

CONTEXTUALIZING THE SACRED  
IN THE HELLENISTIC  
AND ROMAN NEAR EAST

CONTEXTUALIZING THE SACRED

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CONTEXTUALIZING THE SACRED  
IN THE HELLENISTIC  
AND ROMAN NEAR EAST

RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN LOCAL,  
REGIONAL, AND IMPERIAL SETTINGS

Edited by

Rubina Raja



BREPOLS

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAES	Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria, 4 vols, New York
AAES II	Butler, H. C. <i>Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900</i> , vol. 2: <i>Architecture and Other Arts</i> , New York 1903
AAES III	Prentice, W. K. <i>Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900</i> , vol. 3: <i>Greek and Latin inscriptions</i> , New York 1908
AAES IV	Littmann, E. <i>Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900</i> , vol. 4: <i>Semitic Inscriptions</i> , New York 1904
AAS	Les annales archéologiques arabes syriennes
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABAWPH	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München. Philos.-philolog. u. hist. Kl.
<i>Acta AntHung</i>	Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
ADelt	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AE	Année Épigraphique
<i>Aegyptus</i>	Aegyptus: Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia
<i>Aephem</i>	Αρχαιολογική Έφημερίς
<i>AErgoMak</i>	Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
AJSLL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AMS	Asia Minor Studien
<i>Anadolu</i>	Anadolu. Revue annuelle des études d'archéologie et d'histoire en Turquie
<i>AncSoc</i>	Ancient Society
<i>AnnHistA</i>	Annales d'histoire et d'archéologie
ANRW	Temporini, H. (ed.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , Berlin 1972–
ANSMN	American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARAM	Aram Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
Archaeology	Archaeology. A Magazine Dealing with the Antiquity of the World
<i>ArtAs</i>	Artibus Asiae
<i>Atiqot</i>	‘Atiqot. Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities

<i>Aug.</i>	Augustinianum
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Endberichte
<i>AW</i>	Antike Welt
<i>BAAL</i>	<i>Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises</i>
BABesch	Bulletin antieke beschaving (Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology)
BAH	Bibliothèque archeologique et historique
<i>BalkSt</i>	Balkan Studies
<i>BaM</i>	Baghdader Mitteilungen
<i>BAngloIsrASoc</i>	Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society
BAR-IS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCHP	Finkel, I., and R. J. van der Spek. <i>Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period</i>
BEFAR	Bibliothèques des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
<i>BEO</i>	Bulletin d'études orientales (Damascus)
<i>Berytus</i>	Berytus. Archaeological Studies
<i>BGU</i>	Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (dann: Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden
<i>BIALond</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London
<i>BiOr</i>	Bibliotheca Orientalis
<i>BjB</i>	Bonner Jahrbücher
<i>BL</i>	Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten
<i>BMB</i>	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth
<i>Byz.</i>	Byzantion
CEFR	Collection de l'École française de Rome
<i>Chiron</i>	Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>CIG</i>	Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum
<i>CIS</i>	Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum
<i>CIL</i>	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum
<i>CPR</i>	Corpus papyrorum Raineri
<i>CQ</i>	Classical Quarterly
<i>CR</i>	Classical Review
<i>CRAI</i>	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
<i>CS</i>	Cistercian Studies
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
<i>DaM</i>	Damaszener Mitteilungen
DamForsch	Damaszener Forschungen
<i>DOP</i>	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
<i>Egnatia</i>	Εγνατία. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής. Αριστοτελείο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας.
<i>EpAnat</i>	Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens

<i>EphDac</i>	Ephemeris dacoromana
EPRO	Etudes preliminaries aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
FGrHist	Jacoby, F. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Leiden 1923–
Galsterer	Galsterer, B., and H. <i>Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln</i> , Cologne 1975
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
<i>Gymnasium</i>	Gymnasium. Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und Humanistische Bildung
Hellenica	Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquité grecques
Hermes	Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
<i>Historia</i>	Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
<i>HSPb</i>	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
<i>I. Cret.</i>	Guarducci, M. (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , 4 vols., Rome 1935–50
<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal
<i>I. Eph.</i>	Wankel, H. (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , 8 vols., Bonn 1979–81
<i>IF</i>	Indogermanische Forschungen
<i>I. Fayum</i>	Bernand, E. <i>Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum</i> , 3 vols., Leiden – Cairo 1975–81
<i>IG</i>	Inscriptiones Graecae
<i>IGLS</i>	Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie
<i>IGRR</i>	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
<i>ILS</i>	Dessau, H. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i>
<i>IK</i>	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
<i>INJ</i>	Israel Numismatic Journal
<i>INR</i>	Israel Numismatic Research
<i>I. Prose</i>	Bernand, A., <i>La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine</i> , 2 vols., Paris 1992
<i>I. Syrie</i>	Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie
<i>IvPergamon</i>	Fränkel, M. <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> , Berlin 1890
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>JCSSS</i>	Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies
<i>JdI</i>	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>JÖAI</i>	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review
<i>JRA</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of Roman Studies
<i>Klio</i>	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte
<i>KretChron</i>	Κρητικά Χρονικά
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LIMC</i>	Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae
<i>MAMA</i>	Monumenta Asiae minoris antiqua. Publications of the American Society for Archaeological research in Asia Minor
MAS	Mainzer Althistorische Studien
<i>M. Chr.</i>	Mitteis, L., and U. Wilcken, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunde II. Band, Juristischer Teil, II. Hälfte, Chrestomathie</i> , Leipzig – Berlin 1912

Meded	Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité
MélBeyrouth	Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth
Meletemata	Μελετήματα. Κέντρον Ελληνικής και Ρωμαϊκής Αρχαιότητος, Εθνικόν Ίδρυμα Ερευνών / Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, National Hellenic Research Foundation
MemAccLinc	Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie
Milet	Wiegand, Th. (Founder), <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899</i>
MJS	Münsteraner Judaistische Studien
MNDPV	Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina Vereins
NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology
NumChron	The Numismatic Chronicle
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCD <sup>3</sup>	Hornblower, S., and A. Spawforth (eds). <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd edition, Oxford 1996
OGIS	Dittenberger, W. <i>Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> , vols. 1–2, Leipzig 1903–05
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
OLB	Orte und Landschaften der Bibel
OLP	Orientalia Lovanensia periodica
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OMS	Opera minora selecta
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OstKSt	Ostkirchliche Studien
PAES	Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–05 and 1909, Leiden 1907–49
PAES II A7	Butler, H. C. <i>Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909, Division II Ancient Architecture in Syria, Section A, Part 7</i> , Leiden 1921
PAES III A7	Littmann, E., and D. Magie, <i>Publications of the Princeton Archaeological expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909, Division III Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Section A, Part 7</i> , Leiden 1921
PAT	Hillers, D. R., and E. Cussini. <i>Palmyrene Aramaic Texts</i> , Baltimore – London 1996
P. Fouad	Bataille, A. (ed.), <i>Les Papyrus Fouad I</i> , Cairo 1939
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PEF-QS	Wright, A. G., and A. Souter. “Greek and Other Inscriptions Collected in the Hauran by the Rev. W. Ewing,” <i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement</i> , 1895
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
P. Lund Univ.	<i>Aus der Papyrussammlung der Universitätsbibliothek in Lund</i> , 6 vols., Bibl. Årsberättelse 1934–52
Phoenix	Phoenix. The Classical Association of Canada
PIR <sup>2</sup>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> (2nd edition)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PolAMed	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean
P. Tebt.	<i>The Tebtynis Papyri</i> , 4 vols., London 1902–76
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
Qedem	Qedem. Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
RA	Revue archéologique
RACr	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana



<i>RAC</i>	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
<i>RAO</i>	Clermont-Ganneau, Ch. <i>Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale</i> , Paris
<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique
<i>RdA</i>	Rivista di Archeologia
<i>REA</i>	Revue des études anciennes
<i>REG</i>	Revue des études grecques
<i>RES</i>	Repertoire d'épigraphie semitique, 1–8, Paris 1900–68
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
<i>RM</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
<i>RPC</i>	Roman Provincial Coinage
<i>RPh</i>	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes
Sardis	Sardis. Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis
<i>SB</i>	Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten
<i>SCO</i>	Studi Classici e Orientali
SDAW	Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>SEG</i>	Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum
<i>SEL</i>	Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico
<i>SHAJ</i>	Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan
SNG	Syllologe nummorum Graecorum
StVA	Schmitt, H. H. <i>Die Staatsverträge des Altertums</i> . Vol. 3: <i>Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.</i> , Munich 1969
<i>Syria</i>	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie
TAM	Titulae Asiae minoris
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TeCLA	Texts from Christian Late Antiquity
<i>Topoi</i>	Τοποί. Orient – Occident
TrWPr	Trierer Winkelmannsprogramme
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum/Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
<i>Tyche</i>	Tyche. Beiträge zur alte Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik
Vestigia	Vestigia. Beiträge zur Alte Geschichte
<i>W. Chr.</i>	Mitteis, L., and U. Wilcken, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrusurkunde I. Band, Historischer Teil, 2. Hälfte, Chrestomathie</i> , Leipzig – Berlin 1912
<i>YCS</i>	Yale Classical Studies
<i>YOS</i>	Yale Oriental Series
ZAKMIRA	ZAKMIRA, Schriften des Lehr- und Forschungszentrums für die antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraumes
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
<i>ZDPV</i>	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
<i>ZOrA</i>	Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie
<i>ZPE</i>	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
<i>ZSav</i>	Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung

## ABBREVIATIONS OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS AND TEXTS

AJ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
Anth. Pal.	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
App. B Civ.	Appian, <i>Bella Civilia</i>
BJ	Flavius Josephus, <i>Bellum Judaicum</i>
Cicero Nat. Deor.	Cicero, <i>De Natura Deorum</i>
Cicero Phil.	Cicero, <i>Orationes Philippicae</i>
Cyril, ep.	St Cyril of Alexandria, <i>Epistulae</i>
DDS	Lucian of Samosata, <i>De Dea Syria</i>
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus
Dio Cass.	Dio Cassius
Dion.	Nonnus of Panopolis, <i>Dionysiaca</i>
Ekl. Chron.	Georgius Syncellus, <i>Ecloga chronographica</i>
Eus. chron.	Eusebius, <i>Chronika</i>
Eus. h. e.	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
Hdt.	Herodotus
HE	Ps.-Zachariah Rhetor, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
Hes.	Hesiodus
Iust.	Justinus, <i>Epitome of Trogus</i>
Libanius Orat.	Libanius, <i>Orationes</i>
Macrobius Sat.	Macrobius, <i>Saturnalia</i>
Malalas, Chronographic	Malalas, <i>Historia Chronica</i> , ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn 1831.
Marinos, Vie de Proclus	Μαρίνος Νεαπολίτης. Vie de Proclus, ed. by J. F. Boissonade, Leipzig 1814.
Parthen. erot.	Parthenius, <i>Narrationum amatoriarum libellus</i>
Paus.	Pausanias
Phil. Leg.	Philo, <i>Legatio ad Gaium</i>
Photius, Bibl.	Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i> (or <i>Myriobiblon</i> )
Plin. Ep.	Plinius, <i>Epistulae</i>
Plin. nat.	Plinius, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
P.Oxy.	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , ed. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt
Sen. Nat. Quaest.	Seneca, <i>Naturales quaestiones</i>
Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius
Strab.	Strabo
Suet. Vesp.	Suetonius, <i>Vita Vespasiani</i>
Tac. An.	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i>
Tac. Hist.	Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i>
Tert. adv. Iud.	Tertullianus, <i>Adversus Iudaeos</i>
Theoph. ad Autol.	Theophilus, <i>Ad Autolyicum</i>
Xen. an.	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>



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The volume has had a long history and it is a great pleasure finally to bring it out in print, since it contains important contributions by leading scholars who work on the Hellenistic and Roman Near East. Although papers were submitted quite a while ago and held up due to circumstances unavoidable, they have been updated recently by the authors. They make up a collection of crucial contributions to the discussions about religious identities on a variety of levels in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East.

Since the conference was held, the situation in the Middle East has changed dramatically. It is not possible to conduct fieldwork in Syria for the time being, nor travel there or in a number of other countries in the region. The importance of these contributions are underlined through this intensified situation, since the scholars represented in the volume have undertaken active fieldwork and/or surveys in the region and present material that otherwise would have been out of our reach.

First and foremost I would like to thank the Novo Nordisk Foundation for sponsoring the research project and the activities undertaken within the project in the period between autumn 2007 until autumn 2011. Furthermore a large thank you is owed to Annette Højen Sørensen and Kristine Thomsen for undertaking large parts of the final editing of the manuscript.

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## ARCHITECTURAL PROCESS AND THE EMERGENT TEMPLE

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The search for a link between identities and religious architecture in the Roman East has often focused on form and style. Form is thought to betray the underlying cultural sympathies of its builders and their adherence to, or rejection of, the project that was the Roman Empire. But the classification of form into “native” (resistant) and “Graeco-Roman” (adherent) categories is largely determined by modern perspectives.<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere questioned the validity of this approach, which seems to be predicated on a belief that there is a logical connection between a form or style and a culture,<sup>2</sup> and that “Graeco-Roman” forms and styles must on no account be treated as “native”; and instead I have sought to emphasize the processes of renovation or renewal of buildings as evidence for continuity of worship, and also to highlight the role of divergent interests in the development of sanctuaries. Consequently the outward appearance of the “Graeco-Roman” temple need not be considered a rupture with past tradition, but as an element of a religious continuum, where augmentation and elaboration of a sanctuary are part of an ongoing process of identification with it by its patrons.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The approach is probably most clear in W. Ball, *Rome in the East. The Transformation of an Empire* (London – New York 2000), where “Greek” is categorized as western and non-Oriental, but similar treatments may be noted in many other studies of Near Eastern identities. For a critique of such culture-historical approaches, see M. Pitts, “The Emperor’s New Clothes? The Utility of Identity in Roman Archaeology,” *AJA* 111.4 (2007): 693–713.

<sup>2</sup> On this particular point see A. Gell, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford 1998), 216.

<sup>3</sup> K. Butcher, “Contesting Sacred Space in Lebanese Temples,” in *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E. D. Gruen (Los Angeles 2010), 452–63; K. Butcher, “Continuity and Change in Lebanese Temples,” in *Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World*, ed. K. Lomas, E. Herring and A. Gardner

The aspect of religious architecture in the Roman Near East that I want to consider here has some connection with my earlier themes, and concerns the “unfinished” state of many of the buildings. This is a particularly remarkable feature of many of the temples in the Lebanon region, but has also been noted elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> In the Lebanese examples these unfinished elements extend beyond decorative programmes to basic dressing of the stones. Often the work has been started but apparently abandoned, with guidelines having been cut and the dressing of blocks begun. One phase of building may be left unfinished and another phase initiated, only to be left unfinished in turn, giving way to yet another phase.

One of the best-known examples is the sanctuary of Jupiter at Heliopolis (Baalbek). Reconstruction drawings of the sanctuary, such as those by Wiegand and Ward-Perkins,<sup>5</sup> show the buildings as we might envisage them in their finished state, but do not give us an accurate impression of how they must have looked in

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(London 2013): 195–211.

<sup>4</sup> L. Nordiguian, *Temples de l’époque romaine au Liban* (Beirut 2005), 208 notes that the “état d’inachèvement dans la construction des temples, et surtout dans le programme décoratif, est une constatation que nous pouvons faire pour presque tous les temples du Liban”. For rebuilding and unfinished features of temples in northern Syria, see O. Callot and P.-L. Gatier, “Burdj Baqirha 1997,” *Chronique archéologique en Syrie, Rapports des campagnes, 1994–1997*, vol. 2 (Damascus 1999), 239–42 (Burj Baqirha) and O. Callot and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, “Hauts-lieux de Syrie du nord,” in *Temples et sanctuaires: séminaire de recherche 1981–1983*, ed. G. Roux (Lyon – Paris 1984), 194 (Srir).

<sup>5</sup> T. Wiegand, *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905* (Berlin – Leipzig 1921–25); J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (Yale 1994), 315: “Baalbek, sanctuary, begun early first century, completed c. 250. Restored view” (my emphasis); though in the text it is conceded that it was “never fully completed” (314).





Figure 6.1. Heliopolis, Temple of Jupiter, south side, showing the six remaining columns of the peripteral colonnade of the temple in their original position at the edge of the earlier colossal podium. In front of this is a row of gigantic stone blocks that form the first course of the trilithon phase. Note that at the rear (left hand side in the photo) the dressing of the blocks has begun, but further along it has largely been abandoned, except at the junctions between blocks, where carefully-cut indentations provide a template for the dressing of these blocks. Photo by the author, 1994.

their heyday — as if such a moment could ever be determined. Everything points towards the sanctuary being in a far more emergent and much less completed form than the reconstructions allow. One of the earliest features of the Roman period, the famous “trilithon phase”, involved enlarging an existing colossal podium for the temple using gigantic limestone blocks (fig. 6.1). Only a single course at the front and two courses at the rear were put in place; more huge stone blocks remain in the quarry.<sup>6</sup> It is unclear how this podium looked in later phases, and whether it was ever completed with smaller blocks to its full intended height (fig. 6.2). Some of the trilithon megaliths were partially dressed while others remain in their quarry state (figs 6.3, 6.4), but none are in a state that could be described as finished. The temple itself appears to have received more thorough treatment, although even there some details look unfinished (figs 6.5, 6.6).

The rectangular great courtyard in front of the temple was also carefully dressed, at least on the inside, and contained elaborate decoration and various fixtures (fig. 6.7). There were evidently several phases of rework

<sup>6</sup> E. M. Ruprechtsberger, *Vom Steinbruch zum Jupitertempel von Heliopolis/Baalbek (Libanon)* (Linz 1999). On the earlier podium, see A. Kropp and D. Lohmann, “Master, Look at the Size of Those Stones! Look at the Size of Those Buildings! Analogies in Construction Techniques between the Temples at Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Jerusalem,” *Levant* 43 (2011): 38–50.



Figure 6.2. Temple of Jupiter, north side, showing the row of trilithon phase blocks and, on the right, the north side of the earlier podium, topped by the bases of the temple's columns built into the medieval fortifications. Photo by Niels Bargfeldt, 2011.



Figure 6.3. Detail of the trilithon blocks on the south side, towards the front of the podium. The nearest block exhibits the beginning of an attempt to dress it, whereas the others do not. Photo by the author, 2005.





Figure 6.4. Another detail of the south side, showing the junction between two trilithon phase blocks and the indentation cut to serve as a template for dressing the lowest stage of the podium, viewed from above (and with a modern cable lying at the junction of the two blocks). Photo by the author, 2005.



Figure 6.6. Fragment of the right-hand corner of the pediment of the temple of Jupiter, showing unfinished features (egg-and-dart, dentils) that were probably scarcely visible from ground level. Photo by the author, 2005.



Figure 6.5. Unfinished anta from the temple of Jupiter. Note that the acanthus leaves on the left-hand corner are in a more completed state than the rest, and were perhaps more visible from ground level than the other features. Photo by the author, 1998.



Figure 6.7. The great rectangular courtyard of the Jupiter sanctuary. On the left, the stairs up to the temple; centre, the 'small altar'. In the foreground the elaborately decorated retaining wall of a pool that may have served for ablutions, with a circular fountain structure at its centre; a similar pool was on the other side of the court.

Photo by the author, 1995.

ing, including the demolition of earlier elements and their incorporation into later ones, and one may question whether the entire ensemble ever conformed to a coherent vision.<sup>7</sup> Beneath the courtyard, vaulted corridors have neatly dressed vaults (presumably difficult to construct otherwise) while the walls of the passages are often in a less complete state (fig. 6.8).



Figure 6.8. Vaulted passage beneath the great court. Photo by the author, 1995.

<sup>7</sup> This is essentially the argument in Butcher "Sacred Space".





Figure 6.9. The hexagonal courtyard, with the great courtyard and the temple of Jupiter beyond. Photo by the author, 1994.

The hexagonal courtyard that was added in front of the rectangular one remains in a very rough condition (fig. 6.9). The monumental propylon (fig. 6.10) also exhibits many unfinished features,<sup>8</sup> although some of the more thoroughly-finished elements may have been re-used from an earlier monumental entrance.

Other Lebanese temples exhibit a similar array of unfinished features as Heliopolis, albeit on a smaller scale. The podium of the large temple at Hosn Niha remains unfinished, with only the most visible front part having been properly dressed; the acanthus leaves on the capitals likewise have not been completed. At nearby Niha the crypt beneath the adyton remains in an extremely rough state, and a number of relief decorations are unfinished. Indeed, many temples exhibit incomplete decorative elements, and this state of incompleteness may extend to the dressing of entire surfaces of the outer walls (and sometimes the inner walls) of the cella, as at Chhim, Deir al Qalaa, or Akroum. Though the wide podium of Temple A at Hosn Sfiré was clearly designed

<sup>8</sup> R. Taylor, *Roman Builders. A Study in Architectural Process* (Cambridge 2003), 240–41.



Figure 6.10. The propylaea of the Jupiter sanctuary. The original staircase has presumably been robbed out, exposing roughly-worked stones behind; the pilasters at top left have been left roughed out, ready for the final dressing of the surfaces.

Photo by the author, 1994.

to receive a peripteral colonnade, no trace of this exists, and one is forced to conclude that it was never added.<sup>9</sup>

The incomplete, emergent nature of the architecture would have impacted considerably on the visual reception of these buildings. Nevertheless, the effect of a work-in-progress was sometimes relieved (or perhaps heightened) by efforts to “complete” those parts of the buildings that were most visible, such as the front facades and podia of temples that faced worshippers in the sanctuary courtyards. Elements that were less visible might receive more cursory treatment. Therefore one might imagine the presence or absence of the viewer to be influential in deciding which parts of a project

<sup>9</sup> Hosn Niha: D. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien* (Leipzig 1938), 122–37; Nordiguian, *Temples*, 60–65; Niha: Krencker and Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel*, 105–21; Nordiguian, *Temples*, 50–59; Chhim: M. Tallon, “Sanctuaires et itinéraires romains du Chouf et du Sud de la Beqa,” *Mél-Beyrouth* 43.5 (1968), 233–50; L. Nordiguian, “Le temple de Marjyyat (Chhim), à la faveur de nouvelles fouilles,” *Topoi* 7 (1997): 945–64; Nordiguian, *Temples*, 126–31; T. Waliszewski, “Chhim. Explorations, 2001,” *PolAMed* 13 (2001): 243–53; T. Waliszewski, “Chhim. Explorations, 2003,” *PolAMed* 15 (2003), 303–10; Deir al Qalaa: Krencker and Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel*, 1–3; P. Eliane, L. Nordiguian and H. Salamé-Sarkis, “Le grand temple de Deir el-Qalaa. Étude architecturale,” *AnnHistA* 2 (1983): 1–45; Nordiguian, *Temples*, 132–41; Akroum: G. Taylor, *The Roman Temples of Lebanon* (Beirut 1971), 140–43; Nordiguian, *Temples*, 218–19; Hosn Sfiré: Krencker and Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel*, 20–34; Nordiguian, *Temples*, 206–17. This list of temples with unfinished elements is hardly exhaustive.



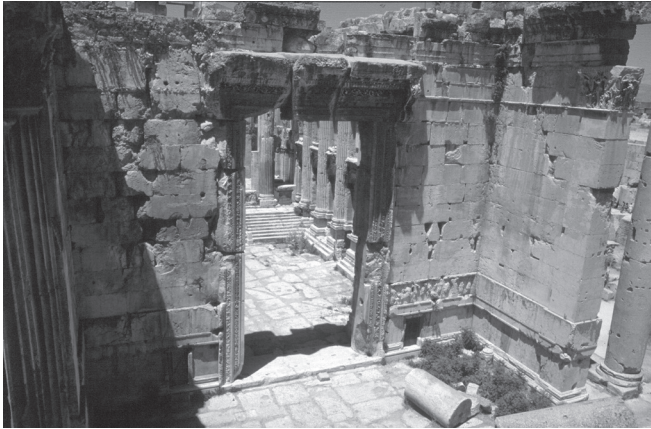


Figure 6.11. The so-called “Bacchus temple”, showing the entrance to the cella and the antae. Note the raised band towards the bottom. The band stands proud to receive carving but remains blank, except on the part to the right of the cella entrance. Photo by the author, 1994.

would receive the greatest investment. However, not all highly visible elements were completed (fig. 6.11), and elements that were largely invisible at ground level were commonly treated in detail. The presence or absence of a viewer cannot entirely explain the logic of these projects.

The unfinished features, though they might be remarked upon in architectural studies, have rarely been considered in their own right. The term “unfinished”, of course, implies that there ought to have been a “finished” state, but that for some reason that state was never achieved. But was it simply a case of lack of resources that prevented them from being completed? If this should prove to be the case, then so many temples exhibit unfinished elements that this phenomenon demands some broader social or economic explanation, taking into account that while the resources and skills required for erecting the buildings were apparently available, those needed for dressing the stones were not always forthcoming. The problems may not have been simply financial: the skill and knowledge of how to work the stones may have been in limited supply in ways that the skills required to quarry the blocks and to erect the buildings were not. On the other hand, much of what we know about the modes of production of sanctuaries suggests that some of these modes could have been a factor contributing to their unfinished appearance.

The (admittedly meagre) epigraphic evidence from the Lebanon region points to a variety of modes of financing and construction. Most of the builders were locals; there is no certain evidence for the involvement of the Roman state. Many inscriptions refer to individual donations; significantly these donations tend to be not

for a whole building, but for parts of it.<sup>10</sup> In no instances do we have clear evidence for an individual or a group of donors paying for an entire, completed temple or sanctuary, although that is certainly conceivable in the case of more “complete” sanctuaries, such as the one at Yanuh on the Mediterranean side of the Lebanese mountains,<sup>11</sup> and should not be ruled out as a mode. There is epigraphic evidence for communal building by a village, using community funds (the small temples at Nebi Ham and Hammara)<sup>12</sup> or communal building using the financial resources belonging to a deity (a tower built with the funds of the Great God at Fakra).<sup>13</sup> Sometimes we encounter a combination of these modes (resources of a deity and a village used to build a small monument in the sanctuary at Hosn Niha).<sup>14</sup> Community funds probably played a significant role in the financing of urban temple construction. But large, complex sanctuaries built by a single donor seem to be rare or absent. Instead the sanctuaries seem to have relied on incremental growth.

Even for the more prominent civic sanctuaries like Heliopolis-Baalbek (which one would assume were likely to have attracted financial support from influential non-local donors who would have been capable of financing an entire building) the epigraphic evidence suggests somewhat piecemeal production. Admittedly we do not have any building inscriptions mentioning the building of the main structures at Heliopolis, so it is rather difficult to form an argument from an absence of evidence; yet we do have evidence of elite involvement in the sanctuary. Leaving aside much later literary references to imperial construction,<sup>15</sup> there is contemporary evidence for some outside interests by very powerful members of the provincial elite, though we are usually left guessing about precisely what form the interests took. Our under-

<sup>10</sup> See Butcher, “Continuity”.

<sup>11</sup> P.-L. Gatier and L. Nordiguian, *Yanouh et le Nabr Ibrahim. Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques dans la vallée d’Adonis* (Beirut 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Nebi Ham inscription: Krencker and Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel*, 170; Millar 1993: 283; Hammara: *IGLS* 2986, with modifications in Nordiguian, *Temples*, 96. On the difficulty of recognizing a classical temple among the architectural ensemble at Hammara, see Nordiguian, *Temples*, 94–99.

<sup>13</sup> Krencker and Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel*, 53–54; Nordiguian, *Temples*, 157.

<sup>14</sup> *IGLS* 2946.

<sup>15</sup> Malalas *Chronographie*, CCLXXX (Bonn edition) attributes a temple to Zeus (presumably that of Jupiter Heliopolitanus) to Antoninus Pius (138–61 CE), but the earlier date of the temple suggests otherwise.



Figure 6.12. Dedication to Sohaemus. Photo by the author, 1998.



Figure 6.13. Dedication by Samsigeramus. Photo by the author, 1998.

standing is complicated by uncertainty about when Heliopolis was constituted as an independent city and ceased to be dependent on Berytus, and by the fact that most of the stones bearing inscriptions were found reused so that their original locations are unknown. Some of the interpretations remain speculative. One of several busts of city *tychai* on the stone panels of the roof of the peristyle of the so-called Bacchus temple is labelled “Antiochia”, which might be seen as possible evidence of financial investment by other Syrian cities in the building of the sanctuary.<sup>16</sup> A number of prominent individuals received honours as patrons of the colony (assuming the colony is Heliopolis and not Berytus). Most notable are the local dynasts. A Great King C. Julius Sohaemus, son of the Great King Samsigeramus, was honoured with a dedication to him by a citizen of the colony (fig. 6.12).<sup>17</sup> Sohaemus, who must be one of the dynasts of Emesa, was not only patron of the colony, but also quinquennial duumvir, implying that the city had acquired a particularly wealthy magistrate. A King Agrippa, who can only be one of the Herodian kings of that name, was also a patron of the colony, commemorated with a statue made using public funds.<sup>18</sup> It is certainly not clear from

the inscriptions whether the sanctuaries themselves were recipients of this royal patronage, though we might cautiously suppose this to be possible. Another Emesene dynast, King Samsigeramus, son of a King (Sohaemus?), is named in the nominative in an inscription from the great court and therefore may have dedicated something there; most likely the altar on which the inscription is found (fig. 6.13).<sup>19</sup> Provincial governors are also commemorated with dedications *to* them, but there is nothing in this small corpus of dedications that would lead us to suppose an extraordinary state interest in Heliopolis as opposed to other cities, or that every governor had contributed to the construction of the sanctuaries (though one dedication on an architrave might imply some kind of involvement).<sup>20</sup> At the very least we can suppose they were honoured for their positive role in local affairs, as were prominent citizens of Heliopolis or Berytus who were commemorated in the same space.<sup>21</sup> But there is nothing explicit in the epigraphic evidence that would link most of these prominent individuals with any of the major construction phases, and we are left to speculate about the modes of financing.

<sup>16</sup> IGLS 2842, with references.

<sup>17</sup> IGLS 2760: “Regi magno C(aio) Iulio Sohaemo Regis magni Samsigerami f(ilio) philocaesari et philo[r]ohmaeo (*sic*) honorat[o] ornamentis] consularib[us] -----] patrono coloniae (duum)viro quinquenn(ali) L(ucius) Vitellius L(uci) f(ilius) Fab(ia tribu) Soss[i] a[nus].”

<sup>18</sup> IGLS 2759: “[...] magno Ag[ri]ppae pio philocaesare et philoromae(o) patrono col(oniae) pub(lice) fac(tum).”

<sup>19</sup> IGLS 2747: “Rex Samsigeramus regis [Sohaemi] f[il]ius [...]”

<sup>20</sup> IGLS 2777, to Decimus Vedius Fidus, legatus Augusti praetore of an uncertain province, presumably Syria.

<sup>21</sup> The great court of the sanctuary of Jupiter would appear to have been a very public and civic space in this respect, a place where civic identity and the power, influence, and connections of the Heliopolitan elites were projected; this might have made it a rather different kind of social arena than the courtyards of rural sanctuaries.





Figure 6.14. Dedication by Aurelius Antoninus Longinus.  
Photo by the author, 2005.

The explicit evidence for contributions from people other than citizens at Heliopolis concerns less prominent individuals, the majority of whom seem to have donated various decorative elements rather than structural ones. During the sole reign of Caracalla a certain Aurelius Antoninus Longinus, *speculator* of the *legio III Gallica* (the garrison of Syria Phoenice) paid for and dedicated two gilded bronze capitals of columns, now among those forming the colonnade of the monumental propylaea of the Jupiter complex (fig. 6.14).<sup>22</sup> A citizen of Aradus set up a statue, perhaps of an emperor, probably on top of one of the freestanding columns of the great court, in response to an oracle (presumably from Jupiter Heliopolitanus).<sup>23</sup> Another possible outsider is a man with Latin names, Cassius Verus, who with his wife Charina dedicated a bronze statue using Greek rather than Latin, though the use of language in the dedication is not decisive proof that he was foreign to the colony.<sup>24</sup> Less certain is the origin of two villagers, Salamanes and Merkourios, brothers from an unidentified village called Maara of Sameth, who dedicated a statue of Hermes; they were evidently landowners.<sup>25</sup> Other donors were probably locals. A lead worker dedicated two statues, one of Sol and another of Luna, and promised a third,

gilded image of Victory *pro salute imperatoris*.<sup>26</sup> He has the *tria nomina* of a Roman citizen, as does another man who claimed responsibility in some capacity for columns in the great court (perhaps part of the Aswan granite colonnade there).<sup>27</sup> The impression given by this material is one of a continuous process of donations and dedications from various sources, piecemeal and perhaps in response to specific interactions with the sanctuary, over a long period of time, with some earlier donations being reworked or demolished to provide space or material for new ones.<sup>28</sup> The major buildings must have required investments on an altogether different scale, although the unfinished nature of the decorative project is mirrored in the architecture itself, large parts of which were never completed. It is as if these great buildings too relied on piecemeal funds or donations, at least when it came to dressing and finishing the stone. Indeed, perhaps process and agency was more important here than the goal of a completed sanctuary.

The difficulties in finding donors, and in financing the temples, may well account for the observed state of many of the buildings. It might imply that communities and donors were overambitious. That would, at least, be a practical explanation for the various states of inachievement, and it would chime with what we know from literary sources. It was not exceptional for architectural projects to remain unfinished while new ones were started (one thinks of Pliny's exchange with Trajan, *Letters* x.37–40). Certainly temples and sanctuaries are not the only building projects to exhibit unfinished features: colonnaded streets, such as the one at Palmyra, are also incomplete. In such cases political and economic circumstances might conspire to prevent a conclusion. We could no doubt think of other practical reasons, such as the possibility (hinted at above) that skilled stonemasons needed to finish the job were in short supply, and

<sup>22</sup> *IGLS* 2723.

<sup>23</sup> *IGLS* 2726: "I(ovi) O(ptimo) H(eliopolitano) L(ucius) N(umerius?) Rufus columnas cum ae---."

<sup>28</sup> The pair of single columns in the great court utilized several dedications of second- and third-century date. *IGLS* VI, 2791, dedicated to the notable and priest M. Licinius Pompenna Potitus Urbanus, which dates to the Antonine period, was found in the foundations of the northern column that adorned the great court, as were the fragmentary dedications *IGLS* VI 2745 and 2746; other dedications (*IGLS* VI, 2731, 2784) were used in the foundations of the southern column. See H. Seyrig, "Nouveaux monuments de Baalbek et de la Beqaa," *BMB* 16 (1961): 118–25, suggesting a date in the reign of Julian (361–63 CE), following Christian demolition of pagan structures.

<sup>22</sup> *IGLS* 2711–12.

<sup>23</sup> *IGLS* 2729 (base of the column). The inscription, which is neatly carved, is probably late second century and before 212 CE, and is in Greek.

<sup>24</sup> *IGLS* 2730.

<sup>25</sup> *IGLS* 2731.



Figure 6.15. The so-called Hajjar el-Hibleh, “Stone of the Pregnant Woman”, one of the colossal blocks destined for the trilitheon that never left the quarry. Photo by the author, 2004

too many competing projects ensured that there were never enough to go round. Seen in this way, contingency was a major factor contributing to the “failure” to complete temples and sanctuaries. One might even incorporate such propositions into an argument whereby the outward “Graeco-Roman” appearance of the decorative element is wholly subsidiary to the underlying “native” forms of the buildings themselves: an unfinished “vener” on a native temple. But such a position privileges the imagined completed state over the reality of the incomplete, reducing the unfinished features to something of (at best) secondary importance only. It assumes that the decorative element has only minimal relevance to the question of relations between sanctuaries and their communities.

There are other possible explanations too, less practical in conception. Might the unfinished state be considered some kind of decorative scheme of its own, an idiosyncratic native style that can be drawn into the debate about identities? Perhaps so, though one might have expected more consistency from an “unfinished” style of building; and I think that such an argument may distract us from a more fundamental conceptual divide between “us” and “them”, and between our desire to visualize an ancient sanctuary in terms of its form and style and their experiences of it. For us, the finished building is the statement, and the process, no matter how convoluted or ingenious, is simply a way of getting there (in modern construction this process is often hidden behind hoardings and netting, so that the building project emerges suddenly at the end, in a completed state). But perhaps for the builders of monumental sanctuaries and temples the process was just as much a statement

as any notion of a finished building. Process provided a vivid reminder of who was involved; of the conquest of nature; of mastery over the materials; the ability to defy physics; the power to command vast resources, machinery and labour; the continuing act of devotion through construction; even the will to tear something down and begin all over again.<sup>29</sup> The roughly- or partially-worked blocks served to remind the viewer of the raw nature of the materials that are to be shaped in the service of the deity by the patrons; their size a reminder of the technology and power to be harnessed. In the case of Heliopolis, the unfinished features that betray how it was done do not detract from an appreciation of the magnitude of the effort, as our continued appreciation of the gigantic blocks still left in the quarry demonstrates (fig. 6.15). Every unworked stone contains the potential of a worked stone, just as the unfinished temple contains the potential of a fully-realized one. So even though a sanctuary or temple remained incomplete, the viewer could nonetheless imagine the magnificence of the finished structure, and recognize in it the promise that, one day, some kind of conclusion might be reached. Sheer ambition and vision, particularly if never relinquished, is sufficient to impress (one thinks of the unfinished Gaudi cathedral in Barcelona). Any conclusion, however, would have brought the act of devotion through donation and construction to an end, committing builders and worshippers to a building that is, ultimately, a compromise between what was originally envisaged and what was possible. By never reaching that conclusion the unfinished temple defers that moment and any disappointment it might bring.

This process of emergence and elaboration kept the sanctuaries and their temples alive and dynamic, able to respond to changes in circumstance, ritual requirements, style and fashion. Unlike certain other sorts of building, like baths or domestic houses, they did not have to be complete to satisfy their owners and patrons. Nor did they need to have the kind of practical and functioning fixtures that the owners and patrons of baths and houses would have demanded. The sanctuaries are predominantly spiritual and visual spaces rather than inhabitable ones, in which performance of various kinds (and being seen to perform) was the key human activity. Donation and construction can be viewed as part of that performance. That is not to say that practical constraints did not play their part in determining the unfinished state

<sup>29</sup> On precisely this aspect of the architectural process, see Taylor, *Roman Builders*, 4–5; 212–14.

of the temples and sanctuaries; it is rather to emphasize the point that the creation of a religious sanctuary was a complex processual narrative of human action, not an exercise in maintaining cultural blueprints. The “unfinished” features point to the importance of multiple agencies in these narratives. One could perhaps develop an analysis of Near Eastern temples that adopted a clearer narrative of process rather than privileging the description of static forms and styles and then trying to explain these in terms of intrusive “Graeco-Roman” veneers or eternal “native” essences.

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