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## **IX. Animal Bones and Soil Samples**

**Annotation by Marlies HEINZ**

Animal bones and soil samples have been collected throughout every season. The results of their analysis will be published in a future report.

## **X. The Beqa'a Valley in Antiquity: a Regional-Historic Survey**

**Michael SOMMER**

Archaeological results and the history of events are posited an odd relation within the field of ancient history: Archaeology provides the historian with indispensable information, especially when historic sources in the narrower sense of the word, that is texts, are scarce. Viewed from the point of historic research it is an ancillary science in the best sense. Vice versa this is also the case: Only the semantics of history render the relics of material culture readable. In this sense this article aims to be a help to read.

The campaign of 1999 could reaffirm the assumption of a continuous settlement at Kamid el-Loz during Hellenistic and Roman times. Much of the history of the Beqa'a Valley during these epochs still remains in the dark. At least for the time of the Roman Empire, one can go back to some epigraphic material and the, albeit speculative, results of the excavations of Baalbek, as well as to isolated occasional passages in classical historiographic and geographical literature. Knowledge about the Beqa'a during Hellenism is even scantier. Statements concerning it can only be made with the greatest caution.

Political history and geography will hardly be the wrong tracks to insight, both are the dimensions in which every historic event happens<sup>31</sup>. Many of the peculiarities of the regional history of the Beqa'a Valley are related to the geography of this subregion of the Levant. As many aspects also emerge from the specific historical constellations of a border and transit zone between different domains of power and culture.

### **1. The Beqa'a Valley: Geography of a border and transit region**

Today's Lebanon, in which the entire Beqa'a lies, is divided into four, very different main landscapes

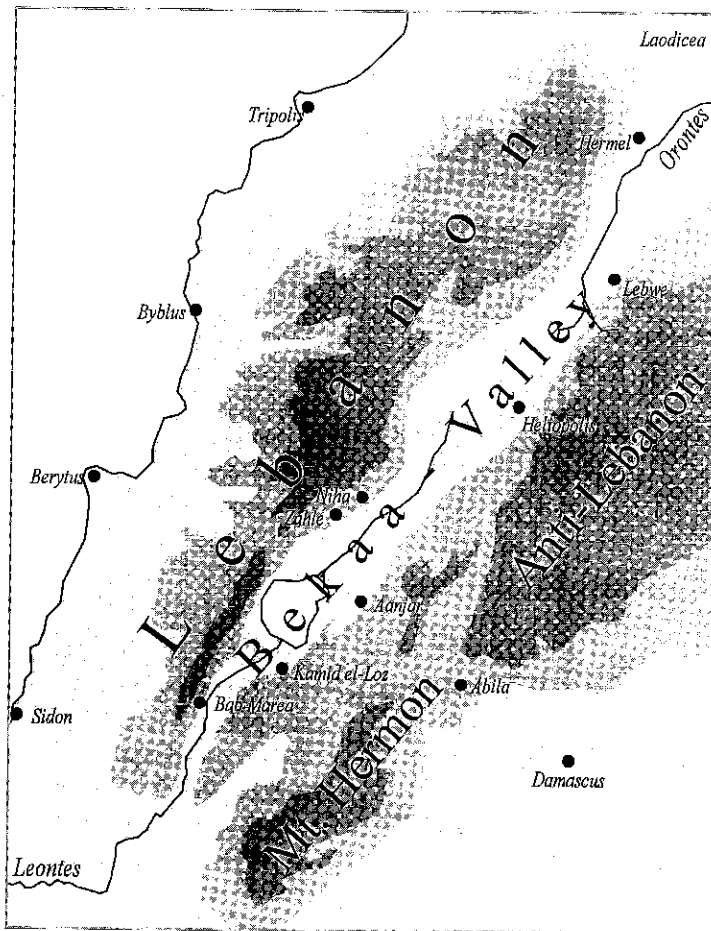


Fig. 26 - The Beqa'a Valley in Classical Antiquity.

(Fig. 26): The partly very narrow coastal region that broadens only at the promontories that project into the Mediterranean Sea, the antique Phoenicia; the up to 3000 m high range of the Lebanon mountains running parallel to the coast; a plateau between the range of the Lebanon and the valleys of the Anti-Lebanon; and finally in the east, the mountain range of the Anti-Lebanon running parallel to the coast and the Lebanon that forms a geographical union with Mount Hermon, which is adjoining in the south and is also about 3000 m high<sup>32</sup>.

The Lebanon forms the highly structured north-western part of the transit zone between the alpidian highland of Anatolia and the Arabian mainland. The main determinant of the geographical developments at the Levant is the great Continental rift valley - an extension of the East-African rift valley, the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aquaba - that runs parallel to the

coast line, from there across the Red Sea and the Jordan rift to the flats between the hills of Galilee and the Hermon (El-Ghor fold). It continues in the Beqa'a Valley in a north-eastern direction and finally leads into the Orontes valley (El-Ghab fold) in north-western Syria. At the west of this important tectonic line lies - from the south to the north - the Judaeen Plateau, the Galilean hill zone, the Lebanon mountains, the Jebel Ansariya, and, as the most southern foothill of the Taurus massif, the Amanus mountains. In between deep valleys are formed by the respective western branches of the main rift line, which link the coast line - otherwise isolated by the mountains - with the hinterland<sup>33</sup>.

As the coastal plain and the edge of the steppe around Damascus are difficult to pass, the Jordan-Leontes-Orontes valley is predestined to be a main axis between the north (Anatolia, Northern Syria)

and the south (Palestine, Egypt). Side valleys also make the access to the coast (valleys of Nahr Fidar, Nahr el-Kelb, Nahr Awali, Leontes) and to Central Syria (Wadi Baradi, plain of Aanjar) easier. That the Beqa'a Valley can be passed through in virtually every direction is the basis of its importance for the traffic throughout the ages.

Like the Phoenician coastal plain, the 10 to 15 km wide Beqa'a Valley, the centre of the Central Lebanese plain (height: 1000 m above the sea), is fertile alluvial land. Though the northern part (around Hermel) has an arid steppe climate, the southern part of the plain, that is protected by the Anti-Lebanon, enjoys a more Mediterranean climate (there is enough precipitation for rain-dependent farming). There have been widespread marshes and lakes in this area until recently. The line dividing the two parts forms the watershed between Orontes and Leontes (Litani) at about the height of Baalbek. The two rivers, that also bear water during summer, and the numerous springs in the surrounding mountains and hills make an intensive watering system and, consequently, farming possible<sup>34</sup>.

Kamid el-Loz, the antique Kumidi, is located on the south-eastern edge of the Beqa'a where the alluvial land merges with the hills of the Jerbal Aarbi. Here erosion has formed a wide earth crater that results in a slightly sloping terrain. Near Kamid el-Loz a side valley links the Beqa'a with the pass to Damascus, that continues through the Wadi Barada and which has been an important transport link in antiquity. The hillside location of the settlement allows for a control of not only the road but also of a greater part of the Beqa'a.

Taking geography into account affirms the continuity of the Beqa'a plain as a historic site. Its easy accessibility has also always linked it with the surrounding land. The history of the Beqa'a can therefore neither be separated from that of the Levant or Syria nor from the events of major politics.

## 2. Inner conditions of Hellenistic states: Structural principles

Johann Gustav Droysen, the antiquissimus auctor of the study of Hellenism, considered - in the wake of Hegel - the great synthesis of Orient and

Occident, which prepared the grounds for the upcoming Christianity, as the epoch's main characteristic<sup>35</sup>. This fundamentally teleological view soon made way for a more secular interpretation, yet the image of Hellenism as a 'world-culture' (Hermann Bengtson) embracing the whole *oikouménē* and as an epoch of the 'blending' of Oriental and Occidental elements prevailed.

Nevertheless, periodisation is problematic in more than one way: Neither Hellenism's spatial nor temporal expansion can be securely limited. The Hellenistic states had no general profile concerning size or structure. In themselves they were not homogenous social, juridical and political unities, let alone monolithic entities. The only big common trait was the type of the charismatic hereditary monarchy<sup>36</sup> of Macedonian origin, which appeared in different regional forms but was nevertheless structurally unified. The Hellenistic states were thus distinctly different from the other political entities in antiquity.

The constitutive element in the Hellenistic monarchy is the 'victorious king' who is constantly proving his achievements by the means of grandiose ventures (military campaigns, parades, religious celebrations, foundations) thus securing the loyalty of his subjects<sup>37</sup>. The king was protector and benefactor, he was conqueror and the Gods' favourite. Alexander, the archetype of the heroic monarch, had set the standards for all times with his *anábasis*, the conquest of the Persian Kingdom and the campaign to India. The structural weakness of the kingdom lay in its inability to deal with defeat and in its political military activism, which was prescribed by Alexander's model. Wars with ever changing alliances were part of political everyday life.

The charismatic ruler rather than administrative or juridical unity was the centre of the state identity in Hellenism. Even had they wanted to, the political, economical and also cultural unification of their states would have lain beyond the powers of the Macedonian rulers. Hellenisation, however, was never part of the 'program' of Hellenism<sup>38</sup>. Diversity in all areas dominated life. Indigenous societies and Greek towns each kept their own unique character. Greeks and Persians, Aramaians, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Jews, Egyptians or Arabs lived rather

next to each other than with each other on the grounds of the Hellenistic states.

Only the Greek city, the polis, had a special status in the Seleucid confederation. The proclamation of urban freedom (*eleuthería*) and autonomy (*autonomía*) as well as the naturalness with which the ruler and poleis dealt with each other on a basis of 'international' law (with representatives and alliances) were more than a mere facade. Thus the king honoured political tradition and could appear as a benefactor (*euergétes*) and protector (*postátes*) and at the same time legitimise his rule<sup>39</sup>.

The degree of urban autonomy differed from city to city and was influenced by various factors. There were cities that had been granted absolute freedom of taxes by the king<sup>40</sup>, and those who could decide for themselves in internal matters but had to pay a tribute to the centre. Privileges like these, also including the freedom of garrisons and the right to strike coins, enhanced the status of a polis: Apart from the Greek towns in Asia Minor and the newly founded Hellenistic settlements, more and more Oriental towns, especially the Phoenician coastal towns, which were already structurally similar to the Greek poleis, strove for a position similar to that of the Greek cities<sup>41</sup>.

After the pattern of the Greek cities, also the Oriental temple states formed economically and politically autonomous entities within the Seleucid Empire. The central power restricted itself accordingly to its goals and possibilities to a minimum of intervention. The social structures of the indigenous communities were hardly changed when the Macedonian monarchy took the place of the Achaemenides<sup>42</sup>.

Ptolemyic Egypt with its colonies in Syria and Asia Minor was more unified than the Seleucid Empire. Here the king's exclusive claim to property in 'arm-acquired' lands was a matter of fact for the Lagidian monarchy. Without Greek cities - except Alexandria - only the many temples could have been counted as autonomous cells. In their administration the king reserved himself certain wide-ranging rights<sup>43</sup>. The king also limited his monopoly of landed property by giving land (*gê klerouchiké*) to active soldiers, mostly Macedonians. This land then became hereditary property of the families. Many of these plots of land were located in Koile-Syria, which was strategically

important for the Ptolemaic Kingdom and therefore constantly embattled<sup>44</sup>. An institution similar to the urban autonomy in the Seleucid Empire, however, did not exist. The Ptolemaic Kingdom was equally divided into 40 *nomoi* under the control of a *nomárchos*, who was subordinated in the bureaucratic hierarchy to the *dioiketés* ('house manager'), the head of administration. The civilian branch of administration was supplemented by military officials (*strategoi*) directly subordinated to the king.

### 3. Hellenistic Syria (333 - 64 BC)

The structural principles of Hellenistic power ideology, cultural heterogeneity, administrative structure and property relations were the basis from which the historical events in Syria, the buffer zone between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms, unfolded. The main conditions had been established by Alexander's conquest and a line of Ancient Near Eastern kingdoms (including Egypt).

In 336 Alexander III had come to power after the murder of his father Philipp II of Macedonia<sup>45</sup>. After consolidating the Macedonian hegemony in Greece (336/335) Alexander crossed the Hellespontos (334) and resumed the war against the Achaemenides already started by Philipp. After two victories (Granicus 334, Issus 333) the way to Syria and Egypt, now stripped bare by Persian troops, was open. Only the Levant towns of Tyre and Gaza resisted Alexander and forced him to an extended siege.

What role Alexander had intended for Syria in his empire is not really clear<sup>46</sup>. After the defeat of Tyre and Gaza the region became a mere zone of passage, first on the way to Egypt, where Alexander stayed for some time (founding Alexandria and visiting the oasis of Siwa), then on the way to Mesopotamia (before the battle of Gaugamela 331): With the conquest of the centres of the Persian Empire (Babylon, Susa 331, Ekbatana 330) Alexander's focus of action shifted to the East. At any rate, Alexander had personally secured the hinterland (Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon) after the conquest of Tyre against regularly invading Arab tribes<sup>47</sup>.

The role of Syria became more important after Alexander's death (323) as a struggle for power broke loose among the members of the Macedonian elite<sup>48</sup>.

A suitable legitimate heir did not exist. After a compromise agreed on in Babylon, Perdikkas became finally 'regent of the Empire'. Others of Alexander's followers were compensated with satrapies and important military posts: Ptolemy got Egypt, Lysimachus got Thracia, Antigonos got Phrygia and Seleucus became commander of the cavalry. This interim solution was irrelevant already in the year of Alexander's death. In the four so-called Wars of the Diadochs the protagonists of the successor generation fought in changing alliances for power.

The land bridge of the Levant was an especially embattled region during these confrontations: In the first war (321/320) Ptolemy advanced from Egypt into Palestine and Phoenicia (320) but was driven out again by Antigonos. In 313, however, the Ptolemaic fleet was plundering the Syrian coast. Shortly afterwards (312) Demetrius, Antigonos's son, had to defend Syria against Seleucus, who had conquered the Babylonian satrapy and was aiming for westward expansion. Bitterly embattled during the third war, the major part of Syria was taken by Ptolemy after the battle near the Phrygian Ipsus, in which Antigonos died. Only the northern part around the estuary of the Orontes was secured by Seleucus, who made this region the centre of his realm by founding and re-founding the four big cities (*tetrápolis*).

Already Antigonos had started the building of a capital for his realm in Northern Syria (302). Seleucus now founded in a short time Seleucia in Pieria, Antioch of Pieria, Apamea and Laodicea on Sea. The *tetrápolis* was only a part in the greater colonisation scheme of the early Seleucids<sup>49</sup>, but it was an important part: In the Oriental trade, in which the Seleucids were competing with Ptolemaic Egypt, Northern Syria was an important intersection of the routes of the caravans to Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean Sea<sup>50</sup>. At the same time the Lagids were expanding their posts in the southern part of the Levant: The province «Syria and Phoenicia» was established, cleruchs were settled and, last but not least, the strategically important island of Cyprus was acquired<sup>51</sup>.

The border region Syria with its exceptional resources and its geostrategic location was predestined to become the bone of contention between the successor states of Alexander's Empire. It was the ideal

site for the constant demonstrations of strength necessary in a charismatic monarchy. Consequently a series of no less than six «Syrian Wars» (275-271, 260-253, 246-241, 219-217, 202-195, 170-168) broke out in and around Syria. In these wars both sides attempted with more or less success but with great expenses to get hold of the whole of Syria. Even when Ptolemy III, taking advantage of the confusion around the succession to the throne in the Seleucid Empire, advanced to the *tetrápolis* and beyond into Central Syria and Mesopotamia during the Third Syrian War - the so-called Laodice War - his success was ephemeral. Only Seleucia in Pieria remained Ptolemaic for 27 years. Generally, the Seleucids were able to defend and keep Northern and Central Syria in the third century.

A fundamental change on the political map only appeared in the Fifth Syrian War when the Seleucid king Antiochus III ('the Great') managed to get hold of the entire Syria but also of the coastal region, that had been controlled by Egypt up to this point. Syria including Gaza now belonged to the Seleucid Empire, which was not able to enjoy its victory very much. Antiochus could demonstrate the Seleucid authority reaching to the borders of India for a last time in an *anábasis* modelled on Alexander's and Seleucus's I campaigns, but Rome - a power new and structurally different from the Hellenistic monarchies - had been playing a part in the major politics of the Eastern Mediterranean since 201. Near Magnesia in Asia Minor Antiochus's Macedonian phalanx was defeated by the Roman legions (189), and in the following year the Romans dictated the terms of peace (Peace of Apamea) which drove the Seleucids almost completely out of Asia Minor and which strengthened Rome's most important allies in the East, Rhodes and Pergamum. A last effort by the Seleucids to upset Rome's balance of power failed in 168: A Roman envoy, the senator Popilius Laenas, put Antiochus literally in his place<sup>52</sup>. Now it was obvious that there was no way to stand up against Rome in the East.

The series of political defeats robbed the Seleucids of their prestige and ended in their decline. Being attacked from both sides by the Romans in the West and the Parthians in the East, the empire, already reduced to its Syrian core, broke apart from within in the course of 100 years. Traits of this

disintegration were endemic confusions about the succession as the direct consequence of the loss of prestige and the formation of quasi independent dynasties on Seleucid territory. The first one was the Seleucid satrapy Commagene in 170 when its governor Ptolemy emancipated himself from the Empire and founded his own dynasty. After the Rebellion of the Maccabees, Hasmonaeen Judaea followed after having been promised factual autonomy by the Seleucid Demetrius II (105). Already in the second century the Phoenician coastal towns wrestled extensive autonomy from the capital. Finally, an increasing number of nomadic tribes from the Arabian desert entered Syria and got partly involved in a process of sedentarisation. Settling down also brought the formation of autonomous territories (tetrarchies), which would shortly afterwards cover the remains of Seleucid Syria. Sanctuaries of importance in later Roman times like Emesa (Homs) and Heliopolis (Baalbek) were influenced and stimulated by Arabian cults<sup>53</sup>.

Syria, which was temporarily under Armenian control and was increasingly sinking into anarchy, was thus ripe for a third - after Greece and Asia Minor - expansion of Rome towards the East. Its executor Cn. Pompeius (Magnus), the supreme commander in the Orient, who had been given special authority after a *plebiscitum* in 67, moved into Antioch after his victories over Mithridates of Pontus, tribes from the Caucasus and nomads from Asia Minor and Syria, and finalised the fate of the remains of the Seleucid state by establishing the Province of Syria (64).

Despite the turbulent historic events the basic social, economical and cultural patterns of Syria survived the erosion of the Seleucid Empire and Rome's take-over. The region's geographical location at the intersections of the cultural spheres and power domains of the Middle East, Egypt and Europe was echoed in the social organisation of Hellenistic Syria. Achaemenid and Mesopotamian traditions continued as Graeco-Macedonian elements entered. The economical system was, as in Seleucid times, a copy of the Ptolemaic «economy of balance»<sup>54</sup>, which was in itself a combination of traditional «centralist» Egyptian *oikos*-economy and Greek elements (increased importance of private capital in production and export).

The massive influx of Greeks and Macedonians («third Greek colonisation») into Syria in the wake of Alexander's campaign increased with the advent of Seleucid and Ptolemaic colonisation politics (before 300) and resulted in two linguistically, culturally and socially sharply divided groups: A Graeco-Macedonian ruling «elite» which was joined by a rapidly Hellenising indigenous upper class of various Syrian and Phoenician towns<sup>55</sup>, and the inferior, not easily definable group of *laoi* («people»), whose majority might have been leaseholders and slaves (*sómata laiká*), but in any case were natives who were, nevertheless, a heterogeneous group<sup>56</sup>. The smallest unity of all economical and political structures was the *laoi's* village (*kóme*). *Laoi* could work on municipal land (*chóra*) or royal property. In this case a *komomisthotés* (a tax leaseholder) functioned as a mediator between the king and the village dwellers. The towns and villages were subjected to a royal provincial government with the *dioikistés* (administrator), the *strategós* (military commander) and the local *oikónomoi* (minor royal finance representative).

Greek particles in the Oriental world of the *laoi* were apart from the newly founded and the Hellenised Oriental towns, regions with garrisons and cleruchs. These contributed to the Hellenisation of their respective surroundings which was nevertheless not enough to give the entire region a Greek character. Even in Syria, which had together with Asia Minor the densest Greek population, Hellenised regions remained merely islands in an environment with extremely vital indigenous cultural traditions<sup>57</sup>.

The religious traditions remained unchallenged in many places. The Macedonian government even opened the doors for Oriental cults on their way to the West: Mystery religions (the cults of Isis, Serapis, Mithras, Cybele) had their roots in the East as did the Hellenistic ruler cult and, last but not least, Christianity. Especially the Greco-Macedonian settlers in the East became entranced by regional deities and cults. Syria itself became a melting pot of manifold syncretisms, that radiated from Heliopolis and Emesa into the entire Roman Empire. Finally, the Rebellion of the Maccabees, initiated by religious Jews against their own Hellenised authorities,

proved the continuity of religiously motivated norms and traditions in a very tangible way<sup>58</sup>.

Nevertheless, the partial Hellenisation of Syria had prepared the ground for the seamless and mostly easy take-over by the Roman administration after Pompey's annexation. The already established structures were only marginally altered by the hegemonic authorities in power: the *Pax Romana* could build on a tradition of imperial power that went far beyond the Greeks.

#### 4. Syria in the Roman Empire (64 BC - AD 337)

When the Roman commander and later triumvir Pompey incorporated the rest of the Seleucid Empire into the Imperium Romanum almost in passing by as Alexander did, the conquest was politically no sudden break. The disintegration of the Seleucid power domain had been on its way for 100 years: Internal conflicts had made a weakened empire an easy prey for the expanding powers in East (Parthians) and West (Rome). The new Pompeian structure of Rome's sphere of interest in the Middle East was only the last episode of the 250-year-long history of the already agonised Seleucid Empire<sup>59</sup>.

The year 64 is also no actual break because the complex power relations originating in Hellenism remained with only a few modifications for the time being. The Greek cities, especially big Hellenistic royal residences, still saw themselves as autonomous entities, and Rome affirmed this status by using names like *Antiochia libera*, *Seleucia libera*, etc. and by the continuation of privileges like the one of striking coins<sup>60</sup>. The new province, basically the central part of the old Seleucid Empire, was the perfect bridgehead for further Roman expansion politics in the Near East. The two legions stationed in the area also made Syria to an object of political aspiration for the members of the Roman ruling class. Crassus prepared from Antioch his campaign against the Parthians (54/53), which failed horribly.

In the meantime, however, the Roman presence did upset the regional balance of power in Syria: At the Euphrates the two most powerful successors of political Hellenism, Rome and the Parthians, directly faced each other. This was the foundation for an

almost 700-year-long neighbourhood full of tension, if one adds Byzantium and the Sassanian Empire. Rome's repeated and energetic attempts to fortify Syria and to erect a military border in the steppe were the results of the precarious political situation<sup>61</sup>, but it would not isolate Syria from its eastern hinterland. At the Euphrates, Zeugma became an important hub for the Orient trade which was indispensable for Rome<sup>62</sup>. Trading increased under the conditions of a predominantly peaceful country and this would also benefit Syria, whose towns remained links between the routes of the caravans though the steppe and the harbours at the Mediterranean. A good number of settlements in Syria were partly or entirely economically dependent on long distance trade<sup>63</sup>.

By taking the place of the crumbling Seleucid Empire Rome also forced the numerous autonomous local powers to a new political orientation. Already in 141 BC, Judaea under the Hasmonaeans emancipated itself from the Empire as a late result of the Maccabean Rebellion and pursued an energetic expansion policy. At the Seleucid periphery the Nabatean Empire had developed after proto-statal beginnings in the fourth century in Northern Arabia. The Beqa'a Valley, the mountains of Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon and Mount Hermon had become the home of the Ituraeans in the second century BC. They had come from the south of Arabia and formed their own state with the capital Chalkis (Aanjar). They also attempted expansion, especially towards the Phoenician coast (Batrun)<sup>64</sup>. The post-Seleucid and still half-nomadic successor states entered with the establishment of the province of Syria into a relationship with Rome, which limited their room for action but did not touch their inner structures. The oasis town of Palmyra first resisted incorporation into the Roman system of clientele, but joined the Roman Empire in AD 14-17, while still hanging on to its inner autonomy. In the direction of Anatolia the principalities of Osroene and Commagene completed the circle of Roman client states around Syria.

Antioch, the seat of the Syrian governor<sup>65</sup>, became the control centre of the client states at the periphery in the first phase of Roman rule in Syria. The system of indirect rule over wide parts of the Syrian-Palestinian land bridge brought Rome the advantage of a profitable and not too expensive control of large



parts of the area. The Syrian politics of the first *princeps*, of Augustus, consequently included the client rulers into Rome's strategic concept against the Parthians. In the numerous conflicts in and between the client states the *princeps* functioned as a referee - decisions were made in Rome without the need of sending a single legionnaire<sup>66</sup>. Thus the Syrian confederation remained intact apart from a few fundamental changes<sup>67</sup>, until late into the first century AD.

A real turning point in Rome's politics towards the Near East did appear only after the end of the Julian-Claudian dynasty. The Flavian Dynasty (69-96) increased the military engagement and began the expansion of Rome's direct rule. The initial for this development was the Jewish Revolt of 66-70, that drastically exposed the weaknesses of the system of indirect rule. The defeat of the rebellion put an end to the empire of Agrippa II, Commagene followed (72), finally the last dominion of the tetrarchs in Syria, Emesa (ca. 72-78), disappeared. Trajan then annexed the last former client state, the Nabatean region (106). The consequent conversion of indirect to direct rule was obviously the result of a changed strategic doctrine and was closely connected to similar measures taken in other parts of the Empire (Danube region, Black Sea region). The resulting frontier, with its «inner lines» comparably easy to defend, was from now on the «backbone of the Empire's military structure<sup>68</sup>» and was complemented with a shift of economical, political and cultural foci to the East.

The expansion of Rome's military engagement in Syria required a systematic improvement of the infrastructure: When M. Ulpius Traianus, the father of the later emperor, was governor, the Roman troops were building a sewer system near Antioch (ca. 75), at approximately the same time the great artificial harbour of Seleucia was built. Being governor of Syria became one of the most popular posts in the Empire and was seen as a special award (cf. Tac. Agric. 40). That Syria was being increasingly noticed by the emperor is proved by the epithets protesting a close affiliation with the emperor that were chosen by many towns: *Claudia Apamea*, *Flavia Samosata*, *Aelia* (for Damascus and Jerusalem)<sup>69</sup>. The major part of the dense web of roads all over the province was also constructed in Flavian times<sup>70</sup>.

In the early and high times of the Empire the relation between the Roman centre and the provinces underwent a fundamental change. In republican times the provinces had been mere objects of Roman politics and sources of taxes before, but Rome's conversion into Empire brought along a successive levelling out between Rome, Italy and the provinces. An increasing number of provincials were granted the Roman citizenship either individually or collectively. The Roman citizenship was quickly spreading throughout the Greek East since the early time of the Empire. This can also be noticed by the increasing use of Latin names, often in addition to the Greek names. Apart from the settlement of veterans it was mainly the elevation of towns into the state of a *colonia*, a settlement of Roman citizens, that was of the greatest importance<sup>71</sup>. Since provincials had been able to become members of the Senate for the first time under Claudius (41-54) the number of *patres* of Oriental origin was steadily rising. This is also a sign of the shift of focus from Italy to the provinces, especially to the Eastern part of the Empire.

Rome was also supporting the establishment of a propertied elite in the provincial towns. Only this could guarantee a steady high tax revenue, which increasingly burdened the towns. The local notables (*decuriones*) were personally responsible for a timely delivery of their respective town's payments. This was a heavy burden, that was steadily increasing because of the growing bureaucracy in late antiquity. This contributed to a weakening of the towns and of their economical efficiency from the third century AD onwards. An exception, however, were the towns in the East, which obviously had access to more resources and were less likely to give in to economical crises. This is one of the reasons for the - compared with the West - greater durability of the Eastern Roman Empire in the chaos of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>72</sup>. In any case, the urban populations of the East, especially of Syria, were, other than in the West, still increasing between the third and fifth century<sup>73</sup>.

A symbol for the growing importance of the Province of Syria was the Eastern journey of the emperor Hadrian and his generous building politics, which stood in the tradition of Philhellenism. Hadrian visited Antioch, that had been hit by an earthquake fifteen years earlier, and the oasis of Palmyra, which

he included into the Roman fortification system, as well as Heliopolis, the religious centre of the former Ituraean state. The visit was the begin of extensive building activities: Probably still Hadrian initiated the building of the Small (Bacchus) Temple, the expansion of the Jupiter Temple and the building of the Mercury Temple (now vanished) followed. With Heliopolis in its renewed splendour, a centre of worship of imperial importance had been established. It was located at the intersection of two main roads<sup>74</sup> and attracted a great number of pilgrims, thus the cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the Romanised *Ba'al Biq'ah*, was spread throughout the Empire<sup>75</sup>.

The 180 years between the establishment of the province by Pompey and Trajan's rule can be seen as a phase of steady intensification through the political immersion of the Near East by Rome but also by wide-reaching conquests. Trajan annexed the Nabatean Empire, for a short time even the entire Mesopotamia as the provinces Assyria and Mesopotamia, as well as Armenia. Syria provided the deployment area and supply basis for these operations. Legions from other parts of the Empire were massed there before the Parthian campaign<sup>76</sup>. Antioch took on the role of a «second capital», from where the campaigning emperor could also deal with civilian matters.

Hadrian for strategic reasons surrendered a major part of his predecessor's conquests and contented himself with the Euphrates border. In Rome's predominantly politics towards the Near East heavily fortified Syria and its neighbouring provinces Judaea and Arabia were strategic corner-stones. With a total of six legions, garrisoned in Samosata, Zeugma, Raphanea, Jerusalem and Damascus, the region was one of the most militarised areas of the whole Empire. In addition to that a network of supporting garrisons covered the country<sup>77</sup>. But despite this massive concentration of troops inner conflicts spread like a wild fire, this was shown by the Bar-Kochba Rebellion (132-135), that could only be defeated with the help of additional legions<sup>78</sup>. Nevertheless, Hadrian's defence system could withstand the threats in the long term.

The first test took place when the Parthians entered Syria a generation later at the Upper Euphrates and defeated the Roman army there (161). The new double leadership (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, both since 161) reacted promptly:

Emperor Lucius Verus started from Rome to Antioch and led the campaign to the East. This brought Roman troops again deep into Mesopotamia and resulted in a substantial gaining of land at the Upper Euphrates (up to the confluence of Euphrates and Habur). Thus a strategic basis for repeated advances against the Parthian and later the Sassanian Empires had been acquired and at the same time the defensive ability of Syria had been improved<sup>79</sup>.

The events of the years 193/94 show what importance Syria had achieved in the internal affairs of the Empire. After the murder of Commodus (end of 192) the legate of the province, Pescennius Niger, considered himself strong enough to make an attempt for the throne. The circumstances of his elevation - an atmosphere of a public holiday<sup>80</sup> - illustrate the broad support of this popular governor, and this seemed to have been enough temptation and challenge to undertake usurpation. Pescennius Niger's government in the East was only an episode, but the legitimate *princeps*, who came to Syria in 194, had himself won his political and military spurs in Syria<sup>81</sup>. With the Severian dynasty (193-235) Syria finally came into the narrower focus of the Empire's politics. Septimus Severus spent a good part of his long rule in Syria, from where he led his two Parthian campaigns (195 and 197/98) and from where he started his journey through the Near East, which lasted several years (around 200). Together with his son Caracalla he became consul in Antioch in 202. By dividing the Province of Syria he initiated a substantial change-over in the provincial administration (**Fig. 27**). The southwestern part, *Syria Phoenice*, was divided from the rest, now called *Syria Coele* («the hollow Syria»)<sup>82</sup>. This was done primarily to avoid a concentration of strong legionary powers in a single hand (there were now two legions in *Syria Coele*), and thus to prevent future attempts of usurpation by Syrian governors.

The political importance of Syria increased further under the Severians as this dynasty was closely connected to the region. Already Septimus Severus, a provincial from Lepcis Magna in North Africa, a colony of Tyre, felt closely connected to this Phoenician metropolis. Even more important was the emperor's family ties to a priest dynasty from Emesa: The Syrian centres of worship, among them Heliopolis/Baalbek,, attracted more and more

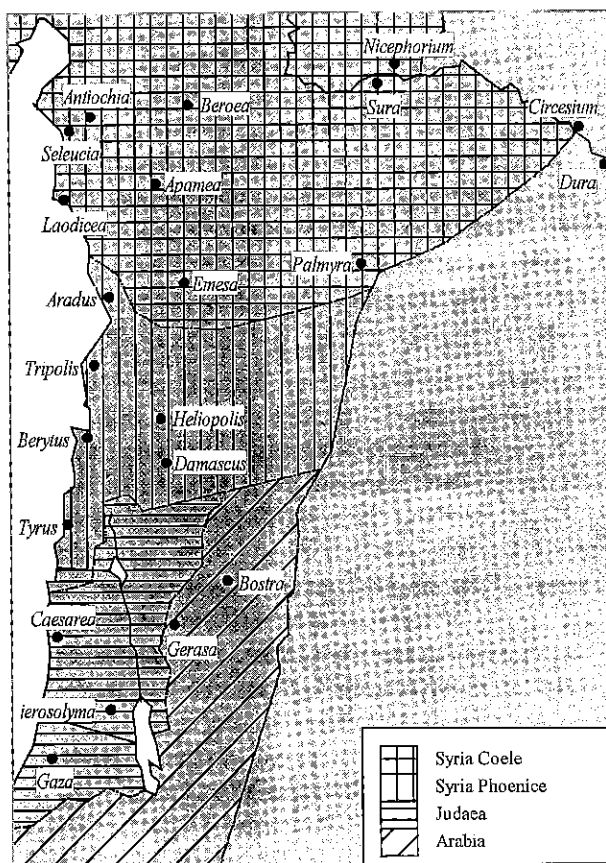


Fig. 27 - Roman provinces in Severian times (ca. 200 AD).

pilgrims, the cult of the sun god Jupiter Heliopolitanus became increasingly popular. Four women of the Emesene priest family, Iulia Domna, Iulia Maesa, Iulia Sohaemias and Iulia Mamaea gained a certain influence in Roman politics and achieved the status of a metropolis for their home town, which soon became the administrative centre of the Province of Syria Phoenice<sup>83</sup>. The publicity of the cult reached its climax when the young emperor Elagabal (218-222) called himself *sacerdos Dei Solis Elagabal* on his coins<sup>84</sup>. The official spreading of Oriental images of cults and religions corresponds with the gradual acculturation of the numerous soldiers coming from various parts of the Empire, who had been stationed - very often for decades - in Syria and took on local practices there<sup>85</sup>.

The circumstances of Roman foreign affairs had been changing rapidly since about 220, as the Parthian Arsacid Empire - already weakened by an internal feudalisation and disintegration process - fell prey to a rebellion that started in Persis and brought

the dynasty of the Sassanians to power. Gradually the structures of the Persian Empire changed: The Sassanian established a rigid, centralist bureaucracy and went into a military offensive, picking up Achaemenid traditions of imperial claims and Zoroastrian religion politics<sup>86</sup>. The second Sassanian king, Šapur I (243-273), «king of Iran and Non-Iran» defeated the Romans badly. It was the worst defeat the Roman Empire had ever had to endure on an Asian battlefield. Around 252 Šapur crossed the Euphrates invading and occupying Syria up to Antioch. The counter offensive of the emperor Valerianus (253-260) was successful at first: in 256 Antioch was reclaimed and the old borders of Syria were re-established, in 259 Valerianus prepared for a campaign against the Persians. The following defeat against Šapur's troops near Edessa, where the emperor was captured alive by the Sassanians, caused a severe crisis for Rome: Ursupers rose all over the country against the legitimate emperor Gallienus (till 268). Even graver was the dissolution of two parts of the Empire caused by external pressure: The Gallic Empire of Postumus in the West and the «kingdom» of Palmyra in the East.

Palmyra, which could hang on to its special status confirmed by Hadrian (129) since the incorporation into the Empire, is the epitome of the survival of local cultural traditions and social structures within the Empire. For centuries Oriental and Graeco-Roman influences intersected here. The town fashioned itself accordingly to the type of the polis, especially when it was granted the status of a *colonia* by the Severians. This constellation makes the later kingdom a specific Roman phenomenon<sup>87</sup>.

The source of Palmyrene wealth was the Orient trade of the Roman Empire. Its main route in the second and third century lead through the Syrian steppe via Emesa and Palmyra to the Euphrates and along it via Ctesiphon to the Persian Gulf and from there to India. Palmyrene merchants had settlements in the Parthian and later in the Sassanian Empire and political and family connections to the nomadic tribes in the Syrian-Arabian steppe. The oasis town was thus controlling a network of secure economic connections, that made the lucrative trade with India accessible for the Palmyrenen merchants<sup>88</sup>.

The sudden ascent of Palmyra was made possible by the power vacuum after Valerianus's defeat against

Šapur I. This had practically bared the eastern flank of Roman troops and caused an usurpation attempt in Emesa (261). Gallienus could face both dangers only with the substantial support of Palmyrene troops - a unique event: A local dignitary, the *decurio* Septimius Odaenathus of Palmyra, recruited own troops, repulsed the enemy's attack and penetrated deep into the alien territory. Honours were heaped upon Odaenathus (*restitutor totius Orientis, vir consularis, imperator et dux Romanorum*) but soon he became the victim of a palace revolt<sup>99</sup>. This brought his son Vaballathus to power (266/67). From Rome's perspective an illegitimate pretender had now come to power, who, unlike the Roman official Odaenathus, could not be integrated into the provincial administration. The various titles of Vaballathus («king of kings» in the Persian tradition and at the same time the Roman *vir clarissimus, consul, dux Romanorum, imperator*) show how Western and Eastern influences merged in the oasis. Nevertheless, the Palmyrene leaders did not want emancipation from the Empire<sup>90</sup>. Palmyra rather became for a short time a second centre of the Roman Empire. Its power increased dramatically under Zenobia, who ruled for Vaballathus, but disappeared as quickly.

Zenobia's troops, recruited from Palmyrene and Syrian provincials and nomads, controlled central parts of the Roman Near East: The Provinces of *Syria Coele* (with Antioch), *Syria Phoenice*, Judaea, Arabia, Egypt (with Alexandria) and in addition also parts of Asia Minor<sup>91</sup>. Only when Aurelianus gained free hand in the West he could think about reclaiming these territories. It needed two campaigns with many losses until Rome had entire control over the oasis town again: Palmyra was widely destroyed and never got back its economical and political importance. Rome's loss of control in the Eastern provinces remained at first an episode, but it was an indication of change. The Oriental component of the Empire got more profile in the third century<sup>92</sup>. Consequently the Greek East gained more and more weight in the Empire. Furthermore, Rome found well-armed opponents in the Sassanians, who were ready to take advantage of any discernible weakness of the Empire.

Also the regained stability under Diocletian and Constantine could not disguise the latent threat to the Roman position. The measures taken by Diocletian

and his colleagues in the tetrarchic period (293-305) aimed for a rationalisation of the administration and taxation of the Empire. As a consequence the number of provinces was increased<sup>93</sup>. In Syria the two former provinces were affected by the reform: *Syria Coele* and *Syria Phoenice* were converted into four new provinces (*Syria I* with Antioch, *Syria II Salutaris* with Apamea, *Phoenice I* with the Phoenician coastal towns, and *Phoenice II Libanensis* with Emesa, the Beqa'a Valley, the two mountain ranges of the Lebanon, the Anti-Lebanon and the Palmyrene)<sup>94</sup>. The Eastern provinces got improved border protection and a line of massive fortifications that also with Palmyra as an important garrison. Measures taken to improve the military infrastructure also included a new expansion of the road system<sup>95</sup>.

From the third century onwards Christianity gained influence in the political, social and cultural development of the Roman Eastern provinces, at the same time the Oriental elements gained strength. The new upper class of the later Roman Empire, the administrative body that dominated in the East, had from the beginning less to set against the rapidly progressing Christianisation than the conservative Western Roman senatorial aristocracy. As a consequence the Church could get hold of an organisational foothold in the East much earlier: Analogous to the new provincial structure, units like the patriarchies with (since the Council of Nicaea, 325) fixed religious and political competences were established<sup>96</sup>. The transition from pagan to Christian practices was comparably fluent in Syria. Since Constantine many existing temples had been converted into churches. The longest surviving pagan cult was the one in Heliopolis, which existed until the sixth century.

Roman rule, prolonged by Byzantium, lasted in Syria after Constantine's death (337) for exactly 300 years till 636 when the Arabs defeated the Byzantine troops in the Battle of Gabita. Despite external signs of Hellenisation and Romanisation Oriental tradition and Syrian identity had always been alive in the region. Paradoxically enough: during the 700 years of Roman rule it was not the acculturation of Syria by the Occident, but rather the re-Orientalisation of the core land of Hellenism that was progressing. Syria increasingly became the antipode in the Empire, first for Rome, then even more clearly for the orthodox Byzantium.

## 5. The Beqa'a Valley in Hellenism: Aspects of regional history

The following survey cannot be more than a preliminary study due to the meagre available sources. Apart from geographical factors it was the border position between Ptolemaic and Seleucid domains that influenced the Beqa'a's regional history and the history of its settlements during Hellenism (Fig. 28). The Ptolemaic border forts of Gerrha and Brochoi were located in the southern part of the plain and profited from the natural barrier of an expansive area of bogs and lakes (*límne*, today drained) near the modern town of Aanjar. Between the wetland and the mountains of the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon only a small accessible corridor remained on each side, which could be so effectively defended by Gerrha (in the east) and Brochoi (in the west) that Antiochus III tried to conquer them several times in vain during the Fourth Syrian War (221, 228) (Pol. V, 46, 1-7)<sup>97</sup>.

Both places cannot be exactly localised: Gerrha might have been located near Aanjar (*ain al-Jaar* = source of Gerrha)<sup>98</sup>; Brochoi might have been on the other side at the eastern slope of the Jebel al-Baruk. They formed the northern border of the populated Ptolemaic territory. This does not mean that the military control of the Nile empire was cut short here, and that Seleucid control began. A substantial no man's land lay between the Gerrha-Brochoi line and the most southern Seleucid outpost (Arethusa, near Homs, dependent on Apamea). The northern, less fertile part of the Beqa'a Valley was probably exposed to the nomadic tribes of the surrounding mountains<sup>99</sup>.

The Beqa'a had lost its old linking function between north (Asia Minor) and south (Palestine, Egypt) as well as west (Phoenicia) and east (Mesopotamia) that had lasted for thousands of years during the Ptolemaic-Seleucid confrontations in the third century<sup>100</sup>. Urban settlements like Hama and Homs were depopulated in the third century and were revived only after 200 years when the settlement of the region was propagated, probably by the Phoenician coastal towns<sup>101</sup>.

Apart from the function as a border fortress against the Seleucids Gerrha and Brochoi could also improve the security of the fertile southern Beqa'a, which was always threatened by invading nomads to an extent

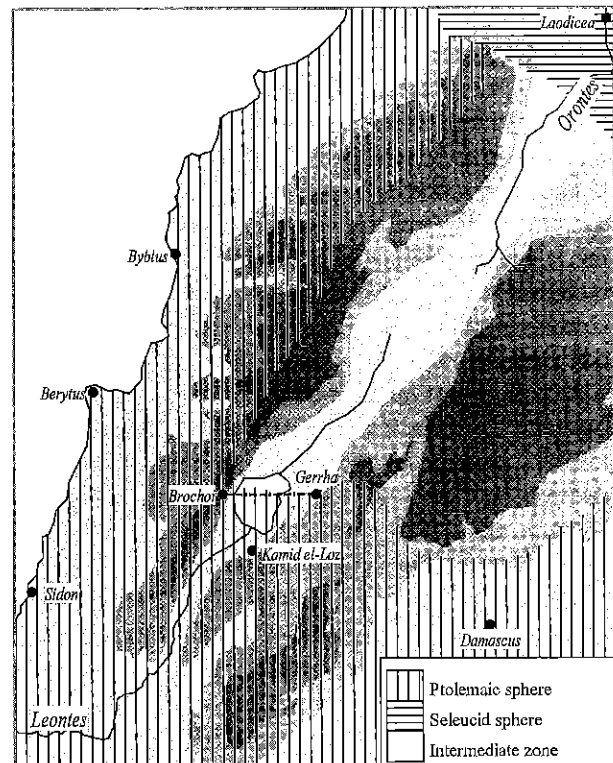


Fig. 28 - Imperial spheres in the Hellenistic Levant (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC).

that this part of the plain could be used for agriculture (Zenonpap. Cairo I, 59063). One can assume continuity here from pre-Hellenistic times, nevertheless the settlements of the cleruchs must have brought substantial demographic changes. These must have also influenced the appearance of settlements. It is questionable to what extent the settlements of soldiers and veterans in the region were the cause of a Hellenisation as the cleruchs could be from very different origin (Macedonians, Greeks, Thracians, Syrians, Anatolians)<sup>102</sup>.

The conquest of the entire Syria by Antiochos III (finalised in 198) was followed after a few years by the Peace of Apamea (188) and consequently by the weakening of the Seleucid Empire. The increasing threat by nomads was in the long run balanced out by the relative fertility of the land and the renewed possibilities for long distance trade since the Fifth Syrian War. Thus the Beqa'a Valley underwent massive demographic and structural changes especially during the Seleucid era.

With the Seleucid conquest a phase of restructuring set in. The northern Beqa'a Valley was repopulated, probably because of an initiative of the central power. Some settlements picked up older traditions but were now given dynastic names (Laodicea ad Libanum, Epiphania/Hama). Most villages continued to have Semitic names and therefore show the predominantly local character of the colonisation<sup>103</sup>. Abila, Chalkis and Heliopolis/Baalbek appeared in the context of Pompey's conquest of Syria as veritable cities in the southern part of the plain (Ios. ant. Iud. 14, 3, 2; Strab. XVI, 2, 18)<sup>104</sup>. Prerequisite of such an urbanisation was the agrarian development of the land that had provided the necessary surplus<sup>105</sup>. Strabon still presented the Massyas (Beqa'a) Valley around AD as an agrarian region (Strab. XVI, 2, 18: «But the people on the plain are farmers.»). The contribution of the Phoenician coastal towns in this colonial movement was probably substantial: Their influence spread for the first time beyond the mountains of the Lebanon so that the citizens of Emesa/Homs could well call themselves Phoenician during the time of the Roman Empire<sup>106</sup>.

A counter movement to the re-population and urbanisation of the Beqa'a Valley was the infiltration of Syria by Arabian Ituraeans (during the later period of the disintegration of the Seleucids). Their settlements were located in the Anti-Lebanon and Hermon (Luk. 3, 1) in the second century. From there they started their conquests of the southern Beqa'a probably even before 100. In the wake of the Armenian expansion, the Ituraeans under Ptolemy, who called himself *tetrárches kai archiereús* on his coins, left like the Hasmonaeans in Judaea the confederation. With the traditional Hellenistic title Ptolemy affirms the now loose connection between his tribal sheikhdom and the Seleucid authorities<sup>107</sup>. Ptolemy connected in his title also, again like his Hasmonaeian neighbours, politics and religion as he functions as ruler and high priest (*archiereús*). The theocratic component was obvious.

The Ituraean occupation was part of a whole series of rebellions of semi-nomadic mountain tribes against the settled population on the plains of the Levant<sup>108</sup>. Also the other establishments of states on Seleucid ground, like the one of the Nazarini in the area of Arados (cf. Plin. hist. nat. V, 81f.) or that of the Hasmonaeans after the Rebellion of the Maccabees,

belong to this category. In principle, these settlements were repetitions of similar processes that had changed the ethnic and political landscape of Syria as early as the Bronze and Iron Age (Amorites, Arameans, Hebrews, etc.).

The Ituraeans did not interrupt every form of continuity. Even the name of the Ituraean capital (Chalkis) shows the influence of Greek linguistic and cultural elements. 'Chalkis' (copper) also signifies probable copper mining, which might have begun with the settlements of Phoenicians in the southern Beqa'a<sup>109</sup>. Next to Chalkis, the political centre of the Ituraeans, stood Heliopolis/Baalbek as the main centre of worship personally linked to the ruler-high priest. The question to what extent an older tradition of worship<sup>110</sup> was continued at the watershed between Orontes and Leontes must be left unanswered as sources are extremely scarce. Surely, elements of Graeco-Hellenistic, Phoenician and Arabian-Ituraean religions were merged in the syncretism of Heliopolis<sup>111</sup>.

After the southern Beqa'a the Ituraeans also occupied the northern part, the mountains of Anti-Lebanon, Mount Hermon and Lebanon, Trachonitis and Batanaia (in the south-east) and the hills of Galilee. They threatened the northern Phoenician towns of Byblus and Aradus as well as Damascus. Tyre and Sidon, that had taken their fates into their own hands as the Seleucid Empire was breaking apart, obviously were able to defend their territories effectively against the Ituraeans. Probably Sidon was already controlling the inland up to the Leontes<sup>112</sup> in Ptolemaic times and thus blocked a further expansion of the Ituraeans in the south-east.

The settlement and Hellenistic acculturation of the Ituraeans seem to have been progressing rapidly. In any case, by the time of the Roman Empire the tetrarchy presented itself as an internally stable and wealthy community, that was after all able to pay the extremely high tribute of 1000 talents to Pompey when approaching in 64 BC.

In the last decade of the Seleucid Empire the political structure of the Levant and the Beqa'a crystallised in the way it would fundamentally also remain after the Roman conquest - though with the big difference that now the Roman Empire had the power over a multitude of local urban and ethnic domains.

The parameters had shifted considerably. The Roman Empire had a wholly different repertoire of integration and government mechanisms than the Seleucids could have ever used. Thus, also for the Beqa'a with all its territorial, social and cultural continuity a new epoch began with the Roman conquest.

## 6. The history of the Roman Beqa'a Valley

An essential element of Roman rule in all parts of the Empire was the building of roads. Two sources provide information about the traffic routes in the Roman Beqa'a Valley: The *Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti* from the time of Caracalla (211-217) and the later *Tabula Peutingeriana* (around 350/60). The Roman roads recorded there mostly followed the old trade routes that connected the Syrian desert with the Phoenician coast and Northern Syria with Palestine and Egypt since the Bronze Age. Baalbek was in the centre of the Roman road system, where the main axis running from north to south between Apamea and Emesa branched out: to the west crossing the Lebanon to Berytus, and to the south via Abila to Damascus.

The structure of settlements was influenced by a tribal society in the process of sedentarisation when the Romans appeared. The Ituraeans had used the power vacuum of the disintegrating Seleucid Empire in the first century and coming from Arabia had taken the fertile Beqa'a Valley. Their sphere of influence stretched from there to the Phoenician coast to the Upper Jordan. Its political centre was Chalkis ad Libanum<sup>113</sup>, which can be identified with Aanjar on the grounds of the descriptions by Strabon and Josephus. The passage to Damascus can be controlled very well from there (Aanjar and Majdel). Aanjar is located in the fertile core region of the Beqa'a and lies near Baalbek, the Ituraean religious centre<sup>114</sup>.

After Actium (31 BC) Roman annexations and the establishment of smaller tetrarchies changed the political structure and the appearance of the settlements in the region: Chalkis became the centre of such a unit (termed *basileia* by Ios. ant. Iud XIX, 5, 1) and had changing owners until it was incorporated into the Province Syria under Claudius. The northern end of the Beqa'a (south of Laodicea ad Libanum) was also the home of a miniature client state of the tetrarchy

type, which was given, according to Cassius Dio (LIX 12, 2), to a certain Sohaemus by Caligula<sup>115</sup>. The bigger part of the Ituraean heritage came gradually under Roman control. As early as 15 BC Agrippa elevated Berytus to a *colonia*, moved veterans there and gave wide parts of the Beqa'a to the city<sup>116</sup>. Under Tiberius the urban territories of Damascus, Tyre and Sidon reached so far that the *chórai* of Damascus and Sidon touched, Tyre's *chóra* reached up to the Upper Jordan.

The following territorial order can therefore be reconstructed in all caution for the Beqa'a Valley in the Early Roman Empire (Fig. 29): In the north at the upper reaches of the Orontes the client state of Sohaemus was located; from approximately the height of the sources of the Orontes the Beqa'a Valley belonged to the territory of Berytus that probably also included Heliopolis and today's Zahle and Shtaura<sup>117</sup>. A narrow stripe, maybe between Kabb Elias and Aanjar, was the territory of the Ituraean rump state Chalkis. In the south the *chórai* of Sidon and Damascus touched. A possible border line between the two could have



Fig. 29 - Territories in the Early Roman Beqa'a Valley (38-49 AD).

been the Leontes<sup>118</sup>. Further in the south the territory of Tyre reached up to the Upper Jordan and might therefore also have included the farthest south of the Beqa'a Valley.

Thus there were no less than three different types of Roman rule in the Beqa'a Valley alone: From indirect (client kingdoms - Chalkis, northern Beqa'a) and semi-direct rule (*civitates* after the pattern of the Greek poleis - Damascus, Sidon and Tyre) to direct control over a *colonia civium Romanorum* (Berytus). Each type had also fundamentally different forms of landed property and settlement. Also different cultural, social and political forms dominate in each case.

The citizens of Berytus collectively had the Roman citizenship, for citizens of *civitates* this was only true in single cases. Numerous colonies, among them Berytus, were founded by the settlement of veterans who were given tax free property<sup>119</sup>. A direct consequence of the founding of veteran colonies in the provinces was a thorough Romanisation. This was also the case in Berytus: The area of the *colonia* experienced an extent of Roman acculturation unique in the East. Inscriptions and coins present the territory as a Latin linguistic enclave in the middle of a Graeco-Oriental shaped cultural landscape<sup>120</sup>. Politically, administratively and also culturally the colony was a copy of Rome on a smaller scale. This is illustrated by the Roman juridical academy founded in the third century, which made Berytus an intellectual centre in late antiquity. Giving land to veterans caused new conditions of ownership which allowed wealthy citizens to rise quickly to the top of Roman society: Examples are the priest M. Licinnius Pompenna Potitus Urbanus of Baalbek, who was awarded a 'state' horse by Hadrian (IGLS VI, Nr. 2791: *donato equo publico a divo Hadriano*), and M. Sentius Proculus of Berytus who even became a Roman senator<sup>121</sup>.

The consequence of this development was a deep linguistic and cultural gap between the Central Beqa'a belonging to Berytus and the south. In the environment of Heliopolis Latin inscriptions are clearly dominating, yet the few epigraphic documents of the southern Beqa'a Valley are all in Greek. The mere number of preserved points towards a clear difference between the two parts. One can therefore assume that also the part of the Beqa'a Valley belonging to Berytus profited from Berytus's elevation to a colony of Roman

citizens and the resulting privileges, and that the Central region was developing faster and more effectively and was probably more densely populated than the south or the far north.

The south divided between Damascus and Sidon and the area around Chalkis do not seem to have participated in this development. No Latin inscriptions have been found and the amount of epigraphic material on the whole is neglectable. The assigning of the area to the *civitates* Sidon, Damascus and Chalkis had obviously hindered its Romanisation.

During the early stages of the principality all parts of the plain have in common a peripheral location in relation to the centres outside the region (Berytus, Damascus, Sidon, Tyre), at the same time bigger agglomerations of settlements were practically lacking in the Beqa'a. Agriculture dominated the plain (Strab. XVI, 2, 18: «But the people on the plain are farmers.»), the centres of trade were obviously located beyond the mountains, which is surprising considering the Beqa'a's exceptional position.

There is no information regarding the organisation of farming in Roman Phoenicia and its neighbouring regions. There would not have been much difference to Antioch, where, similar to Italy, a steadily rising concentration of landed property on big *latifundia* and *villae rusticae* took place<sup>122</sup>. Rich members of the urban upper class often acquired large areas. They pursued farming and stock-breeding on the largest scale on their estates or leased the land divided into small plots to small farmers<sup>123</sup>. Centres of these agricultural large-scale enterprises where thousands of slaves could be employed were splendidly equipped mansions<sup>124</sup>. Probably also in the fertile Beqa'a Valley, which was virtually inviting large-scale farming, more and more *latifundia* appeared in addition to traditional farming. An indication of this could be a mosaic from the fourth century recently found in Lala (southern Beqa'a) which would fit very well into the context of a luxurious mansion (unpublished).

A change of the peripheral status of the Beqa'a Valley came only with the gradual ascend of Heliopolis/Baalbek to an important site of worship due to its favourable location. Faced with a growing number of pilgrims a religious service centre developed around the temples of the Heliopolitan trinity (Jupiter, Venus, Mercury) from the second century onwards,



which included a porticus, two theatres and luxurious residential buildings<sup>125</sup>. Heliopolis also acquired with the time a central position in the region's economy and administration. It was consequently elevated to a *colonia* in Severian times. The sanctuaries seem to have owned land and were exempted from taxes, analogous to their situation in the Seleucid Empire<sup>126</sup>.

Since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century numerous temples and altars developed also in the surrounding of Baalbek, obviously mostly filial sanctuaries of the Heliopolitan temples (Fig. 30). Again the central Beqa'a Valley was most affected by this development. No less than 20 smaller and bigger temples are preserved between El-Lebwe and Ain el-Baid, among them the magnificent temples of Niha<sup>127</sup>. Compared to this, Roman temples in the south are scarce (Majdel Aanjar, Deir el-Ashayr, Bekka, Manara, Ain Harsha). It is no incident that many of these temples were also dedicated to the deities of the Heliopolitan trinity, mostly to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The building program was founded in the religion politics of the Severian dynasty which had elevated to worship of Sol Invictus Elagabal to the status of an imperial cult.

Assumptions about the military concentration in the Beqa'a Valley in Roman times are hard to make. The nearest legion was stationed at Raphanaeae on the Orontes not far from Emesa. That does not mean that the Beqa'a was completely free of Roman garrisons. Strabon describes how Pompey had freed the region from the frequent attacks by robbers from the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Probably a permanent fortification of the plain was necessary, the veterans settled in the area of Berytus have surely contributed to this. Additionally numerous auxiliary units stationed around Damascus are epigraphically proved<sup>128</sup>. Presumably Syria, being a heavily militarised border region, was entirely covered by a network of garrisons. Auxiliary troops were recruited from the local population and supported the border protection mostly with mounted units (*alae*). Regular troops with fortified camps developed out of the temporarily organised units since the early stages of the Empire<sup>129</sup>.

On the whole the Roman Beqa'a Valley offers the picture of a rather peripheral area in a region otherwise steadily gaining political and economical importance. The traffic routes economically and militarily important for the Roman East that crossed

the Beqa'a from the north to the south and from the east to the west made the plain a transit region without establishing hubs of international trading like Zeugma, Damascus, Palmyra, Dura Europos or the Phoenician coastal towns. A significant exception is Heliopolis where a local Ituraean site of worship became a religious centre influencing the whole Empire, and which also took on central functions in other areas (trade, administration).

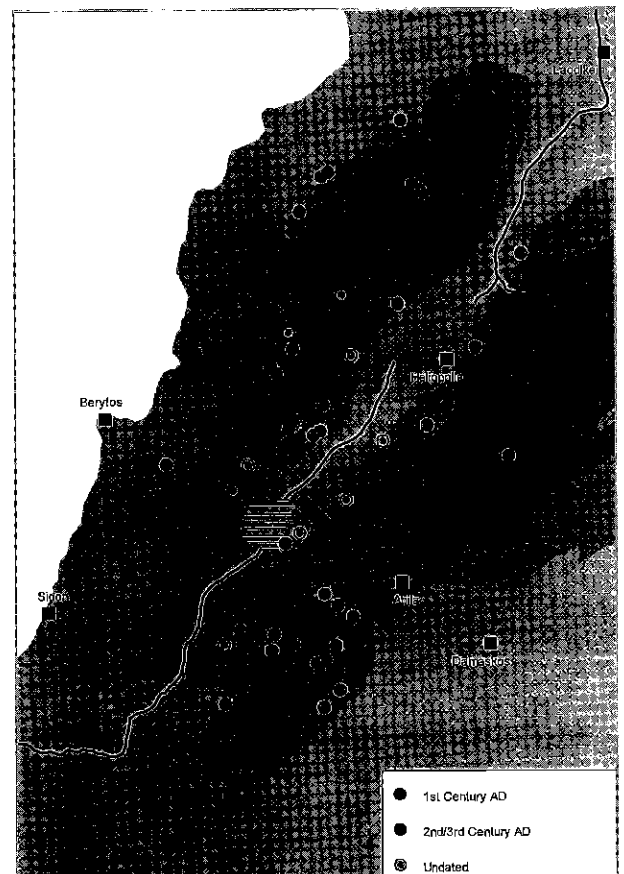


Fig. 30 - Temples of the Roman Beqa'a Valley.

## 7. Kamid el-Loz: Archaeological results in the light of regional history

The attempt to put the archaeological results of Kamid el-Loz into a historical context can in the present state of research only be simplistic and provisional. At any rate, the campaigns since the summer of 1997 have proved that there was no such thing as the presumed hiatus in the continuity of settlement in the Graeco-Roman epoch.

The evidence for the Hellenistic Beqa'a Valley and the importance of the region of the Lebanon in Hellenistic times could be considerably improved by corresponding results in Kamid el-Loz. Hardly any material relics of the region from Ptolemaic and Seleucid times have been preserved, epigraphic documents are scarce, thus the reconstruction of historical events depends on a few literary documents (above all in Flavius Josephus, Strabon, Polybius and Poseidonus) and some Ptolemaic papyri.

Other than on the arid northern Beqa'a which was frequently attacked by nomads, the conditions for settlements and farming around Kamid el-Loz remained good. The political situation was stable before and after the Seleucid conquest during the Fifth Syrian War. Nevertheless the Ptolemaic-Seleucid front line in the central Beqa'a impaired long distance trade in the third century. The Seleucid conquest of Southern Syria and Palestine on the other hand lifted the blockade from 300 AD onwards and gave the merchants new freedom. The settling down of the Ituraeans since the late second century seems to have been peaceful and quick. One has to assume, however, that profound changes in the structure of settlement, population and society were the consequence of the settlement of Ptolemaic cleruchs first and then of the invasion by the Ituraeans.

To affirm (or contradict) historical developments like these with the local archaeological results is not possible at this stage, as the excavations of Kamid el-Loz have not progressed that far. It is still too early to make statements about the architecture found so far.

The work on the «hill-top» (Area II g 1-3, cf. Bonatz/Gilibert) carried out since 1997 is of special importance for the classical period of the settlements. Two units, whose relation is still unsure, are discernible: The «Roman building» and the «glacis» originally interpreted as a military complex. Two antique (Roman) layers of settlements are stratigraphically discernible (layers 2-3). The excavation campaign 2000 delivered for the first time indications of an older (Hellenistic) settlement (layer 4, second century BC) beneath them.

The architectural outlay of the building refers to private houses in smaller settlements in Roman Palestine, and might also archaeologically prove the structural dependence of this part of the Beqa'a Valley

on the southern Levant since Ptolemaic dominion, which has been historically diagnosed. Corresponding equipment provides an, at least slight, clue that the building in question might have housed military personnel in Roman times. To draw a connection to the literary witnesses of the presence of auxiliary troops in the region would be hurried though.

The function of the layer of stones called «glacis» is also unsure. Interpreted as a road, a fortress and a water reservoir the late Roman complex still eludes explanations. A military use would fit into the greater historical picture (expansion of the defence complexes since the late third century AD), but this cannot be proved with the available material.

As archaeological results are only partially available and survey data of the nearer surrounding area are still lacking, traces of a settlement, typically shifting to the plain in Roman times<sup>190</sup>, can hardly be expected. Nevertheless the tombs buried in the surrounding hills suggest a settlement in the area of Kamid el-Loz in late antiquity, surpassing the already found architecture on the hill-tops. The appearance and expansion of such a settlement are unknown due to the lack of results. If the assumption is right that the Leontes was the border between the territories of Damascus and Sidon, Kamid el-Loz would have belonged to Damascus. The living conditions of the local population might have been therefore similar to those described by John Chrysostomos (Mat. 61,7). The status of the settlement could have been that of a *kóme* (village community) in the Damascene *chóra*.

The evidence for the Hellenistic Beqa'a Valley and the importance of the region of the Lebanon in Hellenistic times could be considerably improved by corresponding results in Kamid el-Loz. Hardly any material relics of the region from Ptolemaic and Seleucid times have been preserved, epigraphic documents are scarce, thus the reconstruction of historical events depends on a few literary documents (above all in Flavius Josephus, Strabon, Polybius and Poseidonus) and some Ptolemaic papyri.

Other than on the arid northern Beqa'a which was frequently attacked by nomads, the conditions for settlements and farming around Kamid el-Loz remained good. The political situation was stable before and after the Seleucid conquest during the Fifth Syrian War. Nevertheless the Ptolemaic-Seleucid front line in the central Beqa'a impaired long distance trade in the third century. The Seleucid conquest of Southern Syria and Palestine on the other hand lifted the blockade from 300 AD onwards and gave the merchants new freedom. The settling down of the Ituraeans since the late second century seems to have been peaceful and quick. One has to assume, however, that profound changes in the structure of settlement, population and society were the consequence of the settlement of Ptolemaic cleruchs first and then of the invasion by the Ituraeans.

To affirm (or contradict) historical developments like these with the local archaeological results is not possible at this stage, as the excavations of Kamid el-Loz have not progressed that far. It is still too early to make statements about the architecture found so far.

The work on the «hill-top» (Area II g 1-3, cf. Bonatz/Gilibert) carried out since 1997 is of special importance for the classical period of the settlements. Two units, whose relation is still unsure, are discernible: The «Roman building» and the «glacis» originally interpreted as a military complex. Two antique (Roman) layers of settlements are stratigraphically discernible (layers 2-3). The excavation campaign 2000 delivered for the first time indications of an older (Hellenistic) settlement (layer 4, second century BC) beneath them.

The architectural outlay of the building refers to private houses in smaller settlements in Roman Palestine, and might also archaeologically prove the structural dependence of this part of the Beqa'a Valley

on the southern Levant since Ptolemaic dominion, which has been historically diagnosed. Corresponding equipment provides an, at least slight, clue that the building in question might have housed military personnel in Roman times. To draw a connection to the literary witnesses of the presence of auxiliary troops in the region would be hurried though.

The function of the layer of stones called «glacis» is also unsure. Interpreted as a road, a fortress and a water reservoir the late Roman complex still eludes explanations. A military use would fit into the greater historical picture (expansion of the defence complexes since the late third century AD), but this cannot be proved with the available material.

As archaeological results are only partially available and survey data of the nearer surrounding area are still lacking, traces of a settlement, typically shifting to the plain in Roman times<sup>130</sup>, can hardly be expected. Nevertheless the tombs buried in the surrounding hills suggest a settlement in the area of Kamid el-Loz in late antiquity, surpassing the already found architecture on the hill-tops. The appearance and expansion of such a settlement are unknown due to the lack of results. If the assumption is right that the Leontes was the border between the territories of Damascus and Sidon, Kamid el-Loz would have belonged to Damascus. The living conditions of the local population might have been therefore similar to those described by John Chrysostomos (Mat. 61,7). The status of the settlement could have been that of a *kóme* (village community) in the Damascene *chóra*.

which included a porticus, two theatres and luxurious residential buildings<sup>125</sup>. Heliopolis also acquired with the time a central position in the region's economy and administration. It was consequently elevated to a *colonia* in Severian times. The sanctuaries seem to have owned land and were exempted from taxes, analogous to their situation in the Seleucid Empire<sup>126</sup>.

Since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century numerous temples and altars developed also in the surrounding of Baalbek, obviously mostly filial sanctuaries of the Heliopolitan temples (Fig. 30). Again the central Beqa'a Valley was most affected by this development. No less than 20 smaller and bigger temples are preserved between El-Lebwe and Ain el-Baid, among them the magnificent temples of Niha<sup>127</sup>. Compared to this, Roman temples in the south are scarce (Majdel Aanjar, Deir el-Ashayr, Bekka, Manara, Ain Harsha). It is no incident that many of these temples were also dedicated to the deities of the Heliopolitan trinity, mostly to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The building program was founded in the religion politics of the Severian dynasty which had elevated to worship of Sol Invictus Elagabal to the status of an imperial cult.

Assumptions about the military concentration in the Beqa'a Valley in Roman times are hard to make. The nearest legion was stationed at Raphanae on the Orontes not far from Emesa. That does not mean that the Beqa'a was completely free of Roman garrisons. Strabon describes how Pompey had freed the region from the frequent attacks by robbers from the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Probably a permanent fortification of the plain was necessary, the veterans settled in the area of Berytus have surely contributed to this. Additionally numerous auxiliary units stationed around Damascus are epigraphically proved<sup>128</sup>. Presumably Syria, being a heavily militarised border region, was entirely covered by a network of garrisons. Auxiliary troops were recruited from the local population and supported the border protection mostly with mounted units (*alae*). Regular troops with fortified camps developed out of the temporarily organised units since the early stages of the Empire<sup>129</sup>.

On the whole the Roman Beqa'a Valley offers the picture of a rather peripheral area in a region otherwise steadily gaining political and economical importance. The traffic routes economically and militarily important for the Roman East that crossed

the Beqa'a from the north to the south and from the east to the west made the plain a transit region without establishing hubs of international trading like Zeugma, Damascus, Palmyra, Dura Europos or the Phoenician coastal towns. A significant exception is Heliopolis where a local Ituraean site of worship became a religious centre influencing the whole Empire, and which also took on central functions in other areas (trade, administration).

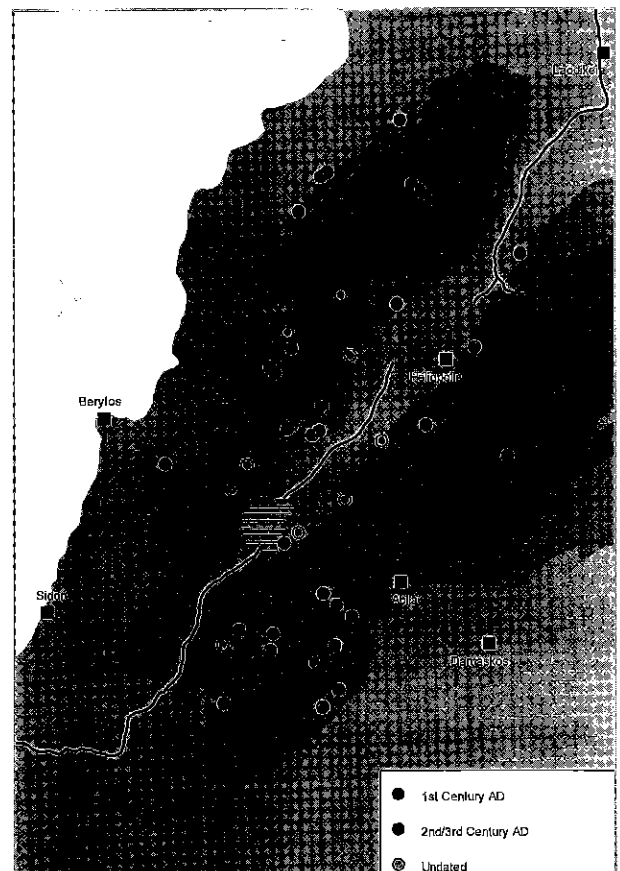


Fig. 30 - Temples of the Roman Beqa'a Valley.

## 7. Kamid el-Loz: Archaeological results in the light of regional history

The attempt to put the archaeological results of Kamid el-Loz into a historical context can in the present state of research only be simplistic and provisional. At any rate, the campaigns since the summer of 1997 have proved that there was no such thing as the presumed hiatus in the continuity of settlement in the Graeco-Roman epoch.

## Notes

- 31- For the relation of geography and history see I. GEISS: «Geographie und Mitte als historische Kategorien. Anmerkungen zu einem Aspekt des 'Historikerstreits'», *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 39 (1991), 979-994.
- 32- Cf. E. Wirth: «Vorderasien», in: H. Mensching/E. Wirth: *Fischer Länderkunde*, Vol. 4: *Nordafrika, Vorderasien*, Frankfurt am Main 1981, 166-263.
- 33- Cf. J. J. Branigan/A. R. Jarrett: *The Mediterranean Lands*, London 1969: 515-518.
- 34- Cf. É. De Vaumas: *Le Liban. Montagne libanaise, Beeka, Anti-Liban, Hermon, Haute Galilée libanaise. Étude de géographie physique*, Paris 1954, 313f.
- 35- Still fundamental for the concept of Hellenism J. G. Droysen: *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Darmstadt 1998, Vol. 1-3.
- 36- Cf. H.-J. Gehrke: «Der siegreiche König. Überlegungen zur Hellenistischen Monarchie», *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 64 (1982), 247-277, based on Max Weber's sociology of government. Cf. also M. Weber: «Die drei reinen Typen der legitimen Herrschaft», in: Id.: *Soziologie, Weltgeschichtliche Analysen, Politik*, Stuttgart 1956, 151-166.
- 37- Cf. Gehrke: «König», 254f.
- 38- For a different opinion see E. Will: *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323-30 av. J. -C.)*, Nancy 1979, 246f. and C. Préaux: *Le monde hellénistique. La Grèce et l'Orient de la mort d'Alexandre à la conquête romaine de la Grèce (323-146 av. J. -C.)*, Paris 1978, Vol. 2, 680-682, with thesis that Hellenism has failed because of the failure of its Hellenisation program. See also the author's article in *Klio* 82 (2000), 73-90 («Babylonien im Seleukidenreich. Indirekte Herrschaft und indigene Bevölkerung»).
- 39- Cf. H.-J. Gehrke: *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, München 1995, 177f. For the important problem of the polis in the Hellenistic confederation see A. Heuss: *Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus in ihren staats- und völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1937.
- 40- Cf. OGIS 223: «[...] we grant you [the citizens of Erythrai in Asia Minor] the exemption of not only the other taxes but also from the contribution to the Celtic fund [...].»
- 41- Cf. F. Millar: «The Phoenician Cities. A Case Study of Hellenisation», *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 29 (1983), 55 - 71, 68.
- 42- Cf. for Babylonia: J. Oelsner: »Kontinuität und Wandel in Gesellschaft und Religion Babyloniens in hellenistischer Zeit«, *Klio* 60 (1978), 101-111; Sommer: »Babylonien«.
- 43- Cf. F.W. Walbank: *Die hellenistische Welt*, München 1983, 109f.
- 44- Cf. G. Hölbl: *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches. Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung*, Darmstadt 1994, 61f.
- 45- For Alexander the Great see: R. Lane Fox: *Alexander the Great*, London 1983; S. Lauffer: *Alexander der Große*, München 1981; H.-J. Gehrke: *Alexander der Große*, München 1996.
- 46- Important were surely the harbours at the Mediterranean Sea as a basis for the fleet. The administrative centre of Syria and the seat of the satraps was in Persian times Damascus, which was conquered by Alexander's general Parmenion after Issus. Cf. Droysen, *Hellenismus*, Vol. 1, 177.
- 47- Cf. *Ibid.*, 185.
- 48- For the complicated history of the diadochs see Gehrke: *Hellenismus*, 33-40. For Syria in this period E. Honigmann, «Syria», *RE IV A*, 1549-1727, 1609-1614.
- 49- Cf. S. Sherwin-White/A. Kuhrt: *From Samarkhand to Sardis. A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire*, London 1993, 29f.
- 50- Cf. M. Rostovtzeff: «Syria and the East», in: *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol.7, 157-196; 173-176.
- 51- Cf. Hölbl: *Ptolemäerreich*, 24f.
- 52- Popilius presented the Seleucids with a senate decree demanding a complete retreat from Egypt. When Antiochus asked for some time to think this over, the Roman drew a circle around him and remarked, he should decide the question before leaving the circle.
- 53- On Arabian cults in Syria see Honigmann, «Syria», 1579.
- 54- This term is confusing, because the economical primate of the royal *oikos* remained unchallenged despite the decentralization under Greco-Macedonian influence. For Ptolemaic economy see J. Bingen: *Le papyrus Revenue Laws - Tradition grecque et adaption hellénistique*, Opladen 1978.
- 55- Convincingly proved by Greek and bilingual inscriptions and the adaptation of Greek political institution Millar: «Phoenician cities», 60-63.
- 56- Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Hellenismus*, Darmstadt 1955, Vol.1, 269.
- 57- Cf. J.Gerber: «Hellenisierung», in: *Der Neue Pauly*, Vol. 5, 301-307.

- 58- Cf. K. Bringmann: «Die Verfolgung der jüdischen Religion durch Antiochos IV. Ein Konflikt zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus?», *Antike und Abendland* 26 (1980), 176-190.; Also id.: *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa. Eine Untersuchung zur jüdischen-hellenistischen Geschichte (175-163 v. Chr.)*, Göttingen 1983.
- 59- For last phase of the Seleucid Empire see Gehrke: *Hellenismus*, 127; Sherwin-White/Kuhrt: *Samarkhand*, 217-229; Rostovtzeff: *Hellenismus*, Vol.2, 664-685. For the actual Roman occupation of Syria see G. Downey: «The Occupation of Syria by the Romans», *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 82 (1951), 149-163; F. P. Rizzo: *Le fonti per la storia della conquista Pompeiana della Siria*, Palermo 1963.
- 60- The privilege of coinage was withdrawn only in the first century, in Laodicea as late as 124. Cf. J.-P. Rey-Coquais: «Syrie Romaine, de Pompée à Dioclétien», *JRS* 68 (1978), 44-73; 50.
- 61- For the Roman-Persian confrontation cf. J. Wiesehöfer: *Das antike Persien*, Zürich/München 1993; B. Isaac: *The Limits of Empire*, Oxford 1992; D. Kennedy/D. Riley: *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air*, London 1990. For the wars in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century: M. H. Dodgeon/C.N. Lieu: *The Roman Frontier and the Persian Wars AD 226-263*, London 1991.
- 62- Cf. Honigmann: «Syria», 1623. Zeugma was replaced by the border fortress Nisibis in northern Mesopotamia which had been first conquered by Trajan in 114. With the Roman-Persian contract of 298 it acquired even a monopoly in the transit trade. Cf. J. Sturm, «Nisibis», *RE* XVII, 714-757, F. Millar: *The Roman Near East. 31 BC-AD 337*, Cambridge, Ma. 1993, 483.
- 63- Cf. *Ibid.*, 16.
- 64- For the Hasmonaeans E. Bickermann: *Die Makkabäer*, Berlin 1937; Nabataeans R. Dussaud: *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955; Ituraeans *ibid.*, 176ff.; A. H. M. Jones: «The Urbanisation of the Ituraean Principality», *JRS* 31 (1931), 265-275.
- 65- In the Republican time this position was filled by a former consul or praetor, a proconsul or praepositor. Since the *restitutio rei publicae*, the 'return' and the administrative re-ordering of the state by Augustus (January 27 BC) the provinces were divided into «senatorial» (as before under the administration of a proconsul or praepositor) and «imperial» (under the control of an imperial legate) provinces. The principal kept the control over all provinces that had legions, among them Syria, where two legions were stationed. For the *restitutio*: D. Kienast: *Augustus. Prinzeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt 1982, 72-74.
- 66- This happened for example during a war between Judaea and the Nabataeans (9 BC) and conflicts in Judaea after the death of Herod the Great (4 BC). Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 39-42.
- 67- This effected predominantly the gradual diminishing of the Ituraean territory, as the Herodian territory as well as some bigger Syrian cities (Tyre, Sidon, Damascus) expanded, cf. Jones: «Ituraean Principality», 266f. An even deeper intrusion was the establishment of the Province Judaea out of the Herodian realm (AD 6). Judaea was controlled by a prefect of equestrian rank, cf. Millar: *Near East*, 44. The phase of Roman experimenting with Judaea, however, was not over yet: Claudius re-established for a short time the entire Herodian Kingdom (AD 41-43) and made Agrippa I to its king. After Agrippa's death traces of the Judaeian autonomy still remained. His son Agrippa II continued to rule as king in a rump state that he could expand under Claudius (around 49) to the southern Beqa'a Valley as the territory of the last Ituraean state was added to his realm. Agrippa II was also the patron of the temple in Jerusalem. Cf. K. H. Bernhardt: *Der alte Libanon*, Leipzig 1976, 215f.
- 68- F. Millar: *Das römische Reich und seine Nachbarn (Fischer Weltgeschichte, Vol. 8)*, Frankfurt am Main 1966, 118.
- 69- Cf. Honigmann: «Syria» 1627.
- 70- For the roads see the itinerary in Honigmann, *ibid.*, 1645-1680.
- 71- Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 88; 199f.
- 72- For urban economy in late antiquity: J. Martin: *Spätantike und Völkerwanderung*, München 1995, 65-73.
- 73- Cf. A. Cameron: *Das späte Rom*, München 1994, 136.
- 74- Here the Orontes road coming from the north (Apamea) branched off to the west (Berytus). Cf. the presentation on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Honigmann: «Syria», 1647-1650; see also the explanations in the historio-topographical section.
- 75- Cf. Bernhardt: *Libanon*, 217f.
- 76- Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 103.
- 77- Cf. *ibid.*, 108. A precise proof where exactly the garrisons were located is not possible due to the source situation.
- 78- Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 210f.
- 79- Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 111-116.
- 80- Cf. Herod. II, 7, 7-8.
- 81- Septimius Severus (emperor 193-211) had served around 180 as legate of the *legio IV Scythica* in Zeugma

- and thus knew about the importance of the province. Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 119.
- 82-** The precise separation lines are hard to reconstruct. But because the legion stationed on the Orontes was on the territory of *Syria Phoenice*, this province probably spread beyond Damascus, thus including the Beqa'a Valley and Mount Hermon. Cf. *ibid.*, 122f.
- 83-** Cf. Honigmann: «Syria», 1686f.; for the family Millar: *Near East*, 303-306.
- 84-** Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 307f.
- 85-** Cf. *ibid.*, 127.
- 86-** Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 258.
- 87-** Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 326f.
- 88-** Cf. J. Cantineau *et al.* (ed.): *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre*, Paris 1930ff., No. 96.
- 89-** Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 167-169; Isaac: *Limits*, 220-222.
- 90-** Cf. Millar: *Near East*, 335: «[...] a claim to joint rule with successive emperors, Claudius and Aurelian, far away in Europe. [...] The facts suggest that it was not a separatist movement, designed to detach Syria, or the whole Near East, from Roman rule, but an abortive claim to the Empire.» Palmyrene coins from Antioch point into the same direction as they bear apart from *Re(x)*, *Im(perator)*, *D(ux) R(omanorum)* Vaballathus also the name of *imperator Augustus*. Only in the last phase of the Palmyrene Empire the name of *Augustus* seems to disappear. Cf. *ibid.*, 172.
- 91-** Cf. Isaac: *Limits*, 222f.
- 92-** Cf. F. Millar: «Paul of Samasota, Zenobia and Aurelian: The Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiances in Third-Century Syria», *JRS* 61 (1971)1-17.
- 93-** For the tetrarchic period see S. Williams: *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, New York 1985, and now W. Kuhoff: *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie*, Frankfurt am Main 2001.
- 94-** For the possible dating of the new ordering of the provinces in Constantine times cf. Honigmann, «Syria», 1695.
- 95-** Cf. *ibid.*, 1694; Millar: *Near East*, 180-188.
- 96-** Cf. Martin: *Spätantike*, 127.
- 97-** Cf. St. Grainger: *Hellenistic Phoenicia*, Oxford 1991, 90-93.
- 98-** Quite plausible Honigmann: «Syria», 1617.
- 99-** Important for the northern Beqa'a in Ptolemaic times is also the survey by A. Kuschke: *Archäologischer Survey in der nördlichen Biqa'*, Herbst 1972, Wiesbaden 1976.
- 100-** Cf. St. Grainger: *The Cities of Seleucid Syria*, Oxford 1990, 59.
- 101-** Cf. Grainger: *Phoenicia*, 113.
- 102-** Cf. Rostovtzeff: *Hellenismus*, Vol. 1, 256.
- 103-** Cf. Grainger: *Phoenicia*, 114.
- 104-** Cf. W. Schottoroff: «Die Ituräer», *ZDPV* 98 (1982), 124-152; 140.
- 105-** Cf. Grainger: *Phoenicia*, 114: «Urban centres do not develop in isolation, but in the context of rural settlement and a local agricultural surplus. Here therefore is a case of expansion and of both urban and rural growth, in the southern Beqa'a.»
- 106-** Cf. Millar: «Phoenician Cities», 58f.
- 107-** Cf. Schottoroff: «Ituräer», 138.
- 108-** Cf. Grainger: *Cities*, 183.
- 109-** Cf. Grainger: *Phoenicia*, 150.
- 110-** See: H. Sader: «Von Baal zum Zeus Heliopolitanus. Baalbek von der Vorgeschichte bis zum späten Hellenismus», in: M. Van Ess/Th. Weber (ed.): *Baalbek. Im Bann römischer Monumentalarchitektur*, Mainz 1999, 41-44; 42.
- 111-** Cf. Th. Weber: «Baal der Quelle. Zur geographischen Lage und historischen Bedeutung von Baalbek-Heliopolis», in: Van Ess/Weber: *Baalbek*, 1-13; 7.
- 112-** Cf. Rostovtzeff: *Hellenismus*, Vol.1, 269 with the statement that indications of Sidonian colonies of the Ptolemaic epoch could be found as far as Palestine.
- 113-** Cf. Strab. XVI, 753: «After the Plain of Makras the partly mountainous region of Massyias follows. In the mountainous part lies Chalkis, which is the acropolis of Massyias.» and Strab. XVI, 755; *Ios. ant. Iud.* XIV, 7, 4. Against Aanjar with rather unconvincing arguments: E. Will: «Un vieux problème de la topographie de la Beqa antique: Chalkis du Liban», *ZDPV* 99 (1983), 141-146.
- 114-** Cf. Jones: «Ituraean Principality», 265.
- 115-** A member of his dynasty has probably erected the Tower of Hermel (1<sup>st</sup> century). Cf. K. St. Freyberger/F. Ragette: «Stadt des Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Baalbek als Kultzentrum in römischer Zeit», in: Van Ess/Weber: *Baalbek*, 45-67; 58f.
- 116-** Some authors - Jones: «Ituraean Principality», 266; Schottoroff: «Ituräer», 145; H. Bellen: *Grundzüge der römischen Geschichte*, Vol. 2: *Die Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Diocletian*, Darmstadt 1998, 19 - argue that Heliopolis/Baalbek had already the status of a *colonia* (Iulia Augusta Felix Heliopolis) under Augustus and that the territory in question belonged to this city. Strab. XVI, 2, 18 does not mention a *colonia* Heliopolis. The most probable

interpretation is Millar: *Near East*, 124: Heliopolis became a *colonia* under Septimius Severus and the middle Beqa'a Valley fell to Berytus in 15 BC. See note 87.

**117-** For this see Strab. XVI, 2, 19: «[...] And it [Berytus] got two legions who had been settled there by Agrippa, who added a great part of the Massyas [Beqa'a Valley] to the territory, namely up to the source of Orontes.» The same Plin. nat. hist. 5, 78. Both sources only name Berytus (Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix *Berytus*), they do not mention Heliopolis/Baalbek.

**118-** Sidon's territory reached around AD 120 at least till Bab Marea (in the region of today's reservoir), as can be seen without doubt in IGLS VI, Nr. 2989 (Sidonian calendar).

**119-** Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 88.

**120-** For the inscriptions cf. IGLS VI. For the coins: RPC I, 648-651. About Berytus as a Roman colony: R. Mouterde: «Regards sur Beyrouth phénicienne, hellénistique et romaine», *MelBeyr* 40 (1964), 145-190; Millar: *Near East*, 279f.

**121-** For Sentius Proculus cf. R. Cagnat: «M. Sentius Proculus de Beyrouth», *Syria* 7 (1926), 67-70.

**122-** Excellent examples of luxurious estates have been preserved in the area of 'Dead Cities', between Apamea and Antioch. Cf. W. Ball: *Rome in the East. The Transformation of an Empire*, London 2001, 206-233. For the situation in the 4<sup>th</sup> century: Ioh. Chrys. Mat. 61,7; Iul. Mis. 362 C.

**123-** The living conditions of these small farmers have been painted in dark colours by Ioh. Chrys. (in Mat 61,7): They had not only to pay extremely high rent to their lords, they also had to do *corvée*.

**124-** For *latifundia* and *villae rusticae* see: H. Kloft: *Die Wirtschaft der griechisch-römischen Welt. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1992, 205f.

**125-** Cf. Freyberger/Ragette: «Jupiter Heliopolitanus», 50-52.

**126-** Cf. M. Rostovtzeff: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft im römischen Kaiserreich*, Leipzig 1929, Vol. 2, 8.

**127-** Cf. Bernhardt: *Libanon*, 218-221.

**128-** Cf. Rey-Coquais: «Syrie Romaine», 68.

**129-** Cf. Millar: *Nachbarn*, 123-126.

**130-** Cf. the results of the excavations of Gindaros in northern Syria: The publication of the Hellenistic-Roman material by N. Kramer will follow shortly.