility that Pliny meant by "infra" or "intra Palmyrae solitudines" "within the Palmyrene desert".

"Infra" demonstrably has many meanings in Pliny, quantitative or numerical ("less than") and, more importantly, "below", as in the case of V.xv,(73), of the Essenes, "infra hos Engada oppidum fuit" (see Lewis and Short, s.v. INFRA, II, A 4, p.498). The problem in this last case has been resolved by excavation: as Milik points out, Engeddi actually does lie "below, downstream from", the settlements at Qumran, Muraba'at and the other Dead Sea Caves, taking the Dead Sea as an extension of the Jordan. While the sites in the present case are by no means as close to the river in question, the Euphrates, the fascination the Euphrates exercised on the minds of all who wrote about the area might explain its use as an orientating factor even for places further from its bank. But if the Palmyrene desert began below, or even at, Sura, and continued as far as Petra, then Hierapolis, Beroea and Chalcis are most assuredly not downstream from it. Even assuming that Pliny meant below the northern demarcation line of the desert drawn north-west from Sura, rather than below the desert itself, only Chalcis is close enough to due west of Sura to be considered below it; Hierapolis is close enough to the river to make it impossible to draw such a line without taking in part of the river bank between it and Sura.

If one is permitted to assume clerical error and adjust the text, all manner of interpretations are possible, some of them quite plausible. But, like the foregoing, they all implicitly impugn the text on which they are based, and open the door to the argument that Pliny's knowledge, like Strabo's, is too imprecise to be relied upon. Unless the error involved can be identified and its ramifications charted, none of the information supplied at the same time is free from suspicion.

I suggest it can be. It would seem, all in all, that a cartographical, rather than geographical, error lies at the heart of the problem. It was at this time that true projection maps, as opposed to road maps like the Peutinger Table, were being developed. Pliny himself, III.17, mentions a map of the world set up at Rome by Agrippa (B.H. Warmington, OCD², p.465, s.v. MAPS). On a road map such as the Peutinger Table (e.g. P-W, 2nd series, Bd. 4 A2, s.v. SYRIA ITINERARIEN U. ROMERSTRASSEN, 1647-1648), deriving from itineraries, the towns on each line are interrelated only in terms of distance, not direction, and each unit bears only a casual relationship to the other lines. It seems an obvious cartographical error to displace one such unit southwards, momentarily reading the road map as if it were a true projection map.

Coincidentally or otherwise, in the Peutinger Table itself, Hierapolis is shown to the left of Sura; in other words, if one attempted to read this map as a full projection map, it would lie south, or downstream from, Sura, and when the road divides left of Hierapolis, the branch running to Antioch passes through "Berya" and "Chalcida" in that order. If one again tries to locate these places in respect to those on the Sura-Palmyra line, both of them will indeed lie well to the left, i.e. "south, "downstream from", "below", Palmyra.

It may have been a remote ancestor of the Peutinger Table which so bedevilled Pliny. It is unlikely that he himself made the original

error, given his knowledge of maps, but the traditional culprit, the anonymous clerical assistant, who in this case will have been involved in the compilation of the map he used, seems in this instance a distinct possibility.

If this hypothesis is correct, then Pliny's account is not wholly vitiated. The towns are merely displaced, due to a defective map, and the information regarding them, which derives from literary sources, is subject to no more than the usual doubt. One can provisionally accept his description of conditions in these places, but must turn elsewhere for evidence that will determine the area to which this description should be applied.

Unfortunately there is nothing to confirm or contradict this hypothesis. Of the other places brought into geographical relationship with Palmyra, Emesa and Sura are on different roads from Hierapolis, Beroea and Chalcis. So, incidentally, is Theledda, which lies between Homs and Occaraba. The three identifiable towns in the hypothetical displaced line are not brought into geographical relationship with any other identifiable places by Pliny himself. The other passage mentioning Chalcis and Hierapolis lies in the section on Coele-Syria arranged in alphabetical order, which A.H.M. Jones considers to be a list drawn up by Pliny himself, principally from literary sources (C.E.R.P.², pp.260-1).

503. See above, Note 490.

504. V.xix, (81). See above, Note 502.

505. See below, Note 506.

506. Musil, Palmyrena, pp.230-233, citing Benzinger, Müller and Noldecke in favour of Helbûn, and Streck, in favour of Beroea; Dussaud, Syria 1929, pp.60-61. A.H.M. Jones, C.E.R.P.², offers no explicit opinion, but his map, p.226, favours the identification with Helbûn; however, the Plinian void in this part of his map suggests that he is unaware of both Musil and his arguments.

Musil points out that "certain texts" (for which see Heichelheim, loc. cit., p.139, Dussaud, loc. cit.) state that the vine flourished in Chalybonitis and that this makes it impossible to associate it with the vicinity of Helbûn, where the vine is not cultivated, but favours the identification with Helbân, to the northwest, and south of Beroea, which is excellently adapted to viticulture, and where there are more remains of old vineyards than anywhere else in Syria. He suggests Chalybon was Helbân, the Arabic form tallying exactly with the Aramaic Chalybon, and that Chalybonitis, comprising the earlier districts of Chalcidene and Theledda, was the area between the lowlands of Kinnesrin to the north, the Euphrates to the east, southwards as far as the še'îb of Selmas, to the northern foot of the Abu Rigmên range, and the southern end of the volcanic al-'Ala' region (near Tell 'Ada'-Theledda on Map 2). His argument against Beroea is not particularly convincing - he states that the native name, Chalab, which could give rise to Chalybon, is unlikely to have been known to Ptolemy, an argument for some reason accepted by Dussaud, loc. cit. In view of the later re-emergence of so many native names, and in particular Pliny's "Bambycen quae alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris vero Mabog" (NH V.xix, (81), supra, Note 502) this seems precarious. On the other hand, Dussaud's counter arguments against Helbân and in favour of Helbûn seem equally jejune. He states that inscriptions show that while Helbûn was always an important centre, Helbân is always qualified as

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Kôme Olbanon. However, Ptolemy was not as preoccupied with official status as modern writers, and calls all the towns in Chalybonitis and Palmyrene, as too elsewhere in Syria, "πόλις" - it is his portmanteau word - even though many, obviously, were nothing of the kind in the political sense. Dussaud also adds the "conclusive" proof that the famous wine must come from the Helbân Valley rather than the Helbân district, since Ezekiel xxvii.18 shows Damascus trading this wine with Tyre, indicating that it was in the hands not of the kingdom of Hama, but of Damascus. Two points: I doubt that it can be shown that Damascus could not have owned Helbân at the time; in any case there is nothing in Ezekiel xxvii.18 to preclude the possibility that Damascus imported, then re-exported, the wine in question - a very normal process in ancient trade.

Musil's constructive, as opposed to destructive, arguments seem sound, and his hypothesis involves the least concatenate assumptions regarding the errors and resources of Ptolemy, and it has the virtue of accounting for the best part of the evidence in that he can supply credible identifications for the other towns in Chalybonitis, some of which have independent recommendations.

He does not, however, explicitly delimit his Chalybonitis to the south-east, which is precisely the boundary of interest in the present question.

507. Palmyrena, pp.230, 244, accepted e.g. by Poidebard, Trace de Rome, see his map. Dussaud, however, wishes to differentiate between the "Akoraba" in Ptolemy, and the "Occariba" of the Peutinger Table, etc. (loc. cit., p.53), equating the first with Aqarîb, NE of Tell 'Ada', with which the whole phoneme was previously identified, and the latter with 'Užëribât, for which he gives the modern alternative as 'Ouqueiribat. However, in the Peutinger Table, as reproduced in P-W 4 A2, 1648, "Occaraba" seems quite distinct, and for the modern variant of 'Užëribât, stemming from the other relevant Arabic dialect and which Dussaud considers a diminutive of Aqarîb, Schlumberger (Palmyrène du N.-O., map 2 and e.g. p.3) has Aquerbate. It seems evident that both the modern and ancient vowels are unstable, and in the present state of the evidence, such a differentiation is arbitrary and artificial. Particularly in view of the boundary stone at Kheurbet Bila'as, 'Užëribât-Aquerbate is as suitable for Ptolemy's Akoraba as it is for Occaraba/Occariba. If, however, Dussaud were right, it would simply allow more space for the pre-Roman 'desert' than is credited in the present discussion, and hence, since the same situation exists in the added area as in that taken as the desert, more evidence of Romanization.

508. Palmyrena, p.230. Ptolemy places Derrhima ca. 450 stades (71 km.) north of Palmyra, but it is apparently known only from this reference. Musil points out that distances given in texts are seldom if ever correct, due to copyist error rather than original inaccuracy, and therefore feels justified in placing significance on the co-ordinates given with those of the ruins of Esriya (var. Serya), which he identifies here as elsewhere (ibid., p.237) as the Seriane (var. Seria) of the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table, arguing that Ptolemy could hardly fail to refer to this town, the importance of which is indicated by the size of the ruins, and so Derrhima must be a wrong transposition of the name Seriana in Greek capitals. The identification is accepted by Dussaud (loc. cit., p.61), who suggests the possibility of phonetic change rather than scribal error.

Certainly, the error in transcription does not seem as likely as

the Theledda-Themella transposition. Presumably he means ~~Σ~~ERIANA-ΔΕΡΡΗΜΑ, which entails the coincidence of at least two separate errors. First the initial 'C' must be reversed to resemble a delta - the corner of the delta triangle does in fact, at least in inscriptions, often occur above the baseline, presumably under the influence of the Latin 'D'. Then in addition the 'IAN' must have been run together and incorrectly resolved, with the first upright and triangular element of the 'A' going to the preceding 'P', the remaining, right-hand upright of the 'A' combining with the 'N' to form an incomplete 'M'. However, even more compounded corruptions are known - see, for example, Aracha-Adacha-Aratha-Anatha, discussed in Ch.III Note 363, where an additional change in language is required.

But the argument that Ptolemy could hardly have failed to mention Seriane is also open to question: the discrepancy might be explained by the hypothesis that the town was not as important in his time as at some other stage in its history, the stage responsible for the extensive ruins. They are, to the best of my knowledge, undated, the only portion which allows even an attempt at dating being the façade of the stair-temple. As pointed out in Ch.IV, pp.218-229, it seems to comprise elements of different dates, but is compatible with an Antonine date insofar as any assessment can be made. Musil's argument is therefore plausible, in that the temple would seem to imply a settlement of some substance in the cognitive period of Ptolemy, since large isolated sanctuaries, if hardly unknown in Syria, are comparatively rare. It is, however, not conclusively corroborated. The identification of Esrija with the town of Seriane is also independently open to question, though accepted without comment by Dussaud (*loc. cit.*, p.54). Musil himself points out that while the Antonine Itinerary gives the distance between Androna and Seriane as 18 miles, the actual distance between Anderîn and Esrija is 38 Roman miles, a significant discrepancy, surely, even for the Antonine Itinerary. The main argument in favour of the identifications seems to be the similarity between the two variant forms, modern Serya and ancient Seria.

Musil's identification of Derrhima with Esrija is therefore unproven, but not disproven, and accepted as a guidepost for the delimitation of Chalybonitis in default of better.

509. V.15.25, Nobbe's edition.

510. Palmyrena, pp.230, 243, 246, accepted by Dussaud, *loc. cit.*, p.62. Cf. now also Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, p.58, where Barbalissos is identified with Meskene. Balis is in fact near Meskene.

511. Also accepted by Dussaud, *loc. cit.* For the recent excavations, Rey-Coquais, *loc. cit.*, p.69 n.35.

512. Schlumberger, "Bornes frontiers", Syria 1939, e.g. p.66.

513. Ibid., pp.63, 130; idem, "Qasr el-Heir el Gharbi", Syria 1939, p.362 n.3.

514. Palmyrena, pp.241-2.

515. Tell al-'Ajn, Musil, *op. cit.*, p.104; Al-Brejğ^y, *ibid.*, p.2 n.1;

'Emedijje Valley, ibid., pp.10-11; al-Zerzeitin, ibid., p.98; al-Forklos, which both he and Dussaud identify as Betproclis, ibid., p.123.

516. E.g. Wood, Palmyra, pp.33-4. Wood and Dawkins followed the then main caravan route from Hassia to Palmyra, and describe the country between Hassia and Howareen as barren, and that between Zerzeitin-Karietin and Palmyra as a flat sandy plain, treeless and waterless. However, the barren tract between Hassia and Howareen at least supported antelopes, while between Zerzeitin and Palmyra they must have passed at least some of the ruins recorded by Musil without noticing them - the mountains preclude a route much further north than the Kasr al-Hér - Palmyra road, though the absence of mention of waterholes suggests they did not follow this road itself. Wood's powers of observation in regard to geography are therefore not above suspicion, and the point remains unclear. In accordance with the conservative aims of the thesis, the area is therefore excluded.

517. M.A., pp.34-40. Cf. now also Rey-Coquais, JRS 1978, p.51, and above, Note 501, for the contemporary ignorance of anything in the area other than Palmyra itself on the part of Josephus.

518. Musil, Palmyrena, p.243. He identifies it as the Sephe of the Peutinger Table.

519. Supra, Note 497 for references.

520. Musil, Palmyrena, p.169.

521. Ibid.

522. Ibid., pp.168, 169.

523. Ibid., pp.263 f.; Poidebard, Trace de Rome, pp.83, 84. Poidebard identifies it as Tetrapyrgium, although there are many other forts of this kind in the vicinity, considering it the one anciently regarded as the exemplar par excellence.

524. Musil, Palmyrena, p.168; Poidebard, Trace de Rome, pp.82-3, 84.

525. Supra, Note 494.

526. Musil, op. cit., pp.67-8, p.68 fig. 12; Poidebard, op. cit., p.81, citing Musil p.68 and fig. 13. Poidebard, who was unable to re-locate the structure noted by Musil, calls it a "tour de garde romaine", 15 by 15 m. in size, apparently working only from Musil's plan rather than from the accompanying text, and compares it to a small post at Tell Fhède, on the other side of al-Hulle. Musil, however, describes a small solid building approximately fifteen metres square, with a door, at the northern end, opening into the corner of the short side of a rectangular court with the dimensions 13.6 x 7.6 m. At the centre of the southern side, that is, at right angles to the line of entry, is an entrance to a rectangular chamber 4.45 m. long x 3 m. wide, its long side at right angles to the long side of the courtyard. From this chamber there are entrances to similar rectangular chambers similarly orientated in respect to the courtyard, on

either side. All three were vaulted and windowless. Musil offers no explanation as to what it might be. With respect to Poidebard, neither the nature of the building, nor its date, can be ascertained.

527. Cholle. Musil, op. cit., pp.69-70 and p.70 fig. 14, pp.233, 242, 247; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.81, 84. Cf. supra, Ch.III, p.169 and Note 364.

528. Musil, op. cit., p.169, p.215 fig. 85; Poidebard, op. cit., pp. 181-2. As the name suggests, this is a doline, a natural reservoir consisting of a cave into which rainwater drains. This particular water-hole must have been in use from time immemorial, as Musil notes that there is a gentle slope down to it by which pack animals can gain access to water, but about a quarter of an hour's ride to the southeast lay an artificial dam, and just beyond this deserted gardens. The country here was obviously once more thoroughly exploited for agricultural purposes.

529 Musil, op. cit., pp.153-4 and p.154 n.44, p.153 fig. 42. The remains consist of a partially preserved structure comprising a courtyard, or unusually large room, with long narrow passages running parallel to one of its sides, and beyond it; the continuation of the passage is flanked on either side by a rectangular room followed by two smaller square ones. The door is preserved (but not clearly indicated on the plan) and above it was carved a cross. Musil suggests that it was a monastery and identifies it as the Dejr al-Latak mentioned by at-Tabari as lying on the route of Merwân II, between Sûrija (Esrija) and ar-Resafa. It does not seem impossible that its foundation dates back to the Late Roman (or Byzantine) period.

530. Musil, op. cit., pp.70-71; Poidebard, op. cit., p.81.

531. Musil, op. cit., (p.71,) p.72; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.80-81, 84.

532. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.80-81, 84; (Musil, op. cit., p.71).

533. Musil, op. cit., pp.71-2, p.71 n.17; Poidebard, op. cit., pp. 80-81, 84, 181.

534. Musil, op. cit., pp.151-2.

535. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.80-81; (Musil, op. cit., p.71).

536. Musil, op. cit., pp.73-5, p.76 n.18, pp.233, 240, 242; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.79, 84. Cf. M.A., p.38 and Note 69, supra, Ch.II, p.68, Ch.III, p.169 and Note 364.

537. Musil, op. cit., p.61.

538. Musil, op. cit., pp.77-79, 233, p.72, fig. 15, p.73, fig. 16, p.74, fig. 17, p.75, fig.18, p.77, figs. 19-20, p.78, figs. 21, 22 (photo of the small fort), p.80, figs. 23-4; Poidebard, op. cit., pp. 80, 189 and n. 1. All the remains so far excavated are Umayyad, featuring the re-use of Roman decorative architectural members, see now Grabar et al., passim.

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539. Musil, Palmyrena, p.150.
540. Ibid., p.149.
541. Ibid., pp.82-3, 86, 100, p.86 n.22; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.74, 78, 84. Cf. supra, Ch.III, p.152 and Note 246, p.169.
542. Musil, op. cit., p.149.
543. Supra, p.346 and Note 272, cf. Ch.V, p.291 and Note 214.
544. Supra, p.346 and Note 260, cf. Ch.V, p.290 and Note 211.
545. Supra, p.346 and Note 271, cf. M.A. , p.210 and Note 728.
546. Supra, p.346 and Note 263, cf. Ch.III, pp.108-9 and Notes 360-361.
547. Supra, p.346 and Note 270.
548. Supra, p.346 and Note 261, cf. Ch.V, p.290 and Note 212.
549. Supra, p.346 and Note 259, cf. Ch.V, pp.290-291 and Note 212.
550. Supra, p.346 and Note 269.
551. Schlumberger, Palmyrène du N.-O., pp.48, 86-8.
552. M.A., p.37 and Note 76, (p.156) and Note 527, supra, Ch.III, p.165 and Note 214, (Ch.VI,) pp.354-5, 363.
553. Supra, p.346 and Note 267.
554. Supra, p.346 and Note 262, cf. Ch.III, p.169 and Note 362.
555. Supra, p.346 and Note 265.
556. Supra, p.346 and Note 267.
557. Supra, p.346 and Note 268, cf. Ch.IV, p.233 and Note 187.
558. Supra, p.346 and Note 264, cf. Ch.III, p.168 and Notes 359, 367.
559. Supra, p.346 and Note 266. Finds include a coin of Elagabalus.
560. M.A., p.85 and Note 304.
561. Supra, Ch.III, p.153 and Note 250.

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562. Musil, Palmyrena, p.148.
563. Ibid., p.84; Poidebard, Trace de Rome, pp.74, 76-8, 84; cf. supra, Ch.III, p.169 and Note 371.
564. Musil, op. cit., pp.86-7 and n.22, cf. supra, p.361 and Note 496 for the possibility of pre-Roman occupation.
565. Musil, op. cit., p.84.
566. Ibid., (p.147,) p.148.
567. Supra, Note 495 for references; cf. M.A., p.38 and Note 69, supra, Ch.III, p.169 and especially Note 363.
568. Supra, Ch.III, p.169 and especially Note 367.
569. Poidebard, op. cit., p.75.
570. Musil, op. cit., pp.136, 233; Wood, Palmyra, pp.13, 35; Starcky, Palmyre, pp.15, 82, Pl. XXVII and caption p.46; cf. supra, Ch.III, Note 367.
571. Musil, op. cit., p.87; cf. supra, Ch.III, Note 367.
572. Musil, op. cit., pp.43, 135, p.135 fig. 32; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.40, 41, 49. For nearby old dams etc., see Musil, op. cit., pp.134-5.
573. Musil, op. cit., p.137. For unstated reasons he considers the remains to be those of a building of Palmyrene origin, later changed into a Christian monastery. In the book generally, he is wary of assigning dates to ruins (as opposed to identifying sites with towns mentioned in texts), and those remains he does date, for example the 'Palmyrene' members in the Harbaka dam, seem to be correct where it is possible to verify his statements; this assertion of Roman period occupation is therefore taken on trust.
574. Musil, op. cit., pp.88, 94, 144-5. Musil notes a water source, and near it the remains of a fortified camp. At approximately the same place Wiegand (Palmyra, S.10), mentions a spring called Usejje, which may possibly be the same place. However, he makes no mention of a fortified camp, but says that the spring runs through an ancient roofed canal for about 200 m.; his guide, a sheikh of the area, informed him that this system was purely local, and not connected to Palmyra or any other nearby site.
575. M.A., p.89 and Notes 312-3, pp.189-193 and concomitant Notes, supra, Ch. IV, pp.233-4 and Notes 188-9, Ch.VI, p.355 and Note 419.
576. Musil, op. cit., p.140 and fig. 37, publishes a plan untrammelled by much in the way of verbal comment, cf. M.A., p.190 and Note 651.
577. Also known as Ain Beida. Musil, op. cit., pp.133-4, 251, p.133

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n.36; Poidebard, op. cit., p.40.

578. Musil, op. cit., pp.91, 144, cf. p.76 and n. 18; Wiegand, Palmyra, S.10-12, Taf. 4-5. For the identification as Poidebard's as-Sikkériyé (Trace de Rome, p.53 and Pl. XLIII) see M.A. Note 647 and above, Ch. II, Note 170. Cf. also M.A., pp. 190, 191, 193 and Notes 647, 649-650, and supra, Epilogue, p.307 and Note 40 for the date, Ch.VI, p.355 and Note 418.

579. M.A., p.82 and Notes 291-2, p.191, supra, Ch.III, pp.149-152, 153-154.

580. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.40, 49, 52, Pls. XXXIX, XLII.2.

581. Musil, op. cit., p.91, cf. p.234. Cf. M.A., pp.191-2 and supra, p.355.

582. Musil, op. cit., p.96; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.40, 41.

583. Ancient Berianaca. Musil, op. cit., pp.91-2, p.92 fig. 25, p. 92 n. 25; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.48-9, 52, 56, Pls. XL-XLIII. Cf. supra, Ch.III, p.154 and Note 253.

584. Musil, op. cit., pp.132-3.

585. Ibid.

586. Ibid., p.94; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.40, 48.

587. Poidebard, op. cit., p.188; D. Schlumberger, "Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el Gharbi (1936-1938). Rapport Préliminaires", Syria XX, 1939, pp.195-238, 324-373. Colledge, Art of Palmyra, p.226, cites H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes 93. Bêl de Palmyre", Syria XLVIII, 1971, pp.85-114, ref. p.106 and n.1, p.106 fig. 9, p.107 fig.10, as deducing the existence of a Palmyrene temple at the site from a lintel built into the Umayyad palace, and Schlumberger, "Bornes frontières", Syria 1939, p.70 and n.1 as mentioning Palmyrene funerary busts also built into the Umayyad structures.

588. Musil, op. cit., pp.4, 94, (95, 96).

589. Ibid., pp.131-2, p.132 fig. 31; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.49, 55, 101, 187-190; Schlumberger, "Qasr el-Heir", Syria 1939.

590. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.39, 40, 48, 49, 52, 56, Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX, Dunand, loc. cit., pp.238 f., cf. p.583, followed by Poidebard, pp.49-50, identifies it from milestones as Roman Carneia.

591. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.54, 58, 60, 66-7, 143, 174.

592. Ibid., pp.171, 173, 188.

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593. Musil, op. cit., pp.128-9, p.130 fig.30, p.129 n.94, p.234; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.39,40,47, 49, 52, 56, Pls.XXX, XXXI. Cf. supra, Ch.III, p.153 and Notes 247, 248, and p.169.
594. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.53, 56, 66, 179.
595. Musil, op. cit., p.31 and n.5, p.33 fig.4; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.45-6, 49, 52, 182-4, Pls. XX-XXII; cf. supra, Ch.II, Note 170, Ch.III, p.154 and Note 253.
596. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.40, 45, 66, 101, 178; cf. M.A., p.178 and Note 602, and supra, p.345.
597. Poidebard, op. cit., p.176.
598. Ibid., pp.49, 55-6.
599. Musil, op. cit., p.61; Poidebard, op. cit., p.45.
600. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.66-7.
601. Musil, op. cit., pp.108-9, 241, p.108 fig. 28; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.44-5, 49, 50, 51, 54.
602. Musil, op. cit., pp.7-8 and figs. 1-2, pp.235, 240, 244; Poidebard, op. cit., pp.43-4, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, Pls. XV, XVI.
603. Poidebard, op. cit., pp.45, 56, Pls. XVII, XVIII.
604. The region was partially explored in the nineteenth century by Bernhard Moritz (Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene, in Abhandlungen der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, (Phil.-hist. Abh. nicht. zur Akad. gehör. Gelehrter, 1889, I, Berlin 1889, widely cited, unseen). It was covered more thoroughly by Musil, who made five journeys through the area in 1908, 1912 and 1915. His results, published in Palmyrena, were criticized and partially corrected by Dussaud (Syria 1929, pp.52-62, cf. M.A. pp.80-81), who worked independently in the same region, but whose activities seem to have been concentrated more to the west of Palmyrene excluded by the guideline. Subsequently Dunand (Rév. bibl. XL, 1931, pp.227-248, 419-434, 579-584) published the results of his work on the milestones of the Strata Diocletiana immediately to the west of Palmyra, which served as a corrective for both Musil and Dussaud. Poidebard, in his aerial survey (Trace de Rome) retraced Musil's route only along the Strata Diocletiana and the alternative route from Damascus immediately to the north of it. Schlumberger's efforts were concentrated in the small area in the Belas mountains north-west of Palmyra (Palmyrène du. N.-O.)
605. Palmyrena, p.143.
606. At least one more Roman site lay within the guideline, Valle Diocletiana, known from milestones, and variously identified with Hân

at-Trâb, Hân aš-Šamât, and Hirbet Boutmiyât (Dunand, loc. cit., pp.234-40, Poidebard, op. cit., pp.49-50) and many of the other forts seem very likely to have originated in Roman times, regardless of the date of the extant remains. Al-Hlêhle, too, if it is Helela and/or Alalis (see above, Ch.III, p.169 and Notes 370-371) should be added to the total, as too, perhaps, should Kašr 'Anen (supra, Note 573).

607. Pp.153-4 and Notes 251-253.

608. Palmyrena, pp.88-89.

609. See e.g. ibid., pp.89, 133-4.

610. If the hypothetical Roman irrigation works consisted not of built, but of dug, irrigation channels, as in the case of modern farms, they could in effect have vanished during the Umayyad rebuilding. What remained would not be discernible by the excavation techniques normally employed on large areas at the time of Schlumberger's work; at best they would be detectable by the techniques used in prehistoric archaeology, trowelling in 5 cm. spits and so forth to chart small changes in colour, texture and density of the soil even within the spits. But such techniques are impractical on a large scale; Schlumberger, in the nineteen thirties, would have had to know in advance exactly where the old channels lay and undertake sections of very fine excavation in precisely those limited areas. Since the old channels need not have followed exactly the same lines as the later ones, it is difficult to see how this could have been achieved. Schlumberger's failure to find traces of Roman irrigation channels therefore does not preclude their existence.

611 Wood, Palmyra, p.41, mentions Palmyrene characters on it, too decayed to be copied, and it is tentatively identified by Starcky, Palmyre, p.82, as one of the water-sources mentioned in the Tariff, although the construction, an underground channel with clearing basins at intervals (Wood, Palmyra, p.40), is not diagnostically Roman.

612. Supra, Note 484.

613. Palmyrena, p.128, cf. Poidebard, op. cit., p.186.

614. Palmyrena, p.91.

615. Ibid., pp.134-5.

616. Ibid., pp.88, 89.

617. Trace de Rome, p.80.

618. Ibid., p.79.

619. Supra, Note 528.

620. See above, Note 260.

621. Rostovtzeff is probably overstating matters when he claims the appearance of wine on the menu for a religious banquet proves that Palmyra possessed a flourishing agriculture, and that in addition tesserae and the Tariff show that olive oil, as well as wine, barley, vegetables and dates were local products (Caravan Cities, p.136). The wine may have been imported - the fame of the wine of Chalybonitis needs no further expatiation. However, the barley and vegetables, and, obviously, the dates ("Palmyra" and "Tedmor" both designate the date-palm) are plausible, and Heichelheim, loc. cit., p.137 and n.91, cites later literary evidence for the existence of olive plantations in the neighbourhood of Palmyra.

622. Translated by Heichelheim, loc. cit., p.253.

623. Ibid., p.251. The Tariff proper specifies duty on imported olive oil, dry goods, dry fish and lard, while it is not stated whether the duty on sheep, corn, wine, fodder "and similar commodities" is applied to imported or exported goods.

624. The location of these villages is not known. Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², II, p.662, n. 28, states that they are "probably the villages in the second oasis of the desert and on the Euphrates". I must confess that I do not know what he means by "the second oasis". If, as it seems, he considers it to lie to the east of Palmyra, then the "second oasis" stretched continuously from the Tadjibe-al Kowm vicinity to the Euphrates, since, to the north of the artificial provisions for agriculture described, Musil notes that the country south of Resafa in which al-Ksejr lies is a fertile undulating plain (Palmyrena, p.67) and Poidebard comments that the country between Resafa and Sura is well grassed in the wet season (Trace de Rome, p.62). None of Schlumberger's sites have produced any object datable to before the mid second century.

625. Palmyrène du N.-O.

626. For a summary of the debate, see Grabar, op. cit., pp.5-6.

627. "Qasr el-Heir", Syria 1939, p.362.

628. Supra, Ch.III, p.169 and Notes 363-371.

629. Supra, Ch. III, pp.168-9 and Notes 359-362.

630. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.233-4 and Notes 187-190.

631. Supra, Ch.V, pp.290-291 and Notes 211-214.

632. Supra, Ch.III, pp.149-153 and concomitant Notes.

633. Trace de Rome, passim, e.g. p.39.

634. Ibid., pp.183-4.

635. An inelegant compromise between the translations of Starcky,

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Palmyre (French), p.82 and Heichelheim, loc. cit., p.250. Starcky has "sources", i.e. springs, Heichelheim has "wells". Heichelheim however translates the title of the earlier regulations appended to the Hadrianic Tariff as, "The duty regulations of Palmyra, of the springs [my Italics] and of the salt monopoly which were formerly instituted under the supervision (ἡγεμῶν) of Marinus" (ibid., p.252). Heichelheim's distinction suggests the earlier choice of word may have been deliberate, based upon a contradistinction in the Palmyrene, on which I am not competent to offer an opinion.

Starcky identifies the Hadrianic springs of the Tariff proper, specified elsewhere in the Tariff to be two in number, as the Ephca spring and that of either Bijar el-amey or Abu-l-Fawares, but the identification of the second source is only conjectural.

636. See e.g. Starcky, Archaeologia 1964, p.39, note.

637. Baalshamfn I, pp. 190 sqq.

638. From Kheurbet Semrine, Kheurbet es Sané and Kheurbet abou Douhour, see the general notes for these sites. Ingholt, apud Palmyrène du N.-O., p.177, also suggests a Safaitic derivation for one of the unusual words found in Inscription 35 from Ras ech Chaar, and (ibid., pp. 124-5) publishes three more Safaitic texts from the area, whose exact provenance is unknown. One of the texts was bilingual Palmyrene/Safaitic (ibid.), No. 54 from Kheurbet es Sané, apparently implying the need for translation.

639. Palmyrène du N.-O., p.125.

640. M.A., pp.8-9.

641. Supra, Ch.I, p.22.

642. Ibid., pp.30-31.

643. Ibid., and p.22.

644. For the "brigands" of Peraea finally pacified by the prefect Fadus, supra, Ch.I, Note 146; for the construction of roads in the Transjordan, infra, Note 648 and supra, Ch.III, pp.109-10, 111-113; for Roman work in the Transjordan generally, Rostovtzeff, S.E.H.R.E.², I, pp.271-2 and notes in Vol. II.

645. Supra, Ch.I, pp.21-22.

646. Ibid., p.22; for Livias, see Perowne, op. cit., p.106.

647. Supra, Ch.I, p.30.

648. Supra, Ch.II, pp.63-4.

649. Ibid., p.67 and Notes 47 and 48.

650. Supra, Ch.III, pp.109, 180.
651. Ibid., p.170.
652. Ibid., p.109.
653. Supra, Ch.IV, pp.239-240.
654. Palmyrena, p.59.
655. Ibid., p.123 and n. 30.
656. Ibid., pp.199-200.
657. M.A., Note 711.
658. Limes de Chalcis, e.g. p.13.
659. Palmyrena, p.225.
660. Schumacher, Pella, pp.72-3.
661. Ibid., pp.42, 43; for the miṭl and lade, M.A., Note 711, Pella, p.34.
662. Pella, p.57.
663. Idem, Northern 'Ajlūn, p.159 plan, p.161.
664. Ibid., p.141.
665. Idem, Abila, p.28.
666. Idem, Northern 'Ajlūn, p.129.
667. Ibid., p.122.
668. Loc. cit., p.141.
669. "Caesarea", IEJ 1950-1, pl. XV fig. 10 and caption, pl. XIII, fig. 7, caption.
670. IEJ 1950-1, pp.52-3.
671. IGLS VII, No. 4002.
672. Ibid., pp.27-9.

673. While there is no doubt that agricultural technology of this order was known and practised in pre-Hellenistic Syria, the nature of many of the remains in question militates against their attribution to earlier ages. While monumental buildings, or monumental dams such as the Harbaka dam, may endure for millennia, cruder structures such as small rural dams, or rough stone walls marking the boundaries of fields or serving to deflect water to the desired area are apt to fall prey to the ravages of man and weather in a much shorter time; it should be remembered that the evidence collected by Musil and Schumacher was not derived from excavation, but from above-ground ruins still recognisable for what they had once been.

674. S.E.H.R.E.², pp.343-4 and n. 103, cf. pp.319-324.

675. M.A., pp.1-2; supra, Introduction, pp.xii-xiii.