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Abstract

"Beyond religion: cultural exchange and economy in northern Phoenicia and the Hauran, Syria"

Francesca Mazzilli

This PhD research challenges current scholarly debate on religion and religious architecture during the Roman Empire by offering a new understanding on the role of rural sanctuaries and a new approach on the subject. It re-evaluates the socio-economic significance of rural sanctuaries, and of the society that they represent, to a regional level and in a wider context of the Near East.

This research can be seen as innovative because scholarly work on Syrian sanctuaries from the Roman period has, up to the present day, mainly discussed their religious connotations, including their architecture and deities, with no reference to their potential socio-economic significance. Furthermore, these studies have mostly focused on sanctuaries in cities rather than rural centres, and a comprehensive analytical overview is still lacking.

This thesis demonstrates that a comprehensive analysis of archaeological, iconographic and written evidence placed within a historical and socio-economic context and landscape can provide us with a different perspective on rural cult centre, i.e. their central social and economic role in their region and within the Near East. The rural cult centres that this study looks at are from the pre-provincial to the provincial period (c.100BC-AD300) from the northern Phoenicia and the Hauran, both in Syria. Their location at cross points between neighbouring and more distant cultures makes these areas an interesting and revealing object of study to fully comprehend the social significance of rural cult centres and the connections of the study areas with other cultures. Furthermore, both study areas present direct and indirect evidence of economic activities associated with rural sanctuaries. The central socio-economic role of rural cult centres is argued because of the following aspects revealed in this study. They are: their independency from the nearby cities and from political authorities that controlled the study areas, the plurality and diversity of worshippers, their economic self-sufficiency and their organization (with personnel in charge of temple's administrative and economic affairs), and the connections of the society of the study areas with distant cultures of the Near East.

“Beyond religion: cultural exchange and economy in northern Phoenicia and the Hauran, Syria”

Two volumes

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Doctorate of Philosophy

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Abbreviations:

AE = 1888. *L'Année épigraphique*. Paris: Ernest Leroux; Presses universitaires de France.

Antioch 1948 = Waage, F. O., 1948. Hellenistic and Roman Tableware of North-Syria. In F. O. Waage (eds) *Antioch on-the-Orontes, IV, Ceramics and Islamic Coins*: 25-26. Princeton

Bethel 1968 = Lapp, P., 1968. Bethel Pottery of the Late Hellenisticand Early Roman Periods. In J. L. Kelso (eds) *The Excavation of Bethel (1934–1960)*: 77-80. Cambridge, MA.: Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

Capharnaum 1974 = Loffreda, S., 1974. *Cafaro II. La ceramica*. Rome: Studium Biblicum Franciscanum.

CIG = 1828-1877. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum. Auctoritate et impensis Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae*. Berolini: Ex Officina Academica.

CIL = Mommsen, T., 1873-1902. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: G. Reimerus.

CIS = 1881. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum II, Inscriptiones Aramaicae*. Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres (France).

Gezer 1974 = Dever, W. G. & Cole D. P., 1974. *Report of Gezer II, the 1968-1970 seasons*. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College/Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology.

Gözlü 1950 = Jones, F. F., 1950. The Pottery. In H. Goldman (eds) *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tartus I*. Princeton.

Hauran I = Denzter, J. M., 1986. *Hauran I: recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du Sud à l'époque hellénistique et romaine*: 205-218. Paris: P. Geuthner.

Hauran II = Dentzer-Feydy, J., Dentzer, J.-M., Blanc, P.-M., 2003. *Hauran II: les installations de Sī 8 du sanctuaire à l'établissement viticole*. Beyrouth: IFPO.

Hauran III = In Clauss-Balty, P., 2008. *Hauran III: l'habitat dans les campagnes de Syrie du sud aux époques classique et médiévale*. Beyrouth: IFPO.

Hauran IV = Dentzer, J.-M. & Weber, T., 2009. *Hauran IV: Sahr Al-Ledja: recherches syro-européennes 1998-2008. Vol. 2, Die Skulpturen aus Sahr und die Statuendenkmäler der römischen Kaiserzeit in südsyrischen Heiligtümern*. Beirut: IFPO.

Hauran V = In Al-Maqdissi, M., Braemer, F., Dentzer, J.-M., 2010. *Hauran V: la Syrie du Sud du néolithique à l'Antiquité tardive: recherches récentes. Volume 1. Actes du colloque de Damas 2007*. Beyrouth: IFPO.

Hesbon 1971 = Sauer, J., 1973. *Heshbon Pottery*. Michigan: Perrien Spring.

IGLS I = Jalabert, L., & Mouterde, R., 1929. I*nscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. Tome I*, Commagène et Cyrrhestique, Nos 1-256. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

IGLS VI = Rey-Coquais, J-P., 1967. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. Tome VI, Baalbek et Beqa, Nos 2711-3017*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

IGLS VII = Rey-Coquais, J.-P., 1970. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie. Tome VII, Arados et régions voisines, Nos 4001-4061*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

IGRR = 1906-1928. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*. Paris : Leroux.

ILS = Dessau, H., 1892-1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berolini.

Jerash 1938 = Kraeling, C. H., 1938. Gerasa City of Decapolis. New Haven, Conn.: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Jericho 1958 = Pritchard, J., 1958. Excavations at Herodian Jerich, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*: 32-33.

Jerusalem 1944 = Hamilton, R. W., 1944. Excavations against the north wall, Jerusalem, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 10: 1-54.

JS I = Jaussen, A. & R. Savignac, R. 1909. *Mission archéologique en Arabie*. Paris: Paul Geunther.

Khirbet Qumaran 1956 = de Vaux, R., 1956. Fouilles au Kirbet Qumaran, *Revue Biblique* 63: 533-577.

Khirbet Qumaran 1953 = de Vaux, R., 1953. Fouilles au Kirbet Qumaran, *Revue Biblique* 60: 83-106.

Nazareth 1970 = Bagatti, P. B., 1970. Glis scavi di Nazareth I Gerusalemme. Rome: T.P.P. Francescani.

Nessana 1962 = Baly, T. J. C., 1962. The Pottery. In H. D. Colt (eds) *Excavations at Nessana I*: 270–303. London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

Odoba 1974 = Negev, A., 1974. The Nabatean Potter's workshop at Odoba. Bonn: Habelt.

Olbia 1929 = Knipowitsch, T., 1929. *Die Keramik römischer Zeit aus Olbia in der Sammlung der Eremitage (Materialien zur römisch-germainschen Keramik IV)*. Frankfurt a. M. Baer.

PAAES II = Butler, H. C., 1903. *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria 1899-1900. II. Architecture and Other Arts*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

PAAES III = Prentice, W. K., 1908. *Publications of an American Archaeological expedition to Syria in 1899-1900. III. Greek and Latin inscriptions*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Palmyra 1975 = Fellman, R., 1975. *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin a Palmyre VI. Die Lampen* 13-54. Rome: Institut suisse de Rome.

Pella 1982 = McNicoll, A., Smith, R. H., Hennessy, B., 1982. *Pella in Jordan I: an Interim Report on the Joint University of Sydney and the College of Wooster Excavations at Pella 1979-1981*. Canberra: Australian National Gallery.

PPUAES II = Butler, H. C., 1919-1920. *Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909. Ancient Architecture in Syria. II. Ancient Architecture in Syria. Section A. Southern Syria Section*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

PUAAES III = Littmann, E., 1904. *Publications of an American Archaeological expedition to Syria in 1899-1900. III Greek and Latin inscriptions*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

PUAAES IV = Littmann, E., 1914-1949. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909. IV(A-D). Semitic inscriptions*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Ramat Rahel 1964 = Aharoni, Y., 1964. *Excavations at Ramat Rahel, Seasons 1961 and 1962*. Rome: Centro di Studi Semitici.

RAO = Clermont-Ganneau, C., 1888-1924. *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

RES = *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique: pub. par la Commission du Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.

RIC = Mattingly, H. & Sydenham, E. A., 1924. *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. London: Spink.

Samarie-Sebaste 1957 = Kenyon, K. M., 1957. Terra sigillata. In J. W. Crowfoot (eds) *Samaria-Sebaste III*: 284-288. London.

Sbaita 1936 = Crowfoot, J. W., 1936. Te nabataean ware of Sbaita, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quaterly Statement* 13: 14-27.

SEG = 1923-2008. *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*. Lugduni Batavorum: Sijthoff.

Suw 1934 = Dunand, M., 1934. *Mission archéologique au Djebel Druze: le Musée de Soueïda, inscriptions et monuments figures*. Paris: P. Geuthner.

Suw 1991 = Dentzer, J.-M. & Dentzer-Feydy, J. 1991. *Le djebel al-Arab: Histoire et Patrimoine au musée de Suweida.* Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.

Wadd. = Waddington, W. H. 1870. *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* Pt. 6. Syrie. Paris.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Aims and objectives

This PhD thesis considers rural cult centres beyond their religious function and analyses two study areas – the northern Phoenicia (northern Syria) and the Hauran (southern Syria) –from the immediate period before and after its annexation to the Roman Empire (from roughly 100BC to AD300).

The aims of this research are to re-evaluate:

1. The socio-economic significance and function of rural sanctuaries (as gathering centres of people from different parts of the Near East and as places of economic activities) in relation to the nearby local cities, the region, neighbouring cultures and the hinterland of the Near East;
2. The importance of rural society in the study areas that cult centres represent in its interactions with the hinterland of the Near East,

This research is innovative because scholarly work on Syrian sanctuaries from the Roman period has, so far, mainly discussed the religious connotations of the sanctuaries, including their architecture and deities, with no reference to their potential socio-economical significance. Furthermore, these studies have mostly focused on sanctuaries in the cities rather than in rural centres, and a comprehensive analytical overview is still missing (§ Ch.1.2).

The objectives for the first aim are to identify:

- The development of rural cult centres over time;
- The population and the people that visited the rural sanctuaries, their benefactors and dedicants;
- The relationship (in terms of dependency, autonomy or influence) of rural sanctuaries with the nearby rural but especially urban settlements;
- Their relationship with the political authorities that controlled the territory of these two areas;
- Their connection with the neighbouring and more distant cultures from the hinterland of the Near East;
- Economic activities associated with rural cult centres;
- Their economic self-sufficiency;

- Their organization for administrative and economic affairs (by identifying their non-religious personnel).

The objectives for the second aim are to identify:

- The elite of the two study areas (i.e. benefactors and main dedicants of rural cult centres);
- Their role in the sanctuary;
- Their role in relation to and interactions with the hinterland of the Near East;

This study will be achieved by analysing:

- The different phases of rural cult centres over time in terms of their structure, style and gods venerated in these centres (aim 1);
- Their architecture, iconographic materials, and ritual practices compared with these elements recovered elsewhere in the study area, from the nearby cities, from neighbouring cultures, from territories that had the same political authority of the study areas, and with similar examples in the Near East (aims 1-2);
- Inscriptions and sculptures associated with rural cult centres as evidence of deities and benefactors compared with other examples mentioned in the previous point (aims 1-2);
- Inscriptions that mention economic activities run by the sanctuary (aim 1);
- Inscriptions that mention personnel who had economic and administrative functions (aim 1);
- Archaeological evidence of economic activities in the proximity of rural sanctuaries (aim 1).
- The distribution of common elements shared by the different rural cult centres (e.g. same gods, similar architecture, similar iconographic materials);
- The natural setting and location of rural cult centres, also in relation with nearby areas of economic activities, with other urban and rural settlements, with more distant settlements in the Near East that shared similar elements with the rural cult centres from the study areas. Their location and possible connection to the nearest road-ways and the road-network of the Near East/the Roman province of Syria that could have connected rural cult centres with more distant settlements (aims 1-2).

Throughout this thesis, the analysis of all these elements and aspects of rural cult centres will be conducted along three main aspects that will help us determine the sanctuaries' socio-economic role. These are: the historical context of the area (the successions of the different political powers), its economic contact with near and more distant populations in the Near East, and the distribution of cult centres in the landscape. I believe all three aspects have, directly or indirectly, influenced and shaped the society and the elite that the rural cult centres represent and, therefore, the identity of these religious centres and their socio-economic role. These aspects can be determined by looking at the style of architecture and sculptures, the type of deities, and even the identity of their main benefactors and their worshippers.

In particular, different political powers in Syria from this period, with their own building and religious traditions, affected what was built and the religious customs of the area under control (Dentzer 1986: 308). Their leading position and wealth would have easily enabled them to finance monumental buildings.

Contacts of economic nature between the study areas and other populations could have also expanded into and influenced other fields, apart from the economy of the study areas, such as what they built and their religious customs (*Ibid.* 418). Identifying the economic network is more difficult than identifying political successions. If historical sources provide at least an outline of the succession of political powers, we need further evidence to understand economic networks. This can be achieved by undertaking a landscape analysis, for example, considering the neighbouring populations and their connections through natural and man-made route ways, together with material culture.

The discussion of the distribution of rural cult centres within the region and within the bigger socio-economic context of the Near East is a key-aspect of this study, as their building styles, deities and benefactors could have also been influenced by the relations of cult centres with the neighbouring villages and cities, their surrounding populations, and the people that passed through these religious centres. This aspect can also determine the role of these sanctuaries, their importance in socio-economic matters over their territory, and their autonomy from or dependency on, the nearby cities or villages.

I believe that the investigating the relationship of rural cult centres and interactions of the study areas with the nearby cities, neighbouring and more distant cultures through the analysis of religious centres is a valuable research method because religious ideas,

which also encompass religious beliefs and the places where these were professed, may have developed and spread thanks to social relationships (Granovetter 1973, Collar 2012: 110). This connection has been demonstrated in sociological research (*Ibid*.) and has been applied to classical archaeological studies when investigating the distribution of the main cult of the Roman army (Mithras) through social networks (Collar 2012: 110, Collar 2013).

Understanding the social aspect of rural cult centres as gathering centres of populations from different parts of the Near East and the society of the study areas through the analysis of sanctuaries is not a straightforward process. This is because not only one group of people visited cult centres and not only one culture had a predominant impact on these sanctuaries. For instance in Syria, the Roman presence is obvious in the historical period under examination (i.e. the change from the pre-Roman and Roman era), but it is not the only one (§ Ch.1.3.2). I believe that the development of the cult centres depended on a mixture of influences coming from different parts of Syria as well as local adaptations or local traditions.

Therefore, it is not possible to embark on a study of socio-economic significance of cult centres only by undertaking a mono-thematic analysis. This thesis, in fact, aims to pull together all the different elements of rural cult centres and examine them within their landscape, as well as their historical and economic contexts.

This research will focus on two case studies: northern Phoenicia (the northern coast and hinterland of Syria) and the Hauran (southern Syria) (Map 1.1) because these were key-locations for movements of different groups within the Near East. These two case studies enable us to have a better understanding of the social significance of rural cult centres and the connections of the study areas with other cultures.

The cult centres in northern Phoenicia are located between the harbour-city of Aradus and the main commercial cities of Apamea and Emesa in the Near Eastern hinterland. The centres bordered with their flourishing neighbour to the South, modern-day Lebanon, which undertook a major building programme of Roman cult centres, such as the sanctuary at Baalbek and Niha (Aliquot 2009). Although the first study area does not provide evidence of extensive remains of cult centres, one of them, the sanctuary of Baetocaece, offers a particularly rich set of data that helps us investigate the socio-economic role of the sanctuary.

The Hauran is key in connecting the Nabataean kingdom to Damascus, and possibly the area stretched to the Near Eastern hinterland (Palmyra and Dura Europos). It also presents a significant amount of published evidence of rural cult centres from the pre-provincial to the provincial period.
Both the case study areas, therefore, offer similar potential for investigation.

For the purpose of this research, I will be referring to the pre-provincial to the provincial period (roughly 100BC-AD300) rather than pre-Roman and Roman times. This is because, unlike the Roman period, this term best indicates the political change from the control of Syria by pre-existing local kingdoms (they differed depending on which part of Syria we consider) to the annexation of Syria to the Roman province (provincial). Furthermore, these terms do not imply that the Romans imposed and took over the local pre-existing culture (Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Dentzer 1986) (§ Ch.1.3.2, Ch.4.6 for a full explanation of the matter). This process of change did not take place in all of Syria at the same time but it varied according to the period when a region was integrated to the Roman Empire. For instance, northern Phoenicia became part of the Roman province in the first century BC, whereas northern and central Hauran were not incorporated until the end of the first century AD (§ Ch.2.1.2, Ch. 3).

Before detailed analysis of the two study-areas, it is necessary to:

- Define the subject of analysis, i.e. cult centres (§ Ch.1.2),
- Review previous scholarly work (§ Ch.1.3),
- Delineate the approach used in this research (§ Ch.1.4),
- Provide an outline of the structure of the thesis (§ Ch.1.5).

1.2. Defining "cult centres"

"Cult centre" is a generic term used to indicate a place of worship and sacrifice where one or more deities are housed. This research will analyse only those cult centres whose monumental stone-structures have been preserved. The size of each centre varies and determines whether they are temples or sanctuaries. Temples mainly consisted of one chamber (*naos* in Greek or *cella* in Latin) to house the deity in which its statue is usually placed, which is preceded by or surrounded by a colonnade (René 1998: 36-37, Price & Kearns 2003: 538). Sanctuaries include the god's dwelling and additional

structures common in the Near East in the Roman period, such as a *temenos* and *propylaea*. A *temenos* is a monumental wall that circumscribes the sacred area and creates a big space for public sacrifice, like a courtyard that usually precedes the actual house of the god (Butcher 2003: 352-353). *Propylaea* are monumental entrances of the *temenos*; they can be elaborate, consisting of more than one monumental gate alternating with flights of steps (René 1998: 34, Butcher 2001: 326-329**).**

Cult centres that lack monumental permanent structures will not be included since the lack of remains makes them difficult to study.[1] This is the case of sacred natural places, such as mountains, hilltops, rocks, springs or woods, as some of them were believed to be inhabited by deities (Bradley 2000: 24-27, Horden and Purcell 2000: 412-416, 440). Ancient sources refer to this kind of centre,[2] but they cannot be easily identified archaeologically. They are mainly temporary altars that could have been used for sacrifices or worship. Sacred natural places will be considered only in connection with the evidence of a monumental religious structure. In the Near East, cult centres are

[1] Kalibé and *naïskoi* are not included in this analysis as they cannot be considered cult centres. They do not consist of typical enclosed religious public buildings. Their sacred nature has been suggested. The religious nature of kalibé is uncertain. A kalibé could be interpreted as a religious building only because of the adjective "sacred" that preceded the term kalibé on the inscriptions placed on this structure. It consists of an elevated, tripartite, apse-shaped open-structure with niches preceded by a staircase. Niches were used to place statues. This type of structure with the inscription that named this building kalibé has been only found in Hayāt, Umm az-Zeitun and Shakka (the ancient Saccaea) in the South of Syria. Further buildings have been interpreted to be kalibé on the basis of their similar layout to the structures that have this name on the inscriptions. Butler (PAAES II 1903: 382) claims that exedra of the forum of Philip the Arab at Shahba and *nymphaeum* at Bosra were also kalibé. Segal (2001, 2008) argues that Temple "C" at Kanawat, the hexastyle temple at Shaqqa (ancient Greek city Philippopolis) and the exedra at Bosra could be also kalibé. However, with or without inscription, there is no clear/explicit evidence whether and which god was worshipped (Clauss-Balty 2008a: 271-273). Therefore, the religious aspect attributed to these structures is still debateable (see Segal 2001, Class-Balty 2008a). This structure could have been used to display statues; their religious subject is uncertain. The sacred adjective associated with this structure could give a sense of holy structure, but it does not indicate that it was a centre of worship and sacrifice.
Ball (2000: 292 ff.) has not even mentioned the possibility of the religious nature of kalibé. He has considered it as *nymphaeum* because of the similar layout. However, it is unlikely as there is no evidence that water could come out from these niches, like holes, or they are not close to water sources, like natural springs or cisterns.
Naïskoi are small niches carved in rocks with reliefs representing gods, found in high numbers in the Hauran (Denzter 1986: 373-397), perhaps thanks to the systematic investigation in this area. These could be considered miniature deity-dwellings because of the representation of gods sometimes inserted in a frame with miniature columns and tympanum at the top that could stand for the systematic structure of a temple (Zayadine 1989: 113). Despite the sacred nature of these small niches, they do not function as cult centres.

[2] For instance, according to Pausanias, the Greek geographer from the second century, deities were believed to inhabit natural places such as lakes (*Paus.* 3:23.5), springs, waterfalls, and tree groves (*Paus.* 9:3.4, 7:18.7).

frequently situated in or near sacred natural areas, ranging from high places (Butcher 2003: 346-348) to springs and rocks (Sartre 2001: 923).

1.3. Previous work

The analysis of previous studies of the sanctuaries will begin with those exclusively concentrating on rural sanctuaries in the Near East in the pre-provincial and provincial period (§ Ch.1.3.1), and then move to a more general discussion of cult centres and religion in both urban and rural areas (§ Ch.1.3.2). It will then consider the study of the socio-economic activities associated with sanctuaries, as this subject has usually only been discussed as a separate matter mostly by historians or epigraphists (§ Ch.1.3.3).

1.3.1. Studies of rural sanctuaries

Few scholars have turned their attention exclusively to rural cult centres, and their analysis has usually been partial, looking at one or two specific aspects. They are Steinsapair, Schlumberger, Gatier, Callot, Aliquot and Dignas.

Steinsapair (2005) argued that the study of the landscape of rural sanctuaries combined with the analysis of their architecture can help us to understand the religious significance of these cult centres and their cult activities. Her work is far from exhaustive. She only chose to focus on the most important and well-preserved rural sanctuaries in modern-day Syria and Lebanon, underestimating the information that architecture, epigraphy and landscape also provides on socio-economic activities, contacts and interactions of different populations and dominions. Furthermore, the gods worshipped in these religious centres were not made the subject of in-depth analysis.

Schlumberger (1957) made a list of inscriptions and classifications of the layout and the architectural style of Palmyrene Roman rural sanctuaries and temples.

Gatier (1997: 769), Gatier and Callot (1999: 671, 682) and Aliquot (2008: 89-96) briefly tackled the relationship between rural sanctuaries and villages in northern Syria and Lebanon on the basis of their location and dedicatory inscriptions. They differentiated the sanctuaries in villages from those isolated on hill-tops, indicating the predominance of the former.[3] Aliquot (2008: 92) did, however, point out that the inscriptions suggest that village officials were involved in the life of rural sanctuaries.

[3] The few sanctuaries in high places are in Hermon, in the surroundings of Antioch (northern coast of Syria) and some on the Limestone Massif (northern hinterland of Syria) (Gatier 1997: 769, Gatier & Callot 1999: 671, 682, Aliquot 2008: 89-96).

In contrast, Dignas (2002) used documentary sources to consider the socio-economic role of rural and urban sanctuaries and especially their relations with cities and imperial rulers. She focused on Hellenistic and Roman examples in Anatolia and Greece, and the sanctuary of Baetocaece was her only case-study from Syria.

1.3.2. Studies of sanctuaries and religion in the Near East

In general, when scholars have examined sanctuaries, they have analysed one of the following aspects: architectural decoration, architectural design, sculptures, inscriptions, or the different gods worshipped. This type of analysis is carried out most commonly by scholars who specialise in the study of one such field. It often includes materials not necessarily from a religious context. Individual elements are discussed to highlight variation of style over time, and they are considered within a debate that has played a major role within the research scene over the last forty years – the impact of Rome on local populations and their traditions, including their religion, and the phenomenon of so-called "Romanization" (Hingley 2005: 36-37).[4] This recognizes that while Roman gods were spread across the Roman provinces, they were adapted to native customs and requirements and ended up coexisting with local deities through syncretism (Bendlin 1997: 53, Linn 2003: 274-275).

In the Near East, however, the idea of Romanization is not entirely appropriate or is at least difficult to apply because Greek culture and religion had already had a major impact by the provincial period (Sartre 2001: 853-866). We encounter here the process of "Hellenization."[5] Unlike the western part of the Roman Empire, the most common language used in inscriptions was Greek and the architectural style was of Greek influence (*Ibid*.). Greek religious traditions did not take over local ones but, instead, amalgamated with the indigenous culture, local gods were assimilated with Greek gods, so non-local people could recognize their gods under the appearance of local gods (Sartre 1991: 491, 2001: 285 ff.). Furthermore, Greek deities were also worshipped by local individuals. This impact of "Hellenization" in the Near East was the result of the Seleucid Empire dominion in this territory over two centuries (312BC-63BC), and that encouraged the adoption of Hellenistic architectural and sculptural traditions and culture (*Ibid*. 866). Local and Greek traditions and deities seem to persist more strongly in the

[4] Romanization in general see Millett (1990), Freeman (1993: 444), Whittaker (1995: 155), Woolf (1997: 347), Terrenato (1998), MacMullen (2000), Hingley (2005: 31-48).
[5] For Hellenization in Syria and issues in its identification see Millar (1987).

Roman Near East than in the Western Empire, where they tended to lessen and disappeared to some extent (Butcher 2003: 15-16-17), and also where Greek traditions and deities were transmitted by the Romans and filtered through the Roman culture in the West Empire. The Roman impact on the worship of deities can be seen in the presence of gods venerated by the Roman army in the Near East (Sartre 1991: 484-486).

Scholars, when discussing religion in the Roman Empire, labelled this phenomenon of the presence of different cultures (e.g. Roman, Greek, local cultures) with different terms. The term syncretism was one of the first ones to be coined in modern times. It posits that elements and influences from one culture are used and reinterpreted in another (Aijmers 1995, Stewart 1995). It has been subjected to severe criticism (Drijvers 1980: 17-18, Pye 1993, Dirven 1999 xxi, Healey 2001: 14-16, Kaiser 2000: 224-225). As Drijvers (1980: 17-18) has correctly pointed out, this term indicates a mixture of different elements in a strange cocktail. It also implies that pure religions and religious elements were randomly amalgamated in syncretistic cults. However, religions are not arbitrarily merged but they are linked to specific circumstances and influences (Healey 2001: 15); religion is a constantly changing net (Geertz 1993: 90). The term assimilation has been preferred by scholars (Drijvers 1980: 17-18, Dirven 1999 xxi) because it indicates that a culture assimilates other elements and combines with its own tradition (*Ibid.*). Pye (1993) has preferred to use the term synthesis, instead, as it stands for assimilation of different religious customs. However, this term is rather artificial (Kaizer 2000: 226), since Roman religion is not a homogeneous entity and encompasses a variety of cults and diversity of expression (Aijmer 1993). Kaizer (2000: 226) has attempted to explain the complexity of religious matters in Roman Syria by defining it as "an accumulation of religious layers." Religion is an open system where its diffusion is also the result of negotiation between imperial dominion and local response (Bendley 1997: 52-54, Kaizer 2002: 27).

The above terms are only attempts to re-define the concept of Romanization and to coin a term to define the co-existence of Roman, Greek and local identities. It is difficult to use a single word to identify this phenomenon. Therefore, I prefer to use a generic term, which refers to Kaizer's definition, i.e. a multi-layered religious landscape of the Near East; by that I mean the co-presence of the local, Greek and Roman cultures and cults, which were also interwoven and amalgamated with one another.[6]

[6] For understanding the complexity of religion in the Near East, see Kaizer (2013).

Taking into account this debate on the phenomenon of "Romanization" and "Hellenization" in the Near East and the co-presence of different cultures, in the analysis of rural sanctuaries, Freyberger (1989, 1991, 1998, 2004) argued for the Roman impact on the provincial architectural and sculptural style in the Near East.[7] He based his work on the few resemblances with the architecture of Rome which are, nevertheless, used in the building tradition in the Near East before the provincial period[8] and also very few compared with the wide range of non-Roman architectural elements that he did not consider (§ Ch.2.2, Ch.4)**.**

Instead, Bolelli (1986), Dentzer (1986, 1989, 2003), and Dentzer-Feydy (1989, Suw.1991, 1990a, 1990b, 2003, 2010a) emphasized the predominance of local architectural and sculptural style in the pre-provincial period. Furthermore, Dentzer (1991) and Dentzer-Feydy (1991, 1993) suggested the evidence of Hellenization in the architecture and the change of its style from the pre-provincial to the provincial period.

Bolelli analysed sculpture in the Hauran, whereas Dentzer examined the architecture and Dentzer-Feydy looked at architectural decorations, especially in the Hauran and more generally in Syria.

Aliquot (2009) analysed urban and rural gods in Lebanon in the provincial period and discussed them by dividing them into three categories: the indigenous divinities, the Greek gods and tradition which both persisted in the Roman period, and the new Roman deities. Lipinski (1991), instead, sustained the predominance of Hellenistic gods, playing down the Roman impact on the cults of Lebanon in his argument.

Aliquot and Dentzer-Feydy's studies correctly considered the historical background of the areas that these scholars examined (i.e. Lebanon and the Hauran respectively) and bore in mind the change in religious and building traditions due to the incoming new customs integrated with pre-existing ones (local or Hellenistic). However, they have not sought the reasons for the different influences from neighbouring and more distant cultures and the possible web of social interactions that influences of religion and

[7] Segal (2008) only argued for the Roman impact on the religious architecture in the Hauran; he considered temples with a Graeco-Roman layout and kalibé.
The significance of the Roman impact in the Near East is argued by Lidewijde de Jong (2007) when discussing funerary practices in her PhD thesis.

[8] For instance, this can be seen in some elements of Corinthian capitals (Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 647, 649, 651-661) and the decorative motif of cable moulding (Boëthius & Ward-Perkins 1970: 420 note 16, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97).

architecture might reflect, which this study intends to achieve, in order to establish connections between the study areas and the places of influences beyond the religious and architectural resemblances and to understand the extent of the significance of rural cult centres.

1.3.3. Economy in sanctuaries

Analysis of economic activities associated with cult centres has mostly occurred where clear documentary evidence exists. This has mainly been in Greece and Anatolia, especially for the Hellenistic period. This is the closest area in geographical and chronological terms to the one under examination.[9] The Greek and Anatolian evidence indicates that sanctuaries were in charge of markets and treasuries, and also owned land. In Syria the existence of commerce associated with a rural cult centre has been argued only in one example at Baetocaece (northern Phoenicia). This is exclusively based on the analysis of its inscriptions (§ Ch.1.5.1.b, Ch.2.6.1). Industrial activities associated with sanctuaries have been, instead, suggested solely on the basis of dubious inscriptions and archaeological remains in Syria (§ Ch.1.3.3.3).

1.3.3.1. Sanctuaries in charge of markets

According to inscriptions, *nundinae* (periodic markets) took place during Greek and Roman religious festivals (MacMullen 1970: 335-337, Rosenfeld & Menirav 2005: 35-36) in rural, and, less often, in urban contexts (MacMullen 1970: 335-337). As some inscriptions indicate,[10] religious festivals attracted numerous pilgrims and were seen as a commercial opportunity, as in the case of Baetocaece (Dignas 2002: 76-84) (§ Ch.2.6.1).

1.3.3.2. Sanctuaries in charge of treasuries

Inventories and annual lists identify Greek sanctuaries at Athens and Delos (fifth-second century BC) as banks, for they provided loans and collected taxes for ports and trading activities (Debord 1982: 215-225, Dignas 2002: 16-18, 20-21). The recovery of

[9] According to written evidence Mesopotamian temples have been considered to have had a major socio-economic role within the society –they were considered temple-states – as they had more than one specific economic responsibility: they owned lands and herds, controlled farmers and craftsmen (Smith 2004: 85-86).

[10] This is the case in inscriptions from the small village of Immae, near Antioch and from cities like the ones at Lycia and Ephesus in Anatolia (MacMullen 1970: 336). In some cases, religious festivals were explicitly named as markets or commercial festivals, like the case of the festival of Jove at Olympia (*mercatus Olympicus*, e.g. markets of Olympia in Latin) (*Cic. Tusc.* 5.3, *Livy* 33.32.2), for the first case, and the one of Apollo at Delos, for the second one (*Strab. Geog.* 10.5.4).

single offerings in sanctuaries in Anatolia point to a similar role, but on a smaller scale (*Ibid.*).[11]

In Syria, however, sanctuaries in the Hellenistic and Roman periods possessed a treasury and owned substantial amounts of valuable goods and had specific personnel in charge of temple treasures as suggested by *On the Syrian Goddess* (DDS), the main literary source on Near Eastern religion (second century AD) (DDS 10),[12] and by inscriptions.[13]

We cannot be certain whether every temple had personnel in charge of its finances, but it most likely was the case if we consider that every temple would receive offerings from worshippers. The limits of our understanding lie in the fact that the presence of temple treasurers or other personnel is only traceable when they ordered dedications, commissioned temples or took part in activities within the sanctuary - as in the banquet rooms, as was the case in the temples at Dura Europos, for instance (Downey 1988: 92, 114). The treasury was possibly located in a room that flanked the *cella* in the temple of Zeus Theos at Dura Europos because of the recovery of a door lock and items of jewellery and the presence of niches in the inner walls where objects could have been placed (*Ibid.* 114). The rooms that flank the *cella* could have been ideal places for a treasure because the *cella* is in the most sacred area of the sanctuary, and access was granted only to priests (DDS 31). The rooms that flank the *cella* are a common feature in sanctuaries (for temples at Dura Europos, Downey 1988 fig 40, 49, 45; for temples in Syria Ball 2000: 345 fig.101). However, it seems more appropriate to suggest that these rooms could have been used as a storage area for major precious goods or for ritual activities. They were too small to contain the funds of a sanctuary that required specific personnel for this purpose. Furthermore, the treasury could not necessarily have been

[11] A series of offering lists is mentioned in the temple of Apollo in Didyma, whereas only single offerings occur in temples at Troy and Halicarnassus in Anatolia

[12] "In wealth it is in first place among temples that I know of, for many goods reach it from Arabia and the Phoenicians and Babylonians and yet more from Cappadocia, and also the Cilicians bring, and what the Assyrians. I have also seen the things that lie hidden in the temple, a great quantity of clothing and other things that have been laid aside in stores of silver and gold" (DDS 10).

[13] Because of their sacred nature and the fact that they were protected by a deity (Dentzer 1989: 317), sanctuaries received substantial gifts of money and were also used to protect treasures, as was the case in the sanctuary of Zeus at Jerash, Jordan (Welles 1938 N6, 30). Temple treasures seem to have been obtained mostly through devotees' donations, as recorded in the annual contributions of populations in Judea in the Maccabean period (167-63 BC) (Schürer 1979: 272-274, Boffo 1985: 22-23).
The possession of goods by sanctuaries is confirmed by the presence of specific personnel in charge of temple treasures, attested by inscriptions found in the temple of Adonis (Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1939: 170 N874) and in the temple of Artemis at Dura Europos (Cumont 1926: 405 ff. N50).

placed within the sanctuary; it could have been located in its proximity or in the villages, for instance. We do not have any record of a physical structure, as archaeological investigation has been principally focused on the actual monumental sanctuary. Therefore, it is not possible to identify with accuracy archaeological evidence of a sanctuary's treasury.

1.3.3.3. Sanctuaries as landowners

According to historical sources and inscriptions,[14] Greek sanctuaries were mainly landowners in Greece (Virgilio 1985: 228-229, Ampolo 2000: 14-16) and Anatolia. Although their land-possession was strongly reduced after the arrival of the Romans (Virgilio 1985: 228-229, Sartre 1991: 286),[15] it persisted in some cases, as in the case of the sanctuary of Zeus at Azanoi in Anatolia (Laffi 1971: 46-47).[16]

1.3.3.4. Sanctuaries in charge of industrial production

Evidence of the processing of goods has been suggested in three contexts, although the evidence in all three is debatable.

Firstly there is the occurrence of oil production linked with sanctuaries (Tchalenko1953-1958: 14) as described by a second century inscription, dedicated to a deity, found in the late Roman/Byzantine olive press at Kafr Nabo (northern Syria)

[14] Aristotle narrated that god owned land and how sacred lands were handled. According to a third century BC inscription the city Acraephia in Boeotia did mortgage sacred land (Dignas 2002: 26-27). The sanctuary of Apollo owned lands in the island of Delos and Rhamnos (Aegean area) (Kent 1948: 243), similarly to the Greek sanctuaries in the Anatolia, according to Strabo (Strab. Geog.12).

[15] Religious lands were confiscated by the Romans and local authorities of the cities during the Augustan times and onwards. The domain owned by the priesthood of Antioch was passed into Augustus's hands as part of his Galatian colony, according to Strabo (XII, 8, 14). Under Pontius, kings and Romans confiscated the sacred land that became Pompey's domains (Strab. Geog. 12: 3, 34). Julius Caesar (80BC) gave back to the sanctuary its sacred land dedicated to the goddess Athena in Ilion. There is a written ordinance of Augustus and Agrippina (27 BC) prohibiting the privatization of sacred land (Laffi 1971: 47), and a letter to the magistrates of Kyme stated that a private person, a certain Lusias Tucalleus, gave back the land to the sanctuary of Liber Pater (Laffi 1971: 46).

[16] N. 1 "Avidius Quietus to the aragontes, to the assembly of people from Aizanoi…The controversy related to the sacred territory dedicated to the Zeus in ancient times, that that has been for long time, has finished thanks to the providence of the great Emperor…there is need to pay for every cleros according to the deliberation of Modestus…everyone who owns the sacred land will pay it…"

N. 2 Copy of letter of Caesar written to Questus: "If it is unknown the extension of the lands that are called cleroi in which the territory dedicated to Zeus Aizanensis the best solution ...is to follow the extension of the close communities neither the maximum neither the minimum…."

N. 3 Copy of the letter of Quietus written by Esperus: 3

".. The Emperor... has ordered to use not the maximum or minimum extension of the lands that are known to be dedicated to Zeus of Aizanoi, I beg, my dear Esperus, to take the measurement of the cleros…"

N. 4

Copy of the letter written to Quietus from Esperus: "Certain roles, Lord, cannot be finished by one who is not expert. So, as you ordered me to let you know the extensions of the cleroi in the area of Aizanoi, I sent on the place…"

N5 "I, Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, father of the country, consul of the third time of tribune of people for the thirteenth time, return the lands given to Zeus Father and city of Aizanaoi from the king Attalus and Prusia'…" (Laffi 1971).

(Millar 1993: 254). However, the absence of a religious structure in the vicinity of the olive press, together with the dating of the inscription earlier than the late Roman/Byzantine press, suggests that the inscribed flagstone might have been recycled for building purposes – a common phenomenon in the late Roman/Byzantine period (Brenk 1987: 103).

The second example is the production of objects used for offerings or souvenirs for the devotees which were fabricated in the sanctuaries (Dentzer 1989: 317). The recovery of a mould of plaster with the image of a goddess, used on a lead cup, in the sanctuary of Artemis at Dura Europos suggests that the temple produced statuettes, which were possibly made of terracotta (*Ibid*.) and sold to the visitors. This does not, however, explain the presence of an industrial process because neither industrial remains nor statuettes were found. The mould could be a votive offering that was made or/and belonged to a person working in this production process.

Similarly, the names of two deities, Aglibol and Malakbel, inscribed on an oil lamp from Palmyra (Michalowski 1961: 176 N72 fig.230, 237 N4) does not provide enough evidence to suggest that the sanctuaries were in charge of oil lamp production (Dentzer 1989: 317). There are more valid alternative interpretations from the one previously proposed. It could have been a dedication to these deities or it could have been used in the sanctuary where they were worshipped. It could indicate that whoever produced or used this lamp worshipped these deities. As this combined evidence is very little and dubious, intensive investigation to look for further evidence of workshops in these sanctuaries would be necessary, such as concentration of statuettes/pottery waste and permanent structures employed for their production.

1.4. Methodology

My research involved two main stages: data collection and analysis.

1.4.1. Data collection (Tables 1.1 and 1.2)

This has consisted of the collation of previously published literature on architecture, iconographic materials and inscriptions of rural cult centres, followed by visits to the sites, where accessible,[17] and to the museums at Damascus and Suweida, where some statues and architectural decorations are displayed. The visit to sites in northern

[17] I could not visit the sites in the heart of Leja, like Dâmit Il-ʻAlyā and Sahr, as it was a protected military zone. Sanamein was visible only from outside as the custodian that could have allow us to access inside the temple was absent.

Phoenicia was intended to identify minor sites, such as Qmet Nipal and el-Shisha (§ Ch.2.2), that have not been focus of scholarly attention. In contrast to the Hauran, little investigation in the field has been undertaken in this area, or has at least not yet been published.

During data collection, I have classified evidence of rural cult centres using four categories that will be considered throughout the analysis (Tables 1.1 and 1.2, Maps 1.2 and 1.3) (§ Ch.1.4.2.1-2 for further explanation).

- Type 1: ruins of a sanctuary complex consisting of more than one courtyard and occasionally more than one temple. In northern Phoenicia was, Baetocaece, and, in the Hauran, Sī', Sahr and Sha'ârah. Because of their complexity and their preservation, discussion in this research revolves mainly around these cult-centres, and they do appear to have a major impact within the study-areas.
- Type 2: sanctuaries that do not present complex planning; they have a *temenos* with a temple and, occasionally, a courtyard. This implies that the rural cult-centre must have had a certain level of significance, as it comprised a wide sacred area for the devotees, not just the house of god. In this group there are sites where only a *temenos* has been recovered (such as Dâmit Il-'Alyā, in the Hauran, and Qnmet Nipal, in northern Phoenicia), or it is mentioned in an inscription (examples are Zebiré and Boutheiné) and other sites (the sanctuary of Mushannef and Sur al-Laja), where there is evidence of a colonnaded courtyard with steps around it, so the discussion on the last of these can be elaborated further. Most of the statues or inscriptions recovered in these sites (and this can be also applied to the Types 3, 4 and occasionally to the Type 1) are removed from their original context, but they can be associated with the remains of the sanctuary, being the main and only monumental building on the site.
- Type 3: remains of only temple or *cella* whose layout has been identified according to standing remains.
- Type 4: remains of a temple or *cella* according to standing remains and inscriptions, though its plan cannot be identified, but still presents statues of gods and/or inscriptions dedicated to god. Therefore, the information gained from analysis itself based on these examples is rather limited.

Then, I have located these sites, other urban and rural settlements and road-ways on GoogleEarth and Landsat images, respectively for the northern Phoenicia and the Hauran.

1.4.2. Analysis

The analysis of rural cult-centres has consisted of three parts: the comparative study of the style of the architecture and statues and of their gods, the identification of benefactors and dedicants, and the investigation of socio-economic activities**.** This order follows previous scholars' approach and interest in this subject that seems to have been focused mostly on the style (architecture and statues) of rural cult centres and their gods, and less on the presence of benefactors and the economic activities associated with rural religious centres.

1.4.1. Comparative study (architecture and gods)

Previously, comparative study has generally been the main approach for examining the architecture and gods of rural cult centres in both study areas in order to discuss and identify their Syrian origin, the local identity of these areas and the phenomenon of Hellenization (§ Ch.1.3.2).

Comparative examples are dated to the same period or just slightly prior to the study-period. These come from: the nearby cities, the territories that had the same political authorities of the study areas, and the neighbouring and more remote populations (usually Palmyra and Parthia) that shared common patterns and beliefs with the areas under examination (§ Ch.2, 4, 5). Unlike previous studies, this research aims to delineate the kind of connections between the society of the study areas and populations that shared common features with them identified. In order to determine this I have considered the three main aspects mentioned at the beginning of this chapter; they are historical and economic contexts, and the location of rural cult-centres and of the two study areas within the Near East. In contrast to previous work, I have also considered the diffusion of a style or a god in the Hauran where there are more sites than northern Phoenicia to view a geographical pattern. This has enabled us to distinguish the geographical concentration of one style or god, and to investigate its implications; such as why this concentration is in one area instead of another and whether this area is connected with the population that shared the same style or god.

In particular, the comparative study with the nearby cities has provided primary information on the relations of cult centres to neighbouring urban centres. There could be a case of dependency, where resemblances are clear, or of autonomy, in the opposite case. Rural sanctuaries would have been deeply influenced by the historical scenario if they adopted architectural elements and gods worshipped in the territory under the same political authority. If the style of architecture in rural cult centres was used and their gods were venerated only by remote populations, such as the urban centres Palmyra and Dura Europos, this could suggest interactions of the elite of rural cult centres with the cultures belonged to these distant cities, for instance.

By "examining the architecture of rural cult centres", I mean the analysis of their layout, the style of their capitals, decoration and sculptures. Cult practices have been integrated in the analysis of the layout of these centres, linking the design of sanctuaries to the set rituals practised. In the discussion of the style of the few non-divine statues available in these two study-areas, I have attempted to identify who these statues represent which can inform us about the identity of major dedicants of rural cult centres.

With regards to the study of gods worshipped in rural cult centres, I have differentiated between the deity as it is mentioned in an inscription and as it is represented by a statue, and where both two types of evidence (inscriptions or statues) were found.

Distinguishing whether the god was represented in a statue or mentioned in an inscription is important, as visual representation would have a stronger and more effective impact on visitors to the sanctuaries. However, this type of representation has its drawbacks. A sculpture could have stood for more than one specific character (Ma 2007: 204) and it could have been interpreted differently by different viewers coming from different backgrounds. This is the same for current scholars who cannot categorically identify the identity of the person, or a deity represented by the sculpture, without looking at the inscribed pedestal. Therefore, this key issue will be taken into account when discussing sculptures of deities.

1.4.2. Benefactors

Inscriptions can inform us about the identity of the patrons of cult centres or their dedicants, aspects that previous scholars have never really investigated, especially in these two study areas. Here we have looked for non-local benefactors and for the ones

from their villages or nearby cities. The first point of discussion has helped to understand the connections of the study area with other cultures of the Near East, as well as to revaluate the social aspect of rural cult centres as meeting places for people different parts of the Near East and their active role in the religious life of these sanctuaries; this implies the significance of these sanctuaries. The second point has shed new light on the relationship of rural cult centres with their villages and nearby cities as well as the importance of these religious centres for the local communities. Benefactors coming from nearby villages or cities could, instead, indicate the connections and dependence of cult centres on rural or urban local settlements respectively. However, the distinction between local and non-local benefactors is not a straightforward process. In some cases inscriptions explicitly mention members of local villages or of a local community as dedicants or major benefactors. It is more difficult when only the names of individuals are mentioned. Names commonly found in other parts of the study area, or the territory under the same authority, can suggest that they shared a local origin, but it is difficult to pinpoint this connection, so this can be achieved only when striking and distinctive names are used only in specific places or cultures, as in the names originated and found in "Safaitic" graffiti (§ Ch.3, Ch.5.2-3. Ch.6.3.1 for further information).
With regards to non-local benefactors, these may have been soldiers, as they might have travelled from a distant or neighbouring military base to the rural cult centres.
Roman names in inscriptions do not mean the presence of non-local people or of Romans, as such names could be adopted by local individuals. They can, however, suggest evidence of social dynamics, probably due to the change of political authority (i.e. the annexation to a Roman province), and strong connections of local individuals with Roman culture. Using a Roman name did indeed have an impact on each individual; names were traditionally derived from the family, as well as partially affected by fashion and beliefs (Sartre 2007a: 200). Even the identification of Roman names is not always straightforward. Some of them might be the Greek transliteration of a Semitic name or root (Sartre 2007a). It is therefore necessary to seek names that are extremely popular in the Roman world, such as Julius and Aurelius.

In the discussion of benefactors, it is necessary to distinguish main benefactors, who commissioned the temple from dedicants, who made a minor dedication, like an altar or a statue, to the god of the temple. They financially supported the sanctuary to a different

level. We have taken into account that the importance of the benefactor within the study areas would vary also depending on the monumentality and complexity of the rural cult centres that he commissioned (Types 1-4).

This study has looked at texts of inscriptions as monuments of glory and power (Petrucci 1986, Corbier 2006: 12-13) where their visibility (Newby 2007: 6) and location within the architectural framework are important (Février 1989: 75), because their physical location might indicate the importance of the dedicants' role. For instance, an inscription of an altar or a statue's pedestal is different from one on a lintel on the façade of the temple, as the latter is part of the temple's structure itself, and (unlikely in the case of pedestals) everyone could see it. Therefore, who commissioned the inscription placed on the façade of the temple would have been a major benefactor of the sanctuary. Looking at the location of the dedication and its lintel can help us to understand the role of the benefactor, especially when the text is fragmentary or does not explicitly mention the erection of the structure the inscription commemorates.

The visual impact of the inscriptions is more significant than the actual text because some of those in higher positions would not have been legible from below (Petrucci 1986, Corbier 2006: 12-13) and literacy was not widespread. Therefore, it is most likely that local attendants of the cult centres were already aware of the meaning of these inscriptions and what they represented, and who the benefactors were. The names of the patrons might have been declared during the opening of the sanctuary or during religious festivals; for instance, in some cases decrees were displayed and were read aloud for the illiterates (Corbier 2007: 47).

1.4.3. Three-fold approach to economic activities

I have investigated the socio-economic roles of cult centres as identified by previous scholars, especially in Anatolia and, occasionally, in Syria; sanctuaries could have been in charge of markets, lands, and industrial activities. In addition, although water sources associated with sanctuaries have always been considered for their ritual purposes (Kamash 2010: 157-176), I have considered their uses in cultivation and in the daily life of the sanctuary and its pilgrims. I have investigated these socio-economic aspects

through the study of three sources of evidence: inscriptions, archaeological remains and landscape.

Firstly, explicit written evidence can inform us about economic activities, as in the case of the sanctuary at Baetocaece. The identification of personnel who administered financial and economic affairs of the temple suggests the presence of socio-economic activities associated with sanctuaries. For instance, temple treasurers, identified according to inscriptions, implies that the sanctuaries must have gained sufficiently large income to justify the role and presence of a treasurer in the first place.

Secondly, this study has investigated archaeological evidence of socio-economic activities in cult centres and their immediate proximity. Studying this type of evidence presents us with challenges for a number of reasons. No intensive fieldwork was undertaken on rural sanctuaries and in their proximity, apart from a handful of cases such as at Sī' and Sahr, that could help reveal non-religious activities. Scholarly focus has been mainly on their religious function. Most of these cult centres are placed in modern-day villages or huts that have altered, if not destroyed, possible structures near a temple, or indeed the temple itself.

It is difficult to identify archaeologically periodic markets, as they do not necessarily need permanent structures (Zelener 2000: 227). As markets and fairs were recorded during religious festivals (Rozenfeld & Menirav 2005: 35-36), we need to seek evidence of the occurrence of religious festivals, in the complexity of the sanctuary's structure (the more complex the sanctuary is, the more likely it was that numerous pilgrims gathered there for religious festivals). Additionally, in some instances, rooms within the sanctuary complex, out of its inner sacred part of the cult centres (*cella*), could have been used for storage or shops (known as *tabernae*), as was the case in the sacred precinct of the sanctuary of Jupiter at Damascus (Felletti 1950: 71).

As mentioned in the reassessment of previous work, it is not possible to identify, with accuracy, archaeological evidence for a sanctuary's treasury (§ Ch.1.3.3.2). We could say the same for the sacred lands. Landownership by private individuals, or division of cultivation, can be identified from the remains of walls, although their dating is approximate (Tate 1992). Most of the time there is no surviving evidence of walled enclosures within sanctuaries that are known to have had sacred lands, like the

sanctuary of Zeus at Azanoi in Anatolia (Laffi 1971: 46-47 Pl.2-3). The enclosures may not have been necessary as the population probably knew the extent of the sacred properties. In a few cases, inscribed *cippi* (low inscribed pillars) near the sanctuary survive. These define the land belonging to the sanctuary, as can be seen in the sanctuary at Amyzon in Anatolia (Robert 1948: 33-34). Previous work has suggested industrial production associated with cult centres, but what we are presented with is dubious, raising questions about the possibility of identifying any substantial evidence (§ Ch.1.3.3.4).

Thirdly, landscape analysis is a valid approach to understand the possible socio-economic activities associated with sanctuaries. In my research, spatial differentiation has been undertaken between the socio-economic activities associated with sanctuaries and villages, urban settlements and the road-system. This can enable us to understand whether economic activity associated with cult centres could have been controlled by surrounding settlements or, if not, the economic autonomy of religious centres. The presence of economic activity near to, or part of, cult centres in villages might suggest these activities were part of the survival of villages that possibly administered them. Isolated cult centres could imply the necessity of key main economic activities, like markets during religious festivals and the use of water supply for non-ritual purposes.
Furthermore, the relationship of sanctuaries with road-ways and the morphology of their terrain have informed us about the accessibility of sanctuaries to pilgrims, so their accessibility could have favoured the occurrence of markets. A sanctuary overlooking cultivated lands or their proximity could imply that they were sacred property.

The results of this interdisciplinary analysis have offered evidence of socio-economic activities that can be sought in religious centres that lack explicit written evidence on this matter.

1.5. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into two sections: northern Phoenicia and the Hauran. The first is limited to one chapter (Chapter 2), as it is a selected small study area that presents a single main case-study, the sanctuary of Baetocaece, with little scattered evidence of cult centres. The analysis of rural cult centres in the Hauran occupies most of the thesis

(Chapter 3-7), as it is the main study area presenting large amounts of evidence. Each section presents the same outline. It is introduced with an outline of the topography and the historical background, to point out that the rural landscape under examination is a key-area of social dynamics (Chapter 3). Next, the analysis is divided according to the different aspects of cult centres: architecture, cults, benefactors (for the social interactions and dynamics over time), and evidence of socio-economic activities.

The examination of the architecture is separated into the layout (firstly, a plan of the house of the deity, and, then, other features which are part of the sanctuaries), capitals, decorations and sculptures.

The following structure is employed for each of these features of the architecture mentioned above; it will be based on a comparative study of pre-provincial, followed by provincial architecture, in rural cult centres (Chapter 4):

- Territory that belongs to the same pre-provincial authority within the study area;
- Neighbour cultures: Lebanon from the first study area and the Nabataean kingdom for the northern and central parts of the Hauran;
- Surroundings and more remote areas that were not under the same political control; these will vary according to the study area;
- Nearby cities, when evidence is available.

The same approach and structure is employed for the analysis of deities, but is divided into those mentioned in inscriptions and the ones represented in statues (Chapter 5).

Both are examined depending on their location, as follows:

- The ones in major sanctuaries;
- The ones in minor cult centres.

The analysis of benefactors is divided into local (members of villages, a group that can be identified to be part of the local community and from the nearby city) and non-local benefactors (Roman names and soldiers) (Chapter 6). Each of the two is investigated according to:

- Who commissioned a major part of cult centres;
- Who made dedications in the sanctuaries

The examination of explicit and indirect written and archaeological evidence and spatial analysis are undertaken for the following economic roles attributed to sanctuaries in previous work (Chapter 7):

- Owning lands;

- Being in charge of industrial production, such as of wine or pottery;
- Being in charge of periodic markets;
- Being in charge of a treasury;

The thesis concludes with a discussion on the results of this study and the potential of future research (Chapter 8).

Chapter 2: Northern Phoenicia

This chapter begins with an overview of the geographical and historical background of northern Phoenicia in order to contextualize the study of rural cult centres (§ Ch.2.1). It then moves onto an analysis of the architecture (§ Ch.2.2), the gods recorded (§ Ch.2.3), the benefactors attested by inscriptions (§ Ch.2.4) and their socio-economic activities (§ Ch.2.5).

2.1. Geographical and historical background

This section considers, from a topographical, historical and archaeological perspective, the historical background of the study area from the Phoenician to the provincial period (1550BC-AD399). The reason for the extensive time-frame is to assess whether earlier cultures have had an effect on later traditions. The last part of this section looks at the road network to understand its economic and social function.

2.1.1. Topography

Northern Phoenicia is a small area roughly 50 km by 50 km, situated near the coast in modern-day northern Syria. It is a natural junction between the Mediterranean coast and the inland of the Near East (§ Ch.2.1.2-4) (Map 1.1). The study area is a territory where annual precipitation is high, ranging from 400 to 999mm (Beaumont *et al.* 1976 fig.2.8). It is located between two mountain ranges: Mount Lebanon to the South, and the Jebel Ansariyeeh, to the North (Map 2.1). These protect the region from the desert wind and, together with the annual rainfall, make this territory a favourable natural environment in which to live and to grow crops, in particular, olives and vines (Sapin 1989).

2.1.2. Historical background according to historical sources

The study area was the farthest northern territory of the Phoenicians (ca. 1550-300 BC). Inhabitants were sailors and merchants who reached the modern Lebanese, Syrian and, partially, northern Israeli shore (Lipiński 1991: 23-24). The main harbour, and city of the study area, was Aradus, an offshore island, 3 km from the coast (Bryce 2009: 71-72).

Aradus became a city-state in the Achaemenid (550–330 BC)[18] and Seleucid Empires (312-63BC)[19] after its alliance to them, paying annual tribute to the Emperors and offering its navy fleets in times of war.[20]

In the late fourth century BC (333/332 BC) early authors, such as Polybius (c.200–118 BC) and Cassius Dio (c. AD150 – 235), referred to northern Phoenicia as the Aradian territory, named after the city (Duyrat 2005: 203). This also included smaller cities, such as the ancient Marathos (modern day Amrit), Balanea (Baniyas) and Gabala (modern day Jeble, 20 km south of Laodicea on the sea) (Table 2.1) (Map 2.2). It was essentially a confederation of cities, where Aradus appeared to be the leading one and had its own autonomy. This city minted its own coins from 298/259BC, dated to the Aradian era, according to the annual progression starting from this time (Hill 1910: xiv, xv note 6, Mørkholm 1991: 144). The Aradian coinage was circulating also in neighbouring cities (Duyrat 2002: 54-56), although they maintained their own government and manufactured their own coins (Seyrig 1964: 36-37). Aradus continued to control this territory up to the Augustan period (*Ibid.* 42) as a consequence of Aradus' actions during the Roman arrival and domination in the Near East.

Aradus, and other cities on the Phoenician coast such as Tripoli and Byblos, became allies of Rome and clearly benefitted from this coalition, as can be seen by an increase in their coinage (Duyrat 2005: 282).[21] The Romans offered protection to Aradus and these other cities against the brigands and pirates, to control the territory and also in return for guaranteed help in order to take over the Seleucid Empire (*Ibid*.). In 63BC the Roman army headed by Pompey, one of the military and political leaders of the late Roman Republic, conquered the Seleucids (*Ibid*.). However, after a few years Aradus surrendered to the Romans and was included in the Roman province of Syria in 37 BC, because it supported Pompey even after his defeat against Cesar for the leadership of the Roman state in 48BC (Duyrat 2005: 284-287). Because of its continuous support for Pompey, Aradus never received benefits from Rome and never

[18] This comprehended a wide territory from the Mediterranean to eastern Iran, from the Black Sea to Arabia, including Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria (Curtis 2000: 39-41, Errington & Curtis 2007: 29).

[19] The Seleucid Empire stretched from Syria to the Indus. It took over the territory conquered by Macedonian king Alexander the Great (333/332 BC), which was a great part of the Near East, including the Achaemenid Empire (Sartre 1989, Butcher 2003: 26-27),

[20] For the relationship of the alliance between Aradus and the Achaemenid Emperors, see Kestemont (1985: 148), Verkinderen (1987: 291-292). For the relationship of alliance between Aradus and the Seleucid Emperors, see Duyrat (2005: 227).

[21] Further evidence of Pompey's support by Aradus is the honorific inscription (IGLS VII 4008) and a statue made by the city depicting and in honour of Decimus Aelius, the commander of a military squad in Asia put in charge by Pompey (Rey-Coquais 1974: 162, Broughton 1952: 270).

became a Roman colony (*Ibid*.). Despite its decline, however, Aradus continued to mint coins up to the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus (AD253-268), though in minor quantities in the later period (Butcher 2003: 110, 112).

2.1.3. Archaeological evidence and inscriptions

From the Phoenician up to the Hellenistic period, archaeological remains in the region under investigation are, in general, rare, whereas the monumental rural religious complex of Baetocaece predominates, with additionally a few, sporadic temples in the Roman period (§ Ch.2.2). This could suggest a boom in religious building development in the Roman era in the study area.

The meagre picture of remains could also be due to the general absence of research on the whole area, and the general paucity of Phoenician archaeological remains in the region. In many cases Phoenician material is still buried below Graeco-Roman buildings (Lipiński 1991).

The Phoenician presence at Aradus can only be seen in one Phoenician-Greek bilingual inscription, though dated to the provincial period (25-24BC) (IGLS VII 4001).[22] Since this city has continuously been occupied to the present day, with the absence of specific investigations, ancient remains are largely unknown (Duyrat 2005: 190-191).[23] Historical sources mention the Greek layout of the city: an *agora* (a Greek square) surrounded by porticoes, a structure used for magistrates in the first-second century AD (*Chariton of Aphrodisias* VII, 6) and an *ecclesia* (assembly place for voting) (c.AD150) (*Diodorus of Sicily* XXXIII, 5, 4). Despite the numerous Aradian coins in the city and in northern Phoenicia, the location of their mint is unknown (Duyrat 2005).

2.1.4. Road network (Map 2.2-2.3)

There are two main routes that cross the area. The first road connects the summits of Massyaf to Qadmous, towards the coast with the city Balanea (Rey-Coquais 1974: 71) (Map 2.2). This track is one of the most important in the Medieval period, as confirmed

[22] It is a dedication to Greek deities Hermes and Heracles by someone acting as a gymnasiarch. In the Phoenician part Hermes is transliterated as ‘RM and Heracles as MLQRT, the Phoenician god Melaqrt (IGLS VII 4001).

[23] Remains of massive enclosed walls of debatable dating are the only ruins of its ancient city. Renan (1864: 39-40) argued that the walls can be traced back to the Phoenician period, whereas Frost (1966: 17) the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods. The wall blocks could be generally also dated to Hellenistic and Roman because they seem to be similar to the ones used at Tyr, Sidon, Jerusalem, Baalbek and Batetocaece in that period (Lipiński 1991: 174-175).

by the existence of Medieval (roughly eleventh to thirteen century) fortresses along this route. It could have also been used during the Roman period, as confirmed, for instance, by the religious area at Qadmous (in the Iron Age and the Roman period) (§ Ch.2.2.2.1), and Roman remains at Masyaf (Rey-Coquais 1974: 140) (Map 2.2).
The other road ran from the Roman city Apamea through Massyaf to Raphanea, a major Roman legionary camp in the province of Syria[24] (Rey-Coquais 1987: 194) (Map 2.2). The road circumscribed the mountains of the Alalouites to the South-West and it passed through the pre-provincial and provincial sanctuary of Baetocaece (Rey-Coquais 1974: 71-72), as confirmed by Roman milestones (*Ibid.* 73). The sanctuary could be easily reached from Raphanea, only roughly 15 km away (*Ibid.* 1987: 194). From Baetocaece two roads ran to the harbour at Aradus, one through the north of Safita and the ancient Hellenistic-Roman village of Yamourra (Seyrig 1973, IGLS VI 4052); the second connecting with the temple of Mastabeh (Ahmed 2010: 152 note 855) (Map 2.2).

Looking at the surrounding areas of northern Phoenicia, the neighbouring area to the South, modern-day Lebanon, shared a similar historical background to the study area. It was financially prosperous under the Phoenicians, with main harbour-cities, such as Tyr and Sidon (Lipiński 1991: 23-24). The area was annexed to the Roman province of Syria in the late first century BC[25] (Millar 1993: 264 ff.) which was included as a Roman province Syria-Phoenice in AD194. This later province included the study area, Lebanon, the cities and surroundings of Emesa, Damascus and Palmyra (*Ibid.* 296 ff.).
Like the study area, this region underwent intensive building activity in the provincial period that included religious centres, like the temple of Baalbek (Aliquot 2009), located around 125 km from the rural cult centre of Baetocaece. Because of the erection of religious buildings undertaken in Lebanon in the study-area under the Romans, together with the similar historical background and their proximity, we need to consider the religious architectural tradition in Lebanon when analysing rural cult centres in the study area.

[24] For recent archaeological investigation on Raphanea see: http://www.dainst.org/en/project/raphaneae?ft=all.
[25] The modern-day Lebanon was theoretically part of the Roman territory from Pompey, but some ancient cities and the Ituraean principality (§ Ch.3.2) were independent to a certain extent as they maintained their dating era and coinage, like at Aradus. The exception is Berytus that became a Roman colony in 27BC. The Romans gradually took over all this territory, starting with Byblos and Botrys which used the Roman era from the end of the first century BC to the beginning of the first century AD (Aliquot 2009: 39 ff., 47-58 fig.17).

Furthermore, the study area is surrounded by two commercial cities, Antioch, roughly 175 km from the rural cult centre of Baetocaece in the North, and Emesa, situated roughly 25 km to the East (Map 2.3). Both cities were on trading routes, connecting to the caravan city Palmyra (Millar 1993: 309, Young 2001: 137 ff. Map 4.1, 193-194) even before the Roman period (Bauzou 1989: 209-210).[26]

The study of route-ways that crossed the study area and its surrounding regions and cities, such as Lebanon and Emesa, may well indicate that this region was connected with the nearby main cities of Aradus, Apamea and Emesa, with Lebanon and with more distant commercial centres, like Antioch and Palmyra. It is, therefore, important to analyse rural cult centres in connection with these cities and nearby areas.

2.1.5. Northern Phoenicia: Roman rural religious remains and their connection to local and distant centres

The above reassessment of the historical background of the study area suggests that the provincial period should be seen as a time of major socio-economic development, because of the remains of Roman rural cult centres and the route-way-connection of the study area with other major religious and commercial centres, rather than of decay (as is suggested by historical sources). This will be assessed throughout the analysis of its rural cult centres.

2.2. Architecture

The architectural and iconographic style of rural cult centres of northern Phoenicia (i.e. layout, the style of capitals, architectural and decorative features, and sculptures) can be compared with the architecture widely developed across the Near East in the pre-provincial and mostly in the provincial period, then with the architecture and iconography from Lebanon, and finally a few specific architectural elements used mostly at Palmyra[27] and occasionally in areas such as Southern Syria. In this study these

[26] Milestones associated with this route appear reused under Diocletian (Latin inscriptions) as there are underlying traces of hammered Greek letters. This could indicate the presence of an earlier road from Palmyra to Emesa before the provincial period, but we cannot narrow down the exact dating of this earlier route (Bauzou 1989: 209-210).

[27] Palmyra is an essential point of comparison as it, although being a city, had a major political and economic role in the Near East and it was a rather autonomous entity, with its own distinctive

comparative examples have been taken into account due to their striking architectural resemblance with rural cult centres from northern Phoenicia. This comparison will help us understand socio-interactions of the study area with contemporary neighbouring and distant cultures. Such a comparative study cannot be undertaken for the nearby cities of Aradus, Apamea and Emesa[28] as their public religious buildings dated to the Roman period remain largely unknown. Therefore, it is not possible to identify whether or not the religious architecture from the study area was influenced by these nearby cities.

In order to undertake a comprehensive study of the architecture of rural cult centres, another but minor goal of this research is to understand ritual activities in the study area through the analysis of cult centres' layouts.

2.2.1. Rural cult centres in northern Phoenicia vs. cult centres in the Near East in the pre-provincial and provincial periods

The *temenos* is the major and the most common feature used in the Near East in the pre-provincial and provincial periods (Ball 2000: 318). In the study area, the remains of *temenoi* are found at the sites at Qmet Nipal and Baetocaece (Figures 1, 2, 3). Therefore, this indicates that this region was aware of, and influenced by, Near Eastern religious building traditions in the Near East where this feature was mostly used.

When we examine those examples from the study area, it is apparent that we cannot date the *temenos*' remains at Qmet Nipal to either the pre-provincial or the provincial period because of a lack of dating evidence from the site.

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organization and independent identity, despite being integrated into the Roman Empire from the first century AD (Drijvers 1977: 799, 837 ff., Texidor 1984, Millar 1993: 319 ff.).

[28] Apamea was a Greek city that became part of the Roman Empire and known as a Roman city from AD6. Its territory was rather large as it included its nearby villages –the full extent of the area is not known- according to a census undertaken in AD6. Even in Roman times this city maintained its Greek culture, although its main god was of Semitic origin, Bel (Millar 1993: 250, 261-263).

The limited, scattered evidence shows Emesa as a settlement of an Arab tribe under a chief accepted by the Romans as king until AD70. High priests had possibly an important role within the city as this one turned around the cult of the sun god Elagalubus. From the first century inscriptions mentioned that some people from this city gained Roman citizenship and this city gained the title of Roman *colonia* in the second century. The history of this city has strong connections with Rome as the Emperor Septimus Severus married Julia Domna from Emesa at the end of the second century. This city has been seen as dependent on the trade of Palmyra to which it was connected by route-ways, but their exact economic relations are unclear (*Ibid.* 302 ff.).

Figure 1: Monolithic blocks of a possible sanctuary at Qmet Nipal (by the Author 2010)

Figure 2: Blocks of the possible sanctuary at Qmet Nipal (by the Author 2010)

In Baetocaece, the inscriptions on the four gateways on each side of the enclosure date the *temenos* to the third century AD (Figures 5, 11) (IGLS VII N4031, 4032). According to Freyberger (2004: 16), the *temenos* was built in Hellenistic times, because the megalithic blocks used were regularly employed in that era and the gateways could have been a later addition. However, monolithic blocks, being common in Near Eastern cult centres from Achaemenid to the Roman periods (Table 2.2), cannot alone provide an accurate dating criterion. Moreover, there is no evidence that can provide a precise date (i.e. pottery from the wall fills), that could challenge the chronology (third century AD) suggested by the inscriptions.

Figure 3: Monolithic blocks of the sanctuary at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

Baetocaece presents another fragmentary monumental walled-enclosure, fifty metres north of the main sanctuary (Figures 3, 4, 5, 6). It has been suggested that this enclosure also functioned as a *temenos*, i.e. to enclose a sacred area, because this includes: a temple on the side of a decorated standing façade with two gateways, four windows and some stone blocks, 50 metres from the north-western corner of the façade (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 92 ff.) (Figures 4, 5, 6, 7).

However, it is unlikely that these remains would have formed a *temenos* for the following reasons. The temple is not facing the interior part of the enclosure, as it should be in the case of temples within the *temenos* (Dentzer 1989, Ball 2000: 332). We have hardly any information on the recovery of these remains: we do not know the physical extent of the remains or their chronology. There are additional patchy ruins of buildings not connected to each other and with a different chronology – the latter is an approximate guess only when it is possible to give a rough date to these remains. These are: a semi-circular exedra, with niches, preceded by a staircase, 50 metres from and opposite to the façade (Figures 8-9); an apsidal structure on the North-West of the façade, the function of which is unclear; a Christian basilica at the back of the temple, consisting of three naves with an apse; and a higher, levelled area preceded by some steps that could give an idea of a high platform (10 metres north from the "façade") (Figure 6). All these structures are not aligned with the gateways of the only standing façade (Figures 6). The Christian basilica (possibly fourth-fifth century) is later than the third-century façade, with two gate-ways and the earlier temple next to it (possibly first-second-century) (§ Ch.2.2.2.3 for their dating).

These few remains, some of which can be dated, approximately, after the Roman period (e.g. Byzantine), suggest that these structures are not part of only one building phase, but rather a palimpsest of structures built at different times. Only intensive investigation in the field could shed new light on the matter (§ Ch.2.5.1.3 for further suggestion to its function).

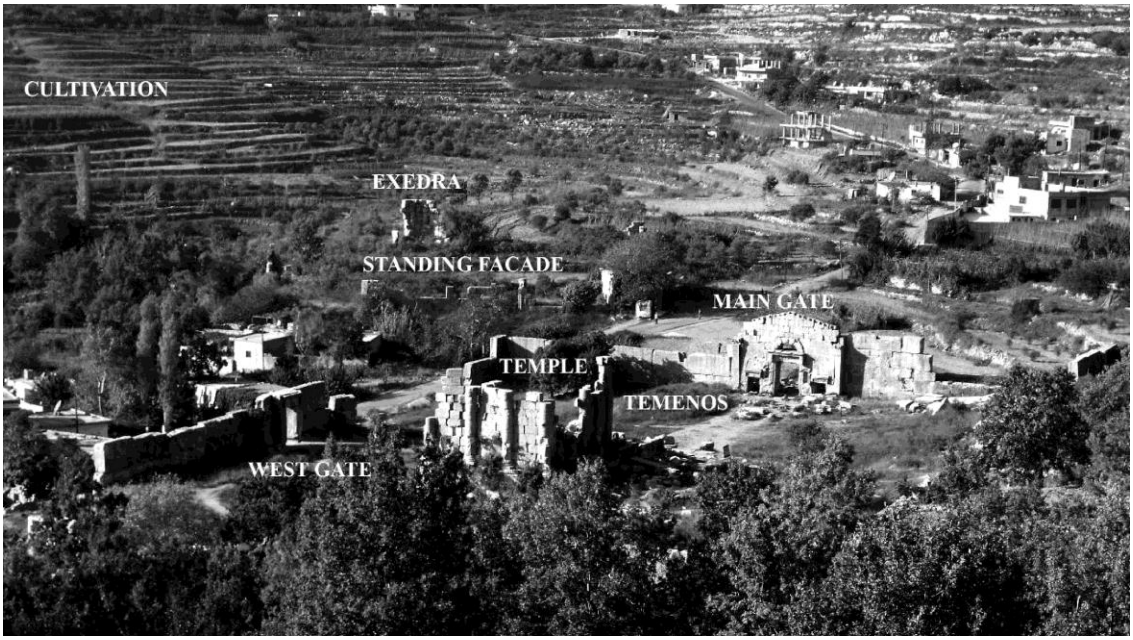


Figure 4: Current view of the sanctuary complex at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

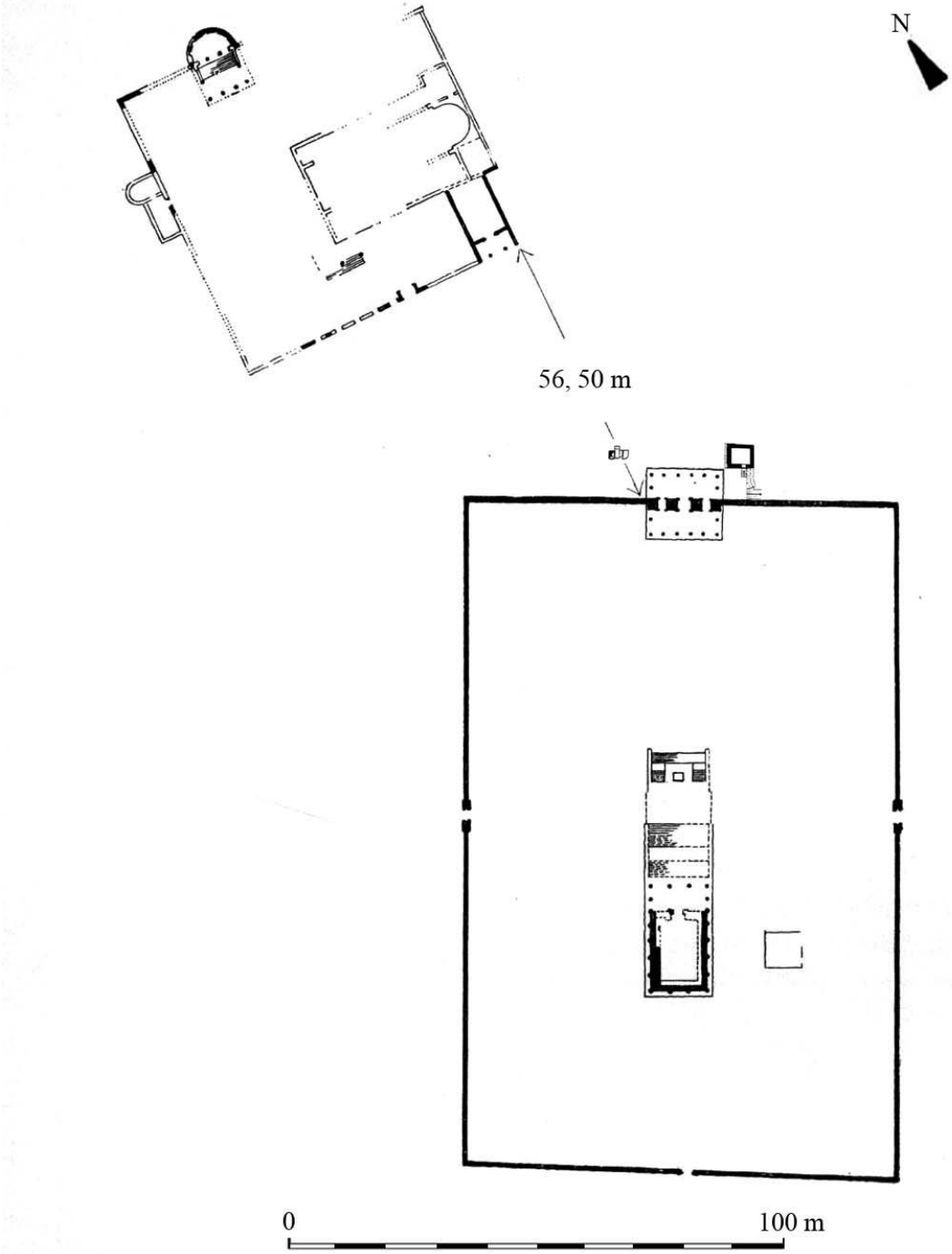


Figure 5: Plan of the sanctuary complex at Baetocaece (after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.91, combined with Ertel & Freygeber 2008, fig.3)

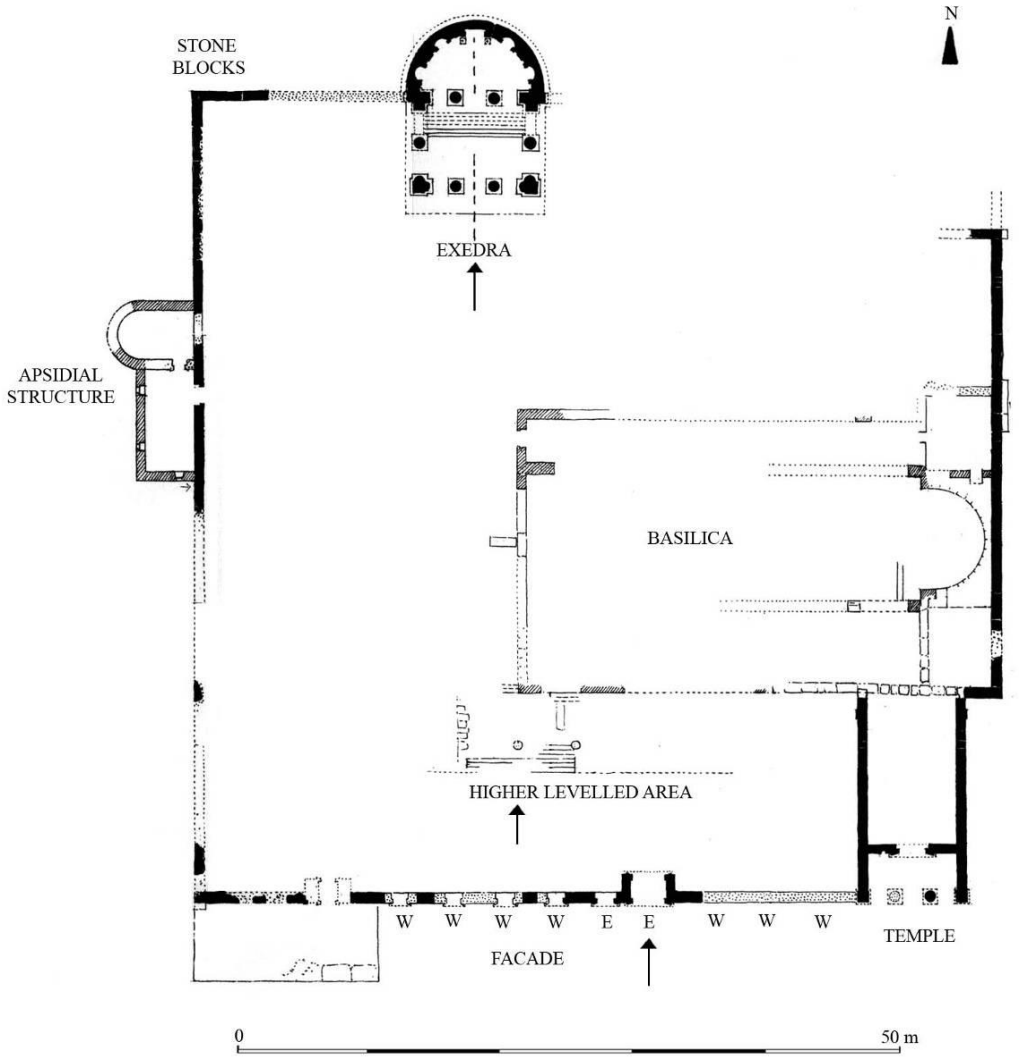


Figure 6: Plan of the enclosure and its structure at Baetocaece (W= window, E= entrance) (after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, Pl.38)

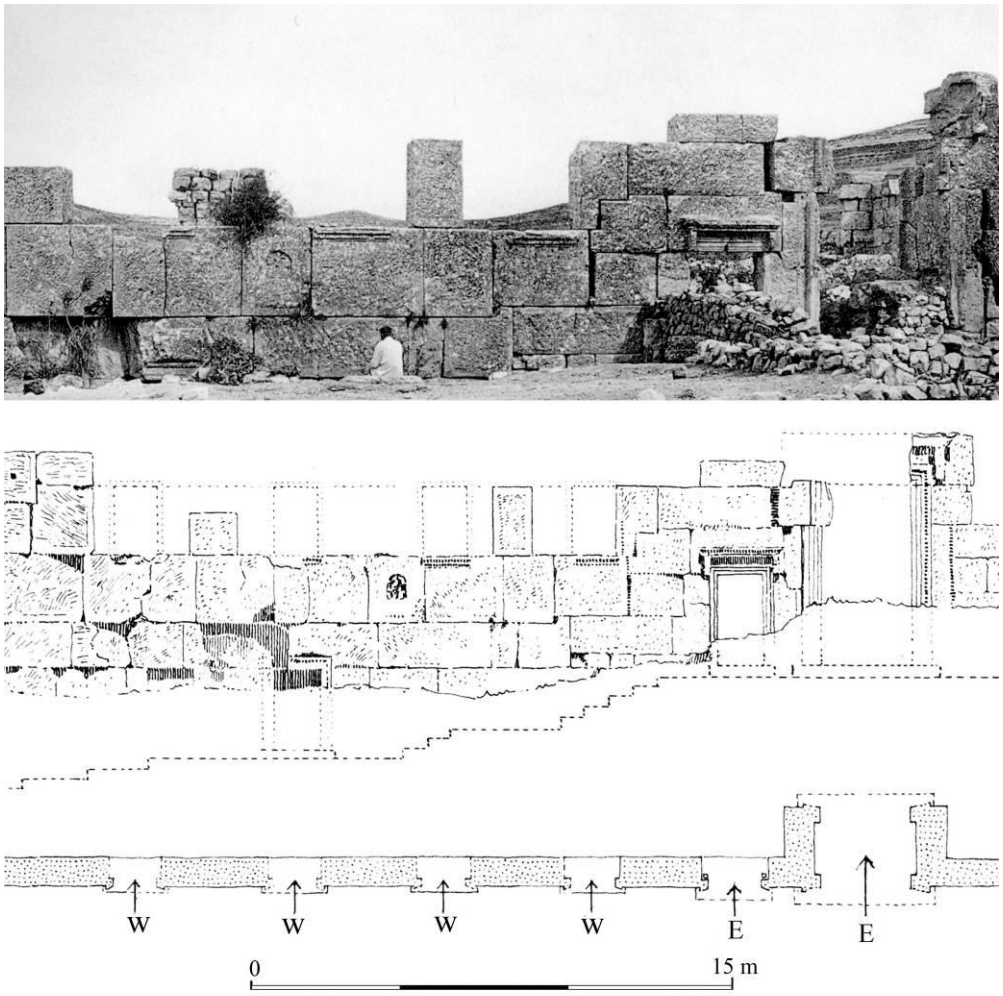


Figure 7: Photograph and plan of the façade standing wall with windows (W= window, E = entrance) (after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, Pl.39 and 50)

Figure 8: Exedra at Baetocaece (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.132)

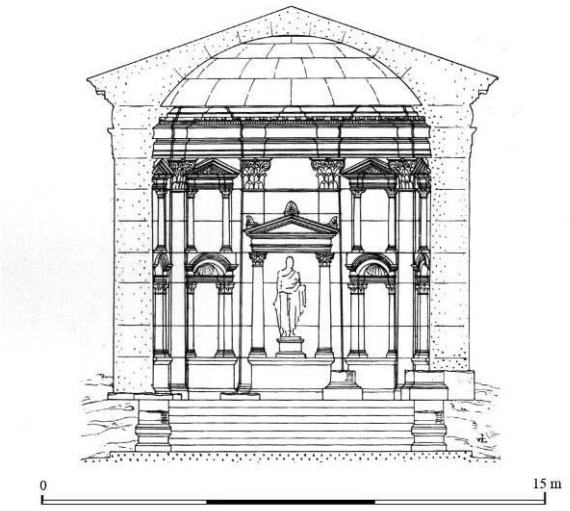


Figure 9: Reconstruction of the exedra at Baetocaece (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.42 b)

2.2.2. Rural cult centres in northern Phoenicia vs. cult centres in the Near East in provincial period

2.2.2.1. Layout of cult centres

On the one hand, sanctuaries in the Near East in the provincial period adopted architectural features widely used in Rome and in the western part of the Roman Empire, like the exterior layout of a Graeco-Roman temple and a *podium*; on the other hand they developed their own typical elements that were not used elsewhere in the Roman Empire,[29] such as monumental gateways (*propylon* or *propylaea*). *Propylaea* are found in major provincial sanctuaries in the Near East: the sanctuary of Zeus at Damascus, of Artemis at Gerasa, of Hercules at Amman, and the sanctuaries at Palmyra and at Baalbek (Ball 2000: 326-329). Temples in the Near East in the provincial period present an exterior layout of a Graeco-Roman temple, while its interior often includes an *adyton*[30] and a staircase[31] that do not appear in the religious architecture in Rome and in the western part of the Roman Empire. The staircase in temples has been thought to have been used for sacrifices at the top of the roof (Amy 1950: 122) because steps logically lead to another floor level. However, there is no evidence of an upper level above the temple, and even if there were one, it was probably not sufficiently large to host cult practices and the steps were too small to be easily accessed when performing

[29] For a general description of and discussion on sanctuaries and temples in Roman Syria: Ball (2000: 317-356), Butcher (2003: 351-358).
For pre-provincial and provincial sanctuaries in Syria: Dentzer (1989).
For pre-provincial and provincial temples in Syria: Gawlikowski (1989).
[30] *Adyton* develops differently in different Roman provinces of the Near East, see Will (1957).
[31] Amy (1950: 122), Negev (1973) and Downey (1976) for Dura Europos.

rituals and sacrifices and carrying items like incense and sacrificial animals. Staircases could have been used instead to reach the top of the temple for maintenance of highly decorated entablatures as well as for storage (Aliquot 2009: 84).

In the study area, the only remains of a *propylon* are column bases that almost surround the North Gate of the sanctuary at Baetocaece (the main entrance) at the back and at the front. *Propylaea* commonly used in the Near East in the provincial period are usually over 15 metres long with one or more flights of steps (René 1998: 34, Ball 2000: 326-329), whereas the one at Baetocaece is of a small scale at only five metres long (Figures 10, 11) (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 76, fig.104 pl.33). This peculiarity may reflect a local adaptation of this common feature in the Roman provinces in the Near East – the reason for this local adaptation will be explained in the discussion of all the architectural elements used in the Near East in the provincial period recovered in the study area (§ Ch.2.2.2.4).

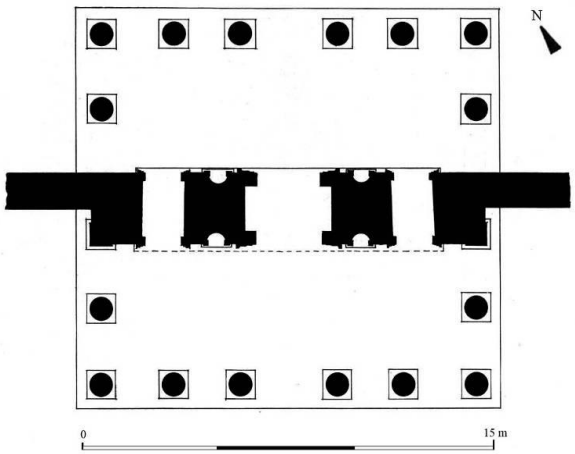


Figure 10: *propylon* of the sanctuary at Baetocaece (after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.104)

Figure 11: Remains of the *propylon* (the capital base) at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

The majority of the ruins of rural cult centres (four out of five sites) in the study area have a Graeco-Roman *cella* with or without a *podium* (Table 2.3) (Figure 12).

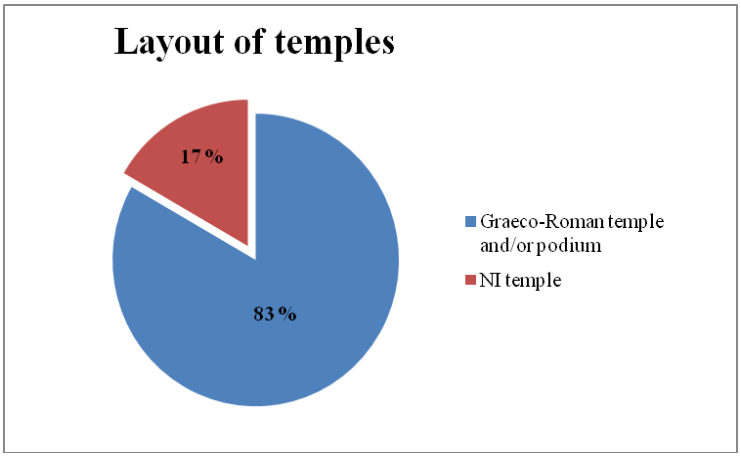


Figure 12: Graph that shows the percentage of temples with a Graeco-Roman layout and those cult centres the plan of which has not been identified (NI =not identified) (from Table 2.3) (by the Author 2013)

The Roman temple in the site at Qadmous was built roughly 50 to 100 metres away from the Iron Age multi-room sanctuary (Figures 13, 14, 19-20)[32], that seemed to have been in disuse during the provincial period. The Iron Age sanctuary does not present pre-provincial and Roman evidence inserted into its structure and a Roman temple was built nearby, but was not aligned with the earlier religious complex.

[32] Only the plan of the Iron Age sanctuary can be made out due to the bad preservation of the site. A T-shaped structure is preserved; it consists of a trapezoidal-shaped *cella* (Bounni 1997: 781) with a high platform at the back. It is preceded by a tripartite vestibule, i.e. three rooms that connect to each other and they have their own entrance (Figure 1). Bounni (1997: 778), who surveyed and undertook test-pits in the sanctuary and its surroundings, suggests that this sanctuary was of the ninth century BC, but was still in use in the Roman period on the basis of the following finds. A stele has been recovered on the top of a mound of stones on the eastern part of the mountain. The god Baal is depicted as a Canaanite warrior in his traditional traits known in the Iron Age, standing at the top of a lion, one of his attributes (Bounni 1991, 1992, Abou Assaf 1992). Another relief found in the sanctuary has been dated to this period; it represents a person who makes a sacrifice, but the dating criteria of this representation are not pointed out. Iron Age pottery has been recovered in test-pits, which is the only information that is provided on the matter.

Figure 13: The current state of the entrance to the Iron Age sanctuary, with Roman capital lying on the Soil, at Qadmous (by the Author 2010)

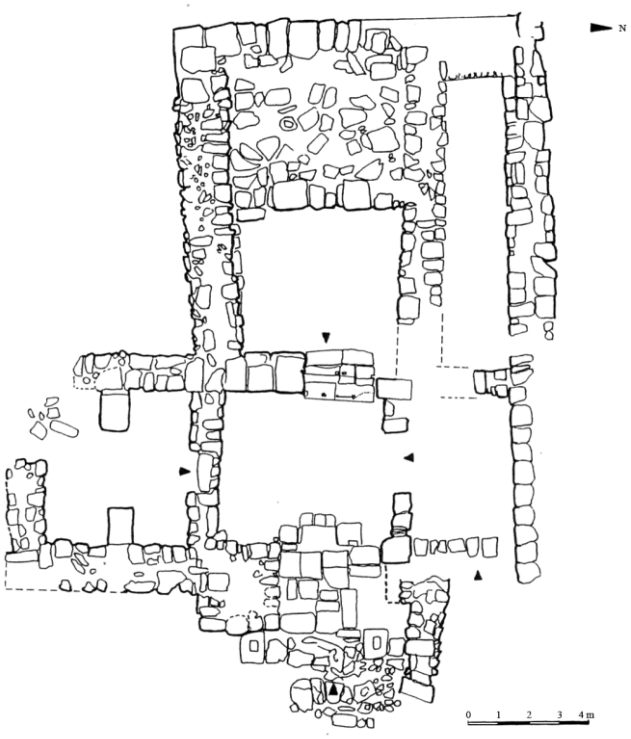


Figure 14: Plan of the Iron Age sanctuary at Qadmous (after Bounni 1997, fig.5)

By looking at Baetocaece in detail, there are two temples: a monumental one on a *podium* surrounded by the *temenos* and a smaller temple roughly 100 metres north from the first (Figures 5, 17). The monumental temple consists of a pseudo-peripteral prostyle temple (Appendix 1) that is preceded by three flights of steps alternating with three

platforms (Figures 16, 17, 18). Krenker and Zschietzschmann (1938 Pl.35) reconstructed a staircase leading to the top of the temple on the West, which is, nevertheless, not visible from Krenker and Zschietzschmann's photographs and the current state of the interior of the temple, consisting of piles of stones (Figure 15-16).

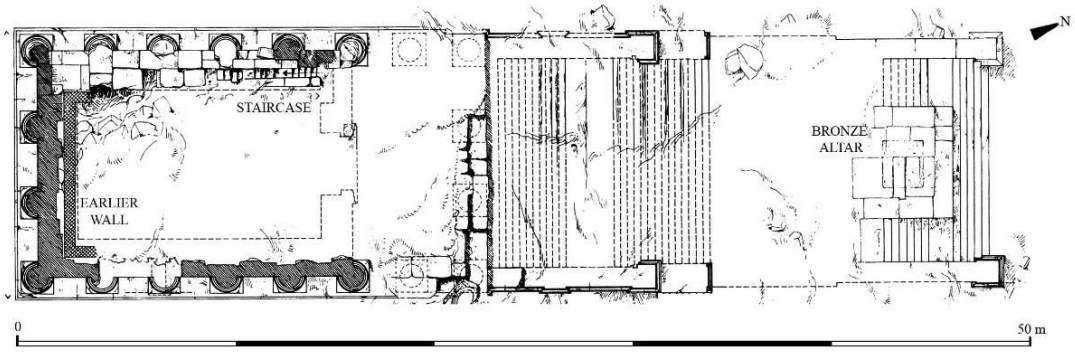


Figure 15: Plan of the main temple at Baetocaece (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, Pl.35)

Figure 16: The current state of the main temple at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

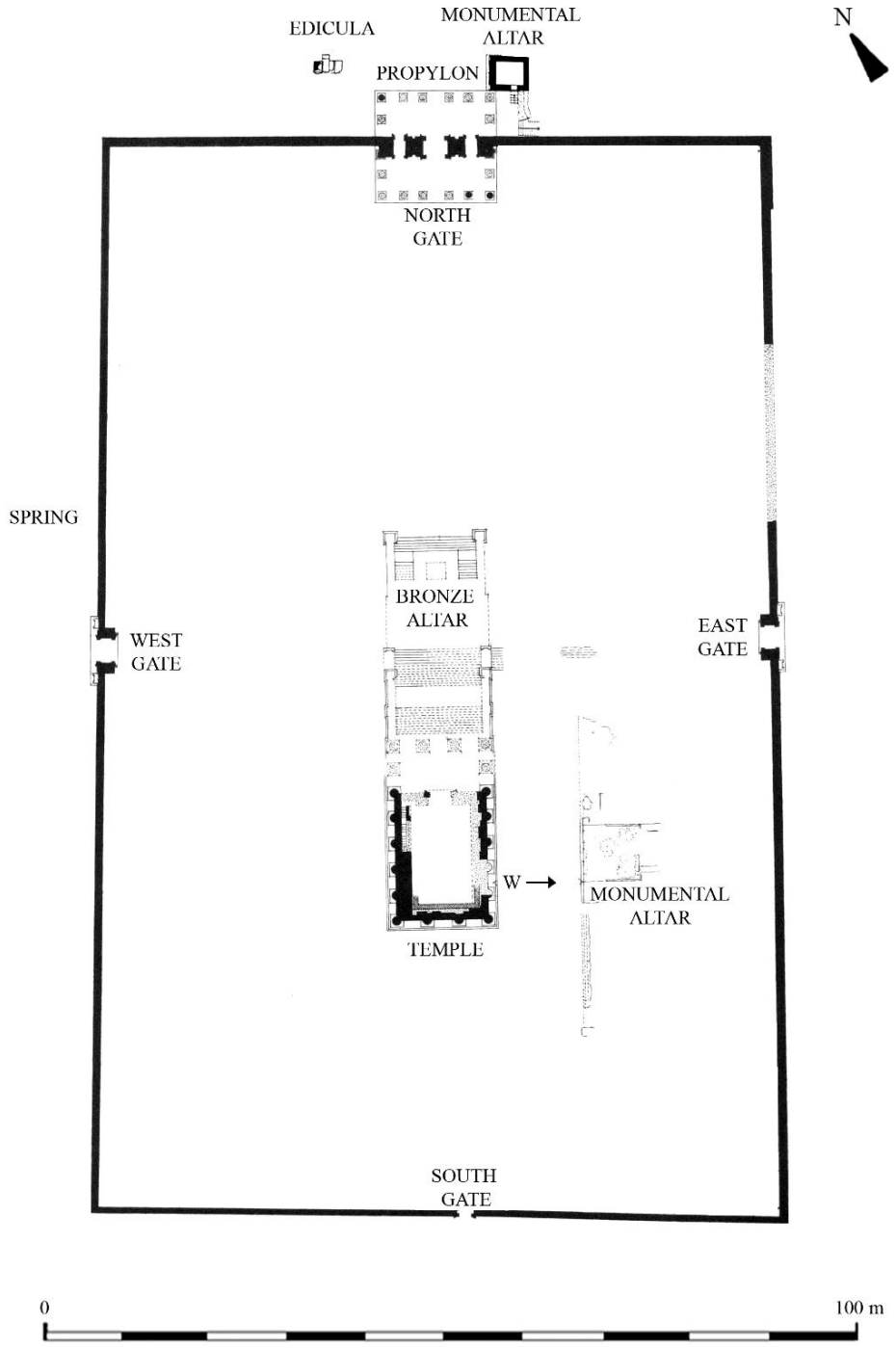


Figure 17: Plan of the sanctuary at Baetocaece (W = window) (after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938 Pl.31, combined with Erterl & Freyberger 2008, fig.3)

The other *cella* of Baetocaece is a prostyle temple *in antis* (Appendix 1) (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 97-98, pl.40) (Figure 18).

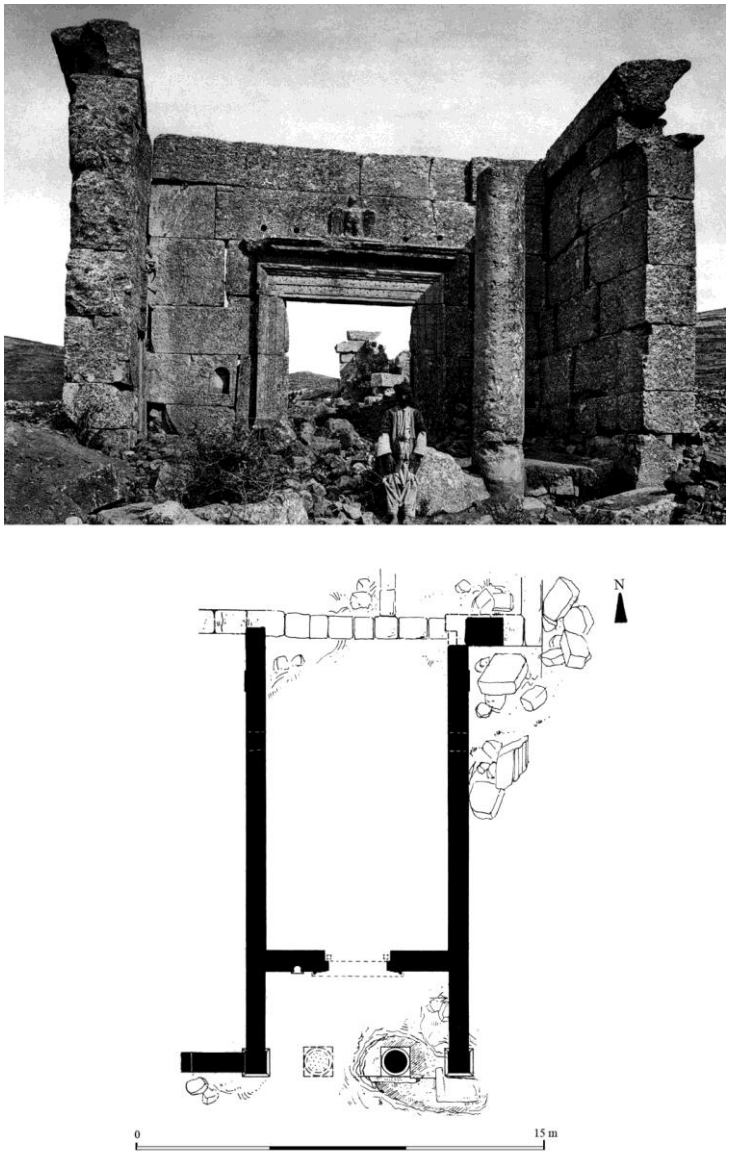


Figure 18: Photograph of the temple at Baetocaece *in antis* taken in 1930s (above) and its plan (after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl.40, 51)

Due to the bad preservation of all the temples in the study area, for the most part it is not possible to identify their interior layout, including the main temple at Baetocaece. In one case, the interior of the Roman rural temple at Qadmous has a small rectangular room with an entrance at the centre that could suggest the presence of an *adyton* (Bounni 1997: 778) (Figures 19-20).

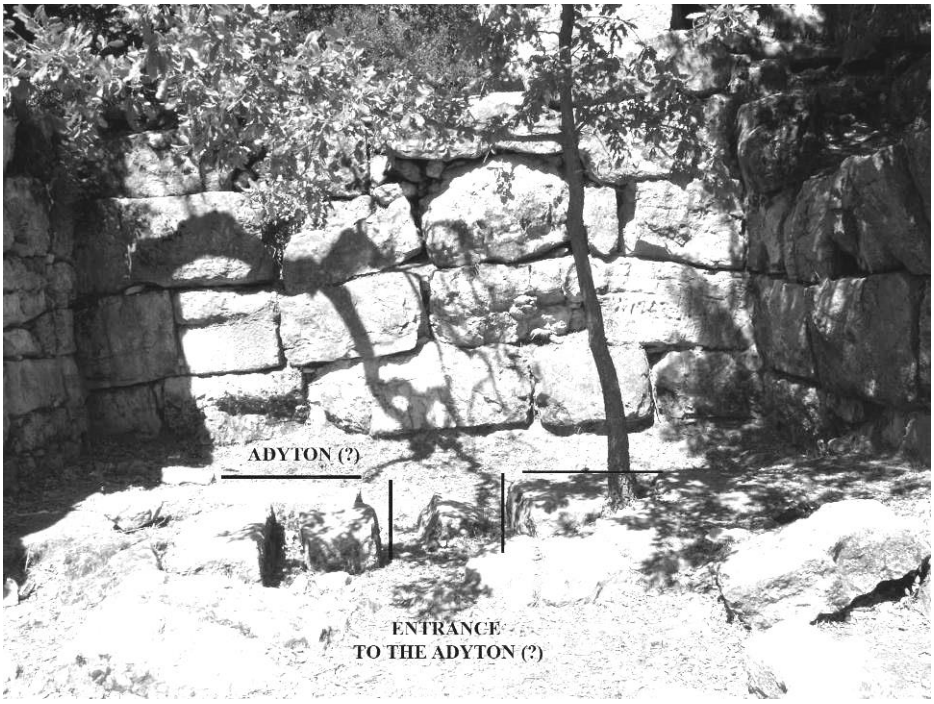


Figure 19: Interior of the temple at Qadmous (by the Author 2010)

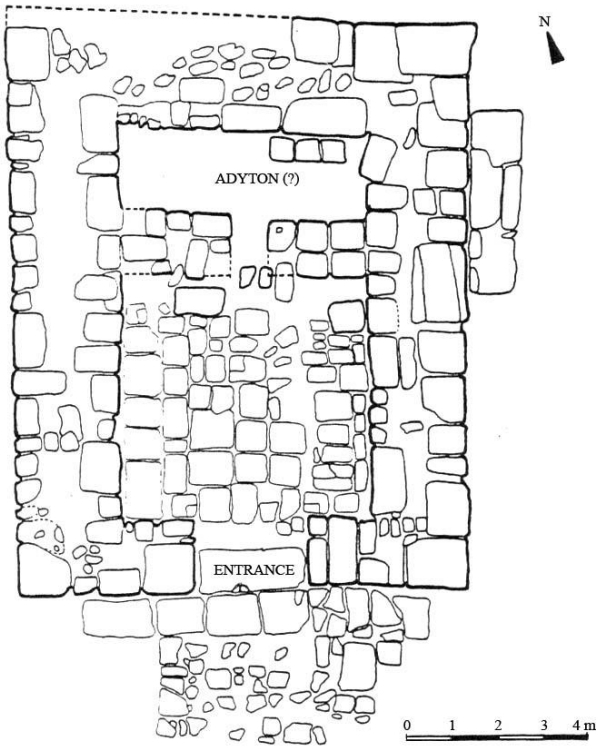


Figure 20: Plan of the temple at Qadmous (after Bounni 1997, fig.3)

2.2.2.2. Capitals

In the Roman provinces of the Near East, normal Corinthian and Attic capitals were used. The former are called "normal" as they resemble the model widely used in Rome

and the Western Roman Empire (the Vitruvian model, named after the first-century Roman architect who wrote a treatise on Roman architecture called *De Architectura*, meaning *On the Architecture*), but the examples from the Near East do not necessarily follow the norms of proportions imposed by Vitruvius (Dentzer-Feydy 1991a) (Figure 21). In the Near East, Corinthian capitals have elaborate foliage: the leaves have the shape of a raindrop, they consist of three leaflets and their tips curve downwards; their nervure is simple and wide, with large round eyelets (*Ibid*.) (Figure 22).

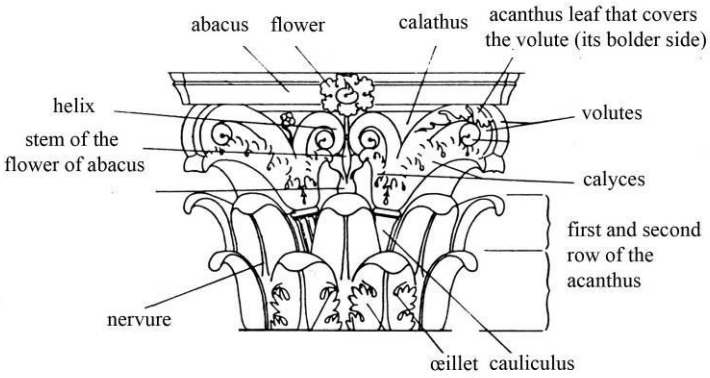


Figure 21: scheme of the Vitruvian Corinthian capital (after Amy & Gros 1979 fig.23)

Figure 22: Corinthian capital from the eastern portico of the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra (after Schlumberger 1933 Pl.34:4)

There is also a variation of Corinthian capitals used in the Near East in the provincial period but it is not as common as the normal Corinthian capitals and it is not recovered at Rome. Its main distinctive motif was a smooth, plain, long acanthus leaves with no incurvatures – apart from their far ends – and with no nervures – apart from the occasional slight mark at the centre of the leaf. This type of capital appeared sporadically across the Near East and originated at Palmyra where the earliest example is recovered (Table 2.4). The plain and long acanthus leaf is used in composite capitals,

which consist of the upper part of the Ionic capital and leaves from Corinthian capitals below the echinus (Figure 23) (§ Ch.4.7.2).

Figure 23: Composite Ionic and Corinthian capital from the temple at Dmeir (by the Author 2010)

Overall, Attic bases seem to have the same design: a more projecting and convex lower torus than the upper torus and the fillet above the concave *scotia* is detached from the upper torus (Show-Meritt 1969: 196-197).

In the study area, while the normal Corinthian capitals are not recovered, their variation with plain long acanthus leaves and the type of Attic base mentioned above were used. In particular this type of leaf is found on Corinthian as well as composite capitals in the sanctuary at Baetocaece and in the temple at Mastabeh (Figures 24-27).

Figure 24: Composite Ionic and Corinthian capital from the *propylon* at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

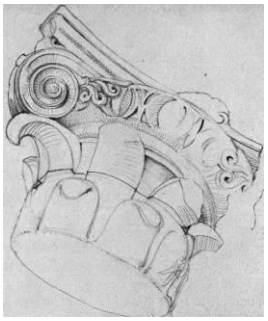


Figure 25: Composite Ionic and Corinthian capital from the *propylon* at Baetocaece (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.107)

Figure 26: Corinthian capital from the north gate at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

Figure 27: Temple of Mastabeh in the corner of the façade (by the Author 2010)

Attic bases are recovered in the *pronaos* of the main temple and the temple *in antis* at Baetocaece and a structure at el-Shisha that could be a temple (Figures 28-29).[33]

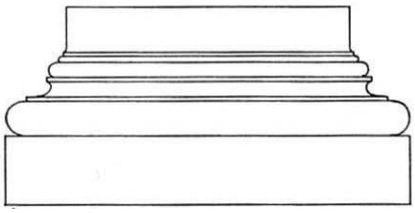


Figure 28: Attic base of the sanctuary of Baetocaece
(after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.114**)**

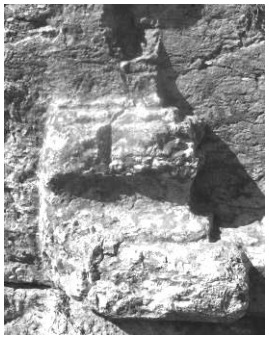


Figure 29: Attic base from el-Shisha (by the Author 2010)

[33] During my visit in northern Phoenicia, Dr Tarek Ahmed showed me this site. It presents an elevated monumental building on the podium presenting a badly-worn Attic base. This site is badly preserved as it has been reused as storage place in modern-times and it is in the garden of a house in the local village that presents scattered ancient remains. Therefore, only further intensive investigation could clarify the nature of this structure that could stand for a temple because it is placed on a high-podium, typical of Roman temples, and due to its monumentality (wide clear-cut stone blocks apart from visible Attic base).

2.2.2.3. Architectural decoration

A similar argument for the plan of sanctuaries and capitals can be applied to architectural and decorative elements: the architecture in the Near East in the provincial period used motifs typically used in Rome and the Western Roman Empire, like egg-motif, but they also included features only and widely used in the architecture of Roman provinces in the Near East. They are: arched architraves and pediments (Brown 1942: 389-393, 399, Lyttleton 1974: 197)[34], and Ionic doorframes (Denzter-Feydy 2003: 87). The upper part of the entablature consists of, starting from the top, a cornice decorated with a band for the drip, consoles, and dentils on corona and egg-and-dart motif (Freyberger 1989: 21, pl.22b-d, 23a, 34a-b) (Figures 23). Consoles are covered by acanthus leaves and surrounded by a continuous row of oval egg-and-dart on all three sides of each console**.** Decorative motifs are wreath-like vine branches (Tables 2.5), realistic sinuous palmettes (Tables 2.6) and rosettes (Tables 2.7), swastika meander motif (Tables 2.8), egg pattern (Tables 2.9), and bead-and-reel design (Tables 2.10) (Figure 30).

[34] Examples are in Bosra, Damascus, Palmyra, Baalbek, Baetocaece and Medjdel Andjar in Lebanon (Brown 1942: 389-393, 399, Kropp 2010: 11).

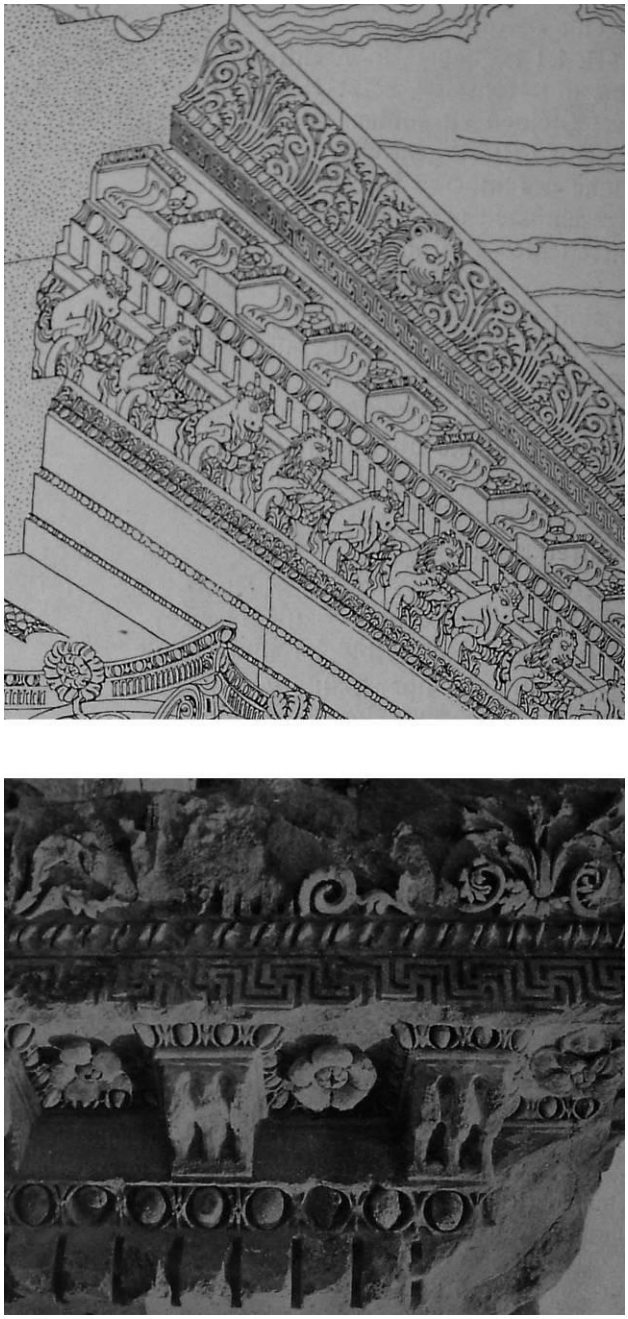


Figure 30: Highly decorated entablature of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek (after Wiegand 1925, fig.19, 21)

The major difference between the architectural decoration at Baetocaece and the style widely used in other monuments in the Near East in provincial period is that the former is less elaborated than the latter (Figures 31-32). Ionic plain doorframes are used in all the four *temenos*' gates and at the entrance of the temple *in antis*. Arched gateways are used in the *temenos*' North Gate. Entablatures at Baetocaece consist of a series of plain bands with only a few decorations (Figures 24-25). They are the realistic and sinuous rosettes and egg-and-tongue. The first ones are in the modillions under the cornice of

the gates, of the niches with triangular pediment, and the entablature of the *propylon*. The second motif is used on the doorframe of the temple *in antis* (Figure 32). This pattern is mostly used in first to second century temples in the Near East (Tables 2.9); this could suggest that the temple *in antis* was dated earlier than the third-century gates of the *temenos*, as indicated by the inscriptions (IGLS VII N4031, N4033). The Ionic design of these gates is similar to the gates and windows on the standing façade near the temple *in antis* at Bataetocaece; this implies that both structures belong to the same building phase (Figures 7, 31-32).

Figure 31: Fragmentary entablature from Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

Figure 32: Entablature of the doorframe of the temple *in antis* (by the Author 2010)

2.2.2.4. Discussion

On the one hand, the architecture of rural cult centres of the study area adopted the layout of temples, the style of Attic bases, and some decorative elements (such as Ionic doorframes, sinuous rosettes and egg-and-tongue) commonly developed in Roman provinces in the Near East. On the other hand, it reinterpreted and locally adapted architectural features used in the Near East in the provincial period. It is quite clear that rural cult centres in the study area, especially the one visible in the main sanctuary of Baetocaece, present less decorations than major sanctuaries in the Near East in provincial period, such as examples from Lebanon[35] and Palmyra.[36] It could be argued that this is due to the limited ability of craftsmen coming from the countryside; however, this hypothesis is not correct, as other sanctuaries from a rural context, such as the ones in the Hauran (other study area in this thesis), do not present simpler architectural decoration (§ Ch.4.6). Therefore it is more likely that this decorative style is an expression of local taste, used to differentiate their architecture from other sanctuaries – the limited sculpted material recovered at Baetocaece will be discussed in the comparative study with sculptures from Lebanon, due to their similarity (§ Ch.2.2.3.2).

At the same time, the use of some architectural features from the Near East in the provincial period and their revised adaptation suggests that the study area was familiar and still partially affected by the process of standardisation of the architectural style in the province of Syria (Dentzer-Feydy 1989: 466 ff.). This phenomenon was the result of the merging of different populations in the Near East under the same Roman political authority. This process of standardization,[37] although initiated when the Near East became part of the Roman Empire, developed an architectural style that did not have features only from Rome; instead, it created a distinctive decorative and architectural style developed in the Near East in the provincial period (*Ibid.*). This derived from a fusion of local Syrian traditions and the architecture from Asia Minor, inspired by

[35] Krenker & Zschietzschmann (1938), Taylor (1967), Nordiguian (2005), Aliquot (2009).

[36] For example, see Michałowski (1966), Collart & Vicari (1969), Gawlikowski (1973), Bounni (1992-2004), Bounni *et al.* (1992).

[37] Lyttelton (1974) and Ball (2000: 382 ff.) named the style developed in the Near East in the provincial period "baroque" because it followed Roman architecture but it does not consider its rules and proportions and it had some variations originated from the Near East. However, I believe this is not an appropriate term for two reasons. It is too vague and it also includes the architectural style that followed Roman architecture without proportions in other parts of the Western Empire, including Italy (e.g. the Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, Italy). Furthermore, the architecture in the Near East in the provincial period cannot go under the same category of the "baroque" style in the Western Empire as they are different; the former presents typical features from Syria that do not appear in other parts of the Empire.

Roman decorative art in the Augustan period. Typical architectural features that developed in Syria are: *adyta* (Will 1957) (§ Ch.4.2.1), Corinthian capitals with smooth long acanthus leaves (Table 2.5), arched architraves and pediments (Brown 1942: 389-393, 399, Lyttleton 1974: 197) and swastika meander-motif (Table 2.8) (§ Ch.4.4.2.2); whereas the elements from Asia Minor are: Ionic doorframe (Denzter-Feydy 2003: 87), Attic bases (Show-Meritt 1969), realistic sinuous palmettes (Tables 2.7), and egg pattern (Tables 2.6)

The exterior plan of temples in Syria follows the Graeco-Roman type, but the interiors often present *adyta*, for instance, that is a typical feature developed in religious architecture in the Near East in the provincial period.

2.2.3. Rural cult centres in northern Phoenicia vs. cult centres in Lebanon

2.2.3.1. Layout of cult centres

The plan of the exterior of Roman temples and a *podium* appear to be used more often in Lebanon (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938 pl.117-118) than in other parts of the Near East (Ball 2000: 317 ff.). In particular, in Lebanon, the *prostyle* plan is one of the most frequent (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938 pl.117-118) and there are monumental temples usually preceded by staircases and platforms, as in the main rural cult centre at Niha that presents three flights of steps (Steinsapir 2005: 78, Ahmed 2010: 106) (Figure 33).

Furthermore, *ediculae* and monumental altars are frequent in Roman sanctuaries in Lebanon, while rare in the Near East (Tables 2.11 and 2.12) (Figure 34).

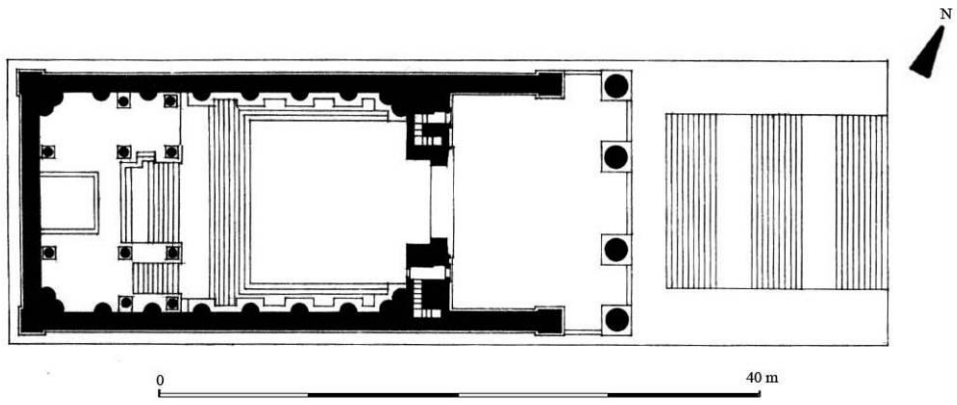


Figure 33: Plan of the temple at Niha, Lebanon (after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl.117: 3)

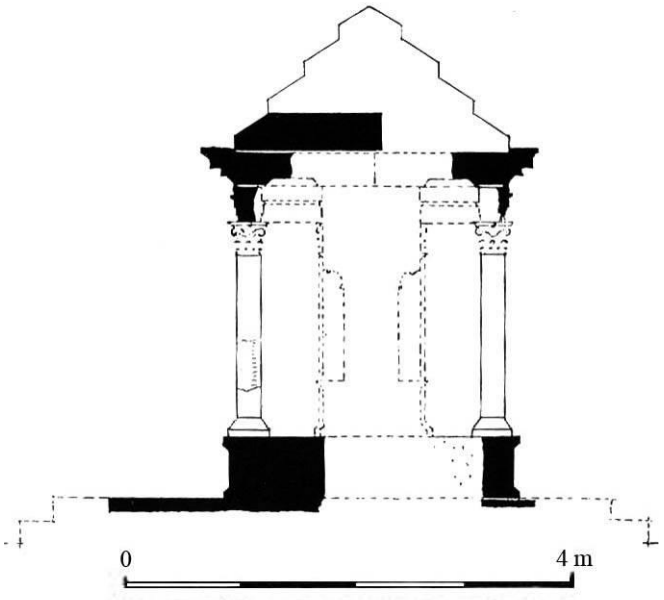


Figure 34: Reconstruction of the *edicula* from the sanctuary at Hosn Sfire, Lebanon (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.104)

The main temple of Baetocaece has a *prostyle* plan of the alternation of three staircases and platforms that precede the *cella*, like the temple at Niha.

At Baetocaece, only fragments of an *edicula* are preserved: the lower part of a framed monolithic block and a triangular pediment (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 78, fig.108) (Figures 17, 35-36). This feature is outside the *temenos* to the West of the main entrance, whereas examples in Lebanon are found within the sacred enclosure (Table 2.11).

Figure 35: Remains of the *edicula* in the 1930s (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig. 110)

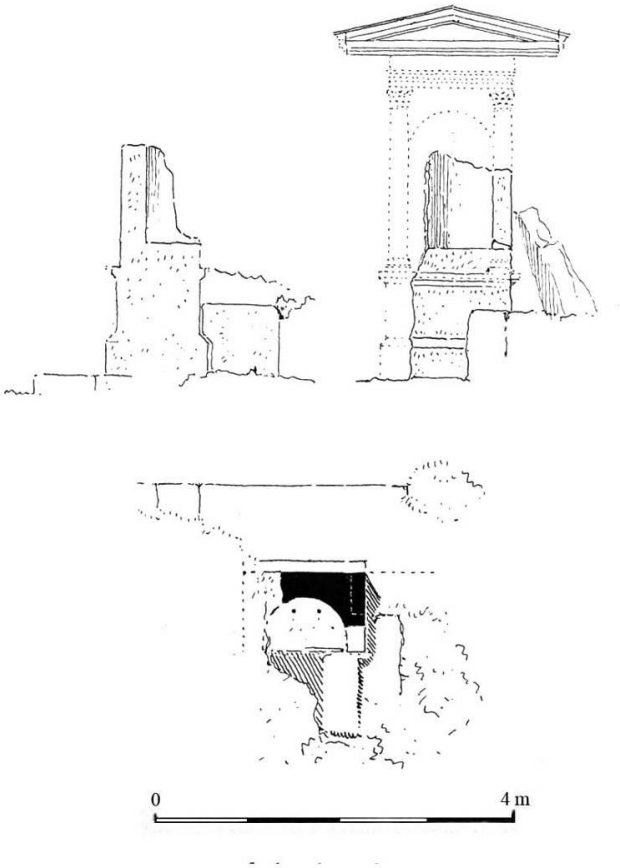


Figure 36: Reconstruction of the *edicula* (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.108)

Two square platforms presenting steps on one of the sides can be identified as monumental altars. One is on a rocky outcrop on the eastern side of the temple (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 88, fig.121) (Figure 30); the other is outside the *temenos* on the East of the main entrance (Ahmed 2010: 109-110) (Figures 17, 37, 38). Ertel and Freyberger (2008: 734 ff.) identified it as a *cella*. According to their interpretation, the elevated platform is thought to be a *podium* facing the *edicula* with the divine statue. This would indicate that this structure is indeed a *cella*. However, there is no evidence to support this hypothesis and the *podium* is more likely to have been an elevated platform with steps on the southern side – an ideal stage on which to make a sacrifice in front of the *edicula* (Figure 38). According to an inscription found in the sanctuary (IGLS VII N4034), a third monumental altar, made of bronze, would have been on a platform that precedes the main *cella* (Figure 17).

Figure 37: Foundation of the monumental altar inside the *temenos* (Freyberger 2004, Pl.5 d)

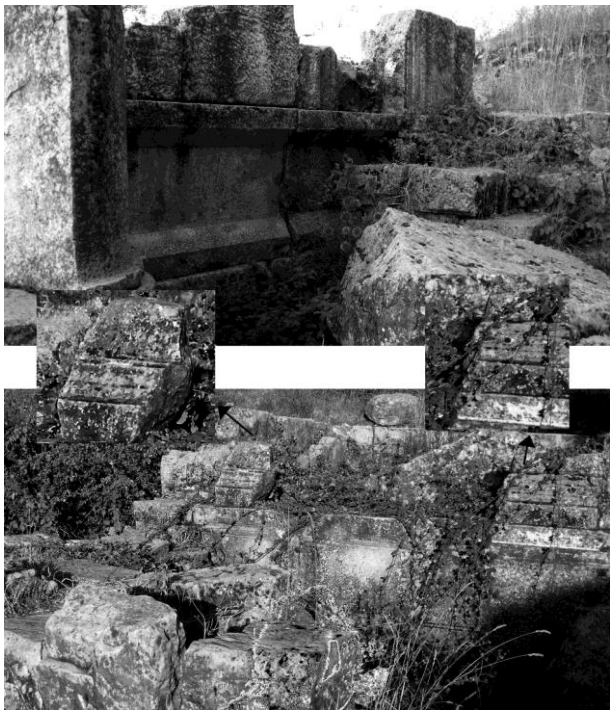


Figure 38: Monumental altar outside the *temenos* with detailed snapshots of two stone blocks that have been interpreted as evidence of a window frame. They are broken, so they cannot be considered as such (by the Author 2010).

2.2.3.2. Sculptures[38]

Statues of lions, Nikai, and male figures are inserted in the entablature of sanctuaries in Lebanon.

Lion's heads are placed on the frieze of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek (Wiegand 1926, Pl.2.2. ff.), of the temple at Niha and the temple A at Hosn Sfire (Hajjar

[38] Their identification with a deity will be discussed when looking at the gods worshipped in the study area (§ Ch.2.3.2)

1977, Pl.90 N233, Pl.85 N226) (Figure 39) (§ Ch.2.3 for the religious connotation of this representation).

Figure 39: Lion on the frieze of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek (Freyberger 2004, Pl. 4 c)

Winged Nikai are depicted on the ceiling of the Roman temple A at Niha and of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek (Freyberger 2004, pl.6c, d) (Figure 40). In Lebanon, earlier statues of Nikai present one leg slightly ahead of the other, suggesting the idea that they are "in movement" (the late third century BC) (Fleischer 1983: 258) (§ Ch.4.2.3 for further information). Nikai can stand for a celestial messenger, a symbol of the abundance and fertility associated with the goddess Tyche, the emblem of victory and protector of the place of the people attributed to the Near Eastern god Gad (assimilated to the Greek deity Tyche) (Linant de Bellefonds 1997: 882).

Figure 40: Nike on the ceiling of the temple A at Niha (Freyberger 2004, Pl.6 c)

Nude male statues on the consoles, decorated with acanthus leaves, are found in the early third-century temple A in Hossn Sfiri (Freyberger 2004: 22, pl.7d) (Figure 41). They can be considered a symbol of fertility and also of rebirth as these figures are shown emerging from the leaves (*Ibid.* 21-22).

Figure 41: Male statue on the console, decorated with an acanthus leaf,
of the temple A at Hosn Sfiri in Lebanon (Freyberger 2004, Pl.4 d)

At Baetocaece there are two representations of lions. One resembles a lion used in Lebanon, as it consists of a head with a simple mane around it. Unlike the comparative example, the lion from the study area does not have a neck; the head is surrounded by a garland. It is placed on the ovolo moulding of the four interior gates and on a decorative block that could have been the central part of the *tympanum* of the main temple (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 82, fig.117-118) (Figures 42-43).

Figure 42: Lion on the inner part of the west gate at Baetocaece (Freyberger 2004, Pl.4 a)

Figure 43: Lion most likely from the tympanum of the main temple at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

The other representation is of a lion standing with four paws on the ground. It is found on the western and eastern walls of the *temenos*; in one case the animal is shown standing in front of a cypress (*Ibid*. 67 fig.92-93) (Figure 44).

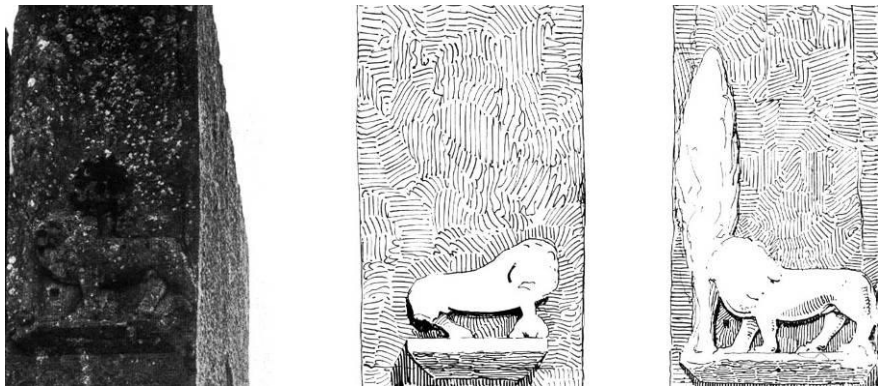


Figure 44: Two reliefs depicting a lion, one with a cypress, on the western and eastern wall of the *temenos* at Baetocaece (after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.92-93)

The lion with the cypress is an image used in Aradus, as a similar iconography is recorded on coins minted in the city (Cook 1914 N383 ff.).

At Baetocaece, Nikai are depicted in motion on either side of the east gate (Figure 45).

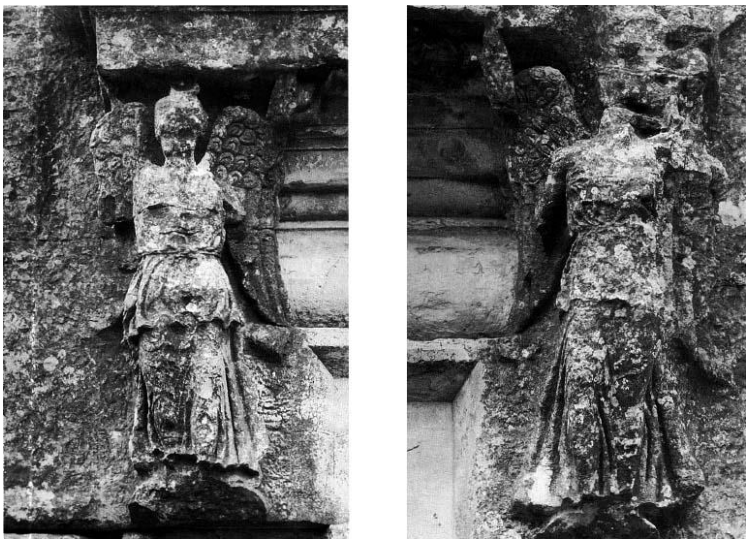


Figure 45: Nikai on either side of the east gate at Baetocaece (Freyberger 2004, Pl.6 a-b)

Male bodies decorated with acanthus leaves are on the consoles of the *temenos'* West Gate (Figure 46).

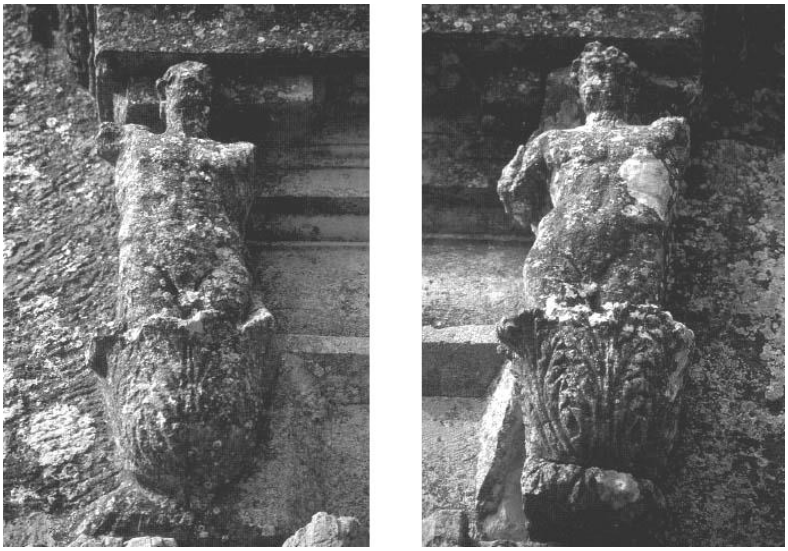


Figure 46: Male statues on consoles, decorated with acanthus leaves, from the west gate (Freyberger 2004, Pl.4 a-b)

2.2.3.3. Discussion from the evidence of Lebanon

In the comparative study between the rural cult centres of the study area and the sanctuaries in the neighbouring Lebanon we have identified similar architectural and iconographic elements between them. They are: the plan of the exterior of Roman temples on a *podium*, especially the *prostyle* plan, followed by alternating flights of steps and platforms, *ediculae*, monumental altars, representations of lions, Nikai, and male figures placed in the sanctuary and their style. This resemblance can be explained by the geographical proximity of Lebanon to the study area and their similar historical background. They both belonged to the Phoenician territory (§ Ch.2.1.5), and were annexed to the Roman province around the same time, in the last few decades of the first century BC (Millar 1993: 274 ff., Aliquot 2009: 39 ff.).

The cult centres of the study area, nevertheless, did not just copy and mirror the style of the neighbouring culture, but assimilated it and made it their own, as suggested by the different position of similar features within the sanctuary in these two comparative examples. The *edicula* was situated outside the *temenos* at Baetocaece, whereas it was within the sacred enclosure in cult centres in Lebanon. Representations of lions and Nikai are part of the decorations of the gates and the *temenos* in the sanctuary at

Baetocaece, whereas they are on the ceiling of the architrave and entablature of the temple in cult centres in Lebanon.

2.2.4. Specific features developed in Palmyra and in Southern Syria in the provincial period

The following features seem to have developed mostly in specific places in the Near East (such as Palmyra and the Hauran): the use of niches on the façade of temples, the motif of masks under the cornice of temples, and the representations of eagles.

2.2.4.1. Niches on the façade also in Lebanon, Palmyra and the Hauran

Niches are inserted on the façade of the *adyton* in the sanctuaries of Baashamin and Bêl at Palmyra, in the temple at Kheurbet ouadi Souâné, in the rural surrounding area of Palmyra, in only the temple at Mejdel ʻAndjar in Lebanon, and on the façade of provincial temples in the Hauran (Table 2.13) (§ Ch.4.7.1 for the examples in the Hauran). These niches were most likely used to hold cult statues (Collart & Coupel 1977: 72-74, Will 1991: 198), so that devotees who were not allowed to enter the temple could still worship their god directly.

At Baetocaece niches were used, but they were placed in the interior and exterior wall of the *temenos* on either side of the north and east gate (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 72-73) (Figures 47-49).

On the one hand, the rare use of niches in Lebanon (in the temple at Mejdel ʻAndjar) contrasts with the greater frequency of the same architectural elements found at Palmyra, where niches were first recorded, including in its countryside and in the Hauran. This indicates that this feature came from Palmyra, and the sanctuary at Baetocaece was possibly influenced by, and therefore in contact with, these places. On the other hand, their different position at Baetocaece (niches were either side of the *temenos*' gates) from the comparative examples (niches were placed in the façade of the temple) suggests a reinterpretation of this element according to local taste and needs. The disposition of niches on the side of the *temenos*' gates at Baetocaece, in fact, could be caused by the need for the sanctuary's devotees to be able to worship their god outside the sacred area while entering the sanctuary.

The suggestion of the niches' purpose being for the placing of cult-statues is reinforced by the presence of small holes found in two external niches on the north gate at Baetocaece; these could have been used for small votive offerings donated to the sanctuary's god (Figure 50). As these holes were not equally distributed over the façade, they cannot be considered as having been used for erecting scaffolding.

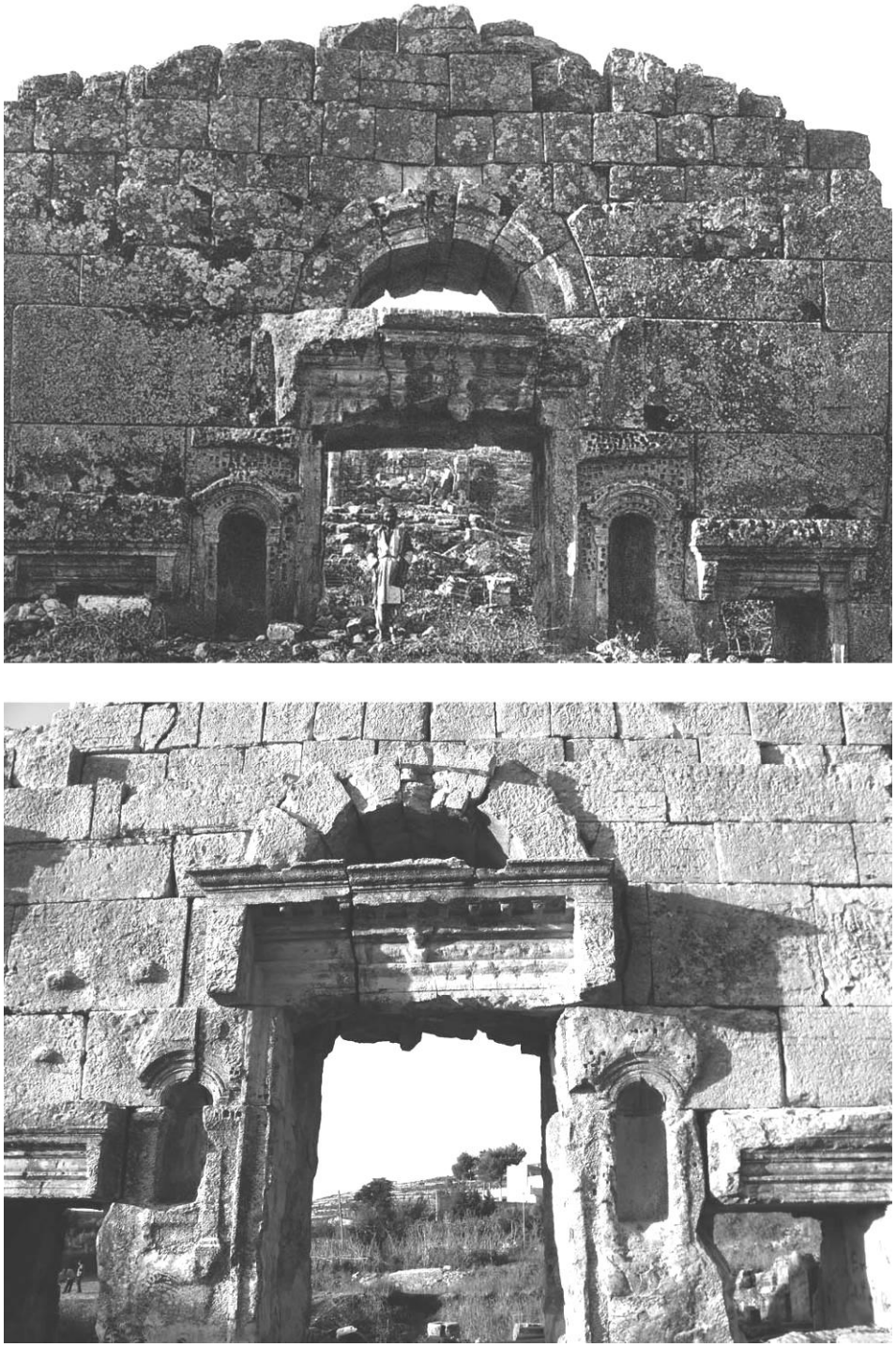


Figure 47: The outer (at the top) and the inner (at the bottom) side of the north gate at Baetocaece (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, Pl.48, for the first photograph and by the Author, the second one)

Figure 48: The outer (at the top) and the inner (at the bottom) side of the east gate at Baetocaece (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, Pl.49, for the first photograph and by the Author 2010, the second one)

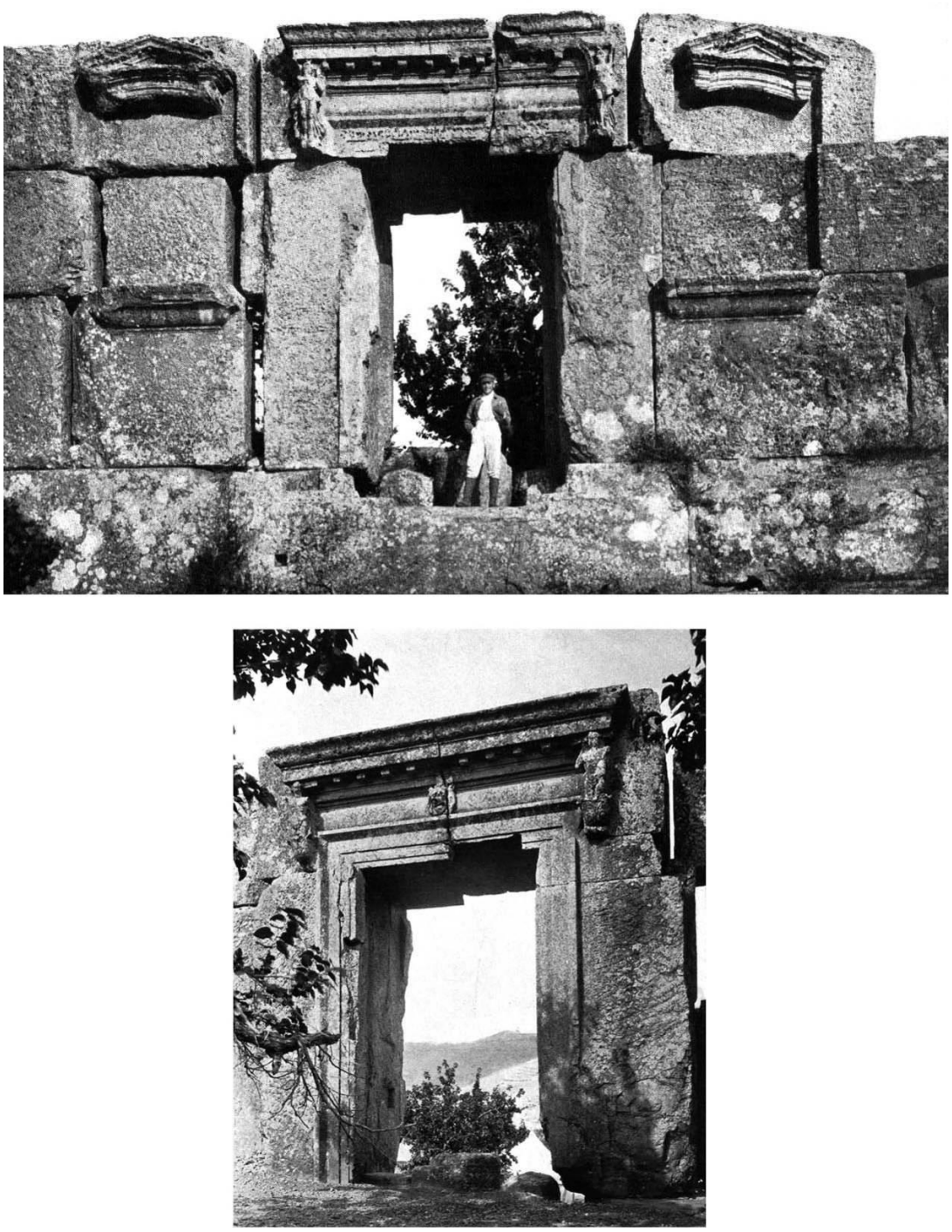


Figure 49: The outer (at the top) and the inner (at the bottom) side of the west gate at Baetocaece (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.1-3-104)

Figure 50: Niche on the north gate of the sanctuary at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

2.2.4.2. Mask-motif in Lebanon and the Hauran

Although theatrical masks with tragic and comic traits are found in different monumental buildings in Asia Minor, Palestine, Lebanon, and Southern Syria in Severan (end of the second-beginning third century AD), their recovery in sanctuaries seems to be concentrated in Lebanon and in the Hauran (Table 2.14) (§ Chap.2.2.2).

This motif alternating with rosettes is found in the modillions of the west and east gates at Batocaece (Figure 51).

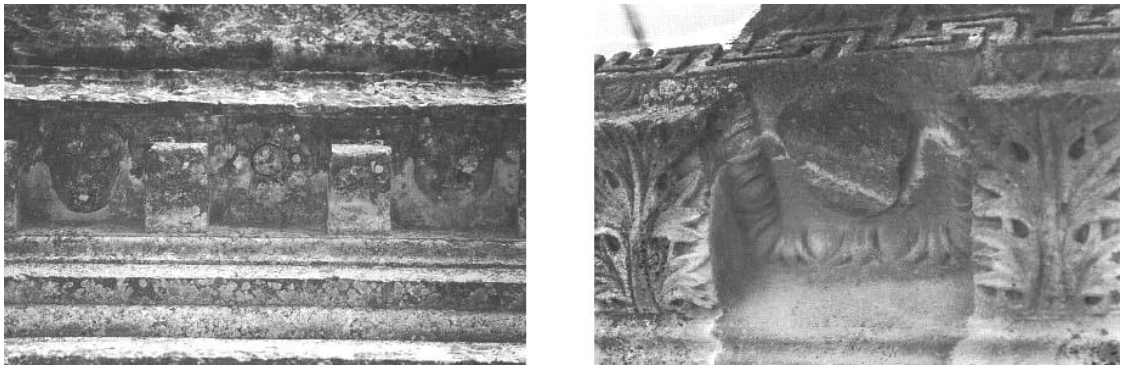


Figure 51: Mask motif under the cornice of the west gate at Baetocaece (on the left) and the temple of Sleim in the Hauran (on the right) (Freyberger 2004, Pl.10 a-b)

2.2.4.3. Eagle–its association with a deity will be discussed when looking at the gods worshipped in the study area (§ Ch.2.3.2.2)

Eagles with spread wings flanked by two ephebes (young male figures) are frequently found in reliefs placed on the entablature and ceiling of Roman temples in Lebanon and at Palmyra (Denzter-Feydy 1992: 70 ff.) (Figure 52).

Figure 52: Relief depicting an eagle, on the ceiling of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek (Wiegand 1925, fig.38)

At Baetocaece this representation is similarly found on the ceiling of the four gates (Figure 51).

Figure 53: Eagle on the ceiling of the east gate (by the Author 2010)

2.2.4.4. Discussion

The presence of the following similar elements in Palmyra, Lebanon, and the Hauran indicates a connection between these places, facilitated by a connecting road-network (Map 2.3). These common architectural and iconographic features are: niches on the façades of rural cult centres, mask-motifs in the entablature, and the representation of eagles with outstretched wings. A Roman road crosses the saddle between the Anti-Lebanon and Mount Hermon to the Bekka Valley and then over Mount Lebanon to Berytus to reach Damascus (Millar 1993: 310, ILS N5864/a). From there, another Roman road runs to Palmyra (Millar 1993: 317) and route-ways to the South connect these areas to the Hauran (Bauzou 1986, fig.1) (Map 2.3).

This set of similar architectural and iconographic elements suggests that the territory of ancient Phoenicia, which includes the study area and Lebanon, was aware of the decorative traditions developed in Palmyra. In fact, representations of eagles appeared first in Palmyra and later in Lebanon. Niches on the façade were frequently used in Palmyra and rarely in Lebanon. The use of these elements in the study area, more widely seen at Palmyra than in Lebanon, could help us to conclude that the study area could have been influenced from Palmyra, to which it was well connected via Roman roads across Emesa. These route-ways possibly date from before than the provincial period (Bauzou 1989: 209-210) (§ Ch.2.1.4, especially footnote 28) (Map 2.3). The people from the study area were not strangers to Palmyra and its surroundings. This is verified by the presence of coins minted at Aradus in the provincial period in the city of Dura Europos. Most of them date to the Trajan period (AD98-117) (Seyrig 1958: 180-181, Re-Coquais 1974: 189), and in order to get to Dura Europos, Palmyra was a necessary crossing place for those travelling from the West of the Near East.

The similar use of niches, and the similar representations of mask-motifs and their location within the architectural structure of the sanctuary between Baetocaece in northern Phoenicia, Lebanon, Palmyra and the Hauran, suggest a connection of these areas to the Hauran, which will be further discussed when analysing rural temples in this region (§ Ch.4).

2.2.5. Concluding remarks on architecture

The analysis undertaken here demonstrates a strong resemblance between the religious architecture in the study area – especially of the main cult centre (Baetocaece) and Lebanon, as previous scholars (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 97-98, Freyberger 2004, Ahmed 2010) have pointed out.

Additionally, I believe that the iconographic and architectural similarity of Lebanon and northern Phoenicia is the consequence of the geographical proximity of Lebanon to the study area and its similar historical background. The connection of this study area with Lebanon is supported by the recovery of coins from this neighbouring region in the sanctuary at Baetocaece (Figure 56) – for further information on the coinage assemblage, see Ch.2.5.1.1.

Nevertheless, the results of the architectural analysis have demonstrated that the division between northern Phoenicia and Lebanon is not arbitrary. This is because the

architectural features from Lebanon were incorporated and modified in northern Phoenicia. The architectural elements from Lebanon were locally adapted as we can see with the location of *edicula,* and the position of representations of lions and Nikai in the entablature of the sanctuary complex at Baetocaece, that differ from the examples in Lebanon. Therefore, we cannot consider the study area as part of Lebanon, but as a distinctive territory with its own identity that also had social interactions and historical connections with Lebanon. This could explain the reason why scholars, such as Lipiński (1991) and Aliquot (2009), have not integrated northern Phoenicia into the study of ancient Phoenicia and religious identities in Lebanon, respectively.

Additionally, there is no written evidence that mentions a strong connection and dependency between the territory of northern Phoenicia, its cult centres and its main sanctuary (Baetocaece) and the sanctuaries or settlements in Lebanon in provincial periods. Even before the Roman arrival, northern Phoenicia had historically been considered as a local autonomous government, and Lebanon's control over this study area has never been mentioned (§ Ch.2.4-5).

On this note, other architectural elements only sporadically used in Lebanon could have, instead, absorbed influences from the architecture of Palmyra. Therefore, we could suggest that, the study area did not only have interactions with its neighbour Lebanon, but was also open to an architectural style widely and mostly used in more distant places like Palmyra, probably due to Roman routes that connect the study area and Palmyra.

The boom in monumental religious architecture in the provincial period is suggested by the discovery of architectural remains of rural cult centres, dated approximately to the second-third century AD. This discards the previous understanding of the study area in this period, which historical sources defined as an era of decline (§ Ch.2.1.2). The recovery of these Roman ruins indicates, instead, a flourishing era; the building programme of monumental cult centres taking place during the provincial period implies wealth in this territory at that time. This probably also affected non-religious activities, though this cannot be proven due to the lack of research in this area (§ Ch.1.5.1.2). This could be an important subject of investigation and research in the future, in order to gain a more complete picture of the rural landscape of the study area.

Progress and growth in the study area did not take place immediately after this territory was annexed to the Roman Empire (37 BC), but later, in the second to third centuries AD. This was probably due to the fact that the study area did not have good relations with the Romans when it was integrated with the Roman Empire. According to historical sources, its main city, Aradus, supported Pompey and he was defeated by Caesar, who triumphed in the internal conflicts of 49-6 BC and ruled the Roman Empire, including the study area (§ Ch.2.1.2).

This could explain the lack of the incorporation or preservation of earlier cult centres built in the provincial period. This can be seen in two cases. Firstly, there is no dating evidence from the provincial period to suggest the integration of the pre-existing Iron Age sanctuary at Qadmous into the building programme undertaken in the provincial period consisting of a Roman temple. Additionally, the Iron Age building was not aligned with the Roman *cella*; which implies that there was no structural connection between the Roman temple and the Iron Age building or the continuance of the latter. Secondly, the sanctuary of Baetocaece is confirmed to be from the Seleucid period (second half of second century BC), according to the inscriptions (IGLS VII N4028). Other than the sanctuary's ruins (dated to the second to third century), the only other earlier visible remains are two walls standing on the interior's southern and eastern side of the main temple (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.119);[39] their chronology is unknown (Figure 54). This means that the original location of the sanctuary at Baetocaece was maintained, but the earlier religious structure was purposefully completely covered by the second to third century temple, the remains of which currently survive.

[39] During the investigation run by the Directorate-General for Antiquities and Museums (DGAM) of Syria, in which Dr Tarek Ahmed participated, test-pits have brought to light earlier structures inside the *temenos*. One of them has an irregular, quadrangular plan where bronze objects, fragments of lamps and coins from Hellenistic to the second century AD had been placed. The archaeologist Ottoman, in charge of the archaeological expedition, has interpreted this as a possible tomb. However, the absence of skeletal remains and the recovery of a group of wealthy objects within a sacred area could suggest that it was a ritual votive offering (Ahmed 2010: 101-102).

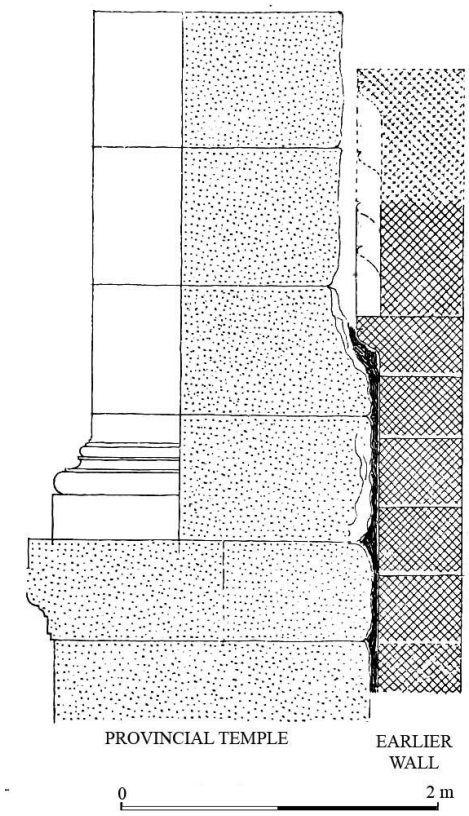


Figure 54: Entablature of earlier wall within the main temple
(after Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.119)

The decorative style of cult centres in the study area is less elaborate than the one used in main sanctuaries in the Near East in provincial period, as indicated by the absence of meander motifs, wreath-like branches, sinuous palmettes, highly decorated door-frames and architraves, which are all elements recovered in other sanctuaries in the Near East in the provincial period (§ Ch.2.2.2.3). This suggests that the standardization of the architectural style in the Roman province of Syria did not have a major impact on the architecture of the study area. This was not due to the rural situation of the sanctuaries examined in this study, as the different decorative elements mentioned above are also found in other cult centres situated in the countryside, e.g. examples in the Hauran (§ Ch.4). This difference, and the simplicity between the religious architecture in northern Phoenicia and other sanctuaries in the Near East, demonstrates an important expression of local taste, helping to distinguish themselves from elsewhere in Syria.

With regards to religious activities in the study area, an *edicula* and a monumental altar outside the sacred enclosure, as well as niches on the *temenos*, suggest that the ritual focus was outside the ascertained *temenos* that circumscribed the main temple. Here,

devotees would directly worship the cult statues placed in the niches and in the *edicula* at the entrance of the sacred area. Sacrifices may also have been made on the monumental altar outside the *temenos*. Furthermore, there are two monumental altars, one on the East of the main temple and the other on a platform that precedes it; the presence of these altars indicates that ritual activities also took place near the main temple.

2.3. Deities

Moving on to the analysis of deities, I will discuss to what extent the gods worshipped in the study area were important in the Near Eastern religious tradition, and I will reassess whether or not these gods were specific to this area or were also worshipped in the neighbouring areas (ie, Lebanon, Aradus, Emesa, and Apamea). This can inform us about the origin of cult centres' devotees and whether they were only local, or pilgrims. This will enable us to have a better picture of social interactions of this study area with the neighbouring areas and other populations in the Near East.

This study will look at the gods venerated at Baetocaece, which is the only rural cult centre where inscriptions that mention a deity and divine representations have been preserved.[40]

2.3.1. Inscriptions

Inscriptions dated from the Augustan period (27BC-AD14) up to the third century AD reveal that this sanctuary was dedicated to Zeus Baetocaece from early to late Roman times (IGLS VII 4028-4039) (Table 2.15). There are no other inscriptions or remains that inform us either of the use of the sanctuary after this period, or that refer to the deity worshipped before the provincial era.

The eponym Baetocaece[41] associated with Zeus means that the god was named after the place where the sanctuary was built and this god personified this area bearing the same

[40] At the temple at Qadmous, Baal, who is also identified as supreme celestial god, was worshipped in the Iron Age sanctuary (Bounni 1991, 1992, 1997, Abou Assaf 1992). This deity could have been still venerated in the nearby Roman temple, but there is no evidence to ascertain this or to put forward hypotheses on the god worshipped at Qmet Nipal.

[41] It has various forms in Greek inscriptions: Betoxixi, Betoxeixei, Baitoxixi, Bnxixi (IGLS VII: 54, Piejko 1982: 97-103).

name of the nearby village (IGLS VII: 73-74). [42] The name itself, Baetocaece, derives from the Semitic term BYT (meaning house) (Millar 1993: 272). The second part of the term Baetocaece has been considered to originate from Χίχι, a Greek phonetic transliteration of the Egyptian word for the castor oil plant (Dussaud 1897: 329). – The Egyptian term can be seen as Egyptian influence in this region as it bordered with the Ptolemaic Empire[43] (Duyrat 2005: 224, 270-272). – The origin of the second part of the name Baetocaece can be supported by the following evidence. The area of the sanctuary was known for its healing castor oil plant properties in the past, according to Herodotus (fifth century BC) (Hist. 2, 44) as well as the present day (Dussaud 1897: 329). This type of plant is still today found in the whole area that surrounds the sanctuary; and it was probably also recovered in the mountains of Alouites, at the North of Baetocaece, before the extensive woodland destruction at the beginning of the twentieth century (Rey-Coquais 1987: 191-192). An inscribed altar found at the entrance of the temple *in antis,* claims that the religious centre provided miraculous cures (IGLS VII: 236). This probably referred not only to castor oil plants but also to other naturally occurring medicinal sources, like a spring within the sanctuary. Water flowing from the spring on the western side of the *temenos* was mentioned in a local account in 1866 (Rey 1866: 337-348). Today, only a wide patch of wild green vegetation remains visible (Figure 55). The spring can be considered sacred because, as is the case today, in the past water was considered therapeutic (Rey-Coquais 1997: 929, Steinspair 2005: 33, 34, 37, Ertel and Freyberger 2008: 772, fig.54-56, Freyberger 2009: 284-285, plans 5-6, Ahmed 2010: 118-119). The presence of castor oil plants in the surrounding of the sanctuary and the spring within the religious complex can explain the divine personification of the place.

[42] The divine personification of a place is a common custom in the Roman Near East and it often occurs with Zeus/Jupiter. This is the case, for instance, with Jupiter (Latin name of Zeus) Damascenus, which is called after the name of the city Damascus where his sanctuary was built (Millar 1993: 313).

[43] The death of Alexander the Great brought the division of his territories into the Seleucid and the Ptolemaic empires. The latter (323-20 BC) was a philo-Hellenistic realm named after the first ruler, Ptolemy the first Soter. It covered essentially Egypt and parts of the coast of the Levant, a place disputed with the Seleucid Empire (Hölbl 2001).

Figure 55: Wide patch of wild, green vegetation on the western side of the *temenos* at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

Zeus can stand for more than one deity, as attested by the inscriptions from Baetocaece, where various appellatives that are frequently used for Zeus or his assimilation to Semitic gods and a Hellenistic attribute are associated with Zeus Baetocaece.

Zeus is associated with 'Megistos' (it means "the Great") (IGLS VII N4032, N4033, N4034, N4041), a common epithet in the Near East during the provincial period (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1997: 384-388). He is also known as the god of thunder (IGLS VII 4041), after the thunder that is his typical Hellenistic attribute (Tiverios 1997: 35-37, 95, 112, Leventi 1997: 195-196, 197-199). The name Zeus is preceded by "the Highest Heavenly" (IGLS VII N4027) and this appellative could potentially imply that Zeus was assimilated to the Semitic deity Baalshamin (Dussaud 1929: 384 ff., IGLS VII: 53), god of the sky (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1997: 384) (§ Ch.5.3 for further information about Baalshamin).

Therefore, the different appellatives and attributes associated with this deity suggest that Zeus Baeotocaece could be a local, Near Eastern and Hellenistic syncretic deity. The "multi-nature" of this deity might imply that local populations as well as pilgrims from different parts of the Near East could come to pray and sacrifice in this sanctuary.

The local name of the place and the deity, which consists of the Semitic root and possibly an Egyptian term, can be evidence of social dynamics in this area with the nearby Ptolemaic Empire going back to earlier centuries.

2.3.2. Representations of gods

The representation of lions, eagles and cypresses can stand for various (i.e. local, from Lebanon, and Near Eastern) deities as well as non-religious subjects.

The poor preservation of male busts on the gates at Baetocaese (Figures 47, 48) hinders the recognition of specific traits, and therefore their identity; they might represent a deity because they are located in the centre of the sanctuary.

2.3.2.1. Lions (Table 2.16)

It is possible that the lions symbolise the mountains that surround Baetocaece, according to a fourth-century literary source that described a lion-shaped mass of flame descending upon a mountain. This identification seems rather weak, however, because there are no comparative examples and it is only mentioned in this source, which is dated later than the representation of the lions at Baetocaece.

Lions commonly stand for the goddess Atagartis, also named Dea Syria or Venus, as they appear in depictions on coins from the city of Aradus, where this deity is shown flanked by lions. The association of this animal with this deity is also found in Roman sanctuaries in Lebanon, and generally in Syria. Lions could also be associated with the Semitic deity Allat, mostly worshipped at Palmyra and in Southern Syria (§ Ch.5).

They could also be interpreted as a representation of the supreme celestial god Zeus. Apart from being the only deity mentioned in inscriptions at Baetocaece, Zeus is the Greek assimilation of the regional ancient Baal in the mid-fourth-century BC sanctuary at Amrit (ancient fourth and third-century BC city Marathos (modern-day Amrit) in the southern part of northern Phoenicia),[44] and in the Iron Age sanctuary at Qadmous. In both complexes lions are used in the association with Baal/Zeus.

Additionally, lions could be seen as guardians of the sanctuary, as suggested by their location at Baetocaece. They are on the entablature of the interior four gateways, on the eastern and western exterior side of the *temenos* and were possibly also placed on the pediment of the main temple (§ Ch.2.2.3.2). Lions as protectors of monumental

[44] For the sanctuary, see Dunand & Saliby (1961), Saliby (1971, 1989), Dentzer (1989: 297-298). Other major remains of the ancient city of Marathos are a third-century BC stadium (Rey-Coquais 1976) and the necropolis, with many rock-cut tombs dated from the fourth century BC (Will 1949).

buildings can be seen also at the entrance of such buildings in the Mesopotamian and Persian empires, and of Roman funerary buildings where lions' statues are located.

They could be identified as a symbol of imperial power, not only of the Seleucid Empire, but also the Roman. At Baetocaece, lions could have stood for symbols of the Roman Empire for two reasons. Firstly, their reliefs are dated to the provincial period as they were placed in the sanctuary complex at this time, and they have a similar style to the comparative examples dated to the same era (§ Ch.2.2, especially Ch.2.2.3.2). Secondly, the sanctuary and/or inhabitants of the village asked for the intervention of Roman emperors in disputes, in commercial transactions for goods in markets undertaken in the sanctuary at Baeotacaece, between the sanctuary and the nearby city (either Aradus or Emesa) (IGLS VII N4028) (§ Ch.2.4.1 for the full explanation of this dispute and the role of the Roman emperors).

2.3.2.2. Eagles (Table 2.17)

Eagles could also symbolise the mountains as much of their territory includes the summits surrounding Baetocaece. However, there is no comparative example in the provincial Near Eastern iconography to support the association of eagles with mountains.

They could stand for the supreme celestial solar god, Zeus/Helios/Jupiter Heliopolitanus, as they are represented and identified with this deity in nearby Lebanon and the city of Emesa (Helios).

The depiction of eagles between two ephebes (adolescent males) used at Baetocaece and in Lebanon is also a common representation of other Semitic deities all assimilated with the Greek god Zeus where the two ephebes stand for the morning and evening stars, i.e. the sun and moon's deity which are called Phosphorous (Azios) and Hesperous (Momios) and accompanied Zeus in the Near East. In this sense, eagles can represent the local Zeus of Baetocaece as well as a plurality of Semitic gods assimilated to Zeus.

Like lions, eagles have been used as imperial symbols of the Seleucid as well as the Roman Empire. We can suggest that they were more likely emblems of Roman power in the examples at Baetocaece because of the active role of Roman emperors in the markets in this sanctuary (see just above in the discussion of the representation of lions), and the dating of the eagle's representations to the provincial period. This is based on

their original location within the Roman sanctuary complex (third-century gates) and comparative examples from provincial times bearing a similar style (§ Ch.2.2, especially Ch.2.2.3.4).

As in the depiction of lions, the association of eagles to a plurality of deities as well as different political powers makes this animal a syncretic symbol that can change its meaning depending on the cultural background of the devotee that visited this sanctuary. This supports the idea that pilgrims came from different parts of the Near East, where they could have identified their own deity or political authority with the representation of this animal.

2.3.2.3. Cypress (Table 2.18)

The cypress is a generic symbol for regeneration and fertility, and is only associated with one specific deity, Malakbel, the god of the vegetation, mostly worshipped at Palmyra. Sporadic evidence of the worshipping of this god is seen in Lebanon in two instances: a statuette of votive offerings recovered in the water channel of the sanctuary of Baalbek, and its depiction with a lion on a bronze throne at Sidon.

The cypress could also be a regional symbol in northern Phoenicia, as it is seen on the coins minted at Aradus. It was also an important symbol in neighbouring Lebanon, where it is occasionally depicted on coins and other objects. The cypress tree's wood was used in the construction of buildings and boats (Aradus had its own fleet in case of warfare and for maritime trade in the pre-provincial period) (§ Ch.2.1.2). Its use in the building of boats for sea-trade also occurred in the region of Lebanon under the Phoenicians (Brown 1968: 175 ff.), being an important export commodity throughout this period (*Ibid*.) and also under the Romans (Breton 1980).

2.3.3. Concluding remarks on gods at Baetocaece

In Baetocaece, local and non-local deities merged into one god: Zeus Baetocaece. The localized Zeus was named after the sanctuary and the nearby village (Baetocaece), but various other Semitic gods from the period were frequently attributed his name, as Zeus was the supreme celestial god. The faunal and floral depictions (lions, eagles and cypress) in this sanctuary could have stood for regional as well as non-local deities from Lebanon or even from Palmyra. These representations could have been interpreted differently by visitors with different religious beliefs and backgrounds.

This melting pot of symbols and worshipers made this a syncretic cult centre that was at the same time connecting both local and non-local religious traditions and devotees (i.e. the study area, the city of Aradus, nearby Lebanon, Emesa, Palmyra and Southern Syria). This could suggest that this sanctuary was a centre for social interactions where local worshippers and pilgrims from across Syria co-existed, venerating the same statue or god.

This religious syncretism in this cult centre was the result of its position on route-ways (§ Ch.2.1.4-5) and the presence of its natural resources (castor oil plants and the spring) that made this sanctuary also a key healing centre.

Furthermore, the association of representations of lions and eagles as Roman imperial emblems could stress the Roman impact in this religious centre – this will be discussed in detail in the analysis of benefactors (§ Ch.2.4.1, Ch.2.4.3).

2.4. Benefactors

The study of the benefactors of rural cult centres aims to help understand to what extent there were non-local benefactors, patrons and dedicants that came from the nearby village and city. This will shed new light on the understanding of social interactions between people and populations from distant areas, and the autonomy or dependency of the rural cult centres from the nearby village of Baetocaece and the closest city, Aradus. This analysis is taken from the main sanctuary at Baetocaece, where inscriptions are preserved. Despite the lack of inscriptions that explicitly mention who the main patrons were, scholars have raised some points about the matter that need to be reassessed.

This study will identify, firstly, who the main benefactors of the rural cult centre were, and, then, who the persons who only made dedications were.

2.4.1. Who commissioned the cult centre (the relationship of the sanctuary with the near city)

Most of the information that might help us identify the patron of the sanctuary at Baetocaece, and its relationship with the city and village, comes from an official document placed at the entrance of the sanctuary (on the side of the main gate) (Table 2.15). This document states that the nearby city, identified as Aradus, should dispatch goods to the sanctuary for its markets without creating any issues, and without charging the cult centre any fees. This was because a Seleucid king, possibly Antioch VI (145-

141/140BC),[45] granted these privileges for commercial activities to the sanctuary (§ Ch.2.5.1.1 for a complete understanding of this decree and the markets undertaken in the sanctuary). With regards to the city mentioned in the document, its name has never been explicitly mentioned. So I will suggest that it was not necessarily Aradus which was involved in the economic activities of the rural cult centre (§ Ch.2.5.1.1). This decree was issued by the emperors Gallienus and Valerianus in AD260 (IGLS VII N4028 A) and restated what was already established by a Seleucid king and reaffirmed by Augustus (27BC-AD14). This edict in fact integrates the *memorandum* (official note) of the Seleucid king (*Ibid.* B-C) and extracts of a decree by Augustus (*Ibid.* D), and is sanctioned by the sanctuary's personnel (*katachoi*) (*Ibid.* E) – see below for further information on them.

On the basis of this decree, scholars have believed that the sanctuary at Baetocaece belonged to the nearby city of Aradus (Seyrig 1951: 192-199, Rigsby 1980: 248-254) or the Aradian community (Seyrig 1964: 31-32, Rey-Coquais 1974: 125) (§ Ch.2.1.2.a for the meaning of Aradian community).

The first hypothesis is based on an interpretation of the decree. Scholars have suggested that the decree sent to Augustus was written by the city (Seyrig 1951: 197) that had to approve Augustus' decision on the movements of goods (*Ibid.* 195-199). Further evidence that supports this theory is Aradus's being a free city under Augustus, with its own mint (*Ibid.* 199-202), and also the fact that the representation of the lion with a cypress on the wall of the sanctuary's *temenos* could be considered an insignia of the city, as this depiction is used on third-century coins minted at Aradus (*Ibid.* 202).

[45] With regards to the identification of the Seleucid king, the inscription mentions the king Antioch; however, it is unclear to which king named Antioch this could refer.
Seyrig (1951: 202) has argued Antioch the first or the second (between 301 and 259BC) on the assumption that the sanctuary at Baetocaece belonged to the city of Aradus and that this sanctuary could acquire asylum mentioned in the decree (IGLS VII N4028 D) only when Aradus was not free, which was between 301-259BC (Seyrig 1951: 202).
However, the sanctuary was never dependent on Aradus, as it will be demonstrated in Ch.2.4.1.1. So, we can be more inclined to support Baroni's hypothesis that seems to have more valid evidence from the decree. He (1984: 147-148), instead, has suggested that Antioch in the document could stand for Antioch the sixth on the basis of the existence of the satrapy of Apamea, mentioned in the decree (IGLS VII N4028 D). The division of the Seleucid Empire into satrapies is known from the Seleucid king Demetrius the first in 162 AD, later than the dating of the decree sustained by Seyrig. This division is still mentioned in the work of first century BC author Posidonius (Baroni 1984: 148). So, the Antioch in the decree could be Antioch the sixth as written evidence states the presence of satrapies in the time-frame between the mid-second century BC and first century AD.

The actual decree seemed, nevertheless, most likely to be a request from the sanctuary's devotees (Millar 1977: 410-414) or functionaries (Baroni 1984: 144-145), to regulate commercial transactions with the city. Furthermore, this document issued by Roman emperors was in favour of the sanctuary: it reaffirms that the city had to be subject to, and had to respect, the privileges of the sanctuary over the city (IGLS VII N4028) (§ Ch.2.5.1). Representations of lions and/or cypresses are not only used at Aradus, but elsewhere in the Near East, where they also have a religious connotation (§ Ch.2.2.3.3, 2.3.1.c).

Therefore, it seems likely that the city did not own the sanctuary, but was actually dependent on it for commercial transactions where goods were sold in the markets, undertaken in the religious centre.

This decree shows that the village of Baetocaece belonged to the sanctuary (IGLS VII N4028 C).

The second hypothesis is that the sanctuary was federal, dependent on the Aradian community. However, the activities of the sanctuary do not mention in any instances the Aradian community. The same is true also in the case of dedications (§ Ch.2.5.1.1 for further details). The Aradian era (§ Ch.2.1.2.a) is used in the inscriptions on the gates of the sanctuary (IGLS VII N4031, 4033).[46] This does not mean that the Aradian community controlled the sanctuary, but indicates the adoption of the common custom of the dating system used in the whole study area, even during the Roman period (IGLS VII). This suggests the regional identity of the study area as a community that shared the same dating system.

From the reassessment of the previous hypotheses about the identity of the patrons of the sanctuary and its relationship with the city, a picture emerges of the sanctuary having some degree of autonomy, and it was only subject to the will of the imperial authorities. This decree was pronounced by Roman emperors and was based on what the Seleucid king had stated. We could say that this "independence" was given and reaffirmed by rulers over time.

[46] Seyrig (1951: 193-198), IGLS VII: 23, Ahmed (2010: 142-143).

Further evidence to support this suggestion is that the sanctuary was self-sufficient – see the socio-economic activities associated with the sanctuary (§ Ch.2.5) – and had secular functionaries, called *katachoi*, who dealt with the administration of the sanctuary. They mediated directly with the emperors on matters relating to the sanctuary, according to the last part of the decree (IGLS VII 4028 E).
For these reasons the sanctuary at Baetocaece could be considered as an autonomous complex entity.

With regards to these sanctuary's personnel, we assume that they were laypersons because the term *katachoi* does not include or is not connected to words that could inform us of their status as priests or members of a religious order, as with the adjective "sacred."
There are no names of individuals associated with the term *katachoi*; this implies that these people wanted be considered as one communal entity.
The term comes from *katoche*, a word that means possession. This could indicate that these functionaries were members of the sanctuary, but that they did not necessarily have a subordinate, passive role[47] in the temple (IGLS VII: 66, Rey-Coquais 1997: 930 note 4, Baroni 1984: 163, 219, Freyberger 2004: 33) for the following reasons. *Katachoi* had a certain social prestige because they dealt directly with the emperors (Dignas 2002: 164). They were also wealthy (Millar 1993: 455, 1993: 272, Dignas 2002: 164) as they commissioned two sanctuary gates at their own expense (IGLS VII N4031, N4033). This would imply high social status and the independence of this group. The importance of these *katachoi* can be reinforced by the location of the inscriptions over two gateways of the sanctuary, and the main document on the side of the entrance of the sanctuary, visible to anyone from outside the *temenos*.
Katachoi cannot be considered simply villagers, members of a local community or devotees (Welles 1934: 280 n.3, Delekat 1964: 98-106, 156-163) for the three following reasons. Firstly, in the inscriptions of Baetocaece, the term *katachoi* does not follow names of individuals that, instead, appear in inscriptions dedicated by civic groups or worshippers from a rural or urban context. Secondly, the term *koine*, i.e. community, does not appear, unlike in other dedications commissioned by village members (§ Ch.6).

[47] For scholars that suggest the passive role of katachoi, see Pejicko (1982: 101 note 14) and Feissel (1993: 10 note 38, 26). Furthermore, the *katachoi* of the cult of Sarapis in Egypt were considered cult servants, asylum-seekers, possessed by god and constrained by a vow (von Woess & Schwartz 1923).

Thirdly, the plural genitive of Baetocaece that indicates the inhabitants, after the name of the village, is not associated with *katachoi*, unlike in other instances (§ Ch.6).

2.4.2. Dedicants (non-local benefactor) (Table 2.15)

Soldiers and an individual that had a Roman name were those who made dedications in the sanctuary.

With regards to the soldiers, Aurelius Decimus, a centurion of the Third Gallica Legion, commissioned a substantial part of the temple at Baetocaece in AD185-186: the staircase, the platform, the bronze altar on it that precedes the *cella* and the pavement area that would have been at the bottom of the steps (IGLS VII 4034). It seems that he wanted to stress his non-local origin, which does not usually happen in dedications made by soldiers. He identified himself as a native of the Rhine, Germany (Ulpia Oecus) (IGLS VII 4034). He was stationed in the nearby city of Raphanea where there was the military base of the Third Gallica Legion to which he belonged. This military camp appears from the first century AD and it became a permanent base from the second century AD (Pollard 2000: 24, 39-41). Raphanea is only roughly 15 km away from the sanctuary of Baetocaece and connected to it via a route-way (§ Ch.2.1.2.3).

Due to the proximity of the sanctuary to his military base, Decimus's choice of commissioning a substantial part of this sanctuary indicates that he was a frequent devotee of the localized Zeus, who was not a deity usually venerated by the Roman army (§ Ch.5). We could also suggest that his presence in this sanctuary could be attributable to his role, and in general to the responsibility of the legion towards the sanctuary. They could have possibly monitored and ensured that the sanctuary's privileges given by rulers were maintained and respected by the nearby city as these rights appeared always precarious and were not followed by the city. This can be supported by the following facts: the need to place an edict on its main gate stating the sanctuary's privileges, the necessity to reaffirm these privileges by different royal and imperial authorities over centuries, and the direct request to Augustus for support amongst the sanctuary's devotees, functionaries or villagers to preserve the temple's benefits. Military forces from the legion of Raphanaea could be ideal candidates to control the regularity of the sanctuary's benefits in commercial transactions because of the visibility of Raphanaea from the sanctuary and vice versa.

The other soldier dedicated a small, inscribed, votive stone-pillar. He was an individual called Theodoros, son of Carus, of the highest rank of the horsemen of the governor of the province (IGLS VII 4037). Further suggestions on his dedication in the sanctuary cannot be identified due to a lack of information about this soldier, like his legion and, therefore, his provenance. This dedication commissioned by another soldier can reinforce the frequency of non-local military benefactors in this sanctuary.
An individual commissioned a small altar recovered from the steps of the main temple; his name was Scribonius (IGLS VII 4036). As this is a common Roman name (*Ibid.*), it could imply the Roman non-local authority impact on local naming

2.4.3. Concluding remarks on benefactors

The analysis of the benefactors of the sanctuary at Baetocaece has shed new light on its social interactions with other non-local populations and its relationship with the nearby city. It has suggested that the sanctuary had stronger connections with the hinterland than with the nearby city on the coast, and underscored the Roman impact on the patronage of this religious centre.

Contrary to previous scholarly understanding, the sanctuary was not owned by or under the direction of a nearby city such as Aradus, but rather this city was subject to the sanctuary's privileges and control in commercial transactions between the two. This implies a certain level of independence for the sanctuary, which was only subject to the imperial authorities (Seleucid and Roman emperors) who gave the temple its privileges and maintained commercial transactions with the city.

A certain level of autonomy, power and wealth of the sanctuary can be inferred from the presence of *katachoi*, a lay group which managed the temple's affairs, who dealt directly with the emperors about sanctuary's issues, and funded the gateways of the sanctuary.
The bond between the sanctuary at Baetocaece and the Roman Emperors can be seen by the Roman presence amongst the sanctuary's dedicants in the provincial period: one had a Roman name and two were soldiers.
The presence of soldiers as the sanctuary's benefactors and dedicants can be explained by the proximity of the temple to the legion at Raphanaea (15 km away) to which one of

the soldiers, who contributed financially to the sanctuary, belonged, and possibly by the necessity of having military forces to monitor and control the sanctuary's privileges that were in a precarious condition, as described in the decree placed in the cult centre's main entrance.

2.5. Economic activities

After having discussed the social interactions through analysis of the architectural and epigraphic evidence and the material culture in rural cult centres, the socio-economic activities only of the sanctuary at Baetocaece will be investigated. This is possible because substantial written and archaeological evidence from Baetocaece combined with landscape analysis can demonstrate that it had a certain socio-economic significance.

The decree placed at the main entrance will be the major source of study, followed by an analysis of the landscape and archaeological remains. Where available, this evidence (§ Ch.1.4.3), will be used to understand the role of the sanctuary in commercial activities (§ Ch.2.5.1), land-property (§ Ch.2.5.2), financial possessions (treasures) (§ Ch.2.5.3), and industrial production (§ Ch.2.5.4).

2.5.1. Market

2.5.1.1. Inscriptions

The decree indicates the occurrence of regular tax-free markets, i.e. twice a month, associated with the sanctuary (IGLS VII N4028 D) (Table. 2.15). This activity occurred in other sanctuaries in the Near East and was used to increase profits from the sanctuary's markets according to written evidence (Seyrig 1970: 62, Debord 1982: 26). For instance, Seleucid inscriptions indicate tax exemption on the sale of sheep or, more general, markets during festivals in the sanctuary of Apollo Tarsenos and Herakleia-Latmos, respectively, both in Asia Minor (Aperghis 2004: 163).

This economic activity was well-organized at Baetocaece, as the decree also mentions the presence of two *agoretes*, i.e. urban and rural functionaries who coordinated the movements of goods from the city to the sanctuary (IGLS VII N4028 D). Their role, and this activity, could have been centralized by the Aradian confederation (Seyrig 1964: 31-32, Rey-Coquais 1974: 125) or by the city of Aradus (Baroni 1984: 146). However, the decree does not mention that *agorete*s were nominated by other cities.

Neither is it possible that the city, where the urban functionary directed transportation and the trading of goods with the sanctuary, had the important role of nominating these functionaries. The city where the goods came from seemed to have a passive role. The Seleucid king, possibly Antioch VI (145-141/140BC) (§ Ch.2.4.1), decreed that the city had to, in fact, direct some merchandises – their quantity is unknown – to the sanctuary without gaining any profits, as supplies were tax-free and their sale was used for the benefit of the sanctuary (IGLS VII N4028 B-C) (§ Ch.2.4.1). So, the sanctuary seems to be the one in charge of these activities. This directive was strengthened by the Roman Emperors (*Ibid*. A).

Furthermore, the actual city where goods came from is not explicitly mentioned. It is implied that it was Aradus (Seyrig 1951: 191, Ahmed 2010: 158, 177 ff.) because it was the closest and a most well-known harbour, especially in the pre-provincial period (§ Ch.2.1.2), and the majority of coins recovered in the sanctuary of Baetocaece were minted in Aradus (Ahmed 2010: 158, 177 ff.). However, we are dealing with the recovery of roughly only 40 pre-provincial and provincial coins, the provenance of which has been identified from test-pits undertaken by the Department of Syrian Antiquities within the *temenos*. They do not only come from Aradus, but also from cities on the northern Phoenician coast, Lebanon, Antioch and Emesa (Figure 56). Coins minted at Aradus were circulated across the whole study area, so their recovery in the sanctuary does not mean relations exclusively with Aradus. Coins from Aradus recovered in the sanctuary are also predominantly dated to the pre-provincial period. Therefore, this coin assemblage implies that trade and exchange in this sanctuary were not only with this city (Figure 53). The coin assemblage indicates that trading patterns changed in the provincial period and expanded towards the hinterland of the sanctuary according to the recovery of provincial coins from Antioch, and Emesa at Baetocaece (Figure 54, Table 2.19). Baroni (1984: 162), in fact, suggested the possibility of a commercial route from Palmyra through Apamea. This could have been possible, as slaves were sold at Baetocaece and at Palmyra, the other main slave market in Syria, since the early first century AD, according to written evidence (Matthews 1984, Stoneman 1994 57-58).[48] This indicates that commercial activity at Baetocaece must

[48] A complex inscription was found in the agora of Palmyra and it consists of two edicts: one before AD67, possibly in AD18, and the second in AD137. They talk about the tariffs on different goods sold at Palmyra, including slaves (Matthews 1984, Stoneman 1994 57-58). Very little, sporadic or no record of the presence and sale of slaves occur in the coastal cities of the Roman provinces of Syria and Judaea. The only other occurrence of selling slaves is at Gaza after the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish

have been of some significance. This is supported by the presence of the decree that discussed this activity at the entrance of the sanctuary and the intervention of Augustus and, later, of the emperors Gallienus and Valerianus in AD260 (IGLS VII N4028 A). Therefore, the fact that the actual name of the city is not mentioned in the decree might be explained, as this document could refer to the commercial transactions of the sanctuary with more than one city. All goods could have come from the nearest harbour at Aradus, because of the supremacy of this city over this area, and its vicinity to the sanctuary (§ Ch.2.1.2). The fact that Palmyra and Baetocaece were the main centres of slave-trade in Syria can indicate a certain commercial connection and exchange of this "commodity." This hypothesis can be supported by the presence of more than one route-way from the study area to Palmyra that could have crossed Apamea, Emesa, and Antioch (§ Ch.2.1.4), the presence of a few coins from the last two cities just mentioned recovered in the sanctuary (Figure 53), and of coins minted at Aradus that are widely used in the study area at Dura Europos, a city connected to Palmyra (§ Ch.2.2.3.e).

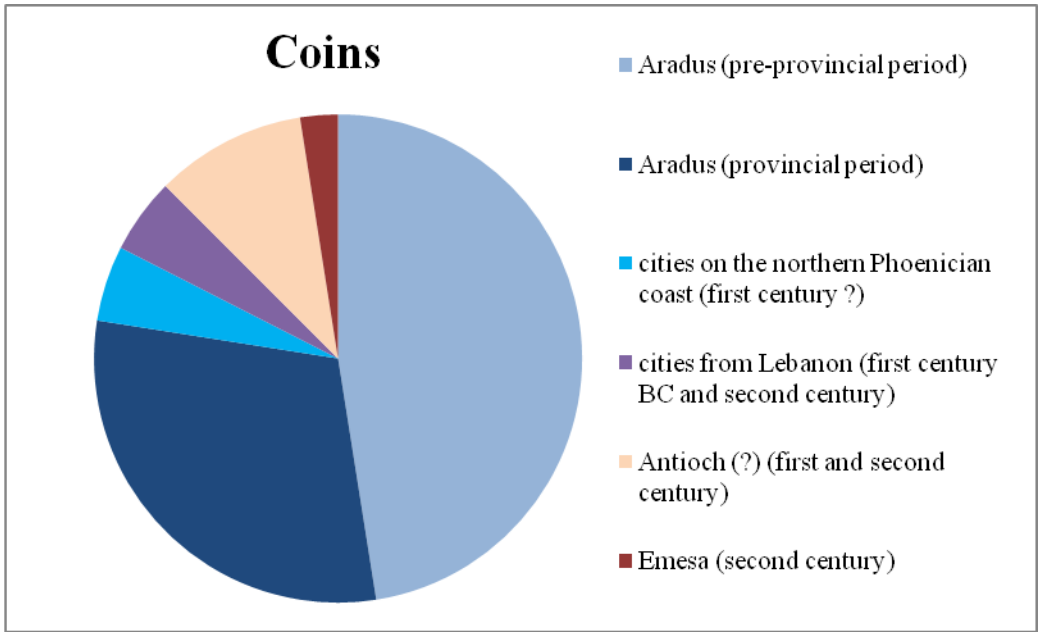


Figure 56: Chart of the recovery of pre-provincial and provincial coins the provenance of which has been suggested in the sanctuary at Baetocaece (after the data in Table 2.19) (by the Author 2013)

2.5.1.2. Landscape analysis

Route-ways and the accessibility to Baetocaece from the nearby cities can reinforce the hypothesis that commercial transactions took place between Baetocaece and more than

rebellion in AD135. A slave was sold from one fleet to another in AD166 at Perian Seleucia, and another at Tripolis in AD 252 (Harris 1980: 128 especially note 117). Enslaved Jews were assumed to be at Tyre, Sidon, Antioch and Aradus, according to a first-century historical account (*Jos. AJ* 14: 319-323).

one city. Aradus must have been one of them, as there were also two route-ways to the sanctuary (§ Ch.2.1.4) (Map 2.2). Emesa and Apamea could have been two other cities. They are both connected to Palmyra (§ Ch.2.1.4), and they could potentially be the intermediary city from Palmyra to Baetocaece (Map 2.3). This could be supported by the evidence of contact between Palmyra and the Phoenician coast (§ Ch.2.1.4). The first one was nearby and easily reachable from the sanctuary, roughly only 25 km distant. Apamea, although farther away from the sanctuary, roughly 50 km, was connected through a viable route-way (§ Ch.2.1.4) (Map 2.2).

2.5.1.3. Archaeological evidence

Although rural markets would not necessarily require permanent buildings (Zelener 2000: 227), significant commercial activities run by the sanctuary at Baetocaece (§ Ch.2.6.1.1) may have needed stone-made structures. According to Freyberger (2004: 36, 2009: 46-47) and Ahmed (2010: 114, 126), the windows in the façade next to the temple *in antis* could be part of the remains of shops (Figures 4-7). The presence of windows implies the existence of enclosed spaces that needed light. Ahmed (*Ibid*.) also suggested, that these rooms could have, alternatively, functioned as storage areas, though this last hypothesis is unlikely as it would not explain the need to have decorated windows for buildings only used to deposit goods.

A series of rooms alongside the perimeter of the courtyard of the sanctuary of Shamash at Hatra can support the presence of shops in the close vicinity of a sanctuary (Downey 1988: 159 fig. 75). A similar plan can be found in the enormous external courtyards of the sanctuary of Jupiter at Damascus (Felletti 1950: 71).

Further evidence of commercial activities is seen in the relief on the façade of a young male figure holding amphorae (Figure 57). Whereas Steinsapir (1999: 189, 2005: 37) interpreted this as a representation of the ritual procession of a boy going to the sacred spring, Freyberger (2004: 36, 2009: 47) considered it as the symbol of a wine shop because of what the young figure is holding, i.e. amphorae. This can be supported by the evidence of wine storage in the temple of Adonis at Dura Europos (Downey 1988: 120 fig.53). Ahmed (2010: 126) mentioned the recovery of a huge quantity of fragments of amphorae from test pits in this area. Further information on these amphorae, such as

their quantity, types and dating, is not provided; therefore, we cannot verify their use and the possibility of wine storage.

The depiction of the young figure holding amphorae, generally refers to a figure carrying and possibly selling goods contained in the amphorae, which could have not necessarily been wine, but it could have also been olive oil.

Figure 57: A relief of a young male figure holding amphorae at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

The façade next to the temple *in antis* can be dated to the third century AD as the windows and doorframes are similar to the frame of the third-century gates of the *temenos* (§ Ch.2.2.2.3). This indicates the necessity of building a monumental structure after more than four centuries of markets run by the sanctuary, according to inscription (IGLS VII N4028). This structure could have been built to replace an earlier structure, although there is no evidence of this, probably due to the lack of intensive investigation in this area. Alternatively, the big open space outside the sanctuary could have also been employed for temporary, non-religious activities, as Freyberger (1998: 13) argued for the large space that precedes the temple of Qasr el-Bint at Petra.

Ahmed (2010: 114, 126) also reconstructed the structure where markets would have taken place near the sanctuary (Figure 57). Every window has a shop and they are connected to each other. He considered the remains of the southern side of the Christian basilica's parallel wall to the façade, as the external wall of the shops. He suggested that there were two rows of shops, but he did not provide evidence to support this theory. His hypothesis also did not take into account the high, levelled area with steps, almost in the middle of the second row of shops. Therefore, his reconstruction seems to be too artificial and too precise from the limited, scattered evidence available at the present day.

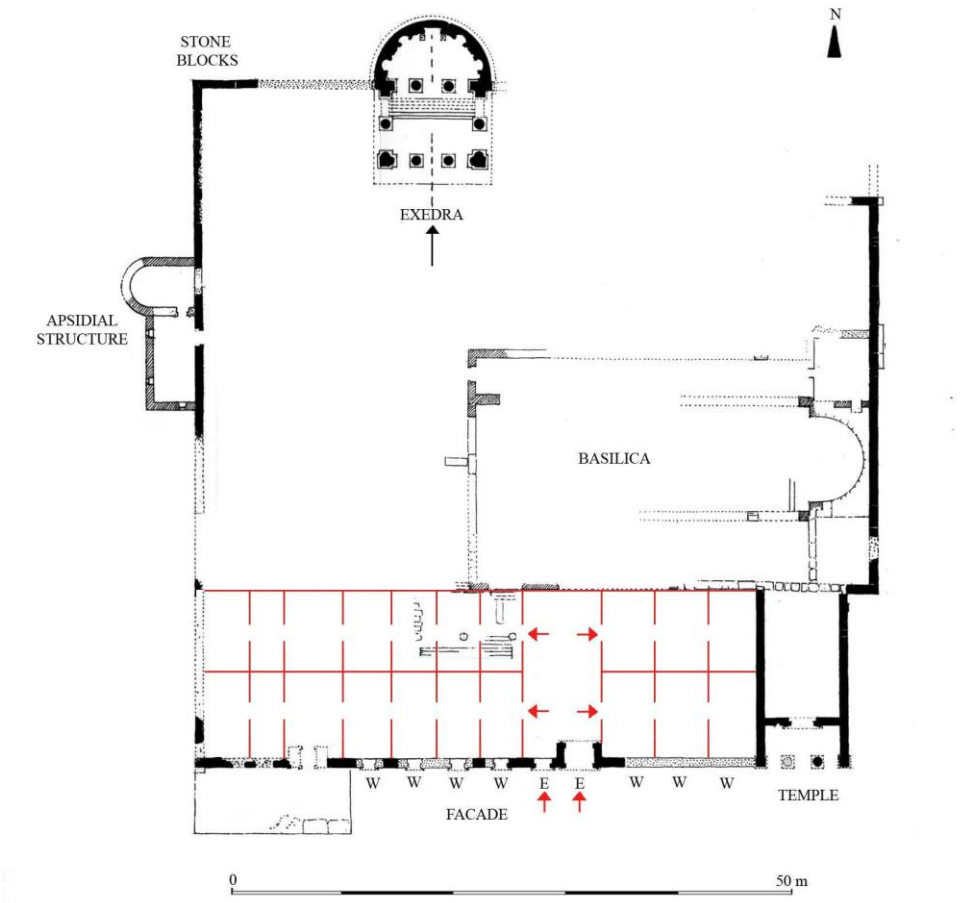


Figure 58: The red line is the reconstruction of shops at Baetocaece according to Ahmed (by the Author 2010)

The presence of a spring on one side of the enclosure of the sanctuary (§ Ch.2.3.1.a) could imply its wider use beyond its religious purposes. Water is essential for commercial activities, as well as for pilgrims, the sustainability of the sanctuary and of the nearby village of Baetocaece and the potential cultivation of the surrounding territory (§ Ch.2.5.2.3).

Despite the scarce archaeological evidence available to us nowadays, the façade with four windows and the relief of a male figure with amphorae could indicate the presence of shops, where commercial activities mentioned in written evidence could have taken place. Further investigation is required to define the shops' extent.

2.5.2. Land-owners

2.5.2.1. Inscriptions

The decree from the main entrance of the cult centre indicates that the nearby village of Baetocaece and what belonged to it, implying also lands, were donated to the deity of the sanctuary by the Seleucid king (IGLS VII N4028 C). This indicates that the village and its lands were the sanctuary's properties, gained in the Seleucid period; its possessions did not vary over time, as the third-century decree reaffirms, following earlier customs established in the Seleucid period and reinforced also under Augustus (IGLS VII N4028).

Other evidence of land-ownership of the sanctuary is the presence of the functionaries of the sanctuary (*katachoi*). They administrated the sanctuary's affairs, and the domain of the temple included the village and what was associated with it, including its territory (§ Ch.2.4.1). *Katachoi* probably dealt with administration of the land, like in Egypt where these functionaries administered sacred lands (von Woess & Schwartz 1923). Baetocaece could have followed Egyptian customs as the second part of the actual term Baetocaece could have an Egyptian origin, which would establish its link with Egyptian traditions (§ Ch.2.3.1.a).

Although the decree explicitly mentions that its boundaries were already traced before it was donated to the deity of the sanctuary (*Ibid.* C), the extent of the territory belonging to the village remains unknown to us. Nevertheless, we can put forward a hypothesis on the matter. According to Baroni (1984: 154-156), the decree mentions Turrogona (on the East of the sanctuary, between this and the city of Apamea), in the satrapy of the city of Apamea, as borders or as belonging to territory which was part of the sanctuary. This is what can be assumed from the text of the decree, which mentions the adverb 'in' (*εν*) followed by the toponym Turrogona (IGLS VII N4028 C). This formula was also used to indicate the request of an individual (Aritodicidis) to the Seleucid king to make a village part of the territory of a satrapy (Antioch) (*Ibid.* 55). Previously, Seyrig (1951: 194 note 3) argued that Turrogona refers to the place from which the previous owner of this territory, Demetrius, came, as this location has been mentioned after his and the name of his father. According to Seyrig (1951: 198) and Ahmed (2010: 151), Turrogona could not have been part of the sanctuary's possessions as the territory of Aradus extended to the East of the sanctuary. However, Mariammè is the only place on the East

of the sanctuary that has been identified as belonging to the territory of Aradus during the Alexandrian conquest, according to the second century author Arrian (II 13, 7) (§ Ch.2.1.2.1. Table 2.1). Therefore, one can argue that the territory of Aradus might have changed in a later period, when the sanctuary acquired the village and the surrounding area. We can suggest that Turrogana belonged to the sanctuary for the following reasons. First, there is no clear evidence that might disprove this hypothesis. Second, the formula used in the decree of Baeotocaece was also employed in another instance to define possessions donated by the Seleucid king. The decree, also, mentions that the employment of this territory produced yearly profits which would have covered the costs of sacrifices and the expenses of this major cult centre; therefore the sanctuary's possessions probably covered a wide area which could have extended to Turrogona. This settlement was enroute to Apamea, which was also connected to Baetocaece through route-ways (§ Ch.2.1.2.3).

2.5.2.2. Landscape

Considering the present-day landscape, the entire region - including within close proximity of the sanctuary - is cultivated: there are olive trees, vineyards, cereals, legumes and different fruit trees (Rey-Coquais 1987: 191). This can imply that agricultural activities took place in the past. Further environmental investigations could shed some light on this matter.

2.5.2.3. Archaeological evidence

Although the water supply system used in the past is unknown, the presence of a spring on one side of the enclosure of the sanctuary (§ Ch.2.3.1.a) suggests that this could have been used for the cultivation of the terrain near the sanctuary and the village, for the sustainability of the sanctuary and pilgrims, and its use for commercial activities (Ch.2.5.1.3).

Freyberger and Ertel (2008: 772 fig.54-56, Freyberger 2009: 284-285 plans 5-6) reconstructed a water system with tanks to collect spring water, connected by channels. This is based on the presence of dubious, darker rectangular patches on the surface (Figure 59). Ahmed (2010: 115) argued that the obscure apsidal structure in the complex north of the sanctuary was a cistern built on the rock (0,6m wide and 4,58 m deep). This would have been connected to the main spring. This cistern would be of an

unlikely shape for a reservoir as it is too narrow. There is also no evidence of a channel. Therefore, the water system reconstructed by Freyberger, Ertel, and Ahmed is far from being realistic as it is based on non-existent evidence. Further investigations on the field would be necessary to identify the water channel system possibly connected with the spring on a side of the *temenos*.

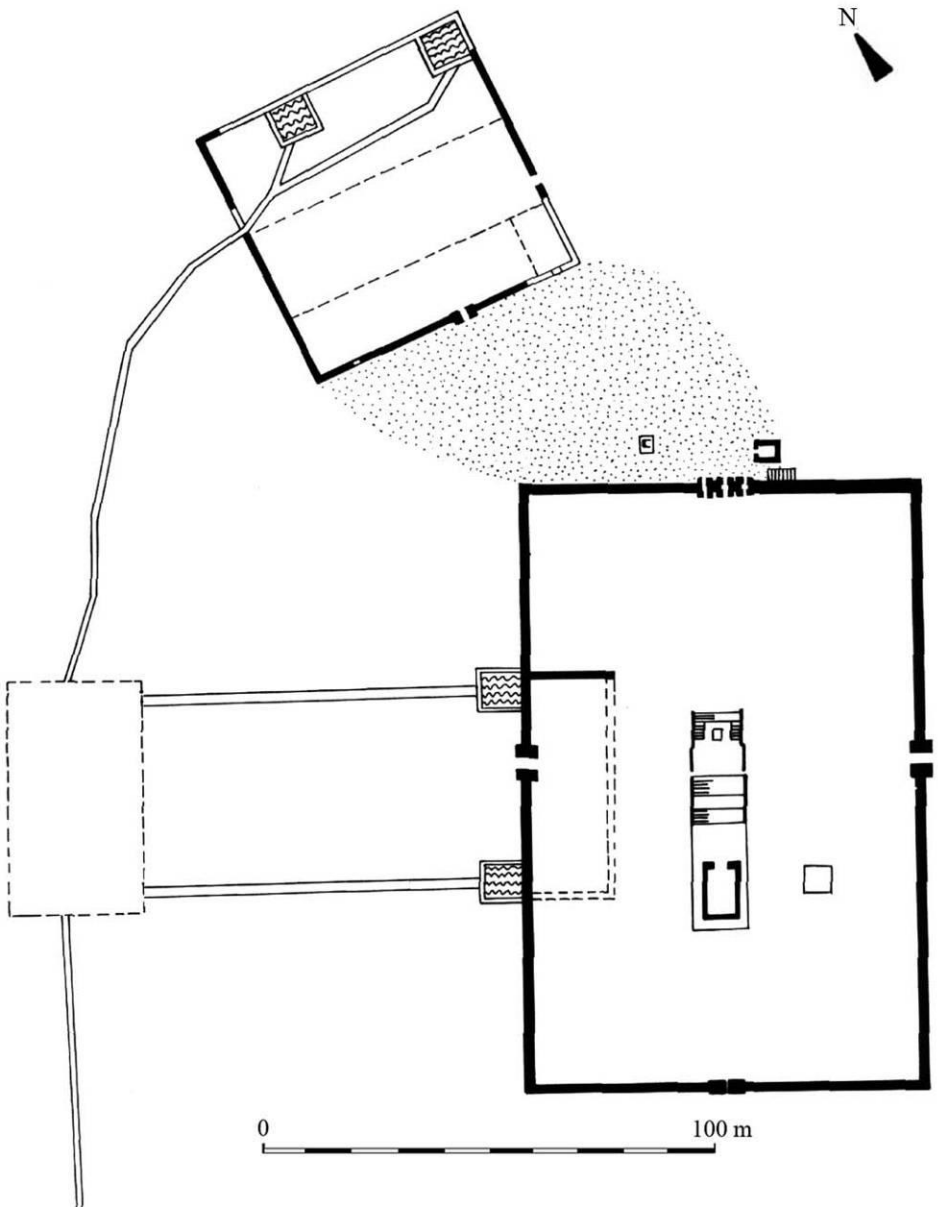


Figure 59: Plan of tank complex at Baetocaece, according to Ertel and Freyberger (after Ertel & Freyberger 2008, fig.56)

Additionally, according to Sapin (1989: 111), the remains of cult centres could be markers of the area that belongs to the sanctuary at Baetocaece. These are: the temple of

Mastabeh, on the West of the sanctuary, an altar dedicated to Zeus at Sa'in, on the North, and the ruins of a small sanctuary, i.e. a dubious *podium* in the medieval tower, at Az-Zara on the plateau of the Tell Kalakh, on the South. His approach is not consistent: he does not include the temple at Qadmous and the ruins from Qnemt Nipal, for instance (§ Ch.2.2.1-2.2.2.1). Religious structures or altars have not been considered markers of land-ownership elsewhere. In a few cases, inscribed *cippi* (low inscribed pillars) near sanctuaries survive and can define the borders of the sanctuary's land, like the cult centre at Amyzon in Anatolia (Robert & Robert 1948: 33-34) (§ Ch.1.4.3). These are not the same markers used by Sapin, and they have not so far been identified in the study area. This could be due to the lack of intensive investigation in this territory, and to the difficulty of identifying markers in an area, like this region, that underwent continuous change and is currently in use at the present day.

2.5.3. Treasures (epigraphic evidence)

The fact that the sanctuary ran significant commercial activities, including a slave-trade (rare in Syria), and that its belongings included the village and its territory, could suggest a certain substantial income from the cult centre. This could have required a sanctuary's treasure and treasurers. This role could have been assigned to *katachoi*, as they were wealthy functionaries who generally administrated the sanctuary's affairs and they had enough money to erect the monumental gates of the sanctuary at their own expense (§ Ch.2.4.1). The location of the treasury still remains unclear.

2.5.4. Industrial production

2.5.4.1. Epigraphic evidence

There is no epigraphic evidence that indicates that industrial activities were run by the sanctuary.

2.5.4.2. Archaeological evidence

Freyberger and Ertel (2008: 744 Fig.28) suggested olive production on the basis of the presence of an olive press-weight where shops might have been situated (Figure 60). However, this wheel is not dated, so we cannot suggest that it was used at the same time of the sanctuary. It is also out of context as it lies on the soil.

Figure 60: Olive wheel at Baetocaece (by the Author 2010)

The presence of amphorae, mentioned by Ahmed (2010: 126), where there is evidence of shops could suggest some kind of industrial production. However, we cannot confidently argue for its existence associated with the sanctuary as we do not have any information about these amphorae.

2.5.4.3. Landscape analysis

Today, the sanctuary is surrounded by groves of olive trees and vineyards. If olive cultivation and viticulture were undertaken from the Seleucid-Roman period onwards, olive and wine production would have been taking place in the village. The sanctuary would have been in charge of it, as it possessed the village and its potential cultivable lands. However, this hypothesis requires further investigation of the ancient environment and the village, the location of which remains unknown.

2.5.5. Concluding remarks on economic activities

The decree has been essential to help identify economic activities run by the sanctuary of Baetocaece, and it has enabled us to focus on economic matters associated with sanctuaries that have been previously overlooked. The investigation of potential archaeological evidence and landscape analysis have provided us with a more complete picture of the role of the sanctuary in the socio-economic landscape, even when written evidence does not provide information on the subject. I will attempt to do the same for the second study area under examination in my research (§ Ch.7).

The combination of this set of evidence can support the hypothesis that the sanctuary was self-sufficient, and it has indicated the occurrence of commercial activities. The cult centre, in fact, controlled and owned the village, its territory (which could have been

potentially cultivated in the past, if we consider its vineyards and olive trees' groves at the present day), and the potential activities of the village, like industrial production. The village, with its industry and agriculture, produced enough income for the sanctuary's needs. The sanctuary also seems to have had an adequate water supply from the spring for the different economic activities associated with the sanctuary as well as the sustainability of the latter.

We can suppose that the territory of the sanctuary was quite extensive in view of its profits, and it could have extended towards the East, up to Turrogona, near Apamea; its extent still remains unknown to us.

Furthermore, the decree has enabled us to suggest that the markets run by the sanctuary were of some importance because of the trading of slaves, which was rare in Syria, and also because of the structural complexity and monumentality of this sanctuary. The façade with four windows suggests the possibility of shops, and the spacious area near the main sanctuary and the ruins of the façade would have been enough space for commercial activities.

Additionally, landscape analysis improves our understanding of the economic relationships of the sanctuary, and not only with Aradus, as has been previously considered. Route-ways can indicate a connection with Palmyra through Apamea and Emesa, especially for the trade in slaves as they were sold only in the sanctuary at Baetocaece and at Palmyra.

2.6. Conclusion

This comprehensive analysis of rural cult centres in northern Phoenicia has revaluated the previous understanding of the religious rural landscape of this region from the provincial period.

In this region, ruins of rural cult centres are dated to the provincial period, apart from the earlier Iron Age religious structure at Qadmous near the Roman temple. On the contrary to previous studies that considered this area to be in decline, according to historical sources (§ Ch.2.1.2), the necessity of building rural religious centres in the provincial period implies a certain level of demographic growth in the rural landscape, unlike in the cities (§ Ch.2.1.3). This could shed new light on the understanding of this study area, where the countryside, underestimated by previous scholars, became the centre of socio-economic development and was more populated than the cities. Further

investigation of the rural landscape in a non-religious context will enable us to provide a better understanding of this matter.

The analysis of rural cult centres has confirmed the architectural similarities to Lebanon already pointed out by previous scholars (Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 97-98, Freyberger 2004, Ahmed 2010). This has also been demonstrated by some iconographic evidence (lions, male nudes from acanthus leaf consoles, Nikai and cypress) and coins from the cities of Lebanon in the main cult centre of the study area, Baetocaece. This can suggest social interactions between the study area and Lebanon due to their proximity and their common historical background.

The main sanctuary (Baetocaece) had contacts with the city of Aradus. This is undeniable, but it does not indicate that Aradus had control over the main sanctuary of the study area, as suggested by previous scholarly understanding (§ Ch.2.4.1). The recovery of coins minted from Aradus at Baetocaece, mostly from the pre-provincial period, indicates trade and exchange activities between this city and the sanctuary, especially in the early period. Furthermore, this city was connected to the sanctuary through two route-ways.
Most importantly, this analysis has suggested that there were social interactions between the study area and the hinterland of the Near East and distant cities, like Palmyra. It also confirms that there was a moderate Roman impact on rural cult centres, especially the sanctuary at Baetocaece, and, crucially, we understand that Baetocaece was an autonomous religious complex. This last point is proven by the sanctuary's having been a key centre for religious and commercial activities and it was self-sufficient.

In terms of influence on the architectural style, rural cult centres in the study area have mostly Graeco-Roman temples, but they used only a few standardized architectural decorations developed in the religious architecture in Near East in the provincial period. The rural cult centres in the study area present less standardized decorative architectural elements used in other sanctuaries of the Near East, probably as an expression of local taste of the study area, used to distinguish themselves from elsewhere in Syria (§ Ch.2.2).

Roman rulers had a determinant role in the sanctuary at Baetocaece, however they did not compromise its independence. On one hand, this cult centre was subject to the will of Roman emperors as these had the decisional power to solve disputes between the sanctuary and the nearby city; on the other, Roman rulers maintained the sanctuary's autonomy given by the Seleucid king, possibly Antioch VI (145-141/140BC) (§ Ch.2.4.1).
The potential presence of Roman imperial insignia (lions and eagles) (§ Ch.2.3.2.a-b) and soldiers' dedications in the sanctuary of Baetocaece, and the occurrence of a Roman military base at Raphanea, just 15 km away from the sanctuary (§ Ch.2.4.2) and connected through a route-way, could be interpreted as attempts by Roman emperors to safeguard the sanctuary's independence as well as prove their power. The participation of Roman soldiers in the religious life of this cult centre, at least one from Raphanea, also indicates contacts with non-local people and with the hinterland territory rather than the coast and the city of Aradus.

The connections of the study area with cultures from the inland areas, such as Palmyra and Emesa, can be also shown in other ways. Some architectural features (representations of outstretched wing eagles between two ephebes, and niches inserted into the sanctuary's façade) used in this study area were originated and more commonly used at Palmyra than in other areas, such as sanctuaries in Lebanon (§ Ch.2.2.3). Provincial coins from Emesa and Antioch, both connected to Palmyra, are found in the sanctuary at Baetocaece. The presence of a slave trade only in this cult centre and at Palmyra in Syria implies commercial connections between the two (§ Ch.2.5.1). The relation of this study area, in particular Baetocaece, with the East can be traced to the existence of route-ways from Baetocaece to the eastern hinterland: Emesa, Apamea and Antioch, and indirectly to Palmyra (§ Ch.2.1.4).

The sanctuary of Baetocaece could be considered a centre of social interactions and a meeting point for local and non-local worshippers coming from Lebanon, and merchants from the hinterland of the Near East, like those involved in the slave-trade from Palmyra. This is explained by the location of the sanctuary on the trade-route. It was a large monumental complex for ritual sacrifices (three monumental altars) (§ Ch.2.2), as well as a healing centre, due to its natural sacred resources (spring and castor

oil plants) (§ Ch.2.3.1). It was dedicated to a syncretic deity (Zeus Baetocaece) which merged a local god as well the Greek assimilation of various Semitic deities, and his representations could stand for a plurality of divinities (§ Ch.2.3).

The autonomy of the sanctuary at Baetocaece can be understood from the fact that the sanctuary had the privilege of receiving goods from urban settlements without a monetary charge; it also had a water supply (a spring). It had control of tax-free commerce, especially of slaves, and of its nearby village, including its exploitable terrains and its production, and the presence of the sanctuary's functionaries (*katachoi*) (§ Ch.2.5). These managed the temple's affairs, dealt directly with emperors about sanctuary issues and also financed the gateways of the sanctuary (§ Ch.2.4).

The comprehensive analysis here, adopted for northern Phoenicia with an introductory framework of its historical background, will be carried out for the second study area of this research, the Hauran (§ Ch.3-7).

Chapter 3: the geographical and historical background of the Hauran

An outline of the historical and socio-economic background of the study area Hauran from the pre-provincial to the provincial period (second-first century BC-third century AD) is provided here. It considers the topography (§ Ch.3.1), historical sources, archaeological and epigraphic evidence (§ Ch.3.2-3), and the road network (§ Ch.3.4).

3.1. Topography

The Hauran region is modern-day southern Syria to the South of Damascus (Dentzer 1985, 1986). It is a territory of roughly 105 km (N-S) by 90 km (E-W). It includes five micro-regions with different landscapes and climate conditions (Map 3.1).

The northernmost, Leja has the most hostile terrain because of the lava that formed a plateau (Dentzer 1999: 241) and the arid and desert climate –the average yearly rain fall is roughly 150mm. Therefore, this is a suitable place for livestock-breeding (Gentelle 1986: 23).

Djebel al ‘Arab,[49] to the South of Leja, is a volcanic massif, from 1000m to 18/1900m high (Villeneuve 1986: 56, 121). It has reliable rainfall (annual average of precipitation 350mm) (Gentelle 1986: 21, 26), also facilitated by the presence of the mountain massif of the Djebel al’ Arab (Dentzer 1985: 401) (Map 3.2). Therefore, Djebel al’ Arab has a favourable terrain and climatic conditions for living, vine-culture, olive-culture and arboriculture (Villeneuve 1986: 70).

Similar to the Djebel al’ Arab is Jawalān, the area consisting of a hilly terrain between the Golan Heights, on the West, and Leja, on the East (Map 3.1). The water descending from the massif of Mount Hermon on the North-East facilitates a similar agriculture to Djebel al’Arab (Villeneuve 1986: 70), despite a lower rain fall (over 250mm) (Map 3.2).

On the South of the Djebel al’Arab, the Nuqra is the fertile plain of the Hauran, between 600 and 1000 m high, with a yearly rainfall of 200-350 mm. These conditions enable cereal production (*Ibid*.) (Maps 3.1-2).

An even more fertile area is Saccea, in the North-Eastern part of Djebel al-Arab, more productive because of a better climate for cultivation, as it is at a higher altitude than Nuqra (over 1000m high) and due to the presence of water coming from the nearby

[49] It is also called Djebel Hauran, Jabal al-Arab, Jabal al Druze or just Druze.

mountains (*Ibid*. 71). However, it is an extremely small plateau, less than 10 km by 10 km, therefore its agricultural production and profit are limited.

The different parts of the Hauran are used for different types of cultivation and they are favourable areas for living and for agricultural and industrial activities, as I will discuss further when looking at these types of economic activities in relation to rural sanctuaries (§ Ch.7).

3.2. Historical background according to historical sources

The main historical sources providing an insight into the study area are the first-century historians Josephus and Strabo. They did not discuss the Hauran as a single territory, but divided it into three zones: Trachonitis or Trachon (today Leja), Auranitis (nowadays Djebel al'Arab, Nuqra and Saceea), and Banatea (commonly known as Jawalān) (*Jos. AJ* 15, 3: 112, 271, 345-348, 352-364, *BJ* 1, 20: 366, 399-400, *Strab. Geog.* 16: 2, 16, 20) (Map 3.1). It is arguable that this geographical division was based on the different populations that lived there, although this cannot be confirmed as it does not appear in written and archaeological evidence.

In the third-second century BC, the Hauran, formed part of the Seleucid Empire (Sartre 1989), and was a cause of a conflict between the Seleucids and the Ptolemaic Empire (Dentzer 1986: 387 ff., especially 394).

The Djebel al'Arab belonged to Ituraean principality at some point before 30BC, as a certain Zenodorus, an Ituraean leader, sold this territory to the Nabataean population in that period, according to historical sources (*Jos. A.J.* 15, 345, 352). The duration of the Ituraean control and the kind of power this authority exercised in this area are unknown. During the second-first century BC this kingdom comprised a tribal population of an unclear origin which occupied essentially modern-day Lebanon (Mount Lebanon and anti-Lebanon mountains and the Beqaa valley) and part of northern Israel (Hermon and the Golan Heights) (Aliquot 1999-2003, 2009: 28 ff., Myers 2010), and it also expanded towards Damascus and the Hauran. This principality adopted some aspects of Hellenistic culture as the predominance of the use of Greek language and Greek legends on coins with names of Ituraean rulers can demonstrate (Aliquot 2009: 35-37. Myers

2010). Written evidence informs us that its main settlements were Chalcis of Lebanon and Abila of Lysianias (*Ibid*.).[50]

The presence of a hostile Ituraean population is also attested in Southern Syria in the first century BC in two instances. Firstly, they threatened the inhabitants of Damascus (North of the Hauran) who sought help from the Nabataean king in 84 BC (*Jos. A.J.* 13: 392- 393, *B.J.* 1, 103-104). Secondly, the Ituraeans helped the bandits –the provenance of which is not specified –who had their lair in Leja threaten again Damascus in 23BC (*Jos. A.J.* 15, 344-348). Therefore, in the first century BC, ancient sources (*Jos. AJ* 15: 345-348, 352, 16: 271, *Strab. Geog.* 16: 2, 20) depicted Djebel al'Arab and Leja, especially the latter, as an unsafe territory, crossed by robbers and brigands –the provenance of which is unknown.

This, together with the expansion of the Nabatean and the Herodian reigns towards the Hauran, brought conflict between them and, therefore, a period of instability which lasted until the Roman occupation (*Jos. JA* 13: 374 ff., *BJ* 89 ff.). These two powers divided the Hauran under two political authorities in the first century BC-first century AD and, later, it became two separate Roman provinces until the end of the second-beginning of the third century AD. They were: the Roman province of Syria, for the Herodian territory, and the province of Arabia, for the Nabataean area (see below for further information).

3.2.1. The Nabataeans and the Hauran

Although the origin of the Nabataean population remains still uncertain, historical sources (*Diodorus Siculus* 19, 94 ff.) referred to them as nomadic people in the fourth century BC.[51]

[50] It is difficult to identify archaeological evidence that belongs to the Ituraean principality because it has not been delineated a specific distinctive element, such as pottery style or architectural feature, spread across the Ituraean principality, which was known mostly according to written evidence. Some surveys and excavations in Hermon and the Golan Heights, like the site Dar, have revealed cult-places with enclosure and evidence of cult-feastings and also sanctuaries dated to Hellenistic period when the Ituraean principality was ruling in this territory. In these sites pottery production from Golan territory has also been found (Myers 2010: 42 ff.). This ceramic type has been classified to be Ituraean (Dar 1993). However, in order to put forward this theory a distribution of such pottery across the Ituraean territory would have to have been recovered, but this has not yet been identified (Myers 2010: 77).

[51] The Nabataeans could have originated from the Fertile Crescent, according to Graf's argument (1990: 46, 67) based on the linguistic affinities between the Nabataean writing and that used in the Fertile Crescent. Then, once the Nabataean population settled in North Saudi Arabia and Southern Jordan, they could have merged with the Edomites (indigenous people in the southern Jordan), as some of the customs of this population, like the worship of the Edomite god Qos, persisted in the Nabataean culture (Healey 2001: 126).

From the second century BC our understanding of the Nabateans is clearer. They consisted of a royal dynasty that controlled the southern part of Transjordan (modern day Jordan), the Negev (southern Israel) and the Hijaz (north-west Arabia)[52] (Map 3.3). It has been possible to determine a clear chronological succession of their kings from this period up to its end thanks to literary and epigraphic evidence and coins (Wenning 1993).

Throughout the first century BC the Hauran was fought over by the Nabataean kingdom and the neighbouring Jewish state –for the latter see Ch.3.2.2 (Table 3.1).

The Nabataeans, in fact, temporarily controlled Damascus in 84-72 BC and the northern part of Djebel al'Arab and Nuqra for a few years of the first century BC (before 23BC, perhaps 30-23BC), as Zenodorus sold this territory to them (Table 3.1) (Map 3.3).

The southern part of the Djebel al'Arab, belonged to the Nabataeans, with Bosra as the main centre (Sartre 2007b: 9-12) from the first-century BC until the end of their kingdom; its exact border cannot be clearly determined (Starcky 1986, Dentzer 1986: 167, 387) (Table 3.1) (Map 3.3).

The dispute between the Nabataean and the Herodian kingdoms was temporarily settled by the Roman intervention of Pompey's legate Marcus Aemilius Scaurus who ordered the Nabataean king Aretas to leave Jerusalem (main city of the Jewish kingdom) with his army in 64BC (*Jos. AJ* 14.29).[53] After this event, the Nabataean rulers became loyal client kings to Rome. They, in fact, supported Rome with their military army during Roman conflicts in the Near East.[54] Furthermore, coins minted by Scaurus showed the image of Nabataean king Aretas' submission to the Roman power (he kneeled beside a camel, offering a branch) (Schmitt-Korte 1991: 145-146 N67-70). The Nabataean kings carried on their duty of a client kingdom to Rome by joining the Roman army led by the emperor Titus in the first Jewish wars (AD66–73) (*Jos. BJ* 3.68).

[52] Starcky (1966), Negev (1977), Bowersock (1983), Butcher (2003: 96), Wenning (2007).

[53] Another way to solve quarrels between the Nabataean and Jewish kingdoms was by diplomatic marriages (Healey 2001: 30-31); but it was not successful as Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee from the Jewish reign (4BC-AD39), rejected the Nabataean king Aretas' daughter, after marrying her, in favour of Herodian, his half-brother's wife (*Jos. AJ* 18, 109-112). As a consequence, Aretas invaded and inflicted a major defeat on Herod (*Jos. AJ* 18.112-114) who sought Roman intervention. The Roman Emperor Tiberius, in favour of Herod, ordered a punitive expedition against the Nabataeans, but it was called off because he died (Bowerstock 1983: 65-68).

[54] For instance, the Nabataen king Malichus I assisted Caesar in the war in Egypt with his army (*Jos. AJ* 14.137) and supported Antony in the battle of Actium (*Plutarch Ant.* 61.2).

Petra was the first Nabataean capital (*Ibid. Strab. Geog.*16, 4, 18: 777, 21: 779) but was replaced by Bosra, in the South of the Hauran, in the mid-first century AD (Bowersock 1983: 73, Sartre 2007b: 9-12).

In AD106 the Nabataean kingdom was incorporated, apparently without a struggle,[55] by the governor of Syria Cornelius Palma in the Roman province of Arabia with its administrative centre at Bosra (Bowersock 1983: 81, Healey 2001: 32), as it was a client kingdom. It extended across the wadi Arabah (Dead Sea in Jordan) into the Negev (southern Israel) and Sinai, including Amman (the ancient city Philadelphia), Jerash (the ancient city Gerasa) and probably Adraa (Millar 1993: 95-96).

3.2.2. Herodian kingdom and the Hauran

The origin of the Herodian kingdom is clearer. It took over the pre-existing local Hasmonean kingdom of Judea (Israel), an independent dynasty from 129BC, similar to the model of Seleucid Hellenistic rulers. The Hasmonean realm expanded under Alexander Jannaeus (103-76BC) to the east of Jordan, including Galilee (Map 3.4).

During the conflicts of this kingdom with the Nabataeans and the Roman interventions in the first century BC, Pompey reduced the Jewish territory to Judaea, Galilee and Peraea (Butcher 2003: 94).

Because of disputes over the Hashomean succession the Romans decided the next king would be Herod, who named the kingdom after himself (Herodian kingdom); he became an ally and was loyal to Rome (*Ibid.* 94-95). He acquired many territories between Trachon and Galilee (*Ibid.* 95). Herod founded two military bases in Leja to control this territory against the raids of brigands, of unknown provenance, in the first century BC, mentioned by historical sources (§ Ch.3.2). One was a military colony of 3000 Idumeans in Leja (*Jos. Ant.* 15: 285, *Jos. AJ* 16: 130, 273), its location is unknown. The other was commanded by Zamaris and came from Babylonia under the Parthian Empire, and it was founded at Bathyra in 10 BC (*Jos. Ant.* 17.2 1-2: 23-31). It has been identified with the modern-day site Basir on the outskirts of the north-western fringe of Leja (Dussaud 1927: 331, Schürer 1979: 14, Bauzou 1986: 150 fig.1).

Herod divided his kingdom into three for his three sons, but Augustus refused to grant the title of king to all of them. His son Archelaus was the ethnarch of Judaea. He, being unable to handle religious and political situations, was deposed by Augustus in AD6.

[55] Coins minted under the Emperor Trajan referred to the Roman Province of Arabia as *Arabia Adquisita* (gained) not *Arabia Capta* (captured) (RIC II: 278).

The territory under his control was annexed to the province of Syria. The son Antipas ruled two separate regions: Galilee and Peraea. He was deposed by the emperor Caligula who caused Antipas' diplomatic marriage to a wife from the Nabataean realm to fall through (see just above Ch.3.2.1) (Butcher 2003: 95-96). The third son, Philip, ruled the Hauran (Batanaea, Trachon, and Auranitis) until the end of his life in AD33/34, when the territory was controlled by the Romans for a short time (AD34-37), until the grandson of Herod, Agrippa I, was granted the title of king by the emperor Caligula and he also received the territory that was under Antipas' rule and Gaulanities, the Batanea and Trachon in AD37 (Table 3.1). The emperor Claudius delegated the kingship of Judaea and the Auranitis in AD41, which was previously part of the Roman province in AD34-41 (Table 3.1). His successor was his nephew, Agrippa II (AD53-93/94); he proved loyalty to Rome by providing his help against the Jewish revolts (Table 3.1). His territory, when he died in AD93/54 was annexed to the Roman province of Syria (Table 3.1). Djebel al'Arab, Leja and Jawalān were only later annexed to the Roman province of Arabia under Septimus Severus at the end of the second-beginning of the third century (Millar 1993: 123).

3.2.3. Herodian vs. Nabataean reigns

Historical sources have showed that the Hauran was under the control of different, non-local populations: Seleucid Empire, Ituraean principality from Lebanon, Nabataean and Herodian kings and the Romans.

The Herodian and Nabatean kingdoms, at the border of the Hauran, imposed their authority in the study area and caused its division into two areas from the first century BC until the end of the second-beginning of the third century, when the whole Hauran was part of one Roman province, Arabia. The southern territory of the study area belonged to the Nabataean kingdom, then to the Roman province of Arabia, whereas its northern and central parts were under the Herodian reign, and, later, to the Roman province of Syria.

The political division of the study area will be the foundation of this study, when looking at the internal social dynamics of the Herodian and Nabataean authorities and at their impact on each other's territories in the Hauran in the pre-provincial and provincial periods. This will be achieved through the analysis of the Herodian and Nabataean influence on the architectural style of rural cult centres, their gods, and benefactors.

3.3. Archaeological evidence and inscriptions

3.3.1. Before the first century AD: the presence of nomads?

The scanty archaeological remains, limited in the first century BC and absent in the Seleucid period (312BC-129), present an unclear picture of the Hauran before the Nabataean and Herodian expansion, as also delineated by historical sources (Denzter-Feydy 1986: 285).

There were cult-places that did not present monumental structures (i.e. they just had altars and votive offerings) at Sī' (Dentzer 1985) and at Massakeb (near Sī') in second-early first century BC (Kalos 1999, Dentzer-Feydy 2010a: 230), both from Djebel al'Arab, and at Sahr in Leja in first century BC (Kalos 2003: 160, 164-165 fig.2-3).[56] In the first site a monumental temple was built at the end of the first century BC (PPUAES IV A 2 N 76, 78).

In Leja, apart from two Herodian military bases historically attested (one at Basir, and the other of Idumaean settlers, the exact location of which is unknown) (§ Ch.3.2.2) there was another Herodian military garrison at Sur al-Laja, in the south-eastern part of Leja. This is demonstrated by remains of a fortification, dated to the first century AD according to the recovery of pottery in this site, and an epitaph of a commander that served Agrippa II on this site (Starcky 1986: 180, Rohmer 2010: 129, 133 fig.7, 10). There is no clear evidence to argue that this was the military base of Idumaean settlers.

The use of a water-catchment system at the borders of Leja and Djebel al'Arab since the Bronze Age (Braemer 1988, Braemer *et al.* 2009, 2010) implies that an organized method was put into place to manage this water system.

This scanty recovery of archaeological evidence combined with historical sources that mention the presence of raids of bandits of unknown provenance, especially in Leja, has led scholars (Villeneuve 1986: 116-118, Dentzer 1986: 398-401) to assume the presence of a nomadic population that sustained itself with livestock-breeding, especially in Leja, which could have been an ideal place for this type of activity. This theory has been supported by the mention of tribes in provincial inscriptions in the Hauran and an inscription at Tarba (Djebel al'Arab) that mentions the chief of a nomadic camp (Villeneuve 1986: 117).

[56] For information on the earliest phases of these cult-places see Ch.4 footnote 109.

However, both types of evidence do not necessarily indicate the presence of nomads as evidences are not dated before the first century AD, but mostly come from the provincial period. Furthermore, the presence of tribes does not necessarily imply nomads (Sartre 1982a: 85-99, MacDonald 1993: 353), as people from a tribe could also have belonged to a small community, a family clan or people with the same ethnicity (Sartre 1987). The inscription that mentions the chief of a nomadic camp could have only been a one-off occurrence of a nomadic group of unknown provenance in the Hauran.

On the basis of the limited archaeological evidence we can achieve only a blurred understanding of the Hauran before the first century AD. I believe that the scholarly hypothesis of a nomadic population is not based on firm evidence, but it is probably the consequence of the difficulty of recovering evidence of permanent rural occupation before the first century AD or even the Roman period because the remains of these settlements were most likely superimposed by ones dated to a later period, i.e. late Roman and Byzantine times (Clauss-Balty 2008b). Roman villages, in fact, can be mostly identified by inscriptions (McLean Harper 1928, Sartre 1987). Furthermore, there has not been much systematic and intensive fieldwork in the Hauran designed to identify rural settlements and their different phases, with the exception of case-studies, such as Sha'ârah (Bruant 2010, Clauss-Balty 2010), and even in this case material from the late Roman and Byzantine periods prevail (*Ibid*.).

3.3.2. From the first century AD: rural landscape and territorial divisions of the Hauran

The geographic division of the Hauran into two areas revealed by historical sources can also be perceived by considering their organization, economy an inhabitants, through the analysis of archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

3.3.2.1. The plain of Bosra

The city of Bosra was the main centre of the southern part of the Hauran from the first century BC, but there is hardly any archaeological evidence until the mid-first century AD when it underwent a major phase of building activity, as demonstrated by the

Nabataean arch-way complex. This occurred as a result of Bosra becoming the capital of the Nabataean kingdom (Sartre 1985, Dentzer *et al.* 2007: 31-38).

Bosra seems to have controlled its surrounding rural landscape as inscriptions from the countryside mention the civic administrative power of Bosra (βουλετη translated as "councillor") (Sartre 1987). An irrigation system (Braemer 1988) and environmental samples both attributed to the provincial period (Willcox 2003) and evidence of ancient terraced fields, the chronology of which is unknown, illustrates land-exploitation for cereal production (Villeneuve 1986: 56).

The concentration of Nabataean inscriptions in the South of the Hauran, including those that mentioned rural cult centres, has been considered as evidence of the Nabataean presence in this area (Map 3.5). It has been suggested that the northern border of Nabataea was south of the site Hebran where there was a rural temple, roughly 20 km north-east of Bosra (Starcky 1986 fig.1) (Map 3.5). This boundary was originally attributed by the modern scholar Starcky who studied Nabataean inscriptions in the Hauran. However, defining a clear, demarcated line between the Nabataean and the Herodian kingdoms in the study area is probably impossible as it is difficult to pinpoint where one polity ended and the other started. I will investigate this aspect in this thesis as well as how the two realms could have influenced each other, especially at their borders, where the Hauran was situated (§ Ch.4-5-6).

3.3.2.2. Northern and central territory of the Hauran

In the Herodian territory of the Hauran a first-century BC coin (57-55BC) mentions that the ancient name Canatha Gabinia (modern-day Qanawat in Djebel al-Arab)[57] was a city (Table 3.2). In the late provincial period (late second-third century) the cities of Dionysias (Suweida) (AD185) and Philippopolis (modern-day Shahba) (AD244) were founded (Table 3.2) (Map 3.7). Functionaries from these cities do not appear in inscriptions from the rural landscape where only village communities and officials are mentioned. This could imply that these cities did not control the rural settlements which appeared to have a certain level of autonomy (McLean Harper 1928, Jones 1971: 270-272, Sartre 1987: 251).

Further indication of an organization based on villages is the presence of *metrokomiai* from the end of second century, but mostly in the third century (Sartre 1999) (Table

[57] See Sartre (1981) on the discussion of the identification of the first-century BC Canatha.

3.3). They mean "mother villages": they are villages of higher rank (Sartre 1987: 256). Their location at strategic points, including Roman roads or on the borders of the territory in Leja which was raided, and the presence of military delegations in these settlements suggest that *metrokomiai* had a significant controlling role over the rural territory (Table 3.3) (Map 3.7) (*Ibid*.). The fact that urban settlements did not have this responsibility reinforces the idea that this territory was based on a village-centralized power. Considering the administrative autonomy of villages discussed here, their role in rural cult centres will be also evaluated in this thesis (§ Ch.6).

Cultivation of vine-yards and olive trees in Djebel al-Arab in the provincial period (Villeneuve 1986: 56, 121) can be suggested by springs and cisterns used in the pre-provincial and provincial period (Braemer *et al.* 2009) and water-channels (Waddington 2296-2297, 2308, Braemer 1988), dated to the provincial period. This can be confirmed by environmental samples from the provincial period (Willcox 2003).
The centre of Leja could have been, in contrast, an ideal place for livestock-breeding, due to the combination of an arid climate and desert terrain (Villeneuve 1986: 56). 1920s' aerial photographs show early traces of dry stone-enclosures for animals in Leja which cannot be dated (*Ibid.* 116).

It is difficult to have a clear understanding of the nature of the population in central and northern Hauran. The inscriptions are mostly in Greek as this was the main language used for official purposes, including dedications to temples, in the Near East in the pre-provincial and provincial periods (Sartre 1986). The names of tribes and individuals mentioned in inscriptions found in Djebel al'Arab and Leja from the first century onwards are mentioned in "Safaitic" graffiti (Milik 1980, 1986, Sartre 1982a, 1982b, 1991: 333, 1992: 43-44, Graf 1989: 368). The last ones were erroneously called "Safaitic" because they were first believed to be mostly geographically distributed in Ṣafā, the volcanic area in the East of Damascus and North-East of Leja (Macdonald 1993: 305-307, 383) (Map 3.6). They had a distinctive writing from other Semitic languages[58] as it lacks vowels, gaps between words and diphthongs (Macdonald 1998:

[58] Some scholars (Sartre 1982b, Graf 1989, Negev 1991) pointed out onomastic resemblances of "Safaitic" names and tribes with Nabataean ones, whereas MacDonald (1993: 381) suggested the influence of Aramaic and Jewish writing on "Safaitic" graffiti. However, it is not possible to determine the predominant influence from either of them and the origin of this distinctive "Safaitic" script.

183). "Safaitic" graffiti (c.28,000)[59] were, instead, mostly spread in the desert in the southern Syria, western Iraq, north-eastern Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia and in a few examples (four) at Dura Europos,[60] one at Palmyra[61] and four in the Anti-Lebanon Mount[62] (Milik 1986: 184, Macdonald 1993: 311, 2000: 45). These graffiti on rocks and occasionally on vessel fragments are badly preserved and consist of short grave-marks or prayers; sometimes the name of the graffiti maker and his genealogy are mentioned (Macdonald 1993: 383). These graffiti are not dated; their time-frame could range from the first century BC to the fourth century AD as they occasionally mention Herodian, Nabataean and Roman battlefields and events (MacDonald 2000: 45).

The occurrence of these graffiti is not associated with any archaeological evidence in the desert. This, together with the widespread geographical extent of their recovery, also in major urban sites, like Dura Europos, could imply that people who used this writing travelled long distances, entered into contact with different sedentary populations, such as the ones from Palmyra and Lebanon.

Scholars (Milik 1980, 1986, Sartre 1982a, 1982b, 1991: 333, 1992: 43-44, Villeneuve 1986: 116-117, Dentzer 1986: 398-401) believed that the people associated with "Safaitic" script were nomadic populations and they became sedentary in the Djebel al'Arab and Leja and adopted the Greek language. This based on the resemblance of the names of tribes and individuals in the Greek inscriptions recovered in the Hauran and in Safaitic graffiti.

MacDonald (1993: 352-354), instead, maintained that there is no firm evidence to argue for a general sedentarization of nomads, especially of nomadic groups that used the "Safaitic" script, in the Hauran, because of the presence of few "Safaitic" graffiti in the study area and of a major difference between "Safaitic" graffiti on stony rocks consisting of few words, and monumental commemorative formal inscriptions in the Greek language recovered in the Hauran. He also (*Ibid*. 383) suggested that the use of certain names unusual among the common ones used in the region, in this case, the Hauran, does not necessarily suggest the movements of people but could be due to fashion. He used a much later historical case-study in England from the seventeenth

[59] There is an up-to-date online database of the "Safaitic" graffiti recorded so far: (http://krcfm.orient.ox.ac.uk/fmi/iwp/cgi?-db=AALC_BDRS&-loadframes) that should be around 28,000 (http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/aalc/index.php/projects/safaitic-database-online).

[60] Milik (1972: 334).

[61] Drijvers (1976: 34).

[62] Ghadban (1971), Harding (1971, 1975).

century when Jewish names appeared to be increased in this territory, despite the lack of the actual presence of Jewish people. In this nation this new custom could have been explained as a new fashion caused by the wide publication of the Bible, the rise of Puritans and the predilection for the Old Testament, characters of which had Jewish names.

However, I believe that even though the onomastic resemblance between names from Hauran inscriptions and "Safaitic" graffiti could simply imply the fashion of the time of using names from "Safaitic" graffiti, it is evidence of "strong" connections between the population of the Hauran and people who used "Safaitic" script. This link, underestimated by MacDonald, needs to be reconsidered by looking for further resemblance or evidence of connection between the population of the Hauran and the "Safaitic" groups, as I will attempt to carry out in this thesis. This will be discussed when considering the origin of gods worshipped in rural cult centres and their benefactors (§ Ch.5-6), as from "Safaitic" graffiti we can gain information about their gods and their tribes' and personal names.

Amongst all the different types of archaeological evidence available and recorded in the study area pre-provincial and especially provincial remains of rural cult centres are the most numerous; they are concentrated in the Djebel al-Arab and Leja. They have been used to indicate the combination of regional, provincial Near Eastern and Hellenistic style (Dentzer-Feydy 1986, 1990a, 1990b, 1992, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2010a).

This type of evidence, as it is widespread in the study area, is an ideal subject to use to investigate the social interactions and relations of the different populations that controlled the Hauran (i.e. Ituraean, Herodian, and Nabataean reigns and Roman Empire) or had an impact on this territory (groups who used the "Safaitic" script).

3.3.3. Picture of the Hauran according to archaeological and epigraphic evidence

Whereas scanty evidence before the first century AD can provide a blurred picture of the Hauran, most likely of a rural nature, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from this period onwards has reinforced the division of the Hauran into the plain of Bosra and the northern and central parts, as suggested by historical sources. This has also strengthened the importance of using this territorial separation as a foundation for

the analysis of cult centres in this research, reasons for which have already been explained above (§ Ch.3.2.3).

Nabataean inscriptions in the southern part of the Hauran indicate the Nabataean presence in this area (Starcky 1986), and their distribution also in other portions of the territory, outside of the Nabataean control, indicates that the Nabataean influence was more extensive than historical information may suggest (*Ibid.* especially fig.1). Similarly, the unclear presence or influence from nomadic groups who used the Safaitic script in rural cult centres in the Hauran requires to be clarified. Therefore, I will address this issue in the thesis in order to shed new light on what kind of contacts and influence these non-local nomadic groups and also the Nabataean populations had on the study area (§ Ch.4-5-6).

It is also necessary to re-assess the impact of the Herodian kingdom on rural cult centres because it was the main political power in northern and central part of the Hauran for almost two centuries before becoming part of the Roman province (§ Ch.4-5-6).

As inscriptions from villages seem to suggest that these rural settlements were autonomously organized, the copious epigraphic materials from rural temples and sanctuaries can help us to investigate the role of villagers and the impact of people from the nearby cities on these religious centres (§ Ch.4-5-6).

3.4. Route-ways

The understanding of the road-network in the study area is based on the French research work that looked at the data from aerial photography, the recovery of towers, forts, milestones and the remains of Roman roads (Bauzou 1986, 2003) (Map 3.7).

Two main second-century roads ran North-South from Damascus to Bosra: one cut through Leja and Suweida (Roman city Dionysias), the other followed the eastern border of the lava of Leja. Damascus is a crossroads for caravan routes to Lebanon and Palmyra (§ Ch.2.1) (Map 2.3). The study area was connected to the hinterland of the Near East, on the East, through the road to Palmyra from Damascus (§ Ch.2.1).[63]

Routes directly from Bosra or through Dera'a linked to Bosra connected the Hauran with the central part of the Herodian and Nabatean kingdoms and cities of the

[63] There is a minor road (roughly 75 km long) that ran to the East from the village of Mushannef, to reach en-Namara. This road was most likely used in late Roman period as en-Nemara is a small oasis in the steppe where there are traces of military presence in the third-fourth century AD (Millar 1993: 137, 434).

Decapolis. From Bosra a second-century road goes to Amman (Philadelphia), Petra and further south, to Aqaba, on the coast of the Red Sea (ancient Roman Aila) (Millar 1993: 138-139) (Maps 4.3. 4.4). It is possible to get to the heart of the Herodian kingdom from Dera'a (route to Tiberias in Galilee) and to Jerash (Gerasa) either from Dera'a or Bosra (Map 3.7).
With regards to the north-western part of the Hauran, some villages of Jawalān (Batanaea), like Nawa and Sanamein (Aere), were connected to Mont Hermon, and so to Lebanon, and to Damascus (Map 3.7).

The road network in the Hauran also includes secondary roads; these follow a track similar to the major roads (Bauzou 1986: 152). They are in the heart of Djebel al'Arab: the routes Suweyda-Sāleh, Qanawat-sanctuary Sī', Suweyda-Mushannef through Sī', the road from the village Sleim to the East crossing Shahbā. Their dating is uncertain as they do not have mile-stones. Modern route-ways appear to be often superimposed on previous ones as aerial photography undertaken in the 1920s when modern intensive road-work had not begun yet can show (Bauzou 1986). We can date the the route-way Qanawat-Sī' after the first century BC because it had been been constructed around two tombs (tombs V and W) dated to the first century BC (Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 215).

Therefore, the outline of the road-system in the Hauran within the Near East can suggest that this region has a great potential for analysis of social interactions of this study area with other cultures, as its urban and rural settlements were connected to other parts of the Herodian and Nabatean kingdoms, Mont Hermon, so Lebanon, and indirectly to Palmyra through Damascus.
These roads, although mainly dated to the Roman period (in particular, second-third century) (Bazou 1986), could have followed earlier path-ways as they connected pre-provincial settlements; this earlier chronology has been verified in the route-way Qanawat-Sī' thanks to intensive fieldwork in this area.

3.5. The Hauran as centre of movements of populations

Historical sources, inscriptions, archaeological remains and the route-ways of the study area have pointed out that different populations controlled the Hauran or that they could have been in contact with this region from the first century BC to the third century AD.

Only at the end of the second-beginning of third century was the whole Hauran under the same province, i.e. Arabia. This makes this study-area a key-territory for the investigation of social interactions through the analysis of rural cult centres that are widely distributed in the whole Hauran.

In this research, it will be discussed in particular to what extent the Nabataean and Herodian reigns, "Safaitic" groups, Lebanon, and also regional cities, such as Bosra and Qanawat, had an impact on the type of architecture of rural cult centres in the Hauran (§ Ch.4), their gods (§ Ch.5), and benefactors (§ Ch.6).

The socio-economic and political background has indicated a division of the study area into the Nabataean territory in the Hauran, in the South, which became the Roman province of Arabia, and the Herodian area, which was part of the Roman province of Syria, in the northern and central parts. The analysis of the rural cult centres of these two different areas will evaluate to what extent and how these two non-local political authorities had an impact on the rural territory under their control and the neighbouring area of the study area.

The overview of the route-way system provided here has been essential to put the study area into a new perspective: it could have been a crossroads of different populations, as suggested above (§ Ch3.4). This needs to be carefully assessed by an in-depth analysis. The following chapters will point out, clarify and carefully evaluate which populations, from the local or more remote cities and cultures, could have crossed the Hauran and to what extent these entered into contact with and had an impact on the rural cult centres of the study area (§ Ch. 4-6).

The historical and socio-economic background of the study area has pointed out the potential of the study area as a crossroads of different populations, the autonomy of rural villages in the northern and central parts of the Hauran, and the self-sufficiency of this region based on different types of agriculture. Therefore, these aspects could imply a certain importance of rural cult centres for non-local populations and their significance in their surrounding landscape in terms of socio-economic matters that will be fully assessed in this research (§ Ch. 7). The role of villages and cities in relation to the rural cult centres will be also investigated (§ Ch. 4-6).

Chapter 4: Architecture in the Hauran

4.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the architecture of rural cult centres in the Hauran, which includes their layout, capitals, architectural decorations and sculptures.

The main aims of this study are:

- Firstly, to identify to what extent Herodian, Nabataean and Roman political authorities in the Hauran might have affected the architecture of rural cult centres. As architectural remains of rural cult centres in the southern part of the Hauran that belonged to the Nabataean territory are not preserved, we cannot determine the impact of this Kingdom in this part of the study area. We can, nevertheless, attempt to identify the Nabataean influence in the north and central part of the study area, which was governed by the Herodian kingdom and where ruins of rural cult centres are found (§ Ch.3 for the full explanation of these kingdoms/political authorities here mentioned).
- Secondly, to investigate the social interactions of the Hauran with more distant populations who were not necessarily directly connected to the study area from a historical point of view. In particular we are concerned with Palmyra[64] and the Parthian kingdom (§ Ch.2.1.2.a), especially the city Dura Europos, in the pre-provincial period (from the end of the first century BC to the end of the first century AD) (Map 2.3). This is based on architectural similarities between sanctuaries at Palmyra and the Parthian reign and rural cult centres in the study area. These relationships will be consolidated by the analysis of their connections and links created by route-ways. –In this analysis I do not consider Hatra, a main Parthian city, because, although it presents similar architectural and iconographic features to the rural cult centres in the Hauran, its remains (sanctuaries, architectural and decorative elements and sculptures) are dated (mostly second century AD) to a later period than the examples in the study area.[65]

In addition, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of rural cult centres when analysing their architecture, secondary goals for this study are:

[64] See Ch.2 footnote 27 for explanation of the use of the architecture of Palmyra as an essential term of comparison.

[65] See Drijvers (1977), Bertolino (1995), Sommer (2003). For architecture see Downey (1988), for statues see Ingholt (1954), Homès-Fredericq (1963).

- Firstly, to investigate to what extent rural cult centres operated as independent entities from the nearby cities;
- Secondly, to shed new light on ritual traditions in those different regions through the analysis of cult centres' layout.
- Thirdly, to attempt to identify who the main benefactors in rural cult centres were on the basis of statues recovered.

This study considers, firstly, the areas nearer to rural cult centres, then, at the regions farther away (i.e. the ones in the interior of the Near East whose link with the Hauran is not that obvious) and it follows a chronological order.
Therefore, this chapter analyses and compares the architecture of rural cult centres in the Hauran with:

- The architecture from the Herodian and Nabataean kingdoms (aim 1);
- The architecture from Palmyra,[66] and from the Parthian kingdom (§ Ch.2.1.2.a), especially its main city, Dura Europos, in the pre-provincial period (from the end of the first century BC to the end of the first century AD) (aim 2);
- The architecture generically used in the Near East in the provincial period (from the end of the first to the third century) and with specific areas, e.g. Lebanon, Palmyra and Palestine (aim 1);
- The architecture from the regional cities (minor aim 1). This is considered at the end of the chapter, but in limited detail, due to the lack of resemblance with the architecture of rural cult centres;
- The discussion on ritual traditions is undertaken in the analysis of the layout of cult centre: the identification of main benefactors in rural cult centres is considered when analysing the style of statues.

The comparative examples from the different parts of the Near East, used here to analyse the architecture of rural cult centres in the Hauran, are not part of a homogenous category because of the different architectural influences in rural cult centres. These come not only from political authorities but also from more distant populations.

[66] See Ch.2 footnote 27 for explanation of the use of the architecture of Palmyra as an essential term of comparison.

4.2. Rural cult centres in the Hauran vs. architecture in the Herodian kingdom

4.2.1. Layout of cult centres

Common elements in the layout of Herodian cult centres are: Graeco-Roman temples (e.g. peristyle or/and *in antis*) (§ Ch.4.6.1), the *temenos* (§ Ch.4.5), monumental public buildings, and occasionally using symmetry in the building planning (Overman *et al.* 2007: 182-192, Jacobson 2007 fig.1, Netzer 2006: 270 ff. 291-301).

The above mentioned, apart from the *temenos*, are widely employed in the architecture of the Roman Empire (Gros 1996: 122 ff.). This architectural resemblance, together with the fact that Herodian was a client kingdom of the Romans can indicate an overall direct influence from Rome[67] (Butcher 2003: 94-95) (§ Ch.3). These elements, apart from the use of symmetry, are frequent in the Hauran, but they are not a consequence of the Herodian dominion. The *temenos* is widely employed in the Near East in the pre-provincial and provincial periods, not just in the Herodian territory. Roman temples were mainly built in the study area in the provincial period, when they were diffused elsewhere in the Near East (§ Ch.4.5, 4.6.1).

The erection of monumental religious buildings was a key aspect in the Herodian building agenda[68] and is well reflected in the Hauran, e.g. Sī (end of first century BC) (PPUAES IV A 2 N 76, 78) and Sahr (second half of the first century) (Kalos 1997, 2003, Dentzer & Weber 2009).

4.2.2. Architectural decoration

Because few archaeological remains of sanctuaries or royal palaces in the Herodian territory are preserved, only architectural decorations that survived in the funerary context will be analysed (Goodenough 1958, Peleg 2008: 331 ff.). Monumental and non-monumental tombs from this kingdom, especially examples from Jerusalem, indicate that typical architectural and decorative elements of the Herodian architecture were: usually Ionic four-side moulding frame with triangular pediment, vine branches consisting of thick s-shaped stems with alternating motifs in the middle (flower of lotus, three rounded or long berries, and shield-shaped leaves), speared vine branches (Table 4.1), geometric palmettes (Table 4.2) and rosettes (six speared petals, traced by dividers,

[67] In two cases, at Hebron and Momre, active cult-places present the *temenos* without a *cella* (Netzer 2006: 276).

[68] For more detailed information of the Herodian building programme, see Lichtenberger (1999), Japp (2000), Kokkinos (2007), Netzer (2006).

inscribed in a slight engraved circle) and those with double corollas (Table 4.3) (Figures 1-3). If the Ionic moulding frame is typical of Hellenistic architecture (Lawrence 1983 fig.136) and widely used in the Near East (Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 93), the other decorative elements seem to be traced back from Parthian tradition in the Near East (§ Ch.4.4.2.2).

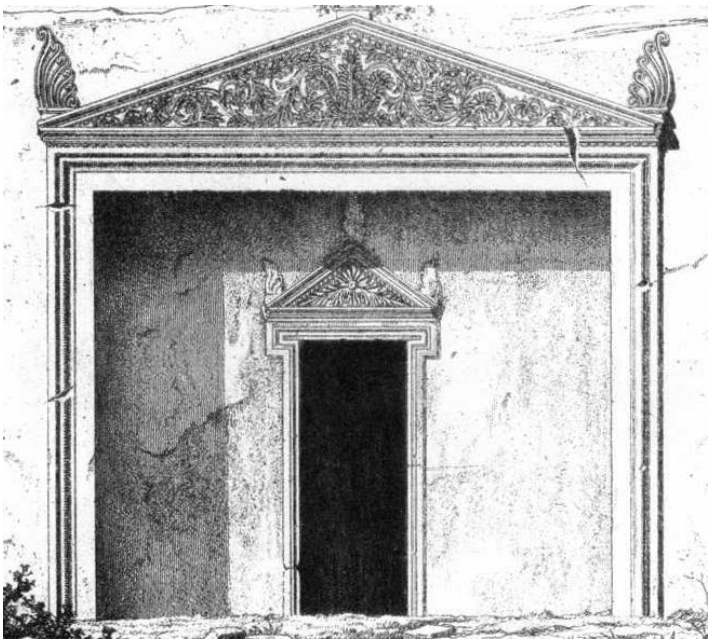


Figure 1: Facade of a tomb at Jerusalem (after Goodenough 1958 fig.23)

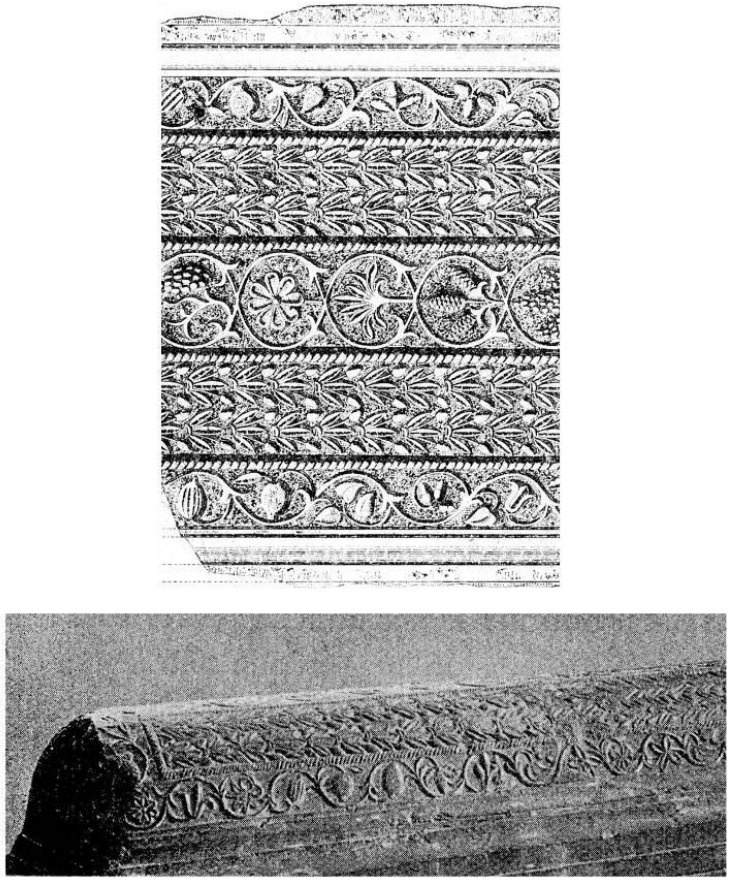


Figure 2: Decoration of the lid of the sarcophagus “Tomb of the Kings”
(after Goodenough 1958 N232, 235)

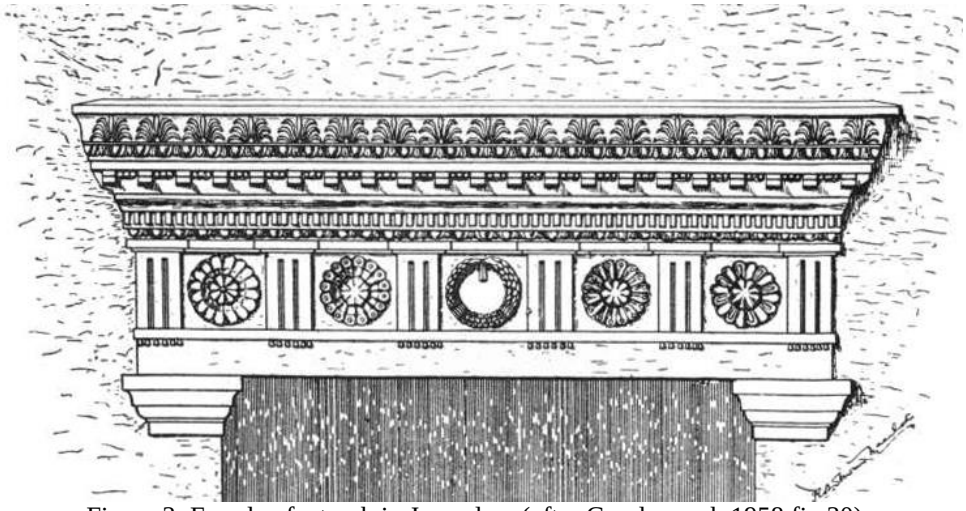


Figure 3: Facade of a tomb in Jerusalem (after Goodenough 1958 fig.30)

All these decorative elements are recovered in the Hauran in the sanctuary at Sī, although occasionally they have been locally adapted (Tables 4.1-3) (Figures 4-6). For

instance, the speared leaves from this sanctuary have v-shaped lotuses attached between the stem and leaves, unlike the ones in Herodian architecture, and they are bigger and spikier than the ones from the comparative example (Figures 2-4).

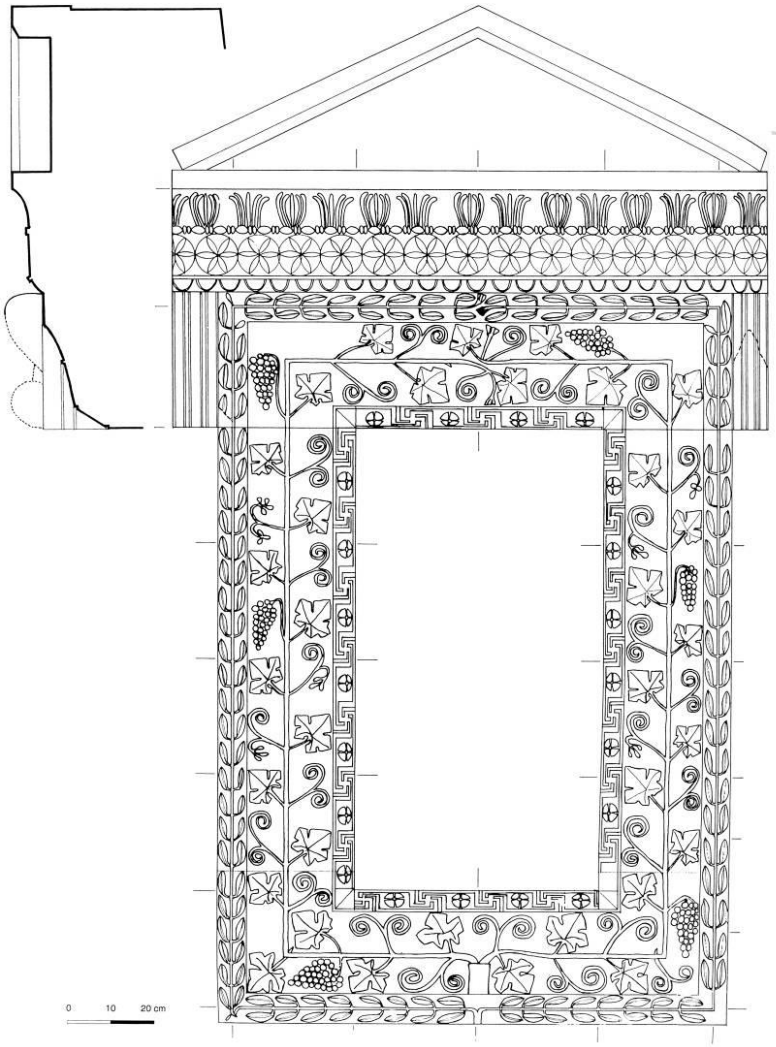


Figure 4: Niche-frame of the facade of the sanctuary Sī’ 8 (after Dentzer-Feydy 2003 pl.84)

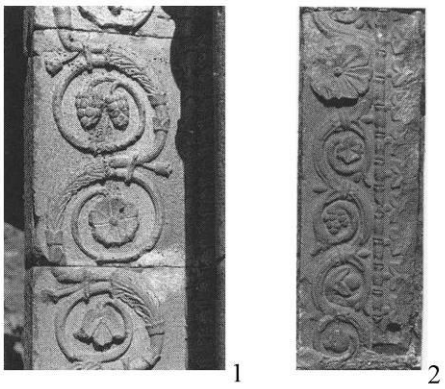


Figure 5: 1: a block reemployed in the sheik's house at Sleim, 2: a block reemployed in a modern building at Hebran (after Dentzer-Feydy 2003 pl.85: 6, 8)

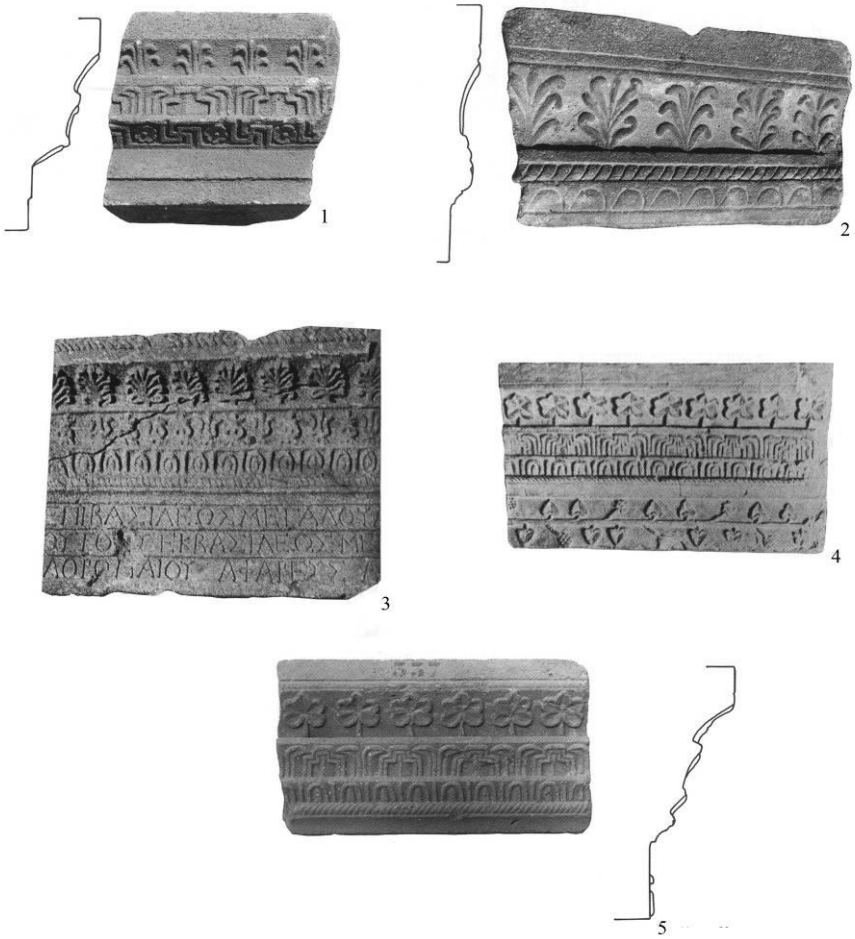


Figure 6: 1: doorframe of the temple 2 at Sī' (after Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 5,6), 2: doorframe of the sanctuary at Sur al-Laja (after *Ibid.* pl.85: 11-12), 3: lintel with inscription that mentions Agrippa II at Sī' (after PPUAES II A 6 ill.338, *Ibid.* 7), 4 and 5: blocks of the Nabatean doorway at Sī' (after *Ibid*. ill.340, *Ibid.* 8-10).

4.2.3. Statues

Although the Herodian kingdom was influenced by Jewish customs that did not allow figurative representations of deities (Fischer 1998: 38-39, Japp 2007: 242, Netzer 2006: 291), few surviving statues of sporadic divine and royal depictions reveal a Hellenistic style (Fischer 1998: 38-39, Japp 2007: 244, Erlich 2009), which consists of naturalistic representations with an attention to detail (Boardman 1985).

The following statues in the Hauran seem to be influenced by the Hellenistic tradition: lions (§ Ch.4.2.3.1), a human seated figure (§ Ch.4.2.3.2), and Nikai (§ Ch.4.2.3.3). Additionally there is a resemblance in style between the representations of eagles in the study area and the ones represented in the Herodian coinage (§ Ch.4.2.3.4).

4.2.3.1. Lions

Lions recovered in Leja are represented with an elaborate mane (Sahr and at Menara Henou), consisting of s-shaped tufts, non-parallel, short, rebellious strands (Figure 7) (Table 4.4) (Map 4.1).

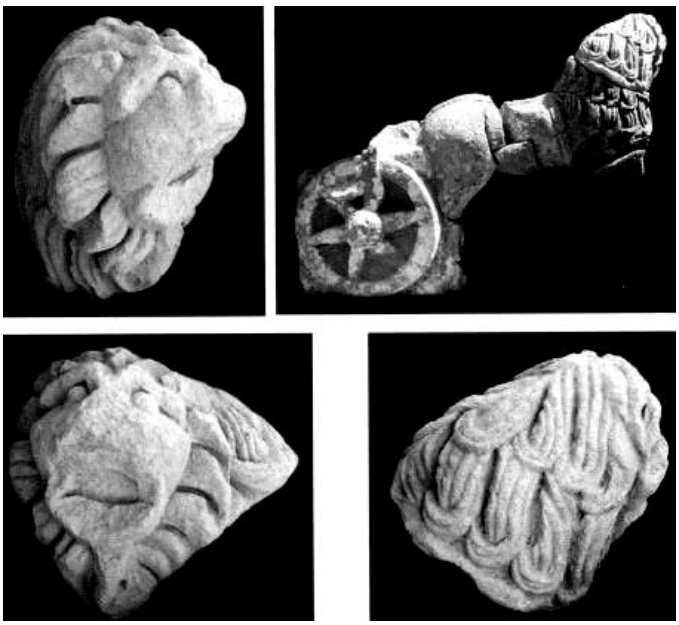


Figure 7: Lions from Sahr (Dentzer & Weber 2009 Pl.13-16)

4.2.3.2. Male figure

The realistic representation of the seated male figure at Sahr can be proposed on the basis of the muscles of the statue's arms and the carefully depicted tendons of the knee (Figure 8) (Dentzer & Weber 2010: 90-91).

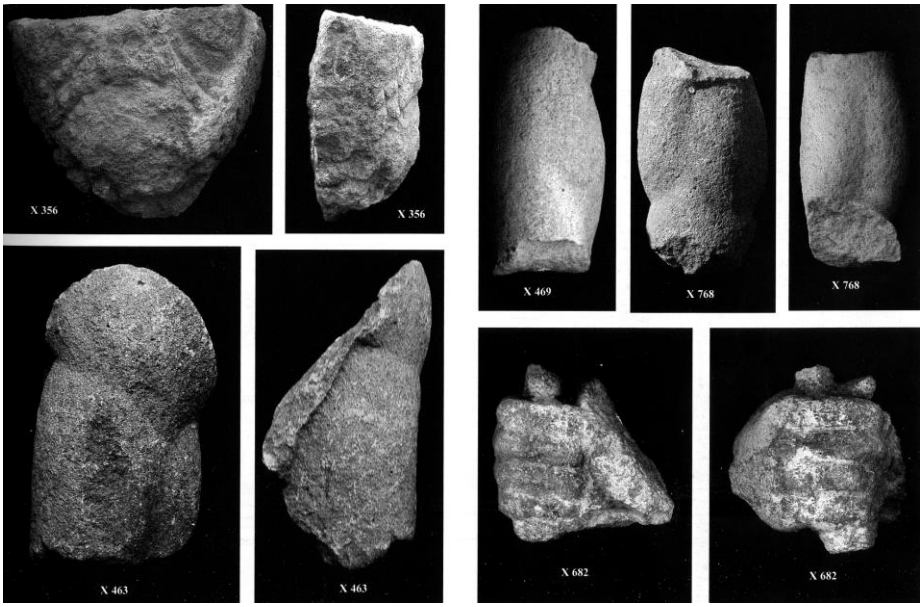


Figure 8: Fragments of the gigantic statue in the *adyton* at Sahr
(Denzter & Weber 2009: 217 Fig. 712-720)

4.2.3.3. Nikai

Statues of Nikai are common and occur across the entire Hauran region, in both rural and urban contexts, for instance in Djebel al'Arab and Leja. Some of these are found in pre-provincial sanctuaries (e.g. Sī' and Sahr). As a lot of these statues are out of context and are not recovered in sites where there is evidence of a cult centre, we cannot be certain that they all date from the Herodian period (Figure 9-10) (Table 4.5). They overall present similar depictions, which could imply either the persistence of the representation of the same subject and style over time, or that these statues were mostly commissioned in the pre-provincial period. Their main and common pattern is that they are not static, but in action: one leg moves forward from the other and the drapery sticks to the body, mimicking the effect of the wind, creating V- or U- shaped folds around the belly area and the knees. On most of these statues the arms are missing. From the recovery of a fragment of a hand holding a wreath in the Hauran –its exact site of recovery is unknown (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 60 fig.88)– we could also suggest that at least some of these Nikai could have held this symbol of victory, which is used in the Near East and Greece (Goulaki-Voutira & Gröte 1992: 901-902). The wreath could add

a political meaning to the more traditional, religious iconography given to this subject (§ Ch.2. 2.3.c).

Figure 9: Amazon Nikes in the Hauran: Mashara, Mesmiye, ʻAmra, Kribert Ramadan, Tarba, Kafr Shams (after Dentzer & Weber 2009: 93-97)

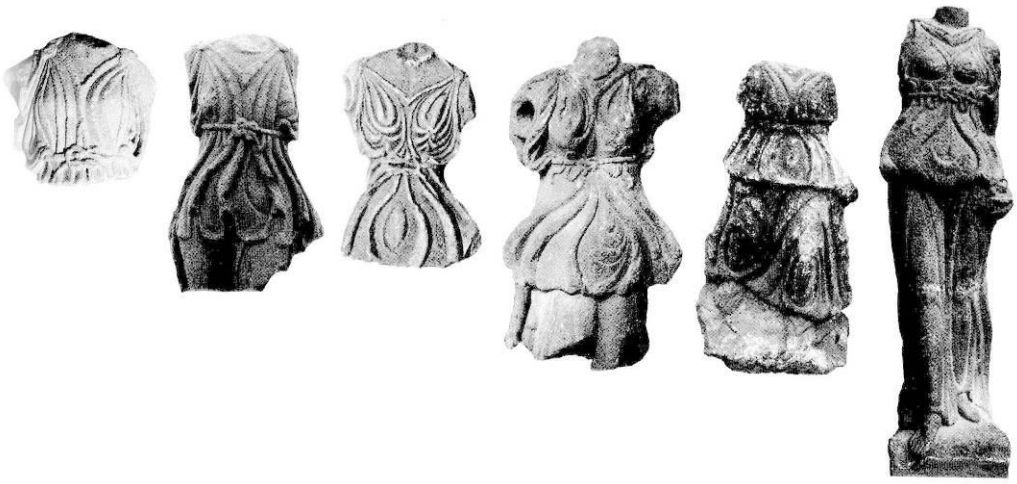


Figure 10: Heracles Nikes in the Hauran: Mesmiye, Philippopolis, Jouneine, Bosra, Basir, Suweida (after Dentzer & Weber 2009: 98-103)

Although in the Hauran Nikai do not follow the naturalistic style, their representation, especially their dynamism, is typical of the Greek marble statuary from the classical period (fifth century BC), as in the temple of Zeus from Olympia, for instance (Denzter & Weber 2009: 62-63). This type of Nike "in movement" also developed in the Near East in the Hellenistic period (the late third century BC) (Fleischer 1983: 258), for example at Dor in present-day Israel (third-second century BC) (Stewart & Martin 2003), a territory controlled by the Hasmoneans, predecessors of the Herodian kings (Figure 11). Furthermore, Nikai were also used on Herodian coins minted under the

king Agrippa II (Kushnir-Stein 2007: 58). Overall, the evidence could suggest that the subject was introduced in the Hauran through Herodian filo-Hellenistic tradition.

Figure 11: Nike from Dor, Israel (2003 fig.5, 1)

d) Representations of eagles with fishbone-shaped feathers on their legs, recovered in cult centres as well as not associated with religious structures, are concentrated in the area of Leja, dated to the second half of first-second century AD (Figure 12) (Table 4.6) (Map 4.1). A similar image is found on a first-century BC coin (tetradrachm) recovered in the Herodian territory (Figure 13).

Figure 12: Eagle from Medjel (Dentzer & Weber 2009 Pl.269)

Figure 13: First-century BC tetradrachm from Ashkelon (Israel) representing an eagle similar to Sahr (Seyrig 1939: 42 fig.3)

4.2.4. Discussion

On the basis of this comparative analysis, pre-provincial sanctuaries in the Hauran do not resemble the ones built in the other parts of the Herodian kingdom. A first reading of this result could make us suggest a major lack of Herodian impact on religious architectural style, apart from the case of Leja.

However, we need to consider two factors. Firstly, integrating and taking into account traditions of populations under Herodian control was part of the Herodian policy. For instance, the Herodian kingdom on one hand practised Jewish religious traditions, but on the other also provided financial support to build cult centres dedicated to pagan deities (§ Ch.5). This can also be applied to the style of sanctuaries that do not always follow "the Herodian architectural canons." For instance, two sanctuaries in the Herodian territory financed by Herodian rulers (at Hebron and Momre) have a *temenos* without a Roman temple to house the deity's statue, although the last one is typical of the Herodian religious architecture (Netzer 2006: 276). So perhaps we should reconsider and read the lack of a major impact on architectural style as a certain level of freedom given intentionally by Herodian rulers to the rural population in the Hauran.

Secondly, the programme of monumental religious development, a key aspect in the Herodian agenda,[69] started under the Herodian control in the study area. Therefore, this actually implies that this kingdom probably had a certain weight in helping and supporting the development of the rural religious tradition in this study-area. The presence of a statue of Herod in the main rural sanctuary at Sī' commissioned by the local population that built the rural sanctuary (PAAES III 427b) is rather significant.[70] Although there is no inscription to inform us of the direct patronage of any Herodian

[69] For more detailed information of the Herodian building programme, see Lichtenberger (1999), Japp (2000), Kokkinos (2007), Netzer (2006).

[70] See Ch.6 for further discussion on who built this sanctuary and other cult centres in the Hauran.

rulers in the study area, this statue can be explained as a sign of gratitude from the local population because Herod could have facilitated the erection of this religious centre. He also financially supported other monumental sanctuaries in his reign (Netzer 2006: 295 ff.). Therefore, the Herodian authority was most likely involved in the development of monumental religious cult centres. The interest in monumentalizing the sanctuary at Sī' can be seen by the fact that it was already a main cult place prior to the Herodian control in the second-early first century BC, as demonstrated by the recovery of remains of rituals (votive offerings, pottery and animal bones) where the sanctuary complex was situated (Dentzer 1985). Also the inscription in Seleucid period (105-104BC) recovered nearby the sanctuary mentions the cult of gods at Sī' (Milik 2003). So monumentalizing this famous cult centre with a statue of Herod can be interpreted as a way of showing an Herodian policy of respect towards local people's religious needs and *vice versa*, respect and admiration of the local population towards their ruler.

Furthermore, the concentration of Herodian influence on the style of the statuary in Leja could suggest a more imposing and visible Herodian presence in this area than in Djebel al'Arab because it was frequented by brigands and so considered dangerous making it necessary for Herodian military forces to monitor it (*Jos. AJ* XV 345, 352, 346-348, 352, XVI, 271, *Strab. Geog.* XVI 2, 20).[71] The Herodian presence, especially of their soldiers is clearly visible in this area. Historical sources (*Jos. Ant.* 17.2 1-2: 23-31) mentioned a Herodian military base, named Bathyra, founded by the king Herod at Basir in 10 BC, which is on the outskirts of the north-western fringe of Leja (*Jos. Ant.* 17.2 1-2: 23-31, Dussaud 1927: 331, Schürer 1979: 14, Bauzou 1986: 150 fig.1). At Sur al-Laja, in the south-eastern part of Leja, there was another Herodian military garrison as shown by remains of a fortification, dated to the first century AD and an epitaph of a commander that served Agrippa II (Starcky 1986: 180, Rohmer 2010: 129, 133 fig.7, 10) (§ Ch.3.2.2, 3.3.1 for further information). The location of these two potential forts indicates that they were strategically positioned to facilitate the constant control of Leja. Herodian soldiers seem to be represented with King Agrippa II in the statuary complex at the centre of a big courtyard in the main rural cult centre of this area, Sahr (§ Ch.4.4.3.b for full explanation).

[71] See Cohen (1972: 83-95), Isaac (1992: 62-65, 329-331), Kokkinos (2007: 294) for further references on the role of the Herodian army in Leja. These scholars discuss mainly the troops at Basir.

The spread of statues of Nikai across the Hauran that are not always associated with cult centres could be interpreted almost as a landmark in Herodian power (Map 4. 2). Nikai, depicted holding a wreath, are symbols of victory (Goulaki-Voutira & Gröte 1992: 901-902) and they have also been used in Herodian coinage. In this case, this subject has both a religious and a political connotation. It shows the Roman triumph over the Jewish revolts in AD66 (Wenning 1986: 113-129) and it could also indicate the Herodian success of taking control of the Hauran and its dangerous area of Leja. The presence of eagle statues, especially in Leja, resembling the ones on Herodian coins could be seen as a further example of this religious/political symbolic dichotomy. This has also been suggested for the eagle's statue in the temple of Jerusalem (*Jos. J.W.* 1: 650, Japp 2007: 243) as this symbol was used by other empires, like the Roman, to stress its power (Toynbee 1973: 241). In terms of their religious attribution, they were mostly associated with Zeus in the Near East (§ Ch.2.3.1 Table. 2.17, Ch.5.2.1, Ch.5.2.3).

Finally, the Hellenistic style in the representations of Nikai, lions and some human figures in Leja can reinforce the idea that the Herodian iconography drew heavily upon Hellenistic practice, as it has been already suggested on the basis of a limited number of statues in this reign (§ Ch.4.2.3). This strong Hellenistic influence can be explained by the fact that Herod's tradition was deeply rooted in the Hellenistic culture (Bowersock 2003: 346-347) and his predecessors the Hasmonaeans (Netzer 2006: 292) had a profound continuity with its Seleucid (Hellenistic) Empire (Hengel 1974).[72] This could also explain the use of Greek names in Leja under the Herodian kingdom (Sartre 1986: 202).

On the basis of this information we could suggest that the use of a Greek theatre next to the sanctuary at Sahr, built in Herodian times (Kalos 1997, 2001), a typical structure in Greek religious tradition (Nielsen 2002: 86 ff. Table 1), could have been a consequence of the Hellenistic predecessors and tradition in the Herodian kingdom. The earliest Near Eastern example of a theatre associated with a religious structure was, in fact, built in the Seleucid (Hellenistic) period at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (in the Near East) (roughly third-second century BC) (Downey 1988: 51 ff., fig.13, 17, Nielsen 2002: 240-241).

[72] For a comprehensive discussion of and different arguments on the phenomenon of Hellenization in the Herodian kingdom, see Hengel (1980: 53), Millar (1987: 129), Feldman (1993), Kokkinos (1998: 80-81).

Furthermore, the following Greek features of the roughly 400 seat-theatre at Sahr[73] (Kalos 1997, 2003, Nielsen 2002 Table1) can support its Greek origin (Figure 14). Its *cavea* is more extended on the far ends than a Roman theatre and its *orchestra* is big, but it does not present a complex *frons scaenae* which is typical of the Roman model (Gros 1996: 272 fig.319). The Herodian presence at Sahr can be verified by the monumental representation of Herodian soldiers and the king Agrippa in the main courtyard (§ Ch.4.4.3.b).[74]

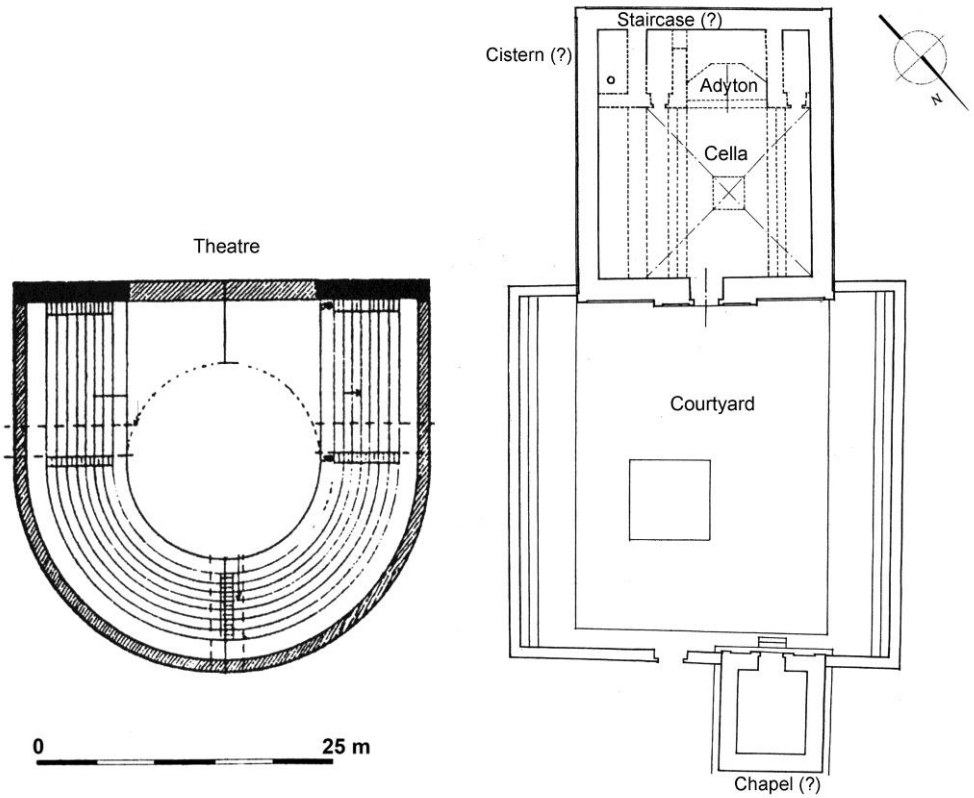


Figure 14: The sanctuary and the theatre at Sahr (after Kalos 1997 Figure 4, Kalos 2003 Figure 1)

[73] Although the theatre at Sahr has been compared with the one built in the *cella* in a second phase of the Great Temple at Petra in the first-century AD (Nielsen 2002: 246-247), they cannot be associated. The theatre at Sahr was built at the same time as the sanctuary, in the mid-first century AD, whereas the one at Petra was a later addition which also modifies the structure of the sanctuary itself. The theatre at Sahr cannot be compared with the one at Jerash as it was associated with a *birket* (pool) and not recovered near a sanctuary and it was dated to the beginning of the third century AD (Segal 1995:18, 11 N33), later than the second half of the first-century complex at Sahr.

[74] In this sanctuary only five very fragmented inscriptions have been recovered and it has not been possible to make out anything from them apart from names of individuals (PPUAES III N805 1-5). In one of them is mentioned the name Gamos, which appears to be a common Greek name (PPUAES III N805 1).

4.3. Rural cult centres in the Hauran vs. religious architecture in Nabataea

4.3.1. Layout of cult centres

In Nabataea, monumental sanctuaries have a wide courtyard that precedes the temple, having circumambulatory *cellas* or tripartite *adyton* leading to a vestibule through steps (Patrich 1990: 44-46) (Figure 15). They are all dated roughly from the early first century onwards (*Ibid.*). Additionally, one of the sanctuaries with circumambulatory *cellas* at Khirbet et-Tannur presents a courtyard surrounded by a colonnaded portico with steps (McKenzie *et al*. 2002) (Figure 15). The first type of temple may be derived from Egypt (Butcher 2003: 359, Tholbeq 2007: 115 ff.) or the Achaeminid Empire (Ghirshman 1976: 197-200, Schippmann 1972, Boyce & Grenet 1991: 31 ff., Ball 2000: 342-344). The earliest example of the second type of *cella* seems to be traced back to a simpler outline of a tripartite *adyton* in the Parthian pre-provincial sanctuaries (Ch.4.2.1). The origin of this structure will not be discussed further as it is not the main aim of this analysis.

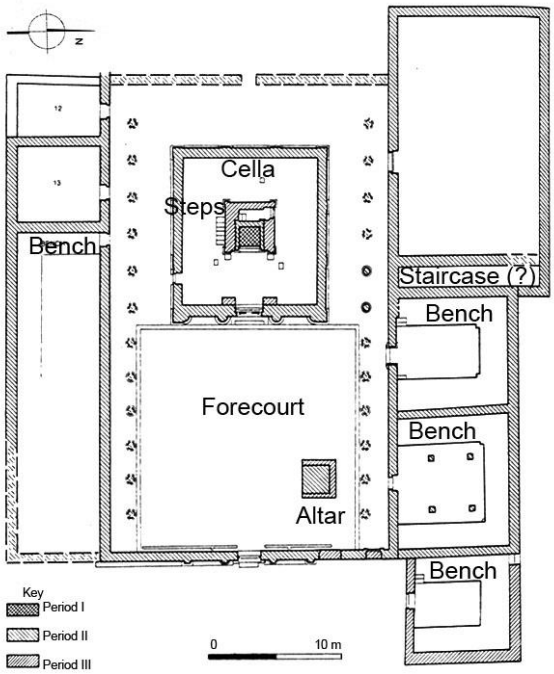


Figure 15: The sanctuary of Khirbet et-Tannur (after McKenzie *et al*. 2002: 48 fig.4)

Circumambulatory *cellas* and courtyards surrounded by a colonnaded portico with steps have been recorded in the Hauran in the pre-provincial sanctuaries at Sī', at Sahr and Sur (Table 4.7).

The Nabataean influence on the layout of the *cella*[75] has been based on the plan of these temples in the Hauran reconstructed in the early twentieth century (PPUAES II A: 380, 385-390) (Figure 16).

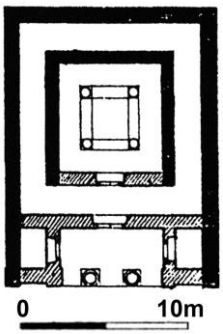


Figure 16: *Cella* at Sahr (after PPUAES II Ill. 387)

However, recent excavations do not confirm a circumambulatory layout at Sī' and Sahr. No intensive fieldwork has been undertaken in the cult centre at Sur al-Laja to verify its plan. Research here has been limited to a survey of the standing structures not associated with the sanctuary on site (Rohmer 2010: 129, 133 fig.7) (§ Ch.4.2.4).
The *cella* at Sahr consists of an *adyton*, at the back of the temple's wall, that leads to a bigger room with benches on the two lateral sides (Kalos 1997, 2003) (Figure 14) (§ Ch.4.4.2.1 for further discussion).

At Sī' it is possible to see only a small, rectangular, elevated structure for the *cella* 2 (Figure 17), whereas *cella* 1 cannot be reconstructed because of a modern hut built on top of it (Dentzer-Feydy 2010a: 232).

Figure 17: Picture of the podium of the cella 2 at Sī' (by the Author 2010)

[75] PPUAES (II A: 380, 385-390), Sourdel (1957: 100-103), Gawlikowski (1989: 329-330), Patrich (1990: 45), Ball (2002: 343), Netzer (2003: 102-115).

Furthermore, the Nabataean sanctuaries presenting the circumambulatory layout[76] and the colonnaded courtyard surrounded by steps (e.g. Khirbet et-Tannur) are all chronologically posterior to the examples in the Hauran (Figure 15).[77]

Therefore, on the basis of the present day understanding of this set of temples, we cannot argue that these pre-provincial sanctuaries in the study area have a Nabataean layout. We will need to compare the plan of *cella* revealed by recent fieldwork at Sahr and the type of courtyards identified in these pre-provincial sanctuaries in the Hauran with other earlier examples in the Near East (§ Ch.4.4.2.1).

The colonnaded courtyards were most likely used by devotees to attend rituals as it is suggested by the altar at the centre of the courtyard with benches at Sahr (Figure 14) and by the inscription at Sī' that mentions this courtyard preceding the *cella* 1 as a theatre (*theatron*) (PPUAES IV A 2 N 76, 78). These data seem to indicate that these steps or benches could have been used for seating worshippers during cult-activities.

4.3.2. Capitals

Typical capitals in Nabataea are:

- Nabataean blocked-out capitals. They are not decorated and their profile is horn-shaped. They can be found in two variations. Type 1 is mostly used at Petra in the first century BC-first century AD (McKenzie 2001: 97-99). Type 2 is also found in the arch-way complex at Bosra (Dentzer 2007: 13-15, Dentzer & Blanc 2007: 133, 136)[78] when this city became the capital of the Nabataean kingdom in the second half of the first

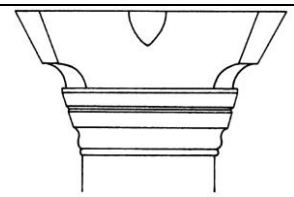
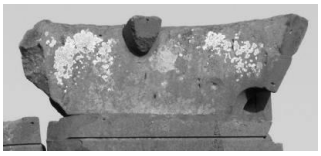
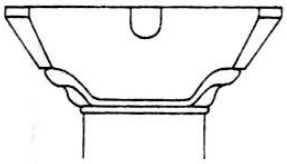
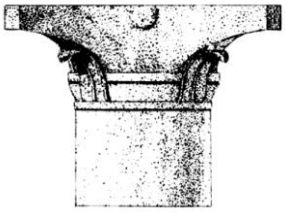
[76] Examples of this type of *circumambulatory cella* situated in the Nabataean kingdom are found in the temple of Lion's Gate at Petra and rural temples at Khirbet Tannur, Khirbet adh-Dharih and Ramm (Dentzer 1990:73).

[77] The similar rural examples are dated to almost the end to the first half of the second century AD, just after the end of the Nabataean kingdom (AD106) and the beginning of the Roman occupation (for Khirbet et-Tannur: Tholbecq 1997: 1079-1080, McKenzie *et al.* 2002; Khirbet adh-Dharih: Al-Muheisen & Villeneuve 1994, McKenzie *et al.* 2002: 72-73, for Ramm: Kirkbride 1960, Rickmans 1934, Savignac & Horsfield 1935). The sanctuary at Petra is roughly dated to just before the AD28-29 (Healey 2009 n.5).

[78] Doric capitals at Bosra are the semi-capitals attached to the south of Nabatean semi-columns situated at the east of the Nabatean arch and the capitals that belong to the Nabatean portico recovered as isolated blocks or reinserted in later buildings in the eastern district (Dentzer 2007: 13-15, Dentzer & Blanc 2007: 133-136).

century AD (Dentzer 1986: 280, 283). Both types originated from Egypt (McKenzie 2001: 97-99) (Figure 18 for details and differences).[79]

- Floral Corinthian capitals in Nabataea (mostly at Petra) have the same profile as Nabataean blocked-out capitals, but they present typical Corinthian decorations, such as acanthus leaves and volutes. They can also be of two types that seem to come from Egypt (McKenzie 2001: 99-100) (Figure 18 for details and differences).
- Doric capitals consist of more than one moulding for the abacus. They are recovered in the arch-way complex at Bosra (Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 85 pl.79 N9, 2007: 13-15, Dentzer & Blanc 2007: 133, 136).

TYPES in Nabataea		**Hauran**
Nabataean Type 1	  Petra and Bosra	NONE
Nabataean Type 2	 Petra	
Floral Corinthian Type 1		NONE

[79] Similar capitals to the Nabataean ones recovered in Nabataea are found in other parts of the Herodian kingdom, such as Masada and Herodium. However, these have broad mouldings limited to the upper part and the bottom, with a generally large area on the undecorated calathus, whereas the ones from Nabataea have a lot of broad mouldings and no large area. So these capitals from the Herodian territory cannot be considered Nabataean capitals; they only resemble their style (Patrich 1996: 208-209 fig.13-15, McKenzie 2001: 98, Japp 2007: 230-232, Nezter 2008: 331).

Floral Corinthian Type 2	Petra	

Figure 18: Figure showing the difference between the Nabataean and floral Corinthian capitals in the Nabataea and at Sī: Nabatean type 1 at Petra (after McKenzie 2001 fig.1), Nabatean type 1 at Bosra (by Author 2010), Nabatean type 2 at Petra (after McKenzie 1990: 190 Diagram 14 i), Nabatean capital at Sī' (after PPUAES II A 6 Fig.341), Floral Corinthian type 1 (after McKenzie 2001 Fig.3), Floral Corinthian type 2 from the upper order of the tomb of the Treasury (Kazné) at Petra (Dentzer-Feydy 2003 Pl.79: 5), Corinthian capital from the sanctuary Sī' 8 (after Dentzer-Feydy 2003 Pl.69 N117)

In the Hauran, the following types of capital, that are also found in Nabataea, are used:

- The Nabataean blocked capitals (type 2) from Petra are found in the temple 3 at Sī', dated to the second half-last quarter of the first century AD (roughly AD 70-106) (Dentzer 1985: 69) (Figures 18).
- The floral decoration between helices and volutes from the floral Corinthian capitals, i.e. two crossing stems ending with a flower on the abacus, is used in Corinthian capitals at Sī' 8, from the same building phase of the temple 3 (Figure 18) (Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 84). In the case of the study area the pattern is more stylized than the one at Petra (Figures 18).
- The style of Doric capitals used at Bosra is found at Mushannef, Dayr Smayg, and Hebran (Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 85 pl.79:10) –Capitals from the Hauran are isolated and removed from their original and unknown context. As there is a cult centre at Mushannef, Dayr Smayg, and Hebran, we could suggest that these capitals in each case could have belonged to this religious structure.

Overall, in the study area we can see a major influence of the Nabataean capital style from Petra rather than from Bosra.[80]

4.3.3. Statues

Not many figurative sculptures are found in Nabataea as they used mostly aniconic representations in their religious and funerary architecture (Patrich 1990, 2007). The few figurative cases can be divided into two types (Patrich 2007: 86-87): the ones from Petra influenced by Alexandrian and Pergamene Hellenistic statuary (Lyttleton & Blagg 1990, Patrick 2007: 86-87) and the ones in the rural sanctuaries of Khirbet et-Tannur

[80] For an understanding of architectural style at Bosra and Petra, see, for Bosra Dentzer-Feydy 1986, 2007, and for Petra McKenzie 1990, 2001.

and Khirbet adh-Dharih.[81] The latter resemble the sketchy and geometric style coming from the Near Eastern interior (Patrich 2007: 86-87) (Figure 19).[82] –a further discussion of the origin of the second type of statues will follow in due course (§ Ch.4.4.1.3).

Figure 19: Relief of the goddess of the fish from Khirbet et-Tannur (after Patrich 1990 Pl.3, 47 c)

Animal depictions are also rare; standing eagles with spread wings, as symbols of protection, are used at the entrance of early first-century tombs at Hegra (JS I: Pl.XLI XLIV XLV-2, McKenzie 1990: 16-17 Pl.3) (Figures 20), one of the major Nabataean sites after Petra in this period, known for its funerary architecture (Negev 1977: 571-584, Millar 1993: 406).

Figure 20: Eagle from the tombs of Hegra (JS I: Pl. XLV-2**)**

In the study area similar depictions of eagles and geometric human statues have been found.

[81] These have been considered simpler versions of the depictions at Petra (McKenzie 1988: 89), but there is no resemblance between them, in terms of depictions of facial features, for instance, to indicate this connection.

[82] The diversity between depictions at Khirbet et-Tannur and Nabataean art can be seen as the former could be embedded in the local earlier Edomite culture that became fused with the early Arabic nomadic populations (Wening 2009: 589). As this is not the focus of this research, this will not be discussed further here.

Although the representation of eagles is also found elsewhere in the Hauran and in the Herodian kingdom (§ Ch.4.2.3), those from the Djebel al'Arab in the pre-provincial and possibly early provincial period (Sī', Hebran and Sleim) are similar to examples from Nabataea, as both stand with spread wings and have small flat feathers on the top of the wing and bigger feathers at the bottom of the wing (Table 4.8) (Map 4.1) (Figure 21).

Figure 21: Lintel from the door in the temple at Sī' (Dentzer-Feydy 1992 fig.14)

Most human statues from the Hauran have heads that are sketchy, chubby and oval-shaped, with almond-shaped eyes enclosed by clear-cut defined eyelids and big ears. They are used in the sanctuary at Sī' (on the high relief frieze on the façade of the *theatron*, the head of a benefactor from the courtyard 2 and on Corinthian capitals) (Figure 22-23) (Table 4.9).

Figure 22: Head of a benefactor recovered in the debris of the sanctuary at Sī' (Bolelli 1986 Pl.8 N27)

Figure 23: Capital in the debris of the sanctuary at Sī' (Suw. 1991 Pl.1 N295)

Figurative representations of a similar style occurring at Khirbet et-Tannur[83] are dated later than those from the Hauran, so it is necessary to consider earlier statues with similar geometric traits to the ones from the study area (§ Ch.4.4.3.b).

Further connection between Nabataean and sculptures in the Hauran can possibly be drawn by looking at statues from the study area that adopt Nabataean clothing, and two fragments that could represent a Nabataean king.

Male statues from Mushannef, Sleim, and Hebran in the Hauran (Table 4.10) (Figure 24) wear a loincloth that was used by Nabataeans, according to ancient sources (*Strab. Geog.* 16: 4-21). A couple of statues of royal figures recovered in fourth/third-century BC tombs at Hegra wear this garment (Figures 25-26). One of these presents the same knot as was used in statues from the Hauran (Figures 24-25). This evidence could suggest that it was an ancient tradition in Arabia which was then continued into the Nabataean period and transmitted to the neighbouring populations in the Djebel al'Arab.

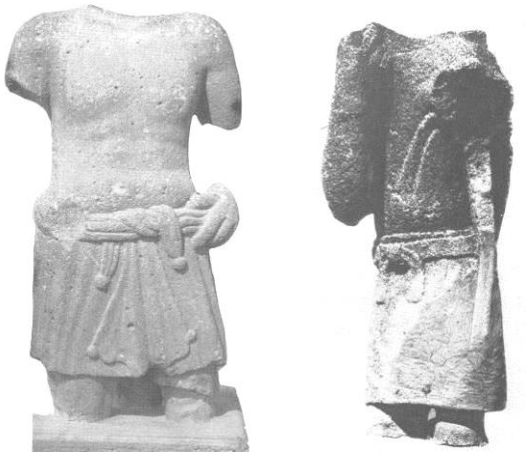


Figure 24: Statues with loincloth from Sleim and Mushannef (Bolelli 1986 Pl.2 N5-6)

[83] This resemblance has been the subject of debate as it has been interpreted that statues in the sanctuary at Khirbet et-Tannur do not have similar volume and angular features to the ones at Sī'. A further reason to consider unfeasible this comparison is that these two sanctuaries were dedicated to different gods (Glueck 1966: 248, Bolelli 1986: 332). I think, nevertheless, that there is no striking difference in terms of style between the statues from the two sanctuaries. Moreover, the worship of different gods is not a valid reason to support that the statues had a different style.

Figure 25: Statue with loincloth from tombs of Hegra (Bossert & Naumann 1951 N1239)

Figure 26: Statue with loincloth from tombs of Hegra (Bossert & Naumann 1951 N1240)

One of the statues with a loincloth in the Hauran was recovered from the reservoir at the back of the sanctuary at Mushannef (Bolelli 1986 N7). This implies that it was most likely part of the religious centre and that also the other examples, from the Hauran, which were found out of context in a site that presents remains of a cult centre, might also have come from the religious context. If that is the case, these may have depicted wealthy dedicants, as no statue of a deity with a loincloth is known. They could have been influenced by Nabataean culture on the basis of the use of a Nabataean dress on the statues. It could also be argued that the statues came from Nabataea as they were made of sandstone, used in Nabataea. In the Hauran, instead, basaltic stone was used for sculptures or monumental architecture, because it was a local material of this region being on a lava plateau (§ Ch.3.1). The presence of the Nabataeans can be also supported, in the case of the statue from Sleim, by an inscription dedicated to the main Nabataean deity, Dushara. Although the original location of the inscription and its dating are unknown, as for the statues, both the inscription and the statue could have been commissioned by the same Nabataean worshipper (§ Ch.5.2). The Nabataean presence at Hebran could be explained by the proximity of this temple to the Nabataean-controlled part of the Hauran (Starcky 1986 fig.1), whereas at Mushannef it could be

justified by the vicinity to the rural cult centre of Sī' where Nabataean architectural elements were used (§ Ch.4.3.4 for full explanation on the Nabataean presence in the Hauran and in these sites).

The two statue heads both found out of context, one from Sī' and the other possibly from this same site, have separate curly hair strands (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 86-86 Fig.150-151, 156-157) (Figure 27). This type of hair style has been associated with the Nabataean king Obodas III (30-9BC) (Schwentzel 2005, Kropp 2011 fig.10, Weber & Dentzer 2009: 83 ff.) (Figure 28).[84] This interpretation can be supported by the following insignia. It seems that the two heads under examination wear circular earrings that are used by representations of kings or gods in the Near East (Seyrig & Starcky 1949: 231-233, Seyrig 1952: 136-250 N4). As these two examples from the Hauran are badly worn, we cannot see if they have a wreath, a royal symbol, on their head, which is usually visible in other statues with the same hairstyle and representing the same subject recovered in the Hauran –the exact location of the statues is unknown (Weber & Dentzer 2009: 86-87).

Figure 27: Statue's head from Sī' (after Dentzer & Weber 2009 Fig.156-157)

Figure 28: Depiction of the Nabataen king Obodas III (after Kropp 2011 fig.10)

[84] This can be verified by a fragmentary statue with this hair style that has been found in this king's chapel according to inscriptions (Weber & Dentzer 2009: 83 ff.).

4.3.4. Discussion

This comparative analysis has reassessed and thrown new light on the previous understanding of the Nabataean influence in the Hauran.

Scholars have mostly looked at Nabataean capitals at Sī' putting forward the following interpretations. They have considered them as an offer of prestige made by the last Nabatean king Rabbel II (AD70-106), on the basis of the dating of the structure where these capitals were inserted, which is the temple 3 at Sī' (Dentzer 1985: 69). They also have been interpreted as evidence of dedication by Nabataean worshippers (Kropp 2010: 11), although there is no inscription to inform us of who commissioned the temple 3 at Sī'. The distribution of Nabataean and Doric capitals in the second half of the first century AD in the Hauran and Bosra has generally been explained by the increasing contacts of the Hauran with the Nabataeans due to the expansion of the Nabataean kingdom towards the southern Hauran (Dentzer 1986: 282-283). However, the recovery of Nabataean and Doric capitals in the study area is minimal (roughly 21%) compared with the high number of capitals from rural cult centres that do not follow these two capital styles (Table 4.11). This means that the presence of these Nabataean and Doric capitals is not as significant as scholars (Dentzer 1986: 282-283, Kropp 2010: 11) have claimed.

On the basis of the result of this comparative analysis, we could suggest that the Nabataean influence in rural sanctuaries of the Hauran happened in an earlier period, at the end of the first century BC-early first century AD, and also came from the other main Nabataean centres (Petra and Hegra) rather than just Bosra. This consideration is based mainly on the presence of one or two statues at Sī' of a Nabataean king who ruled at the end of the first century BC, Nabataean and floral decorations of Corinthian capitals at Sī' that resembled more the ones coming from Petra than the ones from Bosra, and depictions of eagles and male statues with a loincloth from Hegra used in Djebel al'Arab from the end of first century BC onwards. As suggested for the statue of Herod, the presence of one or potential two statues of a Nabataean king in the sanctuary at Sī' could be a sign of gratitude and acknowledgement from the local population that built the rural sanctuary to the Nabataean king. This could suggest that the study area and especially this sanctuary at Sī' were important for the Nabataeans because of economic matters for the following reasons. The Hauran, despite being under the Herodian political control, was also a transitory area for Nabataean trade and exchange

to Damascus and also possibly to Palmyra and Dura Europos (§ Ch.4.4.4). This can be sustained by the Nabataean route crossing the Hauran to reach Damascus (Map 4.3) and a historical source that mentions Nabataean merchants at least around Damascus (*Strab. Geog.*16: 2, 20).

The sanctuary at Sī' was also important for the Nabataeans because it was a centre of economic transactions during festivals (§ Ch.7), and this economic connection can be confirmed by the predominance of Nabataean coins at Sī' minted at Petra[85] (37%).[86] This is contrasted with the recovery of a few Herodian coins and few coins from Bosra only in the provincial period (mid-second century AD) (Figure 29) when this city started its coinage production (Kindler 1983).

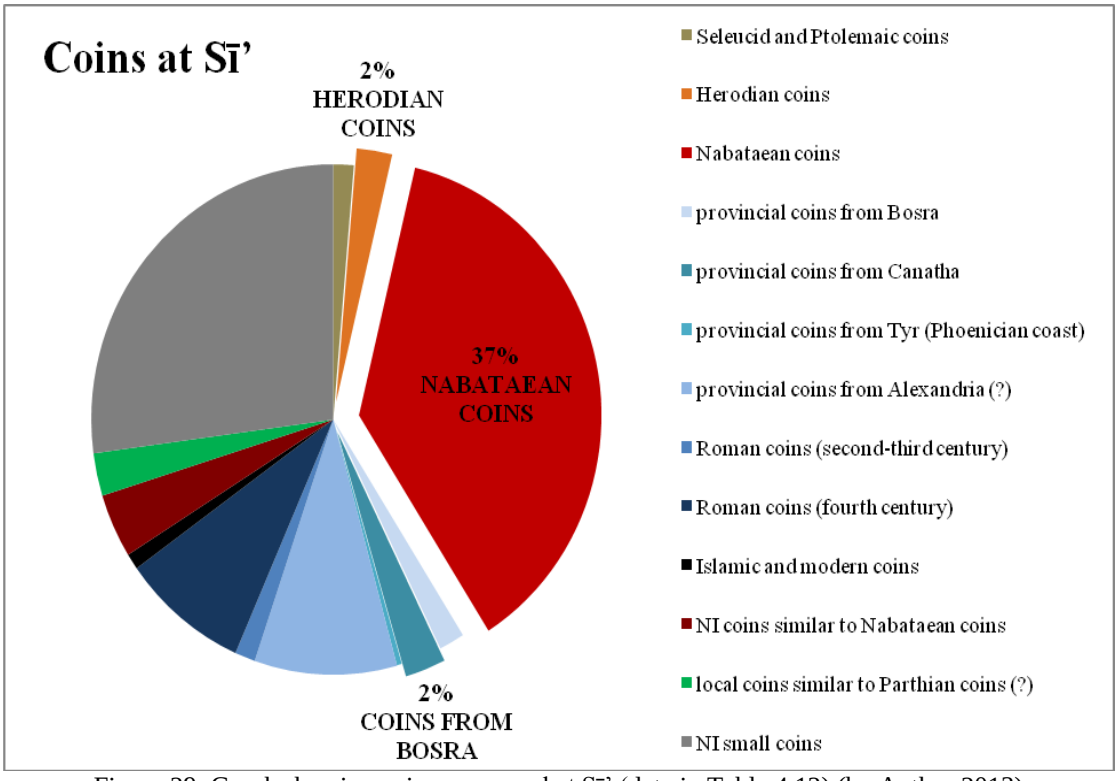


Figure 29: Graph showing coins recovered at Sī' (data in Table 4.12) (by Author 2013)

The recovery of Nabataean coins at Sī' dating from the end of the first century BC, but mostly from the beginning of the first century AD (Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N8-

[85] The capital of the Nabataean kingdom was Petra in that period (Millar 1993: 389).
[86] The only religious site in the Hauran where a certain amount of coins (c.161) have been recovered (Augé 2003), whereas only a couple of coins have been recovered at Sahr (Kalos 2003: 160).

73),[87] reinforces the idea of an earlier Nabataean connection with the Hauran (Table 4.12).

The presence of these coins could suggest the following hypotheses. The local population of the Hauran had economic interactions with the Nabataeans. They adopted Nabataean coins as their main currency for trade and exchange. The Nabataean merchants that crossed the study area could have also worshipped in the sanctuary at Sī'. Active participation of the Nabataeans or populations of the Hauran in contact with them in the religious life in the sanctuary of Sī' can be suggested by the recovery of few early first-century Nabataean coins in the phase of the occupation of Sī' 8 (Augé 2003: 246-247) and of a group of only early first-century Nabataean coins, partially chiselled and cut, found in layers below the religious structure Sī' 8 (*Ibid.* 242-243). The last assemblage could inform us about a quite deliberate ritual act of votive offerings, either for the foundation of the religious building Sī' 8 or not associated with this structure, but more in general votive offerings to the deities of the cult centre. The location of the recovery of this coinage group, in a sealed and accurate stratigraphic context, below the building structure Sī' 8 that is dated to the second half of the first century AD (Dentzer 1985: 69), could also reinforce the dating of Nabataean connections in the Hauran before the second half of the first century AD. Furthermore, the fact that the coins recovered at Sī' were made of the non-expensive metal bronze (Augé 2003) and also their numerous quantity could indicate frequent, every-day life commercial contacts on a small scale. This type of interaction is rather normal at Sī', as it is not a major urban centre, but a rural religious one.

The predominance of Nabataean coins in association with the presence of Nabataean king's statues and the similarity of the style of architectural elements and statuary with the Nabataean tradition in the study area seem to indicate a significant Nabataean impact on the Hauran from the end of the first century BC-early first century AD, if not the possibility of the occasional presence of Nabataean dedicants in the study area. In particular, apart from the main cult centre Sī', the possibility of having Nabataean worshippers is indicated by the statue with Nabataean garment found in cult centres at

[87] They are often recovered in modern, Islamic and later Roman layers, like most of the coins (Augé 2003: 242-243). Most of the coins recovered at Sī' come from 8 Sī' or its immediate surroundings (*Ibid.*), so we can only assume that they came from this major religious site. It is, therefore, difficult to have an accurate starting date for when these commercial contacts would have taken place and if these could actually have been associated with the cult centre.

Sleim, Hebran and Mushannef. The presence of Nabataean devotees in these places could have been explained as these religious centres were on route-ways that Nabataean merchants from the Nabataean part of the Hauran would have had to cross to get to Damascus. They would have needed to pass Hebran, almost at the border with the Nabataean kingdom, Sleim, en route to Damascus, and Mushannef, next to the main rural sanctuary Sī' where the Nabataean impact is most striking in the study area (Map 3.7).

The movements and the presence of the Nabataean merchants that affected the financial system of the Hauran (i.e. Nabataean coins as the main currency) from the end of the first century BC-early first century AD could have also been one of the factors to determine the beginning of the building of monumental sanctuaries in this period.

Finally, the comparative architectural analysis between the study area and Nabataea has shown that the sanctuaries at Sī' and at Khirbet et-Tannur share some common patterns in courtyard layout and the geometric style of their sculptures. This indicates a specific connection between these two cult centres. This requires further investigation, perhaps through a more accurate parallel consideration of the material culture from these two sites, when full information from the sanctuary at Khirbet et-Tannur has been published (McKenzie *et al. in press*).

The striking architectural and iconographic resemblance between Khirbet et-Tannur and Sī' mirrors the continuing connection between Sī' and the population in the area of the Hauran beyond the end of the Nabataean kingdom, as the main building phase of Khirbet et-Tannur is dated to the first half of second century AD. The location of these sanctuaries on road-ways to the Hauran would have facilitated these interactions (Map 4.3).

4.4. Rural cult centres in the Hauran vs. religious architecture in Palmyra, Dura Europos and the Parthian territory

The next part of the analysis will be the comparison of the architecture in the Hauran, with, first, that from Palmyra (§ Ch.4.4.1), then, that of the Parthian cities (especially Dura Europos, and occasionally others, like Assur from the Mesopotamian valley) (roughly mid-second century BC -second century AD) (§ Ch.4.4.2), and, finally, the

ones recovered in both territories (§ Ch.4.4.3). The discussion based on the result of this comparative study will be undertaken together as these places are interlinked, because of their proximity, their relationships of a commercial nature,[88] and their architectural similarity.

4.4.1. Palmyra

Most of the preserved religious standing structures at Palmyra are dated to the second-third century AD, but its building development started from the early first century AD.[89] However, there is some information on the occupation of Palmyra before the period of major preserved buildings.[90] There are architectural fragments and statues from unknown original context and decorative elements from the adyta of the temple of Bel at Palmyra (AD33) that seem to be dated, mainly on stylistic evidence, to the beginning of the first century AD or in the first century BC.

4.4.1.1. Capitals

The so-called "archaic" Corinthian capitals at Palmyra have chunky and trapezoidal acanthus leaves, curved in profile and cable moulding below the echinus (Figure 30); some of them also have human figures above the acanthus leaves (Figure 31). They were recovered in the *agora* of Palmyra as scattered remains from an unknown original

[88] See Millar (1993: 322-323) for trade and contacts of Palmyra with Parthia and the Mesopotamian area, such as Babylonia.
See Seyrig (1940: 334) and Young (2001: 136-186) for the commercial activities between Palmyra and Dura Europos.
For a complete understanding of the Palmyrene population at Dura Europos, see Dirven 1999.

[89] Millar (1993: 319-336), Dirven (1999: 17 ff.), Kaizer (2002 especially 43 ff. and for sanctuaries 67 ff). For further and more detailed reference to sanctuaries, their chronology, building phases and style, see the monographs on the temple of Baalshamin (Collart & Vicari 1969), of Bel (Seyrig *et al*. 1975), of Allat (Drijvers 1976, Gawlikowski 1990a, 1990b, 1997a) and Nebu (Bounni *et al.* 1992). For the urban development of the city, see Schlumberger (1935), Van Berchem (1976), Frézouls (1976).

[90] Very little is known about Palmyra before the first century AD due to the lack of substantial evidence in that period (Millar 1993: 319-336, Starcky & Gawlikowski 1985, Edwell 2008: 31 ff.). This could be also caused by a major focus of archaeological research on the monumental centre of the town, rather than other areas that, like south of the wadi, are still unexplored (Frezouls 1976: 165-173, Van Berchem 1976).
However, a second-century historian, Appian (BC 5, 9.37-38), recorded Palmyra as a flourishing settlement in the first century BC and this is supported by the following few evidence (Dirven 1999: 19).
Inscriptions started to appear from 44-43 BC onwards that mentioned Arab groups of different origin settled at Palmyra and assimilated into the indigenous population (*Ibid*.).
The fact that Roman troops attempted to plunder Palmyra in 41BC implies that it was prosperous enough at that time (Appian BC 5, 9.37-38), and, as a consequence, long-distance trade had already begun in that period, possibly with Babylonia as there are a few similar architectural remains, the dress code and the style of statues that indicate close cultural interactions with Mesopotamia (Seyrig 1950, Schlumberger 1970: 75).

context (Seyrig 1940: 320 pl.35: 4). These capitals have been dated earlier than the main building programme undertaken in the city, possibly to the Hellenistic period, because of their more archaic style (*Ibid.* 329) that resembles the one used in capitals in Seleucid period (third-second century BC), like the ones from Seleucia on the Tigris in the Near East (Gullini *et al.* 1968-69 fig.27-28, Dentzer-Feydy 1993: 106).

Figure 30: Heterodox Corinthian capital out of context from Palmyra (after Schlumberger 1933 pl.27: 1)

Figure 31: Corinthian capital from the sanctuary of Nabu at Palmyra (after Bounni *et al.* 1992 fig.99)

Chunky acanthus leaves, curved in profile, cable moulding, and human figures on "archaic" capitals at Palmyra are elements that can be found in Corinthian capitals from the temple 2 at Sī' in Hauran (early first century AD) (Dentzer-Feydy 1993: 106) (Figures 32-33).

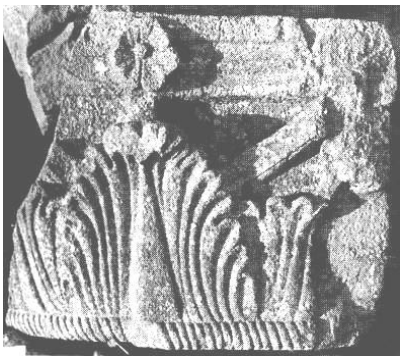


Figure 32: Corinthian capital in the debris of the courtyard 2, probably from the temple 2 of Sī' (Dentzer-Feydy 2003 pl.79 N3)

Figure 33: Heterodox Corinthian capital from Salkad, Hauran (after Schlumberger 1933 pl.27: 2)

4.4.1.2. Architectural decoration

Rosettes with double corollas and a geometric style of vine branches seem to be employed in the earliest phase of the religious architecture at Palmyra (Figure 34).

In particular, rosettes with double corollas are found in the ceiling of the northern and southern *adyta* in the temple of Bel at Palmyra (AD32) (Seyrig *et al*. 1975: 130-131, 200 pl.124: 1-4 Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98). It seems to derive from the Near East.[91]

The second decoration (approximately before the first century AD)[92] consists of a straight stem where double tendril acanthus leave and grapes are attached on either side of the stem (Seyrig 1940: 281-282, 301 pl.32 N21, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95). This motif also seems to be of Near Eastern origin.[93]

Figure 34: Block with geometric style of vine branches with straight stem from the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra (after Seyrig 1940: 301 pl.32 N21)

[91] This motif is found in Assyrian reliefs in Khorsabad (eighth century BC) or metallic decoration, such as the bracelet of Gilgamesh, band of Sargon II and harness of horseman in Khorsabad, all dated to the eighth century BC (Parrot 1961: 32-33, 37, 38, fig.36, 38, 43, 45, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97).

[92] Blocks with these decorations are found in a T-shaped structure of unclear function in the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra, with an inscription dated to 44BC and a group of scattered decorative blocks whose style differs from the one in the first/second-century sanctuary. So, these decorations could be dated to the mid-first century BC or at least before or to the early first century AD (Seyrig 1940: 281-282, 301 pl.32 N21, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95).

[93] This type of vine branches is recovered in a relief of Assurbanapal and his queen taking refreshment in a garden from Kuyunjik (late Assyrian period 1000-600BC), where alternating leaves and grapes are festooned from one part to another of an almost linear stem (Frankfort 1996 fig.217, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95).

Rosettes with double corollas used at Palmyra and the geometric vine branches pattern are found in the building phase of the second half of the first century at Sī', but the later ones evolved differently in the study area (Figure 42) (Table 4.3). At Sī' floral motifs are far away from the main stem and consist of small leaves and tendrils with big double scrolls; the last ones are occasionally replaced by grapes. At Palmyra, instead, they consist of alternating big acanthus leaves and grapes, both close to the stem, and the tendrils are farther away from these motifs (Figures 4, 34). This indicates a local reworking of this motif of Near Eastern origin.

4.4.1.3. Statues

The earliest statues of human representations at Palmyra, approximately dated before the first century AD[94], are rather sketchy. They are stiff and frontal with parallel feet and they wear a drapery of a long tunic, consisting of long marks almost oblique to the cord around the hips and a long cloak over one shoulder (Morehart 1956 especially fig.2, 22) (Figure 35).

Figure 35: Drawing of a relief from "the earliest phase" of the temple of Bel at Palmyra (after Morehart 1956 especially fig.2)

Fragments of early reliefs (early first century BC or first half of first century AD)[95] present oval human heads with almond-shaped eyes enclosed by clear-cut defined eyelids and with big ears (Seyrig 1936, Morehart 1956, Parlasca 1967: 559-560, Bolelli 1986: 334-335) (Figure 36). This style, especially the eye's cut, is also partially executed in the second-third-century AD, in statues at Palmyra (Michalowski 1962: 163 ff., 1963: 116 ff., 209 ff.), at Dura Europos (Perkins 1973: 70 ff. Pl.31 ff.) and at Hatra (Ingholt 1954, Homès-Fredericq 1963, Sommer 2003: 24-25 fig.28-29);[96] these geometric facial features were less marked than earlier examples.

[94] They come from the T-structure in the temple of Bel, also for dating, see note 30.
[95] They come the foundation of the T-shaped structure dated to the first century BC (Seyrig 1940), unlike a later chronology (first half of the first century AD) given in the earlier work by Ingholt (1928).
[96] For the dating of the statues at Hatra see Homès-Fredericq (1963: 16-17).

Figure 36: Female head of archaic Nabataean art in the museum
at Cophenangen (first half of first century AD) (Seyrig 1936 pl.31, 2)

A male statue out of context from Sī' (Figure 37) presents a similar style of depiction and drapery of his long tunic to the early statuary from Palmyra. The dress suggests the representation of a priest (Stucky 1973, 1976).

Figure 37: Male statue with long tunic from the sanctuary at Sī' (Bolelli 1986 Pl.4 N12)

Sketchy and geometric representations developed at Palmyra are recovered in human statue heads at Sī' (§ Ch.4.3.3) (Figure 22).[97]

[97] We can argue that every depiction or even every architectural decoration from the Hauran and other places here under examination presents distinctive local features, but the aim of this research is not to make a detailed analysis of each element, but to contextualize the architecture and the statuary of rural sanctuaries within the other populations and cultures and it is only possible to achieve that by looking at the overall similar main elements and style.
For this reason, we have not considered other specific traits in the case of statue heads at Sī', like the mouth of these human representations in the Hauran. It is possible to see a smirk, like a shy smile, typical of the Ptolemaic statues in Egypt (early first century AD), for instance (Parlasca 1967: 557).

4.4.2. Parthian territory

4.4.2.1. Layout of cult centres

Although the tripartite *adyton* is a common feature differently evolved in the Near East in the provincial period (Will 1957), the earliest and simplest example is recovered in first-century BC sanctuaries at Dura Europos, later, in the first-second century, at Hatra (Downey 1988). Unlike the other later examples, their *adyton* is not on a raised level and it consists of two small lateral rooms and one at the centre that opens directly into a wide courtyard. This one has steps or benches inside (*Ibid.* 79-86, 89-92, 102-105 fig. 33, 35, 40) (Figure 38-39).

This plan can suggest that the big courtyard was the centre of rituals and worshippers were seated on the steps or the benches or just stood to watch religious practices (Nielsen 2002: 241-246). The house of gods, i.e. the *cella*, was reduced in size; it became a small room (i.e. the *adyton*) (roughly 2-3 metres by 5 metres). This implies the idea that this layout was designed so the god could take part directly in cult-activities and believers could feel closer to their deity.

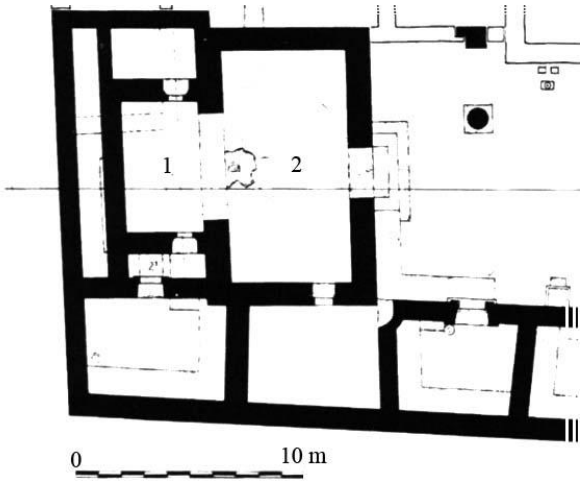


Figure 38: Part of the plan of the Temple of Adonis at Dura Europos where the *adyton* (N1) and the courtyard (N.2) are visible (after Downey 1988 fig.53)

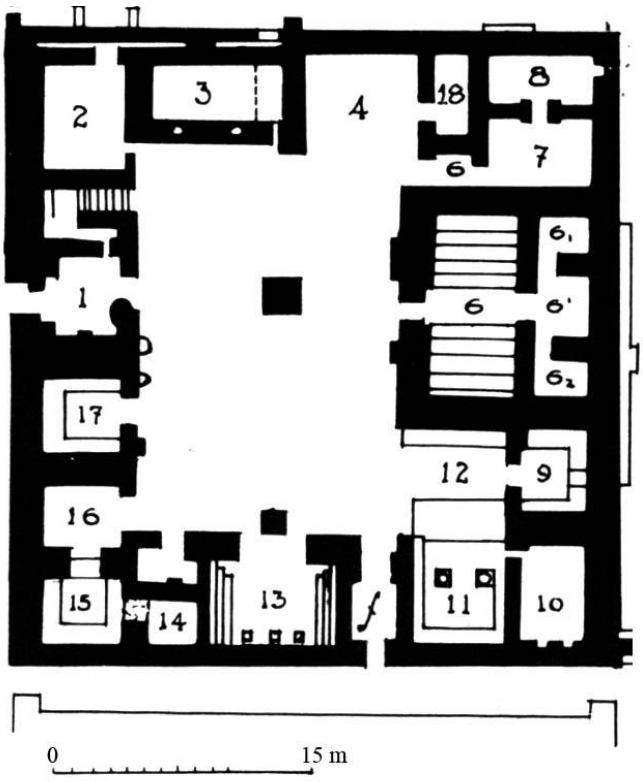


Figure 39: Part of the temple of Artemis at Dura Europos. 6 (1-2) = *adyton*, 6= courtyard with benches (after Downey 1988 fig.40)

This type of *adyton* and courtyard derived from Dura Europos were used in pre-provincial cult centres at Sī' (*adyton* at Sī' 8 and courtyards in the whole sanctuary complex) and at Sahr (*adyton* and courtyards) (Dentzer-Feydy 2010a: 236) (Figure 14).

4.4.2.2. Architectural decoration

Geometric rosettes within circles that were also used in the Herodian architecture (Figure 40), cable moulding, and swastika meanders were employed in Parthian monuments (roughly mid-second-first century BC) (Table 4.3).

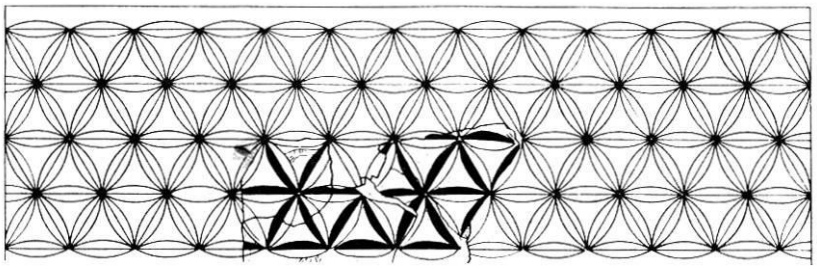


Figure 40: Geometric rosettes inserted into circles (after Andrae & Lenzen 1967 pl.14 d N15597, 15599, 18076)

These decorative motifs were used in the sanctuary of Sī'. The swastika meanders design is found in the sanctuary of Sī' at the beginning of the early first century AD (the doorframe of the temple 2) and in the second quarter of the first century AD (niches of Sī' 8, Nabatean gateway at Sī', first-second century fragments out of context at Sī') (Table 2.9) (Figure 4). It was also used on entablatures and niche-frames of rural temples in the Hauran in the provincial period (Mushannef, Atil, and Sanamein) as this pattern became popular in the Roman Near East (§ Ch.4.6.3) (Table 2.8).

4.4.3. Palmyra and Parthia

4.4.3.1. Decoration

Decorative elements used both in Parthia and at Palmyra are vine branches with s-shaped stems and alternating floral motifs in the middle, speared leaves, and the geometric style of rosettes (Table 4.1) (Figure 41).[98]

These were used at Sī' (Figure 4) (Table 4.1).

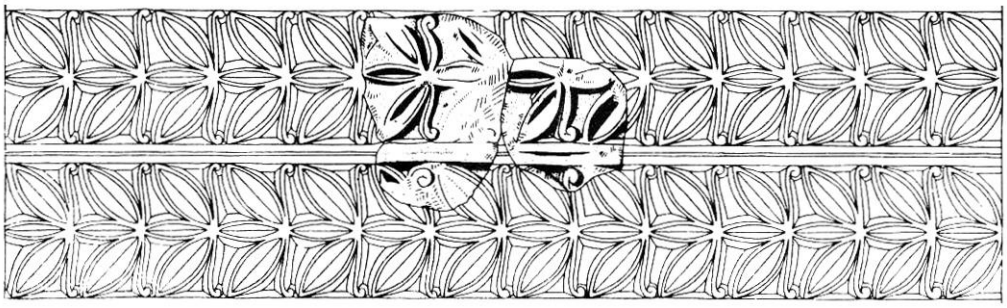


Figure 41: Decorative pattern of stuccos of a Parthian palace at Assur
(after Andrae & Lenzen 1967 pl.15 b17933. 180036)

4.4.3.2. Statues

Furthermore, male statues with a long tunic, riding horses and wearing a soldier's skirt with small strips are common representations in Parthian art as well as at Palmyra from the first century AD onwards.[99] Long tunics consisting of zigzag draping are typical garments of nomads of the Mesopotamian steppe (Downey 1977, Weber 2003a: 356, 2003b: 162, Dentzer & Weber 2009: 65, 76).

[98] They are decorative blocks recovered in the T-shaped structure in the temple of Bel at Palmyra, so they could be dated, like other decorative slabs, before the first century AD (§ Ch.4.4.1.2, especially footnote 92).

[99] Examples are, for instance, at Hatra (Ingholt 1954: passim, Homès-Fredericq 1963: 21-26 pl. 6: 1-2, 7: 1), a votive relief of Asher and Sa'ad at Dura Europos (Mathiesen 1992: 200 Nr. 181, Weber 2003a: 356, 2003b: 262, Dentzer & Weber 2009: 65 fig. 105), the Syrian deity Arsu (Linant de Bellefonds 1984), Dioskouroi (Augé and Linant de Bellefonds 1986), and gods at Palmyra (Seyrig *et al.* 1975: 87-88 pl.90a).

This type of depiction of horsemen and their garments used in Parthia and at Palmyra can be found also in five male figures on horseback wearing a long tunic with a cloak on one shoulder and two with cuirass and pteryges (body armour with a decorative short skirt of leather or fabric strips worn by soldiers) at Sahr. They belong to one statuary complex on a podium in the main courtyard (Dentzer & Weber 2009 Sr1-7) (Figure 42).

With regards to who this group of horsemen stand for, it is difficult to have a unanimous interpretation. A long tunic with a cloak on a shoulder is a typical garment used to represent members of Syrian priesthood, but priests are not usually depicted riding horses (Stucky 1973, 1976). It is likely that these garments could have also been used for secular characters, as it seems to be proved by the fact that there are seven horsemen, whereas deities in Parthian and Palmyrene art are depicted singularly or in a group of two or three at most.[100]

The number of horsemen leads us to support the hypothesis of the scholar Weber that has identified them as soldiers of Babylonian origin under the command of Agrippa II (Weber 2003a: 356, 2003b: 162). This is built on the fact that their garments are typical of the Mesopotamian steppe and the identification of this group of statues specifically with the Zamarids soldiers of Babylonian origin[101] is based on Josephus' narration. He mentioned (*Vita* 46-61, 177-180, 407-409, *BJ* 17.4, 421) them as loyal soldiers to Herodian rulers, especially in the Jewish revolts (AD66) and settled by Herod in Bathyra, e.g. Basir, from 10 BC (*Jos., Ant.* 17.2 1-2: 23-31) that is, on the north-west of Leja (Cohen 1972: 83-95, Isaac 2000: 62-65, 329-331, Kokkinos 2007: 294). Weber's hypothesis can also be confirmed by the proximity of the sanctuary to the military base of Zamarids. Amongst these statues a bigger statue (life-size) with a long tunic is identified because of its size as the commander of this troop of Zamarids that was Agrippa II (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 78).

[100] Examples are in the footnote 99.

[101] According to Kropp (2013: 261 ff.), these statues do not necessarily represent the Zamarids. They could be Roman colonists, possibly of Beirut, for the following reasons. An inscription from Sur al-Laja (found above a door of a house) refers to Agrippa as the official (strategos) of colonists (κολωνεῖται) (*OGIS* 425), derived from the Latin term *coloni*. Agrippa was a civic benefactor and he had good contact with the Roman colony at Berytus (modern Beirut). Several Roman citizens are known to have been in Agrippa's military staff (Haensch 2006: 146-47).

However, firstly, Kropp's theory does not explain the use of clothing from Mesopotamian, Palmyrene and Parthian representations, unlike Weber's hypothesis. Secondly, the presence of Zamarids that are based in the nearby military garrison at Basir, just in the north-western part of Leja, in the sanctuary at Sahr is more convincing than the colonists from the more distant colony of Berytus.

For these reasons Weber's theory appears valid, unlike Kropp's argument.

Figure 42: Horseman from Sahr (Denzter & Weber 2009 Pl.104)

4.4.4. Discussion

The resemblance of the main ritual areas in pre-provincial sanctuaries in the Hauran (i.e. the courtyard facing the small *adyton-cella*), their architectural decorations, and their statues, with examples from Palmyra, Dura Europos and in general Parthian architecture indicates an undeniable connection between the Hauran and Palmyra and the Parthia. This set of evidence can reveal that the cultural socio-economic interactions between Palmyra and the Parthia, suggested by the similarity of architectural decorations, style and dress code on statues, can be applied and extended to the study area.

Connections between the Hauran and these places in the hinterland of the Near East could be caused by the following factors: the movements of different populations (groups who used the "Safaitic" script, military forces and the Nabataeans) in the hinterland of the Near East, their impact on the Hauran and the geographical centrality of the study area within the Near East.

"Safaitic" groups who settled in the study area (§ Ch.3.3.2.2 for further information), or, at least, that seemed to have a major impact on the names of local tribes in the Hauran (§ Ch.5-6) were in contact with Palmyra and Dura Europos. This is demonstrated by the presence of "Safaitic" graffiti at Palmyra and Dura Europos, including in one of the main cult centres (sanctuary of Allat) at Palmyra (§ Ch.3.3.2.2).[102]

[102] For Dura Europos, see MacDonald (1993: 305), for Palmyra, see (Drijvers 1976: 34), for Sī' MacDonald 2003a. It is not possible to date "Safaitic" graffiti as they do not use a calendar and they are not found in a context that can be clearly dated. Only in few cases when they mention historical events of the Romans, Nabataeans or their rulers, we could suggest an approximate date to them (Sartre 1982: 127-128, 1992: 41, McDonald 1993: 379, 390).

The Hauran was a buffer zone between the Roman Empire on the Levantine coast and the populations of the desert, especially the Parthians (Cumont 1926 xxix, Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 285). Historically, the Herodian army (specifically that of Agrippa II, mid-first century AD) supported the Romans in their conflict against the Parthians (*Tacitus Ann.* 13, 7, Millar 1993: 65-66, 69). Therefore, this contact with the Parthians could have affected and influenced the Hauran that was under the development of the Herodian kingdom,[103] that was closer to the hinterland of the Near East and that was monitored by the Herodian army (Map 2.3). Further evidence to support this connection could be the coins recovered at Sī'. Although they are possibly of local production, they had similar patterns (stripes, globules and points) to the coins used in Parthia from the second half of the first century AD (Augé 2003: 240 N226-233). We cannot infer further about this type of coinage because of their bad preservation.

Connections between Dura Europos and the Herodian reign and its predecessors, the Hasmoneans and earlier John Hyrcanus the Maccabean king who ruled Palestine from 135-104BC can be supported by the recovery of coins from these different kingdoms from 135BC until AD43/4 at Dura Europos (Bellinger 1949 N.173-180, Kraeling 1956: 326). The earliest presence of king John Hyrcanus from Palestine is justified by the military expedition of this king to Babylonia (part of the Seleucid Empire and later of the Parthian reign) to assist the Seleucid Emperor Antioch VII in his campaigns against the Parthians, as historically attested by Josephus (*Jos. Ant.* 13: 250-251). This link between the Herodians and the Parthians is reflected in later period by the presence of the Herodian military troops settled in the outskirts of Leja that originated from Babylonia (§ Ch.3.2.2, Ch.4.4.3.b) and, later, the presence of a Jewish community at Dura Europos in the second and third century AD, as shown by the recovery of the synagogue (Jewish religious centre) dated to this period in the city (Kraeling 1956, Gutmann 1973, Hachilili 1998: 45).

Furthermore, the study area can be considered as a crossing-area for commercial contacts between the Nabataeans and the hinterland of the Near East (i.e. Palmyra, Dura Europos and the Mesopotamian valley) (Map 4.3).

The economic interactions of these populations with the Nabataens can be demonstrated by the following written sources and archaeological remains.

[103] The mid-first century is the period of the building of the sanctuary complex at Sahr, the phase of the erection of temple 3 and its courtyard at Sī' and Sī' 8 (Table 4.7) that present Parthian influence on the architectural elements and statues.

Despite the paucity of the non-Roman coinage assemblage recovered at Palmyra, the few coins recovered out of context were Nabataean (Fellman & Dunant 1975: 103-110 N19). This and the influence of the architectural and iconographical style in the Hauran can be explained because Palmyra was an economic nexus between populations and cultures in the West and in the East since the Hellenistic period. This is demonstrated by imported ceramics, including amphorae, from the third century BC from Egypt, North Africa, Greece and Palestine and by inscriptions that mentioned this city as a trade-centre since the early first century AD (Gawlikowski 1995: 84-85, Edwell 2008: 31 ff., Smith 2013: 68 ff., especially 75-76 for the earliest evidence).

The first-century authors Pliny and Strabo and the late fourth-century Diodore of Tartus, mention trade and exchange between the Nabataeans and generically the Mesopotamian area (Pliny, *His. Nat*. 6, 32; 12, 40, *Strab. Geog.* 16, 4, 18, *Diod.* 3, 42, 4).

Most of archaeological evidence to support Nabataean contacts with the Near Eastern interior comes from Dura Europos as this site presents more remains in the pre-provincial period than other cities in the East (such as Palmyra and Assur).[104] Nine Nabataean coins have been recovered in the Parthian city of Dura Europos (Schmid 2007: 71). This apparently small quantity represents the highest number of Nabataean coins in the Mesopotamian area and in other parts outside the Nabataean kingdom (*Ibid.* 69-74).[105] This can only reinforce the hypothesis of economic relationships that can be dated from the end of the first century BC up to AD106. This time-frame is based on the Nabataean kings, respectively Aretas IV (9BC-AD40) and Rabbel II (AD70-106), stamped on the coins found at Dura Europos (Bellinger 1949: 10 N166-168, Meshorer 1975: 41 N118, Schmid 2007: 71). First-century pottery produced in Petra was also imported into Parthian territory (Schneider 1996: 138 ff., 141 ff., Schmid & Kolb 2000: 136 ff, Schmid 2007: 69).

The Hauran could have been directly affected by this commerce as the Nabataeans could have used caravan routes under their control from Bosra through the Persian Gulf to reach the lower part of the Mesopotamian valley (Dentzer 1986: 418 note 186) (Map

[104] Very little is known about Dura Europos in the Hellenistic period (third-second century BC) (Jones 1971: 217-219) and in the first century of Parthian rule (113BC-AD164/165) (Welles 1956: 469), whereas copious and significant archaeological and written evidence survives from the end of the first century BC onwards (Dirven 1999: 4 ff.).
For Palmyra, see footnotes 88-89.
For Parthian cities, such as Dura Europos and cities from Mesopotamiam valley (Assur and Babylonia), see Downey (1988).

[105] For instance, only three Nabataean coins were found at Kourion (Cyprus), dated to 9BC-AD40 on the basis of the 'Aretas IV' stamped on the coins (Meshorer 1975: 41 N118, Schmid 2007: 71 N19).

2.3) and/or a shorter path that crossed the Hauran to reach Palmyra and, from there, Dura Europos, through Damascus (Maps 2.3, 4.4).

Despite the fact that the roads of the second itinerary were formally built by the Romans in the second-third century,[106] they could have already been in use in earlier periods as seems to have occurred for most Roman roads in the Near East.

Bosra and Damascus were linked by a major road-way from the Persian period (fifth-fourth century BC) (Map 4.5) (Graf 1994: 183, 170 fig. 1), and also in the Nabataean period (Healey 2001 Map 1) (Map 4.3).

The Nabataeans were attested in Damascus[107] twice: there were Nabataean merchants in this city and its surrounding area according to Strabo (*Strab. Geog.* 16:2, 20) and the Nabataeans controlled Damascus for a few years at the beginning of the first century BC (84-72 BC) (*Jos. AJ* 13: 15, 2: 392, *BJ* 1: 4, 8: 103).

Even internal routes in the Hauran were used before the Roman road-building programme (Bauzou 1986). For instance, this could be the case with the Roman road from Sī' to Mushannef, as it follows a natural path (Dentzer 1999: 255),[108] sanctuaries at both sites were built in the pre-provincial period (§ Ch 5-6), and the village of Mushannef was dated, according to inscriptions, at least to the first century AD (Wadd 2217).

More difficult is to identify the earlier use of the route from Palmyra to Damascus because most of the studies and the evidence have been focused on the Palmyrene and Parthian trade with the East (Millar 1993: 309, Young 2001: 137 ff. Map 4.1, 193-194).

A main route from Palmyra to Damascus was the *strata Diocletiana*, named after the emperor Diocletian, in charge of this major building programme in the Near East in the third century (Bazou 1989: 212 fig.20). This does not appear to have been used in earlier periods, but a route, at least of the second-century, almost parallel to it, crossed from Palmyra to Damascus, according to a fifth-century record on roads in the Roman Empire (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, meaning Peutinger Map) (*Ibid*.). This route was

[106] The roads that crossed the Hauran are dated to the second-third century AD (Bauzou 1986) and from Damascus to Palmyra there is the *Strata Diocletiana* built by Diocletian in the third century AD (Bauzou 1989: 212 fig.20).

[107] Damascus was also a key crossing place for commercial activities on the west as a major Roman road from this city to Lebanon can confirm (Millar 1993: 310, ILS N5864/a).

[108] The natural path-way follows the valley of the wadis that passes at the foot of the northern flanks of the hill of Sī' (Dentzer 1999: 255).

considered a major, frequent crossing-way; this is supported by the presence, alongside it, of the ruins of villages, water cisterns and round watching-towers, which differ from the squared one found on the strata Diocletiana (*Ibid*.). Because these ruins are not dated, we cannot be certain of when and for how long these were used.

Also we need to bear in mind that, according to historical sources, ancient trade routes were known from Palmyra to Damascus under the Assyrians (Mare 1995: 197). These could have used in a later period, for example during the Nabataean kingdom. The Nabataean merchants near Damascus could have easily extended their radius of economic activities from this city to the East.

Therefore, on the basis of the information mentioned above, together with the architectural resemblance, we cannot consider Palmyra to have been isolated from the development of the Levant in the first-century BC-first century AD; Palmyra was most likely connected to the and to Damascus and also the Hauran before the provincial period.

The architecture and iconography from Palmyra and Parthia did not reach Nabataea, as demonstrated by the lack of their architectural style in Nabataean architecture, as in the main Nabataean city Petra, because the Nabataeans already had their own architectural style and traditions (McKenzie 1990, Healey 2001). On the contrary, the Hauran started developing its first monumental cult centres in the first century BC-first century AD.[109]

[109] For Sī': see PPUAES (IV A 2 N 76, 78), Dentzer (1985), Dentzer-Feydy (1986, 2003); for Sahr: see Kalos (1997, 2003), Dentzer & Weber (2009).

Before this period there were cult-places but they were not monumental and they had only essential elements in order to undertake cult-practices, like altars and votive offerings, and that lack of monumentality. In the Hauran, this type of cult centre has been recovered at Massakeb, Sahr and possibly Sī' (Dentzer-Feydy 2010a).

The first consists of a beaten earth floor surrounded by an enclosure; a monolithic altar is at the centre with a little cup and a channel used for sacrifices. There anthropomorphic and aniconic stone images are found that would stand for divine representations (Kalos 1997, Dentzer-Feydy 2010a: 231-232). Only in a later period, towards the end of the first century BC-beginning of the first century AD, the need developed to have a building to house the deity, so a small *naos* was added at the back of the enclosure and its entrance was aligned with the altar.

The earliest phase of Sahr consisted of votive deposit below a paved area, with a different orientation (e.g. 45 degrees) from the temple built later, with mortises that could have been used for a *stele* or a *betyl.* The votive offerings, consisting of big quantities of animal (ovine-goat) bones and two silver coins from the city of Tyr, dated to 88 and 57-56 BC, have made it possible to date the earliest phase of the cult centre at the beginning of the first century BC (Kalos 2003: 160, 164-165 fig.2-3).

With regards to Sī', the top of the hill where the sanctuary was built could have already been used as a place of cult-practices because of the recovery of pottery and animal bones in the Hellenistic period (second-early first century BC) (Dentzer 1985), although there is no evidence, such as altars or deity's statuette, to verify that the animal bones and pottery were for ritual activities.

The sanctuary at Massakeb remained an archaic and basic cult-place, even in the second phase; only a simple room was added in front of the monumental altar. The sanctuaries at Sī' and Sahr developed into

4.5. Rural cult centres in the Hauran vs. religious architecture in the Near East in the pre-provincial period[110]

The *temenos* is the most frequent Near Eastern feature in the pre-provincial and provincial periods (§ Ch.2.2.1).

In the Hauran, the remains of the *temenos* are preserved in the pre-provincial cult centres at Sī', Sur al-Leja, Sahr, Mushannef and Dâmit Il-'Alyā,[111] and provincial cult centres at Dayr Smayĝ[112] and Menara Henou[113] (Table 4.7). We cannot exclude the possibility in other sites that the standing structure of a temple (such as Sleim and Atil) or just its blocks in the backyard of a modern house (like Hebran) could have been circumscribed by a *temenos* as these remains are near modern buildings of a village where Roman blocks are widely reused for present-day structures.

4.5.1. Discussion

The frequency of this feature in the study area can reinforce once more the idea proposed in this chapter that the rural religious architecture in the Hauran was influenced by religious building traditions in the Near East in the pre-provincial as well as provincial period.

monumental religious centres influenced by the religious building tradition of the new political authorities and by the social interactions with other nearby or more distant cultures.

[110] Ball (2000: 344) has argued that cult centres on the top of a hill are typical in the Near East. Therefore, the location of rural cult centres at Sī', Sleim, Hebran, and also Saalkad in the Southern Hauran, as they are in high-places, could be considered a Near Eastern feature. However, not every temple or sanctuary in the Near East is on the top of a hill or mountain; even in the Hauran there are only three cases. Also, Greek sanctuaries were on the top of a hill (Lawrence 1983). Therefore, this feature cannot be considered a typical Near Eastern feature; it is an aspect not even that common in the religious tradition in the Near East that is also found in other cultures.

[111]The only remains of the sanctuary at Dâmit Il-'Alyā is a standing wall. It is 3.40m high, made of large and well-finished blocks of basalt, with a rich base moulding and right-lined cornice. It should be part of the *temenos*. It is not possible to trace its full extent (PPUAES II A 7: 433-434 Ill. 377).

[112] The only remains of the sanctuary at Dayr Smayĝ, like the one at Dâmit Il-'Alyā, are a standing wall and additionally a few standing columns that are sparse on all the sides of the wall, which should indicate the existence of a colonnaded *temenos* (PPUAES II A: 352).

[113] The sanctuary at Menara Henou consists of a courtyard 17 m on its long side. It is dated to the second century AD, based on inscriptions (Dunand 1933: 521-527). The survey undertaken by Dunand in the 1930s (*Ibid*.) is still the only source of information of the small ruin, therefore the current understanding of this site is rather limited. Already when Dunand visited the site, it was badly preserved; it consisted of heaps of stones, including remarkable fragments of sculptures.

4.6. Rural cult centres in the Hauran vs. religious architecture in the Near East in the provincial period

4.6.1. Layout of cult centres

Other typical features of sanctuaries in the Near East in the provincial period are: monumental gateways (*propylon* or *propylaea*), the exterior layout of a Graeco-Roman temple, a *podium*, an *adyton* and a staircase (§ Ch.2.2.2.1 for further details).

In the Hauran, pre-provincial sanctuaries seem to integrate these typical Near Eastern Roman features and new temples included these characteristics when they were built. In both cases this Roman design was adapted to the local taste in the study area from the second half of the first century AD onwards, i.e. before its annexation to the Roman province.

Unlike *propylaea* in the main Roman sanctuaries of the Near East that have a straight path (Ball 2000: 326-329, René 1998: 34), at Sī',[114] there are two monumental *propylaea* with a different orientation followed by a sacred way to Sī' 8 in the valley, because they give access to two different temples. One, consisting of the forecourt 3 and a flight of steps leading to the new temple (temple 3), was built in the mid-first century AD, on an elevated area. For the other *propylaea*, the worshipper from the sacred path had to cross the forecourt 3 through two gates, followed by the courtyard associated with temple 2 and finally to enter to the *theatron* before *cella* 1. This monumental path-way to the earliest temple (*cella* 1) stresses the use and the importance of temple 1 also in the later period, alongside the new one. The gates are dated to the second-third century AD (PAAES III 431-432) (Figure 43). Moreover, there is no evidence of a monumental sacred way, such as a colonnade, from the gate of the sanctuary complex to Sī' 8.

[114] Butler, the earliest explorer that recorded pre-Roman and Roman ruins in the Hauran, (PPUAES II A 7: 441) identified a room on the south-west of the main courtyard of the sanctuary at Sahr, opposite to the *cella* as a *propylon*. However, it does not have elements of a *propylon*, i.e. a monumental gate, being in axis with the entrance of *cella*. A room placed in this part of the sanctuary does not appear in other sanctuaries, so its building was a functional, specific need of that sanctuary, in particular of the courtyard, where it is only way to gain access , or it could have been used as a chapel (Kalos 2003: 161-162). As there is no evidence of an altar, a cult niche or statues that could identify this room with a chapel, it is more likely that it was a storage area for implements for cult-activities undertaken in the forecourt. This supposition is based on its location, its small size, its opening and lack of decorations and further evidence that could suggest a different function.

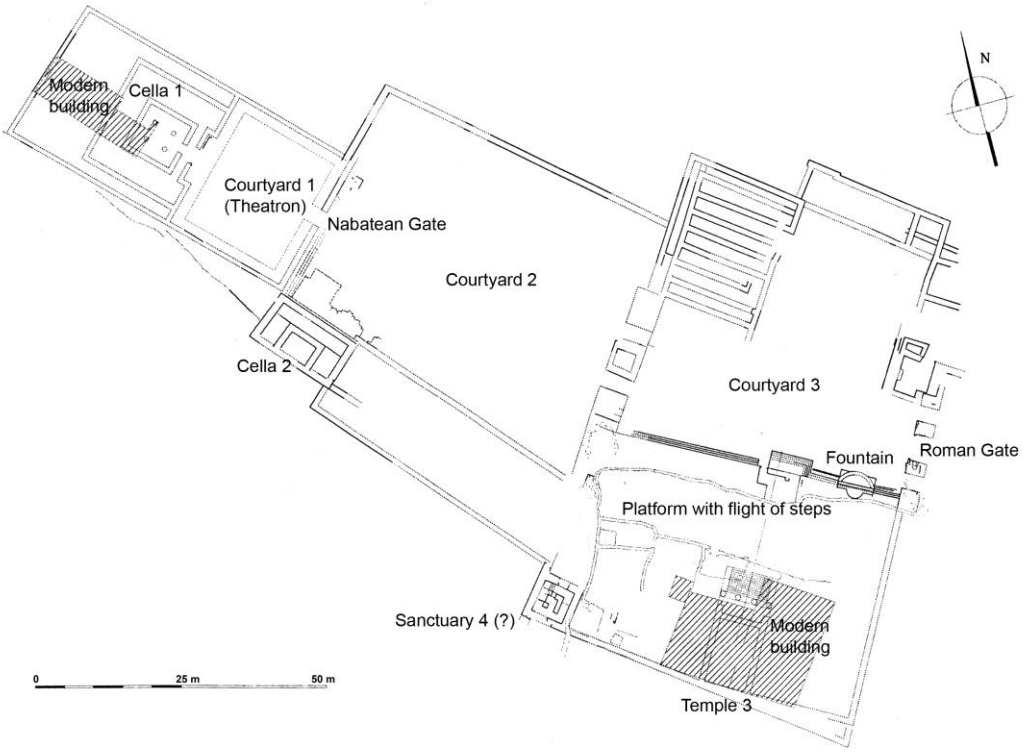


Figure 43: The complex of the sanctuary at Sī' (Dentzer-Feydy 2010b)

This series of forecourts with a staircase and gates at Sī' indicates the assimilation of the common Near Eastern provincial feature *propylaea* (Ch.2.2.2.1), as well as its local adaption to earlier structures and the natural topography of the hill where this sanctuary was built.

Additionally at Sī', the temple 3 has a *protostyle tetrastyle* layout (Table 4.7). However, we cannot be certain of this plan, as at the temple at Hebran, as they are both based on a reconstruction from the early twentieth century (PPUAES II A Ill.296, 341) (Figure 44). It is not possible to re-evaluate their layout because of the occurrence of modern-day structures in the area in the first case and the disappearance of any foundation in the second case.

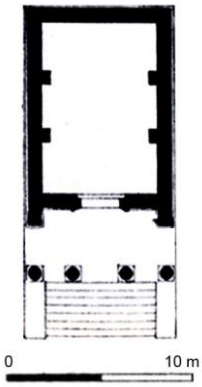


Figure 44: Temple at Hebran (after PPUAES II Ill. 296)

Almost half of rural *cellas* in the Hauran have a *podium* and seem to have, externally, a Roman layout. They are mostly dated to the provincial period (Figure 45) (Table 4.7). They vary from the *distyle in antis* (four out of nineteen temples), presenting two columns at the entrance of the *cella*, to the *protostyle tetrastyle* type, e.g. it has a portico with four columns (four out of nineteen temples). The former type is found at Atil, Mushannef (Figure 46), and Sleim. The *protostyle tetrastyle* layout is found at the temples at Breik, Dayr Smayĝ and Sanamein[115] (Table 4.7).

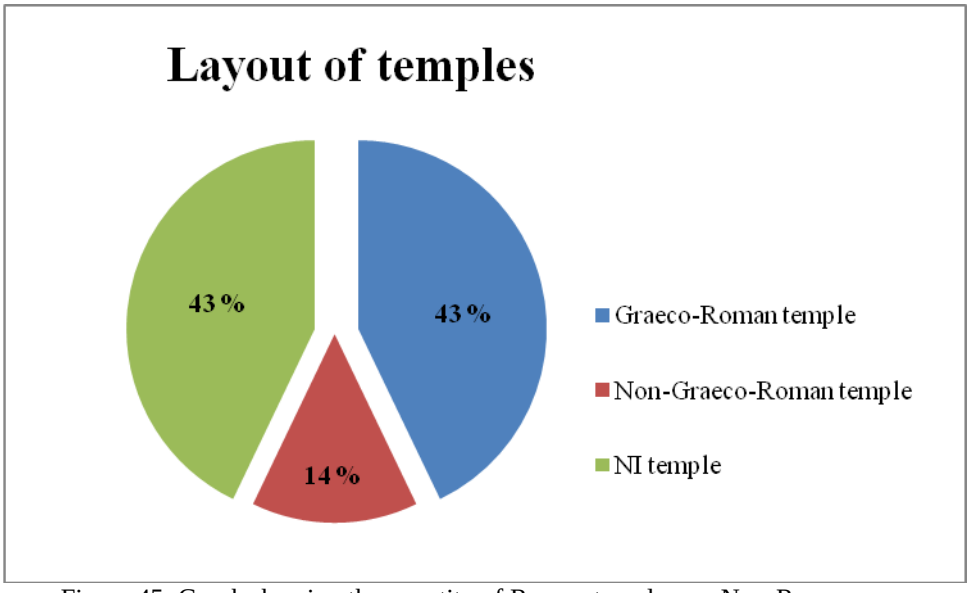


Figure 45: Graph showing the quantity of Roman temples vs. Non-Roman ones (like the one at Sahr) in the Hauran (data in Table 4.7) (by the Author 2013)

[115] The layout of the last one is based on the reconstruction by Butler as the entrance of the front temple was dismantled.

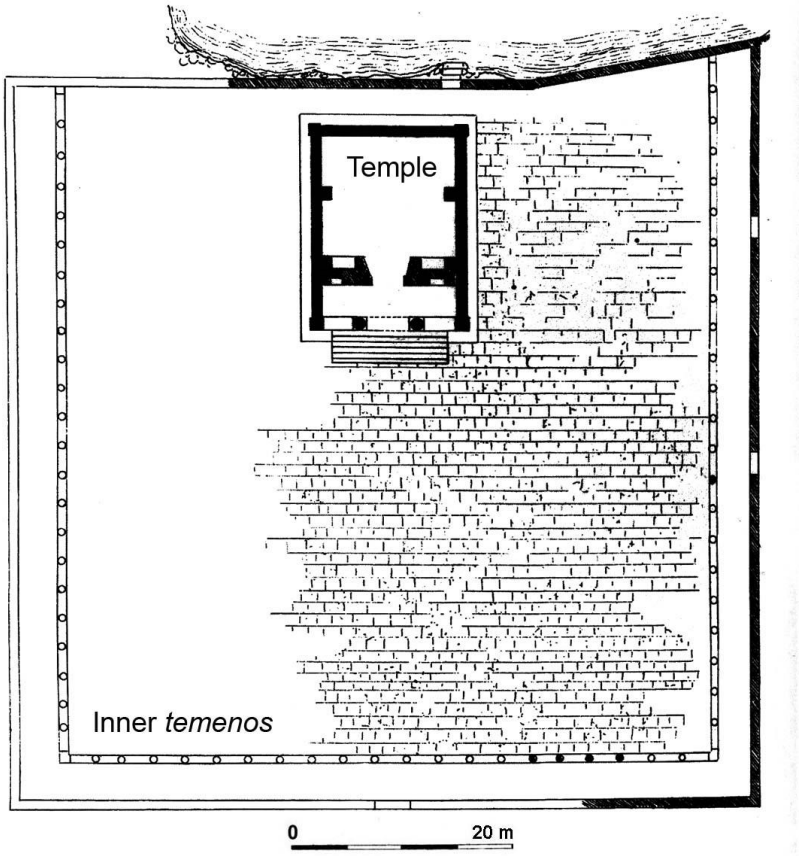


Figure 46: Temple of Mushannef (after PAAES II: 347 fig. 122)

When the interior of the temple survives, it has an *adyton*, but unlike other Roman examples, it is not on a raised level and it has a niche-like structure at its centre. This has been recovered in the temples at as-Sanamein, Breik and Mismieh (Table 4.7). Temples at as-Sanamein and Sleim also have steps leading to the top of the *cella* (Table 4.7).

4.6.2. Capitals

Attic bases and normal Corinthian capitals seem to have in general the same style across the Near East in the provincial period. There is also a variation of normal Corinthian capitals which had long plain acanthus leaves instead of elaborate foliage of normal Corinthian capitals and it appeared sporadically in sanctuaries and monumental buildings across the Near East (§ Ch.2.2.2.2 for description and further information).

Capitals from provincial cult centres in the Hauran predominantly follow the style widely developed in the Roman provinces in the Near East. This is the case for Attic bases in the temple 3 and courtyard 3 at Sī', the temples at Atil, Sanamein and

Mushannef (Table 4.11) and normal Corinthian capitals in temples at Sleim and Mushannef, out of context from Rimet Hazem, Hebran, and Sī' (Tables 4.11) (Figure 47).

Figure 47: Corinthian capital of the pilaster on the corner of the temple of Mushannef
(by the Author 2010)

The variation of Corinthian capitals with long plain acanthus leaves has also been recovered in the rural temple at Sleim in the study area (Figure 48) (Table 2.4).

Figure 48: Corinthian capital at Sleim
(after Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 647 fig.8)

4.6.3. Architectural decoration

Architectural and decorative elements widely used in the architecture of Roman provinces in the Near East, which have already been discussed in Chapter 2. (§ Ch.2, 2.2.3), can also be found in rural sanctuaries in the Hauran.

The arched pediment appears in the provincial west temple at Atil (Figures 49).

Figure 49: Façade of the north temple at Atil (after Assaf 1998 fig.24)

Ionic doorframes are either decorated (fragmentary evidence at Busan, Dhakir, Deir Samaj, Kafr, Mayamas, Mushannef, courtyard 3 Sī' and Sleim) or plain (doorway in the sanctuary Mushannef and Sananmein) in rural temples (Denzter-Feydy 2003: 87) (Figure 50).

Figure 50: Ionic plain doorframe reemployed in the façade of the sanctuary at Mushannef (by Author 2010)

When it survives, the upper part of the entablature of provincial rural temples in the Hauran (Sleim, Mushannef and Sanamein) follows overall the same design of the ones used in the architecture in the Near East in provincial period (Figure 51).

Amongst the rural temples in the study area there is a major difference in the decoration of cornices: the drip cornice at Sleim and Mushannef has a fascia alternating with swastika meanders and rosettes, whereas the one at Sanamein has floral decorations (undulating tendrils and long leaves with three leaflets on each side of the stem and two cherries in the middle of a tendril). This slight variation could be due to building temples in different periods. The entablature of the temples at Mushannef and Sleim were built at the beginning of the provincial period (the end of the first century-first half

of the second century), whereas the one at Sanamein was built in the second half of the second century AD (Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 279, 297).

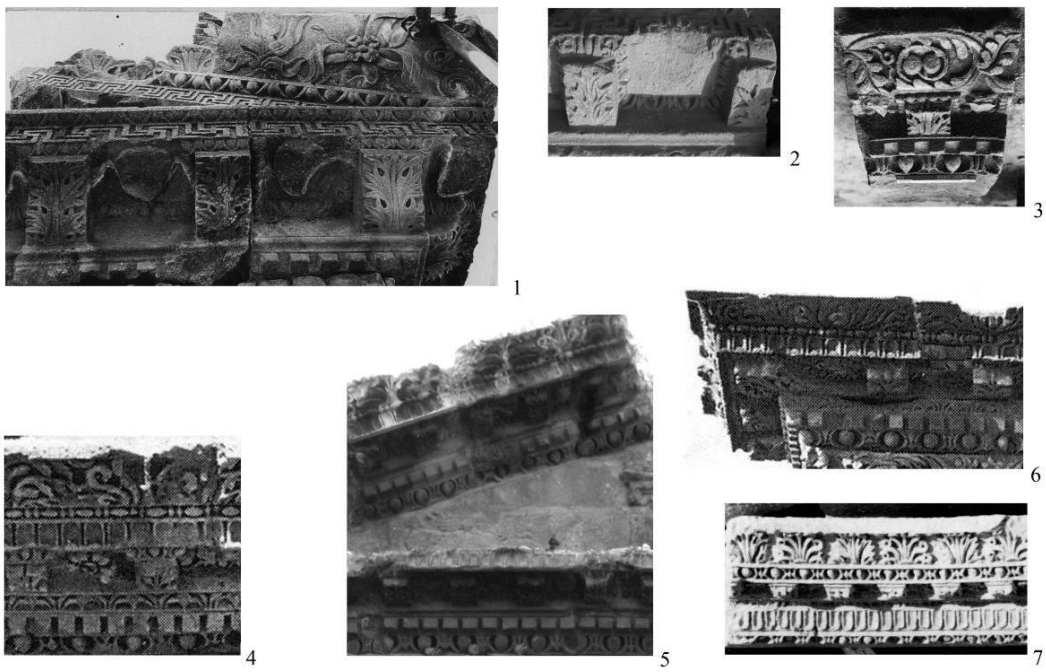


Figure 51: Cornices and *simas* in the Roman province of Syria in the provincial period: 1: temple of Sleim (after Freyberger 1991 pl.10a), 2: temple of Mushannef (by the Author 2010), 3: temple of Sanamein (Freyberger 1989 pl.39b), 4: *nymphaeum* at Gerasa (*Ibid.* pl.34b), 5: sanctuary of Jupiter at Damascus (by Author 2010), 6: sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra (after Collart & Vicari 1969 pl.79).

The wreath-like motif seems to have been a pattern widely used in temples in the Hauran in the provincial period (fragments of frieze out of context at Sī', decoration of doorway of the façade and friezes of temples at Atil, Sanamein and Mushannef) (Table 2.5) (Figure 52).

Figure 52: Floral decoration on lintels of door frames in provincial temples:
1: Atil (by Author 2010), 2: Sanamein (Freyberger 1989 pl.33 b)

Palmettes, consisting of sinuous, more realistic long leaves with spirals both upwards and downwards at the end, are found in the *sima* of the entablature of the temple of Sleim and Sanamein (Figure 51) (Table 2.6). Realistic and sinuous rosettes are used as an intermediary motif for meanders on architraves of provincial temples of the Hauran (Mushannef, Sleim, Atil and Sanamein) (Figure 53) (Table 2.7).

The egg motif evolves over time in the Hauran. Firstly, it consists of sketchy, engraved half-eggs in the second half of first century AD (niches at Sī' 8),[116] then, semi-egg reversed eggs in relief alternating with a single tongue in each instance in the second half of the first century AD-second century AD (door frames at Sī' 8, Sahr, architraves at Sleim and Mushannef) and, finally, entire drop-shape eggs with darts or diamonds in the second half of the second century AD (architraves at Atil, Sanamein, and Mayamas) (Figures 51, 53) (Tables 2.9-10). The variation of this motif seems to be determined by the slightly different period in which the particular section of the temple was built, as pointed out above by the decoration of their cornices.

[116] It has also been suggested that the motif appears in the door frame of Sur al-Laja (Table 2.9). Due to the lack of investigation of this site it is not possible to determine its dating, so it is not clear if this feature is dated to second half of the first century AD or earlier.

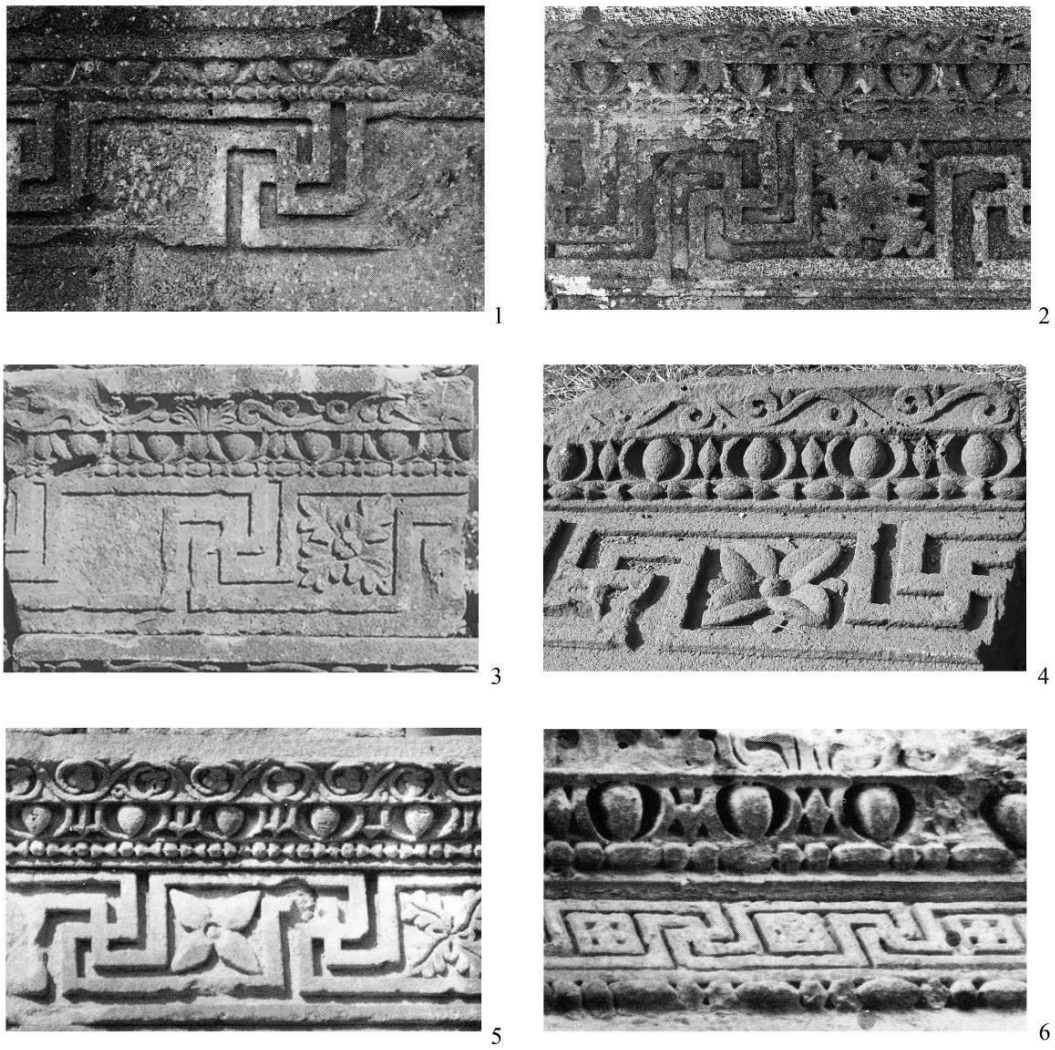


Figure 53: Architraves in provincial temples: 1: temple of Sleim, 2: temple of Mushannef (after Freyberger 1989 pl. 38 b-c), 3: temple of Rimet Hazem (after Dentzer-Feydy 1998 fig.14), 4: temple of Atil (by Author 2010), 5: temple of Sanamein, 6: sanctuary of Jupiter at Damascus (after Freyberger 1989 pl. 38 d-pl.23a).

The bead-and-reel motif develops from a rhomboid or oval shape of the reel, at the end of the pre-provincial-beginning of the provincial period (architraves of temples at Mushannef and Sleim, on niche-frames at Sī' 8 and fragments of lintels out of context at Sī'), into a chubby, rounder, bead-like shape of a reel, in the second half of the second century (architraves at Sanamein and Atil). This decorative element is mainly found in the provincial period, with the exception of Sī' 8 and first-second century fragments which were found out of context at Sī' (Figures 4, 6, 53). The chronological evolution of this motif is overall similar to that of the egg motif.

4.6.4. Statues

Even though in the Near East statues from the provincial period maintained overall their own distinctive regional features, these were occasionally less evident than in the pre-provincial times (Parlasca 1989) (§ Ch.4.4.1.3). A major stylistic change is in the garments of human representations, with the adoption of Roman clothing. This would have been a distinctive trait used to represent a citizen loyal to the Roman Empire (*Ibid*. 551).

There is hardly any major, drastic alteration in the style of statues from the Hauran and, as they are often out of context –apart from a few cases discussed in this chapter, such as sculptures at Sahr and some from Sī'– it is difficult to distinguish examples from the pre-provincial period from the ones from provincial times (Seyrig 1965: 33, Bolelli 1986: 311-372, Dentzer 1986: 407).

The exceptions are a male statue head and the armoured torso at Dakir (Figures 54-55). The first shows defects and wrinkles on the male face's feature, typically used in Roman art to portray a more realistic representation of the character (Walker 1995: 81-82). The garment of the second statue is a muscle cuirass with pteryges (body armour shaped as an idealized torso, with a decorative short skirt of leather or fabric strips worn by soldiers) that is employed to portray Roman soldiers (Symons 1987: 43). These two fragments could have belonged to the same sculpture as the head is the correct size for the bust.[117] It could represent a member of the Roman army also, because Dakir is on the border of Leja, an area controlled by the Roman army in the provincial period (*Jos. AJ* 15: 345, 352, 346-348, 352, *AJ* 16: 271, *Strab. Geog.* 16: 2, 20).

Although the exact location of the fragments' recovery and original context are unknown, they could have belonged to an honorific statue in the cult centre at Dakir, because there are remains of a temple at Dakir and there are no further monumental buildings on this site. This hypothesis can be reinforced by the Roman army's involvement in the religious life of rural cult centres in this area, i.e. Leja, and to the south (i.e. northern Djebel al'Arab), where written dedications commissioned by soldiers and their statues have been found. Furthermore, according to inscriptions and statues, gods venerated by soldiers were worshipped in this area (§ Ch.4.4.3.b, Ch.5-6).

[117] The male head is 20 cm wide and 30 cm long, whereas the torso is 122 cm long (Suw.1991: 136), so the head could actually be the missing head of the armoured torso.

Figure 54: Male head from Dakir (Dentzer & Weber 2009 Pl.271)

Figure 55: Armoured bust from Dakir (Dentzer & Weber 2009 Pl.270)

4.6.5. Discussion

The increased number of remains of rural cult centres in the provincial period in the Hauran marks a major, prolific phase in the construction of religious buildings. This started in the period of transition from the pre-provincial to the provincial period (second half of the first century), with its peak in the latter time.

This building development was a consequence of the demographic boom, especially under the Roman authority, as the foundations of various cities and mother-villages in the provincial period in the Hauran can clearly demonstrate (§ Ch.3, especially Table 3.3).

The use of the architectural style commonly developed in Near East in the provincial period in the design of temples, their capitals and architectural decorations in the Hauran, with some local adaptations, suggests that the study area was incorporated into the process of standardisation of the architectural style in the province of Syria (Dentzer-Feydy 1989: 466 ff.) (§ Ch.2.2.2.4 for further information on the matter).

This homogeneous style gradually spread in accordance with the Levant's annexation to the Roman Empire: first, in Palmyra in AD33 and in the northern part of the Levant, then, towards the south, in Palestine, Decapolis, the Hauran and what was part of the Nabataea at the end of the first-beginning of the second century. A homogenous evolution of architectural and decorative style still continued in the second and third century (*Ibid*. 467, 469).

This phenomenon did not have major repercussions for art in the Hauran and in the Near East, where the local style is still visible (Parlasca 1989: 342). Maybe this difference between the development of figurative art and of architectural features can be due to the fact that the former is a more distinctive mark and less standardized than the latter. Moreover, it must have been difficult for local craftsmen to reproduce a similar style throughout the Levant. In sculptures from the provincial period, when it is possible to establish their dating, the only major change is in the garments of human representations with Roman clothing (§ Ch.4.6.4).

In addition, provincial wreath-like vine branches, the egg-motif, and the bead-and-reel pattern are decorations used in the Hauran since pre-provincial times, before the actual annexation to the Roman province. This implies that the use of provincial decorative elements in the Hauran was not directly caused by their political change, but more by interactions of the Hauran with the areas, such as Palmyra and Lebanon, which already used these motifs in the Roman Near East.[118]

Although the *adyton* and the swastika meander motif are widely used in the Near East in the provincial period, they originated from Parthian architecture (§ Ch.4.4.2.1-b). This implies that the Parthian impact on the architecture of the Hauran was not restricted to the pre-provincial period, but these architectural elements, first used in the Parthian reign, were, then, integrated into and became part of the standardized architecture developed in the Near East.

[118] It is unlikely that this is due to the temporary Roman control in 23-20BC and AD34-37 recorded by Josephus (§ Ch.3 table 1) as the change of architectural style seemed to start only afterwards, in the mid-first century AD.

4.7. Exceptions in the provincial period

Amongst the common architectural style existing throughout in the Near East in the provincial period, some extra features, here discussed, seem to be used in specific areas rather than others. These are: the use of niches on the façade of temples and the motif of masks under the cornice of temples.

4.7.1. Niches on the façade also in Lebanon and Palmyra

Niches inserted in the façade of the *adyton* are used in few sanctuaries in the provincial period at Palmyra and in one case in Lebanon and in the Northern Phoenician area (i.e. the sanctuaries of Baashamin and Bêl at Palmyra, in the temple at Kheurbet ouadi Souâné in the rural surrounding area of Palmyra and in the temple at Mejdel ‘Andjar in Lebanon) (Table 2.13) (§ Ch.2.2.4.1).

In provincial rural temples in the Hauran these elements are instead placed two at either side of the doorway of the façade of the temple (Table 2.13) (Figure 56). Due to this difference and the high concentration of this feature in this area we could say that the use of niches on the façade of the temple was a typical custom from the Hauran (Gawlikowski 1989: 333-334, Dentzer-Feydy *et al.* 2003: 107-108) or, more appropriately, that this feature, used in Lebanon and at Palmyra, was adapted locally in the study area.

Figure 56: Façade with niches of the temple of Atil (by Tarek Ahmad 2010)

4.7.2. Mask-motif in Lebanon

Theatrical masks with tragic and comic traits are used as decorative motifs in sanctuaries in Lebanon and northern Phoenicia from the end of the second-beginning third century AD (Table 2.14) (§ Ch.2.2.4.2).

In the study area they have been recovered under the cornice of the entablature of the provincial temple at Sleim (Freyberger 2004 Pl.10 b).

4.7.3. Discussion

The distribution of these provincial architectural and decorative elements (i.e. niches on the façades and mask-motif under the cornice) in the Hauran, Lebanon and Palmyra can only be explained as a result of contacts between these areas in the provincial period. The Roman road-system connected all of these areas, Lebanon, Palmyra and the Hauran, including the sanctuary of Dmeir (Maps 2.3, 4.4) (§ Ch.2.2.3.4).

Furthermore, these features can also indicate that the Hauran maintained the same contacts that it had with Palmyra in the pre-provincial period also in the provincial period.

The lack of common features between Lebanon and the Hauran in the pre-provincial time contrasts with a striking architectural resemblance later on. It included: the niches on the façade of the cult centre and the mask-motif under the cornice of sanctuaries, as well as other architectural elements widely used in the Near East in provincial times (Graeco-Roman external design of the temple, normal Corinthian capitals, Attic bases, architectural decorations, like meander-motif). This might be the result of a scarcity of remains dated to the pre-provincial period, whereas the major religious building programme in Lebanon was undertaken in the Roman period (Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938).

4.8. Rural cult centres vs. religious architecture in cities of the Hauran

In the pre-provincial period there are hardly any elements of the layout, capitals, architectural decorations and statues in the nearby cities of Qanawat (ancient name Kanatha) and Suweida (ancient name Dionisias) that resemble the ones in the rural cult centres of the Hauran.

Only a statue of an eagle recovered at Suweida (Suw. 1934 N38 Pl. XIII, Denzter-Feydy 1992: 73 fig.11) has the same style as the ones found in the Djebel al'Arab (§ Ch.4.3.3).[119] As the location of its recovery and its original context is unknown, we cannot be certain that it was meant for buildings in these cities and that it was used at the same time in a rural context, i.e. the pre-provincial period. This statue could just come from the nearby sanctuary at Sī', as is the case for blocks of architectural decorations that lie on the ground or are inserted in the Basilica at Qanawat (fourth-fifth century). The displacement of these blocks in later structures and their identical style to the architecture from Sī' can only lead us to suggest that they have come from the nearby rural sanctuary and have been reemployed at Qanawat (Amer *et al*. 1982: 258).

Only in the provincial period similar architectural features of rural cult centres have been recovered in the nearby cities Qanawat and Suweida.[120] They are the layout of Graeco-Roman temples at Qanawat and Suweida, decorations and Attic and Corinthian capitals at Qanawat and Dera'.[121] However, these features are also common in other parts of the Near East in the provincial period (§ Ch.4.6). The temple in the Suweida also has niches on either side of the doorway of the façade (Dentzer-Feydy 1985: 269, 2003: 107), a feature used in other temples in the Hauran and in the Near East (§ Ch.4.7.1).

4.8.1. Discussion

The lack of architectural remains in cities in the study area dated to the pre-provincial period might be a consequence of a major building programme undertaken in the provincial period at Suweida (second century) and at Qanawat (second-third century),

[119] Although the reliefs of two lions (Freyberger 2002 Pl.12c-d) on an inscription possibly dated to the second century AD at Qanawat (Sartre 2001) have been compared with the type used in the Djebel al'Arab (Meynersen 2010 Pl.22) (§ Ch.4.6.3) they only vaguely resemble it as the representation is not as geometric as the one employed in the Djebel al'Arab.

[120] Ertel & Freyberger (2002) have argued that the peripteral temple at Qanawat is dated to 30-20 BC on the debatable basis of a few earlier fragments and an inscription. However, the lack of monuments dated to this period and the majority of archaeological remains and the palaeography of the inscription that Ertel & Freyberger discussed can only suggest a later date of the temple, e.g. the second-century AD (Sartre 2001).

[121] For the layout of temples at Qanawat and Suweida, see Segal 2008. For the temple of Suweida, see PPAES II: 327-334. Brünnow & Domaszewski 1909 fig. 988, Denzter-Feydy 2003: 107, Pl. 89, 1 and 2. For the peripteral temple at Qanawat, see the description and illustrations of article by Ertel 2002. For decoration and sculptures in both cities, see Suw.1991. For Corinthian capitals in both cities and at Deraa, see Dentzer-Feydy 1990b.

which could have destroyed earlier structures (§ Ch.3). However, if these earlier buildings were significant, they would have been kept and inserted into the later major building programme as was the case for the pre-provincial phase of the sanctuary Sī' (§ Ch.4.7.1). Therefore, the absence and lack of preservation of pre-provincial religious structures can lead us to propose that the hub of religious life in the pre-provincial period was in sanctuaries in a rural context. This could also imply the independence of rural cult centres in terms of style from the nearby cities**.**

The resemblance of architectural features in the provincial period in urban and rural contexts cannot be considered a regional pattern or evidence of influence and contacts between the urban and rural landscape, as this style is widely developed in the whole Near East in the provincial period (§ Ch.4.7).

Therefore, on the basis of this set of evidence we can argue that rural cult centres were independent entities from the nearby cities and they hardly had any contacts with them, especially in the pre-provincial period. This can be reinforced by the paucity of Roman bronze coins minted at Qanawat recovered at Sī'. Apart from being mostly from the provincial period, they were also found on the Palestinian coast (Augé 2003: 234 N15-22), so they do not indicate contacts solely between the city and Sī'.

4.9. Conclusion on architecture

On the basis of the analysis of the architecture we cannot consider rural sanctuaries and temples in the Hauran as isolated centres; their style seems to have developed by adopting elements from the architecture of the different populations with which the Hauran had contact. These included the "unexpected" more distant populations from the interior of the Near East (e.g. Palmyra, Dura Europos and the Parthian Mesopotamia) and the "more proximate" neighbours, the Nabataeans. For the former, this can be based on the resemblance of the layout of the centre of ritual activities in sanctuaries, decorative motifs, and the style of statues depicting human figures. Interactions with the main Nabataean centres, such as Petra and Hegra, from end of the first century BC-early first century AD, has been suggested considering the following elements. They were Nabataean capitals and Nabataean floral decorations of Corinthian capitals used at Sī', statues of an early Nabataean king (Obodas III) at Sī', the occasional assimilation of Nabataean dress code in statues recovered in the Hauran, similar representation of eagle

statues in Djebel al'Arab from the ones recovered at Hegra, and additionally the high presence of Nabataean coins at Sī' from the end of the first century BC onwards, mostly in the early first century AD. Therefore, this re-assessment of evidence of the Nabataean influence at Sī' and in the Djebel al'Arab has discarded previous scholarly interpretation, which suggested that the Nabataean impact in this part of the Hauran was as a consequence of the expansion of the Nabataean kingdom in the south of the Hauran in the second half of the first century, with Bosra as the Nabataean capital has been previously considered.

Architectural resemblance between the Hauran and the Near Eastern interior could be a result of the presence of "Safaitic" groups in the study area which entered into contact with Palmyra and Dura Europos, by the study area being an intermediary region between the Romans and the Parthians and also by being a crossing territory for Nabataean trade and exchange. This last factor appears so important and crucial for the Hauran that, apart from the use of a few Nabataean architectural elements and the depictions of statues, Nabataean coins were the ones mainly circulated, and there was one or even two statues of the Nabataean king Odobas III in the main and earliest monumental rural cult centre, Sī'. So this makes us suppose the presence of Nabataean devotees in rural cult centres in the study area, especially at Sī' and in a couple of rural temples en route to Damascus (Hebran, Sleim and Mushannef) where statues with typical Nabataean garment have been found.

So, on one hand, the Nabataean merchants' movements and the Nabataean impact, especially on economic matters, in the Hauran could have triggered the beginning of monumentalizing rural religious cult centres, as these events seem to coincide chronologically.

On the other hand, another determining factor in the monumentalizing of cult places could have been the annexation of the study area into the Herodian kingdom for the following reasons. This process occurred in the study area under the Herodian control. There were: the statues of the Herod at Sī' and of the Herodian soldiers in the sanctuary at Sahr, and sporadic architectural and iconographic Herodian influence. Furthermore, building monumental public structures was a key-element in the Herodian agenda and a certain level of freedom towards architectural style in the Hauran could have reflected the Herodian policy of respect towards local people's religious traditions. The wide use

of Nikai and eagles in the Herodian period could have been also interpreted as symbols to reinforce the Herodian political power, apart from their religious attribution. The major Herodian impact on the architecture of rural sanctuaries in the Leja could be explained by the necessity to control and monitor the brigands that crossed this area.[122] This can be confirmed by the Herodian military presence concentrated in this part of the Hauran.

The annexation of the study area to the Roman province had an impact on the architecture of rural cult centres only in terms of the increase in the quantity of religious rural buildings in the Hauran. This started with the period of transition from the pre-provincial to the provincial period (second half of the first century), with its peak in the provincial period. This was a consequence of a major demographic boom in the study area in that period.

Nevertheless, we do not encounter a complete change of religious architecture and an abandonment of pre-provincial cult centres. Instead, features widely used in the Near East in the provincial period were assimilated into and adapted to the pre-provincial architecture in the Hauran, like the major cult centre at Sī'. Also, the cult centre at Sahr does not appear to be modified architecturally in the provincial period, although it was in use until the end of the third century AD (Kalos 2003: 162).[123]

Architectural features used in the Near East in the provincial period appeared in the Hauran before its actual annexation of the province, as a result of the persistence of interactions of the study area with the Near East, especially with the Near Eastern interior and the South from the pre-provincial period. Specific and typical provincial architectural features found only at Palmyra and in Lebanon (niches on façade of the temple, plain acanthus leaves and mask-motifs) were widely used in the Hauran. This can indicate relations between the study area and these places, as these and the Hauran were all connected through road-ways. This resemblance can also reinforce the idea that

[122] According to historical sources (*Jos. AJ* XV 345, 352, 346-348, 352, XVI, 271, *Strab. Geog*. XVI 2, 20). The presence of brigands could be confirmed by the presence of the Herodian army in Leja (§ Ch.4.2.4).

[123] This can be suggested as in that period there is evidence of the systematic destruction of the temple and the sculptures. The ruins were re-occupied by squatters between the fourth and the sixth century AD, on the basis of the recovery of a huge quantity of kitchen and table ware (Kalos 2003: 162).

there were continuous interactions between the Hauran with, especially, Palmyra from the pre-provincial to the provincial period.
The fact that the rural religious architecture in the Hauran was open to, and it had constant influences from, the Near Eastern religious building tradition over time can be seen in the wide-use of the *temenos*, where it survived, from the pre-provincial to the provincial period.

From the analysis undertaken in this chapter the architecture of rural cult centres in the Hauran seems to have been affected by its continuous interactions with different populations from the pre-provincial period onwards. The urban centres lack preserved pre-provincial religious structures. This can imply that rural centres seem to have been the hubs of the study area and these did not depend on the nearby cities, at least as far as architectural style is concerned.

The influence of architecture from other cultures was not just in terms of style, for it also had a major impact on ritual traditions in the Hauran. This can be seen in the use of the following three structures. One is a theatre for performances associated with the cult of the sanctuary next to it, which originated from the Hellenistic tradition. The second element was a wide or a smaller courtyard with benches and steps facing a small *cella* (*adyton*) from the Parthian tradition; so devotees and also gods could view religious practices undertaken in these forecourts. The third element was niches on the façade of temples, partially influenced from provincial religious architecture from Palmyra and Lebanon; they were used to house cult-statues, so devotees could worship their god directly.

With regards to the identity of the statues recovered in rural cult centres, the general absence of inscribed statue bases prevents us from being certain that the representations in the Parthian and Palmyrene style were actually individuals from these places. Also, it seems that there is no written evidence of the participation of individuals from these places in rural sanctuaries, a point which will be fully elucidated in the discussion of the benefactors according to inscriptions (§ Ch.6). We could suggest that local individuals were influenced by the art of these populations. This interpretation can be based on only one example, where an inscribed base associated with the statue's head in the Parthian

and Palmyrene styles mentions that a member of the local elite was represented (§ Ch.6).

It has been possible to identify only a few statues associated with rural cult centres in the Hauran. They are: the Nabataean king Odobas III, three statues of Nabataean dedicants in Djebel al'Arab (with typical Nabataean garment), and statues with military garments (Herodian and Roman soldiers). The sculptures with military clothing indicate the presence and, therefore, the significance, of the Roman army in a small temple at Dakir on the edge of Leja and possibly the Herodian army at Sahr. This reinforces the idea of the military presence in Leja, not just in the Herodian, but also in Roman times, as it was historically described as a dangerous area. Military impact can be seen in the occurrence of gods venerated by soldiers and the participation of the army in rural cult centres of the Hauran according to dedications (§ Ch.5-6).

The discussion of the gods worshipped in rural cult centres and their written dedications will be undertaken in the next two chapters (§ Ch.5-6). These will help to provide a better understanding not only of the military impact in these centres, but also of the relationship of the rural sanctuaries in the Hauran with Palmyra, Parthia and the Nabataeans, contrasted with the minor impact of the political Herodian and Roman authorities and local cities sustained by the analysis of architecture.

Chapter 5: Deities in the Hauran

5.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess how far rural cult centres functioned as meeting places and as media to develop social regional and inter-regional interactions. Therefore, in particular, the objectives of this analysis are the following:

- Firstly, to provide a clearer picture of interactions of the Hauran with more distant populations that were not necessarily historically directly connected to the study area, such as "Safaitic" groups (§ Ch.3.3.2.2);
- Secondly, to identify to what extent Herodian, Nabataean, and Roman political control over the study area might have affected the religious beliefs of its rural cult centres.
- Thirdly, to demonstrate to what extent rural sanctuaries were autonomous from or dependent on their nearby cities.

In this chapter these objectives will be achieved by looking at the origin of deities worshipped in the rural cult centres in the Hauran and understanding the links between the origin of the deities and this region.

- For the first objective, therefore, I will discuss gods worshipped in the study area[124] from the pre-provincial period that were initially worshipped by people from ancient Phoenicia (Lebanon) (i.e. Baalshamin) (§ Ch.5.2) and by "Safaitic" groups (i.e. Allat) (§ 5.3).
- For the second objective, I will compare deities worshipped in the pre-provincial period in the study area with the ones from the Herodian (§ Ch.5.5) and Nabataean kingdoms (§ Ch.5.6).

[124] Seia is the only main local goddess worshipped in the Hauran. She is one of the gods in the rural sanctuary at Sī'. She is the divine personification of the place where this main sanctuary was built, as inscription and her fragmentary statue can confirm in front of temple 2. This temple might, therefore, be dedicated to her. She is named after the place; the inscription explicitly says she stands over the land in the Hauran (PPUAES III A N767), so she is the protector of this area and its fields (Denzter-Feydy 1979: 327). Vine branches and grapes are, in fact, visible below the feet of the statue of Seia –only this bottom part of the statue survives (PPUAES II A6 ill. 337, Weber 2006 Pl. 74 b); this floral decoration can stand for the products of the local cultivable land (Villeneuve 1986: 70).
Divine embodiment of a place is a quite common phenomenon in the Near East (Denzter-Feydy 1979: 327). This stresses the significance of the place and of the cult-centre of Sī', but Seia is not only deity worshipped at Sī' (see below § Ch.5.3, 5.7).
In this chapter this deity is not included in the discussion as the aim of this analysis is not to look at local gods but the ones that originated elsewhere in order to have a better understanding of the relations of the study area with other areas of the Near East.

In the provincial period, the impact of the Roman political authority will be evaluated by looking at the presence and participation of their army in rural cult centres that can be seen through dedications to deities exclusively worshipped by soldiers or representations of these gods (§ Ch.5.7).

- For the third objective, the regional comparison between the worship of gods in the rural and urban centres will be discussed; this will be the subject of the investigation in the last part of the chapter because there are actually very few cases where deities from rural sanctuaries were also present in cities and they are from the provincial period (§ Ch.5.8 for further explanation of the matter).

These categories under discussion are not homogenous as they are based on the identification of the origin of gods worshipped in rural cult centres in the Hauran that may not be the main deities venerated in the Herodian and Nabataean kingdoms that controlled the study area. Furthermore, because this analysis attempts to be comprehensive, I compare the gods from rural cult centres of the Hauran with the main deities worshipped in the Herodian and Nabataean kingdoms.

Each section of this analysis will discuss separately inscriptions bearing the name of the deities worshipped in the sanctuary and statues that represent deities (§ Ch.1.4.2.1 for explanation of this approach to written and iconographical evidence).[125]

5.2. Baalshamin/Zeus: Phoenician and "Safaitic" god

5.2.1. Introduction: Baalshamin/Zeus[126]

Baalshamin is the only deity worshipped in the Hauran that originated in ancient Phoenicia (Lebanon). His cult appeared firstly in ancient Phoenicia in the tenth century BC (Texidor 1977: 27). This is reinforced by ancient literary sources. The *Phoenician History* (2) by the writer Philo de Byblos (roughly AD64-141) defined celestial Baalshamin as a Phoenician god. The first-century historian Josephus (*Jos. Antiquities*

[125] Unlike inscriptions, people could generically understand what statues stand for because they are visual means of representing subjects, including gods. At the same time, however, these could be interpreted differently according to the background of the devotee, so the depiction of the statue could not just and necessarily indicate one specific deity (§ Ch.1 for further details).

[126] Niehr (2003) listed and traced back Baalshamin to the Persian and Hellenistic period, but he did not differentiate between the god Baalshamin and the ancient god Baal. Although they are both main supreme gods, the former is specifically referred as the Lord of the Heaven, whereas the latter is more generically the supreme Lord and he is not always mentioned as god of heaven, therefore they have two different deities with occasionally different representations. Baal is depicted with or as a lion, whereas Baalshamin is represented as an eagle (Table 2.16-17). Furthermore, he assumed that every time there is an inscription that mentions Zeus, it refers for the cult of Baalshamin, he did not take into accounts that Zeus stands for a plurality of Semitic gods (§ Ch.2.3.1).

8: 144-148) mentioned that this god was worshipped in ancient Phoenicia on the basis of the archives at Tyre.
This deity was considered the main male deity by "Safaitic" groups (MacDonald 1998, 2003b) (§ Ch.3.3.2.2 for a comprehensive understanding of these people and their definition).

One of the earliest temples dedicated to Baalshamin was built in the early first century AD (ca. AD 30s or 40s) at Palmyra (Gawlikowski & Pietrzykoski 1980: 444, Kaizer 2002: 79 ff. especially 81). The fact that this deity was initially venerated in ancient Phoenicia and here can only be explained by the fact that people who worshipped this god at Palmyra were in contact with or came from ancient Phoenicia. Although the understanding of the population of Palmyra in early first century AD is unclear, some members of the tribe Bene Ma'zin,[127] which commissioned some parts of the temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra (its portico) (Kaizer 2002: 81) and contributed financially to the building development of the city (Dirven 1999: 79, Kaizer 2002: 79), could have come from Mount Hermon (part of ancient Phoenicia) (Gawlikoswski 1990a: 2630). This is supported by the origin of the god Durahlun, who was the main deity worshipped in the temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra after Baalshamin himself (Milik 1972: 96-98). The name of this deity (Durahlun) suggests that he originated in Lebanon. The name, in fact, means "the one of Rahle", a village located at the foot of the Mount Hermon (a cluster of Anti-Lebanon mountains) where ruins of a cult centre are found (*Ibi*d.). This deity was most likely worshipped there because he was considered a local form of, and associated with, Baalshamin (Starcky 1961: 131 footnote 4, Gawlikoswski 1990a: 2630) and there was a relief of an eagle in the sanctuary of Rahle that is symbol of Baalshamin, despite no explicit inscription mentioning to which deity this sanctuary was dedicated (Krencker & Zschietzmann 1938: 223-229 fig.345-347 pl.94-97, Starcky 1961: 131 footnote 4, Gawlikoswski 1990a: 2630). Furthermore, the word Ma'zin means "goatherd" (a nomadic occupation) that can imply the nomadic origin of this tribe (Gawlikoswski 1973: 38, Dirven 1999: 79), therefore, some of its members possibly came from different parts of the Near East. The presence of people originating in ancient Phoenicia at Palmyra has been suggested because of linguistic similarities between Phoenician and Palmyrene scripts and the possible of Phoenician origin of

[127] The tribe was known at Palmyra from the mid-second century BC (Drijvers 1976: 28-38, Gawlikowski 1983a: 179-198, 1983b: 59-67, 1990c: 101-108, 1997: 837-849, Dirven 1999: 79 especially footnote 51).

some gods worshipped at Palmyra; the deity Bel Hamon venerated at Palmyra could have come from the Phoenician god Baal-Hammon (Garbini 1996, 1998). Baalshamin was also venerated in other parts of the hinterland of the Near East (ancient Mesopotamia), including at Dura Europos in AD31, Hatra and Hierapolis-Menbidj (Collart 1986: 75).

The name Baalshamin means the lord of the sky and he is the emblem of cosmic power (Collart 1986: 75, Aliquot 2009: 142); therefore, he was assimilated to the main Greek god, Zeus (Sourdel 1957: 21-27),[128] and he was associated with symbols that witness the cosmos, such as a solar deity (Aliquot 2009: 142). Baalshamin was usually represented as a bearded figure; this is the case at Palmyra and in some cases in Mesopotamia in the provincial period (modern-day Iraq, such as the cities of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Hatra) (Collart 1986, Gawlikoswski 1990a: 2627, Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1997, Invernizzi 1997). Zeus was sometimes depicted on the throne with a sceptre and a globe with folded drapes (Gawlikoswski 1990a: 2627), like in some examples in Lebanon (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 91 fig. 168-169).
Eagles, being generically symbols of the supreme celestial god (§ Ch.2.3.1.c Table 2.17), are used in association with both Zeus (§ Ch.2 Table 21) and Baalshamin (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1997: 384), as recorded, for instance, in Palmyra and in the rural sanctuary at Sī' (Dentzer-Feydy 1992).

5.2.2. Baalshamin in the Hauran: inscriptions

In the Hauran, the temple at Sī' was dedicated to Baalshamin at the end of the first century BC, although this deity was worshipped at Sī' even before, in 105-104 BC, as attested by a stele dated to this period and found in the valley near the sanctuary (Pable 5.1). The stele mentions that this god was worshipped with the local deity Seia[129] (Milik 2003). The cult of gods in this earlier period is proven by the evidence of ritual activities (pottery and animal bones) from the Hellenistic period (second-early first century BC) at the top of the hill where the sanctuary was built (Dentzer 1985).
Inscriptions in the Hauran from the first century AD onwards are mostly dedicated to Zeus, even the ones dated to this period at Sī' (Table 5.2). This set of data seems to

[128] An explicit example is, for instance, the bilingual Palmyrene and Greek inscription from the temple of Baalshamin at Palmyra (CIS II 3959, Milik 1972: 10-11, Texidor 1979: 20-21, Kaizer 2002: 29).
[129] See footnote 125.

suggest a progressive process of syncretism between Baalshamin and Zeus, through which the former was supplanted by the latter from the first century AD onwards.
Zeus was widely worshipped in rural cult centres in the northern part of Djebel al-Arab and Leja (Sī', Mushannef, Sanamein, Hebran, Dâmit Il-ʻAlyā and Boutheiné) and also extended to what was the Nabataean territory, where a simple dedication to Zeus dated to the second-fourth century was found in a pre-provincial sanctuary at Salkhad (Table 5.2, Map 5.1).

The cult of Baalshamin/Zeus in the study area can be explained because Hauran and Lebanon, where Baalshamin was first worshipped, were under the same Ituraean principality in the first century BC, according to first-century historian Josephus (§ Ch.3.2), although we do not know much about the Ituraean impact on the Hauran due to lack of remains in this early period (§ Ch.3).
When looking at inscriptions that mention Baalshamin at Sī', the earliest one from Sī' (105-104 BC) was commissioned by a member of a local tribe, Kasiu. This tribe appeared frequently in the Hauran also in the later period and it was explicitly referred to as a tribe in another inscription from the study area (Milik 1958: 228-229). This name has been used especially in "Safaitic" graffiti and in a few Nabataean inscriptions (§ Ch.6.3.1 for further explanation). Furthermore, the inscription that mentions the erection of a temple dedicated to Baalshamin at Sī' at the end of first century BC bears only the name of the person who built it: "Malikat, son of Auso, son of Moaiero" (Table 5.1). He must have been an important member of the local community as the Seenoi, which means those from Sī' (Wadd 2367, PAAES III 428b), and a member of the tribe of Obaistat dedicated a statue to him in the sanctuary (PAAES III 428a-b). The member of the tribe of Obaistat (PAAES III 428a) could come from the "Safaitic" groups as his tribe's name is also mentioned in "Safaitic" graffiti (Sartre 1992: 48, MacDonald 1993: 365). Therefore, these inscriptions can suggest that Baalshamin became part of the religious identity of the Hauran and his cult could have been brought by "Safaitic" groups, as he was the main male deity mentioned in "Safaitic" graffiti (MacDonald 1998, 2003b).

The adoption by "Safaitic" groups of Baalshamin, a deity who originated in ancient Phoenicia and, then, worshipped at Palmyra, was probably the result of "Safaitic"

groups' contacts with people from Anti-Lebanon Mountains and at Palmyra. This is a reasonable explanation for the presence of "Safaitic" graffiti, although not in a great quantity, in these two places (four in Anti-Lebanon mountains, one at Palmyra) (§ Ch3.3.2.2). The movement of "Safaitic" groups across these areas could have been facilitated by a main route connecting Lebanon-Damascus-Palmyra which was going through the outskirts of Hauran on the northern side (Map 2.3, 4.4). This is from the Roman period, but was probably already in use earlier on (§ Ch.4.7.4). Because the only evidence of "Safaitic" groups consisted of short graffiti, mostly comprising the name of the individual who made it and occasionally prayers to a deity, it is difficult to explain the presence of "Safaitic" groups (the first century BC-the fourth century AD) in these places. It is, nevertheless, not unexpected as their graffiti, the only evidence to attest the presence of these groups, covered the Near East extensively (in the desert of southern Syria, western Iraq, north-eastern Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia as well as in urban settlements, such as Dura Europos and Palmyra) (§ Ch3.3.2.2).

The change of dedications from Baalshamin to Zeus in the first century AD can be related to the preference for using a Greek name over a Near Eastern one. The adoption of Greek names by Semitic deities is common in the region from the Hellenistic period. This was only a "superficial veneer" as the nature and attributes of these Semitic gods did not change, so local devotees could have still identified these Greek gods as their own deities (Sartre 1991: 491-496, 2001: 288-289). In addition, the syncretism with a Greek deity would have enabled non-local people to see their own god in the local deity and worship the latter (Bowersock 1990: 9, Sartre 1991: 491-496, 2001: 288-289).
Zeus, being a supreme god, was the most common deity venerated in the Near East as various Semitic deities were assimilated with him (§ Ch.2.3.1.a). This can be confirmed by written dedications of soldiers to Zeus at Sī' and in other examples in the Hauran, like, at Mushannef (Table 5.2) (§ Ch.6.3.3). These non-local dedicants did not necessarily venerate Baalshamin, but they still entered a religious centre of a Semitic deity and worshipped the latter indirectly. Therefore, Baalshamin was not replaced by Zeus, but assimilated with him. The syncretism can be seen in the continuity of use of the earliest temple (dedicated to Baalshamin) at Sī'; the processional way with monumental gateways dated to the provincial period leads to this early temple (dated to

the end of the first century BC), despite the addition of temples within the sanctuary complex later on in the first-century AD (§ Ch.4.6.1).

This phenomenon of *interpretatio Graeca*, started in the Hauran in the early first century AD, does not seem to follow a change of architectural style, which occurred in the second half of the first century AD (§ Ch.4). It was possibly a consequence of the beginning of the development of the Hauran from this period, where more remains appear in this region, as the first inscriptions dated to the first century AD can show (§ Ch.3). This can suggest an initial phase of progress and sedentarization of the population from the Djebel al'Arab and Leja as an effect of two major political and economic factors that started in the first century BC, but produced the first results in later stages. The first one was the presence of the Herodian army at the end of the first century BC in Djebel al'Arab and in Leja that helped to make this territory peaceful and stable by controlling the raids of bandits (§ Ch.3.3.2.2, Ch.4.2.4). The second factor was the developing economy in the northern Djebel al'Arab based on viticulture undertaken from the first century BC onwards, as the presence of environmental samples from vineyards from Sī' demonstrates (Willcox 2003: 184).

5.2.3. Baalshamin/Zeus in the Hauran: sculptures

In the Hauran the typical depiction of Zeus as a bearded male figure is recovered in the sanctuary at Sahr (a), often in association with the eagle (b). There are also non-typical representations associated with Zeus/Baalshamin at Sī' (c), Mashara, and Maiyamâs (d) which will be discussed after the "more conventional" depictions of this deity.

a) Statue fragments of a bearded male head, an arm, a knee, and a hand holding a unidentified long object found in the *adyton* of the sanctuary at Sahr have been interpreted to be a seated male, bearded god holding a sceptre (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 90-91) (Figures 1-2). This reconstruction seems rather artificial due to the scarcity of the fragments recovered (Figure 2). Although badly preserved, the bearded head, a typical representation of Zeus (§ Ch 5.4.1), can suggest the worship of Zeus in the sanctuary at Sahr. This is reinforced by the presence of eagles, associated with this god, recovered in the southern part of the small courtyard, with benches in front of the *adyton* (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 95-96, 216 fig. 707-710)[130].

[130] The fragments recovered are the following: acroterion of four torsos of colossal eagles with outstretched wings in the southern part of the courtyard with benches (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 95-96, 216 fig. 707-710), a leg, 1.2 m long, of a standing eagle in a squatting position on a plinth recovered in the

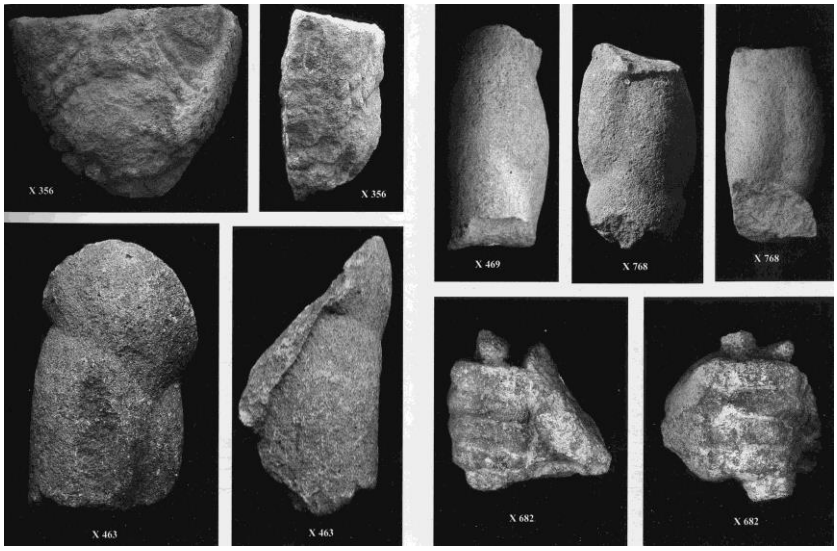


Figure 1: Fragments of the gigantic statue in the *adyton* at Sahr
(Denzter & Weber 2009: 217 Fig. 712-720)

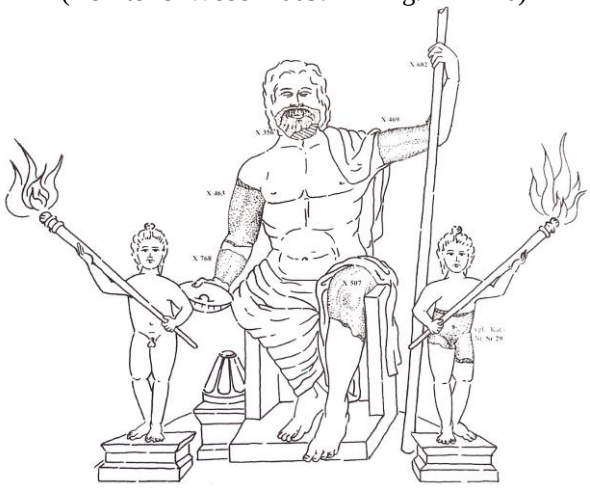


Figure 2: The reconstruction of the cult-statue in the *adyton* at Sahr
(Denzter & Weber 2009: 218 Fig. 723)

b) Eagles are recovered in larger (Sī' and Sahr) and smaller sanctuaries (Sleim, Hebran and Dakir) in the Hauran (Tables 4.6, 4.8). Apart from the political attribution to it (§ Ch.4.2.4), this animal, being "the king of the sky" who overlooks everything on earth, has been commonly associated with the supreme celestial god, Zeus (§ Ch.2.3.1 Table. 2.17). In the study area this is confirmed by the co-presence of a statue of this bird with dedications to Zeus at Sleim, Hebran and Sī' and with the representation of Zeus at Sahr. These examples seem to give credit to similar interpretation of the statue of an eagle found out of context at Dakir, where there are remains of a cult centre, although no inscription is recovered from this site.

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cella that has been considered as a standing votive object. The feathers on the legs consist of fishbone-like, deep grooves (*Ibid.* 96 fig.711).

The statues representing this bird in the study area are hardly recovered in their original context; therefore their dating is attributed by comparing these to the remains of the cult centres associated with them. These sculptures are widespread in the Herodian territory in the Hauran in the pre-provincial (Sī' and Sahr) and provincial period (Dakir,[131] Sleim and Hebran); their absence in the Nabataean part of the study area probably results from the lack of sculptural and archaeological remains associated with a rural cult centre.

c) An unusual depiction associated with Zeus/Baalshamin is a young male radiated head without beard. It is found at Sī'.[132]

A halo with sun's rays is a symbol of power, it is an attribute used throughout millennia also by "divine" rulers and ancient gods.[133] With regards to its religious connotation in the Near East in the pre-provincial and provincial period, a radiated head can represent the following divine characters. In the Near East (such as Chalcis of Lebanon and Palmyra) it is commonly used as an astral symbol, usually accompanied with the lunar deity (Selene) that wears a crescent above her head; it is the main expression of the power of, and associated with, the supreme god Zeus, who stands between these two astral deities in representation (Seyrig 1971: 67-70, Gawlikowski 1990a: 2629 ff., 1990b). It can also stand for specific deities only in certain places (local Arabic deity Shams or Malakbel, both mostly worshipped at Palmyra, Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek in Lebanon, the solar god Elagabal at Emesa and the Lord Marān at Hatra). In the provincial period it can be associated with the gods Mithras, worshipped by the Roman army, which was associated with the god Helios (meaning sun) and, therefore, identified as a solar deity (Gawlikowski 1990b) –for the last example, see Ch.5.7.1.a for a full explanation.

At Sī' a radiated head was recovered in the debris of the *theatron* of the sanctuary (Figure 3)[134] and a relief with the same depiction was found out of context.[135] Both representations could stand for a solar deity either associated with the cult of Mithras,

[131] The recovery of a male statue wearing Roman military garments can provide an estimated date attributed to this cult-centre of the provincial period (§ Ch.4.6.4).

[132] See the two following footnotes.

[133] Re (Horus) was the sun god and the most important god in ancient Egypt linked with the king who was considered the son of Re. His symbol was the winged solar disk (Müller 2001: 123). A solar god was also the main god in ancient Babylonian Mesopotamia and also associated with the divine king (Jones 2007). For Achaemenid ruler and Roman Emperors associated with solar god, see Mithras (§ Ch.5.7.1.a).

[134] PPUAES II A: 384 Ill. 330 P, Suw. 1934 N46 Pl. XV, Mascle 1944 N46. Suw. 1991 INV46 [127] (8,02), Gawlikowski 1990b: 1035 N. 23.

[135] Suw. 1934 N45 pl.15, Gawlikowski 1990b: 1035 N. 22.

because this god was worshipped in this sanctuary (§ Ch.5.7.2), or with Baalshamin, because the radiated head was originally part of the structure of the *theatron* dated to the end of the first century BC. Further evidence for the latter hypothesis is that the sanctuary at Sī' was dedicated to Baalshamin that, being the lord of the sky, was associated with emblems and gods that witness the cosmos, including a solar deity (Aliquot 2009: 142). Representations of a solar deity in a sanctuary dedicated to Baalshamin are found in other examples in the Near East, especially in ancient Phoenicia (Gawlikowski 1990b: 1038, Aliquot 2010: 142). The first century writer Philos of Biblos referred to Baalshamim as the solar god (*Phoenician History* 2). This reinforces the connection of the Hauran with Lebanon (§ Ch.4, 5.3.4).

Figure 3: Radiated head of the deity Baalshamin found in the debris of the *theatron* at Sī' (Dentzer & Weber 2006 Pl.72)

d) In the reliefs at Mashara[136] and Maiyamâs (Figure 4)[137] the supreme bearded god Zeus is between the solar and the lunar deities. All these three characters wear military garments, unlike the representations so far described of Zeus/Baalshamin with astral deities. This type of representation is used to depict Baalshamin or Bel with the lunar god Aglibol and the solar god Makabel at Palmyra from the first century BC-beginning first century AD (Seyrig 1949: 31, for Aglibol: le Glay 1981: 298-302, for Makabel: Gawlikowski 1997b: 804-805).

[136] Seyrig 1949: 31, Dentzer-Feydy 1992: 79-80 Fig. 20.
[137] Seyrig 1949: 28-32 pl.II, 1971: 94-97, Collart & Vicari 1969: 203-204, 219-220, pl. CV, 2, Drijvers 1976: 16, 28-29, Seyrig 1971: 67-70, Texidor 1977: 141-142, 1979: 16, 78-79, Gawlikowski 1990: 2629 ff. pl.VIII fig.20.

Figure 4: Aglibol and Malakbel on either side of Baalshamin at Mashara (Denzter-Feydy 1992 Pl.20)

In the examples from the study area not much information can be collected in regards to the worship of this triad because their reliefs are found out of context and there is no written evidence to verify their worship. The following fragments, apart from the divine representations here under examination, can suggest the presence of a religious structure in both sites. At Mashara there are decorative blocks, of upper corners of the frame of niches, similar to the ones employed in other temples: the first century BC-the first century AD at Sī' and Sur al-Laja and at Hebran (Dentzer-Feydy 2008: 87 footnote 113, 96 footnote 219). At Maiyamâs there are decorative blocks similar to the ones used in other rural temples in the mid-second century (Atil and Sanamein (Denzter-Feydy 1986: 297) and fragments of an early wall base (Butler PPUAES II A 2: 326-328) in a building currently used as a meeting place for the Muslim community.

Furthermore, we can suggest that the relief from Mashara was dated to the provincial period, mid-second century, by taking into account the style of wide egg-motif at the top of the relief used in that period (Figure 5) (§ Ch.2). Therefore, this resemblance of the representation of Baalshamin/Zeus in the Hauran with the one at Palmyra implies the contacts between the two areas in the Roman period facilitated by Roman roads that connected the Hauran to Palmyra through Damascus (§ Ch.2.1, Ch.3.4). At Dakir, statues of Roman soldiers (§ Ch.4.6.4) suggests that the influence of this type of representation might have been caused by the movements of Roman soldiers from the study area to Palmyra. We cannot narrow down from which legion the Roman soldier represented in the statue at Dakir came, due to the absence of an inscribed altar associated with the statue, as well as the uncertain chronology of the reliefs from Mashara and Maiyamâs.

Bearded male figures, with or without radiated characters and eagles, are representations associated with Baalshamin and the supreme celestial deity, Zeus. As argued for the inscriptions dedicated to Zeus (§ 5.4.2), these representations could also stand for Near Eastern gods, being assimilated with Zeus, that are not Baalshamin. For

instance, Bel has been depicted as a radiated head and in the triad with the solar and lunar deities, and associated with an eagle, as he was a cosmic supreme deity, like Baalshamin. He was mostly worshipped at Apamea, Aleppo and Palmyra (Will 1986). – For association of eagles with other deities, see Table 2.17. This syncretism, also visible on iconographical materials, would have enabled non-local people to see their own god in the representation of Baalshamin/Zeus and worship the latter indirectly in these rural cult centres in the Hauran where these representations are found –the reasons for this syncretism in sanctuaries in rural and not in urban contexts will be discussed when looking at the gods venerated in cities in this study area (§ Ch.5.8).

5.3. Allat/Athena: goddess of "Safaitic" groups

5.3.1. Introduction: Allat/Athena

The earliest source that refers to Allat is Herodotus who recorded that she (mentioned as Alitat) was venerated by people from the desert of the Sinai in the fifth century BC (*Herodotus, Hist*. 3, 8).

She is mentioned in Lihyanite, Thamudic and "Safaitic" graffiti recovered in northern Arabia and in the Near East (Krone 1992: 88 ff.). These are the only evidence of these groups and they are difficult to date, their time range is between several centuries BC to Islamic period (Healey 1990: 26); Lihyanite and Thamudic graffiti were mostly found in northern Saudi Arabia (*Ibid*.) (§ Ch.5.2.1, Ch.3.3.2.2 for "Safaitic" graffiti). Allat was probably the main goddess of the "Safaitic" groups, to judge from the frequency of graffiti where she is mentioned (PPUAES IV C N160, 91-92 N35, Winnet & Reed 1970).

A temple dedicated to her was built in the mid-first century BC at Palmyra[138] (§ Ch.5.4.1). From the end of the first century AD onwards Allat was worshipped in various places in the Near East, such as the city of Edessa[139] (modern Urfa in south-

[138] Drijvers 1976: 28-38, Gawlikowski 1983a: 179-198, 1983b: 59-67, 1990: 101-108, 1997: 837-849.

[139] Edessa can be considered as an autonomous entity; it was different from other cities, for its peculiar historical circumstances. It was first founded as a Greek city in the Seleucid period (303-302BC), then it acquired a certain independence as the local Arabic tribes created the kingdom of Osroene (called also after the name of the city) from 132BC until AD214, when it became a Roman colony until the middle of the third century (Drijvers 1980: 9 ff., Millar 1993: 472 ff.).

eastern Turkey), and in the Nabataean region (Healey 2001: 112).[140] She has been assimilated with the Greek goddess Athena (Gawlikowski 1990a: 2636-2644).

Allat is usually represented with an armoured torso (Seyrig 1933: 15-18, Sourdel 1957: 69-74, Starcky 1981, Gawlikowski 1990a: 2639), like the Greek deity Athena, because of the military character of both Athena and Allat (Dirven 1999: 80). She is usually associated with a lion (Starcky 1981: 569).

5.3.2. Allat/Athena in the Hauran: inscriptions

In the Hauran, the cult of Allat is first visible in the sanctuary at Salkhad (the Nabataean territory of the study area) in Nabataean inscriptions, from the mid-first century BC to the beginning of the second century AD (Table 5.3).

A priest[141] in charge of the cult of deity Allat commissioned a door of the temple at Hebran in the Herodian part of the Hauran in AD47 (CIS II 170, Milik 1958: 228-229).

At the same site an undated inscribed altar was dedicated to Athena (Suw. 1934 N172); this can imply that at some point, which cannot be chronologically estimated in the case of Hebran, Allat was assimilated with the Greek deity Athena.

Athena was mentioned in inscriptions from rural sanctuaries at Dâmit Il-ʻAlyā (unknown date) and Mushannef (first century AD) in the northern part of the Djebel al'Arab (Table 5.4).

The cult of Allat was probably introduced in the Hauran by "Safaitic" groups that worshipped Allat widely and had a major impact in this territory (§ Ch.5.3.1, Ch.5.4.1, Ch.3.3.2.2, for the discussion of who made dedications or commissioned temples to Allat and their origin § Ch.6.3.1).

As Allat is the only Semitic goddess that is associated with the Greek goddess Athena in rural cult centres of the study area, we can suggest that most of the inscriptions that mentioned this Greek deity referred to Allat.

It is difficult to propose an accurate chronology of the shift from the use of the Near Eastern deity (Allat) to the Greek name (Athena) as most of inscriptions dedicated to Athena are not dated. From the few dated examples, we could say that the *interpretatio*

[140] See footnote 144 for further information of the presence of Allat in Nabataea.
[141] He was named Malikô, son of Qaṣiyô.

Graeca started in the first century AD and carried on into the provincial period, as was the case for Baalshamin/Zeus (§ Ch.5.4.2). This reinforces the idea that assimilation of the indigenous deity to the Greek one was a consequence of the beginning of the economic development of the Diebel al'Arab and Leja from the first century AD, based on vinicultures, only in the first case, and a period of more stability than in the first century BC provided by the Herodian army, in both areas of the study area (§ Ch.5.2.2 for further information).

5.3.3. Allat/Athena in the Hauran: sculptures

Athena/Allat was represented with either an armoured torso or with a lion in the study area. The first iconography is found on the platform in the main large courtyard of Sahr (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 40) (Figure 5), depicted on an altar at Sī' (Figure 6), out of context in the cult centres at Sur al-Laja (*Ibid*. 122 fig.265-266) and Dakir;[142] the second type of representation is found on the same platform with an Athena statue at Sahr (Dentzer & Weber 2009: 40), and recovered not in its original context at Sleim, where there was a rural temple (*Ibid.* 161-162 Sl 1 Fig. 429-634) and at Menara Henou (*Ibid.* 103 Fig. 192).

The case of association of Athena and Baaalshamin with the same rural cult centre will be discussed in detail after the section on Allat/Athena (§ Ch.5.6).

Figure 5: The statue of Allat/Athena at Sahr (Denzter & Weber 2009: 40 Fig. 57)

[142] Suw. 1991 INV566 [343] (8, 36) Pl.15, Dentzer & Weber 2009: 124-125 Dha1 Fig. 272-275.

Figure 6: Representation of Allat/Athena on the altar recovered at Sī' (Suw. 1934 N49 Pl. 29)

Although Athena can be considered the Greek assimilation of Allat because inscriptions from rural cult centres mention only those two and no other Near Eastern deity assimilated with Athena (§ Ch.5.5.2), it is more difficult to argue the same for the sculptures. There is no inscribed base associated with representations of Athena in the study area. Athena's depictions are also used for different Near Eastern goddesses, as the lions that represent Atargatis/Dea Syria, venerated in Lebanon and Northern Syria (Table 2.16). The statues of this deity from the study area are represented as a goddess of war with *apoptygma* (Greek female folded tunic), *gorgoneion* (head of the female Greek mythical Gorgon, Medusa, in Latin, with snakes instead of hair) on her breast, and the aegis (an animal skin) on her chest. These elements are typical of Graeco-Roman iconography; this means that they were used in Ancient Greece, but that they were also adopted in Roman culture (Friendland 2008, especially Friendland 2008: 335, 341). Other examples of Athena's statues in Syria, like at Palmyra, although armoured suggesting their warrior's nature, do not have these Graeco-Roman motifs. Therefore, contrary to previous scholarly arguments (*Ibid.* 342), it is not possible to suggest that the statues from the study area mediate between the native religion and the one of their Roman rulers. The Graeco-Roman motifs from Athena's statues in the Hauran indicate, instead, a strong Graeco-Roman influence. This can be explained by the presence of Herodian soldiers who occupied and controlled the territory of Leja (§ Ch.3.2.2), where Athena's statues are, in fact, concentrated (Map 5.2), and that by the fact that the Herodian kingdom was an ally of Rome (§ Ch.3.2.2) and had a filo-Hellenistic tradition

(§ Ch.4.2.3). Therefore, Herodian soldiers would be familiar with Graeco-Roman iconography. This can be sustained by the recovery of the statue of Athena with Herodian soldiers in the same platform in the main courtyard of the sanctuary at Sahr (§ Ch.4.4.3.b).

The recovery of Athena's representations with Graeco-Roman iconography at Dakir and at Sī 'can be explained because of the presence of Roman soldiers. At Dakir the presence of a Roman army is demonstrated by a statue of a Roman soldier (§ Ch.4.4.3), whereas at Sī it is shown by the cult of Mithras, the main god venerated by the Roman army (§ Ch.5.7.1).

Therefore, Athena's statues in the case of the study area may not have represented Allat, but most likely the warrior goddess Athena, worshipped by Herodian and Roman soldiers.

5.4. Co-presence of Baalshamin and Allat

Before focusing on other deities in the study area, we need to look at the presence of both Baalshamin/Zeus and Allat/Athena within the same rural sanctuaries. We here consider, firstly, statues and, then, inscriptions, as the former, being visual means of featuring deities, can be more easily identified by worshippers than dedicatory inscriptions to gods (§ Ch.1.4.2.1). The statues' location will suggest the level of importance that Athena and or Baalshamin had in rural sanctuaries when both were present. This is the case especially in major rural sanctuaries at Sahr and Sī', where the original location of their statues within the religious structure is known.

At Sahr the monumental statue of Zeus with eagles in the *adyton* facing the small courtyard with benches and an altar (§ Ch.5.4.3) can indicate that he was only worshipped by a few elite devotees. The presence of the statue of Athena, instead, with lions on the platform with most likely Herodian soldiers in the main courtyard (§ Ch.4.4.3.b, Ch.5.4.2-3) implies that she was the main deity. Any devotees could venerate her; the main courtyard was surrounded by steps and a colonnaded portico that was bigger and more accessible than the other smaller one facing the *adyton*.

The importance of Athena at Sahr, the main cult centre in Leja, was linked to her military function (§ Ch.5.4.1) as Leja was a territory controlled by Herodian soldiers (§ Ch.3.3.1, 4.2.4). This is confirmed by the presence of the statue of Athena with statues

most likely representing Herodian soldiers on the same platform in the main courtyard of the sanctuary at Sahr.

At Sī', Baalshamin/Zeus was the main deity of the sanctuary complex from pre-provincial to the provincial period onwards, as suggested by a fair number of pieces of evidence. These are inscriptions that commemorate the erection of the temple 1 and the *theatron* in honour of this god (the end of the first century BC), his statue on the keystone of the *theatron* with eagles on doorways (the end of the first century BC), and inscriptions dedicated to Zeus (Baalshamin) (§ Ch.5.4.2-3). Athena does not have fundamentally any role in this cult centre as she is only depicted on a side of a non-dated altar with Baalshamin/Zeus on its other face (§ Ch.5.5.3).

At Sī', Athena, the military goddess, was not as important as in the sanctuary at Sahr, which had been situated in the territory controlled by soldiers since the pre-provincial period, whereas the military presence at Sī' is attested later on in the provincial period (§ Ch.5.7.2). Furthermore, Baalshamin was an ancestral deity at Sī', as according to an inscription he was already worshipped there since 104BC, a century before the erection of the temple, whereas Athena is not mentioned (§ Ch.5.4.2).

The worship of both deities is less evident in the sanctuary at Mushannef and at Dâmit Il-'Alyā, as we only know their worship through the reading of inscriptions. In the first example we suggest that Athena and Zeus had the same importance as the temple is dedicated to both deities and in the inscription one name of the god is followed by the other.

> "For (the) safety of (our) lord King Agrippa, and (for his) return, according to a vow, (the) Synod of Concord erected this house of **Zeus and** of (the) **Athena** of (our) fathers."
> (AD41) (Wadd 2211, OGI 418, IGR III 1260, PAAES II N380, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 308)

In the second case, it is difficult to come to a conclusion as Zeus (PPUAES III N800 1) and Athena (Wadd 2453, Ewing 1895: 76, Dussaud & Macler 1903: 242 N10) are mentioned in different, non-dated inscriptions found in the sanctuary.

Additionally, at Dakir the presence of the statue of Athena (Dentzer & Weber 2009 Sr18) and of an eagle (Dentzer-Feydy 1992: 73 fig. 11,13) can be interpreted as the co-presence of the worship of Allat/Athena and Baalshamin/Zeus as they appear in the main sanctuaries of the Hauran (Sī' and Sahr).

The co-presence of Allat/Athena and Baalshamin/Zeus in rural cult centres in the Hauran can be explained by the presence of the "Safaitic" groups in the study area, as these two were the main deities worshipped by this population and because of the resemblance of names in "Safaitic" graffiti and inscriptions from rural cult centres in the Hauran (§ Ch.3.3.2.2 and Ch.6 for further explanation).

5.5. Gods from the Herodian kingdom

5.5.1. Introduction: religion in the Herodian kingdom

The Herodian kingdom (§ Ch.3) had a monotheistic religion. It professed only the God mentioned in the Bible, who was venerated by Jewish people, the initial core *ethnos* of this kingdom in Judaea (the modern Israel) (Japp 2000: 28 ff., Butcher 2003: 372, Rocca 2008: 281-319). The patronage of Herod in building more than one temple dedicated to the cult of Augustus in the last decades of the first century BC (Japp 2000, Rocca 2008: 315-317)[143] can indicate the diffusion of the imperial cult alongside the monotheistic Jewish belief, and the loyalty of the Herodian kingdom to Rome. Although Jewish principle rejected the worship of other deities (Butcher 2003: 372), the continuing presence of pre-existing cults, such as the one of Isis at Samaria and the sanctuary at Pan in Paneion (Gaulanitis, just on the West of Djebel al'Arab) under Herod in his kingdom, can suggest that other non-Jewish and non-imperial cults were tolerated in the territory and that the different religious needs of local populations were respected by Herodian rulers (Japp 2000: 26-27).

5.5.2. Herodian religion and policy in the Hauran

The major cults of this kingdom (i.e. Jewish and imperial ones) were not venerated in the Hauran. Nevertheless, the presence of a statue of Herodian king Agrippa II commissioned by an individual from the local tribe of Obaistat (discussed in § Ch.5.2.2) in the sanctuary at Sī' (PAAES III 427b) is evidence of local influence of the Herodian king as well as of the tolerant attitude of the Herodian kings towards the local cults.

[143] Herod erected temples dedicated to the imperial cult inside his kingdom at Caesarea Maritima (only the temple of Rome and Augustus), Sebaste (Temple of Augustus) and Paneas (temple of Augustus). However, the last city was not originally part of the Herodian kingdom as ceded to Augustus (Rocca 2008: 315-317).

5.6. Gods from Nabataea and the city Bosra

5.6.1. Introduction: Dushara

Dushara is the only certain and main Nabataean god worshipped in the Hauran. [144]

Dushara appeared in most of the dedications from the Nabataea during Nabataean rule and also afterwards (Petra, Hegra and the oasis city Taymā' in Saudi Arabia), including Bosra[145] in the southern part of the Hauran (Drijvers 1986: 670-672, Healey 2001: 86). This indicates the persistence of the Nabataean religious tradition after the end of Nabataean rule in the region (Healey 2001: 100).[146]

The analysis of Nabataean gods in the study area will look specifically at inscriptions that mention the deity Dushara. One representation of Dionysius recovered in the Hauran will also be reassessed as this Graeco-Roman deity, unlike Zeus or the solar deity, has not been directly associated with other Near Eastern deities, apart from Dushara (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1986: 529).

5.6.2. Dushara in the Hauran: inscriptions

Inscriptions dedicated to Dushara have been recorded in the Nabataean part of the Hauran (Itman, Dêr Il-Meshķûķ and Mallah/Melah Is-Sarrar) and one (Sleim) in the Herodian territory of the study area (Table 5. 5) (Map 5.3).

The dedication at Itman is dated to the Nabataean kingdom and Nabataean writing and calendar are used, whereas the inscriptions from Dêr Il-Meshķûķ and Mallah/Melah Is-

[144] Allat, also venerated in the study area, has been in the past considered part of the Nabataean pantheon (Starcky 1966 col1003, 1981: 120, Niehr 1998: 221, Healey 2001: 114); although only sporadic inscriptions dedicated to her are recovered in the Nabataean territory and they are dated towards the end of this kingdom or later when these gods were already widely worshipped across the Near East (Healey 2001: 112). This is the case of rural sanctuary at Iram, possibly dated to the end of the first century AD (Rickmans 1934, Savignac & Horsfield 1935, Kirkbride 1960). Hammond (1990) suggested that the goddess of the temple of the winged lions at Petra was identified with Aphrodite was Allat. However, Allat is never mentioned in any inscriptions from Petra or any main Nabataea centres during this reign. Therefore, she cannot be considered typical of, and coming from, the Nabataean tradition. For the argument of Allat not being a Nabataean deity, see also Alpass 2011, 2013, especially 2011: 77.
Baalshamin, also worshipped in the study area, is mentioned in an inscription from Hegra (a major Nabataean site in the first century BC and AD), but it is dated to the mid-third century, over a century after the end of the Nabataean kingdom (JS I, N17). Therefore, he was not a Nabataean deity (Teixidor 1977: 84, Gawlikowski 1990a: 2670).
For further discussion on Dushara as main Nabataean god and to what extent he can be considered the "national" god of Nabataea see Alpass 2011, 2013, especially 2011: 71-72, 226, 280-281.

[145] For Bosra, see especially Healey 2001: 98.

[146] Written accounts have occasionally associated Dushara with Dionysus (Sourdel 1957: 63-64, Starcky 1966 col.990, Healey 2001: 100), Zeus (Starcky 1966 col. 990, Teixidor 1977: 82-85, Drijvers 1986: 670-671, Healey 2001: 101), and a solar deity (Strabo 16.4.26, Healey 2001: 102-104). However, this set of written evidence was mostly dated to a later period than the Nabataean reign and not always recovered in Nabataean territory (Healey 2001: 100-105).

Sarrar are from the provincial period and Greek language and the calendar of Roman emperors are used (Table 5.5).
We only know that the dedication to Dushara at Sleim is in Greek, since its dating is not provided (Table 5.5).

Although the predominance of dedications to Dushara in the southern Hauran (75%) (three out of four in the whole Hauran) (Table 5.5) indicates that this deity was worshipped everywhere in the Nabataean territory, they are mostly dated after the end of the Nabataean kingdom. Therefore, they indicate the persistence of Nabataean religious traditions after the annexation to the Roman province; this occurred also in other parts of the Nabataea (Healey 2001: 100 ff.).
Furthermore, the inscriptions in the Hauran are simply dedications to Dushara; they do not intend to commemorate the erection of a religious building. This implies that from the evidence available to us no cult centre was actually dedicated to this Nabataean deity. This stresses an overall minor role of the Nabataeans in the rural part of the Hauran under their dominion.

There is also an inscription mentioning Dushara at Sleim in the Herodian part of the Hauran, but it is very fragmentary and difficult to read. This inscription cannot be used as evidence of Nabataean impact on this site, but it can be considered as a dedication by an individual coming from Nabataea, since other dedications to this god from outside the Nabataean kingdom are usually made by Nabataeans.[147] This hypothesis is proven by the recovery of a statue in the rural site of Sleim (where there are also remains of a temple), the garment of which (i.e. loincloth) resembles the clothing used by Nabataean people (§ Ch.4.3.3). Nabataean merchants could have worshipped Dushara at Sleim as they had commercial activities at Damascus and in its surroundings (*Strab.*16: 2, 20) and to reach this area they would have crossed the Bosra-Damascus road and Sleim was situated on this route-way (Map 3.7). The importance of the settlement as a connecting point on the trade route to Damascus is confirmed by the presence of a bath, which was

[147] Examples are Pozzuoli (Italy) Miletus and Delos (Greece) (Hackl *et al.* 2003: 119-122, 127-128).

rare in the study area apart from a few examples mainly in an urban context[148] (Fournet 2010: 315-334).

5.6.3. Dushara in the Hauran: sculptures

A typical classical Graeco-Roman image of the god of wine, Dionysus, with grapes between a maenad and satyr, is represented in a relief out of context found at Sī' (Weber 2006: 112-113 N92 Pl.72 c) (Figure 7). Considering the style of wide egg-motif at the top, it could be dated to the mid-second century AD (Weber 2006: 112-113 N92). If this is the case, the relief was added at a later stage, after the foundation of the pre-provincial sanctuary at the end of the first century BC.

Figure 7: Relief of Dionysus at Sī' (Weber 2006 Pl. 72c)

Even though this depiction has been associated with Dushara because Dionysus, god of wine, was believed to be the Greek assimilation of this Nabatean god (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1986: 529), there is no evidence of Dushara in the sanctuary at Sī' (Drijvers 1986). This type of representation is widely developed, not only where it was the Nabataean territory, but it extended to the whole Near East exclusively in the provincial period (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1986). Therefore, it can be argued that this deity was introduced in the Near East with the Roman arrival. It was not necessarily associated with Dushara, but it could be considered as evidence of the Roman impact on this site. The presence of the cult of Dionysus at Sī' in the provincial period could have

[148] Roman/Late Roman baths were at Bosra, Deraa, Shahba (late Roman city Phillipolis), Suweida (Dionysias), smaller ones are at Qanawat (Canatha), villages at Ezra, Sha'ârah (end of the second-beginning of the third century) and as-Sanamein (Fournet 2010).

been influenced by the proximity of the provincial city of Dionysias (modern-day Suweida) (AD185), named after the god (Wadd 2307), 3 km from the sanctuary of Sī'. Dionysus was the god of wine and, therefore, the protector of vines, and, in general, vegetation (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1986). The introduction of this deity in this part of the Hauran and its significance could be justified by the fact that viniculture has been the main cultivation of the territory surrounding this city and Sī' over centuries, including in the provincial period (Willcox 2003: 184) and still at the present day (Villeneuve 1986: 70) (§ Ch.7.2 for further details).

5.7. Gods of the Roman army

5.7.1. Introduction

Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus[149] seem to be the main deities worshipped by Roman soldiers (Sartre 1991: 484-485), whereas Zeus Ammon was exclusively venerated by a specific legion of the Roman army in Syria (Pollard & Berry 2012: 155). Amongst these deities, in rural cult centres of the Hauran there are dedicatory inscriptions that mention Mithras (a) and Zeus Ammon (b) and their representations, which will be here further discussed after an introduction of the origin of these two deities and their presence in the Roman Empire.

a) Mithras originated from Achaemenid Empire (Turcan 1989: 197 ff., 1993: 23-24, Beard *et al.* 1998: 311), where he was initially worshipped by the royal court and he

[149] Jupiter Dolichenus was a god named after the location where he was initially worshipped in the city of Doliche in Commagene (between the Euphrates River and the Taurus mountains in modern-day Turkey) before the Roman arrival. When this territory was annexed to Rome in 64BC, this deity was imported by the Roman army to the Roman Empire (Merlat 1960, Speidel 1978, Blömer 2012). Dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus (predominantly inscribed altars and roughly sixteen temples) were mostly dated to the third decade of the second century AD (Speidel 1978: 4) until AD253 when his sanctuary at Doliche was destroyed by the Persian invasion (Speidel 1978, Blömer 2012).
He was worshipped especially in the Western Empire in Rome, cosmopolitan Italy and in frontier provinces (such as Germany and North Africa), but not in interior provinces with stable population having their own tradition. The only other place of worship in the Roman province of Syria, apart from Doliche itself, was at Dura Europos, a frontier city, significantly populated by soldiers (Merlat 1960, Speidel 1978).
This god was widely worshipped by soldiers, but he was not merely a military god, as civilians also made dedications to him (Speidel 1978).
His popularity in the Western Empire and with the Roman army can be explained by his military attributes and his iconography bearing symbols of power (examples are royal cuirass, the bull, the thunderbolt, and the sword), and the fact that this god was initially venerated by soldiers from Commagene who moved to the Western Empire (Speidel 1978, Blömer 2012). The spread of this cult was also promoted by Emperors' support, especially from the Severian dynasty (AD193-235), of Syro-African origin, for unknown reasons, as this god was linked to Roman Emperors. Both Emperors and Mithras were symbols of power and had similar attributes, like the royal cuirass (*Ibid*.).

was considered as the guardian deity of the ruler Darius (522-486BC) as both characters had solar attributes and they were considered symbols of power (Turcan 1989: 197 ff., 1993: 23-24). For unclear reasons (Gordon 1994: 461) his cult seems to have been more strongly established in the kingdoms of Armenia, Cappadocia, Pontus and Commagene and by Cilician pirates at Olympus in Lycia (all the last four in Asia Minor) (Turcan 1993: 23-24).

The first encounter of the Roman army with this cult was most likely to be connected to the Roman soldiers' arrival in Asia Minor in the first century BC (Turcan 1993: 29), in particular, with Cilician pirates that fought with Roman soldiers, according to first-century historian Plutarch (Vermaseren 1963: 27-28, Turcan 1993: 25). The annexation of the kingdoms in Asia Minor where the cult of Mithras was introduced to the Roman Empire in the first century AD probably facilitated the spread of this deity in the Roman Empire (Turcan 1993: 32).

The first-century Latin poet Statius (*Theb*. 1.719.20) mentioned the cult of Mithras under the reign of the emperors Claudius (AD41-54) and Nero (AD54-68). The latter was initiated into the cult of Mithras by the client king of Armenia (Vermaseren 1963: 24, Witt 1975: 482, Turcan 1989: 202). The association of Nero with this deity is attested by the presence of a statue, a radiated head believed to be placed in the vestibule of Nero's house (Vermaseren 1963: 24, Turcan 1989: 202, 1993: 45-72), as this figure was one of the typical representations of Mithras (Turcan 1993: 45-72) and assimilated with Helios (a solar god) and his appellative, the invisible solar god (*Sol Invictus*) (Turcan 1989: 238-239, Beard *et al.* 1998: 309, Clauss 2000: 146 ff.). Other images of this god are: tauroctony scenes where Mithras is depicted as a young male figure wearing a pointed hat and killing a bull (Turcan 1993: 45-72, Beard *et al.* 1998: 307, Becks 2006), typical iconography coming from Asia Minor and Syria (Turcan 1989: 235),[150] associated with the Zodiac stars[151] and another less common depiction is a lion's head (Turcan 1993: 45-72, Beard *et al.* 1998: 309).[152]

Mithras' cult began to have a major impact and the god was worshipped mostly by soldiers in the second century (especially from Antoninus Pius, AD138-161) (Turcan 1993: 32-33, Clauss 2000: 23 ff.) until the beginning of Christianism (Turcan 1989: 238

[150] Eastern origin of this image associated with astronomy, see North (1990).
[151] For the reason of the association of Mithras with Zodiac stars, see the footnote 152.
[152] For information of different representations of Mithras, see Clauss (2000: 62 ff.).

ff.). It occurred firstly, in Rome, southern Italy, the Roman limes around the Danube and Rhine (north-central and eastern Europe), then, in North Africa, Britain, Macedonia, Asia Minor and only in the two Roman colonies in Spain (Italica and Emerita, modern-day Mérida) (Daniels 1975: 250 ff., 272-273, Turcan 1993: 33-37).[153]

The cult of Mithras seems to appear in the Near East associated with the presence of soldiers on the littoral (Sidon and Laodicea) and at Dura Europos – (*Mithraeum* dated from the mid-second to the end of the third century) (Leriche 2001: 196-197) on the Roman frontier's axis, in different legionary bases (such as Zeugma and Samosata) (Map 5.4). This cult reached its peak mostly in the mid-second century during the Roman conflicts with the Parthians, especially under Septimus Severus, who occupied Seleucia and Babylon in Mesopotamia at the end of the second century (Gordon 2001: 97).

Evidence of a *Mithraeum* at Haouarte (Apamea) dated to the end of the third until the end of the fourth century (Gawlikowski 2001: 185-187) can be explained by the presence of Roman soldiers at Apamea in the third century. This can be supported by third-century funerary inscriptions of the Roman army and historical sources that referred to Apamea as a location of winter camps of the second legion Parthica (Pollard 2000: 263-265) and military transit-base necessary for eastern campaigns in the late second and third century against the Parthians (*Ibid*. 106).

The earliest *Mithraeum* in Roman Syria appeared to be at Caesarea (on the Israeli coast) in the second half of the first century, up to the mid-third century AD (*Ibid.* 82 ff.). It was probably used by soldiers from the Danube as the style of a medallion recovered in the *Mithraeum* resembles the ones used in the Danube. The presence of this early cult place of Mithras could be a consequence of the necessity of the presence of Roman soldiers for Jewish revolts in Judaea in AD66 (*Ibid.* 92-93), in this occasion the tenth legion Fretensis and fifteenth legion Apollinaris from Danube fought against the Jews (Pollard & Berry 2012: 146-147).

The impact of the worship of Mithras by Roman soldiers was due to the military character of the god[154] as well as his cult which was a sort of military service because of

[153] For a detailed list with the presence of the cult of Mithras in the Western Empire, see Clauss (1992).

[154] Mithras was identified with Orion (Speidel 1980: 19) – this explains the association of this god with Zodiac stars – who had military characteristics as he was armed (carrying a sword, a baldric and a military belt that was the actual badge of the roman military service) and he created the destiny of soldiers and officers (*Ibid.* 38-40).

the following aspects associated with it, with which soldiers were familiar. They were: that the observance of the cult guaranteed divine aid on the battlefields (Vermaseren 1963: 30), soldiers' submission to authority (the god and the high-priest), and the recognition of a specific role within an organisation with set values and conformity (Clauss 2000: 40).

A further key factor of the expansion of this cult, especially in the Roman army, is the association of this god with Roman Emperors, as we have already seen with the Emperor Nero who was initiated into this cult in the first century AD. Later on, on the Palatine Hill in Rome a chapel was also dedicated to Mithras, the invincible solar god, under Septimus Severus (AD193-211) (CIL VI 271); the Emperor Commodus (AD180-192) was even a follower of the cult of Mithras (Turcan 1989: 237). Roman coins bearing images of this god were minted under the Emperor Gordian III (AD238-244) and Constantine in AD320 (Ibid. 238-239). They presented a tauroctony image and a radiated head. The development of the cult of the god Mithras can be explained by the imperial use of imagery of this deity as the solar invincible (Sol Invictus) especially by the Emperors from the Severan dynasty (Clauss 1992: 257, Gordon 1994: 463).

b) Zeus Ammon was the main god worshipped by the third Cyrenaica legion (PPUAES II A N523, Seyrig 1941: 44 ff. and Pl. IV N2. Sourdel 1957: 89 ff., Pollard & Berry 2012: 158), that controlled the Roman province of Arabia and the base of which had been at Bosra (Speidel 1984: 691-692 ff.) since the early second century until the late fourth century (Pollard & Berry 2012: 155-160), apart from a temporary return to Egypt (roughly AD119-130s); for these few years it was replaced by the sixth legion Ferrata, based at Jerash (*Ibid.* 155).

Zeus Ammon was brought by the third legion Cyrenaica from Egypt where this legion was originally based (Alexandria) in the first century AD; this deity was the manifestation of the sun god Amun-Ra from Egypt whose sanctuary was on the Libyan-Egyptian border (Pollard & Berry 2012: 156, 158).

The importance of this god at Bosra can be demonstrated by its adoption of Ammon as a patron and symbol of the city; a temple was dedicated to this deity, according to inscriptions (*Ibid*.).

A vexillation (a detachment) of this legion was installed at Dura Europos after the Parthian war (AD113-117) waged by the Emperor Trajan. There the legion, together with the fourth legion Schythica, built an amphitheatre in AD 216 (*Ibid.* 160).

The deity was represented as a bearded man with a ram's horns (Sourdel 1957: 90), as this image was used since the late first century BC (31BC) on coins issued at Cyrenaica by a subordinate of Mark Antony (an influential Roman politician, general and commander) (Pollard & Berry 2012: 158).

5.7.2. Gods worshipped by the Roman army in the Hauran (inscriptions and statues)

In the rural sanctuaries in the Hauran the following representations of gods and/or inscriptions dedicated to Mithras, also assimilated with Helios (a), and Zeus Ammon (b), indicate the cult of these deities who were worshipped by Roman soldiers.

a) Two reliefs at Sī' portrait the *tauroctony* representation of Mithras (Figure 8).

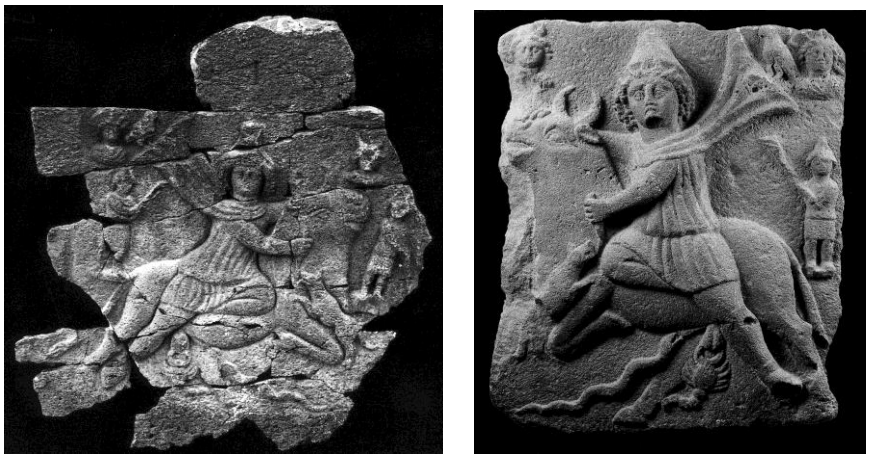


Figure 8: Reliefs of Mithras at Sī' (Weber 2006 Plate 73)

One was found in courtyard 2 in front of temple 2 in the early twentieth century (PPUAES II A 6: 398 ff. fig.344 B, Will 1952: 68 footnote 1, Gordon 2001: 83, 129 fig.6, Weber 2006: 213 N93 Pl.73 a); the other one was recovered near the temple with Nabataean columns after the Second World War (Will 1952: 67 ff. Pl.VI 2, Gordon 2001: 83, Weber 2006: 213 N94 Pl.73 b). The first one had a brief Latin inscription that mentions "the invincible solar god Helios" (Will 1952: 67-68). This is a clear example of the assimilation of Mithras with Helios. Therefore, the god Helios mentioned in an inscription in the rural temple at Rimet Hazem (IGR III 1242, Wadd 2407) could also refer to Mithras. This is supported by the fact that whoever commissioned this

dedication was a member of a legion (*Ibid.*). Because the inscription is very fragmentary, its chronology and the name of the legion to which the dedicant belonged are unknown.

At Sha'ârah two reliefs of Mithras (Figures 9-10) are on the archivolt of the entrance of a banquet area consisting of benches on both sides and niches – this structure is arbitrarily named "eastern building" for its location (Kalos 2001: 245).

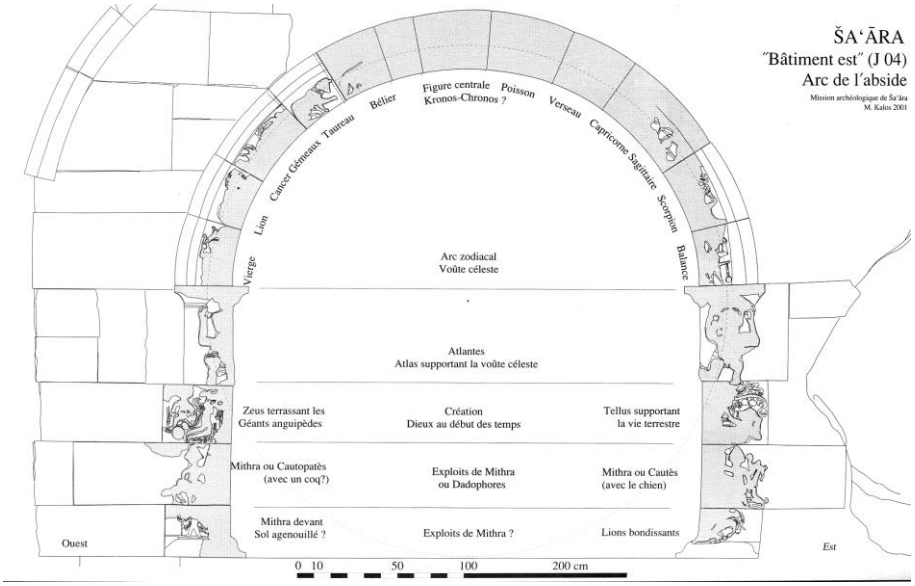


Figure 9: The relief of the signs of the Zodiac and Mithras at the bottom on the archivolt of the chapel at Sha'ârah (Kalos 2001:270 Fig.5)

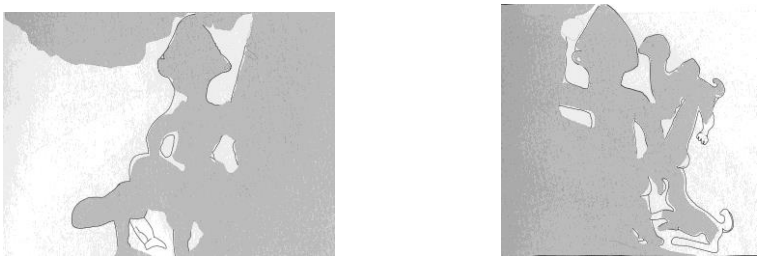


Figure 10: The representation of the cult of Mithras at Sha'ârah (Kalos 2001:271 Fig.6)

b) Zeus Ammon was worshipped in the rural sanctuaries of Sur al-Laja and Mushannef. In the case of the sanctuary of Sur al-Laja, a member of the Third Cyrenaica Legion made a written dedication to this god (Ewing 62, CIL III, 13.604, PPUAES III A N797). As this inscription is reused in a modern building (PPUAES III A N797), we can only

assume that it belonged to the pre-provincial sanctuary as it is the only known monumental building in this village (PPUAES II A: 428-431 Ill.371, III: 428-430, Denzter-Feydy 1986: 270-272 Pl.5).

For the second example, a statue's head and a relief of the representation of Zeus Ammon with a ram's horns and a beard indicate his cult in the sanctuary at Mushannef (Weber 2006: 117) (Figures 11).

Figure 11: The head of the statue and the relief representing Zeus Ammon at Mushannef (Weber 2006 Pl.80)

5.7.3. Discussion of gods venerated by Roman soldiers

Inscriptions dedicated to these gods and their statues indicate the presence of the Roman army in pre-provincial and provincial cult centres. As the original context of most of the statues and inscriptions, their chronology and who commissioned them are unknown, and also because there are few remains of rural cult centres, it is difficult to understand exactly how and in what period gods worshipped by soldiers were introduced in the pre-provincial sanctuary and how they co-existed with previous deities.

From the evidence available we can recover information principally from two sites: Sī' and Sha'ârah.

In the case of Sī', the area of foundation of the cult of Mithras has been identified around temple 2 and dated to the mid-third century AD, according to recent archaeological investigations by the French team (Gordon 2001: 94). However, no information is provided on the questions of how the reliefs of Mithras at Sī' have been dated and how the sanctuary evolved structurally with this new cult. Furthermore, the French team has not taken into account one of the two representations of this god recovered near temple 3 (§ Ch.5.7.2.b); in both cases there is no information on the location of the findings. Despite the partial understanding of the matter, we can suggest perhaps that the cult was confined to marginal areas of the sanctuary (§ Ch.5.7.1), as was common in other places in the Roman Empire, because this cult did not involve

public ceremonies (Turcan 1989: 211-216), and this cult co-existed with others within the complex.[155]

We can confidently argue that Sha'ârah was a cult place exclusively for Mithras as it is the only god represented within the sanctuary.[156] The presence of the cult is confirmed by a cave with a spring next to the eastern building with reliefs of Mithras (Kalos 2001). A spring is a recurrent element in *Mithraea* (Turcan 1993: 76) and caves have been used as places for the cult of Mithras in the Near East (Beard *et al.* 1998: 88); examples in the Near East are at Haoarte (Apamea) (Gawlikowski 2001) and Dolichè (modern day Turkey) (Schütte-Maischatz & Winter 2001). The interior of the cave at Sha'ârah cannot be fully described because it has been destroyed by looters; niches carved into the natural rock are the only visible features which could have been used in which to place cult statues (Kalos 2001: 256). The entrance to the cave appears to have the same orientation as the eastern building (Kalos 2001: 236). This implies the necessity of these two areas for religious activities in the same sanctuary[157] probably because of different ceremonies that involve the Mithraic cults (Vermaseren 1963: 41 ff.) or because special groups of priests might need a different area where devotees met to worship (usually the cave) on certain occasions (Clauss 2000: 45). The presence of more than one area in the *Mithraeum* at Sha'ârah suggests the wealth of this congregation and that this was not a mere stopping place for soldiers to worship Mithras, but it was the significant centre for Roman soldiers.

Cults associated with the presence of the army in rural cult-centres appear to be clustered principally in Leja (Sha'ârah and Sur al-Laja) (Map 5.5). The presence of the army in the region can be explained by the persistence of the insecure political situation of the region because of bandits in the pre-provincial period (§ Ch.3, Ch.4.2 for full explanation with historical sources),[158] and by the presence of the Roman road that

[155] For instance, inscriptions dated to the end of the second-first half of the third century commemorate the erection of the gate at the entrance of the sanctuary in honour of Zeus (RAO I N11, PAAES III N431-432).

[156] The only other evidence of a deity in the sanctuary at Sha'ârah are the depictions of the signs of the Zodiac on the same archivolt where there are the reliefs of Mithras because they are associated with this god (Kalos 2001: 270 fig.5).

[157] This is not a unique example of a complex-structured *Mithraeum*; there are other examples, like the one of Dolichè at Commagene (Shütte-Maischatz & Winter 2001).

[158] The presence of Roman veterans as landowners in the countryside that once belonged to the Herodian kingdom (Sartre 1991: 328, 252) has been considered a reason of the presence of military gods,

crossed Leja from Bosra to Damascus (Bazou 1986 Map 1) (§ Ch.3 Map 3.7), which were the main cities in the provincial period where the military presence is verifiable.[159] Therefore, Leja needed to be controlled and monitored by Roman soldiers. The presence of the army in the area seems to explain the presence of a *Mithraeum* in the village of Sha'ârah on the outskirts of Leja. This site was also only 6 kilometres away from another main road, the Via Traiana Nova from Damascus to Bosra (Gordon 2001: 95).

The cult of Zeus Ammon at Mushannef, which was connected to Bosra through route-ways, implies most certainly the presence of the Third Cyrenaica Legion that was the only Roman legion to worship this deity and which was based at Bosra (§ Ch.5.7.1).
The worship of Zeus Ammon at Sur al-Laja, being on the southern part of the insecure Leja, which had a military fort in the pre-provincial period (§ Ch.3.3.1, Ch.4.2.4) could suggest the possible persistence of a military garrison in the provincial period.
This influence and impact in Djebel al'Arab and southern Leja coming from the southern Hauran (e.g. the legion from Bosra) in the provincial period could be due to the fact that this north-central part of the study area became part, under the reign of Septimus Severus (the end of the second-beginning of the third century), of the Roman province of Arabia, which already included the southern Hauran (Millar 1993: 123) (§ Ch.3).
Another reason for the presence of Roman army in the Hauran, especially of the Third Cyrenaica Legion, could be that the study area was also a transitory territory for its soldiers from Bosra to Dura Europos, where the vexillation of this legion moved in the third century AD (§ Ch.5.7.1).

Sī' could have been also a place of worship for soldiers based in the two nearby Roman garrisons at Diyatheh and Sa'ane, roughly 25 km east of the cult centre, and both founded in AD250-300 (Gregory 1996: 179) (Map 6.3) (Table 5.6). The presence of Roman soldiers at Sī' is also attested by other, earlier dedications (first-second century)

specifically, the cult of Mithras, in the Hauran (Gordon 2001: 94). However, dedications to this god and other military deities do not come from veterans; only one inscription was commissioned by a veteran at Hebran (PPUAES III N663). Therefore it cannot be a main explanation of the diffusion of military deities.

[159] Bosra was a military base of the third legion Cyrenaica (Speidel 1984: 691-692 ff.).
Damascus acquired the title of a Roman metropolis in the Hadrianic period (early second century), and of a Roman colony under Septimus Severus (end of second-beginning of the third century); both titles indicate the high status of cities in the Roman Empire and they imply privileges for the city and its citizens. This city also had a military garrison in the third century (Millar 1993: 136-137).

to Zeus by soldiers of other legions (§ Ch.6 for further information on where these legions come from). This could suggest that Sī' was a religious meeting place for Roman soldiers not necessarily only from the areas near the garrisons, but also from farther away. Certainly the appearance of military garrisons in the vicinity would have encouraged the building of a cult place specifically for soldiers.

5.8. Deities from local urban cities in the provincial period

Information on the gods worshipped in the main cities in Hauran – Canatha (modern-day Qanawat) and Dionysias (modern-day Suweida) –[160] is rather scattered.

5.8.1. Qanawat (ancient name of the city Canatha)

At Canatha only the early third-century (Freyberger 1993: 74) peripteral temple on the south of the city presents inscriptions: there are two on column pedestals. It was initially thought that one of them mentions the god Helios, but the name Helios does not actually appear in the epigraphic text after a later and more careful reading of it (Donceel & Sartre 1997: 23). This deity is not mentioned in the other nine fragmentary inscriptions scattered in the city out of context (Donceel & Sartre 1997). Five of them (*Ibid.* N.3, 8, 9, 10, 11), instead, are dedicated to the god of Rabbos, which is also recovered in an inscription on the plinth of the temple (*Ibid.* N.2). One of these inscriptions provides information of its dating, which is from the fourth century (AD331-332) (*Ibid.* N.9). The god of Rabbos is an anonymous deity, named after an individual called Rabbos who worshipped him. Rabbos must have been a prominent character in the city due to the recovery of a large amount of inscriptions that mention his name at Qanawat. Another example of an anonymous god in the Hauran is the god of a certain Aumos, mentioned in two inscriptions in the village Deir al-Leben in the centre of Leja (one of the inscriptions is dated to AD320) (Wadd 2392, 2395, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 333) and in an undated dedication commissioned by the community of the village in the nearby site of Dâmit Il-ʿAlyā (PPUAES III N800 2). These examples of the worship of an anonymous god associated with an individual suggest the significance of the local community in the organization of the villages in the centre of Leja and also of the city at Qanawat, including its religious life, and the idea of belonging of this small

[160] In this discussion, I have not taken into account the city of Bosra as the deities worshipped there were the Nabataean gods (Dushara) in the pre-provincial period (§ Ch.5.3.1) and Zeus Ammon, worshipped by soldiers of the third legion Cyrenaica whose base was at Bosra (§ Ch.5.7.1).

urban or rural community. What united the local community was not a specific god, but a main member of their local community.

Only in one inscription at Qanawat is the deity of Rabbos explicitly named: he is Theandrios (N11). Although he bears a Greek name, the god (*theos* in ancient Greek) of the man (*andros*), it is a local deity worshipped by people from the city or, mostly, from the Hauran. This is attested by fifth-sixth-centuries authors,[161] and by a temple dedicated to this god at ʻAwas in the southern part of the Hauran (AD394) (Wadd 2046, Ewing 1895: 168, PPUAES III A N693, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 342). Even inscriptions dedicated to this cult, found outside the Near East, are commissioned by individuals from Qanawat or by people generically from the Hauran.[162]

In the rural landscape of the study area Theandrios was worshipped in the temple at Atil in the third century, according to a non-dated inscription (Wadd 2375). Also in this case this god is named after an individual (i.e. the god of Ouaseathos) of unknown origin (*Ibid*.).

This set of written evidence can suggest the predominant impact of local religious tradition on the urban context and only partially in the rural landscape as only one rural temple was dedicated to a local god also worshipped in the nearby city, apart from the fourth-century example of ʻAwas. –The reason for this major difference between the urban and rural context will be dealt in the concluding remarks of the comparison of deities between the rural and urban context (§ Ch.5.8.3).

5.8.2. Suweida

At Suweida there are remains of a first-century peristyle Graeco-Roman temple (Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 271 pl.4 c), but it is not known to which deity it was dedicated. The name of the site of Suweida when it became a city in the provincial period (AD185), i.e. Dionysias, after the god Dionysius, can imply a great devotion to this deity in this city and in the Hauran. It is unlikely that this Graeco-Roman god could have been the Greek assimilation of the Nabataean god Dushara, as there is no evidence to attest the worshipping of the Nabataean deity. As the name of the city and the title of

[161] Marinos, the life of Proclos, 16, Damascius Vita Isidori fr.198 (Donceel & Sartre 1997).

[162] They are a dedication to this god found at Carnuntum in the Roman province of Pannoia (the modern-day Eastern Europe along the river Danube), commissioned by an individual from Qanawat (CIL III 3668), and an inscription in the city of Volubilis in the Roman province of Mauretania Tingitana (north-western Africa) that this deity was honoured by Arabs of the Hauran (Sartre 1975: 153-156).

a city were given in the provincial period, this can imply that the Graeco-Roman deity might have been introduced with the Roman arrival in the Near East (§ Ch.5.3.3) and also in the Hauran. A depiction of this god was recovered in the nearby main rural sanctuary at Sī' (§ Ch.5.3.3). As previously discussed, the local population would have made sacrifices for divine protection over viniculture in the fertile terrain that surrounds this city and Sī', as he was the god of wine and vegetation (§ Ch.5.3.3).

Few inscriptions and fragments of statues, both recovered out of their original context and mostly undated, can inform us to which deities the population of Suweieda (Dionysias) were devoted. Therefore, it is not possible to contextualize historically the worshipping of these deities, whether they were venerated before or after Suweida became a city, for instance, and to argue confidently that they were part of the preserved ruin of the only cult centre in this site.

Fragments of a statue with an armoured torso (with aegis and the gorgon) [163] and a male bearded male figure accompanied by a female figure wearing a crescent above her head[164] can represent the goddess Athena and Baalshamin/Zeus who is usually accompanied by Azizos-Phosphoros (deity of the Moon) and Monimos-Hesperos (deity of the Sun) (§ Ch.5.4.3) and at Suweida the depiction of the first one is preserved (Dentzer-Feydy 1992: 80 fig.23). The hypothesis of the worship of Baalshamin/Zeus at Suweida is reinforced by an inscription (AD 149) mentioning Zeus Megistos (Wadd 2306, IGR III 1274, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 313), which is the appellative used for Zeus/Baalshamin (Augé & Linant de Bellefonds 1997: 384-388), and another fragmentary inscription that mentions Azisos (CIG 4617, Wadd. 2314, Suw. 1934 N8 Pl.IX). Additionally, Zeus Ammon was also venerated in the city as an inscribed stele mentions his name and represents him with a radiated head on the relief above the inscription (Wadd 2313).

At Suweida the fragmentary iconographic and written materials that refer to deities can suggest that people from this site followed patterns of religious beliefs similar to those taking place in the rural landscape of the study area in the first century BC-first century AD (Baalshamin/Zeus and Allat/Athena), and also later with the cult of Zeus Ammon.

[163] Suw. (1934 N2 Pl.V), Sourdel (1957: 65 ff.), Driivers (1980: 84 fig.28), Starcky (1981: 122 note 12 Pl.I,2), Will (1989: 57), Dentzer-Feydy (1992: 95-96 fig.35).
[164] Suw. (1934 N314), Denzter-Feydy (1992: 80-81 fig.22).

We can assume that the similarities between the gods worshipped at Suweida and those venerated in rural sanctuaries in the Hauran could be explained by the fact that these deities were worshipped at Suweida when this was a rural settlement, before it became a city at the end of the second century (AD185). This is based on the only inscription whose chronology is known (the dedication to Zeus Megistos) dated to the mid-first century (AD149) and on the erection of the temple in the first century.

The cult of Zeus Ammon at Suweida can be explained by the proximity to Bosra and being connected to the latter by route-ways and being a crossing place between Bosra and the other rural sanctuaries where this god was worshipped.

5.8.3. Discussion

The worship of Theandrios in rural cult centre at Atil and in the nearby city Canatha can suggest interactions between rural and urban contexts in the Hauran, as supported by other written evidence and their close proximity.

At Canatha regional deities were worshipped and there were two temples, both dated to the late provincial period (i.e. third-fourth century), whereas in rural cult centres a variety of deities, and very few were local, were venerated from pre-provincial to the provincial period (§ Ch 5.2-8). This can suggest that the religious focus of pilgrimage was on religious centres in the countryside which overshadowed the ones in urban context.

This major difference between the urban and rural context can be a consequence of the socio-political and administrative system of the north of the Djebel al-Arab and Leja, where the rural territory, including villages and, therefore, their rural religious centres, was not controlled by cities, but was autonomous from the pre-provincial period and this carried on in the provincial period (§ Ch 3.3.2.2).

The significance of rural cult centres for non-local devotees can be sought in the location of the study area within the Near East (introduced in Ch.3, discussed in Ch.4-5.2-8).

The presence of the same gods worshipped at Suweida (the city Dionysias) and in rural cult centres can be explained as Suweida was a rural settlement with a pre-provincial temple before it acquired the title of a city in late second century. Instead, Qanawat was known as the city of Canatha from the first century BC, but it was developed in the late

provincial period (third century) as the building programme from this time demonstrates.

5.9. Conclusion

From the discussion of deities mentioned in inscriptions and depicted in statues, it is clear that Baalshamin/Zeus and Allat/Athena were the main deities worshipped in the rural landscape of the study area in the pre-provincial and provincial period.

Allat and Baalshamin were introduced in the rural religious life in the Hauran by "Safaitic" groups that worshipped both deities widely and had a great impact in this territory as the names of their tribe appear in inscriptions in this study area (§ Ch.6.3.1). The diffusion of the cult of Baalshamin in the Hauran can be also due to a historical common background with Lebanon, where this god was first worshipped in ancient Phoenicia, as both areas were under the same Ituraean principality before the Herodian control of the Hauran (§ Ch.3). This can be reinforced by the association of this god with the solar deity in both regions.

The overall lack of gods worshipped in the Herodian and Nabataean kingdoms in the study area, instead, has indicated some level of religious autonomy of the Hauran from its political authorities in the pre-provincial period. Only in a few cases, mostly in what used to be Nabataean territory, was the main Nabataen deity Dushara worshipped. As dedications to this god were mostly dated after the end of the Nabataean kingdom, we cannot argue that there was evidence of the impact of a political authority, but only sporadic traces of the continuation of Nabataean culture into the provincial period. The main pre-provincial sanctuary of the Nabataean part of the Hauran, Salkhad, was, in fact, dedicated not to a Nabataean deity, but to Allat, a deity worshipped widely by "Safaitic" groups and in the Herodian part of the study area. This indicates that the religious differences were minimal and cults had overcome political boundaries in the two pre-provincial kingdoms in the study area.

The representations of Athena with *apoptygma*, *gorgoneion* and aegis, which were motifs widely used in Hellenistic and Roman tradition, can suggest the Herodian impact on pre-provincial sanctuaries at Sahr and Sur al'Laja. This is because this kingdom was

probably familiar with Graeco-Roman motifs, as it was an ally of Rome (§ Ch.3.3.2) and it had a philo-Hellenistic tradition (§ Ch.4.2.3), and the Herodian military presence has been identified in these two sites (§ Ch.3.3.2). We can argue the Roman impact on Athena's statues found in the cult centre at Dakir and at Sī' because of the use of these Graeco-Roman motifs in Roman culture, the Roman military presence attested by the statue of a Roman soldier recovered at Dakir (§ Ch.4.6.4) and the cult of Mithras at Sī' (§ Ch.5.7.1).

The Roman impact on rural cult centres in the study area is clear from the widespread cult of Mithras, god of Roman soldiers, in main pre-provincial sanctuaries (Sī', Mushannef and Sur al'Laja) and the erection of a *Mithraeum* at Sha'ârah in Leja, the worship of Zeus Ammon, venerated by the third legion Cyrenaica from nearby Bosra, and, possibly in part, by the introduction of the Graeco-Roman god Dionysius at Sī' in the provincial period.

This great impact of the Roman army on the religious beliefs in rural cult centres could have historical and geographical grounds.

The occurrence of cult places for Roman soldiers was a consequence of Rome's need to control the dangerous area of Leja from the pre-provincial period and also in the provincial period and to monitor the Roman roads from Bosra to Damascus. The study area was a transit-zone for the third legion Cyrenaica from Bosra to Damascus (where there was a military garrison) and Dura Europos (where a vexillation of this legion was positioned).

The variety of gods of different origins and worshipped by different populations in rural cult centres in the study area provided the perfect meeting place for various populations and individuals from different backgrounds and origins. They were a medium through which to develop social regional and inter-regional interactions. Non-local gods (Baalshamin and Allat) venerated by "Safaitic" groups were worshipped in the Hauran, together with a few local gods (Seia at Sī' and Theandrios at Atil). The Greek assimilations of Baalshamin and Allat with the popular gods Zeus and Athena could represent various Near Eastern deities. This can imply that rural cult centres in the Hauran could be not just places for local worshippers, but also for pilgrims coming from far away. Any soldiers from the Roman army could also have visited and made

offerings to their own gods (Mithras and Zeus Ammon for the Third Cyrenaica Legion) in these rural sanctuaries.
According to provincial inscriptions and the structure of the sanctuary complex at Sī', the earlier deity Baalshamin/Zeus, in fact, coexisted with the god Mithras, widely worshipped by Roman soldiers.

It can be argued that rural cult centres had a great significance and that to some extent they overshadowed the sanctuaries in cities dedicated to regional deities because this region was based on a system where villages were independent and the cities did not have an administrative and political control over the countryside.

After this discussion of the religious beliefs of rural cult centres, it is necessary to investigate the connection between the rural sanctuary and the village itself and examine further the relationship between the former and the nearby city by looking at who owned rural cult centres and who made dedications. This study will be covered in the next chapter (§ Ch.6) and it will also clarify whether or not and to what extent the impact of the "Safaitic" groups, the Roman Empire and soldiers on religious beliefs of rural cult centres can also be confirmed by written evidence, i.e. inscriptions that inform us about their benefactors and dedicants.

Chapter 6: Benefactors and dedicants in the Hauran

6.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses inscriptions in order to identify, firstly, the patronage of local individuals and communities in rural cult centres which are from villages (§ Ch.6.2.1) or nearby cities (§ Ch.6.2.1), and, secondly, the presence of non-local benefactors and dedicants (§ Ch.6.3). Identifying the origins of benefactors and dedicants is an important aspect of this research in order to gain a better understanding of rural cult centres in the Hauran and to what extent they were centres of social interactions on both a regional and a wider geographical scale.

By non-local individuals (§ Ch.1.4.2 for discussion of the approach to this subject) I mean the following:

- People who came from or were deeply influenced by "Safaitic" groups because of the resemblance of individual or tribal names between the latter and the populations of the Nabataeans and Herodian territories (§ Ch.6.3.1);
- People who used Roman names (§ Ch.6.3.2), as evidence of external presence; within this group also are the Roman soldiers (§ Ch.6.3.3).

In this study I differentiate between major benefactors, i.e. those who commissioned a rural temple or one of its major parts, like the *temenos*, and dedicants, i.e. those who made a dedication to the sanctuary on a smaller scale, like an altar, because these two types of benefactors had a different impact on the financial support of the cult centre (§ Ch.1.4.2).

6.2. Regional impact

6.2.1. Village's communities and individuals (Table 6.1)

6.2.1.1. Major benefactors

According to inscriptions, local village communities and their officers commissioned rural temples at Dâmit Il-'Alyā, Sanamein, Lubbayn, Boutheiné, Kharaba/Ḳara'ah and Sha'areh (Map 6.1).

The community of the village of Damatha (modern-day Dâmit Il-'Alyā) financed a building dedicated to the god of Aumos (§ Ch.5.8.2 for discussion of the god),

according to two undated inscriptions reused in modern-day houses (PPUAES III N800 2, 7). The only ancient monument in the area consists of the ruins of a *temenos* with decorated doorway; it is therefore very likely that the inscriptions came from this religious complex (PPUAES II A 7: 433-434 Ill. 377).

Two other fragmentary inscriptions refer to the community of Airesioi, i.e. from Aere, the Roman village (modern-day Sanamein) (PPUAES III N655, N655 1). One of the two inscriptions is inserted in the inner wall on the west side of the temple Tychaion (PPUAES III N655 1). The other inscription is on a lintel, but its original location and also the place of its recovery are not known (PPUAES III N655). Further evidence to suggest the link of this village community with the rural cult centre is an inscription from this site, the exact original context of which is not known, that mentions the god Zeus, named after this community "Zeus of the Airesioi" (Sartre 2002: 220 note 20).

Two inscriptions mention that the village community of Agraina (modern-day Lubbayn) built the temple to the god Aumos (§ Ch.5.8.1) in the first half of the third century (Wadd 2455, Ewing 1895: 69-70, PPUAES III N793, N793 1, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 324-325).

According to an inscription, *pistoi* (literarily meaning reliable persons) were in charge of building a temple at Boutheiné, financed by village funds, although the sanctuary is not archaeologically preserved and this inscription is undated (Wadd 2127). *Pistoi* were generically village officials involved with public works or buildings, as also identified in other epigraphic texts in southern Syria in provincial/late provincial period (McLean Harper 1928: 123-127).

Episkopoi (literarily meaning supervisor/inspectors),[165] who were frequently associated with building enterprises in southern Syria in provincial and late provincial period (*Ibid.* 132-134), were in charge of the *temenos* at Kharaba – although the structure has not been found yet and the inscriptions are currently undated (PPUAES III N220). In southern Syria in provincial and late provincial period the same role was given to

[165] The fourth-century grammarian Charisius (*Digest* 50, 4, 18, 7) defined *episkopoi* as supervisors of local markets, but there is no reference to this role of *episkopoi* in the inscriptions from Southern Syria (McLean Harper 1928: 132-134).

oikonomoi[166](literally meaning administrators of the household or generically administrators) at Sha'areh, according to an undated inscription (PAES II N803 2). In the latter case the epigraphic text that mentions *oikonomoi* could refer to the *temenos* of the *Mithraeum* complex, as the inscription is inserted in the wall of the main mosque (*Ibid*.), roughly 100 metres north-east from the *Mithraeum* complex (Clauss-Balty 2010: 207 Pl.1).

6.2.1.2. Dedicants

Members of the village communities also contributed to the embellishment and the expansion of rural cult centres, but on a minor scale by comparison with the other benefactors mentioned above. At Dâmit Il-ʿAlyā, *pistoi* dedicated two apses in the sanctuary (PPUAES III N800 5). At Deir el-Leben, *pistoi* commissioned an (undated) altar (Wadd 2395, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 333) and a courtyard dedicated to the god of Aumos, according to two inscriptions (Wadd 2394). This epigraphic evidence in the last site implies the occurrence of a cult centre with a courtyard, although it has not been yet identified.

The community of Seenoi, meaning the ones from Sī', commissioned a statue to Malikat, who built the temple of Baalshamin (Wadd 2367, PAAES III 428b). Considering the name of this community, called after the place of the sanctuary (Sī'), Seenoi would have lived in the small settlement that extends roughly 500 m, just West-East from the sanctuary (Dentzer 1985: 78 fig.1) (§ Ch.7 fig.18). It consists of simple houses (they do not have decorative motifs) with open and closed spaces and paths to access these habitations (*Ibid.* 78-79). The function of this settlement and its inhabitants (Seenoi) should be linked to the life of the sanctuary as the settlement is attached to it and dated at the same period (§ Ch.7 for further information on the matter).[167]

[166] In his work (*Novellae* 123, 23, meaning Novels) the Emperor Justinian (AD527-565) described *oikonomoi* as religious officials, but this does not mean that all officers with this title were religious, especially considering that in the inscriptions from Southern Syria there is no explicit reference to the religious nature of *oikonomoi* (McLean Harper 1928: 135).

[167] Pottery from the first century BC to the third century AD (*Ibid.* 79) are found in the settlement and in the cult centre as well as Aramaic-Greek inscription mentioned the worship of four gods in 105-104 BC (Milik 2003), although the first phase of the actual sanctuary was built at the end of the first century BC (CIS II N165, RES 2117, PPUAES IV N101).

6.2.1.3. Discussion

According to the epigraphic texts here analysed, village communities were the main benefactors of cult centres principally placed in Leja and its proximity (Map 6.1). This is not the case of Seenoi at Sī', who only financed a statue in the sanctuary; this community is not part of a village, but it functioned in relation to the cult centre, which will be fully discussed in the next chapter (§ Ch.7).

The patronage of village communities of these sanctuaries could suggest the connections and the dependence of these religious centres on local rural settlements. Furthermore, this implies that in this area a great importance was given to their cult centres, because, although this territory, being mostly deserted lava, had few natural resources, especially regarding exploitable land for cultivation (§ Ch.3), all the profits of the community were used to build a temple, which was presumably the main meeting centre for local people.

The fact that these rural cult centres were not commissioned by individuals (elite members) implies that this area was based on a complex egalitarian system, which is also shown by the occurrence of different village officers (*pistoi*, *episkopoi* and *oikonomais*).

These cult centres were, presumably, not monumental sanctuaries – as in most of these cases, their ruins have been not been identified archaeologically. The small size of these centres within a rural area, with hardly any significant agricultural resources, and away from a main Roman road, could explain the predominance of local benefactors, with the exception of the temple at Sanamein. In this case a soldier was also a major benefactor of the completion of the temple in the provincial period because Sanamein was in a key-location for the Roman army; this will be fully discussed later on in this chapter when looking at the occurrence of Roman soldiers in rural cult centres in the study area (§ Ch.6.3.3.1).

It is very likely that these sanctuaries in Leja were not major centres of pilgrimage, but they were serving small local communities. On a wider economic scale, this suggests that the area was cut off from major trade routes and was rather isolated.

6.2.2. People and functionaries of cities near rural sanctuaries (Table 6.2)

6.2.2.1. Major benefactors

No inscriptions indicate that members or people coming from the regional cities, such as Canatha (modern-day Qanawat) or Dionysias (modern-day Suweida), commissioned a rural temple in the study area.

6.2.2.2. Dedicants

There are, instead, two dedicatory altars commissioned by a councillor (βουλετη); he was an officer who was from an urban settlement (Sartre 1987: 244, 247).

One altar is in the forecourt in front of temple 2 at Sī' (PPUAES II N769) and the other from the sanctuary at Mushannef (Wadd 2216).

In the first case it is not possible to reconstruct the identity of the councillor due to the fragmentary nature of this inscription (PPUAES II N769). The dedication of an altar was made in association with a member of the Roman army, a centurion of the Cohort I (or II) Augusta (*Ibid.*). This has been suggested as evidence of peace between the Roman army and the local population (Stoll 2001: 336-337). However, there was no apparent conflict between the two. I believe, instead, that this communal dedication implies that the Roman army approved the local administration and vice versa that the local bureaucrat supported the presence of the Roman army in the study area. Furthermore, it indicates not only social interactions, but a friendly relationship between a regional urban officer and a member of the Roman army, because they jointly offered an altar to a rural sanctuary (§ Ch.6.3.3.2 for the discussion of the soldier, his legion and the Roman impact in the Hauran). This was probably because they worked together to maintain the stability of the study area, previously granted by the Herodian authority and army (§ Ch.3, Ch.5.5.2 and Ch.6.3.1).

In the second case at Mushannef a councillor of Canatha commissioned an altar with his brothers (Wadd 2216) and he practised his role of councillor in the nearby city Canatha, roughly 20 km away from this village. The fact that this individual dedicated an altar together with his brothers can imply that this small dedication was not an official act, but more a sign of private devotion, so it cannot be interpreted as evidence of the imposition of civic institutions on the rural settlement of Mushannef and its rural cult centre.

6.2.2.3. Discussion

The absence of urban officials as major benefactors of rural cult centres in the Hauran suggests the autonomy of rural cult centres from the regional cities and the lack of interactions between urban and the rural settlements. Furthermore, this indicates that cities did not have any control over rural religious cult centres and their population did not seem, overall, to participate in the religious life of these rural centres. There are a couple of fortuitous examples where members of a city dedicated an altar to a rural sanctuary, but this was done as a personal offering, like the altar at Mushannef.

6.3. Non-regional impact

6.3.1. "Safaitic" groups vs. Nabataeans (Table 6.3)

The presence or the influence of the Nabataeans and "Safaitic" groups in the study area, based on the personal names or tribes of benefactors, is jointly discussed because they had similar onomasticon. This is shown by the common Semitic root of Nabataean and "Safaitic" writing, possibly originating and first officially used in the Persian Empire, and which was also the source of Jew language and Old Syriac (Negev 1991: 225). Additionally, the "Safaitic" groups were partially linked with, and influenced by, Nabataean culture. They occasionally worshipped the main Nabataean deity, Dushara (*Ibid.* 73), their graffiti recorded major Nabataean conflicts (Negev 1991: 216, 221), and "Safaitic" tribes (called Mḥrbt and Ḍf) also participated in revolts against the last Nabataean, king Rabbel II, in AD71 (Winnett & Harding 1978: 7).

Here I look at the following personal names which could have belonged to tribes and which have come from Nabataean or/and "Safaitic" groups: Kasiu, Malikat (§ Ch.6.3.1.1), and Obaisatos/Obaisenoi (§ Ch.6.3.1.2). I start this discussion with the first two individuals, as they appear to have had a major impact on the building of rural sanctuaries in the study area; then, it is followed by the other dedicants (Obaisatos/Obaisenoi) that seem to have contributed to these rural centres to a lesser extent, i.e. by commissioning statues.

6.3.1.1. Major benefactors

Kasiu first appeared in the late second-century BC stele recovered in the valley of the sanctuary at Sī' which he dedicated to various deities, including Baalshamin (Milik

2003). Then, in the first century AD, another Kasiu commissioned the door of the temple at Hebran (in the Herodian territory at the border with Nabataea) (AD47) (CIS II 170, Milik 1958: 228-229) and by a man who rebuilt the rural temple at Salkhad (AD93) (in the Nabataean territory) (CIS II 183-184 Suw 1934 N374-375, Milik 1958: 227, 228). Kasiu is also explicitly mentioned as a member of a tribe at Samej, south of Bosra (RES 2042).

Kasiu is found only in one fragmentary inscription at Bosra – the original location recovery of which is not known – (40BC) (CIS N174), whereas it is more frequent in "Safaitic" graffiti (CIS V N1588, 1599, 2799, 4840, 4957).

This name is used in both Herodian and Nabataean territory in the study area from the late second century BC to the first century AD (Maps 3.5, 3.7). This set of evidence[168] implies that Kasiu was not only a common name in the Hauran, but also possibly that different individuals adopted the same name over a couple of centuries as a sign of their belonging to their own same lineage, probably the same tribe considering that in one inscription this name is explicitly associated with a tribe. This could be reinforced by the fact that individuals with this name also had a similar role in the region over time. Kasiu or the son of the individual bearing this name, in fact, appeared to be always a wealthy benefactor in rural cult centres of this study area. This role of members of this tribe that hold the name Kasiu probably passed through generations. This tribe could originate in the "Safaitic" groups considering the frequency of this name found in "Safaitic" graffiti. This can be supported by the fact that the inscriptions commissioned by individuals with this name in the Hauran were dedicated to the deities Baalshamin and Allat, both widely worshipped by "Safaitic" groups. The stele at Sī' commissioned by Kasiu was dedicated to Baalshamin, the sanctuary at Saalkad re-built by Gautallah the son of Kasiu was consecrated to Allat and the man who financed the door of the temple at Hebran was a priest of Allat and his father was named Kasiu (§ Ch.5.2-3).

Malikat, the name of the father of the man who built the rural sanctuary at Salkad in the mid-first century BC (CIS II 182, Cantineau 1932: 17-18, Suw. 1934 N377), appears to be also the name of an important person at Sī' at the end of the first century BC-

[168] Milik (1958: 227-228) argued for the relative link of brotherhood between the man who commissioned the door of the temple at Hebran (Maliko) (AD47) and the benefactor who rebuilt the temple at Salkhad (Gaullath) (AD93) because both of their fathers had the name Kasiu. However, he did not take into account other inscriptions, like the ones at Sī', where Kasiu is mentioned.

beginning of the first century AD. He built the temple of Baalshamin at Sī' and he was honoured with statues in the sanctuary commissioned by the local community Seenoi (§ Ch.6.2.1) and the tribe Obasenoi (§ Ch.6.3.1.2) a few years later (early first century AD). The priest who commissioned the door of the temple at Hebran was named Malikat as well (CIS II 170, Milik 1958: 228-229).

The inscriptions mentioning the name Malikat are recovered in the same sites where the name Kasiu is also found. This name is mentioned in inscriptions across the Herodian and Nabataean territory of the Hauran (Maps 3.5, 3.7), as well as being used by major patrons of rural cult centres in the pre-provincial period. The priest Malikat from Hebran had a father named Kasiu (CIS II 170, Milik 1958: 228-229); so we could presume a lineage-link between the individuals who had these two names. This could explain the reason why patrons with the name Malikat or with their father holding this name also financed rural sanctuaries that in earlier and or later periods were supported by individuals with the name Kasiu.

This could imply that people with names Kasiu and Malikat could belong to the same ethnic group or family-line. This association could also lead us to suggest the possibility of the "Safaitic" origin of Malikat. This is supported by the high frequency of this personal name in "Safaitic" graffiti (60 times as "*mlkt*" and 132 times as "*mlk*"[169]) (Harding 1971: 565) and by the fact that at Hebran Malikat is the priest of Allat, the main goddess worshipped by the "Safaitic" people (§ Ch.5.3).

6.3.1.2. Dedicants

In two early first-century inscriptions Obaisatos, son of Soaodos, commissioned two statues in the sanctuary at Sī' (PAAES III N427b, N428a). The statue is explicitly dedicated to Malikat, according to its pedestal with bilingual Greek and Aramaic inscription (PAAES III N428a, PPAUES IV N104, Wadd 2366). In the Aramaic part of that inscription, Obaisenoi (meaning the people of Obaisatos) (in Aramaic *'l'bs't*) are referred to a tribe because this name is preceded by "*l*", meaning tribe in Aramaic (PPAUES IV N104). A tomb near the road from Sī' to Qanawat was dedicated to the son of the Obaisatos (*Ibid.* N105). Furthermore, this name is mentioned in funerary monuments at Salkhad (*Ibid.* 24), at Kharaba in the Nabataean part of the study area

[169] "Safaitic" writing does not have vowels.

(*Ibid.* 69) and in an epitaph near Bosra – the dating and the exact location of these inscriptions are not known (CIS II N181). This set of evidence suggests a wide distribution of the use of this name across the Hauran in both the Herodian and Nabataean territory.

This name occurs in one Nabataean (undated) fragmentary inscription at Petra (RES N1442)[170]; whereas it (*'byšt* in Safaitic writing) appears in a couple of "Safaitic" graffiti recovered in the stony desert between Ruḥbeh and the Hauran (PAAES IV N71, 124, N349, CIS V N3262, Winnet & Harding 1978: N1725a).

This indicates that this tribe could have originated in "Safaitic" groups, considering the use of this name in "Safaitic" graffiti and the epigraphic texts at Sī'.[171] In the last case Obaisatos was explicitly mentioned as the son of Soaodos; this name could have come from the Safaitic root/name "*SD*" and its derivates (such as "*SWD*" and "*SDY*") that are very common in Safaitic graffiti and rare in Nabataea (Negev 1991: 222-223). Furthermore, Obaisatos commissioned a statue dedicated to Malikat, who built the temple of Baalshamin at Sī' and probably came from the "Safaitic" groups (§ Ch.6.3.1.b); this god was also widely worshipped by the "Safaitic" groups (§ Ch.5.2).

The importance of this tribe extended also into the surrounding territory, in the proximity of the sanctuary at Sī', as can be reinforced by a statue pedestal of Thaimos the son of Obaisatos recovered in the nearby village Mushannef (15 km away) (Suw. 1934 N55).

6.3.1.3. Discussion

The distribution of the same names Kasiu and Malikat recovered in major religious centres (Sī', Saalkad, and also Hebran) in the Herodian and Nabataean parts of the study area proves that these two territories in the Djebel al'Arab, despite being politically separated, had common roots. It is very likely that they belong to the same ethnic group originating in the "Safaitic" groups due to the frequency of the names Kasiu and Malikat in "Safaitic" graffiti. These names, instead, are rarely recovered in inscriptions in the Nabataean territory within the study area. This means that these individuals

[170] "Thaimos, slave of Obaisatos."

[171] Grushevoi (1985) argued that *'byšt* was a "Safaitic" tribe because it is mentioned in "Safaitic" graffiti; but his discussion is partial as he did not take into account all the inscriptions that mention this tribe in the Hauran and elsewhere and he did not explain why, according to him, this "Safaitic" tribe became sedentary.

named Kasiu and Malikat were unlikely to have been Nabataeans and, therefore, this implies the absence of Nabataean main benefactors in rural cult centres of the Hauran.

Furthermore, the hypothesis here proposed of the "Safaitic" origin of the individuals named Kasiu and Malikat is reinforced by the appearance in the sanctuaries where their benefactors were named Kasiu and Malikat of the deities Allat and Baalshamin, which were widely worshipped in the study area and traditionally venerated by the "Safaitic" groups (§ Ch.5.2-3).

The individuals Kasiu and Malikat had a major impact on the main rural cult centres in the pre-provincial period (Sī', Saalkad, and also Hebran), especially in the sanctuary of Sī', which was an important sanctuary for the "Safaitic" groups (MacDonald 2003b).

The fact that the names recovered in inscriptions in the Hauran were also used in "Safaitic" graffiti suggests the sedentarization of these people, who were labelled nomadic according to scholars (Milik 1980, 1986, Sartre 1982a, 1982b, 1991: 333, 1992: 43-44, Villeneuve 1986: 116-117, Dentzer 1986: 398-401). Additionally, these scholars have argued that "Safaitic" groups were nomads because they belonged to tribes. Belonging to a tribe could, nevertheless, mean that they were part of a small community, a family clan or people with the same ethnicity (Sartre 1987). The lack of settlements and archaeological evidence associated with "Safaitic" graffiti does not mean that "Safaitic" groups were nomads. It could be because these graffiti were written during "Safaitic" travels and this could explain the fact that there is no evidence of permanent settlements associated with these graffiti in deserted areas. Therefore, there is no accurate evidence of "Safaitic" people's nomadic nature.

Since names recovered in "Safaitic" graffiti appear in the earliest inscriptions in the Hauran, we can suggest that these people who used "Safaitic" graffiti inhabited the Hauran, in particular Djebel al'Arab, where they built their main religious centres. Djebel al'Arab was, in fact, an exploitable territory for cultivation and it underwent to a period of stability as the result of the Herodian army and policy in the Hauran (§ Ch.3). The army controlled the area and prevented the raids of bandits. The political Herodian authority let the rural local communities of this region administer their settlements as well as let them to profess their own religion, probably because it was on the outskirts of the Herodian kingdom (§ Ch.3, Ch.5.5.2).

The writing used in the inscriptions commissioned by members of "Safaitic" tribe was occasionally Greek but mostly a local Aramaic that had only a similar root to the

Nabataean language from which other Aramaic languages also derived (Starcky 1986: 175-176). The use of this local Aramaic writing suggests that people that used the "Safaitic" script were influenced from the neighbouring Nabataea. This could be also a consequence that the "Safaitic" and the Nabataean scripts had similar onomasticon, demonstrated earlier in this chapter (§ Ch.6.3.1), and common Semitic root (Negev 1991: 225). Additionally, the "Safaitic" groups were partially linked with, and influenced by, Nabataean culture. They occasionally worshipped the main Nabataean deity, Dushara (*Ibid.* 73), their graffiti recorded major Nabataean conflicts (Negev 1991: 216, 221), and "Safaitic" tribes (called Mḥrbt and Ḍf) also participated in revolts against the last Nabataean, king Rabbel II, in AD71 (Winnett & Harding 1978: 7).

The differentiation of the scripts between the inscriptions the Hauran and in "Safaitic" graffiti because of their different purposes, the former were monumental dedicatory inscriptions, whereas the latter were of short grave-marks or prayers inscribed during their journey.

Greek writing in these dedicatory inscriptions was most likely intentional to diffuse and make their patronage known by anyone from the Near East that crossed the Hauran, as Greek was the main language used in the Near East in pre-provincial and provincial period (Parca 2001: 71, Isaac 2009: 43).

The use of Nabataean writing at Salkad can be considered a mere formality as Salkhad was under the political control of the Nabataean territory (§ Ch.3). The majority of inscriptions in the Hauran or in the Near East were written in Greek and used the calendar of Roman Emperors in the provincial period; but this does not mean that those who commissioned them were Romans and that they were dedicated to Roman deities.

6.3.2. Roman names (Table 6.4) (Map 6.2)

6.3.2.1. Major benefactor

In one instance, one of the *oikonomoi* in charge of the *temen*os at Sha'ârah had the Roman name Aurelius. It can be suggested that this person was a person of the local community that just adopted a Roman name for the following reasons. His father (Khalaṣat) and the other two *oikonomoi* that commissioned the *temenos* (Usaid'ēl, son of Phaṣai'ēl, and Muḳīm, son of Taum) did not have Roman names, but probably local ones (PPUAES III A N803 2), as these do not appear to be common in the Near Eastern, Greek and Roman onomasticon. Furthermore, it is unlikely that someone who was an

officer of a village would have come from Rome or the Western Empire. The use of Roman names does not necessarily mean that they were people from the Roman or Western Empire, but it implies the adoption of names widely used in the Roman Empire, probably due to the annexation to a Roman province, and connections of local individuals with Roman culture (§ Ch.1.4.2). In the case here under examination, i.e. of the village at Sha'ârah, the Roman influence in the naming of people in the local community can be explained by the presence of the Roman army in this village as the ruins of their cult-place (a *Mithraeum*) can indicate (§ Ch.5.7.2-3).

6.3.2.2. Dedicants

In the majority of cases (from a relatively numerous quantity, i.e. eight examples) dedicants who had Roman names made a dedication to a rural cult centre in the Hauran on a small scale, like an altar. Their names are Julius, Julianus, Aurelius and Aelius Dio which seem straightforward Latin names, transliterated in Greek in inscriptions (Table 6.4). These examples are concentrated in the Djebel al-Arab in the provincial period, mostly in the third century, but starting from the second century (Map 6.2).

In two cases, the benefactor with a Roman name contributed in part to the building of a rural cult centre. Julius Heraclitos financed the Roman gate-way in the sanctuary Sī' in Severan-Antonine period (AD138–235) (RAO I N11, PAAES III N431, 432) and Julius commissioned a door in the provincial temple at Atil (AD211) (CIG 4609, Wadd 2374a, IGR III 1238, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 105, 322).

Additionally, an individual named Bassos made five dedicatory inscriptions in rural sanctuaries at Sahr, Sha'ârah and Salkad. This name has been initially considered a Greek transliteration of the Latin name Bassus, but this is still a matter of debate. It has been suggested that it could be derived from Safaitic or Semitic roots (Sartre 2007a: 204). For the first case, it appears in 20 examples in Safaitic graffiti (Harding 1971: 105). For the second possibility, it could come from a fairly common Semitic root, "*bs*"; Arabic names with this root or with "*basa*'" are frequent in the Near East (55 examples) (*Ibid*.).

However, Bassos is far more commonly used by Roman soldiers and administrators in Syria — in 82 instances, excluding the ones from the cities of Palmyra and Dura Europos — than in Semitic and Safaitic examples (Sartre 2007a: 204).

In order to have a more complete and accurate understanding of where Bassos could come from in the examples here under examination in the Hauran, it is necessary to consider the inscriptions that mention this name within their historical and physical context, i.e. the sanctuaries where these epigraphic texts have been recovered. In the study area this name does not appear in pre-provincial inscriptions; the hypothesis that this name came from a Semitic root would not explain its absence in the earlier pre-provincial period. In the case of Salkad, the inscriptions are dated to the provincial period (Wadd 1989, 1990, 2001). In the other two cases, the sanctuaries at Sha'ârah and at Sahr, the inscriptions of which are not dated, the military presence in both centres could have brought the diffusion of this name. The first cult centre is dedicated to Mithras in the late Roman (and also Byzantine) village of Sha'ârah (§ Ch.5.7.2-3). The sanctuary at Sahr presents statues of Herodian soldiers, allies of the Roman army, and it was built in the transitional period from the pre-provincial to the provincial and used throughout the provincial period (§ Ch. 4). Therefore, the most plausible suggestion in these cases in the Hauran, considering their sanctuaries, is that Bassos could represent a Roman name.

6.3.2.3. Discussion

The inscriptions commissioned by people who had Roman names suggest a fair contact and interaction between the local population across the whole Hauran and Roman culture. Typical Roman names are, in fact, on inscriptions found in the Djebel al-Arab and Bassos, which is still a frequent Roman name, though a bit more unusual than the others, is used in Leja and in the southern Hauran.

The Roman impact on rural cult centres in the study area was on a small scale as people with Roman names mostly commissioned altars or minor dedications in rural sanctuaries.

6.3.3. Soldiers (Table 6.5) (Map 6.3)

Fourteen inscriptions dedicated by soldiers recovered in rural cult centres in the Hauran indicate the military participation in the rural religious life in the study area as well as the Roman impact on these religious centres. In the majority of cases (nine out of fifteen) it is mentioned explicitly to which legion these soldiers belonged. This enables us to trace their journey from where they came from to the rural cult centre, to

investigate the reasons for their presence in the study area and in specific rural temples, and to understand the importance of the religious rural centres themselves. Here I discuss, firstly, the soldiers that were major benefactors of rural cult centres, then, the ones, from the nearest to the more distant legion, that made dedications to these religious places.

6.3.3.1. Major benefactors

According to inscriptions, soldiers from the Third Legion Gallica were major benefactors in two rural temples in the Hauran: in the Roman village of Nela (modern-day Mushannef in the north of the Djebel al'Arab) and in the Roman village of Aere (modern-day Sanamein at the north-western outskirts of Leja).

In the case of Mushannef, although the partial text of the inscription does not enable us to understand fully the action undertaken by the donor, its location suggests that the centurion Kyrinalios Gemellos who commissioned this dedication in AD171 was the major benefactor of this cult centre in the provincial period (Wadd 2212, PAAES III N380a, and N381). As the epigraphy was found lying outside the sanctuary, next to the *temenos*' wall (Wadd 2212), this was probably originally placed on the gateway of the *temenos*, located where everyone attending the sanctuary could have seen it.

The military presence at Mushannef was probably an action of imperial propaganda – like the general purpose of military inscriptions (Isaac 1992: 307) – to remind the local population that the Roman army, which stood for Rome and the Roman Empire (Beard *et al.* 1998: 324), indicated Roman political control as well as being there to help the local population, in this case, to monumentalize their temple. The fact that the inscription by this soldier is in Greek, which was the language mainly used in the Hauran and in the Near East (Parca 2001: 71, Isaac 2009: 43), and the sanctuary at Mushannef was a pre-existent rural cult centre, suggests that the Roman army and the Roman authority respected the local religious tradition as they left intact local pre-provincial sanctuaries and monumentalized them.

The presence of this legion at Mushannef could be explained by the fact the latter was located on the major route to the principal cult centre of Sī' in the Hauran (§ Ch.4-5). Therefore, this legion could watch and control this religious centre from a relatively

close distance, but it did not want to interfere with the sanctuary directly as it respected it as a main centre of pilgrimage in the Hauran.

In the case at Sanamein the soldier Julius Germanus from the Third Legion Gallica completed the temple in this village (AD191) (Wadd.2413 f, PPUAES III N652, CIG 4554, IGRR 3.1128). In this commemorative inscription he was named as the founder and benefactor of the community at the end of the second century AD (*Ibid*.). It has been, therefore, suggested that he was a member of the local community (Stoll 2001: 332-333). However, there is no evidence that tells us that he originated in this village. The fact that this soldier was considered the founder of the community can imply that he acquired this title probably because the Roman soldiers were offering protection from the bandits historically attested in Leja in the pre-provincial and probably in the provincial period (§ Ch.3, Ch.5.5.2 and Ch.6.3.1), and helped by completing the pre-existing temple. In a difficult, insecure situation in the region, this action was certainly seen as an advantage by the local people. This indicates a clear intent by the representative of the army to show integration with the local population as well as that Roman soldiers respected the local, pre-existing religious tradition. This was a policy of the Roman Empire towards local cults, carried out especially in the Near East (Beard *et al.* 1998: 339).

The significant role and function of this legion in the Hauran is also evident from its participation in the religious life of other rural cult centres. Its soldiers made a dedication in the temple of the Roman village of Phoena (modern-day Mismiyeh) (AD164-169/169-170) (Wadd 2525).

Written evidence indicates that this legion could have been stationed since the first century at Raphanea, which became its permanent military base from the second century (Pollard 2000: 24, 40, 42, 268, Sartre 2005: 60).
This legion, with other Syrian platoons, was often requested by the governor of Syria to support the Romans and suppress rebellions in Judaea after the end of the first century BC and, later, during the Jewish wars (the first one in AD66-73 and the second in AD115-117 and the third one in AD132-135) (Pollard & Berry 2012: 133-137, 145),

and to fight against the Parthians during the reign of Nero (AD54-68) (*Ibid.* 152) and in Mesopotamia in AD164 (Alföldy 1977: 181 and n.179).[172]

The presence of members of this legion as benefactors and dedicants in rural cult centres in the Hauran could suggest the occurrence of policing detachments of this legion in one or more villages in this region where its dedications are found, possibly the villages at Sanamein and Mismiyeh. These rural settlements were strategic points and on a route way to the Parthian territory and to the heart of Jewish revolts, i.e. Judaea, where revolts took place in the second century. In particular, these villages were close and connected to Damascus, from where a main Roman road led to Palmyra, which was well-connected to Dura Europos (a Parthian city) (Map 2.3); and the villages at Sanamein and Mismiyeh were immediately on the outskirts of what was Herodian territory (Leja and the northern part of the Djebel al'Arab) and were well-connected to Judaea and to Parthia through route-ways (Maps 3.7, 2.3). So, in case of Parthian or Jewish wars in which this legion participated, its soldiers could have moved quickly to either conflict area.

As pointed out above, this legion also had a local duty to control the territory of the Hauran and the road-ways crossed by bandits. Sanamein was a key-place where routes to Jordan and Damascus diverged and Mismiyeh was on the northern border of Leja, on the main Bosra-Damascus road (Map 3.7). The responsibility of this legion to control this route can be reinforced by the presence of an inn, specifically used by soldiers, at Mismiyeh (Wadd 2524, Isaac 1992: 136, 298) on this road when entering Leja (Map 3.7).

6.3.3.2. Dedicants

Other legions,[173] made dedications on a smaller scale in rural cult centres in the study area: these were the Third Legion Cyrenaica (a), the Tenth Legion Fretensis (b), the Cohort I (or II) Augusta (c), and the Fourth Legion Scythica (d).

a) Soldiers from the Third Legion Cyrenaica made written dedications to Zeus Ammon (the god protector of the legion) in the rural cult centre at Sur al-Laja (CIL III 13.604,

[172] Speidel (1998) for detailed information on the participation of this legion to wars and conflicts in the Near East and for list of inscriptions commissioned by members of this legion.

[173] A commander of the Herodian soldiers from Batanea made a dedication to a god Zeus Beelbaaros at 'Aqraba (North-West of Leja) (Sourdel 1957: 45), but it was not associated with a rural cult centre. The presence of Herodian soldiers in 'Aqraba can be explained as it was close to Basir (North-West of Leja) which was the Herodian military base (Jos. Ant. 17.2 1-2 (23-31), Dussaud 1927: 331, Schürer 1979: 14, Bazou 1986: 150 fig.1) (§ Ch.3.2.2, Ch.4.4.3.2).

PPUAES III A N797) and to Heracles in the rural temple at Breik (Suw. 1934 N20 pl. VIII, Mascle 1944 N20, Suw. 1991 INV20 [12] (5,31) and in the rural temple at Atil (north of the Djebel al-Arab close to the southern Leja) (Wadd 2374b, IGR III N1239).

This legion was present principally in the southern Leja and its immediate surroundings, probably due to the necessity to control this area which was crossed by bandits and to monitor the main Damascus-Bosra road, where also the temples at Breik and Atil were situated. This legion in particular controlled the southern section of this road, whereas the northern part was partially[174] supervised by the Third Legion Gallica (§ Ch.6.3.3.1, Ch.6.3.3.2.3, Ch.6.3.3.3). It is likely that the presence of the Third Legion Cyrenaica in this territory was facilitated by their headquarters being in Bosra (Speidel 1984: 691-692 ff.), at the southern end of the Damascus-Bosra road under their control.

The dedication by a member of this legion at Sur al-Laja can indicate the continuance of the military garrison attested in the pre-provincial period also in provincial times.[175]

As already discussed in the previous chapter (§ Ch.5.7.2), the presence of this legion in southern Leja in the late second-beginning of the third century AD is probably linked to two historical factors. One is the later annexation of this part of the Hauran to the Roman province of Arabia during the reign of Septimus Severus (the end of the second-beginning of the third century), which province already included the southern Hauran (Millar 1993: 123) (§ Ch.3). Secondly, this area, especially the village of Breik, was located along the main road connecting Damascus-Palmyra-Dura Europos. In particular, soldiers from this legion probably stopped here when going from Bosra to Dura Europos, where there was a vexillation of the Third Legion Cyrenaica in the third century AD (§ Ch.5.7.1).

b) In the sanctuary at Sī', a legionary of the Tenth Legion Fretensis[176] dedicated an inscribed altar to Zeus (Dunand 1926: 328 pl. LXIX, Suw. 1934 N15 pl. IX, Mascle 1944 N15, Sourdel 1957: 28, 64, Suw. 1991 INV 15 [190] 5,23).

This legion was first stationed at Cyrrhus (northern Syria) in AD17-28 (Sartre 2005: 60 note 61, Pollard & Berry 2012: 146). Then, in AD18-19, it reached Palmyra (Pollard &

[174] I mention in the main text that the northern part of the Hauran was partially supervised by the Third Legion Gallica because more than one inscription made by the Fourth Legion Scythica in this part of the study area indicates also the presence of this legion alongside the Third Legion Gallica (§ Ch.6.3.3.2.3).

[175] For further information of the presence of a military garrison at Sur al-Laja in the pre-provincial and provincial period and the worship of the god of this legion Zeus Ammon in this site, see Ch.3.3.1, Ch.4.2.4, especially Ch.5.7.1.

[176] Dąbrowa 1993 for detailed information of this legion and its officers in Judaea.

Berry 2012: 146).[177] This legion participated in the Parthian wars in AD55-60 (*Ibid*.), the Parthian expedition in AD113-117 (*Ibid.* 151), the first (AD66-70) and the third Jewish war (AD132-135), and in the siege of Masada in AD72 (*Ibid.* 146). After the first Jewish revolt (AD70) Jerusalem became the military base of this legion (Sartre 2005: 61 footnote 65, Pollard & Berry 2012: 146).

The presence of this legion at Sī' proves the persistence of the connection between the study area, especially this main sanctuary, and the Herodian territory, where this legion was based. The proof of the Herodian influence and its link with the sanctuary at Sī' is the statue there, dedicated in honour of the Herodian king, Agrippa II (AD53-93/94) (PAAES III 427b).

c) Soldiers from the Cohort[178] I (or II) Augusta commissioned an altar to Zeus recovered in the forecourt in front of temple 2 at Sī' (PPUAES II 769). It was probably the same Cohort I (or II) Augusta Thracum Equitata mentioned in five inscriptions found in the southern part of the study area (i.e. southern Hauran, northern Jordan and Negev desert).[179] It is the only Cohort I (or II) Augusta mentioned in Syria (Speidel 1984: 711).

The presence of this legion at Sī' suggests movements of soldiers of the Cohort I (or II) Augusta from the South to the North stopping at Sī'. This is probably justified by the fact that Sī' became a key centre of pilgrimage also for Roman soldiers. In the sanctuary was the major centre of veneration of Mithras in Southern Syria, and this god was particularly venerated by the Roman army (§ Ch.5.7.2). The central location of the sanctuary in the region made it accessible to soldiers stationed in different areas, e.g. from the South (the Cohort I (or II) Augusta), and from Jerusalem (the Tenth Legion Fretensis, roughly 100 km away). The other closest place of worship of Mithras was at

[177] This is based on an inscription commissioned by this legion that honoured the imperial family of the Emperor Tiberius and the diplomatic mission of his nephew Germanicus in this city (Pollard & Berry 2012: 146).
[178] It is a smaller unit of Roman soldiers (one tenth of a legion).
[179] It is mentioned in an undated inscription at Motha (Imtan) (southern Hauran) (Dunand 1926: 204-205, SEG VII 1192) and in inscriptions at Umm al-Quttein (northern Jordan), probably dated to the second century (Dunand 1926: 328, Kennedy 2004: 82), (Cohort I), an early second-century tomb plaque at Kurnub (Memphis) in the Negev Desert and Hallabat (c.25 S-W to Palmyra, Syria) (AD212) (Speidel 1984: 710-711, Kennedy 2004: 49).

Caesarea, on the Palestinian coast, therefore, less easily accessible for soldiers in this area (Gordon 2001) (Map 5.4).

d) Two inscriptions were set up by a centurion of the Fourth Legion Scythica in a small cult centre at Menara Henou (one inscription is dated before AD194, the other AD 161/162) (Speidel 1998 N32-33, Stoll 2001 N87). This small sanctuary, because it is the only building situated on the 40km-long main Roman road from Damascus to Bosra that crossed Leja (Map 3.7), can be considered a military stopping-place. It was probably necessary for the soldiers to worship when crossing and controlling this main route in Leja, because it was in the middle of a territory passed through by bandits from the pre-provincial period onwards (§ Ch.3-4).

A dedication to Helios Zeus Megistos by a soldier, possibly from the Fourth Legion Scythica, is also found in the sanctuary at Rimet Hazem, near to the Roman road (Wadd 2407, IGR III 1242, Speidel 1998 N36).

Initially this legion was probably stationed on the lower Danube (Speidel 1998: 165) and took part in some campaigns in the Balkans and contributed to the road-building of the Emperor Tiberius (road-detachment) in the Roman province of Pannoia in AD33 (*Ibid.*, Pollard & Berry 2012: 138). How this legion joined the garrison of Syria is unclear (*Ibid*.). However, it is known that Zeugma (northern Syria, close to the Commagene border, a crossing point on the Euphrates) was the post of this legion from around AD56 and became its permanent base in the second century AD (Sartre 2005: 61 note 63, Pollard 2000: 24, 40 note 16, Speidel 1998: 166-168).

This legion played a minor role in the first Jewish revolt, as it joined other legions only later in AD70, with the emperor Titus, for the siege of Jerusalem. There is no specific evidence of its involvement in the Parthian expeditions in AD113-117 but its participation is likely due to the location of its base at Zeugma and its detachment in the middle Euphrates fortress at Dura Europos (Pollard & Berry 2012: 138). It was involved in the Parthian wars with the Emperor Septimius Severus in 193-194 (*Ibid*. 141) and later with the Emperor Caracalla AD196-217 (*Ibid.* 142).

It contributed to building and engineering activities. For instance, it supervised the quarries at Arulis, 12 km upstream from Zeugma, and its vexillation built a fort at the modern village of Eskihisar on the east bank of the Euphrates in AD197, during the Parthian war under Septimius Severus (AD193-197) (*Ibid*. 141). It built, firstly, a

Mithraeum, in the first two decades of the third century AD, and, then, with the Third Legion Cyrenaica and the Sixteenth Flavia Firma, a small amphitheatre (no more than 1000 seats) at Dura Europos (Rostovtzeff *et al.* 1936: 77-80 N630, 1939: 85-87 N847). Here this legion had an outpost in the first half of the third century (Pollard & Berry 2012: 141).

The presence of this legion at Menara Henou and at Rimet Hazem can be explained because of an honorific inscription dedicated by the guild of Seenoi to Petronius Secundus (IGR III 1230, Speidel 1998 N35), who was a main officer of the Fourth Legion Scythica. It has been suggested that he was serving at Canatha before his appointment in Antioch (Speidel 1998: 185-187). The gratitude of the guild of Seenoi towards this soldier implies that he and his legion controlled the sanctuary at Sī', like the Third Legion Gallica from the nearby Mushannef, as well as the fact that he facilitated economic activities in this centre (§ Ch.7 for further information of the economic activities in this sanctuary).

Since this legion was stationed at Zeugma, which was quite a long way from the Hauran (about 450-500 km distant), their presence in this study area suggests that it was a key area for the legion, a section of land that the soldiers of this legion probably crossed several times and stopped by every year. This can be explained by a connection between this legion and the Third Legion Cyrenaica, originally based at Bosra, which is confirmed by the fact that they both contributed to the building of the amphitheatre at Dura Europos. The soldiers from the Fourth Legion Scythica which was stationed at Dura Europos would have necessarily crossed the Hauran to reach Bosra (Map 2.3).

6.3.3.3. Concluding remarks on dedications by Roman soldiers

The high quantity of dedications (fifteen) made by Roman soldiers in rural cult centres of the Hauran is an unambiguous indication of the military presence in the study area. This can be due to the combination of two factors: the regional necessities of armed forces and the key-location of the study area in the Roman military control of the Near East.

In the first case, the presence of soldiers in the study area was necessary to deal with bandits, historically attested and of unknown provenance, who were raiding Leja and the northern Djebel al'Arab, as well as to control the Roman roads that crossed the Hauran. This explanation can be confirmed by the concentration of dedications by

soldiers in rural cult centres on Roman route-ways, especially in area of the Leja and the northern part of the Djebel al'Arab.

With regards to the second factor, the Hauran was a crossing-point between the major battlefield territories in the provincial period: Judaea for the Jewish revolts and the Mesopotamian area for the Parthian wars. This is also proved by the Roman road-system that connected the study area with these two regions (Map 2.3). Archaeological evidence of military outposts in the study area consists of the *Mithraeum* religious complex (cult-place of Roman soldiers) at Sha'ârah and the ruins of a military garrison at Sur al'Laja dated to the pre-provincial period. The latter was probably also used in the provincial period, as the dedication by soldiers of the Third Legion Cyrenaica indicates.

The absence of physical archaeological evidence of other military outposts in the study area is the result of the lack of intensive fieldwork on sites where there are dedications made by soldiers, unlike the other two villages mentioned above. The villages where dedications made by soldiers have been recovered in rural cult centres were probably military outposts because of their strategic location. The villages at Sanamein and at Mismiyeh were situated on routes ways that could lead to the Parthian territory and to Judaea, the heart of Jewish revolts; Menara Henou and Breik were on the main Bosra-Damascus road.

The distribution of inscriptions made by soldiers indicates a geographical division of the northern and southern part of the study (Map 6.3).

Soldiers from the South of the Hauran (i.e. the Third Legion Cyrenaica, the Cohort I (or II) Augusta, the Tenth Legion Fretensis) were mostly attested in Djebel al-Arab up to the southern Leja. Instead, soldiers from farther away in northern Syria (the Third Legion Gallica and the Fourth Legion Scythica) made dedications in more adjacent areas, such as Leja and the north of Djebel al-Arab.

The impact of the Third Legion Cyrenaica in the southern part of the Hauran is justified by the presence of its military base at Bosra. The major impact of the third legion Gallica and the presence of the Fourth Legion Scythica in the north-central part of the study area can be explained by their military bases in northern Syria.

This geographical division into two parts is dated before AD194 taking into account the dating of the inscriptions commissioned by soldiers from different legions in rural cult centres in the Hauran. This could be the result of the division of the study area into two

Roman provinces (Syria and Arabia) until AD194, when the northern part was annexed to the Roman province of Arabia to which the southern part of the Hauran already belonged (§ Ch.3).

The fact that a member of the Third Legion Gallica commissioned the *temenos* and/or its gate at Mushannef and finished the temple at Sanamein indicates the significant financial contribution of this legion in these rural cult centres. This can be explained because it can be considered a "privileged" legion as it was commanded by Avidius Cassius, who became the governor of the Roman province of Syria (Alföldy 1977: 181 and n.179, Dąbrowa 1996: 280).[180] His importance in the Hauran can also be attested, for instance, in two inscriptions which use the year of his governorship, rather than that of the rule of the emperor, to date the inscription (Wadd 2212, PAAES III N380a, N381, Dunand 1933: 539-540, Speidel 1998 N34, Stoll 2001 N88).
The major patronage of members of this legion in rural cult centres at Mushannef and Sanamein was a sign of the Roman political presence as well as a statement of military control and protection, not only of these two sanctuaries and villages, but also of the nearby sanctuary of Sī' (15 km away from Mushannef) that was the main rural religious centre in the area in the provincial period as well.

6.4. Concluding remarks on benefactors in the Hauran

The analysis of inscriptions in rural cult centres of the Hauran, in the case where it has been possible to identify the ethnic group of origin or belonging to a certain group (for instance, legions), has indicated that benefactors and dedicants were either members of local village communities or non-local individuals, depending on the location of these religious centres. Members from regional urban settlements were, instead, not involved in the building or dedication of rural temples. This implies the autonomy of the rural sanctuaries from nearby cities.

Local village communities financed small rural cult centres in the provincial period which were situated in the heart of Leja and not placed on route-ways. These

[180] His family came from Cyrrhus (northern Syria on the border with Turkey) (*Dio Cassio* 71.22.2; SHA Marc. Aur. 25-12) and he might have been born in Alexandria, where his father, Avidius Helidorus, held the post of Prafectus Aegypti (Syme 1985: 343-344, 1987: 215-216). Avidius Cassius was in charge of the Third Legion Gallica in the Roman expedition against the Parthians in Mesopotamia in AD164 (Alföldy 1977: 181 and n.179). He received the governorship of Syria in AD166 (CIL IX N2995).

sanctuaries, therefore, could have not been stopping-points which would attract non-local people, but they were centres of social interaction at a local regional scale.

In the pre-provincial period major benefactors of rural cult centres in the Hauran were non-local individuals. They were members of the tribe of Kasiu of which Malikat belonged to "Safaitic" groups, as these benefactors' names appear in "Safaitic" graffiti and they financed temples dedicated to Allat or Baalshamin who were the main deities worshipped by "Safaitic" groups.

According to inscriptions that commemorate the buildings of these rural temples, the appearance of "Safaitic" groups in the study area occurred initially in the first century BC-first century AD. In particular, the ethnic group from "Safaitic" groups commissioned the main rural pre-provincial cult centres in the study area, i.e. the ones at Sī' and Saalkad, respectively, in the Herodian and Nabataean territory. This implies that it was an important and well-known ethnic group across the Hauran; its presence in Herodian and Nabataean territory means that there was no ethnic differentiation in the two territories. It is impossible to speculate on the impact of this ethnic group in the main cult centre in Leja, at Sahr, due to the lack of written evidence to inform us on its benefactors (§ Ch.4.4.3.2).

Distinct evidence of the Nabataean impact on the presence in the patronage of pre-provincial cult centres cannot be traced according to the naming of benefactors and dedicants. Names used by major benefactors in cult centres in the Hauran were more frequent in "Safaitic" graffiti than in Nabataean inscriptions, which were recovered within the study-area on the outskirts of the Nabataean kingdom. Furthermore, the occasional presence of the same name in "Safaitic" graffiti and Nabataean inscriptions is the consequence of the "Safaitic" groups' connection with the Nabataeans. The former occasionally adopted the main Nabataean god Dushara, they were aware of and recorded the main events and wars in Nabataean history, and their writing came from the same Semitic root.

In the provincial period, Roman soldiers from five different legions from the North, South and South-East of the Roman province of Syria made dedications in rural cult centres in the Hauran, situated in militarily strategic places, mostly on Roman routes. These legions were the Third Legion Gallica, the Third Legion Cyrenaica, the Tenth Legion Fretensis, the Cohort I (or II) Augusta, and the Fourth Legion Scythica. Their

occurrence in these cult centres was, in fact, to control major roads to protect Leja and the northern Djebel al'Arab from bandits. Furthermore, the presence of these legions in the Hauran was probably caused by the geographical position of the region here investigated, between two major battlefield-areas for the Romans (the Parthian territory and Judaea, the heart of Jewish revolts) where the legions attested in the study area were militarily involved. Additionally, the use of Roman names by dedicants of rural temples was widespread across the whole Hauran in the provincial period, including the sanctuary at Sahr which, despite the limited number of the inscriptions, had a fragmentary epigraphy that can inform us that most likely whoever wrote this inscription had a Roman name. This was due to the persistence of a military presence in this sanctuary at Sahr from the Herodian (according to the recovery of the Herodian soldiers' statues) to the Roman period.

The presence of soldiers and individuals with Roman names indicates the Roman impact on the rural cult centres, although they appear to have respected local religious places as they mostly made dedications on a small scale, like altars or commissioning a doorway, to pre-existing rural cult centres, but also in order to state their presence and power. The major benefaction of soldiers from the Third Legion Gallica appears only in the sanctuary at Mushannef and in the temple at Sanamein, probably because this legion was commanded by Avidius Cassius, the governor of the Roman province of Syria, respected and renowned also by the soldiers who made dedications in the Hauran.

This study has indicated the presence of "Safaitic" groups in rural cult centres in the pre-provincial period, of Roman soldiers from different parts of the Near East and of people, and of people who had Roman names as dedicants in rural temples in the provincial period. This suggests that these main rural cult centres were centres of social interaction on a wider geographical scale than just for local communities. Therefore, they were important key-centres, independent from the regional cities, according to epigraphic evidence. As a consequence, these centres could have had a complex internal organization and engaged in economic activities undertaken near the sanctuaries. These will be aspects investigated in the next chapter (§ Ch.7).

Chapter 7: Economic activities and self-sufficiency of rural sanctuaries in the Hauran

7.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to understand the economic role of rural sanctuaries in the Hauran. The economic activities that have been identified will be here discussed in the following order:

- Cultivation (§ Ch.7.2.1),
- Wine-production (§ Ch.7.2.2),
- Pottery manufacture (§ Ch.7.3),
- Markets (§ Ch.7.4).

The recognition of economic activities associated with cult centres has been achieved through a multidisciplinary approach that combines the study of archaeological evidence with the analysis of the landscape and inscriptions.

By archaeological evidence for economic activities we refer to:

- Palaeoenvironmental data which might inform us of the type of agriculture near the sanctuaries in the pre-provincial and provincial period;
- Remains of wine-presses and amphorae in the proximity of cult centres to show the occurrence of wine-production;
- Concentrations of local ceramics and production waste near temples to indicate the presence of pottery manufacture;
- The multi-structure complex of a sanctuary, including the presence of a theatre in its proximity, that implies its role as a centre of pilgrimage, as well as evidence of religious festivals. This set of archaeological evidence may suggest the presence of periodic markets as they were often associated with religious festivals in major cult centres (§ Ch.7.4 for a complete explanation).

Landscape analysis, in general, consists of the study of the socio-economic activities associated with rural sanctuaries and in relation to the surrounding villages, urban settlements and the road-system (i.e. spatial differentiation) as well as water supply (§ Ch.1.4.3 for further details). Economic activities were essential for the survival and running of cult centres not belonging to a settlement (§ Ch.1.4.3 for further details).

In order to have a more complete understanding of economic activities, the presence of temple personnel with largely secular roles will be the final point of discussion of this chapter (§ Ch.7.5), as it will provide information on the complex organizational system of rural cult centres. The presence of personnel with managerial roles, mentioned in a few dedicatory inscriptions, strongly suggests that a sanctuary would have had its own income for which a specific individual would have been responsible. This demonstrates the sanctuaries' potential for economic self-sufficiency.

7.2. Cultivation and wine production

Evidence of agriculture and of wine production associated with the sanctuary at Sī' will be sought, before assessing whether or not they were controlled and managed by the sanctuary itself.

7.2.1. Evidence of agriculture

The following evidence will be discussed: written sources, archaeological remains (i.e. field systems, palaeoenvironmental data and cisterns, in the pre-provincial and provincial times), and iconographic and decorative elements that suggest the importance of cultivation in the area of Sī'.

Viniculture is historically attested in this region and in neighbouring Palestine by Pliny the Elder (historian in AD 23/4–79) (*NH* 17, 35: 184-185).

This type of cultivation in the Hauran in the third century AD is also confirmed by an edict by the Emperor Probus (AD276–282) against theft of vines from an unknown site in Djebel al-Arab (IGR III 1341). Non-dated inscriptions and one from the fifth century mention the occurrence and the importance of viniculture in the Hauran (Dussaud & Macler 1901 N84, 1903 470 N46, Sartre-Fauriat 2001: 276 N152).

This set of written records is supported by archaeological evidence showing that the cultivation of this crop was widespread in the Djebel al-Arab from the Bronze Age onwards (Braemer 1990). According to French military aerial photographs of the area taken in the 1930s, terraces reconstructed over time in the valley of the wadi aṣ-Ṣaayyigh, to the East of Sī', show that the exploitation of the territory had not changed for centuries (Dentzer *et al*. 2003: 165). This is also proved by the presence of fossilized terraces identified during the investigation of this terrain in the 1970s (*Ibid*.).

In particular, environmental samples from the Hellenistic and Roman strata (first-second century AD) of temple 2, a house (n.101) in the settlement attached to the sanctuary, and a test-pit – called test-pit D (see below for further details) – from the northern slope of the hill of Sī' have shown evidence of the burnt remains of vines dated mainly to the first century-third century AD (Willcox 2003: specifically 184, table 2, fig.10).

Therefore, the land that surrounds the sanctuary at Sī' has been always highly cultivated, with vineyards of particular importance, from the Bronze Age to the present day (Villeneuve 1986, Braemer 1990, Dentzer *et al.* 2003: 165 ff.).

This cultivation throughout the centuries has been possible thanks to the presence of a water supply in the territory. There are three small cisterns (15x25m near Sī', 10x8m and 30x20m near the workshop) and a main reservoir (roughly 40x35m) in the valley in the surroundings of Sī' 8 (Freyberger 2009) (Figure 10). Freyberger (2009) reconstructed the irrigation system for the lands of Sī' in the Roman period in which these reservoirs are included (Figure 1).

There is no archaeological evidence of a complex irrigation system, apart from the recovery of a fragment from the water channel on the eastern end of the agglomeration, used in the first-third century AD, attached to the sanctuary; the inclination of the channel towards the settlement indicates that this water system was used for the houses of this agglomeration and probably extended to the sanctuary (Dentzer 1985: 75-76, 78) (Figures 10).

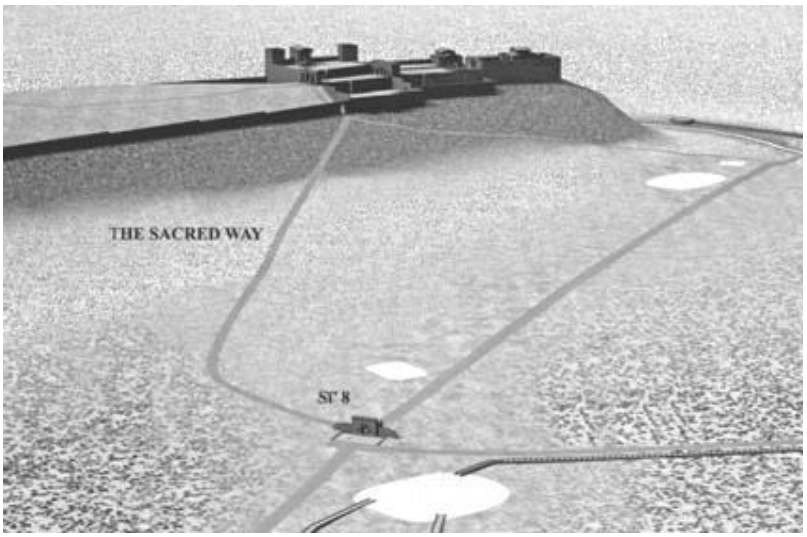


Figure 1: Reconstruction of the erection of the sanctuary of Sī' to the Sī' 8 through the sacred way. It shows the presence of more than one birkat (reservoirs) (the several white patches in the image) in the surroundings of the sanctuary (after Freyberger 2009: 287 Fig.20).

Although the reservoirs mentioned above are currently in use, from the available evidence we can, nevertheless, suggest that these were also in use in the past. This is especially the case in the pre-provincial and provincial periods, where a complex water-system would have been required if we consider the exploitation of the land of Sī' at that time (§ Ch.7.2.2). The water probably came from the nearest spring, roughly 250-300 metres away from the sanctuary, and the wadi (a dry channel apart from rainy seasons), roughly 200 metres distant. The water from the wadi would have come from a spring catchment farther out, roughly 2km to the North-West of the sanctuary (Braemer *et al.* 2009, Braemer 1988).

Furthermore, the presence of a fountain in the courtyard 3 at Sī' (Dentzer-Feydy 2010b) can imply that the sanctuary had enough water not only for non-primary needs but also for entertainment and aesthetic value.

Furthermore, iconographic and decorative elements suggest that this cultivation was important for the religious cultural tradition and the everyday life of the people from the Hauran. Vines and grapes are used as the main floral decoration in pre-provincial and provincial temples and houses in Southern Syria, including the sanctuary at Sī' (Dentzer-Feydy 1989: 463, 2003: 95-97) (§ Ch.4.4.1.2). The importance that the sanctuary at Sī' attributed to the lands and vines is attested by the representation of the local goddess of the land and of vines, Seia, named after the place of the sanctuary (PPUAES III A N767, Dentzer-Feydy 1979). A fragmentary statue of this deity presents the depiction of vine branches and grapes under her feet (PPUAES II A6: ill. 337) (Figure 2).

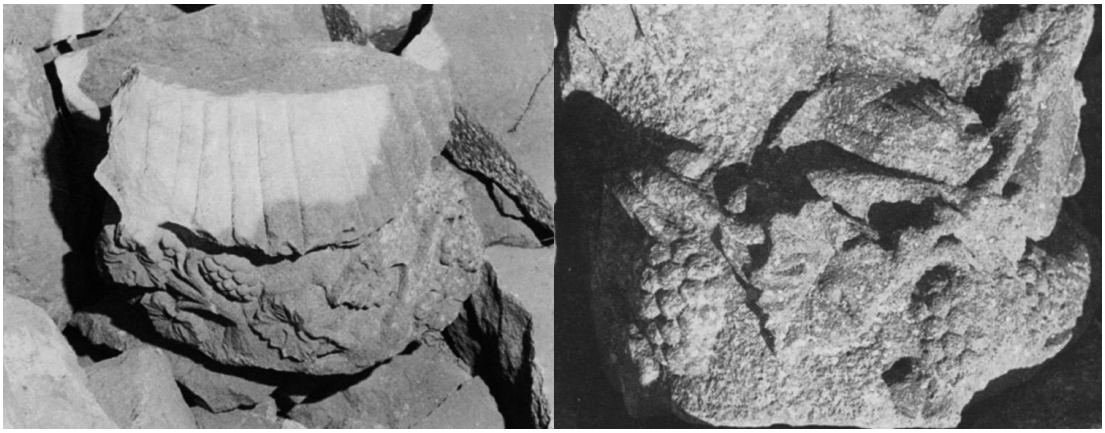


Figure 2: The base of the statue attributed to the goddess Seia (after Dentzer-Feydy 1979: 330)

7.2.2. Evidence of wine-production

The presence of wine-production in the terrain around the sanctuary at Sī' is proved by the recovery of presses in its proximity and of amphorae at Sī'.

The twenty ancient presses recovered in the surrounding area of the cult centre, roughly within a radius of 2 km , were most likely used for wine production and not for oil production (Dentzer *et al*. 2003: 169) (Figure 3) for the following reasons. Firstly, viniculture is the main type of cultivation in the northern Djebel al'Arab and the proximity of the sanctuary at Sī' at the present time and in the past, whereas there is no evidence of olive trees (Willcox 2003). Secondly, vines and grapes are part of the local cultural tradition. Thirdly, there is no evidence of the mechanical means to crush olives in the area under examination, such as mortars, pestles or rotary crushers (Frankel 1999). Lastly, presses were found in the middle of vineyards (*Ibid.* 166), so grapes were directly transformed into finished goods (wine) in the fields.

There are different types of wine-presses: complex, simple, two examples (Sī' 91, 1-2) that combine the two categories just mentioned, and others the remains of which the preserved remains do not permit classification. The first type consists of square or rectangular vats with a tower at the front of the press as a lodge used for the keeper of the press (Figure 4). Three of this type have been recovered in the proximity of Sī': one at the Sī' 8 that was reused in later period as a wine-press, south of the sanctuary of Sī' on the plateau that overlooks the valley of wadi ar-Rum (press 353) and 100m far north-west of Sī' 8 (press Sī' 21) (Dentzer *et al*. 2003: 121 ff., 129 ff. 131 ff., 139 ff.) (Figure 3). The second type (simple wine-presses) consists of a central area connecting round vats of different size with a tower in front of this structure. The distribution of vats within the wine-press is arbitrary as it does not follow a clearly designed structure (*Ibid.* 128-129, 149 ff.) (Figure 5). They are concentrated in the south of the sanctuary in the wadi ar-Rum (the exact number is not mentioned) and on the route to Suweida (two examples) (*Ibid.* 128).

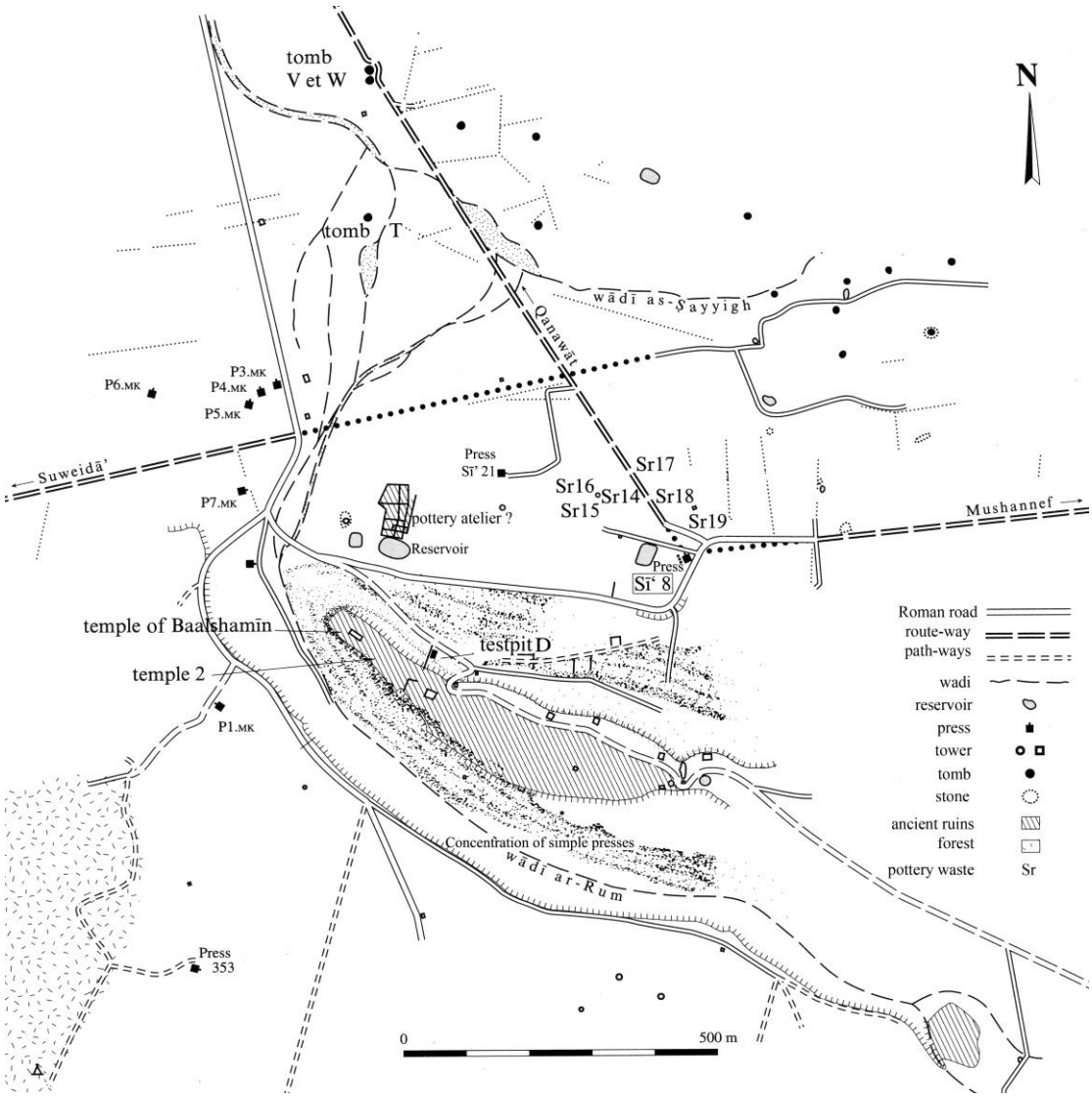


Figure 3: Plan of the sanctuary at Sī', presses and surroundings (Dentzer *et al.* 2003: 216 fig.11)

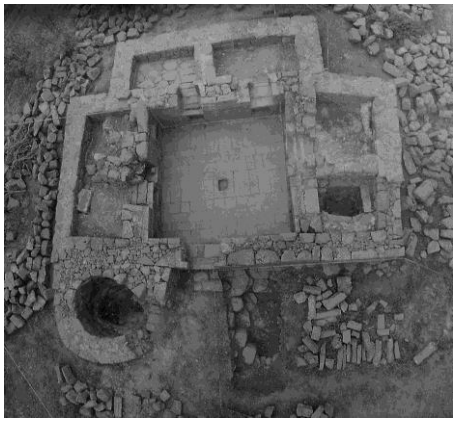


Figure 4: Press 353 (after Dentzer *et al.* 2003: Pl.106)

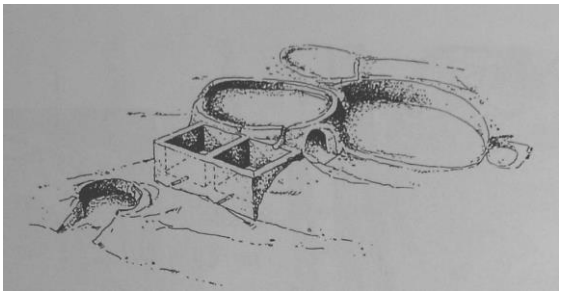


Figure 5: Simple press in the area of Sī' (after Dentzer *et al.* 2003: Pl.122: 1)

These different types of presses indicate the technological evolution of this industry, which may suggest a chronological evolution from simple to more complex presses (*Ibid.* 169). However, only two wine-presses have been dated because they have been excavated. They are the complex wine-press built in the earlier sanctuary Sī' 8, which is dated to the late Umayyad period (first half of the eighth century AD) (Blanc 2003: 35), and the complex press 353 dated to the fifth century AD (Dentzer *et al.* 2003: 139, 145). These two examples and the complex-presses have been compared with the similar Byzantine or Umayyad presses from nearby Palestine (Avi'am 1986-1987, Frankel 1999, Ayalon *et al.* 2009, Dentzer *et al.* 2003: 157-162, 168). The layout of the simple presses merely resembles the ones recovered in the northern Djebel al'Arab, in the South of Shahaba, the chronology and the wine production of which is unknown to us (Dentzer *et al.* 2003: 128, 142 Pl.116) (Figure 6). It can be here suggested that these simple presses were from the first-third century because of their simpler structure than the complex ones dated to a later period (Byzantine and Umayyad times), the existing evidence of viniculture in this area at Sī' in that period as proven by ecofacts, written sources, iconographic and decorative elements and amphorae.

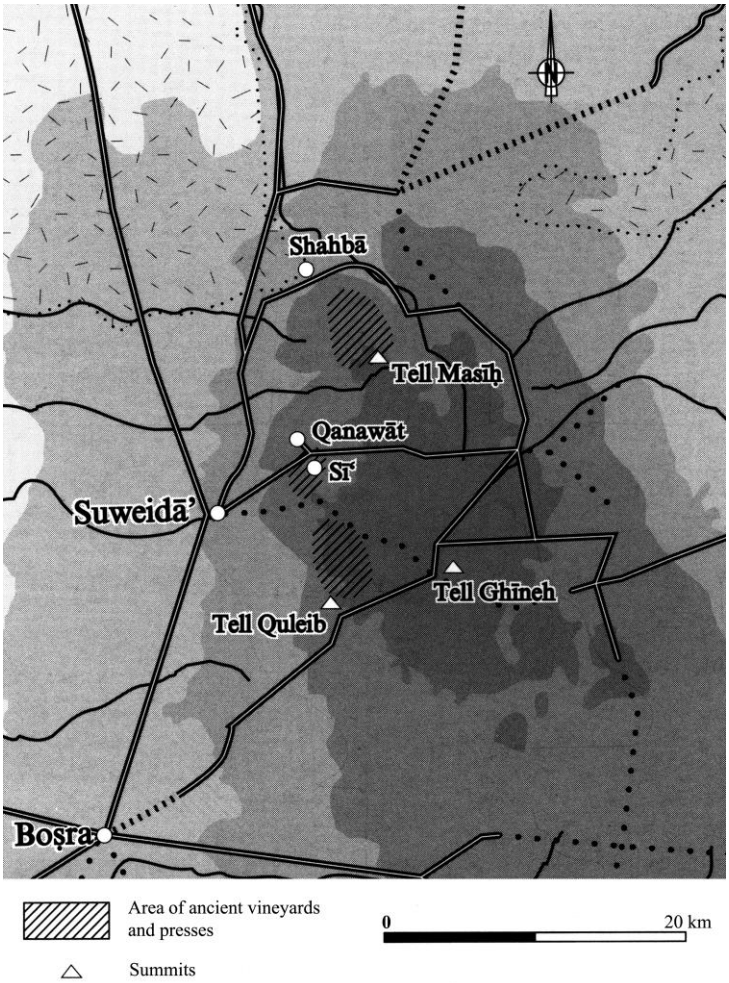


Figure 6: Presence of vineyards and presses in ancient times in the Djebel al'Arab (after Dentzer *et al.* 2003: Pl.95.1)

Although the available information on amphorae is limited due to the quality and quantity of published data, we can put forward some suggestions based on these finds. There are three types of locally produced amphorae (§ Ch.7.4 for its local production in the proximity of the sanctuary at Sī') (Orssaud 1986: 243-245 pl.5.6-23). The first one consists of a short neck amphora with a bead-rim (i.e. rounded moulding) or with a rim consisting of two unequal beads (*Ibid.* Pl.5.6-13). The chronology of this category of amphora and the strata of the test-pit where an example was found are not mentioned. The second type has a taller neck than the first type and its rim has more than one moulding. It has been provisionally dated to the first century BC, based on a comparison with material recovered from the tombs in Sī' 8 (*Ibid.* 243, 245 Pl.5.14-16). The third type consists of a small amphora with a tall neck to which two handles are attached. As this type is recovered in strata later than layers 7-8 of the test-pit where the second

category of amphorae is found, we might assume that this should be dated to the first century AD (*Ibid*. Pl.5 17-23) (Figure 7).

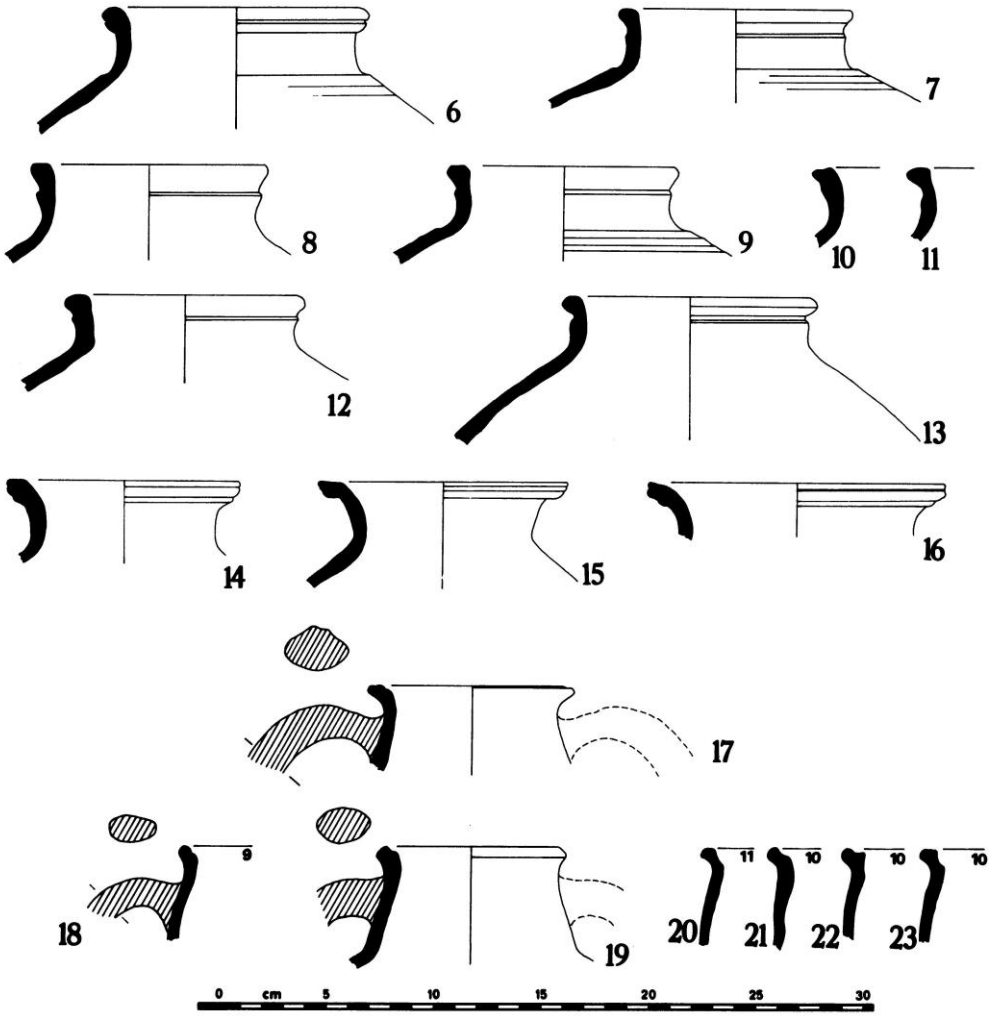


Figure 7: Table of amphorae recovered at Sī' (after Orssaud 1986: Pl.5)

All the three categories of amphorae have been recovered in the test-pit D (roughly 2 by 4 metres), which is a multi-strata section (from the first century BC to the eighth century AD) of the slope in the north-eastern side of forecourt 3 of the sanctuary complex, where there are ruins of wall-structures, some of which would have been wall-terraces (Orssaud 1986: 236-238) (Figure 5).

The first and the third categories of amphora forms, mentioned above, possibly dated from the first century AD onwards, with similar local fabric of the ones from Sī' (fabric type A) (§ Ch.7.4 for further information) are also found in a residential area at Bosra in

the strata dated from the first century to late Roman/Byzantine period (Table 7.1). This indicates a common regional origin and or the export of amphorae (and the wine) produced in Sī' to Bosra (§ Ch.7.4 for further information of local pottery production at Sī'), as Bosra was principally producing grain, and there is no evidence of wine production there in this period (Willcox 2010).

7.2.3. Evidence of the control of the sanctuary at Sī' over the cultivated fields and wine-production

We can argue that the sanctuary at Sī' owned and was in charge of vineyards and wine-presses in its proximity because of its location on the top of a hill surrounded by a landscape where viniculture was diffused and because of its autonomy over the relatively nearby settlements.

A similar example of a cult centre in a predominantly agricultural location is the temple of Zeus Madbachos in Šeih Bara kāt in the Limestone Massif in the northern hinterland of Syria, where the village of Herbet Šeih Bara kāt is situated at the bottom of the hill (Tchalenko1953-58: 106-7-8). It has been suggested that this sanctuary owned the surrounding cultivable fields because of its location in relation to these fields and the village (Millar 1993: 251-254) (Figures 8-9).

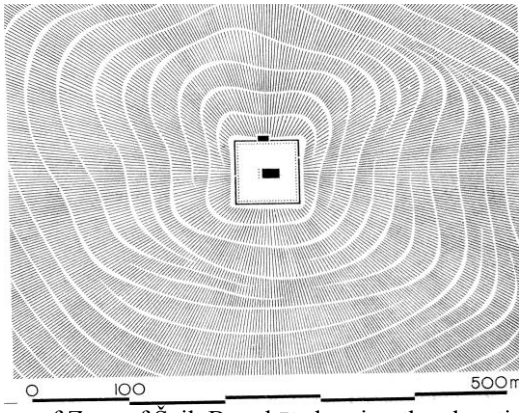


Figure 8: Plan of the sanctuary of Zeus of Šeih Bara kāt showing the elevation at the top of the mountain (Tchalenko 1953-58: Plate CXXXI, 18)

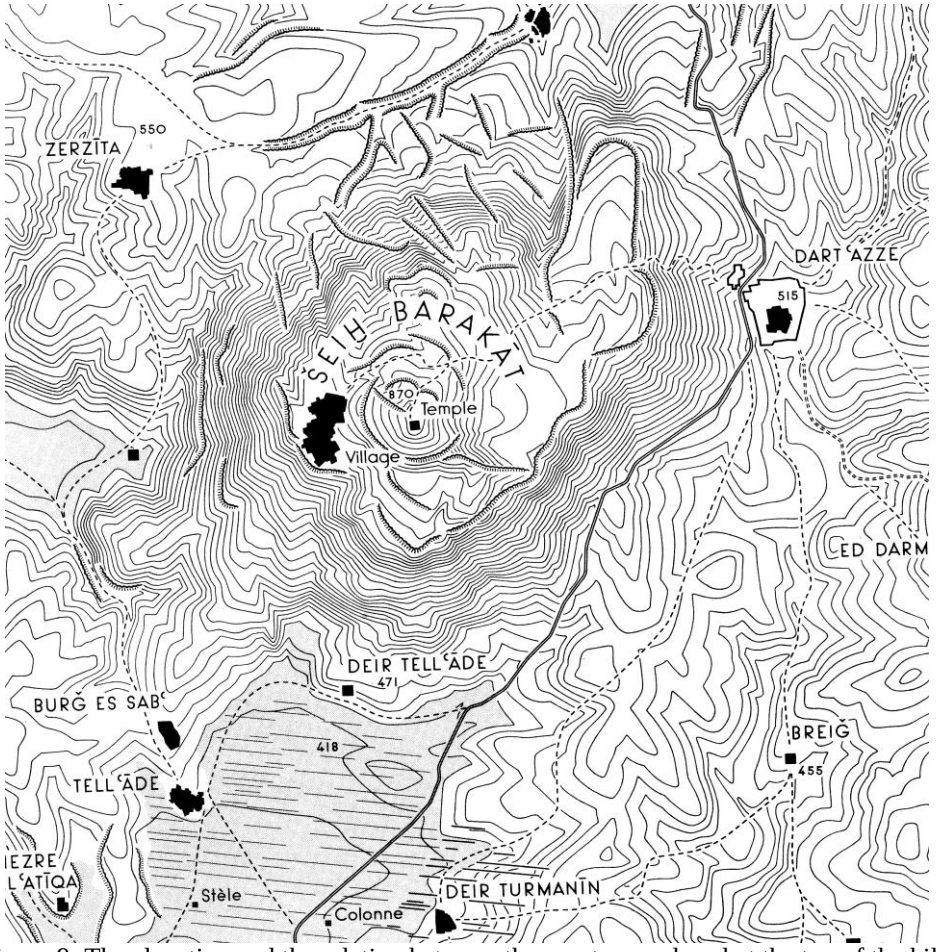


Figure 9: The elevation and the relation between the sanctuary, placed at the top of the hill, and the village Herbet Šeih Bara kāt, at the bottom (Tchalenko 1953-58: Plate XLI)

Additionally, despite the relative close proximity (from 2 km to 15 km distant) of the two cities of Canatha (Qanawat) and Dionysias (Suweida) and the village at Mushannef to the sanctuary at Sī' and their connection with the sanctuary through route-ways, the inscriptions recovered in this sanctuary suggest that this was not dependent on the nearby settlements. This can be confirmed by the fact that the economy of the nearby cities developed much later (second-third centuries AD) than the pre-provincial sanctuary (§ Ch.4.8, Ch.5.8, Ch.6.2.2). The location of Canatha and Mushannef within the road-system suggests, instead, that these depended on the sanctuary. Their route-ways were connected only to the sanctuary and not to the main Bosra-Damascus road. Dionysias was a nodal point on the main road in the provincial period, but it did not seem to have any control over the surrounding lands of the rural cult centre and the sanctuary itself, according to inscriptions (§ Ch.4.8, Ch.5.8, Ch.6.2.2) (Map 3.7).

In the pre-provincial and provincial periods the vine-yards and wine-presses that surrounded the sanctuary were likely to have been administered by the people that lived in the agglomeration of simple houses attached to the sanctuary on its south-eastern side (Figure 10). This settlement cannot be considered a village, due to its size (roughly 500 metres by 150 metres) (Dentzer 1985: 78 fig.1) and because it consisted of a cluster of buildings attached to the sanctuary. A local community of Seenoi, named after the place and the sanctuary Sī', is mentioned in a dedicatory inscription from the sanctuary, but it is not referred to as a village community, unlike other examples in the Hauran (§ Ch.6.2.1). This agglomeration of houses looks like an extension of the sanctuary's last courtyard on the extreme south-eastern side (forecourt 3). This structural link indicates a strong relationship between the inhabitants of this agglomeration and the sanctuary. This is confirmed by the chronology of this settlement that was built and in use at the same time as the cult centre. Therefore, the people that lived there probably worked for the sanctuary – see below for identification of these people in the discussion of the temple personnel (§ Ch.7.5.1-2).

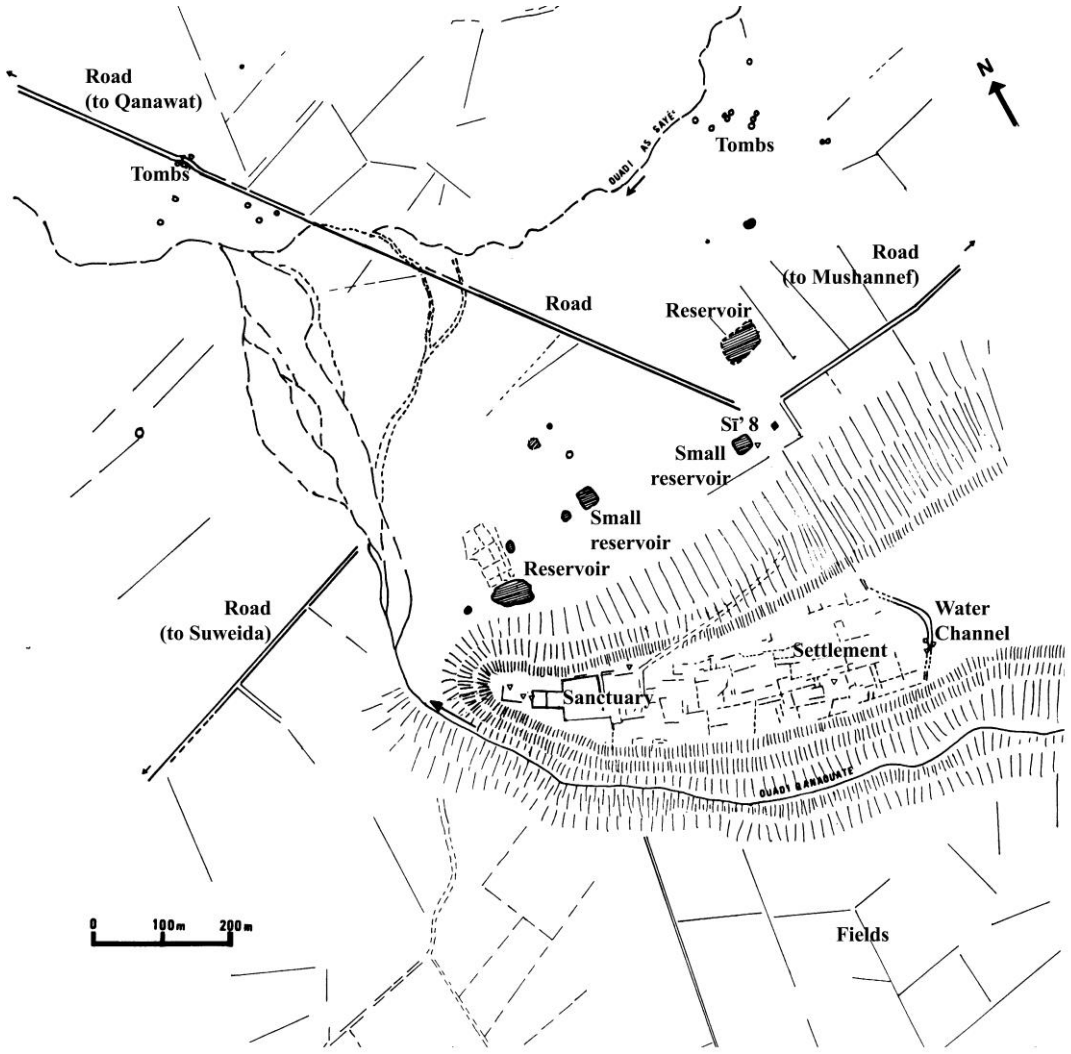


Figure 10: Plan of the sanctuary at Sī' in relationship with the settlement and its surroundings (after Dentzer 1985 fig.1)

7.3. Pottery production

Pottery production can be associated with the sanctuary at Sī' due to the amount of pottery recorded on the site and the pottery waste identified in the area.

The majority of pottery recovered at Sī' and in its immediate surroundings belonged to a local production centre as such pots were made with local clay. Fabric types were conventionally named A, A1 and C, imitations of imported pottery (S1) and of Nabataean pottery (N) (Table 7.2).

90% of the pottery assemblage here recovered is of fabric type A: this is dark red to orange in colour, compact and homogenous. It comes from a basaltic terrain as it has inclusions, visible to the naked eye, that are grains of basalt. It is often polished in horizontal parallel bands, and polished on the potter's wheel. This type includes a wide

variety of forms; examples are coarse and cooking pots, jars, pitchers, plates, and amphorae. It was used over a long period of time (from the late first century BC to the first half of the eighth century AD).
The fabric type A1 is similar to type A, but it is only red in colour, dark red at the centre and it is dated to the first century BC.
The fabric type C is used for grey coarse vessels, frequently used in the Hellenistic period (second-first century BC) for storage (diameter 22-25 cm).
The type S1, dated to the first century AD, is a mediocre local imitation of Roman fine ware as its fabric varies from white to beige in colour and is sometimes red or orange slipped (Orssaud *et al.* 2003). Its slipware is not uniform and sometimes it is possible to see the fingerprints and the marks from the potter's wheel (Table 7.2).

Six areas of local pottery production with wasters were concentrated roughly 50 m away from Sī' 8 on the North and north-western side (Orssaud 2003: 216 Fig.11) (Figure 5); they can be identified as places of local pottery manufacture near the sanctuary. Additionally, a ruin with multi-room structure (roughly 25 by 40 metres) 400 m away from Sī' 8 on the East and which produced quantities of ceramic production waste was used as a pottery workshop (Orssaud 2003: 216 Fig.11). The location of this structure next to a reservoir reinforces the presence of pottery production as the latter required water (Figure 12).

The proximity of this pottery workshop and pottery waste to the sanctuary indicates that the cult centre, and thus the people who lived in the attached settlement, were producing this pottery for their subsistence, local use and possibly regional export in Djebel al'Arab[181]. Various forms (e.g. amphorae, bottles, jars, pitchers and cooking ware) of the predominant type from Sī' (fabric A) are also found at Bosra, from strata of a residential area dated from the first century AD to the Byzantine period (Table 7.1) (Wilson & Sa^{c}d 1984: 61, 66, 72-73). This indicates pottery export activities from Sī' to Bosra and not vice versa, as there is hardly any pottery from Bosra (apart from two fragments of body sherds) recorded at Sī' (Table 7.2).

[181] The few pottery finds from Leja, especially in the sanctuary at Sahr, although having a similar fingerprint design to the ones from Sī' (fingerprint pattern consisting of wavy decoration on the darkened neck of jars), have a different fabric (i.e. light and dense basaltic grey) from the ones at Sī' (i.e. red-orange). This suggests local production in Leja and its ateliers could have probably been along the western border of Leja (Renel 2010: 528-529 Fig.11.7).

7.4. Markets

To be able to assess the presence of markets in rural cult centres in the Hauran, it is necessary to find an alternative research method from the current scholarly approach, which is so far based only on written sources that directly mention commercial activities. The absence of written evidence that explicitly mentions commercial activities associated with sanctuaries does not imply that these activities did not take place.

In the example of Baetocaece, written evidence of these activities in the Near East is available due to the context in which these occurred. A decree affixed outside the main doorway of the sanctuary mentioning periodic markets was produced as a consequence of quarrels between the nearby cities where the goods originated and the sanctuary, in order to guarantee that the privileges of tax-free commerce in the sanctuary were respected (§ Ch.2.4.1, Ch.2.5). Another example is in the modern state of Israel, where Jewish written sources mention periodic markets only because they were associated with pagan cults which the Jewish religious community prohibited (Cohn 2011). From these examples we see how written documents were often produced as the result of issues linked with the political and social situation of the time, although this does not exclude the presence of other markets that were not affected by, or did not have to deal with, the above or similar issues.

Additionally, unlike wine or pottery production, it is difficult to identify commercial activities associated with sanctuaries through archaeological evidence. This is because these took place in periodic markets (*nundinae*), which means that trade and exchange were both conducted on a small scale (Berry 1967: 93) and episodic. According to written sources markets, in fact, took place every two weeks in the case of the sanctuary at Baetocaece (§ Ch.2.5). There are also examples, like fairs and religious festivals linked to the cult of the goddess Feronia in Italy in Roman times (modern-day Capena in central part of Italy), where fairs connected to religious festivals took place only once a year (Frayn 1993: 135-136). Therefore, a permanent structure was not essential: wooden stalls would have been temporarily placed in wide empty spaces (Berry 1967: 93, Zelener 2000: 227).

The alternative method here proposed consists of: firstly, seeking overlooked non-written evidence of markets which can be gained from written sources (i.e. evidence of religious festivals associated with markets), and secondly, contextualizing the cult centre within its natural and socio-economic surrounding area. The location of the sanctuary, i.e. on a road-way (e.g. Sī') or isolated in a non-exploitable terrain (e.g. Sahr), could have facilitated or determined the necessity of periodic markets respectively (§ Ch.7.4.1.1-2 for further information). In order to have a more complete understanding of this topic, we will use a comparative approach by looking at examples of markets associated with a cult centre from a region close to the study area that had a common historical background with the Hauran. This is the case of the modern state of Israel as it was under Herodian authority before the Roman arrival, like the study area. It was also a territory where markets were historically associated with cult centres.

Although scholars have acknowledged the presence of markets or fairs in cult centres associated with religious festivals, they have failed to use this connection between commercial and religious activities as a starting point to identify the presence of a market. This connection is an important and common pattern visible in various places in the Mediterranean and Near East in Hellenistic and Roman times. These range from examples in Italy, North Africa and Asia Minor (de Ligt 1993) to cases in the modern state of Israel (Cohn 2011).

Periodic markets were held during significant social events, especially religious festivals. Merchants would have profited from the large numbers of people attending the event and in some cases they would have benefitted from a tax-reduction on their sales, as the latter took place in a sacred area, as written sources indicate (Macmullen 1970: 335 ff.), like in the case of the sanctuary at Baetocaece (§ Ch.2.5).

Looking at periodic markets during religious festivals in Israel, Jewish sources recorded the presence of markets associated with sanctuaries from the second quarter of the second century AD onwards in an attempt to close down periodic markets and fairs in cult centres because they were connected to a pagan cult (Cohn 2011). Jewish religious tradition was against pagan cults (as it professed the worship of the god of the Bible) (§ Ch.5.5), The presence of records concerning markets at that time was linked to the need of Jewish religious officials to restrict pagan cults after Jerusalem became a Roman colony under the Emperor Hadrian (Millar 1993: 105), because this could have brought the increase and spread of pagan religious cults amongst the population in this territory.

Jewish sources do not mention the time when markets during religious festivals started to emerge and whether they started in this period. These markets most likely took place at an earlier period than Roman times, for example, under Herodian kingdom, because of the following two facts. Firstly, people in this area – modern Israel – did not worship the Jewish god exclusively (§ Ch.5.5). Secondly, this reign saw the adoption of Hellenistic and Roman customs (§ Ch.3.2.2, Ch.4.2), including the worship of pagan gods and possibly the custom of having markets on the occasion of religious festivals (de Ligt 1993).

The presence of markets during the Herodian period can be reinforced by the example of the sanctuary at Mamre (north of Hebron in Palestine), where periodic markets associated with religious festivals had been recorded in the Roman period while the religious complex was dated to the Herodian period (first century BC-first century AD) (Magen 1993). The presence of markets in Israel may suggest that this activity also extended to other areas of the Herodian territory, including the Hauran.

Therefore, when there is no written evidence that mentions markets associated with sanctuaries one can use the connection between religious festivals and markets where the identification of religious festivals becomes a key-factor to investigate the presence of commercial activities. This approach can be used when there is enough evidence to indicate that a sanctuary was a complex centre of pilgrimage, so religious festivals would have been held, as well as to demonstrate the presence of religious festivals. Archaeological evidence indicating that a sanctuary was as a significant religious centre of pilgrimage can be the monumentality and complexity of the sanctuary when consisting of more than one temple within the same complex. Archaeological evidence for religious festivals can be, for instance, a theatre in the proximity of a sanctuary, which implies that the theatre was used for ritual performances associated with religious festivities (Nielsen 2002).

In addition to the identification of religious festivals, contextualizing the sanctuary within its natural and social-economic landscape is necessary, not only to value the importance of a sanctuary as a centre of pilgrimage, but also to identify the presence of periodic markets. For instance, the location of a sanctuary on a route way might suggest that it stood at a crossroads in terms of the movement of people, and thus whether or not

the sanctuary was a main religious centre where commercial activities took place (Macmullen 1970: 333). For example, markets associated with religious festivals occurred in the sanctuary at Mamre on the road linking Hebron and Jerusalem (Magen 1993: 939). Additionally, on one hand, markets in sanctuaries that did not produce their own goods and were isolated from other settlements would have been necessary to provide for pilgrims' primary needs, like food; on the other hand, periodic markets associated with religious festivals would have been a great opportunity to sell local products when produced by the sanctuary.

Once the presence of religious festivals and the possibility of periodic markets associated with them have been identified, we can ask which would have been the best place within the religious complex for such markets. Consideration of examples of periodic markets suggests that they could have taken place in empty wide spaces within the sacred area and under porticoes.

Although written sources mention periodic markets associated with the pagan worship in the sanctuary at Mamre (Cohn 2011: 188), excavation of this site has not provided evidence of any non-religious structures. It has revealed a temple from the Herodian period (first century BC-first century AD), surrounded by a *temenos* that enclosed a wide area (roughly 50 m by 40 m) (Magen 1993). In this case, markets were most likely taking place in the wide space within the sacred walls as these were associated with the cult of this sanctuary.

Porticoes would have been of great help to protect the goods and the merchants from climatic conditions and they seem to be commonly associated with the presence of markets. In ancient Greece and Asia Minor market-halls which were situated near sanctuaries also had colonnaded porticoes that preceded a row of small *tabernae*, such as at Pergamon, Corinth and Athens (Dinsmoor 1975: 241, 292-293). It is important to stress that *tabernae* often functioned as workshops, to produce the goods that were sold there, as well as for storage (Frayn 1993: 101). Their absence in areas where periodic markets took place can be explained because these were not permanent activities.

The use of colonnaded porticoes for commercial activities can be seen in modern-day examples in Syria, where they shelter merchants and goods from the sun. For instance, in the small mosque of Tekkiye Suleymaniye in Damascus there are stands under the porticoes that surround the courtyard of the mosque. The mosque, like any public

religious building, is a gathering place for devotees, which means it attracts people and it can provide a good opportunity for merchants, especially during public festivities and celebrations associated with the religious centre.

7.4.1. Markets in the Hauran

Taking into account the approach here proposed and previously discussed, we can now apply this to the Hauran in the rural sanctuaries at Sahr and Sī'. These have been chosen because they were the main religious centres for pilgrimage in the study area and they seem to have left us with evidence of temporary markets.

7.4.1.1. Sanctuary of Sahr

The two key factors which allow us to assess the presence of markets in the sanctuary at Sahr are: firstly, the presence of religious festivals that can be identified archaeologically and, secondly, the isolated location of the sanctuary in a non-exploitable terrain and the absence of local production of primary goods, which implies the need for markets during these festivals.

With regards to the first point, the significance of this cult centre as a religious gathering place of worshippers is demonstrated by the presence and the monumentality of a theatre situated next to the sanctuary (Nielsen 2002) (§ Ch.4.2.4). This indicates that ritual performances took place during religious festivals at which a large number of pilgrims gathered together, as the theatre at Sahr can accommodate 400 people (§ Ch.4.2.4). The exact number of pilgrims who attended these activities cannot be determined because we do not know the frequency of these ritual performances and religious festivals. According to written sources, religious festivities lasted more than a day, their frequency and duration each time varied from case to case.

The presence of periodic markets only associated with religious festivals would have been necessary as there is no evidence of a population which would have lived there throughout the year (see below for a description of the structures that surround the sanctuary) and this would have been difficult as this territory did not produce any primary sources for people's subsistence. Looking at the location of the sanctuary at Sahr, its terrain, in fact, consists of deserted lava (§ Ch.3) and there is no excavated evidence of any industrial production at this site. It was also an isolated sanctuary for

most of the time. There are no known settlements in its immediate proximity dating at the time that this sanctuary was built (in the second half of the first century AD) and in the century afterwards (second century AD). Only in the last century of the sanctuary's life (third century AD) (Kalos 2003: 160, 162, 164-165 fig.2-3) were there settlements in its proximity. In particular, the closest settlement, 5 km away, is the *metrokomia* (mother-village) at Mismieyh, which is dated in AD183-187 (Wadd 2524) (Map 3.7). The other settlements that are relatively close-by are Dakir to the East (c.12-15 km),[182] Menara Henou to the South-West (c.15-20 km),[183] Sha'ârah to the West (c.10-12 km),[184] and Buraq to the North (c. 8-9 km);[185] these also dated from the late second century AD onwards. The only certain contemporary, pre-provincial settlement in the northern Leja is the Herodian military base of Basir, to the West (c. 20-25 km from Sahr), which was known to have existed from the end of the first century BC onwards (§ Ch.3.3.1, Ch.4.2.4) (Map 3.7).

The isolated location of the sanctuary, separated from major road networks, indicates that people who reached the complex had to be directed there intentionally (Map 3.7) and the complexity and the monumentality of the sanctuary indicate that it was a main religious centre. There are no inscriptions that can provide information on the dedicants and benefactors of this sanctuary complex. Although the ceramic materials recovered in the sanctuary complex at Sahr are scanty and mostly come from the sanctuary, from them we can argue that those who took part in these events were generally people who lived in and crossed the Hauran. This is based on pottery produced and used in Leja as well as Africa Red Slip ware from the third and fourth century AD, which is widely diffused in Djebel al'Arab and found at Sahr (Table 7.3).

It has been suggested that worshippers at this sanctuary mostly belonged to nomadic tribes (Kalos 1997, 2001, Dentzer 1999: 257 ff.) because of the sanctuary's detached location and because the territory of Leja was inhabited by a nomadic population (§ Ch.3). I believe that Herodian soldiers were the main visitors to this sanctuary and may have helped financially with the erection and the maintenance of the sanctuary complex. This is because statues representing Herodian soldiers have been recovered at the centre

[182] Its cult centre can be dated to the provincial period from a statue representing a Roman soldier (§ Ch.4.6.4).
[183] Its cult centre is dated to AD161-175, according to two inscriptions (Stoll 2001: 468-470 N87-88).
[184] It was a provincial-Byzantine main village (Clauss-Balty 2010), with a *Mithraeum* from the provincial period; its exact date is not certain (§ Ch.5.7.2-3).
[185] It was most likely the fourth-century city of Constantia (Wadd 2537a-b, Jones 1971: 285-287, Sartre 1999: 200).

of the courtyard of the sanctuary and this was the only main cult centre in Leja which was an area controlled by the Herodian army and where there were two of their military bases (§ Ch.3.3.1, Ch.4.2.4, Ch.4.4.3.2). Furthermore, Herodian soldiers who visited Sahr would have been familiar with the custom of markets associated with cult centres during religious festivals as these have been attested historically in other parts of the Herodian kingdom (§ Ch.7.4.1). Connections between Sahr and the other parts of the Herodian kingdom can be supported also in second-third century AD by the recovery of "Northern Stamped" lamps produced and mostly used in Palestine (Table 7.3): the quantity of these lamps has not been indicated.

Therefore, the isolated location of the sanctuary in a non-exploitable terrain, together with the identification of religious festivals and the sanctuary being a centre of pilgrimage, implies that markets would have been essential to provide material sustenance for pilgrims.

The products would have come from outside the deserted territory of Leja and sold at Sahr. Therefore, markets at Sahr would have provided commercial opportunities for non-local merchants, as attested by written sources in the Republic and Imperial periods in Italy, where itinerant merchants would have gone from one temporary market to another (MacMullen 1970, especially MacMullen 1970: 341).

It is difficult to be certain of the origins of both the merchants and the goods sold at Sahr, because it is necessary to analyse pottery as well as coins systematically. This has not been fully possible in this research because a catalogue of these finds has not been yet published.

Nevertheless, we can put forward some hypotheses on the subject, thanks to the scanty recovery of pottery as well as to the exploitation of the terrain in the study area.

The presence of pottery recovered at Sahr used in both Djebel al'Arab and Leja may suggest that merchants (Table 7.3) could have come from any parts of the Hauran.

As the northern Djebel al'Arab (roughly 50 km away from Sahr) and Sacaea (approximately 45 km from Sahr) cultivated grapes and produced wine, merchants at Sahr could have come from these areas as grapes and wine could be two of the main types of goods needed during celebrations and religious festivals (§ Ch.7.2.2 Figure 8).

Although Nabataean merchants were historically known to cross the Hauran to get to Damascus, at the present stage of the understanding of this site there is no archaeological evidence of the Nabataean presence.

Having established the presence of periodic markets linked with religious festivals in the sanctuary at Sahr, we can now suggest that commercial activities took place in similar spaces identified earlier in this chapter when looking at examples of periodic markets in the Near East and Mediterranean (§ Ch.7.4.1). These are: a wide area of the courtyard of the sanctuary with colonnaded porticoes on either lateral side of the forecourt and buildings with porticoes that surround the sanctuary.

Considering the large number of pilgrims (because of the presence of a 400-seat theatre), stands were most likely placed not only in the empty area within the sanctuary, but also in the buildings with porticoes that surround the sanctuary.

These buildings cover an extended area, from 100 to 200 m all around the cult centre (Figure 11). Their layouts vary: some of them have one simple, rectangular mono-room, others multiple rooms (from two to four), with elongated, T, L or U-shapes; the U-shaped structure forms a courtyard at the centre. They have either an archway or open-plan entrance, which consists of porticoes with columns (Kalos 1997: 974-75) (Figures 11-12). According to pottery finds, dated from the second half of first century BC up to the fourth-fifth century AD (*Ibid*.), these buildings were in use at the same time as the cult centre started to arrange rituals in the early first century BC, as suggested by the recovery of votive offerings on a paved area, with either a *stelae* or a *betyl* (88 and 57-56 BC)[186]. This cult place, then, became a monumental sanctuary in the second half of the first century AD and was used until the end of the third century (Kalos 2003: 160, 162, 164-165 fig.2-3).

These buildings were not houses because they do not have doorways and evidence of domestic areas (e.g. kitchens and fire-places) (Kalos 1997: 974-75).

[186] This dating is based on the coins recovered below the paved area.

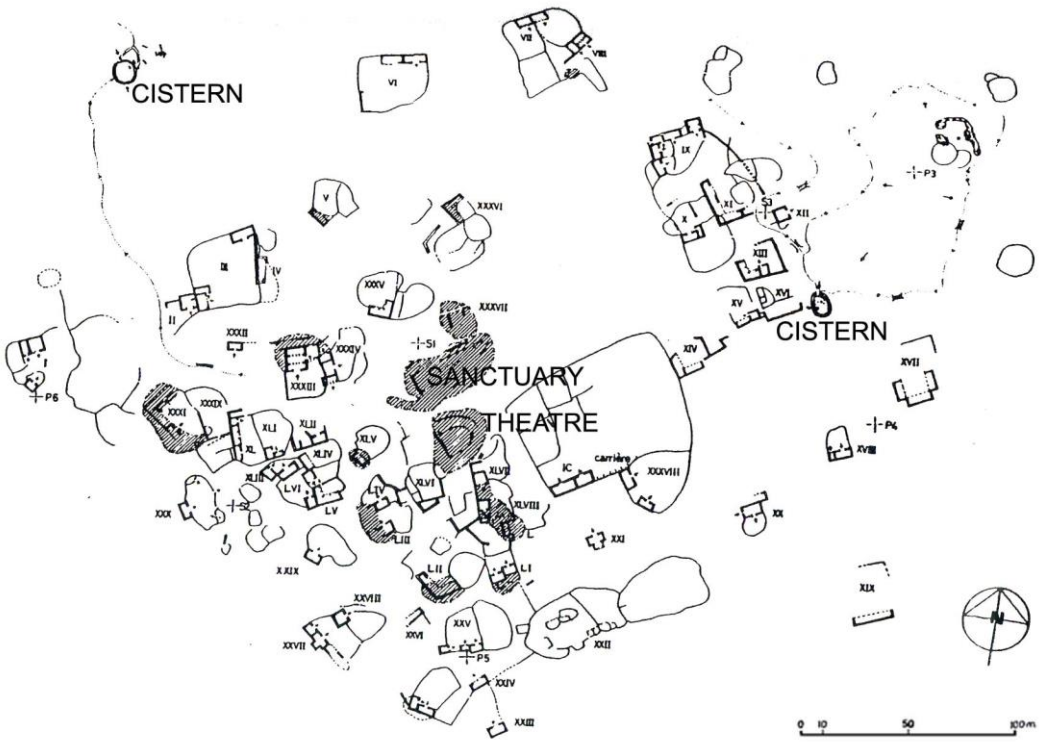
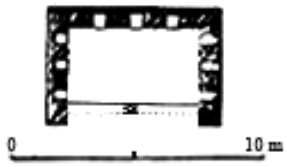
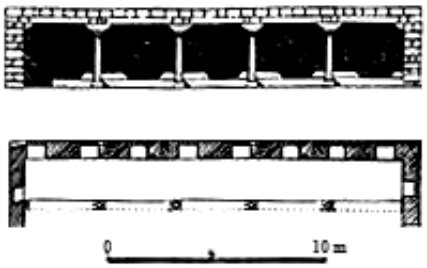
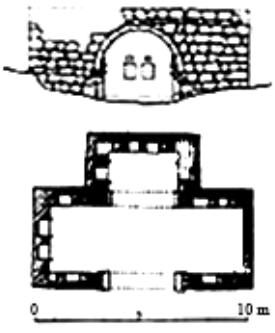


Figure 11: The sanctuary complex at Sahr (after Kalos 1997, fig. 1)

Typology	Buildings with porticoes (A)	Buildings with archway on the façade (B)
1		
2		

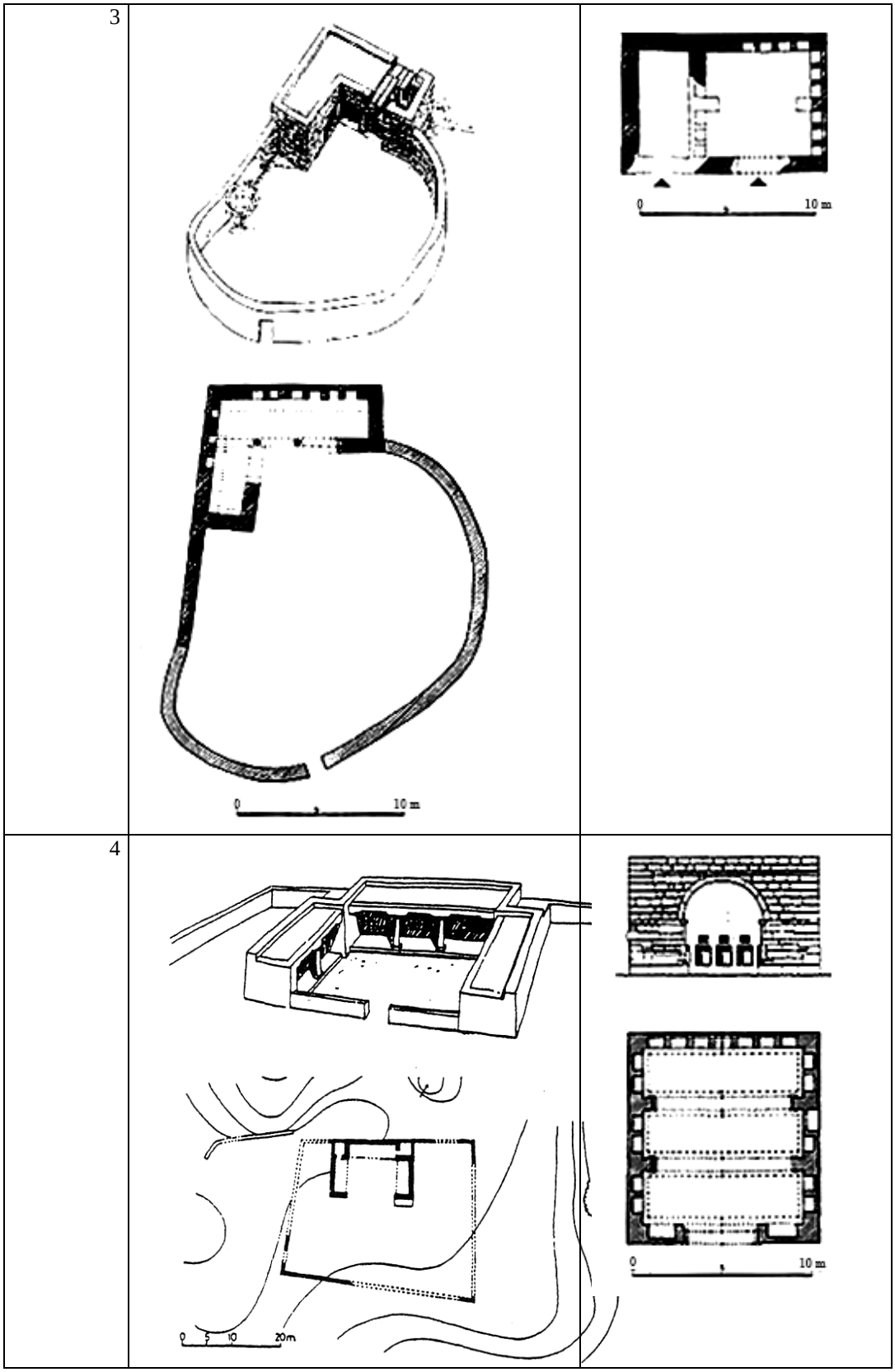


Figure 12: Typology of buildings with porticoes and of buildings with archway at the entrance, from the simple to the more complex structure, according to the scholar Kalos
(after Kalos 1997 fig.5, 7, Dentzer 1999 fig.12-13)

Scholars (Kalos 1997: 973-978, Dentzer 1999: 257, 260) have considered these structures as banquet rooms for feasting during religious festivals and, occasionally, as little chapels. However, a reassessment of the comparative examples, between the buildings at Sahr and similar structures within the sanctuaries at Khirbet et-Tannur (Jordan), Dura Europos (Syria), and at Hatra (Iraq), used by these scholars to support their argument, shows that they do not resemble the buildings at Sahr; therefore, it casts some doubts on the two scholarly interpretations of the function of these structures.

Sanctuaries in the Near East, such as the one at Khirbet et-Tannur (Jordan) and the temples at Dura Europos (Syria), present two-three banquet rooms with benches facing the courtyard area within the sacred enclosure of the sanctuary (the *temenos*),[187] whereas at Sahr, there is a large number of open-plan buildings detached from the sanctuary, with no evidence of benches.

Small structures consisting of single-rooms or a T-shaped plan with an arch in the façade and niches in the internal walls have been identified as little chapels because their layout is similar to the *kalibé*[188] and small temples III and IV at Hatra (Kalos 1997: 974-75) (Figures 13-14).[189] A *kalibé*, unlike the buildings at Sahr, presents niches used to contain life-sized statues at the back wall of the structure, with a flight of steps at the entrance and it is also a monumental building, bigger in size than the structures with a T-shaped plan at Sahr (Clauss-Balty 2008a, Segal 2001) (Figures 12.2B, 13). Unlike the shrines at Hatra, the structures from Sahr do not present an altar, a statue or an inscription that indicates their religious function. They have niches, but they were not necessarily used to hold ritual objects or the statues of gods; they could have been used merely as cupboards (Kalos 1997: 974) (Figures 12.2B, 14). Additionally, the *kalibé* (second-third century AD) and the shrines at Hatra (first-second century AD) are dated to a later period than the structures at Sahr; the earliest example there was dated to the first century BC, as suggested by the recovery of pottery (*Ibid.* 975).

[187] For the sanctuary Khirbet et-Tannur see McKenzie *et al.* 2002, McKenzie *in press*; for examples at Dura Europos see Downey 1988.

[188] § Ch.1 footnote 1 for definition of this type of building and its function.

[189] These structures have been considered to be iwans, which are rooms with an open entrance and walled on three sides. They are typical Near Eastern structures used in religious (e.g. the shrine at Hatra mentioned in the main text of the chapter) secular, public and residential contexts from the Parthian period to the modernday (Villeneuve 1997). This comparative example is not discussed in detail in this chapter because it does not help us to identify the function of the structures that surround the sanctuary at Sahr and it is too generic and not totally accurate. Iwans are often used in complex structured-palaces, but this is not the case of the buildings at Sahr, and they are often vaulted and do not have niches in their internal walls, unlike the buildings at Sahr.

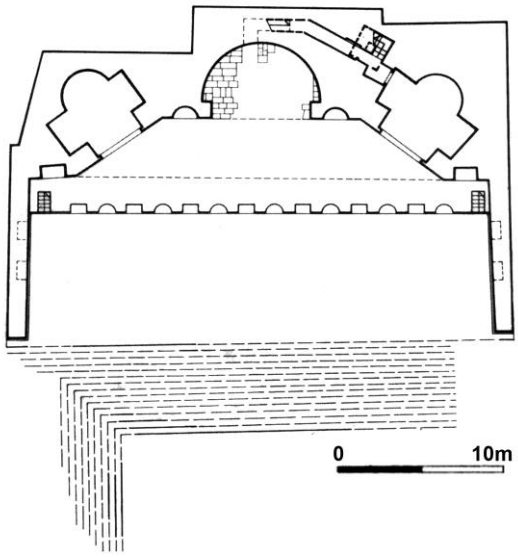


Figure 13: *Kalibé* at Philippopolis (after Segal 2008, Plate XLIII)

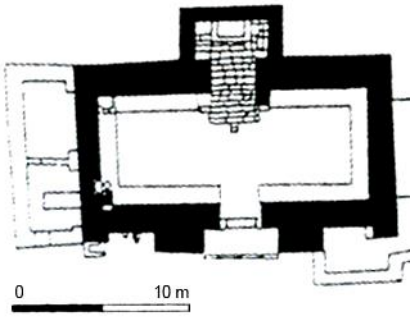


Figure 14: Small temple III at Hatra (after Kalos 1997, Fig. 10)

I believe that these structures that surround the sanctuary were most likely multifunctional: they were designed to display goods in periodic markets as well as to provide a resting place for pilgrims during religious festivals.

These buildings with colonnaded porticoes could have been ideal for housing temporary markets because, as in modern-day examples in Syria and market-halls in Greece, they would have provided shade from the sun, which was needed at Sahr which was situated in a dry and deserted area consisting of lava (§ Ch.3).

Shops usually consist of rooms preceded by porticoes used as workshops and storage areas; the absence of these rooms at the back of the portico structures at Sahr can be explained because markets took place occasionally. When there were religious festivals, and there were no locally produced goods to store for a long time or to manufacture.

In some buildings at Sahr there is an additional small room that is not accessible from the area with porticoes and archways and which has an independent door. This could have been used as a private room in which merchants could rest overnight or for temporary storage place. These were needs also attested by the first-century writer Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 6.5.2) when talking about temporary markets.

The second use of these structures here proposed is for pilgrims to rest; it has also been put forward by Kalos (1997: 977-978), the main scholar who investigated this site and published on it. This hypothesis is based on the similarity of these buildings at Sahr with the Bedouins' temporary campsites, because both have a similar open-plan layout and they do not present sophisticated structures (*Ibid*.). Additionally, I believe that these structures that provide shelter from the sun would have been an ideal place to rest.
However, Kalos (*Ibid*.) has not provided further information on the use of these structures. Despite the bad preservation of these buildings and the fact that their record has not been yet completely published, we have been able to reconstruct a bit more about the life of these pilgrims and the activities which took place there. Religious festivals included ritual performances based on the presence of a theatre. Considering that the theatre has a capacity of 400 seats, a large number of people would have taken part in these festivals. They would have included Herodian soldiers because of the presence of their statues in the courtyard of the sanctuary and Sahr being the only religious centre in Leja, where there were two military garrisons occupied by the Herodian army (Basir and Sur al-Laja). Herodian soldiers would have travelled from the not too distant military garrison at Basir, 25 km far from Sahr, and the other more remote garrison at Sur al-Laja, roughly 50 km from the sanctuary (§ Ch.3.3.1, Ch.4.2.4). They would have used the buildings that surrounded the sanctuary as temporary places to rest. Two cisterns, the only water supplies of the sanctuary, would have been enough for the pilgrims in religious festivals, because the sanctuary did not need water throughout the year and on a daily basis and it did not require water for cultivation, considering that Sahr is in the middle of a deserted area. One cistern (approximately 10m by 12m) is bigger than the other one (roughly 8m by10m) and it is 50 metres away from any buildings that are part of the sanctuary complex, whereas the smaller cistern is next to a cluster of buildings (Figure 11). The other closest water-resource to Sahr is the spring water roughly located at 7-8 km on the North-West of the sanctuary, but it is not

connected to this site (Braemer *et al.* 2009, Braemer 1988). Cisterns are commonly used as the main water supply in settlements in northern, western and eastern borders of Leja and in the Jebel al-Arab.[190] They are used to obtain small quantities from medium to mid-to long-term reserves used for men and animals' drinking water and seldom used for irrigation (Braemer *et al.* 2009: 46, 54). This type of water supply system, being on a micro-scale, could have been run by small groups of individuals, such as tribes or village communities (*Ibid.*). The sanctuary itself at Sahr was probably in charge of the water supply to satisfy the needs of its sanctuary and pilgrims because of the small scale of water supply and due to the lack of settlements in the surroundings of this sanctuary.

The predominant location and the size of the bigger cistern indicate that its use was for the whole site, thus for the needs of pilgrims, merchants and the sanctuary at Sahr (Figure 11). The other cistern associated with a cluster of buildings was most likely used for the pilgrims who rested in that circumscribed area (Figure 14). They would have been important individuals, like major generals of the Herodian army, as they would require the comfort and luxury of having their own water supply close to them. This social division between pilgrims can also be seen in religious activities within the sanctuary complex, where there were two places of worship. One was a small courtyard (approximately 15 metres by 15 metres) with an altar at the centre and benches at either side of the courtyard that faced the god's statue in the *adyton*; considering the length of benches of 15 metres each, we can estimate the presence of a maximum of 60 people in this room. This place was, therefore, for only the few elite that were allowed to make sacrifice on the altar directly to the god; these could have been commanders of the Herodian army. The second area of worship was a bigger courtyard than the other; it was roughly 50 m by 50 m, where the other "commoner" devotees could have worshipped the statue of the goddess Athena that was on the platform at the centre of this courtyard. These devotees were most likely Herodian soldiers, considering the presence of statues representing Herodian soldiers on the same platform with Athena, the warrior goddess of Graeco-Roman iconography (§ Ch.4 fig.14, Ch.5.3.3).

[190] Cisterns collected, during rainfall and winter, rainwater run-off from slopes and clefts of this basaltic lava terrain which was distant from major watercourses (Miller 1980: 335). This system of water supply is called run-off micro-catchment from clefts from rainfalls, slopes and spring water, and it is common in Leja and in the Jebel al-Arab (Braemer *et al.* 2009: 46, 54).

7.4.1.2. Sanctuary of Sī'

Similarly to Sahr, we can also argue that temporary markets took place in the cult centre at Sī' because of two key factors: its identification as a centre of pilgrimage where religious festivals seemed to have taken place and its location on a route-way.

The sanctuary of Sī' was a major centre of pilgrimage, as demonstrated by the multi-structured complex, the nature of the main god worshipped and the presence of dedicants coming from different backgrounds. The sanctuary consisted of four shrines that were preceded by a wide courtyard (§ Ch.4). Its main god, Baalshamin/Zeus, represents various Semitic deities (§ Ch.5.2). There are several written dedications by different non-local devotees; they were "Safaitic" nomadic groups, Roman soldiers and dedicants with Roman names (§ Ch.6.3.1-3).

The location of this sanctuary stresses the importance of Sī' as a main religious centre. It was isolated and located on the top of a hill and visible from a distance. It was placed on a route-way connecting Bosra and Damascus, major urban centres in the region (Map 3.7).

Therefore, this sanctuary was a main centre of pilgrimage where religious festivals were held and most likely combined with periodic markets. Additionally, within the complex structure there was a courtyard called *theatron*, which was most likely used as a theatre for ritual performances, considering how it was named (PPUAES IV A 2 N 76, 78), the three steps on its either side which could be used as steps (§ Ch.4.4.2.1) and the similar layout of courtyards used most likely for that purpose at Dura Europos (Downey 1988: 79-86, 89-92, 102-105 fig. 33, 35, 40). More than enough water supply for the pilgrims is demonstrated from three small cisterns (15x25m near Sī', 10x8m and 30x20m near the workshop) and a main reservoir in the valley of the sanctuary, used for cultivation and pottery production (§ Ch.7.2.1, Ch.7.3), and the presence of a fountain within the religious complex (Dentzer-Feydy 2010b) (§ Ch.7.2.1).

The location of the sanctuary would have facilitated the sale of goods in these periodic markets. Grapes, wine and possibly local pottery could have been sold during religious festivals, considering that the cult centre itself produced them and that this site was renowned for its vineyards (§ Ch.7.2.1). Recovery at Bosra of pottery, including amphorae, produced at Sī' suggest regional trade in the local wine and pottery (§ Ch.7.2.2, Ch.7.2.3).

As it often occurred in periodic markets in the Roman Empire (MacMullen 1970, de Ligt 1993), possibly other non-local goods would have been sold at Sī' by non-local merchants. The predominance of Nabataean coins (37%) in the coinage assemblage recovered on this site (§ Ch4.3.4 fig.29 Table 4.12) may suggest that there could have been Nabataean merchants present or that they had a major impact on the local economy of this site as Nabataean coinage became the local currency. This is explained only if the Nabataeans were the main merchants who undertook commercial transactions at this site. They may well have sold incense and aromatics, like frankincense (Young 2001: 91), which do not survive archaeologically, as they were well-known as important traders in this substance. Incense would have been needed in religious centres like Sī' as it was commonly used in ritual activities (*Ibid.* 90). The Nabataean impact on this sanctuary can be supported by the recovery of a statue of a Nabataean king, Obodas III (30-9BC), which indicates the respect that this sanctuary had for this people and their king (§ Ch.4.3.3). This was probably because this cult centre was on a crossroads from Bosra to Damascus, where there were Nabataean merchants, as historical sources suggest (*Strab. Geog.*16: 2, 20).

The fact that this cult centre ran periodic markets is reinforced by the fact that it was a main independent centre in the pre-provincial and in the provincial period. It was not commissioned by either the city of Canatha or by the other nearby settlements; there are also no dedications from members of these urban settlements in the complex from any periods (§ Ch.6.2.2). The sanctuary at Sī' was placed a mile away from the city of Canatha (modern-day Qanawat), roughly 9 km away from the Roman city of Dionysias (modern-day Suweida), on the West, and 15 km from the first-century village of Phoena (modern-day Mushannef), on the East (Map 3.7).

The best location for these periodic markets at Sī' was in the colonnaded porticoes in the sanctuary, because they would have sheltered the merchants and their goods. These porticoes are found in each forecourt of the complex: alongside courtyards 1 (the *theatron*), 2 and 3 and the one of Sī' 8, (Figure 15).

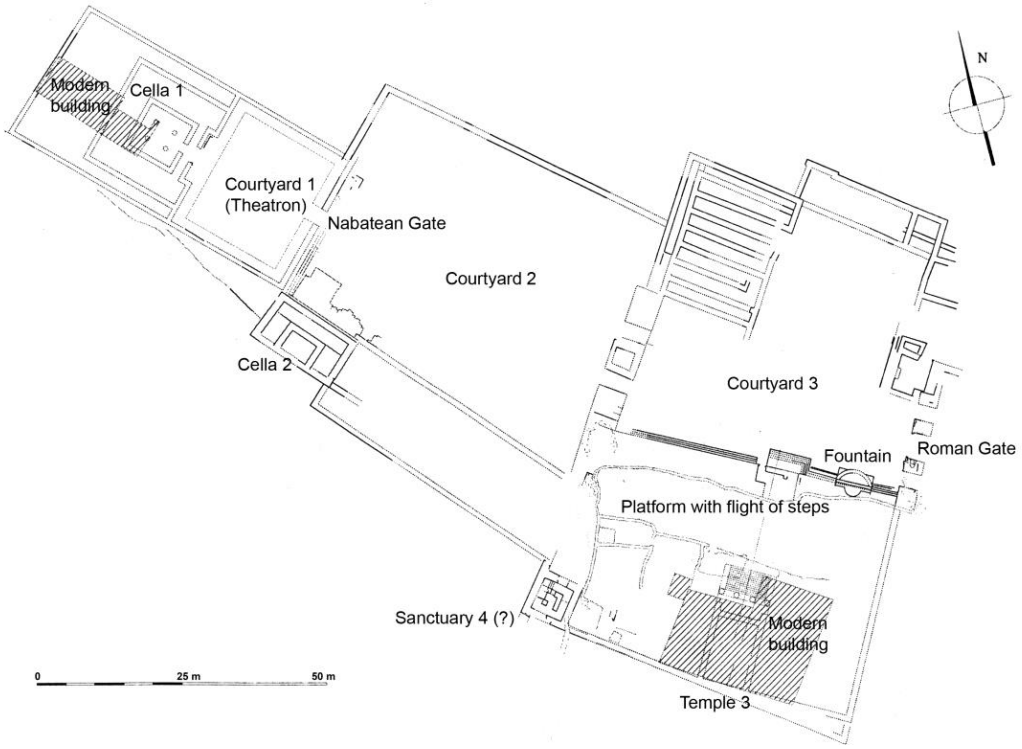


Figure 15: The complex of the sanctuary at Sī' (Dentzer-Feydy 2010b)

7.5. Cult centres personnel according to inscriptions

After identifying the economic activities in relation to, or run by, rural cult centres in the Hauran, the next step to gaining a better understanding of the economic role of these sanctuaries is to identify the members of the sanctuary in charge of these activities, which will also help verify sanctuaries' self-sufficiency. Thanks to dedicatory inscriptions found in rural religious centres in the Hauran that mention them, the following personnel of cult centres with a non-religious role will be here discussed: *hieroudoloi*, Seenoi, and temple treasurers.

7.5.1. Hierodouloi

According to a fragmented inscribed pedestal found in courtyard 2 at Sī' (dated to AD29-30), we know that a statue, which has not been recovered, was "the work of *hierodoulos* Zaid-'ēl" of unknown provenance (PPUAES II N768).

Hierodoulos (ἱεροδούλος) is a Greek compound term, from ieros (ἱερός) =sacred and doulos (δούλος) = slave. *Hierodouloi* were sacred slaves, as they offered their service to the deity and they were subordinate to high priests (Debord 1982: 83, Boffo 1985: 19-20, Virgilio 1985: 230). Historical sources and inscriptions indicate this relationship between the *hierodouloi* and the sanctuary and its high priests, such as in the sanctuary

of the ancient Pontus (east-centre)[191] and Nimurd Dagˇ Antioch at Commagene, both in Asia Minor (Turkey).[192] *Hierodouloi* worked in the sacred lands of sanctuaries in central and southern Asia Minor, according to Strabo, such as in the temples at ancient Zela (modern day Zile) (east-central Turkey) (*Strab. Geog.* 11, 8, 4, 12, 3, 37, Boffo 1985: 31), at Pontus and in Cappadocia (*Strab*. *Geog.* 12, 3, 36, Zawadzki 1952-1953: 83 ff. 91). *Hierodouloi* were also musicians and singers during the procession and rituals (Debord 1982: 96) as an inscription from Commagene states that *hierodouloi* were recruited from a young age so that they could learn singing and music (IGLS I N1, Dörrie 1964).

The presence of a member of this group at Sī' is unusual as none are found anywhere else in Syria. We cannot conclude that this *hierodoulos* came from Anatolia as *hierodouloi*, being the temple's slaves, were unlikely to have travelled. *Hierodouloi* at Sī' probably worked for the sanctuary, especially the temple's land-properties, and possibly in other activities associated with the sanctuary, such as its pottery and wine-production, on the basis of their role in other sanctuaries and the fact that according to written records, they carried out more than one duty. The subordinate role of *hierodouloi* at Sī' can also be seen in the inscription from this sanctuary. The side of the statue's pedestal that mentions *hierodoulos* Zaid-'ēl is not decorated, whereas the front, decorated side of the pedestal bears a local Aramaic inscription that mentions the names of the people who commissioned it[193] (PPUAES II N768).
Furthermore, considering that *hierodouloi* worked for the sanctuary, they probably lived in the settlement attached to the sanctuary which depended on the cult centre (§ Ch.7.3 Figure 18).

7.5.2. Seenoi

We can state that Seenoi were members of a guild, as explicitly mentioned in their honorific dedication to a main Roman military officer (IGRR III N1230, Speidel 1998: 185-187 N35) as well as in other inscriptions in Syria, like at Apamea (IGRR III N711-

[191] According to Strabo (*Geog.* 12, 2, 3), *hierodouloi* from the sanctuary of ancient Pontus (east-centre) in Turkey inhabited a villa but were controlled by priests and *hierodouloi* could not sell it.
[192] At Nimurd Dagˇ Antioch at Commagene (first century AD) *hierodouloi* inhabited domains donated to the sanctuary and controlled by priests (IGLS I N1, 1.171 ff.).

713) (§ Ch.6.3.3.2-3). In any case, the exact function of this organization is unspecified, but its presence at Sī' means that this group of Seenoi, named after the place of the sanctuary at Sī', was an organized group for activities, which could have been of an economic nature, like craftsmen or merchants, associated with the sanctuary. This role of Seenoi can be confirmed by the presence of periodic markets, wine and pottery production in the sanctuary at Sī' (§ Ch.7.2.2, Ch.7.3, Ch.7.4.1.2)

Furthermore, two inscriptions mention that Seenoi used dedications to express gratitude towards both the important wealthy individual who commissioned the sanctuary (Wadd 2367, PAAES III 428b) and the major military officer who protected the area from bandits (IGRR III N1230, Speidel 1998: 185-187 N35) (§ Ch.6.3.3.2-3). With regards to the dedication to the first individual, it reinforces the fact that Seenoi depended on the sanctuary and that they worked for it. This close and strong connection of Seenoi with the sanctuary suggests that this group lived in the settlement attached to the sanctuary, possibly with the *hierodouloi* (Figure 10). Considering the second dedication to the military officer, it implies that his protection of the area also affected the Seenoi's work, which could be linked to economic activities run in the sanctuary, such as the periodic markets and pottery production.

The dating of the two inscriptions dedicated by Seenoi, one dated to the early first century AD, the other to the provincial period, indicates that this group existed and that their position was connected to the economic activities run by the sanctuary at Sī' and established from the pre-provincial period onwards.

7.5.3. Temple treasurers

Dedicatory and commemorative inscriptions from rural temples at Hebran, Salkhad and Lubbayn mention temple-treasurers (Table 7.4). The presence of these personnel implies that it was necessary to appoint an officer to oversee the temple's possessions and that these were of such a large amount or value that the priests could have not dealt with them on their own.

The inscriptions mention at least more than one temple-treasurer from the three sites mentioned above; this indicates the complexity of the finances of these temples as more than one person was required to oversee the finances of the sanctuaries.

At Hebran there were five temple-treasurers, which implies that the possessions of the temple were more valuable than those in the other two cult centres.

This difference amongst the inscriptions from the three temples cannot be verified archaeologically. At Lubbayn and Salkhad there is no archaeological evidence of a sanctuary, whereas at Hebran fragments of architectural features and inscriptions of the temple are preserved and its plan is based on an early twentieth century reconstruction (PPUAES II A 5: 323-325, Pl. XX).

At the last site, however, there are numerous dedicatory inscriptions (sixteen), addressed to different deities (such as Zeus and Athena/Allat) by different non-local people (the ones of Safaitic origin and Roman soldiers) who used different languages (local Aramaic, Greek and Latin) (§ Ch.5.2.1., Ch.5.3.2, Ch.6.3.1, Ch.6.3.3.2). This large number of dedications and the diversity of dedicants do not appear in the other two temples where temple treasurers operated. This implies that, despite the lack of archaeological evidence, by considering the numbers of appointed temple's treasurers we can detect how different and more complex the temple at Hebran was from the other two sites.

Furthermore, from the inscriptions that mention the temple's treasurers at Hebran and Lubbayn we can gain additional information about the role of these personnel (Wadd 2455-2456, Ewing 1895: 69, PPUAES III N793, N793 1, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 324-325).

At Hebran, temple-treasurers commissioned the erection of the temple by using sacred funds. This means that the temple owned sufficient goods to support financially the building of its own temple and, therefore, it was financially independent, as it did not need a wealthy individual or group to commission and sustain the temple. The sanctuary was on the road to Bosra, at the border between the Herodian and the Nabataean kingdoms and between the two Roman provinces (Syria on the north and Arabia on the south) before their unification in AD194 under the province of Arabia. Its location makes this cult centre important.

According to the inscription from Lubbayn, we know that the role of these personnel was to help the village's community build a temple. This means that there was a direct relationship between the temple and the local community. This was probably because the cult centre was funded by its community (Wadd 2455, Ewing 1895: 70, PPUAES III

N793, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 324) and the sanctuary would have been the centre of the local community in the village (§ Ch.6.2.1, Ch.6.2.3).

We are able to identify the different roles of temple-treasurers according to the complexity of the cult centres in the cases of Hebran, Lubbayn and Salkhad, thanks to the recovery of inscriptions and the fortuitous financial contribution of these personnel in these sanctuaries.
Therefore, this picture of rural temple's organization and possessions here provided in the Hauran is a small window to understanding the potentially complex organization of other rural sanctuaries and their finances. Personnel with this role were probably also present in other rural cult centres, especially in the major cult centres that present numerous written dedications and consisted of multi-structured buildings that ran economic activities, such as in the cases of the sanctuary at Sī' and at Sahr.

From the scarce evidence available it is not possible to identify the origins of these temple possessions, but we can put forward some suggestions on the subject when considering the cult centre at Baetocaece, which provides us with written evidence (§ Ch.2.5). The temple possessions could have resulted from the privileged social and economic positions of temples, because of the central role of these sanctuaries in these communities, the profits of markets and their economic activities, and/or devotees' offerings. For instance, the wealth of the sanctuary at Sī' could have come from its economic activities, including commercial activities managed by the guild of Seenoi, and temple's land-properties and their viticulture run by *hierodouloi*.

7.6. Concluding remarks on self-sufficiency and economic activities of rural cult centres

Despite the lack of documents related to the socio-economic role of rural cult centres in the Hauran, the discussion of the epigraphic and especially archaeological evidence combined with landscape analysis has enabled us to evaluate:

- The economic significance of the sanctuary at Sī' and also, to some extent, the sanctuary at Sahr, because of their economic activities during religious festivals and their self-sufficiency;

- The self-sufficiency and autonomy of smaller rural cult centres in the Hauran (Lubbayn, Salkhad and Hebran).

It has been possible to discern a rather clear picture of the sanctuary at Sī' as an autonomous economic centre, thanks to, firstly, published data (dedicatory inscriptions and finds) from intensive excavation and fieldwork over the last thirty years, including environmental samples, and, secondly, the exploitability of the surrounding territory. This set of evidence has led us to an understanding of the economic activities of this sanctuary in the pre-provincial and provincial period.

The predominant location of the sanctuary over the vineyards cultivated also in the first-third century, with the sufficient water supply to farm, and the autonomy of this rural centre from the nearby cities (Canatha and Dionysisias) and the village at Mushannef indicate that this cult centre was in charge of viniculture in its surrounding fields.
This type of cultivation, combined with the recovery of amphorae (dated to the pre-provincial and provincial period) and undated simple types of wine-presses in the proximity of rural cult centres, suggest wine-production in pre-provincial and provincial times managed by the cult centre.
The large quantity of local pottery, comprising a varied range of forms and types from the pre-provincial to the provincial period, pottery waste concentrations and a building possibly used as a pottery workshop in the valley of the sanctuary at Sī' point to local pottery manufacture. This could have been run by the sanctuary and pots exported to Bosra where this type of pottery has also been recovered. In future research, we will be able to verify whether or not the use and export of this local pottery from Sī' were regional in the Djebel al'Arab by undertaking further intensive fieldwork, which will also most likely provide pottery finds in pre-provincial and provincial villages in this part of the Hauran.
The multi-structured complex of the sanctuary at Sī', with a *theatron*, its visibility, its location on a route-way and not being part of a settlement, its non-local dedicants from different backgrounds, and its local production of wine and pottery indicate that it was a major centre of pilgrimage, where religious festivals took place, combined with periodic markets. Considering the predominance of Nabataean coins found in this site, the markets could have taken place in the colonnaded porticoes of the courtyards of the

religious complex, where local wine and pottery could possibly have been sold alongside aromatics supplied by Nabataean merchants. Commercial activities would have been required for the sustainability of the sanctuary and its worshippers' needs because the sanctuary was isolated.

This set of evidence indicates the importance of economic activities for the subsistence and autonomy of the rural cult centre at Sī', which were administered by its personnel. These were the *hierodouloi* (temple's slaves), who were in charge of the sanctuary's lands, and possibly of their products (wine), and the guild of Seenoi which managed the economic activities run by the sanctuary.

Scholarly study of the site at Sahr has been conducted more recently than of the one at Sī', with intensive fieldwork undertaken in the last fifteen years, the outcome of which has not yet been published. A detailed record of fragmentary statues recovered at this site (Dentzer & Weber 2009) and only a few articles on the sanctuary's layout and generically its surrounding structures have been published (Kalos 1997, 2003, Dentzer 1999). Despite this limited available information and the almost total absence of preserved inscriptions and material culture, the surviving evidence contextualized within the natural and socio-economic landscape has enabled us to identify the presence of periodic markets during major religious festivals. This is based on the presence of a theatre for ritual performances and the need for primary sources for pilgrims, like food, because this site was isolated and had no resources, apart from water coming from two cisterns.

The sanctuary could have controlled this type of activity and managed autonomously the maintenance of this complex cult centre as there were no major settlements in its proximity, especially in the pre-provincial period. Markets could have taken place in open-plan buildings with porticoes, which could have been used as places for pilgrims to rest. These were Herodian soldiers because it was the only main pre-provincial cult centre in Leja, where there were at least two Herodian military garrisons (Basir and Sur al-Laja). This is also shown by the recovery of statues representing Herodian soldiers on the same platform with Athena, the warrior goddess of Graeco-Roman iconography, with which these soldiers would have been familiar as their kingdom was an ally of Rome and embraced Hellenized culture profoundly.

Additionally, the fortuitous recovery of dedicatory inscriptions from smaller centres (Lubbayn, Salkhad and Hebran) rather than the major case-studies of the study area (Sī' and Sahr) has also indicated the self-sufficiency and autonomy of smaller rural cult centres in the Hauran as these inscriptions mention the presence of personnel in charge of the treasury in these sanctuaries. They can provide an insight into the organized system of sanctuaries that appear to exist everywhere as autonomous entities.

The next chapter (§ Ch.8) will encompass the outcome of the study of rural cult centres as a means to understand social contacts and as centres of social interactions and economic activities for the two study areas of this PhD research, the Hauran and northern Phoenicia. This has been based on the analysis of the different types of evidence and aspects so far discussed; they are architectural and sculptural style, inscriptions and statues that help us identify the different natures of gods and benefactors (§ Ch.2-7).

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This research has investigated rural cult centres from two study areas in Syria, the northern Phoenicia and the Hauran, from the pre-provincial to the provincial period (c.100BC-AD300). This study has argued a new perspective of rural cult centres beyond their religious connotations and architecture that scholars have, instead, so far focused on. It has, in fact, demonstrated:

- The socio-economic significance and function of rural cult centres during this period of time, in relation to the nearby urban settlements, their region and the hinterland of the Near East (aim 1);
- The importance of the study areas and of rural societies that these areas represent within the Near East (aim 2);
- The importance of the approach used here is that it sheds a new perspective on rural sanctuaries (their social and economic role), and that it reveals the function of rural sanctuaries as a means to understand the importance of the society associated with them. This methodology, in contrast to the previous scholarly mono-thematic approach, carries out an analysis of all the data and aspects of these religious centres contextualized within their historical background and their natural and socio-economic landscape. The elements related to the topic that have been discussed are as follows: : the sanctuaries' ritual practices, architecture, sculptures, inscriptions, the identification of the nature and the origin of the gods worshipped, and of their benefactors, dedicants, personnel, and economic activities associated with these centres.

The social central role and significance of rural cult centres has been determined by the following aspects identified in this thesis:

- The diversity of worshippers indicates that these sanctuaries were gathering centres for people coming from different parts of the Near East. It is suggested indirectly by the syncretic nature of gods and of their representations and by the variety of benefactors and dedicants' provenance. This last aspect suggests that study areas played an important role in the Near East and it also reveals the identity of their elite and the kind of society that these rural cult centres represent. The identification of benefactors and dedicants of temples has been achieved through the analysis of inscriptions and non-cult statues recovered in rural sanctuaries. In the case of northern Phoenicia, due to the paucity of this type of evidence and, in general, of rural

sanctuaries' remains, it has not been possible to define the identity of the benefactors and dedicants, therefore, we cannot be certain about the kind of the society of this study area;

- The persistence of rural cult centres over time suggested by their function and structural development from pre-provincial to provincial period;
- The autonomy of these centres from regional nearby cities and political authorities that controlled the study area, which indicates the central role of these sanctuaries in the region;
- Their autonomy from an economic perspective (their self-sufficiency), which indicates the economic function of these centres. It is suggested by the presence of economic activities run by rural cult centres and of their personnel in charge of administrative and economic activities;
- Links between the rural cult centres and distant cultures of the Near East (suggested by specific similarities of ritual practices and architectural and iconographic resemblances). This means interactions of the study areas and their elite with these distant cultures. Therefore, these connections indicate the centrality of the study areas and the significant role of these sanctuaries outside their own region.

What follows is a brief summary of the main conclusive points of this research that have proved the socio-economic significance and role of rural cult centres and of the study areas, in relation to the aims and objectives set out in Chapter 1. I also highlight the potential for future areas of research by suggesting how to apply the approach here to other study areas (§ Ch.8.8).

The main concluding points, therefore, are:

- The nature of the Hauran, the kind of society that it represents, in particular, its elite consisting of groups from different backgrounds, their role in rural cult centres and in the region (§ Ch.8.1). – In this point a reflection on the concept of nomadic and sedentarized societies is also included (aims 1-2).
- The syncretic nature of the gods worshipped in rural cult centres (§ Ch.8.2) (aim 1);
- The sequence of the structural development of rural cult centres over time (§ Ch.8.3) (aim 1);
- Their autonomy from nearby urban centres (§ Ch.8.4) and political authorities (§ Ch.8.5) (aim 1);

- Their economic activities, self-sufficiency and organization (§ Ch.8.6) (aim 1);
- Interactions between the study areas and distant cultures in the hinterland of the Near East (§ Ch.8.7) (aim 2).

8.1. The society of the Hauran

The elite of the Hauran who shaped its society, were benefactors and dedicants of rural cult centres, as they had a major impact on the development of its culture. These were people who used "Safaitic" script, Herodian soldiers and the neighbouring Nabataeans (most likely their merchants), in the pre-provincial period, and, Roman soldiers, in the provincial period.

The people who used "Safaitic" script played a major role in the society of the Hauran because they were the main benefactors of the pre-provincial rural cult centres (Sī', Salkad and Hebran). This is proven by the frequency of the names of these benefactors in "Safaitic" graffiti (§ Ch.6.3.1). This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that these cult centres were dedicated to Baalshamin and Allat, who, according to "Safaitic" graffiti across the Near East, were amongst the main gods of these groups (§ Ch.5.2-3). Scholars have suggested that the fact that the names recovered in inscriptions in the Hauran were also used in "Safaitic" graffiti indicates the sedentarization of these people, who were labelled nomadic (Milik 1980, 1986, Sartre 1982a, 1982b, 1991: 333, 1992: 43-44, Villeneuve 1986: 116-117, Dentzer 1986: 398-401). However, the term nomadic cannot be used in this case because there is no accurate evidence of these people's nomadic nature. Scholars have identified these benefactors and, in general, "Safaitic" groups as nomads because they belonged to tribes. However, people from a tribe could also have been associated with a small community, a family clan or people with the same ethnicity (Sartre 1987) (§ Ch.3). The lack of settlements and archaeological evidence associated with "Safaitic" graffiti can be misinterpreted as a form of nomadism, however it could be merely due to the fact that the graffiti were situated in deserted hostile territories, which were crossing areas during their travels and not favourable territories for settlement. The people that shared this script travelled long distances and were in contact with different populations, including major urban centres and areas far away from the Hauran, like Dura Europos, Palmyra and anti-Lebanon.

Since names recovered in "Safaitic" graffiti appear in the earliest inscriptions in the Hauran, we cannot argue that there was first a local complex society with its own tradition in the region, and then, people who used "Safaitic" graffiti took over or merged within the earlier local complex society. Therefore, these people who used "Safaitic" graffiti inhabited the Hauran, in particular Djebel al'Arab, where they built their main religious centres, taking advantage of its exploitable territory for cultivation (§ Ch.3). The sanctuary of Sī' was, in fact, the only cult centre mentioned in "Safaitic" graffiti.
In the pre-provincial period, the elite of the Hauran, consisting of "Safaitic" groups, welcomed other cultures that they were in contact with (e.g. Herodian soldiers and Nabataean merchants) and they adopted some customs from these cultures, like the iconographic style, while still maintaining their religious tradition.

The statues representing Nabataean individuals in the rural temples in the northern Djebel al'Arab (Hebran, Mushannef and Sleim), and the predominance of Nabataean coins recovered at Sī' (37%) suggest that neighbouring people from the Nabataea were also main dedicants in this region (§ Ch.4.3). The Nabataen impact in the Hauran was mostly linked to the local economy and its currency. The use of Nabataean coins would have been convenient for the people in this study area because this region was under socio-economic development in the first century BC-early first century AD (§ Ch.3) and the Nabataeans were the major traders (in particular, of incense and aromatics) in the Near East from the south of Arabia[194] to the Mediterranean (*Diodorus Siculus* 19: 94, 4–5, *Strab. Geog.* 16: 4. 19, *Pliny NH* 6: 26, Groom 1981, Young 2001: 91, McLaughlin 2010: 62-64, Zayadine 2007). The Nabataean impact on the economy in the Hauran explains why people in this region respected the Nabataens, as attested by the presence of their merchants, dedicants, and indirectly by the Nabataean royal authority at Sī' (according to the recovery of two statues' heads of a Nabataean king).
The presence of Nabataean merchants in the northern Djebel al'Arab can be explained by the fact that they crossed this territory from the main Nabataean centre of Petra, crossing Bosra, under the Nabataean control, in the southern part of the Hauran (McLaughlin 2010: 64) (Map 4.4) to Damascus. This city was a crucial point crossed by

[194] These goods came exactly from the Minaeans, living in south-western Arabia, and the Gerrhaeans, who lived near the Persian Gulf (*Strab. Geog*. 16: 4. 18, Potts 1988: 129-162, MacDonald 1997: 333-349, Young 2001: 91). Some of the Indian spices could have arrived to Petra from southern Arabia (exactly the harbour Aden), which obtained cargoes from India (Young 2001: 91), although literary sources only mention aromatics from South Arabia at Petra (*Ibid*.).

route-ways that connected different major cities, e.g. Antioch, to the North, cities in Lebanon, to the West, and Palmyra, to the East. Therefore, Damascus could have been a transit-city for Nabataean merchants to expand their trade farther north (Young 2001: 99). Nabataean interests and their presence in Damascus,[195] including their merchants, is, in fact, historically attested in the first century BC.[196]

Herodian soldiers were the main visitors at Sahr, the main pre-provincial cult centre in Leja, as their statues were situated on a platform at the centre of the main courtyard of the sanctuary (§ Ch.4.4.3.2). This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that the statue of the goddess of war, Athena, with Graeco-Roman motifs was also placed on the same platform. Her representation implies that she was most likely worshipped and recognized by Herodian soldiers as they were allies of, and depended on, Rome (§ Ch.3.2.2) and the Herodian culture was based on a filo-Hellenistic tradition (§ Ch.4.2.4). The Herodian impact on Leja can be also seen by similar representations of statues of Hellenistic style used in Herodian iconography (§ Ch.4.2.4).

The Herodian presence in Leja, especially of their soldiers, is explained by the military presence in Leja in their fight against bandits – the provenance of whom is unknown (§

[195] We do not have evidence of Nabataean trade and their presence at Damascus apart from literary sources for two main reasons. Firstly, the lack of archaeological evidence in Damascus in the first century BC-first century AD, especially of material culture, is caused by the limited intensive fieldwork that can be undertaken at Damascus. It is a modern-day capital that has been inhabited throughout the centuries (Burns 2005). From the pre-provincial and provincial period only remains of Roman monumental buildings have partially survived (Ibid.). Secondly, Damascus was not the main focus for Nabataean commercial activities, so their trade in this city would have been on a small scale (Millar 1998: 123-125, 135), especially considering that the Nabataean trade was mostly focused on the route-way from Southern Arabia to Egypt, the East (Mesopotamia), Palestine (Gaza, Cesaraea Maritima) and southern Phoenicia (Tyr) (Young 2001: 91 ff.) (Map 2.3).
Nabataean pottery in Antioch in the north of Syria can confirm the presence of the Nabataeans, or at least of their markets. The Nabataeans could have reached northern Syria (Schmid 2004: 418) either by using a land-route, passing Bosra and Damascus, or by sea from Caesarea on the coast of the southern Levant. Such widespread circulation of Nabataean merchants and goods in the Near East can be explained because they mostly traded in incense and aromatics that were required for religious practices in the Near East and in the Mediterranean (Young 2001: 90).
It has been suggested that the Roman road built under the Emperor Trajan (Via Traiana Nova) from Bosra to Damascus, alongside the western borders of the Hauran, could have been used by Nabataean merchants because sites on the southern part of this route have been dated to the Nabataean period, according to pottery (Graf 1979: 126, 1995: 264, Oleson et al. 1994: 141-179, Young 2001: 90). However, it is more likely that Nabataean merchants used the route that crossed the Hauran because the Nabataean presence is attested across the Hauran rather than outside where it is not attested.

[196] The Nabataeans controlled the city for fifteen years 87-72 BC (§ Ch.3.2) (Burns 2005: 44). They attempted to resume control of the city during Pompey's arrival in 63 BC (Burns 2005: 46). Nabataean merchants were attested at Damascus and in its surrounding territory in the first century BC-first century AD, according to Strabo (Strab. Geog.16: 2, 20). A factor that could have facilitated the expansion of Nabataean commerce to Damascus is the Nabateans having Damascus' citizens on their side because they protected them from the Ituraeans in the early first century BC (Burns 2005: 44).

Ch.3). This troubled scenario is historically attested as well as verified by the presence of Herodian troops at Basir in the north-eastern outskirts of Leja and at Sur al'Laja (§ Ch.3, Ch.4.2).

Similarly, the presence of people coming from different parts of the Near East in rural cult centres of the Hauran also continued in the provincial period. They were soldiers from the military bases from the nearby city Bosra, the southern Hauran, the South-East of the Hauran (Jerusalem), and from more distant military bases like those at Dura Europos and Raphanea (northern Syria) (Map 6.3). Their presence in rural cult centres is clearly demonstrated by their dedications (§ Ch.6.3.3). It can be explained because this region was a key location situated amongst different military bases across the Near East and between two major battlefields in the Roman Near East, i.e. Judaea for the Jewish wars and Parthia for the Parthian wars. Furthermore, it was connected to them through route-ways. The Roman soldiers' presence in the Hauran can be explained by the need to maintain the stability acquired by Herodian soldiers and to control the Roman roads that crossed this region (§ Ch.6.3.3).

8.2. Syncretic nature of gods

The syncretic nature of the majority of gods worshipped in rural cult centres of both study areas in pre-provincial and provincial periods is suggested by the Greek names (Athena and Zeus) attributed to them and their representation that, in both instances, can be associated with various Semitic deities venerated across the Near East (§ Ch.2.3, Ch.5). This, therefore, implies that devotees from different parts of the Near East could have visited rural cult centres because they venerated the deities worshipped in these sanctuaries as their own.

New cults (i.e. the gods Mithras and Zeus Ammon, mainly venerated by Roman soldiers) were welcome and integrated in these religious centres in the Hauran in the provincial period, but, at the same time pre-existing gods continued to be worshipped (for example, Baalshamin/Zeus at Sī' in the Hauran) (§ Ch.5). This together with the syncretic nature of the gods reinforces the hypothesis, put forward in this study, on the diversity of worshippers visiting cult centres, and, therefore, the function of these sanctuaries as gathering centres of people from different parts of the Near East.

8.3. Structural development of rural cult centres

Another aspect that suggests the social significance and role of rural sanctuaries is their structural development over time, which was visible in cult centres at Baetaecaece (northern Phoenicia) and Sī' (Hauran), and the enduring use of pre-provincial sanctuaries also in provincial period (§ Ch.2.2, Ch.4).

Although Baetaecaece was known from the second half of second century BC, its monumentality developed in the second century AD and evolved towards the third century AD with the erection of the main temple and four main gateways. The earlier visible remains consisting of two walls standing on the interior southern and eastern side of the main temple (of unknown chronology) indicates that the original location of the heart of the sanctuary was maintained but its earliest surviving structure was not preserved. This can be interpreted as a consequence that the main city of the northern Phoenicia, Aradus, was hostile to Cesar's campaigns undertaken to integrate the northern Phoenicia to the Roman Empire in the first century BC. Therefore, the earliest structure was probably considered inapt to be preserved (§ Ch.2.2.5).

In the case of Sī', shrines were added over time: from one temple at the end of the first century BC to four preceded by wide courtyards in the second half of the first century AD, and a monumental gateway dated to the end of the second century-beginning of the third century AD. This gate, dedicated to Zeus (Greek assimilation to Baalshamin), leads to the earliest temple of the pre-existing god, Baalshamin/Zeus (§ Ch.5.7.2-3). This example indicates that both the pre-existing religious focus of this cult centre and the pre-existing god associated with it were maintained and prevailed, despite the introduction and integration of the new cult of Mithras in the provincial period. This is the case of the pre-provincial cult centre at Sur al-Laja whose layout was not modified to accommodate the provincial cult of Zeus Ammon, worshipped mostly by Roman soldiers (§ Ch.4-5-6).

It is difficult to identify different phases within the rural cult centres for the following reasons: the lack of intensive fieldwork in these sites (apart from Sī'), the partial reuse of these structures integrated with modern hamlets, and their location within modern-day villages. Additionally, it is also difficult to assess structures in Roman rural temples from phases dated prior to the provincial times because being the only remaining and the most monumental, structures from the Roman phase could have covered earlier structures,.

Despite the fact that it is difficult to identify the structural development of rural cult centres, the enduring importance and significance of pre-existing gods, nevertheless, is proven by the uninterrupted worship of these deities by new dedicants (Roman soldiers) also in the provincial times (e.g. temples at Mushannef, Sanamein, and Sī') (Table 6.5).

8.4. Autonomy of rural cult centres from the nearby urban settlements

The autonomy of the sanctuary at Baetocaece from the nearby harbour city Aradus was granted by the Seleucid king, possibly Antioch VI (145-141/140BC), and, maintained by Roman emperors in the first three centuries of our era according to the decree affixed on the sanctuary's entrance (§ Ch.2.4.1). This decree also indicates, contrary to previous scholars' understanding, that the city Aradus was actually dependent on the sanctuary for commercial transactions where goods were sold in the markets.

In the Hauran no inscription indicated that the nearby cities Canatha and Dionysias owned the nearby rural sanctuaries (e.g. Sī', Atil, Sleim, Mushannef), or had control over the sanctuaries or were main benefactors (§ Ch.6). Furthermore, regional cities did not influence the religious beliefs or the architecture of rural sanctuaries (§ Ch.4-5). This can be clearly seen, for instance, by looking at the syncretic nature of gods in the rural religious centres, contrasted by the presence of local gods in urban centres (e.g. in the city Canatha, near the sanctuary at Sī'). The significance of the rural cult centres is proven by the fact cities in the region developed in the late provincial period during the process of urbanization taking place at that time. Although, according to a coin, being the only urban centre known in the first century BC, Canatha developed in late provincial period (all its temples were built in that period) (§ Ch.3.3.2.2, Ch.4.8, Table 3.2).

8.5. Autonomy of rural cult centres from their political powers

Despite controlling the Hauran in the pre-provincial period, Nabataean and Herodian kingdoms, neither interfered with the gods worshipped in rural cult centres or had a major impact on their religious architecture. This was due to the fact that they relinquished some "autonomy" to this region, also in terms of administration, being on the outskirts of both kingdoms (§ Ch.3). At the same time the presence of the statue of the Herodian king at Sī', one of the main rural cult centres in the region, points out to

the permission from the political authority and indirect supervision and respect over the sanctuaries, the local religious beliefs and communities, and *vice versa* (§ Ch.4.2).

The Romans did not impose their own culture on rural cult centres. This is demonstrated by the continuous religious focus of pre-provincial cult centres in the provincial period (§ Ch.8.2) and the worship of pre-existing gods in provincial period also by new dedicants, such as Roman soldiers (for example, Zeus at Sī' and Zeus Baetocaece at Baetocaece). Furthermore, although the standard architecture developed in the Near East in the provincial period was adopted in rural cult centres in both study areas, it was locally adapted, especially in the case of Baetocaece (§ Ch.2.2). In the Hauran it was used before the actual temporary and definitive annexation of the region to the Roman Empire (§ Ch.4.6).

8.6. Economic activities of rural cult centres and their self-sufficient entities

Major rural cult centres (e.g. Baetocaece, in the northern Phoenicia, Sī' and Sahr, in the Hauran) as well as minor sanctuaries (e.g. Lubbayn, situated in the inaccessible and uncultivated territory of Leja in the Hauran, which was only visited by local villagers) appeared to be autonomous from an economic perspective and were self-sufficient, organized entities at different levels, where personnel managed economic and administrative affairs..

From the second century BC to the third century AD, the sanctuary at Baetocaece was responsible for a bi-monthly market offering a range of goods, including slaves. Slave trade was rare in the Roman province of Syria; the other known place was Palmyra, that was from the first century AD onwards, a major urban centre in the Near East. Therefore, this sanctuary played a significant economic role both in the region and in the wider context of the Near East. Additionally, as this cult centre owned the village Baetocaece, its non-religious function also included the responsibility of economic activities associated with that settlement. These activities could have been agricultural because of the rich exploitable land and the cultivations (vineyards, olive trees and orchards) still present nowadays in the surrounding areas. These activities could also have been of industrial nature with a connection to farming, as suggested by the recurrence of fortnightly markets. A specific group of laypersons, named *katachoi*, dealt directly with the Roman emperors to discuss the privileges of the sanctuary, and

managed its economic activities and transactions with nearby cities, where the goods sold in markets came from.

Additionally, unlike previous scholarly work, this study has enabled us to identify small scale economic activities (i.e. periodic markets during religious festivals) run by the major rural sanctuaries at Sī' and Sahr. It also points to the self-sufficiency of Sī', when there are no written documents in existence that specifically discuss the matter (§ Ch.7). This has been possible only due to the combination of examination of inscriptions that mention personnel with a non-religious role, archaeological remains and landscape analysis (the innovative three-folded approach). We cannot establish a set criteria to identify economic activities only through landscape analysis as this type of analysis applied to the case-studies Sī' and Sahr does not provide a homogenous pattern. For instance, the occurrence of markets associated with sanctuaries could have been facilitated by their location on route-ways (i.e. Sī'), but markets could have also taken place when roads were absent (i.e. Sahr).

The sanctuary at Sī' provides a clearer picture of economic activities associated than the one at Sahr or other cult centres, thanks to the publication of the intensive fieldwork on this site. There is also more data available, including archaeological remains and inscriptions.

The sanctuary at Sī' was also economically self-sufficient as it was most likely in charge of viniculture, wine and pottery production that took place at the bottom valley of the sanctuary in the first-third century AD. Furthermore, the goods sold at Sī' could have been the main Nabataean goods (i.e. incense and aromatics) and locally-produced pottery, wine and grapes from the sanctuary. The Nabataeans in the southern Hauran (Bosra and its surrounding territory) probably purchased locally-produced wine and grapes as they did not produce these goods (Willcox 2003). The sale of Nabataean goods at Sī' is suggested by the predominance of Nabataean bronze coins recovered at the site, that were used for every day small scale commerce, in the movements of Nabataean merchants in the Hauran, and the sculpture of a Nabataean king (§ Ch.7).

Economic activities at Sī' would have been managed by *hierodouloi* (literally the '*temple slaves')* as demonstrated by their presence in this cult centre and in other sanctuaries in their function of management of sacred land-properties and other duties associated with the sanctuary. We can suggest that *Seenoi*, a specific group entity named after the sanctuary, probably also worked for the religious centre. This is not

only given by their name but also proven by the presence of inscriptions that showed their gratitude to the main benefactor of the temple.

Minor sanctuaries were also organized and financially complex entities as demonstrated by the necessity of more than one individual who- although not members of the priesthood- were specifically in charge of temple's finances (i.e. temple's treasurers) (§ Ch.7.5.3).

8.7. Interactions between the two study areas and the hinterland of the Near East

The significance of rural cult centres and of their study areas outside their own region is argued by the connections of the two study areas with more distant cultures from the hinterland of the Near East (e.g. Palmyra and Dura Europos) as revealed by the analysis of pre-provincial sanctuaries in the Hauran (e.g. Sī' and Sahr) and the cult centre at Baetocaece.

Indirect connections between the Hauran and major distant urban centres in the hinterland of the Near East (e.g. Palmyra and Dura Europos) has been suggested by the similar ritual practices and architectural and iconographic style between rural cult centres in pre-provincial period in the study area and the examples from these distant cities. This can be interpreted as a consequence of the elite in the Hauran (i.e. "Safaitic" groups, Nabataean merchants and Herodian soldiers) linking religious centres of this study area with these major cities. The elite were in contact with Dura Europos and Palmyra (§ Ch.4.4, Ch.5.2-3, Ch.6.3.1) according to historical accounts and archaeological evidence. The Hauran was a key crossing area for people from different cultures and was connected to major urban settlements (e.g. Bosra, Damascus, Palmyra, Dura Europos) through a complex road-network (Maps 2.3, 3.7, 4.4).

At Baetocaece this long-distant connection has been suggested by the recovery of coins minted in commercial cities of the Near Eastern hinterland (Antioch and Apamea) also connected to Palmyra, by dedications from Roman soldiers, one of these coming from Raphanea, and the adoption of niches on facade of the sanctuary originated and mostly used at Palmyra and its surrounding area. Additionally, Baetocaece seemed also to have had strong connection with the neighbouring modern-day Lebanon because of similar iconographic, architectural and decorative style and ritual practices. This connection of Baetocaece with the Near Eastern hinterland was due to the key economic role of the sanctuary and its location. Firstly, it held a rare type of commerce, slave trade in Syria,

with the exception of Palmyra; this rare and important economic activity could have triggered the function of this sanctuary as a gathering centre for people from different parts of the Near East. Secondly, Baetocaece was a crossing point from the Mediterranean coast to major commercial cities in the Near East (Antioch, Apamea and Emesa connected to Palmyra through roads), and a Roman military base Raphanea. They were all joined through a major road-network (§ Ch.2, Map 2.3).

8.8. Future research

This PhD thesis has demonstrated the socio-economic significance and role of rural cult centres in the region, but also their importance in both study areas and in the Near East, i.e. their interactions with the Near East hinterland. Rural cult centres as an object of study has provided a picture of the society and the elite of this period and of these areas. Therefore, this study has gone beyond the common scholarly understanding of sanctuaries as only religious centres and that of previous approaches that merely considered the local identity of these centres and the Roman and Hellenistic impact on the local culture. It is important to point out that this comprehensive understanding of the subject has been only possible thanks to a multi-disciplinary approach that analyses different aspects of rural cult centres within the geographical, socio-economic and historical contexts.

Therefore, the comprehensive nature and the successful outcome of this multi-disciplinary approach used for the Hauran and the northern Phoenicia has the potential to be used in other studies of cult centres and of different areas where the emphasis is on the socio-economic aspect of these sanctuaries in the Near East and in the Roman Empire.

An example could be the countryside of Palmyra where its copious rural cult centres (Schlumberger 1957) can be investigated in relation to their landscape, commercial routes and the major urban centre Palmyra.

Furthermore, the significance of economic activities in rural sanctuaries demonstrated in this study can be also sought in other areas, as follows:

- Asia Minor (Turkey), because a copious quantity of information from inscriptions and historical sources mentions economic activities run by sanctuaries (Debord 1982, Boffo 1985, Dignas 2002). To have a complete understanding of the matter, it is still necessary

to discuss information from written evidence, combined with landscape analysis and archaeological evidence.

- North Africa, where there is evidence of commercial activities associated with rural sanctuaries, according to inscriptions (like at Hassawana, in present-day Morocco) (AE N96) and archaeological evidence (like *tabernae* in the sanctuary of Mercury at Gigthis) (Rossignoli 1994: 567).

This study has attempted to shed new light on the approach and the perspective not only of rural cult centres but also of religious architecture and the economy associated with sanctuaries (i.e. their socio-economic aspect and role and the necessity to have a multidisciplinary approach). As this new perspective and approach has been successfully tested in this PhD thesis in the analysis of these two study areas, the approach to religious architecture and the economy associated with sanctuaries as proposed by previous scholars now needs to be revised. These aspects need to be considered and studied in their entirety, to avoid partial understanding of only a facet of what cult centres stood for. For instance, if we did not take into account inscriptions in this study, we would not have been able to identify the presence of people who used "Safaitic" graffiti in rural cult centres of the Hauran. If we only considered written evidence, we would not have revealed the occurrence of economic activities associated with rural cult centres in the Hauran. This research has also shown the significance of extra-urban sanctuaries in their region and in the wider context of the Near East, especially when these centres were situated in key-transit areas, like in the case of the two study areas here discussed. Furthermore, this study has also demonstrated the potential of the analysis of rural cult centres to show us a picture of the rural society and the elite of this period and their relations with other cultures in the Near East. When analysing extra-urban sanctuaries -especially those placed in key crossing territories- we should bear in mind that these were an expression not only of the cultures of local communities, but also of specific cultures that had contact with the society that these religious centres represented.

Appendix 1: Glossary of architectural terms

(References for definitions of architectural terms provided here and for more comprehensive glossaries see Robertson 1943, MacDonald 1982, Ward-Perkins 1994, McKenzie 1990, René 1998)

- *Abacus*: the flat part of the top of a capital (Figures 4-5-6).
- *Acanthus leaves*: typical floral decoration used in monumental architecture, used for Corinthian capitals (Figure 5).
- *Adyton*: also called *thalamos*, the hidden area of the temple attached to or part of the *cella* that is not accessible by everyone.
- *Attic base*: a base consisting of a torus, scotia and torus, without any decorative motifs, like acanthus leaves (Figure 7).
- *Annulet*: circular moulding (ring-shape), usually at the top of a column adjoining the capital.
- *Arch*: curved structure.
- *Architrave*: the lowest part of entablature, below the frieze and the cornice (Figure 3).
- *Astragal*: small convex moulding of half round profile.
- *Bead-and-reel*: alternating long and short beads carved in an astragal moulding, often below an ovolo moulding (Figures 5, 8).
- *Capital*: the upper part of a column or pilaster (Figures 3-4-5-6).
- *Cavea*: circular area of a theatre used to accommodate the audience (Figure 1).
- *Cavetto*: concave moulding, quarter round profile in cross-section.
- *Cella*: the house of a deity, consisting of a central chamber/room of a temple where his/her statue was placed (Figure 1).
- *Colonnade*: structure with a row of columns.
- *Console*: S-shaped bracket on either side of a doorway, supporting the cornice.
- *Corinthian capital*: a bell-shaped capital with a collar of acanthus leaves at its base and spirals on the corners (Figure 4).
- *Cornice*: the top architectural member of the entablature, above the frieze and architrave (Figure 3).
- *Corona*: projecting member of a cornice.
- *Cyma recta*: a moulding with a double curve profile: concave above and convex below.

- *Cyma reversa*: opposite profile of a *cyma recta*, a moulding with a double curve profile: convex above and concave below.
- *Dentil*: a small rectangular block at the base of a cornice.
- *Doric capital*: the simplest type of capitals, consisting of the abacus above an ovolo moulding and below the echinus followed by an astragal (Figure 6).
- *Drip cornice*: a corona with a ridge along the front end of the underside (ceiling of the cornice), usually decorated.
- *Echinus*: lower curved part of a Doric capital (Figure 6)
- *Edicula*: a standing framed niche to place a statue, most likely of divine character, usually within the sacred area.
- *Egg-and-dart*: egg shapes on relief alternated with a small wedge, on ovolo moulding (Figure 8).
- *Egg-and-tongue*: reversed eggs on relief alternated with tongue, on ovolo moulding (Figure 8).
- *Entablature*: horizontal architectural element consisting of architrave, frieze and cornice (Figure 7).
- *Façade*: front face of a building, like a temple.
- *Fillet*: small flat moulding (Figure 7).
- *Flute*: ornamental vertical groove in a column (Figure 6).
- *Frieze*: between the architrave and cornice of an entablature, usually decorated with reliefs (Figure 3).
- *Graeco-Roman temple*: Graeco-Roman *cella*, a rectangular chamber to place the cult's statue (Figure 2).
- *Ionic capital*: consisting of two volutes (scroll shapes) on either side of the capital and usually egg-motif and bead-and-reel pattern below the volutes (Figure 5).
- *Ionic doorframe*: two or three fasciae of wide smooth bands, gradually more projecting towards their external edge, and separated by a sunken fillet (Figure 3).
- *Lintel*: horizontal beam across the top of a doorway (Figure 3).
- *Moulding*: continuous profile to embellish and shape the edge of an architectural feature, like capitals, entablature and doorframes.
- *Normal Corinthian capital*: standard Corinthian capital with highly decorate foliage defined by Vitruvius; the helix and the corner volute spring together from *cauliculus* (the one fluted sheath) (Figure 4).

- *Nymphaeum*: monumental public fountain building.
- *Orchestra*: the circular space at the bottom of the theatre used as a stage (Figure 1).
- *Ovolo*: rounded convex moulding, a quarter of a circle or ellipse in cross-section.
- *Pediment*: the part crowning the front of the building, especially temples; its shape is usually triangular (Figure 3)
- *Plinth*: low square stone on whic the column stands.
- *Podium*: an elevated platform for temples, usually with mouldings at the top and the bottom.
- *Frons scaenae*: scenic background behind the *orchestra*; typical element of the Roman model theatre (Figure 2).
- *Pseudo-peripteral cella*: "peripteral" as it is surrounded by columns on its all four sides, "pseudo" as walls have been built between columns apart from the entrance (Figure 2).
- *Propylaeum*: monumental gateway, usually for the enclosure of a temple, with one or more flights of steps and occasionally wide platforms between (they are usually called *propylaea*, plural of *propylaeum*. *Propylon* is the simpler version of *propylaeum*.
- *Prostyle temple*: the main room to house the deity's statue preceded by a porch that has a row of columns (Figure 2).
- *Prostyle temple in antis*: a prostyle temple but the row of columns at the entrance consists of two columns (Figure 2).
- *Raking cornice*: sloping cornice (Figure 3).
- *Scotia*: a concave moulding, usually at the base of a column (Figure 7).
- *Sima*: crown (top) moulding of a cornice.
- *Taberna*: rectangular room used as shop and/or workshop.
- *Temenos*: wall structure to enclose a sacred precinct.
- *Tendril*: decorative plant stem.
- *Tympanum*: central part of the pediment bounded by the raking cornice and the top of the entablature (Figure 3).
- Torus: a rounded convex moulding (Figure 7).

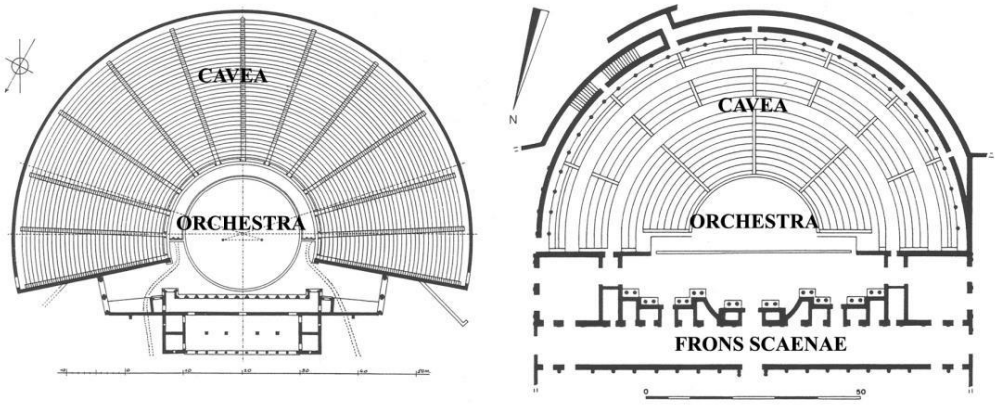


Figure 1: Plan of Greek theatre at Epidauros in Greece (on the left) and the Roman theatre at Orange in France (on the right) (after Gros 1996: 272 fig.319, 322)

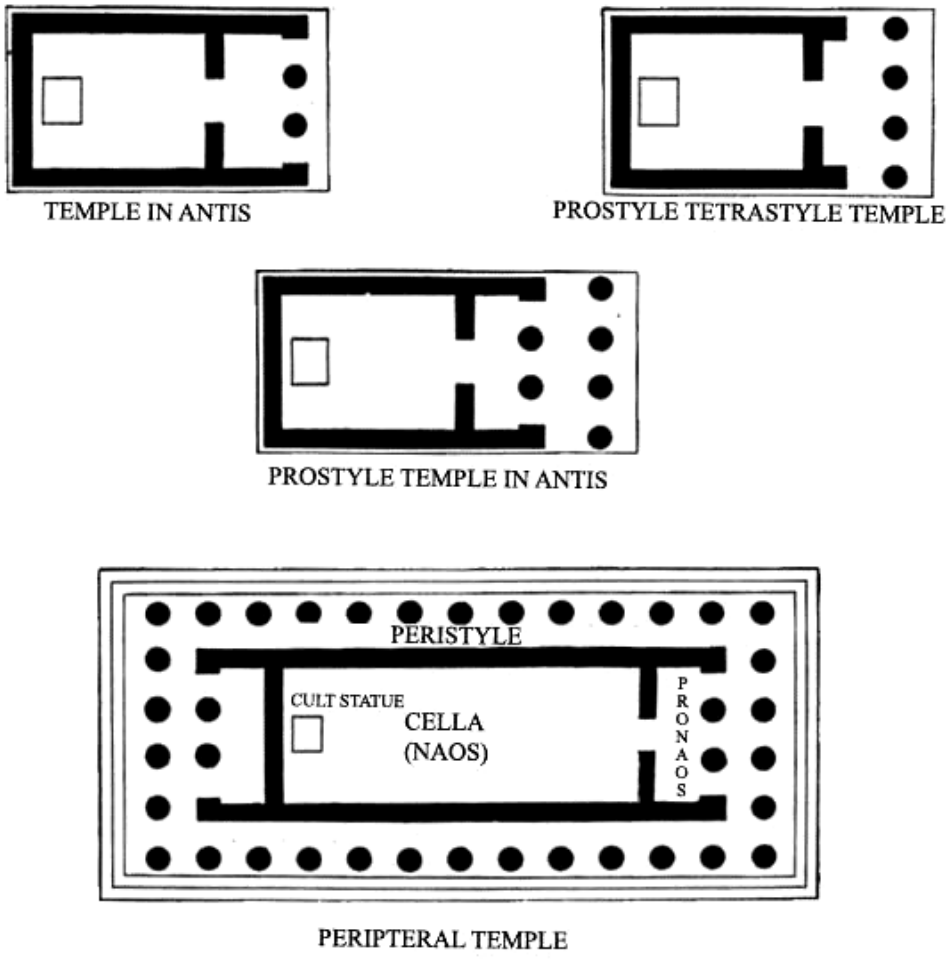


Figure 2: Model of different types of temples

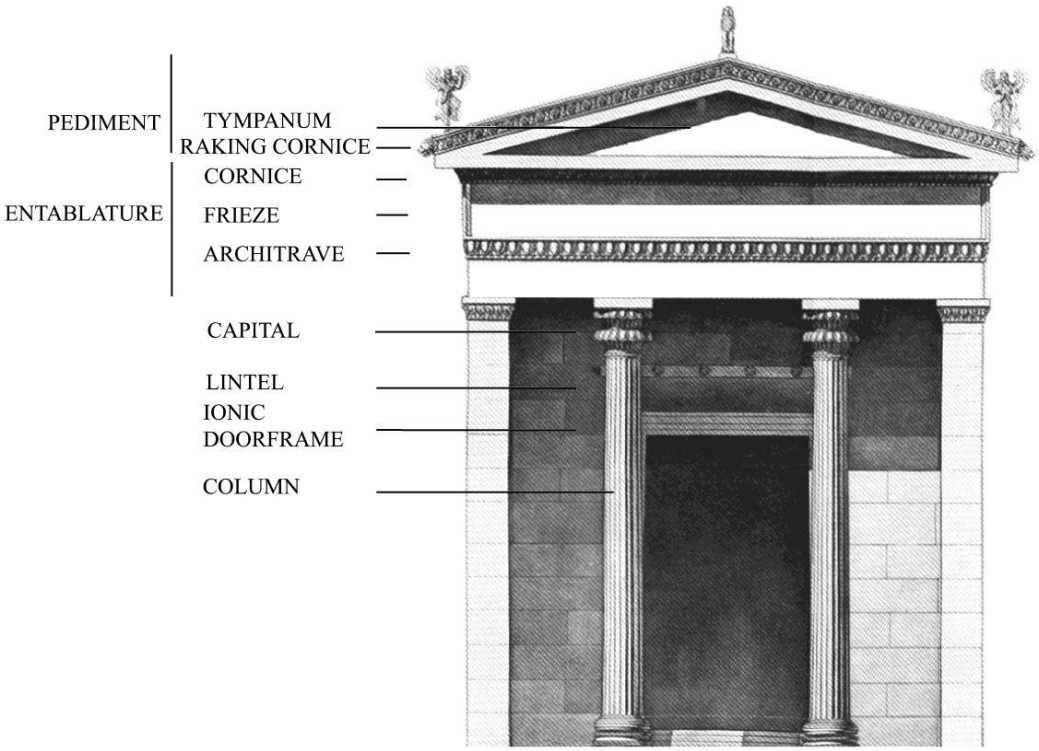


Figure 3: Restored elevation of the facade with Ionic doorframe and entablature of the Treasury of Massala (late sixth century BC) at Delos (after Lawrence 1983 fig.136)

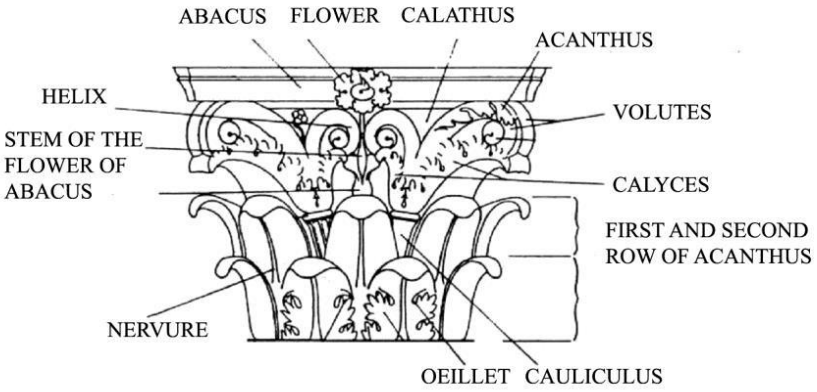


Figure 4: The normal Corinthian capital (after Amy & Gros 1979 fig.23)

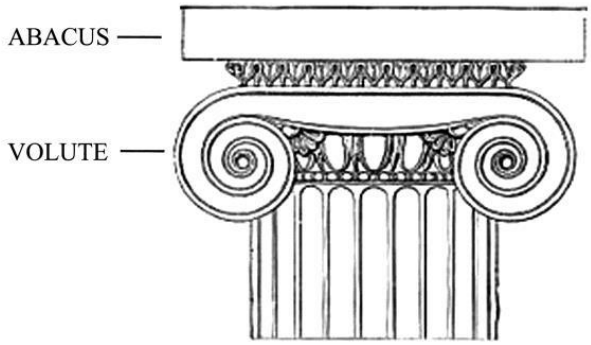


Figure 5: Example of an Ionic capital

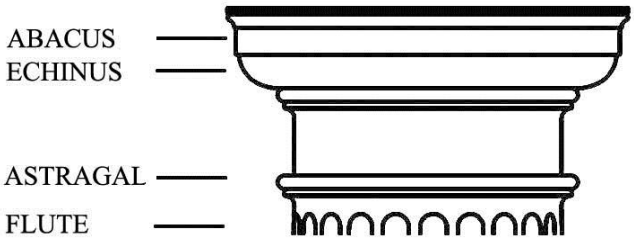


Figure 6: Example of a Doric capital

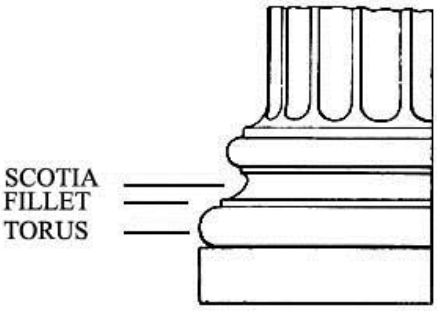


Figure 7: Example of an Attic base

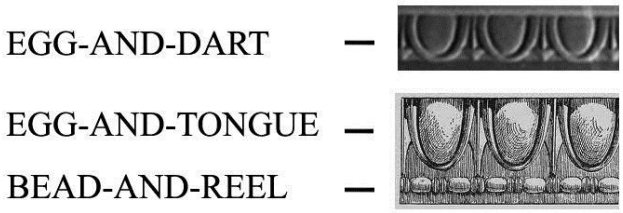


Figure 8: Example of decorative motifs (egg-motif and bead-and-reel)

Appendix 2: Tables

Table 1.1: cult centres in Northern Phoenicia

Site	Type	Remains	Inscription	Reliefs/sculpture	Chronology	Reference
el-Shiha	4	X			NI[1]	visit of the author 2010
Baetocaece	1	X	X	X		Drummont 1754, Chandler 1774: 88, Donati 1774: 147, 2, Orelli 1828. *ILSA*. n.3657, Franzi 1853.*CIG* n.4474, Wadd. 2720, Dussaud 1897: 319-329, Welles 1934: 280-288, Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 65-101, IGLS VII, Rigsby 1980: 233-254, Baroni 1984: 135-167, Rey-Coquais 1987: 191-207, Feissel 1993: 13-26, Freyberger 2004, 2009, Steinsapir 1999, 2005: 31 ff., Ahmed 2010, visit of the author 2010
Mastabeh	3	X			Roman	Sapin 1989: 111, Steinsapir 2005: 35, Ahmed 2010: 113, Aliquot 2010b, visit of the author 2010
Qadmous	3	X			Iron Age, Roman	Bounni 1991, 1992, Abou Assaf 1992, Bounni 1997, visit of the author 2010
Qnmet Nipal	2	X			NI	Aliquot 2010b, visit of the author 2010

[1] "NI" means "not identified".

Table 1.2: cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Type	Remains	Inscription	Reliefs/sculpture	Chronology	Reference
Atil	3	X	X		AD151, AD211	Wadd 2372, 2374a,2375, PAAES II N427a, IGR III 1238, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1909: 102-106, PAAES II: 343-346, fig. 120, PPUAES II A 5: 1915: 355-356, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Segal 2008: 103-105, Sartre-Fauriat 2004: 39, visit of the author 2010
ʻAuwas	4		X		Provincial period (?)	Wadd 2046, Ewing 1895: 168, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 342, PPUAES III A N693
Boutheiné	2		X		Provincial period (?)	Dussaud & Macler 1901 N1, Wadd 2127
Breik	3	X	X			PPUAES II A 7: 409-412 fig. 352 pl. XXIX, Suw. 1934 N20 pl. VIII, Mascle 1944 N20, Suw. 1991 INV20 [12] (5,31), Segal 2008: 109, visit of the author 2010
Dakir	4	X		X	Second century AD (?)	Suw. 1991 INV566 [343], (8,36), INV608 [341] (7,22), INV568 [346] (7,28) Pl.18-19, Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 297, 1992: 73, 76, 2008: 87, Denzter &Weber 2009: 124
Dâmit Il-Alyā	2	X	X		Pre-provincial to provincial period	PPUAES II A 7: 433-434 Ill. 377, Wadd 2453, Ewing 1895: 76, Dussaud & Macler 1903: 242 N10, PPUAES II N800 1, 2
Dayr Smayg	3	X			Provincial period	PPUAES II A 5: 352-354, Dentzer 1986: 297
Dêr Il-Meshḳûḳ	4	X			Provincial period	PPUAES II A 2: 130 Ill. 106
Hebran	4	X				CIS II 170, PPUAES III N663, Wadd 2286, 2290, PPUAES III N665, N659, IGR III 1297, PPUAES II A 5: 323-325, Pl. XX, Suw. 1934 N177-178-179, Milik

						1958: 228-229, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Segal 2008: 102-103, visit of the author 2010
Is-Şâfiyeh	2	X			Pre-provincial/ Provincial period (?)	PPUAES II A 2: 124: 124, Braemer *et al.* 1999: 164, 159 fig.6, 165 fig.12a
Kharaba	2		X		Provincial period (?)	PPUAES III N220
Lubbayn	4		X		AD213, AD232-333	Wadd 2455, 2456, Ewing 1895: 69-70, PPUAES II N793, N793 1, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 324-325
Mashara	4	X		X	Pre-provincial/provincial period (?)	Dentzery-Feydy 1992: 79-80 fig 20, 2008: 87, 96 footnote 219-220
Mayamâs	4	X		X	Provincial period (?)	PPUAES II A 5: 326-329, Denzter-Feydy 1986: 297, visit of the author 2010
Menara Henou	4	X	X	X	Provincial	Speidel 1998 N32-33, Stoll 2001: 468-470 N87-88
Mismiyeh	3	X	X		Provincial	Wadd 2525, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Segal 2008: 109-112
Mushannef	2	X	X	X	Provincial (although earliest inscriptions are dated to the early first century AD)	Wadd 2216, Wadd 2212, PAAES III N380a N382, Brünnov & von Domaszewski 1909: 103, Burns 1992: 161, PAAES II: 346-351, PPUAES II A 5: 340 ff., Ball 1994: 82, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Segal 2008: 101-102, visit of the author 2010
Rimet Hazem	3	X			Second half of the first century AD	Wadd 2407, IGR III 1242, Dentzer-Feydy 1998
Sahr	1	X	X	X	Second half of the first century AD to the provincial period	PPUAES II A 7: 441-446, PPAES III A N805 5, Kalos 1997, 2003, Dentzer-Feydy 2010a
Salkad	4		X		From the mid-first century BC until the provincial period	CIS II 182, PPUAES II N155, Suw. 1934 N200, N374-375, N377, Brünnow & Domaszewski 1904: 322, Mascle 1944

						N311, Milik 1958: 227-228, Sourdel 1957: 24, Suw. 1991 INV311 [218] (5,32)
Sanamein	3	X	X		Provincial (although earliest inscriptions are dated to the early first century AD)	Wadd 2211, 2413 f, PPUAES III N652, CIG 4554, IGRR III 1128, 1260, PAAES II N380, PPUAES II A 5: 315-322 fig.287-293 pl. XI, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 308, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Freyberger 1989, 1991, Segal 2008: 105-107, Sartre-Fauriat 2004: 46, visit of the author 2010
Sha'ârah	1	X	X	X	Provincial	PPUAES III A N803 1-2, 6, Kalos 2001
Sī'	1	X	X	X	From the end of the first century BC to the provincial period	RES 2023, RES 803, CIS II 163, RAO I N11, Wadd 2367, PPUAES II A 6: 365-399, PAAES II: 322-424, 334-340, PAAES III N431-432, N427b, N428a-b, PAAES IV N1, PPUAES II N769, IV N100, Dunand 1926: 328 pl. LXIX, Cantineau 1932: 11-12 , Suw. 1934 N15 N27 pl. IX, Mascle 1944 N15, N27, Will 1952: 67-68, Sourdel 1957: 28, 64, Suw. 1991 INV 15 [190] (5,23), INV27 [191] (5,33), Sartre 2002, Milik 2003, Dentzer 1985, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, 1990a-b,1992, 2003, 2010a-b, visit of the author 2010
Sleim	3	X			Provincial (although earliest inscriptions are dated to the early first century AD)	PPUAES II A 5: 356-359 fig. 319-320 pl. XXVI-XXVII, Freyberger 1991, Denzter-Feydy 1997, Sartre-Fauriat 2004: 65, Segal 2008: 99-101, visit of the author 2010
Ṣmad	2		X		Provincial period (?)	PPUAES III N786 1-6
Sur al-Laja	2	X	X		Pre-provincial to the provincial period	CIL III 13.604, PPUAES III A N797, N797 4, PPUAES II A 7: 428-431 Ill. 371,

						Dentzer-Feydy 1986
Zebiré	2		X		AD213	Wadd 2512, Brünnow & von Domaszewski & von Domaszewski 1904: 331

Table 2.1: Aradian territory according to ancient historians

Historian	**Period**	**Geographical extent**
Arrian (Lucius Flavius Arrianus 'Xenophon') (second century AD) II 13, 7 (Duyrat 2005: 195)	Alexander conquest	Aradus Marathos Sigôn Mariammè Others (without precision)
Quintus-Curtius Rufus (probably 41-54AD or 69-79 AD) IV 1, 5-7 (Duyrat 2005: 195)	Alexander conquest	Coastal region along the sea (without precision)
Strabo (64/63 BC – ca. AD 24) XVI 2, 12 (Duyrat 2005: 195)	Augustan period (information between 46-5BC-37AD)	Aradus Paltos Balanee (autonomous in 37AD) Ennydra Marathos (conflict with Aradus) Simyra Orthosie Up to Eleutherus (river on the northern Syria bordered with Lebanon)

Table 2.2: sample of megalithic stones used in sanctuaries in the Near East in different periods

Site	**Area**	**Period**	**Reference**
Roman temples of Lebanon especially the sanctuary at Balbek	Lebanon	Roman period	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938
the sanctuary of Zeus at Gerasa	Jordan	Hellenistic period	Seigne 2002: 12, fig. 11
the temple of Eshmun at Sidon	Lebanon	Seventh century BC	Dunand 1973: 14
the sanctuary of Amrit	Northern Phoenicia	Mid-fourth century BC	Dunand & Saliby 1985: 13

Table 2.3: Layout of rural cult centres in Northern Phoenicia

Site	Structure	T	Chronology	Reference
el-Shiha	temple (?) *podium*	X	NI	visit of the author 2010
Baetocaece	pseudo-peripteral/prostyle temple preceded by a set of three staircases alternated with platform. It is surrounded by a monumental *temenos* with four monumental gateways and three monumental altars		Second-third century AD	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 65-101, Freyberger 2004, 2009, Ertel & Freyberger 2008, Steinsapir 2005: 31 ff., Ahmed 2010, visit of the author 2010
	Standing wall inside the pseudo-peripteral/prostyle temple		Pre-provincial period (?)	
	temple *in antis*		First century AD (?)	
	Standing façade wall with four framed windows and two doorways, fragments of stone blocks, a semi-circular exedra, obscure apsidal structure and basilica		Second-third century AD, for the standing façade, Christian era (?) for Basilica and NI for the other structures	
Mastabeh	NI temple, no *podium*		Roman	Sapin 1989: 111, Steinsapir 2005: 35, Ahmed 2010: 113, Aliquot 2010, visit of the author 2010
Qadmous	Roman temple with *pronaos*, with *adyton* (?)		Roman	Bounni 1997: 778-781, visit of the author 2010
	T-reserved structure with tripartite vestibule		Iron Age	
Qnmet Nipal	Monolithic blocks that stand for remains of *temenos*	X	NI	Aliquot 2010, visit of the author 2010

Table 2.4: Samples of Corinthian capitals or composite capitals with smooth long and straight acanthus leaves in the Near East

Site	**Chronology**	**Reference**
Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra (Syria)	AD67-90	Collart & Vicari 1969: 145-148 Pl.88-90
Temple of Nebu at Palmyra (Syria)	First century AD	Bounni 1992-2004: 31, Bounni *et al.* 1992: 31 Tav. XLV fig. 70, 72.
Diocletian Camp	End of the third century AD	Michalowski 1962: 39-41, 85-88, fig.88-91
North of Gerasa (Jordan)	Beginning second century AD	Detweiler 1938: 121, Pl.23,c.
Temple at Sleim (Hauran)	First century AD	Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 646-651, fig.7-8, visit of the author 2010
Tomb of the Queen Helena of Adiabene (Palestine)	Second half of the first century AD	Fischer 1990: 24-26 Pl.7.38-39.
Temple at Baetocaece (northern Phoenicia)	Late second-third century AD	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938, fig.107, visit of the author 2010
Temple at Mastabeh (northern Phoenicia)	Roman period	Ahmed 2010: 113, visit of the author 2010
Tyr (Lebanon)	End of the first and second century AD	Pensabene 1997: 300 fig.21
Isolated column at Baakbek (Lebanon)	Roman period	Parrot 1929: 104-11
Temple (A) at Hoson Niha (Lebanon)	Roman period	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: fig.169 e
Sanctuary at Fakra (Lebanon)	End of the first and second century AD	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938 fig.61
Temple in *antis* at Ain Libnaya (Lebanon)	Roman period	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938:176 fig. 264
Temple at Zekweh (Lebanon)	Roman period	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 200 fig.296-297
Sanctuary of Zeus Medbakhos at Shekh Barat (northern Syria)	Roman period	Tchalenko 1953. Vol. I: 108, Vol.II: Tav.CLXXIV 2.

Table 2.5: A sample of sites in the Near East where wreath-like leaves are used

Site	**Reference**
Sanctuary at Baetocaece (northern Syria)	Visit of the author 2010
first-second century fragments with human and animal figures out of context at Sī'(Hauran)	Suw. 1934 N138-139 pl.30, 1991 6,09-10 INV138 [54], 139 [53]
Frieze of temple at Mushannef (Hauran)	Visit of the author 2010
Frieze of the sanctuary at Rimet Hazem (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 207-209 fig.17, 20
shafts of the second Corinthian capital from the doorway of the façade and frieze of the temples at Atil (Hauran)	Visit of the author 2010
Frieze of temple at Sanamein (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 pl.65 N182, 183, 184, 190, 191, 192 , 193
Fragment of frieze of the temple at Sleim (Hauran)	Freyberger 1991 pl.9c, visit of the author 2010
blocks in the foundation T of the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra (Syria)	Seyrig 1940: 302 pl.29-30, Seyrig *et al.* 1975 pl.33
Blocks and lintels of niches with griffons and the triad in the sanctuary of Baalshamin in Palmyra (Syria)	Collart & Vicari 1969: 95 :1-3, 97: 2-3
Doorway of the small temple and frieze of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek (Lebanon)	Wiegand 1925 pl.51-52, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
Lintel of architrave of the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra (Syria)	Seyrig *et al.* 1975 pl.33: 2

Table 2.6: A sample of sites in the Near East where realistic and sinuous palmettes were used

Site	**Reference**
Sima of the cornice of the temple at Sleim (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 279 pl.10, Freyberger 1991: 21, 22 pl.7a, 9a
Sima of the cornice and raking cornice of the temple at Sanamein (Hauran)	PPUAES II A Abb.288, 291 (fragments of frieze from spolia), Freyberger 1989: 101,pl. 23b, 38a-b. 39b-d, 1991: 21
Sima of the cornice of the temple at Rimet Hazem	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 207-209 fig.18
Sima of the cornice of the first-second century sanctuary of Jupiter at Damascus	Freyberger 1989 pl.22
Sima of the cornice of the kalibé at Bosra	Freyberger 1989 pl.11a, 34b
Nymphaeum of Gerasa (Jordan)	Freyberger 1989 pl.34a
Lintels of the temple of Bel at Palmyra	Seyrig *et al.* 1975 pl. 132
Sima of the cornice of temple of Bacchus at Baalbek	Wiegand 1925: 8 ff. fig.11, 14, 19
Sima of the cornice of temples from Asia Minor such as Lattakia (first century BC)	Freyberger 1991: 24 pl.10c

Table 2.7: Sample of sites in the Near East where sinuous and realistic rosette motif was used

Site	**Reference**
Sanctuary at Baetocaece	Visit of the author 2010
Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek	Wiegand 1925 fig.19, 1925: 8 ff.fig.12, 14, 37
Frieze of sanctuary of Damascus	Freyberger 1989: 22d 24
Architrave of the provincial temple at Mushannef (Hauran)	PPUAES II 6: 319, Freyberger 1989 pl.38d, 1991: 21, 22 pl.9b-d
Architrave of the provincial temple at Sleim (Hauran)	Freyberger 1991: 21, 22 pl.7a, 9a
Architrave of the provincial temple at Atil (Hauran)	PPUAES II A: 355-356, Freyberger 1991: 21
Architrave of the provincial temple at Sanamein (Hauran)	PPUAES II A Abb.288, 291 (fragments of frieze from spolia), Freyberger 1989: 101 pl. 23b, 38a-b. 39b-d, 1991: 21
Architrave of the provincial temple at Rimet Hazem (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 207-209 fig.14-15
North Gate at Jerash	Detweiler 1938
Cornice and with modillions of the ceiling of cornice of the temple of Bel at Palmyra	Seyrig *et al.* 1975 130-132
Lintel of the door of sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra	Collart & Vicari 1969 pl.71

Table 2.8: The distribution of swastika meander motif in the Near East

Site	**Reference**
Temple 2 at Sī' (Hauran)	PPUAES IIA 6 ill.336, Dentzer-Feydy 2003 pl.82: 5-6
Niches of Sī' 8 (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 87-93
Nabatean gateway at Sī' (Hauran)	PPUAES II 6: 392 pl.339, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 92
First-second century fragments out of context of Sī' (Hauran)	Suw. 1934 N155 pl.28
Entablature at Rimet Hazem (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 207-209 fig.14-15, 18
Entablature and niche-frames in the temple at Mushannef (Hauran)	PPUAES II 6: 319, Freyberger 1989 pl.38d, 1991: 21, 22 pl.9b-d , Author 2010
Entablature and niche-frames in the temple at Atil (Hauran)	PPUAES II A: 355 ff, Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 291, 297, pl.15a,Freyberger 1991: 21, Author 2010
Entablature of the temple at Sanamein (Hauran)	PPUAES II A Abb.288, 291 (fragments of frieze from spolia), Freyberger 1989: 101,pl. 23b, 38a-b. 39b-d, 1991: 21
Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek (Lebanon)	Wiegand 1925: 8 ff.fig.19, pl23Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 note 208
Temple at Burqush (Lebanon)	Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 237, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 note 208
Sanctuary of Jupiter at Damascus (Syria)	Freyberger 1989 pl.22b-d, 23a, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 note 208
Temple of Bel at Palmyra (Syria)	Seyrig *et al.* 1975: 124, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 note 208
Altar of Artemis at Ephesus and temple of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias (Asia Minor)	Gros 1976 pl.56
Parthian stucco at Assur (Iraq)	Andrae & Lenzen 1967 pl.14-15 a, c N 179331, 17933, 18073, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 note 211
Parthian stucco in the south theatre at Babylonia (Iraq)	Wetzel *et al.* 1957 pl.22, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 note 211
Parthian stucco at Uruk-Warka (Iraq)	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 note 211
Hellenistic pattern in the fourth century BC such as above the frieze in the inner order of the tholos at Epidauros and the south Stoa at Corinth (Greece)	Lehmann 1969: 191 ff.

Table 2.9: Samples of site in the Near East where the egg motif was used

Site	**Reference**
Temple *in antis* at Baetocaece	Visit of the author 2010
Entablature of temples at Baalbek	Schlumberger 1933 pl.32:2, Seyrig *et al.* 1975 Pl. 128, Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 649
Doorframe of the central doorway Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90 pl.81:1
Doorframe of the doorway and window-frame of niches of the temple of Suweida	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90 pl.82: 14, 15, pl.83: 2
Mushannef	PPUAES II 6: 319, Freyberger 1989 pl.38d, 1991 pl.9b-d, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90, visit of the author 2010
Entablature at Rîmet Hâzem	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 207-209 fig.14-15, 18
Isolated block at Sahr	PPUAES II 7: 441-445 ill.387-388, Freyberger 1991: 10, 25, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90
Entablature at Sleim	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90, visit of the author 2010
Ruins from the courtyard 3 of Sī'	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90
Blocks of entablature from the museum of Suweida	Suw. 1991 N6,09 (INV.138), 6,10 (INV.139), 6,13, (INV.290), 6,14 (INV.128), 6,15 (INV.259), Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90
widely diffused in the urban context and in non-religious buildings in the first half of the second century in the Hauran	Denzter-Feydy 1988: 225 fig.6
Entablature of the temple of Bel at Palmyra	Wiegand 1925 pl.55, 60, Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 649
Hellenistic/Augustan and Roman period in Asia Minor, such as the temple of Apollo and the altar of Artemis at Ephesus	Gros 1976 pl.56-57

Table 2.10: Different types of bead-and-reel motif and a sample of sites in the Near East where they were used (especially in the Hauran)

Types of bead-and-reel motif	**Site**	**Reference**
Two beads with stick-shape like and oval reel	Niches of Sī' 8 (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 2003 96 pl.64, 84
	Corinthian capital at Sī' 8 and Sur al-Laja (Hauran)	Table 8 of the chapter on capital style
	Corinthian capital from the façade of the southern and northern thalamos, the doorway of the *cella* of the sanctuary of Bêl at Palmyra (AD32) (Syria)	Schulmberger 1933 Pl.32:2, Seyrig *et al.* 1975 Pl. 128, Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 649
	The great temple of Baalbek (Lebanon)	Wiegand 1925 pl.55, 60, Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 649
	Rome in Flavian period (second half of the first century AD)	Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 649
	Parthian stucco at Assur and Uruk-Warka (Iraq)	Andrae & Lenzen 1967 pl.34 N2583, 2560 pl.19 b N155560 pl.20b 18003
rhomboid shape of the reel	Architrave of the temple at Mushannef (Hauran)	PPUAES II 6: 319, Freyberger 1989 pl.38d, 1991 pl.9b-d , Author 2010
	Architrave of the sanctuary at Rimet Hazem (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 207-209 fig.14-15
	Architrave and frieze of the temple at Sleim (Hauran)	Dentzer-Feydy 1986 pl.10, Freyberger 1991 pl.7a, 9a-c, Author 2010
	fragments of lintels out of context at Sī' (Hauran)	Suw. 1934 N155 pl.28
	widely diffused in the urban context and in non-religious buildings in the second century in the Hauran	Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 287
chubby a rounder shape of reels like the shape of beads	Architrave of the temple at Sanamein (Hauran)	PPUAES II A Abb.288, 291 (fragments of frieze from spolia), Freyberger 1989: 101,pl. 23b, 38a-b. 39b-d, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90 pl.81:1
	Architrave of the temple at Atil (Hauran)	PPUAES II A: 355 ff, Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 291, 297 pl.15a,Freyberger 1991: 21, Author 2010
	widely diffused in the urban context and in non-religious buildings in the second half of the second century in the Hauran	Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 287

Table 2.11: Distribution of *ediculae* in the Near East

Site	Area	Reference
Baetocaece	Northern Phoenicia	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 78 fig. 108-110 Pl.33, 37, Collart & Coupel 1977: 74 Pl.62: 2, Dentzer 1990
Hosn Sfire	Lebanon	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 22-23 fig.35-37, Collart & Coupel 1977: 73-44 Pl.62:1, Dentzer 1990
Hosn Niha	Lebanon	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 136 fig.189 Pl.60, IGLS VI N2946, Collart & Coupel 1977: 72-73 Pl.61: 1-3, 149 2 14384: 2, Dentzer 1990
Kafr Dan	Lebanon	Collart & Coupel 1977: 72 pl.60:1-2, 67:3, Dentzer 1990
El Hadet	Lebanon	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 146 fig.206-207, Taylor 46 fig.21, Collart & Coupel 1977: 74 Pl.62: 2, Dentzer 1990
Qalaat Fakra	Lebanon	Collart & Coupel 1977: 75 pl.66: 3, Dentzer 1990
Sfire C	Lebanon	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 30 fig.48, Collart & Coupel 1977: 75-75 Pl.63: 1, Dentzer 1990
Sfire	Lebanon	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 22, Taylor: 159 fig.168, Collart & Coupel 1977: 76 Pl.53: 2-3, Dentzer 1990
Qasr Nebo	Lebanon	Collart & Coupel 1977: 76 64: 3, Dentzer 1990
Qasr Naus	Lebanon	Collart & Coupel 1977: 76
Deir al-Qalaa	Lebanon	Collart & Coupel 1977: 77 Pl.65: 1-3, Dentzer 1990
The sanctuary of Nebu at Palmyra	Syria	Collart & Coupel 1977: 76-77 pl.64, Dentzer 1990
Palmyra	Syria	Collart & Coupel 1977: 77, Dentzer 1990
Hatra	Iraq	Dentzer 1990, Will 1991: 14
Hatra	Iraq	Dentzer 1990, Will 1991 : 15

Table 2.12: Distribution of monumental altars in the Near East

Site	**Area**	**Reference**
Sanctuary at Baetocaece	Northern Phoenicia	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 88, fig. 121, Ahmed 2010: 109-110, visit of the author 2010
Great altar in the temenos at Baalbek	Lebanon	Ball 2000: 335
Sanctuary at Qalaat Faqra	Lebanon	Ball 2000: 335
Sanctuary at Hoson Sfire	Lebanon	Starcky 1968 : 212
Sanctuary at Hoson Sfire	Lebanon	Starcky 1968: 212
Sanctuary at Fakra	Lebanon	Starcky 1968: 212
Sanctuary at Ain Harsha	Lebanon	Freyberger 2006: 236-237 tab.252
Temple of Bêl at Palmyra	Syria	Ball 2000: 335
Sanctuary of Zeus at Gerasa	Jordan	Seigne 1997: 992, 1004. 996
Temple of Dushara at Petra	Jordan	Ball 2000: 335
Sanctuary at Khirbet Tannur	Jordan	Starcky 1968: 212

Table 2.13: Distribution of niches on the façade of temples in the Near East

Site	Structure	Reference
Baetocaece	Interior and exterior walls of the *temenos* on either side of the north and east gate	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938: 104 fig. 1-3, Pl.48-49, visit by the author 2010
Mejdel ‘Andjar in Lebanon	Façade of the *cella* and *adyton*	Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938: fig. 76
Atil	South (West according to Butler) temple	After the visit of the Author 2010
Atil	North temple	Wadd, 2372, CIG 4608, IGR III 1237PPUAES II A 2: 355-356 N.427, Brünnow & Domaszewski 1909: 103, the visit of the Author 2010
Breik	Temple	the visit of the Author 2010
Mushannef	Temple	Wadd 2212 PPUAES III N 380a, the visit of the Author 2010
Sī’	Sī' 8	Denzter-Feydy 2003: 106-109, Pl. 88, Dentzer 1985: 74
Sur al-Laja	Temple	Denzter-Feydy 2003: 107, Pl. 88: 1, PPUAES 7: ill. 371
As-Suweida	Temple	PAAES II; 327-334, Brünnow & Domaszewski 1909 fig. 988, Denzter-Feydy 2003: 107, Pl. 89: 1 and 2
Sanctuary of Baal-shamin at Palmyra	*Adyton* and the façade of the *cella* (the one is visible)	Collart & Vicari 1969:155 ff , Gawlikowski & Pietrzykowski 1980
Sanctuary of Bêl at Palmyra	North Adyton	Seyrig *et al.* 1975: fig. 52
temple at Kheurbet ouadi Souâné (countryside of Palmyra)	Façade of the *cella*	Schlumberger 1951: 33-34 fig. 14

Table 2.14: Recovery of masks as reliefs in monumental buildings in the Near East

Site	**Reference**
Sanctuary at Baetocaece (northern Phoenicia)	Ahmed 2010: 99, visit of the author 2010
Big courtyard of sanctuary of Zeus at Baalbek (Lebanon)	Wiegand 1925: 15, Lyttelton 1974: fig.78
Severan basilica at Berytus (Lebanon)	Lauffray 1944-1945: 52, fig.11, Pensabene 1997: 337, fig. 70-71
Temple at Suweida (Hauran)	Suw. 1934: 66, Pl.XXIX,128
Temple of Sleim (Hauran)	Freyberger 1991: 23
Theatres at Schythopolis (Palestine)	Ovadiah & Turnhem 1994: 74, fig. 228-229
Theatre at Caesarea Maritima (Palestine)	Turnheim & Ovadiah 2002: 43-45, fig. III.83
Theatre at Bosra (Hauran)	Freyberger 1988 Tav.9d, 14b, 15b-d
Temple at Bziza (Lebanon)	Ahmed 2010: 99
Under cornice and friezes at *Nimphaeum* of Perge in the second to the half of the third century AD (Asia Minor)	Mansel 1975: 85 fig. 53-55
Severan Colonnaded street at Kremma (Asia Minor)	Mitchell 1995: 130, fig. 37.3, Pl.77
Theatres at Aspendos, Side Myra and Perge (Asia Minor)	Tancke 1989: 108-122.

Table 2.15: Inscriptions from the sanctuary at Baetocaece

Reference	Latin/Greek inscription	Translation
IGLS VII N4028 A	A Imp(erator) Caesar/ Publius Licin-/nius Valerianus/ Pius Felix Aug(ustus) et Imp(erator)/ Caesar Publius Licinnius / Gallienus Pius Fel(ix) Aug(ustus) et Licin-/ nius Cornelius Saloninus / Valerianus nobilissimus Caesar/ Aurelio Marea et aliis:/ Regum antiqua beneficia, consuetu-/ dine etiam insecuti tenporis adpro/bata, is qui provinciam regit, remota/ violentia partis adversae, incolumia/ vobis manere curabit.	To Aurelius Mareas and others: the provincial governor will take care that the ancient privileges granted by the kings, confirmed also by the custom of subsequent times, will remain inviolate for you and suppress the aggression of the opposing party (Dignas 2002: 164)
IGLS VII N4028 B	Ἐπιστολή Ἀντιόχου Βασιλέως·/ Βασυλεύς Ἀντιόχος Εὐφήμῳ χαίρειν· ἐδόθη ὁ κατακεχωρισ/μένος ὑπομνηματισμός· γευέσθω οὖν καθοτι δεδήλωται περί/ ὧν δεῖ διά σοῦ συντελεσθῆναι.	Document of king Antiochus. King Antiochus to Euphemus, greetings. The appended memorandum was issued: may you now carry out accordingly what needs to be done (Dignas 2002: 77)
IGLS VII N4028 C	προσενεχθέντος μοι περί τῆς ἐυεργίας θεοῦ Διός Βαιτοκαικης/ ἐκρίθη συνχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον, ὅθεν καί ἡ δύμανις τοῦ/ θεοῦ κατάρχεται, κώμην τήν Βαιτοκαι[ή]νήν, ἣν πρότερον ἔσχεν Δημήτριος / Δημητρίου τοῦ Μνασαίου ἐν Τουργωονα τῆς περί Ἀπάμιαν σατραπείας, σύν τοῖς/ συνκύρουσι καί καθήκουσι τᾶσι κατά τούς προυπάρχοντας περιορισμούς /καί σύν τοῖς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους γενήμασιυ, ὅπως ἡ ἀπό ταύτης τρόσοδος / ἀνλίσκηται εἰς τάς κατά μῆνα συντελουμένας θυσίας καί τἄλαα τά τρος αὔξη/σιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συντει;νοντα ὑπό τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερεοώς, ως εἰ/πισται, ἀγωνται δέ κατά μῆνα πανηγύρεις ἀτελεῖς τῇ πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ καί/ τριακάδι, και; εἶναι τό μέν ἱερόν ἄσυλον, τήν δέ κώμην ἀνεπίσ(τα) θμον μηδεμίας / ἀπορρήσεως προσευεχθείσης· τόν δέ ἀνεντιωθησόμενόν τισι τῶν προγε/γραμμένωον ἔνοχον εἶναι ἀσεβείᾳ· ἀναγραφῆναί τε καί τά ἀντίγραφα ἐν / στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καί τεθῆναι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱερῷ. Δεήσει οὖν γραφῆναι οἷς εἴθισται, ἵνα γένηται ἀκολούθως τοῖς δηλυμένοις.	Having been informed about the force of god Zeus Baeotocaece, I decided to grant him for all times, from which also the power of the god stems, the village of Baetocaece, which previously Demetrius, son of Mansaeus owned in Tourna in the satrapy of Apamea, together with all appurtenances and the revenues of the current year so that the revenues it yields may be used for the monthly sacrifices and the other expenses that concern the support of the sanctuary by the priest who was appointed by the god as is customary; monthly festivals shall be held, immune from tax, on every 15th and 30th of the month, the sanctuary shall be granted asylia, and no forces may be stationed in the village, as no objection has been raised. If anyone acts against the above, he will be guilty of impiety. The copies may be written on a stone stele and erected in the same sanctuary. It will now be necessary to write to those that normally receive notice so that things may be carried out as indicated (Dignas 2002: 77)
IGLS VII N4028 D	Φήθισμα τῆς πόλεως πεμ(φ)θέν Θεῷ Αὐγούστῳ·/ Ἐπάνανκες δέ ἀνέρχετα πάντα τά ὦνεια διά τῶν ἐνταῦθα καί ἐπί χώρας/ ἀγορητῶν πραθησόμενα καθ'έ[κ]άστην ἱερομηνίαν πρός τό ἀδιάλε(ι)πτα ὑτάρχιν / πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνιοῦσ[ι]ι προσκυνηταῖς, ἐπιμελομένου τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀγο/ρετοῦ μηδέ ἐπιχειροῦντς ἤ οχλο ῦντος τροφάσει παροχῆς καί τέλους	Decree of the city, sent to the divine Augustus. It is necessary that all goods go up via the market officers and here and in the countryside for sale each month of the sacred market days in order that they may be available without interruption for all the worshippers going up; the market officer of the city shall be in

	και ἐπηρείας τινός ἤ ἀπαιήσαιως· ἀνδράποποδα δέ καί τετράποδα/ καί λοιπά ζῶα ὁμοίως τωλείσθω ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χωρίς τέλους ἤ ἐπη/ρείς τινός ἢ ἀπαιτήραιως.	charge but not interfere or press them under the pretext of requisition, taxation, exaction or reclamation; likewise, slave, cattle and other animals shall be sold in the place without taxation, exaction or reclamation (Dignas 2002: 157)
IGLS VII N4028 E	Οἱ κατάχοι ἁγίος οὐρανίου Διὸς τῆς ὑπό Σεβαστῶν εἵς τε τόν θεόν εὐσεβείας καί τόν τόπον ἐλευθερε[ί]ας τήν θείαν ἀντιγραφήν ὑπό πάντων τροσκυνουμένην προέταζαν	The *katochoi* of the sacred heavenly Zeus have recorded at the beginning the divine prescript, venerated by all, a manifestation of the piety of the divine emperors towards the god and of their liberality towards the place (Dignas 2002: 164)
IGLS VII N4029	. . . . . BAITOXIXI HΔPC..OIT COC K C	…[Zeus] Baetocaece..(by the Author 2013)
IGLS VII N4031	Θεῷ Βαιτοχειικχει οἱ κάτοχοι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐν τῷ Βπύ ἔτει ἐποίησαν	To the Zeus Baetocaece, the *katochoi* built this doorway at their expenses, in the year 482 (IGLS VII N4031)
IGLS VII N4032	Θε[ῷ' μεγ]άλω [Βαιτο]κ[αικη...]	To Zeus Megistos Baetocaece…
IGLS VII N4033	Θεῷ μ[εγίσ]τω Βαιτοχιχι οι/ κάτοχοι εξ ιδίω[ν] / Θυ - - - εν τῷ/ σιφ ἔ[τ]ε[ι εποίησαν]	To the Zeus Megisto Baetocaece, the *katochoi* built (this doorway) at their expenses, in the year 516 (IGLS VII N4032)
IGLS VII N4034	Θεῷ [μ]εγίστω ἁγίῳ ἐπηκόῳ Βαιτοχειχει Τ(ίτος) Αυρ(ήλιος) Τ(ίτου) υιός Ουλπία Οισχου Δέκιμος (ἑκατόνταρχος) AONT / IΔA μετά τῶν τέχνων Δεχιμίας Μαρχ[ι]ανῆς καί Τ(ίτου) Δεκ<κ>ιμίου Μαρχιανοῦ καί Τ(ίτου) Αυρ(ηλιου) Δεκίμου / ἔστρωσεν σύν βαθμεῖσι καί τόν χάλχεον βωμόν ανέθηχε / εν τῷ δμυ ἔτει	To the Zeus Megistos, holy and auspicious Baetocaece, Titus Aurelius Decimus, son of Titus, from Ulpia Oescus, centurion of the Third Gallica Legion, with his sons Titus Decimius Marcianus and Titus Aurelius Decimus, made the pavement and consecrated the bronze altar, in the year 444 (by the Author 2013)
IGLS VII N4036	Σχρεδών[ι] ος ηὔξατο	Scribonius made a vow (by the Author 2013)
IGLS VII N4037	Θεῷ αγιω Βετο-/χειχει Θεόδωρος/ Κάρυ σούμμος / Ιππ(έ)ων σινγος[λα]-/ρίων ευξάμεν[ος] /ανέθηχεν	To the saint Zeus Baetocaece, Theodoros, son of Caurus, from the highest rank of the horsemen of the governor of the province, making a vow, offered (this cippus) (by the Author 2013)

Table 2.16: Divine and secular identification of the representation of lions in the Near East

Divine and secular identification of the representation of lions	**Type of evidence and location**	**Dating**	**Description (when available)**	**Reference**
Baal/Hadad supreme god	stele from Amrit (ancient city Marathos) (northern Phoenicia)	fifty-fourth century BC	Lion surmounted by the deity	Dunand & Saliby 1985
Baal/Hadad supreme god	Stele from Qadmous (northern Phoenicia)	Iron Age	Lion surmounted by the deity	Bounni 1991, 1992, Abou Assaf 1992
Jupiter Heliopolitanus supreme god	Leonine mask from Baalbek (Lebanon)	Roman	Protome of a lion	Wiegand 1925 Pl. XXIII, LX, Hajjar 1977 N32, 136, 209, 221-222, 284, 302. 226, 232-233, Aliquot 2009: 204
Jupiter Heliopolitanus supreme god	Leonine mask and decorative panel of statues from the temple A at Niha and temple A at Hoson Sfire (Lebanon)	Roman	Protome of a lion	Hajjar 1977: V.II, Pl.XC, n. 233, Pl. LXXXV, n. 226
Jupiter Heliopolitanus supreme god	Silver drachme mint from Baalbek (Lebanon)	AD215-218	Main zodiacal constellation of Lion	Aliquot 2009: 204 fig100
Zeus (?)	Coin from Sidon (Lebanon)	AD222-235	A deity riding a lion	Cumont 1929: 96, fig. 6.
Jupiter Heliopolitanus/Mountain	Literary evidence (Eusebius of Emesa)	c.AD300-360	Zeus Heliopolitanus deity as a lion-shaped mass of flame descending upon a mountain	Steinsaipir 2005: 36
Dea Syria/Atagartis	Lucian DDS	Roman	Deity seating on the throne flanked by two lions	*DDS* 32
Dea Syria/ Venus, part of Heliopolitan triad	Baalbek (Lebanon)	Roman	Deity seating on the throne flanked by two lions	Hajjar 1977: 94-97, Pl.XX
Atargatis btwn Al-Uzza and Manat	Hatra (Iraq)		Atargatis between deities Al-Uzza and Manat on a platform decorated in front of the lion figure	Homès-Frédéricq 1963 : n.36, Pl.VII, 2

Dea Syria/Venus	Statue from Niha (Lebanon)	Roman	Lion	Cumont 1929: 96, fig. 6.
Dea Syria/Venus	Altar of Hermel	Roman	Lion	Seyrig 1929: 329.
Dea Syria	Rome	Roman	Lion	Cumont 1929: 96, fig. 6.
Atagartis	Khirbet et-Tannur (Jordan)		fragments of a female statue on the throne with lion protruding out underneath	Glueck 1966: 269-284-285
Atargatis with Hadad flanked by bulls	coins from Aradus (northern Phoenicia) and Hierapolis (Lebanon)	third century AD	Lions are standing on its four paws in profile with a cypress	Cook 1914: 586, fig.448-449, Ahmed 2010: 83-83
Allat	Big relief in the precinct next to entrance of the sanctuary of Allat at Palmyra (Syria)	1stAD	Lion	Gawlikowski 1977: 274
Allat	Cult statue at Palmyra (Syria)	Roman	Allat flanked by two lions	Gawlikowski 2008: 405-406, fig.5
Semitic Allat or her Greek assimilation Athena	Rural sanctuary at Sahr (Hauran)	Second half of the first century AD	Lions with the goddess of war	Dentzer & Weber 2009: 40
Allat like Athena	relief from Kheurbet el Sane (North-West of Palmyra)	Roman	Deity flanked by two lions	Schlumberger 1951: 78, Pl.XXXVII.1
Azzanathkona/Artemis	stele from temple of Azzanathkona at Dura Europos (Syria)	Roman	Lion	Dirven 1999: 9, n.38.
Atagartis/Dea Syria (?) Palmyrene goddess (Gaddé) from the water spring Efqa at Palmyra	Relief from temple of Dura Europos (Syria)	AD159	Lion next to the naked female statue of the Palmyrene goddess on a rock (water spring)	Teixidor 1979: 92
Cosmic deity, part of the zodiac of Zeus/Baal	Iconography from Commagene (Asia Minor)	Roman	Lion	Cumont 1929: 114, f.8
Cybele, Magna Mater	Rome	Roman	Lion	Toynbee 1973: 63
Protectors	Monumental buildings	Mesopotamian and Persian Empire	Standing lions	Cool Root 2002: 198
Keepers	Roman funerary art	Roman	Standing lions	Toynbee 1973: 65 ff.

Keepers	NI	NI	Lion	Freyberger 2004: 21
Royal power	Persian Empire	Persian Empire	Standing lions	Steinsapir 2005: 36
Royal power	Roman Empire	Roman Empire	Lion	Toynbee 1973: 63

Table 2.17: Divine and secular identification with the representation of eagles in the Near East

Divine and secular identification of the representation of eagles	**Type of evidence and location**	**Dating**	**Description**	**Reference**
Zeus	On the top of the entablature of the first-century temple *in antis* at Baetocaece	First century AD	Standing eagle with spread wings on the doorway of the temple in antis. It has two large holes on either side of the eagle that could suggest it was flanked by two figures, like the other depiction in the sanctuary	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938 Pl.40
Zeus	Ceiling of the four gateways of the *temenos* at the sanctuary at Baetocaece	Second-third century AD	Caduceus, as it holds a pole-like object in his claw, with spread wings and flanked by two ephebes	Freyberger 2009 Fig.3
Solar deity (?)	Interpretation of the eagle at Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek and the sanctuary at Baetocaece	Roman	Eagle was flanked by two ephebes: the morning and evening stars, e.g. Phosphorous (Azios) and Hesperous (Momios). It could be originated by the depiction of a circular sun at the centre with eagle's wings from Egyptian and Mesopotamian religious tradition	Cook 1914: 206 ff., 565, Freyberger 2009: 571, Steinsapir 2005: 36
"Sacred" mountains	Sanctuary at Baetocaece	Not specified	Eagles animals who live on high height and summits surrounding Baetocaece	Steinsapir 2005: 36
Baalshamin/Zeus	Different rural cult centres in the Hauran	Roman	standing eagle with spread wings	Ch.4, Table 4.6, 4.8
Baalshamin/Zeus between Aglibol and Malakel	Sanctuary of Baalshamin at Palmyra (Syria)	Roman	Eagle with outspread wings flanked by two busts (sun and	Seyrig 1949 pl.2, 1971: 95, Collart & Vicari 1969: 218 ff.,

			moon deities as one of them has a crescent on his shoulders)	pl.55: 2, Teixidor 1977: 141, 144
Bêl between Aglibol and Malakel	Ceiling of the temple of Bêl at Palmyra (Syria)	Roman	Eagle between two male deities Aglibol and Malakel	Seyrig *et al.* 1975: 58.
Baalshamin	Pediment of the sanctuary of Khirbet et-Tannur (Jordan)	Roman	With outspread wings stood above the Head of Atagartis	Glueck 1966 pl. 31 and 32, p. 65-65, McKenzie *et al*. 2002: 63-64
Qos	Out of context at Bosra	Second-third century AD	Broken sculpture of an eagle with Nabatean and Greek inscription	Teixidor 1977: 90
Zeus Heliopolitanus	Ceiling of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek Temple A Niha	Roman	One is caduceus, as it holds a pole-like object in his claw, with spread wings and flanked by two ephebes	Weigand 1925: 61
Zeus	Mesopotamia	Roman	Eagle	Invernizzi 1997
Messenger of Mercury	Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek and the sanctuary at Baetocaece	Roman	Eagle holds a pole-like object in his claw. It is the caduceus, attribute of Mercury (herald's wand, typically one with two serpents twined around it)	Seyrig 1962: 204-205, Teixidor 1977: 58
Roman royal insignia, Roman army badge	Various instances, no one specific example	Roman	Eagle	Toynbee 1973: 241

Table 2.18: divine and secular identification with the representation of the cypress in the Near East

Divine and secular identification of the representation of cypress	**Type of evidence and location**	**Dating**	**Description**	**Reference**
Symbol of the place	On the western side of the *temenos* at the sanctuary at Baetocaece (northern Phoenicia)	Roman	A lion standing on its four paws in profile with a cypress	Krenker & Zschietzschmann 1938 fig.92-93
Symbol of the place	coins from Aradus (northern Phoenicia)	Third century AD	A lion standing on its four paws in profile with a cypress	Cook 1914: 586, fig.448-449, Seyrig 1937 : 204, Ahmed 2010: 86
Symbol of the place	Coins at Heliopolis (Lebanon)	Roman	With standing eagle with spread wings	Seyrig 1937 : 204
	Coins of Damascus (Syria)	Roman	Cypress	Seyrig 1937 : 204
Malakbel	Literary evidence	Roman	God of vegetation that was born from the branch of the sacred cypress	Seyrig 1929: 349, 1937 : 204-205
Malakbel	Bronze throne at Sidon (Lebanon)	Roman	One side cypress trees, other side a lion	Seyrig 1937 : 204 fig.2
Malakbel	lead ex-voto in the water channel of Aïn Djoudj at Baalbek (Lebanon)	Roman	Cypress flanked by a horse	Seyrig 1937 : 204-205 fig.3
Malakbel	Holy garden of Aglibol and Malakbel at Palmyra (Syria)	Roman	Cypress	Seyrig 1937: 204-205, Teixidor 1977: 144, Freyberger 2004: 24, Steinsapair 2005: 37, Ahmed 2010: 86
Malakbel	Altars at Palmyra (Syria)	Roman	Cypress	Seyrig 1971: 100-133
Malakbel (or Mithras ?)	Altar dedicated to Malakbel and Palmyrene gods in Capitoline Hill in Rome	Roman	On a side of the sun on the wagon, sun between the eagle, sun of night and rebirth of the sun in the cypress	Seyrig 1937 : 204-206, 1971: 102-103 fig.6

Table 2.19: Coins recovered at Baetocaece according to Ahmed (2010 Appendix 3)

Quantity	**Provenance**	**Chronology**
19	Aradus	Pre-provincial period
12	Aradus	Provincial period
2	cities on the northern Phoenician coast	first century AD (?)
2	cities from Lebanon	first century BC and second century AD
4	Antioch (?)	First to second century AD
1	Emesa	Second century AD

Table 3.1: List of historical events in the Hauran

Dating	Event	Reference
c. 90BC	Alexander Jannaeus defeated by the Nabataean king Obodas at Garada in Gaulanitidis (just West of Banatea)	*Jos. AJ* 13: 13, 4 (375)
84-72 BC	The Nabataean Aretas reigned at Damascus	*Jos. AJ* 13: 15, 2 (392), *BJ* 1: 4, 8 (103)
After 82 BC	Hasmonean Empire under Alexander Jannaeus included roughly 12 cities in Idumea, Moabitide, Gaulanitide, also city of the Decapolis Pella and Gerasa	*Jos. AJ* 13: 15, 3 (392-393), *BJ* 1: 4, 8 (104-105)
After 82 BC	The fortress of Bosra was founded by the Nabateans	*Damascius*, *Vita Isidori*; *Photius* epitome, Bibliotheca (Cod. 242)
62-58 BC	Campaigns of the Romans against the Nabateans and the Arabs Campaign of the Roman praetor Aemilius Scaurus against Petra	*Jos. AJ* 14: 5, 1 (80-81), *BJ* 1: 8 1 (159)
34-31 BC	Battle of Herod against the Nabataean Malichos at Canatha	*Jos. AJ* 15: 5,1 (107-160), *BJ* 1: 19, 1-3 (365-370)
39-33 BC	Zenodorus, leader of the territory of Lysanias, sold Auranitis to the Nabateans for 50 talents	*Jos. AJ* 15: 10,1-2 (344-353), *BJ* 1: 20, 4 (398-399)
23 BC	August gave to Herod Trachon, Batanea and Auranities	*Jos. AJ* 15: 10,1 (343), *BJ* 1: 20, 4 (398)
23 BC	Varro repressed the brigands in Trachon	*Jos. AJ* 15: 10,1 (345), *BJ* 1: 20, 4 (398)
After 23BC	Roman army has established the security in Trachon	*Strab. Geog.* 16: 2, 20 (756)
20BC	Augustus gave to Herod to the territory between Trachon and Galilee	*Jos. AJ* 15: 10, 3 (360)
12BC	Revolt of Trachon against Herod	*Jos. AJ* 16: 4,6 (130), 9, 1 (272-273)
After 12BC	Herod founded a colony of 3000 Idumeans in Trachon	*Jos. AJ* 16: 9,2 (285)
After 10 BC	Herod implanted a colony of Jewish Babylonians at Basir (Batanea)	*Jos. AJ* 17: 2,1-3 (23-31)
4BC- AD34	At the Herod's death, Herodian reign was divided to his sons and Philip has Batanea, Trachon, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, and region of Caesarea Panias (at the base of Mount Hermon)	*Jos. AJ* 17: 3 (317-323), *BJ* 2: 6, 3 (95)
AD34-37	Philip's dominion was temporarily annexed to the Roman province of Syria	*Jos. AJ* 18: 4, 6 (106-108)
AD37 and AD41-44	The emperor Caligula gave back to Agrippa, first, the Gaulanities, the Batanea, Trachon and in the AD41 Auranitis	*Jos. AJ* 18: 6, 10 (237), 19: 5, 1 (275), 8, 2 (351)
AD37 and AD41-44	The emperor Claudius confirmed Agrippa's possessions	*Jos. BJ* 2: 11, 5 (215)
AD45-53	Annexation to the Roman province of Syria of the northern region	*Jos. AJ* 19: 9,1-2 (354-366), *BJ* 2: 11, 6 (220)
AD53-93/94	Agrippa the second obtained Trachon, Gaulanitis, Batanea and Abila (Jordan)	*Jos AJ* 20: 7,1 (138), BJ 2: 12, 8 (247)
AD93	Death of Agrippa and the North of the Auranitis, Trachon and Batanea became part of the Roman province Syria	*Jos. AJ* 17: 28
AD105-106	Creation of the Roman province of Arabia	*Dio Cassio* 68: 14, 3

Table 3.2: Cities in the Hauran

Cities	Ancient name	Dating	Location	Evidence	Reference
Bosra	Bosra	After 82 BC First century	Nuqra	Historical sources and first-century archaeological monumental remains of a city	Damascius, Vita Isidori; Photius epitome, Bibliotheca (Cod. 242) 2007, Sartre 2007b, Dentzer-Feydy 2007
Qanawat	Canatha	57-55BC (coin) Roman and late Roman-Byzantine period (archaeological remains)	Djebel al'Arab	a coin Two Roman temples, a Christian basilica, traces of the ancient walls with occasional gates and towers, scattered paved streets in various quarters of the town	Butler II A 5: 346, Schürer 1971: 140-142, Jones 1971: 285-287, Dentzer 1986: 397, Sartre 1999: 200
Suweyda	Dionysias	AD185	Djebel al'Arab	ruins of monumental buildings of the Roman city	Wadd 2307, Jones 1971: 285-287, Sartre 1981: 354, 1982: 50-51, 1999: 200
Shahba	Philippopolis	AD244	Djebel al'Arab-Saceea	ruins of monumental buildings of the Roman city	Robert 1960: 309-314, Jones 1971: 285-287, Sartre 1999: 200
Shaqqa	Maximianopolis	AD293-313	Djebel al'Arab-Saceea	ruins of monumental buildings of the Roman city	Jones 1971: 285-287, Sartre 1999: 200
most likely in the modern city Buraq	Constantia	Fourth century	Northern part of Leja		Wadd 2537a-b, Jones 1971: 285-287, Sartre 1999: 200

Table 3.3: Metrokomia in the Hauran

Modern name of metrokomia	**Ancient name of metrokomia**	**Dating**	**Reference**
Aqrabāt	Akraba	AD285-305	RAO II : 462 N359, RAO V 1903: 396, Sartre 1999: 198, 200
Breik	Borechatch	AD326-327	Wadd 2396, Sartre 1987: 256, 1999: 200
Mismiyeh	Phaina	AD183-187	Wadd 2524, Sartre 1987: 255, 1999: 198
Ezraa	Zorava	AD222-235	Wadd 2480, Sartre 1987: 256, 1999: 198
Inkhil	Neela	AD286-293	Sartre 1992: 113-117, 1999: 198, 200
Sheikh Meskin (or its North-East)	Rayfa	NI	Sartre 1999: 201-202
Sur al-Laja	Saura	AD285-305	Suw.1991: 147-148, N10, 14, PAES III A N797.2

Table 4.1: Distribution of different types of vine branches in rural cult centres in the Hauran and their similar examples elsewhere in the Near East

Type	Description	Site	Reference
Type 1	Realistic sinuous stem with vine grapes and fruits Leaves: little curved with fine nervures and small round sinuses Vine grapes: long or round Tendrils: double scroll or not visible Fruits: pine cones, berries, pomegranates	Lintel of the main doorway and architrave of the door of the temple 1 at Sī'	PPUAES II 6 fig.326-327, pl.28, Suw. 1934 N121, Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 265, Suw. 1991 4,01-4,02-4,03-4,04 INV226,1 [61,1], INV121 [21], INV338 [195], INV340 [193] pl.2, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97-98 note 237
		Blocks of temple 3 at Sī'	PPUAES II 6 fig.340, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97-98 note 237 pl.85: 1,2
		Nabatean doorway at Sī'	PPUAES II 6: 318 fig.339, 340 blocks W, X, Suw. 19914,07 INV337[197], Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 237
		Fragments of a doorframe of Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 pl.65 N182, 183, 184, 190, 191, 192 , 193
		Isolated blocks on the hill of Sī'	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		Isolated blocks at Sur al-Laja	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97-98 note 237
		Doorway of the *temenos* of Dâmit Il-'Alyā	PPUAES II 7: 433-434 fig.377, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Blocks reused in modern house and isolated blocks at Sleim	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97-98 note 237
		Stone blocks reused in the façade of the temple of Mushannef	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		Doorframe of the temple at Dayr Smayg	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		isolated blocks of unknown buildings at Hebran	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		isolated blocks of unknown buildings at Salkhad	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		Block at Rimet Hazem	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 207-209 fig.19
		isolated blocks of unknown buildings at Sanamein	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		isolated blocks of unknown buildings	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236

		isolated blocks of unknown buildings at Karak	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		isolated blocks of unknown buildings at al-Harrah	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		West temple at Atil	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		isolated blocks of unknown buildings at Hit	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97
		Isolated blocks reemployed in Suweida	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		Isolated blocks of doorway reused in the western façade of the Basilica and isolated blocks stored in the deposit at Qanawat	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		Lintel from Suweida (?)	Suw. 1934: 13-14 N2 pl.5, Suw. 1991 6,22 INV2 [40], Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
	Leaves and grapes of vine branches	Tomb of Josaphat, sarcophagus of the tomb of the king at Jerusalem	Goodenough 1958 fig.21,232,235, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
	Leaves and grapes of vine branches	blocks in the foundation T of the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra	Seyrig 1940: 302 pl.29-30, Seyrig *et al.* 1975 pl.33, 134
Type 2	Thin or thick s-shaped stems with at the middle alternating motifs: flower of lotus, three rounded or long berries, and shield shaped leaves[2]	Doorway of the *theatron* at Sī'	PPUAES II 6: 376 fig.330, 33 blocks from D to I, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Inscribed block dated to the end of the first century BC from the temple 1 at Sī'	PPUAES II A 6: 376 fig.326, PPUAES III A 6: 83-84 N104, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Blocks of Temple 3 at Sī'	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Block Fragments from Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98 pl.65 N4
		Fragment N4 from Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98 pl.65 N4, pl.73
		Hebran	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98 pl.85: 8
		Kafr	Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 649 fig.13, 2003: 98
		Sleim	Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 277-279, 1992L 77 fig. 16, 2003: 98 pl.85: 6

[2] According to Denzter-Feydy some blocks of the temple of Zeus first century BC at Jerash present a series of leaves with berries similar to the speared leaves from doorframe and niche frame of Sī' 8, their original location is not clear and not found in Seigne's publication (1986).

		Blocks from the sanctuary reemployed in a recent building at Dakir	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Lateral doors of the adyton of the temple at Sanamein	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		The frieze above the door, pilasters reemployed with the arch called "Bogentor" at Suweida	PPUAES II: 317, Brünnow & von Domaszewski & Domaszewski 1909: 90 fig.986, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98 pl.85: 7
		Lateral door of the western façade of the basilica at Qanawat	Amer *et al.* 1982: 289 fig.8, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98 pl.85: 4,5
		Tomb of Josaphat, sarcophagus of the tomb of the king at Jerusalem	Goodenough 1954 fig.21,232,235, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Leaves and grapes of vine branches from blocks in the foundation T of the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra	Seyrig 1940: 296, 302, Seyrig *et al.* 1975 203 pl.33,42, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Dura Europos	Cumont 1926: 247 pl.91: 3, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Nimrud Dagh	Ghirshman 1962: 65 fig.78, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Seleucia-on-the-Tigris	Hopkins 1972: 132, 138, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90
		Stucco of the theatre in Parthian period at Babylonia	Wetzel *et al.* 1957 pl.22a, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90
Type 3	a wreath created by s-shaped thick stems and long leaves (small pointed leaflets) that do not seem separated and distinct but they are part of the same block of the stem. It does not present tendrils	first-second century fragments with human and animal figures out of context at Sī'	Suw. 1934 N138-139 pl.30, 1991 6,09-10 INV138 [54], 139 [53]
		Frieze of temple at Mushannef	Visit of the Author 2010
		Frieze of the sanctuary at Rimet Hazem	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 207-209 fig.17, 20
		shafts of the second Corinthian capital from the doorway of the façade and frieze of the temples at Atil	Visit of the Author 2010
		Frieze of temple at Sanamein	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 pl.65 N182, 183, 184, 190, 191, 192 , 193
		blocks in the foundation T of the sanctuary of Bêl at Palmyra	Seyrig 1940: 302 pl.29-30, Seyrig *et al.* 1975 pl.33

		Blocks and lintels of niches with griffons and the triad in the sanctuary of Baalshamin in Palmyra	Collart & Vicari 1969: 95 :1-3, 97: 2-3
		Doorway of the small temple and frieze of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek	Wiegand 1925 pl.51-52, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
	decorations sculpted in details: compact groups of acorns, pomegranates, grapes, apples and rosettes with vine acanthus or pointed leaves at the centre in a compact, dense form and plastic volume	Fragment of frieze of the temple at Sleim	Freyberger 1991 pl.9c
		Lintel of architrave of the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra	Seyrig *et al.* 1975 pl.33: 2
Type 4	A main rectilinear stem coming from one main branch from the middle of the bottom block of the doorframe and rejoined at the centre of the lintel at the top. Leaves and tendrils are symmetrically attached two by two to both side of the stem. Sometimes, the tendril motif with the leaf is replaced by vine grapes. Vine grapes are small and round. Leaves are three main pentagonal lobes and two smaller ones at the bottom with small œiletts between lobes. Tendrils are big double scroll	Two lateral niche-frames of Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 pl.84
		Blocks from the Nabatean gateway at Sī'	PPUAES II A 6 ill.340 blocks W and X, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 pl.83: 9-10
		Small door or niche of the hill at Sī' reused in a house at Qanawat	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 pl.83: 11
		Block reemployed in a house at Suweida	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 pl.83: 7
		Block reemployed at Hit	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95 pl.83: 4
	Stem almost straight, from one part to another alternated with leaves and grapes, a double tendril where each grape or leaf is attached to the stem	Blocks in the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra	Seyrig 1940: 301 pl.32 N21, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95
	Stem almost straight, from one part to another alternated with leaves and grapes	Relief of Assurbanipal and queen talking refreshment in a garden from Kuyunjik (late Assyrian period 1000-600BC)	Frankfort 1996 fig.217, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 95
	Speared Leaves attached symmetrically two by two on a straight stem with v-shaped lotus flower attached between the stem and leaves	Doorframe of the central doorway of Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90 pl.81:1
	Small long oval leaves with central nervure similar the long bay-leaves	Two lateral niche-frames of Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96 pl.84

	attached symmetrically two by two on a straight stem, with v-shaped lotus flower attached between the stem and leaves. Leaves are less pointed but similar to the speared leaves		
Variation of type 4	Speared leaves attached symmetrically two by two on a straight stem with harmonic round shaped flowers spaced out from the stem. Leaves are smaller and rounder than the ones from Sī' 8	Sarcophagus of the tomb of the king at Jerusalem	Goodenough 1958 fig.232-235, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90
	Speared leaves attached symmetrically two by two on a straight stem	Archaic blocks on the temple, the gate of the peristyle and panels inside the southern thalamos of the sanctuary of Bel at Palmyra	Seyrig 1940 pl.29:2, 30, 31:9, Seyrig *et al.* 1975: 207, pl. 33, 80, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90
		Stucco of Parthian palace at Assur	Andrae & Lenzen 1967 pl.14, pl.15 b17933. 180036, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90
		objects, fabric, pottery, glass, metal objects, mosaics West and West in Hellenistic period	Seyrig 1940: 82, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90

Table 4.2: Distribution of geometric palmettes in rural cult centres of the Hauran and their similar examples in the Near East

Description	**Site**	**Reference**
Central stem with three or four symmetric leaves on each side, the extremities are curved outwards or inwards	Doorframe at Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90 note 155 pl.62-63, 81: 1
Central stem with two symmetric long and slim leaves, like sticks, on each side, the extremities are curved outwards or inwards	Niche-frames at Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003 pl.64,84
Central stem with three or four symmetric leaves on each side, the extremities are curved outwards or inwards, the leaflets of palmettes are straight and less pointed	Lintel with inscription that mentions Agrippa	PPUAES II A 6 fig.334, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90-91 pl.82: 7
Central stem with two symmetric leaves on each side, the extremities are curved outwards and additionally a pattern consisting of two symmetrical palm tree leaflets with their tips downwards but without a central stem and alternated with geometric motif (T-reversed shape)	Doorframe of the temple 2 at Sī'	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90-91 pl.82: 5-6
A pattern consisting of two symmetrical palm tree leaflets with their tips downwards but without a central stem and alternated with geometric motif (T-reversed shape)	Nabatean gateway at Sī'	PPUAES II A 6 fig.340, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90-91 pl.82: 10
Central stem with three symmetric leaves on each side, the extremities are curved outwards or inwards	Doorway of the temple of Sur al-Laja	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 90-91 pl.82: 11, 12,12
Central stem with three or four symmetric leaves on each side, the extremities are curved outwards or inwards	Fragment reemployed in the central doorframe of the basilica complex at Qanawat	Amer *et al*. 1982: 258
Central stem with three or four symmetric leaves on each side, the leaves are completely separated and their tips are outwards	Sima of the cornice of a rustic façade in the north of Jerusalem	Goodenough 1958 fig.30
Central stem with three or four symmetric leaves on each side, the extremities are curved outwards or inwards, leaflets of palmettes are straight and less pointed	Lintels of the temple of Bêl at Palmyra	Seyrig *et al.* 1975 pl. 37, 132

T**able 4.3**: Distribution of geometric rosettes and those with double corollas in rural cult centres of the Hauran and their similar examples in the Near East

Type of rosettes	**Description**	**Site**	**Reference**
Geometric rosettes	Band of repeated geometric rosettes that consist of six speared petals, traced by dividers, inscribed in a slight engraved circle	Rosettes on the pediment of the window-frame of the lateral niches of Sī' 8	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96 pl.84
	Band of repeated rosettes that consist of rounded petals and central more or less large button	Friezes of tombs, sarcophagus, and synagogues in Palestine	Goodenough 1958 fig.25, 44, 248, 570, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96
		Nabatean tombs (B21, C1,C15, E17)	Avi-Yonah 1961: 20 n29, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96
		Palestine in the Bronze Age imported from Egypt	Avi-Yonah 1950: 60, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96
		Stele of Assurnazirpal II in Assyria on the ninth century BC	Frankofort 1996 fig.217, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96
		Parthian stucco of Assur (Iraq)	Andrae & Lenzen 1967 pl.14, 15 d-e-f N15597, 15599, 18076- 15537, 15817h, I, m, 16017 c, b- 18075, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96
		Parthian stucco of Uruk-Warka (Iraq)	Schimdt 1972 pl.37, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96
		Rag of the Assyrian palace of Nineveh in the seventh century BC	Parrot 1961: 162 fig.207, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 96
Rosettes with double corollas	Big rosette with double corolla of petals decorated at the centre	architrave of the door of the temple 1 at Sī'	PPUAES II 6 pl.27, Suw. 1991 4,03 INV338 [195], Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 pl.85:3
		Fragment of lintel of Sī' 8	PPUAES II 6 pl.27, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 pl.65 N190
		Block stored in the museum of Suweida, most likely from the same sanctuary Sī'	Suw. 1991L 115 N4,04 (INV340) pl.2, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97
		Platfond of the northern and southern thalamus in the temple of Bêl at Palmyra	Seyrig *et al*. 1975: 130-131, 200 pl.124: 1-4 Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Pilasters of the Hellenistic palace of 'Iraq al-Amir	Will & Larché 1991: 179, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98

		On the façade of the tombs in Jerusalem	Avigad 1950-1951: 100 fig.5, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Fragments of a stone table recovered from excavation along the wall of the terrace of an Herodian temple	Mazar 1975: 28-29, Avigad 1980: 169 fig.185, 3, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 98
		Tomb of the king at Jerusalem, cornice of the doorframe of a tomb in the north of Jerusalem	Goodenough 1958 fig. 30, 236, 240, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97 note 236
		The door of the northern entrance of Erechtheion at Athens, Epidaure or Samothrace in Greek classical period (Greece)	Travlos 1971: 288, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97
		Assyrian relief in Khorsabad in the eighth century BC or metallic decoration such as the bracelet of Gilgamesh, band of Sargon II and harness of horseman in Khorsabad in the eighth century BC (Iraq)	Parrot 1961: 32-33, 37, 38, fig.36, 38, 43, 45Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 97

Table 4.4: Statues of lions with elaborate mane recovered in rural cult centres of the Hauran

Site	**Reference**
Sahr	Weber 2003a: 352 fig.3a-b, Dentzer & Weber 2009 Pl.13-16
Menara Henou	Dentzer & Weber 2009: 103 fig.192

Table 4.5: Statues of eagles recovered in rural cult centres and not associated with religious structures in the Hauran

Site	Cult centre	Reference
Atil	X	Dentzer & Weber 2009: 162
‘Ireh		Mascle 1944 N284, Suw. 1991 INV284 [172] (8,31) Pl. 14, Weber 2006: 118 Pl.81.a-c
Kafr Shams		Dentzer & Weber 2009: 139 fig.330-331
Khân Arnabe		Dentzer & Weber 2009: 165 fig.441
Khirbet Radaman (?)		Weber 2006: 115 N98 pl.76a-d
Kodena		Dentzer & Weber 2009: 164 fig.438
Maiyamâs	X	Dentzer-Feydy 1992: 83-86 fig.27
Mushannef	X	Suw. 1934 N55, Weber 2006: 117
Rimet Hazem	X	Dentzer-Feydy 1998: 211 fig.21
Sahr	X	Weber 2003a: 353 fig.6a-b-c, Dentzer & Weber 2009: 214-215 fig.696-706
Sha’ârah	X	Dentzer & Weber 2009: 117 fig.250-251
Sheik Sa’d		Weber 2006: 48 N32-33 Pl.26a-b, Dentzer & Weber 2009: 134-136 N5, 7-8, fig.314-315, 319-322
Sī’	X	PPAES II: 417 fig.2, PPUAES II A 6: 397, Suw. 1934 N52, N119 Pl.15, 18, Mascle 1944 L52, N119, Suw. 1991 INV119 [78] (8,17) Wening 2001: 328-331 N140
Suweida		Suw. 1991 INV577 [422] (8,20), INV586, 1 [648,1] (8,16), INV588 [653] (8,18)
Tarba		Dentzer & Weber 2009: 153 fig.96
Tekk Chéhab		Dentzer & Weber 2009: 127 fig.284-286

Table 4.6: Statues of eagles recovered in rural cult centres and not associated with religious structures in the Hauran

Site	Cult centre	Reference
Sahr	X	Dentzer & Weber 2009: 96, 216 fig.711 fig26-27
Medjel		PPUAES II A: 416 fig.355, Mascle 1944 N504, Suw. 1991 INV504 [24 (5,13), Dentzer & Weber 2009: 123 fig.269
Mismiyeh	X	Dentzer & Weber 2009 fig.226
Qabbbara		Dentzer & Weber 2009 fig.58

Table 4.7: Layout of rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Structure	T[3]	R[4]	Chronology	Reference
Atil	Two *distyle in antis* (North and South) temples		X	AD 151 (PAAES : 326-7 N 427, Wadd. 2372)	Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1909: 102-106, PAAES II: 343-346, fig. 120, PPUAES II A 5: 1915: 355-356, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Segal 2008: 103-105, Sartre-Fauriat 2004: 39, visit of the author 2010
Boutheiné	None	X		Provincial period (?)	Dussaud & Macler 1901 N1, Wadd 2127
Breik	*Protostyle tetrastyle* temple		X	AD 190-220	PPUAES II A 7: 409-412 fig. 352 pl. XXIX, Segal 2008: 109, visit of the author 2010
Dakir	NI		X	Second century AD (?)	Suw. 1991 INV566 [343], (8,36), INV608 [341] (7,22), INV568 [346] (7,28) Pl.18-19, Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 297, 1992: 73, 76, 2008: 87, Denzter &Weber 2009: 124
Dâmit Il-'Alyā	NI	X		AD 50-99	PPUAES II A 7: 433-434 Ill. 377, visit of the author 2010
Dayr Smayg	NI	X		AD 150-199	PPUAES II A 5: 352-354, Dentzer 1986: 297
Dêr Il-Meshķûķ	*Petrastyle* (four columns) *protostyle* temple		X	AD 150-199 (AD124) (PPUAES IV N27)	PPUAES II A 2: 130 Ill. 106
Hebran	*Distyle in antis* temple according to reconstruction in the early twentieth century. At present days there are architectural fragments and inscriptions at the back-yard of a modern house			AD 155	PPUAES II A 5: 323-325, Pl. XX, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Segal 2008: 102-103, visit of the author 2010
Is-Şâfiyeh	NI		X	Pre-provincial/Provincial period (?)	PPUAES II A 2: 124: 124, Braemer *et al.* 1999: 164, 159 fig.6, 165 fig.12a
Kharaba	None	X		Provincial period (?)	PPUAES III N220
Lubbayn	None			AD213, AD232-333	Wadd 2455, 2456, Ewing 1895: 69-70, PPUAES II N793, N793 1, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 324-325
Mashara	NI		X	Pre-provincial/provincial period (?)	Dentzery-Feydy 1992: 79-80 fig 20, 2008: 87, 96 footnote 219-220
Maiyamâs	NI. According to early twentieth-century explorer, Butler, there were two squared chambers (West and East Temples), but they cannot be seen because a basilica		X	Provincial period (?)	PPUAES II A 5: 326-329, Denzter-Feydy 1986: 297, visit of the author 2010

[3] "T" stands for *temenos*.
[4] "R" stands for archaeological remains *in situ*.

	was built and part of the structure is still currently used by local people as a meeting place				
Menara Henou	Squared courtyard with a small squared structure, possibly on a *podium*	X	X	AD100-199	Dunand 1933: 521-527
Mismiyeh	*Hexastylon* (six columns) *protostyle* temple on a *podium*, with *adyton*		X	AD164-169	Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Segal 2008: 109-112
Mushannef	*distyle in antis* temple with courtyard	X	X	Two phases: AD 41 (Wadd. 2211, PPUAES III N 380) and AD 171 (Wadd. 2212, PPUAES III N 380a)	Brünnow & von Domaszewski & von Domaszewski 1909: 103, Burns 1992: 161, PAAES II: 346-351, PPUAES II A 5: 340 ff., Ball 1994: 82, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Segal 2008: 101-102, visit of the author 2010
Rimet Hazem	NI rectangular chamber		X	Second half of the first century AD, last quarter of the first century AD	Dentzer-Feydy 1998
Sahr	*Adyton* facing a room with benches and altar at the centre, preceded by a wide courtyard and surrounded by a temenos. A theatre next to the sanctuary and surrounded by different non-religious structures (Ch.7)	X	X	AD 50-99 used up to the end of the third century AD	PPUAES II A 7: 441-446, Kalos 1997, 2003, Dentzer-Feydy 2010a
Salkad				From the mid-first century BC until the provincial period	RAO V: 384, RES 2051, CIS II 182-185, Brünnow & von Domaszewski & von Domaszewski 1904: 322, Cantineau 1932: 17-19, PPUAES IV N23-24, Suw 1934 N200, N374-375, N377, Milik 1958: 227-228, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Suw. 1991 INV311 [318] (5, 32)
Sanamein	*Protostyle tetrastyle* temple with *adyton*		X	AD 191 (PPUAES III N 652)	PPUAES II A 5: 315-322 fig.287-293 pl. XI, *Ibid*. 1906, 1929: 12-17, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Freyberger 1989, 1991, Segal 2008: 105-107, Sartre-Fauriat 2004: 46, visit of the author 2010
Sī'	NI squared *cella* 1 (according to early twentieth-century explorer, Butler, it was a circumambulatory *cella*), preceded by the *theatron* (courtyard with a couple of steps either side, like benches), and a wider courtyard (forecourt 2)	X	X	33-32/2-1 BC used until the third century AD	PPUAES II A 6: 365-399, PAAES II: 322-424, 334-340, Dentzer 1985, fig.2, Dentzer-Feydy 1986, Dentzer-Feydy 2010a, 2010b, visit of the author 2010

	On a side of forecourt 2 there is *cella* 2 (only a small, rectangular, elevated structure, like a *podium*, is possible to be seen)			AD 29-30 used until the third century AD	
	Forecourt 2 (wide courtyard) connects the *theatron* and courtyard 3			c.50-100 AD used until the third century AD	
	Forecourt 3(wide courtyard) leads to a flight of steps and higher levelled platform where there is temple 3			c.50-100 AD used until the third century AD	
	Temple 3 is *protostyle tetrastyle* (according to early twentieth-century explorer, Butler) (the temples with Nabataean capitals)			c.50-100 AD used until the third century AD	
	Sī' 8 in the valley of the sanctuary. It consists of a small *adyton* facing a courtyard with monumental façade				
Sha'ârah	Cave and, next to it, a NI *cella* Preceded by a banquet area consisting of benches on both sides and niches enclosed by a *temenos*	X	X	Provincial period	PPUAES III A N803 1-2, Kalos 2001
Sleim	*Protostyle tetrastyle* temple with *adyton*		X	AD 100-199	PPUAES II A 5: 356-359 fig. 319-320 pl. XXVI-XXVII, Freyberger 1991, Denzter-Feydy 1997, Sartre-Fauriat 2004: 65, Segal 2008: 99-101, visit of the author 2010
Ṣmad	None		X	Provincial period (?)	PPUAES III N786 1-6
Sur al-Laja	Squared chamber (according to early twentieth-century explorer, Butler, it was a circumambulatory *cella*) preceded by a courtyard with benches and rooms on the two lateral sides of the courtyard	X	X	AD 50-99	PPUAES II A 7: 428-431 Ill. 371, Dentzer-Feydy 1986
Zebiré	None	X		AD213	Wadd 2512, Brünnow & von Domaszewski & von Domaszewski 1904: 331

Table 4.8: Statues of eagles, similar to those depicted in Nabataea, associated with rural centres in the Hauran

Site	**Reference**
Hebran	Suw. 1934 N95, Pl.XXVIII N196, Macle 1944 N196, Dentzer 1986: 319-320, 351 N.51, 365 Pl.XII
Sī’	PPAES II: 416 ill.328, PPUAES II A6: 378 ill.320 fragment 12, Bolelli 1986: 351, N44-47 Pl.XI, Dentzer-Feydy 1992: 76 fig.14
Sleim	Dentzer-Feydy 1992: 76 fig.16

Table 4.9: Statues depicted with "sketcky" style in the sanctuary at Sī'

Representation	**Reference**
Beardless male head, local benefactor Malikat (?)	Bolelli 1986: 349 N27 Pl.VII, Weber 2006: 110
Not identified male head	Wening 2001: 322-323 N138
Winged Nike	Suw 1934 N119 Pl.XV, Mascle 1944 N119, Suw. 19991 INV119 [78] (8,17)
Beardless male head	Suw. 1934 N101 Pl.XXVII, Mascle 1944 N101, Bolelli 1986: 350 N29 Pl.VIII
Beardless male bust in the capital	PPUAES A II 6: 337, Dentzer 1986: 276 Pl.IX b
Not identified male	PPUAES II A: 384-385 Ill.334 O, Wenning 2001: 315-317 N134
Not identified male	PPUAES II A: 384 Ill.334 M, Wenning 2001: 317-318 N135
Horseman/Trumpeter	PPUAES II A: 384 Ill.334 N, PAAES II: 416, Bolelli 1986: 349 N20, Wenning 2001: 319-320 N136
Horse head	PPUAES II A: 384 Ill.330 L, Wenning 2001: 317-322 N137

Table 4.10: Statues with loincloth, representing Nabataean individuals, recovered in the Hauran

Site	**Reference**
Hebran	Bolelli 1986 N9, Suw. 1991 INV564 [340] (4,32)
Mushannef	Bolelli 1986 N6, Dentzer 1986: 322, 344 Pl.II, Weber 2006: 117 Pl.80g
Sleim	Bolelli 1986 N5

Table 4.11: Attic bases, (§ Ch.4.6.2), "archaic" Corinthian capitals (§ Ch.4.4.1.b), normal Corinthian capitals and their variation (§ Ch.4.6.2), floral Corinthian capitals, Doric and Nabataean capitals (§ Ch.4.3.2.b) associated with rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Type of Capital	Remain	Location within the sanctuary, when known	In the debris	Out of context	In the structure of the cult centre	Reference
Atil	Attic	Bases		X		X	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 81-82 pl.78
Atil	Corinthian	Capital of pilaster	Corner of the temple			X	Author 2010
Dayr Smayg	Doric	Capital			X		Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 85
Dayr Smayg	Doric	Capitals			X		PPUAES II A 5 ill.317, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 85 pl.79 N7
Hebran	Corinthian	Three blocks of pilasters			X		Denzter-Feydy 1990b: 653 fig.25
Hebran	Doric	Capitals			X		Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 85
Mushannef	Attic	Bases				X	Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 81-82 pl.78
Mushannef	Composite Corinthian	capital of pilaster			X		Denzter-Feydy 1990b: 651 -652 fig.14-17
Mushannef	Composite Corinthian	lower part of capital of column			X		Denzter-Feydy 1990b: 651 -652 fig.14-17
Mushannef	Composite Corinthian	capital of semi-column			X		Denzter-Feydy 1990b: 651 -652 fig.14-17
Mushannef	Doric	Capital			X		Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 85
Rimet Hazem	Composite Corinthian	2 capitals of pilaster	Isolated blocks		X		Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 652 ff. fig.21-22
Salkad	"archaic" Corinthian capital	Capitals			X		Schulmberger 1933 pl.27: 2, Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 81-82
Sanamein	Attic	Bases		X			Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 81-82 pl.78
Sī'	Doric	Capital	Blocks with debris	X			Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 85 pl.71 N155
Sī'	Normal Corinthian	second row of leaves of semi-	North terrace in the vicinity of	X			Dentzer-Feydy 1990b: 652 ff. fig.18

		column	the courtyard 3				
Sī'	"archaic" Corinthian	Base	In the debris in the eastern corner of the temple	X			Dentzer-Feydy 1993 fig.10
Sī'	"archaic" Corinthian	2 pilasters	In the debris in the corner of the façade	X			Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 82-84
Sī'	Attic	Column and pilaster bases	NI	X			Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 81-82 pl.78
Sī'	Nabatean	4 columns	in situ on the façade of the temple according to Butler (PPUAES)	X			PPUAES A 2 Ill.341, Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 281, 283
Sī'	floral Corinthian capitals	Capitals	Temple 3	X			Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 84
Sī'	Heterodox Corinthian	Capital	amongst the other remains	X			Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 82-82 pl.79 N3
Sī'	Attic	base of pilaster	NI	X			Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 81-82 pl.78
Sleim	Normal Corinthian	2 inferior parts and 2 upper parts of capitals of pilasters	reused within other blocks of the temple in a modern sheik		X		Denzter-Feydy 1990b: 648 fig.9-10
Sleim	Variation of Normal Corinthian	complete pilaster	eastern corner A, four corners acroterion			X	Denzter-Feydy 1990b: 646 fig.7-8
Sleim	Normal Corinthian	2 small capitals of half-columns	at the front of the temple			X	Denzter-Feydy 1990b: 651 -652 fig.19-20
Sur al Laja	Corinthian	Capital			X		Denzter-Feydy 2003: 83 pl.78.8
Sur al Laja	Attic	base of pilaster			X		Dentzer-Feydy 2003: 81-82

Table 4.12: Coins recovered at Sī'

Type	Quantity	Chronology	Place of minting	Elsewhere	Reference
Ptolemaic bronze coins	2	Third century BC	Alexandria and Ptolemais (Phoenician coast)	Very diffused in Syria	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N1-2
Seleucid bronze coins	1	Antioch IV (175-164BC)	Antioch	Very diffused in Syria	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N3
	1	Antioch VIII (121-96BC)	Seleucia Pieria (Northern Syria)	Very diffused in Syria	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N3
Herodian bronze coins	7	Herod the Great (40/37-34BC)	Jerusalem	Herodian kingdom	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N4
		Herod Philip I (AD29-30)	Caesarea Panias (modern Banias on the northern coast of Syria)	Herodian kingdom	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N5
		Agrippa II (c. AD50-95)	Probably Caesarea Panias	Herodian kingdom	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N6-8
Nabatean bronze coins	110 (37%)	Mainly Aretas IV (AD18/19, AD39-40) and some Obobas III (from 18/17-10/9 BC to 6/5-4/3BC). also Malichos II (AD39/40 and 70) and Rabbel II (AD70/71, 75/76 and 101/102)	Most likely Petra	Nabatean kingdom	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N8-73
Most likely Nabatean small value (semi-coins and a quarter-coins) and fragmentary and NI possibly Nabatean coins		From the end of the first century BC to the beginning of the second century AD	Most likely Petra	Nabatean kingdom	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N74-114

31 bronze coins from cities	2	Caligula (AD34/38 or AD38-39),	Canatha (Djebel al-Arab)	Similar to the common coins in Southern Syria and Palestinian coast minted from Caesarea Maritima (Judea). So the coins from Canatha are their local imitation. Rare coins from Canatha after Commodus and Elagabal	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 210, 234, 248 N115-116
	6	Domitian (AD 93/94 or 94/95 and 94/95 or 95/96)	Canatha (Djebel al-Arab)		Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 210, 234, 248 N117-122
	3	Marcus Aurelius (AD140-161) or Commodus (AD117-192?)	Bosra (Southern Hauran)	Bosra (Southern Hauran)	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N125-127
	2	Faustina I, wife of the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius (c.AD141-144 or 161)	Bosra (Southern Hauran)	Coins minted until the mid-third century AD but not found at Sia 8	Augé 1986: 204, 2003: 234, 248 N123-124
	1	Mid-first century AD (AD56-57)	Tyr (Phoenician coast)	Only atelier that could issue coinage after Augustus. Largely diffused in the Near East	Augé 1986: 205, 2003: 214, 234 N146
NI small coins and fragments with depiction of hemhem crown (Egyptian pharaoh'style) of the Harpocrates, Ptolemaic Alexandrian god	28	Trajan (AD112-113 and 113/114), and Hadrian or Antoninus (first half of the second century AD) (1 coin)	Alexandria (?)	Small coins found in Palestine, Transjordan and especially at Jerash	Augé 1986: 205, 2003: 237, 248 N128-145
NI Reused in Islamic context of Sia 8	2	End of Hellenistic period to the second century AD	NI	NI	Augé 1986: 205, 2003: 234 N147-148
	1	Earlier than second century AD	Palestine	Palmyra, but in numerous quantity at Caesarea Maritime in Palestine c.54AD and also at Pella in AD82/3-84/5	Augé 2003: 234 N149
NI small bronze coins with	118	Antonine period (AD138-193) because of the bearded head	Not specified	Unpublished coins with this theme are also found at Jerash and Bosra	Augé 2003: 237 N150-176

depiction of head or bust of a ram					
NI small bronze coins with depiction of bearded head on one side and quadrupeds on the other	Not specified	Second century (?) on the basis of similar coins	Local production (?)	Similar to small coins from Alexandria in Trajan period (AD103-110) because of the common denticulation on the sides of the coins and the depiction of different African animals. Similar to small coins from Alexandria in Hadrian period (AD126-127) because of the common denticulation on the sides of the coins and the depiction of a dog or wolf. Similar to small coins dated to Commodus at Canatha, Bosra and Palmyra because of the depiction of bovines	Augé 2003: 237 N177-194
NI very small coins that represent a head or a bust on the right	Not specified	First half of the first century AD (?)	NI	Similar to the Nabatean coins under Aretas IV	Augé 2003: 239-240 N195-218/225
NI small coins or fragments decorated with stripes, points and globules	Not specified	Second half of the first century AD		decorated with globules and small stripes common patterns found in Parthian small bronze coins with depiction of Parthian kings Volagases I (AD52-78) and Pacarus II (AD75-105)	Augé 2003: 240 N226-233
NI small coins or fragments badly worn	Not specified	NI	NI	NI	Augé 2003: 240 N234-245
Roman Not high value, they took over	2	Trajan (AD98-117)	Rome	Near East	Augé 1986: 205, 2003: N246-247
	2	Gallienus (AD253-268)	NI, maybe the Near		Augé 1986: 205, 2003:

in the fourth century AD (9%)			East, Antioch		N248-249
	1	Maximinus II (AD305-313)	Alexandria		Augé 1986: 205, 2003: N250
	14	Constantine (AD313-324)	Alexandria		Augé 1986: 205, 2003: N251
	5	Constantius II (AD337-340)	Alexandria		Augé 1986: 205, 2003: N252
	1	Valentinian (AD364-375)	Antioch?		Augé 1986: 205, 2003: N254
	4	NI Emperor	NI		Augé 1986: 205, 2003: N253, 255-256
Very worn ancient coins	2	Hellenistic-Roman (?)	NI	NI	Augé 2003 N257-258
Umayyad coins	2	Umayyad (Islamic) period	Damascus (?)	Not specified	Augé 2003 N259-260
Modern coins	1	Modern days	Jordan	Jordan	Augé 2003 N261

Table 5.1: Inscriptions dedicated to Baalshamin in rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Text of Inscription	English translation	Chronology	Reference
Sī'	Drrwn ṭb l mlykt br ‘wsw br m ‘yrw dy hw bnh ‘l b’šmyn byrt’ gwyt’ wbryt’ bryt’ wty ṭr’d’wmṭ [It’ ----]šnt 310 ‘d šnt 311 w’d ḥyyn bšlm	In pius remembrance of Malîkat, the son of ‘Aus, the son of Mughaiyir, who built for Baalshamin the inner temple (birta) and the outer temple (birta) and this theatron (wtytr’) and [its coverings from] the year 280 until the year 310 (311?). May those who still live be in peace(?)! (PPUAES IV A 2 N100)	32-32BC/2-1BC	PAAES IV C: 85-90, PPUAES IV A 2 N100, RES 2023, RES 803, CIS II 163, Cantineau 1932: 11-12
	[q]ṣyw br/ [m]tyw šlm/ Καιος [Ματ]-/ιου μνησ[θὴ]/ [šnt] 204 ‘yth/ [b’l] šmyn ‘syw/ [š’y]’h wmlklh[‘]	[Qa]ṣiyū, son of/ [Ma]tiyū, peace!/ Kasiyos, son of [Mati-]yos, that commemorated/ in the year 204, got into/ [Be’el]šamain, ‘Isīū,/ [Še’e’]’ah and the Angel of the god (Milik 2003)	105-104 BC	Milik 2003

Table 5.2: Inscriptions dedicated to Zeus in rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Greek text	English text	Chronology	Reference
Boutheiné	.. Διῒ τῷ Κυρίῳ…	…to Zeus Kyrios.. (by the Author 2013)	NI	Dusaud & Macler 1901 N1
Dâmit Il-'Alyā	Ἐπηκόῳ/ Διῒ Φα-/ιυησί-/ῳ εὐχ-/ή]ν (Σ)έ(λ)-/(ε)υκοσ/ οχορα-(ν)ου [ε-/ὐσε(β)ῶ]ν	To Zeus of Phaina, Hearer of prayer. Seleukos, (son) of 'Akarān, (fulfils) a vow, in piety (PPUAES II N800 1)	NI	PPUAES II N800 1
Hebran	Διεί κυ/ρίῳ Βο/ναῖος, Μόκειμος, Σ-/άδηλο-/ς ἔθη-/κ(ε)ν	Bonaios, Mokeimos, Sadelos (did it) in honour of Zeus the Lord (Kyrios) in piety (by the Author 2013)	NI	Suw. 1934 N178
	Ἄλαος Οὔι-/θρου ἱερεὺς [Δ-/ιὸς] Κεραυ[νί]ο[υ]/ ἀνέθηκεν το-/ῦ αὐτοῦ Διός ἐ-/κ τῶν ἰδίων ε-/ὐσεβίας χ-/άριν	Alous, son of Ouitros, priest of Zeus Keranious (did it) to his Zeus at his own expense in piety (by the Author 2013)	NI	Suw. 1934 N176 Pl.XXXV
	Διΐ μεγιστῳ,/ ὑπὲρ σω-/τηρίας κ[υ]-/ ρίου Καισα(ροσ)…/ Μ. Βοδριοσ/ Κωνστᾶς / εὐξάμ[ε]-/νος ἀνέθη-/κεν	To Zeus Megistos for the welfare of Lord Caesar... (maybe from the Julio-Claudian dynasty), M. Bodrios Konstas being worried (did it) in piety (by the Author 2013)	NI (maybe last decades of the first century BC to the mid-first century AD)	Wadd 2289, Suw. 1934 N179 pl.XXXV
	Διῒ Κυρίῳ/[ε]ὐχὴν ἱλ[ασίας χάριν]/[Δέκ]μος Ἰ[ού]-/[λ]ιος Φα-/[βι]ανὸς/[στρ]ατιώτη[ς]/[λεγε]ῶνο<ς> [. . ΄].	To Zeus(the) Lord, a vow for the sake of expiation, Decimus Iulius Fabianus, a soldier of (the) legion…(PPUAES II N665)	NI	Wadd 2290, PPUAES II N665, IGR III 1297, Suw. 1934 N177
Mushannef	Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασιλ'ως Ἀγριππα καί ἐπανόδου, κατ' εὐχήν, Διός καί πατρ(ῴ)ου Ἀθνᾶ[ς] σύ(ν)οδος ὁμονο[ί]ας τόν οἶκον ᾠκοδόμ[ησεν]	For (the) safety of (our) lord King Agrippa, and (for his) return, according to a vow, (the) Synod of Concord erected this house of Zeus and of (the) Athena of (our) fathers (PAAES II N380)	AD41	Wadd 2211, IGR III 1260, PAAES II N380, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 308
Salkhad	Διῒ μεγά/λῳ τῷ κυριωι. Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας Μουίμου Βα/σιλίσκου Κ[υρ]/ου. Ἄνος οἰκοδό/μος εὐσεβῶν ἐπο/ήσε	To the great Zeus, Anos the pius builder did at his own expense for the welfare of Monimos Basiliskos Kyros (by the Author 2013)	Provincial	Suw. 1934 N200, Mascle 1944 N311, Sourdel 1957: 24, Suw. 1991 INV311 [218] (5,32)

Sanamein	Ἔτους πέ(μ)πτου τῆς Αὐτοκρ̣άτο-/ρος Τιβερίοι Κ(λ)αδίου Καίσαρος Ζεβασ-τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Εὔνομος Ἥκτορος/ καί Αἴας καί Νείκαιος ἀδελφοί ἦρξαν οἰκο-/δονῆσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦτο τό μέρος / ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῷ Διὶ Κυρίῳ εὐσεβείας χ/αί εὐχαριστείας ἕνεκα	In (the) fifth year of the (rule) of (the) Emperor Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Eunomos, (son) of Hektor, and Aias and Nikaios, (his) brothers, began to build in the temple this part at their own (expense), in honour of the Lord Zeus, as a mark of piety and gratitude (PPUAES III N655 2)	AD45	PPUAES II 655 2
	Ἄμενος Μαθείου [κ]αί Ὄναινος ἀδελφός ἐποίησα(υ) τόν βωμόν Θεοῦ Διός ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔτ(ους) δεκάτου Ἁδριανοῦ Καίσαρος	Amenos, son of Mateios, and the brother Onainos made an altar to the god Zeus at their own expense in the tenth year of the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (by the Author 2013)	AD126	Wadd 2413 f, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 311
	Διὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ Καιι<α>μο<ς> Μαλχαίου κ<α>ὶ/υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τῆν θύραν σὺν νεικαδί-/οις καὶ μεγάλῃ Νείκῃ καὶ λεον-/ταρίοις καὶ πάσῃ γλυφῇ καὶ/ τῆς ἐκ τῶν δύω μερῶν κα-/ θαρουργίας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίω-/ν κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἔθηκαν	To Zeus the Lord (Kyrios), Ḳaiyām, (son) of Malchaios, and his sons erected in piety at their own (expenses) the door with (the) small figures of Nike and (the) large statue of Nike and (the) small lions and all (the) carved work, including (that) of the means of cleansing to the extent of two-thirds. Pasimias (PPUAES III N655 3)	NI	Wadd 2413 j, PPUAES III N655 3
Sī'	Διὶ Κυ]ρίῳ εὐχήν. Λο[ύ]κι[ς]/...ώνις βενεφικιάρις/ λεγεῶνος ι' Φρετησίας	To Zeus Kyrios, an ex-voto, Lucius…onius, benefactor of the Tenth Fretensis Legion (by the Author 2013)	First century AD	Dunand 1926: 328 Pl.LXIX, Suw. 1934 N15 Pl.IX, Mascle 1944 N15, Sourdel 1957: 2, 64, Suw. 1991 INV 15 [190] (5, 23)
	Διὶ] Κυρί[ῳ. / ... ο Βουλ(ευτής)/ καί ...]νιο[ς / ἑκατόνταρ(χος)/ σπίρης Αὐ[γ(ούστης)	To (the) Lord Zeus ….To (the) Lord Zeus …., councillor, and…nius, centurion of (the) cohort Augusta (PPAES II N769)	First half of the first century AD	PPUAES II N769
	Διὶ ἐπηκόῳ/ Ἰουλιανός/ Ζηνᾶ ἱππεύς/ κατ'/ εὐχήν/ ἀνέθηκεν	To Zeus, vigilant, Julianus, son of Zennas, horseman, consecrated (this monument) in ex-voto (by the Author 2013)	Second/third century AD	Suw. 1934 N27 P.VIII, Mascle 1944 N27, Suw. 1991 INV27 [191] (5, 33)
	[Ἰούλιους Ἡράκλιτος, φιλοτιμησάμενος Διί Μεγίστῳῳ τόν] πύλον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων	Julius Heraclitos in devoteed service to most mighty Zeus Megistos erected this gateway	AD138-235	PAAES III N432

	[ἔκτισεν]	at his own expense (PAAES III N432)		
	Προνοί[ᾳ] Ἰούλιόυ [Ἡ]ράκλιτου Δ[ιί] ἠκτίσθη[σα]ν αἱ θυ[ραι] καί τό [π]ερίβολον	By provision of Julius Heraclitos to Zeus were built these gates and the walls around them (PAAES III N431)	AD138-235	RAO I N11, PAAES III N431

Table 5.3: Inscriptions that mention Allat in rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Text of Inscription	Translation	Chronology	Reference
Hebran	See CIS II 170	In the sixth year of the reign of Emperor Claudius Caesar, this is the door that Malikat, son of Kasiu, did, priest of Allat, Peace! (CIS II 170)	AD47	CIS II 170, Milik 1958: 228-229
Salkhad	See CIS II 182	This is the house which was built by Rawāḥ, the son of Malikat, the son of Rawāḥ,the son of ʻAklab, for Allāt, their goddess, who is in Ṣalkhad, and who[se statue] was set up by Rawāḥ, the son of Ḳaṣiu, together with the above named Rawāḥ. In the month of August, in the twenty-seventh year of Mālik, the king of Nabateans, the son of Ḥārithat, the king of Nabateans, who loved his people	the middle of the first century BC	CIS II 182, Cantineau 1932: 17-18, Suw. 1934 N377
	Dnh byt' dy bnh ʻwt'lh br qsyw br ʻdynt br ʻwt'[lh]/ br ʻklbw br rwhw br ʻqsyw l ʻlt wwgrh b' [//]/ tb' byrh sywn snt ʻsryn whms lrb'l/ mlk' mlk' nb[tw] dy ʻhyy ʻmh ws[yzbh]	This is the temple rebuilt by Gaytallah, son of Kasiu, son of Udainat, son of Gautallan, son of Aklabat, son of Rawahil, son of Kasiu, to Allat and his idol. [The ... good, in the month of Sivan, an twenty-five of Rabbel, king of the Nabataeans that helps his people] (Milik 1958: 228 N1)	AD93	Suw. 1934 N374-375, Milik 1958: 227-228 N1
	See PPUAES IV N24	This is the cult-stone/which was offered by/Pa-hakkūrū (?, or Pacorus)./ the sone of ʻAus,/ to Allāt, the lady/ of the place (PPUAES IV N24)	NI	PPUAES IV N24, Milik 1958: 227, 228

Table 5.4: Inscriptions that mention Athena in rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Text of Inscription	Translation	Chronology	Reference
Dâmit Il-ʿAlyā	Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ κυρί[ᾳ Τάννηλος Μοαιέρου [τ]ό πρόπ[υλ]ον ἀνέθηκεν	Tannelos, son of Moaieros made the *vestibulum* to the signora Athena	NI	Wadd 2453, Ewing 1895: 76, Dussaud & Macler 1903: 242 N10
Hebran	Σαλέμος / Ζαύσους / καί Μάζι-/μος γεν-/ώμενος ἐ-/νθάδε πρ-/άκτ(ω)ρ Χ/αναθηνό/ς ἀναθηκε-/ν τῇ Αθην-/ᾷ. Μνησθῇ	Salemos Zausous and Mazimos, being born there, the official Kananemos (did it) in piety in honour of the memorable Athena (by the Author 2013)	NI	Suw. 1934 N172
Mushannef	Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασιλ'ως Ἀγριππα καί ἐπανόδου, κατ' εὐχήν, Διός καί πατρ(ῴ)ου Ἀθνᾶ[ς] σύ(ν)οδος ὁμονο[ί]ας τόν οἶκονν ᾠκοδόμ[ησεν]	For (the) safety of (our) lord King Agrippa, and (for his) return, according to a vow, (the) Synod of Concord erected this house of Zeus and of (the) Athena of (our) fathers (PAAES II N380)	NI	Dunand 1932: 121, SEG VII 1075, PAAES II N380
	Πρόκλος ὁ καί Μάσπ[ος Γάδ]ου Καναθηνός Βουλετής καί Ὠαῖχος ὁ καί Τειμόθεος καί Ἀντίοχος ὁ καί Σάμεθος ἀδελφοί τῇ κυρίᾳ Ἀθηνᾷ τό πρόπυλον σύν παντί κόσμῳ ἐκ τῶν ιδίών ᾠκοδόμησαν	Proclus, councillor of Canatha, and his brothers, Masitos, son of Taddos and, Teimoteos, Antiokos and Sametos, made the gateway to the lady Athena at their own expense (by the Author 2013)	NI	Wadd 2216
	Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασιλ'ως Ἀγριππα καί ἐπανόδου, κατ' εὐχήν, Διός καί πατρ(ῴ)ου Ἀθνᾶ[ς] σύ(ν)οδος ὁμονο[ί]ας τόν οἶκονν ᾠκοδόμ[ησεν]	For (the) safety of (our) lord King Agrippa, and (for his) return, according to a vow, (the) Synod of Concord erected this house of Zeus and of (the) Athena of (our) fathers (PAAES II N380)	AD 41	Wadd 2211, OGI 418, IGR III 1260, PAAES II N380, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 308

Table 5.5: Inscriptions that mention Dushara in the Hauran

Site	Cult centre	Text of Inscription	English translation	Chronology	Reference
Dêr Il-Meshḳûḳ	X	Ἐποίησαν τῷ τεῷ Δ/ουσάρει οἱ ἐκ κοιυ[οῦ]/ αὐτῶν ἱερε<ύ>σ<α>ντες / ἔτους δεκάτου Ἀντωυει-/νου Καίσαρος, Αυθο[ος Μ]ασ/αχου, Αυθος Ανεμου, Αυ/θος Θαιμου./ Ανναμος Καδου <οἱ> κ/οδόμο<ς>	To the god Dushara in the tenth sacred year of Antoninus Emperor, Autos, son of Masakos, Autos son of Anemos, Autos son of Taimos, Annamos son of Kados the builders (the ones who built) made it (by the Author 2013)	AD207	Dussaud Mission: 277 N.109, IGR III 1335, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 321
Imtan		dnh msgd' dy qrb mn' t br gdyw ldwšr' w" r' 'lh mr'n' dy bbṣr'	This stele Mun'at bar Gadiyu dedicated to Dushara-'Ara, god of our lord (god) whi is in Bosra (Healey 2001: 98)	AD93	RES 83, Dussaud 1901: 167 N36
Melah		Ναγιος Χαιρου / ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Δουσάρεος ἐπόησε / τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τ/ῶν ἰδὶων, ἔτει νθ΄	Nagios, (son) of Khair, priest of (the) god Dusares, made the altar at his own (expense) in (the) year 59 (PPUAES III N706)	AD164	Wadd 2023, PPUAES III N706, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 316
Sleim	X	Θεῷ Δουσάρι / Τ. Αἴλιος Σεουη/ριανὸς ἐκ τῶν/ ἰδίων	Ailios Seuouerianos (did it) at his own (expense) in honour of the god Dushara (by the Author 2013)	NI	Dunand 1932: 80, SEG VII 1107

Table 5.6: Inscriptions that mention a god worshipped by Roman soldiers in rural cult centres in the Hauran

Deity	Site	Text of Inscription	English translation	Chronology	Reference
Zeus Helios	Rimet Hazem	[Ἡ]λίῳ θεῷ Μεγίσ[τῳ...] / [Ἰ]ουλιανὸς (ἑκατόνταρχος) λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Ζ[υθικῆς] / εὐχήν	To Helios the god Megistos...Julianus (centurion) legion of Zutikes made a vow (by the Author 2013)	NI	IGR III 1242, Wadd 2407
solar god Helios	Sῑ'	D(eo) I(nvicto) S(oli)	..the invincible solar god Helios.. (by the Author 2013)	NI	Will 1952: 67-68
Zeus Ammon	Sur al-Laja	Ioui Hammoni/ M(arcus) Aur(elius) Theodor(us)/ quaest(i)onario/ Leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae)	To Jupiter/Zeus Ammon, Marcus Aurelius Theodorus, *quaestionarius* (interrogator or torturer) of the Third Cyrenaica Legion (by the Author 2013)	NI	Ewing 62, CIL III, 13.604, PPUAES III A N797

Table 5.6: Fort/Military camps in the Hauran and its proximity

Fort/Military camp	**Chronology**	**Reference**
Diyatheh	c. AD250-300	Gregory 1986: 179
Sa'ane	c. AD250-300	Gregory 1986: 179
Umm el-Quttein	c. second-fourth century AD	Kennedy 2004: 81-86
Umm el-Jimal	AD412-413	PPAES III A N237, Kennedy 2004:86-91
Qasr el-Bai'j	AD411-412	PPAES III A N21, Kennedy 2004:91-93

Table 6.1: Village's community as patrons of rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Village's community and its officials	Text of the inscription	Translation	Reference
'Auwas	Four *pistoi* made a temple	Ἐκ προνοίας] καί σπουδῆς Οὐάλεντος Αζι]ζου καί Ζοβεου 'Αουίτου καί Μάγνου Αβ]γαρου καί Μανου Θιεμου πιστῶν ἐκτίσθη τό] Θεονδρίτιον ἔτ(ει) σπβ'..	By (the) plan and under (the) supervision of Valens, (son) fo Aziz, and Subaih, (son) of Avitus, and Magnus, (son) of Abgar, and Ma'n, (son) of Tiyaim, *pistoi*, the shrine of Theandrites was built in (the) year 282.. (PPUAES III A N693)	Wadd 2046, Ewing 1895: 168, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 342, PPUAES III A N693
Boutheiné	*Pistoi* (five) erected a temple with the funds of the village	Αυσος Γαυτου, Θεό/[δω]ρος Πασιφείλου, Ονε/υοα Αβιβου, Ανα/μος Γαυτου, Ζαβε/δος Ναταμελου πι/στοὶ ἀνέγειραν / τὸ τυχῖου ἐκ τὸ τῆς κώ[μ]η[ς]	*Pistoi* Ausos, son of Gautos, Teodoros son of Pasifeilos, Oveua, son of Abibos, Amasos, son ofGautos, Zabedos, sond of Natamelos, erected the temple (*Tychaion*) with the funds of the village (by the Author 2013)	Wadd 2127
Dâmit Il-'Alyā	Village's community of Damatha	Θεῷ Ἀνικήτῳ Αυμου ο(ἰ)κοδόμησεν τό κοινόν κού[μ](ης) Ααμά(θ)ων διά Α(β)χορου Ομα(θ) κέ Αβγαρο Χασετου Ο]υαβηλου κέ Φιλιππος Σα(δ)[ουκ]έ Ζ(ε)ος…	To (the) Unconquerable God of 'Aum, the community of (the) village of Damatha built (this), through the agency of Abkur, (son) of Amat, and of Abgar, (son) of Kāsiṭ, (son) of Wahb'-ēl, and (of) Philippos, (son) of Sa'd, and (of) Shai',.. (PPUAES III N800 2)	PPUAES III N800 2
		Θεῷ Ανικέτῳ Αυ]μου οἰκοδόμη[σευ τό / κοινόν κώμ(ης) Δ]αμάθων δι(ά) Αβχο[ρου./..κέ...]ς Μίλιχος κέ Αβ[γαρου.../Χασετου κέ Χ]οσετου Ουαβε[λου../....]ααρου Μαθιό[ι κέ... .....τῶ]ν(οἰ)κοδόμω[ν.../.... πε....	To(the)Unconquerable God of 'Aum,the community of(the)village of Damatha built(this),through the agency of Abkur,(son)of..,and of ..,(son)of Milichos, and of Abgar,(son)of Kāsiṭ,(son)of Wahb'-ēl,..,and (of)...aaros,(son)of Matīy, and..the builders.. (PPUAES III N800 7)	PPUAES III N800 7
		Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μιλιχο(ς) κέ Σαγαδεος κέ/ Εὐτρόπις πιστοί/ Ἐλίσσας τάς/ δύο ἀψῖδας	Aurelius Milichos and Shagadīy (or Sagadīy) and Eutropios, pistoi, completed the two apses (PPUAES III N800 5)	PPUAES III N800 5
Kharaba	*Episkopoi* commissioned the *temenos* (?)	...τούς τοῦ τεμ]ένους ἐπισκόπους./...Ζεδος (καί) Βανιος	*..temenos, episkopoi*.. ..Zaid and Nani (by the Author 2013)	PPUAES III N220
Lubbayn	Community of	Ἔτους (κ)ά κυρίου ΝΜ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλιου)	In (the) 21st (/) year of (our) lord Marcus	Wadd 2045, Ewing 1895: 69,

	Agraina constructed this (temple) for the god with temple treasurers	Ἀντ[ωνείνου Σεβ(αστοῦ)/ τό κοινόν Αγραινης ἐποίησεν Θ(ε)ῷ Αυμου, διά Αὐρ(ηλίου)/ Πλάτωνος Βαρβάρου καί Αβουνου Χαιρανο(υ)/ ἱερατομέῶν	Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, the Community of Agraina constructed (this) for (the) God of ‘Aum through the agency of Aurelius Platōn, (son) of Barbaros, and ‘Abūn, (son) of Khairān, temple-treasurers (PPUAES III N793)	Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 324, PPUAES III N793
		῎Ετους ιβ' κυρίου Καίσαρος/ 'Αλεξάνδρου τό κυνόν Αγραινης ἐπ[ό-/ησεν Θεῷ Αυμου δι(ά) Πλάτωνος / καί Αβουνου	In (the) 12th year of (our) lord Caesar Alexander the Community o Agraina constructed (this) for (the) God of ‘Aum through the agency of Platon snf ‘Abun (PPUAES III N793 1)	Wadd 2446, Ewing 1895: 70, PPUAES III N793 1, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 325
Sanamein	Village’s community of Airesioi made it (temple?)	…./[ἐπίτ]ροπον/ [τοῦ]/[Σ]εβ(αστοῦ), τὸ κοινὸ[ν]/ἀγνῶς /ἐπιτ[ά]-/ξαντα τειμῆ[ς]/χάριν.	....., procurator of the Emperor, who made imposts with integrity, the community (set up), as a mark of honour (PPUAES III N655)	PPUAES III N655
		….ν….[τὸ κοι[ν(ὸν)]/ Αἰρη[σ(ίων)] ἐπίτροπον/ τ[ο]/ῦ Σεβ(αστοῦ) τειμῆ[ς]/χάριν.	....., procurator of the Emperor, the community of the Airesioi (set up), as a mark of honour (PPUAES III N655 1)	PPUAES III N655 1
		'Υπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτ(ορος) [Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου] Σεβ(αστοῦ) Εὐσεβ(οῦς) Εὐτυχοῦς,/ Ἰούλιος Γερμανὸς (ἑκατοντάρχης) [λεγ(ιῶνος) γ΄ Γαλλ(ικῆς)] ὁ εὐεργέτης Αἰρησίων καὶ κτίστης, τὸν σηκὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπι-/γραφῆς συνετέλεσεν, καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον ἀφιέρωσεν. ἔτους ις΄	For (the) safety and victory of the lord Emperor Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Pius Felix, Iulius Germanus, centurion of (the) third Gallic Legion, the benefactor of (the) Airesioi and founder (of the community), completed the precinct from (the proceeds of) the tax, and consecrated the Tychaion, In (the) year 16 (PPUAES III N652)	Wadd 2413 f, PPUAES III N652
Sῑ'	Community Seenoi	Σεειηνῶν τό κοινόν [ἀ]νέθηκαν Μαλειχά[θ]ων Αὔσου τοῦ Μοαίέρ]ου, [ὅτι κατεσκεύα]σας τό ἱε[ρόν κί τό]ν περί αυ[ό πάντα κόσ]μον	The community of the Seenoi set up this statue because you (Malikat) have equipped the temple and furnishings all the ornament about it	Wadd 2367, PAAES III 428b
Sha’ârah	*Oikonomias* commissioned the *temenos* (?)	[Οἱ.....]..μαω(ν) τεμ[έν]ους οἰκονόμ(οι), Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νασρος λ[ασαθου, Οσαι(δ)ε[λος Φα(σε)ελους, [Μοκειμος Θαιμ[ου ἀνέθηκα[ν	The *oikonomiai* of the *temenos* of…., Aurelios Nasr, (son) of Khalasat, Usaidel, (son) of Phasaiel, Mukin (son) of Taim, (did it) in piety (by the Author 2013)	PPUAES III A N803 2

Table 6.2: People and functionaries of regional cities in the Hauran as dedicants in near rural sanctuaries

Site	People and functionaries of regional cities	Text of the inscription	Translation	Reference
Sī'	A councillor and a centurion of the Cohort I(or II) Augusta commissioned an altar	Διὶ] Κυρί[ῳ. / ... ο Βουλ(ευτής)/ καί ...]νιο[ς / ἑκατόντα[ρ(χος)/ σπίρης Αὐ[γ(ούστης)	To (the) Lord Zeus ….To (the) Lord Zeus …., councillor, and…nius, centurion of (the) cohort Augusta (PPAES II N769)	PPUAES II N769
Mushannef	The councillor of Canatha (modern-day Qanawat) and his brothers (Masitos, son of Taddos and brothers Teimoteos Antiskos and Sametos) commissioned an altar	Πρόκλος ὁ καί Μάσπ[ος Γάδ]ου Καναθηνός Βουλετής καί Ὀαῖχος ὁ καί Τειμόθεος καί Ἀντίοχος ὁ καί Σάμεθος ἀδελφοί τῇ κυρίᾳ Ἀθηνᾷ τό βομόν σύν παντί κόσμῳ ἐκ τῶν ιδίών ᾠκοδόμησαν	Proclus, councillor of Canatha, and his brothers, Masitos, son of Taddos and, Teimoteos, Antiokos and Sametos, made an altar to the lady Athena at their own expense (by the Author 2013)	Wadd 2216

Table 6.3: dedicants/benefactors originating from "Safaitic" nomadic groups in rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Name	Chronology	Contribution	Text of the inscription	Translation	Reference
Hebran	Malikat	AD47	Commissioned the door of the temple and priest of Allat	See CIS II 170	In the sixth year of the reign of Emperor Claudius Caesar, this is the door that Malikat, son of Kasiu, did, priest of Allat, Peace! (CIS II 170)	CIS II 170, Milik 1958: 228-229
	Kasiu	AD47	Father of Malikat (the priest of Allat)			
Salkhad	Malikat	mid-first century BC	Father of the patron of the sanctuary	See CIS II 182	This is the temple, which was built by Rawāḥ, the son of Malikat, the son of Rawāḥ,the son of ʿAklab, for Allāt, their goddess, who is in Ṣalkhad, and who[se statue] was set up by Rawāḥ, the son of Ḳaṣiu, together with the above named Rawāḥ. In the month of August, in the twenty-seventh year of Mālik, the king of Nabateans, the son of Ḥārithat, the king of Nabateans, who loved his people (CIS II 182)	CIS II 182, Suw. 1934 N377, Milik 1958: 228
	Kasiu	AD93	Rebuilt the temple	Dnh byt' dy bnh 'wt'lh br qsyw br 'dynt br 'wt'[lh]/ br 'klbw br rwhw br 'qsyw l 'lt wwgrh b' [//]/ tb' byrh sywn snt 'sryn whms lrb'l/ mlk' mlk' nb[tw] dy 'hyy 'mh ws[yzbh]	This is the temple rebuilt by Gaytallah, son of Kasiu, son of Udainat, son of Gautallan, son of Aklabat, son of Rawahil, son of Kasiu, to Allat and his idol. The ... good, in the month of Sivan, an twenty-five of Rabbel, king of the	Suw. 1934 N374-375, Milik 1958: 227-228 N1

					Nabataeans that helps his people (Milik 1958: 228 N1)	
Sī’	Kasiu	Late second century BC	Commissioned the stele recovered in the valley of the sanctuary	[q]ṣyw br/ [m]tyw šlm/ Καιος [Ματ]-/ιου μνησ[θῆ]/ [šnt] 204 ‘yth/ [b’l] šmyn ‘syw/ [š’y]’h wmlklh[‘]	[Qa]ṣiyū, son of/ [Ma]tiyū, peace!/ Kasiyos, son of [Mati-]yos, that commemorated/ in the year 204, got into/ [Be’el]šamain, ‘Isīū,/ [Še’e’]’ah and the Angel of the god (Milik 2003)	Milik 2003
	Malikat	33-32/2-1BC	Commissioned the temple dedicated to Baalshamin	Drrwn ṭb l mlykt br ‘wsw br m ‘yrw dy hw bnh ‘l b’šmyn byrt’ gwyt’ wbryt’ bryt’ wty ṭr’d’wmṭ [It’ ----]šnt 310 ‘d šnt 31Ḭ w’d ḥyyn bšlm	In pius remembrance of Malîkat, the son of ‘Aus, the son of Mughaiyir, who built for Baalshamin the inner temple (birta) and the outer temple (birta) and this theatron (wtytr’) and [its coverings from] the year 280 until the year 310 (311?). May those who still live be in peace(?)! (PPUAES IV A 2 N100)	PAAES IV N1, PPUAES IV N100, RES 2023, RES 803, CIS II 163, Cantineau 1932: 11-12
	Obaisatos	Early first-century AD	Commissioned two statues	Βα]σιλεῖ Ἡρώδει κυρίῳ Ὀβαίσατος Σαόδου ἔθηκα τόν ἀνδριάντα ταῖς ἐμαις δαπάναι[ς	To King Herod, (my) lord, I Oboistataos (son) of Soaodos, set up this statue at my own expense (PAAES III N427b)	PAAES III N427b
				Ὁ δῆμος, ὁ τῶν Ὀβαισηνῶν, ἐπείμησεν Μαλείχαθον Μοαιέρου ὑπεροικαδομήσαντι τό ἱερόν, ἀρετῆς τε καί εὐσεβείας χαριν	The people of Obaistos honoured (with this statue) Malikat, son of Mughairyr, who built on their behalf this temple for (his) virtue and piety	PAAES III N428a

Table 6.4: Dedicants with "Roman" names in rural cult centre in the Hauran

Site	"Roman" name	Chronology	Contribution	Text of the inscription	Translation	Reference
Atil	Julius	AD211	Commissioned a door	Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας τῶν] Αὐτο[κρ]α(τόρων) Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου κί Π. Σεπτι[μί]ου [Γέτα Καισάρων] Σεββ. Εὐσεβ[β]. θεῷ Οὐ[α]σεάθου πατρῴῳ Θεανδρίῳ Ἰούλιος Προκ...ἐτε[λ]ίωσε [τ]ή[ν] πύλην...	In the reign of the Emperors M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus [Caracalla and Geta], Julius (Pro..)..made the door in honour of the God of Ouaseatos Theandrites…(by the Author 2013)	CIG 4609, Wadd 2374a, IGR III 1238, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 105, 322
Mushannef	Aur[elios] Markos Khaammon, (son) of Alexander	AD 225-235	Helped someone, possibly "community" in the construction of something in the cult-centre	Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος, Καίσαρος, Μάρκου Σεο]υήρο[ου] Ἀ[λ]ε[ξάνδρ]ου, Εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβα[στοῦ,/ ὁ δεινα τοῦ δεῖνος ἔκτισεν τό περίστυλον. οἰκ]οδόμήσεν δέ διά Αὐρ.Μάρκ[ο]υ (Χ)α[αμ]μωονος, Ἀλεξάν[δρου	[For the safety of our lord Emperor, Caesar Marcus Aurelius] Severus Alexander, Felix, Augusta, [….(son) of …(or the community of the city) erected the colonnaded,] and built (it) through Aur(elios Markos Khaammon, (son) of Alexander (PAAES III N382)	PAAES III N382
Sahr	Bassos	NI	NI	Β]άσσος...[...Χα-]/σετου Βη-...ου εὐσ(ε)-/[βῶν ἀνέ-/θηκεν	Bassus, (son) of…, (son) of Kasit, (son) of Be…dedicated (it) in piety (PPAES III A N805 5)	PPAES III A N805 5
Salkhad	Bassos	AD252-253	NI	'Αγατῇ Τύχη. Θαῖμος Ναέμου, Σάβαος Σίχμου, Βάσσος Οὐλπίου, Βόρδος Σαι[ρή]λου ἐπισκοποι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκτισαν, ἔτους ρμζ'	To the admirable Tyche. The *episkopoi* Taimos, son of Naemos, Sabaos, son of Sikmos, Bassos, son of Oulpios, Bordos, son of Sairelos, offered to the god, year (?).. (by the Author 2013)	Wadd 1990
Sha'ârah	Julius, Bassos	NI	NI	Ἰούλ(ιος)/ Οὐει-/λιαν-[ός Θεο-]δώρου/ εἰρτρύς/ καί Βάσ-/σος θεῖ-/ος αὐθ/οῦ ἐξ ἰ-/ δίω[ν/[ἀνέ-/θηκαν	Julius Villanus, (son) of Thedoros, priest, and Bassus uncle dedicated at their own (expense)… (PPUAES III A N693)	PPAES III A N803 6
	Secundus and Aurelius Firmus	NI	Commissioned the first *temenos*	Οἱ ἀπό πρώτου τεμένους. οἰκονομίας Ζεκούνδου καί Αὐρελ'ιου Φίρμου	Those in charge of (the) first *temenos*. In (the) administration of Secundus and Aurelius Firmus	PPUAES III A N803 1

					(PPUAES III A N803 1)	
	Aurelios	NI	A dedication	[Οἰ.....]..μαω(ν) τεμ[έυ]ους οἰκονόμ(οι), Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νασρος λ[ασαθου, Οσαι(δ)ε[λος Φα(σε)ελους, [Μοκειμος Θαιμ[ου ἀνέθηκα[ν	The *oikonomiai* of the *temenos* of…., Aurelios Nasr, (son) of Khalasat, Usaidel, (son) of Phasaiel, Mukin (son) of Taim, (did it) (by the Author 2013)	PPUAES III A N803 2
Sī'	…son of Aelius Dio	c. third century AD	Finished a construction. – It is unknown which building this inscription refers to	---]ΟΝΑΟΚΟΡΟΣΑΙΛΙΟΥΔΙΟ[---/] ΖΗΝΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΝΔΙ[---] ΥΣΑΒΕΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ[---] ὁ υαοκόρος Αἰλίου Διο[- υἱό]ς τήν/ οἰκοδομήν δι[ήυαυεν ε]ὐσαβείας ἕνεκεν	\ Neocore, son of Aelius Dio [---], has completed the construction, because of piety (Sartre 2003)	Sartre 2003
	Julius Heraclitos	AD138–235	Commissioned the Roman gate-way in the sanctuary	[Ἰούλιους Ἡράκλιτος, φιλοτιμησάμενος Διί Μεγίστῳ τόν] πύλον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων [ἔκτισεν]	Julius Heraclitos in devoteed service to most mighty Zeus Megistos erected this gateway at his own expense (PAAES III N432)	PAAES III N432
				Προνοί[ᾳ] Ἰούλιόυ [Ἡ]ράκλιτου Δ[ιί] ἠκτίσθη[σα]ν αἱ θυ[ραι] καί τό [π]ερίβολον	By provision of Julius Heraclitos to Zeus were built these gates and the walls around them (PAAES III N431)	RAO I N11, PAAES III N431
	Julianus, son of Zenas	second-third century AD	Commissioned an altar	Διὶ ἐπηκόῳ/ Ἰουλιανός/ Ζηνᾶ ἱππεύς/ κατ'/ εὐχήν/ ἀνέθηκεν	To Zeus vigilant, Julianus, son of Zennas, horseman, consecrated (this monument) in ex-voto (by the Author 2013)	Suw. 1934 N27 pl. VIII, Mascle 1944: N27, Suw. 1991 INV27 [191] (5,33)
Ṣmâd	Aurelius Cassianus (or Kaṣīān) with Witr and ʻīdān, sons of Udhain	NI	Made the pavement and the altars and the sacrifice	Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κασιανό[ς/ καί Ουιθρος κέ/ Ιδανης υἱῶν Ο-/δενου τήν στρ-/ῶσιν καί τήν θυσί-/αν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων/ ἐπόησ]αν	Aurelius Cassians (or Kasian) and Witr and Idan, of (the) sons of Udhain, made at their own (expense) the pavement and the altars and the sacrifice (PPUAES III N786 6)	PPUAES III N786 6

Table 6.5: Soldiers as dedicants in rural cult centres in the Hauran

Site	Chronology	Soldier and his legion	Text of inscription	English translation	Reference
Breik	second-fourth century AD	centurion of the Third Legion Cyrenaica	Ἡρακλε[ῖ]/ Καλλιν-/[ε]ίκωι/ Σ]έξτος (ἑκατόνταρχος)/ λεγι[ῶνος] γ' Κυ[ρ(ηναικῆς)	To Heracles Kallinikos, Sextus, centurion of the Third Cyrenaica Legion (by the Author 2013)	Suw. 1934 N20 pl. VIII, Mascle 1944 N20, Suw. 1991 INV20 [12] (5,31)
Hebran	AD156	a veteran from a legion	[ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκ]ράτορος Ἀντω-/[νείνου Σεβαστοῦ θ]εῷ Λυκούργῳ/[— — — — — — — — —] ϙὐετρανὸς ἀπὸ/[λεγ(εῶνος)(?) — — — ἐκ τ]ῶν ἰδίων ἀνέ-/[θηκεν εὐσεβείας χάρ]ιν, ἔτους ιθ΄.	For (the) preservation of (the) emperor Antoninus Augustus, to (the) God Lycurgus...a veteran from the...legion, has dedicated (this) at his own (expenses) as a mark of piety, in (the) year 19 (PPUAES III N663)	PPUAES III N663
Hebran	NI	Decimus Iulius Fabianus a soldier of a legion	Διῒ Κυρίῳ/[ε]ὐχὴν ἱλ[ασίας χάριν]/[Δέκ]μος Ἰ[ού]-/[λ]ιος Φα-/[βι]ανὸς/[στρ]ατιώτη[ς]/[λεγε]ῶνο<ς> [. . ΄].	To Zeus, the Lord, a vow for the sake of appeasing, in piety, Decimus Iulius Fabianus, a soldier of (the) legion… (by the Author 2013)	Wadd 2290, PPUAES III N665, IGR III 1297, Suw. 1934 N177
Menara Henou	AD161	a centurion of the Fourth Legion Scythica	..]/ Τ. Ἀντίστιος Κων[...]/ρ(ἑκατόνταρχον) λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυτ(υκῆς) /.../...	…T. Antistios Kon(..) a centurion of Fourth Legion Scythica (by the Author 2013)	Speidel 1998 N32, Stoll 2001: 468-470 N87
Menara Henou	AD175	a centurion of the Fourth Legion Scythica	[Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας αὐτοκ]κράτορο[ς Μ. Αὐρηλίου]/ [Ἀντωνείνου καί Λ. Αὐρ]ηλίου Οὐ[ήρου Σεβαστῶν]/ [ἐπί Λ. Ἀττιδίου Κορυηλ]ιανοῦ πρ[εσβ(ευτοῦ)/ Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντιστρ(ατηγοῦ)]/ [...ρ(ἑκατόνταρχος/ λε]γ(εῶνος) δ' Σκ[υ(θικῆς) ἀνέθηκεν..]	For the safety of the lord Emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and L. Aurelius Verus, in the time of the governorship of the venerable L. Attidius Cornelianus…the centurion of the Fourth Legion Scythica (did it), in piety (by the Author 2013)	Speidel 1998 N33, Stoll 2001: 468-470 N88
Mismiyeh	AD164-169/169-170	a veteran T. Claudius Magnus, a centurion from the Third Legion Gallica	Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας καί νείκης τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων Μ. Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου καί Λ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβ(αστοῶν) Φαινήσιοι…ἐπί Ἀουιδίου Κασσίου πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστῶν) ἀντ(ιστρατήγου), ἐφεστῶτος Ἐγνατίου Φούσκου ἑκατοντάρχου λεγ(ιῶνος) γ'	For the safety and victory of the lord Emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and L. Aurelius Verus, in the time of the governorship of the venerable Avidius Cassius, the community of (the village Phaena)… the commander and centurion Egnatius	Wadd 2525

			Γαλλικῆς	Fuskos from the Third Legion Gallica (by the Author 2013)	
Mushannef	AD 171	centurion of the Third Gallica Legion	Ὑπέρ σωτηρίας κυρίου βασιλ'ως Ἀγριππα καί ἐπανόδου, κατ' εὐχήν, Διός καί πατρ(ῴ)ου Ἀθνᾶ[ς] σύ(ν)οδος ὁμονο[ί]ας τόν οἶκονν ᾠκοδόμ[ησεν]	For the safety of our lord Emperor, Caesar, M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus, Augustus, and of his whole house, and (for his) good success, in eleventh year, under Avidius Cassius, the most illustrious consular (legate), and Kyrinalios Gemellos, centurion (PAAES III N380a)	Wadd 2212, PAAES III N380a
			Ὑπέ[ρ σωτηρίας τοῦ κυριόυ Αὐτοκράτος Καίσαρος Μ. Αὐρηλίου / ἐπί Ἀουριδ[ίου Κασσίου, περσβ. Ζεβ.ἀν]τιστρα[τ](ήγ)ου/ ἐφεστῶτος [Κυριναλίου Γεμέλλον, ἐκ] (α)(τον) τ(ά)ρ(χο)[υ]γ' Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ/ Γαλλιῆ[ς]	For [the safety of our lord Emperor, Caesar, M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus, Augustus], in (the administration of) Avid[ius Cassius, legatus Augusti pro praerto]r,[Kyrinalios Gemellos, centurion of (the) Third Gallica (Legion)] being in charge (of the work) (PAAES III N381)	PAAES III N381
Rimet Hazem	second century AD	a soldier, possibly from the Fourth Legion Scythica	[Ἡ]λίῳ θεῷ Μεγίσ[τῳ...] / [Ἰ]ουλιανὸς (ἑκατόνταρχος) λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Ζ[υθικῆς] / εὐχήν	To Helios the god Megistos...Julianus (centurion) legion of Zutikes made a vow (by the Author 2013)	Wadd 2407, IGR III 1242
Sanamein	AD191	centurion of the Third Legion Gallica	ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτ(ορος) [Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου] Σεβ(αστοῦ) Εὐσεβ(οῦς) Εὐτυχοῦς,/ Ἰούλιος Γερμανὸς (ἑκατοντάρχης) [λεγ(ιῶνος) γ΄ Γαλλ(ικῆς)] ὁ εὐεργέτης Αἰρησίων καὶ κτίστης, τὸν σηκὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπι-/ γ ρ α φ ῆς συνετέλεσεν, καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον ἀφιέρωσεν. ἔτους ις΄	For (the) safety and victory of the lord Emperor Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Pius Felix, Iulius Germanus, centurion of (the) third Gallic Legion, the benefactor of (the) Airesioi and founder (of the community), completed the precinct from (the proceeds of) the tax, and consecrated the Tychaion, In (the) year 16 (PPUAES III N652)	Wadd.2413 f, PPUAES III N652, CIG 4554, IGRR 3.1128
Sῑ'	NI, possibly second century considering the other inscriptions	centurion of the Cohort Augusta	Διῒ] Κυρί[ῳ. / ... ο Βουλ(ευτής)/ καί ...]νιο[ς / ἑκατόνται[ρ(χος)/ σπίρης Αὐ[γ(ούστης)	To (the) Lord Zeus ….To (the) Lord Zeus …., councillor, and…nius, centurion of (the) cohort Augusta (PPAES II N769)	PPUAES II N769

	that mention this cohort				
Sῑ'	first century AD	Lucius…onius benefactor of the Tenth Legion Fretensis	Διῒ Κυ]ρίῳ εὐχήν. Λο[ύ]κι[ς]/...ώνις βενεφικιάρις/ λεγεῶνος ι' Φρετησίας	To Zeus Kyrios, a vow, Lucius…onius, benefactor of the Tenth Fretensis Legion (by the Author 2013)	Dunand 1926: 328 pl. LXIX, Suw. 1934 N15 pl. IX, Mascle 1944 N15, Sourdel 1957: 28, 64, Suw. 1991 INV 15 [190] (5,23)
Sleim	NI	A soldier	Ἀλέξανδρε, Ἀλέξανδρου, στρατιῶτα κέ αποδημε[τά], (ἄ)ωρε χαῖρε. Εὐθεῖ(α)ν...θνητοί τρός σε ἐρχμενοι ὀδύναι τοῖ(ς) γεννήσασι. Ἄμμοων ζήτω	Alexander, (son) of Alexander, soldier and sojourner in a foreigner land, untimely dead, farewell. Mortal…coming to thee by the straight road (?), (are) griefs to thy parents. Glory to Ammon! (PPUAES III A N765 4)	PPUAES III A N765 4, IGR III 1242
Sur al-Laja	NI	Functionary of the Third Legion Cyrenaica	Ioui Hammoni/ M(arcus) Aur(elius) Theodor(us)/ quaest(i)onario/ Leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae)	To Jupiter/Zeus Ammon, Marcus Aurelius Theodorus, *quaestionarius* (interrogator or torturer) of the Third Cyrenaica Legion	CIL III 13.604, PPUAES III A N797
	NI	A veteran/member of a legion	...Μάλχος οὐετ[ρανός καί...συστρατιώτ]ης αὐτοῦ λεγε[ῶνος...εὐσεβείας χαριν	Malchos, a veteran, and…his comrade, of (the)…legion..as a mark of piety (PPUAES III A N797 4)	PPUAES III A N797 4

Table 7.1: Similar types of pottery recovered at Sī' and Bosra

Pottery at Sī'	**Reference**	**Pottery at Bosra**	**Reference**
Jugs	Orsaud 1986: 242-247, Pl.6.1-8	Jugs/bottles in second-third century context (stratum 9)	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 66 N69-72
Pitchers from the first to the eighth century deposits	Orsaud 1986: 242-247, Pl. 5.22	Pitchers in first-second-century context	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 66 N163
Amphorae from the first to the eighth century deposits	Orsaud 1986: 242-247, Pl. 6.6, 6.11	second-third century amphorae	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 66 N148, N151
Pitchers from the first to the eighth century deposits	Orsaud 1986: 242-247, Pl. 5.9	second-third-century pitchers	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 66 N178
Pitchers from the first to the eighth century deposits	Orsaud 1986: 242-247, Pl.5.22	late Roman-Byzantine pitchers	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 66 N198
Cooking vessels with simple rim	Orsaud 1986: 241 Pl.4.5-14	Cooking vessels with simple rim in late Roman-Byzantine context	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 72 N426-428
Cooking vessels in late Roman-Byzantine context	Orsaud 1986: 241 Pl.1	Cooking vessels in late Roman-Byzantine context (strata 5-11)	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 72 N464-468
Decorated sherds in Roman deposits	Orsaud 1986 Pl.5.15	Large storage vessels with oriental decorative traditions which were employed on the ancient pottery in the Hauran	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 73 N270-286
Large storage vessels from the Roman period	Orsaud 1986 Pl.7.3, 5	Large storage vessels in first-third century context (strata 9-11)	Wilson & Saᶜd 1984: 73 N491-492

Table 7.2: Pottery recovered in rural sanctuary at Sī'

Production	Context in the sanctuary	Type	Description	Chronology	Place of production/ Provenance	Similarity and other places of recovery	Reference
Local production	Test-pit D (few from the top layers 1-5, especially from layers 7 to the 13, which are fills immediately above the basaltic rock, mainly in layer 11 and few from layer 9), on the spur of the hill at the west of the temple 1 (B 5 B16), fill of gravels of the temple 1 and lower level than the foundation of the temple 2 (Domestic occupation or rituals) and the sanctuary Sia 8 (certain deep layers of the test-pit NW2)	C	Coarse pottery frequent in the Hellenistic period used for storage with rims of big dimensions (diameter 22-25 cm)	First century BC	Not mentioned. Maybe the atelier near Sia 8 at its North/North-West (Sr14-19) (§ chapter X on production 1.2 Map 2)	Similar to coarse pottery from Hellenistic period and Iron Age Not identified more specific similar examples	Barret *et al.* 1986: 228, Orssaud 1986: 246, 2003: 200, Orssaud *et al.* 2003: 215
	Test-pit D (especially from layers 12-13, which are fills immediately above the basaltic rock), on the spur of the hill at the west of the temple 1 (B 5 B16), fill of gravels of the temple 1 and lower level than the foundation of the temple 2 (Domestic occupation or rituals) and the sanctuary Sia 8 (certain deep layers of the test-pit NW2)	A1	Red fabric, dark red at the centre Similar fabric to A (see below)	First century BC	Maybe the atelier near Sia 8 at its North/North-West (§ chapter X on production 1.2 Map 2)	Found also in the surrounding of Sia: tomb A, in the valley of Sia, the Roman road surrounds the tomb W –this indicates that the tomb is earlier than the Roman road (Orssaud *et al.* 2003: 215) The rims could be similar to the ones from Hellenistic Bethel (63 BC) (1968 pl.68-69), Capharnaum (both Galilee) at the end of the Hellenistic period to the beginning of the Roman period (Capharnaum 1974 type F1) and	Barret *et al.* 1986: 224-226, Orssaud 1986: 246 pl.7: 8-10, 2003: 200, Orssaud *et al.* 2003: 215

						Pella in the late Hellenistic period (Pella 1982: 135 N15-17)	
	Ninety percentage of the pottery assemblage recovered in the sanctuary and its surroundings, especially pottery concentration on the North, North-West of Sia 8 (Sr14-19) (§ chapter X on production 1.2 Map 2)	A	Fabric is dark red to orange, fine, enough compact and homogenous. It comes from local clay from a basaltic terrain as it has inclusions that are grains of basalt and their majority are visible to a naked eye. It is rarely continuous polished, often polished in horizontal parallel bands, and polished on the potter's wheel. The polishing procedure is like from Iron Age and Bronze Age in Palestine but in these earlier cases the potter's wheel is not used. It has engraved decoration in wavy lines or reed or thumbs. Its forms vary: cooking ware, plates, bowls, cups, jars, amphorae, small amphorae and lids.	From the late first century BC to the Umayyad period (first half of the eighth century AD)	The atelier near Sia 8 at its North/North-West as its concentration indicates (Sr14-19) (§ chapter X on production 1.2 Map 2)	The majority of forms are similar to the pottery from Palestine and Jerash. The most common form is similar to the pottery from Hesbon in Jordan, east of the river, dated after 50 AD	
	especially test-pit D, layers 7-8	A, bowls	Fine and not deep The other bowl fragment: smooth surface inside			Forms are similar to Hellenistic-Roman bowls at Nessana (1962 pl.XLIX, L: 34 A, B, C) They are higher and smaller and spiral burnishing on the outer surface	Orssaud 1986: 244 Pl.2: 10-18
	especially test-pit D, layer 7	A, polished plates				Not numerous, similar to few pottery at Jericho (in Herodian period) (1958 Pl.58: 2) and also in seventh-sixth century BC- context at Tell Beit Mirsin, Tell El ful,	Orssaud 1986: 244 Pl.2: 23, 30, 37

						also in Persian-Hellenistic period, Gezer (1974 pl.37: 1-8) Ramat Rahel (1964 fig.12) and Byzantine period at Jerusalem North Wall (1944 fig.8: 6, 8, 8 sixth-beginning of seventh century AD) or very common containers with band-polished ware on the inner surface	
	Especially test-pit D, layers 7-8 and Sia 8	Fabric A, jars	One type with rounded rim, the other with also longer rim			Few comparative examples, the first type is more similar to Khirbet Qumaran (50-31BC) (1956 fig.2: 5, 70) (AD50-68) (1953 fig.4: 14)	Orssaud 196: 244 Pl.3: 5,7, 8, 14
	Not identified	Fabric A, cooking ware				Cooking plates: widely found in Southern Syria, Palestine and Jordan	Orssaud 1986: 245 fig.4, Pl.4: 16, 22, 27
Local production of imported pottery	Not identified the context of pottery recovery	S1	mediocre imitation of Roman fine ware as its fabric varies from white to beige with red or orange slipware (Orssaud 2003). Its slipware is not uniform and sometimes it is possible to see the fingerprints and the marks from the potter's wheel. It is usually matt inside the pottery and shiny outside apart from the forms 19 and 21 the red slipware is shiny both sides (Orssaud 1986: 248).	First century AD	Not mentioned. It could be possibly locally produced in the ateliers at Sia but the presence of this pottery in these ateliers is not explicitly mentioned	similar to Eastern Sigillata B in the Roman period Forms are similar to pottery at Jerash after the 50AD, Hellenistic bowls in Turkey and Palestine.	Barret *et al*. 1986: 230, Orssaud 1986: 247-8 Pl.8, 2003
	Layers 7-8 of test-pit D		S1, Form 1: open form, a bowl with almost vertical			Turkey Hellenistic bowls Palestine	Orssaud 1986: 247

			body				
	Layers 7-8 of test-pit D		S1, Form 2: open form, a bowl widening toward the rim			It could come from the Hellenistic bowls at Gözlü (borders of Tarsus city in Turkey) (1950 fig.193: 398, 399, 401)	Orssaud 1986: 247
			S1, Form 4: open form , similar to the bowl of form 1 for dimensions but it has a groove engraved and above rectilinear slightly convergent sides			A similar form found at Samaria-Sebaste (1957 fig.81: 24) dated to the beginning of the first century AD but it could be later. This form exists also at Odoba (1974 fig.4, 12, 13)	Orssaud 1986: 247
			S1, Forms 5 (diameter of the mouth 18-21 cm, the widest in S1 with Form 10), 6-7: open forms			Similar to the forms found at Antioch (type 640 dated to the end of the second-end of the third century AD) (1948: 40) and at Gözlü (borders of Tarsus city in Turkey) (1950 fig.193: 410). It seems to be more common after the 50AD at Jerash (1938 fig.42: 41, fig. 43:10), but the bowls from Jerash do not have grooves in the inside face from Sī’	Orssaud 1986: 247
			S1, Forms 8-9: open forms			Similar to the forms found at Nessana (1962 pl.XLIII 1-4).	Orssaud 1986: 247
			S1, Form 10: open form. Diameter of the mouth 18-21			Similar to the forms found at Sbaita (1936 pl.4: 2) dated to the	Orssaud 1986: 247

			cm, the widest in S1 with Form 5			second century AD.	
	Most frequent in test-put		S1, Forms 11-17: open form , the most frequent forms in the test-pit D , almost horizontal profile of the rim, diameter of the mouth 11-18cm, short foot of the base	more common after 50 AD at Hesbon (Jordan, east of the river Jerash (second-third century AD)		Similar to the forms found at Olbia (Sardinia in Italy) (1929 pl.2: 22) at Sbaita (Morocco) (second century AD) (1936 pl.4: 3) at Antioch (end of second- end of third century AD) (1948: 40 type 627) at Gözlü (borders of Tarsus city in Turkey) (1950 dif.193: 405 G). This form seems to more common after 50 AD at Hesbon (Jordan, east of the river) (1971 fig.37, 43).	Orssaud 1986: 247
			S1, 18-21 Forms: open forms, tall foot of the base			Not specified	Orssaud 1986: 247
			S1, 22 Form: close form of rim with part of an handle almost attached to the rim			Similar to the rim found at Jerash in the second-third century AD (Jerash 1938 fig.45: 30)	Orssaud 1986: 248
			S1, 22-23 Forms: closed forms of jar's necks with rim like a roll			generally similar to the closed forms at Jerash (1938 fig.45: 30) (second-third century AD)	Orssaud 1986: 248
			S1, Form 25: close form with a oval profile's handle with a middle groove			Handle with a middle groove is found at Sbaita (1933 fig. 45: 30) (second century). Close forms are generally similar to the ones at Jerash (1938 fig.45: 30) (second-third century AD)	Orssaud 1986: 248
			S1, Forms 26-29: close form's bases			Close forms are generally similar to the ones at Jerash (1938 fig.45: 30) (second-third century AD)	Orssaud 1986: 248
		N	Fabric is orange fine and			This type is different from type	Barret *et al.*

			homogenous, smooth on the surface. Inclusions are not visible from naked eye, they are very fine and white by using the binocular			Petra 1 as the fabric of the last one is lighter/whiter and dark red painted decoration	1986: 228-229
Imported pottery	Not identified the context of pottery recovery	Two fragments of Nabatean pottery	Similar to N (see above) Only difference from the local imitated pottery is based on microscopic exam of the fabric		Petra	from Petra (type Petra 1, Petra 2)	Barret *et al.* 1986: 228-229
		Two fragments of Nabatean pottery	Similar to N (see above) Only difference from the local imitated pottery is based on microscopic exam of the fabric		Bosra	from Bosra, similar to type Petra 2	Barret *et al.* 1986: 228-229
		Few fragments of light fabric pottery (fabric B and M)	Fabric M fine white fabric, less hard and less rough to touch, the inclusions very small	from the first century AD, but mainly in the Roman period onwards. This type of pottery disappeared in the Umayyad period	NI. Non-local.	Considering the fabric, both pottery types seem to come from layers of sandstone called "sandstone of Cretaceous base" (towards Hermon) and "Nubian Sandstone" (towards Petra).	Barret *et al.* 1986: 228-229
			Fabric B varies from light beige to pinkie colour with numerous visible inclusions of quartz that make the surface rough, the surface could have slipware or painted	from the first century AD, but mainly in the Roman period onwards. It			

				is predominant in the Umayyad period			
			Fragment 9 hemispheric plate with a cylindrical base ended with a rounded base. The body is striated made on potter's wheel			A hemispheric plate (fragment 9 of B and M) is similar to the Roman and Byzantine pottery in Capharnaum (Galilee, north of Israel) from period (Capharnaum 1974 type C 5-7).	Barret *et al.* 1986: 228, Orssaud 1986: 246 pl.7: 8-10
		Mould Lamps (fabric B and M)	beige -ochre fabric with fine red slipware that does not cover. It is lighter that the other lamp mentioned above (fabric B and M) Decoration: branches of leaves and developed around a gap of padding	the second-beginning of the third century AD according to the comparative examples	Palestine	It is found Nazareth and Samaria-Sebaste, dated to the end of the second- beginning of the third century AD (Nazareth I fig.192: 8, Samarie-Sebaste 1957 III fig.88: 4)	Orssaud 1986: 247 fig.5
	Test-pit D, from layer 1 to 5	"Herodian type" Lamp	with potter's wheel with light ochre fabric (fabric B and M)	20BC-AD 120 according to the comparative examples		Herodian type (20BC-AD 120) (Palmyra 1975 group D1)	Orssaud 1986: 246 pl.7:8-10
	Sia 8 excavation	Mould Lamps	Not mentioned.	First century BC-first century AD	Outside Hauran. No further information is provided.	made outside Hauran No further information is provided.	Blanc 2003: 223 Pl.161: 1-2
	Sia 8 excavation	Mould Lamps	Not mentioned	First-fourth century AD	Outside Hauran. No further information is provided	made outside Hauran No further information is provided.	Blanc 2003: 223 Pl.161: 3 (dated to the first-second century AD),

							4-5 (second-third century AD), 6 (third-fourth centuryAD)

Table 7.3: Pottery recovered in the rural sanctuary at Sahr

Production	Context in the sanctuary	Type	Description	Chronology	Place of production/ Provenance	Similar pottery and other places of recovery	Reference
Local production	Dump of the cella	Jars with "Haurany" fingerprint decoration on the edge	Fabric: light and dense basaltic	Second century AD (Roman period)	Maybe local ateliers probably along the western border of Leja	This shape is the most frequent in the site of Sahr (sanctuary and its surrounding buildings) from the second century AD to the abandonment during the fifth century AD. It is found in different sites excavated in Leja, but in a more moderate proportion. Fabric: from Leja, same found in Khirbet Massakeb (Hauran). The fingerprint design: is a local pottery tradition in the Hauran. It consists of jars with wavy decoration on the darkened neck. Same design is also found in red basaltic fabric pottery (type Q) from Jebel al'Arab (Renel 2010: 528-529). Similar pottery design is found in few published comparative examples. They come from the assemblage of the forts Qasr Baij and Deir el-Kahf in Jordan between the second and the fourth century AD (Parker 1986, 1998: 209) and in jars for storage at	Renel 2010 Fig.11.7

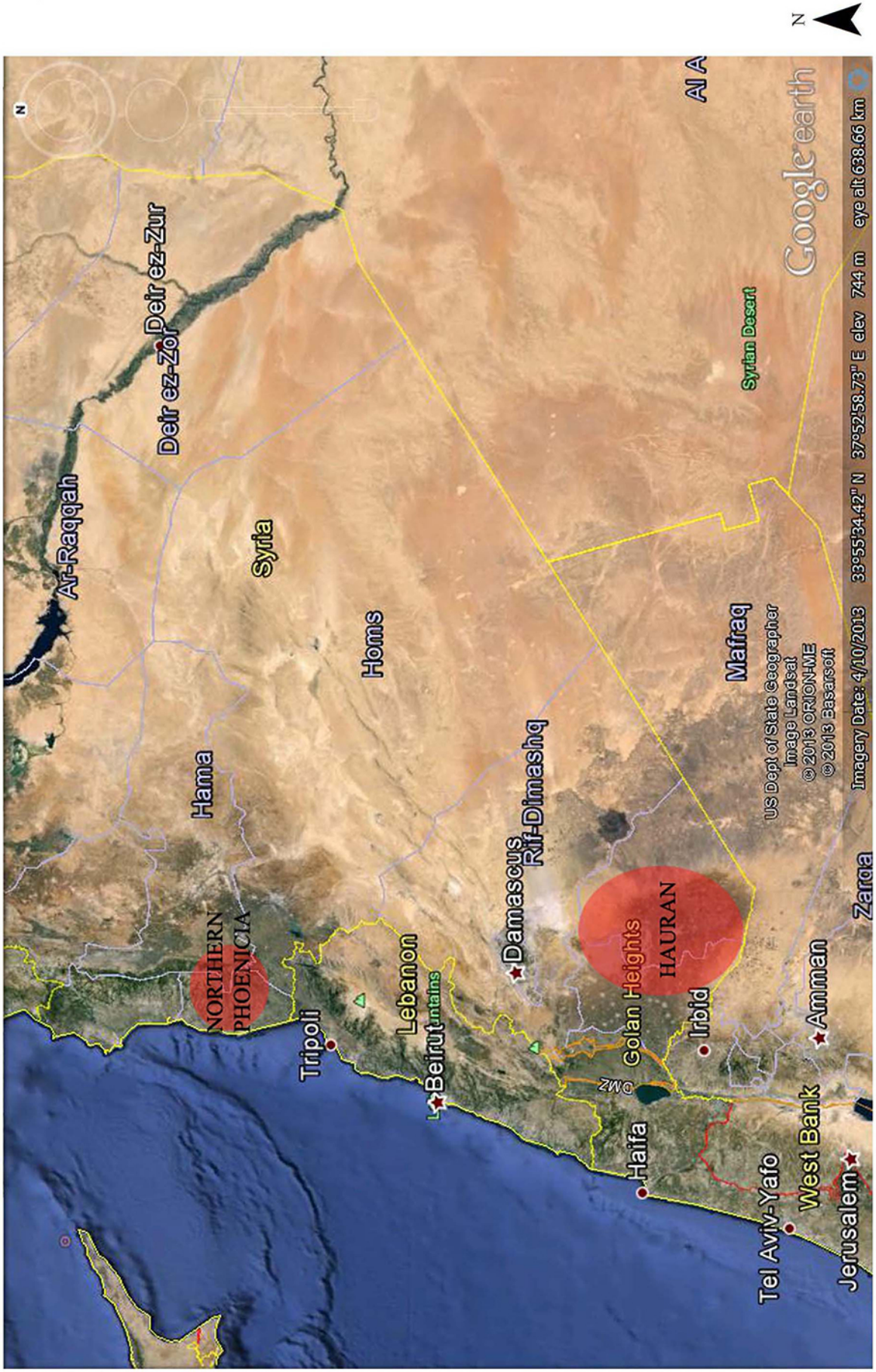
						Hermon (Dar 1988)	
Imported pottery	Sanctuary	Africa Red Slip ware (ARS)	Plate type Hayes 50	Third and fourth century AD	Tunisia	Its frequency is notable on the assemblage of rural sites of small dimensions in Leja and Jebel al'Arab (Renel 2010: 535).	Renel 2010 Fig.12.2
		"Northern Stamped" lamps	Not provided (see drawing in Renel 2010 Fig.14.1)	Late-Roman/Byzantine period, second-third century AD according to these lamps in the places of their production	North Palestine with a centre of production placed in Galilee.	Beth She'arim and Hanita (Israel) dated to the third century AD, but the ones of Hajjar (Oman) belong to a group dated to first half of the second century AD because of the context where the pottery has been found (Hayes 1980: 88).	Renel 2010 Fig.14.1

Table 7.4: Temple treasurers/temple funds mentioned in the inscriptions from rural sanctuaries in Hauran

Site	Chronology	Temple-treasurers	Role	Text of the inscription	English translation	Reference
Hebran	AD155	Aristeides, son of Taun, ‘U‘aitil, son of Emmegnos, Emmeganes, son of Kāmin, Taim, son of ‘Abkur, ‘Īn, son of Māsik, Emmeganes, son of Nahr	Erection of a temple with sacred funds	Ύπέρ σωτηρίας κυρίου Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Αντωυείνου/ Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς ὁ ναός ἐκ τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἐκτίσθη, ἔτους ὀκτωκαι-δεκάτου Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος, προνοησαμένων Ἀρστείδου Θαιμους, Οαιθελου/ Εμμεγνου, Εμεγανη Καμενου, ἐγδ(ί)κον, Θαιμ[ο]υ Αβχορου, Ενου Μασεχου, Εμμεγανη Ναρου, ἱεροταμιόν	For (the) safety of (the) lord Caesar Titus Aeulius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius the temple was built form the sacred (funds) in (the) 18th year of Antoninus Caesar, the commissioners of construction being Aristeides, (son) of Taun, ‘U‘aitil, (son) of Emmegnos, Emmeganes, (son) of Kāmin, edicts, Taim, (son) of ‘Abkur, ‘Īn, (son) of Māsik, Emmeganes, (son) of Nahr, temple treasures (PPUAES III N659)	Wadd 2286, PPUAES III N659
Lubbayn	AD213	Abkoros and Aslamos	Helping the village community to erect a temple	Ἔτους (κ)ά κυρίου ΝΜ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλιου) Ἀντ[ωνείνου Σεβ(αστοῦ)/ τό κοινόν Αγραινης ἐποίησεν Θ(ε)ῷ Αυμου, διά Αὐρ(ηλίου)/ Πλάτωνος Βαρβάρου καί Αβουνου Χαιρανο(υ)/ ἱερατομέῶν	In (the) 21st (/) year of (our) lord Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, the Community of Agraina constructed (this) for (the) God of ‘Aum through the agency of Aurelius Platōn, (son) of Barbaros, and ‘Abūn, (son) of Khairān, temple treasurers (PPUAES III N793)	Wadd 2455, Ewing 1895: 70, PPUAES III N793, Brünnow & von Domaszewski 1904: 324
Salkhad	AD169-170	Armeniacus, Medicus, Parthicus, Maximus	NI	[Ἐπί σωτ]ηρίᾳ καί νίκης Αὐτοκράτος Μ. Αὐρ(ηλίου) Αντω[νείνου Ζεβ(αστοῦ] Εὐσεβ(οῦς) Ἀρμε(ενιακοῦ) Μηδ(ικοῦ) Παρθ(ικοῦ) Μεγ(ίστου) ἐπί [Ἀουυιδίου Κασσίου τοῦ] λα[μτροτάτου ὑπατικοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἱερατ[ικ]ῶν ἐκτίσθη.	In the behalf of the safety and the victory of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar Augustus Pius, Armeniacus, Medicus, Parthicus, Maximus, under Avidius Cassius, most illustrious consular, …was constructed in the ninth year (of the reign) from the sacred funds (PPUAES II N155)	PPUAES II N155

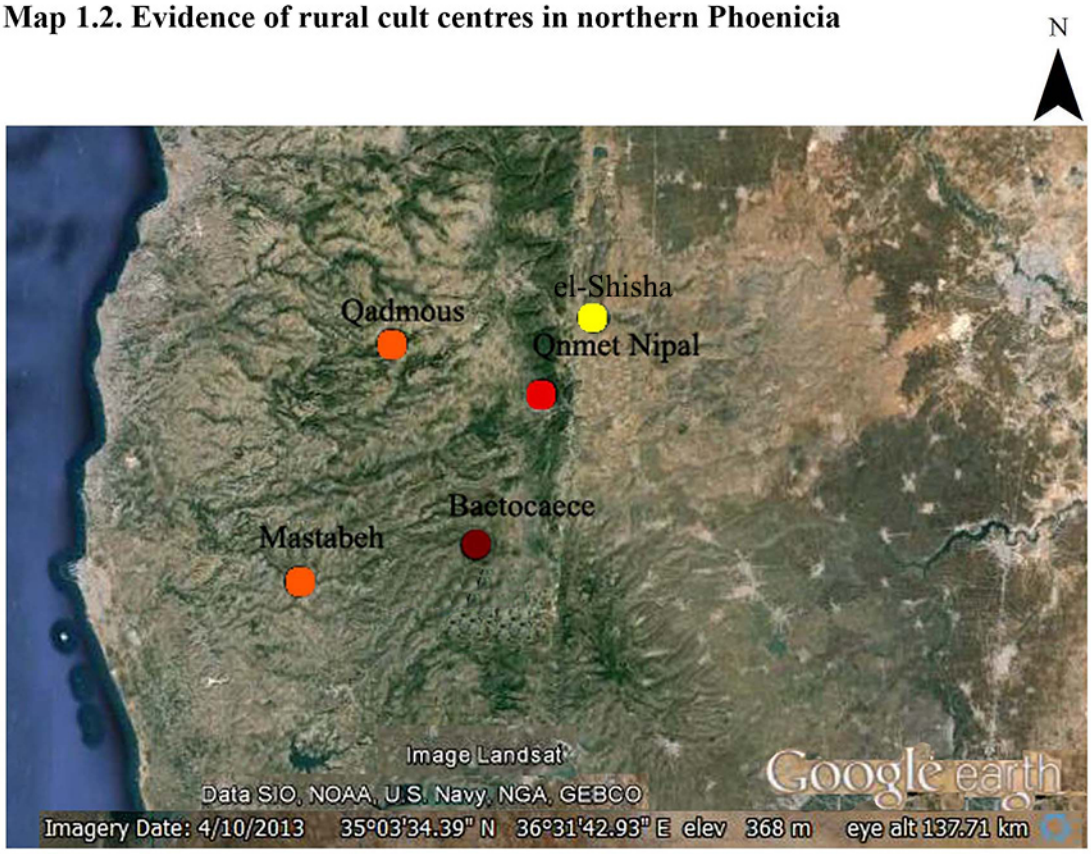
Appendix 3: Maps

Map 1.1. Location of northern Phoenicia and the Hauran



(Google Earth Image by the Author 2013)

Map 1.2. Evidence of rural cult centres in northern Phoenicia



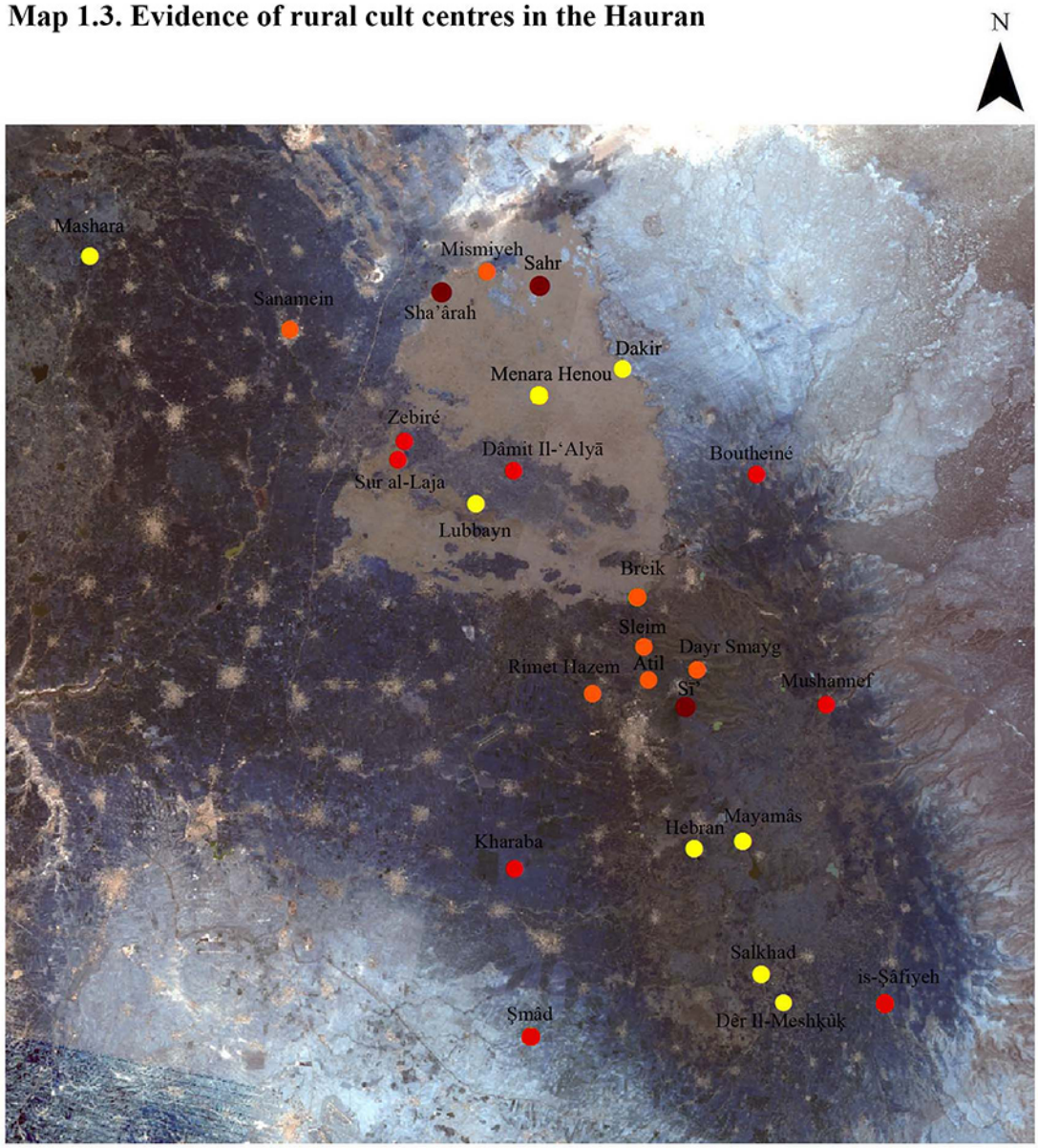
0 12,5000, 27,000 54,000 81,000 Metres

Key

- Type 1
- Type 2
- Type 3
- Type 4

(by the Author 2013)

Map 1.3. Evidence of rural cult centres in the Hauran

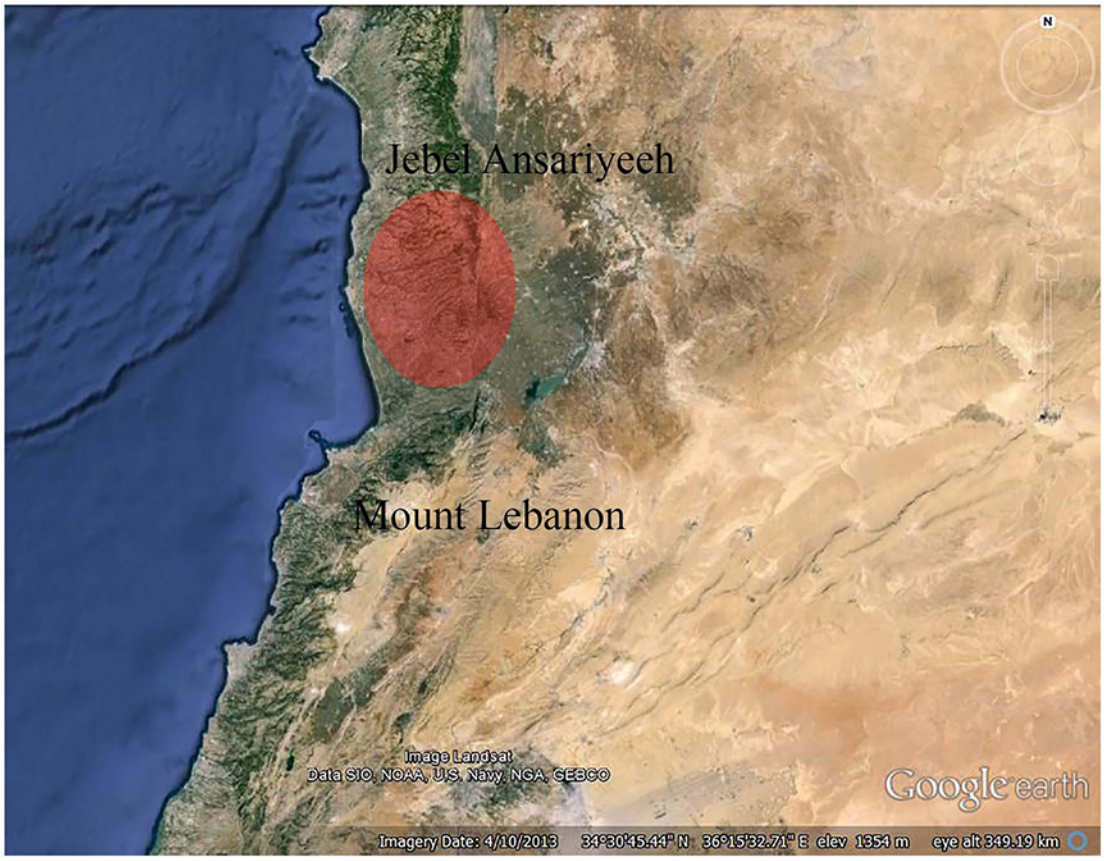


Key

- Type 1
- Type 2
- Type 3
- Type 4

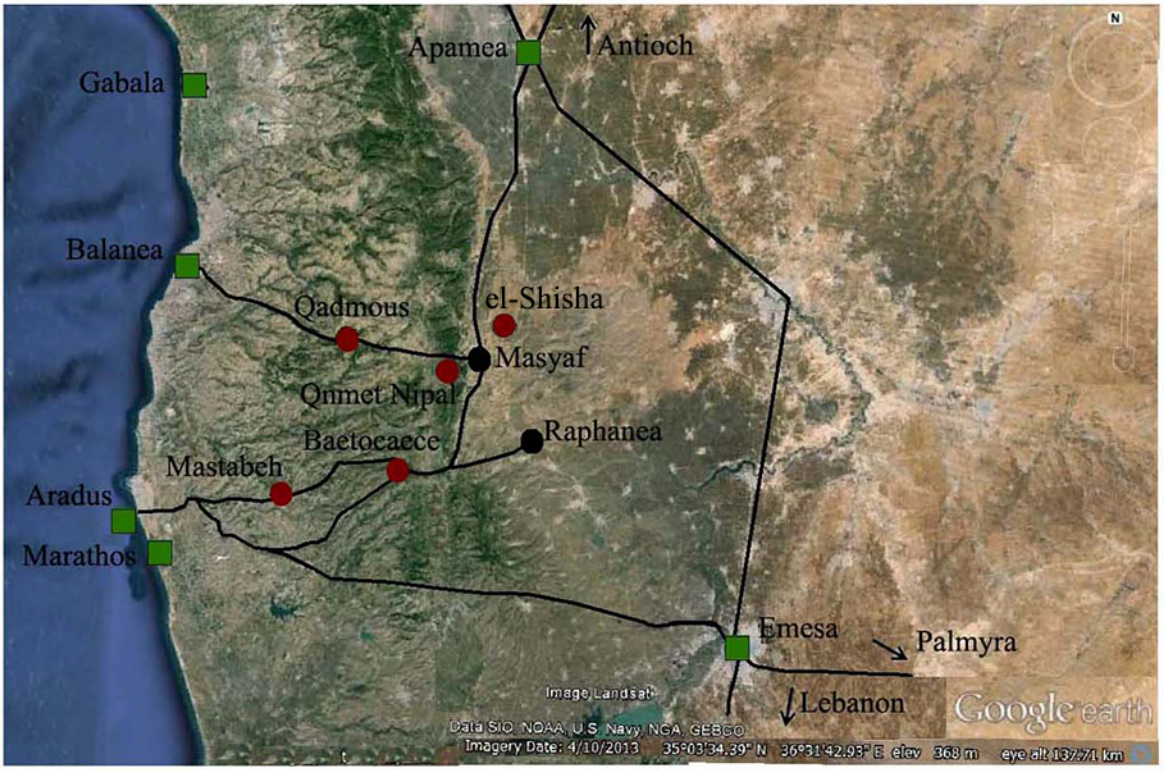
(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 2.1. Location of northern Phoenicia within its surroundings



(Google Earth Image by the Author 2013)

Map 2.2. Cult centres in relation with nearby settlements and route-ways in northern Phoenicia



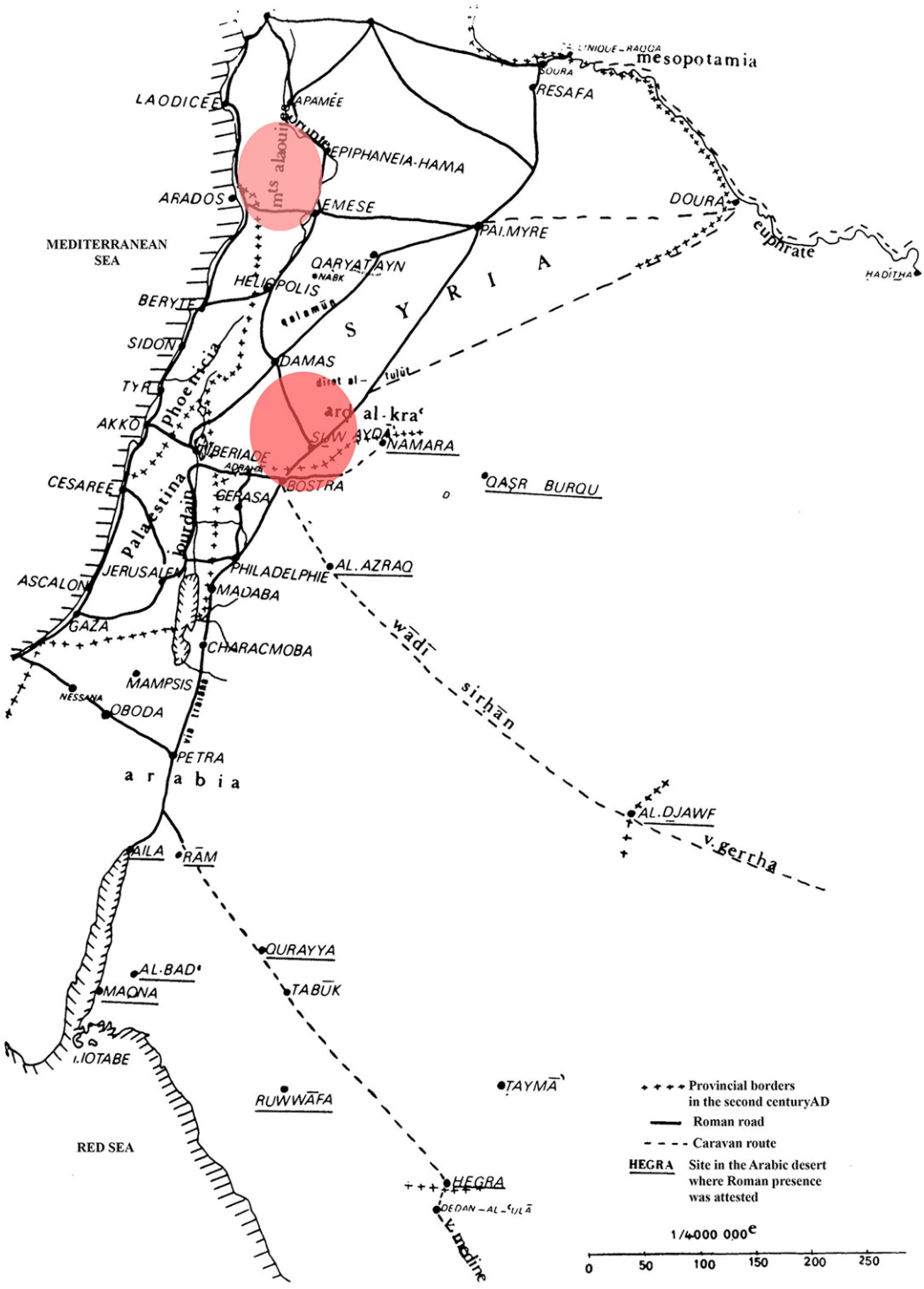
0 17,5000 35,000 70,000 105,000 Metres

Key

- Cult centre
- City
- Settlement
- Road

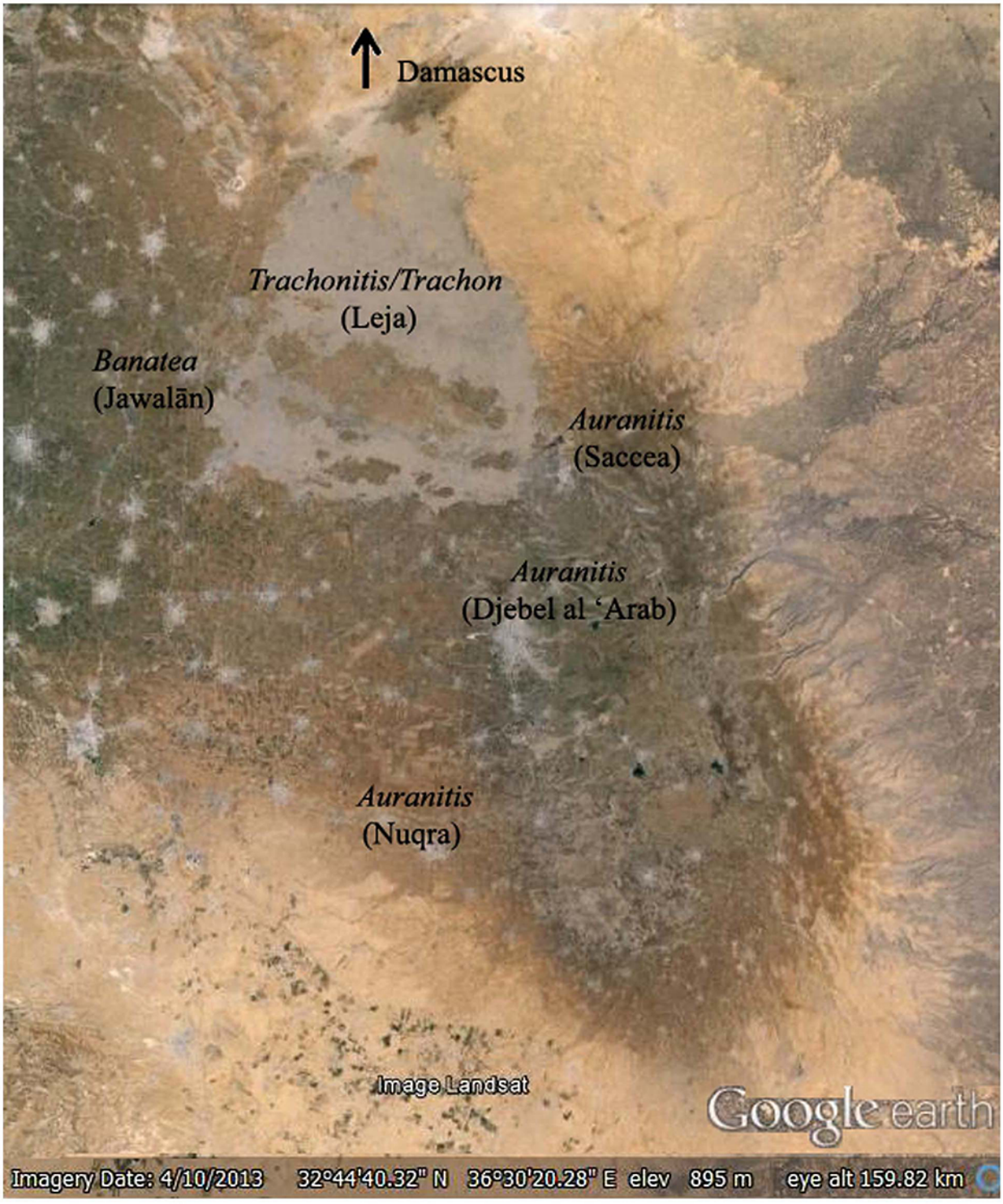
(Google Earth Image by the Author 2013)

Map 2.3. Northern Phoenicia and the Hauran in relation to Roman roads in the Near East



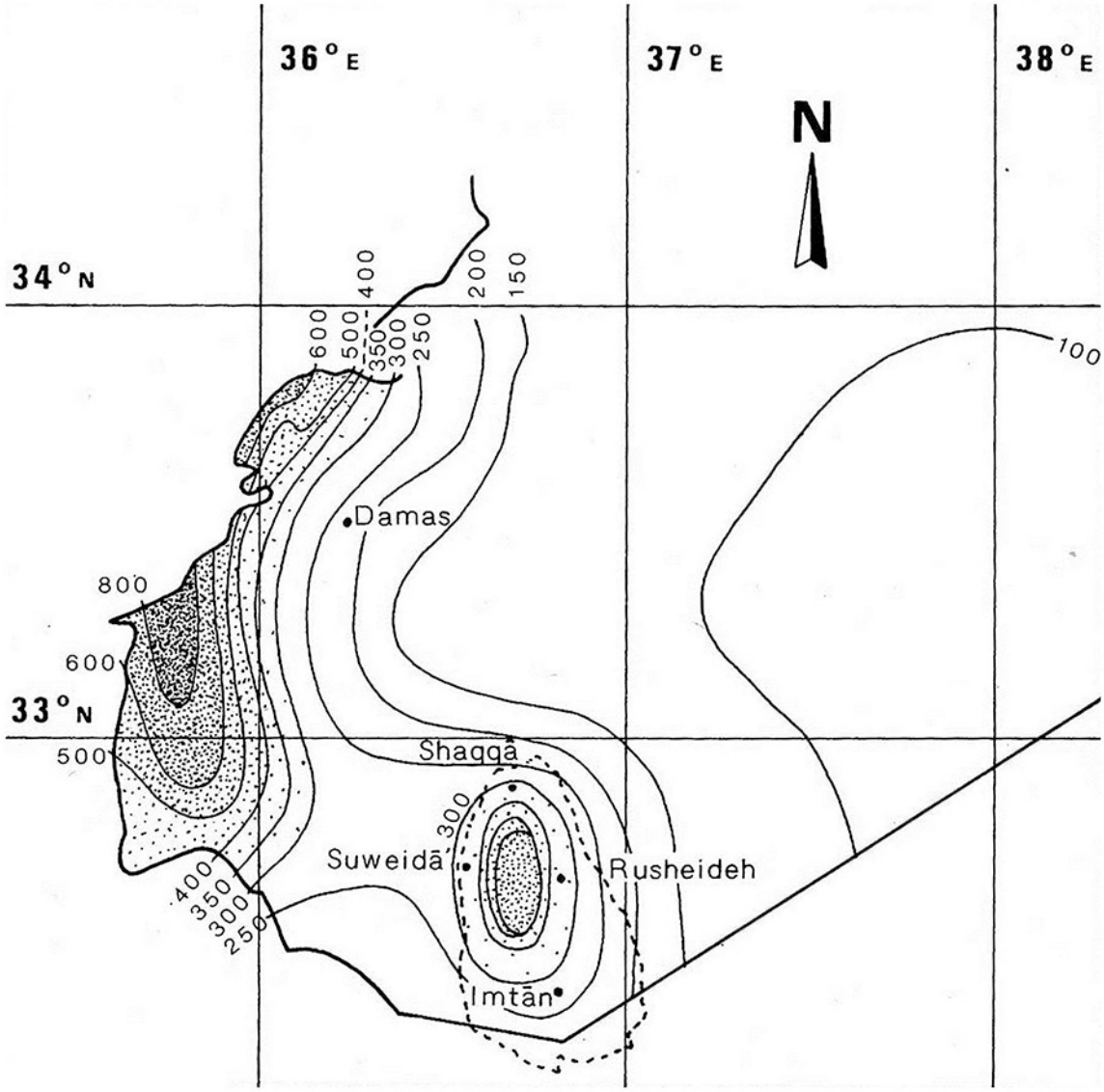
(after Sartre 1982 Map 1)

Map 3.1. Sub-regions of the Hauran



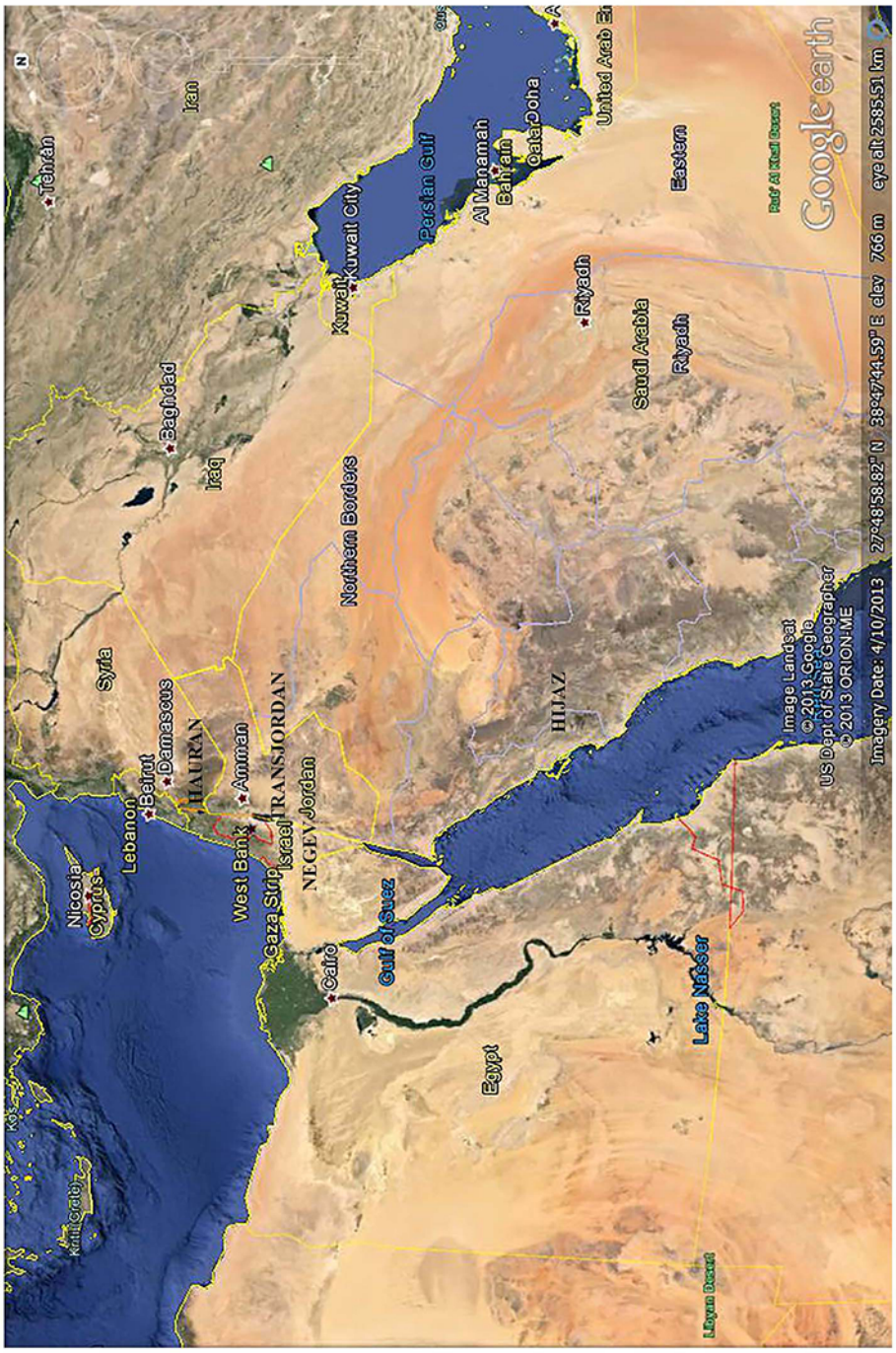
(Google Earth Image by the Author 2013)

Map 3.2. Variation of average annual rainfall in the Hauran



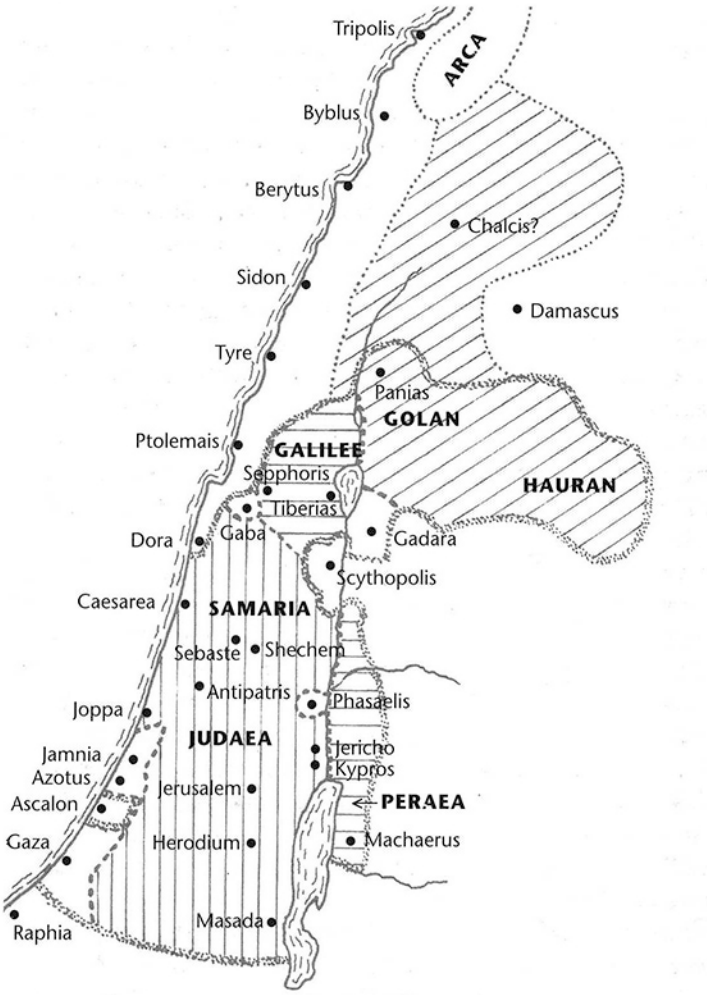
(after Gentelle 1986: 23 fig.3)

Map 3.3. Nabataean kingdom



(Google Earth Image by the Author 2013)

Map 3.4. Herodian kingdom



Key

border of the Herodian Kingdom

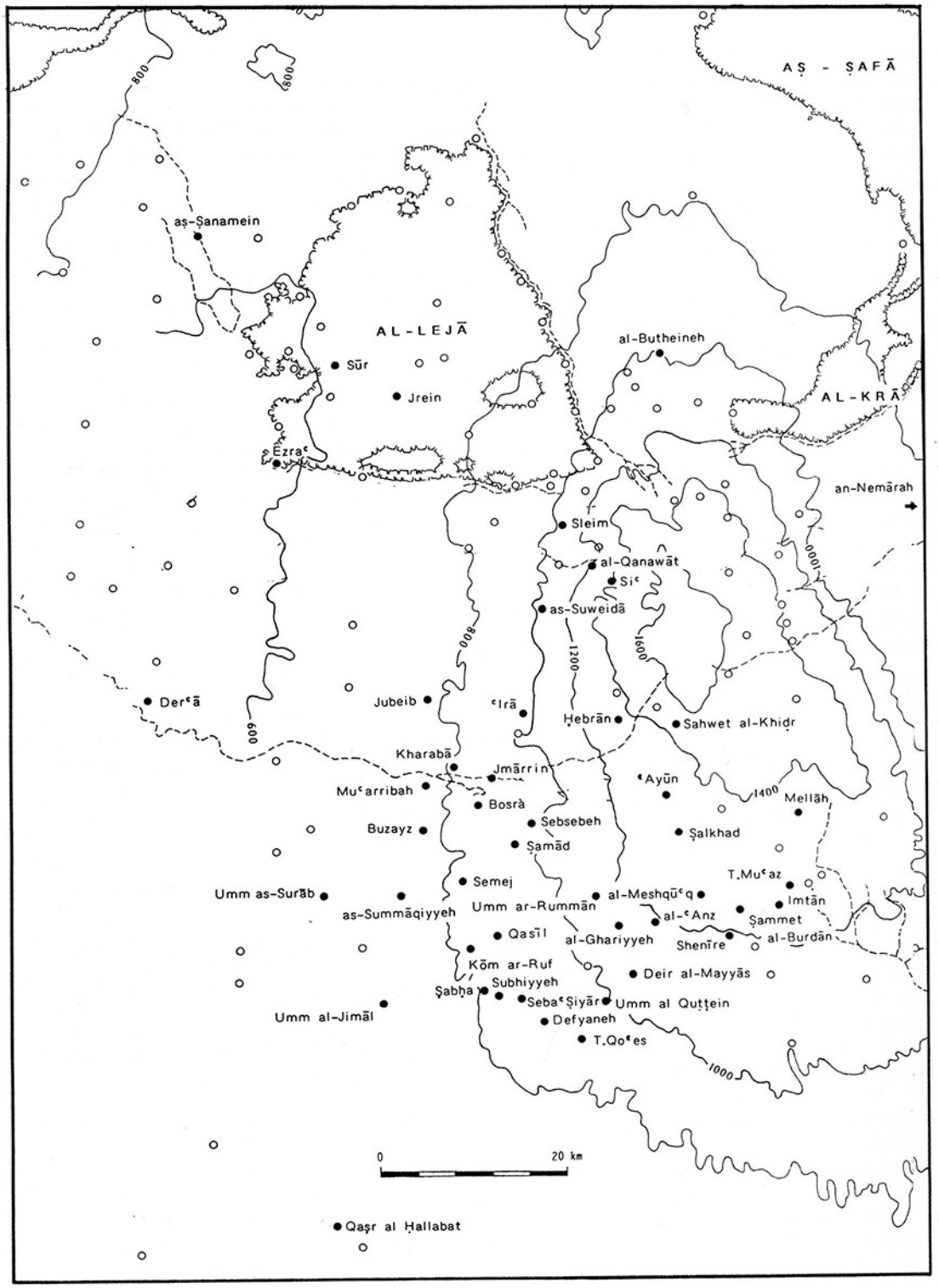
previously Ituraean principality,
territory (the Hauran and Golan) given to the king Herod,
then inherited by his son Philip

territory inherited by the king Archelaus

territory inherited by the king Antipas
(Ascalon was an indipedent city)

(after Butcher 2003: 94 fig.26)

Map 3.5. Distribution of Nabataean inscriptions and the Nabataean border



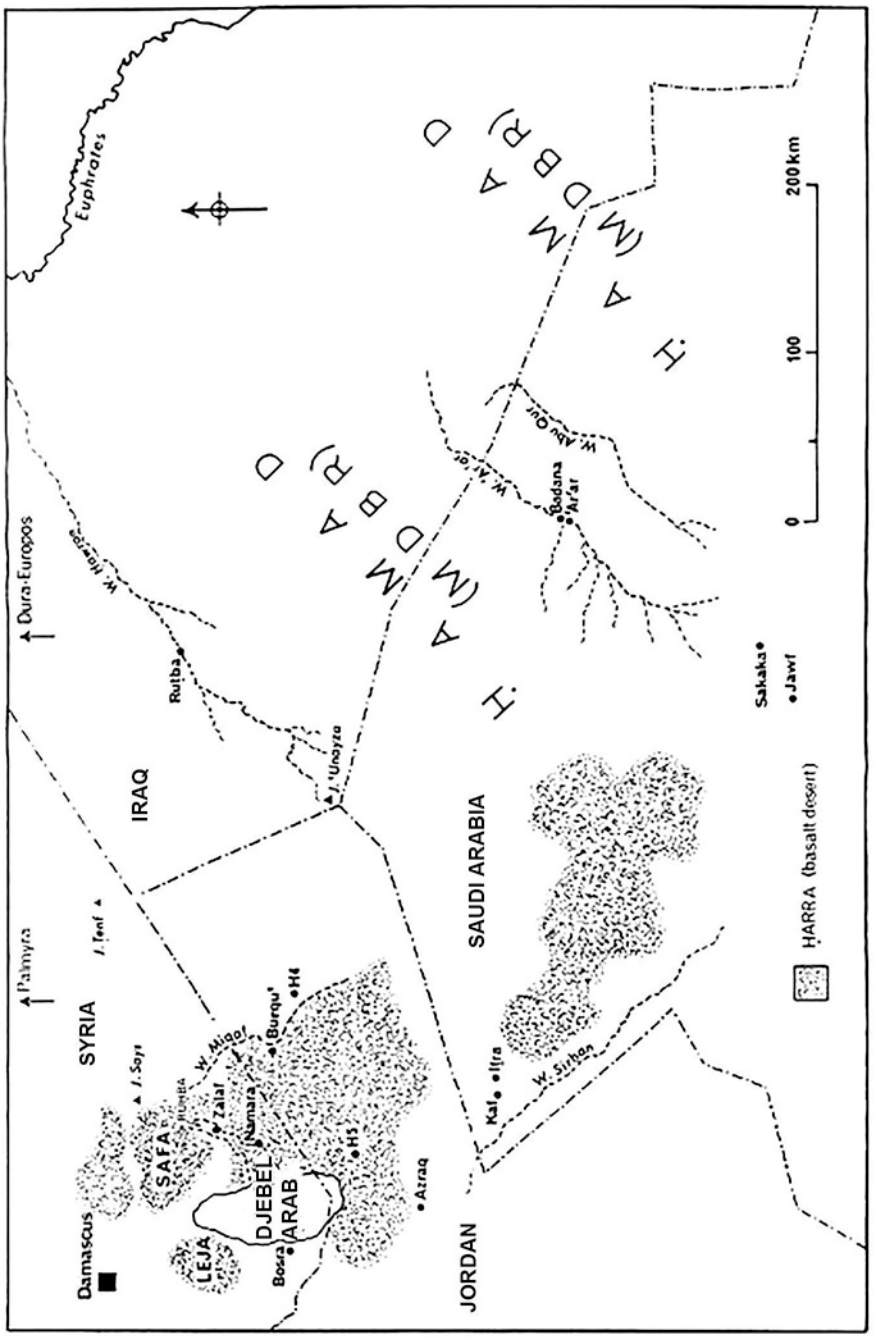
Key

- Nabataean inscription

-- "Nabataean border" in the Hauran according to Starcky

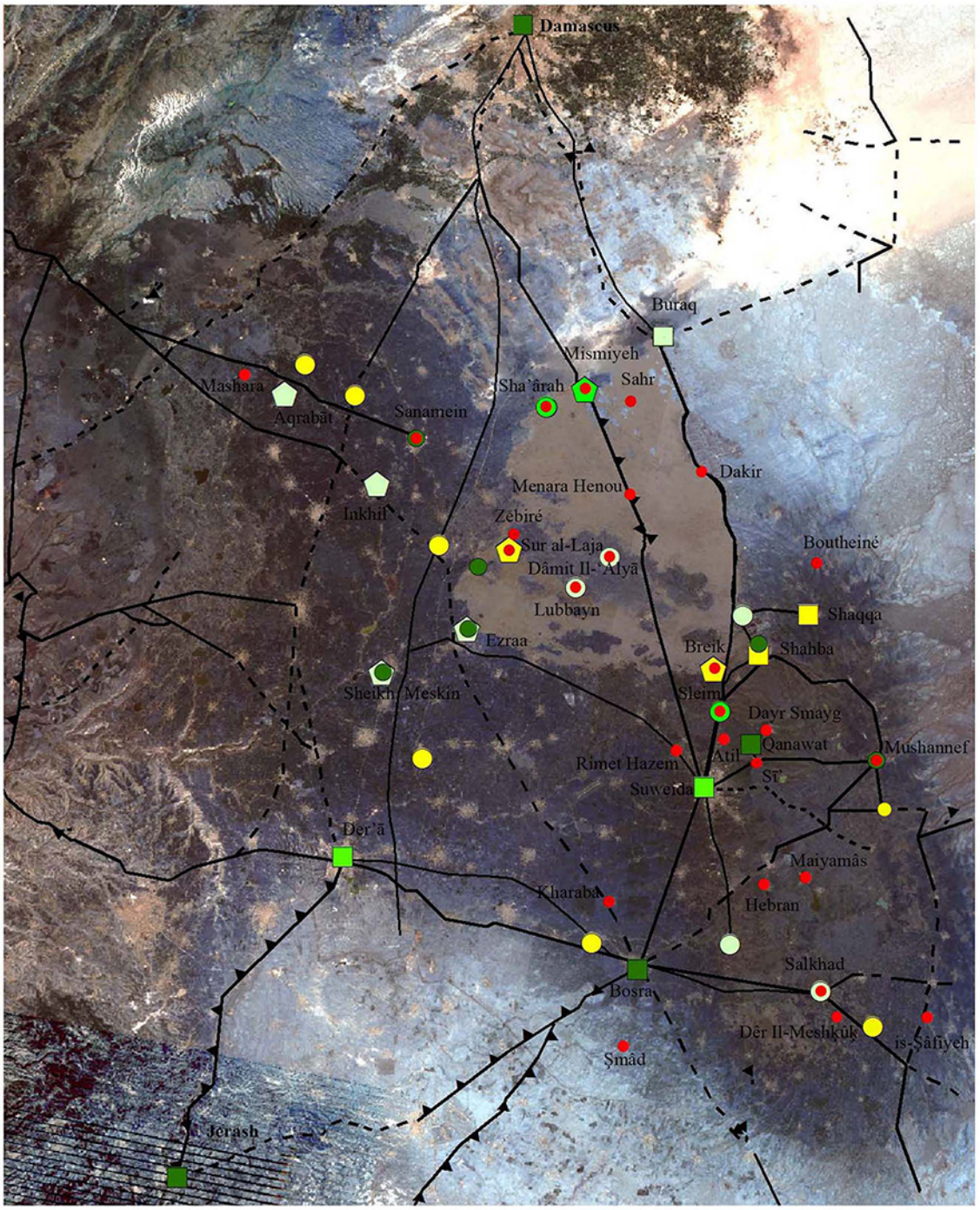
(after Starcky 1986 fig.1)

Map 3.6. "Safaitic" graffiti



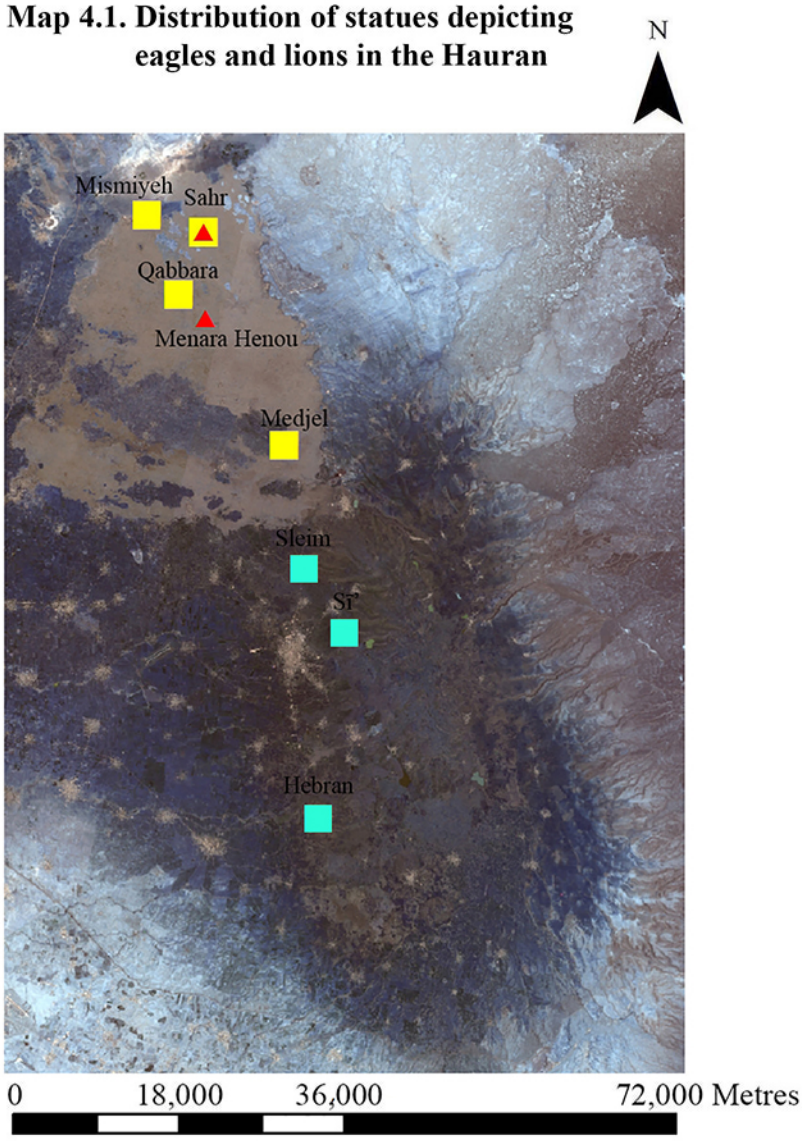
(after Macdonald 1993 fig.2)

Map 3.7. Cult centres in relation to nearby settlements and route-ways in the Hauran



(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 4.1. Distribution of statues depicting eagles and lions in the Hauran

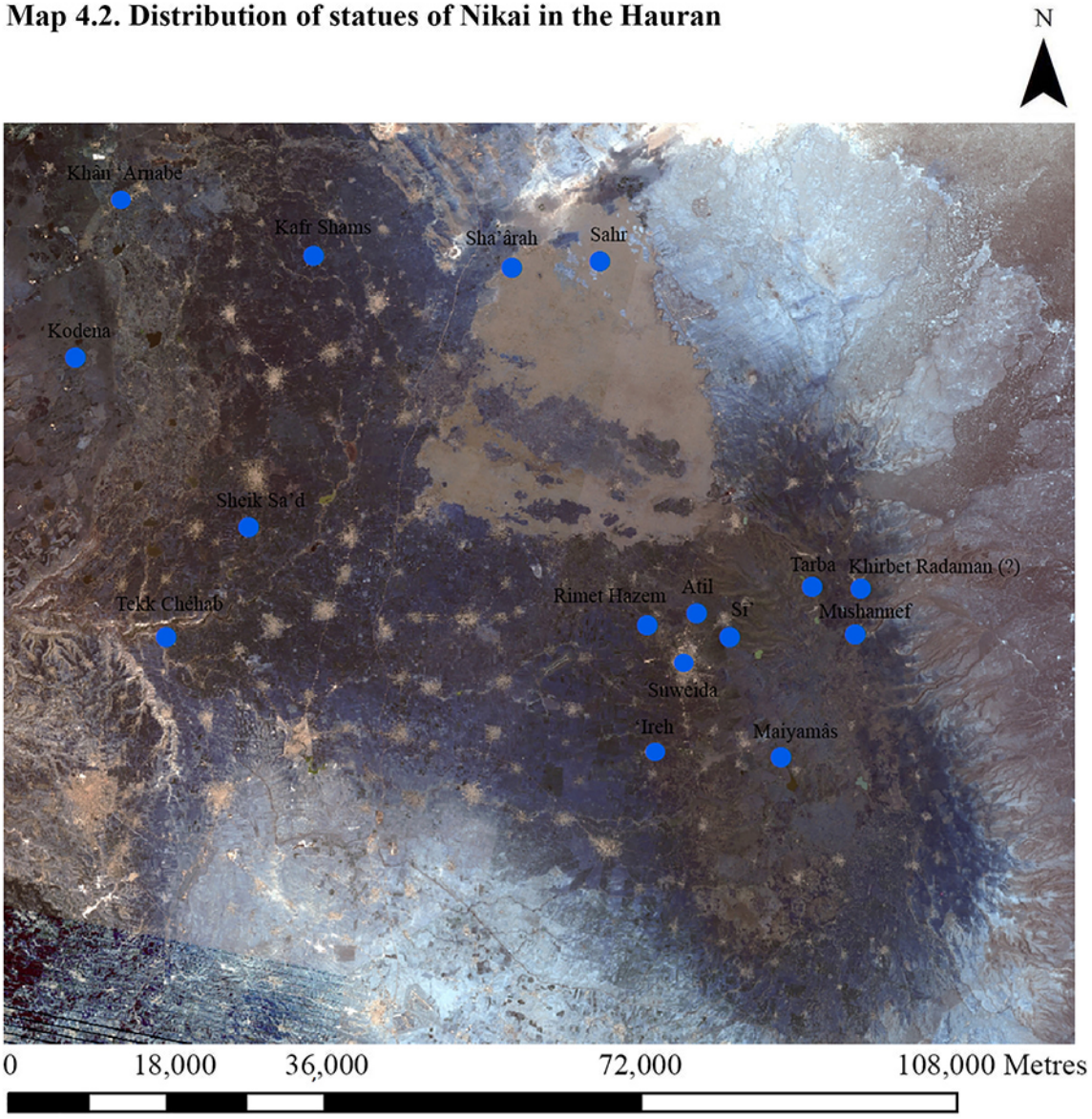


Key

- statue of a lion (Hellenistic style)
- statue of an eagle ("Herodian" style)
- statue of an eagle ("Nabataean" style)

(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 4.2. Distribution of statues of Nikai in the Hauran

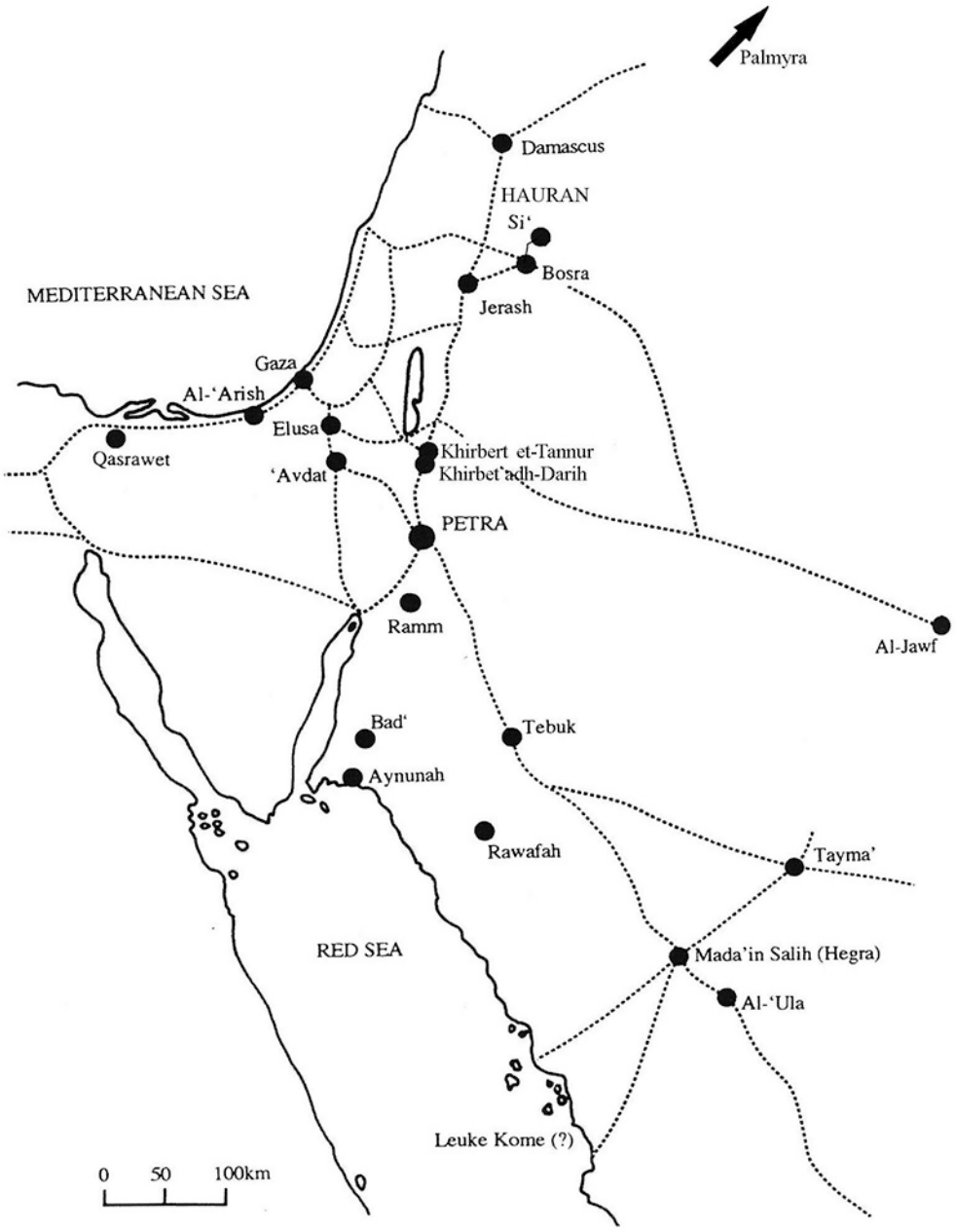


Key

- statue of a Nike

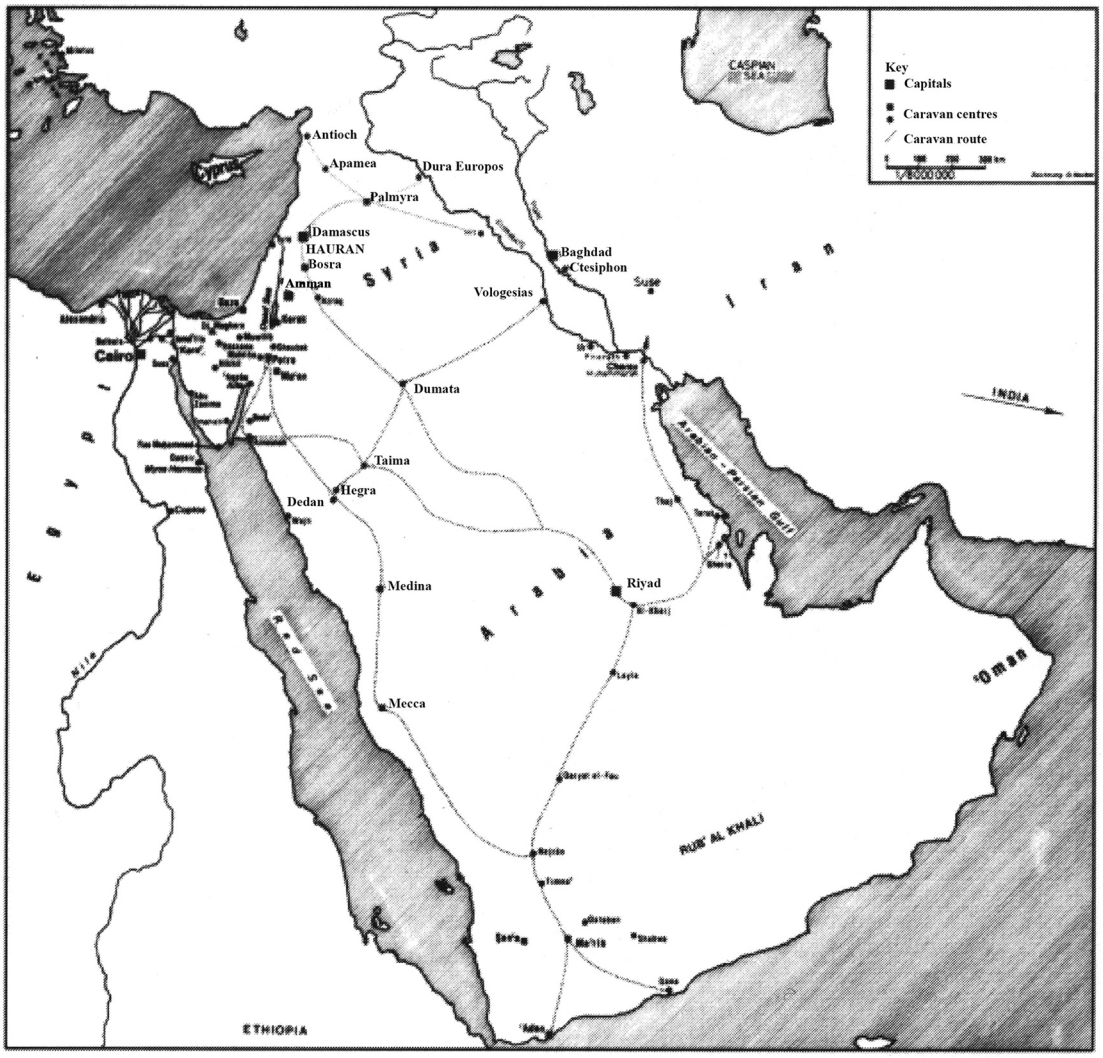
(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 4.3. Nabataean routes in the Hauran and its proximity



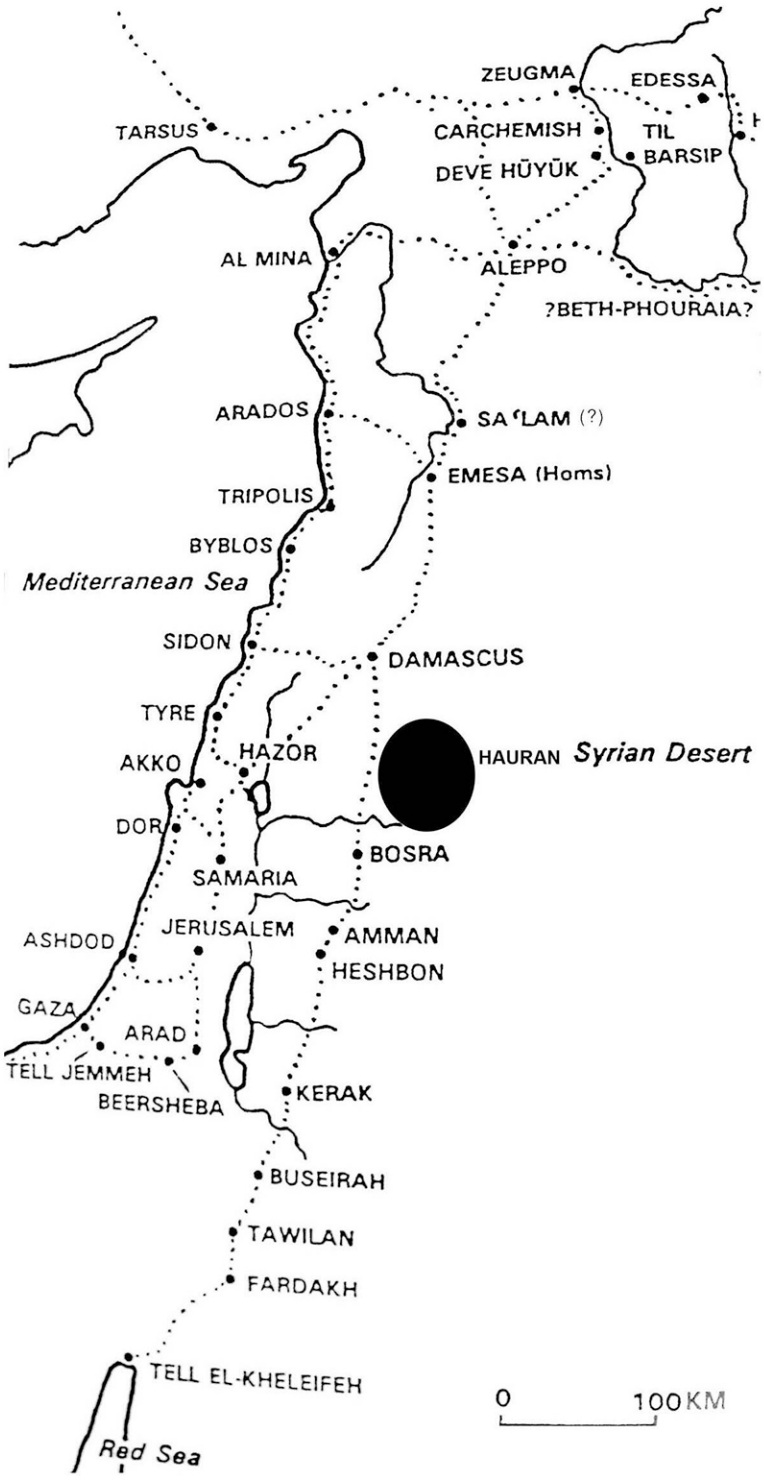
(after Healey 2001 Map 1)

Map 4.4. Nabataean/caravan route-ways in the Near East



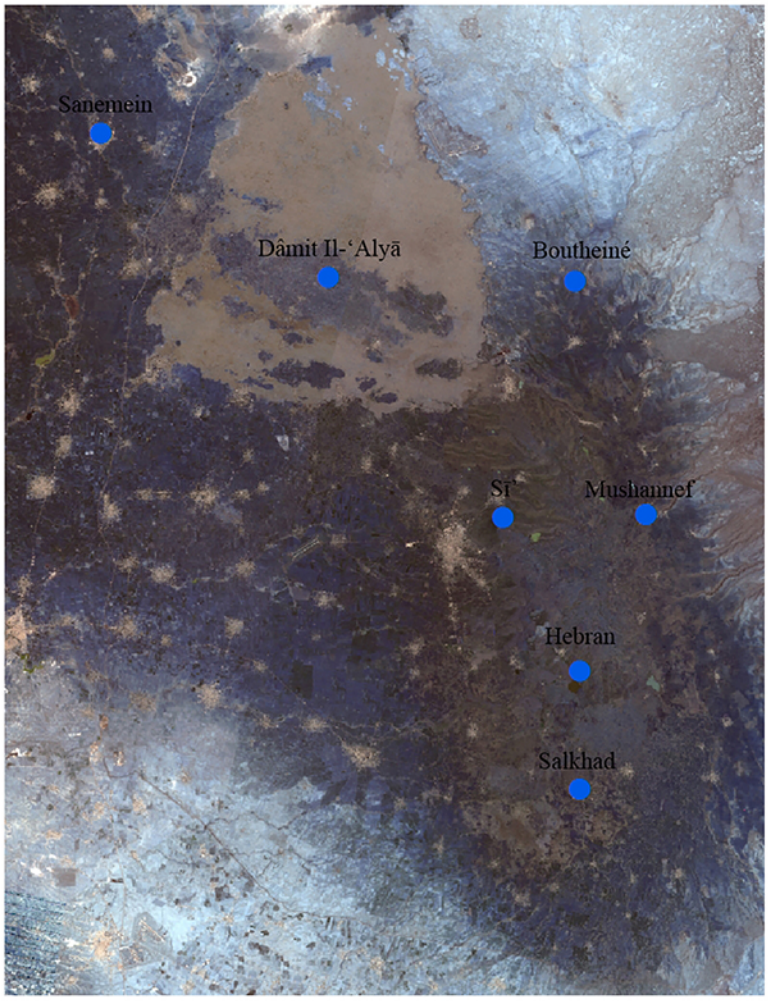
(after Zayadine 2007 Fig.207)

Map 4.5. Achaemenid route-ways crossing the Hauran and in the Near East



(after Graf 1994: 170 fig.1)

Map 5.1. Distribution of dedications to Zeus in rural cult centres in the Hauran

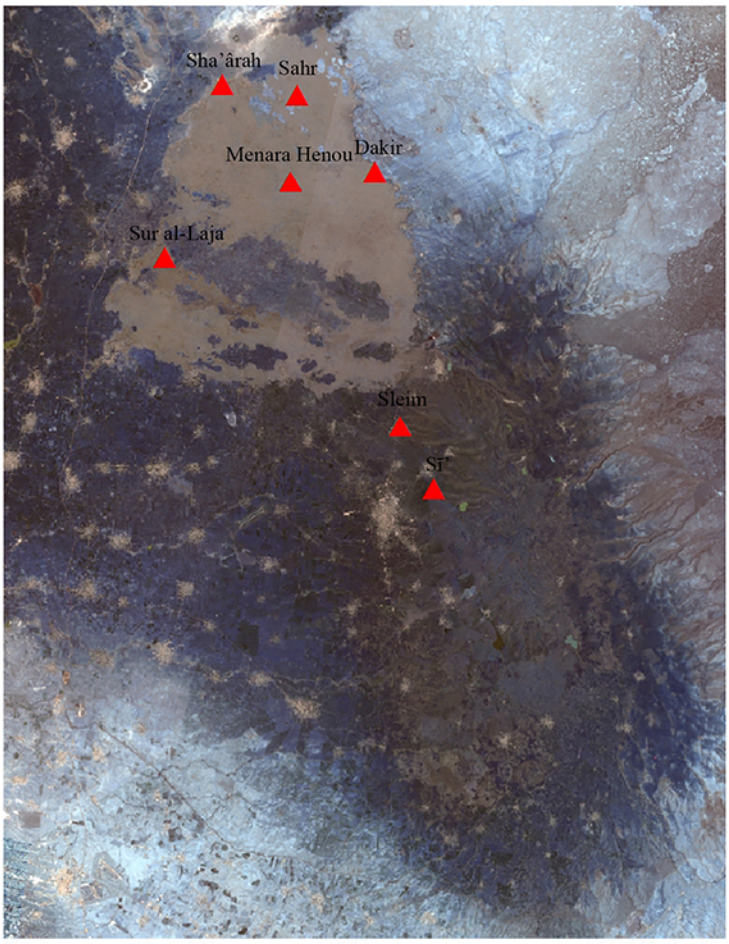


Key

● dedication to Zeus

(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 5.2. Distribution of statues of Athena in rural cult centres in the Hauran

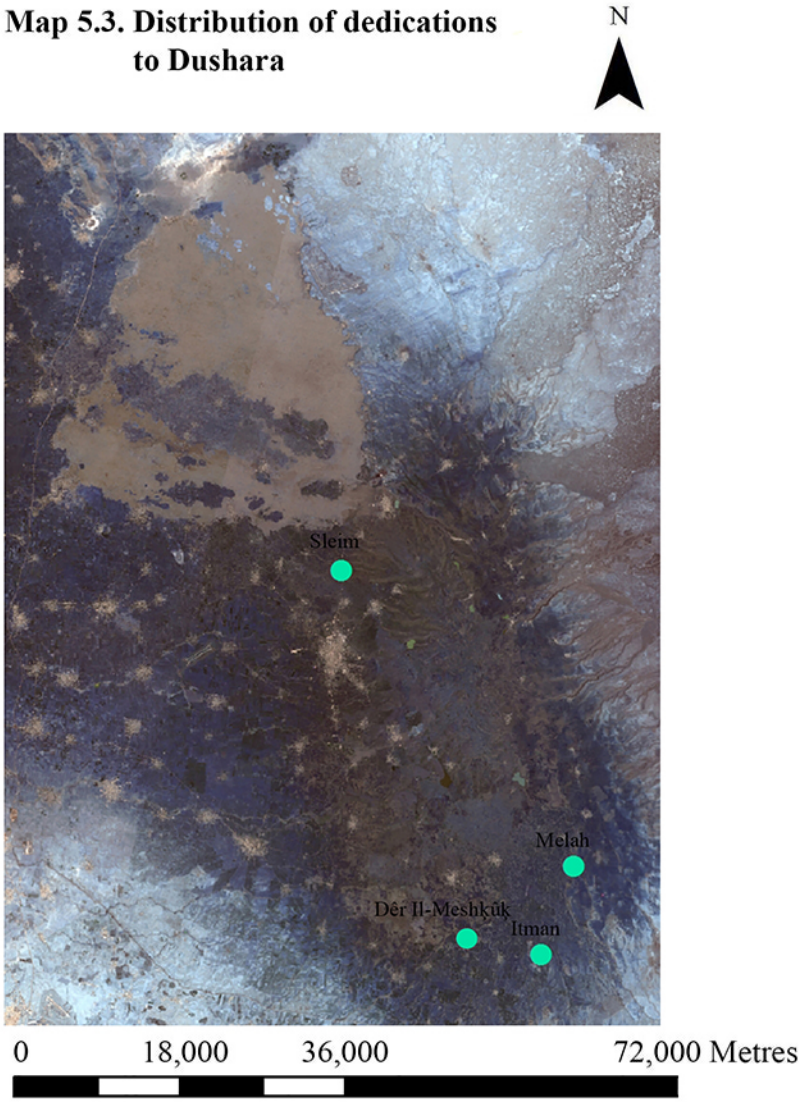


Key

▲ a statue of Athena

(Landsat Image bt the Author 2013)

Map 5.3. Distribution of dedications to Dushara

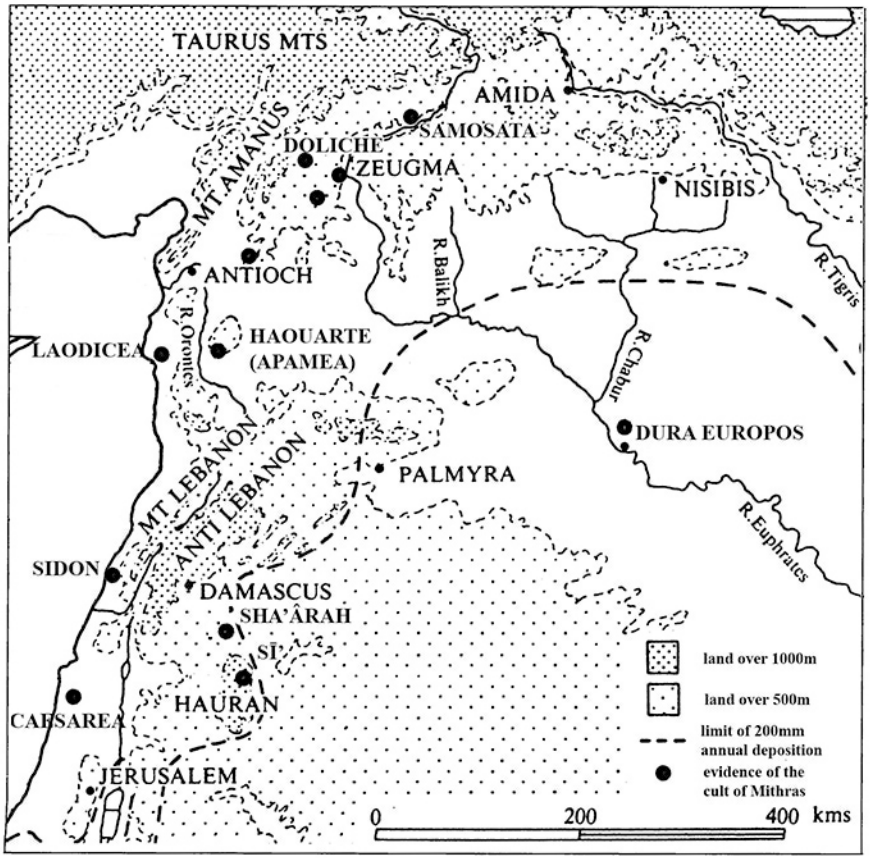


Key

- dedication to Dushara

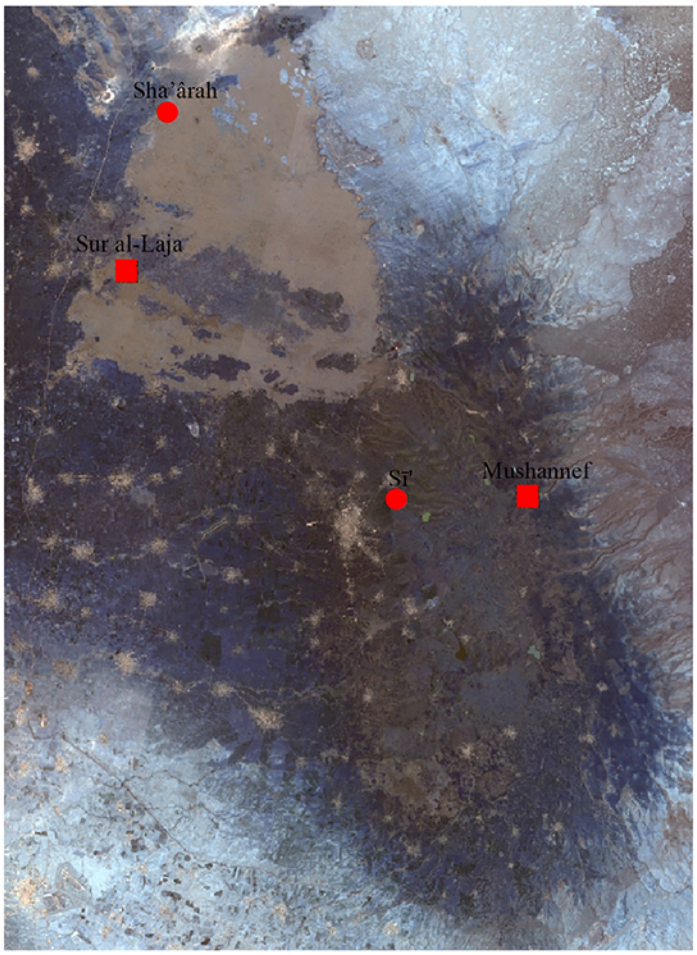
(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 5.4. Distribution of the cult of Mithras in the Near East



(after Gordon 2001 fig.1)

Map 5.5. Distribution of statues or dedicatio of gods worshipped by the Roman army in rural cult centres in the Hauran

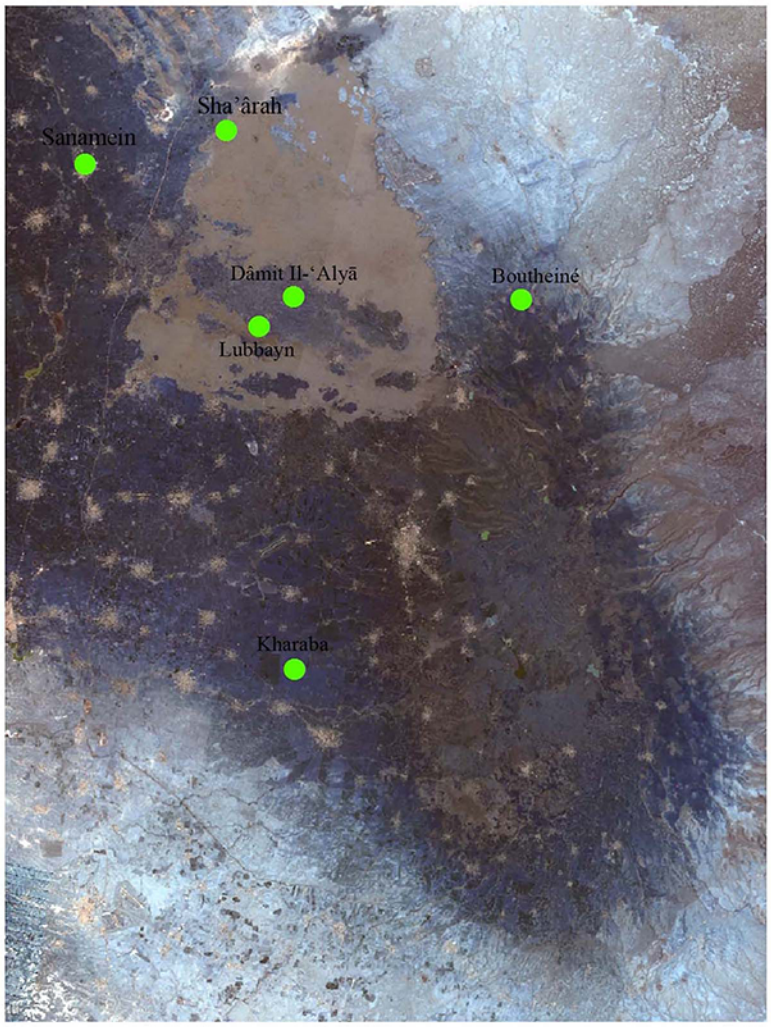


Key

- dedication to/statue of Mithras
- dedication to/statue of Zeus Ammon

(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 6.1. village's community and officials as benefactors of rural cult centres in the Hauran

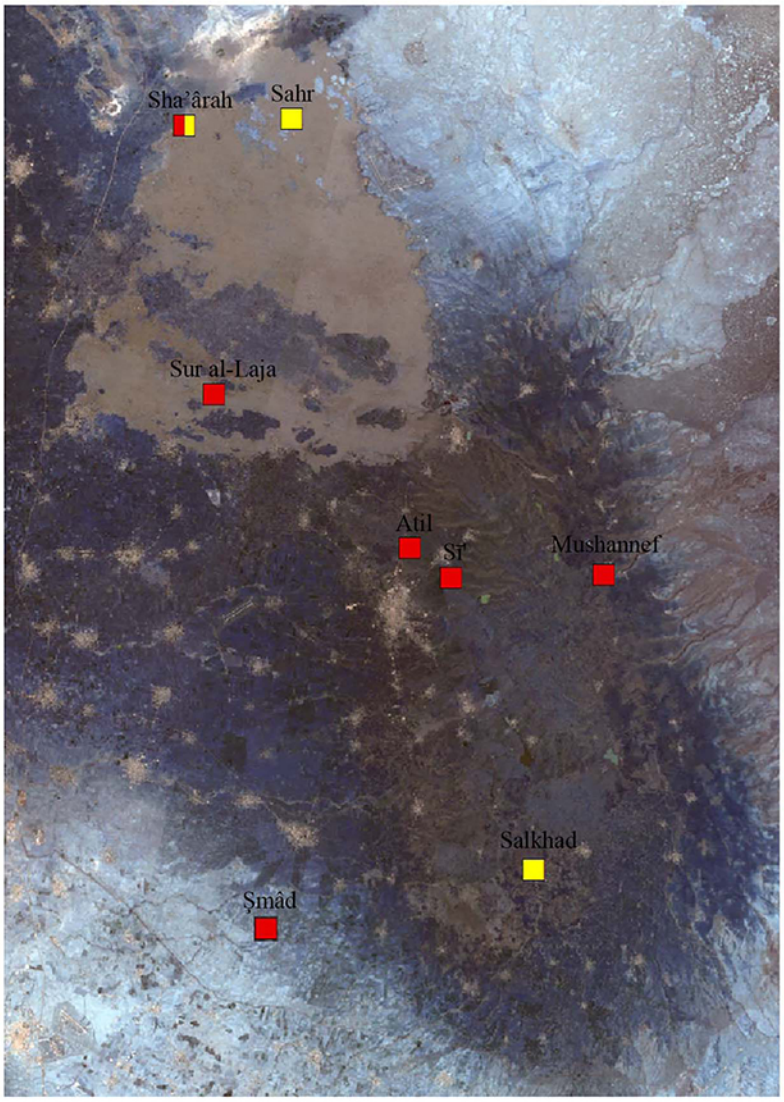


Key

● site where village community and/or its officers were benefactors of the cult centre

(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 6.2. Distribution of dedicants that had a Roman name in rural cult centres in the Hauran

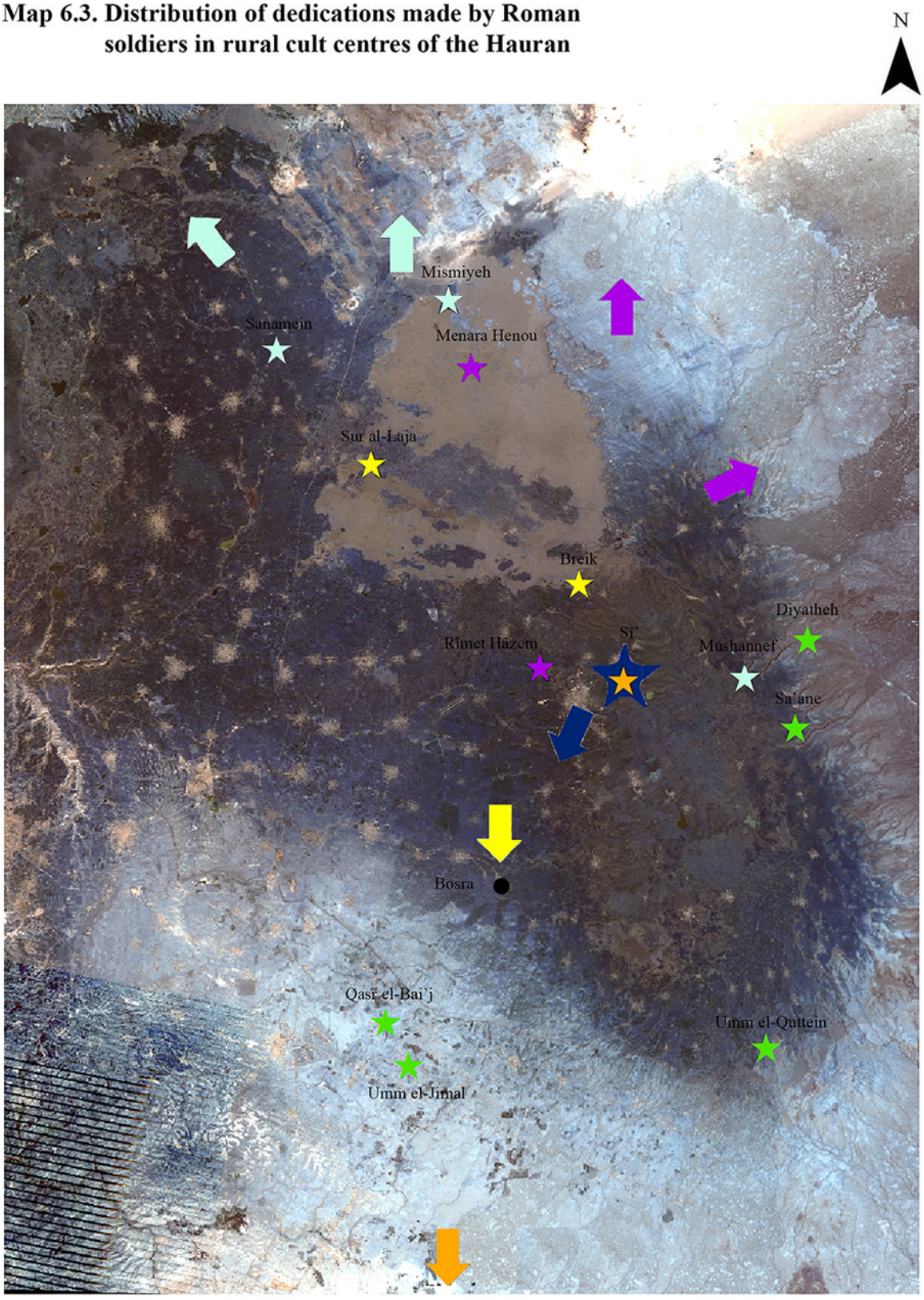


Key

- cult centre where dedicant/s had a Roman name
- cult centre where dedicant/s were named Bassos

(Landsat Image by the Author 2013)

Map 6.3. Distribution of dedications made by Roman soldiers in rural cult centres of the Hauran



Key

Dedication by a member of:
- Cohort Augusta
- Third Legion Cyrenaica
- Third Legion Gallica
- Fourth Legion Scythica
- Tenth Legion Fretensis
- Military camps

Arrows indicate the direction where the legions were based

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