

Religion and the Roman soldier at Humayma:  
The interplay of cultures in *Provincia Arabia*

by


Barbara Jean Fisher  
B.P.E., University of Calgary, 1977  
B.Ed., University of Calgary, 1978  
B.A., University of Victoria, 1995


A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of


MASTER OF ARTS

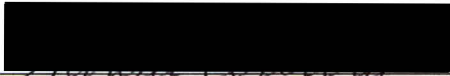
in Greek and Roman Studies

We accept this thesis as conforming  
to the required standard

  
Prof. J.P. Oleson, Supervisor (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)

  
Prof. K. R. Bradley, Departmental Member (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)

  
Prof. P. Grant, Outside Member (Department of English)

  
Prof. H. Coward, External Examiner (Department of History)

© Barbara Jean Fisher, 2000

University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Supervisor: Prof. John P. Oleson

### ABSTRACT

This thesis examines three inscriptions that were found in the *principia* of the second century Roman fort at Humayma in southern Jordan. Two of the inscriptions are in Greek: one on an intact votive altar, and the other on a small statue base, found broken and incomplete. The third inscription, on a large statue base or platform, is in Latin.


This thesis reconstructs and translates the three inscriptions and places them in their social and cultural context. Reconstruction and translation of the texts were made by comparing the inscriptions to other dedications from Jordan, Syria and neighbouring regions for similarities in monument shape, inscription formula and context. I argue that the altar inscription was made to Zeus Megistos Kapitlios, the Greek form for the Roman god Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. I argue that the Greek inscription on the small, broken statue base was made as a request for the continuing health of the emperor. I also argue that the Latin inscription contains the title for the governor of the province and refers to a statue, most likely of the emperor, which the base once supported and which served as an expression of military loyalty to the emperor as commander of the army.


The social and cultural context of the inscriptions is created by examining three aspects of religion and the soldier in Arabia. Firstly, the monuments are examined in relation to what is known of the official or required religious practices in the Roman military from available papyrological, epigraphic and literary sources to place the monuments in their corporate setting and to understand the required religious practices of the Roman soldier in Arabia. Secondly, I examine the inscriptional evidence from Jordan


and Syria for the personal religious preferences of soldiers in Roman Arabia. Thirdly, I examine other evidence for religion at Humayma from the Nabataean, Roman, and Byzantine periods to understand the Roman military religion in relation to the changing cultural context at this site.


The monuments correspond to the official religious practices in the Roman military which include worship of the great gods, the emperor, his family and ancestors, and celebrations of military identity. The inscriptions in Appendix I reveal that soldiers in Arabia worshipped many traditional Graeco-Roman gods but many soldiers also remained attached to regional eastern gods. Other evidence from Humayma shows an evolution of religion from spontaneous, rural practices to the formalisation of religion within structures and a fixed ritualistic framework.

Examiners:

  
 Prof. J.P. Oleson, Supervisor  
 (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)

  
 Prof. K.R. Bradley, Departmental Member  
 (Department of Greek and Roman Studies)

  
 Prof. P. Grant, Outside Member  
 (Department of English)

  
 Prof. H. Coward, External Examiner  
 (Department of History)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Title Page .....                                 | i    |
| Abstract .....                                   | ii   |
| Table of Contents .....                          | iv   |
| List of Plates .....                             | v    |
| List of Figures .....                            | vi   |
| Acknowledgements .....                           | vii  |
| Dedication .....                                 | viii |
| Chapter 1 .....                                  | 1    |
| I. Introduction .....                            | 1    |
| II. Historical Context .....                     | 4    |
| III. Archaeological Context .....                | 11   |
| IV. The Monuments-Physical Dimensions and Texts: |      |
| Altar .....                                      | 21   |
| Small Statue Base .....                          | 29   |
| Large Statue Base .....                          | 32   |
| V. Conclusion .....                              | 34   |
| Chapter 2: Interpretation .....                  | 35   |
| I. Method .....                                  | 35   |
| II. Altar - Function and Purpose. ....           | 36   |
| Parallels - Physical Characteristics .....       | 38   |
| Parallels - Inscription .....                    | 41   |
| Interpretation .....                             | 48   |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| III. Statue Base - Function and Purpose . . . . .                       | 50  |
| Parallels and Interpretation. . . . .                                   | 51  |
| IV. Large Base . . . . .  | 56  |
| Parallels and Interpretation . . . . .                                  | 58  |
| V. Language, Literacy and Epigraphic Culture . . . . .                  | 61  |
| VI. Conclusions . . . . .   | 67  |
| Chapter 3: Religion and the Roman Soldier in Provincia Arabia . . . . . | 68  |
| I. Religion in the Fort . . . . .                                       | 69  |
| Capitoline Gods and Imperial Festivals: a Roman Identity . . . . .      | 73  |
| Emperor and Soldier: a Military Identity . . . . .                      | 76  |
| Ceremonies and Rituals . . . . .  | 79  |
| II. Religion Outside the Fort: Personal Identities . . . . .            | 85  |
| III. Purpose, Effects, and Outcomes. . . . .                            | 91  |
| IV. Religion at Humayma - Evidence for Cultural Change . . . . .        | 96  |
| V. Conclusion . . . . .   | 102 |
| Chapter 4: Conclusions . . . . .  | 104 |
| Bibliography . . . . .  | 112 |
| Appendix One . . . . .  | 127 |

**LIST OF PLATES**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Plate 1: The Humayma Altar, side view . . . . .                   | 22 |
| Plate 2: The Humayma Altar, frontal view . . . . .                | 22 |
| Plate 3: Nabataean Dushara Blocks from the Siq at Petra . . . . . | 23 |
| Plate 4: Nabataean Altar from Petra . . . . .                     | 23 |
| Plate 5: The Humayma Altar, text detail . . . . .                 | 26 |
| Plate 6: The Small Statue Base with text detail . . . . .         | 30 |
| Plate 7: The Large Statue Base . . . . .                          | 32 |
| Plate 8: The Large Statue Base, text detail . . . . .             | 33 |
| Plate 9: Altar from Petra . . . . .                               | 40 |

**LIST OF FIGURES**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Figure 1: The Location of Humayma in the Near East . . . . . | 3  |
| Figure 2: Humayma Site Plan. . . . .                         | 9  |
| Figure 3: The Humayma Fort . . . . .                         | 10 |
| Figure 4: The Principia . . . . .                            | 14 |
| Figure 5: Nabataean Altar from Humayma . . . . .             | 24 |
| Figure 6: Nabataean Altar from Humayma with relief . . . . . | 24 |

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to a number of people who have helped me make this thesis a reality. I would firstly like to thank my supervisor, Prof. John P. Oleson for his patience, encouragement and for his valuable advice on the use of the comma. I am also grateful for his dedication and commitment to the archaeology of the Near East and for his willingness to share his project and expertise with his students. The mounting of an excavation season requires an enormous expenditure of time and energy and I appreciate his hard work and his concern for making the experience an enjoyable and educational one for everyone on his team. I would also like to thank Prof. Keith R. Bradley for his helpful comments and suggestions in the early stages and throughout the thesis and Prof. Patrick Grant and Prof. Harold Coward for their helpful comments. I am also grateful to Dr. Paul Fisher for his editorial advice and for his enthusiastic support throughout my academic process.

I am grateful for the financial support provided by the Faculty of Graduate Studies, the CUPE Professional Development Fund and the Margareta von Rudloff Travel Scholarship. I am also grateful to the Office of the Director, Co-operative Education at the University of Victoria for granting my leave of absence requests to participate in the excavations in Jordan and for the educational leave to complete this thesis.

Finally I would like to acknowledge all members of the Humayma excavation project with whom I have had the very great pleasure to share companionship, early morning risings, courtyard laundry, ever present desert sand, Bedouin tea and Jordanian beer. These years and friendships will remain with me always. I would also like to thank

those who have been of great personal support through the thesis process: John Westover who held up the light but let me follow my own path, Joy Austin who never failed to lift my spirits, Kelly Low for her healthy cynicism, a mind that never rests and for reminding me of the value of entertainment, and especially my fellow graduate student Vicky Karas for her warm heart, good humour and for her presence at the end of the telephone when I needed it most. Lastly, I am forever grateful to my children for reminding me on a daily basis of the truly important things in life.

**DEDICATION**

For

Ben and Jo

the truly important

in my life

## Chapter One

### I. Introduction

At the site of Humayma in southern Jordan, 44 km southeast of Petra and 55 km north of Aqaba, are the remains of a Roman fort. In the *principia* or headquarters area of this fort were found three inscribed monuments: a small altar and a broken statue base both inscribed in Greek, and a large pedestal or statue base inscribed in Latin. The inscriptions are religious in nature. The altar bears the inscription: Διὶ μεγίστῳ Καπετῶ... The broken statue base is inscribed: σωτήρ... π[ρ]ωτο[ν] ...τη[ν]. ἀνέ[θηκεν]. The inscription on the large base is mostly damaged but a portion reads: *praes...rat*. Although the dedications are fragmentary they are almost unparalleled in the Roman forts of *Provincia Arabia* and they constitute important evidence for the nature of religious activity in the Roman military units in the province. The dedications are virtually the only evidence we have for religious activity in the Roman forts of Arabia and therefore warrant examination in detail to extract as much information from them as possible. Since *principia* in Roman forts were the structures where unit administration and religious functions took place, it is possible that the monuments had significance for the entire unit and played a role in the routine religious activity of the Roman military camp. Although the evidence is very fragmentary, it is possible to make some tentative suggestions about their use and function in the camp.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to questions regarding the character of religion in the military, the monuments also point to the complex issue of language, ethnicity and the interaction of

---

<sup>1</sup> The findings in this thesis are based on our knowledge of the archaeological remains at Humayma to the end of the 1998 excavation season. A subsequent season of excavation was completed in August, 2000 after this thesis was completed.

Greek and Roman cultures in the Roman Near East. Despite the fact that the Romans ruled large parts of the Near East, Greek remained the official language of administration. Latin inscriptions are comparatively few and are mainly found on Roman milestones or pertaining to the Roman army and other Roman officials.

The first goal of this thesis is to reconstruct and analyse the inscriptions to determine to whom the dedications were made. A second goal is to offer some tentative suggestions on how the monuments from Humayma may be viewed in relation to known military religious practices. This thesis also examines evidence for personal religious expressions by soldiers in Roman Arabia to determine if an individual soldier's personal devotion was different from the "corporate" practices of the army unit and to determine the extent to which the soldiers here remained attached to the gods of their homeland and local community.

This thesis consists of four chapters. Chapter One describes the historical and archaeological context of the inscriptions, and gives an initial description and reconstruction of the texts. Chapter Two provides an interpretation of the monuments based on parallels from the geographical region under study. Chapter Three provides a general understanding of the religious life of the Roman soldier in Arabia by examining the Humayma material in the context of known religious practice in the Roman military, and by examining evidence for personal religious practices of the soldier in Arabia. In addition, Chapter Three examines other evidence for religion from the site of Humayma to show how religious expression differed between the cultural periods here. Chapter Four restates and summarizes the findings of this study. This thesis includes one Appendix which is a catalogue of selected inscriptions from the Near East.

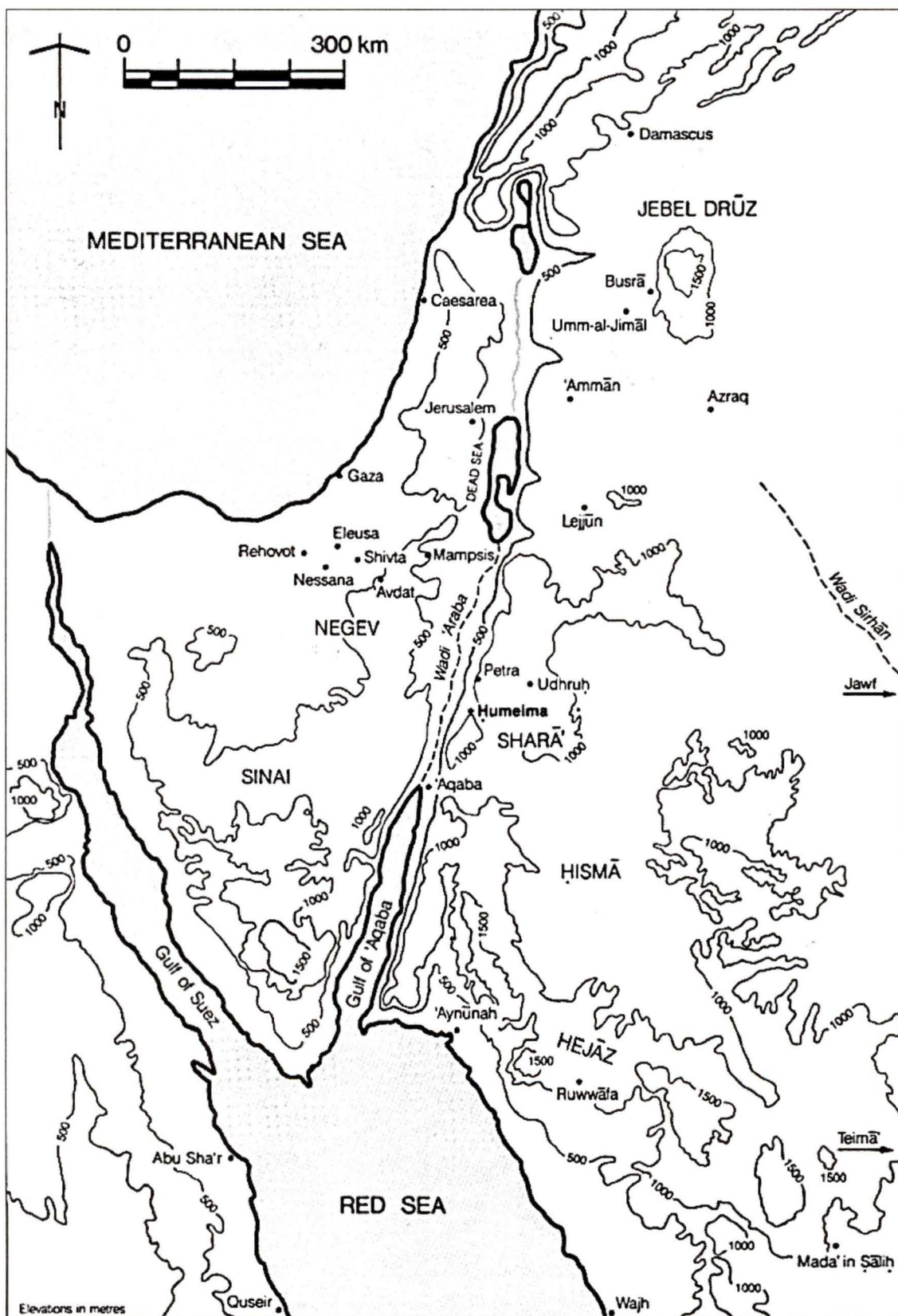


Figure 1. Location of Humayma in the Near East (C. Mundigler)

## II. Historical Context

The monuments referred to in this thesis are evidence of the Roman military presence in an area of the East once known as *Provincia Arabia*. Roman Arabia was the territory of the former Nabataean Kingdom, what is today all of Jordan, the southern portion of Syria, the Sinai and the Negev in the north-west, and the al-Hijaz mountains, and the Hisma and an-Nafud deserts of the north-western Arabian peninsula in the south-east. The incorporation of this region into a province of the Roman Empire was the culmination of a “step-by-step” expansion of Roman control in the east.<sup>2</sup>

The east referred to here was once a part of the Seleucid Kingdom—an area that included the modern nations of Turkey, Syria, Iran, Afghanistan and parts of the former Soviet Union (Armenia, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkenistan). The kingdom was founded by Seleucus Nicator, a former general of Alexander the Great who had been granted part of the territories that had been under Alexander’s control.<sup>3</sup> Roman involvement in the region began in the second century B.C. when Rome opposed the Seleucid King Antiochus III's plan to invade Greece. The resulting Second Macedonian War ended with Antiochus’ defeat and, following the peace of Apamea in 188 B.C., the loss of territory north of the Taurus Mountains to Rome. This intervention marked the beginning of Roman involvement in the East and also marked the beginning of the decline of the Seleucid Empire. Dynastic rivalries eventually reduced the Seleucid Kingdom to chaos and in 64 B.C. Pompey and his army annexed what remained of the

---

<sup>2</sup> Millar 1993: 2 and *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Sherwin-White 1996: 1380. For the Seleucid Empire in general see Sherwin-White & Kurht 1993.

Kingdom into the Roman province of Syria.<sup>4</sup>

While the Seleucids encouraged the foundation of Greek cities throughout the region, local religions and language continued among the indigenous population. The arrival of the Roman military introduced another cultural element into this already diverse mix of people, customs and language.<sup>5</sup>

The Roman province of Syria involved the direct control of a small geographic area and a network of alliances with neighbouring client states: the client kingdoms of Commagene, Nabataea, Emesa, Oshroene, the ethnarchy of the Jews (Judaea), and the tetrarchy of the Ituraeans.<sup>6</sup> The small geographic area of direct administration was basically the urban centres that could carry out the functions of provincial administration. These included the cities of the Tetrapolis in the north: Antioch, Apamea, Seleucia Laodicea; the Decapolis cities in the south: Canatha, Damascus, Dion, Gadara, Gerasa, Hippos, Pella, Philadelphia, Raphanaea and Scythopolis; and the city-states of the Phoenician coast: Aradus, Tripolis, Byblos, Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre.<sup>7</sup> Rome initially avoided direct responsibility for the client states, but as dynasties died out or Rome grew tired of local resistance and the political designs of native rulers,<sup>8</sup> they were gradually absorbed into provinces of the Roman Empire. The last of the client states to succumb to direct Roman control was the Kingdom of Nabataea.

---

<sup>4</sup> Kennedy 1996: 703. Millar 1993: 27. Bowersock 1983: 28.

<sup>5</sup> Mendels 1997: 515. For cultural diversity in the Near East see Shahid 1984 and Millar 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Kennedy 1996: 708. Millar 1993: 22. Bowersock 1983: 30.

<sup>7</sup> Kennedy 1996: 708. Millar 1993: 38-39.

<sup>8</sup> For discussion of the history and events leading to the absorption of various client states see Millar 1993: 27-90.

According to Cassius Dio, Cornelius Palma, who was then governor of Syria, carried out the annexation of the Nabataean Kingdom of Petra into the Roman province of Arabia toward the end of the Second Dacian War, either in 106 or early 107 (Dio 68.14.5).<sup>9</sup> The reasons for the annexation are not completely understood, but it seems that the process involved a military presence without military conflict.<sup>10</sup> In the second and third centuries the province was garrisoned by a single legion of approximately 5,000 men, *legio III Cyrenaica*, which was transferred from its base in Egypt and headquartered at Bostra in the north of the province. In addition to the legion, there were perhaps as many as twelve auxiliary units in the original garrison.<sup>11</sup> Detachments of the legion were scattered throughout the province. In the late third century, as a result of Diocletian's restructuring of the provinces, two smaller legions were assigned to Arabia, which was now also reduced in size. *Legio III Cyrenaica* remained at Bostra, and a new legion, *IV Martia*, garrisoned a new fortress at el-Lejjun east of the Dead Sea. The southern half of the original province of Arabia became *Palaestina Salutaris* (the Sinai, Negev and southern Jordan) and *legio X Fretensis* was transferred from Jerusalem to Aqaba (Aila).

---

<sup>9</sup> Bennett 1997: 175-76. Bowersock 1983: 76.

<sup>10</sup> Interpretation of the annexation as a peaceful process is based on three considerations: 1. Trajan did not assume the title *Arabicus*, 2. the coin legend commemorating the event is *Arabia adquisita* not *Arabia capta*, and 3. the phrase *redacta in formam provinciae* on many Trajanic milestones. The annexation may have involved a "two-pronged" approach with a garrison of *legio III Cyrenaica* from Egypt advancing through the Sinai and the forces of Palma coming in from Syria in the north. See Isaac 1990: 119; Bowersock 1983: 81-85; 1971: 228-29; Speidel 1977: 688-96.

<sup>11</sup> The auxiliary units, each consisting of 480-500 men, would have matched the legion in numbers, and thus would have included about twelve units. Auxiliary units were special forces of cavalry (*alae*) and infantry (*cohortes*) or both (*cohortes equitatae*). The *auxilia* were composed of non-citizens recruited from the provinces and often took their title from their district (e.g. *Palmyrenorum*) or their armament (e.g. *sagittariorum*). By the second century *auxilia* and legions were mainly recruited in the provinces where they were stationed (Campbell 1996: 224-225). For the known army units in Roman Arabia see Speidel 1977.

Although most forts in Jordan have been surveyed, many remain unexcavated, and much remains unknown about the arrangement of units in the province. A clear chronology of Roman defensive structures and the nature of the garrisons has yet to be determined for Roman Arabia.<sup>12</sup>

Apparently in conjunction with the annexation of Arabia, the construction of the *Via Nova Traiana*, "Trajan's New Road", was initiated along the pre-existing Nabataean road that ran from north to south and linked the provincial capital at Bostra to the port at Aqaba on the Red Sea. Evidence for military building activity in the southern portion of the province comes from the correspondence of Julius Apollinaris, *librarius* (secretary) of the third Cyrenaican legion.<sup>13</sup> In a letter to his father, which is dated 26 March 107, he mentions that the legion was engaged in stone-cutting near Petra. It has frequently been assumed that the stone-cutting was connected with the construction of the *Via Nova*, although Bennett has recently suggested that the date of the milestones along the road challenges this interpretation.<sup>14</sup> The milestones date the completion of the road to A.C. 111-114.<sup>15</sup>

Along the southern portion of the *Via Nova*, an auxiliary fort was constructed at the Nabataean settlement of Hawar in the Hisma desert (also called Auara or Havarra in the Roman period and today known as Humayma, Fig 1).<sup>16</sup> The fort at Humyama has been securely dated to the first quarter of the second century and therefore was part of the

---

<sup>12</sup> Parker 1995: 251.

<sup>13</sup> *P. Mich.* 466, 465.

<sup>14</sup> Bennett 1997: 267, n. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Graf 1995: 241.

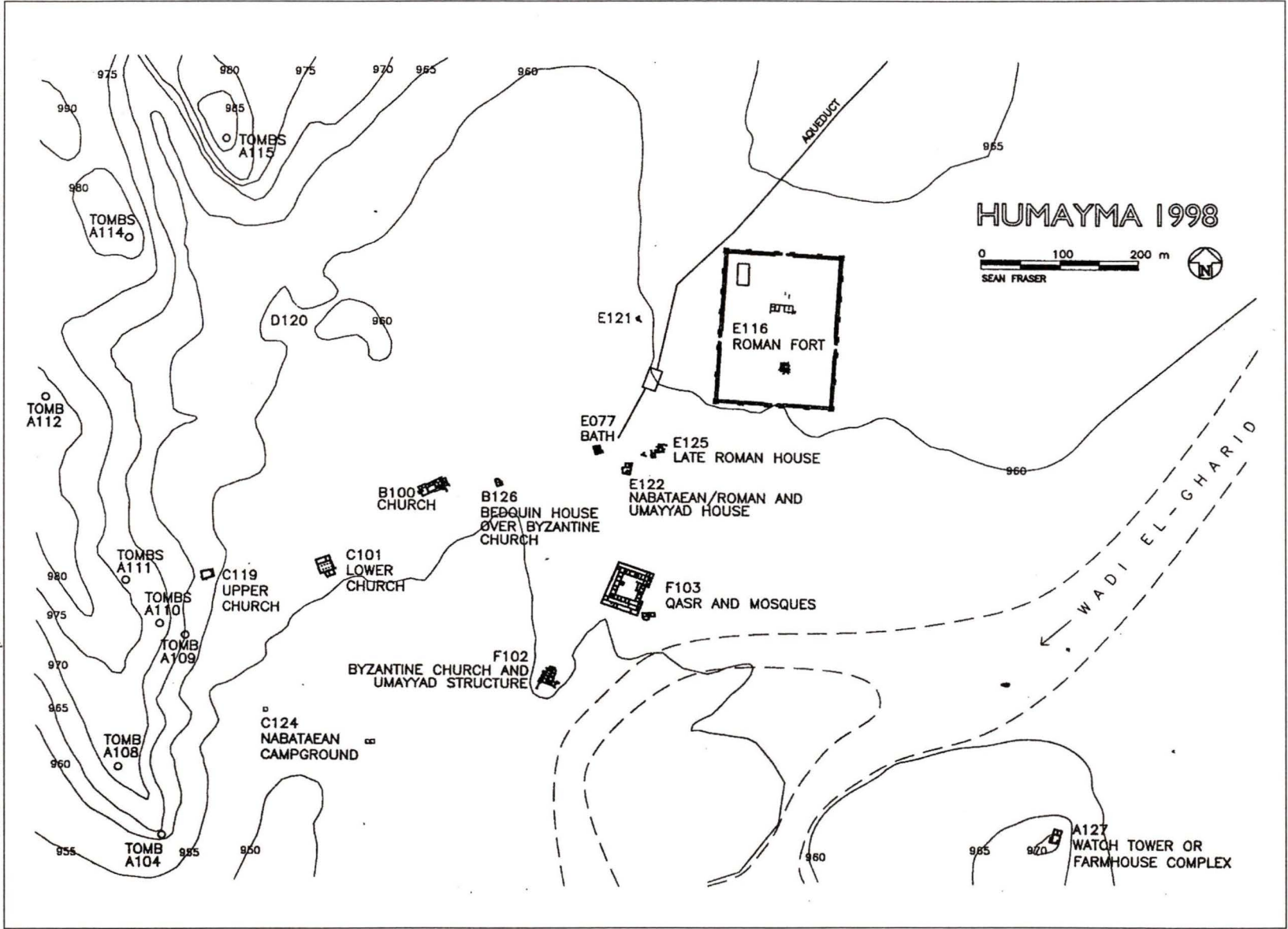
original garrison of the province.<sup>17</sup> This site may have been chosen for a military station, in part, because a flourishing Nabataean settlement was already established here from the first century B.C.<sup>18</sup> The settlement provided a strategic communications link on the southern end of the *Via Nova*, between the port-town of Aqaba and the city of Petra to the north. Situated in the wide expanse of the desert, the site provides an ideal location for observing the movement of people and goods over a broad area.

---

<sup>16</sup> I refer to the site as Humayma throughout.

<sup>17</sup> Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming. Based on stratified ceramic and coin evidence from the 1993 season. This was confirmed with more extensive excavation of the internal structures in 1995 and 1996.

<sup>18</sup> The Nabataeans had already solved the problem of water supply with their construction of an extensive water collection system. The construction of dams, cisterns and an aqueduct may have been undertaken by the King Aretas III to foster sedentarization in the area. For discussion of the founding of Nabataean Hawar and the extent and character of the Nabataean water collection systems see Eadie & Oleson 1986; Oleson et al. 1993; Reeves 1996.



**Figure 2. Humayma Site Plan.** Structures contemporary with the fort (2-4<sup>th</sup> century) include: E122, E125, E077 and A127. The churches date to the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the Qasr and mosque to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century.

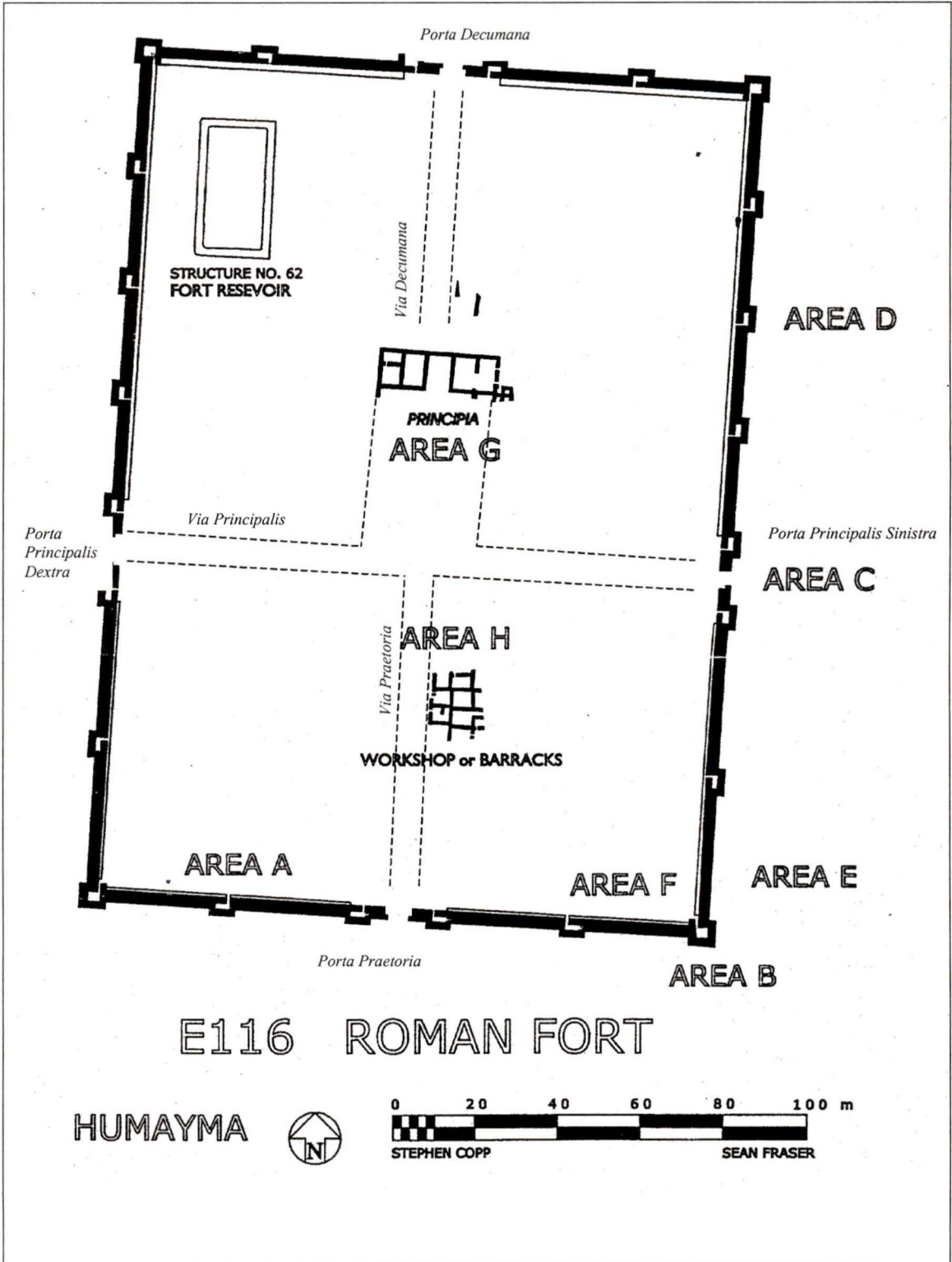


Figure 3. The Fort. The dotted lines indicate roads and possible wall lines. (Adapted from Copp & Fraser.)

### III. Archaeological Context

The fort at Humayma is situated on a slight elevation outside and to the north-east of the existing habitation area—separated from the civilian activities but close enough for surveillance of the population (Fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> It was an imposing structure in relation to the other structures at the site. Archaeological evidence indicates that at the time of the fort's construction, the existing Nabataean settlement was probably a mix of settled and nomadic people and may have consisted of a few stone houses and a campground for tents. Other structures related to the fort include a possible watchtower (structure A127 in Fig. 2) south-east of the habitation area, which may be contemporary with the fort, and a later bath building (structure E077) situated among some domestic structures, 100 m south-west of the fort.<sup>20</sup> The fort and watchtower lie on the eastern perimeter of the site and may have been separated from the habitation area by the *Via Nova*, which most likely passed by the west side of the fort.<sup>21</sup>

It is unknown what unit was stationed at the fort in the second and third centuries. The fort may have been garrisoned initially by a vexillation of *legio III Cyrenaica*, which was later replaced with an indigenous unit sometime before the end of the fourth century.<sup>22</sup> The *Notitia Dignitatum* (Oriens 34.25) records a unit of *equites sagittarii*

---

<sup>19</sup> cf. Oleson 1999: forthcoming.

<sup>20</sup> For an analysis and interpretation of the bath building see Oleson 1990, Reeves 1996, and Reeves and Oleson 1997. Initial excavation of the watchtower was undertaken in 1998.

<sup>21</sup> Oleson, personal communication, October 1999.

<sup>22</sup> There is, however, no direct evidence for this except that a unit of III Cyrenaica was stationed at Petra and there is scattered evidence for this legion throughout the province. The conjecture about the garrisoning of Humayma is based partly on a similar situation at Bu Njem in North Africa where a vexillation of *legio III Augusta* first garrisoned the fort in A.C. 201, and was later replaced by a *numerus collatus* (Adams 1999: 109).

*indigenae* at Humayma in 395. Numismatic evidence suggests that occupation of the fort was interrupted for a few decades in the late third century during Diocletian's reorganisation of the province.<sup>23</sup> Re-occupation of the fort is associated with a second phase of construction during the reign of Constantine (307-337), and by the end of the fourth century the fort was finally abandoned.<sup>24</sup>

The fort at Humayma has all the structural elements typical of a Roman fort (Fig. 3). It is surrounded by an enclosure wall and contains internal structures for administration, habitation, industry, and a water supply, thereby allowing for the creation of a self-contained community with many of the attributes of a city. Josephus states that an improvised city with markets, temples, and seats of judgement springs up wherever a Roman camp is built (*B.J.* 3.5.2). The size, layout and construction of Roman forts vary considerably. While it is difficult to identify a traditional or standard plan for Roman fort design, the fort at Humayma has the rectangular shape typical of many first and second century auxiliary forts.<sup>25</sup> There is a gate in each of the four walls, and square towers project from each corner, flank each gate and are located at regular intervals in between.<sup>26</sup> The east and west gates are located south of the centre of their respective walls.<sup>27</sup> The

---

<sup>23</sup> Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> For examples of fort design see Johnson 1983; Lander 1984; Parker 1995; Gregory 1995.

<sup>26</sup> Rounded corners and internal towers are often associated with this "playing card" shaped fort in the western provinces, and the square projecting towers may reflect local building technique. Gregory 1995 & Lander 1984 have suggested that the square towers reflect Nabataean or Hellenistic building practice. For a discussion of tower typology in eastern forts see Gregory 1995. For a typology of forts in Jordan see Parker 1995 and Fiema 1995.

<sup>27</sup> The east and west gates may have been shifted to the south to accommodate the *principia* complex in the centre of the fort. This off-centre arrangement is not untypical for rectangular auxiliary forts of the first and second century. See Johnson 1983: 35; Lander 1984: 30-66.

Humayma fort constitutes an early example of the use of square, projecting towers in fort design.<sup>28</sup> Measuring 206.32 x 148.32 m (500 x 700 Roman feet) and covering 3.0 ha, it is the largest auxiliary fort and the earliest known fort of any type in Jordan.<sup>29</sup> It could easily have accommodated a typical auxiliary unit of 480 men.<sup>30</sup>

The internal structures of the fort have not been completely delineated. The area inside the fort is divided into four quadrants that are created by the intersecting east-west and north-south roads leading from each gate. Part of the major north-south road, the *via praetoria*, was excavated in 1995. Excavation in the fort in 1995 and 1996 delineated the *principia*, or headquarters, in the central portion of the camp, and a barracks and workshop area were partially excavated in the forward portion.<sup>31</sup> A combination of barracks and workshops could be expected behind the *principia*.<sup>32</sup> Pseudo-Hyginus (*de Munitionibus Castrorum* 4, 14, 17) describes the internal lay-out of the military camp as arranged in three sections: the forward section (*praetentura*) for barracks, workshops, storebuildings or stables; the central section (*latera praetorii*) for camp headquarters, the commander's residence (*praetorium*) and granaries; and an area behind the *principia*

---

<sup>28</sup> Square projecting towers have been associated with third and fourth century forts. See, for example, S. Johnson 1983: 27; Lander 1984: 301; Kennedy & Riley 1990: 147; Gregory 1995: 167. However, the 3rd century fort at Bu Njem in Libya (Tripolitania) is the typical playing card shape with rounded corners. For Bu Njem see Rebuffat 1989 and Mattingly 1995: 95-97.

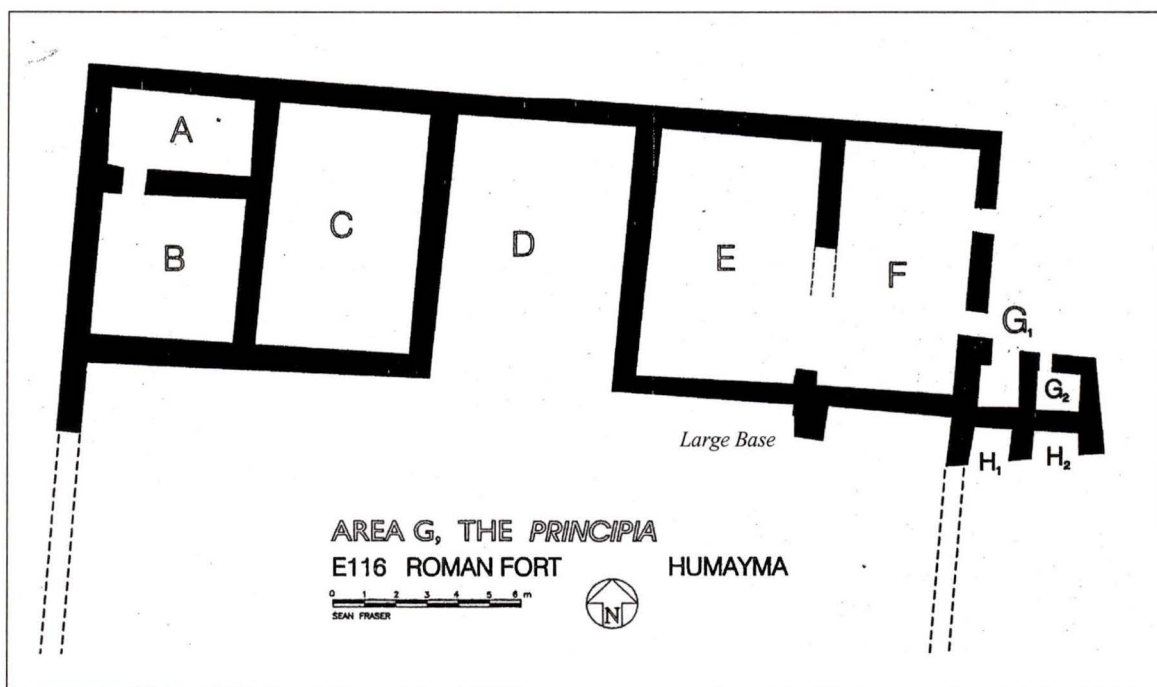
<sup>29</sup> Parker 1995: 255.

<sup>30</sup> Parker 1995: 255. This level of occupation is feasible even in the desert environment due to the water-collection system developed by the original Nabataean settlers. Oleson has calculated that the site as a whole could have supported 654 people and their livestock. See Oleson 1997 for sustainability of water resources and food sources.

<sup>31</sup> Since the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Oriens* 34.25) records the presence of a unit of *equites sagittarii indigenae* in the fourth century, stables for horses or camels would also be expected. The stables were probably in the forward section, downwind and downhill from the rest of the camp.

<sup>32</sup> Excavation to the north of the *principia* in 1995 and 1996 revealed significant deposits of slag, bone, seashell and pottery suggesting that *fabricae* were located here.

(*retentura*) for remaining barracks or work facilities.<sup>33</sup> While many Roman forts were laid out in this fashion,<sup>34</sup> there are just as many variations to the plan outlined by Hyginus.<sup>35</sup> It is tempting to assume that the structures in the Humayma fort were laid out in the typical "tripartite" plan, but there has not yet been sufficient excavation to determine the actual form and layout of the internal structures.



**Figure 4. The Principia.** Dotted lines indicate possible wall lines. Room D is the *aedes signorum* or shrine of the standards. A small altar was found in the fill in the middle of Room F. A broken statue base was located in the same room beside the northern doorway. A large statue or column base was located in the portico between Rooms E and F. (Adapted from S. Fraser).

The *principia* lies in the centre of the fort, facing the south gate (*porta praetoria*) and lying on the north edge of the *via principalis* in line with its intersection with the *via praetoria* (Fig. 3). In Phase I occupation (early 2nd - late 3rd century), the *principia* consisted of a row of six rooms 29.42 m long (probably 100 Roman feet) which defined

<sup>33</sup> Johnson 1983: 32-33.

<sup>34</sup> For example Bu Njem, Salveni (S. Johnson 1983: 26). and Chesters (Lander 1984:58).

the north end of a rectangular courtyard (Fig. 4).<sup>36</sup> The east and west-side walls of the *principia* continue south to frame the courtyard and probably served as the outer walls of two north-south colonnades. Column drums found in Phase II (early fourth century) constructions in the *principia* and elsewhere in the fort most likely were "recycled" from their original location in this courtyard.<sup>37</sup> A Nabataean capital, found on the courtyard side of the south wall of Room E, may also have been used in the colonnade. The colonnades probably passed in front of the *principia* façade to form a portico or cross-hall between the courtyard and the main building. The colonnade then turned to the south on each side of the building to frame a courtyard measuring 17.70 x 35.4 m (probably 60 x 120 Roman feet).<sup>38</sup>

Minor modifications to the *principia* were made in Phase II occupation. Stone benches were constructed across the north walls of Rooms E and F along with a bin or cooking area in the northwest corner of Room F. A series of small rooms was added to the east of Room F and the east portico (Rooms G1, G2, H1, H2). Further excavation is needed to determine the function of these rooms, but several basins found in Room G2 and west of Room H1 are more suggestive of agricultural occupations than military activity.<sup>39</sup> The structural remains are also a poorer quality than those of Phase I.

Phase I of the Humayma *principia* consisted of three elements: a peristyle court, entered from the *via principalis*; a portico around three sides of that court; and a range of

<sup>35</sup> For example Newstead, Bewcastle (Johnson 1983: 258, 288) and Valkenburg (Webster 1981: 213).

<sup>36</sup> The courtyard has not yet been excavated.

<sup>37</sup> Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

rooms behind the portico for offices, with a larger central room (room D) which probably served as the *aedes* or shrine for the standards. These three features are common in the *principia* of many eastern forts, for example those at El-Lejjun and Dura Europos, and in forts in North Africa, for example Lambaesis and Bu Njem.<sup>40</sup>

The camp temple or *aedes* often contained statues of the current and some previous emperors, the garrison's altars, and the treasury, in addition to the standards of the unit.<sup>41</sup> Even at a remote site like Humayma, significant effort was expended on the decoration of this room, which not only indicates its importance but also its elevated and ceremonial status. Painted plaster found during the excavation of the *aedes* (Room D) suggests that the upper portion of the walls were richly decorated with geometric and tendril patterns in a palette of red, pink, brown, yellow, light green, black, Egyptian blue, and even with gold leaf detail.<sup>42</sup> The intent may have been to recreate expensive, coloured stone revetment plaques and the overall effect to create a visual and psychological transition from secular to sacred space.<sup>43</sup>

Excavation has not yet revealed the function of the other rooms in the *principia*, but they were probably offices where regimental administration took place (the

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Gregory 1995: fig. 6.8. Rebuffat 1989: 155-67.

<sup>41</sup> Johnson 1983: 112. Vegetius (*Epit. rei milit.* 2.20) recommends that a soldier deposit one-half of his pay at the standard for safekeeping. The deposits were kept in a basket in charge of the standard bearers, the most trustworthy men in the unit.

<sup>42</sup> Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming. Wall painting in Roman forts was not uncommon. Evidence for wall painting appears in the forts of Britain and Germany in the *principia*, the baths and barracks. See Liversidge 1983: 141-56. The *aedes* at el-Lejjun also appears to have been painted (Parker 1988: 216).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

*tabularium legionis* or *tabularium principis*).<sup>44</sup> Military records were extensive and included daily reports, correspondence, roster lists, and pay records.<sup>45</sup> Vegetius tells us that the records of the legion, whether concerning special duties or regular assignments or finance, were written down daily in the record books with great diligence (*Epit. rei milit.* 2.19). One of the rooms in the *principia* at Bu Njem was identified as the *scriptorium* with its writing desk and benches still *in situ*.<sup>46</sup> It is also possible that one room in the Humayma *principia* was set aside as a *schola*—the meeting room of a military *collegium*. Military *collegia*, or associations of *principales* and other soldiers with special duties, existed from the time of Hadrian,<sup>47</sup> and their meeting room was often located in the rear range of rooms in imperial *principia*.<sup>48</sup>

The fort at Humayma is distinctly Roman in plan.<sup>49</sup> The central location of structures related to administrative and religious authority underscores the significance of the activities performed here for the unit. It was in this context of “Romanness” and military administrative and religious authority that three inscribed monuments were found. Two of them, a small altar and broken statue base, both with Greek inscriptions, were recovered in the fill of Room F. The small statue base (Cat. A005) was found

---

<sup>44</sup> Le Bohec 1994: 159.

<sup>45</sup> For examples of military records see Fink 1971; Bowman & Thomas 1994.

<sup>46</sup> Mattingly 1995: 96.

<sup>47</sup> Campbell (1994: 136) notes that evidence for an increase in the number of *collegia* in the reign of Septimius Severus may be misleading, since it is based mainly on inscriptions, most of which come from the legionary camp of *III Augusta* at Lambaesis. More inscriptions may have been set up at this time because of the pay raise that Severus granted the army. Ordinary soldiers were forbidden to associate in *collegia*, presumably because the presence of private clubs inside the military unit was thought to compromise discipline.

<sup>48</sup> Parker 1987: 216.

<sup>49</sup> See n. 26 and 28 regarding the debate on local influence in tower design.

beside a Phase II doorway on the east wall of Room F. The altar (Cat. A004) lay on its side in the rubble fill in the middle of this room. There is no evidence to suggest the type of activity that originally occurred in this room. While there is evidence that *scholae* routinely contained dedications to, and statues of the emperor, and to deities favoured by college members,<sup>50</sup> it is possible that the monuments were not originally located here and may rather have been associated with or housed in the *aedes* or camp shrine (Room D).

In this same area, the third monument, a large stone block with decorative moulding (Cat. A006) was recovered abutting the south wall of Room E, in the area between the back rooms and the colonnade. A two-line inscription in Latin was carved on the south face of the block. The function of this base is not clear, but it may have served as a statue base or speaker's platform. Raised platforms, *tribunalia*, where the commander of the camp addressed the troops and delivered military judgements, were a feature of the military camp.<sup>51</sup> At the fortresses of Dura Europos and el-Lejjun these were located on each end of the cross-hall of the *principia* and were approached by a set of steps.<sup>52</sup> Simple stone platforms, such as one found in the parade ground at Lambaesis, could also serve this purpose.<sup>53</sup>

It is significant that these three inscribed monuments were located in one area, in a

---

<sup>50</sup> von Petrikovits 1975: 73, 145-46 in Parker 1987: 216.

<sup>51</sup> Le Bohec 1992: 159.

<sup>52</sup> Hopkins and Rowell, 1933: 213 for Dura Europos; Parker 1988: 136-138, fig. 4 for el-Lejjun.

<sup>53</sup> Le Bohec 1992: 114. A naturally occurring stone platform found near Wadi el-Hasa about 5 km south of Humayma may have been used as a *suggestus* or speaker's platform for a temporary camp. The stone slab or "platform" bears a Greek graffito Ρωμίοι ἀεὶ νικῶσιν. Λαυρίκιος ἔγραψα Χαίρε Ζένων - "Romans always win. I Lauricius wrote Hail Zenon". See Tanner 1989.

structure and in a settlement where monumental inscriptions are extremely rare.<sup>54</sup> Two fragmentary Greek *dipinti* on ceramics are the only other inscriptions so far recovered from the fort. Inscribed material from the rest of the habitation area is almost non-existent: sections of a marble chancel screen from the fifth-century Lower Church are inscribed in Greek, and a Muse, Κλειώ, is named on a late second or early third century fresco in the domestic structure identified as E125 (Fig. 2).<sup>55</sup> Three small grave stelai from the western necropolis carry one fragmentary Greek and two fragmentary Nabataean inscriptions.<sup>56</sup> Nabataean and Thamudic graffiti have been found scratched into the rock behind Jebel Qalka, just west of the settlement.<sup>57</sup> This site was probably an area of cult activity as the graffiti are associated with some Dushara reliefs carved into the rock in the same area. One of the inscriptions reads: “Peace, BR-TLM, servant of ‘AL-HWR”.<sup>58</sup> These graffiti are typical of the local style, which often consist of nothing more than a brief greeting and a personal name. While the Nabataean inscriptions seem to assert a rural, individualistic and spontaneous character, the Latin and Greek inscriptions are more formal, associated with specific structures and organised space.

Although the corpus of material at Humayma is small, the monuments seem to correspond with the general prevalence of epigraphic remains in Roman military contexts and urban centres between the first and third centuries. In this respect, the inscriptions

---

<sup>54</sup> Woolf 1996: 28 refers to this grouping of monuments in one location as an “epigraphic environment”.

<sup>55</sup> Excavation of the house and analysis of the fresco is ongoing but preliminary findings indicate that the house may have been connected to the fort in some way. See Oleson et al 1999a: forthcoming.

<sup>56</sup> The necropolis is the area of tombs A108-15 on Figure 2. Associated ceramics suggests a first century date for the Nabataean inscription, but the context is not clear.

<sup>57</sup> See Oleson 1999: forthcoming. Graf 1992.

<sup>58</sup> Graf 1992: 70.

may conform with a pattern referred to as the Roman "epigraphic habit".<sup>59</sup> Although individuals in the East, both Greek and native, were less likely to set up inscriptions,<sup>60</sup> some aspects of eastern epigraphic culture seem to conform to western patterns.<sup>61</sup> The monuments also reveal an interchange between Roman and Greek cultures. The use of Greek in a Roman military context where Latin would be expected will be discussed in Chapter Two, but it is worth noting here that the inscriptions bring a public form of writing to the settlement of Humayma which is characteristic of Graeco-Roman society.<sup>62</sup> The inscriptions are significant not only for what they say, but also for their monumentality, that is for their prominence and permanence.<sup>63</sup>

Since the structure where the monuments were located is the administrative and religious centre of the fort, the monuments could be expected have an official purpose and unit-wide significance. Barrett and Woolf argue that the interpretation of a monument depends in part on the location where it is found and the associations and significances attached to this space.<sup>64</sup> The arrangement of the monuments in space also determines who will see them, which in turn affects interpretation. Since the dedications were erected in the centre of the camp, they would likely be visible to the whole unit

---

<sup>59</sup> MacMullen 1982: 238. Meyer 1990. Woolf 1996: 22. The tendency to set up inscriptions changed over time. There was an initial increase in epigraphy in the first century, reaching a peak in the second century and early third century followed by a sudden decline in the middle and end of the third century. Inscriptions in fourth century are much less common and, according to Woolf, are significantly different in form, style and genre. This decline may explain the complete lack of inscriptional evidence from the later Roman fortress at el-Lejjun.

<sup>60</sup> MacMullen 1982: 239.

<sup>61</sup> Greek epigraphy also increases in the Augustan period, reaches a peak in the late second and early third century peak, and is connected with urbanism (Woolf 1996: 38).

<sup>62</sup> Drijvers 1997: 167.

<sup>63</sup> Woolf 1996: 27. Barrett 1993: 238.

whenever the unit gathered in the courtyard for parades or formations. We can, therefore, understand something of the nature and status of the monuments from their location in the camp. Woolf states that the “format and location of an inscription might be said to constitute a claim to authority by association and an assertion of conformity with the accepted norms”.<sup>65</sup> Even for the illiterate the monuments would possess an authority and meaning through their location and their presentation.<sup>66</sup>

The entities to whom these monuments were dedicated and the form in which they are presented express something of Roman military culture. The monuments indicate that certain gods or political figures were important to the army and significant enough to warrant the expense of a monumental dedication. It is now necessary to examine the dedications in detail to understand what the inscriptions say and to determine what significance the soldier and the unit may have attached to the individual monuments and to the monuments collectively.

#### **IV. The Monuments - Physical Dimensions and Text**

##### **Altar**

The altar found in Room F of the *principia* was carved from local rose-coloured sandstone in a quadrangular shape that is common throughout the region. The altar measures 0.59 m in height, and 0.27 x 0.28 m in width and depth at the base and crown, and 0.23 x 0.23 m at the body. The crown and base have identical measurements, 0.15 high x 0.27 m wide, and are unembellished apart from the chamfer that divides the base

---

<sup>64</sup> Woolf 1996: 22-28. Barrett 1993: 237-38.

<sup>65</sup> Woolf 1996: 28.

<sup>66</sup> Woolf 1996: 28.

and crown from the body (Plate 1 and 2). A four or five line Greek inscription was carved on the body of the monument (Plate 5), and a bowl shaped depression was carved into the upper surface. The size of the altar and the bowl shaped depression suggest that it was used for small bloodless offerings such as incense or libations.<sup>67</sup> There are, however, no signs of carbon or burn marks in the depression, nor any other signs of discoloration that would indicate its original use.



**Plate 1. The Humayma altar in side view showing circular depression for offerings.** (photo B. Fisher).



**Plate 2. The Humayma Altar - Front view.** (photo B. Fisher).

Votive altars in this simple quadrangular shape are considered by some to be a “common Roman type”.<sup>68</sup> The altar shape commonly comprises a wider cornice and base with a narrower body on which a relief or dedication may appear. The form of the Humayma altar is the same as altars from throughout the empire, but the design detail of the Humayma material may reflect a local decorative style. The squareness of the altar

---

<sup>67</sup> Altars and their function will be discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>68</sup> Parr 1957: 13-14. Kloner and Hubsch 1996 also state that an altar from Bet Guvrin in Israel, with similar dimensions to the Humayma altar, is a “well-known second-third century type”. It should be noted that dating based on appearance and “type” is used cautiously. See also Derks 1998: 221 for a description of small Roman altars from Gaul.

and the lack of decoration are reminiscent of the unadorned rectangular stone blocks that represented the Nabataean god Dushara (Plate 3).<sup>69</sup> Patrich states that an abstract trend is characteristic of Nabataean creativity and reflects the “spirit of the desert environment”.<sup>70</sup>



**Plate 3.** Dushara representations in cult niche from the Siq at Petra. (photo B. Fisher)



**Plate 4.** Nabataean altar carved into the rock at Petra. (photo B. Fisher)

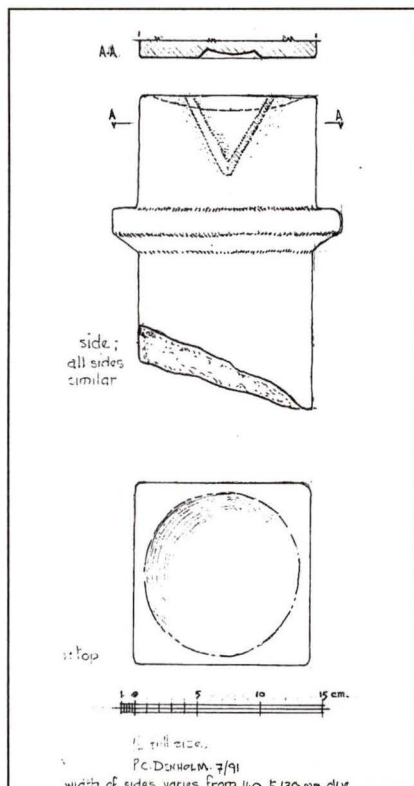
Nabataean altars, in contrast to the Dushara representations, are more embellished and commonly have “horns” or peaks at each corner of the crown (Plate 4). Two such altars were found in secondary use in the B100 area of the site. One altar is square (0.14-0.13 m wide) with a decorative moulding 0.09 m below the crown (Fig. 5). This altar is almost half the width and depth of the military altar, but its full size is not known as it was found broken and incomplete.<sup>71</sup> The other altar from the B100 area is more embellished, with a garland-like relief extending down the sides, three decorative, moulded bands below the crown, and the face of a goddess in relief on one side (Fig. 6).

<sup>69</sup> For a discussion of Nabataean religion and cult objects see Patrich 1990; Hammond 1973; Glueck 1965 among others.

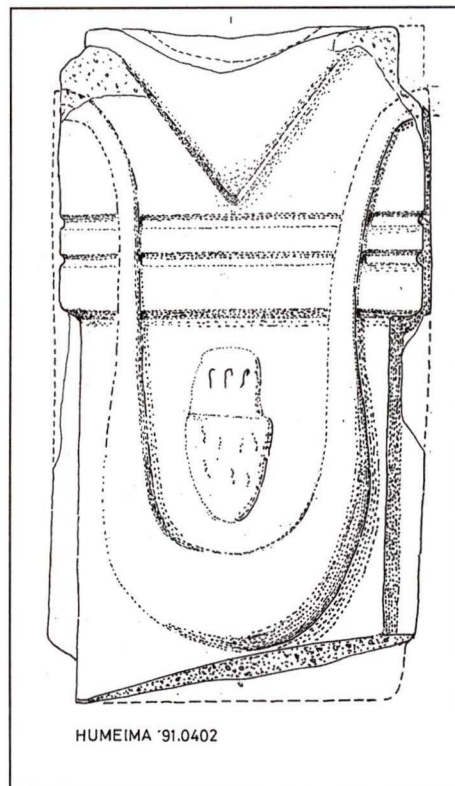
<sup>70</sup> Patrich 1990: 115. Patrich notes that original Nabataean creativity is reflected in this non-figurative style. Figurative motifs do appear but represent influences from Western Graeco-Roman cultures or the Eastern styles of the Jordanian plateau and the Hauran.

<sup>71</sup> Nabataean altars with a similar appearance, however, are represented in rock carvings at Petra, and are

Both altars are carved with a 'V' shape on each side of the crown to create “horns” or peaks at each corner. A bowl-shaped depression is carved into the upper surface of each monument.



**Figure 5. Nabataean Altar.**  
Found in secondary use in the  
B100 area. (P. Denholm)



**Figure 6. Nabataean Altar with relief.** Found in secondary use in the  
B100 area. (P. Denholm)

There is little similarity between the design of the two Nabataean altars and the military altar apart from the depression on the top. The military altar, in fact, seems most similar to the plain style of the Dushara blocks. While it is difficult to ascertain whether the military altar reflects the representational style of the Dushara block, it is not inconceivable that it reflects the abstract trend to which Patrich refers.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, the

---

almost twice as tall as they are wide (Patrich 1990: 92).

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

simple style of the military altar may suggest that a lack of expertise or time was used for its preparation and that the design was dictated by needs of expediency and function.

While there may or may not be similarities in the shape of the Roman and Nabataean monuments, a prominent distinction between the two cultural styles lies in the four or five line Greek inscription engraved on the body of the military altar (Plate 5). The letters of the inscription are incised shallowly, and the letter size, shape, and spacing are inconsistent. The text height is 0.14 m and the average letter height is 0.02 m. Red pigment was still visible in the letters when the altar was excavated. Four lines of text are visible, but close examination of the altar shows possible traces of a fifth line. This last line of text, if it originally existed, has been almost completely lost to erosion or other damage. Lines three and four are also damaged, and many letters are unreadable. The character of the letters, all upper case, is similar to the Round Alphabet style described in Wells' chronology of scripts from Gerasa.<sup>73</sup> The Round Alphabet of Gerasa is named, in part, for the round  $\omega$  shape for the omega and a  $C$  shape for sigma.

---

<sup>73</sup> Wells 1934: 355-68. The quantity of datable inscriptions at Gerasa has enabled a chronology of letter styles. Wells states that, at Gerasa, there was a marked preference for rounded forms in the second century. However, dating on the basis of letters forms is used cautiously. Woodhead (1981: 62) states that fashions in letter-forms as a means of dating is best left as a "final refuge".

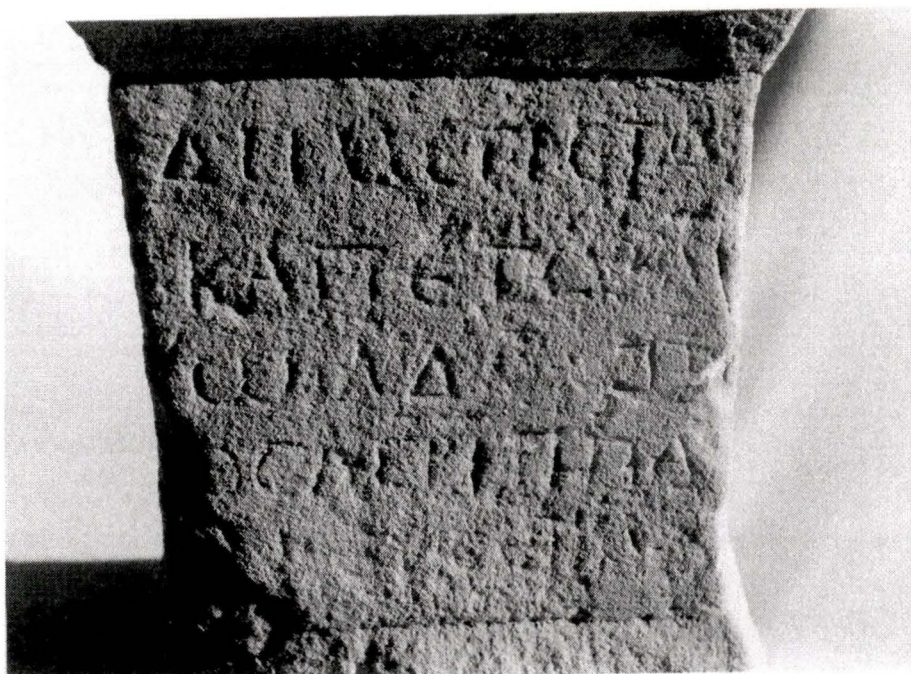


Plate 5. Altar showing text detail. (photo C. Mundigler)

Line one is distinct and immediately readable. The inscription begins with the name and title of the deity in the dative case, a typical beginning for a dedicatory inscription: Δι̅ Μεγίστω “To the Greatest Zeus.” There are no spaces between the two words which are completed at the end of the line. The omega at the end of line one is much smaller than the other letters, apparently in order to fit the available space.

Line two is also relatively distinct except for the end of the line where possibly two letters have been lost to erosion. The word begins Καπετω... and seems to form the beginning of the noun or adjective Καπετώ[λιος] “Kapitolios”. There is enough room at the end of line two for the letters Λ and Ι. The text of an inscription does not have to be constrained by the size of the stone, and inscriptions routinely wrapped words from one line to the next.<sup>74</sup> If the ω at the beginning of the next line is taken with the Καπετω[λι]

---

<sup>74</sup> For example Cat. A001, A002, A015 etc.

from line two, the dative case  $\text{Καπετω[λί]ω}$  would be formed. This word would then form part of the dedicatory formula as an epithet further defining  $\text{Ζεῦς Μεγίστος: Δὶ Μεγίστῳ Καπετω[λί]ῳ}$  “To the Greatest Zeus Kapitolios”.<sup>75</sup>

Line three offers challenges to interpretation, as much of the line has been lost to erosion. The letter following  $\omega$  should be the start of the next word, and  $\text{H}$  or  $\text{I}$  is a possibility here, although this is not distinct and  $\text{H}$  would have to be reduced in size to fit the available space, as occurs with  $\omega$  at the end of line one. The next letter is either  $\Lambda$  or  $\text{A}$ , but is most likely the former since there is no indication of a cross bar for  $\text{A}$ . The next letter is a distinct  $\Delta$ , but there is the suggestion of an  $\text{I}$  between  $\Lambda$  and  $\Delta$ . This does not seem likely since other examples of  $\text{I}$  in the inscription are incised deeply and are very distinct. In addition, the spacing between the letters would remain consistent with lines one and two if  $\text{I}$  is not incorporated in the text. The next word after  $\text{Καπετω[λί]ω}$  may then begin:  $\text{I}\Lambda\Delta$  or  $\text{H}\Lambda\Delta$ .

The following two or three letters have been lost completely to erosion and the last two letters in line three are not clear. The second to last letter is particularly curious because it has the distinct vertical line of  $\text{I}$ , but also horizontal bars on the top and bottom of the letter creating an unfinished rectangle shape. This shape does not correspond to any Greek or Nabataean character, and indeed may be due to extraneous markings from damage or erosion. Possible readings for the last two letters are  $\text{I T}$  or  $\text{II}$ .

Line four contains letters that are fairly distinct but do not form an immediately recognisable word. The line begins with letters  $\text{O}$  and  $\text{C}$ , which are both distinct. The

---

<sup>75</sup> See Chapter Two for a discussion of this title.

next letter is somewhat obscured, and Λ, A, AN or ΛN are possible interpretations, but Λ seems the most probable as the shape seems to be most similar to the Λ in line three. The next letters are relatively clear. There is a ligature between T and P and between H P and possibly I at the end of the line. *Tau* could be read as a Γ or T. The line ends with a final A. The stone is degraded on the right side and many letters may be missing on this portion of the stone.

The following are possible combinations of these letters based on different interpretations of their forms:

- a) OCANETPITHPIA – οσανετριτηρια
- b) OCANETPIGHPIA – οσανετριγηρια
- c) OCΛNETPITHPIA – οσλνετριτηρια
- d) OCΛNETPIGHPIA – οσλνετριγηρια
- e) OCNETPITHPIA – οσνετριτηρια
- f) OCNETPIGHPIA – οσνετριγηρια
- g) OCΛETPITHPIA – οσλετριτηρια
- h) OCΛETPIGHPIA – οσλετριγηρια

None of these combinations makes sense as one word. It is possible that the line is composed of one or more words that would have been completed by letters from the previous or subsequent lines. The letters –OC at the beginning of the line could form the ending of a nominative masculine noun or adjective from line three. The name of the dedicator, either an individual or the unit, would appear in the nominative somewhere in the inscription, and the -ος would accord with an ending in the masculine nominative case. Abbreviations are also not uncommon in inscriptions and this may account for the

obscurity of some of the letter combinations. Combinations a), c), e), and h) reveal τρίτη in the middle of the line, which could indicate the number three, possibly the unit number of the garrison. The letters between -OC and TPITH may be an abbreviation, and the remaining letters in the line, PIA, may form part of a word that continues on a fifth line. There is space for a fifth line of text and the surface of the stone is roughened here, but any text inscribed there has been completely lost to erosion.

The text may be reconstructed as follows (see Appendix I for inscription notation):

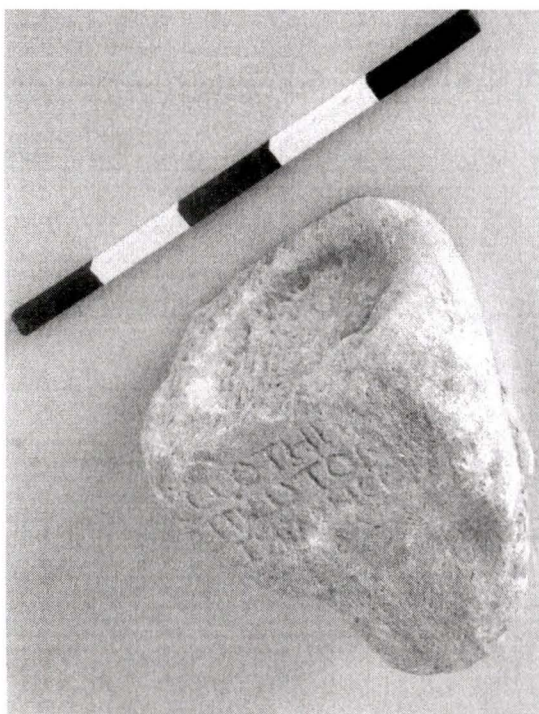
Line 1:        Δ Ι Ι Μ Ε Γ Ι C T Ω  
 Line 2:        Κ Α Π Ε Τ Ω [Λ Ι]  
 Line 3:        Ω Η Λ Δ Ω . . . ? Τ  
 Line 4:        Ο C Λ Ε Τ Ρ Ι Τ Η Ρ Ι Α  
 Line 5:        . . . . .

### **Small Statue Base**

Although broken, the surviving portion of the statue base has the same dimensions as the altar, and the two may have formed a set (Plate 6). The base is made from local white sandstone, and survives to a height of 0.35 m. The lower portion of the base is missing. The crown measures 0.29 x 0.29 m. The upper surface is carved in a circular, steep sided, shallow recess (diameter 0.19; depth 0.03), most likely to accommodate the base of a statue of a political or religious figure. The statue base is in very poor condition, and most of the surfaces are badly damaged. The centre portion of the inscribed face is smooth, and the letters in this area are relatively distinct. The

undamaged, smooth surface suggests that this portion of the block was protected in its secondary use and that during the period of original use the monument was protected from the elements, perhaps set up indoors. The altar, on the other hand, appears to have been eroded more evenly, which could indicate that it was set up outside and exposed to the elements.

Three lines of text survive on one side of the upper fascia. Additional text may have appeared originally on the other three fasciae, or on the body. The letters were cut with a firmer hand and more deeply incised than those on the altar. The letters are in the same round style as the altar text (height 0.02 m) and show consistent spacing, size, and shape. The uniform shape and deep incision of the letters may indicate that the inscription was carved by a more experienced engraver or may be due to the nature of the stone or lack of erosion.



**Plate 6. Statue Base showing circular recess.** The missing text seems to be lost because of re-working of the stone. (Photo C. Mundigler).

The letters in line one are distinct except for two possible missing letters at the end of the line. All the letters toward the right edge of the inscribed face have been lost to mechanical damage or erosion, but the beginnings of the lines appear complete. The word σωτήρ is immediately readable. There is a ligature between C and ω and there may be a ligature between P and the possible I. These letters would accord with σωτηρίας and may form part of the very common formula: ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας - “for the safety (of)...”.<sup>76</sup> There is adequate space at the end of the line for the two additional letters ας.

Line two is also distinct except for the second letter and possibly two letters at the end of the line. Close examination shows a ligature between the initial Π and the following, indistinct P. There is some erosion on the third letter, ω, but it seems generally to be the same as the *omega* in line one. A distinct T O and a possible N follow *omega*. While only the initial vertical line of the N is clear, it would provide a sensible translation. A possibility for this word is a declension of the ordinal πρώτος “first”. There is room for one or two more letters after N at the damaged end of the block. It is also possible that either line one or two refer to a personal name and these possibilities will be discussed in Chapter Two.

Line three is not well preserved. The letters that are distinct, T H . A . E , and a possible Θ would accord with τὴν ἀνέθηκεν – “dedicated the...”. Dedications typically end with a final verb and ἀνέθηκεν, which is well attested, would make sense here.<sup>77</sup>

The surviving text may be restored as follows:

---

<sup>76</sup> See Chapter Two for a discussion of this interpretation.

Line 1.        C Ω T H P I [A C]  
 Line 2.        Π [P] Ω T O [N] .  
 Line 3.        T H [N A] N E Θ [K E N ]

### Large Base or Platform



**Plate 7. Inscribed Statue Base.** A two line Latin inscription appears on the forward face above the moulding. (Photo J. Oleson)

The large platform, statue or column base was installed flush against the south façade of the *principia*, on line with the shared wall between Rooms E and F. The base measures 0.90 x 0.76 x 0.46 m high, has decorative projecting lower cavetto moulding, and is set up on two reused blocks with Nabataean dressing (Plate 7). The inscribed block itself is probably a re-used Nabataean column or pilaster base.<sup>78</sup> Nabataean architectural members were frequently re-used in post Nabataean structures at the site. These remains suggest that a significant Nabataean structure pre-dated Roman occupation at Humayma, but evidence for a building of this type has yet to be located.<sup>79</sup> A two-line inscription in tall, narrow letters (H 0.05 m) was cut in the south face of the base (Plate

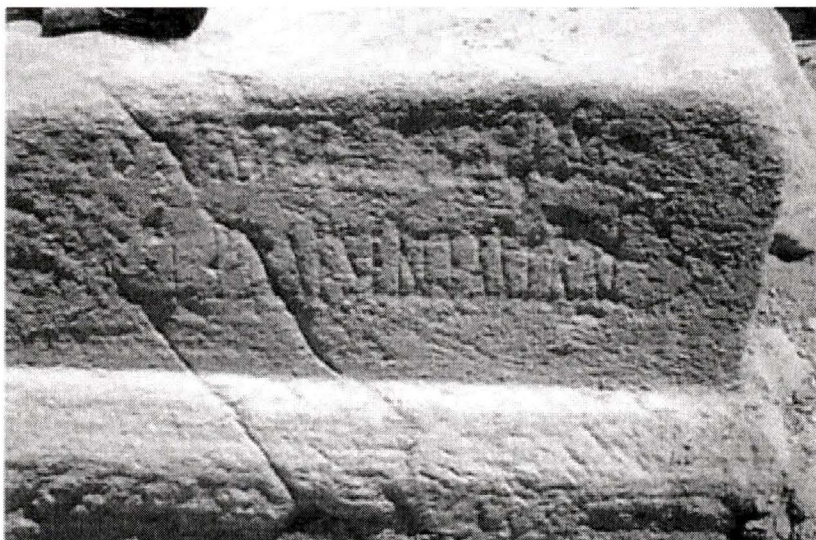
<sup>77</sup> See Appendix I for examples and Chapter Two for discussion.

<sup>78</sup> Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming.

<sup>79</sup> Oleson, personal communication, October 1999.

8). The first line (length 0.34) is completely effaced by weathering or mechanical damage, and only the middle portion of the second line (length 0.43 m) could be partially deciphered:

..]PRAESENEMP[...]RAT...



**Plate 8. Large Base showing text detail.** (photo J. Oleson)

Latin inscriptions often contain abbreviations and this may be the case here. While *praef* for *praefectus* (commander) would accord with the context of the inscription, it is clear that the inscription contains *S* and not *F*. The letters may form the first part of *praeses*, the Latin word for governor, which would make sense in the context that the military unit was an agent for imperial governance and provincial administration. The following letters ENEM and a possible P, may also be abbreviations but their meaning is puzzling. If we read IMP instead of EMP we would have the abbreviation for *Imperator* or *Imperatoris*. This interpretation does not account for the preceding letters EN, which may go with the preceding letters to form *praesen*. The feasibility of these variations will be discussed in Chapter Two.

Honorific inscriptions often contain a verb, in which case RAT would fit if taken

as the ending of a verb such as *honorat* (honour) or *poterat* (was able). However, there does not seem to be enough space before these letters to accommodate the first portion of these words. RAT may rather form the beginning of a word such as *ratio* (office or business) or *rationalis* (reasonable). Since the letters are so indistinct it might also be possible to read RAB rather than RAT, which would correspond with the name of the province Arabia, and would make the most logical sense. The letters could also form the middle of a word such as *Imperator* or *procurator*, although the latter would not fit the available space.

## **V. Conclusion**

The monuments from the *principia* of the Roman fort at Humayma are associated with central structures in the unit. The monuments were located in organised space and assert relationships with the gods and rulers, either the emperor or the governor. To understand the nature of the relationships alluded to in this initial examination, and to determine if the monuments are connected by something greater than their context, it is now necessary to examine the monuments in more detail.

## Chapter Two

### Interpretation

#### I. Method

I have used a comparative approach to reconstruct and translate the Humayma inscriptions in order to determine which gods or individuals the soldiers at Humayma worshipped and commemorated. I have catalogued and examined the available evidence for similarities in text, physical dimensions, characteristics of lettering, date, and context in order to inform our understanding of these monuments. I have limited my search to the geographical region of modern Jordan, Syria, Israel and the northern portion of the Arabian peninsula but have included material from other provinces of the Roman empire if the monuments constituted a particularly striking parallel for the Humayma dedications.

The Catalogue of Selected Inscriptions that accompanies this thesis (Appendix I) includes all inscriptions that mention gods and soldiers within the geographic region under study. The formula ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, however, is found so routinely that I limited my selection of monuments with this phrase to inscriptions dedicated by soldiers and which seemed most similar to the Humayma base. The quantity of material collected is large as my intent was to find immediate parallels for the existing monuments as well as parallels for any future material that may come to light from the fort at Humayma. I was also looking for evidence for the gods favoured by soldiers in Arabia to determine if the personal devotion of individual soldiers was related to the gods worshipped by the military as a Roman institution. How the Humayma material relates to general religious practice in the military and the personal devotion of soldiers in Arabia will be discussed in Chapter Three.

A major difficulty in dealing with the inscriptional evidence was the lack of information about the monuments as a whole. Inscriptions have often been considered important for their text alone, and their original context, dimensions of the monument, characteristics of lettering, and indications of original use, have often not been recorded.

Epigraphic material of any type is particularly scarce in the Roman forts in Jordan, which is an interesting fact in its own right.<sup>1</sup> The fourth century legionary fort at el-Lejjun revealed no inscriptions whatsoever, the fort at Udruh has produced one non-military inscription, and seven inscriptions have been found at Aqaba, the base of *legio X Fretensis*, but these are not connected to a known fortification.<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions from the fort at Humayma are the only known dedications in Roman Arabia directly associated with the religious activity of a military unit. Although fragmentary, they constitute important evidence for the religious life of the soldier and the camp in the early years of *Provincia Arabia*.

## II. Altar - Function & Purpose

Small altars like the Humayma monument are found throughout the empire in a variety of sizes, shapes, and decoration. While the particular purpose of the Humayma altar is not clear, this type of monument was a common feature of Roman religious practice. Small altars were originally adjuncts to the ritual of sacrifice in Roman religion: they were dedicated to particular deities and used for burning incense and depositing

---

<sup>1</sup> See Section V.

<sup>2</sup> See Isaac: 1998b for a review of the most recent collection of inscriptions (*IGLS XXI* vol. 14) from Jordan. While inscriptions are rare in the forts of Jordan, the evidence from the urban centres of Petra, Gerasa, Amman, and Bostra is abundant.

bloodless offerings.<sup>3</sup> The depression on the top of the altar could serve as a *focus* or hearth in which sacrificial objects were burnt.<sup>4</sup> Inscribed altars combined elements of sacrifice and prayer, both of which served as methods for approaching and communicating with the gods. The inscriptions in the attached catalogue indicate that altars were erected as general dedications or to fulfil a vow made previously to a god. An altar that was erected as a dedication or gift was an invocation to a specific deity for its general governance or to obtain allegiance in a particular project or ideal.<sup>5</sup> Votive altars, in contrast, were set up to complete a contract that was established between the dedicator and a god. The contract was a *votum*, or promise, to give something to the god in return for the granting of a particular wish or prayer.<sup>6</sup> Whether votive (for completion of an agreement), or dedicatory (to call the presence of the god for general protection), the Humayma altar would have been set up to establish a relationship between the god named on the altar and the group or individual dedicator. Given the location of the Humayma altar in the *principia*, this dedicator was either the entire garrison stationed in the fort, or an officer of the unit.

Altar inscriptions are often very short and use a formulaic style that is characteristic of ritual communication with the gods.<sup>7</sup> The formula includes the name of the deity in the dative case, the name of the dedicator and a verb indicating the act of

---

<sup>3</sup> de la Bédoyère 1989: 153.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Barrett 1993: 236.

<sup>6</sup> Ogilvie 1986: 37.

<sup>7</sup> Woolf 1996: 27. For the formulaic nature of prayer see Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.9.7,8; Cato the Elder, *de Agr.* 139, 140; Cattulus, 34. For precision in ritual see Pliny *NH* XIII, 10 and Cicero *de H. R.* 23 in North 1976: 2.

dedication.<sup>8</sup> Particular aspects of the deity could also be included in the dedication, either a quality, an attribute or a place of residence. These epithets varied according to the needs of the dedicator. Common epithets for Zeus in Near East inscriptions are Ζεὺς Ἐπικόος (Zeus who listens), Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος (Zeus of the Thunderbolt), or Ζεὺς Κυρίος (Lord Zeus). Inscriptions often identify the dedicator with similar precision, involving a combination of name, family, occupation, or residence: *L(ucius) Velinna Firmus (centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae)* (Lucius Velinna Firmus, centurion of the Third Cyrenaican Legion),<sup>9</sup> Διομήδης Χάρητος ἑπαρχὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς Βατανάϊας (Diomedes Charetos, commander and soldier of Batanaea).<sup>10</sup> The act of dedication is described by such verbs as ἀνέθηκεν (dedicated), ἐποίησεν (made), ἀνέστησεν (set up), or *solvit* (released). The act of dedication could, additionally, be described by a formulaic phrase indicating the nature of the contract, such as εὐχὴν (following a prayer), ἐξ ἑπαγγελίας (on account of a promise), *votum solvit libens merito* (he/she discharged the vow willingly and deservedly). The inscription on the Humayma monument could be expected to follow some of these patterns.

### **Parallels - Physical Characteristics**

The basic shape and appearance of the Humayma altar are common to monuments throughout the Near East. This style consists of a simple rectangular shape, broad upper and lower fascia, and a lack of decorative moulding apart from a simple chamfer dividing

---

<sup>8</sup> Woodhead 1981: 41. Variations in this type of inscription do occur. The verb may be omitted altogether and the name of the deity may appear in the genitive case, or, in rare instances, in the nominative.

<sup>9</sup> Cat. A022.

the base and crown from the body. Examples in the evidence examined have been found in Arabia, Judaea, Syria, and Lower Moesia.<sup>11</sup> While similarities exist between these examples, close examination of the monuments reveals that each one has unique variations of these features. The dedications vary in height, width, and size of chamfer as well as in their physical context and the language of the inscription. Nevertheless, a very striking parallel to our dedication is found within the geographical region of Humayma. A small incense altar from Petra, measuring 0.3 m wide x 0.6 m high, is very close to the Humayma monument in size and design (Plate 9).<sup>12</sup> The broad lower fascia and small chamfer, which marks the division between the base and the inscribed body, is similar to the form of the Humayma altar. Although the crown of the Petra altar appears to have narrow projecting moulding just above the body and a relief carved above this moulding on the upper fascia, the general form is consistent with the Humayma altar. According to the excavator, the Petra altar was dedicated by a Roman soldier to the “Holy God who listens” and dates to the first or second century.<sup>13</sup> The layout and format of the five-line inscription, carved on the body of the altar, also resembles the Humayma inscription. The letter style shares some of the rounded characteristics of the Humayma text, but has square forms for M and E and more resembles the Gerasa Monumental Alphabet of the mid-second century.<sup>14</sup> The Petra altar may be contemporary with the Humayma monument.

---

<sup>10</sup> Cat. A057.

<sup>11</sup> For example: Cat. A007, B001, C014, C024, D001, D004.

<sup>12</sup> Cat. A007.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* Θέω Ἄγιω ἐπικόω Οὐικτρίνος βφ εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν.



**Plate 9.** Altar from Petra dedicated to the “Holy God who listens” by a Roman soldier, Victorinus. The simple square shape and text layout is similar to the Humayma altar. (Adapted from Zayadine 1981: 416, pl. C.)

Both the Petra monument and the military altar at Humayma are distinguished from the Nabataean altars found at the site by the lack of carved “horns” at the crown. It is also significant that the Nabataean altars are not inscribed. Although the text is Greek, the Petra monument has a specifically military character: it was set up by a Roman soldier, a *beneficiarius*, with a Latin name Victorinus. The altar design and the type of inscription may then reflect a military or Roman influence.<sup>15</sup> It should also be noted that this dedication to a local god is suggestive evidence for the integration of the military in local cult practice.

---

<sup>14</sup> Wells 1938: 361.

<sup>15</sup> Soldiers often indicated their military status on monuments, even *veterani* who had retired from service. It is known that a detachment of *legio III Cyrenaica* was based at Petra for some time (Issac 1998: 336) and perhaps the dedicator, Victorinus, was posted with this unit. Since the altar is associated with the sanctuary of Zeus-Dusares at Umm el-Biyara, the dedication may express a private concern or a desire to honour a local god that was unconnected with his military responsibilities. For Umm el-Biyara see Bennett 1980: 280-81, Glueck 1965: 43.

## Parallels - Inscription

Although decipherment of the inscription on the Humayma altar presents problems, the monument clearly was dedicated to Ζεὺς Μεγίστος, the Greatest Zeus. Dedications to Ζεὺς Μεγίστος are well attested in the Near East and are evidence of the strong Hellenistic heritage in this area. Ζεὺς Μεγίστος often represented a Hellenised version of the Syrian supreme sky and weather gods, Baalshamin and Hadad.<sup>16</sup> This process of adaptation or translation of the Semitic gods took place during the period of Hellenistic rule. Antiochus IV, in particular, encouraged the spread of the cult of Zeus in the cities of Seleucid Syria.<sup>17</sup> A bilingual inscription from et-Tayibeh (between Palmyra and the Euphrates) is addressed to Baalshamin in Palmyrene, a name translated as Ζεὺς Μεγίστος Κεραύνιος in the Greek.<sup>18</sup> It has been suggested that the divine personality of Zeus was ambiguous and required further definition to be meaningful.<sup>19</sup> The epithet Μεγίστος makes Zeus intelligible in relation to other Semitic supreme gods and relates his function to one of universal importance. A parallel for the formula Ζεὺς Μεγίστος appears on an altar from Hebran (north-east of Bostra) dedicated by a centurion with an Arab name:

Διὶ Μεγίστῳ | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κ[υ]βερίου Κάισα(ρος) | Μ Βοδρίου |  
Κωνστᾶς | (ἐκατόνταρχος)<sup>20</sup> εὐξάμ[ε]νος ἀνέθηκεν

“To Greatest Zeus for the safety of Lord Caesar, M. Bodrios Konstas,

<sup>16</sup> Sourdel 1952: 19. Lifshits 1977: 16. Cook 1914, vol. 1: 551.

<sup>17</sup> Sourdel 1952: 19. Lifshits 1977: 16.

<sup>18</sup> Sourdel 1952: 28. Waddington 1870: no. 2651.

<sup>19</sup> See Cook 1914 for an examination of the many forms of Zeus.

<sup>20</sup> Cat. A044. Sourdel 1952: 22 and Dunand 1934: 89 both supply (ἐκατόνταρχος), “centurion”, but without explanation for this addition. The original inscription probably contained a chi-rho symbol which was sometimes used as a 'short-hand' for centurion (for example Gilliam: 1986: 76-77. Cat. C018).

centurion, dedicated this following a prayer”.<sup>21</sup>

Ζεὺς Μεγίστος appears frequently in dedications to Zeus and the god Dolichenus at Dura Europos:

Δὶ Μεγίστῳ | καὶ θεῷ Δολιχέῳ  
 “To the Greatest Zeus and the God Dolichenus”<sup>22</sup>

and with the god Heliopolitanus at Heliopolis:

Δὶ μεγ[ίσ]τῳ Ἡλιοπολείτῃ  
 “To the Greatest Zeus of Heliopolis.”<sup>23</sup>

The Greek Zeus is equivalent to the Roman supreme god, Jupiter, and the Indo-Iranian Dyaus Pitar.<sup>24</sup> The names of the supreme gods are all etymologically related and share the common root *dyeus* (*dies*) or day, meaning “bright, shining” or “clear sky”.<sup>25</sup> These supreme gods are then gods of the “bright sky”, associated with sky and weather gods, and conceived of as the father in a patriarchal hierarchy.<sup>26</sup> Zeus, Jupiter and Dyaus Pitar are seen as “father” (*Dyaus Pitar*, *Zeus Pater*, and *Iup-piter*) in a familial sense where he is responsible for protecting and providing for all those under his authority who are inferior to him in age and status.<sup>27</sup> Zeus Megistos is then equivalent to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

Καπετώ[λι](ος) in line two is most likely an adjective that defines the nature of

---

<sup>21</sup> Cat. A044.

<sup>22</sup> Cat. C018.

<sup>23</sup> Cat. C009.

<sup>24</sup> Fears 1981a:17. Schilling 1997: 214

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Fears 1981a: 20. Graf 1996: 1636.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

Zeus at Humayma. It is worth noting the similarities between the adjective Καπετώλιος and the proper noun Claudius Capitolinus, governor of Arabia in 245-46. Someone by that name dedicated an altar to the Nymphs and the Muses in Philadelphia/Amman:

Νύμφαις καὶ Μούσαις Καπιτωλί[νος] μ'ἀνέθηκεν]  
 “To the Nymphs and Muses, Capitolinus dedicated me”,<sup>28</sup>

and a Latin dedication from Philadelphia, made by Terentius Heraclitus, recalls the name of the governor in a personal description:

...Terentius Heraclitus beneficiarius Claudi Capitolini ...  
 “...Terentius Heraclitus *beneficiarius* of the governor Claudius Capitolinus...”.<sup>29</sup>

The governor's name is not possible in our inscription for three reasons: the name of the governor is spelled with an *iota* Καπιτω., and the Humayma inscription has an *epsilon* Καπετω.; there is only enough room at the end of line two for two possible letters [-λι] (as for Καπιτώλιος the adjective) and not three [-λιν] (as in the proper noun); and the mention of Claudius Capitolinus in the inscription would only make sense as the dedicator of the altar and would therefore occur in the nominative, which does not appear to be the case here. In addition, there is no space for the necessary *nomen* Claudius.<sup>30</sup>

Καπετώλιος is not well attested in inscriptions of the Near East.<sup>31</sup> The most common use of this title is Ζεῦς Καπετώλιος, which seems to be the Greek form of

---

<sup>28</sup> Gatier 1986: 38, no. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Cat. A017.

<sup>30</sup> Although the dedication to the Nymphs mentioned above does not include the *nomen* Claudius, it would be expected.

<sup>31</sup> *IGR* III, 415. Καπετώλιος is more common in Asia Minor: *IGR* IV 251, 1124, 1341, 1439, 1556, 1692. *AE* 1932: no. 80; 1936: no. 128; 1984: 885; 1994: no. 1657.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus.<sup>32</sup> When this title does occur in the East it is in connection with a Roman affiliation, attachment or identity. The “scattering” of cults to Zeus Kapitoliος in Asia Minor and Greece were from Roman *coloniae* and cities with “special ties” to Rome.<sup>33</sup> An example of this expression of Roman affiliation is found in the Egyptian city Ptolemais Euergetes where a new cult of Zeus Kapitoliος appeared following Caracalla's grant of universal citizenship in A.C. 212. The new cult may have occurred as an expression of the community's Roman status.<sup>34</sup> The use of this title in the military camp at Humayma might be viewed as underlining an attachment to the Roman form of Zeus, his association with the Capitolium at Rome, and thus served as an expression of a Roman affiliation and identity.

There is no evidence elsewhere that Καπετώλιος was used in conjunction with the epithet Μεγίστος. This title appears only as the sole qualifier for Zeus – Ζεὺς Καπετώλιος.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, in Latin dedications, Jupiter rarely appears with Capitolinus alone but rather with other titles such as Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.<sup>36</sup> A Latin inscription from Maryport, in Britain dedicated to “I.O.M.

---

<sup>32</sup> Rives 1995: 188.

<sup>33</sup> Beard, North & Price 1998: 362-63. Beard et. al. state that the community, while asserting its ‘Romanness’, maintained a local identity by including rites and festivals of local Egyptian gods in the cult of Zeus Kapitoliος. The integration of both Roman and local practices to create a new Roman cult was both a “response to and ... an articulation of the power of Rome”. The only other Egyptian parallel for Zeus Kapitoliος is the Capitolium at Oxyrhynchus: *P.Oxy.* 2128.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Rives 1995: 188.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* Rives states that Jupiter Capitolinus is used in literary texts, especially Suetonius (e.g. J. 84.3; A 26.3, 30.2, 91.2; T. 53.2; Cal. 24.4; N. 10.2; D. 4.4, 5.1) but very rarely in epigraphic texts, and these are used mostly in reference to a cult or temple.

Capitolino...” provides Latin evidence for Jupiter Capitolinus in a military camp.<sup>37</sup> The formula Ζεὺς Μεγίστος Καπετωλῖος appears to be a direct Greek translation of the Latin expression, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus.<sup>38</sup> This title suggests that Greek speakers were using Greek to identify an essentially Roman divinity. The dedicators may have been trying to name Jupiter Capitolinus in a self-consciously Roman format while using the local Greek form of expression. The cultural form of the dedication is essentially Roman but is expressed in a Greek idiom.

The title Zeus Megistos Kapitolios suggests a local adaptation of a Roman concept, Jupiter of the Capitoline. The association of a divinity with a particular place was not uncommon in the East. The Syrian Baals and Zeus were often identified with a specific location (for example Zeus Damascenus, Zeus of Heliopolis, Zeus Safa) and the Capitoline Zeus at Humayma fits within this practice of regional association.<sup>39</sup>

Line three of the inscription is not easily interpreted. It is tempting to read Heliopolitanus or Helios if one reads Η Λ Ι as the start of the next word after Καπετωλῖω.

---

<sup>37</sup> *RIB* 832. *Ioui Optim(o) Maxiimo* | *Capitolino* | *pro salut(e) An|tonini Aug(usti)* | *Pii Postumi|us Acilianus* | *praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Delm(atarum)*. “To Jupiter Capitolinus the Best and Greatest, for the welfare of Antoninus Augustus Pius Postumius Acilianus, prefect of the First Cohort of Dalmations, (set this up)”. This dedication was found in the same area as a number of altars (*RIB* 815-17, 819, 824-28, 830-21, 834) that were buried at the edge of the parade ground at Maryport, Cumberland. It has been suggested that these originally were part of the January ritual when Jupiter and other deities were invoked to care for the Roman state in the coming year. As a new altar was erected, the previous year's altar may have been buried. There has been no other large find of altars in a similar context, and Henig suggests that this practice may rather have been a native practice for dealing with sacred objects once the fort at Maryport had been abandoned.

<sup>38</sup> Rives (1995: 188) remarks on a similar situation where a Latin inscription to Jupiter Capitolinus was probably made by a Greek individual who translated Ζεὺς Καπετωλῖος, which is the Greek expression for Jupiter Optimus Maximus, directly into Latin as Jupiter Capitolinus. This individual used a Greek idiom to express a Latin concept. Alternatively, Rives suggests that the dedicator may have made the dedication in this manner to emphasise the association of Jupiter with the Capitol.

<sup>39</sup> *Cat.* A026, *Cat.* A029, *Cat.* A035. For local forms of the supreme god see Lifshitz 1977: 21-30; Sourdel 1952.

The letters ΗΛ[Ι] would accord with Ἡλιοπολιτάνος, or the Zeus assimilated Heliopolitanus from Baalbek.<sup>40</sup> Heliopolitanus is attested in the Hauran, at Dura Europos, and at Heliopolis, and is routinely thought to be almost exclusively a god of soldiers, which is compelling evidence for its application here.<sup>41</sup> A reading of Heliopolitanus in our inscription is, however, unlikely due to the distinct *delta* following Η Λ . The formula Δὶ Μεγίστῳ Καπετωλίῳ Ἡλιοπολιτάνῳ does not occur in the Near Eastern inscriptions surveyed. Bianchi also states that Heliopolitanus is “never” referred as Καπετώλιος.<sup>42</sup> In addition, as noted in Chapter One, Η is neither distinct enough to confirm its use here nor is the space adequate to allow for this possibility.

As previously mentioned, short inscriptions such as this contain three elements: the name of the god in the dative case; the name of the dedicator, and possibly his occupation, unit name or place of residence; and a verb and perhaps a qualifier for the act of dedication. The parallel from Petra provides an example of this form:

θεῷ ἁγίῳ | ἐπηκόῳ | οὐικτρίνος | εβφ εὐχάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν

“To the Holy God who listens, Victorinus *beneficarius* dedicated this following a prayer.”<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> For example Cat. A026, B001, C004.

<sup>41</sup> Sourdel 1952: 43. Gilliam 1986: 119. The cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was a local adaptation of the cult of Capitoline Jupiter at Heliopolis (Gysens 1996: 545-46. Hajjar 1990: 2460). Baalbek became known as Heliopolis under Seleucid rule and the sanctuary of the city, dedicated to Zeus, was probably a Hellenistic interpretation of an indigenous cult centre. A Roman colony *Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Heliopolis* was founded at Heliopolis in the Augustan era. The civic temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built in the reign of Tiberius, probably with financial assistance from Rome (Beard et al 1998: 334). The area had a strong military presence, as *legio III Gallica* was stationed at nearby Raphanaea and a military colony existed at Berytus. Millar refers to the area as an “island of Romanism” in the Near East (Millar 1993: 527).

<sup>42</sup> Bianchi 1996: 616.

<sup>43</sup> Cat. A007.

It is possible that the next words after Καπετωλίω would be some combination of a name, position or unit name of the dedicator in the nominative case. As mentioned in Chapter One, the -ος from the beginning of line four may be the termination of a nominative phrase. Examples from our evidence for names and titles that incorporate Δ and which contain ος endings are:

Ἀδρια|νὸς | ζωγρά|φος σὺν | λεγ III | Κυ  
 “Hadrianus, a painter with *legio III Cyrenaica*.”<sup>44</sup>

...Βοδρίος | Κωντᾶς | (ἐκατόνταρχος) ...  
 “...Bodrios Konstas, centurion...”<sup>45</sup>

..[Δέκ]μος Ἰού[λ]ι]ος Φα|[βι]ανὸς |[στρ]ατιώτη[ς] | λεγεῶ]νος  
 “Decimus Julius Fabianus, soldier of the legion.”<sup>46</sup>

Διομήδης | Χάρητος ἑπαρ|[χ]ος καὶ στρα|τηγὸς Βατανάι[ας]  
 “Diomedes, commander and soldier of Batanaea.”<sup>47</sup>

While these examples do not accord with the possible Ι Τ or Π at the end of line three, it is possible that some other name, rank or unit would accommodate these letters.

The remaining text on line four is also enigmatic. It is tempting to read τρίτη in the middle of the line, which could indicate the unit number of the garrison at Humayma.<sup>48</sup> A dedication from Gerasa provides a parallel:

[Λεγ]ιῶν Τρίτη Κυρ[η]ναικ[ή] | θεῶ πατρώω

<sup>44</sup> Cat. A001.

<sup>45</sup> Cat. A044.

<sup>46</sup> Cat. A041.

<sup>47</sup> Cat. A057.

<sup>48</sup> Unit numbers in Greek inscriptions were recorded with the ordinal Δεκάτης Φρετηνσίας (X Fretensis) or a sign γ' Κυράναϊκα (III Cyrenaica).

“To the Ancestral God, the Third Cyrenaican Legion”.<sup>49</sup>

It is probable that a unit of the third Cyrenaican legion was stationed at Petra and it is possible that a vexillation was also stationed at Humayma.<sup>50</sup> If we accept that -ος at the beginning of the line is a nominative noun or adjective ending, and if we accept τρίτη, then the intervening letters ANE or ΛE remain to be interpreted. It is possible that ΛE is an abbreviation for λεγεών, although this does not appear in the inscriptions surveyed,<sup>51</sup> and it leaves unsolved the remaining letters in line four. These letters - ΠΙΑ - may, however, carry over to line five. In view of the format on the Petra monument, we could also expect to find a participle describing the act of dedication in this part of the formula, for example εὐχόμενος (following a prayer), κατ' εὐχὴν (on account of a vow); ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων (from [his] own resources). The verb indicating the act of dedication, such as ἀνέθηκεν, may have occurred on the last, eroded line.

### Interpretation

It is possible now to produce a summary analysis of the altar and its text. The altar found in the *principia* at Humayma was most likely dedicated to Ζεὺς Μεγίστος Καπετώλιος, a Greek translation of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. Evidence for Ζεὺς Μεγίστος is found in a dedication made by a soldier at Hebran, but Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Καπετωλίῳ is not otherwise attested in Jordan or Syria.<sup>52</sup> Given its location, the altar was

---

<sup>49</sup> Cat. A021.

<sup>50</sup> cf. Isaac 1998b: 336. See Chapter One n. 19.

<sup>51</sup> The most common form of the abbreviation for λεγεών is λεγ.

<sup>52</sup> Καπιτολίνος the governor is attested in Philadelphia (Amman) Gatier 1986: 38-9, no. 12, 13. Αὐτίπος Καπετωλινός is attested at Emesa (Homs) Jalabert & Mouterde 1959:161, no. 2353.

probably dedicated by an officer of the unit at Humayma, and the name of the individual and or his rank may have contained a delta such as Hadrianus, Bodrios, or Decimus. The inscription may also include the ordinal τρίτη, indicating a detachment of the Third Cyrenaican Legion, which was the garrison legion of Arabia. These interpretations of dedicator and unit number are entirely speculative but are within the realm of possibilities for this type of monument. An altar from Petra provides a regional parallel with the Humayma altar for size, shape and text layout.

An altar to Ζεὺς Μεγίστος Καπετώλιος is in keeping with the religious tradition of Rome. It connects the camp with Rome and the cult of Capitoline Jupiter. Roman forts were commonly understood as a model of the city in which the *aedes* served as the Capitolium.<sup>53</sup> An inscription from Raetia even refers to the *aedes* as a Capitolium.<sup>54</sup> The name Ζεὺς Μεγίστος Καπετώλιος is very unusual and indicates a mixing of Latin and Greek expressions and therefore suggests an eastern adaptation of Roman religious concepts. The Greek form for Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus points to the interplay of cultures that is characteristic of the Near East. The Greek title for a Roman deity suggests an identification with Roman religious concepts while maintaining or asserting a Greek identity through the language of dedication.<sup>55</sup> The altar dedication presents an aspect of that process of integration of Roman and Greek cultures which Woolf has called “becoming Roman, staying Greek”, where Greeks used Roman cultural

---

<sup>53</sup> Helgeland 1978: 1488. Henig 1984: 88.

<sup>54</sup> *AE* 1989: 182, no. 581 in Beard, North & Price 1998: 326.

<sup>55</sup> Beard, North & Price (1998: 363) state that Zeus Capitolinus itself was a “strangely non-Roman 'Roman' title”.

forms to remain Greek.<sup>56</sup>

### III. Statue Base - Function and Purpose

Although, broken, the dimensions of the surviving portion of the small statue base are almost identical to the altar, which may indicate that the altar and base formed a set. Statues of the gods and of the emperor were traditional elements in the religious symbols and rites of the military camp (cf. Tacitus *Hist.* 1.36; 3.12.2, 13.1; Dio 63.25.1).<sup>57</sup> Statues of Jupiter were found in the camp at Corbridge in Britain,<sup>58</sup> fragments from a larger-than-life sized statue of Hercules were found at Königen, a genius figure at Kapersburg, and parts of a bronze statue at Theilenhofen.<sup>59</sup> Statues often flanked the entrance to the shrine.<sup>60</sup> Images were a means of approaching the god because it was thought that the gods lived within the image.<sup>61</sup> The image served to bring the god into existing circumstances.

Statue bases with inscriptions were set up as a form of recognition and honour for an individual of particular note. Many of these inscriptions also functioned as dedications and contain a verb such as ἀνέθηκεν. The statue could serve a double purpose as an

---

<sup>56</sup> Woolf 1994:120. Woolf states that Roman identity was based on “membership of a political and religious community and common values and mores” while Greek identity was based on language and the idea of common descent.

<sup>57</sup> Helgeland: 1978: 1476. Campbell 1984: 97.

<sup>58</sup> Richmond 1943: 149-79.

<sup>59</sup> Johnson 1984: 112-13.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* Parker 1987: 247.

<sup>61</sup> MacMullen 1980: 59-60. The presence of the figure within its image was felt to be true for images of mortals as well as gods.

honour to the person portrayed as well as a dedication to the gods.<sup>62</sup> In honorific inscriptions the person being honoured usually appears in the accusative, the individual or group setting up the inscription appears in the nominative, and if the inscription also serves as a dedication, the name of the deity will appear in the dative. As with altar dedications, an indication of the reason for erecting the statue, on account of a vow, following a prayer, may also be included.<sup>63</sup>

### Parallels and Interpretation

The first word on the base, σῶτηρ, is common in inscriptions throughout the east. The evidence shows that σῶτηρ was not used on its own but rather as an epithet of Zeus, or some other deity, to express the power to save people from danger.<sup>64</sup> The only Latin equivalent is possibly Juno Sospita.<sup>65</sup> The term does not indicate divine status and was not used to express the Christian concept of a Saviour God, but rather refers to a god's actions or abilities.<sup>66</sup> A dedication to Zeus Olympus Soter appears at Gerasa: Δὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ | σωτήρι καὶ Τύχῃ,<sup>67</sup> and another to Zeus Soter Phosphoros in the Hauran: Δὶ σωτήρι καὶ Φωσφόρῳ.<sup>68</sup> The term was also used in reference to the Hellenistic

---

<sup>62</sup> Woodhead 1981: 42-43

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Rix and Price 1996: 1427.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> σῶτηρ was used in isolation as a reference to Christ, such as in a tomb painting referring to one of Christ's miracles Σωτηρ | Λαζαρο[ς] "Saviour - Lazarus". Gatier 1986: 63, no. 47.

<sup>67</sup> Wells 1938: 381, no. 13.

<sup>68</sup> Sourdel 1952: 27, n 7.

kings, such as the Seleucid King Antiochus I.<sup>69</sup> During the period of Roman occupation in the East, σωτήρ was used most frequently in the dedicatory formula ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας “for the safety of...”. The formula was a request for the continued well-being of a living person, most often the emperor and members of his household.<sup>70</sup> The beneficiary of the request could be an individual or an entire community.<sup>71</sup>

It is tempting to suggest that the Humayma base contains the formula ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας since this formula is so prevalent in Near Eastern inscriptions. However, the missing ὑπὲρ is problematic. Additional text may have occurred on the adjacent fasciae, creating a message that wrapped around the crown. Although this arrangement has not been encountered in a survey of Near Eastern inscriptions, a small altar from Britain bears an inscription to *Iou|i O(ptimo)| M(aximo| ...* in this “wrapped” text style.<sup>72</sup>

Alternatively, the first part of the formula may have occurred on the base of the statue that was set into the recess on the upper surface of the monument.

It is possible that σωτήρ is the beginning of a personal name. There is some evidence for the name Σώτηρ in Egypt<sup>73</sup> and one example in Lycia-Pamphilia,<sup>74</sup> but I did not find suitable matches for the name in Jordan or Syria. In addition, dedications do not normally begin with the name of the dedicator but rather the deity or the reason for the dedication, such as ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας. It is also possible that σωτήρ is an epithet of Zeus,

---

<sup>69</sup> Rix & Price 1996: 1428.

<sup>70</sup> Ullman & Galili: 1994: 119.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *RIB* 1366. The editors of this inscription state that the arrangement is very exceptional.

<sup>73</sup> *IGR* I & II 1151, 1229, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1329 (Σώτηρ); 1011, 1033 (Σωτηρίας)

<sup>74</sup> *IGR* IV 714.

although even in this reading the epithet would occur after the name of the deity - Διὶ Σωτηῆρι. It is clear in each of these possibilities—the formula ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, a personal name, or an epithet of Zeus—that text is missing before the word σωτηρ... This text probably occurred on some missing portion of the base or on the lost statue.

The second line of the inscription is also problematic. The line contains the word πρῶτο[ν], “first”. Although units bearing the ordinal “first” are attested in Arabia,<sup>75</sup> this is not possible in this context since the nouns σπείρα (cohors), λεγεών (legion) and unit names are feminine in form. Perhaps πρῶτον refers to the act of dedication: “first dedicated”, “for the first time”, “in the first place”, or refers to something about the person being honoured: “the first one to...”, “foremost”. It is also possible that πρῶτον is a personal name although evidence for this name is limited.<sup>76</sup>

The inscription, as it survives, ends by naming the object and the act of dedication, τὴν ἀνέθηκεν, “dedicated the ...”. This last line of text is very damaged and many of the letters are difficult or even impossible to read. However, ἀνέθηκεν is commonly used in dedications and the discernible letters on the base provide significant matches for this word. The inscription may have continued on the body of the monument, which is now lost, as the verb does not have to indicate the end of the inscription.<sup>77</sup>

There are obvious problems caused by the fragmentary nature of the inscription. It is possible, however, to cautiously suggest that the monument was dedicated for the

---

<sup>75</sup> These include *I Hisparorum*, *I Augusta Canathenorum equitata*, *I Thebaeorum*, *I Thracum* (Speidel: 1977).

<sup>76</sup> *IGR I & II* 940, 943.

safety of the emperor. This conclusion is based on the following considerations: dedications on behalf of the emperor are common and expected in the *principia* of Roman forts; there is abundant evidence for the formula ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας in the inscriptions from Jordan and Syria; and there is only limited evidence for σώτηρ as a personal name or as an epithet of Zeus. In addition, I did not encounter any dedications to Zeus Soter made by soldiers or from a military context in the inscriptions of Jordan and Syria.

If text did occur on the missing statue that fit into the recess on the upper surface of the base, one would expect to find more text than just the word ὑπέρ. An inscription from Heliopolis suggests a possibility:

Διὶ Ἡ λ[ι]οπολίτη ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος  
Τραϊανοῦ | υἱοῦ] ....

“To Zeus of Heliopolis for the health of Caesar Hadrian son of Caesar Trajan....”<sup>78</sup>

It is impossible to determine what image the statue base held. An inscription from Gerasa shows that a priest of the cult of Trajan dedicated a statue of Zeus to Good Fortune, for the safety of the emperor.<sup>79</sup> At Heliopolis, a statue of the emperor was dedicated to Zeus Megistos Heliopolitanus.<sup>80</sup> These dedications indicate that the deity named on the inscription does not necessarily accord with the image that forms the dedicatory gift. The Humayma base could have supported an image of Zeus, which would accord with the dedication on the altar, but other gods have been associated with

---

<sup>77</sup> Cat. A041.

<sup>78</sup> Cat. C004.

<sup>79</sup> Cat. A021.

<sup>80</sup> Cat. C009.

military camps in the east, such as the statue of Athena at Ein Saharonim.<sup>81</sup>

Dedications employing the formula ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας were often made as part of a vow or contract and follow the same formulaic pattern as other dedications. The dedicated object (a lintel, statue, or altar) served as a gift to the god in return for the continued well being of the emperor:

Ἐπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστοῦ Θεῶ Λυκούργω |  
 . . . . . οἰήτρανὸς ἀπὸ | . . . . . ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν εὐσεβίας χάριν  
 ἔτους ιθ'.

“For the safety of Emperor Augustus Antoninus, to the God Lykurgus, ..... veteran from ..... at his own expense, dedicated this as a mark of his piety in the year 19.”<sup>82</sup>

It is noteworthy that the dedications using this formula very often begin with the name of the beneficiary of the request, that is, the emperor, rather than the name of the deity to whom the dedication is made. The emperor in these dedications seems to be the object of main concern to the dedicator. The emperor acts as an intermediary between the dedicator and the god, as the continued health of the emperor provides for an individual's own prosperity. The benevolence shown to the emperor was expected to be passed on to the individual or community.<sup>83</sup> Some inscriptions reveal this hierarchy of “god-emperor-dedicator” in their formula:

Διὶ Μεγίστῳ | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κ[υ]ρίου Κάισα(ρος) | Μ Βοδρίος |  
 Κωνστᾶς | (ἐκατόνταρχος) εὐξαμ[ε]ῖνος ἀνέθηκεν.

“To Greatest Zeus for the safety of Lord Caesar, M. Bodrios Konstas, centurion, dedicated this following a prayer”.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Cat. A016.

<sup>82</sup> Cat. A040.

<sup>83</sup> Rives 1995: 51-54. For aspects of ruler worship in the East see Price 1984.

<sup>84</sup> Cat. A044.

The formulaic expression “for the safety of...” appears in Latin as *pro salute*. Examples of the Latin formula have appeared on altars at Petra that were dedicated to Peace, Apollo and Liber Pater by the governor A. Modestus Crescentius<sup>85</sup> for the prosperity of the Emperor Severus and his family.<sup>86</sup> These dedications honour deities that were favoured by the Severan dynasty, and which reflect the Emperor's African-Phoenician origins.<sup>87</sup> The monuments also illustrate the importation of Roman divine concepts into regional cult centres.<sup>88</sup>

There is little in the way of direct parallels for this small statue base. No inscription with this formula has been found with *πρῶτον* as part of the dedication, and the formulaic phrase *ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας* is not otherwise attested on the upper fascia of a monument. Although the missing part of the formula *ὑπὲρ* remains problematic and there is no exact parallel for the layout of the text, it is possible to suggest that the inscription corresponds with a regional pattern of commemoration requesting the safety of the emperor, on behalf of an individual or a community. This pattern is reflected in both Greek and Latin inscriptions.

#### IV. Large Base

The large base is distinguished from the other two monuments by its size, language and decoration. Of the three dedications, it is the only one with mouldings that

---

<sup>85</sup> cf. *PIR* I<sup>2</sup> 470; cf. Pflaum 1957: 137, no. 3; cf. Bowerscock 1971: 235.

<sup>86</sup> Cat. A010-14.

<sup>87</sup> cf. Birley 1988: 5. Liber Pater and Hercules were favoured by the Severan dynasty. Dedications to Liber Pater were common in Lepcis Magna, Severus' native city.

<sup>88</sup> The altars were erected in the Temple of Dusares. Dusares had become associated with Dionysus, and

are more decorative than the simple chamfer on the altar and small base. The original purpose of the monument is not clear. The present upper surface has no recesses or cuttings that would serve as footings for securing a statue to the base, but it clearly is heavily eroded. A recess of some sort, similar to the one on the smaller statue base found in this area, would be expected below the original upper surface. There could have been a plaster installation to secure a statue to the base, such as the ovoid plaster footing found in the *aedes* at el-Lejjun, which the excavators suggest was the base for a statue.<sup>89</sup> The base may also be missing a course of stone that could have incorporated a socket or other larger dedication stone.

The base is large enough for a person to stand on comfortably, but size does not have to indicate that it was used as a platform. A platform from the parade ground at Lambaesis has been described as a “small stone construction”, but it was large enough to accommodate plaques bearing the speech Hadrian gave to the troops during his visit to the camp.<sup>90</sup> The block could have served as a column base, but it seems to be too close to the south wall of the rooms E and F to have served this purpose. The most logical explanation, at the current state of our evidence, is that it held a life-sized statue, the footings for which have not survived. The base was probably part of an honorific monument and may reflect the western origin of the camp's administrators or the governor of the province. If the find spot of the base was its original context, it occupied a very prominent position in the portico outside the rooms of the *principia* and would

---

consequently, Liber Pater, thus allowing a dedication to Liber Pater in the Temple of Dusares.

<sup>89</sup> Parker 1987: 244.

<sup>90</sup> LeBohec 1994: 114.

have been an impressive image to the troops as they assembled in the courtyard or passed through the colonnade. The symmetrical relationship of the base with the adjacent portico wall, and its carefully constructed foundation are both congruent with a primary location. A silver drachma of Trajan, struck at Bostra between 112-117, was found in unstratified fill near the inscription, and its fine condition suggests that it was minted not long before it was lost in this area.<sup>91</sup> Although the coin's context does not provide a date for the inscribed base, its presence nearby is tantalising, since it is the earliest Roman coin found in the fort.<sup>92</sup>

### Parallels and Interpretation

Only the most general interpretation of the very damaged inscription on the base can be attempted. The word fragment or abbreviation *praes* could form part of the word *praeses* or governor. A dedication from Gerasa was made by the governor of Arabia, Aurelius Antiochus<sup>93</sup> ... *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) \ provinciae Arabiae...*<sup>94</sup> Another example appears in a dedication set up by the governor of Syria Phoenice, Decimus Pius Cassius,<sup>95</sup> to the Emperor Severus and his family for repair of the roads and milestones: ... *leg(atum) Aug(usti) | p(ro) p(raetore) praesidem provinciae Syriae...*<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Oleson 1999a: forthcoming.

<sup>92</sup> 1996.0494.01: Obverse: Head of Trajan to right. AYTOKP]KAICNEPTRAINCEB (gamma) EP. Reverse: Arabia, standing, with small camel to her right. (delta) HMARX/E (xi) Y (pi) AT (final sigma). (= TrPot XVII, cos VI). D 0.019; 2.72 g. Die orientation 6:00. Kindler 1983: 100-101, nos 6-9, pl. VI.

<sup>93</sup> cf. *PIR* I<sup>2</sup> 294, 1444. cf. Bowersock 1971: 236.

<sup>94</sup> Kraeling 1938: 432, no. 162. See also Sartre 1982: 130-31, no. 9060; 152, no. 9078.

<sup>95</sup> cf. *PIR* II<sup>2</sup> 479.

<sup>96</sup> Rey-Coquais 1965: 190, no. 2918.

In the second century the governors of Arabia were exclusively men of senatorial status and were referred to as *legati Augusti pro praetore*. By the early third century, however, the position of governor began to be filled by men of equestrian status who were given the title *praeses*.<sup>97</sup> If the inscription is interpreted as including the word *praeses* for governor, the monument could date to the early third century. The first governor of Arabia of equestrian rank was Furius Timestheus<sup>98</sup> between 218 and 220 and, according to Pflaum's list of governors of Arabia, was the first governor with this designation.<sup>99</sup> The governors were *praesides* exclusively only after Virius Lupus<sup>100</sup> ca 259, who was the last propraetorian legate of Arabia. *Praeses* was, however, a non-technical term and could be used in conjunction with propraetor, as in the case of Aelius Aurelius, who was governor of Arabia between 253 and 259 “*v(ir) c(larissimus) Aug(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) praes(es) prov(inciae) Arabiae*”.<sup>101</sup> The inscription cited above from Emesa, which is dated to 213 in the reign of Caracalla, also includes both the propraetorian legate designation as well as the title *praeses*. It seems that the title *praeses* begins to appear in the inscriptions of Arabia at the beginning of the third century.

The remaining letters of the inscription are difficult to interpret. The EN after *praes* is puzzling as I did not encounter EN as an abbreviation or in combination with *praes* to form *praesen*. The range of possible abbreviations for any of the remaining letters is seemingly endless. *Imperator* would fit well if we read IMP instead of EMP.

---

<sup>97</sup> Millar 1993: 174

<sup>98</sup> Cat. A036. cf. *PIR* III<sup>2</sup> 581; cf. Pflaum 1957: 138, n. 12; cf. Bowersock 1971: 236.

<sup>99</sup> Pflaum 1957: 137.

<sup>100</sup> *CIL* VI 31775 = *ILS* 1210.

This reading would also accommodate the RAT, although “emperor” is usually indicated by the abbreviation IMP and not the full spelling of the word. Additionally, it would not make logical sense for IMP to follow *praeses*, and the name and title of the emperor typically occur at the beginning of the inscription. RAT is not likely to be the ending of a verb as the verb is often omitted in honorific inscriptions and, when it does occur, is more commonly *solvit, dedicavit, posuit*. It is also tempting to read RAB rather than RAT as this would fit with Arabia and accord well in the context of the inscription. However, Arabia always seems to be referred to as *Provincia Arabia* such as *praes(es) provinciae Arabiae* in the inscription cited above, and this formula does not seem possible in the Humayma monument.

It is difficult to provide a translation of the Latin text that would adequately account for all the letters. It is possible to suggest, however, that the inscription contains the word *praeses* or governor, and may refer to an honorific statue of the emperor that was set up by the governor of the province in the mid-third century. Although statuettes and miniature portraits of deified emperors were exhibited in the *aedes*, life-sized statues were more commonly erected outside the *aedes* along its facade or in the courtyard of the *principia*.<sup>102</sup> The use of Latin in the inscription corresponds with the general use of Latin in the East in military contexts and in relation to provincial officials and may indicate the western origins of the camp commander or the governor. Images of the emperor were important symbols of military loyalty (cf. Tacitus *Hist* 1. 56). Dedications to the gods

---

<sup>101</sup> *CIL* III, 90.

<sup>102</sup> Sarnowski 1982: 273-75 in Parker 1987: 247, n. 37. Sarnowski suggests that if a life-sized statue did exist in the *aedes* it would be that of the founder of the unit. Parker notes the presence of imperial statues outside the monumental entrances of the *aedes* at Luxor and Risingham.

established a communication and relationship between the god and the dedicator, and in similar fashion, the image of the emperor established an ongoing relationship between him and the army unit. The emperor owed his position to the support of the military and the army owed its legitimacy to the emperor (cf. Herodian 4.5).<sup>103</sup>

## V. Language, Literacy and Epigraphic Culture

Although the character of the epigraphic sample at Humayma is small it is nevertheless surprising that two of the monuments from the administrative headquarters, the corporate centre of the unit, are in Greek. Scholars routinely note that Latin was the official language of the army even in remote military posts far from Rome.<sup>104</sup> Although military inscriptions from Bostra and Petra do appear in Greek, most of the military inscriptions dating to the second half of the second century are in Latin.<sup>105</sup> Fink's compilation of military papyri reveals that most documentation was recorded in Latin except for receipts and letters, perhaps items of a more personal, less "official" nature.<sup>106</sup> In the military camp at Dura Europos Greek dedications appear in the Temple of Dolichenus, while Latin was used for unit documentation and for the calendar of rites and festivals (the *Feriale Duranum*).<sup>107</sup> Latin did not become widely used in the East despite

---

<sup>103</sup> Campbell 1984: 98-99.

<sup>104</sup> Speidel 1977: 705. MacMullen 1963: 96. Bowman 1983: 14.

<sup>105</sup> Isaac 1998b: 336-37; 1990: 319.

<sup>106</sup> Fink 1971.

<sup>107</sup> For the Temple of Dolichenus see Rostovtzeff 1952. For the *Feriale Duranum* see Fink et al 1940; Nock 1952; Helgeland 1978; Fishwick 1988. The *Feriale* will be discussed in Chapter Three.

its official status in the military.<sup>108</sup> The surveyed inscriptions show that soldiers in the East routinely made religious and honorific dedications in Greek. Millar states that “Greek language, Greek social structures and Greek frameworks for construction and worship of deities penetrated to the most remote of rural contexts.”<sup>109</sup> Greek was used almost exclusively in private dedications and legal transactions, even those that involved direct interaction with military and other imperial officials.<sup>110</sup> Documents found in a cave in the Judean desert, commonly known as the Babatha archive, include a variety of legal transactions written in Greek, Nabataean and Aramaic, but using a Roman system of dating and reflecting Roman legal procedure.<sup>111</sup> Greek became the language that incorporated the rural world into a wider power structure. The Greek language served as “the medium of communication between the Roman Empire and its Semitic-language subjects”.<sup>112</sup>

What does this evidence tell us about the Greek dedications in the Roman fort at Humayma, dedications from an official military context but written in the language of private dedications, legal transactions and common public usage? While the inscriptions may have been an expression of official Roman military religious practice, they also suggest that the monuments were meant for a “local” audience, that is the soldiers and

---

<sup>108</sup> cf. Millar 1993: 527. Millar states that Latin words from military and official contexts became part of everyday Greek but Latin never became a language of daily speech or replaced Greek as a literary language. See Millar 1999 on Greek speakers learning Latin to learn Roman law.

<sup>109</sup> Millar 1993: 523.

<sup>110</sup> Millar 1993: 19-20, 95-98. Cotton 1999: 230.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.* Isaac 1998a: 161-62. Babatha may have sought refuge in the cave during the Bar Kochba revolt A.C. 132-35. The documents, dating from 96-134, were found along with other personal items. For the Babatha documents see Lewis 1989 (*P. Yadin*).

<sup>112</sup> Millar 1993: 98.

officers of the unit. The origin of the troops stationed here in the early years of the province is not known, but the language of the inscriptions suggests that they were of eastern origin, either Greek or native. The monuments are similar to other private dedications and express personal needs and relationships common to these inscriptions more than the corporate, official regulations, which the Latin military records and festival lists suggest. The altar, dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, and the small statue base, perhaps set up for the safety of the emperor, suggest a Roman framework or structure, but expressed in the common language of the east. While the Greek inscriptions reflect the local language of public contexts,<sup>113</sup> the Latin dedication on the large statue base is evidence of the Roman political authority under which other expressions were made.<sup>114</sup>

The monuments should also be seen in the context of the “eastern tilt” of the Empire.<sup>115</sup> Millar argues that the East came to play an increasingly central role in Roman affairs and that this eastern pre-occupation would culminate in a shift in the seat of Roman imperial power from Rome in the Latin speaking West to Constantinople in the Greek speaking East.<sup>116</sup> This shift is reflected in the epigraphic record as Latin inscriptions become very rare in the East after Constantine established the imperial capital at Constantinople in 330.<sup>117</sup>

The use of written language and a sense of audience does not mean that all

---

<sup>113</sup> Millar 1993: 525 states that Greek was the only written language in public use.

<sup>114</sup> Millar 1993: 22 and *passim*. Millar argues that all expressions of indigenous culture in this region developed under the framework of Roman administration. According to Millar, even Hellenistic culture was most fully expressed in the imperial period.

<sup>115</sup> Millar 1999: 105; 1993: 23; 1984: 147.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Drijvers 1997: 166.

members of the unit would necessarily have been able to read the dedications. The images on the statue bases, the red pigment that highlighted the letters of the altar and its physical shape, all would have provided visual clues to the meaning and purpose of the monuments. Visual references and presentation style would articulate the meaning for the illiterate.<sup>118</sup> However, the distinction between those who could read the monuments and those who could not (most probably between the officers and the lower ranking soldiers) would seem to indicate that a hierarchy of religious organisation and authority existed in the military.<sup>119</sup> This hierarchy is born out in the nature of the inscriptions themselves. Dedications were made to the gods for the well-being of the emperor, whose continued good health and prosperity would ultimately be passed on to the dedicator.

A feature of Greek and Roman inscriptions in the first through third centuries is the routine appearance of names of individuals, groups and the gods.<sup>120</sup> Woolf suggests that “naming” served to locate an individual or group in a series of complex relationships between the dedicator and the gods and political figures. The Humayma material seems to accord with this pattern. The dedicator of the altar has established a relationship with the Greatest Capitoline Zeus (which itself indicates a relationship with Rome and Roman ideals) and perhaps with the emperor whose well-being would have been requested for the prosperity and success of the unit. The reconstructed inscriptions from Humayma

---

<sup>118</sup> Woolf 1996: 27. There is considerable evidence for literacy among centurions, *decurions* and *principales* and some evidence for its presence among the lower ranks but literacy was probably not widespread in the army (Bowman 1994: 112). See also Adams 1999 who examines the poetry of two centurions from Bu Njem. He suggests that there may have been rudimentary instruction in practical spelling and literacy in the army.

<sup>119</sup> cf. Beard 1991: 39

<sup>120</sup> Woolf 1996: 29. See also Beard 1991: 46-48.

suggest relationships that are contractual and reciprocal, based on a hierarchy of religious authority.<sup>121</sup> Woolf suggests that inscriptions in the early Empire served to assert the place of individuals within society, and to assert their incorporation into a larger whole: “formulaic presentation standardised yet individualised”.<sup>122</sup> The Humayma monuments may have served, in part, to remind the soldiers here of their integration in the larger Roman world. The monuments named particular gods, the emperor and the governor in a formulaic pattern represented throughout the empire, yet was uniquely regional in language and presentation.

The relative lack of inscriptions from the fort, even at the present stage of excavation, is surprising given the prevalence of epigraphic remains in the urban and militarised areas of the empire in the second and third centuries.<sup>123</sup> The complete lack of inscriptions from the extensively excavated legionary fortress at Lejjun in the central region of the province is also puzzling. Parker suggests that the local soft limestone at Lejjun was unsuitable for inscriptions and that the legion may have resorted to painting text on the walls, as was customary at Dura Europos.<sup>124</sup> The date of the Lejjun fortress (ca 290), however, also coincides with the period when epigraphic evidence declines dramatically throughout the empire and when there was a change in defensive military strategy, provincial organisation and fort design.<sup>125</sup> The lack of epigraphy may

---

<sup>121</sup> cf. Beard 1991: 38.

<sup>122</sup> Woolf 1996: 29.

<sup>123</sup> Woolf 1996: 23.

<sup>124</sup> Parker 1987: 229. A fragment of inscribed wallplaster recovered from the *principia* at Lejjun makes this a tempting hypothesis. The amount of earthquake activity in the area would also account for the lack of other fresco remains.

<sup>125</sup> Parker 1997a: 332. Southern & Dixon 1996: 129.

correspond with changing cultural habits and economic needs.

The lack of inscriptions from Lejjun and the limited examples of inscribed material from Humayma may be due to a regional disinclination to inscribe messages on buildings and public monuments. This prejudice did not extend to the many private greetings or short personal messages pecked into rocks along caravan routes, around sanctuaries and habitation areas. Although the epigraphic patterns in the eastern provinces are in need of further study,<sup>126</sup> recent studies suggest that Hellenized cultures of the east had less interest in adopting Roman cultural habits.<sup>127</sup> It has already been noted in Chapter One that individuals from the East were less likely to set up inscriptions.<sup>128</sup> The Nabataean cultural heritage of the region around Humayma may share this trend. A Nabataean literacy existed from the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Diodorus 19.96.1 mentions the Nabataeans writing in Syrian letters) and continued in legal documents such as the Babatha archive, up to the Roman period. Over 4,000 Nabataean inscriptions have been recorded at Petra,<sup>129</sup> and Nabataean and Thamudic graffiti occur at Humayma itself (see Chapter One). The local Nabataean and Thamudic inscriptions are, however, different in character, they are not formalised or monumental but brief, spontaneous expressions with an individualistic character. If the unit at Humayma was composed of local recruits, there may not have been an impulse to inscribe in the Roman manner.

---

<sup>126</sup> Woolf 1996: 38.

<sup>127</sup> Meyer 1990: 92-93. Woolf 1994

<sup>128</sup> MacMullen 1984: 239.

<sup>129</sup> Millar 1987: 153.

The inscribed material from Humayma may represent the limited adoption of a Roman habit, perhaps to fulfil pressing official requirements and the needs of a Roman military unit in a region unaccustomed to the Roman epigraphic habit. The limited remains at Humayma may suggest that an effort was made to assert a “Roman-ness” and to provide visible evidence of a changed political environment in a region of strong local attachments and identities.

## **VI. Conclusion**

The analysis of the monuments at Humayma reveals that the dedications fit within a Roman cultural and religious commemorative practice but are nuanced by a regional Hellenistic heritage which often expressed indigenous religious concepts. The use of Latin and Greek shows an interaction of cultures typical of this region. The three monuments together seem to make a coherent statement about the army unit at Humayma.<sup>130</sup> As restored, the monuments consist of dedications to a supreme god, a possible request for the emperor’s safety, and perhaps an honorific expression of loyalty to the emperor. The inscriptions imply a set of relationships between the unit, the gods and the emperor and also between Rome and the local eastern culture.

---

<sup>130</sup> A contextual approach to the examination of epigraphic remains has been used by Beard 1991 and Woolf 1996. Woolf prefers the term “epigraphic culture” when speaking of the Roman proclivity for setting up inscriptions since this term directs attention to the social circumstances that fostered the need or desire for such public and lasting forms rather than focussing on the writer and his potential audience.

## Chapter Three

### Religion and the Roman Soldier in Provincia Arabia

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general understanding of the religious life of the Roman soldier in Arabia. The primary evidence from Humayma is insufficient to allow for a detailed examination of the religious life of the military unit at this site. It is possible, however, to view the Humayma material in the context of other evidence for religion and the Roman soldier in Arabia. To this end, this chapter examines the nature of religious activity in the army to understand how the inscribed monuments at Humayma might relate to the religious or other activities in the fort, and thereby provide insight into the official or “corporate” religious obligations of the soldier at Humayma. This chapter also examines the inscriptions in Appendix I to understand the personal religion of the soldier in Arabia outside the confines of regulated military life. Finally, this chapter examines the evolution of religion at Humayma in light of the evidence from the Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine cultural periods at the site.

The lack of extensive literary testimony for the Roman presence in Arabia and the relative scarcity of epigraphic material from the area related to the military and military stations makes it difficult to answer the interesting questions raised by the discovery of the monuments and their inscriptions. The fragmentary character of the inscriptions obscures the festivals or other occasions that prompted their creation. Although the primary evidence for religious activity in the fort at Humayma remains sparse, it is important to attempt to place the monuments in the context of what is already known about Roman military religion. While circumstantial, the available papyrological, literary and archaeological evidence for religious practices in the military allows some hypotheses

about relations between the monuments and religious activities in the fort, and the nature of these practices.

### I. Religion in the Roman Fort

What religious occasions and festivals did the garrison at Humayma observe and how do the monuments found in the *principia* relate to these occasions? The *Feriale Duranum* shows that religion in the Roman military had an official and regulated character.<sup>1</sup> This papyrus document is a chronological list of religious observances, festivals, and prescribed offerings to be conducted by the auxiliary troops at Dura Europos in Syria. The document was discovered among other archived or discarded military records of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum milliaria equitata* stationed at Dura.<sup>2</sup> The character of the damage and of the repairs to the document suggests that it was often consulted and actively used in unit administration. It is almost certain that the *Feriale* found at Dura was a centrally regulated document for all military units in the empire. This view is supported by the fact that the document is written in Latin, as are other records of army administration; that the prescribed festivals correspond with military inscriptions throughout the Empire which bear the same date as the festivals recorded in

---

<sup>1</sup> *Ferialia* are lists of selected festivals for the year and seem to be group specific, that is they list those festivals with special meaning for a particular group or community. For example, the *Feriale Capuanum* lists purely local festivals, the *Feriale Guidizzolense* is a private compilation of agricultural workers for their own guidance in observing certain festivals. The *Feriale Duranum* is unique among other *ferialia* in that it has an official character, issued directly by the central authorities at Rome, and had “universal” relevance. *Ferialia* are distinguished from *fasti*, which list and characterise every day of the year. See Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 36. See also Salzman 1990 for changes in Roman calendars from the first to fourth centuries.

<sup>2</sup> The document may have been part of a collection of archived or discarded records from the military unit which were found in the Temple of Artemis Azzanathkona, adjacent to the ‘praetorium’ or headquarters of the unit. See Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 11-12.

the calendar;<sup>3</sup> and that the calendar records only Roman gods and festivals, containing nothing of particular relevance to the eastern provinces or local custom. Since the Humayma monuments were found in the *principia*, the administrative focus of the fort, they may reflect one or more of the activities and practices described in the *Feriale Duranum*. While this interpretation is tenuous, the location of the monuments in the *principia*, the fact that in the east individuals were less likely to set up inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> and the fact that the altar names a distinctly Roman god, Jupiter Capitolinus, a deity not otherwise represented in the inscriptions from the area (military or civilian) suggest an official or corporate purpose for the dedications. In addition, there are no other altars or even stone inscriptions found elsewhere in the fort, which further supports an official or corporate purpose for these monuments.

The religious festivals described in the *Feriale Duranum*<sup>5</sup> are the same, and occur on the same dates, as those described in the surviving *fasti publici*<sup>6</sup> or public calendars of Rome, and in the *Acta* of the *Fratres Arvales*.<sup>7</sup> The *Feriale* shows that the religious observances of the army were identical to the religious system of Rome. There are three types of festivals in the calendar: imperial festivals, Roman state cults (*feriae publicae*),

---

<sup>3</sup> See Fishwick 1988 for a discussion of dated inscriptions that correspond with the festivals in the calendar.

<sup>4</sup> MacMullen 1984: 239.

<sup>5</sup> *P. Dura* 54. See Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940 for transcription and discussion of the calendar. The calendar has not survived in its entirety, but it is almost fully reconstructed from January to September. It is dated to the reign of Severus Alexander 225-227.

<sup>6</sup> See Beard, North & Price 1998 vol. 2: 60-77 for examples of these calendars.

<sup>7</sup> Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 179. The *Fratres Arvales* were a college of priests at Rome who were originally responsible for the religious duties associated with the goddess Dea Dia. Their ritual and cult activities were recorded in a series of inscriptions spanning a period of over 300 years, from 21 B.C. to A.C. 304. Their rituals may originally have been associated with agricultural concerns, but most regular rites of the *Fratres* were concerned with the well-being of the emperor and of the imperial house. For the *Fratres Arvales* see Beard 1985; Scheid 1990.

and military festivals. The imperial festivals are the most numerous (27 out of 41 entries) and include the *vota* of January 3, the birthdays of the deified Julius Caesar, the deified emperors, their deified wives, and the military hero Germanicus,<sup>8</sup> the *dies imperii* (day of accession) of some previous emperors, and a group of days associated with the contemporary emperor, Severus Alexander, and his family. Ordinary Roman public festivals make up the next largest group (11 out of 41) and include the birthday of Mars on March 1, the *Quinquatria*, March 19-23,<sup>9</sup> the *Natalis Urbis Romae* (the birthday of Rome), April 21,<sup>10</sup> the *Vestalia*, June 9,<sup>11</sup> the *Neptunalia*, July 23, the *Circenses Salutares*,<sup>12</sup> August 5, and probably the *Saturnalia*, December 17-23. The remaining three military celebrations are the day of honourable discharge (*honesta missio*) and payment of salaries (*stipendia*) January 7, and two festivals of the standards (*Rosaliae signorum*), May 10 and 31.<sup>13</sup> Most of the religious occasions in the military calendar were identical to civilian ones, but some of these had a special significance for the army.

---

<sup>8</sup> Germanicus was the nephew of Tiberius and may have been included in the calendar because he was seen as one of the great military leaders and heroes of Rome and as the Roman equivalent of Alexander the Great. See Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 138-39.

<sup>9</sup> The *Quinquatrus* was originally a festival of Mars and celebrated the opening of the campaigning season and the purification of armour. The festival later came to be associated with Minerva, probably because her temple on the Aventine was dedicated on this day (Scullard 1981: 93). *Quinquatria* came to be the more common name for the festival (Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 94-95).

<sup>10</sup> The *Natalis Urbis Romae* originates from the agricultural festival the *Parilia*, concerned with the purification of the flocks and herds. The date of the festival, April 21, was associated with the founding of Rome but from the reign of Hadrian, when the emperor chose the date of the *Parilia* to found his temple of Fortune of Rome, the festival became known as the *Natalis Urbis Romae* (Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 102-112, Beard, North & Price 1998: 325).

<sup>11</sup> Vesta was the goddess of the hearth and assured the survival of the Roman state. See Fink et al 1940: 138-39; Scullard 1986: 149.

<sup>12</sup> The *Circensus Salutares* refers to the ancient festival of *Salus publica populi Romani*. According to Fink et al. (1940: 151) it was never a popular holiday but had a widespread and enduring appeal. *Salus* was one of the deities responsible for the security and indeed the very existence of the state.

<sup>13</sup> Gilliam (1954: 191-92) argues that the *stipendia* did not fall on January 7 but rather on the January 1.

For example, all citizens swore an oath of allegiance on the anniversary of the emperor's accession (*dies imperii*) but the oath sworn by soldiers, the *sacramentum* or military oath, had a legal and religious obligation for the soldier.<sup>14</sup> The military oath will be discussed below.

It is probable that the festivals listed in the *Feriale* were celebrated in the fort at Humayma. The three aspects of official military religious life—the gods of Rome, the emperor and his ancestors, and celebrations of military identity—are reflected in the monuments from the Humayma fort. The dedications are too fragmentary to determine the actual festivals or practices in which they were involved, but they nevertheless imply the relationships among the gods, the emperor and the soldiers indicated by the festivals of the *Feriale*. The altar and its inscription seem to express a connection between the unit and the state gods, and a link with traditional Roman religious practice. The small statue base might be a petition for the continued good health of the emperor, reflecting the place of the emperor within imperial religious practice. Although even more fragmentary, the large statue base and Latin inscription express a military identity and character both in the language of dedication, and possibly as well in the image of the emperor or military official it may have carried. This interpretation is speculative, of course, but it does provide one possible alternative for understanding our sparse material.

A detailed analysis of all aspects of military religion would be out of place here, given both the scarcity of the primary evidence from Humayma and the volume of scholarship in both military and religious studies. An attempt can be made, however, to

---

<sup>14</sup> cf. Campbell 1984: 27.

place the Humayma material within the themes of military religion as identified in the *Feriale Duranum*, and to offer suggestions for the rituals related to them.

### **Capitoline Gods and Imperial Festivals - A Roman Identity**

The inscriptions on the altar and the small statue base suggest that these monuments were related to the festivals involving the Capitoline gods and to the emperor and his family. It is not surprising that the Capitoline triad were invoked at all significant occasions in the military calendar, since these gods played a central role in all official public rites of Rome and were responsible for the order and prosperity of the Roman state.<sup>15</sup> Every significant occasion in Roman state affairs began with vows and sacrifices to the Capitoline Triad (Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva), Salus, and sometimes other deities depending on needs and circumstances.<sup>16</sup> Special events required additions to the list as was appropriate and necessary.<sup>17</sup> In the military camp, the Capitoline triad, Salus and Mars received sacrifices for the annual *vota* (January 3), on the day of discharge and payment of salaries (January 7), and for the anniversary of the emperor's accession (March 13 for Severus Alexander). The Humayma altar, dedicated to the Zeus Capitolinus, might be associated with any of these prescribed rites.

The most important of the sacrifices for the Capitoline triad was probably the

---

<sup>15</sup> Beard, North & Price 1998: 360.

<sup>16</sup> Ryberg 1955: 120.

<sup>17</sup> One such special event was Domitian's safe return from the Dacian war in A.C. 89 when sacrifices and vows were made to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars, Salus, Fortuna, Victoria Redux and the *Genius* of the Roman people. For the *vota publica* see Ryberg 1955: 120-140.

annual renewal of vows, or *vota*, performed on January 3rd for the safety of the emperor and the preservation of Rome.<sup>18</sup> Every provincial community, the army included, was expected to perform annual prayers for the emperor and the state, and it was the responsibility of every provincial governor to ensure that these were carried out.<sup>19</sup> There was no distinction between the *vota* made by soldiers in military units and those made by civilians in communities throughout the empire.<sup>20</sup> Tertullian, writing from Carthage in North Africa states that the vows happened first in the camps and then on the Capitolium (*de Corona* 13.12) and Pliny, as governor of Bithynia-Pontus, notified Trajan when both the troops and the civilians had discharged their vows (*Ep.* 10. 35, 100; *Pan.* 68). Since Humayma was a Roman provincial community, we may expect that the *vota* were performed on January 3 in the fort, just as they were in other communities and camps around the empire.

The Humayma altar, like similar altars from around the empire, may have been set up in connection with the annual *vota*. A series of altars and plaques dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the forts at Maryport<sup>21</sup> and Birdoswald<sup>22</sup> are commonly associated with the annual dedications to Jupiter for the safety of the emperor. The altar names the Capitoline god to whom the annual vow is made, and the inscription on the small statue

---

<sup>18</sup> Under the Republic the vows for the health of the state, *pro salute rei publicae*, were declared on January 1st by the consuls. In 30 B.C. the senate made vows for the people and the senate on January 1 while priests made vows to the *princeps* on January 3. By A.C. 38 January 3 had become the regular date for vows on behalf of the *princeps* and the Roman state (cf. Scheid 1990: 278-99; Helgeland 1978: 1484; Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 52-53).

<sup>19</sup> Beard, North & Price 1998: 320.

<sup>20</sup> cf. Fink, Hoey & Snyder: 1940: 59-64; Ryberg 1955: 120; Beard, North & Price 1998: 320, 325.

<sup>21</sup> *RIB* 813-35. cf. Birley 1978: 1510; Haynes 1993: 142; Beard, North & Price 1998: 326.

<sup>22</sup> *RIB* 1874-95. cf. Irby-Massie 1999: 57, Cat. 185-207.

base expresses the request itself, for the health of the emperor, and together they articulate the ritual *vota*.<sup>23</sup> The fact that the altar and the small statue base have the same dimensions, and the idea that they may have formed a set, is further suggestive evidence for their use in a single ritual. The *vota* ceremony would have occurred in or before the *aedes* of the *principia*, which served as the Capitulum, in the presence of the standards (*signa*) and images of the emperor (*imagines*).<sup>24</sup>

Offerings to Jupiter and the Capitoline gods were also prescribed on the day of honorable discharge and payment of salaries and on the anniversary of the emperor's succession. Jupiter was also connected with the imperial cult and supplications made on any of the imperial occasions in the calendar may have been made at the altar to Zeus Capitolinus.<sup>25</sup> The altar may express the central role of Jupiter in the military rites and in the public cults of Rome and may indeed have served a variety of purposes. Given the lack of inscriptions and votive altars from the fort, it is possible that the one altar was used for offerings to Jupiter on a number of occasions and for a variety of ceremonies.

Although one cannot conclusively link the Humayma altar and small statue base with any particular ritual, the prevalence of the Capitoline gods and imperial festivals in the official military rites places the dedications at Humayma within the context of the rites outlined in the *Feriale*. Woolf states that “Romans intended monuments to be

---

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that the altars in these ceremonies represent the vows released (*soluta*), that is, the completion of the contracts requesting the emperor's safety for the previous year. New requests to the gods would be announced for the coming year (*nuncupata*) and at the end of the year the vow would be discharged with the erection of the altar (cf. Leibeschutz 1979: 65; Derks 1998: 215-19). The Humayma statue base would represent the request, while the altar would represent the vow released.

<sup>24</sup> Hoey 1937: 17-18. Nock 1952: 202.

<sup>25</sup> cf. Irby-Massie 1999: 56; Fears 1981: 97.

prominent and enduring symbols, important not in themselves but for what they were reminders of.”<sup>26</sup> That these dedications were constant reminders of the connection between the military unit and the state cults of Rome, and the Roman religious system is perhaps more important than the actual occasion for which the votive was erected.

### **Emperor & Soldier - A Military Identity**

It was suggested in Chapter Two that the base bearing a Latin inscription, which stood in the portico of the Humayma *principia*, may once have held a statue of the emperor. It was also noted that statues of the emperor were important expressions of military loyalty. In a fresco at Dura the tribune Julius Terentius is depicted offering incense before the imperial statues of Gordian, Balbinus and Pupienus in the presence of the military standard, the *vexillum* of the unit.<sup>27</sup> The ceremony performed here is uncertain, but the prominence of the imperial images suggests some form of ritual act in honour of the emperors, such as the swearing of an oath or as an aspect of imperial cult.<sup>28</sup> The scene emphasises the relationship between the unit, and the central government of Rome. The relationship between the unit and the emperors is also implied in an entry in one of the duty rosters from Dura which records the assignment of soldiers to sacrifices at

---

<sup>26</sup> Woolf 1996: 27.

<sup>27</sup> See Cumont 1926, pl. 50. The fresco in the Temple of Bel was originally interpreted as depicting a sacrifice to the Palmyrene gods (e.g. Cumont 1926: 89-114; Rostovtzeff 1938: 72; Teixidor 1979: 72). However, many scholars now accept Pekáry's argument that the sacrifice was performed by Julius Terentius before the images of the emperors, and represents a military rather than civic ceremony. Pekáry 1986 in Fishwick 1992: 63-64; Pollard 1996: 221; Haynes 1999: 168.

<sup>28</sup> Pekáry 1986 in Pollard: 221.

the statues of Elagabalus and Mammaea.<sup>29</sup>

It was also suggested in Chapter Two that statues of the emperor monumentalised an allegiance to the emperor as commander of the army. The military oath, *sacramentum*, and images of the emperors are all connected in accounts of the turbulent years of Galba, Vitellius and Otho when a change in military allegiance was demonstrated by destroying portraits and statues of the emperor and by withdrawing the oath of allegiance (e.g. Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.55; Plutarch, *Galba* 22.4).<sup>30</sup> In one instance, the soldiers placed Otho himself on a statue base where a gilded statue of Galba had stood shortly before (Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.36).<sup>31</sup>

Every military recruit in the empire had to swear an oath of allegiance to the emperor as commander of the army before he was entered into the records as a soldier.<sup>32</sup> The military oath served to mark the individual's change in identity from that of civilian to that of Roman soldier with a new life in a separate and distinct, military community.<sup>33</sup> After swearing the military oath on enlistment, the oath was repeated each January 3rd as part of the annual *vota*, and on the anniversary of the emperor's accession (*dies imperii*), and may even have been recited daily in some form (cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 10.102).<sup>34</sup> While the

---

<sup>29</sup> *P. Dura* 100, 101 = Fink 1971: 18-81, no. 1 & 2; summarised in Davies 1978: 308, fig. c.

<sup>30</sup> Images of the emperor also included portraits that may have been carried on a pole like a standard. Campbell suggests that all units carried the imperial portrait with them (Campbell 1984: 97).

<sup>31</sup> For a recent discussion of Tacitus' account of these years see Ash 1999.

<sup>32</sup> Davies 1989a: 26-27

<sup>33</sup> Haynes 1999: 168; 1993: 143. See also MacMullen 1984: 440-57.

<sup>34</sup> Davies 1989b: 47. Civilians would also have sworn an oath of allegiance, but this oath would not have had the significance of the military oath and may well have been different in form (Campbell 1984: 27). The oath of allegiance (the military oath or *sacramentum*) was originally performed on January 1st (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.50) but became part of the January 3 ritual. Watson suggests that the renewal of the *sacramentum* was moved to January 3 either by Vespasian after his defeat of Vitellius or by Domitian after the rebellion

soldier at Humayma probably celebrated many of the same festivals as the civilians of the empire, which included him in a membership of Roman communities and ensured for him a Roman identity, his identity as a Roman soldier and his separation from civilian life were formalised by the swearing of the military oath of allegiance.<sup>35</sup>

All citizens swore an oath of allegiance to the emperor on the anniversary of his accession, but the oath sworn by the soldiers had a legal and religious implication. Breaking the military oath was an act of impiety (cf. Herodian 2.13.8) and breaking the oath could result in capital punishment (cf. *Digest* 49.16.3). The military oath was significant enough to be protected by its own *genius*,<sup>36</sup> which served as a powerful regulator of behaviour.<sup>37</sup> A typical day in the Dura camp began with the first centurion announcing the orders for the day followed by an oath to “do whatever may be ordered and be ready at every command.”<sup>38</sup> As each emperor came to power, the soldiers immediately swore a new oath of loyalty to him as the reigning emperor and as their new

---

of Antoninus Saturninus (Watson 1969: 49).

<sup>35</sup> Identity is, of course, a complex issue. An individual may have a variety of identities at one time: political, social, cultural (Grahame 1998: 159). According to Haynes the cultural identity of auxiliary soldiers was influenced by “pre-service socialization and subsequent interactions with civilians.” Yet Roman military life was a life of Roman cultural forms and values and the recruit would have experienced some “Romanization” through the course of daily military routine (Haynes 1999: 165). Haynes states that “upon entering military service, the new recruit experienced a change in living and working environment, and the character of that new environment would have impacted the way the individual perceived himself.” Exposure to the Roman military command structure, the thoroughly Roman character of military religious obligations and exposure to the army’s official language would have influenced the cultural identity of auxiliary soldiers and differentiated them from their civilian counterparts.

<sup>36</sup> Haynes 1993: 143. A *genius* might be described as the essence of a thing or person, perhaps similar to the idea of the soul or guardian spirit.

<sup>37</sup> A soldier in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, feared retribution from the genius of the *sacramentum* after losing his sword (Apuleius *Met.* 9.41). An inscription to the *genius* of the veteran's oath (Cat. C027) reveals an ongoing attachment to a military identity even after discharge.

<sup>38</sup> *P. Dura* 89 = Fink 1971: 192-96, no. 50.

military commander.<sup>39</sup> Given the importance of the military oath and its association with the head of the Roman state, it seems likely that every military unit would have needed some device on which to focus the intent of the oath, such as the ever-present figure of the emperor. For a unit far from Rome, and for soldiers who might never see the emperor in person, his image would have been of particular importance.<sup>40</sup>

### **Ceremonies and Ritual**

Although we cannot know the actual occasions for which the monuments from the *principia* of the Humayma fort were erected, it is evident from iconographic and ancient literary sources that small altars, statues and images of the emperor were regular features of the religious or ritualistic framework in the military. Sacrifices and libations are made at small altars in the presence of the military standards and *vexilla* in the Dura fresco, in the sacrifice scenes on the columns of Trajan (scenes viii and liii) and Marcus Aurelius (scene lxxv),<sup>41</sup> and in the lustration of the troops scene on the Arch of Constantine.<sup>42</sup> Portraits and statues of the emperor, altars, and the military standards are commonly referred to in ancient literature in connection with the sacred and ceremonial aspects of the military camp and as characteristic features of military religion (e.g. Tacitus, *Ann.*

---

<sup>39</sup> Campbell 1984: 27.

<sup>40</sup> It is noteworthy that although there no inscriptions or altars were found at the legionary camp at el-Lejjun, Parker (1987: 247) interprets a feature in the *principia* as a statue base that may have held a life-sized statue of the emperor. The ovoid plaster installation was found embedded in the beaten earth floor of the *aedes*. This interpretation is problematic, but if correct, the presence of a statue of the emperor or other military figure at el-Lejjun, apart from any monumental or inscriptional remains, suggests that the image of the emperor or governor was significant enough to warrant monumentalization even if nothing else was.

<sup>41</sup> Ryberg 1955: pl. XLIV, Fig. 68.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XL. fig. 59.

1.39,15.29; Herodian 4.4-5; Tertullian, *Ad Nat.* 1.12).

As the literary and iconographic sources reveal, standards of some type were a common element in religious ritual, alongside the altars, images and statues. It is possible that the unit at Humayma also had some type of military standard. While the eagle was common to all legions, each unit in the legion had several standards or *signa* of its own.<sup>43</sup> The closest known legionary base to Humayma is the fourth century legionary camp at el-Lejjun in central Jordan. Evidence for the legionary eagle at el-Lejjun was recovered from its base on the U-shaped platform at the rear of the *aedes*. Bits of gold foil were recovered from the socle, which were probably scraped off the eagle or the staff.<sup>44</sup> In auxiliary cohorts, the infantry had *signa* while the mounted men had *vexilla*. The basic form of a Roman standard (*signa*) consisted of a hand on top of a pole, frequently a spear, decorated with metal disks (*phalerae*), crescents, laurel wreaths, mural crowns and other emblems.<sup>45</sup> *Vexilla* (flags) were used to identify detachments (*vexillationes*) of a legion.<sup>46</sup> The Dura fresco shows that the auxiliary cohort here, the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum milliaria equitata*, had the *vexillum* of a cavalry unit.<sup>47</sup> To judge from the size of the fort, a similar auxiliary cohort or a detachment of the third

---

<sup>43</sup> Webster 1981: 137. Irby-Massie 1999: 39. The eagle either stood in the *aedes* on a base or was carried in processions on a long shaft, pointed on the end so that it can be set firmly in the ground (cf. Dio 40.18).

<sup>44</sup>Parker 1988: 138. El-Lejjun was the legionary camp of *legio IV Martia*.

<sup>45</sup> For examples see Maxfield 1981: pl. 4a and also Trajan's column scenes viii, xlvii.

<sup>46</sup> A *vexillatio* was a detachment of troops often taken from more than one cohort of a legion and made into a unity for some special purpose (Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 116-117).

<sup>47</sup> Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 116-17. Both *signa* and *vexilla* might be expected since the Dura auxiliary cohort was composed of both cavalry and infantry, *cohortes equitatae*. However, Fink et al. state that the standards for this type of unit were the *vexilla* characteristic of cavalry troops. The garrison at Dura at this time probably consisted of only legionary vexillations and the XXth Palmyrene auxiliary cohort. It seems that there was no standard for the whole cohort since each *turma* (squadron) of its cavalry probably had its own *vexillum*.

Cyrenaican legion was stationed at Humayma, and would probably have had similar *vexilla*.

The Humayma monuments accord with the general religious or ceremonial aspects of the military as depicted in art and literature, and they might be viewed as corresponding to the three types of festivals described in the *Feriale Duranum*, that is, the gods of Rome, imperial festivals and festivals of military significance. It is probable that standards of some type were also included among the religious elements of the camp. The relationships among the gods, the emperor and the soldiers that are expressed in the observances listed in the *Feriale* and in the monuments from Humayma, were formalised through ritual. The ritual acts or offerings prescribed in the *Feriale* were the same as those performed in Rome and similar to those described in the *Acta* of the Arval Brethren.<sup>48</sup> Festivals and occasions related to the great gods of Rome—Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mars—all received sacrifice (*immolatio*), a male animal for the gods and a female animal for the goddesses. The deified emperors and the *genius* of the current emperor also received *immolatio*. Occasions of lesser significance involved offerings of incense and wine (*supplicatio*).<sup>49</sup> These lesser occasions included the military oath of

---

<sup>48</sup> Fink, Hoey & Snyder 1940: 190.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 193. The celebrations to the deified imperial women (*divae*) received only *supplicationes* rather than *boves feminae* as in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*. The *supplicatio ture ac vino* probably originated in domestic cult, carried out by the *paterfamilias* before the shrine of the household gods. The ceremony became linked with the imperial cult through the association of the *genius* of the emperor with the domestic Lares, and it gradually became a more popular cult act in cults of different types. The number of *supplicationes* in the *Feriale* is an exception to the general similarity between state religion and the official rites of the military. The military calendar contains more occasions of *supplicationes* than occur in state rites and, in this respect, the calendar resembles the model of municipal cults where the *supplicatio* was more common. This similarity with the municipal cults certainly corresponds with the idea that the military camp was a model of a Roman city in the provinces.

allegiance on the *dies imperii*,<sup>50</sup> celebrations for the imperial women (*diva*), the *Vestalia*, *Neptunalia* and the *Rosaliae Signorum* or Rose Festivals of the Standards.

Examples of the sacrifice ritual in the army are shown on Trajan's column (scenes viii, liii, lxxxvi, xci, xcix, ciii).<sup>51</sup> The emperor appears, either in toga as *pontifex maximus* or as army commander in military dress, standing before a small altar pouring libations or offering incense. Grouped around the emperor and the altar are the *signiferi* carrying the standards, the eagle and *vexilla*. The officers of the unit are also included in this grouping. A flute player stands close by playing his flute to drown out any extraneous noise that could disrupt the proceedings, while the *victimarii* lead the animal or animals to the altar where they will be sacrificed. The so-called "Bridgeness distance slab" from the eastern end of the Antonine Wall shows a similar scene in abbreviated form. The significant elements of the ritual are, however, the same: a bull, pig and sheep stand in front of a small altar much like the Humayma altar, while the commander of the second Augustan Legion offers libations, in the presence of the *vexillum* of the unit.<sup>52</sup>

Davies suggests that the whole unit would have participated in the more significant

---

<sup>50</sup> The anniversary of the emperor's accession called for sacrifices to the Capitoline gods but the anniversary of the soldier's affirmation of allegiance was also celebrated on the same day with an additional *supplicatio*. "March 13. [Because] the Emperor [Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander] was saluted *imperator* to Jupiter an ox, [to Juno a cow, to Minerva a cow ---] to Mars an ox; [because] Alexander our Augustus was saluted as *imperator* for the first time by the soldiers [of Emperor Augustus Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, a *supplicatio*]." (*P. Dura* 2, col i, 23-26, trans. Helgeland ).

<sup>51</sup> Lepper & Frere 1988.

<sup>52</sup> Davies 1989b: 49, pl. 2.8. The sacrifice of three victims (pig, sheep and bull) portrayed in these scenes was the *suovetaurilia*, performed as a means of purification at the conclusion of a *lustratio*, either following a census or of the army at the opening or conclusion of a military campaign. Over time the *suovetaurilia* became associated with the triumph and with the occasional payment of vows for the emperor (Ryberg 1955: 104-19). While the *suovetaurilia* was associated with Mars, the connection of the rite with the triumph and with vows for the emperor also connects the occasion with Jupiter (cf. Campbell 1984: 133-42; Irby-Massie 1999: 57).

imperial and military celebrations, but for the minor ones perhaps only the commander, senior officers and *excubitores* (sentries) were involved.<sup>53</sup>

Similar scenes probably occurred in the fort at Humayma. The troops would have gathered in the courtyard of the *principia*, in front of the richly decorated *aedes*, while the commander, in the presence of the *vexilla*, or other standards or imperial portraits, and the life-sized statue of the emperor, offered libations at the small altar to the Capitoline god. The images of sacrifice mentioned above show that offerings to the gods were mediated by the commander on behalf of the unit and further illustrate the set of relationships between gods, emperor and soldier that are implied by the monuments from the Humayma fort.<sup>54</sup>

Hoey describes the *supplicatio* as follows:

On the occasion of any festival in our list there was held a parade of the troops forming the garrison. This would take place in the courtyard of the *praetorium*,<sup>55</sup> or in the *praetorium* itself, where the commander of the garrison probably harangued the soldiers. The *signa* would be brought out from the near-by *domus signorum* and grouped by the altar where the *supplicatio* was to be performed.<sup>56</sup>

We cannot know whether the cult acts in the fort at Humayma took place exactly as prescribed in the calendar. Given the conservatism of the calendar, however, and the routine and regulated nature of military life, one could expect army rituals to be very much the same throughout the empire, with perhaps some modification due to the

---

<sup>53</sup> Davies 1989b: 47-48.

<sup>54</sup> See Chapter Two.

<sup>55</sup> *Praetorium* has often been used to indicate the headquarters area of the camp. The term actually refers to the commander's tent or residence which was often situated beside the *principia* but in a separate building.

<sup>56</sup> Hoey 1937: 31.

availability of appropriate supplies in some locations. The army diet generally included meat, and one source of supply was sacrifice.<sup>57</sup> While the availability of appropriate animals for sacrifice might have been difficult at a site like Humayma, faunal samples from the site show that the military diet, even here, included meat. Bone samples from the barracks area of the fort include significant quantities of pig, sheep, goat, some cattle as well as chicken, and fish.<sup>58</sup> It is possible that some portion of these remains came from the sacrifice ritual. The animals themselves may have been supplied locally. The Roman army was provisioned through contracts for bulk supply of some items but also relied on local supply.<sup>59</sup> The rosters at Dura record men being dispatched to collect or guard animals for the sacrifices.<sup>60</sup>

Other items of ritual, such as incense, would have been readily available. The settlement and the fort at Humayma were situated along the old Nabataean caravan route along which incense, unguents, perfumes and other such goods were transported.<sup>61</sup> The provision of wine, however, may have presented difficulties. Only one sherd from a Mediterranean wine amphora has been found at the site, from a third or fourth century Aegean Type.<sup>62</sup> Wine may have been transported in leather wine sacks but there is no evidence for its use. Even if wine was not widely available to the soldiers, small amounts

---

<sup>57</sup> Davies 1989c: 191.

<sup>58</sup> Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming. See also Oleson 1995 for an analysis of water resources, soil, flora and faunal remains at Humayma.

<sup>59</sup> Davies 1989c: 188. These supplies included such items as corn, wine, olive oil. Herod procured large-scale supplies for the army including livestock (cf. Josephus *A.J.* 14.408, *B.J.* 1.299)

<sup>60</sup> Fink 1971: 18-81, nos. 1 & 2. cf. Davies 1978: 308, fig. c.

<sup>61</sup> See Dudley 1992 for an examination of Nabataean trade routes and commodities.

<sup>62</sup> Peacock & Williams 1986: 193, Class 47 in Oleson 1999: forthcoming.

may have been hoarded for the *supplicationes* of the religious calendar. The soldiers may have made do with locally brewed beer.<sup>63</sup>

## II. Religion Outside the Fort - Personal Identities

Given the fragmentary character of the Humayma inscriptions and the limited literary and archaeological evidence for the Roman army in Arabia, little more can be said of the monuments and their role in the life of this military camp. It is therefore useful to broaden the social context of the monuments and gain a wider perspective on religion and the Roman soldier in Arabia. To be sure, the festivals and gods of the military calendar were not the sum of a soldier's religious experience. The official religious rites of the military were a product of Roman political and administrative needs, but soldiers were free to make personal religious expressions outside the dictates of the military calendar.<sup>64</sup> While the Humayma material relates to corporate religious purposes, the inscriptions in Appendix I provide examples of the personal religious expressions of soldiers in Arabia and neighbouring provinces.

It is clear from the inscriptions in the catalogue that soldiers in Arabia worshipped

---

<sup>63</sup> Oleson 1999: forthcoming. Beer was a popular drink among Roman troops. In Germany, a discharged soldier set himself up to supply beer to the military market towards the end of the first century (*AE* 1928, 183, cf. *ILS* 2238 for the popularity of drink among soldiers.) Beer was also a popular drink in the east (e.g. Xenophon *Anabasis* 4.5.27 for Armenia; Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca historica* 1.24.10 for Egypt). There was a royal monopoly of beer in Egypt during the Ptolemaic period (Rostovtzeff 1953: 308).

<sup>64</sup> Some scholars have suggested that only "approved", official cults were tolerated within the confines of the military camp (Irby-Massie 1999: 62. Helgeland 1978: 1494. Birley 1978: 1509) but Haynes argues that the lack of evidence for "foreign" gods in the camp was probably due to space restrictions and not a matter of official policy (Haynes 1993: 144). The term 'approved cults' suggests that the military authorities made a point of regulating the religious preferences of soldiers, which is incompatible with Roman practices. Roman authorities only regulated religious practices when specific cult activities were seen as non-Roman or a threat to public order and security of the state.

many of the gods of the traditional Graeco-Roman pantheon and that these gods had meaning for some soldiers beyond the requirements of military protocol and routine. The inscriptions in the catalogue also indicate that soldiers in the Near East worshipped a wider variety of gods than the traditional Roman gods of the *Feriale*.

Dedications made by soldiers or military units to Zeus and Jupiter make up the majority of the dedications in the catalogue. Zeus appears the most often. The prevalence of Jupiter and Zeus in the inscriptions may be due to the increasing association of the emperor with the supreme god during the imperial period.<sup>65</sup> Trajan is depicted as the earthly counterpart of Jupiter (cf. Pliny *Pan.* 88). Trajan and Hadrian adopted epithets of the supreme god—Optimus, Olympios.<sup>66</sup> Ryberg notes that by the time of Septimius Severus the distinction between the gods and the emperor was so confused that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish sacrifices to the Olympian gods from the rites of the imperial cult.<sup>67</sup> Evidence for this confusion is seen on the Arch of Severus where the portraits of Septimius and Julia Domna have actually replaced images of Jupiter and Juno in a grouping of the greater gods.<sup>68</sup> Dedications from Lambaesis from the Severan period are made directly to the emperor or his wife *ut deo*.<sup>69</sup> Fears states that the assimilation of the emperor to the supreme god reflects the trend toward monotheism in religious thought, which by the second century had become “pervasive among all

---

<sup>65</sup> Fears 1981: 56ff.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 88. According to Fears, Zeus-Jupiter had a central role in imperial ideology which centred on the image of the emperor as the divinely elected representative of Jupiter-Zeus, who fulfilled the earthly functions of Zeus and served as the mediator between man and the gods.

<sup>67</sup> Ryberg 1955: 134-35.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *CIL* 8, 2563; *CIL* 13, 8007, *CIL* 13, 6671. See Fishwick 1992 for a discussion of these inscriptions.

elements of society in the Greco-Roman world".<sup>70</sup> While this view is debatable, the evidence shows a trend toward the predominance of a supreme god that presides over the others.<sup>71</sup> The numerous dedications in the catalogue to Zeus and Jupiter and their assimilation to local supreme gods may be partly explained by this trend, although cross-cultural identifications of various deities had been typical in the Mediterranean for centuries.

Other Capitoline gods were included in a soldier's personal devotions but these occur much less frequently. In Philadelphia, Terentius Heraclitus, *beneficiarius* for the governor Claudius Capitolinus, worshipped the Roman gods Salus, Asclepius and Jupiter (Cat. A017). Athena appears in a couple of dedications (A046, A016), but her Roman equivalent Minerva does not. Hera or Juno is less common, appearing only once at Souweida in a dedication made by a soldier of *legio III Cyrenaica* to Zeus Kyrios, Hera and the ancestral gods (A032).<sup>72</sup> It is interesting to note that neither Mars nor Ares are attested in the inscriptions made by soldiers in Jordan or Syria. In Lower Moesia, an altar was dedicated to Mars and the Genius of the Armoury, but Mars is not otherwise attested in the surveyed inscriptions. LeBohec suggests that Mars decreased in popularity in the third century while the popularity of Hercules, the favoured deity of Commodus and

---

<sup>70</sup> Fears 1981a: 92.

<sup>71</sup> The trend toward belief in one god that presides over all others is better understood as "henotheism" since it does not exclude other gods and the idea of plurality entirely (Yusa 1987: 266).

<sup>72</sup> This dedication is unusual as Hera is not otherwise attested in the Hauran and does not seem to have a cult in the area. For this reason the editors of the inscription suggest that Hera either represents the consort of Baalshamin (who appears in this inscription as Zeus-Kyrios) or represents a foreign deity brought to the area by the legion.

patron deity of Lepcis Magna, city of the Severans, increased.<sup>73</sup> A centurion with III Cyrenaica made a dedication to Hercules at Bostra (A027) and a tribune of the cohort I Parthica honoured Hercules at Hatra (C028).

Soldiers in Arabia and Syria also made dedications to guiding spirits (*genii*), divine essences (*numina*) and deified abstractions such as Peace, Hope, and Fortune.<sup>74</sup> The concept of the genius was previously encountered in a dedication to the *genius* of the *sacramentum* (C027)<sup>75</sup> and is also seen in dedications to the *genius* of the legion (A033), of the cohort (C028), the place (*genius loci*, D003), and to the *genius* of the god Hammon (A031). Soldiers made dedications to Tyche as tutelary deity of the city of Bostra (A001) but also as the personification of fortune and success. Soldiers often made dedications to Tyche in the baths where games of chance took place.<sup>76</sup> This need for Fortune's favour may partly explain the dedication to Tyche at the Amphitheatre at Bet Guvrin (B001). The desire to secure the power of abstract concepts is evident in the inscriptions of Modestus Crescentius, governor of Arabia in 204-08, who dedicated an altar to Peace (A012), and another to Hope and Restraint (A013) at Petra.<sup>77</sup> A centurion from Phaena made a similar dedication to Eirene (A060).

Soldiers in the Near East also remained attached to the gods of their homeland.

---

<sup>73</sup> Le Bohec 1994: 244. For Commodus and his association with Hercules see Speidel 1993.

<sup>74</sup> A *genius* was a deified concept external to man, much like the Greek δαίμων. The *genius* seems to have been a protective spirit. The concept applied to men, gods, places and groups of men or things. The concept of *numen* referred to the power or will of a divinity. *Numina* as a plural form refers to the several ways in which a god might display his power, and also the extraordinary powers of the emperors or other constructs with quasi-divine power such as the senate and the Roman people. See Fishwick 1991: 375-87

<sup>75</sup> See note 34.

<sup>76</sup> Irby-Massie 1999: 54. Reeves 1996: 70-71.

<sup>77</sup> For the cult of Virtues in the imperial period see Fears 1981b.

Jupiter Hammon, or Zeus-Ammon, became established in the Hauran and Bostra after the arrival of the third Cyrenaican legion. Ammon was god of the Siwa oasis in Libya, and was the main deity of Cyrene and Cyrenaica, from where he became the patron deity of the legion.<sup>78</sup> Soldiers worshipped Egyptian (C006), Arabian (C023) and vague “ancestral” gods (A021, A032, A053, C024). A single dedication to Isis appears at Phaena (A061) but none to Serapis, although Serapis is mentioned as part of a greeting in a letter from the soldier Julius Apollinaris to his father in Keranis, Egypt.<sup>79</sup> Local Arab gods were also worshipped, sometimes assimilated to Greek or Roman gods, as in Zeus-Dusares, but other times in their original form: Sulmos (A002), Allat (A003), Dusares (A007, A008), Lykurgos (A040), Turmasgades (C019, C020).<sup>80</sup> Soldiers made dedications to gods of place such as Zeus Beelbaros (A057), and Zeus Safa (A035), which reveal an attachment to the region and community. These dedications to Arab and regional gods either reflect the expressions of soldiers native to the area or express an integration of foreign soldiers into the religious milieu of the local community.

It is surprising that there is relatively little evidence for the cults of Dolichenus or Mithras, deities typically identified as the gods of soldiers.<sup>81</sup> The only evidence for these

---

<sup>78</sup> Sourdel 1952: 89-92.

<sup>79</sup> *P. Mich.* 465, 466. See Chapter One, section II. Julius Apollinaris was a *librarius* with III Cyrenaica.

<sup>80</sup> The origin and nature of the god Sulmos is obscure. Allat is a Nabataean deity identified with Athena and Atargatis. Her cult in the Hauran was spread largely in the Roman period. Lykurgos is the Greek form of the Nabataean and Safaitic deity Shai'al-Quam, protector of the clan. For discussion of these native gods see Sourdel: 1952. Little is known of Turmasgades, whose name may mean 'mountain of the sanctuary' (tur + masgada), but he may be one of the Syrian Baals (Gilliam 1986: 80-81.).

<sup>81</sup> Jupiter Dolichenus originated in Doliche in Commagene. Various explanations for his success with the military have been offered, such as his military dress, his association with iron and thus with weapons or his representation alongside standards, but none of these are entirely convincing (see Irby-Massie 1999: 65-67 and Speidel 1978). The cult of Dolichenus found a wider following than just soldiers, appealing to slaves, freedmen, merchants, imperial bureaucrats, colleges and societies, and women (Sanzi 1996: 495). Mithras

gods in the surveyed inscriptions is from Dura Europos where a Temple of Dolichenus and a Mithraeum were built during Roman occupation of the city. It is noteworthy that there is no evidence for these cults at pre-Roman Dura and it seems that the civilians of the city did not participate in the cults.<sup>82</sup> Although evidence for Dolichenus and Mithras worship is concentrated along the heavily militarised areas of the Rhine, the Danube and Britain, evidence for the cults is also found at Rome, Italy, Thrace and Numidia.<sup>83</sup>

Epigraphic and archaeological evidence also indicate that the popularity of the cults of Dolichenus and Mithras was not restricted to the military even if the military was partly responsible for their spread. Daniels notes the lack of evidence for Mithraism in Syria (the only other Mithraeum in Syria is at Sidon) and states that some military areas were affected by the cult while others were not. There was a near “vacuum” of Mithraism in Egypt and Cyrenaica, which may account for the lack of evidence in Arabia.<sup>84</sup>

Liebeschutz also notes that Mithraism never really “took” in the Greek East.<sup>85</sup> It is unknown why the cult of Dolichenus suffered a similar disinterest, but perhaps it is connected with the strength of local culture and regional identities. In this regard, the lack of inscriptions from soldiers to other foreign gods such as Serapis and Isis is also

may have gained a following in the military because of its exclusively male membership and the hierarchy of ranks or grades in cult ritual. For Mithraism in general see Liebeschutz 1994; Ulansey 1989; Burkert 1987.

<sup>82</sup> Liebeschutz 1994: 198. Francis 1975: 430. The Mithraeum at Dura was set up in 168 by an officer four years after the Roman army had moved into the area.

<sup>83</sup> Sanzi 1996: 478-83. The earliest known document for Dolichenus outside Commagene is a building inscription of a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus at Lambaesis dedicated by the commander of the legion there in A.C. 125/6 (Speidel 1978: 4).

<sup>84</sup> Daniels 1975: 269. There is some evidence for a Mithraeum at Cyrene but generally little evidence in the rest of the province of Cyrenaica.

<sup>85</sup> Liebeschutz 1994: 198.

noteworthy, although a cult of Isis was known at Petra, and some evidence for Serapis also exists there.<sup>86</sup>

For soldiers in the East, personal devotion included Roman gods and abstract concepts, most often expressed in Greek, the common language of public use the East.<sup>87</sup> The emperor and his continued good health ensured the personal prosperity of the individual soldier (A054, A055, A058). Soldiers in Arabia maintained an attachment to their national gods, the gods of their homeland, their ancestors (A036), and to the local gods of the region and community. Foreign gods seem not to have established a significant following among the soldiers in Arabia.

### **III. Purpose, Effects and Outcomes**

What purpose did the Roman military rites or a soldier's personal devotions serve? It was noted above that the *sacramentum* or military oath was the soldier's first experience with military religion and marked a change of status for the individual from a civilian identity to a military one. The oath itself was a reminder of the soldier's responsibility to the emperor, his commanders and his unit. Aelius Aristides, in his oration in praise of the city of Rome, speaks of Rome's military success through the enlistment of provincial recruits. He attributes the success of the Roman military to the change in cultural identity of foreign soldiers and Rome's ability to unite the disparate

---

<sup>86</sup> Graf 1997a: 71-72 states that vestiges of Egyptian cults are scattered and limited to the region of Syria-Palestine (Palmyra, Gerasa, Petra). Evidence from Petra includes a stone bust of Zeus-Serapis, a statuette of Osiris and some figures of Isis along with some rock cut inscriptions "this goddess [is] Isis", and "servant of Isis".

<sup>87</sup> See Chapter Two section V.

troops under one Roman ideal. He idealises the change in cultural identity of the soldier but points to the impact of enlistment for the new recruit: “... On the day they join the army, they lost their original city, but from the very same day became fellow-citizens of your city and its defenders.”(Aristides Ῥώμης ἐγκώμιον 26.75, trans. Haynes).<sup>88</sup>

Humayma and the surrounding countryside had limited contact with Roman administration prior to the creation of Arabia. It is unknown from where the soldiers here were recruited, although Bowersock and others state that III Cyrenaica was recruiting locally by the third century.<sup>89</sup> Soldiers from the Nabataean royal forces may also have been absorbed into the Roman forces upon annexation.<sup>90</sup> An inscription from Namara identifies a soldier of III Cyrenaica as Nabataean.<sup>91</sup> One of the functions of the military may have been to acculturate these provincial recruits.<sup>92</sup> Processions, festivals and celebrations would have helped educate new recruits in the meaning of Roman life and history, “providing a map of Roman-ness for those who had not inherited this knowledge”.<sup>93</sup> The Roman military environment was a product of Roman cultural forms

---

<sup>88</sup> ποιησάμενοι δε πολίτας, οὕτως καὶ στρατιώτας ἐποιήσατε ὥστε τοὺς τε ἀπο τῆς πόλεως μὴ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τοὺς στρατευομένους μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν ἦττον εἶναι πολίτας, τῆς μὲν ἀρχαίας ἀπόλιδας γεγεννημένους ἅμα τῇ στρατείᾳ τῆς δ' ὑμετέρας πολίτας τε καὶ φρουοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας.

<sup>89</sup> Bowersock: 1983: 108. cf. Graf 1997c: 269.

<sup>90</sup> See Graf 1997c.

<sup>91</sup> *IGR* III 1257.

<sup>92</sup> Some scholars suggest that the purpose of the military calendar was to “Romanize” non-citizen auxiliary troops. Gilliam agrees with the original editors of the *Feriale Duranum* that the prescribed list of military religious observances was meant to promote *pietas* and to enforce *mores Romani* among non-citizen auxiliaries. The calendar therefore functioned as a form of “propaganda” as a way to Romanize the irregular (auxiliary) troops. Nock, on the other hand, does not see any intended program for Romanization and suggests, as does Haynes, that a type of Romanization must have occurred due to the distinctly Roman nature of the prescribed rites and the Roman character of religious time.

<sup>93</sup> Beard, North & Price 1998: 75.

and values and this environment would have Romanised the recruits through the course of daily routine.<sup>94</sup> For the Roman soldier, religious time was ordered and formalised. The soldier's official religious experience was pre-arranged according to empire-wide needs and based on a Roman conception of the world and the gods.<sup>95</sup>

The festivals and rites of the military camp defined and ordered relationships. Annual prayers for the emperor's safety included the soldier in the larger network of Roman communities and enforced a sense that his prosperity depended on the well-being and benevolence of the ruler. Julius Terentius made offerings to the emperors in his role as commander, a position that made him responsible for the priestly duties of the camp at Dura.<sup>96</sup> He performed these rites before statues of the emperors in the presence of his officers on behalf of the unit, emphasising the hierarchy of relationships in the camp. The regular repetition of imperial cult ceremonies would have reminded the auxiliary soldier of his place in the Roman social order.

Helgeland states that the routine of military life created a “reality structure” for the soldier.<sup>97</sup> Religious symbols and duties were part of a soldier’s daily routine. At Dura, contributions to the camp Saturnalia were routinely deducted from a soldier's pay.<sup>98</sup> Soldiers also made contributions to the standards (*ad signa*).<sup>99</sup> Officers rotated guard

---

<sup>94</sup> Haynes 1999: 165. See also note 88.

<sup>95</sup> Price 1984: 248.

<sup>96</sup> Haynes 1999: 168.

<sup>97</sup> Helgeland 1978: 1488.

<sup>98</sup> *P. Gen. Lat.* 1 in Fink 1971: 243-49, no. 68. Soldiers were deducted 20 drachmas from their 247.5 drachma salary (received three times per year) to cover the costs of the Saturnalia.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* Deductions were made either as contribution to the burial fund or for the festivals or cult of the standards.

duty at the *aedes* and the *signa* (*excubant ad signa*) and some held positions named for their religious duties: *signifer* (standard bearer), *vexillarius* (flag bearer), shrine-keeper (*custos*), *bucinator* (trumpeter).<sup>100</sup> The soldiers daily recited oaths to do as commanded. Soldiers gathered and cared for the animals for sacrifice and performed the sacrifices when required.<sup>101</sup> Religious duties and obligations defined much of their existence.

The festivals of the military calendar must have been important for morale and comradeship. Nock suggests that festival days gave the soldiers a “holiday”, and that the enjoyment experienced was associated with loyalty to the unit and the emperor.<sup>102</sup> Almost on a weekly basis a festival of some sort was celebrated where free meat and wine were distributed.<sup>103</sup> The importance of morale is implied in the comment attributed to Severus Alexander by the fourth century author of the *Historia Augusta* that a soldier need not be feared if he “is properly clothed, fully armed, has a stout pair of boots, a full belly, and something in his money belt”(SHA Sev. Alex. 52).<sup>104</sup> Although an unreliable source, the *Historia Augusta* echoes Cassius Dio's report that Severus advised his sons on his death bed to “live in harmony, enrich the army, and forget the rest” (Dio 77.15).<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> cf. *P. Dura* 89 = Fink 1971: 192-97, no. 50.

<sup>101</sup> *P. Dura* 100, 101 = Fink 1971: 18-81, no. 1 & 2. cf. Davies 1978: 308, fig. c

<sup>102</sup> Nock 1952: 203.

<sup>103</sup> Augustus himself reports his way of celebrating the *Quinquatria*, one of the prescribed military festivals, as spending the whole day playing games and gambling (Suetonius, *Aug.* 71). By the time of Severus Alexander and the *Dura* calendar the public festivals or *feriae publicae* probably had little religious significance and may have been more holiday and “carnival” than religious occasion (Fink Hoey and Snyder 1940: 171-73).

<sup>104</sup> *Miles non timendus si vestitus, armatus, calciatus et satur et habens aliquid in zonula*. The *Historia Augusta* is, of course, a problematic source and is used cautiously. The collection of biographies are likely the creation of one individual rather than the six indicated in the *Historia*.

<sup>105</sup> “ὁμοιοῦτε, τοὺς στρατιώτας πλουτίζετε, τῶν ἄλλων πάντων καταφρονεῖτε.”

Fink, Hoey & Snyder (1940: 172) suggest that military festival days had become part of the privileges of the troops, and curtailment of these was not a feasible imperial policy.

Indeed, it was dangerous not to treat the troops well and a lack of morale arising from the harshness of military life and restrictions on leisure could have disastrous consequences for command (e.g. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.35).<sup>106</sup> Emperors and commanders were anxious to control laxity, however, and normal military discipline carried on regardless of whether it was a festival day or not (cf. Macrobius 1.16.27).<sup>107</sup> Many essential activities went on as usual. A guard roster from Dura lists men assigned to posts in and around the camp on the festival for Germanicus' birthday on May 24,<sup>108</sup> and very possibly some or all soldiers were involved in parades and formations on festival days (cf. Vegetius, *Epit. rei milit.* 2.23).

At Humayma, in the middle of the Hisma desert and far from the amusements and luxuries of the city, the religious festivals must have provided relief from the tedium of military routine.<sup>109</sup> We do not know how the troops at Humayma spent their days, but the duty rosters and morning reports from Dura suggest some possibilities: collecting fuel for the baths,<sup>110</sup> serving guard duty, sweeping the barracks, working in the quarries, the stables or collecting food.<sup>111</sup> The formations and drills described by Vegetius would also account for much of a soldier's activities.

---

<sup>106</sup> In the first century, four legions in the Rhine and two in Pannonia mutinied in an attempt to improve service conditions and pay (Webster 1981: 57).

<sup>107</sup> Davies 1974: 1986. Emperors who were strict disciplinarians were concerned that discipline not be relaxed even on festival days (cf. Suetonius, *Galba* 6). When discipline was relaxed and normal duties cancelled, the legionaries in Pannonia and Germany took the opportunity to mutiny. Pertinax and Macrinus were proclaimed on emperor on festival days. See Davies 1974 for the connection between festival days and coup attempts.

<sup>108</sup> *P. Dura* inv. 9 verso; unpublished, in Gilliam 1954: 187.

<sup>109</sup> MacMullen (1964: 1) suggests that soldiers turned to farming while in service partly out of boredom.

<sup>110</sup> *P. Dura* 82 = Fink 1971: 183-88, no. 47.

<sup>111</sup> *P. Gen. Lat* 1 = Fink 1971: 106-114, no. 9. cf. Davies 1978, fig. B.

While the military rites connected the soldier with the objectives of Rome and his role in a hierarchy of relationships, the personal devotions of soldiers expressed individual beliefs that Roman, Greek and Arab gods would assist in the needs and difficulties of life. The gods aided promotion (A034), they listened to prayers (A007), and looked upon one favourably (A003). Proper respect and devotion to the gods ensured the emperor's safety and thus that of the community and the individual. The gods protected one's family (C008). Soldiers routinely called upon Good Fortune and sought to propitiate the guardian spirits of places, gods, their unit and their oaths.

#### **IV. Religion at Humayma - Evidence for Cultural Change**

One final way of understanding the epigraphic material from the Roman fort is to view this Roman evidence in relation to the evidence for religious expression from the Nabataean and Byzantine cultural periods at Humayma. Cultural remains from the Nabataean, Roman and Byzantine periods at Humayma show an evolution of religious culture during the course of the settlement's history.

Chapters One and Two discussed the Nabataean evidence for religion at Humayma: two Nabataean altars found in secondary use in one of the Byzantine churches (area B100, see Fig. 2), and the Nabataean and Thamudic graffiti found in an open air sanctuary in Jebel Qalka a few kilometers west of the settlement. When the Romans arrived at Humayma the settlement was composed of newly sedentarized and nomadic people who were likely governed by informal tribal custom.<sup>112</sup> The Nabataean altars and

---

<sup>112</sup> According to a fragment of Uranios' *Arabica*, preserved in Stephanus Byzantinus (s.v. *Αύαρα*) the Nabataean King Aretas III (ruled 85-62 B.C.) founded Humayma (ancient Hawar or Aurara) in response to

the graffiti express this mixed community. The fourth century B.C. author Hieronymus of Cardia portrays the Nabataeans as fiercely independent, “enslaved by no one”, and not tied to one location by the constraints of agriculture, wine production or houses (*apud* Diodorus *Hist.* 2.48.1-5; 19.94.2-10). The Nabataean gods Dushara, Allat, al-Uzza and al-Kutba also reflect this nomadic existence—they do not have a solar or lunar character but are connected to the natural environment.<sup>113</sup> The Nabataean and Thamudic graffiti found in the open air rural sanctuary in Jebel Qalka are the short personal greetings, self-assertive and spontaneous in character, that are typical of those throughout the Hisma. These graffiti portray the rural independence and individual self-assertion indicative of the nomadic life. Yet, even when the Nabataeans had made the transition to a sedentarized existence, they maintained their tribal social form. Strabo, writing in the Augustan period and relying on a contemporary source, has the Nabataeans living in stone houses, cultivating the vine but still egalitarian and democratic, where everyone enjoys the same level of wealth and the king takes his turn serving his guests and is accountable to the rest of the community for his actions (Strabo 16.4.26).<sup>114</sup>

The two Nabataean altars found in secondary use in the settlement are, in contrast to the graffiti, suggestive of a more settled community or at least a formal sanctuary site or monumental temple. A temple or other public structure has not yet been found at Humayma, but numerous Nabataean architectural features—mouldings, column drums,

---

an oracle given to his father Obodas I (*FGrH* 675 frag. A.1.b).

<sup>113</sup> Graf 1997a. Dushara also appears as Dusares, Dushares and Dousares and means Lord (Du) of the Shara mountains. These mountains form the highest part of the Jordanian plateau reaching over 1600 m before dropping off abruptly into the plain of the Hisma.

<sup>114</sup> Strabo quotes his contemporary Athenodorus who, according to Strabo, had been in Petra (16.4.21).

bases and capitols—have been found in secondary use throughout the site, which suggests that a major Nabataean structure existed here. Patrich states that Nabataean altars, like those from Humayma, are a “formal and crystallised” form, which, along with formal sanctuary sites and temples, were more suited to a settled people than nomadic tribes. However, even by the first century A.C. a fixed ritualistic framework for these formal sites had not yet developed.<sup>115</sup>

As mentioned above, it is likely that local Nabataeans were recruited for the Roman army in Arabia. Nabataean military units were assigned to Roman units immediately after annexation of the province in 106,<sup>116</sup> and Nabataean cavalry are attested with *legio III Cyrenaica* at Namara, east of Bostra.<sup>117</sup> If local individuals formed part of the garrison at Humayma, they may have brought with them the independent and self-assertive personal identity that is implied in the local graffiti and in the accounts of Diodorus and Strabo. The independent Nabataean character discussed above seems to have persisted even when an individual formed attachments to Graeco-Roman political and social identities. A graffito at Heideb el-Fala, about 70 kilometres south of Humayma, was made by a Hellenized Roman officer of Nabataean origin: “Greetings! Zeno, son of QYMT, Tribune, with the good, forever”.<sup>118</sup> The inscription has the simple,

---

<sup>115</sup> Patrich 1990: 103-04. Patrich states that from first century B.C. to the first century A.C. Nabataean religion was still at a stage in which “a fixed ritualistic framework had not yet crystallized”. In this period the Nabataeans already built monumental temples and sacred precincts “around which a more national rather than tribal religious establishment must have grown”.

<sup>116</sup> Graf 1997c: 269. Bowersock 1983: 108.

<sup>117</sup> Graf 1997c: 269. *IGR* III 1257.

<sup>118</sup> Tanner 1990; Jobling & Tanner 1989. cf. Graf 1997c. A similar expression of Roman identity is found in a Greek inscription from the same area of the Hisma, approximately 5 km away, and perhaps made by one of Zeno's companions: Ῥώμαιοι ἀεὶ νικῶσιν. Λαυρίκιος ἔγραψα. Χαίρει Ζένων - "Romans always win (i.e. Romans are the best!). I Lauricius wrote Hail Zenon". Both inscriptions reveal the mixed cultures

self-assertive style of the Jebel Qalka inscriptions and indicates the familial relationship of his Nabataean origins, but Zeno uses this local style to assert a Roman identity as well. Zeno's inscription expresses the complex interaction of cultures and identities that is common in the Near East.<sup>119</sup> Zeno's inscription seems to express that process of Romanisation described by Woolf whereby individuals in the east became Roman while remaining Greek, Nabataean, or, in Zeno's case, both.<sup>120</sup> Woolf argues that individuals in the east selectively adopted Roman cultural habits and that these Roman habits were used to support a local identity rather than diminish it.<sup>121</sup>

Roman occupation of Humayma was characterised by the imposition of a large military complex on the settlement, representing the intrusion of Roman rule and the changed political structure of the province. Along with the Roman fort came ideas of Roman urbanism, Roman law and administration, a Roman form of literacy and Roman religious concepts and habits. The religious culture of the Roman military was based on a hierarchy of religious authority and included the worship of Roman gods, quasi-divine rulers, the state, and military ideals, expressed in part through written language. If local Nabataeans made up part of the military unit here, they would have come in contact with and adopted some of these Roman concepts and habits through the course of military

---

prevailing the in area. The Romans referred to may have been stationed at the Roman fort at Khirbet el-Kithara (Praesidio), north of Aqaba. See Parker 1986: 109-12 for a discussion of this fort.

<sup>119</sup> A small altar from Dura Europos illustrates the complex interaction of cultures and identities (in Millar 1993: 1). The altar was dedicated to the ancestral god, Zeus Betylos, of those by the Orontes by a Roman soldier with a Greek name, Aurelianos Diphilianos of *legio IV Scythica*. See Cat. C024.

<sup>120</sup> See Woolf 1994 for an examination of this process of Romanization which he calls "becoming Roman, staying Greek."

<sup>121</sup> Woolf 1994. Millar (1993) also argues that Roman administration provided the necessary framework that allowed regional and indigenous cultures to flourish.

life.<sup>122</sup>

The garrison at Humayma may have been withdrawn for a few years during Diocletian's reorganisation of the province and a new garrison posted here during the reign of Constantine, but by the early fifth century the fort was finally abandoned and a new cultural environment began to emerge at Humayma. Five large Christian churches were constructed in the central portion of the settlement during the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>123</sup> During this period the civilian population of Humayma increased significantly, suggesting that some of the troops may have moved from the barracks into a house in the local community. The motives for the construction of so many churches in this one small settlement are obscure, but an apparent over-supply of churches in one location is not uncommon in Jordan.<sup>124</sup> It is possible that the numerous churches here resulted from competition among orthodox and heterodox believers in the settlement, or the churches may simply have cycled in and out of use.<sup>125</sup> Whatever the cause, the churches reflect the political situation of the empire in the Byzantine period. The community, once dominated by a structure imposing a Roman political order upon the countryside, now came to be defined by religious interests.

It is possible that the individuals who once garrisoned the fort, or their descendants, adopted the new Christian faith. Shahid states that many early Christians were Arab and that the Arabs were one of the first groups in the Orient, and indeed in the

---

<sup>122</sup> Although the epigraphic habit does not seem to be one of the habits adopted. The epigraphic habit and the relative lack of inscriptions in Arabia was discussed in Chapter Two.

<sup>123</sup> Oleson 1999: forthcoming.

<sup>124</sup> Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming. Schick 1995: 340.

<sup>125</sup> The mid-seventh century construction date for the F102 church and possibly of the B126 church

world, to adopt the new faith. According to Shahid, Christianity spread quite early and extensively in Arabia.<sup>126</sup> The earliest church in Jordan may have been constructed at Aqaba (ancient Aila) in the early fourth century, and a bishop of Aila is attested in 325.<sup>127</sup> Christianity had certainly developed a following in the region around Humayma during the time the fort was garrisoned.

It is impossible to know, at the current state of our evidence, whether some soldiers on active duty at Humayma were Christian. There are various references in ancient authors, however, that suggest it was not incompatible for Christians to serve in the Roman army. Tertullian states that Christians were everywhere, even in the camps (*Apologeticus* 37.4). In the second century, it appears that Christians had enlisted in XII Fulminata in Germany and took part in its campaigns (cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* 5,4.3-5; Dio 72.8.1-10).<sup>128</sup> It seems, however, that even by the reign of Constantine in 312 the army was still significantly non-Christian.<sup>129</sup> The only unambiguous evidence that I found for Christian soldiers in Arabia is the presence of a church constructed inside the legionary camp at el-Lejjun, adjacent to the *principia*, in the fifth century.<sup>130</sup> The presence of the

---

coincides with the abandonment of the church in C101, and the renovation of the church in B100.

<sup>126</sup> Shahid 1984a: 16-19 and *passim*. Shahid (1984a: 65-93) argues that the emperor Philip the Arab was Christian although this view is not widely accepted. The Lhakhmid king Imru el-Quays, who was buried at Namara in 328, was Christian and may have defected to Roman territory from Hira in southern Persia to escape religious oppression of the Sassanian Persian empire under the Shapur II (Shahid 1984b: 33).

<sup>127</sup> Parker 1999: 512.

<sup>128</sup> There is an often repeated story of Christian soldiers in this legion, under the command of Marcus Aurelius. While preparing for a battle against the Quadi in Germany the unit was cut off from their water supply and were weakened by thirst. The prayers of the Christian soldiers brought a thunderstorm that refreshed the parched soldiers. The account in Dio is from an interpolation of an eleventh century writer, Johannes Xiphilinus. See Helgeland 1979: 766-78 for discussion of the Christianity of *legio XII Fulminata* and other accounts of Christian soldiers.

<sup>129</sup> MacMullen 1984: 45.

<sup>130</sup> Parker 1988: 146. Isaac (1990: 207) notes that in Arabia several forts contain churches: Deir el-Kahf,

church not only suggests that a significant portion of the garrison at el-Lejjun was Christianised by this time, even though the cult of the standards and the legionary shrine was maintained into the early sixth century, but is also an indication of the adoption of Christianity in the empire at the imperial, state level.

## **Conclusion**

The monuments from the fort at Humayma reflect the three basic themes of official religious routine in a Roman military camp: sacrifices to the Capitoline gods for the safety of the emperor and the empire, and an attachment to a military identity through an expression of loyalty to the emperor who served as commander of the army. Religion in the military unit was part of military routine and ordered the lives of soldiers according to Roman beliefs and values. The religious festivals and rites of the military unit at Humayma were in all probability the same as those celebrated by civilians throughout the empire and served to include the varied ethnic population of army units in a wider Roman community. Personal devotion for the soldiers in the East included many of the gods and concepts of “official” practice, but soldiers also continued to worship, or adopted the worship, of local gods. Soldiers from outside the province brought with them the gods of their homelands, which became established in the community.

There is little direct evidence for Nabataean or Christian influence on the military

---

Qasr el-Ba'iq, Umm el-Jemal, Udruh and el-Lejjun. Parker (1986: 21-29) dates these churches to the fifth century. Of these forts, however, only the fortress at el-Lejjun and the site of Umm el-Jemal have been extensively excavated, and the exact nature of the other "forts" is not clear. At Umm el-Jemal, it is uncertain whether part of the so-called barracks was a church, nor is it clear whether soldiers were using this structure in this period (see Parker 1986: 29). Information on the fort at Udruh is unreliable as final reports of the excavations here have not been published.

rites at Humayma. Nevertheless, evidence from the settlement reveals the cultural habits of the groups that served to define the environment here at different historical periods. There appears to have been an evolution from periodic, spontaneous acts of spiritual expression connected to the environment, to the formalisation of religious practices within structures, prescribed time, connected with governance and group administration, and based on a hierarchy of relationships. The religion of the Roman military was formalised, routine, and part of the political structure, concerned with formal relationships and assigned space. With the abandonment of the fort the community came to be defined by religious ideologies rather than political motivations.

---

## Chapter Four

### Conclusions

This thesis has undertaken the examination of three inscriptions that were found in the second century Roman fort at Humayma in southern Jordan. The site of Humayma was part of the Roman province of Arabia—an area which encompassed the southern portion of modern Syria, all of Jordan, parts of the Negev, the Sinai and the northwest portion of the Saudi peninsula. This area was, prior to the imposition of Roman control, part of the Kingdom of the Nabataeans, a local Semitic people known for their commercial and trading activities and for their expertise in water collection systems. Rome annexed the region as a province in AD 106.

The fort at Humayma was probably built in conjunction with the annexation and original garrisoning of the province. Arabia was a one legion province, garrisoned by the third Cyrenaican legion, which was transferred to Arabia from Egypt in A.C. 106 and headquartered at Bostra in the northern portion of the province. It is unknown which unit garrisoned the fort in the first years of its life, but the original garrison may have been a detachment of III Cyrenaica or an auxiliary unit. The *Notitia Dignitatum* indicates that a unit of indigenous mounted bowmen, *equites sagittarii indigenae*, was stationed at Humayma in the late fourth century. The *N.D.* corresponds with the second period of occupation of the fort. In the first occupational period the fort was manned continuously from the early second century to the reign of Diocletian in the late third century. Coin evidence suggests that the unit may have been withdrawn for a few decades in conjunction with Diocletian's reorganisation of the provinces and the redistribution of the

frontier forts of Arabia. The fort seems to have been reoccupied in the reign of Constantine and final abandonment took place in the mid-fourth century.

The fort was built according to conventional Roman standards of the period, and although there are differing views on the function of the military in the province, the purpose of the unit here probably was to supervise and administer the surrounding area.<sup>1</sup> Since the size of the fortifications are more extensive than necessary for the relatively peaceful political climate in the region, the symbolic value of the walls may have been as important as their strategic value. The fort marked the changed political situation and the imposition of Roman control in an area that had limited Roman contact before annexation. To the community at Humayma, wandering nomads, and to travellers along the *Via Nova*, the fort would have been an important reminder of Roman political control. As Oleson has recently written, it must have been a "beacon of Romanness in a desert seemingly empty but constantly scanned by the inquisitive eyes of its inhabitants."<sup>2</sup>

The three inscriptions were found in the *principia* or headquarters building of the fort. In 1995 a small altar and a broken statue base were found in the fill of Room F, the outer-most room on the east side of the *principia* (see Fig. 4). Both of these dedications are inscribed in Greek. The inscriptions may not have been originally located in this room but may have been placed in or outside the centre room D, which would have been the *aedes* or camp shrine. The third inscription was found in 1996 on a large statue base or pedestal, found abutting the south facade of the *principia* on line with the shared wall between the two eastern Rooms E & F (Fig. 4). The find spot, which was probably part

---

<sup>1</sup> cf. Parker 1986, 1997b; Isaac 1990; Graf 1997 among others.

of a porticoed walkway between the back rooms of the *principia* and a colonnaded courtyard, is probably the original location of the block. A two line Latin inscription, in very poor condition, was inscribed on the south face of the block, the side facing the courtyard.

Since they were found in the *principia*, and in view of the fact that no other stone inscriptions have been found elsewhere in the fort, the inscriptions probably served a corporate or official purpose for the entire unit. The altar was dedicated to Zeus Megistos Kapitlios, a self-consciously Roman form of Zeus not otherwise attested in the inscriptions surveyed. Reconstruction and translation of the Greek inscription on the small broken statue base is problematic since some of the text appears to be missing. I have argued, on the basis of the most common use of the word σωτηρ in the inscriptions of Jordan and Syria and from the lack of other parallels, that the inscription was set up as a request for the safety of the emperor, using the formulaic phrase [ὑπὲρ] σωτηρ[ίως]. The Latin inscription on the large block is equally problematic and only the abbreviation for "governor" can be plausibly reconstructed. On this basis, I have argued that the base may have held a statue of the emperor, dedicated by the governor of the province. We do not know the date of the monuments, but they may have been set up in the late second to early third century.

One interesting aspect of the dedications is the appearance of both Latin and Greek. The two Greek inscriptions and the one Latin inscription point to an interaction of Roman and Greek cultures in the east. On the one hand, the inscriptions are typical

---

<sup>2</sup> Oleson 1999: forthcoming.

examples of the Graeco-Roman practice of monumental writing. A dedication to the Roman god Zeus Capitolinus, a dedication for the safety of the emperor, and an expression of military loyalty and allegiance are common forms of dedication in Roman military life. Epigraphic densities have been found to be higher in military and urban areas, and, in this respect, the inscriptions correspond to the epigraphic habits of the military. On the other hand, the scarcity of material from Humayma and other sites in Arabia is in keeping with the epigraphic and cultural habits of the east and represents an eastern tendency not to set up inscriptions and a tendency to adopt Roman cultural forms only selectively.

It is not surprising to find two Greek inscriptions, since Greek was the language of common usage in the east: in high culture, public administration, legal affairs and personal dedications. Latin never became widely used in the east and was restricted to military contexts, on milestones or in relation to military officials. The Latin inscription on the large statue base corresponds with the general use of Latin in the east in military contexts and may indicate the western origins of the camp commander or the governor. However, the use of Greek for the altar dedication and on the small statue base is somewhat unusual given that the dedications originate in the administrative and ceremonial centre of the camp, where Latin, the official language of the military, might be expected. The Greek inscriptions may indicate the eastern origins of the officers of the unit. The Greek dedication to the Roman deity Zeus Capitolinus establishes a connection with the official religious structure of the military while maintaining an attachment to eastern cultural habits. The dedication suggests an identification with Roman religious

concepts while maintaining a regional or eastern identity through the language of dedication.

The Greek inscriptions point to the persistence of Greek language and culture in the area and are indicative of the widespread use of Greek as the language of engagement with the new Roman government. The legal documents of the Babatha archive reveal that Greek was not only the language of high culture but also became the medium that incorporated the rural world into the wider Roman power structure.<sup>3</sup>

I have argued that the inscriptions fit within the official religious practices of the military that were performed by army units throughout the Roman world. Official religion in the military was essentially the religion of the wider Roman world and corresponds to the public cults of Roman communities throughout the empire. The required religious activity of the military camp honoured traditional Roman gods, the emperor, his family and ancestors, and included rites and religious occasions that celebrated a military identity. The monuments from the *principia* of the Humayma fort may be viewed as relating to each of these themes of military religion. The altar dedication to the Capitoline Zeus/Jupiter represents a relationship with a traditional Roman god, the small statue base dedicated perhaps as a request for the safety of the emperor corresponds to the many imperial occasions in the military religious calendar, and the large statue base with its Latin inscription may express a military character and identity through its language of dedication but also, if the base held a statue of the emperor, as an expression of military loyalty to the emperor as commander of the army.

---

<sup>3</sup> The documents in the archive that are dated prior to Roman annexation were written in Greek, Nabataean and Aramaic. After annexation, Greek supplanted Nabataean as the language of public administration.

As a way of understanding the cultural habits of the soldiers in Arabia and to place the inscriptions from Humayma in a wider religious context, I examined epigraphic evidence for the personal religious practices of the soldiers in Arabia. Epigraphic evidence for the personal religion of individual soldiers in Arabia revealed a conservatism of religious expression and a predominance of dedications to Zeus. There was limited evidence for the worship of foreign or eastern gods and for those foreign gods traditionally associated with the military such as Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithras. These findings correspond with the other suggestions of strong local attachments and identities and the uniquely eastern way of adoption and adaptation of Roman or 'foreign' habits.

I also examined evidence for the religious life of the cultural periods pre-dating and immediately post-dating the Roman presence at Humayma in order to understand how the monuments from the fort and the religious practices inferred from them fit within the changing cultural context of religion at Humayma. Two Nabataean altars from the settlement area and the presence of a rural sanctuary near the site where Thamudic and Nabataean graffiti have been found pecked into the rock alongside etchings of Dushara blocks suggest that the Nabataean community at Humayma was a mix of nomadic and settled people. The altars suggest a trend toward a fixed, formalised religious structure although no formal sanctuary site has yet been discovered at the site. If an auxiliary unit was stationed at Humayma, it is possible that local men of Nabataean origin served in the unit and, if so, they may have they retained their tribal and indigenous cultural habits even while serving as Roman soldiers.

The religious life of the Roman military was similar to public cults of Roman communities. The rituals performed were concerned with the proper functioning of the

state and of the military unit and were important for morale, discipline and social unity. The religious rites of the military may have served to Romanize eastern or local troops and instil Roman mores in men unaccustomed to Roman ways.

After the fort was abandoned in the early fifth century, numerous Christian churches were constructed in the central portion of the settlement. It is possible that soldiers from the unit or their descendants had adopted Christianity but evidence for Christian soldiers in Arabia is limited and, at the present state of excavations, there is no evidence for Christian soldiers at Humayma in the period the fort was occupied. While the history of Christianity at Humayma is in need of further study, it is apparent that the settlement came to be defined by religious ideologies rather than political motives.

Much is still unknown about the Roman presence in the province of Arabia. Scholars continue to debate the nature of Roman involvement in the province and the function of the army once the province was established.<sup>4</sup> Still less is known of the nature of the interaction between local people and the military.<sup>5</sup> While the Humayma inscriptions do not answer any large questions about the Roman presence in Arabia, they do add to the growing body of evidence for and represent a small piece of the larger historical picture of Roman involvement in the region. Since literary testimony for Arabia is limited, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence is of primary importance.

---

<sup>4</sup> Isaac and argue that the army was an instrument of occupation involved in policing the countryside, exacting taxes and quelling internal unrest, while Parker contends that the deployment of military posts and garrisons was a strategy aimed at controlling a persistent, if low intensity, external threat from nomadic Arab tribes of the north Arabian Desert.

<sup>5</sup> A glimpse of the nature of the interaction of local people and the military can be seen in the Babatha documents. Documents *P. Yadin* 19 and 20 record a military officer lending money to a local individual. See Isaac 1998a for a brief discussion of the Babatha Archive in relation to Roman administration and the Roman military.

Indeed, until recently, it was commonly believed that the southern portion of Roman Arabia, from Wadi el-Hasa to Aqaba on the Red Sea, was of secondary importance and that there was little Roman military presence here before the Severan era.<sup>6</sup> The study of the cultural remains from the fort at Humayma, therefore, has much to add to our knowledge of the history of the province, especially in the early years of its existence and in an area of the province for which there is limited evidence. The inscriptions from Humayma add to the body of evidence for the Roman military in Arabia and offer important information, however limited, about a small aspect of military life in this poorly understood region of the empire.

---

<sup>6</sup> Isaac 1990: 123; Sartre 1993: 166; cf. Graf 1995.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations used in text and appendix.

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| <i>ADAJ</i>    | <i>Archaeology of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>  |
| <i>AE</i>      | <i>L'Année Epigraphique</i>  |
| <i>AJA</i>     | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>   |
| <i>AJP</i>     | <i>American Journal of Philology</i>   |
| <i>ANRW</i>    | <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>  |
| <i>BAR</i>     | <i>British Archaeological Report</i>   |
| <i>BASOR</i>   | <i>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research</i>  |
| <i>BEFAR</i>   | <i>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>   |
| <i>BJ</i>      | <i>Bonner Jarhbücher</i>   |
| <i>CIL</i>     | <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>  |
| <i>EA</i>      | <i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>   |
| <i>HThR</i>    | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i>  |
| <i>IGR</i>     | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas Pertinentes</i>  |
| <i>ILS</i>     | <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>  |
| <i>JJS</i>     | <i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>   |
| <i>JRA</i>     | <i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>  |
| <i>JRS</i>     | <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>  |
| <i>PCPS</i>    | <i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>   |
| <i>PBSR</i>    | <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>  |
| <i>PDura</i>   | C.B. Welles, R.O. Fink, and J.F. Gilliam. <i>The excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report V, Part I: The Parchments and Papyri</i> . New Haven, 1959. |
| <i>PGenLat</i> | J. Nicole and Ch. Morel. <i>Archives Militaires du 1er siècle. Texte inédit du Papyrus latin de Genève No.1</i> . Geneva, 1900.                        |
| <i>PIR</i>     | E. Groag, A. Stein, and L. Peterson. <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saeculi I, II, III</i> , 2nd ed. Berlin-Leipzig, 1933- .                        |
| <i>PMich</i>   | C.C. Edgar et al. <i>Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection</i> , 1931-   |
| <i>PYadin</i>  | N. Lewis. <i>The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri</i> , Jerusalem, 1989.                                      |
| <i>RIB</i>     | R.G Collingwood and R.P. Wright, <i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> . Oxford, 1965.  |
| <i>SEG</i>     | <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>   |
| <i>SHAJ</i>    | <i>Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan</i>  |
| <i>Syria</i>   | <i>Syria, Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie</i>  |
| <i>TAPA</i>    | <i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>   |
| <i>YCS</i>     | <i>Yale Classical Studies</i>  |
| <i>ZPE</i>     | <i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>  |

Adams, J.N. "The poets of Bu Njem: language, culture and the centurionate," *JRS* 89 (1999) 109-24.

- Ash, R. *Ordering Anarchy: Armies and Leaders in Tacitus' Histories*. London: Duckworth, 1999.
- Barrett, J.C. "Chronologies of remembrance: the interpretation of some Roman inscriptions," *World Archaeology* 25.2 (1993) 236-47.
- Beard, M. "Writing and Ritual: A Study of Diversity and Expansion in the Arval Acta," *PBSR* 53 (1985) 114-62.
- Beard, M. "Ancient literacy and the function of the written word in Roman religion," Pp. 35-58 in *Literacy in the Roman world*. (JRA Supplementary Series n. 3) Ann Arbor, 1991.
- Beard, M., J. North, and S. Price. *Religions of Rome*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Bennett, C.M. "A Graeco-Nabataean sanctuary on Umm el-Biyara," *ADAJ* 24 (1980) 209-12.
- Bédoyère, G. de la. *The Finds of Roman Britain*. London: Batsford, 1989.
- Bianchi, U. "I.O.M. Heliopolitanus un dieu complexe et polyvalent," Pp. 613-16 in G.M. Bellelli and U. Bianchi eds., *Orientalia Urbis Sacra Romae Heliopolitana et Dolichena*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1996.
- Birley, E. "The religion of the Roman army: 1895-1977," *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978) 1506-41.
- Birley, E. *Septimius Severus. The African Emperor*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Boardman, J., R.N. Pryce, J.S.S. Spawforth, and J. Linderski. "Altars, Roman." Pp. 68 in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth eds., *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Bowersock, G.W. "A Report on Arabia Provincia," *JRA* 61 (1971) 219-42.
- Bowersock, G.W. *Roman Arabia*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Bowman, A.K. *Roman writing tablets from Vindolanda*. London: British Museum Publications, 1983.
- Bowman, A.K. "Letters and literacy on Rome's northern frontier," Pp. 109-25 in A.K. Bowman and G. Woolf eds., *Literacy and power in the ancient world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

- Bowman, A.K., and J.D. Thomas. *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses II)*. London: British Museum Publications, 1994.
- Brown, F.E., and C.B. Wells. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work*. New Haven, 1939.
- Brünnow, R., and A. von Domaszewski. *Provincia Arabia*. 3 vols. Strasbourg: Trübner, 1904-9.
- Burkert, W. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Burkert, W. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Cagnat, R. *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*. vols. 1-4. Paris, 1906-1927. Reprinted Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1965-1975.
- Campbell, J.B. *The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC - AD 235*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- Campbell, J.B. *The Roman army 31 BC- AD 337: a sourcebook*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Cary, E. *Cassius Dio: Roman History Vols. 3 and 8*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1914, 1925.
- Collingwood, R.G., and R.P. Wright. *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.
- Cook, A.B. *Zeus*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914-40.
- Cotton, H. "The languages of the legal and administrative documents from the Judaean Desert," *ZPE* 125 (1999) 219-31.
- Cumont, F. *Fouilles de Doura-Europos. (1922-23)*. Paris, 1926.
- Daniels, C.M. "The role of the Roman army in the spread and practice of Mithraism," Pp. 249-74 in John Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies*, vol. 2. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975.
- Davies, R. "A report of an attempted coup," *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 179-96.
- Davies, R. "Joining the Roman army," Pp. 3-30 in D. Breeze and V. Maxfield eds., *Service in the Roman Army*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989a.

- Davies, R. "The daily life of the Roman Soldier under the Principate," Pp. 33-70 in D. Breeze and V. Maxfield eds., *Service in the Roman Army*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989b.
- Davies, R. "The Roman military diet," Pp. 197-206 in D. Breeze and V. Maxfield eds., *Service in the Roman Army*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989c.
- Derks, T. *Gods, Temples and Ritual Practices. The Transformation of Religious Ideas and Values in Roman Gaul*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998.
- Dessau, H. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin: 1962.
- Drijvers, H.J.W. "Inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods," Pp. 165-68 in E. Meyers ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Dudley, D. *Nabataeans and Trade: Contributing Elements*. MA Thesis, University of Victoria, 1992.
- Dunand, M. "Une mission archéologique du Djebel Druze," *Syria* 7 (1926) 327-35.
- Dunand, M. *Le musée Soueida: inscriptions et monuments figures*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1934.
- Dunant, C. *Le sanctuaire de Ba'alshamin à Palmyre III. Les inscriptions*. Paris: 1971.
- Dussaud, R., and F. Macler. *Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*. Paris, 1903.
- Eadie, J., and J.P. Oleson. "The water-supply systems of Nabataean and Roman Humayma," *BASOR* 262 (1986) 49-76.
- Fears, J. "The cult of Jupiter and Roman imperial ideology," *ANRW* II 17.1 (1981a) 3-141.
- Fears, J. "The cult of Virtues and Roman imperial ideology," *ANRW* II 17.2 (1981b) 827-948.
- Fiema, Z. "Military architecture and the defence "system" of Roman - Byzantine Southern Jordan - A critical appraisal of current interpretations," *SHAJ* 5 (1995) 261-69.
- Figueras, P. "The Roman worship of Athena-Allat in the Decapolis and the Negev," *Aram* 4: 1 and 2 (1992) 173-83.
- Fink, R.O. *Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland, 1971.

- Fink R.O., A.S. Hoey, and W.F. Snyder. "The Feriale Duranum," *YCS* 7 (1940) 1-222.
- Fishwick, D. "Dated inscriptions and the *Feriale Duranum*," *Syria* 65 (1988) 50-61.
- Fishwick, D. *Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Rule Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*. vol. 2. Leiden: Brill, 1991.
- Fishwick, D. "Soldier and Emperor," *Ancient History Bulletin* 6.1 (1992) 63-72.
- Francis, E.D. "Mithraic graffiti from Dura-Europos," Pp. 424-45 in John Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies*, vol 2. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975.
- French, D. "Inscriptions in the Antakya and Gaziantep Museums," *EA* 23 (1994) 118-24.
- Gatier, P.-L. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. vol. 21: *Inscriptions de la Jordanie*. vol. 2. *Region Centrale*. Paris: P. Guethner, 1986.
- Gatier, P.-L. "Une inscription latine à Madaba," *Liber Annuus* 37 (1987) 365-67.
- Gilliam, J. "The Roman Military Feriale," *HThR* 47 (1954) 183-96.
- Gilliam, J. *Roman Army Papers*. vol 2. M. Speidel, ed., Amsterdam: J.C.Gieben, 1986.
- Glover, T.R. *Tertullian: Apology, de Spectaculis*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1953.
- Glueck, N. *Deities and Dolphins*. London: Cassell, 1965.
- Goldsworthy, A., and I. Haynes, eds. *The Roman Army as a Community*. (*JRA* Supplementary Series n. 34) Portsmouth, 1999.
- Gordon, R. "The Roman Empire," Pp. 177-255 in M. Beard and J. North eds., *Pagan Priests: Religion and Power in the Ancient World*. Ithaca: Duckworth, 1990.
- Graf, D.F. "Via Nova Traiana in Arabia Petraea," Pp. 241-67 in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*. (*JRA* Supplementary Series n.14) Ann Arbor, 1995.
- Graf, D.F. "The God of Humayma," Pp. 67-77 in *Rome and the Arabian Frontier: from the Nabataeans to the Saracens*. (Variorum Collected Studies Series CS594) Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997a.
- Graf, D.F. "The via militaris and the limes Arabicus," Pp. 123-33 in W. Groenman-van Waateringe, B.L. van Beek, W.J.H. Willems, S.L. Wynia eds., *Roman Frontier*

*Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies.* (Oxbow Monograph 91) Oxford, 1997b.

- Graf, D.F. "The Nabataean army and the Cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum," Pp. 267-311 in *Rome and the Arabian Frontier: from the Nabataeans to the Saracens.* (Variorum Collected Studies Series CS594) Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997c.
- Graf, F. "Zeus", Pp. 1636-38 in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth eds. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1996.
- Grahame, M. "Material culture and Roman identity: the spatial layout of Pompeian houses and the problem of ethnicity," Pp. 156-78 in R. Laurence and J. Berry eds., *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Gregory, S. *Roman Military Architecture on the Eastern Frontier.* Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1995.
- Gysens, J.C. "Le culte de Jupiter Héliopolitain à Héliopolis/Baalbek," Pp. 545-58 in G.M. Bellelli and U. Bianchi eds., *Orientalia Sacra Urbis Romae Heliopolitana et Dolichena.* (Studia Archaeologica 84) Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1997.
- Hajjar, Y. "Baalbek, grand centre religieux sous l'Empire," *ANRW* II 18.4 (1990) 2458-508.
- Hammond, P. *Nabataeans - Their History, Culture and Archaeology.* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 37) Gothenberg: Verlag, 1973.
- Hanson, J.A. *Apuleius: Metamorphoses.* Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1989.
- Harris, W.V. *Ancient Literacy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Haynes, I. "The romanisation of religion in the *auxilia* of the Roman Imperial army from Augustus to Septimius Severus," *Britannia* 24 (1993) 141-57.
- Haynes, I. "Military service and cultural identity in the *auxilia*," Pp. 165-74 in A. Goldworthy and I. Haynes eds., *The Roman Army as a Community.* (JRA Supplementary Series n. 34) Portsmouth, 1999.
- Helgeland, J. "Roman army religion," *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978) 1470-505.
- Helgeland, J. "Christians and the Roman army from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine," *ANRW* II 23.1 (1979) 724-834.
- Henig, M. *Religion in Roman Britain.* London: Batsford, 1984.

- Hoey, A.S. "Rosaliae Signorum," *HThR* 30 (1937) 15-35.
- Hoey, A.S. "Official policy towards oriental cults in the Roman army," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 456-81.
- Hopkins, C., and H.T. Rowell. "The praetorium," in M. Rostovtzeff, P.V.C. Baur, A.R. Bellinger eds., *Excavations at Dura Europos Preliminary Report of the Fourth Season of Work 1930-1931*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933.
- Irby-Massie, G. *Military Religion in Roman Britain*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Isaac, B. *The Limits of Empire: the Roman Army in the East*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Isaac, B. "The Babatha Archive," Pp. 159-81 in *The Near East under Roman rule, Selected Papers*. Leiden: Brill, 1998a.
- Isaac, B. "Review Article: 'Inscriptions from Southern Jordan: M. Sartre, Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Tome xxi, Inscriptions de la Jordanie, Tome iv: Petra et la Nabatène méridionale, du wadi al-Hasa au golfe de 'Aqaba (Paris, 1993)'," Pp. 334-42 in *The Near East under Roman Rule, Selected Papers*. Leiden: Brill, 1998b.
- Jackson, J. *Tacitus. Annals Books 13-16*. vol. 4. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1938.
- Jacoby, F. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Jalabert, L., and R. Mouterde. *Inscriptiones grecques et latines de la Syrie*. vol 5. *Emesa*, Paris: P. Guethner, 1959.
- Jobling, W., and R.G. Tanner. "Zeno the tribune," *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 6 (1989) 135-39.
- Johnson, A. *Roman Forts*. London. Adam and Charles Black, 1983.
- Johnson, S. *Late Roman Fortifications*. London: Batsford, 1983.
- Jones, H.L. *The Geography of Strabo. Vol 7*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1961.
- Kennedy, D.L. "Syria," Pp. 703-36 in A.E. Astin et al. eds., *Cambridge Ancient History*. 2nd ed., vol. 10. Cambridge: 1996.

- Kennedy, D.L. and D. Riley. *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air*. London: Batsford, 1990.
- Kindler, A. *The Coinage of Bostra*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1983.
- Klein, R. *Die Romrede des Aelius Aristides*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983.
- Kloner, A., and A. Hubsch. "The Roman amphitheater of Bet Guvrin," *Antiqot* 30 (1996) 85-105.
- Kraeling, C.H. *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*. New Haven: ASOR, 1938.
- Lake, K. *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1953.
- Lander, J. *Roman Stone Fortifications. Variation and Change from the First Century A.D. to the Fourth*. (BAR International Series 206) Oxford, 1984.
- Le Bohec, Y. *The Imperial Roman Army*. London: Batsford, 1994.
- Lenoir, M. *Pseudo-Hygin: des Fortifications du Camp*. Paris, 1979.
- Lepper, F and S. Frere. *Trajan's Column*. Wolfboro, NH: Alan Sutton, 1988.
- Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G. *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*. Oxford: Calendon Press, 1979.
- Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G. "The expansion of Mithraism among the religious cults of the second century," Pp. 195-216 in John Hinnells ed., *Studies in Mithraism*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1994.
- Lifshitz, B. "Études sur l'histoire de la province romaine de Syrie," *ANRW* II 8 (1977) 3-30.
- Littman, E., R. Magie, and R. Stuart. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Southern Syria*. Div III Section A. *Syria, Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*. Princeton, 1921.
- Liversidge, J. "Wall painting form military sites in Roman Britain," Pp. 141-56 in A. Barbet, ed., *La peinture murale romaine dans les provinces de l'Empire*. (BAR International Series 165) Oxford: 1983.
- MacMullen, R. *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.

- MacMullen, R. *Paganism in the Roman Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- MacMullen, R. "The epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire," *AJP* 103 (1982) 233-46.
- MacMullen, R. *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400)*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Magie, D. *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. vol 1-3. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1922, 1924, 1932.
- Marcillet-Jaubert, J. "Deux dédicaces à Neptune trouvées à Lambèse," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité* (1970) 213-20.
- Maricq, A. "Les dernières années de Hatra," *Syria* 34 (1957) 288-96.
- Marra, J. *Q. Septimii Tertulliani de corona liber. De cultu feminarum libri duo*. Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum, 1951.
- Mattingly, D.J. *Tripolitania*. London: Batsford, 1995.
- Maxfield, V. *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*. London: Batsford, 1981.
- Mendels, D. "Seleucids" Pp. 514-15 in E. Meyers ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Meyer, E. "Explaining the epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire: the evidence of epitaphs," *JRS* 80 (1990) 74-96.
- Millar, F. "Empire, community and culture in the Roman Near East: Greeks, Syrians, Jews and Arabs," *JJS* 32.2 (1987) 143-64.
- Millar, F. *The Roman Near East 31 BC - AD 337*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Millar, F. "The Greek East and Roman law: the dossier of M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus," *JRS* 89 (1999) 90-108.
- Mommsen, T., P. Krueger, and A. Watson. *The Digest of Justinian*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
- Moore, C.H. *Tacitus Vol 1: Histories Books 1-3*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons (Loeb Classical Library) 1925.

- Moore, C.H., and J. Jackson. *Tacitus Vol 2: Histories Books 4-5. Annals Books 1-3*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons (Loeb Classical Library) 1931, 1937.
- Negev, A., "Er-Ramm," Pp. 996-97 in M. Avi-Yonah and M. Stern eds., English ed. *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. vol 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Nock, A.D. "The Roman army and the Roman religious year," *HThR* 45 (1952) 186-252.
- North, J. "Conservatism and change in Roman religion," *PBSR* 46 (1976) 1-12.
- Oates, M. "A note on three Latin inscriptions from Hatra," *Sumer* 11 (1955) 39-43.
- Ogilvie, R.M. *The Romans and their Gods*. London: Hogarth Press, 1986.
- Oldfather, C.H. *Diodorus of Sicily. Vol 2*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University press (Loeb Classical Library) 1961.
- Oleson, J.P. "Humeima," Pp. 528-29 in P. Bikai and V. Egan, "Archaeology in Jordan", *AJA* 100 (1996).
- Oleson, J.P. "Landscape and cityscape in the Hisma: The resources of ancient al-Humayma," *SHAJ* 6 (1997) 175-88.
- Oleson, J.P. "King, Emperor, Priest and Caliph: Cultural change at Hawar (ancient Humayma) in the first Millennium A.C." *SHAJ* 7 (1999) forthcoming.
- Oleson, J.P., K. 'Amr, R. Foote, J. Logan, B. Reeves, R. Schick. "Preliminary Report of the Humayma Excavation Project, 1995, 1996, 1998," *ADAJ* 43 (1999) forthcoming.
- Parker, S.T. *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan: Interim Report on the Limes Arabicus Project 1980-1985*. Oxford: BAR, 1987.
- Parker, S.T. "Preliminary Report on the 1985 Season of the Limes Arabicus Project," *BASOR* Supplement 25 1982-85 (1988) 131-61.
- Parker, S.T. "The typology of Roman and Byzantine forts and fortresses in Jordan," *SHAJ* 5 (1995) 251-60.
- Parker, S.T. "Fortifications of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods," Pp. 329-34 in E. Meyers ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997a.

- Parker, S.T. "Geography and strategy on the southeastern frontier in the late Roman period," Pp. 115-22 in W. Groenman-van Waateringe, B.L. van Beek, W.J.H. Willems, S.L. Wynia eds., *Roman Frontier Studies 1995. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. (Oxbow Monograph 91) Oxford, 1997b.
- Parker, S.T. "Roman Aqaba Project," Pp. 511-13 in V. Egan and P. Bikai, "Archaeology in Jordan," *AJA* 103 (1999) 485-520.
- Parr, P.J. "Recent discoveries at Petra," *PEQ* (Jan-Jun 1957) 5-16.
- Parr, P.J. and B. Starcky. "Three altars from Petra," *ADAJ* 6-7 (1968) 41-66.
- Patrich, J. *The Formation of Nabataean Art*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1990.
- Peacock, D.P.S., and D.R. Williams. *Amphorae and the Roman Economy*. London: Longman, 1986.
- Pekáry, T. "Das Opfer vor dem Kaiserbild," *BJ* 186 (1986) 91-93.
- Petrikovits, von H. *Die Innenbauten romischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatzert*. Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1975.
- Perrin, B. *Plutarch's Lives. Vol 11*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1962.
- Pollard, N. "The Roman army as 'total institution' in the Near East? Dura Europos as a case study," Pp. 211-27 in D. L. Kennedy ed., *The Roman Army in the East*. (*JRA* Supplementary Series n. 18) Ann Arbor, 1996.
- Price, S.R.F. *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Rackham, H. *Pliny: Natural History Vol 4*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1960.
- Radice, B. *Pliny: Letters and Panegyricus Vol 2*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library) 1964.
- Reeves, M.B. *The Roman Bath-house at Humeima in its Architectural and Social Context*, M.A. thesis, University of Victoria, 1996.
- Reeves, M.B., and J. Oleson "Baths of the Hisma Desert," *Balnearia* 5.1 (1997) 2-4.

- Rey-Coquais, J.-P. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. vol 6. *Heliopolis/Baalbek*, Paris: P. Guethner, 1965.
- Richmond, I. "Roman legionaries at Corbridge, their supply base, temples and religious cults," *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser. 21 (1943) 127-224.
- Rives, J.B. *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Rix, H., and S.R.F. Price. "Soter," Pp. 1427-28 in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth eds. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1996.
- Rolfe, J.C. *Suetonius Vol 1-2*. London: William Heinemann (Loeb Classical Library) 1997.
- Rose, C. "The Imperial image in the Eastern Mediterranean." Pp. 108-20. in S. Alcock, ed. *The Early Roman Empire in the East*. (Oxbow Monograph 95) Oxford, 1997.
- Rostovtzeff, M. *Dura-Europos and its Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938.
- Rostovtzeff, M. "Vexillum and Victory," *JRS* 32 (1942) 92-106.
- Rostvteff, M. *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford, 1941. Reprinted with corrections, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.
- Rostovtzeff, M., et al. eds., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of the Fourth Season of Work*. New Haven, 1933.
- Rostovtzeff, M., et al. eds., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939.
- Rostovtzeff, M., et al. eds., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of the Ninth Season of Work*. New Haven, 1952.
- Ryberg, I.S. *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*. New Haven, 1955.
- Sanzi, E. "Dimension sociale et organisation du culte Dolichénien," Pp. 475-513 in U. Bianchi ed., *Orientalia Sacra Urbis Romae, Dolichena et Heliopolitana*. (Studia Archaeologica 84) Rome: L'Erma Bretschneider, 1996.
- Sarnowski, T. "Les effigies impériales dans les forteresses militaires romaines à propos d'une découverte récente de Noavae," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin Gesellschafts und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 31, 213 (1982) 273-75.

- Sarnowski, T., V.M. Zubar, and O.J. Savelja. "Zum religiösen Leben der niedermoesischen Vexillationen auf der Sudkrim," *Historia* 47.3.3 (1998) 321-41.
- Sartre, M. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. vol. 13 Fasc. 1: *Bostra*, Paris: P. Guethner, 1982.
- Sartre, M. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. vol 21. *Inscriptions de la Jordanie*. vol. 4. *Pétra et la Nabatène méridionale du wadi al-Hasa au golfe de 'Aqaba*. Paris: P. Guethner, 1993.
- Sartre, M. *Trois études sur l'Arabie Romaine et Byzantine*. Collection Latomus 178, 1982.
- Sartre, M. "Le *dies-imperii* de Gordien III: une inscription inédite de Syrie," *Syria* 61 (1984) 49-61.
- Scheid, J. *Romulus et ses frères. Le collège des frères Arvales, modèle du culte public dans la Rome des empereurs*. (BEFAR 275) Rome, 1990.
- Schick, R. "Christianity at Humayma, Jordan," *Liber Annuus* 45 (1995) 319-42.
- Schilling, R. "Jupiter," Pp. 214-15 in M. Eliade ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 8, New York: MacMillan, 1987.
- Schneider, A. *Le premier livre ad nationes de Tertullien*. Switzerland: Institut Suisse de Rome (Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 9) 1968.
- Schulze, W. *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1904.
- Scullard, H.H. *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1981.
- Seeck, O. *Notitia Dignitatum*. Frankfurt, 1962.
- Seyrig, H. "Une idole bétylique," *Syria* 40 (1963) 2-19.
- Seyrig, H. "Antiquités syriennes," *Syria* 31 (1954) 217-18.
- Seyrig, H. "Antiquités syriennes," *Syria* 20 (1938) 296-323.
- Shahid, I. *Rome and the Arabs, a Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantium and the Arabs*. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984a.
- Shahid, I. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984b.

- Sherwin-White, S. "Seleucids," Pp. 1380-81 in S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth eds. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 1996.
- Sherwin-White, S., and A. Kuhrt. *From Samarkhand to Sardis*. Duckworth, 1993.
- Sourdel, D. *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque Romaine*. Paris, 1952.
- Southern, P. and K. Dixon. *The Late Roman Army*. New Haven, 1996.
- Speidel, M. "The Roman army in Arabia," *ANRW* II 8 (1977) 687-730.
- Speidel, M. *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army*. Leiden: Brill, 1978.
- Speidel, M. "A gens sacra comitatu," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 183-84.
- Speidel, M. P. and A. Dimitrova-Milceva. "The cult of the Genii in the Roman army and a new military deity," *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978) 1542-55.
- Speidel, M.P. "Commodus the god-emperor and the army," *JRS* 83 (1993) 109-114.
- Spijkerman, A. *The coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia with Historical and Geographical Introduction by M. Piccirillo*. M. Piccirillo, ed. Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1978.
- Starcky J., and C.M. Bennett. "Les inscriptions du temenos," *Syria* 45 (1968) 41-66.
- Stelten, F. *Vegetius Renatus, Flavius: Epitoma rei Militaris*. New York: Peter Lang, 1990. Tanner, R. G. "Greek epigraphy in Southern Jordan," *ZPE* 83 (1990) 183-93.
- Teixidor, J. *The Pantheon of Palmyra*. Leiden: Brill, 1979.
- Thackeray, H. *Josephus: Vol 2. The Jewish War Books 1-3*. New York: G.P. Putman's Sons (Loeb Classical Library) 1927.
- Ullman, L., and E. Galili. "A Greek inscription mentioning Sukaminwn discovered off the Carmel coast," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 13 (1994) 116-22.
- Ulansey, D. *The Origins of Mithraic Mysteries. Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1989.
- Waddington, W.H. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Paris, 1870.
- Watson, G. *The Roman Soldier*. Bristol: Thames and Hudson, 1969.

- Webster, G. *The Roman Imperial Army*. 2nd ed. 1979. Reprinted with corrections, London, 1981.
- Wells, C.B. "The inscriptions," in C. Kraeling ed., *Gerasa City of the Decapolis*. New Haven: ASOR, 1938.
- Whittaker, C.R. *Herodian: Vol 2*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press (Loeb Classical Library), 1969.
- Willis, J. *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobiani Saturnalia*. Berlin: Tuebner, 1962.
- Woodhead, A.G. *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Woolf, G. "Becoming Roman, staying Greek: culture, identity and the civilizing process in the Roman East," *PCPS* 40 (1994) 116-43.
- Woolf, G. "Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society in the early Empire," *JRS* 86 (1996) 22-39.
- Yusa, M. "Henotheism," Pp. 266-67 in M. Eliade ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 6, New York: MacMillan, 1987.
- Zayadine, F. "Recent discoveries from Petra," *ADAJ* 25 (1981) 341-53.

**Appendix I**  
**CATALOGUE OF SELECTED INSCRIPTIONS**  
**from Provincia Arabia and Neighbouring Provinces**

**INTRODUCTION**

The inscriptions in this catalogue are arranged geographically, in groups centered on Arabia (the Hejaz, Jordan and southern Syria), Judaea & Palestine, northern Syria and other locations which provided appropriate parallels. The epithets for Zeus have been translated where there is an appropriate sense translation. I have kept the original Greek where the sense has been difficult to capture in English. I have not translated Jupiter Optimus Maximus as this expression is generally well known. Selection criteria are based on the appearance of one or more of the attributes listed under Relevance: similarity in dimensions and physical appearance, similarities in formula, or because the dedication was found in a military context.

**LEGEND**

Inscription Notation: The Leiden system<sup>1</sup> of symbols has been employed as follows:

- [ ] enclose letters which the editor believes to have originally stood on the stone, but which are now totally illegible or totally lost.
- ( ) enclose letters added by the editor to complete a word expressed on the stone in an abbreviated form.
- ⟨ ⟩ enclose letters which the engraver accidentally left out, or they enclose correct letters inserted by the editor to replace wrong ones written on the stone.
- { } enclose letters or words that are mistakenly repeated by the engraver.
- | indicates where a new line begins on the stone.
- || indicates the end of five lines of text
- . a dot under a letter indicates that the letter is incomplete, and the traces that remain agree with the editor's interpretation.
- ... indicates missing letters where the number of letters missing is certain.
- indicates missing letters where the number of letters missing is uncertain.
- vacat* indicates that the remaining portion of the stone is uninscribed.

Numbering: A = the Hejaz, Jordan & Southern Syria (to Damascus)

B = Judaea & Palestine

C = Syria (north of Damascus)

D = Other Locations

All dates are A.C.

Dimensions are listed width x height x depth unless otherwise indicated.

Mph: Maximum preserved height.

Mpw: Maximum preserved width.

Relevance: This category refers to features specifically comparable to the Humayma material.

---

<sup>1</sup> Woodhead 1981: 6.

Altar type: Refers to a parallel in size, shape and general appearance of the altar.

Formula: Either Ζεὺς Μεγίστος or σώτηρ appears in the inscription as part of a formula.

Deity: The inscription contains the name Ζεὺς, which may occur with an epithet other than Μεγίστος.

Military: The inscription was dedicated by a unit, an individual soldier or veteran, or was found in a military context.

---

## ARABIA

---

A001

|                       |   |                                |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>          | Meda'in Saleh/Hegra   | <b>Date:</b> 2nd - 3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b>      | found inside a well   | <b>Language:</b> Greek         |
| <b>Artefact Type:</b> | Stele   |                                |
| <b>Relevance:</b>     | military  |                                |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>    |   |                                |
| <b>Text:</b>          | Τύχη   Βόστρων Ἀδριανὸς   ζωγράφος σὺν   λεγ(εῶνι) ΙΙΙ  <br>Κυ(ρηναϊκῆ)   |                                |
| <b>Translation:</b>   | “To the guardian god of Bostra, Hadrianus a painter with the Third Cyrenaican Legion set this up.”  |                                |
| <b>Commentary:</b>    | <i>Legio III Cyrenaica</i> was the garrison legion of Arabia stationed in Bostra. This dedication suggests that a detachment of the legion was stationed at Meda'in Salih and that the province extended this far south into the Arabian peninsula. Sartre suggests a date between the 2nd and 3rd centuries as the name Hadrianus post-dates the reign of Hadrian. |                                |
| <b>Bibliography:</b>  | Bowersock 1971: 230, pl. 14. Speidel 1977: 694. Sartre 1982b: 34.   |                                |

A002

|                    |          |                        |
|--------------------|----------|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>       | Jawf     | <b>Date:</b> 161 - 211 |
| <b>Location:</b>   |          | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>       |          |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b> |          |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>  | military |                        |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Text</b>          | <i>pro salute  dom(inorum) n(ostrorum) Aug(ustorum) <br/>I(ovi) O(ptimo) Ham moni et san cto Sulmo  Fl(avius) Dionysi us 7<br/>leg(io) III Cyr(enaica)  v(otum) s(olvit).</i>  |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “For the safety of our masters the Augusti, to Jupiter Optimus Hammon and Holy Sulmos, Flavius Dionysius centurion, <i>legio III Cyrenaica</i> , discharged his vow.”  |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | A symbol resembling the numeral 7 symbol was sometimes used as a “short-hand” for centurion (cf. Fink 1971: 559). Since both the deities, Ammon and Sulmos, are Arab with associations at Bostra and Umm al-Jimal, the centurion may have been sent out from the garrison legion of the province for duty in Jawf. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Bowersock 1983: 98. Speidel 1977: 694.   |

---



---

**A003**

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Ein Shalleleh/Wadi Ramm  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Shrine of Allat  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Dove-tailed Cartouche  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.705 x 0.31; text height 0.50 x 0.31; letter height 0.04-0.05 m.  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Μνησθη Ἀννιανὸς δοφλικάρης ὁ ἐπιστάθης τοῦ ἔργου καὶ εὐείλατο(ν) ἔχοι τὴν θεάν.  |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “Remember that Annianos, <i>duplicarius</i> , consulted the oracle and that the goddess was favourable to him.”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Dove-tailed cartouche was found carved into the rock, below and to the left of a betyl of Allat, near the spring of Ein Shellaleh at the foot of the mountain. The inscription is intact and distinct, only the upper left corner is damaged. <i>Duplicarii</i> were soldiers who received twice the normal pay. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sartre 1993: 175-76, no. 139.  |                        |

A004

|                      |   |                                |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Humayma/Hawar   | <b>Date:</b> 2nd - 4th century |
| <b>Location:</b>     | <i>Principia</i> of auxiliary fort  | <b>Language:</b> Greek         |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |                                |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    |   |                                |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | base and crown: 0.27 x 0.59 x 0.28 m; body: 0.23 x 0.22x 0.23 m; text height 0.14 m; letter height: 0.004 m.  |                                |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Διὶ Μεγίστῳ   Καπετω[λί]ῳ .λδ...ιτ οςλετριτηρια .....   |                                |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To the Greatest Capitoline Zeus...”  |                                |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Located in the fill in the middle of room 'F' of the <i>principia</i> , outside its original context. The fort was built in the first quarter of the 2nd century but the date of the altar itself is undetermined. Red pigment was still visible in the letters when excavated. Base and crown are symmetrical with broad fascia followed by a small chamfer that introduces a narrower body. The top is carved in a small bowl shape perhaps for incense or libations. |                                |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Oleson 1996: 528-29. Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming.   |                                |

A005

|                     |   |                                |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Humayma/Hawar   | <b>Date:</b> 2nd - 4th century |
| <b>Location:</b>    | <i>Principia</i> of auxiliary fort  | <b>Language:</b> Greek         |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Statue base   |                                |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | mph 0.35 m; 0.28 x 0.28 m at crown; 0.20 x 0.23 m at body   |                                |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   |   |                                |
| <b>Text:</b>        | [ὑπὲρ] σωτηρ[ίας]   πρῶτον..   τῆ[ν] ἀνέ[θηκεν]   |                                |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “For the safety ... first ... dedicated the ... .”  |                                |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | Located in the fill of Room 'F' of the <i>principia</i> , beside a Phase II doorway, outside its original context. The base is broken below the crown and the lower portion not found. The base has similar |                                |

dimensions to the altar (A004) and they may have formed a set. The top of the crown has a straight-sided circular inset, most likely to accommodate a statue of the emperor, deity or political figure.

**Bibliography:** Oleson 1996: 528-29. Oleson et al.1999: forthcoming.

A006

**Site:** Humayma/Hawar **Date:** 2nd - 4th century

**Location:** *Principia* of auxiliary fort **Language:** Latin

**Type:** Base

**Relevance:**

**Dimensions:** 0.09 x 0.76 x 0.46 m

**Text:** ...*PRAESENEM..RAT* (?)

**Translation:**

**Commentary:** A large statue base or platform found abutting the south façade of the *principia*, in line with the shared wall between Rooms E and F. It has decorative projecting lower cavetto moulding and was set up on two reused blocks with Nabataean dressing. A two-line inscription in tall, narrow letters (H 0.05 m) was cut in the south face. The first line (length 0.34) is completely effaced by weathering or mechanical damage and only the middle portion of the second line (length 0.43 m) could be partially deciphered. "PRAES..." may refer to the governor of the province *praeses*. The letters EN are relatively distinct but the following EMP are not. RAT is difficult to interpret and may indeed be read as RAB and form part of the word Arabia.

**Bibliography:** Oleson 1996: 528-29. Oleson et al. 1999: forthcoming.

A007

**Site:** Petra **Date:** mid-2nd century

**Location:** Khazneh **Language:** Greek

**Type:** Altar

**Dimensions:** 0.33 x .0.66 m

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | altar type, military ?  |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Θεῶ Ἁγίῳ   ἐπήκοῳ   οὐικτρῖνος   βφ ευξάμενος   ἀνεθήκεν.   |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To the Holy God who listens, Victorinus, <i>beneficiarius</i> , offered this following a prayer.”  |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Sandstone altar located 500 m from the Khazneh facing a niche protecting 10 betyls. The top is carved in a cup shaped depression. The size and shape of this monument are a very good parallel with the Humayma altar. The god may refer to Zeus-Dusares. There was a sanctuary of Zeus-Dusares on the top of Umm el-Biyara. Another altar (A008), to the same divinity, was discovered on the flat top behind the north slope of Wadi Musa, opposite Qasr el-Bint. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Zayadine 1981: 352, pl. 100. Parr 1957: 13-14, pl. 15b.   |

A008

|                     |   |  |
|---------------------|---|--|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Petra   | <b>Date:</b> late 1st or early 2nd century |
| <b>Location:</b>    | Opposite Qasr el-Bint   | <b>Language:</b> Greek                     |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar   |  |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |   |  |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | altar type  |  |
| <b>Text:</b>        | Δὲ Ἁγίῳ   .ωτῖκῳ   Δευσσαρι[?]   . . .  |  |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Holy Zeus ? Dusares (?) “   |  |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | The editors do not indicate the actual dimensions of this altar but state that it is similar to one found in the wadi near the Monumental Gateway, dedicated to the saint god (A008). This altar is probably dedicated to the same divinity. Parr notes that it is a “common Roman type”, but only the upper portion of the monument survives. The broad fascia on this altar appears to be similar in size to the Humayma altar. On the upper fascia is a very worn relief of the head of a god, perhaps a Semitic Zeus. By the side of the head is what seems to be a twisted sceptre. The altar was found on the north slope of the Wadi Musa opposite Qasr el-Bint. |  |

**Bibliography:** Parr 1957: 13-14, pl. 25 B.

---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
|                      |   | <b>A009</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Petra   | <b>Date:</b> 204-208   |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Temple of Dusares/Qasr el Bint  | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | cornice: <i>Liber[o P]atri</i><br>body: <i>[Pro salute Imp(eratoris)] Cae(saris) L(ucii) Se[ptimi Severi Pii   Per]tinaci[s...]</i> .   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Liber Pater”<br>“For the health of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus, Pius, Pertinax.”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Found in the Temple of Dusares/Qasr el Bint, in fragments. The left face would have borne the third part of the text but it has not been conserved. The right face is not inscribed. This dedication was one of a number of others recovered in the temple (A010-013), which were dedicated by Q. Aiadius Modestus legate of the province of Arabia ca. A.C. 204-208 (cf. <i>PIR I</i> <sup>2</sup> 470; cf. Pflaum 1957: 137, no. 3., Bowerscock 1971: 235). The two guardian deities of Lepcis Magna, native city of Septimius Severus, were the Phoenician gods Melkart 'king of the city' and Shadrapa. Melkart was identified with the Greek Heracles and Roman Hercules, and Shadrapa equated with Dionysus and with the Roman Liber Pater. Dusares was associated with Dionysus, and consequently, Liber Pater, thus allowing a dedication to Liber Pater in the Temple of Dusares. For the deities of Lepcis Magna see Birley 1988. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | AE 1968: 167, no. 519. Starcky and Bennett 1968: 41-66, pl 8, 2. Parr & Starcky 1962: 13-20.  |                        |

---

|                  |                            |                        |
|------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
|                  |                            | <b>A010</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>     | Petra                      | <b>Date:</b> 204-208   |
| <b>Location:</b> | Temenos, Temple of Dusares | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>     | Altar                      |                        |

- Dimensions:** mph: 0.71 m; base mph: 0.41 x 0.36 m;
- Relevance:** military
- Text:**
- A:** cornice: *Apollini*  
body: *Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(ucii) Sep|timi Severi Pii Pertinacis| Aug(usti) Arabici Adiabeni|ci | Partici maximi et Imp(eratoris) | Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Antonini | Aug(usti) [[et P(ublii) Septimi Getae]] | Caes(aris) et Iuli[ae Aug(ustae) ma]|tris castrorum totiu[s]que domus divin[ae].*
- B:** *Q(uintus) Aiadius Mo|des[tus Cr]escen|tian[us v(ir) c(larissimus) X]V| vir [s(acris) f(aciundis) leg(atus)] Aug(ustorum) | [pr(o) pr(aetore) co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus)].*
- C:** *[cum Danacia Quartil]|la Aureliana ux[ore et Q(uinto) Ai]|acio Censorino Ce[lsino A]|rabiano et L(ucio) Aiacio [Mode]sto Aureliano Pris[co Agri]|cola Salv[i]ano filis.*
- Translation:**
- A:** “To Apollo for the health of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus, Pius, Pertinax, Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus Maximus and of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Publius Septimius Geta, Caesar, and Julia Augusta, Mother of the Camp, and of the whole divine house.”
- B:** “Quintus Aiadius Modestus Crescentianus, *vir clarissimus*, *quindecimvir* for the sacrifices, propraetorian legate of the Augusti, consul designate.”
- C:** “with Danacia Quartilla Aureliana, his wife, and Quintus Aiadius Censorinus Celsinus Arabianus and Lucius Aiadius Modestus Aurelianus Priscus Agricola Salvianus, his sons.”
- Commentary:** One of three votive altars found at Petra in destruction debris near the Triple Gate. The Gate forms the main entrance to the *temenos* of the temple now known as Qasr el-Bint. Both gate and temple date probably from the end of the 2nd century. The original position of the altars is difficult to determine. This altar was broken when discovered and subsequently restored. It is inscribed on three sides but the sense sequence is not A-B-C but rather B-C-A (from left to right with the blank face of the altar at the rear). An observer standing in front of the altar would read text C, text A would be on the right and text B on the left. Side A, which contains the divinity's name and those of the emperors, must have originally faced front.
- From top down the mouldings consists of a broad fascia, then an

astragal, a cavetto and a second, narrower, astragal followed by the main face of the altar, with inscription. The base moulding consists of a slightly projecting fascia, an astragal, and possibly the beginning of a chamfer. The lowest part of the block has been destroyed. The main inscription is confined to the plain faces of the altar. One word, APOLLINI, is inscribed on the upper fascia of face A.

The *terminus a quo* for the legation of Q. Aiacius Modestus is 198 when Geta became Caesar. The *terminus ad quem* is autumn 209, when Geta was named Augustus. Between 208 and 211, Aiacius Modestus Crescentius was legate of Upper Germany ( *CIL* XIII, 7417 = *ILS* 433) and in 204 he was *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* (*CIL* VI, 32327-32). He was, therefore, legate in Arabia between 204 & 208 (cf. *PIR* I<sup>2</sup> 470; Pflaum 1957: 137, no. 3., Bowerscock 1971: 235). These new texts provide the name of Aiacius' wife and two sons.

**Bibliography:** *AE* 1968, 518. Starcky and Bennett 1968: 46-48, pl. 9, 4. Parr & Starcky 1962: 13-20.

|                    |  | A011                   |
|--------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>       | Petra  | <b>Date:</b> 204-208   |
| <b>Location:</b>   | Temenos, Temple of Dusares   | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>       | Altar  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b> |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>  | military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>       | <p><b>A:</b> cornice: .....</p> <p>body: <i>Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Cae(saris) L(ucii) Septimi   Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Ar[a] bici Adiabenici Part(hici) max(imi) et I(mperatoris)   Caes(aris) M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Aug(usti) [[et P(ublii)   Septimi Geta Caes(aris)]] et Iuliae   Aug(ustae) matri(s) castrorum totiusque   domus divinae.</i></p> <p><b>B:</b> <i>Q(uintus) Aiacius Mo destus Cres centianus V(ir) C(larissimus)   XV vir s(acris) f(aciundis) leg(atus) Aug(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) c(onsul)</i></p> <p><b>C:</b> <i>[de]s(ignatus) cum Danacia   Quartilla Aureliana uxo re et Q(uinto) Aiacio Censorino   Celsino Arabiano et L(ucio) Aia cio Modesto Aureliano Pris co Agricola Salviano filis.</i></p> |                        |

- Translation:** As for previous entry.
- Commentary:** As for previous entry.
- Bibliography:** *AE* 1968, 523. Starckey and Bennett 1968: 45-46, pl. 9, 1-3. Parr & Starcky 1962: 17-20.

A012

- Site:** Petra **Date:** 204-208
- Location:** Temple of Dusares/Qasr el-Bint **Language:** Latin
- Type:** Altar
- Relevance:** military
- Dimensions:**
- Text:** cornice: *Paci*  
body: *Pro salute Imp(eratorum) Caes(arum) L(ucii) Septimi| [Se]veri Pii [Per]tinacis Aug(usti) Arabici | [Adiabeni]ci Parthici m]aximi et I[mper(atoris)] | ...*
- Translation:** “To Peace”  
“For the health of the Emperors Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus, Pius, Pertinax, Augustus, Arabicus, Adiabenicus, Parthicus Maximus and Caesar .... “
- Commentary:** The cult of Peace was attested from the time of Julius Caesar. Although dedications to Peace are not numerous, the cult was well established before the Severans. This dedication was among the ones erected by Aiadius Modestus (A010-13).
- Bibliography:** *AE* 1968, 520. Starcky and Bennett 1968: 46-48, pl 9, 4.

A013

- Site:** Petra **Date:** 204-208
- Location:** Temple of Dusares/Qasr el-Bint **Language:** Latin
- Type:** Altar
- Relevance:** military

- Dimensions:** mph: 0.37; letter height 0.03-0.04
- Text:** cornice: *Spei Temperantiae*  
body: *Pro salute Imp(eratorum) Caes(arum) L(ucii) S[eptimi] | Severi Pii P[e]rtinacis Au[g(usti) Arabici] | Adiaben[ici] Part[hici] maximi et| Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) [ M(arci) Aur(eli) Antonini Aug(usti)|...].*
- Translation:** “To Hope and Restraint”  
“For the health of the Emperors Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus, Pious, Pertinax, Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus.”
- Commentary:** Among the dedications made in the Temple of Dusares by Modestus Crescentianus. The personified virtue Hope was an ancient cult at Rome and had her own temple at Rome from the first Punic war. Hope was the essential element in any noble undertaking. *Spes* and the other Virtues became associated with imperial accession. The cult of *Temperantia* is not well attested among the Virtues. For a discussion of the cult of Virtues see Fears 1981b.
- Bibliography:** *AE* 1968, 521. Starcky and Bennett 1968: 46-48, pl 9, 4.

A014

- Site:** Udruh (?) **Date:** uncertain
- Location:** **Language:** Greek
- Type:** Bronze tablet
- Dimensions:** 0.070 x 0.036 m; thickness 0.003 m.
- Relevance:** deity
- Text:** Δὶ Ἰαμανεῖτανωῶ Λούχιος | Σερούιλιος | Ἐλεύθερος.
- Translation:** “To Zeus Thamaneitanos, Lucius Servilius Eleutheros.”
- Commentary:** An engraved bronze dove-tailed tablet. Zeus Thamaneitanos is perhaps the Arabian god of Thaman. Thama is a region named in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as the camp of *Cohors IV Palaestinorum*. Vincent has proposed an identification with Udruh. A soldier may have brought this dedication from Libya. Seyrig, however, states

that the absence of a military title makes this hypothesis unlikely. Seyrig rather suggests that L. Servilius Eleutheros may have been a freedman or Romanised provincial, perhaps a merchant connected with the profitable commercial route through this area.

**Bibliography:** Seyrig 1954: 217-18. Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904: 431-61.

---

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
|                      |  | <b>A015</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Kerak  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Castellum  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, military?   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | [ Ὑπ]ερ σωτηρίας καὶ αἰωνία[ς διαμονῆς   Ἄντωνε]ίνου Σεβαστοῦ .... |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “For the safety and eternal spirit of Augustus Antoninus...”       |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Cagnat 1965: 487, no. 1382.  |                        |

---

|                     |  |                              |
|---------------------|--|------------------------------|
|                     |  | <b>A016</b>                  |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Ein Saharonim  | <b>Date:</b> 3rd century     |
| <b>Location:</b>    | associated with the fort   | <b>Language:</b> Greek/Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Statue   |                              |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |  |                              |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | military   |                              |
| <b>Text:</b>        | τῇ κυρίᾳ Ἀθηνᾶ   ἐπόησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰ(δίω)ν Γαί(ο)ς Μ(άρκου)ς ΑἰΝΓο..<br><i>mil(es) coh(ortis) VI Hisp(anorum)</i> . |                              |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Mistress Athena, Gaius Marcus Antonius (?), soldier of cohort VI Hispanorum made this at his own expense.”   |                              |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | Fragment of a statue in high relief with inscription on the base. The  |                              |

statue is associated with the fort at Ein Saharonim but found outside of its original context among the stones of a small Bedouin graveyard. The letters N̄o in line three are puzzling. These letters could be the continuation of the A at the end of line two and so form part of the name (perhaps Antonius, reading the Γ as a T and the two small strokes following o as N). Figueras states that Ein Saharonim is the site of a Nabataean fort that was later reused by the Romans. He suggests that the *cohors VI Hispanorum*, attested at Qasr al-Hallabat, N.E. of Philadelphia (Amman) in 212-13 had been stationed before or after that date in the fort at Ein Saharonim in the Negev. Isaac doubts that there is evidence for a fort and suggests that this is an isolated inscription which proves only an occasional visit by a soldier, not the existence of a local garrison for any length of time.

**Bibliography:** *AE* 1993, 1652. Figueras 1992: 177. cf. Isaac 1998b: 157.

---

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
|                      |  | <b>A017</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Philadelphia/Amman   | <b>Date:</b> 245       |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.55 x 0.86 x 0.45; body: 0.47 x 0.27 x 0.37; letter height 0.045.   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | altar type, military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <p>[Salu]ti et Aescul[a pi]o sanctissimis [d]eis Terentius   Heraclitus<br/> b(ene)[f(iciarius)] Claudi Capito lini pro inco lunitate do mus<br/> divinae et [prae]siðis sui   [respo]nsoque Di[i]  [Iovi?]s votum<br/> sol vit.</p>                                 |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | <p>“To Salus and Aesculapius, most holy gods, Terentius Heraclitus, <i>beneficiarius</i> of Claudius Capitolinus, for the preservation of the divine house and his governor and in accordance with the oracle of the god Jupiter, discharged his vow.”</p>           |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | <p>Two lines on the cornice, five on the body two on the lower band and three on the plinth. Moulded at the crown. Claudius Capitolinus was attested as governor of Arabia in 245-246, during the reign of Philip the Arab. (cf. <i>PIR</i> II<sup>2</sup> 826).</p> |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Gatier 1986: 39, no. 13. Littman & Magie 1921: 8, no. 1.   |                        |

A018

---

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Philadelphia/Amman   | <b>Date:</b> 238-244   |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Block  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | [Αὐρ(ήλιον)] Ο(ὐ)ίκτω[ρα οὐετρα] νὸν ἀ[πὸ<br>λεγεῶνος]   Δεκάτης   Φρετηνσίας   Γορδιανῆς   Αὐρ(ηλι.)<br>Οὐίκτω[ρ..] |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “Aurel... Victor ... honours Aurelius Victor, veteran of <i>legio X Fretensis Gordiana</i> .”                        |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Gatier 1986: 50, no. 26.   |                        |

---

A019

|                     |  |                        |
|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Amman/Philadelphia   | <b>Date:</b> 143       |
| <b>Location:</b>    |  | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | mph: upper fragment 0.3 m, lower fragment 0.4 m; width of crown and base 0.53; body 0.325 m; letter height 0.05 on upper lines, 0.03-0.04 m on lower lines   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | altar type, military   |                        |
| <b>Text :</b>       | <i>I(ovi)O(ptimo)M(aximo)   conserva tori L(ucius) Aemi lius Carus<br/> leg(atus)  Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).</i>   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the Preserver, Lucius Aemilius Carus, proprætorian legate of the emperor (dedicated this).”   |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | The bottoms of the letters of line 5 are not on the die but on the moulding. Lucius Aemilius Carus is cited in an inscription from Gerasa, dated to 143, as governor at that time under Antoninus Pius (cf. <i>PIR</i> I <sup>2</sup> 338). Carus also made a dedication to Jupiter at |                        |

Cologne (*CIL* XII, 8197) and another *Sarapidi Iovi Soli Isidi Lune Dianae dis deabusque conservatoribus* in Dacia (*CIL* III, 7771 = *ILS* 4398) for the Coloniae Agrippinae. This inscription is also evidence for the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The Syrian Baals such as Baalmarcod, Zeus Damascenus, Zeus Heliopolitanus, etc. and also Zeus Hammon god of *legio III Cyrenaica*, were often assimilated with Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

**Bibliography:** Gatier 1986, 37-38, no. 11. Bowersock 1971: 235. Dessau 1962: no. 3013. Sourdel 1952: 24. Littman and Magie 1921: 9, no. 2.

---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
|                      |   | <b>A020</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Gerasa/Jerash   | <b>Date:</b> 98 - 117  |
| <b>Location:</b>     | South Theatre   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Moulded Block   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.65 x 0.45, letter height 0.035-0.04 m   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, deity  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <p>on moulding: [Ἄγαθῆ Τύχῃ ἔτου[ς . . . ]</p> <p>on body: [Ἦπερ τῆς Σε]βαστῶν σωτηρίας   [Ἄσκ]ληπ[ιόδωρος]   Μάλχου τοῦ Δημητρίου [ἰε]ρώμεν[ος Καίσαρ]ρος Τραιανοῦ ἐξ ἐπαγ[γε]λίας ἄγαλμα Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου τῆ πατρίδι[ι].</p> <p>on moulding: ἀ[νέ]θηκεν.</p> |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | <p>“To Good Fortune, in the year.... ”</p> <p>“For the safety of Augustus, Asclepiodorus of Malchus son of Demetrius, priest of Caesar Trajan, dedicated a statue of Zeus Olympios to the homeland, in fulfilment of a promise.”</p>                        |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | A moulded block found in the South Theatre. Both ends are missing. The three preserved fragments, which join, measure 0.65 x 0.45 m (including mouldings). Monumental alphabet.   |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Wells 1938: 379-80, no. 10.   |                        |

---

|                  |               |                                |
|------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
|                  |               | <b>A021</b>                    |
| <b>Site:</b>     | Gerasa/Jerash | <b>Date:</b> Early 3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b> |               | <b>Language:</b> Greek         |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Type:</b>         | Block  |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | inscribed face: 0.37 x 0.05 m; letters 0.015-0.02 m.   |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |
| <b>Text:</b>         | [λεγ]ιῶν τρίτη Κυρ[ην]αικ[ή]   θεῶ πατρῶω  |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To the Ancestral God, the Third Cyrenaican Legion.”   |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Moulded block forming the capstone of a pedestal. Round alphabet style. Found in the same location as other dedications to the Arabian God. Wells states that legionaries came from the native population of the provinces in the third century and so an “ancestral” Arabian god as tutelary god of the legion would be possible. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Wells 1938: 386, no. 23.   |

---

|                     |   |                              |
|---------------------|---|------------------------------|
|                     |   | <b>A022</b>                  |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Madaba  | <b>Date:</b> mid 2nd century |
| <b>Location:</b>    |   | <b>Language:</b> Latin       |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar   |                              |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | 0.35 x 0.62 x 0.35 m; text height: 0.27 x 0.27 m;<br>letter height: 0.004 m   |                              |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | altar type, military  |                              |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)   et Neptuno   sacrum   L(ucius) Velinna Firmus   (centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) qui   operi institit.</i>  |                              |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “Sacred to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Neptune, Lucius Velinna Firmus centurion of <i>legio III Cyrenaica</i> , who set up the work (made this dedication).”  |                              |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | Limestone horned altar, found on the south-east portion of the acropolis. The cult of Neptune, associated here with Jupiter, is rare in Arabia. Gatier suggests that it is addressed to the god of earthquakes. The final formula, <i>qui operi institit</i> , is uncommon. This is the first Latin text known at Madaba. The centurion L. Velinna Firmus has an uncommon family name and is probably Etruscan in origin (cf. W. Schulze 1904: 99-100, 262). Gatier has |                              |

dated the inscription to the mid second century on the basis of the letter forms, which are similar to an inscription from Lambaesis dated 140-141 (cf. Marcillet-Jaubert 1970: 214, fig. 1): narrow script with small oblique bars at the base of E, T, L etc.

**Bibliography:** *AE* 1987: no. 969. Gatier 1987: 365-67.

---

|                      |  |                              |
|----------------------|--|------------------------------|
|                      |  | <b>A023</b>                  |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Azraq  | <b>Date:</b> 4th century     |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Latin/Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |                              |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military(?)  |                              |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <p><i>I(ovi) Invic[to Soli]   pro salute [e]t vic[t(oriis)]   imp(eratorum duorum) et C(a)es(arum duorum)   Ioviorum et   Herculiorum.</i></p> <p>Ἀντολίην σὲ (ὦ) φοίβε λιτάζομε   ἱερῶ ἐπι Βωμῶ τὸν<br/>εὐκνοναίζω   ὅς ἰκέτης Ἡράκλιος ἐγὼ ὦ προτήκτωρ   [.....] δε<br/>κάισαρων   ἰφθὺμ' ἐγένετο [ .....] κυδιμε   [.....]</p>  |                              |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | <p>“To Jupiter the Unconquered Sun for the health and victory of the two emperors and the two Caesars Jovius and Herculus.”</p> <p>“Oh eastward looking Phoebus, I beseech you before the holy altar, I who as a suppliant of Heracles pray, oh protector of the Caesars, stalwart born ..... noblest ....”</p>  |                              |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | <p>Basalt altar in two pieces from Qasr el-Azraq. The “Qasr” refers to a Roman castellum dating to the tetrachic period, which was later reconstructed as an Ayyubid fort. Only the inscription on the upper block is presented here. The first 3 lines are in Latin, tall narrow letters. The text presented here is from Kennedy, a revised version of Dussaud and Macler.</p> |                              |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Kennedy 1982: 91-92. Dussaud and Macler 1903: 670, no. 85.   |                              |

---

|                  |       |                        |
|------------------|-------|------------------------|
|                  |       | <b>A024</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>     | Kafer | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b> |       | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>     | Altar |                        |

**Dimensions:****Relevance:** formula, deity**Text:** Δὶ | Μεγίσ|τωρ | Ἰούλιος | Γερμ|[ανός].**Translation:** “To the Greatest Zeus, Julianus Germanus.”**Commentary:****Bibliography:** Sourdel 1952: 23, n. 4. Waddington 1870: no. 2292.**A025****Site:** Imtan **Date:** uncertain**Location:** **Language:** Greek**Type:** Altar**Dimensions:****Relevance:** formula, deity, military**Text:** Δὶ Μεγίσ|τωρ Ἡλιο|[π]ολειτανῶ**Translation:** “To Greatest Zeus Heliopolitanus.”**Commentary:** Jupiter Heliopolitanus was worshipped in the Hauran as in Dura-Europos, Palmyra, Palestine and other parts of the empire essentially as a god of soldiers.**Bibliography:** Sourdel 1952: 43.**A026****Site:** Imtan **Date:** uncertain**Location:** **Language:** Latin/Greek**Type:****Dimensions:****Relevance:** formula, deity, military

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Text:</b>         | <i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Heliopol(lita)n[o]</i>   Δὶ Ἡλιοπολεΐτη |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus. To Zeus of Heliopolis”  |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |   |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sourdel 1952: 43.   |

|                      |  |                        |             |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Bostra   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain | <b>A027</b> |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |             |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |                        |             |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | Height 0.85 m; letter height 0.035 x 0.05 m.   |                        |             |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |                        |             |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Ἡρακλεῖ   Καλλινῶ   Σῆξτος (ἐκατόνταρχος) λεγιῶνος<br>γ' Κυρηναϊκῆς).  |                        |             |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Heracles Kallinikos, Sextus, centurion of the Third Cyrenaica.”  |                        |             |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Rectangular basalt altar, of very simple design, consisting of moulded base, narrower body and small, shallow cornice. Broken in two. Letters are fine and not deeply incised. Kallinikos is an epithet of Heracles and sometimes of Zeus. The cult of Heracles in the Hauran is attested at Aqraba, Nedjran and Nawa. |                        |             |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Dunand 1934: 23-4, pl. VIII, 20.   |                        |             |

|                    |          |                        |             |
|--------------------|----------|------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Site:</b>       | Bostra   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain | <b>A028</b> |
| <b>Location:</b>   |          | <b>Language:</b> Greek |             |
| <b>Type:</b>       | Fragment |                        |             |
| <b>Dimensions:</b> |          |                        |             |
| <b>Relevance:</b>  | deity    |                        |             |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Text:</b>         | Δὶ Ἡλίῳ ...  |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Zeus Helio[politanus ]...”   |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Sartre reads Heliopolitanus rather than Zeus Helios because Helios always appears just as Helios or with some other epithet such as Ζεῦς Ανίκητος Ἡλιος or Ἡλιος Θεὸς Μέγιστος but never as Ζεῦς Ἡλιος. While this formula may exist, Sartre prefers a more cautious reading until a definite example of Zeus Helios is found in the Hauran. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sartre 1982: 86, no. 9012.   |

A029

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Bostra   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Column   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 1.34 m; diameter: 0.40 m; text height.: 0.8; letter height: 0.03 x 0.07.   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | deity  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Δὶ Δαμασκηνῶ Β   Τ(ίτος) Φλάβιος Ρουφενὸς   ἀνέθη[κε]ν εὐσ[εβ]ῶν   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Zeus Damascenus, Titus Flavius Rufinus made this dedication as witness of his piety.”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Basalt column formed in a single block with moulded base. According to Sourdél the final B in line one may refer to the order of the columns. Sartre doubts that there would have been another drum for the column and suggests that it may be ornamental. This inscription is unique evidence for the cult of Zeus Damascenus in Syria outside Damascus. The name Zeus Damascenus refers to the supreme deity of Damascus, Hadad. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sartre 1982: 86, no. 9013. Sourdél 1952: 44.   |                        |

A030

|                  |                          |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>     | Bostra                   | <b>Date:</b> 3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b> | Temple of Jupiter Hammon | <b>Language:</b> Latin   |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Type:</b>         | Lintel   |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <i>]templum Iovis Hammonis a Pa[l]myrenis hostibu[s] dirutum - - - (vac.) quem refec(i)t cum statua argentea et ostea ferra (-) (vac.)</i>   |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “--- the temple of Jupiter Hammon, destroyed by the Palmyrene enemies --- he rebuilt, with a silver statue and iron doors.”  |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | An inscription on the lintel over the entrance to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, the tutelary god of the legion at Bostra. The dedication was made following destruction of the Temple by the Palmyrenes during Zenobia's revolt. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Speidel 1977: 694. Seyrig 1941: 31-48, pl. 4, no. 2.   |

---



---

A031

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Bostra   | <b>Date:</b> ca 250    |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Stele  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.5 x 1.05 x 0.3 m; letter height 0.07.  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)   Genio  Sancto   Hammoni   Ulpus   Taurinus   cornicul(arius)   leg(ionis) votum solvi.</i>         |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Sacred Genius Hammon, I, Ulpus Taurinus, <i>cornicularius</i> of the legion, have fulfilled my vow.” |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Basalt stele found in the theatre at Bostra.   |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sartre 1982: 83, no. 9010. Lifshits 1977: 21. Sourdel 1952: 89, pl. IV, 2.   |                        |

---



---

A032

|                  |        |                           |
|------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>     | Bostra | <b>Date:</b> undetermined |
| <b>Location:</b> |        | <b>Language:</b> Greek    |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | deity, military  |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Δὶ [Κ]υρίῳ καὶ Ἡρᾷ Θεοῖς πατρῶοις Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος<br>Μά(ξ)ιμος στρατ(ιώτης) λεγ(ιῶνος) γ' Κυ(ρηναϊκῆς).  |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Lord Zeus and Hera, the ancestral gods, Gaius Julius Maximus, soldier of the Third Cyrenaica.”   |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Cagnat & Waddington read Δὶ [Φρα]τρίῳ; Sourdél prefers to read Δὶ [Κ]υρίῳ. Sourdél views the Lord Zeus here as the Syro-Phoenician god Baalshamin whose cult is well attested in the Hauran. The epithet Kyrios is used frequently with the oriental gods and so is attached often to Zeus.<br><br>Hera does not seem to have had any particular cult in the region since this is the only monument where she appears. She may figure here as the consort of Baalshamin-Zeus Kyrios. However, the reading of Kyrios is not assured and it possible that the gods honoured by the soldiers of the legion at Bostra would be gods foreign to the region. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sartre 1982, 75, no. 9002. Cagnat 1965: 475, no. 1331. Sourdél 1952: 25, n.4. Waddington 1870: no. 1922.   |

A033

|                     |   |                        |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Bostra  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Rectangular block with moulded base   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | 0.24 x 1.14 x 0.25; letter height 0.12 - 0.4 m  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <i>[Ge]ni[o   leg(ionis) I]II C[yrenaicae], [...]e(...) G(aii) f(ilius)<br/>[...] ... (tribu) Mu]mm[ianus?].  .. ]cianc[... qu]aest[...].</i> |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To the Genius of <i>legio III Cyrenaica</i> , ... Mummianus (?), son of Gaius, of the tribe..., quaestor...”                                 |                        |

**Commentary:** Although this inscription is very fragmented Sartre has suggested this reconstruction and translation. The *genius* of a community, association or location is not uncommon. The *Genius* of the Legion is also used to refer to Zeus Hammon. It is common to find the *genius* of the legion or cohort identified with supreme gods (see Mariq 1957: 290, n.2). Sartre suggests that if the text is reconstructed with *quaestor* at the end of line six, the dedication may have been made by a college of veterans.

**Bibliography:** Sartre 1982: 87-88, no. 9015.

**A034**

**Site:** Bostra **Date:** uncertain

**Location:** **Language:** Latin

**Type:** Altar

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** military

**Text:** *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Conser(vatori) | leg(ionis) III  
Cyr(enaicae) | p(ro) s(alute) d(ominorum) | n(ostrorum duorum)  
Fl(avius) Basilides tes(serarius) | p(ro) p(rocessu) | v(otum)  
s(oluit)*

**Translation:** “To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Guardian of *legio III Cyrenaica*, for the health of our two Lords, Flavius Basilides, *tesserarius*, on the occasion of his promotion, has released his vow.”

**Commentary:**

**Bibliography:** Sartre 1982: 86-87, no. 9014.

**A035**

**Site:** Bostra **Date:** uncertain

**Location:** **Language:** Greek

**Type:** Altar

**Dimensions:** 0.325 x 0.91 x 0.325; body 0.26 x 0.36 x 0.26; letter height 0.025

- Relevance:** deity, military (?)
- Text:** A: Ζεῦ Σαφαθηνέ | προκοπήν Ἀρχελάω Ἰουλίου  
B: Δὶ Σαφα|[θ]ηνῶ Ἰούλις Μασχίου εὐσεβῶν ἀνέθηκεν
- Translation:** A: “To Zeus of Safa, grant success to Archelaos, son of Julius.”  
B: “To Zeus of Safa, Julis, son of Maschos, as witness of his piety, made this dedication.”
- Commentary:** Altar with socle and square crown. Inscribed on sides A and B, and sculpted on side C. Side A contains a 3 line inscription under a badly damaged bucranium. Side B to the right of A contains only the 6 line inscription, the second line of which is damaged. Side C, opposite side A, has a sculpted image of the butt of a lance or pole. This is most probably dedicated to a god of the locality and therefore similar to other regional deities: Zeus of Damascus, Zeus of Baitokaike (Rey-Coquais *IGLS* VII), Zeus Thamaneitanos (*IGLS* VI, 2960), Zeus Canatenos (Sourdél 1952: 22), Zeus Cassios (Seyrig 1963: 19). It is difficult to determine which Safaitic divinity accords with the Greek Zeus Safa. The image on side C may provide some clue. It seems to be the butt of a lance or standard. The standard may have been either a cult standard or a military one. The names Archelaos, Julius and Julis (although the latter two may in fact be the same individual due to an error in engraving) are not local. Masechos is Semitic and common in this region. If the two dedicants Archelaos and Julius are evidence of a hellenisation by virtue of their names, this may indicate that they were soldiers and could explain the relief as a military standard.
- Bibliography:** Sartre 1982: 72-3, no. 9001. Sourdél 1952: 86

A036

- Site:** Bostra **Date:** ca 250
- Location:** **Language:** Latin
- Type:** Stele
- Dimensions:**
- Relevance:** military
- Text:** ..... | *Numinibus patriis* | *Furius* | *Timesitheus* | *proc(urator)*  
*Aug(ustorum duroum)*

**Translation:** “To the ancestors spirits, Furius Timesitheus *procurator* of the two emperors.”

**Commentary:** *Timesitheus* was governor of Arabia *vice praesidis bis* between 218 and 222 (cf. *PIR* III<sup>2</sup> 581, Pflaum 1957: 138, no. 12, Bowersock 1971: 236). His *cursus honorum* is given in the long inscription from Lyon (*CIL* XIII 1807 = Dessau 1330). He is the grandfather of Gordian III (*PIR* I<sup>2</sup> 833) and was in Syria at the moment of the war against the Persians. The two Emperors were probably the two Philips who reigned simultaneously from 244 to 249.

**Bibliography:** Dunand 1934: 80-81, no.166.

A037

**Site:** Bostra

**Date:** uncertain

**Location:**

**Language:** Latin

**Type:** Altar

**Dimensions:** 0.265 x 0.65 x 0.255; body 0.20 x 0.195 x 0.20; letter height 0.015-0.035

**Relevance:** altar type

**Text:** *Per Claudiu[m] | Sabinum e[t] | Atilium Pub|lium qua|estoribus a(erarii) | ci(v)(itas) d(ono) d(edit).*

**Translation:** “Through the efforts of Claudius Sabinus and Atilius Publius, the city made this offering to the *quaestors* of the treasury.”

**Commentary:** This is not a religious dedication but the physical dimensions of the altar are similar to the Humayma monument. This altar has the same square shape and broad upper and lower fascia, and a cup carved into the top for offerings. Lines have been etched into the upper fascia to simulate horns. The last line of the inscription appears on the lower chamfer.

**Bibliography:** Sartre 1986: 96, no. 9029.

A038

**Site:** Kréyé (Bostra region)

**Date:** 138/139

**Location:**

**Language:** Greek

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Type:</b>         |  |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Ἐπιτύχη   Ἐκτίσθη ἡ λίμνη ἔτους ρζ'   ἐκ κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων<br>  τῆς κώμης (δηναρίων) ἐ μ(υριάδων) ἐκ προνοίας    Φλ(αβίου)<br>Κορηλιανοῦ π(ριμι)π(ιλαρίου).                              |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Good Fortune. The reservoir was set up in the year 17 from the public resources of the district, 15,000 denarii, under the advisement of Flavius Cornelianus, <i>primus pilus</i> .” |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | The <i>primus pilus</i> was the chief centurion. This inscription shows the level of integration of high-ranking soldiers in the public affairs of the community.                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Cagnat 1965: 469, no. 1317. Waddington 1870: no. 1963.   |

A039

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Sahouet el-Khudr  | <b>Date:</b> 170/171   |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         |   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, military   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Ἐπιτύχη   Ἐκτίσθη ἡ λίμνη ἔτους ρζ'   ἐκ κοινῶν ἀναλωμάτων<br>  τῆς κώμης (δηναρίων) ἐ μ(υριάδων) ἐκ προνοίας    Φλ(αβίου)<br>Κορηλιανοῦ π(ριμι)π(ιλαρίου). |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “For the health of Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, to Lord Zeus from Vaddus Aslamus Molemus Ananus and Rufus, veterans, hierotames, in the year 66.”      |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Cagnat 1965: 469, no. 1299. Waddington 1870: no. 1969.  |                        |

---

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
|                      |  | <b>A040</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Hebran (northeast of Bostra)   | <b>Date:</b> 136       |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Lintel   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.35 x 0.8   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | [Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας Αὐτο]κράτορος Ἀντων[ινίου Σεβαστοῦ θε]ῶ<br>Λυκούργω   . . . . . οὐετρανὸς ἀπὸ [[λυθεὶς ἐντείμως ἐκ τ]ῶν<br>ἰδίων ἀνέ[[θηκεν εὐσεβείας χάρι]ν ἔτους 19.                              |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “For the safety of Emperor Augustus Antoninus, to the god<br>Lykurgus..... veteran having discharged (his vow) willingly at his<br>own expense, dedicated this as a mark of piety in the year 19.” |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Cagnat 1965: 468, no. 1294. Dunand 1934: 86, no. 174. Littman<br>and Magie 1921: 303, no. 663. Waddington 1870: no. 2286.  |                        |

---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
|                      |   | <b>A041</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Hebran (northeast of Bostra)  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, deity  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | mph 0.445 m; width of crown 0.33 m; letter height 0.03-0.06 m   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Διὶ κυρίῳ   [ε]ὐχὴν ἰλασίας χάριν   [Δέκ]μος Ἰού[λ]ιοῦ<br>Φα[[βι]ανὸς   [στρ]ατιώτη[ς]   λεγεῶ]νος...                       |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Lord Zeus, Decimus Julius Fabianus, soldier of Legion...<br>(offered) a prayer for the sake of expiation ...”           |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Fragmented horned altar found near the house of the Shekh.  |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Cagnat 1965: 468, no. 1297. Sourdél 1952: 25, n.5. Dunand 1934:<br>88, no. 177. Littman, Magie & Stuart 1921: 305, no. 665. |                        |

---

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
|                      |  | <b>A042</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Hebran (northeast of Bostra)   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>         |  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | ..... <i>Iovi   F C Iul(ius) [Maxi]mus, vetran(us), qui sub ambos militavit, fecit.</i>      |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “ ..... to Jupiter, F. C. Julius Maximus, veteran, who served under them both, made (this).” |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sourdel 1952: 22, n. 2. Waddington 1870: no. 2291.   |                        |

---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
|                      |   | <b>A043</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Hebran (northeast of Bostra)  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.28 x 0.8  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | altar type, formula, deity  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Δὶ Κεραυνίῳ Ἄλαμος Οὐιθροῦ [εἰ]ερεὺς ..   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Zeus of the Thunderbolt, Alamos Vithros priest...”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Although not a military dedication this inscription does reflect the many epithets of Zeus. Dedications to Zeus Keraunios were popular with civilians and soldiers. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Dunand 1934: 87, 175.   |                        |

---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
|                      |   | <b>A044</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Hebran (northeast of Bostra)  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   |                        |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | altar type, formula, deity, emperor, military   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | Height 0.8 m; body 0.22 m; letter height: 0.04 m.   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Δι̅ Μεγίστω   ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κ[υ]ρίου Καίσα(ρος)   Μ Βοδρίος  <br>Κωνστᾶς   (ἐκατόνταρχος) εὐξάμ[ε]νος ἀνέθηκεν.   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Greatest Zeus, for the health of the Lord Caesar, Bodrios Konstas, centurion, dedicated (this) following a prayer.”   |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Sourdél states that the dedicator is a centurion with an Arab name. Sourdél and Dunand both supply ἐκατόνταρχος but do not indicate the reasons for this addition. It is possible that the inscription contained a chi-rho symbol which was often used as a “short-hand” for centurion. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sourdél 1952: 22, n. 3. Dunand 1934: 89, no. 179, pl. 35.<br>Waddington 1870: no. 2289.   |                        |

---

|                     |  |                        |
|---------------------|--|------------------------|
|                     |  | <b>A045</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Suweida  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    | Basilica   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | portion of column base   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | formula, deity   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | Δι̅ σωτήρι καὶ Φωσφόρῳ, ἐκ θαλάσσης Β[υθοῦ]   ἀγρίας καὶ<br>περάτων γῆς Φοβεράς σωθ[εῖς]   Ἀντίοχος Διομήδους Βῆμα<br>ἔτους δ εὐχαριστῶν ἀνέθηκεν Διὸς ἀρετῆς π[αράδειγμα?].                       |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Zeus the Saviour and Illuminator having saved me from the wild Bythos sea and the dreaded land beyond, Antiochos Diomedes dedicated this bench in the year 4, proof of my gratitude for Zeus's |                        |

excellence.”

**Commentary:** One of the few examples of dedications to Zeus Soter. The dedicator having escaped the dangers of navigation was perhaps saved by the light of the stars. Consequently, Zeus is incarnated as Saviour and Illuminator. The temple where the base was found may have been previously a temple of Baalshamin.

**Bibliography:** Sourdel 1952: 27, n. 7.

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
|                      |  | <b>A046</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Suweida  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | Height: 1.08 m; letters 0.04 x 0.05 m.   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Ἄ]ντωνίος οὐετραν [ὸς . . . λε]γεῶ[ν]ος ἐποίη σεν   ἀπὸ ασ . . . .  <br>.ων . . . . .  |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “Antonius, veteran ... of legion . . . made this on the occasion of ...”   |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Rectangular basalt altar moulded at the base and crown. A bust of Athena in high relief appears on one face. Athena is clothed in an overlapping cuirass and wearing a crested helmet. One inscription starts below the relief under the base of the moulding on the crown of the altar and continues on the right side. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Dunand 1934: 27, no. 28.   |                        |

|                    |                                       |                        |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
|                    |                                       | <b>A047</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>       | Si'a (?)                              | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>   |                                       | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>       | Altar                                 |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b> | Height: 0.7 m; letter height: 0.03 m. |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>  | deity, military                       |                        |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Text:</b>         | Δι̅ ἐπηκόω   Ἰουλιανὸς   Ζηνᾶ ἵππεύς   κατ' εὐχὴν   ἀνέθηκεν.   |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Zeus who listens, Julianus Zaenas equestrian, dedicated this on account of a vow.”  |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Cylindrical altar with moulded base and crown. The altar is located in the Soueida Museum, but the exact provenance is unknown. The dedicator was perhaps from the cohort at Kanatha. The monument is topped with a upside down cone shaped protuberance, slightly concave and decorated with 4 “horns”. The top of the altar has a small cavity. On the trunk is a well carved 5 line inscription. Between the last line and the lower moulding is a four-petaled rosette between 2 leaves with stems.<br><br>Ζηνᾶς is a common name. The formula Ζεὺς ὑψιστος καὶ ἐπήκοος is found frequently at Palmyra to designate Ba'al-Shamin. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sourdel 1952: 26. Dunand 1934: 26, no. 27, pl. 8.   |

A048

|                     |  |                        |
|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Si'a   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | Height 1.20 m; letters 0.025 m   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | deity, military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | Δι̅ Κυ]ρίω εὐχὴν Λο[ύ]κι[ς]   . . . ώνις βενεφικιάρις   λεγεώνος ἰ Φρετησίας.  |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Lord Zeus, a vow, Loukis, . . . <i>beneficiarius</i> of <i>legio X Fretensis</i> .”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | Rectangular basalt altar, moulded at the base and cupped on the crown to form a type of bowl. A leaf, stem upward, decorates each corner of the base. On the front face beginning at the base, a vine stalk with leaves and grape clusters spreads upward then divides into two below the cornice where it frames a masculine figure. The figure is dressed in a tunic with the right shoulder exposed and a portion of the garment draped over his right arm. A three line inscription appears on the band of the cornice the first 2 lines of which are missing because of damage at the corner. The formula Δι̅ Κυρίω εὐχὴν may refer to Dusares-Dionysos which one can see |                        |

in the young male figure.

*Legio X Fretensis* had successive camps at Cyrrhus, Jerusalem and Aqaba (Aila). Under Hadrian, one of its detachments was perhaps stationed at Gadara, southeast of Lake Tiberias.

**Bibliography:** Dunand 1934: 20, no. 15, pl. 11, 15. Dunand 1926: 328, pl. 69.

A049

**Site:** Canatha/Qanawat **Date:** uncertain

**Location:** Temple of Zeus **Language:** Greek

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** formula, deity

**Type:** Building Inscription

**Text:** Τίτ(ος) Αντίοχος | Φιλοτιμησά|μενος Δι̅ Μεγίστω̅ ἐκ  
τῶν | [ἰδ]ίω̅ν ἀνέσ|[τησ]εν.

**Translation:** “Titus Antiochus Philotimesamenus set this up to the Greatest Zeus at his own expense.”

**Commentary:**

**Bibliography:** Sourdél 1952: 23, n. 6. Waddington 1870: no. 2340.

A050

**Site:** Canatha/Qanawat **Date:** uncertain

**Location:** Temple of Zeus **Language:** Greek

**Type:** Column Base

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** formula, deity

**Text:** Πούπλιος Αἴλιος Γ[ε]ρμανὸς Βου|λευτῆς Πουπλίου Αἰλίου  
Φιλίπ|που υἱὸς τῶν Βενναθης Φιλοτει|μησάμενος Δι̅ Μεγίστω̅ |ἐκ  
τῶν |ἰδῖων εὐσεβῶν ἀνέστησεν.

**Translation:** “Publius Aelius Germanus, councillor, son of Publius Aelius Philippus of Benathes, proudly set this up to Zeus Megistos at his own expense, in witness of his piety.”

**Commentary:**

**Bibliography:** Sourdél 1952: 23, n. 6.

A051

**Site:** Canatha/Qanawat

**Date:** uncertain

**Location:**

**Language:** Greek

**Type:**

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** formula, deity

**Text:** Δι̅ Μεγίστ(ω) Κανατηνω̅ NO

**Translation:** “To the Greatest Zeus of Kanata No....”

**Commentary:** Sourdél suggests that the missing letters are the start of a person's name.

**Bibliography:** Sourdél 1952: 22.

A052

**Site:** Philippiopolis

**Date:** 175-178

**Location:**

**Language:** Greek

**Type:**

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** formula, military

**Text:** Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων Μ  
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου | καὶ Λ Αὐρηλίου [Κομμόδου] υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 Σεβ[α]στῶν ἐπὶ Μαρτίου Οὐήρου πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) Σεβ(αστῶν)  
 ἀντιστρ(ατήγου) || ἑφεστῶτος Πετουσίου Εὐδήμου ἑκατοντάρχου  
 λεγι(ῶνος) ἰς Φλ)αβίας Φίρ(μης) | ἐπὶ Αἰλάμου Λαβάνου  
 στρατηγοῦ ..Αἰλαμος Λαβάνου στρα(τηγός).

**Translation:** “For the safety and victory of the Lords Caesars Augusti, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Augustus Lucius Aurelius Commodus his son, for Martius Verus propraetorian legate of the emperors, commander of Petousios Eudemos centurion of *legio XVI Flavia Firma*, for Ailamus Labanus commander ... Ailamus of Labanus commander.”

**Commentary:**

**Bibliography:** Cagnat 1965: 438, no. 1195. Waddington 1870: no. 2071.

A053

**Site:** Meseike (Leja region) **Date:** uncertain

**Location:** **Language:** Greek

**Type:**

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** deity, military

**Text:** Ἰούλιος Μάξιμος στρατιώτ[ης | λεγ(ιῶνος) γ' Γαλ(λικῆς)] κα[ὶ  
Ἰούλιος] | Ῥούφος ἀδελφὸς ἀνέκτισαν Διὶ πατρῶω θεῶ  
εὐσεβείας χάριν | .....

**Translation:** “Julius Maximus, soldier of *legio III Gallica* and Julius Rufus his brother dedicated this gift of piety to Zeus, the ancestral god ...”

**Commentary:**

**Bibliography:** Cagnat 1963: 1148. Sourdél 1952: 22, n 2.

A054

**Site:** Rimet-Hazim **Date:** uncertain

**Location:** **Language:** Greek

**Type:**

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** military

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Text:</b>         | [ Ἡ]λίω θεῶ μεγίσ[τω ...   'Ι]ουλιανὸς ἑκατόνταρχος λεγ(ιῶνος) δ' [Σκυθικῆς]   εὐχὴν.     |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To the greatest Sun God .... Julianus centurion of <i>legio IV Scythica</i> , a prayer.” |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |   |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Cagnat 1965: 455, no. 1242. Waddington 1870: no. 2407.                                    |

A055

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Maximianopolis/Shaqqa  | <b>Date:</b> 238       |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Temple   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Block  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.65 x 1.22 x 0.38 m; text field 0.515 x 0.33; upper cornice (restored) 0.55 x 1.22 m; letter height: 0.003-0.004  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Ἵπὲρ σωτηρίας κ[αὶ νεικῆς κυρίου ἡμῶν] αὐτοκράτορος [[Μ(άρκου) Ἄν των[ί]ου Γο[ρ]διανοῦ]] Σεβ(αστοῦ) Τύχην Μεγάλην Σακκαίας   τῇ κυρίᾳ πάτριδι Ἰουενάλιος Προκλὸς Ταυρείνου (ἑκατοντάρχης)   ἅμα Σονομαθη συμβίῳ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνέθηκεν   ὑπατεία Πίου καὶ Πον τιανοῦ πρὸ 5' Καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰου νίων.   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “For the health and victory of our Lord Emperor Marcus Antonius Gordianus Augustus, Juvenalius Proclus son of Taurinus, centurion, with his wife Sonomatha and children dedicated the Great Tyche of Saccaia to Mistress Patria, in the consulship of Pius and Pontianus, on the 6 <sup>th</sup> day before the kalends of June.”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Large basalt block carved on one face with a dove-tailed cartouche framed by two colonnettes with vegetative capitals resting on a large, carved base. At the top of the block is a cornice on which the first line of text is engraved. The remaining text appears on the cartouche. Isaac states that the dedication shows a degree of integration between the military and the local community. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sartre 1984: 49-61. Isaac 1990: 135.   |                        |

A056

---

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Maximianopolis/Shaqqa  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         |  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, deity   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Χαίλος Σαβ<α>ου εὐσεβῶν ἐξ ἰδίων   τὴν πύλην ἀνήγειρεν Διὶ Μεγίστῳ.                                      |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “Caelus of Sabaos in witness of his piety, at his own expense, dedicated the door to the Greatest Zeus.” |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sourdell 1952: 23, n. 3.   |                        |

---

A057

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Tell el-Harra, Batanaea  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | deity, military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Διὶ Βεελβααρω   Διομήδης   Χάρητος ἔπαρ [χ]ος καὶ στρα τηγὸς Βατανά [ας].  |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Zeus Beelbaaros, Diomedes Charetos, commander and soldier of Batanaea.”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Beelbaaros is a Semitic god whose name is formed from Baal (or Beel according to Aramean vocalization) plus a toponym. The toponym here, Baaras, is a region in Transjordan situated near Madaba and known in antiquity for its hot-springs. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sourdell 1952: 45.   |                        |

---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
|                      |   | <b>A058</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Shaqra  | <b>Date:</b> 198-217   |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 1.4 m   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <p><b>A:</b> Μ(αρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος)   Τιβέριος Σαβεῖνος οὐ ετρανὸ [ς] ἔστησε ν τὴν νε ί κ ην ἐκ τῶ ν ἰδίων   τέρτια Κ[υ]ρ(η)ναικά.</p> <p><b>B:</b> Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας το[ῦ] κυρίο[υ ἡ]μῶν αὐ[τ] οκράτορος [Σ]εουήρου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ .</p>   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | <p><b>A:</b> “Marcus Aurelius Tiberius Sabinus, veteran, set this up at his own expense. III Cyrenaica.”</p> <p><b>B:</b> “For the safety of our Lord Caesar Augustus Severus Antonius”</p>   |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | <p>Basalt altar, inscribed on two adjacent sides. Moulded at the base and crown. Well incised with a firm hand. The letters have a rounded style including omega, and sigma is rendered as a C. The emperor is probably Caracella as his complete title is normally Αὐτοκράτορος Μ. Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνείνου, Σεβαστοῦ.</p> |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Dunand 1934: 80, no. 164.   |                        |

---

|                     |   |                        |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|
|                     |   | <b>A059</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Mismiye/Phaena  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Statue Base   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | formula, deity  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <p>Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Ὑψίστῳ   Σοαδο[ς] Α&lt;λ&gt;ειου τοῦ καὶ   Καλλου εὐσεβείας χάριν.</p> |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Greatest Zeus the Highest, Soadus son of Aelius and Kallus a                      |                        |

gift of piety.”

**Commentary:** Hypsistos is one of the epithets of the Phoenician sky god. Dedications to just 'Hypsistos' appear at Palmyra in Semitic inscriptions and may reflect a monotheistic trend in eastern religious practice. This dedication is most likely a Greek interpretation of the Syrian supreme god Ba'al.

**Bibliography:** Sourdel 1952: 24, n. 1. Dussaud and Macler 1903: 288, no. 2, pl. 2.1.

**A060**

**Site:** Mismiye/Phaena

**Date:** 185-192

**Location:**

**Language:** Greek

**Type:**

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** formula, military

**Text:** Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης [τῶν] κυρίων αὐτοκ[ρατόρων] |  
Λ(ύκιος) Αὐρήλιος Μάξιμος ἑκατόνταρχος λεγ(ιῶνος) ἰς  
Φλ(αβίας) Φίρ(μης) | τὴν Εἰρήνην ἀνήκεν.

**Translation:** “For the health and victory of Lords Caesars, Lucius Aurelius Maximus, centurion of *legio XVI Flavia Firma*, dedicated (the statue of) Peace.”

**Commentary:**

**Bibliography:** Cagnat 1965: 421, no. 1117. Waddington 1870: no. 2526.

**A061**

**Site:** Mismiye/Phaena

**Date:** 185-192

**Location:**

**Language:** Greek

**Type:**

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** formula, emperor, military

- Text:** [Ἵπὲρ σω]τηρ[ίας καὶ νεί]κης [τῶν] κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων  
Λ(ύκιος) Αὐρήλιος Μάξιμος ἑκατόνταρχος λεγ(ιῶνος) ἰς'  
[Φλ(αβίας) Φίρ(μης)] | τὴν Εἰσιν ἀνέηκεν.
- Translation:** “For the health and victory of Lords Caesars, Lucius Aurelius Maximus, centurion of *legio XVI Flavia Firma*, dedicated (the statue) of Isis.”
- Commentary:**
- Bibliography:** Cagnat 1965: 421, no. 1118. Waddington 1870: no. 2527.

## JUDAEA & PALESTINE

**B001**

- Site:** Bet Guvrin/Eleutheropolis      **Date:** 180-192
- Location:** Sacellum of Amphitheatre      **Language:** Greek
- Type:** Altar
- Dimensions:** 0.68 m x 0.42 m.; socket 0.19 m x 0.42 m; body 0.30 x 0.28 m, cornice 0.21 m x 0.4 m.
- Relevance:** altar type, formula, military?
- Text:** [Ἀγαθῆ τύχη] | Ἵπὲρ σω]τηρίας | Κομόδ(ου) | τοῦ κυρ(ίου) θεοῦ | Ἡλιοπολε[ίτ]η | Ἐλκ[ίας?]
- Translation:** “(To Good Forutne) For the safety of Commodus the Lord, to the god of Heliopolis, Elk[ias?] (dedicated this).”
- Commentary:** An incense altar similar in size and shape to the Humayma altar. It was found broken and subsequently restored, carved from a single block of local limestone. Found in the *sacellum* of the amphitheatre along with an uninscribed altar of similar dimensions (B002). Soot-marks in the depression on top of altar attest its original use. The inscription begins at the base of the cornice and continues on the body to the upper part of the socket. The editors suggest that the letters were incised by an unskilled carver as there appears to be inadequate calculation of space between letters. Traces of red paint can still be seen in the letters. The dedicator, Elkias (?), may have been an official in charge of cult of gladiatorial contests. According to the editors, Zeus-Heliopolites was a composite of the Greek Zeus and the Syrian thunder god

Hadad-Rimmon whose image also appears on coins minted in Bet Guvrin/Eleutheropolis.

**Bibliography:** Kloner & Hubsch 1996: 85-105.

|                      |  |                       |
|----------------------|--|-----------------------|
|                      |  | <b>B002</b>           |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Bet Guvrin   | <b>Date:</b> 180-192  |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Sacellum of Amphitheatre   | <b>Language:</b> none |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |                       |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | socket 0.36 x 0.96 x 0.40; body 0.36 x 0.28; cornice 0.30 x 0.35.  |                       |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | altar type, military?  |                       |
| <b>Text:</b>         | not inscribed  |                       |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Incense altar carved from a single block of limestone. The altar consists of a socket, body, and moulded cornice. The previous entry may form a set with this altar as the dimensions are similar. |                       |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Kloner & Hubsch 1996: 85-105.  |                       |

## SYRIA

|                     |  |                        |
|---------------------|--|------------------------|
|                     |  | <b>C001</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Tell el-Ash'ari<br>(north-west of Damascus, south of Abila)  | <b>Date:</b> 69-71     |
| <b>Location:</b>    |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | formula, deity   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | [Ἵπὲρ τῆς Αὐτοκράτορος Τίτου Φλαοῦ[ου Οὐε]<σ>π(α)[σιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ σω](τ)ηρίας Ἀπολλ<οφά>ν[της Διογένους πατῆρ πόλε]ως Διὶ Μεγίστῳ [ε]ὔσεβείας χάριν ἐκ τῶν ἰδί]ων τὸν Βωμ[ὸν ἀνέστησεν?] |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “For the safety of Caesar Augustus Titus Flavius Vespasianus,  |                        |

Apollophanes Diogenous, father of the city, set up an altar to the Greatest Zeus, a mark of his piety from his own resources.”

**Commentary:**

**Bibliography:** Sourdel 1952: 23, n. 7. Cagnat 1965: 431, no. 1162.

**C002**

**Site:** Abila **Date:** 137

**Location:** **Language:** Greek

**Type:****Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** formula, deity

**Text:** ἔτους ηξϛ' Δύστρου λ' Διὶ [Μεγί]στῳ Ἡλιοτολείτῃ τῷ κυρίῳ | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας κυρίου | Καίσαρος Λυσίας καὶ Σπούριος καὶ Ἀνεΐνας υἱοὶ Λυσι[ίου] || ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὸν Βωμὸ[ν] ἀνέθηκαν καὶ παρ' ὁμολογίαν ἐπο(ί)ησαν.

**Translation:** “In the year 468, the 30th day of March, to the Greatest Zeus Lord of Heliopolis for the health of the Lord Caesar, Lucias and Spourios and Aneinas sons of Lusios, from their own resources dedicated an altar and made it in accordance with the agreement.”

**Commentary:** This inscription is a good example of the contractual nature of the dedication. *Vota*, like prayers, need to be precise and defined in specific detail: the date, the precise name of the god, and the names of the dedicators. This votive represents the fulfilment of a contract and is the offering promised to the god in return for a favour or request.

**Bibliography:** Cagnat 1965: 413, no. 1087.

**C003**

**Site:** Doueir **Date:** 196  
(in the region of Tyre & Sidon)

**Location:** **Language:** Greek

**Type:****Dimensions:**

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, military(?)  |
| <b>Text:</b>         | [Θε]ῶ Απόλλωνι Ίουσενραμαῖος (?) Σελαμάνους οἰκονόμου  <br>..... [Ἡρ]ακλαίτου ἡγεμόνος λεγ(ιῶνος) ς' τὸν οὐδὸν εὐξάμενος<br>ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν υἱῶ[ν]   ἀνέθηκεν   ἔτ[ο]υ(ς) ακτ'    μη(νος)<br>Πανήμιου ις'.                    |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To the God Apollo Iusenramaios (?) Selamanos steward ..... of<br>Heraklaeitos commander of <i>legio VI</i> dedicated the threshold<br>following a prayer for the safety of this sons. In the year 321 on<br>the 16th of July.” |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | This dedication may not strictly be a military dedication but it<br>appears to have been made by an assistant to the commander. It is<br>not known if the steward was also in the military.                                     |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Cagnat 1965: 421, no. 1107.   |

C004

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Heliopolis   | <b>Date:</b> 117-138   |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Temple of Jupiter  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Fragments of a socle   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | deity, formula   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Διὶ Ἡ λ[ι]οπολίτη ὑπὲρ τῆς σ[ωτ]ηρίας Κα[ίσαρ]ος Ἀ  δρια[νοῦ<br>Κα]ίσα [ρος Τρα]ιανοῦ   υἱοῦ] .....  |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Zeus of Heliopolis for the health of Caesar Hadrian son of<br>Caesar Trajan ....”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Zeus/Jupiter Heliopolite was a Roman interpretation of Baalshamin<br>of Baalbek. A large temple of Jupiter was built here in the reign of<br>Tiberius. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Rey-Coquais 1967: 59, no. 2727. Cagnat 1965: 408, no. 1068.  |                        |

---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
|                      |   | <b>C005</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Heliopolis  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Statue Base   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.52 x 0.89 x 0.57, letter height 0.005   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Θεῶ μεγίστῳ   Ἡλιουπόλιτι   δεσπότῃ   [Κάσσιος Οὐῆρος    ἅμα<br>Χαρείνῃ   [σ]υμβίῳ τῇ ἀξιο[λογ]ωτάτῃ καὶ . . .  |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To the Greatest God Lord of Heliopolis, Cassius Verus, together with Chareine most remarkable companion and ....”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | The spelling Ἡλιουπόλιτις instead of the usual Ἡλιοπόλιτις is found in the Latin form <i>HELIUPOL</i> in many dedications to the triad. <i>HELUP</i> consistently appears on coin legends of the early third century. The spelling marks a confusion between the place-name and ethnicity: Ἡλίου πόλις and Ἡλιοπόλιτις (cf. L. Robert, <i>Hellenica</i> X, p. 194, n. 5). |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Rey-Coquais 1967: 62, no. 2730. Cagnat 1965: 408, no. 1069.   |                        |

---

|                     |   |                        |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|
|                     |   | <b>C006</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Heliopolis (Baalbek)  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    | Temple of Jupiter   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar (?)   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | formula, deity  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | Διὶ μεγίστῳ   [Ἡλι]οπολείτῃ καὶ θεῶ Ἐγυπτ(ίῳ)   Σαλαμάνης καὶ<br>Μερκούριος υἱοὶ Μαμβογαίου   ἀπὸ κώμης Μααρρα[ς]   Σαμεθοῦ<br>χώρα[ν]   Λ . . ἩϞ ὠνούμενοι (τ)ὸν Ἐρμυνην ἀνεθήκαν.     |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To the Greatest Zeus of Heliopolis and the Egyptian God, Salamanes and Mercurios, sons of Mambogaios from the village Maarra of Sameth, having purchased the land of L....., dedicated |                        |

this statue of Hermes.”

**Commentary:** A rectangular cippus, perhaps an altar, from the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Heliopolis. The address is ambiguous: does the dedication refer to two distinct deities or is it addressed to Jupiter Heliopolitan as an Egyptian god? If the dedication refers to two gods, the Egyptian god may be Serapis or Jupiter Hammon. Rey-Coquais prefers to interpret the dedication as made to one divinity which expresses the Egyptian origin of Jupiter Heliopolitan. The donors were of Semitic origin.

**Bibliography:** Rey-Coquais 1967: 63, no. 2731. *SEG XIX*, 1963: no. 888.

**C007**

**Site:** Heliopolis/Baalbek **Date:** uncertain

**Location:** Temple of Jupiter **Language:** Latin

**Type:** Column Base

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** military

**Text:** *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) V(eneri)] M(ercurio) Diis heliopol(itanis) | pro sal(ute) | [et] victoriis d(omini) n(ostri) Antonini Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) et Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris d(omini) n(ostri) castr(orum) [sen]at(us) patr(iae) [Aur(elius) Ant(onius)] | Longinus specul(ator) leg(ionis) III Gall(icae) | [An]toniniana capita columnarum dua aerea auro inluminata sua pecun[ia] ex | voto libens a(nimo) solvit.*

**Translation:** “To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Venus, Mercury, God of Heliopolis, for the health and victory of our Lord Antoninus, Pius, Fortunate Augustus and Julia Augusta mother of our Lord, the camps, the senate, the fatherland, Aurelius Antoninus Longinus, *speculator* of *legio III Gallica Antoniniana*, dedicated the bronze capitals of two columns, adorned with gold, from his own resources, freely in spirit released his vow.”

**Commentary:** From a column base in the propylean of the Temple. The gods honoured here were the Heliopolitan Triad.

**Bibliography:** Rey-Coquais 1967: 46-7, no. 2711.

C008

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Heliopolis  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Temple of Jupiter   | <b>Language:</b>       |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Stele   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, deity  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | [Διὶ Μεγίστῳ] [Ἡλιοπο]λίτη Κρήσκης ΑΚΙ — —ΦΑΝΟΥΣ<br>βουλευτῆς εὐξάμ[εν]ο[ς] ὑπὲρ] γυνεκὸς καὶ τέκ[νων] καὶ<br>συγγενῶν ἀνέθηκεν.          |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Greatest Zeus of Heliopolis Kreskes ....., councillor,<br>dedicated this following a prayer for his wife and children and<br>family.” |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Rey-Coquais 1967: 59-60, no. 2728, pl. 28.  |                        |

C009

|                     |  |                        |
|---------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Heliopolis   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    | Temple of Jupiter  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Column Base  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | formula, deity   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | — — — — — ΥΑΝΩ  — — — ΟC   Διὶ μεγ[ίστ]ῳ Ἡλιοπολείτῃ  <br>κυρίῳ   Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλ[λ]ινάριος Σεγνα Ἄρα(δ)ιος  <br>[εὐξάμ]ενος κατὰ χ[ρη]ματισμὸν τὸν ἀνδριά[ντα]   [σὺν τοῖς]<br>τέκνοις ἀνέθηκεν. |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Greatest Zeus of Heliopolis, Lord, Apollonius also called<br>Apollinarios, son of Segnas of Arados, with his children, dedicated<br>this statue following a vow in accordance with an oracle.”       |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | The dedicator Arados may have been Semitic. The statue<br>dedicated was probably an image of the emperor. The emperor's  |                        |

name does not appear in the inscription but probably was carved on the cornice of the socle, which is lost. Rey-Coquais suggests that the statue was probably placed on the summit of the column and was not part of the original monument

**Bibliography:** Rey-Coquais 1967: 60-61, no. 2729, pl. 27.

---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
|                      |   | <b>C010</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Heliopolis/Baalbek  | <b>Date:</b> 128-138   |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Statue Base   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.58 x 1.03 x 0.58 m  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <p><i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano)   pro sal(ute) imp(eratoris)   Caes(aris) Traiani   Hadriani Aug(usti) p(atris) p(atriciae)   ex testamento    L(uci) Antoni Silonis   eq(uitis) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) Heliopolitani   L(ucius) Varius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Fab(ia tribu) Magnus vet(eranus) pro    parte dimidia et   L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) f(ilius) Fab(ia tribu) Me(lior) pup(illus) (pro) parte quarta et Vibi C(ai) f(ili) Fab(ia tribu) Ruf(us) et Fuscus pupilli pro parte quarta, hered(es) eius   ex arg(enti) p(ondo) octoginta v(otum) s(olverunt).</i></p> |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | <p>“To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus, for the health of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, father of the fatherland, pursuant to the will of Lucius Antonius Silo, <i>equus</i> of <i>legio III Augustae</i>, Heliopolitan, Lucius Varius Magnus, son of Quintus, of the Fabia tribe, veteran for half; Lucius Valerius Melior, son of Lucius, of the Fabian tribe, his ward for a quarter; Fibi Rufus and Vibius Fuscus, sons of Gaius, of the Fabian tribe, his wards for a quarter, his heirs, have paid their vow of 80 pounds of silver.”</p>                      |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | <p><i>Legio III Augusta</i> was stationed at Lambaesis in Numidia.</p>  |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | <p>Rey-Coquais 1967: 49-50, n. 2714, pl 20.</p>   |                        |

**C011**


---

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Heliopolis (Baalbek)  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Temple of Jupiter   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Column Base   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, emperor  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ   νίκης τῶν   [κυρίων αὐτοκράτορων κτλ]             |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “For the safety and victory of the masters, the emperors ? .”         |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Fragment of column base found in the Temple of Jupiter at Heliopolis. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | <i>SEG XIX</i> , 1963: no. 890.                                       |                        |

---

**C012**

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Hit (southeast of Dura Europos)   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         |   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, deity  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Ἀραβιανὸς Διομήδους   κατ' εὐχὴν ἀνήγειρεν.   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Greatest Zeus, Arabianus Diomedous dedicated this following a prayer.”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | This dedication may report the construction of a sanctuary because another inscription refers to a manager charged with repairing the temple door (Waddington, 2117). |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sourdel 1952: 23, n. 1. Waddington 1870: no. 2116.  |                        |

C013

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Tayibeh<br>(between Palmyra & Euphrates)  | <b>Date:</b> 134       |
| <b>Location:</b>     |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         |   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, deity, emperor   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <p>Δὶ μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Τρα(ιανοῦ) Ἀδριανοῦ<br/> Σεβ(αστοῦ)   τοῦ κυρίου Ἀγαθάνηλλος Ἀβιληνὸς τῆς<br/> Δεκαπόλεως τὴν καμέραν ᾠκοδόμησεν καὶ τὴν κλίνη[ν]   ἐξ ἰδίων<br/> ἀνέθηκεν   ἔτους εμου μηνὸς λῶου.</p>                  |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | <p>“To the Greatest Zeus of the Thunderbolt, for the health of Lord Augustus Trajanus Hadrianus, Agathangelos Abilaenos of the Decapolis built the temple and the couch from his own resources, in the year 445, in the month of August.”</p> |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   |   |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Spijkerman 1978: 31. Cagnat 1965: 405, no. 1057. Waddington 1870: no. 2631.   |                        |

C014

|                     |   |                        |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Palmyra   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | height: 0.58 m.   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | altar type, formula   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <p>Δὶ ὑψίστῳ   καὶ ἐπηκόῳ   εὐξάμενος   ἀνέθηκεν    [. .<br/> . ] ΥΡΟΣΚ [...] ΜΑΣΥΙΕΘΗΚ[.]   Σωπατρος   θεῶ<br/> μεγάλῳ   ΕΛΛΑΔΥΑ τῶ    ἐν Ἐουαρει (<i>vacat</i>)</p> |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | <p>“To Zeus the Highest and to the one who listens I dedicated (this) following a prayer..... to the great god of Euraria.”</p>                                       |                        |

**Commentary:** While there is no indication that there is a military connection with this inscription, the size and shape of this altar, the bowl shaped depression on the upper surface and the form of the text is a good parallel with the Humayma altar. Euraria is the ancient name for the site known today as Hauwarin (cf. M. Honigmann, *Historische Topographie*, p. 37).

**Bibliography:** Seyrig 1938: 318.

---



---

**C015**

**Site:** Palmyra

**Date:** 302

**Location:**

**Language:** Greek

**Type:** Altar

**Dimensions:** 0.65 x 1.08 x 0.63

**Relevance:** deity, military

**Text:** Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ | [Ἐ]πηκόῳ Ἄουεῖτο[ς] ὀπτιῶν πρίνκιψ εὐχῆ[ν]  
| [ἀνέθηκεν ἔτους γιγ' Γο[ρ]πι[α]ίου εχ'.

**Translation:** “To Zeus the Highest and who listens, Avitus, *optio princeps*, offered a vow, in the year 613, the 25th of Gorpaios (25 September 302).”

**Commentary:** Flat upper face, moulded cornice and base, traces of red paint in the letters. The grade of *optio* refers to the officer directly under the centurion. At one time the grade was characteristic of the legions but in the imperial period it became known in other units of the army and in some civilian functions. It is not possible to determine whether this *optio* is Palmyrene, Syrian or Roman due to the absence of a first name and the cognomen Avitus does not necessarily prove Roman origin. The name Avitus is found in Syria and was common in the royal family of Emesa, carried by, among others, Elagabalus and in the feminine (Avita) by Julia Domna. This text also reveals that the cult of Ba'alshamin, in his Greek form Zeus Hysistos and Epekoos, was still in existence at the beginning of the 4th century, maintained perhaps by the presence of the Roman garrison.

**Bibliography:** Dunant 1971: no. 31.

C016

|                      |   |                        |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Dura-Europos  | <b>Date:</b> 211       |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Temple of Dolichenus  | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | mph: 0.55-0.66 m; width 0.24 m; letter height ca 0.035 m; frequent ligatures.   |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | altar type ?, military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) s(acrum)   pro sal(ute) M  <br/> Ant(onii) Valen tini eiusq(ue)   omnium    (centurionis) princ(ipis)<br/> ve xill(ationum) leg(ionum) IIII   et IVX F(laviae) f(irmae)<br/> Anto(ninianarum)   Agatocles   lib(ertus) eius v(otum) s(olvit)  <br/> l(ibens) a(nimo) Gent(iano) et Bas so co(n)s(ulibus).</i>   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “A dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus for the health of Marcus Antonius Valentinus and all his household centurion princeps of vexillations of the <i>IIII</i> and <i>XVI Flavia Firma Antoninia</i> legions, Agatocles his freedman willingly discharged his vow, Gentianus and Bassus consuls.”   |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Gypsum altar, broken at the upper left, found before the entrance to the temple, to the east. The letters are carefully cut and show resemblance to both the first two and the last three lines of the dedication of the Middle Mithraeum (Dura Report VII-VIII no. 847, Pl. 49, 1). A symbol resembling a “7” was used to represent “centurion” in line six. The unit number IVX for XVI may reflect the common Greek order of writing numerals from right to left. Antonius Valentinus is found in command of the same vexillations in the dedication of the Middle Mithraeum. He was a legionary <i>centurio princeps</i> , next in rank probably to the <i>primi pili</i> and one of the <i>primi ordines</i> . The consuls are those of 211, Terentius Gentianus and Pomponius Bassus. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Gilliam 1986: 73. Rostovtzeff 1952: no. 970, pl. 19, 1.   |                        |

C017

|                  |                                  |                        |
|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>     | Dura Europos                     | <b>Date:</b> 251       |
| <b>Location:</b> | Entrance to Temple of Dolichenus | <b>Language:</b> Greek |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | height: 1.06 m; width: 0.28-0.32 m, letter height: 0.035   |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |
| <b>Text:</b>         | ἔτους βξϕ'   Διὶ μεγίστ(ω)   και θεῶ Δολι χέωρ οὔηξιλ(λατίων)<br>σπείρης β'    Παφλαγόν(ων)   Γαλλιανῆς   Οὐλυσ{σ}ιανῆς   ἐπὶ<br>'Ιουλ(ίου) Ἰουλιανοῦ   κρατίστου δουκὸς   διὰ Οὐλ(πίου) Ἰουλιανῶ<br>  (ἑκατοντάρχου) πρίνκ (ιπος) και Μαρίνου ... και Ζηνο   {ο}δώρου<br>ὀπρίον(ος) και Φαυστειανῶ .... ΣΤΟΥ.   |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “In the year 562, to the Greatest Zeus and to the God Dolichenus vexillation of <i>cohors II Paphlagonum</i> Galliana Volusiana for Iulius Iulianus most excellent legate with Ulpius Iulianus centurion princeps and Marinus ... and Zeno, <i>optio</i> of the unit, and Faustianus.”   |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Gypsum altar found before the entrance to the Dolichenum, to the east. Irregular round alphabet. A chi-ro symbol was used to represent ἑκατοντάρχου in line twelve. Few inscriptions of Dolichenus are as late as this text. This altar and its companion (see below Dura Report no. 972) are dedicated to “Zeus the greatest and god of Doliche” but it is referring to only one god. In this formula there is first a general conception of the supreme god as a sky god and then a more specific expression, the god of Doliche. Dolichenus is usually referred to as Zeus or Jupiter, but occasionally he is simply Theos or Deus. The <i>cohors II Ulpia Paphlagonum</i> was stationed in Syria in the second century. It is possible that this vexillation had just been transferred to Dura in 251. Julius Julianus is one of four <i>duces ripae or ripenses</i> known at Dura. He was of equestrian rank (κρατίστος = <i>vir egregius</i> ) and may be the <i>praefectus legionis</i> named in <i>ISL 2771</i> . Ulpius Iulianus was the chief centurion of his cohort and as such may have had a regular connection with the cult acts of his unit. A large number of priests of Dolichenus were named Marinus but the name is too common at Dura to have any significance here. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Gilliam 1986: 76-77. Rostovtzeff 1952: no. 971, pl. XIX, 2.  |

C018

|                  |                               |                  |       |
|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|-------|
| <b>Site:</b>     | Dura-Europos                  | <b>Date:</b>     | 250   |
| <b>Location:</b> | Entrance to Temple Dolichenus | <b>Language:</b> | Greek |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | height: 1.05 m, width: 0.34-0.37 m; letter height: 0.035 m  |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | formula, deity, military  |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Διὶ Μεγίστῳ   καὶ θεῷ Δολιχέῳ   στρα(τιῶται) σπέρης β' ἰππικῆς<br>Γαλλιαν(ῆς)   Οὐλοσυσιανῆς ἡ ἐπὶ Ἰου(λίῳ) Ἰουλιανο(ῦ)   κρατίστου<br>δουκὸς διὰ Αὐρη(λίῳ)   Λουκίου πρί(ν)κι(πος) σπ(ίρης) τῆς<br>αὐτῆς   καὶ Βάσσου ὀπί(τιων(ος) τοῦ πρί(ν)κιπο(ς)   καὶ πάντων<br>τῶν   μουνεραρίω(ν).  |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Zeus the Greatest and the God Dolichenus, soldiers of <i>cohors II Equitata Galliana Volusiana</i> , for Julius Julianus, most excellent servant for Aurelius Lukios, princeps of the same unit and Bassus, <i>optio</i> of the princeps and of all the games.”   |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Gypsum altar. Found before the entrance to the Dolichenum, to the west. Irregular round alphabet. This inscription was set up about the same time as the previous entry and dates from the reign of Gallus and Volusian (A.C. 251-253). Both texts appear to have been set up by one man or one is modeled on the other. The cohort may be the <i>cohors II Ulpia equitata</i> , known to have been in Dura in the reign of Commodus and as late as 194. The πάντων τῶν μουνεραρίων suggests that the <i>centurio princeps</i> and others in the cohort had presented gladiatorial games. There was an amphitheatre in the camp at Dura as in a number of other camps, and gladiators are depicted in graffiti. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Gilliam 1986: 78-79. Rostovtzeff 1952: no. 972, pl. 9, 3.   |

C019

|                    |  |                          |
|--------------------|--|--------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>       | Dura-Europos   | <b>Date:</b> 3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b>   |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek   |
| <b>Type:</b>       | Base or stand  |                          |
| <b>Dimensions:</b> | 0.11 x 0.215; letter height: 0.028 m                             |                          |
| <b>Relevance:</b>  | military?  |                          |
| <b>Text:</b>       | θεῷ ἐπι(κόω)   Τουρμασγά(ιδη) Γ' Ἰούλ(ιος)   Γερμανὸς   ἀνέθηκα. |                          |

**Translation:** “To Turmasgade who listens, G. Julius Germanos dedicated (this).”

**Commentary:** Fine grain gypsum base or stand found in area 17 before the façade of room 20. The letters are round and carefully cut. Ligature Π and Η in line one. Little is known about Turmasgade and his name is not well attested in inscriptions. Turmasgade appears in only five known inscriptions: one from Rome, three from Dacia and one from Trier. Four of these five inscriptions either name soldiers or are from militarized areas. In three of the inscriptions which present no difficulty in reading he appears as *I.O.M. Turmasgade*, *Turmasgada* and *Iovi Tumazgadi* (*ILS* 4073; *ILS* 4074; *ILS* 4074a; *ILS* 9273). Turmasgade may mean “mountain of the sanctuary” (tur + masgada) and may originally have been one of the Syrian Ba'als.

**Bibliography:** Gilliam 1986: 80-81. Rostovtzeff 1952: no. 973, pl. 9, 4.

---



---

**C020**

|                     |  |                          |
|---------------------|--|--------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Dura-Europos   | <b>Date:</b> 3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b>    | Temple of Dolichenus   | <b>Language:</b> Greek   |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Door Jamb (?)  |                          |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | text field: 0.26 m x 0.75 m; letter height 0.035   |                          |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | deity, military  |                          |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <p>Διι Ἡλίω   Μίθρα ἄγιω ὑψίστω   ἐπηκόω   Το[υρ]μασγάδη [ . . . ]<br/>         Ἰου [λιαν]ὸς στρα(τιώτης)   [λε]γ(εῶνος) ἱΦ Φ(λαουίας) φ(ίρμης)  <br/>         [Ἄν]τωννιανῆς.</p>  |                          |
| <b>Translation:</b> | <p>“To Holy Zeus Helios Mithra Turmasgade the highest, who listens, Julianus, soldier of <i>legio XVI Flavia Firma Antoniniana</i>.”</p>   |                          |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | <p>From Room 20 of the Dolichenum. Cut on the lowest slab of the east jamb of the court door after it was in place. An iron dowel was later set in its face. Carefully cut, round letters. In the combination Zeus Helios Mithras the last name seems to be dominant. Zeus was a rather vague concept unless further defined and any supreme god could be referred to as Zeus. Helios also took many forms. Mithras seems to be identified here with Zeus and Helios or with Zeus Helios, although Mithras is not often identified with Zeus. Epithets like ἅγιος, ὑψίστος, and ἐπήκοος,</p> |                          |

are common for Mithras but may also express Semitic religious conceptions. Turmasgade appears here as Mithras Turmasgade but it may be that the Mithras in this inscription is not quite the same as the god in other parts of the empire but a local variant.

Turmasgade may be the more important of the two in combination but to analyse the god of this inscription too precisely may not be appropriate. The dedicant may have thought of the god as a deity of many aspects and many forms and described him by a series of epithets and divine names resulting in not so much a conception but a succession of ideas.

The epithet Antoniana dates the inscription to the reign of Caracalla (211-217) or Elagabalus (218-222). The earlier date is more probable and is a period of great building activity and a considerable concentration of troops at Dura.

**Bibliography:** Gilliam 1986: 81. Rostovtzeff 1952: no. 974, pl. 20, 1.

---

|                     |   |                        |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|
|                     |   | <b>C021</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Dura Europos  | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    |   | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Stele   |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | base: 0.228 x 0.07 m  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | military  |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | Αὐ(ἡλίου) Θε(ό)τεκνος στρατ(ιώτης)   λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Ἰσκυθ(ικῆς) τὴν κυρίαν εὐξάμ(ενος) ἀνέθηκ(α).  |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “Aurelius Teatecnus, soldier of <i>legio IV Scythica</i> dedicated the mistress following a prayer.”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | Base of gypsum stele representing a goddess in an aedicula with twisted columns found in the doorway of room 13. Only the lower half of the stele is preserved. There are traces of pink paint. The part of the base containing the inscription measures 0.07 m high and 0.228 m wide. Teatecnus is not a common name but is known at Dura (Cumont 1926: 396, n. 40) and a man by that name made a dedication to Dolichenus at Rome ( <i>CIL VI 415</i> ). The identification of the ἡ κυρία could be any of the Syrian goddesses but may also have been Juno Regina, consort of Dolichenus. Part of the structure where the altar was located was the temple of Dolichenus and his consort often appears with him in inscriptions and reliefs. |                        |

The epithet κύριος is given to a Zeus (Baalshamin) at Dura and is a common title for Syrian gods.

**Bibliography:** Gilliam 1986: 84. Rostovtzeff 1952: no. 976, pl. XXI, 1.

|                     |   |                          |             |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------|-------------|
|                     |   |                          | <b>C022</b> |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Dura Europos  | <b>Date:</b> 3rd century |             |
| <b>Location:</b>    | Temple of Dolichenus  | <b>Language:</b> Latin   |             |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar   |                          |             |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | base: 0.185 m x 0.325 m; body: 0.135 x 0.115  |                          |             |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | altar type, military ?  |                          |             |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <i>I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano)   c(onservatori) G Val(erius)   cum con iuge et   fil(iis?) v(otum) l(ibens) a(nimo) s(olvit).</i>  |                          |             |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus the Preserver, Gaius Valerius with his wife and son, willingly discharged their vow.”  |                          |             |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | Small square altar of fine grained gypsum. The shallow cup on the top of the altar shows signs of burning. Ligatures AL (line 2) UM (line 3). Jupiter Heliopolitanus was popular in the army especially along the Danube. It is not certain that Valerius was a soldier although this is highly probable. He was likely a legionary soldier since his <i>praenomen</i> is quite rare at Dura both among civilians and in the records of the <i>cohors XX Palmyrenorum</i> . This inscription was set up after Septimius Severus in 197 permitted soldiers to marry. |                          |             |

**Bibliography:** Gilliam 1986: 85-86. Rostovtzeff 1952: no. 977, pl. 21, 2.

|                    |   |                        |             |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|-------------|
|                    |   |                        | <b>C023</b> |
| <b>Site:</b>       | Dura Europos                              | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |             |
| <b>Location:</b>   | Temple of Dolichenus                      | <b>Language:</b> Greek |             |
| <b>Type:</b>       | Altar                                     |                        |             |
| <b>Dimensions:</b> | base: 0.35 x 0.75 m; letter height 0.04 m |                        |             |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Θεῶ ἑπηκόω ... APAB   .. 'Ιούλ(ιος) Ἀπολιναῖρις  <br>στρα(τιώτης) εὐξάμενος ἐποίησεν.  |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To the Arabian God who listens, Julianus Apolianaris, soldier made this following a prayer.”  |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Gypsum altar from Dolichenum. Letters are shallow and irregular with occasional cursive forms. Found along the west colonnade, north end. The letters not read in lines 2 and 3 are not damaged but they are indistinct. If there is no <i>praenomen</i> in line 3, the letters from ἑπηκόω to Ἰουλ may indicate the name of a god and his epithets. One reading may be Θεὸς Ἀραβικός. The Palmyrene god Iarhibol would more likely be present in a temple at Dura and Ἡλίω [αράβλω] may be possible in lines 2 and 3. Iarhibol was a solar deity and there are parallels for this spelling of his name (cf. Cumont 1926: 104-10; 132f.; 366, no. 10; 369, no. 12). The epithet ἑπηκόος appears in other inscriptions from this temple (nos. 973 and 974) and the spelling Ἀπολιναῖρις is found elsewhere at Dura. |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Gilliam 1986: 86-87. Rostovtzeff 1952: no. 978, pl. XX, 3.   |

C024

|                     |  |                              |
|---------------------|--|------------------------------|
| <b>Site:</b>        | Dura-Europos   | <b>Date:</b> mid 3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b>    |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek       |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar  |                              |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | 0.27 x 0.72 x 0.27   |                              |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | altar type, deity, military  |                              |
| <b>Text:</b>        | θεῶ πατρώω   Διὶ Βετύλω   τῶν προς τῶ   Ὀρόντη Ἄυρ(ήλιος)  <br>Διοφιλιανὸς στρα(τιώτης)   λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυ(θικῆς)<br>Ἄντ(ωνεινιανῆς)   εὐξάμενος   ἀνέθηκεν.  |                              |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To the Ancestral God, Zeus Betylos, of those by the Orontes, Aurelios Diphilianos, soldier of the legion IV Scythica Antoniniana, has offered (this) in fulfilment of a prayer.”                                |                              |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | The <i>IV Scythica</i> had been stationed in Syria since the middle of the first century. Dura was captured from the Parthians and garrisoned by the Romans in the 160s until its destruction by the Persians in |                              |

the mid third century. This soldier may have made this dedication in the last decades of Dura's life, when his legion had earned the extra name 'Antoniniana' from one of the Emperors, perhaps M. Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla), 211-217 C.E.

**Bibliography:** Millar 1993: 1. Rostovtzeff 1933: 68, no 168, pl. 15, 1. *SEG VII*, no. 341.

---



---

**C025**

**Site:** Dura-Europos **Date:** ca 209-11

**Location:** Middle Mithraeum **Language:** Latin

**Type:**

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** military

**Text:** *pro sal(ute) et incol(umitate) d(ominorum) | n(ostrorum) imp(eratorum) (trium) L(ucii) Sep(timi) Severi pii | Pert(inacis) et M(arcus) Aurel(i) Antonini [[et L(ucii) Sept(imi) | Geta[e]]] Aug(ustorum) (trium) temp|lum dei Solis Invicti Mithrae sub Minic(io) Martiali | proc(uratore) Aug(usti) | rest(itutum) ab Ant(onio) Valentino (centurione) princ(ipe) pr(aeposito) ve[x(illationum) Leg(ionum IIII) | Scyt(hicae) et XVI F(laviae) F(irmae) p(iae) f(idelis).*

**Translation:** “For the health and safety of our lords the three emperors Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Septimius Geta, the three Augusti, the temple of the god Sol Invictus Mithras under Minicius Martialus, Imperial procurator, restored by Antonius Valentinus, *centurio princeps* commander of vexillations of the IV Scythican and XVI Flavia Firma *pius fidelis* legions.”

**Commentary:** This dedication marks the remodeling of the Middle Mithraeum at Dura. The Mithraeum was probably enlarged to accomodate new members drawn from the expanded garrison. There is no evidence for the cult of Mithras before the Roman presence in the city.

**Bibliography:** Francis 1975: 428. Rostovtzeff et al. 1939: 85, no. 847.

---

|                      |  |                          |
|----------------------|--|--------------------------|
|                      |  | <b>C026</b>              |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Zeugma ? (exact provenance unknown)  | <b>Date:</b> 3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek   |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |                          |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.26 x 0.60 x 0.255  |                          |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | altar type, military   |                          |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Θε[ῶ] μεγα[ίστ]ω   Κρόνω ὑπὲρ   σωτηρίας τῶν<br>  Κυρίων Καισάρων Ἀυρήλιος Μάρκελλος κορνικλά[[ρ]<br>ιος ἀνέθηκεν.   |                          |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To the greatest god Kronos for the health of our masters the<br>Caesars, Aurelius Marcellus, <i>cornicularius</i> , dedicated this.”  |                          |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Dimensions are similar to the Humayma altar. The inscription is<br>arranged between deeply incised, horizontal guide-lines. Soft,<br>white limestone. This inscription is the first attestation of the cult<br>of Kronos in Commagene. A few examples from Syria are known,<br>e.g. <i>IGR</i> III 1185. |                          |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | <i>AE</i> 1994, no. 1763. French 1994: 21  |                          |

---

|                     |  |                        |
|---------------------|--|------------------------|
|                     |  | <b>C027</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Syria - exact provenance unknown   | <b>Date:</b> uncertain |
| <b>Location:</b>    |  | <b>Language:</b> Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>        |  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <i>Genio sacramenti   veterani</i>   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To the genius of the veteran's oath.”   |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | Letters are 0.07 high m in the first line and 0.45 in the second.<br>This inscription may refer to the oath of service, worshipped as a<br>deity by soldiers. In Apuleis' <i>Metamorphoses</i> ' (9.41) a soldier is |                        |

described as in fear the *Genius sacramenti* because he lost his sword: *militaris .. sacramenti Genium ob amissam spatham verebatur*. The *Genius sacramenti* here functions as an externalised conscience and so was important for military discipline.

**Bibliography:** Speidel and Dimitrova-Milceva 1978: 1542-55. *AE* 1924: no. 135.

C028

**Site:** Hatra

**Date:** 238-243

**Location:**

**Language:** Latin

**Type:** Statue Base

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** military

**Text:** *Erculi Sanct(o) | pro salute dom|ini nostri Au[g(usti) Q(uintus)] | Petronius Qu[in]|tianus, dom(o) [Nico]|midia, trib(unus) mil(itum) | leg(ionis) I P(arthicae) trib(unus) coh(ortis) IX | Gordianae, genio coh(ortis).*

**Translation:** “To Sacred Hercules for the health of our master Augustus, Quintus Petronius Quintianus, from Nicomedia, military tribune of *legio I Parthica*, tribune of the *cohors IX Gordiana*, to the Genius of the cohort.”

**Commentary:** Hercules was a Roman divinity, protector of the imperial family from which he was assimilated as the Genius of the cohort.

**Bibliography:** Speidel and Dimitrova-Milceva 1978: 1554. Maricq 1957: 288-96. Oates 1955: 39-43.

C029

**Site:** Hatra

**Date:** 238-243

**Location:**

**Language:** Latin

**Type:** Statue base

**Dimensions:**

**Relevance:** military

- Text:** *Deo Soli Invicto | Q(uintus) Petr(onius) Quintianus | trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Part(hicae) | trib(unus) coh(ortis) IX Maur(orum) | Gordianae | votum re|ligioni lo|ci posuit.*
- Translation:** “To the Invincible Sun God, Quintus Petronius Quintianus, military tribune of *legio I Parthicae*, tribune of the *cohors IX Maurorum Gordiana*, placed a vow to the *religio* of this place.”
- Commentary:** Deus Sol Invictus was an indigenous divinity and represents local religious practice. The choice of Sol as the divinity of Hatra confirms that the city was dedicated to the sun, as in Cassius Dio (68.31.2).
- Bibliography:** Maricq 1957: 288-96. Oates 1955: 39-43.

## OTHER LOCATIONS

|                     |   |                                 |
|---------------------|---|---------------------------------|
|                     |   | <b>D001</b>                     |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Novae, Lower Moesia   | <b>Date:</b> late 2-3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b>    | Fortress, <i>Via Sagularis</i>  | <b>Language:</b> Latin          |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar   |                                 |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  | 0.24 x 0.45 x 0.20 m; text height: 0.195 x 0.18 m; letter height 0.035  |                                 |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | altar type, military  |                                 |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <i>Marti [et]   Genio a[r] mamen[t(arii)]   [V] al(erius) Cresc(ens)   c(ustos) a(rmorum).</i>  |                                 |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To Mars and the Genius of the armamentaria, Valerius Crescens guard of the armory.”  |                                 |
| <b>Commentary:</b>  | While this altar was found in a different part of the empire than the Humayma altar, its size, shape and its probable location within the camp are very similar to the Humayma dedication. This altar was found in secondary usage at a depth of one meter below the surface in a building on the <i>via sagularis</i> along the south wall of the legionary fortress. The upper right-hand corner is broken off and missing. The inscription continues on the lower socle. The <i>armamentaria</i> were part of the central buildings of the camps. It is likely that this altar once stood in or near the <i>principia</i> of the |                                 |

legionary fortress from where it was removed sometime during the fourth century.

**Bibliography:** Speidel and Dimitrova-Milceva 1978: 1542-55.

|                      |  |                        |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|
|                      |  | <b>D002</b>            |
| <b>Site:</b>         | Tomis, Lower Moesia  | <b>Date:</b> 199 - 299 |
| <b>Location:</b>     |  | <b>Language:</b> Greek |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar  |                        |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   |  |                        |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | military   |                        |
| <b>Text:</b>         | Ἀγαθῆ Τύχῃ Ἡρώ Μανιβάζω Σηδάτιος   [Ἀ]πολλώνιος ἔ παρχος<br>ἰπέων ἔιλῆς Γαιτουλῶν   τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ   εὐχὴν.   |                        |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “To Good Fortune. To the Hero Manibadzōs Sedatius Apollonius perfect of the <i>ala Gaetulorum</i> in Arabia.”  |                        |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | Found at Tomis on the Black Sea in Lower Moesia and dedicated by a prefect of the <i>ala veterana Gaetulorum</i> which was stationed in Arabia. The unit fought under Vespasian in 68 C.E. in the Jewish War and remained for a period of time in Judaea where it is listed in a diploma of A.C. 86. |                        |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Speidel 1977: 705-06. Sartre 1982b: 33-34.   |                        |

|                     |   |                                |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------|
|                     |   | <b>D003</b>                    |
| <b>Site:</b>        | Oescus, Lower Moesia  | <b>Date:</b> early 3rd century |
| <b>Location:</b>    |   | <b>Language:</b> Latin         |
| <b>Type:</b>        | Altar   |                                |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>  |   |                                |
| <b>Relevance:</b>   | altar type, military  |                                |
| <b>Text:</b>        | <i>Genio lo ci et Tu tell(a)e   Aureli(us) Eli(anus)   optio   age(n)s<br/>sacru   comitatu   votum solv it</i> |                                |
| <b>Translation:</b> | “To the genius of the location and the tutelary gods the <i>optio</i>   |                                |

Aurelius Elianus acting in the emperor's retinue released his vow.”

**Commentary:** From a photograph this altar appears to be similar in shape and general appearance to the Humayma altar although the dimensions were not indicated by the editor.

**Bibliography:** Speidel 1979: 183-84, pl. 2.

**D004**

|                      |   |                  |       |
|----------------------|---|------------------|-------|
| <b>Site:</b>         | Balaklawa, Lower Moesia   | <b>Date:</b>     |       |
| <b>Location:</b>     | Temple of Dolichenus  | <b>Language:</b> | Latin |
| <b>Type:</b>         | Altar   |                  |       |
| <b>Dimensions:</b>   | 0.30 x 0.50 x 0.22  |                  |       |
| <b>Relevance:</b>    | altar type, military  |                  |       |
| <b>Text:</b>         | <i>Volcano   sacrum   host(iam) u(t) v(ovit)   Anto(nius) Proc(ulus?)  <br/>} (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae)</i>   |                  |       |
| <b>Translation:</b>  | “Sacred to Vulcan, an animal for sacrifice as he vowed, Antonius Proculus, centurion of <i>legio XI Claudia</i> .”  |                  |       |
| <b>Commentary:</b>   | This altar is similar in size and shape to the Humayma altar, although the upper fascia is narrower than the upper fascia of the Humayma altar. A small cup was carved on the top for incense or other offerings. There is no embellishment or decorative moulding apart from the chamfer. <i>Volcano</i> appears on the upper fascia, the rest of the text on the body. The symbol } was used as a shorthand for centurion in line 5. This altar was found with other dedications in the Temple of Dolichenus. |                  |       |
| <b>Bibliography:</b> | Sarnowski, Zubar, & Savelja 1998: 321-39.   |                  |       |

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant the right to lend my thesis (or dissertation) to users of the University of Victoria Library, and to make single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the Library of any other university, or similar institution, on its behalf or for one of its uses. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or a member of the University designated by me. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my permission.

Title of Thesis:

Religion and the Roman soldier at Humayma: The interplay of cultures in *Provincia Arabia*.

Author



Barbara Jean Fisher  
November 27, 2000

## VITA

Surname: Fisher

Given Names: Barbara Jean

Place of Birth: Flin Flon, Manitoba, Canada

### Educational Institutions Attended:

|                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| University of Victoria | 1990 to 2000 |
| University of Calgary  | 1972 to 1978 |

### Degrees Awarded:

|          |                        |      |
|----------|------------------------|------|
| B.A.     | University of Victoria | 1995 |
| B. Ed.   | University of Calgary  | 1978 |
| B. P. E. | University of Calgary  | 1977 |

### Honours and Awards:

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| Faculty of Graduate Studies Dean's Scholarship          | 1999          |
| University of Victoria Fellowship                       | 1999          |
| Marguerita von Rudloff Travel Scholarship               | 1996 and 1998 |
| Classical Association of Vancouver Island<br>Book Prize | 1994          |
| President's Scholarship for Part-time Undergraduates    | 1992          |
| Cameron Bingham Prize                                   | 1992          |